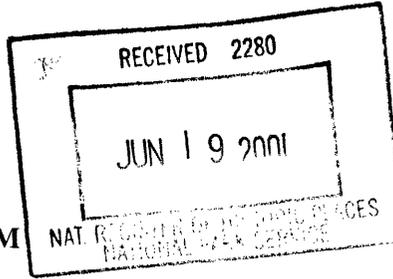


cover

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NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
MULTIPLE PROPERTY DOCUMENTATION FORM

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

New Submission Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Twentieth Century Suburban Growth of Albuquerque, New Mexico

B. Associated Historic Contexts

The Development of the Early to Mid-century Suburbs of Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1904-1959

C. Form Prepared by

name/title David Kammer, Ph.D.

organization Consulting Historian

date August, 2000

street & number 521 Aliso Dr. NE

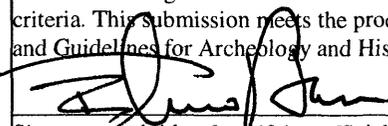
telephone 505-266-0586

city or town state Albuquerque

zip code 87108

D. Certification

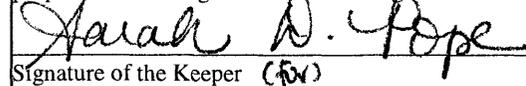
As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria.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


Signature and title of certifying official

6/12/2001
Date

NM SHPO
State or Federal agency and bureau

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


Signature of the Keeper (for)

8/3/01
Date of action

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Continuation Sheet**

**Twentieth Century Suburban Growth of Albuquerque, NM
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E. Statement of Historic Contexts

From its inception as a railroad town in 1880, Albuquerque has undergone continuous growth. During its first two decades much of that growth occurred within the 3.1 square miles of the original town site, with the earliest residential sections appearing on all sides of a small commercial core located in the blocks just west of the new town's depot. East of the rail tracks on the low sandhills leading up to the East Mesa, grew Huning's Highland Addition, with its homes embracing many of the architectural styles imported with the coming of the railroad. Although several small subdivisions were added to this urban nucleus over the next two decades, Albuquerque remained a walkable town until just after the turn of the century.

In 1904 an electric streetcar line replaced the horse-drawn trolley that ran from the new railroad town to Old Albuquerque plaza, site of the original Spanish settlement in 1706. Over the next quarter century, this streetcar system extended in all directions, giving real estate developers and the town's boosters opportunities to create new suburbs. As automobile ownership became more widespread, private transportation and Albuquerque's bus system, which replaced the streetcars in 1928, led to the creation of additional suburbs, especially on the East Mesa, the direction of much of the town's growth. Through an aggressive policy of annexation beginning in the mid-1920s, city leaders began a pattern of spatial growth that has continued to the present. In 1960, however, the patterns of growth that had marked earlier suburbs greatly altered, replaced by large outside development companies moving beyond the city limits to develop remote suburban communities. In recent decades the City of Albuquerque and many residents of the older suburbs have sought to preserve those areas' character, valuing the quality of life they offer and their relationship to the city's earlier patterns of growth. This historic context refers largely to those older districts both within the city and nearby parts of Bernalillo County, which residents are seeking to preserve.

The Historic Setting and Landscape of New Albuquerque (1880-1900)

As the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway (AT&SF) pushed into New Mexico Territory in 1879, reaching Las Vegas on July 4, 1879 and Santa Fe on February 9, 1880, advance survey crews sought a site in the Middle Rio Grande Valley for locating shops and yards. Failing to do so in the town of Bernalillo, where the dominant Perea family demanded exorbitant fees for the necessary acreage, railroad officials looked 18 miles south to Albuquerque. There a group of three boosters, Franz Huning, William C. Hazeldine and Elias S. Stover formed the New Mexico Town Company, a subsidiary of the railroad. Rather than seeking to develop land located near the Villa de Albuquerque, which reflected the plaza-settlement pattern characteristic of many Hispano communities along the former Camino Real, these developers turned their attention almost two miles to the east. Buying land, some of it from the descendants of the original Villa de Albuquerque Grant granted in 1706 by Francisco Cuervo y Valdés, the Spanish governor of New Mexico, the three investors pieced together a 3.1 square-mile parcel that became known as the "original townsite."

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The investors' decision to locate the site well away from the plaza of Albuquerque rested upon several factors. From an engineering perspective, the eastern location permitted an efficient, straight alignment that avoided the large nine-mile westward "U" the Rio Grande River made beginning at Alameda midway from Bernalillo to Albuquerque. Moreover, land was less expensive than that in the intensively farmed agricultural land around the plaza. By the 1870s, much of the floodplain lying within this large U comprised some of the most productive agricultural land in the territory. Throughout the valley a series of gravity-based irrigation ditches, or acequias, coursed the river's floodplain, contributing to the growing importance of the plaza at Albuquerque as a trading and shipping center.

Associated with these irrigated field systems were several dispersed agricultural communities, some with small plazas. Often they were named for the families who had originally settled them such as Los Duranes, Los Candelarias, Los Griegos, or Barelás. Together these outlying communities included some 4,300 residents in the 1880 census. Easternmost of these communities was Martineztown, aligned along the foot of the sandhills less than a mile northeast of the new depot. The community's field systems, lying on the floodplain below the village, were irrigated by an acequia that extended several miles from its headgate near where the river began its westward turn at Alameda to where it emptied back into the river near Barelás.

Comprising Albuquerque's first suburbs, many of these agriculturally based villages would eventually be joined to the city as it grew. Later, by the 1930s, some developers would begin to plat small subdivisions such as the Los Alamos Addition of 1938 within these villages' former field systems. Most, however, would continue to retain at least a few elements recalling their earlier cultural landscape, especially streets and lanes lacking the rigid grid pattern characteristic of the railroad town and houses built in the New Mexico Vernacular style.

Many of the farmers in these communities continued to graze their sheep on the East Mesa, or Grand Mesa as it was also called. Lying above the sandhills marking the eastern edge of the floodplain, the mesa rose gently up over its eight-mile breadth extending to the foothills of the Sandia Mountains. Although portions of this mesa had been homesteaded and were subsequently purchased by developers as the city grew eastward, these lands had once been part of the common lands, or ejidos, an integral element in Spanish and Mexican land grants, and herders continued to use them into the 20th century.

Farther east, lying beyond the Sandia and Manzano Mountains and accessible from a wagon trail that climbed through Tijeras Canyon, lay the Estancia Valley with its lush grasses making it ideal for sheep grazing. Together with the fruit and vegetables being grown in the Rio Grande Valley's truck farms, the wool these thousands of sheep produced constituted the valuable exports the area's boosters hoped to ship from the depot at the newly designated Albuquerque townsite. Cheaply priced, convenient to the wool wagons descending the sandhills from the East Mesa, well-boosted by some of Old Albuquerque's leading entrepreneurs, and ideal for the efficiency-minded railroad survey crews, the townsite awaited only the coming of the railroad to begin its growth.

On April 22, 1880, hundreds of citizens traveled eastward from the plaza to the new rail line to celebrate the arrival of territorial and railroad dignitaries. While some wealthy businessmen had decried the coming of the

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railroad, viewing it as a threat to their shipping businesses, most Albuquerqueans welcomed its arrival. Rather than competing with wagon freighting, they saw the railroad as offering the key to exploiting the area's resources and creating opportunities for increased short-haul shipping. To distinguish between the older plaza community and the new railroad town, people began to refer to them as Old Town and New Town, respectively. In contrast to the population of Old Town, which was largely Hispano, the population of New Town consisted largely of newcomers to the territory, many who came from the eastern United States or from northern Europe. While the United States Census classified both groups as white, popular usage has evolved to distinguish between Hispanos, those of Spanish and Mexican descent, and Anglos, those of Americans and northern European who immigrated to New Mexico.

Within a few months, Huning, Hazeldine and Stover had hired Walter G. Marmon, a civil engineer, to survey, mark and name the streets of the new townsite (Simmons 1982:224). Dutifully replicating the Midwestern town landscapes with which he was familiar, Marmon devised a grid, numbering north to south-running streets westward from the tracks, naming east to west-running streets after the minerals, such as lead, coal, gold, and silver, local boosters hoped to exploit. Other streets commemorated the townsite's founders and their children. For the street paralleling the tracks on the eastside, Marmon chose the Broadway. And for the street perpendicular to the tracks and anticipated as the main commercial street, Railroad Avenue. Climbing the sandhills to the East Mesa, Railroad Avenue followed the alignment of a wagon road leading to Tijeras Canyon; to the west it followed the new grid for eight blocks and then veered northwesterly toward the plaza at what soon became known as Old Albuquerque.

Benefiting from the access the railroad offered to distant markets, the new town site thrived as a shipping and trade center during the 1880s. A commercial district grew up along Railroad and Gold avenues with warehouses, stockyards and shipping facilities lining the tracks north of Railroad Avenue. To the south appeared the railroad's facilities, a depot and the buildings marking the yards and service shops. Amenities characteristic of growing towns throughout the United States, including gas street lights, a rudimentary telephone service, and a water works, appeared during the 1880s. By 1891, the population of New Town stood at 3,785. That year voters took advantage of a law passed by the territorial legislature in 1890 and chose to reincorporate as a city.

This new designation brought with it a mayor/alderman form of government in which the town was divided into four wards determined by the new city's geographical quadrants. These political boundaries, which would endure until 1917, when voters decided to shift to a city commission/manager form of government, provide a focus for viewing and discussing the city's various distinctive areas. Based on the two axes created by the intersection of Railroad Avenue with the AT&SF tracks, the four quadrants beginning in the northeast corner and progressing clockwise were designated the first through the fourth wards respectively. By the early 1900s, each ward had its own, nearly identical, two-story brick school. Each also had one or more additions appended to it. Socially and economically, however, at the turn of the century the four wards were far from similar as demonstrated in the early patterns of development that each exhibited.

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The First and Second Wards east of the railroad tracks became largely residential areas with long rectangular blocks paralleling the tracks. North of Railroad Avenue and bordered on the north by Martineztown and to the east by unusually steep sandhills, the First Ward appeared largely as the northern extension of the more rapidly developing Second Ward. The most successful of the earliest additions, Franz Huning's Highland Addition situated at the eastern boundary of the original townsite, extended two blocks north of Railroad Avenue and seven blocks south. By 1888, 63 percent of the addition's 536 lots had been sold. Using brick and milled lumber, builders employed styles such as the Italianate, Queen Anne, Colonial Revival, and, by the turn of the century, the Hipped Box, popular elsewhere in the country. As a result, by 1900 an enclave similar in appearance to residential blocks in small towns elsewhere in the country had begun to thrive along the lower foothills just above the railroad tracks and floodplain. Other additions extending eastward to the steeper upper reaches of the sandhills, such as Brownwell and Lail's Highland and Stamm's Terrace Addition, proved less attractive, however, and languished until the new century. Only after the establishment of the first large tuberculosis sanatorium, St. Joseph in 1902, at the eastern edge of the town, did residential development begin pushing up the sandhills to the East Mesa.

The Third Ward, lying in the southwestern quadrant, was the one closest to the new town's principal employer, a location that spurred its early growth. Hemmed in on its southwestern side by the Rio Grande at the southern end of its nine-mile U and by the villages of Barelás and San José, the area included the AT&SF shops and yards at its eastern edge. This proximity attracted many railroad workers, estimated to comprise one-third of the new town's workforce by the turn of the century. With both newcomers to the territory and some local Hispanos who had secured railroad jobs, housing construction grew, prompting development of two early additions, the Atlantic and Pacific and Baca Additions during the 1880s. These and other smaller additions, sometimes little more than single block strips carved out of former irrigated fields, resulted in the emergence of the most ethnically mixed portion of the largely Anglo new town. This ethnic diversity was also reflected in the more diverse mixture of residential architectural styles of the area with modest examples of the imported styles found in the other wards mixed with examples of the New Mexico Vernacular style.

In the northwest quadrant lay the Fourth Ward, bounded by the railroad and Railroad Avenue on its eastern and southern edges and extending sixteen blocks westward toward the irrigated fields east of Old Town plaza. Because of its proximity to Old Town and the decision of Franz Huning in 1881 to build his dream home, Castle Huning, along Railroad Avenue, some developers anticipated that the Fourth Ward would develop quickly as the two towns grew together to become one. This optimism proved premature, however, as Old Town struggled to retain its historic Hispano identity, becoming a part of Albuquerque only in 1949. As a result of this political and social antipathy as well as its distance from the railroad and commercial center, efforts to develop the Perea Addition, an 800-lot addition platted in 1881 at the northwestern edge of the Fourth Ward, materialized only in later decades as other additions and annexations drew New Town westward.

Early development in the Fourth Ward occurred instead on the grid of streets nearer to New Town's core and along Railroad Avenue, which became lined with houses employing imported styles similar to those found in Huning's Highland Addition. Referred to as "Honeymoon Row" by 1900, the street cut northwesterly from Eighth Street periodically creating triangles as it intersected Marron's grid at oblique angles. One such space

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became Robinson Park, the city's first public park, while another was later donated to commemorate the soldiers and sailors who had served in World War I. Although consisting of small irregularly shaped parcels unsuitable for residential development, the parks set a precedent that developers followed in later decades as they sought to provide amenities that would attract potential residents to their suburban additions. North of hard, earthen-packed Railroad Avenue, development moved more slowly, and until after 1900, a large cow pasture occupied most of the western portion of the Fourth Ward.

By 1881 mule-drawn cars of the Street Railway Company were traversing Railroad Avenue several times a day. With eight cars, the company's line consisted of three miles of narrow gauge, lightweight track extending from Barelás to Old Town plaza and servicing the area's three most frequented destinations. Passing through New Town's commercial and railroad core, the streetcar had one terminus near the AT&SF yards. The other was located at Old Town's plaza. Near the plaza was the railway company-owned Traction Park, the site of the Territorial Fair, horse racing and frequent baseball games. And, in 1886, after Albuquerque had wrested the county seat from Bernalillo (Sandoval County, of which the town of Bernalillo is now the county seat, was formed only in 1901), the Bernalillo County Commission decided to award the site of the new county courthouse to Old Town. Not surprisingly, the street railway company, which anticipated adding riders on county-related business to railroad workers and New Town residents making outings to the Traction Park living in Old Town, favored this decision.

This brief survey of the early development and landscape of New Town's four wards reveals a good deal about Albuquerque's early and subsequent growth patterns. Despite the creation of a horse-drawn trolley system in 1880, New Albuquerque remained largely a community in which distances between home, work sites, and the commercial district were covered on foot. The trolley with its three-mile track connecting the railroad yards and neighborhoods of the Second Ward to New Town's commercial core and to Old Town's plaza did little to alter New Albuquerque's character as a walkable town with its focal point the railroad depot and the nearby commercial blocks. In fact, with its leisurely pace, the trolley prompted the local saying, "If you're in a hurry walk, but if you have time take the streetcar."

Geographic limitations also contributed to concentrating early development within the core of the original townsite and its few contiguous additions. To the east the steeper upper reaches of the sandhills discouraged widespread construction even in platted additions. To the northeast and south longstanding Hispano agricultural villages stalled expansion. To the west the often-flooded riparian areas bounding the Rio Grande hardly invited development, and to the northwest Old Town's sphere of influence remained compelling. For suburban growth to occur, New Albuquerque required expanded transportation systems and more dynamic local economic conditions.

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The Dynamics of Suburban Growth (1904-1925)

Throughout its early history, Albuquerque's promoters published pamphlets boosting the new community. Often containing predictions about the town's future based more on their hopes than actual facts, these brochures offer a gauge of the optimism that inspired many of its early leaders. During 1908, promoters were presented with an unusual opportunity to boost their hometown when it was selected to host the Sixteenth National Irrigation Congress, an event that drew over 4,000 delegates from around the world. Seeking to disseminate information about the latest irrigation technologies, the meeting also presented the territory with an opportunity to make its case for statehood. For the host city it offered an opportunity to celebrate the growth it had made over its twenty-eight year history. By the time delegates began to arrive at the depot, boosters had produced a multi-page pamphlet entitled "Albuquerque, New Mexico: Chief City of a New Empire in the Great Southwest" (Hening 1908). With a cover featuring a Moorish-inspired triumphal arch framing a view of the Railroad Avenue commercial district, the generously illustrated pamphlet offered readers a glowing report of the advantages Albuquerque offered potential residents.

To allay concerns that the town lacked the services associated with any up-to-date community, it noted its modern gas, electric, water and sewer systems. It also cited its fire department, six miles of electric trolley lines, and a new hotel, the \$200,000 Alvarado, built in 1904 for Fred Harvey and the AT&SF. To enhance Albuquerque's image as a growing urban center, the pamphlet emphasized Bernalillo County's population of 25,000, rather than the city's population of some 8,000, a practice that became common with each decennial census over the next half century. Noting that Albuquerque had "never had a boom," that "growth has been steady, persistent," the pamphlet quoted one of the town's "master builders" who noted that it was "built one-fourth on prospects, one-fourth on actual business, and the rest on public spirit and an active community" (Hening 1908:np).

Many of the illustrated pages in the pamphlet bear testimony to the builder's assessment. An entire page is devoted to Albuquerque's growing reputation as a health center for those seeking a cure for tuberculosis. With the construction of St. Joseph Sanatorium in 1902 and the selection of the town as the site for the Presbyterian National Tubercular Sanitarium, the town had begun to advertise its ideal climate for the then popular climatological therapy. Proclaiming research that had concluded that "nowhere in New Mexico is it possible to spend so much time out of doors," boosters sought to attract those chasing the cure. Over the next quarter century health seekers attracted by similar efforts to advertise Albuquerque's favorable climate would drive much of the town's expansion and growth, especially on the high, dry East Mesa.

Most prominent in the pamphlet, however, were the four pages treating the "suburban additions" that were "rapidly building up around the city." Referring to Albuquerque as offering a "neat, attractive homelikeness," boosters noted the "good taste shown in the architecture of the finer homes, the substantial and dignified, graceful style of modern construction being everywhere in evidence." Homes were further classified with larger residences described as being chiefly of "brick and stone" often in the "Mission style" with pebble-plaster finishes. Arguing that Albuquerque offered homes "cheaper than in California" but with the same

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pleasant, dry climate, the pamphlet noted that many of the smaller homes were being built in the bungalow style, "which is at the same time inexpensive, picturesque and well adapted to the climate." While many of the residences illustrated in the pamphlet were located in the central core of the original townsite, special emphasis was given to new homes "erected in the eastern heights commanding a magnificent view of the valley of the Rio Grande and the mountains." If, as the boosters projected, new additions continued to include parks in their plats and the school children who had pledged to plant a tree and bush and then care for it did so, the city's "civic pride" would "make Albuquerque in reality a City Beautiful."

From a contemporary perspective the pamphlet offers a good example of the ardent promotion that marked many of New Mexico's efforts to attract additional residents during the late territorial period. It implies an optimism that the territory's half-century long struggle for statehood was about to be realized, making an effort to cast Albuquerque, its emerging urban center, within the national context of the City Beautiful movement. Despite the overstatement characteristic of such documents, the pamphlet presents several important factors that gave the town's leaders cause for optimism. Among them were the development of the town's electric trolley system, the platting and emergence of residential suburbs beyond the boundaries of the original townsite, and the appearance of the first of the modern sanitariums. Although the pamphleteers made no effort to interpret these factors in concert, the synergy they generated accounts for much of Albuquerque's early suburban growth through the mid-1920s.

With the development of electric traction in the late 1880s, the thoroughfares of cities and towns throughout the country had become lined with electric streetcar rails and overhead cables. The innovation had begun to transform cities, expanding urban boundaries to include residential rings served by electric trolleys around the old urban cores. Termed "streetcar suburbs" by historian Sam Bass Warner, these additions and the streetcars that spawned them tended to separate the previously integrated urban experience in which work, commerce, and home were contained within a walkable community. Soon, the electric streetcars, radiating out from the urban core as so many spokes on a wheel, began to change the urban experience, segregating the various aspects of daily life. Seeing the connection between numerous diverse activities and their volume of riders, traction system owners often undertook or worked actively with land developers to plat these new suburban additions. On other occasions they played roles in developing industrial sites, parks and natatoriums, baseball fields and amusement centers at the ends of their lines, hoping to attract a greater volume of riders.

Albuquerque's electric streetcar system exerted a similar influence during the first period of expansion beyond the original town's core. Much like other new technologies, architectural styles and popular trends, the coming of the electric streetcar to New Mexico Territory lagged behind other sections of the country. The first system appeared in Las Vegas in 1903. A year later, the Albuquerque city council granted a franchise to William H. Greer of Bakersfield, California. Greer immediately replaced the lightweight rails of the mule-drawn trolleys and introduced an electrified line with a rolling stock consisting of ten double-ended cars. Heralding the departure of the old trolleys as Albuquerque's removal of "the last vestige of villager," the local press celebrated the new transportation system (Simmons 1981:333). Within a few years, the company was reorganized to form the City Electric Company, and tracks were added to the north and east. Although the traction company would succumb to the rising popularity of the private automobile by the mid-1920s, replaced

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by a city bus system in 1928, its nearly twenty-five years of operation contributed to the form and development of Albuquerque's first generation of suburbs.

Unlike the singular route of the previous trolley, the route of the electric trolley did, in fact, resemble a modest set of spokes befitting a town of about 8,000 people. An east-west axis extended along Railroad Avenue from Yale Boulevard at the University of New Mexico to Old Town Plaza, making a brief detour a block north to Tijeras Street to cross the AT&SF tracks. The north-south axis was more complex. Its southern terminus was Barelás at Third and Bridge streets, but the northern terminus was extended far to the north with tracks running north on Second Street to New York Avenue (now Lomas Boulevard). There, they turned west to 12th Street, and then turned north to what became known as the Sawmill area, site of the American Lumber Company sawmill and yards. East of the AT&SF lines, running twelve blocks south on Edith Street through Huning's Highland Addition was a second north-south spur. With its more than six miles of tracks, the new electric trolley system made new territory accessible for development on the town's northern and eastern sides.

The decision to extend a line to the American Lumber Company's mill was an astute one, reflective of many traction companies' efforts to seek out heavily traveled routes. Incorporated in 1901, the American Lumber Company controlled over 300,000 acres of timberlands in the Zuni Mountains less than 100 miles west of Albuquerque. Seeking a good shipping point with an abundant water supply to run a large-scale milling operation as well as a large labor pool and the potential for adequate housing and amenities, the company selected a 110-acre site in northwest Albuquerque. With the AT&SF an integral part of the operation, hauling logs to the mill and then shipping lumber and finished products from it, the operation opened in 1903 and prospered. By 1906, the mill had surpassed the AT&SF as Albuquerque's largest employer with over 850 workers (Glover 1986:18).

This boom in jobs contributed, in part, to the rapid growth of what became known as the North End, an area comprising the portion of the Fourth Ward north of Tijeras Avenue as well as two additions just north of Mountain Road, the northern boundary of the original townsite. With 98 houses in 1902, by 1910 the North End contained 766 houses with 58 of them located north of Mountain Road (Biebel 1981:22). By 1920, the number of houses in this fastest growing section of the town had almost doubled over the 1910 figures, rising to 1,242. While a quarter of these were located north of Mountain Road or west of Twelfth Street, the vast majority were closer to the urban core, marking an infill of the original townsite (portions of the area are located within the Eighth Street/Forrester National Historic District). With only a few exceptions of small additions within the original townsite that employed circles and curved blocks, settlement of the North End, similar to Huning's Highland Addition, was based on a rectilinear grid.

The houses located in these first northside suburbs tended to be more modest than those built south of Mountain Road in the Fourth Ward during the same period. In general, the infill occurring in the Fourth Ward, especially south of New York Avenue was marked by a concentration of larger homes, many with two stories, employing late Queen Anne and Prairie School styles. Interspersed among them were houses reflecting other popular styles including moderately ornate examples of the Hipped Box and Bungalow, as well as the emerging Southwest Vernacular style (Historic Resources of the Downtown Neighborhoods Area of Albuquerque 1979).

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In contrast, the houses north of Mountain Road were generally one story and displayed a more modest range of stylistic details. Most prevalent were the Bungalow, Hipped Box and Southwest Vernacular styles. Reflecting the presence of many sawmill employees as owners, some houses display distinctive milled lumber and wood shingle details. Lying outside of the city's limits until residents voted for annexation in 1927, these early suburbs lacked access to many city services including water. Typically, the developers of outlying additions, unable to obtain these services, provided their own water and sewage systems. Later, during the annexations of additions that marked the city's growth during the late 1920s, they then sold the systems to the city, which modified or expanded them to conform to the city's system.

Just as the northern leg of the electric trolley contributed to the opening of new residential enclaves north of Mountain Road and around the sawmill, the trolley's eastern leg with its south-running spur along Edith Street offered greater access to additions lining the eastern sandhills and to the East Mesa itself. By 1902, the First and Second wards, consisting largely of Huning's Highland Addition, included 299 houses. In 1910, the figure rose to 1,000; and by 1920, with some of the first houses on the East Mesa included in the total, to 1,528 (Biebel 1981:22). Also contributing to this growth east of the railroad tracks was a timber and trestle bridge, known as the viaduct, completed on Coal Avenue in 1901. Crossing over the maze of switching tracks just north of the AT&SF yards, it eased access to the south side of the Second Ward. Although at first officials banned the town's few automobiles from the viaduct, restricting it to horses and wagons, along with the trolley spur on Edith Street, it encouraged development of the southern Highlands district. Near the railroad shops and the Albuquerque Foundry Company located along the eastside of the tracks, the area proved especially attractive to those blue-collar workers. As a result, some homeowners converted some of the larger single-family homes into boardinghouses, which along with modest hotels and rooming houses accommodated many of the city's single workers (Kammer 1999).

The pace of development farther east, however, only began to pick up as newcomers became convinced that the future of Albuquerque lay on the East Mesa. Convincing them of this bright future was no easy task as evidenced by the inability of Brownwell and Lail and M.P. Stamm to develop their additions over a nearly twenty-year period. The steep sandy hills and arroyos characteristic of the alluvial fans offered a particularly challenging terrain for imposing a grid of streets. Consisting of eroded sediment washed down from the Sandia Mountains, the sandhills lay dry most of the year. Summer cloudbursts, however, were capable of turning the arroyos, favored as the east-west roadways, into temporary raging torrents. Attracted by the orderly flat grids and tree-lined streetscapes of the valley, many newcomers chose to build just below in the Highlands or down in the North End. Even the attraction of the University of New Mexico atop the East Mesa failed to draw surrounding settlement until the 1910s. For most townspeople dwelling in the valley, Railroad Avenue east of High Street was little more than a "wavering sandy lane as far as the University" and then a wagon road that "wound uncertainly till it entered Tijeras Canyon" (Balcomb 1980:60).

Gradually, however, attitudes toward the East Mesa began to change. In 1905 and then again in 1910, M.P. Stamm replatted his Terrace Addition, setting aside land for a park and digging a well that assured potential residents a steady water supply. Significant impetus for eastward suburbanization came in 1906, when Col. D.K.B. Sellers platted the University Heights Addition to the east of the Terrace Addition. Previously

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involved in land development projects in the valley along the northern leg of the electric trolley line, Sellers had resolved to strike out on his own to promote the city and to make his fortune in real estate as it grew. To accomplish this he resorted to an aggressive marketing of his new subdivision.

With a few partners he had acquired a quarter section of patented land on the East Mesa south of the university. Orienting the streets to the principal points of the compass instead of to the alignment of the railroad tracks, as had been done in the original townsite and earlier adjacent additions, Sellers carved out a four-by-seven block subdivision. In these twenty-eight rectangular blocks he placed 672 lots, each fifty by 142 feet. Each property faced on one of the north-south streets, and a sixteen-foot-wide alley ran between the properties. East-west streets retained the names they carried in New Town—Silver, Lead, Coal—although the longer north-south blocks eliminated Gold Street and left the others out of alignment, a feature that continues to punctuate the west side of the subdivision. Inspired by the nearby university and hoping to attract faculty members as residents, Sellers assigned the names of colleges, such as Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Cornell to the north-south streets, all of which ended at Railroad Avenue. Later, in 1916, Sellers acquired additional land to the east and platted an eastern portion of the subdivision.

The promotional material Sellers generated reveals the vision he held for the mesa land. A pamphlet published in 1906 entitled “The Coming Aristocratic Residential Section” described the lots as an “opportunity for the small investor” (University Heights Improvement Company 1906: np). Characterizing the valley as having little land remaining for building, it urged prospective homeowners to look “towards the higher ground, above the smoke and lowlands and to “come up from the low zone to the ozone.” It further played on would be homeowners’ fears that as the city expanded and homes near the town’s center became boarding houses building “close in may be undesirable.” In short, the sales brochure touched upon a range of sentiments associated with many Americans’ desire to move to the suburbs. By articulating aspirations for upward mobility through sound real estate investment, idealizing the locale and its climatic advantages, and then instilling an ominous threat and connecting it with choosing a residence in the valley, Sellers struck a chord that would encourage a progression of increasingly distant subdivisions on the East Mesa for the next eighty years.

Even this aggressive marketing of the East Mesa and its bright future as Albuquerque’s suburban sector required time to take hold. It wasn’t until after World War I, after he had constructed a water tank on Nob Hill at the eastern end of the subdivision in 1916, solving the addition’s chronic lack of a reliable water supply, that substantial settlement began to occur. A photograph of the Werner-Gilchrist House at the corner of Silver and Cornell taken in 1912 shows the dormered, hipped-roof house, its outbuildings and a wind-pumped well standing in absolute isolation. Only a single tree and a few disparate bushes interrupt a landscape of short grasses and low brush. A 1916 map of the addition indicates that in only four of the twenty-eight blocks had more than half the lots been sold. The city directory, which began to list the addition’s streets in 1914 (annexation to the city would not occur until 1925), includes only twenty-four houses in the 1919 edition.

Sellers nevertheless persisted in his project, using his Winton touring car to ferry prospective buyers from his downtown office through the subdivision. The embodiment of the public-spirited booster motivated by “prospects” as much as by “actual business,” Sellers threw himself into any activity that held the potential for

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promoting Albuquerque. In 1912, for instance, he led a campaign to rename Railroad Avenue as Central Avenue, seeking to add prestige to what he hoped would be the city's main thoroughfare leading to the East Mesa. After serving as president of the Ocean-to-Ocean Highway Association, which sought to draw early automobile tourism to New Mexico, in 1914 he was elected mayor of Albuquerque. Realizing that the success of his suburban addition depended upon his ability to lure buyers away from the valley, he priced his lots competitively, selling them for about a quarter of what a similar lot cost in the valley. Along the residential streets lots ranged from \$50 to \$105; corner lots and those facing now Central Avenue, the intended commercial strip, ranged from \$100 to \$275. Asking ten dollars down on a single lot and only five on two or more lots, Sellers aimed at the small investor anxious to own his own property.

This sales strategy served to define the pattern of development that would occur in Albuquerque's suburban development in the inter-war years. By selling lots cheaply, Sellers encouraged numerous small residential builders to purchase lots, construct a single house at a time on speculation, and then sell it, using the small margin of profit to embark on another such project. In some cases those purchasing lots, particularly health seekers uncertain of their future, simply chose to construct a small one or two-room structure at the rear of the property as their domicile. Later, if their health and means improved, they would build a larger house, placing it in alignment, usually about twenty feet from the front of the property, with the other houses on the block. The original house might then be converted to a garage or retained as a rental unit (McKay 1987). One result of this lot-by-lot development in the University Heights as well as the replatted Terrace and Brownwell and Lail's Additions was that homes varied unevenly both in style and cost.

Surveys of these additions indicate that many of the earliest houses built, those dating before the mid-1920s, incorporated elements of the Bungalow style. Employing low-pitched gable roofs with wide overhangs and exposed rafters and beams and having exteriors consisting of brick, clapboard, wood shingles, or stucco, many had wide front porches supported by decorative tapered piers, as well as rear porches. Most of these bungalows situated on the upper sandhills and the East Mesa, however, lacked the more ornate detailing and grander scale associated with contemporary bungalows being constructed in the Fourth Ward. The latter, for instance, often reflected their wider plans by locating the gable ends at the sides of the house, while the former generally located the gable ends at the front and rear, often with a stepped gable porch to the front and a shed porch to the rear. The narrower plan also permitted room on the fifty-foot wide property for a driveway to a garage, usually located at the rear of the property. This new building type suggests how the residents of the city's suburbs were coming to rely on the private automobile. Although the East Mesa represents the farthest extension of Albuquerque's streetcar suburbs, more importantly it represents the first suburbs in which the role of the automobile became primary over that of the electric trolley and, later, the city bus line.

The efforts of promoters such as Sellers and others to induce newcomers to settle in Albuquerque's eastern suburbs and access to these suburbs through the electric trolley and, increasingly, the automobile only partially account for the gradual settlement of the East Mesa. Accompanying this active boosterism and improved modes of transportation was the city's rise as a health center. As the 1908 pamphlet had noted, since its inception in 1902, St. Joseph Hospital had handled 2,500 cases and had assembled a staff of skilled physicians. With "hundreds of tuberculosis sufferers" having "found long life and health in Albuquerque and a

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number of additional sanitariums projected,” promoters expected thousands more “health chasers” to arrive seeking “the same ideal combination of dryness, medium altitude and large percentage of sunshine.” By the early 1920s, their hopes for the city’s emergence as a health center had made great strides toward realization.

New Mexico Territory had been a destination for weak-lunged travelers since the days of the Santa Fe Trail. Josiah Gregg and countless others had found that as they reached the Rocky Mountains not only their respiratory systems but their general health improved. With the arrival of the railroad, more health seekers came to the territory, many well-heeled visitors seeking early health resorts such as the Montezuma Hotel near Las Vegas. By the end of the century thousands, both rich and poor, had come to the Southwest “to chase the cure.” At first, those afflicted were drawn by accounts of the general health of people living in the Southwest. Later, the medical profession began to develop “scientific” reasons supporting the efficacy of recuperation at higher elevations and in dry climates. Combining this advocacy of climatological therapy with an emphasis, by the turn of the century, on a rigorous monitoring of patients’ conditions, many Southwestern promoters saw the potential that hospitals and sanatoriums held for expanding local economies. From Colorado Springs to Silver City and the towns of the Arizona desert, civic leaders set about boosting their communities as offering the ideal setting for overcoming the leading killer of the 19th and early 20th centuries, tuberculosis.

Albuquerque was no exception, and from 1900 through the late 1930s, local promoters advertised the town’s ideal climate. The Commercial Club, forerunner to the Chamber of Commerce, for instance, organized and financed an advertising program in 1915 that produced the popular slogan, “Albuquerque, New Mexico, where the sick get well and the well get prosperous” (Spidle 1986:101). Sometimes investing funds to underwrite health-related businesses, the club succeeded in attracting at least sixteen sanatoriums between 1902 and 1937. While some contained only few beds and endured but a short time, others thrived, becoming a leading component in the town’s growing service industry and spawning two of the city’s current major medical centers.

As medical historian Jake Spidle concedes in his study of New Mexico’s tuberculosis industry, assigning exact figures to the number of people who took up residence in New Mexico in pursuit of their health is an “exasperating” task (Spidle 1986:97). Conservatively, he suggests that by 1920 at least 10 percent of New Mexico’s residents were consumptives. Moreover, most of them were concentrated in the state’s few larger towns that offered the care the medical profession so strongly urged. A United States Public Health Service investigation undertaken in 1913, for instance, estimated that in the “majority of New Mexico towns anywhere from 20 percent to 60 percent of all households had at least one family member who was tubercular” (Spidle 1986:98). In Albuquerque, the study noted, as much as 50 percent of all the population consisted of consumptives and their relatives. This estimate corresponds to an analysis of Albuquerque’s consumptive population completed in 1915 by one of the state’s leading tuberculosis specialists, Dr. LeRoy Peters, who held that of the town’s population of 11,000 fully 2,500 were consumptives. All estimates agreed that a sizeable percentage of the health seekers, perhaps as high as 90 percent, were non-natives.

The implications of these statistics when applied to the growth of Albuquerque’s early eastern suburbs are considerable. Although the German bacteriologist Robert Koch had first identified the tubercle bacillus in

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1882, it wasn't until just after the turn of the century that the medical profession began to address the threat of the communicability of the disease. By 1908, the New Mexico Medical Society had turned its attention to protecting the general public, raising the issue of enacting public health laws. Gradually the general public began to discriminate against the "lungers," making it more difficult for them to find lodging and work in the older sections of the town in the valley. At the same time admonitions against living in damp, smoky environments prompted consumptives to look above the valley, just as Sellers had urged, for an optimum setting for convalescence.

Led by St. Joseph Hospital, other large sanatoriums began to construct facilities on the sandhills between the original townsite and the East Mesa. Southwestern Presbyterian Sanatorium was established in 1908 at Oak and Railroad, and in 1912 Methodist Deaconess Sanatorium opened at Central and Plum. Nearby appeared other sanatoriums including Murphy's, Monkbridge and Albuquerque Sanatorium. Soon Central Avenue had earned the sobriquet "TB Row" and began to transform from a "wavering sandy lane" to a corridor lined with medical facilities and houses, many located on terraced lots above the lower grade of the street as it climbed the arroyo.

Since the costs of staying at the sanatoriums were substantial, especially of the patients required months to recuperate, many health seekers sought their own quarters, either in rooming houses near the sanatoriums or by purchasing their own houses. For many of these stricken newcomers the early East Mesa neighborhoods offered the perfect place to buy and to build. Dry, pollution free, near the doctors at the sanatoriums, free of the concerns found in the valley associated with renting to sick boarders, and offering inexpensive lots, the heights attracted numerous health seekers. After World War I, when soldiers who had suffered mustard gas attacks in the trenches of France joined the ranks of the health seekers, the East Mesa suburbs increased their rate of growth.

In the words of those moving to the East Mesa to recover, they were "out on the mesa chasing the cure." Those who could afford it purchased houses built on speculation while others, especially veterans with some carpentry skills, purchased lots and set about constructing their own small houses or casitas (Blair 1987; McKay 1987). This new wave in building resulted in houses that varied in style and quality. Unlike many of the subdivisions platted in the mid-1920s, the lots in Sellers' addition were governed by no building covenant, and many of these early builders literally designed the house on the ground. Despite these disparities, bungalow-inspired houses were common. Normally facing east and west and with multiple grouped windows along their sides, these modest bungalows became the housing style most closely associated with Albuquerque's early suburbs on the East Mesa. With their, often, two porches allowing their residents to maximize that underlying dictum of the bungalow — to permit the outdoors to come indoors — they offered an ideal setting for a climatological therapy that prescribed fresh air and sun.

Rex McKay, the son of a veteran who was a victim of gassing in World War I, recalls that his mother and father spent every night of the year on the "sleeping porch", and that when he and his sister were small they also slept on the porch (McKay 1987). At first, because of the absence of trees, other foliage, and fences that created privacy, many of the "sleeping porches" were rigged with a canvas screens and pulleys. According to

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longtime residents of the area, the need of the health seekers to achieve privacy and protection from the winds for their prescribed sunbathing contributed to the transformation of the once treeless mesa into the extensively landscaped suburb it soon became (Blair 1987). In those instances when someone succumbed to the disease, family members sometimes enclosed one or both porches.

By the late 1920s, theories regarding the treatment of tuberculosis had begun to change. The chemotherapy now advocated could be administered anywhere, and there was no longer the need to seek out the ideal climate for a supervised recuperation. The local health industry declined with some of the larger facilities converted to hospitals offering a full range of medical services. As these complexes expanded most of the buildings associated with their earlier role as sanatoriums have been replaced. Remaining as a reminder of the health industry's role in the growth of Albuquerque during the first three decades of the century, however, are many of the houses lining the streets of the East Mesa's early suburbs. The electric trolley climbing up "TB Row" to the East Mesa, the efforts of promoters such as Sellers to create subdivisions out of dry mesa land, and the role that the town defined for itself as a health center had given Albuquerque the impetus it required to push out of the valley and begin its eastward growth.

Shaping a Greater Albuquerque (1925-1944)

By 1920, Albuquerque's population had grown to 15,157, representing for the first time more than half of Bernalillo County's total population. While the growth patterns of the early 1920s continued to reflect an infill of the streetcar suburbs shaped by the alignment of the electric streetcar line, increased use of the private automobile was contributing to new patterns of growth. At the same time, a shift in the town's form of government contributed to how leaders worked for its future growth. In 1917 the state legislature had passed a law permitting larger cities to shift from a mayor/alderman to a commission/city manager form of government. In making this shift in 1919, Albuquerque's leadership was no longer determined based on the old ward system. The two aldermen drawn from each ward gave way to three, and later, five commissioners elected at large. Ideally, proponents reasoned, the shift would encourage a more efficient form of government in which the commission, chosen in non-partisan elections, would select a professional administrator to manage the city's affairs. While this ideal was never realized in Albuquerque, the new form of government did contribute to a new leadership that actively boosted the city and contributed to its expansion. As a result of this active boosterism, by 1930 the city's population had grown to 26,570 and by 1940 to 35,499. Additionally, the size of the city's land area quadrupled from 1925 to 1941.

Reflecting the national pattern, during the 1920s automobile ownership grew rapidly in New Mexico. The first automobile had arrived in Albuquerque in 1897. By 1910, 470 automobiles were registered in the territory. By 1920 the number of registrations in the new state had increased to 17,720 and by 1930 to 84,000. As a used car market emerged, automobile ownership became accessible to greater numbers of New Mexicans, particularly in urban areas where street paving projects and the first generation of federally supported highways began to reform patterns of commercial development. By 1926, when the federal highway system was numerically designated, Fourth Street, designated as U.S. 66 and 85, had begun to emerge as Albuquerque's first

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commercial strip oriented to the automobile (Wilson 1996:8). Just south of the city's boundary where traffic from Fourth Street crossed the Rio Grande at Barelás Bridge a traffic count taken in 1928 indicated an average of 3,451 autos, 272 trucks and buses and only 188 horses and teams. A similar count taken on East Central Avenue indicated an average of 1,346 autos and only 27 horses and teams.

The growing popularity of the automobile not only affected the development of thoroughfares such as Fourth Street, where dealerships, garages and service stations first appeared; it also affected residential growth patterns. A road scarifier and a ten-ton steamroller purchased in 1918 permitted the city to break down the ruts endemic to dirt roads and then to compact new gravel surfaces. In the decade that followed, the city began an aggressive campaign to pave streets as well, contracting frequently with the American Bitulithic Company for asphalt surfacing. Both of the city's newspapers took up the cause of improving city streets, especially those leading to the East Mesa. By 1923, 150 blocks had been paved, giving the city a total of 21.5 miles of hard-surfaced streets (Albuquerque Journal 11/15/23:np).

In addition to a campaign throughout the 1920s and 30s to pave additional blocks, the newspapers also took up the matter of the lack of adequate grade separations at the railroad tracks contributing to the isolation of the city's east side. Ironically, the AT&SF railroad with its multiple tracks leading into the shops and yards that had provided so much of the impetus for growth in early Albuquerque was now viewed as an impediment to future growth. Arguing that the city's suburban growth "must be substantially to the Heights," city commissioner Ed Swope pleaded for funds to repair the deteriorating viaduct on Coal Avenue (Albuquerque Herald 1/3/25: np). Without improvements and with no other railroad crossings, Swope envisioned the rails splitting the city into east and west sectors. Not only did editorials lament the segregation of such key city services as hospitals, all on the east side, and the fire station, on the west side, they also condemned the inconveniences citizens faced on a daily basis. One editorial estimated that the average eastside suburbanite spent sixteen days a year waiting for trains to clear the few road crossings leading to downtown (Albuquerque Tribune 3/29/28:np).

It wasn't until the mid-1930s that this division of the city was resolved through a series of Public Works Administration and highway department projects. Replacement of the viaduct with a concrete bridge and the simultaneous excavation of underpasses and raising of the raised railroad grade at Tijeras and Central Avenues finally provided an uninterrupted flow of traffic from east to west. Returning to where he had built his political career as an advocate of city improvements, Governor Clyde Tingley, dedicated the new concrete viaduct. Labeling it a symbol of Albuquerque's growth, Tingley proclaimed, "It's like opening a new country to settlement" (Albuquerque Tribune 12/7/36:np).

Tingley's prediction grew from his experiences as the long-time ex-officio mayor of the city. Having arrived in Albuquerque from Ohio in 1911, accompanying his tuberculosis-stricken fiancée, Carrie, and her mother, Tingley had been involved in city politics since 1916 when he was elected as an alderman from the Second Ward. Entering into the central debate of that year's election, the future of the privately owned Water Supply Company, Tingley had opposed granting a long-term franchise to its owner. Advancing the slogan, "Buy it or Build it," he advocated a government in which the city would assume a more active role in promoting the

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city. This activism included projects ranging from expansion of city services and annexation of its outlying suburbs to beautification of the city through the creation of parks and widespread tree-planting campaigns. Like D.K.B. Sellers and many of the city's other boosters, Tingley was also a strong advocate of better roads. Serving as a maintenance supervisor for the highway department during the 1920s, Tingley saw the connection between the city and state's growth and improved roads. As ex-officio mayor he led the city commission in awarding a continual series of projects during the 1920s that resulted in the paving of many of the city's newly opened suburban streets.

Although he suffered a temporary setback when the city shifted to the new commission/city manager form of government in 1919 and when he was defeated in his race for a commission seat, in 1922 Tingley ran a successful campaign. In 1925, following his re-election on a slate he termed the Greater Albuquerque ticket, Tingley was elected chairman of the city commission and assumed the title of ex-officio mayor. Over the next two decades, except for a four-year hiatus in Santa Fe as a New Deal governor, Tingley used his position to preside over every step of the city's growth. While some citizens and one of the city's newspapers loudly criticized what they perceived as his usurping the city manager's role, Tingley maintained a broad base of support, especially in the new suburbs where his rhetoric of a greater Albuquerque commanded much sympathy. In 1929 Clyde and Carrie Tingley purchased a home in the Terrace Addition, the 1891 Heights subdivision that had been replatted in 1910, in which they would reside for the remainder of their lives.

Just as city boosters had lobbied the state legislature to pass a bill permitting a shift in the city's form of government in 1917, in 1924 lobbyists succeeded in getting the legislature to pass a bill permitting the city to annex outlying areas with the consent of 51 percent of the residents in those areas. Prior to this law, city officials had annexed small parcels of land beginning in 1901 when the Terrace and Brownwell and Lail's Highlands additions were annexed. Later, in 1922, additional unplatted parcels, including the Country Club Addition and lands held by Albuquerque Public Schools, were annexed along the foothills leading to the East Mesa. West of the Original Townsite the 33-acre Raynolds Addition, first platted in 1912, was annexed in 1923 and then replatted in 1924. All of these annexations, however, involved parcels with few, if any, residents.

Of greater concern to the expansionists were the suburbs growing up around the city, especially in the North End and on the East Mesa. For boosters desirous of adding to the city's prestige by increasing its rate of growth, these areas represented sizeable populations to be added in the 1930 census. Moreover, annexation held the promise of broadening the city's tax base. Annexation of the East Mesa alone promised to add \$2.5 million to the city's current roll of \$16 million. For many of the new suburbs' residents annexation also offered advantages, especially the potential for the extension of city services such as water and sewerage, lower fire insurance rates, and street paving. Inclusion within the city also would bring with it the extension of gas lines from the Albuquerque Gas and Electric Company as well as street lighting along Central Avenue (Albuquerque Journal 3/15/25:np).

In 1925, a year after the annexation law had been passed, the annexation question was put to voters living on the East Mesa and in the North End. Clyde Tingley campaigned vigorously in both areas, promising the extension of city services and the creation of area parks. In April, two months before the election on the East

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Mesa, the city purchased Sellers' Heights water system as an indication of its commitment to the area. In June residents voted 379 to 75 for annexation. Following the integration of the old water system with the city system, 17 fire hydrants were added and insurance rates were quickly reduced by 50 percent (Albuquerque Journal 6/19/25:np). The vote for annexation marked the largest increment to the city's size until after World War II. 4,166 acres, representing roughly 350 percent of the city's previous size, were added to its eastern boundary. Running north and south on a narrow tableland midway up the sandhills, the new parcel extended almost three miles eastward from High Street to San Pedro Street. The northern boundary extended along present day Constitution Avenue slightly north of Mountain Road while the southern boundary lay approximately 2.5 miles south along present day Gibson Boulevard.

In contrast to the ready acceptance of annexation on the part of voters in the Heights, voters living in the North End voted twice against annexation in late 1925, first rejecting the measure 571 to 440 in November and then 376 to 319 in December. Comprised of a more ethnically diverse population than the suburbs on the East Mesa, the North End included some Hispanos with close ties to nearby Old Town. The anxiety that Old Town political leader and sheriff, Jesus Romero, expressed over the potential loss of Hispanos' political power through annexation left many voters unwilling to become a part of the growing city whose population included far fewer Hispanos. It wasn't until October 1927 that Romero and North End voters finally shifted their thinking. After Tingley and the city's newspapers had waged a campaign exhorting North End residents to approve annexation and promised a quick extension of city services, less than two years later voters approved annexation 459 to 329 (Albuquerque Journal 10/29/27:np). With voter approval, the city added an additional 379 acres to its north side, extending the northern boundary from Mountain Road, line of the Original Townsite, to Indian School Road.

The effects of several annexations to Albuquerque during the 1920s involved more than simply expanding the city's boundaries on all sides. Most important, they enlarged the city to permit most of its suburban growth until mid-century to occur within its new boundaries. On the west, the annexation of the Reynolds Addition and then the Huning Castle Addition and its western extension, the New Country Club Addition, by 1929 opened the way for suburban growth to occur between downtown and the Rio Grande south of Old Albuquerque. On the north, the annexation of the North End, comprising a series of contiguous additions, resulted in the extension of city services (and the purchase of W.C. Thornton's North End water system) to an already existing suburb in which infill now became more attractive. At the south, the annexation resulted in the inclusion of several small additions as well as properties owned, and later developed, by Albuquerque Public Schools. On the east, the annexation added the suburban areas already situated on the sandhills and south of the university and created conditions under which D.K.B. Sellers and others' dreams of great suburban growth on the East Mesa might finally occur.

Inclusion within the city led to several developments, all of which fostered more suburban growth. By 1927, city mail service had been extended to many of the subdivisions on the East Mesa and lighting stretched along Central Avenue east to Yale Boulevard, creating what Clyde Tingley referred to as Albuquerque's "Great White Way" (Albuquerque Journal 8/4/27:np). In early 1930, two more wards, the Fifth Ward along the sandhills and on the East Mesa, and the Sixth Ward encompassing the North End and the western additions,

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were added to its original four wards. During this same period several city services were extended into additions within the newly annexed areas. In the spring election of 1930, Tingley's Greater Albuquerque Ticket sought and received voter support for \$786,000 in municipal improvement bonds. Citing the improvements already made in the "outlying subdivisions," Tingley persuaded voters to pass the bond issue and led his ticket, winning by a two-to-one margin in the new East Mesa precincts (Albuquerque Tribune 4/8/30:np).

Tingley never hesitated to boost the city and to promote its suburban growth. He frequently traveled throughout the country, often combining business trips to Ohio to look after his wife's farming interests with inspections of other cities. On one trip to the West Coast he determined that the city's zoo, one of his pet projects, had healthier animals than those at the San Diego Zoo, but also lamented the greater traffic congestion he saw in Albuquerque. After the city's first radio station, KGGM, had begun broadcasting in 1928, he frequently appeared on a popular show, "The Home Builders' Radio Hour," in which music was interspersed with plugs for a free booklet offering 30 plans for "homes typical of the Southwest" (Albuquerque Tribune 5/20/30:np).

So proud was he of the city's growth that in 1929 he ordered Robert L. Cooper, the city manager, to prepare a booklet extolling its recent progress. Entitled "A Greater Albuquerque: A Story of Four Years of Community Accomplishment 1926-1929," the booklet presented Albuquerque as a modern city supported by major industries and with an infrastructure typical of progressive communities anywhere (Cooper 1929). Of particular note was the emphasis given to the city's efforts to foster suburban growth that accommodated automobile owners. Offering descriptions of paved streets coursing through the new suburban additions, it included several half-page photographs of streets lined with new houses, noting the city's 53 miles of paved streets, its "miles of shady boulevards," nine parks, and "wonderful public school system." While its overall message was one of great accomplishment, it also briefly listed future needs including more storm and sanitary sewers, additional fire stations in suburban areas, further acquisition of park sites, and, of course, grade separations at the AT&SF tracks.

Even as he celebrated the city's accomplishments and the extension of basic services to newly annexed areas, Tingley continued to look for ways to make suburban living more attractive. In the late 1920s, two of his particular concerns included improving the city's public transportation and adding suburban parks. Rarely discussed in the preceding generation of early suburban growth in which the streetcar suburbs appeared more as appendages to the downtown core, convenient transportation to and from downtown and recreational opportunities close to the residences of all citizens began to emerge not simply as amenities but as prerequisites for any attractive suburb.

The transportation issue had been growing since the mid-1920s, when a growing dissatisfaction with the city's electric trolley service became a part of public debate. The cars were old and battered and subject to frequent derailments. With their fixed rail system, they were unable to adjust to the new growth occurring on the city's west and north sides and, especially, on its dynamic east side. In 1927, Sellers protested that residents living in his University Heights subdivision had to "walk fifteen or twenty blocks to the streetcar," and motorists frequently complained that the abrupt, unprotected trolley rails punctured their automobile tires (Fergusson

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1962:161). Indicative of the need for greater flexibility in public transportation were the many jitneys, or private cars for hire, that had begun to ply their trade on the residential streets. Sensing the public mood, in 1927 Tingley announced to George Roslington, owner of the electric trolley company, that he would need to begin paving the tracks to accommodate automobiles. When Roslington balked, Tingley began negotiations with a bus company in Casper, Wyoming to transfer buses to Albuquerque (Albuquerque Tribune 10/1/27:np). In 1928 the city became one of the first in the nation to abandon its electric traction system in favor of bus service.

Tingley's efforts to shift the city's public transportation from trolley to bus service and to pave over the old trolley tracks suggest the growing role that the automobile had come to play in Albuquerque by the late 1920s. Although bus service would remain popular, only beginning to lose riders in 1952, the automobile was becoming the dominant means of transportation (Wood 1980:152). Beginning with D.K.B. Sellers, the city's leadership always consisted of men closely associated with the promotion of the automobile. Tingley, the highway maintenance supervisor, served as ex-officio mayor, and was succeeded in the 1930s by Clyde Oden, owner of the city's Buick dealership, whom Tingley later appointed chairman of the State Highway Commission. Other city leaders such as Charles Lembke, A.R. Hebenstreit and Frank Shufflebarger were contractors involved in road construction and other infrastructure improvements. Working closely with developers, they helped to create conditions that favored an automobile-based suburban growth.

During the 1920s, Clyde Tingley also pursued his vision of making Albuquerque a city of parks. Despite the popularity of Robinson Park, formed at one of the triangles created by Central Avenue's northwest cut across the city's grid of streets, there had been little subsequent park construction. A "City Beautiful" meeting sponsored by the Kiwanis Club in 1923 had produced numerous suggestions for beautifying the growing town. Some included lining boulevards with cottonwoods in order to endow the city with the sobriquet, "the cottonwood city," limiting building heights to preserve sunlight in residential areas, and, from Clyde Tingley, lowering water rates in the summer to encourage attractive gardens and flowers (Albuquerque Herald 3/17/23:np).

Although only his suggestion received complete implementation, Tingley continued to connect the creation of a verdant city in the arid Southwest with attracting newcomers. Throughout his career he promoted public parks. Although he opposed parkways as too expensive, he even succeeded in getting suburban developers to create four boulevards with tree-lined medians. Most lasting of his many landscaping campaigns was a prolonged effort to distribute Siberian elms. With much attention given to the project in the local newspapers, the city first sold saplings for sixty cents in 1931 and, later, distributed them for free. Urging every householder to plant an elm and even asking the city's ministers to advocate the plan from their pulpits, Tingley contributed to fashioning a predominantly Siberian elm residential streetscape which remains a helpful tool for dating early suburbs' age to this day.

Equally important to the shaping of Albuquerque's early automobile suburbs were Tingley's efforts to create parks accessible to pedestrians in all sections of the city. No doubt he was aware of how Aldo Leopold, when he was based in Albuquerque and had served as Secretary of the city's Chamber of Commerce, advocated

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draining the huge marsh that lay between the city and the river. During the early 1920s, Tingley set about acquiring many of the small parcels that lined the river. Later, when the Raynolds Addition was first platted, he succeeded in convincing the Raynolds family to sell a portion of land below market price to the city (Fergusson 1962:118). Then, in 1925, Tingley signed papers assuring the city's participation in the newly formed Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District. In doing so, he assured the city of the extensive Rio Grande Park and city zoo that have continued as a public space buffer between the New Country Club Addition and the river.

Using the same technique of quietly buying or cajoling developers to contribute unused parcels in other subdivisions, Tingley began to acquire numerous potential park sites for the city. A park was established between Second and Fourth Streets in the North End; another in the Country Club Addition; and Highlands Park, with the city's first wading pool, was completed in the Terrace Addition. These dedications by developers set a precedent that continued in other subdivisions as well. Along the sandhills, Tingley succeeded in splicing together a southern portion of the Terrace Addition and a parcel from Albuquerque Public Schools to shape what, in 1934 under a Civil Works Administration project, became Franklin D. Roosevelt Park. Although some developers resisted Tingley's suggestions to spend more money on street landscaping projects, his ongoing efforts to encourage beautification drew popular praise. When the conservancy beach was completed in 1930, one newspaper urged that it be named Tingley Park, arguing that Tingley's efforts to beautify the city had contributed to making Albuquerque "one of the best kept little cities in the country" (Albuquerque Tribune 7/11/30:np).

These measures on the part of the city's government to annex lands and then undertake improvements went hand in hand with the efforts of developers to attract the many newcomers moving to Albuquerque in the late 1920s and 1930s. Of the more than 100 subdivision and addition plats filed in Albuquerque between 1900 and 1940, over 85 percent were filed during the 1920s and 30s with the vast majority filed after the great annexation on the East Mesa in 1925. While many of these plats remained undeveloped until after World War II when Albuquerque experienced additional pressures for growth and housing, several of these subdivisions which underwent immediate development marked the emergence of what may be termed the city's first generation of automobile suburbs. A brief overview of a few representative subdivisions platted and developed from the mid-1920s through the early 1940s offers an indication of the city's growth patterns and its emerging suburban cultural landscape.

Although the great annexation on the East Mesa in 1925 clearly prepared the way for the most significant development to occur in that direction, the lands west of the Original Townsite held the potential for a smaller suburban enclave near downtown and, initially, developed more rapidly. From 1920 to 1930, the number of houses in the Raynolds Addition, lying just west of downtown, grew from 50 to 240 (Biebel 1931:32). Representing a continuation of styles popular before World War I, some of the homes in the area employed the Bungalow style while others featured the flat-roofed regional styles that many small builders were articulating. Additional construction also occurred toward Old Albuquerque. The Manzano Court Addition of 1923, for instance, consisted of two blocks facing on a cul-de-sac just south of Mountain Road and was developed by Anna Gotshall, one of the city's pioneer female developers. Just north of Mountain Road the

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Navajo Addition of 1925 consisted of thirteen one-story homes, each quite similar yet each employing small distinguishing details as to entries, porches, parapets and trim.

West of Fourteenth Street development moved more slowly because the land extending to the river was poorly drained and susceptible to flooding. With the creation of the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy whose goal was not only irrigation but reclaiming marshy riverside lands and protecting them from future flooding, these lands became attractive not only for Tingley's riverside park project but for suburban development. When a group of prominent town leaders purchased lands west of Fourteenth Street, much of which had been a part of Franz Huning's estate and the site of his Glorieta flour mill, they sought to develop a suburban addition that would improve upon the grid pattern that had marked most of the town's early streets. In both the New Country Club and Huning Castle Additions (1928) they increased the size of lots, eliminated "eyesore" alleys that had marked earlier residential areas, and widened streets adding sweeping curves at intersections (Albuquerque Tribune 6/29/30:np). The new subdivisions' broadly curved street corners and the larger lots with their room for ample garages stood as clear reminders of the indispensable role the private automobile had assumed in suburban planning by 1930.

With the construction of the Albuquerque Country Club in 1929, the area attracted many of the leading members of the community, several of whom hired architects to design their homes. Over the next decade, for example, prominent local realtor Kenneth Balcomb and U.S. Senator Dennis Chavez both hired Thomas Danahy to design two-story houses. Perhaps inspired by the design of the country club, built in the Mediterranean Revival style, many of these large homes embraced elements of Mediterranean or Spanish Colonial Revival Styles while others employed the Pueblo Revival style. Indicative of its upper class nature, the city's building permits of 1931 indicate that in the Huning Castle Addition the average building permit was over \$10,500, more than twice the value of permits issued in any of the city's other new suburbs (Albuquerque Tribune 1/6/32:np).

During the 1920s and 30s, the rapid rate of suburban expansion also continued in the city's North End, resulting in more construction between Mountain and Indian School Roads. By 1930, several small additions north of the city limits had been platted beyond Indian School Road. Listing approximately 360 homes in 1920, by 1930 the area contained over 800 homes (Biebel 1981:33). Similar to the homes in the Reynolds Addition, those in the North End marked an extension of the building styles popular closer to the downtown core two decades earlier. With changing tastes in building styles, however, bungalows and hipped cottages were less prevalent in these later additions. More prevalent were a variety of regionally inspired styles, especially the Southwest Vernacular style, which many small local builders were rapidly adapting to their construction vocabularies. So great was the demand for housing by the late 1930s that farther north along Fourth Street in a location described as "several miles out of the city" the Los Alamos Addition appeared (Albuquerque Progress January 1938:6). Notable among the new suburban additions, the four-street, 100-lot development offered homebuyers a system of common irrigation ditches in an effort to take advantage of the irrigation waters then, and still, available through the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy's system of ditches and canals.

Of increasing importance to the city's suburban growth were the subdivisions platted along the eastern sandhills and on the East Mesa itself. With the platting of the Country Club Addition (now generally

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comprising the Spruce Park Historic District to distinguish it from the New Country Club Addition west of downtown) in 1923 north of Grand Avenue (now Martin Luther King Boulevard), the entire sandhill escarpment corresponding to the eastern boundary of the Original Townsite had been platted. Annexation and the extension of city services to the East Mesa and its escarpment stimulated development so that between 1920 and 1930 the number of houses rose from about 175 to 760 (Biebel 1981:33).

Although these suburbs had a similar location along what had once been regarded as the precipitous sandhills, they varied greatly in development patterns, housing styles and the residents they attracted. The older sections, such as Brownwell and Lail's Highland and the Terrace Additions contained numerous brick and clapboard-faced bungalows and hipped cottages dating to the subdivisions' earliest period of construction. The former, in close proximity to the tuberculosis sanatoriums along Central Avenue, was also marked by the construction of several bungalows with duplex and four-plex plans designed to cater to health workers and patients. The latter, now generally comprising the Silver Hill Historic District, was marked by single-home residences, including that of Clyde and Carrie Tingley, located along its main residential street, Silver Avenue with its tree-lined median.

The distinction between single and multiple dwelling residences in suburban areas became more apparent in 1927. Although small, multiple dwelling houses were located near the sanatoriums, when a permit was issued for the construction of a "lodging house" for tubercular convalescents in the Terrace Addition, the City Commission rescinded it. They did so after local residents led by realtor Kenneth Balcomb filed a petition arguing that the purchase of lots in the addition carried with it an understanding that such residences were prohibited in that they threatened to depreciate property values (Albuquerque Journal 7/28/27:np). Although Albuquerque would have no zoning ordinances until the 1950s, developers of suburban additions seeking middle class residents increasingly began to add building covenants to the sale of their lots during this period.

In contrast to these earlier additions lining the sandhills, the Country Club Addition, with several of its streets departing from the grid pattern as they wound their way up the sandhills, was more like the Huning Castle and New Country Club Additions. These efforts to develop street patterns other than the grid were new to Albuquerque. Modest when compared to the contoured streets of Los Angeles' hill districts, these slightly curved or oblique alignments also appeared in the late 1920s farther east in the Monte Vista Addition and then became more common in many of the post-war subdivisions. Unlike the earlier subdivisions along the sandhills to the south, the Country Club Addition had no history of a slow, prolonged development. With some of the city's doctors and lawyers purchasing lots in the addition, many of the homes were large, architect-designed structures. They reflected an eclectic range of building styles from the increasingly popular regional types to various period revivals including the Tudor and Provincial styles.

East of the Country Club Addition, after languishing for over a decade, D.K.B. Sellers' University Heights Addition began to fill rapidly, with the number of homes increasing from 100 to 400 during the 1920s. As a result of this growth, Sellers began developing the eastern half of the addition in the late 1920s, opening streets for construction east to Carlisle Avenue on Nob Hill where, in 1916, he had erected the water tank serving the then unannexed subdivision.

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The contrast between the later eastern portion of the addition and the earlier western portion remains marked to this day. While some houses in the western section were razed in the 1960s and early 1970s to make room for student apartments, many dating to the first decades of construction reflect a lack of uniformity in siting and materials not found in the later eastern section. In part, these disparities stemmed from the absence of any covenant setting standards or minimal costs for construction. The remaining examples of one- and two-room accessory dwellings and shotgun houses reflect the unregulated building practices that marked residential construction in the early suburbs that lay outside of the city's boundaries. Only after annexation and the city's implementation of a more rigorous building permit system in 1925 in which the permit fee was raised from two to ten dollars and builders were required to submit floor plans and elevation drawings did a greater uniformity begin to characterize suburban construction (City of Albuquerque Planning Dept. 1987:8). By the mid-1920s when Sellers turned his attention eastward, he had learned the lesson of the necessity to impose restrictions on the cost of houses and their location on the lot (Leverett Jr. 1987).

In addition to the city's increased control of building practices, the precedent from which Sellers drew much of his lesson came from the efforts of the developer of the nearby Monte Vista Addition platted along with the adjacent College View Addition in 1926. Using aggressive marketing techniques, including the frequent placement of newspaper advertisements, William Leverett, owner of the Monte Vista Development Corporation, saw over 100 houses built in the addition by 1930. Leverett, who had come to Albuquerque as a health seeker, found that real estate development was "the major growth industry at the time" and that "a real estate man's prime tool was a comfortable automobile" (Leverett Jr. 1987). As he embarked on developing the Monte Vista Addition, he realized that in contrast to the relatively flat western half of Sellers' University Heights Addition, the Monte Vista parcel, similar to the original Country Club Addition, consisted of a series of small hills draining into an arroyo susceptible to flooding. Seeking to take into account such concerns and to make his subdivision as attractive to homebuyers as possible, Leverett also wanted to align the streets he was cutting in a way that reflected the area's varied contours.

Seeking advice in dealing with the drainage problems and flood hazards posed by the severe slopes that marked the southern side of the addition, he turned to S.R. DeBoer, a professional planner from Denver who later served as adviser to the New Deal-era New Mexico State Planning Board. After studying the area, DeBoer designed a land use plan that abandoned the standard grid pattern, substituting instead streets with atypical alignments intersecting at oblique angles. In doing so he maximized the lands available for lot development while minimizing the threat of flooding. Anxious to offer amenities that would induce newcomers to consider this easternmost of suburbs, Leverett also dedicated a portion of the land for city use as a school. Monte Vista Elementary School, constructed in 1930 and listed in the National Register in 1981, became the second public school after Buena Vista Elementary School to be located on the East Mesa.

Seeking to publicize his new addition with its school, Leverett placed a one-quarter page newspaper ad in the spring of 1930. Posing the threat of parents faced with sending their children to overcrowded schools located along traffic-filled streets, the ad offered the alternative of attending "a beautiful new school, without crossing a single busy street, and within only a few blocks of home" (Albuquerque Journal 3/19/30:np). It further noted that the addition's building restrictions "protected against undesirable development," but that the

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new homes offered “all the advantages and conveniences that any home could possibly have.” Finally, to ward off concerns about living in isolation “out on the mesa,” the ad noted that the addition had all city services, landscaped paved streets, and a bus connection at the corner of the addition. During the 1930s, Leverett might also have added to his description of the subdivision’s favorable characteristics the development of a small commercial strip at its southern periphery. As the population of the East Mesa suburbs steadily increased, gas stations, restaurants, and stores catering to nearby residents began to appear along arterial roads at the edges of the residential areas. This segregation of residential and commercial functions with arterial streets marked by commercial strips and nodes encompassing residential enclaves established a pattern that would characterize suburban growth on the East Mesa for next fifty years.

Much as D.K.B. Sellers had attempted almost a quarter century earlier as the pioneer developer on the East Mesa, Leverett planted a residential image in prospective buyers’ minds. Safe, attractive streets; uncrowded, neighborhood schools; accessibility to the downtown but without its liabilities and an assurance that residents’ investments in their homes would be protected defined the suburban ideal. Admittedly, selling this ideal image was not easy at first, especially as transplanted easterners accustomed to tree-lined streets and green lawns ventured out onto the East Mesa. Even as Leverett and other developers drove them through other new additions such as College View, Burton Park, Granada Heights, Parkland Hills and Ridgecrest, buyers had to reconcile their expectations with the stark landscape of the empty, arid treeless mesa stretching to the east. While newspaper reports of wild horses and cattle digging up the newly planted lawns of the first few houses scattered across the new subdivisions did little to disabuse them of their anxieties, the relatively low prices of mesa lots generally proved compelling.

As the city’s growth continued, however, the idealizations of suburban living on the East Mesa proved attractive for many. The paved streets of the Monte Vista Addition, many soon lined with fast-growing Lombardy poplars, honey locusts and catalpas did much to offset blowing sandstorms. Moreover, a growing number of houses increasingly reflected the use of regionally inspired building styles set against an eastern backdrop of the Sandia Mountains. This combination contributed to a sense of place in the Southwest that proved attractive to many newcomers to Albuquerque as well as many local residents who moved from the valley to the Heights.

With the exception of a few upper-class suburban enclaves such as the Country Club and Parkland Hills Additions, most of the houses in the East Mesa suburbs in the early 1930s cost between about \$3,000 and \$4,000 (Albuquerque Journal 8/26/31:np). Small speculative builders built the vast majority of these homes. Prior to the availability of Federal Housing Authority (FHA) loans at the end of 1934, the common practice for financing home construction consisted of the builder obtaining a first mortgage and, then, the home purchaser obtaining a second mortgage. Generally mortgage rates were around eight percent and had a life of ten years or less (Leverett Jr. 1987). The first mortgage, often provided by people with small amounts of capital to loan, such as teachers, or by small savings and loan companies, was let when construction began and generally consisted of half the value of the building materials. After this “under the hammer” loan had been made, the purchaser of the home generally took a second mortgage, also short term. This larger mortgage served to pay the builder for his investment in the lot, the building materials that he had purchased on credit from lumber yards and building

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materials companies, his labor and any subcontracting he had done, and, perhaps, a small profit margin (Mendenhall 1997).

This lock-step method of financing, however, contributed little to increasing the rate of suburban growth. First, it limited the number of construction projects that speculative builders could undertake at any one time. Indebted to suppliers and to banks for short-term loans to pay their labor costs, many of the builders, whose names appear repeatedly on East Mesa building permits, could only purchase a few lots at a time from developers such as Leverett. Limited finances then dictated that they build successively on each lot, only rarely undertaking more than one or two houses at a time.

Second, the two-mortgage system created dangerous financial pitfalls that were exacerbated with the onset of the Depression. The second mortgages were often inflated so that the holder of the first mortgage, often the speculative builder or the small investor, could realize a profit. Since these second mortgages were also short term, they placed the home purchaser in a vulnerable position, one in which the probability of default increased (Doolittle 1973:98). As money became tighter the pool of capital for loans decreased, defaults increased, and the residential construction industry began a downward spiral. Housing starts that had averaged 461 per year from 1924 through 1931, fell to 42 in 1932, rose to 159 in 1933 and then dropped again in 1934 to 61 (Biebel 1986:58). At the same time, people continued moving to the city and required housing. By 1934 the rate of home vacancies in Albuquerque had declined to less than four percent, prompting civic leaders to term the shortage "acute" (Albuquerque Progress 10/36:1).

It was within this context of a faltering construction industry and a rising demand for suburban housing that FHA loans became available in late 1934. Designed to reduce the growing number of property foreclosures that were contributing to the nation's downward economic spiral, the loans revolutionized the way in which housing was financed. Replacing the two-mortgage system with eight percent interest that had characterized the early suburban market in Albuquerque was a federally guaranteed loan system in which borrowers paid ten percent down. The FHA also set standards for home construction and provided inspections to ensure proper construction. It established an appraisal system on which lenders could base loans; and, finally, it also banned second mortgage financing and placed a 20-year limit on the life of the loan, greatly increasing the borrower's ability to repay it.

At the outset of the program, FHA representatives conducted an Insured Mortgage Clinic for local residents, and by the end of 1935, over 800 loans had been made in Bernalillo County for new construction as well as modernizing and re-financing homes. As a result of the availability of FHA loans, the pattern of declining housing starts reversed with 150 starts in 1935 and rose progressively to 353 starts by 1939. Compared to the period 1930-1934 during which 1,193 homes were built, from 1935-1940 the total increased to 1,500 (16th Census 1940:240). At the same time the total cost of residential construction rose from \$500,000 to \$1,270,000, also denoting a rise in the cost of an average house from approximately \$3,300 to \$3,600 (Biebel 1986:59).

Applied to the growth of the suburbs on the East Mesa, the FHA loans began to change building patterns slowly. Not only did the FHA create a more affordable means for financing the purchase of a home, it also set

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standards assuring a minimum standard of quality in housing construction. As noted, through the city permit system, the construction industry in Albuquerque had become more regulated during the 1920s. The practice, as William Leverett Jr. has characterized it, in which “carpenters literally designed the house on the ground” began to give way to blueprints and floor plans. The many small speculative builders responsible for most of the suburban construction in the city gradually began to conform to city and then federal regulations.

With the coming of FHA loans, some developers began to take advantage of this standardization and easier financing by undertaking several construction projects at once. This practice enabled them to lower their unit costs and to hire subcontractors and workers who specialized in single areas such as plastering, painting or laying hardwood floors. By the mid-1930s, Charles McDuffie, developer of the College View Addition, had so perfected this process that he became known as Albuquerque’s “house a week man” (Albuquerque Progress 1/37:11). While building permits indicate that McDuffie continued the long-established practice of selling some lots to speculative contractors, he exercised greater control over his development, aggressively marketing it as well. This practice of a single developer constructing a higher proportion of a subdivision’s houses was a harbinger of the mass-produced housing that would characterize construction in Albuquerque’s post-World War II suburbs.

As a result of these changes, during the late 1920s and 1930s suburban residential construction on the East Mesa assumed a uniformity that continued to World War II and beyond. Small-scale speculative builders continued to play a major role in housing construction, with their practices becoming more similar as materials and building requirements became standardized. Basements, commonly excavated to hold coal-burning furnaces in the earlier generation of streetcar-era suburban houses, appeared less frequently, giving way to crawl spaces or half cellars as natural gas furnaces were introduced in the early 1930s and quickly became standard in all new homes. As structural clay tile, manufactured locally by the Kinney Brick Company beginning in the early 1930s, became available, many builders shifted from using wood or rock lath walls to clay blocks because of their better insulating qualities (Mendenhall 1997). Similarly, as manufacturers of milled lumber products such as door units and trusses, roofing materials such as cement-asbestos and asphalt shingles, and cement and paints became more competitive and sought greater efficiencies, the housing products available also became more standard. Adobe bricks were used only rarely, in part due to a prejudice in many newcomers’ minds, especially health seekers, that living in an adobe brick house was tantamount to living in a “mud hut” (Leverett Jr. 1987).

Suburban house plans also became somewhat more standardized as the ideal of the suburban house evolved. Most small builders developed a few sets of plans they used repeatedly, sometimes with slight variations, in their speculative construction projects. Some of these derived from published plans such as those distributed in the 1920s by the Albuquerque Building Materials Dealers Association and, beginning in the late-1930s, those appearing periodically in *New Mexico Magazine*. Most of these plans emphasized a connection between outdoor and indoor spaces through the use of patios and small surrounding gardens. In their practical adaptations of traditional southwestern design to the constraints of small suburban lots and the requirements of modern housing, the published plans idealized regionally inspired houses in suburban settings.

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As they attempted to link modern requirements with regional design, they contributed to some significant changes from earlier suburban housing, especially with regard to front porches and the placement of the garage. Expansive front porches, often extending nearly the width of the facade that had characterized earlier bungalows, gave way to smaller porches. As more family activities became focused in backyards and patios to the rear of the house and as the number of health seekers sleeping year-round on porches diminished, the range of front porch functions decreased. Gradually builders began to reduce its size, sometimes recessing it centrally or in a small corner cutout, but usually standing in front of the house's mass. Eventually, some residents then choose to enclose these smaller front porches, especially those flanked by two forward wings of the house. Thus, by World War II, the function of many of the smaller porches had become limited to providing a small shelter at the entry and to providing a small ornamental detail, such as a step up to the central massing of the house, associated with the popular regional revival styles.

As the automobile emerged as a significant factor in middle-class suburban life, builders began repositioning the garage to make the car more convenient for daily use. Initially located at the end of a driveway at the rear of the property, or sometimes accessible only through an alley, by the 1930s plans began to include the garage as a more integral part of the house. At first, steps to relocate the garage were tentative. This is reflected in the location of many garages dating to that period at the side of the property just behind the house and linked to it by a connecting wall broken by a gate leading to the backyard. Often builders attempted to indicate this new relationship by constructing piers or arches extending from the front of the house over the driveway, sometimes balancing the appendage with a wing wall with a gate on the other side of the house.

Gradually, however, builders began shifting the garage's location forward so that it began to appear first as an appendage to the house and, then, as an integral part of the house. Just before the war some builders began rearranging house plans that resulted in the city's first suburban Ranch style houses. These alterations in house plans required developers to widen lots. This reconfiguration of the suburban lot in order to accommodate the Ranch style also permitted a further integration of the garage into the overall plan of the home. By 1940, Albuquerque Progress was regularly featuring "modernistic" homes with low-pitched roofs in which two-car garages to one side of the central portion of the facade were a balancing element for the bedrooms located on the other side. In subdivisions lacking wider lots, efforts to accommodate two car garages led to the repositioning of these wider garages toward the rear of the lot where they had first appeared a generation earlier.

Despite these steps toward standardization of materials and plans, contractors sought to provide their houses with modest distinctive elements. Referring to the variety of ornamental details incorporated into the homes constructed in the Monte Vista Addition, William Leverett Jr. notes that builders usually "sought some ways to dress up a box" (Leverett Jr. 1987). In Albuquerque dressing up a box began to take on a regional dimension that, to this day, gives the automobile suburbs of the pre-war era a distinctive character. As has been noted, by the 1920s, builders had begun building houses that employed a range of regionally-inspired features. These included flat roofs with decorative parapets, light and earth-toned cement stucco coatings textured to suggest adobe plaster construction, arched entries at porches and doorways, and clay or pressed metal tiles to accentuate windows and doors.

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While many of these elements such as exposed beams, or vigas, and battered walls, had their antecedents in the Southwest, others were imported from California, Mexico and the Mediterranean. By the late 1920s, these varied elements gave rise to the use of a variety of architectural styles whose nomenclature today, as used in the New Mexico Historic Building Inventory Manual, includes the Mediterranean, Pueblo and Territorial Revival, and Southwest Vernacular, the latter representing an eclectic borrowing from the previous three. Although clients would occasionally prefer some non-regional styles, and although the years just before World War II were marked by the appearance of the first Ranch style houses in the city's suburbs, the pre-war suburbs represent the highest concentration of regionally inspired houses in Albuquerque.

Interspersed in some of these suburban sub-divisions were a scattering of multi-unit dwellings. The ranged in size from duplexes and a few triplexes appearing in most of the automobile-related suburbs to small courtyard apartments, rarely with more than ten units, appearing as infills in some of the older suburbs closer to downtown. Unlike apartments constructed after World War II, which tended to be larger and which were built on the peripheries of some sub-divisions, these earlier multi-unit dwellings embraced compatible plans and similar styles. Those apartment buildings having more than three units are treated in a separate multiple property nomination (Kammer 1999). The duplexes and triplexes found in suburban neighborhoods, however, represent an effort to increase suburban density during a time when the city faced an acute housing shortage and had no zoning laws prohibiting their inclusion in primarily single-residence suburban areas.

Two commonly used duplex plans either split the building into two symmetrical units with flanking entries set back on either side, or staggered the two front entries through the use of a set back for the rear unit. Common to many triplexes was their location on a corner lot. By locating one unit so that its entry faced on the long leg of the rectangular block on which all of the other houses generally faced, builders were able to use a broad U-plan in which a second facade consisting of a recessed portal faced on the shorter, cross-street. Marked by two entries located along the portal, one in the central portion and another at the rear wing of the U, the plan easily accommodated three units. This extended portal was conducive to the use of regional porch details, such as rough-hewn posts and corbels or posts with capital moldings, associated with the Pueblo and Territorial Revival styles.

As these East Mesa suburbs grew, so too did the other elements that would come to define Albuquerque's growth to the east for the decades to come. Growth in the 1930s was driven, in part, by the development of several institutions and an early automobile-oriented commercial strip on the East Mesa. To the southeast, at the end of Ridgecrest Boulevard, a Veteran's Administration hospital was begun in 1931. Six years later, a Works Progress Administration (WPA) project resulted in the construction of the Albuquerque Municipal Airport, also preparing the way for the creation of Albuquerque Army Air Base (renamed Kirtland Field) in 1941. With Public Works Administration (PWA) funding, the UNM campus was expanded and enrollment increased over the 1930s from 400 to 2,200 students. Nearby, the Indian Public Health Hospital opened in 1932, and farther east WPA monies were used to build the New Mexico State Fairgrounds. WPA and PWA funds were also used to construct two additional schools and broaden Central Avenue onto which U.S. 66 was realigned in 1937. In addition, a number of other institutions including churches and Ruth Hanna McCormick Simms' Sandia Girls School appeared on the East Mesa. With a growing number of residences, the

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expansion of institutions and the coming of a major federal highway, commercial enclaves sprang up along Central Avenue, soon extending to form a continuous strip. By the late 1930s, the East Mesa suburbs had begun to assume the dimensions of a suburban community replete with schools, churches, firehouses, parks, an automobile-oriented commercial district peripheral to the residential subdivisions, and several large places of employment.

In 1940, the 16th Census took a much closer look at the nation's housing conditions than had any previous census. The data pertaining to Albuquerque underscore the transformation the growing city had undergone as its automobile suburbs had expanded even during the Great Depression. The city held 10,420 dwellings, a quarter of which had been constructed during the 1930s. 49 percent of the approximately 6,700 single family detached houses were owned by their residents, and the average value of these residences was \$3,874, a decline of \$385 from 1930, evidence of the deflation that had accompanied the decade-long economic downturn. Indicative, however, of the changes that the New Deal had effected regarding the opportunity for individuals to purchase homes with greater security, was the statistic that 353 people in Albuquerque (out of 479 in Bernalillo County and 1,126 in New Mexico) held HFC financing. Although less than the total of purchasers who still borrowed from individuals (1,198), the figure suggests how federal financing had already begun to expand the possibility of home ownership in the suburbs.

Post-War Suburban Expansion (1945-1959)

In an article that received national attention, the popular journalist and war correspondent, Ernie Pyle, explained to his readers why he and his wife had chosen to "make our base in Albuquerque" (Pyle 1942:16). A few years earlier the Pyles, living "like trees in the sky, without roots," had built one of the first Ranch style houses to appear in the East Mesa suburbs. Located at the southern edge of the Burton Park Addition on Girard Drive, which Pyle described as "over and above the city," the house had a "front yard that stretches as far as you can see" with "Mt. Taylor framed in our front window." In addition to celebrating the meadowlarks and rabbits that appeared in his yard in the early morning, Pyle valued the clean environment where "you aren't constantly covered by soot and smoke" and the fact that he wasn't "hemmed in by buildings and trees and traffic and people."

Though Pyle would die, victim of a sniper's bullet on Ie Shima in 1945, his praise for Albuquerque's eastern suburbs was soon shared by countless others. Five years of war had created a large class of people who, like Pyle, were "without roots" and were free to relocate to regions of the country that offered promising jobs, a favorable climate, and unexplored opportunities never before available to great numbers of Americans. Seeking to attract such people, the Albuquerque Civic Council continued to boost the city, urging would-be residents to "Make your home in Albuquerque — A Wonderful Place to Live." During the war thousands of soldiers going through temporary training schools at Kirtland Air Field, discovered the city's climate and pleasing southwestern ambience. In the aftermath of the war, as the Cold War and the expanded role of government brought new employees to the area's national weapons laboratories and other regional administrative offices, thousands of others also chose to make the city their home. In two decades the city's population jumped from

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35,449 in 1940 to 96,815 in 1950 to 201,189 in 1960. Included in the 1950 population count were over 8,000 government workers (Wood 1980:90).

The city's response to this rapid growth was similar to what it had done during the 1920s when suburban development first began to push up onto the East Mesa. It sought to expand its boundaries to bring the peripheral suburbs into the city's boundaries, thereby hoping to inflate its image as an emerging metropolitan area. After failing to get a favorable court ruling as to how to annex outlying areas, city leaders once again prevailed upon the state legislature to pass a law creating a new procedure for annexation. In 1947, the legislature acted, providing a law that created a seven-person arbitration board to decide upon proposed annexations. Within two years, the new law had been applied to Old Albuquerque. There many of the residents, as opposed to annexation as much in 1949 as they had been in the late 1920s, watched helplessly as the largely Hispano community along with other North End subdivisions were annexed to the city (Wood 1980:111). During 1949, many of the other peripheral Hispano suburbs such as Barelmas and San Jose, some predating New Albuquerque, were also annexed. On the East Mesa, where developers had purchased quarter and half-sections of land in anticipation of the population growth, a simple request from the property owners of these vacant lands permitted annexation. The city that had seemed so large when its annexations of the late 1920s and 30s had pushed its size to 11 square miles by 1940 encompassed 48 square miles by 1950 and 61 square miles by 1960.

Other indicators of the city's rapid growth appear in the extension of various city services and permits. Electric connection jumped from 17,037 in 1940, to 44,983 in 1950, to 75,487 in 1960. Water hookups expanded from 9,055 to 25,066 to 53,037, and gas connections multiplied from 10,083 to 39,509 to 68,448 over the same two decades. Building permits, valued at \$2.35 million in 1940, ballooned to \$33.2 million in 1950 and to \$43.4 million by 1960 (Rabinowitz 1981:3).

The 1950 Census, which for the first time included Albuquerque in the category of metropolitan areas exceeding 100,000 in population, also attested to this rapid growth. It indicated that almost 12,000 houses had been constructed during the 1940s with the vast majority of the new construction devoted to houses ranging in value from \$7,500 to \$14,999. Indicative of the long-term success of FHA financing as a means for encouraging home ownership as well as home financing available to former G.I.s, the percentage of residents owning the detached home in which they resided had jumped from 49 to 72 percent in a single decade (17th Census of the United States Vol. II, Pt.2:13-1-13-12). This boom in the construction of single-family residences would continue into the 1950s. Reaching its zenith in the late 1950s, it would then begin to fade as Albuquerque's transformation into a true metropolitan area brought with it much greater residential diversity including larger apartment complexes and, eventually, townhouses and condominiums.

Despite the growth that these statistics implied, not all city leaders were confident that it was beneficial. Ironically, Clyde Tingley, who had returned from his four-year tenure as governor in 1938 and shortly thereafter resumed his position as city commissioner and ex-officio mayor, was among those who were most troubled. Retaining a tight control on city government during the war years in which city elections were suspended, by 1947 Tingley found himself in a minority on the commission, bypassed by advocates of reform and a rational,

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systematic extension of city services. Reduced to an often lone voice opposing such measures as the creation of a city planning department in 1949, Tingley also announced his opposition to the rapid annexations the city was undertaking. Unless developers were required to assume at least a portion of the cost of extending city services, he argued, the city would be faced with a debt of more than \$12 million (Wood 1981:104). While the city's budget had increased from \$1.2 million in 1945 to \$4.3 million in 1951, the outlay to extend services to subdivisions far out on the East Mesa struck Tingley as foolish.

It would be better, Tingley urged, to prohibit "checkerboard development" and adopt, instead, a policy of infill. It wasn't until 1953, two years before Tingley finally chose not to run for re-election that the commission, after rejecting earlier proposals following vigorous lobbying against the measures by developers, finally voted to assess developers partial water hookup and road-paving fees. In doing so the city managed to reduce at least a portion of the costs of extending city services. From 1954 through 1958, these costs were substantial as the city dug 190 miles of water lines and paved 157 miles of new roads (Wood 1980:151). In the longer run, however, many of these costs were mitigated. Unlike many cities already hemmed in by other municipalities and therefore unable to grow and expand their tax bases, through this dynamic process of annexation and suburb creation, Albuquerque continued to expand its tax base. In doing so, it managed to increase its revenues, which paid for at least a portion of these extended city services.

At the same time, the reform ticket that now controlled the city commission undertook a number of steps to keep the scope of city ordinances and policies in pace with the unprecedented rate of suburban growth. An Advisory Planning Board created in 1949 was soon given jurisdictional power and initiated a review plan including scrutiny of drainage systems for subdivisions greater than five acres. In 1953 the commission passed the first set of zoning ordinances, designating land use as to rural, residential, commercial and manufacturing. By the end of the decade subsequent zoning ordinances would begin to regulate the location of single and multiple dwellings within residential areas. In 1950, a much publicized report by the Automotive Safety Foundation made recommendations to alleviate the city's traffic problems afflicting both the downtown core and flow from the East Mesa suburbs into the downtown. Valued as innovative at the time, the report favored the convenience of residents in the more eastern post-war suburbs by designating one-way traffic flow through the earlier suburbs. This decision to transform Lead and Coal streets from residential to arterial thoroughfares has left a legacy that adversely affects tranquility and pedestrian safety in those older suburbs to this day.

Driven by this rapid suburban expansion, the city also expanded its services. From 1954 through 1958, four fire stations, two libraries and a community center were constructed. Numerous schools were also added with most of the neighborhood elementary schools located on parcels within subdivisions. Even as residential architectural styles in these new subdivisions would begin to shift from regional to national tastes, Louis Hesselden, architect for Albuquerque Public Schools, favored regional styles with many of the schools in the new suburbs employing Territorial Revival details.

This post-war suburban growth marked another phase in the evolution of Albuquerque's pattern of suburban development. As had been the case in the shift from the streetcar suburbs to the early automobile-oriented suburbs some elements of the pattern continued unchanged. Many new subdivisions, especially those

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with more modestly priced houses, continued to use a grid pattern of streets. The empty lots in additions such as Monte Vista and College View that had been extensively developed prior to and during the first years of the war, continued to be developed, increasingly with duplexes and some triplexes so that by 1947 few undeveloped lots remained in the two subdivisions. Much of the construction was still carried out by small residential builders who continued to use the regionally inspired styles that predominated before the war. While examples of these modestly decorated boxes continued in many subdivisions with smaller houses, more ranch houses also began to appear. In fact, many of the post-war houses built in the then-popular Territorial Revival style assumed the basic plan associated with the Ranch style house. Located on wider and, often, shallower lots these house offered a widened façade in which a two-car garage on one side was more or less balanced by the private spaces on the other with a often recessed porch, or portales, framing the centrally located “public” spaces of the house in the middle.

As a result of the growing popularity of the Ranch style, first included in New Mexico Magazine’s “New Mexico Homes” section in 1951, many newly platted subdivisions, especially those seeking more well-heeled residents began to shift to wider, shallower lots to accommodate the now-preferred wider house plans. Five-room houses that cost about \$3,500 in 1940 and were located on 50 x 125 lots were selling for \$8,000 in 1947. Increasing in popularity by 1950, however, were Ranch houses on 70 x 120 lots. With three bedrooms, some of these houses sold for up to \$9,800 (Rabinowitz 1981:14).

Even as these patterns continued, the demand for more housing was contributing to a rapid alteration in how subdivisions were developed. Although some builders such as Leon Watson, who developed the Watson Addition using the Pueblo Revival style west of downtown and the Los Altos Addition, a suburb west of the Rio Grande, continued the scale of development that had marked pre-war construction, the tendency was large-scale production of housing. The three developers who first took advantage of this broadening of subdivision size and mass production of housing were Dale Bellamah, Edward H. Snow and Sam Hoffman. With the first two operating companies bearing their names and Hoffman and his son operating the F & S (father and son) Company, the three revolutionized the scale of suburban development in New Mexico.

Beginning with the construction of just three houses in 1947, Bellamah expanded, platting and fully developing entire subdivisions over the next seven years. In 1954 he undertook his most ambitious project, the Princess Jeanne Park, a \$15 million project that included 1,600 houses located on 327 acres of land. Offering homebuyers a choice of two styles, “Pueblo” and “Colorock” and three sizes for each style, Bellamah achieved a scale of development never before known in Albuquerque, but one whose scale was determined by the great demand for housing. Rising as quickly but catering to a lower income market, Snow undertook his Snow Heights Addition in 1953 on a quarter section of East Mesa land purchased from W.R. Lovelace. Based in Phoenix, Hoffman undertook the 800-house Hoffmantown Addition in 1950.

Unlike previous residential developers, all three of these developers sought to make their subdivisions even more attractive to potential homebuyers by developing shopping centers adjacent to or near the residential subdivisions. In 1949, Bellamah opened the ten-store Bel-Air Shopping Center, and in 1951 Hoffman opened Hoffmantown, a complex marked by a curving 450 ft. linear building fronted by a sizeable parking lot.

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Following the passage of the city's first zoning ordinance in 1953, the siting and development of shopping centers fell under a permit process that these early developers found limiting (Wood 1980:178). Although the practice of lining arterials with commercial strips would continue to characterize suburban growth in the new suburbs of the East Mesa, zoning prepared the way for even larger shopping complexes. By 1960 zoning reviews, leases and land sales had been completed and the way prepared for construction of enclosed shopping malls at Winrock and Coronado Centers.

Not only did these developers expand the scale of suburban housing development, they also sought to address the various niches within the suburban market. Earlier developers such as William Leverett in the Monte Vista Addition and William Keleher and A.J. Hebenstreit in the Huning Castle Addition had developed a single suburban addition with restrictions aimed at attracting wealthier homebuyers. In contrast, these large-scale post-war developers simultaneously promoted several subdivisions, each aimed at a particular segment of homebuyers. At the same time that Bellamah, for example, was aiming his Princess Jeanne Addition at middle-class buyers, he was developing two upper-income subdivisions, Bellehaven and Dietz Farm in the North Valley. Both of these enclaves included architectural control boards empowered to oversee future additions and, in the case of the latter, impose building restrictions (Wood 1980:180). While suburban by definition, these country homes, often set on an acre or more of lands and generally embracing enlarged versions of the Ranch, and Pueblo and Territorial styles, greatly expanded the meaning of the term as it had previously applied to Albuquerque's residential history. Using such tactics to expand their volume of construction, Hoffman and Bellamah's corporations were, by the mid-1950s, the fourth and sixth largest home construction companies respectively in the world.

While it is often difficult to gain perspective on events in the recent past, the patterns indicative of Albuquerque's suburban growth during the first half of the century altered noticeably at the end of the 1950s. Previously a process of subdivision plats and annexations, not always in that order, in which the growth was more or less contiguous, had marked them. Like arcs, increasingly removed from the center point, the houses of these earlier streetcar and automobile suburbs revealed their age through their use of styles popular during their periods of principal construction. During the fifteen years following World War II, this pattern continued as larger annexations and the extension of city services partially offset the increased tendency toward checkerboard growth. Even in instances such as Watson's Los Altos Addition located outside of the city limits and west of the Rio Grande at the northeast corner of Bridge Street and Old Coors Boulevard, the pattern of gradual movement away from the developed core continued.

In 1960, however, the pattern was completely ruptured when a national developer, the Horizon Land Corporation, announced plans to purchase and develop the Black Ranch west of the Rio Grande and to rename it Paradise Hills. Two years later the American Realty and Petroleum Company undertook a similar project, announcing that it had purchased the Koontz Ranch, also on the west side, and that it intended to develop the community of Rio Rancho. Located well outside of the city's boundaries and never intended for subsequent annexation, these distant suburbs marked a change in how Albuquerque would grow. While the city would continue in the decades to come to push its eastern boundaries toward national forest lands at the foothills of the Sandia Mountains, the progression of suburban arcs no longer predominated.

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By the mid-1950s, the consequences of checkerboard development had already begun to be felt as the Albuquerque Bus Company cut seven East Mesa routes due to a decline in riders that began in 1952. Without a sufficient density of population, public transportation proved inefficient, and East Mesa residents became even more inclined to use their cars. Only with the infill that Clyde Tingley had urged would the fabric of the new suburbs be tightened. One form of infill began to appear with the construction of the Continental Arms Apartment complex near the Veterans Administration Hospital in 1962. With the construction of the high-rise Park Plaza Apartments near downtown and the Landmark Apartments near the Coronado Shopping Center the following year, the emphasis on suburban residences as the city's primary housing form began to decline. Single unit construction, which had accounted for 84 percent of total units built under residential permits in 1961, fell to 63 percent in 1962 and to 39 percent by 1972 (Wood 1980:250). Characterized by plans for enormous subdivisions well beyond the city boundaries and a growing trend toward large apartments located along arterial roads, by the early 1960s the patterns of suburban growth that had marked Albuquerque's growth for a half-century had changed beyond recognition.

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F. Associated Property Types

Name of Property Type: Suburban Residential Buildings

During the decades of growth of Albuquerque's streetcar and early automobile suburbs (1904-1960), residential architecture underwent a series of changes as materials and house plans and styles evolved. This evolution, as discussed in the historic context section, reflected changes in the city's development patterns, construction industry practices, the norms defining modern housing, and popular residential styles. These considerations constitute the associative qualities reflected in the city's suburban housing. Some factors pertaining to this housing type remained relatively constant such as the location of most houses in residential subdivisions, their generally standardized siting on relatively compact similarly landscaped parcels of land, and the widespread use of concrete foundations. Over a half-century of suburban growth, the most notable aspect of residential evolution has been the various architectural styles employed in housing construction. To reflect these styles this property type, which includes the duplexes and triplexes appearing as integral elements in some subdivisions' residential blocks, has been divided into several subtypes. Each subtype is described as to its physical characteristics and character-defining elements. Since all of these suburban residences emerged as a result of the same historic forces driving Albuquerque's expansion, their significance and registration requirements are discussed collectively.

Subtype: Hipped Cottage

Popular from 1900 to 1925, the era of construction of the city's streetcar suburbs, this style was either one or two stories with a rectangular plan and cubic massing. The roof is hipped with dormers often appearing on the front pitch or on the two side pitches. A symmetrical porch, often with a shed roof and milled lumber details, fronted the house; rear porches were not uncommon. In earlier examples the eaves were often enclosed. In many later examples the rafters are exposed, and porch details such as tapered piers suggested the Bungalow style. Windows, often symmetrically placed, are either single or grouped, and a transom often tops entries, particularly in earlier houses. Modest in ornamentation, hipped cottages reflect a variety of building materials including brick, lumber and stucco coating. As residents found that they required additional space, porches are sometimes enclosed.

Subtype: Bungalow

A popular residential style from about 1905 to 1930, the bungalow appeared in both the streetcar and early automobile suburbs. It was especially widespread in the early suburbs of the sandhills and East Mesa where health seekers found the style with its porches and generous fenestration conducive to the climatological therapy advocated at the time. Generally a one- or one-and-a-half story house with a low-pitched gable roof, bungalows are marked by large roof overhangs with exposed rafters, beams, purlins and stick brackets. Large, battered piers topped by a gabled roof, often stepped below the main roof, support large front porches. Residents

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sometimes enclosed porches, especially in houses where a tubercular member of the family died. Multiple wood sash windows line the front and sides with small fixed or casement windows often flanked houses with exterior chimneys. Entries are often offset, reflecting a common plan that divided the house along private and public axes, which ran from front to rear. Building materials include bricks, stucco, wood shingles and exposed timbers with more ornate examples often combining a variety of these materials.

Subtype: Shotgun

The shotgun dwelling was an inexpensive form of housing used by early 20th century health seekers in Albuquerque. As land values have increased examples of the house have become increasingly scarce. Its origins are primarily folk, although mail order versions were also available and appeared in the Southwest, especially in railroad and oil boom towns. Characterized by a narrow gable-front, shotgun dwellings are one-room wide and two or three-rooms deep. They are generally of clapboard and include small wood casement windows on the side and shed porches at the entries.

Subtype: Mediterranean

Popular from the 1920s through the 1940s, the Mediterranean style was closely identified with popular regional revival styles but more clearly evoked Italian, Spanish or Mexican elements, often in combination, resulting in the McAlesters designating the style as Mediterranean Period Homes. Generally one story, but with more ornate two-story examples appearing in wealthier suburbs such as the New Country Club Addition, the style employed flat roofs concealed by decorative parapets; other examples employed low-pitched roofs, often with cross gables. Visible portions of the roof, as well as parapets, porch roofs, and window and entry hoods are often topped by decorative red or polychromatic clay tiles or pressed metal imitations. Light-colored, often textured stucco-coated walls, and facades are generally asymmetrical with entries often marked by molded columns and arches capped by slight towers. Windows are single or grouped, often in three parts, with large fixed windows in living rooms. Many entries and windows display decorative wrought iron grills.

Subtype: Pueblo Revival

Synthesized from the wood porch details of Spanish Colonial architecture and the irregular stepped massing of Pueblo architecture, this style was popular from the mid-1920s to the 1950s. Residences built in this style have flat roofs with parapets, often stepped, and are generally one story although some more ornate examples are two. Although originally built of adobe, in many of the automobile suburbs modern materials, including wood frame and, later, cinder blocks, were used and then covered with earth-tone cement stucco coatings. The style employed several standard details, including projecting beams, or vigas; roof drains, or canales; cut out brackets, or corbels, over porch posts; and exposed lintels over doors and windows. Corners are often rounded, sometimes with modest buttresses, and walls sometimes battered. Small cut-out porches, many without roofs, marked some front entries while other entries are centrally located in a larger, recessed portal.

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Windows are either single or grouped and reflect a change in window types used in Albuquerque with sash windows appearing in earlier examples and metal casement windows appearing in many houses built after the early 1930s.

Subtype: Southwest Vernacular

Popular from the 1920s through the early 1950s, this style represented many builders' efforts to devise a generic, short hand version of the various regional revival styles. Generally having one story and a flat roof, the style often employs an irregular parapet, sometimes with notable stepping. Walls are stucco-coated, and small cut-out porches, many which were subsequently enclosed, often mark entries. Tiled accents often appeared at window hoods and porch roofs, and windows, either single or grouped, are generally sash or metal casement, reflecting the time of construction. Depending on the individual builders' skills and motivation, the degree of ornamentation for this style ranges from an imaginatively ornate to a simple, unadorned cube. If two or more decorative elements associated with a particular revival style appear, the building is usually identified as such.

Subtype: Territorial Revival

Popularized in the 1930s with several New Deal-funded public buildings, this style appeared in residential architecture from the mid-1930s through the mid-1950s. One story in its residential expression, the style employs a flat roof with white or brown stucco-coated walls capped by a brick cornice, sometimes elaborated with dentil courses. Doors and windows, generally metal casement but occasionally with large picture windows in living rooms, sometimes have pedimented lintels. Porches vary from small cut-outs to longer recessed portales, and porch posts generally have molding capitals to evoke classical columns. As lots and house plans widened by the late 1940s and early 1950s, the Territorial Revival style became a popular means of applying ornamentation to residences that increasingly came to embrace the Ranch style.

Subtype: Tudor Eclectic

Embracing the Tudor Revival, Thatched Cottage and Provincial styles, these period revivals are referred to collectively in the New Mexico Historic Building Inventory Manual as the Medieval Mode. The style applies to a small number of suburban residences constructed during the period of significance that incorporated a variety of styles to achieve a picturesque composition. One or two stories, and generally with steeply pitched roofs that sometimes simulated thatching or employed slate, buildings in this style employed a mixture of materials including field stone and rough-textured brick with stucco and half-timbering. Generally large residences, houses employing these designs have an asymmetrical massing that often included cutout porches, conical towers and gabled entries.

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Subtype: Streamline Moderne

In distinct juxtaposition to the regionally inspired styles characterizing much of Albuquerque's residential architecture, the Streamline Moderne style appeared in a few residences from the mid-1930s through the mid-1950s. Found in one- and two-story houses, the style is characterized by a flat roof and white stucco-covered walls with decorative horizontal moldings. Corners are rounded, and projecting hoods and porch roofs emphasized the cantilevered structural elements. Windows included portholes and corner windows. Porches and second-story decks are often lined with metal railings. Houses employing this style vary in size and plan from simple rectangular blocks to large two-storied buildings with stepped massing.

Subtype: Colonial Revival

Although rarely employed in Albuquerque's residential architecture, examples of the Colonial Revival style appear in some of the subdivisions developed during the period of significance. Most often these examples include two-story houses with side-gabled roofs, some with second-story overhangs, and more modest one-story examples suggestive of Cape Cod cottages more popular in other regions of the country. Details present in examples of this subtype are relatively modest, indicative of the simplification of the style that occurred after World War II, when most of the houses employing this style were constructed in Albuquerque. Facades are generally symmetrical and cornices are generally boxed with slight overhangs. Sash windows are often paired and sometimes flank bay windows. Wood and brick are the predominant wall materials and sometimes appear in combination. Entries also are relatively modest with doors with molded frames and pedimented lintels located beneath small shed porches. Sometimes set on wider, shallower lots, some of the examples include garages with a stepped side-gable roof.

Subtype: Ranch

By the late 1930s the Ranch style house that had emerged in California at the beginning of the decade began to appear in Albuquerque's newer automobile suburbs. One story with a broad pitched or hipped roof, this modern style marked a significant departure from the period in which regionally-inspired styles marked most of the city's residential construction. Increasingly, crawl spaces and half basements gave way to concrete slab foundations. Finish materials varied and often included, either singly or in combination, lumber, brick, stucco coating or metal siding. Porches are often small and sometimes recessed. Windows often included large fixed "picture" windows as well as metal casement and, later, aluminum sliding windows. The broad house plan included central public spaces flanked by a garage, increasingly double-car after World War II, on one side and the house's private spaces on the other. This modern housing style contributed to a reconfiguration of suburban lots in many post-war subdivisions. By necessity lots in many of the post-war subdivisions were widened and their depth was reduced. In some subdivisions as well as in the case of suburban enclaves in which lot sizes were larger to achieve the feeling of country estates, the Ranch style plan was sometimes retained while

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the roof and elevation ornamentation were altered to affect Southwest revival styles, especially the Territorial Revival style.

Subtype: International

By the late 1930s the International style house began to appear in Albuquerque's newer automobile suburbs. One or two stories, residences built in this style had asymmetrical though usually balanced massing with flat roofs. Stuccoed walls and unrecessed strip metal windows, often pushed to the corner to dispel the traditional assumption of structural support at that point, formed unbroken exterior surfaces. In some suburban areas modest examples of this style were limited to details such as a flat roof, corner windows, and a lack of decoration.

Subtype: Contemporary

Also appearing in Albuquerque's suburbs in the fifteen years following World War II were examples of what the McAlesters refer to as the Contemporary style (McAlester 1984: 482). Uncommon but occurring within suburbs developed within Albuquerque through 1959, houses employing this style include both flat-roofed and gabled examples. Examples of the former appear largely as derivatives from the earlier International style but substitute wood and brick facing for the stark white surfaces of their predecessors. The latter, exemplified in the Monte Vista and College View Historic District at 3504 Grand Ave. NE (1957), features overhanging eaves, exposed roof beams and varied materials such as brick, wood, and stone as wall facing. In some areas of Albuquerque, especially those with varied contours permitting an unobtrusive use of multi-stories, these same details also appear in a few split level houses. Because split levels are relatively rare in the suburban additions developed prior to 1959 and because the rare examples employ many of the details associated with the Contemporary style subtype, they are included within this subtype.

Property Type Significance

The residential buildings constructed in Albuquerque's suburbs between 1904 and 1959 are significant under Criterion A as indicators of the patterns of development that determined the growth of the city in its transformation from a small railroad-oriented community to a city whose spatial character was determined by automobile-oriented suburbs. In the half-century during which that pattern of growth was established, Albuquerque grew from a walkable town to a small city surrounded by expanding streetcar suburbs to a large city with increasingly distant automobile suburbs. In the process it also annexed great amounts of land, some of it already the site of growing suburban additions, much of it empty East Mesa land awaiting development. Unlike many other urban areas, this continuing possibility of growth through annexation and the creation of more suburbs enabled the city to maintain a growing tax base that partially contributed to its ability to increase and then sustain relatively high levels of city services.

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As traced in the historic context statement, many of the early suburbs surrounding the downtown core grew as a result of the development of the town's electric trolley line established in 1904. Connecting the city's two major employers, the American Lumber Company and the AT&SF yards, as well as climbing the sandhills to the East Mesa, the trolley opened new areas to suburban development. During the 1910s and 20s, as the city grew, in large measure, due to its growing prominence as an administrative and services center as well as a health center for those seeking a cure from tuberculosis, the East Mesa suburbs benefited. Seeking the then favored climatological therapy, health seekers built small bungalows above the damp, more polluted valley floor. By the late 1920s, the growing popularity of the automobile had created the potential for the next arc of suburbs both on the East Mesa and at the northern and western edges of the downtown core.

The pattern of development that emerged during this period continued to characterize suburbanization in Albuquerque until the late 1950s. Typically, it involved one or more developers purchasing and platting a subdivision. Small residential builders then purchased one or more lots, sometimes constructing houses for clients but more frequently building houses on speculation. The financing methods discussed in the historic context served to limit the number of houses any one builder could construct at one time, a pattern altered only with the advent of FHA loans in the mid-1930s. Using basic house plans, which many of them drew, and ornamentation reflecting popular styles, builders working in an addition during a particular period tended to create residences that were basically similar in style yet retained subtle differences. Those houses in suburbs dating from the mid-1920s through the late 1940s during which regionally-inspired architectural styles were used particularly came to characterize Albuquerque's image as a city whose neighborhoods reflected their setting in the Southwest (McAlester 1998: 438).

During the 1920s and 30s city boosters, increasingly through the city government itself, aggressively pushed the city's growth, going so far as to lobby the state legislature for laws easing the process for the annexation of outlying areas. Under ex-officio mayor Clyde Tingley considerable land was annexed, including suburban areas north and east of the town. Inclusion in the town and the city's prompt extension of services to those areas and to newly platted subdivisions beyond enabled the city and its construction industry to enjoy a relative prosperity during the Depression. At the same time, city leaders made effective use of many New Deal projects to improve the infrastructure in new suburban areas, thereby encouraging further development. As the country began preparing for entry into World War II and Albuquerque succeeded in receiving designation as a site for an army air base, the pace of suburban growth quickened, especially on the East Mesa where infill in the new suburbs began to be marked by scattered duplexes and, just after the war, a few triplexes.

With the development of many institutions on the East Mesa, the pattern of eastward suburban growth intensified during and after World War II. Cheap mesa land enabled developers to purchase large tracts, subdivide them, and then mass-produce houses to meet the city's housing shortages. With no provisions for developers bearing any of the costs for the extension of city services to these new subdivisions, the rate of building continued unabated, culminating with Dale Bellamah's Princess Jeanne Addition with 1,600 houses in 1954. These patterns of relatively contiguous growth within the city's expanded boundaries changed substantially beginning in 1960 when large national land development corporations began investing in housing projects well removed from the city proper. While Albuquerque's rate of growth has continued, the pattern of

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development based upon a continuous extension of suburbs emanating from already settled areas ended by 1960.

The buildings are also significant under Criterion C for the way in which they embody the location and siting of suburban housing, as well as the housing types, styles and methods of construction used in Albuquerque between 1904 and 1960. With their character-defining elements described in each subtype, they embody the historic evolution of the suburban house in the city over a half-century. Specifically, these suburban houses reflect the practice of the uniform location of buildings on a small parcel of land within a subdivision. As new transportation systems enabled the city to expand, new subdivision farther removed from the downtown core were platted. Generally these new subdivisions replicated the previous pattern of house siting even as some sought to find alternatives to the street grid pattern by introducing curved streets within the subdivision.

Reflective of changing tastes in architectural styles and, eventually, a change in home financing that affected building practices, the suburban houses of Albuquerque offer a significant architectural indicator of the city's growth. The hipped cottages and bungalows of the streetcar suburbs are reminders of the early efforts of small builders to make modest single-family housing available to a growing population. Subsequent bungalows and early examples of regional revivals are reminders of how the city expanded to meet the influx of newcomers, many of them health-seekers, as the city expanded northward and eastward. The predominantly regionally inspired suburban houses built from the mid-1920s to the 1940s indicate how the city continued to expand and how builders and homebuyers came to embrace a suburban architecture clearly identified with the Southwest. Finally, the first generation of post-war housing reflected by variations on the Ranch style recalls the post-war boom the city experienced in which a shift to a mass-produced, standardized form of housing addressed the city's housing shortage.

Property Type Registration Requirements

To be eligible for nomination under Criteria A and C, properties, including duplexes and triplexes, must have been in the district during the period of significance and must retain their character-defining elements as discussed in the sub-type descriptions. Specifically, they must be located in suburban additions and have been constructed during the period of significance (1904-1959). They must retain their original location and site with relation to the street. They must retain their original massing, with the exception of unobtrusive additions to the rear or sides of building; and they must retain their original roof shape. Facades must retain their original materials. Alterations to windows and doors must not have notably changed their size or location. Infills to porches and garages must either be reversible or compliment the original stylistic details characterizing the house.

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Name of Property Type: Suburban Park

Suburban parks include public open spaces located within a subdivision on lands generally dedicated by the subdivision's developer. Appearing in a few subdivisions prior to World War II, they became an integral part of suburban land use planning in several of Albuquerque's subdivisions developed after the war. Typically, they consist of a parcel of land varying in size from one to several acres and in contour from flat to sloping terrain. Most often circumscribed by residential streets with houses facing the park on two or more sides, these public landscapes most frequently contain an open greensward broken by shade trees arranged in clusters or lining the park. While some parks may include small playgrounds or a single small plot such as a rose garden or flowerbed under intensive care, the larger portion of the land is informally arranged often with scattered picnic areas located beneath informal clusters of trees. Although some parks contain cottonwoods, most emphasize trees with lower water requirements such as Siberian elms, Arizona ashes, and southwestern evergreens.

Property Type Significance:

The parks found in Albuquerque's older suburbs recall the efforts of city leaders and developers to include amenities such as open spaces in some of the city's early suburban additions. Although this practice became more widespread after World War II, the earliest efforts to dedicate portions of subdivision lands for the creation of neighborhood parks signify how developers and city leaders sought to promote new residential areas through providing public amenities. As discussed in the historic context, during the 1920s and 30s, ex-officio Mayor Clyde Tingley encouraged developers to dedicate portions of their subdivisions for the creation of public parks. This practice received further support when funding became available for public works projects such as park construction during the New Deal beginning in 1933. Viewed as amenities contributing to the quality of suburban living, parks became an integral part of the suburban landscape in many of the city's early automobile suburbs. As examples of early efforts at community planning and development, they are significant under Criterion A.

Prior to the creation of Highland and Rio Grande Parks in the 1920s, public open spaces in Albuquerque were limited. In Old Albuquerque, the plaza represented an open space associated with Spanish land use practices. In New Albuquerque the only park was Robinson Park, located on a small triangular parcel formed by the intersection of Railroad Avenue, running on a diagonal, and Tijeras Avenue and Eighth Street, part of the city's grid of streets. Only as Albuquerque expanded beyond a walking city did leaders begin to advocate neighborhood parks. Most of these were landscaped in what Baker Morrow has termed the "frontier pastoral," a regional adaptation of century-old English Landscape gardens (Morrow 1988:72). Designed to provide a shaded public space in an arid southwestern setting, these public open spaces employed a greensward punctuated with informal groves or lines of drought-tolerant trees. In some cases, a small ornamental garden or pool was added to serve as the park's showpiece. As examples of early efforts of this style of landscape architecture, these parks are significant under Criterion C.

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Property Type Registration Requirements:

To be eligible for nomination under Criteria A and C, suburban parks must have been in the district during the period of significance and must retain their historic integrity as discussed in the description. Specifically, they must be located in suburban additions, have been established during the period of significance (1904-1959), and retain the landscape features associated with their establishment.

Name of Property Type: Suburban School

Suburban schools include those elementary and middle schools located on lands located within a subdivision or lands that were either dedicated by the subdivision's developer or acquired by Albuquerque Public Schools (APS) as a part of the planning process associated with the city's suburban growth. Appearing in a few subdivisions prior to World War II, they became an integral part of suburban land use planning after the war. Typically, these schools are one or, rarely, two-story buildings located on a parcel of land consisting of a few acres. The land in front of the school leading to the central entry is landscaped with lawns and trees, and the remainder of the land is used for playgrounds, parking, and temporary classrooms. Frequently located on residential streets, some schools also border on feeder or arterial streets.

Although some schools constructed in the late 1950s reflect the same modernistic styles and standard plans found in contemporary schools elsewhere, those schools constructed from the 1930s through the early 1950s employ regional styles including the Pueblo Revival, Territorial Revival and California Mission Revival styles. Characteristically, these styles were adapted to increasingly standardized building plans that included a central entry, entries at the ends of the building's wings, ease of interior circulation for safety and health, and multiple fenestration for adequate light and air. As school enrollments in these suburban areas increased, many of these schools have received additions, especially at their sides and rear, which have altered the footprint and massing of many buildings.

Property Type Significance:

The schools found in Albuquerque's older suburbs recall the efforts of the city's educational leaders and developers to include public schools in or nearby many of the city's early suburban additions. In some instances, as an effort to induce would-be homebuyers to choose a particular subdivision, developers dedicated a parcel of the addition as a school site. More often, APS, under the leadership of superintendent John A. Milne from 1910 to 1955, acquired potential school sites, and then astute developers planned their subdivisions near those sites (Rabinowitz 1981:36). During Milne's tenure the number of public schools within the system increased from five to 63 with many of those new schools elementary and middle schools closely associated with new suburban areas. As examples of early efforts at community planning and development and of the history of public education in Albuquerque, they are significant under Criterion A.

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Prior to Milne becoming superintendent of APS in 1910, the city's schools included an elementary school in each of the city's four wards and a high school. While the practice of siting elementary schools in each of the four wards continued into the 1930s, when two of the overcrowded ward schools were replaced by modern two-story buildings funded as Public Works Administration projects, the development of new suburban areas required the construction of additional neighborhood schools. During the early 1930s, Milne hired architect Louis G. Hesselden to research modern school design and then to serve as the school system's architect. In this capacity, he designed most of the schools constructed from the mid-1930s through the early 1950s when the demand for more schools led to APS hiring other architects as well. While Hesselden's familiarity with the latest practices in school construction and design resulted in the use of modern plans in his designs, he also incorporated elements of regional styles such as stucco, sloping tile roofing, and decorative brick and cast stone details. As examples of early suburban school architecture in Albuquerque, these schools are significant under Criterion C.

Property Type Registration Requirements:

To be eligible for nomination under Criteria A and C, suburban schools must have been in the district during the period of significance and must retain their historic integrity as discussed in the description. Specifically, they must be located in or adjacent to suburban additions, have been established during the period of significance (1904-1959), and retain the character-defining architectural features associated with their construction.

Name of Property Type: Suburban Church

Suburban church properties include those churches located within or adjacent to a subdivision and associated with the city's suburban growth during the period of significance. Typically, these churches are located on a parcel of land of less than two acres and situated at intersections of residential and feeder or arterial streets. Convenient to both local residents and church members traveling from other neighborhoods, the location often at the periphery of a subdivision indicates the dual role that churches played. Portions of these parcels are often paved to provide off-street parking. Consistent with the setting of nearby residential areas, the landscape of these properties often consists of lawns and trees in those areas facing streets. Spatial organization of church lots is slightly more complex on some Roman Catholic church grounds and may include a rectory, activities and educational buildings, and a small site for a shrine.

Although church designs became more eclectic in Albuquerque after mid-century, reflecting the rise of twentieth century functionalism, or Modernism, the churches associated with the development of the city's early suburbs employ either traditional nineteenth century revival styles, such as the Tudor, or regional styles including the Pueblo Revival, Territorial Revival and California Mission Revival styles. As church membership

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in these suburban areas increased, some of these churches have received additions, especially at their sides and rear, which have altered their footprint and massing.

Property Type Significance:

The churches found in or adjacent to Albuquerque's older suburbs recall the role that religious institutions played in the community's development, especially the efforts of residents in new suburban additions to include houses of worship as neighborhood amenities. Albuquerque boosters pointed to the number of churches and the variety of faiths they represented as indicators of the city's growth, attractiveness and ecumenical spirit (Albuquerque Progress 10/49:np). Along with schools, parks, paved streets and nearby commercial areas, they were regarded as elements composing the ideal suburb. As examples of early efforts at community planning and development and of the history of organized religion in Albuquerque, they are significant under Criterion A.

Records indicate that relatively few architects designed churches in Albuquerque and that those who did were often members of either the Church Architectural Guild of America or the Guild for Religious Architecture (Pratt 1993:69). Responsive to their clients' wishes, these architects most frequently designed these early suburban churches using the Pueblo Revival, Territorial Revival, Spanish Baroque and Tudor and Gothic Revival styles. As examples of early suburban church architecture in Albuquerque, these churches are significant under Criterion C.

Property Type Registration Requirements:

To be eligible for nomination under Criteria A and C, suburban churches must have been in the district during the period of significance and must retain their historic integrity as discussed in the description. Specifically, they must be located in or adjacent to suburban additions, have been established during the period of significance (1904-1959), and retain the character-defining architectural features associated with their construction.

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Name of Property Type: Suburban Historic District

Albuquerque's historic suburban growth is largely measurable through the sequence of residential additions that were platted and then developed over the first half of the century. While some additions developed over a prolonged period of time, as discussed in the historic context, most developed within a few decades or less, giving rise to suburban neighborhoods characterized by a grid or, in some instances, winding streets lined by houses exhibiting a homogeneity of housing plans, styles and settings. As such, these additions, with their streets lined with houses possessing the same physical attributes constitute readily definable districts. Typically, suburban historic districts consist of one or more additions developed within a similar time period so that the majority of their houses reflect the setting, house plans, building styles and practices of that period.

Since most subdivisions segregated residential from commercial areas, the latter generally appearing only in small nodes at the subdivisions' peripheries, historic districts rarely embrace commercial buildings. Churches, schools, and parks, however, were considered integral components of an ideal suburban landscape and, if they meet eligibility requirements, may be considered contributing properties within an historic district. As suburban development in Albuquerque sought to address the city's growing housing shortage of the late 1930s and 40s, developers in many suburban additions also included small numbers of duplexes and triplexes as an integral part of an addition's housing. Many of these small multi-unit residences remain as contributing elements with districts.

Property Type Significance:

Suburban historic districts are significant under Criterion A for their association with the emergence of Albuquerque's streetcar and automobile-oriented suburbs between 1904 and 1959. Generally defined, but not limited to, the approximate boundaries of one or more additions, they reflect specific phases in the patterns of suburban development. Districts dating to the streetcar suburbs are significant for their location near the electric trolley system and near the town's major sites of employment. Districts dating to the automobile suburbs are significant as reminders of how through annexations the city expanded its boundaries in three directions, permitting settlement in areas well removed from the downtown core. Districts are also significant for their reflection of the development practices of early realtors who purchased and platted subdivisions and then frequently sold lots to small builders who employed a limited number of plans and building styles as they built one or more houses, often on speculation. Districts reflecting the last years of the period of significance are reminders of the shift in subdivision development practices made possible under FHA loans to a system in which a single developer platted and then fully developed a subdivision using a limited range of housing plans and styles.

Containing residences revealing similar settings, house plans and architectural details, historic districts are also significant under Criterion C. The street systems, primarily grids at first but later introducing curved streets within a subdivision, created the setting for the houses that followed. Located on compact lots with a

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common setback, houses within a district generally reflect the sensibilities of construction within a given period. These sensibilities include the prevailing house plans and styles of the period. While the earliest and latest suburban districts within the period of significance reflect periods in which housing styles were similar to houses found in other parts of the country, the districts dating from the 1920s through 1950 reflect an extensive use of regionally inspired styles.

Property Type Registration Requirements:

To be considered eligible for registration, a suburban historic district must exhibit sufficient characteristics associated with its period of development. These characteristics include having at least 60 percent of the buildings belonging to the subtypes already described and determined to be contributing and having no more than 25 percent of the buildings constructed during the years following the period of significance.

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G. Geographical Data

The city limits of Albuquerque and contiguous suburban areas of Bernalillo County, New Mexico

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H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

This multiple property submission was prepared under the auspices of Ed Boles, Preservation Officer of the City of Albuquerque's Planning Department. It was funded, in part, through the Certified Local Government (CLG) program administered through the New Mexico State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO). Ed Boles as well as James Hewat of SHPO reviewed drafts of this document. The submission represents an effort to coordinate a series of historic building surveys carried out over the past decade in many of the city's older neighborhoods with recent archival research documenting the historic residential growth of Albuquerque as well as older suburbs located in adjacent portions of Bernalillo County. Primarily intended to recognize the city's historical residential districts, it is intended to complement two similar multiple property listings treating commercial development and multi-unit housing. Already listed in the National Register, they are "Auto-oriented Commercial Development in Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1916-1956" (Wilson 1997) and "Multi-unit Dwellings in Albuquerque, New Mexico" (Kammer 1999).

Beginning in the 1970s, the Historic Landmarks Survey and, later, the City Planning Department periodically undertook inventories of buildings located within the city's older neighborhoods. As a result of these surveys the city nominated six historic residential districts for register listing. Survey forms completed for buildings in other neighborhoods, however, still required further assessment. During the early 1990s, several SHPO-funded courses in historic preservation and the conducting of building surveys were taught at the University of New Mexico's School of Architecture. As a part of their fieldwork, members of some of those classes working under the supervision of their instructor, architectural historian Chris Wilson, completed an intensive-level building inventory of two East Mesa subdivisions platted in 1926. Using the New Mexico Historic Building Inventory Manual, they updated previous forms and completed new survey forms for over 800 residences in the subdivisions. Their research included a review of applicable Sanborn Fire Insurance maps and city directories for each property. This survey led to a recommendation that the area was potentially eligible as a historic district exemplifying the patterns of suburban settlement that occurred in Albuquerque during the inter-war years.

Presented with these up-to-date survey forms, the planning department contracted with historian David Kammer to conduct an archival study of the area's development and to place it within a broader context of the history of suburban development in Albuquerque. By looking at this broader pattern of suburbanization, closely associated with the overall growth of the city, planners hope to be able to apply the historic context to other suburban neighborhoods in the future. An analysis of the city's suburban growth patterns suggested that considerable transformation occurred as result of the establishment of the electric trolley line in 1904. Similarly another wave of growth occurred with the popularization of the private automobile during the 1920s. Affecting most of the periphery of the original downtown core, it was especially evident to the east as portions of the East Mesa were annexed and subdivisions platted concurrent with the city's growth as a health center. Finally, a study of the unabated growth the city experienced just before and then after World War II suggested an extension of that same suburbanization pattern to the late 1950s. The emergence of these overall patterns led to

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the selection of the periods of significance and the determination of the period treated in the historic context statement.

Finally, it should be noted that in conducting this archival research, Kammer discovered and made use of a seldom-used collection of scrapbooks consisting of newspaper clippings from the city's three major newspapers of the period. Collected from the 1920s through the 1970s by Albuquerque Public Library staff, the clippings offered a comprehensive and readily accessible look at all matters of the city's growth. Although each clipping was labeled as to date and newspaper, captions lacked page numbers, which accounts for the lack of page references in many newspaper citations.

With regard to the scope of property types included within this nomination, the decision was made to limit them to residences, suburban parks, schools and other public buildings and churches, and residential historic districts. This decision reflects the earlier preparation of afore-mentioned multiple property listings treating the growth of auto-oriented commercial development and multi-unit dwellings treating the rise of commercial strips which are adjacent to or near many of the early suburban subdivisions and small apartment complexes often located within residential subdivisions. Based upon building surveys, it was also determined to treat the suburban residence as a property type, presenting the various architectural styles they exhibit as subtypes. The historic context, however, applies primarily to historic residential districts.

Those infrequent commercial nodes occurring in the automobile-oriented suburbs are generally characterized by small indented streetside parking areas that suggest their association with the commercial development property submission. Also considered was the matter of small two and three unit apartments located within some of the generally single-family houses of the suburban additions. Many of these duplexes and triplexes were built to satisfy the housing shortages of the 1940s and, except for plans meeting their function as small multiple dwellings, exhibit the same building styles and approximate massing of neighboring single-family dwellings. Based on these shared characteristics, it was determined to treat them within the residential property type rather than within the multi-unit dwelling listing.

The requirements for the integrity of the properties were derived through an application of the Secretary of the Interior's standards to each of the properties. The historic district included in this multiple property submission is one in which many homes have undergone varying degrees of change. In some, windows have been replaced, in others porches filled in, or garages converted to rooms. Yet the feeling of the historic character of the district is both widespread and distinctive, and manifested in unaltered houses as well as in many houses with minor alterations that were carried out in ways sympathetic to the original style or are reversible. By listing the key design characteristics of each subtype and applying them to each property and testing it for the degree to which it displays its character-defining elements, a determination was made of each property's degree of integrity.

Finally, the decision regarding the determination of contributing and non-contributing properties within the district reflects the directives provided in National Register Bulletin 22 addressing the application of Criteria Consideration G: properties that have achieved significance within the past fifty years. Based upon the examples of properties that do not need to meet Criteria Consideration G, it was decided to treat as contributing

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those properties constructed through 1955 that appear as an integral part of the district. Although the construction of a small percentage of these properties overlaps the fifty-year period by a few years or less, the properties have been evaluated as contributing based upon their setting, location, materials, design and feeling.

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