The Union Plaza Downtown El Paso Development Archaeological Project: Overview, Inventory and Recommendations

edited by John A. Peterson, Stephen Mbutu, and Mark D. Willis
with contributions by
Howard Campbell, Anna L. Fahy, Stephen Mbutu, Fred Morales,
John A. Peterson, Marc Thompson, and Mark D. Willis
Anthropology Research Center
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
The University of Texas at El Paso

Stephen Mbutu
John A. Peterson
Principal Investigators

ARC Archaeological Technical Report No.17

a report for the Sun Metro Transit Authority
City of El Paso, Texas

December 9, 1998

MANAGEMENT SUMMARY

The Union Plaza area has been proposed for development within an area of downtown El Paso, Texas, bounded by Paisano Drive on the south and west, San Francisco Street on the north, and Santa Fe Street on the east. The primary development will be streetscape enhancement with landscaping and utility improvements; other impacts include a police and fire station on the southeast corner of Leon and Overland, a parkscape between Paisano Drive and Anthony Street, and a transit terminal bounded by Leon, Durango, Overland, and San Antonio Streets which will consist of boarding areas for buses, staging areas for demand-responsive services, parking spaces, auto passenger drop off areas, and a covered passenger area with lighting landscaping, benches, and information kiosks and restrooms. This last project has been reviewed by staff historical architects at the Texas Historical Commission and a separate Memorandum of Agreement regarding eligibility for listing on the National Register of Historic Places has been developed among the Federal Transit Administration (FTA), the Sun Metro Transit Authority, City of El Paso (Sun Metro), the State Preservation Officer of the Texas Historical Commission (SHPO), and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP) which provides for compliance with Sections 106 and 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act. This report addresses the cultural resource context for the Union Plaza project, presents results of baseline survey, and provides recommendations for testing and data recovery for the undertaking. Recommendations consist of a National Register of Historic Places District nomination for the Union Plaza District, limited monitoring of areas with potential for discovery of significant archaeological deposits within the Union Plaza project area, and a proposal for Texas Historical markers for places with the project area.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project was made possible through the coordination of John Carrara and Chris Peck of the Goodman Corporation and by Robert Geyer of Sun Metro Transit, City of El Paso. The ground penetrating radar and archival investigations were furthered by the efforts of students in Anthropology 3313, Historical Archaeology of El Paso/Ciudad Juárez, offered at the University of Texas at El Paso. Elizabeth Flora, Phoenix Vasquez, William Unsinn, Teresa Salcido, Xochitl Lara, Javier Amaro, and Kejal Patel assisted this project through their participation in the course. Students who participated in the oral history survey include Alejandro Veloz, Miguel Angel Reyes and Jorge Cardenas. Frank Vallejo and George Macias of Real Estate Title Company made available to us their expansive and extremely rich collection of historic maps of El Paso and the surrounding region. Skip Clark tracked down (*gratis*) every historic photograph of El Paso for this report. The El Paso Historical Society allowed us access to its archives. Staff from the Anthropology Research Center, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Texas at El Paso, Eric Bangs, Julian Chianelli, and Rosanna Jack also contributed to this project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

The Union Plaza project is located in downtown El Paso, Texas (Figures 0:1 and 0:2). The area was first settled in the late 1820s as part of the Juan Ponce de Leon Rancho, but was developed following platting by Anson Mills (Figure 0:3) of Downtown Franklin and later El Paso in the late 1850s and 1860s. The entry of the Southern Pacific railroad in 1881 through what is now downtown El Paso initiated the period of greatest development and prosperity, and until the 1950s the Union Plaza served as a staging area for travel and commerce in downtown El Paso, as well as a center for ethnic communities including Mexican, African-American, and Chinese residents of the area.

The present project clearly has potential for the discovery of significant archaeological deposits as well as an extant built environment consisting of historical buildings that in many instances still retain integrity of structure and siting. A Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) was developed for one block of the Union Plaza project area where a transit terminal has been proposed. This block is framed by Overland on the south, Durango on the west, San Antonio on the north, and Leon on the east. The MOA is an agreement among the Federal Transit Administration (FTA), the Sun Metro Transit Authority, City of El Paso (Sun Metro), the State Preservation Officer of the Texas Historical Commission (SHPO), and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP) which provides for compliance with Sections 106 and 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act by identifying, evaluating, and mitigating adverse effects of the undertaking on historic structures and buried archaeological deposits. The transit terminal is treated separately from the present project, although the area of the terminal is included in much of the overview and streetscape investigations for the Union Plaza as a whole. Chapter One of the report provides an environmental overview of the region with a focus on the historical period river channel history of downtown El Paso as well as some commentary on expectations for the geomorphic setting of archaeological deposits in the project area. Chapter Two presents a general historical overview which provides a context within

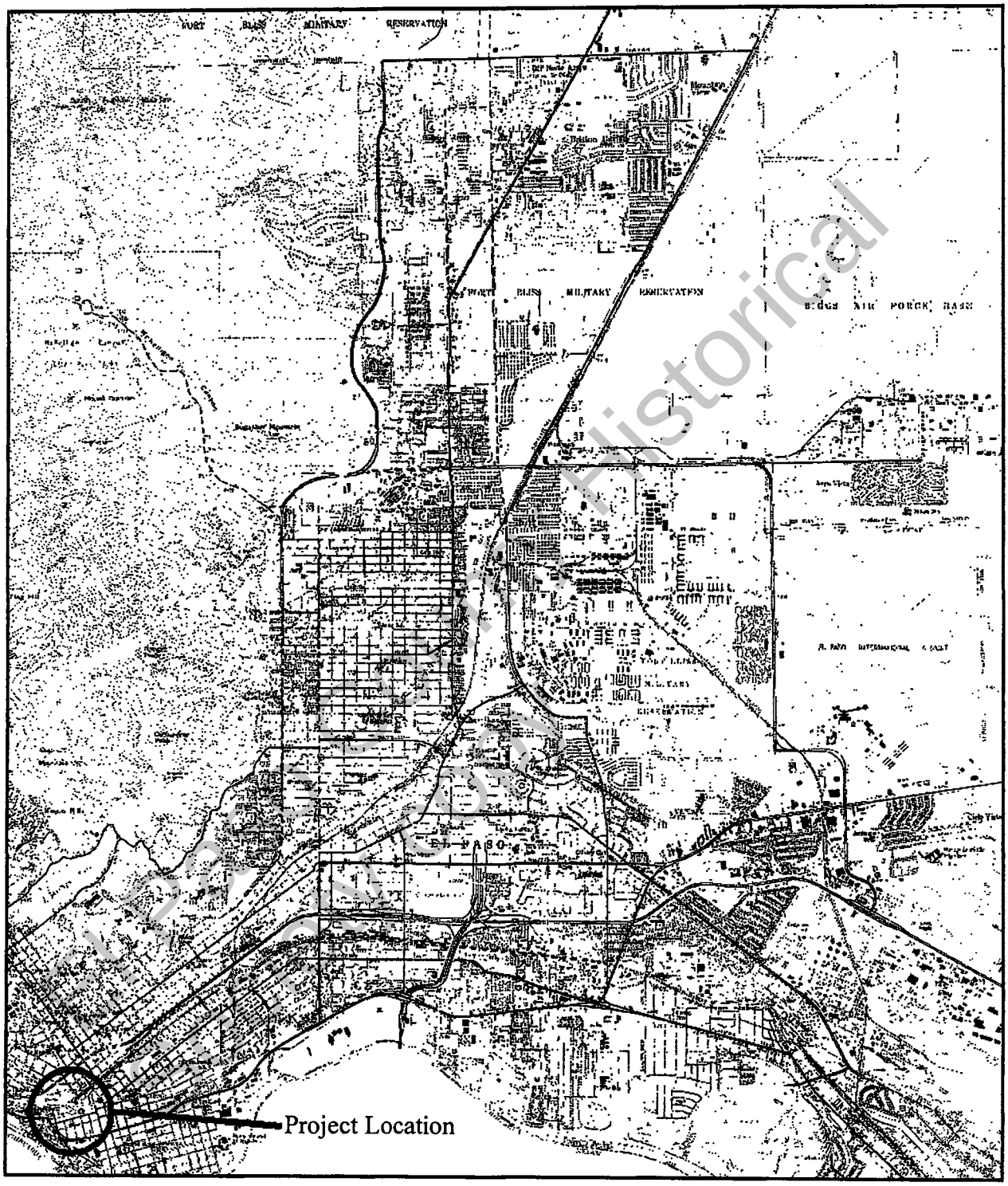


Figure 0:1. Project Location Map (General). Map adapted from USGS El Paso Quad.

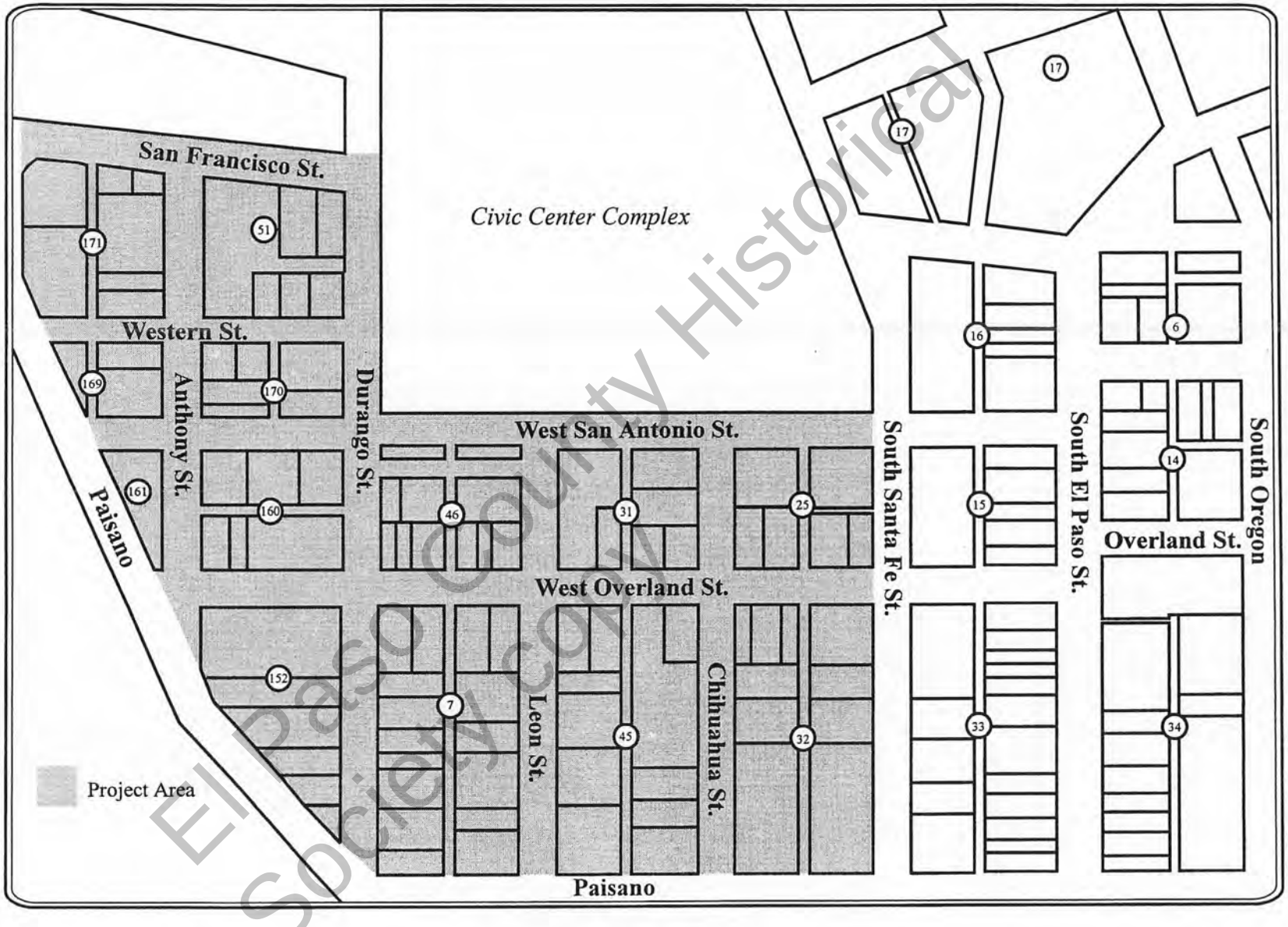


Figure 0:2. Project Area Locator Map (detail). Downtown El Paso, Texas.

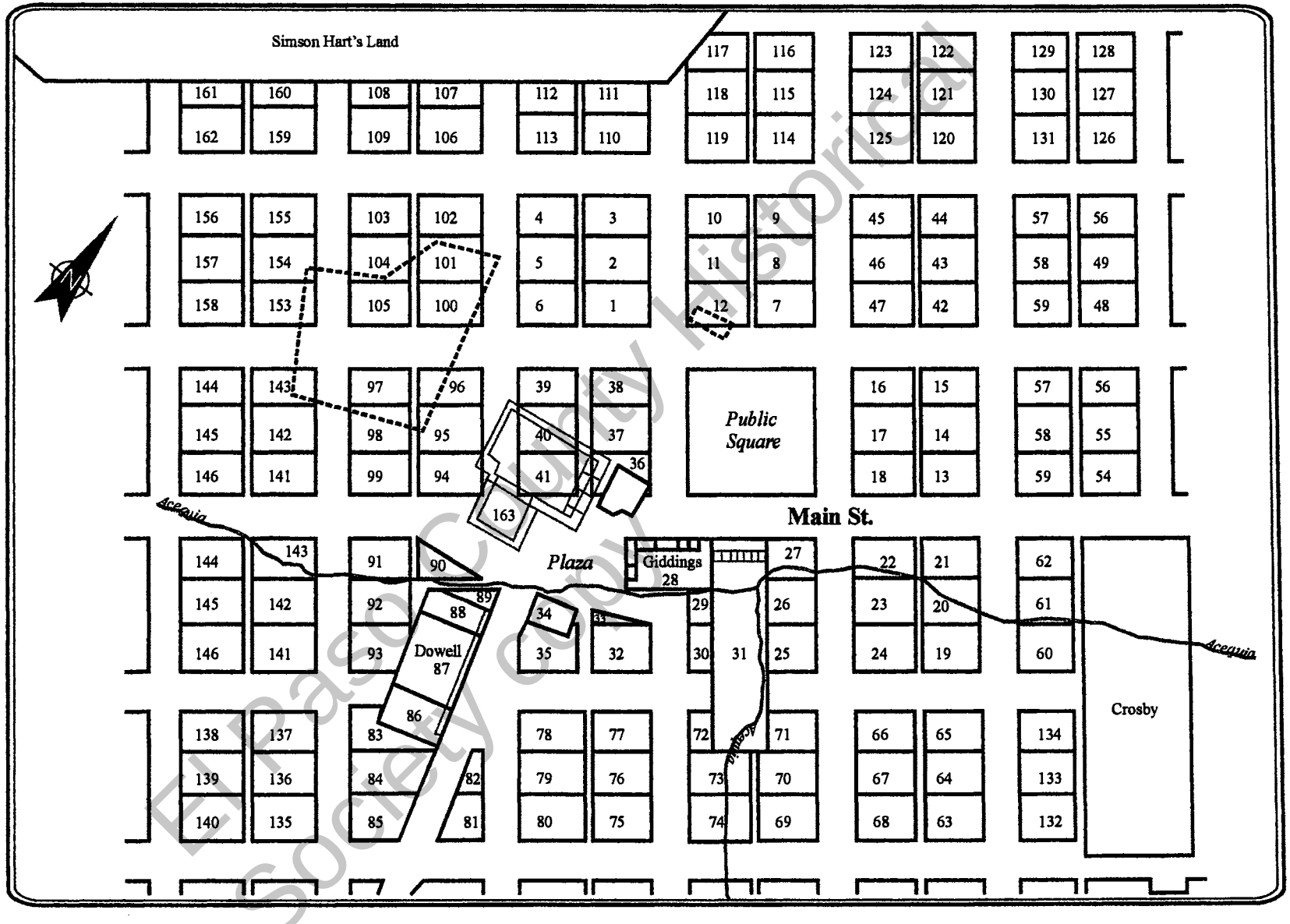


Figure 0:3. Adapted from original sketch map of *"Proposed Plaza For The Town of El Paso. Designed Febuary the 25th A.D. 1859 by Anson Mills."* by Mark Willis.

broad national and regional themes as well as specific histories of the Union Plaza community. Chapter Three is a detailed examination of the Chinese ethnic community and settlement history in downtown El Paso. It analyzes the historical and international contexts of Chinese immigration and residency as well as the specific lot by lot commercial and residential distribution of the Chinese community. Chapter Four develops historical contexts that are proposed for National Register eligibility determination, as well as for the development of a National Register of Historic Places District Nomination. Chapter Five is a detailed investigation of each Block and Lot within the Union Plaza and provides the basic documentation for each lot as well any historical architectural properties in the project area. Chapter Six is the preliminary summary of oral history and ethnographic investigations conducted for the project area. Chapter Seven provides results of the remote sensing survey conducted during the project. Chapter Eight summarizes the material presented in the report, and Chapter Nine provides recommendations for further preservation treatment measures for the Union Plaza Downtown Development undertaking.

This report provides an environmental and cultural resource background, discusses the historical contexts for evaluation of significance, presents the results of documentary and ground penetrating radar investigations for the project area, and proposes recommendations for testing investigations, monitoring of project development and treatment of any significant archaeological deposits which will be adversely effected by the undertaking. This report also provides a preliminary presentation of historical properties within the Union Plaza project area and a proposal for development of a National Register of Historic Places District Nomination which would provide guidance and incentives for the rehabilitation and preservation of the project area.

CHAPTER 1
ENVIRONMENTAL OVERVIEW

John Peterson

MODERN ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

The Lower Río Grande Valley below El Paso, Texas, broadens into an overfit valley of four to five miles in width. For over 50 miles from El Paso to Fort Hancock, where the valley narrows again, this stretch of the Río Grande has been a spatial anachronism in an arid landscape. The present Río Grande channel is constrained by the rectification project that straightened out the meanders of the river and isolated the flow to one from as many as three ancient channels. Its regular flow, pulsing throughout the irrigation season, is regulated now by releases from Elephant Butte Reservoir which was built in 1915 upstream near Truth or Consequences, New Mexico. What we see in the Lower Valley today is not congruent with its peripatetic history before 1915. That geological history will be discussed later in this chapter.

PHYSIOGRAPHY

The El Paso area is located within the broad outlines of the Chihuahuan Desert (Figure 1:3) , which extends from southern New Mexico along the basin drainage of the Río Grande to as far north as Socorro, New Mexico, to the southeast through Chihuahua and Coahuila, to Saltillo, Mexico. From east to west, the Chihuahuan Desert extends from Hidalgo del Parral in western Chihuahua to Ciudad Acuña in eastern Coahuila, México (Schmidt 1986). Basin and range topography characterizes the region. There are few drainages that flow through the region; therefore the Río Grande Valley is one of the few areas of erosional lowland. Even here, however, the basin floors are typically from 900 to 1200 m in elevation throughout the Chihuahuan Desert. The Chihuahuan Desert lies between two orographic barriers which trend northwestward, the Sierra Madre Occidental along the west coast of México, and the Sierra Madre Oriental which is parallel along the east coast. "The high intermountain plateau occupying the area between the sierras serves as an elevated heat source that

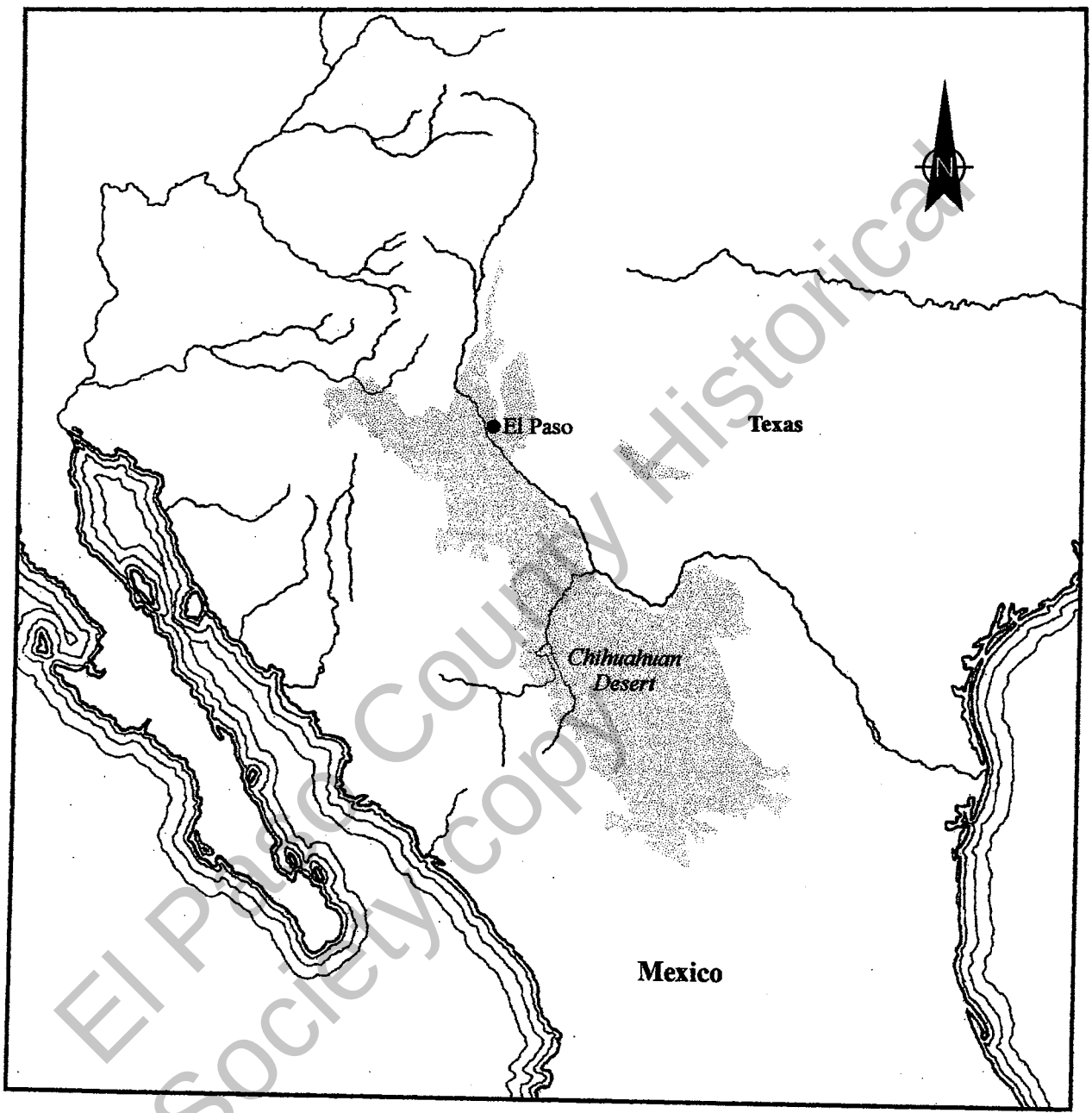


Figure 1:1. The Chihuahuan Desert (adapted from Schmidt 1926). Adaption by Mark Willis.

triggers instability and lifts the moist air up the slopes of the mountain ranges lying to the east and west of the Chihuahuan Desert" (Schmidt 1986:41).

CLIMATE

Most of the effective moisture in the region is the result of orographic effects and eastward flowing air masses on the plateau itself. Eeffective moisture is generally restrained within the system, as nearly two-thirds of the Chihuahuan Desert is internally drained. The Río Grande introduces exotic water from the mountains of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. Only the Río Conchos produces flow from the region which is initiated there, on the eastern slopes of the Sierra Madre Occidental.

Most precipitation within the region falls during summer, especially in July and August. Snowfall at higher elevations and in the north contributes minimal precipitation in the region. Otherwise winter precipitation is minimal. The driest months being February and March. Average annual precipitation in the Chihuahuan Desert is between 225 and 275 mm. Summer precipitation originates from clockwise circulation in the Bermuda high pressure cell; winter precipitation originates from moist Pacific air transported into the region (Schmidt 1986:49).

The contribution of water into the Chihuahuan Desert by the Río Grande is principally a result of snow-melt from the high Rocky Mountain Plateau in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. The fluctuation of spring streamflow has been historically recorded, as discussed below. Winter moisture regimes are therefore a critical climatic variables in the El Paso area, as this moisture is exotic to the system. By summer, the Río Grande streamflow is reduced to zero at the El Paso stream gauge station. However, summer thunderstorm activity with moisture originating in the Gulf of Mexico contributes the majority of locally produced precipitation. Much of the effective precipitation during this period of the year. However, it is absorbed into alluvial fan sediments along the bajadas of the Franklin and Hueco mountains which parallel the Hueco Bolson north of the Lower Valley of El Paso. This moisture does not reach the Río Grande. Some moisture originating on the Hueco Bolson may accumulate in alluvial fans along the Río Grande Valley escarpment.

Groundwater in the El Paso area is found in two principal aquifers underlying the Hueco Bolson and the Río Grande Valley, respectively. The Hueco Bolson aquifer occurs in sediments ranging from more than 9,000 feet in depth which contain fresh water to depths of about 1,200 feet (Texas Department of Water Resources 1984). The Río Grande alluvium aquifer thickness, found in poorly sorted valley fill material, may be less than 150 feet. The principal aquifer is the Hueco Bolson which is currently being withdrawn considerably faster than recharge rates from mountain and bajada sources.

VEGETATION

Vegetation in the El Paso area is characterized as Chihuahuan Desertscrub (Brown 1982). Lower elevation outwash plains, low hills and valleys support communities of creosotebush (*Larrea tridentata*), tarbush (*Flourensia cernua*) and whithethorn acacia (*Acacia neovernicosa*) which are the dominant shrub species. Shrub mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa var. torreyana*) is dominant on sandy dune hummocks and on the valley floor. On higher slopes, leaf (*agave, Hechtia*) and stem (*Yucca, dasylirion*) succulents are widespread. Large woody shrubs including Ocotillo (*Fouquieria spelendens*), Catclaw (*Acacia greggii*), cenizos (*Leucophyllum minus*), and Coldenia (*Coldenia greggii*) are also found in this bajada or higher slope community. At the upper margins of the bajada, the succulent-scrub communities grade into semi-desert grassland, including *Bouteloua* and occasional juniper (*Juniperus monosperma*) as well as chaparral species.

Historical data from 1858 township survey records indicate that mesquite coppice dunes grading into higher desert grassland communities have been widespread on the Hueco Bolson surface above the escarpment of the Río Grande Valley and to the north (von Finger et al. 1992). These records suggest late Holocene continuity of vegetation communities in the area regardless of impact from late nineteenth century grazing. Historical accounts of riparian and agricultural communities along the Río Grande, as discussed below, indicate long-term stability of vegetation communities in the valley as well.

SURFACE GEOLOGY AND PALEOENVIRONMENT

The Río Grande floodplain has had a dynamic depositional history. The broad and level floodplain that presently fills the valley, however, is a deceptive representation of its previous character. Irrigation ditches, drains, and level agricultural fields have deformed the valley over the past 100 years, and few native exposures remain still visible on the surface. The previous terrain of the valley consisted of level alluvial islands isolated by at least three principal stream channels that occupied relatively narrow meander belts. Dunal terrain formed downwind from meander belts and formed higher landforms within the valley (Lehmer 1948; Hall 1994a). The alluvial land surfaces between channels consist of often very old cumulic soils capped by eolian deposits, which have been neither reduced by flood scouring nor aggraded significantly by overbank flooding within the past 1,000 years (Hall 1994b).

Historical maps (1744 and earlier) and aerial photographs (1936 and earlier) have provided a glimpse of the pre-agricultural landforms of the valley. Within the past 100 and especially within the past 50 years, agricultural field development and ditch and canal construction have significantly altered the landscape. "Old channels of the river have been filled and levelled; sandy material has been added to clayey soils to make the surface layer less clayey; and clayey material has been mixed into the surface layer of sandy soils" (Jaco 1971:58). A practice called locally "deep plowing" consists of using a power shovel with a three-foot wide bucket to dig ten to twelve feet deep and "blend" sandy fluvial strata with clayey strata into a reconstituted potsoil. The field is then levelled. Modern laser levelling equipment is faster, but no more effective than optical methods which were begun in earnest following the construction of Elephant Butte Reservoir in 1915. Following that date, significant flooding was eliminated in the valley and agricultural development was protected.

RIVER CHANNEL HISTORY

Inspection of maps and aerial photographs as well as historical accounts indicate that the river has had a sporadic history of flood and drought, as well a channel-switching (Figure 1:2). Three major channels have been identified in the El Paso Lower Valley, while another channel is visible on 1936 aerial photographs of the Lower Valley of Juárez which is mostly upstream from the agricultural

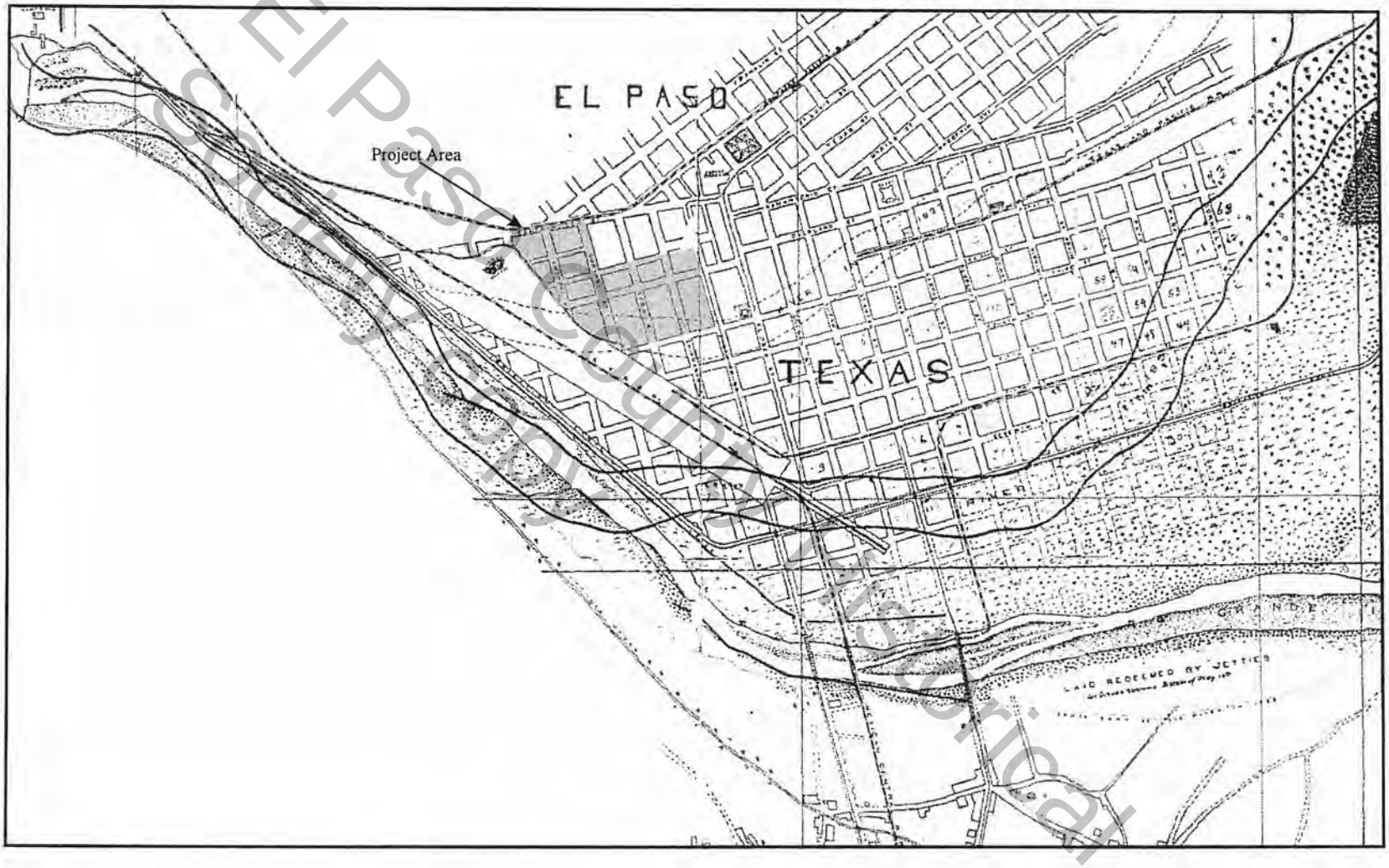


Figure 1:2. River Channel History Map from Chamizal Treaty (1889).

terrain of the present United States side of the river. These channels are also visible on the International Boundary Commission Survey maps produced by José Salazar Ilarregui and by William H. Emory in the 1850s (Emory 1857). The survey was undertaken to map and describe the international boundary which at that time had not been determined. Salazar Ilarregui's map was subsequently selected in the 1890s as the definitive map, as there was some controversy abou the demarcation of the shifting river channels (Bowden 1971).

The present Río Grande channel has been altered by rectification in the 1930s into its present straight course (Timms 1941). Before that time, there was considerable shifting of the channel decade by decade. Land title records and survey maps of the channel indicate that it was considered common land, and could be claimed for farming from year to year by either Mexican or United States farmers. Survey maps from the 1880s do not delineate boundaries within the meander belt. Two additional channels are shown on the Salazar Ilarregui and the Emory maps. The Río Viejo del Bracito channel is shown to the east of the present rectified and most recent channel. This channel is in places adjacent to the eastern limit of the valley where dunal sand extends over the floodplain from the escarpment of the Hueco Bolson. It is clearly visible on aerial photographs, but occasionally portions of the channel are obscured by housing or agricultural field development. The Río Viejo de San Elizario is located between the Río Viejo Bracito and the recent channel. Of the two, this channel may be the older, and may have been a spur from the recent channel. Unvegetated sand in the Río Viejo del Bracito channel, as visible on the 1936 aerial photography, indicates that it may have been recently active (Hall 1994b). Otherwise, these channels are known to have been active as recently as during the nineteenth century. A major flood event in 1829 resulted in channel avulsion which isolated the settlements of San Elizario, Socorro, and Ysleta on what was to become the Texas and then the American side of the river within a few years. Previous to 1829, historical maps of the area (Menchero 1744) show these three settlements along the right bank of the Río Grande, and in a line from the other missions, ranchitos, and presidios that were settled by the Spanish from as early as the mid-seventeenth century. Other flood episodes are recorded in the Spanish records which indicates that not only did channel avulsion occur earlier, but that often all three channels of the river carried streamflow simultaneously.

More recent historical accounts indicate that areas of the Río Bracito consisted of wetland or sloughs, and the Río Bosque near Socorro has been reported as wetland from the nineteenth century. Despite this record of stream avulsion and valley wide flooding (see below), the river was apparently constrained to relatively narrow meander belts which provided for stable land surfaces in the areas between channels.

The Río Viejo channels have been dated to a period coeval with cumulic soil development on the floodplain. A sandy clay bed at 125-130 cm depth was dated to 2,280 years bp in the Río Viejo del Bracito channel; in another location along this channel, where alluvial sediments interbed with colluvial sediments at the base of the valley escarpment, a 3-cm clay drape at a depth of 133-136 cm dated to 2,360 years bp. A thin massive brown clay at 60-70 cm depth in the recent Río Grande channel is dated 3,360 year bp, indicating possibly greater antiquity than either of the other channels or of the formation of the cumulic soil between the meander belts (Hall 1994b).

More recent dates from upstream near El Paso and Ysleta have been obtained by Charles Frederick (personal communication 1993). Soil humate dates from channel sediments ranged from 5,700 to 3,000 years bp, which Frederick originally attributed to difference in sources of organic matter in that locality. His initial results suggested that the Río Grande meander belt may have been older than originally thought, or perhaps was a result of dating organic materials originating in grassland rather than bosque communities. The latter may have contributed more organic material to sediments in the Lower Valley. However, reevaluation of dates and dating of charcoal by Accelerated Mass Spectrometry did not substantiate the older dates from the upstream localities. In one section, radiocarbon ages ranged from 2,820 years bp at 2.2 meters (humate date); 80±60 years bp at 1.6 meters (AMS date); and 3,260 years bp at 1.2 meters (humate date of cumulic soil). In another exposure, ages ranged from 4,430 years bp at 1.6 meters (humate date of mud drape); 40±60 at 1.2 meters (AMS date); and 3,600 years bp at .6 meters (humate date of mud drape). These dates, while confusing to interpret, appear to support the younger dates of alluvium of the cumulic soil and of channel fill as reported from the Lower Valley, but also indicate caution in

relying solely on soil humate dates for stratigraphic analysis (Charles Frederick personal communication 1993).

CUMULIC A-HORIZON

Hall describes the Cumulic A-Horizon soil as:

> Away from the Río Grande and "Río viejo" meander zones, surficial floodplain deposits are dominated by brown silty clays. The clays are 40 to 130 cm thick, hard, calcareous with occasional carbonate granules at the base, massive, and include slickensides and visible accumulations of small gypsum granules. The clay is interpreted as a cumulic A-horizon soil. A series of six radiocarbon dates from the soil indicate it formed between about 2,500 and 1,000 years ago. The cumulic soil was encountered at seven localities (Trench 1, 6, 9, 10, 11, 14, 18) and in every case occurs at the top of the stratigraphic secquence. The constancy of the stratigraphic position of the soil at the top of the floodplain deposits and the internal agreement of the radiocarbon dates from several soil localities suggest, that, in the area of the present investigation, one soil, rather than several soils, occurs on the floodplain (Figure 1:3) (Hall 1994b:16).

The age of the soil ranges from 1,270 to 2,360 years bp, as determined from soil humate radiocarbon dates from four locations in the valley. The dates are not necessarily the beginning and ending dates of soil formation, as the top of the soil has been severely disturbed by agricultural activity, and the lower levels of the soil range from 50 to 150 cm in different locales throughout the valley. However, these age ranges correlate with regional paleoenvironmental trends and paleosols elsewhere in the area. The Organ II alluvium, found along the ephemeral Gardner Spring arroyo in southern New Mexico, is dated between 2,200 to 1,100 years bp (Gile and Hawley 1968; Hall 1994b), and consists of a "thinly-bedded sandy gravel originating from the adjacent slope of a dissected Pleistocene alluvial fan" (Hall 1994b:30). This sediment would have resulted from increased surface erosion during the same period of deposition of fine silts and clays in the cumulic A-horizon described for the Río Grande floodplain, and probably resulted in increased regional precipitation which would have increased the sediment load and deposited overbank mud throughout the valley floor.

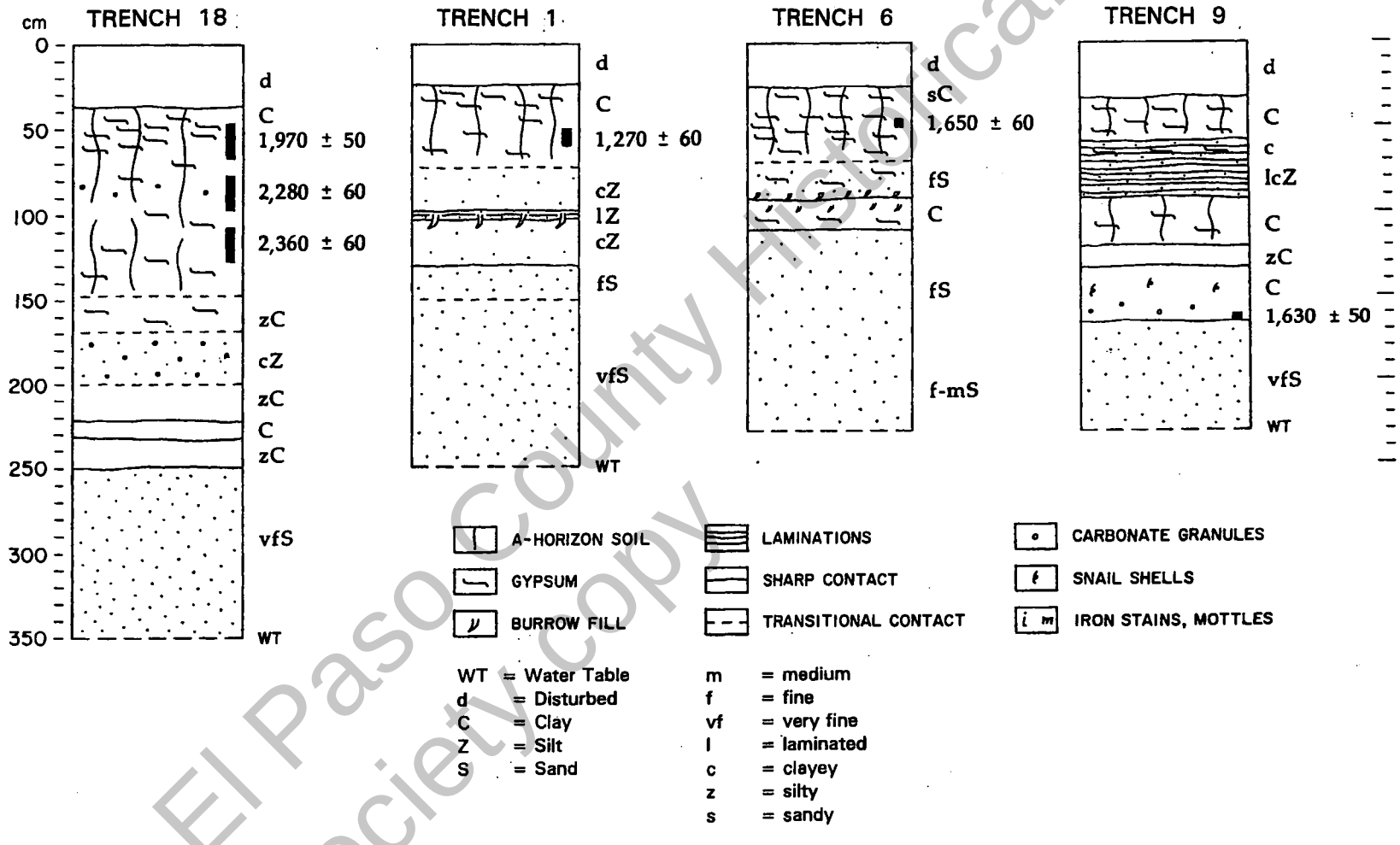


Figure 1:3. Radiocarbon-Dated Sediments, Rio Grande Floodplain.

EOLIAN DUNE FIELDS

Eolian sand and dune fields have been reported from the Río Grande Valley as recently as the 1940s. Lehmer (1948) observes that "the only (sites) on the valley floor were located in sand hills which had not been leveled into fields," in the Upper Valley of El Paso. Lower valley dune fields have been reported from the area of Borrego Road and from the area east from the Old Socorro Mission along Buford Road. In each of these areas, the sand has been removed for levelling of agricultural fields. These dune fields appear to have originated as redeposition of floodplain sands downwind and downstream from exposures in the floodplain. In the Borrego dune field, the floodplain eolian deposit was limited by an underlying brown alluvial clay which is dated 7,370 years bp. Prehistoric site 41EP2984, consisting of El Paso brownware ceramics, was found in the area of the former dunefield. The Piro pueblo site of Socorro, 41EP2986, is reported to have been built in a similar setting, and it required considerable effort to remove sand to level the field for irrigation.

FLUVIAL SAND DEPOSITS

Beneath the recent cumulic soil, eolian deposits, and channel fill of the valley is a "massive, unconsolidated fine-medium-very fine quartz sand, occurring at the base of every trench" (Hall 1994b:22). This sediment is older than the cumulic soil or underlying clays found throughout the valley, and may be early Holocene in age (Hall 1994b).

LATE QUATERNARY PALEOENVIRONMENTS

The valley of El Paso is situated in the high desert of the Chihuahuan Desert. Few methods are available for evaluating paleoclimatic trends or paleoenvironmental reconstruction for the region (Hall 1994b). Furthermore, few studies have been conducted in the region. Regional analysis using pollen, woodrat midden analysis, and vertebrate and molluscan faunas has been conducted by Hall (1985, 1994b). While Late Pleistocene records are few, they suggest that the region was primarily desert grassland during the late-glacial transition. Records from southeast Arizona indicate desert grassland vegetation for that area 11,200 years ago along the Chihuahua/Arizona border.

Early Holocene records from SE Arizona indicate slightly cooler environments characterized by desert grassland vegetation, with moist microenvironments around alluvial channels and cienega deposits. The middle Holocene (7,500 to 4,000 years bp) has been characterized throughout the Southwest as a period of extreme aridity (Altithermal period). Hall notes that the "...the evidence for a hot/dry mid-Holocene in the Southwest and southern Great Plains is overwhelming and includes soil development, fluvial erosion, lowest levels of pluvial lakes, higher alpine treelines, eolian deposition, and expanded desert scrub vegetation" (1994b:34).

In the Hueco Bolson, the Organ alluvium dates from 7,000 years bp (Gile and Hawley 1968) and unconformably overlies the older Jornada II alluvium which has a radiocarbon age of 17,280 years bp. Monger (1992) argues that this indicates scouring of land surfaces at the bases of the Hueco and Franklin Mountains in alluvial fan-piedmont sediments during the Altithermal:

> The Organ alluvium continues to aggrade from 7,000 to 100 years bp (Gile et al. 1981). Isotopic analysis indicates a shift in $\partial^{13}C$ values ...which implies a vegetative change from C-4 grasses to C-4 desert scrub. In addition, the formation of stage I filaments overlying the plugged horizon probably represents the upward shift in the depth of wetting caused by aridity. For if the climate changed from wetter conditions to dryer conditions, the depth of wetting and carbonate deposition would have risen above the plugged horizon and begun to deposit stage I filaments. Apparently soon after the climate change, the onset of Organ alluviation began and buried the Jornada II soil, stopping any further carbonate development (Monger 1992:272-273).

Late Holocene vegetational communities may have remained stable from the mid-Holocene to the present. Ambiguous results from woodrat midden, vertebrate faunal, and pollen studies do not provide a basis for evaluating the regional paleoclimatic or paleoenvironmental trends. Gile and Hawley (1968) argue that the region remained desert grassland until recent historic grazing disturbed the ground surface and resulted in proliferation of desert scrub vegetation. However, Monger (1992) and von Finger, et al. (1992) dispute this and argue that desert scrub, especially mesquite was widespread in the Hueco Bolson from 7,000 years bp to the present. Recent radiocarbon results from mesquite coppice dunes in the Hueco Bolson support these conclusions (Curtis Monger, personal communication 1993).

As Hall notes, vertebrate faunal trends and woodrat midden macrofloral and pollen data indicate a gradual warming throughout the Holocene, while regional pollen records in alluvium support the Altithermal model (1994a). Nonetheless, little work has been done and neither model is presently supportable by local data.

THE VIABILITY OF THE RÍO GRANDE AS A WATER SOURCE IN THE LOWER VALLEY OF EL PASO

The Río Bravo del Norte has been characterized as a major vector of settlement in the El Paso area. Recent studies demonstrate that the river was in fact an ephemeral resource. Historical stream flow records compiled previous to the construction of Elephant Butte Reservoir in 1915 show that in over half of the years of recorded stream flow there were either severe droughts or damaging floods which would have made farming a difficult undertaking. The prehistoric site record for the region supports the contention that settlement along the Río Bravo has been ephemeral and that the river has not provided a reliable water supply throughout the last few thousand years of prehistory.

BACKGROUND

When the scouts of Juan de Oñate struck the Río Bravo after five days in the Samalayuca Dunes of what is now the Lower Valley of Juárez, they threw themselves into the river and gorged themselves on its water. Their horses' bellies bloated and burst and they rolled over in the stream and floated downstream. Within a few days, the scouts led the rest of Oñate's colonizing party to the river, and they celebrated their good fortune to have found such a bounteous place. Waterfowl and fish and wild game were abundant along the river that year.

That picture of the Río Bravo leaves us with a only a partial view of its character. Other historical accounts describe drought so severe that no crops could be planted and vines and orchards dried up. This bountiful resource was apparently not so reliable as it seemed in the spring of 1598, nor as regular as it appears today as it slugs along through the long drainage ditch that we call the Río Grande.

RIVER PREHISTORY

Ethnohistoric accounts of the river demonstrate that the early natives of the region came to the river in force when it was flowing, and that they were seldom around when it was dry. In fact, there are some accounts of Manos or Sumas with maize and other produce which presumably came from the Río Grande in its wet years. No one has found Manso or Suma sites that they can identify as such. A few house floors with pottery assemblages similar to the El Paso phase (Table 1:1) with the distinctive coarse-tempered brownware and polychrome ceramics. Other Chihuahuan pottery like the Río Viejo and various incised brownwares also qualify as possible evidence for Manso sites. Rex Gerald (1990) says he dug a Manso house in Juarez; a 1540±60 radiocarbon date from a house floor three feet below the San Elizario churchyard with brownware pottery might be prehispanic Manso or Suma site.

Typically, recorded prehistoric sites along the Río Grande that have cluttered the literature are the small brush huts in the sand hills on either side of the river. These ephemeral sites consist of a few flakes of chert from locally derived Río Grande gravels along with volcanics from the nearby Franklin Mountains. Occasionally some obsidian is found, and occasionally some El Paso phase brownwares or perhaps historic brownwares which are identifiable by their sand temper, finer paste, and polished surface. Sometimes a midden stain and some fire-cracked rock are found. There are thousands of these ephemeral sites of uncertain chronology in the dunal sands above the edge of the Río Grande floodplain. Despite hopes to the contrary, there have been few discoveries of late prehistoric agricultural sites along the river. The Milner Farm site which students from UTEP excavated in the spring of 1992 is a small Mimbres transitional period pithouse village with perhaps a dozen small structures on the escarpment above the floodplain at Fabens, Texas (Leach et al. 1997). There are a few others of these sites but they are much fewer than one would expect in an area with such apparent water resources.

On the floodplain itself, few prehistoric sites have been found. One Mimbres period ceramic and lithic scatter was reported from the northwest corner of Socorro. It is badly disturbed by "deep plowing" and little is left to help in identifying features. A few El Paso phase sherds were found in

Year	Lehmer	Whalen	MacNeish	Mauldin/Graves
1600	Historic	Historic	Historic	Historic
1500	?	?	?	?
1400				
1300	El Paso	El Paso		Pueblo (El Paso)
1200			El Paso	
1100	Dona Ana	Dona Ana		
1000	Mesilla	Late Mesilla	Dona Ana	Pithouse (Mesilla)
900			Mesilla	
800	Hueco			
700				
600				
500	----?---- ?---?---?	Early Mesilla		
0				
500		Hueco (Late Archaic)	Hueco	Late Archaic
1000				
1500		----?---- ?---?---	Fresnal	
2000				
3000			Keystone	Middle Archaic
4000				
5000			Gardner Springs	Early Archaic
6000				
7000			Paleoindian	Paleoindian
8000				

Table 1:1. Comparative Culture Chronologies in the El Paso Area.

the Borrego dunefield near San Elizario. The dune sand was carted off earlier in the century so that the Borrego family could farm the area. Guadalupe García told Rex Gerald and Tom Diamond that the area around the Socorro Mission archaeological site was all dunefield, and that the Indians lived in the dunes. Lehmer (1948), who defined the Jornada Mogollon (Figure 1:4), commented that prehistoric sites in the Río Grande valley were limited to the dunefields in the floodplain and were reported by farmers who occasionally plowed up sites in their cotton fields.

Unfortunately, we know little more than this, except that the seventeenth century jacal at the Ysleta WIC Clinic and the 16th century house floor at the San Elizario church suggest that there are more of them out there a few feet below the surface. It seems, however, that if the Río Grande was a reliable source of water as it appears to be today, that there would be settlement comparable to that at La Junta where the perennial waters of the Río Conchos join the peripatetic waters of the Río Grande, or to that north of San Marcial, New Mexico, where the agricultural communities of the Northern Río Grande pueblos are first found moving north toward Santa Fé.

Settlement models proposed for the El Paso area, such as those of Tom O'Laughlin (1980) and Carmichael (1984), have often alluded to a potential fourth leg of the settlement system. These models propose that, in addition to exploitation of resources on the alluvial fans in the bajadas of the Franklin and the Hueco Mountains, the Hueco Bolson, and the upper bajada succulent harvest where burned rock middens are found, the Río Grande floodplain must have been a node of settlement that would have provided more regular resources from the steady flow of the river. The lack of archaeological data from the floodplain makes it impossible to support that part of the model, but there has been a presumption that the river would have been the most reliable of the unpredictable resources in the region.

RIVER HISTORY

The record of floods in the El Paso Río Grande valley is long and well-known. Before Elephant Butte Reservoir was built in 1915, the river flooded in the spring and early summer every few years; occasionally it flooded in winter. The worst of these floods destroyed thousands of acres of crops

Figure 1:4. Jornada Mogollon Culture Area (Lehmer 1948).

and hundreds of homes. In 1905, for example, "the Río Grande is on a wild rampage along the New Mexico-Texas-Mexico line and heavy damage has already resulted from the flooding of farming lands and small villages. The river broke through its banks Sunday at a point thirty miles above El Paso and flooded two thousand acres of alfalfa land, ruining the crops and carrying away many small houses. The village of Berino is entirely abandoned. It is feared the river will cut a new channel."

The Lower Valley was often a sheet of flood waters during these disastrous storms: "2,000 acres of Lower Valley along North Loop floods....North Loop Road under 1-3 feet of water." North Loop Road is over a mile from the recent historic channel of the Río Grande, and yet flood waters covered the level floodplain that far away. These floods were unconstrained before the construction of Elephant Butte Reservoir, and the only recourse was an annual or frequent rebuilding.

As Bishop Tamaron (1760) reported following his *visita* to the region, "There is a large irrigation ditch with which they (in El Paso) bleed the Río del Norte. It is large enough to receive half its waters. This ditch is subdivided into others which run through broad plains, irrigating them. By this means they maintain a large number of vineyards, from which they make generoso wines even better than those from Parras.....It is delightful country in summer....That settlement suffers a great deal of trouble caused by the river. Every year the freshet carries away the conduit they make to drain off its waters. The flood season lasts three months, May, June, and July. They told me about this before I came, and I traveled with more speed, since I had to cross it before it was in flood....The method of restoring the conduit every year is to make some large round baskets of rather thick rods. When the freshets are over, they put them in the current, filling them with stones, and they act as dams and force the water to seek the mouth of the ditch. This is not necessary when the river is in flood. Indeed, so much water flows that if the river is somewhat higher than usual, they are alarmed, fearing that they may be flooded and innundated with great damage."

The Río Grande is an exotic stream with its headwaters in the Rocky Mountains of southern Colorado and the Sangre de Cristo and Jemez mountains of northern New Mexico. The spring freshets are fed by snow melt and spring rains, and it is the only regular recorded flow for the

southern reaches of the channel. By late summer the snow pack is exhausted, and the flow is greatly reduced. Except for occasional fall deluges, most of which are actually local events rather than from the mountains, the river has very little flow-through in the latter part of the year.

While the flood history of the El Paso area illustrates the destructive cycle of the river, the drought history shows an equal pattern of natural calamity. As Bishop Tamaron relates, "...there are very interesting stories about (the river), and in spite of its abundance at El Paso, the year 1752 is remembered, when it diminished and dried up there. It flowed to within about thirty leagues above El Paso, and twenty leagues below El Paso, its current again emerged, while the intervening fifty leagues remained dry with no water except what was caught in the wells they opened in the channel. They found themselves in a sad state, because they needed the irrigation from this river."

"The year 1684 was a tough one. A drought and Indian raids combined to leave the farmers destitute by winter. There was only enough food raised that year to provision the valley's inhabitants for six months. They were saved only by more aid from Chihuahua. A muster of the citizens of Socorro on November 11 of that year illustrates the gravity of the situation. For example, there is this account: Family of Captain Joseph Tellez Xiron, which is composed of ten persons. It has neither provisions nor a maize patch; being asked why, he said it dried up through lack of water, as is true, clothing, very indecent; almost naked"(Tamaron 1760).

The droughts along the river, which appear to be the result of years of poor snowpack in the Rocky Mountains as well as poor spring rainfall, are noted in the Spanish Colonial archives as regular events, but the effects were alleviated somewhat in many years by construction of acequias and reservoirs as described in Tamaron's accounts of flooding damage. In oral history interviews of older living residents in the Lower Valley, many remember periods when there was no water for irrigation and how it was necessary to protect plants with mulches and to select drought-resistant varieties.

Floods had the dramatic effect of contributing to channel avulsion, when the river switched from one to another of the several channels that coursed through the Lower Valley. As recent residents remember, the river channel was aggrading from silt deposition, and would switch to less clogged channels when storms created surges. The channels have left clear meander scars on the landscape despite years of deep plowing and urban development. They have contributed to international boundary disputes, as whole portions of the valley were left stranded on either the right or left bank, in either what is now México or the United States. At least five incarnations of the Socorro Mission are known to have been built in the valley; the first was probably near Fabens, the second, from 1684 to 1744, on the Ledesma property in Socorro, Texas; the third somewhere near the present, a fourth unknown, and the present mission, built in the 1840s following flood destruction in 1629, is touted as one of the oldest in the area.

San Elizario was one of the largest communities in the area until the 1880s. It rivalled San Antonio in the 1840s and 1850s and at that time was a larger settlement. It was far greater in size and influence than the small communities of Magoffinsville and Franklin Town or Paso del Norte, and was a hub of settlement which, like Socorro, was on sufficiently high floodplain soils to survive the occasional flood. It also was apparently supportable except during the most severe of droughts, since it did persist as a regional center until the construction of the railroad in nearby Clint in 1881. Subsequent development of the valley was effectively derailed by this new focus of the regional economy in Euroamerican El Paso.

STREAM GAUGE DATA

Analysis of records of streamflow from Buckner, New Mexico; San Marcial, New Mexico; El Paso, Texas; Fort Hancock, Texas; and Presidio, Texas show dramatic differences between streamflow in northern New Mexico where snow melt from the Rocky Mountains and late summer rainfall fed the Río Grande to the exotic stretches of the river below San Marcial where Elephant Butte Reservoir is now located (Peterson and Brown 1994). These records demonstrate that before construction of the reservoir, streamflow was erratic and often non-existent in the Lower Valley of El Paso. Historic

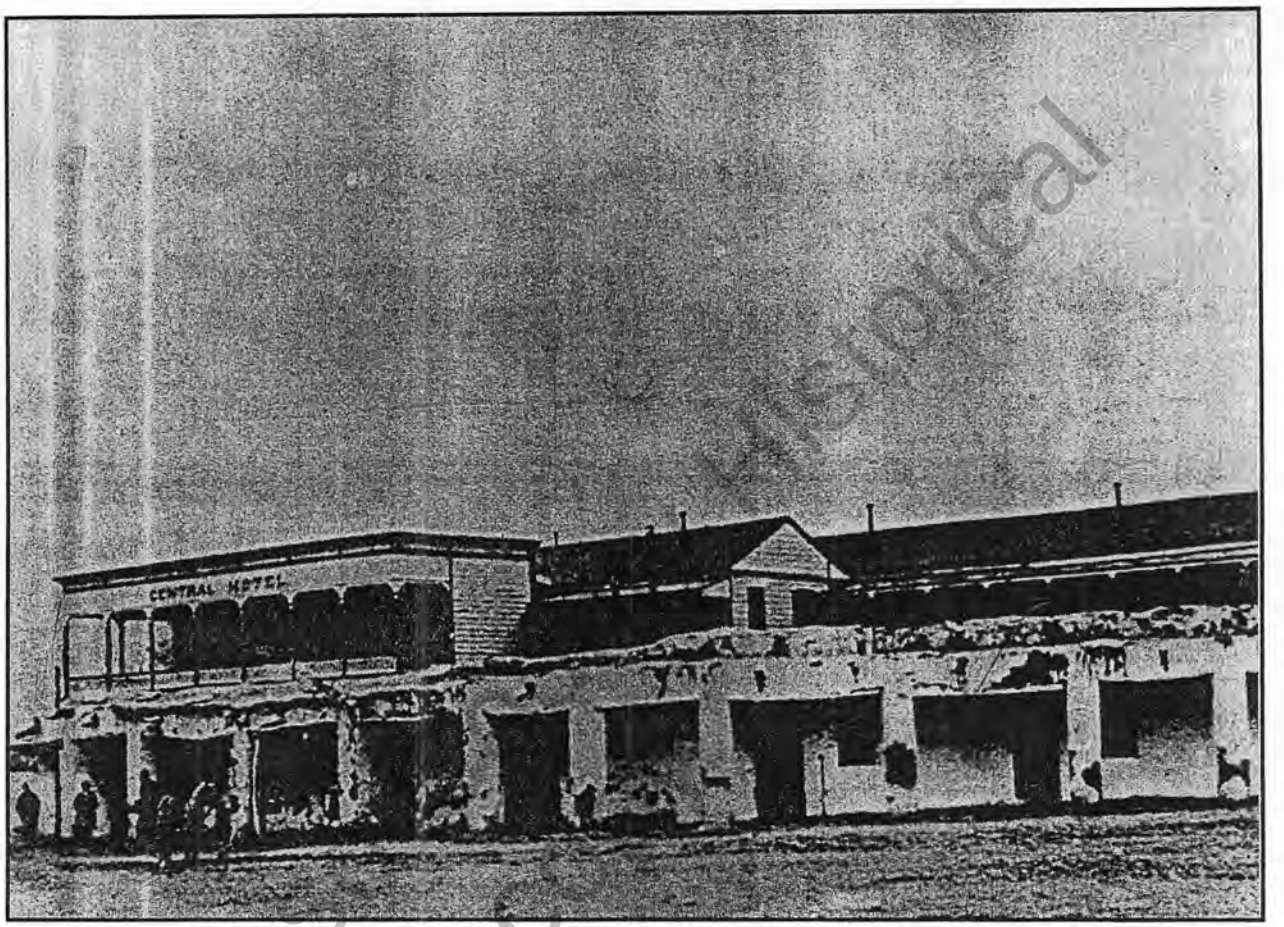


Figure 2:1. It is reported that this picture was taken in 1882, facing west and from the Southeast corner of Oregon and Mills Streets, the latter then known as St. Louis Street, if by any name. This is originally the old ranch house of Ponce de Leon to which later was added the Central Hotel, when the railroads came. The original adobe building was constructed in 1827 and reportedly was destroyed by fire in the early 1890s.

records indicate, in fact, that even after the construction of Elephant Butte Reservoir, there were periods of drought so intense that the channel of the Río Grande in the Lower Valley was dry.

Annual cycles of streamflow based on mean monthly values from 1900 to 1913 are parallel for northern and southern stretches of the Río Grande, with a dramatic peak in April and May. This reflects snowmelt in the Rocky Mountains. There is a subsequent but considerably lower peak in October which is again parallel for northern and southern regimes, which suggests that these are the product of regional and not local climatic patterns. Significantly, the flow at Presidio during October is not affected by the October increase in the northern stretch, indicating that rainfall along the central and southern Río Grande is not responsible for increases in streamflow for October. Finally, daily streamflow gauge records indicate that the pattern may vary according to local flood events.

Drought and flood events are dynamic over decadal patterns. Annual streamflow varied from as low as 0 feet/second in El Paso in 1904 to as high as 2,300,000 feet/second in the following year, 1905, while the annual mean streamflow is 875,000 feet/second.

These patterns are limiting factors for agricultural production in the El Paso Lower Valley. While some years of extreme flooding predictably lower the suitability of the valley for farming, it appears that drought may be equally limiting. Maize requires at least two periods of moisture availability, during germination and during tasseling and fruit set. If, in a given year, flooding did not destroy the crop or saturate the valley, then there would also have to be sufficient moisture in July/August either from seasonal local precipitation or from streamflow. Analysis of monthly streamflow and precipitation records indicate that the chances for a productive crop year, given the need for these two facts, are extremely low. For the 20 year period from 1889 to 1913 (excluding years without available data), 16 years out of 20 there was either a damaging flood in the period from April to July, or a drought in the period from June to August. For the same period, in five years there were both damaging floods and droughts.

The available records for streamflow, precipitation, and hydrological factors in the El Paso Lower Valley clearly argue against reliable conditions for floodplain agriculture. As far as the prehistoric record is concerned, further analyses of these variables, along with potential springflow along the bajadas of the Hueco Bolson and Franklin Mountains is necessary to refine the model of water resource location and seasonal and cyclical availability for the region. It appears from evidence of recorded site data that springs were the principal locale for permanent habitation in the area but the sustainable population may not have been as large as other regional resources could have supported. Riverine site distribution is unknown at present because of problems with site discovery in the floodplain. Knowledge of this component of regional settlement is essential to evaluate models of residential mobility. The present study contributes considerable data toward that goal; the effects of drought and flood on the occupational history of the Lower Valley has been clearly to constrain settlement to occasional periods of climatic largesse and places of unusual opportunity, like mountain springs and alluvial fans on the bajadas.

CHAPTER 2

EL PASO: A CULTURE HISTORY AND URBAN BIOGRAPHY FOR THE UNION PLAZA REDEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

Marc Thompson and Fred M. Morales

INTRODUCTION

El Paso has been associated with the Río Grande and transportation. From the historic crossing 400 years ago and the Indian path along the river that later became the northern leg of the Camino Real, El Paso has become the focal point bridging three states, two countries, and a complex multiethnic history. The river that separates Texas and México has no known history of navigation (cf. Montejano 1987:16), and the boundary it now forms is an arbitrary one; for the river has impeded neither exploration, immigration nor ideas. Today, Mexicans and their descendants in the U.S., might well suggest that they did not cross the border, but that the border crossed them. This year, 1998, marks both the quadricentennial anniversary of the historic crossing of the Río Grande and the naming of the El Paso area and the sesquicentennial anniversary of the establishment of Fort Bliss. The story of El Paso has been told many times and in many ways. In this paper, the emphasis is on settlements and cultural developments in the area from early prehistoric (ca. 10,000 B.C.) to late historic times (ca. 1948). Our specific focus is on redevelopment in a portion of downtown El Paso, which includes a number of perspectives and research domains: archaeological, historical; architectural industrial, and anthropological (i.e., cultural).

El Paso's, story is a multicultural narrative including, at the least, Amerindian, Hispanic, Mexican, Euroamerican, African American, and Asian cultural elements. The history of El Paso is also the story of developments in México, New Mexico, and Texas. Above all, it is the story of the predominant culture in the area, the Mestizo. The cultural narrative for the proposed Union Depot Redevelopment Program concentrates on four recurrent themes in the area: 1) transportation, 2) urban plan and design, 3) ethnicity and class structure and 4) *vecinos y barrios* (neighbors and neighborhoods)[1]. This cultural narrative attempts to restore meaning and context to the present by

documenting and recovering the meaning and context of the past. El Paso's history is much more than the narratives of great men, whether explorers, colonizers or builders. While these men are often the discoverers and the chroniclers of an area, history is rarely a process of moment; rather, it tends to be a slow, somewhat aimless process involving both well-known individuals an unknown masses.

CULTURE HISTORY NARRATIVE

THE PREHISTORIC PERIODS

Archaeologists generally divide Southwestern prehistory into three broad periods: Paleoindian, Archaic and Formative. These periods usually contain regional subperiods or divisions which reflect both apparent complexity and specific local variation through time. Additionally, with what appears to be a population increase from earliest (ca. 10,000 B.C.) to latest (ca. A.D. 1400) Prehistoric periods, archaeological evidence of past cultures increases through time. The evidence of the occupations of these extinct cultures are the basis of our understanding of the first human settlements in the El Paso area. The following is partially adapted from a previously published overview of the Prehistoric periods (Peterson 1994).

Paleoindian (ca. 10,000-6,000 B.C.)

This period of approximately 4,000 years is characterized as one focused on big game hunting supplemented by wild plant gathering. Current evidence in the El Paso area and southern New Mexico suggests that small bands of hunters relied primarily on megafauna (large, now extinct herbivores adapted to a mesic environmental regime) such as *Bison antiquus*, camelids and Pleistocene horses. Although isolated projectile points, and possibly camps, are represented near El Paso and on Otero Mesa in southern New Mexico, it is probable that natural and human erosion has disturbed the context of many Paleoindian remains here and elsewhere over the past 8,000 years. Increasing evidence from South America, e.g., Monte Verde, Chile, dating to about 20,000 years ago (Dillehay 1997), indicates that the Paleoindian period is older, and lasted longer than conservative estimates would suggest. Additionally, recent, although controversial, work by MacNeish (1991b)

at Pendejo Cave, north of El Paso near Orogrande, New Mexico, suggests human occupation of the area may be far earlier than once supposed. Large, well-crafted projectile points (e.g., Clovis, Folsom, Scottsbluff and Plainview), scraping tools and stone tool manufacturing debris, found in direct association with fossilized skeletal elements in other parts of the Southwest, provide most of the data on which our understanding of Paleoindian occupation in the area is based.

Archaic (ca. 6,000 B.C.-A.D. 100)

The next period covers approximately 6,000 years, or from about 8,000 to 2,000 years ago. This period is usually described as one of decreased moisture in which megafauna were replaced by Holocene (modern) fauna such as deer, antelope, mountain sheep, rabbits and other small mammals. Additionally, the appearance and increasing frequency of grinding stones and mortar holes suggests increased reliance on gathered and processed vegetal resources in a drier climate than that experienced by the Paleoindians. The reduction in size and method of propulsion of projectile points (use of a dart-thrower) and the ubiquity of seed-grinding implements appear to reflect a more wide-ranging adaptation to a changing environment and a seasonal round of gatherers who hunted and occupied both open sites and rock shelters in the immediate area.

Apparent increasing cultural complexity in the area is based on excavations of relatively well-preserved cave sites dating from 6,000-2,300 B.C. (MacNeish 1991a, 1991b). Evidence of basketry, bone, antler, woodworking, possible digging sticks, combined with recovered pollen, suggests Archaic people in the El Paso area began to experiment with horticulture and plant domestication as early as the first or second millennium B. C. MacNeish (1989, 1991a, 1991b) and MacNeish and Beckett (1987) propose that the Archaic period should be subdivided into four phases based on changes in technology, residential patterns and subsistence. These phases are: the Gardner Springs (ca. 6,000-4,300 B.C.), Keystone (ca. 4,300-2,500 B.C.), Fresnel (ca. 2,500-900 B.C.), and Hueco (ca. 900 B.C.-A.D. 100). It was during the Archaic period that basin metates, mortars and pestles, pithouses, small village settlements and horticulture first appeared archaeologically in the area. Again, projectile points, open camps and rock shelters appear to represent a period reflecting population increase through time from Paleoindian to the Hueco phase of the Archaic. Additionally,

research on Archaic settlement patterns elsewhere in New Mexico indicates that Archaic period land use may reflect a reduction, through time, in land available for seasonal exploitation. It could be extrapolated from these data that population pressure in the later Archaic phases may have provided an impetus for reliance on introduced domesticated plants (corn, amaranth, squash and beans), semipermanent housing (pithouses) and eventually, village settlements. Coeval with the end of the Archaic period and more sedentary residences (thought to be associated with horticultural fields) is the appearance of ceramic vessels, possibly as early as A.D. 1.

MacNeish's four Archaic subperiods provide an interpretive model for early cultural developments in El Paso and the surrounding area. However, no sites from the early period have been found on the Río Grande floodplain terrain in the area. This dynamic environment has most likely covered land surfaces from these periods or deeply buried them.

Jornada Mogollon (ca. A.D. 100-1400)

The Formative period occupation lasted about 1,300 years in El Paso and the surrounding area. It is subdivided into three phases originally defined by Lehmer (1948), based on locally produced and imported pottery. During this period, archaeological deposits of ceramics and pithouses have been found; surface rooms of adobe and the bow and arrow have been found from the later periods.

Mesilla Phase (ca. A.D. 100-1100)

The introduction of ceramic production of plain earthenware known as El Paso Brown during the first century A.D. marks the beginning of the Mesilla phase (ca. A.D. 100-1100). Imported ceramics, primarily Mimbres Black-on-white wares, also appear during this period. The appearance of these pottery types is accompanied by increasing pithouse architecture and the beginnings of clustered settlements or hamlets of 15 to 50 pithouses (MacNeish 1989, O'Laughlin 1980, Whalen 1977). Population densities are low until near the end of the Mesilla phase, but an apparent change in social structure suggests that small, mobile bands gradually became more sedentary, probably due to increased reliance on cultigens. Hunting and gathering, reflected in seasonal campsite remains found

within the El Paso city limits (e.g., Thompson and Beckett 1979), also remained important subsistence activities.

Doña Ana Phase (ca. A.D. 1100-1200)

This phase, originally proposed by Lehmer (1948), is based on the recovery of black on brown and red on brown pottery. It is thought to have been a transitional period from plain brown to decorated ceramics and pithouse to pueblo architectural forms. Carmichael (1986) presents evidence, based on survey of the Tularosa Basin, in which both painted and undecorated El Paso Brownwares were found with intrusive ceramics dating to this time period. These decorated or bichrome vessels may be analogous to Style II Mimbres Black-on-white ceramics (Shafer and Brewington 1995), which had previously been described as transitional between Mimbres Boldface and Mimbres Classic. At present, there are insufficient refined chronometric data from excavated or other discrete contexts to demonstrate the exact age of these early painted wares. Additionally, there is increasing evidence to suggest that pithouses may have remained in use in conjunction with surface rooms, at least during the ensuing El Paso phase.

El Paso Phase (ca. A.D. 1200-1400)

The El Paso phase marks both the florescence and termination of the Formative period. It survived for two centuries, then apparently collapsed with the abandonment of pueblo communities. It was during this final phase that local ceramics, known as El Paso Polychrome, (red and black paint on a brown vessels), and new imported ceramic types such as Chupadero Black-on-white, are common. Additionally, surface rooms of puddled adobe, or pueblos are found throughout the area. These range from small, extended residences of about six rooms some of which are found within the present city limits (Thompson 1988), to large, 100-200 room communities such as Hot Wells, Escondido and others in the Hueco Bolson and Tularosa Basin. The architecture of the largest communities consisted of linear roomblocks, multiple rows of roomblocks and U-shaped or enclosed *plazuela* structures. The introduction of pueblo architecture is accompanied by further evidence of significant increases in population density, interregional trade, and sociopolitical complexity. Other

imported ceramic wares from México dating from this period may indicate contact with more complex groups from the Casas Grandes area.

While there are some settlement similarities with pueblo groups to the north in New Mexico, the pueblo occupation of the El Paso area shares at least as much affinity with systems from Northern Chihuahua and West Texas in the La Junta and Guadalupe Mountains. Additionally, El Paso area pueblo settlements do not appear to have been fully dependent on sedentary horticultural practices. Residents apparently practiced a wide range of subsistence strategies (MacNeish 1991a, Charmichael 1986, O'Laughlin 1980, Whalen 1977) and may have occupied pueblos on a semipermanent or even seasonal basis.

The Protohistoric Period (ca. A.D. 1400-1598)

The El Paso area was (apparently) abandoned by pueblo inhabitants by A.D. 1400. Archaeological evidence suggests that from this time until to the beginning of the historic period (ca. A.D. 1500) a "Neoarchaic" phase, or a return to hunting and gathering subsistence practices, prevailed. This shift from a previously horticultural village settlement pattern in the area is poorly understood. It is unknown at present whether this shift reflects a change in climatic conditions such as a drought population shifts or readaptation of local peoples. Whatever the cause, a relatively dispersed lifestyle prevailed in the desert regions of far West Texas until historic times. By the time of Spanish contact, the area was occupied north of the river bend primarily by nomadic Indians referred to as Manso (Beckett and Corbett 1994) and, to the south, by the Sumas (Gerald 1973).

THE HISTORICAL PERIODS

El Río Grande and El Paso

Although Spanish explorers are usually credited with discovering and naming the Río Grande, the river was well known to Indians in Colorado, New Mexico, Texas and México, before the arrival of Europeans. Río Grande is Spanish for "great" or "big river." It was recognized as such by the pueblo Indians of New Mexico for at least two or three centuries before Spanish contact. In the

Keresan, Tewa, Tiwa and Towa languages it was known as "big river," a toponym that referred to the largest running body of water in the area (Riley 1995:9-11). Beginning in the sixteenth century, the Spanish referred to it as *El Río Grande del Norte*, "the great river of the north" for the upper stream, and *Río Bravo*, "fierce" or "rapid river," for the southern or lower portion. Spanish explorers observed the mouth of the Río Grande as early as 1520 and Francisco Vásquez de Coronado saw the great river in 1542 (Riley 1995:12). Castaño de Sosa crossed the Río Grande downstream, near Del Río, Texas, (1590-1591) and named this portion *El Río Bravo* (Riley 1995:13). By 1598, the term *El Río Grande del Norte* was common: "It was in standard usage in the Oñate documents over the next two decades...likely the Spaniards used the name because this was the main river of the far north province of New Mexico, although one of Oñate's priests in 1605 made the alternate suggestion that 'Río del Norte' was used because the river itself flowed from the north" (Riley 1995:14). The upper river continued to be called *Río del Norte* throughout the Spanish period in reports of church and state in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The term continued in use during the Mexican period, and the lower (Mexican) portion of the river was still referred to as *El Río Bravo* in the seventeenth century. Both Río del Norte and Río Bravo were in use in the U.S. during the 1800s. The modern term, Río Grande was in use by early Euroamerican settlers of the nineteenth century. By the latter part of the century, English speakers anglicized Río Grande pronouncing it "ree-o-grande or "ry-o-grande (Riley 1995:12).

The term *El Paso* "the pass," is also a shortened version of the original Spanish *El Paso del Río del Notre*, *Paso* "passage, crossing, way," refers to "the pass of the river of the north," or "the pass across the river of the north." The "pass of the north" was a river crossing or ford at a bend in the Río Grande (now the site of Juárez, Chihuahua, México and El Paso, Texas). It was not, as is sometimes believed, a pass through the mountains, which run north-south.

The Spanish Period (ca. 1598-1821)

Exploration

Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca was probably the first European to travel near the El Paso area. In 1534 he crossed the Río Grande at the confluence of the Conchos river near Presidio, Texas.

Coronado was in New Mexico by 1540 and probably passed near El Paso at that time. Like Cortés before him and Oñate after him, he had a large contingent of Indian allies and fewer European soldiers. Coronado's party consisted of 1,300 Indians (mostly warriors and some women and children) from central México. The men were primarily Tlaxcalans, who had aided Cortés in the conquest of México, Tarascans and some Mexica (Aztecs). The European soldiers (only 350) were mostly from Spain but there were also men from Portugal, France, Italy, Germany and Scotland (Riley 1995:155). The fact that there were many Indian allies and the multiethnic character of the expedition foreshadowed the character of activities, migrations and settlements in the early and later Historic periods of El Paso.

Friars Augustín Rodriguez and Francisco Lopez Juan de Santa María, under the protection of Francisco Sanchez (Chamuscado), reached the El Paso area in 1581. The friar's expedition is often referred to as the Rodriguez-Chamuscado expedition. Their arrival appears to be the first recorded visit to the area by Europeans (Timmons 1990:4). This expedition was followed by Antonio de Espejo and Fray Bernadino Beltrán, who probably entered the area in 1583 (Timmons 1990:9).

Invasion and Colonization

The initial explorations in the area followed the course of the Río Conchos to the confluence with the Río Grande. In 1598, Don Juan de Oñate y Salazar marched directly north from Santa Barbara, Chihuahua, México, to the bend in the Río Grande and the El Paso area. In this march Oñate established the southern end of what was to become the *Camino Real,* "Royal Highway," which parallels today's Mexican Federal Highway 45 (Riley 1995:247).

Oñate was both an innovator and a practitioner of traditional Spanish methods of exploration and invasion in the New World. Born in 1552, Don Juan was a scion with his twin brother Fernando, of a wealthy Zacatecas silver mining family and a *Criollo* (of Spanish descent, but born in New Spain). His father was a Basque and a *Peninsulare* (born on the Iberian peninsula), who had been a contemporary of Hernán Cortés (Simmons 1991:33-34). Don Juan was, in essence, a typical

caudillo (a man on horseback, or a strong, military and political commander). He differed from previous Spanish invaders because his expedition was one of settlement as well as exploration.

Oñate's appointment to lead a colonizing expedition north beyond the Río Grande did not go smoothly (Riley 1991:247). There were men who pressed claims for the honor, privilege and hoped-for wealth grained through leading an expedition. . Among these were Hernando de Soto, the aging Hernán Cortés, and the fierce and restless conqueror of Guatemala, Pedro de Alvarado (Simmons 1991:22). In August 1597, Oñate left Santa Barbara with 129 soldiers and an unrecorded number of women, children, servants, and slaves, as well as several thousand head of sheep, goats, cattle and horses, and 84 *carretas* and *tartanas,* "carts and wagons," and headed north to the bend in the Río Grande at what was to become El Paso. Oñate's party also consisted of 500-1000 Tlaxcalan warriors and probably their families originally from central México. These Indian warriors were descendants of Indians who had been instrumental in the defeat of the Mexica by Cortés. Their help, and that of some pueblo Indian allies, was exploited by Oñate and others to follow.

On 20 April, 1598, Oñate's party reached the Río Grande, probably near Fabens or Clint, Texas, and marched upriver toward El Paso. On 26 April, Oñate sent out good swimmers to scout for a ford or crossing (Timmons 1990:14). Local Indians led them to "the ancient ford, which they had been using from time immemorial, the crossing above the narrows or gorge (Sonnichsen 1968:17). On 30 April, Oñate took official possession of the area drained by the Río Grande; *La Toma,* "the taking (of possession)," was apparently conducted near San Elizario. In his capacity as Governor, Captain General, and Adelentado of New Mexico, Oñate claimed this virtually unknown (to Europeans) and uncharted area in the name of King Philip II and paused for celebrations on the Day of Ascension (Riley 1995:247). Local Indians provided fish, an important part of their diet, for this celebration. Sonnichsen (1968:20). On 4 May 1598, Oñate and his party of settlers pushed on to the ford and crossed the river (reputedly near the present site of La Hacienda Cafe). Oñate crossed from the left to the right bank, today *Ciudad Juárez* to El Paso, and referred to this operation as *El Paso del Río del Norte* "the fording or crossing of the river of the north." This is one of the earliest recorded uses of the toponym *El Paso* (Timmons 1990:14). (From the historic crossing 400 years ago, Oñate went

on to establish the first European capital, in what was to become the United States of America, at San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico). Following a Pueblo Indian trail along the banks of the Río Grande, Oñate established the route of what was to become the northern leg of the Camino Real from El Paso to Santa Fe. (In the 1880s the route established by Oñate from Chihuahua to Santa Fe came to be known as the Chihuahua Trail).

The colonizing expedition of Oñate led to the first settlement in El Paso. While there had been earlier attempts to establish a settlement, the traditional date for *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Mansos del El Paso del Norte* is 8 December 1659 (four days before celebration of the Virgin's feast day). The mission and a small settlement of Spanish families served as a staging area along the Camino Real on the southern (Mexican) bank of the Río Grande.

After several unsuccessful attempts (1640, 1644), the Pueblo and other Indians in New Mexico succeeded in a revolt, beginning on 10 August 1680, which sent the remaining Spanish settlers in retreat to El Paso del Norte across the Río Grande in México, for 12 years. The revolt was primarily in response to more than 80 years of Spanish domination, which included punishments for apostasy and the hanging or beating of Indian holy men (Sonnichsen 1968:28). At the time of the Pueblo Revolt, the Governor and Captain General of New Mexico was Don Antonio de Otermín who, with most of the Spanish colonists, lived in the capital of Santa Fe.[2]

After the deaths of many Spanish colonists and surrounded in Santa Fe by hostile Indians, Otermín slipped away to the south under the cover of darkness to the *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro,* "royal highway of the interior lands." After a perilous trip south and a regrouping at El Paso del Norte, Otermín attempted a reentry and reconquest of New Mexico. Along with the settlers who survived the revolt and the return to El Paso he also brought many Tigua Indians from the Pueblo south of Albuquerque, who, out of fear of reprisal or fealty to the Spanish, wished to remain under the jurisdiction of the colonists. On 5 November 1681, Otermín marched north from El Paso del Norte with 146 Spanish soldiers and 112 Indians. This *reconquista* (reconquest) was a failure, primarily due to dissension among the Spanish and recalcitrant Pueblo Indians who cherished their freedom

from Spanish rule. By December, the Spanish were camped near Isleta Pueblo and all agreed that they must return to El Paso and take the remaining 400 Isleta Indians with them. Otermín followed this recommendation, moved the 385 Indians then in his camp and destroyed their pueblo and their food stores. On 1 January 1682, the retreat began and by 4 February they reached the Spanish settlements, now scattered, in the El Paso Valley (Sonnichsen 1968:45). By this time, despite the efforts of the Spanish authorities to maintain separation, a Mestizo population of Spaniards and christianized Indians lived in the El Paso area. On 22 February 1691, Don Diego de Vargas Zapata y Lujan Ponce de Leon y Contreras arrived in El Paso to initiate the second attempt at a reconquest of New Mexico. Denied 50 additional soldiers, he took 100 Tigua warriors in their stead. On 16 August 1692, de Vargas marched for Santa Fe and returned four months later after a successful campaign.

At this time the population in the El Paso area was thought to be about 1000 which was less than half the number who had fled from Santa Fe in 1860. These were 73 married couples, 115 single males and females, 448 boys and girls and 250 domestic servants living in 112 houses located in five settlements along the northern bank of the river. These settlements included El Paso del Norte, Real de San Lorenz, Senecú, Ysleta and Socorro. The Tiguas now lived at the Mission of San Antonio de la Ysleta. The Missions of Nuestra Señora del Socorro and Señora del Socorro ministered to Suma and Piro Indians and the Mission of Señora del Paso ministered to Manso and Piro Indians. (Timmons 1990:22-23). The missions enforced the *Pueblo* (civil rule) and the *Presidios* (military posts) provided defense against renegade Indians. Both ensured that Indian workers would be kept in check and that foreign intruders would be resisted (Vigil 1980:109). The reconquest and recolonization did meet with resistance and the Tigua Indian auxiliaries played a major role in the subjugation of the pueblos of New Mexico. Although seldom credited, much less enumerated in official documents, Mexican and New Mexican Indians were often numerically superior to the Spanish in the various Spanish invasions, conquests and colonizations of the Americas.

During this period people of European descent, Indians and the emergent Mestizo population lived in scattered communities united by various missions in the El Paso area. Class structure was clearly

defined but difficult to maintain in the marginal communities of the El Paso Valley. The process of *Mestizaje* (cultural blending) which had begun in central México with Cortés continued in the El Paso area. During the Spanish period the people who were to form the basic population of México, Texas and New Mexico were hereditarily more Indian than European. Spanish culture was important in creating Mestizo cultural life as it provided a religious framework, new cultural values, as well as Spanish surnames and language. From 1521 to 1821, these values shaped Mestizo life. The 300-year reign of this culture was the longest and most profound in the area (Vigil 1980:3). [It should be noted that "Spanish" culture and people were already "mixed" with Moorish (northwestern African Muslims) and Jewish people before the Iberian Peninsula was recognized as a united Spain]. Mestizos, the only caste category to survive from the Colonial period, were also referred to as *Ladinos* (a term that originally referred to hispanicized Indians). At this time, México became a Mestizo nation, New Mexico a Mestizo territory and El Paso a Mestizo outpost between them.

During the eighteenth century, the missions in the El Paso Valley flourished, but Apaches were a constant threat to settlers, livestock and fields. For this reason, a presidio had been established at Paso del Norte. In 1773, the garrison was moved to the location of San Elizario and a church was constructed. The presidio was manned by 40 to 50 soldiers who attempted to keep the marauding Indians at bay. From 1773 to 1846 the Franciscan chapel served both the garrisoned soldiers and the the settlers. Periodic flooding and movement of the Río Grande channel caused major problems for the Spanish missions and settlements (Flynn 1997:34-36).

The Mexican Period (1821-1848)

Following independence from Spain in 1821, the process of Mestizaje greatly changed the ethnic composition of México during the nineteenth century. The Mestizo population of México rose from nearly 30 percent in 1824 to more than 50 percent by the turn of the century and Mestizos became the majority group in México. During the Mexican period, landowners were known as *gente de razon* (people of reason). Mestizo and Indian *pobladores* (settlers) often worked as *vaqueros* (cowboys) and foremen; others who were more independent owned or operated *ranchitos* (small ranches). In Vigil's (1980:104) view, "the Indians were the slaves...the Mexicans were the

equivalent of poor white trash." Later, Mestizo and Indian immigrants to urban centers worked as semiemployed or unskilled laborers. "They were known as *Cholos* (half-breeds) Indians in transition from one culture to another and somewhat marginal to both" (Vigil 1980:104). In New Mexico and El Paso there were only two classes, the *ricos* (the rich) and the *pobres* (the poor).

The area occupied by the Union Plaza complex was part of Paso del Norte (Juárez, México today) in the early 1800s. Before it was settled, the west area of El Paso was known as *Chivos Bravos* (place of wild goats). The Río Grande ran through this area in the nineteenth century and later the river channel moved south. After independence from Spain in 1821, the area became part of México (Esparanza 1986:61-62). On 25 September 1827, Agapito Alvo, Alcalde of Paso del Norte, granted Juan María Ponce de Leon a 400-acre tract of vacant land on the north bank of the Río Grande. Ponce de Leon kept cattle and horses in the area that formerly supported goats (Flynn 1997:53). In 1830, flood waters washed away Ponce de Leon's first adobe structure for his employees which was located near the corner of today's El Paso Street and Paisano Drive. Two years later, Ponce de Leon received another concession of land and built a second ranch house possibly at the intersection of today's Chihuahua Street and San Francisco Avenue (Figure 2:1). He also built a tannery and a flower mill near the present site of La Hacienda Cafe (Flynn 1997:53). At about this time Ponce de Leon excavated an *acequia* (irrigation ditch) from the river to his ranch. The acequia ran along the approximate route of San Francisco Avenue. It was planted with cottonwood trees on each side and provided water for Ponce de Leon's corn and wheat fields (Bowden 1969:5-6). This ranch was noted also for its vineyards, grazing pastures and two watchtowers constructed to observe the presence of maurading Indians (Flynn 1997:53). The oldest barrio in El Paso was known as *Chihuahuita* (little Chihuahua); it was tucked between the Río Grande levee and the present water treatment plant. This area was referred to as *Chihuahuita* from the mid-1800s because so many of the residents were originally from the Mexican state of Chihuahua (formerly *Nueva Vizcaya* and renamed in 1824). The first settlers in this area, which was then in New Mexico, were probably de Leon's workers who had been crossing the Río Grande by swimming, wading and row boating (Morales 1992). During this first settlement period, the Union Plaza area reflected aspects of Moorish, Spanish, and Mexican culture. The boundaries and settlements were defined by the course of the river and natural

topography. Adobe construction, the use of acequias and viticulture were introduced from México. The Union Plaza area like *Chihuahuita*, grew by accretion rather than through planned development or design.

About this time (1836), little attention was paid to the Texas War of Independence in the El Paso area. However, the Mexican War a decade later changed life in the area forever. On 25 December 1846, Colonel Alexander Doniphan was victorious over the Mexican Army at the Battle of Brazitos or, *Los Temescalitos,* "little sweatbaths." The northern bank of the Río Grande then passed out of the hands of México and into the hands of the U.S.A. Following the Mexican-American War, Ponce de Leon sold his ranch to an American trader named Benjamin Franklin Coons for $18,000 and the area began to take on the appearance of a small adobe village and was called Franklin.

Meanwhile, México was in a state of unremitting turmoil from 1821 to 1850. Within 30 years there were no fewer than 50 governments, most of which were the result of military coups. Eleven of these governments were led by General Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana. Independence from Spain had not led to change for most of the population. Political power had simply passed from the Spanish Crown to the Creole oligarchy comprised of 11,000 *Hacendados* (hacienda owners), many of whom were absent land owners, and controlled nearly sixty percent of the land. The bulk of the population, 15 million *peones,* "peasants," were landless (Vigil 1980:94, 101-102). The defeat of Santa Ana's army at San Jacinto, Chihuahua in 1836 forced the acceptance of Texas' independence. The Lone Star Republic of Texas was established in 1836 (Vigil 1980:118). In 1845, the Republic of Texas became the twenty-eighth state of the union. At this time the former republic laid claim to Santa Fe and all of New Mexico east of the Río Grande. These claims were laid to rest after the Mexican-American War (1846-1848) and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hildalgo. The U. S. Army arrived in the El Paso area on 26 December 1846, after winning the Battle of Brazitos against the Mexican Army north of El Paso. Commanded by Colonel Alexander Doniphan, the Missouri Mounted Volunteers represented the first U. S. Army presence in the area (Faunce 1997:113).

The U. S. Period (1848-1948)

Thomas Jefferson attempted to move the U.S. boundaries closer to México by maintaining that the 1803 Louisiana Purchase had included lands extending to the Río Grande (Vigil 1980:116). The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and Mexico's loss of about one million acres of land was signed on 26 February 1848. This treaty established the Río Grande as the international border between Texas and México. As Vigil (1980:126) points out, "with the exception of the Indians, Mexicans are the only minority in the U. S. who were annexed by conquest." On 7 November 1848, U. S. Army troops arrived in the area and camped near the present location of San Jacinto Plaza. The U. S. Department of War issued General Order No. 58 on that date to establish a military post. On 14 September 1849, six companies (275 men) of the 3rd Regiment of the U. S. Infantry from San Antonio arrived in the area. Under the command of Major Jefferson Van Horne, the army established a military post on the U. S. side of the Río Grande, across from the small town of El Paso del Río del Norte, to protect the area and the frontier from marauding Apache Indians. At this time, the enterprising Benjamin F. Coons erected new buildings in what is now the Union Plaza area to house his trading and mercantile enterprise. He also leased the main buildings and six acres of land to the U. S. Government for the Army post in 1849 for $4,200 a year. After Coons leased Ponce de Leon's second ranch house and other buildings to the government, he constructed a tavern, a warehouse, stables, corrals, and other outbuildings west of the military post. This cluster of buildings became known as "Coon's Upper Ranch." In the latter part of 1851, after U. S. Troops were transferred from El Paso to San Antonio, Coons suffered extensive financial losses in his freighting business and was forced to sell a large portion of his wagons and livestock to meet his financial obligations. Realizing that the Army-sponsored boom was over, Coons then borrowed enough money to outfit a wagon train for Chihuahua in 1852. That same year, Ponce de Leon then repossessed the land grant and continued to manage it until his death on 1 July 1852 in La Mesilla, New Mexico. Ponce de Leon's heirs sold the land for $10,000 in 1853 to William T. Smith. On 11 January 1854, Brevet Lieutenant Colonel E. P. Alexander and four companies of the 8th Infantry established an Army post at Magoffinsville opposite El Paso. Within three months the post was named Fort Bliss in honor of Brevet Major William Wallace Smith Bliss, a former army assistant adjutant general. From 1845 to 1860, Fort Bliss grew along with El Paso, and the area became a

center for regional commerce in west Texas, southern New Mexico, Arizona, and Chihuahua, México (Faunce 1997:113).

In 1859, Smith sold tracts to John S. Gillett, Henry S. Gillett, Josiah F. Crosby, William J. Morton, Vincent St. Vrain, and Anthony B. Rohman. These individuals formed a syndicate known as the El Paso Company and hired Anson Mills, a pioneer builder, to make a plat or survey (Figure 2:2). Mills arrived in El Paso in 1859 and was district surveyor until 1860. During the Civil War he joined the U. S. Army, was stationed at Fort Bliss, and retired as a brigadier general. On the Mills map, the Union Plaza area had the following streets running east-west: San Francisco; Sonora (later West San Antonio); and Overland. Running north-south were: Durango; Leon; Chihuahua; and Santa Fe. Ponce de Leon's extended acequia, paralleling San Francisco Street, with a south-trending branch crossing San Antonio Street, and the Fort Bliss and Magoffinsville acequia, and branch paralleling Overland Street to the south, can be seen on this map (Figure 2:2). From this point on the area took on the typical grid pattern of streets, blocks, and settlement patterns associated with U. S. customs of urban planning. The major landowner in this area was Frederick Pierpont, who owned a large tract between Chihuahua and Durango Streets. Other small landowners in the area included Anson Mills, Henry Gillett, Ben Dowell, and Andrew Hornick (Mills 1962:187).

The development of downtown El Paso had a significant impact on the landscape of the area. Shifts to the south in the river channel from its nineteenth century course in 1829, in 1883 and in 1896 resulted in accumulated lands being gradually added to the U.S. side of the river (Figures 2:3, 2:4, 2:5). Furthermore, urbanization tends to increase both the frequency and magnitude of floods, because cities create large impervious areas where water cannot soak into the earth, especially in a situation such as the location of El Paso established on the floodplain of the Río Grande. So, even slight percipitation is converted into immediate runoff. Also, the time lag between rainfall and peak runoff is reduced in groomed, urban areas. Stream channels denuded of vegetation also result in more frequent high-water levels. Some of these problems were alleviated by construction of the Elephant Butte Dam completed in 1916.

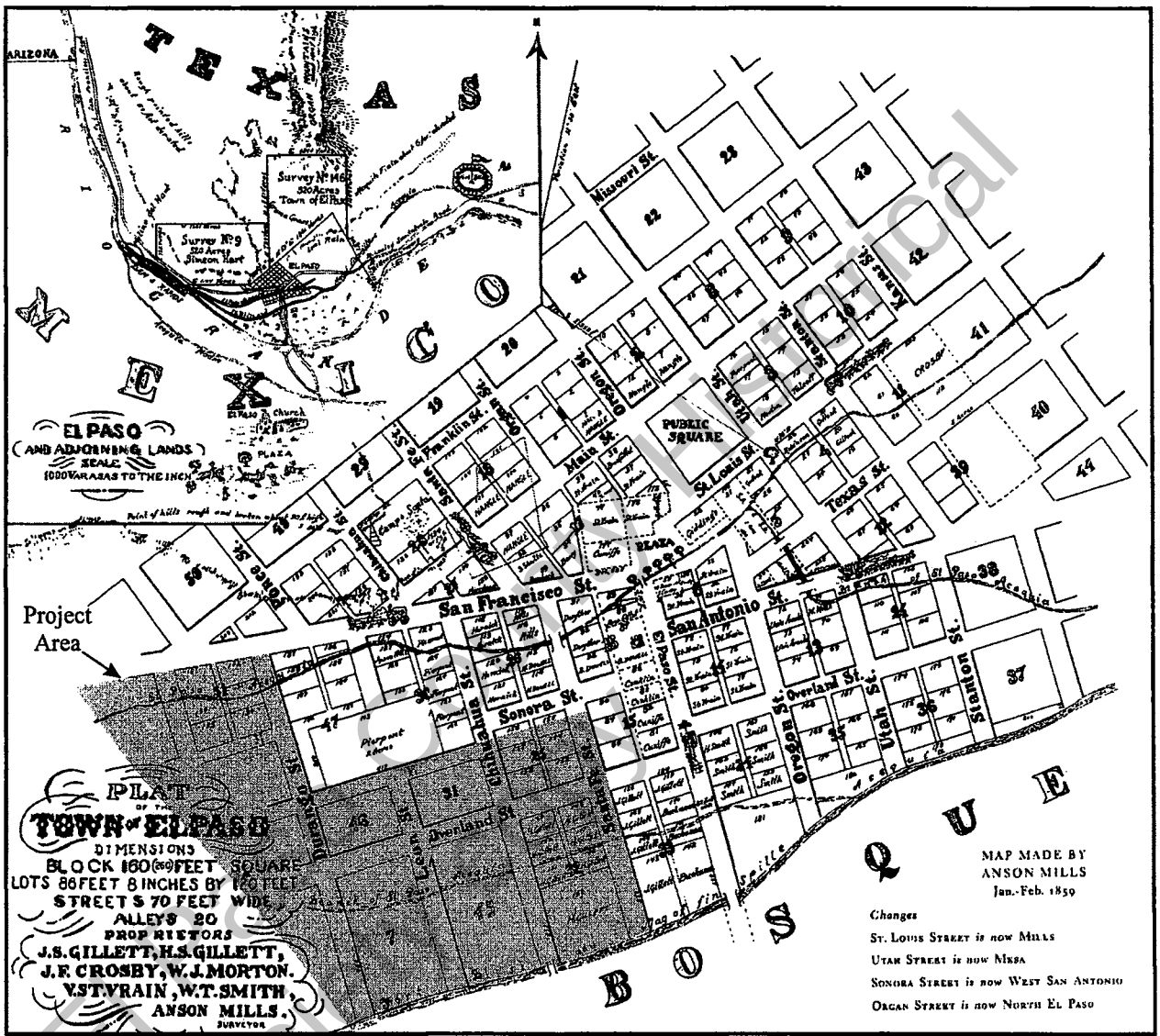


Figure 2:2. Anson Mills Map of El Paso (1859).

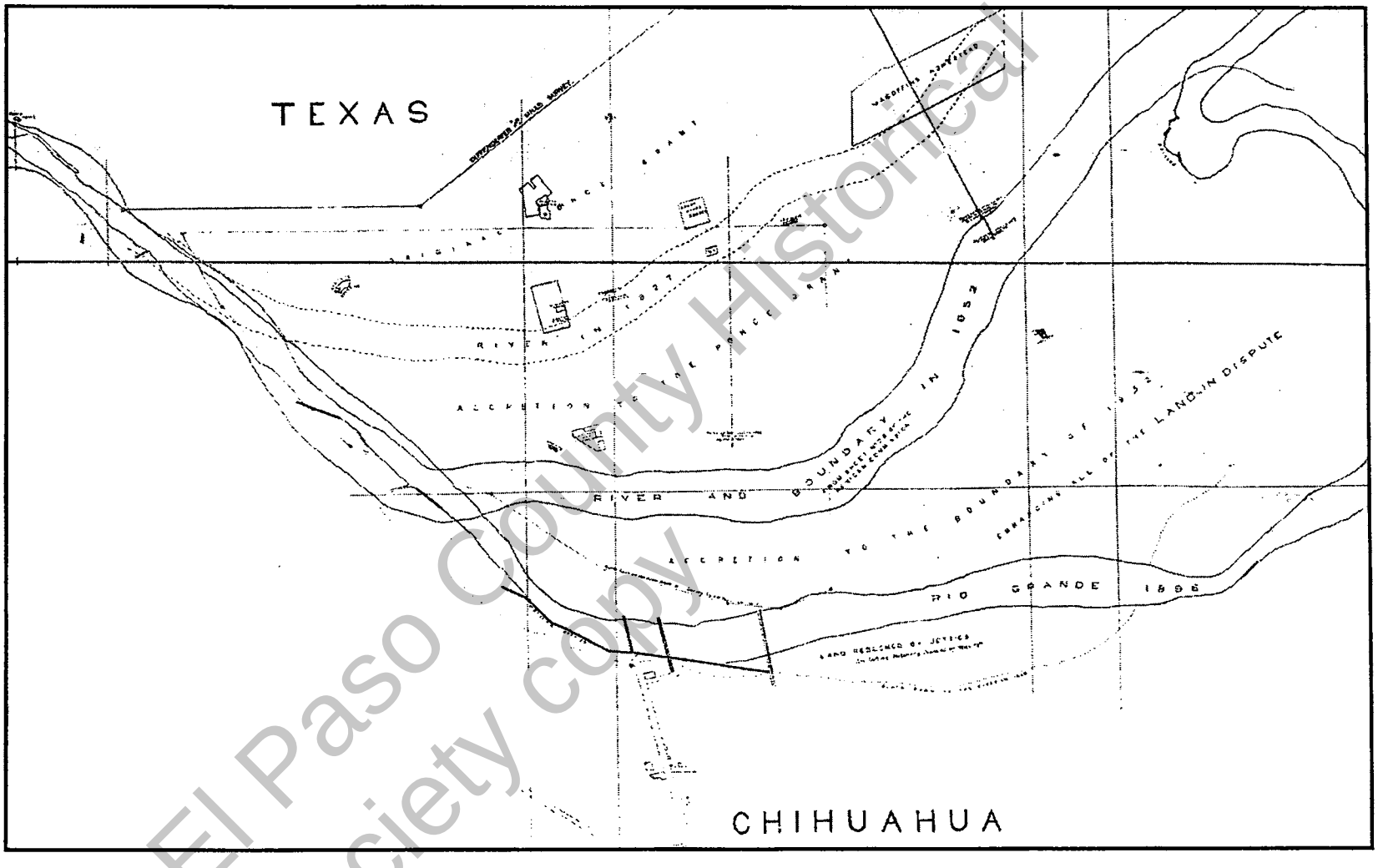


Figure 2:3. Preliminary map in the Chamizal Case Number 4 compiled from 1852 map of the Boundary Commission.

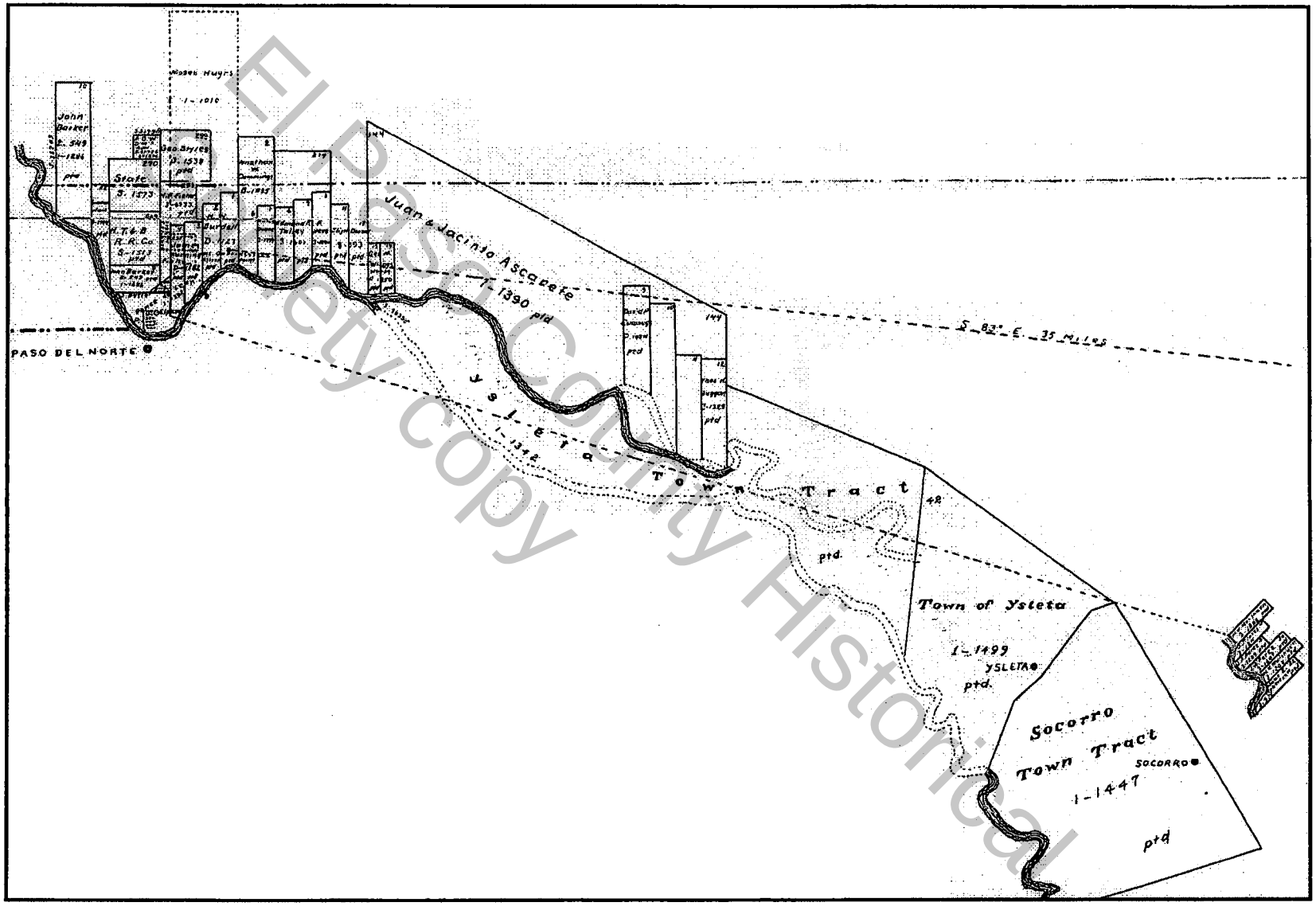


Figure 2:4. El Paso County Map (ca. 1875).

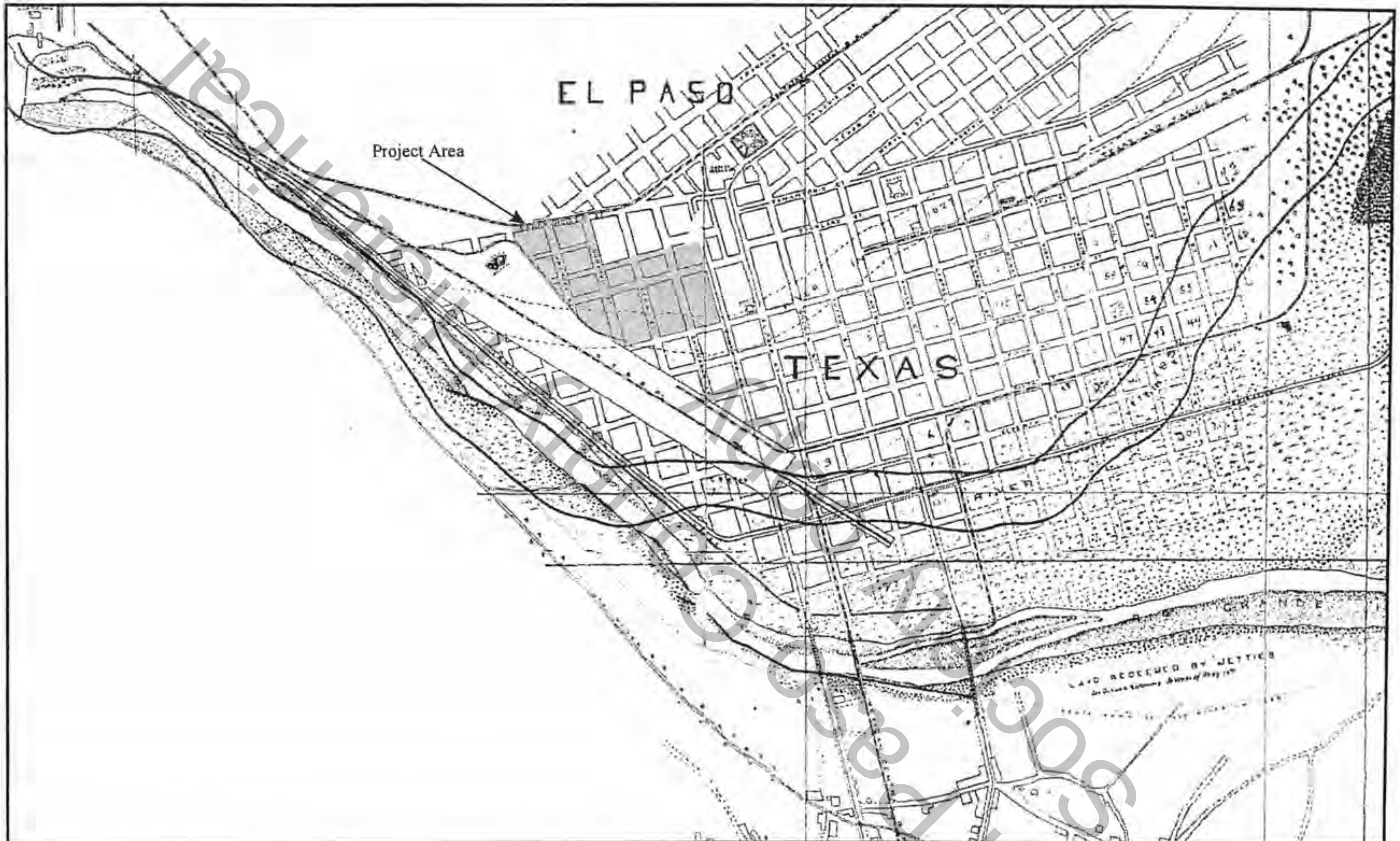


Figure 2:5. International (Water) Boundary Commission map (1889).

The national periods of the Civil War and Reconstruction had little impact on El Paso because the bulk of the population was Mexican-American, but in 1861, El Paso County voted 871 to 2 for secession from the Union and Fort Bliss became a Confederate outpost. Prominent citizens such as Simeon Hart, who established a grist mill; James Magoffin, who established a large hacienda called Magoffinsville; Hugh Stephenson who established Stephensonville, also known as Concordia; and Ben Dowell, who became El Paso's first Mayor, all favored the Confederacy. The Mills Brothers, Anson and W. W., cast the only votes supporting the Union (Flynn 1997:62). In July of 1861, El Paso served as a supply point for the New Mexico and Arizona campaign. After the defeat of Brigadier General Henry Sibley at Glorieta Pass, New Mexico in 1862, the Confederate troops returned to Fort Bliss and burned the post before returning to San Antonio. Most of the Euroamericans supported the Confederacy and after the war many left the area, including: Simeon Hart, who moved to St. Louis; and James Magoffin, who moved to San Antonio. Others, Ben Dowell among them, established a colony in Paso del Norte (Juárez) (Flynn 1987:63-64). By mid-August of 1862 Union troops, under the command of Colonel James H. Carleton, arrived, reclaimed the Fort for the Union, and martial law was enforced in the area. In October of 1865, three companies of the 5th Infantry arrived and restored the post by 1866. In May of 1867, a flood destroyed portions of Fort Bliss and in 1868, the army leased land on the Concordia Ranch four miles north of the old location and constructed a new post. On 24 March 1869, the post was renamed Fort Bliss. It remained in this location for ten years (Faunce 1997:113).

Following the end of the Civil War in 1865, Ben Dowell and W. W. Mills renewed a friendship and established a partnership in horse racing. An important factor in this friendship was a racehorse (a mare named Kit) that belonged to Dowell. Kit was reputed to be one of the finest racehorses along the border. West overland Street, between El Paso and Durango streets, was the first racetrack in El Paso and the most famous race there was in 1872 between Kit and Fly, a horse from New Mexico. Kit was ridden by a young Mexican jockey and beat Fly by 15 feet. In 1873, the first city elections were held and Ben Dowell became mayor and served until 1875; the El Paso City Council meetings were held in his saloon (Hamilton 1976:39-40) located about where the Camino Real Hotel stands today, then the intersection of Sonora and El Paso Streets. Melton A. Jones was Mayor from 1875

to 1876 when the City of El Paso went out of business as a corporation. El Paso reincorporated in 1880. It was probably then that El Paso's City Hall was situated at the corner of San Francisco and Chihuahua Streets in an old adobe building that had served as a stage station (Figure 2:6). This structure was thought to have been constructed in the late 1860s or early 1870s; the complex was then moved to Overland and Santa Fe Streets in 1882 (Rokocy 1980:129). Later, this structure became the Tivoli Saloon. About this time the Samuel and Joseph Schutz Brothers store was erected on San Francisco Street (Figure 2:7). The Shutz Brothers arrived in El Paso in 1859. They began merchandizing in January of 1885. Samuel had opened a store in 1859, but returned east in 1873. He returned to El Paso about 1877, and died in his store on 2 March 1906 at 127 San Francisco Street, the site of his first establishment. It was here, in 1877, that the El Paso Salt War began. Judge Charles Howard, an attorney and politician, shot Luis Cardis to death with a blast from a shotgun. Cardis had been known as a prominent leader of the Hispanic community. Howard went to San Elizario in December of 1877 with Texas Rangers to attempt to resolve the salt problems. Upon their arrival Howard and the Rangers were surrounded by a mob and barricaded themselves in an adobe building. After a three-day siege, Howard was removed by a mob of at least 600. Desiderio Apodaca with a firing party of eight men executed Howard at close range, then Howard's body was mutilated and thrown in a well (White 1924:127). Due to the relative quiet in the El Paso area, Fort Bliss had been closed since 17 January 1877, and troops had been transferred to Fort Davis. With the outbreak of the Salt War, Buffalo Soldiers of the 9th Calvary, and later two companies of the 15th Infantry, were sent to El Paso to restore order. The army was renting warehouses in downtown El Paso, but concluded a new post was in order. The army selected 135 acres near Hart's Mill (the approximate location where Oñate had crossed the Río Grande) and with military labor completed construction in 1880.

Also in 1880, Solomon Schutz was elected Mayor. Schutz had been the first postmaster to establish a money order division in El Paso. During his term of office, four of his marshalls were killed and city hall was probably located on San Francisco Street and no longer at Bed Dowell's saloon. The Post Office was located across the street from the Schutz Brothers store on San Francisco and at this time the railroads were competing to see which could build in El Paso first (Mills 1962:189).

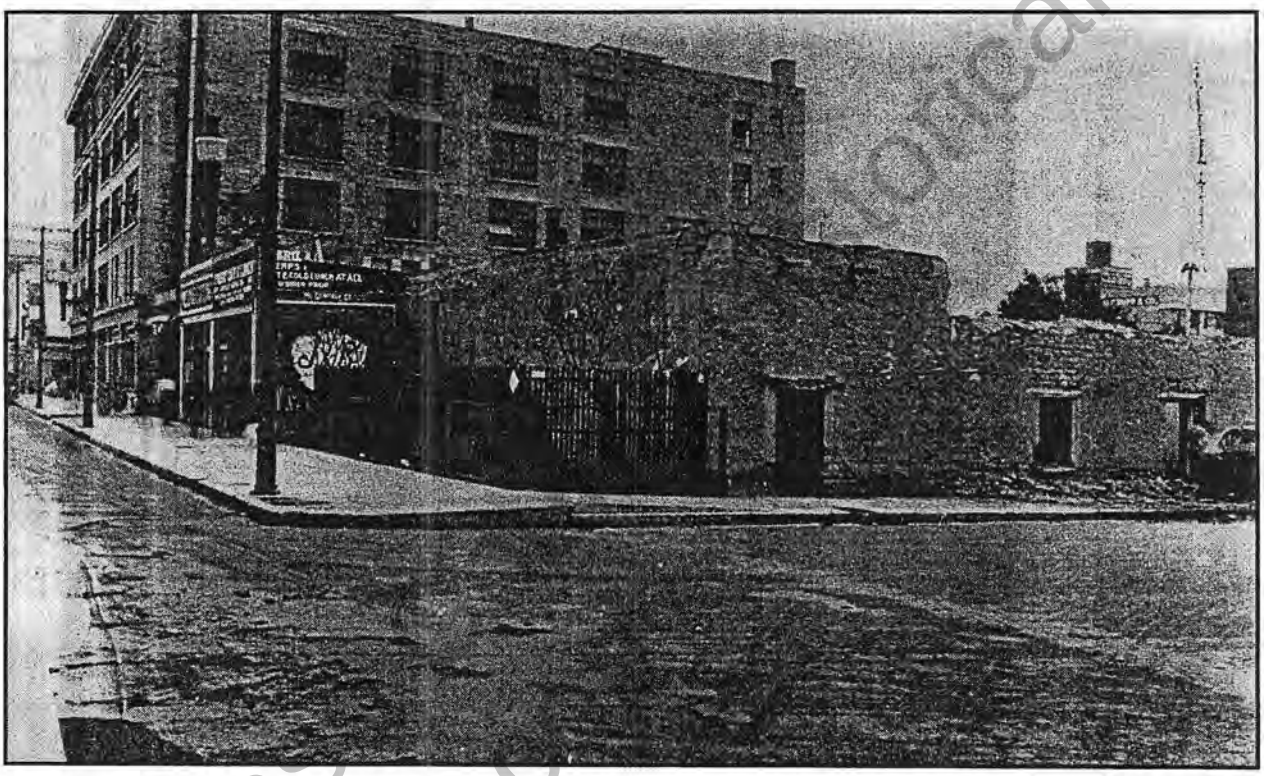


Figure 2:6. Remains of El Paso's first City Hall at the Southeast corner of San Francisco and Chihuahua Streets (ca. 1920?).

Figure 2:7. Samuel Schutz Building, corner of North Santa Fe and San Francisco Streets, burned July 4, 1895.

Another major reason for construction of a new army post was the arrival of the railroads. This event transformed El Paso into a boom town, and it was felt that a military presence was necessary to maintain order (Faunce 1997:114). In June of 1881, the Santa Fe Railroad arrived in El Paso (at the freight depot at 805 South Santa Fe Street) in a steam engine driven by engineer Albert NcNeil. Subsequently a roundhouse was built of local limestone in Victorian style architecture with cyprus construction and a conical roof and finial. It was located directly south (now south of Paisano Drive) of the present Union Depot. Later, the railroad constructed maintenance shops, warehouses and some homes for railroad workers in the area.

The arrival of the railroads in El Paso changed forever the nature of the town and the Union Plaza area. Once raw materials, people, and manufactured goods could be brought to the city by rail, factories, warehouses, and merchants began to share the benefits of agglomeration (clustering), i. e., to share labor, transportation costs, the commercial marketplace, and capital. Formerly, El Paso had been engaged in primary economic activies (extractive, e.g., agriculture and mining). Now, secondary (construction and manufacturing), and tertiary (transportation, communication, and utility services) activities came with increasing urbanism. Land use intensified, and with increased competition for land in the industrial period. El Paso became a major transfer point between the east and west coasts, as well as between the U. S. and México. The historical urban core was changed, and the older city was replaced. The result was a mosaic of mixed land uses: factories next to housing; slum tenements next to public buildings; hotels and other railroad service industries sprang up; and railroad tracks violated open spaces and parks. El Paso and the Union Plaza area were no longer indigenous, colonial, nor isolated. El Paso became a trade route city on the east-west axis of the U.S. not because of its location along the Río Grande, but despite its location. El Paso had never been a central place, rather it was a way station between central palces such as Mexico City, Chihuahua, Santa Fe, and Austin. Now, the cityscape represented a palimpsest or mosaic of old and new construction forms providing for a mixture of cultural landscapes superimposed one on another. The Union Plaza area is full of palimpsest offerings, some of them now subterranean. Likewise, the overlap and mixing of cultural elements was reflected in the overlap and mixing of architecture, language, and traditional versus industrial land use and values. Where formerly goats had roamed,

now people of many nationalities flocked. Where vineyards had flourished, now beer could be purchased by the glass. With construction of the Union Depot, the Union Plaza area became the commercial and social hub of transportation. Before the railroads, according to Metz (1993), El Paso Street led to El Paso del Norte; San Antonio Street pointed to San Antonio; Overland Street housed the Overland building and corrals; San Francisco Street was the route to San Francisco; Chihuahua Street went to Chihuahua; and Santa Fe Street was oriented toward Santa Fe. It might also be added that Durango Street also pointed toward Durango, and Leon Street crossed the land of the original owner. Where Oñate had searched for a river crossing to the north, people of many nations now crossed a river to both the north and the south. Ushered in by the arrival of the railroads, El Paso became the pass to and from, as well as the pass of, the north.

Walter P. Chrysler worked in the machine shops here and later established the Chrysler Corporation in Detroit (Dils 1966:9). In 1882, a new City Hall was erected at the southwest corner of Overland and Santa Fe Streets. This building also housed the El Paso Fire Department. It consisted of volunteers until 1909. That same year, El Paso received street lights with gas supplied from the gas plant at Chihuahua and Third Streets. The Schutz Opera House, built by Samuel Schutz in 1883, at 123 San Francisco Street, was the setting for the first opera performance by professional touring singers in 1884. The town of El Paso was too small at this time to support regular theatrical performances, and by 1885, Schutz remodeled the opera house as apartments. Later the building also served as a ballroom and dance academy, then as the Schutz Carpet Store. This building (Figure 2:7) burned in 1896 (El Paso Herald Post 1974). In 1884, Augustus Koch produced a somewhat fanciful "Bird's eye View" map of El Paso (Figure 2:8). Clearly visible in this rendering are what appear to be adobe buildings (Figure 2:9) with flat and peaked roofs, the railway and yard, the course of the Río Grande, and a large orchard at the corner of Santa Fe and Second (later Paisano Drive) Streets, but neither of the acequias from the Anson Mills map (Figure 2:2) are depicted. In 1882, the population of El Paso was estimated to be about 200; by 1886, primarily due to the arrival of five railroads, the population was thought to be 5,500 (City Directory 1887). Also in 1884, Sunset Heights was platted as Satterthwaite's addition to El Paso. J. F. Satterthwaite was a native of New York, and Sunset Heights, named by a newspaper contest, was one of the first subdivisions in the

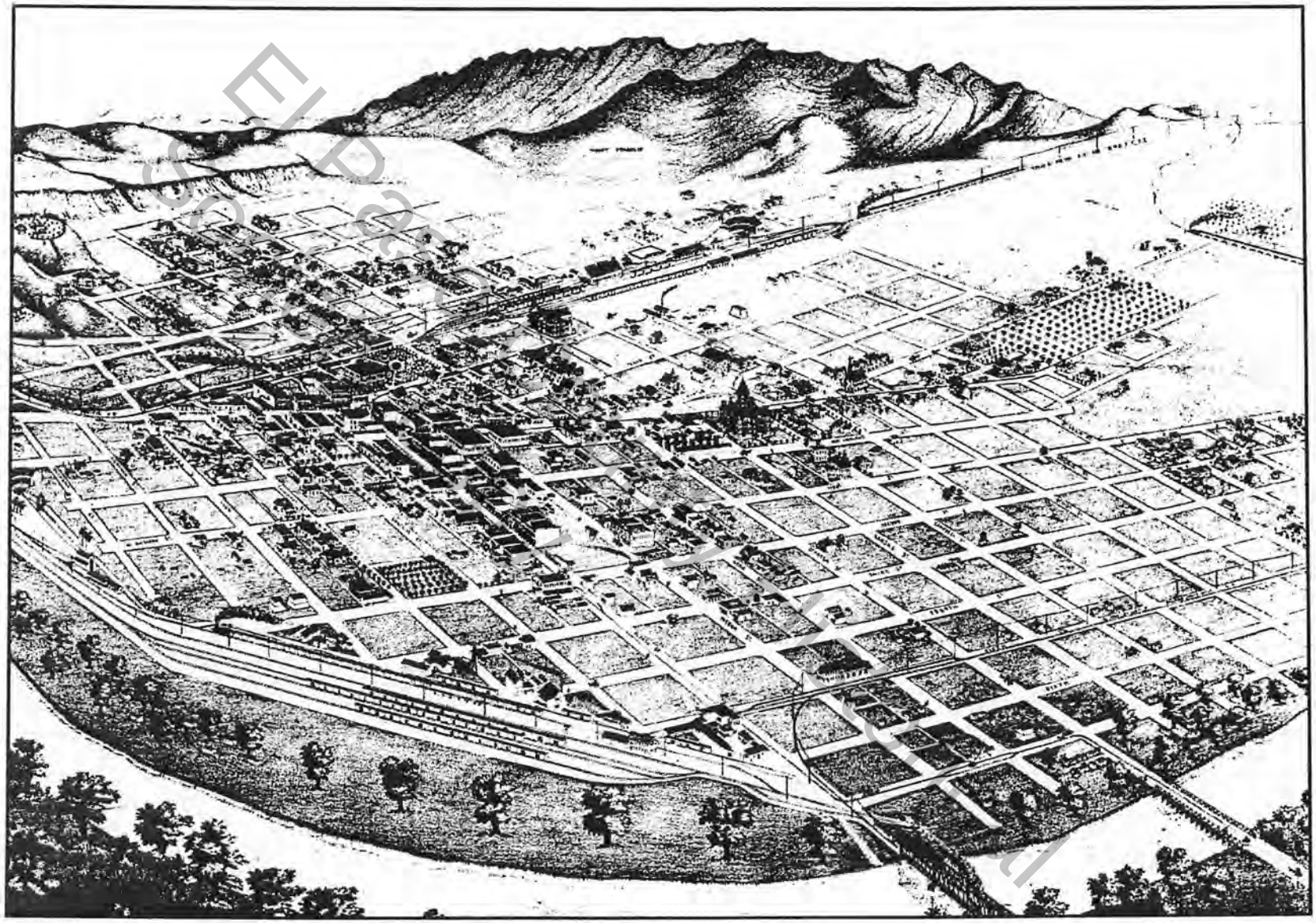


Figure 2:8. Koch Map (1884).

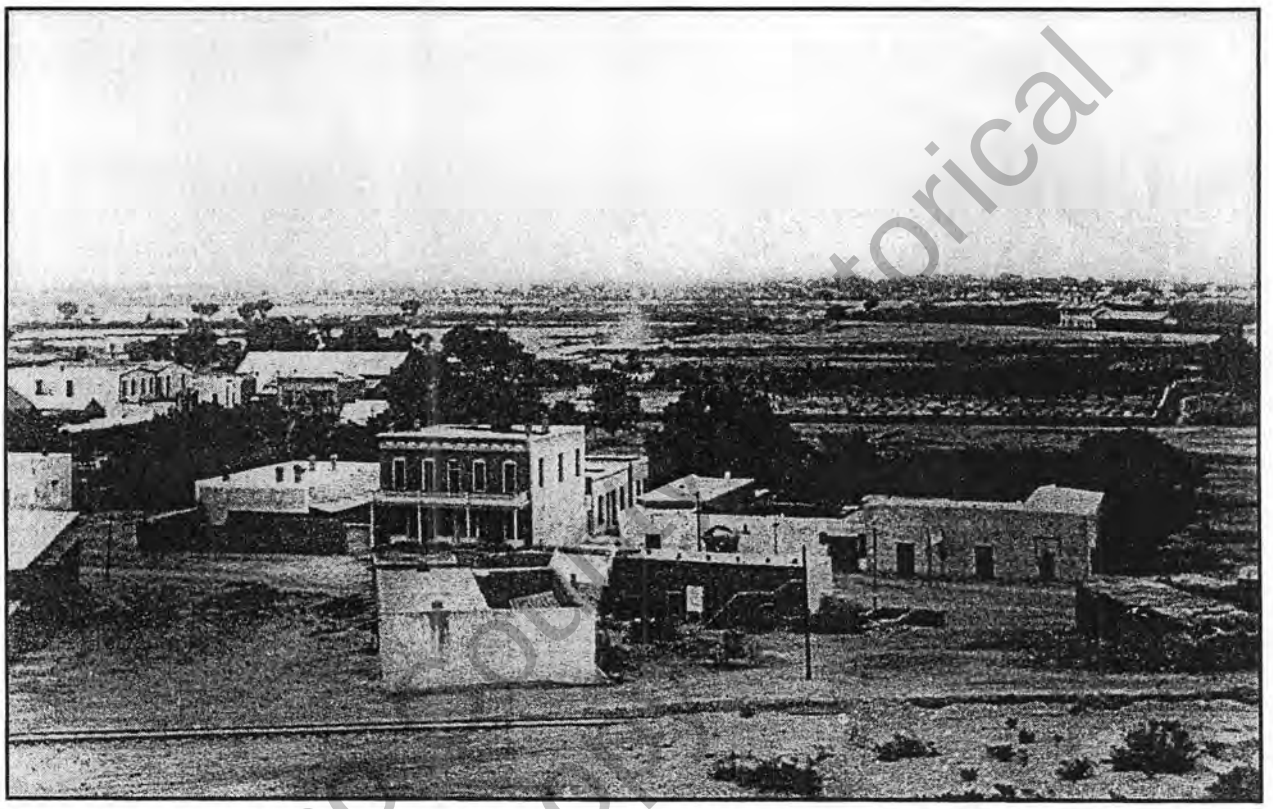


Figure 2:9. This picture shows the present site of the Aronstein-Stevens Building corner of San Francisco and South Santa Fe Streets. The white adobe house with the high wall is the old J.P. Hague home.

U. S. Construction continued until 1920, and the area was recognized as the elite section of town. Sunset Heights boasted lavish, mostly brick homes, extensive landscaping, and spectacular views of the Río Grande Valley and México. It was home to a wealthy, multiethnic population including prominent Euroamericans, prominent former residents of México, and Jewish familes. Many of the homes were designed by Henry C. Trost who also lived in the area. This location, overlooking the Union Plaza (Figure 2:10) area and Chihuahuita, represented the physical principle of social stratification where high income areas are often established on hilly locations and lower income neighborhoods are often found on flat lands. Additionally, Sunset Heights represented the availability and cost of transportation for those who could afford to live in less accessible locations.

El Paso's first sewer line was laid in 1887, a 12-inch-line on Second Street from the alley west of Santa Fe Street. During this era, the most prominent homes in the Union Plaza area were located on San Francisco Street. By the late 1880s, Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Mills were living on the south side of San Francisco; on the north side of the street was a hill. At the corner of San Francisco and Santa Fe Streets was a white adobe house with a high wall belonging to James P. Hauge, an attorney (Figure 2:9). This area is where Anson Mills surveyed El Paso in 1859. Later, after the Hauge house was demolished, the Aronstein-Stevens Building was constructed on this site (Figure 2:11). In 1888, in honor of the fact that Benito Pablo Juárez had lived in El Paso del Norte during the French invasion of México (1860s), the state of Chihuahua changed the name to Ciudad Juárez. Juárez, a Zapotec Indian from Oaxaca, had taken part in the overthrow of Santa Ana, and was President of México from 1858-1872. In 1889, the Hoyt Furniture Company was established at 109 San Francisco by Gene Hoyt; it sold the most complete stock of furniture, carpets and rugs available at the time. It was situated in the old Schutz Building. Also in 1889, the assay office of Reckhart and Heckelmann was established at the southwest corner of San Francisco and Santa Fe Streets (Figure 2:12); the McGinty Club was born this year as well. The McGinty Club was an early social and musical group. The Hill across from San Francisco Street was called McGinty Hill. The adjoining lot to the south was made into a garden with a band shell constructed for musical entertainment by members of the club for prominent visitors to the area. The club took its name from a popular song of the late nineteenth century, "Down Went McGinty." The club also performed as a marching band

HAGUE

Figure 2:10. Chihuahua Street looking north toward Sunset Heights (1910-1920).

Figure 2:11. Aronstein-Stevens Building, corner of North Santa Fe and San Francisco Streets (ca. 1920).

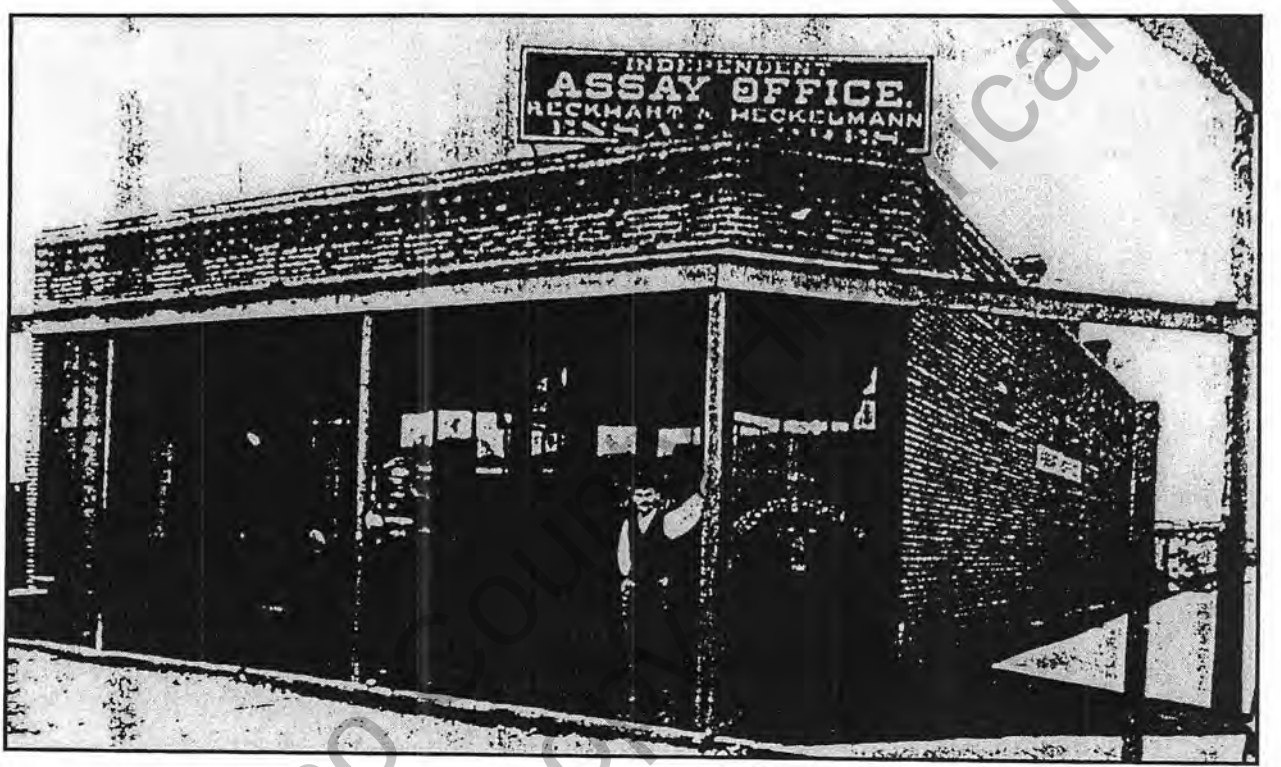


Figure 2:12. Reckhart and Heckelmann Assay Office, corner of San Francisco and Chihuahua Streets, birthplace of the McGinty Club of which Dan W. Reckhart was president during the entire existence of the club. The adjoining lot to the south was made into a garden and a small band shell was constructed for the musical entertainment of the members of the club and of prominent visitors to the Southwest.

in parades, at picnics, fireworks displays, political speeches, and often fired an old cannon from the hill (Timmons 1990:178-179).

Finally, in 1899, the most disputed election in El Paso history took place. The contest was between Adolf Krakauer and Charles R. Morehead for mayor. Krakauer won the election by 37 votes, but both sides claimed fraudulent voting had taken place by people from Juárez. Krakauer and his supporters occupied city hall, situated at the corner of Overland and Santa Fe Streets, and barricaded themselves within with two cases of Winchester rifles and other provisions for a siege that never materialized. By this time, El Paso was divided into four wards. The Union Plaza area belonged to the First Ward the boundaries of which were that portion of the city west of El Paso Street and south of San Francisco Street to the Río Grande and the border with México (Calleros 1954:192). This area included the Santa Fe Railroad reservation, the electric and gas plants, and the most ancient part of El Paso, the barrio of *Chihuahuita*. At this time where the Union Depot is now located the Mexican Ore Company was operating a sampling ore mill. By 1892, the El Paso Public Ore Sampling Company was located here and operated by F. W. Edelsten. Close by was the Missouri Dairy Company, owned by Jimmy Smith. It was the only large dairy in El Paso at the time. Later (1900), the dairy moved to Cotton and Seventh Streets where Smith installed the first automatic milk bottler at El Paso Dairy (El Paso Times 1957).

Olivas Aoy, who arrived in El Paso in 1887, had been renting an upstairs room behind the Reckhard Assay Office on San Francisco Street to teach elementary classes to Mexican children. Mexican children who did not speak English were not allowed to attend public schools and Aoy had small quarters with a few seats, a blackboard, erasers and chalk, and a case of books. Aoy purchased these from his own pocket and provided the only educational facility to accept Mexican-Americans in El Paso. In 1890 the 67-year-old suffered a fall and a broken leg. After this incident, the El Paso School board began to meet some of his expenses for the neglected Spanish-speaking section of El Paso. Aoy died penniless in 1895 and the school board provided for his burial and a headstone at Evergreen cemetery (Bryson 1973:52-53). Today, an El Paso school bears his name in commemoration of his early efforts. During this period, numerous locational problems plagued Fort

Bliss at the Hart's Mill location, not the least of which was its low elevation compared with the elevated Mexican side. In 1890, a House resolution provided for the sale of Fort Bliss and a new location, on La Noria Mesa, east of El Paso, was selected. By the spring of 1893, the post was constructed on 1000 acres, and by October Fort Bliss was occupied. The Spanish-American War had little effect on Fort Bliss, although when troops were sent to participate, the post was nearly abandoned with the exception of volunteers (Faunce 1997:114).

By the turn of the century, two parts of El Paso were clearly distinct north and south of Second Street (Paisano Drive). To the north the Euroamerican community was established with a few wealthy Mexican families interspersed. To the south, the area was predominantly occupied by poor Mexican families. After the Mexican Revolution, this trend changed and the new dividing line between these groups was the railroad tracks on downtown Main Street.

Education had been a problem in El Paso despite the efforts of public and private agencies. The first school census (1883) reported 207 school-age children, 116 Mexican-American children, and 11 Negro children. In 1897-1898, public schools accounted for at total of 1,350 students. By 1900, there were seven public schools in El Paso, and Juárez residents could attend for a tuition fee of one or two dollars per month (Department of Planning 1967:7) One of the city's earliest schools was Franklin, begun in 1891 and situated in a four classroom building at 215 Leon Street. The school was built at the request of the city's well-to-do families and was called "The First Ward School"; it cost $15,000 to construct. Ernest Krause was the architect and the permanent name of the school came from the early settlement of Franklin named after the pioneer and first Postmaster of the area, Benjamin Franklin Coons. One of the school's memorable features was a black metal owl, seated on a globe above the main door (Figure 2:13). In additional to the local students, about 40 Mexican children from prominent Juárez families attended Franklin School by riding the international mule car across the border each day. Monthly tuition was $1.50 for kindergarten, increasing to as much as $4.00 for grades ten and eleven. Reputedly, the first Texas school teacher, Kate Moore, taught at Franklin. The first Texas kindergarten was also established at Franklin School (El Paso Herald Post 1972). In the same year the school was established, William C. Harvey, from Liverpool,

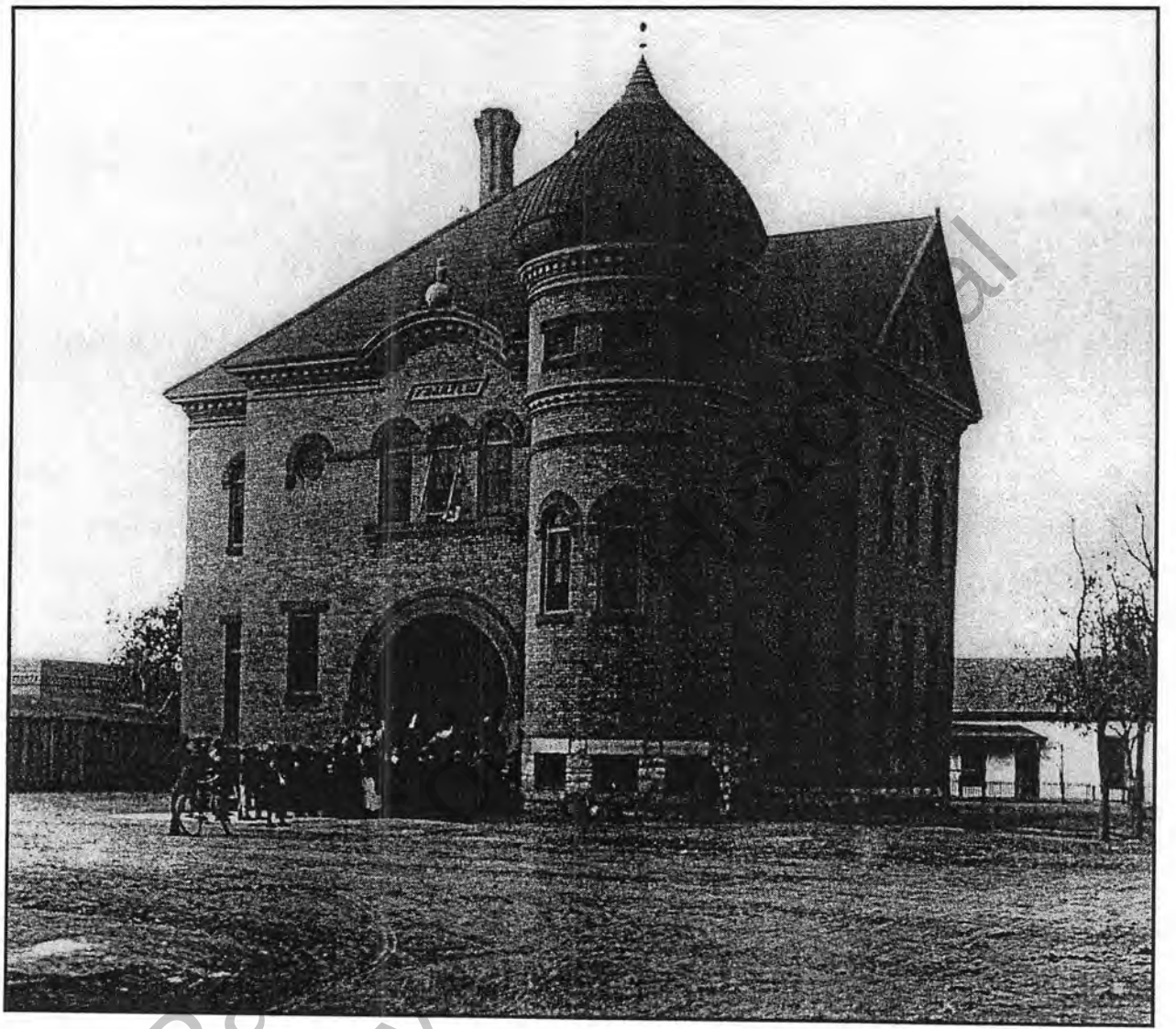


Figure 2:13. Franklin School at Leon and Overland Streets (ca. 1910).

England, founded the El Paso Steam Laundry at 118 Overland Street and later moved the facility to 901 Santa Fe Street. This was the largest and oldest cleaning establishment in El Paso. In 1892, Sylvester Watts built the first well to supplement the city's water supply near the Santa Fe railroad roundhouse west of the Union Plaza complex. Here there was a small community within *Chihuahuita* called *Las Bombas,* (the pumps), because of the pumps used in the river to obtain water. In 1892 the city of El Paso purchased the first steam pumper known as "Old No. 2," or "Old Steamer" (see Figures 2:14 and 2:15). In these days, it was the local tradition for property owners to reward firemen with a keg of beer after a fire had been put out (Metz 1980:47).

By 1893, the McGinty Club had placed its old Civil War cannon on top of "McGinty Hill" and fired it to usher in the Fourth of July. The canon became known as the "McGinty canon or the Schutz canon" and it had a history of being captured by the Confederates at Val Verde, New México and was stolen from El Paso by Mexican reolutionaries. After it was finally returned, the famous canon was destroyed for use in WWII. In 1894, El Paso purchased a 65-foot hook and ladder truck. Three horses were required to pull this apparatus and the city hired two full-time drivers and a tiller man; these men became the nucleus of the El Paso City professional fire department (Figure 2:16). Joseph Steiskal was in partnership with Conrad Becker and they operated the Lone Star Bakery at the northwest corner of Overland and Leoán Streets. In addition to his baking duties, Steiskal was assistant foreman of Hose Company No. 1. At this time, a fire alarm, a loud, foggy, resounding whistle, was mounted on top of the electric plant. It could be heard throughout town. Each fire box was numbered and, consequently, there was no doubt as to the location of specific fires. During this time, Thomas Hartman was second assistant fire chief and general agent for the A. M. Davis Company of New York. Hartman represented the Davis Company in the Southwest and bought hides in that capacity. His office and warehouse was located on San Francisco Street between Durango and Anthony Streets (El Paso Times 1953). The City Hall at West Overland Street was remodeled in 1890 and the City Council met there every Friday at 7:30 PM. From these chambers, most of the city ordinances and resolutions were enacted in 1896, resulting in the care of domestic animals. The city pound was located across the alley from Second and Chihuahua Streets, and Robert F. Cambell way Mayor (El Paso Times 1953). In 1895, the El Paso-Juárez Street Railway

Figure 2:14. First at Chihuahua. Steamer, Model (1888).

Figure 2:15. This picture was taken in front of the old Central fire and police station on the southeast corner of Overland and South Stanton Streets in 1908. The rig in front is the hose cart, immediately followed by the steam pumper. The "Hook and Ladder" with its team of three is just emerging from the doorway. This famous "steamer" was the pride and joy of El Paso and is still on hand as a relic in the Central Station of our outstanding fire department.

Figure 2:16. Central Station. Overland and Santa Fe (1900).

Company was established at 409 Santa Fe Street. Joseph Magoffin was the president of the company and the stables were located in Juárez. The acequia south of San Francisco Street was still in use in 1896 at a point slightly east of the present Santa Fe and El Paso Street alleys. The great flood of 1897 did minimal damage to this area, and most flood waters were confined to south of Second Street (Paisano Drive) in the railyards. In 1899, City Hall at Santa Fe Street was moved to a new location at Myrtle and Kansas Streets. The old City Hall (Figure 2:17) continued in use for commercial purposes and later became known as the El Paso Quartermaster Corps building (Calleros 1954:28).

At the turn of the century, the Union Plaza complex was known for numerous business establishments. These included Krakauer, Zork, and Moye, at 117 San Francisco, which sold hardware, machinery, and supplies. Haymond Krupp had a tall structure at the corner of Santa Fe and Overland Streets and manufactured shirts. Houck and Dieter Company was situated at 125 San Francisco and was a major wholesale liquor dealer. James J. Longwell had a livery stable at 116 San Francisco and later provided automobile, hack, transfer, baggage, and storage services. The Palace Stables, located at 307 San Francisco, provided boarding, feed, and sales. It was owned by C. C. Ballinger. Chalmers Motor Company, at 205 Santa Fe, were major suppliers of Chalmers motor cars and supplies. The Ingersol-Rand Company, at 121 San Francisco, was run by W. A. Townsend and it sold mining and quarry machinery. The Mine and Smelter Supply Company, at 410 San Francisco (Figure 2:18) was operated by William D. Gordon and offered mining, milling, smelting, electrical, and irrigation machinery and supplies. H. A. Carpenter and Brothers, at 303 San Francisco, provided mining and mill machinery, sewer pipes, and fired bricks. Another machinery company, at 506 San Francisco, was Sullivan Machinery Company; D. M. Sutor was the manager. V. E. Raggio ran the Southwest General Electric Company at 500 San Francisco (Figure 2:19). At 406 San Francisco, was the Western Motor Supply Company that sold automobile supplies and accessories. Western Transfer and Storage was located at 518 San Francisco and offered hauling, storage and distribution for manufacturers. At 401 Santa Fe was the International Cigar Factory owned by Mrs. Olga Kohlberg (Figure 2:20). The Badger Fuel Company, at 212 Second Street, sold wood, feed, and building materials. At 118 Durango, Pegram and Loretz Company sold wholesale produce, fruits,

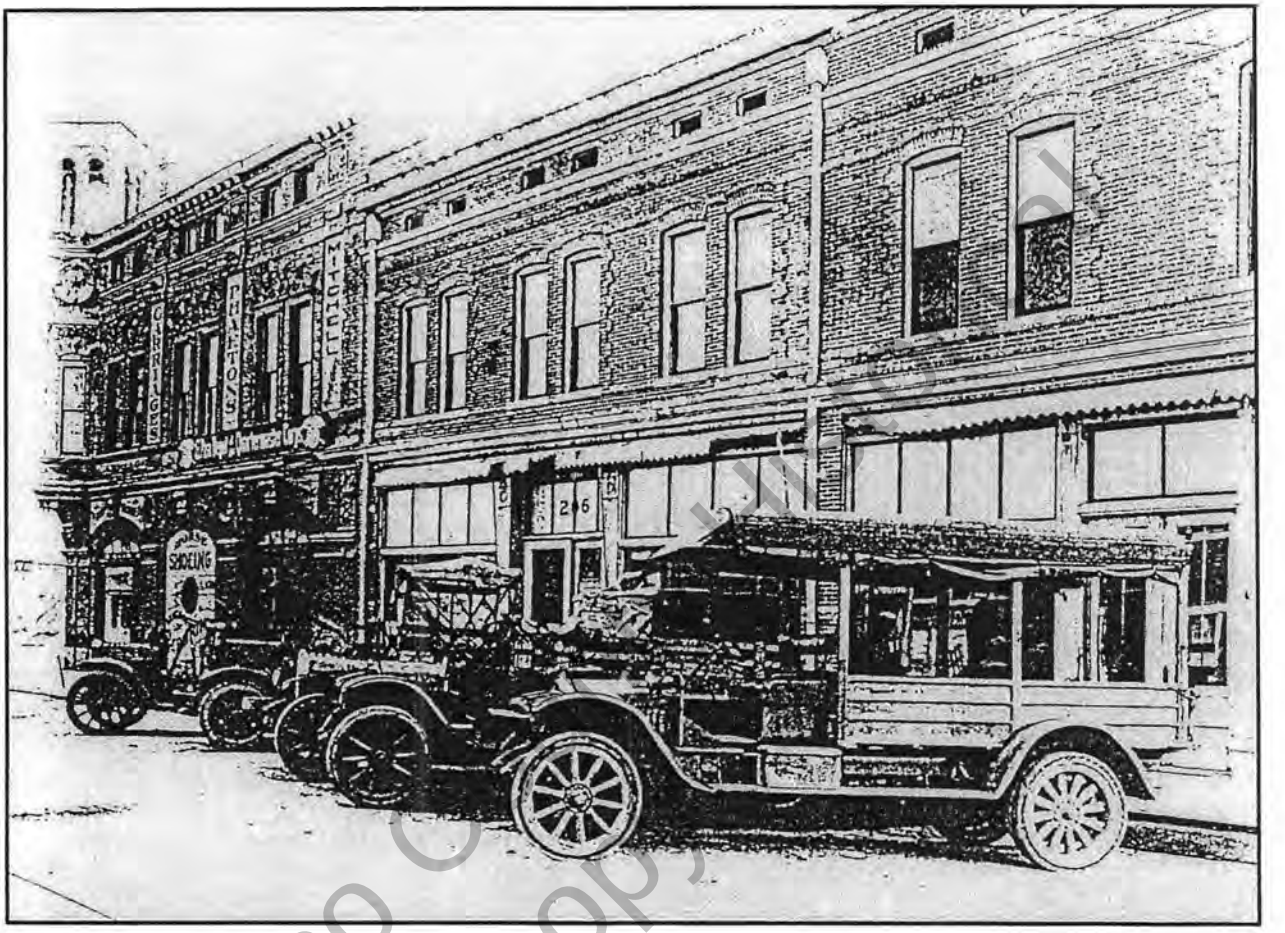


Figure 2:17. El Paso Quartermaster Corps Building (1916). South Santa Fe and West Overland Streets.

Figure 2:18. San Francisco Street. Looks west toward Union Depot. Mine and Smelter Supply Co., Hotel Carlyle (center).

Figure 2:19. Southwest General Electric Company. Corner of San Francisco and Durango Streets (ca. 1920s).

Figure 2:20. Kohlberg Brothers International Cigar Factory at 401 Santa Fe Street (date unknown).

and candies. On the southwest corner of Leon and Second Streets was Heid Brothers, that sold wholesale and retail feed, coal, wood, and building materials. James A. Dick operated the Western Coffee Company at 510 San Antonio Street. The Schuster Commission Company was established at Overland and Chihuahua Streets and were merchandise brokers and manufacturers agents. W. E. Lowe had the Troy Steam Laundry at 111 Overland. Ephraim Keplex, at 507 San Antonio, had a produce store. At 325 Leon a wholesale grocer, named Franklin Brothers, was situated. M. M. Hamlin ran the Southwestern Printing Company, at 103 Chihuahua Street, and specialized in commercial printing. T. J. Woodside Company was located at 320 Second Street and were customs brokers. The Lone Star Motor Company, at 400 San Antonio Street (Figure 2:21), was the major and largest auto department in the city at the time (Worely 1913).

In 1904, construction of the Union Depot was begun. The general contractor was Buchanan and Powers. The design of the depot was done by the noted Chicago architectural firm of Daniel Burnham who also designed the railroad depot in Washington, D. C. Since the area for the depot required fill, McGinty hill fell victim to the steam shovel. The Union Depot was completed in 1906 (Figures 2:18,:22,:23,:26,:28). Numerous well-known persons paused at the depot in journeys between the east and west coasts and to México. By 1908, Franklin School had 100 Mexican students of a total enrollment of 163. Many Mexican families began to settle in the neighborhood and it was referred to as *Durangito* "little Durango." In 1909, Franklin School unfurled an American flag at the top of the school for winning best fire drill in the city. Teacher Mrs. Mary Ross Keigter, a descendant of Betsy Ross, raised the flag and Judge Sweeney was master of ceremonies (El Paso Herald 1909).

The El Paso Chamber of Commerce was founded in 1899 in the Herald building at 107 San Francisco and later moved to a new building at 310 San Francisco (Figure 2:24). It was here, on 16 October 1909, that Presidents William Howard Taft, and José de la Cruz Porfirio Díaz met. This marked the first time an American and a Mexican president had visited a foriegn country. Díaz, became President following a coup in 1876 and governed México for 31 years, except from 1880-1884, until 1911. It was the occasion of the first U. S. presidential visit to El Paso and the first

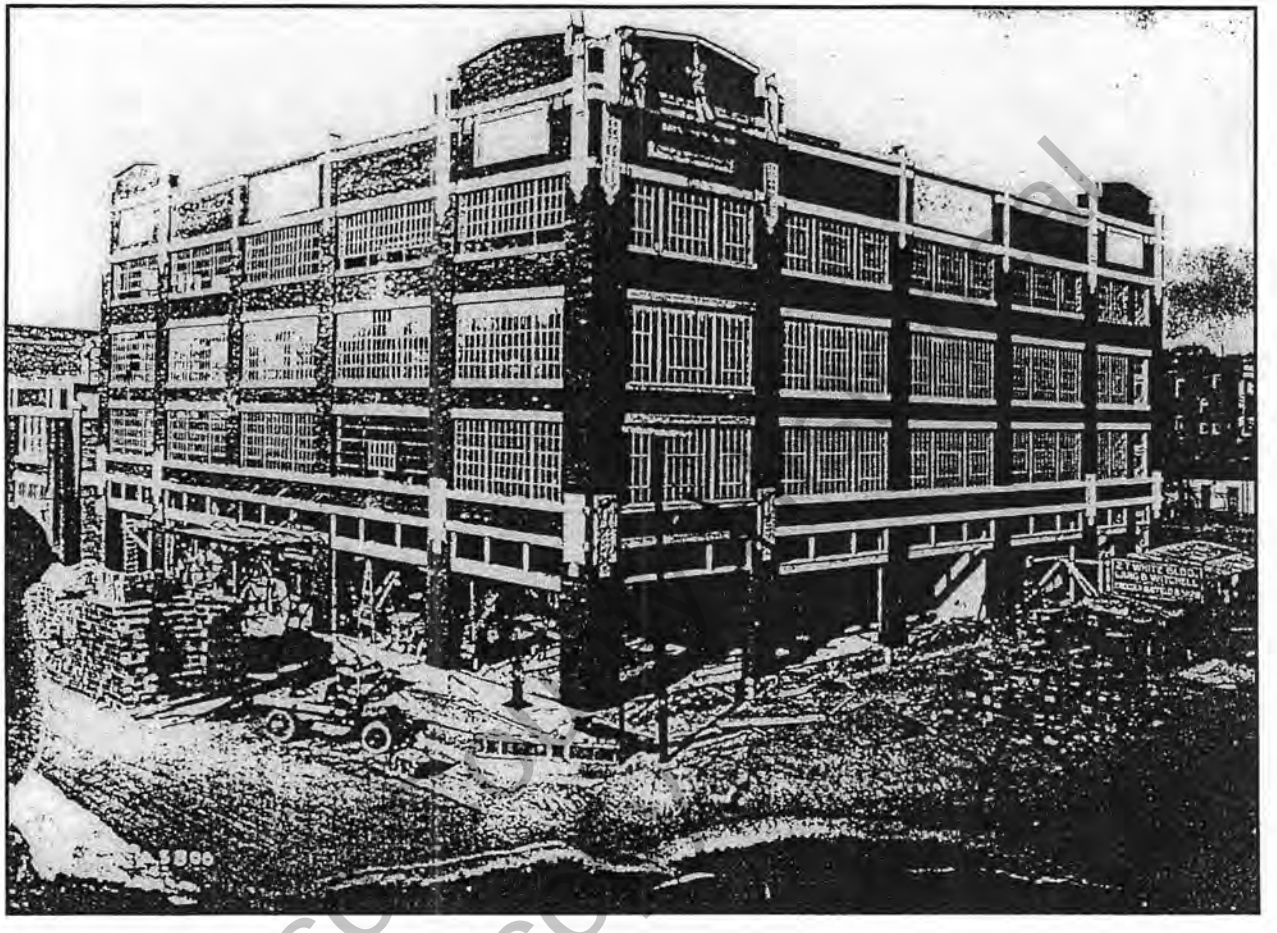


Figure 2:21. Lone Star Motor Company, 301-315 West San Antonio. Under Construction (date unknown).

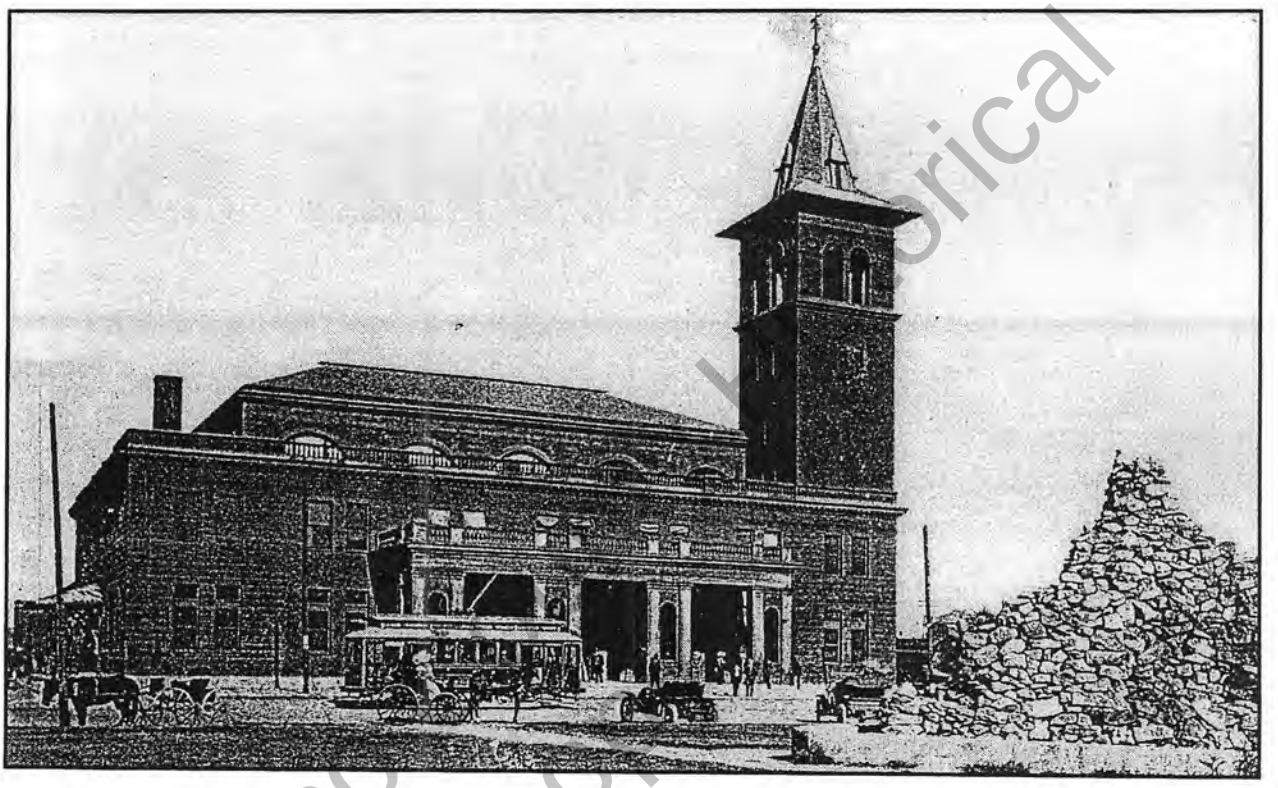


Figure 2:22. Union Depot (1906).

Figure 2:23. San Francisco Street. Westward view, South Union Depot (1910-1920).

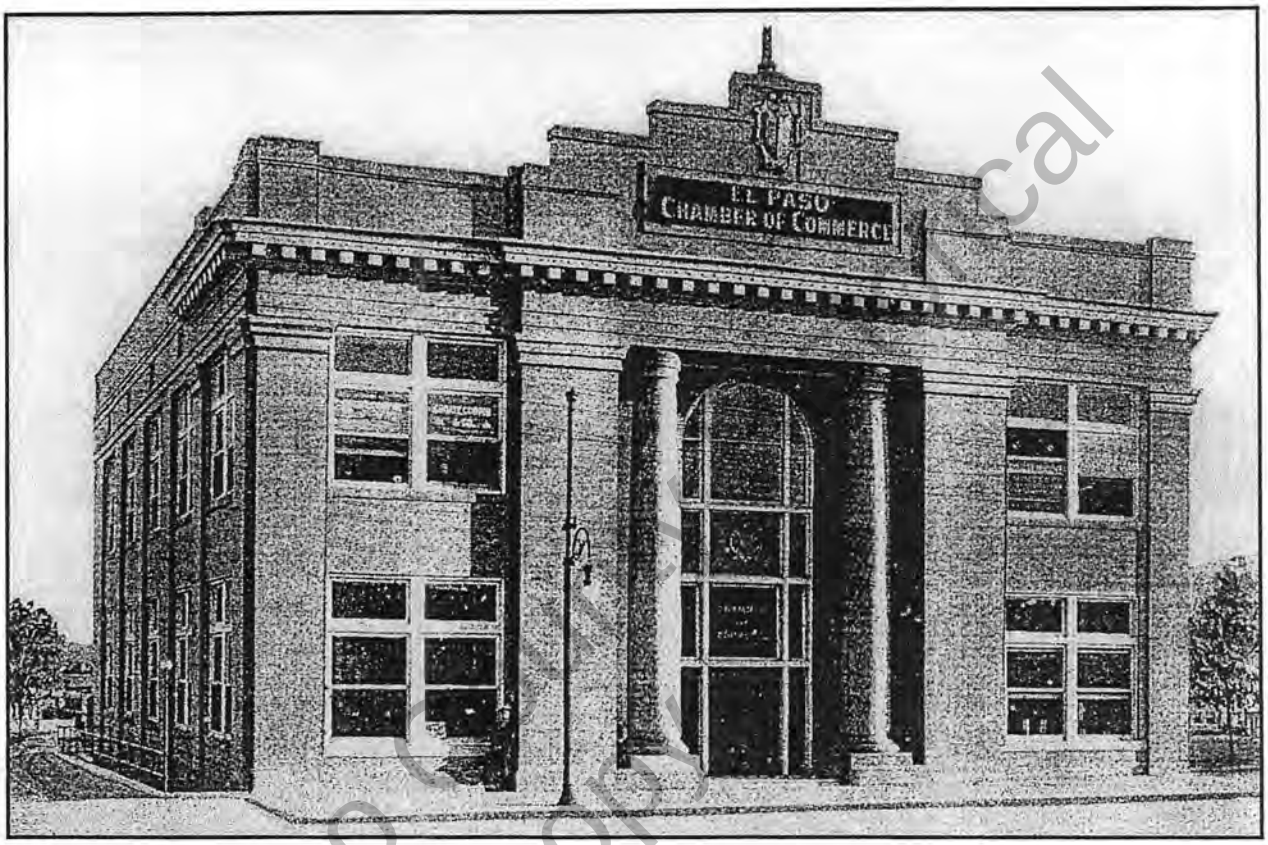


Figure 2:24. Chamber of Commerce Building, El Paso, Texas.

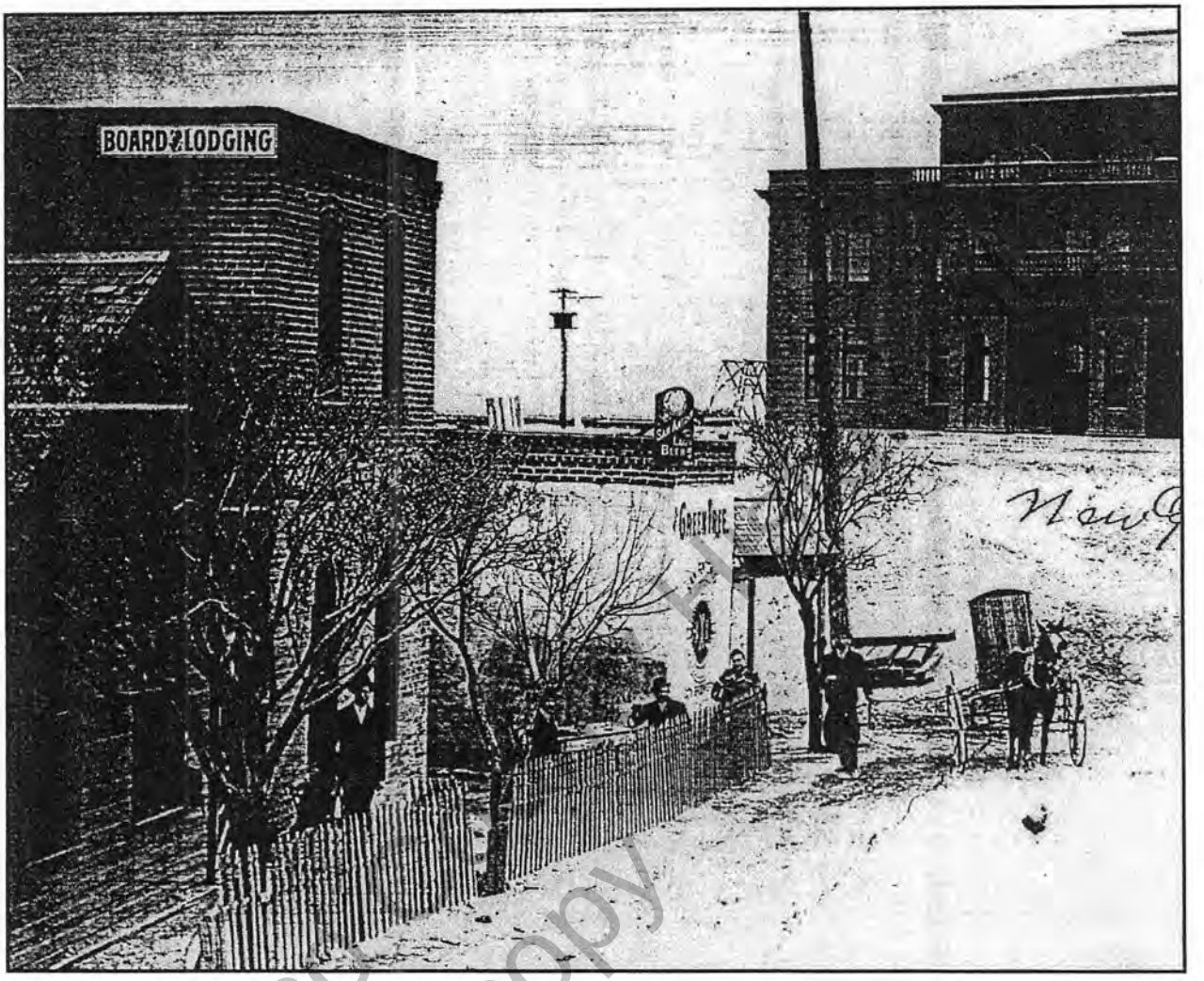


Figure 2:25. "Old" Greentree Hotel and Union Depot in background (early 1900s).

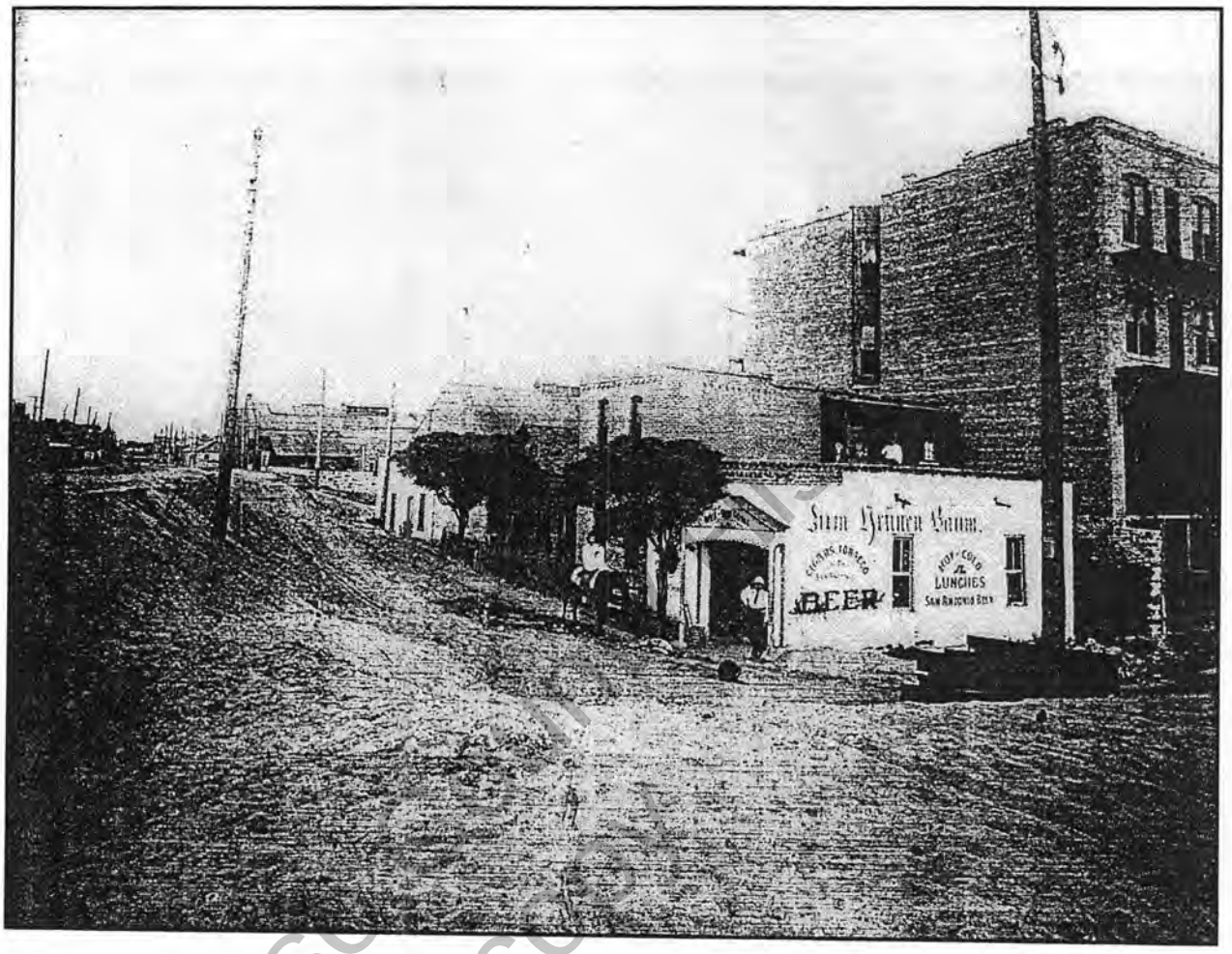


Figure 2:26. "Old" Greentree Hotel. Note street is not raised. San Antonio looking east (early 1900s).

Figure 2:27. View of Depot and "Old" Greentree looking across Santa Fe tracks (1906-1907).

Figure 2:28. Construction of the "new" Greentree (street level raised) Bristol Hotel on left (1909).

Mexican presidential visit to the U. S. After toasting and ceremony, Taft visited the (still extant) old Customs House in Juárez for similar celebrations. Also in 1909, across the tracks and near the Union Depot, the Woman's Club of El Paso raised funds for a YMCA. The El Paso Streetcar Company laid tracks on San Francisco Street from Davis Street to San Jacinto Plaza. A small circle of tracks existed in front of the Union Depot for the trolley to turn around. Here was a small park and circular pile of rocks (Figure 2:22). After construction of the Union Depot, numerous hotels began to spring up and cater to railway passengers in the Union Plaza complex. The major hotels were: the Alberta, at 121 San Francisco; the Carlyle, at 416 San Francisco (Figure 2:18); the Raymond, at 518 San Francisco; The Bristol, at 600 San Francisco; The Greentree, at 604 San Francisco; the Krahmer, at 606 San Francisco; the Chicago, at 213 San Antonio; the Phoenix, at 201 Overland; the Knox, at 216 San Fransico Street; and the Gale at 338 Leon Street (Worely 1913).

Brief descriptions of two hotels, the Greentree and the Bristol, in the Union Plaza area, and photographs of both help define the impact of the Union Depot and the present condition of the area. The Greentree Hotel, opposite the depot on San Fransico Street, was established in 1882 by Paul Keating, Jr. and his mother Rosalie. It was adjacent to the Pfaff Hotel (later the Bristol), abuting it to the east. The Pfaff was the first "modern" hotel to be erected on San Francisco Street, the foundation completed in 1906 (El Paso Herald 1906). The "old " Greentree Hotel and German beergarten that sold San Antonio beer (Figure 2:25) stood at this location into the early 1900s. At this time the street had not been leveled and it was situated below a gradient to the north (Figure 2:26). Its location with respect to the Union Depot can also be seen in 1906-1907 (Figure 2:27). Construction of the "new" Greentree Hotel began in 1909 (Figure 2:28). It was completed in 1910 and San Francisco Street was leveled at this time (Figure 2:29). Also illustrated are the exterior and interior of the "new" Greentree Bar (Figures 2:30 and 2:31). Services included the New York Restaurant, the Greentree Lunch Stand, and the Greentree Bar (El Paso Herald 1915). The three-storey brick hotel was on the European plan, was lighted by electricity, and catered to miners, cattlemen, touists, and Southwestern residents (El Paso Chamber of Commerce 1911). The Greentree was razed in 1986. Its location, abutting the Bristol Hotel and with the R. B. Wicker Tire and Rubber Company building (still standing today) to the south can be seen in Figure 2:32. During

Figure 2:29. "New" Greentree completed (1909-1910). Note how street is leveled.

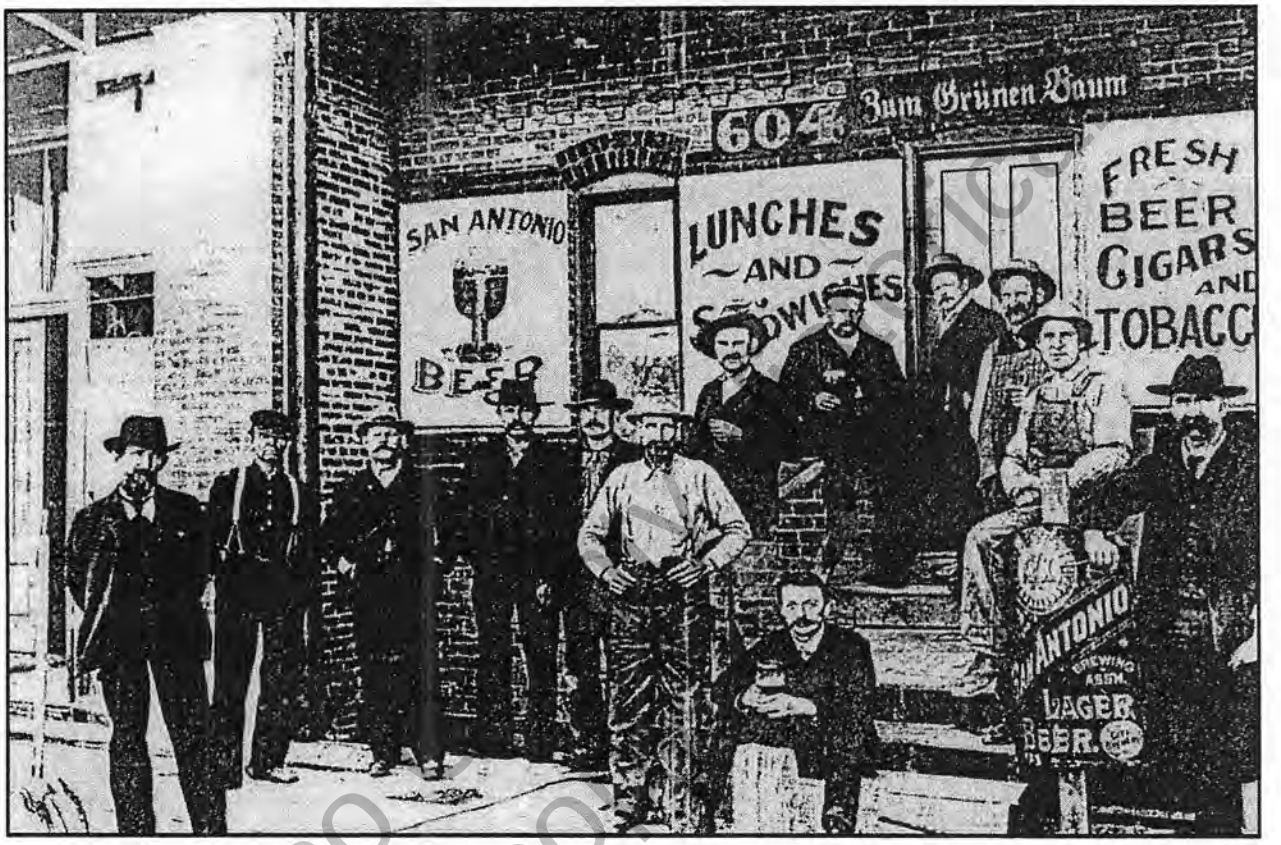


Figure 2:30. Exterior of "New" Greentree Bar at 604 San Francisco Street (1910).

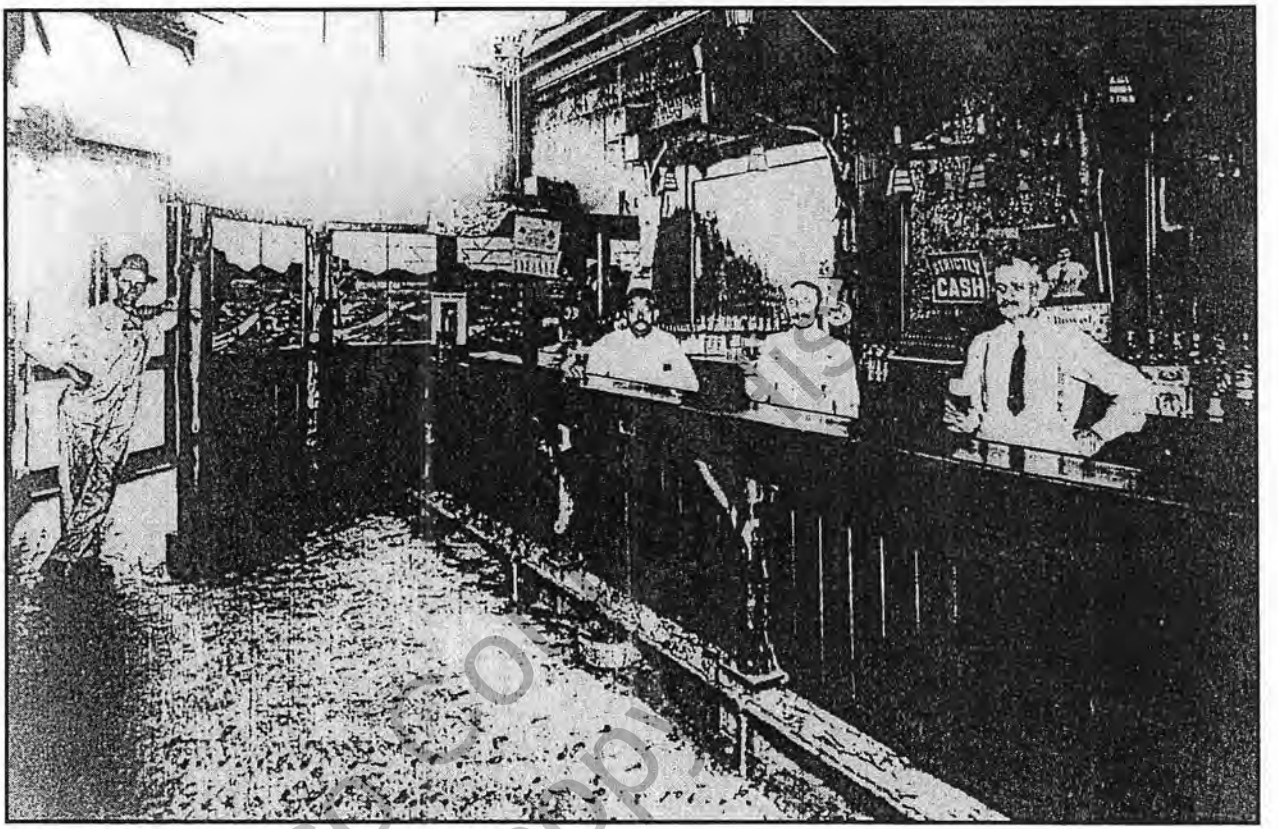


Figure 2:31. Interior of "New" Greentree Hotel Bar (1910).

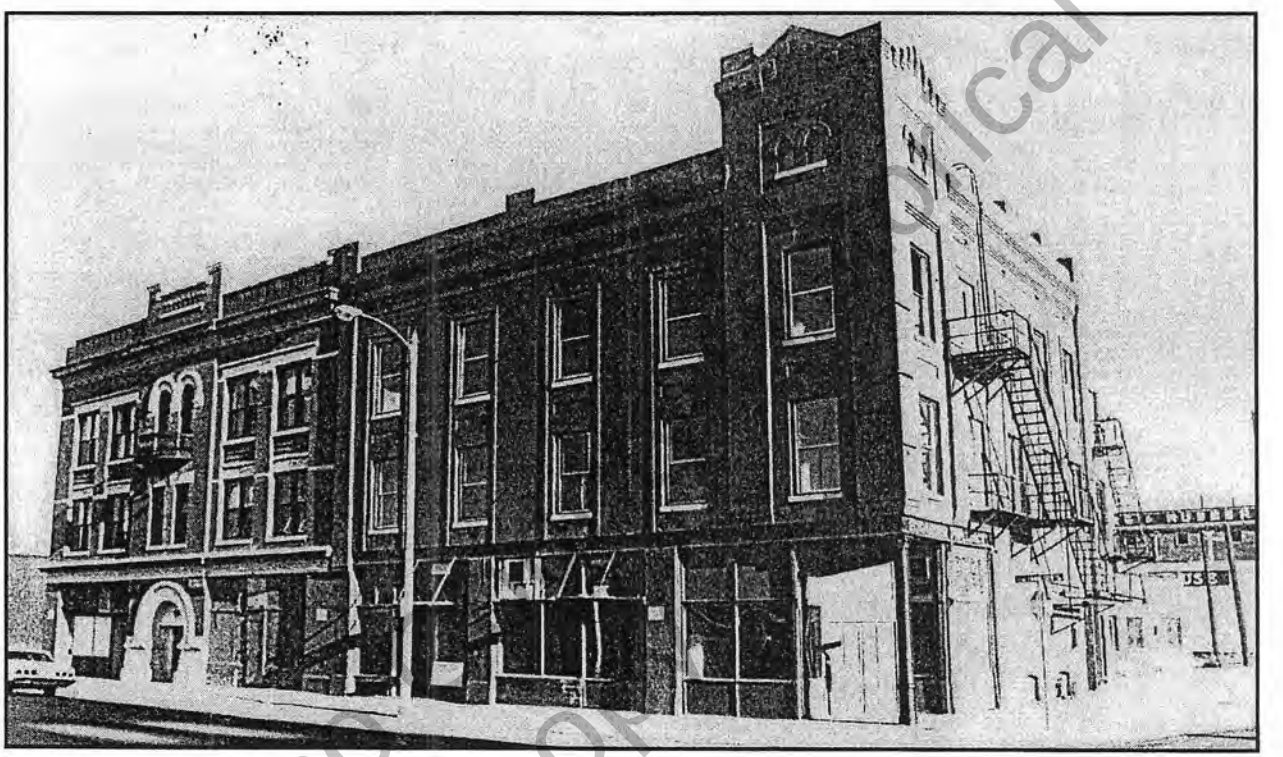


Figure 2:32. Greentree Hotel (September 1986).

demolition of the "new" Greentree Hotel, a time capsule was found within the cornerstone of the "old" Greentree. C. Kinchner of the San Antonio Brewery could not be present the day the cornerstone was laid, so he sent a note and a keg of beer. The note, a copy of the El Paso Herald Newspaper (5 Decemmber 1906), an assortment of photographs, and a four-page letter in German were placed in a copper box and set in the cornerstone. Demolition of the Greentree and Bristol Hotels began in September of 1986, revealing windows and a pillar in the basement indicating that the original walls of the 1882 structure had been used as the foundation of the twentieth century building. Despite pleas from Delma Ree Hutchins, the great-great-niece of Rosalie Keating (who founded the Greentree), and others, the City Council refused to declare them historic landmarks (El Paso Times 1986). The location is now a parking lot.

The Star Bakery was the major bakery in the area after the turn of the century and it was located near Franklin School on Overland Street. The Office of the El Paso Foundry and Machine Company was located at 301 San Francisco. The Union Depot had a Fred Harvey restaurant and the Silver King Cafe at 209 San Antonio also provided meals. The "Two by Four" Bar, at 311 San Francisco, was the most popular watering hole at this time in the area and it was located across the street from the Chamber of Commerce.

The Mexican Revolution began on 20 November 1910, and the Union Plaza complex area became involved in various ways with the revolution and persons famous, infamous, and unknown involved in that struggle. After the first battle of Ciudad Juárez in May of 1911, the U. S. Government recognized the strategic location of Fort Bliss, and by 1912, the post became the most important military installation along the border. In January of 1913, Dortoteo Arango, a.k.a. Pancho Villa, established a hideout in an alley apartment behind the corner of El Paso and Second Streets (Brady 1967:15). Free after four months of imprisonment in Mexico City, Villa resided in the section of El Paso known as *Chihuahuita*. The revolutionaries from México received firearms and ammunition from the nearby companies of Shelton-Payne Arms, Haymon Krupp, and Krakauer, Zork, and Moye. The revolutionary problems in México brought many refugee families to El Paso and specifically *Durangito*. In 1916, the enrollment at Franklin School reached 689. A wooden building was

obtained following Pershing's punitive expedition, and in rooms of the Star Bakery and a nearby warehouse refugee families were put up. Mrs. Alberta Madero, sister-in-law of Mexican President Francisco Madero, provided, with others, food for needy children in the Principal's office of Franklin School. By this time, the character of the neighborhood had changed from affluent to needy families (El Paso Herald Post 1972). Along San Francisco Street Troop H of the 8th Cavalry from Fort Bliss was posted in case of problems at the border. Some U.S. soldiers who were stationed here had children in Franklin School as well. In addition to numerous, uncounted, Mexican refugees, nearly 2000 Mormons reached El Paso in 1912. They were sheltered, vaccinated against small pox, and given free transportation to any point in the U. S. before the onset of winter (Department of Planning 1967:14).

In 1915, at 329 Leon Street (Figure 2:33), lived a friend of Pancho Villa named George Benton. Benton had a safe to store Villa's valuables such as currency, gold, and jewelry. On 10 November U. S. Customs officials raided the house on Leon and found more than $500,000, gold, and jewelry. The money was stacked in piles of bills, and drawers were filled with gold coins. None of the money was confiscated, but the jewelry was seized as it was claimed to had been smuggled into the U. S. (Peterson and Knoles 1977:195). Following Villa's raid on Columbus, New Mexico, in March of 1916, local Euroamericans began attacking Mexicans on Santa Fe Street. In one case, a Mexican of dark complection, escaped from an attack claiming he was not a Mexican, but a Negro (García 1981:191). In the same year, Fort Bliss rose to prominence again as the Punitive Expedition to México was initiated there. By 13 March, 2,700 additional troops were sent to the Post and later National Guard troops were also called to duty at Fort Bliss. By 1917, the guard units were sent home and Fort Bliss was returned to regular army occupation (Faunce 1997:116-118).

The Mexican Revolution had a profound affect on the population dynamics of El Paso. As Vigil (1980:147) notes, "Most adult chicanos presently living in the U. S. have a parent or grandfather who migrated to the U. S. during that time." Additionally, the Mexican civil war lasted throughout the decade and into the 1920s because land reform had been the key issue for the largely Mestizo population. In the U. S. immigration restrictions had been periodically relaxed and special

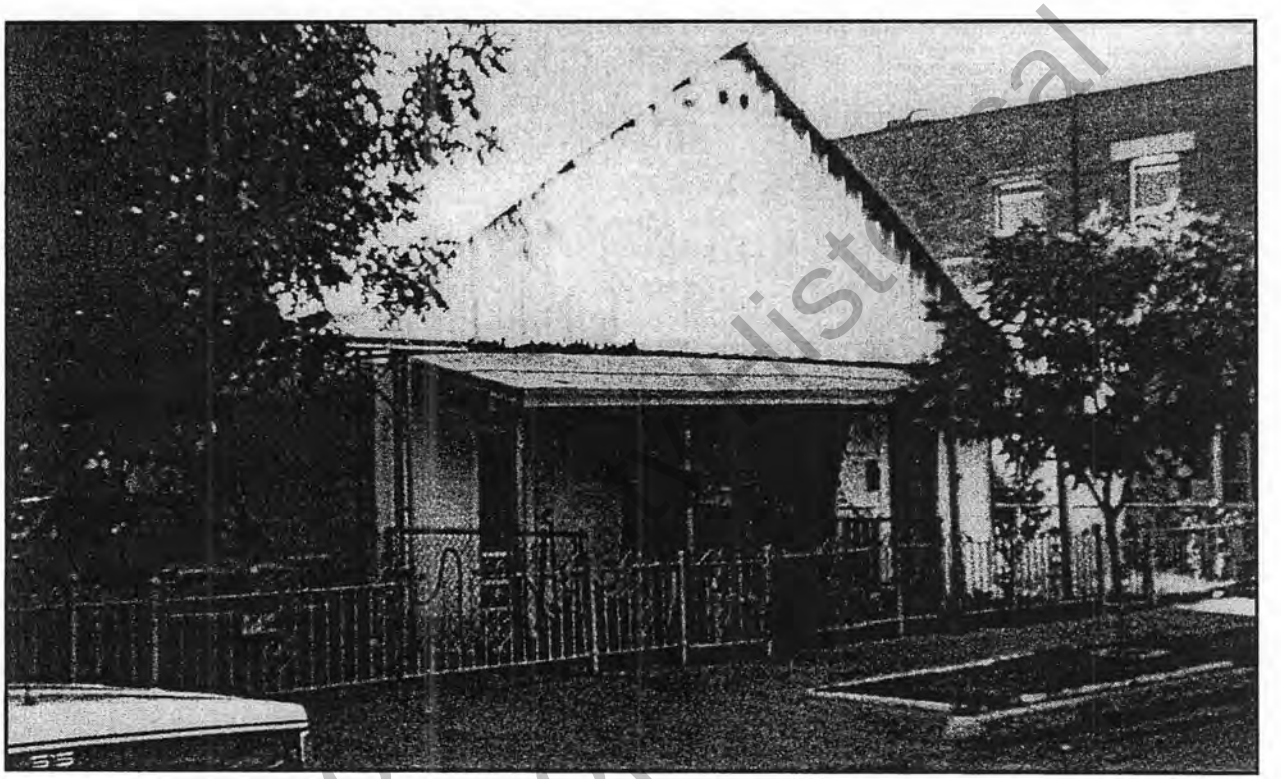


Figure 2:33. House at 329 Leon Street (recent photo).

migration treaties were enacted from time to time. During WWI and during the *Bracero* ("arms" or fieldhands) period of WWII, legal entrance was permitted of much needed Mexican laborers (Vigil 1980:148).

At this time a student at Franklin School named Luis Alonso lived at the 300 block of Overland Street. He later became known at Gilbert Roland, a well-known Mexican-American screen actor. After his success in Hollywood, he would return to his barrio and distribute candy to children on Christmas day. Rubén Moreno, a lesser-known actor, also attended Franklin School. In 1920, a new 14-classroom building was completed and Miss Annie Grey was the Principal with eight teachers when they moved to the new building which still stands at the corner of Leon and Overland Streets. The old school became the community's first vocational school with classes in auto repair, carpentry, and grammar (El Paso Herald Post 1972). In the same year, Mansour Farah opened a manufacturing plant, probably in the five-story Aronstein-Stevens Building which had housed the El Paso Times plant (Figure 2:11). Farah transformed his company from a small-time catalog and retail firm into an international manufacturing corporation. Farah moved from the location on Santa Fe Street in 1953, to quarters on Cotton and Third Streets. During the prohibition era, there were few problems with illicit alcohol as liquor, wine, and beer were readily available across the border. *Durangito* served as a hiding place for some smugglers who brought alcoholic beverages from Smeltertown and *Chihuahuita* for delivery to downtown "night spots." The area also contained numerous one-and two-story brick tenement buildings at this time. These structures had been built in the latter part of the Mexican revolution to house refugees along with the *barrio segundo* "second ward" and *Chihuahuita*. The residences had been constructed by Armenians, Jews, and Syrians. The locals referred to them as *presidios* (forts) and they were overcrowded, with one or two toilets for each building. The streets were not yet paved and trash accumulated in the alleys around and behind the tenements (García 1981:264). These were thought to be associated with health problems in the area. In 1923, the El Paso Chamber of Commerce launched a national publicity campaign to lure tourists to El Paso with the slogan, "El Paso: where the sunshine spends the winter" (Metz 1993:205). In 1924, the sister organization of the El Paso Chamber of Commerce, the woman's department, was founded. That same year, the Armed Forces YMCA building, at 300 San Francisco, was erected to

serve armed forces personnel and their dependents with a dormitory and recreational facilities. The structure was characterized by Spanish Renaissance style architecture and furnishings. This building sat at the site of the famous McGinty Club headquarters at the office of D. W. Reckharrt, its perpetual president (El Paso Times 1925). By this time the U. S. had closed the door to Asian immigration, and in 1924, placed quotas on southern and eastern European immigrants who had served as the labor force for more than 50 years. In El Paso, the labor pool was nearby, and Mestizos from México filled this need (Vigil 1980:148).

In 1925, El Paso hired George Kessler, a planning consultant to provide a detailed report on the city's problems and its future growth and needs. The report did not recommend changes for the Union Plaza complex area, except that a road or alternative route be constructed from the viaduct near the river bank to a point west of the Union Depot and then across the canal and the Santa Fe Railroad tracks to South Davis Street. This was recommended to eliminate a steep grade near the viaduct where horse-loads had been limited to haul horses that frequently dropped from over-exertion in attempting this pull and had to be killed (Kessler 1925:19). In 1927, ten aviators met on the fifth floor of the Times Building at 200 San Francisco Street to form the El Paso Aero Club. The main purpose of this club was to obtain a municipal airport for El Paso.

Following the arrival of the railroads, interurban traffic was a reality, but inner-urban transportation changed more slowly and was still limited to pedestrian transport and draft-animal vehicles. These forms of transportation were effected by geography. Horse-drawn streetcars (Figure 2:34) were restricted to level parts of the city because horses and mules could not pull passengers up and down steep grades. Slight grades could be negotiated by smaller, horse-drawn carriages, and those who could afford such conveyances had access to hilltop building sites such as Sunset Heights. Electric trolley systems profoundly altered the pattern of urban life after the turn of the century, but like the horse-drawn carriage, had limited hill-climbing abilities. It was the introduction of automobiles (late in El Paso) that led to expanded inner-urban transportation, but only among those who could afford them. Even today, much of the transportation, including international, in El Paso remains

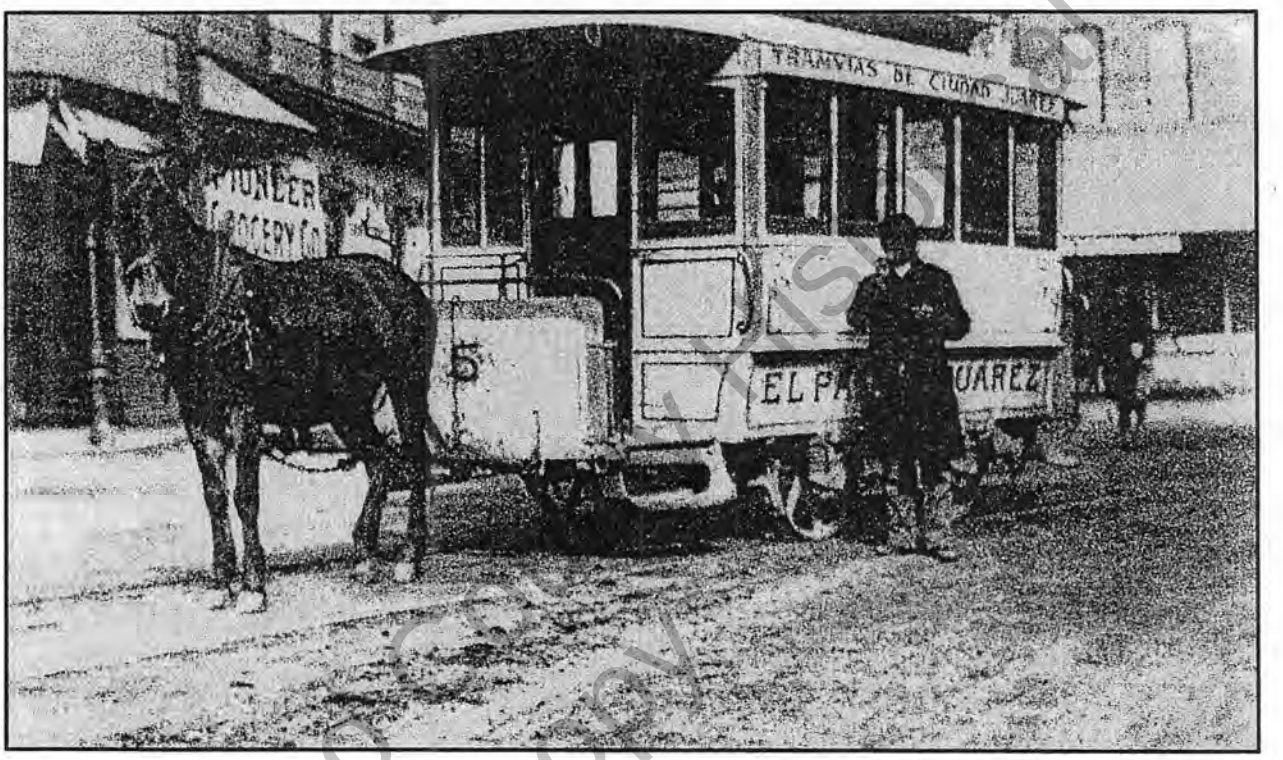


Figure 2:34. Mule Car No. 5 in El Paso's "Little Plaza" (1900).

pedestrian. Another form of transportation was a series of hand-pulled ferries across the Río Grande from Mexico to the U. S. As late as 1907, there were 15 to 20 of these in operation (Zhao 1995:55). One of these was located at the base of Santa Fe Street.

In the 1930s, the Union Plaza complex area was hit by the great depression and some residents decided to return to México. Still, some businesses continued to thrive and provide jobs to area residents. Among these were Tri-State Motors, at 300 San Antonio Street, Motor Supply Company of El Paso, at 308 Chihuahua Street, Greyhound Lines, at 212 San Francisco Street, Goff Motor Company, at 216 San Antonio Street, Watkins Motor Company, at 400 San Antonio Street, and Texas Cities Gas Company, at 401 Chihuahua Street. The newer hotels at this time were the Chieftain, at 104 Leon Street, the Smith, at 115 Santa Fe Street, the Station, at 305 San Francisco Street, the Glenn, at 316 San Francisco Street, the Lewis, at 217 San Antonio Street, the Leon, at 315 San Antonio Street, the Arlington, at 213 San Francisco Street, the Knox, at 214 San Francisco Street, and the Tri-State, at 429 San Antonio Street. Some apartments were well known at this time as well. These included: the Halcyon, at 504 San Antonio, the Essex, at 513 San Antonio, and the Anthony, at 516 San Antonio Street. Well known taverns in the area were the Riverside, at 201 Overland, the Greentree, at 608 San Francisco, the Town, at 201 San Antonio, and the old "Two by Four" at 311 San Francisco Street. Depression-era businesses in the area included: The El Paso Grocery Company, at 220 Overland, the Altman Photo Company, at 204 San Francisco, the Guthrie Mattress Company, at 310 Second, the Cactus Candy Factory, at 427 Second, Mckesson Service, at 420 San Antonio, which dealt in wholesale drugs, and Graham Paper Company, at 201 Anthony. Later, the R. B. Wicker Tire and Rubber Company (Figure 2:32) was established at Anthony and San Antonio Streets in the building that had housed the Cornudas Cattle Company. Near the Greentree Hotel on San Francisco and Davis Streets was the little green park where the trolley turned around (Figure 2:22). Later, Davis Street was changed to Coldwell Street and the nearby park, according to Robert Kelly (personal communication), was called Grace Schepp Park. Nearby was Western Street which before had been known as Station Street and here was located the Western Coffee Company. A few adobe houses existed on Davis Street. A huddle of small adobes, with rooftops at street level, were situated in an old meander (ca. 1857) of the Río Grande in this area. Finally, the community

fire station (Figure 2:35) was erected at the corner of Santa Fe and Second Streets (El Paso City Directory 1938).

By 1940, the Mansion House, at 306 Overland, reopened as a brothel, but under tough new rules. The Mansion House had been a brothel since its inception in 1900, and featured signs with the girl's names on all the bedroom doors (Frost 1983:177). It and many other such establishments, most on South El Paso Street, had been closed by the city in 1938. Tom Walker's Mansion House was the favorite, and it reopened in the "zone of tolerance" (Frost 1983:235). While most prostitutes assumed aliases to protect their families from embarrassment, some at the Mansion House endeared themselves to WWII GIs with "night names" such as Cherry Lane, Ava Ilable, and Pearle Harbor on their calling cards. Here, patrons bought theatre-style tickets stamped "Mansion House" which were exchanged for 15-minute trysts (Frost 1983:244-245). Today, the Mansion House still stands at its original location as the Central Lodging House. Also in the 1940s, the Union Depot underwent remodeling to give the architecture a Spanish character by removing the steep roof line and covering the brick with stucco. Also the spire on the top of the belltower was removed and the red tile was palced on the roof of the structure (see cover illustration). Several of the depot's windows and ornate glass decorations were covered with white paint. (In 1982, the depot was renovated to its original form, the stucco was removed, and the steeple was replaced on the tower).

According to Modesto Gomez, a prominent El Paso businessman, there were also gang fights at this time in El Paso. One gang apparently resided in *Durangito* and warred with a south side gang in regular "rock fights." Additionally, there were Braceros who lived on Leon and Chihuahua Streets and boarded buses to work in the Upper Valley farm fields (El Paso Times 1979). Many young Hispanic men from the Union Plaza area also served in WWII. In 1947, Second Street became Paisano Drive and part of then U. S. Highway 80, (now the Border Highway). Paisano Drive was the predecessor of the current freeway (Interstate 10). It was designed to speed up traffic on Highway 80 and funnel traffic around the downtown area. When the highway was widened, there were protests over the destruction of houses on Second Street. By 1948, Franklin School had 554 pupils; the original building was razed in 1950. The metal Owl that sat upon the globe above the

Figure 2:35. Fire Station at Santa Fe and Second Streets (date unknown).

doorway was given as a memento to Mrs. Juan Manzanares who lived nearby on Overland Street. She later gave the owl to Franklin's most celebrated graduate, screen star Gilbert Roland (El Paso Herald Post 1972). By the mid-1960s, most of the hotels and business that made up the Union Plaza area had virtually disappeared. The Martinez Grocery, at 300 Overland, the Economy Grocery, at 220 Chihuahua, and Serrano's Cafe, at 317 Overland, were still in operation. Hicks and Ponder Company, one of El Paso's largest jean manufacturers, was still in business at 500 Overland Street as was the National Restaurant Supply Company at 320 West San Antonio Street, where it is today.

In June of 1968, a $15 million bond issue for a civic center in the downtown area was passed and all the buildings in the vicinity were demolished within the area bounded by San Francisco, San Antonio, Durango, and Santa Fe Streets (Timmons 1989:263).

Acknowledgements. We thank Barbara Rees, Curator El Paso Historical Society, for faciltating our research. Cindy Magallanes, Graciela Flores and Yolanda Ochoa helped locate archival photographs at the El Paso Historical Society, the El Paso Public Library and Norwest National Bank.

NOTES

1. Neighborhoods are social regions where people with shared values and concerns interact daily.

2. At that time, a second colony had been established 13 miles south of the present location of Albuquerque at the pueblo of *Isleta*, "little island." When the Spanish arrived at this pueblo in 1598 it was situated on an island in the Rio Grande. In 1700 the pueblo was known as San Augustín de la Isleta. Today the pueblo is east of the river on high ground (Pearce 1965:74-75). The residents of this pueblo had not participated in the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, although they spoke the same language (Tiwa) as the revolt leaders from Taos and Picuris Pueblos, north and south of Taos, respectively. Their [historic and] modern name, Tigua, is derived from the Spanish rendering of their language.

CHAPTER 3

OVERSEAS CHINESE IN DOWNTOWN EL PASO

Anna Fahy

INTRODUCTION

The Chinese community was a component of the Union Plaza as evidenced by the presence of Chinese laundry premises dating back to the late 1800s. To fully appreciate the contribution of the Chinese community to the development of the project area, this investigation evaluated a larger body of data collected from the districts adjoining the Union Plaza, most important, El Paso's Chinatown that borderd the Union Plaza on the east and north (Figure 3:1).

The experience of the overseas Chinese in the U.S. and along the Mexican border region presents an impressive historical, geographical and archaeological record of the fascinating cultural mingling of eastern and western civilizations. The record is enriched by the border environment itself compounded by exclusionary immigration laws in the U.S. and México, and by the Mexican Revolution. This research addresses the need for further study of the cultural remains of the Chinese communities of the Chihuahuan and Sonoran desert regions and the recognition of their many contributions to this multicultural area.

It is necessary to address potential excavation and preservation of the regional Chinese culture because little research has been conducted. The intent here is to recognize and identify opportunities to learn of Chinese impact on the region so it can be studied in the future. To approach the issue of possible archaeological excavation it is necessary to ask questions such as where the juxtaposition of deposition and transformation occurred, are transformation processes still going on, and if so, where might they be found in combination? This issue is especially important in light of the proposed construction sites associated with El Paso's downtown renovation projects, such as a $5 million shopping mall on Oregon Street mentioned in *El Paso Herald-Post* on Friday, November

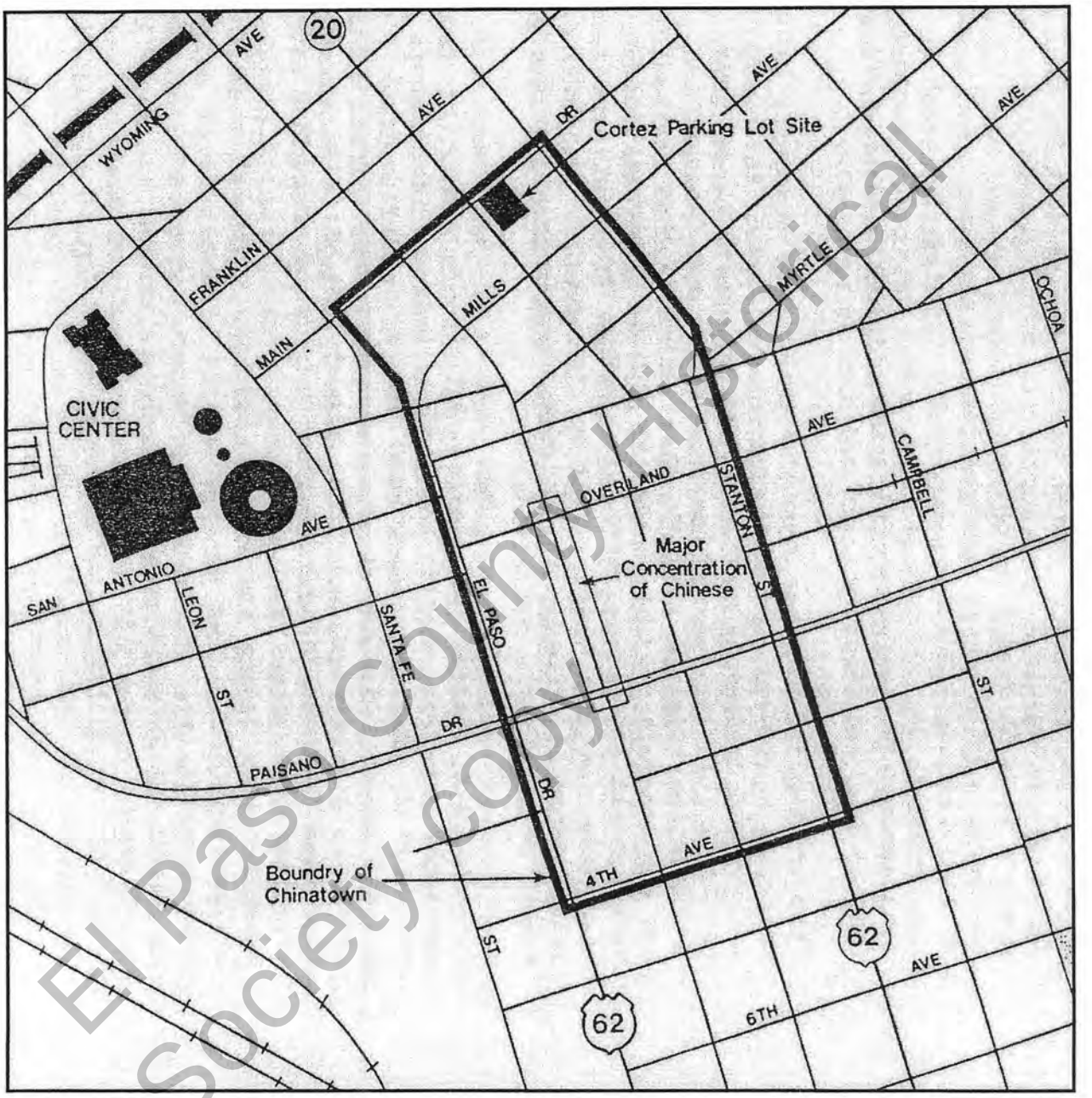


Figure 3:1. Cortez parking lot excavations, and the core boundaries of El Paso Chinatown.

24, 1995, and the Union Plaza Renovation Project. How and if excavation might occur depends on whether a site is located in the U.S. or México, as well as determination of the necessary processes and the feasibility of pursuing such excavation. Dense population areas such as that of El Paso's Chinatown where a Joss House (a type of Chinese temple), Figure 3:2, a Chinese Masonic Temple (associated with the *Chee Kung* Tong location), the Chinese Nationalist Party (*Kuo Min Tong* [*Kuomingtang* or *Guomindang*]), and a large variety of Chinese merchants and living quarters were located, providing opportunities to learn about and preserve at least part of the local Chinese culture. Figure 3:3 is a representative photograph of a Joss House alter and a ceremony.

The methods used in this preliminary research include consideration of demographics, documents, maps, previous archaeological studies, interviews, literary materials, census records, newspaper articles, city directories, old telephone books and oral history interviews. All information pertaining to the Ciudad Juárez Chinatown is from the oral history interview with Enrique Woo, and the Lilly Soo Hoo and Lawton Wong, oral history interviews describe their family experiences of growing up in El Paso's Chinese community. Additional information was obtained from documented interviews, literature and archival materials.

GENERAL BACKGROUND

The Chinese Culture: Customs, Religious Philosophies, Folklore and the Supernatural

To understand the Chinese it is helpful to know a few of their cultural characteristics. Information about their ancestral and family ties, how their names were chosen, and their religions philosophies and supernatural beliefs provide insights into their daily lives. Many of these cultural traits are still practiced by the overseas Chinese, and efforts are being made to preserve them in the younger generations of this region by organizations such as the Chinese Benevolent Society of El Paso, and the Chinese Baptist Church in El Paso.

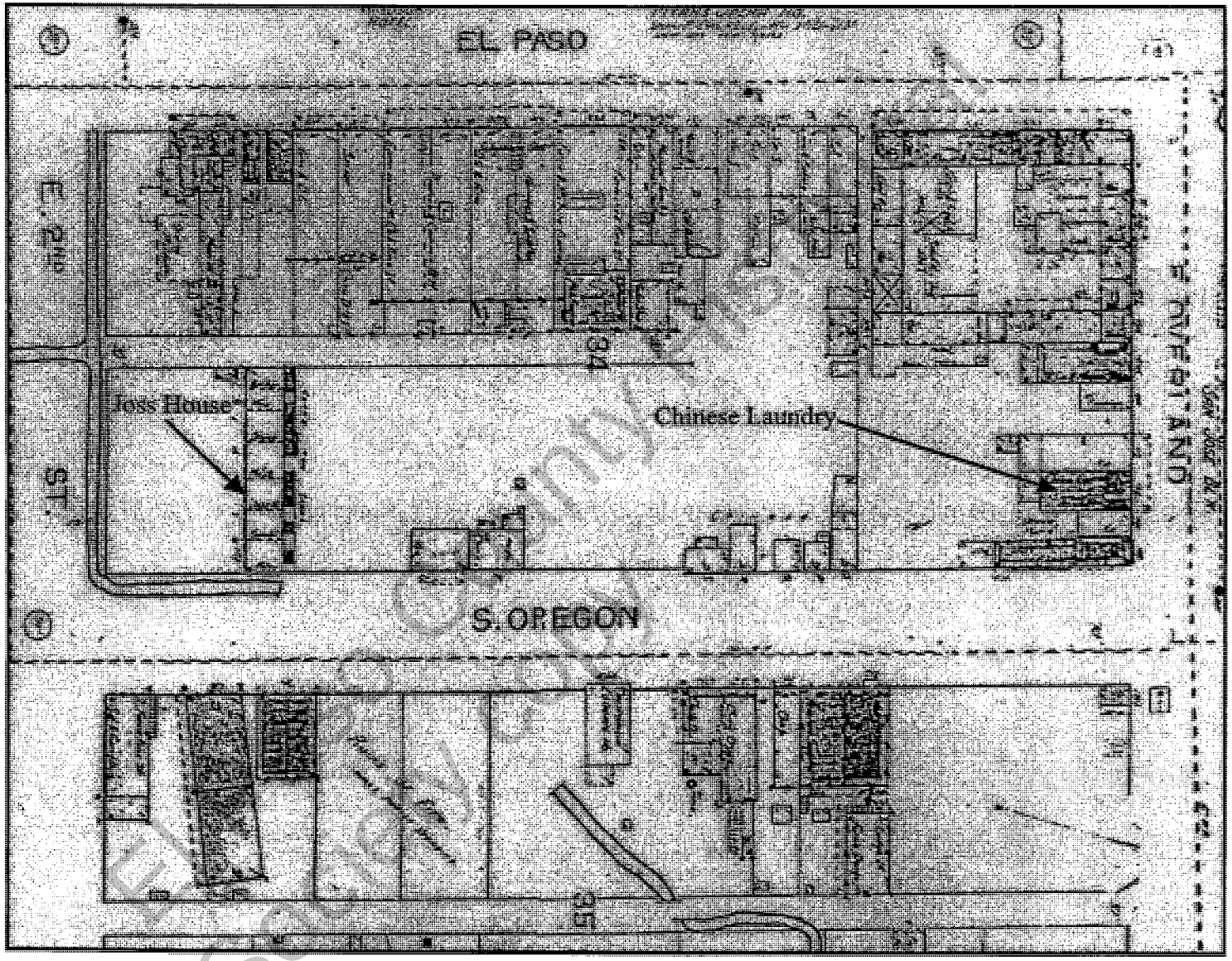


Figure 3:2. Core Area of El Paso Chinatown for 1893 American Fire Insurance Map.

Figure 3.3. Ceremonies at a Joss House.

One unique feature of the Chinese culture is that the last name is said first. The middle name identifies the generation within the family and is shared and common to a family. Traditionally, Chinese names were derived from a family poem book. "There are but 438 surnames in China" (Sung 1967:18). An example of how a poem book works is found in *Hawaii* by James A. Michener (1959:435-436) which offers this poem, "Spring pervades the continents; earth's blessings arrive at your door. The heavens increase another year; and man acquires more age." One of Michener's characters explains that this is a complicated system, one the Chinese people are proud of, and consider the most sane way to name people. This narrative describes the process:

> In China we have only a few family names. In my area less than a hundred. All one syllable. All easy to remember, *Lum, Chung, Yip, Wong.* But we have no given names like Tom or Bob . . . What we do is take the family name, *Kee*, and add to it two ordinary words. They can be anything, but taken together they must mean something. Suppose my father were *Kee* and believed that I would be the beginning of a long line of scholars. He might name me *Kee Chun Fei*, Kee Spring Glorious . . . From the poem we receive the mandatory second name. All men in the first generation had to be named *Chun*, Spring, from the first word in the poem. All their offspring in the second generation had to be named *Mun*, Pervades. And all the third generation, must be named from the third word in the poem, *Chow*, Continent. There is no escaping this rule and the benefit is this. If *Soy Kee Munki* meets a stranger named *Kee Mun Tong*, they know instantly that they are probably cousins. Not just any name can be added, only a scholar can be trusted to pick the right name, since a child's entire good fortune depends on it (Michener, 1959:436).

In addition to their naming system, the Chinese have many interesting traditions, religious philosophies and supernatural beliefs. The cultural aspects associated with the color red, for instance, signifies good fortune, or prosperity. The video *Discovering Chinese Culture Through Tours and Interviews* reported that, "Chinese people try to wear red with their clothing in some way for good luck" (El Paso ISD 1994). To further enhance of the color red they give money as gifts to the young in little red envelopes. This tradition is called *Leisi*, and is good luck money. These small red envelopes come in a variety of designs, ranging from simple to quite elaborate. Besides envelopes, the money can be folded inside a sheet of red paper. Red is a valued color because it is associated with blood which is life-giving. Also related to good or bad luck are the events associated with the beginning of the New Year, such as having a clean house and being debt free when the new year starts. This is supported in a *El Paso Herald*-Post newspaper article where it is stated, "When midnight comes, every Chinese in the El Paso colony must have his debts paid on pain of social ostracism" (Dennis: 31 January 1938).

Many cultures believe in apparitions, or spirits, and Enrique Woo (personal communication 1995) said that the Chinese do as well. While discussing this type of folklore, he shared personal stories concerning ghosts that give reason to stop and ponder the events surrounding death and the possibility of life after death. "One important measure to be taken in preparation for a dying person's trip after death is for that person to be wearing shoes when he or she dies. This is because of the long rough road that is to be traveled. Without the aid of shoes the trip will be even more difficult" (Enrique Woo personal communication 1995). Another aspect of Chinese culture is that of wearing white clothing at funerals because it is the color for mourning. Funeral processions would travel from the temple to a burial site in a colorful and gala manner. The Dowdells (1972:79) reported that the noise of firecrackers, and the clashing of gongs and cymbals are important elements of Chinese funeral processions. The noise was important because it served to keep the evil spirits away. Calleros (1954:54) reported that the funeral of one important Chinese resident, or *Celestial*, in El Paso, sported the finest hearse, hired the famous McGinty band, and included a fifty-foot dragon. Once at the cemetery, traditionally:

> Among the early Chinese, food was brought to the graveyard, and a banquet was prepared for the spirit of the departed. A little furnace was erected by the grave. The mourners burned paper images of clothing, servants, horses, cows, spectacles, tobacco pipes, money, and other articles needed in the spirit world. It was the custom, too, after a few years, to dig up the bones of the deceased and ship them to China for permanent burial (Dowell and Dowell 1972:68).

While many traditions have faded some have evolved and continue. "After funerals, money and candy are given out. The money is for prosperity and the candy is for a 'sweet soul'" (Lawton Wong personal communication 1996).

China has a long and rich history of religious philosophies. While many Chinese have converted to Christianity, three main religions are practiced in China: Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. According to *Cowles* (1969:1623a) "Confucianism stands for the belief that those who seek to live the 'good life' and hope to find salvation through good behavior must base their moral code upon an acceptable view of the world." *Cowles* (1969:1624c, 1927a) also stated "that Taoism had its beginnings with *Lao-tse*, a contemporary of Confucius." His book, *Tao The King* stated that "this religion directs thought to the higher forms of knowledge in the Ultimate One, Brahman, and is the source and totality of all being. To know this truth is to be saved and that each country that adopts Buddhism develops its own version of the religion."

The Chinese of Toishan apparently did not practice specific religious beliefs. The people of Chinese heritage interviewed for this research have converted to Christianity; however, this is not true for everyone within the community. The traditional religions are still practiced by some in the Juárez-El Paso area. Sung (1967:19) reported that "Spiritually, the Toishanese do not adhere to any one religion unless ancestor worship is labeled as such. However, ancestor worship is not a religion in the true sense of the word. Confucius taught his people to honor their parents. In no other country in the world did parents and elders enjoy such respect, such veneration, such consideration."

The Chinese Benevolent Society of El Paso works to keep Chinese traditions alive within their community. They do this through a variety of activities: "We still visit the graves of their ancestors in the third Chinese month, and we traditionally follow a lunar calendar represented by twelve animals" (Lillie Soo Hoo personal communication 1995). Likewise, the Chinese Baptist Church still functions as a school. At the Southwestern Regional Conference on Asian Studies held in Cloudcroft, New Mexico in November, 1997, David Wellington Chew[1] reported that Cantonese is still taught at the Chinese Baptist Church in El Paso. Each new generation born outside of mainland China places more distance between themselves and direct contact with their cultural heritage through assimilation and acculturation, thus accentuating the importance that this valuable knowledge not be lost.

Chinese Art: Artistic Splendor and Serenity
Interior of El Paso's Masonic Temple

From El Paso Herald, January 14, 1904.

NEW CHINESE TEMPLE IS NOW IN USE: THE FORMAL DEDICATION TAKES PLACE WITH A CEREMONY OF GREAT SPLENDOR

Chinese Masonry made yesterday a day of rejoicing, for it marked the completion of the new Chinese Masonic temple. The temple is located on South Oregon Street and its opening was made the occasion for a celebration that lasted all day. Fireworks were discharged, music was rendered and feasting progressed the greater part of the day. The biggest celebration was from 1 to 2 when there was a constant discharge of fireworks and a continual din of Chinese musical Instruments.

The temple is beautifully decorated inside and on the walls are pictures of various prominent men of the Celestial empire, while the altar is covered in the riches tapestries and burns the costliest perfumed joss sticks.

Visitors were welcomed by the China boys and many took occasion to visit the new edifice and take a look at the place where John Chinaman meets to exchange brotherly greetings with his fellow beings.

The oriental splendor of the decorations is something almost wonderful and the ceremony attending the dedication of the new temple yesterday was one peculiarly Chinese and seen nowhere else in the world except in a Chinese temple.

McCunn (1979:110-111) provides photographs of the street entrance and interior to the Weaverville Temple (probably California), the oldest Chinese temple in the U.S. that is still in use. These photographs are from the Bancroft Library. Also from the Bancroft Library is a photograph of a Chinese actor. This gentleman is attired in elaborate *kimonos*, footwear, and headdress, and he is posed against a backdrop of Chinese musicians. Elegant artwork graces the walls.

Migration To The Western Hemisphere: Chinese Migration to the U.S. and the Mexican Border Region (1842-1997)

The Chinese had been coming to the Americas for hundreds of years. Nonetheless, the focus here is the culmination of nineteenth century events that resulted in the arrival of large populations in the Sonoran and Chihuahuan desert regions of Northern México, and the Western and Southwestern border regions of the U.S. China had been sealed from the outside world since 1664, when the Manchus overthrew the emperor of the Ming dynasty, thus began the Manchu dynasty of the *Ta* Ch'ing. Wishing to maintain total control, these warlike Manchuria people from northern China forced all Chinese people to adopt their manners of clothing, and forbade subjects from emigrating under the penalty of death by beheading. To ensure their absolute control the Manchu closed China to the world.

The only port open to outside trade was Canton (Dowdell and Dowdell 1972:10-12). Trade began with Portugal in 1544. It was the Portuguese who introduced a stronger strain of opium to the Chinese through their trade practices. Within fifty years the Portuguese were followed by Spanish, Dutch, and English traders, and then came the French, Swedes, Danes, and Americans (Dowdell 1972:12-13). However, it was the British who came to dominate China trade by establishing trading bases in India. In doing so, Britain capitalized on the opium trade by growing more powerful strains of opium in India. Unable to control the availability and use of opium caused great concern among the rulers of China. While Indian opium represented the largest market share of the opium trade, Clyde and Beers (1991:74) pointed out that all foreign nationals represented in Canton were involved. They cite an article by Charles C. Stelles that appeared in *Pacific Historical Review*, 9 (1940:425-444), "American Trade in Opium to China to 1820," which stated that the "Portuguese, French, American, and other ships carried Persian and Turkish rather than Indian opium." The Manchu tried to ban opium from their country. The result in 1839 was that the British seized this opportunity to declare war. The attempts by the Manchu's to rid their country of these more potent opiums failed twice.

The signing of the Nanking (*Nanjing*) Treaty on August 29, 1842, and the supplementary Treaty of Hooman Chai (called the Bogue Treaty because it was signed at the Bogue) on October 8, 1843, secured by the Qing regime's agreement (Fairbank 1994:200, Clyde and Beers 1991:77) formalized settlement and brought an end to the Anglo-Chinese Wars, popularly known as the Opium Wars. "The underlying conflict was not opium, but rather the clash between China's tribute system and the eastern theory of the equality of states" (Clyde and Beers 1991:77). As part of the Nanking Treaty, five additional seaports were opened in China between 1842 and 1844, allowing entrance to outsiders with knowledge of opportunities in other lands. As shown in Figure 3:4, these seaports were Shanghai, Ningpo (*Ningbo)*, Foochow (*Fuzhou*), Amoy (*Xiamen*) and Canton (*Guagnzhou*) (McCunn 1979:13, Clyde and Beers 1991:77, Fairbank 1994: 200). Determined to improve living conditions for their families, many Chinese took the risk of leaving their country and traveled across the seas in search of work.

The push factors of socioeconomic and political issues, especially in southern China, coupled with the pull factors of two particular major events in the U.S., were to result in massive immigration to the New World. Large numbers of Chinese were drawn to the California gold rush in the U.S. in 1848. The mid-1860s saw the start of construction on the transcontinental railroad system that ultimately utilized vast numbers of Chinese laborers. Additionally, Books (1983:54) reported that in 1869, 300 Chinese Coolies, led by General John G. Walker, left St. Louis aboard the steamer *Mississippi,* bound for the Brazos Valley in Texas." This group was in search of profits from the "white gold" of cotton. México also received large numbers of Chinese immigrants, especially in 1865, and from 1910 to 1920.

Major rebellions in China also contributed to migration. The *T'ai P'ing* Rebellion, which translates as Great Peace, was led by a teacher named Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, a Christian convert. This rebellion was driven by religious zeal and socioeconomically depressed conditions. The people involved with its organization wanted to establish their own dynasty by overthrowing the Manchu. In 1853, they took Nanking and proclaimed it their capital. While they were unsuccessful in their bid to overthrow the Manchu it nonetheless took the Manchu regime until 1865 to crush the *Tai P'ing* Rebellion (Greene 1962:93-94).

Immediately following the *Tai P'ing* Rebellion came the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. This explains the information reported by Zhao (1995:54) when he quoted Braun's report (February 9, 1907, RINS,

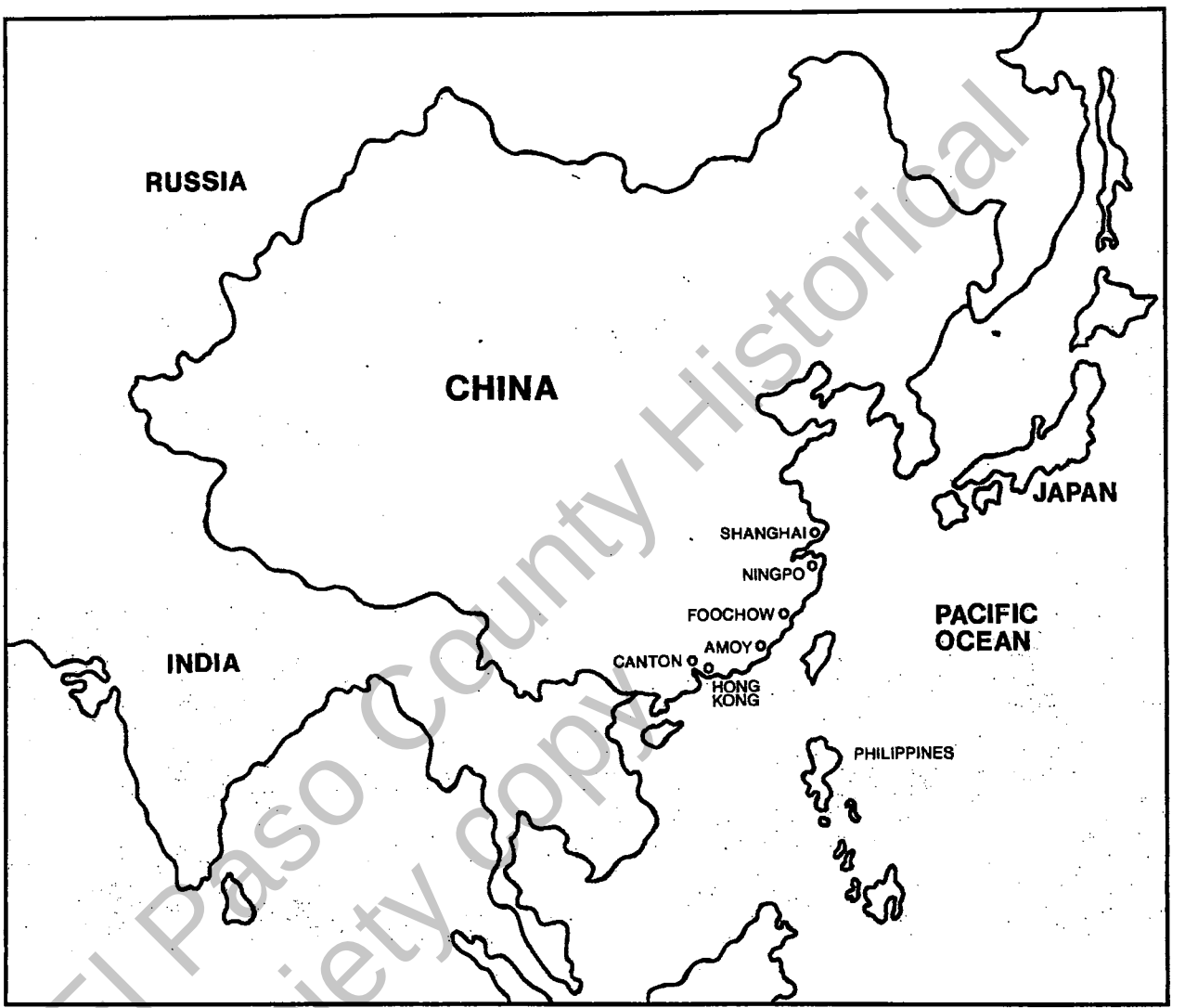


Figure 3:4. The five seaports opened by the Nanking Treaty of 1842.

roll 1, 22) which stated "An American inspector said in 1903 that in Juárez there were eight hundred Chinese at the time and that every day they could arrest several Chinese on the American side."

Most of the Chinese immigrants migrated from the *Toishan* region of *Kwangtung* (*Guangzhou*) Province in southern China, (Figure 3:5). "Reliable estimates place sixty percent of the Chinese immigrants in this [the U.S.] country as hailing from this one district, *Toishan* alone, and a good proportion of the remaining forty percent originated from the surrounding vicinity of the same district" (Sung 1967:11). *Toishan* and *Chungshan*, (counties located approximately one hundred and fifty miles north of Hong Kong) are according to Steiner (1979:79) "seaswept peninsulas south of the mouth of the Pearl River that are all but surrounded by the South China Sea." Because these people were farmers they came in contact with the western commercial entities in Hong Kong and Canton. This may explain why so many came from this region, especially since their activities were in peril. Another researcher (Zhao 1995:26) quoted Sucheng Chin from *Asian Americans*, who injects that "some Chinese did move to Southeast Asia simply because the Chinese government did not have effective ways to control them." This is important because beheading was imposed as punishment for the crime of migration from mainland China; however, too many were leaving for the Manchu to enforce this law.

The Burlingame Treaty was to bring an agreement between China and the U.S. for reciprocal immigration. Sung (1967:11) continued and stated "once in the U.S. they were called *Gum Shan Hok*, meaning "guest of the golden Mountain." In support of the number of emigrants from *Kwangtung* Province, McCunn (1979:71) related that "often, as many as thirty percent of the men in one village would be working overseas in order to support their families in the village." Evidence of such information is verified through cultural remains, such as those documented by historian Edward Rhoads[2] (1977:14), who determined from his study of grave markers in the Chinese Cemetery inside Concordia Cemetery of El Paso that:

> They show that almost all of the Chinese in El Paso, as in America then, were Cantonese from the "four counties" (*Siyi, Sze Yap*) region of *Kwangtung* in south China. Specifically, over half were from *Taishan (Toishan;* formerly *Xining (Sunning)* County. Another thirty percent were from neighboring *Kaiping (Hoiping)* County, with most of the remainder split between *Enping (Yanping)* and *Xinhui (Sunwui)* counties. They also show that among the Chinese in El Paso the most common surnames were *Ye (Yee), Ma (Mar),* and *Huang (Wong).*

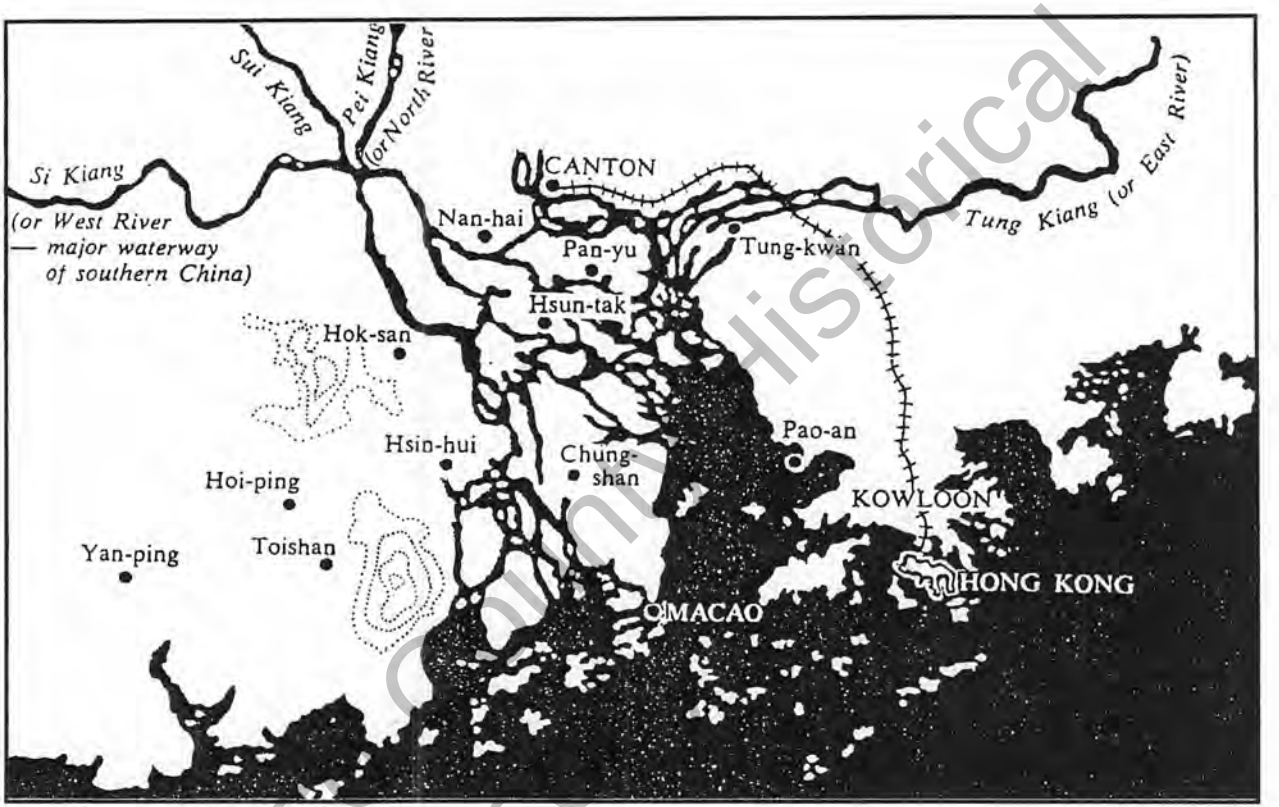


Figure 3:5. Area from which most Chinese in the United States emigrated.

Information concerning migrations from *Kwangtung (Guangdong)* region corroborates that provided by Enrique Woo of El Paso (a first generation Chinese born outside mainland China). His family migrated to México in the early 1900s and suffered many hardships, particularly from Pancho Villa, before settling in Juárez, México. Pancho Villa killed Woo's forty-three year old grandfather, in San Pedro Correlas, Chihuahua, México. An example Woo (Enrique Woo 1995 personal communication) offered as illustrative of the political intimidation experienced in the early decades of the twentieth century, was that of an uncle. Rural populations particularly in southern China were pawns in internal struggles between the Nationalists and local warlords who did not want to follow Chian Kai-shek (who was leading the fight against the communists during the late 1920s through the 1940s).

Power plays were inflicted upon people such as the ideology that they were to not have more than their neighbors. The people of the *Kwangtung* region had so little to begin with that this idea seems impossible. One man having more than his neighbor might be that his family harvested and ate a little more than his neighbor and failed to share the surplus. No matter how small the surplus was, if a warlord in a region who was vying for power learned of such an event, a typical tactic was to go to the neighbor, kill him, then take the offender who did not share his excess and force him to lie in the open grave with his murdered neighbor for several days as retribution. These people loved and were dedicated to their homeland; however, in the face of famine compounded by political and economical forces, for vast numbers it became necessary to send a male family member is search of means of relief despite illegality and decapitation if discovered.

The process that brought most of the early Chinese to this region was the great race to build the railroads beginning in the mid-1860s. The push to build a transcontinental railroad connecting the east to the west solidified the history of the Chinese in the U.S. The Union Pacific began in the east, constructing track toward the west, and the Central Pacific began on the west coast and constructed track toward the east. The eastern railroads would then be connected to the west coast. The two lines met five years later at Promontory Point, near Ogden, Utah, on May 10, 1869 (Figure 3:6).

In 1864, four Sacramento, California merchants referred to as the "Big Four" came to be known as the Southern Pacific Railroad. These four were Charles Crocker, Leland Stanford who was Governor of California, Collis P. Huntington, and Mark Hopkins. Huge numbers of laborers were needed for this task. Initially, both the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific hired Irish laborers for this task. According to McCunn (1979:31) Crocker chose his workmen from the "shiploads of Irishmen" who

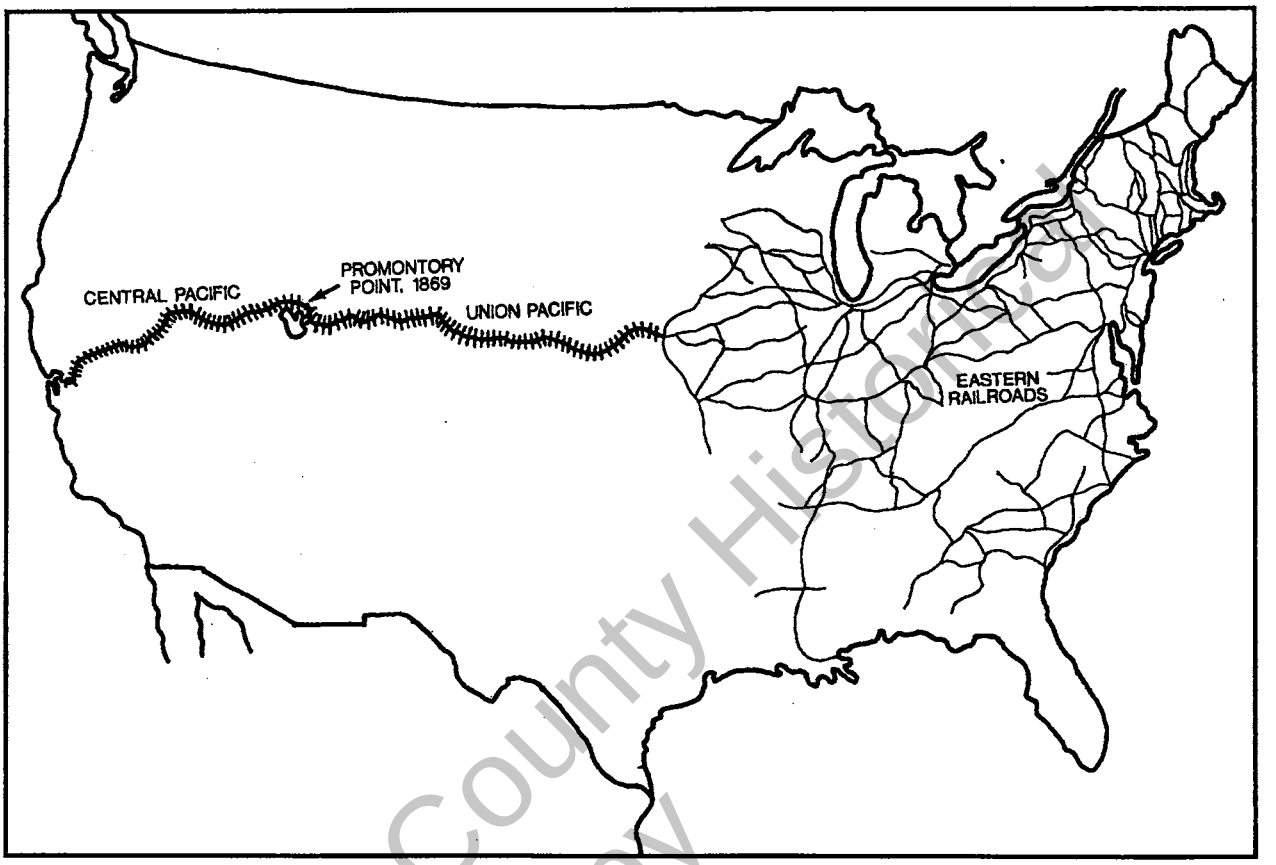


Figure 3:6. When the railroad was completed, it linked the East Coast with the West.

were arriving in San Francisco. However, things only went smoothly for the initial hiring. Problems included dangerous and exhaustive work; foremen complained workers were often drunk and rowdy, and the Irish were constantly demanding higher wages. Perhaps more crucial was the fact that several hundred workmen disappeared each pay day (McCunn 1979:31).

By 1865, Crocker's foreman, John H. Strobridge, needed 5,000 workers but could hire only 800. The Chinese appeared to be a promising labor force yet the railroad resisted hiring them. Strobridge said, "I will not boss Chinese. I will not be responsible for work done by Chinese laborers. I don't think they could build a railroad" (McCunn 1979:32). Additionally, when campaigning for governor, Stanford condemned the Chinese stating "I am opposed to allowing any more Chinese to enter the country." He also referred to the Chinese as "dregs of the Orient" and "degraded people'" in his inaugural address (Dowdell and Dowell 1872:42). The labor dilemma left little choice, however, and Crocker "forced Strobridge to hire fifty Chinese as an experiment" (McCunn 1979: 32), pointing out that "they built the China wall, didn't they? . . . They're stronger than you think. Let's try fifty of 'em and see how it goes" (Dowdell and Dowdll 1972:42). After beginning work at dawn the Chinese laborers were still going strong at the end of their twelve-hour shift (Dowdell and Dowdell 1972:43). The Central Pacific Railroad hired 3,000 more Chinese and Crocker sent a report to President Andrew Johnson on October 10, 1865 which stated, "Without them it would be impossible to complete the Western portion of this great national enterprise within the time required by the Acts of Congress" (McCunn 1979:32). Having hired all available Chinese laborers in California for the Central Pacific, the labor agency of Sisson and Company of San Francisco, went to and hired them in China (Dowdell and Dowdell 1972:46).

The Chinese, after accomplishing incredible feats in the snow of the High Sierras, and constructing track across the Nevada desert, received no recognition at Promontory Point. Regardless, due to their skill and diligent work habits, the Chinese were sought and hired as railroad laborers. Tensions were increasing because of the large numbers of Chinese who were competing for jobs in the boom and bust atmosphere with the completion of more railroad track, compounded by the depletion of the Comstock Load and the financial aftermath. Labor riots ensued. Labor groups began to press Congress to rid the country of the Chinese, and the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in 1882. The result was the Chinese made themselves less visible by spreading their populations throughout the country.

The transcontinental connection was accomplished in 1869. The El Paso City Directory (1885) describes how the city's history may properly be said to have begun in 1827. In 1859, the Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, proposed a southern route for the railroad; however, the Civil War depressed Franklin (El Paso) as it did other areas affiliated within the South. Juan María Ponce de Leon retained possession of the area until his death in 1852. The land then passed through the hands of William T. Smith, who sold it to John S. Gillett, Josiah F. Crosby, Vincente St. Vrain, and William Morton, in 1859. These men speculated on Davis's proposal and plotted streets and published the Anson Mills map in 1859. Although the name Franklin continued to appear on maps, the name El Paso was adopted. El Paso was incorporated in 1873. In 1876, talk of plans for a southern railroad route became a topic once more. Yet Franklin remained a "sleepy" stagecoach center until the citizens petitioned for new elections of city government which took place on July 3, 1880. A new era was about to breath life into El Paso. Having begun in San Francisco, running through Southern California, Arizona, and New Mexico, and having completing 1,285 miles of track, the Southern Pacific Railroad was the first to reach El Paso on May 13, 1881. Three weeks later the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe arrived from the north. On January 1, 1882, the Texas & Pacific Railroad whistled into El Paso, followed by the Galveston, Harrisburg & San Antonio Railroad on January 12, 1883. The fifth rail line constructed into El Paso, completed in April 1884, was the Mexican Central Railroad (Gould 1885:3-7). Nearly 2,000 Chinese laborers arrived in El Paso with the Southern Pacific railway in 1881 and almost immediately a small section of St. Louis Street near the plaza contained a few Chinese stores and residencial quarters. (The Appendix provides census data on El Paso's Chinese community from 1860 1920).

Calleros (1954:52) reported that "there was little employment for them [Chinese] after the Southern Pacific Lines and the Galveston, Harrisburg & San Antonio Railroad joined in El Paso. Those who stayed were given undesirable jobs in the shops as engine wipers and coach cleaners." The majority of the laborers were Chinese. A few stayed, and others gradually returned to El Paso and established a Chinatown, while others settled in Deming, New Mexico, where they established a farming community (Lawton Wong 1996 personal communication). The Chinese in El Paso, like others across the country, went against their cultural heritage and began operating laundry businesses. Laundry was strictly the work of women in China; however for these men, operating laundries meant not competing with the local men for menial labor. Additionally, little capital was required to set up and operate a laundry.

In 1882, the first of several Oriental Exclusion Acts, aimed specifically at the Chinese, were enacted. There were few exceptions for Chinese entering the U.S., causing even larger numbers of Chinese to enter México. Due to immigration laws, smuggling Chinese across the border grew into a big business; and El Paso and Ciudad Juárez became the main centers for this human traffic.

Complicating the situation was the fact that Pancho Villa did not like the Chinese. He probably saw them as taking jobs from the Mexican peasant populations. His brutal treatment of the Chinese increased the number of those seeking to enter the U.S. through the smuggling trade. This did not stop them from working for even lower salaries in either México or the U.S. According to a 1905 newspaper account of a report by T. Schmucker, the Commissioner of Immigration at El Paso:

> During the past fiscal year 486 Chinese are known to have arrived in Juárez, it is not known if any have returned to the interior. There are now employed in Juárez the following Chinese: In laundries 27; servants 3; in restaurants 11; roustabouts in dives 5; total 46. 150 to 200 unemployed Chinese Coolies are in the detention quarters of the smuggling ___rnis in Juárez at all times.
>
> To summarize the above figures, it will be seen that during the past fiscal year 486 Chinese Coolies are known to have arrived in Juárez, and probably 46 Coolies found employment in Juárez, practically 100 left for other border points, so that approximately 320 collies have disappeared near the international boundary line in the vicinity of El Paso and doubtless gained unlawful entry.
>
> The Chinese population of El Paso, numbering about 350, is banded to together as one man and conveying into the interior of the country those Chinese Coolies who have crossed the line. Some of the most influential and respected Chinese business men of El Paso have been engaged in smuggling and secreting Coolies in their establishments. In certain alleys in El Paso houses have been constructed so that illegal resident Chinese can be concealed in chambers under the ground or spaces between the roof and the ceiling. It is believed that the handling of Chinese Coolies is the sole occupation of perhaps one-third of the Chinese population of El Paso. (*El Paso Herald,* December 16, 1905).

Again, the Chinese were seeking places where they could work and live in peace in order to support themselves and their families or villages in mainland China. Regardless of how hard the work or how low the pay, the Chinese were willing to do the job.

The Chinese were sought out because of their diligent work ethic. An example presented by Arreola and Curtis (1993:21) is Harrison Gray Otis of Los Angeles, director of the California-Mexico Land and Cattle Company, the Mexican-chartered subsidiary of the Colorado River Land Company, who "leased chiefly to Chinese farmers who formed cooperatives, developed land at their own expense, and planted and harvested cotton." This account is similar to what Lawton Wong's (1996) father

told his son about the Chinese community in Deming, New Mexico, who farmed land until it was lost during the depression years. Likewise, many of the Chinese in Juárez and El Paso practiced their agricultural skills and sold their fruits and vegetables through truck farming enterprises.

A witness to the plight of the Chinese in the region was Clifford Alan Perkins, who served with the border patrol in the Southwest from 1910 to 1954. After retiring he wrote a book about his experiences. In addition to his observations on the Chinese of El Paso he described the Tucson Chinese population and the difficulties they experienced in the remote Sonoran desert regions. According to Perkins, by 1910 an overseas Chinese community was developing in Tucson. He noted that "a small Chinatown appeared to be developing near a joss house and half-naked children played happily in the littered cartways of the Mexican section" (Perkins 1978:5). He went on to say that in Tucson's commercial district that "the restaurants and laundries were almost entirely operated by the Chinese brought into the country originally as laborers" (Perkins 1978:6).

Elsewhere in Texas, there were sizable Chinese communities in San Antonio and Houston. Four hundred of the 537 Chinese who were allowed to enter the U.S. with General Pershing, followed him to San Antonio, where they felt safer with more distance between themselves and PanchoVilla. Briscoe (1947:12-13) indicated that one reason for Villa's treatment of the Chinese is that they had taken up arms against the Villistas. Sometime between 1915 and 1917 the Carrancista garrison commander recruited more than one hundred young Chinese from the community who he enrolled in the guard company. They were trained and proved quite successful. Finally, the time came when the alarm rang out that the Villistas were coming. Within minutes the battle was all over. Briscoe (1947:12-13) wrote "The fire was scathing, for the range was easy and the Chinese, not being in the habit of wasting anything, much less precious and limited ammunition, wasted no single round . . . for a time the Chinese were the heroes of Chihuahua." On June 17, 1917, the *San Antonio* Express reported that Pancho Villa vowed revenge stating "he would hang every Chinaman in northern Mexico." Once Villa gave sanction the Chinese became "fair game" for harassment. As there is ample evidence that Pancho Villa treated the Chinese with brutal contempt prior to this event, there is little question why the Chinese feared staying in México without the protection of General Pershing and his troops. The group that followed General Pershing back to San Antonio represents a large component of the San Antonio Chinese colony. The Houston population appears to represent the 1869 group that came to Texas to gain employment in the cotton fields of the area.

Arriving and living in the U.S. and México was only the beginning of problems for the Chinese. Labor issues brought hardships and tragedies for the Chinese. Anti-Chinese riots grew in number and intensity, in mining camps in particular, especially in the northwestern and southwestern regions of the U.S. and northern México. Labor riots in Denver, Colorado, and Raton and Silver City, New Mexico, and in the states of Coahuila and Sonora, México, are documented. Regarding their attempts to enter the U.S. in unpopulated areas, Perkins (1978:22) described how the Chinese suffered during their attempts to cross the Sonoran Desert. Steiner (1979:152-153) related that due to wide spread anti-Chinese riots and the justifiable fear for their safety, hundreds of Chinese became "isolated and scattered throughout the mountains and deserts, and became as invisible as they could. In the Sonoran deserts of Arizona many became traders and merchants living among the Colorado River tribes."

Commerce, Labor Issues, and Racism: North and South American Historical Backgrounds, Discrimination Developments and the Birth of Exclusion

In 1781, a Chinese Spaniard named Antonio Rodriguez, who had converted to Roman Catholicism, together with several others, comprised the Founding Fathers of *El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles de Porciuncala*, today Los Angeles, California. The conquistador Rodriguez is an example of Chinese who adopted Spanish names and participated in voyages to and exploration in the Americas. Other Chinese helped settle the more northern reaches of the west coast of North America.

Few people are aware that the first British colony on the Pacific coast in the New World was composed of Chinese. In 1788, John Meares, an English sea captain sailed from Canton and Macao with a Chinese crew of engineers, architects and craftsmen, numbering fifty to seventy. They were headed for Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island where they built the first English forts on the northwest Pacific coasts. This was the earliest Northwest frontier village established by the British. One year later, in 1789, the Spanish captured the Nootka settlement and the English abandoned it, but many of the Chinese stayed. Regardless, a year later Mearers's ships brought another twenty-nine Chinese. Also in 1789, an American, Captain Metcalf, brought forty-five more Chinese. "They traveled up and down the seacoast and explored the rivers and woods from Alaska to Pugent Sound, in Washington State" (Steiner 1979:94). Some of the Chinese from these groups lived with American Indian groups of the region. Fifty years or more later, Chinese men were reported to be living with regional American Indian tribes (Steiner 1979:94-95). Chinese had been on the west coast of North America for nearly two decades before the Lewis and Clark .

When the Founding Fathers of America met the Chinese, their reactions varied. George Washington is reported to have been puzzled to learn that they were not white men. John Adams thought that China was no larger than any of their American colonies, and Benjamin Franklin wrote that if he were younger, he would delight in going to China to discuss philosophy (Steiner 1979:100).

The Chinese had well developed sailing skills and their enlistment on sea vessels that came to the Western Hemisphere was high. Ably skilled in mining efforts and later in laying railroad tracks, their labor was highly praised. The praise, however, was to give way to anti-Chinese demonstrations and riots in the U.S. and in México. Sailors of North America came to protest the strongest, together with other labor groups that would push the Congress of the U.S. to pass into law the first Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. México and Canada followed with their own versions of exclusion laws after 1923.

Steiner (1979:88) reported that in the first six months of 1852, "It was recorded in the shipping charts of San Francisco that twenty-nine boats arrived with emigrant Chinese gold-miners, twenty-eight from China. The twenty-ninth came from Mazatlan." Miners in the 1849 gold rush threatened, brutalized, and frequently murdered Chinese miners. Later, "when employment with the railroad ceased, the Chinese sought work in the mines, on the farms, in land reclamation, in domestic service, and in the cigar and woolen factories" (Sung 1967: 42). The mining companies then compounded anti-Chinese movements by seeking the Chinese as mine laborers, continuing their trips to China to hire Coolies through contract labor. There were anti-Chinese riots in mining camps in Montana, Wyoming, Idaho and Colorado. Twenty-eight Chinese were murdered in 1885 at Rock Springs, Wyoming. In 1885, another thirty-two Chinese were killed at Douglas Bar, Oregon, and in 1886 there was a brutal massacre of Chinese in Log Cabin, Oregon. Urban areas also produced riots. The City of Seattle, intent on running the Chinese out of their community, had a major riot in 1886. San Francisco imposed laws that were obviously aimed at the Chinese without specifically stating so. About the same time a huge riot occurred in Denver that caused only one Chinese death but a great amount of destruction took place. Additionally, seamen unions wanted to rid Chinese and other Asia sailors from ships to increase their own job opportunities.

American males were thus competing against the Chinese for menial jobs once the Comstock Load was depleted and most of the railroad track construction was finished. As threats of riots increased and as more Chinese spread throughout the country, many found themselves in the desert and plains

regions. Perkins (1978) wrote of the Papago of the Sonoran desert and the Chinese, and Steiner (1979) reported how the Chinese were found among Apache, Pauite, and Navajo. In western Canada, a Chinese lumberman was reported to be living with the Cree. It is documented in Immigration and Naturalization Service reports that the Chinese would disguise themselves as Mexicans in order to enter and live in the country.

With the implementation of exclusion laws of 1882, came the added humiliation of detention centers. Ellis Island in the New York harbor is where some Chinese immigrants entered the U.S.. However, the vast majority came through Angel's Island in San Francisco's harbor. The facility was a large abandoned shed. McCunn (1979:90) described how Chinese were "detained in an overcrowded wooden shed at the Pacific Mail Steamship Company Wharf on the San Francisco waterfront." Chinese were detained as long as two years and were often sent back to China without having setting foot on American soil. The guards were corrupt and the treatment consisted of overcrowding and harsh questioning.

In 1565, the Portuguese navigator Fernando Magellan left Manila with his galleons, and trade was established both ways between Portugal and China. This practice was the norm between 1565 and 1815 when the last galleons docked. Steiner (1979:85) stated that documentation indicates that by 1586 the majority of Manila's population was Chinese, who were primarily merchants.

Steiner (1979:80-81) reported that Acapulco, México became known as the *Ciudad de las Chinas* because of the Manila galleons that landed regularly in that seaport. He also stated that the galleons were mostly built by the Chinese. Steiner (1979:81) further stated that "so many Chinese had crossed the ocean by 1635 that the Spanish barbers in México City petitioned the Municipal Council to protest the competition of Chinese barbers in the capital. They were duly banished from the city." Many years later, during the Mexican Revolution Pancho Villa would seize the opportunity to rise up against the Chinese. Eventually, México and Canada followed the lead of the U.S. by first writing immigration laws and then Exclusion Laws aimed at the Chinese after 1923.

The experience of the Chinese in Peru was quite different. The Peruvian government began to contract the Chinese officials for cheap labor. Unfortunately, the conditions and turn of events proved less than honorable. The events that eventually unfolded led to embarrassment and an international crises for Peru. Stewart (1951:14) stated that there were two periods of Chinese enslavement in Peru. The first period was from 1849 to 1856 which he views as less important. The

second period was from 1861 to 1875. Given four years exclusive rights to do so, Elias Domingo and Juan Rodriguez brought seventy-five Chinese to Lima as "colonists," which of course was not the case. Soon Chinese were brought by the thousands. The Peruvian government had never dealt with the Chinese government prior to this time. Many assumptions were made about the Chinese Coolies by the Peruvians, such as their belief that the Chinese would be glad to exist in poor conditions. Steward (1951:13) reported that the Peruvians justified their proposed treatment of the Chinese by asserting that "life was so hard [in China] that fathers often cast their children into a river or left them on the public highway; people so situated would welcome the opportunity to migrate."

The initial contract between Elias and Rodriguez specified reciprocal conditions for a period of five years. Many circumstances aggravated this controversial situation. The cruel manner in which Chinese were obtained, and the terrible conditions under which they were transported to Peru, generally left the Chinese too weak and ill from their crossing to succeed under the burden of poor living and working conditions in Peru (Steward 1951:21). Chinese law was abrogated and the number of Chinese brought into the country slowed. Unfortunately, the worse was yet to come.

During the period between 1856 and the early 1860s when Peru resumed importing Chinese Coolies, Chinese agents continued their business by kidnapping unwilling workers (Stewart 1951:32). Once kidnapped, these men suffered a 9,000 mile ocean voyage locked in pig pens in the holds of ships (McCunn 1979:18). Such treatment caused the practice to come to be known as the pig business. Macao served as the center for this trade operated by the Portuguese. Critics both within and beyond Peru, eventually led the way to national problems and international rancor; slavery was not acceptable to the world. According to Stewart (1951:206) the Tientsin Treaty changed the conditions under which the Chinese were brought to Peru. Steward (1951:217-218) stated that on July 2, 1874, the last ship carrying 369 contracted Chinese Coolies anchored at Callao harbor and that the last Coolie contract "would have expired by 1882." Chinese remain in Peru today. They conduct various businesses, but they do not have communities such as Chinatowns, rather they congregate.

As evidenced in the population charts of Chinese in the Americas and globally, Chinese populations are found throughout Latin America and the Western Hemisphere. Their maritime skills in and construction of sea craft, together with their trade with the west through the Silk Road, and later with the Portuguese and Spanish in the sixteenth century, gave rise to their confidence and abilities to migrate great distances. For these reasons they were not restricted to their mainland when seeking

work to improve their lives. This brought them into direct competition with nationals over menial jobs in countries such as in the U.S. and México. Such situations led to wide spread racial prejudice and discrimination.

Impact of the Exclusion Acts: 1882-1943

The anti-Chinese movement in the U.S. was largely driven by "the American Working Men's parties that pressured Congress to stop Chinese immigration" (McCunn 1979:83). As precursors, McCunn (1979:77) lists a series of ordinances that San Francisco put in place. While such ordinances did not directly mention the Chinese, there is little doubt as toward whom they were directed:

1870 The Sidewalk Ordinance prohibited people who use poles to carry merchandise from walking on the sidewalk.

1871 The Cubic Air Ordinance required 500 cubic feet living space per adult.

1873 The Queue Ordinance required all persons put in jail to have their hair cut to no longer than one inch.

1873/1876 Required that all who carried laundry without using horse drawn wagons to pay a high license fee.

The *Oriental Exclusion Act of 1882* prohibited the immigration of Chinese laborers for employment in unskilled and mining jobs, and identification certificates were issued to those already in the country.

Notice to Chinamen

Chinese laborers residing in El Paso and vicinity are hereby notified that an officer will be at El Paso on the 16th instructed to receive application for certificates of residence, under the act of congress, approved May 5, 1892.

Joseph W. Burke
El Paso Herald, September 9, 1882.

Relief was not in sight, as again, in 1892 a notice appeared.

Chinese Registration

The limit specified by the Geary Act for the registration of Chinamen is May 5, scarcely a month more, after which time those who have not registered will be liable to be convicted or being unlawfully in the country, with the punishment of deportation to China.

El Paso Herald, April 5, 1893.

McCunn (1979:53) reported that "before the Exclusion Act, Chinese seamen, like those from other countries, could petition to become American citizens. After the act passed, this was no longer possible . . . In 1894 Chinese seamen were forced to carry a white tag for identification if they left their ship . . . by the 1890s companies provided living accommodations on the docks due too the vast number of restrictions. By 1915 the *Federal Seamen's Act* was passed due to pressure from the Seamen's Union. Chinese, Japanese and Filipino seamen "almost disappeared from American ships."

Perkins (1978:7) stated that the *Act of September 13, 1888*, prohibited all Chinese immigration except officials, teachers, students, merchants, or pleasure travelers. Therefore, "Only merchants with established businesses in the U.S. could remain in this country for any length of time" (Sung 1967:100). This circumstance afforded the opportunity for partnerships to be formed, thereby enabling numerous Chinese to be affiliated with a business. Sung (1967:100) pointed out that "only a few of the partners were needed to run the business; the others merely put in an occasional appearance . . . it was difficult for immigration authorities to differentiate between the real merchant and the quasi-merchant."

That same year, 1888, another provision was passed that brought further hardship to the Chinese immigrants in the U.S. *The Scott Act* stopped any Chinese worker who had left the country to visit their homeland from reentering the U.S., regardless of whether they had reentry papers (McCunn 1979:87). This was accomplished in October, 1888, when the identification certificates were declared void, making reentry impossible (Honig 1984:8). Yet again, in 1892 *The Geary Act* extended *The Exclusionary Law of 1882*. This act required Chinese already in the country to apply for identity certificates that were to be carried at all times for them to be able to remain in the U.S.

A new treaty signed between the U.S. and China in 1894 prevented any Chinese from entering the U.S. unless they already some family living in the country. Additionally, this new treaty required the Chinese to register (McCunn 1979:87). Then, "in 1902, Chinese exclusion was extended for another ten years" (Sung 1967:56). This final Chinese Exclusion Act, passed in 1902, was issued stating "All Chinese are prohibited until otherwise provided by law" (Honig 1984:8). There were other provisions as well. Perkins (1978) discussed the *Act of February 14, 1903*, which is one of the many subsequent acts passed to keep aliens and drugs from entering the U.S. This act stated that the Customs Service had line riders who patrolled the border. In 1908, a Chinese Division was created:

> Chinese inspectors and Immigrant inspectors, working with Customs line riders, made it increasingly difficult for Chinese to get into the country via busy ports and populated areas, and as a result smuggling activities shifted to the sparsely inhabited sections of southern New México, Arizona, and California (Perkins 1978:9).

Sung (1967:56) commented that "further acts to strengthen and enforce the exclusion acts were passed in 1904, 1911, 1912, and 1913." Interestingly, one tragic event had positive effects for many Chinese. The resulting fires from the San Francisco earthquake of 1906 destroyed records and afforded opportunities for many Chinese to challenge the system. Going before the courts, many Chinese proclaimed that they had been born in San Francisco, thus making them U.S. citizens. The courts were not in a position to refute such claims in most instances, and many Chinese were able to stay in the country. Many others returned to families they had been barred from rejoining.

As if the Chinese had not suffered enough, the *Immigration Act of 1924* "stopped all Chinese women who were not the wives of merchants, teachers, students, and tourists from entering" (McCunn 1979:87). The full significance of this act, as experienced by the Chinese men already in the U.S., is poignantly expressed by Sung (1967:57) when she stated "*The Act of 1924* virtually condemned the Chinese in the U.S. to a life of forced celibacy, bachelorhood, or trans-Pacific marriages."

Suffering one indignity after another, the Chinese were to experience little relief from such treatment until near the end of World War II. Unfortunately, even then a great deal of humiliation was inflicted on those wishing to gain entry. Chinese immigrants were questioned more rigorously, sometimes being given tests that were impossible to pass, and they were routinely held for much longer periods at Angel Island, under deprived conditions. Sung (1967:101) offers the following sampling to illustrate how ludicrous and ridiculous were the questions posed to the Chinese in detention centers such as Angle Island. She stated that "the questions were devised to trap or trick a person into giving contradictory information so that he would expose himself." Concerning the questions as provided herein, she further stated that they "were all taken down verbatim and easily ran to one hundred and fifty pages."

One transcript reads:

Q: How far is your home village from town?
A: Five *li*.
Q: You are wrong. We happen to have ascertained that it is seven *li*. Do you deny that this is not your true home village?
A: I have lived in this village all my life, and I believe it is five *li*. Besides, it depends upon which end of the village you figure the distance from.
Q: Where is the village pond?

A: In front of the village.
Q: I mean in what direction in relation to the village? Northwest? Southwest?
A: I believe it is to the north.
Q: Surely if you have lived there all your life, you would know in what direction the village pond lies.
A: I am confused about what is north and south. All I know is that when I leave the front door and turn left, that is the direction of the village pond.
Q: How many pigs does your family keep?
A: Two.
Q: How many chickens?
A: It depends. When we kill one, there are fewer chickens until the hen hatches more eggs.
Q: Where is your water urn situated?
A: At the kitchen door.
Q: Is your house one story or two stories?
A: There is an attic.
Q: Are there steps to the attic?
A: Yes.
Q: How many?
A: Twelve.
Q: How do you know?
A: I counted them because I was told you would ask me questions like these.
Q: Then you were coached in the answers to be given. You rehearsed and memorized all this information to make us think you are the son of Wong Hing?
A: (slightly frustrated) No, no, no. I was not coached. I am the true son of Wong Hing, my father, who is now in San Francisco. He told me that you would ask me questions like these and that I was to be prepared to answer in the most minute detail. (Sung 1967: 101-102).

Frequently, people were sent back or detained for many months, and on occasion years. Lawton Wong related how his father, after six months of confinement, gambled by bribing a guard with his last fifty dollars that he had managed to conceal. Miraculously, he was granted entry into the U.S. immediately. The year was 1924, and Mr. Wong was nineteen years of age.

Franklin Roosevelt finally nullified the Exclusionary Laws because of the valiant efforts of Chinese American soldiers in World War II, through *The Manguson Act of 1943*. This act repealed the Exclusion Act, but limitations remained. "One-hundred five Chinese were allowed to enter the U.S. per year (Honig 1984:8). Sung (1965:79) reported that "the quota of 105 was arrived at by computing one-sixth of one percent of the number of Chinese residents in the U.S. in 1920 as determined by the census of that year." McCunn (1979:99) added that one reason for the *Manguson* Act was that "after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor in 1941, the U.S. became an ally of China. This changed American foreign policy and the Chinese Exclusion Acts were repealed in 1943." Then in 1945, the *War Brides Act* allowed the wives of American service men to enter the U.S. About 6,000 Chinese women came through this act" (McCunn 1979:99).

These examples relate the prevailing atmosphere in the U.S. and México, from the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century. Such stringent laws increased smuggling operations through activities such as the underground railroad, which aided Chinese entering northern and midwestern areas of the U.S., and generated major difficulties during the Mexican Revolution and World War I. Sung (1967:97) reported that "after 1923, Canada and Mexico passed their own exclusion laws, which meant a double barrier for smugglers to overcome, so that smuggling was not a commonly used method of illegal entry."

The partial list of laws and regulations aimed at Chinese emigrants in the U.S. found in the Appendix reveals high levels of socioeconomic and political forces at work that commenced in the mid-nineteenth century that dominated attitudes toward Chinese and other Asian immigration for the next one hundred years.

The Chinese were respected but this began to give way to fear during the California Gold Rush and the mining era. Increased discrimination and racist attitudes were inflicted upon them, but they were still sought by large mining entities as laborers. During the 1870s and 1880s, great numbers of Chinese were murdered and much destruction was caused by anti-Chinese riots. Their capabilities were recognized by the railway magnates in their races to build the transcontinental railways. Later, with the work completed and their population numbers large, fear began to dominate labor issues and pressure was exerted by various labor groups. Despite having expressed resistance to such an action, in 1882 Congress passed the first of many Chinese Exclusion Acts.

In the U.S., labor riots occurred primarily in mining camps. However, there were some in cities, such as in Seattle, Washington, where in 1886 Chinese were force to marched to the docks and "loaded onto a steamer bound for San Francisco" (McCunn 1979:79-80). In México, riots also took place in mining camps and other communities. Additionally, in the north of México, Pancho Villa successfully incited towns to turn against their Chinese populations. The worst case was in Torreon, State of Coahuila.

Local and Regional Historical Backgrounds:
Northern and Western México Experiences (1865-1970)

The year 1865 is repeated in oral histories as the year many Chinese grandfathers entered México. Additionally, Enrique Woo said that an influx of Chinese entered México in 1910 and again in 1920. During 1916, excessive border problems and other concerns during World War I caused entry into

México and the U.S. to slow considerably. "Termination of steamship passenger services between the Orient and Mexico shut off those who intended to smuggle into the U.S. via Mexican ports, and most of the Chinese still residing in Mexico had to leave" (Perkins, 1978:49). The Chinese were not required to leave by law, but many did because of the harassment during this time of upheaval.

These years were especially hard on Chinese emigrants and sojourners because not only was the U.S. engaged in World War I, but México was experiencing a revolution. Violent labor riots, as well as the treatment inflected by Pancho Villa and his followers, made life difficult at best for the Chinese. However, much of the history of Chinese existence in México outside of some of the labor riots does not seem to be well documented. Helpful information has been gathered by individual researchers such as Alfred Gruber,[3] a philatelist. Gruber became interested in the Chinese presence in México when Chinese writing and addresses caught his attention on envelopes. He began researching their origins and learned of the hostile treatment they suffered at the hands of Pancho Villa and his men through labor riots, and by many Mexican civilians. The Chinese escaped by flocking to political borders. "Finding entry into the U.S. barred by legislation, some Chinese began to settle in northern and western Mexico" (Gruber 1993:568).

The increase in México's Chinese population at that time becomes apparent when Gruber (1993:568) told of "the mining town of Cananea in the State of Sonora, whose Chinese population constituted 800 of the 4,000 residence per the 1903 census, increasing to 1,500 to 2,000 by 1912." By this time, some 35,000 Chinese were estimated to have entered México. This rise in the Chinese population at a time when México was experiencing tremendous upheavals, both politically and socially, was compounded by the tensions over competition for jobs.

An American consular report offered by Gruber (1993) relates the level of tension that prevailed. The anti-Chinese riot in the State of Coahuila, Torreon where "revolutionary Pancho Villa's troops drove out Federal forces, then combined with some 4,000 townspeople to massacre 303 Chinese and five Japanese" is one of the cases found in the consular's report (Gruber 1993:568-569). This represents one of the worse of such situations, and epitomizes the atmosphere of the time in México. This is only one of the anti-Chinese riots that Gruber and other researchers describe. Gruber (1993:569) best related the plight of the Chinese in México when he wrote, "The Chinese had to contend with the results of revolution at home as well as in their adopted land."

During the years of the Mexican Revolution, the Chinese in northern México suffered considerably from the treatment of the Villistas. As a result, they gladly assisted General John Pershing in his pursuit of Villa by setting up provision stands along Pershing's route to serve and aid the soldiers in their cause. "Along the U.S. Army routes into Mexico, Pershing's soldiers found stalls set up in the middle of nowhere by enterprising Chinese to cater to the troops' various needs" (Atkin in Gruber1993:570). Figure 3:7 is a photograph of Chinese stands that were found along Pershing's route in Mexico, and Figure 3:8 shows the makeshift huts that Chinese refugees occupied on the fringes of Pershing's U.S. camp where they were protected from the Mexican armies that persecuted them (Vanderwood and Samponaro:1988:210-211). Perkins (1978:34) related that "Villa's men enjoyed killing Chinese of all varieties, and they too fled to the U.S. to save their lives: tradesmen, cooks, laundrymen, and gardeners." As reward for their deeds, General Pershing convinced Congress to allow the entry of 537 overseas Chinese into the U.S. despite the Exclusion Act. Lawton Wong's grandfather was one of the 537 brought in by General Pershing.

Another example of a large Chinese population is offered by Arreola and Curtis (1993:21) stating that "Mexicali was one-third Chinese as late as 1930." Mexicali is situated on the border across from Calexico, California. A major reason for the size of this community may be because Calexico was the Port of Entry between México and the U.S. Calexico and Mexicali mirror El Paso and Ciudad Juárez on a smaller scale, but the latter was not a Port of Entry. Communities grew gradually, usually centering around particular events and circumstances, such as those of the construction of southern railroad routes through the region, the Mexican Revolution, and the availability of agricultural lands. The Deming, New Mexico and El Paso Chinese communities are results of the railroads beginning in 1881. They appear to have flourished well into the 1960s.

Historical Background of Ciudad Juárez's Chinatown: Unknown to 1970

The core of the Ciudad Juárez Chinatown was on Vicente Guerrero Street next to the *Virgen de Guadalupe* Catholic Church.

> "The mission *Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe* in present Ciudad Juárez was the earliest permanent settlement along what would become the border. Founded in 1649, the mission became a strategic settlement where the Río Grande bends around the Franklin Mountains, creating a gateway to the upriver settlements of present day New México" (Hughes 1914 in Arreola and Curtis 1993:6).

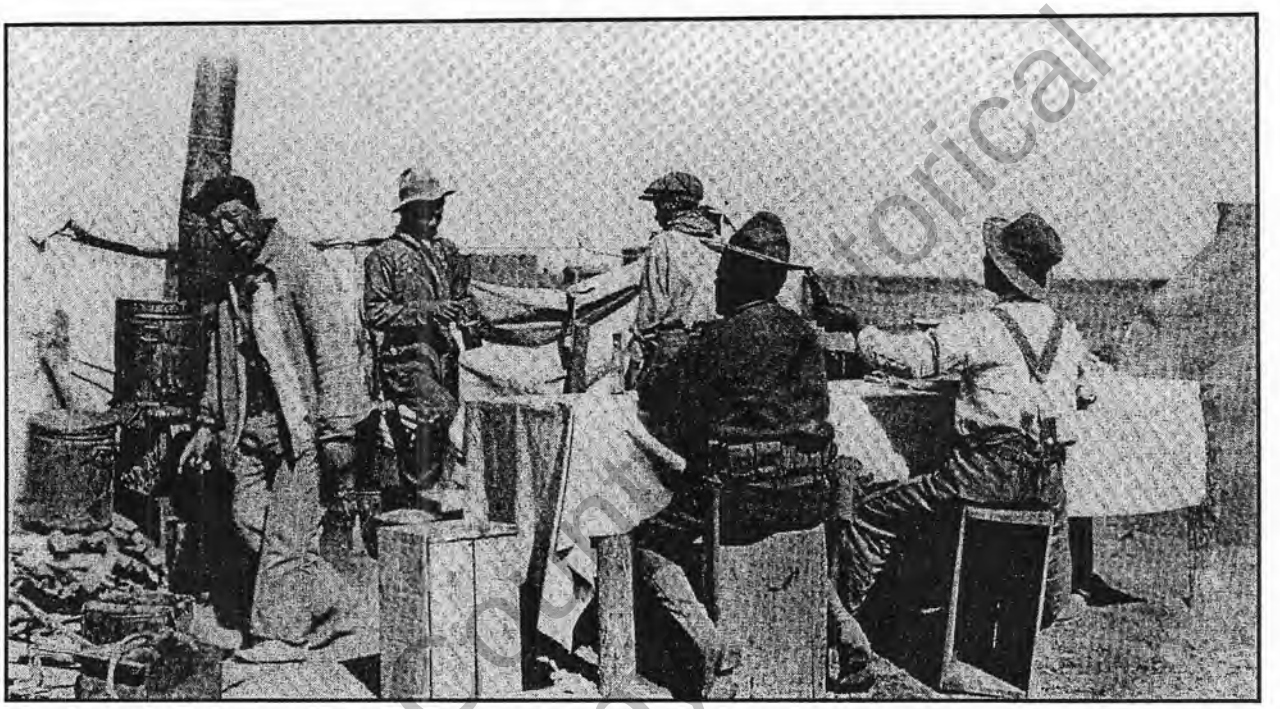


Figure 3:7. Chinese shops, restaurants, and laundries along Pershing's route.

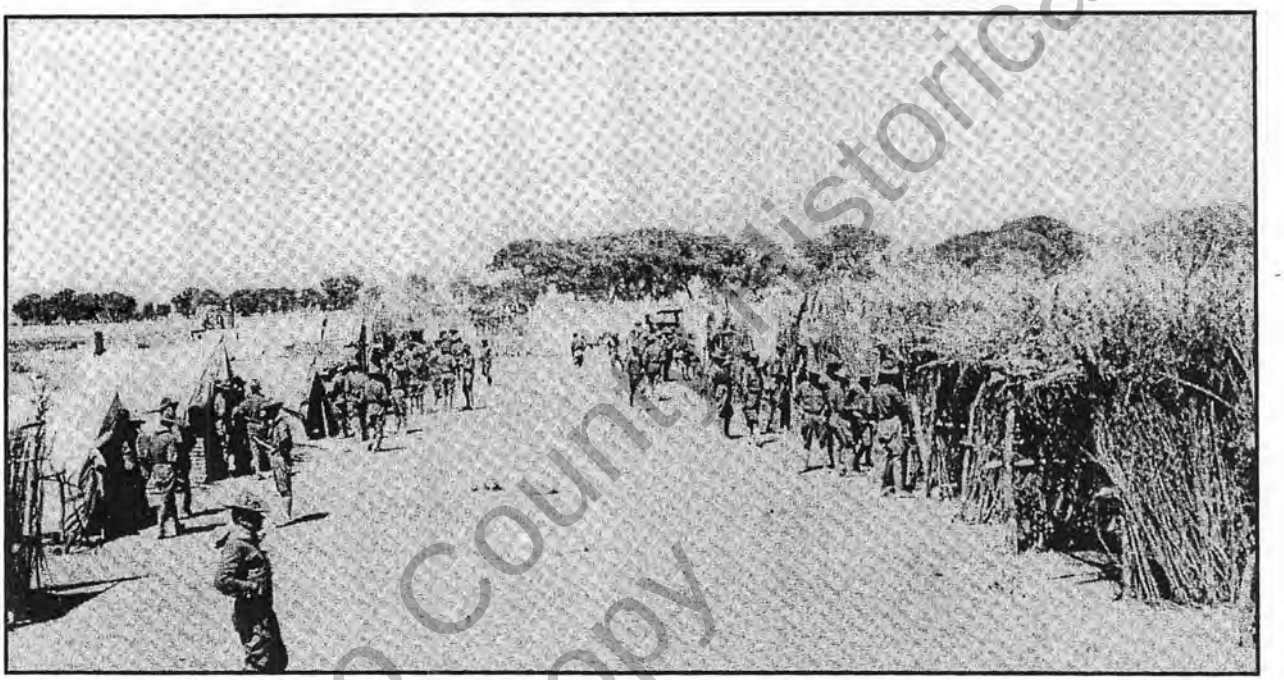


Figure 3:8. Chinese makeshift huts on fringe of Pershing's troops for safety.

The oral history interview with Enrique Woo provided the information about this community, as well as many of the events that transpired during Pancho Villa's reign in México. Enrique Woo is the youngest of eleven children. This family lived in two rooms in the back of their grocery store. The Juárez Chinatown was a popular market area "that by the 1950s and 1960s had approximately twenty-five Chinese owned grocery stores and two Chinese owned tortilla factories (Enrique Woo personal communication 1995). Each grocery store had loyal patrons that sought the unique qualities offered by the proprietors. To explain a uniqueness of his family's store, Mr. Woo described how customers sought an older sister's advice regarding romance. She would read, translate, and write letters, and offer "advice of the heart" for those who asked. He went on to explain that each store provided different varieties of vegetables and services, and that while there were many Chinese grocery stores there were always plenty of customers for everyone.

According to Enrique Woo (Enrique Woo personal communication 1995) seventy percent of all the Chinese stores were situated on Vicente Gurrero Street, and at least eighty percent of the store owners and their families lived in one or two rooms behind their stores. "The store owners and their families worked twelve hour work days, 362 days a year, only closing their doors for three holidays: Mexican Independence on September 16th for one-half a day, and on Christmas and New Year's day" (Enrique Woo personal communication 1995).

The estimated population of the Ciudad Juárez Chinatown during the 1950s and 1960s was approximately 500. Primarily, this population was male because most of their families remained in China. Typically, Chinese males preferred not to marry outside their ethnic group, and while there were a few that did, customarily they had wives and families in China to which they sent money. "A man and wife might never see each other again once the husband departed for a foreign land, but many might be reunited after twenty or more years of separation" (Enrique Woo personal communication 1995). There were Chinese men, however, who supported wives and families in both China and México. During the 1950s and 1960s there were only seven nuclear families in this community. The other households were comprised of men, who as stated above, worked very hard and sent their money to their families in mainland China.

Chinese men were usually literate, but Chinese women were not (Enrique Woo personal communication 1995). He continued, stating that "this is because females historically are considered not to matter in Chinese society. Male children are most desired and are the ones to receive an education" (Enrique Woo personal communication 1995). Mr. Woo spoke of not agreeing with this

tradition. He holds the women of his family in high esteem. Nonetheless, this tradition is well documented in literature. "A man who had no sons was considered to be childless" (Mikazaki 1995:179). However, in large families like Mr. Woo's, the son perceived of as being the most gifted was traditionally singled out to receive the most attention and the most food. This child would be the family's hope to receive the highest education possible to help the family later. Enrique Woo spoke of watching an older brother receive such attention when he was a child.

The Woo family was fortunate in regard to the education of their children, because the principal of *María Martinez School*, a private institution, was a patron of their store and made arrangements for several of the Woo children to attend her school. Years later, Enrique Woo learned of an older sister's educational accomplishments. She challenged the traditions surrounding the ideas on women's education in Chinese culture by obtaining a university degree in Mexico City. Unfortunately, she died at a young age, just as her accomplishments were coming to light. Additionally, before her death, his mother learned to read and write on a primary level. As a husband and father, Mr. Woo takes great pride in the hopes and accomplishments of his wife and daughter, as well as his two sons. He also spoke of the social and political atmosphere in the Juárez Chinese community.

Socially and politically, the Chinese of the Ciudad Juárez community fell principally into two groups, or parties. The first was the *Kung Hong*, comprised of the poor and old, and was called the *Masones* party. The second group was the *Come Nong*, comprised of the young and rich, and was called the *Nacionalistas* party. The Woo family belonged to the *Kung Hong*, that met on the first and fourteenth day of each month. On the first of each month, the *Kung Hong* dined with their families and any left-over food was given to the poorer, such as the Woo's and their eleven children. "These gatherings provided much needed breaks in our rigorous work schedules" (Enrique Woo personal communication 1995).

Regarding how the Chinese adjusted to Mexican society, Mr. Woo said that they did so very well. The male population learned to speak Spanish with little accent, and some learned to read and write Spanish without any schooling: Enrique Woo's father was among this group. On the topic of discrimination, he said that their experiences were minor, explaining that in school, a Chinese child could not carry the Mexican flag, and that in the streets, Chinese children were made fun of, primarily by young Mexicans. "As for the adults, they were looked at as if they appeared strange" (Enrique Woo personal communication 1995).

Economically, the Ciudad Juárez Chinese community was generally poor. Woo (Enrique Woo personal communication 1995) stated that: "ten percent were very poor, seventy percent were poor, fifteen percent were above average, and only five percent were very rich." However, regardless of their economic status, they were strong and had abundant wealth in family values, education, and perseverance. This unique community that once reached approximately 500 has dwindled to twenty or twenty-five in 1996, having been assimilated into the local population, or left the area.

Historical Background of El Paso's Chinatown and the Present Day Community (1881-1998)

The 1881 fire map of El Paso, Texas, made and signed by a T. H. Conklin, a pioneer real estate and insurance agent (Figure 3:9), already indicates Chinese merchants and living quarters on St. Louis Street (Mills) across from the Public Square. According to Staski (1984:25) the Chinese in El Paso developed a core area on South Oregon from Second Street (Paisano Drive), past Overland Avenue, and bounded by South Oregon, St. Louis (Mills), San Antonio, South Stanton, Utah (Mesa) and Overland streets. There appear to have been various shifts in demographics as indicated in city directories and Sanborn Maps from the early population concentrations to when the above core area developed.

Most Chinese in El Paso were men who were merchants, an acceptable category under the Chinese Exclusion Acts in the U.S. While many of these people were merchants, they were not allowed to own personal property under the exclusion laws. Additionally, it remained difficult, and later impossible, for these men to bring their wives and children into the country because of the *Immigration Act of 1924*. Indeed, "Revisions of the exclusion laws in the early 1920s . . . barred the entry of wives of these men who previously had been allowed to enter America if their husbands belonged to one of the four exempt categories" (Rhoads 1977:24). A comparison of census records reveals primarily a male Chinese population in El Paso, ranging from a peak of 700 in 1902, to a low of 228 in 1910. The families of these men remained in China. Primarily, these men were considered sojourners who had no intention of staying overseas. They sent money home to their ancestral villages and families, whom they intended to rejoin once they earned enough money.

The core of El Paso's Chinatown and the location of a Joss House, which is a type of Chinese temple are indicated on an *1893 American Fire Insurance Map* near Second and South Oregon Streets in (Figure 3:2). Also, the grand opening of the Chinese Masonic Temple on January 16, 1904, at 404 South Oregon Street as described, is the location which the 1930 El Paso City Directory indicates

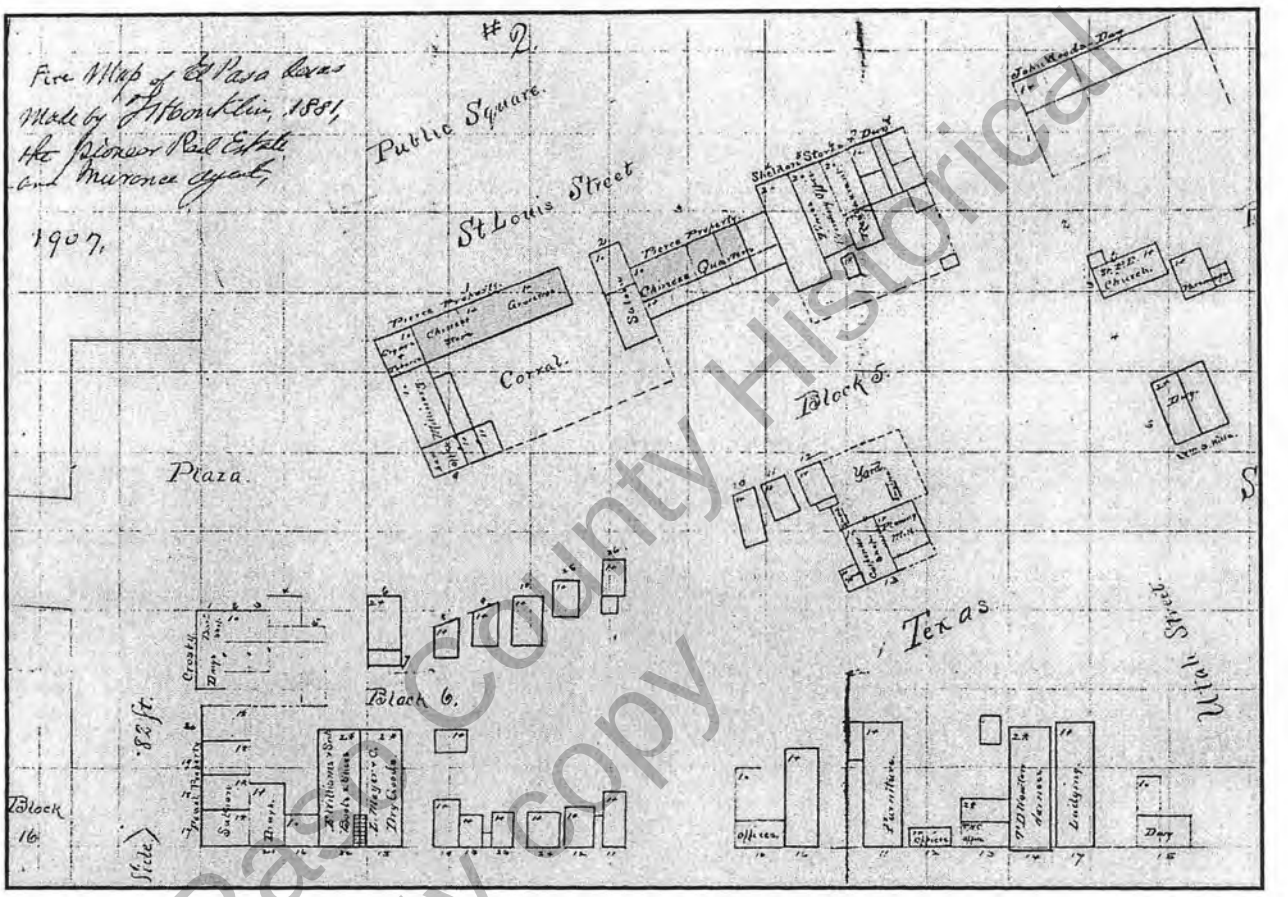


Figure 3:9. Section of El Paso in 1881 showing some Chinese properties.

as the location of the *Chee Kung Tong*, later known as the Chinese Freemasons. Just up the street, at 310 South Oregon, was El Paso's Nationalistic Party, or the *Kuo Min* tong (*Kuomintang [Guomindang]*) Party. The locations of the Joss House, the Chinese Masonic Temple, and the tongs in downtown El Paso are significant because greater potential for study is associated with them. Also downtown, in the basement of 800 Myrtle, was a Chinese language school operated by the Chinese Baptist Mission. In 1935, Mr. and Mrs. Jim Garbern, the couple responsible for reactivating this school, reported that thirty-two Chinese students were in attendance (Books 1983:64). A map of El Paso's Chinatown (Figure 3:1) shows the core and its boundaries, where a temple location exists, and the Cortez parking lot excavation that Staski[4] reported within in the area of El Paso's Chinatown.

Another area of potential study is the legend surrounding the tunnels, including the one presumably built under the Río Grande by Chinese as they constructed track into El Paso. It is easy to imagine such construction as a section of Southern Pacific railroad tracks runs under downtown El Paso. While the existence of a tunnel crossing under the river has never been proven, it is known that tunnels exist in central El Paso. Schmucker's report, in *El Paso Herald* on December 16, 1905, stated:

> In certain alleys in Chinatown houses were built so that illegal Chinese could be hidden in chambers under the ground or in spaces between the roof and ceiling. In some cases, space under the floor was large enough to hide one man lying down: these spaces were usually constructed near a wall so that tubes could be run up through the walls to provide air.

Further study might indicate a pattern if known tunnel locations were documented. This study confirms two tunnel locations and evidence of the existence of others. Al Tellez[5] (Alfonso Tellez personal communication 1996) stated that the tunnels were dug clandestinely. This was probably the case. Knowledge of tunnels that have been discovered by accident can potentially reveal some smuggling routes.

One location is the famed Turtle House located at 516 Corto Way in the Sunset Heights historical district of El Paso, and as of the fall of 1995 (Alfonso Tellez personal communication 1996) the latest tunnel discovery had been at the Colon theater at 505 South El Paso Street. The Turtle House (Figure 3:10) is marked with a large, intricately raised plaster design of a sea turtle (Figure 3:11) and is believed to mark the location of the tunnel under or to the Río Grande. In "Legend Tells Of A Turtle, A Tunnel Under The River," Peters (May:1974) dismisses the legend as myth and described the tunnel stating that it "leads southward into oblivion. But it is only three feet in diameter and

Figure 3:10. The Turtle House.

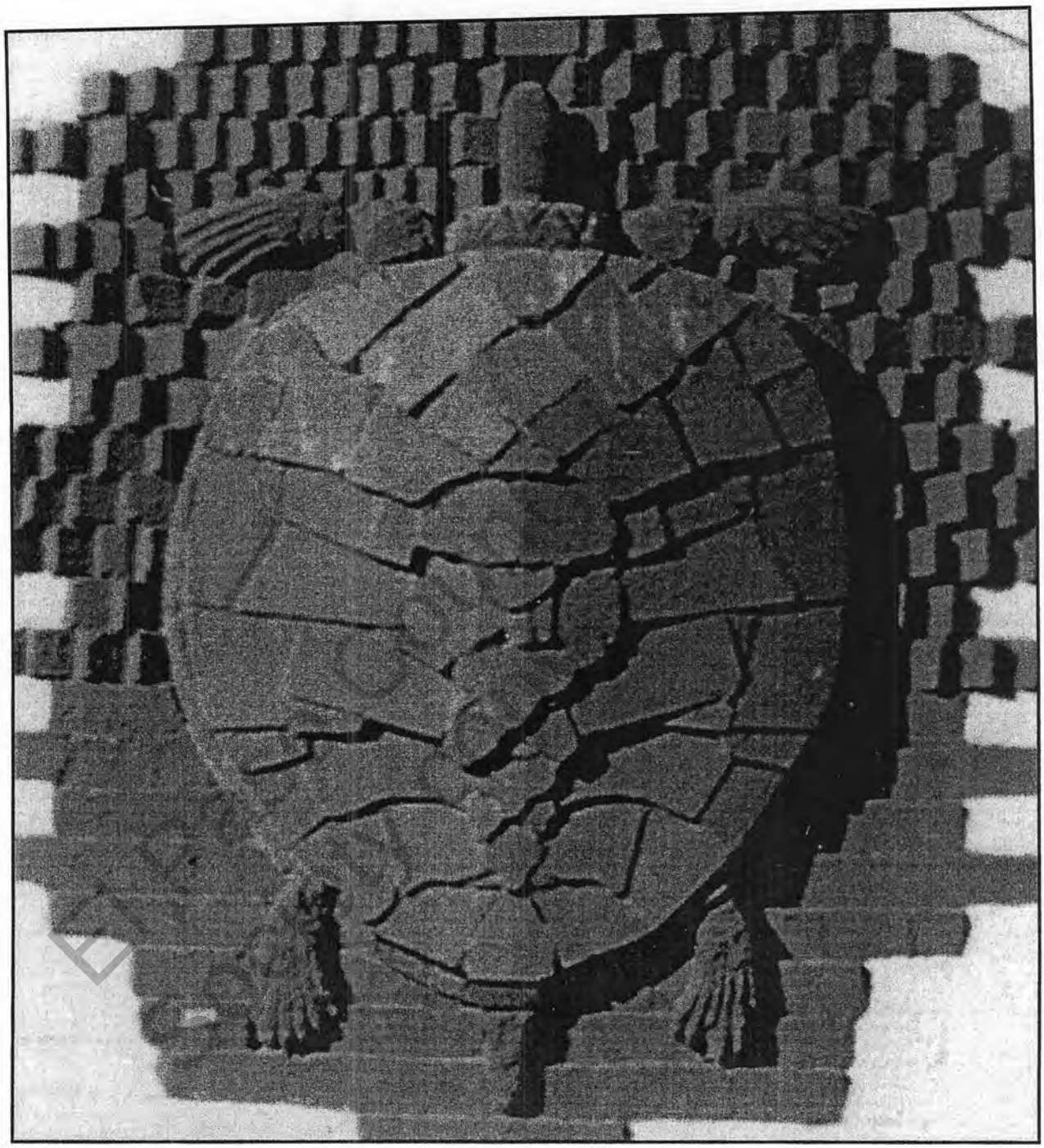


Figure 3:11. The turtle relief on the exterior of 516 Corto Way.

probably a drainage ditch." However, ten years later Zamarripa (9 May 1984:N-1) addressed the possibility that the tunnels might have existed. Zamarripa interviewed Mike Trominski, Deputy District Director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service who revealed that, "it is possible that there might have been some tunneling in the early 1900s, such as there is now along Paisano Avenue. People cross the river every day and crawl into great big drainage tunnels that surface somewhere in Sunset Heights." The article also indicates that there is more than one tunnel under the Turtle House, stating, "Across the old kitchen are two tunnels and five archways. The tunnels recede about 12 feet under the alley next to the Turtle House. They [the tunnels] face in the direction of where the Río Grande used to run back in those times . . . Its been pushed and pushed back," comments Armando Luevano, Jr. who as a child played in the Turtle House basement" (Zamarripa 1984:N-2). Luevano thinks the tunnels were used by the utility company, so the mystery continues. It would be of value to learn the design and construction methods used in building these tunnels, considering the geological aspects of the surrounding terrain and a possible tunnel position at least to the river's edge, if not under the river. Rhoads (1977:6) quoted Farrar (1972) in his discussion of the tunnels saying, "It was commonly believed that Chinese buildings were linked by a honeycomb of underground passages in the area of South Oregon Street, in the heart of Chinatown, which made it possible for Chinese to enter one house and exit through another house several doors or blocks away. A few underground rooms have, in fact, been excavated underneath El Paso's Chinatown, but as yet no network of subterranean passes." Rhoads does not say where the rooms he mentions were located, nor does he say who excavated them. (Figure 3:12 is a photograph of several such tunnel openings). This photograph does not provide information regarding their location, all the same, it is further testimony to their existence. The caption that accompanies this photograph states that they are located downtown and that they face the river. Perhaps the Chinese never built a tunnel under the river, but there exists a possibility that they developed a system of tunnels running from one location to another to facilitate smuggling operations. Many Chinese who grew up in El Paso dismiss the stories as legend.

Rhoads (1977:16) commented that, "Because of its excellent rail connections on either side of the border, El Paso was throughout this period a major point of entry for Chinese attempting to sneak in by way of Mexico." While there were other sizable Chinese communities in Texas, in the U.S., and in the Mexican border region, the geography of El Paso and Ciudad Juárez coupled with the availability of major railroad lines made "El Paso from 1881 on . . . the largest Chinese population in the state . . . It remained so until 1917" (Rhoads 1977:12).

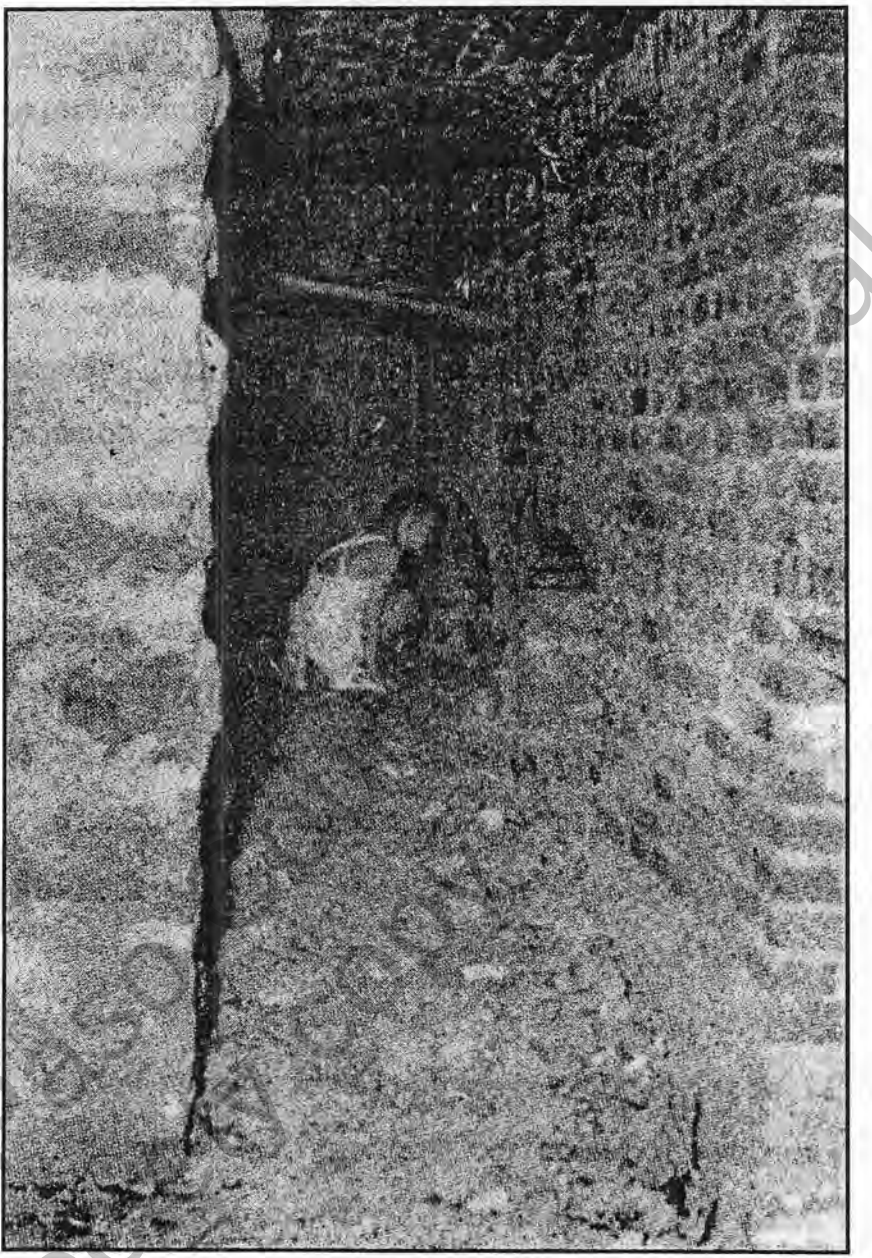


Figure 3:12. A Chinese tunnel in beneath downtown El Paso, Texas.

The oral histories of Lilly Soo Hoo and Lawton Wong describe growing up in El Paso. Mrs. Soo Hoo's father operated Joe Chew's Market, and Mr. Wong's father, Guey Yung Wong, came to the U.S. to work at the Canton Grocery that was situated at 319-321 South Stanton, caddie corner on Stanton and Paisano streets. Mr. Wong's family operated this business from 1920 to 1978 (Lawton Wong personal communication 1996). Lilly Soo Hoo and Lawton Wong spoke of long store hours and chores that they managed to work into their school schedules, leaving no time for extra curricular activities. Most of the literature documents the Chinese cultural and work experiences in the U.S. and elsewhere as similar to this.

Local and Regional Chinese Archaeology:
Downtown El Paso, Cortez Parking Lot

In the early 1980s, Dr. Edward Staski of New Mexico State University conducted an excavation of the Cortez parking lot in downtown El Paso, located in the fringe area of the El Paso Chinatown boundary. This excavation unearthed diagnostic artifact types that might be retrieved through future excavations and shed light on the regional Chinese living habits and culture. Artifacts from this excavation are on permanent display in the lobby of the Centennial Museum at The University of Texas at El Paso (Figure 3:13).

The Cortez site is important because it is the only excavation in El Paso's Chinatown area, and provides information for future research on this historic community. The excavation and recovery of well preserved artifacts from under blacktop and pavement demonstrates the potential for future recovery of important data on El Paso's Chinatown. The site also provides evidence of businesses such as laundries, opium dens, and boarding rooms that once existed in the Chinese communities of this region. Of equal importance is the information obtained from Chinese cultural occupation that provides data about daily lives. If such information is available from the fringe of the area, the potential exists to obtain even greater knowledge from sites situated well within the core area, principally the Joss House, the Chinese Masonic Temple, the tong headquarters and their surroundings.

Little in depth study has been conducted on the overseas Chinese in El Paso and the Ciudad Juárez region. While the general population knows the Chinese were in the area, the culture is largely overlooked on both sides of the border. Chinese cultural contributions contribute to the multicultural richness of this region, as well as that of the Chihuahuan and Sonoran desert areas, but generally is unacknowledged.

Figure 3:13. Artifacts from the excavation of the Cortez parking lot.

Union Plaza Renovation Project: Types of Occupations

The types of physical Chinese occupations in the Union Plaza Renovation area were primarily restaurants, or chop houses, and a few laundries. Living quarters were associated with these business locations, as it was the practice of most merchants regardless of ethnicity to live in quarters attached to their businesses, either behind or on a floor above. However, what is uniquely a Chinese practice was that all or most all of the employees, who were predominately male family members, also lived in those quarters. The owners and their employees lived in rooms situated behind the store front.

It appears that structural evidence of some of these businesses may have been destroyed at the time of the Civic Center's construction. A salvage excavation was conducted by Herbert Morrow during this construction project. A perusal of the artifacts, housed at Centennial Museum at The University of Texas at El Paso, yielded evidence of Chinese occupation in that area.

Tucson Excavation

The following information briefly offers data from the *The Chinese of Early Tucson: Historic Archaeology from the Tucson Urban Renewal* Project, by Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister. Tucson's renovation of eighty acres of the oldest sector of downtown took place between 1968 and 1973. The Lister's reported that Chinese names began appearing in news articles in the mid-to-late 1870s, and that they appear to have arrived following the commencement of anti-Chinese riots on the west coast. Some may have also arrived in Tucson having worked on laying Southern Pacific railroad tracks. The Chinese population was approximately thirty individualy by 1879. The original community were apparently *Sam Yaps*, who left Tucson when the *Sze Yaps* arrived in 1880.

The Southern Pacific railroad reached Tucson in March of 1880, and the census for that year indicates a Chinese population of one hundred and sixty Chinese in Tucson. The original community occupied "a wedge-shaped tract lying immediately southwest of what had been a ten acre walled presido during the Spanish and Mexico occupations" (Lister and Lister 1989:1). This area emerged as the central business district of Tucson, but since the business district had shifted a few blocks, the area lay in ruin when the Chinese arrived. The main occupations consisted of laundries, followed by cooks, and later farmers. By 1910, however, the majority were merchants. There was a sizable Chinese community into the 1950s in downtown Tucson, but many moved to stores outside the urban renewal area.

This report covers in detail how sites of Chinese occupation were dealt with, and an array of impressive Chinese artifacts is discussed. Photographs are offered of buildings, ceramics, clothing, utensils, bottles and even a dried jelly fish. This report offers outstanding examples of Chinese artifacts that might potentially be found in downtown El Paso, Texas. The opportunity also exists for fruitful excavation, preservation, and additional information regarding El Paso's historic past, especially about its multicultural heritages such as the Chinese colony that once thrived in its midst.

SUMMARY OF PRELIMINARY RESEARCH

Historically, the largest concentration of Chinese settled in El Paso's Chinatown adjacent to the Union Plaza Renovation Project area, yet a substantial number operated businesses, worked, and lived in the project area. The Chinese contributed to the economic development initially through the labor force on railroad construction and maintenance and by opening businesses such as restaurants and laundries in El Paso's business district. They were consumers as well as business proprietors who contributed to the railroad commerce which was the "blood line" of the Union Plaza economic prosperity.

The Chinese also contributed to the shaping of the cosmopolitan character of El Paso at the turn of the century through their cultural presence as demonstrated in events such as the Chinese New Year and elaborate funeral processions. Additionally, the Chinese legacy continues in this community through the Chinese Benevolent Society in El Paso, through intermarriages, Chinese restaurants, through community involvement, all of which further lends to the rich multicultural region of El Paso and Juárez. The region of Paso del Norte has historically been multicultural. Many ethnic groups have coexisted in the region over the centuries where they found a haven and have lived compatibly. Present or future development projects incorporating historic themes of El Paso, including the Union Plaza area, will be enriched by the contributions of the Chinese to local history. In a word, Chinese history will always be an integral component of the City of El Paso.

That Chinatowns existed provides opportunities for further study through potential recovery and preservation, thus enabling us to learn more about Chinese culture and daily lives. Archaeological excavation could potentially reveal information and artifacts of the Chinese communities. This is especially important in light of the anticipated downtown renovation projects in El Paso, particularly the proposed $5 million shopping mall on Oregon Street which is in the core of this historical community. Repeatedly, important sites are identified in oral histories that are located in the vicinity of Oregon Street. Oral history interviews have provided details of the Chinese communities in El

Paso and Ciudad Juárez, and the personal interviews conducted with people having knowledge of this subject have helped to further identify locations within these communities. Research of archival materials such as maps, census and demographic information, and literature were also used.

There were many Chinese communities in the Chihuahuan and Sonoran desert regions, and their histories correlate with those of other Chinese in the region. The Chinese were sought as laborers because of their reputation for diligent work. They were discriminated against, they stayed committed to their cultural identities, and yet contributed enormously to the western civilization to which they traveled and settled within. They left their impression upon the people and cultures of this border region, as well as archaeological evidence of their communities. The Chinatowns established in El Paso, Ciudad Juárez, San Antonio, Houston, Tucson, Tombstone, Prescott, Bisbee, Mexicali and others, offer opportunities to learn more about Chinese culture, daily lives, and unique desert experiences. It is important to understand our regional history and geography, and not overlook the obvious things that we take for granted. Reconstructing and learning from the rich heritage offered by the Chinese in the Chihuahuan and Sonoran desert regions will help preserve the multicultural heritage of the entire area and offers opportunities to learn what we cannot afford to disregard.

NOTES

1. This research began with the writing of a thirty-five page Historical Context that dealt solely with Ciudad Juárez and El Paso. Next, the focus expanded to the original aspect of this paper that won the John and Vida White Geography Award for 1996 from The University of Texas at El Paso, which was expanded to consider overseas Chinese communities in the Chihuahuan and Sonoran desert regions. This paper addresses El Paso and Ciudad Juárez region with emphasis on the Union Plaza Renovation Project.

2. There are a number of construction projects planned, some of which are about to begin in downtown El Paso, as part of its major renovation. On Friday, November 24, 1995, the news article "Lean season: Downtown retailers just hoping to get by," appearing in *El Paso Herald-Post*, references a planned $5 million "Oregon Mall." Once such projects begin, remnants of El Paso's Chinese community in that area of downtown could be lost forever. This is why research is so important prior to the start of any proposed downtown construction. In this manner knowledge can be preserved for future study, the contractors will experience no delays, and El Paso's downtown area

will be enhanced. The importance of recovery applies to all cultural material, not just that pertaining to the Chinese community, but all of El Paso's ethnic groups.

3. Dr. Enrique Woo is the general manager over all of the City of El Paso's waste water facilities.

4. Lilly Soo Hoo was the President of the Chinese Benevolent Society of El Paso at the time of this telephone interview. Mrs. Soo Hoo's parents came to the U.S. together. Her mother was pregnant at the time and although the trip was very difficult, it was successful. Mrs. Soo Hoo is of the first generation born outside mainland China and is one of eight children.

5. Lawton Wong's grandfather came into the U.S. through Mexico, with General Pershing. His father was born in China and came to U.S. through Angel Island in 1924 at the age of eighteen. Mr. Wong is a first generation Chinese born outside mainland China. He was born and raised in El Paso.

6. David Wellington Chew is a descendant of a prominent historic family of El Paso's Chinese community. Chew and Herlinda Wong Chew were his grandparents, and Wellington Chew was his father. He is a sitting Justice with the Eighth District Court of Appeals for the State of Texas.

7. Edward Rhoads is a professor at The University of Texas at Austin

8. Alfred Gruber is quoting Ronald Atkin, author of *Revolution! México 1910-20*, First American Edition, published by J. Day Company, 1970.

9. Edward Staski is a Professor of Anthropology at New Mexico State University, in Las Cruces, New Mexico.

10. Al Tellez was until November 11, 1997, the Historic Preservation Officer for the City of El Paso.

CHAPTER 4
HISTORIC CONTEXTS

John Peterson

Historic contexts are key elements in the evaluation of historic properties. As defined by the Department of the Interior, historic contexts identify the significant patterns that individual historic properties represent. The historic context is an organizational format which can be utilized as a guide for the evaluation of related historic properties (Texas Historical Commission, 1989). We propose the following contexts which draw from the research themes developed for this project and which focus on landscape evolution and the recovery of material culture and landscape features through the present project.

CONTEXT: EVOLUTION OF COMMUNITY PLAN AND DEVELOPMENT IN A MULTICULTURAL SETTING

Area: El Paso, Texas - Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua

Period: A.D. 1820 - 1950

This context considers the contrastive Spanish community and American town plans that are extant in the El Paso and Ciudad Juárez metroplex. Early Spanish Community planning was introduced into both communities, but the American plan established by the Anson Mills survey of 1859 superceded the Spanish antecedents in downtown El Paso, while Ciudad Juárez continued to develop along Spanish community plans until the emergence of industrial parks in the outlying areas which have dramatically changed the evolution of Ciudad Juárez.

Existing Data:

Archival map data from both communities.

Property Types:

Historical architectural properties; streetscapes.

Locational Patterns of Property Types:

Rectangular grid plan of the Anson Mills Plat overlies "organic" settlement following acequia and river channel evolution in downtown El Paso (Figure 0:3).

Current Condition of Property Types:

Potentially eligible architectural properties of both Spanish Southwest styles as well as 19th and early 20th century American structures; streetscape currently follows American Plan.

Information Needs:

1. Archival mapping documentation.
2. Historical architectural evaluations of extant structures.
3. Settlement pattern data by period of occupation.

CONTEXT: MULTICULTURAL, MULTI-ETHNIC SETTLEMENT

Area: Downtown El Paso

Period: A.D. 1830 - 1950

The project area includes communities of Chinese, Mexican, Euroamerican, African-American, Native American, and Mexican-American, and provides a window into the process and emergence of *mestizaje* as well as other ethnic categories in the borderlands, where the standard discourse on *mestizaje* obscures emergent relations and categories in the El Paso borderland. Racial and ethnic characterizations are not fixed but are contextual and may be fluid and also multiple. Legal statuses may reflect societal discourse but may also encode archaic categories. The multivocal and multicultural milieu of the El Paso borderlands provides a setting in which to evaluate these discourses and their effect on settlement and socioeconomic opportunities.

Existing Data:

Demographic data, city directories, property title histories, property tax records, and immigration data provide a documentary reference for the multiplicity of ethnic labels as contrasted with informal histories and socioeconomic status.

Property Types:

Historic sites including vernacular housing, residential housing, landscapes (reference to town plan), canals, brick tenements, commercial buildings, public and community spaces such as parks, plazas, streetscapes.

Locational Patterns of Property Types:

The El Paso townsite was settled first as an agricultural landscape by Juan Ponce de Leon, and was adjunct to the greater settlement of Paso del Norte in Chihuahua. Changing river channel locations, establishment of an American town plan in 1859, the advent of the railroad in 1881, increasing mining and commercial interests, and changing immigration laws affected status and interaction of ethnic and cultural populations.

Current Condition of Property Types:

Historical architectural properties in Union Plaza may be eligible for National Register of Historic Places designation; archaeological sites in streetscapes, empty lots, and development prior to establishment of American town plan may be intact.

Information Needs:

1. Settlement pattern data within tightly controlled chronology.
2. Population modelling from site number and size with consideration for the problem of reoccupations, combined with archival demographic data.
3. Demographic data.
4. Legal history of immigration.
5. Archaeological data on properties obscured by American town plan.
6. Archaeological data contributing toward identification of ethnic markers documenting the informal social history of structures and landscapes, such as discrete and unpublished use patterns including opium dens, brothels, public park spaces, and ethnic specific commercial and residential occupation.
7. Oral history and ethnographic studies of formal and informal social history of Union Plaza.

CONTEXT: TRANSPORTATION
Area: El Paso, Texas and Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua
Period: A.D. 1881 - 1950

This context examines the history of transportation vectors and technologies that altered the physical and socioeconomic landscape of downtown El Paso. From its earliest settlement as an agricultural landscape associated with the late Spanish Colonial and Mexican Republic, where El Paso was a node along a north-south trade route from Santa Fe to the mining communities of Parral, Santa Barbara and others; to growing connections with east-west transit of western United States development by wagon, pedestrian and horseback, to the period of westward expansion and linking of the two United States coasts by rail connection, transportation defined the evolution of El Paso. These changing transportation vectors and systems were inseparably intertwined with coevolved patterns of social interaction, land tenure and commerce.

Existing Data:

Historical records of transportation technology, historical architectural properties such as the Union Depot and associated railroad facilities and tracks, associated commercial development such as hotels and warehouse structures, demographic and commercial records.

Property Types:

Historic sites including hotels, warehouses, railroad facilities, stableries, public spaces and streetscapes associated with transit nodes, trolley and inter-urban facilities, river fords and bridges between El Paso and Ciudad Juárez; informal and subversive spaces such as underground railways, Chinese smuggling tunnels, and informal border crossings. Railroad locomotives such as Engine No. 1 at the Centennial Museum at UTEP and trolley cars from the original rail and trolley services in El Paso are still available within El Paso to site in the Union Plaza for interpretive displays as well as restaurant and other service establishments.

Locational Patterns of Property Types:

Town plans and streetscapes, railroad facilities, historical trails such as the Camino Real and Butterfield Stage Line, road and highway locations.

Current Condition of Property Types:

Town plan, streetscapes and historical architectural properties are extant from late 19th century; other historical transit vectors may be intact in archaeological deposits such as Camino Real, historical trails, and river crossings and bridges. Other historical architectural properties such as hotels and commercial structures may be intact in archaeological deposits. Informal history of these structures may contribute to the understanding of undocumented transit vectors.

Information Needs:

1. Settlement pattern data within tightly controlled chronology.
2. Functional assessments of sites based on artifact and proxemics data.
3. Archaeological data on Spanish colonial and American town plan as associated with historical transportation routes.
4. Archaeological data on roadway bridges, river crossings, tunnels, and railroad facilities.
5. Oral history and ethnographic data on undocumented practices.

CONTEXT: COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
Area: Union Plaza Project Area
Period: A.D. 1830 - 1950

Early community life in the Union Plaza was predominantly agrarian, but gave way to commercial and transient use during the railroad era. Later, the Durangito *vecino* emerged from a tenement community that still dominates the area today. The first "elite" school in El Paso, the Franklin School, ca. 1891 to the 1940s serviced wealthy Juárenses as well as a diverse population from El Paso. Ethnic communities of Chinese, African-Americans, Mexican, Euroamerican, and other populations maintained discrete and bounded parts of the landscape as well as cross-cutting spatial boundaries to form community identities in the Union Plaza area. These communities maintained social boundaries which were both connected to and cross-cutting landscape boundaries.

Existing Data:

Archaeologic survey and excavations from sites excavated in downtown El Paso, such as those of Staski et al 1984. In the Pioneer Plaza an Cortez Hotel, document the informal as well as formal uses of the lanscape. A sizeable body of data on economic conditions and individual histories from city directories, lot histories, and oral history and ethnographic investigations is available.

Property Types:

Historical architectural properties as well as archaeological data from sites of previous residential and commercial structures, data from public spaces in the urban landscape such as parks and plazas; and streetscapes defined by community proxemics such as vernacular vecinos in floodplain locales previously outside of the town plan development.

Locational Patterns of Property Types:

Sites associated with this context will be primarily within the existing American town plan and at its margins where vernacular communities evolved in transitional floodplain environments. Residential and commercial sites will be associated with transportation features such as roads and railroads and streetscapes, but will have bounded as well as cross-cutting uses and occupancy.

Current Condition of Property Types:

Historical architectural properties in Union Plaza may be eligible for National Register of Historic Places designation; archaeological sites in streetscapes, empty lots, and development prior to establishment of American town plan may be intact.

Information Needs:

1. Settlement pattern data within tightly controlled chronology.
2. Population modelling from site number and size with consideration for the problem of reoccupations, combined with archival demographic data.
3. Demographic data.
4. Archaeological data on properties obscured by American town plan.
5. Archaeological data contributing toward identification of ethnic markers documenting the informal social history of structures and landscapes, such as discrete and unpublished use patterns including opium dens, brothels, public park spaces, and ethnic specific commercial and residential occupation.
6. Oral history and ethnographic studies of formal and informal social history of Union Plaza.

CONTEXT: ENTERTAINMENT
Area: Union Plaza Project Area
Period: A.D. 1881 - 1950

This context examines the built environment and the spaces which are subsumed by it. All nucleated settlements organize space in ways that meet the particular needs of that society, regulating, either formally or informally, social contact, commerce, traffic and land use. Entertainment in the Union Plaza area includes theatres, bars, brothels, hotels, and parks serviced and attended by the several communities of the Union Plaza area including African-Americans, Mexicans and Mexican-Americans, Chinese , Euroamericans and transients passing through the Union Plaza Railroad terminal.

Existing Data:

Historical, architectural and archaeological data from a variety of contexts.

Property Types:

Historical architectural sites and evidence of such sites from all periods. Residences, commercial structures, public buildings, planned open spaces, ceremonial centers, roads and transportation axes, informal social spaces.

Locational Patterns of Property Types:

This context applies primarily to the organization of settlement space within nucleated settlements and historic and recent nucleated settlements will provide data on this question. These sites are located in different places during each period but are associated with dominant community uses such as rail and other transportation centers, and shifting commercial centers and uses of the urban landscape in El Paso and Ciudad Juárez.

Current Condition of Property Types:

Historical architectural properties in Union Plaza may be eligible for National Register of Historic Places designation; archaeological sites in streetscapes, empty lots, and development prior to establishment of American town plan may be intact.

Information Needs:

1. Settlement pattern data within tightly controlled chronology.
2. Population modelling from site number and size with consideration for the problem of reoccupations, combined with archival demographic data.
3. Demographic data.
4. Archaeological data on properties obscured by American town plan.
5. Archaeological data contributing toward identification of ethnic markers documenting the informal social history of structures and landscapes, such as discrete and unpublished use patterns including opium dens, brothels, public park spaces, and ethnic specific commercial and residential occupation.
6. Oral history and ethnographic studies of formal and informal social history of Union Plaza.

CONTEXT: LAND, WATER, AND LANDSCAPE EVOLUTION

Area: Union Plaza Project Area

Period: A.D. 1881 - 1950

This context examines the built environment and the spaces which are subsumed by it, as well as the opportunities and limitations provided by exposures of historically constrained deposits in an evolving urban landscape such as acequias, river floodplain and channel locales, urban fill environments, and historical occupational surfaces such as roadways and commercial and residential activity locales. Privies and industrial dumps may also provide access to data from which to model the changing environmental regime of the El Paso urban setting. Air pollution from smelting operations upstream, urban air and water quality as evidenced by sediments from datable catchment areas, and hazardous waste from industrial, commercial and household activities may be documentable.

Existing Data:

Historical and archaeological data from a variety of contexts.

Property Types:

Potentially, the location and nature of all prehistoric and historic properties in the project area could be affected by proximity to the Río Grande, particular. Nineteenth and twentieth-century historic sites expected include residential and commercial complexes, roads, irrigation canals, agricultural fields, and trash dumps. In addition to standing structures from the nineteenth and twentieth-century period, some archaeological sites may reflect the remains of the above property types, as well as chronologically and locationally constrained sediments that might be traps for air, water and dumping residues.

Locational Patterns of Property Types:

The potential deposits for evaluation of urban environmental regimes and their changing components and effects in the physical and human environment are constrained by airshed and watershed character as well as by location of point source and general contributors to the urban environment. Specific depositional locales such as dump sites, privies, acequia and river channels may provide data on local and regional patterns of environmental contamination. Both natural and human landscapes may provide data toward analyzing trends in the environmental history of the urban context.

Current Condition of Property Types:

As yet unknown.

Information Needs:

1. Synthesis of environmental patterns (river channel, commercial and industrial development, and climatological data) by time period for residential, commercial, and agricultural sites.
2. Datable, primarily subsurface, sites with preserved faunal, human skeletal, macrobotanical, pollen, or phytolith remains.
3. Oral history on twentieth-century irrigation and agriculture.
4. Archaeological prospection (ground penetrating radar) and monitoring results for point mapping of valley systems.
5. Environmental data to evaluate the evolution of land, water and air quality in the region.

CHAPTER 5
CULTURAL RESOURCES PROPERTY SURVEY RESULTS

Stephen Mbutu

This chapter presents the results of investigations into specific property locations within the Union Plaza project area. The report identifies individual historic properties that are eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), and presents data to support nomination of the Union Plaza as a historic district.

NATIONAL REGISTER ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA

Preservation guidelines by the Secretary of the Interior stipulate that a historical property may posses significance for (a) its association with events that have made significant contributions to the broad patterns of history, (b) its association with the lives of persons significant in our past; (c) its illustration of a type, period, or method of construction, or for its aesthetic values, or its representation of the work of a master, or if it represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; and (d) if it has yielded or may be likely to yield, information important to prehistory or history. These were the criteria used in evaluating historic resources in the Union Plaza.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Primary sources used in this research included Sanborn Maps, City Directories, Archival collection of City of El Paso maps by City Engineers dating back into the nineteenth century, Title Deed Books, City phone books, Photo Archive of the El Paso public library, El Paso Independent School District library, aerial photographs of El Paso, City of El Paso Department of Planning and Research records, and various publications on the history and archeology of El Paso and the Rio Grande Valley (Farrar 1970; Flynn 1997; Fox et al. 1997; Frost 1983; Mbutu 1996; Mbutu et al.; McAlester

and McAlester 1990; Metz 1993; Myers et al. 1995; Staski 1984; Timmons 1991; Weedman et al. 1994). In addition, a pedestrian survey involving property location verification and photodocumentation was conducted.

PROPERTY HISTORY

Currently, two land use zones are recognizable in the project area 1) the upper zone north of West San Antonio and West of Durango streets, including block 51 on the Mills Map, and blocks 169, 170, and 171 of Campbell's Addition and 2) the lower zone, south of West San Antonio Street, consisting of Blocks 7, 25, 31, 32, 45 and 46 of the Mills Map; and blocks 152, 160, and 161 of Campbell's Addition (Figure 5:1). The upper zone contains mainly warehouses and commercial buildings. The lower zone contains pockets of homes nestled among commercial buildings, warehouses and empty spaces. Many of the empty lots are used as parking spaces (Figure 5:2).

To facilitate comprehension, descriptions are presented by zone. Within each zone, block by block descriptions are ordered clockwise. Data on businesses occupying pre-1950 historic buildings are presented to document the history of the buildings in order to adequately evaluate the properties for National Register eligibility.

UPPER ZONE (Entertainment District)

Of the four blocks in this zone only Block 51 is included in the original survey by Anson Mills in 1859. The rest, blocks 169, 170 and 71 are included in the 1893 Sanborn Map as Campbell's Addition. The earliest land use in this zone was agricultural. Ponce de Leon's original acequia, also called El Paso acequia cuts through the northern part of this zone (Figure 2:2). House types were mostly mud structures of vernacular architecture. In a few years the railroad transformed the landscape markedly from an agricultural field to factories, warehouses and commercial buildings. First class hotels and restaurants existed here by the turn of the century, mostly along San Francisco Street. Retail business was also conducted on the "West End" shops in the Union Depot Complex (Figure 5:3). In the 1950s, for instance, services available in the "West End" included National Railways of Mexico Office, Railway Express Agency, S. P. Commissary, Interstate Restaurant,

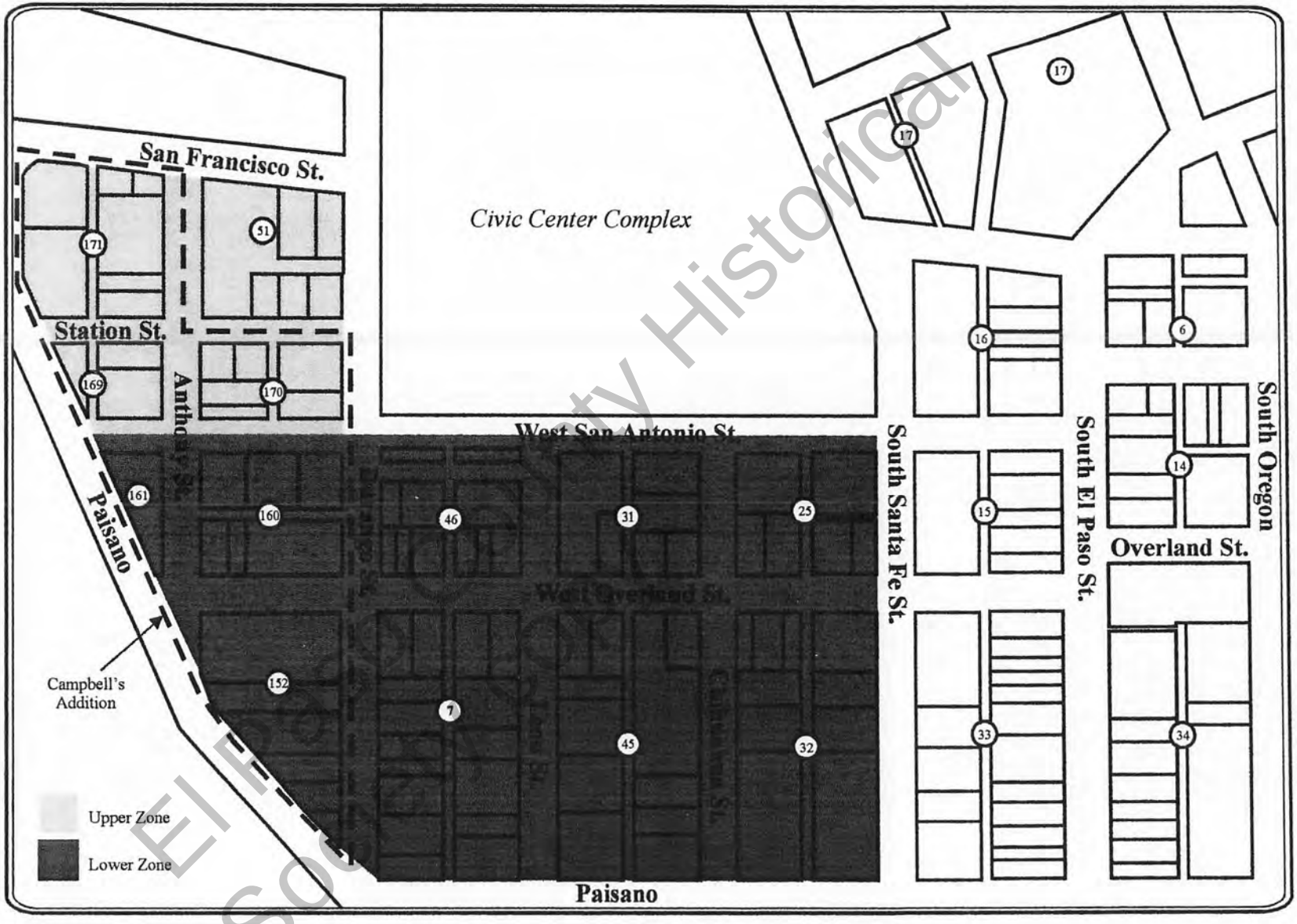


Figure 5:1. Project Area. 1916 Block Location.

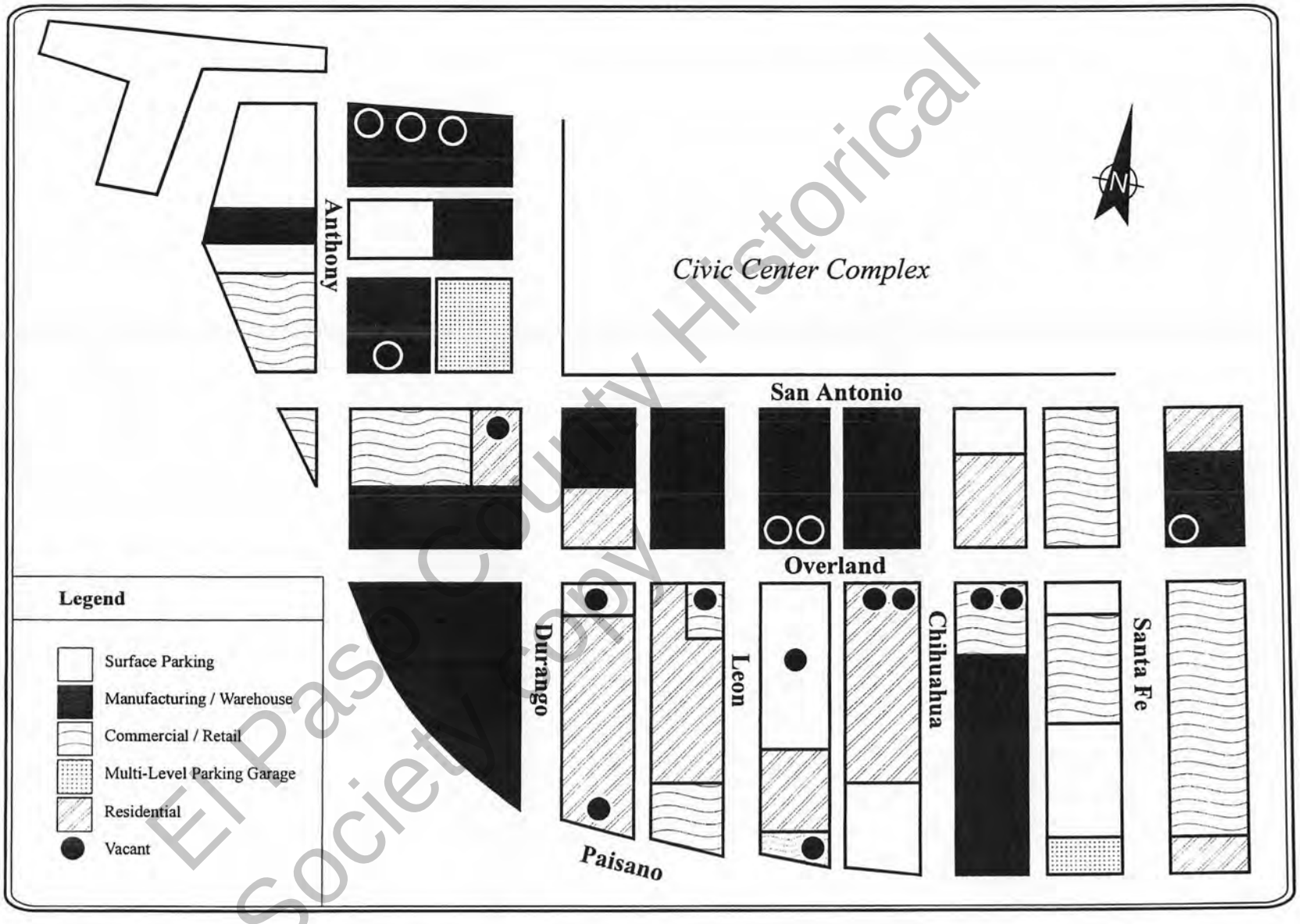
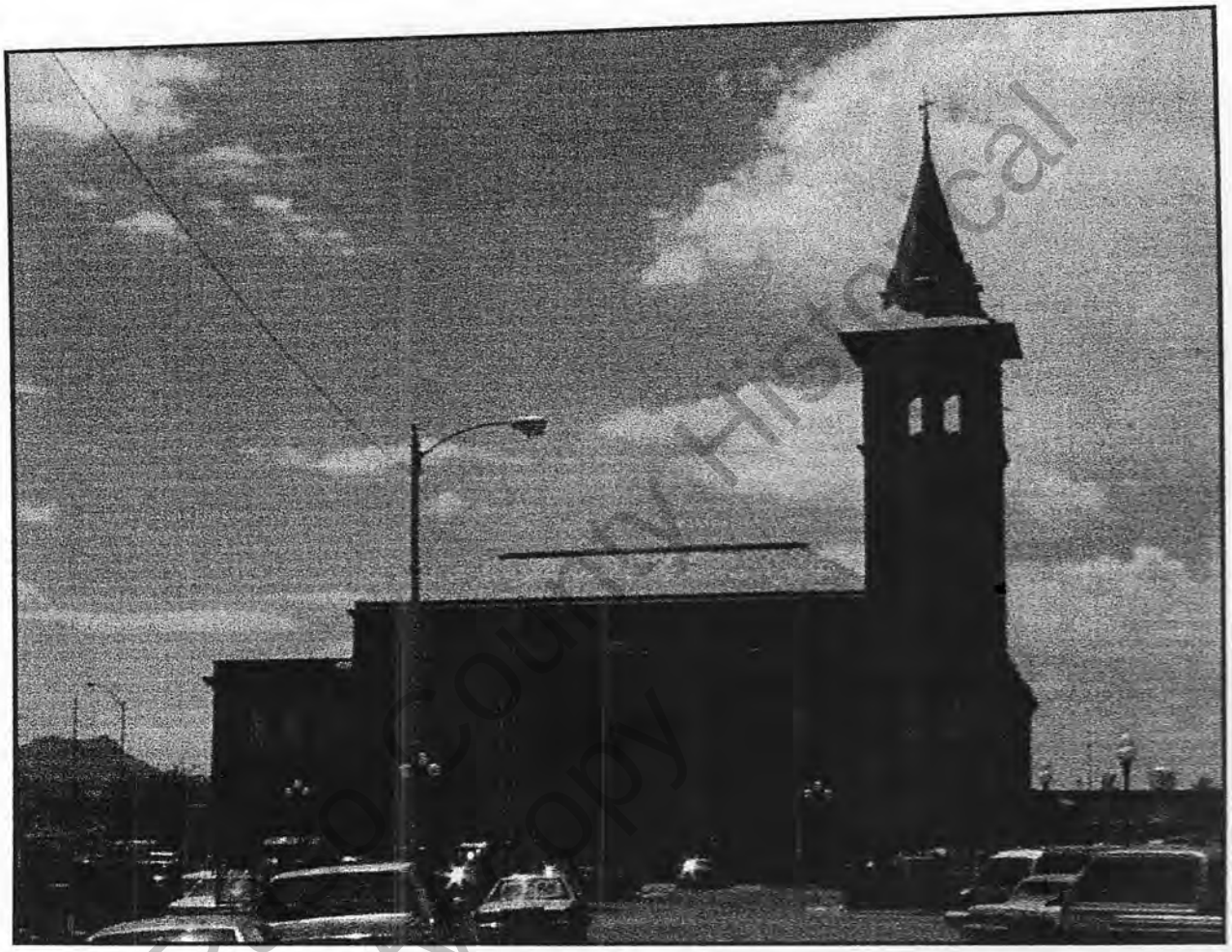


Figure 5:2. 1996 Land Use of the Union Plaza District.



Union Depot

Figure 5:3. Block 171.

Interstate News Stand, Yellow Cab Company, Travellers Aid Society, Western Union Telegram Company, and the Pullman Company.

Block 51 (500 Block of West San Francisco)

Prior to the arrival of the railroad, land use on this block was primarily agricultural. In the 1850s, the El Paso acequia cut east-west through the northern half of the block (see Figure 2:2). Koch's (1884) Bird's Eye View Map of El Paso (see Figure 2:8) shows virtually no structures on this unit.

In the 1890s the block was delineated by Look Street (later changed to West San Antonio, then Station, and finally Western) on the south. The earliest foundries and machinery shops in the area were already established on this block by 1892. By 1905 land use on the block had been radically transformed from agriculture to industrial manufacturing supported by several machine shops. The El Paso Foundry and Machine Company was established on the southern portion of the block in lots 190-195. Other businesses included forges, pattern and boiler shops, and warehouses. A spur track connecting the factories and railroad terminal was installed between 1900 and 1905. By 1916 the Southwest Wrecker Company occupied the Southeast corner at Station (Western) and Durango Streets.

By 1920, inventory of businesses on this block included:

- El Paso Foundry Machine and Machine Company - - 500-502 San Francisco
- Buckner and Bates Transfer and Storage Company - - 504 San Francisco
- Southwest Wrecking Company - - 506-508 San Francisco
- Southwest Engineering and Supplies Company - - 506-508 San Francisco
- Graham Paper Company - - 516-518 San Francisco
- Hotel Raymond - - 518 (1/2) San Francisco

- Azar Bros. - - 520 San Francisco
- Don A. Carpenter Company - -511-513 Station (Western)
- Turtle Paint and Glass Works - - 115 Durango
- Crown Bottling Works -- Durango and W. Second St. (W. Paisano)

In 1929 City Motor Company occupied most of the southeast portion of the block. During the 1930s, the business focus on this location appears to have shifted considerably from manufacturing to wholesale distribution, service and retail businesses. Burgeoning post-prohibition businesses included beer and liquor distributors such as the El Paso - Muehlebach Beer Company established at 510 San Francisco (Figure 5:4) between 1930 and 1940. Other types of businesses were also established on this block.

- W. G. Walz Company - - 500 San Francisco
- Southwest Refrigerators Company - - 502 San Francisco
- Hotel Eura - - 504 San Francisco
- Davis Pharmacy - - 506 San Francisco
- Buckner Transfer Company - - 510 San Francisco
- Pomeroy's El Paso Transfer - - 510 San Francisco
- Hotel Raymond - - 518(1/2) San Francisco
- C. Cisneros &Company - - 522 San Francisco
- Don A.Carpenter Company - - 511-513 Western (Figure 5:5)

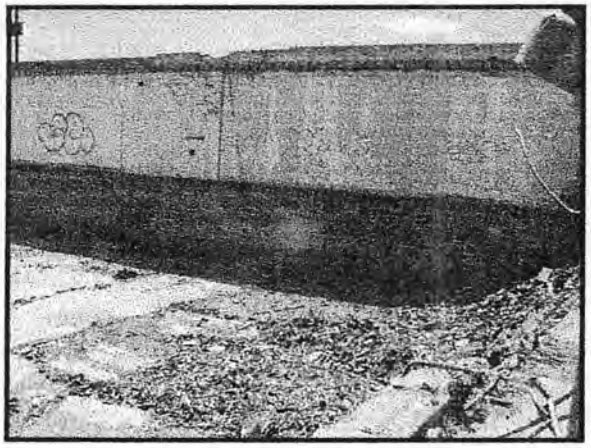


Figure 5:4. Next to Club 101.
510 San Francisco

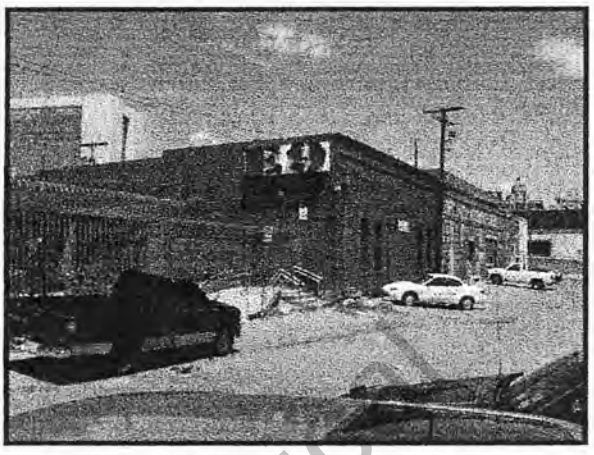


Figure 5:5. "Engine House" discotheque.
511 Western

Figure 5:6. Club 101. 500 San Francisco

Figures 5:4 - 5:6. Block 151.

Judging from the newly created businesses and expansion of the old, the Union Plaza does not appear to have been severely affected by the Great Depression. Businesses in garment manufacturing, food processing, beer distributorship, and wholesale distribution of consumer goods continued to prosper. In 1940, the following businesses were listed in the El Paso City Directory as operating in this block:

- W. G. Walz Household Appliances Company - - 500-502 San Francisco (Figure 5:6)
- City Hotel - - 504 San Francisco
- Radio Parts Company - - 506-508 San francisco
- El Paso-Muehlebach Beer Company -- 510 San Francisco
- Harry L. Hussmann Jr. Refrigerators - - 516-22 San Francisco
- Hotel Raymond - - 518 (1/2) San Francisco
- A. Carpenter &Co. Warehouse - - 511-513 Western
- Rock Fleece Corp. - - 115 Durango

Other businesses included an electric appliance distribution store at 115 Durango Street and a wholesale candy business at 511-513 Western Street. Businesses catering to transient clientele included hotels, restaurants and sleeping rooms.

Although the inventory of Union Plaza businesses in the 1950 City Directory indicates a marked absence of wholesale beer distribution businesses in the project area, there is no indication of pronounced business decline in the Union Plaza. In a wider context, it seems that the mild decline was symptomatic of a nation-wide trend of post-World War II decline in railroad related commerce due to competition from the budding trucking industry and an improved highway system.

The following businesses were in operation in Block 51 in 1950:

- W. G. Household Appliances - - 500-502 San Francisco
- Wilson Walz Sporting Goods Company - - 500-502 San Francisco
- City Hotel - - 504 San Francisco
- Groesbeeck, Inc. Leather Goods - - 506 San Francisco
- Denver Equipment Co. Mining Machinery - - 510 San Francisco
- David S. Shehady Curios - - 512 San Francisco
- Ponsford-Moos Equipment Co. Mining Machinery - - 516 San Francisco
- Sun Dry Goods Company - - 518 San Francisco
- American Finance & Investment Co., Inc. Loans - - 520 San Francisco
- Friedman & Bendalin Wholesale Notions - - 522-524 San Francisco
- National Refrigeration Company - - 522-524 San Francisco
- manufacturing Company (Potato chips) - - 511-513 Anthony

Today this block consists of vacant warehouses. The warehouse at 500 San Francisco houses Club 101 (see Figure 5:6). Exposed next to Club 101, at 504-510 San Francisco is the demolished warehouse foundation and basement of the old Muehlebach Beer Distributorship (see Figure 5:4). The two other buildings still standing along San Francisco include the warehouse at 516 San Francisco and the old Earl Nelson furniture show room building at 520 San Francisco (corner of Anthony). Currently, both buildings are vacant and slightly dilapidated. These buildings are contributing to the overall qualification of Union Plaza as an historic district, and although they are not individually eligible for listing on the NRHP, their sites qualify for designation as markers of

historic businesses. Businesses conducted from these sites left indelible imprints on the economic and historical growth of the City of El Paso and its community.

In summary, the status of buildings, structures and building footprints in Block 51 is as follows:

- 500-502 San Francisco: This building currently houses Club 101 discotheque. Although not individually eligible for listing on the NRHP, its business history qualifies it as contributing to the proposed historic district.
- 504-510 San Francisco: In the 1940s, City Hotel and the El Paso - Muehlebach Beer Distribution Company were operating in this location. Although recently condemned and demolished, the building foundation and basement are still exposed in the vacant lot. The role of this site in the history of economic development of El Paso qualifies it for recognition as an historic marker in the Union Plaza.
- 512-516 San Francisco: The former Earl Nelson furniture display room historic building is contributing to historic district nomination.
- 511 Western: This building currently houses the "Engine House" discotheque. The entire building complex, including 501-507 Western is contributing to the historic district.

Block 170 (500 Block of West San Antonio)

This block is defined by Durango, West San Antonio, Anthony and Western streets. It is part of Campbell's Addition. Pre-railroad buildings included scattered mud, adobe, and frame vernacular houses. None of these exists today. The 1884 Bird's Eye Map of El Paso (see Figure 2:8) shows a concentration of adobe houses in the northern one-third of the block, but the southern half is virtually devoid of any kind of structures. By 1900 adobe houses along West San Antonio (Western) functioned as tenements. The Western Coffee Company was established at 510 Western Street prior to 1916. Other companies established on this block by 1921 include the Firestone Company which

occupied the entire eastern half of the block, and the First Mortgage Company at 517 West San Antonio, next to the Firestone Company building.

Other businesses established within the block limits during the 1920s and 1930s included:

- H. Finley &Company - - 510-14 Station (Western)
- Western Coffee Company -- 510 Western
- El Paso Electric Co. Warehouse - - 501 West San Antonio
- Essex Apartments - - 513(1/2) West San Antonio
- S & M Garage - - 515-17 West San Antonio

By 1929, the El Paso Electric Company warehouse (Figure 5:7) had replaced Firestone at 501 West San Antonio. The two part commercial and utility building next to it, at 513 West San Antonio, housed the Essex Apartments. An inventory list of new businesses on this block in the 1940s includes a beer distribution company and a grocery store. Border grocery outlet occupied the first floor of the building at 515-517 West San Antonio; apartments were located on the second and third floors of the building. Other businesses on this block included:

- Grand Prize Distributing Beer Company - - 510 Western
- El Paso Electric Company - - 501 West San Antonio
- Essex Apartments - - 513 (1/2) West San Antonio (Figure 5:8)
- Border Grocery - - 515-17 West San Antonio
- Wholesale Paper - - 510 Western
- Sunland Novelty Wholesalers - - 521 West San Antonio

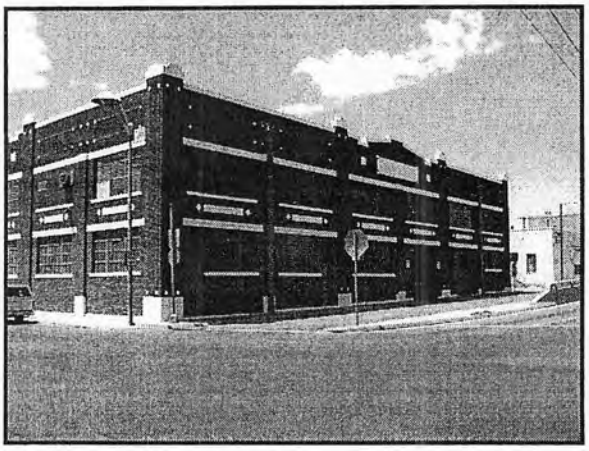


Figure 5:7. El Paso Electric. 501 W. San Antonio

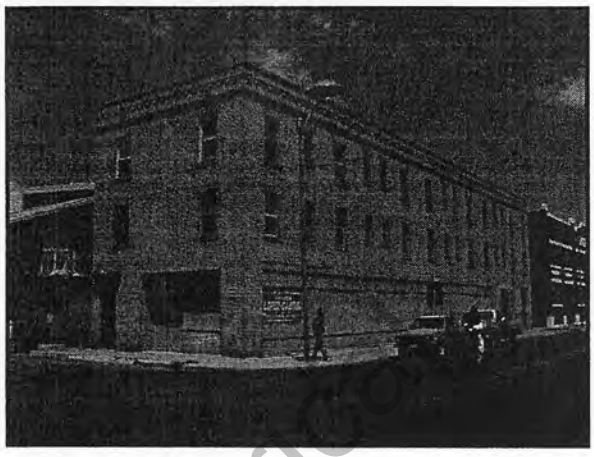


Figure 5:8. Essex Apartments. 513-517 W. San Antonio

Figures 5:7 - 5:8. Block 170.

One of the earliest business operations, Western Woodenware, was established at 201 Anthony Street prior to 1916. By 1929, Western Woodenware had been replaced by Graham Paper Company at 201-203 Anthony. An inventory of businesses on the block in 1940 included:

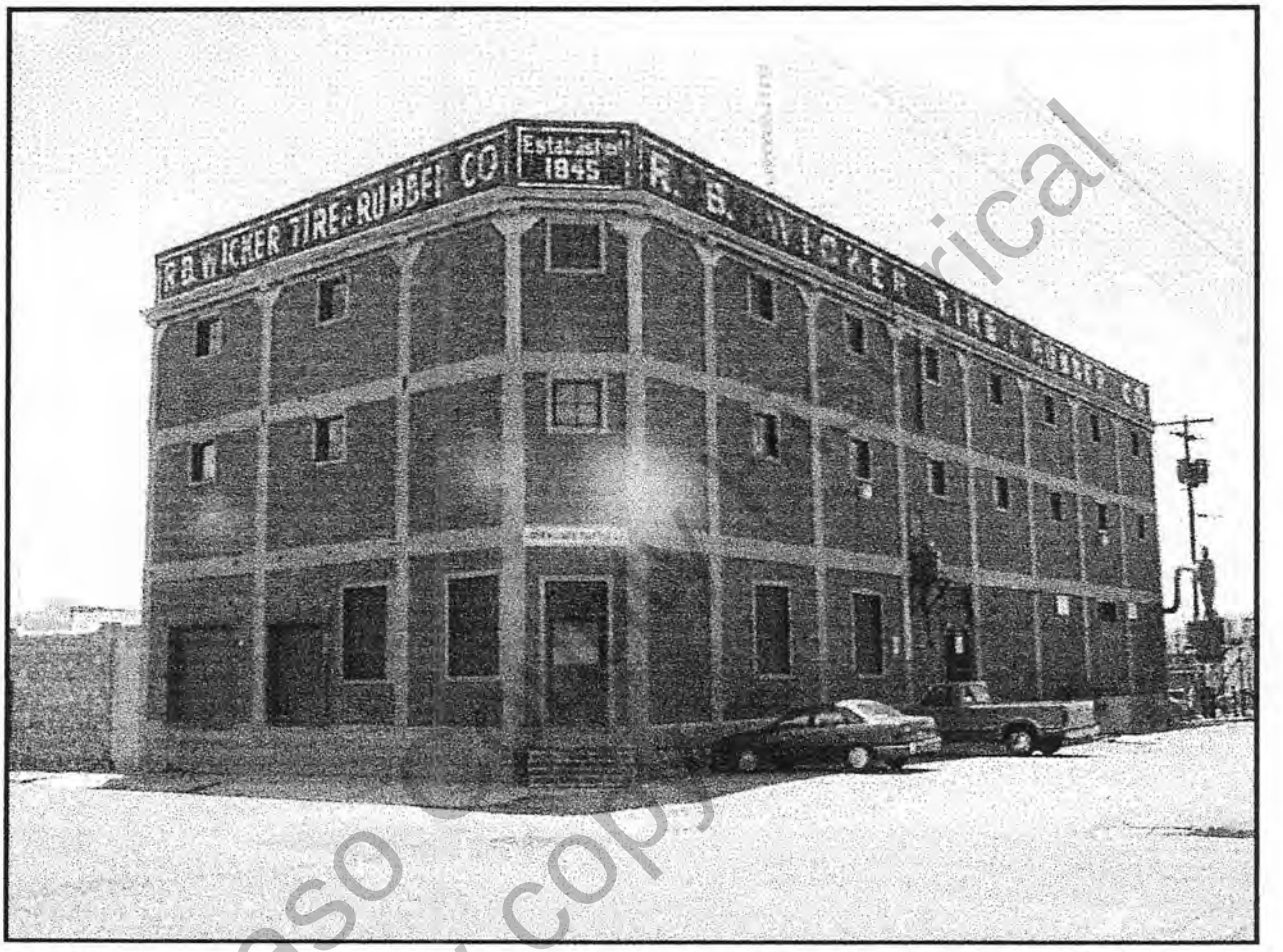
- Graham Paper Company - - 201-203 Anthony
- Hickerson Gas Service Station - - 615 West San Antonio

The Graham Paper Company was still in business at 201-203 Anthony in 1950. Currently the building forms the older and rear component of the Wicker Tire complex at 701 West Paisano that occupies the entire block (Figure 5:9). This part of the building at 201-203 Anthony Street is eligible for inclusion on the NRHP under criterion C because of its turn-of-the century eclectic red brick architectural style.

Block 171 (100 Block of Anthony)

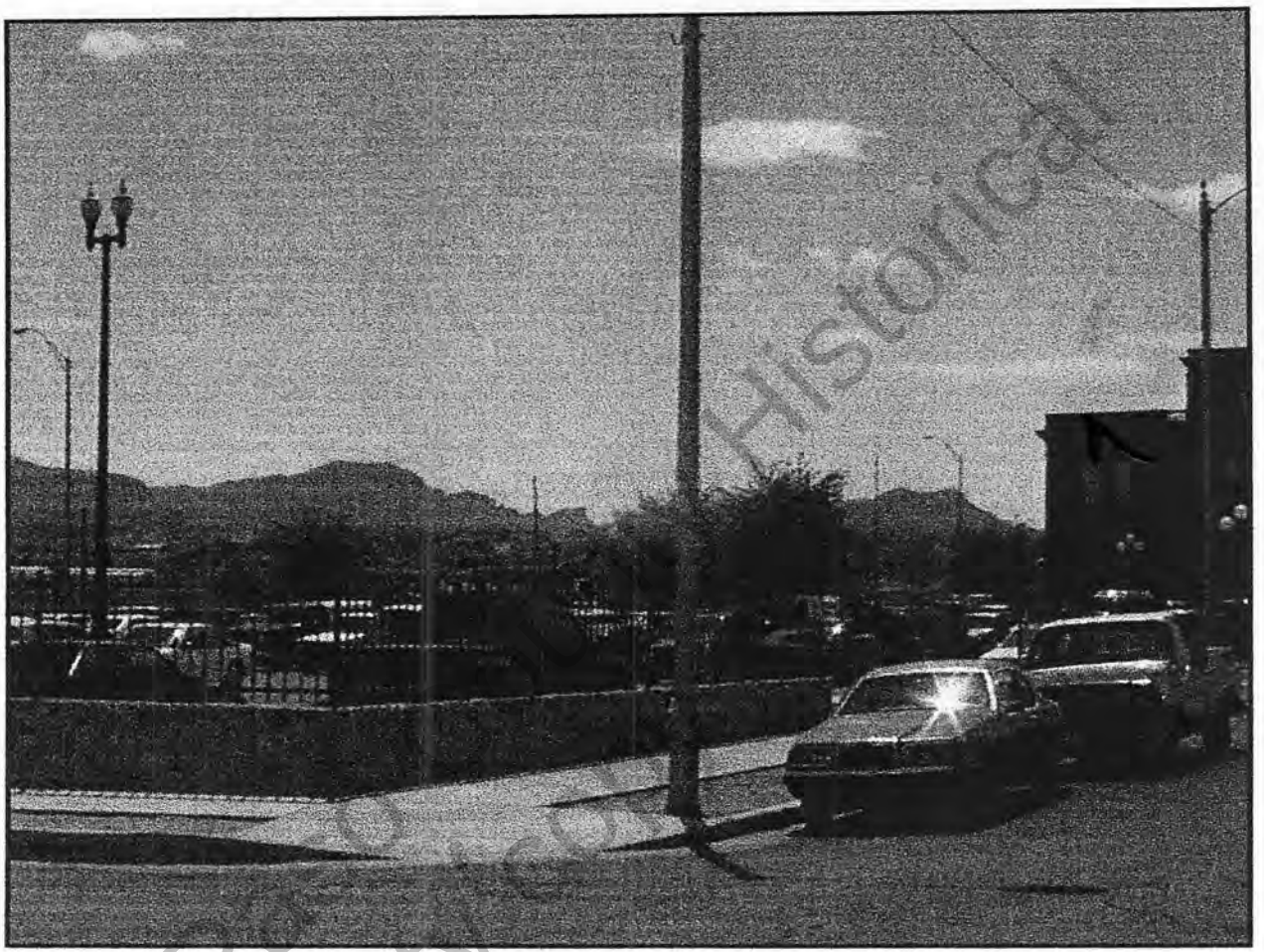
This block is also part of Campbell's Addition. It was originally delineated by Crosby (Davis), San Francisco, Anthony and Western streets. Currently, the western half of the block is part of the Union Depot parking lot and the northeastern portion is now a parking lot for City employees (Figure 5:10). Pre-railroad land use was primarily agricultural. The El Paso acequia traversed east-west through the northern one-third of the block. At the turn of the century the northwestern area of the block was part of Union Depot Park. Adobe houses were scattered over the rest of block. Residential structures also included tenements. A spur track built between 1902 and 1905 across this block connected the rail terminal with factories and warehouses on Block 51.

By 1916 Crosby Street had been renamed Davis, the Greentree Hotel was established at 604-608 San Francisco and the Hotel Bristol was in operation at 600 (1/2) San Francisco. Proximity to the Union Depot and concomitant demand from transient consumers for financial services created a catalyst for the transformation from a residential to a finance center on this block. In 1929 there were three banks including 1st R.E & Inv. Co., City National Bank, and Franklin R&I; and two hotels (Greentree and Bristol) on the block.



701 W. Paisano (201-203 Anthony) Currently, rear of the R. B. Wicker Tire Company at Anthony and Western.

Figure 5:9. Block 169.



City Employees Parking. 600 San Francisco, old site of Greentree Hotel and Hotel Bristol.

Figure 5:10. Block 171.

During the 1920s and 1930s, several hotels and restaurants and a few other businesses operated at this location.

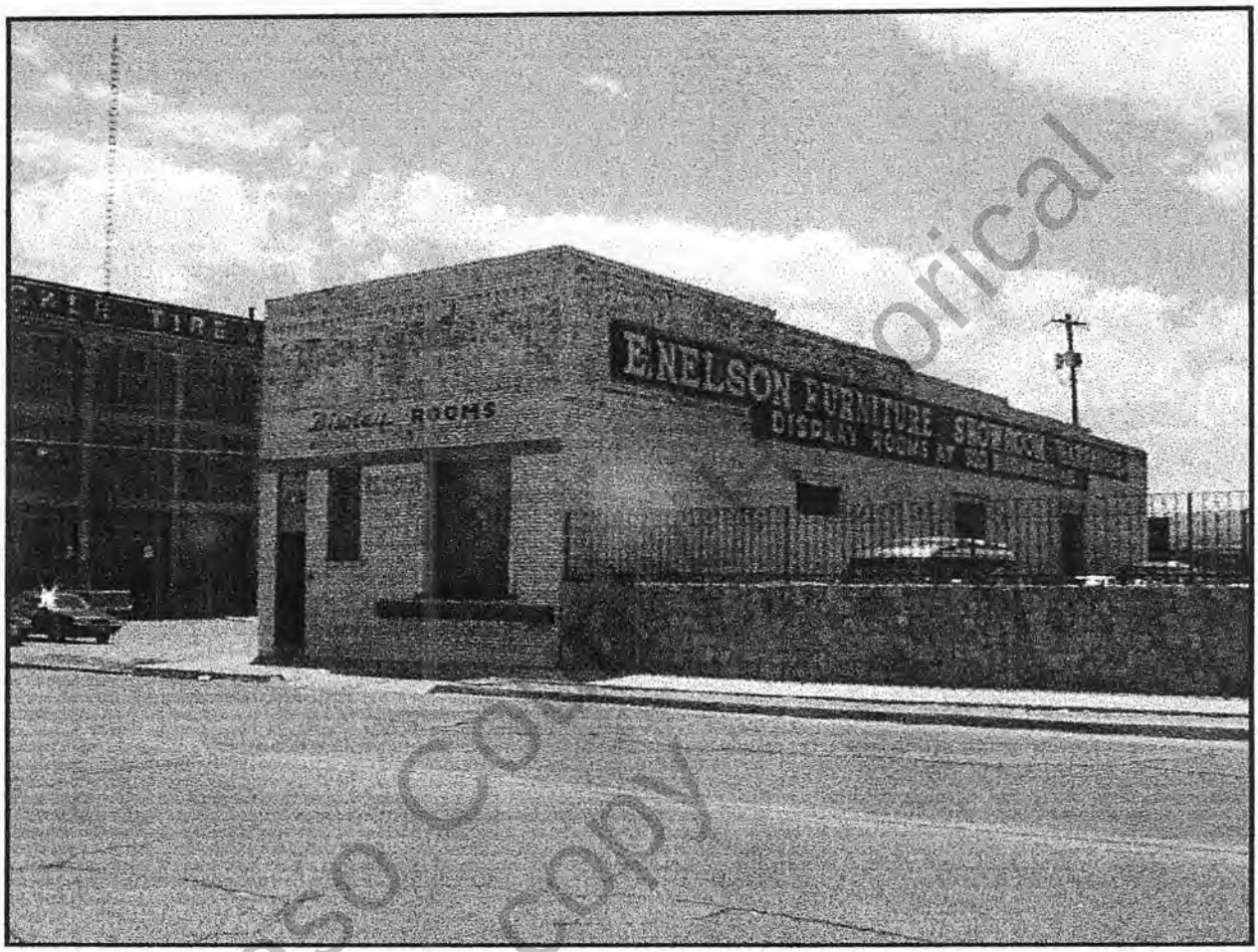
- Herbert Wolcott &Company - - 600 San Francisco
- Hotel Bristol - - 600 (1/2) San Francisco
- Hawkins Restaurant - - 602 San Francisco
- Elk Restauran - - 604 San Francisco
- Greentree Hotel 604 - - 608 San Francisco
- Star Hotel - - 608 San Francisco (rear)

Businesses listed in the 1940 El Paso City Directory indicate a similar trend in business categories from previous decade.

- Hotel Bristol - - 600 (1/2) San Francisco
- Greentree Hotel - 604 San Francisco
- Greentree Tavern - - 606 San Francisco
- Greentree Hotel Liquor - - 608 San Francisco
- Star Hotel - - 608 (rear) San Francisco
- Pickens Bunting Coffee - - 115 Anthony (Figure 5:11)

The years leading to the 1950s appear to have been a good period for business in the Union Plaza as reflected by the 1950 inventory of businesses on this block.

- Old Mexico Curio Shop - - 600 San Francisco
- Hotel Bristol - - 600 (1/2) San Francisco



Earl Nelson Furniture Showroom
115 Anthony (Anthony and Western)

Figure 5:11. Block 171.

- C. A. Stewart Coffee Shop - - 602 San Francisco
- Greentree Hotel - - 604 San Francisco
- Greentree Cafe - - 606 San Francisco
- Greentree Tavern - - 608 (1/2) San Francisco
- Star Hotel - 608 (1/2) San Francisco
- Greentree Liquor Store - -608 (1/2) San Francisco
- Childress Levi - - 111 Anthony
- Pickens Bunting Coffee Roaster and Wholesaler - - 115 Anthony
- W.G. Walz Co. - - 115 Durango

In summary, the western half of Block 171 is currently completely occupied by Union Depot parking space. The northern potion of the eastern half, the old site of Greentree and Hotel Bristol, is now a parking lot for City government employees. The lone building still standing on this block is the old Pickens Bunting Coffee, and later Earl Nelson Furniture Warehouse at 115 Anthony (see Figure 5:11). Its eclectic character of red brick construction used at the turn of century makes it eligible for listing on the NRHP under criterion C.

The currently vacant lot at 117 Anthony Street is the site of an old residential building with potential for archeological resources. The building was standing in the 1940s, but by 1950 the lot was vacant.

LOWER ZONE (Cultural District)

The lower zone is defined as that part of the Union Plaza south of West San Antonio, west of South Santa Fe, and north and east of West Paisano consisting of blocks 7, 25, 31, 32, 45, and 46 of the Mills Map, and blocks 152, 160, and 161 of Campbell's Addition (see Figure 5:1). In this zone, land

use is more diversified to include light manufacturing factories, warehouses, and commercial and residential buildings. Block and property histories are presented clockwise starting with block 161 (see Figure 5:1).

Block 161 (600 Block of West San Antonio)

Currently, the block is delineated by Anthony, West San Antonio and West Paisano Drive. The block is truncated by West Paisano (formerly Davis Street) on the west separating it from the old Santa Fe Railroad Reservation. During the 1880s, Sonora Street terminated on this block. In the 1890s the property was part of the Railroad Ground. Vernacular houses were scattered over the eastern half of the block. At the turn of the century, large block adobe houses and tenements existed along Sonora (West San Antonio). Other residential houses were located on the corner of Anthony and West Overland.

Throughout the history of the Union Plaza, few businesses were established in this location. They included:

- Magnolia Petroleum Co. Station at 600 West San Antonio in the 1930s
- 1940s - E. E. Odell Service Station -- 600 West San Antonio
- One Seven One Seven Taxi -- 600 West San Antonio

Today, the entire block is occupied by the El Dorado Tire Company. There are no historic resources eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places in this block. Similarly, there is no historic property here contributing to the historic district nomination criteria.

Block 160 (500 Block of West San Antonio)

The block is located west of Durango, south of West San Antonio, north of West Overland streets and east of West Paisano Drive. Prior to the arrival of the railroad, this location was under cultivation. By 1893, property owners maintained an orchard on the southern portion of the block. The 1898 Sanborn Map shows adobe, frame and stone structures on the property. At the turn of

century, several businesses were established here. An inventory of businesses at this location in 1920 included:

- Garret Motor Company - - 500-504 West San Antonio
- Halcyon Apartments - - 504 (1/2) West San Antonio (Figure 5:12)
- Anthony Apartments - - 516 (1/2) West San Antonio (Figure 5:13)
- McMath Printing and Lithographic Company - - 518 West San Antonio

All five businesses were housed in two buildings. Both premisses are dual purpose two-story structures with apartments on the second, and businesses on the first floor. In 1921 Dr. C.A. Reinemund owned the southeast portion of the block at 501 West Overland.

By 1930, businesses included:

- Mora Wright & S. Gonzalez -- 500-4 West San Antonio
- Halcyon Apartments -- 504 (1/2) West San Antonio
- Anthony Apartments -- 516 (1/2) Apartments

In the 1940s businesses listed at this address included:

- Halcyon Apartments -- 504 (1/2) West San Antonio
- Anthony Apartments -- 516 (1/2) West San Antonio

The following businesses are listed in the 1950 El Paso City Directory.

- J. V. Moan Commissary -- 500 West San Antonio
- Halcyon Apartments -- 504 (1/2) West San Antonio

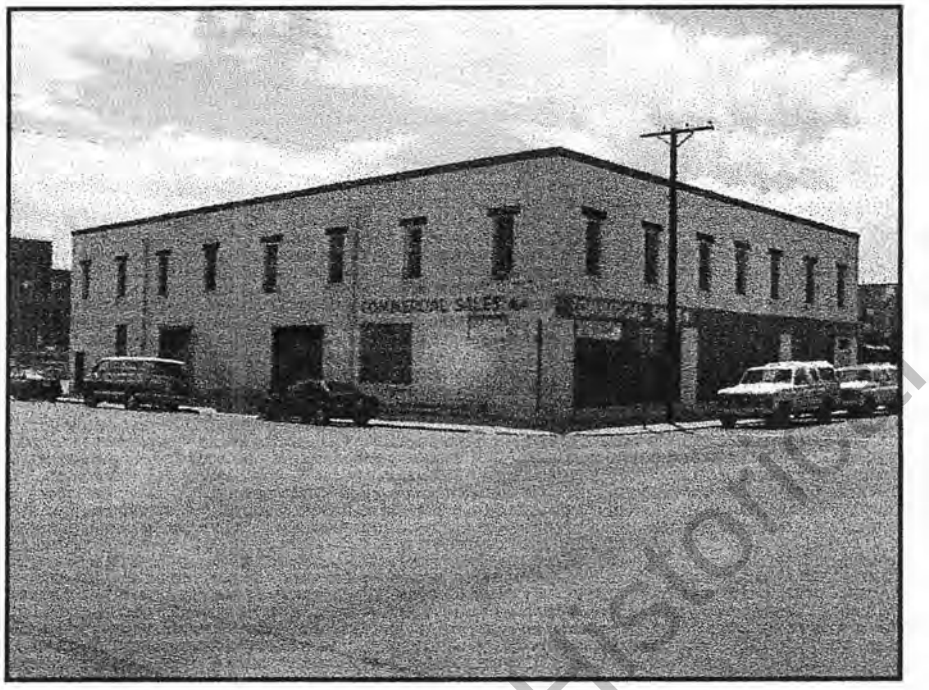


Figure 5:12. Halcyon Apartments. 504 W. San Antonio

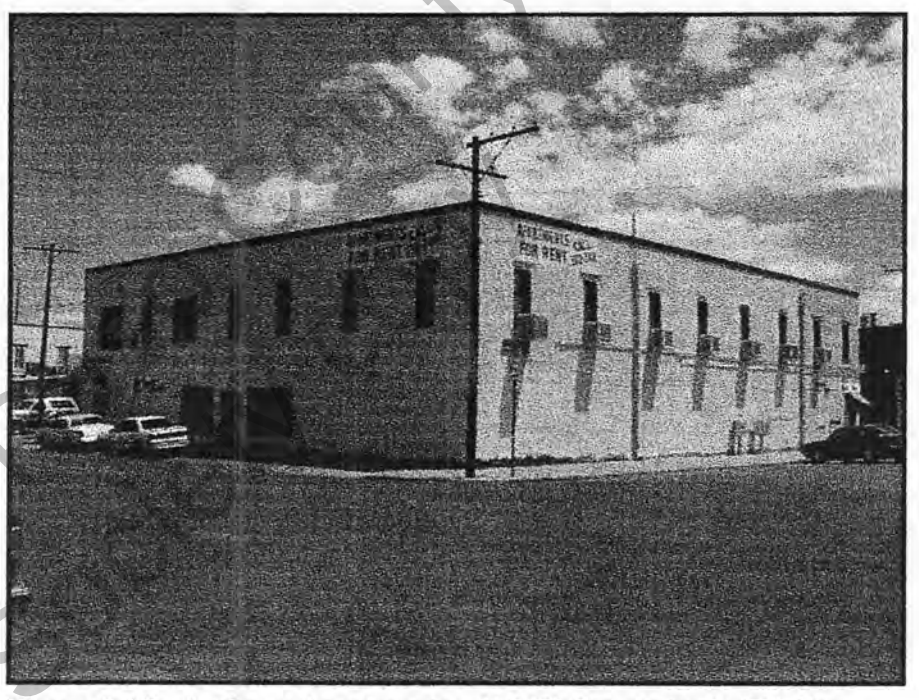


Figure 5:13. Anthony Apartments. 516 W. San Antonio (W. San Antonio and Anthony)

Figures 5:12 and 5:13. Block 160.

- Commercial Sales Co. Brokers -- 520 West San Antonio
- Anthony Apartments -- 516 (1/2) West San Antonio

Overall, two buildings in this block are eligible for listing on the NRHP under criterion C.

- The two-story dual purpose commercial and utility building at 504-508 West San Antonio that houses the Halcyon Apartments
- The two-story dual purpose commercial and utility building at 512-522 West San Antonio that includes the Anthony Apartments

The recently built one-story red brick building at 501 West Overland is not NRHP-eligible and does not contribute to the proposed Union Plaza historic district nomination criteria.

Block 46 (400 Block of West San Antonio)

This block is located west of Leon, south of West San Antonio, north of West Overland, and east of Durango streets. Prior to the establishment of Franklin School in 1891, at 203 Leon, a cluster of adobe buildings occupied the southwestern portion of the block. Brick and frame structures existed along Sonora Street. A 1910, city ordinance closed Sonora Street and extended West San Antonio across the entire Union Plaza to Davis Street (West Paisano). In 1920 the Franklin School annex was built south of the original building at 215 Sonora (Figure 5:14). The original building at 203 Leon (Figure 5:15), was razed in the 1950s but the 1920 building is still standing. The inscription "NRS" on the building is an indication that National Restaurant Supply used the building after it ceased to be a school facility.

During the 1920s and 1930s, businesses existing at this location included:

- Franklin School Annex -- 215 Leon
- Hotel Leon - - NE corner of Leon and West San Antonio

Figure 5:14. Franklin School. 215 Leon

Figure 5.15. Original Franklin School Site. Alright Parking Lot and NRS Warehouse.

Figure 5:16. McKesson and Robbins Drugs
420 W. San Antonio

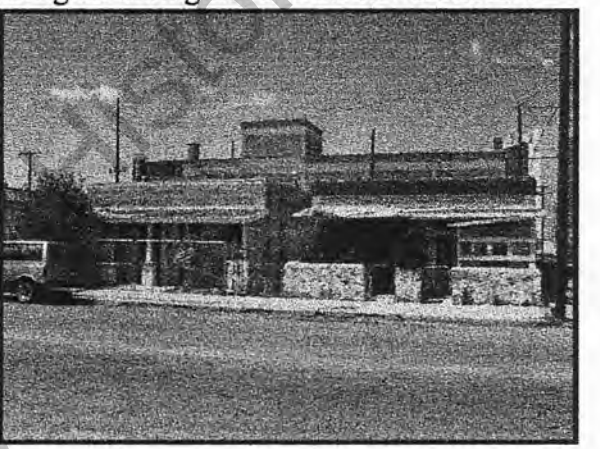


Figure 5:17. Residential Houses.
409-415 W. Overland

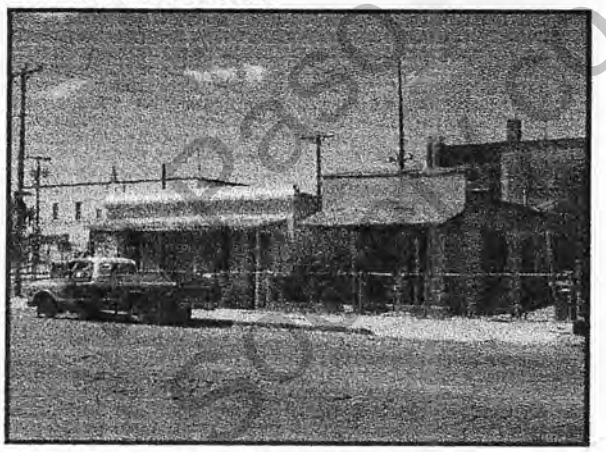


Figure 5:18. Residential Houses
417-421 W. Overland

Figures 5:14 - 5:18. Block 46.

- US Reclamation - - 318-222 Leon
- El Paso Auto Wrecking Company - - 325 Leon

New businesses in the 1940s included:

- Watkins Motor Company - - 400-414 West San Antonio
- McKesson Kelly & Pollard Wholesale Drugs -- 420 West San Antonio (Figure 5:16).

In 1950 the same businesses, Watkins Auto Dealers, McKesson & Robbins Wholesale Drug Distributors and Franklin School, dominated the block. Today, the McKesson and Robbins building dominates the northwest portion of the block at 420 West Overland. Currently, four small adobe and brick masonry houses with flat roofs occupy lots 409, 415, 417, and 421, respectively on West Overland (Figures 5:17 and 5:18). The lots have been residential since the 1940s and possibly earlier. Two of the buildings (409 and 415 West Overland) are constructed of bricks whereas the remaining two, (417 and 421 West Overland) have an adobe veneer. As residential homes of considerable history, these buildings have been determined as contributing to the Union Plaza historic district theme and eligibility criteria.

In summary, two buildings, the Franklin School at 215 Leon, and the McKesson and Robbins building at 420 West San Antonio are eligible for listing on the NRHP under criterion C. An additional four buildings are contributing to the theme of Union Plaza historic district .

- Small brick masonry house with flat roof -- 409 West Overland (see Figure 5:17)
- Small brick Masonry house with flat roof - - 415 West Overland (see Figure 5:17)
- Small house with adobe veneered walls and a flat roof - - 417 West Overland (see Figure 5:18)

Figure 5:19. 311-315 W. Overland. United Army Shop in foreground, two apartment buildings in background. Franklin School extreme left.

Figure 5:20. 315-317 W. Overland. Franklin Grocery and apartments. NRS building in background.

Figure 5:21. National Restraunt Supply (NRS) building. 320 W. San Antonio

Figures 5:19 - 5:21. Block 31.

- Small house with adobe veneered walls and a flat roof - - 421 West Overland (see Figure 5:18)

Block 31 (300 Block of West San Antonio)

This block is bound by Chihuahua, West San Antonio, West Overland and Leon streets. Prior to the turn of the century, buildings on this block included tenements, a tortilla factory, and a cabinet shop. By 1900, tenements were located along West San Antonio Street for half a block. Adobe residential houses existed on the southern portion of the block. A grocery and meat store was located on the corner of Leon and West Overland streets. In 1902, adobe houses were commonplace on this block. The Tri-State Motor Company established a business on this location prior to 1916. It continued to dominate business on the block throughout the 1920s and 1930s as shown on the following list.

- Tri-State Tractor Implement Company - - 320-324 West San Antonio
- McClintock Company - - 311-313 West Overland
- Tri-State Motor - - 207 Chihuahua
- Tri-State Motor Company - - 320-330 West San Antonio
- Tri-State Grocery - - 301 West Overland
- Tri-State Motor - - 311-313 West Overland
- Southwest Realty Investment Company - - 301-309 West Overland

A 1940 listing of businesses in the El Paso City Directory indicates the addition of a few new small businesses.

- Tri-State Motors - - 300-7 West San Antonio (building had parking on the roof)
- Tri-State Grocery Company - - 301 West Overland

- Apartment building on 317 West Overland (see Figure 5:20)

Block 25 (200 Block of West San Antonio)

The block is delineated by South Santa Fe, West San Antonio, Chihuahua and West Overland streets. Large buildings were located on the northeast corner during the 1880s. Boarding rooms and tenements were common on the block by 1900. Businesses established prior to the turn of the century include the Germania Hotel, West Overland Hotel, Globe Hotel, Chinese Laundry rooms, and boarding rooms. Tenements were also common. Today, with the exception of the apartment complex at 219 West Overland, the block is occupied by the Greyhound Bus depot and a parking lot (Figure 5:22).

Hotel Phoenix appears on the 1902 maps of this block, and Commercial National Bank is in operation here by 1916. By 1920, several businesses occupied this block as suggested by the following list:

- City Service Company - - 200-206 West San Antonio
- San Antonio Apartments - - 210 West San Antonio
- El Paso Battery and Ignition Company - - 214 West San Antonio
- Walters & Durham - - 216-220 West San Antonio
- R. G. Chinoweth & Co.-- 201 West Overland
- Phoenix Hotel- - 201 (1/2) West Overland
- Tri-State Candy Factory - - 203 West Overland
- Haymon Krupp & Company -- 207 West Overland
- West Overland Hotel - - 207-209 West Overland

Figure 5:22. Apartment building west of Greyhound Depot. 219 W. Overland

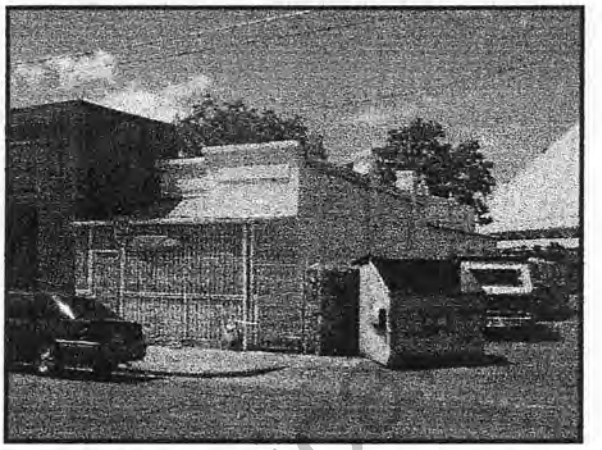


Figure 5:23. Part of the apartment complex referenced in Figure 5:24 and the small building on adjacent lot next to Greyhound Depot parking lot. 219 W. Overland

Figure 5:24. 203 Chihuahua. Two-story residential building that was part of the 219 W. Overland apartment complex.

Figures 5:22 - 5:24. Block 25.

- El Paso Butcher & Dairy Company - - 220-222 West Overland
- International Radiator Works & Repair Shop -- 209 Santa Fe

Among the several businesses based on this block between the 1930s and the 1950s were the following:

- Elliot's Radiator Shop - - 206 West San Antonio
- West San Antonio Apartments -- 210 West San Antonio
- Haymon Krupp & Company - - 200-210 West Overland
- Brooks Sheet Metal Works - - 201 West Overland
- Phoenix Tailor Shop - - 203 West Overland
- Thomas Motor Company - - 205 West Overland
- City Service Co. Yellow Cab & Baggage Company -- 201-205 Santa Fe

1940s

- Del Norte Garage - - 200-206 West San Antonio
- West San Antonio Apartments - - 210 West San Antonio
- Riverside Tavern - - 201 West Overland
- Riverside Bowling Alleys - - 201 West Overland
- J.D. Romero Garage - - 205 West Overland
- Macaroni factory - - 216-218 West San Antonio
- Paint shop - - 210-214 West San Antonio

- Bus Depot and restaurant - - 200-202 West San Antonio
- Olympic Hotel - - 202 Chihuahua
- Apartments - - 219-221 West Overland
- Apartments - - 207-209 West Overland
- General store - - 205 West Overland
- Restaurant - - 201-201 (1/2) West Overland

1950s

- Commercial Bus Lines Depot - - 200-206 West San Antonio
- Seggerman-Moore Inc. Custom Brokers - - 214 West San Antonio
- Representaciones Aduanales - - 214 West San Antonio
- SA Custom Brokers - - 214 West San Antonio
- State Labor Company - - 214 West San Antonio
- J.G.Martinez Custom Brokers - - 214 West San Antonio
- Goodwill Industries - - 218 West San Antonio
- Riverside Tavern - - 201 West Overland
- Joel Mogel Refrigerators - - 205 West Overland
- Apartments - - 207 West Overland
- Sheet Metal Worker - - 207 (rear) West Overland
- Apartments - - 219 West Overland

- Hotel Olympic - - 202 Chihuahua

Many of the buildings that housed these businesses were demolished to facilitate the construction of the Greyhound Bus Depot and parking lot. Currently, the bus depot occupies most of the block. Of the remaining structures, the apartment complex at 219-221 West Overland is contributing to the Union Plaza historic district theme (see Figure 5:22). No standing structure on this block is eligible for listing on the NRHP.

Block 32 (200 Block of West Overland)

The block is defined by West Overland, Chihuahua, West Paisano, and South Santa Fe streets. Pre-1900 businesses and residential premises included the Old City Hall at 200 West Overland, Mexican Bakery at 321 South Santa Fe, and vernacular houses mostly on the southern area. In 1884, an irrigated orchard occupied the southern one-third of the block.

By 1898 City Hall had relocated outside the Union Plaza, but the building at 200 West Overland continued to be used as storage space. In the 1940s a garment factory was located on the same site. At the turn of the century, there were two Chinese laundry facilities, one at 212 West Overland (current La Norteña Bar) and in what was previously Mexican bakery at 321 South Santa Fe.

Several more businesses were established at this location by 1920.

- China Palace - - 200-210 West Overland
- Palace Stables - - 310 Chihuahua
- El Paso Baggage - - Corner of Chihuahua and West Overland
- B&B Transfer & S. Company - - 309-311 South Santa Fe
- Western Welding manufacturing Company - - 323 Santa Fe

- El Paso Boiler & Tanks Works - - 323 South Santa Fe

1930s

- El Paso Butchers and Dairy Suppliers - - 220-222 West Overland
- Motor Supply Company - - 308-310 Chihuahua (Figure 5:25)
- Mann Overall Company - - 394 Chihuahua
- Bustamante A & Company - - 398 Chihuahua
- Fenix Garage - - 323 Santa Fe
- Popular Battery - - 325 South Santa Fe

1940s

- Franklin and Goodman Grocery - - 220-22 West Overland
- Mora Wright and Gonzalez Produce -- 224 West Overland
- Motor Supply Company - - 308-310 Chihuahua
- Mann Overall - - 394-398 Chihuahua
- Jose Garage - - 396-98 Chihuahua
- Western Overall - - 309 Santa Fe
- Hicks - Hayward Co. Mfrs. - - 309 South Santa Fe
- Santa Fe Welding Works - - 323 South Santa Fe
- Del Norte Auto Works - - 323 South Santa Fe

Figure 5:25. Motor Supply Building built 1930. 308 Chihuahua

Figure 5:26. Fire Department Station #11 built in 1930. 311 Santa Fe

Figure 5:27. Site of 19th century Chinese laundry. La Nortena. 212 W. Overland

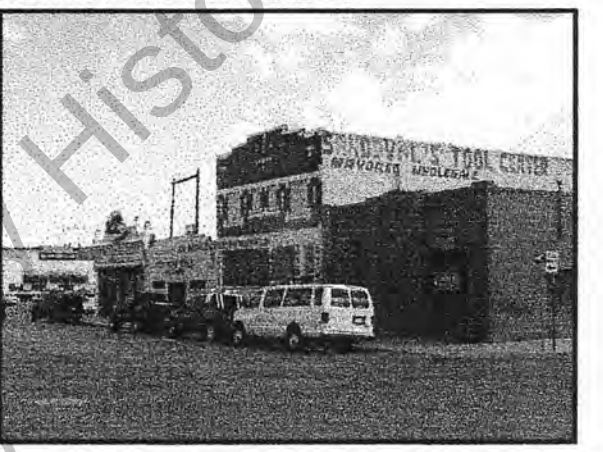


Figure 5:28. El Paso Plumbing. Previous Overall Factory. 216 W. Overland.

Figures 5:25 - 5:28. Block 32.

- Fire Department Station No. 11 - - 331 South Santa Fe (Figure 5:26)
- Machine shop - - 312 Chihuahua
- Overall factory - - 220-222 West Overland
- Auto repair - - 325 Santa Fe
- Wholesale poultry - - 307 South Santa Fe
- Wholesale dry goods - - 309-311 South Santa Fe
- Used Auto sales - - 317-321 Santa Fe

1950s

- Rio Grande Sales Co., Inc. dry Goods - - 200 West Overland
- Texas Manufacturing Co., Inc. Overall Mnfrs. - - 222 West Overland
- Mora Wright & Gonzalez Importers - - 224 West Overland
- Motor Supply - - 308 Chihuahua
- Mann Overall Company, Inc. Manufacturers - - 394 Chihuahua
- Market Produce Company - - 307 South Santa Fe
- M. B. Krupp Distribution -- Phonograph records - 309 South Santa Fe
- United, Inc. Dry Goods -- 311 South Santa Fe
- Orono Motor Sale Company -- 321 South Santa Fe
- Santa Fe Welding Works -- 323 South Santa Fe
- Victor Martinez Auto Painting -- 325 South Santa Fe

- Fire Station No. 11 -- 331 South Santa Fe
- Machine shop -- 312 Chihuahua

Currently, the Perlas Plaza building at 215 West Paisano, on the site of the old Mann garment factory dominates the southwestern portion of the block. The Golden State Bus Lines Depot and parking lot at 307 Santa Fe occupy the old City Hall site. The La Norteña Bar at 212 West Overland (Figure 5:27) was the site of an auto sales room in the 1940s and a Chinese laundry facility in 1898. Next to La Nortena Bar, El Paso Plumbing business at 220-22 (Figure 5:28), occupies a 1940s overall factory site. The Fire Department Station No.11 on 331 South Santa Fe was built of fire proof material in 1930.

Two historic buildings in this block are eligible for inclusion on the NRHP, including:

- Fire Department Station No. 11 building (see Figure 5:26) was built in 1930 and is still in use today. It is eligible for listing on the NRHP under criteria C.
- Wholesale Auto Supply building on 308 Chihuahua built in 1930

Three buildings are contributing to the nomination theme of Union Plaza historic district, including:

- Historic commercial building at 323 South Santa Fe
- Historic commercial building at 311-- 319 South Santa Fe
- Historic commercial building at 307 South Santa Fe

One historic site should be recognized as an historic marker:

- The site of old City Hall at 200 West Overland was also the location of the Western Garment Factory in the 1940s, and is currently occupied by the Golden State Bus Company.

Block 45 (300 Block of W. West Overland)

This block is bound by West Overland, Leon, Chihuahua streets, and West Paisano Drive. Prior to 1900 structures at this location ranged from small mud houses to large brick houses particularly on the northern part of the block. Tenements were also present. West First Street ran east from Leon and terminated inside this block. The southern portion of the block was under an irrigation system fed by the Fort Bliss Magoffin Spille/acequia that cut through the southern portion of the block (see Figure 2:2).

At the turn of the century businesses included a grocery store, a doctor's office, rooming houses and saloons (Frost 1983). The Mansion House, built at 306 West Overland in 1904, was specially designed to function as an uppity brothel (Figure 5:29). Other businesses were also established here by the 1920s and 30s.

- Gale Hotel - 338 (1/2) Leon
- Guarantee Auto Shop - - 303 Chihuahua
- El Paso Garage -- Chihuahua and West Second (West Paisano)
- Tri-State Motor Company - - 318-322 Leon
- La Catolica Statuary Factory - - 338 Leon

1940s

- C. Cisneros & Co. Broker - - 300 West Overland
- The Mansion - Furnished rooms - - 306 West Overland

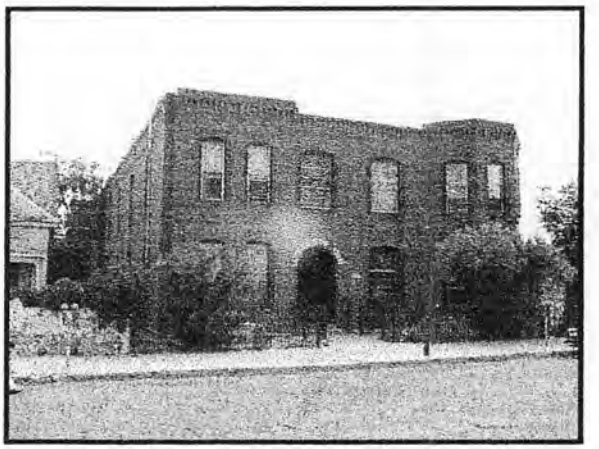


Figure 5:29. The Mansion House built in 1904. Uppity brothel. 306 W. Overland

Figure 5:30. Pre-1940 apartment building. 332 Leon

Figure 5:31. Martinez Grocery. 302 W. Overland

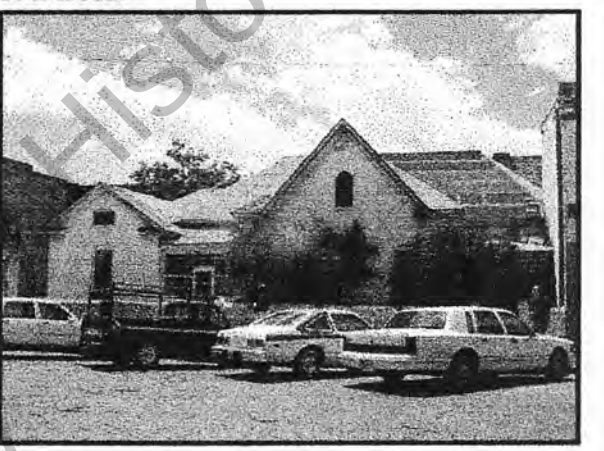


Figure 5:32. 305 Chihuahua

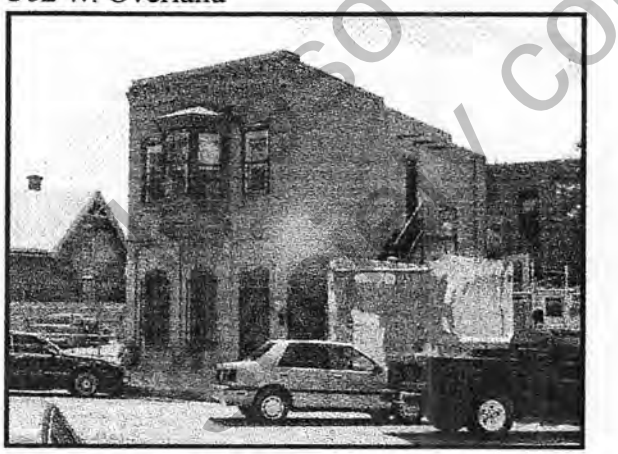


Figure 5:33. 309 Chihuahua

Figure 5:34. 315 Chihuahua

Figures 5:29 - 5:34. Block 45 (Part 1 of 2).

- Apartments - - 332 Leon (rear)
- Apartments - - 395 Chihuahua
- Filing station - - 317 West Paisano

1950s

- Ortiz Garage -- 328 Leon (still there)
- Apartments -- 332 Leon (see Figure 5:30)
- Apartments -- 323 Chihuahua
- Chevron Truck Service -- 311 West Paisano
- Martinez Grocery -- 300 West Overland (see Figure 5:31)

Currently, the Mansion House is a rooming house. A large vacant lot at 310-326 Leon is the site of old homes that were still in existence in the 1940s. The site may contain valuable archeological resources. The Al Pino parking lot occupies the vacant lot at 301-307 West Paisano. The vacant lot at 395 Chihuahua contained an apartment complex in the 1940s and may also contain archeological resources. Other old house sites, now vacant lots with potential for archeological resources, include the lots at 311, 319, 325, and 327 Chihuahua. The CITGO Gas station on 311 West Paisano occupies the same site the Chevron Truck Service Station occupied in 1950.

Five historic buildings on this block are eligible for inclusion on the NRHP including:

- The Mansion House - 306 West Overland
- House - 302 West Overland (see Figure 5:31)
- House - 305 Chihuahua (Figure 5:32)

- House - 309 Chihuahua (Figure 5:33)
- House - 315 Chihuahua (Figure 5:34)

The Leon Apartments complex at 332 Leon is contributing to the historic district nomination criteria. In addition, five areas were identified as high probability archeological sites.

- 310-320 Leon vacant lot
- 311-313 Chihuahua 1940s house site now vacant lot
- 319-321 Chihuahua - 1940s house site now vacant lot
- 325 Chihuahua 1940s house site now vacant lot
- 395 Chihuahua house site pre-dating 1940 now vacant lot

Three small houses with flat roofs at 323 Chihuahua are neither eligible for listing on the NRHP nor contributing to historic district nominating criteria (Figures 5:35 and 5:36). Similarly, the building at 336 Leon is not eligible for listing on the NRHP (Figure 5:37)

Block 7 (400 Block West Overland)

This block is defined by West Overland, Durango, Leon Streets, and West Paisano Drive. Prior to 1900, large residential adobe, brick, and frame houses were found mostly in the north. Small vernacular mud and frame houses existed mostly on the west. Tenements became common at the turn of the century. The southern portion of the block was under irrigated cultivation. Early businesses included a grocery and laundry. Troy Steam Laundry Company was established at 401 West Second Street (West Paisano) prior to 1916.

Among the businesses located on this block by the 1930s were:

- Leon Garage -- 333 Leon (Figure 5:38)

Figure 5:35. Residential House.
323 Chihuahua

Figure 5:36. Residential House next to Al Pino Parking. 325 Chihuahua

Figure 5:37. Residential building next to citgo. 336 Leon

Figures 5:35 - 5:37. Block 45 (Part 2 of 2).

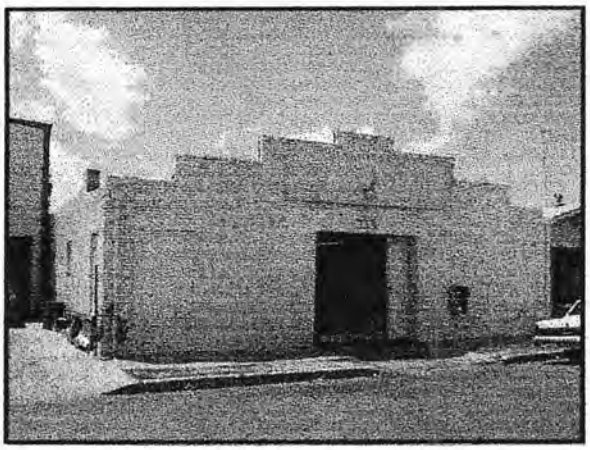


Figure 5:38. Leon Garage built 1930. 333 Leon

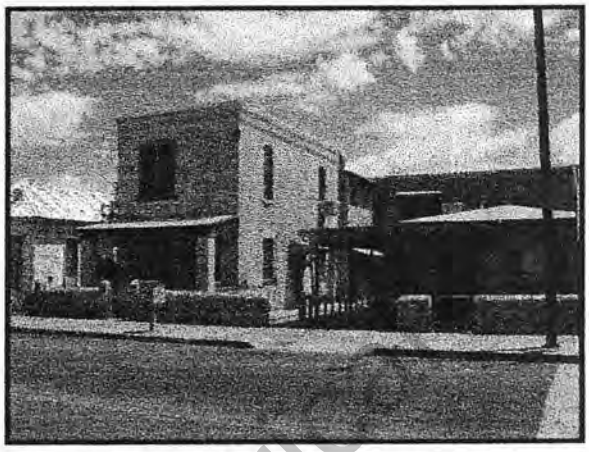


Figure 5:39. 404-406 W. Overland

Figure 5:40. 404 Durango

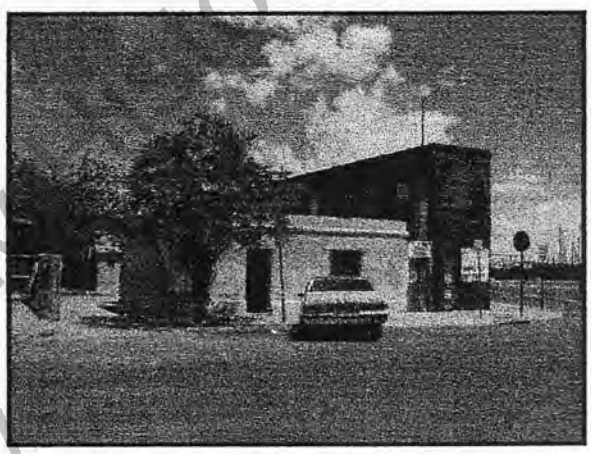


Figure 5:41. Residence-tenements in background. 426-430 Durango

Figure 5:42. Tin roof residence. 402 W. San Antonio

Figure 5:43. Typical tenement. 428-430 Durango

Figures 5:38 - 5:43. Block 7 (Part 1 of 3).

- Curley Auto Wreck Junk & Savage Company -- 400 West Overland
- El Paso Auto Wrecking -- 325 Leon

In the 1940s, the western half was mostly residential. A distilled water warehouse was located at 309 Leon in the 1940s. Other businesses included:

- Curley's Auto Works Company -- 400 West Overland
- Apartments -- 404 West Overland (Figure 5:39)
- Mrs. María Romo Grocery -- 404 Durango (Figure 5:40)
- Apartments -- 430 Durango (Figure 5:41)
- Joe's Junk yard -- 325 Leon
- Leon Garage -- 333 Leon
- Cactus Candy Factory -- 427 Second (West Paisano)

1950s

- Apartments -- 408 Durango
- Apartments -- 430 Durango
- Mrs. María Romo Grocery -- 404 Durango (Still a grocery store!)
- H-K Truck Lines -- 305 Leon (Sara Martinez forwarding)
- Brem Motor Express -- 305 Leon
- Joe's Automotive Service Auto Repairs -- 333 Leon

Four buildings are eligible for listing on NRHP including:

- 402 West Overland house (Figure 5:42)
- 428-30 Durango linear one-story red brick original style tenement (Figure 5:43)
- Leon Garage - 333 Leon
- Two-story, two part commercial and residential building - 325 Leon (Figure 5:44)

Two buildings are contributing to historic district nomination.

- House -- 329 Leon (In 1915, this property was owned by Pancho Villa and his brother, Hipolito (Figure 5:45). It is the Villista Cache site where in 1915 a raid of the house by U.S. Authorities uncovered $500, 000 in cash, in addition to gold.
- House - - 331 Leon (Figure 5:46)

The building housing Sara Martinez Forwarding business (Figure 5:47) is not considered as either NRHP-eligible or contributing to historic district criteria. Three houses along Durango Street were, however, determined as contributing to the historic district criteria.

- 414 Durango (Figure 5:48)
- 406 Durango (Figure 5:49)
- 420-424 Durango (Figure 5:50)

Block 152 (400 Block West Overland)

This block is surrounded by Durango, West Overland streets, and West Paisano Drive. Prior to 1900, buildings on this block were mostly small vernacular mud structures. By the turn of the century, tenements were common. A limited number of businesses have been located in this block during the entire history of Union Plaza.

Figure 5:44. Commerical/residential building. 325 Leon

Figure 5:45. Property was owned by Pancho Villa and his brother Hipolito in 1915. Also known as the Villista Cache Site. 329 Leon

Figure 5:46. Residence. 331 Leon

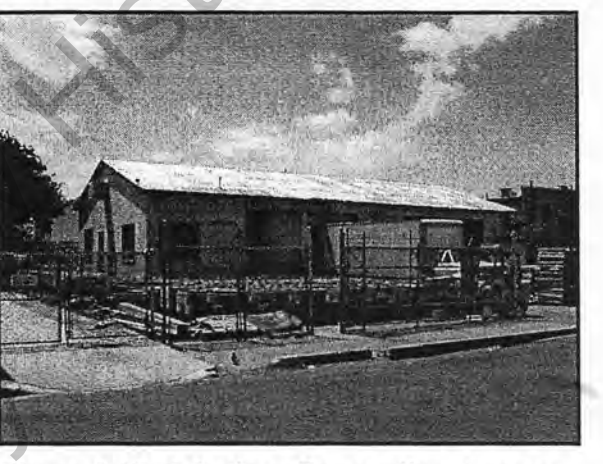


Figure 5:47. Martinez Forwarding Agency. 305 Leon

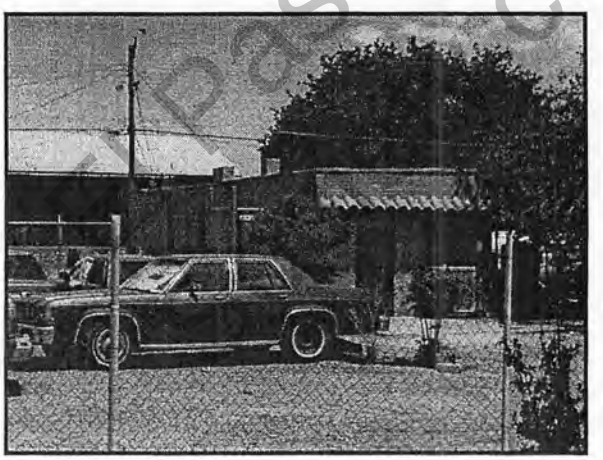
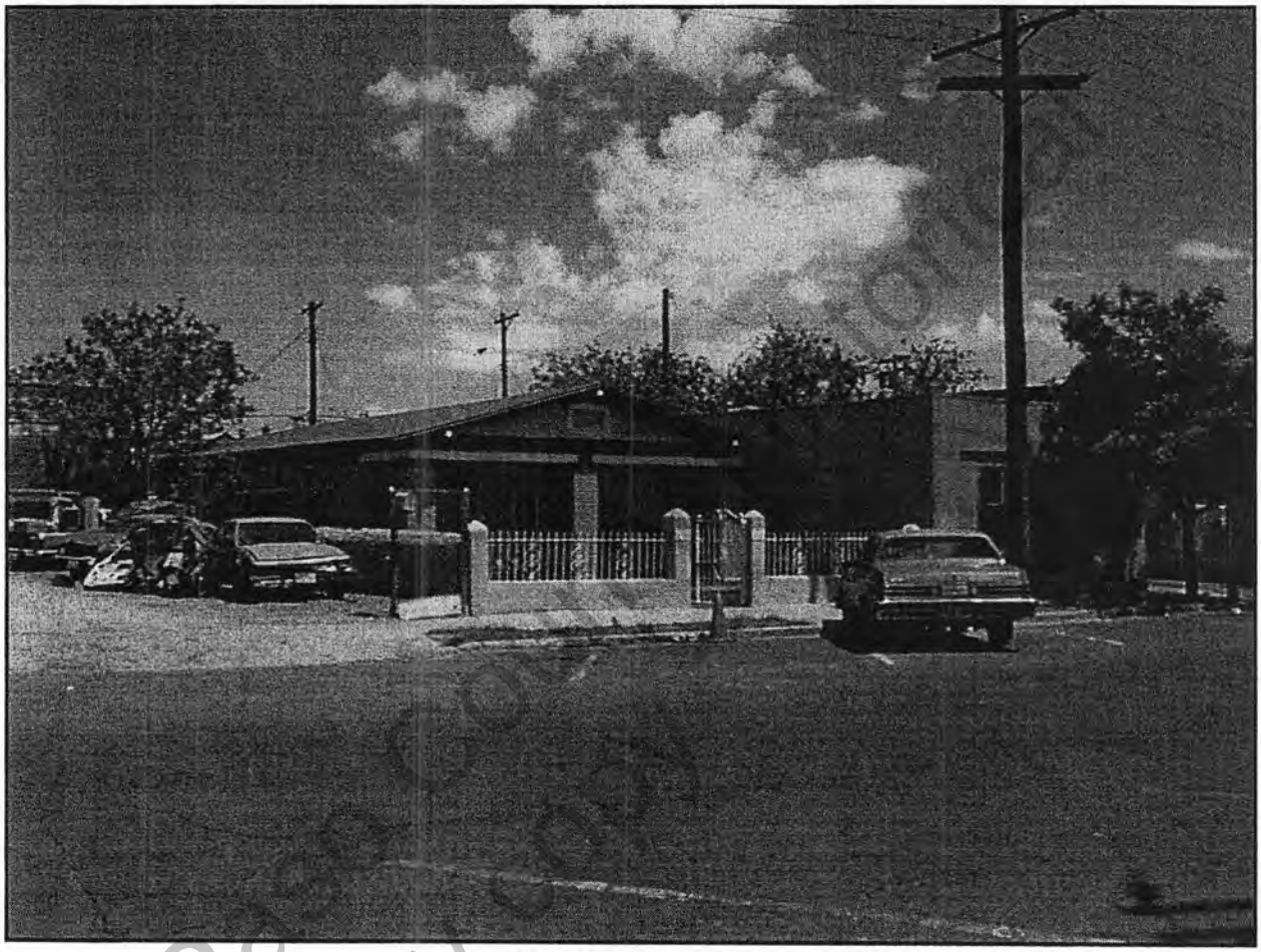


Figure 5:48. 414 Durango

Figure 5:49. 406 Durango

Figures 5:44 - 5:49. Block 7 (Part 2 of 3).



420-424 Durango

Figure 5:50. Block 7 (Part 3 of 3).

1940s

- Apartments -- 409 Durango
- Apartments -- 411 Durango
- Apartments -- 425 Durango
- Apartments -- 427 Durango

1950s

- Apartments -- 411 Durango
- Apartments -- 411 Durango
- Hicks-Hayward Manufacturers - - 500-520 West Overland

The apartment and manufacturing businesses have been replaced by a relatively new building which does meet criteria for historic buildings. This building at 500 West Overland currently houses a business that distributes holiday products. There is no other standing building on this block.

CONCLUSIONS

Investigation of property history has demonstrated that the Union Plaza has played a vital role in the development of downtown El Paso. From the time the railroad arrived in the city to World War II, Union Plaza developed a vibrant economy teeming with factories, restaurants, small cafes, hotels, and wholesale and retail operations intricately intertwined with the railroad and transportation industry (Farrar 1970; Metz 1993; Timmons 1991). Five railroads converged in El Paso in a period of less than four years, between 1881 and 1884 (El Paso City Directory 1886-87). The El Paso Union Passenger Depot, constructed in 1906 became El Paso's "Grand Central Station." Hotels, saloons, rooming houses, warehouses, and retail stores opened to meet the increased demand from passengers and railroad employees. Streetcars became a feature of transportation within the city and

before long the service area expanded to include Ciudad Juárez, México. By the turn of the century, El Paso was at a peak of an economic boom and the Union Plaza population had exploded.

Union Plaza does not appear to have been severely affected by the Great Depression even though some families migrated from the area to México. Post-Depression years continued to see heavy train traffic through El Paso in support of the World War II effort. Also, post-prohibition business in alcoholic beverages continued to buoy the economy. After World War II, railroad traffic dwindled dramatically and railroad-dependent businesses in the Union Plaza suffered as a result of competition from a growing trucking industry and the construction of Interstate Highway systems. Continued decline in passenger service forced the closure of the Union Depot in 1974. Consequently, railroad related businesses declined further and eventually closed. Although a few of the businesses survive today, the area is economically depressed and in the process of inner city urban decay (see Figure 5:2).

The decision in 1969 by the City of El Paso to locate the Civic Center in the Union Plaza was aimed at kicking off a protracted redevelopment program of this once prosperous Union Depot neighborhood. As part of the plan, the city of El Paso purchased the Union Depot in 1978. Today, the Depot receives AMTRAK passengers three times a week and serves as a depot for the Sun Metro City bus system. The City of El Paso in partnership with property owners is committed to a major redevelopment of the area to revitalize the neighborhood.

In the 1990s, new businesses, taking advantage of cheap rent and abundant parking space have opened in the Union Plaza, these include discotheques such as Club 101 at 500 San Francisco, the Engine House at 511 Western Street and Texas Boom Box at 200 Anthony. Success of these businesses has demonstrated that the Union Plaza has potential for redevelopment as an entertainment and residential district. As part of "Livable Communities Initiative" campaign, the City of El Paso is spearheading an economic and cultural renaissance effort to turn the decaying Union Plaza into a viable cultural, entertainment and residential district. The design includes zoning bylaws, preservation plans and incentives.

The Union Plaza, part of the original Ponce de Leon ranch (El Paso's first community), contains historic sites and buildings that are potentially in danger of being impacted by construction during redevelopment. Construction of new buildings, upgrading of underground utility and communication lines, as well as street repair, and landscaping are some of the potential sources of impact on historic sites and buildings. The City planners hope to capture and incorporate the essence of historic Union Plaza as an integral component of the revitalized district by identifying and treating those properties eligible for listing on the NRHP. This investigation has identified three intertwined components of historic resources in the Union Plaza including 1) an historic district eligible for inclusion on the NRHP 2) historic buildings individually eligible for inclusion in the NRHP and 3) historic sites with great potential for yielding information important in understanding local El Paso and Río Grande Valley history (Staski 1984).

The Proposed Plaza Union Historic District

The mosaic of manufacturing, warehouses, commercial and residential buildings that have historically existed in the Union Plaza (Figure 5:51), form a unique historic district that is also the oldest settlement within the City of El Paso. It includes part of the original Ponce de Leon ranch. Both categories of 1) individually eligible and 2) contributing historic buildings or structures have been identified in the district (Table 5:1; Figure 5:52). Overall, 41 buildings were determined to posses attributes contributing to the Union Plaza historic district nomination criteria. Of these, 20 are individually eligible for listing on the NRHP (Table 5:1; Figure 5:52). No buildings or structures or objects in the Union Plaza meet the "Criterion of Exceptional Significance" that is applied to properties less than 50 years in age (Mbutu et al. 1995). Individually eligible buildings are discussed below.

Historic Buildings

In the project area, original buildings were designed to create a street facade and many provide good examples of period architecture (City of El Paso 1996). Overall, 20 buildings, representing a wide range of character and style in the Union Plaza have been determined to meet the Secretary of Interior's criteria for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places (McAlester and McAlester

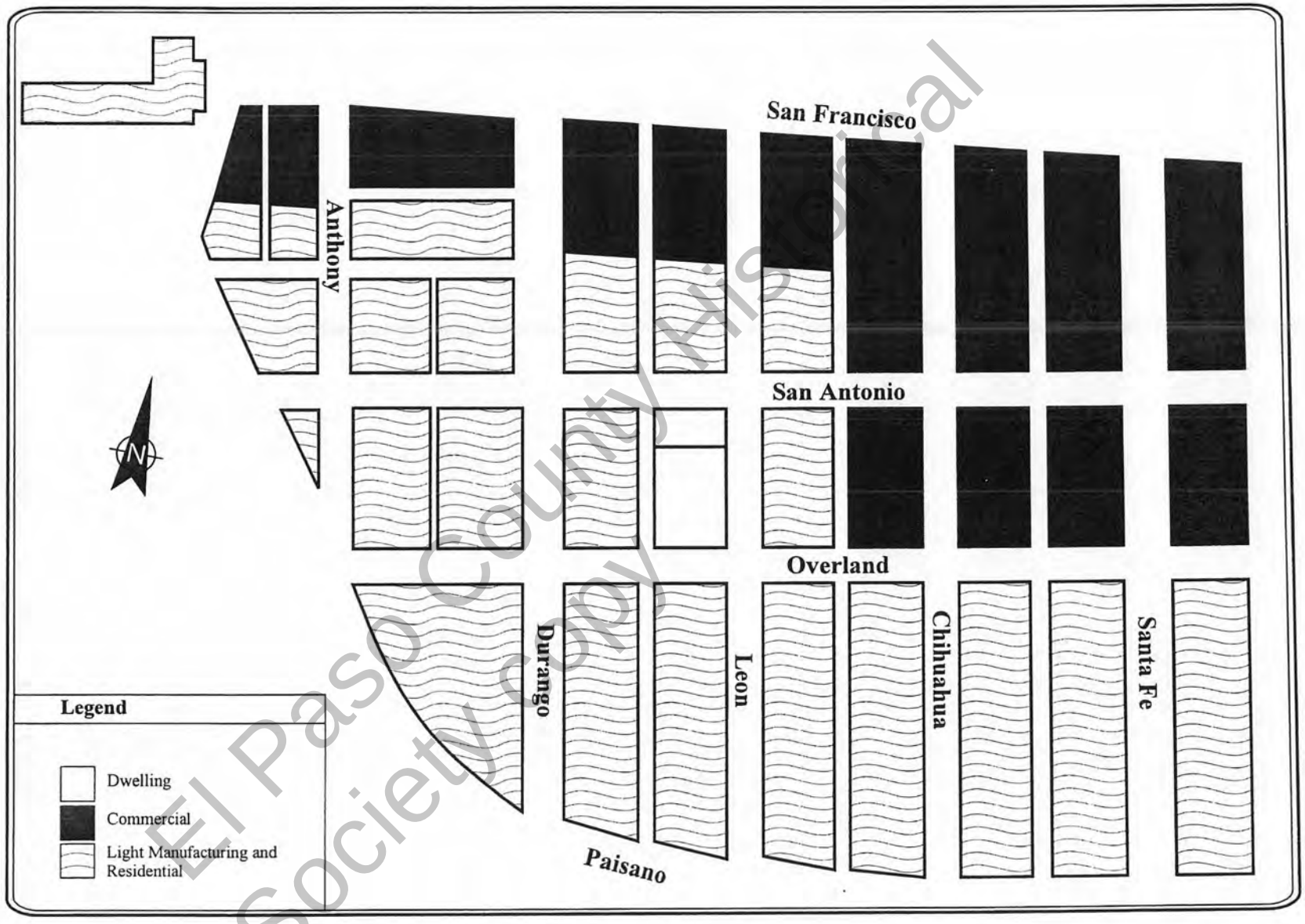


Figure 5:51. 1929 Land Use of the Union Plaza District.

Figure 5:52. Proposed Union Plaza Historic District: Eligible and Contributing Buildings.

Table 5:1

UNION PLAZA HISTORIC DISTRICT
Eligible and Contributing Buildings

Address	Description	Eligible	Contributing
700 San Francisco	Union Depot	Yes	Yes
115 Anthony	Earl Nelson Furniture Showroom	Yes	Yes
701 W. Paisano	Wicker Tire Company (rear)	Yes	Yes
302 W. Overland	Residence	Yes	Yes
305 Chihuahua	Residence	Yes	Yes
309 Chihuahua	Residence	Yes	Yes
315 Chihuahua	Residence	Yes	Yes
402 W. Overland	Residence	Yes	Yes
513-21 W. San Antonio	Commercial/Utility (Essex Apartments)	Yes	Yes
504-508 W. San Antonio	Commercial/Utility (Halcyon Apartments)	Yes	Yes
512-22 W. San Antonio	Commercial/Utility (Anthony Apartment)	Yes	Yes
325 Leon	Commercial/Utility	Yes	Yes
306 W. Overland	The Mansion House	Yes	Yes
428-430 Durango	Typical red brick Tenements	Yes	Yes
331 S. Santa Fe	Fire Department Station No.11	Yes	Yes
215 Leon	Franklin School	Yes	Yes
501 W. San Antonio	El Paso Electric Company Warehouse	Yes	Yes
420 W. San Antonio	McKesson and Robbins Wholesale Drugs	Yes	Yes
308 Chihuahua	1930 Auto Supply building	Yes	Yes
333 Leon	1930 Leon Garage	Yes	Yes
320 W. San Antonio	National Restaurant Supply	No	Yes
500-02 San Francisco	Club 101 building	No	Yes
512-16 San Francisco	Earl Nelson Furniture Display room	No	Yes
511 Western	"Engine House"	No	Yes
510 Western	Carpenter Paper Building	No	Yes
409 W. Overland	Residence	No	No

Table 5:1 (contd)

UNION PLAZA HISTORIC DISTRICT
Eligible and Contributing Buildings

Address	Description	Eligible	Contributing
415 W. Overland	Residence	No	No
417 W. Overland	Residence	No	No
421 W. Overland	Residence	No	No
219-21 W. Overland	Apartment Complex	No	Yes
307 S. San Francisco	Commercial historic building	No	Yes
311-19 Santa Fe	Commercial historic building	No	Yes
323 Santa Fe	Commercial historic building	No	Yes
329 Leon	Residence	No	Yes
331 Leon	Residence	No	Yes
404 Durango	Neighborhood Grocery Store	No	Yes
406 Durango	Residence	No	Yes
414 Durango	Residence	No	Yes
420 Durango	Residence	No	Yes
332 Leon	Apartments	No	Yes
311 W. Overland	Commercial Building	No	Yes
315 W. Overland	Apartment Complex	No	Yes
317 W. Overland	Apartment Complex	No	Yes

1990; Myers et al. 1995; Weedman et al. 1994). Four different architectural styles identified in the Union Plaza meet NRHP-eligibility criteria.

1) The uniquely designed Union Depot (see Figure 5:3) was designed by the famous Chicago architect Daniel Burnham in 1906 for $400,000 meets criteria A, B, and C.

2) The eclectic turn-of-the-century architectural style of red brick construction is represented by two warehouses on Anthony street (City of El Paso 1996:11). The two buildings are eligible under criteria C.

- 115 Anthony; the Earl Nelson Furniture Warehouse (see Figure 5:11)
- 701 West San Antonio; the Cornudas Cattle Company Building facing Anthony Street, but also currently part of the Wicker Tire Company complex of buildings.

3) The transition during the twentieth century between Victorian and bungalow architectural styles is reflected by houses and duplexes on West Overland and Chihuahua streets. Five houses provide good examples of this architectural design (City of El Paso 1996) including:

- 302 W. West Overland (see Figure 5:31)
- 305 Chihuahua (see Figure 5:32)
- 309 Chihuahua (see Figure 5:33)
- 315 Chihuahua (see Figure 5:34)
- 402 West Overland (see Figure 5:42)

4) The two-part commercial and utility architectural style that is characterized by its unardoned facade (City of El Paso 1996:11) is represented by several buildings in the project area. Originally,

these buildings were used for commercial purposes on the ground floor, and as living quarters on the second floor. The following examples were identified.

- The three-story dual purpose commercial and utility building complex - 513-521 West San Antonio. At various times of its history, this building functioned as an apartment building, garage, grocery store, and a novelty wholesale business. In the recent past, the T. J. Rummage Corner business was housed in the complex at 521 West San Antonio.
- The two-story dual purpose commercial and utility building at 504 - 508 West San Antonio that houses the Halcyon Apartments. A Commercial Sales business was housed in it recently.
- The two-story dual purpose commercial and utility building at 512-522 West San Antonio containing the Anthony Apartments

An additional 10 buildings meet criteria (c) for NRHP-eligibility.

- The Mansion House at 306 West Overland (see Figure 5:29). This specially designed edifice of ignominy was constructed in 1904. It remains a historic symbol of social excessiveness during El Paso's turn of the century boom years. Since the 1940s it has been used as a rooming house.
- Tenements or dormitories for poor workers are found on West San Antonio, West Overland, Durango, Leon and Chihuahua streets. They are commonly two-story red brick buildings containing multiple rooms and common bathrooms. A typical example is located at 428-430 South Durango (see Figure 5:43)
- Fire Department Station No. 11 at 331 Santa Fe was built of fire proof material in 1930 and is still in use today (see Figure 5:26).

- The new Franklin School at 215 Leon was built in 1920 (see Figure 5:14). The first Franklin School was opened in 1891 on the adjoining lot (203 Leon) to the north (see Figure 5:15).
- El Paso Electric Company Building warehouse at 501 West San Antonio (see Figure 5:7) was built between 1921 and 1929.
- The McKesson and Robbins Building at 420 West San Antonio, was a major Wholesale Drug Distribution Center during the 1940s and 1950s (see Figure 5:16)
- The two-story apartment complex at 325 Leon (see Figure 5:44)
- Leon Garage at 333 Leon was built in 1930 (see Figure 5:38)
- Old Auto Supply building at 308 Leon was built in 1930 (see Figure 5:25)
- Railroad Round House: Although the Railroad Round House is technically outside the current project area, it is an integral part of the Union Plaza historical district and is eligible for listing in the NRHP. Although the Round House is technically outside the project area it is part of the Union Plaza historic district and is eligible for inclusion in the NRHP.

Archeological Sites

Although no prehistoric sites have been identified in the project area, potential for historic archeological sites remains considerable. It is practically possible to find historic artifacts anywhere in the project area associated with events that have shaped the history of the Union Plaza. Figure 5:53 shows areas identified as having a high probability for archeological material important in documenting and preserving the history of the Union Plaza (Mbutu 1996).

- West San Antonio Street. When Sonora Street was closed in 1910 and extension of West San Antonio from Santa Fe to Anthony forced demolition of several buildings. Foundations and floors of these buildings may still be buried under the street

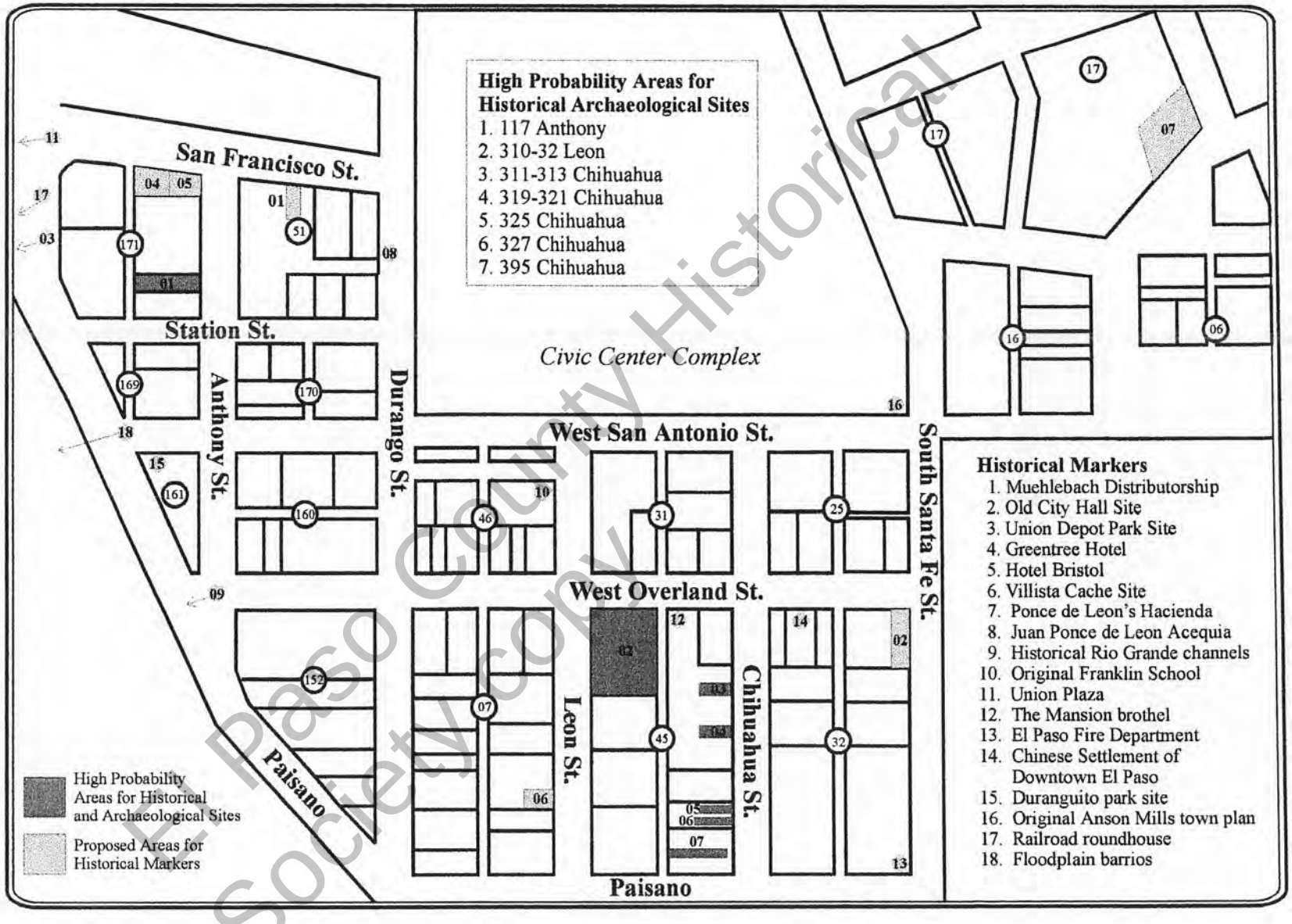


Figure 5:53. Historical Markers and High Probability Areas for Sites.

Ground penetrating radar anomalies were recorded along this stretch of West San Antonio Street (Willis, this volume).

- Buried sections of a nineteenth century acequia (canal) system have great potential for yielding environmental data necessary in reconstructing historic land use. Three acequias crossed the project area at one time (see Figure 2:2). Locations where streets and alleys have been built across and over acequias hold the greatest promise for data recovery (Willis, this volume).
- The currently vacant lot at 117 Anthony Street is the site of an old residential building with potential for archeological resources. The building was standing in the 1940s but by 1950 the lot was vacant (Figure 5:53).
- The large (100 x 50 yards) vacant lot at 310-320 Leon was occupied by large residential buildings during the 1940s.
- House sites pre-dating 1940 now vacant lots at:
    - 311-313 Chihuahua
    - 319-321 Chihuahua
    - 325 Chihuahua
    - 327 Chihuahua
    - 395 Chihuahua

Historical Markers

There are sites in the project area that are disturbed or completely obliterated by construction, yet they are of great significance as historical markers that provide continuity in the history of the project area. It is recommended that the following sites be designated and identified as historical markers (see Figure 5:53) of the Union Plaza.

1. Muehlebach Beer Distributorship site at 510 West San Francisco Street
2. Old City Hall site, 200 West Overland Street
3. Union Depot park site at 600 West San Francisco Street
4. Greentree Hotel sites, 604 West San Francisco Street
5. Hotel Bristol at 600(1/2) West San Francisco Street
6. Villista cache site at 329 Leon Street
7. Original Juan Ponce de Leon hacienda locale, centered at Mills Building
8. Juan Ponce de Leon acequia south of West San Francisco Street
9. Historical Río Grande channels from 1827 and 1852
10. Original Franklin School site at 203 Leon Street
11. Union Plaza Depot
12. The Mansion brothel, 306 W. Overland
13. El Paso Fire Department, 331 S. Santa Fe
14. Chinese settlement of downtown El Paso
15. Duranguito park site
16. Original Anson Mills town plan
17. Railroad roundhouse, W. Overland and Paisano streets
18. Floodplain barrios, Paisano south from Leon Street

CHAPTER 6

THE UNION PLAZA - NEIGHBORHOOD HISTORIES

Howard Campbell

BARRIO DURANGO

What follows are preliminary results of ethnographic interviews conducted in Barrio Durango in downtown El Paso, Texas in February and March 1998. Barrio Durango or "Duranguito" are the names given by local residents to a small neighborhood (approximately 30 acres) in the vicinity of the Union Plaza. The physical boundaries of the area are Paisano Drive, (formerly Second Street), Santa Fe, and San Francisco Streets. Culturally, the neighborhood was originally Anglo but since about 1900 it has been predominantly Mexican. Its Hispanic residents formed a proud, tight-knit group with a tough reputation. The young men of the neighborhood would defend their barrio against outsiders, whether they were gang members from other barrios or the police. What follows is an ethnographic description, based on oral interviews with longtime residents and local historian Fred Morales, of the barrio as it existed from approximately 1900 to 1970.

Duranguito was a working-class community. Local men worked at the railroad station (constructed ca. 1906), in downtown businesses, nearby agricultural fields, and in construction. Local women took care of their families, worked as maids or waitresses, and ran small restaurants or sewed clothing for a living. The children and youth of the community attended Franklin School (originally located on the corner of Leon and Overland) and Bowie High School. Young people played in a small, rustic park near the train station. The train depot was a center of activity and neighborhood life. Local elders still recall the arrival of Elvis Presley to the Union Depot in 1958. Presley attracted the attention of all barrio residents who flocked to see their musical idol.

This was a barrio in the true sense of the word. Everyone knew their neighbors, kids played in the streets and dirt lots, and there was a sense of common identity. The barrio had no formal patron saint

or fiestas but did come together for posada-like events around Christmas and other holidays. Moving from the sacred to the profane, the neighborhood also was home to two of the oldest brothels in El Paso, one of which, the Central Lodging House (formerly The Mansion), still operates today. Lively bars, such as the Greentree (in the Greentree Hotel), Brownies, and others kept the locals in good spirits. Small restaurants and *tienditas* (stores) supplied the people with food and beverages. The neighborhood was a place where people worked hard and played hard.

Most families lived in small adobe and brick houses or a few apartment buildings known as *presidios*. Barrio residents belonged to the parish of Sacred Heart Church. Racial discrimination existed in El Paso, but the older people we interviewed claimed they had never suffered personally from mistreatment by Anglo El Pasoans. Within the neighborhood people spoke Spanish, although most were bilingual. Many of the residents were born in México and had become citizens or permanent U.S. residents. There was little ethnic diversity in the barrio. Except for a Puerto Rican family that lived for awhile in the presidio on the corner of Durango and Paisano, all community members were Mexican. Most were originally from the Northern states of Chihuahua, Durango, Coahuila, and others. Some poverty existed although this was alleviated by a mission located near the depot which provided free food such as turkey dinners on holidays. There was also a steady stream of transient people who arrived at the train station and crossed through the barrio on their way to downtown.

None of the residents of Duranguito owned cars, but there were a few phones and radios. People walked to their jobs and school, or caught a street car or bus though no bus lines ran through the neighborhood. The Río Grande/Río Bravo was a primary recreation and picnic area for families and children. It was a popular place for swimming, playing, and fishing. Mexican nationals easily crossed the river and entered the U.S. without the hassles they face today. Braceros and undocumented immigrants boarded the train at the depot and travelled to work in fields and factories. Some Mexican nationals came to the neighborhood to peddle avocadoes, mangos, guava, and sugar cane on a clandestine basis. Blue collar workers from the Asarco plant and Smeltertown walked

through the neighborhood. Prior to the construction of Paisano Drive by Smeltertown only a path connected that area to downtown El Paso.

Local diversions included ten cent movies at the Plaza, Capri, and Colon Theatres and the circus which came to the barrio and set up tents, creating a carnival-like atmosphere. The circus acts arrived by train and paraded the elephants down Paisano to the delight of the locals. Occasionally fights broke out in the barrio or between local gang members and gangs from Chihuauita or the Segundo Barrio-but the most serious weapon employed was usually a broken bottle rather than a knife or gun. Sometimes local kids got into problems with the police and had to hide out on the roofs of houses, sometimes sleeping there. Many residents grew flowers, chiles or tomatoes in their yards. Some kept chickens and rabbits. It was common practice for neighbors to sit in front of their houses on hot summer nights. Children improvised toys out of discarded tires, sticks, stones and apricot pits. A favorite children's game was *la rona*. If not idyllic, the neighborhood was, nevertheless, a vibrant barrio of hard-working immigrants with strong family ties and deep involvement in community life.

Some of the most prosperous residents were the Cabrales-Reyes family at 331 1/2 Leon Street. Mr. Cabrales had a well-paid job with the Mckie Construction Company and his wife Consuelo Reyes was a master dressmaker. They sent their children to El Paso High instead of Bowie and eventually to college and solid careers. Other local notables included Joe Reyes, a lawyer; Dr. Vega, a surgeon; Joe Renteria, a Hollywood actor; Mike Adame, a talented boxer; the Menchaca brothers, known for their toughness; and Ignacio Escandon, of the El Paso Interreligious Sponsoring Organization (EPISO). According to one account, the movie actor Gilbert Roland, formerly known as Luis Alonso, was also from the barrio and attended Franklin School. Although some barrio residents became well-to-do most were of modest means. They viewed the wealthier Sunset Heights residents with a degree of rivalry. This was reflected in the term "high tones," pronounced with Spanish inflection and an accent on the e, used by barrio dwellers to put down residents of Sunset Heights.

Significant historical events that occurred in or near the barrio include the killing of Luis Cardiz by Charles Howard at the Schultz Bros. Store on San Francisco Street in 1876 or 1877. This murder was

a prelude to the famous Salt War. In 1915 U.S Customs officials discovered $500,000 in cash and gold from a safe in a house at 329 Leon Street. This property belonged to the famous Mexican revolutionary Pancho Villa and his brother Hipólito. Also during the Mexican Revolution the Union Depot was used as an observation tower to keep track of warfare in Ciudad Juárez. Ammunition and other war materials were sold in stores run by Jewish merchants in the vicinity of San Francisco and Overland streets. According to Fred Morales guns and bullets were smuggled through Barrio Durango and Chihuahuita to revolutionaries in México. El Paso's second city hall building was located on the corner of Santa Fe and Overland Streets.

Over time many of the businesses in or near the barrio closed or moved to other locations. These include the Lone Star Motor Company, Cornudas Cattle Co., Mine and Smelter Co., Muehlbach Beer Co., Rudolph Chevrolet, Seitsinger Co., Graham Paper Co., Hicks Ponder, Mancera Boot Co., Mann Manufacturing, and numerous hotels (e.g., the Knox, Bristol, and Carlisle), bars, grocery stores, and small cafes. Other businesses that perished or moved elsewhere included stores specializing in auto parts, electrical parts, appliances, and assaying. Some businesses have persevered despite the decline of the neighborhood. These include the Ortiz Garage, Paisano Truck Stop, Wicker Tires, and various others. New businesses have also sprung up such as Rosenblum's Photography Gallery, Mendoza's Garage, the Greyhound and Golden State Bus Lines, La Norteña Restaurant, National Restaurant Supply, and Holiday Products..

The economic decline of the barrio, coupled with the decline of single family housing and rise of apartment living left the area wide open to an influx of prostitutes, drug dealers, and addicts. The Central Lodging House (originally the Mansion House) became the focal point for much of this activity. Prostitutes began to congregate on the corner of Overland and Chihuahua streets and they peddled their sexual wares along adjacent streets. Clients were taken into the Lodging House to complete the transaction. Many of the prostitutes were addicts or alcoholics and their scanty dress and sometimes wild behavior became a source of annoyance and shame for long-time barrio residents. Drug dealers operated freely out of a van on Chihuahua Street and addicts often spent the

night in the alley that runs from Paisano to Overland between Leon to Chihuahua streets or the vacant lot adjacent to Leon Street

Things eventually got so bad that a neighborhood citizen's group, affiliated with EPISO, formed to combat drugs and prostitution. Antonia Morales was one of the leaders of this group that was quite successful in ridding the neighborhood of the worst aspects of the vice scene. The community activists were able to get the City of El Paso to install new lights and signs, and they painted tar on benches and other areas where the prostitutes sat. They also called the police repeatedly to report illegal activities.

Gilbert Guillen has also spearheaded efforts to rebuild the barrio. Guillen, whose family has lived in the neighborhood for about 75 years, owns rental properties in the barrio, is active in community affairs, and knows all of the long-time residents of the area. According to Guillen, the I-10 interstate highway and Civic Center construction projects were the final straws in the deterioration of Barrio Durango. The Civic Center complex and highway separated the barrio from Sunset Heights and contributed to the further decline of the residential character of the area.

Efforts to rebuild the barrio began in the 1970s. Initiatives to improve the neighborhood took the name of Union Plaza, coined by businessman Tanny Berg. The opening of the popular dance and music venue Club 101 on San Francisco Street renewed hopes for a neighborhood renaissance. Guillen, a key player in the barrio's future, notes that barrio residents have always stuck together and defended the community. He points out that local residents have a bit of a reputation as over-achievers, to the point that they were known by occupants of other downtown barrios as *los creidos* (stuck-up). Guillen says that a disproportionate number of the Barrio Durango kids went to the academicaly sophisticated Cathedral High School instead of Bowie. Their parents were often more successful in commerical ventures than were those of some of the other Hispanic barrios in downtown El Paso. (As and aside Guillen noted that many of the successful families were female-headed).

The future of the neighborhood may be in the hands of ambitious local residents like Guillen who value the barrio's past and hope to preserve the best of the neighborhood in the future.

Acknowledgments. The information contained here is the result of approximately 40 interviews conducted by Dr. Howard Campbell and four of his UTEP anthropology students. Those students are Rosanna Jack, Alejandro Veloz, Miguel Angel Reyes, and Jorge Cardenas.

CHAPTER 7
REMOTE SENSING INVESTIGATIONS

Mark Willis

METHODOLOGY

Ground penetrating radar investigations were conducted as part of the background research for this project in January and February of 1998. The investigations were conducted using a PulseEKKO 1000 radar instrument with a 225 MHZ antenna. Each lane of each road in the project area (Figure 7:1) and every sidewalk in the project area were used as guides for transects; therefore, a minimum of four transects were surveyed in each block.

This technique has been proven to be an effective means of detecting subsurface archaeological deposits in the near by Lower Valley of El Paso (Peterson and Brown 1994; Leach, et al. 1996; Peterson, et al. 1998). Numerous features ranging from occupational surfaces of pit structures, jacales, and adobe houses were successfully recorded as anomalous signals by the radar and confirmed by excavation (Peterson et al. 1998).

Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) works by sending a high frequency electromagnetic radio (radar) pulse into the ground and measuring the time it takes the pulse to bounce off a discontinuity and return to the instrument's receiver. The radar energy is created by a transmission antenna which is placed on the ground above the area being surveyed. The energy travels downward through the earth where portions of the pulse are reflected back to the surface when buried discontinuities are encountered. Discontinuities are normally created by sediments in the earth, variations in water content, lithologic changes, or changes in the bulk density of stratigraphic interfaces and their surrounding soil. Reflections also occur at the interfaces between archaeological features and their surrounding matrix or sediment (Conyers and Goodman 1997).

Radar data gathered in the field was produced by dragging the ground penetrating radar unit across the survey areas (Figure 7:1) at the intervals mentioned above with the exception of the vacant lot on Leon Street which was surveyed at 3 meter transect intervals. At every ten centimeters along the transect, sixteen pulses of radar energy were projected into the earth. Once all the return signals were gathered, the sixteen readings were averaged. This technique creates the most accurate data because it averages out most non-local radar energy. Each transect's data were saved to disk on a laptop for analysis in the lab.

In the lab, analysis began with filling any gaps in the data by averaging the two signals to either side of the gap. Filters were added to the data to further remove background noise and other non-local signals. Data migration was applied to all data sets. Migration corrects for the fact that radar energy becomes more attenuated and dispersed as it travels deeper and along a path. The final dataset consisted of several narrow strips of signals that displayed the discontinuities in the earth beneath each transect to the depth of about 2.5 meters.

Each strip of data was analyzed to determine the potential for subsurface features and other anomalies. To find horizontally significant features, a time-slice of the lot on Leon Street was created (Figure 7:2). The time-slice was created by averaging the radar signal strength, at regular nanosecond intervals, from each transect data set. All the data from the same nanosecond depth were then pooled with the data from the other transects at the same nanosecond depth. The subsequent data were then entered into a surface mapping program and plotted.

Once all the anomalies were analyzed, field checks where made at the location of each anomaly to determine if there were any easily determinable source for the disturbance such as a metal grate, obvious buried railway tracks, or other objects with similar effects on radar signals. Utility and historic maps were also consulted to further narrow the possibility that the anomalies detected by the radar were of archaeological or geological nature. All discontinuities were then plotted to a map of the project area (Figure 7:3) and ranked as either a "Significant Anomaly" or a "Very Significant

Figure 7:1. Areas Surveyed by Ground-Penetrating Radar.

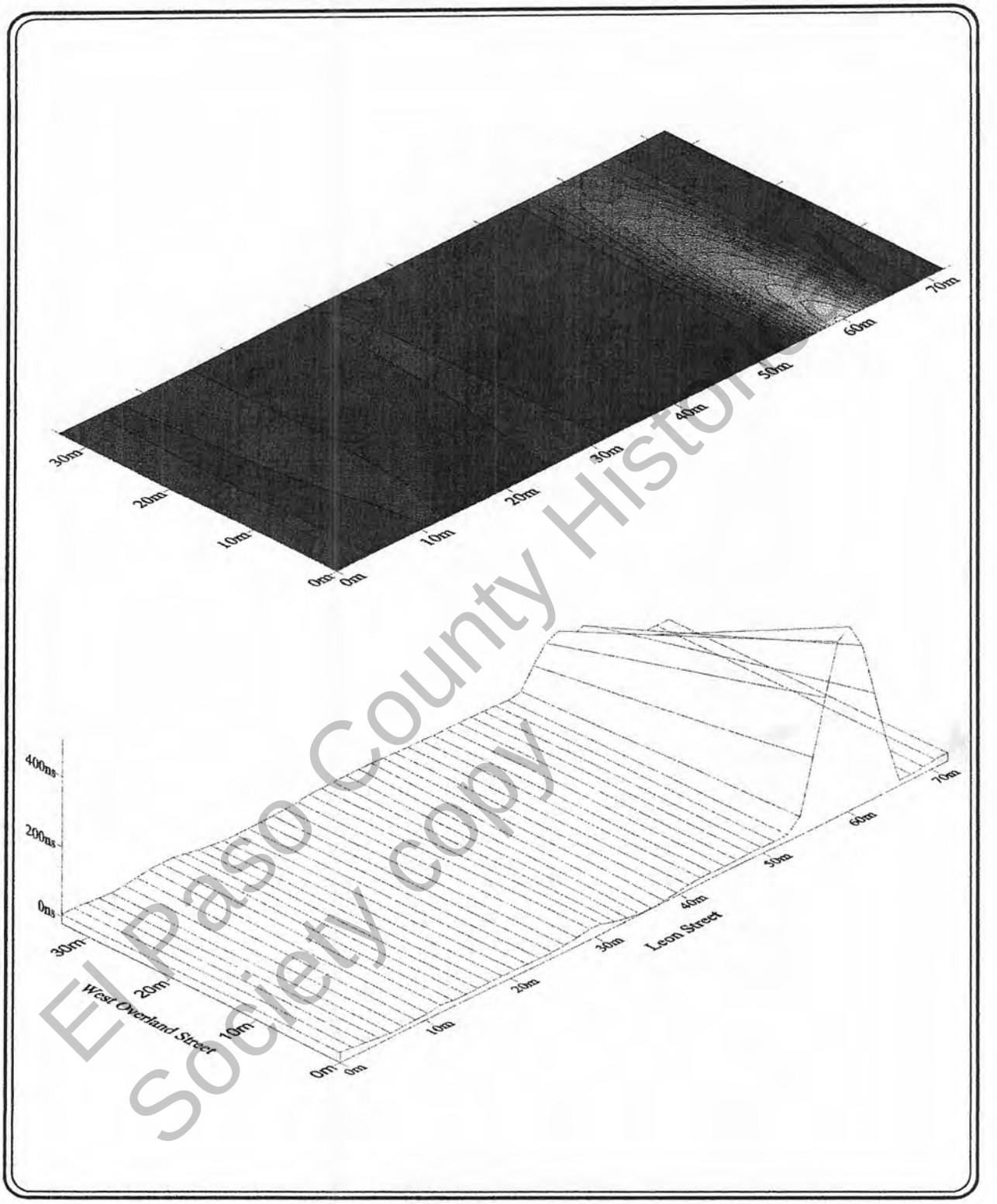


Figure 7:2. Time-Slice of vacant lot on southeast corner of Leon Street and West Overland Street.

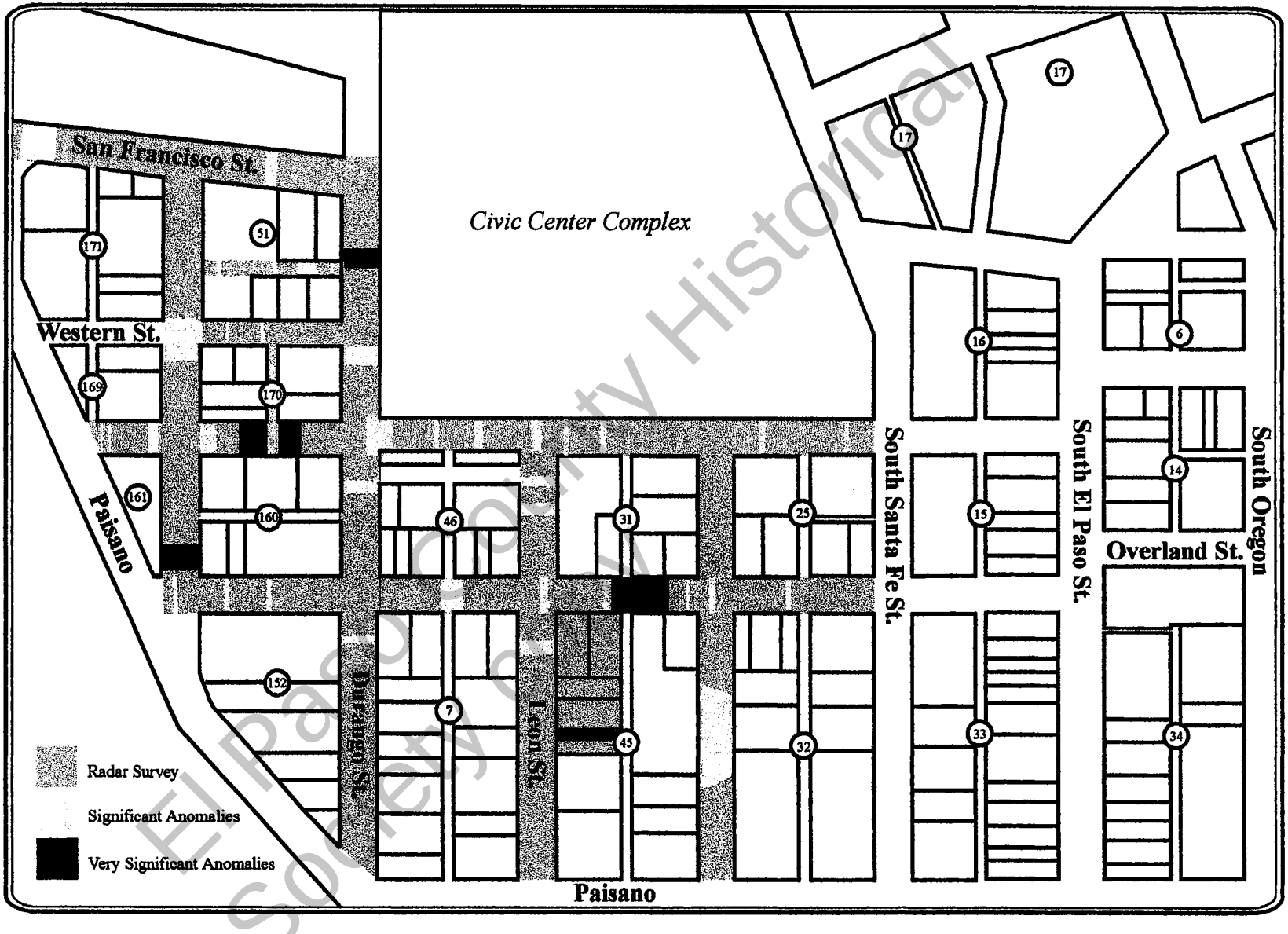


Figure 7:3. Location of Anomalies Found by Ground-Penetrating Radar.

Anomaly." The significance of each anomaly is based on the type and number of discontinuities found in the area and the likelihood of the disturbance having archaeological significance.

RESULTS

A total of 39 significant and six very significant anomalies were located by the ground penetrating radar survey. These areas are only the highest probability locations of archaeological features determinable by a radar survey. Some archaeological features cannot be detected by geophysical survey.

The northern end of Durango Street, near Club 101 and the Durango Street overpass, contained a very significant anomaly (Figure 7:4) which appears to be an acequia originally mapped by Anson Mills in his original plans for the building of the city of El Paso (Figures 0:3 and 7:5) in 1859. This anomaly is present between 78.45 meters and 38 meters and at an apparent depth of 80 centimeters.

Figure 7:6 shows the alignment of anomalies found along San Antonio Street in front of the current Civic Center complex superimposed on a map of the area before the street was modified to its current form. Radar anomalies in this area were very difficult to analyze because of the underground parking garage that runs the length of this portion of San Antonio Street. More features certainly exist here than the radar was able to detect.

Radar-detected anomalies, like the one on the southern end of Chihuahua Street (Figure 7:7), are widespread in the project area. These radar features are possibly trash pits, jacales, or living surfaces. This feature is only noted to illustrate what a typical anomalous area looks like.

The lot located at on the southeast corner of Leon Street and West Overland Street contains an east-west rectilinear irregularity in its southern region. Historic maps of this area show that a structure once stood in the area of the anomaly (see Mbutu, this volume). Any construction in this area will likely encounter archaeological features.

It is clear that construction activities in the project area will potentially impact archaeological features beneath the sidewalks and roads. Significant areas should be given special attention when they may be impacted.

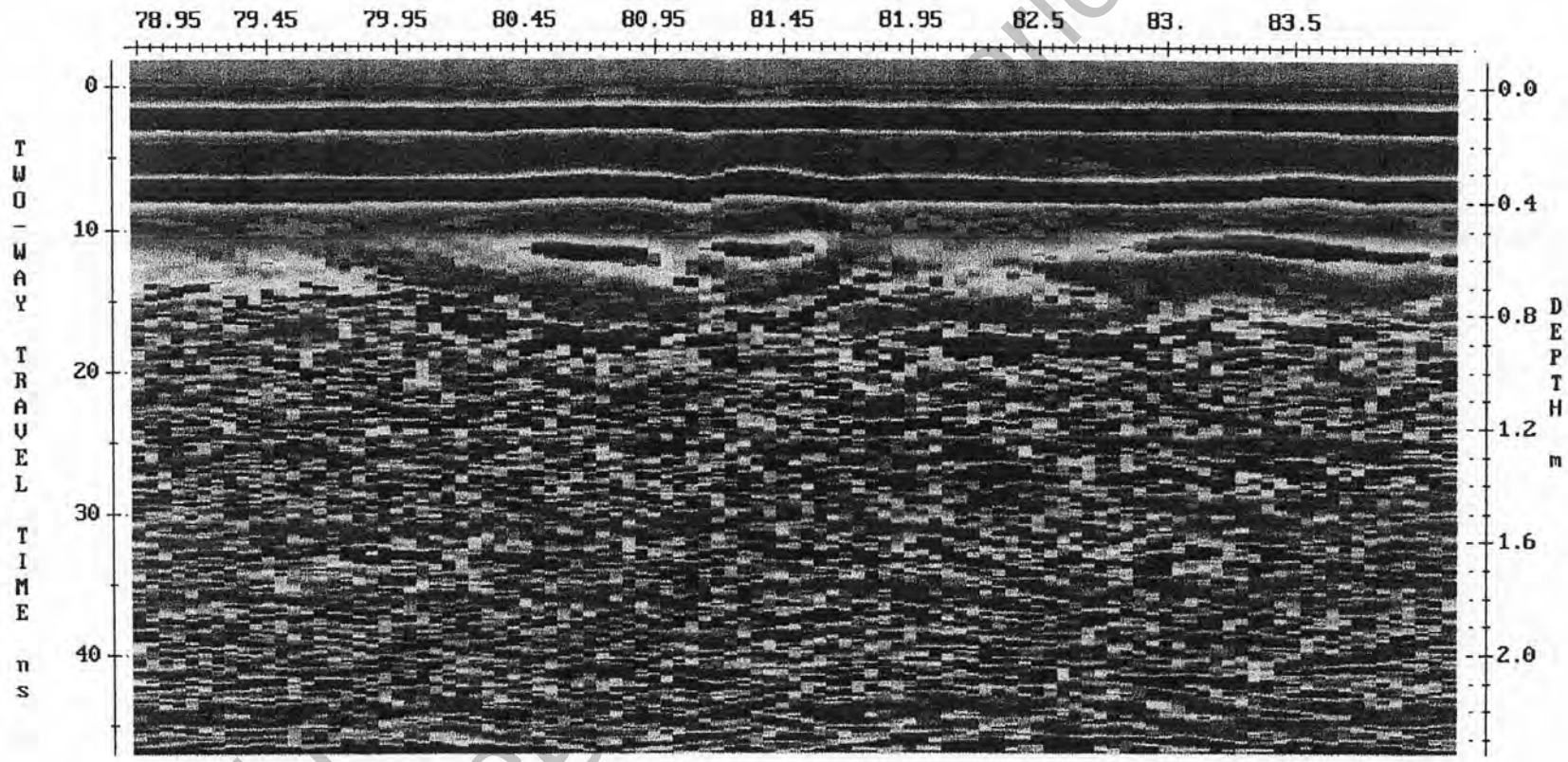


Figure 7:4. Acequia anomaly located on the northern end of Durango Street.

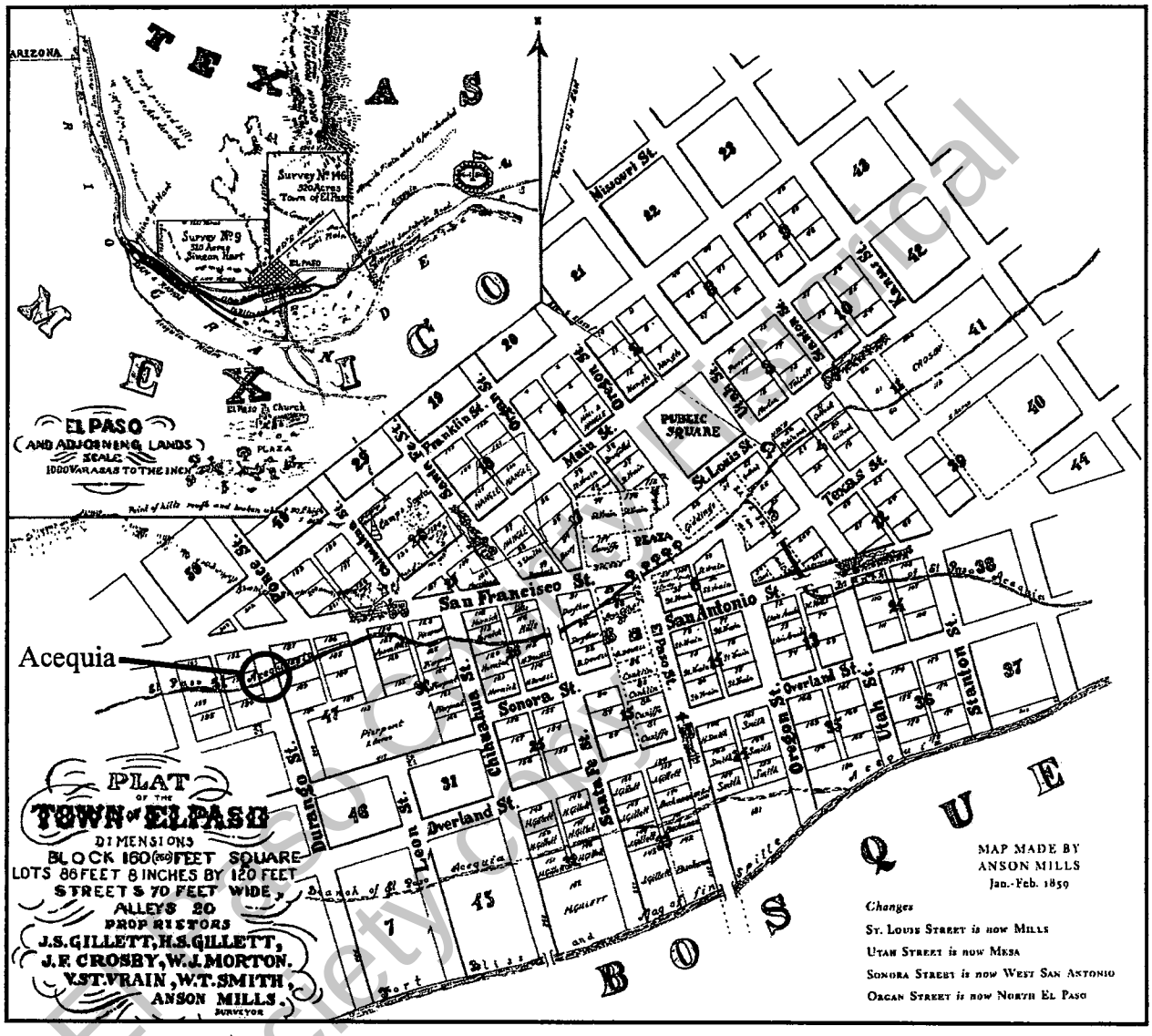


Figure 7:5. Location of acequia on Anson Mills Map of El Paso (1859) that corresponds with the radar anomaly in figures 7:3 and 7:4.

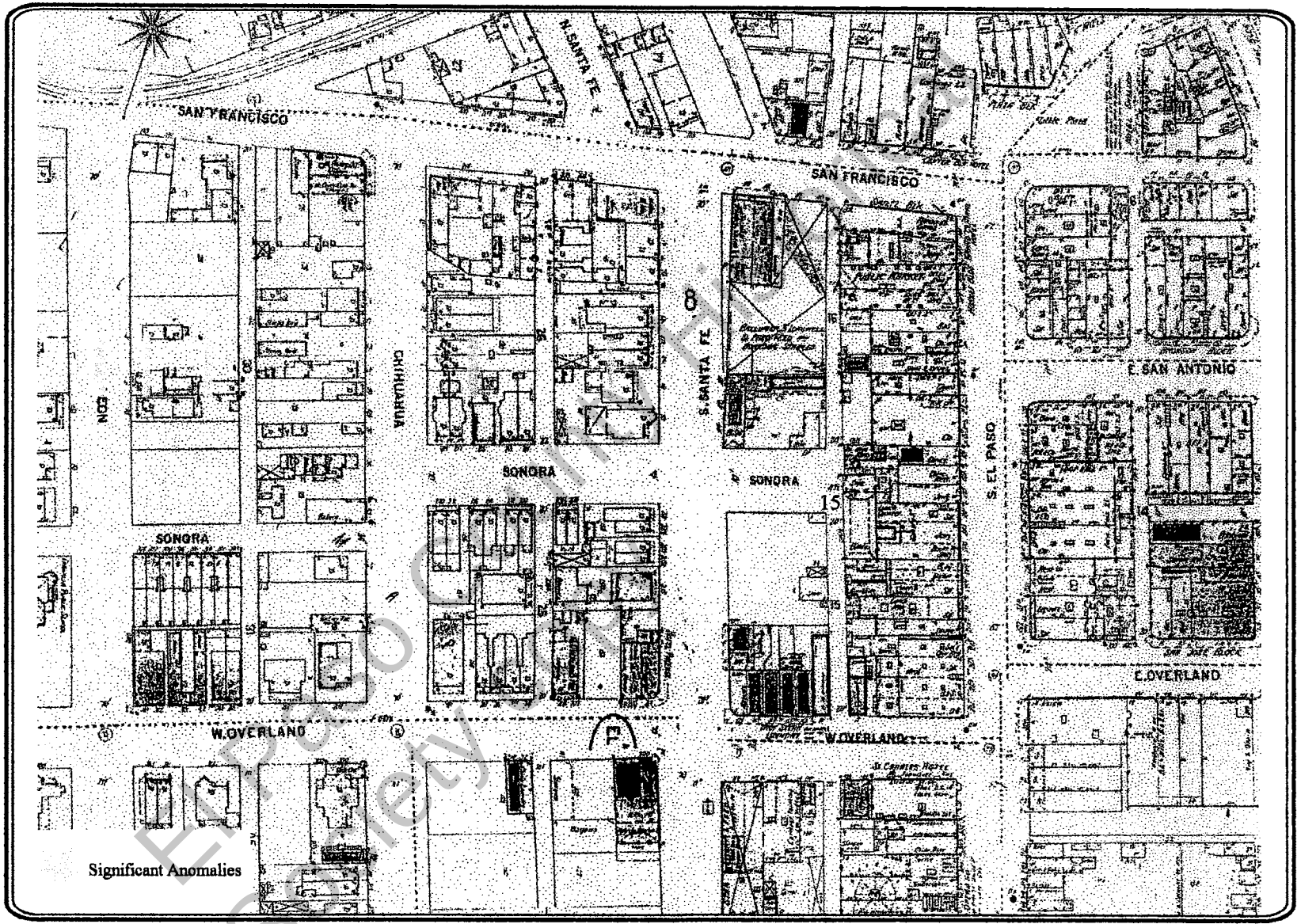


Figure 7:6. Anomalies found along San Antonio Street superimposed on the plat map before the street was modified.

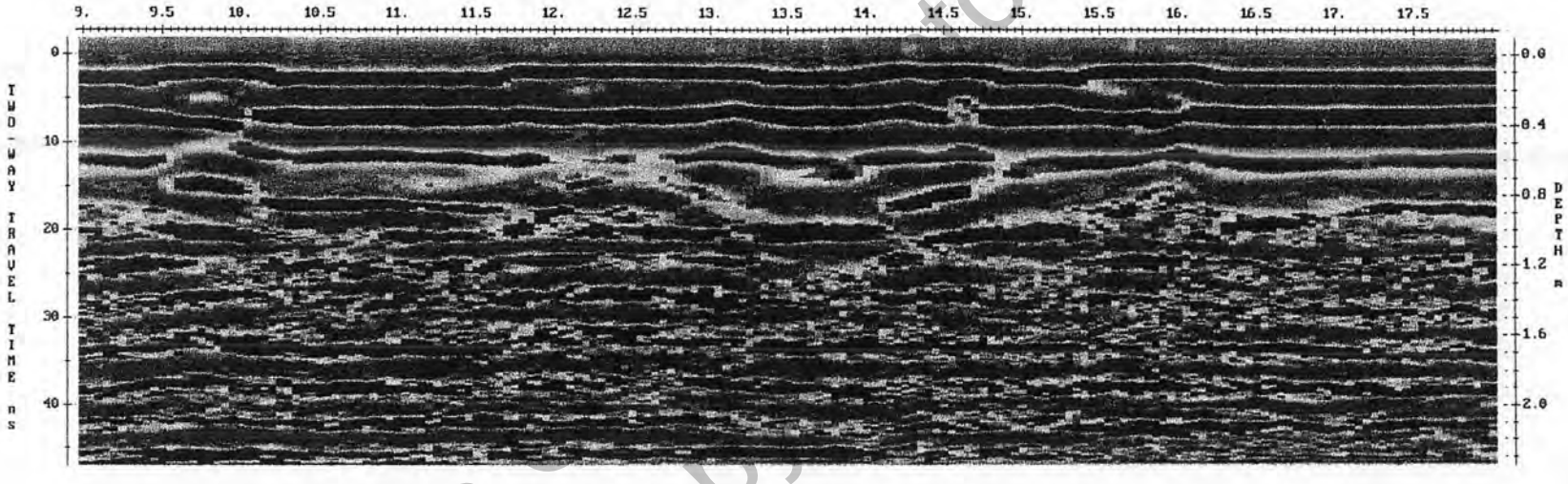


Figure 7:7. Anomalies located on southern Chihuahua Street.

CHAPTER 8
CONCLUSIONS

John Peterson

This report of the Union Plaza project presents the results of investigations into the historical and environmental background, oral history and ethnography of the more recent past, a summary of historical architectural properties, remote sensing investigations in the project area, and specific lot histories within the project area. These investigations draw on a diverse set of documentary, physical, and oral history data sources to compile an overview of the evolution of an urban landscape. Finally, this report provides recommendations for assessment of significance relevant to the designation of National Register of Historic Places properties and a proposed NRHP district within the Union Plaza project area.

El Paso del Norte was a key locale along the Spanish Colonial era Camino Real which linked Nuevo Mexico with Nueva Vizcaya and the mining frontier of northern New Spain. The pass itself was probably located at the gravel ford which is now adjacent to La Hacienda Café, the former Hart's Mill. That location is within a mile upstream from the Union Plaza area. The community of Paso del Norte, located where the present city of Ciudad Juárez has now developed, was the principal settlement near the pass; to the south, in the productive agricultural landscape of the Lower Río Grande Valley, the settlements of Ysleta, Socorro, and San Elizario flourished as the principal centers of colonial and Mexican era population and commerce on what since 1829 has been the "American" side of the river.

During the late colonial era and the early years of the Mexican Republic, the area immediately across the river from Paso del Norte was probably uninhabited brush flats within the flood channels of the Río Grande. The 1827 channel of the Río Grande was in fact very near what is now the Union Plaza district, and it was not until 1852 that the principal channel had shifted southward below what is now

Paisano Street. The earliest permanent settlement in the area would have been along the north bank of the 1827 channel, where Juan Ponce de Leon established his rancho and an acequia that took off from the Río Grande somewhere near the ford at Hart's Mill. Ponce de Leon established farming lands and orchards in what is now downtown El Paso, and his rancho was located where the Mills Building now stands adjacent to San Jacinto Plaza.

After Texas established El Paso as part of its independent territory in 1836, Ponce de Leon sold his ranch to Benjamin Franklin Coons. Coons developed a ranching and mercantile enterprise, and promoted the development of what was to become El Paso by providing a site for the American military post that served troops engaged in conflict with the Mexican Republic. His enterprise was short-lived; by 1851 the garrison was removed to San Antonio. In the following year Coons abandoned the property. Ponce de Leon reclaimed the ranch, but died soon after in 1852. When his heirs sold the property, it was platted as a potential town site by Anson Mills and developed into what was called Franklin until 1873 when it's name changed to El Paso. The present Union Plaza district is within the western end of the Mills plat, and, following the establishment of the Union Pacific terminal in 1881, began to flourish as a center of commerce, transient housing, and service enterprises such as restaurants, hotels, and brothels. Engine #1, which is now housed at the Centennial Museum at the University of Texas at El Paso, was one of the earliest rail engines in the area. It was the first locomotive purchased for the El Paso and Southwestern Railroad which hauled ore for the Phelps Dodge Mining Company from 1889 to the early 1920s. If sited at the Union Plaza project area, it would provide a visual reminder of the importance of railroad transportation to the evolution of El Paso.

It was during the period of florescence following the establishment of the east-west connection between the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards of the United States that the Union Plaza was at its height of prosperity and its most diverse and cosmopolitan urban landscape. Chinese who had immigrated to Mexico and the United States resided in the community to provide services such as laundry, restaurant, and entertainment businesses. Mexicans and Mexican-Americans worked in agricultural and service businesses, and at the newly established smelting industry in what was to become the

ASARCO smelter located upriver a short distance from the Union Plaza district; Euroamericans owned and operated businesses and property in the Union Plaza, and resided in the prosperous residential plat that was to become known as Sunset Heights, in the Satterthwaite plat north and uphill from the Union Plaza district. Many of the principal sites of El Paso were within the Union Plaza in those years. The second City Hall, one of the most imposing brothels, the Mansion, and a thriving warehousing and commercial enterprise occupied the late nineteenth century landscape of the Union Plaza district.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Union Plaza district was central to many of the political and commercial events and complexes of El Paso. Pancho Villa is said to have frequented a safe house where booty was stored; the smelting and transportation industries of El Paso were focussed in this area; a flourishing Chinese community operated here as well as further east in the San Jacinto Plaza part of downtown El Paso; the earliest location of Fort Bliss was established near the crossing at Hart's Mill; and the principal crossing points to what was to become Ciudad Juárez were built at the south end of Santa Fe and El Paso Streets just south of the Union Plaza district. Until 1892, when the river adjusted to what is approximately its present channelized location, the area between the Union Plaza and the Río Grande border with Mexico was either active flood plain or undeveloped except for vernacular barrios of adobe and mud houses. It wasn't until 1896 that the area south of the Union Plaza became incorporated into the town grid and developed more permanently. Even so, frequent disastrous floods scoured this area including the somewhat higher ground of the Union Plaza district.

After the turn of the century the Union Plaza, perhaps because of its site proximity to the railroad terminal and its transient as well as resident population of Mexican-Americans, Chinese, and Euroamericans hosted a diverse and relatively cosmopolitan population. The dominant Mexican culture was joined by African-Americans who, like the Chinese, were marginalized socially and culturally within a politically and economically dominated Euroamerican milieu. Businesses catering to these subaltern groups were located in the Union Plaza district and in the lands between it and the Río Grande. Informal spaces such as a park located south of the present Union Plaza

Depot and west of the Union Plaza district served as a playground for Mexican-American children and a site for social gatherings for their families; it also provided a setting for African-American musical events in the evenings. The Chinese created their own community sites in formal places like the Joss house and the tong headquarters; and their own informal spaces included second-story opium dens. Tunnels were reputedly built throughout the downtown and Río Grande area for smuggling of illegal Chinese immigrants and contraband. Transients flocked to the bars and brothels of the Union Plaza district as well as to the establishments along Utah Street (Mesa Street) to the east. Finally, the Franklin School, first established in the 1890s as an upscale alternative to the first El Paso public school, served an elite population which included not only Euroamericans and wealthy Juárenses who sent their children across the river. By the 1920s the Franklin School was replaced by a public school which became the principal public school for the Mexican-American community of the Union Plaza district and the rest of downtown El Paso.

During this era from 1881 up until the 1950s the railroad served as the principal transportation connection from east to west within the United States. During World Wars I and II troop trains traversed the continent and passed through El Paso. Transient soldiers used the Union Plaza district for recreation and other diversions, and also frequented Ciudad Juárez by way of the streets leading to the international crossing. In the last part of the 1950s the district was physically isolated from the more elite residential neighborhoods to the north by the construction of IH-10, which segregated the communities of downtown El Paso and also shifted commerce from its primarily rail connections to an increasingly highway based system within the United States. Development of transcontinental links by both rail and highway increasingly marginalized El Paso during this period, just as the construction of the highway marginalized the residential and commercial development of the downtown. The Union Plaza district emerged as a Mexican-American barrio known as *Durangito*, and its predominance in El Paso passed from a flourishing terminal area to a low-income ethnic community whose more recent years are documented by Campbell in this volume.

The architectural landscape of the Union Plaza district changed according to its historical place in the community. From its earliest years as part of the agricultural landscape of Ponce de Leon's

rancho, to early years of speculative development centered on the industries and transportation nexus of El Paso, the architecture changed from a mix of largely undocumented vernacular adobe and mud houses along the river to commercial enterprises including warehouses, commercial enterprises, and businesses servicing the transient and trade interests of the rail terminus. Laundries, chop houses, hotels, bars, and brothels serviced the business and traveller clientele, and these former two services were largely operated by Chinese. Mexican-Americans resident in the brick tenements of the Union Plaza district worked in the industries of the western fringe of El Paso. Commercial warehouse buildings increasingly dominated the architectural landscape throughout the years following the turn of the century.

Since the 1950s, the Union Plaza district has been primarily a mix of warehouses and tenement buildings, and its community life has been submerged within a largely commercial landscape. Nonetheless, the *Durangito* community and its identity has been preserved among the older residents of the neighborhood, many of whom are still resident there. Among the commercial buildings are still extant residential houses from the turn of the century such as stuccoed brick houses along Overland Street and the smaller gabled adobes along Leon and Durango Streets. A few more elaborate houses persist, but they are isolated among commercial and tenement buildings. The overall landscape of the district is a pastiche of these turn of the century structures that preserve its mixed residential, transient, and commercial character from that period.

Archaeological sites are presently unknown within the district, and but potential is indicated by remote sensing investigations with ground penetrating radar, and by the lot histories compiled from Sanborn maps and city directories. The agricultural landscape of the Ponce de Leon rancho included an acequia system remnants of which have also been documented by ground penetrating radar survey. Many of the locations of vernacular houses were destroyed by subsequent American plan developments, and the flourishing Chinese businesses were submerged by their subsequent uses. Notable buildings such as the original Franklin School no longer stand, and numerous buildings were razed for the relocation of San Antonio Street. Within these sites may be archaeological deposits that can document the ethnic and commercial occupancies that have been submerged within the

documentary history and erased in the urban landscape by the re-use of structures in the community. Open spaces such as the urban park used by both Mexican-American populations and by African-Americans have been covered by streetscapes along Paisano and Anthony Streets.

The present downtown development project is a notable effort to rehabilitate and restore the historical landscape of the Union Plaza district. Since the footprint of standing historical architectural structures mostly follows the original Mills grid plan, the streetscape in most parts of the district probably has few earlier archaeological remains. Landscaping with trees and paving stones will restore a pedestrian habitat to the district which has been largely destroyed by the efficiencies of asphalt and commercial access. Restoration of parks near Paisano Drive and Anthony Street and at a proposed fire and police station will once again provide public spaces for the resident community and for those attracted to the potential entertainment businesses which are being encouraged for the district. Urban transit will be promoted by a terminal area and trolleys already operating within portions of the downtown area.

This project has documented the social and economic history of the Union Plaza district, and also provides data toward its restoration as a livable urban space. Incorporation of extant architectural styles into proposed developments will help to augment the character of the district that is yet preserved in many of its structures. For example, the Italianate tower of the original fire station along Overland Street could be replicated in the proposed fire and police station near its original location. Details in streetscaping borrowed from the late nineteenth century standing structures and also from former buildings such as the Franklin School would provide visual links with the architectural history of the district. Finally, development of an historical marker program for the district could incorporate an interpretive approach for residents as well as visitors to the district commemorating the distinctive locations from an historical as well as historical architectural perspective. As the public sector has promoted the historical renovation of the district, the private sector could benefit from its designation as a National Register of Historic Places District. This could provide tax incentives and a basis for rehabilitation funding, as well as critically needed

guidance for the historical and architectural preservation and maintenance of the district. This report serves as the base line document for that effort.

Chapter 9
Recommendations

John Peterson

The Union Plaza has been proposed for development within an area of downtown El Paso, Texas, bounded by Paisano Drive on the south and west, San Francisco Street on the north, and Santa Fe Street on the east. The primary development will be streetscape enhancement with landscaping and utility improvements; other impacts include a police and fire station on the southeast corner of Leon and Overland, a parkscape between Paisano Drive and Anthony Street, and a transit terminal bounded by Leon, Durango, Overland, and San Antonio Streets which will consist of boarding areas for buses, staging areas for demand-responsive services, parking spaces, auto passenger drop off areas, and a covered passenger area with lighting landscaping, benches, and information kiosks and restrooms. Funding from the Federal Transit Administration invokes compliance with Sections 106 and 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act. Accordingly, the present report presents the results of historical overview investigations and potential historical contexts within which to evaluate the potential eligibility of historical properties for designation as National Register of Historic Properties. Further, as public property of a political subdivision of the State of Texas, the Texas Antiquities Code provides for listing and protection of historical properties in the project area.

The Union Plaza project area appears to have potential for designation as an NRHP District under criteria a, c and d of the National Historic Preservation Act, and as State Archaeological Landmarks as provided by the Texas Antiquities Code. Many of the historical architectural properties within the project area appear to be intact representatives of periods of the historical evolution of the El Paso urban environment (criterion a), as well as representative historical structures of architectural styles associated with this historical development (criterion c). Furthermore, these structures as well as archaeological deposits extant within the Union Plaza Project Area appear to have the potential to contribute data toward our understanding of the history of the project area (criterion d). For these

reasons, we recommend that a nomination be developed for eligibility as a National Register District. This designation will provide incentives for development and rehabilitation of the project area along historical themes and guidelines, as well as a recognition of the significant role that the structures and landscape of the project area has played in the urban evolution of El Paso. In all, there are forty-three contributing historic structures within the proposed district, of which twenty are eligible individually for listing on the NRHP (Table 5:1). In addition, the Railroad Roundhouse is also eligible for unclusion in the HRHP.

Furthermore, we recommend that additional sites and structures, important in the history of El Paso, within the Union Plaza project area be designated with historical markers as part of the historical marker program of the Texas Historical Commission, for commemoration of events and places within the district. At a minimum, these could include the following places, as discussed throughout this report:

1. Muehlebach Beer Distributorship site at 510 West San Francisco Street
2. Old City Hall site, 200 West Overland Street
3. Union Depot park site at 600 West San Francisco Street
4. Greentree Hotel sites, 604 West San Francisco Street
5. Hotel Bristol at 600(1/2) West San Francisco Street
6. Villista cache site at 329 Leon Street
7. Original Juan Ponce de Leon hacienda locale, centered at Mills Building
8. Juan Ponce de Leon acequia south of West San Francisco Street
9. Historical Río Grande channels from 1827 and 1852
10. Original Franklin School site at 203 Leon Street
11. Union Plaza Depot
12. The Mansion brothel, 306 W. Overland
13. El Paso Fire Department, 331 S. Santa Fe
14. Chinese settlement of downtown El Paso
15. Duranguito park site

16. Original Anson Mills town plan
17. Railroad roundhouse, W. Overland and Paisano streets
18. Floodplain barrios, Paisano south from Leon Street

The Union Plaza project area has potential for discovery of intact archaeological deposits documenting many of the periods and locales of downtown development in El Paso. Ground penetrating radar investigations conducted during this overview project confirm that potential. At a minimum, these include the location of buildings razed during the relocation of San Antonio Street in 1910-1911; the Juan Ponce de Leon acequia, historic river channels of the Río Grande; and the floodplain vecindades in the area of what is now Paisano Drive and Anthony Street where a public park is planned between Anthony and Durango streets. These areas of development on public property or within public rights-of-way should be monitored during development activities and should be evaluated for significance and integrity of deposits in the event that archaeological materials or features are encountered. Areas of privately owned properties within the project area should be monitored where public funding is provided for development.

Otherwise, it appears that this project can be developed within the constraints outlined above and without further cultural resource stipulations. In addition, should any cultural resource deposits be encountered during the course of the project, such discovery should be immediately reported to the Division of Antiquities Protection, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, Texas, and all work halted in the area of the discovery until consultation can be conducted with this agency.

REFERENCES CITED

Adams, E.B. (editor), and A. Chavez, (translator)
1956 *The Mission of New Mexico 1776: A Description by Fray Francisco Atanzsio Dominguez.* University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

American Fire Insurance Map, El Paso and Juárez.
1881 Sanborn-Parris Map Co., New York.

American Fire Insurance Map, El Paso and Juárez.
1893 Sanborn-Parris Map Co., New York.

American Fire Insurance Map, El Paso and Juárez.
1898 Sanborn-Parris Map Co., New York.

American Fire Insurance Map, El Paso and Juárez.
1900 Sanborn-Parris Map Co., New York

Arreola, D. D., and J. R. Curtis.
1993. *The Mexican Border Cities.* University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Batcho, D., D. Sick-Connelly, and B. Kauffman
1987 *Results of Cultural Resources Investigations at the City of El Paso Southeast Wastewater Treatment Plant, El Paso County, Texas.* Cultural Resources Report Number 17, Batcho & Kauffman Associates, Las Cruces, New Mexico.

Batcho, D., M. Canavan, B. Kauffman, and D. Sick
1989 *Historical Documentation, Archival Research, and Cultural Resources Evaluation at the Site of the Proposed Ysleta Health Clinic and W.I.C. Facility in the City of El Paso, Texas.* Cultural Resources Report Number 95, Batcho & Kauffman Associates, Las Cruces, New Mexico.

Barron, M. L.
1962 *American Minorities: A Textbook of Readings in Intergroup Relations.* Edited by Milton L. Barron. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Beckett, P. H., and T. L. Corbett
1994 *The Manso Indians.* COAS Publishing and Research, Las Cruces.

Books, W. B.
1983 "East Meets West: El Pasoans of Chinese Descent." *Password.* 28(2):58-66. El Paso Historical Society, El Paso.

Bolton, H.
1952 *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest.* New York.

Bowden, C. C.
1969 *The Ponce de Leon Land Grant.* Southwest Studies Monograph 24. Texas Western Press, El Paso.

Braddy, H.
1967 *Pancho Villa Rides Again.* Piasano Press, El Paso.

Brand, D.
1935 The Distribution of Pottery Types in Northern Mexico. *American Anthropologist* 37(2):287-305.

Brethauer, D. P.
1977 Summary of Cultural Development in the Hueco Bolson and Vicinity. In: *Settlement Patterns of the Eastern Hueco Bolson* by Michael E. Whalen. Publications in Anthropology No. 4, El Paso Centennial Museum, The University of Texas at El Paso.

Briscoe, E. E.
1947 *Pershing's Chinese Refugees: An Odyssey of the Southwest.* MA Thesis, Saint Mary's University at San Antonio, Texas.

Brown, D. O., and J. A. Peterson
1994 *Testing Phase Scope Of Work: Phase II Water Supply And Wastewater Project, Socorro, Texas.* Archaeological Research Inc. Submitted to the El Paso County Water District Authority.

Bryson, C.
1973 *The Land Where We Live: El Paso del Norte.* Aniversario del El Paso, El Paso.

Buck's Directory of El Paso 1902, Together with a Business Directory of Las Cruces,
1902 *Juárez, and Chihuahua.* Buck's, El Paso.

C. A. Gould & Co's General Directory of the City of El Paso For 1886-87.
1887 C. A. Gould and Co., El Paso.

Calleros, C., K. I. C.
1954 . *El Paso -- Then and Now.* American Printing Co., El Paso.

Canavan, M. G., and D. G. Batcho
1990 *An Archaeological Clearance Survey of the Proposed Jonathan W. Rogers Water Treatment Plant Project Area, El Paso County, Texas.* Cultural Resources Report Number 107, Batcho & Kauffman Associates, Las Cruces, New Mexico.

Carmichael, D.
1986 *Archaeological Survey of the Southern Tularosa Basin of New Mexico.* Historical and Natural Resources Report 3. Environmental Management Office, Fort Bliss, Texas.

Carmichael, D. C.
1986a Ephemeral Residential Structures at Keystone Site 37: Implications for Interpreting Prehistoric Adaptive Strategies in the El Paso Area. In: *Mogollon Variability*, edited by Charlotte Benson and Steadman Upham. The University Museum Occasional Papers, Number 15, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces.
1986b *Archaeological Survey in the Southern Tularosa Basin of New Mexico.* Historic and Natural Resources Report No. 3, Environmental Management Office, Directorate of Engineering and Housing, United States Army Air Defense Artillery Center, Fort Bliss, Texas. Publications in Anthropology No. 10, El Paso Centennial Museum, The University of Texas at El Paso.

Chen, J.
1980 *Chinese of America.* Harper & Row, San Francisco.

City of El Paso Department of Planning, Research and Development
1996 Union Plaza Redevelopment Plan.

Clyde, P. H., and B. F. Beers
1991 *The Far East: A History Of Western Impacts and Eastern Responses, 1830-1975.* Sixth Edition. Waveland Press, Prospect Heights, Illinois.

Conyers, L., and D. Goodman
1997 *Ground-Penetrating Radar: An Introduction for Archaeologists.* Altamira Press, Walnut Creek.

Cordell, L. S.
1984 *Prehistory of the Southwest.* Academic Press, New York.

Cowles Volume Library.
1969 Cowles, New York.

Department of Planning
1967 *A Short History of South El Paso.* City of El Paso.

Dillehay, T.
1997 *Monte Verde: A Late Pleistocene Settlement in Chile.* Smithsonian Institution Press,Washington, D. C.

Dils, L.
1966 Route of the Horny Toad Line. Boots and Saddle Press, El Paso.
El Paso Chamber of Commerce. 1911.

Di Peso, C. C., J. B. Rinaldo, and G. J. Fenner
1974 *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca, Vols. 1-3.* Amerind Foundation Series 9, Dragoon, Arizona.

Discovering Chinese Culture Through Tours and Interview.
1994 Video. El Paso: Independent School District.

Dowdell, D., and J. Dowdell
1972 *The Chinese Helped Build America.* Julian Messner, New York.

El Paso City Directory 1886-1887
1887 El Paso.

El Paso City Directory 1938
1938 Hudspeth Directory Company, El Paso.

El Paso Herald
1883 "Chinese Registration." April 5, 1883.

El Paso Herald
1892 "Chinese New Year." *El Paso Herald.* January 29, 1892.

El Paso Herald
1892 "Notice to Chinese." September 9, 1892.

El Paso Herald
1894 "Chinese New Year." *El Paso Herald.* February 5, 1894.

El Paso Herald
1904 "Finishing The Tunnel On The E. P. & S. W." Friday, January 15, 1904.

El Paso Herald
1904 "México's Railroads." Saturday, January 16, 1904.

El Paso Herald
1905 "Smuggling Chinese A Regular Business Here: Many Chinamen Engaged In It Declares Mr. Schmucker -- Coolies Carefully Coached in Their 'Duties.'" December 16, 1905.

El Paso Herald
1906 May 30.

El Paso Herald
1909 February 22.

El Paso Herald
1915 January 12.

El Paso Herald Post
1936 "Asiatic Labor Once Problem." May 28, 1936.

El Paso Herald Post
1972 November 7.

El Paso Herald Post
1974 July 22.

El Paso Herald-Post
1995 "Lean Season: Downtown retailers just hoping to get by." Friday, November 4, 1995. Vol. 115, No. 281. Author's name unknown.

El Paso Times
1925 May 17.

El Paso Times
1953 August 16.

El Paso Times
1953 November 5.

El Paso Times
1957 March 31.

El Paso Times
1979 December 30.

El Paso Times
1986 November 12.

El Paso Texas and Paso Del Norte, México, Business Directory for 1885
1885 Rackliff and Wainey, Albuquerque.

El Paso Directory Co.'s Directory of the City of El Paso 1888
1888 El Paso Directory Company, El Paso.

Esperanza, M. I.
1986 *Monograpfica Historia de Ciudad Juárez.* Imprenta Lux, Juárez.

Fairbank, J. K.
1994 *China, A New History.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Farrar, N. E.
1970 *The History Of The Chinese In El Paso, Texas: A Case Study Of An Urban Immigrant Group In The American West.* University Press, El Paso.

Faunce, K. V.
1997 *The Fort Bliss Preacquisition Project: A History of the Southern Tularosa Basin.* Conservation Division, Directorate of Environment, United States Army Air Defense Artillery Center, Fort Bliss, Texas.

Flynn, K.
1997 *Historic El Paso: An Illustrated History.* El Paso Mission Trail Association, El Paso.

Forbes, J. D.
1959 Unknown Athapaskans: The Identification of the Jano, Jocome, Jumano, Manso, Suma, and Other Indian Tribes of the Southwest. *Ethnohistory* 6(2):97.

Fowler, C. S.
1983 Some Lexical Clues to Uto-Aztekan Prehistory. *IJAL* 49(3).

Fox, A. A., M. Renner, and R.J. Hard
1997 *Archeology at the Alamodome: Investigations of a San Antonio Neighborhood in Transition.* Archeological Survey Report, No.236. Center for Archeological Research, The University of Texas at San Antonio.

Frost, H. G.
1983 *The Gentlemen's Club: The Story of Prostitution in El Paso.* Mangan Books, El Paso.

García, M. T.
1981 *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso 1880-1920.* Yale University Press, New Haven.

Gerald, R. E.
1973 The Suma Indians of Northern Chihuahua and Western Texas. In *The Changing Ways of Southwest Indians*, A. H. Schroeder, edito., pp. 1-33. Rio Grande Press, Glorieta, New Mexico.
1974 Aboriginal Use and Occupation by Tigua, Manso and Suma Indians. In *Apache Indians III*, edited by David A. Horr. Garland Publishers, New York.
1977a *An Archeological Survey of the Canutillo, Clint, and Fabens Sanitary Landfill Areas.* Report prepared for the County of El Paso, Texas.
1977b *An Archeological Survey of the Village East Estates Subdivision in East El Paso, Texas.* A Report prepared for Conde, Inc., El Paso, Texas.
1978 Survey of IH-10 in the Lower Valley of El Paso County, Texas. Ms. On file, Centennial Museum, University of Texas at El Paso.
1990 The Old Socorro Mission Site Test Excavations. In Collected Papers by Rex E. Gerald, Ph.D. *The Artifact* 28(3)1-29.

Gerhard, P.
1982 *The North Frontier of New Spain.* Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Greenberg, J. B.
1981 The External Relationships of the Uto-Aztekan Languages. Ms. on file, Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

Greene, F.
1962 *The Far East.* Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

Griffen, W. B.
1969 Culture Change and Shifting Population in Central Mexico. *Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona, Number 13.* Tucson.

1979 Indian Assimilation in the Franciscan Area of Nueva Vizcaya. *Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona, Number 33.* Tucson.

Gruber, A. A.
1993 "Tracing the Chinese in México through Their Covers." *The American Philatelist.* June.

Hamilton, N.
1976 *Ben Dowell: El Paso's First Mayor.* Texas Western Press Monograph 49, El Paso.

Hammond, G.,P., and A. Rey, (translators)
1929 *Expedition into New Mexico made by Antonio de Espejo, 1582-1583, as Revealed in the Journal of Diego Perez de Luxan, a Member of the Party.* The Quivira Society, Los Angeles.

Haury, E. J.
1936 *The Mogollon Culture of Southwestern New Mexico.* Gila Pueblo Medallion Paper 20, Globe, Arizona.

Hendricks, R.
1992 The Spanish Colonial History of Socorro and San Elizario, Texas. In *El Valle Bajo: The Culture History of the Lower Río Grande Valley of El Paso.* Edited by John A. Peterson and David O. Brown Archaeological Research, Inc. and Hicks and Co. El Paso.

Honig, B.
1984 *A Handbook for Teaching Cantonese-Speaking Students.* California State Department of Education. Bill Honig--Superintendent of Public Instruction, Sacramento.

Huspeth's Directory Co. El Paso City Directory 1920.
1920 Huspeth Directory Co.,El Paso

Huspeth's Directory Co. El Paso City Directory 1930.
1930 Huspeth Directory Co., El Paso.

Johnson, D. M., T. R. Fulgham, and L. S. Reed
1988 *Lincoln National Forest: Cultural Resources Planning Assessment.* Lincoln National Forest Report 1988-08-024. Lincoln National Forest, Alamogordo, New Mexico.

Kauffman, B. J.
1984 *The Vista Hills Site: Eight Thousand Years at the Edge of the Hueco Bolson.* Occasional Papers No. 11, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces.

Kelley, J. C.
1952 The Historic Indian Pueblos of La Junta de los Ríos. *New Mexico Historical Review* 27(4):257-295.

1956 Settlement Patterns in North-Central Mexico. In *Pre-historic Settlement Patterns in the New World,* edited G.R. Willey, Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc. New York.

Kessler, G.
1925 *The 1925 City Plan for El Paso, Texas.* El Paso.

Leach, J.D., H.W. Clark, and J.A. Peterson
1997 "Evidence for Mimbres Mortuary Practices in the Desert Lowlands of Far West Texas," for General Notes Section, Texas Journal of Science, 49.

Lehmer, D. J.
1948 *The Jornada Branch of the Mogollon.* University of Arizona Science Bulletin 17, Tucson.

Lister, F. C., and R. H. Lister
1989 *The Chinese of Early Tucson: Historic Archaeology from the Tucson Urban Renewal Project.* The University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Lynn, W. M., and B. J. Baskin
1975 *An Archeological Reconnaissance of Public Free School Lands, Tally Ranch, Hudspeth County, Texas.* Archeological Survey Report No. 14. General Land Office and Texas Historical Commission, Austin.

Lynn, W. M., B. J. Baskin, and W. R. Hudson, Jr.
1975 *A Preliminary Archeological Reconnaissance of Selected Public Free School Lands in El Paso County, Texas.* Archeological Survey Report No. 13. General Land Office and Texas Historical Commission, Austin.

Mbutu, S. K., Philip R. Waite, and Duane E. Peter
1996 *Results of Phase II Investigations and Recommendations For Phase III Data Recovery at 37 Archeological Sites In Selected Areas Of Maneuver Areas 1, 2, and 8; Fort Bliss, Texas.* Report of Investigations No. 88. Geo-Marine, Inc., Plano, Texas.

Mbutu, S. K., Philip R. Waite, and Duane E. Peter
1995 *Jefferson Proving Ground Cultural Resource Management Plan.* Miscellaneous Report of Investigations. Geo-Marine, Inc., Plano, Texas.

McAlester, V., and Lee McAlester
1984 *A Field Guide to American Houses.* Alfred A. Knof, New York.

MacNeish, R. S.
1989 *Defining the Archaic Chihuahua Tradition.* Annual Report of the Andover Foundation for Archaeological Research, Andover.
1991a *Preliminary Investigations of the Archaic in the Region of Las Cruces, New Mexico.* Andover Foundation for Archaeological Research, Andover.

1991b *Draft Progress Report. Pendejo Cave.* Andover Foundation for Archaeological Research, Andover.

MacNeish, R. S., and P. H. Beckett
1987 *The Archaic Chihuhua Tradition of South-Central New Mexico and Chihuahua, Mexico.* AS, Las Cruces.McCunn, R. L.

McCunn, R.L.
1979 *An Illustrated History of the Chinese In America.* Design Enterprises, San Francisco.

Metz, L. C.
1993 *El Paso Chronicles.* Mangan Books, El Paso.

Michener, J. A.
1959 New York: Random House, New York.

Miller, W. R.
1983 Uto-Aztekan Languages. In *Handbook of the North American Indians, Volume 10,Southwest,* edited by Alfonso Ortiz, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington.

Miller, M. R. III, and B. L. O'Leary
1992 The Ysleta Clinic Site: A Spanish Colonial Period Native American Settlement in the Lower Valley of El Paso, Texas. Batcho & Kauffman Associates, Cultural Resources Research Report No. 2. Las Cruces, New Mexico.

Mills, A.
1859 *Plat of the Town of El Paso.* El Paso.

Mills, W. W.
1962 *Forty Years at El Paso.* Carl Hertzog Press, El Paso.

Milner, C. A., II.
1996 *A New Significance: Re-Envisioning The History Of The American West.* Oxford University Press, New York.

Montejano, D
1987 *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986.* The University of Texas Press, Austin.

Morales, F.
1992 Chihuahuita, A Neglected Corner of El Paso. *The Password* 35(1). El Paso Historical Society.

Morrow, H. C.
1972 *Civic Center Site.* Unpublished Manuscript. On file at The Centennial Museum, El Paso, Texas.

Myers, T., D. E. Williams, and L. A. Marder
1995 *Property Descriptions, Significance Assessments and National Register Eligibility Determinations: Socorro Phase II, Socorro Phase III, and San Elizario.* Report Prepared for the El Paso Lower Valley Water District Authority and the Archeologic Research Inc. Hardy, Heck, and More Cultural Resource Management Consultants, Austin, Texas.

O'Laughlin, T. C.
1980 *The Keystone Dam Site and Other Archaic and Formative Sites in Northeast El Paso, Texas.* Publications in Anthropology 8, El Paso Centennial Museum, The University of Texas at El Paso.
1989 *The Loop 375 Archaeological Project, El Paso County, Texas: An Interim Report for Phase II Additional Testing and Recommendations for Phase III Data Recovery.* Archaeological Studies Program, The University of Texas of El Paso.
1990 *The Loop 375 Archaeological Project, El Paso County,Texas: An Interim Report for Phase III Data Recovery.* Archeological Studies Program, The University of Texas at El Paso.

O'Laughlin, T. C., V. Scarborough, T.B. Graves, and D. Martin.
1988 *An Interim Report for Phase II Testing and Phase III Recommendations for Data Recovery, Loop 375 Archeological Project, Fort Bliss Maneuver Area I, El Paso County, Texas.* Department of Sociology and Anthropology, The University of Texas at El Paso.

O'Leary, B., and M. G. Canavan
1989 *A Class I Overview and a Class III Survey of Cultural Resources Near the Montoya, Mesa, Middle, Ivey Road, Franklin, Franklin Spur, Playa and Playa Intercepting Drains and Three Basins in El Paso County, Texas.* Cultural Resources Report Number 96, Batcho & Kauffman Associates, Las Cruces, New Mexico.

Pearce, T. M.
1965 *New Mexico Place Names: A Geographical Dictionary.* University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Perkins, C. A.
1978 *Border Patrol, With the U.S. Immigration Service On the Mexican Boundary 1910-54.* Texas Western Press, El Paso.

Peters, S.
1974 "Legend Tells Of A Turtle, A Tunnel Under The River." *El Paso Times* May 13, 1974.

Peterson, J. A.
1994 A Cultural Perspective on the Lower Valley. In *Cultural Resource Survey in Socorro and San Elizario El Paso County, Texas*, edited by K. Weedman, D. O. Brown, and J. A. Peterson, pp. 11-22. Archaeological Research, El Paso.

Peterson, J. A., T. B. Graves, and D. V. Hill
1998 *The Edge of Empire: The San Elizario Plaza Archaeological Field School Project Report.* The University of Texas at El Paso. Report to the Texas Department of Transportation.

Peterson, J.A., and T. C. Knoles
1977 *Panch Villa: Intimate Recollections by People Who Knew Him.* Hastings House, New York.

Phillips, D. A.
1989 Prehistory of Chihuahua and Sonora, Mexico. *Journal of World Prehistory*, 3(4).

Rhoads, E. J. M.
197 7 "The Chinese in Texas." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly.* The Texas State Historical Association. 81(1), pp. 1-36.

Riley, C. L.
1995 *Rio del Norte: People of the Upper Rio Grande from the Earliest Times to the Pueblo Revolt.* University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Rokocy, B.
1980 *Images: El Paso del Norte.* Bravo Press, El Paso.

Rowland, T. A.
1984 *The Search for the Old Socorro Mission. MA Thesis,* Department of Anthropology, The University of Texas at El Paso.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of El Paso and Juárez from 1881.
1881 Microfilm. Chadwyck-Healey, Chicago.

Sale, M., J. Bertram, D. T. Kirkpatrick, and A.E. Rogge
1987 *Cultural Resources Technical Report for the US Telecom Fiber Optic Cable Project from San Timoteo Canyon, California to Socorro, Texas.* Human Systems Research, Inc. Tularosa, New Mexico.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of El Paso and Juárez from 1883-1950.
1950 Microfilm. Chadwyck-Healey, Chicago.

Schroeder, A.H.
1974 *A Study of the Apache Indians, Parts I, II, and III.* Garland Publishing Inc., New York.

Shafer, H. J., and R. L. Brewington
1995 Micostylistic Changes in Mimbres Black-on-white Pottery: Examples from the Nan Ranch Ruin, Grant County, New Mexico. *The Kiva* 61(1):5-29.

Simmons, M
1991 *The Last Conquistador: Juan de Oñate and the Settling of the Far Southwest.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Sonnichsen, C. L.
1968 *Pass of the North, Four Centuries on the Río Grande.* Texas Western Press, El Paso.

Spielmann, K. A.
1991 *Interdependence in the Prehistoric Southwest: An Ecological Analysis of Plains-Pueblo Interaction.* Garland

Staski, E.
1984 *Beneath The Border City.* Vol. 2. New México State University Press, Las Cruces.

Steiner, S.
1967 *Fusang: The Chinese Who Built America.* Harper & Row, New York.

Stewart, W.
1951 *Chinese Bondage in Peru: A History of the Chinese Coolie in Peru, 1849-1874.* Duke University Press, Durham.

Storti, C.
1991 *Incident at Bitter Creek: The Story Of The Rock Springs Chinese Massacre.* Iowa State University Press, Ames.

Sung, B. L.
1967 *Mountain of Gold: The Story of the Chinese in America,* New York.

Tanner, R. L., and J. C. Acklen
1986 *El Paso Southeast Assessment Study, Cultural Resources Assessment Report.* Prepared for U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Albuquerque District. Texas Historical Commission.

Thompson, M.
1988 Pickup Pueblo: A Late Prehistoric Ruin in Northeast El Paso. With contributions by M. T. García, R. E. Gerald, S. Barnett, M. Seme, and D. V. Hill. R. E. Gerald, editor. *The Artifact* 26(2):1-85. El Paso Archaeological Society.

Thompson, M., and P. H. Beckett
1979 *A Study of Prehistoric Campsites in Northeast El Paso.* Cultural Resources Management Division Report 310, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces.

Tice, B. W. Jr.
1987 A Description of Plainware Rim Sherds from the Old Socorro Mission Site. Unpublished MA thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, The University of Texas at El Paso.

Timmons, W. H.
1990 *El Paso: A Borderlands History.* Texas Western Press, El Paso.

1988 The Presidio of San Elizario, 1789-1851 *Password* 33(3):107-115, 141-142.

Vanderwood, P.J., and F.N. Samponaro.
1988 *Border Fury: A Picture Postcard of Mexico's Revolution and U.S. Preparedness, 1910-1917.* University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Vigil, J. D.
1980 *From Indians to Chicanos: The Dynamics of Mexican American Culture.* Waveland Press, Prospect Heights, Illinois.

Walz, V.
1951 *History of the El Paso Area, 1680-1692.* Ph.D Dissertation, University of New Mexico. Albuquerque.

Weedman, K., David O. Brown, and John A. Peterson
1994 *Cultural Resource Survey in Socorro and San Elizario El Paso County, Texas.* Prepared for El Paso County Lower Valley Water District Authority. Archeological Research, Inc., El Paso Texas; and Hicks and Company, Inc., Austin, Texas.

Whalen, M. E.
1977 *Settlement Patterns of the Eastern Hueco Bolson.* Anthropological Papers 4, El Paso Centennial Museum, The University of Texas at El Paso.
1978 *Settlement Patterns of the Western Hueco Bolson.* Anthropological Papers Number 6, El Paso Centennial Museum, The University of Texas at El Paso.

White, O.
1924 *Out of the Desert.* The MacMath Company, El Paso.

Worley's Directory of City of El Paso, Texas. 1898-1899.
1899 John F. Worley & Co., Dallas.

Worley's Directory of the City of El Paso, Tx. 1900.
1900 John F. Worley & Co., Dallas.

Worleys' Directory of the City of El Paso 1905
1905 John F. Worley & Co., Dallas.

Worley's Directory of the City of El Paso 1906.
1906 John F. Worley & Co., Dallas.

Worley's Directory of the City of El Paso 1910.
1910 John F. Worley & Co., Dallas.

Worley's Directory of the City of El Paso 1913.
1913 John F. Worley & Co., Dallas.

Worley's Directory of the City of El Paso 1915.
1915 John F. Worley & Co., Dallas.

Zamarripa, L.
1984 "Secrets of long ago, Legendary Sunset Heights dwelling hides darkened passageways." *El Paso Herald-Post.* Wednesday, May 9, 1984.

Zhao, X.
1995 *Chinese Immigration and American Business Interest.* MA Thesis, Department of History, The University of Texas at El Paso, July 1995.

APPENDIX

POPULATION DATA ON EL PASO'S CHINESE COMMUNITY:

El Paso County Census Data

Data from the Special Census of El Paso, Texas in 1916, pages 4 and 7, Tables 2 and 6: Chinese Resident Population of El Paso, Texas, Distributed by Sex, Color or Race, and Age, with Per Cent of Increase: 1916, 1910, and 1900.

From Table 2: Resident Population of El Paso, Texas, Distributed by Sex, Color or Race, and Age, with Per Cent of Increase: 1916, 1910, and 1900.

1900	
Total Population	15,906
Chinese	299
Percent of Population	1.9
1910	
Total Population	39,279
Chinese	228
Percent of Population	0.6
Increase since 1900	71
Percent Increase from 1900	23.7
1916	
Total Population	61,898
Chinese	243
Percent of Population	0.4
Increase since 1910	15
Percent Increase from 1910	6.6

From Table 4: Resident Population of El Paso, Texas, Distributed by Color or Race and by Sex: 1916, 1910, and 1900.

1900	
Total Population	299
Males	297
Male Percent	99.3
Females	2
Female Percent	0.7

1910

Total Population	228
Males	225
Male Percent	98.7
Females	3
Female Percent	1.3

1916

Total Population	243
Males	239
Male Percent	98.4
Females	4
Female Percent	1.6

From Table 5: Is given a comparative summary for 1916 and 1910, showing the sex and age distribution of the resident population and of each of its racial elements.

1910

Total Number of Males	225
Males 5 and Under	0
Males 6 to 20	16
Males 21 and Over	209
Total Number of Females	3
Females 5 and Under	0
Females to 20	1
Females 21 and Over	2

1916

Total Number of Males	239
Males 5 and Under	0
Males 6 to 20	8
Males 21 and Over	231
Total Number of Females	4
Females 5 and Under	2
Females to 20	1
Females 21 and Over	1

From Table 6: Shows, for 1916, the resident population of school age (7 to 16 years, inclusive), classified according to color or race and by sex.

1916	
Total	3
Percent of Population	-- (less than one-tenth of 1%)
Males	3
Male Percent	0.1
Females	0
Female Percent	0

Compilation of Data from the 1916 El Paso Special Census

	1900	1900	1916
Total Population	15,906	39,279	61,898
Chinese	299	228	243
Chi. Percent of Pop.	1.9	0.6	0.4
Chinese Males	297	225	239
Chi. Male Percent	99.3	98.7	98.4
Chinese Females	2	3	4
Chi. Female Percent	0.7	1.3	1.6
Increase since 1900		71	15
Percent Increase		23.7	6.6
Females under 5		0	2
Females 6 to 20		1	1
Females 21 and Over		2	1
School Age Males 7 to 16			3
% of School Age Males 7 to 16			0.1
School Age Males 7 to 16			0
% of School Age Females 7 to 16			0

Data from Farrar Thesis, p. 110
*This table includes Japanese and Filipino, as well as Chinese, as no separate figures are available for the Chinese.

Chinese Population of El Paso and Texas

Year	Resident Population/El Paso	Chinese in El Paso	Chinese in TX	
1880	736	None	136	
1890	10,338	312	710	(44%)
1892	13,200	500	-----	
1895	15,468	210	-----	
1900	15,906	299	836	(36%)
1902	30,000	700 (highest)	-----	
1904	34,281	600	-----	
1905	36,600	350	-----	
1910	39,270	228 (lowest)	595	(38%)
1916	61,898	243	-----	
1920	77,560	-----	773	
1930	102,421	-----	703	
1940	96,810	-----	1,031	
1950	130,485	245	2,435	(10%)
1960	276,687	*1,493	4,153	

Data from Sung, *Mountain of Gold*, p. 320.
Chinese in the U.S.: Sex and Sex Ratio for 1860 - 1920

Year	Male	Female	Sex Ratio
1860	33,149	1,784	1858:1
1870	58,633	4,566	1284:1
1880	100,686	4,779	2106:8
1890	103,620	3,868	2678:9
1900	85,341	4,522	1887:2
1910	66,856	4,675	1430:1
1920	53,981	7,748	695:5

Potential Sites of Chinese Occupation within the Union Plaza Renovation Area:

600 S. Florence	1930	Grocer
404 Main near So. Pacific Depot	1902	Chinese Laundry
Corner W. Overland & Santa Fe	1888	Chinese Laundry
W. Overland between El Paso & Santa Fe	1888	Lung See
211 W. Overland	1900, 1902	Chinese Laundry
212 W. Overland	1898-1899	
	1902	Chinese Laundry
103 San Antonio	1898-189	Chinese Restaurant
	1902, 1905	Chinese Restaurant
	1906, 1910	Chinese Laundry
105 San Antonio	1910	Japanese Restaurant
	1910	Chinese/Japanese Theater
106 San Antonio	1898-1899	Chinese Restaurant
	1900, 1902	Chinese Restaurant
108 San Antonio	1902, 1905	Chinese Restaurant
	1906	Chinese Restaurant
223 San Antonio	1888	Chinese Restaurant
	1898-1899	Chinese Restaurant
	1900	Chinese Restaurant
225 San Antonio	1888	Chinese Physician
304 San Antonio	1898-1899	Chinese Physician
	1898-1899	Chinese Restaurant
	1898-1899	Chinese Tea Dealer
	1900, 1902	Chinese Restaurant
313 San Antonio	1900	Chinese Laundry
317 San Antonio	1905, 1906	Chinese Restaurant
321 San Antonio	1898-1899	Chinese Laundry
371 San Antonio	1902	Chinese Restaurant
406 San Antonio	1915	Chinese Restaurant
406 1/2 San Antonio (East)	1915, 1920	Chinese Physician
410 San Antonio	1905,1906	Chinese Laundry
414 San Antonio	1888	Chinese Laundry
	1888	Chinese Restaurant
	1898-1899	Chinese Laundry
	1900, 1902	Chinese Laundry
	1910	Chinese Restaurant
Corner San Francisco & S. Leon	1888	Chinese Laundry
108 San Francisco	1900	Chinese Merchandise
103-110 San Francisco	1915	Chinese Restaurant
122 San Francisco	1910	Chinese Restaurant
Corner S. Santa Fe & Second	1888	Chinese Laundry
316 1/2 S. Santa Fe	1930	Chinese Restaurant

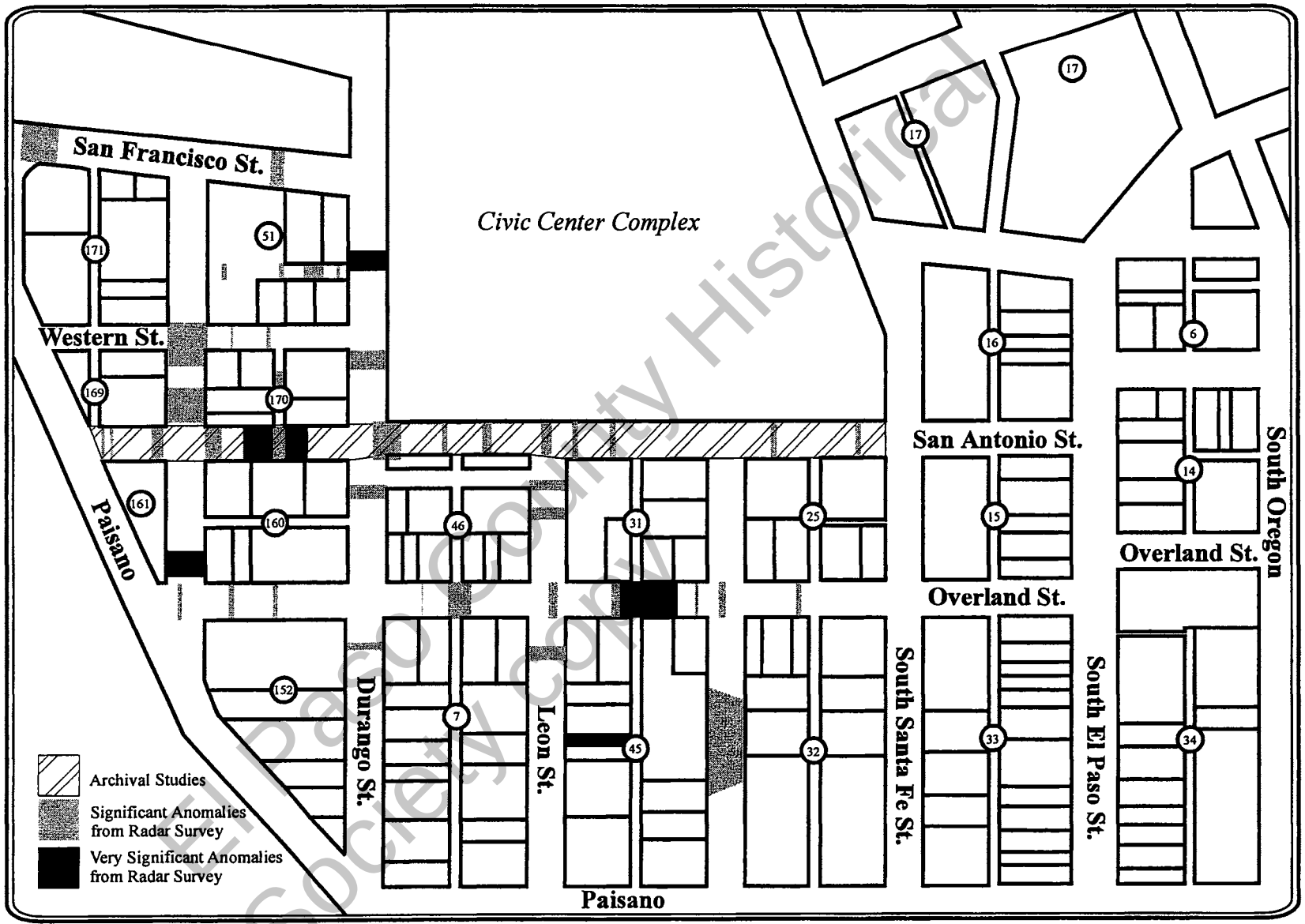
Data from *Texas Vistas*: Selections *From The Southwestern Historical Quarterly.*
Table 2 Jordan: Ethnic Change, 1836-1986

Selected Origin Groups in Texas, 1980

Asian

119,000	Number of Persons Wholly of this Origin
17,692	Number of Persons Partially of this Origin
136,792	Total
1%	Total as a Percentage of Respondents

These figures excludes Middle Easterners, includes Pakistanis.
Original Source: 1980 Census of Population, *Ancestry of the Population by State: 1980,* Supplementary Report, PC80-S1-10 (Washington, D.C., 1983).



Appendix B: Composite map of areas of potential archaeological significance in the Union Plaza project with location of anomalies found by ground-penetrating radar and results of archival studies.