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Nat. Register of Historic Places
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information.

_____ New Submission ___X___ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

The Single Family Residential Architecture of Josias Th. Joesler and John and Helen Murphey in Tucson and Pima County, Arizona, 1927-1956

B. Associated Historic Contexts

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

Spanish and Southwestern Romantic Revivalist Architecture and the Development of a Regional Architectural Identity in the American Southwest, 1884-1940

The Evolution of the Architectural Character of Residential Buildings in Tucson, Arizona, 1848-1960

The Development Business of John and Helen Murphey in Tucson and Pima County, Arizona, 1920-1990

The Single Family Residential Architecture of Josias Th. Joesler in Tucson and Pima County, Arizona, 1927-1956

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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 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

James W. Garrison AZSHPO — Signature of certifying official

AZSHPO — Title

22 DECEMBER 2015 — Date

AZ STATE PARKS / SHPO — State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

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

2/16/16 — Date of Action

Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Create a Table of Contents and list the page number for each of these sections in the space below.

Provide narrative explanations for each of these sections on continuation sheets. In the header of each section, cite the letter, page number, and name of the multiple property listing. Refer to *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* for additional guidance.

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

(If more than one historic context is documented, present them in sequential order)

F. Associated Property Types

(Provide description, significance, and registration requirements)

See Continuation Sheet, Sect. F, p. 173

G. Geographical Data

See Continuation Sheet, Sect. G, p. 192

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

(Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing)

See Continuation Sheet, Sect. H, p. 193

I. Major Bibliographical References

(List major written works and primary location of additional documentation: State Historic Preservation Office, other State agency, Federal agency, local government, university, or other specifying repository.)

See Continuation Sheet, Sect. I, p. 196

SECTION E: STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS

I. Introduction

A. Statement of Purpose

This National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) describes and evaluates the collaborative work of architect Josias Thomas Joesler and John and Helen Murphey, a husband and wife commercial and residential development team. Between 1927 and 1956, this team of dreamers, designers, and builders constructed over 400 properties, residential and commercial, mostly within and around the City of Tucson, Arizona. With the perspective of over half-a-century of subsequent development of Tucson, the surviving products of the Joesler-Murphey collaboration are increasingly recognized as notable and distinctive contributions to Tucson's built environment. Past losses have inspired members of the Tucson community to inventory and evaluate the remaining examples from the Joesler-Murphey oeuvre. This MPDF is a tool for preservationists to determine what remaining Joesler-Murphey properties may meet the National Register's criteria of eligibility.

While the Joesler-Murphey collaboration created commercial, institutional, and religious buildings, most of their work was residential. Due to the limited resources behind this effort to identify and evaluate the Joesler-Murphey works of Tucson, it has not yet been possible to comprehensively study the complete body of their work. This document focuses on one category of Joesler-Murphey properties, single-family detached residences, which were the most abundant products of their collaboration. The format of this document allows for additional contextual analyses of other property types to be added as future resources allow.

The Joesler-Murphey body of work makes an important contribution to the community's architectural character. As the contexts below describe, the Joesler-Murphey design/construction team participated in an important architectural movement of the early-to-mid-twentieth century seeking to create a regional imagery grounded in a historical and romantic vision of local culture. This vision, called Southwestern Romanticism[1], synthesized the region's historic links to Spanish colonial and Mexican settlement from previous centuries, its relatively mild climate, and modern building methods and materials into a housing product marketed as a healthful and prosperous Southwestern way of living. John and Helen Murphey believed Southwestern Romanticism suited Tucson as a matter of history and as a means to create a lifestyle combining appreciation of the region's landscape with an indoor-outdoor mode of living reflected and enhanced by careful site selection and skillful design. Josias Joesler was a skilled architect with a broad knowledge of historical design. His blend of historical, mainly Spanish/Mexican themes with Helen Murphey's arts and crafts artifacts from Mexico and modern American assumptions about proper house design materialized the Murpheys' romantic vision into a commercially successful product.

[1] This document applies architectural historian Arthur C. Weatherhead's definition of Romanticism in architecture as "based on the doctrine of the importance of the individual and his freedom of expression rather than upon the rule of authority in design. It was analytical in point of view and deemphasized that which tended to produce sensual delight. The source of its strength was in literature and a new appreciation of picturesque natural landscape. Fostered by archaeology Romanticism embodied a sentimental reverence for the remote and the old and this emotional attitude toward the past tended to emphasize in each country that which was held to be the special national heritage in architecture." [Arthur Clason Weatherhead, "The History of Collegiate Education in Architecture in the United States" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1941), 9].

B. Outline and Organization of Associated Context Statements

The major premise underlying the following historic contexts is, briefly, that the Joesler-Murphey design collaboration represents the local manifestation of an important regional architectural trend affecting building during the first half of the twentieth century. A second premise is that this trend—identified as Southwestern Romanticism—had particular importance to Tucson where history and demography linked its Hispanic past and its perceived Anglo-American future. This significant ethno-historical collision, already being revealed in contemporary California, was an acquired taste among mostly Anglo-American newcomers rather than a cultural revitalization among descendants of Hispanic settlers. The Joesler-Murphey team designed and built for a client base that was white and relatively affluent, yet desirous of adopting modes of living then believed appropriate for the desert-foothills setting in which they built. That mode was historical in imagery yet modern in its material means of living. The Joesler-Murphey product also diverged in point of community organization. While historic Hispanic buildings of the pre-American period clustered around the old *presidio* (fort), John Murphey's commercial housing product was located in residential subdivisions on the expanding urban edge or located in the distant, scenic foothills of the Santa Catalina Mountains, supported by the infrastructure of road and automobile.

Four associated context statements inform our understanding of the Joesler-Murphey collaboration. The first two are not specific to these individuals, but rather establish the regional and local contexts in which they designed and built. The presentation of these two contexts—approximately one-half this document—is both broadly conceived and detailed. The purpose of this level of detail is to create contexts broad enough in scope to be applicable for later usage for the evaluation of other Tucson designers and builders in the same period. Contexts about other important designers and builders may be added to the larger contexts at a later time, like modules added to a basic framework.

The first associated context statement: Spanish and Southwestern Romantic Revivalist Architecture and the Development of a Regional Architectural Identity in the American Southwest, 1884-1940, summarizes the history of architecture in the American Southwest related to a rising interest among late nineteenth and early twentieth century Anglo-American immigrants in the region's Spanish colonial past. This interest, called "Romanticism," was a faddish idealization of a dreamlike Spanish past of languid days of ease, endless fandangos, beautiful señoritas in colorful dresses, and peaceful Indians tending to the fields while accumulating the attributes of higher civilization. The movement contributed to the preservation of the Southwestern states' authentic surviving Spanish colonial-era missions and the adoption of Mission Revival as a signature regional style applied to public, commercial, and even residential buildings. Josias Joesler designed two Episcopal churches in Tucson in a Spanish Colonial-Mission Revival eclectic style.

The second associated historic context, *The Evolution of the Architectural Character of Residential Buildings in Tucson, Arizona, 1848-1960*, focuses on the broad pattern of Tucson's architectural history, linking important points from the regional context to the specific development of Tucson as it grew from a Spanish missionary and military outpost into an American railroad town and eventually into a major city. Boosters and builders of the sort exemplified by John Murphey reshaped Tucson's image under the influence of the regional, national, and even international trends in architectural development. This local context suggests four periods in the city's architectural history each of which left indelible impressions on

its residential built environment. These were a pre-railroad era of Spanish colonial/Mexican/early American settlement, a post-railroad period of importation of Eastern design motifs and construction materials, a romantic era of Period Revival style seeking a unique local imagery, and, finally, the modern period when international architectural movements began to influence the built environment.

The Development Business of John and Helen Murphey in Tucson and Pima County, Arizona, 1920-1990, begins with biographical information on the Murpheys, describing John's work as a businessman and developer and Helen's work as an artist and business partner. The narrative describes their building work and the geographic pattern of their business, including in-town subdivision projects and out-of-town custom building in the foothills area. Special attention is given to defining the Murphey's design vision and how it led to their acquaintance with Joesler. This narrative also briefly considers the continuation of the Murphey's vision after Joesler's death, and later John's death, as the Murpheys (eventually Helen alone) worked with architects like Juan Wørner Baz to build new examples of Southwestern Romanticism.

The format of this MPDF, from general historic context to specific consideration of related properties culminates in the final associated context statement, *The Single Family Residential Architecture of Josias Th. Joesler in Tucson and Pima County, Arizona, 1927-1956*. This context includes Joesler's biography and an overview of his career as an architect. The narrative emphasizes Joesler's European architectural and artistic education, and his extensive travels. Joesler's work consistently conveyed his training in the German technical and French Beaux Arts traditions, his expertise in historical precedents, and his artistic sensibilities. From his initial work with the Murpheys and throughout his career, Joesler created buildings of high artistic value expressive of the Period Revival era. Thus the context defines the distinctive characteristics of Joesler's works, focusing in particular on the output of the Joesler-Murphey collaboration. The potentially National Register qualifying character-defining features of a Joesler-Murphey house are identified and used as the basis for evaluation in Section F.

II. ASSOCIATED CONTEXT: Spanish and Southwestern Romantic Revivalist Architecture and the Development of a Regional Architectural Identity in the American Southwest, 1884-1940

A. Historic Trends in the Architecture of American Houses, 1840-1940

A few essential ideas concerning the history of residential architecture in the United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries should be noted in order to appreciate the regional patterns occurring in the Southwest, and then specific architectural trends identifiable in Arizona and Tucson, in particular. This document's primary focus is the development of housing styles or the images visually conveyed by their forms. This document provides an understanding of the history of Spanish Colonial Revival and related styles, which became popular in the Southwest in the early 20th century and continue to influence present building forms. This section identifies the broad pattern of stylistic evolution in American housing so the more detailed description of Spanish Colonial Revival following can be understood in context. Secondary topics include the arrangement of interior spaces and relationships between interior and exterior. Furnishings, decorations, and the settings homes were built in are relevant concerns, though not central to the primary focus. While the topic here centers on single-family detached houses, the discussion of styles will occasionally mention other building types to describe their influence on the larger built environment.

Spanish Colonial Revival and related styles such as Mission Revival and Mediterranean-oriented revivals, Italianate and Italian Renaissance, as well as Moorish-influenced decorative features, are building forms that arose in popularity beginning in the 1880s. These forms remained vital influences on residential architecture until the Great Depression and the Second World War effectively put an end to the romantic historicist mode of architectural expression. Thereafter, modernist ideals competed with commercial tract housing to define the character of American residential subdivisions, which multiplied by the thousands during post-1945 periods of prosperity. Spanish Colonial Revival became and remains most popular in the states—California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Florida—historically connected to historic Spanish colonial exploration and settlement. This document, however, aims toward a deeper understanding of how the style influenced the broad pattern of residential architectural in Tucson, Arizona, to be covered in detail in the related context, *The Evolution of the Architectural Character of Residential Buildings in Tucson, Arizona, 1848-1960.*

In this context narrative presenting a regional perspective, it is necessary to examine the California experience, where the style arose and achieved its most notable expressions. An examination of the history of, first, Mission Revival and then Spanish Colonial Revival, identifies the styles' distinguishing and characteristic features. It also relates how historians have interpreted the cultural meaning underlying their popularity. A brief review of the style's development in Santa Fe, New Mexico is worthwhile to appreciate how local history could influence peculiar expressions of the style important to the study of Tucson later.

Mission Revival style architecture emerged in California in the late 1880s and 1890s as a manifestation of "culture defining romance," as historian Kevin Starr described the emotional imperative of the Mission myth described below. This was a regional expression of the romantic nostalgia characteristic

of domestic architecture throughout the Victorian Age.[2] Victorian architecture, especially early Victorian, was deeply historicist in its orientation, meaning it looked to the past for suitable models of appropriate design, yet without much concern for strict historical accuracy. Victorian architecture is called romantic because it idealized models from the past, yet drew upon them piecemeal as the individual designer or builder desired. A well-designed Victorian house was picturesque and conveyed a sentimental attachment to the past. Throughout the nineteenth century a series of revivals occurred—Greek Revival, Gothic Revival, Colonial Revival—making no attempt at purity of form. Instead, historical models from, for instance Italy, were borrowed from to create new styles, such as Italianate and Italian Renaissance. Later Victorian styles, such as Stick, Queen Anne and Shingle, freely adapted medieval forms to create what were the first versions of production housing.[3]

Innovations in building technology were the key to the flowering of stylistic variations over the course of the Victorian Era. Preindustrial building techniques relied on labor-intensive construction, including handcrafted building materials. While this could result in impressive displays of handicraft and would serve as models for the later Arts and Crafts movement, it was hardly suitable for systematic construction of houses in large numbers. Industrialization laid the groundwork for a mass market housing industry by introducing manufactured materials such as dimensioned lumber, wire nails, glass and hardware, and, later in the century, electrical wiring and improved plumbing. New materials spurred innovations in construction methods such as balloon framing. Inventions like the elevator removed the barrier of stairs to the height of buildings. Each improvement allowed builders greater freedom with ever more intricate or fanciful facades. Machine tools made possible the spindle work and gingerbread wood detailing characteristic of Victorian architecture. Style no longer expressed the method of construction or even necessarily the true character of the materials. This freedom allowed architecture to convey the era's romantic urges as the culture adjusted to the imperatives of modernization.

Improvements in publishing and transportation during the late nineteenth century facilitated an architectural transformation from naïve historicism to greater concern for historical accuracy. Steamship lines made travel faster and less costly so American architects could experience the Grand Tour tradition enjoyed by European designers. The more fortunate American students received travel grants to help them make the journey. Exposed to the monuments and ruins of Europe, American architects returned with a greater appreciation of the genuine artifacts of ancient, medieval and modern European building styles and traditions. At the same time, industrial prosperity was raising a larger body of potential clients, many of who were at least equally familiar with the famous buildings of Europe, and who also acquired distinctive tastes and preferences they communicated to their architects. Wealthy men of the Gilded Age sometimes directed their architects to create mansions in the form of castles or grandiose English cottages. Many clients enjoyed collecting artifacts, such as historic fireplace settings, doors, and furniture, which their architects integrated into their plans. Architects also enjoyed an increasing number of architectural guides and picture books with improved photographic reproduction.

[2] The British Empire exerted a dominating influence on world politics, economics, and culture between the fall of Napoleon (1815) and the advent of the First World War (1914). The term "Victorian Era" is often applied flexibly, and is so used in this document, beyond Queen Victoria's long reign, 1837-1901, to encompass the time roughly between 1840 and 1914. Similarly, "Victorian" architecture will be used as a term of convenience to refer collectively to the several styles popular during these years.

[3] Virginia McAlester and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), 177, 239, 256, 268.

Familiarity with European models expanded the palette of available architectural styles and decoration. While a particular detail might exactly duplicate a historic European example, American architects rarely recreated pure historic forms. Instead, they applied a mixture of details in an eclectic manner, sometimes drawing from different cultural sources to create a general feeling of foreign exoticism in an otherwise modern house. In the Northeast and the Midwest, for example, many architects designed in Tudor Revival, a term inclusive of a wide palette of design options drawn from medieval prototypes ranging from thatched roofed cottages to aristocratic manor homes. Other European-derived eclectic styles included Neo-Classical Revival, a form using more accurate historical precedents than the earlier American Classical Revival or Federalist styles of the eighteenth and early nineteen centuries. The Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago popularized the Neo-Classical Revival, although its influence was greater on larger-scale institutional buildings and site planning than on residential design. In addition to Tudor Revival, Americans also drew from French, Italian, Swiss, and other western European cultures to create the Chateauesque, Italian Renaissance, and French Eclectic styles.[4]

The Centennial Exposition of 1876 in Philadelphia is credited with promoting interest in the history of American building. Architects looked with greater appreciation on the surviving examples of colonial homes built in the Georgian and Adam styles popular in the eighteenth century. Drawing from these as well as colonial models in the Dutch mode provided another stylistic palette of design elements which architects could combine eclectically to create a modern house, with indoor plumbing and electrical wiring, while harkening back in ambiance to an earlier, simpler time in the American experience. The Colonial Revival style was popular from coast to coast, remaining stylish well into the twentieth century. Colonial Revival reflected the architectural heritage of the New England and Mid-Atlantic colonies. Many examples were constructed in California as an expression of longing by immigrants to retain something of the feel of the region they left behind. But California was different in both climate and history. Over time, styles based on English or New England models were perceived as imperfectly translated in their new warm and sun-drenched setting.[5]

B. Beaux Arts Architectural Theory and Education

Eclectic revivalism was an aesthetic compatible with the design philosophy taught at the French *École des Beaux-Arts* (School of Fine Arts) in Paris, which exerted a major influence on architectural theory and education in America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While the term Beaux Arts is often used specifically as a style name for a Neo-Classicism based on Roman, Italian Renaissance, and Baroque models, as best exemplified by the major exhibition buildings at the Columbian Exposition, the École taught a more broadly based design theory respective of the past for its models of stylistic variation. Mission Revival and later Spanish Colonial Revival developed in the Southwest, especially California, under the guidance of architects trained either at the École or at one of the new schools of architecture, such as Harvard, who tried to replicate the École's framework of ideas.[6]

[4] McAlester, *Field Guide to American Houses*, 319.
[5] McAlester, *Field Guide to American Houses*, 324.
[6] Founding director of Harvard's architectural program was Herbert Lanford Warren. While Beaux-Arts architecture gave priority to classical forms, Warren taught a wider perspective of architectural history including appreciation of medieval European forms. The architectural program at Harvard

The École originated from seventeenth-century royal patronage and the desire to enhance the image of the French state through construction of appropriately monumental buildings. The school instituted a *Grand Prix de Rome* to support further study of ancient ruins and Renaissance buildings. This emphasis on Roman architecture established a classically based stylistic vocabulary defining Beaux Arts as a style, but it was the school's teaching method rather than style that exerted the largest influence on American architects. No American architectural school precisely duplicated the École's methods, but they largely translated its guiding principles. Elements of the École's curriculum and how they influenced American architectural schools included:[7]

- Rigid entrance examinations. The École accepted only a limited number of top students with a proficiency in drawing, modeling, mathematics, geometry, and history. More democratically oriented American universities were less restrictive.
- Instructors as practitioners. Teachers were expected to be among the leading architects.
- Division of students into *ateliers*, or workshops. Students freely engaged in criticism and support. The model of older students serving as mentors occurred less successfully in American schools.
- Individual instruction. Apart from a few relatively negligible lecture courses, instruction was individualized between teacher and student.
- Individual competition and incentive through prizes. A limited number of prizes, such as travel scholarships, provide incentive and spurred competition.
- Emphasis on design. Aesthetic judgment of design given priority over mathematics, science, construction, the history of architecture, or drawing.
- Design project in isolation. Students at the École were given design problems to solve, which might ignore questions such as siting as well as material and utilitarian details. The point was to develop a sound plan, from which would follow an attractive composition.
- The theory of the *esquisse*. The esquisse is a preliminary sketch with which a student devises a solution to the assigned project. Final designs were required to follow through on the ideas of the esquisse in order to encourage proper analysis from the beginning. The quick student should be able to analyze a given situation's general requirements and formulate an appropriate *parti*, the basic scheme or concept of the design. The objective was a systematic approach to design applicable to any architectural problem.
- Rendering. While the École encouraged elaborate rendering of final designs, many American architects criticized this as impractical.
- Judgment. Evaluations of student work were by the judgment of juries of disinterested architects.
- Educational philosophy. The École taught design, leaving many utilitarian aspects of construction for later professional experience. The attention of students was on monumental works of architecture. And while the school's methods were considered scientific and its aesthetics classical, formal and unsentimental, Americans would find its methods compatible with revivalist romanticism.

has been characterized as focused on design as high art, as opposed to the pragmatic industrial arts focus taught at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology [Margaret Henderson Floyd, *Architectural Education and Boston*, (Boston: Boston Architectural Center, 1989), 38].

[7] Weatherhead, "Collegiate Education in Architecture," 17-20.

Prior to the Civil War, only two American architects studied at the École, Richard Morris Hunt (1827-1895) and Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-1886), both of whom enormously influenced American architecture in the second half of the century. They were followed by a generation of aspiring architects. In fact, Americans constituted the largest body of the school's foreign students. Charles F. McKim (1847-1909), later partner in one of the most important *fin de siècle* American architectural firms, trained there and his firm, McKim, Mead and White of New York itself served as a secondary school for Beaux Arts training, many of whose employees formed important practices across the country, spreading the Beaux Arts ideals. Arthur Page Brown (1859-1896), who had worked at McKim, Mead and White, brought the Beaux Arts to the West Coast, designing many of pre-earthquake San Francisco important buildings, including the Ferry Building. Arthur Brown, Jr. (1874-1957), who designed many of San Francisco's post-earthquake landmarks, such as city hall, actually attended the École and carried its theories well into the twentieth century. The first woman to study at the École was Julia Morgan, designer of several notable California buildings in the romantic Spanish mode, most notably at William Randolph Hearst's San Simeon estate (Hearst Castle).[8]

Richard M. Hunt opened an atelier in New York in 1857, training a few student architects in the methods of the École, one of whom was William R. Ware, who in 1868 became the founding director of the first American school of architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, its first instructor the Beaux-Arts-trained Eugene Létang. The phenomenal popularity of Chicago's Columbian Exposition reinforced both the classical tradition and the prestige of the École. Within a few years virtually every university architecture program was modeled after the École's curriculum and most employed Beaux-Arts-trained Frenchmen like Paul Cret at the University of Pennsylvania. The peak of Beaux-Arts enthusiasm in the United States saw to the formation of the Beaux-Arts Institute of Design, an attempt to create a national design school based on the École's model. Yet even as the institute was promoting the Beaux-Arts tradition, modern architectural trends began to appear which, in a few years, would relegate the Beaux-Arts to history.[9]

While Beaux-Arts buildings appeared historical in their classicism and frequent use of heavy materials like stone, the movement was open to improving technology, steel-frame construction, for instance. Beaux-Arts principles embraced a procedure for design and a method for composition over adherence to a single style. These principles promulgated a specific philosophy regarding unity, proportion, rhythm, and scale. Symmetry and balance were cardinal ideals. Students of the Beaux-Arts began by analyzing a given situation and used preliminary sketches to work out solutions.[10]

Characteristics of Beaux-Arts design:

- Flat roof
- Rusticated and raised first floor
- Hierarchy of spaces, from "noble spaces"—grand entrances and staircases—to utilitarian ones

[8] Weatherhead, "Collegiate Education in Architecture," 24, 75; Elizabeth Jean McMillian, *California Colonial: The Spanish and Rancho Revival Styles*, (Atglen, Pennsylvania: Schiffer Publishing Ltd., 2002), 31.
[9] Weatherhead, "Collegiate Education in Architecture," 24-29, 79.
[10] Gebhard, *George Washington Smith*, 34.

- Arched windows
- Arched and pedimented doors
- Classical details: references to a synthesis of historicist styles and a tendency to eclecticism
- Symmetry
- Statuary, sculpture (bas-relief panels, figural sculptures, sculptural groups), murals, mosaics, and other artwork, all coordinated in theme to assert the identify of the building
- Classical architectural details: balustrades, pilasters, garlands, cartouches, acroteria, with a prominent display of richly detailed clasps (*agrafes*), brackets and supporting consoles
- Subtle polychromy (use of a variety of colors)

In addition to guiding the design of individual buildings, Beaux-Arts theory extended to larger-scale city planning as well. In the United States, the City Beautiful movement reflected Beaux-Arts ideals in its attention to symmetry, order, monumentality, and classical dignity.

The École des Beaux-Arts ceased to exist as a school of architecture in 1968. Seven years later, in response to perceived failures of the Modern movement, the Museum of Modern Art in New York mounted a retrospective showing of a number of beautiful renderings illustrative of Beaux-Arts practice. Arthur Drexler, the exhibition's director, offered this perspective of the two movements: "Although the modern movement succeeded in creating individual masterpieces, it has failed disastrously in urban planning. In this area Beaux Arts principles functioned most effectively by sustaining the character of the urban environment while simultaneously handling the design of individual buildings at any scale." While the MOMA's Beaux-Arts show raised fears of an incipient movement towards a revived historicism, Robert A.M. Stern, now Dean of the Yale School of Architecture, believed it was time to move beyond old philosophical debates and to look to both movements for lessons to apply towards a new "post-modernism." "The nineteenth century," Stern wrote, "believed in an architecture which did not concern itself merely with a functional, constructional, spatial fit. It struggled toward semantic articulateness. To the Vitruvian triad it added a fourth goal—appropriateness—and it is in the continuous struggle to make forms which are meaningful in a broad cultural context that the architecture of the nineteenth century offers great lessons for today."[11]

C. California and Spanish Romanticism

1. American Acquisition and Settlement

Between 1845 and 1854, the United States acquired through annexation, conquest and purchase, Mexico's northern provinces, a broad expanse of territory from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean now comprising the states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Colorado, Utah, and California. Americans had already entered the region and were exerting a culturally transforming influence. In Texas ambitious American settlers and *Tejanos* unsatisfied with governance from Mexico, itself only independent of Spain a mere fifteen years, accomplished a revolutionary separation. Mountainmen seeking beaver pelts infiltrated the region as did New England shippers

[11] "Ecole Des Beaux Arts," Press Release No. 34, Museum of Modern Art, April 30, 1975; Robert Stern, in "Forum: The Beaux-Arts Exhibition," ed. William Ellis, *Oppositions* 8 (Spring 1977), reprinted in *Architecture: Theory Since 1968*, ed. K. Michael Hays (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1998), 231.

who journeyed to the California Coast to purchase cattle hides, as described most famously in Richard Henry Dana, Jr.'s *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840). During the Mexican-American War (1846-1848), American military forces crossed through northern Mexico seizing the major settlements at Santa Fe, Tucson, and San Diego.

American settlement of its new Southwest might have progressed slowly had not the fortuitous discovery of gold along Northern California's American River ignited a rush of fortune seekers to venture the hazardous journey. By the tens of thousands Americans followed the gold-bearing streams to the Mother Lode in the Sierra Mountains and spread eastward to the future states of Nevada and Arizona. San Francisco was entrepôt for the Gold Rush, transformed virtually overnight from an isolated Spanish/Mexican village into a bustling international city. The Gold Rush, largely a northern Californian phenomenon, supported the state's early growth and development. Congress responded to this explosive growth by granting California statehood in 1850, establishing a formal political structure. Elements of Spanish/Mexican culture survived in towns like Monterey, one-time capital of Spanish California, but were overwhelmed elsewhere, as were the remnants of Native American cultures. To the gold seekers, California was now American territory and Mexicans and others who attempted to share in the state's newly found riches quickly found themselves driven from the gold fields. Southern California lacked the draw of mineral wealth and its pace of American settlement progressed more slowly.

Spanish settlement in California was based upon on four institutions: the mission, the *presidio*, the *rancho*, and the *pueblo*. The missionaries, initially Jesuit and later Franciscan, had introduced Catholicism and Spanish/Mexican culture into what is now the American Southwest. *Mission San Diego de Alcalá*, the first in California, and *Mission Santa Barbara* would give their names to two cities. The presidio was a military fort and garrison placed to protect the missions and subjugate local natives. *El Presidio Real de San Francisco* would give its name to America's first city on the Pacific Coast. To encourage settlement, Spain and later Mexico issued land grants to former soldiers who raised hardy *criollo* cattle for meat, hides, and tallow. These ranchos encompassed thousands of acres and would, a century later remain in memory as place names for segments of metropolitan Los Angeles, such as *Topanga Malibu Sequite* and *Los Palos Verdes*. Another institution of settlement was the *pueblo*, a village based on the ancient Spanish Law of the Indies, which had guided Spain's colonial settlement throughout the Americas. The community of *El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Ángeles del Río de Porciúncula*, founded in 1881 near the *Mission San Gabriel Arcángel*, capital of Mexican California at the time of the conquest, became the City of Los Angeles.

By the time of the American conquest of California, the institution of the mission had already disappeared. Between 1834 and 1836, the Mexican government "secularized" the missions, converting them to regular parish churches and repossessed their expansive land holdings. While historians have justly criticized the oppression and exploitation of Native Americans by the mission system, secularization only made their situation more precarious. Lacking the institutional protection of the *padres*, the Native American tribes, still to this day referred to as Mission Indians, endured more difficult circumstances in the face of rapacious American demand for land. The treatment of and conditions for Native Americans in California mirrored those in other parts of the American

frontier. Native Americans were granted few legal rights, a situation that author Helen Hunt Jackson used as inspiration for her fictional account of the twilight days of the mission era, *Ramona* (1884).

For the two decades prior to 1848, the culture of Mexican California was dominated by the rancho. Dana was especially important in preserving an idealized romantic historical memory of the rancho era. The rancho myth portrayed the *Californios*—the land-owning class—as a unique cultural phenomenon. American observers like Dana idealized these *rancheros* as incomparable horsemen and wise, if not well educated. They were generous to a fault and hospitable to any and all who came their way. Life on the rancho was easy as the hardy cattle multiplied on the rich grasslands, valuable for their hides more than for anything else. Warm, sunny days might have instilled languor were it not for the fiestas and fandangos that filled life with joy and sociability. But the myth did not help the actual Californios faced with trying to preserve a way of life in the face of American rapaciousness. An 1851 land law placed the burden of proving the legitimacy of old land grants on the claimants, a difficult position given the lack of documentation kept by Spanish and Mexican authorities regarding grants. During the ensuing years, legal problems, debts, and taxes contributed to the wholesale transferal of these lands into white American's hands.

During the 1850s through 1860s, Southern California—where our attention will be focused—was a typical frontier zone. The American population was predominately male and relatively young. Violence was endemic and law enforcement rudimentary. Lynching and unpunished murders were frequent occurrences. Victims were disproportionately *Mexicanos*, the landless Mexican-Americans and Native Americans, as well as early Chinese immigrants. At the same time, this frontier was wide open to entrepreneurship at a grand scale as exemplified by Phineas Banning (1830-1885), a freighter who founded the town of Wilmington, which became the port of Los Angeles. Banning built up a large shipping and stagecoach business connecting Yuma, Arizona by land to the coast. The City of Banning is named in his honor.[12]

The arrival of railroad and shipping connections with the rest of the country initiated a period of explosive growth in Southern California, especially after 1885 when the Santa Fe Railroad entered Los Angeles, sparking an intense rate war and dramatically increasing the pace of development. Culturally, the railroad facilitated in Southern California what the Gold Rush had done in the north, that is, the virtual submersion of the Mexican-American population into a largely white, Anglo-American tide of immigration. These immigrants came mostly from the Northeast and Midwest and much of their initial effort to "civilize" California was directed towards reproducing eastern culture on the West Coast. Spiritually, the new majority was Protestant; intellectually, it followed the Transcendentalist spirit favoring such institutions as public schools and colleges, the literary magazine, and progressive (and sometimes faddish) reformism. Politically, these newcomers were Republicans and they established a political conservatism, modified by twentieth-century Progressivism, which would be sustained for nearly a century. The search for opportunity in the West encouraged a fierce booster spirit actively seeking to develop the state economically. In sum, the new Californians worked to rapidly develop the state using ideas they transplanted from the East.

[12] Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 51-52.

Anglo-Americans also brought the architecture of their home states to California. Prior to the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, Americans had been mostly obliged to rely on local building materials like adobe and stone. In Monterey this circumstance had resulted in a distinctive amalgam of adobe construction modified by New England woodworking traditions that became a recognizable style in its own right. Still, adobe construction was generally considered inferior and Mexican-style houses not properly American. Railroad service opened the region to brick and dimensioned lumber, hardware, modern tools, wire nails, glass, and an increasing variety of manufactured building elements like doors and windows. To facilitate the Americanization of Southern California, homebuilders drew on widely available pattern books of houses in styles popular in the East—the panoply of Victorian architecture. This was the beginning of twentieth-century mass-market housing, first in the Bungalow and later the California Ranch styles.

2. Climate and the Mediterranean Metaphor

In the nineteenth century, people commonly believed sunshine and dry air to be almost miraculously healthful. Lung diseases, especially tuberculosis, were endemic in the East and migration to the West Coast was in no small part driven by this faith. Southern California is a semi-arid land, bounded by mountain ranges, whose climate is mitigated by the Pacific Ocean. It is also, where irrigation water is available, an agricultural wonderland where almost anything can be grown. Two crops that became important were wine grapes and olives. Both played into an emerging metaphor by which booster's conceived and marketed California as a new Mediterranean coast, an American Riviera.[13] New Californians, initially so eager to reproduce the culture of the East, realized that sunshine and mild winters could redefine one's relationship with the outdoors. While California received the first mass influx of health-seekers, the phenomenon was important throughout the Southwest.

3. Development and Nostalgia

To help cope with rapid economic growth, southern Californians by the 1880s began to find comfort in nostalgia and history. The Gold Rush was now well past and the object of myth making. The dispossession of the old Californios, the wanton violence, the vigilance committees, and other distasteful features of the frontier era were now safely ensconced in the past. In response to the imperatives of California's capitalist development, Americans, perhaps with some feeling of illegitimacy over the injustices committed during the American conquest and occupation, turned to myth and romanticism as a means of adjustment and atonement. Many of the old missions, apart from Mission Santa Barbara, the only one then remaining in Franciscan control, were abandoned and crumbling. Americans began to see these ruins in a new light. Once they had been the remnants of a justly abolished theocracy. Now as ruins they began to touch the American's emotional attachment to the picturesque and sublime. The ranchos, once thought the domain of a stagnant culture, became in myth a pastoral arcadia, its fortunate inhabitants living an idealized life devoid of concern for the American imperatives of ambition and money making.

[13] Interior Southern California along the Colorado River border with Arizona was a true desert and there a different metaphor arose to define its possibilities, that of an American Nile.

4. *Ramona* and the Myth of Spanish California

Author Helen Hunt Jackson provided the definitive statement of the emerging myth of Spanish California. Jackson, the daughter of a Calvinist theologian at Amherst College, had made a name for herself as author of *A Century of Dishonor* (1881) in which she illuminated the shameless treatment inflicted on Native Americans by the United States government. Arriving in California soon after publication, Jackson undertook a study of the Mission Indians and quickly acknowledged their often-miserable condition, attributing their plight to injustices relentlessly perpetrated by remorseless Americans. She also became interested in the old missions, visiting many of the ruins and meeting with the *padres* still at their work in Santa Barbara. From her researches, Jackson fashioned a fictional account of a tragic romance between star-crossed Indian lovers attempting to survive among the swarming, rapacious Americans. In her telling, the old missions were bucolic utopias where wise and kindly friars performed God's work in raising the Indian to civilization and religion. She portrayed the Mission Indians as docile and eager to grasp the fruits of civilization, ready to accommodate themselves to the new order but for the wickedness of the Americans.

In *Ramona* (1884), Jackson created a myth idealizing California's Spanish past, a Garden of Eden with Americans playing the role of spoiler. Originally conceived as a novel of social protest in the mode of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), Californians received *Ramona* as a culture-defining romance, a usable myth by which to understand their place in the new California. While it seems ambiguous of Californians to embrace a work portraying Americans as villains, it served a cathartic purpose by which they, acknowledging the sins of their predecessors, could begin to purge themselves of their collective guilt. This they would do by idealizing and romanticizing the positive aspects of mission history. *Ramona* made Spanish colonial history a part of California, and thus, American history.[14]

5. Charles Fletcher Lummis and the Movement to Preserve the Missions

In 1884, at the age of twenty-five, Charles Fletcher Lummis literally walked across the continent to take a position with the *Los Angeles Times*. The *Times*, then under the control of Harrison Gray Otis, was an instrument of the emerging Southern California oligarchy. This oligarchy combined boosterism, civic development, transportation infrastructure, and land development schemes into a program of metropolitan development eventually establishing Los Angeles as America's premier city on the Pacific Coast, while earning fantastic profits for its promoters. Lummis worked diligently for the *Times* until he suffered a stroke that left him partially paralyzed. To aid in his recovery, he returned to one of the scenes of his earlier trek across the Southwestern desert, the Pueblo Indian village of Isleta in New Mexico. Effecting a remarkable recovery, Lummis eventually returned to Los Angeles where he combined journalism, free-lance writing, photography, explorations with archaeologist Adolf Bandalier, Indian rights activism, the city librarianship, and other activities into one of the premier booster careers in the history of Southern California. In 1907 he established the Southwest Museum and his home, the rustic Mission Revival *El Alisal* he constructed virtually by hand from water-worn rock hauled up from the Arroyo Seco, a normally dry stream that lent its name to a local arts and crafts movement of which Lummis was a founder.

[14] Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 55-63.

Charles Fletcher Lummis founded the Landmarks Club of Southern California in 1896 as the first historic preservation organization dedicated to saving the state's mission heritage. By 1880, many of the old missions were in ruinous condition. Mission San Luis Obispo had at least been stabilized in 1876, but even at Mission San Carlos Borromeo in Carmel, site of the tomb of Fr. Junipero Serra, founder of the mission system, the roof had collapsed. The tomb itself was only relocated in 1882. Fortunately, Serra's importance in California history and the shame exposed by the condition of what had once been one of the grandest missions in the state aided efforts to raise funds to what became the first major rehabilitation of a mission, leading to its eventual rededication as a church. As publisher of *Land of Sunshine*, later *Out West*, a booster magazine backed by local business leaders like Otis, Lummis was able to publicize the activities of the Landmarks Club and promote the preservation of the missions. In the years that followed, the club raised a significant amount of money to protect and restore the missions.[15]

6. Mission Revival Architecture

a) The Character-Defining Features of Mission Revival style

Ramona inspired a new respect for the Spanish mission era. This respect manifested in Lummis' success in organizing and fund-raising to save the missions from oblivion. Notable accomplishment in themselves, the mission mania that Jackson sparked also drew interest in the missions as notable works of architecture, which in turn began to influence contemporary designers who, like most Victorian Era architects, were looking for historical models for evocative, romantic imagery. Back in the East, the Colonial Revival style reflected the region's emotional and patriotic connections with the styles of early America. Californians, however, gained new perspective for their missions. They viewed them as a special source of architectural ideas and used them to create a distinctive style equal in historicity to that in the East. *Ramona* had begun the process by which Californians integrated Spanish colonial history into the narrative of American history. Architects and their clients now saw in the missions a means for creating a unique regional identity within the broad pattern of national architectural trends.

The historic missions of California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas were vernacular expressions of Catholic Church architecture derived from more elaborate Mexican and Spanish examples. The missionary *padres* carried little with them to the Spanish colonial frontier in the late eighteenth century beyond simple tools, a small supply of nails and other hardware, iconic art such as *bultos* (sculpted figures of saints) and *santos* (painted figures of saints), and their memory of the model buildings and decorative forms they left behind. Their chief resource was the labor—sometimes forced—of local Native Americans who worked the mud into adobe bricks, cut wood, and the carried stones during construction. Some of these workers became highly skilled craftsmen capable of contributing artistically to the mission's decorative features. Each mission was designed individually and displayed important variations in style. Architects created the Mission Revival style by drawing on features of these missions to recombine into a

[15] Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *The Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States Before Williamsburg*, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1965), 125-26; McMillian, *California Colonial*, 23.

romantic expression evocative of, through rarely historically accurate representation of, a mission ideal.

The following are distinguishing characteristics of the historic missions, although not all missions contained all features. Revivalists selectively incorporated different elements into their work, often combining them eclectically with characteristics drawn from other traditions.[16]

- Curvilinear gable. The Mission Order gable, a term coined in the 1960s, is a curvilinear gable or pediment located over the building's primary entrance. The archetype is the mission gable at the Alamo in San Antonio, Texas; relatively few California missions have this feature. The Mission Order gable would be adopted as the quintessential element of the Mission Revival.
- Arcades. Open air corridor fronted by an arcade or colonnade provided protection against sun and weather. These could face an interior courtyard or be faced outward. Second only to the Mission Order gable, the arcade would become a major element of Mission Revival.
- Classical entrance. Entrances to many missions were decorated with Classical references of arch and pilasters. The entrance at Mission San José de Tumacácori in Arizona under a semi-circular gable is a fine example. This historical reference within mission design, so meaningful to the padres linking frontier mission with ancient Roman traditions, appealed not at all to Neo-Classically Beaux Arts-trained revivalists.
- *Churrigueresco* entrance. Churrigueresco (often Anglicized to Churrigueresque) was a highly elaborate sculptural treatment of a church's primary entrance, often containing figures representing biblical allegories and saints. The entrance to Mission San Xavier del Bac has a fine example of such artistry, although more simplified than Spanish archetypes.
- Unadorned stuccoed exterior walls. Historically, the bare white walls of a mission stood apart from its natural surroundings and blue sky, creating a dramatic vista intended to impress Native American converts with the achievements of civilization. Common also to Spanish Colonial Revival, the simplicity of bare white walls appealed to revivalists as if a canvas on which to relate key decorative features and to contrast with related landscaping.
- Very thick walls and buttressing. A necessity of construction historically, revivalists working with modern materials would occasionally mimic the effect through such devices as double framing. The missions of California were typically built of sun-dried adobe, while stone masonry was common in Texas.
- Bell structure. Bells communicated the time of religious observances. A bell tower integrated into the front façade was only one possibility. At Mission San Juan Capistrano and Mission San Diego de Alcalá, used a *campanaria*, or bell wall.
- Clay tile roof. A distinguishing feature of most Spanish- and Mediterranean-derived buildings both historically and in revival form.
- Exposed ceiling beams and *vigas*. The size of a mission was in part determined by the size of available roof timbers. Large rounded, or occasionally square-milled timbers resting on the

[16] McMillian, *California Colonial*, 10-11.

walls provided support with the exterior ends called a vigas if they projected beyond the outer wall. Vigas became especially associated with Pueblo Revival style.

- Relatively few window openings. Limiting the number of unglazed window openings protected the integrity of the walls and shielded the interior from the weather. During the revivalist era, architects could easily build in a larger number of windows although often they preferred to retain broad expanses of bare exterior stucco for aesthetic purposes. The desire for numerous windows in homes is one reason why Mission Revival had only limited appeal for residential design. Revivalist houses primarily convey Italianate influence, which was more accommodating to extensive glazing, with Mission Revival elements such as the Mission Order gable limited to the main entrance.

b) Notable Examples

The first grand statement of Mission Revival style was constructed in 1893 for the Columbian Exposition in Chicago (Figure 1). The Chicago Fair has already been noted for its promotion of the Neo-Classical Revival style and of Beaux Arts urban planning theories. However, states were free to design their own exhibit buildings as they pleased. Arthur Page Brown, San Francisco's leading architect of the time, designed the California Building using an eclectic assemblage of

Figure 1. The California Building at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893, the first example of Mission Revival style in a major public building. From Rebecca Edwards, *New Spirits: Americans in the Gilded Age, 1865-1905*, (Oxford University Press, 2010), http://www.rebeccaedwards.org/statephotos. html, accessed July 8, 2014.

motifs derived from various missions. The most notable decorative features Brown applied were Mission Order gables at each entrance and a mission arcade serving as the linear core of the building. A young Bernard Maybeck, then working for Brown, designed the building's central dome. The Spanish cultural attributions of the California Building were distinctive, but not quite unique at the Chicago Fair. The Florida Building was designed as a reproduction of the seventeenth-century Spanish fortress in Saint Augustine, demonstrating that interest in the Spanish past was growing throughout Spain's former colonial regions of the United States.[17]

The mission myth Helen Hunt Jackson fabricated, and which Charles Fletcher Lummis perpetuated for historic preservation purposes even as he denigrated its lack of historical authenticity, materialized extravagantly in Frank Miller's Mission Inn. Miller, proprietor of the Glenwood Tavern in Riverside since the early 1880s, was, like many new Southern Californians, a Midwesterner with a strongly Protestant heritage. Yet by the 1890s, Miller had absorbed the mission myth like a religious conversion and he reimagined his hostelry as a Mission Revival fantasy resort. Between the 1890s and the 1920s, Miller redesigned and added to the hotel until the renamed Mission Inn had become one of the largest and most notable of Spanish-inspired buildings in California. The Mission Inn was constructed progressively with multiple additions, each a variation on Spanish themes. The Mission Inn displayed elements of Mission Revival as well as strong elements of Spanish Gothic, Spanish Colonial Revival, Italian Renaissance, and Moorish detailing. Exterior arcades opened to garden areas, narrow interior passageways, several patios, domes, minarets, flying buttresses, a five-story rotunda, even catacombs under its Cloister Wing. A number of architects worked on Miller's project over the years. Arthur B. Benton created the initial designs, Myron Hunt designed the Spanish Wing and G. Stanley Wilson the St. Francis Chapel. The interior was lushly decorated as the exterior with iconic statuary, stained glass windows, and other artifacts Miller acquired from journeys to Spain, Italy, and Mexico.[18]

The Mission Inn expressed the passion inspired by the mission myth and demonstrated its usefulness to the boosters. It adhered not at all to factual history; Riverside had not had a colonial era mission. Yet it's success made Riverside the center of California's mission cult, especially after Miller initiated production of the Mission Play, the state's largest outdoor pageant. After the Mission Inn proved successful with well-publicized visits by several presidents and other celebrities, many of Miller's neighboring business owners altered their commercial buildings into reflections of the Mission Inn, making Mission Revival and later Spanish Colonial Revival, the dominant, though, unofficial styles of downtown Riverside.

c) Mission Revival Style Influences in Arizona, 1900-1930

The area of Spanish colonial and Mexican settlement in Arizona prior to 1846 was largely limited to the southern desert region and its major settlements, presidios and pueblos were at Tubac and Tucson. Arizona has two major historic Spanish missions. Mission San José de Tumacácori is a stabilized ruin under the care of the National Park Service. Mission San Xavier

[17] McMillian, *California Colonial*, 29; *Picturesque World's Fair*, (Chicago: W.B. Conkey Company, 1894), 219.
[18] McMillian, *California Colonial*, 24; Starr, 86-87.

del Bac remains a Catholic mission church on the Tohono O'odham San Xavier Indian Reservation. San Xavier del Bac, one of the most beautiful examples of the mission type in the United States, is perhaps Arizona's most iconic building. Arizonans proved amenable to the Mission Revival style and between 1900 and 1930, Mission Revival motifs found their way to a greater or lesser degree in a number of important buildings. While a few residential examples exist, such as the Stoddard House in Phoenix (1915), their mission references were generally limited to an expression of the Mission Order gable and, perhaps, an exterior arcade, other characteristics drawing from Italianate and, increasingly, Spanish Colonial Revival. Similar to California, Mission Revival was adopted for many public and private community buildings. Schools, which in many small communities might be about the only architect-designed building in town, drew on Mission Revival themes. These might be only mild expressions, as with the Central School in Peoria (1906) with a restrained Mission Order gable over its entrance, or fuller developments of the style as with the Gilbert Elementary School (1913).

The Santa Fe, Southern Pacific, and Arizona's El Paso and Southwestern railroads adopted Mission Revival motifs during these years and Arizona examples include Phoenix's Union Station (1923), the El Paso and Southwestern YMCA building in Douglas (1905), Prescott's Santa Fe depot (1907), and Kingman's Santa Fe Depot (1907). A few public buildings, such as Nogales City Hall (1915), are quite respectable examples of the type. It was perhaps natural that the Catholic Church would find the style appealing and several churches were designed to evoke the feeling of the church's historic roots in the region. These included St. Mary's Church (now Basilica) in Phoenix (1914) and Our Lady of the Blessed Sacrament Church (1915) in the mining town of Miami. The style was so naturally associated with the Catholic Church in the Southwest that it continued to employ Mission Revival through the twentieth century, well past the style's popularity elsewhere. Remarkably, Mission Revival also appealed to some non-Catholic denominations and while few were deep expressions of the style, the Mission Order gable appears in Protestant churches such as Methodist Episcopal Church in Yuma (1905) and the Garfield Methodist Church in Phoenix (1926).

Mission Revival had a notable impact on Tucson, described in detail in the associated context *The Evolution of the Architectural Character of Residential Buildings in Tucson, Arizona, 1848-1960*. Suffice it to mention at this point that in Tucson a number of skilled architects applied Mission and Spanish Colonial revival elements, along with local Southwestern vernacular themes, and redirected the community's architectural character towards romanticism.

d) Mission Revival Interiors

At its most mundane, style can be little more than an aesthetic affectation, an exterior decoration covering a functional space. For example, the Mission Revival exteriors of the California exhibition buildings of 1893 and 1915 sheathed otherwise standard exhibition spaces. The interior of a Mission Revival railroad depot differed little in its internal arrangements for moving people and goods from a depot in any other style. At its best, wealthy clients directed their architects to continue the style's romantic pattern to interior design and furniture. The Mission

Inn's interior, covered in Latin/Catholic imagery, is a splendid example. Lavish, intimate, and grand spaces evoked the feel of the mission frontier, yet wildly exceeded it in décor and luxuriousness. Typical interior features included archway passages between rooms, continuing the theme of, exterior arcades; niches to hold statuary, such as bultos, or carved figures of saints; and extensive tilework, from rustic *saltillo* floor tiles to beautiful glazed tiles on walls or floor. Tilework could be an important artistic expression in itself. The tilemaker Ernest Batchelder, one-time director of art at the Throop Polytechnic Institute (now Caltech), lived near the Arroyo Seco and operated a kiln where he designed and produced beautiful ceramic tiles for home decoration, featuring bright colors and Southern California motifs, such as vines and oak trees.[19]

Mission Revival occurred simultaneous with the American Arts and Crafts movement, which in Southern California manifested most prominently in the Arroyo Seco culture, of which Charles Fletcher Lummis was a leading figure. The polished and refined furnishings that nineteenth century factory production made available to a growing middle class had pushed aside handcrafted furnishings, threatening to make extinct a variety of skills that arts and crafts proponents believed humanized their work. Arts and crafts furniture tried to reproduce the feel of handmade work, even if some elements were factory made. A Mission Revival style of furnishings arose emphasizing use of thick oak with a handcrafted look, and decorative use of leather, died burlap, beaten metal, and glass. The Mission Revival style is most commonly associated with Gustav Stickley, though he disliked the term, preferring Craftsman, and it found a place in the Bungalow and Craftsman styles emerging early in the twentieth century.[20]

7. Spanish Colonial Revival Architecture

a) Panama-California Exposition, San Diego, 1915

The California missions diverged from the architectural masterpieces of Renaissance and Baroque Spain and lacked the expression of wealth and high artistry on display in Madrid or even the colonial capital of New Spain, Mexico City. Mission Revival initially drew inspiration from these vernacular expressions of Spain's frontier missionary institutions, which linked the burgeoning urban culture of Southern California with a mythical colonial past. But by the 1910s, revivalist architects across the country were becoming increasingly exposed to the historic architecture of Europe and with Mexico, Spain, and North Africa. Both clients and architects were increasingly familiar with European models and began to insist on the application of ever more refined and accurate details. Yet revivalism never became pure imitation as the more sophisticated palette of options expanded opportunities for eclectic mixing of design inspirations. Spanish Colonial Revival style emerged in the mid-1910s from this broader application of Spanish and Mediterranean motifs. Its popularity grew from its greater versatility, affecting residential design far more than had Mission Revival.

[19] Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 109.
[20] Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 107.

Spanish Colonial Revival was introduced at the Panama-California International Exposition in San Diego in 1915 and 1916. Lead architects Bertram Goodhue and Carleton Winslow applied the richer and more sophisticated details inspired by the Spanish Renaissance (*Plateresco*) and Spanish Baroque (*Churrigueresco*). Goodhue designed the California Building, perhaps the most ornate of the exposition's festival architecture, in the form of a Spanish Colonial church, but one more ornately decorated than any historic mission. Goodhue (1869-1924) was a New York-based architect whose most notable previous work had been in the Gothic Revival style. Extensive travel around the Mediterranean littoral exposed Goodhue to more exotic design motifs and he had experimented with the Spanish Baroque in projects in Havana, Cuba and Panama. His El Fureidis (1906) in Montecito, California combined Spanish, Roman, Persian, and Arabic elements into an exotic estate. For the San Diego exposition, he and Winslow applied authentic details with readily identifiable attributions, such as the Giralda Tower from the Seville Cathedra, the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico City, and the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Assumption in Oaxaca. Spanish Colonial Revival quickly became popular. Its influence reshaped the architectural character of Southern California and soon swept outward across the rest of the Southwest.[21]

b) Defining Characteristics of Spanish Colonial Revival

American architects became increasingly sophisticated in their knowledge of European models both from direct travel and through more and better architectural guides and picture books, such as Austin Whittlesey's *Minor Ecclesiastical, Domestic and Garden Architecture of Southern Spain* (1917, with a preface by Goodhue) and Mildred and Byne's *Provincial Houses in Spain* (1927). Special guidebooks illustrated decorative details, which architects could apply to their eclectic rather than historical designs. One example was Richard Requa's *Old World Inspiration for American Architecture* (1929), which illustrated European examples of building details such as doorways, cornices, garden stairways, iron window grilles, patios, fountains, walls and gates. Architects used these details to design highly artistic buildings (Figures 2 and 3).[22]

Eclecticism rather than historical authenticity is a fundamental characteristic of Spanish Colonial Revival, an aesthetic common to American Period Revival styles. While individual details might exactly duplicate an historic model, as whole works Spanish Colonial Revival buildings typically combined details drawn from a variety of cultures and period to create buildings evocative of foreign history, yet clearly Americanized and modern. The versatility of Spanish Colonial Revival is demonstrated by the beautiful artistic accomplishments of works designed for wealthy clients, such as Julia Morgan's San Simeon estate for William Randolph Hearst, as well as tract developments of middle class houses flavored in Spanish with simplified details such as stuccoed walls and tiled roofs. The style's name references

[21] McMillian, *California Colonial*, 31-32; Gebhard, *George Washington Smith*, 30, 32; Richard W. Amero, "The Making of the Panama-California Exposition 1909-1915," San Diego History Center, accessed May 24, 2014, http://www.sandiegohistory.org/pancal/sdexpo32.htm.
[22] McMillian, *California Colonial*, 37, 51.

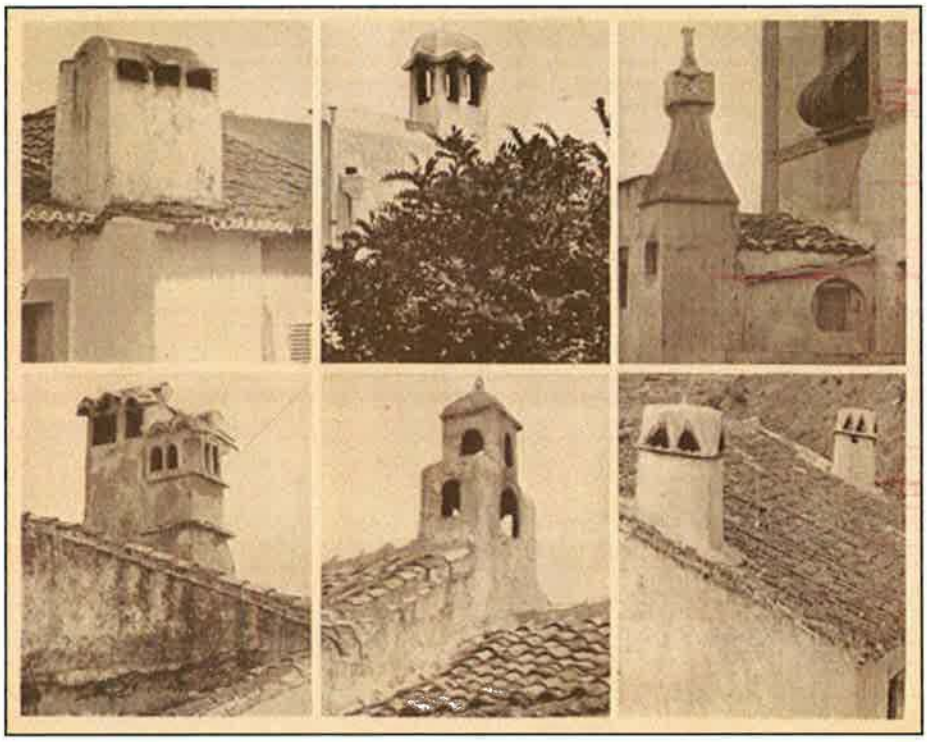


Figure 2. Architectural guidebooks like Richard Requa's provided examples of authentic historic European building details as inspiration for American revivalist architects. This photo group illustrates types of chimneys found in Spain, Sicily, and Morocco. "A Group of Mediterranean Chimneys," Reproduced from Richard S. Requa, *Old World Inspiration for American Architecture*, (Los Angeles, California: The Monolith Portland Cement Company, 1929), Plate 48.

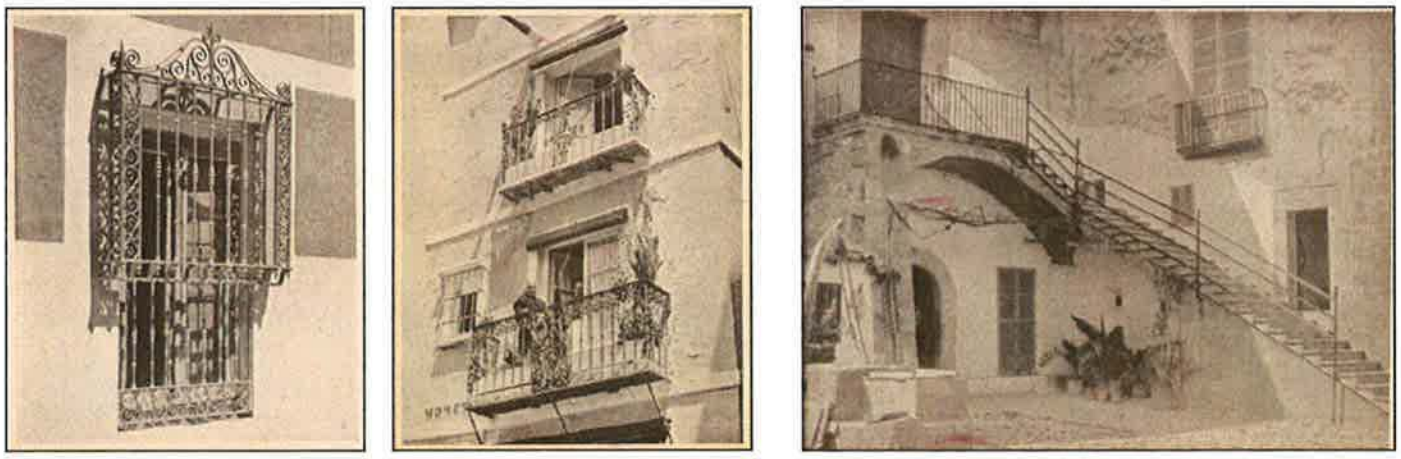


Figure 3. These photos illustrate details from Old World architecture from which American revivalists could draw to enhance their designs. "Window Grilles in Illescas, Spain," (Plate 66), "Balconies on an Old House in Seville," (Plate 77), and "Mediterranean Examples of Outside Stairs," (Plate 110), Reproduced from Richard S. Requa, *Old World Inspiration for American Architecture*, (Los Angeles, California: The Monolith Portland Cement Company, 1929).

only Spanish inspirations, but in actuality included abundant motifs drawn from Islamic and Italian sources, as well as occasional Byzantine, Persian, and Greek themes.

The architecture of Spain drew inspiration from several cultures and reflected the fortunes of the Spanish empire. The Moors, a North African people who controlled much of the Spanish Peninsula during the Middle Ages, imported Islamic architectural influences best seen at the Alhambra, the Moorish palace in Granada. The Islamic art that appealed to American revivalists was highly geometric and intricate, applied in beautiful tile work and concrete grilles forming semi-shaded secluded spaces. Other Islamic features included minaret-like towers, horseshoe arches, exotic balconies, and bulbous domes. Medieval Gothic influences filtered into Spain from France. The wealth of the Spanish Empire ushered in the era of the Spanish Renaissance and later Baroque, both of which left a rich architectural heritage. In addition to high style models, rural Spain developed a simpler vernacular building tradition associated with Andalusia.[23]

With the wealth of its New World empire, Spain's monarchs patronized architects to create churches and palaces worthy of a world power. Three distinctive periods between 1492 and the mid-eighteenth century define the broad outline of Spanish architecture. The Spanish Renaissance, or Plateresco, period up to 1556; an Italian Renaissance-influenced Classical, or *Desornamentado*, period between 1556 and 1650; and the elaborately ornate Baroque, or Churrigueresco, period through 1750. Revivalist architects drew freely from each of these periods with an elaboration of details limited only by the client's budget. From the Plateresco (derived from the Spanish word for silverwork) came finely detailed, sculptural decorative details. The Italian-influenced Classical period offered fewer models as revivalists preferred to draw more directly on Italian architecture. In fact, many buildings labeled Spanish Colonial Revival actually reflect Italian influences to a greater extent, yet are called Spanish because that is how the eclectic mix is perceived in the Southwest.[24]

The elaborate Spanish Colonial style displayed at the San Diego exposition, while appropriate for such public venues, had only a minor influence on the character of Southwestern architecture. Its most highly decorative elements—the Plateresco- or Churrigueresco-like treatment of facades and entrances—was an expensive luxury, rarely indulged in for residences except by the likes of Heart at San Simeon. American revivalists instead discovered the more subtle beauty as well as the expanded versatility of the simplified forms of rural Spain. The Spanish provincial house—symbolized by the isolated white-walled hacienda of the Andalusian plain—offered little in the way of applied decoration. Its primary aesthetic was plain white-stuccoed walls, tiled roof, and an additive quality where by wings and rooms are attached to a core structure with multiple roof structures (Figure 4).[25]

[23] McMillian, *California Colonial*, 32, 37-39.
[24] McMillian, *California Colonial*, 38-50.
[25] Herb Andree, Noel Young and Patricia Halloran, *Santa Barbara Architecture: from Spanish Colonial to Modern*, eds. Bob Easton and Wayne McCall. 3rd Edition. (Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1995), 87.

Figure 4. This rural house from Andalusia, Spain, illustrates the fundamental model for the Spanish Colonial Revival house in America. The fairly plain stuccoed wall with relatively small window openings, tile-covered roofs of various form, its additive character, and the enclosed interior space create the basic form onto which American revivalist architects might add additional decorative features. "A Country House near Ronda, Spain," Reproduced from Richard S. Requa, *Old World Inspiration for American Architecture*, (Los Angeles, California: The Monolith Portland Cement Company, 1929), Plate 15.

The Spanish provincial *casa* exerted a very important influence on the architects of Spanish Colonial Revival. Its simplicity and blank white planes were an empty canvas on which architects could apply a variety of decorative elements—wrought iron grilles, *nichos*, balconies, and colorful tiles. Or they could be left in a relatively undecorated state, its white walls providing contrast to green plants and trees or the blue sky in background. Whether plain or decorated, the Spanish Colonial Revival could be applied to housing of all sorts, including the courtyard apartments, which became popular in Southern California in the 1920s and spread across the Southwest.

Medieval Spain was a land of conflict between Christians and Muslims. One result was the rural *hacienda* was often built with defense in mind, which meant they typically showed only bare walls to the outside world with few window openings. Private space occupied an interior courtyard around which rooms opened perhaps with an intervening *portales* to mitigate the

sunlight. This same design was compatible to the semi-arid and sunny climate characteristic of the Mediterranean coastal region, and translated well to the Southwestern United States. In revival form, courtyards were rarely fully surrounded, but rather defined by the main body of the house, wings, and decorative walls. The space was perfect for a private garden.

A distinct residential architectural style, known as the Monterey style, emerged in Monterey, California. The Monterey style combined Spanish/Mexican adobe in two-story form with the woodworking traditions imported to the West Coast from New England by the hide traders of the 1830s and 1840s. The New England carpenters who took up residence in Mexican California added wood floors, window and doorframes, louvered shutters, and picket fences, but Monterey houses are most noted for their balconies extending across multiple sides if not fully surrounding the building. In revival form, the balcony remains one of the identifying features, though rarely extended across the full width of a façade. A Monterey Revival balcony is usually cantilevered rather than supported by posts as in the historic models.[26]

The following list describes many of the characteristic features of Spanish Colonial Revival. Not every element will be a part of every example since as a revival style it tended to combine features eclectically to evoke an historical or exotic foreign sentiment. High style examples are more likely to include interior features and compatible furnishings as well as outdoor gardens. Tract subdivision examples are likely to include only the most defining features without elaborate details.

- Extensive plastered (stuccoed) exterior wall surfaces. Broad plain, typically white walls provide either simple contrast of surfaces and colors between building and landscaping or a blank canvas on which to apply other decorative elements.
- Low-pitched, flat, or shed roofs. Often combined in the same building giving it a feeling as if added on to over time.
- Clay tile roof material. Clay tile roofing is a feature common to architecture of the Mediterranean littoral and helps to make many of the stylistic influences—Italian, Moorish, Greek, etc.—compatible.
- Porches. Sometimes arcaded, the porch creates an intermediary space between indoors and outdoors. Porches are often part of the private interior courtyard or garden space.
- Balconies. Either supported on posts or cantilevered, extending across the width of a façade or merely a small projection from a second-story door.
- Decorative iron work. Often custom made wrought iron in early examples, decorative iron grilles often enhance the appearance of exterior window openings.
- Cast concrete ornaments. Derived from stone grilles from Islamic tradition concrete ornaments can be used to define spaces while filtering air and sunlight.
- *Vigas*. The end of a roof beam projecting from the exterior wall surface, this feature is commonly associated with the Pueblo Revival variant.

[26] McMillian, *California Colonial*, 57-58.

- Craft details. Wealthy clients and their architects sometimes integrated craftwork imported from Mexico and Europe—doors, windows, decorations—into the design.
- Polychrome tilework. Adds color to surfaces contrasting with the typically white stuccoed walls. Often evocative of Moorish influences.

c) Spanish Colonial Revival Applied to Urban Design—Case Study of Santa Barbara

As an architectural movement, Spanish Colonial Revival affected more than the design of individual buildings. Architectural styles like Mission Revival conveyed a romantic feeling, not an accurate rendition of historical imagery. The romanticist imperative, reaching its highest influence in the 1920s, affected a broader range of connections between people and their built environment. Styles could be applied by city boosters to create a civic image emphasizing not only history, but also the healthfulness of living in a mild climate as well as the personal virtues of remaining connected with historic handicraft traditions. Throughout the Southwest, Spanish Colonial, Mission, and related revival styles made an important impact on how communities redefined their built environments. This occurred typically through the accumulation of examples, much like a town that grew rapidly during the popularity of tract Ranch Style housing would tend to take on a suburban mid-20th century American look.

Spanish Colonial Revival had an important influence on civic planning. In at least fifteen California towns, civic leadership institutionalized it as their "official" style. Soon after the exposition, Edmund Libbey, a wealthy civic leader in the city of Nordhoff, purchased the town's city center and under the direction of San Diego architects Frank Mead and Richard Requa, added Spanish-style arcades to the storefronts. The city even changed its name to the more picturesque Ojai, the name of the valley and old *rancho*. In the mid-1920s, architect Lillian Rice, designed a Spanish-style community in Rancho Santa Fe, north of San Diego. The idealized town placed one- and two-story commercial and residential buildings around the Y formation of the town's major streets. Communities pursued Spanish Colonial Revival makeovers with the hope that it would attract investors and rich new residents. Rancho Santa Fe attracted notable Hollywood celebrities such as Bing Crosby, who remodeled the old land grant adobe, and Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford who established their Rancho Zorro nearby. Other cities where Spanish Colonial Revival greatly influenced the architectural character of the community included San Clemente, Montecito, Palm Springs, Fullerton, Pacific Palisades and Pasadena. Los Angeles was too large to have its character dominated by a single style, but many residential developments employed Spanish Colonial Revival.[27]

This section summarizes the case of Santa Barbara, a prosperous, largely residential community northwest of Los Angeles. To distinguish itself from Los Angeles, during the 1920s Santa Barbara's civic leadership reconceived their city as romantic resort whose leisurely and healthy environment offered an alternative to the commercial imperatives

[27] McMillian, *California Colonial*, 32-35. One Los Angeles development was Westwood, where the developer offered period revival homes in two popular styles, Spanish and English cottage, a model similar to the development of the Encanto-Palmcroft neighborhoods of Phoenix.

driving the metropolis. The section below on Santa Fe, New Mexico will relate a second example of a community instituting a revival style as official policy. These two examples will inform our understanding of similar influences at work in Arizona.

Santa Barbara, California is a relatively small (less than 100,000 population), but highly prosperous community located northwest of Los Angeles. The non-Native American history of the city began with the founding of a mission and presidio by the Spanish in the late 18th century. For a time following the American conquest, of the twenty-one California missions, only Santa Barbara's remained functioning in Franciscan hands. In the 1880s, Helen Hunt Jackson visited the mission in Santa Barbara providing her with the historical background that informed the setting of her novel *Ramona*.

During the late-nineteenth century, Santa Barbara followed a path of development similar to most other Southern California cities. The local Mexican social order was overturned by the influx of American immigrants who initially determined to reshape the town along lines of the Midwest and Northeast states. They began with a new townsite and grid plan to facilitate the division and sale of land. This Americanization period followed the usual pattern—newly available building materials led to the rapid abandonment of adobe and vernacular building traditions and there was rapid progress in reproducing the styles popular in the East as symbols of boosterish progress. By the turn of the century, there was little stylistically to distinguish Santa Barbara from any to other city growing in Los Angeles' orbit.[28]

Geographic location and changing economic circumstances contributed to Santa Barbara's movement to distinguish itself through romanticist architecture. Surrounding mountains and lack of a first-rate harbor left Santa Barbara a relative backwater economically. Despite early efforts to promote both airplane manufacturing and movie making in the area, Santa Barbara was simply too remote from the main paths of development. What the region boasted was a superb climate, a beautiful coastal setting, and a critical mass of wealthy residents who would patronize local architects to build fine homes and resort hotels. The resort industry thus became an important part of the local economy.

Santa Barbara's wealth attracted a number of fine architects to the city, including James Osborn Craig, Lutah Maria Riggs, and Joseph Plunkett. But the designer who is today most commonly associated with the development of a "Santa Barbara Style" was George Washington Smith. In the short dozen years between 1918 and his death in 1930, Smith heavily influenced Santa Barbara's architectural character. While other architects worked in Santa Barbara and many others participated in the Spanish Colonial Revival movement, Smith has been acknowledged as a master of the form whose work shaped not only the character of his community, but the character of the style as well. While Goodhue's exposition buildings reflected the high style Spanish architecture of Madrid and Mexico City, Smith looked to the farmsteads of rural Andalusia for simplified, yet highly flexible models on which he could apply decorative, eclectic features.

[28] Andree, *Santa Barbara Architecture*, 15-16, 26.

Smith was born in 1876 and attended, though did not graduate from, Harvard during the tenure of Herbert Warren, founding director of the school's Beaux-Arts architectural program. After leaving Harvard due to financial circumstances, Smith went into business and married well. Within a few years he determined to remake himself, moving to France where between 1912 and 1914 he studied art when it was in a turbulent phase of modernization. Of his artistic influences, he later recalled, "Cezanne and Gauguin gave me the most inspiration, although the Spanish and Italian Primitives thrilled me, also. So much so that, after I got my blood filled with the modern idea of painting, I began to regard all the other forms of art with the same consciousness—the consciousness of simplicity." This regard for simplicity would manifest as a primary characteristic of his later architecture. After returning to the United States, Smith moved to Santa Barbara where for three years he worked as a gentleman painter, his works in oil and water colors competent, but ultimately not of the first rank.[29]

In 1918, Smith built his own home in the emerging Spanish Colonial Revival style. A residence rather than a public building, Smith's house refrained from elaborate decorative features such as Churrigueresco sculptural treatments. Drawing on the vernacular traditions of rural Andalusia, Smith's house employed broad, white-stuccoed walls punctuated by only a few small windows. The roof of red tile was not elaborated on with decorative parapets or gables as in Mission Revival. Rooms and wings extended from the main body of the house in a manner suggestive of additions made over the years. On this simple form, Smith added a

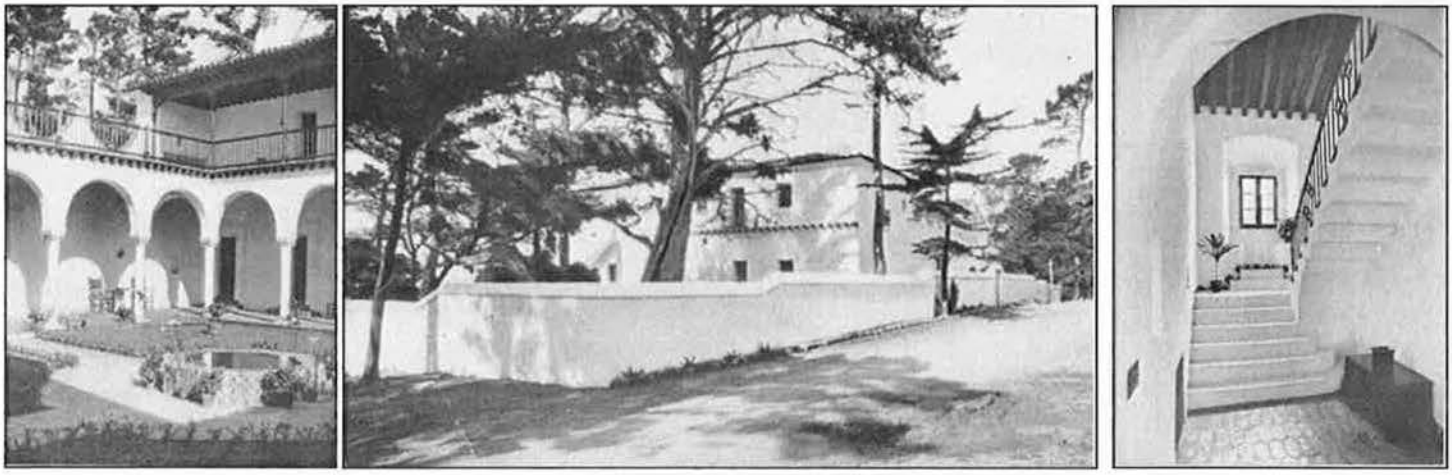


Figure 5. Frequent publication of G.W. Smith's work in architectural journals helped to define how Spanish Colonial Revival was applied to residences in the 1920s. "Residence of Mrs. Arthur Vincent, Pebble Beach, California, George Washington Smith, Architect." from *The Architectural Record*, No. 44, August 1925, 137-49.

[29] Gebhard, *George Washington Smith*, 1-4.

variety of decorative features, such as French doors leading to the rear garden and wrought iron balconies and concrete grilles. The house immediately gained local and national attention in a 1920 issue of *Architectural Forum*. The popularity of his first house directed Smith into an architectural career. Architectural journals frequently publicized Smith's work, which contribute to the definition of the style throughout the twenties (Figure 5).[30]

Although Smith's career was cut short by his premature death in 1930, his use of simplified vernacular Spanish models proved immensely influential. Very quickly Spanish Colonial Revival began to lose much of the grandiose ornateness with which Goodhue had endowed it at the San Diego exposition. The simplicity of the Andalusian rural form made the style more relevant to residential design and immediately became style's primary reference.

Smith's practice extended beyond Santa Barbara and included two notable buildings in the mining town of Ajo, Arizona. Ajo was planned on City Beautiful principles, its streets focused on the Mission Revival train depot and radiating outward. John Greenway, the mine company's general manager and an important figure in Arizona, engaged Smith to design the town's Catholic church. The building Smith designed was a simplified, yet elegant work in Mission Revival, an abstraction of the Baroque Mexican churches with which he was familiar from his travels. For Greenway and his wife, Isabella, Smith designed a spacious home in Ajo, a hilltop adobe laid out linearly so that each room enjoyed a fine view. With projecting vigas, this house is pueblo influenced, a reflection, seemingly, of Mrs. Greenway's personal tastes as she, before her marriage, had lived in Santa Barbara and engaged Smith to design a house for her in 1920, also with a pueblo feeling. Mrs. Greenway would in the 1930s serve as the first woman to represent Arizona in Congress.[31]

The stylistic transformation of Santa Barbara began modestly in the early 1920s with formation of a Community Arts Association, a civic booster organization. The association's Architectural Advisory Group was composed of enthusiasts for Spanish Colonial Revival whose precedent-setting success was convincing the city to plan its new city hall in a grand Spanish style. But it was a fortuitously disastrous earthquake in 1925 that opened the opportunity to transform Santa Barbara into a Spanish Colonial Revival resort community. During rebuilding, the committee assisted with architectural services, inevitably offering Spanish revivalist designs. Eventually, this evolved into an actual mandate backed by city ordinance that adopted Spanish Colonial Revival as Santa Barbara's official building style. This mandate remains today as a guiding principle defining Santa Barbara's character.[32]

[30] Ibid., 9-10, 13-14.

[31] Ibid., 101, 103, 105. It has been published, although without citation, that architect Josias Joesler first came to the attention of Tucson developer John Murphey at the recommendation of G.W. Smith. This appears to have been an unwarranted extrapolation from a remark in Helen Murphey's diary about the role of an unnamed "Santa Barbara architect." Without further evidence, the identification of Smith is here assumed to be apocryphal. However, the Murpheys were acquainted with Isabella Greenway, whose professional connection to Smith is established, so a direct Smith connection to the Joesler-Murphey collaboration remains plausible.

[32] Gebhard, *George Washington Smith*, 38-39. Andre, Young & Halloran (p. 205, 280) describe the continuation of the style in Santa Barbara into later twentieth century. A resurgence in the style's popularity in the 1960s coincided with changing materials and methods of construction, such as six-inch stucco walls rather than twelve, stucco shot from guns rather than troweled on by hand, and factory-produced ironwork and tiles in place of

8. Ranch Style

a) From Rancho to Ranch Style

Another variation on Spanish Colonial Revival was the Rancho Revival. This form had special relevance to Arizona after it evolved into the California Ranch, or simply Ranch style. During the Mexican era more than the Spanish colonial era, the land-grant rancho was an important institution for frontier settlement. Similar in some regards to the rural farmhouses of Andalusia, the rancho was typically built of adobe around a courtyard, one story with clay tile roof and few decorative features beyond the simple aesthetics of plain walls and tile roof contrasted against land and sky. After the American conquest of California, ownership of the vast ranchos fell largely into Anglo-American hands. Subsequent subdivision of these ranchos facilitated the urbanization of Southern California in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The old adobe rancho homes deteriorated and many were lost. Fortunately, the same romantic urges that inspired the movement to preserve the California missions extended also to these adobes and many were saved (Figure 6). The majority of California ranchos date from the 1830s and 1840s, an era of prosperity on

Figure 6. Bing Crosby Ranch House, Rancho Santa Fe, Lillian J. Rice, Architect. Like Mission Revival, Rancho Revival emerged from the turn of the twentieth century movement to preserve the historic adobe houses of California, such as this one on to which the architect has also made additions for modern living. From Paul Robinson Hunter and Walter L. Reichardt (eds.), *Residential Architecture in Southern California*, Southern California Chapter, The American Institute of Architects, 1939, 29.

handicrafts. These methods smoothed the quaint roughness that had given earlier work a vernacular, crafted feeling. Another resurgence in the 1980s saw a return to more authentic historical detail and thicker walls as architects attempted to recapture more the feeling as well as the image of the past.

the Mexico's Pacific Coast. This was also the period of increasing contact with Americans through the coastal hide trade, as described earlier, and many of these adobes show the influence of New England carpentry traditions. In Arizona, however, this was a period of military disaster for Mexican settlers as the Apache and other tribes virtually eliminated Mexican authority beyond the confines of the Tucson presidio and settlement. The Rancho Revival of the 1920s would be based on California models and the subsequent California Ranch style yet another cultural import into Arizona from the West Coast.

The transformation of rancho into the California Ranch is generally credited to Cliff May (1909-1989). May simplified the rancho, opening up its enclosed courtyards and modernizing it for construction with contemporary materials like frame, brick, and block rather than adobe. When commercial tract housing began in earnest after 1945, the California Ranch house became the ubiquitous form for single-family residences from relatively small buildings aimed at the median-income home buyer to sprawling custom forms. The California Ranch lost most of the Spanish/Mexican styling of its progenitors as most tract housing typically omitted the clay tile roof and stucco exterior walls. By the mid-fifties, however, prosperity allowed American homebuyers to indulge again in domestic decoration and the Ranch style (losing its California moniker as it's popularity spread across the country) became a blank canvas on which architects could apply decoration and elaboration. Two-story, split level versions expanded the architectural palette from the initial one-story model and historicist decorations such as Swiss chalet details hid all previous connection to a Hispanic past. Hispanicization would return, however, in the sixties in the form of the faddishly popular slump block, a form of concrete block resembling an adobe brick, and arches. By late in the twentieth century, after Ranch style's popularity had run its course, builders in the Southwest would return to stucco-on-frame tract housing, again with tile roofs and arches. Italian influences would also reemerge in the so-called Tuscan variation of these Spanish Colonial Revival-like tract homes of the early twenty-first century.

The most popular of the decorated variations of the Ranch style in the fifties and sixties referenced not Spanish motifs, but rather those of the American Old West. American culture in the 1920s linked the rancho with the ranch of American Western tradition. The cowboy emerged from mere frontier range worker to an iconic representative of American ideals. The high place of the cowboy in popular culture was in no small part due to Hollywood Western movies. Cowboy actors like William S. Hart and Harry Carey built ranch style homes employing elements of high style Spanish Colonial Revival with rustic variations on the rancho and American ranch. The blending of Spanish Colonial Revival motifs with decorative and cultural connections evocative of America's popular cowboy culture resulted in an amalgam that we may refer to as Southwestern Romanticism, its primary form, the California Ranch House. Two of its important visual features are the use of board-and-batten and shake roofs. In the hands of a master architect like Cliff May, the low-lying form of the ranch house suited a new vogue of indoor-outdoor living in romantic elegance (Figure 7). To

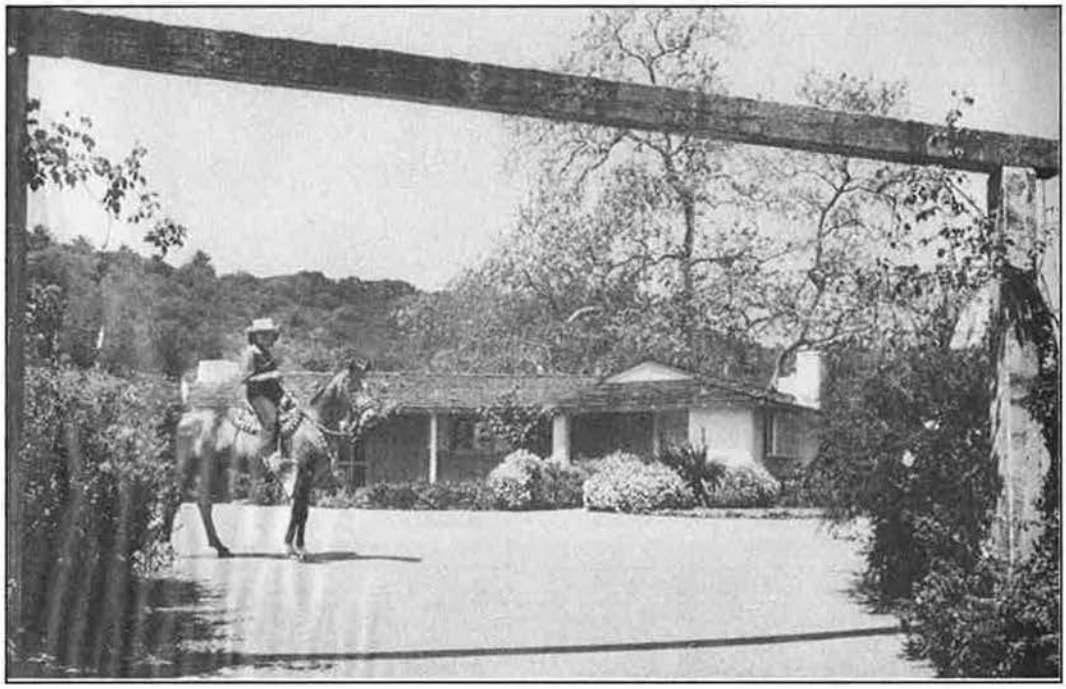


Figure 7. The California Ranch House marketed for its romantic connection to Old West imagery. From *Sunset Western Ranch Houses*, by the Editorial Staff of Sunset Magazine in collaboration with Cliff May, (San Francisco, California: Lane Publishing Company, 1946), 148.

the merchant builder, the California Ranch House served as a model for countless residential subdivisions across the Southwest built in the three decades following World War II.[33]

b) Characteristics of the Ranch Style

The Ranch house was a modern building form designed primarily with the mass housing market in mind. In its simplest, Minimal Traditional form, it lacked virtually all decoration and was little more than a rectangular box suitable for meeting the immediate needs of the post-war housing crisis (1945-1953). In its Southwestern form it expanded in size, spreading across increasingly large lots. Such Ranch houses were said to "ramble" or "sprawl," especially for high-end, custom models. This coincided with ideals of fifties-era domesticity—a new form for the single-family house where electric appliances replaced accommodations for servants. This became idealized in the marketing of so-called "indoor-outdoor living," a mode of domesticity especially suitable to the American Southwest where with the aid of a back yard pool and barbecue, family life was supposed to be lived taking full advantage of the mild, sunny climate. Extensive window glazing and sliding glass doors enhanced this indoor-outdoor connectivity.

[33] McMillian, *California Colonial*, 188-194.

The characteristic features of the Ranch house include:[34]

- Single story, with a low to the ground profile. Increasing land cost would eventually rein in the Ranch's sprawling character and two-story, split-level variations signaled the style's eventual demise.
- Asymmetrical floor plan. In its simplest commercial builders' product, the rectangular floor plan would be modified with L- or U-shaped plans. In its sprawling, or rambling mode, these wings often extended at obtuse angles, helping to define backyard spaces.
- Open floor plans. To cut costs, builders increasingly omitted space taken for hallways and interior walls, opening up the primary living spaces, for example, by leaving dining area open to the kitchen. Combined with larger windows, the Ranch house could feel very open, although not to the extent that often appeared in contemporary modernist designs.
- Large windows. Improvements to air conditioning technology as well as affordable plate glass allowed for greater window space, although rarely of the full floor-to-ceiling height except where facing the back yard.
- Broad porches formed from overhanging eaves. These porches both shielded windows from sun exposure and provided transitional space between indoors and outdoors.
- Pitched roofs of hip, gable or cross-gable form. Particularly in custom models and where building codes allowed, shake roofs provided one of the most distinctive of decorative features suggestive of the Old West ranch.
- Carport/garages. The Ranch house fully accommodated the automobile. Form an initial attached carport, the garage was soon enclosed as a space as distinctive and important as any other room in the house.
- Simplified decoration. In its Southwestern "cowboy" form, the Ranch house often included board-and-batten siding although often over only a portion of the façade. Non-operative shutters and porches with X-railing between posts enhanced the ranch imagery.

D. Marketing Southwestern Romanticism, 1880-1940

The architectural palette of Southwestern Romanticism developed in Southern California found widespread popularity in Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas as a means for regional boosters to distinguish the Southwest and make it attractive to visitors and investors. Still a frontier when the railroads arrived in the early 1880s, Arizona and New Mexico were initially perceived as little more than a tedious interlude on the journey to California. The region's two transcontinental railroads, the Southern Pacific and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway used architecture as part of their marketing to attract new passengers. In the 1920s state highway department publications in New Mexico and Arizona updated Southwestern imagery for the impending era of automobile tourism. At the same time, individual cities and towns competed for the growing tourist market by creating local events such as pageants and rodeos, each with the goal of becoming recognized as the most Western of Western towns. Out of thousands of tourist brochures, advertisements in national publications, novels, and

[34] *Sunset Western Ranch Houses*, by the Editorial Staff of Sunset Magazine in collaboration with Cliff May, (San Francisco, California: Lane Publishing Co., 1946), ix, 32, 34, 38-39, 42, 45, 48-49, 60-61.

movies emerged Southwestern Romanticism as a regional development movement. By the 1930s, this romanticism was an amalgam of history and myth imaginatively linking Native American, Spanish colonial, and American frontier history into a happy story of the progress of the American nation.

In 1873 Fred Harvey began a chain of hotel/restaurants associated with the Santa Fe Railway, known collectively as Harvey Houses, in an effort to upgrade the uncomfortable traveling experience of railroad passengers. To appeal to tourists who increasingly looking for something different from what they knew in the East, Harvey promoted the scenic wonders and Indian cultures along the Santa Fe's route. Harvey's architect, Mary Colter designed highly imaginative and romanticized buildings such as the Hopi House and Desert Watchtower at the Grand Canyon. Colter drew inspiration from Pre-Columbian ruins and from contemporary Zuni and Hopi pueblos. Harvey evoked Spanish history with romantic names like the Alvarado, El Tovar, La Posada, and Montezuma. His hotels facilitated the spread of Mission and Spanish Colonial Revival styles across the Southwest making it a regional imagery. In addition to the Harvey Houses, Fred Harvey also developed an extensive network of stagecoach and later automobile tours to bring rail passengers to the area's scenic and historic attractions like the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River and the Acoma Pueblo of New Mexico.[35]

Boosters made exaggerated claims about the curative powers of the region's semi-arid climate and its hot springs, despite the reality that no miracles awaited the consumptives who flocked there. More important for Southwestern Romanticism was the fear expressed by such public figures as President Theodore Roosevelt that modern urban life was enervating the American people, especially men. Roosevelt was the most prominent of the promoters of the idea that to maintain their vigor and virility, Americans should reconnect with the outdoors and the rigors of frontier life that had, they believed, formed the American democratic spirit. The dude ranch grew up in response to this belief. The American man (or sometimes woman) finding health and spiritual redemption in the West became the primary motif of the Zane Grey novel and many Hollywood westerns.[36]

Competition for tourists engaged many cities and towns across the Southwest. For large cities like Los Angeles, Phoenix, Albuquerque, tourism was one part of a comprehensive development strategy also promoting natural resources such as mineral wealth, agricultural and industrial potential, and other investment opportunities. For some cities, including Santa Barbara, Tucson, and Santa Fe, often overlooked by investors, the search for tourists became one of their most important development strategies. Building on the success of Fred Harvey and other railroad tourism developers, local boosters engaged in national advertising to promote their communities. Though competitive on its surface, this marketing collectively shaped the national image of the Southwestern states. Even where advertising initially focused on local attractions, such as Indian cultures in New Mexico and the natural wonders of Arizona, all converged in their myth making. By the 1930s, Southwestern Romanticism was the mythic story of how Spaniard, Mexican, Indian, and American, their often brutal conflicts glossed over, created this newest part of the American nation.

[35] Scott Charles Zeman, "Traveling the Southwest: Creation, Imagination, and Invention" (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 1998), 11-14.
[36] Ibid., 49-50, 65.

In addition to print advertising, boosterism of Southwestern Romanticism also took on material form. For the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition at St. Louis in 1904, Arizona's Territorial government sponsored an exhibition building to demonstrate that the territory's political and economic maturity and suitability for statehood. The building's stuccoed exterior with front arcade and ceramic tile roof conveyed a Spanish feel, with a touch of exoticism displayed by its horseshoe arches (Figure 8). Lacking a Mission Order Gable, the Arizona Building anticipated the Andalusian-inspired Spanish Colonial Revival style of the 1920s more than the exuberant Goodhue prototypes of the San Diego exposition of 1915.

As in California, where Southwestern Romanticism was put to good use in the movement to preserve the historic chain of Spanish missions, Arizona also found means to combine historic preservation with boosterism. One example was is the Verde Valley near the mining town of Clarkdale where Prescott and Yavapai County boosters reconstructed part of the ancient Tuzigoot ruins as a tourist attraction. Elsewhere in Arizona, where increased tourism led inadvertently to the looting and destruction of prehistoric sites, boosters lobbied the federal government to acquire and protect such important places as Tuzigoot, Walnut Canyon, Montezuma Castle, and Wupatki as national monuments.

Starting in the early 1920s, the highway departments of New Mexico and Arizona published newsletters to inform the public about the progress of their road and highway improvements. By late in the decade, both had evolved into magazines for the promotion of tourism. The earlier *New Mexico Highway Journal* (renamed *New Mexico* in 1932) began with an emphasis on the appeal of the Pueblo villages

Figure 8. Arizona exhibit building, Louisiana Purchase International Exposition, St. Louis, 1904. St. Louis Public Library, http://exhibits.slpl.org/lpe/data/LPE240023380.asp?thread=240029465, accessed 8 October 2014.

while *Arizona Highways* initially focused on the state's natural wonders. Within a few years both were giving greater prominence to Old West imagery and the romanticization of the cowboy. *Arizona Highways* regularly featured photos of Mission San Xavier del Bac, establishing it in the national consciousness as the primary historic monument representing the state and a counterpart to the Grand Canyon as a cultural image.[37]

E. New Mexico and the Pueblo Mystique

1. American Acquisition and Early Architecture

New Mexico, and especially its capital city of Santa Fe, followed an architectural trend strongly influenced by patterns established in California. It also varied from the California model in important ways, responding to the unique interaction among the historic cultures along the upper Rio Grande River. A special architectural designation—Santa Fe style—attaches to the historicist romantic revivalist forms, which after approximately 1920 began to give the area a distinctive architectural character. These developments are relevant to our understanding of contemporary architectural patterns in Arizona. Arizona occupied a cultural space between these two hearths of architectural inspiration, drawing from them while attempting in a mode of boosterish competitiveness to respond to local imperatives as well. The Santa Fe style, a refined application of the Pueblo Revival style, would find wide appreciation in Arizona, just as California's Mission and Spanish Colonial revivals had, creating a strong presence among the historic neighborhoods of Tucson, Phoenix and elsewhere. Similar to other styles, Pueblo Revival remains a source of inspirational details for the still strong Southwestern stylistic traditions of Arizona.

New Mexico, like Arizona and California, came into the United States through conquest during the Mexican-American War and the subsequent Gadsden Purchase, which included additional territory south of the Gila River and New Mexico's Messilla Valley. Acquisition imposed American political and economic systems over a region with over 150 years of historic interaction between Spanish and Mexican colonists and the Native American societies located in numerous villages along the Rio Grand River and substantial pueblo villages on high mesas extending intermittently westward to the Hopi Villages of Arizona.

The architectural manifestations of American influence can be traced back even further. As the New England hide trade along the California coast had introduced wood working traditions that amalgamated with local influences to create the distinctive forms of Monterey, the opening of the Santa Fe Trail in the 1820s introduced an increasingly varied and abundant supply of manufactured building materials, plate glass among the most transformative. This could be seen especially well in the increasing use of milled wood framing around doors and windows, an elaboration not present in pre-American period construction, and introduced after the first lumber mill opened in 1850.

Both native cultures and Spanish colonists built primarily in adobe. Ancient Native American practice involved a slow puddle process of construction adding layer upon layer. The Spanish introduced the large adobe brick, which had the double convenience of allowing for an accumulation

[37] Ibid., 140-41, 152-154.

of a stock of building materials and greater ease of construction. Other locally available building materials included stone and pine logs from surrounding mountains. New Mexico has its own tradition of missions and *ranchos*, some older than California's and Arizona's, yet not dissimilar in essential features. In response to the semi-arid climate, colonial rural residences repeated the hacienda form of constructing rooms around an interior courtyard. Thick walls generally admitted few windows—there being no glass—but could accommodate the carving of interior nichos—niches—for storage of items or display of decorations. Exterior walls would have been covered with a mud plaster giving the building the color of the local soils. Santa Fe style would retain earth colors as an important aesthetic statement even as California's Spanish Colonial Revival emphasized the cool whiteness of Andalusian models.[38]

The Santa Fe railroad linked Santa Fe to the eastern United States in 1880 and its impact on construction was similar to what occurred elsewhere—the rapid abandonment of local building traditions in favor of the materials and styles popular in the Midwest and Northeastern states. Many early American period buildings had adobe cores modified with application of Greek Revival and Queen Anne details in wood, use of milled lumber, and glass, which allowed for enlarging and multiplying window openings. These modified historic adobes would later inspire the Santa Fe style in the 1920s, but in the meantime, Santa Fe through the remainder of the nineteenth century and subsequent two decades became overwhelmingly an "American" looking town of frame and brick interspersed with the aging remnants of the adobe era.[39]

2. Artists and Pueblos

Beginning in the 1910s, two factors motivated change in Santa Fe's architectural character. The first was the city's slow economic growth relative to Albuquerque, which was more advantageously placed to benefit from the railroad and threatened to turn Santa Fe into a geographic backwater. Santa Fe's boosters and leaders naturally wished to reverse this trend and, as in Santa Barbara, they considered how to make their city more attractive to tourists. This strategy was feasible because the second factor was the growth of a substantial artists colony there, which developed into a significant regional artistic movement. Boosters provided the impetus to transform the architectural character of Santa Fe; the artists gave direction to this urge toward the historic Native American and Spanish/ Mexican architecture. As Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* had provided literary inspiration to the subsequent Mission Revival movement, Willa Cather was among the writers of the Santa Fe artists' colony whose novels romanticized an idealized Spanish colonial mythology. Her *Death Comes to the Archbishop* (1927) fictionalized the story of a Catholic bishop and priest as they struggled to establish a frontier parish. Another Cather novel, *The Professor's House* (1925) includes a description of ancient cliff dwellings, modeled on those of Chaco Canyon, Arizona's Walnut Canyon and other prehistoric ruins. Contemporary local architects would also discover motifs to expand their design palettes from these ancient works, contributing to the distinctiveness of their regional style. The Santa Fe railroad developed an extensive tourist network around its "Southwest Indian Detours," exposing and romanticizing the Pueblo Tribes as objects of tourist curiosity.

[38] Christine Mather and Sharon Woods, *Santa Fe Style*, (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), 12, 21, 25, 52, 154.
[39] Ibid., 95, 102, 110.

3. The Pueblo Revival, or "Santa Fe" Style

The restoration of the Palace of the Governors, a Spanish colonial era building, provided the model and impetus for the Santa Fe's architectural redefinition. The building came under the stewardship of the territory's historical society, which undertook substantial rehabilitation. The building had been modified numerous times, including the application of Victorian era wood detailing and windows. The building's restoration was done in a highly stylized manner reminiscent of the pueblos, including stuccoed adobe walls, protruding vigas extended beyond the parapet, and a new porch along Spanish lines. The Palace of the Governors became the archetype for Pueblo Revival style and an inspiration for the renovation of many other historic adobes.[40]

The artist Carlos Vierra was an early advocate for a new revivalist style based on pueblo and Spanish models. "Progress in Santa Fe," he said, "is not so likely to come through imitation of methods and customs of any other town as through an appreciation and development of the great advantages we have had from the beginning." As the artistic community in Santa Fe grew, efforts to restore historic adobes merged with stylistic repurposing of pueblo motifs in new construction. The situation in Santa Fe had an important parallel with Santa Barbara, California. Both communities were well established, but slow growing, and both wanted to distinguish themselves from their more rapidly growing urban neighbors, Los Angeles and Albuquerque. Both communities were also under the control of a cultural elite who successfully attached their new architectural aesthetics to local boosterism enshrined through ordinance as official building styles.[41]

For purposes of this document, we may treat Santa Fe style as synonymous with Pueblo Revival. Its distinguishing characteristics drew from motifs architects found in Native American pueblos, both prehistoric and contemporary, as well as from Spanish Colonial mission and ranchos. As with Spanish Colonial Revival, with which it shares many commonalities, Pueblo Revival is an eclectic mix of stylistic elements. When applied in high style examples, these motifs may extend to interior structure, furnishings and gardens. Common residential examples may include only a few distinguishing elements, such as projecting vigas applied to the exterior of an otherwise typical builder's product of the time. Character-defining features of Pueblo Revival are:[42]

- Stuccoed walls. These may be smooth or undulated as if covering adobe, even when built of wood frame. Used both on exterior and interior, stucco on high style examples is often rounded at corners and edges.
- Surrounding parapet. Whether flat of sloping, most Pueblo Revival homes surround it with a raised surrounding parapet. Where the roof is flat it may serve as usable space, as are those of the authentic native pueblos.
- Offset second stories. Native American pueblos are often multi-story with higher levels tending to be smaller than lower stories, leaving areas of open, flat roof space.

[40] Hosmer, *Presence of the* Past, 124-125.
[41] Mather and Woods, *Santa Fe Style*, 12.
[42] Mather and Woods, *Santa Fe Style*, 25, 30, 40, 66, 143, 186, 243, 245.

- Projecting vigas. These may be projections of the actual roof beams or merely decorative non-structural elements. They are one of the most important of the style's exterior decorative elements.
- Courtyard. Derived from the fully enclosed rancho, the courtyard or garden in a revival home may only be defined by an L- or U-shape in the house. Typically landscaped as a cool oasis of water and plants to contrast with the arid environment faced by the exterior.
- Surrounding walls. These are used to help define courtyards spaces and to otherwise create a sense of privacy characteristic of the Spanish emphasis on interior spaces over the front street orientation common to Anglo-American styles.
- Elaborate wood trim around doors and windows. Reflective more of the early American transitional period of adaption of the old adobes, window and door surrounds of wood, along with wooden doors play off the smooth stuccoed walls to add a craftsman elements to the style, especially when rusticated with rough, hand-hewn-like surfaces. Wood surrounds also allow for greater play with color variations against earth tone walls.
- Small exterior windows. Characteristic of historic, thick walled adobes, which tended to be inwardly focused.
- Larger windows opening on to inner courtyard or garden. Large picture windows tend to be found where the house is built to take advantage of a good view.
- Porches or *portales*. Often defining the space between interior and exterior, porches provided a shaded shelter similar to the arcaded corridors of Mission and Spanish Colonial revivals. The porch is often supported on large, carved corbels.
- Red ceramic tile. While main roofs are typically shielded from view by raised surrounding parapets, red tile is frequently used on porch roofs and other overhangs.
- Rustic ceiling beams. Ceilings are often used to create a contract of materials and structure from the simply smooth stuccoed walls of interior and exterior. Wooden roof beams, sometimes simply bark-stripped logs, uphold the roof and may project beyond the walls to project from the exterior wall.
- Niches, or *nichos*. Spaces indented into the walls to hold objects and decorations.
- Decorative ladders. Entry to early Native American pueblos was through holes in the roofs, making ladders a necessity. Rustic wood ladders may be attached to the exteriors as decoration.
- Earth colors. While Spanish Colonial Revival emphasizes white-stuccoed walls, Pueblo Revival makes greater use of earth tones reminiscent of mud plaster.
- Corner fireplaces. These are often molded into the wall with rounded stuccoing.
- Flooring of natural material. A high style feature, flooring of materials such as brick, flagstone, tile, or pine evokes the rusticity that in historic buildings would have been pack earth floors. In common housing the floors are likely to be merely concrete slab.

F. Arizona and Cowboy Romanticism

1. American Acquisition and Early Architecture

Arizona, like New Mexico, came into the United States as a result of the Mexican-American War and the Gadsden Purchase, which added territory south of the Gila River, including the future state's

then-largest settlement, Tucson. While early Spanish explorers entered Arizona as early as 1540, serious efforts to establish firm control over natives and colonies for settlers did not occur until well into the eighteenth century. The region's first presidio military garrison was established in Tubac in 1752, which became the starting point for Anza's expedition to establish a Spanish colonial settlement at San Francisco. The *Presidio del San Agustín del Tucson*, the future City of Tucson, was founded in 1775. Early American newcomers to Tucson tended to be Southerners and during the Civil War the community had been a bastion of Southern sympathy. This concentration of Southern sympathizers was one factor in the decision to separate Arizona as a separate territory in 1863 along a north-south line.

Spanish and Mexican period settlement in Arizona was both sparser and more precarious compared with New Mexico and California. A colonial census of 1804 recorded 1,015 "soldiers, settlers, and Indians" residing around the presidio.[43] Peace with potentially hostile tribes like the Apaches and Navajos was maintained more through subsidies of food than through military power. After 1831, the Mexican government cut its subsidies to Native Americans ushering in a disastrous period of conflict and reducing Mexican authorities to merely nominal control of the territory beyond the presidio walls. The isolated cattle-raising *ranchos* of Arizona proved vulnerable to the highly mobile natives and within a few years many were deserted. Organized cattle raising disintegrated and by the time American soldiers entered the region during the Mexican-American War, much of what remained of old herds had gone wild. Outside of Tucson and the narrow area of settlement south along the Santa Cruz River relatively little remained of Spanish Arizona.[44]

Arizona recapitulated at a smaller scale many features of the broad pattern of frontier history previously mentioned for California and New Mexico. While a more detailed examination of Tucson and its built environment follows in the associated context statement, *The Evolution of the Architectural Character of Residential Buildings in Tucson, Arizona, 1848-1960*, it can be noted here that throughout the nineteenth century Tucson was the territory's largest town and while Anglo American culture spread across those areas not controlled by the native tribes, Mexican culture remained concentrated in Tucson and its Santa Cruz River basin environs. The primary difference in the Hispanic experience in Arizona was that while Mexican control remained reasonably secure over New Mexico and California up to 1846, Mexico had already effectively lost Arizona. The Civil War and forty years of subsequent conflict with tribes offered the only impediments to American occupation.

Anglo-American settlement of Arizona proceeded slowly until the arrival of the railroad. Between 1877, when the Southern Pacific reached the Colorado River opposite Yuma, and 1883, when the Santa Fe crossed the river westward, Arizona gained two transcontinental connections with the rest of the country. Over the next forty years additional short lines as well as wagon roads and later automobile roads stitched together the state's economy and its communities. Hispanic buildings forms like the rowhouse and materials like adobe gave way in this nationalizing period during while immigrants attempted to reproduce the cultural characteristics of the states they had left behind.

[43] Bernard L. Fontana, "Tucson: A State of Mind," in *Tucson: A Legacy* (Tucson, Arizona: The Tucson Corral of the Westerners, 1992), 5.
[44] Thomas E. Sheridan, *Arizona: A History*, (Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1995), 44-49, 127-129.

Outside of southern Arizona, new towns like Prescott, the first territorial capitol; Phoenix, center of a new agricultural region along the lower Salt River; and Flagstaff, lumber town in the wooded north developed along American lines. Even Tucson by 1900 was an Americanized town, its Hispanic residents largely segregated into adobe *barrios*.

Between 1880 and 1930 residential design was highly influenced by the romanticizing of history and culture underlying the Period Revival movement. Anglo-American immigrants to Arizona brought with them the same affinity for Neo-Classicism, Colonial Revival, and English cottages popular in the East. But as in California, the booster imperative adapted national patterns with local variations in order to create a distinctive imagery suitable for promoting economic growth. California drew upon its mission heritage to create a signature monumental style. Santa Fe, New Mexico looked to local native cultures—themselves increasingly objects of romanticization—to invent its distinctive Pueblo Revival style. Out of California emerged the Spanish Colonial Revival style, with its powerful imagery, wide palette of design options, as well as its superior suitability for residential construction, to become the primary manifestation of the Period Revival era in the Southwestern states.

Since its developers and architects were, for the most part, either immigrants from the East or indirectly so via California, Arizona failed to become a major cultural fount of architectural imagery. Building methods and materials differed little from the rest of the country. Yet the pace of modernization in the nationalizing period drew forth its own reactions, one of which was the search for authentic regional expressions, in building and in other aspects of culture such as literature and art. If Arizona were to set itself apart from the West Coast it would have to find in its own history an inspiration to romanticize. Apart from the Hopi villages, Arizona's Native American cultures offered little in the way of architectural models to emulate. Still, Pueblo Revival would find a notable place in Arizona's built environment, more influential perhaps than in California, less so than in New Mexico. Likewise several examples of Mission Revival adorned Arizona cities and towns, though it would be difficult to characterize these works as authentic expressions of Arizona history as opposed to expressions of the desire to emulate California. The aspect of Arizona history that would most inspire efforts to invent a distinctive architecture was its cowboy culture.

2. Cowboy Culture

Ever since Father Kino brought cattle to Arizona to support his missions in the late seventeenth century, stock raising has been an important piece of the Arizona economy and its largest sector through most of the nineteenth century. Unlike California and New Mexico, however, cattle raising in Arizona had virtually disappeared as a result of warfare by Native Americans against Mexican settlers during the 1830s and 1840s. Americans, initially Texans, finding that raising cattle was the only viable economic activity on much of Arizona's arid terrain, reintroduced livestock. At the same time American's consolidated their land holdings, upgraded their herds by introducing purebred cattle, established an agricultural college, and improved transportation, business methods, and land management to develop it into a major industry.

Figure 9. Tucson Rodeo Parade on Stone Avenue, 1968, in front of two fine examples of Spanish Colonial Revival and Mission Revival buildings, both of which still stand. From Robert 'Bob' Bailie Ellis Collection, Tucson Gay Museum, http://www.tucsongaymuseum.org/bobellis.htm, accessed 8 July 2014.

a) The Cowboy in Popular Culture

The humble cowboy, range worker of the West, emerged in the early twentieth century as an American cultural icon. Literature and film portrayed the Anglo-American cowboy (while ignoring the Mexican *vaquero*) as the embodiment of honesty, integrity, wisdom if not education, independence and grit. Zane Grey perfected the type in novels like *Riders of the Purple Sage* (1912) and *Under the Tonto Rim* (1926). For decades, Hollywood poured out a steady stream of cowboy and Indian movies solidifying the stereotypes of white-hatted heroes and black-hatted villains, until the heroic cowboy—think Gary Cooper in *High Noon* (1952)—was the virtual embodiment of an idealized American character.

b) The Cowboy in Arizona Social Life

Even as Hollywood reshaped their popular image, authentic Arizona cowboys continued to manage cattle using methods little changed from the frontier era long into the twentieth

century.[45] Stock raising was Arizona's major agricultural sector and its most widespread economic activity, in fact, just about its only viable economic activity on much of the arid range beyond the few cities and towns and the mining regions. Communities like Willcox and Winslow along the railroad lines served as connecting points between range and market, and saloons like the Bucket O' Blood in Holbrook (NRHP listed 1997) continued to serve as gathering places for cowboys.

After 1920, with Phoenix and Tucson growing into major cities, modernization and urbanization were making the traditional cowboy economic obsolete, a process only slightly delayed by the Great Depression, which slowed the replacement of horses by trucks. Town dwellers nostalgically set the cowboy on an iconic pedestal beginning in the 1920s. As round-ups and trail drives gave way to cattle trucks and feed lots, city boosters began to exploit this nostalgia by organizing activities and marketing the state as the last bastion of freedom and independence associated with the open range and the myth of the American frontier. The most boisterous presentations of cowboy culture occurred around rodeo, a sporting event in which cowboys and cowgirls displayed impressive feats of horsemanship, rope work, and other skills of the range. Rodeo evolved out of the practical necessity of rounding up cattle raised on the open range and dates back to the Spanish/Mexican eras of cattle raising and even further to the cattle raising traditions of Spain. It took Americans, though, to transform simple contests of cowboy skills into major civic events. Prescott holds pride of place for holding the first professional rodeo in the United States in 1888 when, although barely beyond the pioneer stage itself, it staged a "Frontier Days" celebration of its past that has continued to this day. Cowboy satirist Will Rogers once said of the event, "Never have I seen such roping as at Prescott." In Tucson, local boosters started their own rodeo, *La Fiesta de los Vaqueros* (Celebration of the Cowboys), in 1925 and the event continues as an important event on the national rodeo circuit (Figure 9). By that time, the rodeo in Wickenburg was already six years old and would also gain national prominence on the circuit. Even Mesa, a community with little discernable historical connection to cowboy culture started one of its own in 1935. Rodeo continued as the Arizona's unofficial state sport—a school holiday, no less—until the 1960s when it faded in competition with national sports like football and basketball.[46]

Since cattle raising prospers at the whim of weather and market, dude ranching arose as an effort to diversify and stabilize ranch income. While Western lore is replete with examples of hospitality to strangers, ranch owners soon discovered some people were willing to pay to stay at their ranches, not simply as passers-by, but to experience something of the Old West and cowboy life. Guest ranches developed out of working ranches to supplement their often-irregular incomes. In some cases, ranchers ceased real cattle raising altogether and concentrated on hospitality, from which arose the dude ranch. Dude ranching began, modestly enough, with a few

[45] See the National Register of Historic Places MPDFs *Cattle Ranching in Arizona, 1540-1950* and *Arizona Cattle Ranching in the Modern Era, 1945-1970.*

[46] *The Arizona Republic[an]*, 21 June 1936, 2:2; 14 February 1926, 2:5; 10 February 1929, 10; 12 June 1936, 2:1; 19 June 1936, 9. Description of the rodeo in Phoenix may be found in William Collins, *The Emerging Metropolis: Phoenix, 1944-1973*, (Phoenix: Arizona State Parks Board, 2005), 347-349.

ranchers simply allowing tourists to stay in their homes or in the bunkhouses and share in the rustic chores of tending cattle, riding range, and experiencing something of the life of the cowboy. It did not take long, though, for them to discover that few tourists wished to actually experience real cowboy work and instead began to add a variety of comforts and pleasures to their facilities. In 1928, for instance, J. Paul Davis, manager of the Rancho Mansanita dude ranch in the Chiricahua mountains publicized his new swimming pool as well has a bath house, concrete sidewalks, and, for children, swings, garden furniture and a huge sandpile. The Linda Vista Ranch near Oracle was one of the earliest purposely-developed dude ranches in southern Arizona, established by George Wilson in 1924 at the suggestion of author Harold Bell Wright. The business of dude ranching seemed viable enough in the 1950s that a set of investors led by cattle raiser Phil Tovrea, Jr., in 1957 began carving a large working ranch in Chino Valley into parcels of 150 acres or less with the idea that they could become dude operations. By the 1920s, Wickenburg had so many dude ranches that it marketed itself as the "Dude Ranch Capital of the World."[47]

As in California, active citizens in several Arizona communities organized social groups based around Spanish or Western themes. In about 1932, members of the Triangle Club of Phoenix, a group associated with the local YMCA, decided to rename the organization the Dons Club, in reference to the Spanish colonial-era grandees of Old California. The Dons were a service organization, but one social purpose of the group was to provide members interested in the lore of the Spanish Southwest with an opportunity to dress up in colorful costumes and hold fiestas they imagined were like those Richard Henry Dana, Jr. described in *Two Years Before the Mast*. Before and after World War II, the Dons Club's major annual event was a trek into the Superstition Mountains, ostensibly to look for the Lost Dutchman Mine, but in fact to socialize. Other social groups included the Westerners, who began organizing local "Corrals" across the United States after the Second World War. The Desert Caballeros of Wickenburg has run a riding event annually since 1947 and founded a local western museum in 1987.[48]

Cowboy culture even manifested in a small private school movement, the Ranch School. Ranch Schools, of which there were approximately thirty in Arizona between 1920 and 1950, offered elite families of the East and Midwest a place to send their often-asthmatic young boys to achieve character, a contemporary sense of masculinity, college preparation and good health in an atmosphere steeped in Western mystique. A middle class family who could provide a home-like surrounding privately owned these schools, generally. They were fully accredited and provided an academic curriculum which was very much the same as what was being offered by Eastern private schools both in range of courses and in quality. The unique aspect of ranch schools was an emphasis on Western culture, ranching, and character. One such was the one-

[47] *The Arizona Republican*, 11 August 1928, 5; "Men and Horses," *The Stockman Magazine*, May 1958, 46; "Wineglass Ranch to be Sub-divided," *Arizona Stockman*, May 1957, 13.
[48] *The Arizona Republic*, 11 March 1945, 2:3; "The Desert Caballeros Ride," http://www.oldlivery.com/about/dcride.htm, accessed, 18 April 2014.

room Little Outfit Schoolhouse (NRHP listed 2009) in southern Arizona near Patagonia located on the Little Outfit Ranch, which operated between 1940 and 1950.[49]

c) Cowboy Culture and Urban Planning

As Santa Fe and Santa Barbara demonstrated, leaders and boosters could cultivate civic pride by making regional Period Revival styles official. At least two similar efforts were attempted in Arizona; only in both cases the movement was to promote frontier-style Western architecture. In September 1945, with the war only days over, a group of Phoenix boosters, including architects Charles Gilmore and Leslie Mahoney, participated in the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce's "frontier restoration committee." The group was formed as an expression of concern that "the priceless heritage of the old West" in local building was being lost. Lewis Hass, businessman and civic leader, asked the committee to compare Phoenix with cities like Santa Barbara and Santa Fe, which "reek with atmosphere, either real or spurious" and warned that Phoenix was on the verge of losing its marketable Western image if an effort was not made to save some of the atmosphere and flavor of the West. Unfortunately, local builders planning new post-war construction projects were showing greater enthusiasm for modernistic designs. Richard D. Searles, the committee's chair and a representative of Transcontinental and Western Air lines offered, "What we need here in Phoenix, in addition to sunshine and climate, is some atmosphere and avenues of entertainment in order to make it work the tourist's while. While they understood that architecture should reflect the period in which people live, the committee's members were unanimous in their opinion that a modified Mexican-Southwestern style of architecture could be promoted without sacrificing modern comforts and conveniences. Burke Payne, a real estate developer, suggested that the city encourage Southwestern architecture, much as Santa Barbara and Santa Fe promoted their own distinctive styles. He also suggested development of an Indian or Mexican "village" as an entertainment and shopping venue. None of this came to pass. By 1945, Phoenix was simply too large and diverse to be guided by a single architectural vision.

Mid-century Scottsdale, located east of Phoenix, was relatively rural with a population of only about two thousand, but it possessed outsized ambitions to become an important city. McCormick Ranch, located north of town was a model modern ranch with a national reputation for its Angus cattle and Arabian horses. The chamber of commerce coined the motto "The West's Most Western Town" in 1947 and Scottsdale adopted it as its official slogan when it incorporated in 1951. Enthusiastic businessmen, playing to the tourist traffic, began nailing board-and-batten across existing buildings or building new in western theme. In one example, a group of businessmen and property owners on East 1st Avenue between Scottsdale Road and Brown Avenue, hired architect Lester Laraway to design a retail complex in "dignified Western" theme—covered walks with unfinished posts, shake roofs, and rock or pine storefronts. In 1952, Scottsdale designed its new Winfield Scott School with Western features like red brick walls, wide roof overhangs, natural finish hardwood doors, and a shake roof. In 1959 the city installed 200 genuine gas lamps in downtown and even a few private subdivisions installed gaslights as

[49] W.D. Leggett, III, and P. Booth, "The Little Outfit Schoolhouse," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, 2008, 8-4.

thematic decoration. Developer James Matthews even designed cabanas and recreation facilities at his Oasis trailer park in Western motif. In addition to mere building styling, several businesses played extravagantly on the Western theme, such as the restaurant and mini-theme park Rawhide, Pinnacle Peak Patio, and the Pink Pony Steakhouse. Many of these have closed in recent years. Still, the city hosts a major rodeo, operates an equestrian center at West World, and recently opened the Scottsdale Museum of the West.[50]

The character-defining feature of Southwestern style architecture illustrating the influence of Western themes is the use of board and batten. Whether alone or combined with other materials like red brick or slump block, which imitates the look of adobe, board and batten evoked the image of the Old West. At its height in the 1950s, many owners of commercial buildings remodeled their exteriors using board and batten to create Old West streetscape, as in old town Gilbert. Cowboy culture affected architectural design also through modest use of decorative features like pine or redwood trim, wagon wheels, decorative wood shutters, and cedar shake roofs applied to otherwise standard tract housing product in the 1950s. The sprawling Ranch style house, especially custom-built homes, displayed Western motifs to advantage. Western motifs integrated well with Spanish Colonial Revival, as California architects had discovered. The link between popular culture and popular building styles is illustrated in the Ponderosa II, a home built by actor Lorne Greene of the television series "Bonanza." Located adjacent to the Apache Country Club golf course in Mesa, in which he was an investor, Greene in 1963 built a close replica of the show's ranch house, the Ponderosa. Some 3,700 Mesans toured the home at its open house.[51]

[50] *Arizona Republic*, 26 May 1952, 12; 12 September 1952, 16; 20 December 1959, 5:20; 26 August 1956, 5:10.
[51] Gary Nelson, "Lorne Greene's 'Bonanza' house in Mesa gets historic designation," http://www.azcentral.com/story/news/local/mesa/2014/05/13/mesa-bonanza-home-ponderosa-replica-lorne-greene-home/9030169/, accessed 20 May 2014.

III. ASSOCIATED CONTEXT: The Evolution of the Architectural Character of Residential Buildings in Tucson, Arizona, 1848-1960

Having outlined the broad patterns of Southwestern Period Revival architecture in California, Arizona, and New Mexico, this associated context relates these patterns to the specific built environment of Tucson, Arizona. This context introduces a model of four periods in the history of Tucson's residential architecture: 1) a pre-railroad era encompassing the Spanish, Mexican, and early American periods; 2) a nationalizing era following rail connections to the rest of the country; 3) a romantic Period Revival era; and, 4) the modernist period. In this associated context, we will understand how these four distinct periods shaped Tucson's architectural character. This requires a description of the geography of Tucson's growth as well as an examination of some of the developers and architects who influenced Tucson's character. This lays the contextual foundation on which to base an evaluation of the specific contributions by John Murphey, Helen Murphey, and Josias Joesler. To reiterate our goal: we wish to understand the character of Tucson's residential built environment and to determine whether Joesler and the Murpheys made a meaningful contribution to that character. The second part of this goal is pursued in the two associated contexts to follow.

A. Characteristics of the Tucson Basin

1. Geography of the Tucson Basin

a) Santa Cruz River and Local Tributaries

Spanish authorities founded the *Presidio San Agustín del Tucson* in 1775 on a high terrace to the east of the Santa Cruz River near an established O'odham village. The Santa Cruz was not a perennial stream. The earliest maps indicate that in the vicinity of Tucson, there were two "puntes de agua," one at Martinez Hill to the east of the San Xavier Mission and the other near Sentinel Peak ("A" Mountain) at Julian Wash. Here the Santa Cruz rose to the surface and flowed far enough to be diverted into irrigation canals.[1] The Santa Cruz River spans 184 miles, starting in the San Rafael Valley in southern Arizona and dipping south into Mexico before turning north towards a juncture with the Gila River southwest of Phoenix. The Rillito River is a westward-running intermittent contributor to the Santa Cruz, located to the north of downtown Tucson and separating most of the city from the foothills to the north. To the east, Cienega Creek runs north-northwest from the Canelo Hills (near the headwaters of the Santa Cruz River), becoming Pantano Wash near Tucson before joining with the Rillito River.

b) Mountains and Foothills

Five small mountain ranges bound the Tucson basin. The largest are the Santa Catalina Mountains where Mount Lemmon attains a height of 9,157 feet. The other ranges are the Tortolitas to the north, the Santa Ritas to the south, the Rincon Mountains to the east, and the Tucson Mountains to the west. Most of the latter two ranges are now encompassed within Saguaro National Park.

[1] Lower water tables have reduced surface water flow in many areas of Arizona. Among the causes have been diversion of surface flow for reclamation purposes, pumping of ground water, and general environmental degradation, including the removal of most beaver, which once formed a vital part of Arizona's riparian environment.

c) Basin lands

The Tucson Basin is an alluvial plain especially suitable for the easy subdivision of land. Above the Santa Cruz River's floodplain the land rises towards the mountains as a series of terraces and ridges cut by shallow arroyos running generally east to west towards the river. As Tucson grew, land developers leveled and filled the land to smooth its contours. In some areas of Tucson today, arroyos still carry storm water, though most of the city is drained by a modern storm water infrastructure. Historically, the water table under the Tucson Basin was near the surface so wells and windmills were a common site. Lower water tables have reduced surface water flow in many areas of Arizona. Among the causes have been diversion of surface flow for reclamation purposes, pumping of ground water, and general environmental degradation, including the removal of most beaver, which once formed a vital part of Arizona's riparian environment. Above floodplain and terraces, the land continues to rise to the undulating foothills of the Santa Catalina Mountains where, beginning in the 1920s, housing developers would build custom homes to take advantage of scenic views of mountains and valley.[2]

2. Climate of the Tucson Basin

Tucson is situated within the Sonoran Desert, which covers most of southern Arizona and extends into Mexico. In terms of flora, the Sonoran Desert is one of the most richly endowed desert regions in the world. Distinctive plants include the giant saguaro and organ pipe cactus. Historically, streambeds supported riparian growths of mesquite and cottonwood and were habitats for beaver. Deep erosion now characterizes much of the desert and exploitation of land and water resources has dried up many streams.

Tucsonans experience hot summers and mild winters. While it receives on average slightly more than eleven inches of rain a year, the dry air and abundant days of sunlight leave the area quite dry. Rain follows a pattern of relatively dry autumns and springs, with monsoon-type rains occurring in the late summer and more gentle showers in the winter. Snowfall occurs, though is typically limited to the surrounding mountains. Mount Lemmon has the southern-most ski resort in the U.S. Historically, Tucson's climate encouraged immigration since its dry, warm air was believed to help the symptoms of chronic lung diseases like tuberculosis.

3. Transportation Infrastructure

Tucson is located at a three-way dividing point for transportation across southern Arizona. Historically, most travel was by foot or animal along the Santa Cruz River. Traveling south, one entered Mexico at the border city of Nogales. To the north lies the Casa Grande Valley and, further, Phoenix, Arizona's capital city. Americans in the nineteenth century developed east-west transportation, first via wagon road and later by railroad. Tucson was an important division point on the Southern Pacific (now Union Pacific) Railroad. The road north to Phoenix (historically the juncture of the Santa Cruz and Gila river) is now roughly the corridor of Interstate 10. Interstate 17 links Tucson to Nogales and Mexico.

[2] Linda Laird, "West University Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, 1980, 7:1.

B. The Spanish Colonial, Mexican, and Early American Periods in Tucson Residential Architecture, 1776-1880

The architectures of Spanish colonial, Mexican, and early American cultures, which we facilely combine into Tucson's first phase of architectural history, are unified by a number of largely situational factors. For all three governments prior to the 1880s, Tucson was a tiny frontier settlement along a harsh and hostile border region. Transportation to Arizona was by foot and pack animal in the Spanish and Mexican eras, and only somewhat improved by early American wagon roads and small-scale steamboats on the Colorado River. As a result, some of the key characteristics of architecture of this period are its reliance on locally available materials, its simplicity of construction, i.e., largely by manual labor, and the relative lack of both functional hardware and exterior decoration. Another commonality was a lack of modern-era technology (indoor plumbing, electricity, telephone) that became increasingly available in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. After new materials, technologies, and styles became available, these older buildings tended to be demolished or heavily modified. An example of the latter is the Schwalen House (NRHP listed 1992). Originally a farmstead located near the river and likely dating back at least to the early 1880s, the original adobe was transformed in 1911 into a bungalow residence.

Since so few buildings from the Spanish and Mexican eras survive intact, these building types actually represent a transitional era. In the 1850s, the first Americans established themselves in Tucson, acquiring land and slowly pushing much of the local Hispanic population to the city's political and economic margins. Faced with the same material limitations, these early Americans also built using adobe or modified existing buildings. As in Monterey, California, an amalgamation of styles began to occur as Americans built in styles familiar from the East yet with only rudimentary resources. For example, pitched roofs began to replace flat roofs, row houses by detached dwellings, and broad sun-protecting exterior porches began to appear in place of the courtyards. Whether, given time, this amalgamation might have yielded a distinctive local style was mooted when the railroad arrived and Anglo-American settlers, no longer bound by previous local limitations, moved actively to "Americanize" Tucson.

1. Foundation

a) Presidio

Spanish royal authorities in New Spain surveyed theirs over-extended North American frontier in the 1760s and identified the Apaches as their primary challengers in Arizona. Backing away from efforts to subjugate the Yumas along the Colorado River or the Hopis to the north, they determined on a military-led strategy focused on the Santa Cruz River valley. In 1775, *comandante-inspector* Col. Hugo O'Conor, selected the future site of Tucson for a new presidio to take the place of the Tubac presidio, a site with the "requisite conditions of water, pasture, and wood," as well as being near the Apache frontier and in a position to protect Anza's route to California. Completed in 1783, the fort was rectangular with adobe walls some twelve feet in height and at their base about three feet thick. One gate of heavy mesquite wood opened on the west side. Spanish authorities established a reasonable level of security for future settlement in

Arizona by a policy of vigorous military campaigning combined with generous supplies of food and alcohol to those who maintained the peace.[3]

b) Mission

Missionaries were active in Arizona for a century prior to Tucson's establishment, the most famous being Eusebio Kino (1645-1711), a Jesuit who established twenty-four missions and *visitas* (small chapels) in Sonora, Mexico and Arizona. After the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish empire in 1768, the Franciscan order took over the missions. They were responsible for constructing most of the extant mission buildings in California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. Tucson had no mission, although about 1800 a *convento* or missionary administrative center, was constructed near Sentinel Peak on the west side of the Santa Cruz River. The two most substantial missions in southern Arizona were Mission San José de Tumacácori and San Xavier del Bac, both south of Tucson.[4] Stylistically, these buildings have important differences, especially at the façade where the Tumacácori church displays a classical imagery that would have been familiar to Vitruvius (Figure 10), while the entrance at Mission San Xavier del Bac has a simplified yet beautifully sculpted treatment reminiscent of the Churrigueresco.[5]

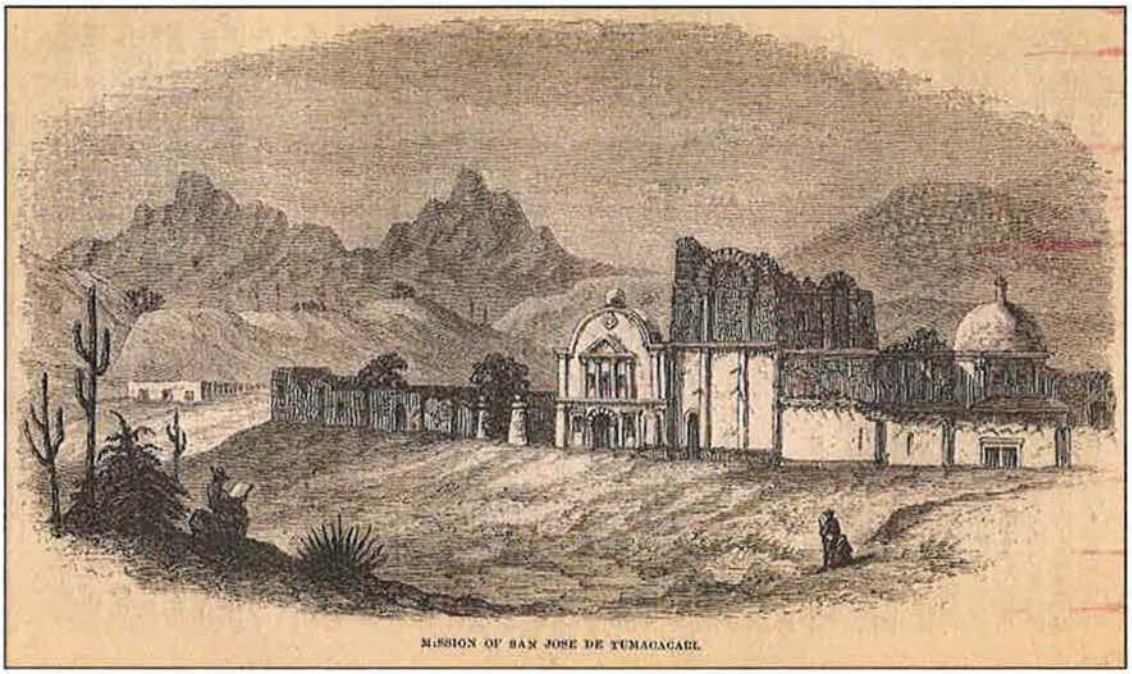


Figure 10. View of Mission San José de Tumacácori in 1864. From J. Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country: A Tour Through Arizona and Sonora, with Notes on the Silver Regions of Nevada* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1869), 153.

[3] Jay J. Wagoner, *Early Arizona: Prehistory to Civil War*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), 139-144.
[4] Mission Los Santos Ángeles de Guevavi, originally founded as La Misión de San Gabriel de Guevavi, was constructed in 1751 near what is now the international border. The National Park Service also manages it, but its ruinous condition has largely erased its architectural character.
[5] Wagoner, *Early Arizona*, 154-155.

In terms of material construction and design, Mission San Xavier del Bac was the most substantial building constructed in Arizona during the Spanish colonial era. Following the plan of a Latin cross, its transept crossing is covered by a circular dome fifty-three feet in height. Additional smaller domes were constructed with vaulting of greater sophistication than typical on the Spanish frontier. The walls are of burnt adobe (*ladrillos*) set in lime mortar. The entire structure was stuccoed to protect it from the elements. These elements of higher quality construction contributed to the buildings preservation while individual dwellings and other lesser buildings were typically left exposed to rain and wind with little more than a mud coating. Apart from its decorative entrance, the building features two flanking towers, only one of which has a small dome on top while the other was left incomplete. Relatively plain white walls provide contrast not only to the decorative entrance but to the surrounding desert terrain, giving it later the nickname, "White Dove of the Desert."[6]

c) Rancho

Between 1790 and 1830, Spanish and early Mexican Arizona enjoyed relative peace. The region's most important economic activity, stock raising, spread beyond the protection of the presidios up the Santa Cruz River and to the east along the San Pedro River. To facilitate this expansion the Spanish issued grants of land to former soldiers. In 1789, the commander of the garrison at Tubac issued the first grant of land to Torbio de Otero who would farm and bear arms when necessary.

The Mexican republic government greatly expanded the number of these grants during the 1820s. By the 1830s, instability in Mexico's central government (a contributing factor to the loss of Texas in 1836) was adversely affecting security on its northern frontier. Unable to afford continuing the policy of bribing Native Americans to maintain the peace, the Mexican government returned to a war policy, but without the means to make it effective. The result was nearly twenty years of renewed hostility with Apache bands. By the time of American entry into the Southwest in 1846, the land grant ranchos were largely deserted, their herds left for wild, and the remnants of Hispanic culture huddled around Tucson.[7]

d) Town

Town planning in the Spanish colonies was guided by the Laws of the Indies (*Leyes de Indias*), a body of rules governing not only the layout of streets and buildings, but also relationships between colonists and natives. Promulgated in 1573 and recodified in 1680, the guidelines for town planning incorporated classical Roman ideals as expounded by Vitruvius and by the Renaissance architect Alberti. The town plan was characterized by a main public square (*plaza mayor*), streets projecting from the plaza in a rectilinear grid, reservation of a commons, as well as guidance on the placement of individual buildings. The rules even included an admonition to have all buildings follow a single type for architectural harmony.[8]

[6] Marilyn Larew, "San Xavier del Bac Mission," National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form," 1978, 7:1, 8:3.
[7] Wagoner, *Early Arizona*, 153-154, 159.
[8] Wikipedia, accessed 23 May 2014.

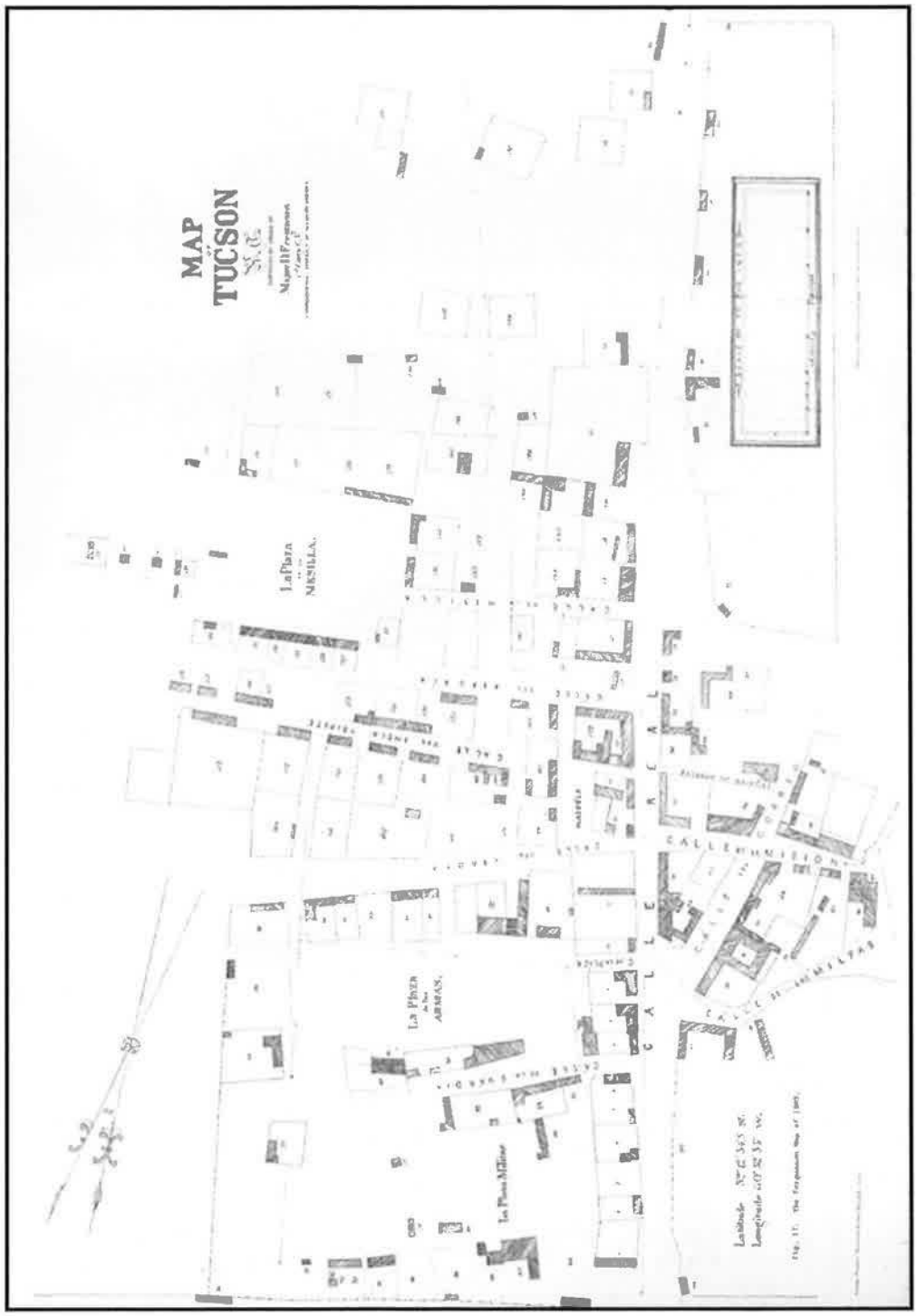


Figure 11. Map of Tucson by Maj. D. Fergusson, 1862. Arizona Historical Society Facsimile, 1966.

As a small frontier settlement, Tucson reflected the guidance of the Laws of the Indies although at a relatively embryonic state. Following the expulsion of Confederate forces from Tucson in 1862, Major Fergusson of the First California Volunteers had a street map created indicating the town retained a strong Hispanic character (Figure 11) Open spaces included *La Plaza de las Armas* and *La Plaza Militar*, and *La Plaza de la Mesilla*. The main street was *Calle Real* (royal road) and there were a few other named streets. While the Fergusson map shows few details of buildings, it does indicate an important character-defining feature, which was their typical placement adjacent to the roadway without setback. Unfortunately, this characteristic also contributed to the eventual loss of most of these buildings as urban improvement such as road widening reshaped Tucson's downtown core.[9]

2. Transition of Tucson to American Sovereignty

On December 16, 1846, U.S. military forces under the command of Lt. Col. Philip St. George Cooke entered Tucson following the presidio's abandonment by its Mexican garrison and commander, Capt. José Antonio Comaduran. Cooke's mission was to create a wagon road between Santa Fe, New Mexico and San Diego, California and after two days of provisioning his forces continued their trek westward. Following the discovery of gold in Northern California in 1848, Cooke's road would become one of the major pathways of the '49ers and Tucson an important supply point through the harsh desert. American control of Tucson was ephemeral at this stage, however, and Mexican forces soon returned following the departure of the Americans. Under terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican war in 1848, Tucson remained a part of Mexico. The United States did not acquire the region between the Gila River and the present international border until the Gadsden Purchase of 1854. American military forces did not reoccupy Tucson for another two years, making 1856 the effective beginning of American political authority over the town.

The first stagecoach line linking California with the East, the San Antonio-San Diego Mail Line, made its first journey in July-August 1857. Service initially consisted of two four-horse stagecoaches leaving twice monthly from the terminal points, San Antonio, Texas and San Diego, California. The Butterfield Overland Mail Company supplanted this initial effort beginning in September 1858 (Figure 12). Service improved to weekly trips. The expense of moving freight by wagon was enormous, between $500 and $800 per ton from San Diego. To reduce the cost of supplying its primary outpost, Fort Yuma, the federal government during the 1850s turned to shipping goods around the peninsula of Baja California and then up the Colorado River by shallow-draft steamboat. The outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 drew away the protection afforded by U.S. military forces in the West, and with increasing hostility between Americans and Apaches following the Bascom Affair[10], stagecoach service came to an end. Communications with California were restored after the

[9] "Tucson's Early Streetscapes: 1775-1912," (City of Tucson Historic Preservation Office, 2012), 2.

[10] The Bascom Affair of February 1861 was a clash between U.S. military forces and the Chiricahua Apache leader Cochise, which ignited the first major phase of hostilities between Native Americans and U.S. forces. The period of Indian warfare in Arizona would continue until the surrender of Geronimo in 1886.

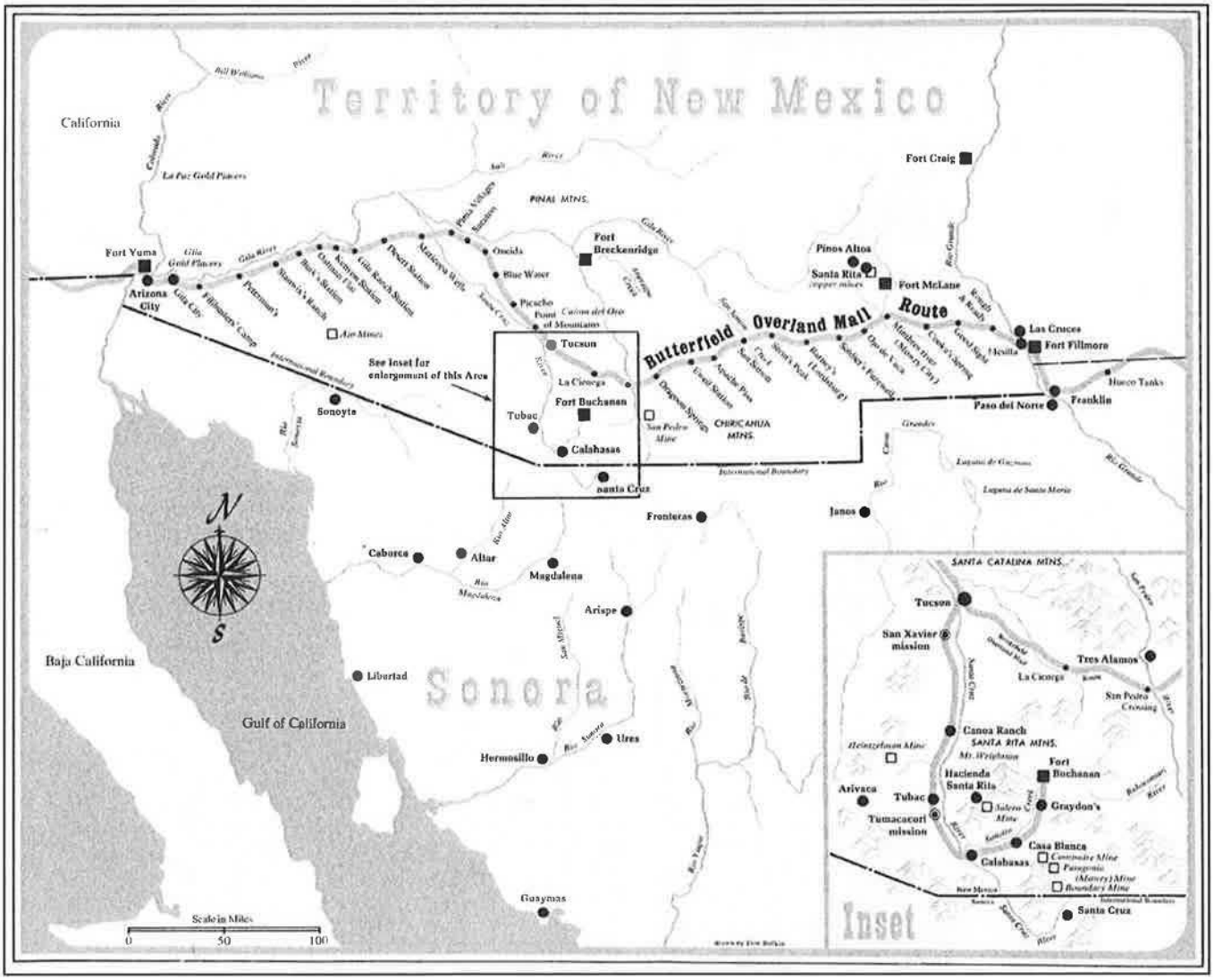


Figure 12. Tucson and environs, ca. 1861. Map by Don Bufkin. From Constance Wynn Altshuler, *Latest from Arizona: The Hesperian Letters, 1859-1861*, (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1969, facing 202.

California Volunteers drove a small company of Texas Confederates out of Tucson and occupied the old presidio in May 1862.[11]

Until 1863, Arizona was part of New Mexico Territory with its capital at Santa Fe. On February 24, 1863, President Lincoln signed the bill dividing Arizona from New Mexico. Despite being the

[11] Odie B. Faulk, *Arizona: A Short History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 83-88; Don Bufkin, "From Mud Village to Modern Metropolis: The Urbanization of Tucson," *Journal of Arizona History*, Vol. 22, No. 1, Spring 1981, 67.

largest town in the new territory, Tucson's reputation as center of Confederate sympathy encouraged the new territorial government to established a capital, Prescott, in west-central Arizona where prospectors had discovered gold deposits. Tucsonans succeeded in moving the capital to Tucson in 1867, but only temporarily. In 1877, the vicissitudes of territorial politics returned the capital to Prescott, before it was moved permanently to Phoenix in 1889.

In 1864, explorer, artist, and author J. Ross Browne passed through Tucson during his travels through southern Arizona. His book Adventures in the Apache Country (1869) provided the reading public with its first extensive description of America's far southwestern frontier. Ross' description of Tucson is colorful and evocative:

> *Passing the Point of the Mountain...* [the traveler] *is refreshed during the remainder of the way by scraggy thickets of mesquite, bunches of sage and grease-wood, beds of sand and thorny cactus; from which he emerges to find himself on the verge of the most wonderful scatteration of human habitations his eye ever beheld—a city of mid-boxes, dingy and dilapidated, cracked and baked into a composite of dust and filth; littered about with broken corrals, sheds, bake-ovens, carcasses of dead animals, and broken pottery; barren of verdure, parched, naked, and grimly desolate in the glare of a southern sun. Adobe walls without whitewash inside or out, hard earth-floors, baked and dried Mexicans, sore-backed burros, coyote dogs, and terra-cotta children; soldiers, teamsters, and honest miners lounging about the mescal-shops, soaked with the fiery poison; a noisy band of Sonoranian buffoons, dressed in theatrical costume, cutting their antics in the public places to the most diabolical din of fiddles and guitars every heard; a long train of Government wagons preparing to start for Fort Yuma or the Rio Grande—these are what the traveller sees, and a great many things more, but in vain he looks for a hotel or lodging-house. The best accommodations he can possibly expect are the dried mud walls of some unoccupied outhouse, with a mud floor for his bed; his own food to eat, and his own cook to prepare it; and lucky is he to possess such luxuries as these.*[12] (Figure 13)

3. Incorporation and Expansion of the City of Tucson

The transition to American sovereignty necessitated incorporation of Tucson under territorial law so that it might function as a town and later a city. One goal of incorporation was to secure valid land titles before squatters and future homesteaders complicated the situation. Under terms of the Federal Townsite Act of 1867, an incorporated community could file a claim for public land once the federal survey had been completed. Survey of southern Arizona, though authorized in 1863 did not begin until 1871. Tucson residents, concerned that delay might facilitate challenges by

[12] J. Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country: A Tour Through Arizona and Sonora, with Notes on the Silver Regions of Nevada* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1869), 131, 133.

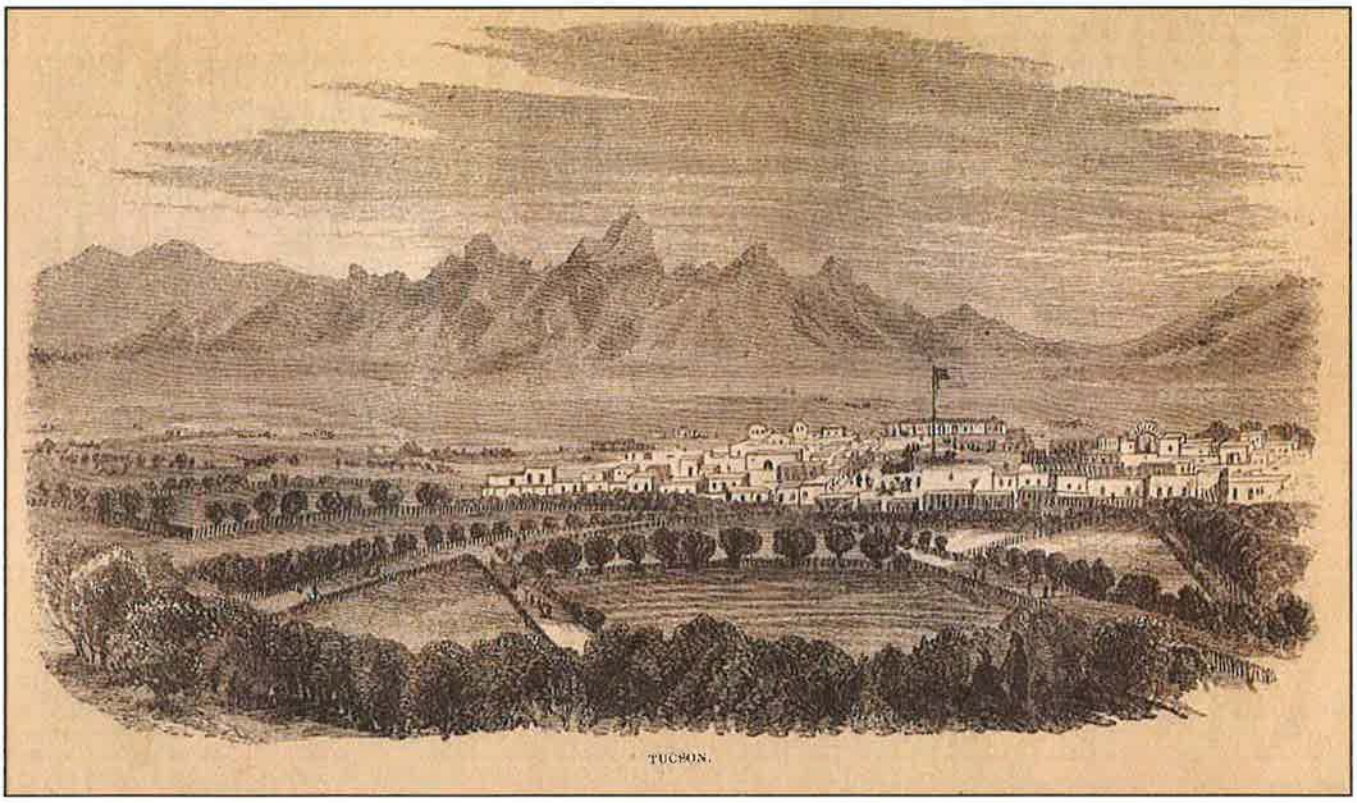


Figure 13. View of Tucson in 1864. From J. Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country: A Tour Through Arizona and Sonora, with Notes on the Silver Regions of Nevada*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1869), 132.

opportunists, petitioned the Pima County Board of Supervisors to authorize formation of an official village of Tucson, which would allow for election of local officials. More importantly, once established in April 1871, the village of Tucson filed for a patent to 1,440 acres of public land encompassing the then-settled area. This application was reduced in 1872 to the 1,280 acres of sections 12 and 13 of Township 14 South, Range 13 East, Gila and Salt River Base and Meridian.[13]

While the application was pending with the General Land Office, Tucson hired S.W. Foreman to survey the proposed townsite. Foreman rectified the existing developed area, with its narrow and angled streets, with a formal grid plan of north-south avenues and east-west streets. Anticipating federal approval of its application, village officials in June 1872 began issuing deeds to private property owners consistent with Foreman's survey. Delay in federal approval left property owners in suspense until a deed for the townsite was formally filed with the county in July 1874. In September 1876, Theodore F. White completed the survey of the outlying agricultural region after which the county could begin to issue valid deeds to land. On February 7, 1877, Governor Safford signed a bill

[13] Bufkin, "Urbanization of Tucson," 68, 70.

giving Tucson municipal status, providing local residents greater political autonomy. While this action laid the foundation for future municipal development, the same Territorial Legislature approved the transferal of the territorial capital back to Prescott.[14]

The most substantial alteration to Tucson's townsite plan accommodated the Southern Pacific Railroad, which provided Tucson with a direct rail connection to the West Coast. The railroad's route largely followed the natural contour of the land and took a southeasterly path from the Santa Cruz River directly to the low pass between the Rincon Mountains and the Whetstone Mountains. The route through the townsite violated the strict grid and was separated from the existing business district by about three eighths of a mile. After the railroad arrived in 1880, it attracted new business and commercial construction eastward from the old presidio area.[15] (Figure 14)

The University of Arizona, authorized by the Territorial Legislature in 1885, created another magnet for future growth, although less dramatically than the railroad since it did not open until 1891. It was located a half mile further east of the railroad on forty acres donated by three Tucson businessmen (two gamblers and a saloon keeper). The location of this donation had a profound influence of Tucson's growth for the next thirty years. Mule-drawn street railway service to the campus began in 1898 and was replaced by electric trolleys in 1906. Improved transportation and the university encouraged residential development eastward from downtown. In 1905, the city approved its first annexation, a quarter-mile wide strip entirely surrounding the original townsite. The city annexed another two square miles to take in the new residential areas around the university in 1919.[16]

4. Common Building Types of the Mexican/Early American Eras

When the Anglo-Americans arrived, Tucson's population was no more than a few hundred people. Buildings beyond the presidio walls were constructed of sun-dried adobe (as opposed to the burnt adobe found in Mission San Xavier del Bac). Their form was typically one story and one room, constructed adjacent to the streets and abutted side by side in rows. Few early buildings had stone foundations, and the adobe was simply stacked on the ground. Stone foundations became routine after the Americans arrived. Improved foundations also allowed for thinner wall structures. Living conditions were primitive by mid-nineteenth-century standards, dirt floors, and few windows with no glass. Lack of sheathing left the adobes exposed to the weather, another contributing factor to their eventual demolition. As a desert, the Santa Cruz Valley had few trees suitable for lumber, and though tall pines were available in the Santa Catalina Mountains, sawmills were a late American import. The primary building materials were those locally available, including adobe, stone, and local plants like saguaro and ocotillo, which could be used to support dirt roofs. Timber beams provided the main roof support, sometimes projecting beyond the walls as vigas. Atop these beams, the builders laid dried saguaro cactus ribbing or ocotillo stocks on which they piled the roofing material of straw and mud.[17]

[14] Ibid. 70-71.
[15] Ibid., 72-73.
[16] Ibid., 73, 75.
[17] David C. Mackie, et al., *Historic Architecture in Tucson*, 1969, 20.

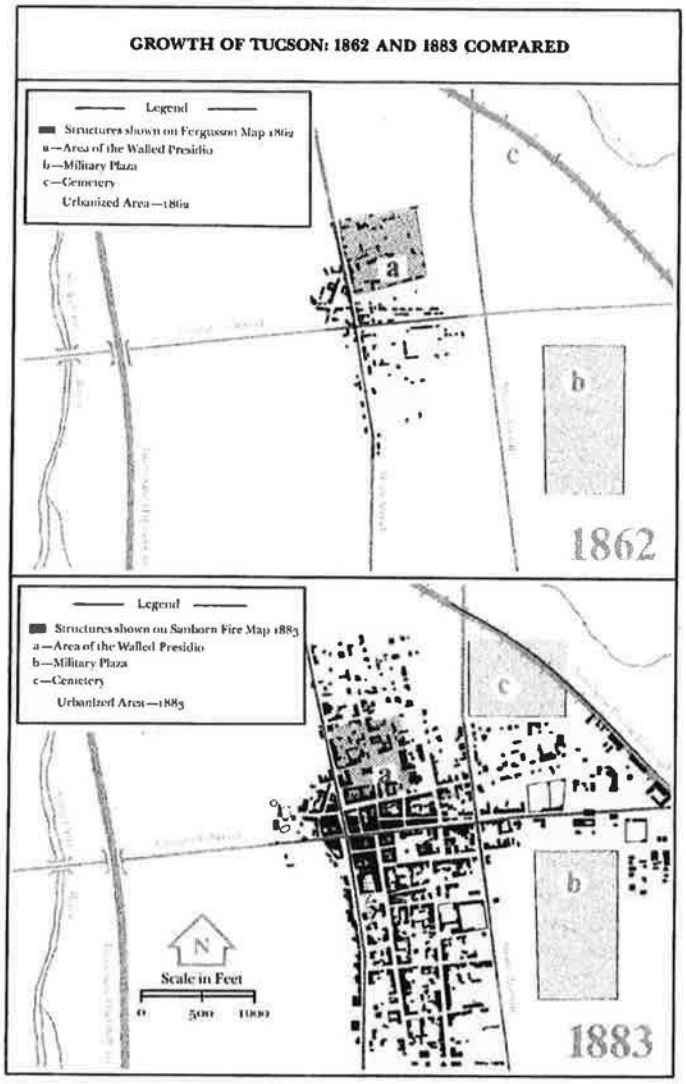


Figure 14. Map by Don Bufkin, from Don Bufkin, "From Mud Village to Modern Metropolis: The Urbanization of Tucson," *Journal of Arizona History*. Vol. 22, No. 1, Spring 1981, 69. Note that the Southern Pacific Railroad right-of-way marked on the 1862 portion did not actually exist at that time.

Prior to the Civil War, only a handful of Anglo Americans lived in Tucson and the buildings they constructed reflected established practices. Photographs from the 1870s indicated that recent commercial buildings followed the earlier pattern—adobe exposed to the elements, flat dirt roofs, and zero setback. The first lumber mills in the Santa Rita Mountains in the 1860s only whetted the appetite of Americans for the possibilities of future construction along Eastern lines. Industry arrived in Tucson in the form of a flour mill constructed in 1875 by Solomon Warner. Warner had come to Arizona in 1855 as a stonemason working at Fort Yuma. He later settled in Tucson and opened the

first general store. He prospered with the town, constructing a small three-stamp ore mill and venturing into real estate and other activities until the depression following 1884 ruined him and temporarily reversed Tucson's pattern of growth.[18]

5. Architectural Legacy of the Spanish/Mexican/Early American Eras

The direct architectural legacy of the Spanish, Mexican and Early American eras consists of archaeological remains and a handful of standing buildings dating to the 1860s and 1870s. The Spanish era presidio and the convento disintegrated into ruins following their abandonment and were demolished by the early twentieth century. Archaeologists have uncovered portions of these sites and the City of Tucson has undertaken modest reconstruction efforts for public education purposes. Elsewhere, remains of canals have been traced, some of which indicate their earliest origin as Pima Indian agricultural works later adapted by Mexican and American settlers. Most common housing of the Mexican and early American eras also disappeared, although in a few cases adobe walls have been preserved and integrated into later houses. Most important early American buildings have been lost or exist only as ruins, such as Solomon Warner's mill building near "A" Mountain.

Notable survivors of the early American period began to draw the interest of historic preservationists in the 1960s when the City of Tucson began planning for an urban renewal project resulting in the construction of the Tucson Convention Center. This downtown redevelopment project necessitated the loss of many old buildings, particularly in the barrios where many of the remaining old adobes were located. One of the first objects of preservation interest was the Frémont House, briefly the residence of the famous explorer and first Republican presidential candidate, John C. Frémont, who served as Arizona's territorial governor. Saved for its association with The Pathfinder, the house is now called the Sosa-Carrillo-Frémont House (NRHP listed 1971) in recognition of its multi-cultural heritage. During the early American period there was time for practical Mexican building traditions to merge with American tastes from which a distinctive transitional style emerged. A small number of these transitional forms have survived. One such is the Charles O. Brown House (NRHP listed 1971). After Brown bought a flush-to-the-street adobe in 1868 (believed to date to the 1850s), he added new rooms, also in adobe, but with what for the times was an impressive amount of redwood shipped into the territory by steamboat and hauled by wagons to Tucson.

Apart from a very small number of isolated surviving buildings, the Hispanic building traditions of early Tucson survived best among the local Mexican-American population. Despite accounting for a majority of the local population up to 1900, the *Tucsonenses*, ethnic Mexican Americans, became increasingly marginalized as Anglo Americans acquired and subdivided land, leaving them to the older, poorer neighborhoods near the railroad tracks. These evolved into the *barrios* of twentieth century Tucson. Particularly in Barrio Líbre (NRHP listed 1978), located close to downtown, a number of old adobes survive illustrating both the old rowhouse forms as well as transitional forms under Americanizing influences (Figure 15). The loss of many of these old adobes in the wake of urban renewal awoke the community to their importance and the remaining blocks have since been preserved as a historic district.

[18] Mackie, *Historic Architecture in Tucson*, 21; Marjorie Wilson, "Solomon Warner House & Mill," National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, 1976.

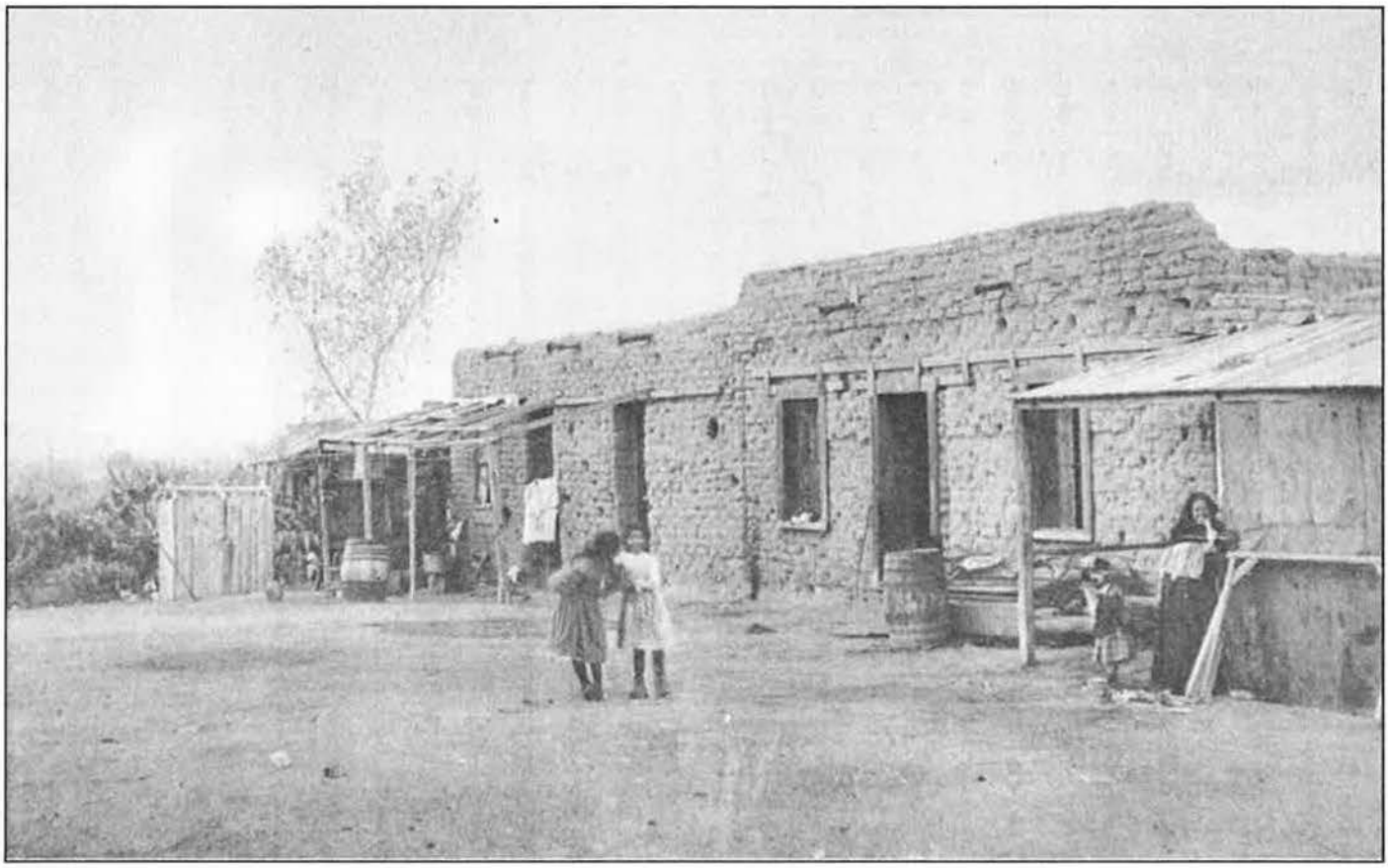


Figure 15. Barrio Libre section of Tucson, ca. 1890. Photo reproduced from original in The Arizona Historical Society Library in Historic Preservation Consultants, *Historic Architecture in Tucson: A Report on the Historic Architecture to be Preserved as Part of the Pueblo Center Redevelopment Project, City of Tucson, Pima County, Arizona*, 1969, 5.

The following sections summarize the pattern of Tucson growth between 1880 and 1920. An examination of population indicates cycles in Tucson's growth linked to developments of the regional economy and major trends in the national economy. Major events, such as the arrival of the railroad and the founding of the University of Arizona were important catalysts in Tucson's growth. In addition to Anglo and Mexican Americans, blacks and Chinese also established residential enclaves in Tucson. Other topics addressed below include the geographic order of Tucson's growth, the expansion of its boundary, and the pattern of residential development as the community grew from a frontier town into a small city by 1920.

C. Tucson During the Nationalizing Period, 1880-1920

The periodization outlined in this document risks oversimplification of Tucson's architectural history unless we keep in mind two points. First, Tucson differed from Santa Fe, New Mexico or Santa Barbara, California, two cities that applied a distinctive, yet limited official architectural style to define a unified,

harmonious community character. Like most cities, Tucson's character is the product of many decades of accumulation and loss. Rather than having a unified character, Tucson has numerous neighborhoods each conveying the characteristics of its specific time. Only remnants remain of Tucson' earliest Hispanic-influenced period, mostly located in downtown or nearby barrios. The second point is that not all construction followed identical aesthetic imperatives. We have already described how earlier building forms continued to be built and evolve in the relatively isolated confines of the barrios. The following period, referred to as a time of nationalizing Tucson's architectural character, was one of competition between popular styles of the late Victorian era. As described in the associated context, *Spanish and Southwestern Romantic Revivalist Architecture and the Development of a Regional Architectural Identity in the American Southwest, 1884-1940*, most Victorian era domestic architecture was revivalist, drawing heavily on medieval English and American Colonial motifs applied to modern building methods. These styles were popular during Tucson's post-1900 growth and resulted in neighborhoods that today reflect an eclectic historicism rather than any unity of design aesthetics. Yet even after Spanish Colonial Revival came to the fore, other styles continued to be built, just as some builders would continue to employ Spanish Colonial Revival after modernism entered the Tucson scene. Indeed, Spanish Colonial Revival continued to evolve and remains in use to this day, even as post-modernism succeeded modernism as the latest in outside influences on local character.

1. **Tucson and the Southern Arizona Mining Industry, 1854-1912**

   Prior to statehood in 1912, Arizona's primary attraction to outside capitalists was the promise of mineral wealth. The first American prospectors entered southern Arizona soon after the Gadsden Purchase. Unfortunately, extensive development of gold, silver, and copper deposits was hindered by high freight costs. Tubac, not Tucson, was the center of this initial exploration, which was cut off temporarily by the simultaneous outbreak of the Civil War and hostilities with Native Americans. According to traveler J. Ross Browne, in 1864 Tubac was "a city of ruins—ruin and desolation wherever the eye rests." Despite the end of the war in 1865, continued hostilities with the Apaches in particular hindered mineral exploration until Cochise agreed to peace terms in 1872.[19]

   The end of the harshest phase of Arizona's Indian wars encouraged a new period of prospecting across the territory. In the 1850s, Arizona had depended on Eastern capital and long transportation routes from Texas or around the Horn and then overland through Hermosillo, Mexico. The 1870s saw the emergence of San Francisco as the center of finance on the West Coast and as a major manufacturer of mining equipment. This served Tucson well as it was the major stopping point along the overland trail between the steamboat landing at Fort Yuma and the thousands of mining locations across southern Arizona.[20] In 1879, as the tracks of the Southern Pacific Railroad worked steadily towards Tucson, the editor of the local *Arizona Daily Star* newspaper expressed the confident attitude characteristic of civic booster:

   > *We are the heart of the mineral wealth for sixty miles in every direction . . . No other spot can be selected in the country which has so many strong points, for we also are the center of the grazing*

[19] J. Ross Brown, p. 149; Cecil Todd, "Metal Mining and its Associated Industries in Tucson," *Journal of Arizona History* (Vol. 22, No. 2, Spring 1981, 101. [full article pp. 99-128.]
[20] Todd, 103-105.

interests.... From a population of 3,500 we have suddenly advanced to 7,000 and of this about two-fifths are American.... Manufactures are being planted in our midst. Never before in the history of Tucson has the fact been so clearly demonstrated of her importance as a mercantile and mineral center.[21]

Despite having no mines in its immediate vicinity, Tucson boomed with businesses supporting regional mining activities. New businesses included the Arizona and California Lumber Company, which imported California lumber for use in mines as well as building construction in Tucson. Entrepreneurs like P.N. O'Donnell moved from Los Angeles and established the Tucson Iron and Brass Foundry, manufacturer of quartz mills and iron fronts to buildings. The American and Mexican Mining Exchange was established soon after the railroad's arrival to encourage "developing the mining resources of Arizona, of which the city of Tucson is the recognized center." Though most mine laborers lived away from the city at their mining sites, social organizations associated with miners like the Independent Order of Oddfellows and the Knights of Pythias established lodges in Tucson.[22]

Tucson's exuberance to become a major mining center peaked in 1883 with efforts to establish a smelter. Despite $15,000 in bonds offered by Pima County as an incentive the entrepreneurs who could establish a smelter in the Tucson vicinity, the venture was eventually abandoned. Local investors managed to establish a local ore mill in 1884 just in time for the start of a nation-wide economic recession. Later in the decade county incentives succeeded in enticing construction of a smelter, located somewhere near the Santa Cruz River where it was severely damaged by flooding in 1890. An even more severe national depression starting in 1893 nearly finished off Tucson's dream of becoming a wealthy mining center. When a successful smelter was finally established at Corwin in 1912, about twenty-two miles south of the city, Tucson enjoyed at least peripheral economic benefits. By the turn of the century, Tucson was firmly established as the center of mercantile activity in support of regional mining. Tucson improved its standing in related industries such as brick manufacture, which served both the local building market and regional mining activities. The university's School of Mines was an especially valuable resource encouraging development of the territories mineral wealth. By 1912, mining in Arizona was rapidly shifting away from underground shafts towards the processing of massive quantities of low-grade ores dug from gigantic open pits. This required millions of dollars in outside investment, which meant outside control, and the growth of single-industry mining and smelting towns like Bisbee, Douglas, Ajo, and Clifton-Morenci. Tucson's day as the center of southern Arizona mining effectively came to an end and local boosters began to search for another basis to sustain its growth.[23]

2. Population Growth

The special census conducted by the new territorial government of Arizona in 1864 counted 1,568 people living in Tucson, approximately one-fourth of the territory's non-Indian population (see U.S. Census table below). This proportion grew to one-third in 1870, reflective of the town's location on

[21] Ibid., 106.
[22] Ibid., 110-111.
[23] Ibid., 116-117, 119-120, 122-123.

the main trail to California and position as supply point for mining exploration in southern Arizona. Tucson's population actually shrank after 1884 due to a collapse in the territory's silver mining industry.[24] During these years and up until the Great Depression, mining towns such as Bisbee, Clifton, and Jerome were important population centers, nearly equal to those of Phoenix and Tucson. The city's population grew slowly for the remainder of the nineteenth century and then accelerated over the following three decades before the Depression slowed the rate of growth again. During and after World War II, Tucson began to attract industry as well as Davis-Monthan Air Force Base. With a diversifying economic base and improvements in air conditioning technology (no small factor), Tucson grew rapidly after the war, from 35,752 in 1940 to 212,892 in 1960, a nearly six-fold increase.

U.S. Census Population of Tucson, Pima County, and Arizona

	Tucson	Pima County	Arizona
1864*	1,568	---	6,482
1870	3,224	5,716	9,658
1880	7,007	17,006	40,440
1890	5,150	12,673**	88,243
1900	7,531	14,689	122,931
1910	13,913	22,818	204,354
1920	20,292	34,680	334,162
1930	32,506	55,676	435,573
1940	35,752	72,838	499,261
1950	45,454	141,216	749,587
1960	212,892	265,660	1,302,161

***Special Territorial census exclusive of Indian population**
**Between 1871 and 1881 Pima County was subdivided into the present Pima, Pinal, Graham, Greenlee, and Cochise counties.

3. Chinese, African American, and Mormon Settlement in Tucson

Mexican Americans constituted a majority of Tucson's population until 1900, after which the Anglo American population dominated. The Hispanic population began to surge again after about 1920 when reclamation-driven agricultural growth drew immigrants from Mexico. Yet other minority groups too lived in Tucson. Chinese laborers working on the railroad established an enclave in Tucson just southwest of the old presidio. This had been the first business district of the American era, where Solomon Warner established his mercantile store, but had been gradually abandoned in favor of the newer commercial district to the southeast. African Americans came to Tucson slowly, the census recording only 86 in 1900 and only 345 in 1920. Expansion of cotton growing through southern Arizona drew more African Americans from the South, raising the Tucson population to 1,003 in 1930. While a few lived in non-segregated parts of town as domestic servants, most African

[24] Jonathan B. Mabry, James E. Ayres, and Regina L. Chapin-Pyritz, *Tucson at the Turn of the Century: The Archaeology of a City Block*, (Tucson: Center for Desert Archaeology, 1994), 4.

Americans lived in a couple of dense, segregated neighborhoods. The largest of these, with about sixty percent of Tucson's black population, was in the area from 9th to Main avenues and from Main to Speedway. About a quarter of Tucson blacks lived between 5th and 6th streets and 4th and Stone avenues. After World War II, the policies of the Federal Housing Administration actually strengthened racial boundaries by red lining bank loans to areas with concentrations of blacks and discouraging integrated neighborhoods. Cressworth Lander, a black real estate agent in the fifties and later Tucson's director of community services recalled, "Right after World War II, with FHA mortgages, we built a lily white ring around the city of Tucson." The local newspaper's real estate ads included a special column listing homes available to "Colored" people.[25]

Farms and ranches surrounding Tucson expanded the local agricultural economy and began the process of land acquisition, privatization and subdivision that would facilitate urbanization in subsequent decades. In 1886 there were enough settlers north of the Rillito River to form an irrigation company, although the difficulty of managing the flash flooding characteristic of desert washes stymied agricultural development until Mormon settlers in 1898 imported improved reclamation techniques. Yet even the Mormons, who established the colony of Binghampton, ultimately found ditch irrigation impractical on the unreliable Rillito and further agricultural development depended on wells until the local water table fell. Mormons established many towns across Arizona in the nineteenth century, which followed, to greater or lesser degrees, the "City of Zion" town planning model common to Mormon colonization in the West. Binghampton, however, was a late settlement populated to a large extent with Mormon refugees from Mexico, and failed to develop beyond its local church, cemetery and scattered farmhouses along both sides of the Rillito. Lacking a core townsite, Binghampton evolved in the twentieth into a semi-rural enclave of horse properties and small orchards in the now surrounding sea of urban Tucson.[26]

4. The University of Arizona

The Morrill Act of 1862 authorized federal assistance for land-grant colleges to promote education in agriculture and mining. The Territorial Legislature in 1885 chartered the University of Arizona, which opened with six faculty and 32 students in 1891. Five years later the student population reached 149 occupying a single building, Old Main, on its forty-acre campus. Since there were no high schools in Arizona at the time, the university actually enrolled more preparatory students than college students proper. The institution grew slowly at first, graduating no more than ten students per year in its early years. The first masters' degrees were awarded in 1903 and the first Ph.D. in 1922. After the turn of the century, additional buildings were added to accommodate the growing number of students, colleges, and schools—Herring Hall (1913), Agriculture (1915), Mines and Engineering

[25] Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, *The Chinese of Early Tucson: Historic Archaeology from the Tucson Urban Renewal Project*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), 1-2; Harry Lawson, *The History of African Americans in Tucson: An Afrocentric Perspective; Vol. 1: 1860 to 1960*, (Tucson: Lawson's Psychological Services, 1996), 36, 98, 99-100; Bonnie Henry, *Another Tucson*, (Tucson: The Arizona Daily Star, 1972), p. 90-91.

[26] Janet H. Parkhurst, "Binghampton Rural Historic Landscape," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, 2003, 8:1-13; Mabry, et al, 8.

(1918), an engineering college in 1919, the Steward Observatory (1921), Cochise Hall (1920), University Library (1924), and so forth.[27]

In 1898, a horse-drawn streetcar broke the university's isolation from downtown Tucson, with an electric trolley replacing horses in 1906. The open vista to Old Main began to be filled in during the first decade of the twentieth century as houses were constructed in what is now the West University neighborhood (NRHP listed 1980). Commerce followed population until the university became an important focal point in the city's growth.

5. Patterns of Residential Growth

a) Geographic Pattern of Growth

The old presidio established the center of historic Tucson from which later growth radiated. During the Spanish and Mexican periods, most residents lived near the presidio, and many farmed the agricultural fields to the west of the fort. Later, human institutions rather than geographic imperatives had a greater influence on the direction of Tucson's growth. During the early American period, the U.S. Army established Fort Lowell to the northeast of the old presidio, which naturally attracted settlers to its vicinity. As the university grew, homes and businesses leapt over the railroad tracks separating it from downtown, creating a new center of development.

While mountains define Tucson's geographic surroundings, they have had relatively little direct effect on the city's growth. The Tucson and Rincon mountains are small ranges and would hardly hinder the city's growth to the east and west were it not for the jurisdiction of Saguaro National Park. Likewise, most the Santa Catalina Mountains are federal land under the management of the U.S. Forest Service. Rather than hinder growth, the Santa Catalinas and its foothills have drawn population northward as street improvements during the twentieth century made the area accessible for high-class residential developments and subsequent commercial growth.

b) Land Subdivision

Tucson incorporated as a town in 1871 and its 1872 townsite included two square miles of public land. The original townsite was bounded by Speedway Boulevard to the north, First Avenue to the east, 22nd Street to the south and Main Avenue to the west. The township included the established street and neighborhood layouts of the old presidio and the outlying barrios that followed the contours of the Santa Cruz River agricultural floodplain, but extended and rectified the existing street pattern into an orthogonal grid on the outer limits of the township boundaries.

In contrast to the Spanish use of an orthogonal street pattern around a plaza to create a sense of a community center, Tucson's new grid, based on the American traditions of William Penn, was more a device of democratic division of land for economic speculation and expansion. This

[27] Robert C. Giebner, David Blackburn, Adelaide Elm and Doug Kupel, "University of Arizona Campus Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, 1985, 7:1-2, 8:4-5.

"American" grid became the model of all subsequent growth as the city acquired more land and as the unincorporated areas of the Tucson basin began to expand.

With the arrival of the railroad and the establishment of the University of Arizona, Tucson experienced modest growth between 1880 and 1890, which accelerated by the start of the 20th century. The shift in Tucson's geo-cultural center towards the university marked the first of many such shifts as increased mobility brought about by the technological advances in transportation aided new development. Understanding this impact, land speculators and developers began subdividing their homesteads east of the townsite in anticipation of the growing urban population. Unhampered by geographic boundaries, the growth potential of the Tucson Basis seemed endless and was made affordable through homestead legislation. Between 1880 and 1912, when Arizona became the forty-eighth state, Tucson experienced a rapid pace of growth that defined it as Southern Arizona's economic and cultural center.

Between World War I and the Great Depression, residential subdivision development outside the city limits was rampant. The original 1872 grid-street pattern expanded to the north and east away from the original townsite, with the university as a primary destination for urban growth. Developments previously outside the perceived limits of the town were becoming not only accessible—due to increased automobile use—but desirable as an escape from the growing congestion of the urbanized city. During the boom years of the 1920s, great portions of the desert were developed in anticipation of continuing high demand for residential subdivisions.

The orthogonal grid, formerly associated with equitable land distribution, was now becoming associated with the middle-class living standards of small lots and equally small houses. Beginning in 1915, subdivisions were developed with deed restrictions intended to ensure property values through exclusivity. As a way of distinguishing affluent neighborhoods from those of the middle class, California developers, architects and landscape architects introduced alternatives to the grid subdivision layout. Eager to capitalize on these external forces, local developers and builders began creating subdivisions that aspired to compete for elite clientele to settle in Tucson rather than San Diego, Los Angeles, or Phoenix. Of the many local builders working in Tucson during the 1920s, John Murphey was developing a reputation as a prolific builder in some of Tucson's early middle-class subdivisions surrounding the University. He, too, aspired to become a developer of elite communities and was poised to apply his extraordinary vision and sharp business acumen to create some of Tucson's most distinguished subdivisions.[28]

c) Expansion of City Limits

In 1940, when the city's population was less than forty thousand, Tucson encompassed approximately twenty square miles. The accelerated growth of after 1945 occurred mostly beyond the city limits in the county where building regulations were virtually non-existent. Over 125 subdivisions were developed between 1945 and 1952 without government oversight. Many of the houses constructed in this period were small and cheap and developers could skimp on drainage, traffic circulation, and utility capacity. Some two-thirds of the city's population in

[28] Anne M. Nequette and R. Brooks Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992).

1950 actually lived beyond the city limits, challenging the efficient provision of municipal services. The Legislature in 1949 finally authorized counties to enact planning and zoning regulations and Pima County was the first in the state to enact a zoning plan in 1952. Still, county regulation remained light and its staff had no capacity to prepare regional plans, instead they could only review subdivisions one at a time for basic infrastructure and circulation, with little opportunity to relate one developer's proposal with another's. This problem was finally addressed by an aggressive annexation campaign, which expanded the city to over seventy square miles by 1960. By 1960, the city had taken in over 275 subdivisions that had been developed in the county to the north and east of downtown. One result of the pattern of development just beyond the city limit was the creation of distinct concentric zones of development, each with shared physical characteristics reflective of the times.[29]

6. Building Construction During the Nationalizing Period, 1880-1920

a) Building Characteristics

In 1880 fired brick became available, although it did not replace adobe quickly because of its higher cost. Building suppliers like A.D. Otis. & Co., the Tucson Lumber Company, and the Arizona & California Lumber Co. sold doors, sash and blinds, lumber, windows shingles, paints, and more shipped in from California. One sign of the changing times was the arrival of Alex P. Petit from San Francisco, the first architect to set up a firm in Tucson. (Figure 16) Most of the

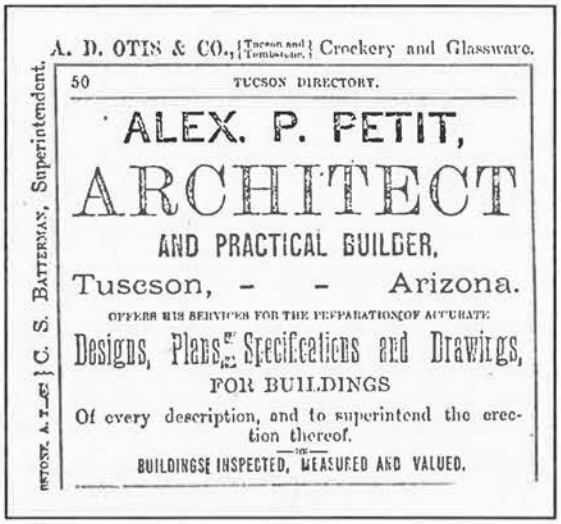


Figure 16. Advertisement in the 1881 Tucson City Directory illustrates the increasing availability of modern building materials made available after the arrival of the railroad. The first advertisement for an architect in Tucson from the 1883-84 Directory. Reproduced in Historic Preservation Consultants, *Historic Architecture in Tucson: A Report on the Historic Architecture to be Preserved as Part of the Pueblo Center Redevelopment Project, City of Tucson, Pima County, Arizona*, 1969, 22.

[29] Akros, Inc. "Tucson Post World War II Residential Subdivision Development 1945-1973," (Tucson: City of Tucson Urban Planning and Design Department, 2007), 9-10.

adobe buildings of old Tucson were doomed to fall within a short time simply due to lack of appropriate maintenance. The common building form for both row houses and commercial buildings had little or no overhang of the roof to protect the adobe from rain. Furthermore many had no exterior sheathing to speak of. The railroad also opened Tucson to new technologies, contributing to the obsolescence of existing buildings. The first telephone came to Tucson in 1881 and electricity, water and sewer infrastructure soon followed. Street improvements, especially widening, removed more buildings.[30]

b) Anglo American Building Forms

In 1880, Lional and Baron Jacobs raised a new building on East Alameda Street. It was, like other buildings, adobe, but broke with tradition by rising two-stories and incorporating extensive redwood framing, trim, and doors. The Jacobs House was a characteristic mid-Victorian building with wood floors, imported hardware, and even wallpaper. This reminder of Eastern housing made the old adobes appear not only shabby in comparison, but increasingly foreign, which is to say the old architecture was thought of as "Mexican" and the new as "American."[31]

One of the first aspects of design modified by new Anglo-American immigrants to Tucson was the roof. Wood framing gradually replaced heavy ceiling beams and flat earthen roofs gave way to shingled sloped roofs. The older Hispanic house model was based around a self-sufficient room as a basic unit. Anglo Americans imported the house subdivided into rooms as its basic unit. Anglo Americans also introduced neighborhood patterns of subdivide land with houses setback from the street. While local Hispanic builders also adopted these patterns, the old barrios retain examples of older forms—zero setback, lime-stuccoed walls, brick coping at the parapet for buildings with flat roofs, metal sheathing on pyramidal roofs, doors set deep, but windows and shutters at the exterior face of the wall, and simple wooden trim. Porches, a feature of most Anglo-American styles, proved popular in sunny Tucson, and were adopted by later transitional house forms in the barrios (Figure 17). The Barrio Libre Historic District today displays the largest concentration of buildings from, or stylistically derived from, the transitional period of the late nineteenth century.[32]

c) Residential Neighborhood Development in Tucson, 1880-1920

One of the earliest residential areas to reflect the nationalizing influence of the railroad is the appropriately named Iron Horse Expansion Historic District (NRHP listed 1986). This neighborhood, located between downtown and the university, developed into a relatively dense enclave of rental homes for railroad employees. The first houses in the neighborhood were constructed of adobe, typically with flat roofs in the Sonoran manner. Shortly after, the transitional "Territorial Style," with its wood-framed hip or gable roof began to appear. Between 1900 and 1908, housing in the Queen Anne style began to appear and along with it the abandonment of adobe in favor of brick. Queen Anne was itself abandoned after 1908 in favor of the newly popular Bungalow. With only a few later Period Revivals, mostly Spanish Colonial

[30] Mackie, et al., *Historic Architecture in Tucson*, 22; Mabry, et al, *Tucson at the Turn of the Century*, 4, 8.
[31] Mackie, et al., *Historic Architecture in Tucson*, 23.
[32] Morgan Rieder, et al, "Barrio El Hoyo Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," 2008, 7:1-3, 8:18-23.

Figure 17. The hip roof, front porch, window glazing, and brick characterize the early "Americanization" of Tucson architecture. McCleary House, 1888. Photo reproduced from original in The Arizona Historical Society Library in Historic Preservation Consultants, *Historic Architecture in Tucson: A Report on the Historic Architecture to be Preserved as Part of the Pueblo Center Redevelopment Project, City of Tucson, Pima County, Arizona*, 1969, 78.

Revivals, filling out the neighborhoods in the twenties, Iron Horse Expansion is today Tucson's best example of a working class neighborhood from the nationalizing era[33]

As Tucson prospered and grew, its successful businessmen and health seekers of means were among the first to abandon the old adobe part of town and develop new affluent neighborhoods with modern houses in the popular styles. The area along North Main Avenue became the first neighborhood of substantial houses, referred to as "Snob Hollow" for its elaborate Victorian mansions of brick and woodwork, set back from the street with an intervening grass yard. The Armory Park neighborhood (NRHP listed 1976), like Iron Horse Expansion, was also aimed

[33] "Iron Horse Expansion Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form, 1985, 7:4-9.

initially towards the needs of railroad workers. Located south and east of the downtown business district, the area initially developed in close proximity to the railroad along 3rd and 4th avenues. Armory Park was the city's first streetcar suburb and it attracted many prominent residents, such as architect Henry Trost, who designed the Neo-Classical library and George Roskruge, Surveyor General of the Territory and the man responsible for Tucson's grid pattern as it was laid out in 1902. While the oldest building in the neighborhood was an old adobe once isolated ¾ of a mile from the presidio, later buildings were constructed primarily of brick. Foundations were typically of stone, the product of skilled stonemasons such as "Mr. Flin," an immigrant from France who quarried the stone from A Mountain (west of the Santa Cruz River) for the Immaculate Heart Academy (1886). As time past, the neighborhood accumulated an eclectic collection of homes in styles popular at the time, including Queen Anne and Greek Revival.[34]

The land Tucson acquired from the public domain in 1872 was, apart from a few public reserves for schools and parks, sold for development. Between 1890 and 1930, what is now the West University Historic District (NRHP listed 1980) developed into the quintessential neighborhood of the nationalizing era. (Figure 18) The typical pattern of development at that time was a

Figure 18. Bungalow styles popular before the surge of interest in Southwestern Romanticism. West University Historic District National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form.

[34] Anna B. Laos, "Armory Park Historic Residential District," National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, 1975, 7:1-7:3, 8:1-8:3.

landowner subdividing land into building lots, laying out necessary streets and infrastructure, and then sellng lots to individuals or investors who hired their own contractors to build. The result was an eclectic mix of styles popular at the time. The most common style was the Bungalow, ranging from pattern-book examples to high-style homes designed by Pasadena architect Arthur Heineman. Period Revival designs of every type—Neo-Classical, Romanesque, Italianate, and Gothic—are represented. Being a later development than Armory Park, West University also includes a sampling of early Mission Revival and Spanish Colonial Revival. Built before the implementation of zoning regulations, the West University neighborhood also includes alley-facing residences commonly used by servants or rented to tuberculosis patients or, later, university students. The neighborhood also exhibits the era's transition in building materials. The oldest houses are adobe while those constructed after 1896 were typically of brick. Wood frame is rare, reflecting the city ordinance of 1905, which banned wooden structures within the city. Stone was commonly used for foundations well into the twenties.[35]

7. Notable architects and builders of the National period in Tucson architecture

The late 1890s saw a return to prosperity across the country and Tucson entered upon a new period of growth that would begin its transition from a small town into a city. New construction in a community lacking an established dominant firm meant opportunity for new architects. Alex Petit, who had previously worked in pre-earthquake San Francisco, had been Tucson's first self-described architect, but for most of the remainder of the nineteenth century most construction was undertaken by local builders and craftsmen. The first architect of importance to fill this void was Henry C. Trost. Trost arrived in Tucson in 1899 after several years of work as a draftsman and designer of decorative iron work in Chicago, Colorado, and Texas. Like most people calling themselves architects at this time, Trost lacked a formal architectural education, instead he learned the fundamentals of the building trade from his father, a carpenter and contractor. This proved sufficient and his entry into Tucson coincided with several major building projects that in most other cities would have been unlikely to go to a newcomer.

Trost was born in 1860 in Toledo, Ohio. After attending local public schools he went to an art school, which gave him sufficient skill to find work as a draftsman in a local architectural firm. Relatively little is known about his work over the following two decades. He moved several times, first to Colorado in 1880 where he became associated with another roving architect, Frank Weston. The two formed a partnership, Weston and Trost, which existed on and off between 1881 and 1898. Beyond an early commission to build a city hall for Colorado Springs, little is known about the output of this firm. In any case, by the mid 1880s Trost was moving around Texas and Kansas finding work here and there apparently primarily as a draftsman. In 1887 he moved to Chicago where he worked until 1896. These years were Chicago's architectural heyday, with Louis Sullivan at his busiest and the young Frank Lloyd Wright setting out on his illustrious career. This was also the time of the building of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, which would influence American architecture for decades to come. It is plausible, though not proven that Trost may have worked at Adler and Sullivan at just the time when Wright was supervising the firm's "small army"

[35] Laird, "West University Historic District," 7:1-7:3.

of draftsmen. In any case, Trost's later work would show a strong Sullivanesque influence. While in Chicago, Trost joined and apparently became an important member of the Chicago Architectural Sketch Club, a group formed by local draftsmen who could not afford a formal architectural education at one of the new university programs, but followed the traditional pattern of draftsman apprenticeship. Trost's most important work was as a designer of decorative wrought iron.[36]

In 1896, Trost returned to Colorado and though he briefly reactivated his partnership with Weston, by 1899 he had moved again, this time to Tucson. His timing could not have been better for Tucson was entering on a period of strong growth but was largely devoid of architectural competition. One of his first commissions was a house for Marcus A. Smith, long-time territorial delegate to Congress and future U.S. senator. In 1901 he won a competition for the new Carnegie Library, which he executed in monumental Neoclassical Revival style. For The Owls, a social club for prominent business and civic leaders, he designed two clubhouses in the Mission Revival style, among the first seen in Tucson. At the same time he designed the Donau House, which was a remarkably modern-looking house with sparse ornamentation, distinct smooth lines, and a low American Prairie-like roof. Trost briefly worked in partnership with Robert E. Rust, which resulted in the Santa Rita Hotel, then the finest hostelry in Tucson. Outside of Tucson his outstanding work was a new Santa Cruz County Courthouse in Nogales. In all of these Trost demonstrated his mastery of eclecticism and his work crossed all boundaries of style. By 1930 he had designed a magnificent prison in Spanish Colonial Revival near El Paso, and was designing Art Deco skyscrapers in Phoenix and El Paso.[37]

Trost left Tucson in 1903 and established a new firm, Trost and Trost, with his brother Gustavus. El Paso was then both larger and growing at a more rapid pace than Tucson and Trost would soon become that city's most important architect. At the same time, he continued to design in both Arizona and New Mexico. While in El Paso he became one of the early builders in reinforced concrete and much of his later work involved several notable highrises, including the Luhrs Tower in Phoenix. Trost died in 1933. His architectural legacy in Tucson was initially quite great, but the years have taken a severe toll in demolitions and alterations. While he is notable as one of the first to give Tucson fine examples of Mission Revival style, he was far too eclectic to classify as a major Hispanicizer. While he worked well in several different historicist styles it was perhaps his affinity for Sullivanesque details that made his work most distinctive, the first pioneer of the Chicago school of architecture to venture to the Arizona frontier.

Another architect of note during this period was David H. Holmes, designer of the Hotel Heidel. Holmes was influenced both by Trost's work, especially the 1903-04 Santa Rita Hotel (now destroyed). He came to Arizona from Colorado in 1898 to work as an architecture lecturer at the university. In addition to teaching, he also designed and supervised the construction of several early campus buildings. In 1905 he opened the architectural firm of Holmes and Holmes with his brother Jessie. By 1907 they were the "busiest firm in town" doing "about four-fifths of the professional architectural work in the city." In 1907 they were also working on the high school and the Old

[36] Lloyd C. and June-Marie F. Englebrecht, *Henry C. Trost: Architect of the Southwest*, (El Paso, Texas: El Paso Public Library Association, 1981), 1-11.
[37] Englebrecht, *Trost*, 20-21, 25-26, 29.

Pueblo Club as well as a large number of residences. Their design approach appears to be eclectic, as their buildings vary in style from project to project. In 1912 they moved the firm to San Diego.[38]

D. The Southwestern Romantic Period in Tucson Residential Architecture, 1920-1960

1. Tucson's Promotion of Tourism in the 1920s

Despite significant growth during the first two decades of the twentieth century, a sharp national recession after World War I brought to light Tucson's economic weaknesses. The development of company towns to dig and process copper ore ended any prospect of significant growth based on that sector. Livestock raising, particularly cattle, was another traditional economic base, as was railroading. The Southern Pacific Railroad was then Tucson's largest employer. Neither of these sectors, however, promised substantial future growth. Tucson suffered a psychological blow after the 1920 census revealed it had fallen behind Phoenix as Arizona's largest city. When the recession lifted, local boosters searched for new ways to sustain growth and turned aggressively to the promotion of tourism.

Southern California had pioneered in the civic boosting of tourism. Publications like *Sunset Magazine* and *Land of Sunshine* touted local culture, history, economic growth, and the southern California climate to encourage tourists and new residents. With an eye on the thousands of rail passengers passing through their city annually, Tucson boosters believed it was an opportune moment to recast Tucson's image from a refuge for health seekers into a destination resort. The Chamber of Commerce initially stepped up to encourage tourism, placing ads in publications like *Sunset Magazine* and as early as 1913. By 1922, with the national recession behind, the Chamber was receiving so many inquiries from potential tourists that local businessmen began to think it time for a major promotional campaign. To encourage a boosterish spirit throughout the community, the Chamber sponsored cash prizes to inspire catchy slogans for advertisement.[39]

Building upon the Chamber's efforts, later in 1922 a group of twenty-five businessmen and civic leaders determined that to effectively promote tourism required a new organization. They formed the Tucson Sunshine-Climate Club and hired the agency that had recently managed a promotional campaign for San Diego, California. Tucson's target, following San Diego's example, was "people of means" who might stay for an entire winter season. With satisfactory results from its initial efforts, the Club under the leadership of local auto dealer Monte Mansfield, planned an expanded $75,000 campaign for the 1924-25 season. Advertisements in 174 magazines and newspapers reportedly reached an audience of up to ten million Americans and included a booklet with an article by author Harold Bell Wright, "Why I Did Not Die," attesting to Tucson's miraculous climate.[40]

While the Tucson Sunshine-Climate Club focused its efforts on national advertising, many leading members participated in other civic booster organizations. The Arizona Polo Association formed in

[38] James Garrison, James Woodward, Jr., and Cindy Myers, "Hotel Heidel," National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, 1982, 8:1-2.
[39] Alex Jay Kimmelman, "Luring the Tourist to Tucson: Civic Promotion During the 1920s," *Journal of Arizona History*, Vol. 28, No. 2, Summer 1987, 135-154.
[40] Ibid., 138-139.

late 1924 under the leadership of F. Leighton Kramer, a wealthy Philadelphia healthseeker who had relocated to Tucson that year, with the goal of making Arizona the "winter capital of Polo" and was instrumental in the staging of Tucson's La Fiesta de los Vaqueros rodeo. The parade and three days of rodeo tournament in February 1925 marked the start of the rebranding of Tucson in the Southwestern Romanticist mode. While climate remained at the top of most advertisements, boosters began to retreat from seeking healthseekers, most of who found no true medical relief from the supposedly miraculous weather. Tucson's new image was as a city where the cowboy mystique was preserved and treasured. At the same time, Tucson called itself the "Old Pueblo" and celebrated as well the city's Spanish heritage and the beautiful image of Mission San Xavier del Bac.[41]

The success of the Chamber and Sunshine Club's ad campaigns revealed the city's lack of a first class resort hotel. Levi Manning, businessman, real estate developer and one-time mayor took up leadership of an effort to build a resort hotel. Manning had been instrumental in the success of the downtown Santa Rita Hotel two decades previous, but by 1925 the general belief was that a resort was needed outside of town offering views of mountains and deserts and space for recreation. A 120-acre site on east Broadway Boulevard was selected and Henry Jaastad's architectural firm hired to create the Mission Revival style El Conquistador Hotel. Unfortunately, difficulties in raising funds delayed construction and nearly led to abandonment of the project. In early 1928, the United Hotel Company of America stepped in and took over the project and hired local developer John Murphey to bring it to completion. When it opened on November 22, 1928, the "El Con" boasted seventy rooms, each with private bath, as well as such recreational amenities as stables and tennis courts. An eighteen-hole golf course was located nearby. At the same time the El Conquistador Hotel was under development, another investor group led by Harold Steinfeld financed and built the million-dollar Pioneer Hotel in downtown. This flurry of activity encouraged the owners of the Santa Rita, Congress, Palomar, and Coronado hotels to renovate. By the end of 1929, Tucson boasted over 1,300 hotel rooms.[42]

The Great Depression devastated the tourism market and the El Conquistador Hotel soon descended into bankruptcy. Tourism would revive in the later thirties only to be cut off again by the war. The war brought military training facilities and new industry and though tourism after 1945 remained important, the Tucson metropolis of the later twentieth century would be built on a more diversified economic base.

2. Patterns of Residential Development

The twenties were the takeoff decade for urbanization in Arizona, with growth accelerated in both Phoenix and Tucson. Tucson's census population grew from just over 20,000 to over 32,000. A large proportion of this increase continued to be healthseekers hoping, often against hope, of finding restoration in the dry, mild climate, yet still encouraged to come by groups like the Tucson Sunshine Climate Club, formed in 1922. As a distribution and collection point for agriculture and commerce in southern Arizona, Tucson's economy grew along with the federal reclamation programs that were

[41] Ibid., 139-140.
[42] Ibid., 148-150.

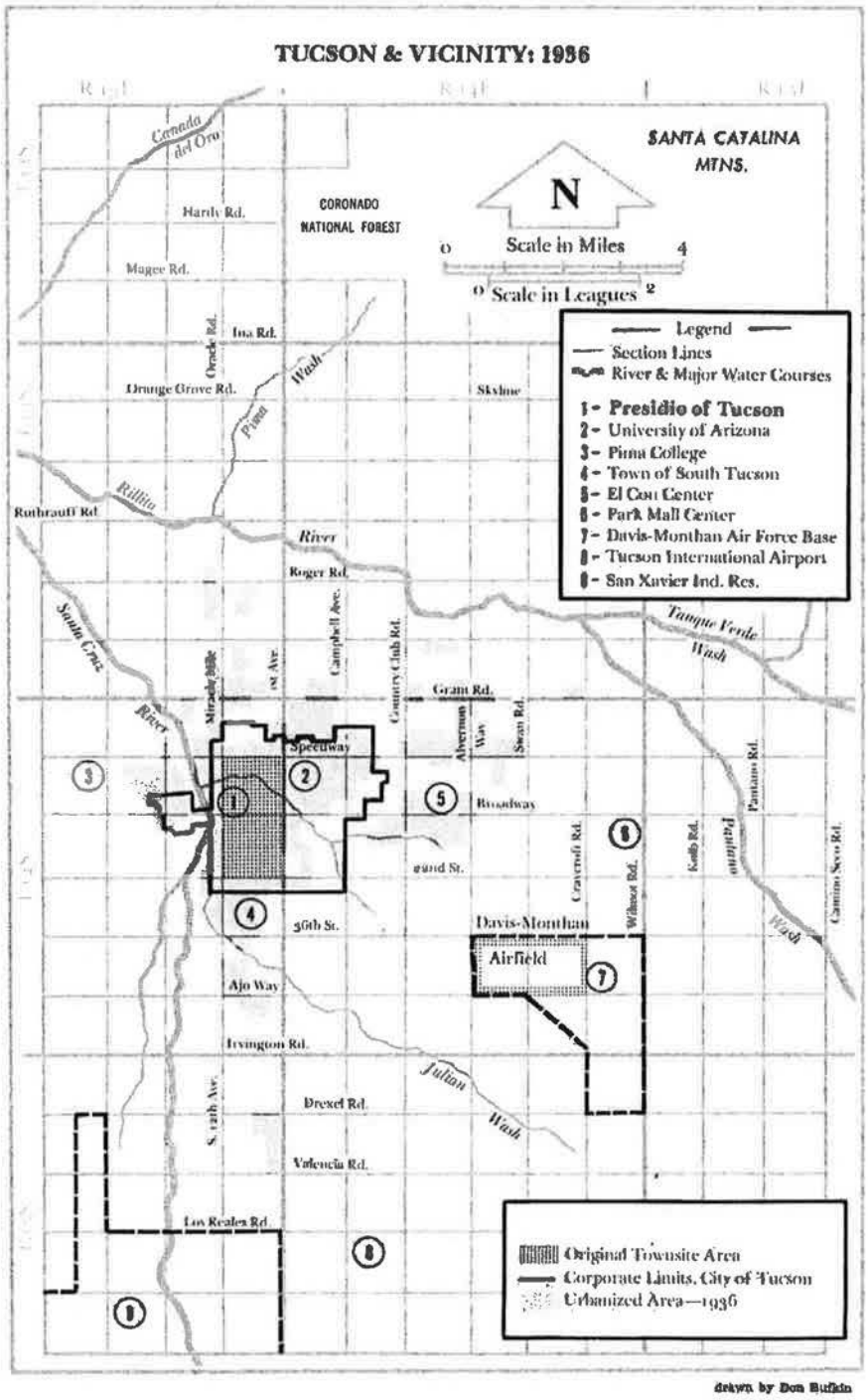


Figure 19. Tucson and vicinity, 1936. From Don Bufkin, "From Mud Village to Modern Metropolis: The Urbanization of Tucson," *Journal of Arizona History*. Vol. 22, No. 1, Spring 1981, 80.

most active in that decade. Mining activity continued to prosper until the Great Depression undermined world demand for copper. Manufacturing remained in a rudimentary state until after the Second World War. The city opened its first municipal air field in 1925 about five miles to the southeast of downtown. Taken over by the U.S. Army during the war, this field eventually became Davis-Monthan Air Force Base. And while a military base provided a significant boost to Tucson's post-war economy, its size and noise made Davis-Monthan AFB a major impediment to the city's southward expansion. (Figure 19)

Tucson's residential growth spread northwards towards the Rillito and the foothills of the Santa Catalina Mountains, and westwards beyond the university. Author Harold Bell Wright (*The Winning of Barbara Worth*, 1911) was one of the newly arrived health seekers and he became an investor who helped spur interest in East Broadway Boulevard area.

Local boosters focused their attention on the goal of a first-class resort hotel. In 1925, the Tucson Chamber of Commerce helped organize an investor group that acquired a parcel on East Broadway

Figure 20. Undated photo of the El Conquistador Hotel, Tucson's most ambitious effort to redefine itself as a resort community with a Spanish theme. From "When El Con (the hotel) was Mighty," *The Tucson Citizen*, 2 November 2007, http://tucsoncitizen.com/morgue/2007/11/02/67576-smith-when-el-con-the-hotel-was-mighty/, accessed July 8, 2014.

Boulevard, just east of Country Club Road. In 1928, the El Conquistador Hotel opened, a fine, though late example of Mission Revival by Henry O. Jaastad.[43] (Figure 20) The hotel became the centerpiece around which several new residential subdivisions were planned in Spanish Colonial Revival style, such as Colonia Solana, El Montevideo Estates, San Clemente, and El Encanto.[44]

Development ambitions during the Southwest/Spanish Romanticist period peaked in 1929 with the opening of El Encanto Estates (NRHP listed 1988). Subdivided from land near the recently opened El Conquistador Resort Hotel. El Encanto Estates was a project of a group of Tucson real estate investors, including William B. Powhatan, Leroy Charles James, and William E. Guerin. In a precedent-setting departure from the city's grid plan, El Encanto Estates was laid out with a symmetrical, curvilinear street plan, with streets radiating from a centrally located neighborhood park. (Figure 21) With Merritt Starkweather as their first architect, the developers initially in tended El Encanto Estates, as the name implies, as a high-class residential area characterized by a Spanish Colonial Revival theme. The first twelve homes in the neighborhood were in this mode, supplemented by a few Pueblo Revivals. The Great Depression, however, brought to a quick end this attempt to create an enclave of Spanish romanticism. The majority of El Encanto Estate's lots remained vacant and when new construction began to pick up near the end of the thirties and again after the war, Ranch emerged as the style of choice.[45]

The opening of the Mission Revival style El Conquistador Hotel marked the high point of Southwestern Romanticism in Tucson. The resort and nearby neighborhoods inspired by it were clearly following the trends already having a notable effect on the character of Santa Barbara, California and Santa Fe, New Mexico. But Tucson's developers did not realize that they were in a doomed race against time in their efforts to clothe Tucson in Spanish romanticism.

The collapse of the American economy after 1929 drastically reduced the rate of Tucson's population growth (only about 3,200 during the thirties compared with nearly 12,000 in the twenties, though this does not count residents outside the city limits). During the trough of the Great Depression residential construction came virtually to a standstill and did not begin to revive until near the end of the decade after the new Federal Housing Administration helped to stimulate new construction. Unfortunately, FHA policies, while stimulating to the construction sector overall, discouraged the application of costly stylistic decoration to new housing. Simplified Minimal Traditional housing eventually became the ubiquitous California Ranch style of the fifties suitable for meeting the needs of the working class, but relatively bland compared to the exuberance displayed by the revivalist architecture of the twenties. Especially after the Korean War, Americans could begin again to decorate their houses. California Ranch houses began to sprawl and developers

[43] As a contrast, the boosters of Prescott, Arizona were simultaneously working on their own hotel project, but lacking Tucson's Hispanic heritage, the style of Prescott's Trost & Trost-designed Hassayampa Inn is evocative of Italian Renaissance Revival with touches of Mission Revival. Phoenix's contemporary resort hotel development, the Biltmore, was a very early example of the influence of Frank Lloyd Wright, who consulted with its architect Albert Chase McArthur.

[44] Janet H. Strittmatter, "El Montevideo Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, 1994, 8:1-8:5.

[45] Wendy Laird, "El Encanto Estates Residential Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, 1987, 7:1-7:6, 8:1-8:5.

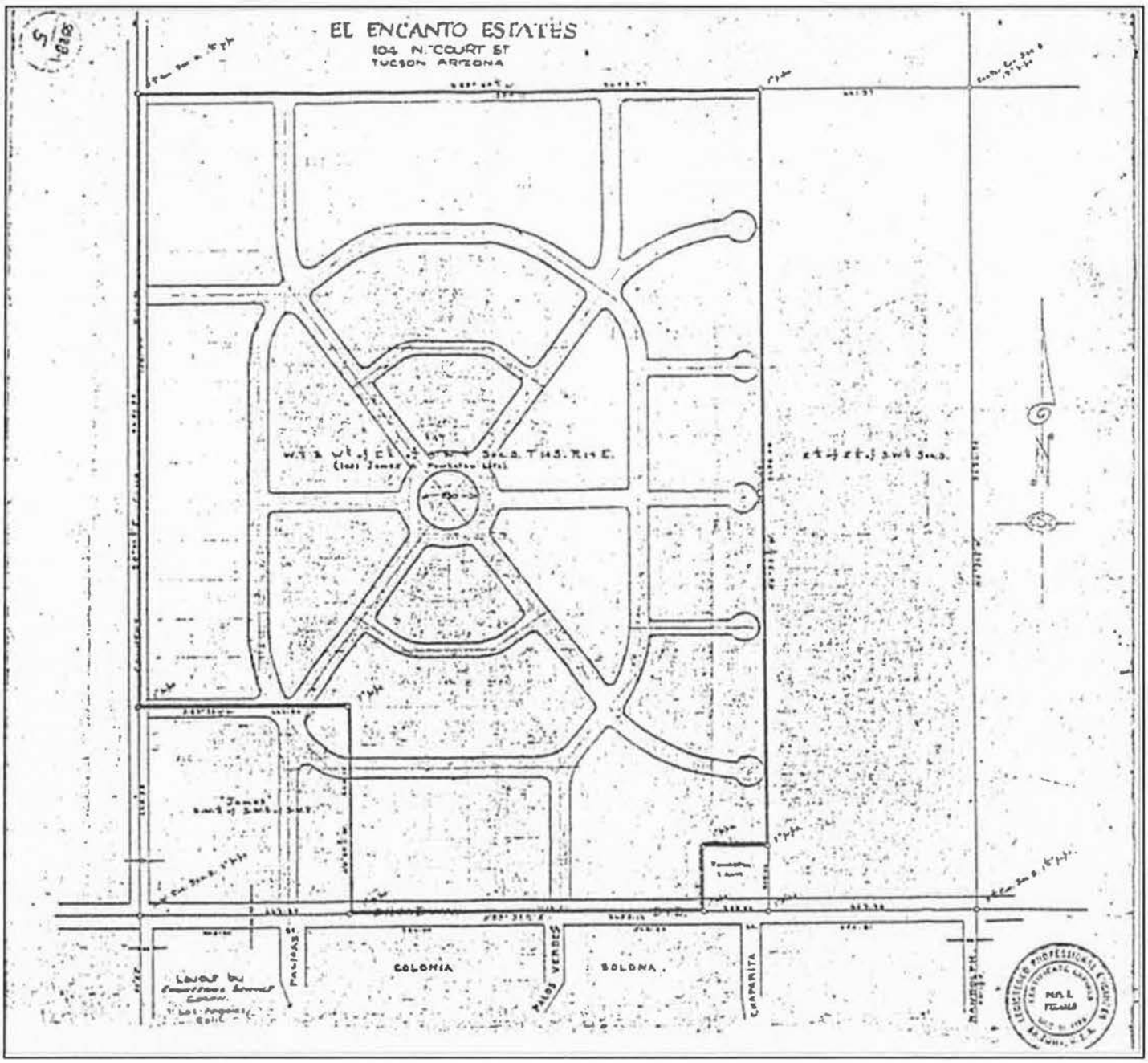


Figure 21. Original sketch plan for El Encanto Estates illustrating how its innovative street plan diverged from the city's traditional grid. From El Encanto Estates Residential Historic District National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, 1987.

began to market the backyard barbeque lifestyle typically referred to as indoor-outdoor living. It was during these years and into the sixties that Tucson's cowboy culture manifested in the character of its housing. The tract Ranch house with applied decorations such as board-and-batten, wagon wheels, shake roofs (occasionally) and decorative shutters, especially when placed on a spacious lot, was the culmination of Southwestern Romanticism in Tucson.

3. Mission Revival Style in Tucson, 1900-1920

As described in the associated context *Spanish and Southwestern Romantic Revivalist Architecture and the Development of a Regional Architectural Identity in the American Southwest, 1884-1940*, the popularity of Mission Revival spread quickly from California into Arizona. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, several large construction projects—hotels, schools, railroad depots, and public buildings—employed Mission Revival. The style was, naturally, popular in Tucson, a community virtually in sight of Mission San Xavier del Bac. It was popular as well in parts of Arizona lacking any substantive historical connection to Spanish colonialism.

If Mission Revival style had a lesser impact on Tucson than on, for example, Riverside, California, it was largely because Arizona had only a fraction of the population and wealth available on the West Coast. The number of fine examples in Arizona is fairly limited; most display a limited use of the Mission palette, often little more than a Mission Order Gable over the entry, stuccoed exterior walls, and perhaps a shaded arcade. Thus, while the Southern Pacific Railroad could construct a fine example of Mission Revival for its 1907 Tucson depot, the Hotel Heidel, constructed the following year across from the depot, is only a pale reflection of the style. A few fine examples of Mission Revival in residential design were constructed in Tucson such as the W.J. Corbett House. (Figure 22)

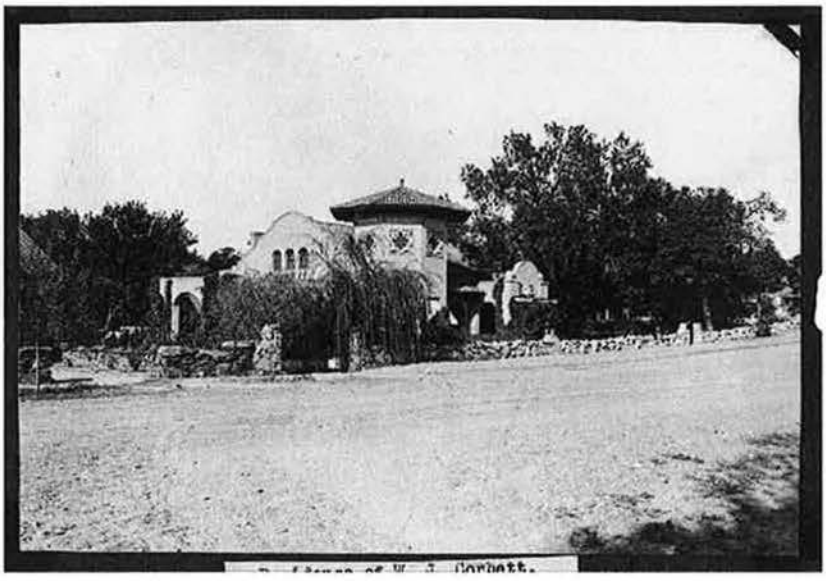


Figure 22. W.J. Corbett Residence, Tucson. Phoenix Public Library, Photo 12:95.

Architectural partners Henry O. Jaastad and Annie Graham Rockfellow, whose careers will be described in greater detail below, were prolific designers known especially for their many schools, some fifty, at least ten of which were in Tucson. One of the most notable of their schools in the Mission mode is the University Heights Elementary School. Built over the course of several years, this school features many of the important Mission Revival characteristics in a non-trivial way. In addition to the signature Mission Order Gable, they worked in arcaded galleries, ceramic tiles for floor and roofing materials, and an enclosed courtyard.[46]

Mission Revival faded in popularity after 1915 when Spanish Colonial Revival emerged as the most popular of the Southwestern Romantic styles. Perhaps its most important manifestation in Tucson was a late example, the El Conquistador Hotel. It did not, however, disappear altogether. Two of Tucson's most dedicated Hispanicizers, John and Helen Murphey, applied it to two Episcopal churches they helped to sponsor. Catholic parish churches, such as the 1931 San Pedro Chapel (NRHP listed 1993), continued to be constructed in Mission Revival throughout the twentieth century.

4. Spanish Colonial Revival Style in Tucson, 1915-1930

Spanish Colonial Revival was a versatile form suitable for both common housing and custom housing for the affluent. In its simpler forms—stuccoed boxes with tile roofs and perhaps an arch—the style could be built in a new working or middle class neighborhoods with little or no involvement by an architect. Mass production housing varying little from the median price level was already a developing industry as demonstrated, for example, by the expansive Bungalow neighborhoods around Chicago. Yet a solidly Spanish Colonial Revival neighborhood was a rarity. Since in the twenties housing still tended to be constructed lot by lot with each property owner individually contracting with a builder, neighborhoods could display a variety of styles.

For neighborhoods intended for the relatively affluent, developers might break away from a strictly grid plan and rectangular lots and introduce curving streets, irregular lots, and landscaping. Still, for the most part building design remained separated from land subdivision, apart from deed restrictions, which might set a minimum cost or require architectural approval. The El Montevideo neighborhood (NRHP listed 1994) is a characteristic example. Conceived near the end of the prosperity of the twenties, El Montevideo was one of several residential developments planned around the El Conquistador Hotel. The developers of El Montevideo were the brothers Ben B. Mathews and S.H. Mathews who recorded a deed for some fifty acres near the El Conquistador Hotel in April of 1930, when the severity of the economic downturn was not yet apparent. The developers of El Montevideo targeted an upper middle-class clientele and set minimum building costs in deed restrictions. Lots sold well initially and most of the early houses were Spanish Colonial Revival with a few Pueblo Revival types. Several local architects, including Josias Joesler, Frederick Eastman, and George Fanning designed houses in the neighborhood in its early years. But the plan for a Hispanicized neighborhood faded as lot sales slowed and eventually ceased altogether during the war. After the

[46] S. Chadwick et al, "University Heights Elementary School," National Register of Historic Places Inventory Forms, 1983, 8:1-2.

Figure 23. House designed by Josias Joesler and built by the John Murphey Building Company in the Colonia Solana development. The balcony in the upper photo is characteristic of Monterey Revival style. Liz Wilson, Colonia Solana Historic District Survey, 1988.

war, while a few simplified Spanish Colonial Revival houses were added, the neighborhood was eventually filled out with Ranch and a few Modern houses.[47]

The Colonia Solana neighborhood was the most up-scale of the new residential developments planned near the El Conquistador Hotel. Developer Harry E. Bryant's Country Club Realty Company purchased 158 acres in the area bounded by Broadway, Country Club, Camino Campestre, and Randolph Way in 1928. Bryant wanted a neighborhood of distinction and wanted something different from banal grid plan of most subdivisions. Landscape architect Stephen Child laid out a curvilinear street pattern lacking any formal pattern, with large, generally irregular lots. Deed restriction required a minimum investment of $10,000, several times the cost of a contemporary working class house, though most houses built in the neighborhood would cost substantially more. The largest house in the neighborhood was a Spanish Colonial Revival mansion called "El Deseo Real." After the Depression ended Bryant's role in the neighborhood's future development, John Murphey in the mid-1930s bought a few lots and was responsible for the sheathing of the steel El Conquistador Water Tower (NRHP listed 1980) in a Spanish Colonial Revival shell designed by Roy Place. As an enclave for the rich during the Depression, Colonia Solana developed slowly, not filling in its remaining lots until well after the war. While deed restrictions did not mandate any particular

[47] Strittmatter, "El Montevideo Historic District," 7:3, 8:5-8.

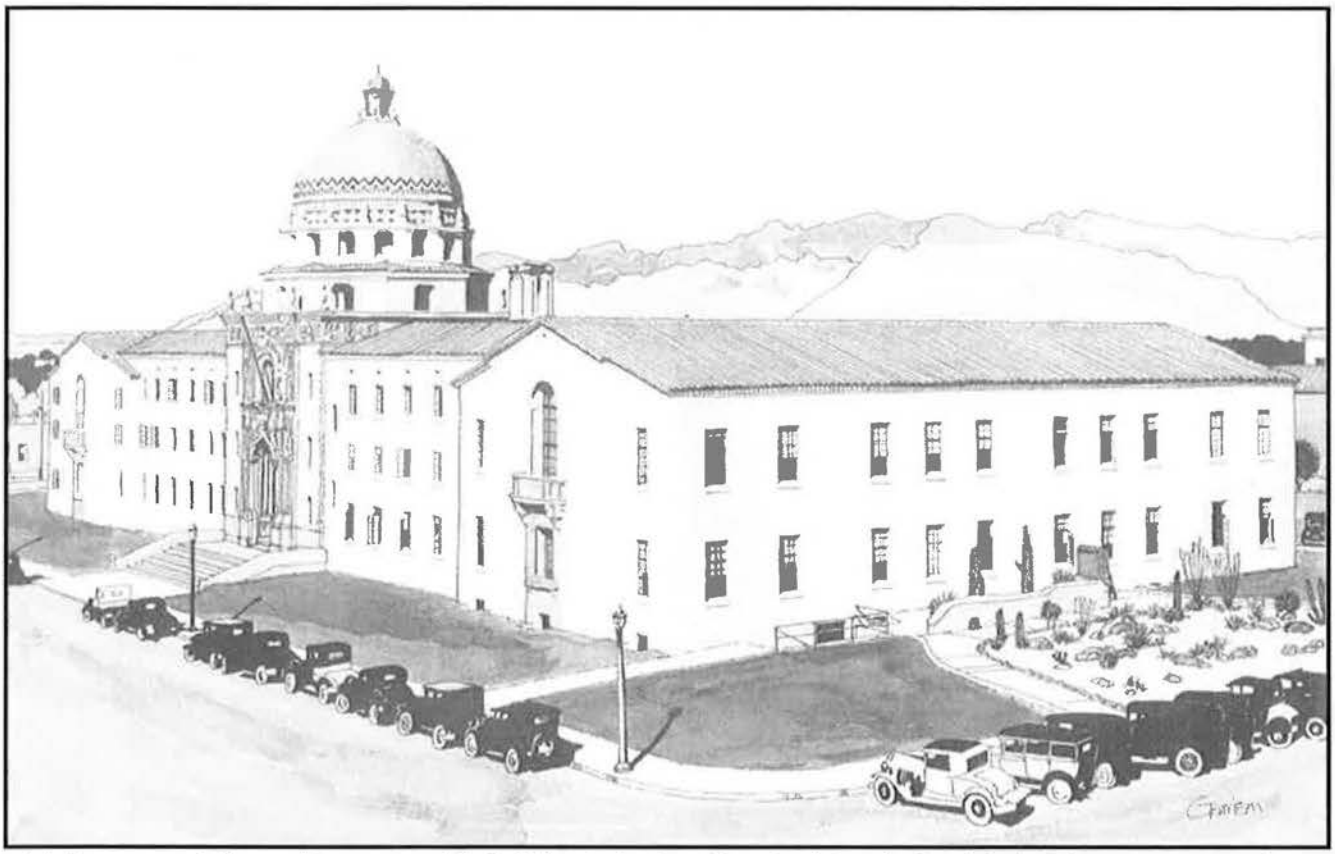


Figure 24. The most ambitious of Tucson's public building in the Spanish Colonial Revival style is the Pima County Courthouse (1929), Roy Place, architect. Illustration by James Garrison, 1975.

style, the context of its early planning and certainly its name implied a Southwestern Romanticist intent. Most of the early homes built were Spanish Colonial Revival, plus a couple of Pueblo Revivals and a distinctive Monterey Revival (Figure 24). Bryant appears to have considered landscaping the neighborhood's primary distinction and its meandering streets and natural desert flora (after the palm trees died) inspired similar naturalism in several later subdivisions, including Country Club Homesites, Terra De Concini, Catalina Vista (NRHP listed 2003), San Clemente (NRHP listed 2005), and Winterhaven (NRHP listed 2005).[48]

The epitome of Spanish Colonial Revival in Tucson, if not in all of Arizona, is the Pima County Courthouse (NRHP listed 1978). Designed by Roy Place, perhaps Tucson's finest architect in the Spanish Colonial Revival mode, the courthouse offered an opportunity for historicist exuberance rarely available in Arizona. Relatively well funded, the courthouse project allowed Place to draw from the full palette of Spanish Colonial Revival motifs. Built in a U-shape, the courthouse includes

[48] Ralph Comey, "Colonia Solana Residential Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, 1988, 8:3-4, 6. The National Register form for the El Conquistador Water Tower erroneously credits the design of the Spanish Colonial Revival shell to Joesler.

first and second story arcades facing a courtyard, balconies, doors flanked by pilasters and arcaded post-and-lintel type portales. Its most visually distinctive element is its central octagonal tower topped with a blue-tiled dome (Figure 24).[49] The building is comparable to the Santa Barbara County Courthouse, completed the same year, which epitomized that city's Spanish Romanticism. But the Pima County Courthouse was completed in December after the Stock Market Crash. Until the Depression intervened, Tucson appeared well on its way to a thorough transformation into a Spanish Romanticist community. Unfortunately, it would not be until well after the war that local city or county governments could fund such public projects, by which time modernism in its International and Brutalist modes were the primary expressions of institutional architecture. Spanish Colonial Revival survived in Tucson, although often in banal simplicity. It was the Murpheys who continued to carry the torch for Spanish Colonial Revival as it had been imagined in the twenties, sponsoring construction of a small number of good examples designed by their long-time architectural collaborator, Josias Joesler, and later with Mexican architect Juan Wørner Baz.

5. Sonoran Revival Style, Late 1800s-early 1940s

The Sonoran Revival is a local variant among the popular Southwestern Revival styles. Quite common in Tucson, this style derived from Hispanic vernacular types found in southern Arizona and northern Mexico from the late eighteenth century up to the present day. Spanish Colonial and Mexican dwellings of this sort were rectilinear in plan with high, flat facades of adobe and flat roofs with parapets. Drainpipes (canals) pierced the parapets. Recessed doorways and informally placed window openings reflected the interior room arrangement. To prevent adobe deterioration, later houses of this type had plaster sheathing and fired brick parapet caps.

Gradually the vernacular type was transformed through contact with Anglo-American settlers from the East. In Tucson, a styled version now known by local scholars as the Sonoran Revival evolved. Buildings in this style were simpler in detail than other Southwestern Revivals (Spanish Colonial, Mission and Pueblo Revival) and featured flat roofs, parapets and flat facades, often of burnt adobe. Parapets were commonly capped, either with simple bricks or more elaborate coursing like soldier courses set diagonally. Ornamental wrought iron grilles (*rejas*) commonly appeared on window openings.

After World War II, a modernized adaptation commonly known as the Territorial Ranch style grew from the earlier Sonoran Revival. Generally built of burnt adobe, it was adopted by architects and contractor/builders to become Tucson's third most popular post-war style.

6. Architects of Tucson's Spanish Colonial Romanticism

a) Henry O. Jaastad and Annie Graham Rockfellow

Henry O. (Henrick Olsen) Jaastad, a native of Norway born in 1872, immigrated to the United States when he was fourteen and apprenticed as a cabinet-maker while living in Wisconsin. Jaastad moved to Arizona at the turn of the century following the woman he would marry in 1902 who had come to Tucson in an attempt to preserve her health. Working initially as a

[49] Marjorie Wilson and Andrew C. Williamson, "Pima County Courthouse," National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, 1977, 7:1.

carpenter on such buildings as Henry Trost's Owls Building, he soon began designing and building small houses in the Armory Park, West University, and North Speedway neighborhoods. He took an architectural course through a correspondence school and enrolled in an electrical engineering program at the university. He received a license to practice architecture in 1922, but was a designer of long experience by that time.[50]

By 1912, Jaastad was designing a wider variety of buildings, including a downtown store for Mose Drachman, buildings at the Southern Arizona Desert Sanitorium, service stations, a motel court, and other commercial buildings of increasing prominence. He designed a number of rental properties for Preston N. Jacobus, a former Tucson mayor, and an adobe house for James Sawtelle of the Southern Arizona Bank and Trust. John Ivancovich, one of Tucson's biggest real estate developers employed Jaastad to design several commercial buildings over the course of twenty-five years. As a former member of the Tucson City Council, Ivancovich represented the kind of person of prominence who linked Jaastad with the city's elite both as a designer and, later, as a politician in his own right.

A fair evaluation of Jaastad's work must consider the designs created by Annie Graham Rockfellow, Tucson's first woman architect and Jaastad's employee for over twenty years (1916-1938). Rockfellow was born in 1866 in Mount Morris, New York, near Rochester. She was the first female student at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's architecture program, graduating in 1887. Her first work in an architectural firm in New York ended after six years due to an economic slump. She came to Tucson initially by 1895, following her brother who taught at the University of Arizona. For a time she also taught English and drawing at the university. A quote from a biographical sketch reveals her early interest in Tucson's adobe heritage: "I am an admirer of what I term the Tucson-Mexican style of architecture for this part of the country… showing the influence of Mexico and seeming to 'belong' in this topography and climate." With her savings from teaching she traveled to Europe for the Grand Tour then returned to New York to try to restart her architectural career.[51]

Rockfellow's practice grew slowly and she began to garner positive attention, including in the pages of *Good Housekeeping*. Her father moved to Tombstone, Arizona Territory to live with his son and, as daughters of the time were expected to do, she abandoned her work to care for him until his death in 1911. After briefly attempting yet another return to the East she decided to return to Tucson by 1915 both for her family and for the warm climate. Then nearly fifty years old, Rockfellow was only at the beginning of the most important stage in her career. She came to Jaastad's notice when he served as supervising architect for a house she designed for her brother. He asked her to help with some renderings for a design he was submitting for a YMCA building in the mining town of Miami, which led to his initial offer of a position. She declined, initially, choosing to travel to California fortuitously in time to visit the San Diego exposition. Goodhue's

[50] Mona Lange McCroskey, "Henry O. Jaastad: Architect of Tucson's Future," *The Smoke Signal*, Spring 1990, No. 53, 42-53 in *Tucson: A Legacy*, (Tucson, Arizona: The Tucson Corral of the Westerners, 1992).
[51] Margaret Regan, "Remembering Rockfellow," *Tucson Weekly*, 31 January 2000, http://weeklywire.com/ww/01-31-00/tw_feat.html, accessed 30 June 2014.

exposition buildings left a lasting impression: "I was much pleased and impressed with the architecture of the Fair buildings," she recalled," and found the 'lessons' very helpful for southwestern adaptation." Upon returning to Tucson, Jaastad renewed his offer of employment, which Rockfellow accepted. From that point onward, the quality of designs from Jaastad's office improved noticeably and it was from the time of his employment of Rockfellow that his firm became noted for its work in the Spanish Colonial Revival and Mission Revival styles. The partnership between Jaastad and Rockfellow was similar to that of many architectural firms, with one partner skilled in winning commissions, while the other quietly designed in the office.[52]

For Tucson's Safford School (1920), Rockfellow created a monumental Mission Revival entry with bell towers flanking a Churrigueresco-influenced entry. Her San Augustine Church in Tucson (1933) is an outstanding elaboration of Mission Revival, which, like the Safford School, is dominated by massive and tall bell towers around an elaborately sculpted entry. While the Jaastad firm did not design exclusively in Mission or Spanish Colonial modes—their Methodist Episcopal Church (1923), for instance, is Neoclassical Revival—it was through Spanish motifs that they made their most distinctive contribution to the architectural character of twentieth century Tucson.

One product of Rockfellow's study of mission architecture was her distinguishing of the tops of bell towers, which she characterized as pyramidal in New Mexico, pyramidal with the cornice cut off in Texas, hemispherical ribbed domes in California, and plain hemispherical domes in Arizona, as at San Xavier. This latter plain dome she employed in her Mission Revival designs. Between 1925 and 1928, Rockfellow designed the El Conquistador Hotel, one of the city's most lavish displays of mission themes in buildings and gardens.

Jaastad became increasingly active in Tucson civic affairs. In additional to local architectural and engineering groups, He served on the Chamber of Commerce, the Tucson YMCA, the Kiwanis Club and other social and civic organizations. In 1929 he ran and won the first of two terms on the city council and then in 1933 won election to the first of an unprecedented seven terms as mayor, serving until his voluntary retirement in 1947 at the age of seventy-five. Rockfellow continued to design for Jaastad until her retirement in 1938. She moved to Santa Barbara and died in 1954.

While Rockfellow remained in his employ, the Jaastad firm continued to design even as he served as mayor. He also continued to design for several years afterwards. His orientation remained, however, primarily historical. Architecture was supposed to be "decorative, beautiful, rich, living," he once stated, adding, "A church ought to look like a church."[53] His aesthetics, then, did not encompass modernist principles, which were then beginning to make an impression on the Tucson scene. Over the course of his career, Jaastad was credited with designed over five hundred buildings, mostly in Tucson. These included 125 commercial buildings, 46 schools and

[52] Ibid. This article quotes University of Arizona architectural historian R. Brooks Jeffery as characterizing Jaastad as "a glorified carpenter. He was not sophisticated."
[53] McCroskey, "Henry O. Jaastad," 53.

13 churches. Rockfellow was responsible for much if not most of this output. Their most important contribution to the architectural character of Tucson was their monumental examples of Mission Revival and Spanish Colonial Revival. Between 1915 and 1928, the Jaastad firm was one of the most important in Tucson working in Spanish motifs, spreading California's revivalist aesthetic to Southern Arizona. In the longer term, although Mission Revival remains linked to the era in which it was most popular, the broader range of Spanish Colonial motifs have remained in the design palettes of local architects and continue to exert an important influence on current design. Jaastad died in 1965.

b) Roy Place

Roy Place was a native of San Diego, California, born in 1887. After graduating high school in 1906, Place moved to Sacramento, but his activities during the next few years are now only vaguely known. Architect Lew Place, his son, has written that Place became associated with Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, architects of Boston, Massachusetts, presumably as a draftsman.[54] Lew Place wrote that his father worked for a time as an architect in Chicago, then returned to California to work for the California State Engineering Department, where designed and served as supervisory architect on several state buildings. In 1909, when he would have been only 22 years old, he was the architect-inspector for the State Insane Asylum at Patton, California. He was back in San Diego at least by 1913, the year his son was born.

Roy Place moved to Arizona in 1916 at the instigation of his San Diego friend and fellow architect, Jack Lyman, who had won a contract for the new Mines and Engineering Building at the University of Arizona. Lyman enlisted the aid of Place who had more experience as a construction supervisor, while Lyman focused on the design of the building. Lew Place referred to this job as getting "back into architecture," a vague phrase that leaves as a mystery what he had been doing in San Diego. One unverified source has asserted that he worked on the construction of exhibition buildings for the 1915 San Diego Exposition, although in what capacity is unknown. The circumstances fit this assertion and if true would have put Place at the very spot where Spanish Colonial Revival style was invented.

When the United States entered the First World War, both Lyman and Place volunteered for service. Lyman served in the Corps of Engineers, but Place was rejected from service, ostensibly on grounds of illness. After the war and with the success of their first Arizona project to recommend them, Lyman and Place returned to Tucson and formed an architectural partnership. Two of their buildings were the Miles and Roosevelt schools in Tucson. After Lyman later decided to return to San Diego, Place established his own firm, working with James McMillan, a former draftsman for Henry Trost. In 1940, Place brought in his son as partner in the firm of Place and Place, and the two worked together for the next decade until Roy's death in 1950.

[54] James F. Cooper with Lew Place, "Roy Place," from *Places in the Sun*, http://parentseyes.arizona.edu/placesinthesun/roy Place.php (accessed 24 June 2014). The veracity of this document is doubtful in places, perhaps due to lapses in Lew Place's memory. For example, Place and "four partners" are credited with laying out the Colonia Solana neighborhood. Lew Place recorded that he himself worked as a teenager at the development watering palm trees. However, this account is at odds with the narrative in the Colonia Solana Historic District nomination form, although the neighborhood did include palm trees.

During the boom years of the twenties, Roy Place established himself as one of Tucson's leading architects. In addition to the Pima County Courthouse, perhaps his most important building, Place designed many other public buildings. These included Mansfeld Junior High School, the Arizona School for the Deaf and Blind, the Cochise County Courthouse in Bisbee, and post office buildings in Tucson and Yuma. Other projects included the Tucson Medical Center, the Benedictine Convent in Tucson, and the Pioneer Hotel. He also designed residences, although that appears to have been a relatively small proportion of his work. Such prominent projects as these typically went to the architect with the best connections, and Place had established himself in the Tucson scene as a member of the El Zaribah Temple, the Rotary Club, the Old Pueblo Club, and the El Rio Golf and Country Club. Professionally, he served as president of the Engineer Club and as the first president of the Arizona chapter of the American Institute of Architects. Back in his Lyman and Place days, Governor Campbell had designated them as the State of Arizona's official architectural firm, although no state buildings were planned and the designation lapsed after Campbell's term ended. Between 1924 and 1940, Place served as chief architect for the University of Arizona and designed twenty-five buildings, including Humanities (1935), Anthropology (1935) Chemistry-Physics (1936), the Administration Building (1937), and several dormitories.

Displaying the eclecticism characteristic of Beaux Arts-era architecture, Place could design well in several popular styles of the time. His buildings for the university generally display characteristics of the Romanesque Revival while his Cochise County Courthouse is one of the finest Art Deco buildings in Arizona. His design for the Pima County Courthouse (1931) has already been called out as perhaps the outstanding example of Spanish Colonial Revival. Still, it would be misleading to suggest that Place was the best designer in Tucson in the Spanish Colonial Revival style compared to, say, Joesler. Place had the good fortune to have been introduced to the Tucson building scene in a conspicuous way through his partnership with Lyman on their first university project. Rather than have to prove himself slowly through small commissions, this project immediately opened the doors of opportunity for major public projects. His influence on the character of the university's campus was enough to guarantee his place in Tucson history, but it was his Spanish Colonial Revivals that were most prominent to the public at large. This career path differed greatly from Joesler's, for example, who worked primarily in collaboration with the developer John Murphey on residential buildings. One point this reveals is the versatility of Spanish Colonial Revival, equally aesthetically pleasing in domestic, commercial, and institutional design.

c) Merritt H. Starkweather

In 1928, Isabella Greenway, widow of mining executive John C. Greenway, moved to Tucson from Ajo where she had lived in a home designed by Santa Barbara architect George Washington Smith. Wealthy and ambitious, Greenway, who was well aware of the activity surrounding the construction of the El Conquistador Hotel, decided to invest in an exclusive resort of her own to tap the ever-increasing ranks of tourist everyone was expected to come to Tucson. To fulfill her vision of a hotel that could provide a limited number of guests "privacy,

quiet, and sunshine," she turned to local architect Merritt H. Starkweather. For Greenway, Starkweather designed the Arizona Inn as a Spanish Colonial Revival oasis in the desert. The relative simplicity of the Inn's exterior walls recalls how G.W. Smith had simplified the original Goodhue version of the style. Opening in 1930, the relatively subdued Arizona Inn proved a successful tourist facility, in stark contrast to the El Conquistador, and remains a popular resort.[55]

The Arizona Inn is the property for which Starkweather is best remembered, but over nearly fifty years working in Tucson he made a substantial contribution to the architectural character of Tucson.

Starkweather was born in 1891 in Chicago and raised in Wisconsin where he learned woodworking from his father. Prior to moving to Tucson in 1915, he had picked up experience in construction working, presumably as a laborer, along the West Coast from Los Angeles to British Columbia. Though he lacked an academic architectural education, he joined William Bray's firm and picked up the necessary skill to eventually venture on his own practice. But this was later, after leaving Bray, Starkweather started the Tucson Blueprint Company in 1917, which he sold upon entering military service with the Corps of Engineer's Coast Artillery. Returning in 1919, he bought the company back and continued it until 1947. In 1945, he had partnered with Richard A. Morse to start an architectural firm to which he would devote himself for the rest of his career.[56]

Few details of Starkweather's architectural practice have been compiled, although his papers reside at the University of Arizona. His self-selected list of principle works published in the AIA's Directory of Architects lists the Arizona Inn, Doolan and Naylor junior high schools, and the Scottish Rite Temple in Tucson, and the Homako Hospital in Casa Grande. Other known Tucson works by Starkweather include the grandstand for Tucson's rodeo grounds (of which he was a founder), St. Joseph Academy a number of city fire stations, Drachman and Carrillo schools, and numerous commercial buildings. In the later 1930s, he served as supervising architect for El Encanto Estates subdivision. Outside of Tucson he designed the handsome Spanish Colonial Revival facility for the Amerind Foundation. Starkweather preceded Jaastad in politics, serving a term on the Tucson City Council from 1924 to 1926. He would also serve on Tucson's Planning Commission from 1946 to 1957. Starkweather was one of the founders of the AIA's Arizona Chapter in 1937 and served as its president in 1940. The home he designed for himself and some of the buildings associated with him in El Encanto Estates are examples of the Pueblo Deco style, a fusion of Pueblo Revival and Art Deco. Starkweather died in 1972.[57]

d) Josias Joesler

See associated context, *The Single Family Residential Architecture of Josias Th. Joesler in Tucson and Pima County, Arizona, 1927-1956.*

[55] Jean H. Cox, "Arizona Inn," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, 1988, 8:1-6.
[56] Comey, "Colonia Colana," 8:16-17.
[57] *American Architects Directory*, ed. by John F. Gane, 3rd Ed., (New York & London: R.R. Bowker Company, 1970), 872.

E. The Internationalizing Period in Tucson Residential Architecture, 1940-1960

1. Synopsis on Modernism

This brief section presents a synopsis of the course of modernism's impact on Tucson's architectural character for the purpose of describing continuity and contrast between the continuing imperatives of regionalism and the influence of international architectural trends manifesting after World War II. It is based on documentation coming out of the Modern Architecture Preservation Project of Tucson, which has begun to inform preservation efforts aimed at the increasingly threatened buildings exemplifying the architecture of the recent past. The first important overview of the architecture of this period is Evans and Jeffery's *Architecture of the Modern Movement in Tucson, Arizona 1945-1975* (2005).

Modernist architecture arose along related yet distinctive paths in Europe and in the United States. What these two parallel movements had in common was an increasing awareness that modern materials and technology could free twentieth century architects to pursue design free of many of the physical constraints limiting nineteenth century architecture. The plasticity of concrete, for example, would allow an architectural experimenter like Le Corbusier to literally lift buildings off the grounds, giving them in effect a whole new dimension to consider. Also common to architects across the Atlantic was an increasingly powerful reductionist urge. Early modernism emphasized stripping away ornamentation and turned increasingly in favor of simplicity of design, often cubist, which was more expressive of the nature of the materials and the construction. Where the continents differed tended to be on ideological grounds. European architects, especially after the First World War rejected Beaux-Arts classicism, which they associated with the imperialist regimes that had brought about that disastrous conflict. European modernism became deeply expressive of socialist ideologies and many architects looked in admiration at the Soviet Union's Constructivists' movement that believed that all of the arts, including architecture, should be placed in service of the construction of the new socialist society. American architects tended to eschew revolutionary ideology and preferred to treat modernism as a new aesthetic rather than a new ethic. Thus when New York's Museum of Modern Art introduced modernism to the American public at its influential 1932 exhibition, it was modernism as the International Style. As described by Philip Johnson, International Style was a turning away from Beaux-Arts principles, with a change in emphasis from a building's mass to its volume, a respect for balance over symmetry, and the omission of ornamentation. Compared to the European innovators of modernism like Walter Gropius and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, American architects were typically less eager to reject ornamentation and many of the early manifestations of American modernist ideas, as in Art Deco, explored new forms of aesthetic expression.

The Great Depression decisively impeded the development of historicist architecture in America. While romanticism never disappeared—indeed, as the above associated contexts indicate, Southwestern Romanticism continues to exert an important influence—modernism took over the panache of being the fashionable style. However, that trendiness was noticeably a matter of elite tastes, especially in the area of domestic architecture. The common homebuyer proved obstinate in the face of modernism. As a contributor to Tucson's residential architectural character, modernism would ultimately have a limited impact. It is this dynamic tension between competing aesthetics that

characterized Tucson's residential development in the immediate post-war years, the common folk preferring their Ranch house imagery while more affluent people hired architects to design Modern houses worthy of review in the local paper if not a national architectural journal. In between these extremes were local architects and builders who tried to combine modernist principles with local traditions and create a new regional form. The result was an increasing diversity of character in Tucson's housing without loss of local flavor.

2. Early Municipal Zoning and Planning Efforts, 1930-1960

Zoning is the process by which municipal and county governments regulate land use to separate incompatible building types and activities. Zoning can be used to regulate the characteristics of what can be built on lots in specified zones of activity. These characteristics may include the type of buildings and activities allowed (residential, commercial, industrial, etc.), and such features as the density of development, the height of buildings, and requirements for open space. Zoning emerged as an important reform effort during the 1920s when many cities and towns sought means to prevent unregulated growth from creating situations where incompatible activities on some property impose negative effects on the residents or users of nearby property. The authority to impose zoning regulations received constitutional approval in the landmark Supreme Court case of The Village of Euclid, Ohio v. Ambler Realty Co. (1926).

During the 1920s, counties and cities did not possess authority to significantly regulate the subdivision and development of private property. Recognizing how much development occurred outside of city boundaries, the Arizona Legislature in 1928 passed a law requiring subdividers to submit plans to the city and county to ensure the proper alignment of roads and alleys. Unfortunately, municipal authority to review subdivisions was limited to a mere three miles from the city limits. Not until 1949 did the legislature grant counties and cities more extensive authority to regulate land use.[58]

Tucson took the lead in promoting zoning in Arizona, passing its first city zoning ordinance on January 24, 1930. In 1932, the city hired a New York planning consultant to report on regional planning needs for the Tucson area. Local citizens formed the Tucson Regional Plan in 1935 to promote local planning and in 1938 the group promoting the plan incorporated as a nonprofit organization, Tucson Regional Plan, Inc. With the support of the city and county, this group hired a planning consultant who studied the city between 1940 and 1943. The city also created a nine-member city planning and zoning commission in April 1941. Though the study was never adopted as a formal plan, Tucson and Pima County created a joint City-County Planning Department to continue the effort.[59]

The census of 1950 revealed that while Tucson contained 45,454 residents, the population of the entire urbanized area was 122,764. Growth, which was accelerating after the lifting of wartime building restriction, was occurring largely outside the city's boundary. Following passage of state enabling legislation in 1949, the Pima County Board of Supervisors created a commission to prepare

[58] *The Arizona Republic*, July 19, 1951, 19; March 15, 1946, 2:10; December 6, 1950, 13.
[59] Bufkin, "Urbanization of Tucson," 78, 82.

a zoning plan. The supervisors approved the county zoning plan in 1952. In response to a legal challenge, county voters approved the plan in a referendum in February 1953. Planning efforts continued throughout the fifties, culminating in 1959 with the city council's adoption of a general land use plan, which received county approval the following year. The City-County Planning Department adopted a series of area and neighborhood plans. These included a definition of the square-mile neighborhood unit and its general land use configuration. The plan included provisions for the expansion of community facilities such as streets and schools.[60]

The city also pursued an aggressive annexation campaign to bring in as much of the existing and anticipated development as possible. Tucson pushed its boundary north towards and eventually passed the Rillito into the foothills of the Santa Catalina Mountains and a corridor of development along U.S. Highways 80 and 89 (Oracle Road). The 1960 census recorded the progress of the city's expansion with 212,892 residents out of a total of about 243,000 in the urbanized area. The proportion of the area's population within the Tucson city limits rose from only 37 percent in 1950 to approximately 88 percent in 1960. The area of the city grew a tremendous pace. Between 1900 and 1950, Tucson went from 2.0 to 9.6 square miles. Between 1950 and 1960 it grew to 70.9 square miles.[61] (Figure 25)

3. Tucson Residential Development in the Early Post-War Era, 1946-1960

In 2007, the City of Tucson Urban Planning and Design Department published an important context study on its mid-twentieth century residential development, *Tucson Post World War II Residential Subdivision Development, 1945-1973*. This context identifies the major trends affecting residential development and examines many of the builders and their developments during this era. This context is only briefly summarized here to provide a sense of contrast between the era of Southwestern Romanticism and the later development of Tucson as it experienced the influences of modernist architecture.

Tucson's population growth after 1945 accelerated beyond any previously experienced. Much of this growth was the result of an aggressive campaign to annex previously developed areas in the surrounding county. Still, this was the time when Tucson acquired a more substantial manufacturing sector, diversifying its economy and laying the groundwork for its transformation from a small city into a substantial metropolitan area. Residential development occurred at a rapid pace, with some 41,000 new homes constructed between 1945 and 1973. During the first two decades following the war, Tucson experienced two bursts of land subdivision. The first between 1946 and 1948 largely reflected a continuation of pre-war development pattern of small-scale, "mom and pop" land subdivision, which slowed substantially during the Korean War. Subdivision development took off again beginning in 1954, driven increasingly by the activities of larger-scale merchant builders. This

[60] Ibid., 84, 86, 88.
[61] Ibid., 88.

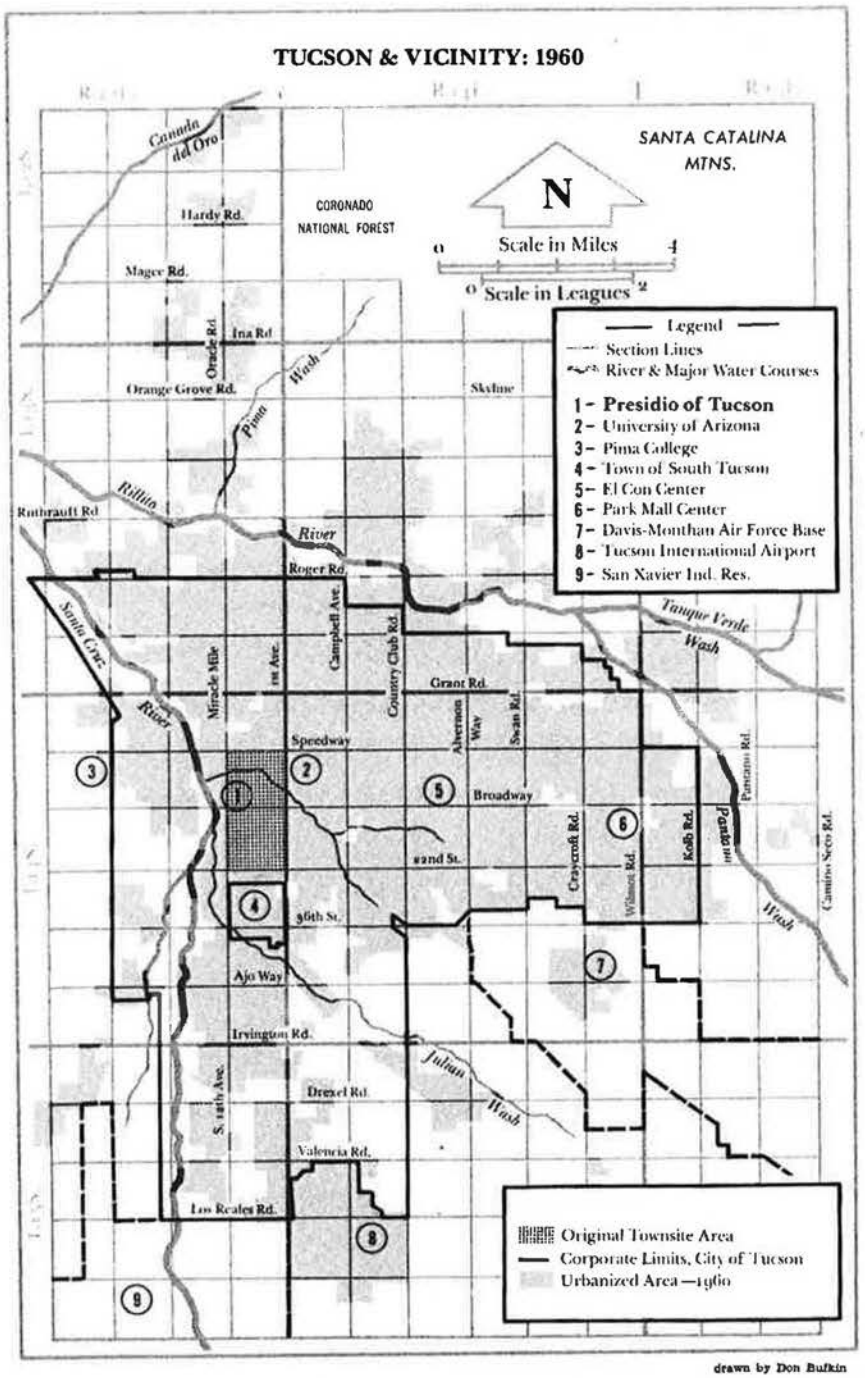


Figure 25. Tucson and vicinity, 1960. From Don Bufkin, "From Mud Village to Modern Metropolis: The Urbanization of Tucson," *Journal of Arizona History*. Vol. 22, No. 1, Spring 1981, 89.

cycle came to an end in 1962 just at the beginning of a nation-wide housing slump. Actual home construction also followed a volatile pattern reaching brief peaks in 1948 and 1952 and 1959. A major slump during the mid-sixties reduced new housing construction to a trickle before a resurgence after 1967.[62]

The end of the war released area landowners to beginning planning on how they might capitalize on Tucson's expected growth. Local landowners began subdividing their land and offering it for sale, although many of these were effectively speculators rather than effective developers. Two such were Howard and Wilma McCormick who in 1945 platted their land as the Casa Solariega subdivision. It took nearly a decade for this subdivision to be completely built out and then it was with houses averaging less than a thousand square feet and a single bathroom. Such developments were common outside the city limits in the 1940s and they displayed an unfortunate tendency to contribute to later urban problems such as the lack of adequate parks, poorly designed roads and infrastructure, housing of dubious quality, and with little consideration for how to meet new residents' needs for schools and retail commerce, to say nothing about larger-scale transportation needs.[63]

For several years Tucson remained a market relatively open to small-scale development and some of the neighborhoods of the late forties and fifties have a diversity of housing character resulting from individuals contracting separately for their homes lot by lot. This was a continuation of pre-war housing practices, but it was a pattern fading from dominance. An example was the Carlos Terrace subdivision, a 1956 development controlled by the Desert Development Corporation, which subdivided its land into 85' x 116' lots, laid out streets and alleys and provided necessary sewer, water, and other utility connection, then offered its lots for sale to individuals and developers. Such "horizontal" land development allowed other builder firms to acquire a few lots and construct homes on contract or for speculation. The Tucson Land Development Company, for example, worked with the Chesin Construction Company to build the Wilshire Heights, Wilshire Terrace and Manana Vista neighborhoods. The peak year of the initial post-war housing boom peaked in 1948 with 26 new subdivision plats recorded and 858 new houses completed.[64]

An important feature of the post-war housing market was the emergence of the vertically integrated, large-scale corporate developer as the primary driver of land acquisition, planning, and development. The merchant home builder controlled the construction process, planning out streets and lots, designing a limited range of model homes defining a subdivision's character, and managing sales. Land development became a multi-million dollar business increasingly controlled by a small number of companies doing business in multiple urban markets. This evolved into the master-planned community, a development scheme combining residential and commercial development resulting in the creation of nearly instant communities. One of the first such developers to enter the Tucson market was Del Webb of Phoenix. Webb had built his construction business during the hard times of

[62] Akros, "Tucson Post World War II," 2007, 21-22.
[63] Ibid., 13.
[64] Ibid., 13-14, 22.

the Depression, project by project, until the war offered an opportunity to gain large contracts for military bases and other war work. Webb acquired a thousand acres on the southeast edge of Tucson in the direction of Davis-Monthan Air Force Base with the intent of building 3,000 moderately priced homes along with appropriate shopping centers, parks, playgrounds, schools, churches, and a community center. It was the largest project approved by the FHA in Arizona at its time, but that quickly became a distinction passing from builder to builder as the scale of development in both Tucson and the Phoenix metropolitan market expanded. [65]

Robert Lusk was a local builder and first president of the Tucson Home Builders Association who's Lusk Corporation grew in the fifties into a residential builder of national scope. Lusk Corporation illustrated the greater efficiencies of the vertically integrated developer who controlled the building of new neighborhoods from land acquisition, to construction, and financing. Born in 1922, Lusk was a graduate from Rice University with an MBA from Harvard Business School. He began his career as a builder in Arizona in 1948, initially in Phoenix, but by the next year was focused on Tucson. From his first Tucson house constructed in 1949, Lusk slowly built up his company through the fifties until he could manage all phases of the development process. One of his most distinguished projects in Tucson was the development of the Indian Ridge neighborhood (NRHP listed 2010). Developed from five separate, but contiguous subdivisions, Indian Ridge was built over three phases between 1955 with homes aimed towards the upper-middle class market. Characterized by homes in the Ranch style, the development won for Lusk an award of merit from the National Association of Home Builders. Lusk soon after expanded his business beyond Arizona, working in markets from Las Vegas, Nevada to Kokomo, Indiana. Unfortunately, by the mid-sixties, Lusk had run into serious financial difficulties and his business went bankrupt. Still, having constructed some 2,800 Tucson houses, Lusk made a substantial contribution to Tucson's post-war residential character.[66]

4. Territorial Ranch Style, 1945-1960s

This popular, parapeted style with Hispanic influence draws on regional historic precedents for inspiration. During the post World War II era, although overshadowed by the prolific Ranch and Modern styles, certain architects and builders continued to prefer it. Many Tucsonans call the style "Territorial" and while it may be stuccoed, it is often constructed of burnt adobe. Territorial Ranch style examples have all the conveniences found in Modern and Ranch style residences.

In the Sonoran tradition of the Spaniards and Mexicans who settled the region, early houses were rectangular, or cubic in form, presenting high, flat facades of exposed adobe sometimes on stone foundations with flat roofs. Drainpipes or canales pierced the parapet walls. Doorways were recessed and windows, appearing informally placed from the exterior, reflected the interior room arrangement. Because of adobe deterioration, houses were eventually stuccoed and brick courses were added to parapets.

[65] *The Arizona Republic*, 13 March 1948, 1. Pueblo Gardens was cited at one point as one of the nine largest residential developments in the United States and despite being featured in *Architectural Forum*, the development failed to meet Webb's expectations. By mid-1949 only 700 houses had been built and Webb sold most of his interest to Central Housing Investment Corporation, whose principal owners were William Becker and Meyer Keil of New York (*The Arizona Republic*, June 19, 1949, 19).

[66] Akros, "Tucson Post World War II," 15-16; Demion Clinco, "Indian Ridge Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2009, 8:17-22.

Gradually the style was transformed through contact with Anglo-American settlers from the East. In Tucson, it became known as the Sonoran Revival and appeared during the era when Spanish Colonial Revival and Mission Revival were popular. The Sonoran Revival featured flat roofs, parapets and flat facades. Parapet caps were either simple or more elaborate like those constructed of burnt adobe soldier courses set diagonally. The Sonoran Revival was simple in detail compared to the more elaborate Spanish Colonial Revival, Pueblo Revival and Mission Revival styles.

After World War II, a modernized adaptation commonly known as the Territorial Ranch style grew from the earlier Sonoran Revival. Generally built of burnt adobe, it was adopted by architects and contractor/builders to become Tucson's third most popular post-war style. Its flat roof and parapets with coping bricks distinguish the Territorial Ranch. The box-like massing and flat roof reflect the influence of local Sonoran row houses. Examples of this style are most often built of brick, which may be finished in a variety of ways: natural, painted, stucco-clad or lightly mortar-washed.

5. Pioneer Modernist Architects of Tucson

a) Arthur T. Brown

When Arthur Thomas Brown arrived in Tucson in 1936, he was among the first to bring first-hand experience with the new paradigm of architecture that was modernism. He had worked in 1932-33 in Chicago for the Century of Progress exposition, whose exposition buildings had been pioneering interpretations of the emerging modernist aesthetic (if not its ethic). Working initially for Richard Morse, Brown was independent by 1939 and would between then and his death in 1993 design several notable examples of modern design subtly adapted to the Tucson environment. He was one of the first architects in Tucson to experiment with passive heating and cooling design.

Art Brown was born in 1900 in Tarkio, Missouri. He earned a degree in architecture from Tarkio College and then attended Ohio State University where in 1927 he won an AIA school medal. He also earned a scholarship to pursue post-graduate study at the Lake Forest Foundation for Architecture and Landscape Architecture. The early thirties were an inauspicious time to enter into a career in architecture, but Brown was able to find draftsman work in several architectural firms, including the architecture department for the Chicago exposition. Brown's student and apprentice years coincided with the early debates about the challenges to Beaux-Arts tradition presented by the pioneering European modernists and he could not have been better placed to witness this first large-scale American response.[67]

Brown's move to independent practice in 1939 coincided with is appointment as approving architect for the Colonia Solana neighborhood. His first home design in the neighborhood in 1939 was straightforwardly in the Pueblo Revival mode. However, after the war, Brown was ready to innovate and his award-winning design for the house at 3464 Via Guadalupe is considered the first passive solar house in Arizona, featuring a large glass area facing south with a masonry wall directly behind to store heat.

[67] Comey, "Colonia Solana," 8:18.

In addition to being an architect, Brown was a painter and member of the Tucson Palette and Brush Club and the Tucson Fine Arts Association. He was also an inventor and held several patents related to construction methods, such as for producing shell roof structures and for a conduit system for structures having masonry walls and doorframes. These talents contributed to both the innovative character of Brown's work as well as its aesthetics appeal. The growing interest in Mid-Century Modern architecture in Tucson has raised Brown's stature in the years since his death, and though some of his work has already been demolished, the bulk of his some 300 works in the community are now beginning to gain the attention of preservationists.[68]

b) Anne Rysdale

Following the retirement of Anne Graham Rockfellow in 1938, Tucson lacked a female architect until the arrival of Anne Rysdale in 1945. Her arrival was in fact a return. Born in Detroit in 1920 in a military family, she spent much of her youth in Tucson, graduating from Tucson High School and then from the University of Arizona with a degree in engineering and fine arts in 1940. She worked for Jaastad briefly before entering service with the Navy during the war, during which time she relocated to Seattle where she earned an architectural degree from the University of Washington. Upon returning to Tucson she worked for Arthur Brown until receiving her Arizona registration and establishing her own firm.[69]

The novelty of Rysdale's status as the only female architect in Tucson for many years was an asset for her career. She said that she felt pressure to prove herself, to produce more and better work than her male contemporaries. On the other hand, she also noted that several of her commissions came about because clients were curious to see what a woman might design. She built her practice initially from residential projects, including several late infills in the El Encanto and Colonia Solana neighborhoods, the post-war Winterhaven neighborhood (NRHP listed 2005), and many other Tucson neighborhoods. Rysdale houses were in the Ranch style, which she believed a natural fit with Arizona's history and culture. Having proven a woman could design well, Rysdale expanded her work to commercial projects such as the Tucson Inn, the Old Spanish Trail Motel, and the now lost Myerson's Department store. In the sixties she served as adjunct faculty, and doubtless a role model, for the university's new architectural program. After a brief retirement in the seventies, Rysdale returned to work, with the new Gila County Courthouse in Globe one of her notable late Arizona projects. She later moved to Florida where she continues to consult and design today (2014).

c) William Wilde

William Wilde was born in 1904 in Ukraine, then a province of imperial Russia. In the brief biographical sketch compiled by the Modern Architecture Preservation Project (MAPP) of Tucson states that Wilde escaped into Western Europe after participating in the Bolshevik Revolution. There he obtained his first architectural training before immigrating to the United States in 1923. He attended the Rhode Island School of Design and moved to Arizona in 1946.

[68] "Arthur T. Brown," Wikipedia page, accessed June 27, 2014.
[69] "Anne Rysdale," Tucson Historic Preservation Foundation, https://preservetucson.org/architect/anne-rysdale, accessed June 27, 2014.

He, along with Arthur Brown, is credited as a pioneer modernists of post-war Tucson.[70] Wilde criticized the use of southwestern themes in new architecture and sought new forms. In the mid-1960s, Wilde went into partnership with architects Richard Anderson and Jack DeBartolo. His AIA Directory listing includes among his principle works, as of 1962, many commercial buildings in Tucson and Nogales. His most notable Tucson buildings was the Tucson Museum of Art. He died in 1984.[71]

The MAPP's description of Wilde's work states that while his designs closely followed national trends in modern architecture, he was among the first to introduce the latest design paradigms in Tucson. The following description of his work is taken from the MAPP's description:

> *There are three distinct phases in Wilde's design work. His international Modern designs in the 1950's expressed a simplicity and purity of form and that required a rigorous execution; the design for the College Shop was perhaps the purest expression of the tenets of early European modernism built in Tucson. Unfortunately, the building was demolished in 2001. The second phase of Wilde's design career in the early-mid 1960s focused on structure, pattern and texture. The elaborate expression of buildings such as Supreme Cleaners and State Hardware was a dram's third phase was characterized by his search for architectural significance through mass and scale; the best of these buildings was the Tucson Police Department, built in 1974. Throughout his career, Wilde's attention to detail was exceptional.*

d) William "Ray" Krueger

Ray Krueger is profiled here as an example of an architect who did important design work in Tucson not as an independent firm, but as an employee of one of the large-scale development firms, in this case the Lusk Corporation. Born in 1926 in Glen Elleyn, Illinois, Krueger was one of the first architects in Arizona whose education was based on the tenets of modernism. After military service during the war, Krueger attended Moholy-Nagy's Chicago Institute of Design between 1947 and 1950 where he absorbed the spirit of modernism from a former professor at the Bauhaus. Krueger moved to Arizona in 1958 and became head of the Lusk Corporation's design department. While in Lusk's employ, he designed houses for several subdivisions, including Indian Ridge, Glenn Heather Estates, Cloud Ridge, Kingston Knolls Terrace, and Suffolk Hills. In Indian Ridge, Krueger's Ranch houses were long with low profiles, with an emphasis on backyards and indoor-outdoor living, and sited for advantageous mountain views. To cut costs, Krueger simplified Lusk's Ranch house models by, for example decreasing wall height so that no scaffolding would be necessary during construction. He also designed custom homes for Lusk's high-end customers. He left Lusk in 1962, shortly before the latter ran into financial difficulties and in 1964 returned to Chicago before returning once again to Tucson in

[70] "William Wilde," Modern Architecture Preservation Project of Tucson, http://capla.arizona.edu/mapptucsonorg/william_wilde.htm, accessed June 27, 2014. There is an obvious gap in our knowledge of Wilde's early career, from how his name may have been Anglicized, precisely what were the circumstances of his leaving the new Soviet Union, to the whole course of his career prior to arriving in Tucson. His 1962 AIA Directory entry mentions no work prior to his Arizona years.
[71] Strittmatter, "El Montevideo," 8:14.

1977 ostensibly for his retirement. The house he designed for himself that year was a good example of regional adaptation of modernism, a cubic form reflecting Bauhaus influence yet constructed of adobe. He continued to design modern adobes in southern Arizona until his final retirement in the 1990s.[72]

e) Nickolas G. Sakellar

Nicholas Gust Sakellar was born on January 4, 1918 in Kendallville, Indiana. He was the son of Gust and Anna Sakellar, Greek immigrants who later moved to Lorain, Ohio where he was raised. Sakellar attended the University of Michigan, receiving his architectural degree in 1941. As a student he received the prestigious AIA 1st Design Award for student work in 1939. His extensive foreign travel at this period included Egypt, India, China, and Brazil.[73]

Sakellar's first, brief job was draftsman for the Detroit architectural firm Smith, Hinchman & Grylls in 1941. Later that year he moved to the firm of Giffels & Valet, Inc., also in Detroit, where he worked until entering the Army Air Corps. After leaving the service in 1946, he returned to Ohio where he work at the firm of Mellenbrook, Toley & Scott until 1948. That year he relocated to Tucson, finding employment at Green & Friedman until the following year when he started his own architectural office. In 1950, Sakellar joined in the partnership of Scholer, Sakellar and Fuller, where he worked as chief designer. Work during these early years in Tucson included the Tucson Federal Savings building and Davis-Monthan Elementary School, both in 1953, the Tucson Clinic and the Willcox Elementary School in 1954 and Willcox High School in 1955.[74]

In 1956, Sakellar returned to solo practice, forming Nicholas Sakellar & Associates. By the 1960s, Sakellar began experimenting with modern styles, which were moving beyond the International Style of the 1930s towards the more expressive New Formalism. Architecture of the New Formalism broke away from strictly planar, utilitarian imperatives and embraced more sculptural forms made possible by the plasticity of reinforced concrete. Sakellar introduced curvilinear forms and massive cantilevered planes, which necessitated experimentation with new materials and construction techniques. The Continental Building at 2343 E. Broadway Boulevard (1965) is a notable example of this phase of his work. Other outstanding buildings by Sakellar included Catalina and Cholla high schools, the Wilmot Library, and the First United Methodist Church Sanctuary Addition. In 1981, Sakellar's son, Dino, joined the firm. Over the years, Sakellar won several awards from the local chapter of the AIA, and his service to the profession was honored by his investment in the AIA's College of Fellows in 1986. Sakellar retired in 1989 after completing 250 commissions during his career. He died in 1993.[75]

4. Reconciling Modernism and Regional Character

Tucson has several examples of modern houses comparable in design distinction to those built contemporaneously across the country. More important for the character of Tucson's residential

[72] Clinco, "Indian Ridge," 8:31-32.
[73] *American Architects Directory*, ed. by George S. Koyl, 1st Ed. (New York: R.R. Bowker Company, 1955), 480.
[74] Ibid., 480.
[75] Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 261.

architecture has been efforts by local architects and builders to adapt the principles of modernism to local conditions to create something more distinctive to Tucson. One of the most important elements in creating this distinction was the continued use of burnt adobe as an important construction material throughout the post-war era. In the forties, burnt adobe continued to be used in part simply because it was an affordable and locally available material at a time when material shortages across the country were an important factor limited development. Compared with Phoenix in the fifties, where standardize concrete block was the primary building material, Tucson continued to make substantial use of manufactured adobe bricks well into the sixties. Perhaps the most important expression of this localism is the "Tucson Ranch" house, a Ranch style form, but with walls of burnt adobe. Adobe's rusticity provided a much more aesthetically interesting appearance from the standards brick or block. Nearly unique to Tucson, the adobe Tucson Ranch is one of the most distinctive elements of the city's residential architectural character.[76]

Competing with the Tucson Ranch as an important contributor to Tucson's character was the Contemporary style house. Contemporary style houses are similar to Ranch houses in their generally low profile, but differ substantially in their treatment of roofs, windows, and doors. The Contemporary house often sets a line of windows relatively high up near the juncture with the roof, allowing light, but not so much a view. Elsewhere windows might extend fully from ground to ceiling to enhance the connection between indoor and outdoor spaces. Roof forms in Contemporary houses were often more complex, with differing forms and pitches even within the same building. As a modified modernist form, the Contemporary house had broader appeal in the housing market than more avant-garde modernism.[77]

Between mass market developers like Lusk and the individual architectural gems designed by architects for affluent clients were a small number of custom home builders. Thomas Gist is an example of a builder who succeeded during the fifties in creating an aesthetically distinctive custom house form, which has in recent years begun to attract the attention of preservationists. Gist came to Tucson after military service in the war and established a small construction company. Between 1949 and 1951, Gist built houses designed by some of Tucson's important architects, such as Joesler, Starkweather, Arthur Brown, and Richard Morse—a combination of influences reflecting both Tucson's Southwestern Romanticism and the innovations of modernism. Though not an architect himself, Gist, as an experienced builder, drew imaginatively from these influences to create a distinctive local interpretation of the mid-century Modern Ranch house. These Modern Ranch houses featured burnt adobe walls, an elongated floor plan, a large window wall usually along the rear of the house oriented towards a scenic view, a low-profile roof with a horizontal fascia facing the street, and an attached carport, with included distinctive decorative elements such as angled walls, decorative fascia and eaves, continuous rowlock sill and wall camp, and a Greek Key geometric motif. He made his houses more distinctive by using a technique called "sack-wiping,"

[76] Akros, "Tucson Post World War II," 29, 44.
[77] Akros, "Tucson Post World War II," 52.

which left more of the adobe surface exposed and visible. Gist built a number of variations on the modern Ranch house between 1953 and 1964.[78]

5. Summary and Transition

It is worthwhile to recall the contextual questions we are pursuing and to summarize the major theses of the preceding historic contexts before seguing to specific consideration of John and Helen Murphey and Josias Joesler. The fundamental research questions include what are the important characteristics of Tucson's residential architecture? How has it evolved over time? And, how did Joesler and the Murpheys contribute to that character in a meaningful way? First, the emergence of Southwestern Romanticism was identified as the most profound expression of the desire to create an architectural imagery compatible with the region's history, climate, and booster urges. Southwestern Romanticism emerged from its cultural fount in California as more than mere styling, it was also a social movement applied at the community-building level. This movement reflected the desire to create a beautiful built environment infused with the history of the Hispanic Southwest and drawing on the full range of Mediterranean stylistic influences, which were perceived to be more appropriate for the region's climate. Seeing Hispanicization as not only historically and climatically appropriate, Tucson, more than any other community in Arizona, adopted this ideal, but did so primarily to boost the local economy. Well before Tucson built up a diversified economy, Southwestern Romanticism was adopted as the mode of architectural expression intended to make Tucson both a desirable place to live for those needing fresh, warm air and a resort destination for winter visitors. Southwestern Romanticism, from Mission to Spanish Colonial to Western Ranch, became the most important architectural influences on Tucson's character during the twentieth century. It remains an influence to this day, both as a historic legacy and in modern construction, giving substance to the city's self-designation as the "Old Pueblo."

With these ideas in mind we can anticipate the main points regarding the significance of the Murpheys and Joesler. John and Helen Murphey were land developers whose primary business was building houses, as well as a small number of commercial and institutional buildings. What set them apart from their contemporaries—and this is their primary historic significance—was that they were the most dedicated and persistent of Tucson's Hispanicizers. The Murpheys, enthralled with Spanish/Mexican buildings and towns, set out to follow the Santa Barbara model for transforming Tucson into a resort community steeped in Southwestern Romanticism. To the extent of their resources, which were considerable, they focused the greater part of their careers to building structures of high artistic merit reflecting the best and most elaborate characteristics of Spanish Colonial Revival and related styles. To fulfill their vision, the Murpheys established a long-term collaboration with Josias Joesler, a highly skilled and artistic architect and engineer, to create masterworks of Southwestern Romanticism. Focusing as they did on residential construction, this team more than any of their contemporaries created for Tucson and Pima County a legacy of homes reflecting the best expressions of Spanish Colonial Revival.

[78] Chris Evans, "Residences of Thomas Gist in Southern Arizona, 1947-1981," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (Draft), 2012, E:3, 5-14.

IV. ASSOCIATED CONTEXT: The Development Business of John and Helen Murphey in Tucson, Arizona, 1920-1990

A. Introduction

In this associated context, we change perspective from the general history of Tucson's early twentieth-century residential development to the specific contributions of the husband and wife development team of John and Helen Murphey. The thesis advanced in this section has three major points. First, the Murpheys from the 1920s through the 1950s, and modestly beyond, operated a successful real estate and construction business that built over 600 properties in and around Tucson. The vast majority of these were single-family houses so their most notable contribution was to Tucson's residential character. Second, the Murpheys participated in the civic movement to transform Tucson from its nineteenth century status of health refuge and supply point to the mines and ranches of southern Arizona into "The Old Pueblo," a destination resort characterized by a romanticized amalgamation of Hispanic and frontier American imagery. Finally, the Murpheys achieved an outstanding significance in this transformative movement by emerging as the most dedicated of Tucson's Hispanicizers. They established a long-term collaboration with the architect Josias Joesler to design works in the popular Spanish Colonial Revival and related styles. Many of Joesler's designs achieved a high level of artistic merit and are among the finest representatives of Southwestern Romanticism in Tucson. Helen Murphey played an important role in this relationship. She was especially dedicated to the romanticized Spanish/Mexican imagery she and her husband asked of Joesler, and was herself a self-taught decorator, artist, and collector of authentic building details who contributed directly to the artistry of many of their buildings.

B. Biographical sketches of John and Helen Murphey

When John W. Murphey was born in 1898, Tucson had barely 7,000 people, and was just emerging from an economic slump earlier in the decade and entering on a period of sustained growth, which would quadruple its population by the advent of the Great Depression. His parents, Walter Edgar and Elizabeth "Lizzie" Ella Bivins Murphey, were from Georgia where they had five children prior to 1896.[1] The family moved to Arizona in 1896 for reasons unknown, and John Wesley was born on July 20, 1898 and another son in 1900. Little is known of his father's work in Georgia other than he worked for a time as a teacher. In Tucson, he established a business as a real estate broker, insurance agent, and loan financier. He also engaged in a number of ranching and mining ventures. All five of the Murphey sons worked in their father's business at times. Walter and "Lizzie", both of whom had college degrees, emphasized to their children the importance of education and the value of hard work.[2]

In 1918, Murphey was working as a "machinist specialist" at a San Pedro shipyard in Los Angeles, California before returning to Tucson. On September 12, 1918, Murphey registered for the military draft, indicating that he would be participating in the Student Army Training Corps (SATC) at the

[1] Walter E. Murphey was born in Hamilton, Georgia, May 5, 1860. Elizabeth Ella Bivins Murphey was born August 11, 1863 in Pineville, Georgia. She was the daughter of Martin Luther Bivins, a well-to-do owner of a 1,800-acre cotton plantation in Marion County, Georgia.
[2] Walter Murphey graduated from the University of Nashville, Nashville, Tennessee. Elizabeth Bivins graduated from Southern Female College in LaGrange, Georgia.

Figure 27. John W. Murphey (left) and Helen Murphey (right), n.d. Reproduced from *Joesler & Murphey: An Architectural Legacy for Tucson*, 1994, p. 6 (original portrait of John: Christine Murphey Brookey; original portrait of Helen: Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, #10951).

University of Arizona.[34] Murphey began his SATC service on October 1st, but the armistice of November 11, 1918 triggered the dissolution of the SATC. Murphey continued his studies and graduated from the School of Mines with a degree in geology in 1920.[5]

Thanks to her considerable personal financial resources, Lizzie Murphey was able to give each of her seven adult children money to build a house to live in or sell to fund an education or business. It was through encouragement and resources from his mother that Murphey had the money to launch his building career. While still a student, Murphey built his first and second houses.[6]

Helen Geyer Murphey was born on August 11, 1894 in Natick, Massachusetts. Unusual for women of the era, Helen pursued a working career, moving to Kinderhook, Illinois in 1911 when she was

[3] The University of Arizona was one of 528 U.S. College campuses where young men could fulfill their military obligation while simultaneously receiving a college education.
[4] United States Selective Service System, Registration State: California; Registration County: Los Angeles; Roll 1531191; Draft Board:1.
[5] Christine Murphey, interview by Janet Parkhurst and Linda Weed, Tucson, Arizona, February 13, 2015. Murphey's decision to major in geology was influenced by his father's having business ventures in mining.
[6] Christine Murphey, 2015. It has been published that Murphey was offered a Rhodes Scholarship, which he turned down to remain in Tucson and marry Helen Geyer and build his business. Since the Rhodes Trust has no record of an offer to Murphey, this story ist most likely apocryphal. Arta Najafbagy, (Rhodes Foundation), Personal email to Linda Weed. September 10, 2014.

seventeen to teach in a rural school for one year. She returned to Rockport, Massachusetts to work in her aunt's dry goods store. Eventually, she relocated to Washington, D.C., where she first worked for a law firm. Her diary entry of January 2, 1917 states that she started work in a new office with a Mr. [F.J.] Bailey, chief clerk at the Bureau of Mines (the first woman to do so).[7] She also worked evenings as a secretary for Herbert Hoover when, as Helen said, "he was doing relief work for Belgium and all over Europe. He saved Europe that man did."[8]

As sole supporter of her arthritic mother since 1911 and after her graduation from high school, Helen turned her career aspirations westward because as she noted in her 1918 diary entries:

> *August 8 . . . Mother is so much worse that I'm negotiating with the Bureau of Mines about a job somewhere out west. . . .*
>
> *August 9 I have it! The Chief Clerk ship of the Tucson station, way down in the southern part of Arizona. Wild west is no name for what this will be! Quite an honor too Chief Clerkship!"*[9]

Helen and her mother left Washington and arrived in Tucson on September 22, 1918, where she took up her duties as chief clerk in the Tucson regional office of the U.S. Bureau of Mines.[10] She also took classes at the University of Arizona, where she met John Murphey.

John Murphey and Helen Geyer were married on October 12, 1920. It has been published that the couple lived in a tent near Campbell Avenue and River Road for three years after they were married to maintain a homestead claim. Christine Murphey, granddaughter, doubts the veracity of this assertion due to Helen's need to care for her mother who had debilitating arthritis. Helen's diaries, she said:

> *...talk about my grandfather [John Murphey] having to carry her [Helen's mother] everywhere. And there is also a reference about giving her a wheelchair for Christmas. With her mother so incapacitated, I can't imagine how my grandmother could have taken care of her and lived in a tent to fulfill the homestead requirements.*[11]

However, there was a tent with a wooden floor at their building site just west of what is now Camino Real where the Murpheys built what they referred to as "The Homestead House."[12] Beginning in 1922, the Murpheys lived in their long-time residence, which they built on Speedway Boulevard.[13]

As John Murphey was building his business, a group of Tucson businessmen formed the Sunshine Climate Club in 1922 in order to rebrand the city's image from a refuge for sufferers of lung diseases to a romantic destination tourist and health resort. The resulting influx of tourists created a new and increased set of demands on the city's housing and guest lodging industries. Guest ranches complete with taxi service grew in outlying areas while rows of often minimal hotels and motels arose on the

[7] Helen Geyer, Personal Diary, Washington, D.C., January 2, 1917, quoted by Christine Murphey, interview 2015.
[8] Helen Murphey, interview by Margrit L. Gerow, Tucson, Arizona, November 14, 1973, in the Arizona Historical Society Oral History Archive.
[9] Helen Murphey, Personal Diary, August 8 and August 9, 1918, Washington, D.C, in the Murphey personal family collection.
[10] Christine Murphey, 2015.
[11] Christine Murphey, 2015. In fact, the legal requirements for the patent Murphey ultimately received under the Stock Raising Homestead Act of 1916 did not require a residency requirement as opposed to the earlier applications under the 1862 Homestead Act.
[12] Christine Murphey, 2015. The exact location and construction date of this house are as yet unidentified.
[13] Sam Hughes Neighborhood District National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, 1994, Section 7, p. 10.

periphery of Tucson. Courts of guest cottage bungalows sprouted in Tucson's vacant lots in the downtown area, and small detached single-family bungalows filled large new neighborhoods.

John Murphy joined the ranks of the bungalow-builders of the 1920s, acting as designer, contractor, and, occasionally, laborer. Between 1921 and 1925, he completed 85 construction projects, most of them bungalows of less than one thousand square feet. Murphey often borrowed plans from the popular bungalow books or the catalogues published by kit home manufacturers. To differentiate their homes, Helen added artistic touches, such as Mexican-inspired motifs, on walls, shutters, lintels, and cabinets, and incorporated Mexican hand-painted ceramic tiles into the interiors and exteriors of her husband's projects. However, such direct borrowing seemed to be limited to smaller bungalows as Tucson's rising new crop of architects was involved in the larger bungalow-concept homes as well as a few of the economy bungalows.

Initially, Murphey's bungalows differed little from those of other constructed in a rush to meet new housing demands. Yet considering Murphey's increased sophistication just a few years later and the implication that his largest project, Catalina Foothills Estates (begun in 1928), required considerable foresight and planning, it is evident that the young builder's abilities and conceptual objectives clearly surpassed the physical products of his earliest years. However, one should not dismiss the importance of these early projects because of their contribution to Murphey's financial assets and working capital and the possibilities these created. Murphey further built these financial assets by selling insurance, buying and selling real estate, financing properties he sold, renting and managing properties (his own and those of others), renting furniture or storing furniture in warehouses he built and owned.

By 1926, the John W. Murphey Building Company was prospering and for the first time, Murphey employed an architect. He also purchased land for Tucson's first individually owned and individually developed subdivision, the Old World Addition, thus making his debut in large-scale speculative development. This milestone year also marked the Murphey's first efforts toward their largest and most significant contribution toward quality architecture and progressive planning in their career. This included a quest for suitable vernacular architectural prototypes and a search for an architect who could help them achieve their goals. Less than two years later, their goals began to take shape in the form of Tucson's first residential development adjacent to the scenic Santa Catalina Mountains, the Catalina Foothills Estates.

John Murphey's increasing use of adobe for his construction projects plus the couple's frequent travels to Mexico since 1920 attested to an enthusiasm for Mexican heritage and culture and to a construction technology that could express a Southwestern vernacular and grow naturally from the Sonoran desert. In planning Catalina Foothills Estates, they decided on a Mexican architectural theme as appropriate for their vision and the environment. During their travels, the Murpheys closely examined native Mexican buildings and ruins as well as the monuments of Mexico's colonial period. They collected artifacts from Mexican building, such as antique doors, benches, and hardware together with supplies of hand-painted tiles for integration into the "Mexican" buildings they planned to construct in Catalina Foothills Estates

The Murpheys also made regular visits to Southern California where John's mother and several siblings lived. With his building acumen and Helen's artistic eye, the Murpheys stayed well versed in architectural styles and development trends in the Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, and San Diego areas.

As the Murpheys formulated their plans for Catalina Foothills Estates, they became aware of their need for an architect to help them achieve their goals. They sought an architect whose experience and inclination matched their own ideas and aspirations. They were acutely aware that they had neither the time nor professional experience needed to synthesize their well-thought concepts into architecture capturing the feelings they admired in the inspiring historic and vernacular architecture of Mexico and the American Southwest. They also felt that the architects then working in Tucson were both ill-suited and also unavailable to handle both the volume of architectural work the John W. Murphey Building Company was anticipating, nor to fulfill the responsibilities as supervisory architect for the large vertically-integrated master-planned community of their dreams.

By 1927, the Murpheys were highly interested in the movement in Santa Barbara to rebuild that earthquake-devastated tourist city into a romanticized Spanish Colonial Revival resort. The character of Santa Barbara fit well with their dreams for Catalina Foothills Estates. In their quest to find an architect, the Murpheys had alerted "a man from Santa Barbara" of their need.[14] Helen Murphey remembered:

> *We had told this man in California, an architect, if he ever found a good one, let us know. So Joe naturally being an architect, he drifted into some of these architectural offices in Santa Barbara, to see what they were doing. . . . So this man called John, very nicely, and said, "I've got a man for you." So John said, "All right, can you tell him to come over to see me?"*[15]

Helen Murphey also remembered:

> *Joe came out from Los Angeles on the train for the interview. We liked him right away. The next morning he drew a plan of an office just perfectly.*[16]

The interview was the beginning of an association and deep friendship lasting 29 years, ending with Joesler's death in 1956.

Joesler agreed to relocate and open an office in Tucson. For most of the following three decades he and the Murpheys collaborated on the design of high-style homes, churches, and commercial buildings that

[14] Joeslyn Gibbs (Curator, Architecture and Design Collection, Art, Design & Architecture Museum, University of California, Santa Barbara), personal e-mail to Linda Weed, September 10, 2014. There has been speculation about the identity of the Santa Barbara architect who first recommended Joesler to the Murpheys. Noted architects Bertram Goodhue, Reginald Johnson, William Mooser III, Wallace Neff, Joseph Plunkett, and George Washington Smith were all working in the Santa Barbara area at the time. As the Murpheys always sought out "the best," it could have been any one of these or even someone else. Most frequently, Smith has been suggested as being the source for the recommendation; however, it has so far been unconfirmed. No documentation has been found linking the Murpheys or Joesler with Smith or Lutah Maria Riggs (Smith's chief draftswoman and eventual partner in his firm) when searching the Murphey and Joesler papers archived at the Arizona Historical Society and Special Collections in the Main Library of the University of Arizona as well as the Smith and Riggs archives in the University of California Santa Barbara Museum's Architecture and Design Collection.

[15] Helen Murphey, interview by John Haley, Murphey family archives, circa 1981.

[16] Victor, 10-12.

would contribute to the romantic Spanish/Mexican character with which local Tucson boosters were trying to brand Tucson, much like Santa Barbara.[17]

C. The Joesler/Murphey Collaboration, 1927-1956

When Joesler arrived late in 1927, the John W. Murphey Building Company entered a busy period as it continued work in the Old World Addition and began ramping up to realize the dream of Catalina Foothills Estates. Construction of many commercial buildings, often financed by Murphey himself, formed another important aspect of the building company's operation. Additions and alterations to earlier jobs became frequent as past customers often became repeat customers. The company also engaged in a variety of real estates transactions beyond construction, such as property management and insurance.

In 1928, after receiving a contract from United Hotels Company of America for design, construction, and landscaping at its El Conquistador property in Tucson, the Murpheys conferred with Frank McCoy of the Santa Maria Inn in Santa Maria, California. The Santa Maria Inn, opened in 1917, was a popular place to stay when traveling along El Camino Real between Los Angeles and San Francisco. After having made successful investments in ranch land, McCoy retired from his position with the Union Sugar Company to follow his dream of opening a hotel that would be famous not only for its hospitality but also for its remarkable gardens and original floral bouquets in every room. After their meeting with McCoy, the Murpheys returned to Tucson with with a very big idea.[18] An inscription in Helen Murphey's handwriting on the back of a photograph of Mr. McCoy reads:

> *Frank McCoy, deceased.*
> *Founder & Owner of Santa Maria Inn*
> *Santa Maria, Calif.*
> *Gave us the idea in 1928 of buying Catalina Foothills acreage*[19]

The Murpheys looked for opportunities to purchase a large area of land remote enough for their vision of an open rural desert setting for their development. An important opportunity opened in April 1928 with Arizona State Land Department Auction No. 159, which included foothills land at $15 per acre.[20] John Murphey supplied the capital, and various members of his organization provided the head-count to accumulate over time more than 7,000 acres of stock-raising homesteaded and deeded desert land in the foothills of the Santa Catalina Mountains.

[17] Ibid., 10.

[18] Sally Cappon, "Roadside Attractions: Following his dream, Frank McCoy created the Santa Maria Inn," *Lompoc Record* (Lompoc, California), December 30, 2008, http://lompocrecord.com/lifestyles/columnist/roadside_attractions/following-his-dream-frank-mccoy-created-the-santa-maria-inn/article_5969f8aa-9f41-53c9-aba6-eb8976c97e1c.html.

[19] Frank McCoy, photograph, Murphey Family Collection.

[20] Notice of Arizona State Land Department Auction No. 159 of improved and unimproved State School and Institutional lands situated in Pima County, Arizona held at the Court House at 10:00 a.m. on Tuesday, April 24, 1928 was first published on February 18, 1928 and last published on April 21, 1928 by Vernon Vaughn, Commissioners, Arizona State Land Department; Newspaper clipping with notations, Murphey, John W., Papers, Arizona Historical Society; Murphey, John W., Biographical Note, MS-0568, Murphey, John W., 1898-1977, Papers 1921-1951, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona.

Murphey's acquisition of the foothills property was not without difficult and controversy. When he added to his homestead 40 acres on which a Mormon cemetery had been established, the Mormon community petitioned the federal General Land Office for protection. The General Land Office acquired the land back from Murphey and sold it to the Mormon Church for $50 as the Pioneer Cemetery, now known as Binghampton Cemetery.[21]

Looking for clients for the Catalina Foothills Estates, Murphy sought out wealthy families living in Midwestern and Eastern states whose boys attended expensive boarding schools in and around Tucson. In 1929, Tucson had the largest number of these ranch schools for boys in Arizona. However, there was no ranch school for girls. The Murpheys saw an opportunity and decided to open Hacienda del Sol School for Girls located in the middle of their vast desert acreage with its dramatic setting.[22]

The Murpheys knew Isabella Greenway had commissioned architect G.W. Smith to build a house for her in Santa Barbara when her children were there in boarding school. They trusted that parents of the girls and boys at the ranch schools in Tucson would ask them to do the same. Equally important, the Murpheys saw Hacienda del Sol School as a way to generate much needed immediate cash flow from their extensive land holdings. The Murpheys also reached out to guests at Tucson resorts who were interested in extended Tucson stays. A number of Isabella Greenway's guests at the Arizona Inn did in fact buy houses in Catalina Foothills Estates.

To protect his growing assets, at the start of 1929 Murphey reorganized his business as the John W. Murphey Building Company, with $100,000 in initial capital.[23] Murphey maintained controlling interest in the company with Joesler and Leo B. Keith, Murphey's long-time friend and the company's treasurer, with minority interests. The move was propitious as the Depression struck hard at Murphey's business. In January 1933, Murphey wrote "I am terribly short of funds right now."[24] Murphey did not build a single house in 1933.[25] The Depression took its toll on Murphey's company, which went out of business in 1933. Murphey reorganized again at the start of 1934 and with Leo B. Keith formed a new corporation doing business as the John W. Murphey-Leo B. Keith Building Company (Figure 28).[26] While Keith's financial investment and acumen in addition to his contacts and work with the company were important to their success, there is no indication that Keith was involved in the stylistic imperatives motivating the Murpheys and their architect. Murphey reorganized the Catalina Foothills Estates as a separate corporation.

[21] John W. Murphey Correspondence 1928-1931, Murphey Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Box 1, File 13.
[22] John W. Murphey, Arizona State Land Department Deed of Sale, Murphey Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Box 1 File 13, Box 2 File 34.
[23] Leo B. Keith, Letter to R.G. Dun & Company, Phoenix, Arizona, December 2, 1929; Murphey, John W., Papers, MS 0568, Box 2, File 20, Arizona Historical Society archives, Tucson, Arizona.
[24] John W. Murphey, Letter to D.B. Morgan of John H. Page Company, January 23, 1933, Murphey, John W., Papers, MS 0568, Box 1, File 2, Arizona Historical Society archives, Tucson, Arizona.
[25] Murphey-Keith Building Company Job Records in the Joesler Collection, Special Collections of the University of Arizona Library, Tucson, Arizona.
[26] Leo B. Keith, Letter to H.G. Sparks, Arizona State Registrar of Contractors, January 13, 1934, Arizona Historical Society MS 0568, Box 2, File 20.

In 1935, John Murphey enlisted the Civilian Conservation Corps to re-plant graded areas and build flood control devices for Catalina Foothills Estates.[27] In the mid to late 1930s, he lobbied the Arizona legislature to adopt county planning and zoning enabling laws.[28] He had seen the value of covenants, conditions and restrictions in maintaining the integrity of his Catalina Foothills Estates development and in raising confidence in people to invest and commit to building in the community. He wanted to extend this same benefit to the Tucson metropolitan area. He specifically did not want to see the area between the foothills encroached upon by junkyards, billboards, and shoddy development.[29] According to a later Murphey associate, John G. Payson, Murphey was "a pioneer of deed restrictions," who attached 50-year deed restrictions on his land in 1930 to protect its value. He banned Bermuda grass and he required certain architectural styles, colors and heights. These restrictions expired in 1980.[30]

World War II brought civilian development projects like Catalina Foothills Estates to a halt, and like many other builders, Murphey turned to war work for the duration of the conflict. Murphey dissolved both the Catalina Foothills Estates Corporation and the Murphey-Keith Building Company as of November 30, 1942[31]. His business relationship with Keith continued "in the real-estates business and the writing of insurance but no building."[32]

Murphey, Keith, and Joesler formed two new partnerships to take on contracts to build military facilities.[33] Using no subcontractors, these partners combined their energy and talents with those of their crew, which numbered at least 44 on Fort Huachuca projects, to construct projects in Arizona. These projects varied—housing, training facilities, hangars, hospital additions, schools, headquarters. One project at Fort Huachuca was for construction of facilities for several hundred Women's Army Auxiliary Corps soldiers who were attached to the segregated 92nd Infantry Division composed of black soldiers.[34] Another project involved a 3,000-person internment camp, complete with roads and fencing. In just three years, the Murphey-Keith partnerships completed at least eighteen government contracts valued at over $6 million.[35]

[27] John W. Murphey, Arizona Historical Society, MS 0568, Series II, Box 5, File 83, 1935-1937.
[28] John W. Murphey, 1939; Roy P. Drachman, *From Cowtown to Desert Metropolis*, 170.
[29] Ibid., 170.
[30] John G. Payson, Quoated in Ernie Heltsley, "Pioneer Landowner, a Tucson Legend," *Arizona Daily Star*, August 24, 1997, n.p.
[31] Leo B. Keith Letter to Treasury Department, Office of Collector of Internal Revenue, Phoenix, Arizona, April 26, 1943, Murphey, John W., Papers, MS 0568, Box 2, File 21, Arizona Historical Society archives, Tucson. Arizona.
[32] Leo B. Keith Letter to Josias Th. Joesler, November 20, 1942, Murphey, John W., Papers, MS 0568, Box 1, File 2, Arizona Historical Society archives, Tucson, Arizona.
[33] The Murphey-Keith Building Company of Tucson was an Arizona partnership composed of John W. Murphey, Leo B. Keith, Josias T Joesler, and William C. Beal. The second business entity was a Texas limited partnership, Murphey/Keith Building Company, Ltd., with limited partner Paul Harvey of El Paso, Texas and general Partners Murphey, Keith, Beal and Joesler, all of Tucson, and Paul O. Sergent of El Paso. Murphey-Keith Office Records in the Joesler Collection, Special Collections of the University of Arizona Library, Tucson, Arizona.
[34] "Tucsonans Get WAAC Contract," *The Arizona Daily Star*, 8 September 1942, 2.
[35] John W. Murphey to War Production Board, Letter, 1942, Murphey Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Box 3, File 4.

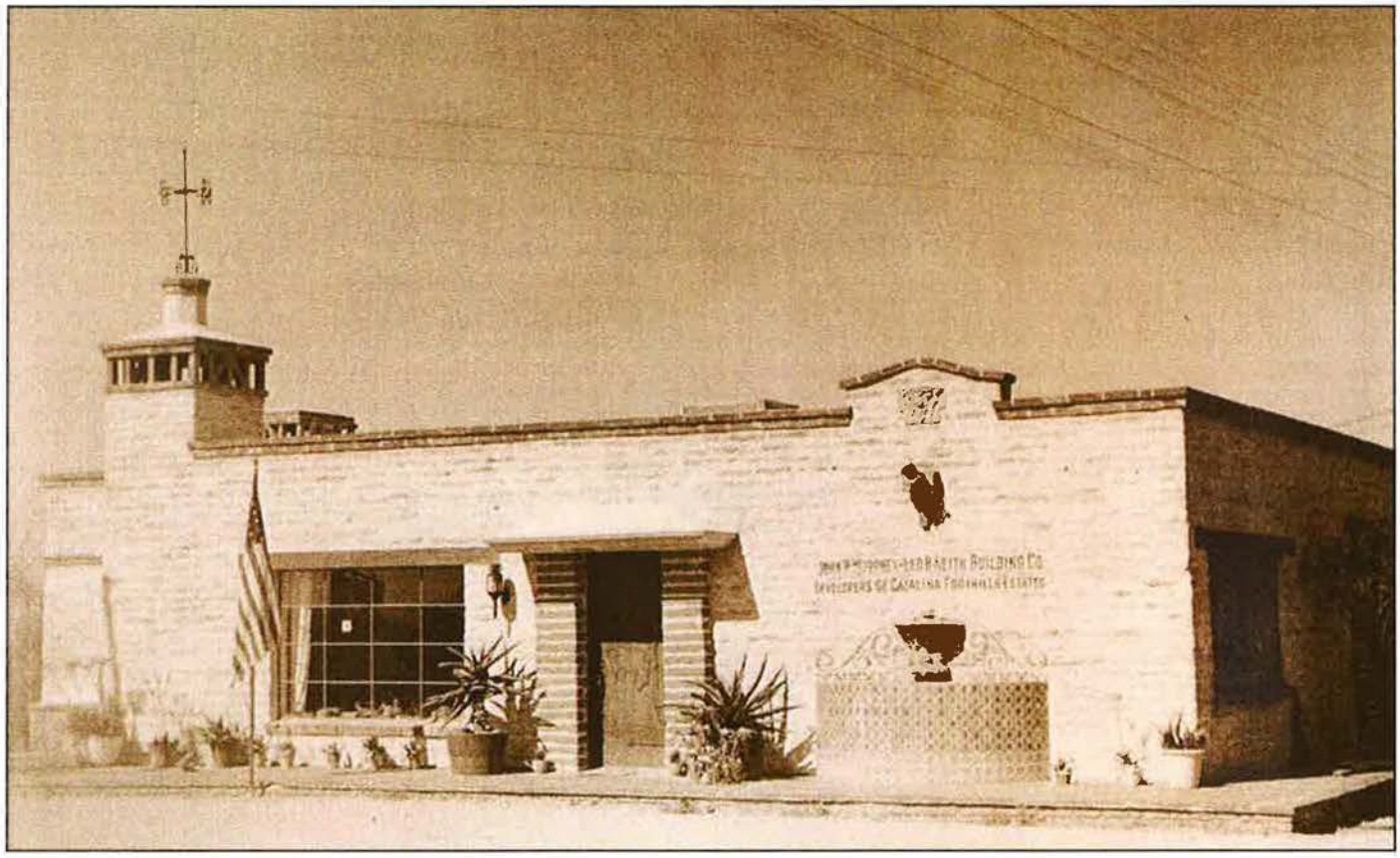


Figure 28. Murphey-Keith Office Building, 1940. Murphey and Joesler moved their offices to this building located at the entrance to Catalina Foothills Estate in 1940. The decorative weathervane is a Joesler signature. Reproduced from *Joesler & Murphey: An Architectural Legacy for Tucson*, 1994, inside front cover (original photo: Murphey Investment Trust).

Work for the war effort momentarily shifted Murphey's priorities. On August 16, 1943, he wrote to Joesler:

> *You will probably be surprised to hear that I have finally decided to retire from the building business. The thought that prompted me to make this decision is the fact that the jobs are much smaller and there is not enough profit in them to support an organization as big as the one we have. I have made sufficient money to assure me a permanent income.*[36]

Murphey initially thought to continue his government work by pursuing contracts for overseas reconstruction projects. Toward that goal, Murphey brought Lt. Colonel Lyle Rosenburg into the firm as a partner and executive vice president for special projects.[37] Murphey trusted Rosenburg would have

[36] John W. Murphey to Josias T. Joesler, Letter, August 16, 1943. Joesler Archive, University of Arizona Special Collections.
[37] Rosenberg had been district engineer in the Albuquerque District of the U.S. Engineer's Office of the War Department where he had supervised the Murphey-Keith contracts. From Albuquerque, Rosenburg was posted in Okinawa before being medically discharged.

influential contacts for securing contracts, especially in the Pacific. Murphey also enlisted the assistance of Senator Carl Hayden to promote his efforts in developing business with the military.[38] All these efforts were to no avail as the anticipated government work failed to materialize, so after the war Murphey returned his attention to Tucson.

In 1948, Murphey and Keith ended their long-time joint business ventures. Murphey remained at the helm of Catalina Foothills Estates, continued as a real estate and insurance agent, managed his other properties, such as Broadway Village, warehouses on South Park and apartments he built, as well as his two ranches, the 32,000-acre U-Circle Ranch, near Mount Lemmon, and the Diamond Bar Ranch in New Mexico.[39] Meanwhile, Helen focused more time and attention on her many philanthropic activities in Tucson.

After the war, private building resumed in Tucson. In addition to restarting work at Catalina Foothills Estates, Murphey built a number of individual projects—churches, commercial buildings, and public buildings, such as the Arizona Historical Society Museum. Murphey placed a great deal of his emphasis on the expansion of St. Philip's in the Hills church and the building of St. Michael of All Angels church.[40]

After putting his land in family trusts, in 1960 Murphey recruited John G. Payson, a certified public accountant from Los Angeles to come to Tucson and help manage the Murphey assets. Payson worked for Murphey for the subsequent seventeen years. After Murphey's death in 1977, Payson, serving as trustee, continued to supervise and manage the holdings of Murphey's estate and in the trusts established for Helen and the other Murphey heirs. In 1986, attorney Michael Sarikas took the reins from Payson and oversaw the entire operation as trustee of the family trusts and managing general partner of partnerships needed to finish developing the family's remaining acreage and business ventures.[41]

Payson recalled the "cigar-chomping" John Murphey, who though of himself as the "mayor" of his beloved foothills, as:

> *... an old-time entrepreneur, a self-starter, and a hard-working guy who owned the land as well. Not only was he a land speculator and developer, he was also a contractor who built homes on the lots he sold. He also had his own crew of in-house plumbers, electricians and cabinetmakers. He made the loans on the houses and carried back the mortgages. He also insured the homes.*[42]

Murphey supplied the water from his Catalina Foothills Water Company (which has since been sold to the City of Tucson). He needed a school, so he formed Catalina Foothills District 16. Murphey wanted a church. He had envisioned a community center for the Catalina Foothills modeled after a typical Mexican village plaza, with a church as its focal building. His partner, Leo Keith, a member of the vestry board at Grace Episcopal Church, knew the church's visiting rector, George Ferguson, wanted to

[38] John W. Murphey to Honorable Carl Hayden, Senator from Arizona. Letter, Joesler/Murphey archive, University of Arizona Special Collections.
[39] Ernie Heltsley, "Pioneer Landowner, a Tucson Legend," *Arizona Daily Star*, August 24, 1997, Sect F, 1 & 8.
[40] Marlys Bush Thurber, Linda L. Mayro, Frank P. Behlau, and R. Brooks Jeffery. *Survey of Joesler/Murphey Structures in Tucson and Environs*. Tucson: Tucson-Pima County Historical Commission, 1992), 6.
[41] Heltsley, "Pioneer Landowner."
[42] John G. Payson, quoted in Heltsley, 1997.

build his own church near his home in what is known today as the Casas Adobes area. After conferring with each other, Keith and Murphey sold Ferguson on establishing his church on the plaza that would be the gateway to Catalina Foothills Estates. The Murpheys gave the land and later forgave some of the construction costs.[43] Keith and his wife donated a pipe organ. For the building's architecture, Josias Joesler waved his fee and designed one of his most iconic and beautiful buildings, St. Philip's in the Hills Episcopal Church.

By the end of their careers, John and Helen Murphey were credited with constructing more than 600 buildings in Tucson, including some of its prominent landmarks. Over the course of the Murpheys' fifty-seven year marriage, Helen was both a business and artistic partner. She brought to the marriage and to the company a refined sense of style, artistic talent, and an avid interest in art collection. She was an inveterate student of local and Mexican history and she kept scrapbooks of photographs and drawings of Mexican architectural details discovered during family vacations that would later be used in her work.

The Murpheys never lost faith in Southwestern Romanticism and the appropriateness of Spanish Colonial Revival architecture for Tucson. After Joesler's death, despite a reduced level of business activity in their later years, the Murpheys sought out another architect to help continue their vision. They found their new architectural collaborator in Mexico City, Juan Wørner Baz (1928-2014) a designer trained in the precepts of modernism, yet who retained a deep appreciation of historic architecture of Mexico. The Murpheys hired Baz to design their new home in Catalina Foothills.

Baz' Tucson architectural debut, Casa Juan Paisano (roughtly translated as, "the house of my countryman John"), also known as the Murphey House, was completed in 1961 and represented a hybridization of modernist and revival architecture—two style combinations unique to Tucson and unique to the architects typically associated with the Murpheys (including Josias Joesler and Roy Place). With Casa Juan Paisano, the collaborative effort of Wørner Baz and the Murpheys resulted in a modernist expression of a traditional Mexican hacienda. Wørner Baz would eventually design at least a dozen buildings in Tucson, representing the Murpheys' final contributions to Tucson's architectural character.

Success in real estates allowed the Murphey's in their later years to become substantial philanthropists within the Tucson community. Their donations of land and money benefitted such groups as the Junior League, the University of Arizona Medical Center, and the Salvation Army's downtown Hospitality House. Helen Murphey funded scholarships for dozens of college students and participated in the organization of the Tucson Symphony Orchestra and the Tucson Museum of Art. The Murpheys funded one of Tucson's first historic preservation projects, the rehabilitation of the Sosa-Carrillo-Frémont House. The Murpheys donated many pieces of art and artifacts to both the Arizona Historical Society and the Tucson Museum of Art.[44] Ironically, donations from the Murpheys for the expansion of the University of Arizona's Medical Center and widening of Campbell Avenue triggered the demise of their

[43] Helen Murphey in interview by Elizabeth R. Taylor, Tucson, Arizona, May 19, 1978.
[44] *Arizona Daily Star*, July 22, 1990, Sect E, pp. 1 & 7; *Tucson Citizen*, July 9, 1990, Sect B, p. 2

original Old World Addition subdivision of nineteen houses designed by Joesler and built by the Murpheys.[45]

John Murphey died on December 25, 1977 and Helen on July 8, 1990. Both are buried in Tucson's Evergreen Memorial Park.[46]

D. Major Collaborative Projects

1. Old World Addition

The Murpheys' Old World Addition subdivision was the catalyst for Joesler to establish his architectural practice in Tucson. Located northeast of the university, this development represented an important departure for John Murphey as his business transitioned from emphasizing smaller houses targeting the median-range market to larger, high style, custom-built houses. As a subdivision, the Old World Addition was typical of the time, a grid of lots of approximately 10,000 square feet. Old World Addition offered houses designed by Joesler in all the popular Period Revival styles of the twenties—Swiss Chalet, English Tudor, French, and, of course, Spanish Colonial Revival. Built in 1927 and 1928, Old World Addition, along with contemporary developments like Colonia Solana and El Encanto Estates demonstrated the exuberance with which local developers acted to give Tucson a more romanticized imagery, "calling up visions of romantic Seville, Granada and Barcelona," as the *Arizona Daily Star* phrased it. In a publicity pamphlet, Murphey promised to pave Campbell Avenue up to this suburban enclave at the edge of town and assured potential buyers that the Old World Addition:

> *... is being rapidly filled with fine homes, to the exclusion of the ordinary bungalow type, all being planned as to light and arrangement to command an unobstructed view the of surrounding mountains on an already carefully designed relation as to the completed project, each home with its individual charm and each an important unit in the perfection of the group ensemble.*[47]

In a publicity brochure, prepared for its open house in late 1927, Murphey described one of the most attractive of his model homes, describing it as:

> *Built on a spacious ground with abundant arrangement for air and light. Its main entrance opens into a reception hall, then into a spacious living room open on four sides, on through into the patio. From this reception hall the dining room is entered, which is a room of light and large coziness, the breakfast room, butler's pantry, immaculate kitchen and servants' quarters with tile bath are all arranged to provide for exacting requirements.*
>
> *An easy wide stairway with its inlaid steps of Mexican tile leads to the upstairs where a delight as to arrangement of the three master's bed rooms, two tile baths, hall and balcony awaits.*

[45] Victor, 10-12.
[46] "Foothills developer Murphey dies," *Tucson Citizen*, December 27, 1977, Sect. C, p. 1; Helen Murphey obituary, *Arizona Daily Star*, July 9, 1990, Sect B., p. 2; Cox, "Arizona Inn," 8:5.
[47] Thurber, *Survey of Joesler/Murphey*, 11.

Large closets, innumerable built-in features, large double garage, landscaping, the patio with its Old Spanish well, shade, roominess and the decorating, done by one of the best artists in the country, in its dignified simplicity, all blend to make this what it was planned and built to be—a most attractive and convenient home.[48]

For Joesler and the Murpheys, the Old World Addition was a transitional development. Its eclecticism would be followed by a firmer dedication to Spanish Colonial Revival as the principle expression of Tucson's Southwestern Romanticism. Unfortunately, little remains today of Old World Addition as most of its houses were demolished to make way for university expansion.[49]

2. Additional Pre-Depression Era Projects

Even as they pursued their first major subdivision project at Old World Addition, Murphey and Joesler continued to build houses on individual lots in town, including in what today are referred to as the Sam Hughes and Blenman-Elm neighborhoods. For these houses, Murphey and Joesler abandoned other Period Revival styles and designed homes exclusively in the Spanish Colonial Revival and Sonoran Revival styles. While some were fairly grand, most of these houses were relatively small. They were stylistically modest, though with basic romanticist touches such as arched windows, niches and stepped support buttresses, elements that in Joesler's high style designs could become quite enhanced. It was a sign of Murphey's financial health that many of their early houses were built speculatively without a contracted buyer.[50]

In 1928 or 1929, local entrepreneur Jerome (Jerry) Martin contracted with Murphey for design and construction of an apartment building, the Don Martin Apartments (NRHP listed 2010). This Joesler designed building was one of a very few multi-family projects he ever undertook and was one of, if not the largest building of his career in Tucson. Its distinctive Spanish Colonial Revival attributes include a deep courtyard, stuccoed walls with tile roof, and purely decorative features like an octagonal tower, iron balconies, and Joesler's signature, wrought-iron weather vane.[51]

The El Conquistador Hotel was the most important effort begun in the late twenties to transform Tucson into a resort destination. Designed by Henry Jaastad's firm, the hotel was a distinguished, though late, example of Mission Revival style. Yet even before the start of the Depression, the project suffered from financial difficulties. In February 1928, the United Hotels Company of American took over the project and called on local builder John Murphey to bring it to completion by adding several bungalows with garages, quarters for chauffeurs, and landscaping. Helen, a self-taught interior decorator, provided onsite assistance to the project's main interior design contractor, Edgar J. Cheesewright of Cheesewright Studios in Pasadena.[52]

[48] Thurber, *Survey of Joesler/Murphey*, 13.
[49] Jeffery, *Joesler & Murphey*, 11. The only surviving house from the Old World Addition possibly attributable to Joesler is at 1401 E. Mabel St.
[50] Thurber, *Survey of Joesler/Murphey*, 14.
[51] Janet H. Parkhurst and Ralph Comey, "Don Martin Apartment House," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, 2010, 3, 6.
[52] The project's interior design contractor, Edgar J. Cheesewright, F.A.I.D., and the Cheesewright Studios in Pasadena, California, controlled the interior design budget and specified all interior and exterior colors, floor stains, lighting, furniture arrangement, and picked out everything for the added bungalows—furniture, linens, draperies, etc., Helen Murphey provided Cheesewright with assistance onsite in Tucson so that the project was

3. Catalina Foothills Estates

As a business venture Old World Addition was successful enough that in 1928 the Murpheys could start the project, which, ultimately, become their most important contribution to Tucson's architectural character—the Catalina Foothills Estates. It has already been mentioned that the Murpheys began acquiring land in the foothills of the Santa Catalina Mountains to the north of the City in the early twenties (Figure 29). In 1928 they successfully bid on some 7,000 acres of public land in the foothills and began laying out plans for an affluent "Mexican style" community, with all

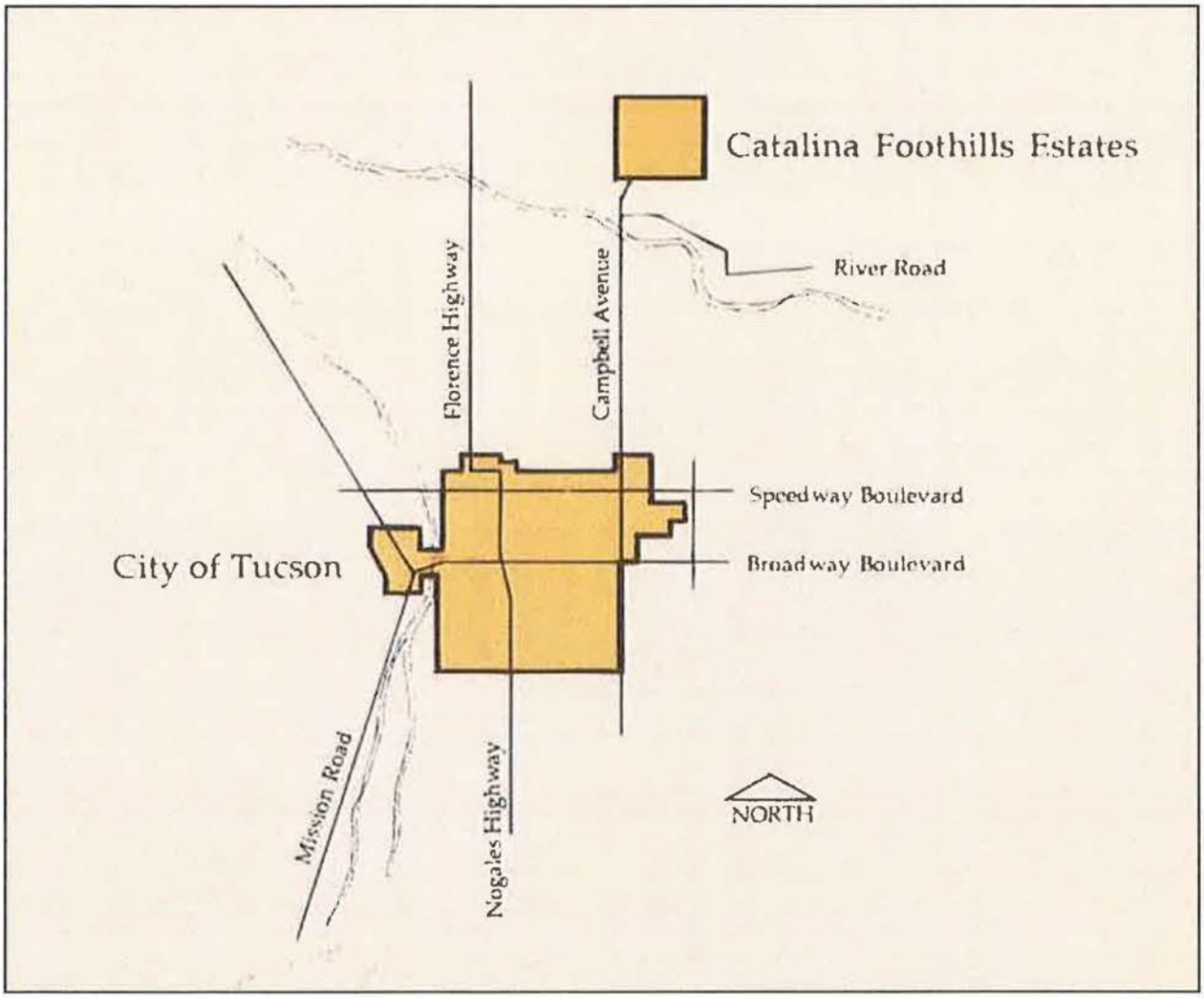


Figure 29. Catalina Foothills Estates and the City of Tucson, ca. 1930. Reproduced from *Joesler & Murphey: An Architectural Legacy for Tucson*, 1994, p. 12 (Drawing: R. Brooks Jeffery).

completed on time. John W. Murphey correspondence, Murphey, John W., Papers, MS 0568, Box 2, Files 30 and 31, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona.

the amenities needed to attract a prominent clientele.[53] At the time, the foothills were three miles from the city, north of the Rillito River, and lacked nearby neighborhood amenities. The Murpheys' decision to refocus their attention from the city to its northern outskirts was highly speculative; the main trend of residential development at the time was eastward past the university and towards the site of the planned El Conquistador Hotel. When the Great Depression brought new construction in Tucson to a virtual halt, devastating many developers, the Murpheys, who also suffered a significant financial setback, clung to their foothills land. An anecdote from the period relates that in 1930 Murphey, in need of cash, approached the president of the Bank of Bisbee with an offer to sell land in the foothills for five dollars an acre. The banker turned down the offer with the comment that no one would ever live on that foothills land except for jackrabbits and coyotes. Today, the foothills of the Santa Catalina Mountains are among the most desirable areas in Tucson to live.[54]

In 1934, following an upturn in the local economy and the reorganization of his business affairs, John Murphey and Leo B. Keith incorporated their joint business endeavor and development of the Catalina Foothills Estates began in earnest. The initial Catalina Foothills Estates subdivision plat of only 133 residential lots, was the beginning of a larger decades-long development that was an early forerunner of what is now referred to as a vertically-integrated master-planned community, that is a real estate development planned and implemented by a single company with provisions for a full range of locally desired amenities, including parks, schools, churches, shopping, and transportation to downtown.[55] (Figure 30)

Joesler and Murphey took great care in the site planning of the Catalina Foothills Estates. Lots were irregular, responding to the hilly topography. The two took a personal interest in the process. Joesler wrote in 1940 that "the company president and I went over the terrain and placed a flag on each site suitable for a home; the surveyor was then instructed to make the survey around the flags and layout the necessary roads to the sites." Murphey knew that in addition to topography and view, vegetation was the strongest marketing tool for selling an estate community in the desert. To maintain strict control over how the project was to be developed, Murphey required that in Catalina Foothills Estates all building plans, no matter the designer/architect or builder, must be approved prior to construction by the supervising architect, and he selected Joesler to serve in that role.

Gordon Luepke, a Tucson architect and Joesler protégé, believed "the Murpheys were very courageous to go along with some of Joe's ideas. His planning of the Foothills Estates would seem outrageous now. Joesler would pick the building sites first. Then the Murpheys would have

[53] Jeffery, *Joesler & Murphey*, 12-13.
[54] Larry Cox, *The Book of Tucson Firsts*, (Tucson: Javalina Press, 1998), 118.
[55] Thurber, *Survey of Joesler/Murphey Structure*, 4. In order to make his development eligible for FHA mortgage insurance, Murphey submitted his plat for approval by FHA officials, who noted that some parcels were bisected by access roads. In a letter dated May 28, 1935, the FHA commented "Platting the lots as they are now developed, it would appear, is storing up trouble for the future.... If this subdivision were to be replatted... it is our belief that it would be a very attractive area [Barrett (cited in Thurber, *Survey of Joesler/Murphey Structures*, 11)]. Murphey modified the plat accordingly and received FHA approval.

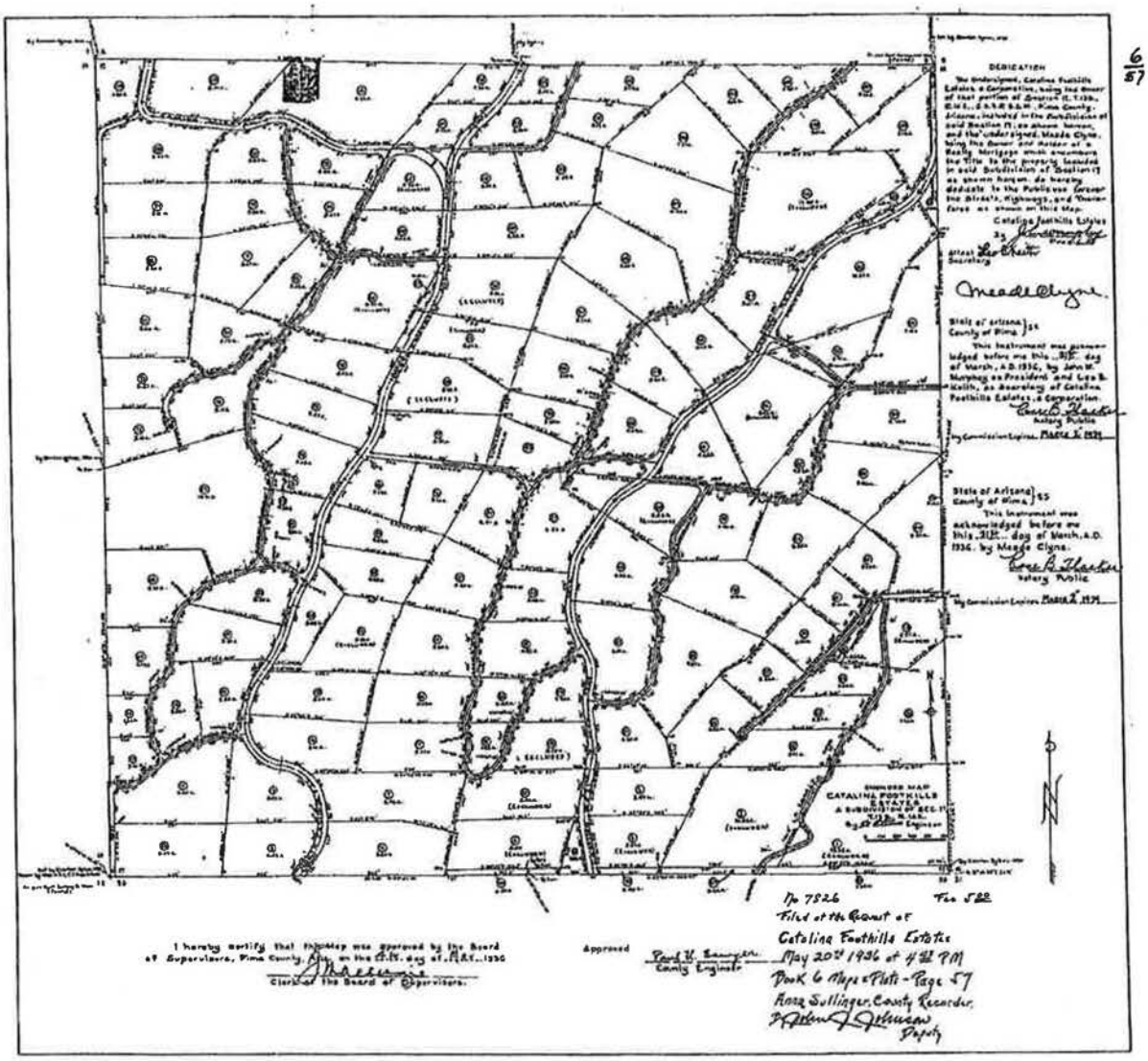


Figure 30. Plat map for Catalina Foothills Estates Subdivision

surveyors draw up the lot lines. This is a complete departure from just chopping the land up in squares as it's done now."[56]

With the model of a quaint Mexican village in their imaginations, the Murpheys included a village center in their Catalina Foothills Estates. Named St. Philip's Plaza, this community center was focused on a church facing an open plaza, and also included a tea room/gift shop, a real estate sales office, offices of the Murphey Building Company and Joesler's architectural studio. The Murpheys donated

[56] Gordon Luepke, quoted in Charles C. Walton, "Welcome to some of the most coveted houses in Tucson." *Tucson Citizen*. September 3, 1977, pp. 9 & 16.

land and Joesler his architectural services for the landmark St. Philip's in the Hills Episcopal Church, which was often referred to as the most aristocratic church in the community.[57] The church is perhaps the premier work of Joesler's career, a handsome amalgamation of Mission Revival and Spanish Colonial Revival motifs supplemented by Mexican religious art and artifacts collected by the Murpheys in their travels.[58]

Differing fundamentally in plan from the earlier Old World Addition, Catalina Foothills Estates featured generous expanses of rolling desert foothills offering spectacular views of the mountains to the north and east and the city to the south. Individual lots were large, as much as five acres and irregularly shaped to allow for the most advantageous siting for the house. Murphey imposed comprehensive deed restrictions keeping all development decisions in the hands of the company. Houses were required to cost at least, $5,000, though a $20,000 house was more typical, many times the value of the median priced house at the time. Seeing natural Sonoran Desert vegetation as an amenity, deed restrictions banned scraping an entire lot and the cutting of natural vegetation to within five feet of the building. Also, all additions or alterations had to be approved by the Catalina Foothills supervising architect. Preservation of the site and the architect's inclusion of arches, breezeways, and patios were intended to promote an indoor-outdoor lifestyle.[59]

Catalina Foothills Estates was the saving grace of Murphey's building company. In August of 1935, he wrote "our business… is improving very rapidly out here. We are building our seventh house this year, which is a lot of building for us, as we didn't build a single building during the previous two years."[60] Though Josias Joesler did not design every house within Catalina Foothills Estates, he served as the company's supervising architect, ensuring compatibility of all plans as compatible with the Murpheys' overall vision. Joesler designed a number of speculative houses illustrating the development theme, referred to by such names as Casa Mexicana, Pueblo House, and Santa Fe House. These model houses demonstrated Joesler's mastery of Spanish Colonial and Southwestern idioms and laid the foundation for the community's embrace of Joesler's architectural talents

The exuberant high-style artistry that Joesler designed and Murphey built in the late 1930s was in contrast to the general pattern of residential construction in Tucson. With the construction industry only just emerging from the depths of the Depression, most new houses were relatively small and, following the guidelines of the new Federal Housing Administration, were increasingly abandoning the decorative details that had characterized the Period Revival era. The Murpheys, however, knew that despite the depression there was still a market for custom homes targeting affluent people, many

[57] Great Britain's Princess Margaret chose to attend services at St. Philip's during her visit to Tucson in November 1965. Mary Huntington Abbott, *The Holiness of Beauty, St. Philip's in the Hills Episcopal Church 1936-1986*, p. 36, (St. Philip's in the Hills Church, Tucson, Arizona).
[58] Thurber, *Survey of Joesler/Murphey Structures*, 5; Jean Cox, St, Philip's in the Hills Episcopal Church National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, 2004, 8:4.
[59] Thurber, *Survey of Joesler/Murphey Structures*, 5; Jeffery, *Joesler & Murphey*, 16. After Pima County established zoning in 1953, the Board of Supervisors adopted the Catalina Foothills Zoning plan six years later as the master plan for the area. The plan mandated CR-1 zoning (one house per acre) for much of the foothills and, upon expiration of the deed restriction, numerous property owners exercised the option to split their generously sized lots into additional building sites. Although the 50-year deed restrictions prevented owners from subdividing their property, a circa 1940 manuscript describing the Catalina Foothills Estates noted that houses could be sited in way so that in the future lots could be subdivided and new homes constructed (Thurber 1992, p. 5).
[60] Murphey, 1935.

of whom were winter visitors. By 1940, the Catalina Foothills Estates included such prominent names as author Erskine Caldwell (*Tobacco Road*), Mrs. Will Mayo of the Mayo Clinic, Louise Grace of the Grace shipping lines fortune, and the Drexels of Drexel University in Philadelphia.[61]

4. Broadway Village

While Catalina Foothills Estates absorbed most of Murphey's attention and resources during the mid-thirties, success allowed him to initiate two new real estate ventures of importance in 1939. Returning to the city near the Colonia Solana neighborhood, he and Joesler designed and built the Broadway Village Shopping Center on Broadway Boulevard at Country Club Road. While only a modest example of Spanish Colonial Revival stylistically, Broadway Village is considered the first shopping center in Tucson and represented the start of an important trend of retail commerce moving away from downtown and towards the new residential neighborhoods.[62]

The romance and beauty of Joesler's design for Broadway Village was a key element in countering deep neighborhood opposition to the development. Arrol Gellner commented that both Florida's Addison Mizner and Arizona's Josias Joesler:

> *... created lyrically comfortable shopping plazas—Mizner in the mid-1920s and Joesler in the late 30s—without resorting to the brazen façadeism typical of today's work. They did so by creating a host of variations within a single overarching style, and by juxtaposing occasional exquisite detail against generous areas of plain surface. Neither feared the blank wall, because both understood that such contrasts only amplified the power of their work.*[63]

While working on Broadway Village, Murphey developed a small residential subdivision nearby on Country Club Road, across from Colonia Solana, also called Broadway Village. (Figure 31) The one-lot-deep subdivision plan returned to a basic grid. The lots were urban in scale with Joesler-designed houses of a more modest size, but architecturally similar to those in Catalina Foothills Estates, yet also foreshadowing the stylistic evolution which would characterize Joesler's post-war work.[64]

In 1961, shortly after the completion of their new personal residence Casa Juan Paisano, designed by Wørner Baz, the Murpheys commissioned Wørner Baz to design an annex to Joesler's Broadway Village Shopping Center. The Tucson architectural firm of Blanton & Cole created the Broadway Village Annex's architectural plans based on the designs of Wørner Baz[65]

[61] Jeffery, *Joesler & Murphey*, 13-14.

[62] An anecdote related to the development of Broadway Village shopping center says that the Murphey's owned the property near for some time without development plans until the couple returned from a vacation in Mexico where they were inspired to recreate something similar to the village center they say in the quaint and beautiful town of Pátzcuaro in central Mexico. However, the development was opposed by the developers of the nearby El Encanto Estates who did not want a commercial development so close and who threatened to "sue hell out of" Murphey is he proceeded. The threat, whatever its seriousness, failed to dissuade Murphey from constructing Broadway Village. C.L. Sonnichsen, *Tucson: The Life and Times of an American City*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), p. 219.

[63] Arrol Gellner, "Lesser-known architects achieve true novelty," *San Antonio Express* (Texas), Real Estates syndicated column, July 26, 2012. Also available at blog: arrolgellner.blogspot.com.

[64] Thurber, *Survey of Joesler/Murphey Structures*, 12.

[65] Brooks, *Tucson Daily Citizen*, June 14, 1961, p. 11.

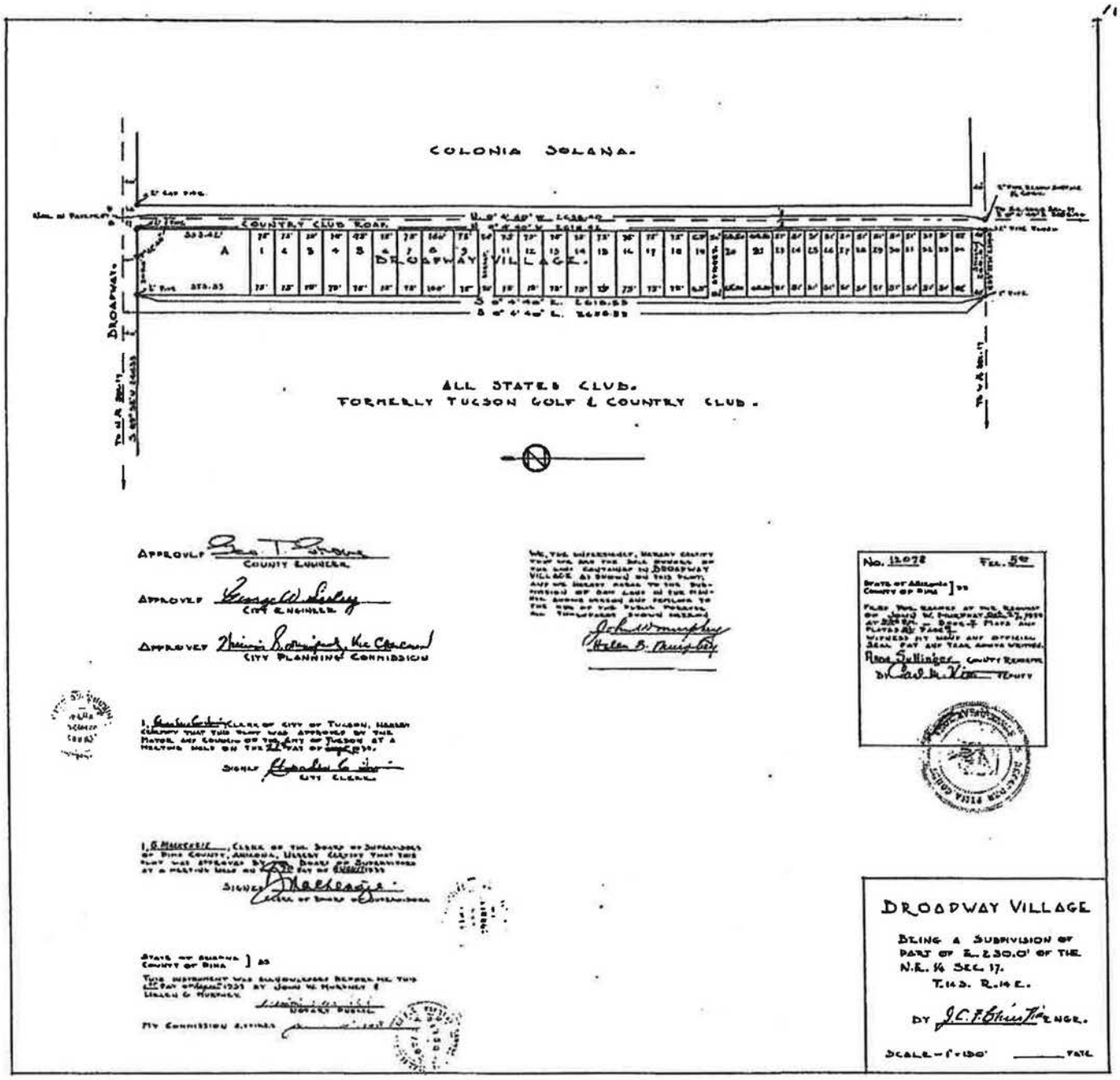


Figure 31. Plat map for Broadway Village Subdivision. Note that both John and Helen Murphey signed it.

5. Other Projects

Previous publications credit John Murphey as a co-developer of the Tucson Country Club and Country Club Estates, a new subdivision located on Tucson's east side at the confluence of the Pantano Wash and Tanque Verde Creek. While Murphey was recruited to be one of the one hundred founding members of the club and with his $5,000 initiation fee received an opportunity to draw for a lot on the golf course, he did not play a primary role in the formation of either the club or the associated residential development. Joesler, however, designed eight houses for Country Club Estates during the early 1950s, which were more eclectic than his previous work.

While Joesler was actively pursuing his architectural practice, John Murphey devoted most of his time to real estate and management of Catalina Foothills Estates. The first four Catalina Foothills subdivisions, with the first being unnumbered, plus Nos. 2 through 4, were built by Murphey. The remaining subdivisions, Nos. 5 through 10, plus Las Alturas off Pontatoc Road, were built under family trusts.

John and Helen Murphey maintained a close association and personal friendship with Joesler throughout the remainder of the architect's lifetime. The Murpheys owed much of their success to his exemplary architectural designs, just as Joesler, over his career, depended upon and benefited from his close ties with the Murpheys and their building companies.

IV. ASSOCIATED CONTEXT: The Residential Architecture of Josias Th. Joesler in Tucson and Pima County, Arizona, 1927-1956

A. INTRODUCTION

Having identified the broader trends of Southwestern Romanticism, the specific development environment of Tucson, Arizona in the first half of the twentieth century, and the business vision of John and Helen Murphey, the present associated context statement completes the understanding of the Joesler-Murphey collaboration by focusing on Josias Th. Joesler and his work. This context statement identifies the characteristics of Joesler's designs and justifies why he is considered a master practitioner whose works were representative not only of their time, style, and method of construction, but were high in artistic value as well.

Over the course of nearly thirty years, Josias Joesler designed approximately 250 residences in Tucson, of which about 130 remain in 2015. Many of these have been recognized as contributing properties to historic districts listed in the National Register. Approximately 54 surviving Joesler-designed residences are located outside historic districts, many in the Catalina Foothills region north of downtown Tucson. Many of these buildings were constructed in collaboration with the Murpheys and their location reflects the pattern of their business activities, as described in the context above.

Spanning three decades both independently and in concert with the Murpheys, Joesler's work remains significant today because his distinctively eclectic, regionally-inspired architecture was instrumental in creating an historic and romantic identity for Tucson. His designs complement an indoor/outdoor lifestyle that the growing city was and is eager to promote. While his architecture gives the illusion of continuity with the past, his understanding of appropriate siting, design, building techniques, and, and landscaping for arid climates offer lessons for the future.

B. Josias Th. Joesler: Family Background and Early Life, 1895-1926[1]

Josias Thomas Joesler was born November 3, 1895 to Marie Christina Jenny Jösler and Stefan Jösler[2] in Zurich, Switzerland where Stefan was, apparently, practicing architecture. Josias was the second born of the Joeslers' six children.[3] Instead of raising their family in Zurich, they relocated to the small hamlet of Arosa and thus returned to ancestral roots in the canton of Graübunden where generations of the Jösler family had lived since at least 1750.[4]

[1] Carlo Jösler (Swiss resident and grandnephew of Josias Th. Joesler) provided insights and access to Jösler family archives for much of the material referenced in this section.

[2] The Swiss family surname Jösler was changed to Joesler in the United States. References in this document to the family uses the Swiss spelling for family in Switzerland and the American version for those in the United States. To facilitate clarity, the American spelling is used when referring to Josias Th. Joesler throughout.

[3] Carlo Jösler (grandnephew of Josias Th. Joesler and Swiss resident), personal e-mails with Linda Weed, February 6-15, 2014. Steffi Jösler was first married to Frieda Würth, and the couple had no children. In 1892, he married Marie Christina Jenny who was born on February 4, 1869 in Davos. The couple's six children were Anne Margreth (1893-1901), Josias (1895-1956), Karl (1896-1980), Anna (Schweizer) (1897-1992), Margret (Gritli) (Reist) (1898-1969), and Stefan Robert (1899-1955). Maria Christina Jenny Jösler died on August 27, 1914, and Steffi Jösler passed away on March 22, 1919.

[4] According to Jösler family archives and records from the cultural archives of the Heimat Museum Schanfigg Arosa, Stefan Jösler was born December 22, 1862 in Jenaz, a small hamlet in Graubunden, Switzerland. His parents were Josias Jösler (1817 – 1872) and Anna Margreth Caspar Jösler (1828 – 1865) both of whom had been born in Jenaz where records show the Jösler family had lived since before 1750.

Figure 32. Josias Th. Joesler, n.d. Reproduced from *Joesler & Murphey: An Architectural Legacy for Tucson*, 1994, p. 8 (original portrait: Murphey Investment Trust).

Josias was enthusiastic about outdoor activities. By his teenage years he had become a championship bobsledder and accomplished mountaineer. He also spoke several languages.

Joesler's choice of an architectural career was encouraged and guided by his father. It was decided that his education should include not only a study of architecture in the traditional sense, but also a well-rounded program of travel and study in associated fields. Tutoring in the concepts and issues involved in architecture began at home.

Joesler attended universities in three countries, served architectural apprenticeship in four, and performed military service two continents. Following his Swiss secondary education, he studied architecture at the *Technikum Bergdoft* outside the Swiss capital city of Bern and graduated in 1916. After a brief apprenticeship in his father's architectural office ini Arosa, Joesler continued formal education with a year of civil engineering at the University of Heidelberg in Germany and a year studying history and drawing at the Sorbonne in Paris. In addition, Joesler served apprenticeships in Switzerland, Germany (while studying at Heidelberg), Italy, and Spain. Between 1921 and 1924, Joesler served a mandatory three years of active duty with the Swiss army, which broadened his travel experience further by taking him to North Africa and Spain.

It was in Barcelona in 1923 that Joesler met a Basque woman named Natividad Lorenzo who worked as a manager and seamstress in a Barcelona furrier's shop. Lorenzo and Joesler were married in

Barcelona on March 8, 1924.[5] Lorenzo, known as "Nati" to her friends was very spirited – an interesting contrast to Joesler's assertive, yet quiet, manner.

In April, 1925, Josias and Natividad Joesler sailed from Saint Nazaire, France, to Havana, Cuba.[6] After a brief stay they continued on to Mexico City where Joesler worked two years for the Mexican government.[7]

By twenty-six years of age, Joesler had acquired a diverse education supplemented by travel and work experience. No other architect working in Tucson during Joesler's residence matched the breadth and depth of his international experience.

C. Josias Th. Joesler: Architectural Training, 1895-1926

1. Arosa, Graübunden, Switzerland Environment

Arosa is in Graübunden, the largest and easternmost canton of Switzerland, which shares borders with Italy, Austria and Liechtenstein. The canton is entirely mountainous, comprising the highlands of the Rhine and Inn river valleys. Today, as in Joesler's time, Arosa is a major tourist center, located at nearly 6,000 feet elevation, boasting alpine scenery of mountains and lakes. Graübunden is home to three of Switzerland's ethnic groups and the languages of Swiss German, Italian, and Romansch.[8]

In 1900, when the Jösler family was in residence, Arosa was a small village with a population of 1,071 inhabitants. Much of the built environment resembled the historic Eggahus (Corner House) in construction. Formerly the council house wherein the village affairs were conducted, today the building serves as Arosa's local history museum. This wood and stucco-sided building, with its rustic, decorative railed balcony and window boxes of geraniums, is typical of vernacular architecture throughout Switzerland.[9]

Winter sports were a key component in the life of not just the teenaged Joesler, but also his family, village, canton, and country. Beginning in 1864, hotelier Johannes Badrutt entreated several of his upper class British summer guests to return for Christmas. They came, stayed and told their friends about the glories of the magical, snowy hamlet of St. Moritz. Thus was the first winter tourist season launched in Switzerland.

The Alps drew people from all parts of the world to St. Moritz, Arosa (Joesler's own village), and Davos (his mother's birthplace). The powerful magnetism of such a dramatic mountainous setting could easily be seen as the area grew into an acclaimed tourist destination.

While many early guests came simply hoping that the clean, mountain air would restore their health, family members and friends accompanying them wanted to be entertained during their stay. Winter sports competitions were soon organized first among traveling companions, then for guests

[5] Margret Joesler Shook, 2014.
[6] US Immigration records for travel information.
[7] Margret Joesler Shook, 2014. No specific information regarding Joesler's work in Mexico has been found.
[8] *Britannica Academic*, s.v. "Graubünden," accessed September 28, 2015, http://academic.eb.com/EBcheckedtopic/242294/Graubuden.
[9] "Eggahus," *My Switzerland*, accessed September 28, 2015, http://www.myswitzerland.com/en-us/local-history-museum.html.

within a hotel, and next between guests in area hotels. The local citizens held their own competitions between teams from the villages of St. Moritz, Davos, and Arosa. Quickly the sports enthusiasts outnumbered health seekers, and the image of the area was transformed. No longer were the villages of St. Moritz, Davos, and Arosa primarily seen as places to convalesce. Now with a new identity as a center for pursuing exciting winter sports and enjoying unequalled alpine scenery, the villages attracted guests from across Europe and the British Isles.[10]

Thomas Cook & Company capitalized on this growing demand by organizing tours to the Swiss villages for its wealthy British customers. To accommodate the increasing number of guests, new hotels were built. The upscale guests sought more plush accommodations than those offered in the typical chalet or pension. Hotels began providing such amenities as central heat, elevators, individual private bathrooms, and extensive manicured gardens.[11]

In 1900, drawing on his skills as an architect, *paterfamilias* Steffi Jösler designed and built his own hotel, the spa/sport Hotel Valsana, owned and operated by the Jösler family, and where Steffi practiced architecture. In addition to central heat, elevator, and lovely gardens, Steffi's design for the Hotel Valsana featured large view windows in each guestroom.[12] For Josias, the Hotel Valsana offered a unique view, not just of the mountains, but of the world. Through his interaction with hotel guests, he had an opportunity to use and improve his linguistic skills. The well-traveled, cosmopolitan guests exposed the young Swiss to new ideas and a wide world reaching far beyond the Alps.

2. Architect Father

The foundation for Josias Joesler's career in architecture was shaped by the example and guidance of his architect father, Steffan Jösler, or "Steffi" as he was called, who was born on December 22, 1862 in the small hamlet of Jenaz.[13] He completed his studies and passed his exams at the *Bundnerschen Kantonsschule* in 1882 and so qualified to pursue the study of architecture, which he did in Zurich.[14] Jösler and his wife did not remain in Zurich, but instead relocated to Arosa where Steffi and his brother-in-law established their architectural practice.

By 1907, Steffi Jösler was affluent and influential in Arosa, where he served as *burgermeister* (mayor) when his children were young.[15] Around 1900, Steffi and his brother-in-law, Morgenthaler, built the resort Hotel Valsana in Arosa.[16] A postcard sent to a colleague in Zurich

[10] Skiing in Switzerland received a big boost from Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, author of the Sherlock Holmes series. Conan Doyle, an avid sportsman, was wintering in Davos. For entertainment, he ordered some skiing "boards" from Norway and hiked up the mountain with two local guides. They then skied down into Arosa, ending their journey with a luncheon at a local inn, the Seehof, the first hotel in Arosa. Conan Doyle wrote of his pioneering Davos/Arosa ski adventure in a British magazine, *The Strand*, in 1894, and the story attracted British skiers to Switzerland. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arosa.

[11] "Constructions hôtelières", *e-Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse*, http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/f/F27824.php, accessed Feb 04, 2015.

[12] Carlo Joesler, Valsana Hotel Christmas dinner menu, Joesler family archives, Arosa, Switzerland, 1911.

[13] Register-Bericht and population for *Jenaz*, *e-Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse*, accessed February 4, 2015, http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/

[14] Johannes Bazzigher, *Festschrift zur Hundertjahr-Feier der bündnerischen Kantonsschule 1904: Geschichte der Kantonsschule nebst Beiträgen zur Statistik der Schule von 1850-1904*, 1904, 230.

[15] Stefan Joesler translated by Gerstl, Sylvia, "postkart to colleague in Zurich, April 20, 1907", personal e-mail to Janet Parkhurst, February 1, 2015.

[16] Register-Bericht, Heimat Museum Schanfigg Arosa, n.d. The type of work Steffi Joesler undertook in Arosa is archived in the town's local cultural museum.

shows the senior Jösler at his drawing board, surrounded by sketches of his work, including that of the Hotel and Kurhaus Valsana.[17] With a greeting in Romansch and the body written in the Old German Gothic script, Joesler inquires "Can you help me? I have masses of work with large buildings, school houses and villas, etc. etc…".[18] Steffi Jösler maintained his office in the Valsana Hotel building.

As depicted on the postcard and in drawings and photographs from the Jösler family archive, the scale and stylized façade of the Hotel Valsana are sophisticated.[19] This suggests that Steffi Jösler was well trained. Although the exterior of the hotel has been greatly modified, a study of its interior reveals architectural features, like segmented arched niches, exposed beam ceilings and juxtaposition of arched with rectilinear openings that Joesler himself used in his Tucson work.[20]

An over-arching theme in the Hotel Valsana design emphasized its harmony with its setting. Steffi Jösler sited the hotel to capture views of peaks, ridgelines, and Lake Obersee. He designed the windows to incorporate a visual link to the mountains and the water for guests to enjoy even when indoors. And he used local materials such as strong wooden beams from nearby forests to further connect his man-made structure to its environment. Surrounding park-like grounds afforded hotel guests yet another and less rigorous way to relate to alpine beauty.

Steffi Jösler, like many of his Swiss architectural colleagues, focused on creating a design and construction culture of the utmost quality, with the central aim of promoting high-caliber design to ensure that the built environment in Switzerland could meet the requirements of the future. In 1951, Josias Joesler returned to Arosa with his family. He proudly showed his daughter, Margret, the hotel her grandfather, Steffi, had designed and built.[21]

Through an early and on-going exposure, Josias became very aware of his father's work. After graduating from Technikum Burgdorf in 1916, he no doubt increased his familiarity with an appreciation of his father's talents and skills while serving a brief architectural apprenticeship under his father.

3. Swiss Culture

Joesler set up his Tucson office in the traditional European fashion with himself as master architect whose role was to teach his apprentices and produce architecture. Known to value his interns' work and for his honest critiques thereof, this quiet, kind, multilingual and humorous man was highly respected both in the office and on the construction site. Joesler's practice also flourished from the niche he found in Tucson, that of primarily designing residences rather than large public buildings.

[17] *Kurhaus* means spa hotel. Hotel Valsana or Sporthotel Valsana, as it has also been known, operated in its Steffi Jösler designed building for 115 years as a top-rated property until April 6, 2015 when its owner, the Tschuggen Hotel Group began work to replace it with an up-to-date luxury facility yet one that echoes elements of Jösler's original design, is located on the same site, and which will incorporate stones from the 1900 building will reopen in 2017.

[18] Stefan Jösler, translated by Gerstl, 2015.

[19] Carlo Jösler, unpublished personal Valsana drawing, illustration, photograph, Jösler family archive, circa 1900.

[20] Sporthotel Valsana, Arosa, Switzerland, Hotel website photo gallery, accessed February 2, 2015, http://en.valsana.ch/.

[21] Margret Joesler, 2014.

Joesler's penchant for drawing on scraps of paper or inexpensive tracing paper, cherishing his colored pencils until they became stumps, and smoking his cigar too close to his moustache are manifestations of his frugality. In addition, the architect's frugality contributed both to the simple clarity of his designs, and his parsimony with respect to his undersized kitchens and closets.

Multilingualism has been an important attribute of Swiss culture and is facilitated by Switzerland's commitment to federalism and participatory democracy by allowing the cantons as much autonomy as possible. The purpose of multilingualism was to promote national unity.[22] Today, Switzerland has four official languages–German, French, Italian and Romansh. Joesler's earliest spoken language was Swiss German, otherwise known as *Schwyzerdütsch*. In school he was instructed in *Hochdeutsch* (high German) and a child so instructed could speak and write "proper" German. (Although a German Swiss speaks and understands Hochdeutsch, the converse is often not true.) After their early and lengthy primary school language instruction, a Swiss child would undertake the study of another official language in secondary school which in Joesler's case would have been at the *kantonsschule* in Chur.[23] Military service also fostered multilingualism by stationing a soldier outside his own region during his three-year stint.

Young Joesler was familiar with the minority language of canton Graubünden, Romansh, and we have evidence that his father knew how to write in that language.[24] Other than a familiarity, it is not known whether Joesler could write Romansh or whether it was taught in his school. With the proximity of Graubünden to Italy, school instruction in Italian was offered. However, Joesler was first introduced to Italian at home since the Joesler family had close relatives from the Florence area of Italy.[25] Joesler also had the opportunity to use and improve his Italian as an architectural apprentice in Milan. Joesler's command of written and spoken French enabled him to be at ease living in Paris and successfully studying history and drawing at the Sorbone, where his classes were conducted in French. Joesler improved his Spanish from his Swiss military posting in Spain, through his marriage to Natividad Lorenzo of Bilbao, Spain, and certainly from his two-year stint working in Mexico City. Nati spoke Spanish with a Castilian accent.[26] After living in Mexico City and by the time Joesler was practicing architecture in Tucson, he could communicate fluently in Spanish. English was Joesler's primary language of communication in the United States. His early exposure to English came from British tourists at his father's hotel in Arosa where Josias acquired the rudiments of the language in order to communicate with guests.

4. Swiss Architectural Education

Joesler's architectural education blended three important pillars of the most common Swiss method to produce an architect – polytechnic schooling, apprenticeships, and travel, all three of which were aided and enhanced by his fluency in languages.

[22] Ibid.
[23] Sylvia Gerstl (Swiss researcher and translator) to Janet Parkhurst, personal e-mail, February 1, 2015.
[24] Steffi Jösler postkart 1907.
[25] Carlo Jösler, Stammbaum-Diagramm Josias Thomas Joesler, Joesler Family personal archive, in personal e-mail to Linda Weed, February 6, 2015.
[26] Margret Joesler Shook, 2014.

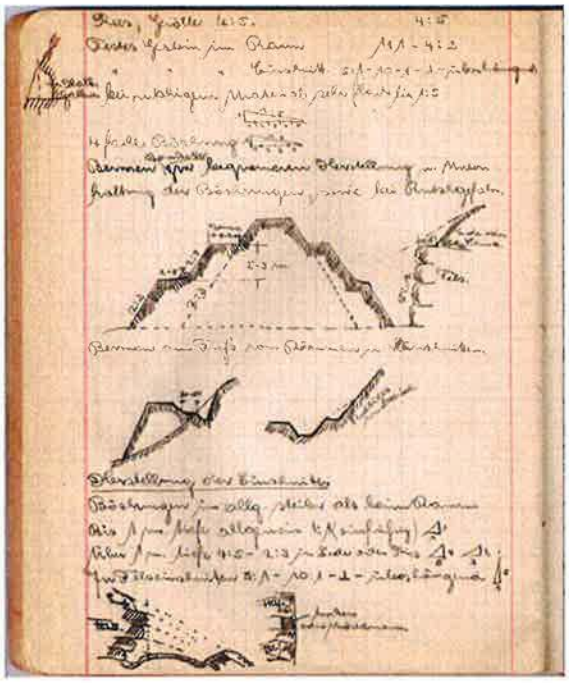


Figure 33. Joesler's student notebook from his time at the Technikum Burgdorf, circa 1916. Joesler Personal Papers on loan from daughter Margaret Joesler Shook.

Of immeasurable importance to young Joesler was his study of architecture at the Technikum Burgdorf where he graduated with honors in 1916. (Figure 34) Technikum Burgdorf was a technical school of a type known as the "polytechnic" that came to Switzerland from Germany in the mid-1800s. In contrast to the French École des Beaux-Arts (School of Fine Arts) in Paris where the focus was upon the study of the classical architecture of the past and design as high art, the polytechnic tradition was a more accessible and pragmatic approach to industrial arts. From this type of school possibly ninety percent of young German architects received their training.[27] In Switzerland as well, the polytechnic institutions educated the vast majority of young architects. Today's *Fachhochschule*, a descendent of the earlier Technikum, is a university of applied sciences.

Today greatly expanded, Joesler's Technikum Burgdorf is known as the *Berner Fachhochschule Architektur, Holz* (Wood) *und Bau* (Construction). It is located in Burgdorf near Bern, Switzerland's capital city. The forerunner of today's Fachhochschule was the West Swiss Technikum founded in 1873 in Biel/Bienne, an administrative district in the canton of Bern, with the departments of Architecture, Electrical Engineering, Clock-Maker School, School of Arts and

[27] Paul Zucker, "Architectural education in nineteenth century Germany," *Journal of the American Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (July 1942), pp. 6-13

Crafts, and Mechanics. The languages of instruction were German and French. In 1892 a second Technikum was founded in Burgdorf (the one that Joesler attended). In 2003, the two schools combined with the Architecture Departments of the cities of Bern, Biel, and Burgdorf into today's *Berner Fachhoschule* in Burgdorf.[28] Unfortunately, an official record of Joesler's course of studies in the early 1900s is not available because the records of the school do not go back that far.[29] However, fortunately, Joesler's student notebooks have been preserved and offer insights into his course of study.

During Joesler's time the curriculum offered at the Technikum Burgdorf followed that of the Building School of the Swiss Federal Polytechnic in Zurich (*Eidgenossische Technische Hochschule Zurich* or *ETH Zurich*). Founded in 1856 under the guidance of German architect, Gottfried Semper, Zurich was the first polytechnic in Switzerland. The Building School of the Swiss Federal Polytechnic forms the roots of today's Department of Architecture at ETH Zurich. According to Tschanz:

> *With its opening in 1855, formalized architectural training was established in Switzerland for the first time. From the outset, it was caught between two poles: a constructive-technical orientation, on the one side, which primarily had the goal of planning simple utility buildings, and a predominantly artistic orientation on the other, which mainly sought to bestow proficiency in designing prestigious architecture. The tension between these two poles was manifest in the composition of the faculty, with two professors to start with, as well as in the composition and development of the curriculum. At the initiative of Gottfried Semper, the Building School's first director, elements of an academic education were integrated into the school, which was originally conceived on the model of the Polytechnic Institute of Karlsruhe. In so doing, the importance of the drafting room was strengthened. It now was identified as an atelier, where design practice was trained by working on realistic tasks in an approach based on architectural competitions. An actual atelier school, like that to which Semper had initially aspired, however, could not be realized within the given framework of a polytechnic. In a complex interaction between various factors, what evolved instead was an educational program that united scholarly, artistic, and technical aspects. This development, for which Semper found a representative architectural form in the school building he designed, can be taken as exemplary, pointing the way for architectural training at the polytechnics of the second generation, which developed into institutes of technology in the second half of the 19th century. With their educational programs, a split of the architectural profession into practical, technically trained master builders versus academically educated architects–which threatened at the beginning of the century–was averted at least to some extent.*[30]

It was upon this solid Swiss educational foundation that Joesler built his architectural knowledge and skills as he pursued additional educational opportunities. His advanced studies encompassed

[28] "Technikum Bergdorf," *Berner Fachlochschule/Architecktur, Holz, und Bau*, accessed September 28, 2015, http://www.ahb.bfh.ch/home.html.
[29] *Burgdorf Fachhochschule* Administrator, e-mail message to Janet Parkhurst, September 29, 2014.
[30] Martin Tschanz, "Architecture doctrine in Zurich at the time of Gottfried Semper 1855-1871", Doctor of Science thesis, *Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich* (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in *Zurich* (*ETHZ*)) 2013.

both the practical and the artistic. At the University of Heidelberg in Germany, he studied civil engineering. In Paris at the École des Beaux-Arts, his focus was upon drawing and history. By the time he completed his academic training, Joesler had a well-rounded architectural education.

5. Travels

As a young man, Joesler's studies, apprenticeships, military service, and personal trips around the western Mediterranean became an important way to broaden his architectural education. Unlike many, he did not have to rely on just books and photos to see and learn about great architecture. His extended stays gave him the opportunity to experience places and structures in different light as seasons changed. Moreover, thanks to his gift for languages, Joesler got to know the people and the cultures associated with the edifices he saw.

By following the route Joesler took from Switzerland to Tucson, we can gain insights about what he might have seen and experienced contributing to his talents as an architect.

a) Heidelberg

After formal studies in Switzerland, Joesler studied for a year at the University of Heidelberg, Germany's oldest institution for civil engineering training. Founded in 1386, the University of Heidelberg at the beginning of the twentieth century had a well-established reputation for excellence in education and research.[31] The civil engineering knowledgebase that Joesler acquired from university lectures halls and books gave him a skill set enabling him to build solid, strong structures and handle site infrastructure issues, like water drainage.

Heidelberg, with its picture-perfect Baroque architecture, red gabled roofs, and cobblestone streets, is crowned by the ruins of *Heidelberger Schloss* (Heidelberg Castle) on the wooded hillside high above the Neckar River. Built and rebuilt since 1214, the castle ruins are among the most important Renaissance structures north of the Alps.

The ensemble of the castle ruins, hills, and river with its beautiful A*lte Brücke* (Old Bridge as the Karl Theodor Bridge is known) has inspired writers, painters and poets alike. The castle even in ruins readily demonstrates the power and beauty of sensitive siting for architecture in harmony with its natural setting. However, when viewing the Old Bridge (built in 1788) an engineering student, as was Joesler, would have recognized it as an incredible engineering feat given that it was built on top of a river bed with an unpredictable water current in a time when building technology was not as advanced as in his day.

In Heidelberg there were many virtual bridges to cross as was well–between tradition and innovation, history and cutting edge research, the arts and the sciences, intellectual pursuits and a *joie de vivre*. In a vibrant university setting, spirited debates explored the paths between them all. Students developed strong opinions and became skilled in challenging the thoughts of others while ably and vigorously defending their own. Joesler appreciated the stimulus of the

[31] This was particularly true in the sciences as evidenced by the fact that Nobel Prizes (first presented in 1901) were awarded to two Heidelberg faculty members (Philipp Lenard, Physics 1905 & Albrecht Kossel, Medicine 1910) before scholars at either Harvard or Oxford Universities were so honored.

atmosphere of the university town. Later he told John Murphey, "Oh John, that's the place to go. It was wonderful! Those young fellows had a roaring time there in Heidelberg."[32]

b) Italy

Joesler established links to Italy through family ion Florence, a Milan architectural apprenticeship, and travels throughout the country guided by his study of history and love of music. He saw directly the Italian built environment, both its structures and ruins.

From Italy came Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, the Roman architect, engineer and author of *De architectura* written in the time of Emperor Caesar Augustus circa 15 BC and the only surviving contemporary source on classical architecture.[33] Vitruvius believed an ideal structure should exhibit three qualities—*firmitas* (strength), *utilitas* (usefulness), and *venustas* (beauty).[34] Vitruvius also related details about the first weathervane.

> *Andronicus Cyrrhestes built at Athens an octagonal marble tower (the Tower of the Winds which still exists today) on each side of which was sculptured a figure representing the wind blowing from the quarter opposite thereto. On the top of the roof of this tower a brazen Triton with a rod in its right hand moved on a pivot, and pointed to the figure of the quarter in which the wind lay.*[35]

Weathervanes also adorned the roofs of villas of wealthy Romans at the beginning of the first millennium. M. Terentius Varro, deemed "most learned of the Romans" by Quintilian, had on his farm a vane that could be read indoors by means of a connected dial. Centuries later Thomas Jefferson, a renowned classicist, used the same idea for his home at Monticello.[36]

Echoing Vitruvius and the early Romans, Joesler topped many of his large houses with a weathervane. And over one hundred years after Jefferson, drawing upon the simplicity of clever positioning and design rather than the more complex connected dial, Joesler matched Jefferson in creating a weathervane that could be read from both inside and out for the Woollen House in Catalina Foothills Estates. Joesler's most noted weathervane sits atop the El Conquistador Water Tower building designed by architect Roy Place to encase a 50,000-gallon metal water storage tank which served the Colonia Solana neighborhood. Approximately four feet by six feet in size and weighing seventy-five pounds, the weathervane depicts the silhouette of a prospector in one hand holding his pick over his shoulder and in the other the reins of his burro trailing along behind.[37]

[32] Helen Murphey, interview by Haley, circa 1981.
[33] "Art Directory GmbH," Vitruvius-pollio.com. Accessed December 4, 2014.
[34] Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, *de Architectura,* translated by Bill Thayer, University of Chicago, September 12, 2014. http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Vitruvius/1*.html
[35] Vitruvius, translated by Thayer, http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Vitruvius/1*.html Chapter 6
[36] David Ferro, "The Ancient History of Weathervanes 2000 BC to 1600 AD," http://www.ferroweathervanes.com/History_ancient_weathervanes.htm, accessed December 2, 2014.
[37] In 1980, the El Con Water Tower topped by Joesler's iconic weathervane was listed on the National Register of Historic Places. It was designated an official city landmark in 1991.

c) Morocco

The architecture of Morocco was influenced by its arid climate and Morrish culture. It was with great sensitivity to that climate and culture that internationally acclaimed French landscape architect, Jean-Claude Nicolas Forestier undertook urban planning for Morocco's four imperial cities.[38] The implementation of Forestier's plans was readily observable by 1921 when Joesler was assigned to Morocco for military duty.

Before beginning any building or laying out new roads, Forestier insisted on first identifying views. A similar approach to siting was adopted by Joesler later in his career.[39] Forestier also believed in designing structure that took into account and were compatible with the elements of their specific environment—using logs in wooden areas and adobe in desert settings. Joesler, too, embraced such precepts.

The importance and impact of siting and landscape design for a building was underscored by the *minzah* (meaning "beautiful view) or pavilion in the Ménara Gardens in Marrakech. The pavilion and its setting achieved the harmony that Forestier believed was an ideal. There was also utility in its beauty. The gardens brought a respite from dust and the searing Moroccan heat. The reflecting lake doubled as a basin designed to serve as a reservoir and to irrigate the surrounding gardens through an ingenious system of canals designed in the 12th century. Water for the basin was transported from the distant High Atlas Mountains. The High Atlas range above Marrakech provided a dramtic mountainous backdrop for the pavilions and its gardens. Similarly in later years, Joesler used Arizona's rugged Catalina Mountains above Tucson to frame his own designs.

Decorative motifs drawn from Moorish architecture were already emerging as important stylistic elements of the Spanish Colonial Revival style in the American Southwest. Marrakech's Koutoubia Mosque with its minaret tower dominating the city underscored the power, beauty, and sophistication that can be achieved with simple materials and design. In his own future designs, Joesler often incorporated a tower, a tower-like chimney, or tile work reminiscent of his days in Morocco. Joesler would have observed the utility of building with stuccoed mud adobe as appropriate for an arid climate. In Tucson, he would become highly respected for his knowledge of appropriate design and materials for Tucson's desert climate.[40]

e) Spain

From Morocco, Joesler was reassigned to Spain for continued military duty. The Iberian Peninsula was a blend of Mediterranean societies influenced over time and place by the early

[38] Jean-Paul Midant, *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture du XXeme siecle*, Paris: Hazan Editions, 1996. Jean Claude Nicola Forestier's foundational theories on city planning and landscape design, development, and preservation articulated in his seminal work, *Grandes Villes et Systèmes de Parcs: France, Maroc, Argentine* (Paris, Hachette, 1908), were implemented first, not in his native France, but in the French protectorate of Morocco. In 1913, Louis-Hubert Lyautey, premier résident général du Protectorat du Maroc, asked Forestier, then *Conservateur des Promenades et Plantations de la Ville de Paris and an* internationally acclaimed landscape architect and urbanist, to establish development plans for the four imperial cities of Morocco, Fes, Marrakesh, Meknes, and Rabat. Lyautey, who was made a Maréchal de France in 1921, imposed one main constraint on Forestier's plans–that they all be based on respect for the ancient heritage, traditions, and customs of the Moroccan people.

[39] Josias Thomas Joesler, "Building Types, Report Number 4." *Architectural Record*, November 1940, 44.

[40] Gordon Luepke, quoted in Walton, 1977, 9.

indigenous people, Romans, Berbers, Arabs, Christians, Jews, and Muslims among others. The built environment of Spain, especially in the Andalusia and Catalonia areas, offered notable examples of both historic and contemporary structures

In the Andalusian area in the south of Spain, two iconic structures underscored the aesthetic beauty derived from this amalgamation of cultural influences.[41] A dramatic example was the Giralda Tower, now Seville's most well known symbol. The lower two-thirds of the Giralda Tower was the original mosque minaret, which was converted into the bell tower for the *Cathedral de Santa María de la Sede*, (Cathedral of St. Mary of the Sea, better known as the Seville Cathedral). The upper third, a belfry designed in Spanish Renaissance style, was added in the 16th century.

The *Calat Alhambra* in Granada reflects the fusion of Muslim and Christian cultures, architecture, gardens, arts, and crafts characteristics of which are expressed as an integrated whole. The plain, austere exterior walls of Alhambra are in stark contrast to the splendor of its interior rooms and courtyards. It is a testimony to the collective talents, sensitivity, and artistic vision of the Muslim, Christian, and Jewish artisans and craftsmen whose hands sculpted and adorned the Alhambra.

The Alhambra's courtyards, colorful tiles, columned arcades, and varied ceiling heights are echoed in Joesler's own designs.[42] He developed his own sense of awareness of breezes, light and shade so as to integrate the outdoors with the interiors of his houses. An indication of the strength of the Alhambra's impact on Joesler is the fact that years later during his family's 1951 European trip, he insisted his daughter be introduced to the beauty of the Alhambra and see its intriguing fountain in the *Patio de los Leones* (Court of the Lions).[43]

Joesler's military posting was to Barcelona, longtime home of Spanish Catalan architect Antoni Gaudii Cornet (known as Gaudi), the best known practitioner of Catalan *modernismo*. Gaudi's life passions were architecture, nature and religion, which he integrated into a very individualized and distinctive style. His greatest work, the large Roman Catholic Church called Sagrada Familia is today the most visited monument in Spain. Gaudi integrated into his architecture such crafts as ceramics, stained glass, forged wrought iron, and carpentry. He also introduced new techniques in the use of materials like the use of waste ceramic pieces.[44] In Tucson, Joesler worked with skilled craftspeople, especially those of Mexican descent, and incorporated their artwork into his architecture. The architect himself designed many of the handcrafted features, like the weathervanes which became signatures of his houses.

[41] Margret Joesler Shook, 2014. Joesler's itinerary in Spain is not known precisely, although the impression of Seville and Granada made was inspiring enough that Joesler revisited both cities in 1951.

[42] To take advantage of the warm, sunny, Mediterranean climate, all the well-proportioned main rooms of the *Alhambra* open to central courts. A network of smaller rooms and passageways connect the main rooms. Painted tiles, mosaics and intricately carved stonework cover the walls and ceilings. The floors are tiled, stones, or mosaics. Garden paths are created with pebbled mosaics. Columned arcades bridge the transition between indoors and the courtyards with their fountains, pools, and lush plantings. Courtyards vary in size and décor allowing one to fit the setting to the mood desired. The *Alhambra*'s overall design invites indoors nature's sun, gentle breezes, and perfumed garden fragrances.

[43] Margret Joesler Shook, 2014.

[44] *Britannica Academic*, s.v. "Antoni Gaudi," accessed September 28, 2015, http://academic.eb.com/EBchecked/topic/226989/Antoni-Gaudi.

On a personal note, Barcelona was important because it was there that Nati and Josias met, courted, and were married in 1924. Many young Barcelona couples enjoyed spending time in the *Jardins de Laribal*, one of the outstanding gardens in *Parque Montjuic* designed by Forestier.[45] Plant lovers, like Nati and Josias, could enjoy and learn about "the new traditional Mediterranean landscape style Forestier created in *Parque Montjuic* which respected the pre-existing native plants in addition to fruit trees from earlier agricultural days, and included features which were the characteristic of Arabic gardens such as ceramic tiles, ornamental water features and flowering plants in pots on railings and parapets."[46]

In later years, the weight Joesler gave to the value of plants and existing landscape for his architectural designs is highlighted by instructions penciled on his drawings for the McKee house in Marrakesh, Morocco that palm trees not be cut and the house be built around them and his enforcement, as supervisory architect, of a "do not disturb" mandate for native vegetation beginning just five feet beyond buildings to be constructed in Catalina Foothills Estates in Tucson.[47]

f) France

As a complement to his technical architectural career training, Joesler studied both history and drawing at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris. Through his classes he had an opportunity to gain new sensitivities to proportion and perspective and for both time and line. The importance Joesler ascribed to drawing is underscored by the knowledge that later in life in those brief interludes when not obsessed by his architectural work, Joesler turned to drawing as his divertissement.[48]

Lessons learned outside of formal classes were equally important to the development of an architect's philosophy of design. In Paris, again the work of Forestier was instructive. With a lifetime appointment as the *Conservateur des Promenades and Plantations de la Ville de Paris*, Forestier left a mark on his native France readily evident in his designs for the arboretum at Vincennes, the Bagatelle gardens in the *Bois de Boulogne* and of course for the *Jardin du Champ-de-Mars*, which was the site for the 1925 *L'Exposition International des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes.* Forestier's design work for Champ-de-Mars started in 1908, was interrupted by the war, then resumed afterwards.

The 1925 exhibition's aim was to re-establish Paris after World War I as the European leader in taste and style. The exposition was dedicated to modern decorative arts and was the origin of the term Art Deco. It also served as a showcase for the newest most modern ideas and designs

[45] In 1915, Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier *was hired to redesign the Parque Montjuic and to undertake the laborious project of developing these new public gardens with his protogeé and local architect,* Nicolau M. Rubio Tudurí , *Rather than* viewing the steep slopes of the *Jardins de Laribal* as an impediment, Forestier made them an integral part of the overall garden design as evidenced by his creative use of stairways, waterfalls, and terraces. His design captured both views and vistas while also creating intimate, personal gardens with benches, pergolas, and ponds. His goals were to integrate landscape and living space, to use light and shade for creating enjoyment, and to keep his designs simple to allow room for imagination.
[46] "Fonts de Barcelona, Camins d'aigua", Barcelona pel Medi Ambient website (www.bcn.cat), accessed December 4, 2014.
[47] Josias Joesler, Drawing for McKee House, Marakesh, Morocco (1932) and Catalina Foothills Estates Covenants, Conditions, and Restrictions, Josias Joesler Architectural Collection, University of Arizona Special Collections.
[48] Margret Joesler Shook, 2014.

in architecture, furniture, ornament, education, and arts of the theatre, street and garden from all over Europe and beyond.

Among the participating artists were such familiar names as Le Corbusier, René Lalique, and Arne Jacobsen, who was then an architectural student. Interestingly, Jacobsen, who went on to become one of Denmark's most influential 20th century architects and designers, won the Silver Prize not in architecture but in furniture design.[49] Another architectural student, Luis Barragán, who was destined to be a prominent 20th century architect in Mexico, experienced the expo as a visitor and was struck by the pioneering spirit of Le Corbusier's *L'Esprit Nouveau* pavilion.

It is noteworthy that amid the glamour and excitement of the new buildings, exhibition gardens, and decorative items, Forestier included in his master design many simple, small, intimate gardens with deep shade that invite visitors to take time rest, contemplate and seek inspiration. The small gardens would remain for Parisians and its visitors to enjoy long after the exhibition was over.

With a *smörgåsbord* of ideas from *L'Exposition international des arts décoratifs et industriels modernes,* Joesler then set sail for the New World where his own architectural designs would still softly echo his ties to the Old World as exemplified by comparing the Solomnic columns of Joesler's St. Philip's in the Hills Church to those in the cloister of *Saint Sauveur* in Aix-en-Provence, France.

g) Cuba

En route to Mexico, Joesler and Nati stopped for several months in Havana. Of particular interest would have been the city's built environment reflecting architectural styles spanning four hundred years. The city's sixteenth century colonial fortresses built to protect the harbor entrance exemplified the influence of different Moorish, Spanish, Italian, Greek, and Roman styles and cultures. Of special note was the tower added in the seventeenth century to the *Castillo de la Real Fueraza*, which was topped by a beautiful bronze statue, which has become the iconic symbol of the city of Havana.[50] The statue is incorporated into a weathervane and is called *La Giraldilla*, a reference to the *La Giralda* ("weathervane" in English) tower atop the cathedral in Seville, birthplace of Juan de Bitrián Viamonte, governor of Havana between 1630 and 1634 who commissioned the statue.[51]

One of the most outstanding examples of eighteenth century Baroque architecture in Havana was *La Catedral de la Virgen María de la Concepción Inmaculada de La Habana* (also called the *Catedral de la Habana*).[52] The beautiful undulating façade has asymmetric bell towers which is most unusual in Baroque design. This was a very practical solution to allow drainage of water that accumulated in the *Plaza de la Cathedral.*

[49] "Arne Jacobsen Biography", ARNE-JACOBSEN.COM, accessed December 10, 2014.
[50] "*Castillo de la Real Fuerza*," Cuba Heritage.org Cuban History, Architecture and Culture, accessed September 28, 2015, http://www.CubaHeritage.org/articles.asp?1ID=1&artID=303.
[51] "The Giraldilla; a love story, symbol of Havana," The Cuban Traditions Site, The Popular Cultura, Historic, and Religious Traditions of Cuba, accessed October 2, 2015, http:www.cuban-traditions.com/culture_traditions/the_giraldilla/the_giraldilla_a_love_story_symbol_of_havana.html.
[52] "Cathedral of Havana", wandermondo.com, accessed December 12, 2014.

With the arrival of the railroad (the first in a Spanish-speaking country), gas lighting in the city, and rapid growth in sugar and coffee production in the nineteenth century, neoclassical architecture became Havana's most prominent architectural style. Wealthy *Habaneros* looked to Europe and especially to France for their inspiration as exemplified by the *Palacio de Aldama* (1844) one of the most significant residential buildings. It typified upper class residences of that time with their balconies, wrought-iron gates, and arcades of neoclassical columns facing courtyards or open spaces. Many well proportioned, set back neoclassical buildings were located in the Vedado District.

Another French connection was made in 1918 when President Mario G. Menocal commissioned Jean-Claude Nicolas Forestier to design the park around *Castillo de San Salvador de la Punta.*[53] Forestier emphasized the natural setting, incorporated the rolling topography, the lush tropical vegetation, and the enduring presence of the ocean while creating inviting public spaces. He also utilized shade trees whenever possible. The design was created by a Frenchman, but it was truly Cuban in its spirit. Forestier's design's had been executed in the Old World—Morocco, Spain, and France. Now Forestier applied his design philosophy to the New World. Forestier was asked to devise a master plan for Havana to preserve its tropical beauty and its unique architectural heritage while laying out a guide for harmonious growth as a modern city. It is important to note that while he would draw upon his own experiences from around the Mediterranean, Forestier believed the plan for Havana had to be uniquely Cuban. He assembled a team not only of Cuban architects, but also of Cuban artists and artisans to insure that the plan would reflect Cuban culture, crafts, climate and dreams.[54] Once again Forestier stressed the importance of conserving and respecting natural landscape and cultural heritage when planning for the future.

h) Mexico

Between 1925 and 1927, Joesler worked for the Federal District government in Mexico City. In Mexico artistic and cultural traits and traditions transferred from Spain and Morocco were combined with those of indigenous societies to create uniquely "Mexican" expressions and culture. Joesler's experience in Mexico, combined with John and Helen Murphey's frequent visits south of the border, shaped the romantic Mexican vision that was to become Catalina Foothills Estates, Tucson's premier development.

During Joesler's residence, Mexico had only a tentative political stability and the direction of its national architecture was a matter of intense debate. The revolutionary years, 1910-1917, had banished the dictator Porfirio Díaz along with his era's Francophile tastes in architecture. Post-revolutionary governments between 1920 and 1940 promoted economic development in what was, at least outside of Mexico City, a largely poor, agricultural society. The Mexican Revolution did not reject private property, per se, although as in the case of the expropriation of foreign petroleum holdings in 1938, it did pursue a nationalist policy. As a critical patron,

[53] Joseph L. Scarpaci, Roberto Segre, Mario Coyula, *Havana: Two Faces of the Antillean Metropolis* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, Revised Edition, 2002), 65.
[54] Scarpaci, Segre, and Coyula, 65

the Mexican government would become a major factor in determining the course of architectural aesthetics across the remainder of the century.[55]

Beginning about 1920, the Mexican government initiated an economic development program. The Ministry of Education was central to this effort, which included the elimination of illiteracy as one of the top goals of the post-revolutionary governments. At the same time, artists, architects, writers, and other cultural figures were engrossed in the project of defining post-revolutionary Mexican culture and arts. For architects, the goal was to create a new national architecture. While all agreed to reject the Beaux-Arts themes of the old regime, what might best represent an authentic new Mexican architecture became a topic of debate for decades to come.

Three styles vied for dominance in the search for an authentic Mexican architecture between the world wars. The historically minded favored a Neocolonial style and even the then-popular "California Colonial," which was called Spanish Colonial Revival in the United States. Unlike the American style, whose prototypes were of the periphery of the Spanish empire, Mexican Neocolonial drew upon a far richer heritage of substantial buildings, mostly in Mexico City, which reflected the city's wealth and prestige as the seat of the vice royalty prior to independence from Spain. José Vasconcelos, head of the Ministry of Education from 1920 to 1924, directed use of Neocolonial style in the ministry's building program. Vasconcelos also insisted on the integration of murals into public buildings as a means of conveying the government's revolutionary message to the still largely illiterate population. This integration had at least three implications. The first was the elevation of muralists, such as Diego Rivera, to a significant architectural role. It also required architects to leave areas of blank wall available to the muralists, which, incidentally, favored use of concrete rather than large areas of glass. Thirdly, the integration of public art and architecture violated one of the major principles emerging out of European modernism.[56]

The painter/muralist Diego Rivera was Mexico's most famous artist at the time and his opinions on architecture were influential. For a brief period (1929-30), Rivera was director of the Central School of Plastic Arts where he advocated functionalism as the means to design utilitarian buildings to advance the cause of the government and the poor.[57] Later, when speaking of the then-undeveloped region southwest of Mexico City known as El Pedregal, he advocated an architectural organicism similar to that of Frank Lloyd Wright. After 1945, the architect Luis Barragán would establish his international reputation based on the application of this organic idea to his up-scale residential development at El Pedregal.

The second of the three styles vying for dominance was based on applying motifs associated with Prehispanic native cultures of Mexico, primarily Aztec and Mayan. Advocates of this style, which dated back to the nineteenth century, rejected European influences altogether.

[55] Guillén, "Modernism without Modernity," 6.
[56] Ibid., 9-10.
[57] Ibid., 10.

While Mexico sponsored a number of exhibition buildings for international expositions in an exuberant Neo-Aztecan style, as a practical matter, such motifs were useable mostly as decoration rather than as guides for whole buildings. But along with the advocates of Neocolonialism, the Prehispanicists favored decoration in architecture.

The architects influenced by international modernist trends formed a third group favoring the new functionalism of Le Corbusier and the simple abstraction of forms promoted by Mies van der Rohe. The first buildings displaying modernist principles were built during the later twenties. José Villagrán García, who taught at the National University, was a conventional architect of the time whose outstanding work was the Neocolonial-style National Stadium (1929). But as an eclectic Beaux-Arts-trained architect, García could design in the modern style, merely as a style, without the burden of adherence to modernist ideology.[58]

Mexico City provided yet another example of the influence of Forestier in urban design. In 1903, Miguel Angel de Quevedo as chief director of the national resources was appointed head of Mexico City's Department of Parks and Gardens. Quevedo credited Forestier as his mentor and intellectual advisor in environmental enterprises. He advocated for more open space in urban areas, created forty parks, conducted vast conservation and reforestation campaigns, and stressed the importance of comprehensive planning that respected cultural heritage and integrated nature for current and future generations.[59]

Concordant with the green precepts of Forestier was Lomas de Chapultepec (or Chapultepec Heights), Mexico City's premier example of the "Garden City movement." Built in 1922 by José Juis Cuevas Pietrasanta, this soon became a showcase for upper-middle-class developments featuring open green space mostly contiguous with the city. It was laid out following the contour of the terrain leaving the natural drainage as open space. The main roads ran along the crest of the hills with narrower, meandering side streets that took advantage of scenic vistas of the city and valley below. Lots were large and heavily vegetated. The enduring appeal of the neighborhood is a testimony to the quality of Cuevas's original plan as well as to the excellence of the architectural designs built in Lomas de Chapultepec.

These were some of the visions and ideas in architecture and urban planning circulating in Mexico when Joesler began working for the government in Mexico City in 1925. Throughout their lives, Josias and Nati Joesler maintained an interest in and involvement with the decorative arts and crafts of Mexico as evidenced by his architectural and furniture design, her ceramics artwork, and their Mexican import shop in San Diego.

In 1927, with demonstrations by workers and socialists contributing to unsettled conditions in Mexico City, the Joeslers left Mexico for Los Angeles, California, where Josias aspired to learn more about the architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright.[60] Josias and Nati joined a mule pack

[58] Ibid., 10.
[59] Dorothee Brantz, Sonja Dümpelmann, and Alfonso Valenzuela-Aguilera, eds., *Greening the City: Urban Landscapes in the Twentieth Century* (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 40.
[60] Joesler maintained a lifelong appreciation of the architectural talents of Frank Lloyd Wright. Margret Joesler Shook, 2014.

train and undertook the arduous journey to the United States, to Los Angeles and to new opportunities.[61]

i) Los Angeles

When the Joeslers arrived in Los Angeles in September 1927, the area was experiencing a preoccupation with Spanish Colonial Revival architecture so red tiled roofs and Spanish, Mediterranean, and Mexican building forms were plentiful.

Joesler accepted a position in Los Angeles as a draftsman with Pacific Ready-Cut Homes, the third largest kit home manufacturer in the United States. The firm mass produced houses in the popular styles of the period. In the 1925 catalog, they represent the range of small Craftsman-style bungalows, eclectic Colonial and English-style cottages, and Spanish Eclectic style homes.[62] In addition, they illustrated courtyards, that is, clusters of tiny houses and small duplex cottages.

Being an artist as well as an architect, Joesler had a natural talent for creating Spanish Colonial Revival designs. Because of his European educational training and work experience, he was able easily to produce many other styles as well. Although such a company would have architects design its plans, it is not known whether the company hired Joesler as a designer or a design-draftsman to work in its architectural department. The Pacific Ready-Cut approach to design and construction demonstrated the benefit and savings of efficient, timely production planning. Joesler applied this knowledge to design several small house "types" in 1940 for Angle Realty Company for a small, speculative subdivision on Water Street in the Olive Park Addition in Tucson.[63]

D. Josias Th. Joesler: Architectural Career, 1927-1956

In 1927, en route from Mexico City to their final destination, Los Angeles, Josias and Nati took out six-month visitor permits in September at the United States entry port of Nogales, Arizona.[64] According to Helen Murphey, it was Joesler's intention when coming to the United States "to take a study trip with a member of an architectural firm in Hollywood. But upon his arrival in Hollywood, he found that this party was in poor health and could not go."[65]

By 1927, John Murphey's Tucson business had grown past his own capacities to both design and contract all of his company's construction projects in Tucson. He had been retaining Tucson architects

[61] Margret Joesler Shook, 2014.
[62] —. *Pacific's Book of Homes: Deluxe Edition*. Pacific Ready Cut Homes, Inc. Los Angeles, CA. 1925.
[63] Pacific Ready-Cut Homes, Inc., once the biggest homebuilder in the West, dominated the pre-cut market in Southern California during the company's heyday in the 1920s. The firm operated branch offices in 53 California cities, expanded nationally and also shipped kit houses to Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina, Guatemala and Japan. (Gayle Pollard-Terry, "12,000 easy pieces", *Los Angeles Times*, July 16, 2006). From 1908 to 1940, Pacific Ready-Cut sold 37,000 ready-to-assemble homes based on 1,800 plans, plus some custom-designed ones. Compared with other home catalogs during the mid-1920s, Pacific Ready Cut is notable for the number of Spanish-style houses they offered. More than 15 percent are characterized by stucco siding, tile roofs, wrought iron, or other distinctively Spanish elements (Antique Home Style.com).
[64] National Archives & Records Administration, Washington, D.C.; Index and Manifests of Alien Arrivals at Nogales, Arizona July 5, 1905-1952; Record Group:85, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service; Microfilm Serial: M1769; Microfilm Role 64.
[65] Helen Murphey, personal correspondence with Butler and Krantz, March 17, 1928. (Joesler Archive, Special Collections, University of Arizona Library, Tucson, Arizona.)

for over a year, but was now seeking a "special" architect who could join his staff and handle all, or most, of his architectural work. After a couple of months in Los Angeles, Joesler was recommended by a Santa Barbara architect to John and Helen Murphey as a skilled architect who could transform into reality their idea of building a community featuring gracious homes evocative of the cultures of the Mediterranean, Spain, and Mexico.[66]

John Murphey immediately contacted Joesler and arranged an interview in Tucson. Joesler arrived from Los Angeles by train, and Murphey was there to meet him. After stopping by their house to introduce Joesler to Helen, John showed Joesler what they had built so far and the land he envisioned developing. Helen Murphey remembered that Joesler "drew plans for two houses that same day and we knew this was the man we needed. He was so quick."[67] For his part, Joesler was impressed with Tucson, telling John, "This is beautiful land, Mr. Murphey."[68]

Helen Murphey continued:

> *Just like that, and sketched it off. So John says, "Well, that's great." So then John kind of sat back and said, "Do you think your wife would like living over here? Maybe we'll take you, go all around town." "Como no," [Joe said]. He spoke Swiss, but he talked Spanish a lot.*[69]

A couple of weeks later in November 1927, Joesler, accompanied by Nati, stepped off the train in Tucson to begin an architectural collaboration and personal friendship with the Murpheys.

At the beginning of March 1928, with their six-month visitor permits having expired, the Joeslers returned to Nogales to apply for re-entry into the U.S. Initially the immigration board passed them through, had them vaccinated, and asked them to return that afternoon. Unfortunately, in the afternoon, the board ruled the Joeslers were ineligible for re-entry because he had violated the terms of his temporary visitor permit by working for pay for Murphey and by entering the University of Arizona as a student.[70]

Joesler was frustrated by the ruling and asked that his case be appealed to Washington, which the board agreed to do. Meanwhile, on behalf of the Joeslers, the Murpheys retained the services of Washington, D.C. attorneys, Charles H. Butler and John A. Kratz. Butler and Kratz brought the plight of the Joeslers (and the Murpheys) to the attention of Arizona Senator Carl Hayden. Despite Senator Hayden's intercession with the commissioner of the Bureau of Immigration, the local ruling was affirmed.[71]

[66] Helen Murphey, interview by James Haley, Tucson, Arizona, circa 1981. Previously published information regarding Joesler has identified G.W. Smith, the most prominent Santa Barbara architect of the 1920s, as this "Santa Barbara architect." Research for this document, however, has found no corroborating evidence of a connection to Smith, which is believed by the authors of this document to be apocryphal.
[67] Helen Murphey, quoted in Walton, 1977.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Helen Murphey, interview by James Haley, Tucson, Arizona, circa 1981.
[70] Helen Murphey, Butler and Krantz, March 17, 1928. Contrary to Helen Murphey's March 17, 1928 letter to Butler and Krantz, a comlete search of the University of Arizona Registrar's database shows no student enrollment record for Josias Joesler or for spelling variants Joe Joesler, Josias Josler, Joe Josler. Personal communication with John Tewksbury (Senior Office Specialist in the Office of the Assistant Registrar, University of Arizona) and Linda Weed, July 10, 2015.
[71] Butler & Krantz, telegram to Helen Murphey, March 23, 1928.

Both the commissioner and Hayden recommended the Joeslers apply for valid quota immigration visas at the nearest U.S. consular office as soon as possible because each year the number of applicants far exceeded visa availability. The commissioner also indicated that the Joeslers' previous exclusion from entry should have no prejudicial effect on their reapplication.[72] Therefore, the Joeslers established residency in Nogales, Sonora, Mexico, so that they could legally qualify to apply to the American consul in Nogales for Swiss quota visas. On June 1, 1928, the American consul accepted their applications and immediately forwarded them to Zurich for processing.[73]

Meanwhile, Joesler established an office in Nogales, Sonora. Joesler and Murphey organized a system of regular couriers to carry their work back and forth between Nogales and Tucson to minimize the times that Joesler had to make the seventy-mile each way commute to and from Tucson while maintaining residency in Mexico.[74]

In 1930, after receiving immigration preference as part of a quota for certain aliens, the Joeslers moved to the area of Tucson known as the Morning View Tracts subdivision. Joesler built a rambling Spanish Colonial Revival style residence with his own hands and completed it in early 1930.[75] While Murphey provided the impetus for Joesler's relocation to Tucson and kept him busy throughout the remainder of the 1920s, the slowdown in Murphey's work during the early Depression likely contributed to Joesler's decision to expand his own practice in 1932.

The Joeslers aspired to U.S. citizenship and after completing all immigration and naturalization requirements, were granted citizenship on November 23, 1936.[76]

That same year, Joesler began construction of his second Tucson family house, again designed and personally built by "Joe" as everyone called him now. The house was slightly smaller than their first one, but located in the Colonial Estates subdivision now known as the Peter Howell neighborhood. It represented a move to a better neighborhood. Here the Joeslers began entertaining more frequently and developed a pleasant social life.

While Joesler was using his architectural skills to put his imprimatur on his new community, Nati drew upon her artistic talents to make her own civic contribution. An accomplished ceramist and china painter, Nati organized art classes for disabled war veterans. This may have been done under the auspices of the Arizona Hut founded by Isabella Greenway, though this is speculative. Nati also helped her husband by making distinctive hand-painted ceramic tiles to incorporate into his designs and picked plants for landscaping accents.[77]

[72] Hayden, Arizona Senator Carl, to John W. Murphey. Letter, April 27, 1929. Arizona Historical Society, Murphey Collection, Box 1, Folder 10.
[73] Maurice W. Altaffer, Consul in Charge, American Consular Service, Nogales, Sonora, Mexico, letter of U.S. Senator Carl Hayden (Arizona), July 30, 1928. Joesler Collection, Special Collections, University of Arizona Library, Tucson, Arizona.
[74] Helen Murphey, interview by John Haley, Murphey family archives, circa 1981.
[75] National Archives & Records Administration; Washington, D.C.; Naturalization Record of the U.S. District Court for the District of Arizona, 1912-1955, Microfilm Serial: M1616; Microfilm roll: 5.
[76] US Immigration records 1936
[77] Margret Joesler Shook, interview by Janet Parkhurst and Linda Weed, Tucson, Arizona, January 13, 2015.

In 1938, the Joesler family grew to three with the adoption of an infant girl, Margret Luisa, from the Stork's Nest, a maternity home in downtown Tucson.[78] The Joeslers also tried to adopt a baby boy, but the adoption fell through. Margret remembers they spoke only Spanish at home and their home was always filled with classical music. Both of her parents liked opera, but her mother was the more ardent opera lover.[79]

In 1942, the Joesler family moved from Tucson to Farmington, New Mexico where Joesler built their third home. Nati had developed severe allergies in the Tucson desert so the higher country around Farmington was hoped to be better for her health.[80] Another draw for Farmington was the presence in the area of settlers, primarily sheepherders, from Nati's native Basque region of Spain. Other factors influenced their decision. Building materials were then reserved for the World War II effort, effectively shutting down the residential architecture and development business. Joesler had seen Murphey have to close the Hacienda del Sol School because it was too difficult to get food for the girls at the school due to wartime rationing.[81] In Farmington, the Joeslers were self-reliant, growing their own food and keeping animals such as chickens. They had a farm and apple orchards to help put food on the table during war rationing.[82] In a letter dated April 13, 1943 to Joe, John Murphey wrote:

> *Rationing is getting so tough that I wonder if your good wife has found time to fill up some jars for you to bring the next time you come down?*[83]

During the time the Joesler family lived in Farmington, Josias was unable to spend as much time there as did Nati and Margret given his professional responsibilities as the architect and building superintendent for over six million dollars in building contracts at U.S. military installations in Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, which required him to travel from Farmington to those bases frequently.[84]

Given the stress placed on Nati's heart by Farmington's elevation of 5,395 feet and her longing to live by the sea again, the Joeslers moved to the Ocean Beach neighborhood of San Diego in late 1944.[85] Daughter Margret was also now ready to start school, which she said was a difficult adjustment because she only spoke Spanish.[86]

In 1945, Joesler again designed and built with his own hands a house for his family. Located in the Sunset Cliffs area on Point Loma, the house was sited at an angle to the front of the street affording it sweeping, breathtaking views not only of the Pacific but also of Ocean Beach, Mission Beach, and La Jolla. Joesler included a place in the house for a kiln, which Nati used to continue her artistic ceramics

[78] Helen Murphey, Haley, circa 1981.
[79] Margret Joesler Shook, 2014.
[80] Helen Murphey, Haley, circa 1981.
[81] John W. Murphey, correspondence with Josias Th. Joesler, 1941, Joesler Archive, University of Arizona Special Collections, Tucson, Arizona.
[82] Shook, Margret Joesler. 2014.
[83] John W. Murphey, correspondence with Josias T. Joesler, April 13, 1943 Joesler Archive, University of Arizona Special Collections, Tucson, Arizona.
[84] Military Contracts Correspondence, Murphey Collection, Arizona Historical Society Box 3, Files 45-51; Box 4, Files 64-70; Box 5, Files 71-82, 1942-1951.
[85] John W. Murphey to Josias Th. Joesler in Ocean Beach, San Diego, California, Letter dated December 21, 1944, University of Arizona Special Collections, Tucson, Arizona.
[86] Margret Joesler Shook, 2014.

work.[87] Nati resumed organizing therapy art classes for disabled war veterans this time at the US Naval Hospital in San Diego.[88]

As Joesler spent more time in Tucson reestablishing his architectural practice after World War II, he, at first, stayed with the Murpheys sometimes for up to six months at a time before ultimately renting a room.[89] Leaving Margret in Nati's care in San Diego, Joesler made the 400-mile commute between the two cities as his schedule allowed. When in San Diego he also had design projects and he still worked seemingly non-stop. (He had a drafting table set up in the living room on a back wall.) In his rare free time, his daughter Margret remembered her father occupied himself by drawing landscape and seascape sketches.[90]

Joesler took time away from his architectural practice to take Nati and Margret to Europe in 1951. After a cross-country drive, their 1951 Buick was loaded aboard a ship and they sailed from New York to Holland. "The large American car created a stir" as the Joeslers traveled across the continent touring Holland, Italy, France, Spain, and Switzerland where Margret got to meet her uncle, Josias's brother, Stefan.[91]

In 1955, Joe designed and built a small shopping center on Bacon Street in Ocean Beach in San Diego where Nati and Margret opened Nati's Import Shop showcasing Mexican folk art and crafts. Nati managed the shop and the buying while Margret did the bookkeeping.[92]

With Nati, Joesler shared a mutual interest in and support for the decorative arts. Joesler was one of six architects or landscape architects selected to design vignettes for displaying arts and crafts for the Tucson Fine Arts Association's Craft Guild's juried show, "Tucson Crafts in Use, The Indoor-Outdoor Trend" in February 1956.[93]

Joesler had not been feeling well, and at the Murpheys' urging he consulted a doctor after which he did not mention continuing to feel unwell to the Murpheys. Helen Murphey explained:

> *So then one night the police or someone phoned us and said, "Mr. Murphey, you'd better come down here. We've got a man that's sick here at the hospital, and he said he wants to talk to you." So John went on down, but by the time he got there it was too late. Joe was gone.*[94]

On February 12, 1956, Josias Joesler died of a heart attack in Tucson.[95] In 1960 or 1961, Nati Joesler returned to Spain where she passed away on June 23, 1963, in Bilbao.[96]

[87] Ibid.
[88] Margret Joesler Shook, 2015.
[89] Helen Murphey, Haley, circa 1981.
[90] Margret Joesler Shook, 2014.
[91] Passport and Immigration records and Margret Joesler Shook, 2014.
[92] Margret Joesler Shook, 2014. The Mexican restaurant in their shopping center was, and still is, called Nati's Mexican Restaurant in honor of Nati Joesler. Nati herself never had any personal connection with the restaurant other than as a customer.
[93] The Crafts Guild of the Tucson Fine Arts Association, Exhibition, "Tucson Crafts in Use: The Indoor-Outdoor Trend", Kingan Memorial Museum, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, February 6-12, 1956.
[94] Helen Murphey, Haley, circa 1981.
[95] "J.T. Joesler, Prominent Tucson Architect, Dies", February 13, 1956, *Arizona Daily Star*, p. 1; and "Funeral Services Set for Well-Known Architect", *Tucson Daily Citizen* February 14, 1956, p. 4.

E. The Single Family Residential Architecture of Josias Th. Joesler[97]

This section describes and analyzes the characteristics of Joesler's residential design work during the 29 years he worked in Tucson between 1927 and 1956. By tracing Joesler's project history, we will evaluate his work in terms of its increasing sophistication, working towards the conclusion that Joesler was a master architect at the local level whose designs are distinctive representations of their style and period of construction.

Joesler's work overlapped the romanticist Period Revival and the start of the modernist eras in Tucson's architectural history. As an eclectic designer, Joesler was able to transition between these two periods and modes of expression and create fine example of residential design in each. In terms of the National Register of Historic Places, most of Joesler's work is classified under *Late 19th and 20th Century Revivals* including Mission/Spanish Revival and Pueblo Revival. Under the classification *Other* can be found works representative of the Rancho Revival and Tucson's own "Sonoran Revival." Some of Joesler's work can be classified under *Modern Movement* for expressions of the International and Ranch styles.

Joesler's architectural practice in Tucson, Arizona lasted 29 years, beginning in 1927 and ending with his death in 1956. The architect designed approximately 404 buildings[98], constructed mostly in the greater Tucson area, but were also scattered around Arizona, rural New Mexico, El Paso, and San Diego. A few international examples are known in Marrakesh, Morocco, and in Nogales and Guaymas, Mexico.[99] Joesler's career spanned two major periods of general inactivity in the civilian building industry, the Great Depression and World War II, which encompassed nearly half of his time in Tucson. It should be kept in mind that Tucson was at the beginning of Joesler's career still a small city trying to define its character. Joesler's work was a part of the process by which Tucson emerged after the war as a major city. Although the architect designed five churches, one school, four office buildings, seven industrial buildings (including five warehouses), one bank and numerous commercial buildings, Joesler was primarily an architect of houses. Of his 404 buildings, 318, or 79 percent, were residential and of these 239 were single-family homes. Fifteen buildings constituted multi-family

[96] "Mrs. Joesler Dies; Former Tucsonan," *Tucson Daily Citizen,* July 2, 1963 p. 23.

[97] In the early 1980s while researching his master's project for the College of Architecture, University of Arizona, Brian Rumsey was undoubtedly the first scholar to extensively investigate the records of Joesler and the Murphey building companies. The authors of this document gratefully acknowledge the generosity of Mr. Rumsey for allowing use of his research, which was not completed, for this project.

Rumsey produced a data matrix cataloguing building types designed by Joesler, which is considered to be the baseline for this document. With respect to residences, care must be taken in interpreting the matrix to note that the change in flow of work over time generally demonstrates an increase in building scale and complexity, as well as an increase in independent commissions. Thus, the level of effort required to create one single-story dwelling of 1,000 square feet does not equal that of, for example, the Grace Mansion of 15,000 square feet.

[98] Joesler Master Database and Office Job Records, Joesler Collection, Special Collections of the University of Arizona Library, Tucson, Arizona.

[99] In 1939 at the request of Anthony J. Drexel, Joesler drew up plans for a house for him in the Bahamas. It is not known if the house was built. Anthony J. Drexel and Josias Joesler, Correspondence, April 20, 1939 and May 5, 1939.

Figure 34. Door and Portal, Catalina Foothills Estates House, 1939. Hand-painted details and imported ceramic tiles were characteristics which Helen Murphey contributed to many projects. Reproduced from *Joesler & Murphey: An Architectural Legacy for Tucson*, 1994, p. 17 (original photo: Joesler/Murphey Survey Team).

apartment buildings, courts or "cottages," and student and military housing. The remaining 64 residential buildings were additions, nearly always to an earlier Joesler building.[100]

Joesler's niche in Tucson was primarily designing small commercial spaces, residences, and churches. He designed no large public buildings. None of Joesler's buildings were especially large, but what his architecture lacked in monumentality, it achieved in quantity and artistic expression. With two exceptions, his houses were rarely over 3,000 square feet and many of his earlier, single-story houses were approximately 1,000 square feet. Commercial buildings were larger but not particularly large for that building type. Retail buildings were generally 2,000 to 10,000 square feet. Joesler's churches were also of modest scale.

[100] Ibid.

Consistent with Forestier's tenet to anticipate future needs when planning for the present, Joesler incorporated expansion plans into his initial concept for the church of St. Philips in the Hills. He did the same thing for house designs noting on one plan where a future bedroom might go or situating a porch in a way so it could be converted into interior space as a family's size or needs changed.

During his Tucson career, Joesler designed 87 commercial projects, a figure representing approximately 22 percent of his total. Though not as well recognized as an architect of commercial buildings, Broadway Village shopping center was among his most outstanding designs of any genre. Most of his commercial work was simple edifices of minor note.

When Joesler first came to Tucson, he and one draftsman shared a single room in the back of Murphey's building. Later in 1928 when the architectural staff grew to four, Murphey allocated Joesler another room to relieve the strain of overcrowding, and the architect had his first private office in his Tucson practice. During his first five years in Tucson, Joesler worked for Murphey exclusively and became known as "John Murphey's architect." Murphey accordingly viewed Joesler as an employee.

However, Joesler had his own distinct ideas of what styles of architectural designs were appropriate for the Tucson climate, and he desired more freedom to express his own ideas in his designs.

> *I just want to say that you really cannot blame an architect if sometimes the so-called Spanish houses are done as they are... It is also ridiculous to have a little tile roof somewhere around the house with the idea that such an accessory might be an excuse to call the house Spanish type... If the architect were given more authority, there might be more beautiful homes, especially in climates like we have in Tucson, where the summers are very hot... Unfortunately in these days of fighting for one's existence, the architect's feelings, many times, are overcome by heavy waves of commercial interpretation.*[101]

In 1932, Joesler began to develop an independent architectural practice. (Figure 38) While most of the architect's work that year still came from Murphey, Joesler procured nine jobs of his own. Although both Murphey and Joesler recognized that the architect was an important member of the building company staff, sharing an office building and most of each other's work, Murphey tacitly accepted the concept of an independent architectural practice run out of his own building.

Joesler's architectural practice flourished throughout the late 1930s and early 1940s. Between 1936 and 1942, he averaged over 22 paying jobs per year. The average commission was also larger than those earlier in his career. One 1937 residence (Eleven Arches, also called the Grace Mansion), including later Joesler additions and gate houses, comprised over 18,000 square feet and another residence (Migel Estate) designed in 1940, but never built, contained over 12,000 square feet.[102]

[101] Joseph T. Joesler, "Spanish Design House Not Known in Cities of Spain: Building in Southwest Copied to Some Extent from Farm Homes of Iberia, Says Architect; Patio is One of Significant Features of Type," *Arizona Daily Star*, Weekly Builders Page, November 17, 1931, Sec. 1, p. 7.
[102] Josias Th. Joesler, architectural job files, Joesler Collection, University of Arizona Library Special Collections, Tucson, Arizona.

JOESLER TO GO INTO PRIVATE PRACTICE

Jos. Th. Joesler, Tucson architect who has been connected with the John W. Murphey building company for the past five years announced yesterday that he is going into private practice in addition to his work with the company.

His office will be located temporarily at his home east of the city near East Speedway but he plans to open a down town office later.

Joesler was educated at Zurich university in Switzerland and has done considerable work in that country besides handling projects in Spain, Italy and Mexico.

While in Spain and Mexico he had opportunity to study the architectural typical of those countries which has been transferred in part, to many Tucson homes.

Figure 35. Newspaper clipping announcing Joesler's entry into architectural practice independent of Murphey. Arizona Daily Star, June, 12, 1932, 4.

In late 1939, Joesler geared his office for expanded operations. With a shopping center on the boards, and several new jobs secured, Joesler increased his production staff to five draftspersons. Still sharing a small building with Murphey, Joesler sought larger office space. Murphey suggested Joesler move to the larger building, which housed the sales office for Murphey's on-going residential development, Catalina Foothills Estates. Viewing it as a temporary measure, Joesler agreed, though in the end the arrangement proved permanent. The office building, designed by Joesler and constructed by Murphey in 1937, was then expanded to accommodate the dual use. The proximity of the new office to the many job sites in the Catalina Foothills was convenient for Joesler since "he was always at the building site" to verify the quality of the job and to solve any difficulties the craftsmen might have encountered.[103]

In 1941, Joesler's practice grew even larger, to the highest volume of his career.[104] Only in 1928 did he have a larger number of commissions, though that year's average job was significantly smaller. The architectural practice took complete control of the tract sales office building, and the sales office moved to a new building adjacent to the original one.

Murphey and Joesler supported each other's successes. In the first years of their association, Murphey sponsored the architect in the sense that he brought Joesler to Tucson with the promise of steady work. Joesler's architecture was an immediate success in that city, and this bolstered Murphey's reputation as the city's premier homebuilder and successful developer of small scale commercial buildings.

[103] E.D. Herreras, quoted in Walton, 1977.
[104] Josias Th. Joesler, architectural job files, Joesler Collection, University of Arizona Library Special Collections, Tucson, Arizona.

In ensuing years, as Joesler's reputation gained in stature, the architect was able to refer jobs back to Murphey. A significant number of the Joesler/Murphey collaborations started with the architect. Such was the case with Eleven Arches when Louise Grace reached out to Joesler to be her architect and agent for the project, which Murphey won the bid to build.[105] Joesler put a number of jobs out to individual bidding. The Murphey-Keith Building Company often participated in the bidding and was awarded many contracts, though not always on the basis of a low bid.[106] They developed a sense of mutual support and reciprocity. Joesler commended the nature of his continuing relationship with the developer in a national architectural periodical, *Architectural Record*, November 1940.

Joesler felt himself a collaborator with Murphey, but not a subordinate. Joesler may have worked in Murphey's office building but used his own letterhead. At times Joesler defended the theory of his independent architectural practice. On a Murphey job in Catalina Foothills Estates in 1939, the architect wrote to a client who suggested using another architect for construction supervision that:

> *Naturally the question comes to my mind as to whether or not you have lost confidence in my ability or question my integrity in representing you. I appreciate the fact that on account of having done all of the architectural work for the Murphey-Keith Building Company for speculative building homes for sale for a good many years, on an annual retainer basis, that some people have gone so far as to think that I am an employee of the Murphey-Keith Building Company. I wish to say in this regard, that my practice of architecture is entirely independent of the Murphey-Keith Building Company and am under no obligation to it, and I have always safe guarded the interest of my client and represented them to the best of my ability.*[107]

A year later, in the November 1940 issue of *Architectural Record*, as one of several architects discussing work with large-scale developers, Joesler wrote:

> *There is no limit to the cooperation an architect can receive from a good development company. In my case, the benefits that I have derived from such an association have been so rewarding that I would not give it up under any circumstances, other than dismissal by the company...*
>
> *While I have continued to work with the Murphey-Keith Building Company on a retainer-fee basis, which gives me an assured security, I also maintain independent practice.*
>
> *Working with a development company has several very definite advantages. In my case, for instance, I have had the experience of designing – and supervising construction of – over 300 homes, apartments and commercial buildings. Opportunity to play a major part in the development of a community... is by no means the least of the advantages offered.*
>
> *Although the retainer fee as supervising architect for a development may be small, this is balanced by the fact that very little of the architect's time is necessary to check through and approve residential plans. The steadiness of the income is another point in favor of this type of association. There is the further advantage that the fact that he is the architect for the development and must*

[105] Louise N. Grace to Josias Th. Joesler, Personal letter, April 17, 1937, Joesler Collection, University of Arizona Special Collections.
[106] John W. Murphey to Louise N. Grace, Personal letter, November 8, 1937, Joesler Collection, University of Arizona Special Collections.
[107] Josias Th. Joesler to Norman E. Gabel, Personal letter, 1939, Joesler Collection, University of Arizona Special Collections.

approve all plans puts his name before each purchaser of a home site and secures the recommendation of the development company to each purchaser that he be retained.[108]

Joesler understood his indebtedness to Murphey. Murphey's office records indicated that the developer charged clients a five percent architectural fee for their work, but that the architect was paid only a portion of this figure. This reflected the fact that Joesler received other financial benefits from the developer, such as free office space (Joesler never paid rent, even when his practice shifted to a largely independent nature in later years), unlimited free use of the Murphey secretarial and clerical staff, drafting staff payroll for Murphey jobs, and materials at cost for the architect's two Tucson homes.

Murphey took a paternalistic attitude toward his associates. None were ever hungry or unsheltered, but Murphey was the only figure associated with the Murphey-Keith organization who achieved significant wealth. However, one must remember that it was Murphey who took the financial risk associated with his developments.

Murphey acknowledged Joesler's contributions in his marketing and salesmanship. In correspondence to potential clients, Murphey identified Joesler as "our architect" with such phrases as "has designed buildings all over the world" and "nationally known architect." Regardless of what conclusions could be drawn from the Joesler/Murphey relationship, it remained a fact the combination was an artistic and commercial success in Tucson.

In independent practice, Joesler maintained a more traditional role for an architect. Joesler was a professional agent on behalf of the owner and collected a service fee of six percent or eight percent of construction costs. A six percent fee was charged for plans and specifications, two percent due upon approval of final preliminary drawings and four percent due upon completion of the working drawings and specifications. When the construction service was used, a two percent fee was also due in two parts, one percent at completion of rough construction including roof and one percent at final building acceptance by the owner. This arrangement was utilized whenever the architect commissioned a job, whether the contractor was John Murphey or any of the seven other contractors in Tucson who constructed buildings from Joesler designs.[109]

Joesler viewed himself as a master architect and when a job arrived in his office, he was adamant about how the building should look. A client could make many suggestions about the design, function, spatial allocation and spatial relationships, or stylistic execution when the architect agreed to the appropriateness of a style for a particular building. But when it came to detailed matters of artistic expression, interpretation and execution, the architect's decisions were final. He felt that it was not the clients' place to address artistic issues. Neither did he surrender the final word on artistic expressions, even to Helen Murphey. "Joe would not let us run away with ideas," she recalled.[110]

In his zeal, Joesler occasionally contradicted his clients and changed design items, even into the construction process without their knowledge or consent. On one 1949 project, the client selected a

[108] Josias Th. Joesler, "Affordable houses designed by architects," *Architectural Record*, November 1940, 44.
[109] Research has not yet been able to determine just how many Joesler/Murphey collaborations originated with a Joesler commission. It is known that the Grace mansion was given to Joesler as an independent architect, and he invited Murphey to bid on its construction.
[110] Helen Murphey, quoted in Sotore, 1974.

wallpaper in accordance with an allowance to suit her personal taste. Upon seeing the installed wallpaper, the architect sensed an irreconcilable conflict with his architectural design and ordered an immediate change. Though surprised, the client consented to the new selection in support of the concept of better architecture.[111]

When questioned, Joesler's sense of authority sometimes led to problems. A dispute over variations from a contract in 1938 led to settlement by a board of arbitration. In 1948, when he informed a client her personal furnishings would destroy the architectural character of the house he had designed for the woman and her husband, and she informed Joesler that he was no longer their architect.[112] John Murphey alone had the power to evoke compromise from the architect as evidence by some of the small, nondescript store buildings commissioned by Murphey and designed by Joesler.

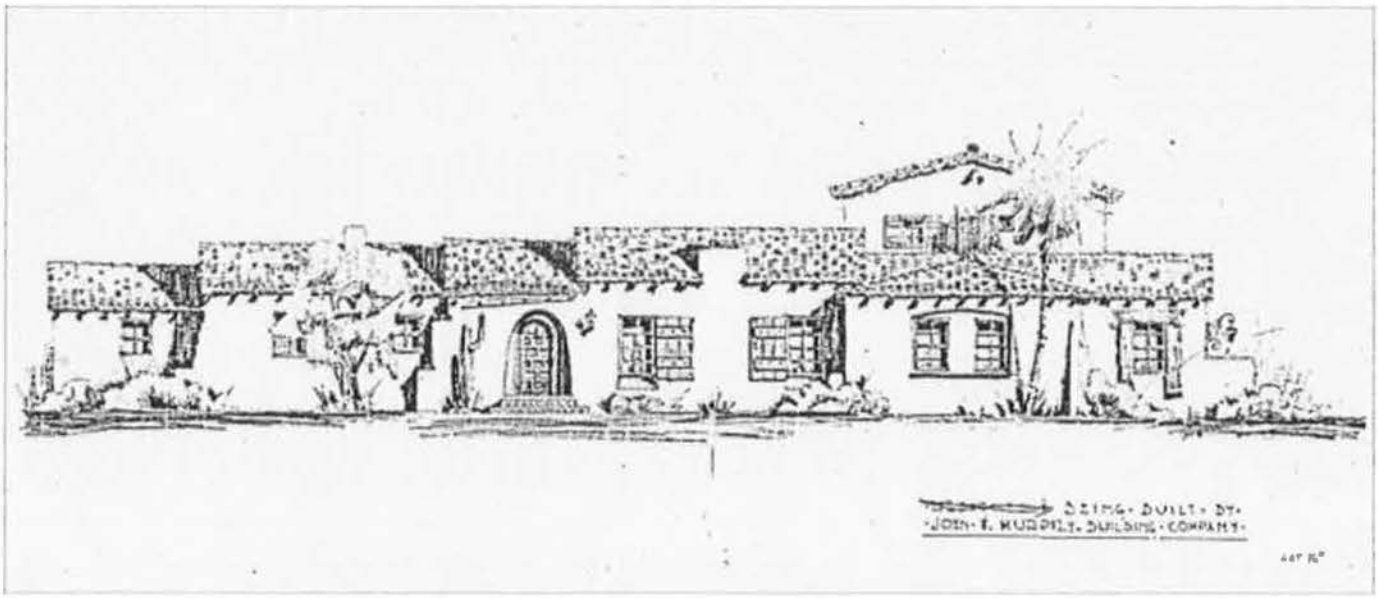
When a job first arrived, Joesler would sketch and discuss ideas with the client to formulate a basis for preliminary design.[113] Joesler was assertive and always impressed clients that he was most confident in his work and his abilities. In undertaking preliminary design, the architect made a 1/8" scale drawing of a floor plan and elevations sketched on cheap tracing paper with colored pencils worn to within a half-inch of their ends. Sometimes in his preliminary designs, Joesler would draw more than one version of the front façade of a house and offer the client a choice. As these drawings were concerned, Joesler had an exacting eye. The drawings were so accurate that the drafting staff would eventually scale directly off the architect's proposals to lay out construction documents.

Joesler's pastel-colored elevation drawings had a loose yet highly controlled quality. They were loose in the sense they were generally freehand but not always literal renderings of a building's finished appearance and actual setting. Textures such as clay-tile roofing, ground covers, shrubbery or paving were vignetted in an unforced manner to deemphasize or lighten their visual effect. The vignette textures allowed emphasis to be placed on the overall architectural composition rather than just on architectural materials. Bold, precise shadows cast from architectural features with even the slightest relief added to the three-dimensional effect and heightened contrast. (Figure 39)

Drawings were highly detailed. A common device Joesler used was to render in a dark tone the single iron bar of a *reja* (railing) or single muntin of a window over a sunlit or lightly toned surface. Where the bar or muntin appeared in shadow, Joesler provided contrast by drawing the feature in a light tone. This subtle, effective technique preserved detail, which might otherwise have been lost and was one key to the easy communication Joesler's drawings presented to the viewer.

The quality of the line work lent as much character to the drawings as any other single attribute. Above all, the lines were soft, which is not so say the lines were not sharp, which they were. The line work simply did not overpower the drawing. One was not even aware that a major line of a drawing such as the edge of a wall was in fact often discontinuous. Indeed, it took a highly controlled drawing

[111] Joesler office records, 1949, Joesler Collection, University of Arizona Special Collections.
[112] Joesler office records, 1948, Joesler Collection, University of Arizona Special Collections.
[113] Rumsey, Unpublished personal research notes and interviews, 1982.



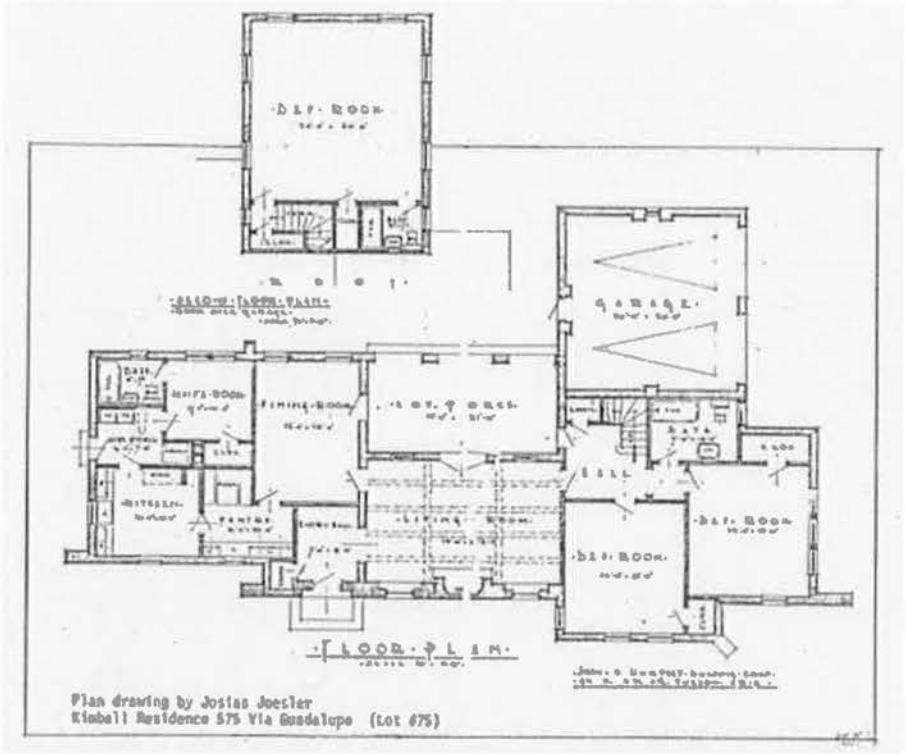


Figure 36. Rendering and plan of house at 575 Via Guadalupe, Tucson, Josias Joesler, architect. Colonia Solana Residential Historic District National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, 1988.

hand to enact such an outright fib without the commission being objectionable or even noticed. These lines simply made the drawings seem unforced.

Joesler produced such drawing by the hundreds, although many of his proposals did not result in commissions. Plans and elevations at 1/8" scale were made for nearly every proposal, but Joesler made perspective drawings for a smaller number of projects. These drawings exhibited the same qualities that made the architect's elevation drawings so successful and the perspective construction was nearly perfect. While the vast majority of Joesler's preliminary drawings were executed in colored pencil, a limited number of drawings were made in pen and ink, and fewer still were rendered in tempera. Joesler's drawings were not atypical of the time. They had a rather picturesque quality appropriate to the images they often portrayed. Joesler always incorporated into his drawings depictions of vegetation representative of the building style and site. He illustrated that he had embraced Forestier's maxim and created harmony between his structure and its landscape.

When a contract was signed and the completed preliminary design was approved, the job was put into production; that is, the completion of the construction documents. The architect kept close watch over his drafting staff that produced the working drawings and specifications.

Joesler believed in the traditional European office structure, that he was the master architect and the staff's role was to serve apprenticeship to the master, to learn the profession as he himself learned it and practiced it. This tradition made Joesler feel that education was compensation and he accordingly paid his staff rather small wages. Joesler's employees responded well to the apprentice role in the sense that their drawings mimicked those of Joesler and that the staff held the master architect in greater esteem. Joesler was always available to answer questions, enter discussion and share his knowledge and ideas on drawing, architecture or any topic that seemed important. Thus, the architect often grew fairly intimate with the staff during office hours, but the small barrier appropriate to a master and his apprentices was never broken entirely.[114]

By modern standards, the construction documents from Joesler's office were a model of simplicity. Working drawings from the smaller projects of earlier years were contained on three to five 18" x 24" sheets of lightweight buff tracing paper. All borders and title blocks were uniformly drawn by hand while the unstructured format of the center of the sheet varied slightly from sheet to sheet and job to job, but contained all the information for quantity and placement of the materials of construction.

Typically, the first sheet contained a one-quarter-inch scale foundation plan and associated information: typical details, control dimensions, floor framing (the earlier Joesler homes had raised floors), and, when a furnace was utilized, locations of heating ductwork. The typical second sheet was crowded but very clear in communication and contained many layers of information on the one-quarter scale floor plan: wall construction, control dimensions, electrical fixtures and basic circuiting, roof and ceiling framing, finishes, door and window sizes, and section profiles of such special items as niches, pilasters and buttresses and plaster molding. The remaining sheets of the typical working

[114] Gordon Luepke, Joesler apprentice, interviewed by Brian Rumsey, Tucson, Arizona, January 27, 1982.

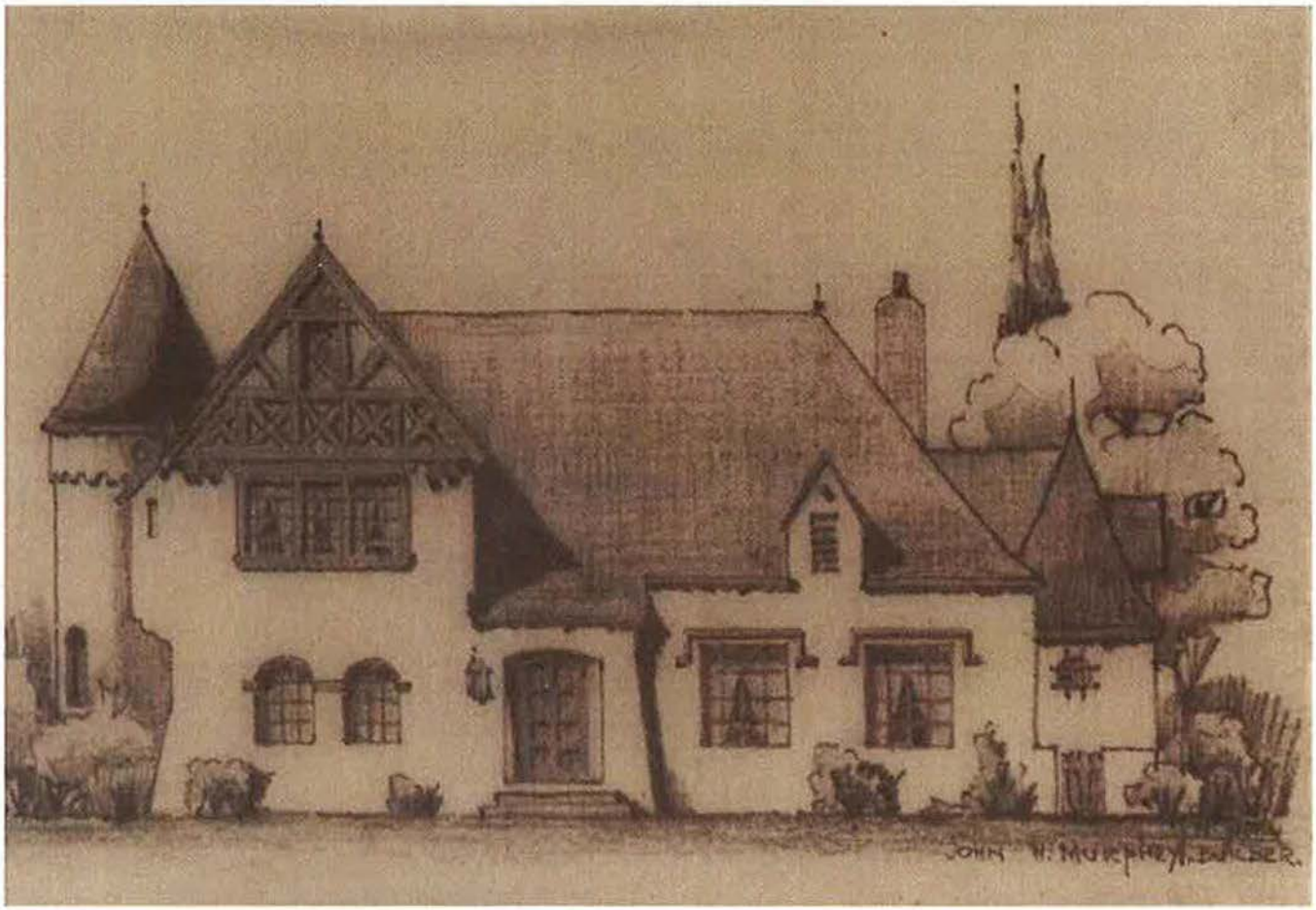


Figure 37. Old World Addition Sales Office and Residence, n.d. Reproduced from *Joesler & Murphey: An Architectural Legacy for Tucson*, 1994, p. 11 (original drawing: Arizona Architectural Archives).

drawing set contained the building elevations, executed in a manner vaguely similar to Joesler's proposal drawings but drawn by the architect's staff as indeed were all the working drawings.

These construction drawings were not "picturesque" as were Joesler's preliminary drawings, instead they were merely informational. But the drawing techniques espoused by the architect were reflected to an extent in all the drawings by his staff. Thus, it was hard to differentiate the drafting style of one person from that of another. The lettering style used by Joesler's staff was nearly universal to architects of that era as the line quality was fairly typical of good draftsmen of the period. Joesler must have drilled his staff extensively on the virtues of expressive line quality as the drawings from his office always showed a polished handcrafted flavor.

After the opening of Catalina Foothills Estates, Joesler's jobs became larger and the working drawing sets accordingly grew in format size and number of sheets. The general execution of the later

construction documents was identical; they were simply expanded to accommodate the larger buildings and a greater control of architectural details. The homes of later periods in particular were more "custom" in approach. In order to accommodate the larger buildings, sheet formats grew to as long as 48" and even then plans and elevations were sometimes split into two parts in order to describe the entire structure. Site plans, plumbing plans, electrical plans, building sections, and larger numbers of construction details were drawn on individual sheets to communicate more clearly the intended construction of larger, more complex buildings. The over 12,000 square foot Migel Estate designed in 1940 was described in forty-eight 30" x 40" sheets for detailed architectural construction plus an additional twenty-five 30" x 40" sheets for landscape and grading.[115] Due to the difficulty of procuring building materials for such a large civilian project at the beginning of World War II, in concert with John Migel's entering military service, the Migel Estate near Bear Canyon was not built.

Joesler's specifications were as simple as were his working drawings and also followed a similar pattern from the early years to later years: the pattern was that of ultimate simplicity progressing to a slightly higher level of complexity. Joesler's adobe specifications illustrated the aspect of progressing complexity. In 1930, Joesler specified that the adobe consist of "clean earth with plenty of clean fresh straw. It should be laid by Mexican laborers, as they are necessary to ensure quality workmanship."[116] In 1939, Joesler specified "all adobe must be layed by masons as it is essential that all walls be layed absolutely true and straight and this can only be accomplished by employing the best skilled masons to do the work."[117]

The 1939 specifications also reflected tightening controls of adobe as a material of construction. The City of Tucson and Pima County began restricting the use of adobe because of its vulnerability to moisture penetration. John Murphey, in conjunction with Joesler, pioneered a new method of waterproofing adobe by means of a bitumen waterproofing agent. After 1935, the adobe architectural specification reflected this in detail. Standard Oil eventually received the patent for the Murphey/Joesler innovation, but the measure became a standard part of the architect's specification in addition to the basic adobe standard. Many other aspects of Joesler's specifications also reflected restricting standards of new codes and regulations. Such early experimentation was undoubtedly a precursor to the "stabilized adobe" used today.

In all other cases Joesler maintained close control of the construction process. As it was an architect's responsibility to ensure that construction completely met contract requirements, architect and contractors were often cast in adversary roles. Joesler, however, was popular with contractors and welcome on job sites at any time.[118] He completely understood construction and this understanding led to a mutually respectful relationship with the contractors of his buildings.

Joesler was flexible in his interpretation of the construction and contract documents and this led to creative compromise on the job site. When questions arose from contractors or construction workers, Joesler did not need to check their problems against the construction documents. He knew every job

[115] Josias Th. Joesler, Architectural plans for Migel Estate, 1940, Joesler Collection, University of Arizona Special Collections.
[116] Josias Th. Joesler, Office Records, 1930, Joesler Collection, University of Arizona Special Collections.
[117] Josias Th. Joesler, Office Records, 1939, Joesler Collection, University of Arizona Special Collections.
[118] Lewis Hall, quoted in Walton, 1977, 9.

and every detail. If a problem required significant changes, Joesler would immediately execute an accurate sketch on the backside of a working drawing print sheet with the instructions to "build it like this." Invariably, the new solution accommodated the immediate interests of the contractor without greatly affecting architectural performance of appearance. Obviously such departure from the contract held important legal consequences (the 1938 board of arbitration case resulted largely from such compromises at the job site) but in those years totally strict contract interpretations were often abandoned in favor of trust in workmanship.

"Workmanship" and "handcrafted" were synonymous on a Joesler job site, particularly so because of John Murphey's assemblage of subcontractors and construction workers. Other contractors who worked with the architect used many of Murphey's subcontractors in later years. Heavy equipment was virtually unknown and entire buildings were constructed without the use of power tools.[119]

With as many commissions as Joesler received, the architect was necessarily involved in various phases of many jobs simultaneously. For example, in 1928, 1936, 1940, 1941, and 1948, the number of commissions ranged from 23 to 43 per year. A typical day during Joesler's busiest periods may have involved a visit from John Murphey, myriad phone conversations, review and dictation of correspondence, a few hours sketching designs, review of shop drawings, computation and resolution of engineering problems, time discussing working drawing for current projects with his drafting staff, a conference or two over design proposals, and needed visits to construction sites. Helen Murphey remembered Joesler "talked to himself, sometimes in German, sometimes in French, it depended on what kind of problem he was mulling over" during the day.[120]

Joesler was extremely industrious in good years and bad, working long hours every day of the week. According to Arthur Brown, F.A.I.A. and a contemporary Tucson architect, Joesler possessed "twice the drive as most people; he made you think you weren't doing anything."[121] Joesler's drive was responsible for his productivity as an architect as much as any combination of fortuitous events or professional relationships.

However, as busy as he was in his practice, Joesler always had time to contribute to other organizations. Joesler was a charter member of the Arizona Chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) formed in 1937 and remained an active member throughout his life. In 1955 and up until his death in 1956, he served as treasurer of the Arizona State Chapter of the AIA. Being selected treasurer was no doubt a tribute from his professional colleagues and perhaps recognition of the value of his native Swiss trait for frugality. Up until he died, Joesler was actively helping others. In 1956, he supported the Crafts Guild of the Tucson Fine Arts Association and the artists and craftsmen participating in its juried exhibition by lending his own artistic design skills to create a vignette to showcase the artistic and decorative talents of others.[122]

[119] Victor, 1976.
[120] Helen Murphey, quoted in Sotore, 1974.
[121] Arthur Brown, interview by Brian Rumsey, Tucson, Arizona, January 27, 1982.
[122] Craft Guild of the Tucson Fine Arts Association Exhibition, "Tucson Crafts in Use; The Indoor-Outdoor Trend." February 6-19, 1956, Tucson Museum of Art, Research Library.

The sites of Joesler's 404 completed designed and built projects in Tucson closely followed the locations of construction and development projects undertaken by John Murphey. Joesler's architecture was interwoven to an extent with the ideas and concepts espoused by Murphey. The developer had discovered an architect who was an expert in interpreting the Southwest Revival architecture he favored. Further, the architecture evoked by Murphey's dreams and brought into reality by Joesler fell into a continuing pattern of Tucson and Southwestern architectural development. Thus, the architecture of Josias Joesler is best understood with an appreciation of the architect's personal history and exposure, the endeavors of John W. Murphey, the developments of Tucson and Southwestern architecture prior to Joesler's appearance in that area, and a general understanding of the Mexican architectural precedent that so influenced a great deal of Joesler's designs.

F. Joesler as Master Builder

Josias Joesler worked both independently and in collaboration with the Murpheys. With his interpretive skills, extensive travel, and premier technical and artistic education, he proved to be the right man at the right time in Tucson's pre-World War II growth period. Joesler's work evoked the stylistic imagery used to promote Tucson as a resort destination and it reflected Americans' early twentieth-century romance with the Southwest.

Although the architect designed commercial, institutional, industrial and multi-residential buildings, the majority of his work comprised single-family houses most of which were located in the vicinity of Tucson. Whether working on commercial or residential projects, Joesler demonstrated his mastery of scale, proportion, and sequencing. Joesler residences appeared in numerous Tucson subdivisions including Old World Addition, Blenman Elm, Sam Hughes, El Encanto, Colonia Solana, El Montevideo Estates, Broadway Village, Country Club Estates and Catalina Foothills Estates. Of greatest significance in terms of Joesler's influence on Tucson's built environment was his work in Catalina Foothills Estates. Of these, only Old World Addition, Broadway Village, and Catalina Foothills Estates were planned by John Murphey.

Being supervisory architect for Catalina Foothills Estates, Joesler controlled the architectural design as well as the surveying of each property, which, at that time, averaged over four acres. He took advantage of the topography by laying out the home sites based on their view, most importantly, that of the Santa Catalina Mountains, which he later refined in the design of each house. With his knowledge of construction and ability to communicate with the Spanish-speaking crew and craftspeople, Joesler operated much like a master builder in the Old World sense.

A Joesler residence has an identity transcending style, which in one sense can be thought of as a "skin." Joesler designed the majority of residences in the Catalina Foothills Estates in his version of the Spanish Colonial Revival. Included in this category are Joesler's Rancho Revivals of the late 1930s and early 1940s epitomizing the architect's fully developed talent. His second most popular style was Sonoran Revival and Pueblo Revival third. Joesler handled style like he handled every other aspect of a residence, with the carefully moderated hand of a fine artist, expressing only the minimally appropriate that was essential to communicate.

As previously mentioned, Joesler's residential work evolved from the production of numerous small residences of around 1,000 square feet to a lesser number of larger projects, culminating in a 15,000 square feet mansion. Also, his practice evolved from complete collaboration with Murphey to increasing independence. Although his work became more sophisticated, especially in his Rancho Revivals, he always retained his artistic moderation.

G. Production History

Joesler and Murphey worked together to develop some of Tucson's most affluent and attractive neighborhoods. Along with their ongoing production of small in-town dwellings, their first houses of note appeared in the Old World Addition, a prestigious residential subdivision west of Campbell Avenue between Mabel Street and Elm Street. Built in 1927 and 1928, these romantic houses expressed a variety of historical styles, including Tudor Revival, Swiss Chalet, and revivals of French and Spanish derivation.

A contemporary newspaper writer described Old World Addition homes as "built not only to endure but to mellow with time."[123] Unfortunately, most of these houses have been demolished to accommodate widening of Campbell Avenue and construction of the University of Arizona Medical Center.

At the same time in the later 1920s, Joesler and Murphey collaborated on homes east of Campbell Avenue on each side of Speedway Boulevard, in what are now known as the Sam Hughes and Blenman-Elm neighborhoods. Here, Joesler restricted his stylistic interpretation to the Spanish Colonial and Sonoran Revival, which Murphey thought appropriate to Tucson and the Southwest.[124] Many of these early houses were speculative, that is, not designed under contract to a specific client. They were simple and compact, but had the arched windows, niches and romantically stepped support buttresses identified with their later houses.

In 1929, Joesler designed the first of two houses in Tucson for himself. Built the following year, the First Joesler House (NRHP listed 2010) is the epitome of the Spanish Colonial Revival style. Its white-washed block massing, deeply recessed windows, clay tile roofs with projecting eaves, outdoor stairway leading to a second story studio, and decorative wrought iron work characterize the design vocabulary Joesler would apply to his future designs. Joesler's love for gardens is evident in the many intimate outdoor spaces he carved here. Features like hand-built fountains and decorative glazed tile used throughout both the garden and house would become emblematic of his style.

Seven years later, Joesler designed and built what is now known as the Joesler-Loerpabel House, his second family residence. Located on a mid-valley lot one-third the size of a city block, it became an opportunity for experimentation with new forms, materials, and styles. In this house, Joesler flirted with the austere International Style introduced in Europe in the 1920s and interpreted regionally by

[123] *Arizona Star*, 1927, Clippings File, MS 0568, Arizona Historical Society.
[124] The styles share design features but the clearly distinguishing element is the roof, which is low pitched and red tile characteristic of Spanish Colonial Revival, and flat with brick-capped parapet typical of the Sonoran Revival. Some of these houses were large but most were small and modest compared with later efforts. Although unpretentious, these smaller Joesler-designed dwellings reflected the charm with which Murphey attracted buyers.

Irving Gill in San Diego and Richard Neutra in Los Angeles. These influences can be seen in the clean arches and massing of the Joesler-Loerpabel House, as well as the absence of the ornamentation characteristic of Joesler's earlier Spanish Colonial Revival buildings. Two extant examples of Joesler's use of the Art Moderne style date from 1936 and are found on 4th Street in the Sam Hughes neighborhood.

Joesler and Murphey contributed large, distinctive residences to the luxury mid-town subdivisions developed in Tucson from the late 1920s through the 1950s. Although these houses represent a significant body of their early work, they are overshadowed by the team's achievements in Tucson's largest residential development, the Catalina Foothills Estates, a project anticipatory to what is now called a master-planned community.

Larger and more luxurious than any they had built in town, the Catalina Foothills Estates houses were carefully sited and uniquely suited to the requirements of their large, hilly lots. Never possible in any previous Joesler/Murphey development on the valley floor, the breathtaking views were exploited to the fullest. The combination of site size and location allowed a major departure from their previous work. There was no longer any reason for compactness and, with Mexican *rancho* houses and the winged floor plan of the First Joesler House as models, these extensive houses rambled over their generous lots. Contemporary improvements in heating and cooling systems allowed for their extensive linear forms. Most Joesler-designed Catalina Foothills Estates residences reflected the architect's own interpretation of the Spanish Colonial Revival and Rancho Revival styles, apart from a few examples derived from the Pueblo Revival and Sonoran Revival.

With its unadorned aesthetic, the Joesler-Loerpabel House was the precedent for the architect's design in 1937 of what was then largest house in southern Arizona. The Grace Mansion was a winter residence for Louise N. Grace, daughter of shipping magnate and former mayor of New York City William Russell Grace. Also known as The Eleven Arches due to the arcade on the south façade, this mansion spanned 270 feet across a hilltop and had a floor area of 15,000 square feet. The living room, itself nearly as large as some of the earliest Joesler houses, was decorated with murals by Louise Grace. The bedrooms averaged 400 square feet each and were supported by several full baths and two powder rooms. The kitchen, as well equipped as most restaurants, was designed with a butler's pantry and walk-in refrigerator.[125]

In an undated manuscript describing his design rationale for the Grace Mansion, Joesler wrote:

> *It would be very hard to indicate a specified class of architecture which I as Architect developed in designing the residence for Miss Grace. I took some motive for the ... elevation given to me from the background of the house.... I guided my creation by the [Santa Catalina Mountains] lines, which gave me the idea in creating a center high point and wing it to the east and west following the mountain line. The function for the residence had to be designed for modern living and without*

[125] George H. Nelson, "A House Inspired by the Haunting Beauty of the Desert," *Arts & Decoration*, Vol. 48 (September 1938), 2-5.

going into too harsh and strong modern design I had to adopt some kind of a softer feeling and adapt to the esthetics of the lonely desert surrounding.[126]

Built in 1941, the Bauder House is a noteworthy example of Joesler's stylistic interpretation of the regional Sonoran vernacular. Local scholars call this the Sonoran Revival. As mentioned, this style emanated from the plain-fronted, street-abutting houses of Sonora where domestic activity was centered on interior courtyards. Its precedents were also found in Sonoran farmhouses. The wall surfaces of the Bauder House are relatively free of ornamentation except for a parapet coping of red brick, *canales* projecting from the parapet wall, and wrought-iron *rejas* protecting the tall, narrow windows. This house is true to the Sonoran vocabulary, a most appropriate expression for Tucson.

Representing Joesler's mature style and built in the late 1930s and early 1940s by Murphey are several sprawling residences in Catalina Foothills Estates falling under the category of Rancho Revival. One example is the Gabel House (NRHP listed 2010). As described in the National Register form:

The Gabel House was designed for Mr. and Mrs. Norman E. Gabel by architect Josias T. Joesler in 1939 and built in 1940 by the John W. Murphey-Leo B. Keith Building Company. Situated in Catalina Foothills Estates on its original, nine-plus-acre, densely vegetated parcel, the residence is a 4,685 square-foot, burnt adobe masonry building styled in Joesler's unique interpretation of a rural "ranch house." Character-defining features include the original, large lot – replete with native flora and fauna – and the skillful placement of the house to create a sense of seclusion as well as capture the views. Also characteristic are the sheltered patios, rambling ranch house design, distinctive textures, Spanish Colonial Revival style details and original screened porch. The house epitomizes the Joesler/Murphey team's ability to achieve "refined rustication" in design...[127]

After the war, Joesler began to design Ranch style houses, to which he added southwest touches like burnt adobe as a wall material. In this MPDF, they are called Southwest Ranch. Characteristic of the popular ranch style, these houses exhibited some open planning like kitchen/dining room combinations. Several houses in this style remain un-surveyed in Country Club Estates and elsewhere. The following description of the Lewis D. W. Hall House is characteristic of Joesler's work in this period:

The Lewis D. W. Hall House was designed by architect Josias T. Joesler in 1953 and built by architect/builder Lewis Hall either to occupy or to sell. Situated on its original parcel in Catalina Foothills Estates No. 3, the property includes a contributing residence and carport plus a non-contributing studio building, all placed in a richly-vegetated, native desert setting not far from Hacienda del Sol Wash. The Hall House is oriented to capture Joesler's favorite mountain and city views. A 2,550-square-foot, single-story residence with a semi-attached carport, the Hall House represents Joesler's interpretation of the Ranch style. An imaginative and well-executed example thereof, it presents a striking image in its desert setting. Major character-defining features include

[126] "Residence of Miss Louise N. Grace, Catalina Foothills, Tucson, Arizona." Unpublished manuscript from Joesler/Murphey Office Records, Arizona Architectural Archives, College of Architecture, University of Arizona.
[127] Norman E. Gabel House National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, 2010, Sect. 7, p. 3.

its simple, elongated, box-like form of white-painted, burnt adobe masonry, its pattern of large window openings, its overhanging, hipped roof covered with red mission tile and its large, imposing chimney. The house is also noteworthy for the quality of its construction, for its well-designed, commodious interior (that features an open plan living/dining room) and for its high-quality appropriate landscaping...[128]

H. Design, Materials, and Construction

Joesler residences resulted from client needs, site characteristics, the architect's own sophisticated imagination, and his construction skills. Joesler communicated a special Southwestern romantic character, a unique image. The ability to impart an aesthetic and emotional character to a dwelling influenced his design process from the initial colored pencil sketch to the final product, and can be seen in the house site placement, setting, layout, building form, and façade expression, that is, stylistic and ornamental detail.

Joesler floor plans range from unique configurations to stock plan prototypes to be repeated with only minor variations. In 1940, acting independent of Murphey, Joesler designed several small residences from his prototypical plans—Type A, Type B, and Type C. These houses were built by Angle Realty Company in the Olive Park Addition, a small, central Tucson subdivision. The National Register-listed Type A was one of several types drawn up by the architect for speculative houses and three known examples exist. Type A is a modest example of a flat-roofed, parapet-walled Sonoran Revival style residence. Joesler traits include a simple corbelled brick parapet, a flanking stepped knee wall at the front porch entry, a skillfully designed corner fireplace inside, and the architect's typical scored colored-concrete floors.

Plan layouts vary in numerous ways but they are characterized by clarity in spatial organization, hierarchy, and circulation. For example, Joesler's larger Catalina Foothills Estates residences center on a large social core (entry, living room, dining room) flanked on one side by a utility wing and on the other side, a private bedroom wing. Also included may be a large porch, commonly converted later to a sunroom. Whereas the total plan may incorporate angled wings, rooms tend to be articulated and rectilinear in plan, especially in Joesler's pre-World War II work. His post-war Ranch style residences begin to "open up" spatially.

Joesler is noteworthy for his eclectic style. His Tucson buildings fit somewhere in a continuum ranging from "textbook pure" examples to those mixing stylistic elements from two or more sources. The Don Martin Apartment House (1929) near downtown is a classic Spanish Colonial Revival building of the sort popular in southern California at that time. The James P. Adams House (1937/38) in Catalina Foothills Estates expresses Pueblo Revival in every detail from its exterior to its interior. The rambling, gabled Rancho Revival style residences, on the other hand, tend to be eclectic.

Joesler-designed buildings can be found in a variety of settings, from small urban lots lining city streets to secluded, multi-acre parcels in the Catalina Foothills Estates. Taking into account lot and site characteristics, Joesler tended to orient his residences to capture his favorite view, that of the Santa

[128] Lewis D.W. Hall House National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, 2011, Sect. 7, p. 3.

Catalina Mountains.[129] He also tended to retain native vegetation where possible. Joesler buildings express a mastery of sequencing and proportion with a carefully controlled palette of forms, features, and materials. The architect is able to create interest by varying this limited palette in the smallest speculative house or the most luxurious Catalina Foothills Estates residence. Simple, projecting wings embrace intimate terraces while variable height walls reflect the hierarchy of interior spaces. To counterpoint the rectilinear, the architect may introduce a cylindrical, Mission-tile capped tower with Joesler's signature wrought-iron weathervane or a brick capped chimney projecting at a dramatic forty-five-degree angle from a corner.

Rectangular and arched openings can be employed in the same building with plain or diagonal iron grilles on some windows. Heavy soldier bricks may emphasize some cornices while wide brick surrounds showcase entries and large picture windows. Expressing Joesler's love for refined rustication, some buildings feature double-Mission tile roofs and textured, burnt adobe walls. Some residences have an inviting outdoor stairway leading to a roof deck or second-story room.

Joesler-designed interiors showcase the entry and include his artistically applied, controlled array of features and materials. Naturally lit spaces and views prevail where appropriate. Rooms vary in size and height depending upon their importance. Circulation is coherent and hierarchical. Other characteristics of Joesler interiors include the use of scored, colored concrete floors resembling large tiles, tall ceilings with exposed beams and corbels, spans of French doors in the living areas, and built-in custom cabinetry.

Inside, the fireplace is one of the signature elements identifying a Joesler house. Important to Joesler in establishing a sense of intimate scale, it often became the focus of interior ornamentation as well. It is common to see Joesler fireplaces adorned with niches, colored tile, or painted embellishments. Though much of the decorative detail was created by local craftspeople, it was Joesler who designed the context for its display. In the foothills houses, Joesler chose corner beehive fireplaces for bedrooms to complement the larger, wall-centered fireplaces of the main living rooms.

Less desirable features reflect both Joesler's lifestyle priorities and contemporary social conditions. For example, he was infamous for his tiny kitchens, some with no room for a refrigerator, although he may have included an attached servant's quarters. Exceedingly limited closet space was also a personal quirk. Joesler is said to have considered space for a single change of clothes sufficient.

With respect to masonry, some of Joesler and Murphey's early, mid-town houses were made of clay brick and hollow clay tile, while others were built of adobe blocks formed on site. For the latter, basement rooms were dug out for the 250 to 300 adobe bricks made daily. The foothills houses were generally made of burnt adobes. Contrary to popular opinion, the bricks were produced off-site in an adobe yard near River Road. Even so, their color blended with the earth tones of the foothills. Mortar was made with hot lime, a superior long-lasting binder now prohibited by safety standards, after which

[129] Mel Norvelle, Telephone interview conducted by Janet Parkhurst with John Murphey's former business manager, October 24, 2011.

mesh was attached and stucco applied. Wall thicknesses varied from thirteen inches in the average dwelling to four-and-a-half feet in St. Philip's in the Hills Church.[130]

Historical character was introduced in buildings through the use of weathered materials, like timber salvaged from old mine shafts or manipulated through heat or mechanical means. In Pueblo and Sonoran Revival style buildings built-up roofing was used, although most of their roofing was clay tile of either the Mission or Spanish type. In one residence flagstone was used to create a flat roof deck. Many of the floors were made of red-dyed concrete scored in square patterns to look like thick clay tiles. Scoring of this kind took time and skill, but at that time, skilled labor was less expensive. The construction workers were multi-talented craftsmen who could just as easily carve a door as lay concrete. These men were also responsible for backbreaking manual labor, for little heavy equipment was used on the construction sites.

By the time an owner moved into a new Joesler home, many skilled hands had contributed to its creation. From the foundation, the masonry, the concrete floors, the carpentry, the structural cast concrete, the roofing, the stucco, the plaster, the doors and the cabinetry to the finishes, the decorative tiles, the pavers, the paintwork, the forged iron, and the cast concrete elements, someone's hands had touched the house either during fabrication or installation, or both. While much of the character of a Joesler house came from unidentified craftspeople of Mexican and Native American descent living in Tucson's barrios, plus recycled and new materials from Mexico, a few of these artisans are known.[131]

The iconic signature of a Joesler residence is its weathervane. It is an example of decorative forged iron undoubtedly created in a local *taller*, or Mexican workshop. For custom details, such as hand wrought weathervanes, iron grilles and gates, Joesler would sketch designs on brown craft paper, then embellish them with instructions in Spanish for the Mexican ironsmiths. Iron sections were banded together rather than welded to present the appropriate historical appearance.

Local ironsmiths Raul and Francisco Vasquez did much of Joesler's decorative forged ironwork. They "created gates, window grilles, lamps, tables, chandeliers, sconces, hinges, handles and a variety of other ironwork that has come to enjoy a sizeable—and perhaps growing—army of admirers. Their work [was] found in numerous fine homes in El Encanto and the foothills, in many churches and other public buildings, and, it is rumored, as far away as the Empire State Building."[132] One year as Christmas presents for her friends, Louise Grace gave small iron tables designed by Joesler and forged by Raul Vasquez.[133]

[130] Victor, 1976, 11.
[131] Craftsmen associated with St. Philip's in the Hills Episcopal Church and many Joesler homes are named by Helen Murphey in an unpublished interview with Elizabeth R. Taylor, May 19, 1978. Raul and Francisco Vasquez did the ironwork. From Mexico, Mr. Garduno made the stained glass windows. A wood carver from Pueblo, Mexico, helped carve the beams and pews. Roy and Titcomb in Nogales also helped with the pew carving. An Italian man in Los Angeles cast the elaborate columns in the cloister. For further information about Raul Vasquez and other blacksmiths, see James S. Griffith, *Hecho a Mano—The Traditional Arts of Tucson's Mexican American Community* (2000).
[132] Paul L. Allen, "Blacksmiths hammered out artistic legacy all over town," *Tucson Citizen*, April 19, 2004, 7A.
[133] Tom Bredlow, quoted in Allen, 2004.

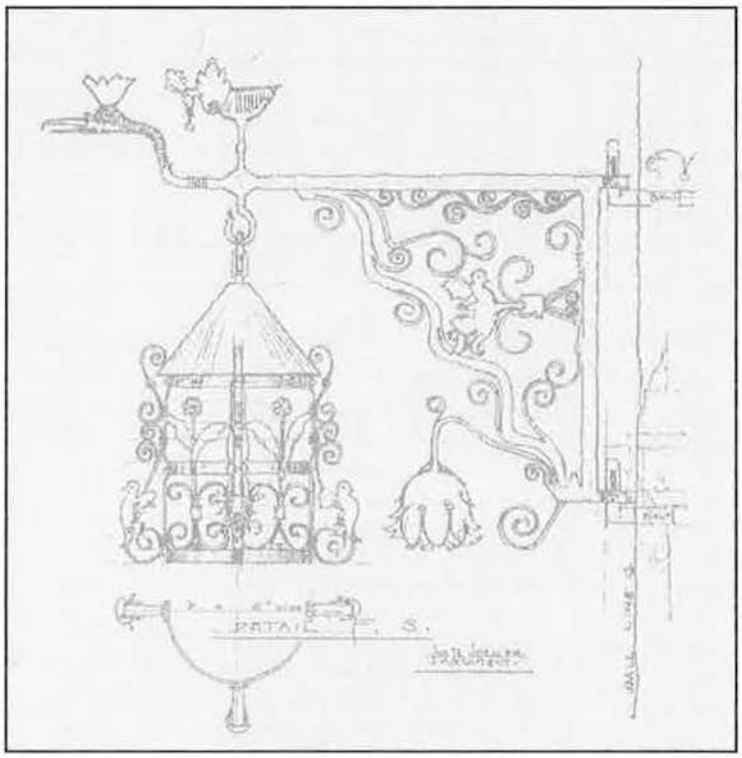


Figure 38. Wrought-Iron Lantern, n.d. Reproduced from *Joesler & Murphey: An Architectural Legacy for Tucson*, 1994, Table of Contents page (original drawing: Arizona Architectural Archive).

Another artist whose work was incorporated into Joesler-designed homes was Francisco Delgado, a tinsmith in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Delgado, who worked in tin but also in copper and other materials, manipulated the two-dimensional sheets of tin through cutting, stamping, hammering, scoring, and soldering to make utilitarian and decorative features and finishes. He would bring example of his work to Tucson. The Murpheys enjoyed traveling to Santa Fe with photos and sketches of old Mexican silver items that Delgado recreated in less expensive but equally beautiful tin.

Pierre Menager was another Santa Fe artist who worked with Joesler. He captured vignettes of Mexican life in the murals he painted. One exceptionally large mural was thirty-five feet long. It is interesting to contrast these folk-art style murals with the more sophisticated ones at the Grace Mansion. While the murals may be quite different, they were both equally at home on their Joesler-designed wall spaces.

Nati Joesler is known to have painted ceramic tiles by hand. It is possibly her unique work on the exterior house and garden walls of the residences Joesler designed for Angle Realty in the Olive Park Addition.

Helen Murphey contributed greatly to the character of the houses through her study of Mexican art and architecture. She was an inveterate collector and kept scrapbooks of photographs and drawings of Mexican architectural details discovered during family vacations. Using these motifs, she painted shutters and cabinets, carved lintels and beams and incorporated hand-painted ceramic tiles into kitchens, bathrooms, and patios.[134] Trips to Central and South America turned up unusual tiles, hand-carved doors, wall shrines, fireplace accessories, pottery, hand-worked hinges, latches, knockers and locks. During the design of the foothills houses, Joesler would take clients to a warehouse full of architectural artifacts and materials to select those best suited to the look of the house.

The work of interior designer Leionne Salter also appears in Joesler homes. She and her husband, Cliff, manufacturer of furniture and decorative tin, were involved with Isabella Greenway's Arizona Hut, a workshop opened in 1927 in Tucson to provide employment for disabled veterans. The Salters took over the Arizona Hut when Greenway went to Washington as an Arizona congresswoman. The Salters turned it into a decorating service renamed the Arizona Studio. They excelled in producing stamped ornamental tinwork and painted decorations on plaster and wood. Leionne Salter, who generally signed her work, had a predilection for colorful, nature-inspired motifs of a "Mexican" nature. Her designs tended to be more delicate than those of Helen Murphey.

I. The Joesler Manner

In this section we examine Joesler's designs to identify the basic, unifying essence characterizing his Tucson residences. With so many projects built under the design of a single architect, it is tempting to refer to these projects as having a "Joesler style." In reality, Joesler was an eclectic. His design vocabulary borrowed from historic as well as contemporary styles and he often blended these styles with local building traditions resulting in a distinctive regional "Tucson/Mexican" image. We will call this the Joesler manner or essence.

Generally speaking, Joesler's career may be divided by two interwoven expressions, Romantic Period Revival and Modernist. Although the Romantic Revival is primarily pre-World War II, it is not exclusively. Excepting the post-war (Southwest) Ranch style, the Modernist expression occurs throughout Joesler's Tucson career.

The architect displays an evolution in his design of residences that is difficult to distinguish by standardized style terms. Depending upon lot size and the intended clientele, Joesler's residences range from small (900 s.f.), to medium (less than 1,500 s.f.), to generous (over 2,000 s.f.) to mansion (11,000+ s.f.). His production evolved from a profusion of smaller homes to a lesser number of larger homes; from an interpretation of imported styles to the creation of a unique, Tucson-Mexican expression. Joesler's career course also reflects his initial collaboration with John Murphey and his increasing independence as a sole practitioner.

[134] Victor, 1976, 11.

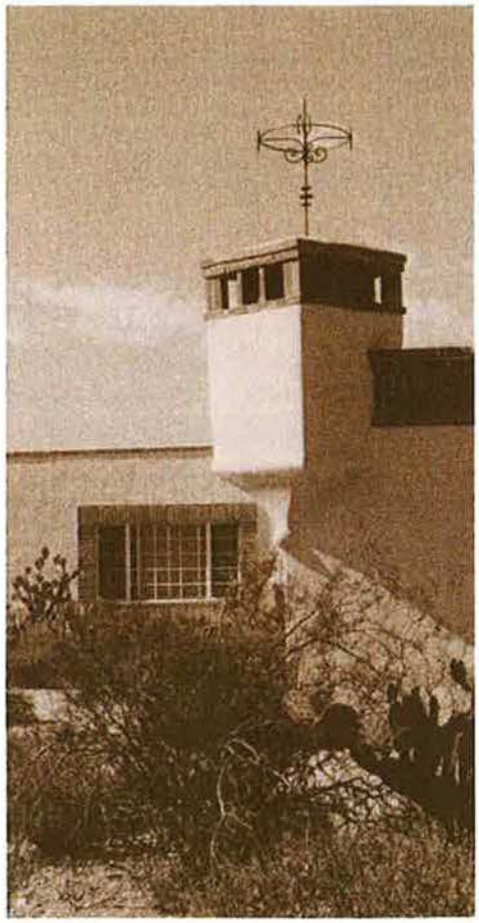


Figure 39. Chimney and Wind Flag, Catalina Foothills Estates House, 1940. One of Joesler's signatures is a wrought iron "wind flag" which resembled a weather vane. Reproduced from *Joesler & Murphey: An Architectural Legacy for Tucson*, 1994, p. 17 (original photo Joesler/Murphey Survey Team).

Although Joesler created his own interpretations, to accord with the National Register's classification system, his work is grouped accordingly:

Romantic Period Revival Expression
- Late 19th and 20th Century Revivals:
  - Revivals of British and non-Hispanic European derivation
  - Mission/Spanish Revival
  - Pueblo Revival
  - Other:
    - Sonoran Revival
    - Rancho Revival

Modernist Expression
Modern Movement:
Moderne
Art Deco
International Style
Ranch Style.

Joesler layouts are clear in plan, geometry, and hierarchy. They are appropriate for their setting and very well-built. They are sequenced and comfortable plus they are evocative and aesthetically pleasing. The underlying concept (also known as *parti*, for example, "embrace the view," is recognizable. His residences are zoned with private and utility wings flanking a social living core. This spatial organization reflects Joesler's Beaux Arts-influenced technical training. Through walls of variable heights, exterior form reflects the hierarchy. Wings may be angled but rooms tend to be articulated and rectilinear in plan. (In Joesler's Southwest Ranch, some of the room articulation disappears in open-planned spaces.) Exterior and interior architectural elements are uncomplicated, commonly expressed by rectilinear, arched and triangular forms. Joesler's ornamentation is also measured. Simple surfaces provide the "context" for ornamentation by others. To Gordon Luepke, Joesler "… built with the simple lines used by people who created the native styles."[135] As a fine artist, Joesler communicated with the fewest "strokes" necessary and, as sculptor, understood his materials.

Joesler's residences are appropriate in scale, stylistic interpretation, and materials for their intended macro and micro settings. They are in harmony with the desert settings. The scale is human and comfortable, neither "cozy" nor oversized, from the smallest bungalow to the larger Catalina Foothills Estates residence. The scale remains appropriate today, excepting original kitchens, baths, and closets, which are considered undersized by current preferences. Within this scale, Joesler's proportions are suitable.

Many Joesler residences are constructed of friable materials, such as mud and fired adobe. The strength and durability of his work is due, not in small part, to its initial construction by skilled craftspeople under his supervision. Scored, colored concrete flooring continues to stand the test of time. Timber members, where exposed in ceilings, tend to be oversized from an engineering point of view. Although rusticated in appearance, Joesler-supervised residences were built with precision.

Joesler residences are soft (lacking in harshness) in image, sequencing, natural lighting and workmanship. To start, "[Joesler] had a soft Southwestern idiom that appealed… [to new Tucson residents] preconceived notion of what a house in the Arizona desert should look like…. His designs weren't revolutionary, but they had an image appeal."[136]

[135] Gordon Luepke, quoted in Walton, 1977, 8.
[136] Gordon Heck, quoted in Walton, 1977, 8. The late Gordon Heck was a professor of architectural history at the College of Architecture, University of Arizona, during the 1970s and 1980s.

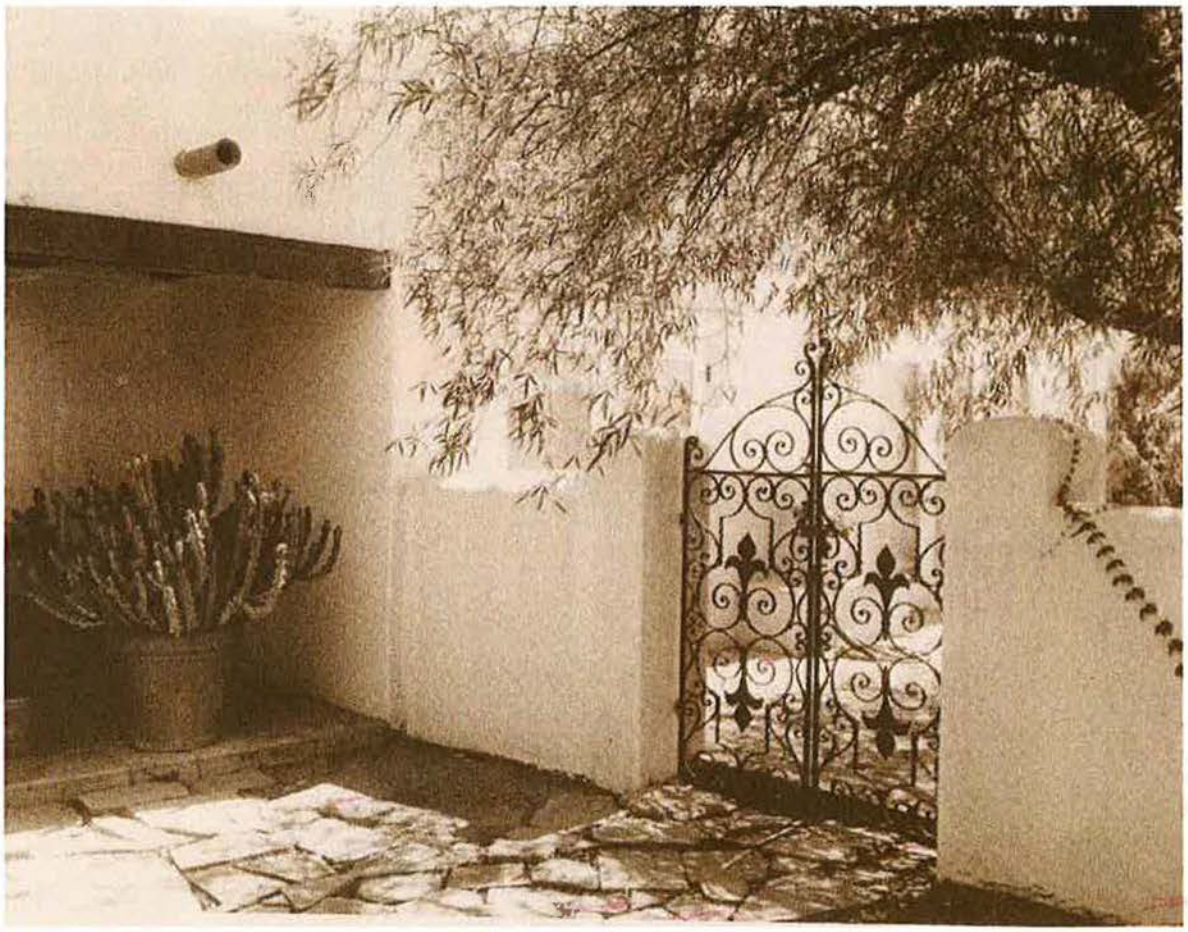


Figure 40. Wrought Iron Gate, Catalina Foothills Estates House, 1936. Reproduced from *Joesler & Murphey: An Architectural Legacy for Tucson*, 1994, p. 18 (original photo: Joesler/Murphey Survey Team).

Softness is achieved through sequencing, that is, how people move through space. Sequencing starts from a distance and is how an owner or visitor first encounters a Joesler residence at the property line. One senses the setting (most notably the views) while passing through the site's native vegetation, then walks into a patio of deliberate plantings in front of the house. Led to the entry by its visual cues, one enters a hallway, usually lower in ceiling height, and passes sequentially into the hierarchy of interior spaces.

Once inside while looking from a picture window, softness is achieved by viewing the Santa Catalina Mountains through a filter of pale blue-green, true green and yellow-green vegetation; or at night, by viewing the lights of the stars and city. Softness is also achieved by Joesler's control of natural daylight, from outside by using a porch to shade from the harsh desert sun and inside by changing the amount of light in spaces as one flows from room to room.

The architect's residences are also soft in workmanship. Murphey's general manager, Mel Norvelle, was on good terms with Joesler and had the architect design two houses for his family. Joesler told Norvelle a house should have "softness" to it. The architect loved to "soften things up," like wooden lintel edges and rounded wall corners.[137]

A resident finds comfort in the softness of a Joesler residence. Even the contrast of smooth plaster and the simple, honest-textured adobe blocks feel comfortable. Rounded wall corners allow one to move from one room to the next with no harsh edges in passageways on which to bump hands. It is as if the home is already "broken in," thereby pleasing to the senses.

One of the National Register's aspects of integrity is *feeling*, defined in the bulletin *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation"* as "a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period or time." A Joesler residence has beauty and conveys its artistry to a viewer. It is through aesthetic qualities that a sense of serenity, so important to Joesler, is evoked in the recipient.[138] Joesler's manner culminates in his ability to evoke serenity through beauty; a true Tucson/Mexican beauty set in the Sonoran Desert.

For each visitor, the indoor-outdoor connection with the desert was an important component to the peacefulness felt in the Joesler house. Perhaps, for a house to be soulful it must harmonize its structure with its setting to create a serene space in which one can comfortably reach deeply into feelings while having space and freedom for the imagination to fly.

J. The Significance and Legacy of Josias Th. Joesler's Work

Josias Th. Joesler was above all an eclectic, an architectural linguist. To Tucson he brought a multiplicity of architectural styles and incorporated them into common architectural usage. In this lies his greatest significance. Joesler's extant buildings confirm his ability to articulate a variety of architectural vocabularies to create buildings that were products of their time and yet timeless. His strong technical education and aesthetic sensibility, combined with his extensive travels, provided him a palette of styles to accommodate the emotive needs of both patron and clientele. All-embracing in his importation of styles, he chose not few but many, the *au courant* as well as the historical. In Tucson, he created a paradigm for the eclectic use of architectural styles by a single architect, and he thus ploughed fertile ground for future architects and styles to come.

Joesler also was the right man at the right time in the pre-World War II development of Tucson. His work represented the stylistic imagery used to promote Tucson as a resort destination and reflected America's romance with the Southwest. As symbols, these regional images served two purposes: locally, to establish and maintain the reality and the myth of a historic sense of place; and elsewhere, to conjure up romantically another, more exotic place.[139] Following California's example, Joesler both

[137] Mel Norvelle. Oral History interview of Mel Norvell by Roberta Franzheim and Janet Parkhurst, July 6, 2011. Norvelle began to work for John Murphey in 1946, first as a carpenter then as a real estate salesman. Eventually Norvelle became Murphey's general manager and "Joe" Joesler was supervising architect. Joesler designed two houses for the Norvelle family, one on Country Club Road (in Murphey's Broadway Village subdivision) and one in Catalina Foothills Estates.

[138] Ibid.

[139] David Gebhard, "Exotica Transplanted: The Pueblo Image Outside the Southwest"in Tydeman, William E., (ed.), *The Pueblo Revival Architecture of John Gaw Meem*, Albuquerque: The Albuquerque Museum, 1989, 23.

independently and in concert with developers John and Helen Murphey created a romantic built environment giving the illusion of continuity with the Hispanic past and providing a vision for elite residential development still existing today.

Joesler designed numerous buildings types for his varied clientele. Over the course of his career, he incorporated many different architectural styles into his work. Besides the many revival styles—Spanish Colonial, Pueblo, Swiss, Tudor, Greek and Italianate—he used to create the Old World imagery desired by the Murpheys, he also designed buildings using early modern stylistic vocabularies, like Art Deco, Art Moderne, and the International Style.

Nowhere are these styles more evident or appreciated than in his architectural renderings. Joesler's studio and the Murphey-Keith office were full of artistic renderings of buildings, composing a virtual stylebook of design and ornamentation to suit even the most fanciful of clients. The renderings were masterful tools for portraying emotive images of traditional romanticism or contemporary avant-garde. The lifestyle representations in Joesler's renderings were reinforced by imaginative details, such as clay pots with drooping plants on buttresses and patio walls, exterior curtains, *santos* in niches, wrought iron gates, *rejas*, lanterns, and most artistically, the surrounding vegetation. One need not look at the buildings, but only at the vegetation to determine the style of the building. Mesquite and pepper trees graced the Spanish Colonial Revival design renderings; saguaros and prickly pear dotted the Pueblo; cypress trees punctuated the Italianate; and streamlined, geometric trees reinforced the Art Deco and Moderne drawings. Joesler was a superb artist and articulated the many styles and romantic images desired by Murphey and other clients.

As Tucson continues to grow and to strive for a cohesive identity, the significance of Joesler's contribution to the built environment cannot be overstated, both independently and in collaboration with the Murpheys. Joesler provided Tucson with an image of a romantic desert city and a lifestyle with which people identified and to which they are drawn still. The newcomers arrive, bringing with them a taste for the styles reflected in the eclectic architectural palette of Josias Thomas Joesler. Joesler's architectural career, spanning almost three decades, has left Tucson with a remarkable legacy, an eclectic yet identifiable character that is Tucson's alone.

To appreciate the significance of Joesler's impact on Tucson, one only has to note that in a televised PBS segment, Bob Vint, preservation architect for the National Historic Landmark Mission San Xavier del Bac, was asked to choose four buildings that changed Tucson between 1783 to 2002.[140] One of the four he selected was the Joesler-designed St. Philip's in the Hills Episcopal Church. Vint saw each of the four buildings not so much as change agents but rather as an expression and embodiment of the culture which produced them. Together they tell the story of Tucson, and Joesler contributed an important chapter in that story.

Accolades for Joesler's work have not been limited just to Joesler enthusiasts in Tucson. Joesler's St. Philips in the Hills Church was also designated by the Scottsdale Historic Preservation Office as one

[140] Bob Vint, appearing on television broadcast "Four Buildings that Changed Tucson 1783-2002," produced by Andrea Kelly for *Arizona Illustrated*, Arizona Public Media. Broadcast on TV station KUAT, May 13, 2013. Available as an on-demand video at ondemand.azpm.org.14760. Vint is a Tucson architect and adjunct professor at the College of Architecture, Planning and Landscape Architecture at the University of Arizona.

of four "Landmark Modern Places of Worship that may have inspired Scottsdale Architects."[141] In 2002, *Phoenix Home and Garden* celebrated four legends in Arizona architecture: Frank Lloyd Wright, Josias Th. Joesler, Alfred Newman Beadle, and William Foster Tull.[142] In a 2014 issue, the four luminaries plus George Christensen and Barnaby Bennie Gonzalez were heralded as "The A-List: Icons of Arizona Architecture."[143]

George Nelson, architect and distinguished Director of Industrial Design for Herman Miller, praised Joesler's design for Louise Grace's house, Eleven Arches, as:

> *... one of the most beautiful of all houses in this attractive Southwest.... Joesler took his motive from the mountain ranges nearby, these giving him the idea of having a high central feature with low wings at the sides. Following the contour of the mountains. The house had to be planned for modern living, but not a too harsh modern design, the wish being to harmonize it with its desert surroundings.*[144]

However, World War II interrupted the development of Joesler's wider reputation as noted by architect and nationally syndicated real estate columnist, Arrol Gellner, who related:

> *Some of the most truly novel architectural works of the past 100 years have been carried out by architects who remained barely known in their own eras. The Arizona Spanish Revival master Josias Joesler, the industrial architect Albert Kahn, California's green design pioneer Carr Jones all were virtually overlooked by their contemporaries.*
>
> *All of them, alas, reaped the perverse reward of such a career: Their truly novel ways of thinking did come to be fully appreciated, but only long after they'd left us.*[145]

While Joesler may not have been in the national spotlight, he and his architecture were embraced with great warmth and support by his adopted city. From Joesler's architectural style flowed an image of their city Tucsonans embraced in no small part because it created for them a sense of belonging. An indication of the depth of passion present in the community for Joesler and his work was seen on January 20, 1981 when a petition signed by over 4,000 people was presented to the Pima County Board of Supervisors to protest the realignment of a county road which could have "altered or affected Joesler buildings, the St. Philip's in the Hills Church, landscaping and other surrounding areas" and paved the way for a cross-town freeway.[146]

In 1999, the *Tucson Citizen* took on the daunting task of determining the answer to the question: "Who were the most influential businesspeople in changing the face of Tucson over the past 100 years?"

[141] Don Meserve, Preservation Planner, "Landmark modern places of worship that may have inspired Scottsdale architects," March, 2010, www.scottsdaleaz.gov/AssetFactory.aspx?did=40147, accessed February 2, 2015.
[142] "Four Arizona Legends," *Phoenix Home & Garden*, May 1, 2002, 89, 120-127.
[143] Laura Gold, "The A-List: Icons of Arizona Architecture," *Phoenix Home & Garden*, January 1, 2010, 164.
[144] George Nelson, "A house inspired by the haunting beauty of the desert," *Arts & Decoration*, vol. 48, September, 1938, 2-5.
[145] Arrol Gellner, "Lesser-known architects achieve true novelty," Real Estate Column syndicated by *San Antonio Express News*, July 26, 2012. Also available at blog: arrolgellner.blogspot.com.
[146] Pima County Board of Supervisors, "Minutes of January 20, 1981 Meeting, #33" Tucson, Pima County, Arizona, January 20, 1981 28. Website: http://onbase.pima.gov/publicacces, accessed February 10, 2015, http://webcms.pima.gov/cms/one.aspx?portalId=169&pageId=137299.

Ranked at number twenty out of a list of thirty influential Tucson business people was Joesler, the only architect to make the list.[147] Such a ranking underscores Joesler's enduring influence in Tucson.

Also in 1999, voters named Joesler's Broadway Village Shopping Center the top historic building in the Tucson Architectural Landmark contest co-sponsored by the University of Arizona College of Architecture and readers of the *Tucson Weekly* newspaper.[148] Meanwhile, developers of a new shopping center at River Road and Campbell Avenue gained applause for preserving and incorporating into their site plan historic Joesler-designed properties adjacent to their planned construction. The new center was even named Joesler Village in honor of the architect.

For many years, organizations in Tucson have tapped in to the interest in and popularity of Joesler's architecture and organized tours of private Joesler homes generally not accessible to the public. These tours have generated financial support for such organizations as the Arizona Opera League, St. Philip's in the Hills Episcopal Church, the College of Architecture Planning and Landscape Architecture at the university, the Arizona Historical Society, and the Tucson Historic Preservation Foundation. In 2004, the National Park Service honored Josias Joesler's architectural contribution in Tucson by listing St. Philip's in the Hills Church on the National Register of Historic Places. This church is an integral part of Joesler's legacy. It is not only a beautiful design, it also is an uplifting and inspirational setting that continues to enrich daily and spiritual lives.

Joesler touched many lives and through them his legacy lived on. In particular, two of his former apprentices who worked as draftsmen and then entered the architectural field with their own practices continued Joesler's work and architectural aesthetic. Lewis Hall said Joesler's "influence appears in every building I design."[149] Gordon Luepke, A.I.A., observed that Joesler "commanded great respect from everyone who worked with him.[150] He expressed his feelings by saying, "I can't ever thank Joe enough for what he did for me."[151]

Charles Walton wrote thoughtfully about Joesler's residential designs I Tucson:

> *His work already is legend in Tucson and elsewhere. When a Joesler house goes on the market, it attracts bids from all over the country, and the Joesler name alone adds substantially to the market price.*[152]

While realtors are not the ultimate arbitrators of an architect's legacy or historic significance, they can provide insights about the degree of esteem placed upon an architect's work by the public and its related value as reflected in the real estate market.

Adding another perspective on Joesler's architecture, realtor John Riley said:

[147] David Pittman, "The thirty most influential Tucson business people in changing the face of Tucson over the past 100 years," *Tucson Citizen*, December 27, 1999, Trend$ Real Estate & Business Section, 1 & 6.
[148] Margaret Regan," Designs in the Dust, The state of Tucson architecture and the results of 1999 Readership Poll," *Tucson Weekly*, April 22, 1999, accessed September 28, 2015, http://www.tucsonweekly.com/tw/04-22-99/feat.htm.
[149] Lewis Hall, quoted in Walton, 1977, 10.
[150] Gordon Luepke, quoted in Walton, 1977, 9.
[151] Gordon Luepke, quoted in Sotore, 1974.
[152] Walton, 1977, 8.

There is a lot of charm in Joesler homes, a special charm germane to the Southwest. To people who appreciate that charm, a Joesler home is going to be worth more in dollars.... The normal yardsticks of appraisal fall short when you're dealing with a Joesler house, particularly in the foothills. People wouldn't pay anywhere near that much for another house without the Joesler dimension of charm.[153]

Joesler's legacy endures. In 2013, writing in his "Luxury Homes" blog, Long Realty agent Michael Chaisson called Joesler's home designs "amazing gems" and added "our own home town design heroes including Josias Joesler and new design stars including Kevin B. Howard, Rick Joy, Rob Robinette and Rob Paulis, [are] all part of some of the best architects in residential home design."[154]

Tucson native Heidi Baldwin, a realtor with thirty years of experience and a special love of historic houses and properties, has sold and even re-sold many Joesler houses. She also has lived for over twenty-five years in the "old foothills" in an inviting hilltop Joesler house which was used as the home for a leading character in a Hollywood independent film shot on location in Tucson.[155] When asked how a Joesler house is different from others, she readily answered, "A Joesler house has soul."[156]

Experiencing a Joesler house from its interior and not just looking at it from the exterior provides a better understanding of how it can be described as having "soul." It starts with the adobe, an unpretentious material, for solid walls buffering against outside noise while offering a sense of security and a respite from the desert heat. It creates a comfortable and serene setting.

The walls also serve as the picture frames for the beautiful view Joesler sought for each room. Through his artistic use of windows, he connects the inhabitants with the desert flora and fauna outside. As one moves from one room to another, eyes are opened to changes in vistas. Joesler also shifted the focal point for his "window-scapes." In a living room, a large picture window may present a sweeping view of distant mountains of the city. In a hallway, where he always insisted in having a window if possible, a small window may focus on nearby vegetation where one could be surprised and delighted to see a small vireo building a nest or a tiny hummingbird sipping from a blossom. Harmony for his structures with their desert surroundings is a continuing legacy of Joesler's design skills and understanding of the desert climate.

Another legacy from Joesler is an exceptional collection of his architectural drawings and renderings as well as supporting business records and correspondence for both residential and public buildings, extant and destroyed. These are now part of the archives in Special Collections at the University of Arizona Library. Through a grant from the Southwestern Foundation for Education and Historical Preservation, University Libraries in collaboration with the College of Architecture, Planning and Landscape Architecture are digitizing the Joesler archive.[157] The aim of the digital collection is to help

[153] John Riley, quoted in Walton, 1977, 11.
[154] Michael Chaisson, "Luxury Homes Tucson," Real Estate Blog, July 13, 2013, accessed October 8, 2014.
[155] Dan Sorenson, "Joesler home plays lead role in indie film," *Arizona Daily Star*, March 3, 2013, E9.
[156] Heidi Baldwin, Interviewed by Janet Parkhurst and Linda Weed, Tucson, Arizona, October 17, 2014.
[157] Projects Update, "Tucson Architecture Digital Collection 1: Joesler House Plans," University of Arizona Libraries and Center for Creative Photography, Projects Update, August, 2009, 7.

preserve and maintain access to Joesler's increasingly fragile works, which are viewed every year by faculty members, students, architects, historians, homeowners, and real estate officers.

The goal of this Multiple Property Documentation Form is to put into place an important resource for future architectural education and research as well as to preserve and protect the remaining works of Joesler's career.

Section F: Associated Property Types

Historic properties associated with this Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) "The Residential Architecture of Josias Th. Joesler and John and Helen Murphey in Tucson, Pima, Arizona 1927-1956" are represented by the following three types:

1. Academic and Regional Revival Residences, 1927-1936
2. Regional Eclectic Residences, 1930-1954
3. Southwestern Ranch Style Residences, 1939-1956

The known Joesler/Murphey **Academic and Regional Revival** residences in Tucson and its outer subdivisions include:

- 2334 E. Helen Street; 1927
- 2322 E. Helen Street; 1927
- 2428 E. Helen Street; 1928
- 2422 E. Helen Street; 1928
- 2416 E. Helen Street; 1928
- 2328 E. Helen Street; 1928
- 1130 N. Norton Avenue; 1928
- 1134 N. Wilson Avenue; 1928
- 1816 E. 12th Street; 1928
- 1340 E. 12th Street; 1928
- 1336 E. 12th Street; 1928
- 1137 E. Tucson Boulevard; 1930
- 1844 E. Elm Street; 1930
- 2045 E. Adams Street; 1931
- 2041 E. Adams Street; 1935
- 1916 E. Elm Street; 1936

The known Joesler/Murphey **Regional Eclectic** residences in Tucson and its outer subdivisions include (NOTE: Properties annotated with an asterisk [*] have achieved listing in the National Register of Historic Places):

- 5276 N. Camino Real; 1930; DeCenso House
- 5030 N. La Lomita Road; 1930
- 3242 E. Arroyo Chico; 1930
- 548 S. Via Golondrina; 1930
- 575 S. Via Guadalupe; 1930
- 5165 N. Camino Real; 1931

- 2322 E. Calle Lustre; 1935; Wilson House
- 5005 N. Calle la Vela; 1936; Craig House
- 5055 N. Calle la Vela; 1936
- 4840 N Camino Luz; 1936
- 5535 N. Camino Real; 1936; Gould-Drexel House
- 5150 N. Campbell Avenue; 1936
- 5220 N. Campbell Avenue; 1936; H. H. Brown House
- 5075 N. Calle la Vela; 1937
- 5101 N. Calle la Vela; 1937; Dunn House
- 5226 N. Calle Ladero; 1937
- 5201 N. Camino Escuela; 1937
- 5505 N. Camino Escuela; 1937; Andersen House
- 2400 E. Camino a Los Vientos; 1937
- 4833 N. Camino Real; 1937
- 4860 N. Camino Real; 1937
- 4900 N. Campbell Avenue; 1937
- 5201 N. Hacienda del Sol Road; 1937; Grace Mansion*
- 4905 N. Calle Angosta; 1938
- 5070 N. Calle la Vela; 1938; McMahon House
- 2225 E. Camino Miraval; 1938; Nagoda House
- 4920 N. Camino Real; 1938
- 2200 E. Calle Lustre; 1939; Corcoran House*
- 5445 N. Camino Escuela; 1939; Gabel House*
- 5170 N. Campbell Avenue; 1939
- 2650 E. Miraval Place; 1939
- 4950 N. Calle Colmado; 1940; Goodman House
- 5025 N. Camino Escuela; 1940; G & E Brown House
- 1915 E. Camino Miraval; 1940; Erskine P. Caldwell House
- 4850 N. Campbell Avenue; 1940
- 5450 N. Calle la Cima; 1941
- 4775 N. Camino Antonio; 1941
- 4800 N. Camino Luz; 1941
- 5535 N. Campbell Avenue; 1941
- 5070 N. La Lomita Road; 1941
- 4745 N. Camino Escuela; 1948
- 5525 N. Camino Escuela; 1950
- 4925 N. Camino Antonio; 1950; Woollen House
- 4740 N. Camino Escuela; 1951
- 4421 N. Camino del Santo; 1951
- 4141 N. Pontatoc Road; 1952

- 4400 N. Camino Kino; 1953
- 5051 N. La Lomita Road; 1954

The known Joesler/Murphey **Southwestern Ranch** residences in Tucson and its outer subdivisions include:

- 300 S. Country Club Road; 1939
- 220 S. Country Club Road; 1939
- 228 S. Country Club Road; 1939
- 234 S. Country Club Road; 1940
- 5001 N. Camino Real; 1940
- 250 S. Country Club Road; 1941
- 4925 N. La Lomita Road; 1941
- 348 S. Country Club Road; 1942
- 340 S. Country Club Road; 1942
- 1822 E. Silver Street; 1942
- 4315 N. Camino del Obispo; 1948
- 2701 E. River Road; 1948
- 6406 E. Miramar Drive; 1948
- 4440 N. Camino del Santo; 1951
- 4715 N. Camino Ocotillo; 1951; Remer House
- 4502 N. Hacienda del Sol Road; 1951; Frankowitz House
- 6502 E. Miramar Drive; 1951
- 6344 E. Miramar Drive; 1951
- 6524 E. Santa Elena Drive; 1951
- 320 S. Country Club Road; 1952
- 328 S. Country Club Road; 1952
- 5135 N. Camino Real; 1953
- 5543 N. Espina Road; 1953
- 6202 E. San Bernardino Street; 1953
- 5343 N. Via Alcalde; 1955

PROPERTY TYPE DESCRIPTION

The definitions for the three property types are:

Academic and Regional Revival

These are residences that illustrate an application of popularized late 19th and early 20th century revival styles. These residences were small, compact speculative houses located in Tucson's mid-town subdivisions, and were designed for a middle-class market. The period of significance for this property type begins in 1927 and ends in 1936.

Regional Eclectic

These are residences that illustrate Joesler's experimentation with the blending of Spanish Colonial Revival and Pueblo Revival styles, as well as the influence of Mexican art and architecture. These residences were generally placed on larger lots within subdivisions featuring curvilinear street patterns, ultimately designed to attract wealthy clientele to Tucson. The period of significance for this property type begins in 1930 and ends in 1956.

Southwestern Ranch

These are residences that illustrate a fusion of the post-war Ranch Style with stylistic elements inspired by the Spanish Colonial and Pueblo Revival movements. These houses can be found in subdivisions outside of Tucson's city limits, such as Catalina Foothills Estates, as well as in subdivisions developed during Tucson's post-war expansion. The period of significance for this property type begins in 1939 and ends in 1956.

DOCUMENTATION STANDARDS

Any evaluation of a property's integrity in an individual nomination must be accompanied by sufficient evidence to convince an independent reviewer of its eligibility.

To make a case for integrity, the nomination must describe all modifications since the original design with corresponding drawings and photos to discuss the cumulative effect of these modifications. When original plans or historic photographs are unavailable, the nomination should include sufficient analysis of the building to understand its original characteristics by other means.

Individual nominations must include the following documentary evidence:

1. Original architectural plans and elevations (if available)
2. Current plan, to scale, distinguishing the original design from all modifications and/or additions, with corresponding dates
3. Historic photographs (if available)
4. Current photographs illustrating the existing condition of character defining features and all modifications and/or additions with corresponding dates
5. Current aerial photographs to illustrate integrity of setting

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND ASSOCIATIVE QUALITIES

Physical Characteristics

All eligible properties attached to this MPDF must be part of the single-family residential portfolio resulting from the partnership between Joesler and Murphey, and must have been constructed in Tucson or the surrounding subdivisions between 1927 and 1956.

The following section describes the physical characteristics that define the property types, particularly as their significance is tied to Criterion C as exemplary for Architecture.

Land Planning

The following design elements are key aspects of typical Joesler/Murphey *land planning* for the three property types. In all property types, buildings were centered on high points of their respective lots and/or oriented toward optimal views of the Santa Catalina mountain range surrounding Tucson.

- In properties belonging to the **Academic and Regional Revival** type, houses were set in subdivisions featuring traditional, grid-like street patterns and circulation. Due to the compact size of these mid-town lots, the property's front facade generally dominated the streetscape, while other elevations were relatively concealed from the right-of way.
- In properties belonging to the **Regional Eclectic** type, houses were set in subdivisions outside of the Tucson city limits, all of which featured curvilinear street patterns designed to respond to the naturally hilly desert topography. Native desert vegetation was preserved wherever possible in these property types. The placement of houses on high points of the foothills landscape resulted in the abandonment of a single dominating facade; instead, all elevations were regarded as equally important elements of the building's overall impression.
- In properties belonging to the **Southwestern Ranch** type, locational patterns were less consistent than in previous types, resulting in a blending of the two earlier land planning techniques across the property type as a whole. Southwestern Ranch homes were found in a variety of subdivision types throughout both the Tucson city limits and its foothill developments. While the central placement of buildings on lots, as well as the orientation toward natural views, remained consistent throughout this property type, lot sizes varied from one to five acres, were either invisible to or presented a dominating facade to the right-of-way, and could be found in subdivisions featuring traditional, grid-patterned roads, or, conversely, in subdivisions featuring curvilinear roads.

Signature Design Elements

The following design elements are key aspects of the Joesler/Murphey *residential portfolio*, and should be present in all three property types:

1. Building materials including mud adobe or clay brick;
2. Prominent chimneys and interior spaces arranged around fireplaces; and
3. Built-in wooden cabinetry and shelving.

All of the various Joesler/Murphey property types illustrate these three key design traits.

CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIVIDUAL PHYSICAL ELEMENTS

Walls

Walls in Joesler-Murphey houses are almost exclusively made up of clay brick, mud adobe, or fired adobe. The earliest residences, those belonging to the **Academic and Regional Revival** type and found in mid-town Tucson, sometimes feature partial basements, formed as a result of the excavation of land

for the creation of adobe bricks. Houses emerging later in the Joesler-Murphey collaboration, including those in Catalina Foothills Estates, feature adobe bricks formed off-site.

In the interest of durability, Murphey experimented with various adobe additives, such as petroleum-derived bitumen. Hot lime was commonly mixed into mortar aggregates to create a stronger binding between blocks.

Wall materials are sometimes left exposed; however, they are generally painted or mortar-washed, or, conversely, rendered in stucco. Interior walls, if not painted or mortar-washed, are rendered with plaster.

Windows

Windows in all three-property types are cased in either steel or wood. Casement and single-hung windows are the most common types; however, fixed panes often appear as large picture windows. In addition to picture windows, Joesler/Murphey houses commonly feature windows set on a corner, multiplying the amount of natural light let into an interior space.

In all three-property types, exposed wood or cast concrete lintels are used as a decorative element to enhance the particular stylistic expression. Ornamental wrought iron grilles are occasionally added to fixed windows, particularly in Revivalist style properties.

Openings and Doors

Large wooden entry doors are used as a focal point of both exterior and interior spaces. In the **Regional Eclectic** Residences, these doors are sometimes hand-carved with Spanish-inspired motifs or figures and are occasionally topped with a cast concrete hood or wooden lintel.

Groups of glazed doors are often used between indoor and outdoor spaces as an alternative to multiple windows. This allows for increased air circulation, as well as a clear emphasis on indoor-outdoor living, a tenet set forth by Joesler/Murphey, particularly in **Regional Eclectic** and **Southwestern** Ranch houses. In certain houses of these two property types, glazing on the doors feature floral motifs, often hand-painted by Helen Murphey or Leionne Salter.

In houses following a formal arrangement of interior spaces, central social rooms (entry hall, living room, dining room, and sometimes kitchen) are often connected via cased doorways rather than solid doors. In Revivalist residences, these interior doorways commonly feature hand-carved wooden lintels and ornamental brackets.

Roofs

Roofs on Joesler/Murphey houses are generally consistent with the stylistic expression of the property. In **Academic and Regional Revival** residences, the greatest variety of roof styles occurs: from high-pitched jerkinhead, gable or hip roofs in Tudor Revival properties to flat, parapeted roofs in Pueblo Revival residences. In **Regional Eclectic** residences, parapeted roofs are often combined with gable or hip roofs sheathed in clay tile, particularly when used to cover open or screened porches. These parapets

are often capped with unpainted bricks or clay tiles, or punctuated with wooden or clay vigas. **Southwestern Ranch** residences feature low-pitched gable or hip roofs, sheathed in either clay tile or wooden shingles.

Alterations and Additions

Many of the Joesler/Murphey houses have undergone alterations. In certain cases, alterations or additions made to a property may have been made as a result of Joesler's plans. Any property believed altered directly by Joesler should have sufficient documentary evidence to support this claim [refer to **Documentation Standards**].

Common modifications to all three Joesler/Murphey property types include the extension of the original building footprint or addition of detached outbuildings, conversions of garages to habitable space, plaster or stucco sheathing over original adobe or clay brick, replacement of roofing, and replacement of windows. In **Regional Eclectic** and **Southwestern Ranch** property types, the above alterations may be present, in addition to the following: splitting of large lots, enclosure of screened or open porches, and second-story additions.

Any of these modifications should each be considered individually in determining integrity of a property, according to the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Rehabilitation of Historic Buildings as well as the Joesler/Murphey **Registration Requirements**.

Carports and Garages

Garages and carports are fairly commonplace in the residential portfolio of Joesler/ Murphey. Mid-town **Academic and Regional Revival** residences, as well as some later mid-town residences, feature detached garages, often hidden from the primary street facade. **Regional Eclectic** residences located in outer subdivisions feature a similar sense of separation from the primary areas of the house; however, these garages and carports are often connected to the building's main form as part of the utility wing.

Landscape

Joesler/ Murphey utilized the natural desert landscape as a selling point to help in attracting wealthy Easterners to Tucson. Because of this, **Regional Eclectic** and **Southwestern Ranch** residences built by this team were often placed on lots with deed restrictions that prohibited the removal of much of the natural vegetation surrounding the property. These deed restrictions ensured the visual character of the property and surrounding subdivision would not be compromised.

Interiors

The following interior design elements are key aspects of the Joesler/Murphey residential portfolio, and should be present in all three-property types:

1. A plan that follows a formal and traditional hierarchy of spaces, often with private and utility wings flanking a central social core;
2. Custom interior features, including built-in cabinetry/shelving and fireplaces; and

3. A clear physical and visual connection between the indoor and outdoor living spaces of the house.

Joesler/Murphey residential properties are almost exclusively composed of clay brick, mud adobe, or fired adobe. In **Academic and Regional Revival** residences, interior walls are generally rendered in plaster. While plaster sheathing was employed in later property types, the practice of mortar washing or painting over raw building material became more common during this period. This alternative to plaster sheathing helped to promote the rustic, romantic image sought by Joesler/Murphey in their properties.

In the latter property types, large wooden structural members (including posts, ceiling beams, rafters, lintels, corbels, and brackets) are often hand-hewn and/or left exposed, further promoting a sense of rustication throughout the interior. These rusticated wooden elements also appear in built-in shelving and fireplace hearths.

Ceramic and concrete tiles, often hand-painted and/or imported from Mexico, are also used in fireplace hearths, as well as kitchen backsplashes, bathrooms, and floors.

Common flooring types include ceramic and concrete tiles consistent with the stylistic expression of the property. However, the most distinctive flooring type utilized by Joesler/Murphey is dyed concrete, occasionally scored to look like large, expensive tiles.

Despite Josias Joesler's ability to work within a wide variety of stylistic expressions, his classical Beaux-Arts training was regularly expressed in his floor plans. The tradition of "noble spaces" is carried into his work through the use of a central social core—consisting of entry hall, living room, and dining room—clearly demarcated from the private and utility spaces.

This division is communicated through not only the physical separation of space with walls, but with varying ceiling heights: social spaces tend to have taller, vaulted ceilings, while utility and private rooms have lower ceilings, allowing for more mechanical and utility infrastructure.

Due to the focus on social spaces, Joesler/Murphey residences almost always feature exceptionally small kitchens and storage closets, as these were both considered utility spaces.

In early **Academic and Regional Revival** residences, this principle of spatial arrangement is generally expressed through the utilization of traditional floor plans, such as the "four-square." These plans place an emphasis on the living and dining spaces, with a secluded kitchen located in a back corner of the house, and private bedrooms and bathrooms placed either in another wing of the house, or conversely, on a second story.

In **Regional Eclectic** residences, Joesler's traditional spatial planning generally takes the form of a rambling, winged floor plan, with a central entry and social core. Private spaces are placed in an articulated wing to one side of this core, while a utility wing (including garage, kitchen, and, occasionally, maid's quarters) is located on the opposite side.

Southwestern Ranch residences sometimes feature this articulated plan, however, more popular footprints, such as L- or T-shaped, begin to appear in the Joesler/Murphey portfolio during this time.

ASSOCIATIVE CHARACTERISTICS

Joesler/Murphey properties should be representative of John Murphey's suburban land planning (winding streets and irregular lots which conformed to the desert topography; retention of natural vegetation), as well as Josias Th. Joesler's role in promoting Tucson as an exotic and historic place, particularly through his architectural portfolio while in partnership with John Murphey.

Further associative characteristics for each of the three property types are as follows:

Academic and Regional Revival

Geographical Information

Eligible properties will reflect the land planning ideals set forth by John Murphey in the early years of his professional partnership with Josias Th. Joesler. In this property type, houses will be located in mid-town subdivisions laid out in a traditional grid pattern with corresponding circulatory systems. Lots in these subdivisions will be small to moderately sized, narrow, and illustrate an emphasis on the entry facade as the dominant visual element toward the right-of-way.

When appropriate, original, natural desert or nonnative vegetation will reflect the stylistic expression of the property.

Boundaries

Boundaries of eligible properties of this type will maintain original lot lines as laid out in historic subdivision plats. In general, the boundaries of eligible properties of this type will be relatively disconnected from one another, and may be best considered on an individual basis, rather than through the clustering of multiple properties.

Variations Occurring Within the Property Type

Because this property type encompasses a variety of Revivalist stylistic expressions, the most common variation present in this property type will demonstrate a departure from the traditional, Beaux Arts floor plan. This variation should be a direct result of design decisions made by Joesler and Murphey, rather than decisions made by subsequent homeowners with the intent of altering the interior spatial arrangement. Documentation, including original and current floor plans, should accompany nominations in order to establish the integrity of the existing spatial arrangement.

Locational Patterns

All of the properties of this type are located within the city confines of Tucson, Pima County, Arizona, as of 1936.

Condition of the Property Type

(**NOTE:** See **Registration Requirements** for specific information on integrity and eligibility.)

Because the majority of these early **Academic and Regional Revival** residences were fairly modest in size, it is likely that additions will have occurred in a number of these properties. Further potential alterations include the removal of original windowpanes or casings, removal or addition of wall sheathing, replacement of roof sheathing, enclosure of outdoor living spaces, or the removal of interior walls in order to create an open floor plan.

While none of these alterations, when considered individually, is enough to exclude a property from listing, each house will need to be evaluated according to outlined Registration Requirements in accordance with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Rehabilitation of a Historic Property.

Period of Significance and Location

Residences belonging to this property type were built between 1927 and 1936 and are all located in mid-town Tucson, Arizona. The period of significance for a given property begins with the earliest conceptual planning by Joesler and Murphey, and ends with the date of completion.

Regional Eclectic

Geographical Information

Eligible properties will reflect the land planning ideals set forth by John Murphey in the planning and development of Catalina Foothills Estates. In this property type, houses will be located in subdivisions featuring curvilinear street patterns, large lot sizes, and natural desert landscaping and vegetation. Lots in these subdivisions will range from four to five acres, and will have irregular footprints in response to the hilly desert topography.

Each elevation of the property will demonstrate equal visual importance, as houses will be set on high points or in the middle of lots, allowing for a more sweeping view of the property from the right-of-way. Original desert vegetation will be largely preserved in the interest of maintaining a cohesive visual character.

Boundaries

Boundaries of eligible properties of this type will maintain original lot lines as laid out in historic plats. Occasionally, large lots may have been split up into separate parcels following the expiration of Joesler/Murphey deed restrictions. In this case, the original view shed, both of and from the property, should be preserved in order for a property to be considered eligible.

The boundaries of eligible properties of this type will generally appear in clusters, however, care should be taken when considering lots that have been split. If a lot has been split, the boundaries of a property may be best considered on an individual basis, rather than as a part of a contiguous group of properties.

Variations Occurring Within the Property Type

Most variations demonstrated in this property type will reflect specific wishes of individual clients taken on by the Joesler/Murphey team. These variations may include a slight change to the floor plan, materials, outdoor living space, or other elements of the property, as requested by the homeowner.

Documentation, including original and current floor plans, as well as correspondence or construction notes, should accompany nominations in order to establish the integrity of the existing property and its characteristics [refer to **Documentation Standards**].

Locational Patterns

All properties of this type are located within the confines of Pima County, Arizona, as of 1954.

Condition of the Property Type

(**NOTE:** See **Registration Requirements** for specific information on integrity and eligibility.)

A common alteration to this property type is the division of large lots into smaller parcels, a practice that became common in the early 1980s as deed restrictions expired. Another common alteration is the placement of additions, or, sometimes, the conversion of garages, to create more interior square footage. Further potential alterations to this property type include the removal of original windowpanes or casings, removal or addition of wall sheathing, replacement of roof sheathing, enclosure of outdoor living spaces, or the removal of interior walls in order to create an open floor plan.

While none of these alterations, when considered individually, is enough to exclude a property from listing, each house will need to be evaluated according to Registration Requirements and in accordance with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Rehabilitation of a Historic Property.

Period of Significance and Location

Residences belonging to this property type were built between 1929 and 1956 and are located in one of two areas in Pima County, Arizona: either within the city confines of Tucson, or in outer subdivisions. The period of significance for a given property begins with the earliest conceptual planning by Joesler/Murphey and ends with the date of completion.

Southwestern Ranch

Geographical Information

Eligible properties of this type will reflect the land planning ideals set forth by John Murphey in the later expansion of Catalina Foothills Estates.

In properties of this type located in Broadway Village, houses will have been built along South Country Club Road within the city confines of Tucson. Lots will generally be smaller than one

acre, rectilinear, and at a consistent setback from the right-of-way. These properties will illustrate an emphasis on the entry facade as the dominant visual element toward the right-of-way. Original desert landscaping and vegetation will demonstrate the preservation of these elements as part of Joesler/Murphey development and land planning.

In properties of this type located in Country Club Estates or Catalina Foothills Estates, houses will be located in outer subdivisions featuring curvilinear street and circulatory patterns, medium to large lot sizes, and natural desert landscaping and vegetation. Lots in these subdivisions will have irregular footprints in response to the hilly desert topography. Each elevation of the property will demonstrate equal visual importance, as houses are set on high points or in the middle of lots, allowing for a more sweeping view of the property from the right-of-way.

Original desert vegetation will be largely preserved in the interest of maintaining a cohesive visual character for the property.

Boundaries

Boundaries of eligible properties of this type will maintain original lot lines as laid out in historic subdivision plats. Occasionally, large lots in Catalina Foothills Estates may have been divided into separate parcels following the expiration of the Joesler/Murphey deed restrictions. In this case, the original view shed, both to and from the property, should be preserved in order for a property to be considered eligible. The boundaries of eligible properties of this type will occasionally appear in clusters, however, the boundaries of an eligible property may be best considered on an individual basis, rather than as a part of a contiguous group of properties.

Variations Occurring Within the Property Type

The most common variation appearing in this property type is the slight departure from traditional, hierarchal interior spatial arrangements, as open planning became increasingly popular in postwar residential design. Whereas earlier Joesler/Murphey houses had featured a clear demarcation between social spaces, properties of this type sometimes feature a combination living and dining room, or dining room and kitchen area. This social core, while more visually open, was still flanked by private and utility wings, maintaining the essential element of Joesler/Murphey residential designs.

Locational Patterns

All properties of this type are located within the confines of Pima County, Arizona, as of 1956.

Condition of the Property Type

A common alteration to this property type is the division of large lots into smaller parcels, a practice that became common in the early 1980s as deed restrictions expired. Another common alteration is the application of additions, or, sometimes, the conversion of garages, to create more interior square footage.

Further potential alterations to this property type include the removal of original windowpanes or casings, removal or addition of wall sheathing, replacement of roof sheathing, enclosure of outdoor living spaces, or the removal of interior walls in order to create an open floor plan.

While none of these alterations, when considered individually, is enough to exclude a property from listing, each house will need to be evaluated according to Registration Requirements and in accordance with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Rehabilitation of a Historic Property.

Period of Significance and Location

Residences belonging to this property type were built between 1939 and 1956 and are located in one of two areas in Pima County, Arizona: either within the city confines of Tucson, or in outer subdivisions. The period of significance for a given property begins with the earliest conceptual planning by Joesler/Murphey and ends with the date of completion.

PROPERTY TYPE SIGNIFICANCE

The residential properties of Josias Th. Joesler and John and Helen Murphey are significant cultural resources to Tucson, Arizona and the city's surrounding subdivisions.

These buildings convey Joesler's aptitude for incorporating a range of popular and fashionable romantic revival stylistic expressions into his own classical Beaux-Arts training (**Context 1**).

These buildings reflect his timely arrival to the Tucson architectural scene, whose residential character was changing rapidly in the post-World War I years (**Context 2**).

These residences convey a specific exterior and interior atmosphere stemming from rich materials and craftsmanship, many of which were introduced to Joesler's designs by John and Helen Murphey (**Context 3**).

Finally, these buildings are physical representations of Josias Th. Joesler's years of European architectural training and international travel, as these became synthesized into a cohesive and distinct architectural language in Tucson, Arizona (**Context 4**).

The pair's Romantic Revivalist approach to residential architecture led to Tucson's foundations as an exotic, resort-style desert oasis, and helped to shape the national perception of the city and surrounding areas. This approach also culminated in the construction of numerous residential properties, almost all of which featured distinctive spatial features, desert-inspired materials, and handcrafted elements (**Criterion C**).

Criterion C applies when:

A Joesler/Murphey property reflects the fusion of Joesler's Beaux-Arts training with the stylistic vision of John and Helen Murphey in building footprint and spatial arrangement.

A Joesler/Murphey property is distinctive from its surrounding properties and is an intact example of one of the three established property types (**Academic and Regional Revival**, **Regional Eclectic** or **Southwestern Ranch**).

PROPERTY TYPE REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places through this MPDF, a Joesler/Murphey residence must convey its historical significance and demonstrate adequate historic integrity to reflect its overall physical appearance during the period of significance. This period of significance will almost always reflect the year construction was completed on the property in question.

Generally speaking, historic integrity is composed of seven qualities: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association (see National Register Bulletin 15 for basic definitions of the seven aspects of integrity).

Registration Requirements for Academic and Regional Revival Residences

An example of this property type will be considered eligible under **Criterion C** if it retains sufficient integrity to convey its original Joesler/Murphey design intent, specifically as practiced between the years 1927-1936 in mid-town Tucson, Arizona. For a property of this type to be considered eligible historic significance should be conveyed through the retention of original lot lines, viewsheds, primary facade, setback, and landscaping.

Any modified property nominated must meet the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Rehabilitation of a Historic Property in order to be considered for listing in the National Register of Historic Places.

Academic and Regional Revival residences eligible for listing will have integrity of **design, materials, workmanship,** and **feeling**. To be eligible, a property must include the following:

1. An eligible property of this type should be one in which characteristic Joesler/Murphey design elements are clearly defined, despite any later additions or alterations, according to the Secretary of the Interior's Standards; specifically, Standards **2**, **3**, **9**, and **10** (**design**). These character-defining features include the following:
    a. A compact, geometric footprint that is still clearly discernible from the exterior, including the retention of original building height and proportions, in accordance with Standard **2**.
    b. A gable or hipped roof, sheathed with shingles or clay tile, or, when stylistically appropriate, a flat, built-up roof with parapets that conveys the original massing and stylistic character of the property, in accordance with Standard **2**.
    c. Interior spaces arranged according to traditional residential layouts, with clearly demarcated social, private, and utility rooms, illustrating a hierarchy of space, and in accordance with Standard **2**.

e. Original interior features, including fireplaces, exposed ceiling beams, and built-in cabinetry, in accordance with Standard **2**.

f. The retention of the above character-defining features, despite any later additions or alterations, in accordance with Standard **9**. Properties with additions may meet eligibility requirements if the following is evident:

i. New construction has not destroyed historic materials, features, and spatial relationships that characterize the property.
ii. New construction is differentiated from the old and does not create a false sense of history, in accordance with Standard **3**.
iii. New construction is visually compatible with historic materials, features, size, scale, proportion and massing, but is also distinctive in its own right.
iv. New construction is undertaken in a manner such that, if removed in the future, the historic integrity of the property and its surrounding environment would not be disrupted, in accordance with Standard **10**.

2. An eligible property of this type should retain evidence of original handcrafting and significant workmanship in accordance with Standard **5** (**workmanship**). Character-defining features that provide evidence of skilled workmanship may include any of the following:

a. Forged ironwork from local artisans, including that used in decorative grilles or weathervanes.

b. Hand-carved wood elements, such as panel doors, lintels, posts, beams, and corbels, as well as any built-in cabinetry.

3. An eligible property of this type should retain original character-defining materials (**materials**). Materials should be both present and preserved in accordance with Standards **5**, **6**, and **7**. These materials may include any of the following:

a. Fired adobe bricks, often painted or mortar-washed

b. Clay tile or wooden shingle roofing

c. Interior walls rendered with plaster

d. Rusticated or salvaged elements

4. An eligible property of this type should retain the original interior and exterior spatial and visual relationships, as well as the specific stylistic expressions, intended by Joesler and Murphey in the initial design (**feeling**). Standards **2, 3, 5, 9,** and **10** in particular should be consulted in evaluating the integrity of a particular property.

Registration Requirements for Regional Eclectic Residences

An example of this property type will be considered eligible under **Criterion C** if it retains sufficient integrity to convey its original Joesler/Murphey design intent, specifically practiced between the years 1929 and 1956 in Pima County, Arizona.

For a property of this type to be considered eligible historic significance should be conveyed through the retention of original lot lines, viewsheds, primary facade, setback, and landscaping. Any modified property nominated must meet the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Rehabilitation of a Historic Property in order to be considered for listing in the National Register of Historic Places.

Regional Eclectic residences that are eligible for listing on the National Register will have integrity of **design, materials, workmanship,** and **feeling**. To be eligible, a property must include the following:

1. An eligible property of this type should be one in which characteristic Joesler/Murphey design elements are clearly defined, despite any later additions or alterations, according to the Secretary of the Interior's Standards; specifically, Standards **2, 3, 9**, and **10 (design)**. These character-defining features include the following:
    a. A winged, geometric footprint that is still clearly discernible from the exterior, including the retention of original building height and proportions, in accordance with Standard **2**.
    b. A low-pitched gable or hipped roof sheathed with clay tile, or a flat, built-up roof with parapets that conveys the original massing and stylistic character of the property, in accordance with Standard **2**.
    c. A strong sense of indoor-outdoor connection expressed through the retention of prominent entry patios, screened porches, and open porches throughout, in accordance with Standard **2** (see section f.v. below on alterations to porches and related features).
    d. Interior private (secondary) and utility (tertiary) spaces arranged around a central (primary) social core, with varying ceiling heights denoting a prominent sense of hierarchy of space, in accordance with Standard **2**.
    e. Original interior features, including picture windows, fireplaces, exposed ceiling beams, rounded wall corners, and built-in cabinetry, in accordance with Standard **2**.
    f. The retention of the above character-defining features, despite any later additions or alterations, in accordance with Standard **9**. Properties with additions may meet eligibility requirements if the following is evident:
        i. New construction has not destroyed historic materials, features, and spatial relationships that characterize the property.
        ii. New construction is differentiated from the old and does not create a false sense of history, in accordance with Standard **3**.

iii. New construction is visually compatible with historic materials, features, size, scale, proportion and massing.

iv. New construction is undertaken in a manner such that, if removed in the future, the historic integrity of the property and its surrounding environment would not be disrupted, in accordance with Standard **10**.

v. The alteration of porches and other outdoor living areas has been undertaken with consideration to the above requirements, and has not significantly obscured the original void-to-solid ratio of the feature.

2. An eligible property of this type should retain evidence of original handcrafting and significant workmanship in accordance with Standard **5** (**workmanship**). Character-defining features that provide evidence of skilled workmanship may include any of the following:
    a. Forged ironwork from local artisans, including that used in decorative grilles or weathervanes.
    b. Hand-carved wood elements, such as panel doors, lintels, posts, beams, and corbels, as well as any built-in cabinetry.
    c. Ornamental paintwork, generally that of Helen Murphey, appearing in both exterior and interior applications.
3. An eligible property of this type should retain original character-defining materials (**materials**). Materials should be both present and preserved in accordance with Standards **5**, **6**, and **7**. These materials may include any of the following:
    a. Fired adobe bricks, often painted or mortar-washed
    b. Clay tile roofing or brick-capped parapets
    c. Interior walls rendered with plaster
    d. Rusticated or salvaged elements
    e. Concrete and ceramic ornamental tiles
    f. Stained, scored concrete floors, often interspersed with ornamental tiles
    g. Wood or cast concrete lintels
4. An eligible property of this type should retain the original interior and exterior spatial and visual relationships, as well as the specific stylistic expressions, intended by Joesler and Murphey in the initial design (**feeling**). Standards **2, 3, 5, 9,** and **10** in particular should be consulted in evaluating the integrity of a particular property.

Registration Requirements for Southwestern Ranch Residences

An example of this property type will be considered eligible under **Criterion C** if it retains sufficient integrity to convey its original Joesler/Murphey design intent, specifically that practiced between the years 1939 and 1956 in Pima County, Arizona.

For a property of this type to be considered eligible historic significance should be conveyed through the retention of original lot lines, viewsheds, primary facade, setback, and landscaping. Any modified property nominated must meet the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Rehabilitation of a Historic Property in order to be considered for listing in the National Register of Historic Places.

Southwestern Ranch residences that are eligible for listing in the National Register will have integrity of **design, materials, workmanship,** and **feeling**. To be eligible, a property must include the following:

1. An eligible property of this type should be one in which characteristic Joesler/Murphey design elements are clearly defined, despite any later additions or alterations, according to the Secretary of the Interior's Standards; specifically, Standards **2**, **3**, **9**, and **10** (**design**). These character-defining features include the following:
    a. A geometric, linear footprint that is still clearly discernible from the exterior, including the retention of original building height and proportions, in accordance with Standard **2**.
    b. A low-pitched gable or hipped roof sheathed with clay tile or shingles that conveys the original massing and stylistic character of the property, in accordance with Standard **2**.
    c. A strong sense of indoor-outdoor connection expressed through the retention of prominent entry patios, screened porches, and open porches throughout, in accordance with Standard **2** (see section f.v. below on alterations to porches and related features).
    d. Interior private (secondary) and utility (tertiary) spaces arranged around a central (primary) social core, with varying ceiling heights denoting a prominent sense of hierarchy of space, in accordance with Standard **2**.
    e. Original interior features, including picture windows, fireplaces, exposed ceiling beams, rounded wall corners, and built-in cabinetry, in accordance with Standard **2**.
    f. The retention of the above character-defining features, despite any later additions or alterations, in accordance with Standard **9**. Properties with additions may meet eligibility requirements if the following is evident:
        i. New construction has not destroyed historic materials, features, and spatial relationships that characterize the property.
        ii. New construction is differentiated from the old and does not create a false sense of history, in accordance with Standard **3**.

iii. New construction is visually compatible with historic materials, features, size, scale, proportion and massing.

iv. New construction is undertaken in a manner such that, if removed in the future, the historic integrity of the property and its surrounding environment would not be disrupted, in accordance with Standard **10**.

v. The alteration of porches and other outdoor living areas has been undertaken with consideration to the above requirements, and has not significantly obscured the original void-to-solid ratio of the feature.

2. An eligible property of this type should retain evidence of original handcrafting and significant workmanship in accordance with Standard **5** (**workmanship**). Character-defining features that provide evidence of skilled workmanship may include any of the following:

   a. Forged ironwork from local artisans, including that used in decorative grilles or weathervanes.

   b. Hand-carved wood elements, such as panel doors, lintels, posts, beams, and corbels, as well as any built-in cabinetry.

   c. Ornamental paintwork, generally that of Helen Murphey, appearing in both exterior and interior applications.

3. An eligible property of this type should retain original character-defining materials (**materials**). Materials should be both present and preserved in accordance with Standards **5**, **6**, and **7**. These materials may include any of the following:

   a. Fired adobe bricks, often painted or mortar-washed

   b. Clay tile roofing or brick-capped parapets

   c. Interior walls rendered with plaster

   d. Rusticated or salvaged elements

   e. Concrete and ceramic ornamental tiles

   f. Stained, scored concrete floors, often interspersed with ornamental tiles

   g. Wood or cast concrete lintels

4. An eligible property of this type should retain the original interior and exterior spatial and visual relationships, as well as the specific stylistic expressions, intended by Joesler and Murphey in the initial design (**feeling**). Standards **2, 3, 5, 9,** and **10** in particular should be consulted in evaluating the integrity of a particular property.

Section G: Geographic Information

The geographic area associated with the contexts in this Multiple Property Documentation Form is Tucson, Arizona and its immediate environs. Specifically, the corporate limits of Tucson, Arizona, and urbanized areas of unincorporated Pima County immediately surrounding it.

Section H: Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

The effort to identify, preserve, and protect the architecture of Josias Th. Joesler has been an on-going process spanning the last 36 years. The work can be divided into six phases:

Phase 1 (1979-1982)

The Murphey Trust donated to the archives at the University of Arizona's College of Architecture their collection of Joesler's architectural drawings and office records as well as the office records of the John W. Murphey Building Company and the Murphey-Keith development and building enterprises. An initial inventory of 404 buildings was compiled by architecture graduate student Brian Rumsey and archival documentation was added by Sarah Gresham Perper, archivist for the College of Architecture.

Phase 2 (1991)

In 1991 Pima County funded a field survey resulting in the identification of 360 Joesler buildings.[1] Since the survey, R. Brooks Jeffrey of the College of Architecture in conjunction with the University of Arizona Library Special Collections has maintained and provided access to a Joesler database and collection to allow further verification and updating.

Phase 3 (1994)

In addition to the archival documentation and field survey, contextual information about Joesler, the Murpheys, and their collaborative body of work was collected from other archives and repositories resulting in the 1994 publication, *Joesler & Murphey: An Architectural Legacy for Tucson.*

Phase 4 (2008-2011)

A MPDF was developed in 2008 for, *The Architecture and Planning of Josias Joesler and John Murphey in Tucson, AZ, 1927-1956* (MPDF Cover Document #64501083) for the architecture of multiple building types of Josias Joesler and for the planning efforts of John Murphey. This cover document was accepted by the Keeper of the National Register (2010) and several properties were listed. Southwestern Foundation for Education and Historical Preservation funded a grant for the university's Library Special Collections and College of Architecture to digitize and generate metadata for 1800 plans pertaining to the Joesler Collection.

Phase 5 (2013-2015)

The goal of the current phase is to respond to concerns of the Keeper's office so as to produce an acceptable MPDF covering the residential architecture of Josias Th. Joesler and John and Helen Murphey in Pima County, AZ. This revised cover document, *The Single Family Residential Architecture of Josias Th. Joesler and John and Helen Murphey in Tucson and Pima County, Arizona, 1927-1956*, will serve to identify and evaluate historic resources associated with the architectural design and development contributions made by these individuals.

[1] Marlys Bush Thurber, Linda Mayro, Frank Behlan, R. Brooks Jeffrey, *Survey of Joesler/Murphey Structures in Tucson and Environs, Project Report*, September, 1992.

Each of these phases presents a snapshot in time of what was at that moment the most current information about Joesler and the buildings he designed. For purposes of this discussion we will use as our baseline the initial 1981-1982 inventory and archival notes made when Joesler's drawings and records were given to the university.

As new information has emerged some buildings have been verified to be designed by Joesler. However, there have been far more deletions form the list of existing Joesler buildings than there have been additions.

One major contributor to the destruction of many Joesler Houses was the expansion of the University of Arizona Health Sciences Center into the area known as the Old World Addition. The combination of Tucson's population growth and the expiration of covenants, conditions, and restrictions in Catalina Foothills Estates led to some Joesler houses being razed and replaced, often with multiple new houses on their prime building sites. The ravages of time, changes in taste, and ill-conceived additions and/or modifications have taken their toll on the existing Joesler inventory as well. From the 1981-82 initial survey count of 239 projects for single-family residences, only about 130 Joesler-designed residences remain today.[2] Of those, approximately 54 are outside established historic districts and represent some of Joesler's most iconic and significant work.

At the recommendation of the Keeper, the focus of the MPDF was narrowed to spotlight Joesler's single-family residences. The current research was directed toward developing a historic context in sufficient depth to support the relevance, the relationships, and importance of the properties considered.

Researchers sought to gain a better understanding of who Joesler was—his background, family, education, formative experiences, arrival in Tucson, and relationship with the Murpheys. Also, work was done to reveal details about Joesler's architectural practice, his style, and his legacy. Additionally, efforts have been made to separate fact from fiction in the local lore that has developed over the years around Joesler and the Murpheys.

The research work has been conducted in the research library of the Arizona Historical Society, University of Arizona Library Special Collections, and involved museums, libraries, professional organizations, and individuals on three continents. The first clue came from an article in a 1982 newsletter saved in the archives of Dr. Harris Sobin, architect and professor emeritus of the College of Architecture, who pioneered historic preservation in the Arizona. It referenced research on Joesler done by then graduate student Brian Rumsey. Rumsey inventoried the Joesler documents when first received by the college. Through the generosity of Mr. Rumsey, now a practicing architect in Tucson, access was gained to copies of the initial Phase 1 inventory, accession notes (made by Sarah Gresham Perper, archivist of the College of Architecture) transcripts of interviews with Joesler colleagues, unpublished data, documents, and photographs.

Research then moved to Special Collections at the University of Arizona Library, which houses the Joesler archive. There were found the early Joesler and Murphey job files, office records, correspondence, business ledgers, and renderings previously thought to have been lost. Special Collections staff provided access to the newly found materials for the Phase 4 research.

Assistance has been received from dedicated and able staffs at the Tucson Museum of Art Research Library, the *Heimatmuseum Schanfigg-Arosa*, in Arosa, Switzerland, and the University of California Santa Barbara

[2] R. Brooks Jeffrey, 2014.

Museum's Architecture and Design Collection, which houses the archives of architects George Washington Smith and Lutah Maria Riggs. Research contributions were also made by the Rhodes Trust, the *Berner Fachhochschule Technik und Informatik* in Bern, Switzerland, and in Zurich, the Swiss Society of Engineers and Architects, and a Romansch translator in Switzerland.

Personal interviews were conducted with Joesler's daughter and John and Helen Murphey's granddaughter, both of whom provided material from their respective personal family archives. Also interviewed were Murphey family friends and a friend and business colleague who had worked for both Joesler and Murphey. E-mail correspondence with Joesler family members in Switzerland and Australia provided new biographical details and access to family photographs and genealogical history. E-mail correspondence with the Consul General of Switzerland in Los Angeles also aided research efforts. Newspaper clipping files and newspaper archives, transcripts of oral histories and interviews with principals and colleagues (new deceased) were drawn upon. The contextual study referenced documents from the United States Senate, U.S. Selective Service, the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, the Bureau of Land Management, U.S. Census, and Arizona State Land Department.

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National Register of Historic Places
Memo to File

Correspondence

The Correspondence consists of communications from (and possibly to) the nominating authority, notes from the staff of the National Register of Historic Places, and/or other material the National Register of Historic Places received associated with the property.
Correspondence may also include information from other sources, drafts of the nomination, letters of support or objection, memorandums, and ephemera which document the efforts to recognize the property.

United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
1849 C Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20240

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
National Register of Historic Places
Comments
Evaluation/Return Sheet

Property Name: The Residential Architecture of Josias Joesler in Tucson, AZ 1927-1956 Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) Cover

Property Location: Pima County, Arizona

Reference Number: 64501201

Date of Return: 2/22/2014

This Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) is being returned for substantive issues. The major problem with the MPDF is that it needs stronger and clearer registration requirements. Currently the registration requirements are too loose and ill-defined creating potentially problematic eligibility issues for nominated properties. Under Criterion C, registration requirements should establish what is important about a Joesler-designed residence within the historic context and each property needs to make a case for integrity on its own merits.

While the MPDF defines the three Joesler-subtypes and outlines primary and secondary character-defining features, the registration requirements become particularly problematic when defining acceptable modifications. For example, in Section F, page 19, "Where the integrity of one of the primary character defining features has been compromised, that alone does not determine ineligibility, but the cumulative effect of more than two does." This statement undermines and even contradicts the opening general statements about the character-defining features of Joesler's residential designs. This is not acceptable since based on the list of primary features identified on pages 17-18, a property could have a total loss of the building form or of building materials and still be considered eligible.

Registration requirements for individually-listed properties need to be written as tight and as exclusive as possible. Not every property that was designed by Joesler will be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. As stated in the National Register Bulletin, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, page 46, "All properties change over time. It is not necessary for a property to retain all its historic physical features or characteristics. **The property must retain, however, the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historic identity."** To be determined eligible,

a property needs to "retain the majority of the features that illustrate its style in terms of the massing, spatial relationships, proportion, pattern of windows and doors, texture of materials, and ornamentation." Therefore, eligibility requirements should be based on each of the seven aspects of historic integrity as it relates to the key elements of Joesler's architecture and design.

The registration requirements need to be clearer to avoid these contradictions. For example, on page 18, one of Joesler's primary design features is the relationship of indoor-outdoor spaces that reinforce a connection with the desert environment. This is identified under the "plan layout" paragraph as an important primary element, however, under secondary features, "outdoor spaces that act as rooms or extensions of the interior rooms…" are considered secondary. Please reconsider whether the character-defining features should be a single list from which integrity is evaluated rather than divided into primary and secondary categories.

The registration requirements also become problematic with the sections on acceptable and unacceptable modifications based on state and federal rehabilitation standards and guidelines. The purpose of this MPDF is to establish a historic context regarding the residential design work of Joseph Joesler and to establish registration requirements for the properties that best reflect his work. Properties that are nominated individually to the National Register must retain significant exterior and interior character-defining features. On page 19, the inclusion of what appears to be rehabilitation review guidelines of acceptable and unacceptable modifications simply muddies eligibility evaluation and should be deleted. Those properties that have experienced extensive, so-called "acceptable modifications" may no longer be considered eligible. Again, please refer to page 46 of the above-referenced NR bulletin to focus on what is needed to craft well-defined registration requirements under Criterion C.

Please e-mail me if you have any questions.

Lisa Deline, Historian
National Register of Historic Places
Lisa_Deline@nps.gov

Arizona State Parks

Douglas A. Ducey
Governor

Sue Black
Executive Director

ARIZONA STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE (SHPO)
NATIONAL REGISTER NOMINATION
TRANSMITTAL FORM
FEDERAL EXPRESS

DATE: December 22, 2015

TO:

J. Paul Loether, Deputy Keeper and Chief
National Register and National Historic Landmark Programs
National Register of Historic Places
1201 Eye St. NW, 8th Fl.
Washington D.C. 20005-5905

FROM:

Vivia Strang, CPM
National Register Coordinator
AZ State Historic Preservation Office
1100 West Washington Street
Phoenix AZ 85007

National Register Nomination property/resource:
The Single Family Residential Architecture of Josias Th. Joesler and John and Helen Murphey in Tucson and Pima County, Arizona 1927-1956 (MPDF Amended Submission)

Location:
TUCSON, PIMA, ARIZONA

Criterion:
C

Level of significance:
LOCAL

Accompanying documentation is enclosed, as required. Should you have any questions or concerns please contact me at vstrang@azstateparks.gov or 602.542.4662.

UNITED STATED DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
EVALUATION/RETURN SHEET

REQUESTED ACTION: COVER DOCUMENTATION

MULTIPLE NAME: Single Family Residential Architecture of Josias Joesler and John and Helen Murphey MPS

STATE & COUNTY: ARIZONA, Pima

DATE RECEIVED: 01/08/16 DATE OF PENDING LIST:
DATE OF 16th DAY: DATE OF 45th DAY: 2/23/16

REFERENCE NUMBER: 64501261

REASONS FOR REVIEW:

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

COMMENT WAIVER: N

✓ ACCEPT ___ RETURN ___ REJECT 2/16/16 DATE

ABSRACT/SUMMARY COMMENTS:

RECOM./CRITEREA Cover accepted

REVIEWER [signature] DISCIPLINE [signature]

TELEPHONE ___ DATE 2/16/16

DOCUMENTATION see attsched comments Y/N

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