

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service****National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form**

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See Instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

☒ New Submission ☐ Amended Submission

**A. Name of Multiple Property Listing**

Historic Farms and Ranches of Bexar County, Texas

**B. Associated Historic Contexts**

Agriculture in Bexar County, Texas, ca. 1800–1970

Ethnic Groups and Related Building Patterns in Rural Bexar County, Texas, ca. 1800–1970

**C. Form Prepared by**

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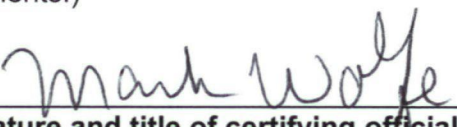
**STATE:** Texas

**ZIP CODE:** 78758

**E-MAIL:** adase@paiarch.com

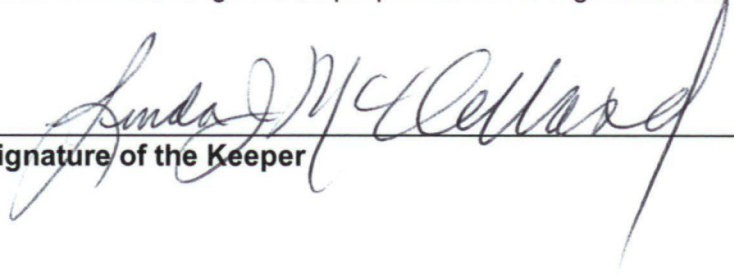
**D. Certification**

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

  
**Signature and title of certifying official**  
(SHPO, Texas Historical Commission)

  
**Date**

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

  
**Signature of the Keeper**

**MAY 6 2011**  
**Date**

## Historic Farms and Ranches of Bexar County, Texas

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Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

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**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 18 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 Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, PO Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.



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E. Statement of Historic Contexts (Part 1)

AGRICULTURE IN BEXAR COUNTY, TEXAS, 1800 TO 1970

Introduction

From earliest settlement activity until World War II, agriculture was the leading economic force in Bexar County, Texas. The county's cash crops and livestock provided food for farms and the large, urban market of San Antonio, and grew to participate in the national market economy. Relevant historical agents such as population growth, transportation networks, technological innovations, world events, and local economics linked Bexar County to regional and national agricultural patterns. Representative and distinct elements of local agricultural history are included in this synthesis and guided development of five periods of significance.

A substantial amount of available data permits the identification of discrete periods of significance.<sup>1</sup> The focus of the earliest period for this agricultural context is 1800 to the 1840s, although a very brief synopsis of the pre-1800 era introduces mission farming and ranching. The synthesis for this early period concentrates on local agricultural patterns in the turbulent first decades of the century that led Mexico to achieve independence from Spain, and Texas to break away as a sovereign republic. Only a few American and foreign-born European agriculturists began to undertake farming and livestock raising in Bexar County in the midst of political upheaval until statehood in 1845. In these decades, the first non-Hispanic transplants began to transform the local agricultural landscape with patterns more common to the American South. The next period of significance extends from the 1840s until 1880. This period, simultaneous with the economic highs and lows of the antebellum and postbellum eras, encompassed a major influx of native-born Anglo Americans and foreign-born Europeans who substantially shifted local agricultural practices away from existing Spanish and Mexican traditions. The period of significance between 1880 and 1920 recounts the second major influx of European immigrants within the local populace and an attendant increase in the numbers of first- and second-generation Americans, vast improvements to transportation routes and consequent trade expansion, and overall growth for agricultural production. The period of significance between 1920 and the onset of World War II was a time of agricultural and economic depression, but also included technological advancements that altered local farming practices. The final period of significance considers most carefully the years between 1945 and 1960, briefly addressing the subsequent decade of this later period. During and after World War II, a flourishing post-war economy and vertical integration of the market characterized local agriculture. The 1960s directly and irrevocably affected rural Bexar County with efforts to accommodate the transportation and development needs of a rapidly expanding military-industrial complex and the post-war baby boom as the Cold War trudged on to its midpoint.

Regardless of time period, Bexar County's diverse agricultural past reflects local geographic and topographic circumstances. Bexar County was established on December 20, 1836, with San Antonio as county seat. The county encompassed almost the entire western portion of the Republic of Texas, including areas of western New Mexico northward to Wyoming. Much of the county beyond San Antonio was sparsely settled. Since 1860, when the partitioning of Bexar County began, 128 counties have been carved from the original political boundary, leaving the present county at 1,248 square miles. Today, Bexar County is bounded on the north by Kendall and Comal Counties, on the east by Guadalupe and Wilson Counties, on the south by Atascosa County, and on the west by Medina and Bandera Counties. Bexar County is part of the interior belt of the Coastal Plain that the Balcones Escarpment crosses in south central Texas.

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<sup>1</sup> Several useful sources on agriculture consulted but not specifically cited in this context include *Texas Woollybacks: The Range, Sheep, and Goat Industry* (Carlson 1982), *Forgotten Texas Census: First Annual Report of the Agricultural Bureau of the Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics, and History, 1887-1888* (Foster 2001), *Planters and Plain Folk: Agriculture in Antebellum Texas* (Lowe and Campbell 1987), and *Fourth Annual Report of the Agricultural Bureau of the Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics, and History: 1890-1891* (U.S. Department of Agriculture 1892).



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Northwest of the escarpment, in high, hilly country is the Edwards Plateau, the source of numerous springs and artesian and underground wells. The Edwards Aquifer system recharge and artesian zones flow through the county from northeast to southwest. The county's most central water source is the San Antonio River, which originates from springs on the present-day University of the Incarnate Word campus. The San Antonio River once served as the main water source for five Spanish missions (Figure 1), but today the Edwards Aquifer supplies water to the city. The San Antonio River basin watershed includes other significant waterways with surface water in rural sectors of the county. These include the Medina River and the San Pedro, Medio, Leon, Helotes, Salado, and Calaveras Creeks (Figure 2). Two important creeks flow from the eastern part of the county: Rosillo Creek streams southwest into Salado Creek and Martinez Creek courses southeast into Cibolo Creek. Cibolo Creek marks the geographic boundary between present-day Bexar and Comal Counties on the north and between Bexar and Guadalupe Counties on the east (Donecker 2001; *The Handbook of Texas Online* 2001a; Long 2001; San Antonio Water System 2007). The southern two-thirds of the county is undulating or nearly level plain sloping downward from northwest to southeast. Soils in this part of the county range from moderately deep stony soils over limestone to deep fine sands with loamy subsoil. The northern third of the county is an eroded plateau that several streams divide. Soils in the north part of the county are primarily shallow or very shallow over limestone with a small area of deep calcareous clay and marl (Taylor et al. 1962:127).

#### **Agriculture in Bexar County, 1800 to the 1840s**

The area that became known as present-day Bexar County, like the rest of Texas, was part of the Spanish Empire. For much of their time under Spanish rule, most lands were the property of either the Crown or the missions. The area's post-contact history is characterized by the influence of the Spanish through these missions, of which San Antonio de Béxar had regional control (Figure 3). Much of the literature concerning mission-era agriculture focuses on San Antonio, where the populace was concentrated, rather than the rural hinterlands that also fell under Spanish authority. For settlers who braved this eighteenth-century frontier, it was safer to live near the missions than the surrounds that proffered the threat of hostility from nature and native peoples. Settlers faced many uncertainties and numerous factors could adversely affect agricultural production in any given year. Cyclical droughts, severe winters, disease epidemics, and native aggressions proved harmful to those trying to eke out a living on the frontier (Almaraz 1989:2).

Throughout the eighteenth century, the Spanish missions centered on raising livestock. Necessary resources, like extensive land grants, visionary leadership, and cheap labor, were readily available for missions to operate on a large scale (Adovasio and Green 2003:20; Jackson 1986:12–13, 57). Agricultural fields positioned between mission compounds were irrigated through an expansive and successful series of *acequias* that also supplied potable water to the missions. Maize was grown as feed for livestock and it, along with other crops, provided sustenance for mission inhabitants. Indian laborers who tended these crops and herds of goat, sheep, and cattle lived in semi-autonomous satellite communities with fortified and walled headquarters that were removed from the mission complexes. They included living space for the Indian laborers, cisterns, corrals, and associated outbuildings (Fox 1989:87). Still, mission ranching was precarious at best. For the first half of the eighteenth century, there was no nearby market to sell cattle. Intense interactions with Apaches in the 1720s and 1730s complicated livestock management and prevented distribution and sale to distant buyers (Jackson 1986:15–18). Mission herd numbers are not exact for the early eighteenth century, despite efforts to record them. In 1745, Francisco Xavier Ortiz inspected the Department of Béxar missions and recorded 5,115 head of cattle, 2,661 sheep, 664 goats, and 257 horses. These probably did not account for all of the semi-wild livestock the missions considered part of their herds (Jackson 1986:35–37).

The last half of the eighteenth century was difficult for both mission and private ranching prospects. Private ranches were those of descendants of presidial soldiers and the Canary Islanders who had immigrated to the department of Béxar in March 1731 and acquired prime agricultural lands. They lived near established settlements like San Antonio. Few other private residents attempted to keep a substantial number of livestock until after a 1749 peace agreement between the Apache and the Spanish achieved relative safety (Adovasio and Green 2003:19; de la Teja 1988:214; Jackson 1986:12–13,



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57; Long 2001). This agreement did not avert conflict between the missions and private ranchers, who were often at odds with each other over governmental policy. The missions had long contended that livestock found in pastures, whether branded or not, was their property. Their view stemmed from having operated the first ranches and the belief that any semi-wild livestock must have come from their original herds. This view caused discord for decades (Jackson 1986:17). Again, Indian hostilities proved so dangerous that private ranches were abandoned between 1765 and 1785 (McGraw and Hinds 1987:71). However, both the missions and some private ranchers were more convinced to stay the course during these turbulent times since cattle exportation and corresponding profits were on the rise. Before 1774, cattle drives to provinces other than Louisiana to the east and Coahuila to the south were not considered profitable because of Indian raids (Jackson 1986:44). Nevertheless, the American Revolution motivated ranching interests to feed troops fighting the British along the Gulf Coast. Relative success encouraged their participation in ranching. Between 1779 and 1781, more than 13,000 cattle from the San Antonio region were driven eastward (McGraw and Hinds 1987:77). An agreement with the Norteño and Comanche in 1785 propelled more ranchers into the countryside, but confrontations took place in 1789 and 1790 (Adovasio and Green 2003:19; Jackson 1986:223). The promise of successful ranching was short lived. By 1791, three of 14 ranches had been abandoned, nine had cattle but no occupants, and only two had been resettled (Adovasio and Green 2003:19).

Spain's trade policy across the lightly guarded frontier remained unrealistic (Jackson 1986:460). Government administration was inconsistent, often dramatically differing in policy from one leader to another. The government attempted to control ranching through licenses for slaughtering, branding, and driving herds to other markets. The object was to prevent indiscriminate depletion of brood herds in an effort to make the livestock industry a profitable venture (Jackson 1986:242). Despite moderate success with these policy controls, the system caused tension and descent between the government and ranchers. Even though Louisiana and Texas had both long been under Spanish control, once promising trade between the regions was all but completely discredited by the 1790s (Jackson 1986:388). Over time, Indians escaped prescribed work schedules and artificial social controls, missions lost their workforce, and Spanish domination waned (Almaraz 1989:2). Secularization of the missions occurred in 1793 and 1794. Mission lands were redistributed to the few remaining Indian converts, the increasing Spanish immigrant population, and already affluent ranching dynasties composed mostly of the heirs of presidial soldiers and Canary Islanders (McGraw and Hinds 1987:77; Long 2001). Although ranching had become the principal source of income for some of these landowners by 1795, their holdings were loosely ordered and only temporarily occupied on an annual basis (Adovasio and Green 2003:19; Faulk 1964:261-263). Under these circumstances, the ranching industry lurched precariously toward the nineteenth century.

For settlers braving the frontier, subsistence farming characterized crop production, and participation in the market economy was uncommon. Subsistence products provided for basic needs of the farm family. As was true for the missions, the first crop every farmer planted was corn. A versatile and extremely important plant, corn provided food for the family and grain, fodder, and silage for their livestock (Hardeman 2001). A farmer's corn crop was essential to survival on the frontier and failure could readily lead to illness or starvation (Jones 2005:38). For example, when the Canary Islanders immigrated to the Department of Béxar in 1731, they planted corn first, then beans, oats, cotton, melons, chilies, watermelons, potatoes, pumpkins, and other vegetables (Jones 2005:33). Although far more irrigable land was available than was in use by local inhabitants, subsistence farming remained the priority. With little surplus for sale, only a marginal livelihood was possible on the frontier. Treacherous transportation routes made cash-crop farming an even more unlikely source of reliable income. As a result, crop production remained static for decades.

Technological advances boosted local agricultural production in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the 1790s, the cradle and scythe were introduced, the cotton gin was invented, and Charles Newbold patented the first cast-iron plow (LetterPress Software, Inc. 2007a). These were immediately reliable improvements. The promise of a rich cash crop drove agriculturists to find ways to grow the fickle cotton plant early in the nineteenth century. Cotton production was never as high locally as in other regions of Texas, but this did not deter efforts of farmers who sought to achieve the wealth the king of crops was capable of yielding.



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Nearly the entire first half of the area's nineteenth-century agricultural history was subject to Indian relations and transitions of political power. As in the previous century, trade remained dangerous because of poor relations with Indians and many cattlemen fled to San Antonio for protection. Spanish control of the regional livestock trade had benefited from increased exchange with the east, particularly through Louisiana. After France sold Louisiana to the United States in 1803, Spain lost control of markets to its east. Because of a prolonged series of conflicts beginning with the Hidalgo revolt in 1810 and culminating in the Battle of the Medina in 1813, private property was confiscated and the cattle industry ruined (Adovasio and Green 2003:20). The Spanish Empire formally lost control of its lands in Texas to the newly formed Mexican government in 1821. A log cabin that dates to the 1820s on the Seguin-Tarin ranch lands is one of few extant buildings from this tumultuous period (Hindes 2006). Mexican reign was short lived, but ranching conditions improved under their watch. Further revolution brought about the birth of the Republic of Texas in 1836. The Republic created Bexar County that year, carving it out of vast landholdings. The land policies of both Mexico and the Republic of Texas were stricter than those of Spain, but complemented range husbandry practices. During both the Mexican and Republic administrations, cattle raising remained a domestic industry, supplying food and leather products to inhabitants of San Antonio, new immigrants to the area, and neighboring districts (Richardson and Hinton 2001). No exact numbers of cattle present locally during this period survive, but visitors' accounts of the area assert the abundance of livestock (Jackson 1986:595). The Republic's rule was also transitory, as Texas entered the Union in 1845. At statehood, Bexar County extended from the Rio Grande to the Panhandle, and west to El Paso. These turbulent times prolonged an era of instability through the mid-nineteenth century, but several ambitious property owners built houses and made every effort to farm and ranch, including Fernando Rodriguez on Leon Creek and a family who lived along Borregas Road (Hindes 2006).

The only significant change to local crop production during the first decades of the nineteenth century was an increase proportionate with population growth. In the mid to late 1830s, the first small wave of native-born migrant and foreign-born European immigrant farmers came to Bexar County. Subsistence farming remained most common. These newcomers employed farming practices that followed Spanish and Mexican traditions. Corn remained the staple crop providing sustenance for man and livestock. Farmers also grew beans, oats, cotton, melons, chilies, watermelons, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, and other vegetables to supplement their diets (Jones 2005:33).

The greatest change to ranching during the early nineteenth century was not husbandry practices themselves, but who performed them. Livestock still wandered freely on the open range. Most were cattle and wild horses, but some sheep, hogs, and goats were also free ranging. Land grant holders tended to reside in the relative safety of San Antonio. They frequently delegated livestock management to cowhands who lived on their employer's property remote from town (de León 1999:27). The transition entailed a departure from Spanish and Mexican ranch ownership and operation to incoming Anglo Americans who pursued raising livestock. Like the Spanish and Mexicans that came before and fought for land and cattle rights from their governments, Anglo Americans were not concerned about where cattle originated from or to whom they might have once belonged. Spanish and Mexican rights were rebuked in the turmoil of the revolution, the Republic era, and statehood. The players may have changed, but the roles were the same as the latest newcomers took over the Texas ranching industry and maintained many Spanish ranching practices. These tried methods eased adaptation to the often inhospitable conditions of the landscape (Jackson 1986:597–599, 616–617).

Between 1800 and the 1840s, steady advances in technology affected Bexar County agriculturists. Farmers, scientists, and inventors developed new equipment to lessen the need for manual labor, make crops more profitable, and produce larger amounts more efficiently (Welsh 2007). Although these advances came at a trickle compared with the flood of innovations later in the century, inventions included the McCormick reaper and John Lane plows faced with steel saw blades in 1834. A few years later, John Deere and Leonard Andrus began manufacturing steel plows and in 1837, brothers Hiram A. Pitts and John A. Pitts patented a practical threshing machine. Steel plows tilled deeper to protect sowed seed, improve crop survival, and increase productivity. Practical machinery eased labor and reduced the amount of time required to accomplish crop work (LetterPress Software, Inc. 2007a). Technology for agricultural machinery and equipment progressed as mid century neared. Agriculturists in subsequent decades would benefit from these developments.



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**Agriculture in Bexar County, 1840s to 1880**

Bexar County retained its vast 1836 boundary, remained sparsely populated, and was still on the frontier in the 1840s, but that would change dramatically by 1880. Several causes prompted population increases in Bexar County between the 1840s and 1880. Under the Republic and State governments, both of which sold lands in the public domain, opportunities were available for those seeking prosperity and braving the frontier. The number of land grants patented was small just before and after the Republic formed. Between 1833 and 1840, only 13 land grants were patented in this very large county. By 1841, patented land grants had spiked to 39. Patented land grants rose appreciably after Texas entered the union. Between 1846 and 1847, 96 land grants were awarded, even though the Mexican-American War raged in the newly founded county and state over the international boundary along the Rio Grande. These patentees illustrated real commitment to settlement of the area amid the conflict. Many of these land grant plats ignored and overlapped existing Spanish and Mexican surveys and disputes over ownership ensued into the twenty-first century. By this time, land grant holders in Bexar County had shifted from Spanish and Mexican grantees to native-born migrants from the American South and foreign-born immigrants predominantly from Germany and Ireland (Adovasio and Green 2003:21; McGraw and Hindes 1987:90; Texas General Land Office 1941).

Local population growth and settlement occurred in spurts between 1850 and 1870. In 1850, only 2,564 people lived in Bexar County outside the more populous City of San Antonio with its 3,488 inhabitants (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1860a, 1864a). By 1860, the county's population had grown 464 percent to 14,454 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1864a). The Civil War disrupted travel, shipping, commerce, and communication, such that immigration from Europe and migration throughout the rest of the United States almost came to a complete halt (Gold 1997). Even so, the peak of patented land grants in Bexar County occurred in 1861, when 65 patents were awarded to land grant holders, the largest number for any single year between 1833 and 1941. The effect of the ongoing Civil War on local property acquisition was notable by 1862 with only 26 land grants patented that year. Patented land grants spiraled downward as the war progressed and did not rebound until well into the 1870s (Texas General Land Office 1941). By 1870, the county's population had only experienced an 11 percent increase from the previous decade, reaching 16,043 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1872a).

From war's end until about 1880, Bexar County experienced slow economic recovery. Fort Sam Houston just northeast of downtown San Antonio in 1876, was the principal military post in the state and provided a large and consistent consumer for local agricultural goods (Belo Corporation 1871:94). The county's political boundaries, which had been moderately reduced by 1860, were condensed to its present-day proportions by 1875. This reduction in the boundary made government more manageable in the reduced area of Bexar County, and the newly-created surrounding counties.

The most important factor in the county's eventual upturn was the arrival of railroads to San Antonio. In 1877, the Galveston, Harrisburg, and San Antonio Railway reached the city and opened Bexar County to new economic opportunities on which local agriculturists could capitalize (Long 2001). The county was now connected to the state's most important seaport, Galveston, which linked inland farmers and ranchers to domestic ports along the Gulf of Mexico and Atlantic Oceans coasts and to foreign trade prospects beyond. Previously, goods traveled overland 150 miles by oxen teams or pack mules to the small Gulf Coast towns of Lavaca or Indianola, and then another 150 miles via steamboat to Galveston. Perishable goods could not survive the journey in the hot Texas climate (Belo Corporation 1858:56). When the railroad arrived in San Antonio, it had a dynamic affect and gave local agriculturists opportunity to attain financial security through their livelihood (Belo Corporation 1867:78-79).

One tangible indication of postbellum recovery was the increased number of farms in Bexar County. Where there were 266 farms in 1870, that number had increased more than 325 percent to 1,136 farms ten years later (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1872b, and 1883a). Another indication of economic recovery was a surge in population growth with 30,470 in the county, which represented an increase of 90 percent from the previous decade (U.S. Department



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of the Interior, Census Office 1872a, and 1883b). Newcomers to Bexar County pursued agricultural practices that reflected their desire to generate products for profit in their adopted environment.

Shifts in the numbers of livestock demonstrate how farmers and ranchers adapted to their circumstances in Bexar County in the mid-nineteenth century. Although some settlers had large cattle herds, most were keeping only enough to sustain a family's yearly needs. They quickly realized, however, the profitability of raising cattle that thrived with minimal care (Richardson and Hinton 2001). Early cattle drives brought cash revenue to Texas for the first time, even though the annual increase in herds still far exceeded exports. In the 1840s, the earliest and easternmost route for cattlemen to drive Texas herds was the Shawnee Trail, which had several terminal points in Missouri. This route was increasingly frequented until spread of tick fever from the immune Texas cattle that carried the arachnids threatened the livelihood of ranchers to the north. By the mid 1850s, the Shawnee Trail was seldom used (Gard 2001). In the 1840s and 1850s, ranchers kept herds on open ranges and drove small herds to New Orleans. Allowing livestock to roam semi-wild and unattended on an open range was an unusual and new experience for native-born migrants and foreign-born immigrants; still, they adopted these practices (Jordan 1966:85). Some cattlemen drove their livestock to Shreveport, a major market by 1845, since the Red River linked directly to New Orleans (Freeman 1994:29). The number of cattle dramatically increased between 1850 and 1860, when 5,023 head were reported—in all probability not taking into account plentiful semi-wild livestock (DeBow 1853). During the Civil War, Texas ranchers furnished beef and leather material to the Confederacy and Bexar County cattlemen participated in this boom. By 1870, the count of cattle had increased 1,001 percent from the previous decade, to 55,325 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1872b). Frederick Law Olmsted, a significant early journalist and landscape architect, traveled to Texas in the mid-nineteenth century and remarked that raising cattle and sheep was much more profitable than using slave labor to produce cotton (Jones 2005:130). Viktor Bracht, a German-born merchant in San Antonio, advised his compatriots that cattle raising produced sufficient income (Bracht and Schmidt 1991:53).

Livestock ranchers in mid-nineteenth-century Bexar County had varied experiences. Harrison Presnall was a profitable livestock rancher who managed his agricultural operations both before and after the Civil War. In fact, his livestock increased most precipitously during the war. He had five or six horses and from 25 to 40 cattle in each year between 1855 and 1860. He had 40 horses and 70 cattle in 1861, 60 horses and 100 cattle in 1862, 90 horses and 252 cattle in 1864, and 125 horses and 250 cattle in 1865.<sup>2</sup> He also had sheep between 1864 and 1869 that numbered as few as 60 and as many as 200. Between 1866 and 1870, he had between 125 and 200 horses and 204 and 250 cattle. His investments in livestock waned in subsequent years. Presnall had only 12 horses and mules and up to 60 cattle between 1872 and 1881 (Adovasio and Green 2003:176). Maximo Cadena farmed and also raised livestock, mostly cattle and horses. Both he and his wife, María Antonio Valdez Cadena, were Mexican nationals raising their several Texas-born children on their property. At one point, Cadena purchased 500 head of cattle and 70 horses. By 1870, his land was valued at \$640 and he had a personal estate of \$2,000. His was a successful entrepreneurship and their household also included ten men—four Texas-born and six Mexican-born—who were in his employ building wagons. In an 1876 transaction, Cadena sold seven large road wagons, 60 sets of harnesses, and 55 mules (Ezell n.d.a; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1860a). Although he was illiterate, Virginia-born William Davenport successfully raised livestock on his land. He was married to Mary Ware before about 1848 and they had a young son and lived in Bexar County by 1850 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1850). By 1860, he owned real estate valued at \$3,000 and his personal wealth was valued at \$14,314. He and his second, Missouri-born wife Nancy had four children born in Texas (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1860a). In 1875, he purchased 400 acres along Cibolo Creek for \$4,000 and built a home. By 1890, he owned 1,461 acres and was considered a cattle baron among locals (Ezell n.d.b).

San Antonio was a major cattle supplier and the southern hub for the trail drivers of Texas well after the Civil War. Along all the trails, it is estimated that more than 2.74 million Texas cattle traveled overland between 1866 and 1875 (Adovasio and Green 2003:22). Between the war and 1873, more than 1.5 million Texas cattle traveled just the Chisholm

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<sup>2</sup> Ad valorem tax records do not denote an entry for Harrison Presnall in 1863 (Adovasio and Green 2003:176).



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Trail from Texas northward (Skaggs 2001a). The 2,400 steers O. W. Wheeler and his partners purchased in San Antonio was the first herd to use this trail. Other feeder trails from South Texas led to San Antonio. From there the route followed the old Shawnee Trail and split at Waco, where the Chisholm Trail trekked to Fort Worth, east of Decatur, to the Red River Station crossing, and north to railheads in Kansas. Although the Chisholm Trail was used until 1884, the Western Trail had largely succeeded it as the principal route for driving cattle toward northern markets by 1879. Two major feeder routes formed the Western Trail that converged in Kerrville: the Matamoros Trail from Brownsville through Santa Rosa, George West, Three Rivers, San Antonio, Beckman, Leon Springs, Boerne, and Comfort, and the Old Trail from Castroville through Bandera and Camp Verde (Fehrenbach 2001; Skaggs 2001a, 2001b; Worcester 2005). These trails migrated to some extent as drives became more frequent and grazing lands along them were seasonally depleted (Adovasio and Green 2003:22). The several trails through San Antonio proved a steady source of income to the Bexar County economy, although transportation via the extensive and quickly expanding railroad system eventually supplanted cattle drives (Adovasio and Green 2003:22; Fehrenbach 2001; Skaggs 2001a, 2001b; Worcester 2005).

The open range gradually closed as settlers fenced their land and ended the days of free-roaming cattle herds (Richardson and Hinton 2001). The financial panic of 1873 crippled the local industry since cattle drovers were gouged by high interest rates in a volatile market. Hundreds succumbed to bankruptcy. By 1880, cattle in Bexar County had plummeted by two-thirds from the previous decade with only 18,416 head (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1872b, and 1883a). Although their numbers never returned to previous heights, cattle continued to be an essential element of local agricultural production.

Sheep ranching and breeding had a presence in Bexar County between the 1840s and 1880. Sheep ranching was established in the hills and plateaus northwest of San Antonio during the Republic era. Native-born migrants and foreign-born immigrants brought purebred sheep, mostly Merinos, to Bexar County. Sheep raising was generally a secondary enterprise and the animals were often kept in pastures alongside other livestock. Unlike Merino sheep that could range free, Mexican sheep, or *chaurros*, required shelter in colder weather (Belo Corporation 1859:128; Carlson 2004a, 2004b). In 1850, 7,007 sheep were in the county and ten years later their numbers had risen to 9,252 (DeBow 1853; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1864b; Belo Corporation 1859:149–150). Enoch Jones was an early importer of Merinos and probably used one of the fireplaces in his stone barn to keep young lambs warm (41BX664) (McGraw and Hinds 1987:230). George Wilkens Kendall, an established sheep rancher in the Texas Hill Country, promoted sheep ranching. His articles for the *New Orleans Picayune* and *Texas Almanac* disseminated information about his experimentation. He successfully bred Merino sheep with *chaurros* to produce a hybrid with quality wool that was well adapted to the local climate. Setbacks, like the severe winter of 1859 and 1860, caused disastrous losses for sheep raisers (Belo Corporation 1860:166; Carlson 2004a). When a cotton shortage occurred during the Civil War, wool became a viable alternative and the result of related profits led to more extensive sheep ranching (Carlson 2004a, 2004b). By 1870, sheep numbered 8,770, but their volume would skyrocket in ten years' time (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1864b, and 1872b).

Swine was an important part of the local diet in the mid-nineteenth century. Since they were seldom raised for profit, their numbers were small compared with that of cattle and sheep. Those settlers with cultural roots in the American South, where pork consumption was three times higher than that of Europe, considered beef both harder to preserve and nutritionally inferior to pork (Hillard 1988:314, 23). In 1850, the county had 2,715 hogs, which increased to 5,961 ten years later, parallel with rural population growth. Because of the post-Civil War recession, a drop in swine had occurred by 1870, with only 1,869 in the county. Swine recovered in the next decade with 4,951 hogs by 1880. As the nineteenth century progressed, more local agriculturists raised hogs for profit (Bracht and Schmidt 1991:129; DeBow 1853; Loughridge 1884; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1864b, 1872b).

Most local farmers worked to surpass subsistence production and learned which cash crops might be best suited to the topography and soils on which they farmed. Corn remained the principal crop in Bexar County. That it was grown in such quantities speaks volumes to its importance for survival. Anglo Americans and Hispanics came from long traditions of



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corn as a staple crop, but foreign-born immigrants were unfamiliar with the New World cereal grain (Jordan 1966:66). Upon arrival, newcomers to Bexar County typically built a small home and cleared enough land to plant and raise corn and other foods needed to sustain themselves and their livestock those first years (Jones 2005:112). For many, corn was the only cash crop they ever produced (Jones 2005:116). Contemporary travelers to the area noted extensive corn crops in Bexar County, especially among the German nationals who had realized its potential as a cash crop that could be sold at the San Antonio market (Jordan 1966:126; Olmsted 1857:140). Corn also served as a major unit of exchange in an economy that relied on the barter system (Jordan 1966:13).

Farmers accustomed to the southern plantation system had priorities regarding prosperity. After planting their first corn crops, many sowed a few acres of cotton intended exclusively as a cash crop. Cotton was substantially more labor intensive than any other crop, but those farmers who could afford one or more slaves were more likely to be able to take advantage of the potentially lucrative yield. Bexar County had relatively fewer slaves than other Texas counties, in large part because local topographic and soil conditions were not conducive for cotton production. In 1850, about 169 slaves were held in rural Bexar County. That number reached 803 in 1860.<sup>3</sup> By comparison, major cotton-producing areas held a significant number of slaves. Harrison and Washington Counties, for example, had 8,784 and 7,941 slaves, respectively, in 1860 (DeBow 1853; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1864a). In addition, many of Bexar County's German-born immigrants and German Americans opposed slavery, some to the point of serving in the Union army, and did not hold slaves (Jones 2005:126).

Agricultural machinery amplified the ability of local farmers to plant enough to produce high-yield cash crops in addition to their provisional crops. An era of unsurpassed technological improvements was elicited by the trial and error of farmers, scientists, and inventors. The development of the chemical fertilizer industry began in the 1840s and increased production (LetterPress Software, Inc. 2007a). New tools and processes helped farmers and ranchers increase productivity with more efficient use of land and less reliance on manual labor (LetterPress Software, Inc. 2007a; Welsh 2007). The most impressive improvements were to the harvesting and threshing processes. Previously, harvesting required a farmer to manually cut plants with a sickle or grain cradle; once harvested, crops were hand threshed with a flail. New horse-pulled reapers and threshers decreased both the number of laborers needed and the amount of time spent on these activities. As a result, profit capabilities soared (Welsh 2007). By the late nineteenth century, the county had experienced the revolution from hand power to horsepower. Two additional innovations proved influential to Bexar County's agricultural future. The invention and patenting of barbed wire by Joseph Glidden in 1874 had a lasting effect. It was in San Antonio that John Warner "Bet-a-Million" Gates demonstrated Glidden's soon-to-be-famous barbed wire by restraining a herd of longhorn cattle in 1878 (McCallum and Owens 2001). Cheap fencing contributed handily to closing the open range and ending cattle raids among hostile groups. The refrigerated train car was becoming more common when the railroad first came to Bexar County and, as was true across the nation, opened national markets to local farmers and ranchers (LetterPress Software, Inc. 2007a). These inventions had propelled agriculture in Bexar County to new heights by 1880.

**Agriculture in Bexar County, 1880 to 1920**

The Anton F. and Johanna Roesler Krause property was characteristic of agricultural production in Bexar County in 1880. The Krauses operated their land with a mixture of livestock raising and crop production. They had moved from San Antonio to their 110 acres to the south in the mid 1870s. In 1880, they had 45 improved acres, 15 acres of pasture, and 50 acres of woodland valued at \$1,500, and \$40 worth of farm implements from which to derive their income. Their work animals consisted of eight horses. Their 58 beef cattle and 16 dairy cows provided income, as did their 55 chickens, which produced 420 dozen eggs. For crops, the Krauses raised 26 acres of corn that resulted in 150 bushels, likely used to feed their animals rather than for profit. They probably also retained their 20 gallons of molasses harvested from one-half acre of

<sup>3</sup> An additional 220 slaves in 1850 and 592 in 1860 resided within the City of San Antonio (DeBow 1853; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1864a).



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sorghum along with 50 pounds of honey they yielded from their bees. They planted 12 acres of cotton that yielded three bales that year. They were also able to capitalize on their woodland, which netted \$56 in forest products (Ezell n.d.c; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1880b). Properties like the Krause's however, would experience dramatic change between 1880 and 1920.

Population growth, changes to farm size, and technology propelled Bexar County agriculturists into the twentieth century. By 1880, the population swelled 90 percent from the previous decade (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1872a, and 1883b). Consequences included a 325 percent increase in the number of farms in the county (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1872b, and 1883a). However, after 1880, the number increased at a slower pace and it took another 40 years for farms to more than double to 3,205 by 1920. The size of farms in Bexar County grew during this period. In 1870, 98 percent of all farms were less than 100 acres; ten years later, only 49 percent were less than 100 acres and 51 percent were 100 acres or more. Of these larger farms, 80 percent were 100 to 500 acres and the remaining 20 percent were more than 500 acres. By 1920, the average farm size stood at 300 acres, although the median remained between 100 and 200 acres (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1913a, 1922a, 1932a, 1942a; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1872b, 1883a, 1895a, 1902a). A swing toward tenancy occurred during this period. In 1880, owners were operating almost 70 percent of farms in Bexar County with tenants on the remaining 30 percent. Farm ownership peaked at 72 percent in 1890, but steadily decreased in the early twentieth century. By 1920, ownership had diminished to about 50 percent and tenancy had intensified correspondingly (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1913a, 1922a, 1932a, 1942a; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1872b, 1883a, 1895a, 1902a).

The Joseph Woller ranch was typical of farm-size growth during this period. His parents, Nikolaus and Theresa Woller, both from Bavaria, resided in San Antonio, but had purchased 128 acres on Leon Creek in 1876 to give to their sons. That year, this family of stone masons constructed a one-room rock building, which they eventually expanded. The rock came from a nearby quarry. They farmed feed crops of corn and hay and they had horses and cattle. Woller provided hay to both the Peacock Military Academy and Fort Sam Houston. By 1890, the younger Woller owned 542 acres, a buggy or a wagon, and various tools and implements valued at \$100, along with 40 head of cattle and six horses or mules (Ezell n.d.d). The ranch also has two extant side-gable outbuildings (Hindes 2006).

Simultaneous with the increase in number, size, and tenancy of farms, several organizations formed to unite agriculturists, not just locally, but with others in the state and nation. Some only lasted a few years, but others remain active today. Well known organizations in Texas included the Farmers' Alliance, Farmers' Alliance Exchange of Texas, Farmers' Union, Grange, Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association, Texas Agricultural Extension Service, Texas Farm Bureau, Home Demonstration, American Mohair Growers Association, and Trail Drivers Association. The American Mohair Growers Association was founded in San Antonio in 1886 and the Trail Drivers Association was headquartered in San Antonio. These groups sponsored business cooperation, increased social contacts, promoted the benefits of rural home life and advantageous educational opportunities, and supported political alliances (Barnes 2001; Cottrell 2005; Cox 2001; *The Handbook of Texas Online* 2001b, 2002; Harper 2001; Marshall et al. 2003; May 2001; Schmelzer 2004; Smith 2001).

San Antonio became an increasingly important center for the livestock ranching industry because of its position at the northern peak of a diamond-shaped area known as the Texas cattle kingdom. Access to local rail lines and packing plants made for a profitable business. Disease had troubled ranchers for decades and, since cattle from Texas were especially blamed for the outbreak, Texas Fever had become the common reference for the epidemic. In 1906, the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Bureau of Animal Industry began a campaign to stamp out the disease and dipping vats, which cleansed livestock of ticks before they were shipped to market, became common structures on local ranches (Hope 2005). Numbers of cattle remained steady after the turn of the century with about 30,000 head in Bexar County by World War I. Farmers and ranchers subdivided their lands into smaller pastures for improved range utilization, livestock



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management, and breeding. As in other arenas of agriculture, cattlemen in Bexar County would suffer from deflation and bankruptcies after about 1920 (Richardson and Hinton 2001).

John Watson's livestock operation is a representative example of a cattle ranching operation in the late nineteenth century. As was typical, his taxable land holdings increased from 665 acres in 1882, peaked at 905 acres between 1887 and 1895, and held steady at 893 acres in subsequent years through 1901. In these latter years, his land was valued at \$3,820. He generally had at least two vehicles, be they wagons, buggies, or carriages, and usually owned about ten horses or mules. He dabbled in goats and had 70 in 1891, but had none after 1893. His hog population was likely only intended for subsistence since he owned between two and four each year, with the exception of 1897—the last year he had hogs—when he had ten. Cattle provided his livelihood, although the amount he kept varied. He had 83 in 1882, approximately 60 in 1883 and 1884, and 50 in 1887. His participation in the livestock industry waned some as years passed and prices dropped. Between 1894 and 1901, he generally had 30 or fewer cattle (Adovasio and Green 2003:178).

Dairy farming flourished in Bexar County between 1880 and 1920. Before this period, very few farmers produced dairy commercially since major urban populations were too remote for such perishable products and early Texas cattle breeds were generally poor milk producers. Most milk was processed on family farms for home consumption, although some was sold as cream, butter, or cheese, each of which these lasted much longer than milk. Two factors that influenced the rise of the dairy industry in Bexar County were the large and growing San Antonio market and the introduction of modern refrigerating and dairy processing equipment (Odom 2001a). By 1880, dairy cows had increased 165 percent from the previous decade to 4,951. Production of byproducts rose even more precipitously—butter up 359 percent to 105,296 pounds, cheese up 397 percent to 2,609 pounds, and milk up 519 percent to 37,370 gallons (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1872b, 1883a). The Bexar County population increase was too large for the local dairy industry to keep pace with demand by the turn of the twentieth century (Belo Corporation 1904:135). Still, farmers produced 630,467 pounds of butter, 31,948 pounds of cheese, and 3,885,953 gallons of milk in 1900. In 1920, these production levels remained constant. Bexar County was a major player in the Texas dairy industry and local farmers practiced dairying as a profitable commercial business (Belo Corporation 1912:255; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1922a; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1902b). Louis and Hattie Voelcker, for example, began their dairy farming operation in the 1890s (41BX1744) (Mod et al. 2008). The Voelckers were both first generation Texans, having been born to German national parents. They still lived on the farm in 1920, but it appears their three adult sons and tenant neighbors were likely running the facility by that time (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1920).

Bexar County took part in the state's late-nineteenth-century sheep- and goat-ranching boom. By 1880, the sheep industry flourished with the number of animals increasing 176 percent from the previous decade to 24,209 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1872b, 1883a). The number peaked at 35,510 in 1890 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1895b). Sheep ranchers in Bexar County had the advantage of Thomas C. Frost's wool-warehousing system where wool was graded, stored safe from the elements, and sold for the best possible price that the producer approved. The system, developed in the 1880s, propelled San Antonio into position as the leading wool market in the state (Carlson 2004b). The sheep ranching boom, however, did not last. The Texas wool industry declined in the early decades of the twentieth century and never regained its rank (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1913a, 1922a; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1895b). Those who continued to raise them lived in counties northwest of Bexar County on the Edwards Plateau or to the west in Trans-Pecos country (Carlson 2004b).

Bexar County farmers raised goats to small extent compared to mohair-producing counties on the Edwards Plateau. Interest in goats began in the 1880s and escalated as the price of mohair rose. Many who raised goats likely lived along the Balcones Escarpment at the northwest corner of the county and the edge of the Texas Hill Country. With steep canyons, brushy vegetation, ample water, and protection from the elements, this rolling landscape was a desirable setting for goat ranching (*The Handbook of Texas Online* 2002). By 1891, prices had plummeted to the extent that the American Mohair Growers Association was made defunct that year. However, the fall in price was transitory, and breeders retained small



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herds and worked to refine their quality. By the turn of the twentieth century, Texas led the nation in mohair production (*The Handbook of Texas Online* 2002). In 1900, 3,537 goats were on Bexar County farms. Twenty years later, that number had not quite doubled, at 6,843 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1922a; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1902a).

Hog raising paralleled population growth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and participation in the market economy became more common. By 1880, swine in the county had more than doubled from the previous decade (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1883a). The advent of meat-packing houses in San Antonio and Fort Worth opened the way for a commercial hog industry to develop and reach broader markets since the meat could be dressed at packing houses and shipped on refrigerated train cars. This resulted in more farmers allotting rangeland for hog raising and by 1920, swine in the county had increased to 13,604 (Belo Corporation 1904:213–315; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1922a).

The poultry industry expanded in Bexar County between 1880 and 1920. Chickens were ubiquitous on local farms where they supplied families with eggs and meat. They could also be a rewarding, if small-scale, source of cash earnings. There were 25,735 chickens in Bexar County in 1880; that number leapt to 64,021 by 1890. Egg production doubled between 1880 and 1890 and again in 1900, by which time Bexar County farmers produced more than half a million dozen eggs annually (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1913a, 1922a; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1883a, 1895b, 1902a). The sharp increases after 1880 are credited to more and larger markets with a rapidly swelling population in San Antonio. In addition, the poultry industry was decidedly profitable for small and large farms alike because domestic fowl reproduced quickly and were inexpensive to maintain (Belo Corporation 1904:133–138). Farmers in Bexar County also raised turkeys, ducks, and geese, although never in the same quantities as chickens.<sup>4</sup> They were not as lucrative since these poultry divisions needed more nesting room, produced fewer eggs, and were generally raised only for meat. Turkey was the second largest poultry division. In 1890, 3,480 turkeys were raised in Bexar County, but that increased only modestly to 4,187 by 1900 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1913a; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1895b, 1902a).

Most local agriculturalists raised both livestock and crops during this period. Corn remained the principal crop. Other staple crops included oats, sorghum, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, and cotton. Farmers continued to produce for their own subsistence, but now provided more and more for the local markets of Fort Sam Houston and San Antonio, second in population in the state only to Galveston for most of this era (Long 2001). With a local influx of migrants from Virginia, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee, cotton production rose (Loughridge 1884). Heightened demand for cotton during World War I also stimulated production. Nonetheless, as was true before 1880 and even during its peak of production, Bexar County still produced less than 1 percent of the state's cotton (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1922a). Local farmers typically planted about 12 acres, which afforded a potential source of cash if weather or weevils did not take the crop first (Belo Corporation 1910:85).

Even though Bexar County farmers did not participate meaningfully in the cotton boom of the era, they did well in other areas of crop production and embraced truck farming. Truck farming worked well for farming operations regardless of size. Derived from the French *troquer*, meaning to barter or give in exchange, truck farms grew produce for sale at market. Initially, this type of farming depended on local or regional markets. With railroads and motor trucks however, these crops could be shipped to areas where climate limited seasonal produce and more local farmers focused on the very profitable fruit and vegetable production (Belo Corporation 1912:255–256; *Highbeam Encyclopedia* 2007; Joplin 2007). All kinds of vegetables and fruits were successfully grown in Bexar County including figs, pears, plums, peaches, cantaloupes, watermelons, strawberries, blackberries, cabbage, tomatoes, potatoes, carrots, and onions, the last of which was viewed as particularly profitable. In the early twentieth century, oranges, lemons, grapes, and dates were also locally

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<sup>4</sup> No reliable counts were reported for turkey, geese, or ducks in several decennial censuses.



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grown as truck crops (Belo Corporation 1904:213–215, 1910:147–148, 1911:255, 1912:255–256, 1925:249). Frederick (or Fritz) Munk and his family, for example, specialized in growing truck vegetables on the 316-acre farm they occupied from about 1882 until his death in 1922 (Ezell n.d.e).

Farmers in Bexar County contributed to the state's substantial honey and pecan industries. This was another area of agricultural production that farming operations, regardless of size, could practice successfully. By 1904, Texas was the leading honey-producing state in the country (Belo Corporation 1904:137). Although Bexar County was not a major player in the bee industry, by 1880, local farmers produced 1,184 percent more honey than it had ten years earlier with 9,631 pounds. Volume spiked again in 1890, when the county produced 87,882 pounds of honey. Like the rest of the state's bee industry, the production peaked after World War I (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1913a, 1922a; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1872b, 1883a, 1895b). Pecans were a staple of the southern diet and the industry had expanded by the turn of the century in Bexar County. Local pecan growers were in good position with multiple commercial pecan-shelling plants in San Antonio by that time (Evans 2001). In 1900, the county produced 93,800 pounds of pecans; ten years later production had risen dramatically to 573,695 pounds (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1913a; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1902b).

Bexar County's agricultural prosperity paralleled that of the nation between 1880 and 1920 with technological innovations and improvements to transportation infrastructure. These advancements proffered increased productivity and economic prosperity for agriculturists. The local introduction of refrigeration and cold storage in 1880 allowed dairy products to last far longer. Commercial dairy farming got a boost in 1884 when Hervey D. Thatcher invented the milk bottle. Dairy farming was poised for further expansion when the first cross-country shipment by refrigerated freight car took place in 1888 (LetterPress Software, Inc. 2007a). Even relative to the 1880 spike in Bexar County's population, the rise in the value of farm machinery from the previous decade was an unparalleled 308 percent at \$79,517 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1872b, and 1883a). In 1892, the first gasoline tractor was manufactured. Between 1910 and 1915, big open-gear gas tractors were extensively introduced to farming (LetterPress Software, Inc. 2007a). The value of local farm machinery continued to rise and by 1910, stood at \$296,760 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1913a). With this technology, less labor was required for success in agricultural occupations and agriculturists could accommodate the larger markets of the twentieth century. Food processing equipment developed during this period launched different types of wholesale buyers for agricultural goods. By 1910, San Antonio had multiple agricultural manufacturing facilities, including a large canning factory for various truck farm produce (Belo Corporation 1910:85). The county had 91 miles of macadamized roads that eased local transportation of agricultural products by this time (Belo Corporation 1910:148). Improvements to infrastructure aided movement of agricultural goods from Bexar County to San Antonio and markets beyond for distribution. Mexico was already a major consumer of Bexar County's products and by 1904, the St. Louis, Brownsville, and Mexican Railway linked San Antonio to Brownsville and markets south of the international border (Belo Corporation 1904:213–215). Phenomenal growth and technological advancement forever impacted Bexar County farmers, as did the long-term depression that followed.

**Agriculture in Bexar County, 1920 to World War II**

Between 1920 and World War II, Bexar County agriculture suffered a prolonged depression, parallel to that the nation experienced. The two most influential factors leading to this major decline were large agricultural surpluses at the beginning of the era and the Great Depression that followed. Before World War II, the same crops were prevalent on farms as in previous eras. Increased mechanization brought about a significant rise in production levels, which were at some of the highest ever. Resulting surpluses caused a collapse in prices. Simultaneously, the Great Depression worsened the scenario and production had fallen precipitously by 1940. Many agriculturists in Bexar County escaped failure with the advantage of a healthy mix of livestock and crops. This time of great misery, however, also laid the foundation for a subsequent agricultural surge.



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A recurring problem for twentieth-century agriculture was a propensity for farm income to lag behind increases in production costs. This particular problem spiraled in the 1920s on the heels of the extended agricultural boom that began late in the nineteenth century. Toward the end of this escalation, American farmers benefited from World War I and its aftermath. The United States was the leading exporter of foodstuffs to Europe during those years and farmers used their profits to invest heavily in more land and machinery. Cultivation of agricultural goods rose in America until about 1920, when European demand rapidly declined and crop prices nose-dived (*Encarta Encyclopedia* 2007a; LetterPress Software, Inc. 2007b).

Measures taken to relieve the difficulties of agriculturists in the 1920s helped farm incomes recover somewhat; however, the collapse of the stock market in 1929 exaggerated existing problems and the consequent economic depression pressed well into the next decade. Many farmers continued to produce as much as before, or more, in an attempt to sustain their incomes as prices fell. They formed cooperatives to control prices and increased use of mechanization in an effort to cut their own costs. Surpluses intensified the problem causing prices to drop even more (Dethloff and Nall 2002). By 1932, farming hit its lowest point during this depression and the price of farmland was reduced to about 65 percent of its value 20 years earlier (*Encarta Encyclopedia* 2007a).

In the 1930s, the federal government offered relief programs that had long-term effects on agriculture. The Agricultural Adjustment Act implemented a series of programs designed to control surpluses and maintain a minimum income level for farmers. The act was initially repealed as being unconstitutional, but a second similar act passed that accommodated the problematic issues. For basic commodities like cotton, corn, wheat, rice, hogs, and milk, farmers accepted limiting their acreage, marketing quotas, killing livestock, and abandoning crops in the interest of removing glut from the overabundant market. They also engaged in soil conservation practices, such as terracing to prevent erosion on overused crop land. In return they received payments and guaranteed prices (Dethloff and Nall 2002). The Farm Credit Act gave farmers access to long- and short-term credit that helped with mortgage debt (*Encarta Encyclopedia* 2007a).

In Bexar County, these drastic changes affected local agricultural operations. The impact of governmental aid programs and access to loans helped increase the number of farms, which grew 132 percent between 1920 and 1940 from 1,580 to 3,664. Average farm size, however, dropped 13 percent from 180 acres in 1920 to 156 acres in 1940. Paralleling national trends, the value of local machinery rose 49 percent from \$1,363,074 in 1920 to \$2,027,007 in 1940. This indicated that, like other American farmers, Bexar County agriculturists attempted to increase production to offset their falling incomes. Landowners taking advantage of government checks and cheap credit replaced tenants with machines, which led to a drop in tenant farming from 56 percent in 1920 to 35 percent in 1940 (Dethloff and Nall 2002; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1922a, 1932a, 1942a).

Before World War II, Bexar County's livestock raisers experienced fluctuations. In 1920, fewer cattle—only 16,671 head—were on Bexar County farms. The number rebounded by 1930, when there were 30,357 head of cattle. This increase was part of the effort to offset falling crop prices before government controls were in place. The number of cattle dropped just before World War II and stabilized at 22,766 in 1940 (Long 2001; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1922a, 1932a, 1942a). Sheep ranching in Bexar County slumped after the turn of the twentieth century. It rebounded by 1930, by which time Texas had become the leading sheep-ranching state, with more than 20 percent of the nation's sheep (Carlson 2004a). Bexar County responded enthusiastically to increasing markets for wool, and by 1940, 22,190 sheep were in the county, a 100 percent increase over the combined counts of 1920 and 1930. The Edwards Plateau continued to be the center of the sheep industry in Texas (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1922a, 1932a, and 1942a). Texas dominated the mohair industry, which peaked during World War II. In 1920, 6,834 goats were raised in Bexar County. By 1940, that soared more than 230 percent to 22,631. The number of chickens fluctuated from 149,668 in 1920, to 223,146 in 1930, to 187,777 in 1940. Egg production rose 158 percent between 1920 and 1940, from 568,077 to 1,466,157 dozen eggs. The local swine industry decreased slightly between 1920 and 1940 with the number of



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hogs dropping from 13,604 to 11,037 (Carlson 2004b; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1922a, 1932a, 1942a).

Commercial dairy farming became a more significant component of agricultural production in Bexar County during this era. The county was the third largest milk producer and seller, and the second largest butter seller in the state by 1940 (Belo Corporation 1946:210). The Texas dairy farming industry was changing rapidly with national companies, like Borden Milk Products, establishing processing plants and distribution centers. Better roads and vehicles offered more reliable and expedient routes through rural areas. By the 1930s, farmers could sell a few cans of Grade B milk a day to a company driver, who delivered it to processing plants (Belo Corporation 1925:249, 1928:296; Odom 2001b). Farm families consumed most of the milk they produced; however, by 1939, more than 75 percent of Bexar County farms contributed some of their excess for sale. Of those farms, nearly 85 percent had nine cows or fewer producing 25 percent of the county's total milk in gallons; still, this represented only 2 percent of commercially sold milk. In addition, these farms produced 70 percent of churned milk byproducts, which was 56 percent of the butter and 54 percent of the cream sold commercially. Thus, the many small farms that contributed commercial dairy products in the county likely sold more butter and cream than milk. The majority of milk sold in the county came from the 15 percent of dairy farms that had larger operations with between 10 and 49 cows and the 5 dairy farms in the county that had 50 or more cows (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1942b). The Voelcker dairy farm (41BX1744) continued successful production throughout this period. By 1939, the youngest Voelcker son, Max, had taken over the dairy farm's operations with his wife Minnie (Mod et al. 2008:4-5).

Grains farmed in large quantities in Bexar County between 1920 and 1940 included corn, oats, and wheat. By 1920, production had risen substantially from the previous ten years. Corn production was up 574 percent with 1,544,432 bushels and oat production increased 3,777 percent with 395,509 bushels. Bexar County farmers grew wheat for the first time in any significant amount and its volume skyrocketed 25,172 percent from the previous ten years with 14,658 bushels. These growers were producing more in attempt to combat low incomes because of falling crop prices. In addition, farmers' own demand for grains had dropped since they had traded their work animals for machinery that required fuel, but not grains. Surpluses resulted. By 1940, grain cultivation had fallen sharply and Bexar County farmers only produced 63,944 bushels of corn, 36,621 bushels of oats, and 7,618 bushels of wheat (LetterPress Software, Inc. 2007b; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1922a, 1932a, and 1942a).

Cotton production became even less prominent as truck farming took on increased importance in Bexar County farmers. In 1920, 10,526 bales of cotton were produced; but by 1940, the number had declined to only 874 bales (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1922a, 1932a, and 1942a). Truck farming remained a significant part of Bexar County agriculture. Fruit and vegetable cultivation rose and fell relative to surpluses and depression. One exception was Irish potatoes, which grew 90 percent or more in successive decades. In 1920, local farmers raised 52,973 bushels of Irish potatoes, 101,157 bushels in 1930, and 195,558 bushels in 1940 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1942a). Potatoes were already a source of nutrition in American diets and consumption multiplied with invention of the mechanical potato peeler in the 1920s (Panati 1987). In the 1920s and 1930s, one-third of all potato production in Texas came from just four or five counties, one of which was Bexar County (Belo Corporation 1928:213).

Other notable crops and related industries in Bexar County between 1920 and World War II included honey, pecan, and peanut production. Stimulated by a shortage of raw sugar during World War I, beekeeping developed throughout the state (Burleson and Kleiner 2001). Bexar County farmers consistently produced more than 90,000 pounds of honey a year, but in 1940, the amount dropped considerably to only 11,108 pounds. (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1922a, 1932a, 1942a; U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Office 1880b). During the 1920s and 1930s, Bexar County was a leading pecan producer in the state (Belo Corporation 1928:217). Texas was among the foremost pecan-producing states, responsible for half the pecan supply for the entire nation (Croxdale 2001). Half the state's commercial pecans grew within a 250-mile radius of San Antonio, which had the largest pecan shelling-plant center



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in Texas (Belo Corporation 1946:208; Croxdale 2001). Even though Bexar County, along with several other foremost counties, was a leading producer, pecan production fell drastically between 1920 and 1940. In 1920, farmers produced 619,886 pounds of pecans, which fell to 364,111 pounds in 1930, and sank to 15,958 pounds in 1940. The industry did not recover significantly in subsequent decades (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1922a, 1932a, and 1942a). Years of light production saw few exports, but those with heavy production exported about 75 percent of Texas pecans to northern and eastern markets, usually to shellers and candymakers (Evans 2001). Extremely low pay and terrible working conditions for pecan shellers, predominately Hispanic women, led to a three-month-long labor strike with picketing at the 400 pecan-shelling factories in San Antonio. Emma Tenayuca Brooks, local politico and wife of former communist gubernatorial candidate Homer Brooks, launched the strike with national leadership support coming later from the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The strike achieved national and international attention. Initial arbitration achieved a pay increase of seven and eight cents an hour that the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 further improved with an hourly minimum wage set at 25 cents (Croxdale 2001).

Peanut production enjoyed an astronomic, if short-lived, surge between 1920 and World War II. Farmers had grown peanuts in Bexar County for more than a century, but production levels remained relatively small. As late as 1910, Bexar County only produced 468 pounds of peanuts and 10,066 pounds in 1920 and 1930 combined. Peanut production soared by 1940, when 1,319,861 pounds of peanuts were produced, and Bexar County ranked as one of the top 100 counties in the United States for number of acres growing peanuts (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1913a, 1922a, 1932a, 1942a, 1943a). The Virginia-based Bain Peanut Company built a plant in San Antonio at 1000 South Median Street to take advantage of the locally harvested peanut crop. The plant was constructed during this period of growth, and later acquired by Birdsong Peanut Company (The Sanborn Map Company 1911–1924:425, 1911–1951:425). The war, underway in Europe by the late 1930s, stimulated domestic peanut production to offset the blocked its vegetable oil supply from the South Pacific (Belo Corporation 1946:208). Through 1949, Bexar County peanut production continued to be ranked in the lower half of the top 100 counties in the nation for both number of acres planted and the quantity of pounds harvested (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1952a).

Improvements to farm machinery were steady between 1920 and World War II. In 1926, the first light tractor was successfully manufactured and in the 1930s, all-purpose rubber-tired tractors were available. In 1920, farm machinery in Bexar County had a total value of \$1,363,074, an increase of 359 percent from ten years earlier (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1922a). By 1930, 2,728 automobiles, 1,285 motorized trucks, and 482 motorized tractors were on local farms (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1932a). By 1940, 3,448 automobiles, 1,382 trucks, and 1,205 tractors were in Bexar County, most of which were bought between 1931 and 1933 (U.S. Department of the Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1942a).

Compensation measures taken during the extended national agricultural depression aided farm families, although conditions remained bleak for many. In 1936, the Rural Electrification Act greatly improved the quality of rural life by providing electricity to light homes and power other farm activities (LetterPress Software, Inc. 2007c). By 1940, almost all farm homes had either electric service, some form of gas, or kerosene lighting. That year, the vast majority of Bexar County's farm families lived in single-family dwellings that had been built between 1920 and 1940, although about 22 percent resided in homes built before 1920. About 50 percent of rural farm homes did not have running water; of these, about 40 percent had water within 50 feet of their dwelling, but another 13 percent had to walk further to reach a water supply. Although more than 30 percent of farm families had indoor toilets, about 65 percent still used an outside privy and had no bathtub. As late as 1940, 177 farm families still had no indoor or outdoor commode. About 25 percent of farm families used mechanical refrigeration in their homes and another 25 percent had ice boxes, but the remaining 50 percent used cisterns and wells to keep perishable foods cool. The most common cooking fuel remained wood, although some families used kerosene, gasoline, or other types of gas; 147 farms used electricity to cook. The majority of farms homes were heated with stoves and only the rare family had steam, hot water, or modern air systems; 665 farm dwellings had no



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heat source (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1943b). Regardless of their living conditions, Bexar County farmers continued to participate in the local agricultural economy despite the devastations of economic depression.

**Agriculture in Bexar County, World War II to 1970**

American agriculture witnessed an overall economic boom following World War II when a second agricultural revolution with increased mechanization and productivity along with a shift to vertical coordination characterized agricultural productivity. Following the war, Bexar County farm practices paralleled national trends, despite a severe statewide drought that began in 1949 and lasted until 1956 (Dunn 2001). The average size of farms increased gradually. By 1950, the average size of the 3,132 farms in the county was 203 acres. Of these, almost half—1,481 farms—were mechanized with tractors and had neither horses nor mules (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1942a). In 1954, tractors on farms exceeded horses and mules for the first time in America. By 1970, mechanized power had completely replaced horsepower and productivity per acre had risen sharply (LetterPress Software, Inc. 2007d). Post-war agriculture and its related economy also witnessed the decline of tenant farming as owner-occupied farms became more prevalent (LetterPress Software, Inc. 2007a, 2007c, 2007d). By 1950, owners were operating 82 percent of farms and only 18 percent were tenant operations (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1952b).

In the post-World War II era, beef cattle re-emerged as a potentially lucrative livestock-raising venture. In Bexar County, the number of cattle fluctuated during the 1940s, but generally increased from 48,873 head in 1940, peaked at 80,821 five years later, and dropped to 71,639 by 1950 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1942a, 1952a, 1952b). This put the county on the charts, albeit on the lower half, of the top 100 counties in the United States with the most cattle and calves. Some small-herd operators found profits in the changing industry based on the practice of an interwoven crop-livestock system that had been typical in Bexar County for decades. Modern cattle ranching became a highly developed entity that entailed miles of fencing, accessible water supplies, permanent corrals, and loading chutes. As the twentieth century progressed, ranching required increasingly heavy capital investment in land and improvements. Most livestock were part of large range enterprises. Large-scale ranchers more readily adapted to an industry that remained generally cyclical but embraced new technology. Breeding and industry promotion took a progressively greater role at these facilities (Richardson and Hinton 2001).

The sheep and wool industry in Bexar County was much the same as it had been before World War II. Although the overall number of sheep in the state declined after the war, they stayed steady, dropping less than 500 head between 1940 and 1950. Even with reduced numbers, Texas still produced 20 percent of the nation's wool (Carlson 2004a; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1942a, and 1952b). Some methods for raising sheep remained the same as they had for decades, but ranchers became more efficient in production with improved transportation and equipment. The local wool market declined when ranchers faced foreign competition after the mid 1960s (Carlson 2004a, 2004b).

After World War II, goats, swine, and poultry endured to a lesser degree on Bexar County farms. As was true for sheep, goats decreased with an influx of foreign competition (Carlson 2004b). The swine industry fared better. In 1950, farmers raised 14,705 swine in Bexar County, up from a decade previous and exceeding pre-Great Depression levels. However, in the 1960s, the Texas swine industry dwindled (Regenbrecht and Cravens 2001; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1952b). The poultry industry soared at midcentury, particularly because it was one of the first agricultural markets to embrace vertical integration. In 1950, Bexar County farmers raised 196,476 chickens, 15,370 turkeys, and produced 1,115,535 dozen eggs (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1952b). Since the mid 1950s, production contracts, where the contractor and producer each provided significant inputs into production, dominated. As numbers climbed, contracts evolved to control production and shift risks from producers to contractors. By the 1960s, contractors controlled production capacity at feed mills and processing plants. They also managed marketing, and poultry production increased accordingly (Martinez 2002).



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The dairy industry in Texas accelerated after World War II and milk production increased simultaneously. Commercial dairy farm practices became specialized and breeding improved through herd management and artificial insemination. Jersey, Holstein, and Guernsey cattle were the dominant breeds (Odom 2001a). Until the 1950s, Harris, Dallas, Tarrant, and Bexar Counties had led milk production (Odom 2001b; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1952b). During the 1950s, the state had a series of price wars over milk. Cheap transportation brought milk from Wisconsin and Minnesota and drove Texas milk prices down, accounting for a decline in local milk production. In 1950, Bexar County farmers produced 3 million gallons less than they had ten years earlier (Odom 2001b). The instability led to smaller regional producers merging into multiple-market organizations. Stability of the industry returned by the 1970s and made profits possible for efficient producers. However, milk production in Texas was mostly outside of Dallas—Hopkins, Erath, and Wise Counties were the top producers—and urban counties no longer led production (Odom 2001b). The Voelcker dairy farm (41BX1744) survived this period and functioned into the 1970s (Mod et al. 2008:13).

Bexar County farmers became efficient and versatile grain producers. With the exception of the once-critical corn crop, they increased the amount of most grains in production. Corn production declined compared to pre-war levels. Wheat had been planted in significant amounts for the first time in Bexar County in the 1940s. By 1950, wheat produced locally soared 680 percent to 59,429 bushels. By the late 1940s, farmers planted more sorghum for feed as newly bred strains could be harvested with a mechanized combine. In 1950, farmers produced 344,385 bushels of sorghum, a 386 percent increase from ten years earlier. The cattle feed industry eventually motivated a resurgence of corn to compete with rapidly increasing sorghum prices in the 1970s (Dethloff and Nall 2002; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1942a, 1952b).

Farmers relinquished the crop diversity that once characterized Bexar County as more farms and ranches specialized to participate profitably under changing conditions. After the war, several crops that had previously been produced in large numbers declined. One particular example is Irish potatoes, which dropped 55 percent between 1940 and 1949, to 88,833 bushels (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1942a, 1952b). Agricultural production that did recover after World War II, though not to pre-war levels, included pecans and honey. Bexar County produced 65,676 pounds of pecans and 66,760 pounds of honey in 1950. Texas was still the number-one producer of pecans and San Antonio its principle marketing center in the 1950s, but Bexar County production was below that it had reached earlier in the century. Even at lower production levels, county farmers continued to raise truck crops such as watermelons, tomatoes, spinach, peaches, and plums (Evans 2001; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1952b).

Significant advances in agricultural machinery occurred between World War II and 1970. For the first time in Bexar County's history, tractors and other planting and reaping machines entirely replaced animal power. Seeking larger yields, farms used more fertilizers and pesticides (LetterPress Software, Inc. 2007b, 2007c). In the 1950s, trucks began successfully competing against the railways for transporting agricultural products. Vehicular transport could vie profitably against rising railroad rates. Trucking benefited from the Interstate Highway Act in 1956, which, in the course of a few decades, created a network of intersecting north-south and east-west routes that circumvented many small towns along minor roadways linking the cores of growing population centers. Interstate highways 10 and 35 intersected in San Antonio, providing access in each cardinal direction. In the 1960s, rail abandonment accelerated as the financial circumstances of northeastern railroad companies deteriorated. At the same time, agricultural shipments on all-cargo planes increased. This was especially helpful in the transport of extremely perishable fresh foods. Production reached new heights and consumers benefited from fresh and diverse food stuffs (LetterPress Software, Inc. 2007e).

Following World War II, commercial farming and vertical integration changed the agricultural landscape of Bexar County substantially. Large commercial farms gradually began to dominate. Farming was more multi-faceted as the role of research scientists and advisors from governmental agricultural experiment stations, colleges of agriculture, and cooperative extension services increased. Technological, scientific, and economic factors converged. Farmers worked more land with less labor and realized that profits depended on high crop yields at reduced labor costs, which required continually



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investing in modern equipment, fertilizers, and pesticides (Dethloff and Nall 2002). Vertical integration worked most succinctly in tandem with large commercial farms. With vertical integration, a single firm controlled two or more successive phase of the supply chain. This system of producers, processors, and shippers provided more efficient and encompassing systems of coordination akin to industrial manufacturing production (LetterPress Software, Inc. 2007d). Vertical coordination synchronized successive stages of agricultural production and marketing, and reduced transaction costs leaving more gains from trade among producers and consumers. Quantity, quality, and timing of product flow were critical to the supply chain (Martinez 2002). All of these advances fused to allow agribusiness stronger footing and to provide farmers with smaller holdings some, but different, opportunities to compete effectively.

Overall, the life of a typical farmer had significantly improved by the mid-twentieth century. In 1950, 60 percent of Bexar County's farm families lived in single-family dwellings that had been built in 1920 or later and about 31 percent resided in homes built before 1920. In the decades following World War II, increasing numbers of farms had electrical and telephone service. By 1950, 86 percent of all farm homes had electric lighting. Seventy percent had running water inside their homes, up from only 50 percent ten years earlier; about 30 percent still retrieved water from the out of doors. Now almost 50 percent of farm families had indoor toilets, although 47 percent continued to use an outside privy. Fewer than 3 percent of farm families had no indoor or outdoor commode by 1950. Bathtubs were more common, but 42 percent of local farm families still did not own one. About 72 percent of farm families now used mechanical refrigeration, with 11 percent still using ice boxes, and 17 percent employing traditional cooling methods with wells and cisterns. Bottled types of gas had become the most common cooking fuel by 1950, but coal and other fuels remained in use; only about 10 percent of farm families used electricity to cook. Wood stoves heated 41 percent of farm homes, although bottled gas had become more popular. Farm households enjoyed some of the same conveniences and amenities as those in cities and small towns. Although the number was quite small—only 155—it represented the 5 percent of Bexar County farm families who owned television sets in 1950 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1953). Improved rural roadways made travel outside communities more practical and therefore, more likely. Many farmers no longer needed to keep household chickens and dairy cows, because grocers and, in some places, supermarkets, had these items readily available at competitive prices (Dethloff and Nall 2002). The number of Bexar County farms dropped precipitously as the swelling urban center of San Antonio, with its suburban enclaves, expanded outward usurping what once was prime agricultural land.

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**E. Statement of Historic Contexts (Part 2)**

**ETHNIC GROUPS AND RELATED BUILDING PATTERNS  
IN RURAL BEXAR COUNTY, TEXAS, 1800 TO 1970**

**Introduction**

Many push-pull factors brought people to Texas in large numbers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As certain causes drove emigrants from their homelands, other fundamental motives attracted them to a new region. The predominant group that came to Bexar County derived from the American South. The quest for more and cheaper land stimulated westward expansion. Although some arrived earlier, after Texas entered the Union in 1845 and Mexico ceded its lands in 1848, many departed southeastern states for this abundant, inexpensive land (Vanderstel 2007). After the Civil War, the Texas Bureau of Immigrations dispersed almanacs and brochures to other states and encouraged newcomers to venture west. More influential were land companies, railroads, and private enterprises that stood to profit from migrants (Jordan 1980). The majority of Bexar County's population was increasingly urban as the nineteenth and twentieth centuries progressed. The native-born rural population hovered at just above 40 percent in 1850 and 1860, and, in the aftermath of the Civil War, declined to about 25 percent by 1870 (DeBow 1853, 1854; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office



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1864a, 1872a). The rural population increased to 34 percent by 1880, then remained relatively static, averaging 21 percent, in subsequent decades through 1940 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1913b, 1922b, 1932b, 1942c; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1883b, 1895a, 1902c). In the rural parts, the native-born Anglo Americans composed 79 percent of the population on average every decade between 1870 and 1920, and more than 95 percent in 1930 and 1940 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1913b, 1922b, 1932b, 1942c; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1872a, 1883b, 1895a, 1902c).

European immigrants came to Texas in large numbers beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. They were fleeing social, political, religious, or economic distress. The failed economies, overcrowding, persecution, starvation, and unemployment of the Old World propelled many to leave their homelands. The new region appealed with the promise of prosperity, a better life based on accounts from friends and family who had already departed, and opportunity to experience adventure (Vanderstel 2007). Books, almanacs, and pamphlets—sometimes misleading—induced foreign-born immigrants to Texas as early as the 1830s (Stiff 1968). These publications were produced throughout the 1840s and 1850s. Depending on various situations occurring in their homelands and their reasons for coming to Texas, foreign-born immigrants journeyed individually or in groups of varying sizes.

Although many foreign-born immigrants to Bexar County preferred urban San Antonio where economic opportunities did not rely on the precarious farming system that had failed them in their motherlands, some still pursued agriculture as their vocation. The foreign-born population of 5,277 represented 33 percent of the county in 1870, and most of these were urban dwellers. That year, only 1,157 foreign-born immigrants, approximately 22 percent, were rural dwellers; that proportion peaked in 1880 at 29 percent (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1872a, and 1883b). In the next six decades, foreign-born rural dwellers represented only 19 percent of the rural population on average (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1913b, 1922b, 1932b, 1942c; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1895a, and 1902c). In tandem, the percentage of the rural population in Bexar County that was foreign born declined over time. It peaked in 1870 at 33 percent, then generally subsided (with some fluctuation) to 24 percent in 1880, 20 percent in 1890, 15 percent in 1900, 22 percent in 1910, 17 percent in 1920, and 6 percent or less in 1930 and 1940 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1913b, 1922b, 1932b, 1942c; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1872a, 1883b, 1895a, 1902c). This, of course, does not account for the many first- and later-generations of American-born offspring.

Nineteenth-century Texas architecture reflected each particular builder's cultural origins (Alexander 1966:3). Southern Anglo Americans were the predominant group in Bexar County and had the greatest influence on the local built environment. Their imprint on the landscape is ubiquitous. In the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century, scarcity of both skilled craftsmen and local lumber mills resulted in continued use of older traditional forms that other areas of the country had since relinquished. This was a frontier and architectural trends lagged years behind the evolution of forms and styles that generally first appeared on the Atlantic seaboard and gradually moved westward (Alexander 1966:8). An understanding of southern building traditions, including those of African Americans, provides a basis for interpreting how ethnic groups developed their own properties in similar and contrasting ways.

In general, the buildings and structures of rural Bexar County were vernacular in their construction technique, form, and materials, as well as their relationships with each other and their surroundings. Owner-occupants often built their own dwellings and domestic and agricultural outbuildings and structures, although local masons and carpenters may have been employed, particularly for larger homes. Only the most well-to-do ruralites would hire professionals to build outbuildings. Builders usually replicated contemporaneously popular forms that are discussed in detail in the associated property types section. Floor plan and roof shape provide definitive characteristics of vernacular dwellings. Ornamentation, typically quite modest, imparts stylistic embellishment that references popular period designs. Most common in Bexar County are allusions to Greek Revival, Victorian-era, classically inspired, and Craftsman-influenced architecture. The degree and quality of finish, detail, and hardware, along with the dimensions of each room and the overall size of a



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dwelling likely indicates the occupants' economic condition; this also applies to associated domestic and agricultural outbuildings. The most readily available local materials were trees, which were scarce in some parts of the county, stone, and mud; brick was not available locally until 1877. The physical layout of the various resources on farm and ranch complexes evolved in response to daily life. Some buildings types became obsolete and were eliminated from the setting entirely, like blacksmith shops. Other buildings were adapted to accommodate new technology. For example, when tractors replaced work animals, horse barns were no longer necessary, but they could shelter the new equipment. The spatial arrangement of various resources capitalized on practical configurations intended to be efficient. Domestic and agricultural work spaces were customarily separated and defined by fencing or vegetation. The domestic space would include buildings and structures for household use, such as a privy, water well, cistern, root cellar, and detached kitchen. Both vegetable and ornamental gardens might also be in the domestic arena. Agricultural buildings and structures would be relatively remote with barns and sheds closer to crops and livestock that were intentionally kept away from the domestic sphere (Brunskill 1978; Glassie 1968; Jackson 1984; Kniffen and Glassie 1986).

Foreign-born immigrants came to Texas with their respective cultural traditions (including ideas about agriculture and architecture) and shared them with younger generations. The influence of ethnic groups on the built environment of rural Bexar County was most evident in the pre-railroad period. Distinctly ethnic architectural building forms were more likely to be constructed by those now living in a strange environment and craving the familiarity of the Old World (Bryant 1987). Those foreign-born immigrants who had arrived and settled in groups were most likely to preserve building and other cultural customs for several generations; those who traveled alone often experienced only a fragmented connection with their foreign past. Immigrants' cultural traditions were localized to the province or region from which they came and might be portrayed in construction techniques, building forms, and food preferences, which often required growing and storing certain types of produce. As well, their predilections for spatial arrangement of buildings, structures, and other landscape elements derived from their homeland.

Myriad factors obscured the particular influences that ethnic groups had on the rural built environment in Bexar County. The world wars irreversibly changed the lives of foreign-born immigrants and their descendants. World War I spurred many non-English speakers, particularly those of German descent, to adopt American ways of speech quickly; however, many other traditional customs were retained for at least another generation. In contrast, World War II forced rapid and complete assimilation into mainstream American society to protect against prejudice and intolerance. Old World traditions such as language, customs, festivals, and many other aspects of long-established cultural patterns were often abandoned. After the war, these once distinctive groups more readily integrated with intermarriage. Immigrants and their descendants adopted American cultural norms and blurred the lines that once separated them from other ethnic groups and native-born whites (Jordan 2007). Technical innovations in—and commercialization of—agriculture caused significant changes to local farms and resulted in a more homogenous rural landscape. As was the case with most of rural America, improved methods of transportation and communication imposed change. Contemporaneous magazines introduced modern house plans and styles and these architectural trends replaced traditional building customs and further promulgated assimilation. As a result, the rural landscape was less likely to reveal distinctive outward signs of foreign heritage.

Not all ethnic groups in Bexar County are represented herein; instead, the focus is on those groups with the greatest influence on the rural built environment. These groups include colonial Spanish and Mexican nationals of New World origins, southern-derived Anglo Americans and African Americans, and foreign-born nationals—German, Polish, Irish, and British (English, Scottish, and Welsh)—from across the Atlantic Ocean. The emphasis is on the foreign-born, whose associations with cultural traditions are most compelling, rather than their successor generations born in Texas. Although no African Americans farms or ranches have been identified to date, the likelihood of discovery is very high. African American cemeteries, one near Saint Hedwig and another west of Sayers, reveal the locations of likely associated farms and ranches and rural communities.



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Numerous small communities once dotted Bexar County landscape, although those that have survived are increasingly difficult to distinguish because of overwhelming suburban growth. These small hamlets conveyed the very essence of rural community life and pivoted with local economic, social, and political forces. Nodes along established routes were selected to establish stagecoach stops, post offices, churches, cemeteries, schools, and agricultural and commercial enterprises. Beginning in 1877, railroads opened the local agricultural economy to large and distant markets. The railroad inexorably girded agrarians to the market economy and they benefited from the economic security it afforded. Small towns along the railroad acquired attributes particular to urban settings, albeit on a scale less grand than that of larger cities. By the mid 1930s, communities along railroad lines included Adkins, Atascosa, Beckman, Cassin, Converse, Elmendorf, Fratt, Heafer, Kirby, Kirk, Leon Springs, Longhorn, Luxello, MacDona, Martinez, Remount, Robards, Saunders, Thelma, Viva, Von Raub, Von Ormy, Wetmore, and Withers. Communities that survived in the mid 1930s that were not along railroad lines included Borrego, Helotes, Losoya, Parita, Saint Hedwig, San Geronimo, Sayers, Schermersville, Selma, Senior, Somerset, Southton, and Specht Store (Texas State Highway Department 1940). Even smaller crossroads communities also survived by the mid 1930s, usually in the form of one or two buildings, most likely a school, church, or cotton gin. Although the buildings that represented these compact communities were extant by the mid 1930s, they were not noted with names on highway maps until 1959. They include Balcones, Buena Vista, Culebra, Goebel, Oak Island, Salatrillo, and Utzville (Texas State Highway Department 1940, 1961). Each of these communities was tied to one or more ethnic groups. Medina, an early community near Garza's crossing included the Santissima Trinidad Church, which functioned from about 1867 to 1920, but is no longer extant, and a cemetery with 19 graves (Adovasio and Green 2003:113, 116–117). Many small communities were founded by the predominant southern-derived Anglo-American population, but several were of German derivation, including Carruther's store and Von Raub School. Saint Hedwig was originally settled mostly by Polish immigrants and included commercial buildings and a Catholic Church, school, and community cemetery.

**Spanish Nationals, Mexican Nationals, and Tejano Settlers in Bexar County**

By far, Mexican nationals and their descendants outnumbered all non-native ethnic groups that occupied rural Bexar County.<sup>5</sup> The earliest occupants were those with Spanish and indigenous cultural roots. The first European settlers in the region were Spaniards, who arrived in the first half of the eighteenth century and maintained control of a vast area for nearly 100 years. Although some Spanish settlements existed, Spain did not initially focus on colonization and their early architectural influences were limited to missions (Alexander 1966:4). These missions, because of their remoteness, were self-sufficient communities and fortresses that administered an elaborate agricultural system (Wright 2001). Arriving in March 1731 and representing a different socio-economic group, 56 Canary Islanders from 16 families traveled from their homeland to Cuba and then to Mexico. They then trekked overland from Veracruz to San Antonio de Béxar. The Spanish crown hoped these immigrants would help establish Texas as another of its colonies. These willing volunteers, fleeing single-crop cultivation failures, were rewarded with payment for their transport and their first year's subsistence. Canary Islanders pursued agriculture on the abundant land available to them (Adovasio and Green 2003:19; *The Handbook of Texas Online* 2001c; Tarin 2001; *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia* 2007a). They intentionally remained segregated from the rest of the local population, settling on the west bank of the San Antonio River (Montejano 1987:35). By the early nineteenth century, the local population included some with pure Spanish roots, the Canary Islanders, and Indians, along with the mestizos who were the result of intermarriage among these groups (de León 2001). An early settlement pattern that Old World groups transferred was the tradition of long lots. Also known as *porciones* or locally, as *suertes*, these lots were long, thin subdivisions of land that fronted a waterway and gave each land owner access to surface water. This form of

<sup>5</sup> Several useful sources on Spanish and Mexican immigrants consulted but not specifically cited in this context include *Tejano Legacy Rancheros and Settlers in South Texas 1734–1900* (Alonzo 1998), *Tejano South Texas: A Mexican Cultural Province* (Arreola 2002), *Spanish Texas: Yesterday and Today* (Ashford 1971), *The Tejano Community, 1836–1900* (De León 1982), *The Last Years of Spanish Texas, 1778–1821* (Faulk 1964), *The Mexican Frontier, 1821–1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Weber 1982), and *Mexican-Americans in Texas History* (Zamora 1999).



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development was common along Bexar County's rivers, streams, and manmade *acqueuias* (Land and Long 2001; Powell 1919).

Mexican nationals and Mexican Americans in Texas were subdivided into a three-tiered class system. At the top were landed gentry who lived in spacious flat-roofed houses, usually constructed of stone (Montejano 1987:35). Their houses were linear with a central interior courtyard decorated with classic pillars and cornices (Alexander 1966:12; Sánchez 1994:165, 179; Steinbomer 1982). A rural example might be more modest. For example, the de la Garza-Cantu property, southeast of San Antonio, may have earlier structural components, but known familial associations with the dwelling date to about 1854 (Cooper 2009a). Texas-born Miguel and Gertrudis Cantu were wealthy compared to other nearby farmers. In 1860, his real estate was valued at \$3,000 and his personal estate at \$1,500 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1860a). This two-story, side-gable house is built with sandstone that has limestone white wash applied (Cooper 2009a). The present-day appearance of the main façade is symmetrical with two single doors flanking a centered wood casement window. Two wood casement windows on the upper story are positioned above the doors below. However, the rear façade, chimney placement, and interior arrangement present asymmetry associated with Mexican-influenced design preferences. The middle class *rancheros* tended cattle and lived in small, single-pen, adobe dwellings (Montejano 1987:35). The bottom rung was composed of laborers who occupied *jacales*. When milled lumber eventually became readily available, many of the laboring class shifted away from traditional building materials, preferring box-frame construction with board and batten siding (Graham 2001). More elaborate than any *jacale*, the most evocative representation of Mexican-influenced construction was adobe *palisado* (Alexander 1966:12). Perpendicular to the ground, stout hand-hewn wood poles marked each of four corners and each window and door opening. More vertical poles were positioned every few feet between fenestration. Sometimes the vertical poles were merely tree trunks with bark still in place. Hand-riven cypress lath, placed horizontally on the interior and exterior with pegs or square nails, filled the space between the vertical poles. Small chunks of stone adhered with adobe mud filled gaps between the laths the poles. A paring coat of plaster of lime, sand, cactus, salt, and water whitewashed the surface for protection from weather. Cypress was also cut for roof shingles (Hindes 2006; McGraw and Hindes 1987:249–250). Although prominent during the Texas revolution, neither the Blas María Herrera nor Francisco Antonio Ruiz occupied grand houses. Two dwellings that date to the 1830s and 1840s at the Blas María and María Antonia Ruiz Herrera property (41BX672) are of adobe *palisado* construction and one is believed to be their original home site (41BX670) (Adovasio and Green 2003:133; Ezell n.d.f, n.d.g; Hindes 2006).

Spanish and Mexican nationals formed associations with their Anglo-American neighbors who were unfamiliar with the pre-established caste system. Acceptance was most likely to take place among those who shared socio-economic standing. Thus, elites could find a way to recognize cultural differences at the same time they brokered relationships intended to create economic benefits among themselves (Montejano 1987:35). Inter-marriage between these groups was not uncommon and gaining or retaining property proved beneficial to both parties. For the elite, marriage into an equally wealthy family of a different ethnicity elevated and gave breadth to each family's social standing. For younger Anglo-Americans with little capital, marrying into a Mexican family often provided access to land (Montejano 1987:35, 36). In 1855, Jacob Linn benefited from such an arrangement when he married María Josefa Pérez, a granddaughter of the 1815–1817 ad interim governor for New Spain, Juan Ygnacio Pérez. Linn was orphaned while emigrating with his family from Bavaria. He was adopted by the San Fernando Church, educated in Spanish and English, and established a successful gun-making business. His wife was born in Texas to a prominent land-holding family. In 1804 her grandfather purchased the Spanish Governor's Palace in San Antonio. María Josefa Pérez Linn inherited one-third of her parents' property, which included land and a ranch house on the north side of the Medina River. The Linns moved to the property by about 1861. Her land proved invaluable to their lucrative agricultural endeavors (Ezell n.d.h). Virginia-born James L. Trueheart (1815–1882) benefited similarly. His Tejano wife, Petra Margarita de la Garza (1831–1899), was daughter to José Antonio de la Garza, who was descended from Canary Islanders. As a result, the family had significant land holdings, including two leagues of land wedged between the Medina and San Antonio Rivers. In 1834, de la Garza had purchased the San



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Francisco de la Espada Mission and much of its land holdings in a transaction that was locally controversial. Although the mission was long secularized by that time, many considered the sale of church lands illegal. The Truehearts built a home on an 800-acre land parcel in 1848, although in 1850 they still resided in the city where he worked as the Bexar County clerk. A native of Portugal and interpreter, Antonio Pérez, lived with the couple. By 1860, they occupied their ranch house with their three young children and a 25-year-old laborer who was native to Mexico. Trueheart's real estate holdings were valued at \$20,000 and his personal estate at \$5,000 that year (Copeland 2010; Cooper 2009b; de Zavala and Donecker 2010; Orozco 2010; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1850, 1860a).

This potentially symbiotic relationship eroded for many Mexican nationals who fled to their homeland during the Texas Revolution in 1835 and 1836 and later, as the Mexican-American War raged at mid century (Montejano 1987:36). Few Mexican nationals would regain their local landholdings. In their place, native-born Anglo Americans opportunistically claimed land that the previous occupants had already improved. An instance of this is the Texas Supreme court's 1851 decision against José Ygnacio Pérez, sister to María Josefa Pérez Linn, and likewise a grandchild of the aforementioned Juan Ygnacio Pérez. José Ygnacio Pérez claimed his family's connection to a Spanish land grant given to Juan Ygnacio Pérez in 1808. The Pérez family fled south of the Rio Grande in December 1836 (Adovasio and Green 2003:171). In the aftermath of the revolution, the Republic of Texas granted a headright that overlapped the Pérez family lands to Francisco Rolen, who sold a portion of it to Enoch Jones and Williams J. Smith in 1837 for \$800 (41BX664) (McGraw and Hindes 1987:231; Texas General Land Office 1844). With the court's ruling in place, a one-third league was patented in the name of a new headright holder, Bruno Martinez, to assignee, John R. Cunningham, in 1852 and the Pérez family no longer retained land on the south side of the Medina River (Texas General Land Office 1852). That year, Cunningham's estate sold this 1,476-acre land parcel to Stephen Applewhite (41BX666) and Harrison Presnall (41BX538) (Cooper 2009c).

Mexican nationals and their descendants are notable among ethnic groups in Bexar County both because of their larger numbers and because they have sustained their cultural traditions. By 1860, 1,060 Mexican nationals lived in Bexar County, 2,309 in 1870, 3,498 in 1880, and 3,561 in 1890 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1864a, 1872a, 1883b, 1895a). Their numbers continued to grow in the twentieth century with 4,752 in 1900, 13,226 in 1910, and 32,934 in 1920 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1902c; U.S. Department of the Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1913b, 1922b). The precipitous decline of Mexican nationals reported for 1930 is suspect; however, by 1940, 25,790 resided in Bexar County (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1932b, 1942c). The Mexican-descended population has assimilated into the mainstream, but not as ardently as others. An instance of intermarriage was the union of Felipa Flores and Theodore Heermann. He was a physician and her senior by 28 years, and they married both in civil and religious ceremonies in 1870. She was the daughter of a Mexican-national father and a Vermont-born mother and he was born in Louisiana with family ties to Germany. The Flores family, including his bride-to-be, worked for Heermann. By 1880, three children were in their household: one was her son, and the other two were born to the couple. Nearby farmers were mostly Mexican nationals with Texas-born children (Ezell n.d.i; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1880a). A large proportion of the population continues to speak the native language even today. Food customs remain in common with the past and fondly embraced by larger society. Mexican nationals and their descendants shaped the local landscape with building and landscape traditions such as *porciones* and *colonias*, and building forms such as *haciendas* and *jacales*. Their yardscapes often display a bright palette of colors in the form of paint, plantings, murals, niches, grottos, and flora. These traditions provide great contrast to those of the predominant group in rural Bexar County.

**Anglo-American Settlers in Bexar County**

The only group more numerous than Mexican nationals in rural Bexar County were Anglo Americans, most of who came from or had roots in the southeastern states. Their large numbers naturally fated their cultural traditions to have tremendous effect on the local landscape. The topography, climate, and culture of their roots in the American South influenced the layout of their farms, the building forms they constructed, and the crops and food they produced. The



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southern Anglo-American tradition deemed farming an opportunity to achieve wealth through successful crop yields and improved animal husbandry. Success or lack thereof, determined the farm family's house form and outbuilding types (Upton 1998:17–28). This, of course, was true for all ethnic groups, and although some foreign-born immigrants retained Old World buildings forms and methods and approaches to agricultural production, some Anglo-American building traditions were readily adopted by those new to the Bexar County landscape (Jordan 2001c; Wilhelm 1995:65).

In general, the housing and agricultural preferences of southern Anglo Americans fit in two broad yet overlapping groups that referenced cultural roots to either the upper or lower sections of the American South. The Upper or Upland South included Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and parts of south and eastern Missouri. Those from the Upper South built porches that generally spanned part or all of the entire front façade. Gable and hipped roof forms were common to both regions, but those in the Upper South tended to be lower pitched. This can be attributed to English influences that more commonly referenced Georgian design in the Upper South. The Upper South utilized central, interior-end, and exterior-end chimneys. The Lower or Deep South included Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, and Louisiana. In the Lower South, porches tended to wrap around more than one façade. Gable and hipped roof forms were also common, but those in the Lower South were likely to be steeper. This can be attributed to stronger French influences, including steeply pitched roofs that emulated traditional Norman form (Edwards 1986:62–65). The Lower South most often used exterior-end chimneys. Climate, topography, and soil types generally dictated crops grown, livestock raised, and related function-specific outbuildings and structures that would support these activities.

Anglo Americans aspired to a certain amount of acreage with a corresponding house and outbuildings. Typical of the American South, the average Bexar County farm was about 100 acres in the mid and late nineteenth century (Kennedy and Macintire 1999:1; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1872b, 1883a, 1895a). The many middling farmers with these average-size landholdings affected the local landscape the most. Their farms had a domestic area with a house with related outbuildings. Detached kitchens, smoke or meat houses, and dairy or spring houses were common. More distant agricultural work areas had shelters for animals and crops, workshops, well or surface water, and fenced fields and pastures (Kennedy and Macintire 1999:5; Westmacott 1992:34, 76). Slave quarters were on properties that retained these laborers in the antebellum era (Westmacott 1992:34, 76).

Selecting the site for the main house was crucial and made with careful deliberation. The first house constructed on a land parcel was typically near a surface water source such as a river, creek or stream, but placed at an elevation above flood level. These houses were sometimes abandoned for better circumstances, but might have continued to serve as a secondary dwelling or an outbuilding. This was true for the William Davenport property (near Selma, northeast of San Antonio) which had a log dog-trot home that was no longer used after the family built a more accommodating dwelling in about 1875 (Ezell n.d.b). In the case of the Presnall-Watson house (41BX538, south of San Antonio), the original two-room, sandstone-block dwelling with a basement and central chimney, built sometime between about 1852 and 1854 by Harrison and Susan Presnall, is ensconced within four wood-frame additions that subsequent owners, John and Margaret (also known as Mary) Jane Watson made in about 1884 (Cooper 2009c). The ideal situation near a watercourse provided fertile flood plains nearby and a water-borne transportation corridors, although not very reliable locally (Hindes 2006; Riesenweber 1993:19). The Presnall-Watson house (41BX538) sits on a terrace just east of the Medina River (Adovasio and Green 2003:169). The front façade of the first and most primitive dwelling built on a property might face the water source, but was usually repositioned to front the main road to the house.

Houses strategically situated on a major thoroughfare sometimes doubled in a public capacity such as a stage stop, tavern, or inn (Coleman 1995; Riesenweber 1993:17). Houses that served dual purposes were likely to have separate entrances to public and private areas, as was the case at some stage stops in Bexar County (Hindes 2006). German-born John and Rosina Moos built their 1850 house near Leon Creek along the Camino Real a las Misiones de Arriba, the road to the upper missions, which led to Boerne and Fredericksburg and beyond to San Angelo and El Paso. About eighteen miles northwest of downtown San Antonio, the Moos property was a relay station for an overnight stop and change of



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horses along a stage line and mail service route. At the time of his death in 1880, Moos had 100 horses in his possession for the relay stop. The stage line was active until 1886. The two-story stone Moos home was spacious and well appointed for a stop over. Greek Revival influences are evident in the symmetrical façade, central door with sidelights and transom, full-height and full-width porch, and cedar lintels above each window decorated with a stone flat-arch with keystone (Ezell n.d.j). Other known stage stops were the Harrison and Brown along the Selma road, the Max Aue on the Boerne route, the Von Plehwe on the San Antonio-to-El Paso road, the Huebner along the Bandera route, and the William H. Jackson on Callaghan Road (Heide 2000; Hinds 2006).

The earliest rural buildings were constructed of locally available log or stone. Some aspects of log building construction appear to have been practically ubiquitous, other characteristics indicated the builder's origins. Log houses were temporary and rugged, even by settlers' standards, but many were constructed of hand-hewn log, which required considerable skill to square the logs for a tight fit (Jordan 1978:35, 2001b; Kniffen and Glassie 1986:177). Log buildings were of fairly uniform size. Moving and stacking logs was done by hand. This limited size both vertically and horizontally since logs could weigh several hundred pounds. It was desirable for logs to be of relatively equal width for stability. This required cutting trees of similar age and diameter, since trees taper above a certain height (Morgan 1991:29-30). Foundations of log buildings may identify the ethnic origins of their builders. Those from the Upper South generally preferred a low stone wall foundation, which was commonly found throughout Central Texas (Jordan 1978:32). Origin of the builder and intended use of the building determined finishing and notching techniques (Kniffen and Glassie 1986:173). Half-dove tailing was indicative of southern Appalachia and square notching was particular to southwestern Appalachia (Kniffen and Glassie 1986:176). Lesser quality dwellings, temporary houses, and some outbuildings had saddle notching (Kniffen and Glassie 1986:176). These squared logs could be covered later, as finances permitted, with board-and-batten siding or more expensive clapboard. Unique to Texas, although very rare, was the application of plaster to exterior walls of log buildings (Jordan 1978:46).

The single-pen house was generally chosen for domestic construction in mid-nineteenth-century rural Bexar County. This was the simplest house form and would later be considered inferior among farm families who experienced financial gains (Jordan 1978:107). Nevertheless, it was a common choice and foreign-born immigrants adopted it as preferable. Although they had emigrated from Germany in 1854, Anton F. and Johanna Roesler Krause chose this building form when they moved from the urban environment of San Antonio where they had lived for more than 20 years. They acquired about 110 acres south of the city in 1875 and 1876. Their original one-story single-pen log dwelling was 17 feet by 16 feet. Horizontal logs, each 7 or 8 feet long and about 5 inches wide, were squared and chinked with plaster. The joints have dove-tailed corners. An ax or adze and a draw knife were used to trim these logs. Later additions eventually hid much of the original log building (Ezell n.d.e).

Middling farmers generally opted to construct one of three house types. The first type was an evolution of the single-pen plan and was usually of log construction, although later renditions might be wood-frame. It had two rooms of unequal size known as the hall-parlor plan (Riesenweber 1993:20; Southern 1978:82). These one-, one-and-a-half, or two-story houses had symmetrical fenestration patterns on each façade. Occasionally, a thin board partition divided interior rooms (Southern 1978:82). Hall-parlor houses usually had beaded or chamfered ceiling joists that indicated a completed interior ceiling was not intended (Riesenweber 1993:5). Another feature unique to hall-parlor houses was an opening in a gable-end wall that provided ready access to nearby domestic outbuildings (Riesenweber 1993:5).

The second middling house type with strong connections to the American South was the dog-trot, which was typically of log construction (Jordan 1978:15; Morgan 1991:33). This house form usually had two one-story single pens on either side of a central open breezeway that allowed air to pass unhindered (Glassie 1968:88). In many cases, the dog-trot was later enclosed to increase the amount of interior space. Sometimes a full second floor was added, a sign of prosperity and family growth (Jordan 1978:133; Southern 1978). The Applewhite house (41BX666, in southern Bexar County) is an example of a dog-trot dwelling that was eventually enclosed. This dog-trot is unusual because it is of stone, indicating the



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ready local availability of this material. Stephen and Eliza Thompson Applewhite, both born in Mississippi, had come to Bexar County in about 1853 with their slaves. They likely lived in this dwelling until at least 1860. After the Civil War, however, they removed to Louisiana, but returned to Bexar County in 1880 (McGraw and Hines 1987:236–238; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1860a, 1870a, 1880). More typical of dog-trot construction is the original two-pen, log dwelling that Williams and Eliza (or Lizzy) Obert Heidemann had built by the early 1860s northwest of San Antonio. Each of the outer log bays had a centered window that originally had six-over-six double-hung wood windows. The dog-trot was enclosed with a stone addition linking the two ends together. The stone enclosure has a single centered wood door (Ezell n.d.k).

The third middling house type was the center-passage plan, an evolution of the dog-trot. This house type was found throughout the United States, and used extensively by those from the Upper South. Compared with the hall-parlor plan, the central-passage form instituted radical change by more conspicuously segregating public and private space. First constructed in the eighteenth century, center-passage houses achieved popularity in the American South in the 1830s (Riesenweber 1993:24). A ca. 1875 home constructed at the William Davenport property was a side-gable center-passage plan with a stone foundation, stone exterior-end chimneys, and board-and-batten siding. Two sets of paired double-hung wood windows flanked the central doorway, which had side lights and transom. A full-façade front porch is decorated with ornamental brackets and a lattice balustrade (Ezell n.d.b). A more sophisticated version of a center-passage plan was the ca. 1856 home of the Enoch Jones family (41BX664, south of San Antonio). This two-story stone house exhibits Greek Revival detailing such as a symmetrical façade, notably wide cornice, low-pitched roof, double-hung wood sash windows with nine-over-nine-pane glazing, and central door with sidelights and transom. Now removed, four stone columns supporting a full-façade double-gallery porch were originally on the main façade (McGraw and Hines 1987:229). The later-built Votaw-James House is another refined example of the center-passage plan type. This two-story stone building, likely built in the 1870s or 1880s near Mission San Juan Capistrano, has a symmetrical façade, low-pitched hipped roof, double-hung wood sash windows with nine-over-nine-pane glazing, and central door with sidelights and transom. Rhythmically placed square wood porch posts and balustrade define the five-bay first level porch and balcony above. A denticulated fascia and wood detailing in a central dormer draw on Victorian-era influences and may not have been original (Hindes 2006).

A further evolution of the center-passage plan was the I-house, a common preference among more prosperous rural families. Distinguishing characteristics were its two-story form and its double-pen single-pile plan (Southern 1978:71, 72). One or more rear ells added later could accommodate a growing family's need for space. A rear ell might link a detached kitchen to the main house by enclosing the breezeway that originally separated the two buildings (Riesenweber 1993:6). In some cases, a two-story ell was constructed. Slaves or servants might occupy the upstairs addition accessed by an exterior staircase (Kennedy and Macintire 1999:13). Subsequent additions to an earlier stone building changed the front portion of the main two-story dwelling at the Presnall-Watson property (41BX538) to follow typical I-house form, with a room on either side of a central hall with a steep interior staircase (Cooper 2009c).

A major consideration in house construction was the location of a fireplace for cooking and heat. Before widespread use of the cook stove, houses that incorporated an interior fireplace typically had one or two gable-end interior or exterior chimneys, a feature referencing English influences adapted to the American South (Jordan 1978:95). Hearths (used for cooking) and chimneys radiated heat. Linear house forms provided efficient heat during cooler months. The saddlebag house, which employed a central chimney retained heat so effectively that it was a useless advantage in Bexar County (Jakle et al. 1989:115). Detached kitchens were also common to the southern landscape. In a hot climate, the almost continuous heat source of the fireplace was impractical and made even more so because of the threat of fire. Detached kitchens were desirable since they offered diminished odors and noises associated with food preparation (Vlach 1993:43). In the prosperous antebellum household, the detached kitchen created a visual and physical barrier between the farmer's family and slaves or servants who performed food preparation activities (Kennedy and Macintire 1999:14, 15). There may have been a detached kitchen at the Applewhite house (41BX666, south of San Antonio), where large stones laid with



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adobe mortar and glass sherds from windows were encountered (McGraw and Hindes 1987:238). Harrison and Susan Applewhite Presnall had a one-story one-room detached kitchen of sandstone block where, most likely, some of their slaves prepared meals for the family in the deep, wide fireplace. This kitchen can be attributed to their wealth as his 1860 real estate holdings were valued at \$6,000 and his personal wealth at \$8,500 (Cooper 2009c; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1860a). Backhouses were in proximity to the kitchen and consisted of two or more rooms where domestic chores, like weaving, food processing, soap making, and laundry, were conducted. Occasionally these buildings furnished living space for slaves or servants. Often a porch on the main house, detached kitchen, or backhouse sheltered outdoor tasks (Kennedy and Macintire 1999:13).

Food storage areas were in or close to the domestic yard and proximate to the kitchen. Before modern refrigeration processes were available, food preservation and storage might utilize specific buildings to process, preserve, and store various foods grown on the farm (Vlach 1993:64–66). The southern Anglo-American diet consisted primarily of corn and meat, and pork was a staple. Between 1840 and 1860, there were 2.2 hogs for every man, woman, and child—both black and white—living in the American South; each person might eat up to 150 pounds of pork annually (Vlach 1993:63). Anglo Americans allowed swine to run semi-wild among cattle. Pork preservation required a series of activities. Butchering took place during colder months. Meat houses were used to preserve the products of butchering. These buildings have square or rectangular forms, large tubs inside used for salting or pickling meat, and no ventilation holes (Kennedy and Macintire 1999:16). Although meat houses are familiar to the Upper South, they are more indicative of the northeastern states and smokehouses are more common in Bexar County. Settlers that built square smokehouses with pyramidal roofs likely hailed from West Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama, or other states populated by Virginia families that moved westward (Vlach 1993:65, 66). Others constructed rectangular smokehouses with front-gable roofs and more likely derived from southerners with earlier roots in Pennsylvania (Vlach 1993:66). Unlike meat houses, both smokehouse types have ventilation but could also be used to smoke, salt, or pickle meats, including wild game (Kennedy and Macintire 1999:16). The Enoch Jones family had a stone smokehouse on their property (41BX664) as did the William and Eliza Heidemann family (northwest of San Antonio; McGraw and Hindes 1987:229).

A fence usually enclosed all or some of the domestic yard to separate it from agricultural outbuildings and outlying fields and pastures (Kennedy and Macintire 1999:9). A detached kitchen might be in the domestic yard, along with small secondary buildings and structures. A well in the domestic yard was convenient, but not always possible (Vlach 1993:33). The well on the William and Eliza Heidemann property was just steps away from their dwelling, as was the case at the Blas María and María Antonia Ruiz Herrera ranch (41BX672, near Von Ormy, south of San Antonio). The Heidemann well was protected with a well house (Ezell n.d.f, n.d.k). In the early nineteenth century, fowl generally were free range, roosting at will; by mid century, one or more chicken coops were more common. Dovecotes—elevated square boxes with pyramidal roofs—were uncommon. Those that did occur were associated with wealthier agriculturists (Vlach 1993:83). Two ca. 1910 pigeon cotes, one part of another ranch that was subsumed into an automobile factory, were moved to the Presnall-Watson property (41BX538) (Cooper 2009c). Gardens were necessary for a subsistence existence and a variety of vegetables and fruit were grown. A small number of a variety of trees provided fruit and nuts (Jordan 1966:75).

Storage of dairy and other food that would perish in the heat was necessary on a Bexar County farm. Preferably, these storage buildings or structures were near a surface water source, although this may have been at some distance from the domestic yard (Kennedy and Macintire 1999:18). On some properties, the same effect could be achieved with a spring or dairy house connected to a well (Vlach 1993:79). Built of stone or brick, with an occasional log or frame second floor, these buildings had ventilation to prevent mildew from spoiling food (Kennedy and Macintire 1999:18; Steinbomer 1982). Stone troughs built into the walls channeled cool water for food to rest in (Kennedy and Macintire 1999:18; Vlach 1993:78–79). Compared to northerners and other ethnic groups, who typically ate about 22 pounds of butter annually, southerners only consumed 7 pounds each in 1850 and 1860. This suggests that a dairy house on a mid-nineteenth-century southern Anglo-American farm was a relative luxury (Vlach 1993:79). Instead, southerners consumed lard, a readily available pork byproduct that also benefited from cool storage. Some farms in Bexar County had a potato house. Typically,



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this was a stone building with a below-ground first level and a second story that might have a plaster-finished interior. The lower level provided cool storage for produce and dairy; food less susceptible to heat was stored in the upstairs loft (San Antonio Conservation Society 2003:4).

During the antebellum period, farmers diversified their crops and livestock and built agricultural outbuildings with function-specific forms. These forms included livestock, mule and horse barns, chicken houses, threshing barns, corn cribs, and granaries (Glassie 1965:21–30; Kennedy and Macintire 1999:7). With the exception of Anglo Americans, ethnic identities of settlers can often be determined by the construction of their barns (Vlach 1993:11). Anglo-American farmers were most likely to gather their ideas from popular agricultural magazines of the time to guide construction methods and material choices. Other outbuildings of note that are known to occur in Bexar County include the blacksmith shop on the Enoch Jones family property (41BX664) (McGraw and Hindes 1987:229).

Fencing was paramount for restraining free-roaming livestock from fragile areas like the domestic yard and row crops, and for containing them in pastures (Knott 2004, 2005b:7; Riesenweber 1993:21). These fences delineated orchards and small enclosures within larger pastures (Riesenweber 1993:23). Not only did they separate various land use activities, they protected expensive pure-bred animals from common mixed-breed free-range animals (Murray-Wooley and Raitz 1992:75). Eventually, perimeter fences—some with an interior road—enclosed entire properties. Wood fences of various construction techniques were common and limestone was locally abundant in fields and small quarries. Middling farmers from regions where rock fences were prevalent constructed them in similar fashion (Murray-Wooley 2007). In Bexar County, fences are modest compared to those built in the Upper South that featured complicated double-wall construction, tie rocks, and coping (Kennedy and Macintire 1999:35; Knott 2004, 2005a:6). Single-wall construction is associated with New England and British influences (Knott 2005a:6). Stone walls at the Enoch Jones property (41BX664), which dates to the 1850s, delineate a corral and prevent erosion. A two-wall stone abutment from a bluff edge to the first terrace above the Medina River and a stone retaining wall at the base of a second terrace curbed an impinging arroyo (Adovasio and Green 2003:110–111). Another important use of fence was to protect family cemeteries on rural properties. The Heerman family cemetery (41BX529) has two ornate iron fences surrounding two burials. Although other graves are likely, no others are marked or fenced (Adovasio and Green 2003:91–92). Other family cemeteries include those of the Davenports, the Ruiz-Herrerias (41BX543), and the Heidemanns (Adovasio and Green 2003:124; Ezell n.d.b, n.d.k).

**African Americans in Bexar County**

African Americans were the only group in nineteenth-century Bexar County that arrived involuntarily.<sup>6</sup> The antebellum southern Anglo-American tradition included significant reliance on slave labor for cultivating agricultural crops. However, the tradition of slavery was clearly not as prevalent as it was in counties to the northeast and east. Since local soils were not as conducive to labor-intensive production of cash crops like cotton, sugar cane, or rice, Bexar County had a proportionately small number of slaveholders and slaves. In 1850, rural Bexar County had 169 slaves. Ten years later, Bexar County had 294 slaveholders and 1,395 slaves. Of these, 803 slaves lived in rural parts of the county. About 36 percent of these slaveholders held one slave; another 34 percent held between two and four slaves; 16 percent held between five and nine slaves. Forty slaveholders, each with ten or more slaves held 51 percent of the county's slave population; one of these slaveholders held between 40 and 49 people, another held the largest slave population in the county with between 50 and 69 slaves (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1864a).

<sup>6</sup> Little is known of their post-Civil War history and related material culture in rural Bexar County, much less that of the antebellum period. No readily available secondary sources document the antebellum material culture of this group in Bexar County, although one source provides narrative history for the state (Dorian-Becnel 1985). Another useful source on postbellum African Americans are *Black Property Owners in the South, 1790–1915* (Schweninger 1997), and *Freedom Colonies: Independent Black Texans in the Time of Jim Crow* (Sitton and Conrad, 2005).



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Although slaves lived within the landscape and environment their holders framed, they retained distinctive aspects of their culture, building patterns, and food traditions. Their work sphere encompassed fields, agricultural outbuildings, and domestic space like kitchens and laundries. They had their own domestic spaces where they raised their families. On farms with larger slave holdings, house and field slaves were usually segregated. With relatively small numbers of slaves in the county before the Civil War, field houses are unlikely or at least extremely rare (Campbell 1989:264). More typical would be slave houses constructed of locally available materials in or near the farm family's domestic sphere or rooms in the upstairs of an ell on the main dwelling (Kennedy and Macintire 1999:12). For example, the sole slave that William Davenport held in 1860, an 11-year-old female, did not apparently occupy a separate dwelling (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1860a). Those considered house slaves were skilled and typically resided in quarters near the main house to be convenient to the family they served. Enoch Jones reportedly had some of this slaves residing in the basement of the family's main dwelling where the kitchen and store rooms were also situated. In 1860, the three slaves he held—two females in their twenties and a six-year-old boy—occupied a building, possibly the barn that had two fireplaces (41BX664) (McGraw and Hinds 1987:229; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1860a). A typical form for slave dwellings was the saddlebag, identified by its central chimney and two flanking rooms. These quarters were at the back of the domestic yardscape and faced the rear of the main house, but had no windows looking toward it. Other forms included the most modest of the single-pen, hall-parlor, or dog-trot plans. Regardless of form, the occupants of multiple families were likely to reside under one roof (Kennedy and Macintire 1999:13; Vlach 1993:22). For example, Stephen and Eliza Applewhite held 19 slaves that occupied three dwellings on their property in 1860 (41BX666). These slaves included a 50-year old man, a 40-year-old woman, a man and woman in their thirties, two men and two women in their mid twenties, and 11 children aged 12 and under. On land adjacent to the Applewhites, Harrison and Susan Applewhite Presnall (41BX538) held 12 slaves that occupied three dwellings in 1860. These slaves included a 65-year-old woman, a 32-year-old man, a 20-year-old woman, an 18-year-old man, and 6 children ranging in age from 6 months to 8 years (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1860a). Some house slaves might reside in a backhouse close to the kitchen or an addition at the rear of the main house (Kennedy and Macintire 1999:13). Quarters for those few field slaves in Bexar County were likely at a distance from the main house and closer to the crops and pastures they worked (Kennedy and Macintire 1999:12). Many slaves cultivated their own kitchen gardens (Vlach 1993:15). Like their holders, they relied on a pork- and corn-heavy diet, but other preferred foods, such as squash and yams, contributed to their meals and were often in gardens they cultivated.

The number of free people of color in Bexar County before the Civil War was very small; 14 free African American men resided in rural parts of the county in 1850 and only two by 1860 (DeBow 1853, 1854; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1864a). One of these men was Sam McCulloch Jr. (variously spelled McCullough or McCulloch), who received land from the Republic of Texas for his contributions to the revolutionary army. His earliest holdings in rural Bexar County were along the Medina River. By 1852, he moved his family close to present-day Von Ormy where he farmed and ran livestock until his 1893 death (Thompson 2010). The exact location of his homestead, however, remains unknown.

As was true of foreign-born immigrant groups, most African Americans resided in San Antonio after emancipation, but some remained in the countryside. In 1870, there were 90 African American heads of household, several of whom were laborers living with a homeowner or tenant (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1870a). That year, a total of 345 African Americans lived in rural Bexar County (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1872a). By 1880, there were 831 African Americans living in the countryside and ten years later, there were 784 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1872a, 1883b, 1895a).

Immediately after emancipation, former slaves had neither cash nor land, and many African American families lived in log houses that were quick and inexpensive to build. Autonomy and the desire to be independent, especially to own land and provide for family, was most important. Freedmen were trained agriculturists, but could usually only afford to sharecrop or lease land (Jenkins 2002:107; Meier and Rudwick 1976:134). As their circumstances improved, freedmen replaced their log houses (Jenkins 2002:152; Meier and Rudwick 1976:134). Generally, it took a decade or slightly more



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for African Americans to acquire enough capital to build new houses. The newer houses followed contemporaneously popular forms and changed from linear log houses of two rooms, to balloon-frame irregular-massed plans with vernacular detailing of fashionable stylistic influences, such as Queen Anne. Architectural details were nominal. House color and decorative plantings in the front yard or other public sphere might indicate African American preferences (Westmacott 1992:1).

These African Americans contributed to Bexar County's built environment with particular planting choices and land use patterns. They were intimately familiar with land and plants. They decorated their domestic yards with flowering plants and fruit-bearing trees gathered from the countryside or through trade with their neighbors (Jones 1992:97). As was true for other groups, they divided their farms into public, domestic, and work space, but were particularly creative with spatial division and portions of their farms served dual purposes. For example, African Americans were more likely to plant fruit trees that provided both shade for their houses and a food source. They were also more likely to plant fruit- or nut-bearing trees to create boundary lines to mark their property (Westmacott 1992:34, 76).

Although information particular to African American freedmen communities in Bexar County is not available, they were likely similar to other freedmen's communities in the American South (Sitton and Conrad 2005). Established in the 1870s and 1880s, many freedmen's communities survived into the twentieth century amid Jim Crow laws that continued forced segregation. Some who owned or leased land formed small enclaves that included a cluster of houses near a church, cemetery, school, lodge-hall, or store. Generally, freedmen's communities were on the least desirable lands, remote from the main road, and near railroad tracks (Smith 1972:45). These dispersed communities provided a means for African Americans to have small farms and rely on each other for a strong sense of kinship that extended broadly among family and neighbors who had endured similar experiences (Sitton and Conrad 2005). Several known freedmen's communities are just outside the present-day boundaries of Bexar County in adjacent counties, including Crown in Atascosa County and Mission Valley in Medina County. Wilson County has six known freedmen's communities: Crew's Colony, Doisedo Colony, Hay's Colony, Montgomery Colony, Nockenut Colony, and Steven's Colony (Sitton and Conrad 2005: Appendix). A potential location of a former freedmen's community in Bexar County is in the vicinity of Cantu Cemetery, established in 1875. East of China Grove and south of Adkins, in the eastern section of Bexar County, this cemetery is known to be African American with about 150 burials. The Saint Hedwig Cemetery was established in 1881 and has 68 known African American graves (San Antonio Genealogical & Historical Society 2010). The Saint Hedwig vicinity (east of San Antonio) had 512 African American heads of household in 1880, a clear indication of the potential for families to live in one or more enclaves. One other rural precinct had 133 African American heads of household that year; all others had 45 or fewer (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1880a).

The rural African American population increased overall in twentieth-century Bexar County, but rural numbers declined. Their rural population increased in 1900 to 992, and remained static for the next ten years (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1913b; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1902c). In the twentieth century, the county's African American population grew slightly from 1,239 in 1920, to 1,469 in 1930, and to 1,967 by 1940. Despite these increases, African Americans represented less than 1 percent of the county's overall population between 1920 and 1940 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1922b, 1932b, 1942c). As well, the freedmen's communities became more dispersed. In 1900, African Americans lived in only five rural precincts with 27 to 46 heads of household. Sayers was the location of 43 African American heads of household that year. In 1910, the vicinity of Saint Hedwig had 100 African American heads of household and there were 83 in the Leon Springs area (north of San Antonio), but no other rural precinct had more than 28 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1910). By 1920, 98 African American heads of household lived in one precinct, but all other rural precincts combined had only 67 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1920; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1900).



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**German Settlers in Bexar County**

German nationals represented the largest European-derived ethnic group to settle in Bexar County. Most Germans who came to Bexar County fled exorbitant land prices, effects of the Industrial Revolution, and failed political overthrows (Kownslar 2004:101, 110; Wilhelm 1995:63). The earliest arrivals inhabited the former Prussian Empire, which faced crop failures, famines, and economic depression in the 1830s and 1840s (*German Americana* 1997). These culminated in the German Revolution of 1848–1849, also known as the March Revolution. German inheritance laws left many male successors with no land holdings of their own and, as a result, no source of income (Lich 1996). These hardships, coupled with emigrant letters to the homelands, compelled interest in moving to the United States. Those who had already immigrated to Texas told of its advantages and generated appeal that spurred departure to the newly established state (Jordan 2001a). Pushed from the unrest in his homeland, Joseph Ball Sr. emigrated from the Alsace-Lorraine region along the German-French border in the 1850s. He and his junior son lived in Medina County in 1860 (Ezell n.d.l; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1860a). Ball Jr. married Salome Keller, born in Baden, Germany. They resided in San Antonio where he worked as a stone mason before purchasing a 198.86-acre farm on present-day Old Frio City Road (Bexar County, Deed Record 175:142; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1870a, 1880). Similarly, William Heidemann emigrated from Hannover, Germany, in 1852, and was residing with the William Hausmann family in 1860; he achieved citizenship in 1867. His wife, Eliza Obert had immigrated from Baden, Germany, and was working as a servant at the Menger Hotel in downtown San Antonio in 1860 (Ezell n.d.k; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1860a). Other Germans to settle in Bexar County in the antebellum era include Emil Klar (41BX711), Victor Hanz, Braun Rousseau, and George and Sophie Von Plehwe (Hindes 2006).

Many German nationals—farmers, craftsmen, and unskilled laborers—settled in Bexar County in hopes of improving their fortune with abundant lands ready for settlement. By 1860, Bexar County had 509 German national heads of household, of which 113 resided in rural parts of the county; ten years later, that number had grown by almost 650 percent with 1,829 Germans in the county and 96 heads of household living outside the city (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1860a, 1864a, 1870, 1872a). A big boost in immigrants from the German-French border occurred after the Franco-Prussian War of 1871 and their numbers in Bexar County rose to 2,621 by 1880 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1883b).<sup>7</sup> In 1890, the county had 4,039 German nationals and ten years later, they remained static at 3,958 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1895a, 1902c). In 1910, Germans nationals in the county peaked at 4,423 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1913b). The decline was gradual, but their numbers dropped to 3,331 in 1920, 2,974 in 1930, and 2,036 in 1940 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1922b, 1932b, 1942c). Even so, the descendants of these immigrants increased exponentially throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and carried on the cultural traditions of their forebears.

German settlers in Bexar County adapted quickly to local agricultural conditions and were successful in their farming endeavors (Jones 2005:126–127). Most German farmers initially had small land holdings—averaging less than 100 acres—compared to Anglo-American farmers in the area who averaged about 300 acres (Jones 2005:126, 130). German farmers in Bexar County were concerned with diversified crop production. They recognized the importance of a strong corn crop, but usually did not concern themselves with cotton production, which had an uncertain harvest and good yield only every three to four years (Bracht and Schmidt 1991:25–28). Writing to recent German immigrants in 1848, San Antonio merchant Viktor Friedrich Bracht celebrated the Texas landscape for its ability to grow a variety of crops, including okra, eggplant, tomatoes, peppers, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, and other garden vegetables. He believed his compatriots set a fine example of vegetable gardening for native-born Americans (Bracht and Schmidt 1991:25–28). Bracht lectured his fellow countrymen on their ability to harvest pecans and figs that thrived in Bexar County, and on bee culture, another promising

<sup>7</sup>The manuscript decennial censuses for 1880 and subsequent years do not readily allow searches of German national head of household since their numbers exceeded 1,000.



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industry (Bracht and Schmidt 1991:30, 37, 50). Pork was a dietary mainstay in German meals and they avidly raised hogs as their chief sources of protein (Hillard 1988:313). Like Anglo Americans, German nationals allowed swine to run semi-wild among cattle (Jordan 1966:89).

German nationals formed close-knit communities that freely exchanged information about agricultural practices and improvements (Jones 2005:126–127). Many settled in groups and established communities somewhat segregated from Anglo Americans, which fostered retention of certain Old World ways for several generations (Lich 1996:9). Married in 1869, both Philip Ruempel and his wife, Caroline Braun Ruempel, had been born in the Duchy of Nassau, part of Prussian holdings that became part of the German empire and is in the present-day state of Rhineland-Palatinate. With their families and others, they emigrated from Germany. Several of their Bexar County neighbors were from the Duchy of Nassau (Ezell n.d.n; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1880a). Whether they immigrated as a group or settled near other nationals, Germans tended to form organizations that fostered retention of traditions. The Germania Farmer Verein was a social and benevolent group. Hanover-born August Pieper arrived in Texas with the Prince Solms Colony in 1845. He was just one of 45 charter members of the *verein* at Anhalt in southwest Comal County. Formed in 1875 to thwart cattle thievery, members branded cattle with the association mark and reported rustling activity to local authorities. They built a meeting place in 1879 that underwent expansions between 1887 and 1898, and again in 1908 (DeKunder 2010; Ezell n.d.m).

German nationals might choose traditional building methods and forms when constructing their homes in mid- and late-nineteenth-century rural Bexar County. Examples of this used either cut stone or *Fachwerk*, which employs half-timber frame construction with nogging in-fill that could include stone or brick (Jordan 2001c). Local materials adapted well to traditional German building methods. Later alterations sometimes plastered or clad over original materials. Two properties in Bexar County known to have *Fachwerk* are at the George and Sophie Von Plehwe complex and the Maverick Ranch (Fenstermaker 2001; Hinds 2006).

The house-barn was an ancient, rural European peasant house form that all immigrant groups but Germans abandoned upon arrival in the United States (Upton 1986:145). Farming on the European continent was open-pasture method and in the Germanic tradition, the use of common fields prevailed. Germans produced wheat or rye, oats, barley, flax, potatoes, turnips, and beets, and provided the few animals they owned with shelter (Wilhelm 1995:64). In the North Sea area and southern mountains and lowlands of Germany, dairy farming prevailed over crop production. Dairy cows were sheltered and the result was a combination house and barn under a common roof (Wilhelm 1995:65–66). They varied regionally, but were constructed of locally available materials and often included *Fachwerk*. Along the German-French border, house-barns lined the main village thoroughfares and often shared a common wall. These buildings had a long central passage separating the house from the barn, asymmetrical façades, stucco-covered double walls, and large barn door openings (Morette 1998:14). The houses were approximately 40 feet wide with a roof pitched between 25 and 35 degrees (Morette 1998:25). The public room faced the road and accommodated the best furniture and material objects; the kitchen was the heart of the household and positioned in the center of the building (Morette 1998:24–25). A bedroom was at the back of the house. The barn generally occupied the remaining half of the house-barn. It sheltered animals in a stable at the rear and had an immense loft above to store hay (Morette 1998:25). Implements were kept in the front yard. Behind the house were low, dry-laid rock fences enclosing the kitchen garden and separating it from the neighbor's (Morette 1998:13). This form appears more commonly than does the alpine house-barn. Alpine house-barns generally were banked, with the barn on a lower level and the dwelling upstairs. Grain storage was either next to the residential portion, separated by a threshing area, or in an attic space (Blackwell 1992). Examples of house-barns in Bexar County include those at the August and Johanna Kramm Pieper property, constructed in about 1851; the William and Eliza Heidemann property dating to the early 1860s; the Phillip and Caroline Braun Ruempel property, constructed in the late 1860s; and at the Theodore and Felipa Flores Heermann property (41BX527), dating to 1886 (Ezell n.d.i, n.d.k, n.d.m, n.d.n; Hinds 2006; McGraw and Hinds 1987:166). These might have initially been temporary homes, but provided permanent shelter for livestock and feed. The Heidemann family probably sheltered their dairy cows—12 in 1870—in their house-barn during inclement



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weather (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1860b, 1870b). Heermann was a first generation German American, but the large two-story house-barn on his property incorporates German form and construction methods. It is reminiscent of the *Grundscheier*, and although it is not built into a slope, it has at least one driveway through the building.

Another unique German house form is the *Flurküchenhaus*, or *Ernhaus*, derived from the Rhine River Valley region. This can be a one-, one-and-a-half, or two-story house with a gable roof and square plan (Hallock 2003:13). These houses are often banked and divided into three or four unequally sized rooms, one of which is a long hall-like kitchen perpendicular to the other rooms. Typically, this long narrow kitchen had a central chimney and was the primary entry (Chappell 1986:68; Hallock 2003:13).

After living away from the homeland for a generation or more, German immigrants and their progeny began incorporating Anglo-American elements into their own building traditions. The result was the *Kruezehaus*. Similar to the *Flurküchenhaus*, the *Kruezehaus* incorporated a central hall to emulate the then-popular center-passage house (Hallock 2003:13). Another rendition placed the kitchen in the basement, which alleviated indoor heat during the hot summer months (Chappell 1986:68; Hallock 2003:15; Kerra Yerta Wines 2007). Both the *Flurküchenhaus*, a traditional German house form, and the *Kruezehaus*, an Anglo-American-influenced version of the *Flurküchenhaus*, used the rear room as a bedroom and the front room, with separate entrance, as the parlor (Hallock 2003:13).

The Sunday house is another building type distinctive to German nationals and their descendants in Central Texas (Jordan 2001d). Although the Sunday house is not known to have been common in Bexar County, its frequent presence in neighboring counties suggests examples may have once been extant locally. This form is typical in small towns of the Texas Hill Country and may have been used for stage stops in Bexar County (Alexander 1966:14; Hinds 2006). The house type evolved from the German tradition of living on a rural farm, but trading and attending church in town. To accommodate their regular urban visits, German agriculturalists built small homes in town since their land holdings were somewhat remote from their trade and worship centers (Alexander 1966:14). Because Sunday houses were only used on weekends or for short stays, they were usually diminutive, often with only one room above another.

For example, unlike most other Central Texas houses, those occupied by German nationals and their descendants appear to have been more likely to have cellars, casement windows, and exterior stairways leading to upstairs lofts. Distinguishing features of German-influenced architectural design include square-shaped buildings that were two piles deep and with steeply pitched roofs (Alexander 1966:14; Jordan 2001c). Adapting to the oppressive heat, however, required modifying traditional forms to include porches and attached kitchens. Uniquely German outbuildings in Bexar County appear to be rare and limited to small dairies and dry-laid limestone fences. Although Anglo Americans initially introduced this fence type locally, German settlers appear to have embraced and constructed the majority of rock fences in the Texas Hill Country (Knott 2004, 2005c:5; Murray-Wooley 2001). Although dry-laid rock fences are unique primarily to the Inner and Outer Bluegrass Regions and the Nashville Basin, some are extant in Bexar County (Murray-Wooley and Raitz 1992:82). These fences were expensive to construct and required skilled masons, most of who originated from a tradition of stone construction (Knott 2004; Murray-Wooley and Raitz 1992:79, 93). Joseph Ball Jr., a German national and stone mason by trade, enclosed his own property with a substantial rock fence and cross fences (Bexar County, Deed Record 1972:478–480). Rock walls were also on the William and Eliza Heidemann property (Ezell n.d.k).

### Polish Settlers in Bexar County

Seeking economic advancement, land, and equality, Silesian Poles came to Bexar County (Institute of Texan Cultures, University of Texas, San Antonio 2000b). Polish nationals and their descendants formed small, independent communities, such as Panna Maria, Cestohowa, Kosciusko, Pawelekville, and Falls City, all south of present-day Bexar County; Saint Hedwig is a Polish community in Bexar County. Bexar County had 28 Polish national heads of household that were in rural parts by 1860, although another 40 heads of household lived inside the city limits (U.S. Department of the



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Interior, Census Office 1860a). Polish nationals in rural parts had declined by 1870, when only one head of household lived outside the city limits and only rose slightly, to eight, by 1880 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1870, 1872a, 1880, 1883b, 1895a). In 1900, 249 Polish nationals were living in Bexar County. They were clustered in the Saint Hedwig and Sayers communities (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1900, 1902c). With definition of Polish boundaries in disarray at the conclusion of World War I, only 23 heads of household were accounted for in the whole of Bexar County, all of whom resided in San Antonio (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1910, 1913b). By 1920, the Polish national population living in the county peaked at 435 and those heads of household living in the rural parts had climbed to 114 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1920, 1922b). These numbers declined somewhat in 1930 with 397 Polish nationals in the county, but only 32 heads of household living on rural lands (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1930, 1932b). By 1940, the county had a total of 335 Polish nationals, most of who likely resided in San Antonio (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1942c). As was the case with the foreign-born German population, the descendants of these immigrants increased exponentially and carried on the cultural traditions of their forebears.

Silesian Poles were of the land-owning class in Poland and did not experience an intense push to leave their native land as had many other groups (Baker 1982:11). Finding themselves outcasts, Polish nationals and their descendants formed tight-knit communities, provided mutual aid, and held tightly to Old World customs in the New World. In Bexar County, they raised cattle, planted corn, and lived in stone houses, similar to their homes Poland (Baker 1982:16). Traditional Polish houses often consisted of three rooms. A kitchen and sitting area served as the primary gathering area. Next to this public space was a small storage chamber with a rear room. Above these rooms was an attic. These houses had steeply pitched roofs and walls of wattle and daub construction (*Obec Heřmanovice* 2007). A later porch addition was common. Polish food traditions consisted of a diet heavy in potatoes, sausage, and dairy, and they built small storage and processing buildings to accommodate these foods (*Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia* 2007b).

The Ignatz and Anna Kiolbassa had immigrated to the United States in 1855. He became a citizen in Pennsylvania (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1900). Their oldest of six children at the time, Felix lived on his Polish-born parents' farm near Saint Hedwig in 1880 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1880a). By 1910, Felix and Agnes Kiolbassa were raising their five Texas-born children on Old Sulphur Springs Road in the Saint Hedwig vicinity. She was the daughter of Polish-born parents (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1910). She died sometime after 1920, but Kiolbassa still farmed his land with a son and daughter-in-law in 1930 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1920, 1930).

Immigrating in large numbers during and immediately after the Great Potato Famine, more than 1.2 million Irish nationals came to the United States between 1847 and 1854 (Rose 1981:30). The famine hit western Ireland hardest and survivors from this region emigrated in the largest numbers, although they do not appear to have traveled in groups (Kinealy 1997:151). Most immigrants arrived in seaports along the Atlantic coast and remained in these urban environments (Flannery 1995:104; Kinealy 1997:152). By 1860, 21 Irish national heads of household resided in rural Bexar County, although many more—234—lived in San Antonio (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1860a, and 1864a). The number of Irish nationals that lived in the county stood at 268 in 1870, but only 19 heads of household resided in it rural parts (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1870, 1872a). By 1880, the county had 471 Irish nationals, of which 64 heads of household resided in rural parts (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1880, 1883b). Their numbers rose to 600 in 1890, but declined slightly to 537 by 1900, when 83 heads of household occupied rural portions of the county (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1895a, and 1902c). In the early twentieth century, their numbers were relatively static at 600 in 1910, 653 in 1920, and 659 in 1930; yet the inclination toward living in a rural setting had increased from previous years with 102 heads of household in 1910, 109 in 1920, and 98 in 1930 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1913b, 1922b, 1932b). However, they declined by 1940 with 481 in the county (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1932b, 1942c). Even so, as was the case with other ethnic populations, the descendants of Irish immigrants increased exponentially.



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**Irish Settlers in Bexar County**

With the devastating effects of the famine, along with severe discrimination in their adopted homeland, the Celtic Irish abandoned the familiar and brought few Irish building traditions to the New World (Institute of Texan Cultures, University of Texas, San Antonio 2000a; Kinealy 1997:151–152; Rose 1981:31). Of the few Irish nationals and their descendants who farmed in Bexar County, it is likely that they generally excluded traditional Irish construction methods or land use. One exception to this was the construction of dry-laid rock fences (Murray-Wooley and Raitz 1992:79, 93). Another exception was their tendency to arrange both domestic and agricultural outbuildings and structures close to the main house (Glassie 1986:75–79; Kownslar 2004:42–43).

Patrick Kenney immigrated from Ireland in 1849 as a child (Ezell n.d.o) He was a soldier at Fort Bliss in 1860 and working at the Exchange Hotel in Galveston by 1870 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1860a, 1870a). In 1877, he and his wife Rosa Zensch, who had immigrated from Poland in 1856 as a child, purchased 46.5 acres in Bexar County where they lived with their four Texas-born children and his uncle, also an Irish national (Ezell n.d.o; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1880a). They built a one-and-a-half-story side-gable stone house with a gable-end chimney in about 1877. Their sons ran the farm as their parents aged (Hindes 2006; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1910, 1920, 1930; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1900). As was typical of Irish farm homes, the ethnicity of the family was not evident in its form or detailing. This was also true of the one-story center-passage plan home that Alphonse and Nina Carr Perrin built for their family in about 1868. He was a first generation American born in New York to an Irish-born mother and an English father; she had emigrated from Ireland. In 1880, they shared their home with their five Texas-born children, her Irish mother, and a laborer who had been born in France (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1880a).

**British Settlers in Bexar County**

British (English, Scottish, and Welsh) nationals came to Texas as early as the 1820s, but generally dispersed quickly (Cutrer 1985; Davis 2001). By 1860, 77 heads of household in Bexar County were of British origins, although only 14 of these resided outside of San Antonio (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1860a, and 1864a). Ten years later, their numbers had declined to a total of 62 persons in the county, with only seven heads of household living in rural parts (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1870, 1872a). In 1880, British immigrants in the county rose to 390 with 87 heads of household residing outside of the city (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1880, 1883b). A precipitous rise occurred by 1890, when 1,112 British persons resided in Bexar County (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1895a).<sup>8</sup> In subsequent years, their numbers remained steady, ranging from 956 to 1,119 between 1900 and 1930, until 1940, when they dropped to 736 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1902c; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1913b, 1922b, 1932b, 1942c).<sup>9</sup> Although their rural presence in the countryside declined to 62 British heads of household in 1900, it rose to 82 in 1910 and to 119 in 1920, only to fall to 34 by 1930 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1900; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1910, 1920, 1930).

George Frederick and Elizabeth Marnoch emigrated from England to rural Bexar County sometime between 1855 and 1860. They and their three oldest children were born in Scotland; their two youngest children were born in England. The family raised livestock and he held \$5,000 in combined real and personal property in 1860 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1860a). Their two-story center-passage plan stone house was a sophisticated interpretation of hybridized federal-era architectural themes. Its massive main block, symmetrically placed fenestration, equidistant internal chimneys, gabled dormers, and window crowns replicated features common to Adamesque and Georgian architecture,

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<sup>8</sup> The manuscript census is not available for 1890, therefore no heads of household count is obtainable.

<sup>9</sup> No numbers were reported for Welsh nationals in 1920 or 1930 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1922b, 1932b).



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which derived from post-medieval British design. Its more unusual features—a complex hipped roof, dormer placement, and two-story projecting wings—imitated no particular style, but emphasized the building's height and mass (Hindes 2006). His wife was deceased by 1870, but their adult children still resided with Marnoch, who was a doctor, and his oldest son ran the family's livestock operation. By this time Marnoch's real and personal wealth were valued at \$4,700 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1870a). By 1880, three of the siblings still lived together on the property (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1880). The eldest son, doctor and naturalist Gabriel W. Marnoch, remained with his family on the property until his death sometime after 1920 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1910, 1920; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1900).

The Watson (41BX538) family had English roots. John Watson was a first generation American born in Pennsylvania in 1823 to an English father and an Irish mother (U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office 1900). The family returned to Castle Carrock, England, some time after his birth and he married a cousin, Margaret Jane Watson, in 1864. She was native to Castle Carrock and they raised ten children there. The family came to the United States in 1881 and purchased property from the Presnall family heirs in 1883, where they had two Texas-born children. The four wood-frame additions the Watsons made to the house were of contemporaneously popular forms and ornamentation—an I-house with modest Victorian-era detailing. The Watson heirs farmed the property into the mid-twentieth century and it presents a collection of buildings and structures that depict the evolution of an agricultural property with a stone and wood-frame main dwelling, a detached masonry kitchen, barns, sheds, water tanks and troughs, and a livestock tank (Cooper 2009c).



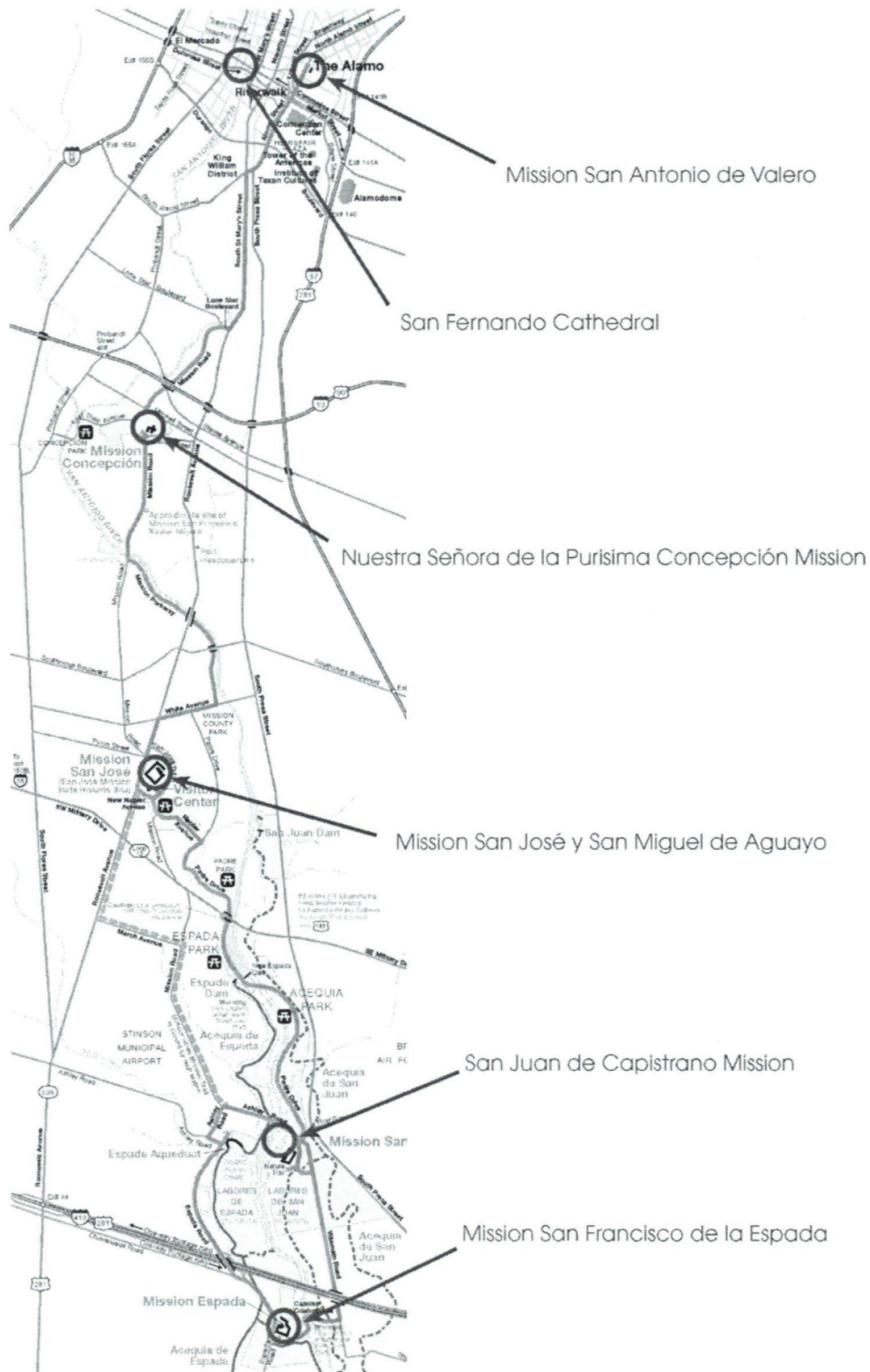
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Figure 1. Locations of the five Spanish missions and San Fernando Cathedral





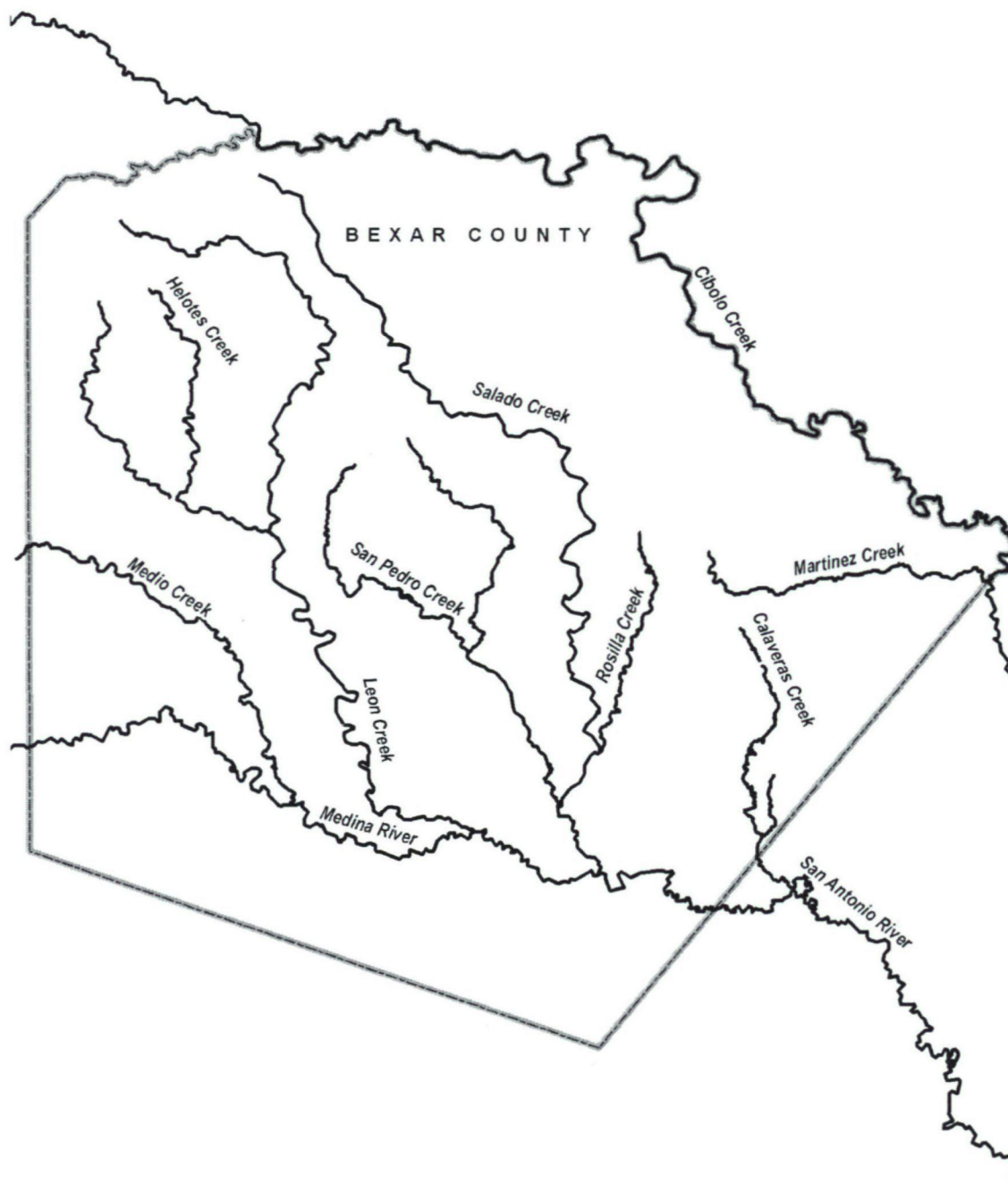
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Figure 2. The San Antonio River basin watershed in present-day Bexar County





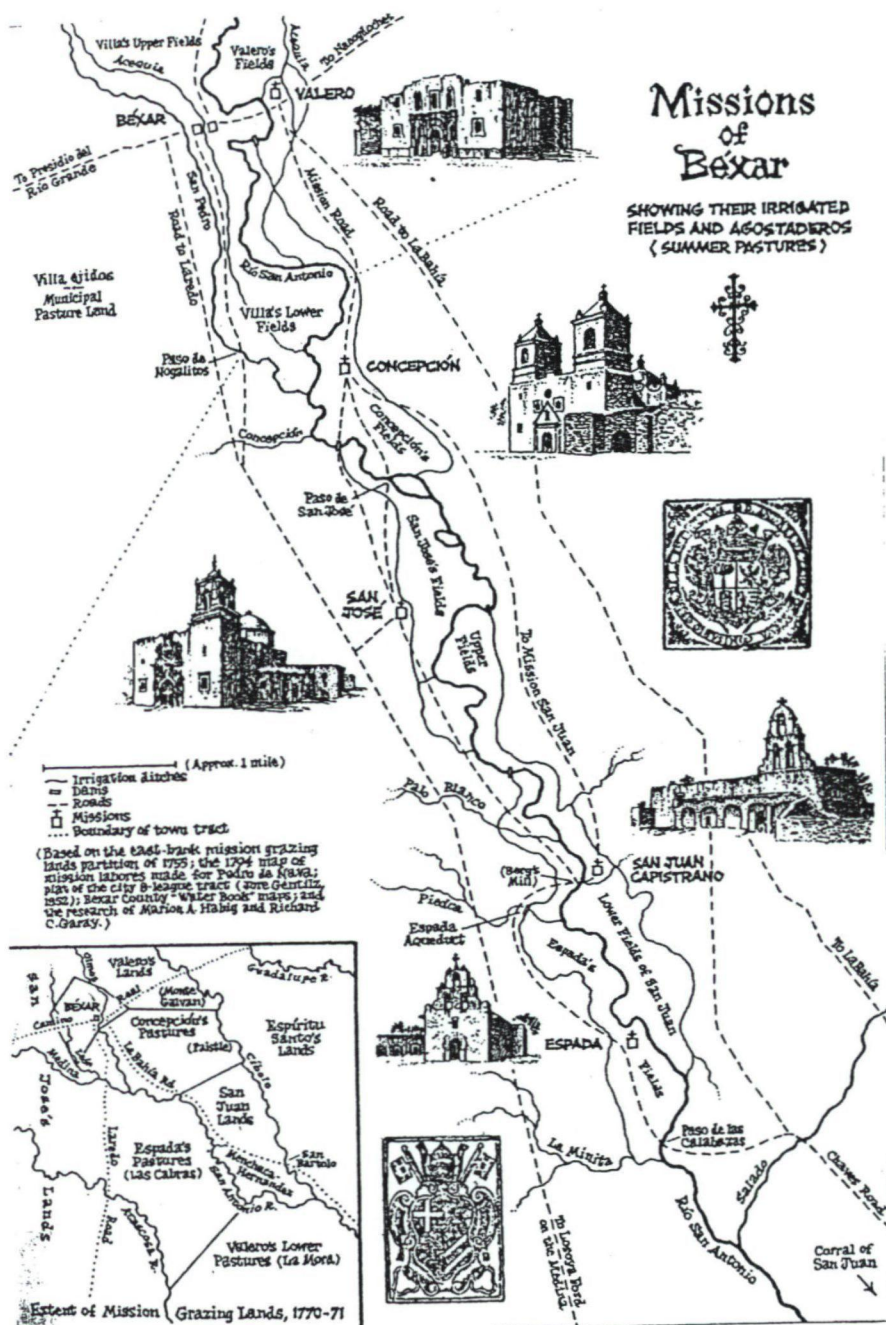
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Figure 3. Mission lands in the department of Béxar





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**F. Associated Property Types for Historic Farms and Ranches of Bexar County, Texas**

The following property typology describes historic properties associated with this multiple property listing, Historic Farms and Ranches in Bexar County Texas, and its two related historic contexts: Agriculture in Bexar County, Texas, 1800 to 1970, and Ethnic Groups and Related Building Patterns in Rural Bexar County, Texas, 1800 to 1970. The following typologies are described with historic resources pertaining to farms and ranches. Most farms and ranches have a main dwelling with related outbuildings; agricultural outbuildings, such as barns and sheds, corrals, corncribs, livestock tanks, and chicken coops; and landscape features such as pastures, orchards, terraces, feed and cash crops, and fences. Other property types pertinent to these contexts relate to agricultural processing properties, institutional facilities, and commercial resources. The typologies conform to National Park Service Guidelines (Lee and McClelland 1999; U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service 1997). Also presented is a statement of significance for historic resources that are associated with local agricultural history and rural ethnic history. The statement of significance may be applied to each property type. Finally, registration requirements are established to set minimum standards for specific attributes that must be present for a resource to be listed in the National Register of Historic Places as part of this multiple property listing.

General sources on the built environment that proved invaluable for describing the many property types under consideration included *Built in Texas* (Abernethy 2000), *Texas Homes in the Nineteenth Century* (Alexander 1966), *Vernacular Architecture: An Illustrated Handbook* (Brunskill 1978), "Folk Building" (Collier 2001), *Early Texas Architecture* (Echols 2000), *Architecture in Texas, 1895–1945* (Henry 1993), *Common Houses in America's Small Towns* (Jakle et al. 1989), *Texas Log Buildings: A Folk Architecture* (Jordan 1978), *Texas Cemeteries: A Cultural Legacy* (Jordan 1982), *A Field Guide to American Houses* (McAlester and McAlester 2000), and *Front Yard America: The Evolution and Meaning of a Vernacular Domestic Landscape* (Schroeder 1993).

**Description of Domestic Properties**

**House Forms**

Single-pen house – A rectangular or square one-story one-room building, the single-pen house is of log, wood-frame, or stone construction, and has a side-gable roof with a chimney at one gable end. It was commonly a dwelling of initial occupation and was either incorporated into a later and larger permanent house or used as an outbuilding once another house was constructed nearby. British and German ethnic groups introduced the single-pen house form to Texas (Jordan 1978:107–113, 2001c).

Double-pen house – A rectangular one-story two-room building, the double-pen house is usually of log, wood-frame, or stone construction, and has a side-gable roof with a chimney at one end. Most often, the second pen was added to an original single-pen house. It was commonly a dwelling of initial occupation and was either incorporated into a later and larger permanent house or used as an outbuilding once another house was constructed nearby. Double-pen houses may derive from British sources (Jordan 1978:113–116).

Saddlebag house – A rectangular one-story two-room building, the saddlebag house is usually of log, wood-frame, or stone construction, and has a flanked or shared central chimney that creates a saddlebag effect, like pouches hanging either side behind a horse's saddle. Each façade is likely to have a separate entrance. Some scholars suggest the saddlebag house form originated in Scandinavia (Jordan 1978:123; West 1995:43).

Dog-trot (or dog-run) house – The dog-trot house is a rectangular one-story two-pen building of wood-frame or log construction with a central open passageway separating the two pens. A side-gable roof covers a passageway that connects



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the two pens. Both pens may have been constructed at the same time, but often the central passageway and second pen were added later to an original single-pen house. It was commonly a dwelling of initial occupation and was sometimes incorporated into a later and larger permanent house. Even later, the house might evolve by enclosing the central passageway and assuming the form of a center-passage house. Some scholars suggest the dog-trot house originated in Scandinavia (Jordan 1978:119–123; White 2001). In many cases it was commonly a dwelling of initial occupation and was either incorporated into a later and larger permanent house or used as an outbuilding once a another house was constructed nearby.

Hall-parlor house – The hall-parlor house is a single-pile one- or one-and-a-half-story building usually of wood-frame or stone construction. Two side-by-side rooms have no separating central hallway. It typically has a side-gable roof with a chimney on one end. The additional half-story functioned as one or more bedrooms. One or more later additions appended to the rear of the hall-parlor house were common to accommodate growing families (Jakle et al. 1989:111).

Center-passage house – This form evolved from the European version of the double-pen house with people living at one end of the building and livestock occupying the other. This evolved into two pens separated by a central hall with living space on either side. It could be wood-frame or stone construction with a side-gable roof. The center-passage house represented a radical change since it segregated public and private spaces. Various ethnic groups, primarily those of British derivation, preferred this form (Jordan 1978:123–124; Wenger 1986:137–140).

I-house – The I-house is a single-pile building of wood-frame or stone construction with rooms on either side of a hallway. It is a two-story building with a side-gable roof. Fenestration on the exterior façades is symmetrical. Older I-houses often have paired chimneys on one or both gable ends. A one- or two-story addition appended to the rear of the house was common to accommodate growing families (Jakle et al. 1989:120–121).

Double-pile house – The double-pile house is of wood-frame or stone construction and is two rooms deep. Both front and back rooms are of equal proportions. Double-pile houses may have a front- or side-gable roof (Jakle et al. 1989:126).

L-plan house – In earlier versions, L-plan houses followed, but were not limited to, the form of a single-pen, double-pen, or hall-parlor house with a rear ell addition appended to the original building. In later versions, these houses were built initially in an L-shape. These homes are usually of wood-frame construction, although some or all of the dwelling may be stone. The front façade is the longer wing and has a side-gable roof that also accommodates a full-length porch. The projecting shorter ell wing has a front gable that juts perpendicular to the longer wing. The intersecting gable rooflines are sheathed with continuous roofing materials. L-plan houses are usually one story, but can also have two stories. Victorian-era ornamentation is applied to many of these houses (Jakle et al. 1989:161).

T-plan house – Either one or two story, the principal roof axis of this house type is perpendicular to the main façade, with one or two wings forming a T-shaped cross section. These homes are usually of wood-frame construction, although some portion may be stone. A porch and main entrance is in at least one and possibly both of the cross arms. Victorian-era ornamentation is applied to many of these houses (Jakle et al. 1989:163).

Front-gable house – A square or rectangular building with a front-gable roof, this house form is usually of wood-frame, brick, or stone construction. The entrance is either centered or assymetrically placed under the front-gable end and the roof ridge line is perpendicular to the house's front façade. Victorian-era ornamentation is applied to many of these houses (McAlester and McAlester 2000:90).



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Bungalow – The bungalow form dominated early-twentieth-century house construction in rural settings. With contributions from the Arts and Crafts movement, rural bungalows typically have a cottage-like appearance with a low-pitched front-gable, side-gable, or pyramidal roof, wide overhanging eaves, exposed rafter tails or false beams in the eaves, and a half- or full-length front porch (Jakle et al. 1989:170–172; McAlester and McAlester 2000:452–453).

**Ethnic-Influenced House Forms**

Spanish colonial houses – The size of these houses corresponded to wealth; the well-to-do had larger versions and those of lesser means had smaller adaptations. Usually these houses are one-story, with a low-pitched or flat roof, thick masonry walls of adobe or stone with stucco cladding, and multiple external doors. Although small window openings lacked glass, they routinely had exterior metal or wood grilles and interior wood shutters. Long narrow porches opened to an internal courtyard (McAlester and McAlester 2000:129–130).

Mexican *jacales* – Built with local resources and without formal plans, the *jacal* was practical for Spanish colonists in the New World, and continued to be popular with those of humble means in Texas into the twentieth century. The square- or rectangular-shaped building has a steeply pitched front-gable roof, main entry under the front-gable, and small windows on the remaining façades. The walls are of rubble, rammed earth, stone, mud, or other local materials, and could be 6- to 10-inches thick. For the poor, a *jacal* was a permanent house; for the well to do, it was a dwelling of initial occupation. A second-generation version of the *jacal* followed a similar form, but was of board-and-batten construction. A wood-frame *jacal* usually had one or two rooms, and this method of construction, instead of natural materials, made adding rooms much simpler (Graham 1994:99). More elaborate than any *jacale*, the most evocative representation of Mexican-influenced construction was adobe *palisado* (Alexander 1966:12). Perpendicular to the ground, stout hand-hewn wood poles marked each of four corners and each window and door opening. More vertical poles were positioned every few feet between fenestration. Sometimes the vertical poles were merely tree trunks with bark still in place. Hand-riven cypress lath, placed horizontally on the interior and exterior with pegs or square nails, filled the space between the vertical poles. Small chunks of stone adhered with adobe mud filled gaps between the laths the poles. A parging coat of plaster of lime, sand, cactus, salt, and water whitewashed the surface for protection from weather. Cypress was also cut for roof shingles (Hindes 2006; McGraw and Hindes 1987:249–250).

Southern Anglo-American houses – Many southern Anglo Americans came to Bexar County during the mid and late nineteenth centuries with their own building methodologies. Their preferred choice were popular forms, such as the center-passage plan, hall-parlor, I-house, T-house, L-plan, front-gable, and bungalow (Jakle et al. 1989:111, 115, 212; Kennedy and Macintire 1999:5; Vanderstel 2007).

Slave quarters – A square or rectangular one- or two-room house of log, wood-frame, brick, or stone construction, single-pen, hall-parlor, or saddlebag forms were common for slave quarters. One-room houses had a side chimney and two-room houses usually had a central chimney. Quarters of house servants were close to the main dwelling and field hands' quarters were more remote and near the agricultural outbuildings and structures and livestock and crops they tended. House servants' quarters were likely to be of better quality than those of field hands, but still substandard relative the slaveholder's residence. Examples are extremely rare in Texas and are more likely to exist as historic archeological sites than as extant buildings (Vlach 1993:155–160).

German Sunday houses – An Old World building tradition, Sunday houses are diminutive rectangular one-and-a-half-story stone buildings with side-gable roofs. They might feature half-timbering. Sunday houses may have a large back porch and exterior staircase to access the half-story above (Jordan 2001d; Kownslar 2004:107–108; Lich 1996:154).



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German house-barn – A form familiar to immigrants from northwest Germany, the house-barn is a long rectangular building that has two pens. People lived on one end and livestock occupied the other. The house-barn provided convenience and protection from the elements for both people and animals (Jordan 1966:35).

German *Flurküchenhaus* (or *Ernhaus*) – This form, indicative of German architecture from the Rhine River Valley region, is one-, one-and-a-half, or two-stories with a gable roof, square plan, and main entry directly into the kitchen area. Interior space is often banked and divided into three or four unequal rooms, one of which is a hall perpendicular to the other rooms and used as the kitchen. The kitchen had a central chimney (Chappell 1986:68; Hallock 2003:13; Kerra Yerta Wines 2007).

German *Kruezehaus* – Similar to the *Flurküchenhaus*, the *Kruezehaus* incorporated characteristics like a central hall, much like the then-popular center-passage house. A corner stair was often added to a basement kitchen. The *Kruezehaus* used the rear room as a bedroom and the front room, with separate entrance, as the parlor. The kitchen basement helped keep the house cool (Chappell 1986:68; Hallock 2003:13, 15; Kerra Yerta Wines 2007).

Silesian Polish houses – These houses are of wattle and daub construction and have steeply pitched side-gable roofs. The form consists of three rooms: a public kitchen and sitting room, a small private storage chamber, and a rear room. Above these rooms was an attic for storage. A porch addition was common (Baker 1982:25; *Obec Heřmanovice* 2007).

Irish houses – The Irish typically built cabin-like log houses with smooth-board floors. The interior was partitioned into a large heated room accessed from the exterior and a smaller unheated room on the second floor that was a bedroom for children (Glassie 1986:75–79; Institute of Texan Cultures, University of Texas, San Antonio 2000a: Kownslar 2004:42–43). The Irish were also likely to build double-pen houses.

British houses – British immigrants were likely to build houses that replicated post-medieval English and federal-era architectural designs. Symmetrically placed fenestration, equidistant internal chimneys, front-gable dormers, and window crowns replicate features common to Adamesque and Georgian architecture, both derived from post-medieval British design. The British were also likely to build single-pen, double-pen, and center-passage houses (Carson 1986:55–61).

### Stylistic Influences on Domestic Properties

Greek Revival – Greek Revival architecture was prevalent in mid-nineteenth-century Texas. The first rendition of the style was used for colossal public buildings that inspired architects to develop residential interpretations. Impressive Greek Revival dwellings on southern plantations influenced generations of farmers, who aspired to build similar full-colonnaded mansions for their homes. The result was smaller in scale, but emulated the ideal with a symmetrical façade and a wide cornice that emphasized a low-pitched gable or hipped roof. Classically influenced square or round columns, sometimes of massive proportion regardless of the house's overall scale, supported a full-length porch or central portico. Windows were usually double-hung wood sash with six-over-six glazing (McAlester and McAlester 2000:178–184). Vernacular interpretations could be modest, but capitalized on symmetry and employed columns.

Gothic Revival – Primarily observed in rural areas, Gothic Revival architecture was briefly popular. A steeply pitched roof with a dominant front gable, full-length front porch, and bipartite and tripartite fenestration patterns were typical. These one- or two-story houses have decorative vergeboard trimming the gable ends (McAlester and McAlester 2000:196–200). Sometimes the only vestige of Gothic Revival design apparent was prominent bipartite or tripartite



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window-pane configurations, dormers, or fenestration patterns. Vernacular interpretations often incorporated select features of Gothic Revival form or ornamentation and integrated other contemporaneous stylistic influences.

Queen Anne Style and related styles – Victorian-era houses used innovative balloon-frame technology to depart from rudimentary four-sided buildings and promote irregular footprints. These houses have steeply pitched roofs, cutaway bays, dominant gable ends, and asymmetrical façades with half- or full-length front porches. They can be one-, one-and-a-half, two-, or even three-story buildings. Queen Anne design is most widespread, although renditions of East Lake and Stick Style occur. Queen Anne design is typified by its many surface textures expressed with ornate wood spindlework balusters, brackets, porch supports, and gable-end ornamentation, fish-scale shingles, and supportive or false brackets (McAlester and McAlester 2000:262–268).

Classical Revival – This style was ubiquitous from the late nineteenth through the mid-twentieth century and reflected an interest in classical-inspired design the Columbian Exposition at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair reintroduced. The symmetrical main façade may feature classical-influenced columns that support a dominant portico. A front- or side-gable roof is most common. The balanced proportions and modestly executed details were easily applied to small and mid-size houses (McAlester and McAlester 2000:168–172).

Prairie School – Prairie School design originated in Chicago in the early twentieth century and its popularity spread through widely distributed pattern books and magazines. This style accentuated horizontal design with low-pitched hipped roofs that have extremely wide overhanging eaves. Two-story versions are most common and deep front porches are typical. Façades can be asymmetrical or symmetrical. Detailing can range from modest to ornate (McAlester and McAlester 2000:439–440).

Craftsman-influenced – The dominant style from the early twentieth century through World War II, Craftsman-influenced design's popularity proliferated through widely distributed pattern books and magazines. The British-derived Arts and Crafts Movement, in response to mass-produced manufactured materials of the Victorian-era, inspired craftsmen to create plain, but handmade, pieces of furniture. Architects in southern California successfully embraced this notion in the designs they published. In execution, the style was most frequently applied to the bungalow form. Ironically, this was the most widely mass-produced house type in the United States, achieving popularity among all classes in both rural and urban settings. In Texas, various renditions of the form and myriad versions of stylized ornamentation were popular for about 40 years. Craftsman-influences include a square or rectangular form, low-pitched roof with wide overhanging eaves, exposed rafter tails, and false beams. Four different roof types were favored for this style: front-gable, cross-gable, side-gable, and hipped (McAlester and McAlester 2000:453–454). A common detail in Bexar County is a stylized sunburst in the peak of a gable end or dormer.

Minimal Traditional – Rectangular and usually small, Minimal Traditional homes have at least one front-facing gable and a low-pitched roof with shallow eaves. These houses were popular in the aftermath of World War II. They lack decorative detailing other than the most modest references to colonial, classical, or revival style (notably Tudor) influences, a sign of conservative political times and the desire to sustain patriotic feelings in the Cold War era. It was a no-frills house, easy and inexpensive to build and especially common among cash-poor families in rural areas (McAlester and McAlester 2000:478).

Ranch Style – This style originated in California in the 1930s and dominated rural house construction in the United States by the early 1960s. Its form and detailing reflected dependence on the automobile and most Ranch Style houses have attached carports or garages. These low-slung, rambling houses could sprawl on farms lavish with land. Ranch Style houses are long and rectangular and favor three roof forms: hipped, cross-gable, and side-gable. Wide overhanging eaves are



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boxed or open, reminiscent of Craftsman influences. Common decorative details include iron porch supports and window shutters (Jakle et al. 1989:183; McAlester and McAlester 2000:479).

**Domestic Outbuildings and Structures**

**Dairy house** – The dairy house sheltered milk and its byproducts. It is usually a small rectangular building of log, wood-frame, stone, or brick construction with a gable or hipped roof. Overhanging eaves and ventilated grilles keep the building cool for storage of dairy byproducts. Some dairy houses are thoroughly insulated or sunk a few feet in the ground for optimal coolness. They could also function as spring houses (Vlach 1993:78–79).

**Smokehouse** – Smokehouses are common to farms in Texas. Although many variations occur, they are typically small narrow buildings of log, wood-frame, stone, or brick construction. Hipped, front-gable and side-gable roofs are common; sometimes a front gable is cantilevered. The building served to process, prepare, smoke, and store meat—mostly pork. Besides smoking, processing might include sugar- or salt-curing meat (Jordan 1978:177–178).

**Meat storage building** – These buildings were relatively infrequent in Texas. However, larger households might have a discrete meat storage building. This small square or rectangular building of log, wood-frame, stone, or brick construction was primarily used for storing meat that had been preserved through various methods (Vlach 1993:124).

**Root cellar** – Root cellars were hand-dug underground storage areas that sheltered vegetables, fruits, and later, canned foods. The entry door might be flush with or slightly sloped to the ground surface. Concrete was used or added in the twentieth century (Jordan 1978:142; Noble and Cleek 1995:144).

**Storm cellar** – Storm cellars were hand-dug underground shelters that provided safety from storms, especially tornadoes. Storm cellars, where possible, were built into mild slopes. Where slopes were uncommon, a manmade grade would be formed of mounded dirt. A hatch-like door, which usually faced north or east, provided access. Storm cellars were more common on farms in the twentieth century (Noble and Cleek 1995:138).

**Potato house** – These wood-frame, log, or stone buildings stored potatoes and other root vegetables. The potato house is partially a dugout with an earthen floor and walls; the second story distinguishes this resource type from the single-level underground root cellar. The upper walls were thick enough to fill with sawdust insulation. Those built of thick stone material did not require insulation. Roof forms vary, but a gambrel roof was common. Potato houses were most likely on farms of foreign-born European who had immigrated to Texas (Stanly 2000:162).

**Dry house** – A dry house is a small wood-frame building used for drying and preserving fruit and vegetables. These buildings were infrequent in Texas (Noble and Cleek 1995:146).

**Shed** – Sheds are of wood-frame, log, brick, stone, or metal construction, or any combination of these materials. These buildings are used for storing household items. Sheds were ubiquitous on the rural landscape and a single farm may include one or several sheds for storing items separately, such as wood, equipment, machinery, tools, or hay and other livestock feed (West 1995:49, 53).

**Kitchen (or cookhouse)** – The detached kitchen was common in the nineteenth century. It was usually a rectangular one-story building of wood-frame, stone, or brick construction. Food preparation and cooking may have originally taken place in a fireplace in the house or outside in a pit. As houses of initial occupation gave way to more permanent residences, detached kitchens were routinely built apart from but close to the house. Separation prevented spread of fire and removed



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the living quarters from extreme heat the kitchen produced. A detached kitchen might later be joined to the main house with a walkway or porch (Herman 1987:61; Jordan 1978:138–142; Vlach 1993:43–44).

Outdoor bake oven – Outdoor bake ovens might be attached to the kitchen through a common gable wall or discrete from the kitchen. Distinctive to Mexican culture, a *horno* was a domed, oval-, or circular-shaped structure, of stone or brick construction (Calkins and Laatsch 1986:100).

Garage and carport – A typical garage is a rectangular building with a front-gable or pyramidal roof that varies in size and materials. Mostly used to store automobiles, they often also store household items. Garages became more prevalent on farms during the 1920s and after as automobiles became increasingly common. Carports functioned in a similar capacity but were discrete buildings with a flat or shed roof. Carports may have no exterior cladding or one, two, three, or four façades clad in wood or metal (Collins 2002:88).

Backhouse – The backhouse, of two or more rooms, was in close proximity to either a detached or an interior kitchen. Domestic chores like food processing and laundry were performed in these buildings. The backhouse often had a porch to shelter outdoor tasks. Before emancipation, backhouses may have also served as living quarters for slaves and, in postbellum years, for servants (Kennedy and Macintire 1999:13).

Spring house – A small one- or two-story rectangular building of stone or brick construction, the spring house was situated over a natural spring and frequently built into the slope of a hill. Spring houses could also serve as dairy houses (Vlach 1993:79).

Wells – Well water is extracted from below the ground surface. Most wells on farms are hand-dug or machine-drilled deep holes into which water seeps. Some wells have a well house built over them to protect the water and aid in its retrieval. These structures can have log, wood-frame, stone, or concrete lining. Some wells have pipes that force groundwater to the surface, but most have pumps that draw water to the surface. Wells were critical for dwellings remote from a surface water source (Collins 2002:84; Vlach 1993:36).

Well house – The well house protected a water well from weather and the farm family from danger of falling into the well. Some of these buildings were modest, just barely covering the well, others were more elaborate and provided for cool storage (West 1995:48).

Cistern – A cistern is a receptacle for holding water. These structures are usually built to catch and store rainwater from rooftops of domestic buildings. They are also built adjacent to windmills to store pumped water. Cisterns became increasingly common in the twentieth century since wells and other surface water sources sometimes went dry in the hot summer months (Speck 2000:230).

Windmill – German and Dutch immigrants built many of the first windmills in Texas for grinding meal and light industrial purposes; however, they were not equipped to pump water from under ground. In 1854, Daniel Halladay built the first American windmill in Connecticut and Texans soon harnessed wind power to draw water from under ground. This allowed settlement to disperse farther away from surface water sources and dug wells. A windmill structure has large fan blades that the wind turns to power pumps that extract water. The rotational energy transmits through gears and shafts to the pump, which draws water to the surface where it is usually stored in a nearby cistern. Windmills are typically in isolated areas and provide water to the farm for domestic use and livestock troughs and tanks. Windmills in locations remote from the main domestic area provided water exclusively for livestock (Collins 2002:76–77; Welborn 2001).



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Carriage house – These one- or sometimes two-story wood-frame or brick buildings stored carriages, wagons, buggies, and their accoutrements. These buildings were less common because barns often fulfilled this function (Noble and Cleek 1995:128).

Wash house – A wood-frame one-story rectangular building, the wash house provided space for cleaning clothes and linens. It might also be used to wash dishes and equipment. This building appears only sporadically since sheds, kitchens, or backhouses often satisfied this purpose (Stanly 2000:171; West 1995:43).

Bunkhouse – A bunkhouse is a long log or wood-frame rectangular building where permanent or temporary agricultural laborers resided. On smaller farms, a single room might be added as a lean-to on a barn or other building for a permanent hired hand. This is a relatively rare building type (Collins 2002:88; Stanly 2000:172).

Privy – A tall narrow wood-frame building with a shed or gable roof, the privy was placed over a deeply dug hole or holes. The exterior cladding had ventilation holes on several façades. They were placed at a convenient distance from the main house to isolate odors. Under the building, the privy hole had to be deeply dug or moved frequently. Some privies had two holes. Some farms had only one or two pits and no privy building for protection from the elements. Despite the obvious omnipresent need for privies, hardly any examples of this building type exist; instead, they are more typically identified as historic archeological sites that reflect one or more periods of occupation (Noble and Cleek 1995:139).

Dumps – Farm families had specific areas for waste. Dumps are historic archeological sites that contain trash and other refuse matter that reflects one or more periods of occupation. Privies also served as convenient dump sites (Collins 2002:91).

**Domestic Landscape Features**

Kitchen gardens – The kitchen garden was critical to the farm family's subsistence lifestyle, providing vegetables and fruits for meals. These planned, outdoor spaces were used to cultivate a variety of plants, especially those that could provide nutritional value. Some kitchen gardens included flowers (*Encarta Encyclopedia* 2007b; Herman 1987:65).

Ornamental yard – A kitchen garden was mandatory for farm family sustenance, but an ornamental yard was optional since it was exclusively decorative. Images of formal landscaping at larger estates sometimes inspired those with rural landholdings to imitate these dramatic settings. More common on small farms were unpretentious efforts to moderate sometimes harsh surroundings with verdant plantings that contributed color and subtly enhanced the farm. Vernacular interpretations of ornamental yards in Bexar County likely consisted of flowering plants that might include various types of roses, bulbs, and other flowers (Dolder 2004; Howett 2005; Lyon 2002).

Swept yard – The swept yard is distinct to the American South. An austere interpretation of an ornamental yard, the swept yard was simply dirt swept clean of debris. The surface was completed with decorative patterns swept in the dirt or in some cases, a thin layer of sand atop the dirt. A formal swept yard included geometric patterns that defined paths and planted beds of flowers or shrubs. Some variations arranged trees and shrubs among walls, fences, paths, and terraces (Dolder 2004; Howett 2005; Lyon 2002; Westmacott 1992).

Fences – Fences are an overlooked, but significant resource on the domestic landscape of any farm. Their presence encircling a dwelling and its many related outbuildings defined domestic space and protected gardens and outbuildings from intruders, particularly livestock. Various fencing materials are described in detail in the section on agricultural landscape features.



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Family cemeteries – Since rural properties are naturally isolated from communities, farm families frequently buried their deceased relatives, laborers, and neighbors on their property, somewhat remote from the domestic space, but likely within site of it. More than one generation would be buried in these private graveyards and more than one family might use the cemetery. They are typically fenced, at least enough to keep livestock from disturbing graves. Concrete or granite headstones mark most family graves; those of associated slaves, servants or workers might be unmarked or indicated with a more modest sign of wood or handcrafted concrete. The landscape may include bulbs, roses, or other foliage.

Isolated grave sites – It is not unusual for a solitary grave or a cluster of two or three graves to be on farms or ranches, particularly along roadways. Occasionally, burials took place at a moment's notice because of the difficulty of moving a body. Usually these sites are completely unmarked, have no protective fencing or decorative plantings, and the "occupant" remains unknown.

**Description of Agricultural Properties**

**Barns**

Single-crib barn – A single-crib or single-pen barn has a gable roof and a main entry door on either the side or gable end. Early rough-hewn log construction commonly had no chinking; later nineteenth- and twentieth-century examples were of wood-frame construction. Original crib barns were later incorporated into a larger building or given shed-roof additions to increase capacity. This form was common in the nineteenth century (Glassie 1965:25; Jordan 1978:161–163).

Double-crib barn – A double-crib barn was usually an earlier-constructed single-crib barn with an addition that was often identical to the original crib. The two cribs sometimes shared a common roof that extended across a central aisle or breezeway similar to the dog-trot house. Entrances faced the breezeway. This form was common in the nineteenth century (Glassie 1965:25; Jordan 1978:166–167).

Four-crib barn – The square four-crib barn has four separate log or wood-frame cribs, one anchoring each corner. Two central aisles crisscross at the building's middle. A single, large roof covers the entire building and gable ends face front and rear. This form was common in the nineteenth century (Glassie 1965:28; Jordan 1978:168–169).

Transverse-crib barn – An evolution of the four-crib barn, the transverse-crib barn enclosed two of the four gable ends leaving only the center aisle open at the opposing ends. Another pen replaced each of these now-enclosed side openings to provide six storage pens instead of only four (Glassie 1965:29; Jordan 1978:168–169).

Front-drive crib barn – The front-drive crib barn consists of a single square crib with corner posts supporting a projecting gable roof. The roof is usually double the length of the barn and the ridgepole spans from front to back (Glassie 1965:22–24; Noble and Cleek 1995:68).

Side-drive crib barn – This roughly square barn type has an aisle and crib of about equal dimensions, each covered by about one half of the roof, which has unbroken slopes. A shed-roof addition is commonly appended to the side away from the aisle, which is sometimes enclosed later (Noble and Cleek 1995:68).

Cattle barn – Cattle barns of varying size are square or rectangular wood-frame or log buildings that housed cattle. Cattle barns are less common in the area since mild weather allowed farmers to manage their livestock outdoors (Vlach 2002:290).



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Hog barn – The hog barn was positioned as far away from the main dwelling as possible, but at the edge of domestic space. These modest one-story wood-frame buildings had gable roofs and were also known as pig pens, pig houses, or pig parlors (West 1995:52).

Horse barn and stable – Horse barns and stables were one-story square or rectangular structures of log, wood-frame, or stone construction, and sheltered animals of burden—horses, oxen, and mules. Cattle or hogs might not always be provided with protection, but no farmer would leave the expensive and valued investment of working livestock without shelter (Herman 1987:66; Lanier and Herman 1997:195; Vlach 2002:202; West 1995:52).

Threshing barn – Threshing barns, also known as three-bay barns, housed the process of beating grain to separate seeds from straw. Inside the threshing barn, grain was beaten by hand with flails in a central passage. When threshing became mechanical, the barn was reserved for hay storage (Lanier and Herman 1997:184; Vlach 2002:44).

*Grundscheier* (ground-level German barn) – A rectangular building with a gable roof, the *Grundscheier* may be of stone or wood-frame construction or both. It was built into a slope to create multiple levels. Two or more entries on different levels were common. The lowest level may have been partially excavated and usually extended half the length of the barn. This form could be easily expanded. These barns were limited to the farms of German immigrants (Noble and Cleek 1995:85–87; Vlach 2002:95).

English barn – Two stabling areas with separate entries on each side of a driveway and a side-gable roof defined the English barn. This barn has a threshing floor instead of a driveway in some cases. Floors slope downward toward the center where a slit permitted grain to sift into a container under the floor. These barns were not common in Texas (Glassie 1965:30; Noble and Cleek 1995:77).

Pole barn – Pole barns became the universal barn type in the post–World War II era. The upright metal support poles, from which the barn type gets its name, provide framing. Steel-girder trusses support the roof. These tall one-story buildings have low- or mid-pitched metal roofs and metal exterior siding, although some façades may be unclad depending on what the barn is sheltering. Some pole barns are built without foundations; others have a concrete-slab foundation (Noble and Cleek 1995:120).

**Agricultural Outbuildings and Structures**

Corncrib – Most corncribs are long narrow wood-frame structures. Slatted walls provide ventilation for optimal corn storage. These structures vary in design with the possibility of having a front- or side-gable, slant-sided, or shed roof. They could have drive-in or circular approaches. Their critical function was to dry newly harvested corn properly and efficiently (Glassie 1965:22; Noble and Cleek 1995:155).

Shed – Sheds are buildings of wood-frame, log, brick, stone, or metal construction, or any combination of these materials. They usually have front-gable, side-gable, or shed roofs. These buildings were ubiquitous on the rural landscape and a single farm may include several sheds for storing items separately, such as wood, equipment, machinery, tools, or feed for livestock (West 1995:49, 53).

Trough – Small box-like, wood or concrete structures, troughs hold water for livestock to drink. Troughs are ubiquitous in Texas (Speck 2000:225–226).

Slaughter house – Uncommon on smaller farms, slaughter houses grew in popularity for larger farms and ranches that produced a high volume of meat for market in the twentieth century. Slaughter houses were above-average height to



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accommodate a strong ceiling joist that spanned the structure to hoist animal carcasses. A slaughter house may have had a tanning vat and a concrete floor. On smaller farms, slaughtering meat for the home took place under a tree near a water source or on a lone concrete stand with a pulley (Stanly 2000:165).

Chicken coop – Because of mild southern temperatures, fowl only required shelter during bad weather. Coops vary in design and can take any one of a number of forms: colony house, semi-monitor house, closed gable-roof house, modified open house, or open shed cage house. They are square or rectangular and easily adapted to various roof forms (Noble and Cleek 1995:136–137; Vlach 1993:82).

Dovecote (or pigeon roost) – The dovecote shelters domestic fowl. The form is derivative of the American South, but is rare in Texas. It is usually a two-story tower with pigeon roosts above and storage below. Some roosts were built into the gable end of a small barn or shed. Construction might be modest or ornate depending on the farmer's means. Pigeons were only a minor dietary source, but a sign of wealth if a flock was maintained (Vlach 1993:83).

Corral – Corrals enclose livestock, mostly horses, cattle, or sheep. They are of wood, log, or metal construction or a combination of these materials. They usually have shoots to force animals one at a time for loading or unloading when they were shorn, castrated, vaccinated, or medicated. The corral is a common feature on farms and ranches (Vlach 2002:287).

Major or minor livestock shelter – Mild southern temperatures generally precluded the need for substantial livestock shelter, but in case of inclement weather, major and minor livestock shelters provided protection for animals. These are modest barns and sheds only used as needed and usually temporarily (Noble and Cleek 1995:136–137).

Blacksmith shop – Small square or rectangular buildings, blacksmith shops provided shelter for forging iron and steel. The buildings were of log, wood-frame, stone, or brick construction with side-gable, front-gable, hipped, or pyramidal roofs. The shop housed hand tools and a forge for the process of forging, drawing, shrinking, bending, upsetting, welding, punching, and finishing. If possible, the shop would be under a shade tree (Stanly 2000:161; Vlach 1993:83–84).

Machine shop – A square or rectangular building, the machine shop provided protected space for maintaining and storing equipment and machinery. Often barns or sheds sufficed for this function (Collins 2002:88).

Granary – These typically square buildings have gable roofs and are of log, wood-frame, or stone construction. Granaries stored wheat, oats, or other grains. The building's lack of openings, even windows, prevented vermin from entry. In the second half of the twentieth century, cylindrical metal granaries became more popular (Lanier and Herman 1997:191–193; Noble and Cleek 1995:154).

Gristmill – Gristmills were of various sizes and materials and usually multiple stories in height. Remote from a water source, gristmills were powered by working livestock; positioned next to a water source, they harnessed hydropower to grind. Local gristmills ground corn and wheat through the nineteenth century, but they were extremely rare by the early twentieth century when agriculturists took their grains to market towns for milling with more efficient equipment (Herman 1987:74; Garrett 1986).

Syrup mills – Often unsheltered, metal rollers resting atop a square wood-frame stand were powered with one or two horses or mules moving continually in a wide circle around the apparatus. The animals were attached a long overhead pole that joined with a shaft connected to the rollers. Raw cane juice ran straight under the rollers into a barrel from which it was siphoned to a 10- to 12-foot-wide flat pan with numerous dividers. The juice was heated in the pan over a furnace of brick, clay, or stone construction (Cowser 1978).



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Dipping vat – By the turn of the twentieth century, dipping vats were ubiquitous to local ranches. Dipping vats may have been either individually or communally owned and were likely close to a water source. Cattle were driven through a holding pen, then a curved wood chute, and lastly a concrete sliding chute. Splashguards accompanied the sliding chutes to prevent the mixture of arsenic from spraying ranchers or their laborers. Cattle were prodded into the liquid and exited on an incline of narrow concrete steps that led to a concrete dripping pad within a gated wood pen to dry. A removable shelter sometimes covered the vat to prevent evaporation. Although the government considered ticks eradicated by 1943, some farmers continued the practice until the 1960s. Sheep and goats were also dipped to protect against various insect infestations (Hope 2005:1–18).

Shearing facility – For large-scale production, sheep and goats were sheared in sheds that could accommodate hand shearing and later, electric shearing, and store the shorn wool. A shearing facility might include pressing and shearing equipment, power generators, and rigs (Carlson 2004a; *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia* 2007c).

Livestock tank – Livestock tanks are manmade structures that hold water for livestock. They can be quite small or cover more than an acre. Many are constructed of natural materials by pushing earth out to create a hole and using the stockpiled dirt to build a mild slope to aid water detention. Some livestock tanks are lined with concrete, metal, or wood, but many are unlined. Some livestock tanks retain water from natural drainage and rain, others hold water drawn by windmill or pumped from a well (Collins 2002:84).

**Agricultural Landscape Features**

Work space – The landscape of work includes all components of a farm or ranch, with domestic and agricultural activity areas each tied to the other through a network of fences, paths, and other functional connections. Every component is arranged according to an uncomplicated and practical, but not always rigid, system. A straight unpaved path often leads from a main access road to the property's domestic front yard and on to the dwelling's front door. From the rear of the house, another path extends to the backyard. Porches and trees in the front and back provide shade for the house and outdoor activities. Numerous outbuildings and landscape features, ornamental and functional, are part of the landscape of work (Vlach 1993:33–34; Westmacott 1992).

Pasture – A pasture is a field with vegetation that provides feed on which livestock graze (*Encarta Encyclopedia* 2007c).

Meadow – A naturally grassy field, a meadow is sometimes used for grazing or hay production (*Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia* 2007d).

Valley – A valley is an area of low-lying land that is flanked by higher land. A water source is usually the lowest natural feature in a valley. These basins have especially fertile soils for growing many crops (*Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia* 2007e).

Vineyard – Grapes are grown in vineyards for consumption as table grapes or dried raisins, or fermented for wine (*Encarta Encyclopedia* 2007d).

Orchard – An orchard is a gathering of a few or many like or varied nut- and fruit-bearing trees. They provided food for farm families or might be a cash crop if production was plentiful. Many fruits were eaten fresh, but many were preserved through a variety of techniques, especially drying and later, canning (Collins 2002:89; *Encarta Encyclopedia* 2007e).



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Terrace – A terrace is composed of intentionally leveled sections of dirt that prevent erosion. Most common in hilly areas, terraces improve soil conditions and cultivation opportunities by design, since they slow or prevent water run-off that displaces dirt and carries it downhill (*Encarta Encyclopedia* 2007f).

Feed crop – Feed crops are tended exclusively to feed the farm family and their livestock. For livestock, feed crops include any number of grains, but corn was the most common for many decades (*Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia* 2007f).

Cash crop – Cash crops are produced for profit. They might be a significant, if small, part of a farm's total yield in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By the mid-twentieth century, agriculturists were more likely to only grow cash crops (*Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia* 2007g).

Crop mark – Crop marks show sub-surface manmade and natural features. Soil conditions factor significantly in these marks that cause certain plants to be healthy and others to be less vigorous. Differential growth may occur when soil conditions that easily drain water away from a field prevent normal cultivation; conversely, conditions that provide a great amount of organic matter will promote a crop's energetic development. Crop marks are only evident seasonally and sometimes only in especially wet or dry conditions (*Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia* 2007h).

Livestock trail – These routes are traveled to transport livestock overland. Shorter livestock trails traversed clusters of counties, but larger ones crossed entire states. The introduction of railroads precluded the need to drive cattle overland great distances (Collins 2002:90).

Landing strip – By the mid-twentieth century, small airplanes helped manage expansive ranch holdings (Collins 2002:91).

Irrigation or *acequia* system – An irrigation system is a series of manmade structures that supply water. These systems were pivotal to growing crops and watering livestock in arid areas. An irrigation system draws water from a natural source, moves it via canals, ditches, or pipelines, and distributes it to water fields and livestock tanks and troughs. *Acequias* have been present in Texas since the Spanish mission era. Components of an irrigation system may include, but are not limited to dams, canals, ditches, reservoirs, pipes, pumps, and head gates. *Acequias* provided drinking water locally until the 1870s when unsafe sanitary conditions polluted the formerly potable water (Cox 2005; *Encarta Encyclopedia* 2007g; Holleran 2005:13, 54).

Dam – Dams might be part of an irrigation system but also exist along natural waterways. They assist in retaining water for livestock tanks and distributing water to fields (Collins 2002:85).

Canals – Canals are manmade waterways that carry water from an existing manmade or natural source, such as a reservoir, dam, well, or spring. Farmers and ranchers developed extensive canal systems to support crops and livestock in outlying areas of their holdings (Collins 2002:85).

Pipelines – Moving water from a natural or manmade source, such as a well, reservoir, or tank, pipelines carried water to outlying fields (Collins 2002:85).

Cattle guard – The origin of the cattle guard is unknown, but is believed that cattle are afraid of pits. The earliest guards were pits dug along any opening in a fence line. With the advent of the automobile and heavy farming equipment, the pit-and-pole cattle guard was developed so vehicles could pass unimpeded. The pit was covered with a grille made of



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poles, usually metal, which allowed vehicles to pass, but contained cattle (Collins 2002:80). Some pits are lined with concrete and double as a drainage device.

**Hedgerow** – Hedgerows incorporate numerous hedges or small trees to form a boundary between adjoining fields or roads. A thorny hedge of Osage orange could be a serious deterrent for predatory animals interested in small livestock (*Encarta Encyclopedia* 2007h; McCallum and Owens 2001).

**Tree line** – In natural occurrence, a tree line is the edge of a habitat where trees are capable of growing. In manmade occurrence, a planted tree line defines an area of the agriculturist's choosing. Poorer farmers might plant trees to mark boundaries instead of using expensive fencing. Tree lines are fixed lines from a distance; however, upon closer inspection, the line may be more irregular. Some tree lines provided wind breaks to protect domestic space or livestock gathering areas (*Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia* 2007i).

**Fence line** – Fence lines create an intentional barrier to mark boundaries, keeping livestock in and feral and predatory animals out. Fences can be natural or manufactured materials such as brush, wood, stone, iron, or metal (*Encarta Encyclopedia* 2007i).

**Fences** – Like domestic fences, fencing for agricultural purposes contributes significantly to the rural landscape. Its presence typically defines the perimeter of a farm and divides domestic and agricultural spaces. Fencing could be of natural or manmade materials. Stone fences are usually rounded fieldstone improved by dressing or shaping. Stone fences are a symbol of prosperity since they required an investment of a great deal of money and skilled labor (Alvey 1992:40–41; Murray-Wooley 2007; Murray-Wooley and Raitz 1992:82). Rock fences, often of limestone, are shaped only by the natural weathering process. Before the Civil War, rock fences were usually dry-laid with gravity and pressure binding the materials together (Alvey 1992:40–41; Murray-Wooley and Raitz 1992:24). Stone or rock walls are made of native materials and can be mortared, stacked, slabbed, or edged fence. The top of both dry and mortared stone or rock walls is often a row of the same material vertically placed to contrast with horizontal bands beneath (Knott 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c; Noble and Cleek 1995:167–169). More impermanent were brush fences, comprised of piles of dead branches and trees stripped to clear surrounding land. Because of their temporary nature, few remain extant (Noble and Cleek 1995:166). Timber fence materials underwent some processing before installation. Rail fences required split logs connected in a zigzag pattern, the result of alternating directions to sustain stability (Noble and Cleek 1995:170). Two or three split rails mortised into upright timber posts formed a post-and-rail fence (Noble and Cleek 1995:173). Besides rail fence, other common types of wood fencing include stake-and-rider, Irish, board, *jacal*, and jack (Noble and Cleek 1995:170–175). As lumber became more readily available, board fence became common. Board fence used square lumber vertical posts to hold three, four, or five horizontal wood boards. These fences were effective for enclosing stockyards and other livestock holdings for large animals (Noble and Cleek 1995:173). In 1878, barbed-wire fence was introduced in San Antonio, permanently changing the landscape of Bexar County. The metal material has barbs twisted around another single strand of wire held in place by twisting that strand around another (McCallum and Owens 2001). The sharp barbed edges are at intervals and discourage livestock and intruders from coming in contact with the fence (Collins 2002:79–80). Other wire fences were also employed to restrict movement of livestock. Woven-wire fence is mesh, often of six-inch squares, strung between wood posts. Sometimes barbed wire was strung through the mesh (Noble and Cleek 1995:177). Smooth wire became more common for fencing in the mid-twentieth century, as did metal pipe.

**Agricultural Processing Properties**

**Cotton gin complexes** – Necessary for processing cotton required gins and their related structures, gin houses were usually two-story and of wood-frame or metal construction. Other resources that might be present include cottonseed oil



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mills, cotton houses and warehouses, seed storage bins and houses, and trash collection facilities, such as burr burners and trash hoppers (Dase 2003:43–57).

Stockyard – Not part of an individual farm, a stockyard was an integral component of the ranching industry that was a central location for buying, selling, and shipping livestock (Collins 2002:87).

**Institutional Properties**

Institutional resources – Occasional institutional buildings occur in rural Bexar County. These fraternal, social, educational, governmental, and religious properties were along major roads or at crossroads. They each provided locations for people to congregate at a single point for various purposes. They are usually one-story and of wood-frame, stone, or brick construction. Embellishments were modest references to contemporaneously popular stylistic influences. Fraternal and social properties were constructed for group gatherings that were social or recreational in nature, although certain organizations also had political purposes. Educational properties provided primary and secondary schooling. Governmental properties were likely limited to post offices, although these were often housed within domestic or commercial buildings in rural areas until the nineteenth century. Religious properties include churches, arbors, and tabernacles (Dase et al. 2001:148).

Community cemeteries – Community cemeteries may or may not be associated with a church. These more formal cemeteries often have a hand-powered pump, perhaps with a shed covering, to provide water for floral decorations. Many graveyards, even those not adjacent to churches, have a wood-frame privy for the convenience of visitors. More prominent, of course, are the graves, their markers, fencing, walkways, gateways, road system, natural and planted vegetation, and the spatial relationship these resources share (Potter and Boland 1992:3, 18; Texas Historical Commission 2000).

Ethnic-influenced cemeteries – Cemeteries used commonly by a particular ethnic group have distinguishable traits. The numerous ethnic groups that populated Bexar County practiced their respective burial customs, reflecting the distinctive traditions, beliefs, handicrafts, and social structure of the survivors. Specific traditions are explained well in *Texas Cemeteries* (Jordan 1982; Texas Historical Commission 2000:2).

**Commercial Properties**

Commercial resources – Although they are rare, some historic-age commercial buildings are extant in rural Bexar County along major roads or at crossroads. These are typically one-part commercial-block buildings of wood-frame, stone, or brick construction. Those commercial buildings likely to be found in rural parts include general, drug, and dry goods stores that might also house the local post office, and saloons (Longstreth 2000). Stage coach stops were often included within a single-family dwelling, but might also be an independent building. In later years, automobile gasoline stations and related mechanical repair shops were present in select locations. They might take the form of a canopy with a house, box, or oblong box (Jones 2003). Overall, rural commercial properties tended to have limited stylistic detailing, although distinguishing features may have included false-front parapet roofs, fenestration patterns common to store-front architecture, and contemporaneously popular stylistic influences.

**Statement of Significance**

This statement of significance applies to each individual property type and cohesive collections of property types considered to be historic districts. Properties listed in the National Register of Historic Places must be significant for their historical associations with events or broad patterns in history (Criterion A), significant persons (Criterion B), architecture



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(Criterion C), or information potential (Criterion D) (Andrus et al. 2002; Lee and McClelland 1999; U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service 1997).

Rural Bexar County's most important economic activity was agriculture during the period under study. Practically every rural resident participated in the agricultural economy that centered on raising, processing, buying, and selling crops and livestock. Individual properties and districts may be listed in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A for associations with patterns and agricultural activities described in the historic context, *Agriculture in Bexar County, Texas, 1800 to 1970*. Properties may be significant as representative of agricultural trends and practices, or as anomalies that broke from common tendencies in production or tradition. Individual properties and districts may be listed under Criterion B for their associations with persons significant to local agriculture. The earliest of these individuals represented the leading edge of settlement and early agricultural development in the area and were responsible for establishing and demonstrating the feasibility of raising crops and livestock. These individuals laid the basis for the success of farmers and ranchers who followed. Later significant producers might be those who had sizable or particular herds or crops, or those who assumed leadership roles in local or regional agricultural organizations. Individual properties and districts may be listed under Criterion C as either representative or rare examples of styles, types, methods of construction, or layout. Individual historic archeological sites and those within districts may be listed under Criterion D for their potential to yield information about consumer access and choice, and related contemporaneous material culture at local farms and ranches.

To justify a property's significance to local agricultural history, relevant research questions should be addressed. These may include, but are not limited to the following :

- What period(s) of significance are most relevant to the property and why? For each of the relevant periods of significance, consider these additional questions and develop others that are pertinent.
- In what ways was the property representative or atypical of local agricultural trends and practices?
- Who settled the land? What land grant is it on? Who owned and/or occupied the property over time? How much did they pay for it and what size was it? What was its taxable value?
- How did the property evolve in size over time? Did the owner/occupant own other lands and what was their purpose? Where were they located?
- If the owner/occupant could be considered significant for association with early settlement, document his or her contributions. Explain how this property is closely associated with the individual's significance.
- Does the property have the potential for antebellum resources? If so, was the owner/occupant a slave holder? Provide details regarding the number of slaves and their living circumstances.
- What quantities of which subsistence crops were grown and what livestock was raised? What quantities of cash crops were grown and what livestock were raised for profit? How did these evolve over time?
- If the owner/occupant could be considered significant for quantities of crop production and livestock, or for unique developments associated with their property, document contributions made. Explain why this property is the best representation of that individual.
- What forms of transportation were on the property?
- What transportation networks were available for moving goods to and from the property? Did the owner/occupant take advantage overland transportation, cattle trails, the railroad in San Antonio, or vehicular transportation?
- Explain the ownership and, as it applies, tenancy of the property.
- How did the owner/occupant take advantage of contemporaneous technological innovations? Could the property be an example of use of a particular technology? If the owner/occupant could be considered significant for associations with technological advancement, document contributions made. Explain why this property is the best representation of that individual.



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- If the owner/occupant could be considered significant for associations with an organization, document contributions made. Explain why this property is the best representation of that individual.
- How did the property partake in federal or state programs?
- What resources on the property represent various crops and livestock for subsistence or profit? How are they arranged? How are they related to each other?
- What resources on the property represent domestic life? How are they arranged? How are they related to each other and agricultural resources?

Bexar County's rural ethnic population helped shaped the rural landscape. The majority of farmers and ranchers were Anglo Americans or their offspring, who had migrated from the American South. Their influence on the rural landscape was pervasive. Other ethnic groups and their offspring also influenced local farm and ranch development. Individual properties and districts may be listed in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A for ethnic affiliations described in the historic context, *Ethnic Groups and Related Building Patterns in Rural Bexar County, Texas, 1800–1970*. Individual properties and districts may be significant as representative of ethnic practices or traditions. Properties may be listed under Criterion B for their associations with persons significant to a particular ethnic group. The earliest of these individuals might be among the first of a particular ethnic group to settle in Bexar County and might have practiced agriculture more akin to that of their native land instead of immediately adopting the more common Anglo-American-influenced trends in raising crops and livestock. They might also have assumed leadership roles among other natives of their ethnicity that resided in rural Bexar County. Individual properties and districts may be listed under Criterion C as either representative or rare examples of styles, types, methods of construction, or layout associated with a particular ethnic group. In the case that a property has associations with more than one ethnicity, it may be listed for the layers of various ethnic traditions it sustains, as long each layer is perceptible through the relevant aspects of integrity. Individual historic archeological sites and those within districts may be listed under Criterion D for their potential to yield information about ethnicity, as well as consumer access and choice and related contemporaneous material culture at local farms and ranches.

To justify a property's significance to local ethnic history, relevant research questions should be addressed. These may include, but are not limited to the following:

- What period(s) of significance are most relevant to the property and why? For each of the relevant periods of significance, consider these additional questions and develop others that are pertinent.
- Who settled the land? What land grant is it on? Who owned and/or occupied the property over time? How much did they pay for it and what size was it?
- How did the property evolve in size over time? Did the owner/occupant own other lands and what was there purpose?
- If the owner/occupant is considered significant for early settlement, document contributions made. Explain why this property is the best representation of that individual.
- Does the property have the potential for antebellum resources? If so, was the owner/occupant a slave holder? Provide details regarding the number of slaves and their living circumstances.
- If the owner/occupant could be considered significant for associations with an organization, document contributions made. Explain why this property is the best representation of that individual.
- What resources on the property represent various crops and livestock for subsistence or profit? How are they arranged? How are they related to each other? What ethnic associations do they portray?



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- What resources on the property represent domestic life? How are they arranged? How are they related to each other and agricultural resources? What ethnic associations do they portray?
- What was the composition of the owner/occupant family? If not, were there laborers, servants, elderly, or other occupants? What were occupants' ages and occupations?
- Were household occupants foreign-born, native-born, and/or Texas-born? Were some first- or later-generation Americans?
- Was the property in the vicinity of other farmers of like ethnic origins? Or was it more isolated from those of similar ethnicity?
- Did subsequent generations retain complete land holdings or were they subdivided?
- What communities supported farmers in rural Bexar County? Where was the nearest school, church, cemetery, commercial store, saloon, stockyard, or cotton gin? What was the primary ethnic affiliation of these resources?

**Registration Requirements**

These registration requirements apply to each individual property type and historic districts and set minimum standards for specific attributes that must be present to be listed in the National Register of Historic Places as part of this multiple property listing. To be a listed, a property must be a building, structure, object, site, or district. A property must be at least 50 years old and must be significant for historical associations with events, broad patterns, or persons in history, architecture, or archeology. Exceptions may be made to criteria considerations with explicit justification, as per National Register of Historic Places guidelines.

Registration requirements also define the relevant aspects of integrity, which are the means by which a building, structure, object, site, or district conveys significance that must be present to be listed. Aspects of integrity are location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and they apply to both individual properties and districts. Location is the place where the property was originally constructed. Setting is the physical environment that surrounds a property. Design is the combination of a property's form, plan, space, structure, and style. Materials are the various physical components of the property. Workmanship is evidence of craftsmanship. Feeling is a property's expression of an aesthetic or historic sense of a certain period of time and usually has a strong relationship with the surrounding landscape and integrity of setting. Association ascribes the link between history and the property (Andrus et al. 2002; Lee and McClelland 1999; U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service 1997).

Most farms and ranches have a main domestic resource with related outbuildings; agricultural outbuildings, like barns and sheds, corrals, corncribs, livestock tanks, and chicken coops; and landscape features such as pastures, orchards, terraces, feed and cash crops, and fences. Agricultural processing, institutional and commercial properties may also have more than one component. To be considered for individual listing in the National Register of Historic Places, each component resource will be evaluated as contributing or noncontributing. At least 50 percent of the primary resources at an individual property should be contributing for a property to be considered for listing, although exceptions with reasoned explanations could be made. An exception would be a large number of resources that are less than 50 years old, and therefore noncontributing, but that are functional and actively used to maintain ongoing agricultural activities. Another exception would be numerous minor noncontributing historic-age resources that are small in scale relative to a lesser number of essential contributing resources. Properties that have remained in continuous use have evolved and may include a higher percentage of nonhistoric noncontributing resources as compared to the surviving proportion of historic-age contributing resources. However, the compromised integrity of setting that these nonhistoric resources impose will be negated if the majority of extant historic-age resources are in their original locations and collectively retain a high degree of materials, feeling, and associative aspects of integrity relevant to the period of significance. Boundaries should follow



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documented historic property lines and avoid gerrymandering. Legal boundaries are preferable, but can not always be accommodated. Other useful means of determining boundaries may include permanent demarcations, rights of way, natural features, deviations in development or spatial organization, and edges of new development.

The same considerations apply to historic districts. Rural historic districts are likely to include a collection of farms and ranches with their various domestic and agricultural resources. They may also include or be exclusively agricultural processing, institutional, or commercial properties. Districts will convey landscape characteristics that encompass processes—land uses and activities, patterns of spatial organization, response to the natural environment, cultural traditions—and components—circulation networks, boundary demarcations, vegetation related to land use, clusters, buildings, structures, objects, sites, and small-scale elements (McClelland et al. 1999:3–6). Documentation of these myriad characteristics will require their identification and description of specific examples, ascribing their significance, and evaluating resources under the appropriate criteria. *National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes* is the companion guide for the process of nominating a rural historic district (McClelland et al. 1999). In general, to be considered for listing in the National Register of Historic Places as a district, each resource will be evaluated as contributing or noncontributing. At least 50 percent of the resources should be contributing for a district to be considered for listing, although exceptions with reasoned explanations could be made. Districts will likely include altered resources, in these cases, the compromised integrity of materials and workmanship will be negated if the majority of extant resources convey their overall setting, feeling, and associative aspects of integrity relevant to the period of significance. Districts boundaries should follow documented historic property lines and avoid gerrymandering. Legal boundaries are preferable, but can not always be accommodated. Other useful means of determining boundaries may include permanent demarcations, rights of way, natural features, deviations in development or spatial organization, and edges of new development.

Buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts considered for listing in the National Register under Criterion A must be associated with one or both historic contexts: *Agriculture in Bexar County, Texas, 1800 to 1970*, or *Ethnic Groups and Related Building Patterns in Rural Bexar County, Texas, 1800 to 1970*. Those properties associated with local agricultural history must identify one or more periods of significance that parallel those developed in the agricultural context; those associated with local ethnic history must identify one or more groups with which the property is associated. Areas of significance for properties considered under Criterion A are likely to be agriculture and ethnic heritage, but other possible areas of significance include commerce, community planning and development, education, ethnic heritage, exploration/settlement, and religion.

Properties considered under Criterion A will not be held to the highest standards with respect to their integrity of design and workmanship, although stronger candidates will likely offer good representation of these aspects of integrity, particularly as expressed by the positioning and layout of resources. The essential resources at any property are likely to be a main domestic building and domestic and agricultural outbuildings, structures, objects, and sites. These properties must be in their original locations. For a property to be considered for listing under Criterion A, these key resources should retain their historic material, whether visible or under additions or alterations. Subsidiary resources should also retain their historic materials to be evaluated as contributing to the property. The application of nonhistoric siding is acceptable as long as historic fenestration patterns are uninterrupted. The replacement of historic windows and doors with nonhistoric materials is also acceptable as long as the openings retain their historic size and shape. Removal of historic porch materials and application of nonhistoric porch materials compromises the integrity of a building, although if changes to the porch are minor in nature, it may be evaluated as contributing. Superficial and reversible alterations, such as nonhistoric paint colors and application of modern roof materials, are not intrusive. Smaller nonhistoric additions may be acceptable, but those that overwhelm the historic-period resource likely compromise its integrity. Historic-age changes are acceptable. Resources



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should retain a high level of feeling, which is best accomplished with an intact setting that conveys information about the applicable period of significance. Integrity of association must be made through archival evidence. Land grant, deed, ad valorem tax, and manuscript decennial census records of population and agricultural provide this documentation. Research should relate specific information about who owned and occupied a property, how they participated in the local agricultural economy, and respond to pertinent research questions.

Buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts considered for listing in the National Register under Criterion B must be associated with one or both historic contexts: *Agriculture in Bexar County, Texas, 1800 to 1970*, or *Ethnic Groups and Related Building Patterns in Rural Bexar County, Texas, 1800 to 1970*. Those properties associated with local agricultural history must identify the significant person and one or more periods of significance that parallel those developed in the agricultural context; those associated with local ethnic history must identify the significant person and the group with which he or she and the property are associated. Areas of significance for properties considered under Criterion B are likely to be agriculture and ethnic heritage, but other possible areas of significance include commerce, community planning and development, education, exploration/settlement, and religion.

Properties considered under Criterion B will not be held to the highest standard with respect to their integrity of design and workmanship, although stronger candidates will likely offer good representation of these aspects of integrity, particularly as expressed by their association with a significant individual. The essential resources at any property are likely to be a main domestic building and domestic and agricultural outbuildings, structures, objects, and sites. These properties must be in their original locations. For a property to be considered for listing under Criterion B, these key resources should retain their historic material, whether visible or under more recent additions or alterations. Subsidiary resources should also retain their historic materials to be considered contributing to the property. The application of nonhistoric siding is acceptable as long as historic fenestration patterns are uninterrupted. The replacement of historic windows and doors with nonhistoric materials is also acceptable as long as the openings retain their historic size and shape. Removal of historic porch materials and application of nonhistoric porch materials compromises the integrity of a building, although if changes to the porch are minor in nature, it may be evaluated as contributing. Superficial and reversible alterations, such as nonhistoric paint colors and application of modern roof materials, are not intrusive. Smaller nonhistoric additions may be acceptable, but those that overwhelm the historic-period resource likely compromise its integrity. Historic-age changes are acceptable. A useful measure for considering the integrity of properties under Criterion B is to contemplate whether the significant person once associated with the resource would recognize the property. The property must be associated with the person during the time he or she achieved significance, which is defined as the success, talent, or ingenuity, that contributed to some aspect of local agricultural or ethnic history. Resources should retain a high level of feeling, which is best accomplished with an intact setting that conveys information about the applicable period of significance. Integrity of association must be made through archival evidence. Land grant, deed, ad valorem tax, and manuscript decennial census records of population and agricultural provide this documentation. Research should relate specific information about who owned and occupied a property, how they participated in the local agricultural economy, their ethnic affiliations, and respond to pertinent research questions.

Buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts considered for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion C must be associated with one or both historic contexts: *Agriculture in Bexar County, Texas, 1800 to 1970*, or *Ethnic Groups and Related Building Patterns in Rural Bexar County, Texas, 1800 to 1970*. Those properties associated with local agricultural history must identify one or more periods of significance that parallel those developed in the agricultural context; those associated with local ethnic history must identify one or more groups with which the property is associated. Areas of significance for properties considered under Criterion C are likely limited to architecture and landscape architecture.



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Properties considered under Criterion C must meet a high degree of integrity with respect to their location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, and feeling. The essential resources at any property are likely to be a main domestic building and domestic and agricultural outbuildings, structures, objects, and sites. For a property to be considered for listing under Criterion C, these key resources should retain their historic materials, whether visible or under more recent additions or alterations. Subsidiary resources should also retain their historic materials to be considered contributing to the property. These properties must be in their original locations. Properties considered under Criterion C should embody distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; represent the work of a master; possess a high artistic value; or represent a significant and distinguishable entity. Generally, the application of nonhistoric siding or the replacement of historic windows and doors with nonhistoric materials is unacceptable. Fenestration patterns must be retained along with their historic sizes and shapes. Removal of historic porch materials and application of nonhistoric porch materials compromises the integrity of a building, although if changes to the porch are minor in nature, it may be evaluated as contributing. Superficial and reversible alterations, such as nonhistoric paint colors and application of modern roof materials, are not intrusive. Smaller nonhistoric additions may be acceptable, but those that overwhelm the historic-period resource likely compromise its integrity. Historic-age changes are acceptable. Resources should retain a high level of feeling, which is best accomplished with an intact setting that conveys information about the applicable period of significance. Although their integrity of association might be limited to architectural attributes alone, it is likely that archival evidence relates specific information about who owned and occupied a property, how they participated in the local agricultural economy, and their ethnic affiliations. Land grant, deed, ad valorem tax, and manuscript decennial census records of population and agricultural provide this documentation. Research should include information about who owned and occupied a property, how they participated in the local agricultural economy, their ethnic affiliations, and respond to pertinent research questions.

Buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts considered for listing in the National Register under Criterion D must be associated with one or both historic contexts: *Agriculture in Bexar County, Texas, 1800 to 1970*, or *Ethnic Groups and Related Building Patterns in Rural Bexar County, Texas, 1800 to 1970*. Those properties associated with local agricultural history must identify one or more periods of significance that parallel those developed in the agricultural context; those associated with local ethnic history must identify one or more groups with which the property is associated. Areas of significance for properties considered under Criterion D are limited to historic, non-aboriginal, archeology; these properties are limited to historic archeological sites.

Properties considered under Criterion D must meet a high standard of integrity with respect to location, setting, materials, and association. These properties must be in their original locations and have intact settings to the degree possible. They should also retain a high level of materials—artifacts—since these are the best possible additional sources of information about the property's occupants, and can be used to corroborate the archival record and to yield information that documentary evidence does not. Historic archeological sites are often disturbed through natural occurrences, like erosion, or human activity, like plowing, which negatively affects the level of integrity for design, workmanship, and feeling. However, this compromised integrity will be considered negated if extant historic-age resources and artifacts collectively retain a high degree of location, setting, materials, and association. Integrity of association must be made through archival evidence. Land grant, deed, ad valorem tax, and manuscript decennial census records of population and agricultural provide this documentation. Research should relate specific information about who owned and occupied a property, their ethnic affiliation, and respond to pertinent research questions.



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**G. Geographical Data**

The geographic limits of this multiple property submission are the corporate boundary of Bexar County, Texas, which encompasses 789,720 acres. The present-day county is substantially smaller than the original political boundaries that derived from Mexico's vast Department of Béxar. The Republic of Texas established Bexar County at the end of 1836. At statehood, almost a decade later, the county extended from the Rio Grande to the Panhandle, and west to El Paso. Starting in 1860, Bexar County was gradually subdivided and 128 counties were eventually carved from within its vast reaches. The present-day boundaries generally reflect Bexar County as it was defined by 1875. Resources within the modern corporate boundaries of present-day Bexar County will be considered for this multiple property submission. Although the urban core of San Antonio is unlikely to have significant farm and ranch properties, the city's current corporate limits sweep well into perimeter lands that remain somewhat rural despite encroaching suburban sprawl and related commercial development. Several significant farms and ranches fall within these boundaries, therefore the city is included in the geographic limits of this multiple property listing.



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**H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods**

In the last quarter of the twentieth century, the City of San Antonio's substantial population growth impinged on rural sections of Bexar County at a tremendous pace. Suburban residential and related commercial development consumed (and continues to obliterate) large chunks of former agricultural lands. Transportation routes—an outer loop, new highway segments, and widened existing roadways—generate opportunity for this expanding suburban sprawl to obscure even more of rural Bexar County. This multiple property submission is the product of efforts to identify and evaluate the county's historical rural properties. The San Antonio Conservation Society initiated and sponsored this project with the goals of identifying and documenting historically significant properties, educating citizens about local rural history, and preserving rapidly disappearing resources.

This multiple property listing is the culmination of micro-level reconnaissance survey and research efforts performed by members of the San Antonio Conservation Society and macro-level archival research, analysis, and synthesis by Prewitt and Associates. Dove-tailed together, these micro- and macro-historical approaches merge traditional historical research of local history with more intensive detail from fieldwork and documentation on specific properties, people, and their material culture. Although broad economic and political factors point to obvious contextual themes relevant to agricultural and ethnic history, specific individuals and their experiences directly influenced the local landscape. These people and properties provide explicit examples that support the significant events, trends, persons, and architectural influences that shaped rural Bexar County. Combined, contextual development and fieldwork supply a synthesis of agricultural and ethnic patterns and trends that are represented in extant farms and ranches.

Fieldwork and property-specific research to support this project has been ongoing for many years. Initial efforts to identify historical rural resources began in the early 1970s when the Alamo Area Council of Governments documented numerous buildings and structures (Alamo Area Council of Governments 1973). Unfortunately, neither the original negatives nor photographs that were part of this early survey could be located, only the text survives. The San Antonio Conservation Society has continued fieldwork to verify whether those previously identified resources remain extant, documented existing conditions, and recorded rural resources discovered when doing fieldwork or through word of mouth. The San Antonio Conservation Society's Historic Farms and Ranches Committee, chaired by Joanna Parrish and Loretta Huddleston, spearheaded the rural properties documentation project. With other volunteers, they have visited dozens of farms and ranches in Bexar County, talked to owners and occupants, and gathered information about these properties. Kay Hindes, presently an archeologist for the City of San Antonio, has been instrumental offering her expertise on local rural properties. Through August 2010, the San Antonio Conservation Society has recorded more than 85 properties. Reconnaissance-level survey included each property's address, likely dates of construction, current ownership information, and photographs of extant resources. Supplemental primary research will eventually be completed for each property to expand on micro-historical documentation and achieve listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Several properties have already undergone additional research that included locating historical photographs, performing oral histories, and examining original land grants, deeds, wills, tax, and manuscript population and agricultural census records. This research provided specific details about each property's associations with local agricultural history and ethnic affiliations.

The following is a list of the properties identified to date through fieldwork. It includes name, location, likely dates of construction, known ethnic affiliations, and previous documentation and designations noted in abbreviated form. Abbreviations are CL (city landmark), 1973 survey (Alamo Area Council of Government 1973 survey), NRHP (National Register of Historic Places), HABS (Historic American Buildings Survey), SAL (State Archeological Landmark), RTHL (Recorded Texas Historical Landmark), OTHM (Official Texas Historical Marker), FLH (Texas Department of Agriculture Family Heritage designation), THLA (Texas Historical and Landmarks Association designation), and trinomials (recorded historic archeological site).



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- 1 Ackerman-White House, 3803 Seguin Street, San Antonio, 1874, German/English, CL, 1973 survey
- 2 Applewhite House, 1350 Neal Road, San Antonio, 1875, 41BX666, southern Anglo-American, 1973 survey
- 3 Max Aue Stage Stop Inn, 24152 West Interstate Highway 10, San Antonio, 1853/1878, German, CL, 1973 survey, NRHP, HABS
- 4 Ball House, 14450 Old Frio City Road, Lytle, 1882/1895, German (Alsatian)
- 5 Borregas House, 6907 South Loop 1604 East, ETJ San Antonio, 1840s
- 6 Frederich Braun House and Farm, 10743 Leslie Road, Helotes, 1870, German, 1973 survey
- 7 William Braun-Rousseau House and Farm, 10475 North Loop 1604/9861 Braun Road, San Antonio, 1850, 1973 survey, 41BX1615
- 8 Cadena House, 7540 Prue Road, San Antonio, 1840, Mexican, CL, 1973 survey
- 9 Maximo Cadena House, 11025 Pomona Park Drive, ETJ San Antonio, 1882/1925, Mexican, CL
- 10 Carruther's Store-Kurz Barn, 6695 Smith Road, Von Ormy, date unknown
- 11 J. H. Classen Ranch (aka Steubing Ranch), 24405 Wilderness Oak, San Antonio, 1840s, 1973 survey
- 12 Crenwelge-Braun Farm, 9599 Braun Road, San Antonio, 1895, German, CL, 1973 survey
- 13 William Davenport House and Cemetery, 8292 East Evans Road/16589 Nacogdoches, San Antonio, ca. 1875, southern Anglo-American, CL (cemetery), 1973 survey
- 14 De La Garza-Cantu House, 9581 Elmendorf/La Vernia Road, ETJ San Antonio, 1854/1940, Spanish/Mexican
- 15 Dos Cerros House and Farm, 28089 Old Boerne Stage Road, ETJ San Antonio, date unknown
- 16 August Ernst House, 18391 Somerset Road, ETJ San Antonio, 1895, German
- 17 Robert B. Evans House and Wheeler Cemetery, 7830 East Evans Road, ETJ San Antonio, 1882, RTHL
- 18 Fromme-Fenstermaker Houses, Boerne Stage Road, ETJ San Antonio, 1870, German, 1973 survey, NRHP
- 19 Peter Gallagher Ranch, 19179 Bandera Road (Highway 16 North), Helotes, date unknown, RTHL
- 20 Gugger House, 4492 Old Bandera Road, Helotes, 1881
- 21 Victor Hanz House and Cabin, 5420 Vogel Valley, San Antonio, 1850/1890
- 22 Harrison and Brown Stage Stop, 15918 Evans Road, Selma, 1852, southern Anglo-American, SAL
- 23 John S. Harrison House, 14997 North Evans Road, Selma, 1852/1890, southern Anglo-American, NRHP, SAL
- 24 Heermann Building, 4738 South Loop 1604 West, Von Ormy, ca. 1856/after, 1973 survey, part of 41BX527
- 25 Theodore Heermann Barn and Ruins, 4717 Noyes Road, San Antonio, 1886, 1973 survey, part of 41BX527
- 26 Heidemann Ranch, 26090 Toutant Beauregard Road, ETJ San Antonio, 1861-1862/1899, German, NRHP (pending)
- 27 Heimsmith-Haby-White Ranch, 19504 Chimney Creek Road, Helotes, 1850, 1973 survey
- 28 Blas María and María Antonia Ruiz Herrera Ranch, Old Somerset Road, San Antonio, 1830s/1840s, Mexican, NRHP, 41BX672
- 29 Heuermann House and Ranch, 6940 Heuermann Road, San Antonio, 1840s, 1973 survey
- 30 Hillert House and Ranch, 11975 Lower Seguin Road, Schertz, date unknown



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- 31 Hoffrichter Ranch, 10982 Lower Seguin Road, Schertz, date unknown
- 32 Huebner-Onion House and Stage Stop, 6613 East Bandera Road, Leon Valley, 1880s, NRHP, OTHM
- 33 William H. Jackson House and Stage Stop, 8910 Callaghan Road, San Antonio, 1828, CL
- 34 Enoch Jones House and Barn, 6887 Von Ormy Road, Von Ormy, 1856/1880s, 1973 survey, OTHM, 41BX664
- 35 Patrick Kenney House, 9985 Bexar Road, Somerset, ca. 1877, Irish
- 36 Felix Kiolbassa House, east of La Vernia Road, San Antonio, 1850, Polish
- 37 Emil Klar House, 12379 Culebra Road/West FM 471, ETJ San Antonio, 1840, German, 1973 survey, 41BX711
- 38 Max Klemcke II House, 21835 Senior Road, Von Ormy, 1890
- 39 Charles William Klemcke House and Farm, 21800 Senior Road, Von Ormy, ca. 1855, German (Alsatian), 1973 survey
- 40 Kopplin-Schueler-Kneupper House, 7820 FM 1518, Converse, date unknown, German
- 41 Anton F. and Johanna Roesler Krause House, 8551 Pearsall Road, ETJ San Antonio, 1876/by 1912, German (Bohemia), NRHP, RTHL, FLH
- 42 Kurz-Stumberg House, 17575 Somerset Road, Von Ormy, late 19th century
- 43 Los Reyes House, Highway 16 South, ETJ San Antonio, late 19th century
- 44 Geronimo Madla House, Boerne Stage Road, ETJ San Antonio, date unknown
- 45 George Frederick Marnoch House, 14992 Scenic Loop Road, Helotes, 1850, Scottish, 1973 survey
- 46 Miguel Menchaca House, 19801 Scenic Loop Road, Helotes, 1850s, Mexican, 1973 survey, RTHL
- 47 Mergele House, 16845 Mergele Lane, Saint Hedwig, 1850s, 1973 survey
- 48 Mitchell-Mauermann House, 600 Mauermann Road, San Antonio, 1840s
- 49 John Moos House, 14610 West Interstate Highway 10, San Antonio, 1850, German, CL, RTHL
- 50 Bernard Morris House, 4775 East Loop 1604, ETJ San Antonio, mid/late 19th century
- 51 Frederick (Fritz) Munk House, 3012 West Jett Road, San Antonio, 1880, German, 1973 survey, 41BX273
- 52 O'Brien House, 13816 Macdona-Lacoste, San Antonio, date unknown
- 53 Padilla House, 29639 Interstate Highway 10 West, ETJ San Antonio, date unknown, Spanish/German
- 54 Ygnacio Pérez Ranch, Applewhite and Jett Roads, San Antonio, 1810s, Spanish, CL, 41BX274
- 55 Pérez-Linn-Walsh Complex, State Highway 16 South, San Antonio, date unknown/1850s, Spanish/German, 41BX549, 1973 survey
- 56 Alphonse Perrin House, 4101 Swans Landing, San Antonio, ca. 1868, RTHL, CL, 1973 survey
- 57 August and Johanna Kramm Pieper House, 29130 Bulverde Road, Bulverde, 1850s, German
- 58 Presnall-Watson House, 1349 Neal Road, San Antonio, 1854, English, CL, 41BX538
- 59 Fernando Rodriguez House, 1302 Mauermann Road, San Antonio, 1840s
- 60 Rodriguez-Leal-Dwyer Ruins, 4640 Southwest Military Drive, San Antonio, 1860s, CL
- 61 Karl Ruempel House, FM 1560 at Braun Road, ETJ San Antonio, 1850s, German, CL



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- 62 Phillip and Caroline Braun Ruempel House and Farm, 9760 Braun Road, San Antonio, late 1860s, German, 1973 survey
- 63 Ruiz-Herrera House, Farm, and Ranch, Quesenberry Road, San Antonio, 1840s, Mexican, 41BX670
- 64 Scherrer-Wright House, U.S. Highway 90 East, ETJ San Antonio, date unknown
- 65 Schumann-Scheel Ranch, 481 Old Cimarron Road, Converse, date unknown, German
- 66 Seguin-Tarin Ranch, 6361 Loop 1604 East, ETJ San Antonio, 1820s, Mexican
- 67 Harvey P. Smith House, 220 West Specht Road, ETJ San Antonio, date unknown, 1973 survey
- 68 Annunciation-Blessed Virgin Mary Catholic Church Complex, 14011 FM 1346, Saint Hedwig, 1868 (church), 1873 (school), 1900 (cemetery)
- 69 Saint Hedwig Commercial Building, 13930 FM 1346, Saint Hedwig, date unknown, 1973 survey
- 70 Charles Staudt House and Ranch, 29181 Bulverde Road, ETJ San Antonio, by 1865, 1973 survey
- 71 E. M. Stevens Ranch, FM 1957/aka Potranco Road, ETJ San Antonio, date unknown, 1973 survey
- 72 Tezel House and Farm, 6709 Forest Village, San Antonio, 1850s-1870s, German, CL
- 73 James L. Trueheart Complex, 14984 Blue Wing Road, San Antonio, 1848, southern Anglo-American, 1973 survey, HABS, THLA
- 74 Tudyk House, 1340 Pittman Road, Saint Hedwig, date unknown, 1973 survey
- 75 Voelcker House, Farm, and Dairy, 1021 Voelcker Lane, San Antonio, mid/late 19th century, German, CL, 41BX1744
- 76 Ludwig and Anna Vogel Ranch, 29589 Smithson Valley Road, San Antonio, 1860, German
- 77 George and Sophie Von Plehwe Complex, 24141 Boerne Stage Road, ETJ San Antonio, 1850s, German, 1973 survey, NRHP
- 78 Von Raub School, 8770 Dietz-Elkhorn Road, ETJ San Antonio, date unknown, 1973 survey
- 79 Votaw-James House, 8706 Mission Road, San Antonio, 1870s/1880s, CL, 1973 survey
- 80 Wallerath-Pfeil House, 7720 Trainer Hale Road, Schertz, 1849
- 81 James Watson House, 20625 Pleasanton Road, ETJ San Antonio, 1880s, English
- 82 Weidner Ranch, 188 Specht Road, San Antonio, date unknown
- 83 George Weimer House, 9305 Leslie Road, ETJ San Antonio, ca. 1893, German
- 84 Joseph Woller Ranch, 12347 Woller Road, San Antonio, 1875, 1973 survey, FLH
- 85 Zizelmann House, 12861 Galm Road, San Antonio, 1882, CL

San Antonio Conservation Society executive director Bruce MacDougal contacted Prewitt and Associates, Inc., cultural resources services consultants, to develop this multiple property listing in September 2006. The project launched in January 2007. Amy E. Dase served as principal investigator and co-author, providing substantive oversight of Prewitt and Associates project historians and coordinating with the San Antonio Conservation Society. Three project historians performed primary and secondary research, analyzed their findings, and synthesized them into this multiple property listing. Summer Chandler focused on local agricultural history from about 1800 to 1970, Céline Finney's directed her efforts toward rural ethnic history for the same period, and Stephanie Katauskas prepared corresponding descriptions of property



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types. Each project historian wrote the corresponding sections with Dase contributing considerably to each section with additional primary and secondary research and providing the theoretical basis for the statement of significance and registration requirements within the associated property type section. Between January and June, Prewitt and Associates and the San Antonio Conservation Society's Historic Farm and Ranch Committee coordinated their research progress and findings. Committee volunteers had already accomplished much micro-level research and committee member Pat Ezell provided the consulting project historians with property-specific information, including historical photographs, oral histories, deed, will, tax, and manuscript population and agricultural census records, for several properties.

While the San Antonio Conservation Society's Historic Farm and Ranch Committee continued fieldwork and micro-level research, the consulting project historians reviewed secondary materials from which to devise a research design. Due to limitations of budget and time—the draft report was submitted within five months—this initial effort drew heavily from repositories in Austin and the Internet. *The Handbook of Texas Online* supplied critical bibliographic documentation, which required further review, but expeditiously led to useful sources. Examining aggregate returns from federal decennial censuses was an extremely efficient way to identify local agricultural and ethnic trends, and guided additional research. The consulting project historians investigated sources at the Texas State Library and Archives, Texas Department of Agriculture, Texas Historical Commission, and the University of Texas libraries in Austin, particularly the Center for American History. Useful materials were also available through interlibrary loan and the San Antonio Conservation Society's library. The research design was submitted to the San Antonio Conservation Society on April 1. They provided extremely useful comments; consequently, revisions were made to accommodate their remarks and the Texas Historical Commission approved the revised research design as presented.

At this juncture, it was important for Prewitt and Associates personnel to visit some of the properties that were under consideration for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places for ground-truthing. The San Antonio Conservation Society's Historic Farm and Ranch Committee and Prewitt and Associates project historians met in mid-April to exchange information. Together, they visited four agricultural complexes, the de la Garza-Cantu, Heidemann, Vogel, and Krause properties, to assess resources under consideration for this multiple property listing and to better understand the breadth of property types that would be addressed. The result of this meeting indicated the need for more research from which analysis and synthesis would derive.

Macro-historical research on broad trends in local agricultural and ethnic history, as well as fieldwork and micro-historical research continued. Prewitt and Associates project historians reviewed materials on file at the San Antonio Conservation Society, and other repositories in San Antonio via the Internet, including the Bexar County Courthouse, Institute of Texan Cultures, Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library, San Antonio Public Library, and Our Lady of the Lake University Library. They completed additional primary and secondary research in Austin, especially more detailed review of aggregate and population and agricultural census materials for development of both contexts. Meanwhile, the San Antonio Conservation Society's Historic Farm and Ranch Committee continued fieldwork and gathering property-specific documentation for previously identified resources and synthesizing these materials into individual National Register of Historic Places nominations. Their research included locating historical photographs, performing oral histories, and examining original land grants, deeds, wills, tax, and manuscript population and agricultural census records. The nominations they produced required descriptive information about various domestic and agricultural resources on these farms and ranches, a statement of significance explaining their relative importance to local agricultural and ethnic history, and photographic documentation. Prewitt and Associates project historians supplemented the nominations with appropriate contextual materials to correspond with these individual nominations, uniting the fieldwork with micro- and macro-historical investigations.



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The project experienced limitations, in addition to those of budget and time, which restricted research and analysis. Details extracted from long-standing primary and secondary materials, the most useful of which were the aggregate decennial population and agricultural census and state almanacs, were critical to development of both the agricultural and ethnic contexts. Still, shortcomings were evident, particularly for the earliest years under study, when specific numbers—reliable and otherwise—regarding farms, acreage, livestock, crops, and ethnicity were unavailable or unreliable. The earliest documented census materials are awkward to apply since the present-day county is substantially smaller than the original political boundaries that derived from Mexico's vast department of Béxar. The present-day boundaries generally reflect the Bexar County as it was defined by 1875. Thus, it was not until 1880 that decennial census materials applied more exactly. For 1880 and subsequent decennials, aggregate materials on agriculture were particularly helpful in defining trends and developments in rural Bexar County.

More problematic, however, was documenting various ethnic groups, their specialized building types, and methods of construction. Not all ethnic groups that resided in Bexar County were included in the ethnic context; instead, the focus was on those that represented the largest or most influential groups. Southern Anglo Americans and their offspring were the most populous group in rural Bexar County and the most influential in terms of settlement patterns, building types, and methods of construction and therefore, are afforded much attention. Foreign-born immigrants and their progeny adapted or adopted many traditions that these experienced native-born agriculturists had developed. Again, aggregate census materials had limited use since until 1880; these numbers covered a large expanse, rarely treating a political region akin to present-day Bexar County as discrete. In some cases, it was possible to determine specifics about how many rural foreign-born—although sometimes just foreign-born heads of household—was in the county, as opposed to Bexar District or the City of San Antonio. In general, the aggregate census helped determine prevalent immigrant groups and associated population spikes that likely correlated with famine, war, and economic upheaval in their native lands. However, assimilation was increasingly the norm after 1910. Even where native languages and other cultural traditions remained in practice, construction of identifiable ethnic building forms and methods had ceased. Hindes' work was especially useful for determining ethnic building forms and methods in Bexar County. Her fieldwork and research, use of historic and modern photographs, and identification of farms and ranches with ethnic affiliations provided specific examples from which to draw some conclusions (Hindes 2006). The popularity of outdoor museums in Europe has generated related Internet sources that describe and illustrate examples of Old World building types and methods, which supplied useful documentation for the ethnic context. Other secondary sources discussed immigrant groups and related building traditions at the state or regional levels, but were not specific to Bexar County. As a result, generalizations and deductions in the ethnic history context will require further fieldwork and research to validate or refute the ideas presented. The purpose was to suggest these possibilities, which leaves open opportunity to scrutinize and revise as micro-historical research is conducted.

Finally, descriptions of associated property types, their significance, and related registration requirements were developed. This is a comprehensive list, but other property types will likely be identified as the San Antonio Conservation Society documents more farms and ranches and prepares National Register of Historic Places nomination forms for those considered significant. Helpful sources for interpreting property types included multiple property listing forms that addressed historical rural, farm, or ranch resources (Collins 2002; Dase et al. 2001; Hallock 2003; Holleran 2005; Massey 1992; Riesenweber 1993; Rosenburg and Rosenburg 1991; West 1995; Whitaker and Simmons 1990).



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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
EVALUATION/RETURN SHEET

REQUESTED ACTION: RESUBMISSION of COVER DOCUMENTATION

MULTIPLE Historic Farms and Ranches of Bexar County, Texas MPS  
NAME:

STATE & COUNTY: TEXAS, Bexar

DATE RECEIVED: 03/23/11

DATE OF PENDING LIST:

DATE OF 16TH DAY:

DATE OF 45TH DAY: 05/08/11

DATE OF WEEKLY LIST:

REFERENCE NUMBER: 64501035

REASONS FOR REVIEW:

APPEAL: N DATA PROBLEM: N LANDSCAPE: N LESS THAN 50 YEARS: N  
OTHER: N PDIL: N PERIOD: N PROGRAM UNAPPROVED: N  
REQUEST: Y SAMPLE: N SLR DRAFT: N NATIONAL: N  
NEW MPS: Y

COMMENT WAIVER: N

\_\_\_ ACCEPT \_\_\_ RETURN \_\_\_ REJECT \_\_\_ DATE

ABSTRACT/SUMMARY COMMENTS:

*MPS as revised is outstanding and provides  
sophisticated  
a blend of analysis and synthesis of context with  
local research and survey results.*

RECOM./CRITERIA Accept

REVIEWER J. McCulland DISCIPLINE History

Phone \_\_\_\_\_ Date 5/6/2011

DOCUMENTATION see attached comments (Y/N) see attached SLR (Y/N)

If a nomination is returned to the nominating authority, the nomination is no longer under consideration by the National Park Service.



## Historic Farms and Ranches of Bexar County, Texas, MPS

### Request for Additional Documentation

This MPS closely examines the agricultural activities and ethnic associations that figured prominently in the history and development of rural Bexar County from 1800 to 1970. Substantial research has been conducted using census records, secondary sources, and agricultural reports to establish two contexts: Agriculture in Bexar County, Texas, ca. 1800-1970; and Ethnicity in Rural Bexar County, Texas, 1800-1970. The strength of this MPS lies in the discussion of vernacular building types associated with the various cultural groups that settled rural Bexar County and shaped its agricultural environment. The value of such a strong foundation lies in facilitating the identification of ethnically-associated characteristics in the landscape today and interpreting the findings of local survey work.

While a great deal of statistical and descriptive information has been provided, the submission fails to combine generalizations drawn from census data or general ethnic studies with specific information about local trends and properties—the kind of information that could be drawn from a local survey of farms and ranches and the local documentation project that is mentioned in the Methodology section. For example, the numbers of individuals from various countries given in ten year intervals could be combined with local information tracing actual families of that ethnic group who lived in the county and identifying specific properties associated with them. An important aspect of context development is making the connection between generalized knowledge and properties in the study area that reflect these associations and illustrate the property types, characteristics, or methods of construction described in the context. The assumption is made here that the ethnic influences discussed in general guides and scholarly studies, such as Dell Upton's *America's Architectural Roots*, do exist in Bexar County and can be identified. Unfortunately, no examples are given in the text to indicate whether or not this assumption has been tested in the field or to draw attention to those characteristics or property types that are most likely to be found in Bexar County.

This document is being returned for 1) general editing and formatting, 2) additional information that better integrates the results of field survey and local research with the discussion of historic context, and 3) further definition of registration requirements for historic districts.

**General:** *Please make sure that the document is carefully edited and proof-read before it is resubmitted to the National Register. Also, Please adjust the spacing and font size of the header of the continuation sheets so that it more closely resembles the official National Register Continuation Sheet. Although a vast number of minor typographical errors occur throughout the text, particularly dismaying is the unedited nature of the ethnicity context, where the meaning of the text is obscured by numerous colloquialisms and grammatical errors (missing articles, dangling modifiers, vague antecedents, poor word usage, etc.).*



## Section E. Historic Contexts

*Please provide further analysis of the associative features that 1) are known to have once been present in the landscape of Bexar County and 2) are most likely to exist today. Please integrate this analysis in a revised statement of significance and provide information about specific farms, ranches, and resources*

that have already been evaluated or at least were identified in the local survey. One's first impression is that the context is well-thought-out and provides a useful and reasonable approach for the evaluation of rural resources and landscapes. While the underlying research appears sound and quite comprehensive, the lack of information presented about known associated properties in the county makes the context incomplete and raises concern about the relevancy of this information in interpreting and evaluating properties within the study area. The challenge in creating an effective context lies in connecting well-researched literature and scholarship with the actual evidence of a particular place – the kind of knowledge that comes through field survey, locally focused research, and an analysis of local patterns of development. Without references to specific known examples, the statement of context remains at best theoretical—while it's very compelling to envision a region so rich in multiple layers of history and ethnic variety as the one described in the context, it seems highly unlikely that all of these "ideal" features either existed historically in Bexar County or are likely to exist today.

*Please expand and clarify the meaning of the following aspects of the ethnicity context.*

O Please interpret the census data in further detail – for example, by noting the ages, place of birth, and interrelationships of the various family members making up each household and by indicating if hired workers or servants were part of each household. What patterns of settlement do census and land records, as well as the physical evidence on the landscape today, reveal? For example, is it evident that families sharing common ethnic identity settled near each other? What areas of Bexar County have historically be identified with the various ethnic groups described in the context? Did successive generations subdivide earlier farms, purchase additional land, or settle elsewhere? What community resources, such as schools, churches, granges, etc., became associated with the various ethnic groups and to what extent are they present today? What agricultural commodities have been and today remain associated with particular ethnic groups?

O Please indicate whether or not the first and second generations are differentiated in the census numbers given for the various ethnic groups. Also, reconsider the use of terms like "Poles" when referring to successive generations of these families. Isn't it more accurate to refer to the American-born descendents who maintain their ethnic associations as "Polish-Americans?"

O Please define the term "freedmen" as used in this text. Is the meaning limited only to those who gained emancipation before 1865, or does it extend through the late 1870s when the Freedman's Bureau was abolished? General reference is made to "freedman communities" in Bexar County being similar to Freedman's communities elsewhere; it seems that a county-level MPS should be able to provide information on where these communities were located and their relative integrity. Please expand the discussion of such communities in Bexar County, identify the location where they are known to exist, and describe their general characteristics.



- O Please combine the discussion of British and Anglo-American influences, the differences appear to be a matter of how successive generations adapted ethnic influences to American climate, crops, topography, etc.
- O Please explain how useful the general characteristics of ethnically influenced architecture are in identifying and understanding the rural architecture and land uses of Bexar County. Also explain the ways in which locally available materials have determined the character of local vernacular forms.
- O Please clarify the reference to "Catholic" buildings. First of all, does this mean buildings associated with or built by the Catholic Church? Is there any tangible evidence (or scholarly research) to support the hypothesis that the use of stone for the construction of homes by East European immigrants was a deliberate and conscious reaction to old country customs (whereby stone could only be used for so-called "Catholic" buildings) rather than a response to the availability of local material for building?
- O Please address the ways that ethnic associations influenced the way the land in Bexar County was divided into farms and ranches, and the ways in which crops were planted and harvested, water was supplied, or livestock fed. Is there evidence today (other than architecture) of the ways in which "old country" practices were modified or adapted to new world conditions? Are ethnic influences visible in the arrangement of outbuildings on a farmstead, or the relationship of the main house to the farmyard?

#### **Section F. Property Types**

Property types are well-ordered and described in great detail (based on an impressive bibliography). The main problem here is the use of "landscape" as a general resource type (grouped with building, structure, site, and object) and the failure to address the eligibility of historic districts. The discussion of property types, including registration requirements, could be improved by a synthesis of research and local survey data and references to known properties that have been useful in setting registration requirements.

- O Please revise references to "landscapes" as a resource type (F 84). Landscapes are usually classified as "districts" when they contain various buildings, objects, and structures, and sites; when they occur alone (e.g. field or pasture) or are included among the contributing resources of a district, they are considered "sites."
- O Please revise the text concerning the exclusion of a discussion of historic districts (F 84) to address the ways in which historic ranches and farms may form historic districts, either as a collection of buildings forming a ranch headquarters or farmstead, or as a larger rural historic landscape that includes fields, pasture, and open range. Please explain why the possibility that historic districts exist on a "community scale" has been ruled out. Given Bexar County's ongoing suburbanization, are there clusters of farms or ranches that might form cohesive historic districts based on ethnic associations, common agricultural activity, or notable architectural characteristics (such as period, types, style, or method of construction)?



O You may refer to the NR guidelines on evaluating and documenting rural historic landscapes (#30).

O Please explain how the percentage (F 86) of historic material for a building or group of buildings can be calculated. Why is this measurement a useful marker for historic integrity? What about cases where original material of a house or barn is intact but not visible? In assessing historic integrity, shouldn't consideration also be given to the presence of the most important character-defining features?

O On F 86, shouldn't "archival" be changed to "archeological?"

O On F 87, please explain what is meant by "fairly relaxed."

Please, don't hesitate to contact me at 202-354-2258 or [Linda\\_mcclelland@nps.gov](mailto:Linda_mcclelland@nps.gov) if you have any questions about these comments.

Linda McClelland, Historian

National Register of Historic Places



TO: Linda McClelland  
FROM: Gregory Smith  
RE: Historic Farms and Ranches of Bexar County, Texas, MPS (Reply to NPS comments)  
DATE: March 15, 2011

These notes were prepared by consultant Amy Dase and THC National Register Coordinator Gregory Smith, in response to the initial NPS review of the document, in the same order as the reviewer comments.

- General: Much of the document has been rewritten with particular attention to the ethnic context. Intensive copy editing has resulted in a much clearer document than the previous submittal.
- Section E. Historic Contexts introduction: Some examples are now provided in the text to indicate that assumptions have been tested in the field and to draw attention to those characteristics or property types that are most likely to be found in Bexar County. Local survey efforts are ongoing and some assumptions remain to be tested in the field. More detail in the methodology about fieldwork that has already taken place is now provided in the methodology. We have deleted text on French, Scandinavians, Belgians, and Hungarians, but retained other information on the Germans, Polish, Irish, and British because there is existing evidence these ethnic groups existed in Bexar County and known examples are extant. Compelling evidence indicating that properties associated with African Americans are extant, but property type discussions and registration requirements will be prepared only as the survey effort identifies such properties. The documentation form now includes more information about fieldwork, local research, and an analysis of local patterns of development to support that these historic contexts are relevant for interpretation and evaluation of previously identified properties in the study area.
- Interpret census data: Some detailed census data has been incorporated and interpreted. The numbers of individuals from various countries given in ten-year intervals are combined with local information tracing actual families of certain ethnic groups who lived in the county. Specific properties associated with them have been identified and highlighted to the degree possible. These contexts are seen as macro-historical and the actual nominations should provide a micro-historical level of detail to flesh out specifics for a property.
- Indicate first and second generation ethnic: Since foreign-born immigrants were the most likely to exhibit cultural traditions associated with their native land, the emphasis is on them, and first- and second-generation Americans are mentioned repeatedly but not given explicit consideration in the macro-historical level that the contexts present. Because of this, the terms foreign-born and national (as in German nationals), are generally used as descriptors. Tracing first- and second-generation status should be accomplished at the micro-historical level and be included explicitly in nominations.
- "Free" and freedmen's communities: The term "free" is only used to suggest freedom in the antebellum period; "freedmen" is used only to indicate African Americans in the Reconstruction era. No known freedmen's communities have been identified to date in present-day Bexar County, but additional text discusses potential locations based on known African American settlement areas from the 1870, 1880 and 1900 censuses and known African American cemeteries. Added text also indicates the locations of identified freedmen's communities in counties adjacent to Bexar County that were once part of that political boundary. The general characteristics were already described in the text to the extent possible.
- Combine British and Anglo American: The discussion of British and Anglo American influences has not been combined as requested because the study area includes two identified



properties that are specific to British owner-occupants. It is anticipated, as well, that the presence of some Welsh families may be identified in continued survey efforts.

- General characteristics of ethnic architecture: This context has been reorganized and rewritten to large degree and accommodates a discussion of vernacular architecture. It also calls out some specific traits of ethnic building traditions that help identify these types of resources.
- “Catholic” buildings: References to buildings associated with the Catholic Church have been removed. This section was not based on a secondary source, but was rather a supposition by the section’s author.
- Ethnic associations: These concepts (ethnic division of land, crops planted/harvested, water supplied, livestock fed, evidence of old country practices modified or adapted to new world conditions, arrangement of outbuildings or relationship of main house to farm yard) are described at the micro-historical level in nominations. To date, not enough micro-level data has been collected to quantify or qualify particulars about these concepts.
- Property types, landscapes: This has been revised per NRHP comments.
- Property types, historic districts: This has been revised per NRHP comments.
- Property types, Bulletin 30: The bulletin is now specifically referenced and some pertinent information drawn from it.
- Property types, percentages: This terminology has been removed per NRHP comments.
- The word “archival” is intended, not “archeological” as suggested—formerly on p. 86.
- The term “fairly relaxed” has been removed and a more specific definition inserted formerly on p. 87.



**TEXAS HISTORICAL COMMISSION***real places telling real stories*

TO: Linda McClelland  
National Register of Historic Places

FROM: Gregory W. Smith, National Register Coordinator  
Texas Historical Commission

RE: Historic Farms and Ranches of Bexar County MPS, Texas

DATE: March 17, 2011

- The following materials regarding *Historic Farms and Ranches of Bexar County, Texas* MPS are submitted:

	Original National Register of Historic Places forms:
	_ Resubmitted nomination
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Multiple Property Documentation form
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Resubmitted form
	Photographs printed from digital files
	Gold CD with TIFF photograph files
	Photographs printed from negatives
	USGS map
	Correspondence
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Other: Memorandum outlining changes made in new version, per NPS comments

**COMMENTS:**

\_\_\_ SHPO requests substantive review (cover letter from SHPO attached)

\_\_\_ The enclosed owner objections (do\_\_\_) (do not\_\_\_) constitute a majority of property owners

\_\_\_ Other:

**RICK PERRY, GOVERNOR • JON T. HANSEN, CHAIRMAN • MARK WOLFE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR**P.O. BOX 12276 • AUSTIN, TEXAS • 78711-2276 • P 512.463.6100 • F 512.475.4872 • TDD 1.800.735.2989 • [www.thc.state.tx.us](http://www.thc.state.tx.us)



## **Historic Farms and Ranches of Bexar County, Texas, MPS**

Accept MPS

This MPS cover is a revision of one previously submitted and returned for a number of reasons. The revised form is well-documented, clearly organized, and outstanding in level of detail, analysis, and synthesis. It closely examines the agricultural activities and ethnic associations that figured prominently in the history and development of rural Bexar County from 1800 to 1970. Substantial research has been conducted using census records, secondary sources, and agricultural reports to establish two contexts: Agriculture in Bexar County, Texas, ca. 1800-1970; and Ethnicity in Rural Bexar County, Texas, 1800-1970. A great deal of statistical and descriptive information has been provided and generalizations drawn from census data or general ethnic studies have been integrated with specific information about local trends and properties. The final revised MPDF is greatly improved in presentation (grammar, syntax, style, etc.) and indicates a sophisticated level of analysis that applies broad trends and statistical data with the physical and documentary evidence related to Bexar County's ethnic heritage, agricultural productivity, and vernacular architecture. The property type analysis puts forth an interesting approach for determining eligibility (registration requirements) in the form of a thorough description of physical characteristics and a set of questions aimed at drawing out significant facts and factors in the history of local properties. Previous concerns about cultural landscape characteristics and historic districts have been resolved through the reorganization and refinement of information in this section.

Linda McClelland, Historian

May6, 2011

National Register of Historic Places