

Barrio Anita Historic District
Name of Property

Pima County, Arizona
County and State

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

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

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

Criteria Considerations

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

Property is:

- A Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- B removed from its original location.
- C a birthplace or grave.
- D a cemetery.
- E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- F a commemorative property.
- G less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions.)

COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

ARCHITECTURE

Period of Significance

ca. 1895 – 1940

Significant Dates

N/A

Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

N/A

Cultural Affiliation

N/A

Architect/Builder

N/A

Period of Significance (justification)

The period of significance for the district begins in the mid-1890s when the first dwellings were built. The district was entirely built up by the time of World War II.

Criteria Considerations (explanation, if necessary)

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Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance and applicable criteria.)

Barrio Anita is a historic district significant at the local level under Criteria A and C in the areas of community planning and development and architecture. The district's period of significance is from ca. 1895 to ca. 1940. The neighborhood is distinguished by streetscapes and dwellings that represent the survival of the traditional Hispanic urban model and the traditional Hispanic vernacular building tradition into the twentieth century, as well as the gradual transformation of these traditions, as Hispanics assimilated Anglo-American practices in spatial values, building materials, and construction techniques.

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

Barrio Anita possesses significance in the area of community planning and development because it represents the confluence of different concepts of public and private space—the Hispanic urban and rural models and the Anglo-American suburban model. In Tucson, barrios like Anita developed as a response to the increasing social, economic, and political marginalization of Hispanics in what was, after all, their own land; in this respect, the barrio functioned as a support system. Following its period of significance, Barrio Anita faced a number of threats to its existence, but the neighborhood has survived.

Barrio Anita possesses significance in the area of architecture because it is distinguished by the Hispanic vernacular building tradition, based on Hispanic precedents and modified by the selective adoption of materials and construction techniques imported by Anglo-Americans. The characteristic property type is the vernacular single or multiple dwelling built in the Sonoran tradition with bearing walls of adobe brick masonry and flat or pitched roofs. A few dwellings in Anglo-American styles are also present, but these too are constructed of adobe. This architectural blending occurred not only in Tucson, but also in other communities in the Southwest that were originally settled by Hispanics.

Developmental history/additional historic context information (if appropriate)

Historic Context

In 1775, the Royal Presidio of San Agustín del Tucón was founded on the east bank of the Río Santa Cruz as one of the presidios of the line, or *cordón*, along the northern frontier of New Spain. Across the river, the pueblito of San Agustín, consisting of a Pima village with a *visita* (outlying mission) of San Xavier del Bac, was already established. The presidio garrison arrived early in the following year and eventually the settlement took form. Historian Thomas Sheridan (1986:14) describes the way of life:

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Tucson had evolved into a typical agrarian community of northern Sonora, a self-sufficient settlement of rancher-farmers supporting a garrison of soldiers, no different in most respects from many other such pueblos scattered across New Spain's northern frontier. Tucsonenses...relied upon a mixed economy of both agriculture and stock raising to make a living. They ran their livestock on the semiarid plains and uplands, and raised food for their families and forage for their animals on floodplain fields. It was a way of life geared towards subsistence rather than commercial exploitation or expansion.

Over the following half century, during which Sonora became a state of the Republic of Mexico, Tucson maintained trade and communication with the rest of Sonora by regular pack trains, but daily life remained the same. Because of the threat of Apache raids, dwellings remained concentrated within the walls of the presidio, although some were built just outside the walls on the south and southwest (Officer 1987:288) and "a scattering of individual [fortified] *ranchos* stretched [along the Santa Cruz] as far south as Punta de Agua" (Sheridan 1986:78).

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Tucson's Barrios

The United States acquired this portion of northern Sonora in 1854 with the Treaty of La Mesilla (known to Anglo-Americans as the Gadsden Purchase), but U.S. troops did not relieve Tucson's Mexican garrison until 1856; the U.S. Territory of Arizona was created in 1863. With the gradual subsidence of the Apache threat, Tucson began to expand. As Anglo-Americans bought or claimed lots within the area of the presidio, Tucsonenses "continued to hold the fields and some of the lots within the walls but they claimed much more property to the south of the fort, where some had lived when not under fire from the Apaches" (Officer 1987:288). Prior to 1880, when the Southern Pacific Railroad arrived, Tucson was developing as a bicultural, bilingual frontier community (Officer 1981). As the railroad initiated the wholesale transplantation of Anglo-Americans and their culture, Hispanic and Anglo-American relations deteriorated (Luckingham 1982). As Sheridan (1986:42) puts it, "the railroad destroyed the frontier and drove a deep wedge between the Anglo and Mexican communities in town." Economically, few Hispanic businessmen could compete with Anglo-American entrepreneurs backed by Wall Street and foreign capital (Griswold del Castillo 1984).

Anglo-Americans settled in subdivisions north and east of the Southern Pacific tracks, which formed a de facto boundary, dividing Tucson into ethnic enclaves: Hispanic on the south and west, Anglo-American on the northeast (Gourley 1992). In a study of interethnic relationships in Tucson, one informant (born in Tucson in 1870) recalled that Anglo-Americans settled in the northeast "partly to get away from the Mexicans, and partly because there was higher ground out that way...You see, most of the easterners resented mixing with the Mexicans. Most of them got over that after they had been here for a while, but they were still separated" (Getty 1950:99).

Hispanics still constituted a majority of the city's population in 1900 (54.7 percent), but as more Anglo-Americans arrived the percentage steadily dropped (to 36.8 percent by 1920) (Sheridan 1986:3). Anglo-Americans had acquired most of the agricultural fields—more land for development—and were in the process of acquiring most of the grazing land. As the traditional agropastoral economy disappeared, most Tucsonenses—with the exception of the relatively small Hispanic upper and middle classes—adapted to an Anglo commercial economy by working as an ever-increasing proportion of a low-paid labor force. As marginalization in the economic sphere was accompanied by similar marginalization in the social and political, the barrios "offered [Tucsonenses] both identity and security, protecting them against some of the most overt manifestations of subordination or discrimination" (Sheridan 1986:225).

In the early 1880s, most of Tucson's urban core conformed to the traditional Hispanic urban model, characterized by blocks formed of contiguous rooms built up to the street. The model was oriented inward to the family space of the courtyard, and street facades were accented only by the rhythm of apertures along the uniform continuous adobe walls. Passage from the street to the courtyard was through a *zaguán*, or entryway, which mediated between public and private space. Functions other than domestic, such as stores or offices, were distinguished only by the occasional sign. The predominant property type was the Sonoran row house. This was Tucson's original "Barrio Viejo" that later succumbed to urban renewal. The only remaining portion of this core is in Barrio Libre Historic District (listed in the National Register in 1978; expanded in 2000). Beginning in the late 1880s and early 1890s and continuing into the first decades of the next century, Hispanics established their own neighborhoods outside this urban core. Following the pattern discussed above they were almost entirely south and west of the Southern Pacific tracks. Most were south of downtown; a few, like Barrio Anita, were to the north. However, they all continued the pattern of ethnic separation.

These barrios were closely knit neighborhoods, with large extended families. The classic urban property type—the Sonoran row house—appears in the earlier barrios, but the detached single-family house gradually became the predominant type. The resulting streetscapes reflect a partial adoption of Anglo-American suburban spatial conventions, but the variable placement of dwellings and their distinctive housescapes are unique to the barrios. The semi-rural atmosphere of the barrios near the river—Barrio Anita, El Hoyo, El Membrillo, and Kroeger Lane—recalled the farming and ranching heritage of the Tucsonenses (and also of the Mexican immigrants who settled in the barrios). Today these neighborhoods retain a strong identity and members of the younger generation regard the heritage of the barrio—communal, familial, spiritual—with a sense of cultural pride (Encinas 1998).

Area of Significance - Community Planning and Development

In 1796, the Spanish Adjutant Inspector Roque de Medina granted a tract of land northwest of the presidio to a group of *apaches mansos* (peaceful Apaches) (Officer 1987). In 1828, under Mexican administration, Teodoro Ramírez (brother-

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in-law of the presidio's *comandante*) bought the land from the Mansos, who continued to live in the vicinity (McCarty 1997). The 1876 map of Tucson's fields "makes it clear that the Apache land acquired by Ramírez was located north of St. Mary's Road between the Santa Cruz and Main Avenue, including what later came to be known as Barrio Anita" (Officer 1987:114-115). In 1880, the Southern Pacific main line cut through this tract of land. The 1876 map indicates that the Ramírez family still owned the land at that time, but by 1900 part of the tract had been acquired by the City of Tucson and was occupied by the City Farm, with stables, corrals, and barns, as well as blacksmith and wagon shops.

The portion of the tract between the railroad and the farm was bought by Thomas Hughes (a prominent Tucson businessman, although not as well known as his brother Sam); this would become McKinley Park, named for the recently assassinated president. Hughes filed the original plat of the subdivision in 1903. The plat was designed to fit the maximum number of lots within the irregular boundaries of the available acreage; this pattern would be repeated in other subdivisions platted by Anglo-American real estate entrepreneurs on former fields along the river that grew into barrios, such as El Hoyo and El Membrillo (Rieder 2009; Rieder et al. 2007). Hughes named the streets for his Anglo-American friends and colleagues (and himself) with the exception of the subdivision's principal street, which was named for his sister Annie. Within a short time, Annie was Hispanicized to Anita (as seen on the amended plat filed in 1911), whence the barrio got its name. According to Sheridan (1986), the neighborhood was commonly known as Barrio Anita in 1940, indicating that the name had been in general use before then.

Families bought lots and built their own homes, usually with the assistance of kinfolk. As historian James Officer (1964:111) notes, "[m]any of the homes in the barrios had been built through the cooperative efforts of extended families." Other than the fact that the neighborhood was platted in blocks and lots as a subdivision, Barrio Anita was essentially self-created rather than planned; this was generally true of all such barrios. The plat filed with the City shows precise lot measurements, as required, but on the ground these are only approximate. Boundaries were agreed upon by mutual consent, rather than paying for verification by civil surveyors; as a result, many dwellings impinge on lot lines. The conventions (and, eventually, codes) that governed Anglo-American neighborhoods within Tucson did not apply. Originally, the residents depended on wells; public water and sewer lines, utilities, and paved streets came much later.

The earlier buildings in Barrio Anita generally followed the traditional Hispanic urban model, as described above, in the form of Sonoran row houses. Eventually, as noted above, the detached single-family house predominated. This represented a fundamental shift in spatial values, from what has been termed the "space-positive" tradition to the "space-negative" (Carruthers 1986). The former was rooted in the concept of the room as a self-sufficient multipurpose living space (Wilson 1997). Floor plans were linear, formed incrementally of these modular units, each with its own exterior door. Streets and courtyards were "positive" living spaces, the former public and the latter private. In contrast, Anglo-Americans perceived the house subdivided into rooms as the basic building unit, surrounded by "negative" space, resulting in the typical Anglo-American residential suburb with its uniform lots and setbacks (Veregge 1993).

In 1905, the original Tucson townsite of 2 square miles was expanded a quarter-mile in each direction, bringing the greater part of McKinley Park within City limits. (The remaining 9 acres of the plat were not annexed until 1955.) Barrio Anita "was fully formed by 1920" (Sheridan 1986:125). At this time, it was still literally semi-rural. Besides the City Farm, on the west by the river, a major acequia—the East Side Canal—flowed through the eastern side of the barrio between Anita and Carmen (Van Alstine). Fruit trees and large cottonwoods were prevalent, and most residents had vegetable gardens and chickens. The acequia was used by the inhabitants of the barrio for watering gardens, washing clothes, and swimming (Rico 1998; Soto 2000).

Families within the barrio were closely interrelated by blood, marriage, and *compadrazgo* (the relationship binding the parents and godparents of a child). Recollections of elderly residents attest to the strong sense of community: "We knew each other, we all trusted each other..." (Carrillo 1998:17). Families slept outside during the summer months (this was long before the advent of cooling systems) and no one locked their doors. A common thread that runs through the recollections of elderly barrio residents is the centrality of faith in the community. Holy Family Church, built in 1914 and listed as a contributing building within the John Spring Historic District, is located just east of Barrio Anita. Like Santa Cruz Church on Tucson's south side, it was designed by Bishop Henri Granjon and built by Manuel Flores (also like Santa Cruz, it is of adobe construction) (Holy Family Parish 1939). Holy Family is Barrio Anita's parish church, where generations of the barrio's residents have been baptized, confirmed, and married.

Besides the Catholic Holy Days of Obligation and *semana santa* (Easter Week), long-time residents of the barrio recall two very special days: *El Día de San Juan Bautista* (the Solemnity of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, June 24) and

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El Día de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (the Feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe, December 12). The Day of St. John, who baptized Jesus in the waters of the Jordan, has a particular significance in this arid region because it heralds the onset of the summer rains. After the priest from Holy Family had blessed the waters of the acequia that ran through Barrio Anita, "no matter how clean you were, whether you were wearing a suit or whatever, they'd throw you in the water...About 20 guys would get you, you had no choice, so you just got in the water...Everybody—it didn't matter if you were a man or a woman or how well dressed" (Herrera 2000:38).

On the Day of Our Lady of Guadalupe, "the big celebration was to go and visit with the *Virgen* all over the barrio. Everyone displayed their small altars of the *Virgen* and walked around the barrio. We'd have music and the priest from Holy Family would bless everyone" (Valenzuela 2001:17). Images of La Guadalupe are still ubiquitous on the walls of the barrio, appearing as inset tile images or murals, as seen on the front wall of 632 Anita (Photograph 15).

Data from the 1920 Tucson city directory provide a socioeconomic profile of Barrio Anita at that time. The data is not comprehensive; city directories in the Southwest and California were often haphazard in recording information for Hispanic neighborhoods (Camarillo 1979; Sheridan 1986). In this case, the omissions can be verified by comparing the contemporaneous Sanborn Map, but the information is still useful as a general picture. The directory lists 11 businesses in the barrio: 9 groceries (a category that usually included general merchandise besides produce), a butcher's shop, and a contractor's yard. Except for the contractor, Jesús Pacheco, the proprietors lived in Barrio Anita, mostly in dwellings attached to the stores. Four of the grocers were Chinese: Low You, Low Fon, Don Loy, and Don Sen Lee. Chinese groceries were common in Tucson's barrios, reflecting what has been termed "the symbiotic dependence of Chinese merchants on Hispanic purchasers" (Lister and Lister 1989:11). Photograph 16 shows the building where Low Fon's grocery was located; the former store is on the left and the dwelling on the right (the Low family still owns this building). The other grocers were Manuel Curiel, Juan Pacho, Alberto Vázquez, Tomás Lemas, Angel Garibaldi, and Manuel Fimbres. Four of the groceries were on Anita, two each on Contzen and Main, and one on Van Alstine; the butcher shop was also on Van Alstine. In addition to his grocery, Manuel Curiel also operated a barber shop on S. Meyer Ave. in the old Hispanic urban core. Another business on Meyer owned by a Barrio Anita resident was Félix Rivera's San Xavier Pool Hall.

For the 143 households listed in the 1920 directory, occupations are given for 112 of the residents. Using the categories employed in the Arizona Historical Society's Mexican Heritage Project study of Tucson's occupational structure (Sheridan 1986:Appendix B), the breakdown is as follows:

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Pastoral/Agricultural	2	1.8
Proprietorial	11	9.8
Managerial	4	3.6
Sales/Clerical	3	2.7
Skilled Workers	33	29.5
Semiskilled Workers	18	16.0
<u>Unskilled Workers</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>36.6</u>
Total	112	100.0

Two ranchers account for the pastoral/agricultural category; they represent the rapidly declining number of Tucsonenses tied to the traditional rural way of life. The managerial category consists of foremen at various companies in town, including one with the Southern Pacific. Three clerks, two of them women, account for the sales/clerical category. The skilled workers category consists of tradesmen (mason, carpenter, mechanic, machinist, boilermaker, etc.) primarily employed in the construction industry or at the Southern Pacific shops. The semiskilled workers category consists mostly of teamsters; by 1920, these included both actual teamsters and motor truck drivers. Over half of those in the unskilled workers category (22, or 19.6 percent of the barrio's workers) were listed simply as "laborers"; i.e., they did not have steady employment with a given company. As Sheridan (1986) points out, many of these workers had multiple skills, but this was the only work they could find. As was the case elsewhere in the Southwest and California, they constituted a floating pool of workers that could be exploited (typically by Anglo-American corporations) to provide labor at the lowest wages (Vélez-Ibáñez 1996).

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In 1920, over a quarter (26.8 percent) of Barrio Anita's workers were employed by the Southern Pacific. By this time, the railroad was the largest single employer of Hispanics in Tucson, but mostly at the low end of the wage scale because the railroad unions that controlled access to many skilled, well-paid jobs blocked Hispanics from these positions until the 1960s (Sheridan 1986). However, in the railroad shops southeast of the depot, Hispanics were able to secure skilled work and at least one individual, as noted above, was a shop foreman. Most of the other workers were employed by the companies in Tucson's warehouse district (listed in the National Register in 1999), dealing in wholesale groceries, lumber, fuel, and feed. The female work force outside the home, accounting for 4.5 percent of the total, consisted of sales clerks, bookbinders, and one maid.

From 1919 to 1926, reflecting the institutionalized racism of the period, the Tucson city directories indicated African-Americans by a "(c)" for "colored" after the name. In the 1920 directory, eight such households are listed in Barrio Anita. At this time, the largest concentration of African-American households was in the Dunbar-Spring neighborhood, but African-Americans also settled in areas like Barrio Anita where they did not face housing discrimination (Henry 1989; Yancy 1933). As one elderly African-American resident recalled, Hispanics and African-Americans in Barrio Anita "got along pretty well...I didn't speak the Spanish but they were friendly to me, you could feel welcome" (Moore 1998). Listed occupations for African-Americans in Barrio Anita were in the semiskilled and unskilled workers categories.

This profile provides a picture of hard work with a relatively slim margin of economic security and within little more than a decade even this was imperiled. The Depression of the 1930s was called in Spanish *la crisis*, and with good reason: on many jobs, Hispanics were the first workers to be laid off and "the slight [economic] gains of the first two decades of the century were reversed by poverty and unemployment during the third" (Sheridan 1986:235). Yet Tucson's Hispanic community rallied and relief efforts were organized, among them the *Comité Pro-Infantil* formed by the *Alianza Hispanico-Americana* and other groups; the committee provided food for children at Davis and other barrio schools (Sheridan 1986). Federal relief efforts helped also, particularly the Works Progress Administration. As a "work relief" agency, the WPA was responsible for the construction of many schools and community buildings throughout Arizona (Collins 1999). One of the best surviving examples is the Oury Center, in Oury Park. (In 2001, the park itself was renamed for David Herrera and Ramón Quiroz in recognition of their work for the community).

Until the early 1920s, the site of Oury Park was occupied by the City Farm. By 1922, the farm buildings had been relocated west of Contzen and Shibell, and until 1936 the area along St. Mary's was the Tucson Auto Camp Park, which provided minimal facilities for travelers. The remainder of the area, at the west end of Oury Street, was used as a playing field, primarily for baseball; the best-known team was the Oury Tigers (López 2001). Around 1930, a baseball club, the Oury Park Veterans (i.e., veterans of the baseball diamond), was formed with the mission of establishing a real park for the barrio; their efforts were realized on August 2, 1936, when Oury Park and the Oury Center were dedicated with a crowd of over 2,000 in attendance. The park had a baseball diamond, playground, and swimming pool. The \$16,000 center contained an auditorium seating 300 that also served as a gymnasium and dance floor; it also had a library, a kitchen, and a basement fitted with dressing rooms (Jackson 1936). The dedication ceremony, which featured addresses by the governor, the mayor of Tucson, and the Mexican consul, was followed by an eight-day fiesta (El Tucsonense, 4 August 1936; Tucson Daily Citizen 31 July 1936).

At the beginning of the 1940s over half of the families in Barrio Anita owned their homes (Segoe and Faure 1942:Table 1). Although still lacking basic infrastructure, it was a stable, viable neighborhood; as Sheridan (1986:240) notes, "Barrio Anita continued to thrive." However, it received a negative evaluation from the outside consulting firm (based in Cincinnati) hired in 1940 to prepare a study of Tucson's housing as part of a comprehensive regional plan (Bufkin 1981). The study found that Barrio Anita,

low-lying and hemmed in by railroads and industrial uses, has unusually complicated environmental problems, in combination with a very large proportion of substandard dwellings. The 63.3 percent of dwelling units without private baths in the Census Enumeration District of which this area is a part, are largely concentrated in its few blocks, as are the 34.1 percent of overcrowded dwellings—the first condition reflecting the fact that this area is practically without sewers...Clearance and redevelopment of certain parts of this area, for other than residential uses, is indicated [Segoe and Faure 1942:15-16].

The recommendation of "clearance and redevelopment" foreshadowed the postwar urban renewal program that in Tucson, like so many other cities, resulted in demolition of much of the historic urban core. However, the City of Tucson more or less ignored Barrio Anita until the 1970s. During the postwar era, Barrio Anita entered a period of decline. These years witnessed a general outmigration from the older barrios like Anita; in particular, the many Hispanics who had served

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in World War II and the Korean conflict moved to new subdivisions, leaving the older generation behind (Officer 1964). As noted in Section 7, during this time many older dwellings were abandoned and demolished. By 1971, Oury Park had deteriorated to the extent that barrio youths organized a protest to force the City to repair the facilities (Morrison 1971).

The Department Of Housing and Urban Development's Model Cities Program, authorized in 1966, was intended to remedy deficiencies of existing urban renewal programs. In Barrio Anita, under Model Cities, the City of Tucson in the early 1970s built five new dwellings, paved streets, and installed sewers (although it was not until the end of the decade that all dwellings in the barrio had indoor plumbing). At the same time, the City developed the Model Cities Unit 3 Plan, which recommended razing all dwellings in Barrio Anita and devoting the area to industrial uses (City of Tucson 1974). Areas in the southern portion of the barrio were actually zoned for businesses and industries conflicting with residential use; the action was protested by barrio residents (Benton 1978).

This confusion of priorities and lack of coordination prompted a planning report in 1974, the year the Model Cities Program ended (to be replaced by today's Community Block Development Grants). The report characterized Barrio Anita as "an area of low-income, deteriorating housing, ethnic minority groups, and declining population" (City of Tucson 1974:1). Tucson School District 1, citing declining enrollment, had just announced that it intended to close Davis School, a move strongly opposed by barrio residents. Davis, the oldest extant elementary school in Tucson, has been attended by generations of barrio residents since 1901 and has been a mainstay of the community.

The report recommended (1) development of an actual plan to rehabilitate the neighborhood, (2) re-assessment of neighborhood zoning, and (3) coordination between the City and the school district to determine a way to forestall the closing of Davis (City of Tucson 1974). A formal plan never materialized, but Davis stayed open (its closing was again averted in 1980, after further barrio protests). The school itself has graduated from an institution where students were reprimanded (or often slapped) for speaking Spanish to its eventual status as a bilingual learning center (Madrid 1998).

In the 1980s the City used limited CBDG funds for a few new dwellings in the barrio, although (as with Model Cities) this meant demolishing adobes and building minimal Ranch-style dwellings (Platts 1983). Meanwhile, Barrio Anita faced another threat in the form of Aviation Corridor (State Route 210), a freeway proposed to link Aviation Parkway, from southeast Tucson, with the interstate. In one version, it would have been elevated on concrete pylons over the barrio (Gonzales 1983; Property Development Resources 1983). The project was tabled; the Arizona Department of Transportation and the City still plan to build a parkway-interstate link, but in a very scaled-down form. In 1997-1998, the City had a historic property inventory conducted in Barrio Anita (Rieder 1998). Based on the results, the State Historic Preservation Office advised the City of Tucson that Barrio Anita should be considered a potential National Register historic district. Thereafter, CBDG-funded residential infill in the barrio has been subject to review by the Plans Review Subcommittee of the Tucson-Pima County Historical Commission, to ensure that the new dwellings do not detract from the neighborhood's historic character.

Area of Significance - Architecture

The building tradition of the Sonoran frontier was characterized by adaptation and expediency. Tucsonenses survived "largely because they understood the limitations imposed by a harsh environment, and learned to live within them" (Sheridan 1986:14). Their architecture during the Spanish Viceregal and Mexican Republic periods was composed, quite literally, of earth and timber (Bunting 1976). Bearing walls were built of adobe brick and mud mortar with (or, often, without) foundations of stone rubble masonry. Walls were typically of bonded two-wythe construction, with a one-to-ten ratio of thickness to height. Dwellings were limited to a single story, but with high walls; thus a typical 15-foot wall would have a thickness of 18 inches or more. Openings were spanned with pairs of roughly hewn mesquite lintels. On the exterior, walls were plastered with mud or (commonly) left exposed.

Roofs were built of logs with diameters of 9 to 12 inches, stripped of bark, laid on 20- to 40-inch centers, and covered with a decking of saguaro ribs, followed by multiple layers of brush or other organic material and earth, ranging in depth from 8 to 24 inches. The roof surface was graded to channel rainwater to drains that pierced the parapet. In this building tradition, the essential unit, or module was a rectangular room 12 to 15 feet wide, depending on the span of the roof beams, and not much longer. As noted earlier, the room was the basic unit. The households of presidial Tucson lived in a contiguous series of such rooms built along the interior of the presidio walls (Gallegos 1935).

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As Tucson, the largest settlement in the U.S. Territory of Arizona, grew from the 1860s through the 1880s, this frontier model was expanded into the traditional Hispanic urban model, with the Sonoran row house as the characteristic property type. As noted above, the largest surviving concentration of these row houses is in Barrio Libre Historic District, the only remaining portion of the old Hispanic urban core (Giebner and Sobin 1972, 1973). As the city became a distribution node within the U.S. market economy, particularly after 1880 when the Southern Pacific Railroad arrived, manufactured building products and materials became increasingly available. For walls, adobe brick remained the principal structural material; when fired clay brick became available, it was used primarily to cap adobe parapets. Cylindrical metal *canales* (roof drains) replaced wood troughs. Glazing and ready-made window sash and paneled wood doors became available, as well as milled lumber for door and window frames. Yet the basic form remained and initially, at least, Anglo-American influence did not alter the essential Hispanic nature of Tucson's architecture.

However, as Anglo-American building techniques and concepts of architectural space were gradually introduced, basic changes occurred. The first was manifested in the introduction of wood frame technology: earth roofs were covered with (and, in new construction, eventually displaced by) lightweight gabled or hipped roofs framed of milled lumber, and clad in wood shingles, terne plate, or corrugated iron. As noted above, the second and more fundamental introduction was the Anglo-American idea of the house subdivided into rooms as the basic building unit, as contrasted with the traditional Hispanic idea of the self-sufficient room as the basic unit; furthermore, Anglo-Americans introduced the concept of the residential suburb with its uniform lots and setbacks. Hispanic builders selectively borrowed these ideas and concepts, just as they borrowed new materials and building techniques, while at the same time retaining key elements of their regional tradition. This architecture of cultural convergence would characterize Hispanic vernacular in the region until the middle of the next century.

Architect Harris Sobin (1975, 1977) developed an evolutionary model to describe these developments. In his study of the historic architecture of Florence, Arizona, Sobin discerned a sequential pattern consisting of acculturation (the Sonoran style), fusion (Early and Late Transitional styles), and importation (American Victorian styles). The Sonoran style is defined as the original Hispanic building tradition. Early Transitional is the first hybrid phase combining the Sonoran adobe brick form, linear plan, and lot placement with Anglo-American features (gabled roof, window sash); original Sonoran dwellings with a pitched roof added over the earth roof are termed "Transformed" Sonoran. Late Transitional is the succeeding hybrid phase, distinguished by adobe brick walls, square plan, broad porch, hipped roof, and setbacks. The sequence ends with American Victorian styles that represent a complete break with the regional building tradition, where adobe brick was replaced by conventional Anglo-American fired clay brick.

This model has since become standard for explaining architectural developments in Tucson, and has been used in guidebooks for the general public, such as the *Tucson Preservation Primer* (Giebner 1981) and, most recently, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture* (Nequette and Jeffery 2002). Sobin's model does effectively describe the development of Tucson's Anglo-American architecture during the Territorial period, wherein cultural hybrids are simply a brief intermediate phase prior to the wholesale importation of late-nineteenth century architectural fashion from the Eastern U.S. But, as cultural geographer Eliza Husband (1988) points out in her study of Tucson's suburban row houses (i.e., row houses in barrios outside the old Hispanic urban core), this mid- to late-nineteenth-century sequence is inadequate for describing the early twentieth-century architecture of these barrios.

To document the survival of the Sonoran Tradition into this period, Husband (1988:17-30) uses a simplified typology of the basic forms: parapeted Sonoran and pitched-roof (hipped, side-gabled, or front-gabled) Sonoran. Typical examples are 999 Anita (Photograph 17), 700 Van Alstine (Photograph 18), 673 Anita (Photograph 19), and 519 Oury (Photograph 20). The last two were originally flat-roofed: the roof on 673 Anita was added sometime before 1919 and the roof on 519 Oury was added ca.1920. Sobin (1975, 1977) categorizes these "Transformed" Sonorans as a late nineteenth-century evolutionary type, but he acknowledges that the process continued throughout the early twentieth century. As pointed out in Section 7, changes over time were an inherent part of the adobe vernacular tradition. A particularly telling example of the transformation is 656 Anita (Photograph 21), where the *canales* (roof drains) of the original flat roof can be seen below the eaves of the hipped roof (added before 1919).

By the mid-1910s, asphalt roofing was available, which obviated the disadvantages of the traditional earthen roof, while at the same time the influence of the Mission/Spanish Colonial Revival style filtered down to the barrios (as a fashion for flat-roofed parapeted dwellings, in a case of what could be called reverse osmosis). The result was a new generation of such dwellings, typically with stepped or curvilinear parapets, illustrated by 1000 Anita (Photograph 22).

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In its suburban form, the Sonoran row house was subject to incremental modular change in the traditional manner. The surviving examples of three-or-more-unit dwellings in Barrio Anita began with one or two units to which additional units were added incrementally. The only extant Sonoran row house in the barrio that had more than three units is 515 Oury (Photograph 2). In this case, the westernmost unit was built first, ca. 1900, and a second unit was added before 1919; in the 1930s (reflecting the straitened circumstances of the Depression era) these two units were subdivided, for a total of four units. A typical three-unit Sonoran row house is 709-713 Anita (Photograph 23); in this example, two units were built ca. 1925 and a third was added ca. 1930.

Overall, the frequency of the three-or-more-unit row house declined over time. As Husband (1988:12) notes, "the growing predominance of the two-unit, rather than three-or-more-unit, dwelling" reflects the popularity of the Anglo-American "duplex" form. In terms of lot placement she also notes that

row houses in the suburbs were typically placed at the front of the lot just as they had been downtown. In Sanborn maps showing suburban row houses, it can be seen that the first set of rooms was also placed to one side, evidently to leave room for further additions. As a long-term process, this did not often have time enough to happen in suburban barrios before the row-house form was abandoned....As many as a third of the one-room adobe houses in the Barrio Anita sample, by 1920, were centered on the lot from side to side. They were no longer placed to leave room for a developing row, but apparently reflected the Anglo model of a house set back from front and side property lines [Husband 1988:11].

With regard to the morphology of pitched roofs, hipped roofs tended to predominate in the earlier years, particularly the hipped roof with gabled vents (gable-on-hip) that was also a characteristic feature of Anglo-American dwellings at that time (Photograph 18). From the late 1910s, gabled roofs became more common, with a low pitch that indicates influence of Craftsman Bungalow models (Husband 1988).

Obviously, Barrio Anita's builders borrowed much from prevailing Anglo-American styles. Yet the basics of adobe construction are evident in the barrio's contributing dwellings, in the thickness of the walls and in elements such as buttresses added to provide structural support, as seen on the corner of 798 Contzen (Photograph 24). It is ironic that mock-buttresses added to brick walls for picturesque effect were a popular feature of "Spanish"-style dwellings in Tucson's Anglo-American suburbs.

Many of Barrio Anita's dwellings and their immediate surroundings form a particular kind of "housescape," a term first used by cultural geographer Daniel Arreola (1988) in a study of barrios in Tucson and elsewhere in the U.S. Southwest; it has since come into general use within that context (e.g., Manger 2000; Vinson 1991). A key element of the barrio housescape is the small front yard, used as an outdoor living space and enclosed with a low fence; the fences were made of wood pickets or wire early on and of chain-link since the 1940s. As summarized by Arreola (1981:99), "the fence fulfilled two roles at once: it defined property lines and it symbolized the enclosure of space that characterized the traditional Hispanic urban model. With homes no longer built flush to the street in the early Sonoran style, there was a need to define and control the open space in front of the house that resulted from its setback." Cultural geographer William Manger (2000:27) develops this further:

By shifting the courtyard to the front of the house and extending it to the street with chain-link fences barrio residents created individualized spaces that give life to the streets and community. Because the threshold has been moved to the street, the front yard enclosure, like the zaguán before it, acts to control social interaction. Yet because it creates a frame around the house that allows visual access, it acts as an informal space that provides a comfortable point where people can congregate.

Tucson's barrios have many traits in common, as well as many differences, the latter depending largely upon age and location. Barrio Anita, in its most "urban" manifestation along Anita, shares some of the ambience of Barrio Libre Historic District; like that district, it also contains a few examples of Anglo-American-style dwellings. Other portions of Barrio Anita retain the semi-rural atmosphere of the barrios along the river, like El Hoyo, El Membrillo, and Kroeger Lane. Although the barrio is now separated from the river by the interstate, streets like Oury and Van Alstine retain the more open atmosphere of a village.

Other than schools, the other barrios have no historic public architecture, but Barrio Anita has the Oury Center. As a WPA project, it was constructed of "earth and timber" by local craftsmen and laborers. In southern Arizona, many WPA

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buildings were constructed of adobe because it was still a viable building tradition and its labor-intensive nature made it appropriate for work-relief projects (Henry 1991; Works Progress Administration 1936). The interior is particularly impressive, with its chip-carved polychrome roof timbers (Photograph 25). On the south, in a lower shed-roofed portion, are the library and kitchen.

Today, Barrio Anita has retained much of its distinctive historic built environment and has maintained its connections with the traditions that created it. Over the past half-century, the neighborhood has withstood repeated threats to its architectural and social integrity. That it is still standing today is a testament to the strength of the community spirit that created it originally.

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