

Archaeological Construction Monitoring of the Police and Fire Administration Building and Department of Public Safety Fueling Station and Vehicle Wash Facility, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas

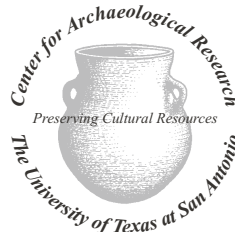


by
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Ashley Jones, and Maria Watson Pfeiffer

Texas Antiquities Permit No. 5843

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Archaeological Report, No. 433

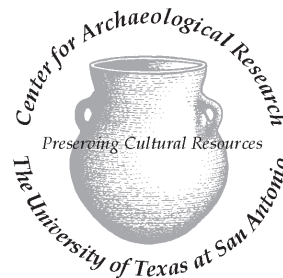
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Abstract:

The Center for Archaeological Research at The University of Texas at San Antonio (CAR-UTSA) was contracted by Ford, Powell & Carson Architects and Planners, Inc. to conduct archaeological monitoring of the construction of the new Police and Fire Administration Building and Department of Public Safety Fueling Station and Vehicle Wash Facility. The developments impacted two distinct Areas of Potential Effect separated only a few hundred yards from each other on the east and west sides of IH-35 in south-central Bexar County. The tract on the east side of IH-35 is the location of the new Police and Fire Administration Building. The tract on the west side of IH-35 is the location of the Department of Public Safety Fueling Station and Vehicle Wash Facility. Review of historic maps, deed records, previous archaeological investigations, and historic documents indicates that the tract that is to house the Administration Building has been in use and occupied throughout much of San Antonio's history. The two blocks that make up this tract to be impacted by the proposed Police and Fire Administration Building have been occupied since at least 1873 (as seen on Koch's Bird's Eye View of San Antonio). The occupation of the blocks only increased as the years went by. At least two structures found on these blocks appear to have been in place since 1886, and both were illustrated on the later Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps. These older structures were razed only after the property was conveyed to the City's Urban Renewal Agency in the 1980s. In contrast, prior to the 1870s, the tract that is to house the Public Safety Fueling Station and Vehicle Wash Facility had been used primarily for agricultural production. The Alazan *Acequia* is the only remaining feature from this pre-1870s period. It runs south of the Areas of Potential Effect (APE) and under Frio Street, and it is not impacted by the construction project. The APE has been substantially modified following the arrival of the railroad in the 1870s.

During the construction of the Administration Building, the archaeological construction monitoring has identified a privy (41BX1967) containing cultural deposits dating to the early twentieth century. Although located within the boundaries of the former red-light district, the privy appears to have been associated with a nearby general merchandise store facing S. Santa Rosa and Matamoras Streets. The store was in operation under its original owner from 1891 to 1920. The construction monitoring of the Fueling Station identify no intact architectural features or significant cultural deposits. The materials recovered during the monitoring of the construction activities in the two APEs and all project related documentation are permanently curated at the CAR facility.

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Our appreciation also goes out to the members of the construction firm that worked with the CAR staff, particularly at the San Antonio Police and Fire Administration Headquarters. In addition, our thanks go out to John Mize of Ford, Powell & Carson, Architects and Planners, Inc. for his assistance in contractual matters and negotiations with the City. Finally, we would like to extend our thanks to Kay Hinds, City Archaeologist, for her support of the project and her insistence that the privy feature had a great deal of research potential that deserved to be explored.

Chapter 1: Introduction and the Areas of Potential Effect

The Center for Archaeological Research at The University of Texas at San Antonio (CAR-UTSA) was contracted by Ford, Powell & Carson Architects and Planners, Inc. to provide archaeological services associated with the construction of the proposed San Antonio Police and Fire Administration Headquarters and a Department of Public Safety Fueling Station and Vehicle Wash Facility in downtown San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas. These services consisted of the completion of an archival and archaeological review of the two project areas followed by the archaeological monitoring of construction activities associated with each facility. The CAR staff completed the archival and archaeological reviews prior to the inception of the construction and recommended construction monitoring (Pfeiffer and Ulrich 2010). The Texas Historical Commission (THC) review staff accepted the recommendations and issued Texas Antiquities Committee Permit No. 5843 to Dr. Steve A. Tomka, CAR Director, who served as Principal Investigator on the project. In addition, the monitoring and subsequent excavation of the privy was conducted in accordance with and under the jurisdiction of the City of San Antonio's Preservation Ordinance (Article VI, Historic Preservation and Urban Design, City of San Antonio, Unified Development Code).

This report summarizes the results of the construction monitoring and presents the findings of the analysis of the only intact deposits identified during the monitoring, the contents of a privy dating to the early twentieth century and associated with the former red-light district of San Antonio. The report is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 provides the project background and describes the Areas of Potential Effect. Chapter 2 summarizes the results of the archival and archaeological background previously conducted by CAR staff. Chapter 3 outlines the field methods employed during monitoring and the laboratory methods used in artifact processing and analysis. Chapters 4 and 5 discuss the results of the monitoring at each of the respective APEs, while Chapter 6 discusses what the privy and its contents tell us about social interactions and dynamics within the immediate area. Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes the findings of the construction monitoring.

Areas of Potential Effect

The construction of the Administrative Building and Vehicle Support Facility impacted two spatially distinct tracts. The first tract that became the location of the proposed Police and Fire Administration Building occupies approximately 4.6

acres, and it is bounded on the north by W. Nueva Street, on the west by Urban Loop, on the south by W. Durango, now Cesar Chavez, and on the east by S. Santa Rosa Street. The APE is located on the San Antonio East (2998-133) USGS 7.5-minute series quadrangle map (Figure 1-1). The former K-Mart Building stood within the project area prior to its demolition (Figure 1-2).

The second segment the support facility associated with the headquarters will consist of the Department of Public Safety Fueling Station and Vehicle Wash Facility. This segment of the APE is located at the southeast corner of Frio Street and Durango Boulevard and is bounded on the north by W. Durango Boulevard, on the east by S. Frio Street, and on the west by S. Salado Street. The project area is contained in two full New City Blocks (NCBs), 241 and 269, and a portion of NCBs 240 and 270. Currently, the property is the site of the San Antonio Municipal Court and parking area (Figure 1-3). The APE is located on the San Antonio West (2998-244) USGS 7.5-minute series quadrangle map (Figure 1-4).

Scope of Work

As part of construction monitoring, the CAR was to provide the following the services:

- 1) Limited (10 days) construction monitoring of ground disturbing activities at each of the two locations;
- 2) Production of individual or a single technical report summarizing the results of the monitoring;
- 3) Curation costs were to be limited to the project related documentation since at the time of the budgeting no information was available as to what features and artifacts might be revealed during monitoring.

Finally, the project Scope of Work did not include the investigation of features that could turn up during monitoring. The cost of such investigations was to be the subject of a contract amendment. A feature, a historic privy, was identified during monitoring of construction activities for the Police and Fire Administration Building. CAR staff excavated the feature and its contents to allow for the construction activities to continue without delay; however, no cost amendment was subsequently issued.

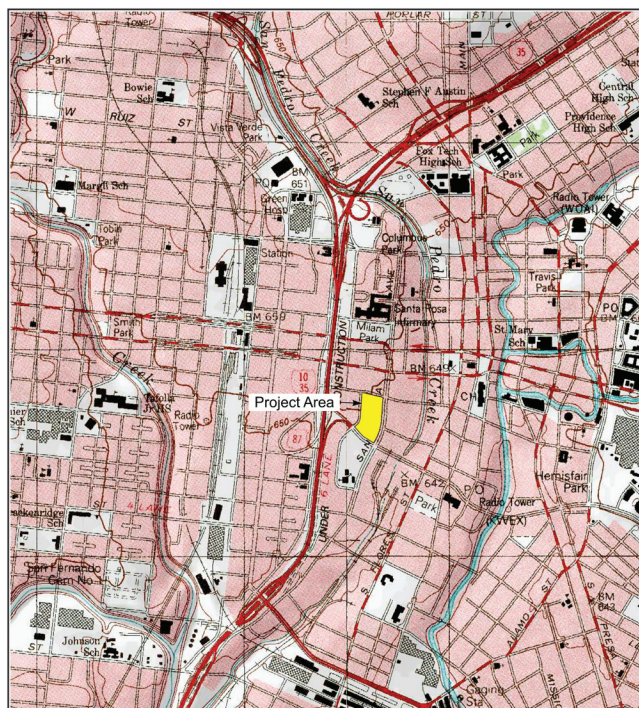


Figure 1-1. Location of the San Antonio Police and Fire Administration Headquarters on the San Antonio East (2998-133) USGS 7.5-minute series quadrangle map.



Figure 1-2. Aerial view of the San Antonio Police and Fire Administration Headquarters APE.

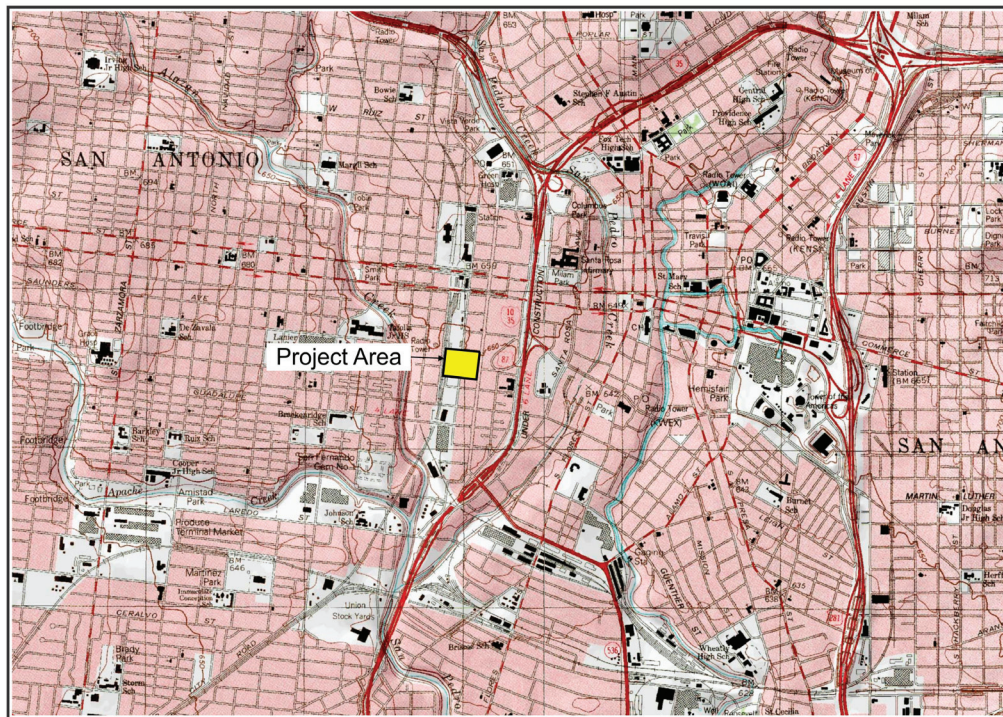


Figure 1-3. Location of the Department of Public Safety Fueling Station and Vehicle Wash Facility on the San Antonio West (2998-244) USGS 7.5-minute series quadrangle map.

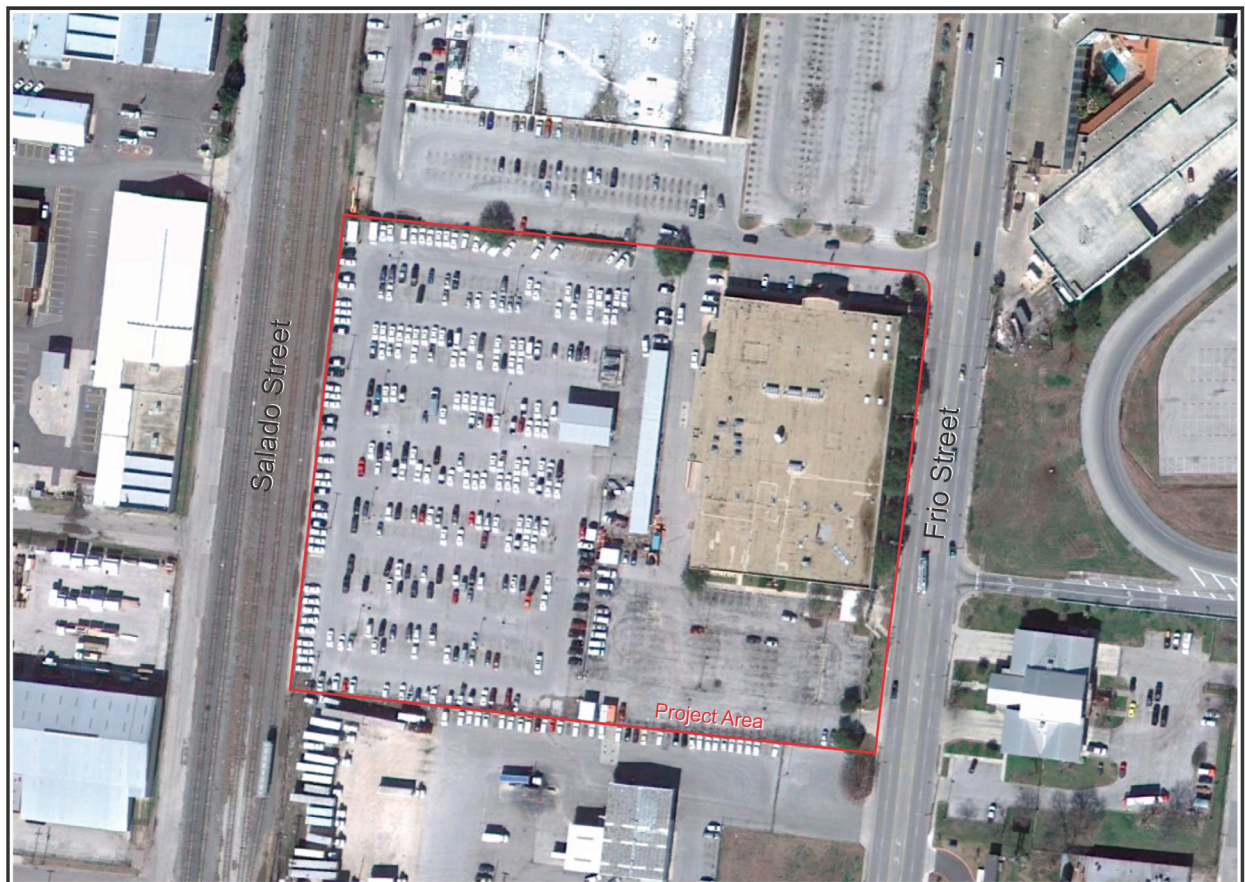


Figure 1-4. Aerial view of the Department of Public Safety Fueling Station and Vehicle Wash Facility APE.

Chapter 2: Summary of Archaeological and Historical Background

During the Spanish Colonial Period, the two APEs, which lie west of San Pedro Creek, were on the outskirts of the main town in an area used primarily as grazing and farming land. As the town developed and population size increased, more people moved to the outskirts of town to find open land. By the late 1700s, land grants began to be distributed that conveyed parcels located outside of the protected confines of the town west of San Pedro Creek. As a result of this westward expansion of San Antonio west of San Pedro Creek, by 1806 the area is depicted as a barrio on town maps. During the late 1840s, the City ordered that the area of town that included the current APEs be surveyed and divided into Blocks and Lots to be sold to create revenue for the City.

The majority of the new lots were purchased by wealthy and prominent citizens of San Antonio. The first two sub-sections of this chapter are reproduced from the Archaeological and Historical Background Review of the project area conducted by Pfeiffer and Ulrich in 2010.

The Police and Fire Administration Building

The Public Safety Headquarters project area consists of the greater portion of NCB 337 and NCB 338 in downtown San Antonio (Figure 2-1). The site is located approximately in the middle of the redevelopment area known in the 1960s as the Central West Urban Renewal Project No. 1-Tex-R-39.

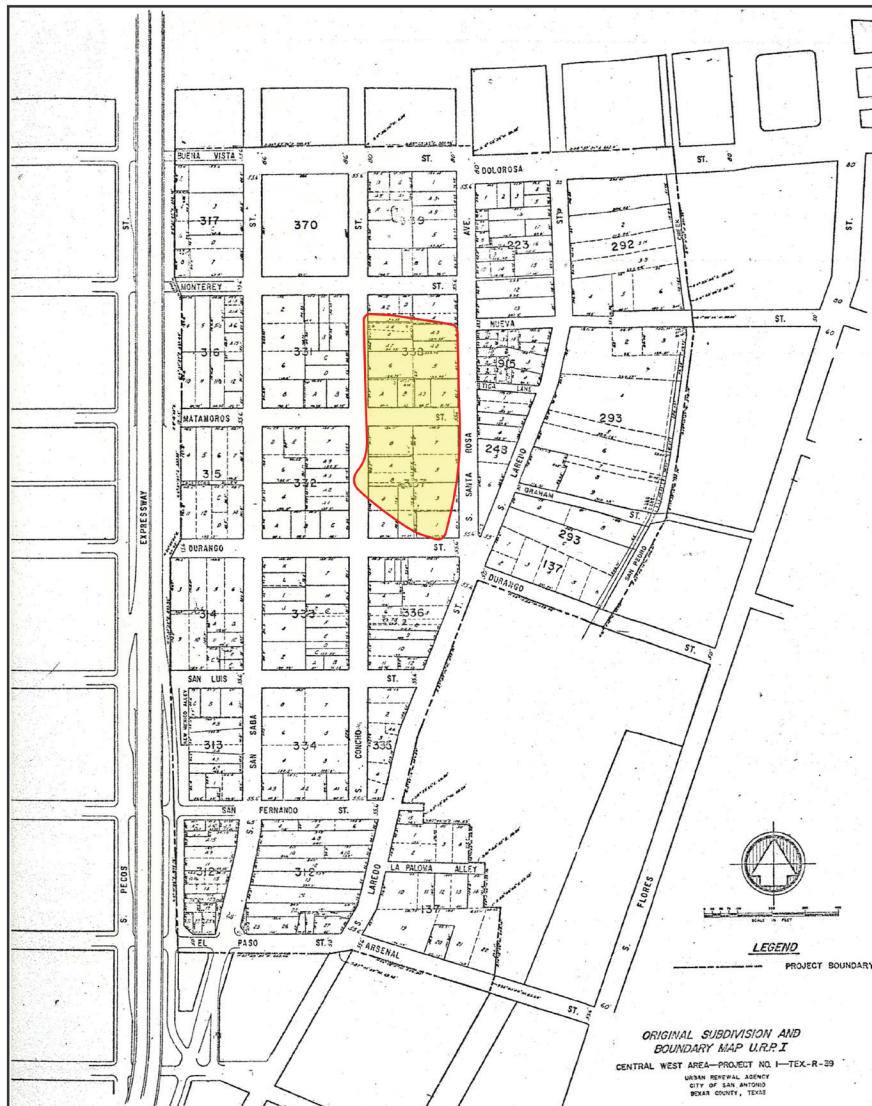


Figure 2-1. Central West Urban Renewal project, original subdivision and boundary map, c. 1960 (San Antonio Public Library, Texana-Genealogy Department).

The first detailed map of the area was made in 1892 (Figure 2-2). At this time, S. Santa Rosa Street was known as S. East Street, and Concho Street bordered the western portion of the project area. Monterey and Matamoras Streets ran parallel to Durango Street. It appears that W. Nueva did not run all the way to the west as it currently does. However, the projected path of the road runs through the northern portion of the block between Monterey and Matamoras. The 1892 map does not depict the entire project area to Durango Street, but it does reveal that there were quite a few structures present in the portions of the blocks shown. A wagon yard and a few one-story dwellings stood in the northeastern portion of the block just south of Matamoras. The block between Matamoras and Monterey Streets also was occupied by many dwellings, outbuildings, and one hay baling area.

A few changes in the layout of some of the structures were noted in the 1904 map. The changes were relatively minor, and only a few new buildings were added in the central portion of the current APE. In contrast, quite a few changes occurred on the block between Monterey and Matamoras by 1912 (Figure 2-3). The block consisted mostly of dwellings, but the southern and southeastern portion of the block was occupied by apartments rather than single-family dwellings. On this map, the Benabalcencia (Benovolencia) Hall is depicted as vacant, and several structures are removed or modified. The block between Matamoras and Durango also has changed. The northeastern portion of the block had been occupied by a camp and wood yard in previous years. By 1912, the buildings began to be used as a dry-goods store and warehouses. The northwestern corner of the

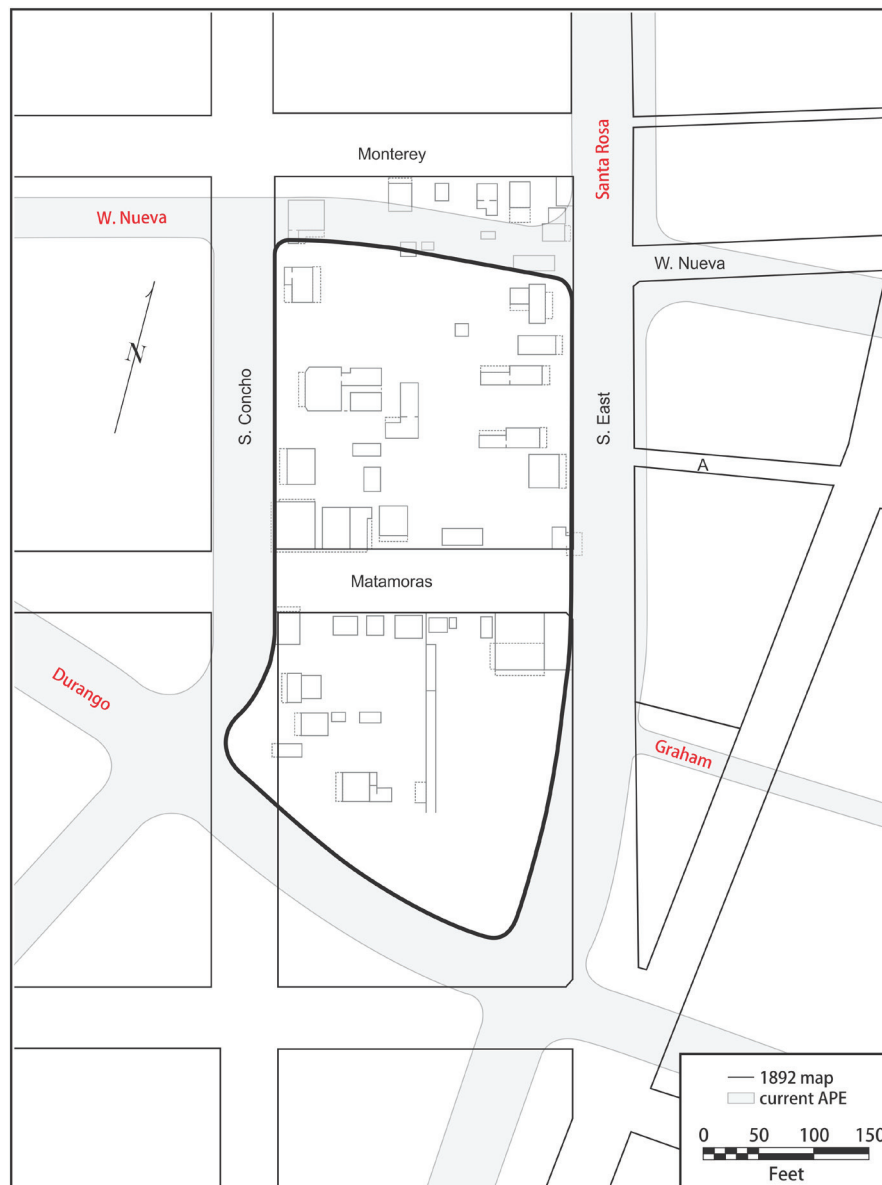


Figure 2-2. The current APE on the 1892 Sanborn-Perris Fire Insurance Map.

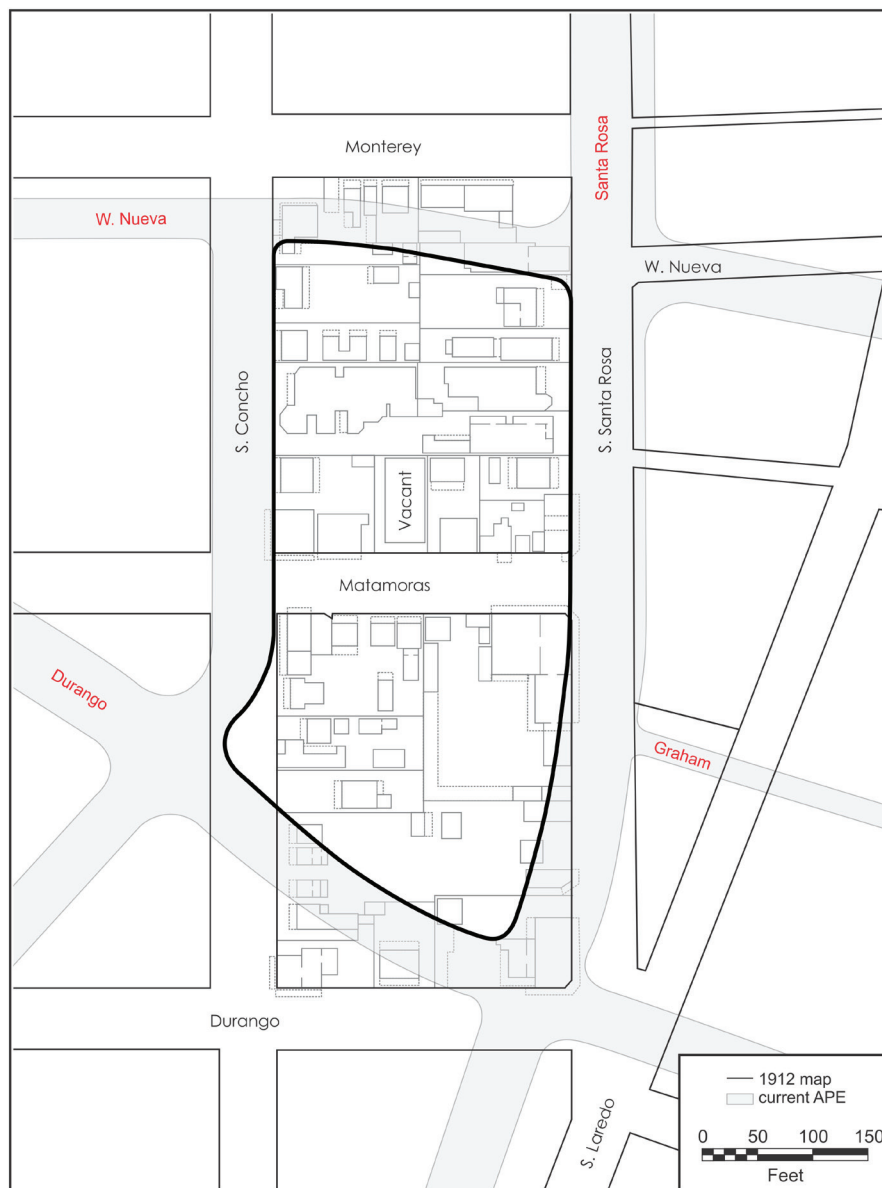


Figure 2-3. The current APE on the 1912 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map.

lot underwent slight changes, while the southern half of the block experienced few changes (Figure 2-3), the most visible of which was the construction of a new store.

The area experienced a boom during the next decade. The number of structures, representing a mix of commercial and residential uses, tripled within the APE. By the 1920s, the area was composed of an ethnically mixed population as depicted by maps showing structures labeled as “Negro Dwellings” and “Mexican Dwellings.” Shops in the area were owned by Italian and Chinese immigrants, and civic organizations of a variety of cultural groups were found throughout the neighborhoods. Corner stores operated alongside saloons, tailors, and shoe repair shops. The names

of business owners and residents included Broggi, Giorgio, Pizzini, and Woo. The American Christian Missionary Society, Mexican Benevolent Society, and Min Chih Tang all occupied buildings in the project site. Scattered among the merchants and working class residents was a thriving red-light district that had developed on the fringes of town west of San Pedro Creek. An extended discussion of the red-light district is provided below since the only intact feature that was identified within the project APEs is associated with this historical context.

The two blocks changed again by 1935, the date of the next Sanborn map of the project area (Figure 2-4a and b). Many of the buildings were labeled as “tenements” (Figure 2-4a)

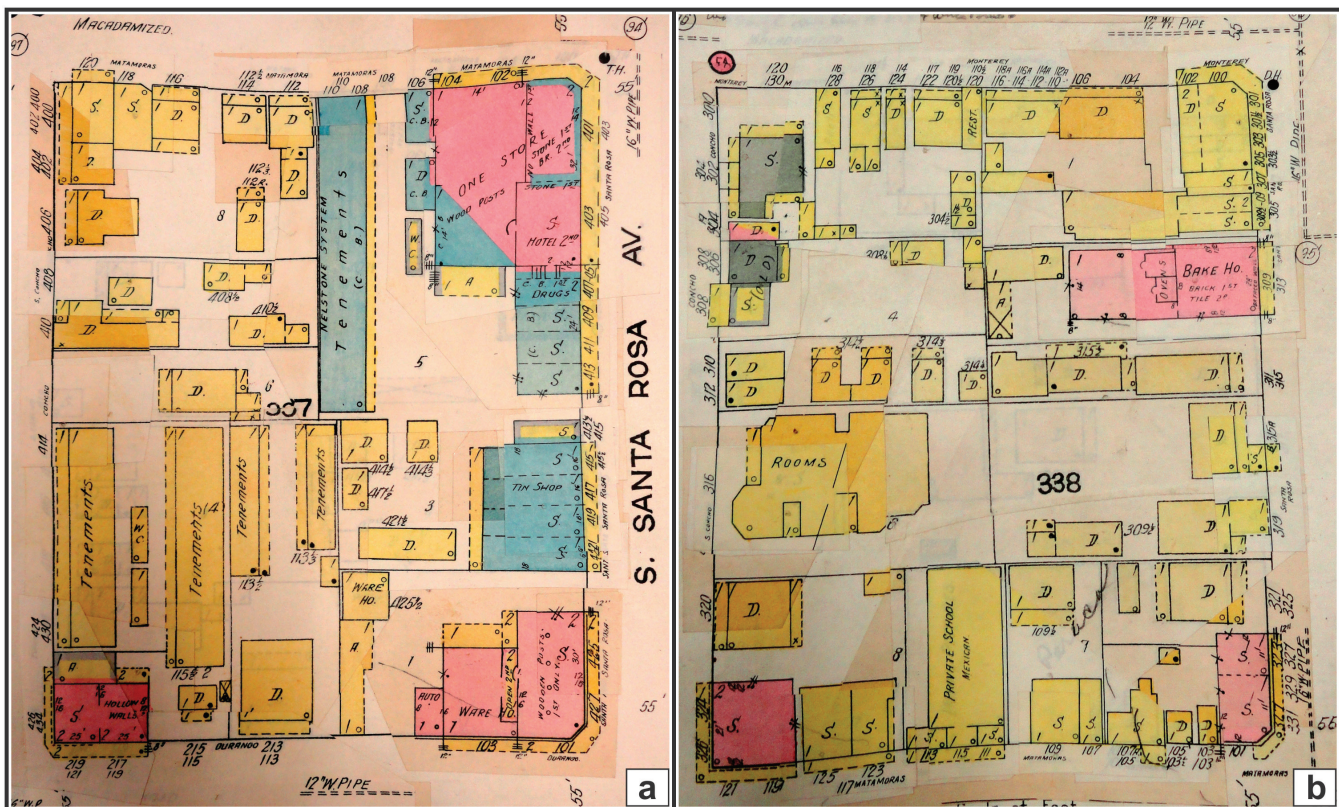


Figure 2-4. Sanborn maps with improvements on NCBs 337 (a) and 339 (b) in 1935 (Sanborn Map Company 1912/1935).

in the southern portion of the APE. The Tin Shop and stores remained, and a Mexican private school had been opened along Matamoras Street (Figure 2-4b).

Between 1935 and 1939, there were few changes in area. All of the structures labeled as “tenements” in the previous map are listed as dwellings (Figure 2-5a). The Mexican school located along Matamoras is no longer listed as a school in 1939 (Figure 2-5b). In addition, the dwellings in NCB 338 are depicted with greater detail, showing more divisions within each structure.

The blocks saw very little change over the intervening decade as surmised from the 1949 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map (Figure 2-6a and b). The same can be said for the next year in the series (1951; Figure 2-7a and b). A few changes were made to some structures along Santa Rosa (Figure 2-7b), but the blocks were still occupied mostly by dwellings. The last of the Sanborn maps depicts the area in 1961 (Figure 2-8a and b). It shows that all the dwellings located to the west of the store in NCB 337 were removed for parking. Two larger structures were removed along the southwestern portion of NCB 338, at the block at the intersection of South Concho and Matamoras. The remaining structures appeared to have remained the same.

A Brief Social History of the Red-Light District

Much of the following summary is extracted from the historical context produced by M. Freeman and M. Pfeiffer for the proposed Federal Courthouse (2010) project and a history of the red-light district written by D. Bowser (1992). Prior to the early twentieth century, houses of prostitution were scattered throughout the city. Though probable, there is no proof that any were operating in the project area in the 1880s and 1890s; however, Bowser places the beginning of the red-light district to 1890 (1992). Local leaders felt compelled to address the issue in 1889 when an ordinance was passed to control “bawdy houses” or “houses of ill-fame” operating within the city. An ordinance was passed that required all the women working in these houses to undergo physical exams, and those operating houses were to pay \$500 annually (Morgan 2007:1).

Consideration was apparently given in 1901 to the establishment of “a district for lewd women and variety shows” in the area bounded by East, Pecos, Durango, and Monterey Streets (Bowser 1992:7; Freeman and Pfeiffer 2010). This area included the current project site. Domingo Fernandez, who operated a store at Santa Rosa and Matamoras Streets in NCB 337, joined other area businessmen in expressing

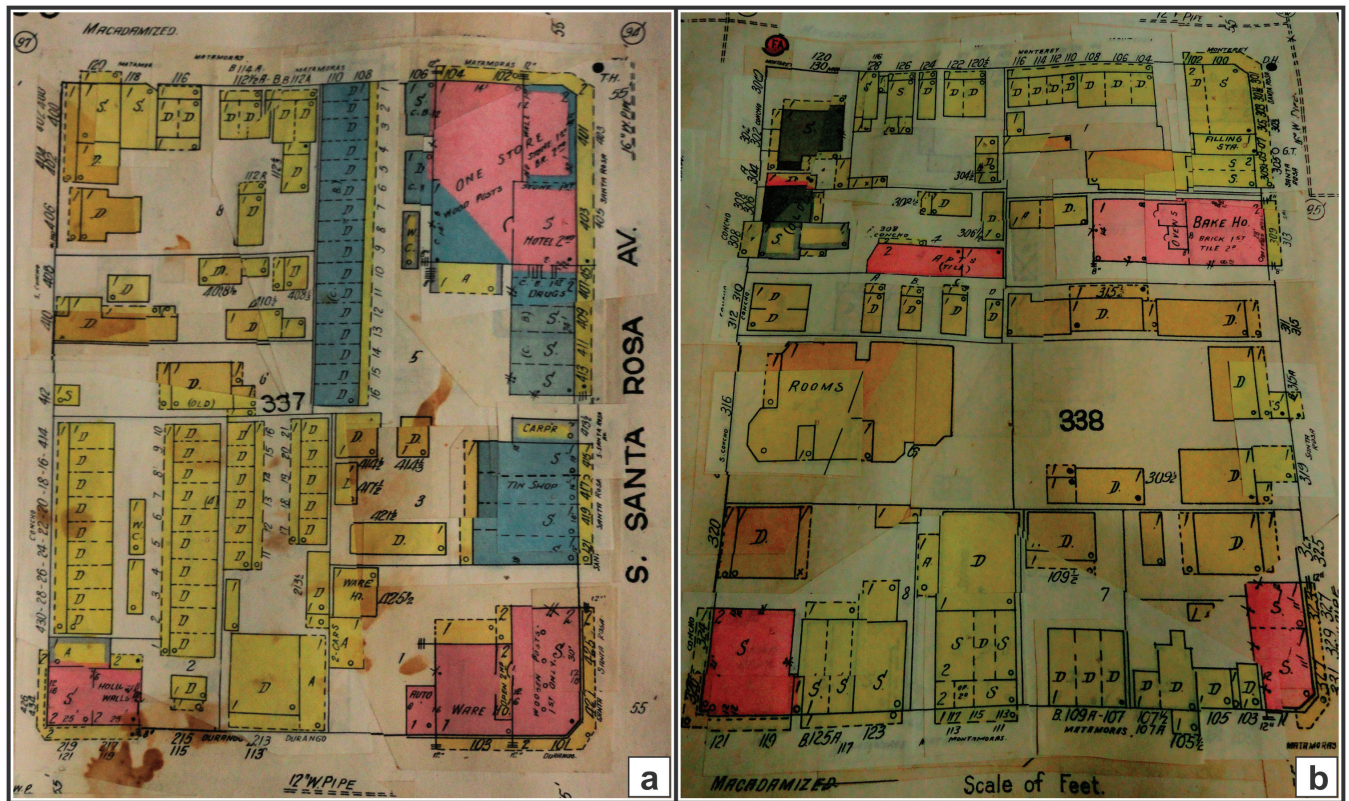


Figure 2-5. Sanborn maps with improvements on NCBs 337 (a) and 338 (b) in 1939 (Sanborn Map Company 1912/1939).

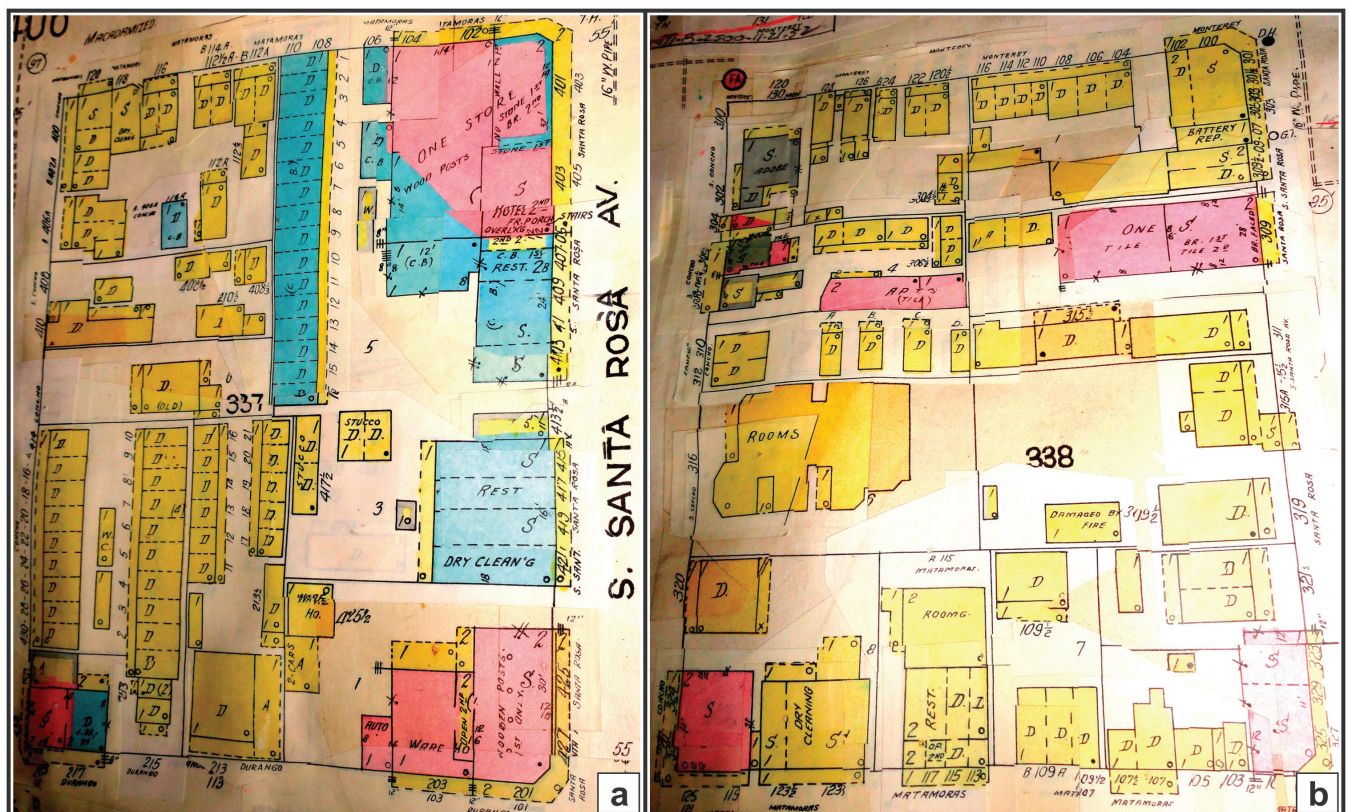


Figure 2-6. Sanborn maps with improvements on NCBs 337 (a) and 338 (b) in 1949 (Sanborn Map Company 1912/1949).



Figure 2-7. Sanborn maps with improvements on NCBs 337 (a) and 338 (b) in 1951 (Sanborn Map Company 1912/1951).

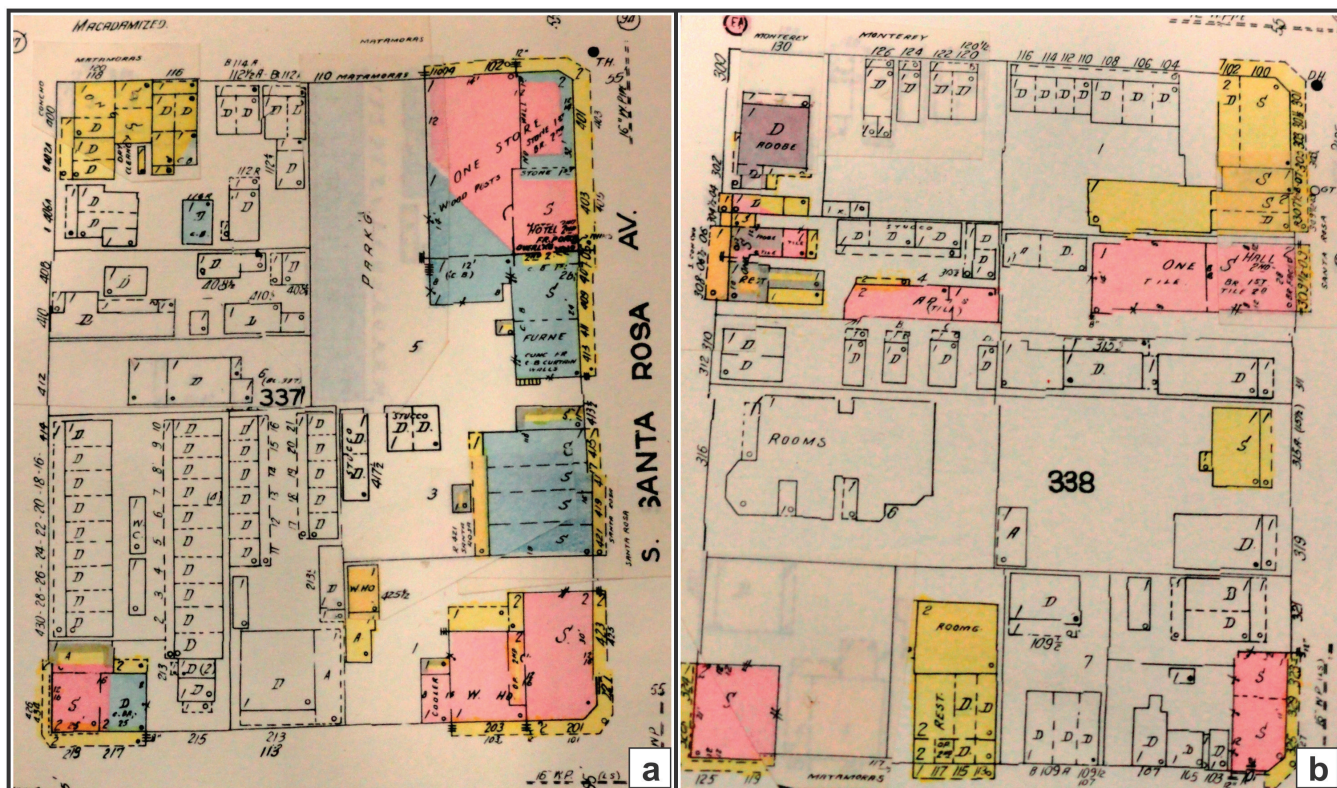


Figure 2-8. Sanborn maps with improvements on NCBs 337 (a) and 338 (b) in 1961 (Sanborn Map Company 1961).

opposition to this proposal. Mayor Marshall Hicks was quick to respond that "...the city has not at any time, and will not designate any district within which lewd women may follow their vocation or any shows be given in violation of the law" (San Antonio Municipal Archives, Marshall Hicks to D. Fernandez, et al., August 20, 1901).

The success of these protestations is questionable because the 1904 Sanborn map documents the earliest houses of prostitution in the project area. Three establishments on NCB 338 were designated "female boarding." The 1904 Sanborn map also places the Fashion Theater, a vaudeville house, on the south part of Lot 1, NCB 338. By 1911-1912, the red-light district was concentrated in and around the project area. There were 20 "female boarding" houses on NCB 338 and four on NCB 338 in 1911-1912.

The Blue Book for Visitors, Tourists and Those Seeking a Good Time While in San Antonio, Texas, 1911-12 provided

a detailed guide to the "sporting" district. The anonymous publisher, thought to have been Billie Lealman the proprietor of the Beauty Saloon, located across Concho Street from the project site, provided information for those "whose creature desires impel them to saunter forth to the enjoyment of the clinking glass, sports, and good fellowship..." ([Keilman] 1911-1912:5). In addition to advertisements for various houses, restaurants, and bars, the booklet contained listings of women by Class A, B, and C rankings. *The Blue Book* listed 21 addresses (Table 2-1) within the project area.

The district continued until 1941 when it was closed through the efforts of the military, police, and health officials (Bowser 1992; Gohlke 1997:24).

Coincidentally, *The Blue Book* was published the year following the Mexican revolution of 1910. The revolution brought an influx of refugees to San Antonio at the time when the city was already crowded with Army soldiers

Table 2-1. Red-light District Addresses That Fell within the Current APE during 1911-1912, as Listed in *The Blue Book*

Class	Address
A	316 S. Concho
A	316 S. Concho
A	316 S. Concho
A	316 S. Concho
A	317 S. Santa Rosa
B	317 S. Santa Rosa
B	317 S. Santa Rosa
B	317 S. Santa Rosa
C	106 Monterey
C	112 Monterey
C	114 Monterey
C	312 S. Concho
C	314 S. Concho
C	320 S. Concho
C	320 S. Concho
C	410 S. Concho
C	313 S. Santa Rosa
C	315 S. Santa Rosa
C	323 S. Santa Rosa
C	323 S. Santa Rosa
C	325 S. Santa Rosa

and their families. The military presence increased prior to the beginning of World War I, and refugees continued to arrive from Mexico. A housing shortage in all parts of the community led to the construction of new dwellings, many of them small frame structures, and the remodeling of existing dwellings into multiple units (Freeman and Pfeiffer 2010). The project area was no exception.

City directory listings indicate that there were 59 residents in the project area in 1913, while in 1922, there were 127 people living there. This did not account for stores, which might have been owner-occupied, and individuals living in hotels or brothels.

The most significant increases in population density were due to the construction of alley structures known as *corrales*—long, multi-unit frame buildings that opened onto courtyards with common spigots and privies. These structures were concentrated on NCB 337. A 16-unit structure was located at 108-110 Matamoras; two structures containing nine and ten units were constructed at 414-430 South Concho; and two units containing five and six units were built at 213 Durango (Freeman and Pfeiffer 2010).

While the project area continued to be a dense mix of residential and commercial uses, by 1935, the number of residents listed in the city directory in NCBs 337 and NCB 338 had decreased to 95. Interestingly, the 1935 city directory recorded many vacant units. It is possible that these vacancies represented the beginning of a transition from the red-light district to a neighborhood of more traditional renters, owners, and shopkeepers.

By the late 1939, NCB 337 included a mix of large, multi-unit *corrales*, commercial structures, and some single-family and duplex housing. NCB 338 contained primarily commercial establishments, many located in converted houses, and both single- and multi-unit dwellings. This pattern of development in the project area remained fairly constant until its acquisition and demolition by the Urban Renewal Agency in the early 1960s.

The neighborhood west of the project area was greatly impacted in the 1950s by the federal and state-funded urban expressway project. Initially approved in 1945 and begun in 1947, parts of the system that ran through the near west side were completed by 1952. Other segments were completed incrementally, and the costly, elevated section from Martin Street north of the project site to Guadalupe Street on the south was scheduled to be completed in 1956 (*San Antonio Express*, January 27, 1952, 1-D). Until this section could be completed, traffic was routed along Pecos and San Saba

Streets west of the project site. The freeway right-of-way between Pecos and San Saba was cleared, removing several blocks of housing and commercial development.

The Department of Public Safety Fueling Station and Vehicle Wash Facility

The support facility APE was not recognized as part of San Antonio until the 1870s due in part to the introduction of the railroads to San Antonio. The Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps began showing the APE in 1888. The APE occupies all of NCBs 241 and 269 and the northern portions of NCBs 240 and 270 (Figure 2-9).

NCB 241 (the northwest portion of the current APE) was bisected by a set of railroad tracks that appears to have serviced blocks to the north. At the time of the survey, the block had been cleared of structures, though a parking lot still remained. Koch's 1886 Bird's Eye View of the area depicted NCB 241 as having several structures adjacent to the railroad tracks (Figure 2-10). Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps also confirmed that the majority of this block was occupied by railroad tracks from at least 1896. The structures were also present on the Sanborn maps. No evidence of these structures was uncovered during the archaeological survey. Shovel testing of the block consisted of two tests in areas of the block that appeared least disturbed. The shovel tests revealed that the block had undergone grading and filling over the years to create a level surface. No significant archaeological deposits were noted in NCB 241.

NCB 269, located to the east of NCB 241 (Figure 2-9), contained several structures that were intact at the time of the survey. A few buildings had been razed, with the debris scattered across the portions of the block not occupied by structures. Recently dumped piles of gravel were noted in several areas. Though the 1886 Bird's Eye View depicted several structures on the block, no evidence of these structures was noted during the archaeological survey. No shovel testing was conducted in this block. No evidence of significant archaeological deposits was noted.

NCB 240 is located to the south of NCB 241 (Figure 2-9). At the time of the archaeological survey, the block was devoid of structures. The architectural survey of the block revealed that the block was empty in 1981 as well. The 1886 Bird's Eye View of the area (Figure 2-10) showed no structures. Surface reconnaissance of the block resulted in the recovery of one chert flake, though it appeared to have been mechanically created. Shovel testing did not produce evidence of significant cultural deposits.

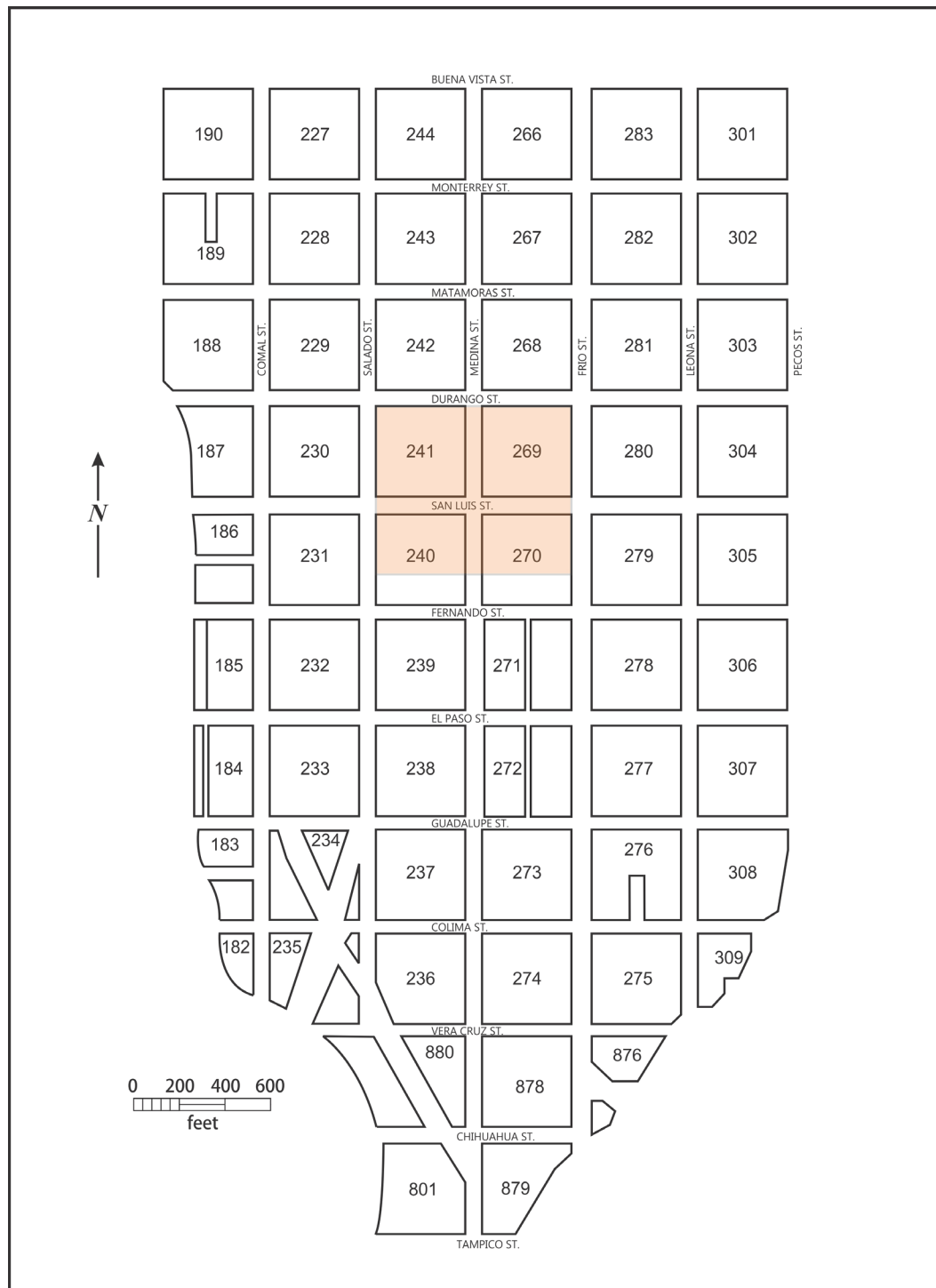


Figure 2-9. NCB designation of the section of downtown investigated during the Vista Verde South Project. Current APE is located in portions of NCBs 240, 241, 269, and 270.

NCB 270 is located to the south of NCB 269 (Figure 2-9). At the time of the archaeological survey conducted in 1983, the block appeared to have been cleared of all structures. In addition, the debris of the razing of the structures had been cleared as well. The architectural survey had noted that there were five structures standing in 1981. The 1886 map

of the block revealed that it was vacant at that time. The archaeological survey of the block found that it was highly disturbed with areas of fill and leveling. Material noted on the surface consisted of modern items such as asphalt, glass, and plaster. According to archival evidence, the Alazan *Acequia* runs beneath S. Frio Street, parallel with the eastern

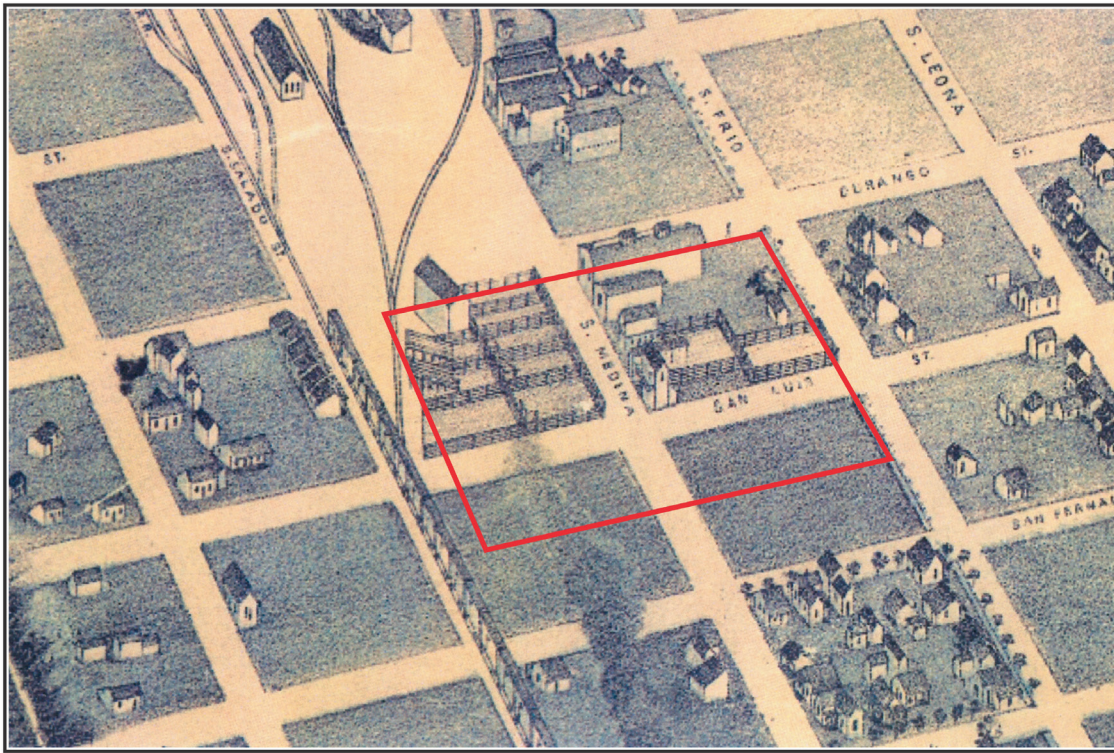


Figure 2-10. The current APE on the 1886 Koch's Bird's Eye View.

section of NCB 270. The *acequia* was not noted in the survey of this block, but it was uncovered at S. Frio and Tampico Streets (Labadie 1987).

No previously documented archaeological sites exist within the project area, but three archaeological sites are located within a one-block radius. All three of these sites were recorded as a result of the architectural and archaeological surveys conducted in 1981 and 1983. Site 41BX602, The Merchants Ice Company, is located to the north of NCB 269. Ceramics, glass fragments, and metal were collected from the surface and shovel tests. The site information was submitted for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), though the application was turned down (THC 2010).

Site 41BX603 was recorded as the Jacob Richardson House. The site is located to the east of NCB 269 and was identified during the architectural and archaeological surveys of the area. The structure was considered eligible for listing on the NRHP and was nominated in February of 1983 (THC 2010). Although it was considered eligible, the structure is not found on the current listing. Site 41BX610 was recorded as the Lischike/Duerler House. This site was also located in the block to the east of NCB 269. The archaeological survey recovered ceramic and glass fragments, buttons, marbles, and porcelain doll fragments. Though the house was considered eligible for listing on the NRHP and was nominated in

February of 1983 (THC 2010), it does not appear to have been listed.

Sites 41BX603 and 41BX610 were both located on NCB 280. During the archaeological survey conducted in 1983, the lot had three structures standing. The architectural survey conducted in 1981 had recorded a total of 26 structures, of which approximately 25 percent were considered from the Victorian Era of Texas (1874-1901; THC 2010).

The only feature dating to the late nineteenth century that may have surveyed near the project APE is the Spanish *Alazan Acequia*. A portion of this short-lived *acequia* was excavated in 1983, though at a location not within the current APE. The *acequia* is likely buried under Frio Street in the vicinity of the APE. No further work was recommended for that portion of the investigation.

The current APE was investigated as part of a larger project conducted in 1983 that focused on the future revitalization of downtown San Antonio. This review found that the area was not intensively occupied during the Spanish Colonial Period. Therefore, the CAR did not recommend archaeological investigations within the APE prior to the initiation of construction but did recommend monitoring of ground disturbing activities during the preparation of the tract for construction.

Chapter 3: Field and Laboratory Methods

Monitoring Field Methods

The construction of the Police and Fire Administration Building began in early 2011, therefore, construction monitoring was initiated there in early spring of 2011 and continued intermittently through June of 2012. The majority of the monitoring and the excavation of the historic privy took place during the spring while the area that was to house the two buildings on the tract was excavated to a depth of approximately 2-3 m below the existing grade. Subsequent to the initial excavations for the footprint of the structures, building construction occurred over the following year with no need for construction monitoring. A brief period of monitoring took place in December 2011 due to the occurrence of subsurface disturbances associated with utilities installation. The final portion of construction monitoring took place in June of 2012 as subsurface impacts were required to install additional utilities and for landscaping.

CAR personnel began the monitoring of activities at the location of the vehicle washing and fueling station in December 2011 with the monitoring of the geotechnical coring of several spots within the project footprint. Construction activities at the vehicle fueling and washing facility were not initiated until February of 2012 and continued intermittently until May of the same year. Construction began without the presence of an on-site archaeological monitor. However, John Mize of Ford, Powell & Carson Architects and Planners, Inc. notified the CAR of these activities within a couple of days of their initiation. Subsequently, several visits were made to the construction site over the next few months based on information provided by the construction foreman and the locations in which work was projected to occur.

The construction monitoring protocol called for the presence of a CAR monitor on site any time subsurface excavations were to be performed within the two APEs. If prehistoric or historic cultural deposits and/or features were encountered during the course of the monitoring, the CAR monitor was instructed to halt the excavations in the vicinity until the feature was documented. The project archaeologist would be immediately notified, and the nature of the find would be discussed with the Principal Investigator, the project sponsor, and representatives of the City's Office of Historic Preservation and/or the THC. The documentation was to include, but not be limited to, digital photography, sketch drawings, and GPS recordation of location information. Only

temporally diagnostic artifacts were to be collected, with appropriate provenience information, and returned to the CAR laboratory for processing.

If the THC and the Principal Investigator concluded that the encountered deposits or features could contribute significant information to the prehistory or history of the time period they represent or to the understanding of the region or state, the deposits or feature would be adequately sampled or fully excavated. While no significant cultural deposits were identified during the monitoring of construction activities associated with the fueling and vehicle washing facility, a feature was discovered on March 21, 2011, and subsequently fully excavated in the Police and Fire Department Administrative Building APE.

The excavation began with the removal of a 40-cm thick deposit from the southwestern corner of the feature measuring 22-cm east-west and 40-cm north-south. Over the course of the next three days (March 22-25, 2011), a CAR employee widened the small test to be the full width of the feature and approximately one-half of the north-south dimension or approximately 60-x-110-cm. Excavation was done in two approximately 40-cm levels. The first level removed the remaining southern half down to the terminal depth of the small test excavation. The second extended from 40-92 cm below the datum (cmbd).

During the removal of this matrix, it became evident that the feature was a privy. Given that additional privies have been excavated during the Alamodome Project, and these could serve as a good comparative base to this privy encountered in the red-light district of San Antonio, in consultation with the Office of Historic Preservation, it was decided that the excavation of the feature and its content was warranted. Therefore, on Monday March 28, 2011, Marybeth S. Tomka, one of the Project Archaeologists (PA), was dispatched to the site to continue the excavation of the feature. The CAR survey technician accompanied the PA to map the location of the feature.

Once the distribution of the bricks on the surface was mapped, the dimensions of the feature were mapped, and a datum was set in a location that had been mapped with the TDS for elevation control was set. After recording surface elevations of the privy, excavation began in the northern half of the feature in 10-cm levels. The matrix was screened

through one-quarter inch hardware cloth. A tripod screen was used to replace the survey screen previously used. On the first day six levels were excavated to a maximum depth of 105 cmbd, bringing the two halves to the same depth. To complete the work by Wednesday and ensure minimal disruption to the construction schedule, another field technician was dispatched to the site on Tuesday, March 29. By afternoon, the southern half of the privy was excavated to the bottom of the feature, and by Wednesday the excavations were completed.

Laboratory Methods

The cultural materials recovered from and records generated during the project were prepared in accordance with federal regulation 36 CFR part 79 and THC requirements for State Held-in-Trust collections. With the exception of the entire content of the excavated privy, only materials considered temporally diagnostic were collected during the construction monitoring of the two APEs. The materials are curated in accordance with current guidelines of the CAR.

Artifacts processed in the CAR laboratory were washed, air-dried, and stored in 4-mil, zip-locking, archival-quality bags. Acid-free labels were placed in all artifact bags. Each label contained provenience information and a corresponding lot number that was written in archival ink or pencil or that was generated using a laser printer. Temporally diagnostic historic artifacts (i.e., ceramics) were labeled with permanent ink over a clear coat of acrylic and covered by another acrylic coat. Artifacts were stored in acid-free boxes identified with standard tags. Field notes, forms, photographs, and drawings were placed in labeled archival folders. Photographs, slides, and negatives were labeled with archivally appropriate materials and placed in archival-quality sleeves. Digital photographs were printed on acid-free paper, labeled with archivally appropriate materials, and placed in archival-quality sleeves. All field forms were completed with pencil. Any soiled forms were placed in archival quality page protectors. Ink-jet produced maps and illustrations also were placed in archival quality page protectors to prevent accidental smearing. All materials collected during the project and all records are housed at the CAR curation facility.

Chapter 4: Monitoring Results - The Fueling Station and Vehicle Wash Facility

Monitoring of the construction activities at the refueling station began with a visit in December 2010 to observe the geotechnical borings and to inspect the contents of the cores. The coring was performed by staff of Arias and Associates, Inc. Eight cores were extracted from across the APE (Figure 4-1). They extended to a depth of approximately 11 m below the grade of the asphalted parking lot.

Upon extraction of each segment of the core, the monitor examined the matrix within the core for artifacts and the nature of the matrix. No buried prehistoric or historic cultural materials were noted in the cores. The stratigraphy of the cores and the soil matrix that made up the cores indicated shallow disturbances in the eastern portion of the APE toward S. Frio Street. In general, immediately underneath the asphalt was a 20-31-cm thick crushed limestone base followed by mottled clay down to 61-76 cm below the surface (cmbs). The mottled clay turned into solid light gray clay of the Navaro Formation below this depth, and the clay zone continued to the base of the core. In contrast, highly disturbed areas seemed to be present in the western half of the APE with many cores revealing a thick layer (61-91 cm) of coal that appears to have been in the vicinity of the

numerous railroad tracts that were present in the western half of the property (Figure 4-2). On the north side of the tract, the soil stratigraphy appeared to be similar to the eastern half of the tract with the exception of somewhat deeper disturbances that reach to a depth of approximately 0.6 m below the parking lot surface.

Construction monitoring began on February 1, 2012, following a discussion with John Mize of Ford, Powell & Carson Architects and Planners, Inc. who indicated that subsurface work had begun on the project a few days prior to the conversation. The start of the subsurface excavations was also confirmed by Kay Hindes, City Archaeologist, who had visited the project area.

The following day, the Principal Investigator (PI) also visited the project to find a large pile of backdirt that had been excavated from the western margin of the APE where a deep pit was planned (Figure 4-3). The PI inspected portions of the backdirt and noted that it contained a few fragments of yellow sandy brick with no maker's marks, red bricks with no maker's marks, and metal spikes (Figure 4-4).



Figure 4-1. Geotechnical coring in progress at the fueling station facility.



Figure 4-2. Light gray Navaro Clay formation overlying the charcoal layer that is 66-cm thick in this core extracted from the western half of the property.



Figure 4-3. Pile of dirt excavated from APE prior to beginning of monitoring.



Figure 4-4. Brick fragments and rusted round metal spike.

The pit extended to a depth of approximately 2 m and covered an area measuring approximately 20-x-20-m (Figure 4-5). The purpose of pit was to house three large plastic tanks that would supply gasoline to pumps to be erected in the APE. During the visit, the CAR staff member discussed with the project manager and foreman the need to have CAR monitors present during the excavations from that point forward.

The excavation of the large pit continued over the next couple of weeks as it reached a depth of approximately 5 m below the surface (Figure 4-6). The excavations exposed several layers of fill capping a zone of charcoal overlying light gray clay that extended to the bottom of the pit.

Immediately below the asphalt of the parking lot was a caliche or crushed limestone base layer that was approximately 15-cm thick. This layer covered a light gray silty clay fill layer that varied from approximately 0.6-0.9 m in thickness. This zone also contained gravel and construction materials and is likely the source of the bricks and other historic materials seen in the rubble pile inspected during the first visit to the site. Below this fill zone was a second base layer composed of crushed limestone. It ranged from 15-30 cm in thickness

and capped a zone of charcoal that was approximately 0.5-m thick. This zone rested on light gray clay but within it were several pockets of reddish-yellow matrix and lenses of crushed limestone. The pockets of reddish-yellow matrix resembled masses of rusted metal. The limestone lenses appeared to represent dumps of materials that were later leveled to create a roughly horizontal surface on top of the thicker layer of charcoal or perhaps a thin layer of capping material that was laid on top of the charcoal.

Following the completion of the pit excavation, a thick layer of crushed limestone was laid in the bottom of the pit to serve as a cushioning agent to receive the massive plastic storage tanks. Once the tanks were positioned on this layer, workers began hooking up the piping that led to the planned location of the gasoline pumps.

While these activities were occurring in the western portion of the APE, a second group was laying down 91-cm thick layer of fill in the eastern portion of the tract in the planned location of the gasoline pumps. This fill was necessary to create a level grade that matched the elevation of the storage tanks at the back of the property.



Figure 4-5. Partially excavated gasoline storage tank pit.



Figure 4-6. Southwest corner of gasoline storage tank pit showing near-terminal depth.

Once the desired grade was achieved with the fill, the excavation of the trenches that were to receive the lines leading from the storage tanks to the pumps was begun. The trenches in the western half of the property cut through the asphalted parking lot surface and exposed the same multiple layers of base and fill noted in the walls of the large storage tank pit (Figure 4-7), while the trenches in the eastern half of the APE penetrated only into the fill that was laid down during the project (Figure 4-8). Figure 4-9 shows the network of trenches that were excavated within the APE.

One additional trench was excavated leading from the planned location of the gasoline pumps to the front of the property on S. Flores Street (Figure 4-10). This trench

was intended to house the electrical conduits powering the filling station.

No intact cultural deposits were noted during the excavation of the trenches in either the eastern or the western portions of the APE. However, each trench revealed extensive historic disturbances to the APE. These disturbances were associated with the historic railroad use of the area and left no intact architectural features or other facilities within the APE.

Once the pipes were laid and connected to the tanks, the pit containing the storage tanks was filled with additional crushed limestone (Figure 4-11) as were the trenches that housed the conduits.



Figure 4-7. Trenches excavated to receive pipes leading to the gasoline pumps from the storage tanks.



Figure 4-8. Trenches excavated into fill introduced to achieve the required grade in eastern half of APE.

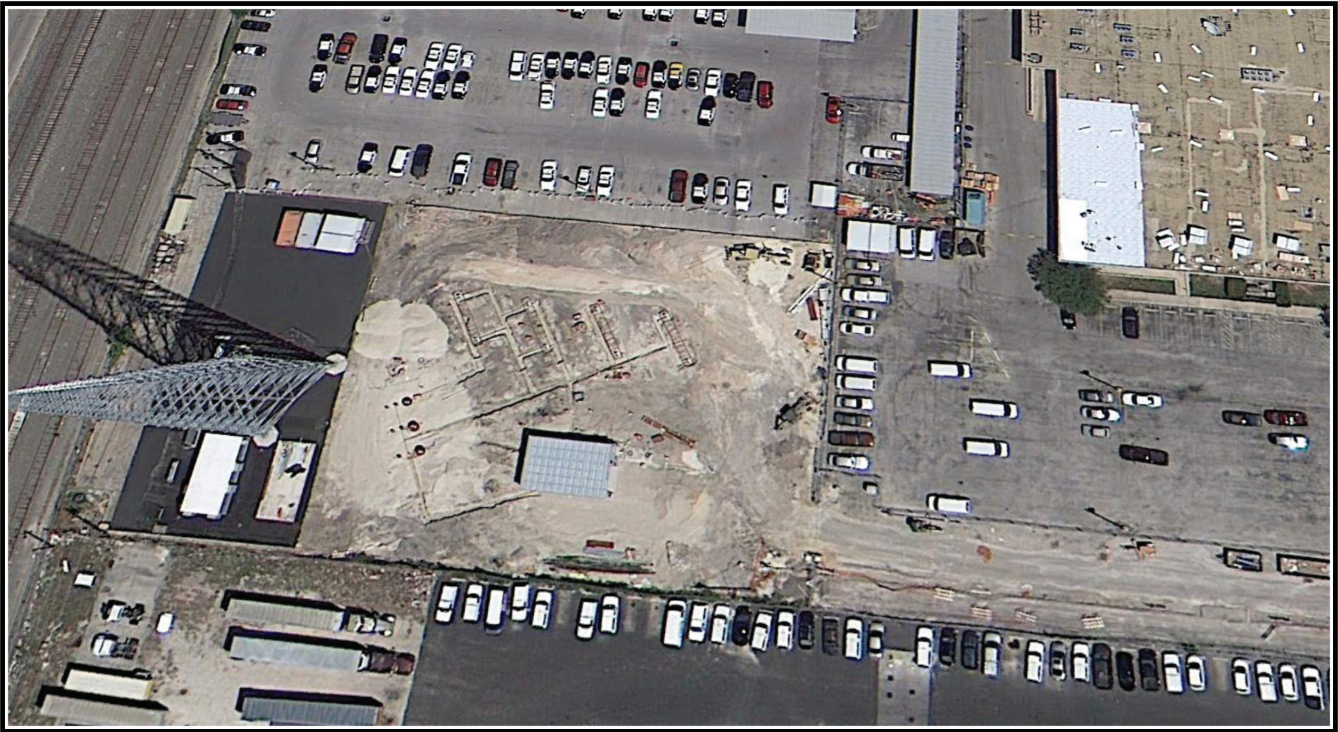


Figure 4-9. Overview of project APE in June 2013.



Figure 4-10. Trench with installed electrical conduit leading from the gasoline pumps toward Frio Street.



Figure 4-11. Gasoline storage tank pit being filled with crushed limestone.

Chapter 5: Monitoring Results - The Police and Fire Administration Headquarters

On March 12, 2011, the CAR was notified that site preparation activities had already begun for the Police and Fire Administration Headquarters building at Santa Rosa. The project Principal Investigator visited the site the next day

and noted that the construction trailers were already set up at the north end of the job site and that grading for the footprint of the complex had already begun at the north end of the tract (Figures 5-1 and 5-2).



Figure 5-1. Graded area near northwest corner of Santa Rosa tract.



Figure 5-2. Northeast corner of the Santa Rosa tract.

Roughly 2 m of deposit had been removed from the north end of the project APE, and the inspection of the cuts exposed along the edge of the grading indicated several lenses and thick zones of construction fill (Figures 5-3 and 5-4).

Several architectural elements were noted on the edge of the graded surface, most derived from the K-Mart building that stood on the tract prior to its demolition (Figure 5-5).

In addition to architectural features and elements associated with the K-Mart building, intermittent monitoring during the next two weeks identified several foundations of structures that dated to the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. One such foundation was uncovered during monitoring on June 11, 2012. The job foreman contacted CAR personnel regarding grading that was taking place in the southern half of the tract in an area where landscaping



Figure 5-3. Caliche base topped by a thin lens of asphalt likely representing a driveway. It was buried approximately 61 cm below the ground surface.



Figure 5-4. A layer of red bricks that represents a demolished and subsequently buried structure.

plans called for the planting of several large trees and the installation of flower beds. The grading had begun by the time the CAR staff arrived on site, and it had exposed an alignment of limestone blocks that measured 11-12 m in length (Figure 5-6). The limestone wall adjoined a concrete foundation at its

western end and continued another 6 m beyond this juncture. Inspection of the Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps indicated that this east-west running wall may have represented the south wall of the wood yard that stood in the northeastern corner of the Durango-Matamoros block.



Figure 5-5. Foundation piers from the former K-Mart complex that occupied the tract.



Figure 5-6. (a) top of concrete foundation adjacent to limestone block wall base; and (b) detail of limestone wall next to foundation.

Additional foundations have been uncovered along the northeastern half of the Santa Rosa tract during monitoring. One of these (Figure 5-7) is a multi-room brick foundation that likely represents the remnants of residential or commercial structures. Two other brick foundations, shown in Figures 5-7 and 5-8, were identified during the monitoring. Both

are found in the block formerly located between Matamoras and Monterey Streets. Figure 5-7 shows the foundations of a multi-room commercial or residential structure. In contrast, the foundation depicted in Figure 5-8 appears to represent the foundation of a commercial building located near the center of the Matamoras-Monterey block.



Figure 5-7. Brick foundations of a multi-room structure near the corner of Matamoras and S. Santa Rosa.



Figure 5-8. Brick foundation of building in center of Matamoras-Monterey block. Looking north.

The Privy Vault Feature

The feature was first discovered on March 21, 2011, during the expansion of the truck ramp between the upper parking lot and the building pad being constructed below. The bulldozer first encountered vertical pipes that were left in place through the entire excavation. Moving to the west of these pipes, the bulldozer removed 0.3-m thick slices in each pass. On approximately the third pass, yellow brick was brought to the surface. The ramp clearing was halted, and the project Principal Investigator was called out to make a field determination. The location of the feature is shown in Figure 5-9 on the quadrangle sheet and the redrafted 1904 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map.

Upon clearing the top row of bricks it became clear that the north-south oriented brick alignment described a rectangular form measuring approximately 120-140 cm in width (east-west) and 222 cm in length (north-south). Each wall is two bricks wide (Figure 5-10). The interior measures approximately 166-x-94-cm.

Test Probe

Upon examination of the feature, the Principal Investigator advised that a small test probe should be excavated in the

southwestern corner of the brick feature to sample its contents and perhaps facilitate its identification (Figure 5-11).

The test probe measured 44-x-22-cm was excavated to a depth of 52 cmbs as a single depositional unit. When the crew could reach no deeper, the probe was enlarged to take up the entire southern half of the privy, which was subsequently excavated to 52 cmbs.

The excavation of the expanded south half of the privy began without proper stratigraphic control. Matrix was removed from 0-52 cmbs as a single package. All matrix was screened, and all cultural materials were bagged and assigned to the upper 52 cm of deposit. When the stratigraphy of the north wall was examined, a series of depositional lenses (Figure 5-12) were noted in the profile, and it was finally realized that the feature was a privy. At this point, the excavation was halted in order to coordinate with the City's Office of Historic Preservation. During this consultation with Kay Hindes, City Archaeologist, it was agreed that the entire contents of the feature should be properly excavated, documented, and analyzed.

At the resumption of the excavations, which were fast-tracked due to the fact that they were located in the center of the area that was to be graded, a Project Archaeologist was

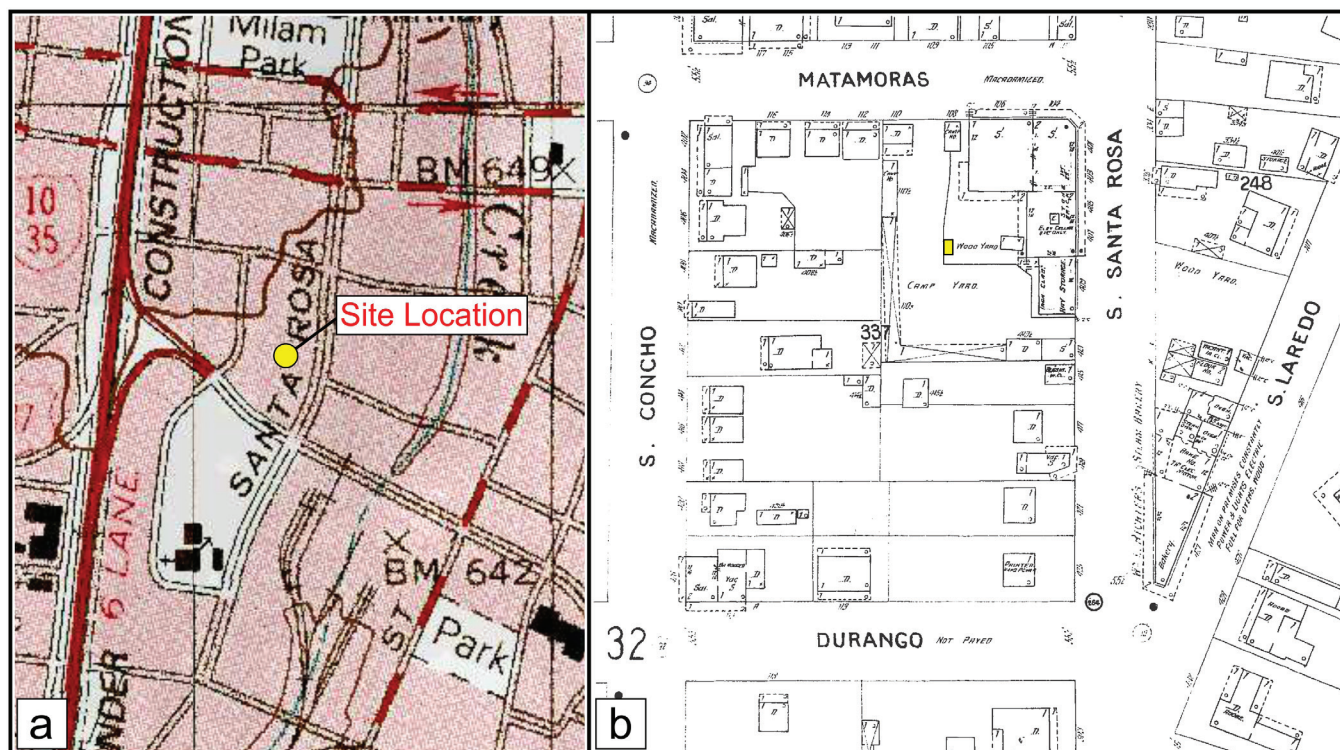


Figure 5-9. Location of the privy vault feature (41BX1967) on the San Antonio East (2998-133) USGS 7.5-minute series quadrangle map (a) and on the 1904 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map (b); note highlighted building.

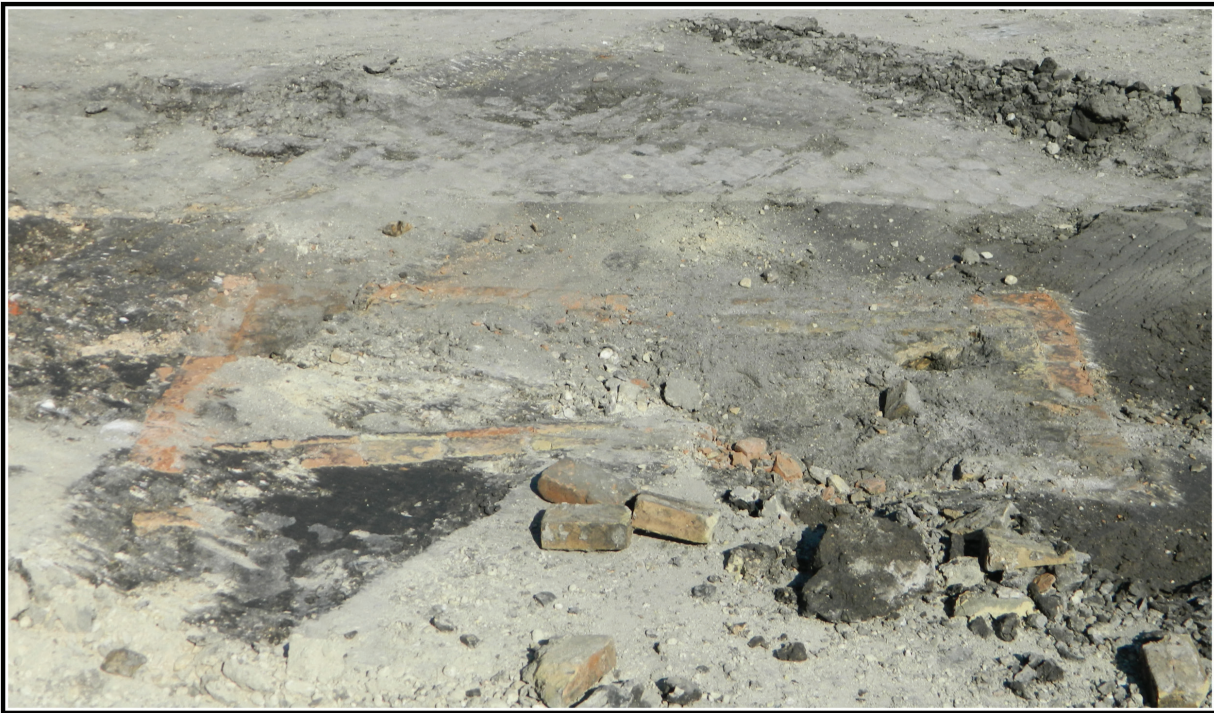


Figure 5-10. Yellow brick privy feature exposed during ramp construction.



Figure 5-11. The privy's offset brick pattern and small test unit in the southwest corner.



Figure 5-12. *Stratigraphy of the north wall of the southern half of the privy.*

dispatched to the site to conduct the excavations. The work resumed with the controlled excavation of the northern half of the privy in 10-cm levels. A datum was placed outside but near the southwest corner of the privy, and a line-level string was established at 40 cm above the surface. All elevation measurements were recorded relative to this string line. In the descriptions that follow, the level depths are provided relative to the ground surface rather than below datum. Table 5-1 presents the level and elevation information for the two halves of the privy excavation.

Excavating the Northern Half of the Privy

A large number of artifacts were recovered from the upper five levels of excavation including numerous cut nails in Levels 1 (0-10 cmbs; n=19) and 2 (10-20 cmbs; n=47) and a large number of bottles (n=26) from Level 5 (40-52 cmbs). During the excavation of Level 3 at 27 cmbs, a layer of dark black clay was exposed. It contained a scatter of lime inclusions. Flat glass and pieces of cut bone were scattered within the dark matrix. The dark gray matrix continued to a depth of 37

cmbs into Level 4. Level 5 (40-52 cmbs) contained a number of complete bottles. The excavation of Level 6 (52-65 cmbs) in the northern half of the privy reached to the elevation at which the excavation of the southern half of the unit had been stopped. Excavations continued one level at a time in each half of the privy to ensure that an overview of the entire privy was possible at the same elevation below the surface.

While excavating Level 6 (52-65 cmbs) in the northern half of the privy, at approximately 54-57 cmbs, the lip of a sewer pipe was exposed. Level 7 (65-75 cmbs) revealed a second sewer pipe along with a continuation of the limey deposit (Figure 5-13). Level 8 (75-85 cmbs) appeared to have predominately glass with both drinking glasses and flat glass being present. A stopper from a “Lea and Perrins” bottle was recovered from this level. A third sewer pipe also was noted. Glass wine bottles and fewer fragments of ceramics and bone were noted in Level 9 (85-95 cmbs). The maker’s mark on the sewer pipe identified it as having been manufactured by “Blackmer & Post, St Louis.” Level 10 (95-105 cmbs) produced more wood fragments, a small section of sewer pipe, and 20-25-cm lime chunks.

Table 5-1. Excavation and Elevation Details
Related to the Privy, 41BX1967

North Half			South Half		
Level	Elev. below datum (cm)	Elev. below surface (cm)	Elev. below datum (cm)	Elev. below surface (cm)	Level
1	40-50	0-10	0-92	0-52	1
2	50-60	10-20	0-92		
3	60-70	20-30	0-92		
4	70-80	30-40	0-92		
5	80-92	40-52	0-92		
6	92-105	52-65	92-105	52-65	2
7	105-115	65-75	105-115	65-75	3
8	115-125	75-85	115-125	75-85	4
9	125-135	85-95	125-135	85-95	5
10	135-145	95-105	135-145	95-105	6
11	145-155	105-115	145-155	105-115	7
12	155-165	115-125	155-165	115-125	8
13	165-174	125-135	165-174	125-135	9



Figure 5-13. Excavation of the Blackmere & Post pipe.

Due to safety concerns, the construction crew had asked if the CAR staff would allow the removal the west wall of the privy (Figures 5-14 and 5-15). Photo-documentation of the exposed portions of the privy was carried out before removal. The removal of the western wall facilitated the excavation of the remainder of the privy deposits.

In Level 11 (105-115 cmbs) a milk glass plate fragment and an unidentified metallic object were recovered. Level 12 (115-125 cmbs) produced the other half of the milk glass plate, a cosmetic jar, pencil lead, marbles, and various unidentified metal fragments. Level 13 (125-135 cmbs) terminated at a caliche floor 135 cmbs after recovery of a collar stud, more marbles, and complete bottles.

Excavating the Remainder of the South Half of the Privy

Once the excavation of the northern half of the privy reached the 52 cmbs elevation, the removal of matrix in the south half resumed. Level 2 (52-65 cmbs) produced over 150 artifacts with the majority being nails and unidentified metal. A dark brown organic stain was revealed at 67 cmbs during the excavation of Level 3. The stain was ringed by a deposit of lime that extended under this basin-shaped stain (Figure 5-16). The matrix contained flecks of charcoal. Pieces of wood, large quantities of glass, and five whole bottles were recovered from the matrix. It appears to represent a single discard with the glass and bottles possibly having been part of that event.



Figure 5-14. Removal of the western wall of the privy.



Figure 5-15. The privy feature floor and walls with western wall removed.

A decrease in glass fragments was seen in Level 4 (75-85 cmbs), but the recovery of whole bottles continued. What appeared to be a fabric pouch was recovered in the excavation, but it did not survive removal from the feature matrix. Two snuff bottles were recovered in the far southeastern section of the privy. A major decrease in artifact recovery was observed in Level 7 (105-115 cmbs). Two complete glass syringes were

discovered in Level 9 (125-135 cmbs). They were recovered along with a number of complete bottles, a cocktail or wine glass, a desiccated rubber ball, and glass marbles. The next chapter addresses the composition of the material assemblage recovered from the privy and discusses what this material reveals about daily life on the edge of the red-light district of San Antonio during the late nineteenth century.



Figure 5-16. *Dark brown stained matrix ringed by lime deposits in the southern half of the privy.*

Chapter 6: Beneath the Crescent Moon - The Privy and Its Contents

The late nineteenth-century urban privy functioned as private space for the deposition of the remnants of various human activities. A privy is a subterranean pit, covered by an outbuilding, and designed to accommodate the disposal of human waste. The pit could be unlined or it could be lined with brick, stone, wood posts, or wood slats, depending on the age of construction and health regulations in place at the time. Along with human excreta, yard and household trash were tossed down into the privy pit. Ash or lime was then added to control smells and to adhere to sanitation ordinances. Once the privy was no longer needed, trash and soils were used to fill the remaining space. The surface was then capped with timber, brick, or large stones, and sealed (Carnes-McNaughton and Harper 2000:98-101; Wheeler 2000:11-12). These deposits of artifacts provide a wealth of information about the behaviors of past inhabitants and their households.

The privy vault feature was buried under a few meters of fill and construction debris. The feature was identified when the overburden was graded away revealing the top of the yellow-brick vault. The bricks were laid two wide and offset. Artifacts, including ceramics, patent medicine bottles, and personal items, were used to date the feature. Local patent medicine bottles, such as one from druggists F. Kalteyer & Son, are found in assemblages across San Antonio. After the railway system was connected to San Antonio in 1877, imported yellow bricks were available for construction projects. Using the arrival of brick in the city, along with the diagnostic artifacts listed in Table 6-1, the privy vault feature may be dated to ca. 1890-1915.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the people living and working in NCB 337 were ethnically and economically diverse. While

Table 6-1. Diagnostic Artifacts Identified from Privy Vault Feature

Depth (cmbd)	Artifact Description	Approximate Date
Surface	Yellow Brick	Post-1877
	Bisque leg, "China Limb" Doll	1870-1910
0-40	Earthenware, Edwin Knowles China Co.	1910-1914
	Shell Button	ca. 1900
77-92	Lea & Perrins Bottle	1880-1900
	Earthenware, Spongeware	1853-1871
92-105	Aqua Mason Jar	1858-1920
105-115	Earthenware; "HP & CO" "Stone China"	1890-1920
115-125	Lea & Perrins Bottle Stopper, Aqua	pre-1920
	E.C. Dewitt Minute Cough Cure	1894-1906
	F. Kalteyer & Son, Druggist, San Antonio, TEX	1879-1886
145-155	Aqua Inkwell	1880 - 1910
	Clay Marbles	1840-1920
155-165	Earthenware, "La Belle" China	1893-1903
	F. Hoyt & Co, perfume bottle	ca. 1894
	R. Cohn & Co, Druggists bottle	1883-1910
	Rische Soda Bottle	1891-1930
	Clay Marbles	1840-1920
	Handmade Glass Marbles	1846-1904
165-174	Clay Marbles	1840-1920

the mix of residential and commercial buildings is typical of other contemporaneous urban blocks, NCB 337 is unique as it is located in San Antonio's red-light district. This block changed drastically over time, seeing the construction and demolition of several stores, hotels, restaurants, brothels, and dwellings. This includes the long *corrales*, which were constructed in the late 1920s.

In this chapter, the archaeological and historical data from the privy located in the project area (NCB 337, lots 5-7) is compared with other privy features excavated in San Antonio, urban lots in Tucson, Arizona, and selected red-light districts across the United States. The comparison with other privy features in San Antonio provides insight into the factors that condition variability in the artifact assemblages derived from these features. These variations can be attributed to San Antonio's urban development, and perhaps, the identities of the people inhabiting these locations. Artifact analysis from red-light district and urban privy features provides a unique assemblage pattern that differentiates these districts from residential neighborhoods. A comparison of artifacts and artifact group percentages found within these privy pit features with those of the privy located within the project area provided information about into the economic status, ethnic identity, and consumer behaviors of the people living in San Antonio during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Previous Excavations of Privies within Downtown San Antonio

Before the Santa Rosa Street and Frio Street projects, the CAR excavated several other urban privy pit and vault features in San Antonio. The first project, located on Arciniega Street, uncovered a "latrine pit," or an unlined earthen vault. This feature is similar to privies found in rural areas of Texas (Katz 1978). The Arciniega Street privy contained a residential assemblage with organic items, such as eggshells and bones, mixed with inorganic remains, such as glass and ceramics. These items date from ca. 1880-1890 (Highley 1978:1-45).

A brick-lined privy feature was excavated during the Fairmount Hotel project. The privy extended to a depth of 2.4 m and contained similar artifacts to the privy on Arciniega Street. The assemblage included animal bone, toys, bottles, ceramics, metal, and construction debris. Artifacts from this feature were dated to the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries (Labadie 1986).

Excavations conducted for the Rivercenter Mall (Las Tiendas) and the Alamodome projects revealed a high number of intact privy pit and vault features. These

project areas encompassed middle-class neighborhoods and some commercial buildings dating to the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. Twelve privy pit features were located within the Alamodome project area along with foundations, wells, and middens (Wright 1997). Archaeologists excavating the Rivercenter Mall project area identified seven privy vault features associated with residential and commercial buildings (Fox and Renner 1999).

The privies excavated within these project areas reflect the urban expansion of San Antonio during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. After the railroad was connected to San Antonio in 1877 and rapid population growth in the downtown area, the City started to regulate the construction and sanitation of privies (Fox and Renner 1999:14). By 1882, City ordinances stated that all new privy vaults must be watertight and lined with stone or brick. In addition to regulating the construction of privy vaults, there were new regulations for the cleaning, maintenance, and sealing of these features (Brown and DeLaO 1997:261). By 1905, most of the city blocks had sewer access, and all new toilets were required to tap into this system (Brown and DeLaO 1997:265).

Table 6-2 displays the construction materials, size, total number of artifacts identified, and the demographic information of select urban privies excavated in the current project area (NCB 337) in addition to the Alamodome and the Rivercenter Mall project areas. The variety of building materials chosen reflects the City ordinances in place, as well as the socioeconomic backgrounds of the property owners. The privies are somewhat congruent in size and shape over time. The average dimension of the listed privies is approximately 1m in width, 1.5 m in length, and 2 m in depth.

The privy located within the project area reflects an adherence to the City ordinances regulating privy construction. However, it differs from the other privies because it is not located in a middle class, residential neighborhood. Instead, it is located in a mixed residential and commercial block within the designated red-light district. In addition, this privy was used for the disposal of garbage well after the 1905 City ordinance on sewers.

Privy Pits and the Red-Light Districts: Brothels, Saloons, and Boardinghouses

The privy located within the project area yields several clues about the people who inhabited San Antonio's "Sporting District" during the twentieth century. While

Table 6-2. Privy Construction Styles from Sites Located in Downtown San Antonio (R: Residential; C: Commercial)

	Site	Building Type	Profession of Occupant	Identity	Construction Material	Dimensions (m)	Depth (m)	Total Number of Artifacts	Date Range
NCB 337	S. Santa Rosa 41BX1967	R/C	Store Clerk, Laborer, etc.	Multiple	Yellow Brick, two seats	1.2 x 2.2	1.74	3,542	1890-1915
	41BX883 King Site	R	Grocer, Butcher	German	Yellow Brick	1.4 x 1.4	1.8	4,800	1890
The Alamodome Project	41BX890 Biesenbach	R	Shoemaker	German	Cedar Post	1.5 x 1.0	1.7	500	1850-1870
	41BX892 Rilling Site	R	Peddler	German	Stacked Crates	1.7 x 0.68	1.4	1,118	1900
	41BX896 Demazieres	R	Saloon Owner/Bellboy	German/African American	Earthen, vertically placed trunk	0.9 x 1.2	1.52	2,255	1889-1902 1903-1908
	41BX926 Privy	R	Hardware Co. Worker	German	Brick	1.2 x 1.2		74	1892
	41BX927 Privy	R	Blacksmith and Grocer	German	Brick	1.0 x 0.85	2	275	1877
	41BX928 Privy	R	Carpenter	German	Brick	1.1 x 0.85		348	1889
	41BX929 Privy	R	S.A. Sheet Metal	German	Orange and Yellow Brick	1.1 x 0.85		13	1890
	41BX945 Pauly Site	R	Architect and Stonemason	German	Limestone, two seats with divider	2.7 x 1.4	2.2	16,616	1851
	41BX632 Degen Site	R	Brewer	German	Limestone slabs	1.09 x 1.5	3.33	6,402	1860
	41BX633 Tengg Site	R	Bookseller	Austrian	Brick	1.22 x 1.22	2.74	1,562	1870
The Rivercenter Mall Project	41BX637 Mueller	R/C	Builder	German	Limestone rubble	2.21 x 1.09	2.11	10,639	1860
	41BX634 Vanderstratten	R/C	Carpenter/Mason	Belgian	Limestone	1.17 x 1.12	1.14	7,676	1860
	41BX635 Faska Site	R/C	Carpenter, Shopkeep	Polish	Limestone	1.22 x 1.83		5,397	1865
	41BX641 Battaglia	C	Grocer	Multiple	Brick	0.81 x 1.11	1.37	790	after 1877

history has shown that property owners within NCB 337 fought the creation of the red-light district (see Chapter 2), the archaeological investigation of the privy may reveal activities occurring in the area. While the district supported the interests of visitors through gambling halls, theaters, dance halls, saloons, and hotels, the area supported residents, too. People resided in apartments over stores, houses, boarding houses, or tenements. Grocers, general merchandise stores, and tailors offered consumer items to the people living in or visiting the neighborhood. In order to understand the overall composition of a block within the red-light district, it is first important to understand the various artifact assemblages that each business may produce.

Parlor Houses, Brothels, and Cribbs

There were several business models for prostitution operating in red-light districts. Each model produced a unique “brothel pattern” artifact assemblage (Crist 2005:20). The top-tier model was the parlor house. These were often ornately decorated houses with grand displays of wealth and opulence. They were designed to offer their clients many upscale amenities and a high-level of privacy. The women were expected to maintain their personal appearance and hygiene. While the wealth of the house depended on the economic status of its clients, the madams sought the finer consumables of the day (Foster et al. 2005:353; Seifert 1991). Artifact assemblages are rich in fine porcelain hors d’oeuvres sized plates, champagne and liquor bottles, and an assortment of drinking glasses (Gilfoyle 2005:314; Meyer et al. 2005:119). High-quality buttons and other notions, shoe parts, cosmetic jars, and perfume bottles indicate that the ladies sought to maintain their appearances (Foster et al. 2005:362; Seifert 1991:98; Seifert and Balicki 2005:64).

A step below the parlor house was the brothel, or bawdy house, which was found well within the red-light district. These were increasingly more public spaces and were more relaxed regarding sanitation and health requirements (Foster et al. 2005:354). They also sold liquor to their customers. The privies associated with these spaces lack the opulent items found in parlor houses and may contain more middle-class consumer items.

The last business model which occupied a specific building was the crib system. Cribbs were long, rectangular structures cut into individual rooms. Sometimes these rooms would have a front parlor and back bedroom, but more often they were simply one furnished room with a door to the street. Cribbs were rented by the week or month and used for six hours at a time. Sanitation was poor, and all the people who used these rooms shared a common privy in the back (Foster et al. 2005:354-355; Meyer et al. 2005:106).

Pimp-led women, hurdy-girls, and women working in saloons comprise a different form of prostitution. These women often worked for the business and had the option of renting rooms elsewhere if they wanted to engage in sexual activities. Pimps often brought clients to a prostitute, but women working in saloons, hurdy-girls, and dance hall girls made their own contacts and clients (Foster et al. 2005:354).

Each business model bears its own unique signature in the archaeological record. Parlor houses and brothels leave more robust assemblages in the archaeological record since they operate as boardinghouses and businesses. The women working in cribs, however, had very few personal items and left behind few material remains (Gilfoyle 2005; Meyer et al. 2005). It is even more difficult to see the remains of hurdy-girls or prostitutes. These women did not live where they worked, thus they disposed of their possessions elsewhere. However, the artifacts that do remain in privies or middens associated with prostitution reflect the economic success, business outlook, and business model operating in an area.

Saloons

Brothels were not the only businesses in urban areas to sell alcohol to their clients. The most popular location for libations was the saloon. During the nineteenth century, saloons offered a wide variety of entertainment, including gambling and female dancers (Spude 2005). Some saloons even offered lunches to their clients (Thiel 2009:68). Saloon privies are often filled with alcohol bottles, glassware, whiteware sherds, and gambling paraphernalia (Spude 2005; Thiel 2009:69-70).

Although saloons and brothels may have overlapped with their alcohol service and female entertainment, they operated under different business models. Saloons are public spaces oriented at male camaraderie. The consumer items in these locations reflect the choices of men. Brothels lack this male assemblage and tend to have a greater number of consumer and personal items reflective of women (Spude 2005:95).

Boardinghouses

A second place of business that could produce artifact assemblages similar to the brothel is the boardinghouse. Boardinghouses were often run by a family and offered room and board. Boardinghouses did not have stable populations, as boarders tended to move frequently (Seifert and Balicki 2005:60). Assemblages from boardinghouse privies indicate that owners attempted to create a private space to maintain familial boundaries.

Boardinghouses operating in different economic neighborhoods display some similar assemblage patterns. A boardinghouse for sailors operating in the slums of Buffalo, New York, had a large ceramic assemblage of earthenwares. While the cheaper wares were used to serve meals to boarders, finer tea sets were for family use only. Similar tea sets have been found in the assemblages of middle class families (Peña and Denmon 2000:87). The Dodge boardinghouse, operating in the Presidio area of Tucson, used utilitarian wares for cooking and serving. However, the assemblage contains a number of hand-painted whitewares and even a Chinese celadon teapot. The boarders renting rooms in this household were from affluent, East Coast families. They may have preferred the finer earthenwares and a few porcelains. It is speculated that the few Chinese ceramics may have been used by the boardinghouse's cook (Thiel 2008:194-197).

The personal items recovered from the privies differed as well. It is known that children stayed at the Dodge boardinghouse, due to the number of toys that were identified. In addition, numerous buttons, medicine bottles, toothbrushes, and writing implements were recovered (Thiel 2008:187-191). The boardinghouse in Buffalo had far fewer personal items, reflecting the short-term stays of their boarders. Some medicine bottles and a few pipes were found within the fill (Peña and Denmon 2000:85-86).

In addition to ceramics, boardinghouses provided chamber pots, pitchers, and washbasins. A complete set was discovered in the privy of the Dodge boardinghouse, while 21 chamber pots were recovered from one side of the Buffalo boardinghouse privy (Peña and Denmon 2000:87; Thiel 2008:187-188). Boardinghouses sometimes sold alcohol to their clients, but these artifact assemblages overall tend to be smaller than those of saloons or brothels.

Analysis of Cultural Materials

Insight into past behaviors is gained through the analysis of cultural materials. A comparison of nineteenth- and twentieth-century urban privy artifact assemblages to the one recovered from the project area allows for the creation of an assemblage type and the interpretation of the behaviors being displayed. Considering the mixed residential (including rentals) and commercial buildings located within NCB 337, one commercial and two residential properties from San Antonio were selected. The artifact assemblage obtained from a brothel from Washington, D.C. also is included in the comparison as is the assemblage derived from the excavation of a privy associated with a

boardinghouse from Tucson, Arizona. Finally, the artifact assemblages derived from seven privies associated with Guy Town, an urban neighborhood in Austin, Texas, dating to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also are included for comparative purposes (Feit et al., 2003). The artifacts from these assemblages were placed into major artifact group percentages as outlined by Wright (1997). The major groups include activity, architecture, bone/diet, clothing, furniture, kitchen, and personal items. The result of this analysis is shown in Table 6-3.

The largest artifact class percentages are typically found within the architecture and kitchen groups. The project area's privy vault feature displays a similar trend, except for elevated percentages within the activity and personal items groups. This is due to the high frequency of metal fragments, nails, flat glass, bottles, and ceramic sherds found within the assemblage. A review of these artifact classes will aid in the analysis of what behaviors the project area's privy assemblage represents.

Activity and Architecture Groups

The activity group percentage is greater than all other features from San Antonio or Tucson, Arizona, except in two of the Guy Town-Austin privies. Although marbles and a "china limb" doll leg were identified in the assemblage, they do not greatly contribute to the large percentage of the activity group. Unidentified metal fragments account for 65 percent of the activity group artifacts. Even if these fragments were removed from the overall percentage, the activity group still comprises 3 percent of the total assemblage.

The majority of the privy assemblage is comprised of objects within the architecture group. In addition to over a thousand cut nails, flat glass and other construction materials were found in all levels (Table 6-3). This group may represent the construction and demolition of buildings on the property. As people moved into urban areas, such as San Antonio in the 1880s, city blocks often underwent rapid change and population growth. Privies were often the waste receptacles for these activities.

Activity and architecture group percentages are related to the history of the lots. From the 1880s to the 1920s, the construction of several stores, the maintenance of a camp and wood yard, and the addition of dwellings, stores, warehouses, and stables changed the layout of lots 5-7. The construction and demolition phases, along with the goods used in the yards and sold at the stores, may have added the metal and glass fragments to the privy.

Table 6-3. Activity Group Percentages for Urban Archaeological Sites (R: Residential; C: Commercial)

	<i>NCB 337</i>	<i>Alamodome</i>	<i>Rivercenter Mall</i>		<i>Washington, D.C. *</i>	<i>Tucson, Arizona</i>	
	S. Santa Rosa 41BX1967	41BX883 King Site	41BX633 Tengg House	41BX641 Battaglia Site	Parlor House	Hotels, Saloons, and Boardinghouses (Block 83)	Dodge Boardinghouse (Block 181)
Type of Building	R/C	R	R	C	R/C	R/C	R/C
Activity	8.06%	0.48%	5.36%	1.39%	0.63%	1.10%	1.00%
Architecture	54.55%	29.88%	41.99%	40.00%	31.72%	26.20%	20.00%
Arms	0.14%	0.21%	0.00%	3.04%	0.02%	0.17%	-
Bone/Diet	0.45%	39.48%	18.14%	46.20%	-	-	-
Clothing	0.56%	0.97%	1.20%	1.27%	2.22%	1.50%	1.00%
Furniture	1.30%	12.00%	4.38%	0.51%	12.24%	0.40%	3.00%
Kitchen	33.33%	16.21%	26.61%	12.53%	50.73%	60.70%	72.00%
Personal Items	1.22%	0.21%	0.14%	0.51%	1.16%	1.30%	2.00%
Artifact Total (N)	3,542	4,800	1,562	790	10,668	49,650	24,804
Date	1890-1915	1890	1870	after 1877	1890-1914	1880-1920	1890-1900

*Seifert (1991) included lamp/chimney glass in her assessment of the activities group. She states that 12% of this group was associated with lighting glass. For this study, lamp glass is included in furniture.

	<i>Guy Town- Austin**</i>	<i>Guy Town- Austin</i>	<i>Guy Town-Austin</i>		<i>Guy Town- Austin</i>	<i>Guy Town-Austin</i>	
	Block 2, Feature 32	Block 2, Feature 34	Block 2, Lot 8 Feature 26/30	Block 3 Lot 6 Feature 89/89a	Block 4, Lot 8 Feature 42	Block 4, Lot 9, Feature 45	Block 22, Lot 2 Feature 56
Type of Building	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Activity	2.96%	11.12%	4.92%	2.41%	8.93%	6.58%	1.23%
Architecture	51.61%	60.66%	47.21%	33.26%	17.61%	5.39%	10.99%
Arms	0%	0.04%	0.12%	0.07%	0%	0.07%	-
Bone/Diet	12.63%	15.99%	8.92%	22.16%	25.56	70.28	30.32
Furniture	11.82%	1.66%	5.22%	3.16%	5.71%	2.13%	3.02%
Kitchen	18.27%	9.25%	30.18%	34.73%	34.49%	11.72%	53.61%
Personal Items	2.68%	1.27%	3.41%	4.22%	7.70%	3.82%	0.43%
Artifact Total (N)	372	2,527	5,490	4,405	403	1,595	1,619
Date	1890-1915	1890-1915	1890-1915	1890-1915	1890-1915	1890-1915	1890-1915

**Guy Town-Austin data from Feit et al. 2003

Clothing and Personal Items Group

Clothing and personal items represent consumer trends of a particular time period. Often the clothing group is represented by the various findings and notions (i.e., needles, pins, buttons, and other fasteners) that were once on a piece of clothing. Fragments of pencils, inkwells, and pieces of

jewelry are the remains of personal items. The quality of these items indicates the amount of money that was invested in fashionable items of the times.

Parlor houses and brothels often have more clothing items than residential household assemblages do. Historical records show that the women working in parlor houses

purchased high-quality clothing items. For example, the ladies of Blanche Dumont's late nineteenth-century parlor house spent \$300.00 in a three-month period on clothing and notions (Humphrey 1983:494). Archaeological data from the parlor house in Washington, D.C. confirms this trend.

The project area's privy vault feature included many shell and bone buttons. However, there were items that could be attributed to men's fashions. These items were two collar studs and two cuff links. In addition, the total percentage of clothing items at 0.56 percent shows that the people using the project area privy were not discarding clothing and notions in this location. This percentage is lower than residences and boardinghouses as well, perhaps indicating that people did not live in this location for extended periods of time.

Approximately 1.22 percent of the total privy vault feature assemblage may be attributed to personal items (Figures 6-1, 6-2, and 6-3). This includes writing implements such as pencil fragments and inkwells. Two syringes and a glass vial were used by people living within the block. A saloon token from nearby 404 Santa Rosa was identified within the fill. These trade tokens were used by saloons at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century to bring customers to their businesses (Selcer 2008). A broken porcelain cosmetics container, a perfume bottle, and a perfume bottle stopper were found in the fill. Four brown snuff bottles were the only evidence of tobacco use at the site.

Often, a large percentage of personal items in an assemblage reflects the transitory nature of the neighborhood (Peña and Denmon 2000; Spude 2005). However, the high number of pencil fragments and three pocket knives could represent the materials needed to run a general merchandise business.

Kitchen Group

The kitchen group accounts for the second largest percentage of the overall artifact assemblage. This group is composed of ceramics, glassware, alcohol bottles, and medicine bottles (Figure 6-4). When compared to the kitchen group percentages of other sites, the 41BX1967 feature is the average of all. It does not have the abundance of ceramics and bottles that are found in association with saloons, boardinghouses, and brothels, nor is it characteristic of smaller assemblages once used by families.

As stated previously, fine ceramic, hors d'oeuvres sized plates represent the "staged affluence" of a parlor house, whereas simple whitewares may be associated with food service at saloons (Gilfoyle 2005:314; Meyer et al. 2005:119; Thiel 2009:68). Table 6-4 lists the range of ceramics used at brothels, found within the saloons and boardinghouses in Tucson, and those identified from 41BX1967, the Santa Rosa privy. Judging from the contents of the privy, the inhabitants of the project area were using a far greater percentage of earthenwares, although they did make a small

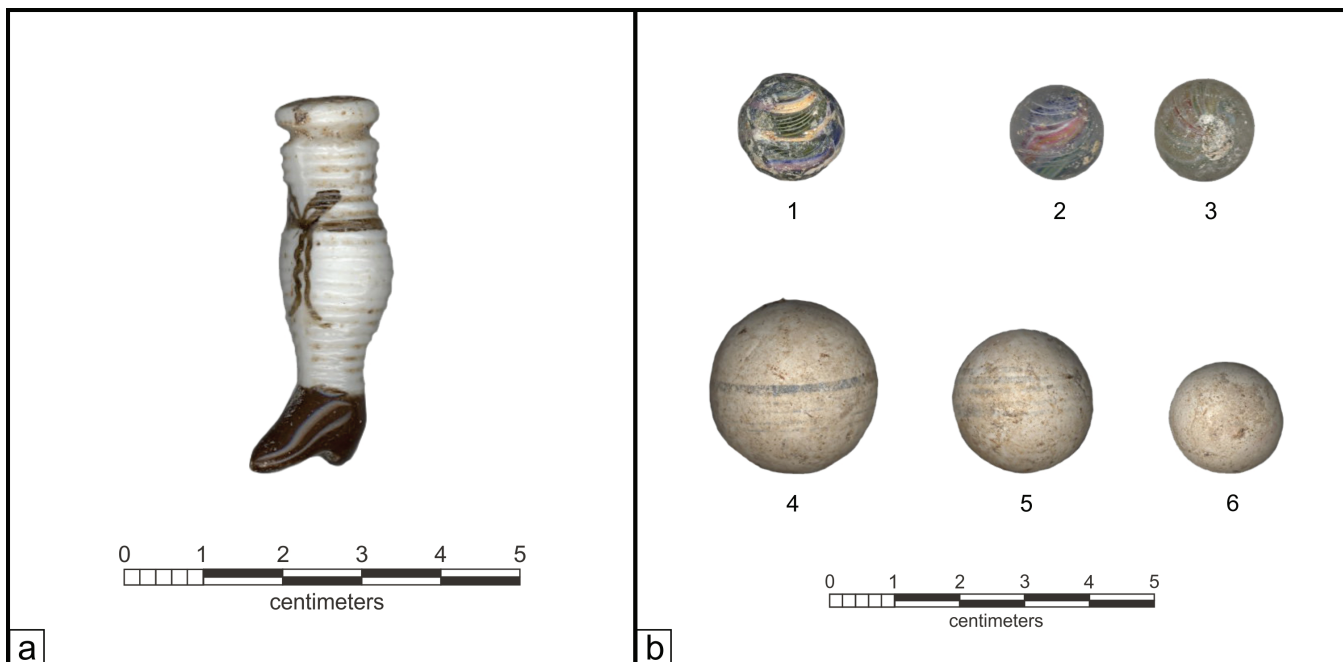


Figure 6-1. Toys: (a) "china limb" bisque doll leg; (b1-b3) handmade glass marbles; (b4 and b5) clay marbles with blue decorations; and (b6) clay marble.

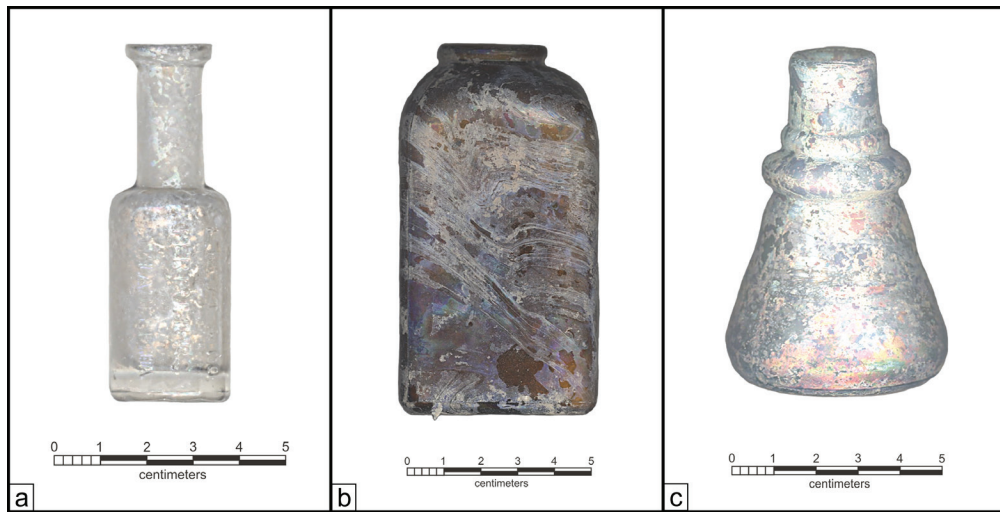


Figure 6-2. Personal glass items: (a) F. Hoyt & Co., Phila. perfume bottle; (b) brown snuff bottle; and (c) aqua inkwell.



Figure 6-3. Personal items: (a) glass syringes; (b) stoneware shot glass; and (c) trade token, Saenz, 404 Santa Rosa.

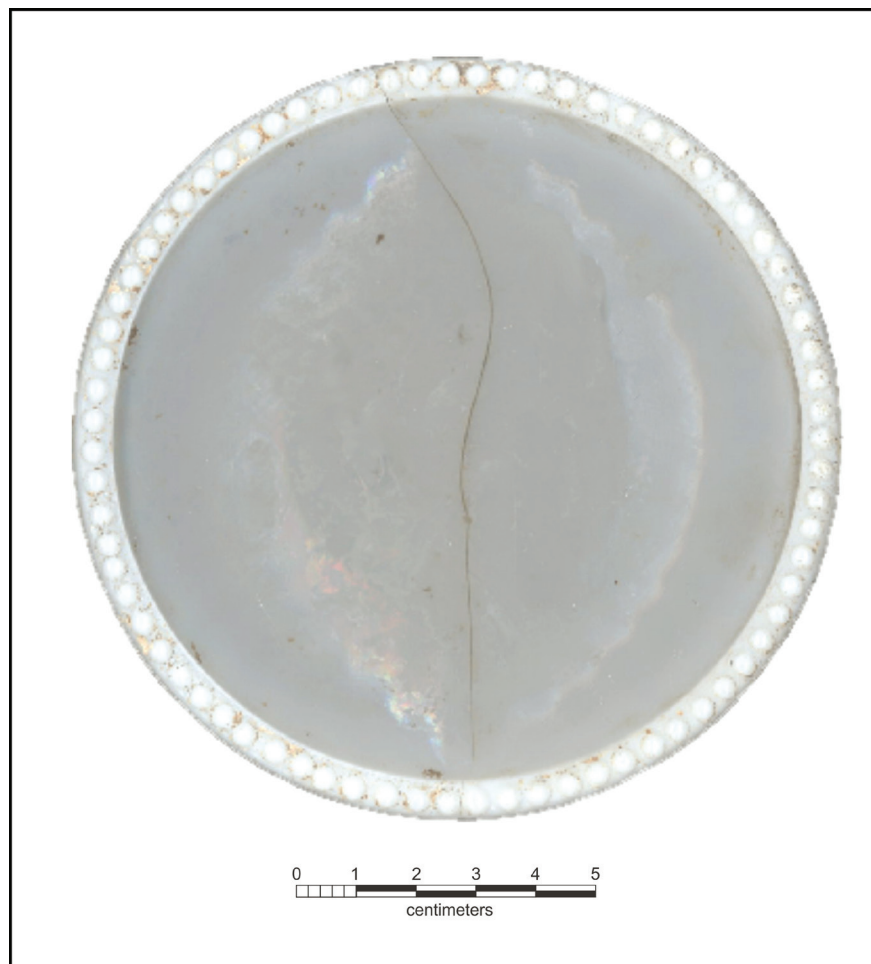


Figure 6-4. Molded milk-glass dish.

Table 6-4. Percentages of Ceramic by Type from Urban Ceramic Assemblages

Privy Location	Total Number of Ceramics	Earthenware	Porcelain	Stoneware	Spanish/Mexican Lead, Tin, and Earthenware	Chinese Porcelain	Other
South Santa Rosa Privy, San Antonio	419	65.39%	5.97%	1.67%	26.73%	0.24%	-
Dodge Boarding House, Tucson ¹	1,537	62.00%	25.05%	5.01%	5.60%	2.34%	-
Block 83, Tucson ²	7,620	64.00%	4.00%	3.00%	0.25%	3.00%	25.75%
c. 1890-1914 Brothel, Washington, D.C. ³	1,248	55.69%	14.26%	2.56%	-	-	27.49%
Aliso Street Brothel, Los Angeles ⁴	65	55.00%	45.00%	-	-	-	-

1: Theil 2008; 2: Thiel 2009; 3: Seifert and Balicki 2005; 4: Meyer et al. 2005

investment in porcelains. In addition, the privy vault feature contained a large percentage of lead and tin glazed wares. This could reflect the items that were stocked in the general merchandise store and the consumer preferences of the neighborhood during that time period rather than a red-light district associated assemblage.

Although undecorated wares are common, there are some finely decorated items in the assemblage (Figure 6-5). This includes flow blue, lusterwares, hand-painted porcelains and earthenwares, transferwares, and hand-painted spongewares. These items appear in the Tucson and San Antonio residential privy assemblages as well. Spanish and Mexican tin and lead glazed wares, however, only appear in the project area's artifact assemblage and in the lot features of Tucson. This shows a preference for these wares by the owners of the property. The lack of these items in features connected to German families living in San Antonio might suggest a preference for European ceramics and may be a strong indicator of the ethnicity of the property owners.

At 41BX1967, only 17.24 percent of the total kitchen assemblage consists of alcohol bottles and glasses. A majority of the alcohol bottles are dark olive, Bordeaux-style bottles (Figure 6-6). In addition to wine, the residents of lots 5-7 were able to purchase or had access to soda. A locally manufactured Rische soda bottle was found within the privy fill.

The Aliso Street Brothel, in Los Angeles, California had 160 pieces of stemware and other alcohol glasses. This comprised close to 66 percent of the kitchen group assemblage. Only

30 percent of nearby middle-class household kitchen group assemblages were composed of stemware (Meyer et al. 2005:116-117). These large numbers may be a reflection of alcohol consumption by locality and possibly the status of the individual owners. Spude (2005) analyzed artifact assemblages from saloons, brothels, boardinghouses, and domestic households in the American West and Alaska. She was specifically interested in the percentages of liquor related items and distribution of personal items across these groups. She found that some households only had 5.96 percent of their overall assemblages consisting of alcohol bottles and stemware. In contrast, the percentage of alcohol bottles in other assemblages was as high as 36.75 percent, similar to assemblages from saloons and brothels. The privy's low percentage of 17.24 percent and predominance of wine bottles may show that the residents of the area preference for wine.

Medicine bottles are included in the overall kitchen group percentage. The residents living within the project area utilized San Antonio's many pharmacists for their medicinal needs. Of the 42 bottles, two were identified as belonging to local druggists. R. Cohn & Co. and F. Kalteyer & Son were two popular San Antonio druggists at the turn of the nineteenth century (Figure 6-7b). Bottles with their embossed labels have been found in Alamodome and the Rivercenter Mall project assemblages (Fox and Renner 1999; Fox et al., 1997). Non-local patent medicines bottles were discovered as well. E.C. Dewitt & Co.'s "One Minute Cough Cure," OCF Brown "Tonic," "Lung Balm," and gentian violet were used to cure resident's ailments (Figure 6-7a).

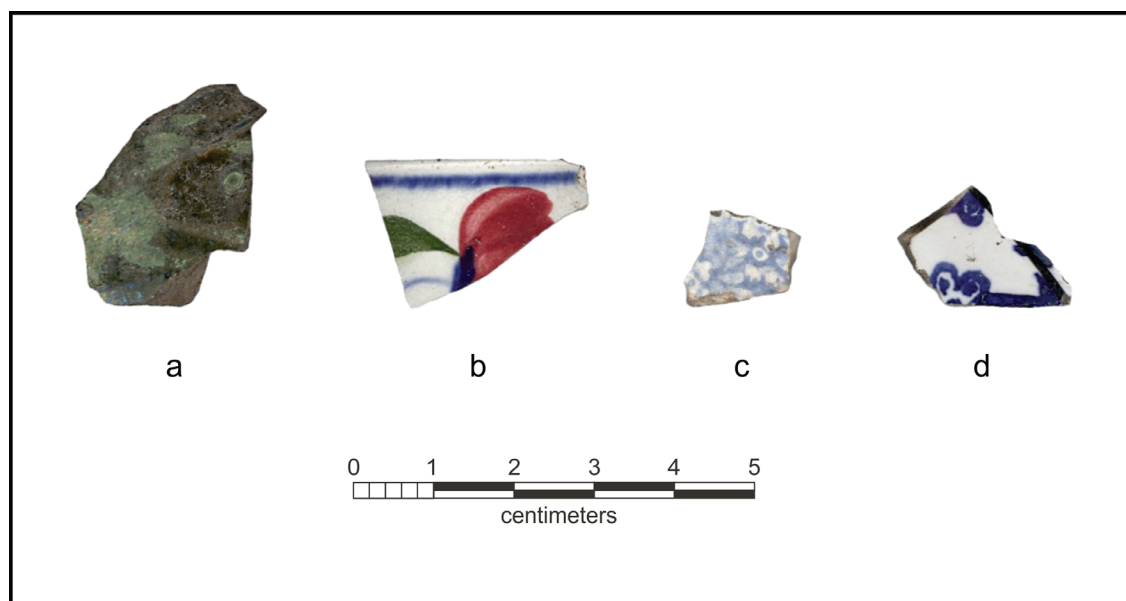


Figure 6-5. Ceramics: (a) green lusterware on thin brownware; (b) hand-painted whiteware; (c) blue transferware with a floral pattern; and (d) hand-painted spongeware.



Figure 6-6. Beverage bottles: (a) dark olive Bordeaux-style wine bottle; and (b) Rische's Bottling Works San Antonio, TEX, soda bottle.

The artifact assemblage from 41BX1967 lacks certain hallmarks of red-light district assemblages. It does not have the numerous fasteners and notions attributed to women's clothing, nor does it have hair combs, pins, and other pieces of adornment found in parlor house privy assemblages (Foster et al. 2005:362; Seifert 1991:98; Seifert and Balicki 2005:64). It is also missing the perfume, hair dye, and cosmetic containers often purchased to help maintain a woman's appearance (Foster et al. 2005; Meyer et al. 2005:119; Yamin 2005:10). Also, there are no game pieces or gambling paraphernalia that are found in saloon assemblages.

The privy vault feature lacks pieces of the domestic or boardinghouse assemblage artifacts. No sewing kits were recovered from the privy. In addition, no complete pieces of a tea service, smoking pipes, or flatware were found. There were no complete sets of tableware, large platters, or covered dishes.

However, lead and tin ceramics, hand painted and gilded porcelain, and earthenware sherds are present. Wine bottles, stemware, and drinking glasses are mixed in with the fill,

with a few children's toys. There are a large number of medicine bottles, including those from local pharmacies. In addition, there is a large amount of unidentified metal pieces, flat glass, thousands of cut nails, three pocket knives, pencil fragments, and men's personal items.

The privy vault feature may have represented the division of work and private space within a mixed urban lot. The presence of stores and dwellings may have necessitated a private privy for family use, while the public had access to the other side. However, corresponding artifacts were found in both sides of the privy. For example, clay and glass marbles were found in both the northern and southern halves of the privy vault. There are some examples of two-seat privies delineating private and public space. One such privy excavated at a boardinghouse in Buffalo, New York, may have represented such a division between family space and boarding clientele space (Peña and Denmon 2000:92).

Conclusion

The privy located within NCB 337, Blocks 5-7, reflects the multiple ethnicities, domestic households, and businesses of the neighborhood. Although it is located within the



Figure 6-7. Medicine bottles: (a) E.C. Dewitt & Co.'s "One Minute Cough Cure"; and (b) R. Cohn & Co. Druggists, San Antonio, TEX.

boundaries of the Sporting District, the privy does not seem to be linked to any of the brothels in the area. This perhaps may be due to the views of Domingo “Joe” Fernandez, who owned the general merchandise store and the other dwellings on lots 5-7. At the time that he opened his store and camp yard in 1895, the neighborhood had a few brothels and saloons. By 1901, however, the City was planning on creating a designated red-light district (Bowser 1992), bound by East, Pecos, Durango, and Monterey Streets, and tenement housing was present immediately behind his business (Figure 6-8). Fernandez and other businessmen protested this decision. While their efforts did not block the creation of the “Sporting District,” Fernandez seemed to keep many of the red-light activities off of his property. None of the ladies who ran advertisements or who were listed in the various red-light directories rented rooms on Fernandez’s property.

The assemblage represents depositions made by people living in the dwellings and patrons of the general merchandise store. Laborers and store clerks were able to rent the houses and apartments associated with the stores. While they frequented the nearby saloons, and perhaps the brothels, these activities were not welcome near Fernandez’s property. The lack of certain items in the assemblage may

indicate that the laborers and store clerks did not reside for long in the property’s dwellings.

The general merchandise store supplied items that were desired by the multiple ethnic and socioeconomic groups living in the area. The deposition of European and Spanish ceramics, along with glassware and bottles, may be a glimpse into the items that Fernandez kept stocked in his store. The writing implements and pocket knives may reflect the implements needed by store clerks and wagon yard employees for everyday work activities. Lastly, the amount of unidentified metal pieces, nails, and other construction activities may reflect on the changes made to the lot during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The comparison of artifacts found in privy pit features both inside and outside the project area provides insight into the economic status, ethnic identity, and consumer behaviors of the people living in San Antonio in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The privy vault feature located in NCB 337 reflects a mixed urban block, with residential households and commercial buildings. Toys and cut nails, European and Spanish ceramics, and wine bottles represent the urban composition of the neighborhood, rather than its location in the red-light district.



Figure 6-8. Row housing immediately behind the property where 41BX1967 is located.

Chapter 7: Summary of Findings

The Center for Archaeological Research (CAR) at The University of Texas at San Antonio performed archaeological site monitoring as contracted by Ford, Powell & Carson Architects and Planners, Inc. at the proposed building locations of the Police and Fire Administration Building and the Department of Public Safety Fueling Station and Vehicle Wash Facility. These two areas of development are located a few hundred yards from each other on the east and west sides of IH-35 in downtown San Antonio. The work performed by CAR was conducted under Texas Antiquities Committee Permit No. 5843 issued to Dr. Steve A. Tomka, CAR Director, who served as Principal Investigator on the project. The monitoring and excavation of the privy were conducted in accordance with and under the jurisdiction of the City of San Antonio's Preservation Ordinance (Article VI, Historic Preservation and Urban Design, City of San Antonio, Unified Development Code).

CAR began monitoring activities at the Department of Public Safety Fueling Station and Vehicle Wash Facility in late 2010. Geotechnical borings, 11 m in depth, were obtained from eight locations, and the borings were monitored by an archaeologist. These cores revealed disturbed soils in the western portion of the lot, but contained no cultural resources. Construction monitoring began on February 1, 2012, after the excavation of the western area of the lot commenced. The excavated pit in this area extended to 18 m below the surface, and it was designed to hold large plastic gasoline tanks. The matrix of these excavations contained construction debris and a thick layer of charcoal that likely derives from the storage of coal in the area. To the east, a 91-cm thick layer of fill was added to level the site. Once the desired grade was reached, excavation began on the trenches that housed pipes connecting the storage tanks to the pumps, and electrical conduits. No intact cultural features were noted during these activities.

The Police and Fire Administration Building occupies a 4.6-acre lot. The initial phase of construction consisted of the excavation of the footprint of the building to a depth of approximately 3 m below the surface.

The removal the soils and fills from this area, including asphalt and construction debris, revealed several architectural

features. This includes cement pillar bases, limestone wall alignments, and brick wall foundations. During the grading, a yellow brick feature was identified in the southern half of the tract. The privy vault feature was fully excavated, and it was designated as site 41BX1967.

In the field, CAR staff used a variety of methods to document cultural materials, including photographic documentation, exploration of backhoe trenches, and the excavation of intact features. Archival document research, including Sanborn Insurance Maps, Koch's Bird's Eye View of San Antonio maps, and City Directories, aided in a reconstruction of the history of the properties.

Archaeological materials, along with historical documentation, show that the two blocks that comprise the Police and Fire Administration building have been inhabited since 1873. These two blocks have changed greatly during their history, seeing the construction and demolition of businesses and residences. At the turn of the century, this area was included in San Antonio's red-light district. The privy vault feature contained approximately 3,542 artifacts, which provide insight into the lives of the people living on the edge of the red-light district from the late 1880s to the 1920s.

This project provided CAR with the opportunity to study features located within the red-light district of San Antonio. The notoriety of the "Sporting District" has been kept alive through historical documents, such as *The Blue Book*, and current publications by local historians and academic authors. Archaeological investigations, however, reveal the remains of behaviors through cultural materials, and therefore provide a glimpse into daily activities that is not addressed in history books. While the privy was located within the district boundaries, it does not contain an artifact assemblage that would indicate a brothel or a saloon. It instead reflects the views of Domingo "Joe" Fernandez, who opposed the creation of the red-light district and was perhaps successful at keeping illicit activities off his property. The features uncovered during the construction activities within former NCB 337 reveal aspects of San Antonio's urbanization and the consumer behaviors of people during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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