NPS Form 10-900 United States Department of the Interior National Park Service National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

1. Name of Property

Historic Name: Segundo Barrio Historic District Other name/site number: El Paso Second Ward Historic District Name of related multiple property listing: NA

2. Location

Street & number: Roughly bounded by South Santa Fe Street/South Oregon Street, East Ninth Avenue, Cotton Street, and Paisano Drive/East Father Rahm Avenue. City or town: El Paso State: Texas County: El Paso

City	or town:	ELPaso	State. Texas	C
Not	for publica	ition: 🗆	Vicinity: 🛛	

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this important in the National Historic Preservation 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 import meets in does not meet the National Register criteria.

1 recommend that this property be considered significant at the following levels of significance: □ national □ statewide ☑ local

Applicable National Register Criteria: Ø A 🛛 B Ø C 🗆 D

Signature of certifying official / Title

State Historic Preservation Officer

10/11/202

Texas Historical Commission State or Federal agency / bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property in meets in does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of commenting or other official

State or Federal agency / bureau or Tribal Government

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that the 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: _____

Date

5. Classification

Ownership of Property: Private, Public-Local

Category of Property: District

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
685	206	buildings
3	0	sites
0	0	structures
0	0	objects
688	206	total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register – 1: Silver Dollar Café, 1021 South Mesa Street. (Note that this resource is not tallied in the table above.)

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions: (See page 11)

Current Functions: (See page 11)

7. Description

Architectural Classification:

LATE VICTORIAN: National Folk, Folk Victorian, Italianate, Queen Anne

LATE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY REVIVALS: Territorial Revival, Mission Revival, Pueblo Revival, Spanish Colonial Revival, Romanesque Revival, Classical Revival, Gothic Revival, Medieval Revival, Italian Renaissance Revival, Eclectic Revival

LATE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY AMERICAN MOVEMENTS: Craftsman, Prairie, Minimal Traditional

MODERN MOVEMENT: Modern, Art Deco, Contemporary

MIXED; OTHER: Mexican Vernacular; American Commercial

NO STYLE

Principal Exterior Materials: Adobe, Brick, Concrete, Stucco, Wood, Metal

Narrative Description (See Section 7, pages 12-111)

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria: A, C

Criteria Considerations: NA

Areas of Significance: Ethnic History: Hispanic (Mexican); Social History; Architecture

Period of Significance: 1884–1971

Significant Dates: 1884 (date of oldest known extant property), 1910 (Mexican Revolution), 1946 (expansion of Paisano Drive), 1963 (Chamizal Convention)

Significant Person (only if criterion b is marked): NA

Cultural Affiliation (only if criterion d is marked): NA

Architect/Builder: NA

Narrative Statement of Significance (See Section 8, pages 112-154)

9. Major Bibliographic References

Bibliography (See Section 9, pages 155-161)

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 #

Primary location of additional data:

- <u>x</u> State historic preservation office (*Texas Historical Commission*, Austin)
- _ Other state agency
- _ Federal agency
- _ Local government
- _ University
- Other -- Specify Repository:

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): NA

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property: 217.108 acres

Coordinates: (See pages 162-163)

Verbal Boundary Description: (See pages 162-163)

Boundary Justification: (See pages 162-163)

11. Form Prepared By

Name/title: Emily Payne, Senior Architectural Historian; Rebecca Kennedy, Architectural Historian; Erin Tyson, GIS Technician Organization: HHM & Associates, Inc. Street & number: P.O. Box 9648 City or Town: Austin State: Texas Zip Code: 78766 Email: epayne@hhminc.com Telephone: 512-478-8014 Date: March 1, 2021

Additional Documentation

Maps (see Maps, pages 164-172)

Additional items (see Figures, pages 1173-220)

Photographs (see Photos, pages 221-299)

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management. U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

Photograph Log

Name of District:	Segundo Barrio Historic District
City, County, State:	El Paso, El Paso County, Texas
Photographers:	Erin Tyson, Emily Payne, Kristina Kupferschmid, Shonda Mace
Dates Photographed:	June–September 2017

All photographs reflect the current appearance of the properties.

Photo 1. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0001) Contextual photo of the site of the covered acequia along Olivas V Aoy Avenue, taken from between St. Vrain Street and Hills Street, facing east–northeast.

Photo 2. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0002) Contextual photo of Armijo Park, 620 Seventh Avenue, facing southeast.

Photo 3. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0003) Façade view of St. Ignatius of Loyola Catholic Church and School (1905), 408 Park Street, facing east-northeast.

Photo 4. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0004) Façade view of the St. Ignatius of Loyola Catholic Church sanctuary at 408 Park Street, constructed in 1913 with a 1921 façade update designed by Trost & Trost, facing east–northeast.

Photo 5. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0005) Oblique view of 515 South Street, facing northwest.

Photo 6. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0006) Oblique view of Bowie High School (now the Guillen Middle School), 900 South Cotton Street, facing northeast. Photo from Google Streetview, July 2020.

Photo 7. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0007) Oblique view of the Roosevelt Public School (now La Fe Preparatory School), 616 East Father Rahm Street, facing northwest.

Photo 8. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0008) Oblique view of 1008 South Oregon Street, facing east-northeast.

Photo 9. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0009) Oblique view of 1020 South Campbell Street, facing northeast.

Photo 10. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0010) Oblique view of 715 South Oregon Street, facing southwest.

Photo 11. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0011) Oblique view of the alley dwelling at the rear of 715 South Oregon Street (fronting Alley E), facing east-northeast.

Photo 12. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0012) Oblique view of 1116 East Seventh Avenue, facing southwest.

Photo 13. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0013) Oblique view of 709 Tays Street, facing northwest.

Photo 14. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0014) Façade view of 601 South Mesa Street (alternately addressed as 605 South Mesa Street), facing west-southwest.

Photo 15. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0015) Oblique view of 801 South El Paso Street, facing southwest.

Photo 16. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0016) Oblique view of the Lydia Patterson Institute, 517 South Florence Street, facing southwest.

Photo 17. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0017) Oblique view of the Lydia Patterson Gymnasium, rear of 517 South Florence Street (fronting East Third Avenue), facing southeast.

Photo 18. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0018) Oblique view of 500 East Third Avenue, facing southeast.

Photo 19. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0019) Oblique view of 900 South Oregon Street, facing northeast.

Photo 20. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0020) Oblique view of 516 Nino Aguilera Street, facing northeast.

Photo 21. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0021) Oblique view of 311 South Hills Street, facing northwest.

Photo 22. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0022) Façade view of 410 South Florence Street, facing east-northeast.

Photo 23. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0023) Oblique view of 508 Park Street, facing northeast.

Photo 24. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0024) Oblique view of 610 Park Street, facing northeast.

Photo 25. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0025) Oblique view of 603 Nino Aguilera Street, facing southwest.

Photo 26. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0026) Façade view of 613 Nino Aguilera Street, facing west-southwest.

Photo 27. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0027) Oblique view of the residential unit at 818 South Hills Street, facing northeast.

Photo 28. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0028) Oblique view of the corner commercial unit at 818 South Hills Street (fronting both South Hills Street and East Seventh Avenue), facing northeast.

Photo 29. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0029) Façade view of 907 Tays Street, facing west-southwest.

Photo 30. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0030) Oblique view of the Father Pinto Apartments, 1001 South Ochoa Street, facing southeast.

Photo 31. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0031) Oblique view of 820 South St. Vrain Street, facing northeast.

Photo 32. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0032) Oblique view of 600 South Mesa Street, facing southeast.

Photo 33. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0033) Oblique view of 1310 East Third Avenue, facing southeast.

Photo 34. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0034) Oblique View of 603 South El Paso Street, facing northwest.

Photo 35. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0035) Oblique view of 400 South Santa Fe Street, facing southeast.

Photo 36. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0036) Oblique view of 501 South Stanton Street, facing southwest.

Photo 37. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0037) Façade view of Teatro Colón, 509 South El Paso Street, camera facing west-southwest.

Photo 38. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0038) Oblique view of Second Baptist Church, 401 South Virginia Street, facing southwest.

Photo 39. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0039) Oblique view of Sacred Heart Church sanctuary 1892 (altered 1923), 602 South Oregon Street, facing northeast.

Photo 40. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0040) Façade view of the Sacred Heart School at 602 South Oregon Street, facing northeast.

Photo 41. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0041) Oblique view of the Church of the Divine Saviour (alternate names: Mexican Presbyterian and Templo la Evangelica), 517 South Ochoa Street, facing northwest.

Photo 42. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0042) Oblique view of the San Jose Catholic Union Mexican Hall, 501 South Virginia Street, facing southwest.

Photo 43. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0043) Oblique view of the Purity Baking Company (later the Rainbow Baking Company, now Earth Grains), 701 South Kansas Street, facing northwest.

Photo 44. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0044) Oblique view of 801 East Seventh Avenue, facing northeast.

Photo 45. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0045) Oblique view of the rear of 801 East Seventh Avenue, facing southeast.

Photo 46. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0046) Oblique view of the Good Will Boys Club, 801 South Florence Street, facing northwest.

Photo 47. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0047) Contextual view of the Boys Club Park, taken from East Seventh Avenue at South Campbell Street, facing northwest.

Photo 48. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0048) Oblique view of the Robert Krakauer Memorial Building (now the Willie Sanchez Rosales Family Center), 510 South Oregon Street, facing southeast.

Photo 49. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0049) Oblique view of the Henderson Health Clinic, 721 South Mesa Street, facing northwest.

Photo 50. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0050) Oblique view of 901 Park Street, facing southwest.

Photo 51. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0051) Oblique view of 1917 Territorial Revival brick tenement at 608 South Campbell Street, facing southeast.

Photo 52. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0052) Oblique view of 415 South Campbell Street, facing northwest.

Photo 53. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0053) Oblique view of 306 Tays Street, facing northeast.

Photo 54. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0054) Oblique view of the rear and side elevations of a brick tenement building that housed Teresa Urrea, a prominent *curandera* or "healer," in 1897 at 500 South Oregon Street, facing northeast.

Photo 55. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0055) Oblique view of 710 South St. Vrain Street, facing southeast.

Photo 56. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0056) Oblique view of 615 South Campbell Street, facing northwest.

Photo 57. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0057) Oblique view of 621 South Oregon Street, facing northwest. Note post-railroad brick detailing at window cornices and parapet reflecting Territorial Revival stylistic influences.

Photo 58. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0058) Façade view of 511 Nino Aguilera Street, facing west-southwest.

Photo 59. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0059) Oblique view of 605 South Oregon Street, facing southwest.

Photo 60. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0060) Oblique view of a small, early adobe home at the rear of 509 South Virignia Street, facing northeast.

Photo 61. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0061) Oblique view of 419 South Mesa Street, facing northwest.

Photo 62. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0062) Oblique view of public housing at 718 South Kansas Street, facing northeast.

Photo 63. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0063) Oblique view of 806 Tays Street, former residence of Cleofas Calleros, facing southeast.

Photo 64. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0064) Oblique view of 918 South St. Vrain Street, facing northeast.

Photo 65. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0065) Oblique view of 550 East Paisano Drive, facing southwest.

Photo 66. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0066) Oblique view of 700 South Ochoa Street, facing southwest.

Photo 67. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0067) Oblique view of 507 South Kansas Street, facing northeast.

Photo 68. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0068) Oblique view of 615 South Florence Street, facing southwest.

Photo 69. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0069) Oblique view of the one-room adobe rear dwelling at 607 South Ochoa Street (fronting the alley), facing southwest.

Photo 70. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0070) Oblique view of 611 South Kansas Street, facing northwest.

Photo 71. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0071) Oblique view of an 1890 adobe L-plan house at 1116 East Paisano Drive, facing southeast.

Photo 72. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0072) Oblique view 807 East Father Rahm Avenue, facing northeast.

Photo 73. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0073) Façade view of 106 East Father Rahm Drive, facing south.

Photo 74. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0074) Oblique view of 816 South El Paso Street, facing northeast.

Photo 75. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0075) Oblique view of 417 South Oregon Street, facing southwest.

Photo 76. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0076) Oblique view of 600 South Ochoa Street, South El Paso Senior Center and former site of *Los Seis Infiernos*, or "The Six Hells" tenement buildings, facing northeast.

Photo 77. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0077) Oblique view of 1020 East Seventh Avenue, facing southwest.

Photo 78. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0078) Oblique view of 612 South Stanton Street, facing northeast.

Photo 79. (TX_ElPasoCounty_SegundoBarrioHD_0079) Oblique view of an original 1905 L-plan brick home with 1936 front porch enclosure at 508 South Kansas Street, facing southeast.

Section 6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

DOMESTIC: single dwelling, multiple dwelling, secondary structure, hotel, institutional housing

COMMERCE/TRADE: business, professional, organizational, specialty store, restaurant, warehouse

INDUSTRY/PROCESSING/EXTRACTION: manufacturing facility, industrial storage

RELIGION: church, church school, church-related residence

HEALTHCARE: clinic

SOCIAL: community center

LANDSCAPE: park

EDUCATION: school

AGRICULTURE/SUBSISTENCE: irrigation canal

Current Functions

DOMESTIC: single dwelling, multiple dwelling, secondary structure, hotel, institutional housing

COMMERCE/TRADE: business, professional, organizational, specialty store, restaurant, warehouse

INDUSTRY/PROCESSING/EXTRACTION: manufacturing facility, industrial storage

RELIGION: church, church school, church-related residence

HEALTHCARE: clinic

SOCIAL: community center

LANDSCAPE: park

EDUCATION: school

AGRICULTURE/SUBSISTENCE: irrigation pipeline

VACANT/NOT IN USE

Narrative Description

The Segundo Barrio Historic District lies south of downtown El Paso, Texas, along the international boundary between and the United States and Mexico. This dense mixed-use district has provided housing, neighborhood-scale commerce, and community service amenities for a predominantly working-class Mexican American population since 1884. Historically, the neighborhood known as Segundo Barrio was bound by Paisano Drive on the north, South Santa Fe Street on the west, and the Rio Grande on the south and east. Due to changes to the neighborhood over time, the Segundo Barrio Historic District encompasses the area within a somewhat smaller, irregular boundary (as shown in map 1). Within these historic district boundaries, a large majority of the resources were constructed during the period of significance from 1884 through 1971 (87 percent), and the bulk were built between 1900 and 1930 (57 percent). The Segundo Barrio Historic District includes 894 above-ground resources: 891 buildings and 3 sites. Of these, 77 percent (688) are contributing, and 33 percent (206) are noncontributing. The fabric of the district maintains a uniform architectural character, with many buildings in the district featuring masonry construction, stucco finishes, flat roofs, and linear forms that reflect vernacular architectural traditions brought to El Paso from Mexico. These traditional forms merge with popular American styles and building materials in the district. Characteristically Mexican American masonry landscape perimeter walls and murals mark the district as well, creating a district that vividly illustrates the story of the Mexican immigrant experience.

Setting

Geography and Topography

The Segundo Barrio Historic District lies at the southern edge of the City of El Paso, adjacent to the international border between the U.S. and Mexico. El Paso is located in far West Texas, amid the Chihuahuan Desert in a climatic region known for hot, arid, and sunny summers and cool, dry winters. The district lies approximately 3,700 feet above sea level in a valley south of the Franklin Mountains. Land within the district is generally flat but slopes gently upward moving north from the Rio Grande toward the Franklin Mountains. Vegetation in the district is largely limited to parks and to trees planted along sections of sidewalk.

Changing Alignments of the Rio Grande and International Boundaries

The changeable alignment of the Rio Grande shaped the boundaries and development of Segundo Barrio from the time of El Paso's earliest development (fig. 8). When the American town of El Paso was first platted in 1859, development stayed well to the north of the broad, flood-prone swath of land adjoining the meandering alignment of the Rio Grande (fig. 12). As late as the 1880s, the development between El Paso's core and the Rio Grande remained sparse. Around 1886, the Rio Grande traveled just south of Seventh Avenue (fig. 20).¹ Gradually, though, the Rio Grande's alignment shifted southward; and so followed development. By 1898, the river moved to curve south of Twelfth Avenue and Thirteenth Avenue – an alignment that remained generally stable until the early twentieth century (fig. 3). Yet little development emerged south of Seventh Avenue, based on historic Sanborn Fire Insurance maps from 1898 through 1902. The river began creeping northward again by 1905, placing some of the land along Thirteenth Avenue under water (fig. 4). Construction of the Elephant Butte Dam and associated channelization of the river's southwesterly angle, so that it generally paralleled Twelfth Avenue between Campbell Street and Cotton Street (beyond the historic district's boundaries, fig. 4). The river's 1908 alignment remained generally intact until the 1960s.

¹ Note that numbered east–west streets were renamed as avenues at some point after 1954.

² "New Mexico: Elephant Butte Dam and Spillway," National Park Service, accessed June 1, 2020, <u>https://www.nps.gov/articles/new-mexico-elephant-butte-dam-and-spillway.htm</u>.

The changing alignment of the Rio Grande complicated determining the international boundary between the U.S. and Mexico. As the Rio Grande flooded seasonally and created new erosion and siltation patterns, the river's path shifted south. Some Mexican communities then found themselves located north of the river. The disputed land within the shifting Rio Grande watershed became known as the "Chamizal" (east of the historic district boundaries). Over time, the International Boundary and Water Commission built channels, international dams, and flood-control infrastructure, but disputes about the international boundary continued (fig. 35). Between 1962 and 1963, the U.S. and Mexico negotiated an updated Chamizal Treaty committing to channelizing the Rio Grande to make the boundary permanent (fig. 43). As summarized by the National Park Service: "The thorny problem of making a fair settlement in the Chamizal was solved by putting the Rio Grande into a concrete channel from which it cannot stray."³ (Refer to Section 8 for additional detail.)

The changing international boundary had the effect of gradually shrinking Segundo Barrio. Into the mid-twentieth century, Segundo Barrio extended southward to Twelfth Avenue (figs. 6 and 49.) After the 1963 Chamizal Treaty, the international boundary shifted northward to Tenth Avenue (fig. 43). Today, the Segundo Barrio Historic District extends only to Seventh Avenue, due to highway, rail lines, the Franklin Canal, and border fence construction between Seventh Avenue and the international boundary (as further discussed below).

Circulation Patterns and Layout

The street network present in Segundo Barrio today generally follows a grid pattern, derived from the original 1859 Anson Mills plat for El Paso and combined with the influences of the Rio Grande, railroad lines, and highways. When Anson Mills first platted the street grid for El Paso in 1859, his conception of the city's limits did not extend southward into present-day Segundo Barrio (fig. 12). At that time, Segundo Barrio remained marked as "bosque"-or forest habitat found along flood plains of streams and rivers in the Southwest—on the plat map. In the mid-nineteenth century, connection between the American town and Ciudad Juárez south of the border occurred south of Segundo Barrio, at a river crossing approximately located at the terminus of present-day South El Paso Street. A ferry crossing developed at the same location around the 1850s. This crossing provided direct access to and from the small trading community known as "Franklin," which developed on the site of present-day downtown El Paso.⁴ A historic map of El Paso from 1853 shows the trail leading south from Franklin bifurcating, with one branch leading to the old Oñate Crossing (roughly two miles northwest of the district boundaries), plus another branch leading due south roughly following the present-day alignment of El Paso Street (fig. 10). The arrival of the railroad in El Paso in 1881 triggered development of the circulation network in present-day Segundo Barrio. The Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe Railroad and the Mexican Central Railroad decided to construct the bridge across the Rio Grande between El Paso and Ciudad Juárez due south of downtown rather than at the Oñate Crossing. The new right-of-way of the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe veered southeasterly along the Rio Grande, curving due south at El Paso Street to cross the new bridge – creating the diagonal railroad tracks at the western edge of Segundo Barrio today. In response, the owners of all of the property that would become Segundo Barrio subdivided their land into the Campbell Addition and the Magoffin Addition, expanding the street grid between downtown and the river following Mills's grid pattern (figs. 19 and 24). Both the Campbell Addition and the Magoffin Addition used a grid street pattern - roughly continuing the street pattern established by Anson Mills for downtown. However, the Campbell Addition and the Magoffin Addition divided lots much more narrowly than Anson Mills did downtown. These narrow lots encouraged construction of narrow, linear buildings (fig. 25).

³U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Chamizal* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1976), from HathiTrust Digital Library, <u>https://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.31951002821472j</u>.

⁴ Martin Davenport, "Magoffin Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, Texas, 2015, 40; Gladys A. Hodges, "Bridges across the Borderline: The Local Politics of Building the First International Rail Bridges in the Americas at the Two El Pasos, 1880–1883," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 116, no. 1 (July 2012): 26–38, 31, from JSTOR.

Within the new street grid established by the Campbell Addition and Magoffin Addition, the new railroad bridge was located at the southern terminus of El Paso Street (southwest of the historic district boundaries, fig. 20).⁵ Construction of a second bridge for local pedestrian, wagon, and streetcar traffic followed in 1882, located at the southern terminus of Stanton Street. Yet another streetcar bridge was constructed at the terminus of Santa Fe Street in 1889 (also southwest of the historic district boundaries), allowing circular round-trip streetcar traffic between El Paso and Ciudad Juárez.⁶ Sanborn maps from 1905 reveal another rail bridge at Utah Street (now Mesa Street), as well as a second pedestrian bridge at Santa Fe Street (just west of the district boundaries, fig. 4). A border crossing station emerged at the terminus of Santa Fe Street in the early twentieth century, characterized by a cluster of small frame buildings (figs. 28 and 34, outside of the district boundaries, none of which remain extant today).⁷

By 1898, the Texas Pacific Railroad line extended along the southern boundary of the original Mills plat – running along First Avenue and Overland Street (fig. 3). This created a physical barrier between downtown and Segundo Barrio. The relative lack of dense development in the southern portion of Segundo Barrio at the time facilitated construction of additional rail spurs on the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe line between 1902 and 1905 (fig. 4). Mixed-use development in Segundo Barrio quickly followed. By the time the Sanborn Fire Insurance Company published maps depicting the full breadth of Segundo Barrio in 1908, the maps showed the area between Second Avenue and Eighth Avenue largely built out with a combination of industrial complexes, tenements and rooming houses, and retail businesses.⁸ The layouts of individual lots varied widely, with some tenements built fully to the lot lines, while other properties used clusters of small buildings with open yards between. Development lagged south of Eighth Avenue, though, given the flood-prone character along the riverbed. As a result, the southern tip of Segundo Barrio received designation as a "Lumber District," deemed more suitable for rail development and lumber storage than for permanent construction, and a cluster of lumber yards emerged (south of the historic district boundaries, fig. 6). As the twentieth century progressed, lots within Segundo Barrio gradually filled with denser development, but the eclectic mixture of building types and setback patterns continued (fig. 31).

Two routes connecting Segundo Barrio with the international bridges received U.S. highway designations from the 1920s through the 1950s – with Paisano Street/Stanton Street designated as part of the official route of U.S. Highway 85 and Santa Fe Street as part of U.S. Highway 54 (fig. 40). The border-crossing station on Santa Fe Street grew significantly to accommodate increased traffic along the bridge (fig. 6). No widening or realignment occurred along these "highway" routes, though, preserving the dense commercial development that adjoined the right-of-way by the 1950s (fig. 42). Alongside highway development, the City of El Paso finally paved local streets and alleys in the barrio in the 1950s and 1960s.⁹ Additional highway construction along the southern boundary of Segundo Barrio began in the 1970s, leading to and from the rail yards west of Segundo Barrio (figs. 47 and 48). The highway construction project entailed replacement of the international bridges southwest of the district. The project also razed all structures and erased the historic street grid

⁵ William S. Hills, *Campbell's Addition to El Paso, Texas* [Map] (A. Gast and Company Lithographers, 1885), from the Texas General Land Office, <u>https://s3.glo.texas.gov/glo/history/archives/map-store/index.cfm#item/8854</u>; Davenport, "Magoffin Historic District." This nomination details the subdivision of Magoffin's land to form the Magoffin Addition as follows: "In 1885, Magoffin and his sometimes partners J.A. Tays and W.S. Hills, platted a large portion of land including' more than eighty-three square blocks and the T&P rail yards and warehouses four blocks south of the Magoffin home. Most of the land was south of the rail yards and platted as the Magoffin Addition...."

⁶ Hodges, "Bridges across the Borderline," 26–38.

⁷ Note that Sanborn Fire Insurance maps for El Paso do not capture the border crossing station until 1948.

⁸ See Sanborn maps from 1908, sheets 47-66, some of which are available online via the University of Texas Libraries: <u>http://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/sanborn/e.html</u>.

⁹ "El Segundo Barrio: Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy," prepared for the City of El Paso Community and Human Development Department, 2010, p. 11, <u>https://www.elpasotexas.gov/~/media/files/coep/community%20and%20human%20development/plans/</u> <u>elsegundobarrio_neighrevitalizationstrategy.ashx?la=en.</u>

south of Ninth Avenue, making Ninth Avenue the southern boundary of the Segundo Barrio Historic District today (maps 1-9).

Open Spaces and Designed Landscape Features

Historically, an *acequia*—or irrigation canal leading from the Rio Grande—traversed Segundo Barrio along Eighth Avenue. Although some portions of El Paso's *acequia* system date to 1827, this portion of Segundo Barrio lay south of the Rio Grande until 1898, so the Eighth Avenue *acequia* likely related to the construction of the Franklin Canal system between 1889 and 1912.¹⁰ Historic topographic maps reveal that the *acequia* was open to the daylight until around 1967 (fig. 44). Beginning in 1967, the City of El Paso initiated efforts to cover the canal and transform it into a parkway, connecting to the newly proposed Marcos B. Armijo Community Center and Park.¹¹ The site for Armijo Park lay between Campbell and Florence Streets and Seventh and Eighth Avenues. According to Sanborn maps, a baseball field occupied the eastern half of the block as early as 1908. By 1973, concrete covered the *acequia* throughout Segundo Barrio, and construction of the parkway and Armijo Park was complete (fig. 44). The parkway and Armijo Park remain intact today as character-defining designed landscape features within the district (photos 1 and 2). The irrigated plantings and play structures within these public open spaces provide a respite from the hardscape that characterizes the rest of the district.

For much of Segundo Barrio's history, other publicly accessible open spaces were limited. One plaza, known as Alamo Square, was located between Tays and Park Streets and Fourth and Fifth Avenues (extant but outside district boundaries).¹² This square was set aside as a designated open space within the original plat of the Magoffin Addition (fig. 24). School yards provided the only other accessible public outdoor space. Many of these schools and school yards were intact by the early twentieth century. The 1908 Sanborn map shows the following schools with accompanying open spaces:

- San Ignacio Roman Catholic School at 408 Park Street (extant, photo 3, expanded in 1913, photo 4)
- Iglesia Mexicana Metodista Episcopal del Sur School at the northwest corner of Fourth Avenue and Stanton Street (no longer extant)
- Douglas Public School ("colored") at 515 South Kansas Street (extant, photo 5)
- Alamo Public School on the east side of Hills Street between Third and Fourth Avenues (extant but outside of the district boundaries)¹³
- Aoy Public School between Kansas and Campbell Streets and Seventh and Eighth Avenues (no longer extant)¹⁴

Segundo Barrio's collection of school properties grew to include the "Bowie School" (now the Guillen Middle School) at 900 South Cotton Street in 1927 (extant, photo 6). Construction of the Roosevelt School at 616 East Father Rahm Avenue followed in 1947 (extant, now the La Fe Preparatory School, photo 7). These school yards typically were hardscaped only, providing little vegetation and few play structures.

¹⁰ Neal W. Ackerly and David A. Phillips, Jr., "El Paso County Water Improvement District No. 1," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, from the Texas Historical Commission, Austin, Texas, 1997.

¹¹ W. J. Hooten, "Everyday Events," *El Paso Times*, July 13, 1967, 4, from newspapers.com.

¹² The Alamo Square block today remains open, with a baseball field, tennis courts, and play structures; however, the block lies outside the district boundaries because the surrounding non-historic public housing compromises its integrity of setting, feeling, and association.

¹³ The Alamo Public School is recommended individually eligible for listing in the National Register. The school is outside of the district boundaries because it is surrounded by non-historic public houses, which compromises its integrity of setting, feeling, and association.

¹⁴ An Official Texas Historical Marker just east of the site of the original Aoy School commemorates Olivas Villanueva Aoy. "Olivas Villanueva Aoy" (Marker No. 16824), Texas Historical Commission, 2011, <u>https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Details/5507016824</u>.

Architectural Character

Range and Distribution of Construction Dates

The properties in the Segundo Barrio Historic District date from 1884 to 2019. Of the 890 resources in the district, 776 (87 percent) were constructed during the period of significance, between 1884 and 1971. A large majority of the resources (57 percent) were built between 1900 and 1930 (see table 7-1). Development in the district generally began along the northern boundary—closest to downtown—and then moved to the south and southwest over time. Nearly all of the resources dating from the nineteenth century are located north of East Father Rahm Avenue (formerly Fifth Avenue). Today, however, buildings from different decades mix together eclectically throughout the district. Buildings dating from 1900 through 1930 spread consistently across the district, as do buildings dating from 1931 through 1971. Since the end of the period of significance in 1971, new development generally has been scattered, but one notable node of non-historic development has begun to grow at the core of the district, along South Kansas and South Campbell Streets between East Fourth and East Seventh Avenues (map 10).

Decade of Construction	No. Resources Built	% of Total Resources in District
1880s	1	0%
1890s	35	4%
1900s	177	20%
1910s	174	19%
1920s	157	18%
1930s	49	5%
1940s	43	5%
1950s	77	9%
1960s	59	7%
1970s	20	2%
1980s	53	6%
1990s	22	2%
2000s	16	2%
2010s	11	1%
2020s	0	0%

 Table 7-1. Breakdown of decades of construction of resources in the historic district.

Common Construction Materials

Masonry construction characterizes the majority of buildings within the Segundo Barrio Historic District. Around 99 percent of the buildings within the district are masonry, while only about 1 percent of buildings within the district use wood-frame or metal-frame construction. Historically, adobe and brick were the primary building materials, with adobe used for small-scale residential construction and brick used for commercial construction or two-story multi-family residential construction. Beginning around 1905, concrete construction began to gradually replace adobe, although traditional adobe construction methods continued into the 1960s. Some early buildings likely used traditional carved wood *vigas* with downspouts for roof framing, but no examples remain intact today. A few rare examples used terra-cotta downspouts projecting through the masonry parapet to drain water off the flat roof (photo 8). Wood remained the most common material for roof framing throughout the period of significance, but metal downspouts began to replace traditional wood *vigas* in the mid-twentieth century (fig. 39, photos 9, 10, and 11). Stucco finishes nearly always cover adobe masonry, and they often cover brick and concrete masonry as well. Today, approximately 55 percent of buildings in the district are finished with stucco (photo 12).

Property Types and Architectural Styles

At its essence, Segundo Barrio is a dense, urban residential district. About 76 percent of the district's resources are residential, as documented below in Table 7-2. Multi-family buildings dominate the district's housing, but a substantial number of single-family houses mark the district as well. The presence of commercial, religious, and institutional resources completes the urban character of the district, placing all of the community's needs within walking distance. The architectural character of the district is primarily utilitarian. Where stylistic influences are evident, they primarily draw from the district's Mexican American heritage, placing the Territorial Revival, Mission Revival, and Pueblo Revival among the most common styles in the district. The most common of these is the Territorial Revival, a distinctly southwestern version of Classical Revival architecture, prominent from roughly 1865 to 1900 and characterized by adobe or brick masonry construction with a flat roof and decorative cornice, sometimes with segmental arched window openings (fig. 39, photos 9, 13, and 14).¹⁵ Mission Revival and Pueblo Revival emerged later in the nineteenth century and incorporated deorative elements such as tile roofs, stuccoed walls, and flat roofs with parapets, with Mission Revival typically incorporating curved parapets or bell towers.¹⁶ More elaborate and ornamental revival styles typically are reserved for prominent buildings like churches and large-scale commercial buildings, as exemplified by the Italianate two-part commercial block at 801 South El Paso Street (photo 15). Modern styles most commonly appear on governmental or institutional buildings, like the Lydia Patterson Institute at 512 South Florence Street (photo 16).

In addition to the revival styles mentioned above, the district's Mexican American heritage is also reflected in a style referred to herein as "Mexican Vernacular." Mexican Vernacular resources are largely residential, single-story, simple masonry structures. The most common floor plans for these resources are one- to two-room dwellings, or linear-plan tenement buildings. They are almost always flat-roofed in Segundo Barrio, and sometimes feature protruding downspouts or "canales." These structures predominantly date to the time period from 1890 to 1925, although some of them date into the mid-twentieth century. Although these resources were sometimes contemporaneous with revival-style buildings, their form and construction technique mimic that of early adobe structures, indicating a continuation of an established building culture rather than a self-conscious attempt to mimic earlier styles. Oftentimes their formal characteristics may be quite similar to those of Territorial Revival resources, the main difference lying in ornamentation – Mexican Vernacular resources are largely modest and utilitarian in nature, lacking stylistic elements such as decorative brickwork. These resources are listed as "Other" in the inventory since "Mexican Vernacular" is not an official stylistic category per the National Park Service's *National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form.*

Table 7-3 below presents the breakdown of architectural styles within the district.

Table 7-2. Breakdown of property types in the historic district.							
Property Type	Number of Resources	Percent of Total					
Residential							
Multi-Family	348	38.9%					
Single-Family	242	27.1%					
Auxiliary Building	90	10.1%					
Commercial	161	18.0%					
Industrial	18	2.0%					
Religious	16	1.8%					

Table 7-2. Breakdown of property types in the historic district.

¹⁵ Arlene Hodges, "A Study of El Paso's Turbulent History, 1880–1915: Architecture as a full partner with the forces which shaped education, business, and religion" (Master's thesis, University of Texas at El Paso, 2000), 43; Ralph Newlan, "Adobe in Texas," Prepared for the Texas Department of Transportation, 2008, 13, accessed Nov. 2, 2020: <u>https://ftp.dot.state.tx.us/pub/txdot-info/env/toolkit/420-01-gui.pdf</u>. See Jerome Iowa's *Ageless Adobe*, Santa Fe, NM: Sunstone Press, 2005, pp 31-44 for more history of the Territorial Revival style.

¹⁶ Hodges, "A Study of El Paso's Turbulent History," 45; Newlan, "Adobe in Texas," 18.

Table 7-2. Breakdown of property types in the historic district.

Property Type	Number of Resources	Percent of Total
Cultural/Government/Institutional	14	1.6%
Landscape/Infrastructure	5	0.6%

Table 7-3. Breakdown of architectural styles in the historic district.

Architectural Style	Number of Resources	Percent of Total				
No Style	322	36.0%				
Other*	172	19.2%				
American Commercial	24	2.7%				
Victorian Era Styles						
National Folk	25	2.8%				
Folk Victorian	6	0.7%				
Italianate	3	0.3%				
Queen Anne	1	0.1%				
Twentieth-Century Revival Styles						
Territorial Revival	227	25.4%				
Mission Revival	33	3.7%				
Pueblo Revival	10	1.1%				
Spanish Colonial Revival	10	1.1%				
Romanesque Revival	5	0.6%				
Eclectic	3	0.3%				
Classical Revival	4	0.4%				
Gothic Revival	2	0.2%				
Medieval Revival	1	0.1%				
Italian Renaissance Revival	1	0.1%				
Modern Era Styles						
Craftsman	5	0.6%				
Prairie	1	0.1%				
Art Deco	2	0.2%				
Minimal Traditional	4	0.4%				
Modern	24	2.7%				
Ranch	6	0.7%				
Contemporary	3	0.3%				
* Resources listed as "Other" refer to Mexican Vernacular style discussed above						

Residential Buildings

Residential buildings crowd into every corner of the district, often occupying even the rear of lots on main commercial corridors. Multi-family residences are the most common, occurring throughout the district. Single-family residences are more common east of South Ochoa Street, where they intermingle with multi-family residences. Linear building forms with flat roofs typify both multi-family and single-family buildings, responding to the size of the lots as well as traditional Mexican vernacular housing patterns (as further discussed in Section 8). For multi-family linear buildings, doorways typically open to the outdoors along the side façade of these buildings, with balconies and exterior stairways along the sides of two-story examples (photo 18). After around 1960, some apartment complexes consolidated adjacent lots to build wider buildings, but the linear forms still persisted (photo 19). Single-family linear buildings typically have a single front door on the front façade, with a shotgun-like plan of sequential rooms on the interior (photo 20). Sometimes a front-gabled roof is applied to the linear single-family form (photo 21). Some examples of popular Anglo-American single-family housing forms with pitched roofs are exemplified within the district as well, including the L-plan form (410 South Florence Street, photo 22), the modified L-plan form (508 South Park Street, photo 23), the square-plan-hipped roof form (610 South Park Street, photo 24), the bungalow (603 Nino Aguilera Street, photo 25), and the ranch house (613 Nino

Aguilera Street, photo 26). The overwhelming majority of residences in Segundo Barrio (70 percent) lack stylistic architectural features. The most common residential style is the Territorial Revival (found among 19 percent of residences), exemplified by 1020 South Campbell Street and 818 South Hills Street (fig. 39, photos 9, 27, 28). A small sampling of residences (around 11 percent combined) feature influences of popular American styles like the Folk Victorian (311 South Hills Street, photo 21), National Folk (610 South Park Street, photo 24), Craftsman (603 Nino Aguilera Street, photo 25), Minimal Traditional (907 Tays Street, photo 29), and Ranch styles (613 Nino Aguilera Street, photo 26).

Public Housing Developments

Public housing developments form some of the most prominent groupings of multi-family housing within Segundo Barrio. The first federal public housing development in the Barrio—the Alamito Housing Project—was constructed in 1940 but was almost entirely demolished and replaced in 2010 (as a result it is excluded from the boundaries of the National Register Historic District).¹⁷ Nonetheless, it established a number of precedents in architecture and urban design that later public housing developments and private multi-family housing developments perpetuated. The site plan for the Alamito Housing Project consolidated eight city blocks in the northeastern sector of Segundo Barrio (fig. 7). This site plan merged adjacent lots and even closed off portions of East Third Avenue and East Fourth Avenue, creating "super blocks" that aimed to provide more open space, common among public housing developments and social housing developments projects at the time. The design for the Alamito Housing Project used a utilitarian adaptation of the Modern style, with flat roofs, corner windows, and no applied ornamentation (fig. 46).

Later public housing developments constructed in Segundo Barrio adapted some of the architectural and urban design elements established by the precedent of the Alamito Housing Project. These include the 1974 Guillen Houses south of East Ninth Avenue between South Campbell Street and Park Street and the 1975 Father Pinto Apartments at 1001 South Ochoa Street.¹⁸ (The Guillen Houses lie south of the historic district's boundary, and all were constructed after the end of the historic district's period of significance.¹⁹) Construction of the Guillen Houses in 1974 took advantage of "superblocks" created south of East Ninth Avenue in 1964, in response to the Chamizal agreement. However, the units were denser than at Alamito, with very little open space, and the building forms used a more typically American suburban form and massing, with side gabled roofs. Just north of East Ninth Avenue, within the district boundaries, the Father Pinto Apartments were constructed from 1974 to 1975. The development first consolidated lots within an entire single city block and then created an eight-story high-rise building form to inject density to house the elderly (photo 30). The Father Pinto Apartments also employed a utilitarian Modern style, with flat roofs and unadorned walls, incorporating some Contemporary stylistic expression through the use of geometric cast-concrete balcony railings.

Commercial Buildings

Some of the earliest development in Segundo Barrio took the form of a commercial strip extending along South El Paso Street between downtown and the international bridge (figs. 16 and 20). By 1908, commercial development flanked South Oregon Street and South Stanton Street as well. Today, most commercial resources are clustered on the north–south thoroughfares along the eastern edge of the district – like South El Paso Street, South Oregon Street, and South Stanton Street (fig. 45). Additional commercial resources stretch westward along East Seventh Avenue (like 820 South St. Vrain

¹⁷ "El Segundo Barrio: Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy," 11; "Alamito Terrace," Housing Authority of the City of El Paso, accessed Nov. 6, 2020, <u>https://www.hacep.org/housing-and-assistance-programs/property/alamito</u>. Note that the original Administration and Recreation Building still stands at the corner of South Virginia Street and East Third Avenue.

¹⁸ "Property Catalog," Housing Authority of the City of El Paso, accessed Nov. 6, 2020, <u>https://www.hacep.org/housing-and-assistance-programs/property-catalog</u>.

¹⁹ Reevaluation of the contributing status of these housing projects after they gain 50 years of age is recommended.

Street, photo 31). Others scatter corners throughout the district, sometimes occupying the corner unit of an otherwise residential building (such as 600 South Mesa Street, photo 32). Commercial spaces on corner sites often use a chamfered corner to present a welcoming entrance to both side streets, as well as to differentiate themselves from surrounding residential buildings (see 1020 South Campbell Street, 818 South Hill Street, 820 South St. Vrain Street, 1310 East Third Street, fig. 39, photos 9, 27, 28, 31 and 33). The one-part commercial block form typifies many commercial resources (41 percent). Two-part commercial blocks are rarer (comprising only about 18 percent of commercial resources) and clustered mainly in the northwest quadrant of Segundo Barrio, especially along South El Paso Street, like the example at 603 South El Paso Street (photo 34). By 1954, Sanborn maps showed an increase in auto-related commerce on U.S. 85 along Paisano Drive, like the concrete-block auto repair shop at 400 South Santa Fe Street (photo 35). New auto-oriented commercial buildings along Paisano Drive used a detached "box" form with surface parking in the front, catering to customers arriving by car. The majority of Segundo Barrio's commercial building are utilitarian, without stylistic detailing (79 percent). Some examples of commercial buildings lining South El Paso Street and South Stanton Street feature influences of revival styles like the Mission Revival (501 South Stanton Street, photo 36), as well as Modern styles like Art Deco (590 South El Paso Street, photo 37).

Religious Buildings

Religious buildings account for the most ornate examples of architecture in Segundo Barrio. Churches often occupy prominent corner sites, distributed throughout the district. Religious properties in the district date from 1892 through 1983. Until the mid-twentieth century, the district's religious architecture drew from the past, reviving older styles. The churches in the district incorporate influences from the Gothic Revival (401 South Virginia Street and 602 South Oregon Street, photos 38 and 39), Italian Renaissance Revival (408 South Park Street, photo 4), Eclectic Revival (517 South Ochoa Street, photo 41), and Medieval Revival styles (501 South Virginia Street, photo 52). Auxiliary buildings within religious complexes in the district are more restrained, with no stylistic influences.

The Connection between Industrial Sites and Civic Sites

A number of industrial properties operated in the district historically, but only light industries compatible with the adjacent residential neighborhood remain extant today. Sanborn Fire Insurance maps from the early twentieth century show industrial properties like lumber mills, metal and wagon shops, and oil storage complexes along the railroad lines that traversed the district. Industry surrounded the district as well – the area east of South Santa Fe Street contained the El Paso Electric Company's Santa Fe Power Station, railroad yards, and wholesale grocery warehouses (heavily altered today), and the area south of East Ninth Avenue contained lumber yards (no longer extant). Within the district, one extant industrial complex, the Purity Baking Company, emerged around 1905 at 701 South Kansas Street. The bakery grew to occupy half of the city block and evolved into the Rainbo Baking Company by the 1950s (photo 43). Another light industrial property, the 1955 produce distribution center at 801 East Seventh Avenue, also remains in operation today (photos 44–45). This site previously contained the more noxious Sinclair Refining Company, until the 1950s, when its use transitioned to distribution. Architecturally, the industrial buildings that remain within the district use sprawling complexes with flat roofs and multiple loading docks to facilitate distribution of goods using trucks. Most examples use concrete-block construction, but a few industrial auxiliary buildings use metal frames with corrugated metal siding. Stylistic detailing is minimal, although two extant examples of industrial buildings feature Mission Revival influences (photos 43 and 46).

Other former sites of heavy industry transitioned to civic uses in the mid-twentieth century. The industrial building at 801 South Florence became the Good Will Boys Club in 1929 (later the Boys and Girls Club) (photo 46).²⁰ Another example

²⁰ Yolanda Chávez Leyva, "¿Qué Son Los Niños?': Mexican Children Along the U.S.-Mexico Border, 1880-1930," (doctoral dissertation, University of Arizona, 1999), 196.

lies at 600 East Sixth Avenue. From the early 1900s until around 1968, the site functioned as an oil company yard, with warehouses and oil tanks. Around 1968, as zoning changes discouraged heavy industrial use within residential areas like Segundo Barrio, this site was converted to the Boys Club Park (photo 47).²¹ Similarly, oil warehouses and tanks occupied the block at 1001 South Ochoa Street in the mid-twentieth century, but the City of El Paso replaced these industrial buildings with the Father Pinto Apartments in 1975 (photo 30). Just outside of the district's boundaries, south of East Ninth Avenue, the lumber yards historically lining the railroad tracks were demolished in the 1970s to create the Guillen Housing Project. The civic buildings extant on redeveloped industrial sites typically use utilitarian architecture as well. As described above, the Guillen Houses and Father Pinto Apartments used a restrained and economical version of the Modern style, consistent with public housing developments nationwide.

Institutional Buildings

Other institutional buildings in Segundo Barrio also followed the trend of "improving" sites deemed noxious. At 510 South Oregon Street, a charity home constructed in 1920 replaced a row of substandard adobe housing (photo 48).²² In 1927, the new Bowie High School (now Guillen Middle School) redeveloped land along the railroad tracks at 900 South Cotton Street (photo 6). The 1940 Henderson Baby Clinic at 721 South Mesa similarly replaced a cluster of adobe tenements (photo 49), as did the 1947 Roosevelt Public School (now the La Fe Preparatory School) at 616 East Father Rahm Avenue (photo 7).²³ The original 1913 Lydia Patterson Institute was constructed on a vacant site at the southwest corner of East Third Avenue and South Florence Street, but as it expanded in the 1960s, it demolished and replaced dense groupings of adobe tenements as well (photo 16).²⁴ Institutional buildings in Segundo Barrio use substantial building forms and masonry construction to communicate their prominent role within the community. A number of examples use towers or tall pediments to draw attention to themselves in contrast to the surrounding low-rise building fabric. The architectural styles applied to institutional buildings reflect popular American tastes of the day, with the Romanesque Revival style applied from the 1890s through the early 1920s, the Mission Revival and Spanish Colonial styles used from the late 1920s through the early 1940s, and the Modern style employed after World War II.

Historic District Integrity

Overall District Integrity

Overall, the neighborhood fabric of Segundo Barrio retains its integrity of design, setting, feeling, and association to a high degree. The plat and street grid of Segundo Barrio remain overwhelmingly intact within the historic district boundaries. Substantial street grid changes mark the edges of the historic barrio—created by public housing, highway development, and enlargement of the border crossing station—but these all lie outside the boundaries of the National Register historic district. The dense pattern of development established by the original plats for the Campbell Addition and Magoffin Addition remains discernible as well. Over the course of the district's history, some of the narrow lots platted in the Campbell Addition and Magoffin Addition were consolidated to allow for larger-scale development. This is a process that began within the district's period of significance, and Sanborn Fire Insurance maps as early as 1908 show the pattern of lot consolidation. Only 13 percent of the district's resources were constructed after 1971. After the end of the district's period of significance. The southern end of the district always was less densely developed, and redevelopment of this end of the district around the 1970s and 1980s continued to employ low density patterns, with some

²¹ "El Segundo Barrio: Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy," 12.

²² "Associated Charities Home Built as Memorial to Robt. Krakauer," *El Paso Herald*, Aug. 28, 1920.

²³ "Morgan Bids Low on Clinic," *El Paso Herald Post*, Nov. 14, 1939, 2.

²⁴ "\$600,000 Institute Plans Approved," *El Paso Herald Post*, Oct. 10, 1963; Walter N. Vernon, "Lydia Patterson Institute," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed Nov. 10, 2020, <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/lydia-patterson-institute</u>.

properties incorporating surface parking lots. One example is the noncontributing commercial building constructed at 811 East Seventh Avenue in 1984.²⁵ The most common non-historic property type in the district is public housing dating from the 1970s and 1980s, which still complements the historic character of the district. The presence of public housing facilitated the neighborhood's longstanding function as a dense and affordable working-class neighborhood, helping the district to retain its cultural character and integrity of feeling and association. In recent decades, a few redevelopment efforts in the northern portion of the district have led to construction of large new buildings that are out of scale with the low-rise character of historic development. The most notable example is the noncontributing six-story apartment complex constructed at 507 South Campbell Street around 2015 (as shown in the background of photo 18). Designation of the historic district will help encourage rehabilitation and more compatible infill development in order to protect the district's overall integrity in the future.

Contributing and Noncontributing Resources

As a vibrant working-class neighborhood, buildings in Segundo Barrio have changed continually throughout the period of significance to respond residents' needs. Nonetheless, the overwhelming majority of resources—77 percent—retain sufficient integrity of design, materials, and workmanship to contribute to the historic character of the district. Alterations to historic-age resources generally follow patterns established during the period of significance and aim to facilitate ongoing use of the resources for their historic function. Rear additions and side additions are common throughout the district, on both residential and commercial buildings. Most additions follow the low, linear profile established by the original buildings and are visually unobtrusive (photo 50). A number of tenement-style multifamily housing units feature boards or other enclosures on some doors, where original one-room apartments have been combined to create a larger interior space (photos 51 and 32). Additionally, stucco replacement abounds, because the original adobe construction of many buildings requires a stucco coating to prevent erosion. Use of traditional lime-based stucco is rare, and application of Portland cement stucco often causes cracking, sometimes leaving the original adobe bricks beneath exposed to the weather (photo 52). Generally, though, lack of maintenance is more common than proactive alteration. Replacement of windows and doors typically only occurs if the original is deteriorated beyond repair, and a high percentage of original windows and doors remain intact. The noncontributing buildings in the district tend to have large-scale changes that significantly detract from the integrity of design, feeling, and association, as shown by the example at 306 Tays Street, which has a Contemporary-style addition that completely encompasses and conceals the original 1920s building within (photo 53).

Some alterations to historic buildings also have cultural significance in their own right. One example is the common addition of masonry perimeter walls and stone landscape features, often added to create courtyard spaces common in Mexican American architecture (photos 20, 25, 54, and 55). Application of murals to exterior walls also is characteristic, and represents a continuation of longstanding cultural heritage, even when the murals themselves have not yet achieved historic age (photos 33, 45, and 56).

²⁵ "El Segundo Barrio: Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy," 13.

Inventory

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101514	1120 1/2 E 1st Ave		В	1890	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex hosacuse - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	114189	1102 E 7th Ave		В	1915	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
AND	114187	1106 E 7th Ave		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	102328	406 S Campbell St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	102327	408 S Campbell St		В	1997	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Contemporary	NC
	100971	415 S Campbell St		В	1910	Residential - Single- family house - Linear T-plan	Other	С
	101052	415 S Campbell St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	102322	415 S Campbell St		В	1905	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	102321	507 S Campbell St		В	2015	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Contemporary	NC
	102309	600 S Campbell St		В	1900	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Other	С

Approx. Year Image Map ID Address Resource Resource Type - Form **Stylistic Influences** C/NC Built Name Туре 102294 В С 604 S Campbell St 1955 Residential - Single-No Style family house -Bungalow 102290 в 1987 Residential - Single-NC 606 S Campbell St No Style family house -Rectangular 114184 608 S Campbell St В 1910 Residential - Single-**Territorial Revival** С family house - Row house - Rectangular 102281 608 S Campbell St в 1917 Residential - Hybrid Territorial Revival С multi-family/ commercial building -Apartment building -Linear С 100980 В 1917 Residential - Multi-610 S Campbell St Territorial Revival family building -Apartment building -Rectangular С 100979 в 1917 Residential - Multi-Territorial Revival 612 S Campbell St family building -Apartment building -Linear В 1983 Residential - Multi-NC 102273 615 S Campbell St No Style family building - Row house - Rectangular В NC 100972 701 S Campbell St 1956 Residential - Multi-Modern family building - Row house - Linear 101065 В 1983 Residential - Multi-NC 709 S Campbell St No Style family building -Public housing 101064 709 S Campbell St в 1983 Residential - Multi-No Style NC family building ------Public housing

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	102282	801 S Campbell St		В	1955	Institutional - Gymnasium	No Style	с
	102259	1000 S Campbell St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	C
	102258	1014 S Campbell St		В	1950	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Other	С
	102257	1016 S Campbell St		В	1955	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	102255	1018 S Campbell St		В		Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	102252	1020 S Campbell St		В	1920	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	C
	101770	407 S Cotton St		В	1910	Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	No Style	C
	101731	407 S Cotton St		В	1910	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	C
	101771	409 S Cotton St		В	1924	Residential - Single- family house - T-plan	Other	C
	101772	411 S Cotton St		В	1924	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	C

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101773	413 S Cotton St		В	1910	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101730	413 S Cotton St		В	1910	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101776	415 S Cotton St		В	1914	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	National Folk	С
	101832	801 S Cotton St		В		Commercial - Restaurant - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	С
	101830	801 S Cotton St		В		Commercial - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	C
	101833	803 S Cotton St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101837	805 S Cotton St		В	1924	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101839	807 S Cotton St		В	1924	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	No Style	C
	101842	807 1/2 S Cotton St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101843	809 S Cotton St		В	1977	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	Other	NC
	114174	900 S Cotton St	Guillen Middle School	В	1927	Institutional - School - Massed with side wings	Spanish Colonial Revival	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101531	1017 E Delta Dr		В		Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Linear	Other	С
	101532	1017 E Delta Dr		В		Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Linear	Spanish Colonial Revival	С
	101560	1105 E Delta Dr		В		Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	C
	101559	1113 E Delta Dr		В		Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	Folk Victorian	NC
	101554	1115 E Delta Dr		В		Residential - Single- family house - Square-plan hipped roof	National Folk	С
	101553	1117 E Delta Dr		В		Residential - Single- family house - Square-plan hipped roof	National Folk	С
	101551	1201 E Delta Dr		В		Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Mission Revival	С
	101552	1203 E Delta Dr		В		Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101545	1205 E Delta Dr		В		Residential - Single- family house - Modified L-plan	No Style	С
	101584	1211 E Delta Dr		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С

Image Map ID Address Resource Resource Approx. Year Type - Form **Stylistic Influences** C/NC Туре Built Name 101582 В С 1213 E Delta Dr 1895 Residential - Single-Spanish Colonial Revival family house -Rectangular 101617 в 1905 Residential - Single-NC 1301 E Delta Dr No Style family house -Square-plan hipped roof 101609 1301 E Delta Dr В 1940 Residential - Multi-Territorial Revival С family building - Row house - Linear 101614 1305 E Delta Dr в 1905 Residential - Multi-Territorial Revival С family building - Row house - Linear 101080 1910 Residential - Multi-Territorial Revival С 1313 E Delta Dr В family building - Row house - Linear 101734 1401 E Delta Dr В 1954 Residential - Multi-No Style С family building - Row house - Linear С 101767 1410 E Delta Dr В 1920 Infrastructure - Well No Style pump 101196 В 1940 Residential - Single-Other С 204 E Eighth Ave family house -Rectangular С 101195 208 E Eighth Ave В 1945 Residential - Single-Mission Revival family house - L-plan 109240 822 E Eighth Ave В 2019 Residential - Single-No Style NC family house -Rectangular

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	102211	824 E Eighth Ave		В	1965	Residential - Single- family house - Ranch	Ranch	С
	102209	825 E Eighth Ave		В	1930	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	102213	826 E Eighth Ave		В	1965	Residential - Single- family house - Ranch	No Style	С
	102215	828 E Eighth Ave		В	1965	Residential - Single- family house - Ranch	No Style	С
	101627	1023 E Eighth Ave		В	1985	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101628	1027 E Eighth Ave		В	1985	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	102365	500 S El Paso St		В	1991	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	102372	501 S El Paso St		В	1920	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Art Deco	С
	101176	504 S El Paso St		В	1914	Commercial - One- part commercial block	Spanish Colonial Revival	С
	101178	506 S El Paso St		В	1914	Commercial - One- part commercial block	American Commercial	NC

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101175	508 S El Paso St		В		Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	102364	509 S El Paso St	Teatro Colon	В		Commercial - Two- part commercial block - Theater	Art Deco	С
i po	101124	510 S El Paso St		В	1910	Residential - Back house - Linear	Other	С
	101173	510 S El Paso St		В		Commercial - One- part commercial block	American Commercial	С
	101144	511 S El Paso St		В		Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Mission Revival	NC
	101171	512 S El Paso St		В	1910	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101126	512 S El Paso St		В	2010	Commercial - Commercial block - Outbuilding	No Style	NC
CELULAR AND MORE	101146	515 S El Paso St		В		Commercial - One- part commercial block	American Commercial	С
	101128	516 S El Paso St		В		Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	No Style	С
	101169	516 S El Paso St		В		Commercial - Two- part commercial block	American Commercial	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101168	526 S El Paso St		В	1901	Commercial - One- part commercial block	American Commercial	С
	101151	601 S El Paso St		В	1905	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Linear	No Style	NC
	101165	602 S El Paso St		В	2010	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	101153	603 S El Paso St		В	1910	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Mission Revival	С
	101166	604 S El Paso St		В	1920	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101155	605 S El Paso St		В	1905	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Territorial Revival	С
	101161	606 S El Paso St		В	1962	Commercial - One- part commercial block	Modern	С
REST CHURCH	101159	610 S El Paso St		В	1936	Commercial - One- part commercial block	American Commercial	С
	101158	612 1/2 S El Paso St		В	1920	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101156	615 S El Paso St		В	1910	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Territorial Revival	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	102345	618 S El Paso St		В	1950	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101157	623 S El Paso St		В	1910	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Territorial Revival	С
	102349	623 S El Paso St		В	1910	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	102350	700 S El Paso St		В	1916	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Romanesque Revival	С
	101160	701 S El Paso St		В	1960	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Modern	С
	102341	701 S El Paso St		В	1912	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101186	702 S El Paso St		В	1920	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Territorial Revival	С
	101162	703 S El Paso St		В	1912	Commercial - One- part commercial block	Territorial Revival	С
	101129	704 S El Paso St		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	100983	704 S El Paso St		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101185	704 S El Paso St		В	1920	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	American Commercial	С
	101163	705 S El Paso St		В	1912	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101167	707 S El Paso St		В		Commercial - One- part commercial block	Territorial Revival	С
	101164	707 S El Paso St		В		Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101170	709 S El Paso St		В	1905	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Linear	No Style	С
	101182	710 S El Paso St		В		Commercial - One- part commercial block	American Commercial	С
	101143	711 S El Paso St		В	1940	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101172	711 S El Paso St		В	1915	Commercial - One- part commercial block	Classical Revival	С
	101131	712 S El Paso St		В		Commercial - Commercial block - Outbuilding	No Style	NC
	101174	713 S El Paso St		В	1917	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	No Style	NC

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101133	714 S El Paso St		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101189	714 S El Paso St		В	1920	Commercial - One- part commercial block	American Commercial	NC
	101177	717 S El Paso St		В	1908	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Territorial Revival	С
	101141	717 S El Paso St		В	1980	Commercial - Garage - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101148	800 S El Paso St		В	1920	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	102138	801 S El Paso St		В	1884	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Italianate	C
	101179	805 S El Paso St		В	1910	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	101180	807 S El Paso St		В	1910	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	101149	810 S El Paso St		В	1920	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	101181	811 S El Paso St		В	1910	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101150	814 S El Paso St		В	1960	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	C
	101152	816 S El Paso St		В	1906	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Italianate	С
	101154	818 S El Paso St		В	1910	Commercial - One- part commercial block	American Commercial	С
	101183	819 S El Paso St		В	1910	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	101184	825 S El Paso St		В	1910	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	101191	105 E Father Rahm Ave		B	1920	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Mission Revival	C
	101147	106 E Father Rahm Ave		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	C
	101222	231 E Father Rahm Ave		В	1950	Religious - Accessory Building	No Style	C
	101267	407 E Father Rahm Ave		B	1895	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	C
	100970	407 E Father Rahm Ave		В	1910	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	114185	513 E Father Rahm Ave		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	102276	513 E Father Rahm Ave		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	100981	513 E Father Rahm Ave		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	102277	616 E Father Rahm Ave	La Fe Preparatory School	В	1947	Institutional - School - L-plan	Modern	С
	101493	807 E Father Rahm Ave		В	1930	Residential - Single- family house - Square-plan hipped roof	No Style	С
	101451	807 E Father Rahm Ave		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	101655	1012 E Father Rahm Ave		В	1918	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101732	1120 E Father Rahm Ave		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101691	1311 E Father Rahm Ave		В	1983	Residential - Single- family house - Ranch	Ranch	NC
	101788	1316 E Father Rahm Ave		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	с

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
Rine	101238	309 E Fifth Ave		В		Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Pueblo Revival	NC
A Marian	102278	607 E Fifth Ave		В		Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	102233	723 E Fifth Ave		В		Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	102214	725 E Fifth Ave		В		Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101500	900 E Fifth Ave		В		Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Linear	No Style	С
	101541	1000 E Fifth Ave		В		Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Linear	No Style	NC
	102368	401 S Florence St		В		Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	102155	405 S Florence St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Modified L-plan	National Folk	С
	101090	405 S Florence St		В		Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	No Style	С
	102148	410 S Florence St		В	1895	Residential - Single- family house - Linear L-plan	National Folk	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101098	410 S Florence St		В	1970	Residential - Garage	No Style	С
	101091	412 S Florence St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	National Folk	С
	102149	414 S Florence St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	102153	415 S Florence St		В	1890	Residential - Single- family house - Linear L-plan	National Folk	С
ân	101067	416 S Florence St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	102152	417 S Florence St		В	1895	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	102145	417 S Florence St		В	1914	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	102199	510 S Florence St		В	1960	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Social housing - Linear	No Style	С
	102320	517 S Florence St	Lydia Patterson Institute	В	1964	Institutional - School	Modern	С
	100978	517 S Florence St	Lydia Patterson Gymnasium	В	1964	Institutional - School	Modern	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	100989	600 S Florence St		В	1916	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	100990	600 S Florence St		В	1916	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	102219	600 S Florence St		В	1916	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Apartment building - L-plan	Territorial Revival	С
	100968	600 S Florence St		В	1950	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	С
	102222	607 S Florence St		В	1900	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101093	607 S Florence St		В	1905	Residential - Back house - Linear	Other	С
	102224	609 S Florence St		В	1900	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Linear	No Style	NC
	101092	609 S Florence St		В	1920	Residential - Back house - Linear	No Style	С
	102218	612 S Florence St		В	1950	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	Other	С
	102226	613 S Florence St		В	1990	Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	No Style	NC
	102225	615 S Florence St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	102216	616 S Florence St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	102231	620 S Florence St		В	1914	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	102227	623 S Florence St		В	1985	Residential - Multi- family building - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	102232	700 S Florence St		В	1981	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC
	102250	800 S Florence St	Woodlawn Bottling Co.	В	1930	Industrial - Bottling Company	No Style	С
	102251	801 S Florence St	Boys and Girls Club	В	1915	Industrial - Warehouse - Center passage	Mission Revival	С
	102253	816 S Florence St	Iglesia Bautista del Centro	В	1983	Religious - Church	Modern	NC
	102275	1001 S Florence St		В	1925	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	102272	1005 S Florence St		В	1917	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Craftsman	С
	101088	1005 S Florence St		В	1965	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	No Style	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	-	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	102336	114 E Fourth Ave		В	1905	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	с
	102330	203 E Fourth Ave		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	102329	209 E Fourth Ave		В	1913	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Other	С
	101228	306 E Fourth Ave		В	1914	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	102291	508 E Fourth Ave		В	1902	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	102311	513 E Fourth Ave		В	1895	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Courtyard plan	Territorial Revival	C
	101264	604 E Fourth Ave		В	1900	Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	Other	С
	101263	606 E Fourth Ave		В	1900	Residential - Single- family house - T-plan	Territorial Revival	C
	101096	716 E Fourth Ave		В	1950	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	Other	NC
	102183	807 E Fourth Ave		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	NC

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name		Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	102182	809 E Fourth Ave		В	1900	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101455	811 E Fourth Ave		В	1900	Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	Territorial Revival	С
	101664	1309 E Fourth Ave		В	1930	Residential - Single- family house - Center passage	No Style	С
	101662	1311 E Fourth Ave		В	1912	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - L-plan	Territorial Revival	С
	101526	305 S Hills St		В	1890	Residential - Single- family house - Hall and parlor	No Style	С
	101557	306 S Hills St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Modified L-plan	National Folk	С
Ê	101527	307 S Hills St		В	1895	Residential - Single- family house - Square-plan hipped roof	No Style	NC
	101556	308 S Hills St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Modified L-plan	National Folk	С
	101529	311 S Hills St		В	1950	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	Folk Victorian	С
	101530	313 S Hills St		В	1895	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	No Style	С
	101524	313 S Hills St		В	1900	Residential - Single- family house - Foursquare	No Style	С

Approx. Year Type - Form Image Map ID Address Resource Resource Stylistic Influences C/NC Name Built Туре в 1895 Residential - Single-С 101555 320 S Hills St National Folk family house - Hall and parlor 101718 700 S Hills St в 1930 Residential - Single-National Folk С family house -Square-plan hipped roof С 101716 706 S Hills St В 1930 Residential - Single-Other family house -Rectangular 101715 В NC 708 S Hills St 1930 Residential - Multi-Territorial Revival family building -Rectangular 101721 708 S Hills St В 2014 Residential - Back NC No Style house - Rectangular С 101656 709 S Hills St В 1916 Residential - Multi-**Territorial Revival** family building - Row house - Linear В 101658 709 S Hills St 1916 Industrial -No Style NC Warehouse -Rectangular В 1930 Residential - Multi-NC 101673 712 S Hills St Other family building - Row house - Linear 101720 712 S Hills St В 1930 Residential - Back Other С house - Linear С 101714 718 S Hills St В 1921 Residential - Multi-Other family building - Row house - Linear 800 S Hills St 1955 Residential - Multi-С 101661 В No Style

Table 7-4. Inventory of resources in the historic district. [B = Building, S = Structure, O = Object, C = Contributing, NC = Noncontributing]

family building -Duplex house -Rectangular

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101653	801 S Hills St	Morehead Housing Project	В		Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC
	101053	801 S Hills St	Morehead Housing Project	В		Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC
	101663	804 S Hills St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101642	805 S Hills St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101641	805 S Hills St		В		Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101665	806 S Hills St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101644	807 S Hills St		В		Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	NC
	101666	808 S Hills St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101646	809 S Hills St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	C
	101667	810 S Hills St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	C
	101640	811 S Hills St		В	1980	Residential - Shed	No Style	NC

Image Map ID Address Resource Resource Approx. Year Type - Form **Stylistic Influences** C/NC Built Name Туре в С 101648 811 S Hills St 1924 Residential - Multi-Territorial Revival family building - Row house - Rectangular в NC 101668 812 S Hills St 2015 Residential - Single-No Style family house - Linear 101650 813 S Hills St В 1905 Residential - Multi-Territorial Revival С family building - Row house - Linear 101649 в 1930 Residential - Multi-Territorial Revival С 813 S Hills St family building - Row house - Linear 813 S Hills St С 101651 В 1905 Residential - Hybrid Territorial Revival multifamily/commercial building - Row house - Linear 101670 814 S Hills St в 1905 Residential - Single-Territorial Revival С family house - Row house - Rectangular 101710 В NC 814 S Hills St 1980 Residential - Garage No Style в С 101671 818 S Hills St 1905 Residential - Single-**Mission Revival** family house - Row house - Rectangular С 101675 818 S Hills St В 1905 Residential - Hybrid **Territorial Revival** multi-family/ commercial building -Row house - Linear 101680 900 S Hills St в 1905 Residential - Hybrid Territorial Revival С multi-family/ commercial building -Row house - Linear

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101681	904 S Hills St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101682	906 S Hills St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101684	908 S Hills St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101635	909 S Hills St		В		Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	Mission Revival	NC
	101633	909 S Hills St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Linear L-plan	Other	С
	101687	910 S Hills St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	101688	912 S Hills St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101632	915 S Hills St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	Mission Revival	С
	101624	915 S Hills St		В		Residential - Back house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101689	916 S Hills St		В		Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101694	1000 S Hills St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Other	с

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name		Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101709	1000 S Hills St		В	1952	Residential - Shed	No Style	С
	101626	1001 S Hills St		В	1952	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	No Style	NC
	101611	1003 S Hills St		В	1952	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101696	1004 S Hills St		В	1930	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	100987	1004 S Hills St		В		Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	с
	101612	1007 S Hills St		В	1985	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101698	1008 S Hills St		В	1910	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101615	1009 S Hills St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Other	с
	101613	1009 S Hills St		В	1905	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101700	1010 S Hills St		В	1952	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	No Style	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101616	1011 S Hills St		В	1910	Residential - Garage	No Style	С
	101608	1011 1/2 S Hills St		В	1905	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101618	1013 S Hills St		В	1910	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Other	C
	101620	1015 1/2 S Hills St		В	1910	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101704	1016 S Hills St		В	1952	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101703	1016 S Hills St		В	1980	Residential - Shed	No Style	NC
	101619	1017 S Hills St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101707	1018 S Hills St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Rectangular	Other	C
TIT.	102377	400 S Kansas St		В	1992	Commercial - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	NC
	102326	413 S Kansas St		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	NC

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	102316	506 S Kansas St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	с
	102310	507 S Kansas St		В	1895	Residential - Multi- family building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101253	507 S Kansas St		В	1890	Residential - Back house - Linear	Other	с
	102315	508 S Kansas St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	Territorial Revival	С
	102313	514 S Kansas St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	с
	102307	515 S Kansas St	Douglass Grammar and High School	В	1891	Institutional - School	Romanesque Revival	с
	102312	516 S Kansas St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - I-plan	Mission Revival	с
-	102306	601 S Kansas St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	No Style	NC
	102305	601 S Kansas St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	101256	605 S Kansas St		В	1910	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	-	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
ETT	102304	605 S Kansas St		В	1905	Religious - Church - Modified L-plan	No Style	С
	102297	606 S Kansas St		В		Residential - Back house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	102303	609 S Kansas St		В		Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101257	609 S Kansas St		В		Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	102302	611 S Kansas St		В		Residential - Multiple-family house - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	102301	613 S Kansas St		В		Residential - Multiple-family house - Row house - Linear	Other	с
	101265	615 S Kansas St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Modified L-plan	Queen Anne	с
	101266	619 S Kansas St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	с
	102300	619 S Kansas St		В		Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Territorial Revival	С
	102298	620 S Kansas St		В	1992	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101059	620 S Kansas St		В	1992	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC
	102299	630 S Kansas St		В	1992	Residential - Multi- family building - Rectangular	No Style	NC
accentra in the	102295	701 S Kansas St		В	1905	Industrial - Food Processing	Mission Revival	С
	102293	718 S Kansas St		В	1983	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC
	101068	718 S Kansas St		В	1983	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC
	101066	718 S Kansas St		В	1983	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC
	102287	807 S Kansas St		В	1905	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	102286	809 S Kansas St		В	1950	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	102285	811 S Kansas St		В	1949	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	C
	101201	413 S Mesa St		В	1916	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Territorial Revival	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101204	419 S Mesa St		В	1900	Residential - Hybrid multi- family/commercial building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101245	422 S Mesa St		В	1895	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101206	501 S Mesa St		В	1940	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101244	502 S Mesa St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	101239	502 S Mesa St		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101243	502 S Mesa St		В	1990	Commercial - Parking booth - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	NC
	101207	507 S Mesa St		В	1920	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Territorial Revival	С
	101209	515 S Mesa St		В	1940	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101242	516 S Mesa St		В	1958	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	101229	600 S Mesa St		В	1940	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С

able 7-4. Inventory of resources in the historic district. [B = Building, S = Structure, O = Object, C = Contributing, NC = Noncontributing]
--

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101198	601 S Mesa St		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101219	601 S Mesa St		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101215	601 S Mesa St		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	114192	601 S Mesa St		В	1925	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	114191	601 S Mesa St		В	1925	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101220	601 S Mesa St		В	1925	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101217	601 S Mesa St	Ben's Grocery	В	1905	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101230	602 S Mesa St		В	1940	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101232	610 S Mesa St		В	1950	Commercial - One- part commercial block	American Commercial	С
	101234	614 S Mesa St		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Mission Revival	С
	101235	616 S Mesa St		В	1945	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	No Style	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101226	701 S Mesa St		В	1982	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Irregular	Pueblo Revival	NC
	101225	704 S Mesa St		В	1967	Commercial - One- part commercial block	Modern	С
	101224	708 S Mesa St		В	1950	Residential - Multiple-family building - Row house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	NC
	101075	709 S Mesa St		В	1908	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101074	709 S Mesa St		В	1908	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101073	709 S Mesa St		В	1908	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	101227	709 S Mesa St		В	1908	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101223	710 S Mesa St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101218	714 S Mesa St		В	1987	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Irregular	No Style	NC
	101231	721 S Mesa St	Henderson Health Clinic	В	1940	Institutional - Health Clinic	Spanish Colonial Revival	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101216	722 S Mesa St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	с
	101214	722 S Mesa St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101213	722 S Mesa St		В	1940	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	C
	101050	801 S Mesa St		В	1924	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	C
	101049	801 S Mesa St		В	1924	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101048	801 S Mesa St		В	1924	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101237	805 S Mesa St		В	1924	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101246	827 S Mesa St		В	1905	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	C
	100984	911 S Mesa St		В	1961	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Modern	С
	101248	911 S Mesa St		В	1961	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Modern	С

Image Map ID Address Resource Resource Approx. Year Type - Form **Stylistic Influences** C/NC Туре Built Name 100985 В 1961 Residential - Multi-С 911 S Mesa St Modern family building -Apartment building -Linear 101249 1001 S Mesa St в 1978 Industrial -NC No Style Warehouse -Rectangular 101252 1009 S Mesa St В 1950 Residential - Single-**Territorial Revival** С family house -Rectangular 101194 1009 S Mesa St в 1950 Residential - Back No Style С house - Rectangular 101255 1021 S Mesa St С В 1922 Residential - Hybrid No Style multi-family/ commercial building -Row house - L-plan 101605 308 Nino Aguilera В 1920 Residential - Single-Other С family house - L-plan St С 101758 308 Nino Aguilera В 1920 Residential - Multi-No Style family building -St Apartment building -Linear 101604 310 Nino Aguilera В 1910 Residential - Multi-Territorial Revival С St family building -Rectangular 101757 310 Nino Aguilera В 1950 Residential - Back No Style С St house - Rectangular 101756 310 Nino Aguilera В 1910 Residential - Back Other С St house - Rectangular

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101603	312 Nino Aguilera St		В	1910	Residential - Single- family house - Modified L-plan	National Folk	NC
A	101601	315 Nino Aguilera St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Modified L-plan	Folk Victorian	С
	101602	316 Nino Aguilera St		В	1920	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Linear	Other	C
	101724	406 Nino Aguilera St		В	1920	Residential - Single- family house - Square-plan hipped roof	No Style	C
	101723	408 Nino Aguilera St		В	1920	Residential - Single- family house - Square-plan hipped roof	No Style	С
	101722	408 Nino Aguilera St		В	1930	Residential - Multi- family building - Linear bungalow	No Style	С
	101634	507 Nino Aguilera St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
1 CEG	101631	509 Nino Aguilera St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	No Style	NC
	101657	509 Nino Aguilera St		В	1924	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101713	510 Nino Aguilera St		В	1912	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	No Style	C

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name			Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101630	511 Nino Aguilera St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Linear L-plan	No Style	С
	101712	516 Nino Aguilera St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	Mission Revival	С
	101629	517 Nino Aguilera St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Ranch	No Style	NC
	101711	518 Nino Aguilera St		В	1930	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Mission Revival	C
	101660	519 Nino Aguilera St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	Territorial Revival	с
	101708	520 Nino Aguilera St		В	1912	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101783	520 Nino Aguilera St		В	1940	Residential - Shed	No Style	С
	101785	600 Nino Aguilera St		В	2003	Residential - Multi- family building - Irregular	No Style	NC
	101695	603 Nino Aguilera St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Bungalow	Craftsman	С
	101697	605 Nino Aguilera St		В	1912	Residential - Single- family house	Craftsman	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101706	606 Nino Aguilera St		В	1912	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101699	607 Nino Aguilera St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	NC
	101693	607 Nino Aguilera St		В		Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101705	610 Nino Aguilera St		В	1912	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101701	611 Nino Aguilera St		В	1912	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101702	613 Nino Aguilera St		В	1955	Residential - Single- family house - Ranch	Ranch	С
	101792	618 Nino Aguilera St		В	1912	Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	National Folk	С
	101794	700 Nino Aguilera St		В	2010	Infrastructure - Utility box	No Style	NC
	101801	701-719 Nino Aguilera St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	100999	701-719 Nino Aguilera St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	100998	701-719 Nino Aguilera St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	-	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	100997	701-719 Nino Aguilera St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	100996	701-719 Nino Aguilera St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	C
	101259	201 E Ninth Ave		В	1994	Cultural - Museum	No Style	NC
	102270	621 E Ninth Ave		В	1975	Government - Services Building	Modern	NC
6.70	102229	805 E Ninth Ave		В	2007	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	102228	811 E Ninth Ave		В	1991	Residential - Single- family house - Ranch	No Style	NC
	101870	1219 E Ninth Ave		В	1960	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Other	C
	102160	406 S Ochoa St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	C
	102161	408 S Ochoa St		В	1895	Residential - Single- family house - Modified L-plan	National Folk	C
	102163	410 S Ochoa St		В	1936	Residential - Back house - Linear	No Style	C

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	102176	411 S Ochoa St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	No Style	С
	102164	412 S Ochoa St		В	1895	Residential - Single- family house - Modified L-plan	Other	С
	102175	413 S Ochoa St		В	1998	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	102174	415 S Ochoa St		В	1895	Residential - Single- family house - Modified L-plan	No Style	C
	102173	417 S Ochoa St		В	1900	Residential - Single- family house - Linear L-plan	Folk Victorian	С
	102150	417 S Ochoa St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	102193	501 S Ochoa St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	National Folk	С
	102168	504 S Ochoa St		В	1900	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - T-plan	Eclectic	С
	102170	506 S Ochoa St		В	1910	Residential - Single- family house - Linear L-plan	Territorial Revival	С
	101462	506 S Ochoa St		В	1910	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	С

Image Map ID Address Resource Resource Approx. Year Type - Form **Stylistic Influences** C/NC Туре Built Name 102190 в С 507 S Ochoa St 1905 Residential - Single-Folk Victorian family house - Linear 101094 в 1910 Residential - Back Territorial Revival С 507 S Ochoa St house - Linear 102189 509 S Ochoa St В 1900 Residential - Single-Other С family house - Linear 102171 510 S Ochoa St в 1900 Residential - Single-Territorial Revival С family house - Linear L-plan 101461 510 S Ochoa St 1910 Residential - Back Territorial Revival С В house - Linear 102178 512 S Ochoa St В 1913 Residential - Single-National Folk С family house -Bungalow NC 101457 512 S Ochoa St В 1980 Residential - Garage No Style 102179 514 S Ochoa St В 1900 Residential - Single-Territorial Revival С family house - Linear L-plan 1930 Religious - Rectory -102188 515 S Ochoa St В No Style С Rectangular 102180 516 S Ochoa St В 1915 Residential - Single-No Style С family house -Bungalow

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	102187	517 S Ochoa St	Templo la Evangelica	В	1920	Religious - Church	Eclectic	C
	102181	518 S Ochoa St		В	1900	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	102184	520 S Ochoa St		В	1900	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	102242	600 S Ochoa St		В	1979	Institutional - Senior Center	Modern	NC
	102205	603 S Ochoa St		В	1910	Residential - Single- family house - Square-plan hipped roof	National Folk	С
	101095	603 S Ochoa St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	102206	605 S Ochoa St		В	1910	Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	Territorial Revival	С
	102210	607 S Ochoa St		В	1900	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101097	607 S Ochoa St		В	1900	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	С
	102212	625 S Ochoa St		В	1970	Residential - Single- family house - Ranch	No Style	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	102246	700 S Ochoa St	Centro de Salud Familiar La Fe	В	1968	Religious - Club house	Modern	С
	101419	700 S Ochoa St		В	1968	Religious - Auxiliary building - Linear	No Style	NC
	102239	709 S Ochoa St		В	1930	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	102248	721 S Ochoa St		В	1999	Institutional - School	No Style	NC
	101070	721 S Ochoa St		В	1999	Institutional - School	No Style	NC
	102249	805 S Ochoa St		В	1923	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	C
	114180	807 S Ochoa St		В	1923	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	109460	809 S Ochoa St		В	1923	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Linear	Other	C
	114177	900 S Ochoa St		В	1962	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Other	С
	102260	900 S Ochoa St		В	1930	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
-	114178	910 S Ochoa St		В	1962	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	с
	102262	912 S Ochoa St		В	1935	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	102261	912 S Ochoa St		В	1940	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	No Style	C
	102263	914 S Ochoa St		В	1930	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Other	NC
	102265	916 S Ochoa St		В	1949	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	No Style	NC
	102266	918 S Ochoa St		В	1949	Residential - Single- family house - Linear L-plan	Pueblo Revival	С
	101426	918 S Ochoa St		В	1949	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	C
B -14	102238	920 S Ochoa St		В	1925	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	102241	1000 S Ochoa St		В	1930	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	No Style	C
	102274	1001 S Ochoa St	Father Pinto Apartments	В	1975	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	Modern	NC

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	102243	1004 S Ochoa St		В	1940	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	102244	1006 S Ochoa St		В	1947	Residential - Single- family house - Bungalow	No Style	С
	102245	1008 S Ochoa St		В	1955	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	No Style	С
	102247	1010 S Ochoa St		В	1962	Residential - Single- family house - Bungalow	No Style	C
	102230	1014 S Ochoa St		В	2007	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	102240	601 Olivas V Aoy Ave	Paseo de Los Heroes Park	Site	1968	Recreational - Park - Municipal park	No Style	C
	102374	400 S Oregon St		В	2012	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC
-744	101109	417 S Oregon St		В	1946	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Territorial Revival	C
Restaura	101112	423 S Oregon St		В	1930	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	101110	423 S Oregon St		В	1993	Commercial - One- part commercial block	Mission Revival	NC

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101111	500 S Oregon St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Classical Revival	с
	101114	500 S Oregon St		В	1910	Commercial - One- part commercial block	American Commercial	С
	101115	505 S Oregon St		В	1901	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Territorial Revival	С
AVAILABLE 532, 3456	101116	507 S Oregon St		В	1936	Commercial - One- part commercial block	Other	С
	101119	509 S Oregon St		В	1977	Industrial - Warehouse - Two- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	101118	509 S Oregon St		В	1977	Industrial - Warehouse - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	101122	510 S Oregon St		В	1921	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	Other	NC
	101117	510 S Oregon St	Willie Sanchez Rosales Family Center	В	1921	Institutional - Charity building - Two-part commercial block	Romanesque Revival	С
	101120	511 1/2 S Oregon St		В	1901	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Territorial Revival	NC
	101121	517 S Oregon St		В	1992	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC

Approx. Year Image Map ID Address Resource Resource Type - Form **Stylistic Influences** C/NC Built Name Туре 102334 В NC 2007 Commercial - One-519 S Oregon St No Style part commercial block в 1916 Commercial - Two-Territorial Revival С 102333 520 S Oregon St part commercial block 100976 602 S Oregon St Sacred Heart B 1898 Religious - Rectory Romanesque Revival C Catholic Church 100977 602 S Oregon St в 1892 Religious - Education Romanesque Revival C Centro Pastoral building Agrado Corazon 102331 С 602 S Oregon St Sacred Heart B 1892 (altered Religious - Church Gothic Revival Church 1929) 100982 605 S Oregon St В 1910 Residential - Multi-Territorial Revival С family building -Apartment building -Rectangular С 101123 605 S Oregon St В 1910 Residential - Hybrid Classical Revival multi-family/ commercial building -Apartment building -Center passage В С 101125 613 S Oregon St 1914 Residential - Multi-Territorial Revival family building -Apartment building -Linear С 101127 В 1903 Residential - Multi-619 S Oregon St No Style family building - Row house - Linear 102139 621 S Oregon St в 1895 Residential - Multi-Territorial Revival С family building an et l Apartment building -Linear

Table 7-4. Inventory of resources in the historic district. [B = Building, S = Structure, O = Object, C = Contributing, NC = Noncontri	buting]
--	---------

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101130	701 S Oregon St		В	1910	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101132	705 S Oregon St		В	1910	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101134	709 S Oregon St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101135	713 S Oregon St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101106	715 S Oregon St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Pueblo Revival	С
	101136	715 S Oregon St		В	1905	Religious - Church	No Style	С
	101192	720 S Oregon St		В	1986	Commercial - Bus station - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	NC
	101137	800 S Oregon St		В	1928	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101139	812 S Oregon St		В	1929	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Craftsman	С
	101140	820 S Oregon St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101142	900 S Oregon St		В	1961	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Modern	С
	101193	920 S Oregon St		В	1940	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Mission Revival	С
	101197	1002 S Oregon St		В	1940	Residential - Multi- family building - Irregular	Eclectic	C
	101200	1006 S Oregon St		В	1947	Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	Spanish Colonial Revival	с
	101202	1008 S Oregon St		В	1947	Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	Spanish Colonial Revival	С
C. T. D.	101199	1010 S Oregon St		В	1961	Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	Pueblo Revival	С
	102373	120 E Paisano Dr		В	1986	Commercial - Restaurant - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	NC
	102376	210 E Paisano Dr		В	1930	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Territorial Revival	С
	102378	220 E Paisano Dr		В	1989	Commercial - Gas station - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	NC
	102382	306 E Paisano Dr		В	1950	Commercial - Grocery store - Freestanding commercial box	American Commercial	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	102387	420 E Paisano Dr		В	1974	Commercial - Auto- repair shop - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	NC
	102375	550 E Paisano Dr		В	1974	Commercial - Offices - Irregular	Pueblo Revival	NC
	102369	600 E Paisano Dr		В	1950	Commercial - Gas station - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	NC
	102367	704 E Paisano Dr		В	1965	Commercial - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	C
	102366	716 E Paisano Dr		В	1969	Commercial - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	С
	102363	800 E Paisano Dr		В	1960	Residential - Garage apartment	No Style	С
	101525	1012 E Paisano Dr		В	1950	Commercial - Used auto dealership - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	NC
	101558	1114 E Paisano Dr		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101512	1116 E Paisano Dr		В	1890	Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	Other	С
	101513	1118 E Paisano Dr		В	1890	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	Other	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101546	1210 E Paisano Dr		В	1895	Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	National Folk	С
	101518	1220 E Paisano Dr		В	1940	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101519	1220 E Paisano Dr		В	1962	Commercial - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	С
	101599	1300 E Paisano Dr		В	1960	Commercial - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	NC
	101600	1330 E Paisano Dr		В	1965	Commercial - Used auto dealership - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	NC
	101753	1402 E Paisano Dr		В	1950	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	101749	1402 E Paisano Dr		В	2000	Commercial - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	NC
	101520	305 Park St		В	1895	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101521	309 Park St		В	1895	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	Territorial Revival	C
	101543	309 Park St		В	1930	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	C

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101597	310 Park St		В	1926	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	с
	101588	312 Park St		В	1920	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Linear	Other	С
TIP.	101594	312 Park St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	101591	314 Park St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	Other	С
	101522	315 Park St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	National Folk	С
	101523	319 Park St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Square-plan hipped roof	No Style	С
	101743	408 Park St	St. Ignatius	В	1905	Religious - Church and School - Massed block	Classical Revival	С
	102142	408 Park St	St. Ignatius Catholic Church	В	1913	Religious - Church	Italian Renaissance Revival	С
	101742	408 Park St		В	1960	Religious - Auxiliary Building	No Style	С
	101621	504 Park St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Rectangular	Spanish Colonial Revival	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101622	508 Park St		В	1912	Residential - Single- family house - Modified L-plan	No Style	С
	101623	512 Park St		В	1930	Residential - Multi- family building - Rectangular	Other	С
	101659	512 Park St		В	1951	Residential - Garage	No Style	С
	101625	514 Park St		В	1930	Residential - Single- family house - Square-plan hipped roof	National Folk	С
	101669	520 Park St		В	1910	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101674	600 Park St		В	1912	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101676	604 Park St		В	1969	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	Minimal Traditional	С
	101677	606 Park St		В	1965	Residential - Single- family house	Spanish Colonial Revival	С
	101678	608 Park St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Square-plan hipped roof	National Folk	С
	101679	610 Park St		В	1912	Residential - Single- family house - Square-plan hipped roof	National Folk	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101692	610 Park St		В	1912	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101685	616 Park St		В	1984	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101686	620 Park St		В	1984	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101803	700 Park St		В	1980	Residential - Multi- family building - Public Housing	No Style	NC
	100995	700 Park St		В	1980	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC
A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A	100994	700 Park St		В	1980	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC
	101826	801 Park St		В	2010	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC
	101810	802 Park St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101827	802 Park St		В	1918	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101805	804 Park St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С

101822

810 Park St

Image Map ID Address Resource Resource Approx. Year Type - Form **Stylistic Influences** C/NC Built Name Туре 101825 В С 804 Park St 1924 Residential - Back Other house - Rectangular 101834 805 Park St в 1950 Residential - Multi-Territorial Revival С family building - Row house - Linear 101806 806 Park St В 1905 Residential - Single-Other С family house -Rectangular 101835 807 Park St в 1924 Residential - Single-С No Style family house -Modified L-plan 101829 807 Park St С В 1924 Residential - Garage Territorial Revival apartment 101831 807 Park St В 1924 Residential - Back Territorial Revival С house - Linear С 101836 807 Park St В 1924 Commercial - One-**Territorial Revival** part commercial block 101807 808 Park St В 1924 Residential - Single-Other С family house -Rectangular 101813 810 Park St В 1910 Residential - Multi-Territorial Revival С family building - Row house - Linear

Table 7-4. Inventory of resources in the historic district. [B = Building, S = Structure, O = Object, C = Contributing, NC = Noncontributing]

1950 Residential - Back

house - Rectangular

No Style

С

В

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101815	810 Park St		В	1910	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101838	811 Park St		В	1920	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	National Folk	С
	101840	813 Park St		В	1924	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Pueblo Revival	С
	101819	816 Park St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building- Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	C
	101817	816 Park St		В	1960	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101841	819 Park St		В	1990	Residential - Garage	No Style	NC
	101851	901 Park St	Bowie Bakery	В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101854	902 Park St		В	1924	Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	Pueblo Revival	C
	101852	902 Park St		В		Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Pueblo Revival	С
	101853	903 Park St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Linear	Other	с

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101855	905 Park St		В	1910	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101850	905 Park St		В	1910	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101856	906 Park St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	Other	C
	100974	907 Park St		В	1910	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	Other	C
	101849	907 Park St		В	1910	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Mission Revival	C
	101857	909 Park St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Linear L-plan	Other	C
	101863	910 1/2 Park St		В	1900	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Linear	Other	C
	101858	911 Park St		В	1906	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101865	912 Park St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Other	C
	101846	912 Park St		В	1924	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	С

Type - Form Image Map ID Address Resource Resource Approx. Year **Stylistic Influences** C/NC Туре Built Name 101860 В С 915 Park St 1905 Residential - Multi-Territorial Revival family building - Row house - Linear 101848 915 Park St в 1924 Residential - Back С Mission Revival house - Rectangular 101866 916 Park St В 1980 Residential - Single-Ranch NC family house - Ranch 101862 917 Park St в 1910 Residential - Multi-Territorial Revival С family building - Row house - Rectangular 917 Park St С 101864 В 1910 Residential - Hybrid Territorial Revival multifamily/commercial building - Row house - Linear 101867 920 Park St в 1915 Residential - Single-Territorial Revival NC family house - L-plan 101877 1000 Park St В 1980 Residential - Single-NC Ranch family house - Ranch 1000 Park St В NC 101873 1980 Residential - Single-Ranch family house - Ranch С 101878 1002 Park St В 1920 Residential - Multi-Territorial Revival family building - Row house - Linear 101874 1003 Park St в 1952 Residential - Single-Other С family house - Row house - Linear

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name		Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101879	1004 Park St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Linear	Other	NC
	101875	1005 Park St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	Other	C
	101876	1007 Park St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	C
	101880	1008 Park St		В		Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101881	1009 Park St		В		Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Other	C
	101868	1009 Park St		В		Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	C
	101882	1010 Park St		В		Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Other	C
	101883	1011 Park St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	Other	C
	101884	1012 Park St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	Other	C
	101885	1013 1/2 Park St		В	1921	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Other	C

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101871	1015 Park St		В	1910	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101886	1018 Park St		В	1923	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - U-plan	Territorial Revival	C
	101861	908-10 Park St		В	1913	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	C
	101859	908-10 Park St		В	1913	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - L-plan	Territorial Revival	С
	101847	908-10 Park St		В	1913	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	C
	101589	1015 S Saint Vrain St		В	1951	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	No Style	C
	101099	118 S Santa Fe St		В	1910	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Territorial Revival	C
ALLAND CALLED	102370	400 S Santa Fe St		В	1950	Commercial - Auto- repair shop - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	C
	101108	410 S Santa Fe St		В	1954	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101107	414 S Santa Fe St		В	1950	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101105	416 S Santa Fe St		В	1950	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	102360	418 S Santa Fe St		В	1900	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Mission Revival	С
	102359	600 S Santa Fe St		В	1938	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	102356	630 S Santa Fe St		В	1984	Commercial - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	NC
	102354	700 S Santa Fe St		В	1950	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101102	702 S Santa Fe St		В	1914	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101103	706 S Santa Fe St		В	1916	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	100988	706 S Santa Fe St		В	1916	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101100	730 S Santa Fe St		В	1950	Commercial - Auto- repair shop - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	С
	101322	311 E Seventh Ave		В	1948	Commercial - One- part commercial block	Mission Revival	NC

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	102283	410 E Seventh Ave		В	1959	Industrial - Warehouse - Rectangular	No Style	С
	102264	620 E Seventh Ave	Armijo Park	Site	1968	Recreational - Park	No Style	с
	102237	700 E Seventh Ave	Marcus B. Armijo Neighborho od Center and Library	В	1968	Recreational - Community Center - Massed block	Modern	С
	100986	711 E Seventh Ave		В	1923	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	102254	711 E Seventh Ave		В	1923	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	с
	102256	801 E Seventh Ave		В		Industrial - Warehouse - Irregular	Modern	С
	101422	811 E Seventh Ave		В		Commercial - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	NC
	101445	821 E Seventh Ave		В		Commercial - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	NC
	101444	824 E Seventh Ave		В	1980	Residential - Single- family house - Ranch	No Style	NC
	101442	826 E Seventh Ave		В	1981	Residential - Single- family house - Ranch	No Style	NC

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101483	910 E Seventh Ave		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
C I I TIMAN	101482	916 E Seventh Ave		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	101639	1020 E Seventh Ave		В	1962	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Modern	С
	101746	1111 E Seventh Ave		В	1930	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Rectangular	Mission Revival	C
ater,	101745	1115 1/2 E Seventh Ave		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house duplex - Rectangular	Other	С
	101747	1116 E Seventh Ave		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101844	1209 - 1221 E Seventh Ave		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101190	115 E Sixth Ave		В	2000	Commercial - Restaurant - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	NC
	101188	115 E Sixth Ave		В	1910	Commercial - One- part commercial block	Mission Revival	NC
	101089	404 E Sixth Ave		В	2001	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	102292	500 E Sixth Ave		В	1980	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC
	101063	500 E Sixth Ave		В	1980	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC
	101062	500 E Sixth Ave		В	1980	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC
	101061	500 E Sixth Ave		В	1980	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC
	101060	500 E Sixth Ave		В	1980	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC
	102268	600 E Sixth Ave	Boys Club Park	Site	1968	Recreational - Park - Municipal park	No Style	С
	114183	714 E Sixth Ave		В	1964	Industrial - Warehouse - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101809	1200 E Sixth Ave		В	1958	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Mission Revival	С
	101808	1200 E Sixth Ave		B	1958	Residential - Multi- family building - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101501	704 S St Vrain St		В	1933	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Center passage	No Style	C

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101503	710 S St Vrain St		В	1927	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	с
	101510	711 S St Vrain St		В	1967	Industrial - Shop - Linear	No Style	С
	101511	711 S St Vrain St		В	1920	Industrial - Office	Other	С
	101504	712 S St Vrain St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101506	722 S St Vrain St		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Rectangular	Other	С
	101423	803 S St Vrain St		В	1928	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101425	803 S St Vrain St		В	1928	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101494	804 S St Vrain St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	No Style	С
	101497	810 S St Vrain St		В	1941	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101496	810 S St Vrain St		В	1941	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	No Style	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101491	810 S St Vrain St		В	1920	Residential - Back house - Linear	No Style	С
	101489	814 S St Vrain St		В	1900	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101498	814 S St Vrain St		В	1924	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Square plan hipped- roof	Craftsman	C
S rest	101499	820 S St Vrain St		В	1905	Residential - Hybrid multi- family/commercial building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	101574	900 S St Vrain St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	Territorial Revival	с
	101573	900 S St Vrain St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101570	900 S St Vrain St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	101569	908 S St Vrain St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101479	909 S St Vrain St		В	1924	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
Herr	101466	909 S St Vrain St		В	1924	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101568	910 S St Vrain St		В	1924	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101477	911 S St Vrain St		В	1924	Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	Territorial Revival	C
	101567	912 S St Vrain St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	C
	101476	913 S St Vrain St		В	1929	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	Territorial Revival	C
	101465	913 S St Vrain St		В	1929	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101463	913 S St Vrain St		В	1929	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101563	914 S St Vrain St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101473	915 S St Vrain St		В	1925	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	101471	917 S St Vrain St		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	C
	101460	917 S St Vrain St		В	1965	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	No Style	NC

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name			Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
Good P	101562	918 S St Vrain St		В	1901	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	101470	919 S St Vrain St		В	1924	Residential - Multiple-family house - Row house - Linear	Other	C
	101458	919 S St Vrain St		В	2000	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101577	1000 S St Vrain St		В	1914	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	C
	101575	1001 S St Vrain St		В	1915	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	C
	101578	1004 S St Vrain St		В	1918	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	C
	101606	1004 S St Vrain St		В	1918	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101580	1006 S St Vrain St		В	1952	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	No Style	C
	101607	1006 S St Vrain St		В	1952	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101587	1007 S St Vrain St		В	2000	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101072	1007 S St Vrain St		В	2000	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC
	101581	1008 S St Vrain St		В	1910	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101071	1009 S St Vrain St		В	2000	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC
	101583	1010 S St Vrain St		В	1989	Residential - Multi- family building - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101585	1014 S St Vrain St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101586	1016 S St Vrain St		В	1952	Residential - Single- family house	No Style	NC
	101590	1017 S St Vrain St		В	1951	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	No Style	С
	101593	1018 S St Vrain St		В	1925	Residential - Single- family house	Other	NC
	101592	1019 S St Vrain St		В	1951	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	No Style	С
	102385	400 S Stanton St		В	1959	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101269	401 S Stanton St		В	1920	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	American Commercial	С
	102384	401 S Stanton St		В	1962	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101320	406 S Stanton St		В	1950	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	101271	409 S Stanton St		В	1962	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	101273	411 S Stanton St		В	1930	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101315	412 S Stanton St		В	1958	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101276	415 S Stanton St		В	1926	Commercial - One- part commercial block	American Commercial	С
	101278	417 S Stanton St		В	1950	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101280	419 S Stanton St		В	1926	Commercial - One- part commercial block	Modern	С
	101312	428 S Stanton St		В	1952	Commercial - One- part commercial block	American Commercial	С

Image Map ID Address Resource Resource Approx. Year Type - Form **Stylistic Influences** C/NC Built Name Туре В С 101284 1930 Commercial - One-501 S Stanton St **Mission Revival** part commercial block в 1960 Commercial - One-С 101286 503 S Stanton St No Style part commercial block 101310 506 S Stanton St В 1930 Commercial - Two-American С part commercial Commercial block 101288 511 S Stanton St в 1930 Commercial - Two-С No Style part commercial block С 101254 512 S Stanton St В 1930 Residential - Multi-Territorial Revival family building - Row house - Linear 101309 512 S Stanton St В 1905 Residential - Hybrid American С multi-family/ Commercial commercial building -Row house - Linear С 101307 512 S Stanton St В 1905 Residential - Hybrid American multi-family/ Commercial commercial building -Row house - Linear 101306 В 1930 Commercial - One-С 512 S Stanton St American part commercial Commercial block 101291 515 S Stanton St В 1949 Commercial - One-**Mission Revival** С part commercial block 101293 519 S Stanton St В 1949 Commercial - One-No Style С part commercial block

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101295	521 S Stanton St		В	1964	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	с
	101305	522 S Stanton St		В	1950	Commercial - One- part commercial block	Modern	С
	101297	523 S Stanton St		В	1964	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101325	600 S Stanton St		В	1970	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101299	601 S Stanton St		В	1967	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	101300	605 S Stanton St		В	1928	Commercial - One- part commercial block	Mission Revival	С
	101303	609 S Stanton St		В	1928	Industrial - Warehouse - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101301	609 S Stanton St		В	1928	Commercial - One- part commercial block	Mission Revival	С
	101327	612 S Stanton St		В	1980	Commercial - One- part commercial block	Modern	NC
	101302	613 S Stanton St		В	1952	Commercial - One- part commercial block	Modern	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101328	618 S Stanton St		В	1973	Commercial - One- part commercial block	American Commercial	NC
	101268	700 S Stanton St		В	1959	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	C
	101304	701 S Stanton St		В	1972	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	101274	710 S Stanton St		В	1920	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101272	710 S Stanton St		В	1920	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	C
	101270	710 S Stanton St		В	1920	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	C
	101308	715 S Stanton St		В	1969	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101275	720 S Stanton St		В	2001	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	101277	722 S Stanton St		В		Residential - Hybrid multi- family/commercial building - Row house - Linear	Other	C
MONTRAUS TO REGIME	101281	800 S Stanton St		В	1974	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101279	800 S Stanton St		В	1974	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	101313	801 S Stanton St		В	1945	Commercial - One- part commercial block	Mission Revival	С
	101314	805 S Stanton St		В	1975	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	101282	806 S Stanton St		В	1951	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101283	808 S Stanton St		В	1966	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	101317	809 S Stanton St		В	1962	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	C
	101316	809 S Stanton St		В	1962	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	C
	101321	813 S Stanton St		В	1949	Residential - Hybrid multi- family/commercial building - Row house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101319	813 S Stanton St		В	1949	Commercial - One- part commercial block	American Commercial	C
	101318	813 S Stanton St		В	1949	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
atom.	101285	822 S Stanton St		В	1928	Residential - Hybrid multi- family/commercial building - Row house - Rectangular	Spanish Colonial Revival	С
	101287	900 S Stanton St		В	1901	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101323	901 S Stanton St		В	1967	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101289	904 S Stanton St		В	1925	Commercial/Resident ial - One-part commercial block	American Commercial	C
	101290	908 S Stanton St		В	1945	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	C
	101292	910 S Stanton St		В	1967	Residential - Hybrid multi- family/commercial building - Row house - Linear	No Style	С
AutoZore Al Anten	101324	911 S Stanton St		В	1966	Commercial - One- part commercial block	No Style	С
	101294	912 S Stanton St		В	1901	Residential - Hybrid multi- family/commercial building - Row house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101326	917 S Stanton St		В	1920	Residential - Hybrid multi- family/commercial building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	NC
	101296	918 S Stanton St		В	1950	Residential - Hybrid multi- family/commercial building - Row house - Linear	No Style	NC

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	-	-	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
1.54 1 m	101205	920 S Stanton St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101298	920 S Stanton St		В	1910	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	No Style	NC
	101515	305 Tays St		В	1890	Residential - Multi- family building - Fourplex - Irregular	Territorial Revival	С
	101547	306 Tays St		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	No Style	NC
	101516	309 Tays St		В	1890	Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	Territorial Revival	C
	101548	310 Tays St		В	1890	Residential - Single- family house - Square-plan hipped roof	No Style	С
	101517	311 Tays St		В	1930	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101549	312 Tays St		В	1890	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	101550	314 Tays St		В		Residential - Single- family house - Modified L-plan	Folk Victorian	С
	101544	314 Tays St		В	1930	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Mission Revival	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Y Built	'ear	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101728	709 Tays St		В			Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	с
	101727	709 Tays St		В	:		Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101729	709 Tays St		В	:		Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101735	801 Tays St		В			Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101804	804 Tays St		В			Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	101789	804 Tays St		В		2015	Residential - Carport	No Style	NC
	101802	804 1/2 Tays St		В	:		Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Linear	No Style	NC
	101736	805 Tays St		В	:		Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	Other	NC
	101800	806 Tays St		В			Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101790	806 Tays St		В	:	1923	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	С

Image Map ID Address Resource Resource Approx. Year Type - Form **Stylistic Influences** C/NC Туре Built Name 101737 в 1991 Residential - Single-NC 807 Tays St No Style family house -Bungalow 101799 в 1999 Residential - Single-NC 808 Tays St No Style family house -Rectangular 101791 808 Tays St В 1999 Residential - Back No Style NC house - Rectangular 101798 810 Tays St в 1924 Residential - Single-No Style С family house - L-plan 101739 в С 811 Tays St 1905 Residential - Single-Other family house -Rectangular 101740 811 1/2 Tays St В 1905 Residential - Single-Other С family house -Rectangular С 101797 812 Tays St В 1916 Residential - Hybrid **Territorial Revival** multifamily/commercial building - Row house - Linear 101741 в 2018 Residential - Single-NC 815 Tays St No Style family house -Rectangular 1905 Residential - Hybrid С 101744 817 Tays St В Other multifamily/commercial building - Row house - Linear С 101795 818 Tays St В 1924 Residential - Multi-No Style family building - Row house - Linear

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101793	820 Tays St		В	1924	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101777	900 Tays St		В	1927	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101775	900 Tays St		В	1927	Residential - Hybrid multi- family/commercial building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	101779	904 Tays St		В	1920	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101780	906 Tays St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101782	906 Tays St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	101748	907 Tays St		В	1955	Residential - Single- family house - Ranch	Minimal Traditional	С
	101750	909 Tays St		В	1953	Residential - Single- family house - Ranch	Minimal Traditional	С
	101751	911 Tays St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101752	913 Tays St		В	1929	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	-	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101754	915 Tays St		В	1912	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	101784	916 Tays St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101786	918 Tays St		В	1929	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	Other	NC
	101755	919 Tays St		В	2006	Residential - Multi- family building - Triplex house	No Style	NC
	101787	920 Tays St		В	1924	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	101774	1000 Tays St		В	1984	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC
	100992	1000 Tays St		В	1984	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC
	100991	1000 Tays St		В	1984	Residential - Multi- family building - Public housing	No Style	NC
	101761	1001 Tays St		В	1952	Residential - Single- family house - Bungalow	Minimal Traditional	С
	101763	1003 Tays St		В	1920	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	NC

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101762	1003 Tays St		В	1952	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101765	1007 Tays St		В	1945	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101766	1011 Tays St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101768	1013 Tays St		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	101769	1019 Tays St		В	1910	Residential - Hybrid multi- family/commercial building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
Lips	101251	402 E Third Ave		В	1930	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	C
	114182	408 E Third Ave		В	1930	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Irregular	Territorial Revival	C
	102319	500 E Third Ave		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	102317	500 E Third Ave		В	1930	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101051	501 E Third Ave		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	100969	501 E Third Ave		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	102323	501 E Third Ave		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - L-plan	Territorial Revival	С
	102325	601 E Third Ave		В	1997	Residential - Multi- family building - Rectangular	Contemporary	NC
	102143	603 E Third Ave		В	1997	Residential - Multi- family building - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	102144	605 E Third Ave		В	1997	Residential - Multi- family building - Irregular	No Style	NC
	102196	712 E Third Ave		В	1911	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Foursquare	Other	С
	102165	801 E Third Ave		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	No Style	С
	102166	804 E Third Ave		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	102167	804 E Third Ave		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101468	815 E Third Ave		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Other	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101469	815 E Third Ave		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101467	819 E Third Ave		В	1890	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	American Commercial	С
	101536	821 E Third Ave		В	1900	Residential - Hybrid multi- family/commercial building - Row house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101645	1310 E Third Ave		В	1912	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101643	1310 E Third Ave		В	1905	Residential - Hybrid multi- family/commercial building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101654	1312 E Third Ave		В	1940	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Mission Revival	С
	101652	1316 E Third Ave		В	1912	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101719	1400 E Third Ave		В	1935	Residential - Single- family house - Square-plan hipped roof	No Style	С
	101725	1401 E Third Ave		В	2001	Residential - Single- family house - Ranch	No Style	NC
	101717	1402 E Third Ave		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101058	1402 E Third Ave		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101057	1402 E Third Ave		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101781	1402 E Third Ave		В	1910	Residential - Hybrid multi-family/ commercial building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	101726	1405 E Third Ave		В	1989	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101778	1407 E Third Ave		В	1918	Commercial - One- part commercial block	Mission Revival	С
	101311	500-504 1/2 E Third Ave		В	1910	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Prairie	С
	102134	195 W Third Ave		В	1901	Commercial - Two- part commercial block	Italianate	С
	101647	507 1/2 Tornillo St		В	1947	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	NC
	102362	401 S Virginia St	Second Baptist Church	В	1907	Religious - Church	Gothic Revival	С
	101535	411 S Virginia St		В	1910	Residential - Multi- family building - Apartment building - Linear	Territorial Revival	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101472	501 S Virginia St	San Jose Hall	В	1925	Religious - Church	Medieval Revival	С
	101474	505 S Virginia St		В	1900	Residential - Multi- family building - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101464	505 S Virginia St		В	1900	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	C
	101478	509 S Virginia St		В	1900	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101459	509 S Virginia St		В	1900	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Other	C
	101481	513 S Virginia St		В	1900	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Linear L-plan	Other	С
	101484	515 S Virginia St		В	1900	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101456	515 S Virginia St		В	1900	Residential - Back house - Linear	Other	С
	101486	601 S Virginia St		В	1905	Residential - Hybrid multi- family/commercial building - Row house - Linear	Mission Revival	NC
	101487	607 S Virginia St		В	1930	Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	No Style	NC

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101488	611 S Virginia St		В	1900	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101492	615 S Virginia St		В	1914	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	National Folk	С
	101490	615 S Virginia St		В	1915	Residential - Single- family house - Linear L-plan	Mission Revival	С
KEE	101447	701 S Virginia St		В	1920	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Linear	No Style	С
	101449	701 S Virginia St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	101446	705 S Virginia St		В	1925	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Linear L-plan	Other	с
	101443	707 S Virginia St		В	1917	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Rectangular	Other	С
	101438	707 S Virginia St		В	1950	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101441	709 S Virginia St		В	1929	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	No Style	С
	101436	709 S Virginia St		В	1929	Residential - Back house - Linear	Other	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101440	711 S Virginia St		В	1950	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101435	711 S Virginia St		В	1950	Residential - Back house - Linear	Other	С
	101507	713 S Virginia St		В	1970	Commercial - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	С
	101508	713 S Virginia St		В	1954	Commercial - Auto- repair shop - Freestanding commercial box	No Style	С
	101439	716 S Virginia St		В	1963	Industrial - Shop	No Style	С
3111	101509	718 S Virginia St	Union Iron and Brass Works	В	1908	Industrial - Shop	No Style	С
	101430	800 S Virginia St		В	1969	Industrial - Warehouse - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101428	800 S Virginia St		В	1930	Industrial - Machine shop - Linear	No Style	С
	101420	809 S Virginia St		В	1960	Industrial - Machine shop	No Style	С
	101454	900 S Virginia St		В	1979	Residential - Multi- family building - Duplex house - Rectangular	No Style	NC
	101453	906 S Virginia St		В	1924	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	No Style	NC

Table 7-4. Inventory of resources in the historic district. [B = Building, S = Structure, O = Object, C = Contributing, NC = Noncontributing]

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101437	907 S Virginia St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	101434	909 S Virginia St		В	1923	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	C
	101424	909 S Virginia St		В	1952	Residential - Back house - Linear	Pueblo Revival	С
	101452	910 S Virginia St		В	1915	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	C
	101433	911 S Virginia St		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	No Style	С
	101450	912 S Virginia St		В	1920	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	101432	913 S Virginia St		В	1960	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	Modern	C
	101431	915 S Virginia St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Rectangular	Other	C
	101448	916 S Virginia St		B	1949	Residential - Single- family house - Linear	Other	NC
	101429	917 S Virginia St		B	1912	Residential - Single- family house - Row house - Linear T-plan	Territorial Revival	С

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	101427	917 S Virginia St		В	1920	Residential - Back house - Linear	Other	С
	102186	919 S Virginia St		В	1930	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	Territorial Revival	С
	102207	920 S Virginia St		В	1918	Residential - Hybrid multi- family/commercial building - Row house - Linear	Other	С
	102185	1000 S Virginia St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Row house - Linear	No Style	С
	102192	1002 S Virginia St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Other	С
	102202	1006 S Virginia St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Irregular	No Style	NC
	101598	1006 S Virginia St		В	1905	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	National Folk	С
	102194	1007 S Virginia St		В	1980	Residential - Single- family house - Ranch	No Style	NC
	102203	1010 S Virginia St		В	1905	Residential - Single- family house - Modified L-plan	No Style	С
	101596	1010 S Virginia St		В	1920	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С

Table 7-4. Inventory of resources in the historic district. [B = Building, S = Structure, O = Object, C = Contributing, NC = Noncontributing]

Image	Map ID	Address	Resource Name	Resource Type	Approx. Year Built	Type - Form	Stylistic Influences	C/NC
	102195	1011 S Virginia St		В	1920	Residential - Single- family house - Rectangular	Other	С
	102217	1014 S Virginia St		В	1905	Residential - Multi- family building - Rectangular	No Style	С
	101595	1014 S Virginia St		В	1905	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	Territorial Revival	С
	102198	1015 S Virginia St		В	1920	Residential - Back house - Rectangular	No Style	С
	102223	1017 S Virginia St		В	1920	Residential - Single- family house - L-plan	Other	С

Table 7-4. Inventory of resources in the historic district. [B = Building, S = Structure, O = Object, C = Contributing, NC = Noncontributing]

Statement of Significance

South of downtown El Paso, the Rio Grande makes a switchback curve, flowing southeast, then northeast, then southeast again. The Segundo Barrio Historic District rests within the southernmost pocket of this curve. The Mexican city of Ciudad Juárez surrounds the district to the west, south, and east, while the bustling commercial El Paso Downtown Historic District borders Segundo Barrio on the north. Segundo Barrio's significance arises from this position at the intersection of Mexico and the U.S. - embodied by the district's ethnic history, social history, and architecture. The symbiotic interplay of European, European American, American Indian, and Latin American traditions forms one of the most significant themes within American History: as the National Park Service states at the outset of its American Latino Heritage Theme Study, "Latino history is American history."²⁶ Because of these influences, the Segundo Barrio Historic District meets National Register Criterion A in the areas of Ethnic History and Social History, as well as Criterion C in the area of Architecture, all at the local level of significance, in recognition of the neighborhood's importance in the largest border city in Texas. The district's ethnic history chiefly reflects the predominantly Mexican American population of the district, resulting from the flow of people traveling through the barrio to reach the international bridges with Mexico. The immigrant-focused community that emerged in response to this movement of people also welcomed and fostered other ethnic communities, including African Americans, Chinese Americans, and Jewish Americans. These immigrant communities worked together and forged alliances with white leaders to establish religious outreach institutions, fight for public investments in infrastructure and housing, and strengthen their political voice. The art and architecture of the barrio vividly display the influences of these trends. The majority of the district's buildings use Mexican vernacular forms and Mexican-influenced architectural styles, like the Territorial Revival and Mission Revival styles. Many rare examples of traditional adobe construction and historic tenement forms remain extant in the district, documenting the historical lifeways that characterized the American immigrant experience. The architectural landmarks that punctuate the district hold ethnic and social significance as well – functioning as churches, schools, and community centers. Throughout Segundo Barrio, murals transform building façades into publicly accessible canvases to communicate pride in the district's ethnic heritage and commitment to the power of collective organization to bring about social reform. Segundo Barrio's period of significance dates from 1884 through 1971. This period reflects the construction of the earliest extant building in the district, continuing to the late twentieth century to reflect the ongoing, vibrant ethnic and social activity in the district.

Criterion A – Ethnic History: Mexican Immigration and Latino Ethnic Heritage

Patterns of Immigration and Migration through Segundo Barrio

Throughout the centuries, the land that Segundo Barrio currently occupies has switched from the north to the south of the Rio Grande multiple times due to the river's changing course. Since the river took on geopolitical significance as the international boundary between Mexico and the U.S. in 1848, its shifting path took on greater political weight, as the area it crossed switched from Mexican to U.S. soil repeatedly, creating a dynamic boundary. The neighborhood's territory has at many times been highly contested. Here, environmental and socioeconomic forces have joined to create a neighborhood that was sometimes both physically and culturally shared between two countries. Segundo Barrio's proximity to the river meant that it was riddled with constant flooding and the victim of seemingly abstract political shifts, which had very tangible consequences on its soil and built environment.

Until 1848, the land now occupied by El Paso and Ciudad Juárez was one continuous territory, not divided by nations. Prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, the area was occupied by various American Indian tribes for centuries, such as the

²⁶ "American Latino Heritage Theme Study," National Park Service, updated December 18, 2017, <u>https://www.nps.gov/subjects/</u> tellingallamericansstories/latinothemestudy.htm.

Mansos and Pirios who lived in small grass huts along the river, and the Mescalero and Lipan Apaches (Ndé).²⁷ The first Spaniards arrived in 1581, followed by the colonizing expedition of Juan de Oñate in 1598. These sixteenth-century Spanish explorers called the area *El Paso del Norte* or "Pass of the North," due to its location at a viable river crossing. This river crossing became part of the *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, a Spanish colonial trade route.²⁸ Due to its plentiful water, good soil, and strategic importance, the area around Ciudad Juárez was used for farming, even by Comanche peoples who typically had a more nomadic settlement pattern.²⁹ Until 1888, El Paso del Norte referred to current-day Ciudad Juárez, which was the more settled area, with only sparse development north of the river.³⁰

In 1828 Juan Ponce de León, a wealthy merchant from El Paso del Norte, bought the mud flats on the north side of the river, which were known to flood frequently, and began digging irrigation canals, growing crops, and building adobe structures secured against American Indian raids (fig. 9).³¹ Ponce de León's land, then the southern extremity of El Paso, was further north than the current bounds of Segundo Barrio until 1830 when the land almost doubled in area to the south due to a change in the river's course (fig. 9).³² Nonetheless, the land Segundo Barrio currently sits on was still either in Mexico, the riverbed, or an area north of the river. Ponce de León's property became interesting to American entrepreneurs after it became U.S. territory in 1849, and it changed hands several times until Anson Mills platted parts of it in 1859.³³

It was not until the 1836 Treaties of Velasco between then-independent Texas and Mexico that both countries began discussing an international border along the Rio Grande.³⁴ Due to contested legitimacy of the Treaties of Velasco by Mexico, the U.S. and Mexico did not reach a somewhat stable compromise about the border's location until the U.S.-Mexico War and the ensuing 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.³⁵ Much of the border as designated by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo followed the Rio Grande, and as early as 1856, El Paso's James Wiley Magoffin noted that this was problematic as the river was apt to change course due to its natural cycles of flooding.³⁶ William H. Emory, a U.S. surveyor of the international boundary, proposed a set of rules for governing land disputes; if the river changed course slowly, the international boundary would move with the deepest channel, and if it moved with a sudden loss of land from one side to the other, the boundary would maintain its original path. These criteria for boundary decisions were adopted

²⁷ W.H. Timmons, "El Paso, TX," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, accessed Sept. 15, 2020, <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/el-paso-tx</u>; Rachel Feit, "A River Used to Run Through It: The Borderlands Cultural Landscape of the Oñate Crossing in El Paso del Norte" (lecture, Texas Cultural Landscape Symposium, Waco, TX), from the National Park Service, <u>https://www.ncptt.nps.gov/blog/a-river-used-to-run-through-it-the-borderlands-cultural-landscape-of-theonate-crossing-in-el-paso-del-norte/</u>.

²⁸ Timmons, "El Paso, TX;" Smith, "A River Used to Run Through It."

²⁹ Mark Santiago, A Bad Peace and a Good War: Spain and the Mescalero Apache Uprising of 1795-1799. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018, 31-32.

³⁰ W.H. Timmons, "El Paso del Norte," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, accessed Nov. 6, 2020, <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/el-paso-del-norte</u>.

³¹ Martin Donell Kohout, "Ponce de León, Juan María" *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, accessed Sept. 18, 2020 <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/ponce-de-leon-juan-maria</u>.

³² Kohout, "Ponce de León, Juan María."

³³ Kohout, "Ponce de León, Juan María"; William J. Palmore, "From Passage to Place," *Texas Architect*, July/August 2020, accessed Sept. 18, 2020, <u>https://magazine.texasarchitects.org/2020/07/09/from-passage-to-place/</u>.

³⁴ National Park Service, "Mexican-American War and the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo," Chamizal National Monument Texas, Stories, accessed Sept. 15, 2020 <u>https://www.nps.gov/cham/learn/historyculture/mexican-american-war.htm</u>.

³⁵ The border followed the path of the Rio Grande through El Paso. An 1855 map prepared by William H. Emory of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers shows the boundary location as described by the treaty: <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3701f.ctc00345/?r=_0.173,0,1.346,0.674,0</u>.

³⁶ Kohout, "Ponce de León, Juan María."

by both countries in a treaty that took effect in 1884.³⁷ While these rules were often easy to interpret, sometimes they were contested by both countries or created territorial anomalies.

Throughout most of the nineteenth century, the southern and eastern areas of Segundo Barrio were part of a Mexican land grant called the Chamizal tract, also owned by Ponce de León, who had acquired it from the Mexican government in 1827. The section of the Rio Grande at El Paso's southern edge was especially prone to flooding in springtime due to rushing currents changing direction from south to southeast. In a major flood in 1864, the river's course jogged to the north, meaning that land from the Chamizal tract switched banks from the Mexican to the U.S. side of the river (fig. 13). Residents of the small town on the U.S. side of the river quickly started occupying land currently in Segundo Barrio, and by 1895 Ponce de Leon's grandson, Pedro Ignacio Garcia, could not enter his own property for fear of "…a few North Americans, who supposing this land to belong to the United States of North America, pretending to come into possession of the same."³⁸ By 1888, Sanborn Fire Insurance maps showed the western portion of the land that would become Segundo Barrio (the Campbell Addition) as part of El Paso (fig. 1). The full breadth of Segundo Barrio appeared within El Paso on Sanborn maps from 1898 (including both the Campbell Addition and the Magoffin Addition, fig. 1). A year later, on U.S. Census Enumeration District maps from 1899, the south side of El Paso was dubbed the "Second Ward," leading to the name Segundo Barrio (fig. 24).

This change in land mass—along with the creation of another piece of land to the east called Cordova Island after flooding in 1896–1897—was disputed for many years. After a failed attempt at agreement between the two countries in 1911, the Chamizal dispute greatly impacted relations between the U.S. and Mexico.³⁹ It also meant that much of the land within southern and eastern Segundo Barrio was contested territory. Segundo Barrio settlers continued to develop land in the Chamizal tract, especially with eastward movement of neighborhood residents after flooding in the more-central area 1897.⁴⁰ While Sanborn maps from 1888 do not include anything east of St. Vrain Street, by 1905 they show various dwellings, "mud huts," "shacks," and small-scale industry such as dairies, sheds, and hen houses. These early eastward developments on the Chamizal tract also included Saint Ignatius church, built in 1904 (photo 3).

In addition to these massive shifts in territory, Segundo Barrio grew and shrunk in size at its southern boundary throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as the banks of the Rio Grande shifted over time. An 1885 map shows the neighborhood extending only as far south as Seventh Street (fig. 20), but by 1959 the neighborhood went as far south as Eleventh Street, with ample residential and industrial development further south along the railroad tracks at the banks of the river (fig. 41).

The U.S. and Mexico could not come to an agreement about the contested lands until the Chamizal Convention of 1963, which returned much of the Chamizal tract to Mexico and split Cordova Island among the two countries. This land swap was achieved with the creation of a concrete channel that cut through many blocks at the southern edge of Segundo Barrio, intended to solve the problem of the Rio Grande changing course. The Chamizal Convention had very real consequences on the physical makeup of Segundo Barrio, meaning that everything beyond the convention boundaries was razed, dispersing residents throughout the city (and country) to make way for the new river path. USGS maps from 1959 and 1967 show developments south of Eleventh Street disappear, making way for a swath of open space around the new boundary (figs. 40 and 44). When the project was done, Segundo Barrio had lost parts of Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Streets, as well as the Rio Linda subdivision, and the neighborhood's population peaked due to the loss of land area and

³⁷ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. *Chamizal*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1976. From HathiTrust Digital Library, accessed Nov. 9, 2017, <u>https://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.31951002821472j</u>.

³⁸ National Park Service, "Floods and the Chamizal Issue," Chamizal National Monument Texas, Stories, accessed Sept. 15, 2020 <u>https://www.nps.gov/cham/learn/historyculture/rio-grand-floods-and-the-chamizal-issue.htm</u>.

³⁹ National Park Service, "The Chamizal Dispute"

⁴⁰ Garcia, *Desert Immigrants*, 132.

housing stock.⁴¹ Today the neighborhood only goes as far south as Ninth Avenue (formerly Ninth Street), with additional blocks lost in the late twentieth century to the Cesar E. Chavez Border Highway. And, while Segundo Barrio no longer includes contested territory, its adjacency to the international border has made some of its land inaccessible to its residents as part of a peripheral buffer, which includes rail lines, highways, and open space.

Population Growth and Demographic Changes over Time

Segundo Barrio was not only linked to Mexico by land, but also by its population. The neighborhood has often been described as a place between two countries, both physically and culturally. Throughout its history, the broader area was occupied by various American Indian tribes and European, European American, and Mexican settlers. In the eighteenth century, the Spanish were expanding their control in the area, but the region was also a settlement for various tribal groups including the Mescalero Apaches and Comanches. Because Segundo Barrio's land mass did not shift to the northern banks until 1864 and was relatively marshy, its land was not populated until the late nineteenth century. Even after 1864, the lack of above-water area and the extreme susceptibility to flooding meant that the neighborhood's settlement had sparse beginnings.

By the 1880s, accounts emerged of the Second Ward becoming a residential area for the burgeoning labor force for El Paso's new rail, industrial, construction, and other sectors (fig. 20). These laborers included many Mexican immigrants but also Chinese, European, and other immigrant families as well as Black Americans.⁴² By the mid-nineteenth century, southern El Paso was already referred to as "Little Chihuahua," and eventually as "Chihuahuita," allegedly due to the vast number of immigrants arriving from the Mexican state of Chihuahua.⁴³ Primary accounts from the era, such as Rudolf Eickemeyer's 1894 *Letters from the Southwest*, acknowledge (albeit dismissively) the diverse nature of the neighborhood:

Imagine eight or ten squares covered with mud houses, with señoras, some as dark as the darkest Indian you ever saw, performing their cooking and washing... out of doors; dozens of young ones... running about playing, and you have a picture of this end of the town.⁴⁴

The neighborhood was a landing place for immigrants from across the world, but had already taken on a distinctly Mexican character, to the degree that outsiders experienced it as a foreign country on American soil.

While census data on the number of Mexican and Mexican American families in El Paso is inconsistent before 1970, when the U.S. government began recording "Hispanic Origin" as an ethnic category, roughly 55–65 percent of the city's overall population seems to have been consistently Latino (table 8-1). By 1900, Mexican nationals and Mexican Americans accounted for roughly 55 percent of El Paso's population, and 60 percent of them lived south of Overland Street (which was historically the dividing line between downtown and South El Paso).⁴⁵ Given the limited land area in

⁴¹ "El Segundo Barrio Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy," City of El Paso, 2010, 11, accessed Nov. 10, 2020, <u>https://home.elpasotexas.gov/assets/Documents/CoEP/Community-Development/Neighborhood-Associations/Neighborhood-Revitalization/ElSegundoBarrio_NeighRevitalizationStrategy.pdf.</u>

⁴² Julian Lim, "The 'Future Immense': Race and Immigration in the Multiracial U.S.-Mexico Borderlands, 1880-1936," (Doctoral Dissertation, Cornell University, 2013), 109-110

⁴³ Fred M. Morales, "Chihuahuita: A Neglected Corner of El Paso," *Password of the El Paso Historical Society* vol. XXXVI no. 1 (Spring 1991): 23-24.

Although today "Chihuahuita" refers to the area west of the district boundaries, the term once applied to all of South El Paso.

⁴⁴ Rudolf Eickemeyer, Letters from the Southwest (New York: J.J. Little & Co., 1894), 14

⁴⁵ Lim, "Future Immense," 107. This number was alleged by a 1902 City Directory, presumably based on analysis of Hispanic origin surnames.

Segundo Barrio, these calculations imply that Segundo Barrio's population was nearly entirely Mexican or Mexican American, and census rolls from 1900 indicate that many were Mexican nationals.

Table 8-1. U.S. Census data documenting total population and population of "Hispanic Origin" for the City of El Paso.⁴⁶

Year	Total Po	oulation	Hispanic origin (any race)*		
rear	Population	Percent of total	Population	Percent of total	
1890	10,338	100%	N/A	N/A	
1900	15,909	100%	N/A	N/A	
1910	32,279	100%	N/A	N/A	
1915**	61,902	100%	32,737	52.8%	
1920	77,560	100%	N/A	N/A	
1930***	102,421	100%	58,291	56.9%	
1940	96,810	100%	N/A	N/A	
1950	130,485	100%	N/A	N/A	
1960	276,687	100%	N/A	N/A	
1970	322,261	100%	N/A	Approx. 55%	
1980	425,259	100%	265,819	62.5%	
1990	515,342	100%	355,669	69.0%	

*** Hispanic origin only counted as "Mexican" within "Other race" (non-Mexican Hispanic origin not counted).

Common professions in Segundo Barrio around the turn of the twentieth century included day laborers, various construction trades, and "railroad hands."⁴⁷ Many Mexican immigrant households were occupied by families, some with Texas-born children. These families likley formed strong economic units among immigrant and Mexican American families, who often migrated together and had more instances of familial living than their Anglo counterparts (table 8-2 below).⁴⁸ El Paso's population spiked again between 1910 and 1920, and Mexican families in Segundo Barrio were a crucial part of this trend. The neighborhood became significantly more dense and sprawled further south towards the river during this period.⁴⁹ While Segundo Barrio was a multi-ethnic neighborhood, families listed at or below Sixth Street had almost exclusively Hispanic origin surnames in the early twentieth century. By 1930, a special census documented Hispanic heritage for 57 percent of El Paso's overall population (see table 8-1).

Table 8-2. Household composition, El Paso, 1900.50

Household	Mexican National	Mexican American	Non-Hispanic origin surname
Nuclear Family Households			
Husband, wife, with children	38%	45%	29%
Husband, wife, no children	7%	4%	10%
Single-parent families			
Husband and children	3%	0	3%
Wife and children	19%	0	9%
Single-person households	7%	4%	20%
Extended-family households*	13%	16%	5%

 ⁴⁶ U.S. Census, Historical Census Statistics On Population Totals By Race,1790 to 1990, and By Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, For Large Cities And Other Urban Places In The United States, accessed June 2, 2020, <u>https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0076/twps0076.pdf</u>; 1915 special census referenced in Gladys Hodges, "A study of El Paso's turbulent history," 43.

⁴⁷ U.S. Federal Census, El Paso Ward 01, District 0018, 1900, from ancestry.com.

⁴⁸ U.S. Federal Census, El Paso Ward 01, District 0018, 1900, from ancestry.com; Garcia, "Desert Immigrants," 198-199.

⁴⁹ City directories in this period list many more names moving south towards the river.

⁵⁰ Reproduced from Garcia, "Desert Immigrants," 199.

Table 8-2. Household composition, El Paso, 1900.⁵⁰

Household	Mexican National	Mexican American	Non-Hispanic origin surname			
Augmented-family households**	11%	30%	19%			
*Nuclear family living with one or more relatives.						

**Nuclear family living with non-family members in the same household, such as lodgers.

Since the neighborhood's inception (and persisting to the current day), some perceived Segundo Barrio not just as a Mexican enclave but an inherently transient zone where Mexican and other migrants pass through *en route* to somewhere more permanent, either within El Paso or throughout the US. Quantifying the neighborhood's impermanent and migratory nature is not easy, but accounts of the neighborhood have described this phenomenon based on personal experience. As early as 1925, *The El Paso Plan*, or "Kessler Report," prepared by city planner George E. Kessler, characterized the neighborhood's population as "peripatetic:"

A large proportion of the residents of Chihuahuita (as the district is locally termed) are not citizens of the United States. Many are transients, families on the way to or from the interior of the United States, peripatetic track workers, beet harvesters, cotton pickers, miners, etc.⁵¹

Jaime F. Torres, a writer from Segundo Barrio, described Segundo Barrio as "a sort of funnel, a principal gateway," and as "a launching platform from which many Chicano families would choose, or be forced, to move to other locales in farther flung directions."⁵² Local historian Fred Morales has said that "There are few fourth or fifth generations, most are transients. They use it as a stepping stone to move to other cities."⁵³ Many therefore do not perceive the neighborhood's population growth as permanent, but as a constant flux of new arrivals and departures.

Accurately quantifying this perception is difficult, however, and may obscure the fact that some families have been rooted in the area for generations. A report from 1960 contended that this narrative only served to blame issues such as poverty, rundown and crowded apartments, or gang violence on the neighborhood's residents rather than systemic neglect:

Many El Pasoans explain away South Side slums by saying they are primarily a stopping-off place for migrants from Mexico. It is widely believed that one-third of the population of this area turns over every year. According to the 1960 Census, though, only 12 percent of the South Side's population had come from Mexico since 1955; population turnover was no greater than in the rest of the city. Many South and East El Pasoans have lived there since childhood. Old people, especially, often continue to live in South side tenements even when they can afford to live elsewhere. Neighborhood ties are strong for many.⁵⁴

Even this fact-based narrative is unreliable, though, as census data can be problematic in a neighborhood that has likely hosted a large undocumented immigrant population throughout its history. By the 1970s the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) estimated 80,000 undocumented workers lived in the El Paso area, and numbers of that

⁵¹ City Plan Commission, *The 1925 City Plan for El Paso, Texas* (El Paso: Mayor and City Council, 1925), 48. Note that in this era "Chihuahuita" referred to virtually all of South El Paso, not the current bounds of the Chihuahuita neighborhood which are limited to the area west of South El Paso Street.

⁵² Jaime F. Torres, *Pachuco: Out of Segundo Barrio*, Xlibris Corporation, 2010, 16-17.

⁵³ Bonyanpour, Natasha, "More than a Century Old, Many Still Call El Segundo Barrio Home," Newspaper Tree, accessed Nov. 6, 2020, <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20160312081859/http://newspapertree.com/articles/2013/11/15/more-than-a-century-old-many-still-call-el-segundo-barrio-home</u>.

⁵⁴ Mark and Gertrude Adams, "A Report on Politics in El Paso" (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University, 1963), I-34, from HathiTrust Digital Library, accessed 11/09/2017, <u>https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015082460737;view=1up;seq=3</u>.

magnitude would make any acurate analysis of neighborhood demographics dubious.⁵⁵ While deciphering the neighborhood's transient nature is tenuous, it has been a part of the neighborhood's perceived identity throughout history.

Factors Influencing Immigration and Migration

Connectivity Between El Paso and Ciudad Juárez

Because of its proximity to the Rio Grande, the southern edge of Segundo Barrio was the site of bridges, boats, and other river crossings to neighboring Ciudad Juárez. Infrastructure for crossing the Rio Grande has taken many guises over the centuries. In the 1870s when El Paso was a quiet town of just 700 people, there were several different ways to cross the river. Because the river's level fluctuated greatly before the installation of the Elephant Butte dam (see Section 7), one could often easily cross the river on foot when the water was low.⁵⁶ Additionally, there were many private enterprises such as ferries, bridges, and people who carried passengers on their backs.⁵⁷ Ferries were hand-hauled, with operators pulling a cable suspended from one bank to the other in order to move the boat across (fig. 14). Early bridges, or "pasaderas," were low wooden causeways, which were apt to wash away in extreme storm events (fig. 18).⁵⁸ Although the south side of El Paso was very sparsely developed due to frequent flooding, its settlement patterns were already dictated by movement across the border to Ciudad Juárez. One of the few established streets in El Paso was present-day El Paso Street, which was then "an old trail connecting [El Paso] to the ferry crossing into the Mexican city of El Paso del Norte" (fig. 10).⁵⁹ While the end of El Paso Street is outside the district boundaries, the road runs through the district, meaning that early border-crossers would have used Segundo Barrio as part of their route.⁶⁰

The arrival of the transnational railroad in 1881 laid the way for El Paso's rapid development, and Segundo Barrio was crucial to this boom. Geographically, the neighborhood occupied the space between downtown El Paso and the Rio Grande, making it part of the route to neighborhood became a transnational space and an arrival place for immigrants (Mexican and otherwise, as discussed below) whose labor would fuel the city's growth. El Paso's first international rail bridge extended south from El Paso Street—directly south of the district—in roughly the same location as the previous ferry crossing (figs. 1, 15). This transit corridor's influence extended into the district, as the already dense commercial and residential development on El Paso Street north of Segundo Barrio began to slowly spread south in the 1880s, even if still sparse below Second Street (fig. 2). Part of this border-related development corridor was an International Customs House, built in 1884, at 801 South El Paso Street (photo 15). Sanborn maps from 1888 also indicate a rail depot just west of the district, and a new "International Hotel" within the district at Santa Fe and Fifth Streets (now West Father Rahm Drive). The arrival of the rail was already producing visitors and foot traffic, and new opportunities for commerce in Segundo

⁵⁵ Benjamin Marquez, "Power and politics in a Chicano barrio: a study of mobilization efforts and community power in El Paso" (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1985), 22-23.

⁵⁶ Julian Lim, *Porous Borders: Multiracial Migrations and the Law in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 105-106.

⁵⁷ Martin Davenport, "Magoffin Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 2015, 40; Gladys A. Hodges, "Bridges across the Borderline: The Local Politics of Building the First International Rail Bridges in the Americas at the Two El Pasos, 1880–1883," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 116, no. 1 (July 2012): 26–38, 31.

⁵⁸ Hodges, "El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua, 1880-1930: A Material Culture Study of Borderlands Interdependency," (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Texas at El Paso, 2010), 60.

⁵⁹ Davenport, "Magoffin Historic District," 40-41.

⁶⁰ 6 "A Journey Through Chihuahuita: Celebrating 160 Years of Community History," Texas Department of Transportation, Austin, 2018, 6.

Barrio. By 1915, street-side businesses along South El Paso Street were thriving and the police chief ordered city patrolmen to keep sidewalks on both sides of the street free of merchandise.⁶¹

While the arrival of the cross-border bridge helped put El Paso on the map as an important nexus in a binational economy, it did little to help El Paso residents cross the Rio Grande more easily for everyday purposes such as visiting family, going to church, or working. After the construction of the rail bridge, El Paso investors began planning construction of a second bridge for pedestrians and a new transnational streetcar. In 1882, El Paso's *Lone Star* newspaper touted the potential of such a project, estimating that up to 600 people were crossing the border daily via rail and whatever other means possible.⁶² The economic advantages of easily moving El Paso and Ciudad Juárez residents across the Rio Grande were not lost on early streetcar investors, who argued that another reliable river crossing "would be of 'incalculable benefit' to the poor, who would have occasion to work on both sides of the river."⁶³ Also in 1882, El Paso's City Railway Company, in collaboration with Ciudad Juárez's Compañía del Ferrocarril Urbano y Puente, opened the first transnational streetcar and pedestrian footbridge, extending across the river at Stanton Street (fig. 17). The price to cross in the streetcar was 10 cents, and 5 cents to cross as a pedestrian.⁶⁴

Once the streetcar and footbridge were both in place, Segundo Barrio's residents, and residents of Ciudad Juárez who crossed through the neighborhood daily, were poised to become part of the workforce necessary for the rapidly growing binational economy. Due to El Paso's connection to Mexico via rail, it became an attractive place for smelters, lumber mills, and stockyards, often processing raw materials shipped from Mexico.⁶⁵ While industry did eventually develop around the outskirts of Segundo Barrio, the neighborhood was never seen as an industrial hub, but rather as a place to house mass quantities of laborers. This trend is evidenced by the tenement buildings that landlords began to develop after the arrival of the railroad, such as the two-story brick building at 621 South Oregon Street (photo 57).⁶⁶ Segundo Barrio residents were sometimes employed by the rail industry, which surrounded the neighborhood to the west and north with the rail depot and yards. According to U.S. census records, in 1920, "laborer" was the most common position for Hispanic-origin surnamed rail workers in El Paso (table 8-3). Many Segundo Barrio residents also had non-industrial jobs throughout the city, some undoubtedly using the new streetcar system to commute to jobs in construction and domestic service, both common jobs at the turn of the century. Census data indicates that construction, manufacturing, railroads, retail, and private household labor supplied the overwhelming majority of jobs, for both men and women.⁶⁷ Among "nonwhite employed workers"—like many of the residents in Segundo Barrio—domestic service work provided the predominant source of empoloyment for women, as did non-domestic service work for men (tables 8-4 and 8-5).⁶⁸ Throughout much of the twentieth century, Mexican American workers in El Paso were largely confined to the least skilled professions (table 8-6).

⁶¹ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 59.

⁶² Hodges, "Bridges across the Borderline." 35. Note that this may be an inflated estimate, as the *Lone Star* seems to have been a vocal booster for the streetcar system.

⁶³ Hodges, "Bridges across the Borderline," 33.

⁶⁴ Hodges, "Bridges across the Borderline," 36.

⁶⁵ Day, "El Paso: Mining Hub for Northern Mexico, 1880–1920," 25; El Paso City Planning Commission, "The City Plan of El Paso, Texas," 10.

⁶⁶ Palmore, "From Passage to Place."

⁶⁷ U.S. Census Bureau, "Volume II: Characteristics of the Population," *Census of Population: 1950* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1952), ch. 2 p. 43-105, from the U.S. Census Bureau, <u>https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/ 1950/population-volume-2/11027772v2p43ch2.pdf</u>.

⁶⁸ U.S. Census Bureau, "Volume II: Characteristics of the Population," *Census of Population: 1940* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), ch. 9 p. 1023, from the U.S. Census Bureau, <u>https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/ 1940/population-volume-2/33973538v2p6ch9.pdf</u>.

Table 8-3. Table of occupations of Hispanic-origin surnamed railroad workers in El Paso per the 1920 City
Directory. Source: Information and numbers from Mario T. Garcia, Desert Immigrants.

Occupation	No. Persons with	Orcupation	No. Persons with
Occupation	Hispanic-origin	Occupation	Hispanic-origin
	Surname		Surname
Laborer	188	Tankman	4
Machinist helper	97	Messenger, telegraph dept.	3
Boltmaker helper	60	Subforeman	3
Machinist	56	Painter apprentice	3
Car repairman	55	Truckman helper	3
Car repairman helper	49	Mechanic	3
Coach cleaner	48	Tank helper	3
Truckman	37	Engineer watchman	2
Blacksmith helper	36	Fire helper	2
Wiper	28	Stevedore	2
Stripper foreman	28	Porter	2
Handyman	27	Oil man	2
Boltmaker	20	Engineer	2
Clerk	21	Engineer inspector	2
Printer's helper	16	Timekeeper	2
Fireman	18	Special agent	2
Gateman	13		2
-	12	Wheel pressman Airman helper	2
Car carpenter Machinist apprentice	11	Ash pitman	2
	9	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
Car repairman apprentice		Craneman	1
Hostler helper	8	Toolman	1
Helper	8	Car repairman helper	1
Coppersmith helper		Hammer boy	1
Painter	7	Assistant manager	1
Hostler	7	Switchman	1
Blacksmith	5	Labor foreman	1
Trackman Bingman balage	5	Track repairman	1
Pipeman helper	5	Engineer equipper	1
Stripper	4	Wiper foreman	1
Tinner	4	General cashier	1
Supplyman	4	Towerman	1
Sweeper	4	Machinist inspector	1
Coppersmith	4	Hammer operator	1
Apprentice	4	Brakeman	1
Laborer	188	Drill pressman	1
Machinist helper	97	Carpenter helper	1
Boltmaker helper	60	Pipeman	1
Machinist	56	Mill helper	1
Car repairman	55	Wheel press helper	1
Car repairman helper	49	Airman	1
Coach cleaner	48	Air brake repairman	1
Truckman	37	Blacksmith helper	36

Table 8-4. Table of occupations of Hispanic-origin surnamed domestics and laundresses in El Paso per City Directories from 1889, 1910, and 1920. Source: Information and numbers from Mario T. Garcia, Desert Immigrants.

	Year	Number of total workers	Percentage of total workers
		(Mexican and American)	(Mexican and American)
Domestics			
	1889	61	49.73
	1910	447	65.37
	1920	1,528	76.18
Laundresses			
	1889	40	34.9
	1910	220	64.48
	1920	516	92.17

Table 8-5. Table reproducing U.S. census data for "Nonwhite Employed Workers 14 Years Old and Over, Major Occupation Group and Sex, for Cities of 10,000 to 10,000" in 1940. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, "Volume II: Characteristics of the Population," Census of Population: 1940 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), ch. 9 p. 1023, from the U.S. Census Bureau, <u>https://www2.census.gov/library</u>/publications/decennial/1940/population-volume-2/33973538v2p6ch9.pdf.

	<u>5/02020111101/1540/p0</u>						
Gender	Total employed	Professional	Semi-	Farmers and	Proprietors,	Clerical,	Craftsmen,
	(except on public	workers	professional	farm managers	managers, and	sales, and	foremen, and
	emergency		workers		officials, exc.	kindred	kindred
	work)				Farm	workers	workers
Male							
Number	757	25	3	4	65	26	45
%	100%	3%	0%	1%	9%	3%	6%
Female							
Number	451	14	1	0	8	3	1
%	100%	3%	0%	0%	2%	1%	0%
Gender	Operatives and	Domestic	Service	Farm laborers	Farm laborers,	Laborers,	Occupation not
	kindred workers	service	workers,	(wage	unpaid family	except farm	reported
		workers	, i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i	workers) and	workers		
		workers	except		workers		
			domestic	foremen			
Male							
Number	111	29	349	5	0	102	3
%	15%	4%	46%	1%	0%	13%	0%
Female							
Number	11	318	92	0	0	1	2

Table 8-6. Table of occupations of by ethnicity in El Paso in1900, 1920, and 1930. Source: Mario T. Garcia, Desert Immigrants, 86. Note that totals from "1920, not Hispanic-origin surnamed" do not add up to 100 percent, although numbers were copied exactly from Garcia's table. Numbers were rounded to one decimal place for simplicity.

	1900		19	920	1930	
Occupational Group	% Hispanic-	% Not Hispanic-	% Hispanic-	% Not Hispanic-	% Hispanic-	% Not Hispanic-
	origin surname	origin surname	origin surname	origin surname	origin surname	origin surname
Professionals	3.0	12.6	3.3	13.8	2.4	18.5
Managers	3.6	13.2	2.0	15.8	2.4	14.5
Clerical	10.9	26.9	14.6	38.8	18.6	24.3
Craftsmen/foremen	10.9	25.4	12.6	10.5	11.3	9.3
Operatives	9.7	8.1	9.9	5.9	10.5	13.3
Service workers	16.4	10.7	39.1	11.5	36.3	18.5
Laborers	45.5	3.1	18.5	3.3	18.6	1.7
Total	100	99.9	100	99.65	100	100

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, crossing the border was relatively unregulated, and the increase in foot traffic through Segundo Barrio impacted growth of the neighborhood's built environment. With the exception of Chinese and some Indian tribal members, crossing the border was often welcomed by the U.S. due to the economic gains from the cheap labor supply and customs revenue.⁶⁹ The construction of foot bridges to meet this demand appears to have been appealing to numerous developers, as a Sanborn map from 1905 reveals a second rail bridge at Utah Street (now Mesa Street) and a second pedestrian bridge at Santa Fe Street, just west of the district boundaries (fig. 4). The Stanton and Santa Fe footbridges increased pedestrian and other traffic through Segundo Barrio, with commercial corridors developing along both streets, as well as the already existing corridor along South El Paso Street. Small businesses such as drug stores, beer gardens, and bakeries also began to pop up throughout the neighborhood in the early twentieth century.

As rail companies continued to expand in El Paso, many new lines bisected Segundo Barrio, often creating socioeconomic dividing lines in the neighborhood. As early as 1905, Texas & Pacific Railway yards appeared just above the northern edge of the district (fig. 4). While Magoffin Avenue had previously been the racial and socioeconomic boundary of Segundo Barrio, the arrival of the railway yards effectively created a new boundary, shifting the Latino population southward.⁷⁰ Also by 1905, Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad had completed spurs along Sixth Street and Twelfth Street, with another under construction at Tenth Street. City directories from the early twentieth century indicate that the spur at Sixth Street was a racial and ethnic dividing line, with families south of the rail having almost exclusively Hispanic-origin surnames. North of Sixth Street there were many Hispanic-origin surnames as well as, but also Chinese and European American surnames and names marked with a (c) for "colored."⁷¹

As transportation infrastructure became more auto-based throughout the twentieth century, Paisano Drive and U.S. Highway 80 (created in 1926) became the new boundary between Segundo Barrio and downtown El Paso (fig. 37). Construction to widen Paisano Drive, carried out in 1946–1947, destroyed adjacent properties and displaced as many as 6,000 residents, leading to an increase in shanty housing elsewhere in the district.⁷² Because the federal highway served many long-distance travelers, its flow of traffic did little to increase Segundo Barrio's connectivity to the rest of the city, but rather created a high-speed corridor that by the 1950s was quite dangerous to cross on foot.⁷³ Although the district was still largely residential, various businesses catered to the nearby highway. Auto mechanics and filling stations began to appear on both sides of Paisano Drive during the mid-twentieth century, such as 600 East Paisano Drive, built in 1950 (extant). The district also had two lodgings listed in the 1956 *Green Book*, a national guide to help Black motorists find safe places to stay.⁷⁴ Both were within three blocks south of U.S. 80, one at 413 South Oregon Street (not extant) and the other at 511 Tornillo Street (currently Nino Aguilera Street, photo 58).

Political Instability in Mexico and Political Refugees

Leading up to and during the Mexican Revolution beginning in 1910, Segundo Barrio became a landing place for an influx of Mexican political refugees fleeing violence and economic strife. El Paso's population spiked during the early 1900s, in large part due to the influx of Mexicans during this period, some of whom were political refugees and some who were moving to the U.S. after the closure of the *zona libre* or free trade zone in Ciudad Juárez. These refugees spanned all economic and social strata and landed throughout the entirety of El Paso. In 1910 and 1911, El Paso residents were

⁶⁹ Lim, *Porous Borders*, 102-103; Hodges, "Bridges across the Borderline." 28

⁷⁰ Davenport, "Magoffin Historic District," 46.

⁷¹ Bucks Directory of El Paso Texas for 1902, El Paso: El Paso Directory Co., 1902; Worley's Directory of El Paso Texas, 1910 (Dallas: John F. Worley Directory Co., 1910).

⁷² Marquez, "Power and Politics," 64-65.

⁷³ HHM, "Downtown El Paso National Register Nomination" [DRAFT], 63-64.

⁷⁴ Victor H. Green, ed., *The Negro Travelers' Green Book* (New York: Victor H. Green and Company, 1956).

shocked by the number of Mexican immigrants crossing daily at the Santa Fe bridge.⁷⁵ A special census in 1915 found that roughly 53 percent of El Paso's total population was of Mexican descent, and that there were at least 7,000 Mexican refugees in El Paso.⁷⁶ The 1920 census reported that El Paso had 30,589 "foreign-born whites" from Mexico (see table 8-1).⁷⁷ El Paso was especially attractive to Mexican migrants because of its proximity to the border and its already booming industry. The trend of mass housing for a growing Mexican American labor pool continued in Segundo Barrio with new tenements such as the 1917 buildings at 608 South Campbell (photo 51).

These demographic shifts greatly impacted Segundo Barrio, the neighborhood becoming a landing place for many. Wellknown Mexican radicals and writers who faced persecution for their incendiary thoughts during this period ended up in the neighborhood. Leading up to the revolution, Teresa Urrea, a healer and journalist who had been exiled from Mexico, lived at 500 South Oregon Street, where up to 250 people came to see her daily, up to 3,000 camping outside the building upon her arrival in El Paso (photo 54).⁷⁸ Anarchist revolutionary Ricardo Flores Magón lived in Segundo Barrio while in exile and, along with other revolutionaries, planned an attack on Ciudad Juárez from a home at 454 Tornillo Street (currently Nino Aguilera Street).⁷⁹ Novelist Mariano Azuela also lived in the neighborhood, writing a seminary novel on the revolution, *Los de Abajo*, while living in the "Pablo Baray" apartments at 605 South Oregon Street (photo 59).⁸⁰ Lauro Aguirre produced several revolutionary newspapers, including *La Reforma Social*, which he published from his home at 403 South Campbell Street (no longer extant).⁸¹ Some of those displaced by the revolution stayed in El Paso permanently, and some used it as a jumping-off point for further migration within the United States. For instance, the most common crossing point for Mexican Americans landing in California during this era was the Juárez-El Paso crossing. Some stayed for years before moving on to the West Coast in search of higher wages, as the southern California job market was easily accessible via El Paso's rail and highway systems.⁸² The neighborhood also saw some emigration as some Mexicans living there left to fight in Mexico.⁸³

Because of the neighborhood's proximity to the border, Segundo Barrio was also impacted by the military activity of the Revolution, especially during the Battle of Juárez in 1911. At times, the violence was tangible from Segundo Barrio, with bullets dropping down from across the river, or El Paso residents gathering at the international bridges to watch the battle

⁷⁵ Hodges, "A Study of El Paso's Turbulent History," 42.

⁷⁶ 1915 special census referenced in Hodges, "A study of El Paso's Turbulent History," 43. The El Segundo Barrio Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy alludes to a number as high as 15,000 refuges, including "prisoners," further research would be necessary to verify exact numbers.

⁷⁷ Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Bulletin, Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920" (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921), 42

⁷⁸ Azenett Cornejo, "Segundo Barrio: A 'Living History' Lesson," *Borderzine*, May 27, 2011, accessed Oct. 7, 2020, <u>https://borderzine.com/2011/05/segundo-barrio-a-living-history-lesson/</u>; David Dorado Romo, *Ringside Seat to a Revolution: An Underground Cultural History of El Paso and Juárez: 1893-1923*" (El Paso: Cinco Puntos Press, 2005,) 21; Dr. Yolanda Chávez Leyva, "Museo Urbano and 'A Living History," *National Dialogues on Immigration*, accessed Nov. 10, 2020, <u>http://www.dialoguesonimmigration.org/museo-urbano-and-a-living-history/</u>.

⁷⁹ Dirección de Estudios Históricos, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, "454 Tornillo St. (hoy Nino Aguilera), El Paso, Tex.," *Ruta Magón*, accessed Oct. 8, 2020, <u>http://archivomagon.net/lugares/454-tornillo-st-hoy-nino-aguilera/</u>.

⁸⁰ Palmore, "From Passage to Place"; "Mural Tells Segundo Barrio Neighborhood History, Priest Says," *El Paso Times*, accessed Nov. 10, 2020, <u>https://www.elpasotimes.com/story/opinion/2017/11/29/mural-tells-segundo-barrio-neighborhoods-history-priest-says/905954001/.</u>

⁸¹ Dirección de Estudios Históricos, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, "403 S. Campbell St., El Paso, Tex." *Ruta Magón,* accessed Oct. 8, 2020, <u>http://archivomagon.net/lugares/403-s-campbell-st/;</u> Dorado Romo, *Ringside Seat*, 30.

⁸² Teresa Grimes, et al., "Latinos in Twentieth Century California," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, National Park Service, Washington, D.C., 2014, E-4- E-5.

⁸³ Mark Overmyer-Velázquez, "Good Neighbors and White Mexicans: Constructing Race and Nation on the Mexico-U.S. Border," *Journal of American Ethnic History* vol. 33 no. 1 (Fall 2013): 8.

(fig. 32).⁸⁴ As the conflict in Mexico grew, Camp Cotton, a military base for the U.S. Sixth Infantry, appeared just east of the district boundaries, with Cotton Street as its western edge.⁸⁵ When the Battle of Juárez ended, the international bridges—which had been closed due to the conflict—reopened, and Mexicans in El Paso fled into Juárez to celebrate Francisco Madero's victory (fig. 33).⁸⁶

The proximity of the Mexican Revolution and increased population also led to heightened anti-Mexican and anti-Mexican American sentiment in the city, often impacting the social and physical environment of Segundo Barrio. Conflict broke out in 1916 after Pancho Villa's revolutionary troops killed 15 American engineers in Santa Ysabel. Chihuahua, and 1,000 El Pasoans violently raided Chihuahuita and Segundo Barrio. South El Paso residents reacted by going to the streets with bats and sticks, and ultimately General Pershing, sent by the U.S. military to quell the revolution in Mexico, declared martial law and created a containment program called "Dead Lines" to confine Mexican residents to their neighborhoods.⁸⁷ This also led to an early large-scale "cleanup" of the neighborhood, with Pershing declaring that the health of his men was at risk given the poor conditions in the area. The city reacted by demolishing more than 100 *jacales*, or huts, and small adobe homes, some of which housed as many as 12 families.⁸⁸ Spread of infectious diseases was a common fear not only among military personnel but El Paso residents broadly (partly due to the fact that the area was a destination for tuberculosis patients), and Mexican immigration heightened fears of diseases such as typhoid. This resulted in often degrading public health practices in Segundo Barrio - any tenement resident who shared a building with an infected person faced mandatory kerosene and vinegar baths, shaved heads, and clothing destruction.⁸⁹ Similar "delousing" practices were inflicted on those crossing from Ciudad Juárez, resulting in protests by up to 500 women during the 1917 Bath House Riots in historic Segundo Barrio but just southwest of the district boundaries at the Santa Fe bridge⁹⁰

Exclusion Laws and El Paso as the "Back Door to the United States"

Although most immigrants to Segundo Barrio were Mexican, Mexicans were by no means the only immigrant population coming to the neighborhood. As New York writer Rudolf Eickemeyer wrote in 1890s: "South of Second Street [were]... hundreds of adobe houses one story high with one or two rooms where the Mexicans, Negroes, and Chinese lived."⁹¹ Kessler's 1925 Plan for the City of El Paso contended that while Mexicans were the majority in Segundo Barrio, its inhabitants were "representatives of nearly every nation on earth."⁹² Because El Paso was a relatively easy crossing place and Segundo Barrio was so connected to the border, the neighborhood hosted immigrants from all over the country and the world.

⁸⁷ Miguel A. Levario, "El Paso Race Riot of 1916," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Commission, accessed Nov. 9, 2020, <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/el-paso-race-riot-of-1916</u>.

⁸⁴ As described in Hodges, "A Study of El Paso's Turbulent History," 42. For an in-depth history of the Mexican Revolution's impact on and visibility from Segundo Barrio and El Paso, see David Dorado Romo's *Ringside Seat to a Revolution*, especially the chapter "The Revolution as Spectacle," pp. 76-111.

⁸⁵ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 57. For geographic boundaries of Camp Cotton, see the "Notes" section for "Camp Cotton, El Paso, Texas," Portal to Texas History, accessed Nov. 9, 2010, <u>https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth187747/</u>. For a photo of Camp Cotton at some point during the Mexican Revolution see <u>https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth1877</u> <u>33/?q=camp%20cotton.</u>

⁸⁶ Pedro Siller Vázquez, 1911: La Batalla de Ciudad Juárez, I: La Historia (Cd. Juarez: Cuadro por Cuadro, 2003), 206-207.

⁸⁸ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 57.

⁸⁹ Garcia, "Desert Immigrants," 145.

⁹⁰ Maclovio Perez, Jr., "El Paso Bathhouse Riots (1917)," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Commission, accessed Nov. 9, 2020, <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/el-paso-bath-house-riots-1917</u>.

⁹¹ As quoted in Davenport, "Magoffin Historic District," 46.

⁹² The 1925 City Plan, 48.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, El Paso saw an influx of Chinese immigrants (table 8-7). Many Chinese rail workers who came to the U.S. via San Francisco ultimately settled in Segundo Barrio, and El Paso at large, after being dismissed by railroad officials with no way to return to China.⁹³ After the passage of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, Chinese migrant routes shifted to ports of entry in Canada and especially Mexico. Beginning in 1904 the U.S. began patrolling the Rio Grande on horseback in an attempt to stop Chinese immigration, to no avail.⁹⁴ Although there was little Chinese immigration officially documented throughout the 1890s into the 1910s, it continued under the radar. As one immigration inspector pointed out, the border was nothing but "a broad expanse of land with an imaginary line, all passable, all being used, all leading into the United States... What can a handful of [officers] do?"⁹⁵ In Segundo Barrio, Chinese residents were especially concentrated to the northwest around Second Street (now Paisano Drive) and South Oregon Street, the southern edge of El Paso's "Chinatown" area.⁹⁶ Chinese commerce also flourished in this area, such as a cluster of businesses including a "Chinese Theater" at 400-408 South Oregon Street in 1910, or "Sing Wo Lung & Co." at the corner of South Oregon Street and Second Street (now Paisano Drive) in 1920, although neither building is currently extant.⁹⁷ Sanborn maps also reference a "Chinese laundry" at 500 South Oregon Street for a brief period of time around the turn of the twentieth century, although the section of the building that hosted the laundry was demolished shortly thereafter (photo 54). No other known resources associated with Chinese immigrants in Segundo Barrio remain extant today.

Table 8-7. Black and Asian and Pacific Islander Population, City of El Paso. Sources: U.S. Census, Historical Census Statistics On
Population Totals By Race, 1790 to 1990, and By Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, For Large Cities And Other Urban Places In The United
States, accessed June 2, 2020, <u>https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0076/twps0076.pdf</u> ; Timmons, El Paso: A
Borderlands History.

Year	Black		Asian and Pacific Islander	
	Population	% of total population	Population	% of total population
1890	361	3.5%	210	2.0%
1900	466	2.9%	300	1.9%
1910	1,452	3.7%	241	0.6%
1920	1,330	1.7%	180	0.2%
1930	1,855	1.8%	282	0.3%
1940	2,188	2.3%	254	0.3%
1950	3,116	2.4%	264	0.2%
1960	5,944	2.1%	1,151	0.4%
1970	7,413	2.3%	1,124	0.3%
1980	13,466	3.2%	3,544	0.8%
1990	17,708	3.4%	5,956	1.2%

Due to U.S. laws that set quotas limiting European migration, European immigrants also began migrating illegally via El Paso in the 1920s. Some Europeans who arrived via this "back door" to the U.S. settled permanently in El Paso and many traveled on to other parts of the US. A 1924 article in *La Patria*, a Spanish-language newspaper, mentioned "Russians, Germans, Czechs, Turks, Syrians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Italians, French—waiting to enter the United States."⁹⁸

⁹³ Timmons, El Paso: A Borderlands History, 205.

⁹⁴ "History, El Paso Sector, Texas," U.S. Customs and Border Protection, accessed July 21, 2020, <u>https://www.cbp.gov/border-security/along-us-border-patrol-sectors/el-paso-sector-texas</u>.

⁹⁵ As quoted in Lim, *Porous Borders*, 105.

⁹⁶ Based on Chinese surnames in City Directories throughout the early twentieth century, but due to the illegal nature of their residency, many undocumented Chinese residents surely lived elsewhere in the district.

⁹⁷ Worley's Directory of El Paso, Texas, 1910 (Dallas: John F. Worley Directory Co., 1910), 80; El Paso City Directory, 1920 (El Paso: Hudspeth Directory Co., 1920), 281.

⁹⁸ Andreas, "Coming to America," 222–223.

Subject to a different sort of exclusion law in the Jim Crow south, many Black settlers also found a home in the Second Ward. Black men who had served as "buffalo soldiers" on the western frontier in the years following the Civil War began arriving in El Paso as early as the 1880s.⁹⁹ More Black settlers arrived during the antebellum period because El Paso offered Black residents a somewhat less hostile environment than other southern cities, as well as employment in the rail industry (see table 8-7).¹⁰⁰ In 1900, Segundo Barrio was home to 204 Black residents and continued to have a Black population well into the twentieth century.¹⁰¹ In 1891, the Douglass School, El Paso's "colored" school, opened at 515 South Kansas Street and ran until 1920 when it was turned into a Methodist Mexican community center (photo 5).¹⁰² Five congregation members founded the Second Baptist Church in 1884, which moved to its current location in 1907 (photo 38).¹⁰³ The neighborhood's Black population was especially concentrated north of Sixth Street. Segundo Barrio also offered Black Americans access to Mexican businesses, such as theatres, where they could go without suffering the indignity of enforced segregation.¹⁰⁴ The City of El Paso never enacted restrictive covenants or other legal restrictions on housing. Although the Black population in Segundo Barrio had decreased by 1930 as many families moved further east in the city, city directories indicate that many remaining Black residents were homeowners in Segundo Barrio.¹⁰⁵ *Early U.S. Immigration Law*

For Mexican immigrants, the US-Mexico border was largely permeable throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Following the massive influx of political refugees after the Mexican Revolution, the U.S. passed an Immigration Act in 1917. The act imposed a head tax, physical exam, and literacy test, but did little to reduce the number of Mexicans crossing into the country. Three months after the 1917 act was passed, the U.S. government created an exemption for Mexican agricultural workers waiving the literacy requirements, telling of the continued demand for Mexican labor. The 1917 act has also been credited with reducing circular migration patterns. The act set a precedent for humiliating treatment, such as forced nudity during physical examinations or belittling tests while crossing the border, which caused more Mexicans to either cross illegally or remain on U.S. soil rather than cross back and forth, as they had previously; a pattern that continued into the 1920s. Further immigration acts in 1921 and 1924 set quotas on the number of immigrants arriving from various countries (primarily European). Some anti-immigrant El Paso residents unsuccessfully argued for these quotas to also be applied to Mexico, but the main regional impact was that U.S. border patrol was increasingly concerned with Asian immigrants from Mexico.¹⁰⁶ Thus, although Mexican immigration continued largely unfettered, this period marked a shift in U.S. attitudes toward and regulation of Mexican migration.

After the stock market crash of 1929 and throughout the Great Depression, competition for U.S. labor grew and immigrants were looked on less kindly as xenophobia began to outweigh the desire for cheap labor. The U.S. began passing more laws allowing for the deportation and repatriation of immigrants, and the number of Mexicans living in the U.S. decreased for the first and only time in the twentieth century.¹⁰⁷ From January to September 1929, 4,275 immigrants passed through the port of entry at El Paso, compared to 13,147 during the same period in 1928. Deportations also

⁹⁹ Lim "The 'Future Immense,' 120.

¹⁰⁰ Lim, "The 'Future Immense," 81, 110.

¹⁰¹ Lim, "The 'Future Immense," 111.

¹⁰² Clinton P. Hartman, "Lydia Patterson Institute: A Living Memorial," *Password of the El Paso Historical Society* vol. XXXIV no. 3 (Fall 1989): 115.

¹⁰³ Dolores Irene Blueford, "Second Baptist Church, El Paso, Texas (1844-)" *Black Past*, April 12, 2015, accessed Oct. 14, 2020, <u>https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/second-baptist-church-el-paso-texas-1884/</u>.

¹⁰⁴ Lim, "The 'Future Immense," 121.

¹⁰⁵ Lim, "The 'Future Immense," 110.

¹⁰⁶ Grimes et al., "Latinos in Twentieth Century California," E-4; Lim, *Porous Borders*, 172.

¹⁰⁷ Grimes et al., "Latinos in Twentieth Century California," E-7.

increased by 40 percent over the same period, from 1,525 to 2,563.¹⁰⁸ As stated in the *El Paso Herald*, this increase had to do with an increase in federal funding for relocating deportees:

In each deportation case the government is put to varying expense in returning the alien to his native country. In Mexican cases the cost is relatively small – usually about \$22 to \$23. Other cases, however, in which the unwelcome visitors must be taken to Europe or Asia by an immigration officer, bring the average cost of individual deportations to between \$70 and \$80.¹⁰⁹

The cost of relocation was just one factor in the calculus of immigration officers who were responsible for deciding who to deport, but likely made Mexicans and Mexican Americans appealing targets for deportation.¹¹⁰ Nationwide, more than half of the 2 million "Mexicans" deported after the 1929 laws were passed were born in the US. These deportations were often the result of clandestine raids in known Mexican neighborhoods like Segundo Barrio.¹¹¹ As the deported were transported through El Paso and into Ciudad Juárez, El Pasoans directly witnessed this exodus.¹¹² By the 1940s, most El Paso residents of Hispanic heritage were native-born rather than immigrants as a result of this U.S. immigration strategy (table 8-8). Detailed census tables of in-migration and out-migration from 1940 note that 1,928 foreign-born "aliens" moved away from El Paso between 1935 and 1940, with zero documented net "alien" in-migration into El Paso.¹¹³ Although Census records notoriously undercount immigrants, these numbers likely reliably reflect the overall pattern of negative net migration from Mexico into El Paso during this period.

nttps.//www.census.gov/population/www/accumentation/twps0029/tabz2.ntm.						
Year	Total population	Native	Foreign-born	Percent foreign-born		
1890	10,338	6,519	3,819	36.9%		
1900	15,906	9,597	6,309	39.7%		
1910	32,279	24,775	14,504	36.9%		
1920	77,560	43,905	33,655	43.4%		
1930	102,421	66,118	36,303	35.4%		
1940	96,810	74,688	22,122	22.9%		
1950	130,505	108,655	21,850	16.7%		
1960	276,687	233,673	43,014	15.5%		
1970	322,261	277,919	44,342	13.8%		
1980	425,259	334,352	90,907	21.4%		
1880	515,342	394,910	120,432	23.4%		

Table 8-8. Foreign-Born population for the City of El Paso. Source: U.S. Census, "Nativity of the Population for Urban Places Ever Among the 50 Largest Urban Places Since 1870: 1850 to 1990," accessed Jun. 2, 2020, https://www.census.gov/nonulation/www/documentation/twos0029/tab22.html

Emergence of the U.S. Border Patrol and Hardening of the Border

Securing the border became more of a priority to the U.S. government in the 1920s, leading to the creation of the Border Patrol. As previously mentioned, border surveillance before this point was largely aimed at Chinese immigrants. In 1904

¹⁰⁸ "Immigration Cut 70 Per Cent, Deportations Up 40 per cent In El Paso Area, Figures Show," *El Paso Herald*, October 3, 1929, 1. ¹⁰⁹ "Immigration Cut 70 Per Cent."

¹¹⁰ See Lim, *Porous Borders*, 112-113 for a discussion of how the cost of repatriation factored into early-twentieth-century deportation strategies for Chinese immigrants.

¹¹¹ Grimes, et al., E-7.

¹¹² Mark Overmyer-Velázquez, "Good Neighbors and White Mexicans," 18.

¹¹³ U.S. Census Bureau, "Population and Internal Migration: 1935 to 1940," Sixteenth Census of the United States (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1948), ch. 8 p. 207, from the U.S. Census Bureau, <u>https://www2.census.gov/library/publica</u> tions/decennial/1940/population-internal-migration/41272177_ch8.pdf.

there were only 74 "Mounted Guards" based out of El Paso, who sometimes traveled as far as California on horseback. After it became clear that the numerical quotas on immigration imposed in 1921 and 1924 were not effective in preventing immigration, the need to secure the border became more appealing, and in 1924 Congress created the U.S. Border Patrol.¹¹⁴ Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, border patrol tactics improved somewhat, and saw another spike in technological advance in the 1980s and 1990s, increasing the risks of crossing the border illegally.¹¹⁵ By the midnineteenth century Sanborn maps show a large border administration center just southwest of the district, housing the U.S. Immigration and Border Patrol Headquarters, and U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service Office, among others.¹¹⁶ Anecdotal sources mention that this increased border surveillance led to clandestine infrastructure in Segundo Barrio such as tunnels for smuggling goods and people from Mexico into the U.S. beginning with the period of rationing during World War II, and continuing to the present day. By the 1970s Segundo Barrio's proximity to the *Puente Negro* or "Black Bridge," (the Santa Fe Street rail bridge) a notorious crossing point for illegal entry to the US, increased Border Patrol activity in the neighborhood and adjacent Chihuahuita. The Border Patrol stopped South El Paso residents on the street asking for papers, and sometimes residents would find undocumented immigrants hiding in their buildings or properties.¹¹⁷

The U.S. Bracero Program

Despite the increased surveillance at the border and anti-immigrant sentiment, immigration from Mexico via Ciudad Juárez increased again in the 1940s. The U.S. faced a labor supply shortage during World War II, and decreases in farm wages meant that many U.S. citizens were unwilling to take farm jobs. The *bracero* temporary work program, operating from 1941 to 1964, took Mexican workers to U.S. farms in order to meet the need for labor. Undocumented immigration also increased during this period given the huge demand for Mexican labor. Many farm workers came through the El Paso area as a result of the *bracero* program because Rio Vista farm, in the Lower Valley of El Paso County, was the main processing center.¹¹⁸ Up to 1,000 workers were processed daily at El Paso, and thousands more were waiting in Ciudad Juárez for the opportunity to cross.¹¹⁹ A backlash in 1954 led to deportation of some 35,000 undocumented Mexican immigrants in El Paso in a single week.¹²⁰ Because many *braceros* waited for an extended period of time for an opportunity to work, some opted to live under the bridges south of the district boundaries. As one point of entry for these workers, the Stanton Street bridge saw a constant influx of people being trucked in. Here workers were given medical examinations and bathed with a toxic disinfectant powder in broad daylight.¹²¹ And although workers did not live in Segundo Barrio during their tenure as *braceros*, many stayed in the El Paso/Juárez area and may have lived or spent time in the district as their lives in the U.S. evolved.¹²²

¹¹⁴ Elizabeth Dezler and Sheryl Wilcox, "Border Patrol Used Variety of Methods to Control Immigration," *Borderlands* vol. 14 (1996), from the El Paso Community College Library, accessed Nov. 14, 2017, <u>http://epcc.libguides.com/content.php?pid=3</u> 09255&sid=2626308; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, U.S. Customs and Border Protection, "Border Patrol History," accessed Oct. 7, 2020 https://www.cbp.gov/border-security/along-us-borders/history.

¹¹⁵ Dezler, "Border Patrol Used Variety of Methods."

¹¹⁶ By the mid-nineteenth century, Sanborn maps show a large border administration center just southwest of the district, housing the U.S. Immigration and Border Patrol Headquarters, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service Office, among others.

¹¹⁷ Morales, "Chihuahuita," 30.

¹¹⁸ Hardy Heck Moore, Inc., "Rio Vista Farm Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1995.

¹¹⁹ Tanya Carbajal, "Historians chronicle lives, dreams of Mexican braceros in U.S. labor program," *Borderzine*, May 5, 2015, <u>https://borderzine.com/2015/05/utep-historians-chronicle-lives-dreams-of-mexican-braceros-in-u-s-labor-program/</u>.

¹²⁰ Timmons, *El Paso: A Borderlands History*, 281, 291.

¹²¹ Myrna Parra-Mantilla, "Manuel Vázquez," in Bracero History Archive, Item #73, accessed Oct. 8, 2020, <u>http://braceroarchive.org/items/show/73</u>.

¹²² Additional future research is recommended to locate the stories of specific individuals within the Bracero program who lived or worked in Segundo Barrio.

Social History: The Barrio's Function of Connecting Immigrants with Community

<u>Religion</u>

Since the neighborhood's inception, religion was an important force in Segundo Barrio's social, cultural, and environmental development. In the era of Spanish colonial rule, the El Paso area was part of the mission system, which combined missionary work with political and social infrastructure. As a welcoming place for primarily Catholic Mexican immigrants from the late nineteenth century onward, the neighborhood became a bastion of Catholic churches where Mexican religious practices, festivities, and traditions were common. Catholic churches acted as neighborhood hubs, and their establishment throughout the barrio was linked to development and settlement patterns, their ministries increasing with migration from Mexico. Other religious sects also found a home in Segundo Barrio, including Baptists and Methodists, but Mexican religious practices and traditions represent Segundo Barrio's dominant identity and social infrastructure.

Catholic Identity of the Neighborhood

The Catholic Church served as an important civic and cultural institution in the greater El Paso-Ciudad Juárez area since it was a Spanish settlement. The church also guided development through the establishment of missions and presidios (forts), with early population centers clustered around these political, social, and defensive bastions of an extensive colonial infrastucture. Throughout history, this Catholic identity linked El Paso to both American Southwest and Northern Mexican Catholic dioceses and traditions. Beginning in the sixteenth century, current-day Ciudad Juárez and El Paso's Yselta, Socorro, and nearby San Elizario were all part of the Franciscan network of religious settlement.¹²³ As development hastened on the northern side of the Rio Grande, El Paso residents crossed the river in hand-pulled ferries to go to services at Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, the mission established in 1659 in present-day Ciudad Juárez. In 1882 the Catholic Diocese built its first church in downtown El Paso on North Oregon Street, part of the Diocese of Durgano, Mexico. This church, known as either St. Mary's or Holy Family, offered two Sunday masses, one for Spanish-speakers and one in English.¹²⁴

Church construction in Segundo Barrio followed with and contributed to population growth in different nodes of the neighborhood, beginning with Sacred Heart Church in 1892. El Paso became part of the Diocese of Dallas in 1892, and Jesuit Reverend Carlos Pinto, who became known as the "Apostle of El Paso," established two new parishes, one of which was Segundo Barrio's Sacred Heart Church, intended to serve the Spanish-speaking community.¹²⁵ The Sacred Heart Church, rectory, and school occupied the 10 lots at the block on South Oregon Street between Fourth and Fifth Streets (currently East Father Rahm Drive, fig. 21). The Sacred Heart Parochial School was built before the church, sited at the southern edge of the block (photo 40).¹²⁶ The church currently occupying the site is an enlarged version built in 1923 to host the influx of immigrants arriving during the Mexican Revolution (photo 40).¹²⁷ The enlarged church enveloped the original 800-seat building and provided seating for 2,100.¹²⁸ At the time the church was built, the adjacent

¹²³ Historic American Buildings Survey, "El Camino de las Misiones, Ysleta, Socorro, San Elizario Vicinity, San Elizario, El Paso County, TX," El Paso County San Elizario Texas, 1933, accessed Oct. 13, 2020, from the Library of Congress, <u>https://www.loc.gov/item/tx0139/</u>.

¹²⁴ Okla A. McKee, "El Paso, Catholic Diocese of," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed Oct. 13, 2020, <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/el-paso-catholic-diocese-of</u>.

¹²⁵ McKee, "Catholic Diocese of El Paso"; Steven P. Ryan, S.J., "Pinto, Carlos M. (1841-1919)," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed Nov. 24, 2020, <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/pinto-carlos-m</u>.

¹²⁶ Portals at the Pass: El Paso Architecture to 1930 (El Paso, Texas: El Paso Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, ca. 1984), 19.

¹²⁷ "Sacred Heart Church," *El Paso Times*, September 16, 1923, 37.

¹²⁸ Portals at the Pass, 19.

blocks were sparsely developed, with several vacant lots shown in 1893 Sanborn maps, but there was a cluster of "Mexican shanties" concentrated between Fourth and Fifth Streets (currently East Father Rahm Drive). The available land likely made the area feasible for the construction of a large-scale project like a church, and the proximity of a Mexican population also would have made such a site attractive. The development of the church guided further development in the surrounding blocks, 1898 Sanborns showing an increase in nearby "Mexican tenements" and even a nearby proposed church (which became a "Mexican Methodist Church") likey taking advantage of its proximity to Sacred Heart to attract parishioners.

Over time, Reverend Pinto built several more churches, including Saint Ignatius at the corner of Park and East Third Streets (currently Delta Drive, fig. 29). The original Saint Ignatius church was built in 1904 to house the increasing eastward movement of settlement in Segundo Barrio after major floods in the more central area in 1897, and the church expanded its capacity in 1913 (fig. 30, photos 3 and 4).¹²⁹ This need for expansion was due to Mexican migration as well as as an influx of Irish Catholic soldiers stationed at nearby Camp Cotton during the Revolution.¹³⁰ Development of Saint Ignatius followed a similar pattern to Sacred Heart, with surrounding vacant lots shown on 1905 Sanborn maps and an increase in residential construction in subsequent years, especially to the northwest. Segundo Barrio was also home to churches of other denominations, including the 1905 Mexican M.E. Church at 715 South Oregon Street (photo 10) and the Second Baptist Church, founded in 1884 by El Paso's five Black Baptist residents, and moving to its current location in 1907 (photo 38).¹³¹ In the early 1900s, various Protestant sects began missionary work in the neighborhood (as discussed below).

Religious traditions had great cultural significance among Segundo Barrio's residents. The church was a community resource in an area often neglected by politicians, and many religious festivities, traditions, or other practices took place outside the walls of the church itself. Despite its connection to the Catholic institution, the Southwest had a unique regional version of Catholicism due to the existence of popular Mexican traditions. While Mexican practices and top-down management by the Diocese were sometimes at odds, Segundo Barrio was largely able to hold on to and celebrate its traditions. The Southwest Catholic community faced a turning point when great swaths of Mexican territory switched to the U.S. in 1848. European American and European national priests were appointed to areas where Spanish priests had been practicing, and there were often tensions between these priests and their Mexican American congregations. In some instances this further strengthened Mexican Catholic traditions as practitioners continued their own traditions outside the church.¹³² Segundo Barrio was relatively culturally inclusive compared to many other areas in El Paso and the Southwest; although priests were largely European American or European (many were Italian), they were relatively sensitive to Mexican cultural and religious practices. Certain religious and cultural events were hosted in Spanish, and parochial schools such as at Sacred Heart were allowed to be bilingual, teaching Mexican history and traditions.¹³³

Ongoing Mexican Catholic cultural traditions helped strengthen community ties for generations of Mexican immigrants to El Paso and the Southwest generally. Celebrations such as saint days; Christmas traditions including *pastorelas* and *posadas*; pilgrimages to sacred sites; Día de los Muertos; and family practices such as *luto* or mourning death and home altars, all created a dense web of social ties and practices. Traditons such as the *pastorelas*, or plays reenacting the Christmas story, were a made up of old world and new world religious influences, originally disseminated by the

¹²⁹ Garcia, Desert Immigrants, 132; "St. Ignatius," Digital Information Gateway in El Paso, El Paso Museum of History, accessed Nov. 4, 2020, <u>https://www.digie.org/media/6133</u>.

¹³⁰ "Work Starts on \$22,000 Church," *El Paso Herald*, February 5, 1913, 5 (note that R.S. Davis is also referred to as R.C. Davis in another news article from the same period); "St. Ignatius," Digital Information Gateway in El Paso, El Paso Museum of History, accessed Nov. 4, 2020, <u>https://www.digie.org/media/6133</u>.

¹³¹ Blueford, "Second Baptist Church."

¹³² Grimes, et al., "Latinos in Twentieth Century California," E-25.

¹³³ Mario T. García, "The Chicano Southwest: Catholicism and Its Meaning," U.S. Catholic Historian 18, no. 4 (2000): 9.

Franciscans but taking on new popular meaning in regions like New Mexico and Texas.¹³⁴ *Posadas*, a common Mexican tradition, were neighborhood processions reenacting Mary and Joseph looking for shelter, including typical songs regaled outside each home visited. In Segundo Barrio, Bowie High School students participating in *posadas* made stops at neighbohood homes where some residents decorated their homes and served traditional Christmas foods such as tamales.¹³⁵ Historian Mario T. García describes another Catholic event from his childhood in El Paso, the Corpus Christi procession:

The large assembly would proceed down Mesa into the downtown area stopping at several points where prayers were said at what resembled decorated stations of the cross or makeshift altars. People came from all of the parishes so that some recited the rosary in English while some in Spanish. The procession would be through the streets of the city stopping all traffic... The procession would snake its way into South El Paso where it seemed to take on an even more Mexican character. The final destination was Sacred Heart in *El Segundo Barrio*... Here everything was in Spanish and this was now clearly a Mexican event.¹³⁶

The perseverance of these traditions contributed to a socially cohesive (although not monolithic) Mexican American religious culture in Segundo Barrio, influenced by Catholic traditions formed by generations of Mexican immigrants to the area.

While not always explicitly religious in nature, early forms of social organization called *mutualistas*, or mutual aid societies, overlapped with Catholic culture and were essential community resources in El Paso and throughout the Mexican American Southwest. *Mutualistas* often provided social welfare functions that Mexican Americans could not receive from the state or their employers such as emergency loans, financial support in the case of illness or death, and legal services. They were also important venues for cultural reinforcement, hosting popular religious celebrations.¹³⁷ Some *mutualistas* were dedicated to certain saints, such as the *Union Católica San Jose*, a *mutualista* with a meeting hall at 501 South Virginia Street that dedicated itself to promoting Catholicism as well as providing emergency aid (photo 42).¹³⁸ These organizations were sometimes political in nature and were early building blocks for later civil rights organization.¹³⁹ *Mutualistas* accompanied Mexican immigrants from Mexico, arriving in the nineteenth century and lasting until much later.¹⁴⁰ City directories as late as 1940 still list several Mexican American organizations, including Segundo Barrio's *Union Católica de San Jose*, the *Sociedad Beneficencia Mexicana*, and the *Alianza Hispano Americana* which had one lodge president at 805 South Tays Street.¹⁴¹

The Catholic Church continued to be an instrumental force in the neighborhood throughout the twentieth century, providing social, medical, and political services within the community. In the early twentieth century, Catholic priests began distributing food baskets and establishing soup kitchens in thisarea, perhaps in response to the Protestant activity in the neighborhood or the poverty of the Great Depression.¹⁴² In the late 1930s to 1950s, Segundo Barrio was notorious for growing gang activity and *pachucos* or "zoot suiters," and the Catholic churches and local Mexican American organizations extended outreach services to youth in this era. Father Harold Rahm, assistant pastor at Sacred Heart church

¹³⁴ G.A. Feather, "Los Pastores," Password of the El Paso County Historical Society vol. IX no. 2 (Summer 1964): 51.

¹³⁵ For a photograph of a nativity scene in Segundo Barrio, see "Christmas Nativity Scene," Digital Information Gateway in El Paso, El Paso Museum of History, <u>https://www.digie.org/media/9295</u>.

¹³⁶ García, "The Chicano Southwest," 5.

¹³⁷ Grimes, "Latinos in Twentieth Century California," E-95; "The Chicano Southwest," 7; Marquez, "Power and Politics," 72.

¹³⁸ Garcia, "The Chicano Southwest," 12.

¹³⁹ Grimes, "Latinos in Twentieth Century California," E-95.

¹⁴⁰ Garcia, "The Chicano Southwest," 7.

¹⁴¹ El Paso City Directory, 1940 (El Paso: Hudspeth Directory Co., 1940), 865.

¹⁴² Ruíz, "Dead Ends or Gold Mines," 40.

for 12 years beginning in 1952, was an especially integral part of this social outreach within the Catholic Church. Sometimes known as the "bicycle priest," Father Rahm frequented the neighborhood on a bicycle, reaching out to local gang members and urging them to participate in other activities such as boxing.¹⁴³ Father Rahm was also greatly invested in the politial and economic success of Segundo Barrio residents. He founded the Tepeyac Credit Union, providing an alternative for residents to loan sharks.¹⁴⁴ By the 1960s, Father Rahm was instrumental in organizing residents and speaking out against predatory practices by local landlords, at one meeting urging tenement owners not to "…look too much at your pocket books… If you think less of your pocketbook and invest in people, teaching them to better care for property, you'll get more than your money back."¹⁴⁵

Reform in the Barrio: Progressive Movements, the New Deal, and the Great Society

Poor living conditions characterized Segundo Barrio since its inception, but they became so deplorable by the early twentieth century that many El Paso residents became concerned. The neighborhood's original housing consisted of *jacales* or small homes made of mud, sticks, and other salvaged materials, as well as small homes made of adobe bricks (fig. 26, photo 60).¹⁴⁶ With the arrival of the railroad, landlords focused on fitting as many low-paid workers as possible into the area, creating tenement buildings that were overcrowded by design. This solidified a pattern wherein neighborhood residents were majority renters rather than homeowners, therefore lacking avenues to improve their own living conditions. This, compounded with Mexican American families' lack of housing opportunities and patterns of nuclear and intergenerational family living (as discussed previously), resulted in highly concentrated populations in cramped spaces, in buildings that often had only one shared bathroom (photos 52, 61). By the time of the surge of Mexican migration during 1910–1920, many of these buildings were in need of repair and had been neglected in terms of modern hygeinic standards; they had no indoor plumbing and the neighborhood had no city sanitation services.¹⁴⁷ By 1913 more than 20 houses (with more than 100 rooms) had been condemned.¹⁴⁸ These unsanitary conditions led to rampant health problems, including an "alarmingly high" infant mortality rate with 52 out of 121 deaths in July 1914 being children under five years old.¹⁴⁹ The neighborhood was also especially hard-hit by the Spanish influenza pandemic in 1917–1918, with makeshift hospitals in tenement buildings on Santa Fe Street.¹⁵⁰

As in many urban American neighborhoods with similar conditions in this era, Segundo Barrio became the target of progressive-era social services. El Paso's residents became active in progressive reforms, which were a nationwide trend largely characterized by a concern for improving the moral fabric of society.¹⁵¹ Residents in urban areas throughout the country that had experienced mass increases in immigrant laborers—such as New York City, San Francisco, and Honolulu—found the conditions in their cities alarming and rallied around improvements. Reform politics in El Paso

¹⁴³ Maria Cortes Gonzales, "Father Harold Rahm, Known as the Bicycle Priest, Died Saturday, Diocese Says," *El Paso Times*, accessed Nov. 17, 2020, <u>https://www.elpasotimes.com/story/news/local/el-paso/2019/11/30/father-harold-rahm-bicycle-priest-el-paso-segundo-barrio-dies-100/4341325002/.</u>

¹⁴⁴ El Segundo Barrio Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy, 11.

¹⁴⁵ As quoted in Marquez, "Power and Politics," 97.

¹⁴⁶ Fred M. Morales, "Chihuahuita: A Neglected Corner of El Paso," *Password of the EL Paso Historical Society* vol. XXXVI no. 1 (Spring 1991): 27.

¹⁴⁷ Leyva, "¿Qué Son Los Niños?" 182.

¹⁴⁸ Leyva, "¿Qué Son Los Niños?" 190.

¹⁴⁹ Vicki Ruíz, "Dead Ends or Gold Mines?: Using Missionary Records in Mexican-American Women's History," Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies, vol. 12, no. 1 (1991): 33.

¹⁵⁰ Morales, "Chihuahuita," 28. Note that page 146 of Garcia's *Desert Immigrants* refers to the Aoy School as the site of a temporary hospital during the Spanish flu. Further research required to determine if both tenements and the school were used.

¹⁵¹ "Prohibition: A Case Study of Progressive Reform," U.S. Primary Source Timeline, Library of Congress, accessed Oct. 15, 2020, <u>https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/progressive-era-to-new-era-1900-1929/prohibition-case-study-of-progressive-reform/.</u>

sometimes manifested in sensationalized public debates over vice and drinking such as the 1908 Baskin-McGregor Act which "seriously curtailed saloon activities," many of which were occurring in Segundo Barrio which was sometimes described as a "vice district."¹⁵² Sensationalist reform politics touched on Segundo Barrio again with the unsuccesful attempt in 1922 to close international bridges at 6 p.m. to stop the flow of vice-related tourists headed to Ciudad Juárez during the Prohibition era.¹⁵³ However, reformers also took on less publicized, more practical-minded efforts.

These reformers—who were largely middle class European American Protestants—were also interested in the general welfare of El Paso's least fortunate citizens.¹⁵⁴ Improving public health was a primary concern, in order to curtail the spread of infections diseases such as tuberculosis and typhoid among Segundo Barrio residents and throughout El Paso.¹⁵⁵ Various charitable organizations, both private and public, began to emerge in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as the Woman's Charity Association (later called Associated Charities), the Ladies Benevolent Society, and the Charity Union.¹⁵⁶ Women were often seen as the most effective demographic for religious conversion because they could infuence decisions at the family scale.¹⁵⁷ Many community centers developed throughout the twentieth century in Segundo Barrio, including the 1921 Robert Krakauer Memorial Building (now called the Willie Sanchez Rosales Family Center) (photo 48) and the 1940 Henderson Health Clinic (photo 49). Services offered by new charity organizations largely focused on "Americanization" of immigrants, public health, and job skills training.

This moralizing fervor found an ideal venue for social improvement in Segundo Barrio, which had largely been neglected and genuinely needed access to resources. The narrative of improvement partly relied on an inherent racialization of the problems the neighborhood faced. A 1915 report on living conditions in the area cited "the Mexican condition" as part of the neighborhood's problem, along with unsatisfactory sanitary conditions.¹⁵⁸ A Methodist Protestant pamphlet from the 1930s alluded to Mexican Catholicism as pagan or superstitious.¹⁵⁹ Mexican children, especially those who crossed back and forth to Ciudad Juárez, were feared due to sensationalist press about ther lawlessness.¹⁶⁰ Even adobe as a building material came under attack as posing a hygiene risk, simply because it did not meet the image of a progressive city.¹⁶¹

Protestant Missionary Services

Two prominent, longstanding, and effective community centers in South El Paso were the Rose Gregory Houchen Settlement House, which began service in 1893 but was officially founded in 1912,¹⁶² and the Lydia Patterson Institute,

¹⁵² Ken Jackson, "Reformers Fight Saloon Men in El Paso County Attorney's Election (or were they Reformers?)," *Password of the El Paso Historical Society* vol. 53 no. 1 (Spring 2008): 23.

¹⁵³ Dr. Robin Robinson, "Morality and Money on the Border: The Reverend Bob Jones Crusade, El Paso 1922," Password of the El Paso Historical Society vol. 53 no. 1 (Spring 2008): 6.

¹⁵⁴ Leyva, "¿Qué Son Los Niños? 184. Not *all* reformers were European American. Pages 25-26 of Jackson's "Reformers Fight Saloon Men" mention that the Mexican revolutionary and editor of the "Reforma Social," Lauro Aguirre, spoke in support of the Baskin-McGregor Act due to concern over the resulting lowering of property values in Chihuahuita if saloons and gambling were allowed to run rampant. Furthermore, the Mexican vote was important in El Paso and reform politics often involved extensive pandering to South El Paso.

¹⁵⁵ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 56.

¹⁵⁶ See Leyva, "¿Qué Son Los Niños?," Chapter VI: Inclusion and Exclusion: Mexican Children and Social Services Along the Border, especially pages 184-207, for an in-depth history of charitable organizations of the period, especially as pertain to childcare.

¹⁵⁷ Ruíz, "Dead Ends or Gold Mines?" 40.

¹⁵⁸ As quoted in Leyva, "¿Qué Son Los Niños?" 185.

¹⁵⁹ Ruíz, "Dead Ends or Gold Mines?" 38.

¹⁶⁰ Leyva, "¿Qué Son Los Niños?" 193.

¹⁶¹ Palmore, "From Passage to Place."

¹⁶² Leyva, "¿Qué Son Los Niños?" 190.

founded in 1913 (photo 16). The settlement house, currently the Houchen Community Center, was at 609 Tays Street, in the historic Segundo Barrio neighborhood (although outside the present historic district boundaries). The Patterson Institute remains active in Segundo Barrio and occupies the block between South Campbell and South Florence Streets, south of East Third Avenue. Both were founded by Methodist missionaries with an interest in improving the conditions of the immigrant poor while teaching Methodist beliefs.¹⁶³

The Rose Gregory Houchen Settlement House provided shelter for single immigrant women and hosted a kindergarten program and a church, "El Buen Pastor." In 1920 Houchen grew to include an adjacent maternity clinic in response to the dire need for infant and maternal healthcare. The clinic was very successful, perhaps serving one fourth to one third of El Paso's Mexican population from 1930 to 1950.¹⁶⁴ The kindergarten also filled a void by providing the first bilingual learning program in El Paso, preparing Spanish-speaking children for their entry to the English-only school system. Many staff learned Spanish, and students sang Spanish-language songs, in addition to the more Americanizing curriculum which included programs such as Camp Fire Girls, scouting, hygiene, cooking, etiquette, and citizenship classes.¹⁶⁵ Much of the curriculum focused on Americanization, as described by Dorothy Little, a Methodist missionary at the settlement house:

Houchen settlement stands as a sentinel of friendship... between the people of America and the people of Mexico. We assimilate the best of their culture, their art, their ideals and they in turn gladly accept the best America has to offer as they... become one with us. For right here within our four walls is begun much of the 'Melting' process of our 'Melting Pot.'¹⁶⁶

Although the missionaries hoped to create a Methodist enclave in Segundo Barrio, most residents were cautiously skeptical of the new faith. Some mothers only allowed their children to go to Houchen under certain conditions, such as not being allowed inside or not to take any "cookies or Kool-Aid."¹⁶⁷ Nevertheless, Houchen was widely used and later became a community center with more Latino staff, even hosting meetings of the Leauge of United Latin-American Citizens (LULAC), discussed further below.¹⁶⁸

The Lydia Patterson Institue aimed to provide high-quality education and recreational opportunities in Segundo Barrio, also focusing on youth. The Franklin School was the first to serve the Mexican population, and while more schools had opened by 1913, the educational prospects in the neighborhood were still lacking.¹⁶⁹ The Patterson Institute's missionary scope was much broader in scale than Segundo Barrio, originally intended "for the preparation of young men to preach the gospel of Christ in Mexico." As such, it did not only serve students from Segundo Barrio, but also those from Ciuadad Juárez and throughout Latin America.¹⁷⁰ In 1915, the Institute had classes in English and Spanish, Bible, and Commerce, and hosted events such as a mother's club and a literary society.¹⁷¹ By 1916, a Mexican YMCA had opened in the basement in an attempt to provide an alternative to juvenile delinquency, and the Institute later housed the El Paso Boys' Club whose aims were to "take boys off the street."¹⁷² In 1921 the campus expanded to include space for vocational training and shops. Historian Yolanda Chávez Leyva argues that services like vocational training and the Boys' Club

¹⁶³ Leyva, "¿Qué Son Los Niños?" 190; Clinton P. Hartman, "Lydia Patterson Institute: A Living Memorial," Password of the El Paso Historical Society vol. XXXIV no. 3 (Fall 1989): 110-111.

¹⁶⁴ Ruíz, "Dead Ends or Gold Mines," 35-37.

¹⁶⁵ Ruíz, "Dead Ends or Gold Mines," 42.

¹⁶⁶ Ruíz, "Dead Ends or Gold Mines," 38.

¹⁶⁷ Ruíz, "Dead Ends or Gold Mines?" 38.

¹⁶⁸ Ruíz, "Dead Ends or Gold Mines?" 49.

¹⁶⁹ Morales, "Chihuahuita," 25.

¹⁷⁰ Hartman, "Lydia Patterson Institute," 108, 113.

¹⁷¹ Hartman, "Lydia Patterson Institute," 113.

¹⁷² Leyva, "¿Qué Son Los Niños?" 196.

reflected prevalent thought that Segundo Barrio's youth was a latent pool of cheap labor – a 1925 city report calling them "essential to the city's economy" – that needed to be properly socialized to be of use to society.¹⁷³

Reform from within the Mexican American Community

The Catholic Church shifted its stance in the early twentieth century from one of occasional tolerance of Mexican Americans to a more active social doctrine and active outreach. The Catholic Church opened an office of the Bureau of Immigration—an office established by the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC) in the neighborhood 1920—which had offices at various locations on Santa Fe Street including 1205 South Santa Fe Street in 1940. The NCWC was founded in 1919 in response to an order from Pope Benedict XV to American bishops urging them to focus on world peace and progress in education and social justice. The Bureau of Immigration provided immigrants with legal and financial assistance. The office was outspoken on issues of immigrant rights, and local director Cleofas Calleros protested against the deportation of 300 "aliens" from El Paso in 1930.¹⁷⁴

Public Infrastructure Improvements

Interest in public improvements such as infrastructure, parks, and housing also increased in the early twentieth century, as illustrated by the 1925 *El Paso Plan*, or "Kessler Report," which argued that access to quality public resources was necessary in Segundo Barrio:

Health conservation and educational facilities; means of recreation and reasonable comforts; good housing; clean, well drained and well kept streets and alleys... these are all to be taken care of, in Chihuahuita, with particular earnestness. Self interest of the entire American population requires it, if no other consideration.¹⁷⁵

While these improvements were largely argued in terms of improved productivity of the neighborhood's population (described as a "reservoir of labor"), and the neighborhood's importance for making first impressions when crossing the international boundary, Kessler's plan stressed the disastrous effects that neglecting the neighborhood would have, both socially and economically.¹⁷⁶ Public investment in the neighborhood slowly increased throughout the twentieth century, with resources such as public housing developments, public schools, and neighborhood parks.

Some of the earliest public attempts at improvement in the neighborhood came with updating the largely nonexistent road and water infrastructure beginning in the late nineteenth century. After two especially destructive flood events, including the collapse of the northern embankment of the historic canal (roughly aligned with Eighth Street, later covered by the Paseo de los Heroes park) in 1891, and another major flood in 1897, the city installed flood mitigation and drainage improvements in 1899.¹⁷⁷ In the late nineteenth century, barrio residents had no public water supply and either had shallow wells or went to the Rio Grande to gather water.¹⁷⁸ Neighborhood residents also used the river to bathe and swim in, which many El Paso residents saw as distasteful or "immoral," but the dangers of the river's current also resulted in numerous deaths. In 1905, the chief of police issued an order prohibiting bathing and "indecent exposure" in the river between certain hours. Segundo Barrio residents had no other option for bathing, and it was only when officials realized

¹⁷³ Leyva, "¿Qué Son Los Niños?" 196.

¹⁷⁴ Finding Aid, National Catholic Welfare Conference Case Files (MS 173), Border History Manuscript Collection, University of Texas at El Paso Library, accessed Oct. 13, 2020.

¹⁷⁵ The 1925 City Plan, 50.

¹⁷⁶ The 1925 City Plan, 49-51.

¹⁷⁷ Garcia, Desert Immigrants, 139; El Segundo Barrio Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy, 9.

¹⁷⁸ Garcia, Desert Immigrants, 136; Hodges, "A Study of El Paso's Turbulent History," 27.

the impossibility of enforcing such an order that the city began discussion of water and sewer infrastructure.¹⁷⁹ Shortly thereafter, the city council ordered the health department to install as many water connections as possible on each lot, landlord and tenants splitting the cost burden due to backlash by landowners at the cost of construction.¹⁸⁰

This improvement by no means addressed all the neighborhood's public infrastructure, which continued to lag behind the rest of El Paso throughout the twentieth century. By 1906 all streets north of Oregon Street in White-majority neighborhoods were paved, but in Segundo Barrio only South El Paso Street had been paved by 1907.¹⁸¹ Major streets and sidewalks were paved after 1910, but the streets that remained unpaved became "virtual rivers" in rain events, and a 1913 *El Paso Herald* article claimed that "streets have gone without grading and water and slime and rotten sludge stand for weeks in front of the houses of the poor."¹⁸² In 1916, the city graded more streets in the neighborhood and installed improved stormwater and sewer systems to encourage the construction of tenement houses.¹⁸³ It wasn't until the 1950s and 1960s that streets and alleys in the neighborhood were finally paved, partly through a Municipal Bond that helped improve street conditions throughout El Paso.¹⁸⁴

Public Housing

Public housing was a crucial government strategy for improving conditions in Segundo Barrio. As early as 1930, El Paso city officials were interested in tackling the issue of housing with the creation of the Southside Welfare Association Committee, which drew plans for new model tenements including improved ventilation and light.¹⁸⁵ With the passage of the Roosevelt administration's 1937 U.S. Housing Act, public housing became a possibility in U.S. cities, especially when aimed at improving slum conditions.¹⁸⁶ Segundo Barrio was a perfect fit for this type of funding, and in 1938 the City created the El Paso Housing Authority in order to take advantage of new federal money. The 1940 Alamito Housing Project was one of the first public housing developments in El Paso (shortly followed by the Tays Public Housing Project, outside the district). Alamito lay just beyond the district boundaries in the blocks between South Virginia and Park Streets and Second Avenue and Fifth Street (currently Paisano and Father Rahm Drives), and was an early attempt to address the overcrowding and poor housing conditions in Segundo Barrio (fig. 38). After purchasing the properties previously on-site through a combination of purchases and condemnation suits, the Housing Authority carried the project out with a federal slum clearance loan and city funds.¹⁸⁷ They created 349 new units of housing within 45 new buildings spread out among ample open space on newly conjoined city blocks (fig. 7). These apartments were a vast improvement from many existing tenement conditions, with new appliances, plumbing, heating and electrical service. The complex also included a library, nursery, and recreation building. Alamito also had a social mission, continuing the legacy of Americanization and "moral improvement" of the neighborhood's residents. Alamito hosted classes in homemaking, hygiene, appliances, and food management, early proponents of Alamito hoping to "...indoctrinate tenants on every phase of better living."¹⁸⁸ The

¹⁷⁹ Garcia, Desert Immigrants, 136.

¹⁸⁰ Garcia, Desert Immigrants, 137.

¹⁸¹ Garcia, *Desert Immigrants*, 138.

¹⁸² Garcia, Desert Immigrants, 138-9; as quoted in Hodges, "A Study of El Paso's Turbulent History."

¹⁸³ Garcia, Desert Immigrants, 142.

¹⁸⁴ El Segundo Barrio Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy, 11; Cliff Sherrill, "Biggest Slice of Funds Tagged for Improving El Paso's Streets," El Paso Herald-Post, October 24, 1958, 1 and 10.

¹⁸⁵ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 62.

¹⁸⁶ Alexander, Von Hoffman, "History Lessons for Today's Housing Policy, The Political Processes of Making Low-Income Housing Policy," prepared for the Joint Center for Housing Studies, Harvard University, 2012, from Harvard University, <u>https://www.ichs.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/w12-5_von_hoffman.pdf</u>.

¹⁸⁷ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 62-63; "Favor Million for El Paso's Slum Project," *El Paso Herald-Post*, January 26, 1938, 1; "Bids Sent out on Housing Project," *El Paso Herald-Post*, May 29, 1939, 10.

¹⁸⁸ As quoted in Marquez, "Power and Politics," 63.

arrival of the Alamito Public Housing Project had little short-term effect on the surrounding area within district boundaries, with Sanborn maps from 1954 showing the same adjacent fabric, including predominantly linear tenement buildings, although it did influence other public housing efforts decades later.

After the construction of the Alamito Project, 33 years would pass before another unit of public housing was built in Segundo Barrio.¹⁸⁹ Public housing in the U.S. boomed in the late 1960s and 1970s following the implementation of Lyndon B. Johnson's "Great Society" anti-poverty legislations in Congress. El Paso was no exception to this trend, with the housing authority increasing its number of units from 1,600 to 5,000 from 1970–1975, largely due to the actions of mayors Peter de Wetter (1969–1971) and Bert Williams (1971–1973).¹⁹⁰ Despite these gains in public housing stock in El Paso broadly, Segundo Barrio only received two more public housing developments in the 1970s; the 1974 Ambrosio Guillen Houses and the 1975 Father Carlos Pinto Apartments, neither of which falls within the period of historical significance. The Ambrosio Guillen Houses, located at Ninth and Campbell Streets (just south of the district boundaries) had 130 units.¹⁹¹ The Father Pinto Apartments, specifically targeted at elderly residents, was an eight-story apartment complex located between Eighth (currently Olivas V Aoy Avenue) and Ninth Streets, and South Florence and South Ochoa Streets (photo 30). Public housing was eventually added in the 1980s and in 2010, largely following an updated version of the Alamito apartments' design, with freestanding apartment buildings containing several units each (photo 62).

Public Schools

The first public school opened in El Paso in 1893, but at that time there was not a single student listed with a Spanish surname.¹⁹² This disparity was due largely to the fact that the El Paso School Board would not enroll Spanish-speaking students.¹⁹³ Public schools appeared in late-nineteenth-century Segundo Barrio to address this problem, but attendance was relatively low, due in part to the language barrier American schools presented to recent immigrants.¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, local parochial schools such as Sacred Heart allowed some degree of bilingual eduation, likely offering an advantage to local families.

Olivas Villanueva Aoy, an educator from Spain, founded one of the neighborhood's earliest schools in 1887 to remedy the lack of educational opportunities for Mexican and Black youth of El Paso.¹⁹⁵ Originally called the "Mexican Preparatory School," Aoy School was in the block between Kansas and Campbell Streets and Seventh and Eighth Streets, in the historic Segundo Barrio neighborhood but outside the district boundaries (original building no longer extant). Aoy School was incoroprated into the public school system in 1891.¹⁹⁶ The Alamo School, which opened in 1899, was another early school, an elementary school located on Hill Street between Third and Fourth Streets (also in the historic Segundo Barrio

¹⁸⁹ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 64.

¹⁹⁰ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 143.

¹⁹¹ "Ground Broken for New Low-Cost Housing Project," El Paso Herald-Post, May 19, 1973, A-2.

¹⁹² Conrey Bryson, "Aoy, Olives Villanueva," Handbook of Texas Online, accessed Nov. 16, 2020, <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/aoy-olives-villanueva</u>.

¹⁹³ Bryson, "Aoy, Olives Villanueva."

¹⁹⁴ "City of El Paso, Texas, Agenda Item Department Head's Summary Form," Planning and Economic Development Department, Planning Division, October 21, 2010, 6, from the City of El Paso, accessed November 16, 2020, <u>http://legacy.el</u> <u>pasotexas.gov/muni_clerk/agenda/11-16-10/11161008C.pdf</u>.

¹⁹⁵ Bryson, "Aoy, Olives Villanueva"; Marquez, "Power and Politics," 59.

 ¹⁹⁶ Miguel Juarez and Cynthia Weber Farah, *Colors on Desert Walls: The Murals of El Paso* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1997), 22.

neighborhood but outside the district boundaries). By 1908, the Alamo School had 517 students, 500 of which were Mexican American.¹⁹⁷

South El Paso housed two other nineteenth-century public schools; the 1890 Franklin School (no longer extant and outside the district boundaries, at the corner of Sonora and South Leon Streets) and the 1891 Douglass School, at the corner of East Fourth and South Kansas Streets (within the district boundaries). The Douglass School became a public school in 1896, and was listed as "colored" in early city directories and remained a school for Black children until 1956, when El Paso desegregated its school system (figs. 22, 23). Originally a four-room building, the Douglass School expanded to include a high school in 1896, and eventually moved to Eucalyptus Street (outside the district boundaries) in 1920 (photo 5).¹⁹⁸

As Mexican immigration increased in the early twentieth century, Segundo Barrio's schools became more crowded and also overwhelmingly Mexican and Mexican American due to European American residents leaving the neighborhood. And, while language continued to be an issue well into the twentieth century—with students penalized with "Spanish detention" for speaking Spanish on the premises—Mexican enrollment increased by the early twentieth century as more parents saw education as an opportunity for advancement. ¹⁹⁹ By 1917, 100 out of 163 students at the Franklin School were Mexican, and Alamo School had only 17 White students out of a total of 517.²⁰⁰

By the 1920s the school district decided to open a new school in Segundo Barrio to address the problem of overcrowding at the Aoy School. The Bowie School (currently Guillen Middle School), on Cotton Street between Sixth and Seventh Streets, opened in 1922 (fig. 36, photo 6).²⁰¹ While the previous schools had been more centrally located, eastward growth of the neighborhood in the early twentieth century made the Bowie School's eastern location more accessible for many residents. Bowie School had 18 new classrooms and served first through sixth grades from the area of Segundo Barrio south of Sixth Street and east of South Florence Street, registering 472 students in its first year.²⁰² By 1927, the school was a high school.²⁰³ When Bowie High School moved out of the district in 1973, Guillen Middle School moved into the building, named after a former Bowie student who died in military service in Korea.²⁰⁴

Segundo Barrio's public schools often acted as one of the few places of interaction between largely immigrant and Mexican American Segundo Barrio and the City of El Paso. As progressive-era concern for violence among youth in the neighborhood increased, neighborhood schools addressed these problems with their own Americanization programs. The Bowie School opened a 1920s recreation center aimed at decreasing juvenile delinquency among Mexican youth.²⁰⁵ This community center was lauded and recommended for other schools in "poorer sections of the city" in a 1928 letter in the *El*

¹⁹⁷ Garcia, Desert Immigrants, 132.

¹⁹⁸ "6/20 Douglass Grammar and High School," Digital Information Gateway in El Paso, El Paso Museum of History, accessed Nov. 16, 2020, <u>https://www.digie.org/album/21306/49976</u>.

¹⁹⁹ "City of El Paso, Texas, Agenda Item Department Head's Summary Form," Planning and Economic Development Department, Planning Division, October 21, 2010, 6, from the City of El Paso, accessed Nov. 16, 2020, <u>http://legacy.elpaso</u> texas.gov/muni_clerk/agenda/11-16-10/11161008C.pdf.

²⁰⁰ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 59.

²⁰¹ The school board was controlled by the Ku Klux Klan in 1922, leading to the school's naming after James Bowie, nineteenthcentury Texas Revolution soldier, also a slave trader and pioneer. For more information on the Ku Klux Klan's growing power in this era, see: <u>Carol Price Miller, "Resisting the Ku Klux Klan in El Paso," *Password of the El Paso County Historical Society* vol. 54 no. 1 (Spring 2009).</u>

²⁰² "Bowie School to Relieve Crowded Aoy District," *El Paso Times*, September 14, 1922.

²⁰³ Garcia, Desert Immigrants, 10.

²⁰⁴ El Segundo Barrio Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy, 10; "El Paso School Trustees Approve Renaming of Old Bowie High School," El Paso Times, August 16, 1972, 17.

²⁰⁵ Leyva, "¿Qué Son Los Niños?" 199.

Paso Times by the Superintendent of Schools.²⁰⁶ Similarly, the Aoy School had a parenting class for "little mothers" in the 1920s.²⁰⁷ As the Civil Rights and Chicano Power Movements gained momentum in later years, these schools became cultural hubs and places for Chicano youth to use their voice within the greater city political system. Mexican Americans adopted the once-derogatory term "Chicanco" in the 1960s as a symbol of their pride and deliberate separatism, rather than forced integration to mainstream society.²⁰⁸ The Bowie School's walls were adorned with murals portraying Mexican culture, often painted by students themselves, and Bowie students became instrumental in organizations such as the Mexican American Youth Association (MAYA, discussed further below).

Political Organzation

Early Organization for Anti-Discrimination and Inclusion: 1913–1957

While Segundo Barrio residents were often discriminated against, internal political organization within the community brought more power to the neighborhood throughout the twentieth century. Segundo Barrio's Black community began formally organizing against discrimination in the early twentieth century. In 1913, members of the recently formed El Paso Lyceum and Civic Improvement Society requested to be an official branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). They were officially approved in the following year, and member Dr. Lawrence Nixon was especially active in voting rights that helped Black El Pasoans gain voting rights.²⁰⁹ Maud Edith Sampson, president of the El Paso Colored Woman's Club, also advocated for Black women's suffrage.²¹⁰ Sampson and her husband, Edward P. Sampson, were Segundo Barrio residents living at 710 South St. Vrain Street (photo 55). NAACP members were not all Black, and they had some degree of support from other El Paso communities, as evidenced by an anti-lynching meeting attended by progressive Whites (including many from El Paso's Jewish community) at the Second Baptist church, a Black church in Segundo Barrio (photo 38).²¹¹

Segundo Barrio's Mexican American residents had a complicated relationship with enfranchisement throughout much of the twentieth century. Given the sheer number of potential Mexican American voters in Segundo Barrio, White politicians made a practice of campaigning heavily in the neighborhood to garner votes, even if their policies might do nothing to benefit the neighborhood. During the 1908 fight for the passage of the Baskin-McGregor Act (which limited saloon activities), "both sides desperately courted Mexican voters."²¹² In the 1920s, The Frontier Klan No. 100, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan threatened El Paso's established political system for power. The party's rise in popularity was partially attributed to the increase in Mexican immigration during the revolution and subsequent anti-immigrant sentiment.²¹³ During this election, Mexican Americans and Catholics prevented the KKK from gaining traction,²¹⁴ but a newspaper article decrying the threat of a Ku Klux Klan political victory indicates that the practice of pandering to Mexican votes, while no longer looked on kindly even by some members of the broader El Paso community, was still being attempted:

²⁰⁶ "Is it to be a Dream?" *El Paso Times*, January 6, 1928, 4.

²⁰⁷ Leyva, "¿Qué Son Los Niños?" 189.

²⁰⁸ Grimes, et al., "Latinos in Twentieth Century California," E-33.

²⁰⁹ Maceo Crenshaw Dailey Jr., Kathryn Smith-McGlynn and Cecilia Gutierrez Venable, *African Americans in El Paso* (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2014), 23.

²¹⁰ Will Guzman, "The El Paso Branch of the 1923 and 1929 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People," *Password of the El Paso Historical Society* vol. 60 no. 3 (Fall 2016): 72.

²¹¹ Guzman, "The El Paso Branch," 76.

²¹² Jackson, "Reformers Fight Saloon Men," 25.

²¹³ El Segundo Barrio Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy, 10.

²¹⁴ El Segundo Barrio Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy, 10.

In the years that have gone by, the business of herding the Mexican vote has gradually fallen into disrepute. Not only has it fallen into disrepute, but the Mexicans themselves have gradually asserted their self-respect. They in time came to know that they were being made dupes of by shrewd politicians.²¹⁵

While this perspective minimizes the ownership Mexican Americans had over the situation, it illustrates the problematic nature of enfranchisement in the neighborhood.

Movements for change in Segundo Barrio also came from El Paso's own Mexican American community, which became organized and vocal about the social and physical conditions in the neighborhood during this era. The most prominent Mexican American organization of this period was the League of United Latin American Citizens or LULAC. While most LULAC leaders were middle-class Mexican Americans who did not reside in Segundo Barrio, the organization's political activism impacted the neighborhood. Many LULAC members thought that working within the existing American political system was the best way to bring education and social services to Mexican communities and lift them out of poverty.²¹⁶ Gaining power within this system often required culturally distancing themselves from poor Mexicans. LULAC's ideologies were often in line with reform era Americanization strategies: they valued citizenship and assimilation.²¹⁷ As their name suggests, membership to LULAC was limited to U.S. citizens (English-speaking only), and they were known to come down against organized labor or further immigration to the U.S. by Mexicans.²¹⁸

Nonetheless, LULAC was an important early voice against discrimination, retaliating against exclusionary tactics such as a 1936 El Paso ruling that Mexicans would be registered as "colored" on birth and death records.²¹⁹ Furthermore, individual members of LULAC spearheaded projects that benefited Segundo Barrio residents. LULAC member Cleofas Calleros was an active participant in many organizations and an important figure in early civil rights advocacy in Segundo Barrio, where he resided at 806 Tays Street (photo 63).²²⁰ His work included the previously mentioned directorship of NCWC, as well as other community efforts to improve the neighborhood and promote the arts.²²¹ The social and religious principles of people like Calleros valued justice, and labor rights, and stood up against discrimination, influencing a new generation of middle-class Mexican Americans standing up for the rights of Segundo Barrio's citizens.²²² The return of Mexican American military personnel from World War II added momentum to LULAC and other organizations, as former soldiers sought the same values of equality and freedom they had witnessed while serving their country abroad, along with a newfound experience from within the American power structure.²²³

The 1957 election of Raymond Telles, the first Mexican American mayor of El Paso, marked the tail end of this early period of activism. A native of Segundo Barrio, Telles lived at 910 South St. Vrain Street as a child (photo 64).²²⁴ Telles

²¹⁷ Overmyer-Velázquez, "Good Neighbors and White Mexicans," 23.

²¹⁵ As quoted in Miller, "Resisting the KKK in El Paso," 21.

²¹⁶ Benjamin Marquez, "The Politics of Race and Class: The League of United Latin American Citizens in the Post-World War II Period," *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 68, No. 1 (March 1987), 86.

²¹⁸ Vicki Ruíz, From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America, 10th anniversary ed. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008), 89-90.

²¹⁹ Overmyer-Velázquez, "Good Neighbors and White Mexicans," 24.

²²⁰ U.S. City Directories, 1822-1995, Ancestry.com.

²²¹ Teresa Palomo Acosta, "Calleros, Cleofas," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed Oct. 13, 2020, <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/calleros-cleofas</u>.

²²² Garcia, "The Chicano Southwest," 12.

²²³ Marquez, "The Politics of Race and Class," 86-87.

²²⁴ "Year: 1920; Census Place: El Paso Precinct 6, El Paso, Texas; Roll: T625_1798; Page: 7B; Enumeration District: 48" from Ancestry.com.

served in the military before and during World War II, rising in the ranks to become a liaison officer between the U.S. and Mexican air forces, and a major by 1947 when he retired from active duty.²²⁵ World War II veterans returning from the war were an active force in early Latino civil rights movements, their equal participation in the war giving them a new perspective to argue for rights.²²⁶ Telles ran for county clerk in 1948 and won, partly due to active political organizing among Mexican Americans by his brother Richard who conducted poll tax fundraisers and registered many voters.²²⁷ When Telles decided to run for mayor in 1957 he was blackballed by the dominant El Paso business community, but he managed to win largely due to support from Mexican American neighborhoods.²²⁸ Again, Richard Telles and other activists organized successfully—an estimated 18,000 Hispanic surname voters were registered²²⁹—and deployed inventive tactics such as mobile mock voting booths to make new voters feel more ready for voting day.²³⁰ The success of the Telles campaign was a monumental gain for the Mexican American community, and as mayor he added more Mexican American employees to city positions, but he was constrained by his political context.²³¹ Telles was acutely aware of the scrutiny he was under as the first public representative of his community and maximized his power by not emphasizing his Mexican identity lest it make him seem extremist and lose favor with non-Mexican constituents.²³² This did not prevent him from attempting to improve conditions in Segundo Barrio, including a meeting with a federal judge in 1960 to request help in solving the area's housing problems, and conducting an extensive survey of area conditions in 1961 "to determine what we can do to remedy the situation."²³³

Exacerbated Inequalities in Political Power

By the 1960s, grassroots political organization in the U.S. was increasing as struggles for civil rights and against the war in Vietnam brought people together. For the Mexican American community, these struggles came in response to historic discrimination and disenfranchisement that was no longer tenable. On a national level, Chicano leadership became disillusioned with the democratic party and its inability to provide sufficient political power to Chicano and Latino activists.²³⁴ In Segundo Barrio, bargaining for Mexican American votes was still common practice, and the neighborhood was home to "the organization," described as "El Paso's closest approach to an old-time political machine."²³⁵ Politicians gave donations to the "organization," funding a few low-paid workers who got the word out in South El Paso and sometimes even paid the poll tax for the "most apathetic" Mexican citizens, who were often disappointed by the politician's lack of genuine attention to the neighborhood once in office.²³⁶

²²⁵ He was later recalled during the Korean War and retired with the rank of colonel. Jose Maria Herrera, "Telles, Raymond Lorenzo, Jr. (1915-2013)," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed Oct. 22, 2020, <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/telles-raymond-lorenzo-jr</u>.

²²⁶ Grimes, et al., "Latinos in Twentieth Century California," E-98.

²²⁷ Herrera, "Telles, Raymond Lorenzo."

²²⁸ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 33-34.

²²⁹ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 34.

²³⁰ Sarah Padilla and Lorraine Salazar, "First Hispanic Mayor Elected in 1957," *Borderlands* vol. 14 (1996), from El Paso Community College Library, accessed Nov. 14, 2017, <u>http://epcc.libguides.com/content.php?pid=309255&sid=2626386</u>.

²³¹ Padilla and Salazar, "First Hispanic Mayor."

²³² Marquez, "Power and Politics," 33.

²³³ "Mayor Telles Asks Help on Housing," *El Paso Herald-Post*, July 23, 1960, 1; "Average Income in South El Paso \$20.86 a Week," *El Paso Herald-Post*, April 14, 1961, 15.

²³⁴ See Pycior's "From Hope to Frustration" for further discussion of growing mistrust and antagonism between organizations such as the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) and the LBJ administration.

²³⁵ Adams, "A Report on Politics," I-14.

²³⁶ Adams, "A Report on Politics," I-14–18.

Despite early inroads in political participation such as the election of Telles, by the 1960s El Paso's Latino population especially the working-class residents of Segundo Barrio—had far less power than their demographic makeup would indicate. In 1962, 45 percent of the El Paso population had Hispanic surnames, as did 8 out of 10 of the foreign-born population.²³⁷ From 1970 to 1980 the El Paso Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area grew by more than 33 percent, over 62 percent of which was "Spanish Origin Population."²³⁸ Throughout the twentieth century, however, Mexican Americans were concentrated in low-skilled and low-paid jobs which provided little opportunity for upward mobility, and also suffered from high unemployment (refer to table 8-5).²³⁹ Aside from a few token positions, the Latino population was largely considered "not qualified" for positions in public office as well as many other high-skilled jobs.²⁴⁰

The Chicano Civil Rights Movement

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, political currents began to shift in Segundo Barrio, which was home to growing political activism and more radical Chicano identity. Segundo Barrio residents fought for more autonomy over their neighborhood, advocating for economic investment, jobs, residential preservation, and education reform, among other things. Fights over neighborhood preservation were especially mobilizing, as residents perceived the area as under threat from commercial and industrial development. The Chicano Civil Rights Movement resulted in the formation of many organizations and fights for participation and recognition within the neighborhood. LULAC remained active in Segundo Barrio, with both adult and youth chapters meeting at the Houchen Community Center, and activities such as poll tax drives, classes on citizenship and English, and social events.²⁴¹ In 1963, the Neighborhood Worker's Council was formed, an alliance of various organizations to address the housing conditions in Segundo Barrio.²⁴² Several more radical organizations were born, such as a local branch of the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations (PASSO) in the early 1960s. In the late 1960s, groups came out of Segundo Barrio such as the Southside Tenants Union, the Mexican American Youth Association (MAYA), and the Mexican American Committee on Honor Opportunity and Service (MACHOS). MAYA was born of four different area youth and sports organizations and a government-sponsored program called the Juvenile Delinquency Study Project which at one point had offices above Teatro Colón (photo 37).²⁴³ These groups likely met at local civic buildings, like Bowie High School (currently the Guillen Middle School). The Catholic Church, especially Father Harold J. Rahm, was also vocal and persistent in advocating for Segundo Barrio's quality of life.²⁴⁴ In the early 1970s another group was born, La Campaña Pro Preservación del Barrio (or La Campaña).

This period saw a shift in Mexican heritage identity from "Mexican American" to "Chicano." Raul Ruiz, who moved out of Segundo Barrio when he was young, recalls the connotations the two words had, and the ties the word "Chicano" had with Segundo Barrio:

...Mexican American – that was a term I recall hearing more as I grew up. I was Mexican American, even though I don't think I actually used the term. I recall the term *Chicano*, but we didn't use it. *Chicano* was likely more used in south El Paso among the pachucos and gangs. There were gangs in the late 1940s and

²³⁷ Mark and Gertrude Adams, "A Report on Politics in El Paso" (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University), 1963, from HathiTrust Digital Library, I-9, accessed Nov. 9, 2017, <u>https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015082460737;view=1up;seq=3</u>.

²³⁸ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 22.

²³⁹ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 25.

²⁴⁰ Adams, "A Report on Politics," I-10.

²⁴¹ Ruíz, From Out of the Shadows, 49; Adams, "A Report on Politics in El Paso," I-20.

²⁴² El Segundo Barrio Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy, 11.

²⁴³ "Forming MAYA," from Antonio Marin oral history interview, July 15, 2015, El Paso, TX, Civil Rights in Black and Brown Interview Database, accessed Nov. 12, 2020, <u>https://crbb.tcu.edu/clips/2363/forming-maya</u>.

²⁴⁴ See Marquez, "Power and Politics" pages 90 and 96 for examples of Father Rahm's activism.

1950s when I was going to Alta Vista [High School]. There were none in our neighborhood, but I did know that they existed in the barrio.²⁴⁵

El Paso historian Mario T. Garcia also recalls hearing the word "Chicano" for the first time from his South El Paso classmates in high school.²⁴⁶ El Paso youth in Segundo Barrio were leading a transition into a generation with a more pronounced ethnic identity and pride.

The Fight for Housing

The foremost battleground for Chicano activism was the fight for Segundo Barrio's housing stock, which took repeated blows from both public and private actions throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Many of the same conditions that appalled El Pasoans in the progressive era remained in the late twentieth century. In 1967 the Department of Planning conducted an economic survey in the neighborhood which indicated that out of 3,494 dwelling units in 238 tenement complexes, 24 had hot and cold running water, 113 had cold water only, and 124 had access to cold water outside. There was an average of 4.2 units per toilet (the vast majority of which were outdoors) and the entire study area had a total of 120 showers and bathtubs.²⁴⁷ Plumbing was not the only problem, and many tenements had not been repaired in years. In 1968, 76 percent of all housing in the Second Ward was deemed "deteriorating or dilapidated."²⁴⁸ In addition to these problems of housing quality, the neighborhood's housing quantity was diminishing. Segundo Barrio residents were repeatedly displaced by government-led land-use changes. The Chamizal settlement and subsequent construction of Armijo Park in the mid-1960s, the 1970s Tenement Eradication Program, and private land speculation (all of which are discussed in more detail below) exacerbated the problem. From 1960 to the early 1970s, the total acreage of the neighborhood decreased by about one third, and over half of the housing stock disappeared.²⁴⁹ The neighborhood's zoning was also a major cause for concern among neighborhood residents of this era, as residential areas were changing uses.²⁵⁰ Residents had little power to fight back against or remedy these issues themselves, as only 20 percent of Segundo Barrio residents owned their homes in 1962, meaning that the political clout in the neighborhood was held by tenement owners and other landowners.²⁵¹

Although the community displacements following the Chamizal settlement from 1965–1966 did not spur major community backlash, they established a pattern of inadequate resettlement procedures and unilateral neighborhood destruction that would eventually reach a breaking point. Between 1964 and 1967, one third of the Second Ward's land area was cleared, including 1,155 units of marginal or substandard housing.²⁵² While homeowners were given money to relocate and ended up dispersed all over the city, renters largely ended up within one half mile of their original dwelling, meaning that the remaining land area of South El Paso gained 1,804 displaced residents with an addition of only two housing units.²⁵³ Dr. María Eugenia Trillo, who worked for the office relocating Chamizal residents when she was a high school student, remembers a common refrain when she told residents about a new public housing development for them near the El Paso Coliseum: "oooh, ¡está relejos!" ("it's so far away!") because it was far from everything familiar and from downtown.²⁵⁴ Displacement was compounded by zoning issues, because residential areas that were zoned for

²⁴⁵ Mario T. Garcia, *The Chicano Generation: Testimonios of the Movement* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 24.

²⁴⁶ Garcia, "The Chicano Southwest," 5.

²⁴⁷ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 67.

²⁴⁸ Marguez, "Power and Politics," 68.

²⁴⁹ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 3.

 ²⁵⁰ Margaret de Wetter, "Mayor Peter de Wetter," *Password of the El Paso County Historical Society*, vol. 55 no. 2 (Summer 2010-2011): 81.

²⁵¹ Adams, "A Report on Politics in El Paso," I-3.

²⁵² Marquez, "Power and Politics," 93.

²⁵³ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 92.

²⁵⁴ Trillo, "Rio Linda."

commercial and manufacturing in the 1930s started to change hands due to an increase in land speculation following the Chamizal settlement. New federal border facilities completed just south of the district boundaries in 1967 were part of this boom in construction.²⁵⁵ In 1969 the El Paso Planning Department made a zoning change that reflected the actual land use in that era, but this was not followed through with adequate planning.²⁵⁶

Segundo Barrio faced another shock when three children were killed in a tenement fire at 503 South Mesa Street in 1967, and this time the residents were prepared to fight back. An unventilated gas heater started the fire, which made it a poignant example of why a housing code was necessary for the neighborhood, an issue that was debated throughout the 1960s to no avail. After a mass at Sacred Heart church, residents gathered outside and organized a demonstration of approximately 300 people marching to city hall.²⁵⁷ MAYA, which combined four El Paso youth groups,²⁵⁸ was active at the protest, distributing a written statement:

Mayor Williams and the city council have persistently refused to enforce the inadequate inspection code of the city. They have allowed hundreds of unsafe fire-traps, housing thousands of people, to remain in South El Paso... They are directly responsible for the death of these innocent children... We demand that the city put an end to conditions that affect the health and safety of our children and our families.²⁵⁹

Marches, protests, and prayer sessions continued for five days, including a fast by Lalo Delgado—Segundo Barrio native and poet activist—outside of *Los Seis Infiernos* or The Six Hells, one of the most notoriously downtrodden tenements at 600 South Ochoa Street.²⁶⁰ Mayor Judson Williams appointed a council to make recommendations on substandard housing, and included two southside residents on the council. A housing code was finally pushed through in 1968. Segundo Barrio landowners, who typically prevented such codes from being passed, were in no position to react as vehemently as they had previously given the political situation. The inclusion of Second Ward residents in the council and the passage of the housing code indicated a monumental shift in governmental attitude towards South El Paso, even if the long-term benefit of these actions was limited.²⁶¹ The events also strengthened community organization in the neighborhood, and by the late 1960s the Tenants Union and MAYA were transporting residents to prayer vigils outside tenement owners' homes in order to raise awareness of their cause.²⁶²

Radical Chicano politics gained momentum in late-1960s to early-1970s El Paso, developing tactics and frameworks that would influence organizing within Segundo Barrio throughout the 1970s. El Paso was home to a 1967 meeting of *La Raza Unida*, a Chicano activist group that met in response to a Mexican American Affairs Meeting held by the Johnson administration in El Paso, and evolved to become a political party. Their headquarters were at the Sacred Heart Church

²⁵⁵ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 94.

²⁵⁶ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 71.

²⁵⁷ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 98.

²⁵⁸ "JD Project & The Youth," from Felipe Peralta oral history interview with Sandra Enriquez and David Robles, July 22, 2015, El Paso, TX, Civil Rights in Black and Brown Interview Database, accessed Oct. 23, 2020, <u>https://crbb.tcu.edu/clips/1768/jd-project-the-youth</u>; Marquez, "Power and Politics," 116.

²⁵⁹ As quoted in Marquez, "Power and Politics," 98-99.

²⁶⁰ "Problems in South El Paso," from Felipe Peralta oral history interview with Sandra Enriquez and David Robles, July 22, 2015, El Paso, TX, Civil Rights in Black and Brown Interview Database, accessed Oct. 23, 2020, <u>https://crbb.tcu.edu/clips/1769/problems-in-south-el-paso</u>.

²⁶¹ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 100-101.

²⁶² "Problems in South El Paso," Felipe Peralta oral history interview; Marquez, "Power and Politics," 102.

and they held marches throughout Segundo Barrio.²⁶³ In 1970, 30 El Paso residents went to Los Angeles to attend a demonstration as part of the Chicano Moratorium, an anti-Vietnam War movement. Also in the early 1970s, the Brown Berets picketed the local Immigration and Naturalization Service office to protest immigration policy, educators called out for bilingual education, and University of Texas-El Paso students fought for a Chicano Studies program. The National *Raza Unida* convention was held in El Paso in 1972.²⁶⁴

This era also offered some sympathetic leadership from El Paso mayors, which led to later public housing in Segundo Barrio, but ultimately failed to adequately address the needs of the neighborhood. Mayors Peter de Wetter (1969–1971) and Bert Williams (1971–1973) represented a new era in El Paso politics due to their willingness to seek federal funds for housing. Mayor de Wetter also felt a degree of moral obligation towards Segundo Barrio and made a point of holding neighborhood meetings and seeking funding to solve the housing problem.²⁶⁵ At the beginning of de Wetter's term, he organized meetings between the Housing Commission and Segundo Barrio residents to discuss zoning issues. By this time Segundo Barrio groups such as MAYA had developed their tactics, and at one meeting held at the Bowie High School (currently the Guillen Middle School) gymnasium, MAYA members told the Commission to get off the stage and chanted slogans.²⁶⁶ Nonetheless, de Wetter and barrio residents agreed that federal funding would greatly improve the situation, and in 1970 the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) announced that El Paso was awarded an \$80 million rehabilitation grant which would be used in the Second Ward. The project was set to commence with the Six Hells, a group of buildings at the 600 to 620 block of South Ochoa Street (currently the South El Paso Senior Citizens Community Center).²⁶⁷ This choice of site turned out to be disastrous, as the buildings were damaged beyond feasibility for a rehabilitation project and became difficult to vacate according to HUD relocation standards.²⁶⁸ By 1973 de Wetter was no longer mayor, and the project had been stalled for years. That year, HUD announced that the Six Hells would be demolished and replaced with 36 new low-income public-housing units elsewhere in the city, ultimately killing hopes of city-led rehabilitation programs.²⁶⁹ Despite the failure of the rehabilitation program, de Wetter and Williams started the administrative process for many new units of public housing throughout El Paso-including Ambrosio Guillen (outside the district boundaries) and Father Carlos Pinto complexes in Segundo Barrio-into which many Segundo Barrio residents moved in later years (photo 30).²⁷⁰

The destruction of the Six Hells greatly eroded community trust in government programs, and this, combined with evictions and rising rents due to enforcement of new codes, led to a new wave of community organizing. In mid-1971 the El Paso Tenant's Association protested the inevitability of upcoming mass evictions. By autumn of the same year an eviction took place at 511 ½ South Oregon Street which spurred the creation of a "tent city," housing several of the displaced families who agreed to participate.²⁷¹ The tent city was an orchestrated political statement put together by

²⁶³ Miguel Juarez and Cynthia Weber Farah, *Colors on Desert Walls: The Murals of El Paso* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1997), 8; Julie Leininger Pycior, "From Hope to Frustration: Mexican Americans and Lyndon Johnson in 1967, *Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol 24 (November, 1993): 486; Marquez, "Power and Politics," 160.

²⁶⁴ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 160.

²⁶⁵ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 115, 118-119.

²⁶⁶ This meeting was also host to a surprise visit from Cesar Chavez, who de Wetter invited to give an impromptu speech to the crowd. De Wetter, "Mayor Peter de Wetter," 81.

²⁶⁷ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 125-126.

²⁶⁸ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 127-131.

²⁶⁹ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 135.

²⁷⁰ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 139, 153.

²⁷¹ Harmon, Larry, "Injunctions Discussed at Meeting." *El Paso Times*, October 24, 1971, 1. Marquez, "Power and Politics," page 132, lists the property address as 1407 East Second Street, but further information would be needed to confirm which eviction spurred the tent city.

MACHOS (a group birthed from many parents of those in MAYA), whose members surveilled the site day and night.²⁷² The Lydia Patterson Institute agreed to allow the tent city to continue on a piece of land they owned, and the project had some degree of support from the greater El Paso community. The *El Paso Times* reported sympathetically on the event, noting that organizations such as the League of Women Voters and the American Jewish Committee spoke out in support of the tent city residents, and Fort Bliss personnel delivered cots and blankets despite a "lack of interest on the part of representatives and officials."²⁷³ Mayor Williams eventually reacted by giving displaced residents priority for public housing and allowing neighborhood members to participate in HUD meetings.²⁷⁴

While largely outside the period of significance, community-organized movements and actions leading up to 1971 came to fruition in Segundo Barrio in the early 1970s, culminating in the formation of *La Campaña Pro Preservación del Barrio*, or the Campaign for Neighborhood Preservation, in 1974. La Campaña was largely formed in response to continued threats to neighborhood housing. These threats included a 1973–1974 code enforcement drive called the Tenement Eradication Program, private destruction of housing, and zoning changes that favored "light industry" rather than residential development.²⁷⁵ La Campaña grew out of previous organizations, and argued that Segundo Barrio residents should be provided options for remaining in their neighborhood, and that destruction of local housing prioritized profit over the preservation of a community and its resources.²⁷⁶ Guillermo Glen, an organizer involved with the beginnings of La Campaña, explains that residents were frustrated at getting displaced to far-away areas with no services or cultural familiarity:

At that point in time, most of U.S. went to Juárez every Saturday, we just crossed the bridge to go buy groceries or go to the doctor or something like that, so all those established... cultural patterns, the churches[,] also... I remember this little lady that was really crying... because that's all she did, was go from her tenement apartment to San Ignacio church... that was her life and they tore down her tenement.²⁷⁷

La Campaña was active throughout the 1970s, using tactics such as tent cities, rent strikes, building occupations, and rallies in order to gain more housing rights for Segundo Barrio residents. These actions greatly increased the visibility of Segundo Barrio's problems as its residents understood them, and also gave the neighborhood increased power and a more active voice in the conversation regarding its fate.²⁷⁸

The Fight for Labor

The 1960s and 1970s also saw an increase in activism around labor rights, some of the same organizers involved in the fight for housing playing a role in this struggle. The need for jobs was a longstanding issue in Segundo Barrio and among Mexican Americans in El Paso at large. In the 1960s, Mexican Americans were typically relegated to the least skilled positions at their places of work with no opportunities for advancement.²⁷⁹ Unemployment was also particularly high among the Mexican American community, with one in seven Segundo Barrio men being unemployed in 1963 and with

²⁷² Marquez, "Power and Politics," 132-133; "Problems In South El Paso," from Felipe Peralta oral history interview.

²⁷³ Harmon, Larry, "Injunctions Discussed at Meeting," *El Paso Times*, October 24, 1971, 10-A.

²⁷⁴ Marguez, "Power and Politics," 134.

²⁷⁵ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 159-162, 169.

²⁷⁶ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 164-5.

²⁷⁷ "Tent City," from Guillermo Glenn oral history interview with unknown interviewer, July 16, 2015, El Paso, TX, Civil Rights in Black and Brown Interview Database, accessed Oct. 26, 2020, <u>https://crbb.tcu.edu/clips/2438/tent-city</u>.

²⁷⁸ For further reading on the Tenement Eradication Program and La Campaña Pro Preservación del Barrio, see Marquez, "Power and Politics" Chapter Six, and oral histories from the Civil Rights in Black and Brown Interview Database.

²⁷⁹ Adams, "A Report on Politics in El Paso," I-8.

Chicanos making up 74 percent of the unemployed population actively looking for work by 1980.²⁸⁰ El Paso's connection to Ciudad Juárez made the local labor force particularly vulnerable to outsourced labor, with many laborers such as garment workers crossing into Segundo Barrio daily by the 1960s.²⁸¹

MAYA, whose members were active at many of the aforementioned housing actions, had the primary mission of attaining summer employment for Segundo Barrio's youth.²⁸² Originally, these summer jobs came from a program called the Neighborhood Youth Corps under the Building Resources and Vocational Opportunities (BRAVO) project, employing 458 youths in 1968, largely working at local schools.²⁸³ MAYA was initially formed as part of a Juvenile Delinquency program for former gang members funded by the Department of Health Education and Welfare, and when the program lost funding in 1968 it became more radical and political in nature.²⁸⁴ The program sought to create engaging and sometimes unconventional jobs, with some of the first murals in Segundo Barrio painted by its participants.²⁸⁵ MAYA continuously struggled to create jobs throughout the late 1960s and Mayor de Wetter's sympathy for their cause is evidenced by an application from his office for a Youth Opportunity Program grant:

Activists have been successful in forming militant groups who are demanding a change in the economic structure of the community. Frustrated young people emerging from their adolescence to a world which does not offer them an opportunity for employment, are articulating community failures in the form of demonstrations, marches, and angry outbursts at public forums. Their demands are neither unjust nor unreasonable.²⁸⁶

While MAYA had less support from subsequent mayors, and dissolved in the early 1970s, it was a pivotal organization in developing neighborhood advocacy for access to basic rights such as employment equality.

Political organizing in 1960s and 1970s Segundo Barrio was the culmination of many years of social and cultural community-building, as well as a reaction to a general lack of investment from the city. Since the nineteenth century, barrio residents created their own webs of community and tradition, especially related to the Catholic Church and early mutual-aid organizations or *mutualistas* (as discussed above). These local webs of community were especially important in largely immigrant and Mexican American Segundo Barrio because neighborhood residents often did not have access to the same services or enfranchisement afforded to other El Pasoans. As neighborhood conditions degraded with neglect and exacerbated over-crowding and sanitation issues, external organizations and governmental agencies provided piecemeal improvements. These attempts at integration of immigrant residents to American society, and improvement of public resources, began to connect the neighborhood to desperately needed social and financial resources. These interventions still provided few genuine opportunities for neighborhood residents to participate in the dialogue about the fate of their own built environment. This dynamic period of time, inspired by broader trends in the Civil Rights and Chicano Movements, represented an important shift in power dynamics and impacted the built environment of Segundo Barrio for decades to come.

²⁸⁰ Adams, "A Report on Politics in El Paso," I-40; Marquez, "Power and Politics," 25.

 ²⁸¹ Mark and Gertrude Adams, A Report on Politics in El Paso (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University, 1963), from HathiTrust Digital Library, accessed Nov. 9, 2017.
 ²⁸² Markanez "Derver and Belitics" 122

²⁸² Marquez, "Power and Politics," 123.

²⁸³ "El Paso Invests \$1 Million in Youth," *El Paso Herald-Post*, July 15, 1968, B-1.

²⁸⁴ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 116-17.

²⁸⁵ "Problems in South El Paso" oral history interview.

²⁸⁶ As quoted in Marquez, "Power and Politics," 142.

Murals as Community-Building Tool

In addition to the organizing tactics used to increase political control of Segundo Barrio residents, Chicano-era activists also saw the community-building advantage of taking ownership over the neighborhood via mural-making. While muralists painted these murals outside the period of significance, their creation stems directly from the period of neighborhood activism in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and had a deep and lasting effect on the neighborhood.

Many murals in Segundo Barrio reflected the cooperative and participatory spirit of activists. Two important early murals were led by Arturo "Tury" Avalos, one that says "Segundo Barrio" above an Aztec-inspired design (fig. 49), and another that represents a popular Mexican icon—the feathered serpent or Quetzalcóatl—at the corner of Campbell Street and Paisano Drive (photo 65). These murals were significant because they evoked pride in a place that had been neglected and taken for granted for many years, and actively promoted its preservation in the face of many threats. Avalos himself commented on the political aims of his murals: "People didn't realize what was happening then, painting was a way of getting people together."²⁸⁷ El Paso gangs were also often involved in the creation of murals in the 1980s, including one at 615 South Campbell, painted around 1985 with artist Felipe Adame and youth from Varrio Quinta Street in an effort to provide youth with an alternative activity to drug use.²⁸⁸ Several other murals were created after seeking community input, such as Carlos Callejos's 1987 *Kids on the Moon*, painted with assistance from a youth team who researched local issues.²⁸⁹ Many murals were also painted or restored by the Junior League of El Paso's Los Murales Project beginning in 1990.²⁹⁰

Criterion C: Architecture

The Segundo Barrio Historic District hosts a range of vernacular building traditions, especially residential patterns exemplary of the period from 1880 to 1920. The district is characterized by a combination of Mexican and American architectural styles, but includes other traditions such as Territorial Revival and Spanish and Mission Revival. The district also brings together commercial and institutional types, especially along its main north–south corridors, showcasing more high-design tendencies such as the Italianate alongside more humble commercial storefront blocks, often with Territorial or Mission Revival influences. The district includes works by prominent El Paso architects such as Trost and Trost, Carroll and Daeuble, Percy McGhee, and Kuykendall and McCombs. The architectural trends in the district reflect diverse influences, including early patterns of immigration, railroad-era material and stylistic shifts, American vernacular patterns, and later Modernist institutional optimism. The neighborhood's architectural resources reflect the rapid growth of an immigrant neighborhood in the industrializing West, and desires to participate in larger American movements.

²⁸⁷ As quoted in Juarez and Farah, *Colors on Desert Walls*, 10.

²⁸⁸ Juarez and Farah, Colors on Desert Walls, 16.

²⁸⁹ Juarez and Farah, Colors on Desert Walls, 16.

²⁹⁰ Juarez and Farah, Colors on Desert Walls, 19.

Mexican Territorial Influences

Early Residential and Settlement Patterns

Segundo Barrio is home to significant examples of surviving Mexican American architecture, a hybrid of indigenous American, Spanish, and Mexican traditions brought to the area by early settlers. As was common in towns in the American Southwest settled by Spanish missions, early construction in Segundo Barrio was dictated by a mix of indigenous and Spanish colonial architectural traditions. Prior to Spanish settlement, two prevalent home types in the American Southwest were the *jacal*, and the puddled earth home. *Jacales*, or wattle-and-daub dwellings, were typically made by driving sticks into the ground and were covered with mud, although techniques varied. Puddled earth construction used courses of wet earth mixed with fiber to form walls. This technique was used in "Pueblo IV" settlements, which were clusters of buildings found in current-day New Mexico and Arizona, characterized by box-shaped dwellings arranged in a terraced pattern and entered from above.²⁹¹ Fray Antonio de Espejo, who passed through the El Paso area in 1582–1583, described local homes as being made of "straw," which could allude to the thatched roofs of jacales.²⁹² Pueblo IV architecture had earthen walls, and lent itself well to the introduction of the sunbaked adobe brick, which arrived with Spanish settlers. Adobe bricks, along with characteristic Pueblo elements such as protruding *vigas*, or beams, were used in the creation of southwestern mission settlements beginning in the sixteenth century. The Spanish introduced one-story, linear, freestanding buildings, in contrast to terraced Pueblo IV architecture.²⁹³ Descendants of these Spanish settlers and Tiguan and Piro Indians fled New Mexico and settled in present-day El Paso County following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Their settlements included present-day Ysleta and Socorro, and housed some of the earliest documented adobe structures in Texas, and likely included *jacales* as well.²⁹⁴ Spanish-Mexican construction was also imported from Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua. By the nineteenth century, linear adobe dwellings were characteristic of the El Paso area, as evidenced by buildings such as the Casa Garcia or "Los Portales" (built about 1855) and Casa Ronquillo (built about 1859), both located in San Elizario.²⁹⁵

Former Chihuahua residents who landed in the area along the Rio Grande in the 1840s built adobe houses and *jacales* (fig. 25).²⁹⁶ Because the *jacal* is a flexible home type, it evolved with the introduction of industrial materials and oftentimes incorporated adobe bricks and salvaged construction materials in addition to the typical reeds or sticks, as was the case in late-nineteenth-century Segundo Barrio.²⁹⁷ *Jacales* were often seen as a stepping stone to more permanent construction types and were likely replaced as soon as the builder could afford to build with adobe or brick (fig. 26). These structures were especially susceptible to the frequent flooding in the neighborhood in this era, and many homes washed away during severe floods in Segundo Barrio in 1891 and 1897.²⁹⁸ The neighborhood also had many homes built of adobe bricks. Rudolph Eickemeyer, a New York writer who visited El Paso in the 1890s, described the neighborhood south of Second

²⁹¹ Newlan, "Adobe in Texas," 3-4.

²⁹² Rachel Feit, Heather Stettler, and Cherise Bell, "El Paso del Norte: A Cultural Landscape History of the Oñate Crossing on the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro 1598-1983, Ciudad Juárez and El Paso, Texas, U.S.A.," 21, prepared by AmaTerra for the National Park Service, National Trails Intermountain Region, Austin, 2018, accessed Nov. 2, 2020, <u>https://www.epcoun ty.com/purchasing/bids/documents/RFP19-010OnateCrossingculturallandscapehistory_Main_lowres.pdf</u>.

²⁹³ Newlan, "Adobe in Texas," 6-7.

²⁹⁴ Newlan, "Adobe in Texas," 8.

²⁹⁵ Both Casa Garcia/"Los Portales" and Casa Ronquillo were documented in the Historic American Buildings Survey and have linear floor plans with exterior doors at each room. See <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/hhh.tx0138.sheet/?sp=1 and https://www. loc.gov/resource/hhh.tx0136.sheet/?sp=2.</u>

²⁹⁶ Leyva, "¿Qué Son Los Niños?" 182.

²⁹⁷ Palmore, "From Passage to Place"; George, "Lower Rio Grande Architecture," 39-40.

²⁹⁸ Garcia, Desert Immigrants, 139.

Street as having "…hundreds of adobe houses one story high with one or two rooms."²⁹⁹ (See photos 60 and 67.) In 1900, Lewis Gilbert, a visitor from Missouri writing for the *Vicksburg Dispatch* described what one saw in Segundo Barrio when arriving in El Paso via train:

 \dots numerous huts built of adobe, a species of mud made into slabs of about 12 x 8 inches and from two to three in thickness, laid on in rows with mortar used as a cement and built to a height of about twelve feet – in some instances much lower.³⁰⁰

These early homes were largely self-built and located on properties belonging to European American landowners. Sanborn maps from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries show sometimes entire lots with scattered "Mexican shanties" or "mud huts." These homes were important first steps for immigrant families arriving in Segundo Barrio.

Many of Segundo Barrio's early adobe homes were destroyed in the early twentieth century in an attempt to improve sanitary conditions in the neighborhood, but some remain to this day and are rare extant examples of this type of construction (photos 60, 68, and 69).³⁰¹ Exceedingly rare are one- and two-room adobe houses, some of which have been expanded with new construction over the years, while others are auxiliary alley dwellings (more information below). Two-unit multi-family homes and linear homes made up of several individual one-room dwellings are slightly more common (photos 67, 70). The neighborhood also hosts examples of early L-plan homes made of adobe, reflecting desires to incorporate more "American" home layouts while still using technologies that residents had mastery of (photo 71). These homes are unique emblems of the neighborhood's past and have largely been destroyed in other urban areas of Texas and the U.S., and deserve recognition for their architectural significance.

Early one- and two-room adobe dwellings influenced construction and architectural expression even in homes built with subsequently popular masonry techniques such as brick and concrete block, sometimes covered with stucco. Dwellings in the district that follow this pattern, categorized here as "Mexican Vernacular," include early adobe homes as well as homes built with other materials that have the same formal characteristics (photo 68). Homes of this type have sometimes been referred to as "Spanish colonial," but in this district they date to after the colonial period.³⁰² Furthermore, their provenance can be traced to both indigenous American and European influences, as discussed above. These buildings' urban context also sometimes gives them unique characteristics. For instance, they are often agglomerated into duplexes or linear-plan tenement buildings, each unit containing one or two rooms maximum. Mexican Vernacular resources often lack interior circulation, relying on exterior doors for access to all rooms or units. Similarly styled resources in Texas border districts such as Laredo's "Barrio Azteca" have used the term Mexican Vernacular, which we adopt here when referring to these small, simple structures.³⁰³ Similar to the early one-room adobe dwellings so common in Northern Mexico and the American Southwest, these homes were often enlarged by an additive process over many years. Common alterations in Segundo Barrio include changes to roof pitch, added rooms in the rear, and addition of exterior porches.

²⁹⁹ As quoted in Davenport, "Magoffin Historic District," 46.

³⁰⁰ Garcia, Desert Immigrants, 135.

³⁰¹ Garcia, Desert Immigrants, 141.

³⁰² For instance, Virginia Savage McAlester's *A Field Guide to American Houses* defines a similar style as "Spanish Colonial" on pages 189-192.

³⁰³ Hardy Heck Moore & Myers, Inc., "Barrio Azteca Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/ Nomination Form, Texas Historic Commission, Austin, April 10, 2003.

Railroad-Era American Vernacular Influences

Tenements and Other Residential Development

As Segundo Barrio's population began to grow quickly around the turn of the twentieth century after the arrival of the railroad in 1881, landowners began to focus on residential types that could fit as many tenants as possible. After 1910, the neighborhood had an exacerbated need for dense housing supply with an influx of refugees and immigrants stemming from the Mexican Revolution. Landowners built new adobe and brick tenements, with Sanborn maps from 1905 already showing many linear adobe tenement buildings running east–west along entire lots, especially concentrated between Utah and South Campbell Streets (fig. 5). These tenements, known as *presidios* in the neighborhood, reflected typical Mexican and Southwestern adobe form, which was linear with multiple rooms having only exterior doors facing the street, and oftentimes incorporated commercial spaces at street corners (photo 33).³⁰⁴ *Presidios* were often elevated above street level to avoid flooding issues and sometimes had thickened stem walls at their base, potentially acting as buttresses for structural stability (fig. 27, photo 72).

The railroad era also dictated a new palette of building materials, with brick and concrete gaining popularity in El Paso in the mid-nineteenth century and concrete being made locally in 1910.³⁰⁵ By 1910, new tenements were largely built with brick, which was seen as a modern and industrial material that would give El Paso the look of progress. While adobe was never officially banned, city leaders implemented creative measures to greatly hinder its use, especially in Segundo Barrio. These brick tenements were often two stories high with an exterior stairwell and a common courtyard space where landlords placed shared plumbing (photo 73).³⁰⁶ Some of these brick tenements were only one story, mimicking previous adobe styles, such as the 1905 one-story brick tenement at 818 South Hills Street (photo 28). Beginning in 1916 municipal officials went as far as to encourage tenement construction as a profitable investment.³⁰⁷ These tenements link El Paso to American trends of urban growth and mass migration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, their very design conveying the crowded and sometimes abject conditions immigrant laborers faced upon arrival in the US. These tenements also portray unique building types, formed through a legacy of largely immigrant traditional building knowledge combined with American trends and desires of landowners. Examples such as brick tenements mimicking adobe forms or largely reproducing the same living conditions as "Mexican shanties" illustrate the desire to build with industrialized materials while perpetuating an established architectural pattern.

The introduction of the railroad also increased external stylistic influences, especially the Territorial Revival style. Territorial Revival, a uniquely southwestern version of the broader Classical Revival style, was especially popular in New Mexico but also evident in homes of El Paso's affluent residents. The Territorial style also often incorporated new industrialized building materials such as milled lumber window elements and brick copings. In Segundo Barrio, these trends manifested in the form of decorative brick copings and pedimented or arched window and door casings or stylized lintels on both adobe tenements and brick tenements built in a similar linear style (fig. 39, photo 9). Single-family homes also took on new revival styles such as Spanish Colonial Revival, Pueblo Revival, and Mission Revival. These styles adopted elements from previous vernacular adobe dwellings, symbolically alluding to the Spanish past of California and the Southwest.³⁰⁸ Pueblo Revival architecture was typically formally boxy, and incorporated elements such as stucco

³⁰⁴ Joe Graham, "Folk Housing," 45.

³⁰⁵ Various newspaper articles, 1883–1910, from newspapers.com; El Paso Chamber of Commerce, *El Paso: The Story of a City* (El Paso, Texas: n.p., 1910), from the *Portal to Texas History*, crediting the El Paso Public Library, <u>https://texashistory.unt</u>.edu/ark:/67531/metapth213964.

³⁰⁶ Palmore, "From Passage to Place."

³⁰⁷ Garcia, Desert Immigrants, 142.

³⁰⁸ Newlan, "Adobe in Texas," 18; Hodges, "A Study of El Paso's Turbulent History," 45.

walls, flat roofs with parapets, and "vigas" or protruding roof beams. Spanish Revival is distinguished by its clay tiles roofs, and Mission Revival is known for including a curved parapet or "espadana" at the roofline.³⁰⁹ One example of a Spanish Colonial Revival-influenced home stands at 818 South Hills Street, built in 1905 (photo 27). These external stylistic influences link the neighborhood to other Texan and southwestern trends, which combined local building types with external influences, and became especially popular with the introduction of pattern books and manufactured materials.³¹⁰ These buildings indicate a growing desire to convey status with external stylistic influences in a uniquely southwestern context.

Commercial and Institutional Architecture

Commercial buildings also boomed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially along South El Paso and Stanton Streets, adopting popular architectural styles of the day to convey status and connect to larger trends. An early example of post-railroad commercial architecture is 801 South El Paso Street, built in 1884 and formerly the International Customs House and the Orizaba Hotel (fig. 40, photo 15). Its deep overhanging eaves with decorative brackets and tall narrow windows with ornamental cornices make it an example of the Italianate style. Brick commercial buildings of two stories or one story with large parapet were common in this era, influenced by such architectural tendencies as Mission Revival, Italianate, and Territorial styles (photos 34, 74, and 75). Business owners adopted these trends, which were fashionable nationwide during this period, to convey prestige, modernity, and cosmopolitan tastes. The Mission Revival style, imported from California but popular throughout the Southwest, also represented an attempt to invent a more contemporary version of indigenous southwestern "Spanish" architecture—which was already prevalent in the neighborhood in a more humble manner—in a way that conveyed the prestige of the area's architectural legacy.³¹¹

Religious buildings were the primary monumental works of architecture in early-twentieth-century Segundo Barrio, taking on styles that were common in religious architecture throughout the country. Sacred Heart church, originally built in 1893 and greatly expanded in 1923 to house the increased number of Mexican parishioners, showcased a Gothic Revival style (fig. 21, photo 39). This monumental Gothic Revival design stood out in early-twentieth-century Segundo Barrio, bringing a symbol of order and power to the rapidly growing neighborhood. The expansion was overseen by local builder Joseph E. Morgan and built with the help of many parishioners who had construction experience.³¹² Saint Ignatius church also expanded in 1913 and received a new façade in 1921, which incorporated Italian Renaissance Revival and Baroque elements. The original church building was used as a parochial school after 1913 when contractor R. S. Davis built an adjacent larger church to house the increased Mexican population, as well as an influx of Irish Catholic soldiers stationed at nearby Camp Cotton during the Revolution.³¹³ Prominent El Paso architectural firm Trost and Trost designed the church's façade update in 1921 (photo 4). Trost and Trost had experience in Chicago and were adept with a variety of popular architectural styles, bringing many trends to some of El Paso's most prominent new buildings of the era.³¹⁴ The church's choice of Trost and Trost as architects indicates a desire to participate in El Paso's architectural boom and to put themselves on the map as a modern and prestigious congregation.

³⁰⁹ Newlan, "Adobe in Texas," 18.

³¹⁰ Newlan, "Adobe in Texas," 17.

³¹¹ Hodges, "A Study of El Paso's Turbulent History," 44-45.

³¹² Portals at the Pass: El Paso Architecture to 1930 (El Paso, Texas: El Paso Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, ca. 1984), 19.

³¹³ "Work Starts on \$22,000 Church," *El Paso Herald*, February 5, 1913, 5. Note that R.S. Davis is also referred to as R.C. Davis in another news article from the same period. "St. Ignatius," Digital Information Gateway in El Paso, El Paso Museum of History, accessed Nov. 4, 2020, <u>https://www.digie.org/media/6133</u>.

³¹⁴ Linda C. Flory, "Commercial Structures of El Paso by Henry C. Trost," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form [Thematic Multiple Property Nomination], Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1980, 8-1, 8-2; "St. Ignatius," Digital Information Gateway, El Paso Museum.

Popular Mid-Twentieth-Century Revival Styles

Mid-twentieth-century Segundo Barrio saw the arrival of new residential and commercial styles, such as Spanish Colonial Revival, which provided a way for residents and business owners to innovate while connecting to the region's past. In 1940, J.E. Morgan and Sons built the Henderson Baby Clinic at 721 South Mesa Street in the Spanish Colonial Revival style (photo 49), designed by architect Percy McGhee. McGhee was an El Paso native who lived in Segundo Barrio as a child at 403 St. Vrain Street (childhood home no longer extant).³¹⁵ Single-family homes also incorporated Spanish Revival tendencies, such as 1008 South Oregon Street, built in 1947 (photo 8). As in earlier Mission Revival-style homes, these examples showed a desire to connect with broader popular national trends, and blend tradition with awareness of popular tastes.

Modernism

Postwar institutional buildings brought a nascent modernist language to the neighborhood with large-scale projects such as the Alamito Housing Project and the Roosevelt School (currently La Fe Preparatory School). Modernism's clean and standardized vocabulary lent itself to the cost efficiency and utilitarianism needed for these large public projects. The 1940 Alamito Housing Project, just beyond the district boundaries in the blocks between South Virginia and Tays Streets and Second Avenue and Fifth Street (currently Father Rahm Drive), was an early attempt to clean up slum conditions in the neighborhood (fig. 38). The simple and utilitarian design embraced modularity, with standard repeated apartment blocks stamped across new superblocks created by covering parts of Fourth and Fifth Streets (fig. 7). Units featured corner windows to maximize light and ventilation, avoiding the pitfalls of earlier tenement construction. Carroll and Daeuble, the esteemed local architectural firm that designed many schools and some of the most prominent El Paso buildings of during the Modern Movement, were the architects for the Roosevelt School.³¹⁶ J.E. Morgan and Sons built the school in 1947. A newspaper article from the era lauded the school for its "Modern Ideas," including smaller scale rooms for children in lower grades, a more sprawling layout that gave classrooms direct access to the outdoors, fireproofing, and heaters.³¹⁷ These early modernist projects represented a faith in progressive ideals of standardization and cleanliness as tools for public good, applying architectural ideas to a social context.

By the 1960s, several institutional buildings with a more developed Modernist language came to Segundo Barrio. In 1964, the Lydia Patterson Institute expanded by demolishing some existing structures to make way for four new Mid-Century Modern buildings at 517 South Florence Street (photos 16, 17). Davis-Foster-Thorpe and Associates and Kuykendall and McCombs, both El Paso firms, were the project architects.³¹⁸ Kuykendall and McCombs also designed the 1968 Mid-Century Modern Armijo Neighborhood Center and Library at 700 East Seventh Avenue (in the background of photo 2). The Armijo Park Open Space Program—which initiated community center construction—was funded with federal money that was a result of the Chamizal Treaty. A 1967 contract between HUD and the City of El Paso secured the land for the project, and the Community Center and Library were finished in 1968.³¹⁹ The 1968 Centro de Salud Familiar La Fe at 700 South Ochoa Street also incorporated modernist massing in a southwestern style, with arched pilaster-like motifs framing the windows and decorative brick cornices (photo 66). The 1979 South El Paso Senior Center is an example of later

³¹⁵ "Year: 1900; Census Place: El Paso Ward 2, El Paso, Texas," Page 9, Enumeration District: 0021, FHL microfilm: 1241631.

³¹⁶ Patrick Rand, "Fifty Years of Architecture: Carroll and Daeuble," *Password of the El Paso County Historical Society* 46, no. 3 (Fall 2001): 125.

³¹⁷ "New, Modern Ideas Built Into Roosevelt School," El Paso Herald-Post, June 26, 1947, 1.

³¹⁸ "\$600,000 Institute Plans Approved," *El Paso Herald-Post*, October 10, 1963, 1.

³¹⁹ Marquez, "Power and Politics," 102.

institutional modernism, built in 1979 at the site of the "Six Hells" tenement buildings after the site was rejected for housing (discussed in greater detail above; see photo 76).

These modernist works reflected optimism for and investment in large-scale projects in an era of increased concern for the conditions of Segundo Barrio. One editorial writer for the *El Paso Herald-Post* contended that while some El Paso residents did not think the neighborhood was worthy of such high-quality architecture as was seen at the new Armijo Center, he saw great promise in its architecture to have a ripple effect. After noting the first-rate facilities such as a pool, meeting rooms, library, and snack bar, he marveled:

...but what seemed most notable to me was the appearance of the new Armijo Center. It is no hand-medown job, but a first class structure whose good looks would do credit to the highest-rent district in El Paso... the Armijo Center is an indication that [South El Paso] is not a forgotten section... it is not impossible that the fine appearance of the Armijo Center may spur owners of surrounding property to improvements of their own. Armijo Center could be a seed project that might revitalize an entire neighborhood.³²⁰

The fact that such an architectural work seemed novel to, or even too good for, Segundo Barrio indicates how sorely needed such public architectural works were in the neighborhood context, and how much power was attributed to modern institutional architecture to ameliorate larger issues such as poverty and social disinvestment.

While Modernism was largely employed in the neighborhood for large-scale projects, there are some extant examples of vernacular modern residential and commercial buildings, pointing to the utility of modern architecture for commercial and multifamily uses and to the desires of business owners to portray themselves as stylish and cutting edge. By 1919 Teatro Colón came to 509 South El Paso Street, its Art Deco façade an early example of the Modern movement's arrival in the neighborhood (photo 37). Segundo Barrio has some early 1960s apartment complexes such as 1020 East Seventh Ave, built in 1962 (photo 77). Modernist commercial resources are generally blocky brick masses with glass storefronts, an exception being 612 South Stanton Street, built in 1963, which incorporates a decorative concrete awning, reminiscent of popular vernacular modernist traditions in Mexico at the time (photo 78).

Adaptability and Continuing Use

Alterations and additions to historic-age structures (primarily residences) in Segundo Barrio have significance in their own right as part of an adaptable and culturally continuous housescape. Neighborhood residents have maintained some of the oldest architectural types in El Paso, such as one-room and L-plan adobe and brick houses, because those structures were modified or added to in order to meet modern-day needs (photos 69, 79). Adding to and remodeling existing structures has also allowed homeowners to improve their properties as resources become available, producing structures that have been altered over the generations based on resources and needs of the homeowner. Beginning with calls from neighborhood-led organizations such as La Campaña Pro Preservación del Barrio in the 1970s, funding from block grants and other incentives have encouraged rehabilitation in order to maintain existing housing stock and neighborhood identity.³²¹ Although these funding opportunities fall outside the period of significance, they respond to threats of neighborhood destruction spanning the early and mid-twentieth century. The desire to maintain existing housing and create affordable opportunities allows more neighborhood residents to stay in place and contributes to the longevity of historic-age structures.

³²⁰ R.W. Lee, *El Paso Herald-Post*, March 21, 1968, B2.

³²¹ El Segundo Barrio Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy.

Major Bibliographic References

- "A Journey Through Chihuahuita: Celebrating 160 Years of Community History." Texas Department of Transportation, Austin, 2018. <u>https://ftp.dot.state.tx.us/pub/txdot-info/env/beyond-the-road/env-0348058-history-outreach-brochure.pdf</u>.
- Adams, Mark, and Gertrude Adams. A Report on Politics in El Paso. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University, 1963. From HathiTrust Digital Library, accessed October 9, 2017, <u>https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015082460737;view=1up;seq=3</u>.
- "Alamito Terrace." Housing Authority of the City of El Paso. Accessed November 6, 2020. https://www.hacep.org/housing-and-assistance-programs/property/alamito.
- "American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study." Published by the National Park Service Advisory Board, National Park Service. Updated December 18, 2017. <u>https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/latinothemestudy.htm</u>.
- Andreas, Peter. "Coming to America Through the Back Door." In *Smuggler Nation: How Illicit Trade Made America*, 208–226. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Texas Christian University. Civil Rights in Black and Brown Oral History Project. https://crbb.tcu.edu/.
 - "Farah Strike." Felipe Peralta oral history interview with Sandra Enriquez and David Robles, July 22, 2015. Accessed October 26, 2020. <u>https://crbb.tcu.edu/clips/1775/farah-strike</u>.
 - "Forming MAYA." Antonio Marin oral history interview, July 15, 2015. Accessed November 12, 2020. https://crbb.tcu.edu/clips/2363/forming-maya.
 - "JD Project & The Youth." Felipe Peralta oral history interview with Sandra Enriquez and David Robles, July 22, 2015. Accessed October 23, 2020. <u>https://crbb.tcu.edu/clips/1768/jd-project-the-youth</u>.
 - "La Campaña Por La Preservación del Segundo Barrio." Guillermo Glenn oral history interview, July 16, 2015. Accessed October 26, 2020. <u>https://crbb.tcu.edu/clips/2437/la-campana-por-la-preservacion-del-segundo-barrio</u>.
 - "Problems In South El Paso." Felipe Peralta oral history interview with Sandra Enriquez and David Robles, July 22, 2015. Accessed October 23, 2020. <u>https://crbb.tcu.edu/clips/1769/problems-in-south-el-paso</u>.
 - "Tent City." Guillermo Glenn oral history interview with unknown interviewer, July 16, 2015. Accessed October 26, 2020. <u>https://crbb.tcu.edu/clips/2438/tent-city</u>.
- Blueford, Dolores Irene. "Second Baptist Church, El Paso, Texas (1844-)." *Black Past*, April 12, 2015. Accessed October 14, 2020. <u>https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/second-baptist-church-el-paso-texas-1884/</u>.
- Bonyanpour, Natasha. "More than a Century Old, Many Still Call El Segundo Barrio Home." Newspaper Tree, November 15, 2016. Accessed October 6, 2020. <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20160312081859/http://newspapertree.com/articles/2013/11/15/more-than-a-century-old-many-still-call-el-segundo-barrio-home</u>.

Bucks Directory of El Paso Texas for 1902. El Paso: El Paso Directory Co., 1902.

- Carbajal, Tanya. "Historians chronicle lives, dreams of Mexican braceros in U.S. labor program." *Borderzine*, May 5, 2015. Accessed October 8, 2020. <u>https://borderzine.com/2015/05/utep-historians-chronicle-lives-dreams-of-mexican-braceros-in-u-s-labor-program/</u>.
- "City of El Paso, Texas, Agenda Item Department Head's Summary Form." Planning and Economic Development Department, Planning Division, October 21, 2010. From the City of El Paso, accessed November 16, 2020, http://legacy.elpasotexas.gov/muni_clerk/agenda/11-16-10/11161008C.pdf.
- City Plan Commission. The 1925 City Plan for El Paso, Texas. El Paso: Mayor and City Council, 1925.
- Clow, Victorian Green, Marsha Prior, and Terri Gilbert. "El Paso U.S. Courthouse." National Register of Historic Places Registration Form. Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 2001.
- Cornejo, Azenett. "Segundo Barrio: A 'Living History' Lesson." *Borderzine*, May 27, 2011. Accessed October 7, 2020. <u>https://borderzine.com/2011/05/segundo-barrio-a-living-history-lesson/</u>.
- Dailey Jr., Maceo Crenshaw, Kathryn Smith-McGlynn, and Cecilia Gutierrez Venable. *African Americans in El Paso*. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2014.
- Davenport, Martin. "Magoffin Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Registration Form. Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 2015.
- Day, James M. "El Paso: Mining Hub for Northern Mexico, 1880–1920." *Password of the El Paso County Historical Society* vol. 24, no. 1 (Spring 1979): 17.
- de Wetter, Margaret. "Mayor Peter de Wetter." *Password of the El Paso County Historical Society* vol. 55 no. 2 (Summer 2010–2011): 75–90.
- Dezler, Elizabeth, and Sheryl Wilcox. "Border Patrol Used Variety of Methods to Control Immigration." *Borderlands* vol. 14 (1996). From the El Paso Community College Library, accessed November 14, 2017, http://epcc.libguides.com/content.php?pid=309255&sid=2626308.
- Dirección de Estudios Históricos, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. "403 S. Campbell St., El Paso, Tex." *Ruta Magón.* Accessed October 8, 2020. <u>http://archivomagon.net/lugares/403-s-campbell-st/</u>.
- Dirección de Estudios Históricos, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. "454 Tornillo St. (hoy Nino Aguilera), El Paso, Tex." *Ruta Magón*. Accessed October 8, 2020. <u>http://archivomagon.net/lugares/454-tornillo-st-hoy-nino-aguilera/</u>.
- Eickemeyer, Rudolf. Letters from the Southwest. New York: J.J. Little & Co., 1894.
- El Paso Chamber of Commerce. *El Paso: The Story of a City.* El Paso, Texas: n.p., 1910. From the Portal to Texas History, crediting the El Paso Public Library, <u>https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth213964.</u>
- El Paso City Directory, 1920. El Paso: Hudspeth Directory Co., 1920.
- El Paso City Directory, 1940. El Paso: Hudspeth Directory Co., 1940.

- El Paso Herald. Various articles, various dates. From newspapers.com.
- El Paso Herald Post. Various articles, various dates. From newspapers.com.
- El Paso Museum of History. Digital Information Gateway in El Paso (<u>DIGIE</u>). Various articles. http://history.elpasotexas.gov/.
- El Paso Times. Various articles, various dates. From newspapers.com.
- "El Segundo Barrio: Neighborhood Revitalization Strategy." Prepared for the City of El Paso Community and Human Development Department, 2010. From the City of El Paso, <u>https://www.elpasotexas.gov/~/media/files/coep/community%20and%20human%20development/plans/elsegundo</u> barrio neighrevitalizationstrategy.ashx?la=en.

Feather, G. A. "Los Pastores." Password of the El Paso County Historical Society vol. IX no. 2 (Summer 1964): 47-55.

- Feit, Rachel, Heather Stettler, and Cherise Bell. "El Paso del Norte: A Cultural Landscape History of the Oñate Crossing on the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro 1598–1983, Ciudad Juárez and El Paso, Texas, U.S.A." Prepared for the National Park Service National Trails Intermountain Region, August 2018. From the National Park Service, <u>https://www.epcounty.com/purchasing/bids/documents/RFP19-</u>010OnateCrossingculturallandscapehistory Main lowres.pdf.
- Flory, Linda C. "Commercial Structures of El Paso by Henry C. Trost." National Register of Historic Places Thematic Multiple Property Nomination. Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1980.
- Garcia, Mario T. "The Chicano Southwest: Catholicism and Its Meaning." U.S. Catholic Historian 18, no. 4 (2000): 1-24. From JSTOR.
- Garcia, Mario T. The Chicano Generation: Testimonios of the Movement. Oakland: University of California Press, 2015.
- Garcia, Mario T. Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880-1920. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.
- George, Eugene. "Lower Rio Grande Architecture." In *Proceedings of An Exploration of a Common Legacy: A Conference on Border Architecture*, ed. Marlene Heck. Austin, Texas: Texas Historical Commission, 1978.
- Graham, Joe. "Folk Housing in South and West Texas: Some Comparisons." in *Proceedings of An Exploration of a Common Legacy: A Conference on Border Architecture*, ed. Marlene Heck. Austin, Texas: Texas Historical Commission, 1978.
- Green, Victor H., ed. The Negro Travelers' Green Book. New York: Victor H. Green and Company, 1956.
- Grimes, Teresa, Laura O'Neill, Elysha Paluszek, and Becky Nicolaides. "Latinos in Twentieth Century California." National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form. California State Office of Historic Preservation, Los Angeles, November 2014.
- Guzman, Will. "The El Paso Branch of the 1923 and 1929 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." *Password of the El Paso Historical Society* vol. 60 no. 3 (Fall 2016): 70–79.
- Handbook of Texas Online. Texas State Historical Association. https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook.

- Acosta, Teresa Palomo. "Calleros, Cleofas." *Handbook of Texas Online*. Accessed October 13, 2020. <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/calleros-cleofas</u>.
- Bryson, Conrey. "Aoy, Olives Villanueva." *Handbook of Texas Online*. Accessed November 16, 2020. <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/aoy-olives-villanueva</u>.
- Coyle, Laurie, Gail Hershatter, and Emily Honig. "Farah Strike." *Handbook of Texas Online*. Accessed October 27, 2020. <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/farah-strike</u>.
- Herrera, Jose Maria. "Telles, Raymond Lorenzo, Jr. (1915-2013)." *Handbook of Texas Online*. Accessed October 22, 2020. <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/telles-raymond-lorenzo-jr</u>.
- Kohout, Martin Donell. "Ponce de León, Juan María." *Handbook of Texas Online*. Accessed September 18, 2020. <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/ponce-de-leon-juan-maria</u>.
- Levario, Miguel A. "El Paso Race Riot of 1916." *Handbook of Texas Online*. Accessed November 9, 2020. <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/el-paso-race-riot-of-1916</u>.
- McKee, Okla A. "El Paso, Catholic Diocese of." *Handbook of Texas Online*. Accessed October 13, 2020. https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/el-paso-catholic-diocese-of.
- Perez, Maclovio Jr. "El Paso Bathhouse Riots (1917)." *Handbook of Texas Online*. Accessed November 9, 2020. <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/el-paso-bath-house-riots-1917</u>.
- Timmons, W. H. "El Paso del Norte." *Handbook of Texas Online*. Accessed October 6, 2020. <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/el-paso-del-norte</u>.
- Timmons, W. H. "El Paso, TX." *Handbook of Texas Online*. Accessed September 12, 2020. <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/el-paso-tx</u>.
- Vernon, Walter N. "Lydia Patterson Institute." *Handbook of Texas Online*. Accessed November 10, 2020. <u>https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/lydia-patterson-institute</u>.
- Hardy·Heck·Moore, Inc. (HHM). "Rio Vista Farm Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Registration Form. Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1995.
- Hardy Heck Moore & Myers, Inc. "Barrio Azteca Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Inventory/ Nomination Form. Texas Historic Commission, Austin, April 10, 2003.
- Hartman, Clinton P. "Lydia Patterson Institute: A Living Memorial." *Password of the El Paso Historical Society* vol. XXXIV no. 3 (Fall 1989): 107–120.
- HHM & Associates, Inc. "Downtown El Paso Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form [DRAFT]. Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 2020.
- Hills, William S. *Campbell's Addition to El Paso, Texas* [Map]. [No location:] A. Gast and Company Lithographers, 1885. From the Texas General Land Office, <u>https://s3.glo.texas.gov/glo/history/archives/map-store/index.cfm#item/8854</u>.

- Historic American Buildings Survey, Creator. "El Camino de las Misiones, Ysleta, Socorro, San Elizario Vicinity, San Elizario, El Paso County, TX." Map, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1933. From Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress (HABS TX-3306). Accessed October 13, 2020. <u>https://www.loc.gov/item/tx0139/</u>.
- "History, El Paso Sector, Texas." U.S. Customs and Border Protection. Accessed July 21, 2020. https://www.cbp.gov/border-security/along-us-borders/border-patrol-sectors/el-paso-sector-texas.
- Hodges, Gladys Arlene. "A study of El Paso's turbulent history, 1880–1915: Architecture as a Full Partner with the Forces which Shaped Education, Business, and Religion." Master's thesis, University of Texas at El Paso, 2000.
- Hodges, Gladys Arlene. "Bridges across the Borderline: The Local Politics of Building the First International Rail Bridges in the Americas at the Two El Pasos, 1880–1883." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 116, no. 1 (July 2012): 26– 38.
- Hodges, Gladys Arlene. "El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua, 1880–1930: A Material Culture Study of Borderlands Interdependency." Doctoral Dissertation, University of Texas at El Paso, 2010.
- Housing Authority of the City of El Paso. "Property Catalog." Accessed November 6, 2020. https://www.hacep.org/housing-and-assistance-programs/property-catalog.
- Jackson, Ken. "Reformers Fight Saloon Men in El Paso County Attorney's Election (or were they Reformers?)." *Password of the El Paso Historical Society* vol. 53 no. 1 (Spring 2008): 23–33.
- Juarez, Miguel, and Cynthia Weber Farah. Colors on Desert Walls: The Murals of El Paso. El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1997.
- Leyva, Dr. Yolanda Chávez. "Museo Urbano and 'A Living History." *National Dialogues on Immigration*. Accessed November 10, 2020. <u>http://www.dialoguesonimmigration.org/museo-urbano-and-a-living-history/</u>.
- Leyva, Dr. Yolanda Chávez. "¿Qué Son Los Niños?': Mexican Children Along the U.S.–Mexico Border, 1880–1930." Doctoral Dissertation, The University of Arizona, 1999.
- Lim, Julian. "The 'Future Immense': Race and Immigration in the Multiracial U.S.–Mexico Borderlands, 1880–1936." Doctoral Dissertation, Cornell University, 2013.
- Lim, Julian. *Porous Borders: Multiracial Migrations and the Law in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017.
- Marquez, Benjamin. "The Politics of Race and Class: The League of United Latin American Citizens in the Post-World War II Period." Social Science Quarterly, Vol. 68, No. 1 (March 1987): 84–101.
- Marquez, Benjamin. Power and Politics in a Chicano Barrio: A Study of Mobilization Efforts and Community Power in El Paso. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1985.
- Miller, Carol Price. "Resisting the KKK in El Paso." *Password of the El Paso County Historical Society* vol. 54 no. 1 (Spring 2009): 19–26.

- Morales, Fred M. "Chihuahuita: A Neglected Corner of El Paso." *Password of the El Paso Historical Society* vol. XXXVI no. 1 (Spring 1991): 23–38.
- National Catholic Welfare Conference Case Files (MS 173). Border History Manuscript Collection, University of Texas at El Paso Library.
- National Park Service. "The Chamizal Dispute 1911–1963." Chamizal National Memorial, Texas. Last updated February 24, 2015. <u>https://www.nps.gov/cham/learn/historyculture/chamizal-history-1911-1963.htm</u>.
- National Park Service. "El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro." Accessed July 22, 2020. https://www.nps.gov/elca/planyourvisit/maps.htm.
- National Park Service. "Floods and the Chamizal Issue." Chamizal National Memorial, Texas. Last updated February 24, 2015. <u>https://www.nps.gov/cham/learn/historyculture/rio-grand-floods-and-the-chamizal-issue.htm</u>.
- National Park Service. "Mexican-American War and the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo." Chamizal National Memorial, Texas. Last updated February 25, 2015. <u>https://www.nps.gov/cham/learn/historyculture/mexican-american-war.htm</u>.
- National Park Service. "New Mexico: Elephant Butte Dam and Spillway." Last updated January 13, 2017. https://www.nps.gov/articles/new-mexico-elephant-butte-dam-and-spillway.htm.
- Newlan, Ralph. "Adobe in Texas." Prepared for the Texas Department of Transportation, 2008. <u>https://ftp.dot.state.tx.us/pub/txdot-info/env/toolkit/420-01-gui.pdf</u>.
- "Olivas Villanueva Aoy" (Marker No. 16824). Texas Historical Commission, 2011. https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Details/5507016824.
- "Oñate Crossing / Hart's Mill / Old Fort Bliss." Preservation Texas. Accessed July 22, 2020. http://www.preservationtexas.org/endangered/onate-crossing-harts-mill-old-fort-bliss/.
- Overmyer-Velázquez, Mark. "Good Neighbors and White Mexicans: Constructing Race and Nation on the Mexico-U.S. Border." *Journal of American Ethnic History* vol. 33 no. 1 (Fall 2013): 5–34.
- Padilla, Sarah, and Lorraine Salazar. "First Hispanic Mayor Elected in 1957." *Borderlands* vol. 14 (1996). From the El Paso Community College Library, accessed November 14, 2017, http://epcc.libguides.com/content.php?pid=309255&sid=2626386.
- Palmore, William J. "From Passage to Place." *Texas Architect*, July/August 2020. https://magazine.texasarchitects.org/2020/07/09/from-passage-to-place/.
- Parra-Mantilla, Myrna. "Manuel Vázquez." In Bracero History Archive, Item #73. Accessed October 8, 2020, http://braceroarchive.org/items/show/73.
- Portals at the Pass: El Paso Architecture to 1930. El Paso, Texas: El Paso Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, ca. 1984.

- "Prohibition: A Case Study of Progressive Reform." U.S. Primary Source Timeline, Library of Congress. Accessed October 15, 2020. <u>https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/progressive-era-to-new-era-1900-1929/prohibition-case-study-of-progressive-reform/</u>.
- Pycior, Julie Leininger. "From Hope to Frustration: Mexican Americans and Lyndon Johnson in 1967." *Western Historical Quarterly* Vol. 24, No. 4 (Nov. 1993): 469–494.
- Rand, Patrick. "Fifty Years of Architecture: Carroll and Daeuble." *Password of the El Paso County Historical Society* 46, no. 3 (Fall 2001): 125.
- Robinson, Dr. Robin. "Morality and Money on the Border: The Reverend Bob Jones Crusade, El Paso 1922." *Password of the El Paso Historical Society* vol. 53 no. 1 (Spring 2008): 3–21.
- Romo, David Dorado. *Ringside Seat to a Revolution: An Underground Cultural History of El Paso and Juárez: 1893-1923.* El Paso: Cinco Puntos Press, 2005.
- Ruíz, Vicki. "Dead Ends or Gold Mines?: Using Missionary Records in Mexican-American Women's History." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* vol. 12, no. 1 (1991).
- Ruíz, Vicki. From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America, 10th Anniversary Ed. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps. Various years. From the University of Texas at Austin Libraries.
- Santiago, Mark. *A Bad Peace and a Good War: Spain and the Mescalero Apache Uprising of 1795–1799*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018.
- Timmons, W. H. El Paso: A Borderlands History. El Paso: Texas Western Press, 2004.
- Torres, Jaime F. Pachuco: Out of Segundo Barrio. Xlibris Corporation, 2010.
- U.S. Census Bureau. Various schedules and census rolls. www.census.gov and www.ancestry.com.
- U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. *Chamizal*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1976. From HathiTrust Digital Library, <u>https://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.31951002821472j</u>.
- Vázquez, Pedro Siller. 1911: La Batalla de Ciudad Juárez, I: La Historia. Cd. Juarez: Cuadro por Cuadro, 2003.
- Von Hoffman, Alexander. "History Lessons for Today's Housing Policy, The Political Processes of Making Low-Income Housing Policy." Prepared for the Joint Center for Housing Studies, Harvard University, 2012. From Harvard University, <u>https://www.jchs.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/w12-5_von_hoffman.pdf</u>.

Worley's Directory of El Paso Texas, 1910. Dallas: John F. Worley Directory Co., 1910.

Section 10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property: 217.108

Coordinates:

1. 31.754788° -106.489111° 2. 31.757007° -106.480008° 3. 31.758436° -106.477964° 4. 31.759253° -106.474627° 5. 31.758460° -106.473791° 6. 31.755316° -106.471130° 7. 31.753423° -106.471682° 8. 31.751691° -106.472863° 9. 31.751386° -106.473432° 10. 31.750284° -106.481055° 11. 31.749547° -106.484278° 12. 31.749345° -106.485161° 13. 31.752141° -106.488296°

Verbal Boundary Description:

Beginning at the intersection of Santa Fe Street and Paisano Drive, the northern boundary follows Paisano Drive eastward to Virginia Street, then turns south onto Virginia Street and continues southward for three blocks to Father Rahm Avenue. The northern boundary runs eastward along Father Rahm Avenue for three blocks until it reaches Tays Street at which point it extends to the south for a single block. At Sixth Avenue, the northern boundary cuts two blocks to the east until it meets Park Street. The northern boundary of the historic district then stretches four blocks to the north until it reaches Delta Drive, then to the west for three blocks along Delta Drive, then northward one block along Alley M to Paisano Drive. The northern boundary then runs five blocks to the east along Paisano Drive until it meets Alley D. The eastern boundary follows Alley D southward for one block, then turns right on Delta Drive, continuing straight for one block until it arrives at Cotton Street. The eastern boundary follows Cotton Street south for five blocks to Sixth Avenue. The eastern boundary then turns to the east and extends to Cesar Chavez Border Highway, at which point, the boundary turns to the southwest. The eastern boundary runs along Cesar Chavez Border Highway to the southwest to Park Street. From there, the southern boundary runs one block north to Ninth Avenue and then extends six blocks to the west following Ninth Avenue. At Campbell Street, the southern boundary cuts to the north for one block, and then to the west for three blocks along Olivas V Aoy Street. The boundary then turns southward at Mesa Street for one block until it meets Ninth Avenue. The southern boundary continues westward one more block along Ninth Street. The western boundary cuts northward for three blocks on Oregon Street and then turns to the west on Sixth Avenue, continuing straight until it reaches Santa Fe Street. The western boundary then runs in the northwesterly direction along Santa Fe Street, and then northward for three blocks, converging with the starting point. Please refer to the nomination maps to view the boundary.

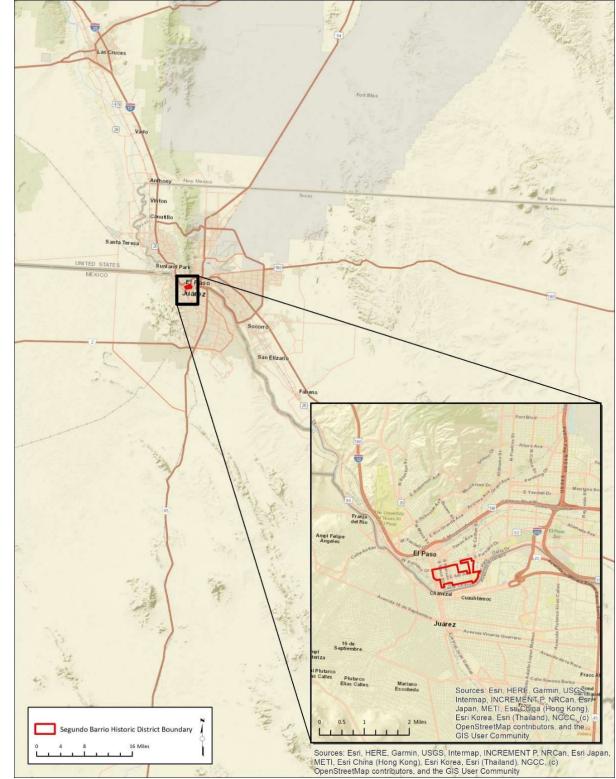
Boundary Justification:

The boundaries roughly correspond with the boundaries of the "Second Ward" established by U.S. Census Enumeration District maps from 1899. The boundaries exclude the neighborhood presently known as "Chihuahuita" because it is separated from the district by the U.S. Border Patrol station. The boundary also excludes areas with significant loss of integrity resulting from redevelopment of public housing and the U.S. Border Patrol station.

District Boundary Map (Map 1)

Source: Google Earth, accessed August 5, 2021





Map 2. Location of the Segundo Barrio Historic District. Source: Overlay by HHM, base map from ESRI.



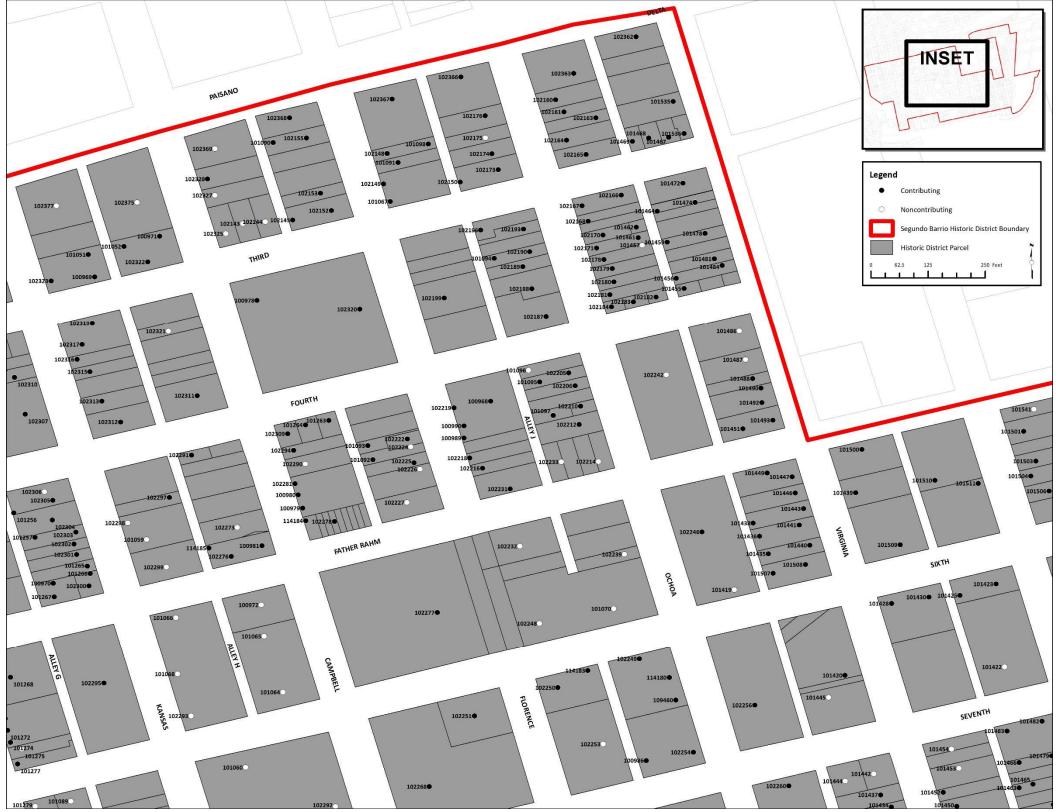
Map 3. Overview map of contributing and noncontributing resources within the Segundo Barrio Historic District. Source: Overlay by HHM, base map from ESRI.



Map 4. Detailed map of contributing and noncontributing resources within the Segundo Barrio Historic District (map 1 of 6). Source: Overlay by HHM, base map from ESRI.



Map 5. Detailed map of contributing and noncontributing resources within the Segundo Barrio Historic District (map 2 of 6). Source: Overlay by HHM, base map from ESRI.



Map 6. Detailed map of contributing and noncontributing resources within the Segundo Barrio Historic District (map 3 of 6). Source: Overlay by HHM, base map from ESRI.



Map 7. Detailed map of contributing and noncontributing resources within the Segundo Barrio Historic District (map 4 of 6). Source: Overlay by HHM, base map from ESRI.



Map 8. Detailed map of contributing and noncontributing resources within the Segundo Barrio Historic District (map 5 of 6). Source: Overlay by HHM, base map from ESRI.



Map 9. Detailed map of contributing and noncontributing resources within the Segundo Barrio Historic District (map 6 of 6). Source: Overlay by HHM, base map from ESRI.

Map 10. Map showing resources extant within the Segundo Barrio Historic District, color coded by date of construction. Source: Overlay by HHM, base map from Google Earth.



-	Historic district boundary	1930-1939
	1800-1899	1949-1949
	1900-1909	1950-1959
	1910-1919	1960-1971
	1920-1929	1972-2021

Figures

Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps (Chronological)

Figure 1. Overview map showing the extent of development in Segundo Barrio by 1888. Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, El Paso, 1888, sheet 1, from the University of Texas Libraries.

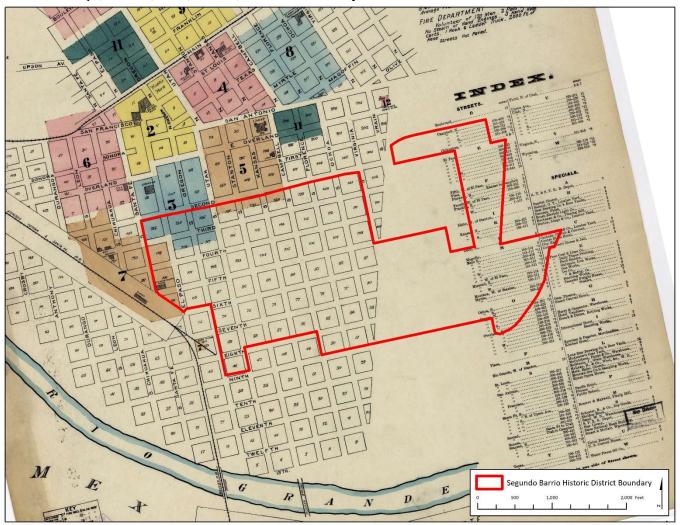
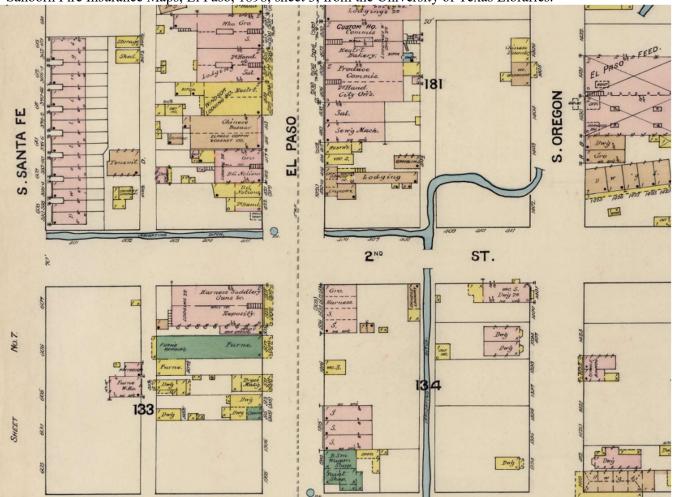


Figure 2. Detail of a Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from 1888 showing the intersection of Second Avenue (formerly Second Street) with South Santa Fe Street, South El Paso Street, and South Oregon Street. Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, El Paso, 1898, sheet 3, from the University of Texas Libraries.



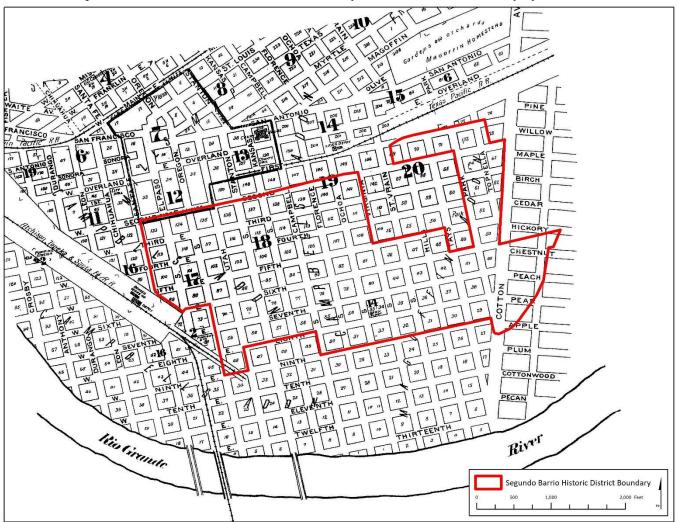


Figure 3. Overview map showing the extent of development in Segundo Barrio by 1898. Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, El Paso, 1898, sheet 1, from the University of Texas Libraries, overlay by HHM.

Figure 4. Overview map showing the extent of development in Segundo Barrio by 1905. Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, El Paso, 1905, sheet 1, from the University of Texas Libraries, overlay by HHM.

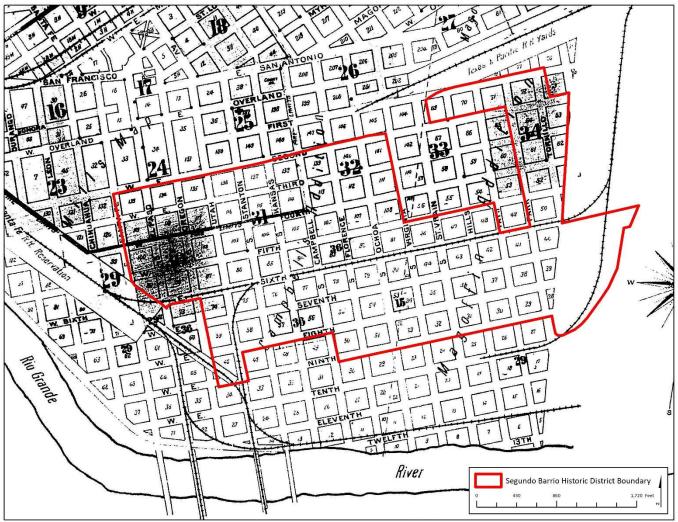


Figure 5. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map showing the dense linear tenement development between Utah and South Campbell Streets by 1905. Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, El Paso, 1905, sheet 31, from the University of Texas Libraries.

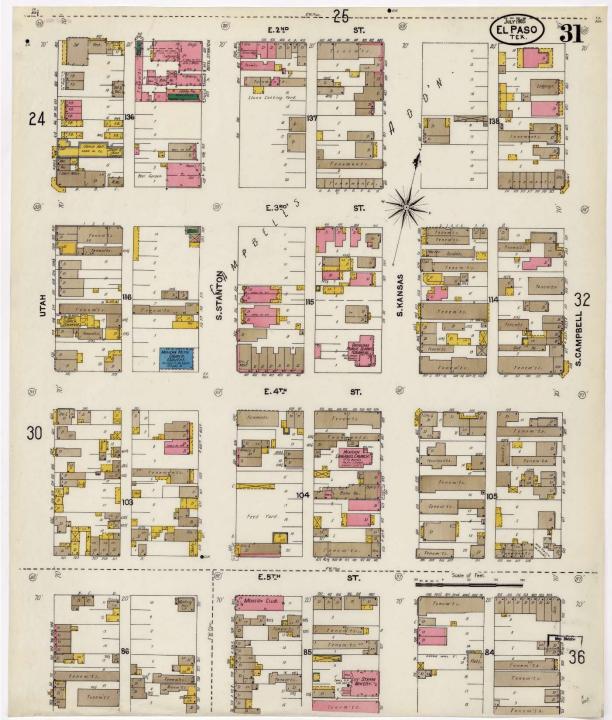


Figure 6. Overview map showing the extent of development in Segundo Barrio by 1948. Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, El Paso, 1948, sheet 1, from the University of Texas Libraries, overlay by HHM.

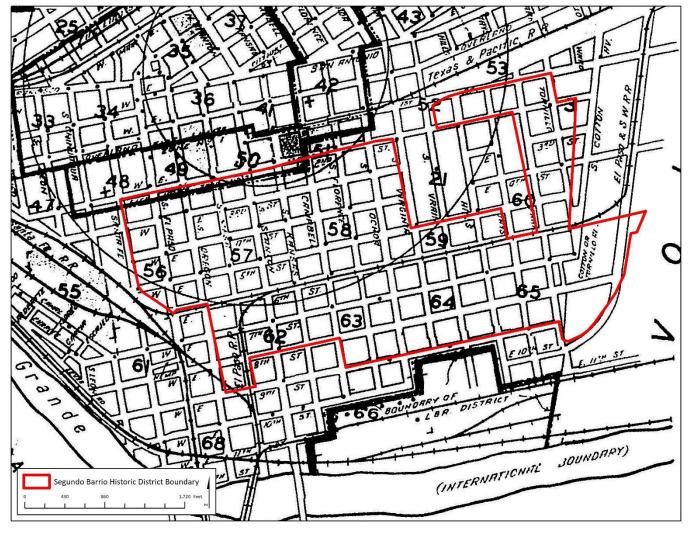
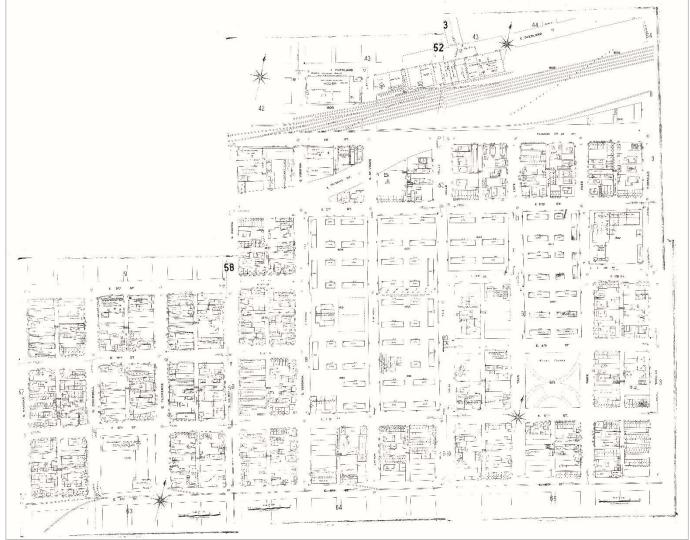


Figure 7. Maps showing the configuraiton of the Alamito Housing Project by 1948. Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, El Paso, 1948, sheets 21, 52, 58, 59, and 60, from the University of Texas Libraries, knit together by HHM



Other Figures (Chronological)

Figure 8. Map depicting how the alignment of the Rio Grande migrated over time adjacent to Segundo Barrio. Source: Overlay by HHM, base map from El Paso History Alliance via Facebook and ESRI.

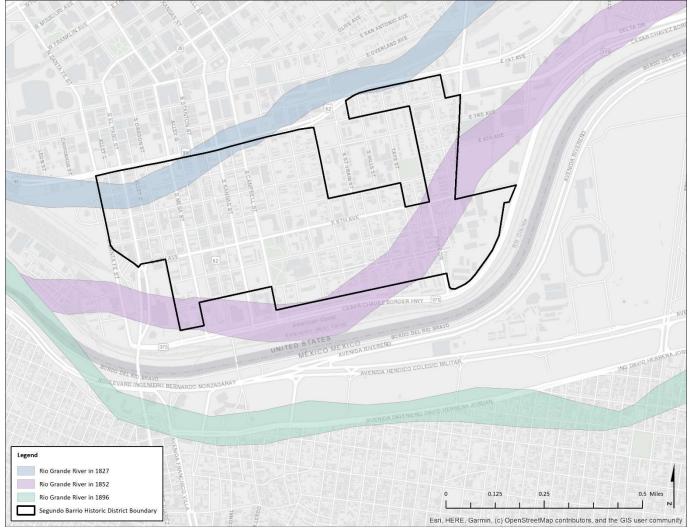


Figure 9. Map depicting changes in the alignment of the Rio Grande between 1827 and 1896. Source: El Paso History Alliance via Facebook. Ponce de Leon's 1827 land grant boundaries can also be seen in the following map: https://s3.glo.texas.gov/ncu/SCANDOCS/archives_webfiles/arcmaps/webfiles/landgrants/PDFs/1/5/6/156769.pdf.

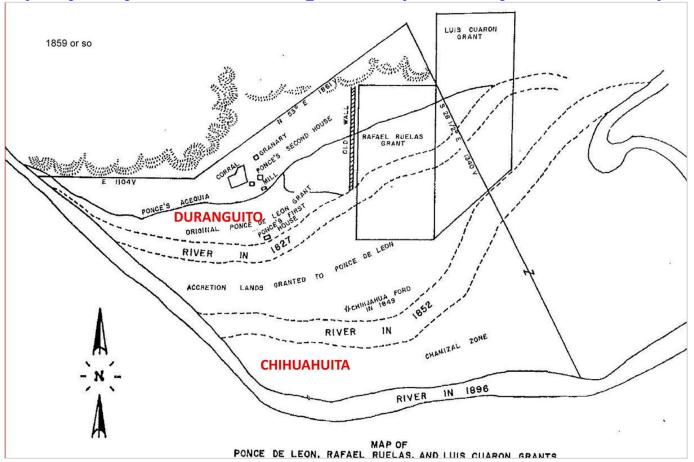


Figure 10. Detail of an 1853 map of El Paso del Norte (present-day Ciudad Juárez) and "Franklin" (present-day El Paso). Note the circled bifurcated trail with one branch leading to the old Oñate Crossing, plus another branch leading due south roughly following the present-day alignment of El Paso Street. Source: William H. Emory, *Boundary between the United States and Mexico* [Map], 1853, from the National Archives, <u>https://www.archives.gov/files/publications/prologue/2005/summer/images/mexico-paso-map-l.jpg</u>.

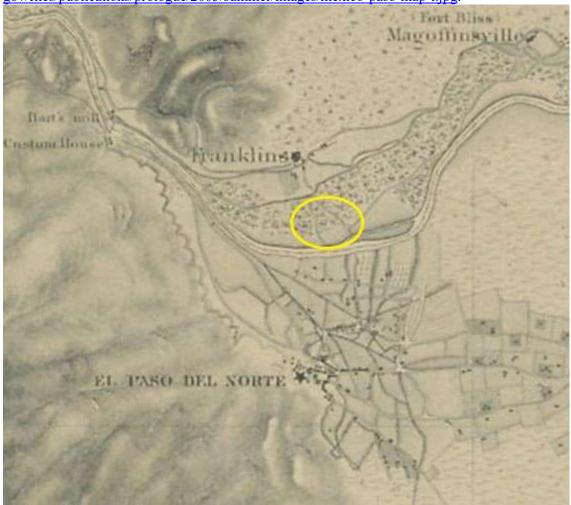


Figure 11. Map from 1855 depicting "Chihuahuita" (including Segundo Barrio), as well as "El Paso del Norte" (present-day Ciudad Juárez) and Duranguito (within present-day downtown El Paso). Source: El Paso History Alliance via Facebook.

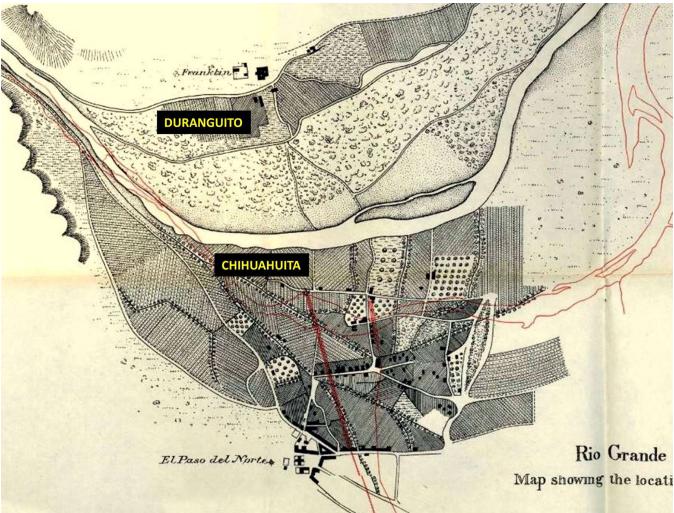


Figure 12. Original plat of the American town of "El Paso" (formerly known as "Franklin"), drawn by Anson Mills in 1859. Note that development stops south of Overland Street. Source: Alice White, "The Development of Irrigation in the City of El Paso," *Password of the El Paso County Historical Society* vol. IV no. 1 (January 1959): 32.

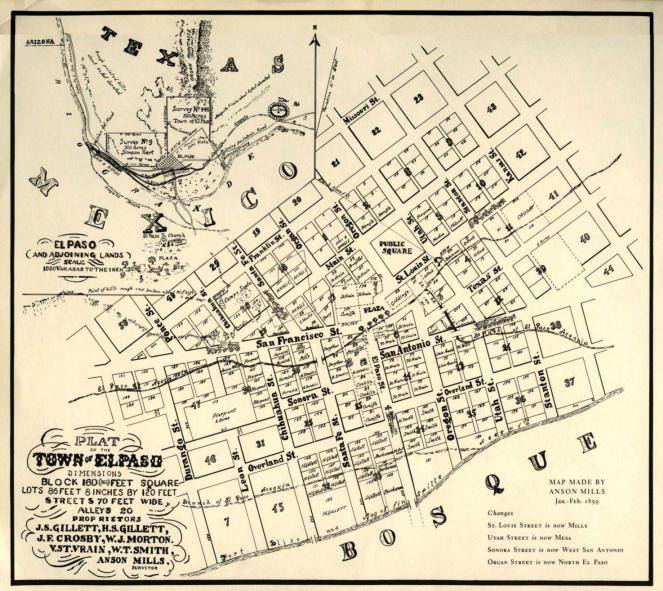


Figure 13. Map showing the likely 1864 alignment (the thinner line above, north of the Chamizal tract and Cordova Island) compared with the 1911 alignment (two lines with a dashed line between, below) of the Rio Grande between Ciudad Juárez, Mexico and El Paso, Texas (map drawn in 1911 for attempted border arbitration). Source: International Boundary and Water Commission, Mexican Section, from the National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/cham/learn/historyculture/conflict.htm.

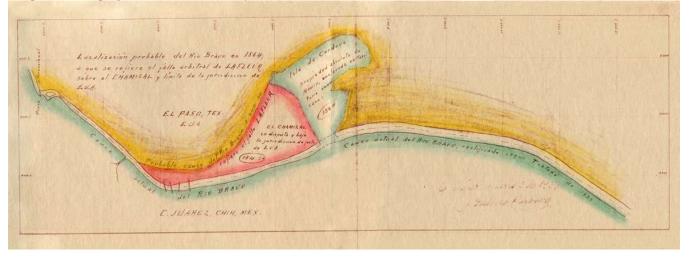


Figure 14. Photo of the ferry at the terminus of South Santa Fe Street, dated as 1881. Source: [Santa Fe Street Ferry, 1881], photograph, 1881, *The Portal to Texas History*, crediting El Paso Public Library, <u>https://texashist</u>ory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth613671/?q=santa%20fe%20street%20ferry.



Figure 15. Photo of the international railroad bridge across the Rio Grande in 1881. Source: University of Texas at El Paso Library, special Collections Department, Laurence Stevens Papers, photo # MS1·14, reproduced in Hodges, "Bridges across the Borderline," 27.



Figure 16. Photo of South El Paso Street in 1882. Source: El Paso History Alliance via Facebook.



Figure 17. Photo of the bridge across the Rio Grande at South Stanton Street around 1882. Source: Aultman, Otis A., 1874-1943 [Stanton Street Bridge], photograph, date unknown, *The Portal to Texas History*, crediting El Paso Public Library, <u>https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth875383/?q=stanton%20street%20bridge%20el%20paso</u>.



Figure 18. Photo of a crossing on the Rio Grande around 1885. Source: Wittick, George Benjamin, [Rio Grande Crossing at Paso del Norte], photograph, 1885~, *The Portal to Texas History*, crediting El Paso Public Library, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth875255/?q=rio%20grande%201885%20el%20paso.



Figure 19. William S. Hills, Campbell's Addition to El Paso, Texas [Map] (A. Gast and Company Lithographers, 1885), from the Texas General Land Office, <u>https://s3.glo.texas.gov/glo/history/archives/map-store/index.cfm#item</u>/8854.



Figure 20. Bird's eye view rendering of El Paso, drawn by Augustus Koch around 1886. Note the alignment of the Rio Grande immediately south of Seventh Street, as well as the sparse development between the Rio Grande and Third Street. Source: Augustus Koch, *El Paso in 1886* [Bird's eye view map], from the Texas General Land Office, <u>https://s3.glo.texas.gov/glo/history/archives/map-store/zoomer.cfm?z=https://s3.glo.texas.gov/ncu/SCANDOCS/</u> archives webfiles/arcmaps/ZoomWork/9/5/95405.



Figure 21. Historic photo of Sacred Heart Church, established in 1892 at 602 South Oregon Street. Source: Cleofas Calleros, *El Paso, Then and Now*, 50.

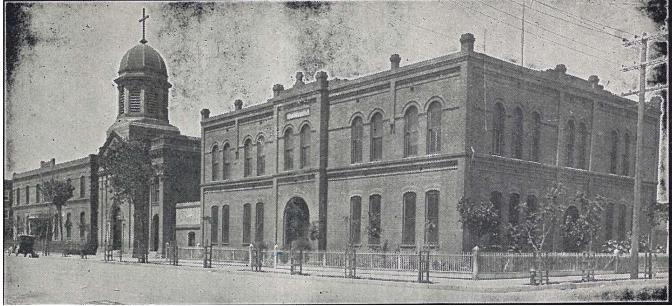


Figure 22. Historic photo of the Franklin School, constructed in 1890 at the corner of Sonora and South Leon Streets (no longer extant). Source: "Franklin Elementary School," El Paso Museum of History, Digital Information Gateway in El Paso, crediting Tony (Azul) Alvarado, Jr., accessed Nov. 18, 2020, <u>https://www.digie.org/album/18881/19631</u>.



Figure 23. Historic photo of the Douglass School, constructed in 1891 at the corner of East Fourth and South Kansas Streets. Source: "Douglas Grammar and High School" El Paso Museum of History, Digital Information Gateway in El Paso, crediting Douglass Elementary, <u>https://www.digie.org/album/21306/49186</u>.



Figure 24. Map from 1899 showing the plats for the Cambell Addition and Magoffin Addition in Segundo Barrio. Source: U.S. Census Enumeration District Map, 1899, from familysearch.org.

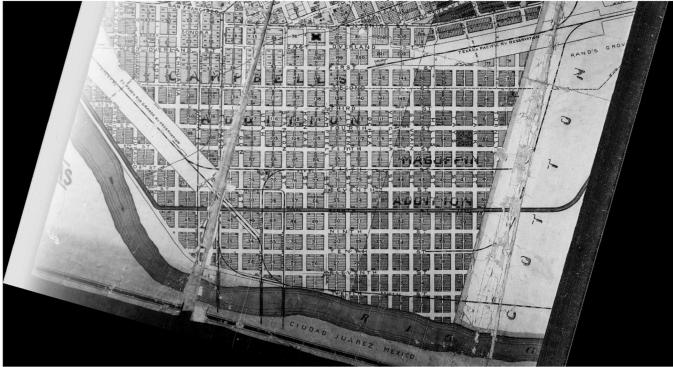


Figure 25. Photo of Segundo Barrio, looking north across the Barrio toward downtown and the Franklin Mountains, ca. 1900. Source: William J. Palmore, "From Passage to Place," *Texas Architect* (July/August 2020), crediting Fred Morales and the *El Paso Times*, <u>https://magazine.texasarchitects.org/2020/07/09/from-passage-to-place/</u>.



Figure 26. Photo of a "jacalito" (or a small *jacal* house) similar to the houses characteristic of Segundo Barrio around 1900. Note that the precise location of this photo is not specified.. Source: Palmore, "From Passage to Place."

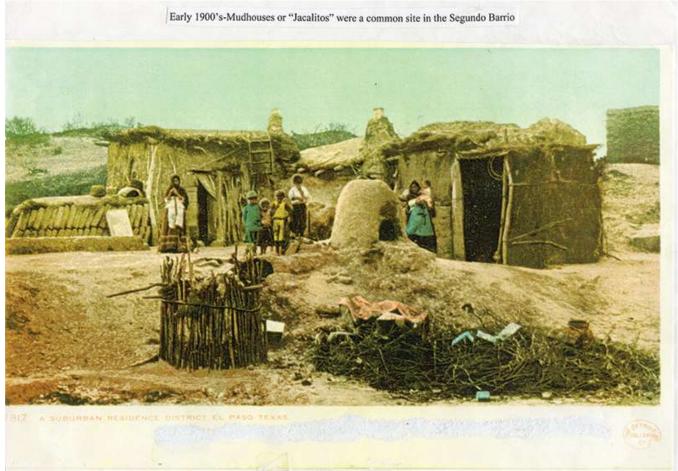


Figure 27. Photo of a typical adobe tenement in Segundo Barrio, no date (likely in the early twentieth century). Note that the precise location of this photo is not specified. Source: Palmore, "From Passage to Place."



Figure 28. Photo of the international bridge connecting El Paso to Ciudad Juárez, no date. Source: [International Bridge Between El Paso and Juárez], photograph, no date [early twentieth century], *The Portal to Texas History*, crediting the El Paso Public Library, <u>https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth613728/</u>.



Figure 29. Photograph of the original portion of Saint Ignatius Catholic Church at 408 Park Street, constructed in 1904. Source: Texas Historical Commission, [Saint Ignatius], photograph, date unknown, *The Portal to Texas History*, crediting Texas Historical Commission, <u>https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth680183/</u>.



Figure 30. Photograph showing the expansion of Saint Ignatius Catholic Church at 408 Park Street, dating from 1913. Source: Ponsford. [Saint Ignatius of Loyola Church in El Paso, Texas], photograph, date unknown, *The Portal to Texas History*, crediting El Paso Public Library, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth613583/.







Figure 32. Photo of the bridge at South Santa Fe Street at some point during the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920). Source: Aultman, Otis A., 1874-1943. [Santa Fe Bridge in El Paso, Texas], photograph, [1910–1920], *The Portal to Texas History*, crediting El Paso Public Library, <u>https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth63272</u>/?q=santa%20fe%20bridge%20el%20paso.



Figure 33. Photo showing Mexican Nationals (likely among others) crossing an international bridge to celebrate Madero's victory after the Battle of Juarez in 1911. Source: Siller, *1911: La Batalla de Ciudad Juárez*, 206–207.

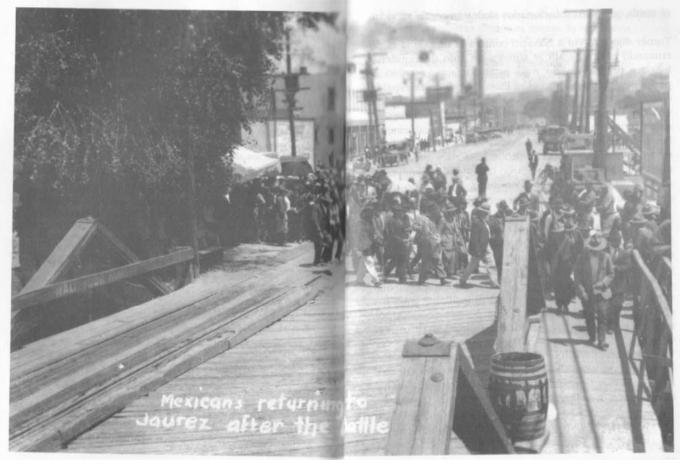


Figure 34. Photo of the border crossing station at the southern terminus of Santa Fe Street around 1925, looking north from El Paso toward Ciudad Juárez and the Franklin Mountains. Source: Pinterest crediting the El Paso Historical Society, accessed October 7, 2020, <u>https://www.pinterest.com/pin/488499890824231440</u>.



Figure 35. Aerial photo showing El Paso, Ciudad Juárez, and the Rio Grande between, 1935. Source: [Aerial of Juarez and El Paso], photograph, November 1, 1935, *The Portal to Texas History*, crediting El Paso Public Library, <u>https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth875761</u>.



Figure 36. Photo of Bowie High School (now the Guillen Middle School), opened in 1922 at 900 South Cotton Street. Source: "Bowie High School-1949," Digital Information Gateway in El Paso, El Paso Museum of History, crediting Tony (Azul) Alvarado, Jr., accessed November 11, 2020, <u>https://www.digie.org/album/21416/50626</u>.



Figure 37. Map from 1946 showing the route of U.S. 80 through El Paso, traveling along the northern boundary of Segundo Barrio. Source: Texas Highway Department, map, 1945, from the *Portal to Texas History*, crediting the University of Texas at Arlington Library, <u>https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth193703</u>.

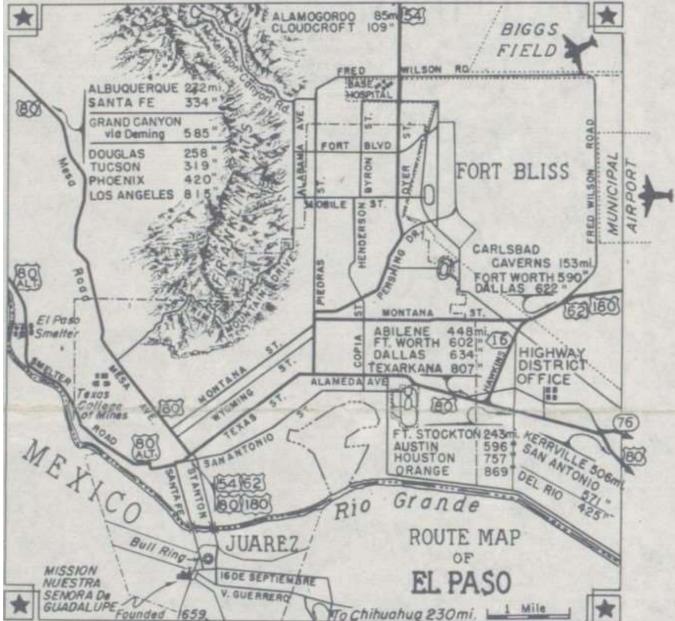


Figure 38. Photo of the Alamito Housing Project by 1949 (no longer extant). Source: "Alamito?" Digital Information Gateway in El Paso, El Paso Museum of History, Accession no. 0076, crediting Housing Authority of the City of El Paso, accessed Nov. 4, 2020, <u>https://www.digie.org/media/7768</u>.



Figure 39. Photograph of 1020 South Campbell, around the mid-twentieth century. Source: Silva's Super Market, <u>http://silvamkt.com/about/</u>.



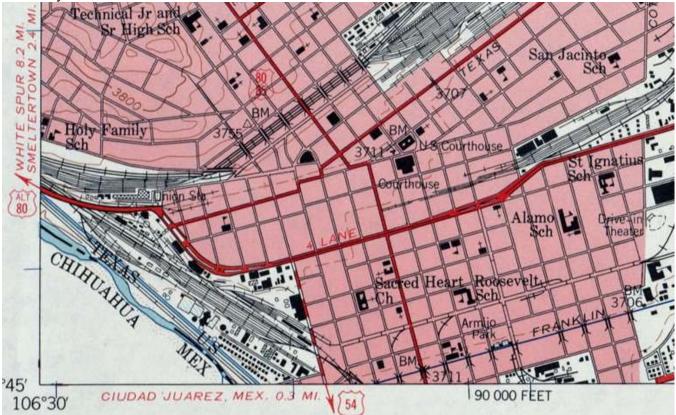


Figure 40. Topographic map of El Paso in 1955. Source: USGS Topographic Map, El Paso, 1955, from the University of Texas Libraries.

Figure 41. Topographic map of El Paso in 1959 showing the alignment of the Rio Grande at that time. Source: USGS Topographic Map, El Paso and Ysleta, 1959, from USGS topoView, knit together by HHM.



Figure 42. Photograph of the border crossing around 1960, looking north from Ciudad Juárez toward El Paso and the Franklin Mountains. Source: Pinterest, accessed October 10, 2020, <u>https://www.pinterest.com/pin/272819689</u> <u>912425646</u>.

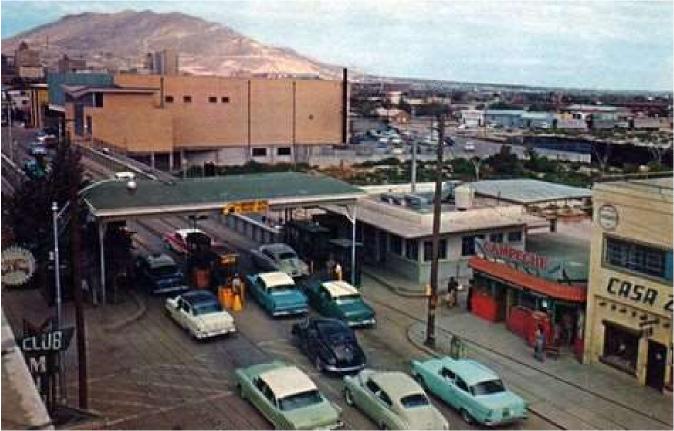


Figure 43. Map illustrating the land trade agreements in the Chamizal Treaty. The darker shaded area above is territory "cut to United States," while the lighter grey hatch below indicates land "cut to Mexico." The two dark lines with a dashed line between indicate the relocated riverbed of the Rio Grande. Source: *Mexico: Boundary; solution of the problem of Chamizal, Aug. 29, 1963* [map related to an unnumbered, unsigned executive order], from ProQuest, <u>https://congressional-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/congressional/docview/t67.d72.1964-</u>29-2-m?accountid=7118.



Figure 44. Topographic map of El Paso in 1967. Source: USGS Topographic Map, El Paso, 1967, from the University of Texas Libraries.



Figure 45. Photo of South El Paso Street in 1970. Source: El Paso History Alliance via Facebook.



Figure 46. Topographic map of El Paso in 1973. Source: USGS Topographic Map, El Paso, 1973, from the University of Texas Libraries.



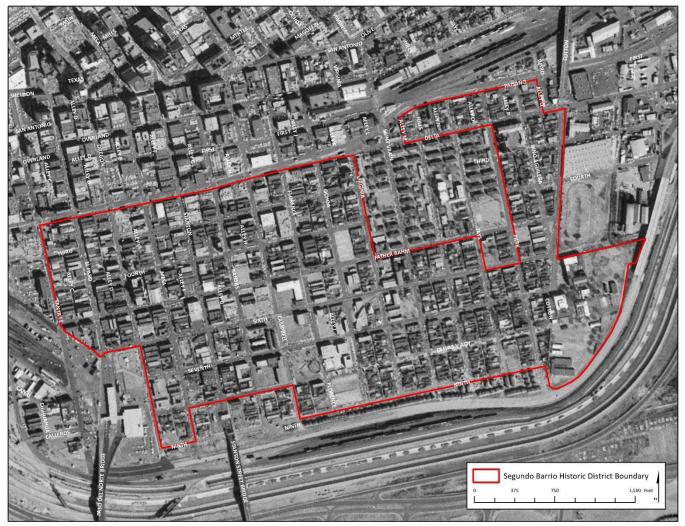


Figure 47. Aerial photo of El Paso in 1974. Source: USGS Earth Explorer, overlay by HHM.

Figure 48. Photograph of the International Customs House (later the Orizaba Hotel) at 801 South El Paso Street in 1975. Source: Stephen Smith, Michael D. Yancey, and Alex Nelson, [Hotel Orizaba], photograph, June 26, 1975, *The Portal to Texas History*, crediting Texas Historical Commission, <u>https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/met</u> apth685411/?q=hotel%20orizaba.



Figure 49. Photograph of a mural by a team of artists led by Arturo "Tury" Avalos, which reads "Segundo Barrio" with an Aztec-inspired design, located at 513 East Father Rahm Drive. Source: [Segundo Barrio Mural], photograph, date unknown, *The Portal to Texas History*, crediting El Paso Public Library, <u>https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth875297/?q=mural%20segundo%20barrio</u>.



Figure 50. Photo of South El Paso Street in 1980. Source: El Paso History Alliance via Facebook.



Photographs

All photographs reflect the current appearance of the properties.

Photo 1. Contextual photo of the site of the covered acequia along Olivas V. Aoy Avenue, taken from between St. Vrain Street and Hills Street, facing east–northeast. Photographed by Erin Tyson, June 2017.



Photo 2. Contextual photo of Armijo Park, 620 Seventh Avenue, facing southeast. Photographed by Erin Tyson, June 2017.



Photo 3. Façade view of St. Ignatius of Loyola Catholic Church and School (1905), 408 Park Street, facing east-northeast. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, July 2017.



Photo 4. Façade view of the St. Ignatius of Loyola Catholic Church sanctuary at 408 Park Street, constructed in 1913 with a 1921 façade update designed by Trost & Trost, facing east–northeast. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, July 2017.



Photo 5. Oblique view of 515 South Street, facing northwest. Photographed by Emily Payne, June 2017.



Photo 6. Oblique view of Bowie High School (now the Guillen Middle School), 900 South Cotton Street, facing northeast. Photo from Google Streetview, July 2020.



Photo 7. Oblique view of the Roosevelt Public School (now La Fe Preparatory School), 616 East Father Rahm Street, facing northwest. Photographed by Erin Tyson, June 2017.



Photo 8. Oblique view of 1008 South Oregon Street, facing east-northeast. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, August 2017.





Photo 9. Oblique view of 1020 South Campbell Street, facing northeast. Photographed by Erin Tyson, June 2017.

Photo 10. Oblique view of 715 South Oregon Street, facing southwest. Photographed by Shonda Mace, August 2017.



Photo 11. Oblique view of the alley dwelling at the rear of 715 South Oregon Street (fronting Alley E), facing east-northeast. Photographed by Shonda Mace, August 2017.



Photo 12. Oblique view of 1116 East Seventh Avenue, facing southwest. Photographed by Shonda Mace, July 2017.



Photo 13. Oblique view of 709 Tays Street, facing northwest. Photographed by Shonda Mace, July 2017.



Photo 14. Façade view of 601 South Mesa Street (alternately addressed as 605 South Mesa Street), facing west-southwest. Photograph by Shonda Mace, August 2017.



Photo 15. Oblique view of 801 South El Paso Street, facing southwest. Photographed by Shonda Mace, July 2017.



Photo 16. Oblique view of the Lydia Patterson Institute, 517 South Florence Street, facing southwest. Photographed by Erin Tyson, June 2017.



Photo 17. Oblique view of the Lydia Patterson Gymnasium, rear of 517 South Florence Street (fronting East Third Avenue), facing southeast. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, September 2017.





Photo 18. Oblique view of 500 East Third Avenue, facing southeast. Photographed by Emily Payne, June 2017.

Photo 19. Oblique view of 900 South Oregon Street, facing northeast. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, August 2017.



Photo 20. Oblique view of 516 Nino Aguilera Street, facing northeast. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, July 2017.



Photo 21. Oblique view of 311 South Hills Street, facing northwest. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, July 2017.



Photo 22. Façade view of 410 South Florence Street, facing east-northeast. Photographed by Emily Payne, June 2017.



Photo 23. Oblique view of 508 Park Street, facing northeast. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, July 2017.



Photo 24. Oblique view of 610 Park Street, facing northeast. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, July 2017.



Photo 25. Oblique view of 603 Nino Aguilera Street, facing southwest. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, July 2017.



Photo 26. Façade view of 613 Nino Aguilera Street, facing west–southwest. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, July 2017.



Photo 27. Oblique view of the residential unit at 818 South Hills Street, facing northeast. Photographed by Shonda Mace, July 2017.



Photo 28. Oblique view of the corner commercial unit at 818 South Hills Street (fronting both South Hills Street and East Seventh Avenue), facing northeast. Photographed by Shonda Mace, July 2017.



Photo 29. Façade view of 907 Tays Street, facing west-southwest. Photographed by Shonda Mace, July 2017.



Photo 30. Oblique view of the Father Pinto Apartments, 1001 South Ochoa Street, facing southeast. Photographed by Emily Payne, June 2017.







Photo 32. Oblique view of 600 South Mesa Street, facing southeast. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, August 2017.



Photo 33. Oblique view of 1310 East Third Avenue, facing southeast. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, July 2017.



Photo 34. Oblique View of 603 South El Paso Street, facing northwest. Photographed by Shonda Mace, August 2017.



Photo 35. Oblique view of 400 South Santa Fe Street, facing southeast. Photographed by Erin Tyson, June 2017.



Photo 36. Oblique view of 501 South Stanton Street, facing southwest. Photographed by Shonda Mace, August 2017.



Photo 37. Façade view of Teatro Colón, 509 South El Paso Street, camera facing west-southwest. Photographed by Erin Tyson, June 2017.



Photo 38. Oblique view of Second Baptist Church, 401 South Virginia Street, facing southwest. Photographed by Emily Payne, June 2017.



Photo 39. Oblique view of Sacred Heart Church sanctuary 1892 (altered 1923), 602 South Oregon Street, facing northeast. Photographed by Erin Tyson, June 2017.



Photo 40. Façade view of the Sacred Heart School at 602 South Oregon Street, facing northeast. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, September 2017.



Photo 41. Oblique view of the Church of the Divine Saviour (alternate names: Mexican Presbyterian and Templo la Evangelica), 517 South Ochoa Street, facing northwest. Phototgraphed by Emily Payne, June 2017.



Photo 42. Oblique view of the San Jose Catholic Union Mexican Hall, 501 South Virginia Street, facing southwest.



Photo 43. Oblique view of the Purity Baking Company (later the Rainbow Baking Company, now Earth Grains), 701 South Kansas Street, facing northwest. Photographed by Emily Payne, June 2017.



Photo 44. Oblique view of 801 East Seventh Avenue, facing northeast. Photographed by Emily Payne, June 2017.



Photo 45. Oblique view of the rear of 801 East Seventh Avenue, facing southeast. Photographed by Emily Payne, June 2017.



Photo 46. Oblique view of the Good Will Boys Club, 801 South Florence Street, facing northwest. Photographed by Emily Payne, June 2017.



Photo 47. Contextual view of the Boys Club Park, taken from East Seventh Avenue at South Campbell Street, facing northwest. Photographed by Erin Tyson, June 2017.



Photo 48. Oblique view of the Robert Krakauer Memorial Building (now the Willie Sanchez Rosales Family Center), 510 South Oregon Street, facing southeast. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, August 2017.



Photo 49. Oblique view of the Henderson Health Clinic, 721 South Mesa Street, facing northwest. Photographed by Shonda Mace, August 2017.



Photo 50. Oblique view of 901 Park Street, facing southwest. Photographed by Shonda Mace, July 2017.



Photo 51. Oblique view of 1917 Territorial Revival brick tenement at 608 South Campbell Street, facing southeast. Photographed by Erin Tyson, June 2017.



Photo 52. Oblique view of 415 South Campbell Street, facing northwest. Photographed by Erin Tyson, June 2017.



Photo 53. Oblique view of 306 Tays Street, facing northeast. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, July 2017.



Photo 54. Oblique view of the rear and side elevations of a brick tenement building that housed Teresa Urrea, a prominent *curandera* or "healer," in 1897, at 500 South Oregon Street, facing northeast. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, August 2017.



Photo 55. Oblique view of 710 South St. Vrain Street, facing southeast. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, June 2017.



Photo 56. Oblique view of 615 South Campbell Street, facing northwest. Photographed by Erin Tyson, June 2017.





Photo 57. Oblique view of 621 South Oregon Street, facing northwest. Note post-railroad brick detailing at window cornices and parapet reflecting Territorial Revival stylistic influences. Photographed by Shonda Mace, July 2017.

Photo 58. Façade view of 511 Nino Aguilera Street, facing west–southwest. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, July 2017.



Photo 59. Oblique view of 605 South Oregon Street, facing southwest. Photographed by Shonda Mace, August 2017.



Photo 60. Oblique view of a small, early adobe home at the rear of 509 South Virignia Street, facing northeast. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, July 2017.



Photo 61. Oblique view of 419 South Mesa Street, facing northwest. Photographed by Shonda Mace, August 2017.



Photo 62. Oblique view of public housing at 718 South Kansas Street, facing northeast. Photographed by Emily Payne, June 2017.



Photo 63. Oblique view of 806 Tays Street, former residence of Cleofas Calleros, facing southeast. Photographed by Shonda Mace, July 2017.



Photo 64. Oblique view of 918 South St. Vrain Street, facing northeast. Photographed by Shonda Mace, July 2017.



Photo 65. Oblique view of 550 East Paisano Drive, facing southwest. Photographed by Emily Payne, June 2017.



Photo 66. Oblique view of 700 South Ochoa Street, facing southwest. Photographed by Emily Payne, June 2017.





Photo 67. Oblique view of 507 South Kansas Street, facing northeast. Photographed by Emily Payne, June 2017.

Photo 68. Oblique view of 615 South Florence Street, facing southwest. Photographed by Emily Payne, June 2017.



Photo 69. Oblique view of the one-room adobe rear dwelling at 607 South Ochoa Street (fronting the alley), facing southwest. Photograhed by Kristina Kupferschmid, August 2017.



Photo 70. Oblique view of 611 South Kansas Street, facing northwest. Photographed by Emily Payne, June 2017.



Photo 71. Oblique view of an 1890 adobe L-plan house at 1116 East Paisano Drive, facing southeast. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, July 2017.



Photo 72. Oblique view 807 East Father Rahm Avenue, facing northeast. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, July 2017.



Photo 73. Façade view of 106 East Father Rahm Drive, facing south. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, August 2017.



Photo 74. Oblique view of 816 South El Paso Street, facing northeast. Photographed by Kristina Kupferschmid, August 2017.



Photo 75. Oblique view of 417 South Oregon Street, facing southwest. Photographed by Shonda Mace, August 2017.



Photo 76. Oblique view of 600 South Ochoa Street, South El Paso Senior Center and former site of *Los Seis Infiernos*, or "The Six Hells" tenement buildings, facing northeast. Photographed by Emily Payne, June 2017.



Photo 77. Oblique view of 1020 East Seventh Avenue, facing southwest. Photographed by Shonda Mace, July 2017.



Photo 78. Oblique view of 612 South Stanton Street, facing northeast. Photgraphed by Kristina Kupferschmid, August 2017.



Photo 79. Oblique view of an original 1905 L-plan brick home with 1936 front porch enclosure at 508 South Kansas Street, facing southeast. Photographed by Emily Payne, June 2017.



- end -