

A CEMETERY AND WHAT FOLLOWED

An Assessment of Cultural Resources for the Proposed Pima County Justice Courts Complex, Tucson, Arizona

By Scott O'Mack

**with contributions by
Simon Herbert, Pamela Asbury-Smith and Amelia Natoli**

Prepared for the
Pima County Administrator's Office
Archaeology and Historic Preservation
201 North Stone Avenue
Tucson, AZ 85701-1207

Pima County Contract No. 16-04-S-132910-0703
Work Order HYX937



Technical Report 05-22
Statistical Research, Inc.
P.O. Box 31865
Tucson, AZ 85751

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The author would also like to acknowledge the contributions of three SRI staff members. Simon Herbert documented the four buildings that still stand in the project area, wrote the building descriptions used in the report, and completed the corresponding Arizona Historic Property Inventory forms. Pamela Asbury-Smith helped create the appendix of city directory information. And Amelia Natoli culled property ownership information for the project area from the tract books kept at the University of Arizona Library, Special Collections. This report was produced through the many contributions of SRI's talented cartography, graphics, and production departments.

Project Background

Pima County plans to build a new Justice Courts complex in downtown Tucson. The general location of the proposed multistory building is an area bounded by North Stone Avenue on the west, Toole Avenue on the north, East Alameda Street on the south, and the vicinity of Grossetta Avenue on the east (Figure 1). The actual footprint of the construction project has yet to be determined and may occupy only part of the general project location. Statistical Research, Inc. (SRI) was contracted by Pima County to carry out a detailed assessment of known cultural resources within and adjacent to the general project location (hereafter, the project area). This report presents the results of the assessment, which was carried out in January–May 2005.

The research for this report consisted of a review of primary and secondary historical sources at the libraries of the Arizona Historical Society (AHS) and the University of Arizona, both in Tucson, and of archaeological literature and site records at the Arizona State Museum, also in Tucson. For the historical research, we also consulted sources at additional locations in Tucson and via the Internet, as we discuss in more detail later in the report.

The report has five chapters. This chapter continues with a culture-historical overview of Tucson and its vicinity, establishing a general context for understanding cultural resources in the project area. Chapter 2 is a close look at the early history of the project area, when it encompassed, at least partly, a formally established cemetery commonly known as the National Cemetery, abandoned around 1884. Chapter 3 is a close look at the development of the project area in the period 1900–1960, first as a primarily residential area, then as a commercial area. Chapter 4 describes known archaeological sites and other historic properties in and near the project area, presents our documentation of the buildings that still stand there, and discusses the project area’s archaeological potential. Chapter 5 summarizes the results of the assessment and provides recommendations for the treatment of cultural resources in the project area.

Culture and History in Tucson before 1871

Tucson officially became an American town in 1871 when a small group of residents, mostly Anglo-American merchants who had settled there in the preceding decade, decided to request a donation of lands from the federal government for a town site. To comply with the provisions of the Congressional Town Site Act of 1867, they organized an election of town officers. Sixty-six residents voted, electing a mayor and four councilmen, and the newly incorporated Village of Tucson soon filed a town site claim with the General Land Office (GLO). A year later, after an initial misstep in determining the size and location of the town site, an official survey and map were approved by the mayor and council (Bufkin 1981:68–70; Pederson 1970). The new town site occupied two full sections, or 1,280 acres, just east of the Santa Cruz River and encompassing the small, ramshackle town that had grown up around the old Spanish presidio. Today, downtown Tucson still corresponds more or less with the original 1872 town site of Tucson but is dwarfed by the surrounding suburban development of the Tucson Basin (Figure 2).

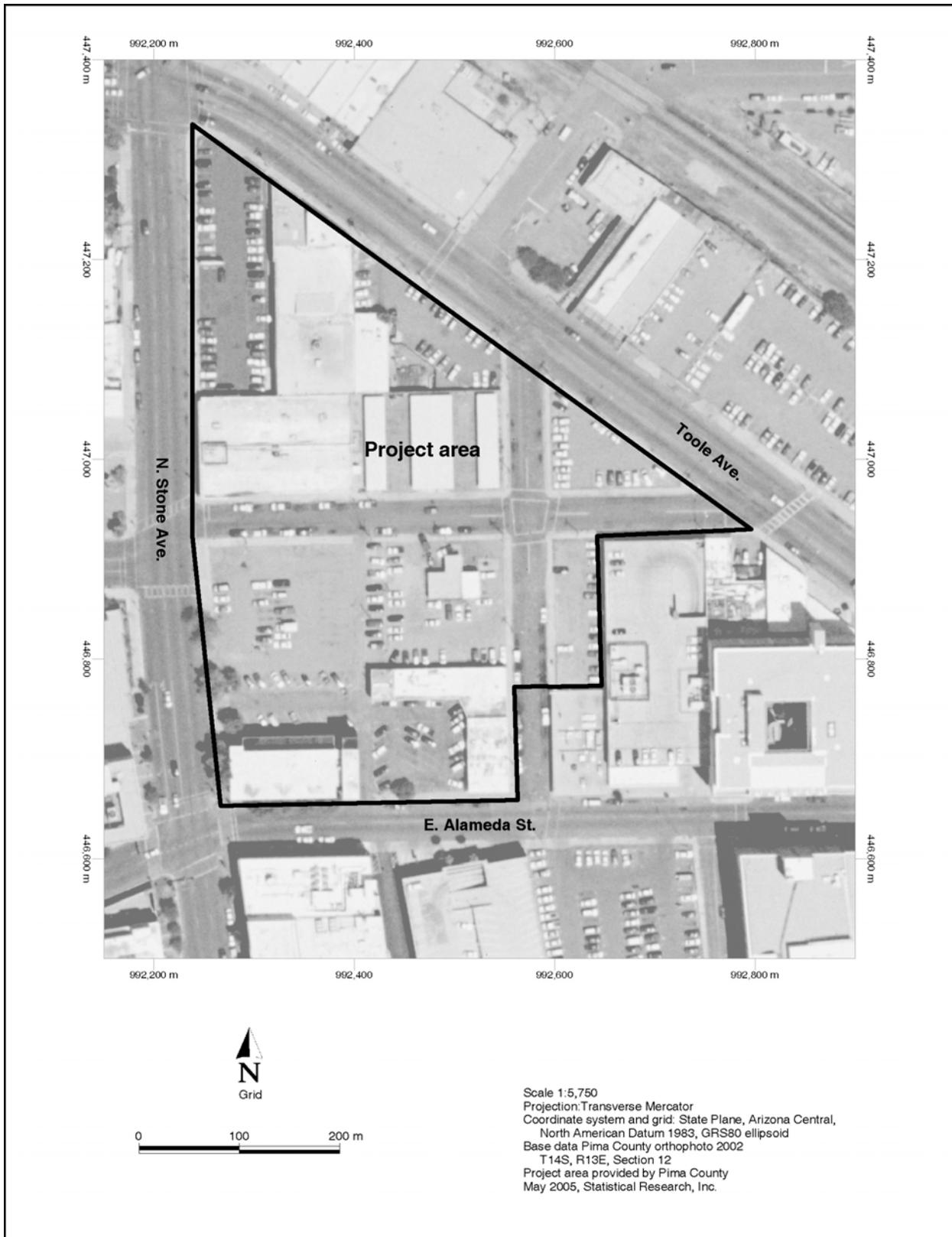


Figure 1. Modern aerial photograph of the project area (2002). The L-shaped building in the lower right corner of the project area was razed recently.

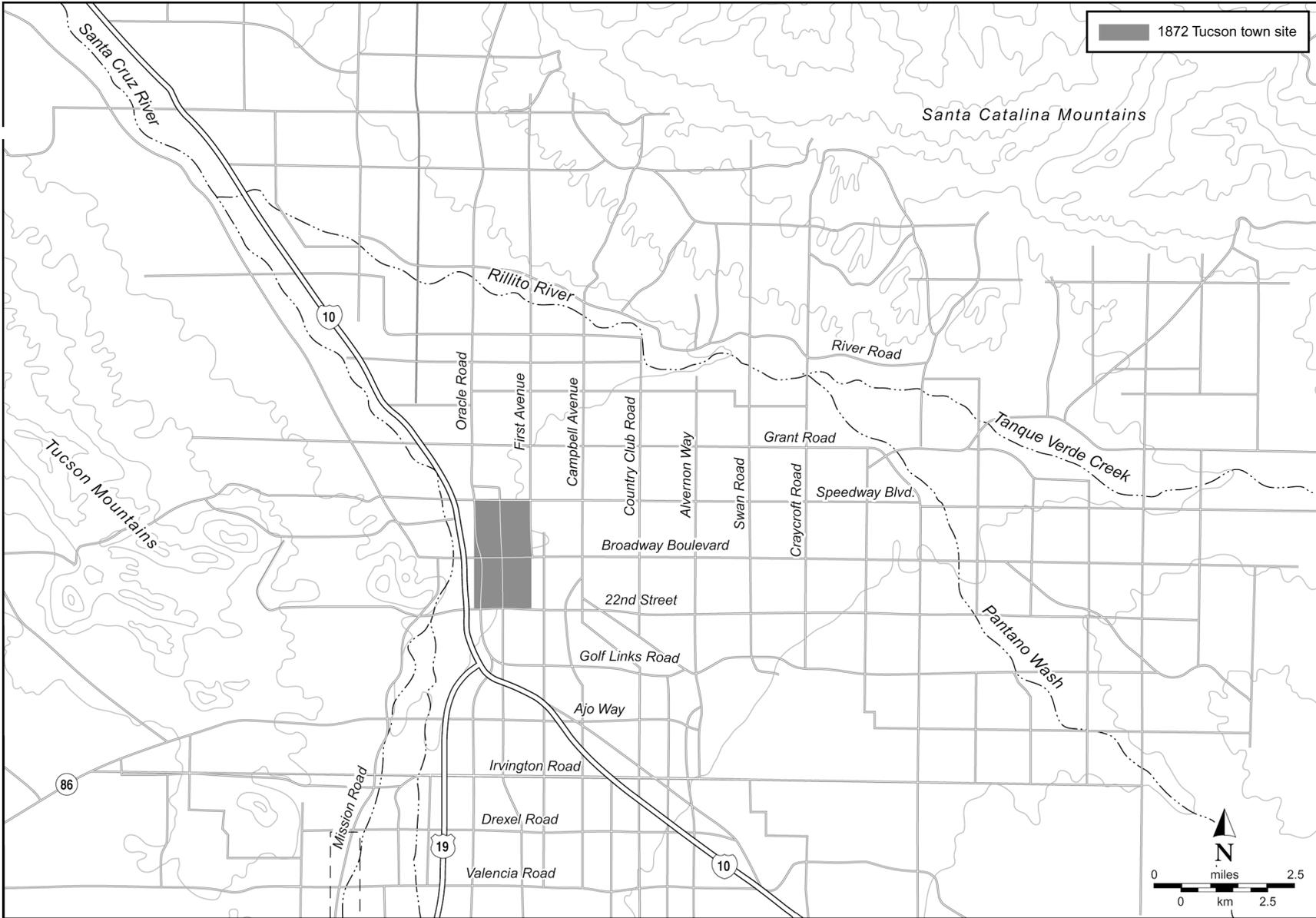


Figure 2. Location of the 1872 Tucson town site within greater modern Tucson.

Sonnichsen (1982:91) wrote that the incorporation of Tucson in 1871 marked the moment that Tucson “ceased to be a Mexican town and became an Anglo community.” Mexican-Americans actually remained the majority of Tucson’s population for another thirty years (Sheridan 1986:3), but the formal establishment of a town with a grid of streets and blocks, and ownership regulated by a city council, ensured that the steady transfer of lands from Mexican-Americans to Anglo-Americans, underway since the Gadsden Purchase of 1854, would only quicken. The incorporation of Tucson was also a significant moment in the history of the project area, when its status as an area just beyond the settled portion of town changed to a place delimited by regular streets and reserved by the new municipal government for a particular use (as a cemetery). The things that happened in the project area after 1871 are well documented in written sources and are the subject of Chapters 2 and 3 of this report. The things that happened in the project area before 1871, with a few late exceptions, are known only in the general terms of what happened in Tucson and the wider vicinity, and that is the subject of the paragraphs below.

Native American Culture History in Southern Arizona

The focus of human occupation in the Tucson Basin shifted numerous times in prehistory, but it always included at least one section of the Santa Cruz River, and the section that ran just west of modern Tucson was among the most heavily used in later prehistoric times. It holds many of the largest and most-significant Native American archaeological sites in the Tucson Basin and was also home to a large Native American population when the village that became San Xavier del Bac was first visited by Spaniards at the end of the seventeenth century. The mountains that surround the Tucson Basin, and the extensive *bajada* slopes that join the mountains to the narrow Santa Cruz floodplain, were also long used by Native Americans. The project area, situated on a low *bajada* slope less than a mile east of the Santa Cruz, was likely used by Native Americans throughout the prehistoric cultural sequence (Figure 3).

The following paragraphs are a summary of Native American culture history in the Tucson Basin during prehistoric times, along with a discussion of selected Native American cultures of the historical period. For a more detailed discussion of Native American culture history in the Tucson Basin, the reader is referred to recent overviews of the subject (O’Mack and Klucas 2004; Whittlesey 2000a, 2000b).

Paleoindian Period

The earliest human occupation of the Americas is generally associated with the Paleoindian period (10,500–8500 B.C.). Paleoindian culture was characterized by a hunting-and-gathering economy and small, highly mobile bands adapted to a climate that was cooler and wetter than today. Paleoindian sites are often associated with the remains of extinct species of mammoths, camels, and giant ground sloths, leading many archaeologists to consider big-game hunting the focus of the Paleoindian economy.

Despite a considerable number of buried Paleoindian sites in southeastern Arizona, most notably along the San Pedro River (Haury 1953; Haury et al. 1959), very little evidence of a Paleoindian presence in the Tucson Basin has been found. The sparse remains that do exist consist of isolated surface finds of Clovis projectile points (Huckell 1982). These isolates include points from the Avra Valley, the Valencia site (AZ BB:13:15) (Doelle 1985:181), the San Xavier District of the Tohono O’odham Nation, and the Tucson Mountains (Huckell 1982). The absence of buried Paleoindian sites in the Tucson Basin and along the Santa Cruz has been variously attributed to a lack of deep excavations in the heavily aggraded Santa Cruz River floodplain (Huckell 1982), a massive erosional event that removed these deposits

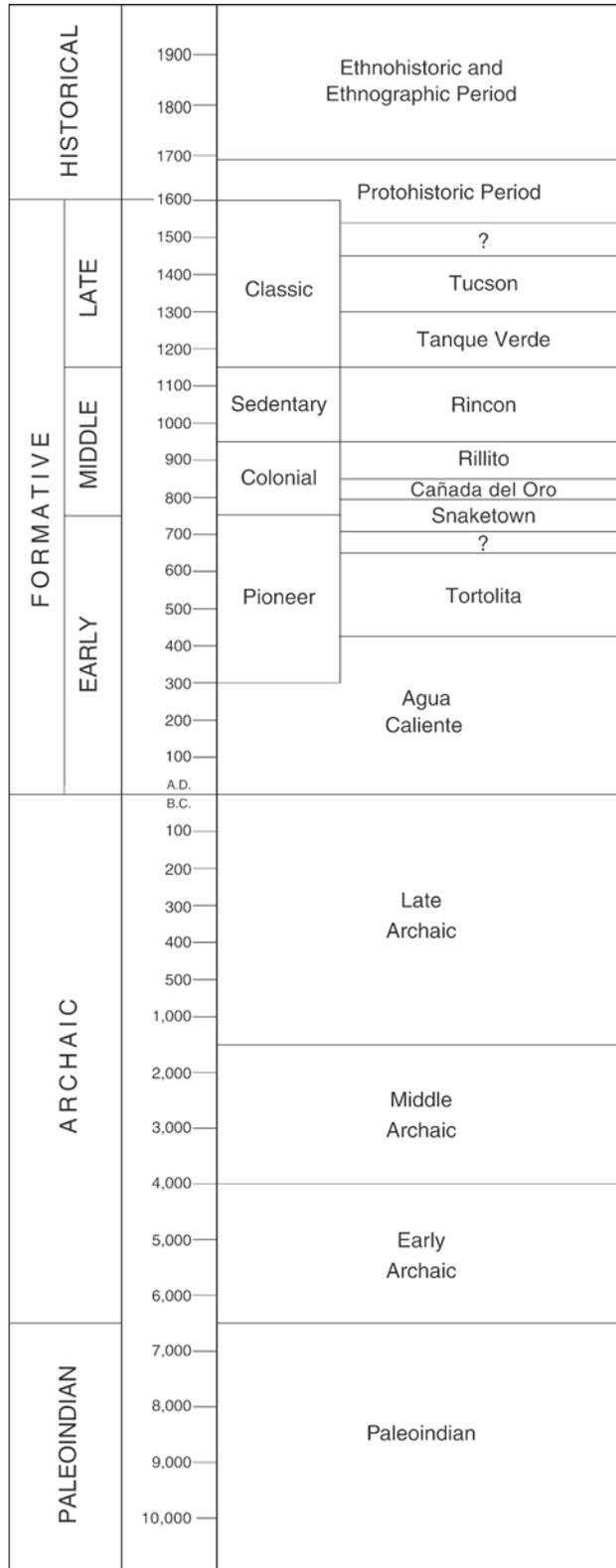


Figure 3. Chronology of Native American culture history in southern Arizona.

(Haynes and Huckell 1986; Waters 1988), and sporadic, low-intensity use of the Tucson Basin by Paleoindians, resulting in an inherently sparse archaeological presence (Whittlesey et al. 1994:109).

Post-Clovis Paleoindian materials are all but nonexistent in the Tucson Basin. Huckell (1982) described two points from two sites just outside the Tucson Basin that resembled Plainview points. One point came from the Tortolita Mountains and the other from the lower San Pedro River valley.

Archaic Period

The Archaic period is relatively better known in southern Arizona than the preceding Paleoindian period. This is especially true of the later portion of the period and is largely the result of a recent explosion in contract archaeology related to development in and around the Santa Cruz River floodplain, especially in the area just west of downtown Tucson. Similar to the Paleoindian period, the Archaic period was characterized by an economy based on the gathering of wild plant and animal resources. The Archaic period differs from the Paleoindian period, however, in the greater diversity of plant and animal species that were exploited. This more diverse subsistence base undoubtedly lessened the need for a highly mobile way of life.

The Archaic period has traditionally been divided into three periods: the Early Archaic period (8500–4800 B.P.), the Middle Archaic period (4800–1500 B.P.), and the Late Archaic period (1500–200 B.P.) (Huckell 1984:138). Whittlesey (2003:52) has discussed the recent confusion in terminology related to the expanding Archaic database and the terminological dilemmas resulting from the recognition that agriculture is considerably older in the southern Southwest than once believed.

Early Archaic Period

The Early Archaic period is poorly known in southern Arizona and is especially underrepresented in the archaeological record of the Tucson Basin. In fact, as Huckell (1984:137) has reported, the Tucson Basin has yielded no direct evidence for an Early Archaic occupation. Once again, it is probably an investigative bias rather than a lack of occupation in the region that has created this gap in knowledge. At present, the Early Archaic is known in detail only at sites in the Sulphur Springs Valley of southeastern Arizona. There, Sayles defined the Sulphur Spring and Cazador stages of the Cochise culture based on the presence or absence of projectile points at sites along Whitewater Draw (Sayles 1983, based on work first published as Sayles and Antevs 1941). These Early Archaic deposits are characterized by frequent milling stones and flaked stone tools, excluding projectile points in the Sulphur Spring stage but including a variety of point types in the Cazador stage. More recently, Whalen (1971) challenged the validity of the Cazador stage, suggesting that it and the Sulphur Spring stage are simply variant expressions of the same cultural phenomenon.

Middle Archaic Period

In contrast to the Paleoindian and Early Archaic periods, the Middle Archaic period is relatively well known in southern Arizona and the Tucson Basin. In southern Arizona, the Middle Archaic period includes the Chiricahua stage of the Cochise culture, known from sites in the San Pedro River valley and Sulphur Springs Valley (Sayles and Antevs 1941), and the Amargosan I and II stages of the Amargosan tradition, known from sites in the Papaguería and the lower Colorado River valley (Rogers 1939).

The economy of the Middle Archaic period was based on the exploitation of a number of environmental zones. Small base camps and limited-activity sites associated with resource procurement and processing are common in upland and *bajada* environments (Huckell 1984b:139–140). The data are sparse, but Middle Archaic peoples probably practiced a seasonally organized procurement strategy that emphasized upland environments in the fall and lowland areas during the rest of the year (Whittlesey 2003:54–55). In contrast to the preceding Early Archaic period, projectile points are common at Middle Archaic sites, but the large floodplain villages of the Late Archaic period have not been documented for the

Middle Archaic (Huckell 1984b:139), and only recently have excavations of a Middle Archaic site been undertaken on the Santa Cruz River floodplain (Gregory 1999).

Excavation of the Middle Archaic component at Los Pozos, a site on the Santa Cruz River floodplain several miles north of downtown Tucson, has produced a single direct radiocarbon date on maize of 4050 B.P. (Gregory 1999:118). This date helps to push back the timing of the introduction of maize in the Southwest and is consistent with other material recovered from sites in and along the Santa Cruz River floodplain, suggesting that maize agriculture and irrigation had a long history of codevelopment in this environment (see also Ezzo and Deaver 1998). Although no irrigation features were recorded in the Middle Archaic component at Los Pozos, the presence of maize in an area of such intensive use of the floodplain suggests that the stage was set early on for the development of subsequent agricultural strategies.

Recent excavations by Desert Archaeology for the City of Tucson's Río Nuevo project have recovered possible evidence of Middle Archaic houses arranged in a courtyardlike group at AZ BB:13:6, just west of downtown Tucson on the west bank of the Santa Cruz. A full analysis of radiocarbon dates and artifacts from these excavations will be necessary to verify this interpretation.

Late Archaic (Early Agricultural) Period

The beginning of the Late Archaic period, or of what is now often called the Early Agricultural period, is marked by an apparent intensification of human occupation of southern Arizona, including the Tucson Basin. Settlements became larger, and a movement toward dependence on agriculture is evident. Because of important recent discoveries along the Santa Cruz River floodplain (Ezzo and Deaver 1998; Mabry 1998) and in the Cienega Valley (Huckell 1995), substantially more is known about this period than was 10 years ago (see Huckell 1984b).

The Late Archaic period is now generally subdivided into two phases. The San Pedro phase, first defined by Sayles (1941), is estimated to date from 1500 to 500 B.C. and is characterized by large side- or corner-notched projectile points, shallow oval to egg-shaped structures with basin floor plans and often a single large bell-shaped pit, a ground stone assemblage reflecting seed milling, a limited assemblage of shell artifacts, and some anthropomorphic figurines of fired clay (Huckell 1995:118–119). The succeeding Cienega phase dates roughly from 500 B.C. to A.D. 200 and ends with the appearance of pottery. Houses of the Cienega phase are typically round in plan with vertical pit walls and level floors. Many houses contain postholes (Huckell 1995; Mabry 1998), and at the Santa Cruz Bend site, many houses had numerous bell-shaped and cylindrical pits, suggesting an increased concern with storage. The Cienega projectile point is a hallmark of the Cienega phase. Unlike San Pedro projectile points, Cienega points have a distinctive corner notch and are often manufactured from siliceous materials. There is also an elaboration of ground stone manufacture in the Cienega phase.

In general, the Late Archaic period was a time of decreasing mobility in which people came to rely more and more on agriculture. This is not to say that previous patterns of land use were abandoned entirely. There continues to be evidence for the use of seasonal camps in upland areas. These camps likely complemented the more intensively focused settlements of the Santa Cruz River floodplain at sites like Santa Cruz Bend and Stone Pipe, where hundreds of habitation structures have been uncovered (Mabry 1998). This duality of settlement is consistent with a seasonally based system in which upland areas were used in fall and winter for gathering wild resources, and large settlements like the Santa Cruz Bend site were used during the summer, when agriculture on the floodplain and the alluvial fans was most productive (Whittlesey 2003).

Several sites near the Santa Cruz River west of downtown Tucson have evidence of Late Archaic or Early Formative period occupations, and it is likely that many more contain as-yet-unrecognized components of similar age. This is especially true for sites located on or near the floodplain of the Santa Cruz. During investigations at the San Xavier Bridge site (AZ BB:13:14), radiocarbon samples obtained from a hearth exposed by the river returned a date of 820 ± 400 B.C. (Ravesloot 1987:65). This feature, cut into the basal clays, probably represents the earliest preserved occupation of the site. Excavations by ASM on

Tumamoc Hill have produced evidence of not only a Late Archaic period occupation but early maize cultivation as well (Fish et al. 1986). Radiocarbon dates from maize kernels recovered in levels below the better-known Classic period component returned dates with range midpoints of 520 B.C., A.D. 320, and A.D. 620 (Fish et al. 1986:569). Recent explorations by Desert Archaeology in Locus 2 of the Valencia site (AZ BB:13:15) exposed several Cienega phase houses arranged in a roughly circular pattern around an area devoid of architectural features. Farther north along the river, Desert Archaeology exposed a Cienega phase component at the Clearwater site, the name given to the prehistoric component of the Mission San Agustín site (AZ BB:13:6). Here, Cienega phase canals and several Early Formative period houses were investigated (CDA 2001). In addition to these newly acquired data, several houses at nearby AZ BB:13:74 have recently been reinterpreted as Cienega phase in age (Mabry 1998).

Formative Period

For the purposes of discussing Tucson Basin chronology, the Formative period is usefully divided into five discrete periods: the Early Formative period, the Pioneer period, the Colonial period, the Sedentary period, and the Classic period.

Early Formative Period

As with the Late Archaic period, knowledge of the earliest portion of the Formative period in the Tucson Basin has been greatly enhanced by recent excavations. The Early Formative period began with the adoption of ceramic container technology, an extension of the growing dependence on agriculture noted in the Late Archaic period. Although some very early, crude ceramics were recovered from the Coffee Camp site dating from 200 B.C. to A.D. 1 (Halbirt and Henderson 1993), the earliest developed ceramic industry did not appear until around A.D. 200 (Whittlesey 2003). Recently, Deaver and Ciolek-Torrello (1995) developed a chronology for the Early Formative period that they saw as pansouthwestern in application. The chronology is based on subdivision into several broad horizons based on changes in material culture as a whole but named for changes in ceramic technology.

The earliest period is the Plain Ware horizon, which extended from A.D. 1 to 425. In the Tucson Basin, the Plain Ware horizon equates with the Agua Caliente phase and is characterized by a thin-walled, sand-tempered, coiled brown plain ware; an expedient lithic technology with remnant Archaic period biface technology; a Late Archaic period milling assemblage; and architectural forms similar to Early Pithouse period Mogollon houses (Ciolek-Torrello 1995, 1998). In addition, subsistence seems to have been a mix of agriculture and hunting and gathering, with a continued emphasis on upland resources. Several recently discovered archaeological sites have been assigned to the Agua Caliente phase, including the Houghton Road site (Ciolek-Torrello 1995, 1998), El Arbolito (Huckell 1987), and the Square Hearth site (Mabry and Clark 1994; Mabry et al. 1997).

The Plain Ware horizon was followed by the Red Ware horizon, which Deaver and Ciolek-Torrello (1995:512) have dated to A.D. 425–650. In the Tucson Basin, this horizon is expressed by the Tortolita phase. In the Tortolita phase, red-slipped pottery was added to the ceramic assemblage, and various changes in vessel forms occurred, including the introduction of flare-rimmed bowls. This vessel form may have its source in the Phoenix Basin (Whittlesey 2003), whereas other aspects of the Red Ware horizon technology appear more closely tied to San Francisco Red ware of the Mogollon ceramic tradition (Whittlesey 1995). The flaked stone assemblage continued to be generalized, and the Archaic period biface component disappeared from the tool kit (Deaver and Ciolek-Torrello 1995). Changes in architecture during this phase included a general increase in house size and the formality of construction, but both large communal structures and small residential houses continued to be constructed. Representative sites of this period include the Houghton Road site (Ciolek-Torrello 1995, 1998), Rabid Ruin (Slawson 1990), El Arbolito, and the Valencia Road site, Locus 2 (Huckell 1993).

The Early Broadline horizon began around A.D. 650 with the introduction of painted ceramics and lasted until around A.D. 700, when what is traditionally called the Snaketown phase of the Hohokam culture first appeared (Deaver and Ciolek-Torrello 1995:512). This horizon is poorly represented in the Tucson Basin, and no local phase has been associated with it. The similarity between traditional Mogollon ceramics like Dos Cabezas Red-on-brown and Hohokam Estrella Red-on-gray is the impetus for defining this period as a widespread cultural horizon (Whittlesey 2003:61). The only excavated site in the Tucson Basin to be associated with this horizon is the Dairy site (Altschul and Huber 1995).

Pioneer Period

The beginning of the Pioneer period in the Tucson Basin, dating to around A.D. 700, is signaled by the appearance of a widespread material culture thought to be intrusive from northern Mexico. According to Deaver and Ciolek-Torrello (1995), Snaketown ceramics are the horizon marker of this period. It is in this period that traditional Hohokam culture emerged throughout much of southern Arizona. Occupation of the Tucson Basin appears to have been fairly extensive, but few sites have been excavated that can contribute information on the Snaketown phase. In general, changes in technology suggest the complete adoption of a sedentary, agricultural way of life. The Pioneer period in the Tucson Basin ended around A.D. 800 with the adoption of a new ceramic tradition and with the construction of ball courts at large primary villages.

Colonial Period

In the Colonial period (A.D. 800–900), the initial Cañada del Oro phase was characterized by the appearance of ball courts as public ritual structures and possibly courtyard groups. Dual occupation of the uplands and lowlands continued as the dominant settlement pattern. It was during the Cañada del Oro phase that a distinct tradition of Tucson Basin ceramics first emerged (Kelly 1978; Whittlesey et al. 1994:142).

There was an increase in the number of sites recorded for the succeeding Rillito phase (A.D. 900–1000), which some have interpreted as a population expansion (Whittlesey et al. 1994:144). The intensity of use of alluvial fans and floodplain environments increased, but upland areas continued to be important for settlement. With the expansion came a new emphasis on large primary villages, which functioned as community centers fulfilling political and social requirements in highly localized social systems. Primary villages were large, exhibited a high diversity and density of associated material culture, and often had one or more public features, namely ball courts. The settlement system focused around the primary village often consisted of one or more hamlets and any number of small farmsteads or other temporary camps associated with resource procurement (Doelle et al. 1987:77).

Sedentary Period

The beginning of the Sedentary period, which in the Tucson Basin is equivalent to the Rincon phase (A.D. 1000–1150), saw the maximum expansion of population in the Tucson Basin. Primary villages continued to be important, but settlements were often located along secondary drainages, and a diversity of settlement types and uses of different environmental zones became the settlement norm. Although Rincon Red-on-brown ceramics were the hallmark, there was an apparent florescence of ceramic color schemes that began in the middle portion of the Sedentary period (Deaver 1989:80–81). This florescence was associated with a major settlement shift, which occurred throughout the Tucson Basin. Several large primary villages appear to have been abandoned at this time, and settlement generally became more dispersed (Craig and Wallace 1987; Doelle and Wallace 1986; Elson 1986). The causes for this sudden settlement shift are not entirely clear, and both environmental and social factors have been implicated. The diversification of settlement types in the middle and late Rincon phase, however, reflected a new emphasis on resource-procurement and -processing sites as part of the overall adaptation to the Tucson Basin. Despite the shift in settlement patterns, elaboration of village structure continued, and courtyard groups remained an important organizational form at many communities. At the same time, several

Rincon phase sites exhibited a less formal site structure, with some communities lacking courtyard groups altogether (Whittlesey 2003:69).

Classic Period

The Classic period in the Tucson Basin is divided into two phases, which have traditionally been defined on the basis of associated ceramics. Adequate, independent chronological control for this time period is lacking. The Tanque Verde phase (A.D. 1150–1300) was characterized by the presence of Tanque Verde Red-on-brown ceramics (Greenleaf 1975; Kelly 1978). In the subsequent Tucson phase, Gila Polychrome was added to Tanque Verde Red-on-brown (Whittlesey 2003). This latter phase has been dated A.D. 1300–1450. In addition to the appearance of Tanque Verde Red-on-brown ceramics, the onset of the Classic period has traditionally been defined by widespread changes in material culture, settlement organization, and public architecture. With the Classic period came a new architectural style: rectangular, semisubterranean, adobe-walled rooms became the preferred house form, although pit houses continued to be used. As in preceding periods, dwellings were often stand-alone structures (Whittlesey et al. 1994: 155), although during the Classic period, many were constructed in contiguous groups sharing walled compound spaces (Fish et al. 1992:20). Platform mounds replaced ball courts as public structures in the Classic period, and there was a marked shift in burial practices from cremation to inhumation.

Initially, the Classic period was thought to have been brought about by the movement of Salado populations into the Phoenix Basin and points south (Hauray 1945). More recently, several investigators have posited that these changes were a result of in situ cultural change with little external influence (Sires 1987; Doyel 1980). As with the rest of the Hohokam area, the situation in the Tucson Basin is not entirely clear. Evidence for a gradual, in situ shift was found at some sites, such as at Punta de Agua, where Greenleaf interpreted the transition between late Rincon and early Tanque Verde Red-on-brown ceramics as a continuum in which changes in vessel shapes and design elements represent a transformation of Rincon Red-on-brown into a new ceramic type (Greenleaf 1975:52). Architectural evidence suggests a similar type of experimentation at several communities. Several instances of houses-in-pits existing contemporaneously with aboveground or semisubterranean adobe-walled structures have been documented (Jones 1998; Slaughter 1996). By contrast, the sudden appearance of large settlements such as the Marana Community in the northern Tucson Basin is more in accord with population movement into the region (Fish et al. 1992). Clearly, further research that targets migration and the material correlates of ethnicity is necessary before the question can be put to rest.

Protohistory

Southern Arizona was the northernmost frontier of New Spain for nearly three centuries, from 1539 to the independence of Mexico in 1821, or for most of the Spanish colonial presence in the New World. The remoteness of the region from the center of New Spain meant that the period between initial exploration and actual settlement by Spaniards was unusually long, more than a century and a half. The conventional definition of the beginning of the historical period as the moment when Europeans first arrived applies less to southern Arizona than perhaps to any other part of New Spain, because the first substantial European presence, and thus the first substantial descriptions of the region and its inhabitants, did not come until the late 1600s. That is when the Jesuits, most notably Eusebio Francisco Kino, began a program of exploration and missionization in what are now Sonora and southern Arizona—the Pimería Alta, or the upper (i.e., northern) region of the Pima.

The protohistoric period in southern Arizona, linking the end of true prehistory and the beginning of tangible history, is inconsistently defined and poorly understood but a convenient way of referring to Native American cultural developments during a time when European influences—crops and livestock, material culture, and especially disease—were undoubtedly present but largely unaccompanied by Europeans. The first Spanish explorers to cross the Southwest, and presumably Arizona, were Fray Marcos de

Niza in 1539 and Francisco Vázquez de Coronado in 1540. Both journeys were poorly documented, the actual routes they followed are uncertain, and neither prompted any further exploration of southern Arizona. The region continued essentially unvisited by Spaniards for the next century and a half. The documentary gap spanning the period between 1539 and the beginning of sustained contact with the Spanish, from approximately 1700, defines the protohistoric period for most archaeologists, although some extend the end date to the establishment of presidios in southern Arizona, beginning in the 1750s (Majewski and Ayres 1997; Ravesloot and Whittlesey 1987; Whittlesey et al. 1994).

There were two major groups of indigenous peoples living in the Pimería Alta at the earliest Spanish contact, distinguished by language and lifestyle. One group was the O'odham, Piman-speaking peoples who were agricultural to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the local environment. Several discrete groups of O'odham can be distinguished on the basis of linguistic and cultural differences. The O'odham as a whole were sometimes referred to by the Spanish as *pimas altos*, the upper Pima, and were recognized as the linguistic brethren of the *pimas bajos*, Piman speakers of the lower Pimería, living farther south in Sonora. The other major group was the Apache, Athapaskan speakers who were primarily hunter-gatherer-raiders living a highly mobile way of life and farming very little. The Apache lived primarily in the regions bordering the Pimería on the north and east, making frequent forays into the Pimería to raid. South of the Pimería Alta and living adjacent to *pimas bajos* were the Opata of the Sonora River valley and the nearby Sierra Madre. Still farther south were the Yaqui, centered on the Yaqui River valley. Sometimes traveling through the Pimería Alta, either to reach sacred places or to trade, were the Zuni, who lived on the high, arid Colorado Plateau of present-day New Mexico. There were also two areas adjacent to the Pimería Alta that were apparently uninhabited, described as *despoblados* in the records of the Coronado expedition. One extended north from the headwaters of the Río Sonora to the headwaters of the San Pedro River, and a second lay north of the Gila River, encompassing much of the central mountains of Arizona (Di Peso 1953; Reid and Whittlesey 1997). Whether these areas were truly uninhabited or their occupants were simply never seen by early Spanish observers is unknown.

Spicer (1962:119) estimated there may have been as many as 30,000 Piman speakers living in the Pimería Alta in the late 1600s. According to Spicer, the Spanish seemed to think of the O'odham in terms of four major subdivisions. The people they called Pimas, without any qualifying adjectives, lived in the southeastern part of the region, as far south as the upper Ríos San Miguel and Sonora of modern Sonora. In the southwestern area were the Soba, so called because of their leader's name. The Soba were among the earliest O'odham encountered by the Spanish and lived along the Altar River, a place later regarded by Tohono O'odham as the source of their culture (Underhill et al. 1979). As disease and encroachment took their toll, the surviving Soba joined other O'odham groups (Erickson 1994). In the eastern and northeastern Pimería Alta were the Sobaipuri, who lived along the San Pedro River (then called the Río Quiburi or the Río de San Joseph de Terrenate) and the Santa Cruz River (then called the Río de Santa María), as far north as the Gila River and for some distance along it. They too lost their distinct ethnic identity in the 1700s, as they were relocated among other peoples and devastated by disease. Occupying the desert areas in the western and northwestern portions of the Pimería Alta were the Papago, or Papatoba, now known as the Tohono O'odham.

The northern limit of Kino's explorations and missionary efforts was the Gila River. Traveling as far north as the Casa Grande—Kino was probably the first European to see it—Kino referred to the people living along the Gila simply as “Pimas” (Bolton 1948). They were subsequently known as the Gileño or Gila Pima and today are known by their own name for themselves, Akimel O'odham. Kino also noted that there were people speaking a different language living to the west of the Pima, as far as the Colorado River. These people, who were on friendly terms with the Pima, he called Opa and Cocomarcopa (Bolton 1948). They were undoubtedly the Yuman-speaking Maricopa.

Apache raids and the Spanish policy of *reducción*, or gathering dispersed *ranchería* populations into missionary centers, combined to move O'odham populations away from their traditional territories and to blur ethnic distinctions. The Sobaipuri in particular were devastated by disease and relocation. By the late eighteenth century, they had ceased to exist except as scattered anonymous elements of other O'odham

populations. At the same time, many of the desert-dwelling Tohono O'odham relocated to the Santa Cruz River valley, encouraged by Spanish missionaries who hoped to find replacements for the disappearing Sobaipuri.

By the time professional ethnographers came to record their ways of life, the O'odham people themselves recognized three major divisions based largely on economy and residential patterns, which may approximate much more closely the subdivisions of the protohistoric period than the labels applied to them by the Spanish. These were the Hia C'ed O'odham, or Sand People, the most mobile and least agricultural of the O'odham, living in the western deserts as far south as the Gulf of California; the Tohono O'odham, or Desert People (the Papago to the Spanish, although this term was sometimes also used for the Hia C'ed O'odham), who shifted between summer farming villages and winter hunting-gathering encampments; and the Akimel O'odham, or River People, who stayed year-round in permanent villages along the Gila River. In the terminology of Fontana (1983a), these groups are, respectively, the No Villagers, the Two Villagers, and the One Villagers.

Native Americans in History and Ethnography

In the historical period proper, or the period after the interaction between Native Americans and Europeans became more or less constant, seven Native American groups had an important presence in the Tucson Basin or nearby. Five of these groups were O'odham: the Akimel O'odham, the Tohono O'odham, the Hia C'ed O'odham, the Kohatk, and the Sobaipuri; the last two groups no longer exist as discrete entities. The other two groups were the Apache—actually a diverse group spread over a large area but united by language and lifeways—and the Yaqui, relatively recent arrivals to the Tucson area. All seven groups are known from historical documentation; all but the Kohatk and Sobaipuri are known from professional ethnographic research.

Akimel O'odham

Kino first encountered the Akimel O'odham when he reached Casa Grande in 1694. He returned several times over the next eight years, but following his death in 1711, the Akimel O'odham had little if any contact with Europeans until 1736, when another Jesuit, Ignacio Javier Keller, visited the Gila River. By this time, the *rancherías* that Kino had encountered had dispersed. From the mid-eighteenth century to the 1840s, contact with Europeans remained limited, with only sporadic trading by Akimel O'odham at the presidio in Tucson and occasional visits by Spanish traders traveling to the Gila River (Russell 1908).

In the 1840s, most notably during the California gold rush of 1849, the Akimel O'odham proved to be friendly and helpful to Anglo-Americans and others traveling along the Gila Trail, a major route to California. The Akimel O'odham became an invaluable source of supplies, feed for stock, and even protection. Following the Gadsden Purchase, the U.S. Army also found the Akimel O'odham to be helpful, both as a source of supplies and as scouts against the Apache. In the early 1860s, Mormon towns were established at Tempe and Lehi by settlers from Utah. Often at the mercy of the Apache, the Mormons requested assistance from the Akimel O'odham and Maricopa, some of whom moved to Lehi to provide security for the settlers. Later in the nineteenth century, European settlement began to displace the Akimel O'odham, just as it had other peoples in the Pimería Alta. By the start of the twentieth century, the Akimel O'odham were reduced to eight villages along the Gila, most on the south bank (Russell 1908). It is ironic that the Akimel O'odham villages, which for several decades served as the breadbasket of southern Arizona, were deprived of water and reduced to poverty as non-Indian farmers in the Phoenix area diverted the water of the Gila River to their own fields (DeJong 1992).

Prior to Spanish contact, the Akimel O'odham lived in villages or smaller settlements called *rancherías* by the Spanish. Their pole-and-thatch houses were positioned generally within sight but not sound of each other. They raised corn, beans, melons, squash, cotton, and gourds. Whether they practiced irrigated agriculture before the eighteenth century, diverting water from the Gila River by means of ditches, is a

topic of controversy. There is no mention of irrigation in the accounts of Kino and Manje, who did mention the use of irrigation by the Sobaipuri; the first mention occurs in Spanish accounts of the mid-1700s. It does seem likely that the Akimel O'odham used the Gila River as a source of water for their crops (see the discussion in Whittlesey [1998]).

Akimel O'odham men cleared, planted, and irrigated the fields that were harvested later by the women. The diet was mixed but predominantly plant based, with saguaro fruit and mesquite pods being the most abundant and available native foods. During water shortages, the Akimel O'odham were forced to rely more on wild foods, even seeking plants and animals in Apache territory. Around the turn of the nineteenth century, floods occasionally would destroy the irrigation canals and crops, forcing the Akimel O'odham to rely entirely on wild resources (Rea 1997; Russell 1908). As did other indigenous groups, the Akimel O'odham adopted many plants and animals introduced by the Spanish. Wheat and sorghum were added to their indigenous crops. Winter wheat enabled them to grow two crops in a single season. Cattle, horses, burros, mules, and poultry greatly increased their domestic animal population, which had previously been limited to dogs (Russell 1908).

Tohono O'odham

The Tohono O'odham occupied a large area in the north-central Pimería Alta, also known as the Papaguería to the Spanish, after the Spanish name for the Tohono O'odham, *papagos*. Their intermittently transhumant way of life, a combination of agriculture, hunting, and gathering, was an adaptation to the seasonal extremes of their desert environment. They spent the hot summers in lowland villages, farming the alluvial fans extending from the bases of the mountains, and the mild winters at camps near wells or springs in the mountains, hunting and gathering. This is the typical "Two Villager" way of life discussed by Fontana (1983a). Tohono O'odham farming was most often of the *ak chin* variety, which involved placing brush dams across washes to better distribute mountain runoff across the cultivated portions of alluvial fans (Nabhan 1983).

Castetter and Bell (1942:57) estimated that collected plant foods and game constituted 75 percent of the Tohono O'odham diet. Saguaro, mesquite, prickly pear, and cholla were the most important plants. Each spring, the Tohono O'odham set up cactus camps to gather saguaro fruit, from which they made a variety of dried foods and wine. The saguaro wine ceremony was performed each year to ensure the arrival of the summer rains. Old men who knew the traditional procedures fermented syrup from the saguaro fruit while villagers gathered nightly to dance and sing. When it was ready, the wine was served as a symbol of renewal of life, and participants would drink to the point of intoxication (Underhill et al. 1979).

The Tohono O'odham lived in pole-and-brush houses, slept on grass mats, and carried out many of their daily activities outdoors under *ramadas*. The house, or *ki*, was a dome-shaped structure similar to Hohokam pit houses. Although best known for their beautifully detailed baskets made of devil's claw and grass, the Tohono O'odham were also excellent potters. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, their manure-tempered ollas were used in virtually every household in Tucson, regardless of ethnicity. Several painted pottery types were made, including red-on-brown, white-on-red, and black-on-red (Fontana et al. 1962; Whittlesey 1986). Saguaro syrup in narrow-necked jars was consistently traded to the Akimel O'odham in exchange for wheat and other goods (Russell 1908).

Tohono O'odham villages consisted of extended patrilineal families. Marriages were arranged with people from other villages, and the wife would usually move into her husband's home, helping her mother-in-law with daily tasks (Underhill 1939). Sometimes the husband would move in with the wife's family, however, if they needed help. Although polygamy was allowed, close relatives could not marry (Erickson 1994). When villages became too large, daughter settlements would split off, retaining close social and ceremonial ties to the mother village.

Although the Tohono O'odham were not aggressive, they were accomplished warriors and generally successful at defending themselves from Apache and other attacks. The Tohono O'odham maintained amicable relations with most of their neighbors, including the Seri to the south, the Lower Pima and

Opata to the southeast, the Akimel O'odham to the north, and the Cocopa and Yuma peoples living along the lower Gila and Colorado Rivers to the west. The Tohono O'odham traded with most of their neighbors, exchanging food items, hides, sleeping mats, pottery, and baskets. Songs, ceremonies, and labor also were traded on occasion for food and goods (Erickson 1994).

Because the Tohono O'odham were closely related to the Akimel O'odham in language, culture, and economy, there was much trading, sharing, and intermarriage between the two groups, and especially between the northern Tohono O'odham villages and the Akimel O'odham. The Akimel O'odham, distinguished by permanent houses and large, irrigated fields, were wealthy in comparison to the Tohono O'odham. Tohono O'odham sometimes worked in Akimel O'odham fields during times of shortage, and food was often shared freely between the two groups.

The history of contact between other O'odham groups and Europeans was repeated with the Tohono O'odham. Kino greatly influenced religious and subsistence changes among the Tohono O'odham, just as he had among the Sobaipuri and Akimel O'odham, although the raising of cattle and rituals regarded as curing techniques spread more rapidly than formal Christianity (Spicer 1962). Kino's mission program took approximately 50 years to spread from Sonora to San Xavier del Bac. Following the Gadsden Purchase, the Tohono O'odham developed strong relationships with Mexican and Anglo-Americans based on their shared need to defend against raiding Apache. The raids were frequent and fierce into the 1860s but decreased significantly following a tragic episode at Camp Grant in 1871, discussed below in the section on the Apache.

In 1874, a reservation was established by executive order for the Tohono O'odham, consisting of 69,200 acres surrounding Mission San Xavier. Eight years later, a second, much smaller reservation was established at Gila Bend for Tohono O'odham who had resettled on the Gila River to the west of the Akimel O'odham villages. Only about 10 percent of the Tohono O'odham population lived on the two reservations in the early years, but the formal designation of reservations eventually provided the Tohono O'odham, particularly those living at San Xavier, with a certain amount of political clout. Squatting on reservation lands by non-Tohono O'odham, especially Mexican-Americans, was at first common near San Xavier, and the lack of a government agency on the reservation (it was at first administered from Sacaton on the Gila River) meant squatting could happen freely. But by 1882, with the help of their federal Indian agent, the Tohono O'odham managed to expel all squatters from the reservation. A single Mexican-American, José María Martínez, retained his pre-Gadsden Mexican land grant near the mission, under special circumstances (Erickson 1994:78, 87).

In 1916, the federal government granted the Tohono O'odham a much larger reservation to the west of San Xavier, extending from the Baboquivari Mountains westward almost to Ajo and from the border with Mexico northward almost to Gila Bend, encompassing some 2.75 million acres. With a number of minor additions and subtractions during its early years, this huge area has survived largely intact as the current Tohono O'odham reservation. In 1934, the federal Indian Reorganization Act, intended as an impetus to Indian self-government, led to the establishment of a centralized Tohono O'odham tribal government and 11 constituent districts (Blaine 1981; Erickson 1994:104–107).

Hia C'ed O'odham

The traditional lands of the Hia C'ed O'odham extended from the Gila and Colorado Rivers in the north through the Sierra Pinacate region of Sonora to the Gulf of California and southward to Seri country. The Hia C'ed O'odham have also been called Sand Papago, Areneros, Areneños, and Pinacateños. Other O'odham have called them *Hiá Tatk Kuá'adam*, sand-root eaters, and *Otomkal Kuá'adam*, desert iguana eaters. Although this O'odham group was declared extinct in the early 1900s and consequently denied rights to their traditional lands, approximately 1,300 individuals today identify themselves as Hia C'ed O'odham (Rea 1998).

The Hia C'ed O'odham were divided into northern and southern groups, the latter sharing land and cultural similarities with the Seri in Mexico. The northern group interacted with Yuman-speaking peoples and shared similarities with them. The Hia C'ed O'odham were the most linguistically distinct among the

O'odham, speaking faster and having exclusive terms, but were still easily understood by all other O'odham (Erickson 1994).

The Hia C'ed O'odham lands were the driest and hottest of the Pimería Alta and the least densely settled. With only a few places suitable for farming, which they carried out using the *ak chin* system (Rea 1998), most of the Hia C'ed O'odham lived as hunters and gatherers ranging over a large area in small family groups. The Hia C'ed O'odham were distinctive for their heavy use of native fish that could be harvested from tidal pools along the Gulf of California. As a consequence of the lack of arable lands and sparse settlement, the Hia C'ed O'odham remained generally isolated from the influences of Spanish culture, as other areas were explored for ranching, farming, and mining. These same characteristics also kept Apache raiding to a minimum (Erickson 1994).

The Hia C'ed O'odham suffered greatly during the 1850s and 1860s, when disease devastated the population. Miners at Ajo and ranchers at Quitobaquito encroached on some of their most desirable lands during this time, but the people managed to survive and found employment constructing the railroad through the Gila River basin. Today, they remain scattered. Most live among Tohono O'odham but have never completely assimilated into the main body of O'odham people. In Mexico, the southern Hia C'ed O'odham met a similar fate, having been relocated by the government from the western end of O'odham lands to Quitovac and other inland areas. They too have merged with other O'odham people (Erickson 1994).

Another detrimental impact to the Hia C'ed O'odham of Arizona came when what is now known as the Barry M. Goldwater Air Force Range was established in the 1940s. The Hia C'ed O'odham were prohibited from using that enormous part of their traditional area. The establishment of Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument and the Cabeza Prieta Game Range left virtually no traditional lands in the United States for Hia C'ed O'odham use (Erickson 1994).

Kohatk

The Kohatk, also spelled Koahadk and Kwahatdk, were distinguished among Tohono O'odham as a dialect group (Erickson 1994), although they were closely related to the Akimel O'odham through intermarriage and trade (Erickson 1994; Rea 1998). Kohatk settlements extended as far south as an imaginary line extending between modern Santa Rosa and Tucson (Erickson 1994). They lived mostly in villages located between the Picacho Mountains and the Gila River villages of the Akimel O'odham, in an area today known as the Santa Cruz Flats. Important villages were Kohatk, near the Slate Mountains; Ak Chin, near Picacho; and Santa Ana de Cuiquiburitac, east of the Santa Rosa Mountains (Fontana 1987; Russell 1908; Whittlesey et al. 1994:250). The Kohatk moved between *ak chin* fields on the lower Santa Cruz River and adjacent washes to fields along the Gila River as opportunities allowed (Dobyns 1974; Rea 1998). They seem to have been neither "desert people" nor "river people," but O'odham who regularly moved between and used both environments (Whittlesey et al. 1994:252).

The documentary history of the Kohatk is confusing, including references to village locations (Whittlesey et al. 1994:249–251). What little is known of their cultural ecology parallels the practices of the other O'odham groups (Rea 1998), although they were noted for bringing cattle to the area in the 1820s (Ezell 1961; Rea 1998; Russell 1908; Whittemore 1893). Some desert settlements were sustained by artificial reservoirs, and Dobyns (1974:325) has pointed out that the Kohatk also dug ditches as necessary to water their fields. Their ethnobiology, however, remains speculative. Little is known about Kohatk social organization. If, as documentary sources suggest, the Kohatk were intermediate between Akimel and Tohono O'odham in economic organization and settlement practices, it may be appropriate to view them as socially intermediate as well (Whittlesey et al. 1994:255).

Kohatk material culture was generally similar to that of other O'odham. Historically, they were known as excellent potters (Russell 1908:124). The Akimel O'odham obtained many painted vessels from the Kohatk in exchange for Pima wheat and other foodstuffs. Apparently, Kohatk pottery was highly polished and more often decorated than other O'odham pottery (Fontana et al. 1962:107–109).

The Kohatk experienced little influence from the Spanish, although there were early attempts at missionization (Fontana 1987). Increased pressure from Apache raiding after Mexican independence forced the Kohatk to abandon their villages along the lower Santa Cruz River and take refuge among the villages of neighboring O'odham. Fontana (1987) indicated that the remaining Kohatk people settled across the Gila River from the Sacaton community, a village that eventually became known as Santan. Other members moved to the Salt River reservation. By the early 1900s, the Kohatk had lost identity as an independent group and had been assimilated into Akimel O'odham and Tohono O'odham communities (Rea 1998).

Sobaipuri

Little is known about the Sobaipuri, who were once the most populous O'odham group in the vicinity of the Santa Cruz River. Although it was the Sobaipuri who were described in Kino and Manje's accounts of the late 1600s, there is little if any overlap between the documentary and archaeological evidence for the Sobaipuri occupation of southern Arizona. There are several reasons for this. Most important, the Sobaipuri intermixed early on with Tohono O'odham and other Piman-speaking peoples, such that by the 1800s they had lost their social and ethnic identity. The documentary evidence itself is difficult to interpret and understand. Sobaipuri *rancherías* were easily moved, and because the Spanish names for villages, including saints' appellations, moved along with the villages, maps made at different times may show several places with the same names. It is difficult, therefore, to match an archaeological site with the location of a named Sobaipuri village.

With this caution, what we know of the Sobaipuri is that they once lived in the well-watered valleys of the Santa Cruz and San Pedro Rivers, farming and producing "plentiful crops" of "calabashes, frijoles, maize, and cotton" (Bolton 1948:I:170–171). Chroniclers of the Coronado expedition noted the Sobaipuri's use of turquoise and body painting or tattooing of their faces and bodies. They came to be known, consequently, as *Rsársavinâ*, meaning "spotted." The Sobaipuri had few interactions with the Spanish until the latter part of the seventeenth century. They maintained trade relations, however, with the Spanish in the Río Grande Valley and presumably also with the Spanish of the Pimería Baja. In the early eighteenth century, the Spanish enlisted the Sobaipuri for military purposes; they provided an armed buffer against raiding Apache (Di Peso 1953). The Sobaipuri were fierce warriors, aggressive and accustomed to war because of their proximity to and frequent encounters with the Apache (Erickson 1994).

From the late 1600s to approximately 1762, the landscape of the Santa Cruz and San Pedro River valleys was characterized by *rancherías*, larger villages, irrigation canals, wells, and cultivated fields (Griffith 1992). Sobaipuri villages appear to have been occupied briefly, and settlement locations shifted rapidly. Seymour (1989:215) suggested that the suitability of the floodplain for farming was the major determinant in locating villages. Inferred Sobaipuri sites in the San Pedro River valley were located on ridges and terraces above the river. There were at least 14 *rancherías* along the San Pedro River when Kino and Manje visited there in the late 1600s (Whittlesey et al. 1994:237). Approximately 100–500 people lived in each of these villages. South of Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea (Di Peso 1953), more than 2,000 people lived in numerous small villages. Although villages had existed between the *rancherías* of Quiburi and Cusac, they were abandoned by the 1700s.

The Tucson Basin was densely settled, apparently because of intensive agriculture (Doelle 1984). The stretch of the Santa Cruz River between San Xavier del Bac and San Clemente (thought to be located near Point of the Mountain, at the northern end of the Tucson Mountains) was the center of Upper Pima culture at the time of Spanish contact, with an estimated 2,000 residents (Doelle 1984:207). Other important villages were San Agustín de Oaiur (also spelled Oyaur and Oyaut), San Cosme del Tucson, and Valle de Correa in the north, and Guevavi, Tumacácori, and Calabazas in the south (Whittlesey et al. 1994:234–236).

Sobaipuri living along the Santa Cruz and San Pedro Rivers had a long history of intermarriage and cooperative action when the need arose. When Kino arrived, the Apache were already pushing hard against the eastern boundary of Pimería Alta. Recognizing the warlike reputation of the Sobaipuri, the

Spanish sought to organize the villages of the San Pedro Valley into a military alliance to defend the northern frontier of New Spain. This attempted militarization eventually had disastrous consequences (Fontana 1983b:137). The *reducción* policy and missionization actually increased Apache raiding, as the concentrated livestock, weapons, and stored food provided an additional lure (Ezell 1983:149).

Problems with Apache raiding became so great that in 1762 the San Pedro Sobaipuri joined the Santa Cruz Sobaipuri at Santa María de Suamca, San Xavier del Bac, and San Agustín del Tucson, significantly changing the ethnic composition of the valley. This also left the San Pedro Valley—once a Sobaipuri barrier against the Apache—essentially defenseless and unprotected. There is controversy over the reasons that the Sobaipuri abandoned the San Pedro River valley. Some authors think that the Sobaipuri simply fled in the face of the hostile Apache (Kessell 1976), whereas others believe that Sobaipuri resettlement was by order of Spanish *reducción* policy and carried out by military officers (Dobyns 1976).

The densely settled villages of the Santa Cruz River valley quickly succumbed to epidemics against which the residents had little inherited resistance. By 1773, the population of San Xavier del Bac was greatly reduced as a result of epidemics and Apache raids. Tohono O’odham, encouraged to settle at the mission beginning around 1800 to replace the Sobaipuri population lost to disease and war, intermarried with the remaining Sobaipuri, and the loss of Sobaipuri ethnic identity was inevitable. In 1776, the Tubac presidio was relocated to Tucson. Within the next quarter century, the Spanish population increased as ranchers and miners moved into the Santa Cruz Valley, contact between Spanish and O’odham peoples increased, and the native population decreased (Bronitsky and Merritt 1986; Erickson 1994; Ezell 1983; Whittlesey et al. 1994).

Apache

In sharp contrast to sedentary farmers such as the Akimel O’odham, the Apache were the most mobile of southwestern peoples. Instead of defining their lives with reference to a particular river valley, the Apache centered their lives on the mountains of southern and central Arizona. The mountains defined their traditional territories, provided them with food and shelter, and embodied their sacred places. In times of conflict, the mountains were their refuge. Because of their uniquely close familiarity with the mountains, the Apache were able to pursue their way of life long after many other Native Americans had resigned themselves to reservations.

The Apache were relatively recent migrants to the Southwest, although the timing of their entry has been widely debated. Most scholars agree that the Apache, who are classified linguistically as Southern Athapaskan speakers, moved southward from an original home in Alaska or southern Canada sometime around A.D. 1500, if not earlier. Their language, culture, and lifeways reflect this distinctive origin and comparatively recent history. All Apache peoples were highly mobile and made their living by a combination of hunting, collecting wild plant foods, raiding, and some farming. This way of life brought them into frequent and often violent contact with sedentary, farming Native Americans and the Euroamericans who came later.

Ethnographers subdivide the Apache into several hierarchical groupings on the basis of territorial, linguistic, and cultural differences. The largest grouping was the tribe or division, traditionally subdivided into smaller groups and bands. Two groupings whose traditional territories overlapped are most important in southern Arizona history. These are the Aravaipa band, part of the San Carlos group of the Western Apache, and the Central Chiricahua band of the Chiricahua Apache.

Bands were composed of 3–12 local groups, which were the fundamental unit of Western Apache and Chiricahua Apache society. Chiricahua bands were smaller, consisting of 3–5 local groups, and the local group was named after some prominent natural landmark in its range or labeled by the name of its chief. Each local group consisted of 2–10 family clusters, or *gota*, usually totaling 10–30 households, who returned each year to the group’s farming site. Clans, or large kinship groupings, were nonterritorial and served to regulate marriage, extend kinship beyond the family, and provide economic and social support. Cutting across group and other boundaries, clans served to create an expansive web of kinship bonds. The minimal residential unit was the *gowa*, or camp, a term referring to the house, its occupants, and the camp

itself. Dwellings were dome-shaped or conical pole-and-brush structures often referred to as wickiups. The largest and most permanent structures were called *nesdango'wa* (ripe fruits wickiup) and were located at the farm sites. Archaeologically, a *gowa* can often be recognized only by the rock rings that once formed the wickiup foundation. The Chiricahua Apache occasionally built tepees or hide-covered structures.

The Central Chiricahua band ranged around the present-day towns of Duncan, Willcox, Benson, and Elgin in southern Arizona, and they held mountain strongholds in the Dos Cabezas, Chiricahua, Dragoon, Mule, and Huachuca Mountains. Each local group had a “chief” or “leader” who gained prominence because of his bravery, wisdom, eloquence, and ceremonial knowledge. The local group was important in regulating social and economic institutions, including marriage, raiding parties, and ceremonial events. The Chiricahua depended more heavily on wild plant foods, hunting, and raiding, and less on farming, than the Western Apache, who probably were the most farming dependent of the Apache tribes. Mescal was also the Chiricahua band’s most important food plant. The tender stalk was roasted and the crown was dug up, trimmed, and baked in an underground pit oven. The baked mescal was sun dried and stored, supplying food for many months.

Raiding was an integral part of Apache culture and was considered lawful and just. The principal ethnographer of the Western Apache wrote that “The size of the territory in Sonora over which the Western Apache raided is extraordinary. The Apache knew it like their own country, and every mountain, town, or spring of consequence had its Apache name” (Goodwin 1969:93). Raiding parties ventured as far as the Gulf of California. Raids brought the Apache horses, mules, cattle, hides, blankets, clothing, metal to fashion knives and arrow points, saddles and bridles, and firearms. O’odham, Mexican, and American farms in southern Arizona and northern Sonora, with their livestock and rich stores of grain, were frequent targets of Apache raids. Horses and mules were often killed and eaten during raids, providing a highly transportable food source as well as transportation and enabling the Apache to extend their raiding activities across considerable distances—as far as the Seri country along the Gulf of California.

When the Spanish first arrived in Arizona, Apache predations on the O’odham were well established. Apache raiding crippled Spanish attempts to establish missions in Pimería Alta in the 1700s and was one reason for the abandonment of the San Pedro River valley by the Sobaipuri (Kessell 1976). The Spanish presidio of Santa Cruz de Terrenate along the San Pedro River was occupied for only four eventful years, beginning in 1775, before Apache raiding forced its abandonment (Sugnet and Reid 1994; Williams 1986). The presidio at Tubac was relocated to Tucson in 1776, and as the Spanish population began to grow, the pace of Apache raiding accelerated. Following an unprecedented Apache attack on the presidio in 1782, commander Don Pedro Allande began a vigorous campaign against them. Four years later, the Spanish viceroy Bernardo de Gálvez instituted a pacification policy combined with aggressive military action. A key point of this policy was the resettlement of friendly Apache, called *apaches mansos* or *apaches de paz* (Dobyns 1976; Officer 1987), at the royal presidios. A contingent of more than 100 Apaches, primarily Western Apache of the Aravaipa band, was settled at Tucson in 1793. Members of the Pinal band settled there in 1819 (Dobyns 1976:98, 102). Few if any traces of this occupation remain today.

As Anglo-American miners and settlers spread into Arizona, the Apache found it increasingly difficult to live by their traditional, mobile ways. No reservations had been established for them, and conflict was rampant. Soldiers and settlers kept the Aravaipa band on the move for many years, destroying their farms and camps. Beginning in 1866, several stations were set up to provide the Apache with rations, clothing, and protection from lawless settlers in exchange for their promise of peaceful behavior. Camp Grant, a U.S. Army post on the San Pedro River at its junction with Aravaipa Creek, was one such site, and the scene of an infamous massacre in April 1871. Just a month or so before Tucson incorporated, six Anglos, 48 Mexicans, and 94 Tohono O’odham from San Xavier del Bac attacked the Aravaipa and Pinal Apache at Camp Grant, mutilating and killing more than 100 of them, mostly women and children, and taking captive 27 children. The crime went essentially unpunished and left all Apache people wary of Anglo-American claims of peace (Sheridan 1995:80).

Following the massacre, Gen. George Crook was installed as the head of the U.S. Army's Department of Arizona. His campaign against the Apache and Yavapai was based on a sweeping offensive assisted by Indian scouts, coupled with destruction of winter food supplies. Relationships between Western and Chiricahua Apache were always somewhat strained, and they worsened after some of the Western Apache allied with the U.S. Army in its campaign against the Chiricahua. Starvation and weakness took their toll, and by 1872, Crook's campaign began to succeed. The remaining Apache leaders were ready to discuss peace. Many Apache were forced to move to a newly established reservation at San Carlos in 1875. After several unsuccessful attempts to relocate the Chiricahua, the Chiricahua continued to raid in Arizona, New Mexico, and Sonora. Peace was not established until Geronimo surrendered in Skeleton Canyon in southeastern Arizona in 1886, and the Chiricahua were deported to Florida (Faulk 1969; Schmitt 1960; Sonnichsen 1986; Thrapp 1967).

Four Apache reservations were hurriedly established between 1871 and 1872 as part of the federal government's "peace policy" (Basso 1983:480). The White Mountain Reservation was established in 1871, and an executive order in 1872 added the San Carlos Division to the reservation (Kelly 1953:23). The White Mountain and San Carlos Apache Reservations were formally partitioned in 1897 (Majewski 1998:323). Many Aravaipa Apache also settled at Bylas on the Gila River in the late 1800s. The exiled Chiricahua Apache in Florida were transferred to a reservation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in 1894. In 1913, they were given full freedom, and some moved to New Mexico to share a reservation with the Mescalero Apache (Opler 1983:409). Today, most Western Apache in Arizona live on the White Mountain and San Carlos Apache Reservations; the Chiricahua Apache have intermarried and relocated, dispersing the once distinct band.

Yaqui

The Yaqui are members of the diverse Uto-Aztecan language family, which includes, at some remove from the Yaqui, the various Piman-speaking O'odham peoples. The Yaqui speak a dialect of Cahita, a language once spoken in a large area in what are now the Mexican states of Sonora and Sinaloa. The traditional home of the Yaqui is in Sonora, along both banks of the Río Yaqui and in the portions of the Sierra Madre drained by its tributaries. Because of persecution by the Mexican government in the late nineteenth century, groups of Yaqui abandoned their traditional territory for locations elsewhere in northern Mexico and southern Arizona. In the Tucson area, the Yaqui settled in two locations: Pascua Village on the near north side and a smaller satellite community in Marana, northwest of Tucson (Spicer 1983).

Traditional Yaqui territory included rich agricultural lands in the Río Yaqui valley and equally important gathering areas in the adjacent Sierra Madre. The lower elevations of the Río Yaqui valley were vegetated with subtropical, thorn-thicket vegetation and dense cane brakes. The valley's upper reaches, and the lands bordering the lower valley on the north, had typical Sonoran Desert vegetation: mesquite varyingly interspersed with cacti, cottonwood, palo verde, and other trees and shrubs (Moisés et al. 1971). At Spanish contact, the Yaqui were primarily horticulturalists and lived in scattered *rancherías* in the Río Yaqui valley. Initial contact came in 1533, but the interaction was brief and of little consequence to the Yaqui. The conquest of Sonora did not begin in earnest until the early seventeenth century, when Diego Martínez de Hurdaide headed three campaigns against the Yaqui. Although the Yaqui were successful in fending off all three attempts at conquest, Jesuits soon entered Yaqui territory and introduced the Yaqui to Christianity (Moisés et al. 1971).

The Yaqui had a social and political system that combined bilateral kinship with a strong sense of community. They lacked clans and had little in the way of hierarchical social structure. Family groups lived in scattered clearings along perennial watercourses, the typical *ranchería* settlement pattern noted by the Spanish in much of northern New Spain. The clearings were surrounded by tall, dense vegetation that gave a distinctly nonurban appearance to Yaqui settlements (Spicer 1980). Yaqui agriculture was tied to the natural flooding cycle of the river. The Yaqui hunted various wildlife species, with a special emphasis on deer. Deer also had a particular religious significance. Wild plants, including cane and native trees such as mesquite, supplied foods and construction materials (Moisés et al. 1971; Spicer 1980).

When Jesuits came to Yaqui country in the seventeenth century, they established churches in eight locations and in typical Spanish fashion consolidated the scattered *rancherías* around the missions (Moisés et al. 1971). Relations between the Jesuits and the Yaqui were generally good, and many Yaquis were quickly converted, at least nominally, to Christianity. Although most converts relocated near the missions, they insisted on retaining their scattered *ranchería* style of settlement, refusing to accept the Spanish grid as a village plan. With a new focus on the missions as the center of their communities, the Yaqui developed highly productive and successful agricultural villages, as they continued to work and farm for community benefit. Their acceptance of Christianity resulted in a blending of traditional culture with a belief in Christ, the Virgin Mary, the saints, and the efficacy of Catholic ritual, particularly the rituals of Lent and Easter (Spicer 1980).

The Yaqui were incorporated into the Spanish colonial economy when they began using the lands at the missions to produce crops for market. The Yaqui were soon engaged in wage labor for mining and ranching interests that took them away from their home bases. They were generally recognized as hard workers and skilled miners, but most Yaqui never abandoned their traditional way of life, even when pressured to do so by Spanish colonial policies that threatened their traditional livelihood. Following the expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain in 1767, encroaching Spanish settlement served only to strengthen the resolve of the Yaqui to protect their land and identity. Their intimate knowledge of the Sierra Madre and their ability to exploit a variety of environments made it difficult for the Spanish colonial government to impose its will on the Yaqui (Spicer 1980).

The Franciscans who replaced the Jesuits were not as successful with the Yaqui as their predecessors, and relations between the Yaqui and the Spanish became strained. Things grew worse following Mexican independence in 1821. In 1825, the Mexican government tried to collect taxes from the Yaqui, but joining forces with the Mayo, Lower Pima, and Opata, the Yaqui ran the Mexican government out of the region. The show of force, as in earlier events, was not sustained beyond that particular confrontation, and Mexican forces gradually returned. In 1853, a period of intermittent warfare began that would continue into the twentieth century (Moisés et al. 1971; Spicer 1980).

As the struggle for control over land and resources continued, factionalism developed among the Yaqui. Some fought against the Mexicans; others fought for them. By the late 1800s, decades of violence and the devastation of smallpox epidemics had taken their toll. The population of the Yaqui living under Mexican control in the eight Yaqui mission villages was approximately 4,000, although many more lived outside the Yaqui valley. The skirmishes continued, but peace treaties and settlement programs gradually brought more and more Yaqui under Mexican control (Moisés et al. 1971; Spicer 1980).

Massacres of the Yaqui by the Mexican army at the turn of the nineteenth century led to the emigration of many survivors, including to Arizona. Political turmoil continued into the 1920s, when another wave of Yaqui refugees fled to Arizona. Since 1927, the Yaqui have continued their struggle to hold on to their lands in Sonora, mostly without success, although a reservation of a sort was established by the Mexican government that included land north of the Río Yaqui and the Bacatete Mountains (Moisés et al. 1971). The Yaqui who sought refuge in southern Arizona brought with them a strong sense of community, many elements of their traditional culture, and their folk Catholicism. They also maintain ties to and communications with the Sonoran Yaqui (Griffith 1992; Moisés et al. 1971; Spicer 1980).

The Yaqui of southern Arizona, best exemplified by the residents of Pascua, retain many traditional cultural features, but they have undergone much social change in Arizona. In Arizona, they are not the dominant indigenous group they were in their Sonoran homeland, and they do not retain the cohesiveness of their Sonoran kin. They have an unstructured village authority, weak social control, and an economy based on wage labor and welfare. Their ceremonial lives are more individually based and are not coordinated with work as they are in Sonora. Despite these changes, such traditional Yaqui institutions as ritual coparenthood (*compadrazgo*) and ceremonial societies (*cofradías*) are still important in Pascua life (Spicer 1940). As a group, the Yaqui are deeply religious. Modern Yaqui religion is a fusion of aboriginal beliefs with Spanish and Mexican Catholic systems. The annual religious cycle functions through the *cofradías*, of which five are men's and two are women's. Although ceremonial cycles, feast days, and

local patron saints differ from village to village, Easter is the major religious holiday for the Yaqui. The rituals and ceremonial events surrounding this religious season are complex (Moisés et al. 1971).

For the Arizona Yaqui, ethnic status takes precedence over nationality, entitling them to build a house, to farm, or to graze cattle on Yaqui territory, and to use the natural resources found in Yaqui territory, whether in Arizona or Sonora. They are also able to participate in Yaqui farming and fishing societies and cattle cooperatives. McGuire (1986) pointed to four characteristics of Yaqui polity and ethnicity that support the persistence of the ethnic Yaqui: (1) the Yaqui are a corporate ethnic group rather than an ethnic population; (2) recognition of being Yaqui is ascribed through genealogy rather than achieved; (3) ethnic identity is understated; and (4) the three dimensions of status—wealth, power, and prestige—are not connected.

Today, the Pascua Yaqui number more than 9,000 people. Many live in Pascua Village, which was annexed by the City of Tucson in 1952. Others reside on the recently established New Pascua reservation southwest of Tucson. Following a long and difficult battle, the Pascua Yaqui gained federal recognition from the U.S. government in 1982 and ratified their first constitution in 1988.

Euroamerican Culture History in Southern Arizona

Euroamerican culture history in southern Arizona is usefully divided into three periods, corresponding to the three governments that have controlled the region: the Spanish Colonial period (1539–1821), the Mexican period (1821–1854), and the U.S. period (1854–present). The discussion that follows refers to historical developments in each of the three periods but with an emphasis on the Spanish Colonial and Mexican periods, or the years before the incorporation of Tucson. For a more detailed discussion of Euroamerican culture history in the Tucson Basin, the reader is referred to recent overviews of the subject (O’Mack and Klucas 2004; O’Mack and Toupal 2000).

Early Spanish Exploration

The sources consulted for this section are summaries of the early period of Spanish exploration by Fontana (1994:19–31), Hartmann (1989:16–35), Officer (1987:25–28), Sheridan (1995:24–28), Weber (1992:35–49), and Whittlesey et al. (1994:228–230).

The first directly documented Spanish *entrada* into what would become southern Arizona came in 1539, when a Franciscan friar named Marcos de Niza led a small expedition northward from the town of Culiacán, in what was then northernmost New Spain, to the vicinity of the pueblo of Zuni, in what is now western New Mexico. It is uncertain whether Niza himself made it as far north as Zuni, but he likely did pass through southeastern Arizona, traveling along a stretch of the San Pedro River and reaching the Gila River before returning to Culiacán. His only non–Native American companion for most of the northward journey was a North African called Esteban. Esteban did reach Zuni, where he was shot full of arrows by suspicious Zuni.

Niza’s expedition was commissioned by the newly appointed viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza, in an effort to gather knowledge of the northwestern frontier of the colony. Mendoza was especially interested in confirming reports that somewhere to the north lay the Seven Cities of Antilia, legendary places of high culture and fabulous wealth believed to rival Tenochtitlan, the Aztec capital in central Mexico conquered by Fernando Cortés in 1521. Interest in the Seven Cities had recently been piqued by the arrival at Culiacán of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, who had spent the preceding eight years wandering the northern deserts after being shipwrecked on the coast of Texas. The doomed Esteban had been among Cabeza de Vaca’s party, which might have passed through southern Arizona at some point, although their route is impossible to reconstruct precisely. Esteban was chosen for

Niza's expedition based on his knowledge of the northern deserts and his presumed skills in dealing with the indigenous peoples, skills that failed him in the end.

The most important product of the first *entrada* into Arizona was Niza's subsequent report to Antonio de Mendoza, which, for many people, confirmed the existence of the Seven Cities (thenceforth the Seven Cities of Cíbola, the name for Zuni heard by Niza). Because of Niza's glowing descriptions of Cíbola, Mendoza, in 1540, commissioned a much more substantial *entrada*, led by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and consisting of some 300 Spaniards, 1,000 Native American guides and porters, and 1,500 head of cattle, horses, and mules. Niza, one of five friars who accompanied Coronado, served as Coronado's principal guide as far as Cíbola, where the hopes of Coronado and his companions were bitterly disappointed. Much of Coronado's route, which eventually led him as far as the Great Plains, is difficult to reconstruct, but he, too, passed through southeastern Arizona, probably also traveling along a portion of the San Pedro River. Over the next two years, Coronado's lieutenants made numerous exploratory side trips, including at least a dozen into Arizona, but none of these trips included further exploration of the southern portion of the state.

Despite the Coronado expedition's success in exploring a vast area and collecting a great deal of potentially useful information, its failure to find anything remotely like the legendary Seven Cities led to a near hiatus in exploration of Arizona for the next century and a half. During this period, the occasional Spanish expedition did enter Arizona from northern New Mexico, where a permanent Spanish settlement was founded at Santa Fe by 1610. These expeditions gathered information and made contacts with indigenous peoples in various parts of the state, but the only one to go south of the Gila River was Juan de Oñate's expedition to the mouth of the Colorado River in 1604. Intensive exploration of southern Arizona did not begin until late in the seventeenth century, corresponding with the efforts of Eusebio Francisco Kino to extend the Jesuit missionary effort northward from established bases in what is now Sonora.

Jesuit Expansion into Southern Arizona

The Spanish missionary effort in northwestern New Spain began in 1591, when two Jesuit fathers were sent from Mexico City to a small Spanish settlement along the Río Sinaloa, in what is now the Mexican state of the same name, to begin the conversion of the indigenous people of the region. From this modest start, the Jesuit order soon expanded northward, founding missions in the succession of river valleys that drain the western slopes of the Sierra Madre. Occasionally, the people they encountered staunchly resisted their efforts to introduce Catholicism and a Spanish way of life, but more often, the presence of the Jesuits was accepted or at least tolerated. By the 1620s, Jesuit missions extended well into the Pimería Baja, the "lower," or southern, portion of the territory belonging to the Piman-speaking peoples, in what is now northern Sinaloa and southern Sonora. The proselytization of the Pimería Baja would occupy the Jesuits for the next 65 years, after which the Jesuit order finally expanded into the northern portion of Piman-speaking territory, the Pimería Alta, an expansion made possible largely by the efforts of Kino (Bannon 1955; Ortega Noriega 1985a).

Born and educated in northern Italy, Kino arrived in Mexico as a Jesuit in 1681. His first assignment was to accompany a military expedition to Baja California, where he served both as cartographer and as minister to the Native Americans subdued by the expedition. The attempt to establish a Spanish settlement in Baja California was ultimately unsuccessful, and Kino was eventually selected to direct the expansion of the mainland Jesuit frontier into the Pimería Alta. He began by establishing a series of missions that extended up the principal rivers of the region—most notably, Mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores at the headwaters of the Río San Miguel, near the present-day city of Magdalena, Sonora. Founded in 1687, Mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores served for the next 24 years as Kino's base of operations, the starting point of his famous expeditions into the northern Pimería Alta that led to the founding of missions along the Santa Cruz River (Ortega Noriega 1985b).

Kino's first entry into what is now Arizona was in 1691, when he reached the Sobaipuri settlement at Tumacácori on the Santa Cruz River. Over the next 10 years, he made numerous trips down the same river—which he called Santa María—as far north as the ruins of Casa Grande, and he eventually traveled down the Gila River to its confluence with the Colorado. Kino was interested in finding both new territory to missionize, which he found in abundance in the Sobaipuri villages along the fertile Santa Cruz, and a land route to Baja California, which would ease the transport of supplies and livestock to fledgling missions there. After a series of arduous trips into the deserts south of the Gila, Kino eventually convinced himself that there was a land route to Baja California, but his claimed discovery was viewed with skepticism until years after his death in 1711. It was the opening of a vast new area to Jesuit missionizing and his subsequent direction of that missionizing effort that became Kino's most enduring contributions (Bolton 1984; Hartmann 1989:36–56; Ortega Noriega 1985b).

In 1731, 20 years after Kino's death, the first permanent Jesuit missions were established at the Sobaipuri villages of Guevavi and Bac along the Santa Cruz. Each of the two missions was intended to be a *misión cabecera*, a primary mission with a resident Jesuit priest who would minister to the natives both at the *cabecera* and at two or three nearby dependent *visitas*, smaller settlements without resident priests. Earlier attempts to establish missions at both Guevavi and Bac during Kino's lifetime had failed, but now the Jesuits succeeded in instituting essentially the same missionary program that was already in place at the many Jesuit missions to the south. The basic goal of the Jesuit mission was the conversion of the natives to Catholicism, but the pursuit of that goal along the Santa Cruz River, like its earlier pursuit elsewhere in northwestern New Spain, involved fundamentally changing the lives of the natives, convincing them not only to abandon their religious beliefs but to alter the nature of their association with the landscape around them.

The keystone of the Jesuit effort to convert Native Americans was the *reducción*, literally “reduction,” the gathering of Native Americans into permanent communities “for more efficient and effective administration, both spiritual and temporal” (Polzer 1976:7). In the communities formed by *reducción*, Native Americans were instructed in the faith, encouraged to abandon practices incompatible with Catholicism, monitored as to their genuine acceptance of Catholic doctrine, and put to work in projects for the communal good—most notably, the construction and maintenance of irrigation systems. The success the Jesuits had in convincing the natives of northwestern New Spain to participate in *reducción* varied widely, from violent rejection to peaceful acquiescence, but the Sobaipuri of the Santa Cruz Valley were generally amenable to the process. The precise reasons for their apparent acceptance of this most basic of Jesuit demands were complicated. The constant threat of Apache raids undoubtedly made the Jesuits and their Spanish military escorts appealing as potential allies. The agricultural regime introduced to the region by the Jesuits, with its livestock, wide variety of cultivars, and dependable winter crops, also must have appealed to people living in a demanding and inconsistently productive environment. And there is the real possibility, already noted, that the Sobaipuri way of life at the end of the seventeenth century was already so devastated by the impact of European diseases that the Sobaipuri would accept any change that would bring stability to their lives.

Whatever factors influenced the original decisions of the Sobaipuri, the Jesuit mission settlements at Guevavi and San Xavier del Bac became permanent homes for many of them for much of the remainder of the eighteenth century. They were baptized there, participated in the religious life of the mission (to the degree that the resident Jesuit saw fit), and farmed mission lands using both indigenous and Spanish crops and methods. But beyond the adoption of Spanish agriculture and the rudiments of Catholicism, it is impossible to say how much their new lives actually reflected a conversion to a Spanish way of life, and this is even more the case for the Sobaipuri settled in or near dependent *visitas* such as Tucson and Arivaca. In addition, almost nothing is known about the impact of the missions on the Sobaipuri's use of areas away from the main rivers, the areas once frequented in the Sobaipuri seasonal round. The enthusiasm with which the Sobaipuri adopted wheat farming and livestock raising at the missions suggests that they quickly abandoned the nomadic dimension of their way of life, but Sobaipuri culture consisted of more than the routines of subsistence. According to Reff (1990:268–271), native acceptance of Jesuit

teachings—religious, social, and economic—throughout northwestern New Spain was at best superficial, and even a century or more after initial contact, Jesuits would complain about the continuing difficulties in transforming native lives. In the northernmost Pimería Alta, where the Jesuit presence was more tenuous than anywhere else in the northern borderlands, the veneer of Catholicism and Spanish culture must have been especially thin.

The Jesuit missionary effort in northwestern New Spain differed in a number of significant ways from earlier missionary efforts by other orders elsewhere in the colony, and these differences had their effects in the northern Pimería Alta. One major difference can be found in the character of the Jesuit order itself. Founded in 1536, the Society of Jesus was the youngest of the major orders to proselytize in New Spain, and it had attracted an especially devoted and well-educated group of young men to its ranks. Jesuit devotion included a genuine concern for the well-being of the native people placed in their charge, which frequently led them to shield the natives from the abuses of ordinary Spaniards eager to exploit their labor. “The Jesuits,” wrote Reff (1990:7), “largely were free of the vices that characterized their countrymen.” A basically humane approach to their dealings with the natives (there were exceptions, of course), combined with an emphasis on learning native languages and understanding native customs, was an important factor in the success of the Jesuits in expanding their missions over such a vast area in a relatively short period of time.

Another important difference between the Jesuit enterprise and earlier missionary efforts was the nearly exclusive access to native populations that the Jesuits enjoyed, especially in the northern reaches of the Pimería Alta. In central Mexico, by contrast, the first Spanish institution that many native people were exposed to was the *encomienda*, which placed the Native American population of a given region at the disposal of a private Spaniard (usually a former conquistador). In theory, the Native Americans would simply pay tribute to the Spaniard, but in practice, the tribute took the form of labor in the Spaniard’s mining or agricultural ventures. The *encomienda* was responsible for the early deaths of tens of thousands of Native Americans in central Mexico and elsewhere in the New World and had largely ceased to be royal policy by the time the Jesuits began their efforts in northwestern New Spain (Weber 1992:124–125). Elsewhere in New Spain, including much of northern Mexico, missionization occurred simultaneously with the expansion of secular Spanish enterprises, most notably mining. Missionary orders such as the Franciscans often had to recruit natives in competition with mining operations and to negotiate for the rights to native labor. But in the Pimería Alta, the Jesuits were almost always the vanguard of Spanish exploration and settlement. Private Spanish interests would eventually arrive to compete with a Jesuit mission for land and labor but usually arrived after the mission had chosen lands for itself, established relations with the local Native Americans, and generally made itself the principal Spanish presence in the region (Atondo Rodríguez and Ortega Soto 1985).

Following the expulsion of the Jesuits from all Spanish colonies in 1767, the Franciscan order inherited the Jesuit system of missions in the Pimería Alta and pursued largely the same policies of *reducción* and conversion, except that severely dwindling native populations forced the Franciscans to look elsewhere for new converts. The Franciscans working at the Santa Cruz River missions found them primarily among the Tohono O’odham, the Piman speakers of the vast desert region to the west of the river. Coaxed into becoming sedentary river farmers, the Tohono O’odham became the largest component of the native populations at Guevavi and Bac beginning in the late eighteenth century. Life at the Franciscan missions was relatively benign for them, especially compared with the fate of Native Americans living in the Franciscan missions soon established in Alta California. Jackson (1998:78) noted how the Franciscans placed much heavier demands for labor on the natives in the Alta California missions than they ever placed on the natives in southern Arizona, and the California natives suffered accordingly. The difference in the Santa Cruz Valley was the result of less ambitious Franciscan architectural projects, a more intermittent Franciscan presence at the missions, and less reliance on mission production by the local Spanish military.

Presidios and *Gente de Razón*

In addition to the task of converting the Sobaipuri to Catholicism, the Jesuits in the Santa Cruz Valley, like their brethren elsewhere in the Pimería Alta, were charged with transforming the local way of life into a Spanish one, based in permanent, year-round villages and the raising of Spanish crops and livestock. As discussed above, their efforts met with only limited success. However, from the perspective of ordinary Spanish people on the northern frontier—*gente de razón*, as they called themselves, “people of reason”—the presence of the missions and the military protection afforded them suddenly made settlement of the region seem feasible. Spanish settlers in search of irrigable fields, grazing lands, and minerals began to drift into the region, often establishing operations near the missions. In the vicinity of the Santa Cruz Valley, this pattern of settlement received a boost in 1736 when silver was discovered a few miles southwest of modern Nogales, at a place called Arizonac (the place-name, slightly modified, now refers to an American state). By the end of the 1730s, a fair number of Spanish families had settled in the immediate vicinity of Guevavi and Tubac, and there were likely other Spanish families farther north along the Santa Cruz (Kessell 1970:51–52; Officer 1987:32).

The discovery at Arizonac quickly played out, but the modest influx of Spanish population prompted by the discovery created an increased demand for Spanish military protection of the region. It was clear even prior to the Arizonac discovery that the most persistent and vexing problem faced by the Jesuit missions, by the Sobaipuri settled at the Santa Cruz missions, and by the few Spaniards bold enough to settle along the far northern frontier was unrelenting harassment by the Apache, who roamed unrestricted over a vast area to the north and east of the Pimería Alta. Each new Spanish arrival in the Santa Cruz Valley and its vicinity represented another tempting target for Apache raids. The Spanish military responded in 1741 by establishing a presidio at San Mateo de Terrenate on the headwaters of the San Pedro River, at what was presumed to be the front line of the Apache problem, although still some 50 miles southeast of Guevavi (Kessell 1970:76–78; Officer 1987:33). The new presidio did extend the Spanish military presence to the north and west of the presidio at Fronteras, but the Santa Cruz River missions remained isolated and poorly protected from Apache predations. Nonetheless, the number of Spanish settlers in the vicinity of the missions gradually increased.

As Spanish settlement of the Pimería Alta slowly expanded northward, the Upper Pima were increasingly obliged to share or relinquish entirely the limited arable lands available along the region’s major rivers. By the middle of the eighteenth century, following a variety of abuses by both settlers and Jesuits around the Pimería Alta, the Upper Pima, including the Sobaipuri of the Santa Cruz Valley, had had enough. In 1751, under the direction of an Upper Pima leader who had earlier assisted the Spanish military in pacifying the Seri, they revolted, killing more than 100 settlers and badly damaging missions throughout the region, including those at Guevavi and San Xavier del Bac, and their outlying *visitas*. The Spanish settlers living along the Santa Cruz retreated as a group to the presidio at Terrenate, abandoning their fields, herds, and belongings to the enraged Sobaipuri. The wider uprising, now known as the Pima revolt, was quelled within four months of the initial violence, but sporadic attacks by groups of disaffected Sobaipuri continued to occur for several years afterward.

In 1752, as a direct response to the Pima revolt, the Spanish military established a presidio at Tubac, about halfway between Guevavi and Bac, in an effort to better protect the Santa Cruz missions. San Ignacio del Tubac thus became the first permanent, officially sanctioned Spanish settlement in what is now Arizona. By 1760, Juan Bautista de Anza’s (the younger) first year as *comandante* of Tubac, the problems with the Sobaipuri had largely subsided, partly because of Anza’s charismatic presence but also in great part because of a steady decline in the Sobaipuri population caused by disease, relocation to avoid the missions, and flight from Apache depredations (Dobyns 1976:10–17; Ewing 1945; Kessell 1970:102–109, 154–156; Officer 1987:35–39).

The Apache threat grew steadily from 1760 onward, abetted early on by the Spanish military in two unintentional ways. In 1762, in an effort to repopulate the dwindling Santa Cruz missions, the colonial government ordered the military to relocate the entire Sobaipuri population of the San Pedro Valley to the

settlements of their congeners along the Santa Cruz River. This action removed the last buffer between the Santa Cruz missions and the Apache, whose nearest targets for raids were simply moved one more valley to the west. Also in the 1760s, the attentions of the military force garrisoned at Tubac were diverted from the Santa Cruz missions by several extended expeditions to the south to help fight the resurgent Seri. With a weakened military force at Tubac, raids by Apaches in the Santa Cruz Valley escalated in frequency and ferocity (Dobyns 1976:19–23; Kessell 1970:161–162; Officer 1987:44–45).

The Jesuit tenure in southern Arizona came to an abrupt end in 1767, when the Jesuit order in its entirety was expelled from all Spanish territories by royal decree. Control of the northern missions transferred to the Franciscans, who soon sent friars to the Pimería Alta, that “unsolicited inheritance from the Jesuits” (Kessell 1976:3). The Franciscan order, founded in 1226, was much older than the Society of Jesus (founded in 1534) and also preceded the Jesuits in the New World by 67 years. The Franciscans were the first and most active order in the missionization of central Mexico, beginning their work in 1524, just three years after the fall of the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan. The Franciscan friars assigned to the existing missions of the Pimería Alta would build on the work of conversion and resettlement begun by the Jesuits, but they would also bring with them two and a half centuries of experience missionizing elsewhere in Mexico. They would leave their own distinctive mark on the people and places of the northern frontier, a mark they would eventually leave on the many Franciscan missions of Alta California (McCarty 1996).

The expulsion of the Jesuits brought chaos to the already unstable missions along the Santa Cruz River. In the interim year preceding the arrival of the Franciscans, the chaos deepened, as the mission Sobaipuri, recently decimated by disease, abandoned many of the river homes and fields they had maintained under the Jesuits. When the Franciscans arrived, only a few dozen Sobaipuri were still in residence at Guevavi and Bac, and the *visitas* were in comparable decline. Almost all of the Spanish living in the region, a total of about 500 people, were settled at the Tubac presidio, largely as a defense against continuing Apache raids. Shortly after the first Franciscan friar settled at San Xavier, the mission suffered a devastating Apache attack, the first of countless Apache raids witnessed by the Franciscans during the 70-odd years of their presence along the Santa Cruz (Kessell 1976:11–25; Officer 1987:45–48).

Apache aggression made all lives difficult in the later eighteenth century and was the chief influence on the pattern of native as well as Spanish settlement in the Santa Cruz Valley. In 1768, the *misión cabecera* at Soamca was completely destroyed in an Apache attack, never to be reoccupied. In 1770, the Sobaipuri who had resettled at Tucson were threatening to abandon the area for the Gila River because of Apache attacks. Fearing that their departure would mean a badly weakened Spanish presence on the middle Santa Cruz, Anza persuaded them to stay by promising them help in building fortifications and a church. A large earthen breastwork and a church, presumably of adobe and soon dedicated to San Agustín, were completed by 1773, marking the first Spanish attempts at architecture in the immediate vicinity of Tucson (Kessell 1976:56; McCarty 1976:16–18; Officer 1987:48).

Around the same time, farther up the Santa Cruz River, the Franciscans installed at Guevavi decided that life at the original *misión cabecera* had become too dangerous. Prompted by devastating Apache attacks on the *visitas* of Calabazas and Sonoita, the Franciscans transferred the *cabecera* downstream to Tumacácori, which was considerably closer to the presidio at Tubac (Kessell 1976:57). The Franciscans at Tumacácori and San Xavier, the two remaining *cabeceras* on the Santa Cruz, spent the next few years suffering further Apache raids, watching their already badly thinned Sobaipuri population continue to dwindle from disease and desertion, and making largely unsuccessful attempts to coax the Tohono O’odham into converting and settling along the river (Kessell 1976:78–80; Officer 1987:48–50).

In 1775, the military organization of the entire northern frontier of New Spain underwent a transformation at the hands of Hugo O’Conor, an Irish expatriate and officer in the Spanish army who had been assigned the task of modernizing and improving the presidial system of frontier defense, from the gulf coast of Texas to the Pimería Alta (Moorhead 1975:47–74). For the presidio at Tubac, this meant transfer downstream to a site just across the river from the Sobaipuri *ranchería* at Tucson, a site marked out by O’Conor on August 20, 1775. Like the Native American village that became a *visita*, the new presidio

was christened San Agustín del Tucson. By 1776, the garrison formerly stationed at Tubac was in residence at Tucson, and in 1777, the first fortification of the new site was erected: a wooden palisade with a surrounding ditch. The palisade was eventually replaced by a massive wall of adobe that stood 10–12 feet high, measured 3 feet wide at the base, and enclosed an area 300 yards square. The layout of the fortification followed (at least loosely) the specifications of a royal order for presidio construction (Dobyns 1976:56–61; Officer 1987:50–51; Williams 1988). Also in 1775, just a few days after O’Conor chose the site for the Tucson presidio, he chose a new site for the presidio at San Mateo de Terrenate, a location farther down the San Pedro River, not far from modern Tombstone. This second new presidio, named Santa Cruz de Terrenate, suffered unrelenting Apache attacks and crippling problems with supplies for a little more than four years before being abandoned in early 1780 in favor of its previous location (Whittlesey et al. 1994; Williams 1986c).

From the establishment of the presidio to the early 1790s, the Spanish garrison at Tucson devoted almost all of its time and energy to fighting the Apache. The other Tucson, the *visita* and Sobaipuri village across the river, quickly became socially and economically linked with the presidio settlement and, of course, relied on it for its own defense from Apache attacks. A change in policy following the presidial reforms led the Spanish army to attempt to pacify the Apache through a combination of continuous military harassment and enticements to settle and live peacefully in the vicinity of the presidios. By 1793, the strategy had paid off, and pacified bands of Apaches (*apaches mansos*) began to settle just downstream from the presidio, ostensibly to take up the settled Spanish way of life. But the Apache never became the agriculturists that the Sobaipuri villagers across the river were, and their primary associations were always with the presidio. They depended heavily on the rations of grain, beef, and tobacco that the garrison supplied to them, provisions that, in the garrison’s view, were well spent. The Spanish army continued its policy of alternating harassment and enticement of hostile Apache until the end of the colonial era (Dobyns 1976:82–105).

The period of relative peace that followed Apache pacification saw a continued decline in the Sobaipuri population, the intermittent settling of Tohono O’odham in Akimel O’odham villages, and a modest but steady influx of *gente de razón* into the region. By the start of the nineteenth century, the Sobaipuri who had been the original impetus for Spanish missionizing in the Santa Cruz Valley had become scarce, largely supplanted by Tohono O’odham. A minor effort to bring the faith directly to the Tohono O’odham was made by the Franciscans in 1802, when the friar Juan Bautista Llorens paid a visit to the village of Cuiquiburitac in the Santa Rosa Valley, some 50 miles west and somewhat north of San Xavier. Llorens’s visit led to the construction of a *visita* church at Cuiquiburitac sometime after 1805, but it was abandoned before the end of the colonial period (Fontana and Matson 1987). The mission settlements at Tumacácori and San Xavier del Bac remained predominantly Native American, but the Spanish were now a conspicuous presence at Tumacácori, the Tucson presidio, and Tubac, which in 1787 had once again become a presidio. The total Spanish population was nonetheless very low: an official census taken of the Tucson presidio and the surrounding area (including San Xavier) in 1804 counted 1,015 *gente de razón*. The same census listed 88 soldiers and their families, plus 8 civilian households, at Tubac and 88 *gente de razón* at Tumacácori (Dobyns 1976:133–141; Kessell 1976:245–246; Officer 1987:77–82). With the gradual increase in the Spanish population and the relative security afforded by Apache pacification, the occasional Spanish family attempted farming, ranching, or mining in outlying areas such as Arivaca and the San Pedro Valley, but most Spaniards continued to congregate in or near the three Santa Cruz Valley settlements (Officer 1987:82–83; Sheridan 1995:37–38).

Late in the Spanish Colonial period, despite the decline of the Sobaipuri population and a consequently tenuous labor force, the Franciscan missions at Tumacácori and San Xavier del Bac managed to replace their modest old churches with new ones. Recent Tohono O’odham converts contributed much of the labor. Construction of the church at San Xavier, the same church that survives today, began around 1781 and was completed by 1797. At San Agustín del Tucson, San Xavier’s dependent settlement located 8 miles downstream and across the river from the Tucson presidio, a new church and a large, two-story mission residence (or *convento*) were constructed sometime between 1797 and 1810. At Tumacácori, a

new church was begun in 1802, but because of financial difficulties and a shortage of labor, it was not completed until 1828, and only then in a much reduced version of the original plan. The remains of the church are now the primary attraction at Tumacacori National Monument (Schuetz-Miller and Fontana 1996:86–88, 90–94). Apart from these architectural accomplishments—of which the church at San Xavier was by far the most striking—the centers of the Spanish presence in southern Arizona at the end of the colonial era were visually unimpressive. Tucson and Tubac were little more than “flat-roofed adobe buildings clustered beside a ragged patchwork of fields” (Sheridan 1995:38). But whatever its appearance, a Spanish way of life, albeit a way of life adapted to the harsh conditions of the Santa Cruz Valley—isolation, Apache predation, and limited water—was now well established on the northern frontier.

Decline of the Colonial System under Mexico

The Spanish Colonial period ended in 1821, when Mexico won its independence from Spain. The impact of independence on the far northern frontier was not immediate—the presidios accepted the transfer of power to the new Mexican government largely without issue—but it was decisive in determining the future of the region. Because of the inability of the Mexican government to continue providing support, financial or otherwise, to the northern frontier, independence from Spain brought with it the collapse of “just about every institution that had held the Spanish frontier together” (Sheridan 1995:45). The presidio at Tucson, soon weakened by lack of supplies, arms, and reinforcements, saw its most important weapon for Apache pacification—rations for the *apaches mansos*—withdrawn because of a lack of funds. Apache raiding throughout southern Arizona once again became a major threat and continued unabated throughout the Mexican era.

The missions, although they escaped the secularization mandated for the rest of Mexico shortly after independence, were dealt a serious blow when all Spaniards were officially expelled from Mexico in 1828. The Spanish-born Franciscans at San Xavier and Tumacácori were ordered to leave, and no priest was ever again in residence at either mission during the Mexican era. Officially, the missions remained intact and were generally viewed as useful to the government’s purpose of securing the frontier, but through a combination of official neglect and local coveting of mission property, the influence of the missions in the Santa Cruz Valley steadily declined. As the missions declined and Hispanics put more pressure on mission lands, the Tohono O’odham who had come to depend on those lands suddenly became a problem themselves, although never to the same degree as the Apache (Kessell 1976:275–319; Officer 1987:100–104, 130–133; Sheridan 1995:44–47; Weber 1982:50–53).

During the turbulent decades of the Mexican period, the Hispanic population of southern Arizona actually declined somewhat. Despite the decline, the period saw a great increase in the number of land grants petitioned for and granted to Hispanic settlers in the region (the earliest large land grants were actually petitioned for under the Spanish government and eventually granted under Mexican law). Major land grants along the Santa Cruz River and in adjacent areas included San Ignacio de la Canoa (along the Santa Cruz, north of Tubac), San Rafael de la Zanja (along the headwaters of the Santa Cruz), Tumacácori and Calabazas (former lands of the Tumacácori mission), San Ignacio del Babocómari (in the San Pedro Valley), and San José de Sonoita (along Sonoita Creek, a tributary of the upper Santa Cruz). In some cases, these grants included lands “abandoned” by the missions (the official status of such lands was often not clear) yet still farmed by Tohono O’odham associated with the missions. The granting of land to a Hispanic rancher usually meant an end to its use by mission dependents; this was an important source of unrest among the Tohono O’odham. Although the land grants consisted of many thousands of acres, the constant threat of Apache raids meant that they often did not actually get used for ranching. Sheridan (1995:49) has called them “little more than adobe islands in a desert sea—isolated, vulnerable, easily destroyed.” By the end of the Mexican era, most either had been abandoned or were barely hanging on. The most substantial impact of the granting of these large tracts of land occurred after the tracts were

bought by Anglo-American interests later in the century (Mattison 1946; Officer 1987:106–110; Sheridan 1995:127–129; Wagoner 1975:159–239).

The settlements along the Santa Cruz River saw little direct evidence of the war waged between the United States and Mexico from 1846 to 1848. The sole visit to the Santa Cruz Valley by U.S. troops was a brief stop in December 1846 by the Mormon Battalion, which was en route to the Pacific coast. The battalion entered Tucson unopposed by the presidio troops, who had withdrawn to San Xavier to avoid a battle. The loss of a huge portion of Mexican territory in 1848 following the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo also had no immediate impact on the people living along the Santa Cruz, whose status as the northernmost outpost of Sonora remained unchanged and whose hard lives fighting the Apache and farming the desert continued as before. The only substantial change in the last years of the Mexican era was the increasing number of Anglo-Americans passing through the area, most notably the sudden wave of Anglo-Americans headed to California during the 1849 gold rush. Even after the Gadsden Purchase was ratified in 1854, making all of what is now Arizona south of the Gila River a part of the United States, it was two years before the presidio at Tucson was abandoned by its Mexican garrison (Officer 1987:262–283; Sheridan 1995:49–57; Wagoner 1975:259–297).

The Early U.S. Period

Following the incorporation of southern Arizona into the United States by the Gadsden Purchase, the Mexican presence in the region became increasingly centered in Tucson, at the same time that the town was becoming a hub of Anglo-American settlement and enterprise. The Mexican presence in Tucson after the Gadsden Purchase went remarkably unchanged from its pre-Gadsden character. Most of the families who had established themselves along the Santa Cruz River and in outlying areas chose to remain there, and even many of the presidio troops, after first abandoning Tucson and Tubac for Sonora, came back to lead civilian lives in U.S. territory. For most Mexicans, Tucson remained an extension of Sonoran culture and society. The Anglo-American population grew slowly but steadily in the first few decades after the Gadsden Purchase, knitting itself, to a degree, into the existing Mexican social structure (intermarriage among Mexicans and Anglo-Americans was common) and sharing the dangers of life in a region still under Apache threat (Sheridan 1986).

Despite their minority status, Anglo-Americans soon dominated the regional economy, in large part because of the capital they brought with them into an area that, prior to their arrival, had long been poor. Although the culture of Tucson remained predominantly Mexican, as did its population, Anglo-American traditions grew steadily stronger as Anglo-American money entered the region. But not every aspect of life in Tucson was immediately dominated by Anglo-Americans. Officer (1987:290) noted that by 1862, just eight years after the Gadsden Purchase, Anglo-American newcomers in Tucson had already acquired considerable property in and around the town, but they found it difficult to purchase agricultural lands along the Santa Cruz River. A map of Tucson's fields prepared in 1876 shows that even 14 years later most of the irrigated land on the floodplain just west of town was still owned by Mexican-Americans. The situation changed shortly after 1876, as both Anglo-Americans and some Mexican-Americans began to acquire land for agricultural purposes, both by purchase and by claims made under the Homestead Act (Sheridan 1986:63–65).

The first permanent presence of the U.S. government in southern Arizona came in 1856, when U.S. troops finally replaced Mexican troops at the Tucson presidio, establishing a post and supply depot (Faust and Randall 2003). The same year, Fort Buchanan was established south of the Santa Rita Mountains, the first in a series of forts in the region intended to offer protection against Apache raids. In 1861, the Civil War put a temporary end to the expansion of the U.S. military presence in southern Arizona. That year, Confederate troops scored a series of easy victories in New Mexico, which led to a declaration of all of New Mexico south of the 34th parallel as the Confederate Territory of Arizona. In response to what appeared to be an imminent invasion of southern Arizona, the U.S. Army ordered that Forts Breckinridge

and Buchanan be destroyed and the troops withdrawn rather than risk losing either place to the Confederates. The Union troops marched eastward to New Mexico to defend forts on the Rio Grande. Soon after, a small group of Anglo-American Tucsonans passed an ordinance of secession from the Union, and in February 1862, Confederate troops occupied Tucson. For a short time, southern Arizona became a part of the Confederacy (Wagoner 1975:443–452).

A counterinvasion by the California Column, a company of Union volunteers based in California and led by Col. James H. Carleton, soon put an end to the Confederate occupation. Carleton's volunteers caught up with a small Confederate force at Picacho Pass, about 45 miles north of Tucson, and engaged it in a short but fierce battle now known as the Battle of Picacho Pass. This is generally considered the westernmost battle fought in the Civil War. Both sides retreated, the rebels to Tucson and Carleton's volunteers to Fort Breckinridge, which was reestablished as a Union post. In May 1862, Carleton and his men marched into Tucson, which had been abandoned by the Confederates. Southern Arizona was once again a part of the United States, and Union troops moved to secure the rest of the region as the Confederates abandoned the Southwest for Texas (Wagoner 1975:453–458).

The National Cemetery and Early Urban Tucson

The earliest surviving map of Tucson was prepared in 1862, shortly after Carleton's California Column ended the brief Confederate occupation of the town. Carleton made Major David Fergusson commander of the Union post at Tucson, and Fergusson soon issued an order to the citizens of the town to register their property with the newly appointed registrar, William S. Oury. Fergusson also hired a local mining surveyor, J. B. Mills, to prepare a map of the town to accompany Oury's property book (Fergusson 1968). Both Oury's property book and Mills's map are accurate records, at different scales, of the size and layout of Tucson in 1862 (Byars 1966), and both show clearly that Tucson had not, by that year, extended farther east than what is now Church Avenue. The project area was still a (modern) block east of the settled part of town.

Camp Lowell and Its Cemetery

In 1866, a year after the Civil War ended, the U.S. Army established Camp Lowell in Tucson, giving the existing post a more-permanent status and staking claim to a large rectangular parcel just south and east of town, a parcel centered approximately on modern Armory Park (Faust and Randall 2003; Weaver 1947:17). Around the same time that the Tucson post became Camp Lowell, the project area became part of a cemetery formally designated by the army for the burial of soldiers, officers, and perhaps others. According to a memorandum of the Quartermaster General issued April 9, 1884, the camp cemetery was "built" in 1868–1869 (War Department 1884), but it is not clear whether this is a reference to the actual designation of the area as a cemetery or simply to the erection of a wall or fence around an area already being used as a cemetery by the army. It is also not clear how closely the original camp cemetery corresponded with the "National" or "government" cemetery depicted on maps prepared in later years as located immediately east of Stone Avenue and north of Alameda Street.

Certainly by 1869 the camp cemetery was formally designated, walled, and in use. In his report on an official inspection of Camp Lowell, dated April 19, 1869, Lt. Col. Robert Jones noted, "A cemetery has been established, the bodies of deceased soldiers removed to it. It is surrounded by an adobe wall, is neatly laid off, & presents a pleasing appearance" (Jones 1869). Curiously, a detailed and obviously well-informed description of Camp Lowell, made by an army medical officer in 1869 (Smart 1870), fails to mention the camp cemetery. Neither is a cemetery depicted on the known early maps of Camp Lowell (Anonymous 1870, 1871a, 1871b; Silva 1870), although the coverage of these maps does not obviously extend beyond the rectangular military reservation established in 1866. Jones's 1869 description of a walled cemetery is, however, confirmed in a photograph taken the following year by another medical officer, John Vance Lauderdale, while he was stationed in Tucson. The photograph, labeled "Government Cemetery Tucson A.T." (Figure 4), is preserved at Yale University along with several other Lauderdale photographs of Camp Lowell (Altshuler 1985). Apparently taken from a point northeast of the cemetery,



Figure 4. The “National” or “Government” Cemetery at Tucson, 1870. Photograph by John Vance Lauderdale. John Vance Lauderdale Papers, Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. Courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

the photograph shows straight adobe walls surrounding a rectangular parcel, with a gate in the center of the east wall. In the foreground of the photograph, or just northeast of the walled cemetery, is an area of undeveloped desert crossed by a few well-beaten paths. The tops of several buildings are visible beyond (southwest of) the enclosure. This was downtown Tucson of the day, although it is hard to say, based solely on the photograph, what buildings are depicted.

Despite the lack of information on its location, the walled camp cemetery presumably corresponded, at least in part, with the cemetery depicted on the 1872 map of the original town site of Tucson (Figure 5), prepared just two years after Lauderdale took his photograph. The 1872 map shows the cemetery (labeled simply “cemetery”) as a rectangular parcel bounded on the north by Seventh Street, on the east by Sixth Avenue, on the south by Cemetery Street (later called Alameda Street), and on the west by Stone Avenue. This was the only formally defined cemetery within the town site and it almost certainly corresponded with the cemetery in Lauderdale’s photograph. Nonetheless, it is not clear how closely the limits of the cemetery depicted on the 1872 map followed the walls of the cemetery in the 1870 photograph. Unfortunately, the field notes of the town site survey (Foreman 1872) do not provide any hint about why the cemetery parcel was delimited as it was. The land-entry file for the town site (General Land Office [GLO] 1872), which consists of only a few receipts acknowledging payment for the site by Sidney R. DeLong, Tucson’s first mayor, is equally unhelpful. Commenting on the Lauderdale photograph, Altshuler (1985:9) stated that the west wall of the cemetery approximated present-day Stone Avenue, the south wall present-day Alameda Street, and the east wall present-day Scott Avenue, but she did not indicate the basis for her statement. Her note that the east wall approximated Scott Avenue (which has never extended into the project area) would place the east wall somewhat east of modern Grossetta Avenue and about halfway between Stone and Sixth Avenues. This would mean the walled cemetery was considerably smaller than the cemetery parcel on the 1872 map. The proportions of the cemetery in the photograph suggest that it was square, or nearly so. If one assumes that no part of the walled cemetery would have been excluded from the parcel labeled cemetery on the 1872 map, a square cemetery could only have been smaller than the unequivocally rectangular cemetery parcel delimited in the town site survey.

Whatever the relative sizes of the original walled cemetery and the official cemetery parcel of 1872, there is no clear evidence that any of the cemetery walls fell along the limits of the cemetery parcel, or even that the walled cemetery was entirely contained within the parcel. The general alignment of the cemetery walls—north-south and east-west—was apparently the same as that of the 1872 cemetery parcel, but this can be attributed to the general surveying practice of the day. Without any specific information about how and where the walled cemetery was laid out (other than the 1870 photograph), it is impossible to say how closely the later parcel conformed to it.

The placement of the cemetery parcel on the 1872 town site map actually suggests that the surveyor, S. W. Foreman, was more concerned with delimiting the parcel within the regular grid of the survey than with respecting an existing location and alignment. The application for a town site by the newly incorporated village of Tucson in 1872 was for the 1,280 acres comprised exactly by Sections 12 and 13 of Township 14 South, Range 13 East. Foreman’s town site survey consisted of subdividing the two sections into some 240 blocks, preserving the mostly irregular streets and lots of the previously settled portion of Tucson but using a perfectly regular grid for the larger, unsettled portion (Pederson 1970). In 1872, the area that became the cemetery parcel was at the northeastern edge of the settled area of Tucson, just beyond the limit of irregular streets and lots. The cemetery parcel fell neatly on the new grid, measuring one and a half blocks north-south by two blocks east-west (see Figure 5). Since both the north-south and east-west streets of the new grid were laid out at regular intervals without reference to existing streets or lots, it is undoubtedly significant that three sides of the cemetery parcel were exactly in line with newly defined streets, and the fourth (south) side was parallel to, and equidistant from, two new streets.



The foregoing map of the survey of the Village of Tucson by S.W. Foreman is hereby approved & adopted
 In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the corporate seal of the Village
 of Tucson this 20th day of June A.D. 1872
 Seal Attest: William J. Oakley
 Recorder

We hereby certify that this is a true and correct copy of the official
 map of the City of Tucson according to the S.W. Foreman survey of March
 1872
 January 15 1918. C.T. von Peterdorff
 City Engineer
 I. O. Cowan
 City Recorder

OFFICIAL MAP
 OF THE
CITY OF TUCSON
 SITUATE IN PIMA COUNTY, ARIZONA TERRITORY
 OCCUPYING SECS 12+13 TOWNSHIP 14.5, RANGE 13E, GILA & SALT RIVER MERIDIAN
 FROM SURVEY MADE BY ORDER of the BOARD of COMMON COUNCIL
 S.W. FOREMAN - SURVEYOR THEO. E. WHITE - DRAFTSMAN
 SCALE 1" = 2 CHAINS

Figure 5. Official map of the 1872 survey of the town site of Tucson by S. W. Foreman (certified copy of 1918). Maps and Records Section, Engineering Division, Department of Transportation, City of Tucson.

It is unlikely that the walled cemetery established by the army at least three years prior to the town site survey corresponded closely to a regular subdivision of the town site. The earliest official survey of southern Arizona did not take place until 1871, when Foreman first surveyed all of Township 14 South, Range 13 East (Pederson 1970:155–157), tying the area to the baseline and meridian recently established by the GLO at the confluence of the Gila and Salt Rivers. Any earlier survey could not have used the same grid or reference points. (Incidentally, Foreman made no mention of the cemetery in his survey notes, and it does not appear on his map of the township [Foreman 1871].) The records of the original survey of the Camp Lowell military reservation, which presumably took place in 1866 or soon after, were lost, but a resurvey of the reservation in 1870 was made with reference only to “an oak post” placed at an arbitrary point “on the overland road from Tucson to Santa Fe” (Tyler 1872:7). Whatever the location of the cemetery may have been relative to the military reservation, it would not have anticipated the grid of the town site survey. This strongly suggests that the cemetery parcel designated in 1872 wholly contained the walled cemetery, with room to spare on one or more sides of it (or, less likely, the parcel excluded some portion of the walled cemetery).

Earlier and Other Cemeteries

It was the U.S. Army that formalized the layout and use of a cemetery at the northeastern corner of Tucson, but the vicinity of the cemetery was evidently used for burials for many years before Camp Lowell was established. Hilario Gallego, born in 1850 to a family living within the Tucson presidio, recalled in his old age that inside the presidio, along its east wall, an old ruined church once stood:

In the very early times there was a cemetery inside the wall near this church, but as far back as I can remember they were burying people outside the wall near what is now Alameda and Stone Avenue [Gallego 1935:76].

The old church remembered by Gallego was the original presidio chapel dedicated to San Agustín and built shortly after the presidio was established in 1775. Thiel (n.d.) has gathered the scattered references to the cemetery (or cemeteries) associated with the presidio chapel, as well as references to discoveries of burials within the former limits of the presidio (also see Thiel et al. 1995:38). The areas adjacent to the old chapel and within the presidio wall were last used for burials in the 1860s, though it is impossible to specify the year. In a conversation with Robert Forbes in 1914, the early pioneer Samuel Hughes, who first came to Tucson as an adult in 1858, noted that the gate in the east wall of the presidio (near the chapel) was first created when the “new cemetery was started east of Stone and north of Alameda” (Lockwood n.d.:8). This suggests that the project area was first used as a cemetery when the east wall of the presidio was still intact, which, based on the discussion of Thiel et al.(1995:40), was probably no later than the early 1860s. It is impossible to be sure, but this suggests that the establishment of the new cemetery corresponded with (and perhaps was prompted by) the arrival of Union troops in Tucson in 1862.

Numerous skeletons have been found in the area that corresponds to the presidio chapel cemetery, within and along modern Alameda Street and between Church and Court Avenues. In 1968–1969, as part of the Tucson Urban Renewal Project, James Ayres excavated a series of burials found below Alameda Street during the installation of sewer and gas pipelines; he later recorded other burials at the site of the El Presidio Parking Garage on North Meyer Avenue as part of the same project (a lack of funding prevented preparation of a formal report on this work). More recently, Desert Archaeology discovered the remains of as many as 106 individuals, distributed in five clusters of burials, while monitoring the excavation of a

gas pipeline trench along the south side of Alameda (Faught 1992; Thiel et al. 1995:105–118). The discovery included what were identified as Caucasian, Mexican-American, and Native American skeletal remains, all of them probably dating to the period when the presidio was in use. The Mexican-American remains were turned over to Los Descendientes del Presidio de Tucson, a Spanish-heritage group, which reburied the remains in the Holy Hope Cemetery in Tucson. The Native American remains were repatriated to the Tohono O’odham Nation.

In 1989, another notable discovery of burials was made in the area between the former sites of the presidio and the camp cemetery. During excavations in Block 180 on behalf of Pima County, SRI archaeologists discovered a burial pit containing the skeletons of two individuals, later identified as Mexican-American men, buried around mid-nineteenth century. The two men were evidently buried at the same time and had suffered violent deaths at another location. They were possibly the victims of an Apache attack: one skeleton had a small stone projectile point embedded in its rib cage. The double burial was found just south of Council Street in the north-central portion of Block 180, about midway between the northeast corner of the former presidio and the current project area (Ciolek-Torrello and Swanson 1997:140–147). The two skeletons were turned over to Los Descendientes del Presidio de Tucson for reburial at the same time as the reburial of the remains from the presidio cemetery. SRI trenched Block 180 thoroughly but did not discover any other historical-period skeletal remains, which suggests that the burial was not part of a larger area used as a cemetery. Based on his familiarity with archaeological work in the area, Ayres (personal communication, 4 March 2005) believes that the presidio cemetery did not extend north of modern Alameda Street.

Apart from Hilario Gallego’s comment about burials having long been made “near what is now Alameda and Stone Avenue,” there is no definite evidence that the U. S. Army chose to use and enclose as its official cemetery an area already being used for burials. Surely the location was chosen because of its proximity to an area long used for burials, but it is entirely possible that burials had not yet been made east of what is now Stone Avenue or north of what is now Alameda Street. On the other hand, it is also possible that the army post at Tucson, in existence since 1862, had made a practice of burying its dead in the area that was later enclosed with a wall. But whatever the date of the earliest burials in the army’s walled cemetery, it is certain that the cemetery was in use by the late 1860s. The army continued to use and maintain the cemetery even after 1873, the year Camp Lowell was relocated from downtown Tucson to a site along Rillito Creek, about 7 miles to the northeast. An 1875 report describing the facilities of the relocated Camp Lowell stated, “The cemetery is located just without the limits of the town of Tucson. It has a wall around it, and a considerable amount of care has been taken in preserving it” (Lippincott and Girard 1875:542; note that the “limits” of Tucson as understood here referred not to the limits of the town site surveyed in 1872 but to the limits of the settled portion of town).

It is not clear when the downtown cemetery ceased to be used by the army. On January 21, 1881, Corporal John Lyon of Company M, 6th Cavalry, died of cancer in the hospital at Fort Lowell (as Camp Lowell, relocated to the Rillito, was renamed in 1876). He was buried two days later in the “military cemetery of the city,” with military honors and following a Catholic service (*Arizona Weekly Star*, 27 January 1881a). In a letter to the *Arizona Weekly Star*, Charles D. Poston, who was living in Tucson at the time (Sacks 1963:10) and attended Corporal Lyon’s funeral, described the sorry state of the cemetery:

The interment of a non-commissioned officer of the army on Sunday in our Military cemetery was conducted with the grave solemnity due to the last rites of a comrade and a citizen. It also gave the people a sad opportunity to witness the neglect and desecration which rests upon the mural monuments of the brave dead. It is nearly sad as death to think we live among human beings who would be so degraded as to make targets of tombstones; and yet the ravages of these iconoclasts was [sic] painfully visible. The other “signs” of beastliness are unmentionable. Cannot something be done by the city government or the War

Department to preserve from desecration the graves of the brave and helpless dead? [Poston 1881].

These lofty sentiments were echoed on the editorial page of the same issue of the *Star*, where it was also noted that the walls of the old cemetery were as dilapidated as the graves within. The editors reported that plans were already being made to relocate the cemetery and its burials outside the city. Among other suggestions, they recommended that the reinterred burials be provided with headstones having cut rather than painted letters, which implies that headstones with the latter were used in the old cemetery (*Arizona Weekly Star*, 27 January 1881b).

The 1884 memorandum of the Quartermaster General (War Department 1884) cited a report from February 1881 indicating that a cemetery was in existence at Fort Lowell by that year. The same report indicated that the original camp cemetery was in a dilapidated condition and the walls were “being used by the inhabitants in the vicinity for privy purposes and as a place of deposit for all sort of filth.” By that year, the cemetery contained “some 65 or 70 officers and soldiers and some 30 civilians.” The 1884 memorandum indicated that “last year” (i.e., 1883) the city authorities “pulled down the fence [i.e., wall] and threw open the graveyard.” The graveyard itself had fallen into “a wretched and disgraceful condition.” The memorandum noted several other reports that discussed if, when, and to where the military burials in the cemetery should be moved, but the removal had not yet taken place. Given the reported state of the downtown cemetery in 1881, it seems unlikely that the army continued to use it for burials after that year, especially since the army was well aware that the city was intent on closing it and a new military cemetery was in use at Fort Lowell.

By April 1884, the city was contemplating the sale of lots in the old cemetery (*Arizona Daily Citizen*, 13 April 1884). Perhaps in recognition of this intention, that year’s Memorial Day commemoration was given a long, pious description in the *Arizona Citizen*. The day’s procession included a stop at the “old military cemetery” on Stone Avenue, “where more than a hundred soldiers are buried” (*Arizona Citizen* [AC], 7 June 1884).

Two weeks or so after Memorial Day, a notice appeared in the *Arizona Daily Star*:

Dr. W. J. White will begin moving this morning, the dead bodies of all the Federal soldiers that are buried in the cemetery on the corner of Alameda Street and Stone Avenue to Fort Lowell. He desires that all persons living in the city who have friends or relatives buried in this cemetery to go immediately and designate their graves, as he will be unable to distinguish them [*Arizona Daily Star*, date uncertain, reprinted in the *Phoenix Herald*, 23 June 1884].

The *Star* later reported that Dr. White was able to recover the remains of 74 people, most of whom were represented by just a few bones, but he also removed at least two complete skeletons: that of a lieutenant’s wife and that of a corporal “buried about three years since” (*ADS*, 24 June 1884); the latter skeleton was perhaps that of Corporal John Lyon. An editorial appeared in the *Citizen* the day before declaring that White’s work had created a health hazard by releasing the noxious gases of putrefaction (*Arizona Weekly Citizen*, 23 June 1884), but in a response sent to the *Star* White noted that, “With but one or two exceptions, the remains consisted only of a few crumbling bones, and from the more perfect skeletons the flesh had entirely disappeared and they were consequently odorless” (White 1884). He attributed the malicious *Citizen* commentary to the influence of people who had tried but failed to get the contract for removing the burials.

The transfer of the remains exhumed by Dr. White to the new Fort Lowell cemetery turned out to be only temporary. When Fort Lowell was abandoned in 1891, 80 burials in the fort cemetery (including some originally interred at Fort Lowell and not in the original camp cemetery) were removed and transferred, most to the San Francisco National Cemetery, which had been established on the grounds of the historic presidio in 1884. Another 12 burials or so, mostly of unidentified civilians, were left in the

Fort Lowell cemetery, the location of which is now uncertain (Callender 1998:112–113; Faust and Randall 2002:93).

Although we have not seen any document indicating exactly why a cemetery was first established at Camp Lowell or why it was walled, both circumstances can probably be attributed to policies developed by the federal government and the army following the end of the Civil War. The large number of fatalities on both sides of the war, and the haphazard burial of so many soldiers during its course, led to the official designation of government cemeteries, most notably at or near the sites of major battles in the East but also at many of the frontier outposts in the West occupied by troops during the war. On April 13, 1866, a Joint Resolution of Congress directed the Secretary of War “to take immediate measures to preserve from desecration the graves of soldiers of the United States who fell in battle or died of disease in hospitals; to secure suitable burial places in which they may be properly interred; and to have the graves enclosed so that the resting places of the honored dead may be kept sacred forever” (National Cemetery Administration 2005). The resolution was soon supplemented by additional resolutions and acts of Congress, resulting eventually in the modern National Cemetery system (Steere 1953).

The small, remote military cemetery at Tucson was apparently never officially designated a “National Cemetery” in the same sense as, for example, the Santa Fe National Cemetery (established in 1875). In the *Star* editorial from 1881 cited above (*Arizona Weekly Star*, 27 January 1881b), the editors asked, “[W]hy cannot our military cemetery be made a National one?” and pleaded that someone take the cause to the U.S. Congress. If such an effort was ever made, it evidently failed. Nonetheless, the original camp cemetery at Tucson was undoubtedly established in response to an emerging army policy requiring formally designated and maintained (and walled) military cemeteries. If nothing else, this explains the tidy adobe wall around the camp cemetery described admiringly by early observers.

The wall around the camp cemetery undoubtedly served to protect the graves of officers and soldiers from disturbance, especially by animals, but one wonders if it was not also intended to discourage burials unauthorized by the army. Since it is probable that the vicinity of the camp cemetery was already being used for civilian burials before the army formally designated the cemetery, the wall may have been a way to prevent encroachment on the area claimed by the army. No formal record of who was buried in the cemetery has survived, and the record of the military graves it once held is limited to the list of names associated with the skeletal remains relocated by Dr. White in 1884; at least a third of the burials on the list are described as “unknown” (Tompkins 1958). We have also not found any reference to regulations governing who was buried in the cemetery. There are a few scattered references to civilian burials in the early years of the camp cemetery, during the period Camp Lowell was still located downtown, but the people may have qualified for burial there either because of a direct association with the army or because of another special status. The *Weekly Arizonan* for October 2, 1869, noted the recent burial of a Mrs. Miles in the “National Cemetery” (*Weekly Arizonan* [WA], 2 October 1869). Mrs. Miles was undoubtedly Ella Stoutenborough Miles, the wife of Captain Evan Miles, an officer stationed at Camp Lowell in 1869–1870. According to Altshuler (1986:6), Mrs. Miles died in Tucson from puerperal fever on September 28, 1869, after giving birth to a baby who also died (Captain Miles appears in two of the Lauderdale photographs discussed by Altshuler). Although the *Weekly Arizonan* did not mention it, Mrs. Miles’s baby was presumably buried with her in the camp cemetery. Perhaps the “wife of a lieutenant” exhumed by Dr. White in 1884 was in fact Mrs. Miles, although her name does not appear among the identified burials on his list (Tompkins 1958; neither does the name of Corporal Lyon, mentioned above).

Another non-military burial in the first few years of the cemetery was that of Daniel Hodges Stickney, a prominent early settler of Arizona, perennial member of the territorial legislature, and, at the time of his death, president of the Territorial Council, the upper house of the legislature (the legislature was located in Tucson in the period 1868–1877). Stickney, who died on February 17, 1871, had no direct association with the army but was nevertheless buried in the camp cemetery, perhaps because of his stature in the community and the larger territory. Newspaper notices of his funeral described the accompanying procession as the largest ever seen in Tucson (WA, 25 February 1871; *Arizona Citizen* [AC], 25 February

1871; see Hayden [n.d.] and Wagoner [1970:505–510] on Stickney’s life and political career). As with Mrs. Miles, Stickney’s name is absent from the list of identified burials moved by Dr. White in 1884.

A thorough search for death and funeral notices in Tucson newspapers from the period 1868–1884 would undoubtedly provide a clearer idea of when and how often civilian burials took place in the camp cemetery. The limited search we have been able to make suggests that the cemetery was not, in the first few years of that period, open to the general public. This is not to say that civilian burials did not take place in the immediate vicinity of the camp cemetery or within the limits of the current project area—given the comment by Hilario Gallego cited above, they probably did—but the few other references to civilian burials we have seen cannot be dated precisely or are relatively late (see especially Thiel n.d.). It is therefore possible that the walled camp cemetery was originally reserved for the burial of soldiers and officers and was used for only the occasional civilian, someone with either a close association with the army or a special status in the local community.

On the other hand, there is plenty of indirect evidence that, by 1875, two years after Camp Lowell was moved to the Rillito, civilian burials were common at least in the immediate vicinity of the camp cemetery and probably even within it. On April 16, 1875, a notice appeared in the *Arizona Citizen* that a public meeting would soon be held to discuss the possibility of closing what could only have been the camp cemetery and designating a new one farther from the settled part of town:

Almost everyone at some time has an interest in a graveyard. As cities grow, graveyards become nuisances, and difficult as the job is, their abatement becomes necessary. The Tucson graveyards are now unpleasantly near our northeast border and we are requested to say that a meeting will be held next Monday night for the purpose of considering the subject of stopping interments in the present yards and laying out and fencing burial grounds farther to the northeast. All ought to be interested in this movement [*Arizona Citizen* (AC), 16 April 1875 (reprinted 16 April 1925)].

At a meeting of the Common Council (as the City Council was then called) on May 18, 1875, it was resolved that a newly designated cemetery would open on June 1, and no more burials would be allowed in the old cemetery (AC, 29 May 1875). The new cemetery was the Court Street Cemetery, encompassing eight city blocks at the northern edge of the town site (and north, rather than northeast, of the camp cemetery). The Court Street Cemetery, so named because Tenth Avenue, the northern extension of Court Street, bisected it, was bounded on the east by Eighth (or Stone) Avenue, on the south by Second Street, on the west by Main Avenue, and on the north by what is now Speedway Boulevard. Unlike the old camp cemetery, the Court Street Cemetery eventually had separate sections designated for Catholic and Protestant burials as well as for use by various fraternal organizations. The new cemetery was itself officially closed in 1907, when the Evergreen and Holy Hope Cemeteries opened, a few miles north of the original town site, but the Court Street Cemetery was still being used as late as 1916 (Callender 1999:29; Roskrug 1893; Wallace n.d. [the discussion by Wallace of the city blocks used for the new Court Street Cemetery seems confused, perhaps by his misreading of the city council meeting minutes for May 18, 1875]).

The old camp cemetery, like its Court Street successor, continued to be used for burials even after it officially closed in 1875, as the burial of Corporal Lyon there in 1881 has already indicated. Three years after the official closing, on October 3, 1878, the *Arizona Weekly Star* complained that the graves in the old cemetery still needed to be moved to the new cemetery, then recommended that the work of disinterment be done by contract. Given that Dr. White’s removal of burials in 1881 was seemingly restricted to military burials, it is not clear if the *Star*’s recommendation was for the removal of civilian or military burials, but since the new city cemetery on Court Street was the intended destination, perhaps the paper had civilian burials in mind. In any case, it is impossible to say precisely what the *Star* meant by the “old cemetery”—was it the walled camp cemetery or the larger cemetery parcel containing it? Given the deteriorated condition of the cemetery walls reported in 1881, did people in 1878 even make a distinction

between inside and outside the cemetery walls? It is worth noting here that Altshuler (1985:3) mistakenly believed that the old camp cemetery was the subject of a comment by Mayor J. B. (“Pie”) Allen to the Common Council on February 7, 1877 (printed in the *Arizona Citizen*, 17 February 1877) that “the present cemetery is a drear, bleak, desolate place” and should be closed in favor of a new location. Allen was clearly referring to the recently opened but apparently already neglected Court Street Cemetery, although the old camp cemetery may have been just as bleak and drear by 1877.

The Railroad and Other Early Intrusions

It is reasonable to wonder why, if some people were determined to continue using the old cemetery even after it was officially closed—the *Star* commentary on Corporal Lyon’s funeral in 1881 even encouraged the city to fix the place up—other people were just as determined to stop its use. If the city was willing to own and maintain a cemetery at all, why not maintain the one already designated and in common use? It is not clear how a reasonably well-maintained cemetery could be a “nuisance,” as the *Arizona Citizen* put it, no matter where it was located.

One factor in the push to close the old cemetery must have been a general assumption that, as Tucson grew, the land occupied by the cemetery would increase in value. This was undoubtedly the case as the construction of a railroad through Tucson became increasingly likely through the 1870s. The possibility that the railroad would use land occupied by the camp cemetery was apparently recognized very early on. The *Weekly Arizonan* of March 4, 1871, reported,

We understand that one of our enterprising merchants—a gentleman who figur[e]s extensively in “dry goods”[—]has received private advices to the effect that the coming railroad will pass directly through the Tucson “burial ground.” The same foresight that placed him far up on the ladder of prosperity has now influenced him to take up some lots in said enclosure [WA, 4 March 1871].

This notice appeared shortly after the U. S. Congress passed a law authorizing the building of a railroad across the Gadsden Purchase, intended as a link between El Paso and San Diego (Devine 2004:105). The railroad would not reach Tucson for another nine years, but the move to close the old cemetery in 1875, as well as any opinion about the “nuisance” of having a cemetery so close to town, was undoubtedly conditioned by an assumption that the cemetery parcel delimited in the 1872 town site survey would prove valuable to whomever held it when it came time to negotiate with the railroad. On January 3, 1877, the city donated about 200 acres to the Southern Pacific Railroad for the anticipated project, apparently before the eventual route of the railroad was decided. The donation, which included unoccupied lands in the eastern and northern portions of the town site but not the cemetery parcel, was simply a placeholder meant to demonstrate the city’s intentions. Eventually, the railroad requested a 100-foot-wide right-of-way running northwest to southeast across the town site, as well as a large rectangular parcel just east of town for a roundhouse and other facilities; the city granted the request contingent on the return of the earlier donation (Devine 2004:163–164; Village of Tucson 1879). The granted right-of-way, and the railroad finally built within it in 1880, ran diagonally across the northwest quarter of the cemetery parcel.

Provocative as it may be, the 1871 notice of someone acquiring lots in the Tucson cemetery is a little mystifying. The cited “enclosure” seems to refer to the walled camp cemetery, but it is not clear how anyone could “take up” lots there if it was in fact army property. And no party other than the city seemed to own the cemetery parcel when a portion of it was donated to Southern Pacific in 1879. Since Tucson

was not yet legally incorporated when the notice appeared in the 1871 *Weekly Arizonan* (see Pederson 1970), it seems likely that the “enterprising merchant” of the notice was making a presumptive claim on lands that were probably still claimed by the army and would later be claimed by the Village of Tucson as part of the official town site. We have not seen the notes or original map of the survey of the railroad right-of-way that crossed the cemetery parcel in 1879, but later that year a triangular portion of the parcel containing the right-of-way was surveyed by George Roskrue on behalf of the city (Roskrue 1879). Roskrue’s survey marked off three new, irregularly shaped city blocks numbered 249, 250, and 251. Block 249 was located on the north side of the tracks, and Blocks 250 and 251 on the south side; the latter two blocks were subdivided into lots. The newly designated Toole Avenue, named for Mayor James Toole, who had an important role in the acquisition of the overall right-of-way (Devine 2004:165), ran parallel to the railroad on its south side. Together, the right-of-way (including Railroad Avenue along its north side), the three new city blocks, and Toole Avenue took up exactly one triangular half of the 1872 cemetery parcel (Block 251 also took up a small portion of original Block 71) (Figure 6).

We have seen nothing to suggest that anyone had a problem with the railroad occupying a substantial portion of the officially designated cemetery parcel, or that the building of the railroad (or the grading of Toole Avenue, or any subsequent construction on Blocks 249–251) disturbed any graves. A lack of evidence in this respect may reflect a general willingness at the time to overlook such details, especially considering the enthusiasm that greeted the arrival of the railroad in 1880 (Devine 2004:136–178), but it is also possible that the affected half of the cemetery parcel was either unused for burials or less used than the half that had long been immediately adjacent to the settled portion of Tucson. The deed transferring title to the railroad right-of-way (Village of Tucson 1879) refers to the cemetery parcel as the “Cemetery [sic] Reservation,” which implies that the overall parcel was simply reserved for use as a cemetery, not necessarily used in its entirety as one. Perhaps this is also a clue to the location and size of the original walled camp cemetery. If the walled cemetery, which was in all likelihood smaller than the overall cemetery parcel, were located hard against Stone Avenue and Cemetery (Alameda) Street, it may have fallen entirely within the triangular southwest half of the parcel, and the city therefore may have had few qualms about donating and disturbing the northeast half. This is actually suggested by the placement of the label “National Cemetery” in the southwest corner of the newly delimited triangular parcel on the 1880 map of Tucson, prepared just after the railroad was built (see Figure 6). On the other hand, as noted above, an army document cited by Weaver (1947:87–88) reported that in 1881 the city had recently torn down the wall around the camp cemetery. If the city was prompted to do so by the coming of the railroad, it would suggest that the wall extended into the parcel donated to Southern Pacific.

Another detail suggests that the original camp cemetery was located mostly or wholly within the southwest half of the 1872 cemetery parcel. The field notes and map from Roskrue’s 1879 survey of Blocks 249–251, or the parcel’s northeast half, made no mention of the cemetery, yet the survey of the parcel’s southwest half by John Gardiner in 1889 explicitly refers to the area as “the Old Cemetery” (Gardiner 1889) (Figure 7).

Between the removal of military burials in 1884 and Gardiner’s survey of 1889, the old cemetery was apparently unmaintained but still visited by the families and friends of the nonmilitary people buried there. In 1953, when skeletons were found during a construction project east of Stone and north of Alameda (discussed later in this report), Dora Scribner Miller, who was six years old when her family arrived in Tucson in 1885, commented:

Goodness . . . How could they miss them? Why, that place was an old cemetery when we first came to Tucson. It was one of the first things we saw when we got off the train—lots of mesquite and catclaw with little paths through the trees to the graves. There were always candles burning and day or night you could see someone there saying a rosary. It was about a block wide. Later the more important graves were removed. The others were covered over and forgotten [quoted in Stanley 1953].

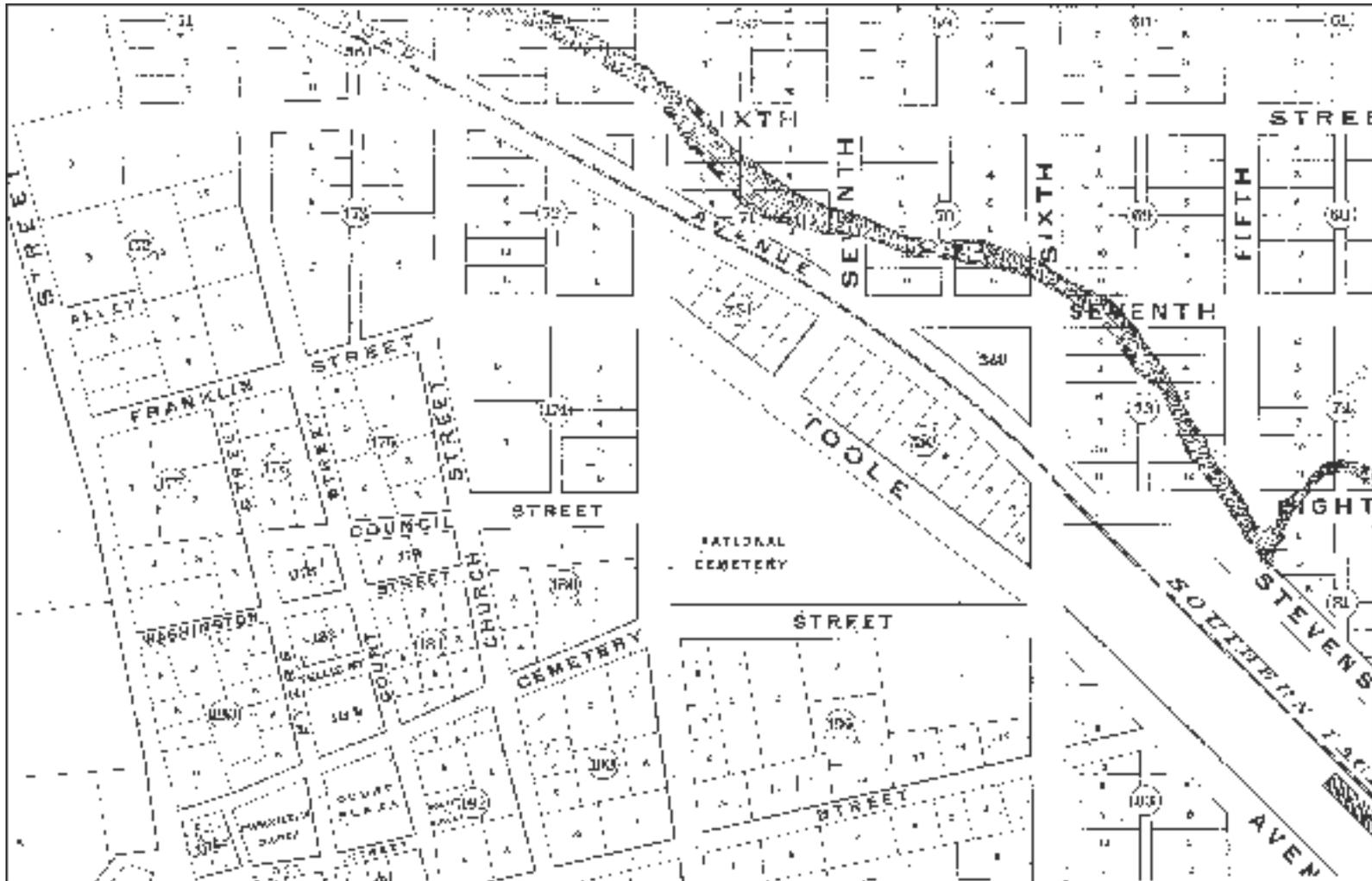


Figure 6. Portion of a map of Tucson prepared in 1880 showing the “National Cemetery,” the route of the recently built Southern Pacific Railroad, newly surveyed Blocks 249, 250 and 251, and Toole Avenue. Note that Alameda Street was still called Cemetery Street in 1880. (Map courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society/Tucson, Tucson (Ariz.) Maps, 1880.) <http://arizonahistoricalsociety.org>

I hereby certify, that the foregoing are the true and correct field notes of the Official Survey of the old Cemetery consisting of Two Blocks containing twenty eight lots being 1 Block number Two hundred and fifty two and Two hundred and fifty five and of 1 Block Two hundred and fifty two of the City of Tucson one Block Two hundred & fifty four School property
In witness whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name this 13th day of April 1889.
John Gardiner

Figure 7. Last page of the field notes of the 1889 survey of Blocks 252–255 by John Gardiner (Gardiner 1889).

In addition to the description of an overgrown cemetery, Mrs. Miller's comments are interesting for the references to the Catholic practices of saying the rosary and leaving lighted candles at graves. This suggests that many of the people buried in the cemetery were Mexican or Mexican-American. Catholics of other ethnicities also lived and died in early Tucson, but given that Mexican-Americans were the majority in Tucson throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, it would be surprising if the majority of the Catholics buried in the cemetery were not also Mexican-American. The only possible exception would be the first few years after the army erected a wall around the cemetery, which, as discussed above, may have served to restrict who was buried there. Thiel (n.d.) cites an unpublished document indicating that Torivio García and María Morales, the parents of Jesús García, were buried in an unspecified year in the old cemetery. Judging by Mrs. Miller's comments, it is likely that many other Mexican-Americans were buried there.

If she remembered correctly, Mrs. Miller's note that the "more important graves were removed" from the cemetery in later years would have to refer to graves removed after she came to Tucson and not to those removed by Dr. White in 1884. Thiel (n.d.) cites a possible instance of three graves of members of the same Anglo family being removed in 1888 (the reference may actually be to graves in the Court Street Cemetery), but no formal record exists of how many civilian graves were removed, much less of how many were "covered over and forgotten."

In 1889, the *Arizona Citizen* described the deplorable condition of the old cemetery and noted the city's plans for the property:

The old graveyard, which now belongs to the city, is the general dump ground and receptacle for the offals of the city. A person walking through it finds everything in it from a dead rat to a dead horse. There are also tin cans, old shoes and boots, etc., ad nauseum, and to cap the climax, the ground has a number of holes which were formerly graves, and if a pedestrian happens that way after dark he is likely to fall into one of the numerous pits and get his neck broken. It is gratifying to know that the "Patres Conscripta" have taken the matter into hand and will cause the whole property to be improved and placed on the market [*Arizona Daily Star*, 27 February 1889].

A few months later, on April 13, 1889, the city recorder, Charles H. Meyer, published a notice that the city would sell at auction "a number of lots situated on the north side of Alameda Street and the east side of Stone Avenue being the ground known as the old cemetery" (*Arizona Daily Citizen*, 13 April 1889). John Gardiner had that same day submitted the field notes and map of his survey of the old cemetery parcel (Figure 8). Gardiner's survey marked off four new city blocks, numbered 252 to 255. Blocks 252 and 255 were subdivided into 13 and 15 lots, respectively. Block 253, a small triangular parcel, was left undivided. Block 254, described as "school property" was also left undivided, apparently with the intention of building a school there. That plan was short-lived: the following year, the block was subdivided into seven lots in another survey by Roskrue (Figure 9). Similarly short-lived was an earlier plan, apparently still alive in 1889, to turn the old cemetery into a park. A week before the lots in Blocks 252, 253, and 255 were to be sold, the *Citizen* reported,

The cemetery lots will be sold at auction Monday next at the city hall. As the city council will not meet between now and then, the proposition to convert that spot into a park will probably not be adopted [*Arizona Daily Citizen*, 8 April 1889].

We have not seen anything indicating that these surveys of the old cemetery parcel and the subsequent sales of lots prompted any concern about the presence of burials. Unfortunately, we have not been able to locate the field notes of Roskrue's 1890 survey of Block 254.

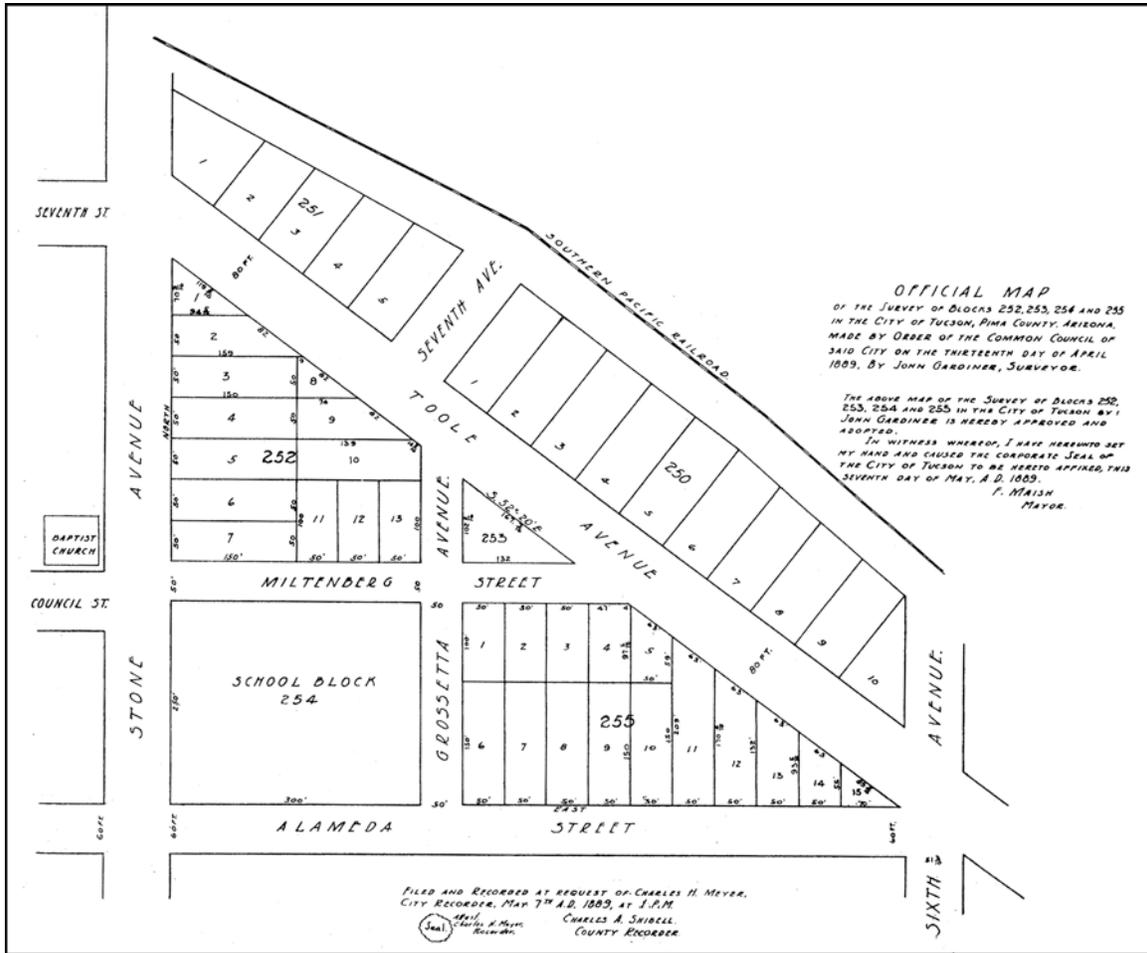


Figure 8. Official map of the 1889 survey of Blocks 252, 253, 254, and 255 by John Gardiner. Maps and Records Section, Engineering Division, Department of Transportation, City of Tucson.

A photograph of the northeast portion of Tucson survives that shows most of the old cemetery parcel around the time it was sold off as lots by the city (Figure 10). The unknown photographer apparently took the shot facing northeast from atop the old county courthouse at Church Avenue and Pennington Street. Based on a comparison with the early Sanborn insurance maps of the same part of town, and on the presence, in the distance, of both the University of Arizona (Old Main) and the Indian Training School, the photograph dates to right around 1889. Within the area of the old cemetery (near the center of the far left side of the photograph, bounded on the northeast by the railroad) it is hard to make out anything other than weeds and scattered low bushes. The adobe wall is clearly gone, no obvious grave markers are visible, and the “mesquite and catclaw” remembered by Mrs. Miller seem to be have been removed.

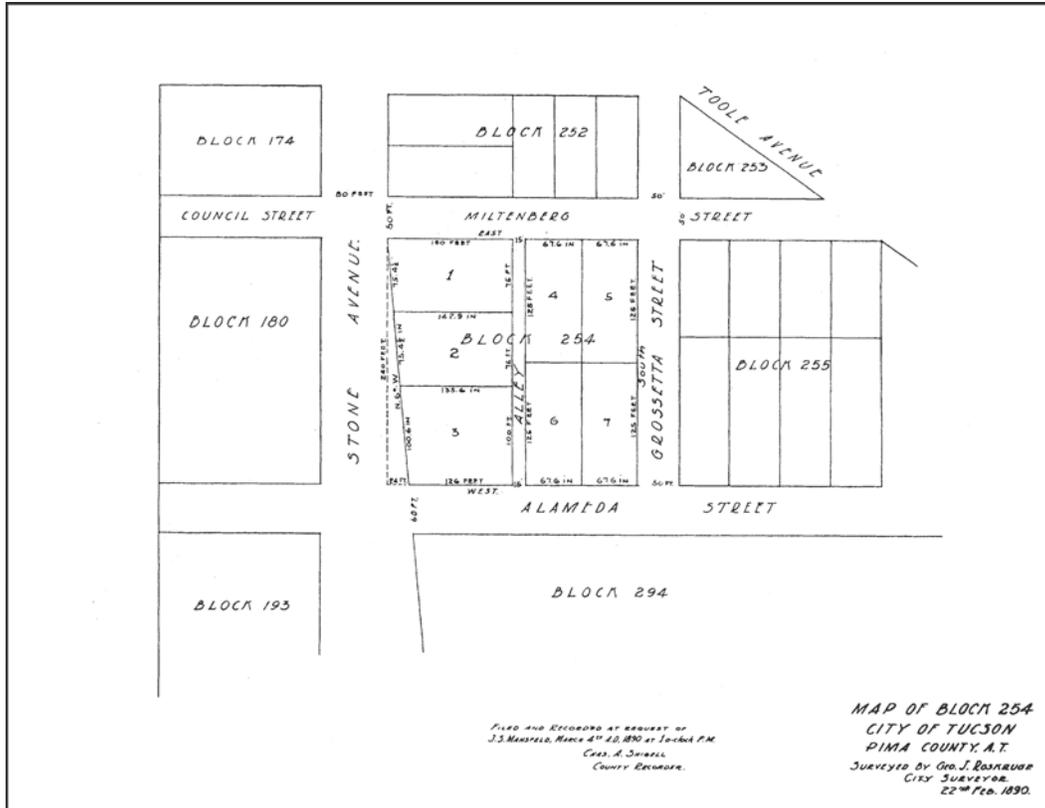


Figure 9. Official map of the 1890 survey of Block 254 by George Roskruge. Maps and Records Section, Engineering Division, Department of Transportation, City of Tucson. Note that Roskruge’s survey shaved a narrow wedge off the west side of the old cemetery parcel, part of a realignment of Stone Avenue that survives today.



Figure 10. A portion of downtown Tucson, ca. 1889. This photograph was probably taken from atop the old county courthouse at Church Avenue and Pennington Street, camera facing northeast. Stone Avenue runs north-south across the center of the photograph. The project area, still undeveloped but no longer a maintained cemetery, is at the far left side of the photograph and southwest of the railroad (photograph courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society/Tucson, Accession No. 2924). <http://arizonahistoricalsociety.org>

Summary

In 1866, shortly after the Civil War ended, the U.S. Army established Camp Lowell in what is now downtown Tucson. In addition to a large reservation centered on what is now Armory Park, Camp Lowell included an area formally designated as a cemetery. The cemetery was in existence at least as early as 1868; it was surrounded by an adobe wall at least as early as 1870. It was located northeast of the modern intersection of Stone Avenue and Alameda Street and fell at least partly within the current project area, but its exact location is uncertain. This walled cemetery was included within a rectangular parcel set aside as a cemetery in the original 1872 survey of the Tucson town site. The location of the 1872 cemetery parcel is precisely known, but its relationship with the walled cemetery is uncertain. The 1872 parcel was probably substantially larger than the walled cemetery, which was probably located in the southwest quarter of the parcel, adjacent or close to Stone Avenue and Alameda Street.

Tucsonans began burying their dead in the area northeast of Stone and Alameda in the early 1860s, or perhaps even earlier, years before the camp cemetery was formally designated and walled. According to one source, the area began to be used as a cemetery after an entrance was opened in the east wall of the Tucson presidio, which probably happened in the early 1860s. From that time until the establishment of the walled cemetery, the area was used at least by civilians in Tucson and probably also by the army, which had a permanent presence in Tucson by 1862. There is no definite evidence that the walled cemetery enclosed an area already used for civilian and military burials, but it appears likely. At the very least, civilian burials were being made in the immediate vicinity of the walled cemetery, and within the current project area, by the early 1860s.

Camp Lowell was moved to the Rillito, 7 miles northeast of Tucson, in 1873, then renamed Fort Lowell in 1876. The walled cemetery was officially declared closed by the City Council in 1876. The cemetery wall itself was badly deteriorated, or perhaps completely down, by 1881. Nevertheless, both civilian and military burials continued within or adjacent to the original walled cemetery at least until 1884. In that year, the military burials were removed and reburied at Fort Lowell. A survey in 1879 subdivided the triangular northeast half of the 1872 parcel, and in 1880 the Southern Pacific Railroad was built across that half; there is no evidence that either action had any impact on burials in the original camp cemetery or any other part of the cemetery parcel. After the military burials were removed in 1884, the triangular southwest half of the 1872 parcel was subdivided in surveys carried out in 1889 and 1890. This was the effective end of official recognition of what was commonly known as the National Cemetery.

Homes and Businesses atop the Old Cemetery, 1900–1960

The City of Tucson began selling lots within newly surveyed Blocks 252, 253, and 255 in 1889, and within newly surveyed Block 254 by the following year. By 1900, the old cemetery had become a largely residential area similar to the older parts of town immediately to the south and west. Immediately to the north and east were the Southern Pacific Railroad and the warehouses and other businesses built after 1880. Over the next 60 years, the character of the project area changed gradually from largely residential to exclusively commercial, an evolution that can be traced through a variety of historical sources.

Historical Sources on the Project Area

The research for this overview was carried out primarily at three locations, all in Tucson: the AHS library, the University of Arizona Library, Special Collections, and the ASM library. We also consulted various records maintained by the City of Tucson Development Services Center and the City of Tucson Department of Transportation (Engineering Division, Maps and Records Section) as well as a variety of sources now available on the Internet. In addition to the books, journal and newspaper articles, and unpublished documents cited in this chapter, four sources of information deserve particular discussion at the outset: Sanborn insurance maps, federal censuses, Tucson city directories, and property ownership records.

Sanborn Insurance Maps

Probably the most important source for the history of the project area during the period 1900–1960 is the series of detailed maps of downtown Tucson prepared over the years by the Sanborn Map Company of New York. Intended for use by fire insurance underwriters, the Sanborn maps are, in fact, the only maps from the period that consistently and accurately show the size and layout of buildings and other structures in downtown Tucson and the other developed parts of town. The maps include many details about the nature of the buildings they depict, such as function, construction materials, number of stories, and the locations of windows and doors. Sanborn coverage of downtown Tucson began in 1883, just three years after the railroad arrived in Tucson, but coverage of the project area did not begin until 1901. On the Sanborn maps prepared before 1901 (Sanborn Map Company 1883, 1886, 1889, 1896), there is coverage of the areas immediately west and south of the project area, as well as a limited area to the immediate east in the vicinity of the Southern Pacific Railroad depot, but the area of the old cemetery is not depicted. The total lack of coverage before 1901, despite the city's sale of lots within the old cemetery a full decade earlier, is a little surprising; it suggests that the earliest private landowners in the project area simply did not build on their lots until after 1896, the year of the last Sanborn map not to show the project area.

Although we have information about ownership in the project area going back to 1889 (see below), we have not found any source that would tell us what buildings stood there before 1901.

To provide an initial sense of the evolution of the project area through the period 1900–1960, we include here the corresponding portions of the Sanborn maps of 1901, 1909, 1919, 1930, 1947, 1949, and 1960 (Figures 11–17). The maps of 1901, 1909, 1919, 1947, and 1949 are available as digital files on the Internet and we have obtained permission to reproduce them here. However, the 1930 and 1960 maps (as well as the other post-1900 Sanborn maps not reproduced here but consulted by us: Sanborn Map Company 1904, 1922, 1951, 1958) are not available on the Internet, and photocopying or other reproduction of the originals is not permitted. Therefore, we have drafted our own simplified versions of the 1930 and 1960 maps (see Figures 14 and 17) to help bridge the gaps between the maps that we can reproduce. A detailed summary of the information about buildings in the project area provided by all but one of the available Sanborn maps is included as Appendix A. We located the 1904 Sanborn map too late to include it in the appendix but we do cite it once below.

Federal Censuses

Another important source for the history of the project area, particularly its social history, is the federal decennial censuses, which began including Arizona Territory in 1870. The 1900 federal census is the earliest available census that definitely included people living in the project area. The 1890 federal census may also have included the project area, but almost all of that census, including the portion covering Arizona Territory, was destroyed long ago in a fire (Blake 1996). As the absence of Sanborn map coverage before 1901 suggests, it is in any case doubtful that anyone was living in the project area in 1890. The most recent available federal census is that of 1930; the 1940 federal census will not be released to the public until 2012. Thus, we have consulted the federal censuses of 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930 (Bureau of the Census 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930).

Appendix B is a summary of the information about project area residents provided in the 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930 censuses. Several characteristics of these data are worth noting. First, the categories of information collected were somewhat different in each census. For each census, we have included every category of potential interest regardless of whether it was collected in every census. Second, we have excluded a few categories of information appearing in one or more censuses simply to conserve space and because of their minimal interest (e.g., year of marriage). All categories of information appear in the appendix in the same order as in the census schedules without any indication of the excluded categories. Third, we present the information from the censuses as we found it, generally without corrections of misspelled names and other mistakes, even when information in other sources made the mistakes obvious. Illegible items or doubtful readings are indicated by question marks in the appendix. We consulted each census in two versions: first, the scanned images of the original documents available online at Ancestry.com; and second, the microfilm copies of the original documents available at the AHS library in Tucson. Both versions present different problems of legibility and accessibility; the appendix represents our best reading of each item using one or both versions.

Tucson City Directories

Tucson city directories are a third source of information about who lived in the project area following its initial development. The city directories, issued annually or biannually by a succession of publishers, also include the names and addresses of businesses, which are supplied only occasionally on the Sanborn maps and virtually never in the censuses. Extracting information from the directories is laborious,

Figure 11. Portion of the 1901 Sanborn map of Tucson (Sanborn Map Company 1901) with the project area overlaid.

(Copyright permission has been requested.)

Figure 12. Portion of the 1909 Sanborn map of Tucson (Sanborn Map Company 1909) with the project area overlaid.

(Copyright permission has been requested.)

Figure 13. Portion of the 1919 Sanborn map of Tucson (Sanborn Map Company 1919) with the project area overlaid.

(Copyright permission has been requested.)

**Figure 14. The project area in 1930, based on the 1930 Sanborn map of Tucson
(Sanborn Map Company 1930).**

(Copyright permission has been requested.)

Figure 15. Portion of the 1947 Sanborn map of Tucson (Sanborn Map Company 1947) with the project area overlaid.

(Copyright permission has been requested.)

Figure 16. Portion of the 1949 Sanborn map of Tucson (Sanborn Map Company 1949) with the project area overlaid.

(Copyright permission has been requested.)

**Figure 17. The project area in 1960, based on the 1960 Sanborn map of Tucson
(Sanborn Map Company 1960).**

(Copyright permission has been requested.)

especially for multiple addresses over a span of many years, and especially for the years before 1918 or so, when the directories were strictly an alphabetical list of residents and businesses and lacked cross listings by address. As discussed further on, we have restricted our use of the city directories largely to the years corresponding with a selection of the Sanborn maps of the project area. Appendix C is a compilation of the information about residents and businesses in the project area from the city directories of 1899–1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1946, and 1960. The city directories occasionally contradict the censuses when it comes to who lived at a particular address in a particular year, which means we have sometimes chosen to disregard one source or the other. Appendix C simply presents the information found in the directories without noting the contradictions.

Property Ownership Records

Property ownership records are another useful source on the history of the project area. Currently, the project area comprises 11 separate ownership parcels, but this is only the most recent configuration in a fairly complicated history of lumping, splitting, and redefining parcels that the area has experienced. A glance at the maps from the original subdivisions of Blocks 252–255 (see Figures 8 and 9) suggests the degree to which property ownership in the project area has changed since the late nineteenth century: of 24 individual lots originally designated and sold within the project area, only one—the single lot encompassed by small, triangular Block 253—survives today as an ownership parcel in its original size and shape. Because of this complicated history, compiling a chain of title for every parcel in the project area was simply beyond the scope of our project. We are also skeptical that it would have been of much value for an understanding of who actually lived in the project area. However, we did consult the early tract books of the O’Quinn Title and Abstract Company (O’Quinn Title and Abstract Company n.d.) for information on property ownership in the project area before 1930. Our summary of this information, along with a brief discussion of how we extracted it from the O’Quinn tract books, is included here as Appendix D.

The information from the O’Quinn tract books has several limitations: it indicates ownership only, not necessarily who lived on a property; it is only as accurate as the O’Quinn Title and Abstract Company was able to make it at the time; and it does not extend beyond 1930 or so. Nonetheless, the lists we compiled do provide a sense of who owned (and sometimes lived) in the project area during the first 40 years after it ceased to be part of the old cemetery. After 1930, the configuration of lots in the project area changed quickly as small lots were consolidated into larger parcels for use in commercial development. As people moved out and businesses moved in after 1930, the specifics of ownership in the project area become of less interest than the sequence of demolition and commercial construction reflected in the Sanborn maps.

The Project Area, Every 10 Years or So

The 10-year intervals that separate the federal censuses, along with the roughly 10-year intervals that separate successive Sanborn maps of Tucson, prompted us to look at the history of the project area as a series of snapshots taken every 10 years or so across the period 1900–1960. The correspondence between census years and Sanborn map years is not exact, and the censuses reach only to 1930, but discussing the history of the project area in terms of its general character every 10 years or so helps to make sense of what is otherwise a disparate aggregate of information.

To facilitate the discussion, we have taken the information about residents and businesses in the project area provided in the federal censuses and city directories and used it to label the individual buildings depicted on a selection of the Sanborn maps. For the period 1900–1930, we have so labeled the 1901, 1909, 1919, and 1930 Sanborn maps, using the 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930 censuses, respectively, supplemented by the most closely corresponding city directories (the 1899–1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930 directories, respectively). For the years after 1930, we have relied solely on the information provided in the city directories. Since the Sanborn map coverage jumps from 1930 to 1947, we have labeled only two additional Sanborn maps, the 1947 and 1960 editions; we labeled these maps using information from the 1946 and 1960 city directories (a 1947 directory was not available). Thus, we have created six maps depicting residents and businesses in the project area ca. 1900, ca. 1910, ca. 1920, ca. 1930, ca. 1946, and ca. 1960 (Figures 18–23).

Provided the information was available, each address depicted in Figures 18–23 is labeled with: the name of the head of household (or the business) at that address; the first name of the head’s spouse (in parentheses); the head’s occupation; and the name and occupation of other working adults in the household. The names and occupations come either from the federal census or the city directory for the indicated year. Occasionally, resident names and occupations in the census conflict with those in the city directory. The census information is generally fuller in terms of who lived at an address, but the city directory is usually more accurate in terms of spellings, and more specific in terms of occupations. Thus, we generally rely on the census for the residents at an address and on the city directory for name spellings and occupations. If no occupation is provided in either the city directory or the census, no occupation is listed here unless we know it from another source discussed in the text. A doubtful reading of a name or occupation provided only in the census is followed by a question mark (?). Occasionally, the census lists an address incorrectly (e.g., “58 Grossetta” for 58 Miltenberg). We were generally able to resolve such problems, but we have not indicated where they occurred. Also occasionally, an address in a census or city directory that evidently falls in the project area is not depicted on the corresponding Sanborn map; the information for such addresses is not included on the figures. Appendixes B and C can be consulted for the information provided in the censuses and directories, respectively, free of the interpretations we made to label the maps.

The Project Area, ca. 1900

By 1900, 14 houses stood in the project area; the first commercial building had yet to be erected. The areas immediately east, south, and west of the project area were also exclusively residential, but across Toole Avenue, adjacent to the railroad, the Tucson Ice and Cold Storage Company and the Eagle Milling Company were in operation, both built a few years earlier (see Figure 11).

The residents of the project area in 1900 were almost all Anglo-American and almost all members of Tucson’s middle class: bookkeepers, clerks, grocers, railroad employees, an attorney, a dentist, a machinist, a saloon keeper, a postmaster (see Figure 18). Most of the houses were single-family homes, but the families varied in composition from couples without children to extended families. Several families had roomers, and at least one house, at 34 East Alameda, seems to have been a rooming house. Postmaster George Cheyney and his wife Anne lived at 186 North Stone with their six daughters and a young Native American woman, Nicolasa Antonio, who was their servant. There was also a young Mexican woman, Matilda Sturis (spelling uncertain), working as a servant in the home of George and Adah Whomes, 208 North Stone; and another young woman, Clara Antonio, who was either Mexican or Native American, working as a servant in the home of Philip and Elizabeth Brennan, 294 North Stone. With one other exception (see below), these three young women were the only non–Anglo-Americans living in the project area, although the Anglo-Americans living there included people born in Canada, England, Germany, and distant parts of the United States.

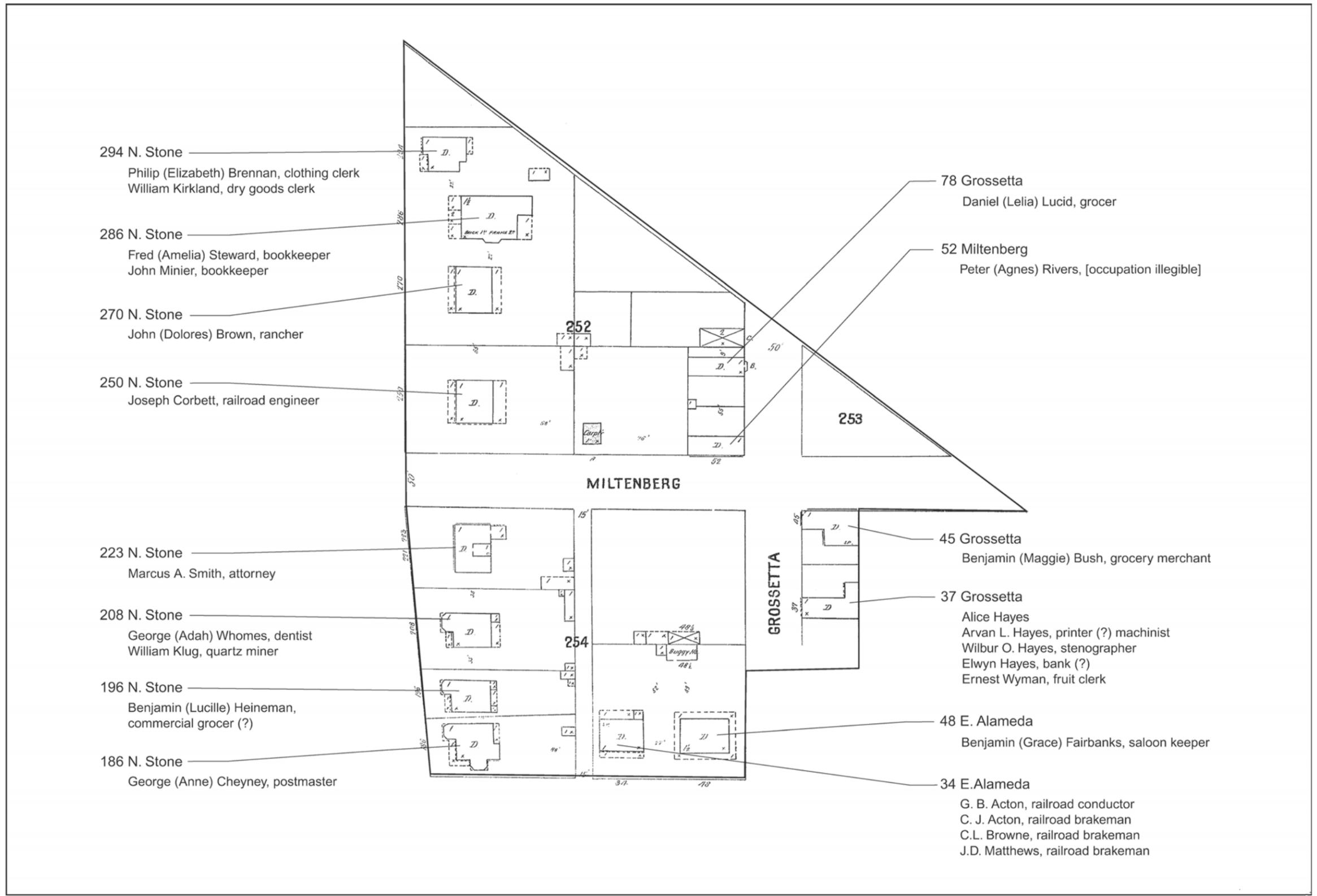


Figure 18. Household heads in the project area, ca. 1900 (based on Bureau of the Census 1900; Sanborn Map Company 1901; Tucson City Directory 1899).

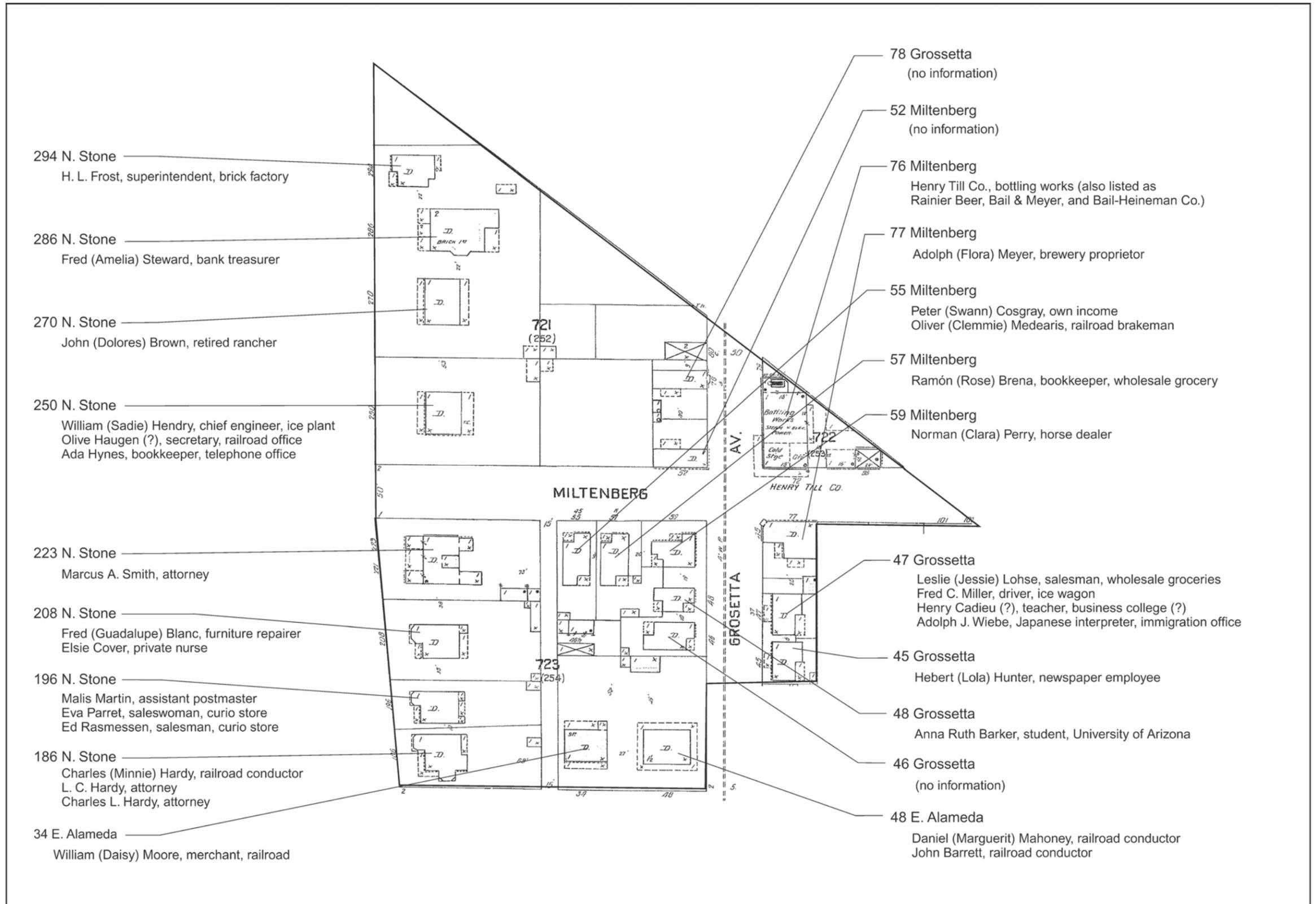


Figure 19. Household heads and businesses in the project area, ca. 1910 (based on Bureau of the Census 1910; Sanborn Map Company 1909; Tucson City Directory 1910).

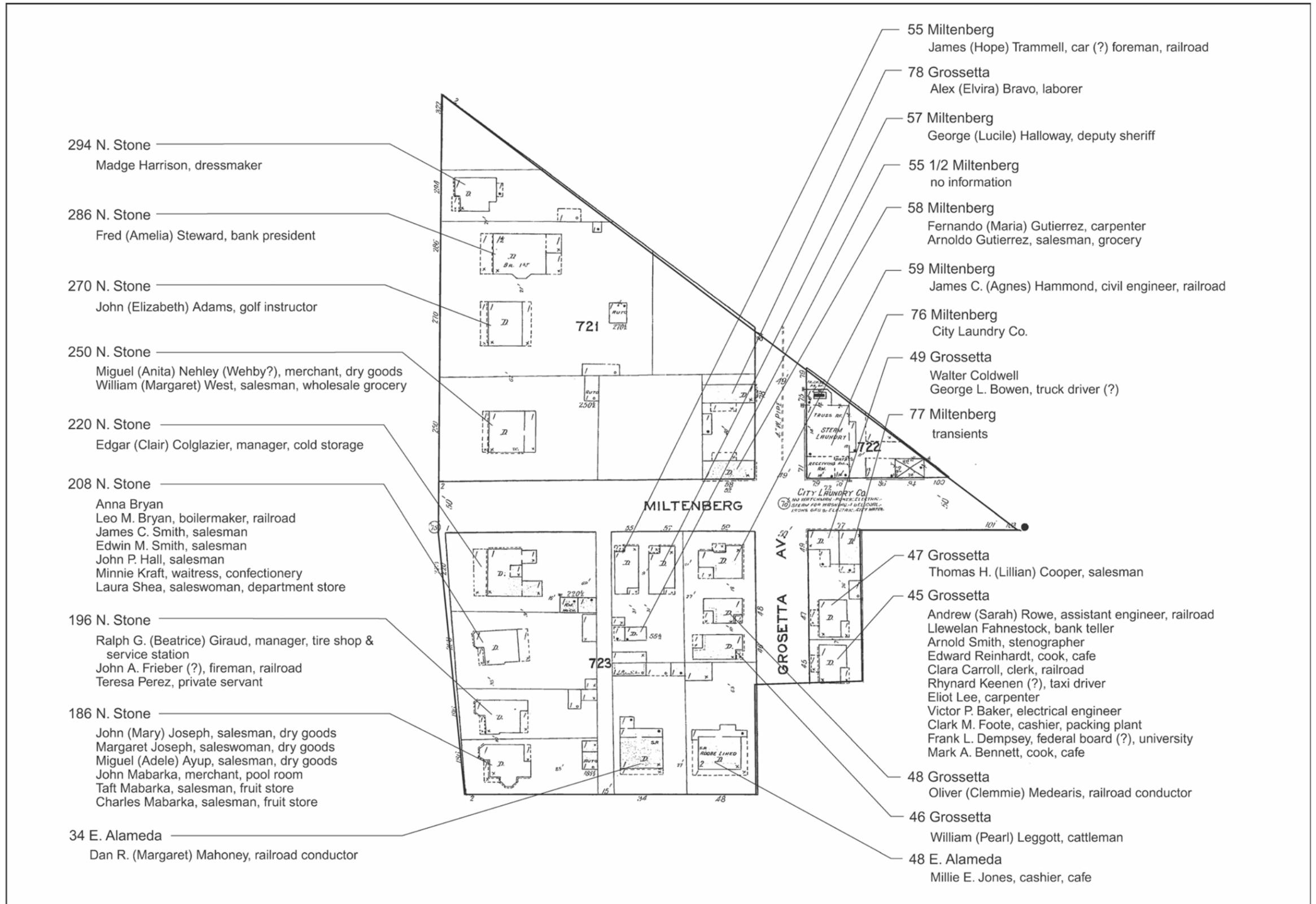


Figure 20. Household heads and businesses in the project area, ca. 1920 (based on Bureau of the Census 1920; Sanborn Map Company 1919; Tucson City Directory 1920).

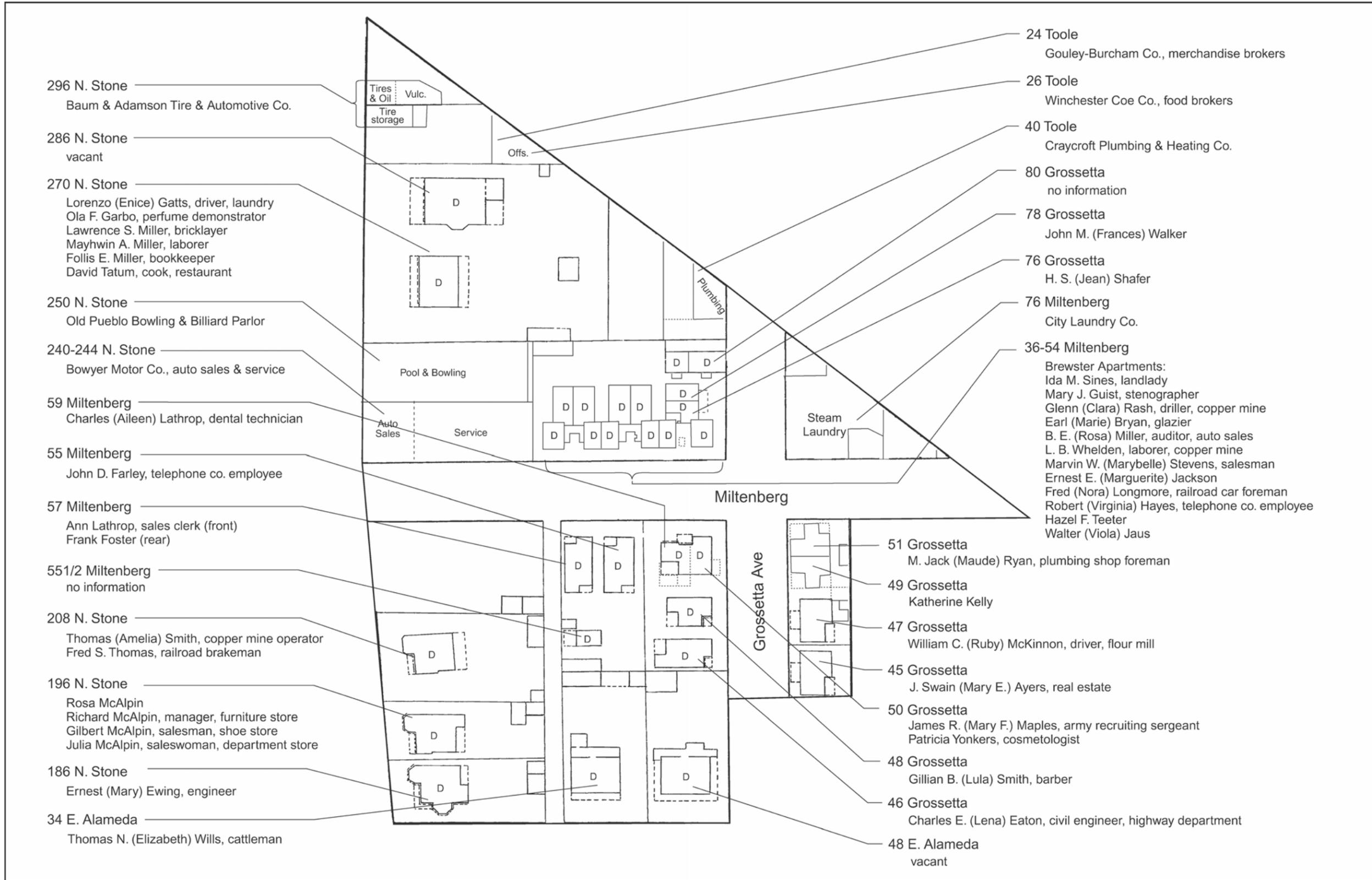


Figure 21. Household heads and businesses in the project area, ca. 1930 (based on Bureau of the Census 1930; Sanborn Map Company 1930; Tucson City Directory 1930).

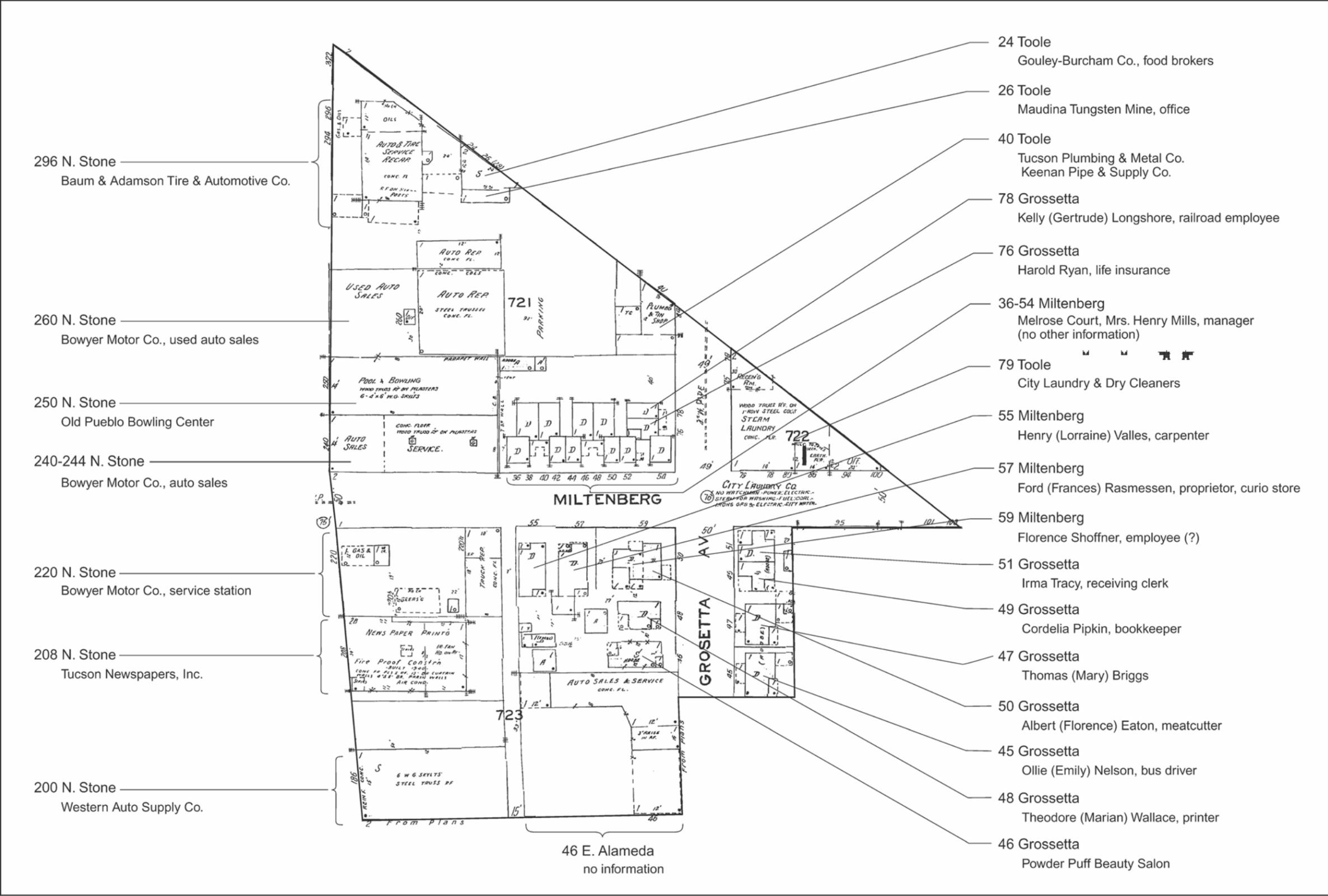


Figure 22. Household heads and businesses in the project area, ca. 1946 (based on Sanborn Map Company 1946; Tucson City Directory 1946).

For most of the residents in the project area, we have not found much information beyond what is provided in the census and the city directory. However, additional information is available for three residents because of their prominence in Tucson before and after 1900. One resident of some prominence was John N. Brown, a rancher who lived with his wife Dolores at 270 North Stone (Figure 24). Brown was from Ohio and moved to southern Arizona around 1879. It is not clear when he took up residence in Tucson, but it was apparently only after ranching for years along the lower San Pedro River in the vicinity of Mammoth (*ADS*, 23 June 1914). In 1890, he bought contiguous Lots 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, and 10 of Block 252, which made his family the largest holder of lands within the project area for the next 40 years or so (see Appendix D and Figure 8). Brown built his house at 270 North Stone sometime after 1890; he is indicated as resident at that address in 1897, the earliest year of city directory coverage (Tucson City Directory 1897). Brown's wife was the Mexican-born Dolores Ybarra Brown, with whom he had two daughters, Amelia and Sarah. Known as Doña Lola, Mrs. Brown was the only non-Anglo-American, other than the three young servant women mentioned above, living in the project area in 1900.

Marriages between Anglo men and Mexican women were common in Tucson in the late nineteenth century but had become significantly less common by 1900 (Sheridan 1986:145–150). The Browns were the only interethnic couple in the project area that year, though a few other such couples lived there in later years. It is not clear what significance the Browns' interethnic marriage had for their two daughters. Amelia married Fred Steward, a bookkeeper from Ohio. In 1900, the young couple was living in the house at 286 North Stone, next door to Amelia's parents and on one of the lots bought by her father in 1890. Fred and Amelia continued to live at the same address until at least 1920 (see below), by which year Fred had become president of the Southern Arizona Bank and Trust Company. Amelia's sister Sarah married another banker, Edward Estberg of Waukesha, Wisconsin, where she went to live (*ADS*, 23 June 1914). Both Amelia and Sarah continued to hold different portions of their father's original property until at least as late as 1930 (see Appendix D).

Another prominent Tucson citizen residing in the project area was Marcus Aurelius Smith (Figure 25) who owned a large house at 223 North Stone. Smith, a lawyer from Kentucky, made his way to southern Arizona in 1880 after a short time practicing law in San Francisco. He settled in Tombstone, where in 1881 he became one of the first attorneys admitted to practice in the newly formed Cochise County. Within a few years, he became involved in local, regional, and eventually territorial politics. In 1886, he ran as a Democrat for the office of territorial delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives. He won that election, was re-elected in 1888, and eventually served several more two-year terms as the sole (and nonvoting) representative of Arizona Territory in Congress. In 1895, Smith was appointed assistant U.S. attorney for Arizona Territory, and in early 1896 he moved permanently to Tucson. On December 12, 1911, Smith was elected as one of the two senators from the newly formed state of Arizona. When his term ended two years later, he was re-elected for a full six-year term and served until 1920. He then remained in Washington until his death in 1924 (Fazio 1970).

Smith became owner of Lot 1 of Block 254 in 1898 (see Appendix D) and probably built his house there that year, if not earlier; he was in residence at 223 North Stone at least as early as 1897 (Tucson City Directory 1897). Smith had married during the short period he lived in San Francisco and brought his wife with him to Arizona in 1880. She must also have lived in the house on Stone Avenue, but she died young, in 1899, after years of illness; the couple was childless (Fazio 1970). Smith maintained his house in Tucson for many years even while his duties as an elected official kept him away—his political opponents complained that he spent more time in Kentucky than in Arizona—but by 1920, Smith's last year as a senator, the house was rented to a married couple (see Appendix B). Smith sold the property in 1921, which probably means he did not intend to return to Tucson after his career as a senator had ended.

A third citizen of some prominence living in the project area in 1900 was George Cheyney (Figure 26), who lived with his wife Anne and their children at 186 North Stone. Cheyney and his wife were from Pennsylvania and had arrived in southern Arizona in 1881. The couple settled first in Tombstone where Cheyney served for several years as the superintendent of the Tombstone Mining and Milling



Figure 24. John N. Brown and Dolores Ybarra Brown, a rancher and his wife who lived at 270 North Stone from ca. 1890 until ca. 1915 (photographs courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society/Tucson, Accession Nos. 23833 and 23836, <http://arizonahistoricalsociety.org>). Mr. Brown's portrait was taken in 1895, Mrs. Brown's in 1897. A note on the back of Mrs. Brown's portrait indicates that she was known as Doña Lola.



Figure 25. Marcus Aurelius Smith, who lived at 223 North Stone from ca. 1896–1924 (undated photograph courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society/Tucson, Accession No. B93362, <http://arizonahistoricalsociety.org>). Smith was one of Arizona’s first two U.S. senators, serving 1912–1920.



Figure 26. George W. Cheney, who lived at 186 North Stone for a few years ca. 1900; he was Tucson's postmaster at the time (undated photograph courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society/Tucson, Accession No. 3798, <http://arizonahistoricalociety.org>). Cheney's name, handwritten on the photograph, is misspelled.

Company, the largest mining operation in town. Much like Marcus Smith, Cheyney became involved in local and regional politics in Tombstone; he was eventually elected (as a Republican) to the Territorial Council for two terms. He also served as the territory's superintendent of public instruction for four years, then was appointed postmaster at Tucson in 1898 (Chapman Publishing 1901:113–114). Cheyney was actually Smith's opponent in the 1890 election for the office of territorial delegate and lost narrowly to his soon-to-be neighbor (Fazio 1970:34). Cheyney apparently never owned the house at 186 North Stone. The lot where it stood was the property of Benjamin Fairbanks, a saloon keeper living at 48 East Alameda who at the time owned several lots in Block 254. By 1910, Cheyney and his family had moved from the project area, probably to the large house at 252 Main Street that they later owned (Arizona Historical Society [AHS] n.d.a).

The eight houses that lined the east side of Stone Avenue between Alameda and Toole were part of a general boom in the construction of large, Eastern-style single-family homes that characterized the north side of downtown at the turn of the twentieth century (Nequette and Jeffery 2002). Based on the Sanborn map depictions, all eight houses were of wood-frame construction (the first floor of Fred and Amelia Steward's house, 286 N. Stone, was of brick, the second floor of wood), a reflection of the Anglo-American disdain at the time for adobe construction. The houses at 34 and 48 East Alameda were also of wood-frame construction and fairly large, while the other four houses, all on Grossetta Street, were also of wood-frame construction but smaller and probably simpler.

From a desolate, neglected cemetery in 1889, the project area was transformed by 1900 into a comfortable middle-class neighborhood. A photograph of 270 North Stone (Figure 27), probably taken around 1910, shows a brightly painted, well-maintained Victorian house with a spacious front porch and mature landscaping. When the owner John Brown died in 1914, his obituary noted that "the recent preparation of Stone Avenue for paving" had caused him concern that "his beloved mulberry trees, planted by him many years ago, would have to be rooted up" (ADS, 23 June 1914). As it happened, the trees were spared uprooting by the paving project—ironically enough, since a decade or so later nary a weed survived on the former site of the Brown house.

Down the block at 223 North Stone, Marcus Smith's house was similarly shaded by mature trees but was altogether different architecturally. A photograph of the house taken in 1928 (Figure 28) shows an eclectic Stone Avenue facade with intricate plaster frieze work, egg-shaped porch openings, and several styles of columns. The three houses just south of Smith's, at 186, 196, and 208 North Stone, appear in a photograph from the 1920s published in a Tucson newspaper in 1957 (AHS n.d.b). These three houses were each of a more conventional design. Glimpses of the Fred and Amelia Steward house at 286 North Stone, and of its neighbor at 294 North Stone, can be had in later photographs of the area, as noted below.

The Project Area, ca. 1910

Between 1900 and 1910, the project area remained basically residential in character (see Figure 19). All but one of the 14 houses built by 1900 were still standing in 1910; the small house at 37 Grossetta was gone, replaced by two houses at newly designated 45 and 47 Grossetta. Five new houses now occupied the northeast quarter of Block 254, fronting on the south side of Miltenberg and the west side of Grossetta. All of the new houses were small and probably fairly modest in comparison to the larger houses along Stone Avenue.

The project area also retained its middle-class character, although with a considerable turnover in residents. Only three households, all on Stone Avenue, remained basically unchanged: John and Dolores Brown at 270, Fred and Amelia Steward at 294, and the widower Marcus Smith at 223. Mr. Smith's house is the only one that underwent a noticeable architectural change: the 1909 Sanborn map shows a large front porch on the house, probably the elaborate front porch visible in later photographs (see Figure



Figure 27. The John N. and Dolores Brown residence, 270 North Stone, ca. 1910 (photograph courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society/Tucson, Accession No. 41590, <http://arizonahistoricalsociety.org>). The date of the photograph can be inferred from the lack of pavement on Stone Avenue and the presence of trolley tracks.



Figure 28. The Marcus A. Smith residence, 223 North Stone, in 1928 (photograph courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society/Tucson, Accession No. 4227, <http://arizonahistoricalsociety.org>). This photograph may have been taken just before (or as) the house was razed; note the damage visible along the roof above the porch and through the front door. The house does not appear on the 1930 Sanborn map.

28). Once again, almost all of the project area residents were white Anglo-Americans. One of the original exceptions, Mrs. John Brown, was joined on Stone Avenue by another Mexican-American woman, Guadalupe Blanc, who lived at 208 North Stone with her Switzerland-born husband, Fred Blanc. Around the corner at 57 Miltenberg, Ramón (or Raymond) Brena and his wife Rose, were the only Mexican-American couple in the project area. Mr. Brena was probably related to the family of Rosario Brena, a prominent Mexican-American merchant who lived for many years in a house in Block 83, a few blocks southeast of the project area (Mabry et al. 1994:45). Rosario Brena owned the Brena Commercial Company, a wholesale grocery warehouse just across Toole Avenue from the project area (see Figure 12). Ramón Brena, who was not one of Rosario's sons, worked as a bookkeeper at the warehouse, according to the 1910 city directory (see Appendix C).

There were two other foreign-born residents in the project area in 1910, both named Adolph. One was Adolph J. Wiebe (or Adolph J. Weber, as his name appears in the 1910 census). Mr. Wiebe was an interpreter of Japanese for the federal immigration office in Tucson. The census indicates that he was all of nine years old (possibly a mistake) and born in Japan to a German father and a Japanese mother. He was living as a boarder at 47 Grossetta, apparently unrelated to the head of the household, Leslie Lohse (who, perhaps not coincidentally, had German-born parents). We were unable to find out anything else about the unusual Mr. Wiebe, or about how much demand there might have been for a Japanese interpreter at the immigration office.

The other Adolph was Adolph Meyer, a German immigrant who lived with his Iowa-born American wife Flora (an artist, according to the census) at 77 Miltenberg. Mr. Meyer was a brewer and part owner of the Henry Till Company bottling works, located just across Miltenberg from his house, on the previously vacant Block 253. The origin of the Henry Till Company name is unknown, but the 1910 city directory (see Appendix C) indicates that the business was associated with several other names: Rainier Beer, Rainier Bottling Works, Bail and Meyer, and the Bail-Heineman Company. In addition, the O'Quinn tract books show that Block 253 was owned 1904–1924 by the Seattle Brewing and Malting Company (see Appendix D), which was undoubtedly also related in some way to the Henry Till Company. Mr. Meyer was a partner, at least for a time, with Adolph (yet another Adolph) Bail, who at the turn of the century lived immediately adjacent to the project area at 82 East Alameda (Tucson City Directory 1897). Apparently at the same time as his association with Mr. Meyer, Mr. Bail was partners with Simon Heineman in the Bail-Heineman Company, a liquor and cigar wholesaler located just north of the project area and across the railroad tracks at 432 North Stone (Dreyfuss Family Papers n.d.; Sanborn Map Company 1909; *Tucson Citizen [TC]*, 7 November 1924); Simon Heineman was apparently unrelated to Benjamin Heineman, the commercial grocer who lived at 196 North Stone in 1900. We have found nothing else on the Henry Till Company, except that an employee named Jesús Lastra, presumably of Mexican descent, lived on the premises (see Appendix C).

The Henry Till Company was gone by 1920, replaced by a laundry operating in the same building (see below). Curiously, the bottling works was also briefly preceded by a laundry, apparently also in the same building. The 1904 Sanborn map, not reproduced here, shows a building with the same footprint as the Henry Till Company labeled “Ruins of Fire, Formerly Troy Laundry”; the roof is indicated as missing (Sanborn Map Company 1904). The Troy Laundry was established in September 1902 by the brothers Mose and Harry Drachman and another partner (Troy Laundry Company 1902). It must have operated for two years or less before it was destroyed by fire. Mose Drachman went on to found the Tucson Steam Laundry, located at Sixth Street and Seventh Avenue (on the other side of the railroad tracks), which operated successfully for many years (Mose Drachman Papers n.d.) but was apparently unassociated with the laundry that took the Henry Till Company's place sometime after 1910.

The Project Area, ca. 1920

In 1920, the project area was still exclusively residential, with the same exception as in 1910. The building that once held the Henry Till Bottling Works now held the City Laundry Company, which occupied Block 253 for over 40 years (see Figure 20). According to an advertisement for the laundry published in 1950, the company began business in 1916 (Tucson City Directory 1950:cover); the laundry building is present on the 1958 Sanborn map but missing from the 1960 map (see Appendix A).

There was again an almost complete change in residents in the project area from a decade earlier. The one continuing household was that of Fred and Amelia Steward at 286 North Stone. Their neighbor, and Amelia's father, John Brown, died in 1914, and in 1920 the house at 270 North Stone was rented to John and Elizabeth Adams. As a sign of things to come for Tucson, John Adams, a Scotsman, was the golf professional at the Tucson Golf and Country Club. Fred and Amelia Steward were also, apparently, the only owner-residents in the project area in 1920. The census is somewhat unreliable on this count in any year, but there was a definite shift from several owner households in 1900 and 1910 to apparently only one in 1920. There was also an increase in the number of roomers or lodgers living in family houses in the project area. Both the fairly large house at 208 North Stone and the fairly small house at 45 Grossetta had as many as a dozen residents in 1920; at the latter address, as many as ten of the residents were lodgers (see Appendix B).

The residents of the project area remained mostly a mixture of middle-class people, with the addition of a few less affluent working people, including a laborer, a taxi driver, two cooks, a cashier, and a carpenter. Most of the residents were again white and Anglo-American, but there were now several Mexican-born or Mexican-American residents as well: Fernando and María Gutierrez and their children at 58 Miltenberg; Alex and Elvira Bravo at 78 Grossetta; Teresa Perez, a young servant, at 196 North Stone; and perhaps a few others. Interestingly, two households on Stone Avenue had Syrian backgrounds. John and Mary Joseph, both born in Syria of Syrian parents, lived at 186 North Stone with their two daughters, several other relatives of Syrian ancestry, and three Syria-born lodgers. At 250 North Stone, the Syria-born Miguel Nehley (or Wehby) lived with his California-born wife Anita. According to the city directory (see Appendix C), John and Mary Joseph owned, or at least operated, the Yellow Front Store, a dry goods store at 105 West Congress Street; their son-in-law, Miguel (Mike) Ayup was a salesman at the same store; Miguel Nehley (or Wehby) and his wife owned or operated another dry goods store at 27 West Congress. This suggests that there was something of a Syrian community in Tucson in 1920, perhaps one specializing in dry goods, but we have been unable to find any other information about such a community.

Apart from the changes made to the Henry Till Company bottling works when it was converted to a laundry, there were few substantial changes to the architecture in the project area. The house at 48 East Alameda had one and a half stories in 1909 but two full stories by 1919. The house at 77 Miltenberg was a single-family dwelling in 1909 but in 1919 held two separate dwellings with the addresses 77 Miltenberg and 49 Grossetta. At 55 Miltenberg, a small outbuilding in the back of the lot was converted to a dwelling (55½ Miltenberg) by 1919. Also by 1919, small garages for automobiles were present at the backs of 180, 250, and 286 North Stone.

The Project Area, ca. 1930

Between 1920 and 1930, the project area underwent a number of changes that marked the beginning of its transformation from a primarily residential neighborhood to an exclusively commercial one. Although most of the houses present in 1920 remained in place in 1930, the overall residential architecture did change notably through the removal and replacement of buildings (see Figure 21). Three of the large houses on Stone Avenue—220 (previously 223), 250, and 294 North Stone—were razed. The house at

77 Miltenberg and 49 Grossetta, made into a duplex by 1920, was also razed, then replaced by another duplex with the addresses 49 and 51 Grossetta. The house at 59 Miltenberg, a single-family house in 1920, was made into a duplex with the addresses 59 Miltenberg and 50 Grossetta. And the two small houses at 58 (previously 52) Miltenberg and 78 Grossetta were razed, then replaced by a 12-unit apartment building with the addresses 36–54 Miltenberg and 76–78 Grossetta.

The turnover in residents from 1920 and 1930 was evidently complete. Fred and Amelia Steward, the last of the residents from 1900, had moved away, though they still owned the property where they had lived for almost three decades (see Appendix D; note that our ownership information ends about 1930). Judging by the 1930 census, all of the residents in the project area were renters. Many had middle-class occupations—salesmen and saleswomen, engineers, a real estate agent, a dental technician—but blue-collar workers—laborers, drivers, a glazier, a bricklayer, a cook, a barber, a cosmetologist, and others—were now the majority. The residents were still mostly white and Anglo-American, but there was a slight increase in the number of Mexican-American residents. Ernest Ewing, an Anglo-American engineer, lived at 186 North Stone with his Mexican-American wife Mary, their three children, and two step-daughters, probably Mary’s children from a previous marriage. Interestingly, the census indicates the race of Mary and her five children as “Mexican”; in the three preceding censuses their race would have been given as “white.” Next door to the Ewings, at 196 North Stone, lived the Mexican-born Rosa McAlpin and her three adult children, all of them also indicated as Mexican in the census. One house farther up the street, at 208 North Stone, lived the Anglo-American Thomas Smith, his Mexican-American wife Amelia, and their daughter Margaret, also described as Mexican in the census (see Appendix B).

According to the census, the new apartment building at the corner of Miltenberg and Grossetta was called the Brewster Apartments. We know little about this building except that it does not appear on the 1922 Sanborn map (see Appendix A) and the property it occupied (Lots 11, 12, and 13 of Block 252) was purchased by a Dan Brewster in 1923 (see Appendix D). The building was obviously erected sometime between 1923 and 1930, but we have not found any other record of its design or construction. The simple one-story building is clearly visible in an aerial photograph of downtown Tucson taken in the late 1930s (Figure 29).

The commercial development of the project area between 1920 and 1930 was considerable, following a general pattern of changes to the north side of downtown in the period (Devine 1995, 1996). The City Laundry Company had expanded its facility by 1930, building an annex on a vacant lot on the other side of Miltenberg, just outside the project area; parts of the original building were also remodeled (Sanborn Map Company 1930). Five entirely new commercial buildings were erected in the project area by 1930. At 40 Toole, or the southwest corner of Toole and Miltenberg, a small triangular building held the Craycroft Plumbing and Heating Company; the shop’s foreman, Jack Ryan, lived nearby at 51 Grossetta. Another small triangular building northwest on Toole held the Gouley-Burcham Company, merchandise brokers, and the Winchester Coe Company, food brokers (at two addresses, 24 and 26 Toole respectively). At the north end of the project area, where Stone and Toole Avenues met at a point, the Baum and Adamson Tire and Automotive Company had opened a tire shop, occupying the formerly vacant Lot 1 of Block 252 and a portion of adjacent Lot 2, where the house at 294 North Stone had stood in 1920. On the former site of the house at 250 North Stone, two businesses occupied separate but contiguous buildings: a bowling and billiard parlor at 250 North Stone and a car dealership at 240–244 North Stone.

We know nothing else about the businesses that occupied the small triangular buildings on Toole (both of which are visible in Figure 29). The building at 40 Toole is now gone; the building at 24–26 Toole was later incorporated into an expanded Baum and Adamson facility and survives today, at least in part (see Chapter 4). We know only slightly more about the businesses at 240–244 and 250 North Stone; the buildings at both addresses survive today as a single commercial building (see Chapter 4). The Old Pueblo Bowling and Billiard Parlor opened at 250 North Stone sometime after 1922, the year of the most



Figure 29. Aerial view of downtown Tucson taken in the late 1930s, camera facing south (photograph courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society/Tucson, Accession No. 51962, <http://arizonahistoricalsociety.org>). Stone Avenue runs at an angle down the center of the photograph, the Southern Pacific Railroad at an angle across the foreground. The project area is just south of the warehouses lining the railroad tracks. The Stone Avenue underpass, completed in 1935, is visible at the lower right corner of the photograph.

recent Sanborn map to show a house at that address. The Bowyer Motor Company must have opened at 240–244 North Stone shortly after Old Pueblo, since later remodeling plans show that the Bowyer building used the south wall of the bowling alley (see Chapter 4). We have not found any useful images of the Bowyer Motor Company, but excellent photographs of the Old Pueblo Bowling and Billiard Parlor, probably taken not long after it opened, are preserved in the Buehman collection of the AHS library in Tucson (Figures 30 and 31).

The Baum and Adamson tire shop at 296 Stone Avenue became the most enduring business in the project area; its history is fairly well documented in news clippings on file at the AHS library in Tucson (*ADS*, 12 October 1969; *TC*, 15 February 1963, 23 May 1969, 20 October 1969). The business was begun in 1923 by Clayton Baum and Harold Adamson at a shop located on the future site of the Pioneer Hotel at Stone Avenue and Pennington Street; it moved to the corner of Stone and Toole Avenues in 1925. The original building at 296 North Stone, probably erected in 1925, was small and stood right at the curb, immediately adjacent to the frame house that had stood at 294 North Stone since at least 1900 (Figure 32). In 1929, apparently just before the 1930 Sanborn map was made, the house at 294 North Stone was razed and the tire shop was expanded by the addition of a storage room to its south side. Then, in 1934, the expanded but still-small building was removed entirely and a new building was erected, a concrete block structure with service bays, gasoline pumps, and the typical appearance of a 1930s filling station (Figure 33). By the same year, Baum and Adamson had ceased to sell Michelin tires (the icons of which are obvious in the 1929 photograph of the business; see Figure 32) and had become a B.F. Goodrich dealership, which it remained for the life of the business.

When Baum and Adamson opened their shop at the corner of Stone and Toole, the sharply angled lot created by the intersection of the two streets was known locally as “The Point,” a name that was apparently still in use as late as the 1960s. Adamson later recounted that, in 1925, when he and Baum bought the property, they were “a little hesitant” about the new location because “it seemed a little too far from the business section of the city” (*TC*, 15 February 1963). A dozen years later, it was clear that they need not have worried (see Figure 29). The city was transformed in the 1920s and 1930s by the increasingly common use of automobiles, which created a huge demand for their tire business and made the new location anything but far from downtown.

One of the most dramatic visual changes to the area around “The Point” in the 1930s was also prompted by the rise in automobile traffic: the building of the Stone Avenue underpass under the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks. Prior to completion of the underpass, the view northward along Stone Avenue was open and unobstructed, and the railroad was not so obviously the border between downtown and the north side that it is today (Figure 34).

The Project Area, ca. 1946

By 1947, the date of the first Sanborn map published after 1930, the residential portion of the project area had shrunken considerably (see Figure 22). All of the houses that once stood along the east side of Stone Avenue and the north side of Alameda Street were gone, replaced by commercial buildings. Residential architecture was restricted to the houses in the northeast quarter of Block 254, the houses across Grossetta Avenue, and the apartment building at the northwest corner of Grossetta and Miltenberg. According to the 1946 city directory, the name of the apartment building was now Melrose Court. In these remaining residential buildings, there was once again a complete turnover of residents. We have no information about any of these residents other than what the city directory provides (see Appendix C), and the directory does not list the individual residents of Melrose Court. The information we do have indicates that, as in 1930, the residents are a mix of middle-class and blue-collar people.

There were now 11 businesses in the project area. The house at 46 Grossetta had been converted, without any obvious physical change, from a dwelling to a store, the Powder Puff Beauty Salon. The City



Figure 30. The front of the Old Pueblo Bowling and Billiard Parlor at 250 North Stone Avenue, ca. 1930 (photograph courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society/Tucson, Accession No. BN207399, <http://arizonahistoricalsociety.org>). This building survives today as part of 240 North Stone Avenue, but the original facade was entirely altered in the early 1960s.

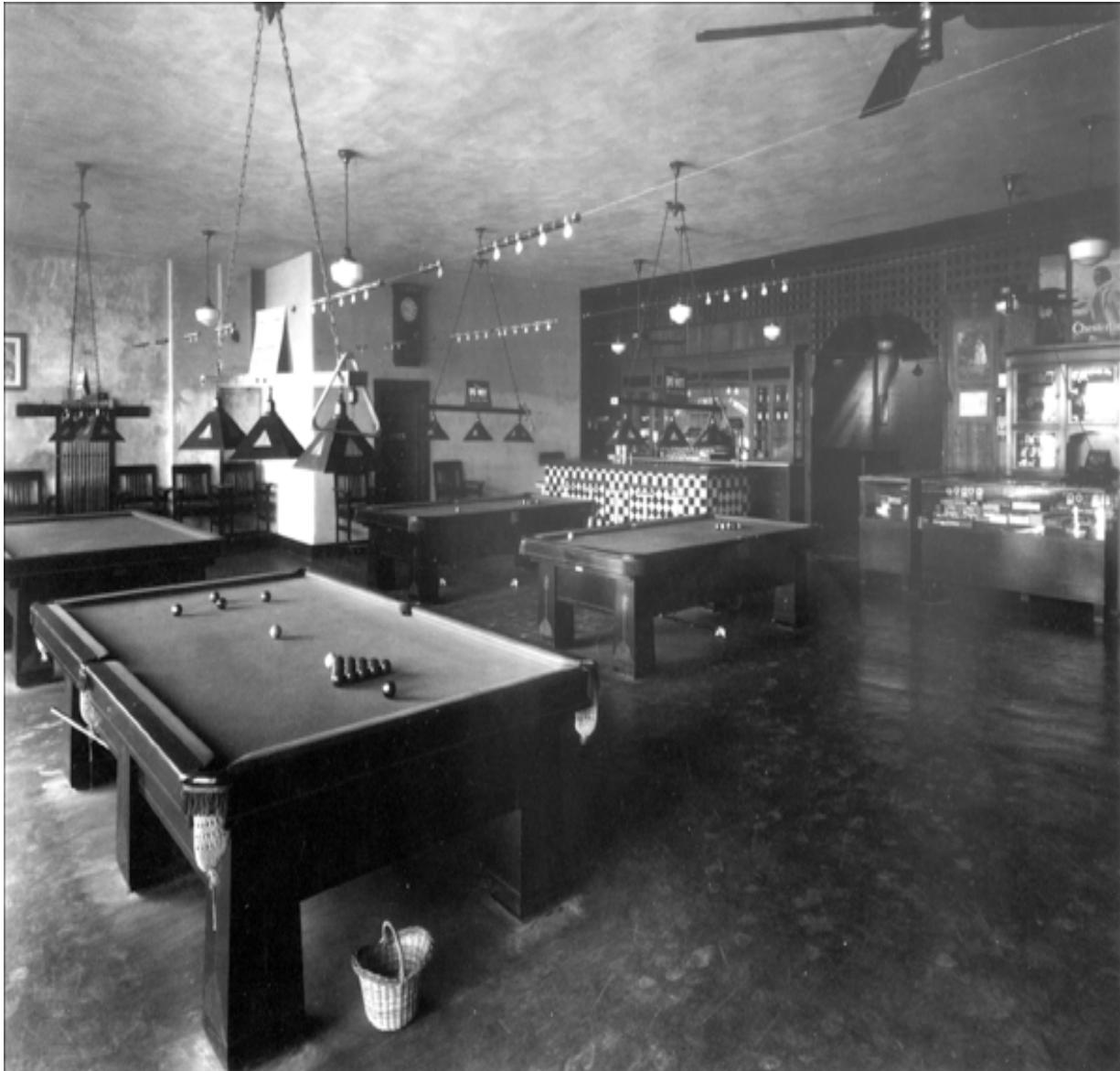


Figure 31. Part of the inviting interior of the Old Pueblo Bowling and Billiard Parlor at 250 North Stone Avenue, ca. 1930 (photograph courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society/Tucson, Accession No. BN207396). <http://arizonahistoricalsociety.org>



Figure 32. The Baum and Adamson Tire and Automotive Company at 296 North Stone Avenue, February 27, 1929, camera facing southeast (photograph courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society/Tucson, Accession No. BN24945, <http://arizonahistoricalsociety.org>). The house immediately adjacent on the south, 294 North Stone, was gone by the time the 1930 Sanborn map was prepared. In later years, this photograph was used in newspaper articles about the history of the dealership but with all indications of the Michelin brand removed: Baum and Adamson had become a B.F. Goodrich dealership by the mid-1930s.



Figure 33. The Baum and Adamson Tire and Automotive Company at 296 North Stone Avenue, ca. 1935, camera facing southeast (photograph courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society/Tucson, Accession No. BN200457, <http://arizonahistoricalsociety.org>). The house immediately adjacent on the south, 286 North Stone, was the former home of Fred and Amelia Steward.



Figure 34. North Stone Avenue as viewed from just south of its intersection with Toole Avenue, ca. 1935, camera facing north (photograph courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society/Tucson, Accession No. BN200617, <http://arizonahistoricalsociety.org>). Within a year, construction of the Stone Avenue underpass would radically change this view. The Baum and Adamson Tire and Automotive Company, at 296 North Stone Avenue, is at the right edge of the photograph. The trolley tracks, first laid in 1898, had ceased to be used by 1930 (Haney and Scavone 1971) and did not survive the building of the underpass.

Laundry Company continued in the same building, with some expansion to its annex just outside the project area; it was also using the name City Laundry and Dry Cleaning. The plumbing shop at 40 Toole now held two small businesses: the Tucson Plumbing and Metal Company and the Keenan Pipe and Supply Company. The Gouley-Burcham Company continued at 24 Toole, now accompanied by the office of the Maudina Tungsten Mine (with the address 26 Toole). At 46 East Alameda, a new car dealership was apparently in place, occupying all of the southeast quarter of the block; we do not know the name or anything else about this business. At 200 North Stone, or the corner of Alameda and Stone, a new commercial building housed the Western Auto Supply Company; according to plans on file at the City of Tucson Development Services office, this building went up around 1939 (see Chapter 4). The Old Pueblo Bowling and Billiard Parlor, its name updated to the Old Pueblo Bowling Center, continued in an ostensibly unchanged 250 North Stone. Bowyer Motor Company continued unchanged at 240–244 North Stone but had added a used car lot and repair garage in the space between Old Pueblo and the Baum and Adamson shop. Bowyer had also built a service station on the former site of Marcus Smith's house, across Miltenberg from its original building.

The Baum and Adamson shop built in 1934 stood immediately adjacent to the old house of Fred and Amelia Steward at 286 North Stone. In fact, when the building was expanded in 1940, the north wall of the old Steward house was reportedly used as the south wall of the expanded shop (Figure 35); that feature remained in place until a thorough remodeling in 1969 (*ADS*, 12 October 1969). By the time the 1947 Sanborn map was made, every other part of the Steward house was gone.

The most substantial addition to the project area between 1930 and 1946 was the printing and circulation facility of Tucson Newspapers, Inc., built in 1940 at 208 North Stone, the former site of the house once occupied by George and Adah Whomes. The two-story Tucson Newspapers building was the largest building built to date in the project area, and the first building with a basement. Excavation for the basement in 1940 uncovered at least one skeleton, the first in a series of such finds that showed that many of the burials in the old cemetery had never been moved (see Chapter 4). By the time the Tucson Newspapers building went up, the project area and the adjacent parts of downtown had become thoroughly urban in appearance, with only scattered examples of residential architecture (Figure 36).

Construction of the Tucson Newspapers building was prompted by the 1940 merger of the business and mechanical operations of Tucson's two major newspapers, the *Arizona Daily Star* and the *Tucson Citizen*. The two papers had been rivals since the 1870s but the owners decided to create a joint agency, Tucson Newspapers, Inc., to produce and distribute the two papers more efficiently. The downtown production plants of both papers were closed when the two papers moved into the common plant on North Stone. The two papers continued to operate separate newsrooms and to maintain complete editorial independence, an arrangement that continues today (Tucson Newspapers 2005).

The Project Area, ca. 1960

By 1960, the transformation of the project area to an exclusively commercial zone was complete (see Figure 23). Melrose Court, the apartment building at 36–54 Miltenberg, last appeared on the 1951 Sanborn map. The houses that stood on the northeast quarter of Block 254—at 55, 57, and 59 Miltenberg and 46, 48, and 50 Grossetta—also last appeared on the 1951 Sanborn map. On the east side of Grossetta, the houses at 47, 49, and 51 hung on for the 1958 Sanborn map but were crossed out on the 1960 edition (see Appendix A).

The buildings in the project area had become exclusively commercial, but the area had not become a densely built commercial zone. The northeast quarter of Block 254 now held only Durazzo's Union 76, a small service station originally built by Tucson Newspapers around 1953 for its company vehicles (see Chapter 4). From the year it was built, this building was surrounded by a large, otherwise empty lot, a situation that continues today. Across Miltenberg Street, which by 1960 was sometimes referred to as



Figure 35. The Baum and Adamson Tire and Automotive Company at 296 North Stone Avenue, ca. 1940, camera facing east (photograph courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society/Tucson, Accession No. BN26957, <http://arizonahistoricalsociety.org>). The south wall of the large service bay was reportedly the north wall of the house next door, Fred and Amelia Steward's former residence at 286 North Stone.



Figure 36. Aerial view of downtown Tucson during the Rodeo Parade, February 22, 1941, camera facing southwest (photograph by George Chambers courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society/Tucson, Accession No. 148869, <http://arizonahistoricalsociety.org>). Stone Avenue angles across the center of the photograph; the Pioneer Hotel stands just left of center. The project area is in the immediate foreground; the City Laundry Company is at the lowermost left, Bowyer Motor Company and the Old Pueblo Bowling and Billard Parlor are at the lowermost right. The recently completed Tucson Newspapers building stands just south of Bowyer Motor Company.

East Council Street, the large lot where the Melrose Court apartment building had stood was now altogether vacant, serving as a parking lot for Durazzo's Union 76; today this lot continues to serve solely for parking. East of Grossetta, the City Laundry Company and its annex were gone, having made their last appearance on the 1958 Sanborn map; those lots have remained empty ever since, as have the former house lots at 47, 49, and 51 Grossetta.

By 1958, the Old Pueblo Bowling Center and the Bowyer Motor Company had closed and the two buildings they had occupied were being used for furniture storage. A few years later, the two buildings would be merged into a new banking facility which, after several changes in occupants and interior finishing, remains more or less intact today (see Chapter 4). At the north end of the project area, Baum and Adamson had expanded its facility eastward to Toole Avenue to abut the building at 24 Toole and southward to abut the former Old Pueblo Bowling Center; this expansion took place after 1949 and before 1958 (see Appendix A). Baum and Adamson would continue to expand into the late 1960s, with a thorough remodeling taking place in 1969 (*ADS*, 12 October 1969; *TC*, 23 May 1969, 20 October 1969). The tire company went out of business in 1979, but the building remains, now used as a night club (see Chapter 4).

The Tucson Newspapers building at 208 North Stone underwent several additions and changes after its original construction in 1940. In 1955, a promotional booklet for Tucson Newspapers boasted that the newly remodeled building was "a single, compact, fire-resistant structure of concrete and steel with two floors below street level and three above"; the building now had more than 66,000 square feet of floor space (Tucson Newspapers 1955). On the 1958 Sanborn map, the expanded building takes up almost all of the northwest quarter of Block 254, abutting the sidewalks on both Stone and Miltenberg. On the 1960 Sanborn map, the building takes up the entire quarter: another small addition in 1959 extended the original footprint of 208 North Stone eastward to the alley.

By 1962, Tucson Newspapers owned or controlled all of Block 254, including the parking lot and garage on the block's southeast quarter and the commercial building at the corner of Stone and Alameda. The company was obviously interested in keeping its expansion options open, but that year the company also purchased a large tract of land southeast of downtown (at South Third Avenue and East Sixteenth Street) with an eye to eventually building a new plant. In a newspaper interview, the Tucson Newspapers business manager explained the decision to buy the new property, noting that downtown property had become too valuable for a production plant, and downtown traffic was becoming "too congested for efficient distribution of newspapers" (*TC*, 29 December 1962). In 1973, Tucson Newspapers did finally move to a new building but even farther from downtown: 4850 South Park Avenue, its current location (Tucson Newspapers 2005). The building at 208–220 North Stone was eventually torn down and nothing has replaced it.

By 1949, the store building at 200 North Stone had been divided into six small stores. The 1960 city directory provides names only for the businesses occupying the three stores fronting Stone Avenue: Rubitom's Record Revue at 200, Producers Financial Company at 202, and two businesses, Murphey Realty and Mortgage Company and National Bankers Life Insurance Company, at 204. By 1965, this building had been razed and replaced by the downtown branch of the First National Bank of Arizona, only the second building in the project area to have a basement and the one that still stands at the corner of Stone and Alameda (see Chapter 4).

The only other commercial buildings in the project area in 1960 were the small triangular buildings fronting Toole Avenue. The building at 40 Toole was vacant; the west half of the other building (24 Toole) was also vacant, but the east half (now 28 Toole) held Larry's Coffee Cup, a small restaurant. We do not know when the building at 40 Toole was razed, but it is now gone. The building at 24–28 Toole, which the expanded Baum and Adamson building abutted in 1960, is now a part of the nightclub that occupies the old Baum and Adamson building (see Chapter 4).

Historic Properties in the Project Vicinity

The appearance of the project area changed radically between the late 1890s, when it was a newly constructed residential neighborhood, and the late 1950s, when the last houses were torn down. Not only was all of the residential architecture in the project area gone by 1960, but the earliest examples of commercial architecture had also been razed and replaced, or drastically altered. Today just four commercial buildings stand in the project area; the rest of the area is used for parking or is simply vacant. The project area is, however, adjacent to other parts of downtown Tucson that have retained much more of their historic character. And judging by archaeological research carried out in adjacent areas, as well as the historical research presented here, the project area may preserve significant archaeological deposits below its mostly vacant surface.

In order to help evaluate the extant buildings in the project area and its archaeological potential, this chapter summarizes the available information about historic properties (architecture and archaeological sites) in and around the project area. The first section provides brief descriptions of archaeological sites recorded to date in downtown Tucson. The second section briefly describes formally designated historic districts near the project area. The third section presents our documentation of the four extant buildings in the project area. In the fourth and last section we discuss incidental discoveries of burials made over the years in the project area and the area's general archaeological potential.

Archaeological Sites in and near the Project Area

Serious local interest in the history of Tucson began, coincidentally, around the same year that the old camp cemetery fell out of use. In January 1884, the Society of Arizona Pioneers was formed in Tucson by the earliest Anglo-American settlers of southern Arizona, along with the most influential of the Mexican-American residents who had arrived even earlier. Prompted by fears that the frontier character of Tucson was fading away, the Society of Arizona Pioneers (forerunner of the modern Arizona Historical Society) strove to preserve the memories of the earliest settlers and at least some sense of what Arizona had been before the many changes wrought by the coming of the railroad (Sonnichsen 1982:106–107).

An interest in the actual physical traces of Tucson's history was slower to emerge. When it did, the focus was the old Spanish presidio, which had been reduced to a few remnants of its adobe walls by 1900. Acting on his own such interest, Robert Forbes—a professor of chemistry in the Agricultural School at the University of Arizona and a one-time boarder with the Whomes family at 208 North Stone (Tucson City Directory 1897)—created one of the few known maps of the presidio in 1914 based on his interview of the early pioneer Sam Hughes (Lockwood n.d.; the map is a small, very simple sketch). The last standing segment of the presidio wall was destroyed four years later. In 1929, during construction of the third and current Pima County Courthouse, a portion of the destroyed south wall of the presidio was discovered. Out of appreciation for the significance of the find, some of the adobe bricks were used to partially reconstruct a section of the presidio wall in a garden area along the south side of the courthouse.

When an addition to the south side of the courthouse took place in 1955, the reconstructed wall was moved to the courthouse interior (Thiel et al. 1995:40, 53–54).

The remains of the presidio became the first archaeological site in downtown Tucson to be assigned an ASM number. In 1954, Emil Haury and Edward Danson, archaeologists with the University of Arizona, excavated a small area near the presumed northeast corner of the presidio; the project was prompted by the demolition of a building to make way for a parking lot (Chambers 1955; Haury and Fathauer 1974; Olson 1985). In addition to remnants of the presidio wall, Haury and Danson documented the remains of a U.S. period house that had stood on the site, and, below the level of the presidio, a Hohokam pit house. The site was designated AZ BB:13:9 (ASM), a number that now applies to the presumed former extent of the presidio as well as other archaeological finds made in the immediate vicinity.

Since Haury and Danson's excavations, many other sites have been recorded in the downtown area (Figure 37). Only one site, AZ BB:13:682 (ASM), has been recorded within the current project area. The following paragraphs briefly describe the sites recorded in and near the current project area and the circumstances of their discovery.

AZ BB:13:9 (ASM), Presidio de San Agustín del Tucson

AZ BB:13:9 (ASM) currently applies to two large, rectangular areas (see Figure 37). The first is the area corresponding to the presumed former extent of the Presidio de San Agustín del Tucson, first erected ca. 1776 and documented archaeologically in only a few limited places. The second area corresponds to Block 180 of the original 1872 Tucson town site (hereafter Historic Block 180, following local archaeological usage). Historic Block 180 is located immediately east of the former presidio and has yielded a similar combination of prehistoric and historical-period features (though no significant Spanish Colonial period features).

Since Haury and Danson's limited excavations, the most substantial work on the former site of the presidio has been that of Desert Archaeology, Inc. of Tucson, carried out within and around the current Pima County Courthouse in Historic Block 192 and the adjacent intersection of Church Avenue and Alameda Street (Faught 1992; Thiel et al. 1995). The work by Desert Archaeology fell in the immediate vicinity of the east wall of the presidio and resulted in the documentation of additional intact remnants of the wall as well as numerous burials dating to the Spanish Colonial or Mexican periods. The mostly fragmentary burials, found in five clusters and representing as many as 106 individuals, were found within Alameda Street just west of Church Avenue, in an area that was once part of the presidio chapel cemetery. This area had yielded numerous other burials during salvage excavations by ASM archaeologists in 1968–1969 for the Tucson Urban Renewal project (Thiel et al. 1995:105–118; also see Chapter 2 of the present report). Building on earlier historical research into Spanish Colonial Tucson (Barnes 1983, 1984; Williams 1988, 1991), Thiel and his colleagues also pulled together and evaluated the many scattered references to the presidio, its architecture, and the lives of its inhabitants.

In addition to presidio-era remains, Desert Archaeology also recorded prehistoric (Hohokam) and U.S. period features. The prehistoric features included several poorly preserved pit features and a possible pit house; artifacts from the prehistoric features included a wide variety of red-on-brown and red-on-buff (or redware) sherds, covering the Pioneer through Classic periods in the Hohokam sequence. The U.S. period features included foundations and other structural remains from former municipal buildings that once stood near the courthouse (e.g., the 1881 county jail) plus foundations, privy pits, trash deposits, and structural debris from late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century residential architecture. The fieldwork was accompanied by in-depth historical study of the former inhabitants and uses of Historic Block 192. Desert Archaeology's investigation of AZ BB:13:9 (ASM) has continued intermittently over the last decade, in particular efforts by Thiel (1998a, 1998b) to find and record additional remnants of the presidio wall.

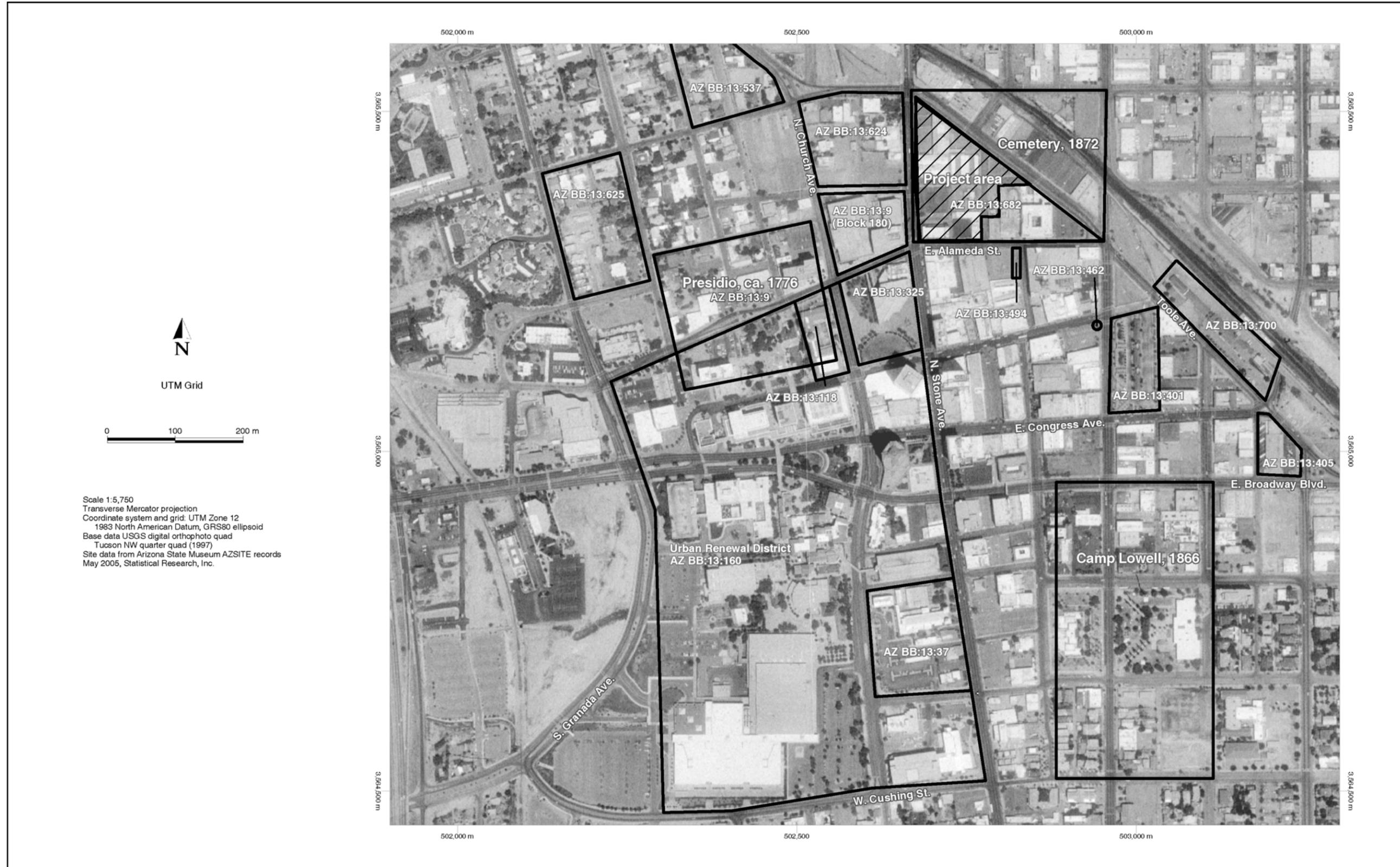


Figure 37. Locations of archaeological sites in downtown Tucson (all site numbers are ASM numbers).

The other substantial archaeological project focusing on AZ BB:13:9 (ASM) was the work by SRI within Historic Block 180 prior to construction of the current YMCA and Pima County Public Works buildings (Ciolek-Torrello and Swanson 1997). Extensive trenching throughout the block identified both prehistoric and historical-period features, including four Hohokam pit houses, two burials from the late Mexican or early U.S. period, and a wide variety of U.S. period features associated with the early residential development of the block (foundations, privy pits, borrow pits, trash deposits, well shafts, and so on). As in the case of Desert Archaeology's work in Historic Block 192, SRI's fieldwork was accompanied by in-depth historical study of the block and its inhabitants. One of the most interesting field discoveries was the pair of burials found at the north end of the block and dating to the middle of the nineteenth century. The two skeletons, adult males of Mexican ancestry, had apparently died violently at another location and were buried later in Tucson; one skeleton had a stone projectile point embedded in its rib cage, suggesting that the two men died in an Apache attack. As discussed in Chapter 2 of the present report, the two burials were apparently unassociated with either the presidio cemetery just to the west or the National Cemetery just to the east.

The historical-period component of AZ BB:13:9 (ASM) was for a time referred to as AZ BB:13:13 (ASM), but that designation has been dropped by ASM in favor of referring to all components as AZ BB:13:9 (ASM). The AZ BB:13:9 (ASM) designation also encompasses other designations that fall within the former presidio limits. AZ BB:13:28, or "Governor's Corner," is a historical-period site located "on the north side of Alameda, between Court and Church Streets"; the ASM site record lacks an explanation for the site name and has no other information about the site. Similarly, a discovery of additional Hohokam features just west of the intersection of Church and Washington (Mazany 1981), an apparent extension of Haury and Danson's 1954 finds, was designated AZ BB:13:141 (ASM).

AZ BB:13:37 (ASM), San Agustín Cathedral

This site designation refers to the current site of the San Agustín Cathedral, located on the west side of Stone Avenue south of Broadway (apparently the entire parcel bounded by Stone and Church Avenues and Ochoa and McCormick Streets). As the ASM site record indicates, the original San Agustín chapel was located within the presidio walls near Church and Alameda; it was relocated in 1866 to the corner of Church and Broadway. There has been no archaeological work at the two later locations; the first location is a part of AZ BB:13:9 (ASM).

AZ BB:13:118 (ASM), Pima County Courthouse

The current Pima County Courthouse, built in 1929, is located mostly within the former walls of the presidio; its predecessors of 1868 and 1881 were located on more or less the same site. Features associated with the earlier courthouses and other early municipal buildings have been uncovered in excavations in and around the current courthouse (Thiel et al. 1995), but these discoveries have been described as part of AZ BB:13:13 (ASM), a now-defunct designation for the historical-period component of AZ BB:13:9 (ASM) (see the discussion above). A recent monitoring project at the courthouse referred to the AZ BB:13:118 (ASM) designation, but the project did not result in any discoveries (Zaglauer 2001).

AZ BB:13:160 (ASM), Urban Renewal District

AZ BB:13:160 (ASM) is a site designation intended to encompass various prehistoric and historical-period sites identified in the downtown area during the Tucson Urban Renewal project of the late 1960s

and early 1970s. The designation does not seem to have been used consistently, which is probably a reflection of the general lack of reporting on the archaeological work carried out for the Tucson Urban Renewal project. According to the ASM site record, AZ BB:13:160 (ASM) includes all or part of the following sites: AZ BB:13:9, 24–28, 31, 33, 36–38, 79, 80, 81, and 118 (ASM). With the exception of AZ BB:13:9 (ASM), the specific locations of these sites within AZ BB:13:160 (ASM) are difficult to determine, particularly the many sites destroyed during construction of the Tucson Convention Center.

The archaeological work carried out for the Tucson Urban Renewal project focused heavily on the historical period, including the old Mexican and Chinese neighborhoods razed for the Tucson Convention Center. No comprehensive report was ever prepared on the project, but various papers, articles, and other items have appeared over the years (Anderson 1968, 1970; Ayres 1968, 1979, 1980, 1990; Lister and Lister 1989; Olsen 1978, 1983).

AZ BB:13:325 (ASM), Historic Block 193

This site was designated during the Library Site Salvage Project, which monitored the removal of twentieth-century buildings on the current site of the main branch of the Tucson-Pima Public Library. Under a parking lot at the northwest corner of the block, eighteenth-century building foundations and an eighteenth-century trash deposit were noted, along with foundations and trash from ca. 1880, and additional trash from 1900–1920. No report was prepared on this project; the artifacts and possibly the field notes were deposited at ASM. The ASM site record currently refers to the site as the “National Cemetery at Stone and Alameda,” a name apparently provided by the excavator, who did not realize that the reference to “Stone and Alameda” was to the area northeast of that intersection. No human remains were found at the site, and we have advised ASM to delete the “National Cemetery” designation from the site record.

AZ BB:13:401 (ASM), Historic Block 83

In 1990, Block 83 and an adjacent portion of Block 92 were excavated intensively by Desert Archaeology after the area was cleared of buildings to make way for the new Ronstadt Transit Center (Mabry et al. 1994). The excavations, complemented by in-depth historical research, uncovered foundations, privy pits, trash deposits, and other features dating to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

AZ BB:13:405 (ASM), Historic Block 94 (Hotel Catalina Site)

In 1991, Lots 2 and 3 of Block 94 were excavated intensively following the razing of the Hotel Catalina and prior to construction of new low-income housing. The excavations and accompanying historical research focused on the early-twentieth-century residential development of the area and the residents of the Hotel Catalina, which opened in 1929 (Thiel 1993).

AZ BB:13:462 (ASM)

AZ BB:13:462 (ASM) consists of a single, historical-period trash-filled feature discovered by accident when a city work crew was digging beneath an existing sidewalk at the southwest corner of Sixth Avenue and Pennington Street. The archaeological investigation was limited to an examination of some of the

artifacts removed from the feature by the work crew (Thiel 1994). The artifacts were from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and probably associated with houses that once stood nearby.

AZ BB:13:494 (ASM)

AZ BB:13:494 (ASM) consists of two historical-period features and a trash deposit found in 1995 during archaeological monitoring of a 120-foot utility trench along the west side of Scott Avenue near Alameda Street. The two features were a wooden post remnant and a privy pit, both of uncertain date; the trash deposit yielded glass, ceramic, and metal artifacts dating to 1880–1910. The only documentation of this site that we have found is the ASM site record.

AZ BB:13:537 (ASM), Historic Block 173

AZ BB:13:537 (ASM) consists of three historical-period features and two areas of sheet trash found in 1996 during archaeological testing in the northwest portion of Historic Block 173. The remainder of the block has not been investigated. The only documentation of this site that we have found is the ASM site record.

AZ BB:13:624 (ASM), Historic Block 174

AZ BB:13:624 (ASM), or Historic Block 174, has seen only limited archaeological investigation as a part of monitoring for rehabilitation of a water main (Diehl 1999). Several historical-period trash features were found along an alley; another trash feature was found at the northwest corner of the block.

AZ BB:13:625 (ASM), Historic Block 177

AZ BB:13:625 (ASM), or Historic Block 177, has seen only limited archaeological investigation as a part of monitoring for rehabilitation of a water main (Diehl 1999). Several historical-period trash features were found along the north end of the block.

AZ BB:13:682 (ASM), National Cemetery Site

This site number and name were first applied by Zaglauer and Doak (2003) to the entire area of the cemetery parcel delimited in the 1872 Tucson town site survey (see Figure 5). They assigned the ASM number following their discovery of a burial with a complete skeleton during monitoring of a fiber optic cable installation in Block 254, or the southwestern portion of the current project area. The burial was first encountered at 77 cm below the surface in a pit excavated along the south side of Council Street, about a half block east of Stone Avenue. As discussed later in this chapter, several other accidental finds of human remains have been made near this location, also within the current project area. All of these discoveries clearly relate to the former status of the area as part of the National Cemetery.

Because our historical research has shown that the limits of the National Cemetery were probably not the same as the limits of the 1872 cemetery parcel (see Chapter 2), we feel that a more accurate site boundary for AZ BB:13:682 (ASM) corresponds with the triangular parcel labeled “National Cemetery” on the map of Tucson made in 1880, just after the Southern Pacific Railroad was completed (see Figure

6). In addition to honoring the only map depiction that actually uses the label “National Cemetery,” this boundary reflects the likelihood that the cemetery never extended into the portion of the 1872 cemetery parcel crossed by the railroad (see Figure 37).

AZ BB:13:700 (ASM), Southern Pacific Railroad Depot

The Southern Pacific Railroad Depot was open by 1881, a year or so after the railroad reached Tucson. The depot complex included the passenger depot itself and a number of smaller outbuildings. The current depot, recently restored, was erected in 1907 and remodeled in the 1940s. Archaeology at the depot site has been limited to the monitoring of nearby trenches during recent construction projects of limited scope (Diehl 2003; Thiel and Diehl 2002).

Historic Districts near the Project Area

The project area is located immediately adjacent to two National Register Historic Districts and four blocks north of a third (Figure 38). The El Presidio Historic District, which was listed on the National Register in 1976, is immediately west of the project area and encompasses about 32 acres. The Tucson Warehouse Historic District, listed in 1997, is immediately north of the project area and encompasses about 50 acres. The Armory Park Residential Historic District, listed in 1976 and expanded in 1996, extends south from near Broadway Boulevard and includes more than 190 residential buildings. Because of its relative distance from the project area, we do not discuss the Armory Park district further here.

The El Presidio Historic District is also a City of Tucson Historic District, having received the city designation in 1975 (City of Tucson 1996). The city district is somewhat smaller than its National Register counterpart and has slightly different boundaries. The most notable difference is in the eastern boundary, which in the city version lacks the small, irregular arm extending from Church Avenue to Stone Avenue (see Figure 38). The city district is thus a full block from the current project area.

El Presidio Historic District

The El Presidio Historic District is primarily a residential district and includes more than 80 one- and two-story houses built over the approximate period 1860–1912 (City of Tucson 1996; Stewart 1975). The district includes a portion of the former location of the late eighteenth-century Tucson presidio, where an underlying Hohokam village site has also been documented archaeologically. El Presidio was one of the first neighborhoods in Tucson to develop after the Gadsden Purchase, and much of the oldest core of historical-period Tucson is included in the district. Many of the houses were built or owned by prominent early citizens of Tucson. Mostly of brick or adobe, the architecture is an eclectic mix of Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American styles. The district is also listed for its archaeological significance, a reference to the Hohokam features, presidio remains, and other historical-period features recorded as AZ BB:13:9 (ASM) (see the discussion earlier in this chapter).

In architectural terms, the El Presidio Historic District is notable for its “compatible blending” (Stewart 1976) of diverse Mexican and Anglo-American building forms, which range from Spanish-style Sonoran row houses to detached Mexican-Anglo adobes to wood-frame Victorian residences to turn-of-the-century California bungalows. There is a corresponding mix of site layouts, ranging from rowhouses

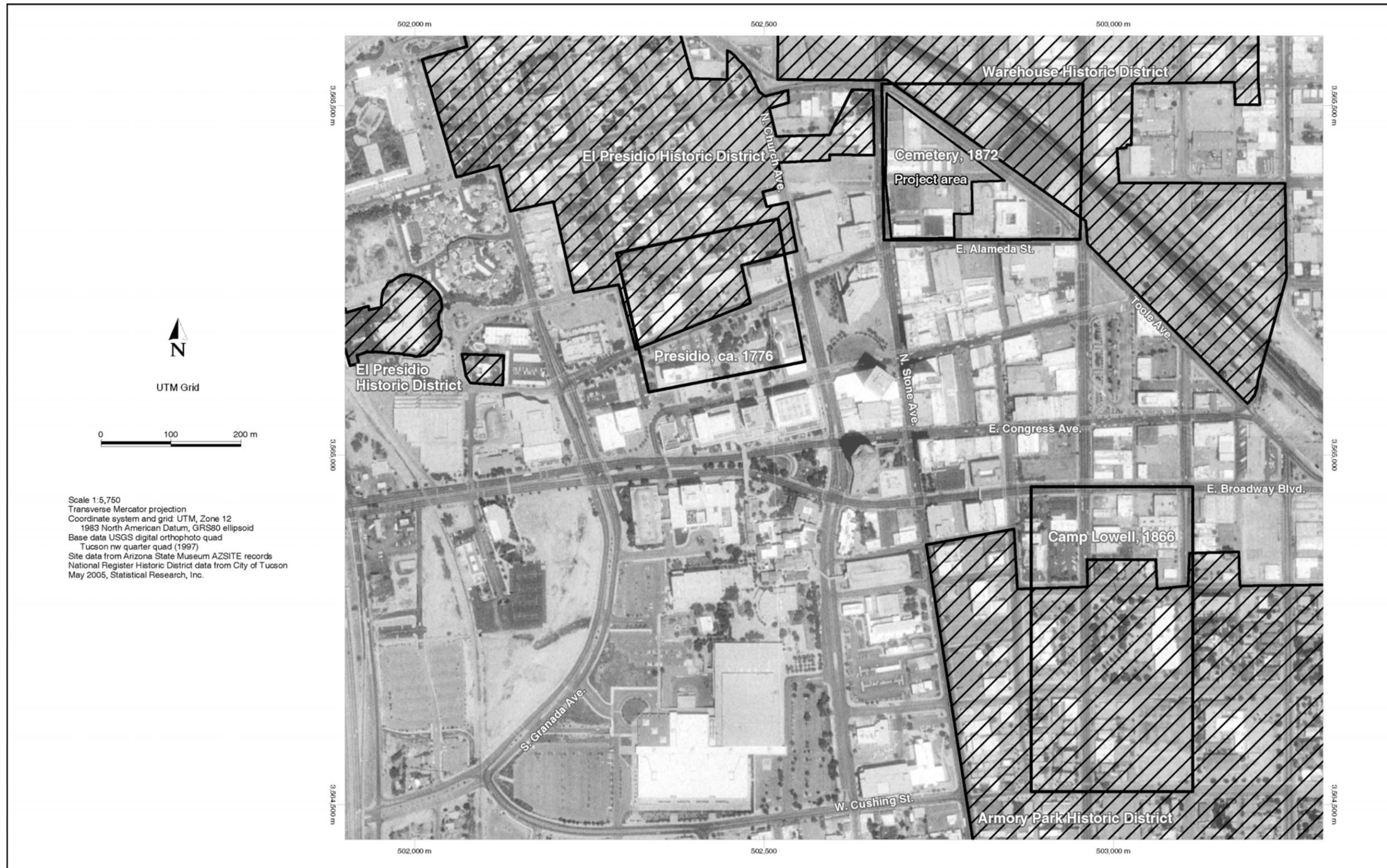


Figure 38. Locations of National Register Historic Districts in downtown Tucson.

built at the front property line and backed by an open block interior to Anglo-American residences set back from the street with landscaped front and side yards (City of Tucson 1996:23).

Tucson Warehouse Historic District

The Tucson Warehouse Historic District holds 56 contributing historic buildings, 2 contributing structures (railroad underpasses), and 17 noncontributing buildings (Rieder n.d.). In contrast with the residential El Presidio district, the Warehouse district is significant for its architecture associated with transportation, commerce, and industry in Tucson during the period 1900–1949. The Southern Pacific Railroad Depot, on the south side of the railroad tracks at Toole and Fourth Avenues, is one of the outstanding buildings of the district. Other important contributing buildings, all of which once held railroad-related businesses, are the warehouses located along both sides of the tracks, including the line of warehouses directly across Toole Avenue from the current project area. Building materials in the Warehouse district include wood, brick, and reinforced concrete. Architecturally, a wide range of styles is represented in building facades and ornamentation, including Art Deco, Beaux Arts, Italianate, Mission, and Spanish Colonial Revival. There are also examples of unornamented brick and concrete design.

The history and architecture of the Tucson Warehouse Historic District reflect the primary role of the railroad in the growth and economic development of Tucson during the last few years of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Unfortunately, virtually nothing remains in the district of the initial burst of building activity that came in the period 1880–1884, or the first years following the arrival of the railroad, and construction in the district did not begin again in earnest until 1896 (Rieder n.d.). In this sense, the Warehouse district was very much the contemporary of the current project area, where construction similarly did not begin until the last few years of the nineteenth century (see Chapter 4).

Several circumstances conspired to keep the project area from becoming part of either immediately adjacent historic district. First, in contrast with the areas encompassed by the El Presidio and Warehouse districts, the old cemetery parcel was not subdivided and developed until relatively late, and once it was subdivided it became an almost exclusively residential area. Thus, it lacked both the early residences of the old presidio neighborhood and, for the most part, the early commercial architecture of the warehouse district. Second, like most of the rest of Stone Avenue south of the railroad, the Stone Avenue frontage in the project area changed from completely residential to completely commercial by 1940 or so, which meant that the oldest, most substantial houses in the project area were long gone before people began to conceive of historic districts in Tucson. Finally, the commercial architecture in the project area changed shape and function quickly after 1940, as businesses came and went or required larger, reconfigured spaces.

It is worth noting that the project area falls within the City of Tucson's Downtown Heritage Incentive District, which essentially includes any part of downtown Tucson not already included in a designated City of Tucson Historic District. Established in 1990, the purpose of the Downtown Heritage Incentive District is "to stimulate preservation efforts in the downtown area," including the "investigation, interpretation, and commemoration of . . . significant archaeological resources" (City of Tucson 1996:33). Although the surviving architecture of the project area has not warranted inclusion in a historic district, the archaeological potential of the project area certainly deserves investigation and interpretation (and perhaps even commemoration), as we discuss in the final chapter of this report.

Extant Architecture in the Project Area

The residential architecture that once stood in the project area is entirely gone, but four commercial buildings still stand there, at four addresses: 200, 240, and 296 North Stone Avenue and 55 East Council Street. All four buildings still serve one or another commercial purpose, but only one still houses a business similar to the one for which it was built: 55 East Council Street, built as a service station in the 1950s, currently holds an automotive repair business, one of the few remaining in downtown Tucson (Figure 39).

As part of our evaluation of cultural resources in the project area, we researched the history of the four buildings and documented their current condition. The paragraphs below describe each of the four buildings in turn, with notes on how each has been modified over the years. We have also prepared an Arizona Historic Property Inventory Form for each building; the forms are included as Appendix E of this report and will also be submitted separately to the Arizona SHPO. All four buildings were included in a 1982 survey of commercial architecture in downtown Tucson carried out on behalf of the Tucson–Pima County Historical Commission (Property Development Resources 1984). The report of that survey includes an Arizona Historic Property Inventory Form for each of the four buildings, but the forms have only minimal (and now dated) information. A fifth building in the project area, the L-shaped garage-and-office combination at 46 East Alameda built sometime before 1947 (see Appendix A), was also included in the 1982 survey but was torn down in 2003 (see Figure 39).

Our sources for the history of the four buildings include some of the same sources consulted for the other historical portions of the report (see especially Chapter 3): Sanborn insurance maps of the project area, business listings in the Tucson city directories, newspaper articles, and early photographs on file at the AHS library in Tucson. In addition, we have reviewed the building and remodeling plans submitted to the City of Tucson over the years by the owners of the buildings (on file at the City of Tucson Development Services Center, 201 North Stone Avenue).

200 North Stone Avenue

A three-story brick building currently stands at 200 North Stone Avenue, at the northeast corner of the intersection of Stone Avenue and Alameda Street (Figures 40 and 41). The building occupies essentially all of Parcel 117160220 and abuts the sidewalks on its west and south sides. The current owner and occupant is Chicanos por la Causa, Inc., a community development corporation. Building plans on file with the City of Tucson, prepared by Cain Nelson Wares Architects, Tucson, date to June 1965. The building was built as the main downtown office of the First National Bank of Arizona, and it served that purpose from 1965 until around 1975. It was later used as offices for a succession of businesses as well as Pima Community College. The current building replaced a store designed in 1939 by architect James Macmillan for the owners, Mathews and Ellinwood. The earlier building was of one-story, stucco-on-brick construction, with a plate-glass front and entry doors on Stone Avenue.

The form of the current building is long and rectangular, with the narrow front facing Stone Avenue. The building has a full basement and a four-story penthouse on its east end that holds stairs, elevators, and mechanical equipment. The principal exterior material is red brick, which was also used decoratively in corbelled (stepped-out) designs, especially at the intersection of the second and third levels on the west and south sides. The south side of the building, facing Alameda Street, has a two-story arcade of shallow arches that provide support and shade for the main portion of the building, which is set back from the sidewalk. Above each arch, the bricks are corbelled outward to the exterior façade of the building (see Figure 40). The narrower façade on Stone Avenue has a single-bay, two-story opening leading to the main entrance, which is also set back and provides shade to the glass wall.

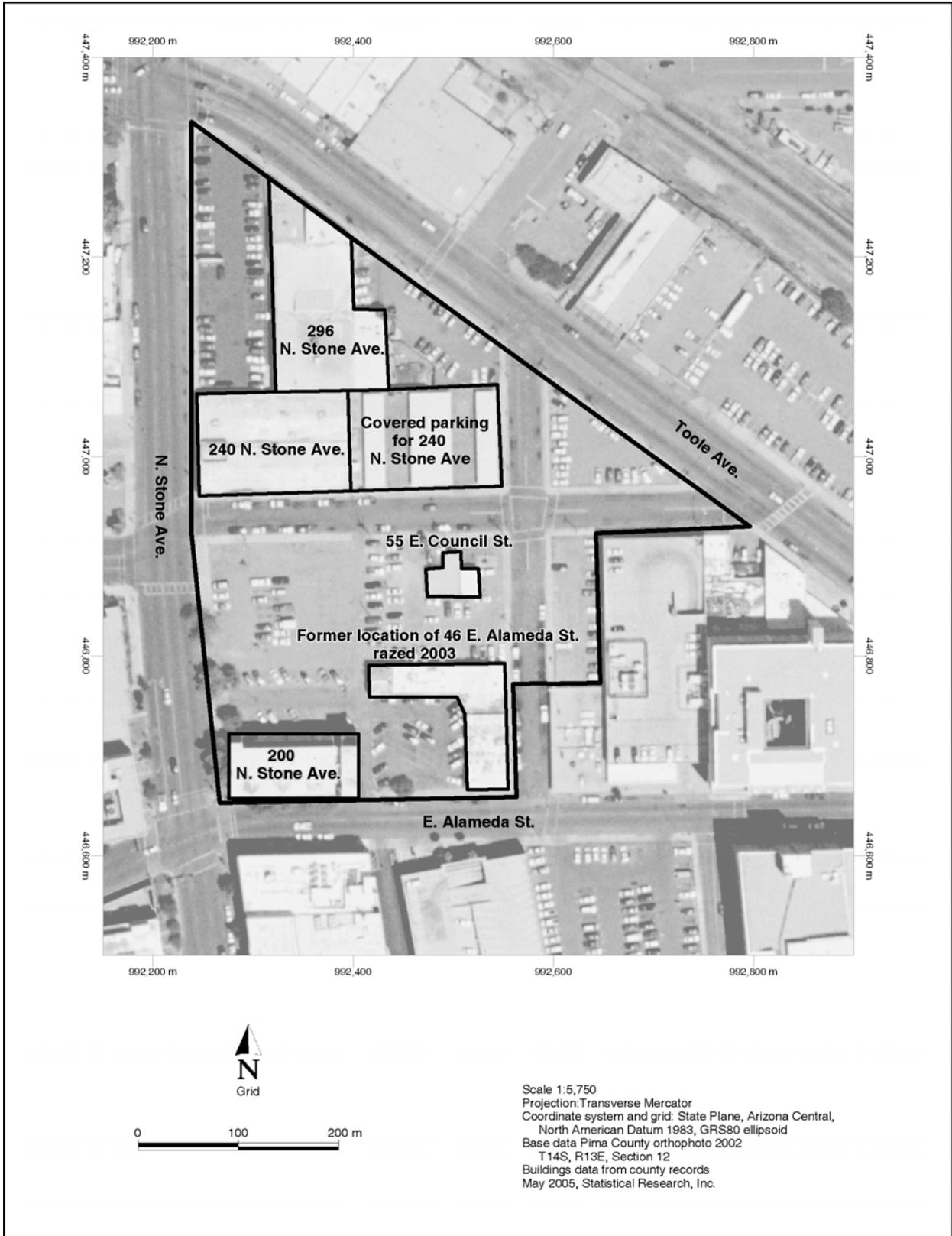


Figure 39. Locations of extant buildings in the project area.



Figure 40. 200 North Stone Avenue, viewed from the intersection of Stone Avenue and Alameda Street, camera facing northeast (2005).



Figure 41. 200 North Stone Avenue, viewed from Alameda Street, camera facing northwest (2005).

In contrast to the main building, the stairway and elevator penthouse consist of a simple brick box with few decorative elements. It is visually separated by a narrow, full-height glazed indent on the north and south sides (Figures 42 and 43).

Although it was designed 40 years ago, the building at 200 North Stone has a surprisingly modern appearance and is well maintained. It appears in the recent *A Guide to Tucson Architecture* (Nequette and Jeffery 2002:81), where the authors comment, “In an authentic acknowledgment of the importance of the pedestrian experience in the city, this former bank building is both civic in scale and articulated with enough detail to be engaging to the pedestrian.”

240 North Stone Avenue

A one-story commercial building currently stands at 240 North Stone Avenue, at the northeast corner of the intersection of Stone Avenue and Council (formerly Miltenberg) Street (Figure 44). The building occupies essentially all of Parcel 117160150 and abuts the sidewalks on its west and south sides. It is currently owned by the State of Arizona and is used for offices by JES, Inc.

The building at 240 North Stone combines two brick buildings that were first erected around 1930. The two buildings stood side by side at 240 and 250 North Stone; at the first address was the Bowyer Motor Company, an automobile dealership, and at the second was the Old Pueblo Bowling and Billiard Parlor (see Figure 30 and the discussion in Chapter 3). The earliest Sanborn map showing the two buildings dates to 1930; the preceding 1922 Sanborn map shows only a house at 250 North Stone, an address that encompassed what later became 240 and 250 North Stone (see Appendix A). In 1961, both buildings were remodeled to serve as a branch of the First National Bank of Arizona. In 1976, the building was converted to offices for the law firm of Deconcini, McDonald, Bramer and Yetwin. Since the 1980s, the building has served as offices for several other businesses and organizations.

In 1954, the well-known Tucson architect Josias Joesler prepared plans to remodel the front of 250 North Stone for the owners, Dr. Meade Clyne and John W. Murphey. Joesler’s plans show the “present elevation” as having Spanish Colonial Revival motifs, including a small tower or penthouse with a low-pitched roof and Spanish tile coping (Figure 45). It is unclear whether the remodeling proposed by Joesler actually took place, but it would have been a fairly minor change to the building. The following year (1955), plans were submitted for alterations to 240 North Stone by the Bowyer Motor Company. We were unable to locate drawings or photographs that would illustrate what the façade of 250 North Stone looked like, before or after the 1955 alterations, but the plans include similar references to Spanish tile coping. Thus, it is likely that the two buildings had similar or even matching façades.

Our review of both Joesler’s 1954 floor plans and the plans for the 1961 bank remodeling suggests that the northern of the two buildings, 250 North Stone, was constructed first. The building has interior supporting buttresses on both the north and south walls, which means both walls were built without reliance on an adjacent structure. Such construction also suggests a lack of reliance on interior walls for structural support, which is consistent with the building’s original use as a bowling alley and pool hall.

Sometime before 1930, 240 North Stone was constructed using the south wall of 250 North Stone as its own north wall. Only the south wall of 240 North Stone has interior buttresses similar to those of 250 North Stone, but the locations of the buttresses do not correspond with those of the latter building. The two buildings also have slightly different roof systems and the roof of 240 North Stone is slightly higher. Both roofs held skylights until 1961. The roof pitches are hidden by a post-1961 parapet wall on the front of the building, but both roofs can be viewed from the top of a parking garage across Stone Avenue (Figure 46).

By 1958, the Bowyer Motor Company and the Old Pueblo Bowling Center (its later name) had vacated 240 and 250 North Stone and the two buildings were being used for furniture storage (see Appendix A). In 1961, the two buildings were substantially remodeled into a single building for use



Figure 42. 200 North Stone Avenue, viewed from Stone Avenue, camera facing southwest (2005).



Figure 43. 200 North Stone Avenue, viewed from Stone Avenue, camera facing southwest (2005).



Figure 44. 240 North Stone Avenue, viewed from Stone Avenue, camera facing northeast (2005).



Figure 46. 240 North Stone Avenue, viewed from a parking garage across Stone Avenue, camera facing northeast (2005).

as a branch of the First National Bank of Arizona. The Stone Avenue and Miltenberg Street façades were drastically altered, including the removal of the penthouse on 250 North Stone and all elements of Spanish Colonial Revival architecture. The large plate glass windows were removed or changed to smaller units, and the skylights were also removed. To create a single unifying appearance, the exterior was covered with cement stucco walls, and a “headband” of stucco-covered panels, accented with a thin band of ceramic tile, was added to the front or Stone Avenue side; the latter feature advertised the bank’s name. Another large sign was constructed above a low central tower on the Stone Avenue side, oriented to be read from the north or south.

The interior of the remodeled building was subdivided into offices. Large portions of the east and west walls of 250 North Stone were opened up for construction of a drive-through banking facility; customers were served from two drive-up windows. Cars entered the facility from the rear (east) side of the building and exited through its west side onto Stone Avenue. The former location of the drive-through exit is still evident in the dip of the sidewalk and curb.

During the bank remodeling, the roof structures of both buildings remained entirely in place. The remainder of 250 North Stone and all of 240 North Stone were redesigned for banking, including the construction of a large vault in the northwest corner of what had been 240 North Stone. The two separate addresses became the single address of 240 North Stone. When the building was remodeled as law offices in 1976, the banking signage was removed. By 1983, the drive-through facility had been filled in and converted to offices and the building had received various cosmetic alterations.

The current building at 240 North Stone strongly reflects the 1961 conversion into a banking facility. The only visible feature that survives from the original ca.-1930 construction is the brick exterior north wall of the former 250 North Stone. The wall shows several filled-in, arch-top openings where windows once faced to the north (Figure 47).

296 North Stone Avenue

The building that currently stands at 296 North Stone Avenue occupies approximately half of Parcel 117160140 and is an amalgam of several commercial buildings of different vintages. The current building is owned by Stone-Toole, LLC, and operated as the Coconuts Night Club (Figure 48).

The earliest portion of 296 North Stone consists of a small, two-story brick building occupying a triangular parcel along the south side of Toole Avenue (Figure 49). The exact year this building was erected is uncertain, but it was in the period 1922–1930; the building is absent on the 1922 Sanborn map but appears on the 1930 Sanborn map, where the address is apparently 24 Toole (see Appendix A). According to the 1930 city directory (Tucson City Directory 1930), two merchandise brokers occupied the building in that year: the Gouley-Burcham Company (at 24 Toole) and the Winchester Coe Company (at 26 Toole). Property ownership records (see Appendix D) show that Gouley N. Burcham purchased all or part of Lot 2 of Block 252, which included the location of this building, in 1929; perhaps the building was erected that year. By 1951, this building was in use as a restaurant; the 1960 city directory (Tucson City Directory 1960) indicates that Larry’s Coffee Cup was located at 28 Toole, which was probably the same building. Recent (2002) plans for the Coconuts Night Club show that the first floor of this formerly separate building is now used as the women’s bathrooms. The same plans show the men’s bathrooms occupying the adjacent, later portion of the current building that also fronts on Toole (see Figure 49).

Most of the rest of the current building is made up of a succession of buildings constructed by the Baum and Adamson Tire and Automotive Company in the approximate period 1947–1952. Baum and Adamson’s first building, erected around 1925, was quite small and occupied the sharply angled southeast corner of the Stone and Toole intersection (see Figure 32). This building was replaced in the early 1930s with a completely new, modern-looking filling station (see Figure 33). By 1947, a large service facility was added to the south side of the filling station (see Figure 35). Then, between 1949 and 1952, the service area was extended eastward to Toole Avenue, incorporating the 1930s filling station and



Figure 49. 296 North Stone Avenue, viewed from Toole Avenue, camera facing south (2005). The two-story section on the left is the formerly separate building with addresses 24 and 26 Toole Avenue. The one-story section on the right was part of a Baum and Adamson remodeling of ca. 1949–1952.

abutting the building at 24 Toole. The service bays were constructed of masonry walls and steel trusses, with two sets of south-facing roof monitors or sidelights to permit light to enter the service area below. These sidelights are still visible from the exterior (Figure 50). Sometime after 1960, the 1930s filling station was razed. This probably happened in 1969, when Baum and Adamson completed a major remodeling that resulted in what was essentially the current footprint of the building. The building now boasted 16 service bays and a contemporary-looking façade. The area to the rear (east) was used for parking and storage (Figure 51).

Baum and Adamson closed their business around 1979. The property then saw a succession of automobile service and repair operations. It was vacant from 1989 into the early 1990s, when it was converted for use as a night club. Not surprisingly, 296 North Stone currently has the appearance of being composed of several distinct parts, unified only by a common exterior paint color. The location of the vehicle repair bays built in the 1969 Baum and Adamson remodeling are still evident on the Stone Avenue façade. The Coconuts Night Club entrance is situated within one of the former bays (see Figure 48).

55 East Council Street

The building that currently stands at 55 East Council (formerly Miltenberg) Street is a small, one-story commercial building occupying the approximate center of Parcel 117160230. The building is currently owned by Ford Rasmussen, Katherine Weiss Stanley, and the Helms Trust; it serves as an automobile repair shop under the name Council Street Automotive (Figures 52 and 53).

Plans for the present building, prepared by architect James Macmillan, were approved by the City of Tucson in May 1953. The plans indicate that the building was built as an automobile service station for Tucson Newspapers, Inc. As discussed in Chapter 3, the main printing and distribution facility of Tucson Newspapers was located on Stone Avenue, immediately to the west of this building. The Sanborn maps show that by 1958 the several houses that once stood in this portion of Block 254 (its northeast quarter)



Figure 50. 296 North Stone Avenue, viewed from a parking garage across Stone Avenue, camera facing northeast (2005). Just above the “Coconuts” sign displaying the word is one of two roof monitors of the former Baum and Adamson service bay (2005).



Figure 51. 296 North Stone Avenue, viewed from Toole Avenue, camera facing west (2005).



Figure 52. 55 East Council Street, camera facing southwest (2005).



Figure 53. 55 East Council Street, camera facing southeast (2005).

were gone and the service station (at 59 Miltenberg on the 1958 and 1960 maps) stood by itself in a large, otherwise empty lot, just as it does today.

The service station was designed as a three-bay facility facing north onto Miltenberg Street, with a central pump island covered by a flat roof. The central bay contained an office with an entrance on the north, and two bathrooms with entrances on the south. The east bay contained a lift and served as a lube center. The west bay was used for washing vehicles and had a pit in the floor, connected to the city sewer, for collecting wastewater. Both side bays had three large windows in the south wall. Two 1,000-gallon gasoline tanks were located to the west of the building. The walls of the building were of concrete and concrete block; the flat roof was of wood-frame construction.

Although the gas pumps have been removed, 55 East Council has retained its original form and basic function. The front office windows appear to be original. The rear fenestration has been changed somewhat by blocking the bathroom doors and one bathroom window and by changing one large window into a door (Figure 54).

Archaeological Potential in the Project Area

Two circumstances suggest that the archaeological potential of the project area is high. First is the proximity of the project area to other documented archaeological sites, most notably AZ BB:13:9 (ASM), where discoveries have included Hohokam pit houses, remnants of the adobe wall of the Spanish Colonial presidio, numerous graves associated with the presidio during both the Spanish Colonial and Mexican periods, and a variety of U.S. period features. It is only reasonable to assume that the project area, in any period, saw many of the same activities associated with the archaeological features found immediately to



Figure 54. 55 East Council Street (foreground), camera facing north (2005).

the west. In terms of prehistoric archaeological potential, most significant is the 1989 discovery of intact pit houses and associated features in the Block 180 portion of AZ BB:13:9 (ASM), just across the street from the project area, despite over a century of residential construction on the same location. Similar prehistoric features, or still others, may well be preserved within the project area. In terms of historical-period archaeological potential, most significant is the project area's documented status as a cemetery from 1868 until 1884. But even before the project area was part of a cemetery, it was part of the area just beyond the east wall of the presidio, where the activities of Native American, Spanish, Mexican, Anglo-American and perhaps other early residents of Tucson may have left archaeological traces. Certainly after 1884, the project area saw numerous activities that will have left some degree of archaeological record.

The second circumstance suggesting that the archaeological potential of the project area is high is the relative lack of deep excavations associated with construction projects since 1884. Based on the Sanborn maps, the only building in the project area that had a basement before 1960 (the last year of Sanborn coverage) was the Tucson Newspapers building, built in 1940 on Lot 2 of Block 254, then expanded in 1953–1954 to occupy almost all of the block's northwest quarter (or Lots 1 and 2). The original 1940 building is labeled on later Sanborn maps as having a full basement; the expanded 1953–1954 building is labeled as having a basement under all but a portion of the east side of the expansion; a final, small expansion of the original 1940 portion of the building in 1959 did not include a basement. The overall extent of the basement of the Tucson Newspapers building is shown in Figure 55. We have not found any information about how deep the excavation for this basement was. As noted in Chapter 3, the building reportedly had two basement levels after the 1953–1954 expansion (the number of basement levels is not specified on the Sanborn maps), which implies an excavation perhaps 20 feet deep. It is possible, however, that the reference to two levels was simply to the separate basements of the original 1940 building and the portion of the building added in 1953–1954.

The only other basement excavated in the project area to date is the basement of the building that currently stands at 200 North Stone, erected in 1965 as the downtown branch of the First National Bank of Arizona (see Figure 55). Judging from building plans on file at the City of Tucson, the full basement of this building required an excavation at least twelve feet deep.

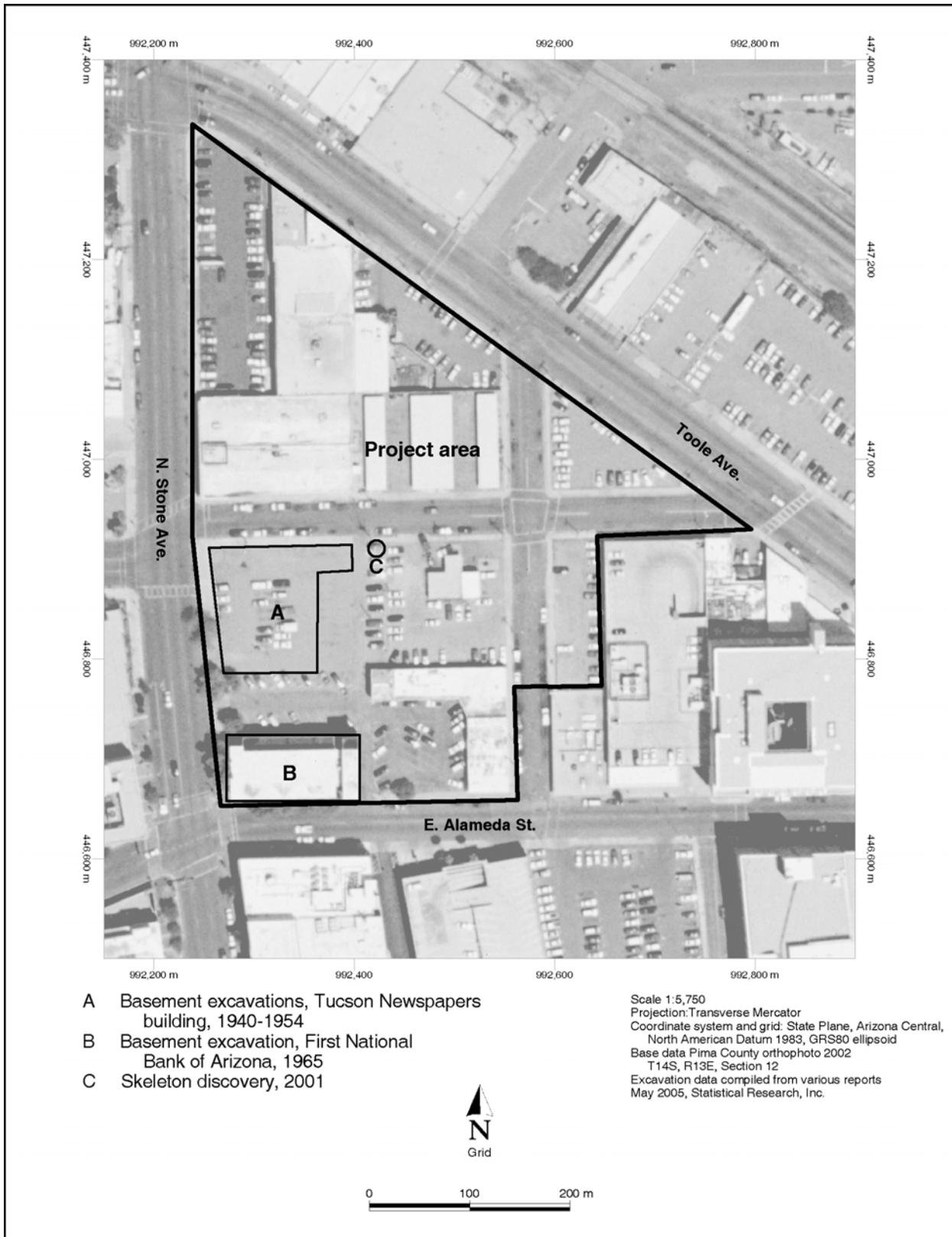


Figure 55. Locations of basement excavations and a 2001 discovery of human remains in the project area.

Every other building erected in the project area over the years must have required at least some excavation for footings and other features, but the impact of such excavations on buried archaeological features, especially abandoned graves in the old cemetery, was probably minimal. This is suggested especially by the accidental discovery of graves when the two basements in the project area were excavated, both in locations where large houses once stood, as well as by other accidental discoveries of graves during less-substantial disturbances. Table 1 summarizes the known discoveries of human remains within the project area and lists the sources for the discussion in the following paragraphs.

The earliest reported accidental discovery of a grave in the project area took place in January 1940 during excavations for the Tucson Newspapers building. The only documentation of the discovery that we know of is a catalog card for a set of human remains preserved at the ASM osteology laboratory. The card reads “White woman found January 1940 Stone & Alameda St. Tucson, Ariz. Old burying ground. Excavating for new Star [sic] building.” Despite the size of the 1940 excavation, no other skeletal remains were reported.

The next reported discovery of human remains in the project area took place in December 1950 when workers were excavating a tank pit for a new service station near the southeast corner of Stone Avenue and Miltenberg Street. This short-lived service station is depicted on the 1951 Sanborn map at 210 North Stone (see Appendix A) but was apparently removed entirely during the 1953–1954 northward expansion of the Tucson Newspapers building. The excavation for the tank pit resulted in the discovery of at least five wooden coffins and an unspecified number of human bones; one newspaper account refers to “a veritable bone pile” (ADS, 29 December 1950). Bertram Kraus, assistant professor of anthropology at the University of Arizona at the time, examined some of the bones, most of which were in poor condition; the wood of the coffins and some clothing remnants were fairly well preserved. Kraus noted the bones came from the “nine-foot level,” where the high moisture content may have helped preserve the coffins and artifacts; the skeletal remains were “taken to the university for study by anthropology students” (ADS, 29 December 1950).

The 1953–1954 northward expansion of the Tucson Newspapers building led to the next known discovery of human remains in the project area, and the most substantial one. Workers excavating the new basement discovered portions of around 80 human skeletons, 36 of which were sufficiently intact to allow osteological study by University of Arizona anthropology students, supervised by Bertram Kraus. The students identified several skeletons with pathologies; 15 individuals were identified as Caucasoid, 20 as Native American, and one as African American. At least one wooden coffin and miscellaneous associated artifacts were also recovered. We have not found a formal report of the circumstances of the discovery, so it is impossible to say precisely where the skeletons were found within the basement excavation. Judging by one newspaper account, the first skeletons were apparently discovered only after some of the soil removed from the site was dumped as fill at another location and local residents noticed bones on the pile (TC, 9 July 1953). A later newspaper account of the continuing study of the human remains by University of Arizona students (ADS, 24 February 1955) reported that “more than 150 human skeletons were removed from the site”; this number would be a revision upward of the original estimate and may not be reliable. According to the ASM Osteology Laboratory manager, John McClelland, there are only 58 records for individual skeletons from the National Cemetery site at ASM; the remains of eight skeletons are described in the records as missing (personal communication, John McClelland, 16 February 2005).

The next known discovery of human remains in the project area took place during excavation of the basement for the First National Bank building at 200 North Stone in August 1965. A contemporary newspaper account (which does not in fact mention the name of the building) is once again the only documentation we have seen of the discovery (Kincaid 1965). Workers for the W. F. Conelly Construction Company found human bones and wooden coffin remnants, apparently from a single burial, while scraping the “east side of the north wall” of the excavation. The materials were turned over to Sidney Brinckerhoff of the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society (as the Arizona Historical Society was known at the time), but the subsequent disposition of the remains is unknown. Brinckerhoff noted that the

Table 1. Discoveries of Human Remains in the Project Area

Date	Reported Location	Description	Sources
January 1940	near Stone Avenue and Alameda Street	The skeletal remains of a Caucasian woman were found during excavation for the new Tucson Newspapers building at 208 North Stone (Block 254, Lot 2).	ASM Osteology Laboratory catalog card (personal communication, John McClelland, Arizona State Museum, 11 February 2005)
December 1950	southeast corner of Stone Avenue and Miltenberg Street	Workers excavating a tank pit for a new service station found human bones and at least five wooden coffins nine feet below the surface.	ADS, 28 December 1950 ADS, 29 December 1950
July 1953	southeast corner of Stone Avenue and Miltenberg Street	Workers excavating for an expansion of the Tucson Newspapers building uncovered portions of around 80 human skeletons, at least one wooden coffin, and miscellaneous associated artifacts.	TC, 9 July 1953 ADS, 24 February 1955
August 1965	northeast corner of Stone Avenue and Alameda Street	Workers excavating the basement of the First National Bank of Arizona building at 200 North Stone found human bones and wooden coffin remnants, apparently from a single burial.	Kincaid 1965
November 2001	half block east of Stone Avenue, at southeast corner of Council (formerly Miltenberg) Street and the alley connecting Council and Alameda Streets	A complete skeleton and traces of a wooden coffin were found during installation of a buried fiber optic cable. The skeleton was excavated by archaeologists from Tierra Right of Way Services, who were monitoring the work; ASM osteologists later examined the remains. The site of the discovery was designated AZ BB:13:682 (ASM), a number meant to apply to the entire National Cemetery site.	Allen 2001 Zaglauer and Doak 2003

Note: The newspaper articles cited in this table do not represent an exhaustive search of Tucson newspapers, only a search of the clippings files at the Arizona Historical Society (Tucson) plus other references to articles in various sources.

Key: ADS = Arizona Daily Star; TC = Tucson Citizen

remains were of an adult, but the sex, age, and race of the person were “wide open.” Based on the appearance of the simple pine coffin remnants, he suggested that the burial dated to the 1850s or 1860s.

The last known discovery of human remains in the project area took place in November 2001. Workers installing a buried fiber optic cable on behalf of Cox Communications encountered human bone in a small excavation a half block east of Stone Avenue, at the southeast corner of Council Street and the alley that runs between Council and Alameda Streets (see Figure 55). Archaeologists from Tierra Right of Way Services were monitoring the work when the discovery was made; they later excavated a complete skeleton (Zaglauer and Doak 2003). Traces of a wooden coffin were visible in the soil around the skeleton, which was determined by ASM osteologists to be that of a female, 35 to 45 years of age. The skeleton and accompanying artifacts were turned over to ASM for repatriation by the Spanish-heritage group, Los Descendientes del Presidio de Tucson; the group has not yet taken possession of these items. The discovery was assigned site number AZ BB:13:682 (ASM), the first formal designation of the former site of the National Cemetery as an archaeological site. Although the discovery was limited to a single burial exposed in a small excavation, the site number was intended to refer to the National Cemetery site as a whole, which the excavators assumed was the same as the 1872 town site cemetery parcel (see the discussion of the site boundary earlier in this chapter).

Given the large number of skeletons found simply by accident during the excavation of the basement for the 1953–1954 Tucson Newspapers expansion, it seems likely that additional skeletons were removed during the excavations for the original Tucson Newspapers building in 1940 and the First National Bank building in 1965. The apparent discovery of only one skeleton in each of the latter cases is as easily attributed to the failure of work crews to notice or report skeletons as to any real absence of skeletons. The manner in which the discovery of 1953 was first made—on a fill pile, after the soil was removed from the original site—emphasizes how easy it is to overlook even well-preserved skeletal remains during mechanical excavation.

More importantly, all of the discoveries described here strongly suggest that any portion of the project area not fully destroyed by basement excavations may also preserve graves. If we assume that the original Camp Lowell cemetery of 1868 was located immediately adjacent to Stone Avenue and Alameda Streets (see the discussion in Chapter 2), the Tucson Newspapers and First National Bank buildings together may have destroyed a large portion of the oldest part of the cemetery. However, the rest of the project area, including more than half of Block 254, is still undisturbed by deep excavation. As the 2001 discovery of a skeleton just east of the former footprint of the Tucson Newspapers building most strongly suggests, many more burials associated with the National Cemetery may still be preserved in the project area.

For the purposes of future archaeological work in the project area, it is unfortunate that there are only two explicit references to the depth of the burials already found there. One reference is to the several burials found in the northwest corner of Block 254 in December 1950; according to a contemporary newspaper account, the burials were found nine feet below the modern ground surface (see Table 1). This is surprisingly deep, even assuming some accumulation of soil during the preceding 70 years or so. Since it is not from a formal report on the discovery, the reference to nine feet may not be reliable. The second reference is to the 2001 excavation of a skeleton by Tierra Right of Way Services. That skeleton was first encountered just 77 cm (about 2½ feet) below the surface and was fully exposed at 101 cm (about 3 feet 4 inches) (Zaglauer and Doak 2003:15). Interestingly, this is almost precisely the depth at which two Hispanic male skeletons were found during the excavations in Block 180, just west of the project area (Ciolek-Torrello and Swanson 1997:143). Also like the two Hispanic burials, the female (and probably Hispanic) skeleton found in 2001 was found with the cranium to the east (Zaglauer and Doak 2003:17). It is probably safe to assume that there was considerable variability in the depth of burials (at least civilian burials) in the National Cemetery; a range of 2½ to 9 feet below the surface is probably the best estimate possible of where other burials may be found.

In addition to historical-period burials, the project area likely also preserves a variety of features related to its residential and commercial development after 1890, such as house foundations, other

structural remains, and trash deposits. As several historical-archaeological projects in the downtown area have shown, such features can provide important information about everyday life in early Tucson (Ciolek-Torrello and Swanson 1997; Mabry et al. 1994; Thiel 1993; Thiel et al. 1995). One aspect of architecture in the project area that we have not addressed in this report is the minor architecture often associated with houses. The Sanborn maps show that, even as late as the 1940s, most houses in the project area had one or more associated outbuildings. A few outbuildings are labeled as stables or garages, but many are unlabeled, quite small, and located at the back corners of lots. At least some of these small, unlabeled outbuildings must have been privies. The privy structures are long gone, but the pits that went with them may still be intact below the modern surface, representing an important potential source of artifacts for the study of everyday life in the project area.

Summary and Recommendations

The project area, or the proposed location of the Pima County Justice Courts complex, has been an integral part of the Tucson landscape since at least the early 1860s, when it was first used as a cemetery by Mexican-American and Anglo-American residents. Before it became a cemetery, it was a part of the open land just east of the Tucson presidio, which was established by the Spanish colonial government in 1776 and maintained as a Mexican military post until 1856. And before the presidio was built, the project area was part of the larger environment along the east bank of the Santa Cruz River, used for centuries by Native Americans.

From around 1868 until 1884, the project area at least partly encompassed a cemetery formally established by the U.S. Army and commonly known as the National Cemetery. Used both by the army and by civilians, the cemetery was officially closed by the city in 1876, but it continued to be used at least until 1884, when the military burials were removed; it is uncertain how many civilian burials were removed, but many were not. By 1900, the project area had experienced the same primarily residential development seen in neighborhoods adjacent on the south and west; the warehouse district that developed along the railroad immediately to the north never extended into the project area. By 1930, the project area held a mixture of residential and commercial development. By 1960, it was an exclusively commercial area.

Almost no systematic archaeological work has been carried out within the project area, but there have been several accidental discoveries of human skeletal remains over the years, most confirmed by archaeologists. The most substantial discovery came in 1953, when at least 80 skeletons were found during excavation of a basement for an expansion of the Tucson Newspapers building. Because only a small percentage of the overall project area has been disturbed by deep excavation, other burials from the old National Cemetery are probably still in place. The lack of disturbance also suggests that the project area may have archaeological deposits both earlier and more recent than the cemetery. The proximity of AZ BB:13:9 (ASM), which includes an important (if underdocumented) Hohokam site and the site of the Tucson presidio, means that significant prehistoric (Hohokam or earlier) and historical-period (Spanish Colonial or Mexican) features may exist in the project area. The project area almost certainly has significant archaeological features from the first half of the twentieth century: by 1900, numerous examples of residential architecture had been built in the project area, most of which stood for at least 30 years.

Only four buildings now stand in the project area. The three-story building at 200 North Stone was erected in 1965 as the First National Bank of Arizona. It no longer serves as a bank but retains its original exterior appearance. The one-story building at 240 North Stone is a combination of two buildings from the 1930s that once held the Bowyer Motor Company and the Old Pueblo Bowling and Billiard Parlor. The two buildings were merged in the 1960s and extensively remodeled to serve as a bank; the single building has since been remodeled to serve as office space. The rambling one-story building at 296 North Stone is the former home of the Baum and Adamson Tire and Automotive Company, which opened at that address in the 1920s in a building that was later razed. The current building includes at least part of another small building from the 1920s, but it is otherwise the product of several episodes of remodeling and expansion by Baum and Adamson during the period 1947–1952. Baum and Adamson closed in 1979; the building currently serves as a nightclub. The small one-story building at 55 East Council was built in

the 1950s as a service station for the vehicles of Tucson Newspapers, Inc. It now serves as an automobile repair shop and largely retains its original appearance.

Recommendations

As discussed in Chapter 4 of this report, we recommend that the boundary of the archaeological site known as the National Cemetery site, or AZ BB:13:682 (ASM), be revised to correspond with the triangular parcel labeled “National Cemetery” on the 1880 Pattiani map of Tucson (see Figure 6). This revised boundary more accurately reflects the probable maximum extent of the cemetery over the period of its use, or ca. 1868–1884. Based on our research for this report, we also recommend that AZ BB:13:682 (ASM) be considered eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion d, for its potential to yield information important in the study of the prehistory and history of Tucson and southern Arizona.

Because the current project area falls wholly within AZ BB:13:682 (ASM), we recommend that construction of the proposed Justice Courts complex be preceded by an intensive archaeological testing program in all parts of the project area that will be subject to subsurface disturbance. The results of testing should be used to prepare an archaeological data recovery plan for the project area as a whole. The data recovery plan should include explicit provisions for the excavation and treatment of human remains. Although there is no formal record of civilian burials in the National Cemetery, our research has shown that the cemetery was used for the burial of Anglo-American, Mexican-American, Native American, African-American, and perhaps other late-nineteenth-century residents of Tucson. The project area may also hold earlier burials, including prehistoric Native American burials. We recommend that agreements regarding the treatment of human remains be reached among Pima County, the Arizona State Museum, and the appropriate descendant communities before archaeological testing and data recovery begin.

A local Spanish-heritage group, Los Descendientes del Presidio de Tucson, has claimed affiliation with burials identified as Mexican-American in excavations at AZ BB:13:9 (ASM) and AZ BB:13:682 (ASM); the group should be included in any burial agreement reached for the current project area. The Tohono O’odham Nation has claimed cultural affiliation with historical-period burials identified as Native American in excavations at AZ BB:13:9 (ASM) and generally claims affiliation with any prehistoric Native American burial found in the Tucson area; any burial agreement reached for the project area should also include the Tohono O’odham Nation. The other modern O’odham communities based in Arizona may also claim affiliation to Native American burials in the project area and should be contacted for their possible concerns about the project. These communities are the Ak-Chin Indian Community, the Gila River Indian Community, the Hia C’ed O’odham Alliance, and the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community. It is also possible that Apache, Yavapai, and other Native American communities in Arizona may claim affiliation with late-nineteenth-century or other Native American burials in the project area. These communities include the Pascua Yaqui Tribe, the San Carlos Apache Tribe, the Tonto Apache Tribe, the White Mountain Apache Tribe, the Fort McDowell Yavapai Nation, the Yavapai-Apache Nation, and the Yavapai Prescott Indian Tribe.

Appendix E of this report consists of completed Arizona Historic Property Inventory Forms for the four buildings in the project area. Based on our study of the four buildings, we recommend that none of them be considered eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under any criterion. The buildings at 240 and 296 North Stone have been remodeled and reconfigured several times and do not retain enough integrity to convey their original (or any early) function. The building at 55 East Council is an unremarkable example of a common, simple design and is no longer accompanied by the larger building with which it was originally associated. The building at 200 North Stone has some virtue as an

example of urban architecture that incorporates pedestrian space, but it is less than 50 years old, lacks an association with an important person, event, or style, and is not the work of a recognized master. Construction of the proposed Justice Courts complex, and the archaeological data recovery that must precede construction, may require the demolition of all four buildings. We recommend that no further historical or architectural research be required for any of the buildings before demolition.

The project area is immediately adjacent to portions of two National Register Historic Districts, the El Presidio Historic District and the Tucson Warehouse Historic District; the El Presidio Historic District is also a City of Tucson Historic District, with a slightly different boundary from its National Register counterpart. Because both the El Presidio and Warehouse Districts derive their significance from their architectural resources, it is possible that construction of a modern, multistory building in the project area—just across the street from buildings included in both districts—will have an adverse visual impact on either or both districts. The nature of the impact potentially includes: an undesirable juxtaposition of historic and modern architecture; an obstruction of existing views of buildings in either district; the creation of new shadows that fall on buildings in either district at different times of day; and a general overwhelming of the relatively small-scale residential and commercial architecture of the two districts by a large building. The vicinity of the proposed Justice Courts complex already holds several examples of modern, multistory architecture, which means that construction of the proposed Justice Courts complex will not be a radical intrusion on the area. Nevertheless, the design of the proposed Justice Courts complex should include an effort to minimize visual impacts on the adjacent historic districts.

Summary of Building Information on Sanborn Maps of the Project Area

	1901	1909	1919	1922	1930	1947	1949	1951	1958	1960
Block 252 (721)										
240 N. Stone	—	—	—	—	auto sales & service	auto sales & service	auto sales & service	auto sales & service	furniture storage (with 250 & 252)	furniture storage (with 250 & 252)
250 N. Stone	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	pool & bowling	pool & bowling	pool & bowling (front now has restaurant, plus 252)	pool & bowling (front has restaurant, plus 252)	furniture storage (with 240 & 252)	furniture storage (with 240 & 252)
250½ N. Stone	—	—	garage	garage	—	—	—	—	—	—
252 N. Stone	—	—	—	—	—	—	store (part of 250 front)	store (part of 250 front)	furniture storage (with 250 & 252)	furniture storage (with 250 & 252)
260 N. Stone	—	—	—	—	—	used auto sales & repair	used auto sales & auto repair	used auto sales & auto repair	used auto sales & auto repair (part of 294 & 296)	used auto sales & auto repair (part of 294 & 296)
270 N. Stone	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	—	—	—	—	—
270½ N. Stone	—	—	garage	garage	garage	—	—	—	—	—
286 N. Stone	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	—	—	—	—	—
294 N. Stone	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	(new building, part of 296)	auto & tire service (with 296)	auto & tire service (with 296)	auto & tire service (with 296)	auto & tire service (with 296)	auto & tire service (with 296)
296 N. Stone	—	—	—	—	tire store (new building, includes 294)	auto & tire service (with 294)	auto & tire service (with 294)	auto & tire service (with 294)	auto & tire service (with 294)	auto & tire service (with 294)
24 & 26 Toole	—	—	—	—	offices (not numbered; same as 24 & 26 in 1947; 28 is indicated as old address)	store	store	restaurant	restaurant	restaurant
40 Toole	—	—	—	—	plumbing shop (same as 84 Grossetta)	plumbing & tin shop (same as 84 Grossetta)	plumbing & tin shop (same as 84 Grossetta)	plumbing & tin shop (same as 84 Grossetta)	plumbing & tin shop (same as 84 Grossetta)	plumbing & tin shop (same as 84 Grossetta)
36–54 Miltenberg	—	—	—	—	12-unit apartment building (even numbers only, with 76 & 78 Grossetta; two garages at rear)	12-unit apartment building (even numbers only, with 76 & 78 Grossetta; two garages at rear)	12-unit apartment building (even numbers only, with 76 & 78 Grossetta; two garages at rear)	12-unit apartment building (even numbers only, with 76 & 78 Grossetta; two garages at rear)	—	—
52 Miltenberg	dwelling	dwelling	— (now 58)	— (now 58)	(original dwelling gone; see 36–54 Miltenberg)	(see 36–54 Miltenberg)	—	—	—	—
58 Miltenberg	—	—	dwelling (formerly 52)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
76 & 78 Grossetta	—	—	—	—	12-unit apartment building (with 36–54 Miltenberg)	12-unit apartment building (with 36–54 Miltenberg)	12-unit apartment building (with 36–54 Miltenberg)	12-unit apartment building (with 36–54 Miltenberg)	—	—
78 Grossetta	dwelling (unnumbered)	dwelling (possibly 76)	dwelling	dwelling	(original building now two dwellings, 80 & 82; 78 is now one of 12 numbers in apartment building)	—	—	—	—	—
80 Grossetta	stable (unnumbered)	stable	—	—	dwelling (with 82, part of old 78)	—	—	—	—	—

continued on next page

Note: See the discussion in Chapter 3 for more information about the data in this table. Column headings refer to the publication years of the Sanborn insurance maps. Original block numbers are followed by later designations in parentheses. Small, unnumbered, unlabeled outbuildings are not included. An em dash (—) means a building number does not appear on the given map or has been reassigned to another location on the same block. Only the portion of Block 255 (724) falling within the project area is included here.

	1901	1909	1919	1922	1930	1947	1949	1951	1958	1960
82 Grossetta	—	—	—	—	dwelling (with 80, part of old 78)	—	—	—	—	—
84 Grossetta	—	—	—	—	(see 40 Toole)	(see 40 Toole)	(see 40 Toole)	(see 40 Toole)	(see 40 Toole)	(see 40 Toole)
Block 253 (722)										
72 Miltenberg	—	office (part of Henry Till Company bottling works)	— (now 76 & 79)	— (now 76 & 79)	—	—	—	—	—	—
76 Miltenberg	—	—	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	— (now 78)	—	City Laundry Company (formerly 79)	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	—
78 Miltenberg	—	—	—	—	City Laundry Company (formerly 76)	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	—
79 Miltenberg	—	—	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	— (now 76)	—	—	—	—
80 Miltenberg	—	—	—	—	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	—
85 Miltenberg	—	stable (part of Henry Till Company bottling works)	— (now 94)	— (now 94)	—	—	—	—	—	—
86 Miltenberg	—	—	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	—
94 Miltenberg	—	—	stable (part of City Laundry Company)	stable (part of City Laundry Company)	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	—
100 Miltenberg	—	—	—	—	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	—
71 Grossetta	—	—	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	—
75 Grossetta	—	—	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	—
79 Grossetta	—	—	—	—	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	City Laundry Company	—
Block 254 (723)										
185½ N. Stone	—	—	garage (at rear of 186)	garage (at rear of 186)	garage (at rear of 186)	—	—	—	—	—
186 N. Stone	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	unlabeled commercial building	— (now 200, 202, 204 N. Stone & 20, 22, 24 E. Alameda)	—	—	—
196 N. Stone	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	—	—	—	—	—
200 N. Stone	—	—	—	—	—	—	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)

Note: See the discussion in Chapter 3 for more information about the data in this table. Column headings refer to the publication years of the Sanborn insurance maps. Original block numbers are followed by later designations in parentheses. Small, unnumbered, unlabeled outbuildings are not included. An em dash (—) means a building number does not appear on the given map or has been reassigned to another location on the same block. Only the portion of Block 255 (724) falling within the project area is included here.

	1901	1909	1919	1922	1930	1947	1949	1951	1958	1960
202 N. Stone	—	—	—	—	—	—	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)
204 N. Stone	—	—	—	—	—	—	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)
208 N. Stone	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	newspaper printing (built 1940)	newspaper printing	newspaper printing	newspaper printing (with 210)	newspaper printing (with 210; 208 has expanded east to alley)
210 N. Stone	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	gas & oil station (not the same as earlier station at 220)	newspaper printing (with 208)	newspaper printing (with 208)
220 N. Stone	—	—	dwelling (formerly 221& 223)	dwelling (formerly 221& 223)	—	gas & oil station	(no building; lot labeled auto parking)	truck repair (at rear of lot, with 220½)	—	—
220½ N. Stone	—	—	room (at rear of 220)	room (at rear of 220)	room (at rear of 220)	truck repair	truck repair	truck repair (with 220½)	—	—
221 N. Stone	dwelling (same building as 223)	dwelling (same building as 223)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
223 N. Stone	dwelling (same building as 221)	dwelling (same building as 221)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
20 E. Alameda	—	—	—	—	—	—	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)
22 E. Alameda	—	—	—	—	—	—	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)
24 E. Alameda	—	—	—	—	—	—	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)	store (6-store building, 200–204 N. Stone and 20–24 E. Alameda)
34 E. Alameda	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	—	—	—	—	—
46 E. Alameda	—	—	—	—	—	auto sales & service	auto sales & service	auto sales & service	office & private garage	office & private garage
48 E. Alameda	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	—	—	—	—	—
48½ E. Alameda	buggy house (at rear of 48)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
48⅓ E. Alameda	stable (at rear of 48)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
55 Miltenberg	—	—	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	—	—
55½ Miltenberg	—	—	dwelling (at rear of 55)	dwelling (at rear of 55)	dwelling (at rear of 55)	dwelling (at rear of 55, now with garage)	dwelling (at rear of 55, with garage)	dwelling (at rear of 55, with garage)	—	—

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Note: See the discussion in Chapter 3 for more information about the data in this table. Column headings refer to the publication years of the Sanborn insurance maps. Original block numbers are followed by later designations in parentheses. Small, unnumbered, unlabeled outbuildings are not included. An em dash (—) means a building number does not appear on the given map or has been reassigned to another location on the same block. Only the portion of Block 255 (724) falling within the project area is included here.

	1901	1909	1919	1922	1930	1947	1949	1951	1958	1960
57 Miltenberg	—	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling (garage at rear may be associated)	dwelling (garage at rear may be associated)	dwelling (garage at rear may be associated)	—	—
59 Miltenberg	—	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling (shares building with 50 Grossetta)	dwelling (shares building with 50 Grossetta)	dwelling (shares building with 50 Grossetta)	dwelling (shares building with 50 Grossetta)	gas & oil station	gas & oil station
46 Grossetta	—	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	store (same building as before)	store	store	—	—
48 Grossetta	—	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	—	—
50 Grossetta	—	—	—	—	dwelling (shares building with 59 Miltenberg)	dwelling (shares building with 59 Miltenberg)	dwelling (shares building with 59 Miltenberg)	dwelling (shares building with 59 Miltenberg)	—	—
Block 255 (724)										
37 Grossetta	dwelling	— (now 47)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
45 Grossetta	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling (former outbuilding of 70 Alameda, now associated)	dwelling (former outbuilding of 70 Alameda, now associated)	dwelling	dwelling (outbuilding, now labeled garage)	dwelling (garage now gone or joined to dwelling)	dwelling	dwelling	—
47 Grossetta	—	dwelling (new building at former 37)	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	—
49 Grossetta	—	—	dwelling (contiguous with 77 Miltenberg)	dwelling (contiguous with 77 Miltenberg)	dwelling (new building, contiguous with 51)	dwelling (contiguous with 51)	dwelling (contiguous with 51)	dwelling (contiguous with 51)	dwelling (contiguous with 51)	—
51 Grossetta	—	—	—	—	dwelling (new building, contiguous with 49)	dwelling (contiguous with 49)	dwelling (contiguous with 49)	dwelling (contiguous with 49)	dwelling (contiguous with 49)	—
77 Miltenberg	—	dwelling	dwelling (shares building with 49 Grossetta)	dwelling (shares building with 49 Grossetta)	—	—	—	—	—	—

Note: See the discussion in Chapter 3 for more information about the data in this table. Column headings refer to the publication years of the Sanborn insurance maps. Original block numbers are followed by later designations in parentheses. Small, unnumbered, unlabeled outbuildings are not included. An em dash (—) means a building number does not appear on the given map or has been reassigned to another location on the same block. Only the portion of Block 255 (724) falling within the project area is included here.

**Summary of Federal Census Information
for Residents in the Project Area**

Table B.1. 1900 Census Data

No.	Street	Name	Relation	Race	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Place of Birth	Father's	Mother's	Occupation	Read?	Write?	Speak English?	Own/Rent
48	East Alameda	Benjamin [?] Fairbanks	head	white	male	61	married	Michigan	New York	New York	saloon keeper	yes	yes	yes	own
		Grace Fairbanks	wife	white	female	26	married	Illinois	Pennsylvania	New York		yes	yes	yes	
		Sarah J. Tarbox	mother-in-law	white	female	49	widowed	New York	Ireland	Scotland		yes	yes	yes	
		Birtie E. Tarbox	sister-in-law	white	female	19	divorced	Colorado	Pennsylvania	New York		yes	yes	yes	
37	Grossetta	Alice Y. Hayes	head	white	female	44	widowed	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois		yes	yes	yes	rent
		Arvan L. Hayes	son	white	male	20	single	Illinois	Connecticut	Illinois	printer [?] machinist	yes	yes	yes	
		Wilbur O. Hayes	son	white	male	27	single	Illinois	Connecticut	Illinois	stenographer	yes	yes	yes	
		Elwyn Hayes	son	white	male	17	single	Kansas	Connecticut	Illinois	bank [?]	yes	yes	yes	
		Dearest A. Hayes	daughter	white	female	14	single	Kansas	Connecticut	Illinois	at school	yes	yes	yes	
		Ernest F. Wyman	roomer	white	male	23	single	Kansas	New York	Vermont	fruit clerk	yes	yes	yes	
45	Grossetta	Benjamin Z. [?] Bush	head	white	male	46	married	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland	grocery merchant	yes	yes	yes	rent
		Maggie D. Bush	wife	white	female	50	married	Illinois	Ohio	Kentucky		yes	yes	yes	
		Harris M. [?] Bush	son	white	male	22	single	Illinois	Maryland	Illinois	at school	yes	yes	yes	
52	Grossetta	Peter F. Rivers	head	white	male	38	married	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Canada	s...tt... [illegible]	yes	yes	yes	rent
		Agnes S. Rivers	wife	white	female	30	married	California	Ohio	[illegible]		yes	yes	yes	
		Cyril C. Rivers	son	white	male	10	single	California	Massachusetts	California	at school	yes	yes	yes	
		Lilian T. Rivers	daughter	white	female	8	single	California	Massachusetts	California	at school	yes	yes	yes	
		Roy Rivers	son	white	male	5	single	California	Massachusetts	California					
78	Grossetta	Daniel Lucid	head	white	male	37	married	Canada	Ireland	Canada	grocer	yes	yes	yes	rent
		Lelia Lucid	wife	white	female	33	married	Missouri	Germany	New Jersey		yes	yes	yes	
		Catherine Lucid	daughter	white	female	1	single	California	Canada	Missouri					
		Charles D. Lucid	son	white	male	3 mos.	single	Arizona	Canada	Missouri					
186	North Stone	Georg Cheney	head	white	male	45	married	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	postmaster	yes	yes	yes	rent
		Anne M. Cheney	wife	white	female	38	married	Kansas ^a	Pennsylvania	Ohio		yes	yes	yes	
		Bernice Cheney	daughter	white	female	16	single	Arizona	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	at school	yes	yes	yes	
		Frances Cheney	daughter	white	female	14	single	Arizona	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	at school	yes	yes	yes	
		Mary N. Cheney	daughter	white	female	12	single	Arizona	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	at school	yes	yes	yes	

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No.	Street	Name	Relation	Race	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Place of Birth	Father's	Mother's	Occupation	Read?	Write?	Speak English?	Own/Rent
		Ruth S. Cheney	daughter	white	female	6	single	Arizona	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	at school	yes	yes	yes	
		Edith G. Cheney	daughter	white	female	2	single	Arizona	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania					
		Eleanor A. Cheney	daughter	white	female	4 mos.	single	Arizona	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania					
		Nicolasa Antonio	servant	Indian	female	18	single	Arizona	Arizona	Arizona	house servant	yes	yes	yes	
196	North Stone	Benjamin Heineman ^b	head	white	male	33	married	Maryland	Germany	Germany	commercial grocer [?]	yes	yes	yes	rent
		Lucille Heineman	wife	white	female	27	married	Indiana	Pennsylvania	New York		yes	yes	yes	
208	North Stone	George Whomes	head	white	male	32	married	Illinois	England	England	dentist	yes	yes	yes	own
		Adah Whomes	wife	white	female	32	married	Ohio	New York	Ohio		yes	yes	yes	
		Matilda Sturis [?]	servant	white	female	20	single	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	house servant	yes	yes	yes	
		William Klug	roomer	white	male	54	single	Germany	Germany	Germany	quartz miner	yes	yes	yes	
223	North Stone	Marcus Smith	head	white	male	48	widowed	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky	lawyer	yes	yes	yes	own
		Erskine Bathbun	roomer	white	male	75	widowed	Ohio	New Jersey	New Jersey		yes	yes	yes	
250	North Stone	Joseph Corbett	head	white	male	26	single	California	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	railroad engineer	yes	yes	yes	rent
		Elizabeth Corbett	sister	white	female	27	single	California	Massachusetts	Massachusetts		yes	yes	yes	
		Emma Corbett	sister	white	female	24	single	California	Massachusetts	Massachusetts		yes	yes	yes	
260	North Stone	John N. Brown	head	white	male	55	married	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio	stock raiser	yes	yes	yes	own ^c
		Dolores Brown	wife	white	female	50	married	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico		yes	yes	yes	
286	North Stone	Fred Steward	head	white	male	26	married	Ohio	England	England	bookkeeper	yes	yes	yes	own
		Amelia Steward	wife	white	female	23	married	Arizona	Ohio	Mexico		yes	yes	yes	
		John Minier	roomer	white	male	36	single	Kansas	Ohio	Kansas	bookkeeper	yes	yes	yes	
294	North Stone	Philip Brennan	head	white	male	34	married	Canada	Ireland	Ireland	clothing clerk	yes	yes	yes	rent
		Elizabeth Brennan	wife	white	female	27	married	Canada	Ireland	Ireland		yes	yes	yes	
		Dorothy Brennan	daughter	white	female	2	single	Arizona	Canada	Canada					
		Anna Barry	sister-in-law	white	female	29	single	Canada	Ireland	Ireland		yes	yes	yes	
		William Kirkland	roomer	white	male	30	single	England	England	England	dry goods clerk	yes	yes	yes	
		Clara Antonio	servant	white	female	17	single	Arizona	Arizona	Arizona		yes	yes	yes	

Note: See the discussion in Chapter 3 for more information about the census data in these tables.

^a Ms. Cheney is apparently the mother of the Cheney children, but her place of birth conflicts with the place of birth given for her children's mother.

^b Benjamin Heineman was apparently unrelated to Simon Heineman, the part owner of the Bail-Heineman Company, which around 1900 operated the Rainier Beer Bottling Works (also known as the Henry Till Company Bottling Works and the Bail-Meyer Company), located at the northeast corner of Grossetta and Miltenberg and within the project area; see the text for a brief discussion of the bottling works.

^c The census shows that Mr. Brown also owns a farm (i.e., a ranch).

Table B.2. 1910 Census Data

No.	Street	Name	Relation	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Place of Birth	Father's	Mother's	Speaks English?	Occupation	Industry	Read?	Write?	Own/Rent
34	East Alameda	William Moore	head	male	white	50	married	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	yes	merchant	railroad	yes	yes	rent
		Daisy Moore	wife	female	white	36	married	Kansas	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	yes	none		yes	yes	
		Gladys Moore	daughter	female	white	16	single	California	Michigan	Kansas	yes	none		yes	yes	
		Marguerit Moore	daughter	female	white	14	single	California	Michigan	Kansas	yes	none		yes	yes	
		Fern Moore	daughter	female	white	9	single	California	Michigan	Kansas	yes	none		yes	yes	
		William Moore	son	male	white	3	single	Arizona	Michigan	Kansas	yes	none				
48	East Alameda	Daniel Mohoney	head	male	white	47	married	Massachusetts	Ireland	Ireland	yes	conductor	railroad	yes	yes	rent
		Marguerit Mohoney	wife	female	white	43	married	Canada	Ireland	Ireland	yes	none		yes	yes	
		John Barrett	boarder	male	white	60	single	California	Connecticut	Connecticut	yes	conductor	railroad	yes	yes	
70	East Alameda	Arthur G. Forman	head	male	white	27	married	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky	yes	brakeman	S. P. Railroad	yes	yes	rent
		Minnie L. Forman	wife	female	white	26	married	Kentucky	Virginia	Kentucky	yes	none		yes	yes	
		Lilian Forman	daughter	female	white	5	single	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky	yes	none				
		Louise Forman	daughter	female	white	1	single	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky	yes					
45	Grossetta	Hebert S. Hunter	head	male	white	23	married	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	yes	newspaper	city	yes	yes	rent
		Willa F. Hunter	wife	female	white	23	married	West Virginia	Pennsylvania	Ohio	yes	none		yes	yes	rent
47	Grossetta	Leslie Lohse	head	male	white	24	married	Missouri	Germany	Germany	yes	salesman	wholesale groceries	yes	yes	
		Jessie Lohse	wife	female	white	24	married	Wisconsin	Scotland	Scotland	yes	none		yes	yes	
		Fred C. Miller	cousin	male	white	26	single	Missouri	Germany	Germany	yes	driver	ice wagon	yes	yes	
		Harry Cadieu [?]	boarder	male	white	30	single	California	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	yes	teacher [?]	business college [?]	yes	yes	
		Adolph J. Weber	boarder	male	white	9 ^a		Japan	Germany	Japan	yes	ch. [child?] interpreter	immigration office	yes	yes	
77	Grossetta	Adolph Meyer	head	male	white	47	married	Germany	Germany	Germany	yes	proprietor	brewery	yes	yes	rent
		Flora Meyer	wife	female	white	47	married	Iowa	Pennsylvania	Ohio	yes	artist		yes	yes	
		Paul Meyer	son	male	white	17	single	California	Iowa ^b	Germany	yes	none		yes	yes	
		Archie Meyer	son	male	white	15	single	California	Iowa ^b	Germany	yes	none		yes	yes	
		Dick Meyer	son	male	white	14	single	California	Iowa ^b	Germany	yes	none		yes	yes	

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No.	Street	Name	Relation	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Place of Birth	Father's	Mother's	Speaks English?	Occupation	Industry	Read?	Write?	Own/Rent
		Helen Meyer	daughter	female	white	12	single	California	Iowa ^b	Germany	yes	none		yes	yes	
		Margarita [?] Meyer	daughter	female	white	8	single	California	Iowa ^b	Germany	yes	none		yes	yes	
47	Miltenberg	Jesus Lester	head	male	white	27	single	Arizona	California	California	yes	odd jobs	liquid [?] store	yes	yes	rent
55	Miltenberg	Peter Cosgray	head	male	white	76	married	Pennsylvania	Ireland	Maryland	yes	own income		yes	yes	rent
		Swann Cosgray	wife	female	white	66	married	Missouri	Massachusetts	Tennessee	yes			yes	yes	
		Oliver H. Medensis [?]	head	male	white	33	married	Nebraska	Illinois	Illinois	yes	brakeman	S. P. Railroad	yes	yes	
		Clemmie L. Medensis [?]	wife	female	white	28	married	Nebraska	Maine	Illinois	yes	none		yes	yes	
		Mildrid D. Medensis [?]	daughter	female	white	3		Nebraska	Nebraska	Nebraska	yes	none				
57	Miltenberg	Raymond Brena	head	male	white	29	married	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	yes	bookkeeper	wholesale grocery	yes	yes	rent
		Rose Brena	wife	female	white	26	married	Arizona	Mexico	Mexico	yes	none		yes	yes	
		Hortenze Brena	daughter	female	white	2	single	Arizona	Mexico	Arizona	yes	none				
59	Miltenberg	Norman Perry	head	male	white	27	married	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio	yes	horse dealer	livery stable	yes	yes	rent
		Clara M. Perry	wife	female	white	28	married	Arizona	Wisconsin	Ohio	yes	none		yes	yes	
		Dorothy Perry	daughter	female	white	1	single	Arizona	Ohio	Arizona	yes	none				
		William Perry	son	male	white	4	single	Arizona	Ohio	Wisconsin ^c	yes	none				
186	North Stone	Charles E. Harty	head	male	white	47	married	Virginia	Virginia	Virginia	yes	conductor	S. P. Railroad	yes	yes	rent
		Minnie B. Harty	wife	female	white	43	married	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky	yes	none		yes	yes	
		Lessley [?] C. Harty	son	male	white	24	single	Kentucky	Virginia	Kentucky	yes	lawyer	general practice	yes	yes	
		Charles L. Harty	son	male	white	21	single	Kentucky	Virginia	Kentucky	yes	lawyer	general practice	yes	yes	
196	North Stone	Malis A. Martin	head	male	white	31	single	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky	yes	assistant postmaster	government	yes	yes	rent
		Mary Martin	mother	female	white	50	widowed	Kentucky	Kentucky	Ohio	yes	none		yes	yes	
		Eva Parett	cousin	female	white	24	single	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky	yes	sales lady	curio store	yes	yes	
		Edd Rassemussen	boarder	male	white	21	single	Illinois	Sweden	Sweden	yes	salesman	curio store	yes	yes	
208	North Stone	Fred S. Blank	head	male	white	49	married	Switzerland	Switzerland	Switzerland	yes	own income		yes	yes	rent
		Guadalupe Blank	wife	female	white	37	married	Arizona	Switzerland	Mexico	yes	none		yes	yes	
		Olivia Blank	daughter	female	white	16	single	Arizona	Switzerland	Arizona	yes	none		yes	yes	
		Hedwig Blank	daughter	female	white	11	single	Arizona	Switzerland	Arizona	yes	none		yes	yes	

No.	Street	Name	Relation	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Place of Birth	Father's	Mother's	Speaks English?	Occupation	Industry	Read?	Write?	Own/Rent
		Fred Blank	son	male	white	8	single	Arizona	Switzerland	Arizona	yes	none				
		Elsie Cover	boarder	female	white	23	single	Michigan	France	Ireland	yes	trained nurse	private family	yes	yes	
223	North Stone	Marcus Smith	head	male	white	58	widowed	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky	yes	ex[?]- Congressman	delegate to Congress	yes	yes	rent
250	North Stone	William S. Henry	head	male	white	36	married	Iowa	Scotland	Pennsylvania	yes	chief engineer	ice plant	yes	yes	rent
		Sadie Henry	wife	female	white	33	married	Missouri	Ohio	Iowa	yes	none		yes	yes	
		James W. Henry	son	male	white	15	single	Oklahoma	Iowa	Missouri	yes	none		yes	yes	
		Annie Henry	daughter	female	white	13	single	Mexico	Iowa	Missouri	yes	none		yes	yes	
		Kenneth Henry	son	male	white	3		Arizona	Iowa	Missouri	yes					
		Nina Haugen [?]	boarder	female	white	52	widowed	Illinois	Norway	Norway	yes	none		yes	yes	
		Olive Haugen [?]	boarder	female	white	23	single	Illinois	Norway	Illinois	yes	secretary	railroad office	yes	yes	
		Adia Hynes	boarder	female	white	20	single	Illinois	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	yes	bookkeeper	telephone office	yes	yes	
270	North Stone	John M. Brown	head	male	white	64	married	Ohio	Maryland	Maryland	yes	own income		yes	yes	own
		Laura B. Brown	wife	female	white	57	married	Arizona	Mexico	Mexico	yes			yes	yes	
286	North Stone	Fred Stewart	head	male	white	36	married	Ohio	England	England	yes	treasurer [?]	So. Ariz. Transfer [?] Co.	yes	yes	own
		Amelia Stewart	wife	female	white	33	married	Arizona	Ohio	Arizona	yes	none		yes	yes	
		Henry Stewart	son	male	white	8		Arizona	Ohio	Arizona	yes	none				
		Mildred Stewart	daughter	female	white	3		Arizona	Ohio	Arizona	yes	none				

^aThis age (9) is probably right, given that marital status is not indicated. The figure given is definitely only one digit.

^bThe census has apparently reversed the birthplaces of the parents of the Meyer children.

^cThe mother's birthplace should probably be Wisconsin.

Table B.3. 1920 Census Data

No.	Street	Name	Relation	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Place of Birth	Father's	Mother's	Read?	Write?	Speaks English?	Occupation	Industry	Own/Rent
186	North Stone	John Joseph	head	male	white	48	married	Syria	Syria	Syria	yes	yes	yes	salesman	dry goods	rent
		Mary Joseph	wife	female	white	37	married	Syria	Syria	Syria	yes	yes	yes	saleslady	dry goods	
		Margaret Joseph	daughter	female	white	19	single	Pennsylvania	Syria	Syria	yes	yes	yes	saleslady	dry goods	
		Adela Ayup	daughter	female	white	20	married	Pennsylvania	Syria	Syria	yes	yes	yes	none		
		Mike Ayup	son-in-law	male	white	22	married	Mexico	Syria	Mexico	yes	yes	yes	salesman	dry goods	
		Joe Ayup	grandson	male	white	4	single	Arizona	Mexico	Arizona				yes	none	
		John Mabarka	nephew	male	white	21	married	Syria	Syria	Syria	yes	yes	yes	merchant	pool room	
		Celia Mabarka	niece	female	white	19	married	Pennsylvania	Syria	Syria	yes	yes	yes	none		
		Joe Mabarka	grandnephew	male	white	10 mos.	single	Pennsylvania	Syria	Pennsylvania					none	
		Mary Mabarka	lodger	female	white	17	married	Syria	Syria	Syria	yes	yes	yes	none		
		Taft Mabarka	lodger	male	white	24	married	Syria	Syria	Syria	yes	yes	yes	salesman	fruit store	
Charles Mabarka	lodger	male	white	20	single	Syria	Syria	Syria	yes	yes	yes	salesman	fruit store			
196	North Stone	Ralph G. Giraud [?]	head	male	white	36	married	Texas	Texas	Texas	yes	yes	yes	salesman	auto supplies	unknown
		Beatrice Giraud [?]	wife	female	white	29	married	Arizona	Arizona	Arizona	yes	yes	yes	U.S. enumerator	U.S. census	
		Ralph Giraud [?]	son	male	white	5	single	Arizona	Texas	Arizona				yes	none	
		Beatrice Giraud [?]	daughter	female	white	2	single	Arizona	Texas	Arizona				yes	none	
		Bernice Giraud [?]	daughter	female	white	1	single	Arizona	Texas	Arizona					none	
		Willa Julp [?]	lodger	female	white	46	widowed	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	yes	yes	yes	none		
		John A. Freiber [?]	lodger	male	white	22	single	Kansas	Kansas	Kansas	yes	yes	yes	fireman	railroad	
		Teresa Perez	servant	female	white	18	married	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	yes	yes	no	servant	private family	
208	North Stone ^a	Anna Bryan	head	female	white	47	divorced	Mississippi	Ireland	North Carolina	yes	yes	yes	none		rent
		Leo M. Bryan	son	male	white	17	single	Texas	Mississippi	Mississippi	yes	yes	yes	boilermaker	railroad	
		Edna O. Bryan	daughter	female	white	14	single	Texas	Mississippi	Mississippi	yes	yes	yes	none		
		Daisy H. Bryan	daughter	female	white	11	single	Texas	Mississippi	Mississippi	yes	yes	yes	none		
		Jack G. Bryan	son	male	white	6	single	Texas	Mississippi	Mississippi				yes	none	
		Irene Raymond	daughter	female	white	23	divorced	Illinois ^d	Mississippi	Mississippi	yes	yes	yes	none		
		Mary V. Raymond	granddaughter	female	white	6	single	Texas	Michigan	Texas ^d				yes	none	
		James C. Smith	head	male	white	24	single	Texas	Tennessee	Tennessee	yes	yes	yes	salesman	new business	rent
		Edwin M. Smith	brother	male	white	20	single	Texas	Tennessee	Tennessee	yes	yes	yes	salesman	new business	
		John P. Hall	lodger	male	white	46	single	Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana	yes	yes	yes	salesman	new business	
		Minnie Kraft	lodger	female	white	30	single	Georgia	Georgia	Georgia	yes	yes	yes	waitress	confectionery	
Laura Shea	lodger	female	white	17	single	Kansas	Washington, D.C.	Illinois	yes	yes	yes	saleslady	department store			

continued on next page

No.	Street	Name	Relation	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Place of Birth	Father's	Mother's	Read?	Write?	Speaks English?	Occupation	Industry	Own/Rent
220	North Stone	Edgar M. Colglazier	head	male	white	50	married	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana	yes	yes	yes	manager	cold storage company	rent
		Clair B. Colglazier	wife	female	white	39	married	Georgia	Georgia	Georgia	yes	yes	yes	none		
250A	North Stone	Miguel Nehley [?]	head	male	white	43	married	Syria	Syria	Syria	yes	yes	yes	merchant	dry goods	unknown
		Anita S. Nehley [?]	wife	female	white	24	married	California	Germany	California	yes	yes	yes	none		
250B	North Stone	William S. West	head	male	white	31	married	New Mexico	New Mexico	New Mexico	yes	yes	yes	salesman	wholesale grocery	rent
		Margaret West	wife	female	white	34	married	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana	yes	yes	yes	none		
270	North Stone	John Adams	head	male	white	48	married	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland	yes	yes	yes	golf professor [?]	golf links	rent
		Elizabeth Adams	wife	female	white	42	married	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland	yes	yes	yes	none		
286	North Stone	Fred J. Steward	head	male	white	46	married	Ohio	England	England	yes	yes	yes	banker	bank	own
		Amelia B. Steward	wife	female	white	43	married	Arizona	Ohio	Mexico	yes	yes	yes	none		
		Henry B. Steward	son	male	white	18	single	Arizona	Ohio	Arizona	yes	yes	yes	none		
		Mildred L. Steward	daughter	female	white	13	single	Arizona	Ohio	Arizona	yes	yes	yes	none		
294	North Stone	Madge [?] Harrison	head	female	white	45	married	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio	yes	yes	yes	dressmaker	[in] own home	rent
		Thelma Harrison	daughter	female	white	16	single	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio	yes	yes	yes	none		
55	Miltenberg	James G. [?] Trammell	head	male	white	36	married	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri	yes	yes	yes	car [?] foreman	railroad	rent
		Hope Trammell	wife	female	white	31	married	Arizona	Arizona	Arizona	yes	yes	yes	none		
		Margaret Trammell	daughter	female	white	11	single	Arizona	Missouri	Arizona	yes	yes	yes	none		
		Glenn Trammell	son	male	white	9	single	Arizona	Missouri	Arizona	yes	yes	yes	none		
		Virginia Trammell	daughter	female	white	2	single	Arizona	Missouri	Arizona				none		
57	Miltenberg	George R. Halloway	head	male	white	38	married	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri	yes	yes	yes	deputy sheriff	county	unknown
		Lucile Halloway	wife	female	white	32	married	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri	yes	yes	yes	none		
		Margaret Halloway	daughter	female	white	14	single	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri	yes	yes	yes	none		
58	Miltenberg	Fernando Gutierrez	head	male	white	38	widowed	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	yes	yes	no	carpenter	general	rent
		Francisca Gutierrez	mother	female	white	70	widowed	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	yes	yes	no	none		
		Cleotilda Gutierrez	sister	female	white	28	single	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	yes	yes	no	none		
		Josephina Gutierrez	niece	female	white	20	single	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	yes	yes	yes	none		
		Arnoldo Gutierrez	cousin	male	white	17	single	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	yes	yes	yes	salesman		

No.	Street	Name	Relation	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Place of Birth	Father's	Mother's	Read?	Write?	Speaks English?	Occupation	Industry	Own/Rent
59	Miltenberg	James C. Hammond	head	male	white	42	married	Ohio	Ohio	New York	yes	yes	yes	civil engineer	railroad	rent
		Agnes Hammond	wife	female	white	33	married	California	Australia	Massachusetts	yes	yes	yes	none		
		Helen Hammond	daughter	female	white	5	single	Arizona	Ohio	California				none		
		Victoria Austen [?]	lodger	female	white	85	widowed	Wisconsin	Poland	Poland	yes	yes	yes	dressmaking	at own home	
48	East Alameda ^b	Millie E. Sease	head	female	white	22	married	Colorado	Missouri	Colorado	yes	yes	yes	cashier	cafe	rent
		Francis M. Sease	son	male	white	3	single	Colorado	Florida	Colorado			yes	none		
45	Grossetta ^c	Andrew D. Rowe	head	male	white	40	married	Texas	Georgia	Georgia	yes	yes	yes	civil engineer	railroad	rent
		Sarah A. Rowe	wife	female	white	28	married	New York	New York	New York	yes	yes	yes	none		
		Llewelan Fahnestock	lodger	male	white	30	single	Illinois	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	yes	yes	yes	teller	bank	
		Arnold Smith	lodger	male	white	35	divorced	Kentucky	Kentucky	[illegible]	yes	yes	yes	stenographer	public office	
		Edward Reinhardt	head	male	white	49	divorced	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	yes	yes	yes	cook	cafe	unknown
		Clara M. Carroll	head	female	white	30	single	Illinois	New York	England	yes	yes	yes	clerk	railroad	rent
		Rhynard Keenen [?]	head	male	white	21	married	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio	yes	yes	yes	chauffeur	taxi company	rent
		Eliot F. Lee	head	male	white	36	single	Texas	Texas	Texas	yes	yes	yes	carpenter	house	rent
		Victor P. Baker	lodger	male	white	32	single	Illinois	Ohio	Illinois	yes	yes	yes	electrical engineer	electrical [?]	
		Clark M. Foote, Jr.	lodger	male	white	22	single	California	New York	Michigan	yes	yes	yes	cashier	packing plant	
		Frank L. Dempsey [?]	lodger	male	white	38 [?]	single	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	yes	yes	yes	federal board [?]	university	
		Mark A. Bennett	lodger	male	white	49	single	California	Pennsylvania	Arkansas	yes	yes	yes	cook	cafe	
49	Grossetta	Walter F. Coldwell	head	male	white	45	unknown	Colorado	Missouri	Missouri	yes	yes	yes	none		rent
		Timothy [?] White	lodger	male	white	40	unknown	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee	yes	yes	yes	none		
		George L. Bowen	lodger	male	white	56	divorced	Missouri	Missouri	Ireland	yes	yes	yes	transfer	truck	
		Reese Bowen	lodger	male	white	13	single	Texas	Missouri	Texas	yes	yes	yes	none		

^aFor the North Stone addresses, there is some uncertainty in the association of households with addresses. The following house numbers (addresses) appear in sequence on sheets 12B and 13A: 286, 270, 220, 208, 196, and 186. However, the street associated with these numbers is not indicated. Because of where they appear in the census relative to other street names and house numbers, it is almost certain that they are numbers on North Stone. House numbers 250A, 250B, and 294 also appear on sheet 12B, separately from numbers 186–286 but unambiguously labeled North Stone. None of this is really problematical, except that a household unambiguously labeled 208 North Stone (James C. Smith, head) also appears on sheet 14B, unaccompanied by other North Stone addresses. It is possible that two separate households were present at 208 North Stone and were recorded by the enumerator on different days, but the house that appears on the 1919 Sanborn map at that address does not seem large enough to hold two families totaling 12 people. But you never know. Both households appear at the same address here.

^bA thorough search revealed no other Alameda addresses (e.g., 34) in the project area.

^cThe address 45 Grossetta appears twice on sheet 14B, separated by addresses on other streets. On the 1919 Sanborn map, there is only one house at 45 Grossetta, but the houses were apparently renumbered in earlier years. The 1909 Sanborn shows two houses labeled 45 on Grossetta, one of which became 49 Grossetta by 1919. One of the two households labeled 45 Grossetta in the census may be the house labeled 47 Grossetta on the 1909, 1919, and later Sanborn maps. Here I list both households as part of 45 Grossetta.

^dIrene is presumably the mother of Mary V. Raymond, but Irene's birthplace contradicts the birthplace of Mary V.'s mother.

Table B.4. 1930 Census Data

No.	Street	Name	Relation	Own/ Rent	Value/ Rent	Radio	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Read/ Write?	Place of Birth	Father's	Mother's	Speaks English?	Occupation	Industry	
46	Grossetta ^a	Charles E. Eaton	head	rent	37	yes	male	white	42	married	yes	Mississippi	Mississippi	Mississippi	yes	civil engineer	highway department	
		Lena G. Eaton	wife					female	white	39	married	yes	California	Germany	Germany	yes	none	
		Virginia C. Eaton	stepdaughter					female	white	14	single	yes	Oregon	California	California	yes	none	
		Dudley P. Eaton	stepson					male	white	13	single	yes	California	California	California	yes	none	
48	Grossetta	Gillian M. Smith	head	rent	35	yes	male	white	33	married	yes	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama	yes	barber	barber shop	
		Lula B. Smith	wife					female	white	31	married	yes	Arkansas	Missouri	Missouri	yes	none	
		Charles E. Cheek	stepson					male	white	10	single	yes	Arizona	Mississippi	Arkansas	yes	none	
50	Grossetta	James R. Maples	head	rent	30	yes	male	white	42	married	yes	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee	yes	recruiting sergeant	army	
		Mary F. Maples	wife					female	white	37	married	yes	New Mexico	England	France	yes	none	
		Elaine Maples	daughter					female	white	6	single		California	Tennessee	New Mexico		none	
		Patricia Yonkers	lodger					female	white	26	married	yes	Oklahoma	Oklahoma	Oklahoma	yes	cosmetologist	beauty parlor
76	Grossetta	H. S. Shafer	head	rent	37	no	male	white	19	married	yes	Illinois	Germany	Hungary	yes	bookkeeper	bank	
		Jean Shafer	wife					female	white	20	married	yes	Illinois	USA	USA	yes	stenographer	insurance office
36	East Miltenberg ^b	E. E. Jackson	head	rent	37	no	male	white	49	married	yes	Texas	North Carolina	North Carolina	yes	none		
		Margarite Jackson	wife					female	white	46	married	yes	Arkansas	Illinois	Illinois	yes	none	
		Hazel F. Teeter	head	rent	35	no	female	white	29	single	yes	Nebraska	Pennsylvania	England	yes	none		
		R. D. Hayes	head	rent	45	yes	male	white	21	married	yes	California	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	yes	installer	telephone company	
		Virginia Hayes	wife					female	white	18	married	yes	Arizona	England	Texas	yes	none	
		Frances I. Hayes	daughter					female	white	1	single		Arizona	California	Arizona		none	
		Arthur G. Ingram	father-in-law					male	white	67	widowed	yes	England	England	England	yes	none	
		Marvin C. Griffith	head	rent	45	no	male	white	42	married	yes	Arkansas	Arkansas	Arkansas	yes	manager	recreation room	
Kathryn Griffith	wife					female	white	47	married	yes	Wisconsin	Illinois	Illinois	yes	none			
		Margaret Brayton	stepdaughter				female	white	18	married	yes	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	yes	waitress	restaurant	

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No.	Street	Name	Relation	Own/ Rent	Value/ Rent	Radio	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Read/ Write?	Place of Birth	Father's	Mother's	Speaks English?	Occupation	Industry
		B. E. Miller	head	rent	45	yes	male	white	37	married	yes	Ohio	Ohio	New York	yes	auditor	auto sales company
		Rosa J. Miller	wife				female	white	40	married	yes	Missouri	Illinois	Iowa	yes	none	
		L. B. Whelden	lodger				male	white	53	single	yes	Minnesota	New York	Minnesota	yes	laborer	copper mine
		Glen Rash	head	rent	45	yes	male	white	42	married	yes	Montana	Oregon	Canada	yes	driller	copper mine
		Clara Rash	wife				female	white	37	married	yes	Canada	Canada	Canada	yes	none	
		Glenna Rash	daughter				female	white	12	single	yes	Alaska	Montana	Canada	yes	none	
		John Rash	father				male	white	76	widowed	yes	Oregon	Utah	Utah	yes	none	
		Ida M. Sines	head	rent	40	yes	female	white	50	married	yes	Illinois	Wales	Wales	yes	landlady	furnished apartments
		Mary J. Guist	daughter				female	white	19	single	yes	Washington	Pennsylvania	Illinois	yes	stenographer	bank
61	East Miltenberg	Michael J. Ryan	head	rent	45	no	male	white	54	married	yes	Illinois	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	yes	plumber	plumbing shop
		Maud P. Ryan	wife				female	white	53	married	yes	Nevada	Missouri	Sweden	yes	none	
		Maud L. French	stepdaughter				female	white	30	divorced	yes	Arizona	Arizona	Nevada	yes	cosmetologist	beauty parlor
		Walter L. Scott	stepson				male	white	25	married	yes	Arizona	Arizona	Nevada	yes	painter	building contractor
		Doris Scott	stepdaughter ^c				female	white	25	married	yes	England	England	England	yes	none	
		Jack L. Scott	stepgrandson				male	white	4 mos.	single		Arizona	Arizona	England		none	
186	North Stone	Ernest J. Ewing	head	rent	55	yes	male	white	52	married	yes	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont	yes	engineer	
		Mary C. Ewing	wife				female	Mexican	46	married	yes	Arizona	Mexico	Mexico	yes	none	
		Mary D. Ewing	daughter				female	Mexican	12	single	yes	Arizona	Arizona ^d	Arizona	yes	none	
		Walter P. Ewing	son				male	Mexican	9	single		Arizona	Arizona	Arizona		none	
		Dora Monguia	stepdaughter				female	Mexican	25 [?]	single	yes	Arizona	Arizona	Arizona	yes	postal clerk	U.S. Post Office
		Brenda Amariel [?]	stepdaughter				female	Mexican	24	married	yes	Arizona	Arizona	Arizona	yes	saleslady	dry goods store
196	North Stone	Rosa M. McAlpin	head	rent	40	no	female	Mexican	39	divorced	yes	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	yes	none	
		Richard McAlpin	son				male	Mexican	25	single	yes	Arizona	Mexico	Mexico	yes	salesman	furniture store
		Gilbert McAlpin	son				male	Mexican	23	married	yes	Arizona	Mexico	Mexico	yes	salesman	shoe store
		Julia McAlpin	daughter				female	Mexican	21	single	yes	Arizona	Mexico	Mexico	yes	saleslady	department store

No.	Street	Name	Relation	Own/ Rent	Value/ Rent	Radio	Sex	Race	Age	Marital Status	Read/ Write?	Place of Birth	Father's	Mother's	Speaks English?	Occupation	Industry
208	North Stone	Thomas M. Smith	head	rent	40	no	male	white	71	married	yes	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland	yes	mine operator	copper mine
		Amelia P. Smith	wife				female	Mexican	46	married	yes	Arizona	Texas	Mexico	yes	none	
		Margaret M. Smith	daughter				female	Mexican	9	single		Arizona	Maryland	Arizona		none	
270	North Stone	Fred S. Thomas	lodger				male	white	45	divorced	yes	U.S.A.	U.S.A.	U.S.A.	yes	brakeman	railroad
		Lorenzo A. Gatts	head	rent	50	no	male	white	48	married	yes	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee	yes	auto driver	city laundry
		Enice B. Gatts	wife				female	white	38	married	yes	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee	yes	landlady	rooming house
		Helen E. Gatts	daughter				female	white	22	single	yes	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee	yes	none	
		Fannie Tanner	sister-in-law				female	white	65	widowed	yes	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee	yes	none	
		Ola F. Garbo	sister-in-law				female	white	40	widowed	yes	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee	yes	demonstrator	perfume company
		Lawrence S. Miller	lodger				male	white	36	widowed	yes	Texas	Georgia	Michigan	yes	bricklayer	building contractor
		Mayhwin A. Miller	lodger				male	white	22	single	yes	Texas	Texas	Georgia	yes	laborer	building contractor
Follis E. Miller	lodger				male	white	23	single	yes	Arkansas	Arkansas	Arkansas	yes	bookkeeper	transfer company		
	David Tatum	lodger				male	white	47	single	yes	Iowa	Indiana	Missouri	yes	cook	restaurant	

^a Grossetta is spelled "Rosetta" in the census.

^b The seven households at 36 Miltenberg are labeled the Brewster Apartments.

^c The intended status is presumably daughter-in-law.

^d The father's birthplace should probably be Vermont.

**Project Area Residents and Businesses Listed
in Selected Tucson City Directories**

Address	1899–1900	1910	1920	1930	1946	1960
32 E. Alameda	F.W. Bugbee, brakeman, SPRR*	—	—	—	—	—
34 E. Alameda	G.B. Acton, conductor, SPRR C.J. Acton, brakeman, SPRR C.L. Browne, brakeman, SPRR J.D. Matthews, brakeman, SPRR	W. J. Glanville, machinist, SPRR Wm. S. Moon, machinist, SPRR	Dan R. (Margaret) Mahoney, conductor, SPRR	Thomas N. (Elizabeth) Wills, cattleman	—	—
48 E. Alameda	B.D. Fairbanks, proprietor, Fashion Saloon Miss Eva Tarbox	John Barrett, passenger conductor, SPRR	Mrs. Millie E. Jones	vacant	—	—
33 Grossetta	J. Bernstein*	—	—	—	—	—
45 Grossetta	Harry Bush, employee with Wheeler & Perry Ben F. Bush, employee with Wheeler & Perry	Richard R. Gross, Crescent Cigar Co. E. L. Hollingsworth, electrician, Russell Electric & Machine Co. Joseph Klein, employee, Crescent Cigar Co.	Andrew D. (Sarah) Rowe, assistant engineer, SPRR	J. Swain (Mary E.) Ayers, real estate	Ollie (Emily) Nelson, bus driver	—
46 Grossetta	—	—	William (Pearl) Leggott, cattleman	Charles (Lena) Eaton, Santa Rita Garage	Powder Puff Beauty Salon (Mr. and Mrs. Elton Davis)	—
47 Grossetta	—	L. A. Lohse, grocery dept., A. Steinfeld & Co. Fred C. Miller, driver, Tucson Ice & Cold Storage Co. [also shown at 54 Grossetta, probably a mistake] A. J. Wiebe, Japanese interpreter, immigration service	Thomas H. (Lillian) Cooper, salesman. Van Noy Interstate Co.	William C. (Ruby) McKinnon, driver, Eagle Milling, Co.	Thomas (Mary) Briggs	—
48 Grossetta	—	Miss Anna Ruth Barker, student, University of Arizona	Oliver (Clemmie) Medearis, conductor, SPRR	Gillian B. (Lula) Smith, barber, Sunshine Barber Shop	Theodore (Marian) Wallace, printer, Tucson Newspapers, Inc.	—
49 Grossetta	—	—	transients	Mrs. Katherine Kelly	Cordelia Pipkin, bookkeeper, Gregory Electric Co.	—
50 Grossetta	—	—	—	James (Frances) Maples, recruiting sergeant, U.S. Army	Albert (Florence) Eaton, meatcutter	—
51 Grossetta	—	—	—	M. Jack (Maude) Ryan, shop foreman, Craycroft Plumbing & Heating Co.	Irma Tracy, receiving clerk, Levy Bros. Department Store	—
76 Grossetta	—	—	—	—	Harold Ryan, life insurance*	—
78 Grossetta	J.S. Clark, brakeman, SPRR	—	Alex (Elvira) Bravo, laborer	John M. (Frances) Walker	Kelly (Gertrude) Longshore, SPRR	—
80 Grossetta	—	—	—	Mrs. Elinor E. Galloway, saleslady	—	—
82 Grossetta	—	—	—	transients	—	—

continued on next page

Note: See the discussion in Chapter 3 for more information about the data in this table. An em dash (—) means that no information appeared in the given directory for this address. An asterisk (*) following an entry means that the address for the entry does not appear on the corresponding Sanborn map.

Address	1899–1900	1910	1920	1930	1946	1960
36–54 Miltenberg	—	—	—	(36) Mrs. Ida Sines; (38) Glenn (Clara B.) Rash; (40) Earl (Marie) Bryan, glazier; (42) B.E. (Rosa J.) Miller, auditor, Bowyer Motor Co.; (44) Marvin W. (Marybelle) Stevens, salesman; (46) Ernest E. (Marguerite) Jackson; (48) Fred (Nora) Longmore, car foreman, SPRR; (50) Robert (Virginia) Hayes, comb. [?] man, Mountain States Tel. and Tel. Co.; (52) Hazel F. Teeter; (54) Walter (Viola) Jaus	Melrose Court [apartments], Mrs. Henry Mills, manager [she lived in 38; no other residents listed]	Union 76 parking lot (A.F. Durazzo) (address given as 36–54 E. Council)
55 Miltenberg	—	Peter Cosgray Herbert Shaule, accountant	transients	John D. Farley, chief installer, Mountain States Tel. and Tel. Co.	Henry (Lorraine) Valles, carpenter	Durazzo’s Union 76 service station (A.F. Durazzo)
57 Miltenberg	—	Ramon R. Brena, bookkeeper, Brena Commercial Co.	George R. (Lucile) Holloway, deputy sheriff	(front) Mrs. Ann Lathrop, clerk, Broadway Cigar & News Co. (rear) Frank Foster	Ford (Frances) Rasmessen, Rasmessen’s Curio Store	—
58 Miltenberg	—	—	Fernando (Maria) Gutierrez, carpenter	—	—	—
59 Miltenberg	—	—	James C. (Agnes) Hammond, civil engineer, SPRR	Charles (Aileen) Lathrop, dental technician	Florence Shoffner, employee	—
76 Miltenberg	—	[several entries, address sometimes “Miltenberg and Grossetta”:] Rainier Beer (Bail & Meyer) bottling works (Adolf Bail, Adolf Meyer) Bail-Heineman Co. [also listed as “brewing agents” at 424 N. Stone] Jesus Lastra, employee, Henry Till Co. Rainier Bottling Works	City Laundry Co. [address given as corner of Toole and Miltenberg], J.H. Plunkett, president	—	—	—
76–100 Miltenberg	—	—	—	—	City Laundry & Dry Cleaners (address given as corner of Toole and Miltenberg; also listed at 79 Toole)	—
77 Miltenberg	—	—	transients	—	—	—
186 N. Stone	George W. Cheyney, postmaster Miss Berenice Cheyney Mrs. C.J. Neal	Orville Daniel, freight conductor, SPRR Charles E. Hardy, passenger conductor, SPRR L.C. Hardy, attorney Edward B. Peel, freight conductor, SPRR	John (Mary) Joseph, Yellow Front Store Miguel (Adele) Ayup, salesman, Yellow Front Store	Ernest (Mary) Ewing, miner	—	—

Note: See the discussion in Chapter 3 for more information about the data in this table. An em dash (—) means that no information appeared in the given directory for this address. An asterisk (*) following an entry means that the address for the entry does not appear on the corresponding Sanborn map.

Address	1899–1900	1910	1920	1930	1946	1960
196 N. Stone	S. Heinman, employee, L. Zeckendorf and Co.	M.A. Martin, assistant postmaster Mrs. Mary Martin Miss Eva Parret, clerk, Rasmessen's Curio Store	Ralph G. (Beatrice) Giraud, manager, Boss Tire Shop & Service Station	Mrs. Rosa McAlpin Richard McAlpin, junior manager, S.W. Home Supply Co.	—	—
200 N. Stone	—	—	—	—	Western Auto Supply Co., A.R. Kober, manager	Rubitom's Record Revue
202 N. Stone	—	—	—	—	—	Producer's Financial Co.
204 N. Stone	—	—	—	—	—	Murphey Realty & Mortgage Co. National Bankers Life Insurance Co.
208 N. Stone	George Whomes, dentist	F. L. Blanc, furniture repairer Mrs. F. Blanc	Mrs. Annie Bryan	Mrs. Maria Martinez	Tucson Newspapers, Inc. William. R. Mathews, president	—
208–220 N. Stone	—	—	—	—	—	Tucson Newspapers, Inc.
220 N. Stone	—	—	Edgar M. (Clara) Colglazier	—	Bowyer Motor Co. Service Station, Charles Singer, manager	—
223 N. Stone	Marcus A. Smith, attorney	Marcus A. Smith, attorney [directory gives 323 S. Stone, a mistake]	—	—	—	—
240–244 N. Stone	—	—	—	Bowyer Motor Co. (S.H. Bowyer and R. B. Savage), Packard and Nash Automobiles	Bowyer Motor Co. (S.J. Rutherford, general manager), Packard Autos. & International Trucks	—
240–250 N. Stone	—	—	—	—	—	vacant
250 N. Stone	J. B. Corbett, engineer, SPRR Miss Emma Corbett Miss Lizzie Corbett	Miss Ada Hynes, operator, Consolidated Tel., Tel., & Electric Co. W.S. Hendry, chief engineer, Tucson Ice and Cold Storage Co.	Miguel (Anita) Wehby, dry goods	Old Pueblo Bowling and Billiard Parlor (W.H. Rowe and T. Eisinminger)	Old Pueblo Bowling Center (Ed Manley)	—
260 N. Stone	Francisco Salcido Miss Anita Salcido	—	—	—	Bowyer Motor Co. (used cars) [directory has 280 N. Stone, a mistake]	—
270 N. Stone	John N. Brown, cattleman	John N. Brown	John L. (Elizabeth) Adams, instructor, Tucson Golf and Country Club	Mrs. Ola Garbo, rooming house	—	—
286 N. Stone	—	Fred J. Steward, cashier, Southern Arizona Bank and Trust Co.	Fred J. (Amelia) Steward, president, Southern Arizona Bank and Trust Co.	vacant	—	—
294 N. Stone	Miss A. Barry	H.L. Frost, superintendent, Tucson Pressed Brick Co.	Mrs. Madge Harrison, dressmaker	—	—	—

continued on next page

Note: See the discussion in Chapter 3 for more information about the data in this table. An em dash (—) means that no information appeared in the given directory for this address. An asterisk (*) following an entry means that the address for the entry does not appear on the corresponding Sanborn map.

Address	1899–1900	1910	1920	1930	1946	1960
296 N. Stone	—	—	—	Baum & Adamson Service Station, Goodrich distributors	Baum & Adamson Service Station (J. Clayton Baum and Harold Adamson), Goodrich distributors	Baum & Adamson Tire & Automotive Co., main office
24 Toole	—	—	—	Gouley Burcham Co., merchandise brokers [also listed as Burcham Gouley Co. in business index]	Gouley Burcham Co. (food brokers)	vacant
26 Toole	—	—	—	Winchester Coe Co., merchandise brokers	Maudina Tungsten Mine (office), Edward Molson, operator	—
28 Toole	—	—	—	—	vacant	Larry's Coffee Cup
40 Toole	—	—	—	Frank Craycroft, Craycroft Plumbing and Heating, Inc.	Tucson Plumbing and Metal Co. (Emil Bien) Keenan Pipe and Supply Co. (John Meyers, representative)	vacant
79 Toole	—	—	—	—	City Laundry & Dry Cleaners (address given as corner of Toole and Miltenberg; also listed at 76–100 Miltenberg)	—

Note: See the discussion in Chapter 3 for more information about the data in this table. An em dash (—) means that no information appeared in the given directory for this address. An asterisk (*) following an entry means that the address for the entry does not appear on the corresponding Sanborn map.

Summary of Property Ownership in the Project Area, 1889–1930

The following table of property ownership is based on the tract books of the O'Quinn Title and Abstract Company, on file at Special Collections, University of Arizona Library, Tucson (O'Quinn Title and Abstract Company n.d.). The O'Quinn tract books were compiled during the period 1923–1931 and consist of lists of real estate transactions within the city of Tucson beginning in 1872 (the year of the original survey of the Tucson town site) and ending around 1930. The tract books consist of separate lists of transactions for each block number, arranged more or less chronologically. Our table presents transactions by lot number within each block, which required us to sort through the O'Quinn lists, rearranging the information by lot number.

We took various editorial liberties to simplify the information provided in the O'Quinn tract books, and to make this table a useful general reference on land ownership in the project area. For example, multiple transactions on a single lot sometimes took place within the same year, or even the same day, often involving trust companies or banks that served as intermediaries between individual buyers. Although this information is potentially of interest to an intensive study of a particular property, we generally skip over these transactions and most others that endured for less than a year. Occasionally, a tract book entry implies a transaction that took place within a family but was not included in the book. For example, a property purchased by someone in one entry is sold by the buyer's wife in the next entry. In such cases, we indicate the original owner's first name with the later owner's first name in parentheses; e.g., John N. (Dolores) Brown. For the most part, we have not attempted to resolve the occasional gap or discrepancy found in the tract books and present the information as we were best able to interpret it, sometimes adding question marks. Also, unless a name is obviously misspelled, we preserve the spellings used in the tract books. If we were not sure about an intended spelling, we add a question mark in parentheses.

The O'Quinn tract books do not always include the very earliest transactions for lots in the project area, namely the original sale of lots by the city. A list of the original lot sales kept at the AHS library in Tucson (Anonymous n.d.) suggests that many lots were purchased from the city only to be sold the same year to the earliest owners appearing in the O'Quinn tract books. We do not include these earliest, short-lived transactions here.

Lot	Owner	Period of Ownership
Block 252		
1	Eleanor Geist	1889–1891
	Pima County Board of Supervisors	1891–1897
	Benjamin D. Fairbanks	1897–1899
	John Crowder	1899–1901
	Nicolas (James) Reilly	1901–1906
	Martin (Mary) Costello	1906–1920
	F. E. Talmage	1920–1925
	Harold Adamson	1925–
2	William (Sophia) Siewert	1889–1910
	J. P. Hohusen (?)	1910–?
	Elsie S. Brown	?–1927
	W. L. Bowen	1927–1928
	J. C. Baum	1928–1929
	Gouley N. Burcham	1929–
3	Theo G. Fitch	1890
	John N. Brown	1890–1900
	Amelia Brown (Fred and Amelia Brown Steward)	1900–
4	José M. (Refugio) Mariscal	1890–?
4 (N ½)	John N. Brown	?–1900
	Amelia Brown (Fred and Amelia Brown Steward)	1900–
4 (S ½)	John N. (Dolores) Brown	?–1915
	Sarah Estberg	1915–
4 (S 25 feet)	Meade Clyne	1922–1928
	Gerald Jones	1928–1929
	Archie R. Conner	1929–
5	Rosario Brena	1889–1890
	John N. (Dolores) Brown	1890–1915
	Sarah Estberg	1915–1920
	Amelia Brown Steward	1920–1922
	Meade Clyne	1922–1928
	Gerald Jones	1928–1929
	Archie R. Conner	1929–
6	L. Young	1889
	M. S. (A. J.) Snyder	1890–1893

continued on next page

Lot	Owner	Period of Ownership
	James (Charles G., William, Ellen) Finley	1893–1909
	Annie F. Paul	1909–1926
	Meade Clyne	1926–
	Gerald Jones	?–1928
	John W. Murphey (½ interest)	1928–
7	L. Young	1889
	A. J. Snyder	1890–1893
	James (Charles G., William, Ellen) Finley	1893–1909
	Annie F. Paul	1909–1926
	Meade Clyne	1926–
	Gerald Jones	?–1928
	John W. Murphey (½ interest)	1928–
8	Theo G. Fitch	1890
	John N. Brown	1890–1900
	Amelia Brown (Fred and Amelia Brown Steward)	1900–
9	F. Fleishman	1889–1897
	John N. Brown	1897–1900
9 (N ½)	Amelia Brown (Fred and Amelia Brown Steward)	1914–
9 (S ½)	Dolores Brown	1900–1915
	Sarah Estberg	1915–1920
	Amelia Brown (Fred and Amelia Brown Steward)	1920–
10	Rosario Brena	1889–1890
	José M. (Refugio) Mariscal	1890
	John N. (Dolores) Brown	1890
	Sarah Estberg	1915–1920
	Amelia Brown (Fred and Amelia Brown Steward)	1920–
11	Julius (Janine A.) Goldbaum	1891–1892
	Charles Rasmussen	1892–1902
	A. M. (Olga, William) Walsh	1902–1923
	Dan N. Brewster	1923–
12	Julius (Janine A.) Goldbaum	1891–1892
	Charles Rasmussen	1892–1902
	A. M. (Olga, William) Walsh	1902–1923
	Dan N. Brewster	1923–
13	Julius (Janine A.) Goldbaum	1891–1892
	Charles Rasmussen	1892–1902
	A. M. (Olga, William) Walsh	1902–1923
	Dan N. Brewster	1923–

Lot	Owner	Period of Ownership
Block 253		
(undivided)	Eleanor Geist	1889–1891
	Pima County Board of Supervisors	1891–1897
	Eleanor (A. A.) Geist	1897–1901
	Benjamin D. Fairbanks	1901
	Julius Goldbaum	1901
	Levi H. Manning	1901
	Edna G. Morgan	?–1902
	Mose Drachman	1902–1903
	R. E. Stephens	1903–1904
	Seattle Brewing & Malting Co.	1904–1924
	Tucson Laundry Co.	1924–
Block 254		
1	J. S. Mansfeld	1890
	John H. Martin	1891
	José (Refugio Corrales) M. Mariscal	1891–1898
	Marcus A. Smith	1898–1921
	R. J. Johnson	1921–?
	John H. Campbell (trustee)	?–1927
	Pythian Castle Hall Building Assoc.	1927–
2	J. S. Mansfeld	1890
	Herbert Brown	1890–1894
	Herbert Terrney	1894
	George Whomes	1894–1901
	H. D. Underwood	1901
	Annie Sullivan (Wiley)	1901–1926
	Union Construction Co.	1926–1930
	State Consolidated Publishing Co.	1930–
3	J. S. Mansfeld	1890
	John H. Martin	1890–?
	John Zellweger	?–1896
	Annie Sullivan	1896–1926
	Union Construction Co.	1926–1930
	State Consolidated Publishing Co.	1930–
4 ^a	J. S. Mansfeld	1890
	H. H. Pilling	1890–1903
	José M. Mariscal	?–1894
	Benjamin D. Fairbanks	1894–1901

continued on next page

Lot	Owner	Period of Ownership
4 (partial)	Edna G. (A. H.) Morgan	1903–1905
	David. S. Cochran	1903–1927
	Mary Rasmessen	1927–
4 (E ½)	Lattie F. Cochran	1904–?
5	J. S. Mansfeld	1890
	H. H. Pilling	1890–1903
	José M. Mariscal	?–1894
	Benjamin D. Fairbanks	1894–1901
	Edna G. (A. H.) Morgan	1903–1905
	David. S. Cochran	1905–1927
	Mary Rasmessen	1927–
6	J. S. Mansfeld	1890
	Ada E. Johnson	1890–1891
	Benjamin D. Fairbanks	1891
	Lizzie Blinkcorn	1891–1894
	Benjamin D. Fairbanks	1894–1901
	Edna G. (A. H.) Morgan (Edna G. White)	1902(?)–1911
	Rembler Paul	1911–1915
	Alice A. (G. A.) Hoff	1915–1920
	D. R. (Margaret) Mahoney	1920
	E. C. (T. N.) Wills	1920–1929
	Gouley N. Burcham	1929–
7	J. S. Mansfeld	1890
	J. Hart	1890
	Benjamin D. Fairbanks	1890–1901
	Edna G. (A. H.) Morgan (Edna G. White)	1901–1911
	Rembler Paul	1911–1914
	Margaret (D. H.) Mahoney	1914–1920
	Alice A. (G. A.) Hoff	1920–1929
	Fred W. Ficket & William R. Misbaugh	1929
	Celestino Sánchez	1929
	Gouley N. Burcham	1929–
Block 255		
1	Charles A. Shibell	1889–1890
	B. McMurriam	1890–?
	Charles Rasmessen	?–1902
	A. M. (Olga M.) Walsh	1902–
6	Michael Baumorr (?)	1889
	Patrick J. McCoy	1889–1894

Lot	Owner	Period of Ownership
	A. E. Carne	1894
	Acme Printing Co.	?-1930
	M. H. Starkweather	1930-
6 (partial)	Charles Rasmussen	1894-1902
	A. M. (Olga M.) Walsh	1902-?
	James A. Martin	1895-1899
	Mary B. Thomas	1895-1899
	Bessie Miner	1899-?

^aThe tract book entries for Block 254, lot 4, are difficult to interpret and seem to include contradictory information.

Arizona Historic Property Inventory Forms

STATE OF ARIZONA

HISTORIC PROPERTY INVENTORY FORM

Please type or print clearly. Fill out each applicable space accurately and with as much information as is known about the property. Use continuation sheets where necessary. Send completed form to: State Historic Preservation Office, 1300 W. Washington, Phoenix, AZ 85007

PROPERTY IDENTIFICATION

For properties identified through survey: Site No: n/a Survey Area: n/a

Historic Name(s): Tucson Newspapers, Inc., Service Station
(Enter the name(s), if any, that best reflects the property's historic importance.)

Address: 55 East Council Street

City or Town: Tucson vicinity County: Pima Tax Parcel No. 117160230

Township: T14S Range: R13E Section: 12 Quarter Section: SW¹/₄ Acreage: 0.39

Block: 254 Lot(s): 4 & 5 Plat (Addition): City of Tucson Year of plat (addition): 1890

UTM reference (NAD 27): Zone 12 Easting 502814 Northing 3565180 USGS 7.5' quad map: Tucson 1992

Architect: James MacMillan not determined known (source: City of Tucson)

Builder: _____ not determined known (source: _____)

Construction Dates: ca. 1953 known estimated (source: City of Tucson)

STRUCTURAL CONDITION

Good (well maintained, no serious problems apparent)

Fair (some problems apparent) Describe: Some areas indicate a lack of regular maintenance to exterior fabric, including doors, windows, paint etc.

Poor (major problems; imminent threat) Describe: _____

Ruin/Uninhabitable

USES/FUNCTIONS

Describe how the property has been used over time, beginning with the original use.

Building was originally a service station
For Tucson Newspapers, Inc.; now an
Independent auto repair (see Continuation
Sheet No. 1).

Sources: Sanborn maps, city directories,
city records.

PHOTO INFORMATION

Date of photo: 2005

SRI Digital Photo No.:
55 E. COUNCIL #1



55 East Council Street, camera facing southwest, 2005.

SIGNIFICANCE

To be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, a property must represent an important part of the history or architecture of an area. Note: a property need only be significant under one of the areas below to be eligible for the National Register.

- A. HISTORIC EVENTS/TRENDS (On a continuation sheet describe how the property is associated either with a significant historic event, or with a trend or pattern of events important to the history of the nation, the state, or a local community.)
- B. PERSON (On a continuation sheet describe how the property is associated with the life of a person significant in the past.)
- C. ARCHITECTURE (On a continuation sheet describe how the property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values.)

Outbuildings: (Describe any other buildings or structures on the property and whether they may be considered historic.)

INTEGRITY

To be eligible for the National Register, a property must have integrity, that is, it must be able to visually convey its importance. Provide detailed information below about the property's integrity. Use continuation sheets if necessary.

- 1. LOCATION Original Site Moved (date: _____) Original Site: _____
- 2. DESIGN (Describe alterations from the original design, including dates—known or estimated—when alterations were made) See Continuation Sheet No. 2.

- 3. SETTING (Describe the natural and/or built environment around the property) The building stands at the intersection of Council Street and Grossetta Avenue; the front faces East Council Street. The building is surrounded by parking lots and empty lots.

Describe how the setting has changed since the property's period of significance: The Tucson Newspapers building, with which this building was originally associated, was demolished in the 1970s.

- 4. MATERIALS (Describe the materials used in the following elements of the property)
 Walls (structure): concrete block Foundation: concrete Roof: flat (wood frame)
 Windows: some windows blocked in, others look original
 If the windows have been altered, what were they originally? See Continuation Sheet No. 2.
 Wall Sheathing: _____

- 5. WORKMANSHIP (Describe the distinctive elements, if any, of craftsmanship or method of construction) _____

NATIONAL REGISTER STATUS (if listed, check the appropriate box)

- Individually listed Contributor Noncontributor to _____ Historic District
- Date Listed: _____ Determined eligible by Keeper of National Register (date: _____)

RECOMMENDATIONS OF ELIGIBILITY (opinion of SHPO staff or survey consultant)

- Property is is not eligible individually.
- Property is is not eligible as a contributor to a potential historic district.
- More information needed to evaluate.

If not considered eligible, state reason: Nondistinctive design; loss of integrity by blocking of windows; setting compromised by removal of main Tucson Newspapers building in 1970s.

FORM COMPLETED BY: Simon Herbert, Statistical Research, Inc. Date: 29 April 2005
Mailing Address: 6099 E. Speedway Blvd./ P.O. Box 31865 Tucson, AZ 85751-1865
Phone No.: 520-721-4309

STATE OF ARIZONA

HISTORIC PROPERTY INVENTORY FORM
CONTINUATION SHEET

Name of property: 55 East Council Street

Continuation Sheet No. 1

=====

DESCRIPTION:

The building that currently stands at 55 East Council (formerly Miltenberg) Street is a small, one-story commercial building occupying the approximate center of Parcel 117160230. The building is currently owned by Ford Rasmussen, Katherine Weiss Stanley, and the Helms Trust and serves as an automobile repair shop under the name Council Street Automotive.

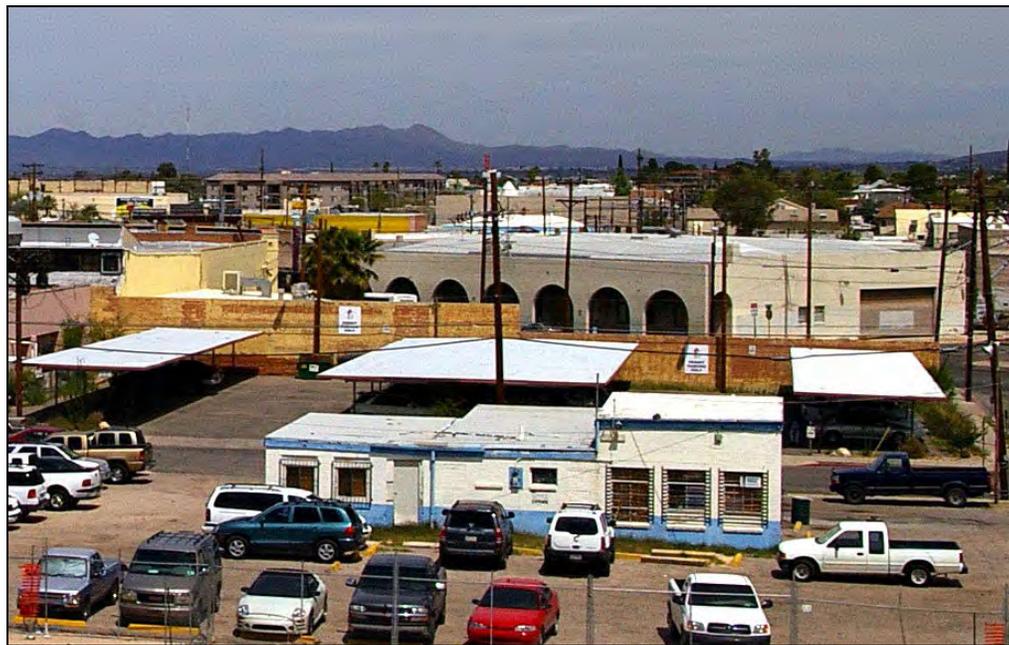
Plans for the present building, prepared by architect James Macmillan, were approved by the City of Tucson in May 1953. The plans indicate that the building was built as an automobile service station for Tucson Newspapers, Inc. The main printing and distribution facility of Tucson Newspapers, Inc., was located on Stone Avenue, immediately to the west of this building, from 1940 to 1973. The Sanborn maps show that by 1958 the several houses that once stood in this portion of Block 254 (its northeast quarter) were gone, and the service station (at 59 Miltenberg on the 1958 and 1960 maps) stood by itself in a large, otherwise empty lot, just as it does today.

The service station was designed as a three-bay facility facing north onto Miltenberg (now Council) Street, with a central pump island covered by a flat roof. The central bay contained an office with an entrance on the north and men's and women's bathrooms with entrances on the south. The east bay contained a lift and served as a lube center. The west bay was used for washing vehicles and had a pit in the floor, connected to the city sewer, for collecting wastewater. Both side bays had three large windows in the south wall. Two 1,000-gallon gasoline tanks were located to the west of the building. The walls of the building were of concrete and concrete block; the flat roof was of wood-frame construction.

Although the gas pumps have been removed, 55 East Council has retained its original form and basic function. The front office windows appear to be original. The rear fenestration is intact, except for the blocking up of the bathroom doors and one bathroom window and the replacement of one large window with a door.

=====

PHOTOGRAPH:



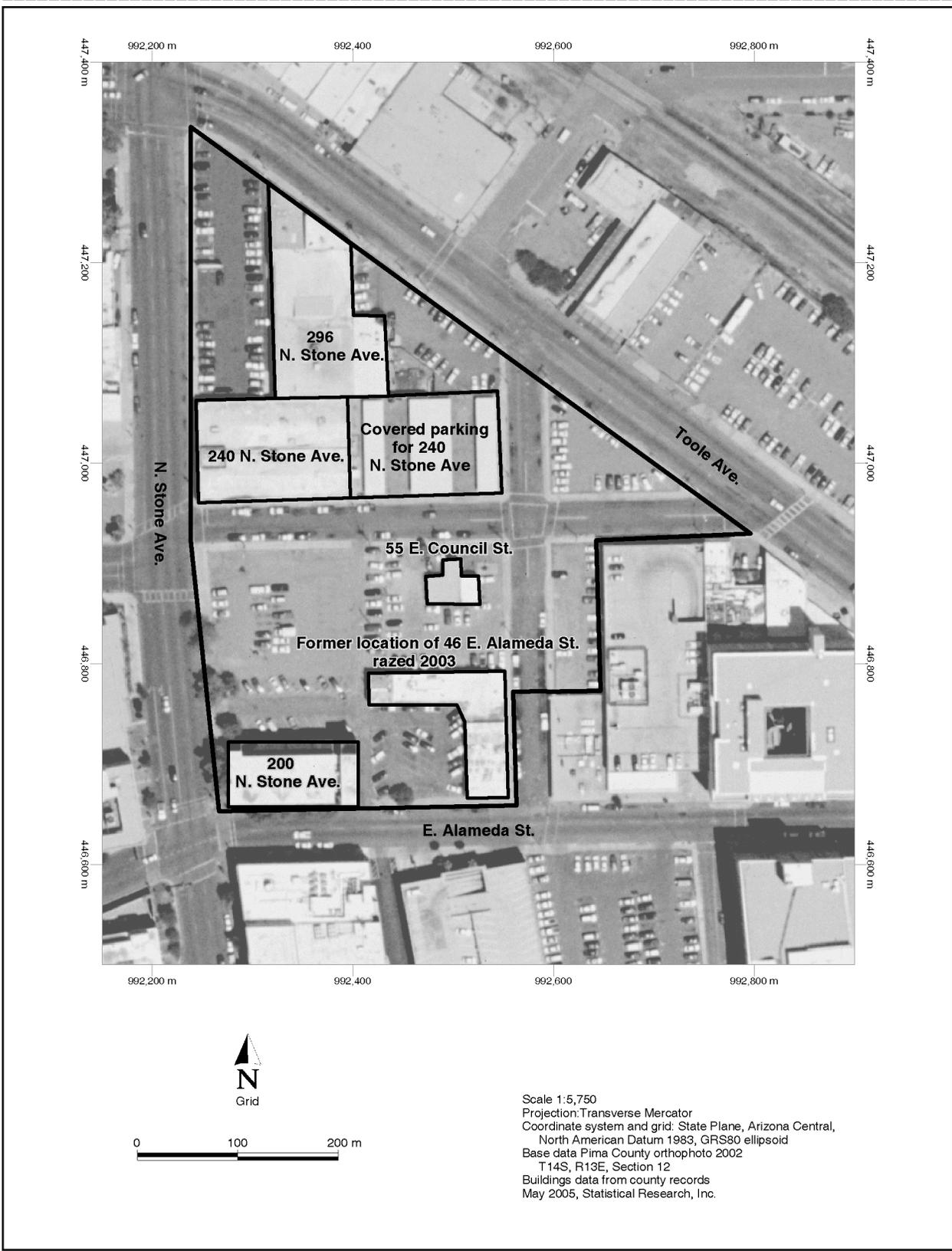
55 East Council Street (lower center), camera facing north, 2005
(SRI Digital Photo No. 55 E. COUNCIL #2).

STATE OF ARIZONA

HISTORIC PROPERTY INVENTORY FORM
CONTINUATION SHEET

Name of property: 55 East Council Street

Continuation Sheet No. 2



STATE OF ARIZONA

HISTORIC PROPERTY INVENTORY FORM

Please type or print clearly. Fill out each applicable space accurately and with as much information as is known about the property. Use **continuation sheets where necessary**. Send completed form to: State Historic Preservation Office, 1300 W. Washington, Phoenix, AZ 85007

PROPERTY IDENTIFICATION

For properties identified through survey: Site No: n/a Survey Area: n/a

Historic Name(s): First National Bank of Arizona
(Enter the name(s), if any, that best reflects the property's historic importance.)

Address: 200 North Stone Avenue

City or Town: Tucson County: Pima Tax Parcel No. 117160220

Township: T14S Range: R13E Section: 12 Quarter Section: SW¼ Acreage: 0.17

Block: 254 Lot(s): south part of 3 Plat (Addition): City of Tucson Year of plat (addition): 1890

UTM reference (NAD 27): Zone 12 Easting 502763 Northing 3565122 USGS 7.5' quad map: Tucson 1992

Architect: Cain Nelson Wares, Architects not determined known (source: City of Tucson)

Builder: _____ not determined known (source: _____)

Construction Date: ca. 1965 known estimated (source: City of Tucson)

STRUCTURAL CONDITION

Good (well maintained, no serious problems apparent)

Fair (some problems apparent) Describe: _____

Poor (major problems; imminent threat) Describe: _____

Ruin/Uninhabitable

USES/FUNCTIONS

Describe how the property has been used over time, beginning with the original use.

First National Bank of Arizona,

Pima Community College,

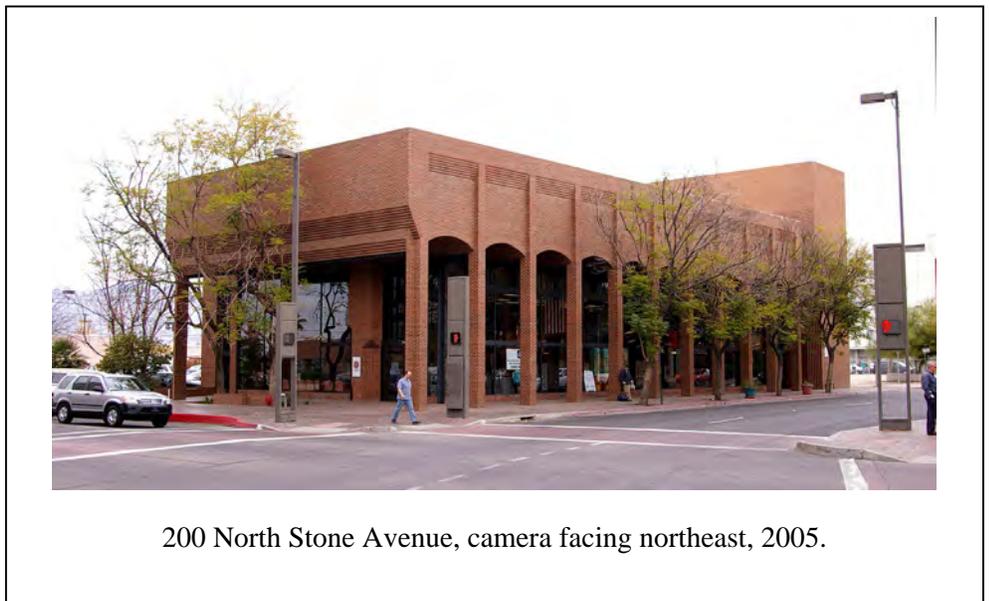
Chicanos Por La Causa, Inc.

Sources: City directories.

PHOTO INFORMATION

Date of photo: 2005

SRI Digital Photo No.:
200 N. STONE #1



200 North Stone Avenue, camera facing northeast, 2005.

STATE OF ARIZONA

**HISTORIC PROPERTY INVENTORY FORM
CONTINUATION SHEET**

Name of property: 200 North Stone Avenue

Continuation Sheet No. 1

=====

DESCRIPTION:

The building was built as the main downtown office of the First National Bank of Arizona and served in that role from 1965 until approximately 1975. It was later used as offices for a succession of businesses as well as Pima Community College.

The form of the current building is long and rectangular, with the narrow front facing Stone Avenue. The building has a full basement and a four-story penthouse on its east end that holds stairs, elevators, and mechanical equipment. The principal exterior material is red brick, which was also used decoratively in corbelled (stepped-out) designs, especially at the intersection of the second and third levels on the west and south sides. The south side of the building, which faces Alameda Street, has a two-story arcade of shallow arches that provide support and shade for the main portion of the building, which is set back from the sidewalk. Above each arch, the bricks are corbelled outward to the exterior facade of the building. The narrower facade on Stone Avenue has a single-bay, two-story opening leading to the main entrance, which is also set back and provides shade to the glass wall. In contrast to the main building, the stairway and elevator penthouse consist of a simple brick box with few decorative elements. It is visually separated by a narrow, full-height, glazed indent on the north and south sides.

Although it was built 40 years ago, the building at 200 North Stone has a surprisingly modern appearance and is well maintained. The building appears in the recent *A Guide to Tucson Architecture* (Nequette and Jeffery 2002:81), in which the authors comment, "In an authentic acknowledgement of the importance of the pedestrian experience in the city, this former bank building is both civic in scale and articulated with enough detail to be engaging to the pedestrian."

STATE OF ARIZONA

**HISTORIC PROPERTY INVENTORY FORM
CONTINUATION SHEET**

Name of property: 200 North Stone Avenue

Continuation Sheet No. 2

PHOTOGRAPHS



200 North Stone Avenue, camera facing southeast, 2005 (SRI Digital Photo No. 200 N. STONE #3).



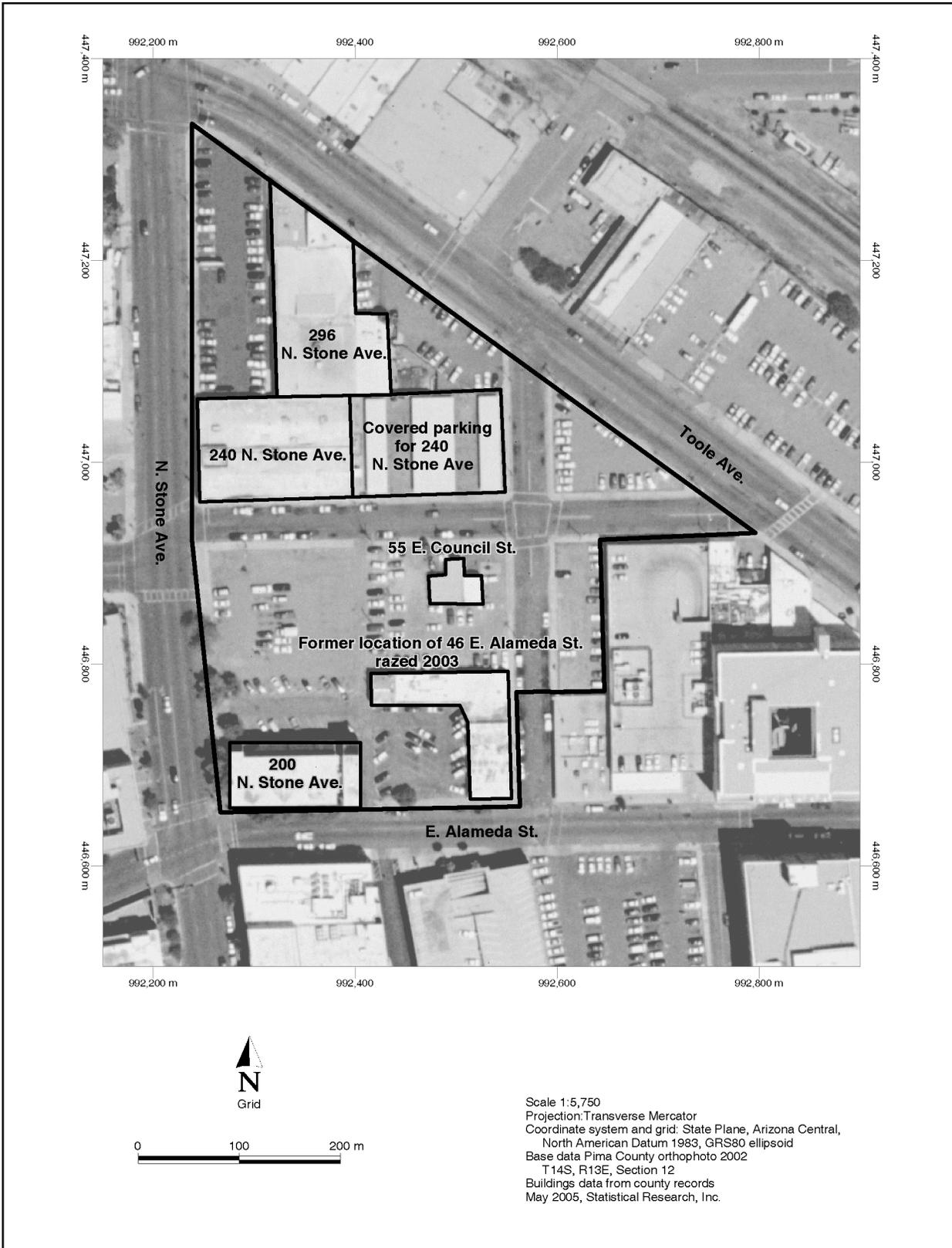
200 North Stone Avenue, camera facing northwest, 2005 (SRI Digital Photo No. 200 N. STONE #2).

STATE OF ARIZONA

HISTORIC PROPERTY INVENTORY FORM
CONTINUATION SHEET

Name of property: 200 North Stone Avenue

Continuation Sheet No. 3



STATE OF ARIZONA

HISTORIC PROPERTY INVENTORY FORM

Please type or print clearly. Fill out each applicable space accurately and with as much information as is known about the property. Use **continuation sheets where necessary**. Send completed form to: State Historic Preservation Office, 1300 W. Washington, Phoenix, AZ 85007

PROPERTY IDENTIFICATION

For properties identified through survey: Site No: n/a Survey Area: n/a

Historic Name(s): _____
(Enter the name(s), if any, that best reflects the property's historic importance.)

Address: 240 North Stone Avenue

City or Town: Tucson vicinity County: Pima Tax Parcel No. 117160150

Township: T14S Range: R13E Section: 12 Quarter Section: SW¼ Acreage: 0.33

Block: 252 Lot(s): 6 & 7 Plat (Addition): City of Tucson Year of plat (addition): 1889

UTM reference (NAD 27): Zone 12 Easting 502760 Northing 3565222 USGS 7.5' quad map: Tucson 1992

Architect: _____ not determined known (source: _____)

Builder: _____ not determined known (source: _____)

Construction Date: ca. 1922-1930 known estimated (source: Sanborn maps, city directories)

STRUCTURAL CONDITION

Good (well maintained, no serious problems apparent)

Fair (some problems apparent) Describe: _____

Poor (major problems; imminent threat) Describe: _____

Ruin/Uninhabitable

USES/FUNCTIONS

Describe how the property has been used over time, beginning with the original use.

250 N. Stone, bowling and billiard parlor; 240 N. Stone Ave., auto showroom and service. Combined buildings served as bank and a succession of offices. (see Continuation Sheet No. 2.)

Sources: Sanborn maps, city directories, early photographs, city records.

PHOTO INFORMATION

Date of photo: 2005

SRI Digital Photo No.:

240 N. STONE #1



240 North Stone Avenue, camera facing northeast, 2005.

SIGNIFICANCE

To be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, a property must represent an important part of the history or architecture of an area. Note: a property need only be significant under one of the areas below to be eligible for the National Register.

- A. HISTORIC EVENTS/TRENDS (On a continuation sheet describe how the property is associated either with a significant historic event, or with a trend or pattern of events important to the history of the nation, the state, or a local community.)
- B. PERSON (On a continuation sheet describe how the property is associated with the life of a person significant in the past.)
- C. ARCHITECTURE (On a continuation sheet describe how the property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values.)

Outbuildings: (Describe any other buildings or structures on the property and whether they may be considered historic.)

INTEGRITY

To be eligible for the National Register, a property must have integrity, that is, it must be able to visually convey its importance. Provide detailed information below about the property's integrity. Use continuation sheets if necessary.

- 1. LOCATION Original Site Moved (date: _____) Original Site: _____
- 2. DESIGN (Describe alterations from the original design, including dates—known or estimated—when alterations were made)
See Continuation Sheet No. 2.
- 3. SETTING (Describe the natural and/or built environment around the property) The building stands at the northeast corner of the intersection of Stone Avenue and Council Street. The front of the building faces North Stone.

Describe how the setting has changed since the property's period of significance:

- 4. MATERIALS (Describe the materials used in the following elements of the property)
Walls (structure): stucco on brick Foundation: unknown Roof: wood gable truss
Windows: See Continuation Sheet No. 2.
If the windows have been altered, what were they originally? See Continuation Sheet No. 2.
Wall Sheathing: See Continuation Sheet No. 2.
If the sheathing has been altered, what was it originally? _____
- 5. WORKMANSHIP (Describe the distinctive elements, if any, of craftsmanship or method of construction)
Building strongly reflects major rehabilitation of the early 1960s; see Continuation Sheet No. 2.

NATIONAL REGISTER STATUS (if listed, check the appropriate box)

- Individually listed Contributor Noncontributor to _____ Historic District
- Date Listed: _____ Determined eligible by Keeper of National Register (date: _____)

RECOMMENDATIONS OF ELIGIBILITY (opinion of SHPO staff or survey consultant)

- Property is is not eligible individually.
- Property is is not eligible as a contributor to a potential historic district.
- More information needed to evaluate.

If not considered eligible, state reason: Original exteriors and interiors have been substantially changed, and integrity has been lost.

FORM COMPLETED BY: Simon Herbert, Statistical Research, Inc.

Date: 29 April 2005

Mailing Address: 6099 E. Speedway Blvd./P.O. Box 31865 Tucson, AZ 85751-1865

Phone No.: 520-721-4309

STATE OF ARIZONA

**HISTORIC PROPERTY INVENTORY FORM
CONTINUATION SHEET**

Name of property: 240 North Stone Avenue

Continuation Sheet No. 1

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DESCRIPTION:

This one-story commercial building stands at the northeast corner of the intersection of Stone Avenue and Council (formerly Miltenberg) Street. The building occupies essentially all of Parcel 117160150 and abuts the sidewalks on its west and south sides. It is currently owned by the State of Arizona and is used for offices by JES, Inc.

The building combines two brick buildings that were first erected around 1930. The two buildings stood side by side at 240 and 250 North Stone; the first address housed the Bowyer Motor Company, an automobile dealership, and the second was the location of the Old Pueblo Bowling and Billiard Parlor. The earliest Sanborn map showing the two buildings dates to 1930; the preceding 1922 Sanborn map shows only a house at 250 North Stone, an address that encompassed what later became 240 and 250 North Stone. In 1961, both buildings were remodeled to serve as a branch of the First National Bank of Arizona. In 1976, the building was converted to offices for the law firm of Deconcini, McDonald, Bramer, and Yetwin. Since the 1980s, the building has served as offices for several other businesses and organizations.

In 1954, the well-known Tucson architect Josias Joesler prepared plans to remodel the front of 250 North Stone for the owners, Dr. Meade Clyne and John W. Murphey. Joesler's plans show the "present elevation" as having Spanish Revival motifs, including a small tower or penthouse with a low-pitched roof and Spanish tile coping. It is unclear whether the remodeling proposed by Joesler actually took place, but it would have been a fairly minor change to the building. The following year (1955), plans were submitted for alterations to 240 North Stone for the Bowyer Motor Company. We were unable to locate drawings or photographs that would illustrate what the facade of 250 North Stone looked like before or after the 1955 alterations, but the plans include similar references to Spanish tile coping. Thus, it is likely that the two buildings had similar or even matching facades.

Our review of Joesler's 1954 floor plans and the plans for the 1961 bank remodeling suggests that the northern of the two buildings, 250 North Stone, was constructed first. The building has interior supporting buttresses on both the north and south walls, which means both walls were built without reliance on an adjacent structure. Such construction also suggests a lack of reliance on interior walls for structural support, which is consistent with the building's original use as a bowling alley and pool hall.

Sometime before 1930, 240 North Stone was constructed using the south wall of 250 North Stone as its own north wall. Only the south wall of 240 North Stone has interior buttresses similar to those of 250 North Stone, but the locations of the buttresses do not correspond with those of the latter building. The two buildings also have slightly different roof systems and the roof of 240 North Stone is slightly higher. Both roofs held skylights until 1961. The roof pitches are hidden by a post-1961 parapet wall on the front of the building, but both roofs can be viewed from the top of a parking garage across Stone Avenue.

By 1958, the Bowyer Motor Company and the Old Pueblo Bowling Center (its later name) had vacated 240 and 250 North Stone and the two buildings were being used for furniture storage. In 1961, the two buildings were substantially remodeled into a single building for use as a branch of the First National Bank of Arizona. The Stone Avenue and Miltenberg Street facades were drastically altered, including the removal of the penthouse on 250 North Stone and all elements of Spanish Revival architecture. The large plate glass windows were removed or changed to smaller units, and the skylights were also removed. To create a single unifying appearance, the exterior was covered with cement stucco walls, and a "headband" of stucco-covered panels accented with a thin band of ceramic tile was added to the front or Stone Avenue side; the latter feature advertised the bank's name. Another large sign was constructed above a low central tower on the Stone Avenue side, oriented to be read from the north or south.

The interior of the remodeled building was subdivided into offices. Large portions of the east and west walls of 250 North Stone were opened up for construction of a drive-through banking facility; customers were served from two drive-up windows. Cars entered the facility from the rear (east) side of the building and exited through its west side onto Stone Avenue. The former location of the drive-through exit is still evident in the dip of the sidewalk and curb.

During the bank remodeling, the roof structures of both buildings remained entirely in place. The remainder of 250 North Stone and all of 240 North Stone were redesigned for banking, including the construction of a large vault in

STATE OF ARIZONA

**HISTORIC PROPERTY INVENTORY FORM
CONTINUATION SHEET**

Name of property: 240 North Stone Avenue

Continuation Sheet No. 2

DESCRIPTION (continued from Continuation Sheet No.1):

the northwest corner of what had been 240 North Stone. The two separate addresses became the single address of 240 North Stone. When the building was remodeled as law offices in 1976, the banking signage was removed. By 1983, the drive-through facility had been filled in and converted to offices and the building had received various cosmetic alterations.

The current building at 240 North Stone strongly reflects the 1961 conversion into a banking facility. The only visible feature that survives from the original construction ca. 1930 is the brick exterior north wall of the former 250 North Stone. The wall shows several filled-in, arch-top openings where windows once faced to the north.

PHOTOGRAPHS:



240 North Stone Avenue, camera facing northeast, 2005.
The separate roof structures may be seen behind the parapet and façade of the current building
(SRI Digital Photo No. 240 N. STONE # 3).

STATE OF ARIZONA

**HISTORIC PROPERTY INVENTORY FORM
CONTINUATION SHEET**

Name of property: 240 North Stone Avenue

Continuation Sheet No. 3

PHOTOGRAPHS (continued from Continuation Sheet No. 2):



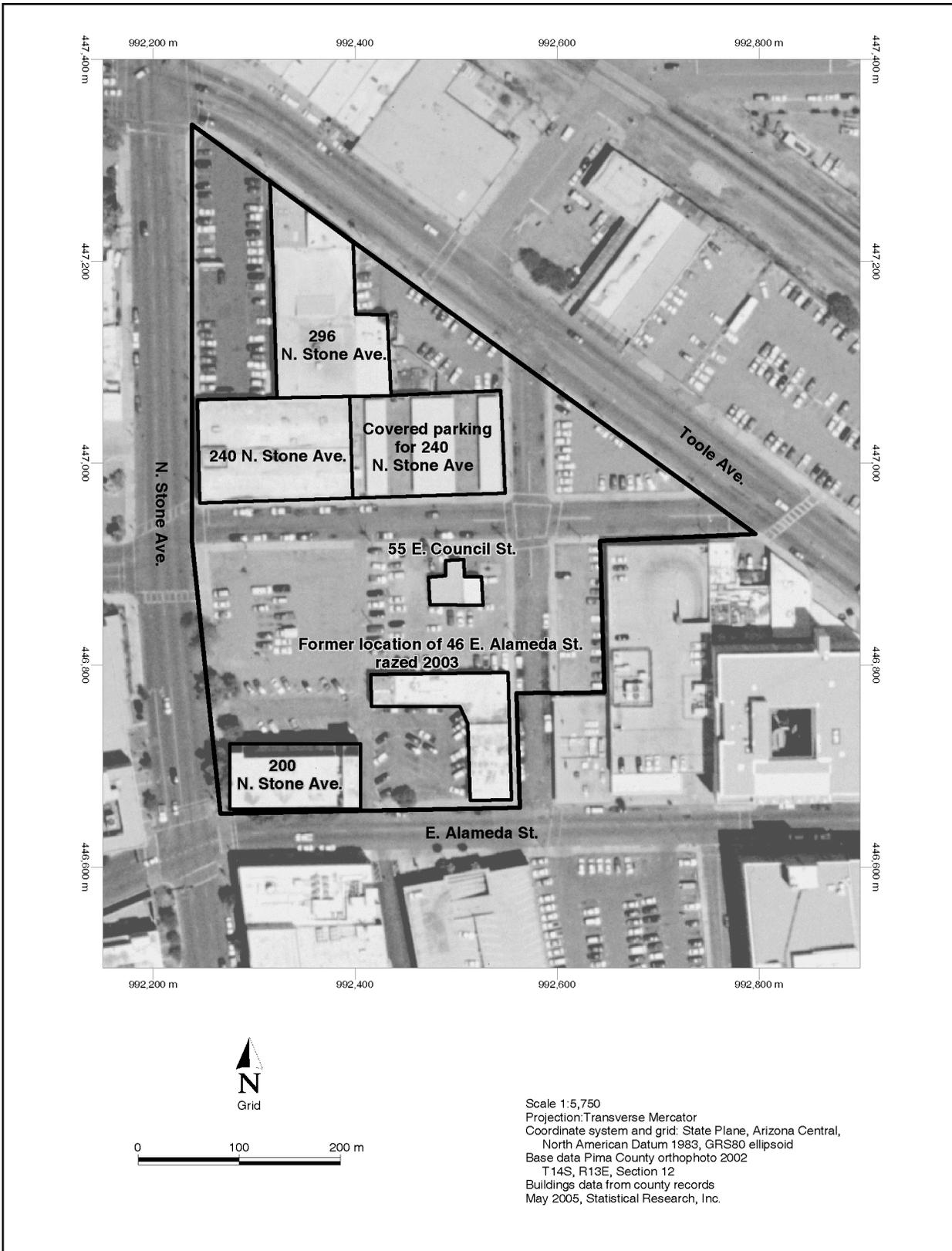
240 North Stone Avenue, camera facing south, 2005. This brick wall reveals older arched openings that have since been filled in (SRI Digital Photo No. 240 N. STONE # 2).

STATE OF ARIZONA

HISTORIC PROPERTY INVENTORY FORM
CONTINUATION SHEET

Name of property: 240 North Stone Avenue

Continuation Sheet No. 4



STATE OF ARIZONA

HISTORIC PROPERTY INVENTORY FORM

Please type or print clearly. Fill out each applicable space accurately and with as much information as is known about the property. Use continuation sheets where necessary. Send completed form to: State Historic Preservation Office, 1300 W. Washington, Phoenix, AZ 85007

PROPERTY IDENTIFICATION

For properties identified through survey: Site No: n/a Survey Area: n/a

Historic Name(s): Baum and Adamson Tire and Automotive Company
(Enter the name(s), if any, that best reflects the property's historic importance.)

Address: 296 North Stone Avenue

City or Town: Tucson vicinity County: Pima Tax Parcel No. 117160140

Township: T14S Range: R13E Section: 12 Quarter Section: SW¹/₄ Acreage: 1.06

Block: 252 Lot(s): 1-5 & 8-10 Plat (Addition): City of Tucson Year of plat (addition): 1889

UTM reference (NAD 27): Zone 12 Easting 502773 Northing 3565263 USGS 7.5' quad map: Tucson 1992

Architect: _____ not determined known (source: _____)

Builder: _____ not determined known (source: _____)

Construction Dates: ca. 1922-1969 known estimated (source: Sanborn maps, city directories)

STRUCTURAL CONDITION

Good (well maintained, no serious problems apparent)

Fair (some problems apparent) Describe: Some areas indicate a lack of regular maintenance to roofs, windows, etc.

Poor (major problems; imminent threat) Describe: _____

Ruin/Uninhabitable

USES/FUNCTIONS

Describe how the property has been used over time, beginning with the original use.

Tire and service station, auto sales and repair, nightclub (current use) (see Continuation Sheet No. 2.)

Sources: Sanborn maps, city directories, early photographs, city records.

PHOTO INFORMATION

Date of photo: 2005

SRI Digital Photo No.:
296 N. STONE #1



296 North Stone Avenue, camera facing northeast, 2005.

SIGNIFICANCE

To be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, a property must represent an important part of the history or architecture of an area. Note: a property need only be significant under one of the areas below to be eligible for the National Register.

- A. HISTORIC EVENTS/TRENDS (On a continuation sheet describe how the property is associated either with a significant historic event, or with a trend or pattern of events important to the history of the nation, the state, or a local community.)
- B. PERSON (On a continuation sheet describe how the property is associated with the life of a person significant in the past.)
- C. ARCHITECTURE (On a continuation sheet describe how the property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values.)

Outbuildings: (Describe any other buildings or structures on the property and whether they may be considered historic.)

INTEGRITY

To be eligible for the National Register, a property must have integrity, that is, it must be able to visually convey its importance. Provide detailed information below about the property's integrity. Use continuation sheets if necessary.

- 1. LOCATION Original Site Moved (date: _____) Original Site: _____
- 2. DESIGN (Describe alterations from the original design, including dates—known or estimated—when alterations were made) See Continuation Sheet No. 2.
- 3. SETTING (Describe the natural and/or built environment around the property) The building stands at the southeast corner of the intersection of Stone and Toole Avenues; the front faces North Stone. Immediately north, on the opposite side of Toole, is a railroad and warehouse district.

Describe how the setting has changed since the property's period of significance: The setting has changed little.

- 4. MATERIALS (Describe the materials used in the following elements of the property)
 Walls (structure): stucco on brick Foundation: unknown Roof: wood and steel gable truss
 Windows: Most of the windows have been blocked in, with a few surviving on the section of building that faces Toole Avenue.
 If the windows have been altered, what were they originally? See continuation sheets.
 Wall Sheathing: brick and stucco.
- 5. WORKMANSHIP (Describe the distinctive elements, if any, of craftsmanship or method of construction)
Building strongly reflects major rehabilitation of the late 1960s. The eastern, two-story portion of the Toole Avenue façade retains some of its original commercial character.

NATIONAL REGISTER STATUS (if listed, check the appropriate box)

- Individually listed Contributor Noncontributor to _____ Historic District
- Date Listed: _____ Determined eligible by Keeper of National Register (date: _____)

RECOMMENDATIONS OF ELIGIBILITY (opinion of SHPO staff or survey consultant)

- Property is is not eligible individually.
- Property is is not eligible as a contributor to a potential historic district.
- More information needed to evaluate.

If not considered eligible, state reason: Almost all of the original exterior and interior have been substantially changed and integrity has been lost.

STATE OF ARIZONA

HISTORIC PROPERTY INVENTORY FORM
CONTINUATION SHEET

Name of property: 296 North Stone Avenue

Continuation Sheet No. 1

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DESCRIPTION:

The building that stands at 296 North Stone Avenue occupies approximately half of Parcel 117160140 and is an amalgam of several commercial buildings of different vintages. The building is currently owned by Stone-Toole, LLC, and is operated as the Coconuts Night Club.

The earliest portion of 296 North Stone consists of a small, two-story brick building occupying a triangular parcel along the south side of Toole Avenue. The exact year in which this building was erected is uncertain, although it did take place between 1922 and 1930; the building is absent on the 1922 Sanborn map but appears on the 1930 Sanborn map, where the address is apparently 24 Toole. According to the 1930 city directory, two merchandise brokers occupied the building in that year: the Gouley-Burcham Company (at 24 Toole) and the Winchester Coe Company (at 26 Toole). Property ownership records show that Gouley N. Burcham purchased all or part of Lot 2 of Block 252, which included the location of this building in 1929; perhaps the building was erected that year. By 1951, this building was in use as a restaurant; the 1960 city directory indicates that Larry's Coffee Cup was located at 28 Toole, which was probably the same building. Recent (2002) plans for the Coconuts Night Club show that the first floor of this formerly separate building is now used to house the women's bathrooms. The same plans show the men's bathrooms occupying the adjacent, later portion of the current building that also fronts on Toole.

Most of the rest of the current building is made up of a succession of buildings constructed for the Baum and Adamson Tire and Automotive Company in the period between 1947 and 1952. Baum and Adamson's first building, erected around 1925, was quite small and occupied the sharply angled southeast corner of the Stone and Toole intersection. This building was replaced in the early 1930s with a completely new, modern-looking filling station. By 1947, a large service facility was added to the south side of the filling station. Then, between 1949 and 1952, the service area was extended eastward to Toole Avenue, incorporating the 1930s filling station and abutting the building at 24 Toole. The service bays were constructed of masonry walls and steel trusses, with two sets of south-facing roof monitors or sidelights to permit light to enter the service area below. These sidelights are still visible from the exterior. Sometime after 1960, the 1930s filling station was razed. This probably happened in 1969, when Baum and Adamson completed a major remodeling that resulted in what was essentially the current footprint of the building. The remodeled building boasted 16 service bays and a contemporary-looking frontage. The area to the rear (east) was used for parking and storage.

Baum and Adamson closed their business around 1979. The property then housed a succession of automobile service and repair operations. It was vacant from 1989 into the early 1990s, when it was converted for use as a nightclub. Not surprisingly, 296 North Stone currently has the appearance of being composed of several distinct parts, unified only by a common exterior paint color. The location of the vehicle repair bays built in the 1969 Baum and Adamson remodeling are still evident on the Stone Avenue facade. The Coconuts Night Club entrance is situated within one of the former bays.

STATE OF ARIZONA

HISTORIC PROPERTY INVENTORY FORM
CONTINUATION SHEET

Name of property: 296 North Stone Avenue

Continuation Sheet No. 2

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PHOTOGRAPHS:



296 North Stone Avenue, camera facing south, 2005. The older addresses of 24 and 26 Toole Avenue were located in the section of the building to the left. The one-story section of infill to the right was part of the Baum and Adamson remodeling ca. 1949–1952 (SRI Digital Photo No.: 296 N. STONE # 3).



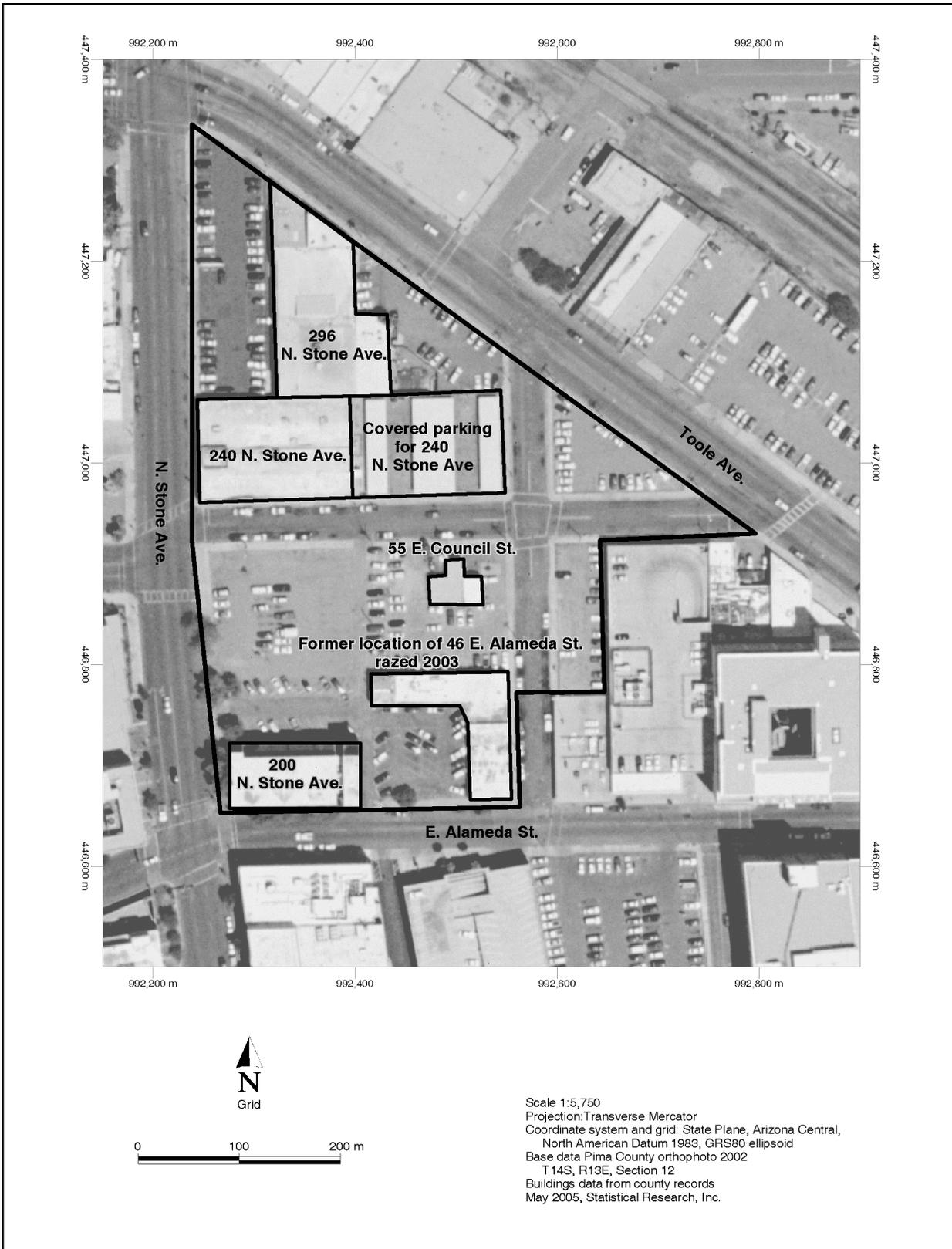
296 North Stone Avenue (center), camera facing northeast, 2005. One of the two roof monitors of the former Baum and Adamson business is visible just above the current nightclub entrance (SRI Digital Photo No.: 296 N. STONE # 5).

STATE OF ARIZONA

HISTORIC PROPERTY INVENTORY FORM
CONTINUATION SHEET

Name of property: 296 North Stone Avenue

Continuation Sheet No. 3



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