

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places  
Multiple Property Documentation Form**

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

New Submission     Amended Submission

**A. Name of Multiple Property Listing**

Historic and Architectural Resources of Downtown Tucson Arizona

**B. Associated Historic Contexts**

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Context 1: Town Planning and Development in Tucson, Arizona, 1775-1970

Context 2: Architecture in Tucson, Arizona, 1900-1970

**C. Form Prepared by**

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date August 2002

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**D. Certification**

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

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature and title of certifying official

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
State or Federal agency and bureau

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

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of the Keeper

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date of Action

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**Table of Contents for Written Narrative**

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

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**Paperwork Reduction Act Statement:** This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U. S.C. 470 *et seq.*)

**Estimated Burden Statement:** Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 120 hours per response including the time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington D.C. 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Projects (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

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## STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS

### Context #1: Town Planning and Development in Tucson, Arizona, 1775-1970

#### Spanish-Mexican and early American Settlement of Tucson: 1775-1865.

##### *Political Contexts; Economic and Morphological Consequences*

The name "Tucson" first appears in writing on a 1695 map drawn by the Catholic Priest, Eusebio Francisco Kino. The Tucson mission, San Xavier del Bac, became the northernmost point in the Jesuit mission system, designed to carry out a program of pacification centering on conversion and education of Native American communities. Native peoples were drafted into hard labor to further Spanish mining interests for the Crown (Polzer 1986). Increasing wealth in the region fueled local resentments toward the Spaniards, eventually resulting in the Pima revolt of 1751, which spurred provincial officials to develop a military garrison to protect Spanish interests. In 1767 a royal decree replaced the Jesuits with the Franciscans, ushering in a period of heavy military and local governmental involvement in the region. Control and distribution of resources was transferred from the friars to local governmental officials, reflecting a pattern of separation of religious and government authority that was occurring in Europe at the time (Polzer 1986).

Establishment of what became present-day Tucson began with the site designation of a new frontier presidio by Hugo O'Connor on Aug. 20, 1775. O'Connor, an inspector for the Spanish army, chose this location for the new presidio as part of a larger plan to open up an overland supply route between New Spain and California. The post was also expected to protect the Mission of San Agustín del Tucson from attack by local Apache tribes. O'Connor located the presidio on a low mesa above the floodplain and east of the Santa Cruz River. The presidio's fortifications were originally built as a wooden palisade and later reconstructed of wide adobe bricks. The presidio measured approximately 750 feet square with walls about six feet high and two feet thick (Gallego 1935; Greenleaf and Wallace 1962).

Because of the frequent occurrence of Apache raids, most of the living quarters that housed soldiers, families, and settlers were contained within the walls of the presidio. Any development around the presidio remained extremely limited through the early 1800s. The first expansion beyond the walls of the presidio probably occurred around the time of the California Gold Rush of 1849 (Harris no date). Prospective miners moved westward along Cooke's wagon trail past Tucson en route to California. Tucson, known for its good water and equipment, became an important supply station. Tucson's commercial establishments were still limited at that time to a saloon and blacksmith shop within the presidio walls and three small supply stores just beyond (Gallego 1935).

In 1854 the United States purchased from the government of Mexico the region south of the Gila River including Tucson. These lands ultimately became the southern portions of Arizona and New Mexico and were intended to contain the right-of-way for a new southern transcontinental railway. The first Americans arrived in Tucson to take advantage of new business opportunities and open their own mercantile stores. A small militia from the US army was sent to the area in 1856 and began to provide a new source of capital and business.

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This early settlement of Tucson was closely tied to its immediate landscape. Even though little remained of the presidio walls by the time of the Gadsden Purchase, development beyond the immediate vicinity of the old presidio was still fairly restricted (Harris no date). The earliest map of the village of Tucson was drafted in 1862 by John Mills, Jr., a soldier under the command of Major David Fergusson of the Union Army (Map 1) in order to identify and document the ownership of residential and commercial properties. The original walls of the presidio marked the eastern edge of Calle Real and the northern boundary of Calle del Arroya(o). The main gate to the presidio was located in the western wall, opening onto the Calle Real. A second smaller gate penetrated the eastern wall as well. The old adobe walls of the old presidio disintegrated sometime after 1872 (Gallego 1935).

In his analysis of Spanish presidios, Moorhead (1991) describes the important role these structures played in the development of surrounding civilian settlements.

At first the purely military character of the garrisons was altered by the arrival of the families of the soldiers. Some of these tilled the lands around the compound and some lived in huts outside the fortress walls. Eventually a number of purely civilian families came and settled at or near the presidio, drawn not only by the protection it afforded but also by the market it offered for their produce.... Both the royal government and the military authorities promoted the growth of such establishments, for productive civilian communities simplified the problem of provisioning the remote garrisons. (p. 260)

Tucson's earliest development reflects this pattern; the presidio formed the nucleus of both civilian and commercial development. Early development extended a short distance south along the primary transportation route through Tucson, Calle Real (later renamed as Main Street). Calle Real, like the presidio site, hugged the edge of the low mesa above the Santa Cruz River floodplain. Many settlers maintained their own fields and crops in the floodplain of the Santa Cruz River. Thus proximity to those fields was another reason for residential expansion along the Calle Real. To a limited degree development also began to occur eastward along Calle del India Triste (later renamed Congress Street). At the time Tucson "...was described by contemporaries as a sleepy border town. The streets were lined with houses and businesses built from adobe bricks. The unpaved streets ran at odd angles out to the edges of the village, where farmers raised crops in fields irrigated by the Santa Cruz River" (Faught et al 1995:41). The erratic placement of buildings around the presidio of Tucson is very different from arrangements in many other early Spanish civil communities established in Mexico and United States. The layout of civilian colonies like Santa Fe and Albuquerque, New Mexico were specifically prescribed in a series of ordinances called the Laws of the Indies (Houston 1970). Military settlements like Tucson, however, were not required to adhere to the same set of regulations (Reps 1979).

### *The Central Business District*

The site of the embryonic business district was situated between the western presidio wall and the agricultural fields, probably a central locus of activity within the settlement. Harris (no date) notes that our "contemporary notion of functional differentiation does not apply well" to historic arrangements of activities. Often businesses and residences were located in the same structure and construction was based on convenience rather than formal planning. The earliest development of Tucson's Central Business District (CBD) began near the main gate of the presidio as Anglo-American merchants first moved into the area (Johnson no date). "John Davis and Mark Aldrich were the first Americans to operate a store in Tucson, however, their merchandise came from Mexican and local sources" (Johnson, no date). The merchant Solomon Warner established another enterprise in Tucson

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in 1856, which sold "American" wares brought in by pack train. These businesses were located immediately southwest of the main gate of the presidio in what was later known as the "Pearl Street Triangle" formed by Calle Real, Calle del Correo, and Calle del Arroya. (Johnson no date; Cosulich 1953) (See Map 1).

In 1857 the first long distance, federally subsidized stagecoach line, the San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line arrived, establishing Tucson as a node in southwestern transportation and communication routes. This first stage line was supplanted in 1858 by the Butterfield Overland Mail Line which, in turn, operated only until 1861. The stage station served as a major anchor in Tucson's commercial center. "The mail and passenger stage lines were a shot in the arm to the growth of business in Tucson and their terminals and facilities on the west side of Pearl Street were important additions to the infant CBD" (Johnson, no date). Hotels and rooming houses sprang up in the vicinity to accommodate travelers. The Cosmopolitan Hotel (Photo 1-9) became an institution in the 1870s after changing hands and names several times in the preceding years.

This brief period of economic activity and development was cut short by the advent of the Civil War. All U.S. troops were recalled in 1861 to the east leaving the area without military protection. The transcontinental route of the Butterfield stage coach was relocated northward leaving Tucson without any form of regular communication with the outside world. The loss of both federal troops and stage coach activity eliminated all predictable sources of external cash into the nascent Tucson economy. Confederate, and subsequently Union, troops arriving in 1862 created more upheaval when each forced leading businessmen of opposing sympathies to relinquish their possessions and leave the region (Esteban Ochoa, Grandville Oury, Fritz Contzen, Palatine Robinson, and Sam Hughes). Even after the return of Union troops, the population of Tucson declined dramatically and business remained stagnant until the end of the Civil War. In 1862 Tucson's business district barely encompassed a single acre (Johnson no date).

### *Social and Cultural Influences- Initial Anglo-American Adaptation*

At the time of the Gadsden Purchase in 1854, Tucson was principally a rural Mexican community. Sheridan (1992) characterizes the economy of this earliest period as an agropastoralist, subsistence-based economy with a well-established political and social organization for the equitable distribution of water through *acequias*, ditches designed to channel water into flood plain fields. Water distribution and maintenance of the *acequias* was governed by a *zanjero*, or water judge, who imposed strict regulations on the use of the area's limited water resources. Cooperative interaction, developed out of necessity, was a prominent characteristic of the Tucson community at the time of the Gadsden Purchase. This pattern did not change dramatically for several decades, even as Anglo-American entrepreneurs migrated into the area.

Intermarriage and business alliances between Anglo-Americans and Mexicans served to foster cooperative interaction. Mutual interdependence was a necessity of subsistence and survival in a region of scarce water resources and frequent raids by Apaches. Those American men who chose to remain in Tucson were almost uniformly single. They often married women from the more prominent Mexican families and adopted their language and cultural traditions. "For most of the period from 1863 to 1880 the Mexican and Anglo upper classes of the community were indistinguishable" (Officer, 1960).

This cultural adaptation included building methods and settlement patterns. The style of the buildings was uniformly Sonoran (Photos 1-1 through 1-8). Flat roofed, adobe structures lined the streets with little or no set-

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back. Internal spaces, courtyards, were created by linking buildings around the edges of a designated "block" (Nequette and Jeffery, 2002). This arrangement provided privacy, separation from street activity and noise, and a protected environment in which to grow household foodstuffs (Crawford et al, no date; Stepenske, no date). In spite of the haphazard arrangement of structures in 1862, several courtyard areas can be identified upon close examination of the Ferguson map (Map 1). Buildings were constructed of sun-dried, adobe bricks made from clay available from the Santa Cruz floodplain (see Context 2).

## Territorial Capitol and Regional Economic Center: 1865-1896

### *The Political Context*

The termination of the Civil War brought a resumption of business activity and expansion to Tucson's commercial district. Tucson began a twenty-year span of economic growth lasting until 1886. Numerous political events within the following decade encouraged and supported this economic expansion. Subsequent events later in the time period contributed to its decline.

In 1866 Camp Lowell was established within a quarter-mile SE of Tucson as a permanent site for U.S. troops. At this time the population of Tucson was larger than any other settlement in the territory. From 1867 to 1877 Tucson was designated as the territorial capitol. As a consequence, the territorial legislature, its administrative staff, and other governmental agencies were transferred to Tucson. Both territorial and federal activities brought infusions of large amounts of cash to Tucson (Bufkin, no date). By 1870 Tucson had become the major regional economic center. Tucson's influence included most of the Territory of Arizona, western New Mexico and northern Sonora (Reeves no date). Communications also improved dramatically during this period. By the late 1860s tri-weekly mail service had been re-established between San Diego and Tucson. As result of large-scale federal military actions to bring Apache incursions under control, Tucson in 1871 became part of the new telegraph system connecting numerous forts and cities across the Southwest. Native American attacks that had long retarded the growth of the settlement of Tucson were reduced when the Chiricahua Apache were confined to their own reservation in 1872. Tucson's rapidly growing population increase was a primary factor in the increase in economic activity. The 1860 population of 900 almost quadrupled by 1870 and doubled again by 1880 to 7000 (Reeves, no date).

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## *Economic Activity*

While the freighting business was not the exclusive province of Anglo-Americans, many early American entrepreneurs were connected with or dependent upon the delivery of goods to the growing town. Freight services between San Diego, Yuma, and Tucson developed rapidly in the 1860s and connections between Guaymas and Tucson opened in 1872. Eight merchants were already established in Tucson when Lionel and Barron Jacobs arrived in 1867 (Stanley, 1971). Like other Tucson merchants the Jacobs brothers imported goods from San Francisco, El Paso, and parts of Mexico (Stanley, 1971; Moore, 1982; Johnson, no date). By 1874 millions of pounds of freight were rolling into Tucson on a regular basis each year (Peterson, 1970).

During the 1870s continued expansion of business activity became seriously limited by shortages of cash (Moore, 1982). Some merchants maintained unofficial banking arrangements with their customers. In 1879 Lionel and Barron Jacobs opened Tucson's first bank, Pima County Bank. A list of other services available in the territorial capitol in 1877 included hotels, breweries, a courthouse, a U.S. depository, a newsstand, flour mills, feed and livery stables, a public school, a Catholic school, a newspaper, and many saloons (Hodge 1962). By 1883 approximately 300 establishments representing 70 commercial functions were operating within the city of Tucson (Gibson, no date). Many of these functions were available in order to satisfy the needs of single, and often transient, men (saloons, restaurants, barber shops, and accommodations).

## *The Effects of the Railroad*

The arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1880 altered the development of Tucson more than any other single event, national or local. The railroad brought promises of new goods, economic growth, increases in the standard of living, and new connections with the outside world. It also brought new residents to the area, radically changing the demographics of the historically Mexican frontier town.

Easy access to Tucson by rail also encouraged visitation by tourists and health seekers, and the community responded with the development and promotion of a supporting industry. "Organized boosterism aimed at attracting more visitors and residents, had begun initially in 1896 when the Tucson Chamber of Commerce was first organized" (Bufkin, 1981). Visitor services and entertainment venues, such as hotels, restaurants and theaters developed to accommodate visitors and an increasing resident population.

Despite the initial fanfare and celebration, the railroad had a serious negative effect on many of Tucson's established businesses (Devine, 1995). All of the long-distance, wagon freight enterprises were driven out of business, undercut by the railroad's lower shipping costs. Merchants dependent upon high-priced commodities struggled to match those supplied by the railroad at much lower prices (Stanley, 1971; Sonnichsen, 1987). In addition to the loss of freight business, other national factors hurt Tucson's economy. The mining communities around Tucson were hit hard when the national price of copper declined dramatically in 1884 and again in 1893 when the market for silver collapsed. A major drought in 1893 and 1894 destroyed the cattle rangelands and inflicted serious hardship on agricultural enterprises. In 1886 Tucson's central business district sank into a long period of stagnation that endured for a decade (Mose Drachman files). By 1890 Tucson's population had declined to 5000 from its previous high of 7000 in 1880.

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## *Morphological Changes in the CBD*

The Gadsden Treaty with Mexico protected Mexican ownership of lands held prior to the transfer of the territory. The Homestead Act of 1862 provided an additional means for acquiring land from the public domain. In order to provide secure claims to newly settled land and protect individual investments on those lands, the area had to be formally described and surveyed. A local merchant, John B. Allen, led the push for incorporation of Tucson as a village, and the description of a formal town-site laid out "...in a simple and true grid plan of north-south avenues and east-west streets," on a 1440 - acre parcel of land straddling the Santa Cruz River (Bufkin, 1981). Once incorporated, the village was able to issue deeds to property in order to establish a formalized system of land ownership.

The townsite of Tucson was surveyed by S. W. Foreman in 1872. Foreman was also contracted to develop a town plan and layout of future street alignments according to the federal grid system (Bufkin, 1981). The most difficult part of the plan was the alignment of all previously existing non-orthogonal streets with the east-west, north-south system of streets and avenues. All future development, theoretically, would be constrained to predetermined 400-foot-square blocks surrounded by 92-foot wide streets.

The first Sanborn insurance maps of the city of Tucson were published in 1883 and 1886 (Map 2). These maps provided an important record of physical changes that occurred throughout Tucson's growth as well as identified the name and function of many structures. Sanborn maps for Tucson were published regularly until 1960.

By 1883 Tucson's CBD had already expanded from the original one-acre site to cover 13.5 acres. Businesses extended northward along Main and Meyer to Pennington Street and south to McCormick. Many of the old business structures near the site of the presidio that were occupied prior to the Civil War had reverted to residential use. New business structures were being built on open land along Congress Street to the east. The highest concentration of businesses was located on Congress; all three of Tucson's banks were located here (Gibson no date; Johnson no date). A number of infrastructure improvements helped to raise the living and working conditions in the central business district. These changes included the development of a municipal water system and the installation of the first telephone exchange both in 1881 and the development of gas streetlights in 1882 (Harte, 1980).

The Sanborn Map of 1886 illustrates the dramatic effect that the presence of the Southern Pacific Railroad and all associated physical structures had on Foreman's layout of the community of Tucson. Foreman's grid system of 1872 was dramatically interrupted by the railroad. The railroad line, unlike the earlier freighting systems, which traveled along the rivers, approached the city of Tucson from the southeast across the bajada from the southern end of the Rincon Mountains. Restricted on the north by the Tucson Arroyo, the railroad bypassed the developing community of Tucson one-half mile to the northeast. The placement of the railroad tracks created an essentially impermeable boundary for the growing CBD. The Southern Pacific headquarters in Tucson also created a new business node east of the established center of Tucson. Warehouses, accommodations, and restaurant facilities soon began to develop immediately west of the Southern Pacific station. Many Mexican laborers who worked for the Southern Pacific Co. settled with their families on the land just north of the tracks (Mose Drachman files; Devine, 1995).

## *Shifting Aspects of the CBD*



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By 1874 the CBD had begun to migrate south and east from the Pearl Street Triangle, with the establishment of additional mercantile retail outlets such as Zeckendorf's, E.N. Fish & Company, Tully and Ochoa, and Lord and Williams all located near the intersection of Main and Congress (Photos 1-1 to 1-3). Photo 1-6 shows the earliest structures of "the wedge," a three-block long island of buildings surrounded by the narrow streets of Maiden and Congress. This area was a focal point for business activity. Building structures surrounding this early CBD contained a mixture of mercantile and other business (Photo 1-4 through 1-6), government (Photo 1-7) and residential functions (Photo 1-8). Analysis of peak land values in 1883 indicates that center of business activity was situated at the intersection of Meyer and Congress (Photo 2-6) (Johnson, no date). The validity of this analysis is clearly supported by the fact that 11 saloons were in operation on Congress between Main and Church streets.

Throughout this period and the next, Tucson's CBD continued to expand eastward. The Palace Hotel located south of Mesilla between Main and Meyer streets was the first two-story building in Tucson. The second story provided a bird's-eye view of two adjacent areas in the older western part of the CBD. The area to the south of the Pearl Street Triangle (Photo 2-1) was occupied by residences, a blacksmith shop and a barn or storehouse. Agricultural fields were visible along the Santa Cruz River. The east of the hotel was the St. Augustin Church and Plaza (Photo 2-4) with several important "services" in the foreground, such as the undertaker and tailor. This configuration of plaza, church and bordering businesses was a remnant of traditional Spanish/Mexican community arrangements (Van Slyck, 1998). However, the areas surrounding this older section of town were beginning to show signs of the impending socio-economic transitions.

The western migration spawned by the railroad resulted in an increase in the number of Anglo-American women and a corresponding decrease in Anglo-Mexican intermarriages (Saarinen, no date). These changes heralded gradual decreases in interethnic cooperation, which were reflected in the socio-economic and morphological developments throughout this and later periods. Sheridan (1992) has documented the gradual separation of Tucson's Mexican- and Anglo-American populations into distinct neighborhoods. Mexican-Americans settled in areas south of Camp (Broadway) and west of Stone and in the neighborhood north of the Southern Pacific railroad facilities. This process of ethnic separation with Mexican migration to areas north, south and west of the central business district, with its adjacent high status residential areas, is illustrated on Sheridan's demographic map of 1881 (Map 2a). Anglo-Americans were more likely to reside south of the railroad facilities and north of the old Presidio.

## Tucson's Coming of Age with Statehood and the Great Depression: 1896-1935.

### *Political Context and Social Changes*

Along with much of the rest of the country, Tucson at the turn of the 20th century embarked on another period of dramatic growth and change. Tucson was no longer the rough-and-tumble, frontier collection of solitary, ambitious males as local writers were at pains to point out (Ford, 1902). It was rapidly becoming a community of families with a common desire to create a more civilized environment. Part of this attempt at self-change grew out of the territory-wide desire to achieve statehood (Wagoner, 1970). The drive for these social changes was expressed in new city and state laws requiring physical improvements within the commercial area and restricting "illicit" activities such as prostitution, alcohol consumption, and gambling. The implementation of these new laws

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over the next 20 years created dramatic morphological changes to the physical layout, street amenities, and atmosphere of downtown. Tucson experienced an early version of urban renewal in 1912 and 1913 as new federal, state, and municipal buildings were torn down and rebuilt on a larger, grander scale (Fontana, 1962). With the explosion of growth during the latter part of the 1920s, a sufficient number of concerned individuals began to lobby the state and city council to develop a zoning ordinance. This zoning ordinance was one of the city's first management tools to control growth. The city council adopted the first ordinance in 1930.

Another major political and social change was the establishment of the territory's first university in Tucson. Though few residents thought the territorial legislature's award in 1885 would provide any benefits to the town (many thought it was a liability), the University of Arizona officially opened in 1891 approximately three miles east of Tucson in the desert. The university became the first economic node located outside the townsite of Tucson. By the early 1900s it had created a substantial attraction for new residential development outside of the urban core (Sonnichsen, 1987).

A third source of major change in Tucson was the arrival of the automobile in 1899. Prior to that time both business and residential activity were almost entirely focused within the central business district. Distances between many neighborhoods and important services had been limited to a pedestrian scale of 1/4 to 1/2 mile. New business owners were not constrained by proximity. While the numbers of automobiles remained relatively insignificant until 1915, the presence of the automobile would soon cause important changes in both business functions and morphology of the downtown area (Drachman, 1999; Devine, 1995).

Many social, economic, and physical changes were driven by proactive groups. Women's groups led by individuals like Josephine Brawley Hughes, wife of Gov. L. C. Hughes, drove many of the aforementioned social changes. She, with a vocal support of her husband, led the fight against saloons and the sale of liquor in Tucson, and ultimately in the state (Sonnichsen, 1987). The business community was also a powerful organ of change. Many of its members, such as Albert Buehman, Levi Manning, and Henry Jaastad served as Tucson mayors or city council members. They established the Tucson Chamber of Commerce in 1896 to encourage Tucson's growth and development not only for their own businesses but to improve the lives and living conditions for all Tucson residents. Through their efforts the El Paso and Southwestern railroad was brought to Tucson in 1912 (Drachman, 1999). The Tucson Sunshine-Climate Club was established in 1922 to advertise Tucson to the nation as a travel destination for health and recreation seekers (Drachman, 1999, Kimmelman, 1987).

Population growth and an increasing influx of Americans to the Southwest created changes in local demographics. Residents from old Mexican neighborhoods were forced to relocate as land values increased in those areas. Alternatively large numbers of Anglo-American residents began to dominate certain areas bringing cultural, structural, and architectural changes to those neighborhoods (Sheridan, 1992). Sheridan's map of 1897 (Map 2b) illustrates the demographics of increasingly segregated Anglo and Mexican settlement near the central business district. By this time, an overwhelmingly American neighborhood, Armory Park, was developing south of the Southern Pacific railroad tracks in the vicinity of the old Military Plaza, while Mexican settlement north of the tracks was increasing.

### *Economic Activity*

Despite a national financial panic in 1907 and a brief recession after World War I, Tucson's business activity

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continued to expand through and into the beginning of the Great Depression. The number of business establishments increased from 450 in 1904 to 500 by 1914 (Gibson, no date). Groceries, saloons, accommodations, restaurants, and warehouses were the most frequent functional types in 1904. By 1914 there was a dramatic increase in the number of accommodations and restaurants reflecting "the city's emergence as a transportation hub, a tourist center and a health resort" (Gibson, no date). The entertainment industry was also booming. The Rialto, the Plaza and the Fox Theatres were all opened between 1919 and 1930 bringing to four (including the Tucson opera house) the number of classy entertainment centers located on Congress Street. The five-story Santa Rita Hotel, completed in 1904, was the first large-scale, high class accommodations in Tucson. In 1929 the 11-story Pioneer Hotel opened to great fanfare (Sonnichsen, 1987). Similarly there was an increasing demand for goods and services. Auto storage and repair businesses (6 in 1914) were also becoming an important component of the downtown environment (Gibson no date; Devine 1995). The Albert Steinfeld & Co.'s new department store opened on Stone Avenue in 1906; the S. H. Kress Company opened one of its first 5-and-10 cents stores on Congress Street in 1911 (Everybody's Neighborhood, 2000).

The Southern Pacific railroad, as the largest employer in Tucson, continued to be a major driver of economic activity within Tucson (Drachman, 1999). In 1902 the company employed more than 600 men; by 1913 the company was disbursing \$60,000 monthly between its Tucson offices, freight department and shops (Ford, 1902; Pittcock, 1913). The arrival of a second railroad company, the El Paso and Southwestern, in 1912 provided another large influx of capital to Tucson in the form of salaries (Drachman, 1999). In the outlying areas around Tucson agriculture, ranching and mining were all experiencing dramatic growth (Ford, 1902; Pittcock, 1913, 1914; Myers, 1913, Myers, 1916).

Business and construction activity after 1929 and during the Great Depression slowed dramatically. Banking systems were severely strained during this period and many of the weaker banks in Arizona failed or were incorporated into other larger banking corporations (Jervey, 1968; Gutowsky, 1967). Scarcity of currency was a major constriction on all business activities. All of the major regional industries were severely impacted as well. Agriculture, ranching and mining slowed to a halt as cotton, livestock, and copper prices fell to almost nothing (Arizona State Employment Service 1963). Many families were dependent upon income from federal work programs such as the Civilian Conservation Corps. The city and the metropolitan area around Tucson survived that difficult time by relying on limited amounts of tourism (Bufkin, 1981; Drachman, 1999; Sonnichsen, 1987). Substantial activity did not redevelop until Tucson, and the country as a whole, began to gear up for World War II in 1936.

### *Morphological Changes within the CBD*

For the first time since its inception, the City of Tucson began to feel the effects of urban constriction created by its natural and manmade boundaries. The two primary boundary makers were the Santa Cruz River floodplain to the west and the Southern Pacific railroad lines to the north and east. Until the turn of the 20th century, construction within the Santa Cruz River floodplain involved considerable risk due to regular, large-scale, flooding episodes. The railway lines created a severe impediment to all forms of traffic (especially the newly arrived automobile) moving into and out of the urban core. Both of these difficulties were resolved later in this period. As result of breaches through those barriers, development in the outlying areas rapidly accelerated.

Congress Street continued to be the center of commercial activity. By 1904 the Stone-Congress intersection had

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replaced Meyer and Congress intersection as the center of the CBD, boasting the peak land values for the area (Johnson, no date). Camp Street (later Broadway) was also becoming populated with businesses. Development of new businesses was expanding north and south along both Stone and Sixth Avenues (Gibson no date). New construction continued to march eastward; 14 new two-story buildings were built between 1904 and 1914, most of them east of Stone Avenue. Throughout this period Anglo-Americans "remained firmly in control of the central business district, owning from 70 to 100 percent of the commercial establishments on Church, Court, Stone, Pennington, and Maiden Lane" (Sheridan, 1992). The older western portion of the business district began to decay due to the unwillingness of many owners to upgrade older adobe buildings or to increase the size of their structures (Johnson, no date).

Increasing land values in the CBD encouraged the construction of taller buildings. The first "skyscrapers" in the downtown area were constructed just before the Depression. Consolidated National Bank (later Valley National Bank and Bank One) and the Pioneer Hotel, each 10 and 11 stories tall respectively, were both built on prime real estate at the center of commercial activity. Increasing land values also altered residential communities within the business district. The residential area around the Southern Pacific railroad previously inhabited by Mexican railroad laborers and their families was, after 1908, primarily populated by managers and white-collar professionals (Devine, 1995).

Extensive changes to streetscapes of the business district occurred during the first 20 years of this period. Early streets had been irregular in orientation and dimension (Map 1-A, 2-A). Camp Street was so narrow in some places that it would only accommodate one wagon; in other locations it was quite wide (Crawford et al. no date). The blocks between the streets were equally uneven and irregular in shape. The distance between Maiden Lane and Congress Street was small, never more than one structure wide and terminated at the confluence of the two streets. "The Wedge," as it was colloquially known, was a three-block long region of "less-acceptable" businesses: saloons, cigars stores, and houses of prostitution (Drachman, 1999; Bufkin, no date) (Photo 2-7). As part of the effort to discourage prostitution and alcohol consumption, all three blocks of the wedge were razed between 1902 and 1906 leaving the remaining Congress Street much wider and more accessible (Photo 2-9).

Mule-drawn streetcar service was established in 1898. "It connected the main gate of the university with downtown Tucson and the railroad depot. Court, Church and Main streets were widened to accommodate the streetcar" (Johnson, no date). In 1906, the mule-drawn cars were replaced with electric ones (Bufkin, 1981). The advent of the streetcar line encouraged expansion into the urban fringe. New residential areas were no longer integrated with or in the Central Business District. Tucson's CBD was developing into a primarily commercial area.

Important changes were driven by the increasing dominance of the automobile which was first introduced to Tucson in 1899. Fred Ronstadt was one of the first Tucson businessman to recognize the coming importance of the automobile and to make a change from building wagons to selling and preparing cars in 1904 (Everybody's Neighborhood, 2000).

Commercial development was beginning to press hard against the boundaries defined by the Southern Pacific structures and the railroad lines. Increasing amounts of automobile traffic had difficulty crossing this barrier. In 1916 the Fourth Avenue underpass was finally cut under the railroad tracks east of the Southern Pacific depot. In 1930 access to north side of the tracks was finally obtained with the 6th Avenue underpass (Devine 1999).

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Shortly thereafter the Stone Avenue underpass was initiated permitting complete access to the major portions of the commercial center (Drachman, 1999).

Other streetscapes changes were designed to improve both visually and functionally prominent business streets. In 1913 Congress and Stone Avenue were paved with bituminous asphalt; electric lines and telephone wires were buried underground; and electric streetlights were installed (Myers, 1913; 1916). Because of these investments in street appearances, the city required that businesses along Congress Street remove all old stationery wooden awnings from building façades (Myers, 1916). The siting in 1912 of the El Paso and Southwestern railroad depot on the west end of Congress Street confirmed the importance of Congress as the primary business thoroughfare in Tucson's business district (Myers 1916; Gibson no date). Elegant parks were built by both railroad companies. Eight other city parks were also renovated at this time.

The use of the land within each building lot and its associated block continue to change. Before the turn of the century, most stores were relatively small in footprint. Storefronts hugged the edge of the street leaving open space behind for storage, residential options, or other uses (blocks 208, 209 on Map 1886). In some residential areas that were historically Hispanic, arrangements of structures similar to the Mexican-styled courtyard still existed (blocks 212, 213).

By 1919 (see Map 3) entire building lots were covered as store footprints expanded to house larger quantities merchandise and owners maximized return on high land values (see blocks 208 and 209). Commercial structures covered major portions of each building lots. Other blocks still retained minimal open space as an alley in the rear of the lot for access. The interior courtyard configuration was still visible in several of the blocks along Meyer and Broadway adjacent to the San Agustin plaza (see blocks 212 and 213). New residences for wealthy Anglo-Americans in outlying areas were sited within the building lot differently. Residences were set back away from street fronts and centered within the lot surrounded by open space. The shift in residential land use patterns was a reflection of the changing demographics in the city from Mexican-American to Anglo-American and their associated changes in architectural form (Sheridan, 1992).

### *Changes Outside of the Business District*

Despite boundary constrictions, many commercial enterprises were developed outside of the CBD during this period. These enterprises were driven out by higher land values and the lack of the available building space in the urban core. New warehouses, generally located outside of the commercial environment, were primarily built north and northeast of the railroad lines (Devine, 1995). By 1930 commercial strips along Main, Stone, and Fourth Avenues, and Sixth, Ninth, and Drachman had extended beyond the downtown area (Behlau, 2000).

Residential development was beginning to occur beyond the boundaries of the central business district as well. Snob Hollow, northwest of Main and Pennington Streets, encroached into the old Santa Cruz River floodplain by 1904. Entrenchment of the river had inhibited much of the regular flooding of low-lying areas (Reeves, no date). Residential development was also expanding rapidly north and east beyond the railroad tracks filling in the open spaces between the central business district and the university (Bufkin, 1981). Large influxes of Anglo-Americans into these neighborhoods accelerated the process of residential differentiation and segregation and displaced Mexican-American occupancy of the area (Sheridan, 1992).

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The Tucson Chamber of Commerce and the Sunshine Climate Club were highly successful in their bids to attract visitors to Tucson during the 1920s. Actions by both of these groups encouraged commercial activity in areas outside of the central business district (Kimmelman, 1987). They developed numerous attractions such as the Fiesta de Los Vaqueros that garnered national attention. Frequent articles in national papers advertised the variety of opportunities for recreationists in the Tucson area (Ford, 1902; Pittcock, 1913; 1914; Myers, 1913; 1916; Kimmelman, 1987). The southwestern resort, the sanitarium, and the dude ranch all became standard visitor attractions. The El Conquistador Hotel opened in 1928 three and half miles east of the city as a response to a perceived need for more hotel beds. While attracting visitors from across the nation brought new capital to the area, these tourist activities initiated a shift in the focus of business community away from the CBD and into the greater metropolitan area.

By 1929 Tucson with a population of 45,000 was still a relatively compact city, but new industries and economic activities were already beginning to turn the focus of commerce away from Tucson's central business district. Of the four major economic drivers at this period of time (Southern Pacific Railroad, health-care, University of Arizona, and guest ranches) three were located beyond the boundaries of the central business district (Logan, 1995). This process of commercial and industrial expansion continued and accelerated dramatically during the post-World War II period.

## Metropolitan Expansion and Urban Renewal: 1935-1970

### *Economic and Political Factors*

Arizona was beginning to emerge from the grip of the great Depression during the middle of the 1930s. The banking industry had become more stable and financially secure after a spate of closures and consolidations (Jervy, 1968; Gutowsky, 1967). Monies from federal programs began to bring outside cash into Tucson. Mining and agricultural prices began a slow rise in 1936 (Arizona State Employment Service, 1963). Federal investment in Air Force bases and training fields in the early 1940s brought more funds, new residents, and supporting industries to Tucson. Davis-Monthan Air Force Base was established in 1940. Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Co. opened in 1943, and Hughes Aircraft Co. moved its operations from California to Tucson in 1951. The advent of war in 1941 brought an increase in demand for cattle, copper, and cotton and prices rose correspondingly (Arizona State Employment Service, 1963; Sonnichsen, 1987). During the post-World War II period, the Southwest led the rest of United States in growth. The 1950s were labeled as the decade of greatest expansion for all economic activities in Arizona since statehood (Arizona State Employment Service, 1963). Federal programs for urban renewal during the '60s supported the large-scale demolition and reconstruction of 52 acres of downtown Tucson (Logan, 1995; Sonnichsen, 1987). The purpose of these redevelopment funds was to eliminate old and decaying portions of many inner cities and replace them with functional community and residential structures that would support and revitalize the downtown districts.

### *Growth in Metropolitan Tucson*

Steady influxes of both people and new industries to Tucson began in the 1940s and created an extended period of residential expansion across the Tucson basin. This expansion has essentially continued from the end of the '40s up to the present. In 1940, 30,000 people lived within the city limits; 58,000 lived in the unincorporated area

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of Tucson (Casaday, 1958). By 1950, 45,000 people lived in Tucson and 122,000, approximately two-thirds of the population within the metropolitan area, lived outside of the city (Bufkin, 1981). Both Tucson's population and its development were growing at a frightful pace. During the decade of the 1950s, Tucson's population increased 370 percent. This dramatic growth in city population was due to both the influx of people to the Southwest and to the city's annexation of eight new regions that increased the size of the city 800 percent, from 9.5 square miles to 71 square miles (Logan, 1995). On the heels of this residential expansion across the basin was a corresponding movement of all parts of the Tucson economy. New industry developed both north and south along the railway and the Benson Highway corridors. By 1958 203 industrial establishments had been opened in the metropolitan area; 115 had arrived since 1951 (Casaday, 1958). Retail establishments began to coalesce at major intersections across the basin. Between 1954 and 1961, 13 new shopping centers opened beyond the limits of the central business district (Sonnichsen, 1987; Behlau, 2000).

The only exception to this long period of growth came in the early '60s. Unlike the rest of United States, Tucson (and some other major cities in the Southwest) experienced a brief recession between 1963 and 1965 (Drachman, 1999; Bufkin, 1981).

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## *Local Influences on Downtown Development*

The dramatic rate of development and growth in Tucson alarmed many members of the community. The constant need to expand all forms of infrastructure to match new housing construction was taxing the city's financial and managerial abilities. The city needed a way to plan for new development. By the end of the third period Tucson had brought in its first planning adviser. E. P. Goodrich reinforced the notion of long-range planning in Tucson and recommended the city hire a professional planning consultant. In 1942 Tucson engaged the nationally recognized planning consultant, Ladislav Segoe. Segoe produced a series of extensive analyses for the city identifying problems and offering solutions, many of which are still being implemented today. As result of Segoe's recommendations the city of Tucson and Pima County created a joint planning department in 1943.

Business groups and individual leaders continued to have an influential role in changes in the city (Yokum, 1979; Drachman, 1999; Behlau, 2000). The Chamber of Commerce spawned numerous subcommittees including the Tucson Sunshine-Climate Club, the Good Roads Association, the Industrial Development Department and Tucson Regional Planning, Inc. These subcommittees were at the forefront of many major developments in the downtown and metropolitan areas. At times these groups were supportive of the efforts of the city council; at other times they drove the process of planning ahead of the city council by contracting with planners themselves (Drachman, 1999). Individuals, like Roy Drachman, were often asked to lead citizen's research groups. Others like Monte Mansfield individually lobbied the federal government for funds and programs that supported the city of Tucson.

## *Changes in the Central Business District*

The end of the 1930s and the following war years saw relatively slow but continued growth in Tucson's downtown district. Competition for space became tighter. Open space along primary commercial corridors was almost non-existent (See Map 4). Many of the last residential sites within the warehouse and railroad district were taken over by commercial establishments. Smaller enterprises were being taken over by larger ones (Devine 1995). Retail enterprises like Steinfeld's department store were remodeled within the same footprint of the old one rather than purchase a new site as had been done in the previous period (Hughston, 1950).

The limitation of space for expansion within the central business district was revisited many times. The primary cause for constriction was the Southern Pacific Railroad lines and facilities. E. P. Goodrich in his planning report in 1932 noted the division in the community created by the railroad and its facilities. Ladislav Segoe, in the "Comprehensive Plan" published in 1943, advocated relocation of the railroad yard to another site (Behlau, 2000). In 1955 a committee of planners and businesspeople led by John O'Dowd recommended eliminating old railway lines along the northeast side of the city and rerouting those lines underground (City-County Planning Dept. of Tucson Arizona). Unfortunately the high cost of reconstruction was not acceptable to the Southern Pacific Co. and no changes were ever made (Behlau, 2000).

One of the more successful of Tucson's commercial activities during the early part of this time period was the entertainment business. All five of the biggest theaters (the Tucson Opera House, and the Lyric, Rialto, Fox and Plaza Theaters) were located at varying intervals along the entire length of Congress Street. While the Lyric and Plaza theaters were designed for the movie industry exclusively, the Opera House, the Rialto and the Fox carried



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live acts as well as the latest on the silver screen. All were built prior to or in the beginning of the Depression and provided valuable entertainment for the city during those trying times.

Since fewer people were living in the downtown section of Tucson, commercial enterprises had to make accommodations for shoppers from the suburbs and their cars. Parking lots were another element in the growing domination of the central business district by the automobile (Devine, 1995; Map 4). Most were constructed on less valuable commercial properties on streets such as Church and Scott. Only two parking lots were located on Pennington, the prime retail area. Both of these lots were closely associated with the larger department stores, Levy's and Steinfeld's.

With limited parking available either on or off street, traffic through the downtown area became a severe problem in the 1930s and '40s (Drachman, 1999; Henry, 1989). In addition to downtown shoppers, the streets of the central business district carried local and interstate traffic. The majority of truck traffic through Tucson entered the central business district on the Benson Highway and 6th Avenue, traveled along the busiest part of downtown along Stone Avenue, and headed north on Oracle Road and the Casa Grande Highway.

The 1950s saw dramatic growth and the arrival of new industries throughout Arizona. The central business district similarly saw extensive new development in the banking and department store business. Three banks (the Southern Arizona Bank and Trust Company, the Bank of Douglas, and Tucson Federal Savings and Loan Association) built new multistory offices around the intersection of Stone and Alameda. Levy's, Jacome's, JCPenney's, and Walgreen's all opened new stores on Pennington Avenue. Even Steinfeld's department store was remodeled again in 1957 ("A Smart Move by Two Smart Men", 1950; "Tucson Skyline", 1957). At that time all six of Tucson's major department stores were located in the downtown district (Tucson Planning Dept., 1978). By 1954 the center of retail and commercial activity had moved northward from Congress to the intersection of Pennington and Stone (Webb-Vignery, 1988). Despite some competition at this time from "fringe area stores", businessmen like Harold Steinfeld optimistically declared that at least 75% of Tucson's metropolitan population was still shopping in the downtown district ("Tucson Skyline", 1957).

But growth in the metropolitan areas was beginning to create problems for the central business district and its retail market. During the early 1950s the Levy brothers, Aaron and Leon, began to look outside the central business district for new location in which to open a second department store (Webb-Vignery, 1988). Insufficient amounts of parking continued to present a problem for downtown clientele. Many were reluctant to travel miles to Tucson's downtown district when new shops were developing nearby. In contrast, the new shopping centers developing in the metropolitan areas provided convenient shopping with unlimited parking (Pesci, 1970).

In 1959 the east half of the El Conquistador Hotel site was sold to create the first large-scale shopping center in the Tucson basin. By the mid-1960s 38 national and local stores offered shoppers at El Con a wide variety of goods and services, "a perfect environment for one-stop shopping" (Pesci, 1970). The large department stores of Steinfeld's and JCPenney's soon followed. Even small retail enterprises like Cele Peterson's and David Bloom and Son opened new stores at El Con shopping center. Many of those who moved to El Con shopping center closed their downtown stores a few years later because of unprofitability at the sites. By the 1970s only Jacome's department store was left in the downtown district; that store too closed for good in 1979 (Webb-Vignery, 1988).

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Other parts of the central business district were beginning to struggle as well. The 1950s brought important technological changes in cinematography. Drive-in theaters, large-scale movie houses, and the mass marketing of television during the '50s spelled the beginning of the end for the high-quality theater district in downtown Tucson (Rogers, 1992). The Opera House closed in 1953; the Lyric and Rialto theaters both closed in 1963 (the Rialto was reopened sporadically but briefly during the 1970s); the Plaza theater was finally torn down in 1969 (a casualty of urban renewal); and the Fox, after being remodeled in 1956, was finally closed in 1974 (Rogers, 1992).

The last major change in the central business district that took place during this fourth time period was driven by the federally funded program of urban renewal. The urban renewal program involved large-scale reconstructions of the decayed parts of inner cities. While assessments of these urban areas had begun in the 1930s and '40s (Ladislav Segoe identified "blight" as an urgent problem for Tucson (Segoe, 1942)), the federal funding to a system cities to accomplish renewal did not become available until the late 1950s and early '60s.

Segoe had surveyed many of the older neighborhoods around the downtown area and rated the structures within those neighborhoods according to three criteria: presence or absence of indoor bathroom facilities or sewer systems; dwellings that were overcrowded (more than 1.5 people per room); or those structures that were in need of repair. Close to 400 acres of residential neighborhoods, predominantly inhabited by Mexican-American families, were identified as needing renewal (Segoe, 1942; Logan, 1995).

From the inception of its assessment, urban blight in Tucson was regularly described in the language of disease. Planners, city officials, and businessmen expressed concerns that blight would "spread" further to surrounding neighborhoods and possibly to the downtown area (Logan, 1995; Segoe, 1942; Drachman, 1999; Riling and Whitterson, 1959). Other reasons to eliminate old and outdated structures were added in order to persuade Tucson's voters: 1) narrow residential streets with limited access needed widening (Candeub et al, 1965); 2) high municipal costs for maintaining and controlling blighted areas; 3) rapidly increasing population density in blighted areas; 4) the need for new community facilities such as government offices and public meeting and cultural space (Riling and Whitterson 1959); and 5) the revitalization of the downtown's commercial and retail areas (Schorr, 1961; Drachman, 1999).

Numerous committees were established during the first half of the 1960s to study the problem of urban blight, identify potential solutions, and promote passage of the bond that would fund those solutions (Drachman, 1999; Logan, 1995; Schorr, 1961; Newlon, 1969; Riling and Whitterson, 1959). In 1966 the city voters finally approved a bond to redevelop a much smaller area than was first identified (approximately 52 acres) southwest of the commercial center. Demolition and redevelopment occurred within the irregularly shaped boundaries of Granada Avenue on the west, Alameda and Washington streets on the north, Meyer, Church and Stone Avenues to the east, and 14th Street on the south (Newlon, 1969). With a few exceptions of significant, historic structures, this portion of the city was entirely demolished between 1967 and 1970. The area included the oldest sections of the CBD and some of the earliest residential structures following Spanish settlement.

During the early '70s the city rebuilt the site with community facilities and commercial structures. New high-rise complexes housed municipal offices, and police and fire facilities. The Community Center complex included a new music hall, theater, and exhibit hall. The commercial area contained a new hotel, and a center for offices and small shops. The Tucson Museum of Art was located near the northern end of the new development. The

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renewal of Tucson's downtown that everyone had expected redevelopment to accomplish did not happen (Drachman, 1999; Sonnichsen, 1987; Mitchell, 1989). Despite all of the changes, large numbers of businesses in the adjoining business district closed and were later boarded over.

A number of historians have remarked that the fire in 1970 that destroyed the Pioneer, the last high-class hotel in the downtown area, spelled the end of Tucson's downtown (Drachman, 1999; Anthony, 1979; Webb-Vignery, 1988). In reality, its collapse in the 1960s and '70s was a response to an accumulation of factors that left the CBD bereft of activity, no longer a vibrant and functional entity that it had been in the past. Perhaps the most important factor in its demise was the loss of the downtown's local population. Conversion of residential neighborhoods to commercial sectors throughout its development gradually robbed the downtown of those individuals who routinely visited its shops, grocery stores, and banks. Urban renewal in one swift swipe removed the neighborhood most historically connected to the early central business district. Secondly, the collapse of the theater industry in the 1950s and '60s meant that city and suburban dwellers had to find entertainment elsewhere than the downtown. Fewer people had any reason to visit the CBD after working hours. Third, the flight of major retail institutions lured shoppers away from the downtown during the daytime. Finally, the loss of long distance traffic through downtown streets after the construction of bypass removed much of the activity that supported the downtown tourist industry.

### Associated Business Types

#### *General Merchandise/Department Stores*

General stores were the staple of any developing community, especially in the pioneering West. Often, the early mercantile entrepreneurs began their businesses as long-distance freight operators, a risky, but profitable, venture through the inhabited lands between major western cities. Some of Tucson's early pioneer storeowners began as freighters: Teodoro Ramirez, beginning in 1820, Solomon Warner in 1858, Edward Nye Fish, the Jacob Brothers and Estevan Ochoa who co-owned Tully, Ochoa and Company, one of Tucson's most successful businesses in the 1870s (Everybody's Neighborhood, 2000).

As Tucson became more of a destination for goods, new entrepreneurs and businesses appeared that offered a broader range of merchandise and larger stores. This next generation of mercantile stores included Zeckendorfs, which offered goods from as far away as New York City. After Albert Steinfeld joined the firm in 1878, the store had an increasingly diversified collection of goods. In 1906, the Zeckendorfs store at Main and Pennington changed its name to Steinfeld's Department Store and continued in business until the 1970s as one of Tucson's premier shopping destinations. Other so-called "department" stores downtown included Jacome's, the origins of which go back to 1896 on West Congress. It was originally named, "La Bonanza" in 1902, then simply Jacome's beginning in 1913. As an indication of its success, the store moved to Scott and Congress Streets in 1925, and grew from a ground floor store, then to two-stories, and finally in 1951 to a new multi-million dollar building at Main and Pennington (Everybody's Neighborhood, 2000). Another Tucson department store landmark was Myerson's White House that began in 1914 at 42 W. West Congress and was where locals bought western wear, Levi's, cowboy boots and hats. They too, expanded into other merchandise and more frontage along Congress eventually occupying three floors of their building. Myerson's opened a new store at the unpaved intersection of Broadway and Wilmot in 1957 but by 1979, both stores had closed their doors due to the decline of downtown retailing business and the construction of Park Mall on Broadway near Wilmot in 1975 (Henry, 1992)

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Similar success was had by Levy's which started as a clothing store in the early 1930s, located at Congress and Scott Streets, and expanded into a full-fledged department store soon thereafter. Like Jacome's, Levy's opened a new five-story department store in the heart of downtown, at Stone and Pennington, that even provided air-conditioning for its summer customers. Levy's was also a pioneer in 1960 as one of the anchors of the new suburban shopping center, El Con Mall, but also contributed to the commercial flight from downtown with the Stone & Pennington store closing in 1971. Another pioneer Tucson business, F. Ronstadt Company, grew in a similar fashion from its beginnings at Sixth Avenue and Pennington. Starting off as a wagon and carriage shop in 1888, it grew into a more diversified store by 1901 when it moved to a two-story building at Sixth Avenue and Broadway with departments serving Tucson's essential hardware and machinery needs, from farm machinery, parts and repair, housewares and sporting goods. Ronstadt's also quickly adapted its carriage business into one that serviced the automobile, becoming Tucson's first dealer in 1904. The store moved again in 1947 to a larger building on North Sixth Street and eventually expanded to eight Tucson locations and maintained its family-run business until 1985 (Everybody's Neighborhood, 2000).

As an outgrowth of the department store phenomenon, so-called "dime stores", that represented national chain stores with discounted prices based on volume sales, also made their mark on downtown Tucson. Three stores in particular, Kress, McLellan's and Woolworth's, set up shop along E. Congress Street and during their post-World War II heyday were all located within one block of each other. Like the other downtown department stores, these stores evolved from small storefronts to encompass entire downtown city blocks and were gathering places for their lunch counters and promotional sales (Henry, 1992).

## *Entertainment*

Tucson's early entertainment centered around the church and its religious celebrations, or *fiestas* including, Dia de San Juan (the feast day for St. John the Baptist, June 24th) and La Fiesta de San Agustin (in honor of Tucson's patron saint's day, August 28<sup>th</sup>). Defined by Jim Griffith as "vibrant fusions of the sacred and profane...(and) major social as well as religious events", these celebrations were integral parts of the social life of downtown throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. These fiestas were also opportunities for extended families dispersed in the fields and mines to reunite and reinforce the family as a vital survival technique on the Mexican frontier. The fiestas would not only include religious processions, but also dancing, concerts, horse racing, gambling and political speeches. The earliest of these fiestas took place around the church plaza on South Church and Camp (Broadway) Streets (Everyone's Neighborhood, 2000).

Beyond the local sporting activities, most forms of external entertainment were limited and infrequent during Tucson's Mexican period due to its relative isolation from urban centers to the south. In Mexico at this time the primary forms of entertainment came from traveling groups: small circuses and theatrical companies. (Gipson, 1967). As stagecoaches provided a broader transportation network to Tucson, Mexican troupes regularly traveled as far as California, stopping at Tucson as an intermediate performance site. Often the performances took place in outdoor venues including the Camp Lowell corral, as there were no structures in Tucson were large enough to accommodate these troupes and their audiences (Gipson, 1967).

The first form of recreational entertainment that developed permanent structures was at Carrillo's Gardens, established by Leopoldo Carrillo in 1870 when he dammed a portion of the Santa Cruz River to create a series of

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small lakes. His resort was located south of Simpson Avenue and west of Main Street and contained beautiful flower gardens, a restaurant and beer garden, picnic grounds, a small zoo, and even a dancing hall. Carrillo's Gardens were considered such an important component of Tucson life that the route for the mule-drawn trolley car was extended south of the city to include the resort. Leopoldo Carrillo continued to operate his gardens until they were sold in 1903 to Emanuel Drachman who renamed it Elysian Grove (Harte, 1980; Sonnichsen, 1982; Henry, 1989). After he constructed the Pioneer Brewery beyond the west terminus of Pennington Street, Alexander Levin purchased a saloon and created another outdoor destination, Levin's Park, as another family entertainment destination. He continued to augment his holdings by constructing a bowling alley, a shooting gallery and finally an opera hall in 1879 (Sonnichsen, 1982; Kimmelman, 1994). His gardens remained the primary source of entertainment in Tucson until the middle of the 1880s when the gardens were reported to attract a less respectable and less family-oriented clientele (Sonnichsen, 1982). In the 1870s Fred Maish and Sam Driscoll constructed another dam on the Santa Cruz River, whose waters formed the focus of Tucson's third entertainment site, Silver Lake, located more than a mile and half southwest of Tucson's central business district. Like Levin's Gardens, Silver Lake lost its family appeal when it became a rendezvous for the more "sporting element" in the city (Harte, 1980).

While Tucson's three outdoor destinations were being developed on the outskirts of town, a series of theaters, more often referred to as opera houses, were being built within the central business district. Between 1870 and 1890, Tucson had established over a dozen opera houses including the Tivoli Theater at Main and Mesilla, the Fitch Opera House at the southwest corner of Congress Street and Sixth Avenue, Reid's Opera House at Pennington and Meyer, and the Tucson Opera House. These early opera houses not only accommodated traveling acts but were often the only places that could accommodate large audiences of people and were used for a variety of non-theatrical events. The opera house constructed in 1878 at Levin's Park, for example was purported to house 2000 people (Gipson, 1967; Everybody's Neighborhood, 2000). In addition to American opera houses, the Teatro Carmen, located on South Meyer, was devoted to presenting Spanish and Latin American theatrical works and became a leading institution of Hispanic culture in Tucson. When the 1400 seat facility opened in 1915, it was Tucson's largest and most elegant theater, but it too was short-lived, closing in 1926 (Everybody's Neighborhood, 2000). The Temple of Music and Art, constructed in 1927, was located outside the central business district on Scott three blocks south of Broadway. Deemed the greatest contribution to Tucson's artistic community, it became the venue for the newly founded Tucson Symphony Orchestra and the Tucson Little Theater before those institutions moved to the new Tucson Community Center complex in 1971 (Everybody's Neighborhood, 2000).

The Rialto Theatre, built in 1919, and the Fox-Tucson Theatre, built in 1930, both were designed as performance theaters, but accommodated and eventually built their reputations as movie theaters. More than any other theater, it was the Fox that captured local patronage as a downtown cultural center. In addition to being a movie house with an orchestra pit, Wurlitzer organ and Tucson's first air-conditioned public venue, it was the venue for appearances by glitzy Hollywood stars, community events and the Mickey Mouse Club.

Moving pictures were introduced to Tucson courtesy of Emanuel Drachman who constructed an outdoor screen at the Elysian Grove in 1903. Soon the dominant form of entertainment in Tucson, movie houses quickly popped up throughout downtown. Although many opera and dance halls accommodated movie shows, there was a series of new theaters along Congress Street that provided Tucson with the next generation of entertainment destinations including the first true movie theater, the Lyric in 1912, the Pima, built in 1916, followed by the Plaza in 1930 (Henry, 1992). Not to dismiss live entertainment, these movie theaters also hosted concerts, plays, boxing

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matches and vaudeville acts. Eventually, all of these theaters went into decline due to the combined effects of television and the general commercial abandonment of downtown.

There was also less civilized entertainment in the central business district. Tucson's tenderloin district was concentrated on Maiden Lane (formerly Calle de la India Triste) in an area three blocks long just north of Congress. Like most western frontier towns whose population was predominantly men, Tucson permitted prostitution until the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when Tucson wished to gain a reputation as a more civilized city suitable for families (Sonnichsen, 1987). Saloons, initially concentrated near the corner of Meyer and Congress Streets, also offered entertainment to men, many of them open all night and offering a variety of gambling opportunities that remained unregulated until 1907 when gambling became illegal in Arizona. Dancing also took place in saloons, but was more often found in dance halls located in the upper floors of downtowns commercial blocks. Saloons, such as the Congress Hall Saloon established in 1868 by Tucson pioneer Charles O. Brown, were also well-known establishments during an era when they were an integral part of the life in a western downtown and were often the venue for the town's power elite to conduct business and politics (Everyone's Neighborhood, 2000).

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## *Banking*

Before any regular banks were established in Tucson, people made their deposits in saloons (Drachman, 1999). In the early 1870s merchants in making their remittances either got exchange from Lord and Williams, who did the only banking business in Tucson, or by Post Office Money Orders ("The Idea & the Bank", 1929). The firm of Lord and Williams prospered in freighting and general merchandising and though they offered banking services they were not a true bank (Everybody's Neighborhood, 2000). However, in 1869 the federal government designated Lord and Williams as the U. S. Depository for government institutions in Arizona (Moore, 1982).

Tucson businessmen Lionel and Barron Jacobs also provided Tucson's first true banking services once their mercantile business grew sufficiently prosperous. In 1879, they established the Pima County Bank that was little more than a small vault and a counter in a storage building on the corner of Meyer and Congress, but began to provide competition for Lord & Williams. Soon the Jacobs brothers closed their mercantile business and became full-time bankers and by 1882 received a federal charter as the First National Bank of Tucson. Due to an economic downturn, however, they rescinded their federal charter and reorganized as the Bank of Tucson. In 1887, the Jacobs brothers merged with an emerging competitor, David Henderson, Banker, to form the Consolidated Bank of Tucson. Three years later, Henderson bought out the Jacobs' interest and renamed the bank, Consolidated National Bank. The bank became one of Tucson's most successful and created some of downtown's most stylistically progressive buildings, including the ten-story building on the corner of Congress Street and Stone Avenue in 1929. Having survived the Depression with the nation's largest percentage of liquid assets and net profit ("The Idea & the Bank", 1929) the bank was sold to the largest bank in Arizona, the Valley National Bank and Trust Company, in 1935 and was purchased again in 1993 by Bank One. In 1889, the Jacobs brothers purchased controlling interest in the newly established Santa Cruz Valley Bank and renamed it the Arizona National Bank. The Jacobs retired from banking in 1912 when the bank was reorganized, having played a key role in stabilizing two of Tucson's most successful banking operations (Everybody's Neighborhood, 2000).

As with many banking ventures in Tucson's early history, Lord and Williams ultimately declared bankruptcy in 1881, as did many others during the economic panics of 1893 and 1907. By 1930 there existed 21 banks in Arizona (Gutowsky, 1967), of which 16 failed and many other smaller banks were forced to merge with stronger banks in order to preserve their assets. In 1933, when new federal regulations called for more banking divestitures in the areas of real estate and insurance, the Arizona Trust Company was established. After moving offices from 36 N. Stone to 136 N. Stone and finally into the suburbs in the 1970s, Arizona Trust Company prospered as a successful model of a diversified financial organization typical of today that included insurance, bonding, real estate, mortgage loans, escrow, trust and fiduciary services (Everybody's Neighborhood, 2000).

## *Specialty Stores*

Distinct from the wholesale and retail department stores, specialty shops occupied many of downtown Tucson's ground floor commercial blocks. Often utilizing only one bay along a storefront, these tenants catered to a "niche" market, and included jewelers, shoe stores, tobacconists, music stores, newsstands and curios.

One of the interesting evolutions in specialized businesses is the drug store. The drugstore had two roles in the development of communities like Tucson: first as a pharmacy for the true dispensation of drugs, and the other as a downtown social venue, at least until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. The first "druggists" often had no special

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qualifications and would open shop begin dispensing medicines, natural and chemical,. Because of the remoteness of these shops from medical manufacturers or sources, druggists had to handle large quantities of powdered medications that then had to be measured, mixed, prepared and packaged at the local store. Drugstore owners were commonly referred to as "Doctor" and often dispensed medical advice, as well as medications and carried a variety of other health-related products (Everybody's Neighborhood, 2000). The first drugstore in Tucson, and the territory, was operated by Charles Meyer beginning in 1858, located at Congress and Court, and called "La Botica". In 1882, a newly arrived Frederick Fleishman married Meyer's daughter and the couple took over operation of the store and renamed it Fleishman's Drugstore that remained a downtown landmark until it closed in 1924. Although other names are associated with early drugstores, one of Tucson's premier drugstores, and businesses, was Martin Drug Company. Martin Drug's first store, opening in 1884 at Congress and Church, had Tucson's first soda fountain (1888), and it wasn't long before the Martin Drug Company had three stores in the downtown area (including the first all-night pharmacy) and expanded into a chain of seven stores throughout Tucson. Starting in the 1920s, Litt's Drugstore, located at the corner of Congress and Stone, and Owl Drugstore provided competition for Martin. Offering promotional events, soda fountains and its other products – ice cream, seltzers, and soft drinks, these "corner drugstores" were important places for social exchange up through their heyday in the 1940s (Everybody's Neighborhood, 2000; Henry, 1992)

### *Offices and Services*

In contrast to the department stores and specialty shops that generally occupied the ground floor of downtown commercial buildings, professional offices were the primary tenant of the upper floors of these "blocks". Lawyers, surveyors, real estate agents, architects, doctors, dentists and other service related businesses often moved around from building to building as their business expanded and contracted. The Valley National Bank, Tucson's first office skyscraper, was considered a very prestigious address and attracted a variety of professional tenants.

### *Hospitality & Accommodation*

Hospitality in early Tucson often took the form of a soft spot of ground in the local corral, a cot in the back of a saloon or even a spare bed in a private residence. As the Butterfield Overland Stagecoach began bringing passengers in addition to mail from St. Louis to San Francisco, its local manager, William Buckley, saw an entrepreneurial opportunity in 1858 and converted a residence on Calle del Correo (later Pearl Street) into Tucson's first hostel, The Buckley House. In a similar fashion, Francis Hodges converted a small structure at the corner of Main and Pennington, using remnants of the southeast corner of the presidio wall, into another modest hotel in 1858. By 1874, that hotel, renamed the Cosmopolitan, was renovated into a two-story building and included a saloon and telegraph office. Its popularity lasted through another name change, to the Orndorff Hotel, until fire destroyed the wooden structure in 1934. The Palace Hotel, built in 1879 specifically as a hotel, was Tucson's first full service accommodations including 55 rooms with mattresses and box springs, indoor plumbing, a gambling hall, restaurant, saloon and stage. The hotel was located at 214-216 South Meyer Street and was later named the Grand Hotel and finally the Occidental until its demolition in 1923.

In contrast to early hotels' location near the stagecoach terminal at the western end of the CBD, the arrival of the railroad in 1880 and the location of its depot, at the opposite, eastern, end of the CBD, provided a new node for the establishment of the next generation of hotels. With only two real hotels in operation at the time of the train's arrival, the potential for greater demand on accommodations for visitors prompted the Southern Pacific Railroad



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to build its own hotel near the depot. Originally called the Railroad Hotel, and later the San Xavier, it contained 60 rooms on two stories with running water and was the first building to provide telephone service when Tucson established its telephone exchange in 1881. As with many wooden buildings before the building codes required the use of brick, the San Xavier was destroyed by fire in 1903.

Tucson's most elegant hotel during this period was undoubtedly the five-story Santa Rita, built in 1904 and located at Broadway and Scott. The Henry Trost-designed building featured 200 "well-appointed" rooms, a dance hall and roof garden and quickly became a social destination for Tucsonans and visitors. Other "railroad" hotels built to accommodate the increasing traffic of visitors to Tucson included the 1907 Hotel Heidel, a three-story, triangular-shaped building designed by Holmes and Holmes and located on Toole Avenue directly across the street from the depot; the Hotel Congress, just south of the Hotel Heidel facing Congress Street built in 1919; and the El Presidio Hotel, a four-story hotel begun in 1929 and located on Broadway just west of Fourth Avenue that was demolished in 1989 after a series of fires.

In addition to the many buildings designed specifically as multi-floor, full service hotels, developers of commercial blocks in downtown also provided accommodations on the second floor above ground floor shops, including the Rialto Apartments, Arizona Hotel, and Lewis Hotel. The 1914 YMCA Building, at West Congress and Court, also provided rooms and respectable diversions for Tucson's young and not so young as a pre-World War II equivalent of a community center, including an indoor pool, bowling alley and pool tables (Henry, 1992)

The last of the elegant hotels built in downtown was the 1929 Pioneer Hotel, located at Stone and Pennington. This 11-story "skyscraper" was an integral part of Tucson social life, acting as the venue for fund-raisers, costume balls, proms, and holiday parties. The hotel's concrete construction did not prevent a tragic fire in 1970 that claimed 29 lives and put the nail in the coffin of downtown's role as a social and cultural center for Tucson.

### *Transportation*

The evolutionary development of transportation in Tucson is one of the critical elements in the definition of growth of its CBD. Prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Tucson's origins and survival was based on the Santa Cruz River as a transportation corridor. During Tucson's Mexican period, transportation routes between Tucson and the larger urban centers to the south were limited to little more than dirt trails (Gipson, 1967). The first to divert from the system of watercourse trails was the American government-subsidized, long distance stagecoach route which began in 1857 with the San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line, replaced a year later with the Butterfield Overland Mail Line. These lines established Tucson as a southwestern transportation and communication node, whose stage station became an anchor in the development of Tucson's commercial district on the aptly named Calle del Correo (Mail Street), later changed to Pearl Street, located between the western presidio wall and the agricultural fields of the Santa Cruz River. The stage line service was disrupted during the Civil War but resumed with as many as three runs a week by the end of the 1860s.

Freighting also established transportation networks throughout the southwest with Tucson as its hub. Many of the early American settlers established freighting business to supply the emerging trade center. Freight services between San Diego, Yuma, and Tucson developed rapidly in the 1860s with connections between Guaymas and Tucson beginning in 1872. By 1874, millions of pounds of freight were rolling into Tucson on a regular basis each year (Peterson, 1970).

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The arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1880 had the most influential impact on Tucson's downtown development in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It brought goods and services, people and promised prosperity as well as a reliable connection to the outside world. The location of the train depot, like the stagecoach station before it, became a new node in downtown Tucson that began attracting commercial and hospitality development to the east end of Congress almost a mile from Tucson's commercial origins near the presidio. The railroad also had a devastating impact on the long-distance, wagon freight enterprises, many of which were driven out of business by the railroad's lower shipping costs. Southern Pacific was the only rail line in Tucson until the Phelps-Dodge Corporation, owners of southern Arizona's most profitable copper mines, developed the El Paso and Southwestern Railroad in 1912. Originally designed to bypass Tucson, through Phoenix, Tucson business leaders persuaded Phelps-Dodge president, Walter Douglas, to run the line through Tucson by offering numerous depot sites and a right-of-way through the city. Eventually choosing a site on the western end of Congress near Main, the classically-designed depot and accompanying city park created an elegant arrival to Tucson, reinvigorated the western end of the CBD and reinforced the commercial activity along Congress Street corridor by providing anchors at the western and eastern ends of the street. This era of transportation competition was short-lived, as the El Paso and Southwestern was bought out by Southern Pacific in 1924, returning Tucson to a one railroad town.

Local transportation was provided through a network of public transit options. Mule-drawn streetcar service was established in 1898 connecting downtown Tucson with the railroad depot and the newly emerging development node, the University of Arizona. In 1906, the mule-drawn cars were replaced with electric ones, necessitating the widening of the streets that defined its route (Bufkin, 1981). The advent of the streetcar line also encouraged expansion into the urban fringe, which promoted the development of new residential areas. These new residential areas were no longer dependent on their proximity to the Central Business District and consequently downtown was evolving into a primarily commercial area. Incorporated as the Tucson Rapid Transit Company in 1918, the streetcar operation lasted until 1930 when buses took over as the primary public transportation system. Bus service in Tucson began in 1922 as a private venture, the White Star, and by 1925 was absorbed by Tucson Rapid Transit whose depot was located in the Rebeil Building at the corner of Congress and Scott (Scavone and Caywood, 1975). Another private busline, the Tranvia Occidental, was established in 1924 by Roy Laos in response to the lack of streetcar service to the Hispanic communities on the west and south sides of the city, and in 1949 was reorganized and renamed the Old Pueblo Transit Company. Both companies operated independently until 1969 when the Tucson Rapid Transit Company was reorganized as Suntran and in 1978 bought out the Old Pueblo Transit Company (Henry, 1992).

Important changes to downtown were driven by the increasing dominance of the automobile, first introduced to Tucson in 1899. By 1912 there were 275 automobiles in Tucson and by 1914, twelve establishments catered to automobile service and sales (Johnson, no date). By 1920 the automobile had become the dominant form of transportation in Tucson (Bufkin, 1981). As increasing automobile traffic was hampered by the railroad lines defining the eastern boundary of downtown, a series of underpasses (Fourth Avenue, Sixth Avenue and Stone Avenue) was built to permit complete access between the increasingly distinct commercial and residential areas of Tucson. Even with Tucsonans no longer dependent on their proximity to a central business district as a place to live, they continued to leave their suburban residential areas for their work, shopping and entertainment.

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Since fewer people were living in downtown, commercial enterprises had to make accommodations for shoppers from the suburbs and their cars. Parking lots were another element in the growing domination of the central business district by the automobile (Devine, 1995; Map 4). Most were constructed on less valuable commercial properties on streets such as Church and Scott. Only two parking lots were located on Pennington, the prime retail area. Both of these lots were closely associated with the larger department stores, Levy's and Steinfeld's.

With limited parking available either on or off street, traffic through the downtown area became a severe problem in the 1930s and '40s (Drachman, 1999; Henry, 1989). In addition to downtown shoppers, the streets of the central business district carried local and interstate traffic. The majority of truck traffic through Tucson entered the central business district on the Benson Highway and 6th Avenue, traveled along the busiest part of downtown along Stone Avenue, and headed north on Oracle Road and the Casa Grande Highway. In 1940 a major explosion occurred from the collision between a freight train and a gasoline tanker truck. The resulting fire in the nearby structures catalyzed members of the Chamber of Commerce and the Good Roads Committee to develop a plan for a highway bypass around the central business district. The bypass was to be located west of the central business district between the Santa Cruz River and the Southern Pacific rail lines.

Many motel, service station, and restaurant owners expressed concern about the bypass and the future loss of commercial and tourism activity in the downtown district (Henry, 1989; Drachman, 1999). Actual development of the bypass was delayed for another decade by the advent of World War II and the allocation of federal funds for construction. An early form of the Tucson highway was completed in 1951, but it remained under continuing redesign and redevelopment for an additional 17 years.

Federal programs contributed even more directly to changes in Tucson's CBD. In the 1950s, President Eisenhower's National System of Interstate and Defense Highways and later the Interstate Highway System programs provided important funds to develop better roads between many cities in Arizona and, in the case of Tucson, a highway bypass around the commercial district (Drachman, 1999). When the freeway was extended eastward bypassing the Benson Highway in 1968, many business owners along that corridor faced similar problems of loss of business (Henry, 1989).

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## Context #2: Architecture in Tucson, 1896-1950

### Introduction

The following is a context for the individual buildings being included in this multiple property nomination. It is significant to note that many of the nominated buildings, especially with respect to their not-strictly-rectilinear plans, were very much influenced by cultural factors that date back to the early layout of what later became the central business district.

### The Town Layout

#### *Cultural Implications of the Changing Form of Tucson's Central Business District*

During the brief period of hegemony from 1821 to 1854, Mexico was not stable, prosperous or powerful enough to populate or protect its northern frontier. This weakness contributed to the extreme neglect of Mexican settlers and occurred just when westward-moving Anglo Americans, backed by their overtly expansionist government, were seeking land and new markets in the northern portions of Mexico's domain. Thus the physical environment that existed in Hispanic Tucson and elsewhere in the Mexican frontier was an expression of the institutions of Spanish imperial colonialism and the limitations imposed by a culturally and economically impoverished frontier far from its center (Veregge, 1993). This impoverishment left Mexican frontier society more fluid and receptive to increasing Anglo-American influences. Tucson's own border population integrated socially and interacted culturally, creating a truly hybrid society. Social integration prevailed until the arrival of the Southern Pacific railroad when numerically-dominant Anglos began to segregate themselves demographically and in all other respects (Sheridan, 1992).

In common with other Spanish-founded settlements like Santa Fe, New Mexico, Tucson shared the frontier and geographic location in the arid Southwest. A frontier is an outer edge of a zone of influence; a social phenomenon representing an interaction between man, his institutions and the physical and spatial environments in an area of low population density where two cultures or nations meet. Arid environments are frequently initially frontiers. Marginal for human habitation, they are likely to remain peripheral to the center of economic, political and social activity. (Veregge, 1993). While the northern Mexican frontier, 1821-1854, was characterized by a weak connection to its center, Mexico City, the American Western frontier, 1821-1890, was characterized by a strong connection to its center, the eastern United States, which provided a growing economic base to support expansion.

#### *Two Different Planning Ideals*

Tucson's expansion was influenced by a collision of the Spanish Laws of the Indies and Anglo American town planning ideals. The physical form of the ideal Spanish colonial and Anglo American town was structured by the rational order of the grid plan. However, the cultural meaning of the grid to each tradition was completely different. (Veregge, 1993). The degree to which each planning ideal was implemented in Tucson is a reflection of the relative strength or weakness of the social and cultural forces responsible.

As early as 200 B.C. in the Iberian Peninsula, the grid was used by the Romans as a means of exerting control from great distances. The Laws of the Indies, a document developed by the Spanish Crown to direct the colonization of the New World, contained complete instructions for siting, laying out and building new towns or *pueblos*. These instructions were partially or fully implemented over three centuries in hundreds of settlements in New Spain. There were additional

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regulations for the establishment of military *presidios* and religious *misiones*.

Ordinances to describe the structure of an ideal town and to establish the basis of the grid stipulated that a square or rectangular plaza, proportional to the estimated population, was to be the center and starting point of the town layout. Four principal streets were to begin at the middle of each side of the plaza, with eight additional streets originating from the four corners of the plaza. The principal public buildings such as the council house, shops and dwellings of influential citizens, were to be located along the plaza. Ideally, buildings around the edge of the plaza were to have portales. The visual effect would be that of an urban-scale enclosed courtyard. The church was not to be on the main square, but some distance away and elevated to increase its visibility. In hierarchical fashion, buildings of less-influential members of society were to be sited further from the square. Furthest away were the less socially acceptable establishments such as tanneries and slaughterhouses. (Veregge, 1993)

Manifesting itself throughout the built environment was a fundamental principle of both Spanish and Mexican planning; that of arranging structure to enclose a *plaza* or courtyard. The enclosed courtyard principle was used not only for the main town plaza but for the urban block and for the most elemental unit, the individual courtyard or *bolsa* (pocket) dwelling. The Laws of the Indies intended that a square urban block be lined with courtyard structures, placed directly on front lot lines to present a continuous built edge on all four sides and enclose space for gardens and small livestock in the center (Veregge, 1993).

In contrast, planning and settlement of American towns in the West originated from an abstract grid laid across thousands of miles of public domain. This was the result of the 1785 Land Ordinance authorizing a survey of the western territories into six-mile-square townships; each of which were bounded by north-south and east-west lines. Other parallel lines divided each township into thirty-six square sections of 640 acres each. The survey of the public domain regularized and ordered a vast, mostly unsettled portion of the continent and centralized control of the disposition of these lands. By providing a framework for future growth, the grid allowed for planned cities and fostered the extraordinary and exaggerated land speculation of the nineteenth century. As perfectly rectangular parcels of land could be bought, sold, titled and registered promptly, the grid very much suited the congressional objective of rapid disposal and speedy settlement of the public domain. Anglo American speculative town planning encouraged much change in land ownership and contributed to the dynamic social and physical mobility so characteristic of the frontier population of that time. (Veregge, 1993; Hommann, 1993).

While the Spanish ideal of founding a settlement was an in site act of finding a place in a landscape and establishing it as a central starting point, the Anglo American ideal was a process of subdivision of a larger abstract grid, with only secondary reference to the local landscape. Important streets in the Anglo American grid tended to run parallel while perpendicular streets became secondary. This directional-differentiated quality contrasted with the center-generated, hierarchical differentiation stipulated by the Laws of the Indies. (Veregge, 1993).

The Anglo American ideal at the urban block level was to place buildings as discrete objects in the centers of lots. In direct contrast to Hispanic 0-lot line building emplacement, this practice, commonly seen in residential development, allowed for setbacks creating space between the building, its neighbors and the adjacent street. The Anglo American commercial block had the same principle but, to maximize economic gain, the building occupied the entire surface of the lot (Veregge, 1993). Commercial lots were likewise elongated to maximize the number of frontages along important streets.

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## *Territorial Tucson's Early Layout*

The area that later became Tucson's central business district did not develop strictly according to either cultural ideal. Early Tucson did not have an orderly grid plan emanating from a central plaza, but grew instead from the entrance of its presidio, a structure that originally housed a civilian and military population and comprised the extent of legislated Hispanic planning. No known surveys of this presidio community date from the Spanish or Mexican periods (Reps, 1979). As noted in Context #1, the initial growth adjacent to the presidio probably coincided with the arrival of Anglo Americans during the California Gold Rush, marking the beginning of the cross cultural contact that would gradually transform the Spanish-founded settlement. Residential and very modest commercial development apparently extended along Camino Real (today's Main Street), the primary transportation route through town, and along Calle del India Triste (today's Congress Street).

The first detailed plan of Tucson, the 1862 Fergusson map (Map 1), shows that the streets and surveyed "blocks" of the nascent settlement were irregular and non-rectilinear in pattern, indicating an apparent lack of public control. Three plazas also appear on this map. La Plaza Militar and La Plaza de las Armas were once parts of the original presidio, the interior space of which had been bisected. Also included was La Plaza de la Mesilla, later known as Church Plaza. Very early growth was most intense around the Calle del Correo (Pearl Street) triangle, near the former garrison entry and along Calle Real. Secondary growth also occurred lining the east-west oriented streets and the edge of the Plaza de la Mesilla. At this time buildings typified regional Hispanic construction and emplacement principles, a pattern also adopted by the first Anglo settlers. Structures were single-story, flat-façade examples with thick, parapeted bearing walls of adobe, a construction technique introduced by the Spaniards into the Southwest. The Moors first brought to Spain this method of building with form-cast sun-dried mud bricks. In the Arizona region, Spaniards roofed adobe structures with a Native American-inspired assemblage of structural logs (vigas), branches and twigs, clad in mud. Built up to the edge of their lot lines, as the map shows, such buildings lined the unpaved streets and also part of the boundaries of La Plaza de la Mesilla. A few L-shaped and courtyard examples can be found on some of the *solares* (town lots), representing the initial formation or the completion of the ideal Hispanic *bolsa* dwelling in a very impoverished frontier region of the world.

## *Imposition of the Anglo Townsite Grid*

As outlined in Context #1, to accommodate continuing growth in the bi-cultural community and as an example of Anglo control, the town council incorporated the City of Tucson with an engineered townsite plat in 1877. This Foreman plat included the existing city core with its presidio site, early plazas, irregular streets and blocks. Imposed upon this and adjacent to the city core was a typical Anglo American, rectilinear grid contrived to align with the previously established streets. After the arrival of the railroad, an enormous impetus to growth, the central business district gradually expanded from the original one-acre site to cover 13.5 acres by 1883. Congress Street had become the east-west link between the railroad terminus and downtown, Tucson's "Main Street," while Church, Stone and other north-south avenues comprised lateral, side-street expansion off the principle spine.

Civil engineer George J. Roskrug's 1893 map of the City of Tucson (Map 2c) shows the city plan at the end of the Anglo American frontier era. The Southern Pacific railroad track made an enormous impact by bisection of the town plan. Worked around the railroad zone and the irregular central business district and Barrio Libre to its south, was the rectilinear grid of identical, twelve-lot blocks with alleys. The large Military Plaza, ripe for subdivision, would soon become Armory Park neighborhood. The town center was growing to the north and east up to the boundary of the Southern Pacific tracks. Transformation of the city layout had been occurring through lengthening of existing streets and straightening their

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extensions, filling in of existing urban blocks, incipient development on fringe blocks and the formation of regular, new 400-square foot blocks for future growth. Culturally speaking, transformation was also occurring through the previously mentioned demographic pattern of ethnic segregation which gradually established Anglo-Americans in the zone of the central business/residential district and Mexicans in barrios, largely to the south, north and west thereof. Cultural differentiation with respect to the different building traditions is seen very clearly in historic photographs from this era (Photos 2-2 through 2-4).

### *Transformation of Urban Blocks*

Fundamentally, the transformation of the trapezoid-plan blocks of Tucson's core involved a gradual process of replacing peripheral, mixed residential and commercial development with very dense, lot-filling commercial development. In what became the central business district, this meant the eventual and almost complete replacement of single-story, Hispanic-tradition adobe buildings by mainstream American one- or more-story commercial buildings of "permanent" materials like brick (Photos 2-5 through 2-9). As early photographs indicate, around the time of Tucson's incorporation, blocks were commonly ringed with a commercial and residential mix of contiguous-walled, flush-front, adobe structures built up to the front property line (Photos 1-1 through 1-7). The growth pattern on a typical "block" was apparently that of expansion to fill the border then addition of a second row of rooms behind the first. Exemplifying the courtyard principle at the urban block level, the arrangement of structure at the perimeter left an open area for communal use in the center of the block. By 1886 however, the Sanborn map (Map 2) shows urban blocks that were very much "in transition" at that time, filling in by the gradual addition of larger buildings of brick construction. This trend continued into the early 1900s and was very pronounced by 1919 (Map 3).

### Downtown Commercial Buildings

#### *Impact of the Railroad on Building Technology*

The transformation of Tucson's central business district into a dense zone of commercial activity was made possible by the arrival of the railroad in 1880. The railroad drastically altered the technology of a formerly remote and isolated region, such as that of southern Arizona. Although contact with San Francisco and elsewhere had already been made by telegraph and freighters, the railroad made possible the importation of large quantities of prefabricated components. The introduction of new tools and the flood of goods from industrialized communities like San Francisco radically affected architecture. In Tucson, as elsewhere in the Southwest, this meant a striking departure from the Spanish/Native American tradition so long unchallenged.

The more populated areas of America were immersed in the modern, industrialized building process, a post-Civil War phenomenon common throughout the rapidly-expanding domain. This process was characterized by an increasing specialization in trades and in the number and complexity of building types, plus new building technology. In the nineteenth century this process was facilitated by a developing distribution and communication system, the invention and patenting of a great number of machines and manufacturing methods and the development of mills and factories to produce building products.

The industrialized building process was seen in the use of commercial, machine-made materials like dimensioned lumber, prefabricated lumber millwork (windows, doors, trim and moldings), hardwood for floors or fancy woodwork, standard-size bricks, cement and plaster, corrugated iron roofing, large panes of glass, manufactured hardware, and fittings like

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doorknobs, hinges and ventilating louvers for building assembly. For commercial buildings there were cast iron columns for store fronts, as well as pressed metal cornices and window heads (even entire facades) which, when painted, resembled costly carved stone. Other new components included stoves, gas fixtures and plumbing fixtures.

### *American "Main Street" Commercial Districts*

The growth of commercial architecture was very intense in the United States and closely related to the settlement of much of its territory. Town building was an important facet of the Westward Movement in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Americans in newly-founded settlements dreamt that their communities would one day emerge as great urban centers and they intentionally clustered businesses in more or less central districts. The spine of these districts was the street, often the primary route through the town popularly known as "Main Street," America's version of the Italian piazza. The urban core provided a focus for activities and gave a town its identity (Longstreth, 1987).

A major departure from earlier commercial landscapes was the wide, linear space the street created and the fact that commercial functions dominated land use, rather than sharing it with residential development. Also, a distinction grew between commercial precincts and others. The freestanding house, surrounded by a landscaped yard, became the nation's ideal and residential districts with dwellings set back from the street differed greatly from the concentrated commercial zone. Also increasingly public, institutional, quasi-institutional and religious buildings were designed as freestanding objects. (Longstreth, 1987)

Urban buildings that contained shops at the street level and living quarters above can be traced to Roman antiquity. The shop-house combination became standard in European cities during the Middle Ages. This European vernacular tradition eventually took hold in the American colonies and was evident in important trade centers. The widespread development of distinctive architectural forms for purely commercial purposes, however, was a relatively recent phenomenon dating back to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. This phenomenon was most intense in the United States. Private enterprise was the principal generator of the nation's development and commercial architecture was the natural result. (Longstreth, 1987).

### *Identification of Commercial Buildings*

Most 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century commercial buildings were not freestanding objects. The buildings filled most if not all of their respective lots, abutting their neighbors and the sidewalk lining the street. Lot configuration was the most important determinant of form. Typical urban commercial lots were narrow and rectangular, often 25' by 100' in size. Commonly only the front of a commercial building could be seen from the street. For commercial building types, Richard Longstreth has thus developed an identification system based upon façade composition. This system is very appropriate for describing Tucson's historic commercial buildings. Decorative details and "style" are secondary characteristics separate from the basic façade composition (Longstreth, 1987).

### *Two-Part Commercial Block*

The "two-part commercial block" is the most common type of façade composition found in small and moderate-sized, contiguous-walled, zero-lot-line, historic commercial buildings throughout the United States. Generally limited to two to four stories in height, this type features a horizontal division of two distinct zones which reflect differences in interior use. The first-story, street-level zone indicates public uses such as retail stores, printing shops or hotel lobbies. The upper zone, usually made to appear taller by a false-front parapet where a sign might be applied, indicates more private uses,



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including offices, hotel rooms or meeting halls. The upper zone has smaller openings and, in most cases, is of masonry construction. The lower, more public zone has large, glazed storefront openings and, to allow for this openness, might be constructed of columns supporting a beam plus the wall above. Victorian and turn-of-the century versions of this type tended to be ornate and "styled," frequently the work of a trained designer.

Both zones of the two-part commercial blocks accommodated the associated business types that flourished in Tucson's central business district. As outlined in Context #1, these included general merchandise and department stores, theaters, banks, hotels, offices, specialty stores and transportation related facilities such as bus depots. The façade composition of buildings serving these various functions remained consistent. A distinct variant of the typical two-part commercial block was the 1920s/1930s-type theater with a recognizable wide lobby sheltered by a large marquee and an elaborate vertical sign above.

### *Three-Part Vertical Block*

According to Longstreth, vertical three-part composition in buildings four or more stories in height began to appear in the United States around the 1850s. These buildings were a response to the academic movement's concern for order, advances in technology which allowed for multi-story construction and the increasing value of land in downtown commercial areas. By the early 1890s they became common and three-part composition was the dominant pattern in tall buildings built through the 1920s. Most commonly used for office buildings, department stores, hotels and, occasionally, public and institutional buildings, three-part vertical blocks tended to be important, expensive architect-designed contributors to commercial districts. They were the forerunners of the extremely tall, three-part skyscrapers. (Longstreth, 1987)

Analogous to the divisions of a classical column, such buildings feature an interrelated but very distinct base, shaft and capital. The shaft, containing most of the multiple stories, is the dominant zone. The variety of treatments given to the upper zone, and the façade as a whole, is great. The difference between the three-part vertical block and the two-part commercial block is the size of the two upper zones and the emphasis they receive. Stylistic detail is frequently derived from the Classical tradition. (Longstreth, 1987)

### *Institutional and Quasi-Institutional Building*

Institutional and quasi-institutional buildings were often found in and near the central business district. These were commonly government buildings, libraries and railroad stations. As mentioned, they were imposing, free-standing buildings meant to be viewed from all facades. They were not components of the dense wall of buildings lining downtown commercial streets and they were generally the work of prominent, academically trained architects. Building form and components varied greatly.

### Architectural Styles

As mentioned, a commercial building abutting the walls of adjacent buildings can be best described at its most fundamental level by façade composition. In addition to the basic composition, there may be a superficial layer of ornamentation, a decorated "skin" as it were, that represents one of the many "styles" prevalent when the building was built. In this sense, Tucson's historic commercial buildings are commonly "style-influenced" rather than academically correct examples of a particular style. Ornamental details on a commercial building can also derive from more than one style. A stand-alone institutional building, however, such as a library or a railroad depot, is likely to be an academic

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example of a style. The following styles or stylistic influences can be found on Tucson's historic commercial buildings, institutional and quasi-institutional buildings.

### *Italianate (Commercial Palatial) (1840-1885+)*

Commercial Palatial is the commercial form of the Italianate style that was very popular in the United States from 1840-1885. It was derived from the ornamentation applied to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian commercial buildings. The Italianate style was particularly popular in the burgeoning community of San Francisco from 1846 to 1876. After the arrival of the Southern Pacific railroad, which brought in architects, Tucson was strongly influenced by trends in San Francisco and California originally from the East. Undoubtedly this sophisticated type of commercial architecture, connected to sixteenth century Italian mercantilism, subconsciously appealed to Tucson's capitalists and businessmen. Apparently only one two-part commercial block remains of the first generation of post-railroad-era Italianate-influenced buildings. It is the National Register listed Arizona Daily Star Building (1883), 30 N. Church Avenue, designed by San Francisco architect Alexander P. Petit. Italianate detailing on Tucson's commercial buildings continued through the late 1890s and early 1900s.

Italianate buildings are characterized by wide projecting cornices with styled brackets. Other principal areas of elaboration are windows, porches and doorways. Typical projecting cornices include such features as curvilinear brackets, cornice line dentils (or other repetitive ornaments) and frieze panels, commonly placed on an elaborated trim band. Windows may be rectangular or arched and sashes usually have one- or two-pane glazing.

### *Neoclassical Revival Style (1895-1950)*

The revival of interest in classical models dates from the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893. The planners of the widely publicized exposition mandated a classical theme, and this theme was subsequently followed by many of the best-known architects of the day. The prestigious Eastern firm of McKim, Mead and White set the standard of the Neoclassical Revival. It was a dominant style throughout the country during the first half of the twentieth century in domestic, public and quasi-public buildings such as libraries and train stations. In spite of the classicism, the Neoclassical Revival was a uniquely American style for Europeans designers were simultaneously experimenting with the Art Nouveau. (Whiffen, 1969)

Buildings in this classically-derived style are simpler in effect than lavishly decorated examples of Beaux-Arts Classicism. Symmetry, the characteristic classical trait, is emphasized. Broad expanses of plain wall surface are common. Roof lines, when not level, are largely unbroken by sculptural elements. The Greek orders are employed more often than the Roman and windows tend to be linteled although arched examples can be found. Porticoes are common. (Whiffen 1969: 167.)

### *Spanish Colonial Revival (1915-1940)*

The Spanish Colonial Revival was one of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century revivals including the Mission Revival, Pueblo Revival and Sonoran Revival which were very much in vogue during the first decades of this century. Southwestern Revivals reflected a trend towards regional consciousness among professional architects as well as a growing desire to promote the Southwest, especially for tourism, as an exotic region with strong Hispanic and Native American cultural roots. The Spanish Colonial Revival style was most popular in the regions of America where a

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significant Hispanic tradition already existed: California, New Mexico, southern Arizona, Florida and Texas. After the 1915 Panama-California Exposition, which publicized elaborate Spanish Colonial prototypes found throughout Latin America, the Spanish Colonial Revival style became important. It reached its apex during the 1920s and 1930s.

Spanish Colonial Revival designers were inspired by a number of sources including Spanish colonial buildings of adobe (especially those found in California and the Southwest), late forms of Moorish architecture, medieval Spanish and Italian religious architecture, Spanish and Portuguese Baroque, rural Andalusian forms, Italian Romanesque and Renaissance Revival architecture. (Easton & McCall, 1980) Molded by this variety of sources, Spanish Colonial Revival was considered to be an appropriate representation of a region's Hispanic past. In southern Arizona, Spanish Colonial Revival took root in the same desert environment where, in earlier times, Spanish colonists and Mexicans had constructed Baroque mission sanctuaries, adobe rowhouses, *haciendas* and walled fortresses or *presidios*.

Spanish Colonial Revival was thus an eclectic style that employed decorative details borrowed from the entire history of Spanish architecture. The style was unified by the use of arches, courtyards or patios, plain stuccoed wall surfaces, form as mass and Spanish or Mission tile roofs, all derived from the Mediterranean region. There was characteristically a low-pitched, tiled, gabled or hipped roof usually with little or no eave overhang. However, the use of parapet walls and a flat roof was also common.

### *Art Deco (1920-1940)*

The Exposition des Arts Decoratifs et Industriels Modernes, held in Paris in 1925, influenced American architects by diffusing a sentiment for "modernity" and the notion that it could be achieved by means of decoration. The "Art Deco" was named from the pavilions and exhibits of this exposition. (Nequette & Jeffery, 2002) Earlier, in 1922, Art Deco received major impetus when the Chicago Tribune held a world-wide competition for a headquarters building in Chicago. The second prize went to an Art Deco design by a young Finnish architect, Eliel Saarinen. His design was widely published and the style quickly became the latest architectural fashion (McAlester, 1989).

Art Deco was a style of ornament. It was predominantly vertical and rectilinear, with geometrical curves playing a secondary role. Ornament was normally in low relief with a flat front plane. The most common motifs included fluting and reeding, often flanking doors or windows or forming horizontal bands above them. Chevrons, zigzags, various frets and sunburst patterns were much employed. Square or oblong blocks and other rectangular projections were composed symmetrically around entrances. Some of the influences were derived from Mayan, Southwestern and Native American art. Other motifs were a belated "vulgarization" of cubism. Polychromatic effects were achieved by a variety of means, ranging from the use of faience for surfacing walls to the application of gold leaf. (Whiffen, 1992).

### Architects in Tucson

During the era of development of downtown Tucson, the city was undergoing a transition from its reliance on out-of-town architects, primarily from California, to developing a community of architects who had the design and technical skill to design and construct commercial buildings. Some of the known Tucson architects designing non-residential buildings in downtown during the period of significance include, Henry Jaastad, Henry Trost, David Holmes, Alexander P. Petit, Otto P. Kroeger, Ely Blount, Quintos Monier, and Roy Place. Of the buildings included in this MPDF, only one nominated property was designed by a Tucson architect, David Holmes, and five nominated properties have known out-of-town architects.

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## *David Holmes*

The architectural firm of Holmes and Holmes was a partnership of two brothers, David and Jesse (Jack), but dominated by the design talents of David. David Holmes was born in St. Louis in 1874 and was influenced by the work of the turn of the century architects making their mark in midwestern cities, including the modern designs of Adler & Sullivan, and the revivalist work of Burnham & Root. After living in Santa Barbara, California and Boulder, Colorado, David Holmes moved to Tucson in 1898 to take a teaching position in manual training and mechanical drawing at the Territorial University (later the University of Arizona) School of Mines. Teaching and securing equipment for the University's first shop building dominated Holmes' first few years until he was requested to design a gymnasium building in 1903, purportedly to save the cost of hiring an out-of-town architect. Eventually named Herring Hall, this modified temple structure was designed in the Roman Revival style to represent a sense of permanence to the fledgling university campus. During subsequent years, Holmes took on new responsibilities, including building supervisor for the University's growing campus, interim university president, as well as architect for independent commissions, such as the Desert Botanical Laboratory on Tumamoc Hill, built in 1903. Holmes' design for the Lab was a model of appropriate desert architecture with thick walls of volcanic stone, deep overhangs and an extremely efficient ventilation system; characteristics which would define many of Holmes' later building designs.

In 1905, when Tucson's then most prominent architect, Henry Trost, left for larger commissions in El Paso, Holmes seized an opportunity to focus his career as a practicing architect and resigned from the University. His brother, Jack Holmes, joined him in Tucson where they formed the firm Holmes and Holmes which dominated Tucson architectural commissions until David's departure for San Diego in 1912. David Holmes subsequently moved to Boulder in 1917 and died there in 1967 at the age of 92.

The architectural firm of Holmes and Holmes was responsible for over 30 buildings in the course of their eight year tenure of architectural dominance in Tucson, defined by prominent clients, an eclectic mix of architectural styles and innovative design solutions. Their projects represented the range of functions necessary for the expanding town, including residences, commercial blocks, hotels, churches, hospitals and educational buildings (including five downtown buildings and three University of Arizona buildings), requiring a versatility matched by no other Tucson architect at that time.

Holmes was a pioneer in introducing new materials to the local building vocabulary. Although common in larger cities, Holmes use of structural steel, in all his non residential projects, and concrete as primary, fire-proof, material (Heidel Hotel and Whithall Hospital), was unique to Tucson at that time. In his more public, downtown buildings (Old Pueblo Club and Rodgers Hospital), he introduced the use of California Pressed Brick, a colored, ornamental brick worthy of being exposed without the more typical stucco coating. Holmes also vigorously attempted to define a local stylistic alternative to the prolific use of stucco as a sheathing material in residential buildings. He experimented using traditional construction materials exposed as primary sheathing materials, including volcanic stone (Desert Botanical Laboratory) and "clinker" brick, (Holmes' own house), a brick burned beyond normal baking to create a multi-colored texture. Holmes' experimentation was in response to his dislike of the boom of imported, mass-produced, housing types, most notably the bungalow, designed with little concern for the local environment or stylistic expression. In 1908, as Tucson's most prominent architect, he even attempted to organize a group of professional architects, engineers and builders to promote "a better class" of architecture, but the organization never formed.

## *William Curlett and Son*

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The Hotel Congress, Rialto Theatre and Rialto Building were designed by the California architectural firm of William Curlett and Son. The founder of the firm, William Curlett was born in 1846 in Belfast, Ireland where he also received his architectural education. He also practiced in Ireland and England for several years until moving to San Francisco in 1871. Later he journeyed to Los Angeles to establish an architectural practice there, where he designed some well-known structures and took active part in laying out St James Park. A few years later, he returned to San Francisco, where he designed several well-known commercial buildings, institutional and residential buildings throughout California, including the courthouses of Los Angeles and Fresno counties. Much of Curlett's work in Los Angeles is associated with his brother-in-law and fellow architect, Theodore Eisen (Architect and Engineer). Curlett was a fellow of the American Institute of Architects and former president of the State Board of Architecture. He was selected as chairman of the Advisory Board of Architects for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915. However, he passed away in 1914 due to illness. His son, Alexander Curlett continued to run the architectural practice of William Curlett and Son and designed several structures in California and throughout the southwest. After his father's death he received commissions in Tucson such as the Hotel Congress, Rialto Theatre/Building, which were the firm's only Tucson buildings.

### *Walker and Eisen*

The Los Angeles architectural firm of Walker and Eisen was hired in 1929 to design the Valley National Bank, originally the Consolidated National Bank. Albert Raymond Walker was born in 1881 in Sonoma, California and in 1902 he attended Brown University. After graduating, he joined the architectural firm of Hebbard and Gill in San Diego. A year later he moved to Los Angeles where he continued his apprenticeship with the firm Parkinson and Bergstrum and later with A. F. Rosenheim, Hunt and Grey. In 1909, he formed his own practice and following World War I he formed a partnership with Percy A. Eisen that lasted until 1941. Their firm designed many significant buildings in the Los Angeles area, including the Ardmore Apartments, Hollywood Plaza Hotel, Beverly Wilshire Hotel, Edwards and Wildey Building, Fine Arts Building (Signal Oil Building), Texaco Building, Bay Cities Guaranty Building (Santa Monica), and El Mirado Hotel (Palm Springs). The Valley National Bank is the firm's only Tucson building.

### *M. Eugene Durfee*

The Fox Theatre was designed by M. Eugene Durfee in 1929. Morien Eugene "Gene" Durfee was born in Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin in 1885, and at the age of 12, moved to Seattle Washington in 1897. He lost his father a year later, gave up formal education to support his mother and sisters, and enrolled in night and correspondence classes. In 1903, at 18 years of age, Durfee left Seattle for San Francisco where he worked for the architects, Shea and Shea, while attending classes at the Humboldt Evening Technical School. The San Francisco earthquake of 1906 forced Durfee to return to Seattle where he worked for a number of architects, married, and a year later began his own architectural practice. In 1912, he moved to Victoria, British Columbia where he designed and supervised the construction of many buildings for the Granby Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company at Observaotroy Inlet, as well as many homes in the area. Durfee and his family moved to Los Angeles in 1914 where he quickly developed clientele and architectural commissions. One of his commissions led him in 1917 to Douglas Arizona, the support community for the Phelps-Dodge mining operations in southern Arizona. Durfee moved to Douglas in 1919, where he designed the Grand Theatre and Haymore Building as well as a branch jail in Bisbee Arizona. The Grand Theatre, considered the finest theater in southern Arizona for decades thereafter, was commissioned by the Lyric Amusement Company, operated by the Diamos Family, who by the 1930s, owned and managed a chain of theaters in Douglas, Bisbee, Tucson, Nogales, Lowell Arizona and Cananea Sonora. Still moving around, the Durfee family moves to Tucson in 1920 for two years,

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during which time Durfee designed a number of buildings including the Ochoa Elementary School, and had his office in the Old Post Office Building while living in the Zuni Court (later called the Geronimo Hotel located on E. University). Durfee returned to Anaheim California in 1921 where he based himself for the rest of his professional career and designed a number of theaters, commercial, hotel and civic buildings, including the Anaheim City Hall (1921), the Obarr Building (mixed-use theater, stores and hotel) in Huntington Beach (1923) and the Chapman Building in Fullerton (1923). In 1929, the Diamos' contacted Durfee to design their latest theater, this one in Tucson, which was bought out by the Fox Movie Company before construction was even completed. Durfee died in Long Beach California in 1941. Durfee was well-versed in the architectural styles popular during his era and proved to be equally skilled in their application, from the Neoclassical Grand Theatre in Douglas and Chicago School-style of the Chapman Building in Anaheim, to the Spanish Colonial Revival Ochoa School in Tucson and the Art Deco Fox-Tucson Theatre.

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## ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

### Name of Property Type: **Downtown Commercial Buildings – Two-Part Commercial Block**

Tucson's few remaining historic commercial structures have been associated with planning and community development of the central business district since shortly after the arrival of the Southern Pacific railroad in 1880 through the early 1950s. Historically part of a dense district of similar buildings that lined a network of streets related to a "Main Street," the once thriving commercial core was instrumental in giving Tucson its identity and serving as a focus for its activities. Tucson's downtown commercial buildings are also significant for their architectural contribution to the district. In composition and style, they are typical examples of historic "Main Street" types found throughout the United States.

#### Description

The majority of Tucson's historic commercial buildings are of a particular type known as the two-part commercial block. This is the most common type of façade composition found in small and moderate-sized, contiguous-walled, zero-lot-line, historic commercial buildings throughout the United States. The type tends to fill most of its lot and abuts the sidewalk. It features two zones; a public street-level one with large storefront windows and a more private upper level with smaller windows for functions such as offices. Although the type may be four stories high, Tucson's two-part commercial blocks tend to have only two stories and they are the oldest of the historic buildings in the central business district. Most date from the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century through the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Because Tucson's two-part commercial blocks have served both specialized and general functions, they are being further sub-categorized as follows:

- 1) **Hotels.** Two-part commercial block hotels feature the typical street level glazed storefront zone (often used by separate tenants), while the upper, more private floor contains visitors' sleeping quarters. There are one or more principal entries which may or may not be accentuated. Inside, there are specialized, permanently partitioned spaces, such as lobbies, restaurants and individual guest rooms, for the accommodation of visitors.
- 2) **General Use:** These two-part commercial blocks are essentially "shells" which have experienced a great variety of tenants over the years, those requiring street frontage being by the ground floor spaces and others by the second story spaces above. The exterior presents the traditional dual-zone façade while the interior commonly has flexible, open spaces (with the exception of structural support members) which can be partitioned and otherwise improved according to the tenants' needs.
- 3) **Type 1 Theater:** This type is part of a traditional two-part-commercial block as seen from the street. The lobby forms one bay of such a building which has storefronts below and more private spaces, such as apartments, above. Almost obscured from the "Main Street" is the auditorium and fly-loft behind which has a form to fit its function.
- 4) **Type 2 Theater:** The lobby of this two-part commercial block identifies the building as a theater from the street owing to its wide canopied entrance, marquee and ticket box. Its second story zone is windowless. Also obscured from "Main Street" is the form of the auditorium and fly behind.

*Hotel, General Use and Type I Theaters*

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For these first three subcategories, the two zones of a typical two-part commercial block have very different architectural treatments and structure. The street level zone generally features large display windows of framed sheet glass (larger in the vertical dimension) placed directly above a low horizontal base panel. To allow for this openness, the lower building zone is commonly constructed of posts which support the beam and wall above. The principal entry often features a single door or pair of doors, fully or partially glazed. There is commonly a secondary, ground-level entry to the stairs connecting to the upper level. It is also common for each window panel and doorway to have a glazed transom above. An awning, often a pent, can be installed directly above the transom level. Above this is a horizontal band of sufficient size to accommodate signage. The second zone of a two-part commercial block is frequently capped by a false-front parapet which masks a pitched or flat roof beyond. In some cases, there may be instead a visible, finished pitched roof. The upper zone of this building type, frequently of masonry construction, tends to have a much larger ratio of wall to window with windows appropriately sized for the more private functions within. The corner building of the two-part commercial block generally has a similar compositional treatment on the side.

Most of Tucson's two part-commercial blocks, especially the more elaborate hotels and theaters, were architect-designed. The identity of some but not all of the architects has been ascertained. Late Victorian and turn-of-the century versions of this type in Tucson tend to be ornate and "styled," often with Commercial Classical or Italianate detailing. The cornice is accentuated as an elaborate building terminus and windows are frequently embellished by decorative surrounds or caps. Buildings designed during the second decade of the twentieth century may have Spanish Colonial Revival influences, including Mission-tile-clad areas of pitched roof. A building may have been stylistically altered during the period of significance.

### *Type II Theater Building*

Theater buildings which appear to be at least two stories high from the street are also categorized as two-part commercial blocks. The façade of this type of theater commonly features a characteristic wide lobby at the entrance with a ticket booth which is sheltered by a large overhanging marquee and an elaborate vertical sign above. There is a typical lack of glazed openings. Type II theaters tend to date more from the late 1920s and 1930s and often apply decorative detailing of that era, such as the Art Deco style.

### Significance

Tucson's historic two-part commercial blocks are most important for their rarity in a downtown district that has experienced considerable commercial decline, where much demolition and façade cover-up has occurred. These buildings are also important for their anticipated role in future downtown revitalization. Their qualities and scale, often out of context with the skyscrapers and contemporary structures next to them, are important reminders of the history of Tucson, in particular of the impact of mainstream America upon the former Mexican settlement. These buildings are evidence of a time when Tucson had a thriving "Main Street" commercial district. Throughout the period of significance, their owners or tenants handled much of Tucson's demand for banking, entertainment, general and specialty merchandising, accommodation and services.

Architecturally, the stylistic details and exterior composition, the comfortable human scale and the interior qualities are appealing, irreplaceable and well worth preserving. Tucson's historic two-part commercial blocks, through continuing use, refurbishment, rehabilitation or adaptive re-use, may well attract the public back downtown.



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## Registration Requirements

Tucson's historic two-part commercial blocks are eligible under Criterion A in the area of "Community Planning and Development" if they significantly contribute to the pattern of development in Tucson's central business district during the period of significance, 1863 - 1955, an era when the downtown commercial district was a central focus of activity and served much of the city's needs. In order to be eligible under Criterion C in the area of "Architecture", Downtown Tucson buildings must be an intact example in their original location and remain sufficiently unaltered so that their massing, materials and workmanship reflect the original architectural qualities for which they are considered significant. To qualify for National Register listing, the properties must also maintain their integrity of location, design, workmanship, materials and association.

## **Name of Property Type: Downtown Commercial Buildings – Three-Part Vertical Block**

Tucson's rare first skyscrapers have been associated with planning and community development of the central business district since 1929. Such landmark buildings on large, prominent corner lots stood out in a dense district of smaller, mostly two-story buildings that lined a network of streets related to a "Main Street." These multi-story buildings reflected advanced construction technology and the increasing value of land in the central business district. The three-part commercial block was the crowning jewel of the once thriving commercial core which gave Tucson its identity and served as a focus for its activities. These first skyscrapers served such functions as multi-story hotels and bank/office buildings. Tucson's three-part commercial blocks, the work of prominent designers, are also architecturally significant contributors. In composition and elaboration, they are examples of an imposing building type found in historic downtown commercial districts throughout the United States.

## Description

Longstreth states that the three-part vertical block, which developed according to the academic movement's concern for order, is analogous in composition to the divisions of a classical column. This building type features an interrelated but distinct base, shaft and capital (Longstreth, 1987). Although some academic examples express a sense of unified verticality, the treatment of each zone is often emphatically differentiated. There is commonly a horizontal band separating zones which are sometimes clad in different, high quality materials. The lower, street-level zone, frequently two stories high, serves as a visual base. It may be treated in a number of ways, often with large window areas and bays articulated by arches on piers or columns. The entry bay will be given more emphasis. When the ground floor is occupied by a bank, the effect can be monumental. The interior of such spaces is commonly lavishly decorated. The shaft or second zone contains most of the multiple stories and is visually dominant. There tends to be a repeated rhythm of windows from floor to floor. Sometimes differentiated end bays are used to enhance the sense of order.

The upper zone, which also contains occupied stories, is treated as a unified whole, often visually distinct from either the base or the shaft. This zone may be given vertical emphasis by engaged columns, pilasters, piers or interrupted wall surfaces rising between the windows (Longstreth 1987: 85). The building is usually capped with an elaborated, projecting cornice. Stylistic detailing, generally Classically inspired, is evident in such features as Roman arches, rustication of some materials, columns with Greek or Roman capitals, Italianate brackets and dentils. Ornamentation may be applied to the intrados of arches, especially that of the main entrance.

## Significance

Tucson's three-part vertical blocks are significant for their association with the third (1896-1935) and fourth (1935-1974) eras in the development of the central business district. Reflecting that fact that land values downtown had been

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increasing greatly, the first skyscrapers were constructed just before the Depression, on prime real estate at the center of commercial activity. Contrasting greatly with the mostly two-story buildings around them, they altered the skyline dramatically. Three-part vertical blocks were precursors of the high rise buildings that would increasingly appear and transform the human-scale, historic "Main Street" character of Tucson's central business district.

Tucson's first skyscrapers are valuable for their architectural contribution as well. With respect to their exterior composition, stylistic detailing and quality materials, these tall buildings have their own more "human" scale when compared to the starkness of the nearby contemporary high rise environment. Visually appealing both inside and out, these irreplaceable buildings represent a grace and opulence that a typical community can no longer afford to build.

### Registration Requirements

Tucson's historic three-part vertical blocks are eligible under Criterion A in the area of "Community Planning and Development" if they significantly contribute to the pattern of development in Tucson's central business district during the period of significance, 1929 - 1955, an era when the downtown commercial district was a central focus of activity and served much of the city's needs. In order to be eligible under Criterion C in the area of "Architecture", Downtown Tucson buildings must be an intact example in their original location and remain sufficiently unaltered so that their massing, materials and workmanship reflect the original architectural qualities for which they are considered significant. To qualify for National Register listing, the properties must also maintain their integrity of location, design, workmanship, materials and association.

### **Name of Property Type: Downtown Buildings – Institutional and Quasi-Institutional Buildings**

Tucson's institutional and quasi-institutional buildings have been associated with planning and community development of the central business district since before the arrival of the Southern Pacific railroad in 1880. They represent a downtown heart that was not just a commercial core, but a transport node and a cultural, educational and political center as well. These landmark stand-alone buildings on large parcels were located near but somewhat on the fringes of the dense commercial core. Generally government buildings, courthouses, libraries and railroad stations, they tended to be large, imposing works of prominent, academically trained architects. Commonly excellent examples of a style popular at the time, such as Neo-Classical or Spanish Colonial Revival, these buildings are also architecturally significant contributors. Their form and function vary considerably as does their elaboration. They are examples of an important historic building type found near downtown commercial districts throughout the United States.

### Description

Institutional and quasi-institutional buildings vary considerably and, depending on their function, tend to be somewhat monumental in scale. Some buildings are (or were) located in formally-designed garden settings. They may have once related to other buildings in a complex. Others are located in complexes around attractive courtyards. Others occupy very large corner parcels, not adjacent to Congress Street, commercial blocks.

### Significance

Tucson's institutional and quasi-institutional buildings are significant for their association with the third (1896-1935) and

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fourth (1935-1974) eras in the development of the central business district. They represent a downtown heart that was not just a commercial core, but a transport node and a cultural, educational and political center as well. With respect to their stylistic detailing and quality materials, these buildings stand out in comparison to the starkness of the nearby contemporary high rise environment. Visually appealing both inside and out, these irreplaceable buildings represent a grace and opulence that a typical community can no longer afford to build.

### Registration Requirements

Tucson's historic institutional and quasi-institutional buildings are eligible under Criterion A in the area of "Community Planning and Development" if they significantly contribute to the pattern of development in Tucson's central business district during the period of significance, 1896 - 1955, an era when the downtown commercial district was a central focus of activity and served much of the city's needs. In order to be eligible under Criterion C in the area of "Architecture", Downtown Tucson buildings must be an intact example in their original location and remain sufficiently unaltered so that their massing, materials and workmanship reflect the original architectural qualities for which they are considered significant. To qualify for National Register listing, the properties must also maintain their integrity of location, design, workmanship, materials and association.

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## **GEOGRAPHIC DATA**

An area including the north half of Section 13 and the south half of Section 12, Township 14 South, Range 13 East, Gila and Salt River Base and Meridian.

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### SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

The multiple property listing of historical and architectural resources of Downtown Tucson is based on a 1991 historic resource survey conducted by Johns & Strittmatter, Inc. This survey was an updated version of a 1983 report entitled "Historical Survey of Downtown Tucson, AZ" by Property Development Resources whose purpose was to identify historic resources that could be considered eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. These two surveys defined Downtown Tucson into two survey areas, east and west, saddling the urban renewal project area of 1968 and now defined as the governmental complex. The east survey area is defined generally by the railroad tracks on the east, Armory Park (12<sup>th</sup> Street) on the south, Church Avenue on the west and Sixth Street on the north; the west survey area was defined as a narrow strip between Granada Avenue on the east and Interstate 10 on the west along either side of Congress.

As the status of many of the properties had changed between the two surveys, the updated report included revised State Historic Inventory Forms for all the properties, photo documentation and an inventory map. The 1983 survey identified 41 potentially eligible structures and the 1991 survey identified 35 potentially eligible structures; the difference accounted for by the demolition or loss of integrity of properties. Since the 1991 report, 11 of the 35 eligible structures were placed on the National Register as part of the Warehouse District MRA, 10 eligible structures were placed on the National Register as the result of an amended and enlarged Armory Park MRA, 2 eligible structures were independently placed on the National Register and 2 eligible structures were destroyed by fire. The remaining 10 eligible structures were then targeted for inclusion in this multiple property documentation form.

The City of Tucson contacted the Preservation Studies program at the University of Arizona's College of Architecture, Planning and Landscape Architecture to assist with the nomination in the context of a class project as part of the "Documentation and Interpretation of the Historic Built Environment" course. The City of Tucson received a grant to assist the nomination from which Janet Parkhurst, of Janet H. Strittmatter, Inc. was hired to act as project coordinator along with R. Brooks Jeffery, the course instructor. The class of six students representing a variety of disciplines reviewed the previous surveys and conducted a series of site visits to verify the integrity of the identified eligible structures and to determine if other structures were potentially eligible. This survey identified two additional structures that were not previously listed due to lack of integrity, but in one case have since had their facades renovated to reveal their original and historic character. Based on their individual skills, the students divided up into two teams: one to write the individual nominations and the other to write the context statements. Both teams reviewed primary and secondary sources of information, including photographs, Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, Assessors Records, personal collections, newspaper and manuscript files and conducted oral interviews. The context portion of the nomination was greatly assisted by the information presented in the unpublished manuscript, "Territorial Tucson" edited by Tom Saarinen and Lay Gibson in 1973, that was lent to us by Tom Saarinen. In addition, the unpublished text for the interpretive exhibit, "Everybody's Neighborhood: A History of Downtown Tucson" compiled by Jerry Kyle was invaluable for providing information on early business types. The team also wishes to acknowledge the assistance of the individual property owners as well as Don Durband, Jim Ayres, Christine Weiss and the patient staff at the Arizona Historical Society.

Although the team identified a number of downtown structures whose owners did not wish to participate or whose facades have been modernized but may be covering historic facades, it was decided to concentrate our time on rewarding the property owners who have retained their historic facades and architectural character by only including those whose integrity was visibly good. In anticipation of future façade removal projects and in one case (Wells Fargo

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Bank) when the building reaches the National Register age criteria, the context statements have been written broadly enough to allow future properties to be nominated as an amendment to this MPDF.

The properties included relate to one or both of the two identified contexts: one under Criterion A – “Planning and Development in Tucson, 1775-1935” and one under Criterion C – Architecture in Tucson, 1896-1935”. Each of the these contexts cover the time period affecting the nominated properties. In addition, property types are organized by function/building typology. Intergrity requirements follow the State Historic Preservation Office guidelines recognizing that each context and property type has unique distinguishing features.

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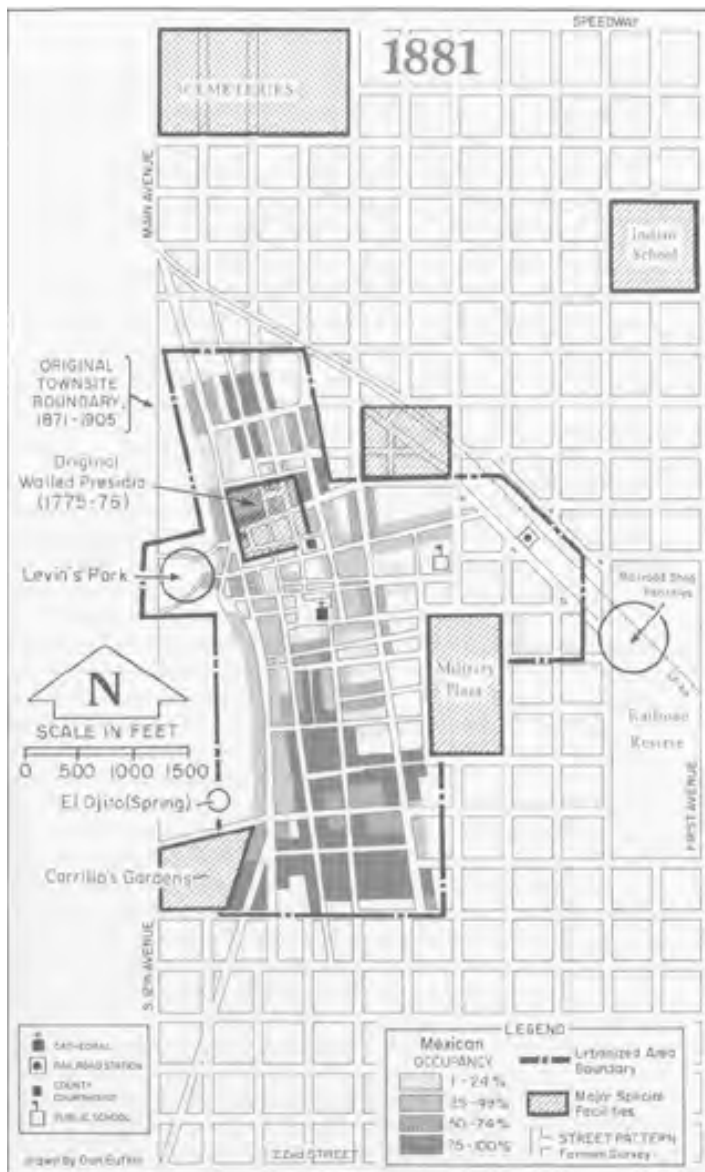
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Map 1 (preceding page). Fergusson Map of 1862. Modern street names have been added to facilitate comparisons with later maps. Numbers refer to the following photographs.

Map 1a. Mexican settlement in Tucson, 1881. (from Sheridan, Los Tucsonenses, p. 81)



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Photo 1-1. CBD at the Intersection of Main and Congress, 1874. (from Peterson, "Tour of Tucson", p. 183)



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Photo 1-2. CBD at the Intersection of Main and Congress, 1874. (from Peterson, "Tour of Tucson", p. 184)



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Photo 1-3. CBD at the Intersection of Main and Congress, 1874. (from Peterson, "Tour of Tucson", p. 185)





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Photo 1-4. Tucson Restaurant at the intersection of Meyer and Camp street, 1874 (exact location unclear), 1874. (from Peterson, "Tour of Tucson", p. 190)



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Photo 1-5. Congress Street Looking Toward the CBD from the West, 1874. (from Peterson, "Tour of Tucson", p. 189)



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Photo 1-6. East end of "The Wedge" Viewed From the West, 1874. (from Peterson, "Tour of Tucson", p. 188)



Photo 1-7. First Pima County Courthouse on North Court Street, 1874. (from Peterson, "Tour of Tucson", p. 193)



Photo 1-8. Home of Sam Hughes on Main North of Washington, 1874. (from Peterson, "Tour of Tucson", p. 195)

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Photo 1-9. The Cosmopolitan Hotel on the Northeast Corner of Main and Pennington, 1874. (from Peterson, "Tour of Tucson", p. 197)



Map 2 (preceding page). Sanborn Map of CBD 1886. Numbers refer to the location of preceding photographs. Arrows

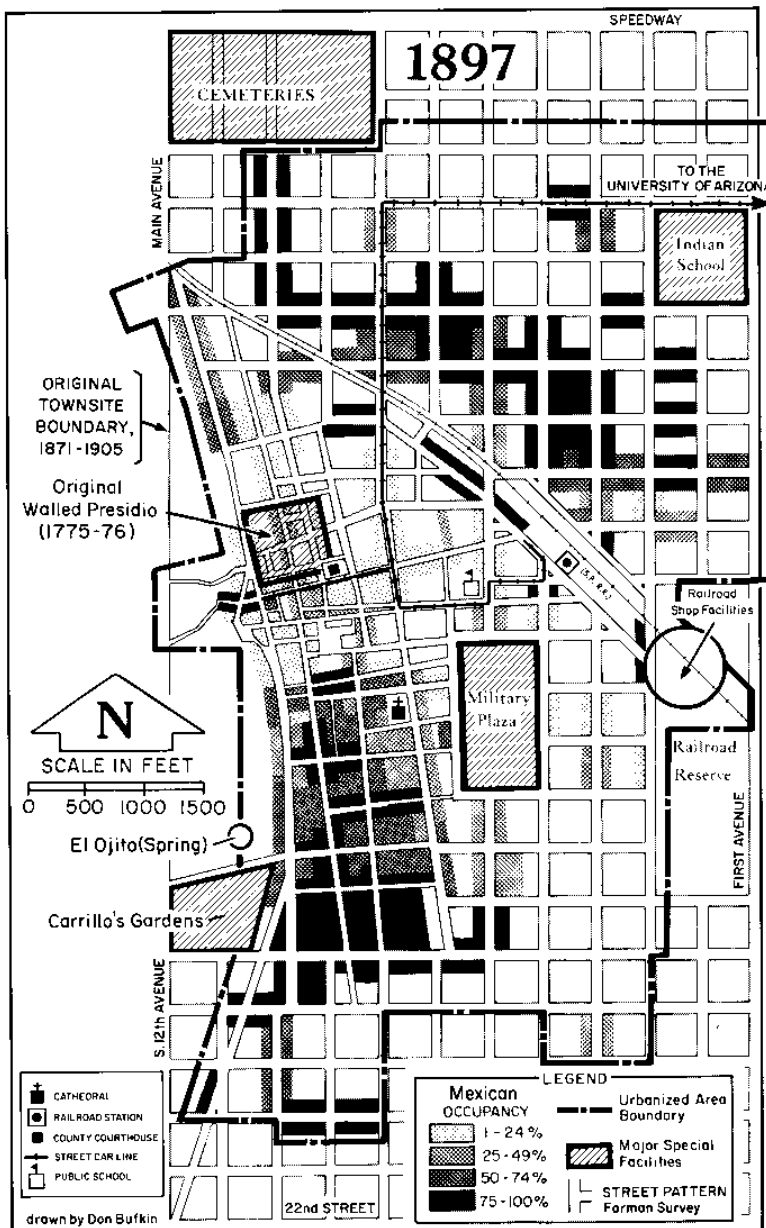
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indicate the direction of view.

Map 2a. Mexican settlement in Tucson, 1897. (from Sheridan, Los Tucsonenses, p. 123)



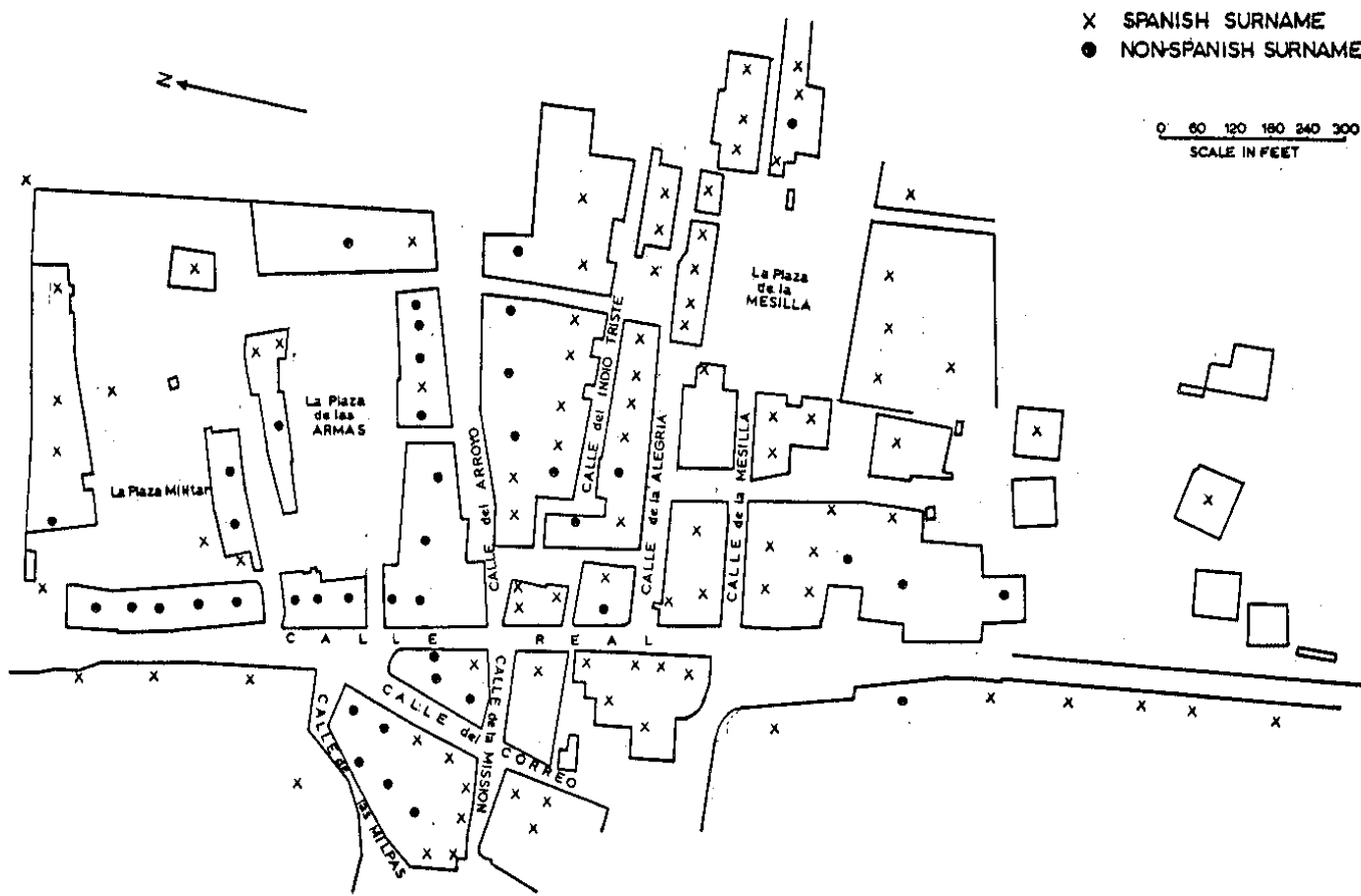
Map 2b. Distribution of Mexican and Anglo-American Residents, 1862. (Arizona Historical Society photograph collected

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MAP 2c: Roskrige Map of 1893. (courtesy of Arizona Historical Society)

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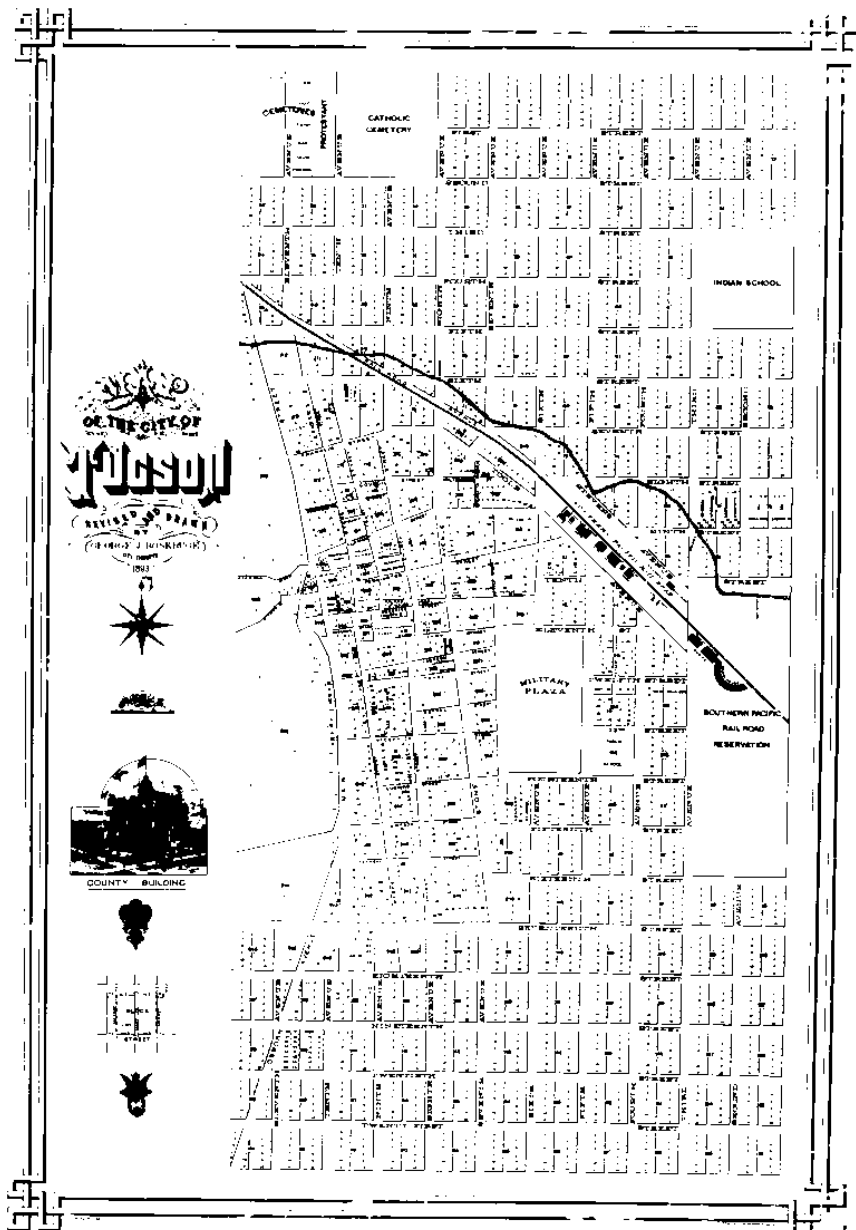


Photo 2-1. View of Pearl Street from the Palace Hotel, 1880. (Arizona Historical Society photograph collected for

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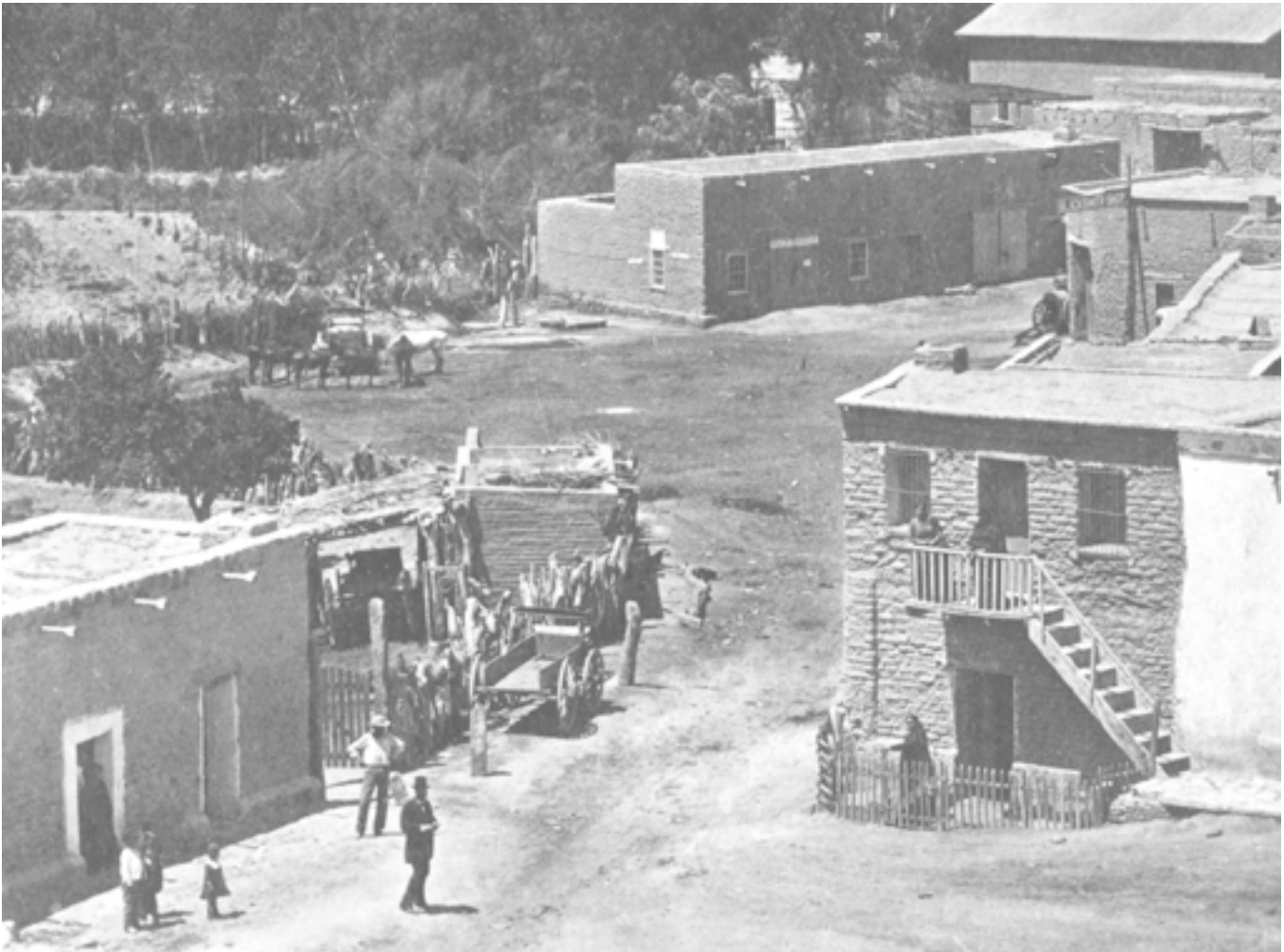


Photo 2-2. Looking North on South Main Street, c.1890. The Palace Hotel is visible at the end of the block. (Arizona



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Historical Society photograph collected for publication in Saarinen and Gibson, eds., Territorial Tucson [unpublished manuscript]



Photo 2-3. Looking North on South Meyer, exact location unknown, n.d. (Arizona Historical Society photograph collected

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Photo 2-4. View of the San Agustin Church and Plaza and looking up Camp Street from the Palace Hotel, c. 1880.

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(Arizona Historical Society photograph collected for publication in Saarinen and Gibson, eds., Territorial Tucson [unpublished manuscript])



Photo 2-5. View of Meyer Street looking toward Congress from the South, n.d. (Arizona Historical Society photograph)

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Photo 2-6. View of Congress Street looking West from between Church and Meyer, 1880. (Arizona Historical Society)

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photograph collected for publication in Saarinen and Gibson, eds., Territorial Tucson [unpublished manuscript])



Photo 2-7. View of "The Wedge" From the East, n.d. (Arizona Historical Society photograph collected for publication in

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Photo 2-8. View of "The Wedge" From the East After Removal of The First Block, n.d. (from Caywood, Hooves and Rails, p. 29)



Photo 2-9. View of West Congress from the East, n.d. The remaining wedge is visible in the distance. (Arizona Historical

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Society Photo Collection, Reynolds, A.S. – Tucson #1, f.55a)



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Map 3a. Mexican settlement in Tucson, 1920. (from Sheridan, Los Tucsonenses, p. 187)

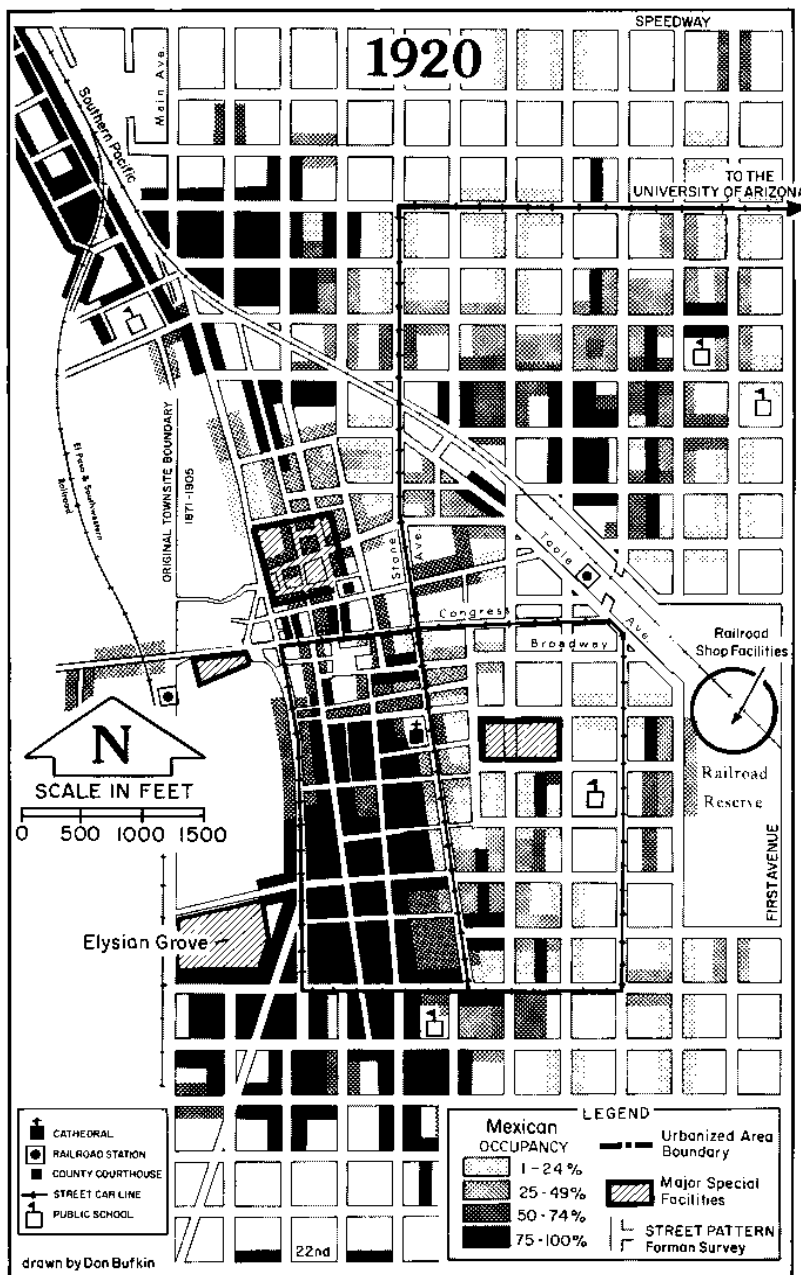


Photo 3-1. View of West Congress After Removal of The Wedge, n.d. (from Caywood, Hooves and Rails, p. 32)



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Photo 3-2. View of East Congress From Church, n.d. (University of Arizona Special Collections photograph collected for

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Photo 3-3. Intersection of Congress (right) and Stone, c. 1905. (Arizona Historical Society photograph collected for

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Photo 3-4. Intersection of Congress (right) and Scott, c. 1905. (Arizona Historical Society photograph collected for publication in Saarinen and Gibson, eds., Territorial Tucson [unpublished manuscript])



Photo 3-5. View of East Congress from the Intersection of Scott, c. 1914. (Arizona Historical Society photograph collected

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Photo 3-6. The Orndorff Hotel From Ott Street, n.d. (Arizona Historical Society photograph collected for publication in

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Photo 3-7. View of the intersection of Ott and Court Streets from Meyer, n.d. (Arizona Historical Society photograph collected for publication in Saarinen and Gibson, eds., Territorial Tucson [unpublished manuscript])



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Photo 3-8. Anglo post-railroad neighborhood developing to the Northeast of the CBD, n.d. (Arizona Historical Society photograph collected for publication in Saarinen and Gibson, eds., Territorial Tucson [unpublished manuscript])



Photo 3-9. Mexican neighborhood, Isla de Cuba, located generally East or Southeast of the CBD, n.d. (Arizona Historical

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Society photograph collected for publication in Saarinen and Gibson, eds., Territorial Tucson [unpublished manuscript])



Map 4 (preceding page). Sanborn Map of CBD 1949. Numbers refer to the location of preceding photographs. Arrows indicate the direction of view.



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Map 4a Mexican settlement in Tucson, 1940.. From Sheridan, Los Tucsonenses, p. 238.

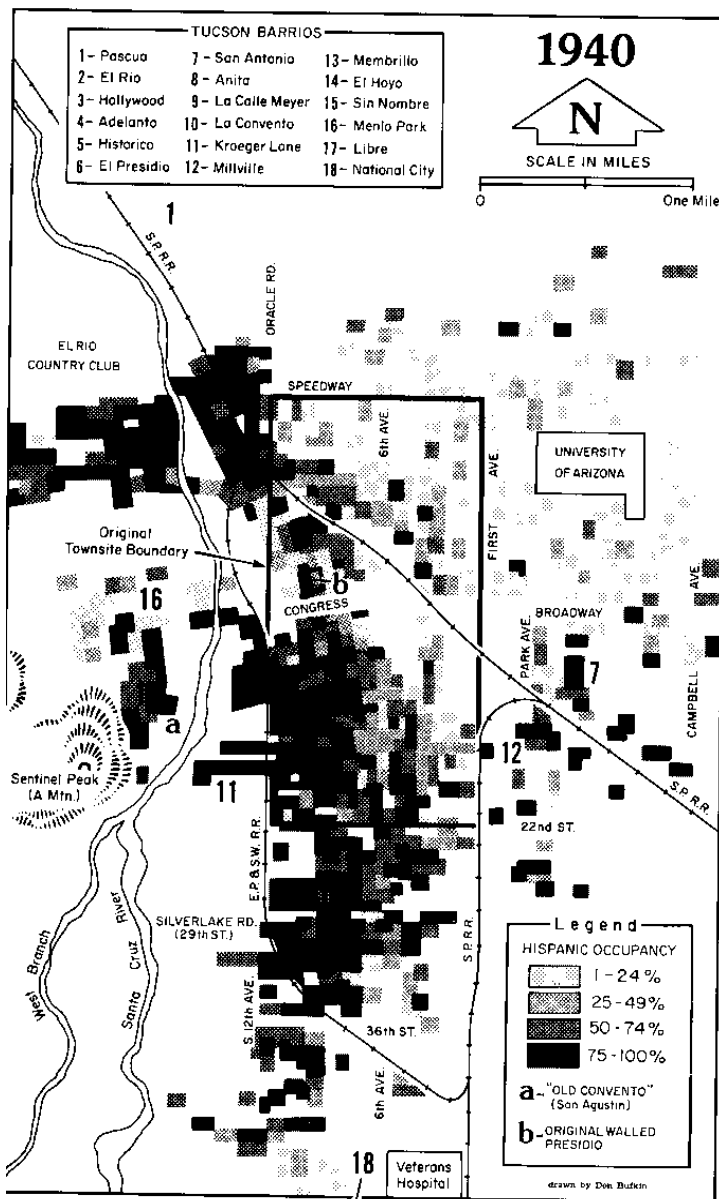


Photo 4-1. Steinfeld's Department Store at Stone and Pennington, n.d. (from Henry, Another Tucson, p. 123)

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Photo 4-2. Valley National Bank at Stone and Congress, n.d. (from Harte, Portrait of A Desert Pueblo, p. 109)

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Photo 4-3. View of Congress looking east from Stone Avenue, n.d. (from Arizona Historical Society, Photo Collection)

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Photo 4-4. View of Congress looking west from 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue, n.d. (from Arizona Historical Society, Photo Collection)

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Photo 4-5. View of 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue north from Congress, n.d. (from Arizona Historical Society, PC 177 F.20 1732)

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Photo 4-6. View of South Meyer during the filming of "The Gay Desperado" in 1940. (from Arizona Historical Society, Photo Collection)

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Aerial\_1955: Aerial 1955 of Central Business District from The O'Dowd (from Report on railroad relocation and track depression of the Southern Pacific Railroad, Tucson, Arizona. The O'Dowd Plan. Prepared for the Central District

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Committee. [1955], pp. 9-10.



Plan\_1965: The Pueblo Center Redevelopment Project, 1965. Plan shows original 360 acre urban renewal plan, then the 1965 plan (lightly shaded area) of 79 acres. Eventual renewal area was 52 acres. (from Logan, Fighting Sprawl and



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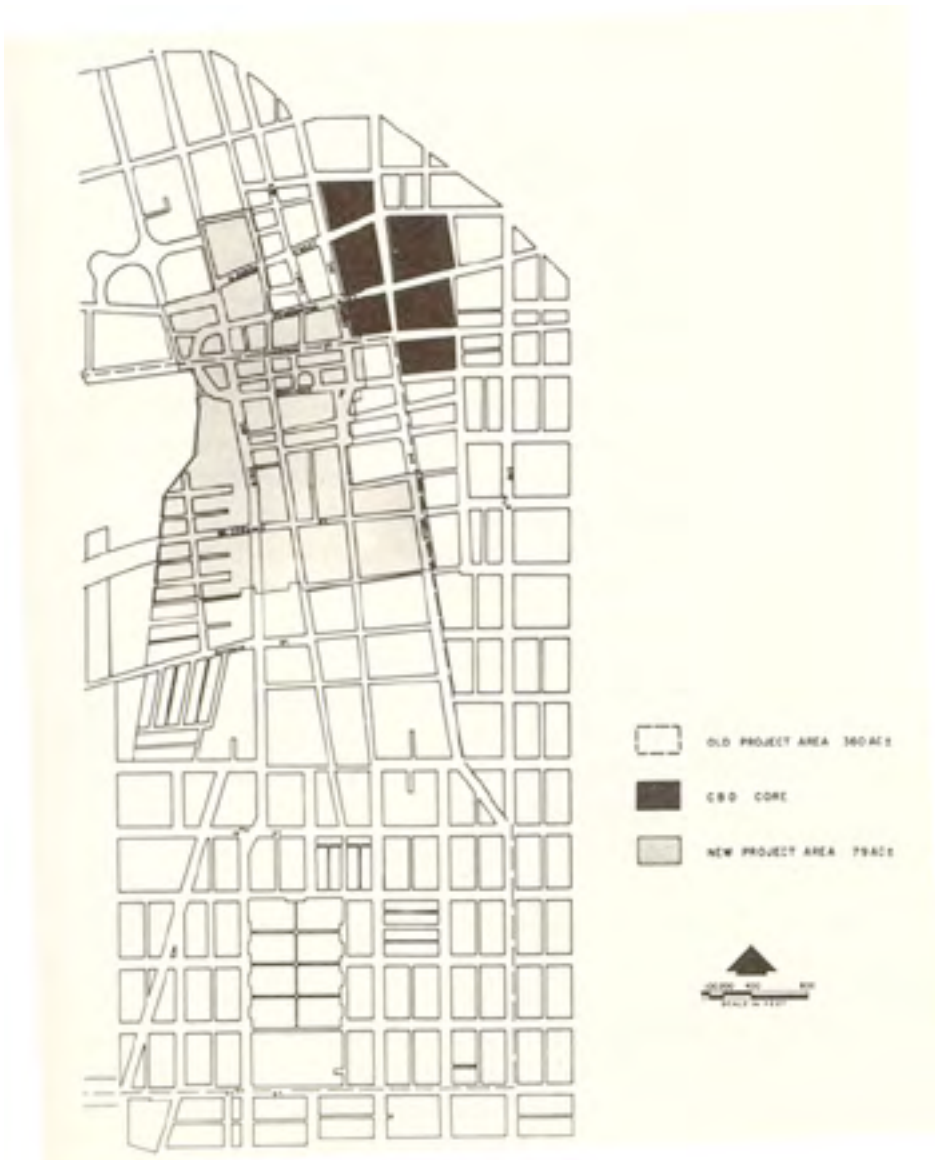
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City Hall, p. 67)



Aerial\_1970: Downtown during construction of the Tucson Community Center and other elements of urban renewal.  
(from Community Development Program, City of Tucson, Summary Report, p. 18)

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Plan\_1967: Pueblo Center Redevelopment Project Plan, 1967, produced by the City of Tucson, Department of Community Development, Urban Renewal Division. (from Pueblo Center Redevelopment, p. 4)

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