Archival and Archaeological Assessment of Historic Foundations at Site 41BX2359

Southwest Corner of West Houston Street and Camaron Street
302 Houston Street,
Lot 1, NCB 913, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas

Prepared for:
The San Antonio River Authority,
Pape Dawson Engineers
and HDR, Inc.

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NOTE TO READER

This draft report is currently being updated and revised to reflect review comments from several agencies and additional research materials accessed since its publication. The supporting materials are being supplemented, and the conclusions and recommendations are being revised. The individually published Chapter 10: Summary and Recommendations accompanied by Appendix 10-I, available on this web site, accurately reflects the final recommendations related to National Register of Historic Places eligibility and State Antiquities Landmark designation that will be advanced in the revised final report.

RKI Project No. ASF12-129-19

Partially Revised

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ABSTRACT

Archaeological monitoring of a parcel of land situated on the east bank of San Pedro Creek in the vicinity of the southwest corner of the W. Houston and Camaron Street intersection uncovered a complex of foundations dating from the mid- to the late-nineteenth century. The foundations were assigned trinomial 41BX2359. Based on archival research and the inspection of the foundations, four archaeological components were identified at 41BX2359. The oldest component (1847-1859) is associated with soap making. No archaeological evidence of the soap factory is evident at ground level within the site. Following a brief period of abandonment (1859-1870), the second component, dating between 1871 and 1877, is associated with the second location of the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church in San Antonio. The church congregation consisted of freedmen and formerly-enslaved people who were seeking to attain religious freedom shortly after emancipation. Archaeological evidence of the A.M.E. Church consists of the foundations and lowest course of the enlarged church, built in 1875. The cornerstone of the former church, dedicated on July 28, 1875, is present at the northeast corner of the foundation. The remaining two archaeological components are associate with the manufacture of artificial ice (1878-1887), and the brewing of German-style lager beer (1887-1904).

The significance of this site and its components for listing on the National Register of Historic Places and formal designation as a State Antiquities Landmark, was evaluated within two historic contexts. The first context, the nineteenth-century industrial development of San Antonio, consisted of three themes, the early days of soap manufacture, the making of artificial ice, and its role in the brewing of German-style lager beer. The second context focused on the struggle of the African American population for religious freedom following emancipation.

In assessing the significance of the site, it was found that the oldest component has a significant association to the early days of soap making (Criterion A) as well as to the two German immigrant families (Criterion B) that operated these businesses. It also was determined that the component dating between 1871 and 1877 has a significant association with the fight of the African American community for religious freedom (Criterion A), since it was the site of the second location of the Saint James A.M.E. Church. Similarly, the research

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also indicates that the site's two latest components have a significant association to the late-nineteenth century industrial development of San Antonio since they represent the industrial-scale linkage of artificial ice manufacture with the brewing of lager beer (Criterion A).

For an archaeological property to qualify for the National Register, it is not sufficient that the property be associated with an important historic context, the property also needs to retain the integrity of those features needed to convey its historic significance. Based on the consideration of the multiple aspects of integrity, it is recommended that the lower courses of the wall of the former church and its cornerstone demonstrate sufficient integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association to convey the component's historical significance. While the other components of the site represent significant historical associations to the industrial development of San Antonio, none of them retain sufficient integrity to demonstrate this significance. In addition, none of the archaeological components retain the integrity of data types needed to systematically pursue the research questions and topics outlined in the historic contexts. Therefore, it is recommended that the component of site 41BX2359 associated with the A.M.E. Church is eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A and does potentially warrant formal designation as a State Antiquities Landmark since it possesses rare and unique attributes concerning Texas history. None of the other components are recommended for listing under any other significance criteria and none of them are possessing research potential.

The recommendation that the A.M.E. Church foundation and cornerstone of site 41BX2359 meets the criteria for potential listing on the National Register and for potential formal designation as a State Antiquities Landmark means that those aspects of the foundations that best exemplify the historic church and communicate a sense of association with the former house of worship, should be preserved. Given the impact of subsequent construction activities to the overall outline and interior of the former church, it is suggested that the eastern façade and the north wall of the church in the vicinity of the northeast corner, should be preserved and integrated into the design of the Alameda Plaza San Pedro Creek Cultural Park.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Introduction

Archaeological monitoring of construction activities along the east bank of San Pedro Creek, at the southwest corner of the West Houston and Camaron Street intersection identified buried foundations in February, 2020. During continued monitoring of the grading activities carried out in the vicinity, the isolated segments grew into a complex of foundations. At the request of the City of San Antonio Office of Historic Preservation (COSA-OHP), the Texas Historical Commission (THC), and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE), the foundations were subsequently exposed by archaeologists working with hand-tools and assisted by power equipment provided and operated by Sundt Construction, Inc.

Following site visits and multiple virtual project meetings with members of the San Pedro Creek Improvements Project Design Team, oversight agencies, and Raba Kistner, Inc. (RKI), archaeologists, archival research was initiated to determine the nature and historic affiliation of these foundations. While the archival research was ongoing, additional clearance of foundation remnants was undertaken and limited test-excavations were conducted to delineate the extent of the foundations, determine their construction sequence, clarify the uses of some of the spaces, and document the condition of the architectural features. Soon after the initial findings, several individuals began to conduct preliminary archival research in association with the finds and the general vicinity of the project area. These individuals, who freely shared the results of their research and discussed their findings at length with project personnel, included Matthew Elverson and Claudia Guerra of the COSA-OHP, Cynthia Clyde of the San Antonio River Authority (SARA), and Maria Pfeiffer (Independent Researcher).

To properly assess the historical significance of the foundations uncovered during the archaeological monitoring, RKI staff was asked to conduct an in-depth archival study of the project area with the intent to more fully and comprehensively contextualize the foundations encountered and developed a social, economic and historic context within which to evaluate their significance, particularly concerning their eligibility for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and for consideration as a State Antiquities Landmark (SAL). This report summarizes the findings of the construction monitoring, the results of the archival

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research, provides contextual information regarding social and economic activities within which to consider the significance of the findings and provides recommendations regarding the NRHP and SAL eligibility of the site and its constituent architectural elements, the foundations.

Project Description

During February and throughout March and April 2020, archaeological monitoring of grading and construction activities in the vicinity of the southwest corner of W. Houston and Camaron Streets identified a set of buried foundations. The project area is located on Lot 1, NCB 913, at 302 W. Houston Street (formerly 119-135 Camaron Street; **Figure 1-1**), San Antonio, TX. The subject property covers approximately 0.31 acres. It is owned by the SARA and served for many years as a small parking lot for Alameda Theater, located on the west descending bank of San Pedro Creek.

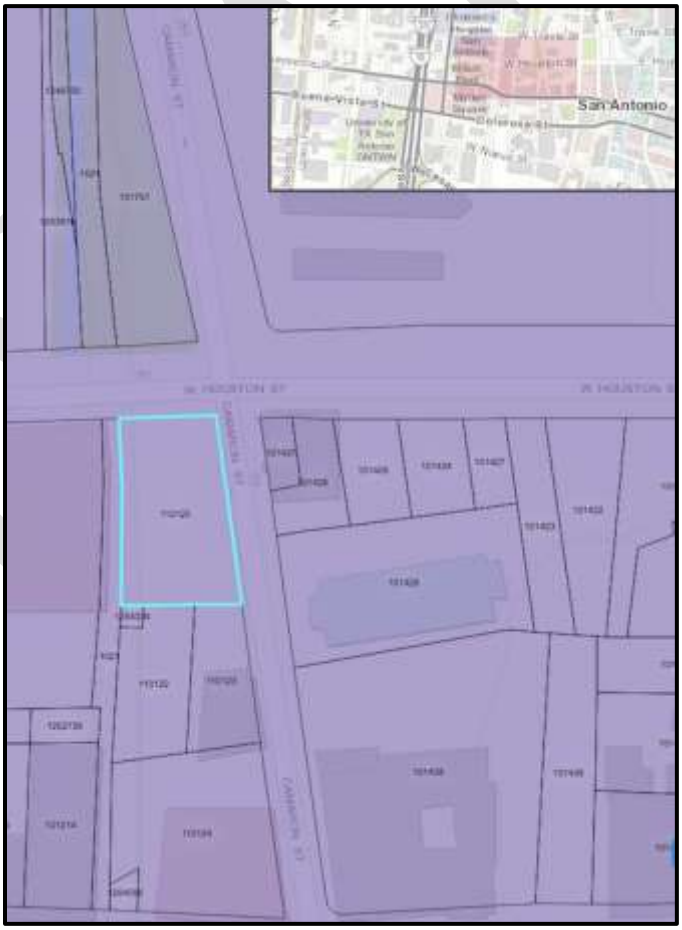

Figure 1-1. Bexar County Appraisal District map of Lot 1, NCB 913 outlined in blue.

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After the discovery, RKI staff monitored the removal of approximately 2-2.5 feet of overburden by Sundt Construction, Inc., staff and equipment. The removal of the overburden revealed a complex of foundations consisting of roughly shaped limestone, carefully chiseled, and faced limestone blocks, and continuously poured cement alignments (**Figure 1-2**).

Figure 1-2. Overview of foundations uncovered during construction monitoring.

The construction materials reflect distinct construction techniques employed at different times during the mid- to late-nineteenth century. Various infrastructural elements (i.e., cast-iron, iron, and clay pipes) are still visible within the footprint of the foundations. Similarly, several reinforced concrete support platforms, concrete-lined floors, carefully laid cobble surfaces, and wooden floors also are present throughout the complex. Except for two interior spaces covered by wood charcoal, the remaining interior surface is filled with construction fill consisting of limestone blocks, yellow and red bricks, mortar, and chucks of concrete.

As work continued to uncover and document the condition of the foundations, during one of the first field visits by COSA-OHP and THC staff, Matthew Elverson (COSA-OHP) suggested that the site may be highly significant and will require in-depth archival research. Emily Dylla of the THC, and Leslie Crippen, of the USACE, concurred with this recommendation. In March 2020, staff of RKI began the archival and historical background research.

Following this Introduction and Project Background (Chapter 1), Chapter 2 presents the ownership history of the property and summarizes the deed chain. Chapter 3 relates the owners of the property to the structures and facilities that were erected and/or modified to serve the changing economic and social functions of the site. Chapter 4 describes the foundations themselves focusing on their condition and relationships to historically documented uses of the area. Chapter 5 summarizes the result of archaeological investigations conducted to determine the structural relationship between them and their temporal affiliation. Chapter 6 summarizes the historic contexts used to evaluate the significance of the archaeological components represented by the foundations. Chapter 7 links the components to the historic contexts, while Chapter 8 considers the significance of the components under Criterion D and as State Antiquities Landmarks. Chapter 9 assesses the integrity of the components and Chapter 10 contains the summary of the conclusions of the report and provides National Register and State Antiquities Landmark eligibility recommendations.

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CHAPTER 2: PROPERTY OWNERSHIP HISTORY

The first owner to make improvements to the property was Charles Frederick William Klemcke (1816-1860) and his wife, Emilie Augusta Ernestine Ratzel Klemcke (1819-1894). They were German immigrants recruited by Henri Castro in 1846 as Castro Colonists. The U.S Census of 1850 places them in San Antonio, making soap on the east bank of San Pedro Creek. The soap making business was likely established in 1847. William Klemcke's occupation is listed as a soap maker in the 1850 census.[1]

In 1851, William Klemcke sold the soap factory to Simon Menger **(Table 2-1)**.[2] When Johann Simon Menger (1807-1892) purchased the 14-vara lot (approx. 39-feet) fronting San Pedro Street (Camaron), all soap making equipment was included in the sale price.[3] In 1856, S. Menger also purchased the property to the north of his lot bounded by Rivas Street on the north, Camaron Street on the east, and San Pedro Creek to the west.[4] He then had it re-platted **(Figure 2-1**). Throughout the decade of the 1850s, he continued making soap at the location.

In 1859, the San Antonio Herald reported that Menger's entire factory washed away in the flood of September 1859. Damages at the time were estimated between $1,000 and $1,500. He relocated his soap factory in 1861.[5]

By 1870, Menger rebuilt his soap factory on higher ground further north on the west bank of San Pedro Creek (San Antonio Daily Express July 15, 1870). In 1871, Menger signed a deed of trust and promissory note to the West Texas Life, Fire, and Marine Insurance Co. for $4,000.00, probably to finance this second site.[6] The building is clearly visible on Koch's 1873 Bird's Eye View of San Antonio **(Figure 2-2)**. In an 1870 advertisement in the San Antonio Express (July 01, 1870), Menger identifies his award winning soaps made at his factory on Laredo Street, on the west side of San Pedro (San Antonio Express; July 01, 1870). This suggests that the new factory was in operation by this date.

[1] 1850 U.S. Census for San Antonio, Texas
[2] BCDR K1: 58-59 (Klemcke to Menger, July 1851)
[3] BCDR K1:58-59 (Klemcke to Menger, July 12, 1851). Charles Frederick William and Emilie Klemcke came to Texas with Castro's Colony. Klemcke had been a soap manufacturer in Germany. They lived briefly in San Antonio and returned to Castroville ("Hotelier Menger was known for his music and soap," San Antonio *Express-News*, January 13, 2002).
[4] BCDR N2:260 (Rivas to Menger, February 27, 1856).
[5] San Antonio *Herald*, September 6, 1859; San Antonio *Daily Light*, December 24, 1895: 25).
[6] BCDR V3:30 (West Texas L, F & M Co to Menger, February 10, 1871)

Table 2-1. Chain of Ownership for Lot 1, NCB 913		
DATES	**DOCUMENT**	**OWNER/ACTION**
1851	Deed BCDR K1:58-59	Klemcke to J. Simon N. Menger, "Soap House" (property boundaries as below)
1873	Deed BCDR W2:417	J. Simon N. Menger sells land to A.M.E. Church, it is bounded on N by Bustillo land and on S by Rivas lands & fronted on San Pedro St., now Camaron
1880	Deed BCDR 12:64	A.M.E. Church to Edward Steves, as above with about 45 feet of frontage on Camaron
1880	Deed BCDR 15:437	John Sarzalere to Edward Steves 7 varas frontage fronts on Camaron, on eastside of SP Creek on N by land formerly owned by A.M.E. Church and on S by lot formerly owned by Garza Cook
1880	Deed BCDR 15:436	F.W. Palmer to Ed Steves 9 varas frontage Town lot on west side of Camaron St., "above" and adjoining two story house of P. Odet, on N by a lot of seven varas front formerly J.N. Fisk & later deeded to John Salzalere
1880	Deed BCDR 15:456	Ed Steves to Alamo Ice Co. Three lots on Camaron, north of Odet house 1. A.M.E. Church 2. Salzalere lot 3. Palmer lot

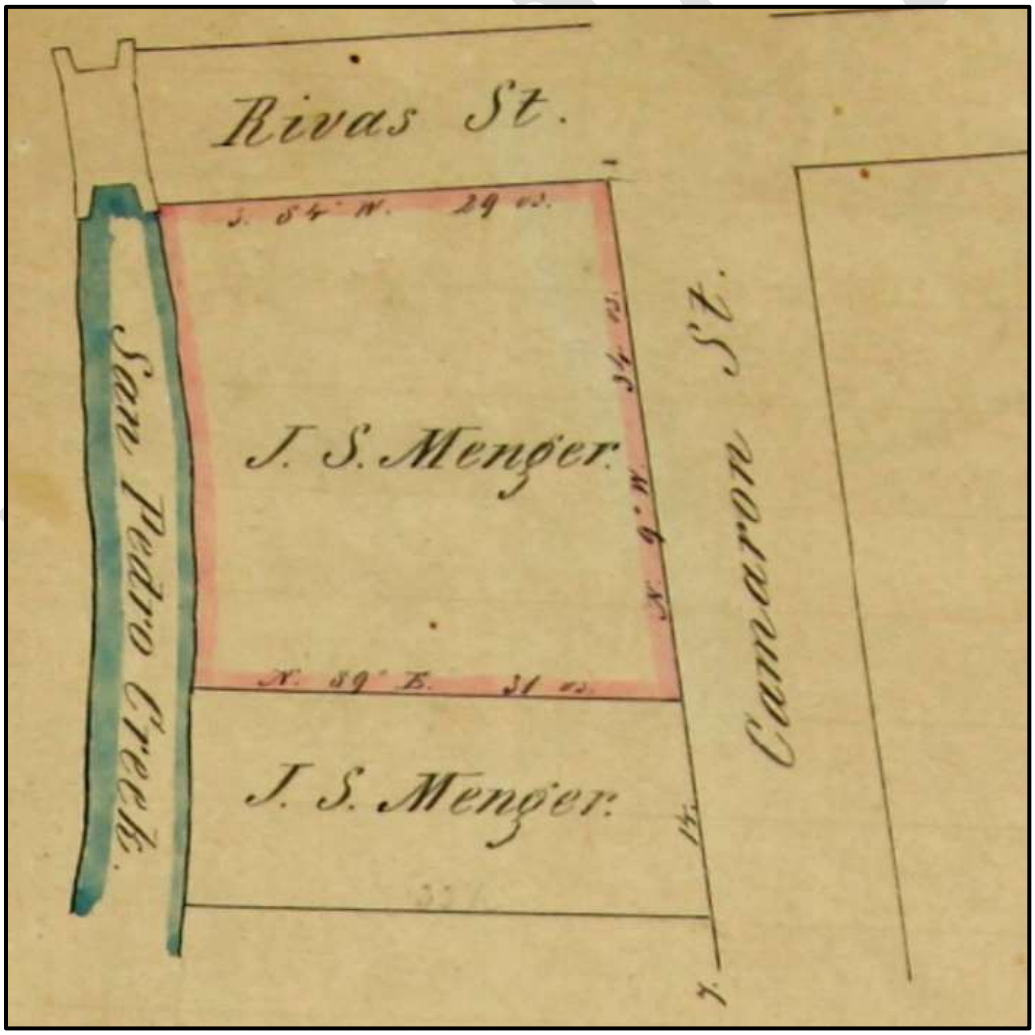

Figure 2-1. 1856 plat of new property bought by Menger in 1856. (Courtesy of City of San Antonio archives, City Engineer's maps, Book 1, page 247.)

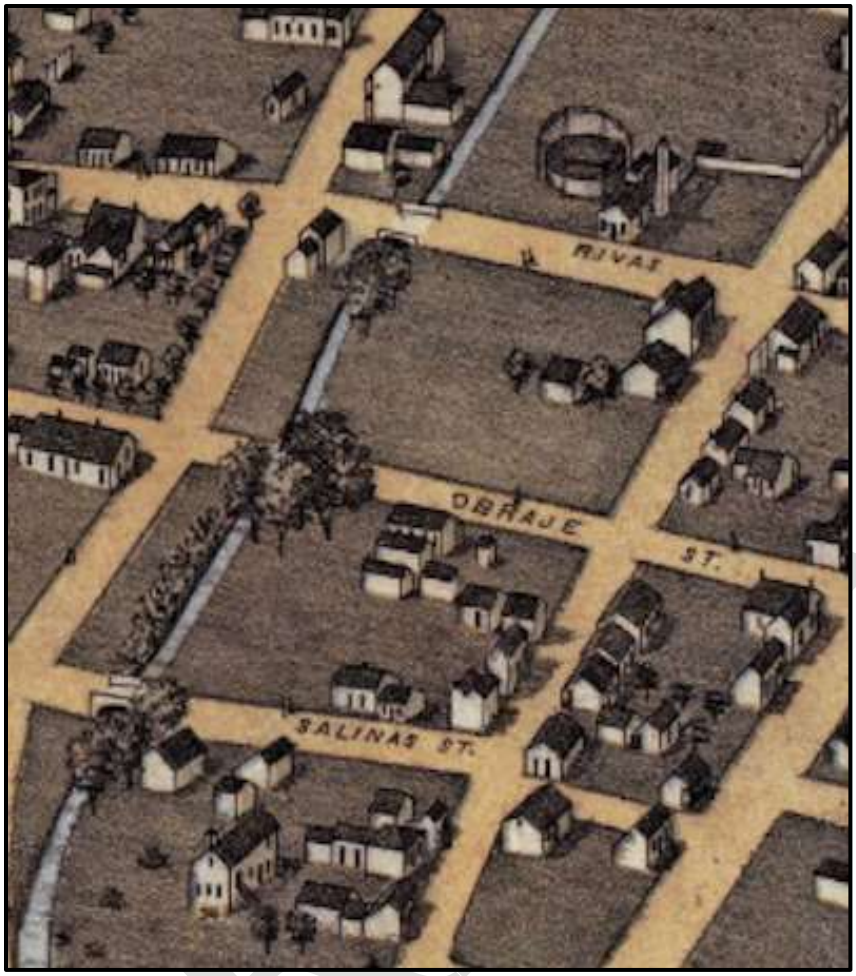

Figure 2-2. Koch's 1873 Bird's Eye Map. Menger's second soap works in foreground and marked as "34" on the map. In the background of the map is the site of the first soap works, now owned by the A.M.E. Church, St. James Chapel.

Although S. Menger relocated his soap factory following the 1859 floods, he continued his ownership of the property on Camaron Street. In 1871, he rented the vacant building to the members of the St. James African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church, who held regular Sunday services there. Rent was reportedly $15.00/month though no primary source has been located for this fact.[7]

In 1873, the trustees of the St. James A.M.E. Church purchased the Menger property for $2,000.00.[8] At the time of the purchase, the soap factory building still stood on the property. The deed stated: "The land hereby conveyed is that on which the building heretofore known as Menger's old soap factory stands." It includes "a front sufficient to embrace the entire buildings and no more."[9]

[7] Kealing 1865:130-131.
[8] BCDR W2:417-418 (Menger to A.M.E., February 27, 1873).
[9] BCDR W2:417-418 (Menger to A.M.E., February 27, 1873). No measurements are given in this deed.

On July 3, 1875, the Trustees of St. James Chapel, A.M.E. Church of San Antonio, contracted with Anthony Earhart "for an additional building to our church on Camaron Street." At this time, trustees executed a deed of trust for $1,000 to finance the building project. The property was described as "with the building now used by the church society for meeting purposes."[10]

It is likely that sometime in late-1877, the St. James A.M.E. congregation moved from the Camaron Street site. The 1877 city directory lists Rev. Johnson Reed's A.M.E. Church at the corner of Houston and Camaron streets.[11] However, by the time the 1879 city directory was published, the church was located at the northeast corner of Centre and North streets.[12]

In December of 1880, the church trustees sold the property on Camaron Street to Edward Steves. The deed stated that "the house on this lot has been used formerly for divine services by our congregation and at present is used for an ice factory."[13] The sale price was $1,200.[14]

In addition to purchasing the A.M.E. Church property in December 1880, E. Steves also bought two lots south of the church. These lots—one 9 varas wide and the other, 7 varas wide—were located between the church and Peter Odet's two-story building.

Figure 2-3 looks south from Houston Street along Camaron Street, ca. 1875. The building in the foreground is the old A.M.E. church and the 2-story building in the background is the Odet Building. The property between the two buildings was acquired by Edward Steves (Courtesy of the Grandjean Collection, DRT Collection[15]).

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[10] BCDR Builders and Mechanics Lien A:29-31 (A.M.E. to Earhart, February 25, 1875); BCDR 3:329-331 (Carson to Deats , June 28, 1875). The builders and mechanics lien does not describe the building to be constructed.
[11] Mooney & Morrison (comp.), *Mooney and Morrison's Directory of the City of San Antonio for 1877-78* (Galveston: Galveston News, 1877), 52. Services were held at 11 a.m. and 3 and 7 p.m. and Sabbath School meeting at 10 a.m.
[12] Morrison & Fourmy (comp.) *Morrison & Fourmy's General Directory for the City of San Antonio* (Marshall: Jennings Bros., [1879]), 72. Church services were held at 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. and Sunday School at 9 a.m.
[13] BCDR 12:64 (A.M.E. to Steves, December 11, 1880).
[14] BCDR 12:64 (A.M.E. to Steves, December 11, 1880).
[15] Maria Pfeiffer, architectural historian, in discussion with author March 2020.

Figure 2-3. Camaron Street as seen around 1875 from W. Houston Street. The large white colored façade at the right of the photo is the A.M.E. Church.

In late December 1880, E. Steves sold property that encompassed part of the project area to Alamo Ice Company (comprised of Alfred Giles, Leroux and Cosgrove, Hans L. Degener, A.C. Peters, and J.H. Smye).[16] The property included:

1) the 45-foot lot and building purchased from the A.M.E. church (see Figure 2-3).
2) the 7-varas lot purchased from John Lazalere, and
3) the 9-varas lot purchased from F.M. Palmer.

Sometime between 1878 and 1885, the Alamo Ice Company was built on the property extending north to W. Houston Street. **Figure 2-4** depicts the ice factory on the 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance map. The former church building, shown in blue, became the core of the ice factory which acquired additional structures housing industrial equipment around the perimeter.[17]

[16] BCDR 15:456-458 (Steves to Alamo Ice, December 24, 1880).
[17] The chain of title for the property north of the A.M.E. Church tract and Houston Street has not been researched.

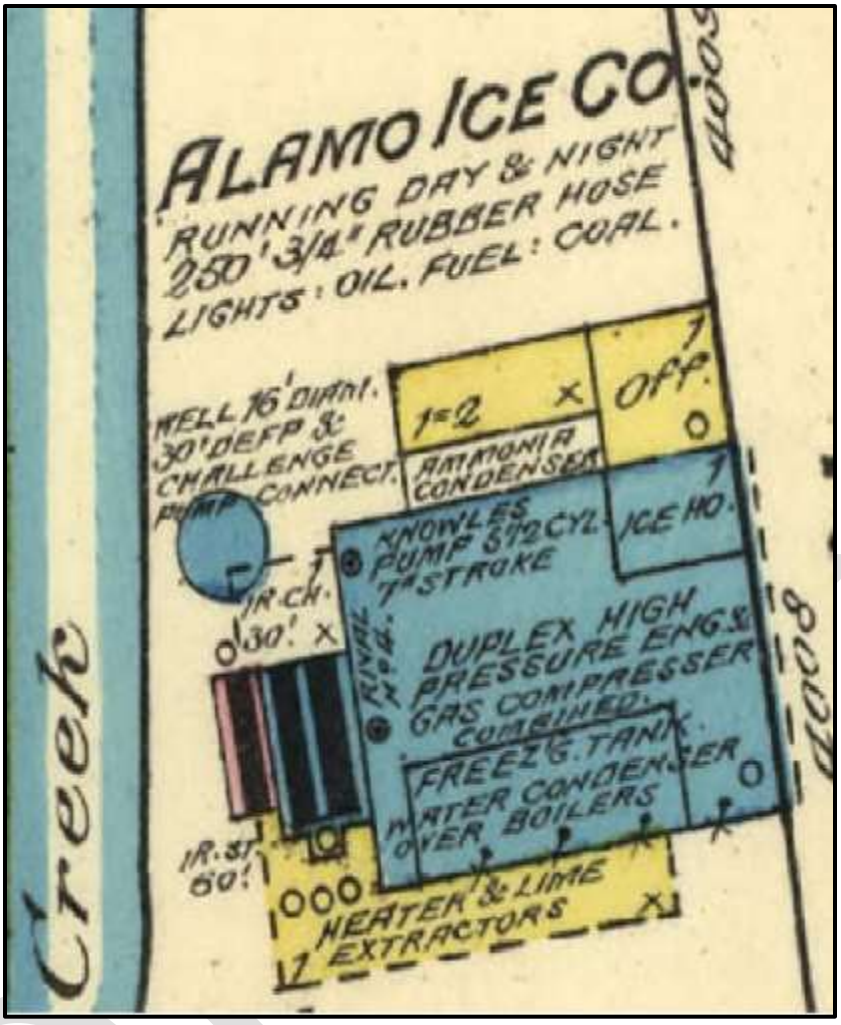

Figure 2-4. Sheet 8 of the 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance map showing the Alamo Ice Company complex.

In November 1887**,** Alamo Ice Company sold to Alamo Ice and Brewing Company (**Figure 2-5**).[18]

The deed research suggests that from 1880 to 1887, the companies experienced financial difficulties. Numerous deeds of trust were executed, and liens were filed. The property was sold at auction in December 1888 and was purchased by S.D. Scudder who was one of the lien holders. In January 1889, Scudder in turn conveyed the property to Sam Maverick.[19]

[18] BCDR 57:130-131 (Alamo Ice to Alamo Ice and Brewing, November 12, 1887).
[19] BCDR 59:503-506 (H.P. Drought, Trustee to Scudder, December 24, 1888); 67:258 (Scudder to Maverick, January 7, 1889).

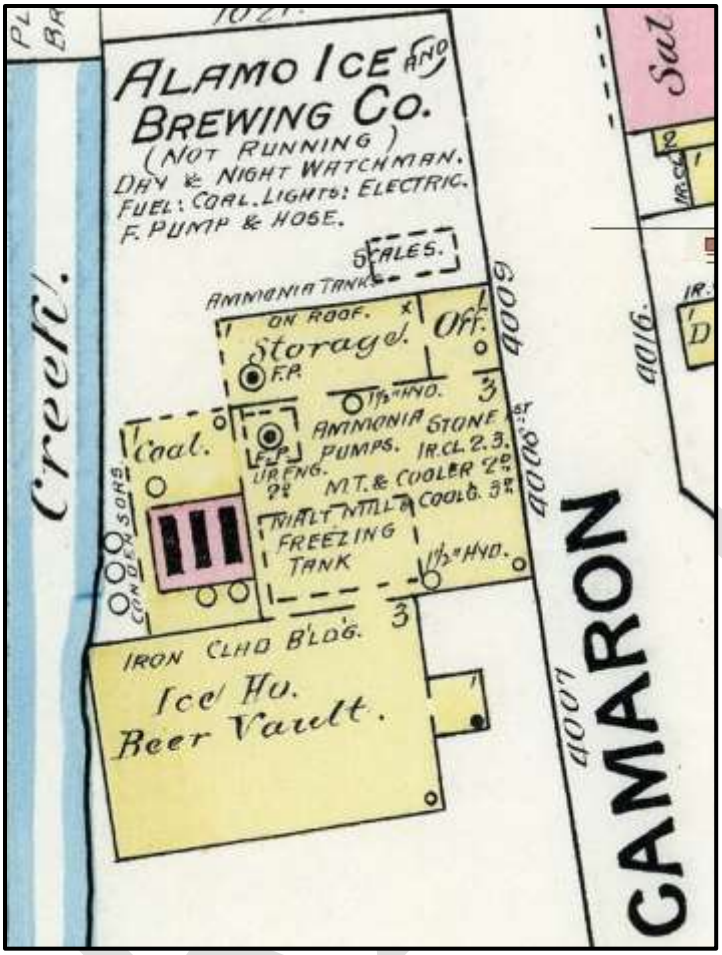

Figure 2-5. The Alamo Ice and Brewing Company on Sheet 8 of the 1888 Sanborn Fire Insurance map.

Sam Maverick continued to make and sell ice and the plant was described in local newspapers as "Sam Maverick's ice factory, **(Figure 2-6)**."[20] It is unclear whether he also continued making beer at the facility or restricted his production to ice. Legal and financial problems continued. The employees were laid off and operations ceased on March 2, 1895. The same week, the plant was sold to Adolphus Busch. The brewery was officially declared closed on July 1, 1895, and some of the machinery was sold off. Machinery and equipment was still being sold off as late as March 1896 when the San Antonio *Daily Light* reported that three large boilers had been removed to another ice plant on Oakland Street.[21]

[20] San Antonio *Daily Light*, May 2, 1889, 5.
[21] San Antonio *Daily Light*, March 2, 1895, 8; March 12, 1895, 7; March 16, 1895, 15; "Brewery Closed," July 2, 1895, 5; March 4, 1896, 7.

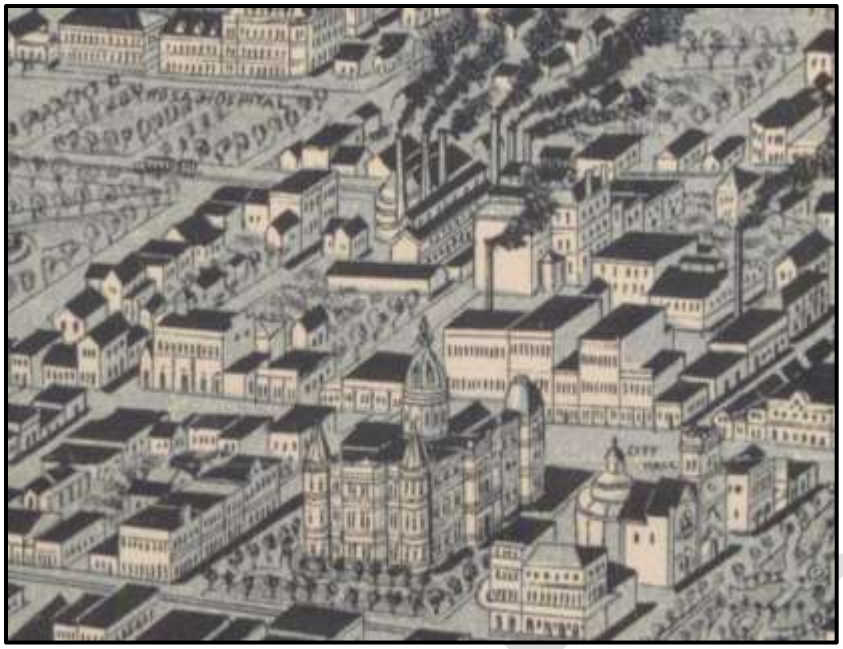

Figure 2-6. 1891 Bird's Eye Map showing City Hall in foreground and "Sam Maverick's Ice Company" in the rear and to right (east of) the gas company. (Courtesy of Portal to Texas History and San Antonio Light, December 1891.)

Legal documents at the time describe the property as being on the corner of W. Houston and Camaron Streets, bounded on the north by W. Houston Street, on the east by Camaron Street, on the south by the old Odet property, and San Pedro Creek on the west.[22]

The date of demolition of all the brewery buildings has not been determined, but at least part of the plant was removed in mid-to-late-1897 for the widening of Houston Street. The *Daily Light* reported in September 1897 that "the building formerly occupied by the cooper shop of the Alamo Brewery has been torn down for the purpose of widening West Houston Street."[23]

A deed from Sam Maverick to the City of San Antonio dated June 21, 1895, but not filed until February 17, 1896, conveyed a parcel of land running 75 feet along the "newly established south line of W. Houston Street and varying in depth from 12-feet 4 inches (at the corner of Camaron) to 2-8/10 feet deep at its western point, presumably at the creek **(Figure 2-7)**.[24]

[22] BCDR 3:465-466 (Schultze to Houston, March 1, 1895).
[23] San Antonio *Daily Light*, September 17, 1897, 4.
[24] BCDR 147:22-23 (Maverick to City of San Antonio, February 17, 1896).

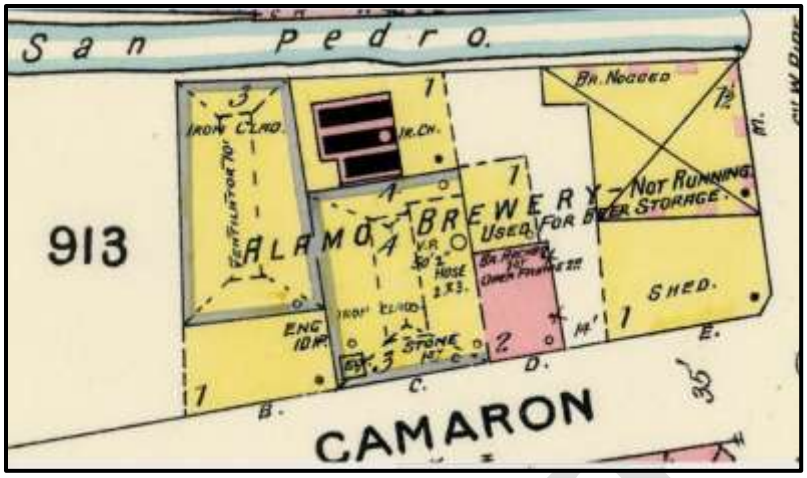

Figure 2-7. The Alamo Brewery shown on Sheet 10 of the 1896 Sanborn Fire Insurance map.

Whereas Sheet 10 of the 1896 Sanborn Fire Insurance map illustrated the original brewery, by 1904 only a small facility labeled the "Lone Star Brewery Depot" remained standing (**Figure 2-8**).

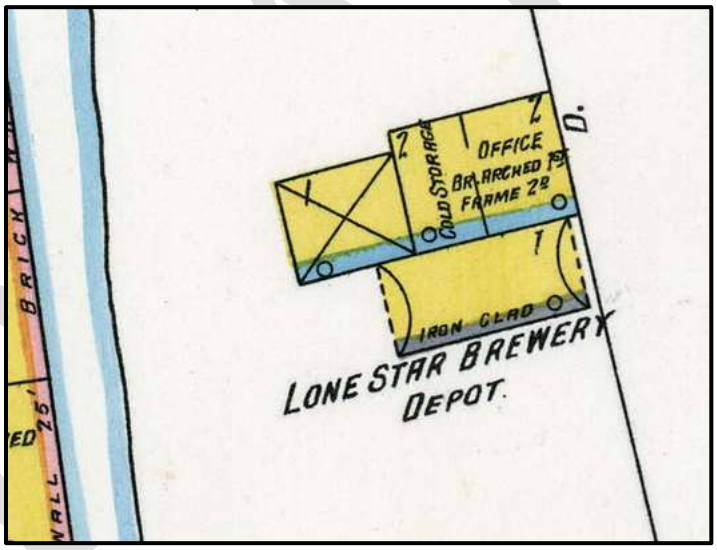

Figure 2-8. The "Lone Star Brewery Depot" that still stood within the project area in 1904. Volume 1, Sheet 3 of the 1904 Sanborn Fire Insurance map.

Neither the early twentieth century chain of title nor subsequent uses of the property have been fully researched. It is known that Lily Tommins, a daughter of Mary K. Witte, sold the parcel to K.F. Wilkinson in 1944. It is possible that the property was part of the inheritance Tommins and her siblings received from their mother. K.F. Wilkinson sold the property to Frank and Gussie Crozier in 1946, and they immediately sold it to G.A. and Lula Lucchese. Lucchese was the owner of the Alameda

Theater on the west bank of the creek.[25] The deed describes the property as "part of New City Block 913, sometimes known as Lot One…beginning at a point, the southwest corner of the intersection of Camaron Street and West Houston Street (the new line of West Houston Street as now established)…"[26]

The metes and bounds of the property, measured from Houston Street, stated that the lot ran 167 feet along the west line of Camaron to "a point, the northeast corner of what is known as the old Odet property." The boundary then ran west 96.6 feet along "the south line of the Alamo Brewery lot and north line of the old Odet property" to the east bank of San Pedro Creek. It then ran north along the east bank of the San Pedro Creek 159 feet to the new south line of West Houston Street, and returned east along W. Houston Street 75.1 feet to the beginning.[27]

This chapter compiled the ownership history of the project area. Chapter 3 discusses the changes in site footprint resulting from the various occupations and uses of the property. These alterations reflect not only changes in ownership but also changes in the function of buildings, and the addition of new functionally distinct facilities and architectural features.

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[25] BCDR 2049-251 (Tommins to Wilkinson, May 7, 1944); BCDR 2237:335-336 (Wilkinson to Crozier, April 29, 1946); BCDR 2237:339-340 (Crozier to Lucchese, April 29, 1946).
[26] BCDR 339-340 (Crozier to Lucchese, April 29, 1946).
[27] Ibid.

CHAPTER 3: THE HISTORY OF CONSTRUCTION, USE, AND RE-USE OF THE PROJECT AREA

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the first proprietor to make improvements to a lot found within the bounds of the project area was Wilhelm Klemcke. Between 1847 and 1851, the Klemckes built and operated a soap making business on the property. The first reference to a building present on the lot is in the Klemcke to S. Menger deed of July 1851 in which Menger paid Klemcke $650. In the deed, the building is called, "the place where soap is made, soap house, with utensils, materials. ASO, or "and so on." It is unclear whether Klemcke and his family occupied the same building as the soap-making factory or used a separate building as a domicile. The frontage of the building on Camaron Street is listed as 14-varas or about 39-feet.

Johan Menger purchased Klemcke's lot together with all the soap making equipment.[28] Menger operated this soap making business from 1851 to 1859**.** According to the San Antonio Herald (September 6, 1859), during the fall of 1859, flooding of San Pedro Creek damaged some of the businesses found on the banks of the creek. However, it is possible that Menger's soap factory may have been spared by the floods. Menger's 1873 deed of trust and note to the A.M.E. Church identifies a building on the lot as the "old soap factory," indicating thereby that the factory may have survived the 1859 flooding.

In the deed of trust, Menger may be describing the buildings depicted in Koch's 1873 Bird's Eye View of San Antonio (**Figure 3-1**). The image shows two structures at the SW corner of what was originally Rivas Street (now W. Houston Street) and Camaron Street. The larger of the two structures fronts Camaron Street, and a smaller structure is attached to the western end, backing up to San Pedro Creek.

Soon after the 1859 flooding, and well before the transaction with the A.M.E. Church, Menger began making plans to move his soap-making business to a new location upstream on San Pedro Creek. The A.M.E. Church may have in turn rented a portion of the old soap work building from Menger as early as 1871. It is likely that the two interconnected buildings seen on the 1873 Bird's Eye view were

[28] BCDR K1:58-59 (Klemcke to Menger, July 12, 1851). Charles Frederick William and Emilie Klemcke came to Texas with Castro's Colony. Klemcke had been a soap manufacturer in Germany. They lived briefly in San Antonio and returned to Castroville ("Hotelier Menger was known for his music and soap," San Antonio *Express-News*, January 13, 2002).

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Figure 3-1. Portion of Koch's 1873 Bird's Eye View depiction of San Antonio. Vicinity of project area is shown in the red oval. (Courtesy of Amon Carter Collection of Bird's Eye Views and UT Perry Castaneda Library collection of Sanborn maps).

already present on the property in 1871. It is not known which of the two buildings was used by the A.M.E. Church in 1871. However, since there is no record suggesting that Menger made any improvements on the lot while he owned it, the two structures were likely part of the Klemcke family soap factory.

Between the time that the A.M.E. Church began renting the building for services in 1871 and the time they purchased the property in 1873, the congregation experiences rapid growth. By mid-1875 (July 3, 1875) the A.M.E. congregation may have outgrown the available space and the church trustees contracted with Anthony Earhart, a local architect and builder to construct an "additional building to our church." The cornerstone of the enlarged building, the A.M.E. Church, was dedicated on July 28, 1875. No records have been located to date, indicating when the enlargement was completed.

Sheet 1 of the 1877 Sanborn Fire Insurance map shows a large rectangular structure in the general vicinity of the two interconnected buildings depicted on the 1873 Bird's Eye view. The building is identified as "Vac." (Vacant; **Figure 3-2)**. The vacant building was made of stone, was one story high, and had a slate or tin roof and three windows each on the north and south walls (see Figure 3-2).

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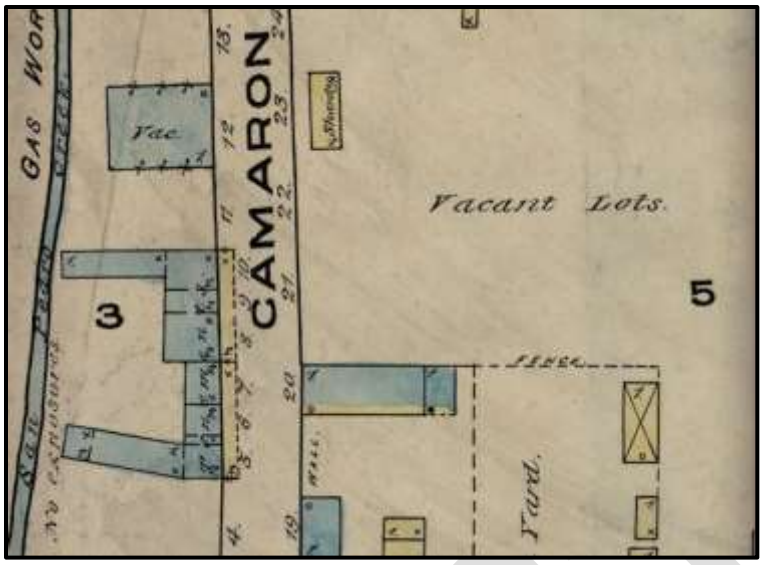

Figure 3-2. Detail of Sheet 1 of the 1877 Sanborn Fire Insurance map. Building identified as "Vac." is the structure shown on Koch's 1873 Bird's Eye View depiction.

Using the scale provided in the 1877 Sanborn Fire Insurance map, the rectangular building measures 39 (N-S) x 50 (E-W)-feet. The fact that the width of the building fronting Camaron Street, matches the size of the frontage of the soap works building sold by Menger to the A.M.E. Church, suggests that the 1877 Sanborn Fire Insurance map depiction is of the Soap Works building. This conclusion also implies that this building survived the 1859 San Pedro Creek floods. The southeast corner of the structure is located 130-feet south of W. Houston Street, while the northeast corner is 91-feet south of W. Houston Street.

If the above conclusions are accurate, despite the date (1877) of the Sanborn Fire Insurance map, the image must depict the former soap factory building around the time (i.e., 1871-1875) that the A.M.E. Church began to use the building, and before it hired A. Earhart to enlarge it.

On July 28, 1875, the cornerstone of the Saint James A.M.E. Church is consecrated, and A. Earhart begins work on the expansion of the church. No document could be located identifying the completion of the Camaron Street Church. Regardless, however, by mid-1878 the A.M.E. Church is already making plans to abandon the newly enlarged church. On July 6, 1878, the trustees purchase a lot to be used as a building site for a new church at the corner of North Concho and Zavalla streets. Construction of the new church is apparently underway by August of the year as A.M.E. Church trustees establish an agreement with E. Steves to provide building materials for the new church. The new church may have been completed by November 1880.

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Soon after the A.M.E. Church vacates the Camaron Street property, the trustees lease it to the Alamo Ice Company. This is ascertained because in December 1880, when the A.M.E. Church deeds the property to E. Steves, the document indicates that the property was being used for an "ice making factory (BCDR 12/64)." Early in 1881, a plat is established for the Alamo Ice Factory and in December 1882 (BCDR 15/456) E. Steves deeds the lot with the ice factory to the Alamo Ice Company. The Alamo Ice Company operates the ice factory until 1887.

Figure 3-3 shows the Alamo Ice Company as it appeared in 1885. The vacant one story stone structure (portion shown in blue), part or all of which served as the A.M.E. Church, makes up the core of the Ice Company. The structure still has a slate or tin roof at the front and the addition of a composition shingle roof at the rear. It is evident, however, that significant changes have taken place both within the footprint of the original building as well as around the exterior of the structure. Inside, and adjacent to the northeast corner of the structure, a small room appears to have been added. It is labeled as the "Ice House." Along the south wall, a portion of the original building is walled-off and this space is identified as containing the freezing tank, and condensers. Pumps and other equipment are present within the footprint of the original structure. Outside, the front façade of the core building has been embellished with a wooden façade, indicated by the dotted line. A frame building, labeled as the "Office ([Off.]" was built against the north wall of the stone building. Immediately behind the office is a space that housed ammonia condensers. Behind the original core building is a well, shown as a large circular feature, described as 16 feet in diameter and 30 feet deep. South of the well, within a separate structure, are steam boilers. And, south of the boilers and outside of the south wall of the original core structure is an addition that is identified as housing heaters and lime extractors. These pieces of industrial equipment were key to the making of clear ice that was now in high demand in San Antonio both for the preservation of edibles as well as the manufacture of beer.

The comparison of the 1877 vacant structure and the 1885 building that forms the core of the Alamo Ice Company complex indicates that the later building is larger than the earlier depiction. Using the Sanborn map scale, the structure at the center of the 1885 complex measures 45-feet in width and 60-feet in length. In addition, while the SE corner of the structure is still 130-feet south of W. Houston Street, the NE corner of the structure is 85-feet south of W. Houston. This comparison suggests that the former church structure was widened and lengthened between1877 and 1885. This conclusion is supported by the depiction of four windows along the south wall of the core structure compared to the three windows seen on the 1877 depiction of the vacant building.

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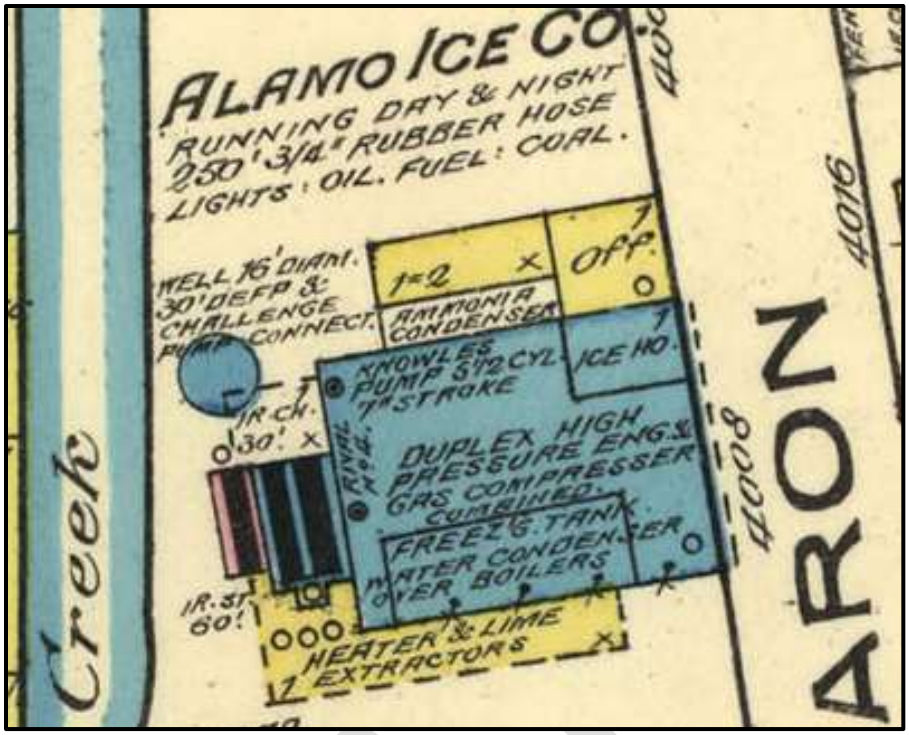

Figure 3-3. The Alamo Ice Company Complex shown on Sheet 8 of the 1885, Sanborn Fire Insurance map. Structure outline in blue at the center of the complex, is the vacant building shown in the 1877 Sanborn map.

In November 1887, the Alamo Ice and Brewing Company becomes the new owner of the Ice Factory. **Figure 3-4** is Sheet 8 of the 1888 Sanborn Fire Insurance map showing the Alamo Ice and Brewing Company.

The addition of beer brewing to the Ice Company, resulted in the installation of new equipment to the footprint of the building as well as changes to the interior and exterior of the original core structure (labeled with a "3" [standing for three-story] on the map). Within the interior, the small room labeled as the "Ice House" on the 1885 Sanborn map is no longer shown at the northeast corner of the original structure. The room labeled as the "Freezing Tank" on the ground floor may have been widened (N-S) and shortened (E-W). A Force Pump (FP) was installed at the northwest corner of the room, which also contained ammonia pumps. Mash tanks and cooler were installed on the second floor and the malt mill and cooling room was on the third floor. Several vertical and horizontal pipes connect the various steam operated pumps, condensers, and tanks, and iron chimneys vent to the open air.

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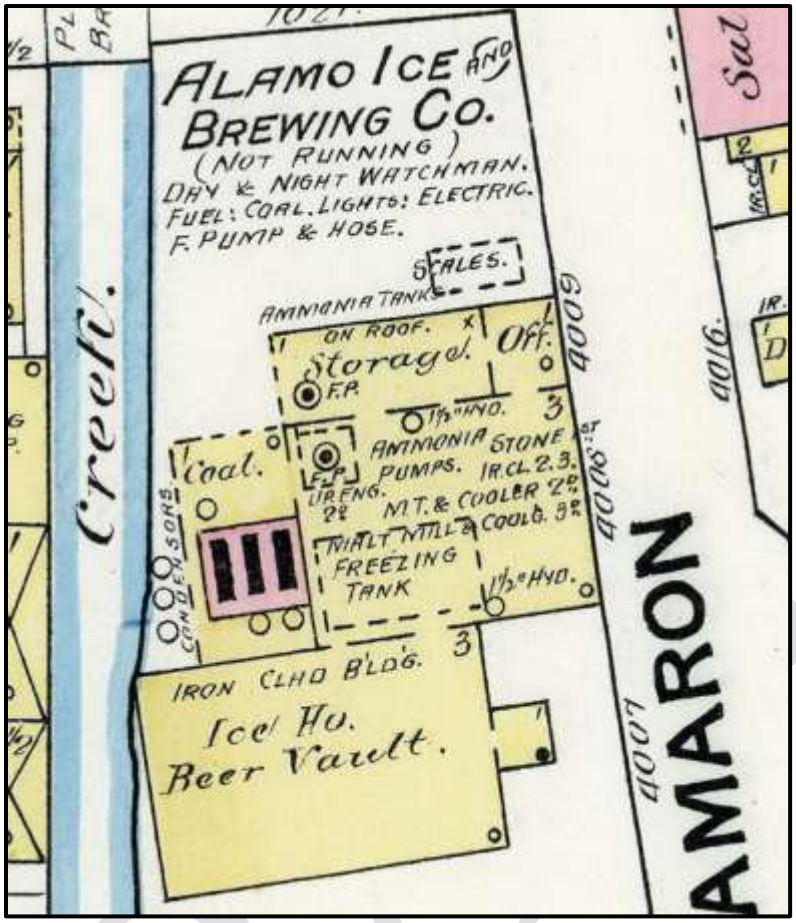

Figure 3-4. Portion of Sheet 8 of the 1888 Sanborn Fire Insurance map showing the Alamo Ice and Brewing Company.

Behind the original A.M.E. Church footprint, the condenser room has been enlarged, becoming as wide as the A.M.E. Church structure. Coal is now being stored in the enlarged structure. Immediately south of the condensers and horizontal boilers, and adjoining the south wall of the former church, a large iron clad Ice House and Beer Vault was added to accommodate the increased production capacity of the Brewing Company.

By 1888, the structures that made up the Alamo Ice and Brewing Company were three-stories high **(Figure 3-5)**. The increase in height was in part dictated by spatial differentiation of the brewing process with the onset of industrial production (see Chapter 6-Historic Context). The central structure which occupied the location of the former A.M.E. Church had a stone first floor and iron clad second- and third-stories. Three arched windows or doorways are pictured on the east façade, and two large windows extend to near the sidewalk grade along the visible south wall of the building.

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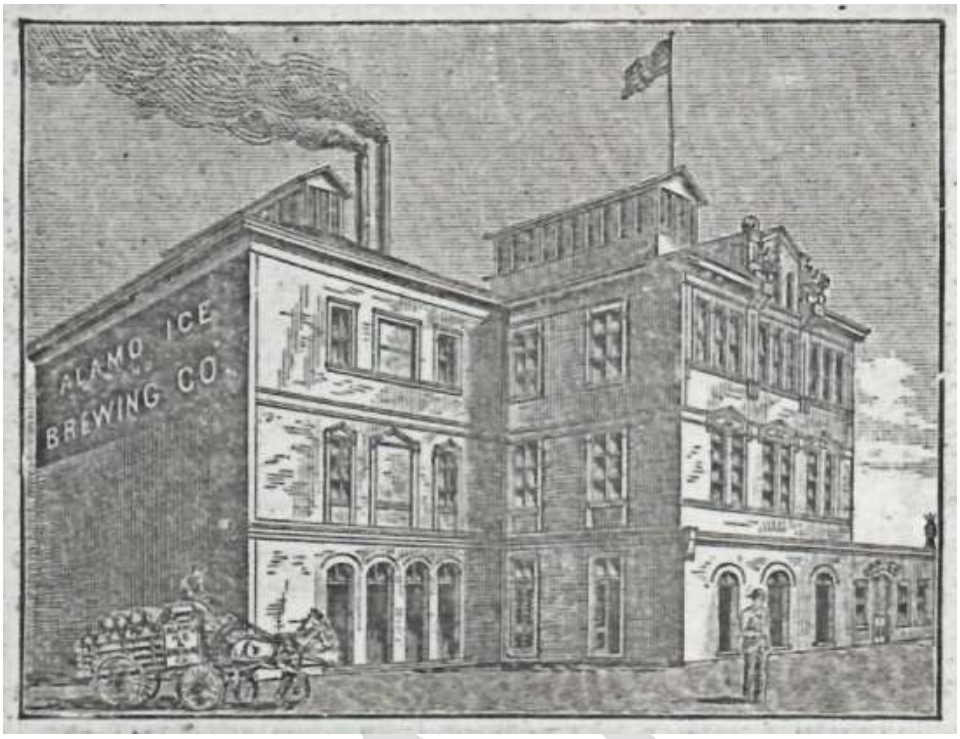

Figure 3-5. Sketch of Alamo Ice and Brewing Co., ca. 1888, looking northwest across Camaron Street. Three-story building in middle, whose first floor might have been the church.

A single-story long and narrow structure was added to the north wall of the central three-story structure. The front portion of this building served as the office, while the back portion was storage space. Ammonia tanks were installed on the roof of the storage facility. A small unattached room is labeled as "Scales" just north of the Office. The three-story building at the southern edge of the complex is the "Ice Ho. Beer Vault," identified as the "Alamo Ice Brewing Co" on Figure 3-5. The façade of the Ice House and Beer Vault was set back from Camaron Street and had a small covered entrance (1888 Sanborn), which is not pictured on the sketch of the buildings (see Figure 3-5).

It appears that the brewery was most expansive around 1892, when a bottling room was operating across Camaron Street and two more buildings have been added to the north of the complex (**Figure 3-6**) at the edge of W. Houston Street. The small unattached "Scales" structure is still present north of the old office, which has by this time been converted into a two-story ice making facility. The original storage facility, behind the former office has shrunk in size, to make room for the expansion. South of the core structure, a Wash House was added to the east end of the Ice House and Beer Vault. The east façade of the Vault now is in line with Camaron Street.

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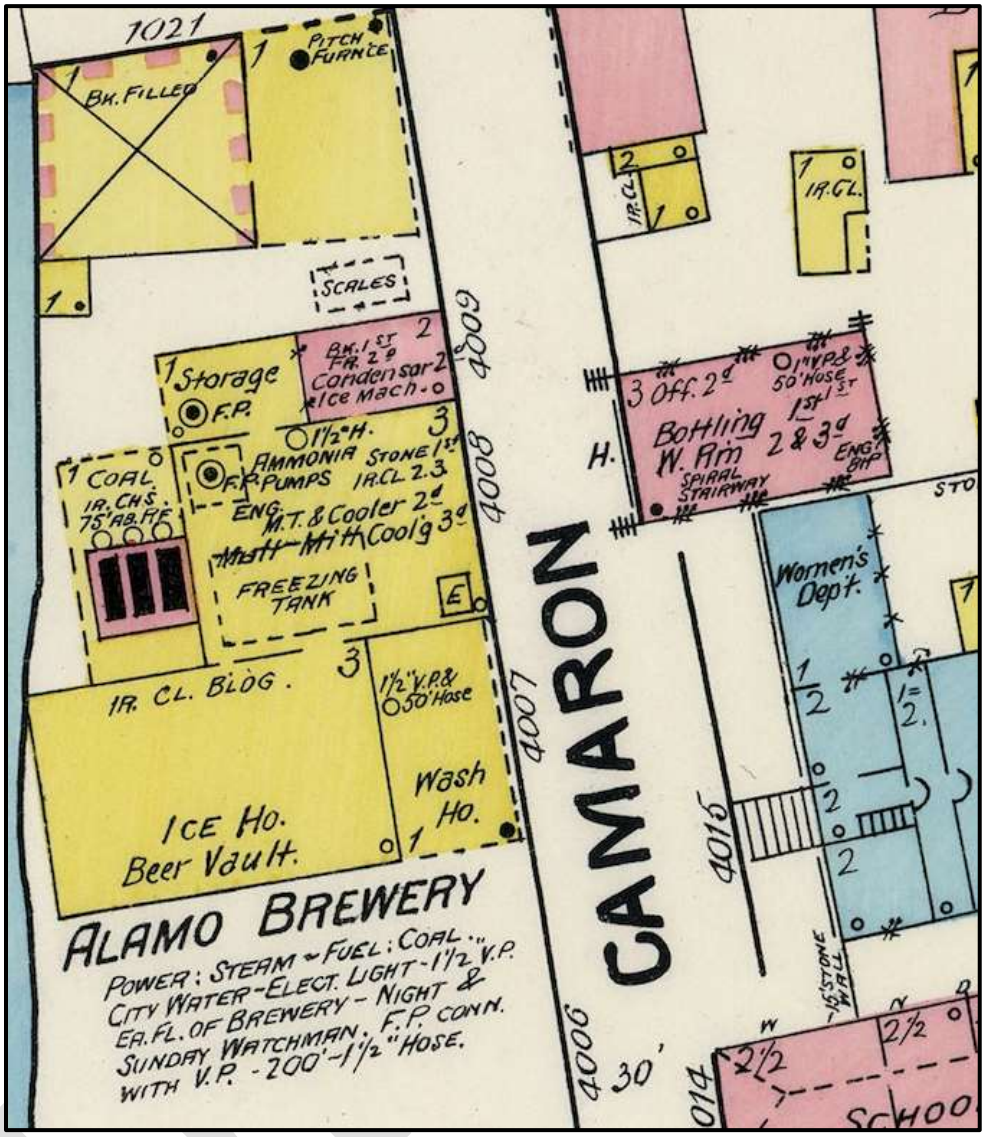

Figure 3-6. Details of Sheet 4 of the 1892 Sanborn Fire Insurance map showing the expansion of the complex.

By 1896 (**Figure 3-7**), the dedicated "Scales" facility has been demolished and the former Ice House and Beer Vault attached to the southern wall of the original structure appears to have been reduced in size, and its use may have also changed. The structure at the western end of the complex backing up to San Pedro Creek now has a slightly different configuration and a concrete wall that forms the western boundary of the complex next to the channel of San Pedro Creek. An elevator shaft has now been installed at the southeast corner of the former A.M.E. Church structure (see Figures 3-6 and 3-7). Additional details of the interior of the floors are not provided by the 1896 Sanborn Fire Insurance map.

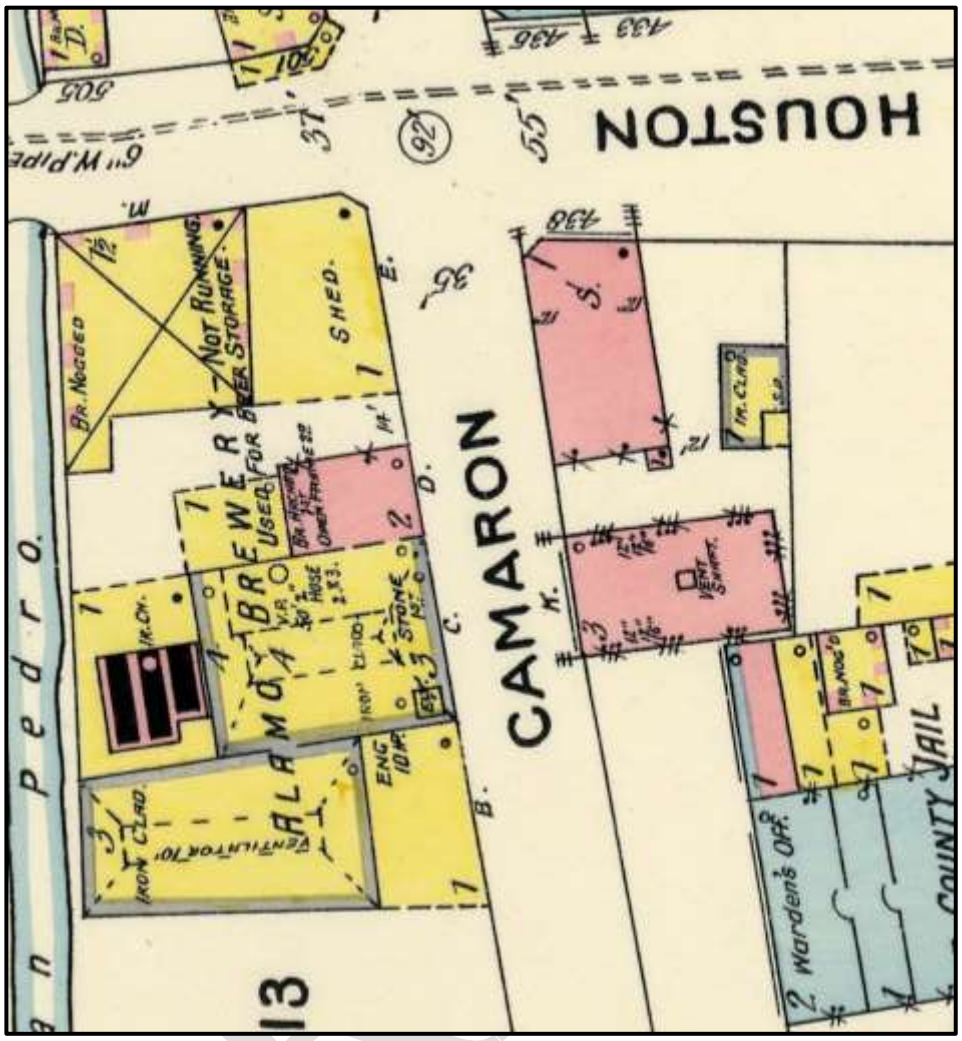

Figure 3-7. Detail of Sheet 10 of the 1896 Sanborn Fire Insurance map. Note comment that "Stone 1st" is stated on building "C" which is the central, three-story building.

By 1904, the brewery had failed and much of it was demolished. All that appears to remain is the two-story office, which had been built and appended to the stone and frame, three-story building, as above, in 1888. South of it is a frame building which is iron clad. This building appears to have a smaller footprint than the previous building on the site **(Figure 3-8).**

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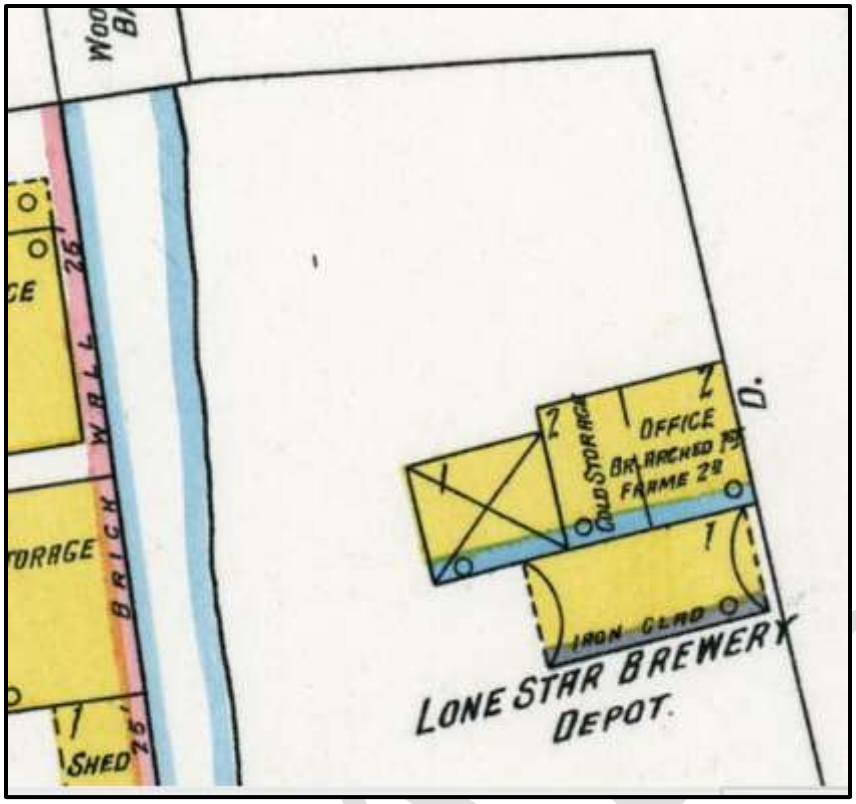

Figure 3-8. Sanborn Fire Insurance map of 1904, Volume 1, Sheet 3.

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CHAPTER 4: RELATING FOUNDATIONS AND FEATURES TO SITE USE

In assessing and defining the relationship of the various foundations uncovered during monitoring to historic structures and uses of the project area, it is best to start with the 1896 Sanborn Fire Insurance map because it illustrates the complex of foundations prior to demolition during the early twentieth century. **Figure 4-1** compares the features depicted on the Sanborn map with the foundations and architectural features uncovered at the site.

Figure 4-1. Comparison of the foundation complex with the 1896 Sanborn Fire Insurance map.

Because this Sanborn map does not provide floor-by-floor details, it is not possible to match the internal divisions evident in the aerial overview with the 1896 map. The aerial overview shows the large central structure (outlined in green) that is assumed to represent the foundation of the former A.M.E. Church. In 1896, this footprint would have been under the three story building.

Inside of the large rectangular foundation are several smaller spaces such as the small room at the NE corner (**Figure 4-2**), the elongated room adjacent to the east wall of the foundation (**Figure 4-3**), and the larger E-W oriented space adjacent to the south wall of the foundation each demarcated in blue (**Figure 4-4**).

Figure 4-2. Small rectangular foundation adjacent the NE corner of the former A.M.E. Church foundation. Looking west from Camaron Street.

Figure 4-3. Long narrow room adjacent the east foundation of former church. Note large amount of charcoal on the inside. Looking south along Camaron Street.

Figure 4-4. E-W oriented space adjacent the south foundation of former church (at right). Note large amount of charcoal in the foreground profile. Looking east along south wall of former church.

In addition, four platform-like features (**Figure 4-5**), demarcated by burnt orange lines (see Figure 4-1), are found in the northwestern portion of the A.M.E. Church foundation. None of these architectural features are depicted on the 1896 Sanborn map. This lack of interior detail may signal that by 1896, the interior space of the first floor of the Alamo Brewery was functioning primarily as a lobby rather than containing industrial equipment associated with beer brewing.

In contrast, foundations located to the north, west, and south of the original core foundation appear to match well with structures depicted on the 1896 Sanborn map. A two-story arched brick structure is shown on the Sanborn to the north of the original core structure. The second floor is described as "open framed." This structure and the storage structure immediately behind it (west of it; **Figure 4-6**), may have been sitting over or on the foundations depicted by yellow lines on the aerial overview (see Figure 4-1). The space occupied by condensers inside the attached structure behind the original core structure (**Figure 4-7**), also depicted in yellow lines, is likely the same as that shown on the Sanborn map. The condenser platform, however, is enclosed within an iron clad structure on the Sanborn map and the structure is as wide (N-S) as the church foundation. No evidence was encountered of such a large enclosure surrounding the space used to hold condensers.

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Figure 4-5. Equipment platforms inside the former church foundation shown in the foreground and at right edge of photo. Looking south from near NW corner of A.M.E. Church foundation.

Just north of this space, and adjacent to the northwest corner of the former A.M.E. Church foundation is a well (**Figure 4-8**). This well also is not shown on the 1896 Sanborn map. However, south of the former church foundation, the large iron clad structure that is identified as "Ventilator" matches very closely the remnants of a cement foundation (depicted by yellow line in Figure 4-1) that runs immediately south of the limestone foundation of the old church (see Figure 4-8).

The comparison of the unearth foundations to the 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance map provides additional interpretive details (**Figure 4-9**). For instance, on the interior of the former A.M.E. Church foundation, the Sanborn Fire Insurance map identifies an "Ice House" at the northeastern corner of the church foundation. The location of this room and associated foundation agree well with the small room seen in Figure 4-9 identified as the "Ice House" which existed there around 1885 but had been demolished by 1896. Another space that appears on the Sanborn map inside the former church foundation is identified as the "Freezing Tank and Water Condenser." This space found along the south wall of the former church matches well the rectangular area defined by foundation remnants on the current overview aerial photo. The space appears to have had a wooden floor supported by joists that were held in place by niches in the north face of the south foundation wall (see Figure 4-9).

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Figure 4-6. Architectural features north of the former A.M.E. Church foundation.

Figure 4-7. Attached foundations at the west end of the former A.M.E. Church foundation. Heavily impacted church foundation is in foreground. Looking west from center of foundation complex.

Figure 4-8. Overview of well, condenser storage platforms, and iron clad structure foundations west and south of the former A.M.E. Church foundation.

A thick layer of charcoal was noted on the wooden floor during the exposure of this room (see Figure 4-4). If this charcoal-filled space is indeed the "Freezing Tank and Water Condenser" room, it means that the space functioned in this manner around 1885.

Finally, the 1885 Sanborn map does show the well at the northwest corner of the site (**Figure 4-10**), adjacent to but outside of the former A.M.E. Church foundation. The well is described as measuring 16-feet in diameter and extending some 30-feet below surface. It was operated by a pump which furnished water to the ice factory while in operation.

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Figure 4-9. Notches in north face of South wall of old foundation of A.M.E. Church.

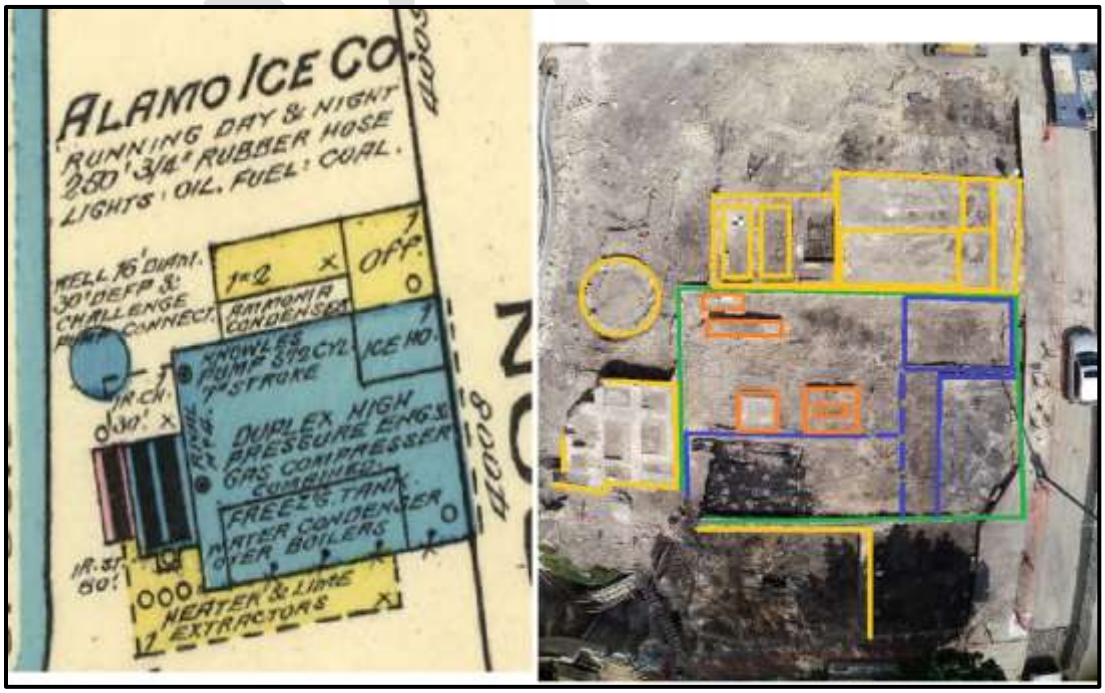

Figure 4-10. Comparison of the foundation complex with the 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance map.

Other details shown on the Sanborn map are different from the current aerial overview. For instance, prior to the iron clad Ventilator room depicted on the 1896 Sanborn map (see Figure 4-1), there was a much smaller structure attached to the southern foundation of the former church. This structure (see Figure 4-10) housed the "Heater and Lime Extractors." These pieces of equipment were critical to the manufacture of clear ice that was free of lime. Finally, even the 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance map provides no detail on the function of the charcoal-filled room located at the SE interior corner of the former A.M.E. Church foundation (outlined in blue in Figure 4-10). Therefore, it is not possible to assign a specific date or date range to this foundation and the room it must have delineated. Similarly, no information can be derived from the Sanborn map regarding the four rectangular support platforms found in the northwestern portion of the former church foundation. They represent sturdy construction likely intended to hold heavy industrial equipment, but at what point in time, and whether they were part of the ice-making or brewing history of the complex, it is not known.

The last comparison to be made is that of the currently exposed foundations seen in the aerial overview to the 1877 Sanborn map (**Figure 4-11**) that depicts a single rectangular structure labeled as "Vacant." There is no interior detail shown in the map suggesting perhaps that the floor space was not subdivided. Using the scale provided in the 1877 Sanborn Fire Insurance map, the rectangular building measures 39 (N-S) x 50 (E-W)-feet. Field measurements of the exposed foundations identified the east wall of the church, fronting Camaron Street, as measuring 44.5-feet.

While the Sanborn map shows three windows on the north and south walls of the vacant building, such details are not evident in the aerial overview of the foundations. What is clear from the comparison, however, is that none of the interior subdivisions of space seen in later Sanborn maps, nor exterior architectural features, are present in the vacant building or surrounding it.

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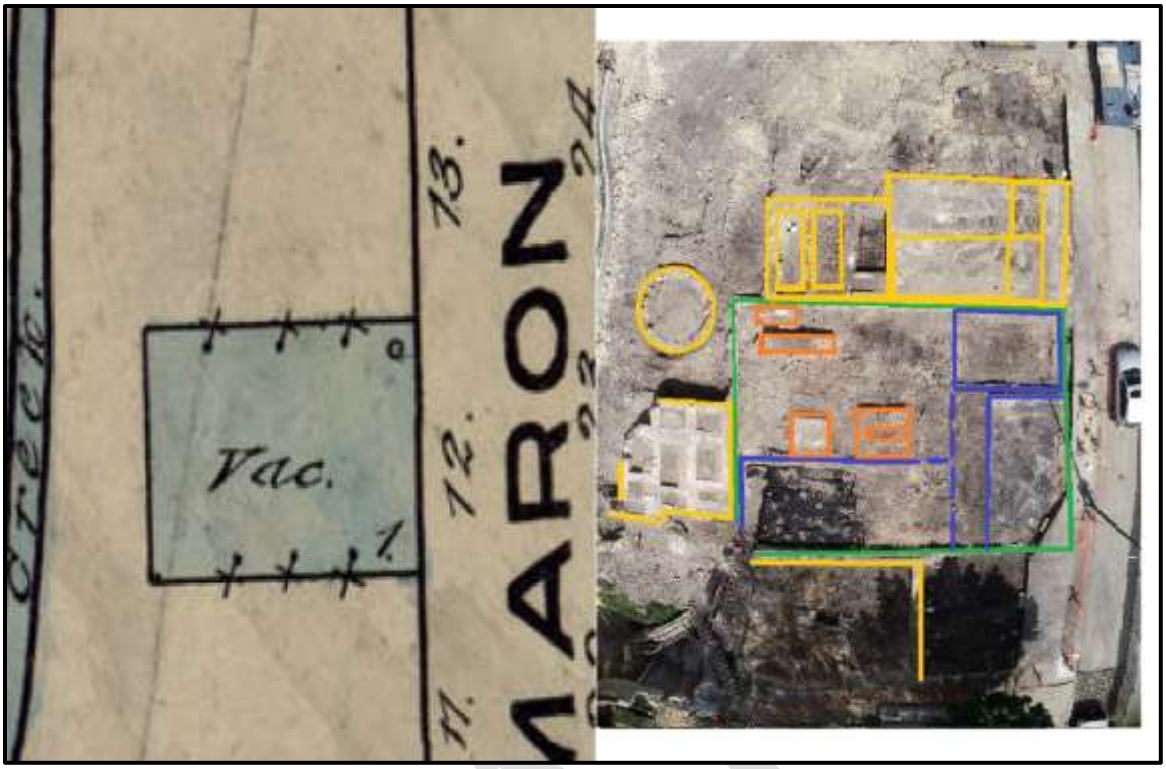

Figure 4-11. Comparison of the foundation complex with the 1877 Sanborn Fire Insurance map.

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CHAPTER 5: A.M.E. CHURCH POTHOLING

Given the complex history of occupation, use, and construction sequences associated with the complex of foundations found at the site, the archival research and the on-site review of the foundations answered some questions and it also raised several new questions. Specifically, the new questions or unanswered previous questions revolved around the specifics of the construction sequence, enlargements of original structures, and the impact of demolition on previous structures and foundations. To answer some of these outstanding research questions, and in consultation with representatives of the USACE, THC, and COSA-OHP, RKI proposed the excavation of a series of potholes across the project area. These excavations were conducted between April 30 and May 5, and again on June 8, 2020.

In developing the potholing strategy prior to fieldwork, areas for potholing were selected based on visible and suspected wall alignments where a wall was thought to have been (**Figure 5-1**). However, once in the field, the locations of the potholes were modified due to impassable obstacles (i.e., large chunks of concrete, limestone, or thick layers of discarded bricks). Despite the presence of these obstacles, the field crews endeavored to place the pothole as close to the originally intended location as possible**.** In total, 22 (1–22) potholes were hand-excavated. The potholes measured approximately 2 feet (61 centimeters [cm]) by 2 feet (61 cm), except in cases when impenetrable obstacles were encountered during excavation (**Table 5-1**). In these cases, the potholes were decreased in size or expanded. The potholes were spaced 3.0 to 4.0 feet (0.91 to 1.22 meter [m]) from each other. However, in some cases due to obstacles, the placement of the potholes was adjusted. The depths of the excavated potholes varied from 2.3 in (6 cm) to 43 inches (109 cm), depending on the depth at which impenetrable obstacles prevented deeper hand-excavations.

Since one of the principal goals of the investigation was to identify changes in construction materials in an effort to better understand the construction phases of the foundations, the majority of the potholes (1–3, and 10–22) were located on wall alignments and corners of four different foundations and one structural feature (see Figure 5-1). The location of the potholes are as follows: Potholes 10–12 were excavated along the interior wall of Foundation 1, Potholes 1–3 and 13–15, were excavated on the interior and exterior walls of Foundation 2, Potholes 16, 20, and 21 were excavated along Foundation 3, Potholes 18 and 19 were excavated on Foundation 4, and Pothole 22 was excavated on

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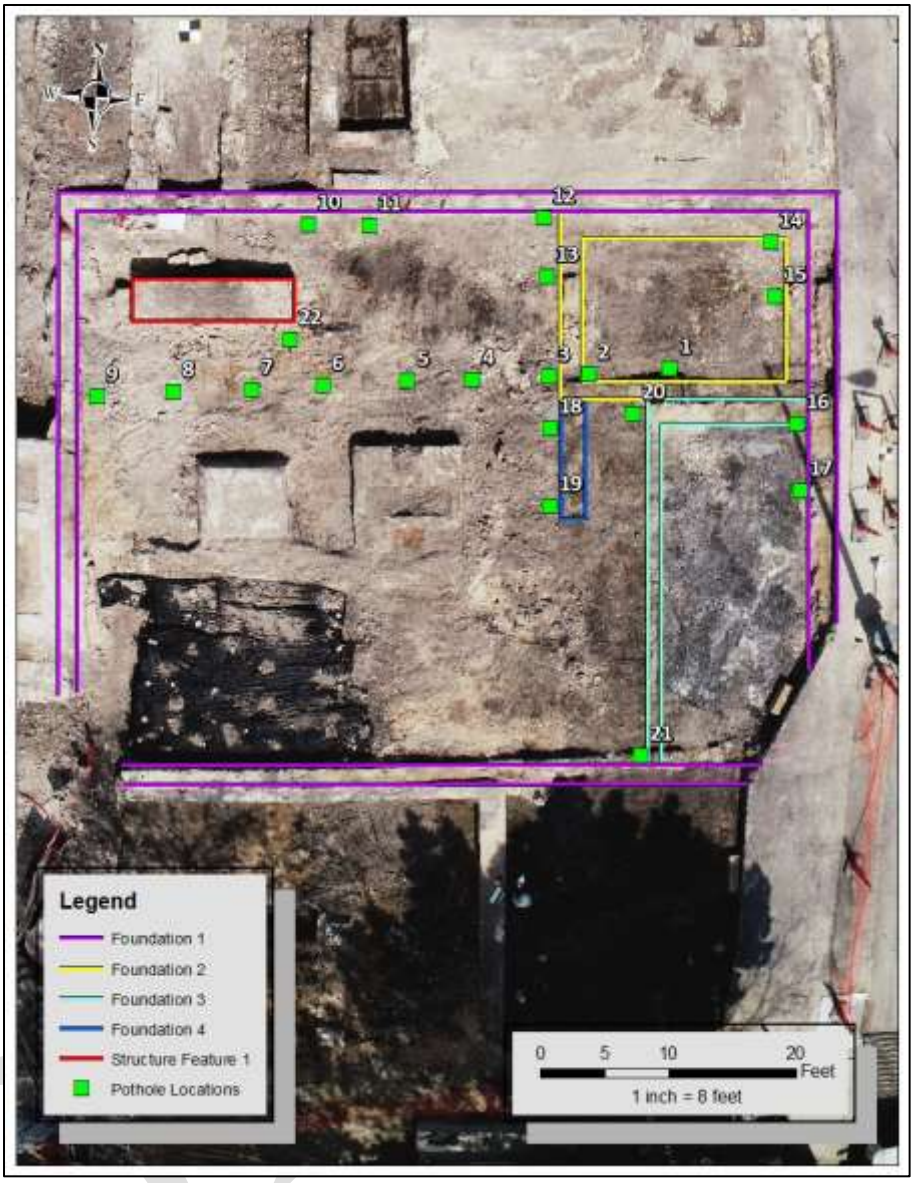

Figure 5-1. The location of potholes in relation to visible and anticipated foundation alignments.

the southeast corner of Structural Feature 1 (see Figure 5-1). Additionally, Potholes 4–9 were excavated along an area where a wall was thought to have been (see Figure 5-1). The following presents a summary of the preliminary results of these investigations.

Table5-1. Potholes within A.M.E. Church Complex			
Pothole Number	**Dimensions (N-S x E-W)**	**Termination Depth, Meters Below Street Surface**	**Cause of Termination**
1	40 cm x 30 cm	0.871015	Rocky impasse
2	61 cm x 61 cm	0.886833	Rocky impasse
3	61 cm x 61 cm	0.806949	Encountered intentional surface
4	61 cm x 61 cm	0.715635	No stone alignment/ rubble
5	61 cm x 61 cm	0.755654	No stone alignment/ rubble
6	61 cm x 61 cm	0.630021	No stone alignment/ rubble
7	61 cm x 61 cm	0.634898	No stone alignment/rubble
8	61 cm x 61 cm	0.528558	No stone alignment/rubble
9	61 cm x 61 cm	0.660104	Exposed pipe and rocky impasse
10	61 cm x 61 cm	0.701951	Encountered intentional surface
11	61 cm x 61 cm	0.674185	Encountered intentional surface
12	61 cm x 61 cm	0.611978	Encountered intentional surface
13	61 cm x 61 cm	0.874703	Encountered intentional surface
14	61 cm x 61 cm	0.953459	Rocky impasse
15	50 cm x 40 cm	0.987138	Rocky impasse
16	61 cm x 61 cm	0.995154	Identified base of foundation
17	61 cm x 61 cm	1.18028	Rocky impasse
18	61 cm x 61 cm	0.800975	Encountered intentional surface
19	61 cm x 61 cm	0.709692	Flat stone, possibly intentionally placed
20	50 cm x 50 cm	0.646175	Rocky impasse
21	50 cm x 25 cm	1.027492	Lack of space
22	61 cm x 61 cm	1.10189	Encountered intentional surface

Foundation 1

Foundation 1 measures approximately 44.5 feet (13.6 m) N-S by 57.4 feet (17.5 m) E-W. The foundation is comprised of cut limestone blocks bound by a sandy paste mortar. The width of the foundation measured approximately 17 to 18 inches (43 to 46 cm). Investigations of this foundation consisted of the excavation of Potholes 10–12 along the southern face of the northern wall of the alignment and Pothole 17 along the western face of the eastern wall (see Figure 5-1). Of the four Potholes, 10, 11, and 17, were excavated, while Pothole 12 was not excavated.

The excavation of Potholes 10 and 11 reached depths from 2.3 inches (6 cm) to 4 inches (10 cm) below the graded surface and were terminated due to a surface that was encountered (**Figures 5-2 and 5-3**). Within Pothole 10 the surface consisted of cement that extends to the south for 8.6 in (22 cm) and then transitions into poorly preserved sandy cement mortar. The cement surface includes a distinct vertical ridge along the eastern section of the wall (see Figure 5-2). There are no impressions to indicate the ridge had stone placed on top. Within Pothole 11 the surface encountered was comprised of a poorly preserved sandy mortar, with red brick inclusions (see Figure 5-3). The sandy mortar surface slopes down and south away from the wall to create an uneven horizontal surface. The artifacts identified in these four units are listed in **Table 5-2.**

Figure 5-2. Cement surface encountered in Pothole 10.

Pothole 12 was located at the intersection of the E-W wall of Foundation 1 and the N-S wall of Foundation 2. The pothole was not excavated due to the presence of a visible surface exposed during previous general excavations. As such, a 2 feet (61 cm) x 2 feet (61 cm) section was brushed to expose a sandy mortar, or sandy friable cement, surface with red brick inclusions (**Figure 5-4**). The surface slopes down and to the south away from the northern wall. Examination of the juncture of the two walls reveal that there is a gap between the E-W and N-S walls (**Figure 5-5**). The gap appears to be filled in with a sandy paste mortar like the mortar used in the construction of Foundation 1.

Figure 5-3. Sandy mortar surface encountered in Pothole 11.

Table 5-2. Artifacts from Potholes Associated with Foundation 1	
Pothole Number	**Artifacts Observed**
10	1 unidentified ferrous metal fragment, 1 white ware ceramic body sherd, 3 colorless flat glass fragments, 1 colorless glass container fragments, and 1 colorless glass container base with a pattern of 3 raised spherical shapes.
11	1 ferrous metal wire, 1 copper casing, 1 faunal fragment (small mammal), 1 brown glass container fragments, 10 colorless glass container fragments (refits).
12	None observed
17	None observed

Figure 5-4. Sandy mortar, or sandy friable cement, surface with red brick inclusions encountered in Pothole 12.

Figure 5-5. Non interlocking wall juncture at Pothole 12, facing east.

Excavation of Pothole 17 extended to a maximum depth of 30 inches (77 cm) below graded surface and was terminated due to reaching a rock impasse (**Figure 5-6**). During the excavation, the western face of the east wall of Foundation 1, a second course of stone was observed to continue past the depth where excavations were stopped (**Figure 5-7**). The surrounding profile consisted of approximately 1.5 inches (4 cm) of an unknown white substance, with friable, dried granular clay and 50 percent coal slag underlain by an approximately 1 inch (3 cm) thick layer of a white granular substance and sandy mortar. The remainder of the stratigraphic layer was dense black slag/coal slag in a matrix of powdered coal slag. There were no recorded artifacts for this pothole.

Figure 5-6. Plan view of Pothole 17 terminating at 77 cm below graded surface.

During the excavations of Potholes 10–12, and 17, cultural materials were only encountered within Potholes 10 and 11. Cultural materials consisted of one unidentified ferrous metal fragment, one ferrous metal wire, one undecorated white earthenware body sherd, three colorless flat glass fragments, eleven colorless glass container fragments (ten were refits), and one colorless glass container base with a pattern of three raised spherical shapes, one ferrous metal wire, one copper casing, one faunal bone fragment (small mammal), and one brown glass container fragments (**Figures 5-8 and 5-9**).

Figure 5-7. Representative profile of Pothole 17, facing east.

Figure 5-8. Cultural material encountered in Pothole 10.

Figure 5-9. Cultural material encountered in Pothole 11.

Foundation 2

Foundation 2 is a foundation in the northeast quadrant of Foundation 1, that measures approximately 18.6 feet (5.6 m) E-W by 14 feet (4.3 m) N-S (see Figure 5-1). The foundation is comprised of rough cut limestone held together with a slurry mortar. The width of the foundation measured approximately 18 to 19 inches (46 to 48 cm). Investigations of this foundation consisted of the excavation of Potholes 1–3 and 13–15. Potholes 1, 2, 14, and 15 were excavated within the interior of the foundation, with Potholes 1 and 2 located along the northern face of the southern wall and 14 and 15 located on the western face of the eastern wall. Potholes 3 and 13 were excavated on the eastern face of the western wall (see Figure 5-1).

During the excavation of Potholes 1 and 2, the size of the holes was adjusted due to a cement surface and a pipe alignment that intersects the holes. Dimensions of the two holes were similar, both measuring 15.7 inches (40 cm) E-W by 11.8 inches (30 cm) N-S for Pothole 1 and 19.7 inches (50 cm) E-W for Pothole 2. Depths of the Potholes varied, with Pothole 1 terminating at a depth of 20.8 inches (53 cm) below graded surface and Pothole 2 terminating at a depth of 24 inches (60 cm) below graded surface. Both potholes were terminated due to a rocky impasse (**Figures 5-10 and 5-11**). The artifacts identified in these six units are listed in **Table 5-3.**

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Figure 5-10. Plan view of Pothole 1 at a depth of 20.8 inches (53 cm) below graded surface.

Figure 5-11. Plan view of Pothole 2 at a depth of 24 inches (60 cm) below graded surface.

Table 5-3. Artifacts from Potholes Associated with Foundation 2	
Pothole Number	**Artifacts Observed**
1	1 blue on white European ceramic sherd 1 piece of flat colorless glass
2	2 flat, colorless glass fragments, 1 brown container glass body fragment, 2 copper wires 2 unidentified ferrous metal fragments, 1 butchered faunal fragment (large mammal, likely bovid), 3 unidentified faunal fragments, and 1 whiteware body sherd.
3	1 brown glass container base; "AB" over "81" mark on base
13	1 complete brown glass bottle, 1 brown glass container base with "ABCM Co" on base, 1 brown glass container fragment, 5 colorless glass container fragments, 9 colorless flat glass fragments, 11 body and 1 rim whiteware ceramic sherds 1 yellow glazed ceramic rim, 1 ferrous metal bracket, 7 ferrous metal fasteners, 4 unidentified ferrous metal fragments, 1 copper "plate", and 3 unidentified copper hardware fragments
14	2 grooved brick fragments, 2 unidentified fauna fragments, 3 unidentified metal fragments, and 1 round metal piece, perhaps a button.
15	3 pieces of slag

In the southern profiles of the two potholes, the southern wall of Foundation 2 appears to have a second course (**Figures 5-12 and 5-13**). The second course was observed to have been set upon a course of roughly shaped, uneven stones in both potholes. Both profiles of the potholes were heavily disturbed containing industrial debris, such as brick, slag, and coal. Within Pothole 1, the profile consisted of a brown (7.5YR 4/2) silty clay, with limestone gravels underlain by a grayish brown (2.5Y 5/2) silty clay, including significant slag intrusions. Next was a dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) sandy clay, underlain by silty clay with a mixture of limestone gravels and slag. The profile of Pothole 2 was comprised of a dark olive brown (2.5Y 3/3) silty clay, with 30 percent limestone gravels and 5 percent slag.

Cultural material encountered within the two potholes were comprised of three pieces of flat, colorless glass, one blue on white European ceramic body sherd, one brown container glass body fragment, two copper wires, three ferrous metal nails, two unidentified ferrous metal fragments, one butchered faunal fragment (large mammal, likely bovid), three unidentified faunal fragments, and one undecorated white earthenware body sherd.

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Figure 5-12. Southern and surrounding profiles of Pothole 1, facing south.

Figure 5-13. Southern and surrounding profiles of Pothole 2, facing south.

Potholes 14 and 15 were excavated along the western face of the eastern wall of Foundation 2. The two potholes varied in size. Pothole 14 measured approximately 24 inches (61 cm) by 24 inches (61 cm), while Pothole 15 measured 20 inches (50 cm) N-S by 16 inches (40 cm) E-W. Depths of the holes varied, with Pothole 14 reaching a depth of 22 inches (57 cm) below graded surface and Pothole 15 reaching a depth of 30 inches (66 cm) below graded surface. Both holes were terminated due to a rock impasse (**Figures 5-14 and 5-15**).

Figure 5-14. Plan view of Pothole 14 at a depth of 22 inches (57 cm) below graded surface.

The profile of the wall segments within the two profiles slightly different. In Pothole 14, the southern face of the northern wall and western face of the eastern wall are visible. The northern wall profile shows two courses of flat, cut stones, while the east wall profile shows an upper course of flat, cut stone, underlain by two courses of roughly shaped stones (**Figure 5-16**). In Pothole 15 the eastern wall profile shows three courses of roughly shaped stone (**Figure 5-17**). The surrounding profile of the two potholes were similar, consisting of a layer of concrete underlain by a dark gray (10YR 4/1) ashy loam, with charcoal inclusions. This was underlain by a white (10YR 8/1) to light gray (10YR 7/2) granular caliche or plaster-like substance, underlain by a layer of black slag and charcoal, and then clay and caliche-based clay with slag inclusions.

Figure 5-15. Plan view of Pothole 18 at a depth of 30 inches (66 cm) below graded surface.

Figure 5-16. East and northern profiles of Pothole 14, facing northeast.

Figure 5-17. East wall profile of Pothole 15, facing east.

Cultural material encountered during the excavation of Potholes 14 and 15 were comprised of two grooved brick fragments, two unidentified fauna fragments, three unidentified metal fragments, one round metal piece (perhaps a button), and three pieces of slag.

Excavation along the outside of Foundation 2 consisted of the excavation of Potholes 3 and 13. The excavation of the potholes was similar to that of Potholes 10–12, in that a surface was encountered at a shallow depth, in this case at approximately 8 inches (20 cm) below the top of Foundation 2. The surface slopes westward to a depth of 18 inches (46 cm) below the top of Foundation 2 in Pothole 3 and to a depth of 12 inches (31 cm) below the top of Foundation 2 in Pothole 13 (**Figures 5-18 and 5-19**). The surface is comprised of cement that transitions to a sandy mortar with red brick fragment inclusions.

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Figure 5-18. South profile of Pothole 3, facing south.

Figure 5-19. Plan view of Pothole 13.

The matrix of the two potholes were both heavily disturbed. In Pothole 3, the profile was comprised of a light brownish gray (10YR 6/2) silty clay, with 50 percent of the matrix including large limestone rocks underlain by a dark brown (10YR 3/3) silty clay loam. The profile for Pothole 13 consisted of a black (7.5YR 2/1) silty loam, with slag and charcoal comprising 20-percent of the layer underlain by a very dark brown (10YR 2/2) loamy clay, with crushed rock inclusions and limestone and brick fragments in 40-percent of the layer.

Cultural material observed during the excavation of the two potholes consisted of a brown glass container base with "AB 81" molded on the bottom, one complete brown glass bottle, one brown glass container base with "ABCM Co" molded on the bottom, one brown glass container fragment, five colorless glass container fragments, nine colorless flat glass fragments, eleven body, one undecorated white earthenware rim, one yellow glazed ceramic rim, one ferrous metal bracket, seven ferrous metal fasteners, four unidentified ferrous metal fragments, one copper "plate"; and three unidentified copper hardware fragments (**Figures 5-20 and 5-21**).

Figure 5-20. Bottle base encountered in Pothole 3.

Figure 5-21. Representative sample of artifacts from Pothole 13.

Foundation 3

Foundation 3 is comprised of an E-W and N-S alignment of rough cut limestone bound by a slurry mortar. Both the E-W and N-S foundation alignments terminate at walls of Foundation 1 and measure approximately 12.9 feet (4 m) E-W by 28 feet (9 m) N-S (see Figure 5-1). The width of the E-W alignment varies from 19 to 20 inches (47 to 52 cm), while the N-S alignment width varies from 11 to 12 inches (28 to 30 cm). Investigations of this foundation consisted of the excavation of Pothole 16 located on the southern face of the northern wall and the western face of the eastern wall of Foundation 1, Pothole 20 located on the southern face of the southern wall of Foundation 2 and the western face of the western wall of Foundation 3, and Pothole 21 located at the juncture of the western face of the western wall of Foundation 3 and the northern face of the southern wall of Foundation 1. The materials recovered from these three units are listed in **Table 5-4.**

Table 5-4. Materials Recovered from Potholes Associated with Foundation 3

Pothole Number	Artifacts Observed
16	> 100 pieces of slag
20	None observed
21	None observed

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Excavations of Pothole 16 extended to a depth of 43 inches (109 cm) below graded surface. During the excavation of Pothole 16, the base of the southern face of the northern wall and the western face of the eastern wall were exposed. The northern wall is comprised of a single course of roughly shaped stone that extends to a depth of 9 inches (23 cm) below grades surface, while the eastern wall is comprised of two courses of cut limestone that extends to a depth of 17 inches (44 cm) below graded surface (**Figure 5-22**). The northern wall of Foundation 3 appears to abut Foundation 1 and are joined by a sandy paste mortar.

Figure 5-22. Northern profile of Pothole 16, facing north.

The base of the northern wall rests on top of layer of dense black slag/coal slag matrix. The base of the eastern wall appears to set on smaller stones within a slurry mix. The surrounding profile of the pothole consisted of an unknown white substance, with friable, dried granular clay and 50-percent coal slag in the upper 2 inches (5 cm), underlain by a 2 inch (5 cm) thick, white granular substance and a light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) sandy mortar. The remaining matrix consisted of a dense black slag/coal slag in a matrix of powdered coal slag. Cultural material encountered during the excavation of the pothole was comprised of slag.

Pothole 20 was located at the juncture of the southern face of the southern wall of Foundation 2 and the western face of the western wall of Foundation 3. However, at this location, a cement ledge bordered western wall of Foundation 3 and a brick was located along the southern wall of Foundation 2 (**Figure 5-23**). The excavation of Pothole 20 reached a depth of 5 inches (13 cm) below graded surface and was terminated due to a rock impasse (see Figure 5-23).

Figure 5-23. Plan view of Pothole 20; facing north at a depth of 5 inches (13 cm) below graded surface.

The matrix encountered within the pothole was comprised of a dark brown (10YR 3/3) sandy clay intermixed with over 80 percent gravels. No cultural materials were observed during the excavation of the pothole.

Pothole 21 was located at the juncture of the western face of the western wall of Foundation 3 and the northern face of the southern wall of Foundation 1 (see Figure 5-1). Due to dense rock, the size of the pothole was modified. The excavations of Pothole 21 reached a depth of 35 inches (90 cm) below grades surface and was terminated due to a rock impasse. Due to the modification of the pothole and the presence of densely pack rock, only the northern face of the southern wall of Foundation 1 was exposed.

The exposed wall of Foundation 1 revealed that the wall was comprised of three courses of a mix of cut and roughly shaped limestone bound by a sandy paste mortar (**Figure 5-24**). The wall extended past the depth the pothole was terminated. The surrounding profile was comprised of a brown (10YR 4/3) sandy clay intermixed with 80-percent densely packed rock and rubble debris underlain by a dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) silty clay. No cultural material was encountered during the excavation of the pothole.

Figure 5-24. Northern face of the southern wall of Foundation 1 in Pothole 21, showing three courses, facing south.

Foundation 4

Foundation 4 is located directly west of Foundation 3 and south of Foundation 2 (see Figure 5-1). The foundation is an N-S oriented alignment comprised of cut and roughly shaped limestone. The stone alignment measures approximately 9.6 feet (3 m) in length with a width of 19 to 20 inches to (48 to 50 cm). Investigations of this foundation consisted of the excavation of Potholes 18 and 19 along the western face of the alignment (see Figure 5-1). The materials recovered from these two units are listed in **Table 5-5.**

Table 5-5. Materials Recovered from Potholes Associated with Foundation 4	
Pothole Number	**Artifacts Observed**
18	None observed
19	4 amber glass bottle bases, 25 amber glass fragments, 1 colorless or aqua glass container base, 1 colorless or aqua glass screw-top, 2 colorless glass bottle fragments, 2 green glass container fragments, 3 flat colorless glass fragments, 1 cuprous padlock, 1 saw-cut mammal long bone fragment, 2 ferrous nail fragments, 2 ferrous straps, 1 ferrous spike, 1 unidentified ferrous hardware, 1 unidentified ferrous fragment, 1 cuprous wire, and 1 cuprous hardware

During the excavation of Pothole 18, a surface was encountered at a depth of 14 inches (36 cm) below graded surface (**Figure 5-25**). The surface was comprised of a sandy mortar adhered to the limestone wall that slopes westward. Due to the presence of the surface, excavations of the pothole were terminated. The profile of the pothole consisted of a very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) gravelly sandy loam intermixed with 40-percent limestone cobble and gravel underlain by a very dark brown (10YR 2/2) silty loam, with 30-percent limestone cobble and gravel fill. No cultural materials were encountered during the excavation of the pothole.

Pothole 19 was excavated to a depth of 16 inches (40 cm) below graded surface and was terminated due to the presence of a flat rock at the base of the excavation that may have been intentionally placed. It appears that the wall is set on the flat stone (**Figure 5-26**). Additionally, at the SW corner of the pothole, a NE extent of a possible posthole for a vertical support beam was exposed. The posthole appears to be made of concrete and has a straight N-S edge at least 7 inches (20 cm) in length and a straight E-W edge at least 3 inches (7 cm) in length. The posthole extends beyond the dimensions of the pothole (**Figure 5-27**).

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Figure 5-25. Overview of Pothole 18, facing east.

Figure 5-26. East profile of Pothole 19, facing east.

Figure 5-27. Plan view of Pothole 19 at a depth of 16 inches (40 cm) below graded surface.

The surrounding profile consisted of a very dark gray (10YR 3/2) gravelly clay loam, with intrusive asphalt and brick fragments underlain by a very dark brown (10YR 2/2) silty loam, with limestone cobble and gravels. Cultural materials encountered were comprised of four amber glass bottle bases, 25 amber glass fragments, one colorless or aqua glass container base, one colorless or aqua screw-top, two colorless glass bottle fragments, two green glass container fragments, three flat colorless glass fragments, one cuprous padlock, one saw-cut mammal long bone fragment, two ferrous nail fragments, two ferrous straps, one ferrous spike, one unidentified ferrous hardware, one unidentified ferrous fragment, one cuprous wire, and one cuprous hardware (**Figure 5-28**).

Structural Feature 1

Structural Feature 1 is in the northwest quadrant of Foundation 1. The feature is an industrial cement and brick installation that measures approximately 13 feet (4 m) E-W by 3.6 feet (1 m) N-S and stands approximately 20 inches (50 cm) above graded surface (see Figure 5-1). Investigations of the feature consisted of the excavation of Pothole 22 at the southeast corner (see Figure 5-1). The materials recovered from this unit are listed in **Table 5-6.**

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Figure 5-28. Cultural material encountered within Pothole 19.

Table 5-6. Materials Recovered from Pothole 22 Associated with Structural Feature 1	
Pothole Number	**Artifacts Observed**
22	1 fragment of colorless container glass, 2 fragments of flat glass, 1 fragment of amber container glass, 1 fragment of green or olive container glass, 1 piece of metal wire 2 fragments of ferrous metal, and 1 fragment of slag or ferrous metal

Excavations of Pothole 22 reached a depth of 23.6 inches (60 cm) below graded surface and was terminated due to a compact surface. The surface was comprised of a sandy mortar and brick fragment slurry mix (**Figure 5-29**). The structure contained a series of a three tired buttressing base that rested on top of the surface (**Figure 5-30**).

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Figure 5-29. Surface encountered within Pothole 22 at a depth of 23.6 inches (60 cm) below graded surface.

Figure 5-30. Structural Feature 1 resting on the slurry brick surface, facing north.

The profile consisted of a yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) sandy clay loam matrix intermixed with densely pack brick and rubble with limestone. Cultural materials observed during the excavation of the pothole included one fragment of colorless container glass, two fragments of flat glass, one fragment of amber container glass, one fragment of green or olive container glass, one piece of metal wire, two fragments of ferrous metal, and one fragment of slag or ferrous metal.

Potholes 4-9

Potholes 4-9 were excavated along an area approximately 5.6 feet (1.7 m) west of the E-W alignment of Foundation 2 where there was thought to have been an alignment of stone (see Figure 5-1). The potholes were excavated along an E-W orientation to see if an underlying wall was present. The potholes measured 24 inches (61 cm) by 24 inches (61 cm) and were excavated to depths ranging from 6 to 18 inches (15 cm to 46 cm) below graded surface (**Figures 5-31, 5-32, and 5-33**). All potholes were terminated due to lack of an alignment and densely packed rubble comprised mostly of brick and various limestone cobbles, cut and roughly shaped. The average profile consisted of a dark brown (10YR 3/3) silty clay, with slag and large limestone cobbles and brick inclusions. The slag, limestone, and brick comprises 50 percent of the profile. Cultural materials consisted of a nail, slag, undecorated white earthenware, several pieces of brown glass, and several pieces of colorless glass (**Figures 5-34 and 5-35**). The materials recovered from these six units are listed in **Table 5-7.**

In summary, the potholing carried out by RKI staff encountered a series of foundations approximately 20 cm below surface. These foundations range in age from approximately ca. 1850s to 1896. The exposed foundations represent elements of possibly four different structures that were once associated with the first Menger Soap Works, the A.M.E. Church, the Alamo Ice Company, and the Alamo Ice and Brewing Company. The purpose of the investigations was to identify changes in construction materials and techniques that may relate to temporally distinct construction phases.

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Figure 5-31. Plan view of Pothole 4 at a depth of 13 inches (34 cm) below graded surface.

Figure 5-32. Plan view of Pothole 6 at a depth of 13 inches (34 cm) below graded surface.

Figure 5-33. Plan view of Pothole 8 at 15 inches (38 cm) below graded surface.

Figure 5-34. Cultural material encountered within Pothole 6.

Figure 5-35. Cultural materials encountered within Pothole 8.

Table 5-7. Materials Recovered from Six Units Positioned in the Center of the Church	
Pothole Number	**Artifacts Observed**
4	1 nail
5	None observed
6	1 colorless glass container fragment, 1 piece of slag, and 1 unidentified metal hardware fragment.
7	1 piece of slag with attached wood, 3 white ware ceramic rims, 3 red glazed and grooved ceramic sherds 1 white ceramic lid, 7 brown glass container fragments (refits), 1 colorless glass container fragment.
8	1 colorless flat glass fragment, 1 brown glass container rim fragment, and 1 piece of slag.
9	None observed

Examination of the Foundation Walls

During the excavation of the potholes, small segments of different foundation walls were exposed. Segments of exposed wall were along Foundation 1 within Potholes 10–11, 16, 17, and 21; along Foundation 2 within Potholes 1, 2 and 12–15; along Foundation 3 within Potholes 16 and 21; and along Foundation 4 within Potholes 18 and 19. Additionally, wall junctures of Foundations 1 and 2 were exposed in Pothole 12 and within a cut from a utility line alignment between Potholes 14 and 15, and junctures of Foundations 1 and 3 were exposed in Potholes 16, and 21.

Foundation 1

Within Potholes 10–12, 16, 17, and 21, wall faces exposed varied from approximately 17 to 41 inches (43 to 103 cm). Along the southern face of the northern wall of Foundation 1, within Potholes 10–12, segments of the exposed wall face measured approximately 17 to 23 inches (43 to 58 cm) (**Figures 5-36, 5-37 and 5-38**). Segments of wall exposed along the western face of the eastern wall measured approximately 41 inches (103 cm) in Pothole 16 and 22 inches (56 cm) in Pothole 17 (**Figures 5-39, 5-40**). In Pothole 21 approximately 33 inches (84 cm) of the northern face of the southern wall was exposed (**Figure 5-41**).

Figure 5-36. Southern face of the northern wall of Foundation 1 within Pothole 10, facing north.

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Figure 5-37. Southern face of the northern wall of Foundation 1 within Pothole 11, facing north.

Figure 5-38. Southern face of the northern wall of Foundation 1 within Pothole 12, facing north.

Figure 5-39. Western face of the eastern wall of Foundation 1 within Pothole 16, facing east.

Figure 5-40. Western face of the eastern wall of Foundation 1 within Pothole 17, facing east.

Figure 5-41. Northern face of the southern wall of Foundation 1 within Pothole 21, facing south.

Examination of the exposed wall segments along Foundation 1 reveal differences in the construction of the walls and possibly an earlier foundation. Both the northern and southern walls appear to contain a mix of cut and roughly shaped limestone in their construction, whereas the eastern wall appears to be constructed of a single course of cut limestone blocks. In all three walls, a yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) sandy paste mortar appears to be used to hold the stones together.

The evidence of a possible earlier foundation is seen along the eastern and southern walls. Within the potholes along the eastern wall, the cut limestone appears to be on top of a roughly cut limestone wall that has a gray (10YR 5/1) sandy paste mortar. The rough shape limestone and gray (10YR 5/1) sandy paste mortar is seen along in the southern wall exposure. In both cases, the change is seen at approximately 16 inches (40 cm) below the top of the exposed foundation.

As potholing along the northern wall was terminated due to a surface, the base was not exposed. Additionally, approximately 17 to 23 inches (43 to 58 cm) of the northern wall face was exposed. The face of the wall in all three exposures is the same, there is no difference seen in the construction material in this wall and it is possible that it remains consistent beyond the exposed surface.

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Foundation 2

During the investigation of Foundation 2, segments of wall faces were exposed in Potholes 1 (**Figure 5-42**), 2 (**Figure 5-43**), and 12–15. Within Potholes 1 and 2, approximately 26 inches (66 cm) of the northern face of the southern wall was exposed, approximately 29 inches (73 cm) of the western face of the eastern wall and southern face of the northern wall was exposed in Potholes 14 (**Figure 5-44**), approximately 27 (67 cm) inches of the western face of the eastern wall was exposed in Pothole 15 (**Figure 5-45**), and approximately 9 to 16 inches (23 to 40 cm) of the western face of the western wall was exposed in Potholes 12 and 13 (**Figures 5-46 and 5-47**).

Figure 5-42. Northern face of the southern wall of Foundation 2 within Pothole 1, facing south.

In the examination of the exposed segments of wall faces of Foundation 2, it appears that the foundation is comprised of large, cut limestone that rest on irregular shaped stones. The mortar observed associated with the cut stones is a yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) sandy mortar. The irregular shaped stone beneath the large, cut stone does not appear to have a mortar associated with them. The large, cut stones measure approximately 12 inches (30 cm) in height, slightly smaller than the large cut stone observed in Foundation 1.

Figure 5-43. Northern face of the southern wall of Foundation 2 within Pothole 2, facing south.

Figure 5-44. Western face of the eastern wall and southern face of the northern wall was exposed in Potholes 14, facing east.

Figure 5-45. Western face of the eastern wall of Foundation 2 within Pothole 15, facing east.

Figure 5-46. Western face of the western wall of Foundation 2 within Pothole 12, facing east.

Figure 5-47. Western face of the western wall of Foundation 2 within Pothole 13, facing east.

Foundation 3

Potholes 16 and 21 were excavated to examine the northern and western walls of Foundation 3. Within Pothole 16 the southern face of the northern wall was exposed (**Figure 5-48**). However, the western face of the western wall was difficult to discern due to the condition of the wall at this location (**Figure 5-49**). Within Pothole 16 an approximately 9 inch (23 cm) single course of roughly shaped limestone was exposed. Additionally, a light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) sandy paste mortar was observed in between the stones along the alignment. The single course of limestone is set on a black slag and coal matrix. Based on the potholing associated with the foundation, it is difficult to determine how the foundation looks.

Foundation 4

Potholes 18 and 19 were excavated to examine the walls western face of the western wall of Foundation 4. During the excavation of the two potholes, a surface was encountered and the base of the foundation was not encountered. Within Potholes 18 and 19, approximately 14 inches (36 cm) of rough shaped limestone was exposed. Along the top of the alignment, a brownish yellow (10YR 6/6) sandy mortar was observed. The pothole was terminated due to a surface and the foundation could not be examined.

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Figure 5-48. Southern face of the northern wall of Foundation 3 within Pothole 16, facing north.

Figure 5-49. Western face of the western wall of Foundation 3 within Pothole 21, facing north.

Comparison of the Foundations

Examination of the foundations revealed that the exposed complex represents temporally different construction events. The distinct construction events can be clearly seen in the style and sizes of the stones used, the width of the foundations, and the difference in mortars used. Additionally, in comparison to the exposed foundations and data provided through reference to the Sanborn Fire Insurance maps (Sanborn maps) from 1877 and 1885, three foundations, two exposed and one buried, can potentially be assigned to what is depicted on the maps.

The stylistic differences observed among the foundations are seen in the shaping of stones used and the width of the foundation tops. In Foundation 1, a mix of cut and roughly cut limestone were used along the northern and southern walls, while the eastern and western wall were comprised of cut limestone blocks. The differences in the construction materials used in the opposing walls can possibly be attributed to what is prominently exposed to the public. Despite these differences, the width of the alignments of Foundation 1 remained consistent, measuring 16 to 18 inches (43 to 45 cm). Additionally, the mortar used for holding the stones was comprised of a yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) sandy paste mortar.

The observable construction materials used in the construction of Foundation 2 was comprised solely of cut limestone blocks held together by a yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) sandy paste mortar. Although the mortar used in Foundations 1 and 2 are similar, the difference between the two foundations are observed in the size of the cut limestone blocks used. In comparison, cut limestone blocks observed in Foundation 1 measure approximately 16 inches (43 cm) in height, while the cut limestone blocks in Foundation 2 measure approximately 12 inches (30 cm) in height. Additionally, the width of the limestone blocks that at the top of the alignments, differ. Foundation 2 is wider measuring approximately 19 to 20 inches (48 to 50 cm) consistently across the top of the alignment, while the cut limestone block alignment seen on the northern wall of Foundation 1 measures measuring 16 inches (43 cm) across the top.

The construction materials used in Foundation 3 are comprised of a mix of cut limestone blocks and roughly shaped limestone held together by a light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) sandy paste mortar. The distinct difference between Foundations 1 and 2 is how the foundation alignments were constructed. Foundation 3 is comprised of E-W and N-S alignments where the widths of the alignments are different. The E-W alignment of Foundation 3 measured approximately 18.5 to 20

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inches (47 to 52 cm) while the N-S alignment measured approximately 11 to 12 inches (28 to 30 cm). In Foundations 1 and 2, the widths of alignments are consistent along all alignments.

Material used in the construction of Foundation 4 were comprised of rough shaped limestone with a brownish yellow (10YR 6/6) sandy mortar. The width of the alignment measured approximately 19 to 20 inches (48 to 50 cm) and aligns with the western wall of Foundation 2. Although the two alignments appear to be in alignment and have similar widths, the mortar and type of stones are different. Foundation 2 is comprised of cut limestone blocks held together with a gray (10YR 5/1) sandy paste mortar.

In addition to the stylistic differences observed among the foundations, Foundations 2 and 3 are not connected to Foundation 1. Additionally, Foundation 2 is not connected Foundation 3. An approximately 3 to 5 cm space filled with mortar were observed at the junctures of Foundations 1 and 2. Spaces filled with mortar between Foundations 1 and 3 were observed as well. Although Foundation 2 abuts Foundation 3, Foundation 3 is taller than Foundation 2 and mortar is seen between the two.

In comparison of the exposed foundation complex to the Sanborn maps from 1877 and 1885, three foundations can be assigned to what is depicted. In the 1877 map of the area, a vacant building is depicted. Based on the measurement from the key on the map, the northern wall of the building is located approximately 90 feet south of Houston Street. The building measures approximately 39 feet N-S by 50 feet E-W. In 1885 the central building of the Alamo Ice Company, located in the approximate location of the vacant building depicted in 1877, appears to have been expanded. In the 1885 Sanborn map the northern wall of that building is approximately 85 feet south of Houston Street and the measurement of the footprint is approximately 45 feet N-S by 60 feet E-W. In addition to measuring the vacant building on the 1877 map and the central building of the Alamo Ice Company on the 1885 map, a room at the northeast corner of the central building is also present. The room is marked on the map as an Ice House. The room measures approximately 20 feet E-W by 14 feet N-S.

While conducting field investigations of the complex, Foundation 1 was measured as having a footprint of approximately 44.5 feet N-S by 57.4 feet E-W and Foundation 2 was measured as having a footprint measuring approximately 18 feet E-W by 14 feet N-S. Given the approximation of the measurements of the two foundations and Sanborn depictions, it appears that Foundation 1 is the

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central building depicted on the 1885 Sanborn map and Foundation 2 is the room depicted as the Ice House. However, there is a discrepancy in the order of construction events of the two.

Based on archival research, the property was owned by Mr. Klemcke who had deeded the property and a 39 foot building fronting Camaron Street to Mr. Menger in 1851. In 1871 Mr. Menger began renting out a portion of the building to the congregation of the A.M.E. Church. In 1873, the A.M.E. Church eventually purchased the property. In 1875 the A.M.E. Church expanded the building and placed a cornerstone at the northeast corner of the building. The cornerstone was found during the investigations of the foundation. Due to this information it appears that the 1877 map depicts the Menger building and the 1885 map shows the expansion of the church in 1875. Based on measurements of the Sanborn maps, it appears that the church was expanded to the north by 5 feet and to the south by 10 feet.

During the investigations of Foundation 1, along the southern and eastern walls, the cut limestone blocks were placed on a roughly shaped limestone foundation with a gray (10YR 5/1) sandy paste mortar. This older foundation was not encountered during the investigations of the northern wall of the foundation. As such it appears that the roughly shaped limestone foundation with a gray (10YR 5/1) sandy paste mortar is the foundation depicted on the 1877 map which was constructed sometime prior to 1851. The upper foundation of Foundation 1 represents the expansion of the A.M.E. Church constructed in 1875 which is depicted on the 1885 map. Furthermore, Foundation 2 represents the construction of the Ice House room depicted on the 1885 map. Currently, it is not known when Foundations 3 and 4 were constructed; however, it is believed they represent later construction events, potentially established between 1888 and 1896.

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CHAPTER 6: THE HISTORIC CONTEXTS

The National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) is an inventory of historic properties that reflect the shared heritage of the American people. Each historic property listed on the National Register has been associated with either historically significant events, the lives of significant people, or is the embodiment of a specific style or type of artistic expression, or may have yielded or may yield in the future, information important to understanding prehistoric and/or historic events. Furthermore, each listed property possesses integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

The significance of a historic property can be evaluated only within its historic context. Historic contexts are historical patterns or themes that can be identified when considering long-term trends in social events and economic practices within a given region. For a property to qualify for the NRHP, the resource must meet at least one of the criteria for evaluation by being associated with an important historic context, and it must also retain the historic integrity of those features necessary to convey its significance (NPS Bulletin 15:3) under the identified criteria.

In conducting the archival research associated with foundation complex, three themes resurfaced time after time. In chronological order, these themes are: 1) changing values of personal hygiene and the early day of soap manufacture; 2) the use of the property by the A.M.E. Church; and 3) the manufacture of ice and its close linkage to the early days of beer brewing in San Antonio. In discussing each historic context, the narratives begin with the presentation of broad historical trends associated with the industry or social phenomenon. This is followed by references to associated processes and events that transpired in Texas and San Antonio. Finally, references are made to individuals and activities that are directly associated with the site. First we discuss the general history of soap making, followed by a history of the A.M.E. Church, the early days of ice making, and the start of beer brewing in San Antonio. The relationship of specific aspects of the site, including archaeological resources, to the historic context described is discussed in Chapter 7.

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Theme One: Personal Hygiene and Early Soap Manufacture

The oldest evidence of the use of soap for hygienic purposes may date back to the second century, when Roman physicians used soap made of animal fats and ash to wash the body of sick patients (Online Pharmaceutical Journal 1999; accessed May 27, 2020). By the mid-fourteenth century, soap making was a common industry throughout many western European counties (Gibbs 1939:172).

In America, the earliest industrial-scale soap-making began in New York City in 1806 when William Colgate opened his soap factory. In 1837, William Proctor and James Gamble, a candle- and a soap-maker, respectively, established their soap factory in Cincinnati, OH. Their business grew rapidly after 1859 when they began providing soap and candles to the Union Army and continued doing so throughout the Civil War (Gale 2009). Following the war, a new emphasis came to be placed on personal cleanliness in American culture (Kostka and McKay 2002:1173).

The earliest method used to make soap involved the making of lye from wood ash, the rendering of animal fats, and the combination of the two ingredients through boiling. The most basic method to obtain potash lye from wood ash, was to pour water over ashes and then capturing the solution in a vessel. Animal fats or other oils are a key ingredient in the soap making and given the large herds of cattle and pigs in Texas by the mid-nineteenth century, tallow and lard were not hard to come by (Guice 1955:55). However, the rendering of fats from lard and tallow is a smelly process, one that is needed to obtain clean fat free of meat tissue. The complete rendering of fats resulted in sweet-smelling soap while its incomplete rendering yielded yellowish fat that acquired a bad smell and was more appropriate as a laundry soap rather than a body soap. Rendering fat from animal tissue, such as fat-trimmings from hogs and cattle, was accomplished by collecting the pieces of fat into large kettles and adding an amount of water equal to the quantity of fatty tissue, in the kettle. The mixture was then heated or boiled while intermittently mixing, for four to six hours until the solid pieces of fat melted. Because of the strong smell associated with fat rendering, and the length of the operation, the activity took place outdoors, rather than in enclosed spaces. Once the solid fats melted, the kettle was removed from the fire and cold water was added to the mixture. While leaving the mixture to cool overnight, the clean layer of fat solidified and settle on top of the water, making its collection effortless.

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Once the lye and rendered fat were obtained, the making of soap could begin. The process again involved a kettle in which the lye solution was combined with the rendered fat and boiled for 4 to 6 hours, depending on the size of the kettle, to produce a frothy mix. Once cooled, the mix was rather soft and slippery to the touch. To make soap that would harden once it cooled, salt was added to the mixture at the end of the boiling process. Once the lye solution and rendered fat were boiled together, and salt was added to the mixture, the liquid mass was poured into large wooden cooling frames. Small bars of soap were cut from these large bars, to satisfy immediate needs.

Soap making using these rather basic steps and equipment was sufficient to meet domestic household needs and provide a small amount of surplus for small markets and commercial sale. In all of Texas, for instance, in 1804, soap production amounted to "…about 200 pesos worth made for the use of settlers and troops." These settlers and troops were concentrated in the Town of San Fernando (San Antonio), the Town of Nacogdoches, and the secularized missions of San Antonio de Valero, San José de Aguayo, San Juan Capistrano, and San Francisco de Espada, the coastal missions of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, Refugio Mission, and the Presidios of La Bahía del Espíritu Santo, and San Antonio de Béxar. The soap was made of Buffalo fat (Guice 1955:49, 55).

Judging from the equipment that was present in Simon Menger's soap factory a few decades later, the equipment would have included kettles, boilers, and catchers. The 100-gallon kettles used in lard rendering were heated over open fires in a process that was fuel- and labor-intensive and not very efficient (Gordon 1990:58). Finally, while a large amount of fuel was needed to heat the kettles, the resulting wood ash would have been stored on the premises to make the lye solution needed for soap making. While animal bi-products were used to render soap fat in the early-nineteenth century, by mid-century, in some parts of the country, various oils (i.e., cottonseed oil) replaced animal fat (Donkor 1986; Gibbs 1939:174-175).

As demand for soap increased and scaled-up, so did the demand for more efficient and faster means of lard rendering. Ebenezer Wilson's invention of the lard rendering tank in the mid-1840s revolutionized the process (**Figure 6-1**). The use of intense heat under pressure diverted from the boilers rendered virtually entire carcasses into lard in relatively short order (Gordon 1990:58). By the last decade of the nineteenth century, William A. Grant of

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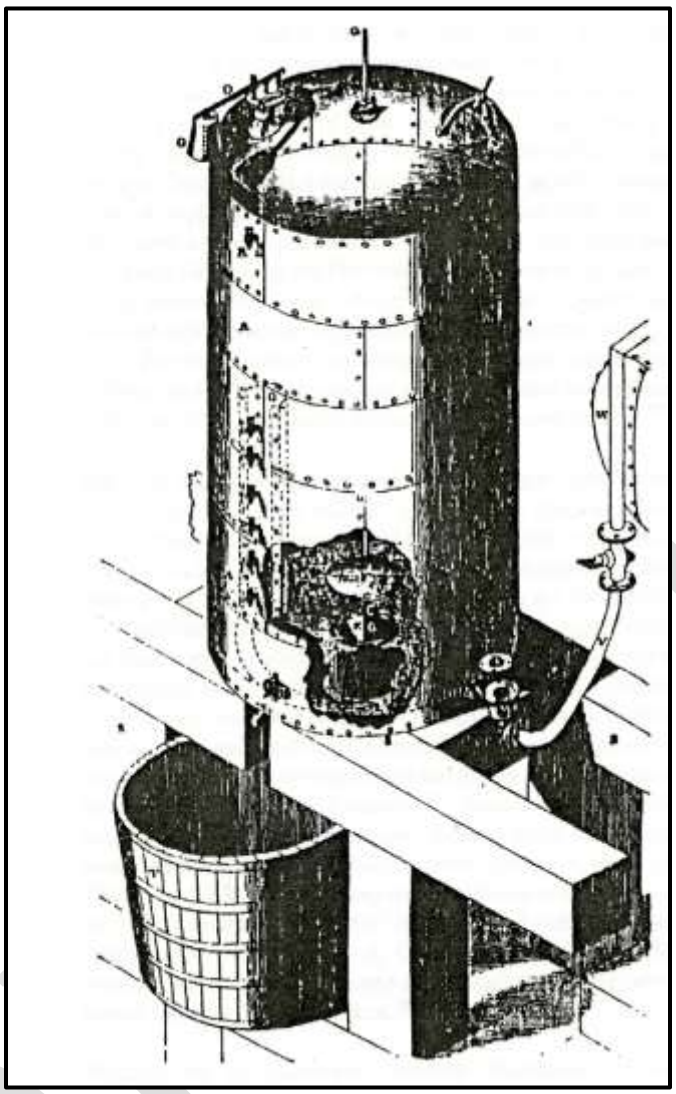

Figure 6-1. E. Wilson's digester for steam rendering lard.

Houston patented several mechanized and highly efficient soap-making machines that, as stated in the patent application "...lessen the time required for the manufacture of soaps and at the same time have all portions of a mass thereof of uniform character, also to make more soap from the same amount of fat or oils than is now done by the ordinary process" (Grant 1892; US Patent Office: Patent Nos. 332,606; 370,330; 457,914; 471,668).

As the manufacture of soap shifted from household production to local and regional markets because of mechanization, several changes also began to take place within the layout and structure of soap factories. Some of these changes are evident in Menger's second Soap Factory built on the west bank of San Pedro Creek in 1873. His new factory consisted of

multiple functionally distinct buildings, a strategy that paralleled the general approach to industrial production across the nation, the separation of production tasks into related groupings (**Figure 6-2 and 6-3**).

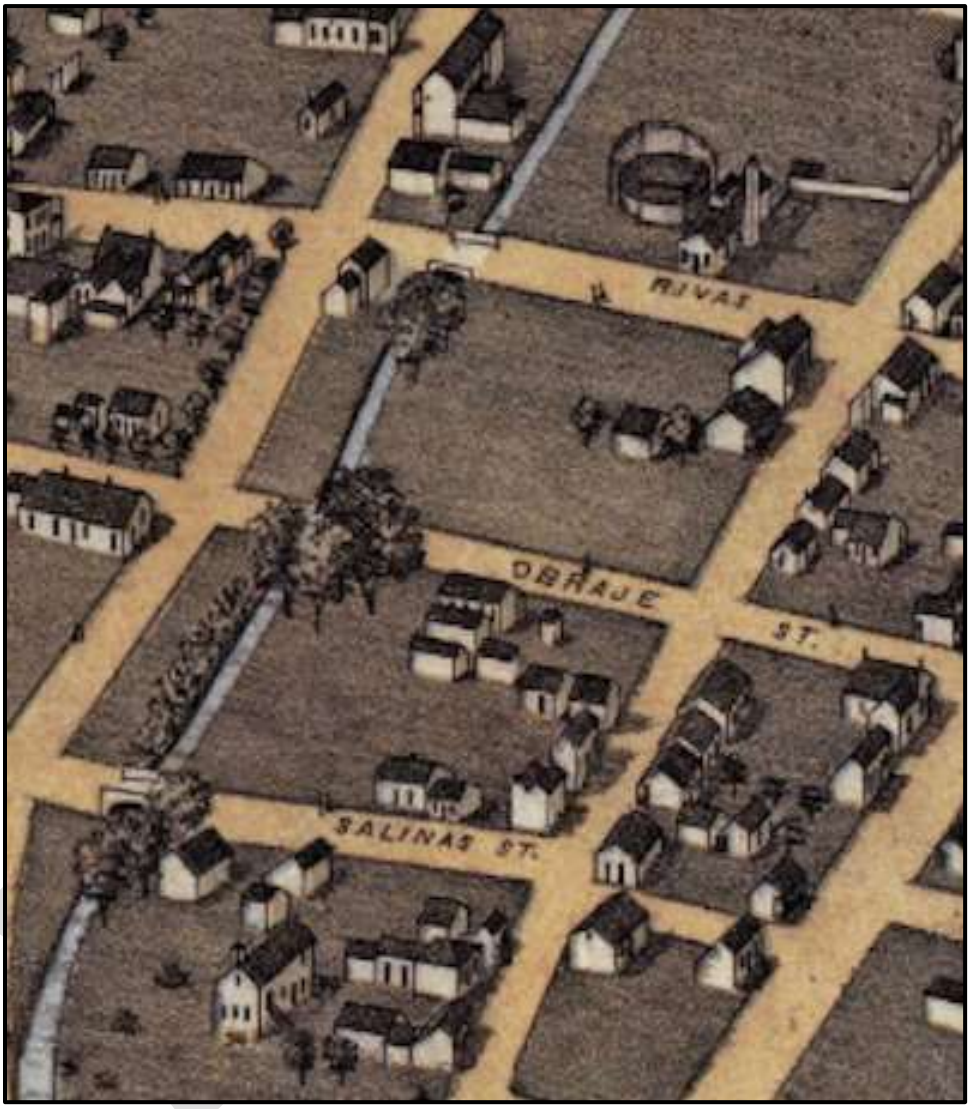

Figure 6-2. Portion of Koch's 1873 Bird's Eye view of San Antonio. Menger's second soap works in foreground marked as "34" on the map. His first soak factory is shown near the top of the figure.

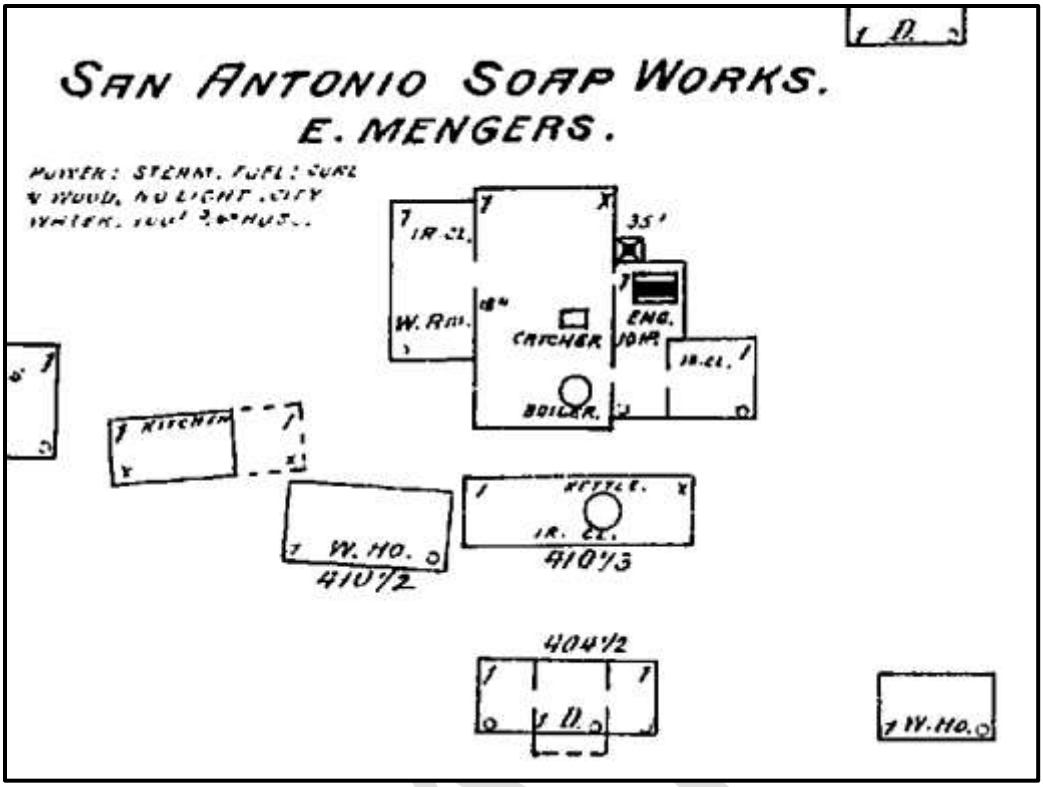

Figure 6-3. Menger's second soap making factory. Note equipment and functionally distinct industrial spaces.

His new factory also began to take on design characteristics that reflected the molding of architecture and architectural features in response to industrial functional needs. While in small-scale domestic production, the rendering of fat may have taken place outdoors, this production step moved indoor in the factory. The soap making process involved obtaining suet from the various San Antonio butcher shops, mixing it with water from the nearby creek, then adding lye and acids. In the tall, open room this mixture was heated in large steel vats on a fireplace hearth, thought to be located below ground level. The limestone building had high ceilings and tall windows to allow proper ventilation of the steel vats. The liquid soap was then poured into square wooden vats to cool. After sectioning the solid cakes by pushing them through strong wire-cutters, a person stamped the Menger label into the soap and wrapped it for distribution or sale. The soap was distributed by wagon and rail throughout Texas and the Southwest. Production at one time is said to have reached 40,000 pounds a week.

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It is unclear as to whether the early soap making establishments contained basements that could have housed the heat-sources that kept the soap caldrons boiling. Mr. Steve Tillotson, of Munoz and Company recently shared that he had the fortune of visiting the basement of the Menger Soap Work building in the 1970s, as the NRHP nomination was being prepared. He described the basement more as a cellar, and unfortunately was not able to examine it in detail. Eighteenth century soap-houses described by Duhamel du Monceau, depict a fire-pit of sorts located under the soap cauldron. A diagram of the set-up is recreated by Gibbs (1939: Figure 2) and indicates that the system was specifically created to aid the collection of the resulting wood charcoal to produce lye to be used in the soap making. None of the Sanborn Fire Insurance maps consulted indicate the presence of basements below the first floor of the factories.

While no other soap factories were established in San Antonio besides Simon Menger's San Antonio Soap Factory, in 1880 in Houston, A. Menger and Son, operated the Houston Soap Works on the banks of Buffalo Bayou (**Figure 6-4**). The Houston Water Works was situated adjacent to the Soap Factory and included iron kettles, a wooden steam heated soap tanks, an oil tank, molding and cutting room, and a packaging room. The presence of the oil tank suggests that oil may have replaced rendered fat in the manufacture of soap at this factory. The fuel was stored in a coal house and the Menger family residence was on the same lot as the soap factory. The factory contained somewhat more modern equipment than his factory in San Antonio, and the soap making factory space was subdivided into functionally distinct activity zones/rooms.

In summary, soap making in Texas appears to have been initiated during the second half of the nineteenth century following the Civil War as hygienic standards improved. German immigrants brought the knowledge of soap making from the "Old Country" where soap making was part of each household's regular skillset. The basic ingredients needed to make soap were readily available in Texas, including abundant water, animal fat, and lye. The early equipment used in soap making was relatively basic consisting of kettles, catchers, and boilers. The invention of more efficient means of fat rendering using steam heat resulted in increased production capacity and market production and added some specialized industrial equipment to the soap factory.

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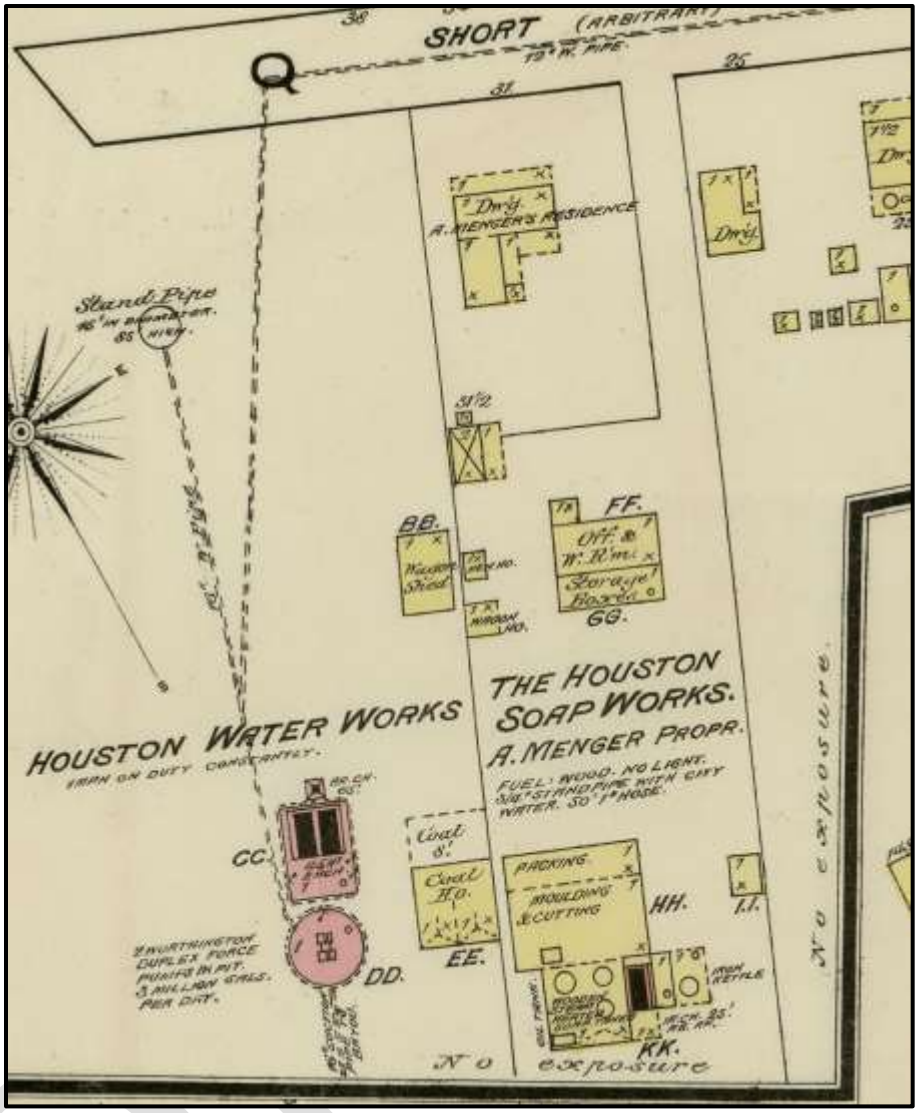

Figure 6-4. A. Menger's Soap Factory in Houston, shown on Sheet 14 of Houston's 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance map.

Early soap factories tended to be located near natural sources of water and were single room structures with numerous windows to allow sunlight through large windows in tall walls and good ventilation to allow for fat rendering indoors. The primary source of fuel was wood or coal. Charcoal may have been recycled into the production of lye solution needed for the manufacture of soap (Gibbs 1939:179).

Theme Two: The A.M.E. Church

The Methodist Denomination

Methodism has its roots in eighteenth century Anglicanism. Its founder, John Wesley (1703-1791), was a Church of England minister who sought to challenge the religious assumptions of the day. Wesley later used the term "Methodist" himself to mean the methodical pursuit of biblical holiness.[29] With his brother, Charles Wesley (1707-1788), the great hymn writer, the two founded their "Methodist Societies" while still students at Oxford. Their vision was to operate within the existing structure of the Anglican Church, but with their deaths, the Societies, especially in the newly formed United States, developed a separate status known as the Methodist Episcopal denomination.[30] The Great Awakening, a religious revival that impacted the English colonies in America during the 1730s and 1740s, resulted in a renewed dedication to religion. After the American Revolutionary War, the former Anglican churches, particularly in the South, renamed themselves either Episcopal or Methodist Episcopal, meaning under the authority of bishops with the right to assign pastors to each church.[31]

It is likely that traditional religious practices were taking place among enslaved people and freedmen communities soon after the arrival of slave ships to America. However, most involvement by freedmen and enslaved peoples with Christian churches occurred after the Great Awakening (1740-1780). During this time, African-American Christian services took place at several southern plantations in Virginia and South Carolina. These Christian religious activities took place under the supervision of white churches (Nelsen et al. 1971:49-50; Smith 1988:12, 26, 36, 40), however. The first religious institution entirely controlled by African American members was the Free African Society formed in 1787 by Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, in Philadelphia (Allen 1880).

[29] John Wesley, Google Notes accessed April 23, 2020.
[30] "John and Charles Wesley," accessed April 23, 2020, Satucket.com/lectionary/Wesley.htm
[31] In 1939, the Methodist Episcopal denomination became the United Methodist denomination (McQueen 2000:195).

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The Beginnings of the A.M.E. Church

The A.M.E. Church was organized by people of African descent who were attracted to the message of hope it preached, and who wanted the freedom to choose their bishops (Richardson 1976). Many scholars trace the formation of the A.M.E. Church to the late-eighteenth century and the St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia.

In 1792, the Reverends Richard Allen and Absalom Jones withdrew from the St. George Methodist Church because of years of tensions caused by racial segregation practices in the white church. By 1794, they completed construction of the Bethel A.M.E. Church, which while it was an independent church, it functioned under the direction of St. George Methodist Episcopal Church. It was declared an independent church in 1816 by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court (Nelsen et al. 1971:50).

In 1816, Rev. Richard Allen, called together 16 representatives from the Bethel African Church in Philadelphia, and African churches in Baltimore, Maryland; Wilmington, Delaware; Attleboro, Pennsylvania, and Salem, New Jersey, to meet in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The outcome of this meeting was the organization of the A.M.E. Church, with Richard Allen as the founder and first Bishop.

As the American west began to open, A.M.E. Churches followed the westward movement of population and by 1830, there were 15 A.M.E ministers and the church counted over 1,000 members (Smith 1968). One of the seminal moments in the history of the American Church came in 1844 when a split took place between the Northern and Southern churches of several denominations including the Presbyterians and Methodists. The split was caused by the increasing moral debate over slavery.

The A.M.E. Church in Texas

In Texas, during the antebellum period, many enslaved people attempted to exercise some control over their religious practices, their only means of self-expression. Religious enslaved people who came to Texas organized churches in both Galveston and Belton. Prompted by the 1844 schism at the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, on March 18, 1848, the white Methodist Episcopal Church, South, purchased property in Galveston to erect

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a church and parsonage which upon completion was to be given to the enslaved people as the Negro Methodist Episcopal Church South. In these tense times before the American Civil War, no independent churches could be owned by enslaved people or freedmen, but they could operate as part of white churches.

After the Civil War, the Negro Methodist Episcopal Church South was reorganized as a member of the A.M.E. Church. The Rev. Michael M. Clark presided over the process. On March 18, 1867, the trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church officially recognized the change. In 1870, the Rev. Houston Reedy became pastor and in honor to his service to the congregation, the church was renamed the Reedy Chapel. The present church at 2015 Broadway in Galveston dates from 1885, as the original church was rebuilt after a fire.[32]

Following the Confederate surrender in 1865, missionaries of all Protestant denominations including Baptists, Presbyterians, and the Methodists came to Texas, usually arriving in Galveston. In search of spiritual growth and nourishment, many freedmen and some formerly-enslaved people joined the "northern wing" of these established Anglo Churches. Others formed their own churches led by the few black ministers ordained in established churches or by preachers ordained by their congregations. Baptist and Methodist churches in Galveston, Houston, and Waco sponsored the construction of churches and even schools for their freedmen and former-enslaved people (Smallwood 1978:18-20), as did smaller communities in other parts of Texas (i.e., Austin, Cumberland, Brenham, Millican, Meridian, Columbia, and Brazoria; Smallwood 1978).

Baptist and Methodist churches experienced a rapid increase in their memberships as freedmen and formerly-enslaved people joined. Baptist churches granted some degree of autonomy to black members by allowing them to attend separate services. This autonomy led to an increase in black membership in Baptist Churches which surpassed that in Methodist churches (Smallwood 1978:16-17). In response, white Methodists opened the door for black congregants to form their own Colored Methodist Episcopal churches in many communities in Texas.

[32] *Handbook of Texas Online*, Peggy Hardman, "REEDY CHAPEL AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH," accessed April 23, 2020, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/imr01

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In San Antonio, the first Methodist Episcopal Church South was established in 1866 and the first church was built at the corner of Travis Street and Navarro Street (**Figure 6-5**).

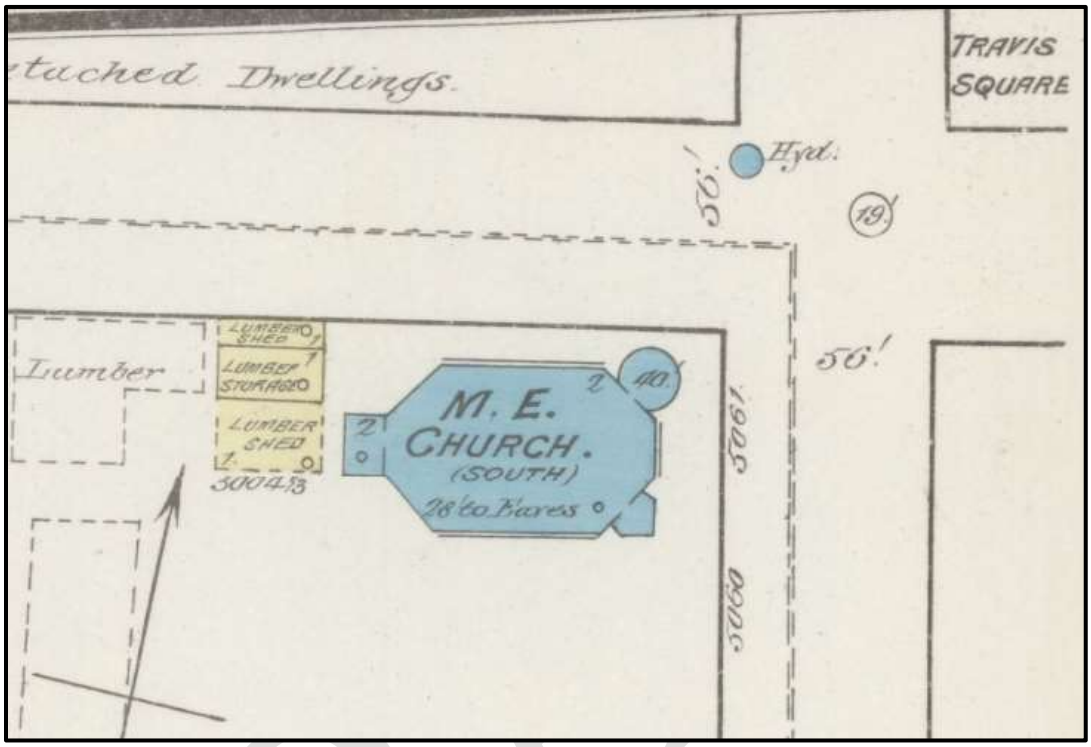

Figure 6-5. The Methodist Episcopal Church-South at the corner of Travis Street [at top] and Navarro Street [at right].

Even following emancipation, however, many white churches wanted to maintain control over back congregants or were hostile to their participation in white services. As a result, black congregants and members of white churches began to seek independence from white-controlled churches to escape the lengthy history of Anglo-domination and prejudice. The arrival of the A.M.E. Church missionaries was well timed to fill this void.

Many African American Elders of the Methodist Episcopal Church became interested in the A.M.E. movement. Rev. Richard Haywood was one of these Elders. After meeting some of the A.M.E. missionaries, these elders felt a strong brotherhood with the A.M.E. movement and sought to become members.

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The first of the A.M.E. Church missionaries, Michael M. Clark, and later, Houston Reedy, organized A.M.E. churches in Galveston ca. 1865-1867.[33] They were originally supervised by Bishop Jabez P. Campbell of New Orleans. Like other African Methodist missionaries elsewhere in former slave states, however, Clark and Reedy wanted to organize independent African American Methodists.

In 1867, a preliminary meeting took place in Galveston to organize an annual conference in Texas. The following year, on October 22, 1868, the first Annual Conference held in Galveston, Texas, presided over by Bishop James A. Shorter, was held. Among those present were the early leaders of African Methodism in Texas, including Houston Reedy, Steven Patton, Emmanuel Hammitt, and Johnson Reed. Itinerant Elder E. Hammitt and Itinerant Deacon S. A. Patton, were ordained at the meeting. Rev. E. Hammitt was then appointed pastor to St. James A.M.E. Church in San Antonio, but church records do not document his pastorate there. [34] Instead, Rev. Haywood was sent to San Antonio from this conference. Upon learning of the arrival of Rev. Haywood, Rev. Frank Green, a local M.E. minister, became the first San Antonian to join the A.M.E. Church.

By 1868, the A.M.E. Church in Texas had 3,000 members, and by 1874, their ranks had swelled to 7,000 members and 54 churches. In 1890, membership in Texas had reached 23,000, ranking second only to Baptists among African American churchgoers.[35]

During Reconstruction, as they do today, black churches fulfilled not only a religious role in the community but served a broad range of needs. The churches were the centers of black community social life, they attended to the economic needs of their members, and they served to educate the children of the congregants. Preachers were teachers, community organizers and activists, camp counselors, and fundraisers for worthy causes (Graham 2019; Smallwood 1978; Teulings 2013).

[33] Accounts vary as to which year M.M. Clark began his missionary work in Galveston. Some sources say as early as 1865, others 1866.
[34] Clyde McQueen, *Black Churches in Texas: A Guide to Historic Congregations*, (College Station, Texas A&M University Press, 2000), Kindle Location 2294.
[35] *Handbook of Texas Online*, William E. Montgomery, "AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH," accessed April 20, 2020, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ima02

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Establishing these independent A.M.E. Churches in the southern states and furnishing them with the needed resources was not an easy endeavor, especially after the Civil War. The Freedmen's Bureau (1865-1872), the Freedman's Aid Society (1862-1878), the American Missionary Association (est. 1839), and the American Bible Society (est. 1858) provided moderate to nominal help to early black churches but even so, church communities continued to labor with few resources to construct buildings while in white congregations, the availability of a church building was rarely an issue. Thus, independent A.M.E. congregations often shared a single building with members of other congregations or used the same building sequentially on Sundays or rotated the use of a building every other Sunday to be able to hold services for their congregants (Smallwood 1978).

The Freedman's Bureau (Crouch 1992) provided limited funds for the building of multi-purpose facilities that served both as churches and schoolhouses. The funds could not be used for the construction of a new building, but they could be employed to support repairs to existing buildings. To qualify for such grants, a black community had to secure title to a lot with a structure on it or build their own structure there, before deeding it to a group of Negro trustees. The Freedmen's Bureau could then grant between $100 and $500 for the repair of the structure. Such "repairs" often turned into the actual construction of a structure (Smallwood 1978:20). This work-around allowed black church trustees in 1870 to hold title to as many as 43 meeting houses, the construction of which was partially financed by the Freedmen's Bureau. The building-use policy of the Freedmen's Bureau dictated that "missionary workers or native blacks held meetings in common for all sects or in regular rotation by common agreement" (Smallwood 1978:20)

Many of the black churches constructed during this period had a basic plan that consisted of twin towers in front, steps at the entrances, and a relatively limited seating capacity, as they typically measured 30 by 60 feet in floor space and had dirt floors. Furnishings included slabwood benches and a pulpit and overall construction costs ranged from only a few hundred dollars to $3,000 dollars. Most of the funds for construction had to be raised by the preachers and the members of the congregation (Smallwood 1978:20).

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The A.M.E. Church and the St. James A.M.E. Chapel

In San Antonio, during Reconstruction, black Methodists moved to split away from the established and predominantly white, Methodist Episcopal Church. The membership consisted of a diverse group of formerly-enslaved people, some of whom identified with the Methodist Church North, while others identified with Methodist Church South.

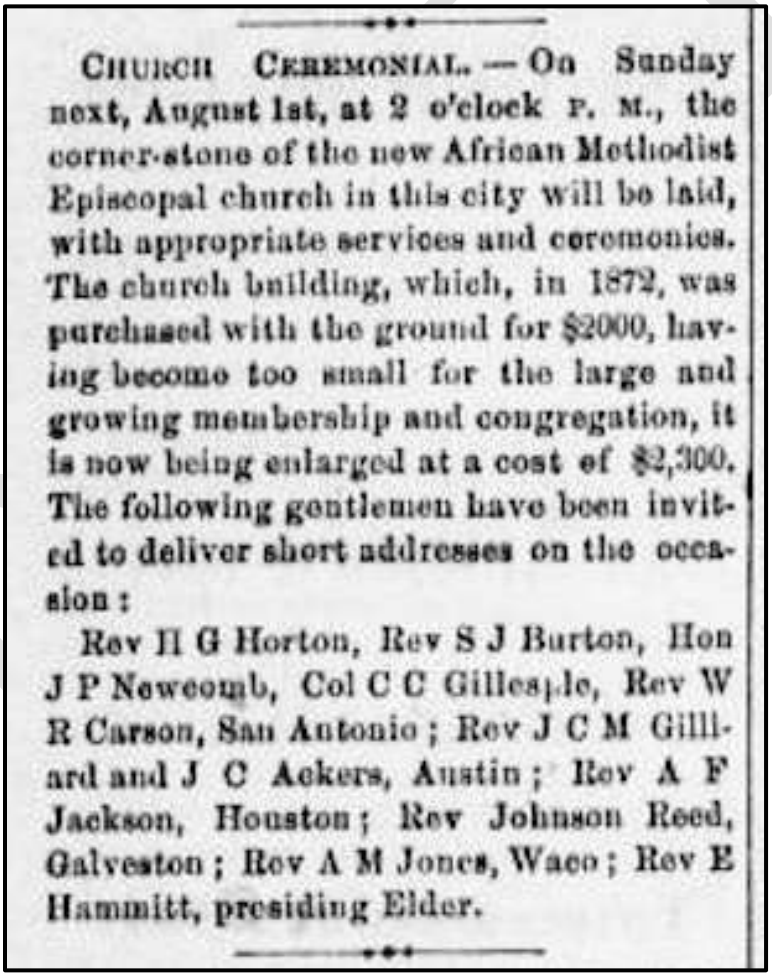
In San Antonio, the Saint Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, was the first independent African American church. It was organized in 1866. The exact date of the founding of the Saint James A.M.E. Church in San Antonio is either 1867 or 1868. A history of the black churches in Texas (McQueen 2000:194), identifies 1867, as the construction date. On the St. James Church, website, the construction date is 1868. The confusion may stem from the fact that while Rev. Emmanuel Hammitt was ordained and appointed pastor of St. James A.M.E. Church in 1867, he did not fulfill that appointment. Instead, it was in October, 1868, when Rev. R. Haywood came to St. James A.M.E. as pastor, appointed by the Bishop.[36]

During this period Rev. Frank Green also organized the Green Chapel in San Antonio. The congregation met in Green's store for a time.[37] Rev. Green was instrumental in merging the Green Chapel with the St. James A.M.E. Chapel.[38] The two congregations attended worship services in a building deeded to the "Colored Methodist Church."[39] This first church was called St. Mary's Chapel. None of these properties were on Camaron Street.

A schism developed within this local black Methodist community over ownership of the property, resulting in a lawsuit that lasted for several years. The lawsuit revolved around control of the land on which the Colored Methodist Church was built with funds raised by the St. James A.M.E. community. Possible as early as 1871, while the lawsuit dragged on, the A.M.E. faction rented Menger's old soap works and held services there. Rent was reportedly

[36] Ibid.
[37] Bexar County District Court, Cause 4351, Trustees of the A.M.E. Church v. Larkin Carper et al; Kealing 1865:128-129. Frank Green purchased a lot west of San Pedro Creek on Centre Street in 1869. The lot, described in 1872 as being on South Seventh Street, was sold in 1872. (BCDR V1:279-280, Dias to Green, November 9, 1869; BCDR W1:450, Green to Jackson, February 26, 1872).
[38] Ibid.
[39] BCDR U2:232-233 (Webster to A.M.E. Church, August 7, 1867). The lot purchased in 1867 was sold by the church in 1875 (BCDR 1:370, Methodist Episcopal Church to Alexander, February 5, 1875). The church purchased another tract of land in 1870. That lot was on the city's west side at the intersection of South Center and South Third streets. The property was sold in 1873 (BCDR V2:276-277, Guilbeau to African M.E. Church, February 16, 1870; BCDR W2:422, A.M.E. Church to Eugenio Medina, March 11, 1873).

$15.00/month though no primary source has been located for this fact.[40] The lawsuit was resolved in 1872 in favor of the A.M.E. fraction—by then known as St. James A.M.E. Chapel—and in 1873, the trustees purchased the Menger property.[41] McQueen states that the Saint James A.M.E. Church used the building between 1871 and 1874. He also states that this was a "…period of hardship for the congregation" (2000:195). The July 28, 1875, printing of the San Antonio Daily Express (**Figure 6-6**) stated that the property was purchased by the Church in 1872 at a purchase price of $2,000.00 and that the enlargement was to cost $2,300.00. It further states that the enlargement was necessary due to the large and growing membership.



CHURCH CEREMONIAL.—On Sunday next, August 1st, at 2 o'clock P. M., the corner-stone of the new African Methodist Episcopal church in this city will be laid, with appropriate services and ceremonies. The church building, which, in 1872, was purchased with the ground for $2000, having become too small for the large and growing membership and congregation, it is now being enlarged at a cost of $2,300. The following gentlemen have been invited to deliver short addresses on the occasion:

Rev H G Horton, Rev S J Burton, Hon J P Newcomb, Col C C Gillespie, Rev W R Carson, San Antonio; Rev J C M Gilliard and J C Ackers, Austin; Rev A F Jackson, Houston; Rev Johnson Reed, Galveston; Rev A M Jones, Waco; Rev E Hammitt, presiding Elder.

Figure 6-6. July 28, 1875 San Antonio Daily Express announcement of the laying of the cornerstone of the St. James A.M.E. Church.

[40] Kealing 1865:130-131.
[41] BCDR W2:417-418 (Menger to A.M.E., February 27, 1873.

The second Annual Conference of the Texas African Methodist Church was held in San Antonio and Rev. Haywood was reappointed. He remained in San Antonio for three years. In 1873, Bishop Brown held his first Conference in Houston, Texas. Rev. Haywood was appointed Presiding Elder and Rev. W.R. Carson from Kansas, was assigned to San Antonio. Rev. Haywood, who had been looking after the interests of the church, turned over all legal papers to Rev. Carson concerning the suit which found in favor of the A.M.E. Church. Rev. Carson bought the building on San Pedro Creek which he converted into a church, and the congregation occupied the building for three years.

The church expanded their building in 1875. Anthony G. Earhart (ca. 1824-?) was hired to complete the enlargement of the church. In multiple newspaper ads in the San Antonio Daily Express during 1873, Earhart identifies himself as an Architect and Builder with an office at the corner of North and Alamo Streets. He served as the mason on Edward Steves new residence built in 1877, and a brief note in the Daily Express speaks highly of his work (S.A. Daily Express, March 24, 1877). By 1877, Earhart describes himself as a builder and contractor in adds in the San Antonio Express News (S.A. Daily Express June 08, 1877). He was born in York, Pennsylvania, and was a Civil War veteran, having served as a Private in Company B of the Pennsylvania 56th Infantry Regiment. He arrived at Bexar County soon after the end of the Civil War and appears as a registered voter by July 2, 1867. In 1877, Earhart worked as a carpenter, mason, and cabinet maker on Edward Steves house in King William. He may have been a subcontractor to John Kampman, the contractor hired by Alfred Giles, the architect that designed the Steves' Homestead. He continued to be listed as a cabinet maker, mechanic, contractor, and builder on several construction jobs in San Antonio and the surrounding area, during the 1880s.

At the laying of the cornerstone, a commemoration ceremony was held. Those present included Revs. A.F. Jackson of Houston and Horton, of the A.M.E. Church-South. Several documents including a list of national, state, and local government officials, the names of church officials, and the dedication program were buried at the cornerstone (**Figure 6-7**). Rev. Carson presided over the ceremony.

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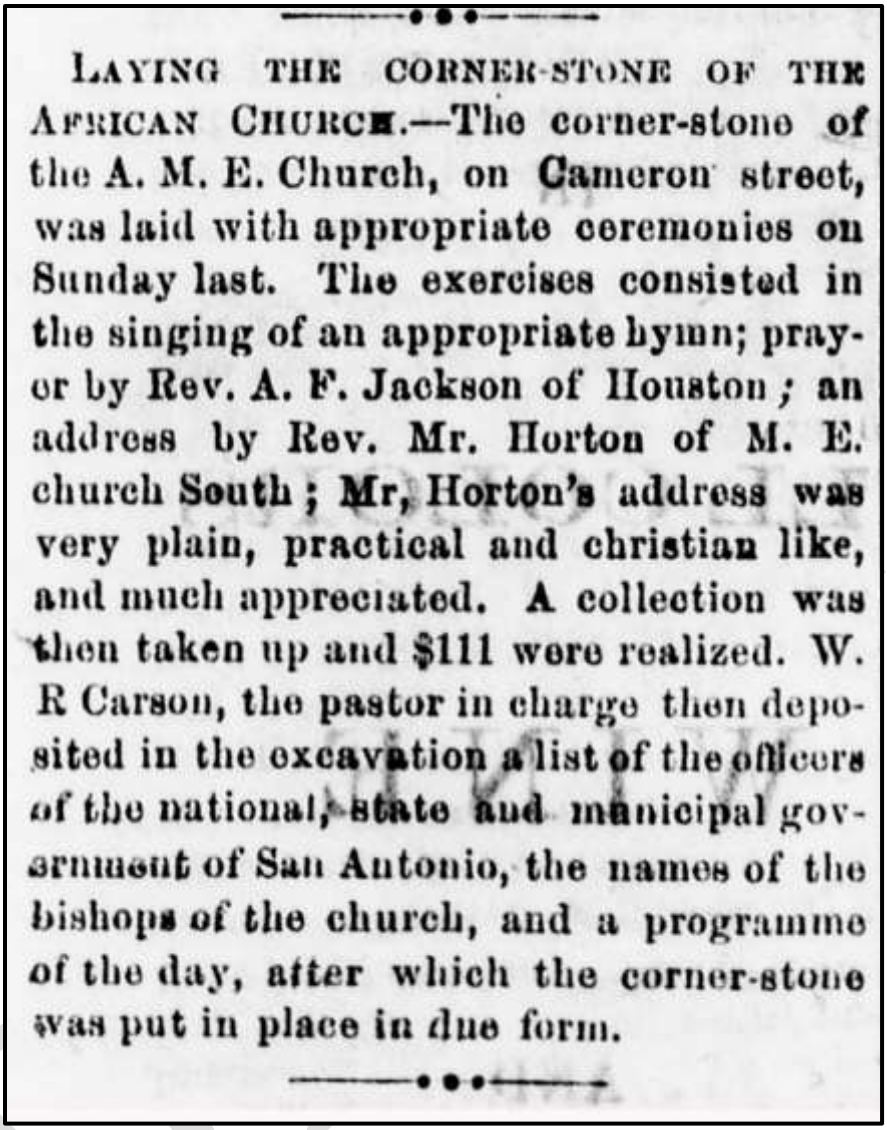

LAYING THE CORNER-STONE OF THE AFRICAN CHURCH.—The corner-stone of the A. M. E. Church, on Cameron street, was laid with appropriate ceremonies on Sunday last. The exercises consisted in the singing of an appropriate hymn; prayer by Rev. A. F. Jackson of Houston; an address by Rev. Mr. Horton of M. E. church South; Mr, Horton's address was very plain, practical and christian like, and much appreciated. A collection was then taken up and $111 were realized. W. R Carson, the pastor in charge then deposited in the excavation a list of the officers of the national, state and municipal government of San Antonio, the names of the bishops of the church, and a programme of the day, after which the corner-stone was put in place in due form.

Figure 6-7. Announcement of the Laying of the Cornerstone of the A.M.E. Church at Camaron Street. San Antonio Daily Express, August 5, 1875.

By the end of 1877, Rev. Johnson Reed sold the property and bough land at the corner of North Concho and Zavalla Streets (NE corner of Center and North Streets) for a new church. It is hear that that the new St. James A.M.E. Church was built (**Figure 6-8**). Rev. Abraham Grant raised the funds for the church, and Rev. J.E. Embry served as its pastor. The site is today within the Santo Rosa Hospital property. In 1921, the present site of St. James A.M.E. Church at 410 N. Richter St. was purchased and the lower auditorium was completed in 1928. The mains sanctuary was completed in 1935.[42]

[42] This entire paragraph is taken from Facebook page of the St. James A.M.E. Church, as "Our Story." Accessed April 22, 2020, www.facebook.com.

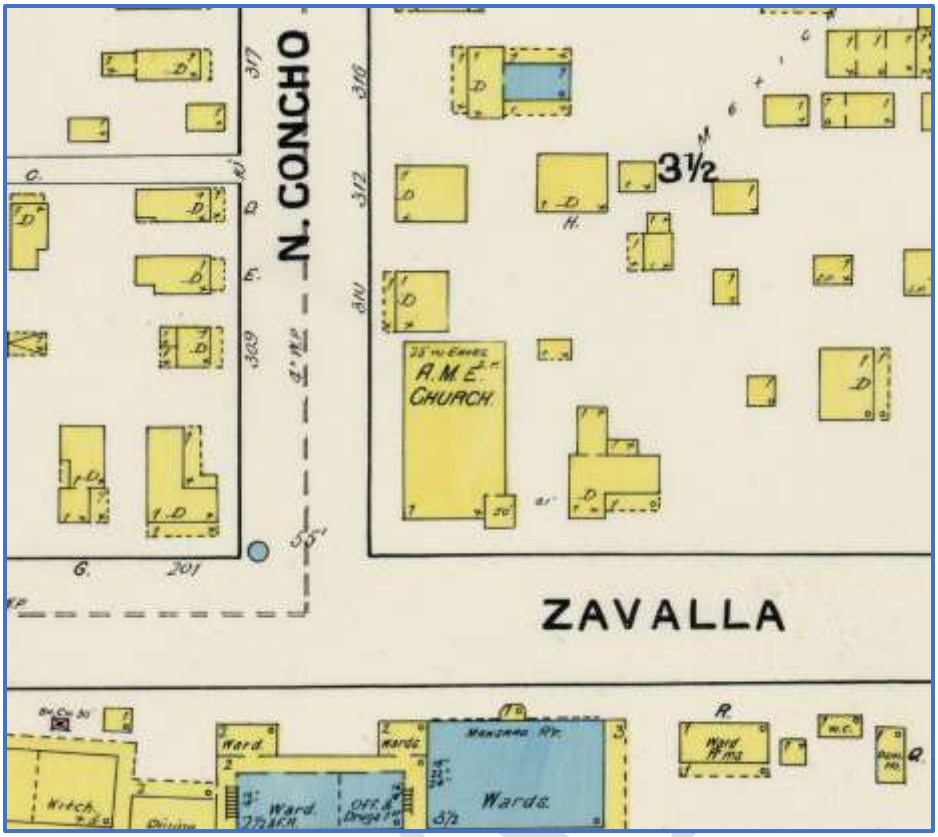

Figure 6-8. The second location of the A.M.E. Church at the corner of N. Concho and Zavalla Streets.

People of Significance Associated with Camaron Street Site

Several members of the African American community associated with the early days of the African Methodist Church played a role in the establishment and growth of the A.M.E. church in San Antonio during its 152-year history encompassing its four sites.

Reverend R. Haywood—came to St. James A.M.E. Church in 1868 as an organizing pastor. During this period, Green Chapel was organized in San Antonio. As noted above, the early membership of St. James A.M.E. came out of this combined congregation after a schism and lawsuit. It was this schism that caused a portion of the congregation to begin renting space in the former soap works in 1871.

Rev. W.R. Carson bought the building on San Pedro Creek. He converted the building into a church, and the congregation occupied the building for three years.

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Rev. Johnson Reed – (ca. 1820–?). Johnson Reed provided leadership to the congregation as they moved from the soap works location to the third location of the church at N. Concho and Zavalla Streets. Reed was a Galveston County district clerk and political leader during the Reconstruction period. He was born around 1820 in South Carolina. He was a Methodist minister of mixed racial ancestry. He was in Galveston County by 1869, when he won as a Republican over two white Democrats in the election for district clerk. Reed had also served as president of the state Union League in 1871 and as vice president of the state Convention of Colored Men in 1873. He was defeated for reelection in 1873. According to the 1870 federal census, Reed was married to a woman named Maria, also of mixed racial heritage, and the couple had a daughter living with them.[43]

Bishop Abraham Grant – a former pastor of the St. James A.M.E., Grant was born into slavery and was a veteran of the Civil War. Bishop Grant led the church to pay off all mortgages on their church at N. Concho and Zavalla Streets.

Rev. Embry served as pastor at the third site of the St. James A.M.E. church at the corner of N. Concho and Zavalla Streets. He was elected Bishop.

Rev. George B. Young served as pastor at the St. James A.M.E. Church between 19xx and 19xx. He was elected Bishop in 19XX.

Rev., S.J. Johnson purchased the grounds on which the current church was built. He was elected to general office.

Other ministers of the St. James A.M.E. Church include: Revs. Beemer, Howard, Jackson, Pinkney, Roberts, Hull, Wells, Moody, Laws, E.W. Morgan, A.W. Williams, Prince F. Jackson. C.W. Price, L.C. Graves, John Deleon Walker, A.C. Johnson, and E. Coates.

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[43] *Handbook of Texas Online*, Paul M. Lucko, "REED, JOHNSON," accessed June 05, 2020, **http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/frezs**.

Important Individuals Associated with the A.M.E. Church

Given the early founding of the first A.M.E. Church in Galveston Texas, many individuals in the African American Community played a significant role in the early history of the church and movement. They include Hightower Theodore Kealing and Houston Reedy.

Houston Reedy (ca. 1832–1869). Houston Reedy served as the second pastor of Texas's first organized A.M.E. Church in Galveston. Initially built on land set aside for slave services by local whites in 1848, the church at Twentieth and Broadway in Galveston was known as the Negro Methodist Episcopal Church South until it was reorganized by the A.M.E. Church in 1866.

Reedy was most likely born into slavery in DeKalb County, Tennessee, about 1832. He was the son of Louisa White. He became the pastor at the Galveston church in 1867 and served until 1868, when he moved to Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Reedy registered with the Freedman's Bank in December 1867 and listed Galveston as his residence and provided his own signature. His occupation was listed as minister/missionary, and the registration identified his wife, Harriet Wilhelmina Reedy, and three children—Harriet Louisa, Cassana, and A. J. During his tenure in Galveston, Reedy hosted the first two annual conferences of the A.M.E. Church. These conferences represented the first meetings of black Methodists that were conducted by African Americans themselves.

Sometime after Reedy left the church, it was renamed Reedy Chapel to commemorate his service to the congregation. The original building burned in 1885 but was rebuilt and survived the Galveston hurricane of 1900. In 2013 the church still stood at its original location, buffeted, and scarred, preserved by care and several remodeling projects. Reedy died of consumption in Baton Rouge in October 1869.

Hightower Theodore Kealing (1860–1918). Hightower Theodore Kealing, teacher, writer, editor, and distinguished African Methodist Episcopal layman, was born in Waco, Texas, in 1860. He grew up in McLennan, Fayette, and Washington counties, where he attended school. He was among the first generation of blacks to attend schools established during Reconstruction. After graduating from high school, he went to Iowa, where he graduated from Tabor College in 1881. He returned to Waco the next year and joined the faculty of Paul

Quinn College, where he subsequently was principal. He began his journalism career at Paul Quinn, when he edited a periodical called *The Colored American Journal* with Rev. C. W. Porter. In 1883 Kealing moved to Austin, where he taught and became a principal in the Eighth Ward school, Robertson Hill. He served until 1888. During this time, he organized the Central Texas District Teachers Association.

Kealing belonged to the A.M.E. Church, was active in church affairs, and had a serious interest in the history of African Methodism. In 1885, while he was a teacher in Austin, he published a *History of African Methodism in Texas.* He also served as president of Paul Quinn College, was chosen in 1888 to head the A.M.E. Book Concern, the denomination's publishing house, and in 1896 became managing editor of the church's literary quarterly, the A.M.E. Church *Review*. He served as editor until 1912. As an officer in the denomination and an influential person through his position as editor of the *Review*, Kealing participated in the debates on issues that affected the church, African Americans, and the nation as a whole during the early years of the twentieth century. Paramount among those issues was discrimination aimed at blacks and what blacks should do in response. Kealing could not be called a militant on the order of William E. B. Du Bois or Reverdy C. Ransom, but he spoke out nevertheless against segregation and from time to time urged blacks to resist violence rather than ignore it as his friend Booker T. Washington proposed.

He died there in 1918, and his body was taken back to Waco for burial. Kealing Junior High School in Austin, the city's first black junior high school, opened in 1930 near the site where Kealing worked.[44]

In summary, beginning with the establishment of the St. James A.M.E. Church in 1867, the church has occupied four sites: 1) the original site it shared with the Green Chapel congregation (1867/68-1871), the second site it rented between 1871-1873, and owned between 1873-1877 at the Camaron Street site; 3) the third location at the corner of North Concho and Zavalla Streets between 1878-1920; and 4) the fourth and current site occupied since 1921. The individuals that had a significant role in the A.M.E. Church, while it occupied the Camaron Street location included Revs. Haywood, Carson, and Reed.

[44] *Handbook of Texas Online*, William E. Montgomery, "KEALING, HIGHTOWER THEODORE," accessed June 05, 2020, **http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fke60**.

Theme Three: Making Ice and Brewing Beer in San Antonio

Ice has been used for centuries to preserve foodstuffs and keep various libations cool. Athenians, Egyptians, Mesopotamians, Romans, and Turks used ice to keep drinks cool, and by the late-seventeenth century Neapolitans were making sherbets. In the United States, during the early-nineteenth century, Frederic Tudor harvested ice from family ponds and New England Rivers. The Tudor Ice Company (1806-1930s) provisioned the citizens of Savannah, Charleston, and New Orleans with natural ice and even shipped thousands of pounds of it to Jamaica, Brazil, and the West Indies. The ice was harvested by sawing large blocks from ice sheet formed on lakes and rivers, and later by horse-drawn ice plows. By the mid-nineteenth century, by weight, ice ranked second only to cotton in traded goods, and was transported by train and ship across much of the world.

While these efforts to cool things relied on harvesting natural ice, the inventions that eventually lead to the making of artificial ice began in 1748 with William Cullen of the University of Glasgow, who first demonstrated the principles of artificial refrigeration (Ferguson 1980). In the Americas, Oliver Evans designed the first refrigeration machine in 1805, but the first commercially practical refrigerating machine, using a vapor compression cycle, was built by Jacob Perkins, in 1834. In 1851, John Gorrie, a physician, patented a refrigerator using the Evans design, and used it for medicinal purposes (Sherlock 1982).

Large scale and commercially viable ice manufacture machines began in France in 1850 when Ferdinand Carré patented the "Carré machine" to make ice using an ammonia absorption process. In the U.S. Alexander Twining was awarded U.S. Patent 10221 for an ice maker in 1853. This led to the invention of refrigeration systems for shipping meat, first built in 1856 (Smith 2019).

The U.S. Civil War cut southern states off from natural sources of ice, which until the start of the war, had been shipped from the north encased in straw and sawdust. By 1862, a Carré machine, had been smuggled through the Union blockade and into Mexico eventually arriving in San Antonio for a brief stay (Clark 1966:297). By the end of the Civil War, four other Carré machines made their way through the Union blockade with one of them destined for San Antonio in 1865. Here, an engineer named Daniel Livingston Holden, improved the original design by using steam to heat the liquid ammonia (**Figure 6-9**). Holden also began using

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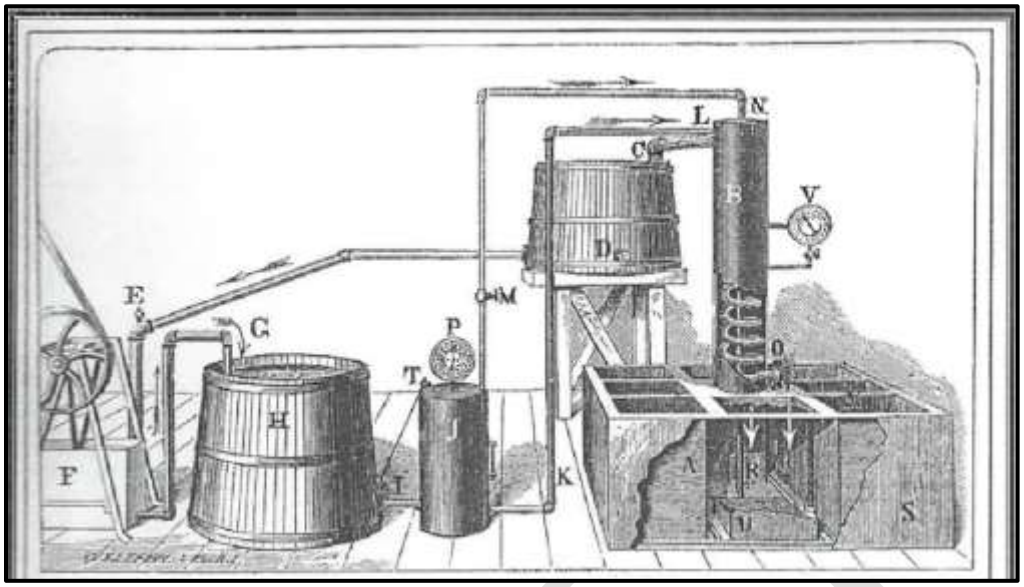

Figure 6-9. Daniel L. Holden's ice machine, ca. 1867.

distilled water to produce clear ice. These innovations increased the manufacture capacity without sacrificing efficiency and the clear ice was more readily accepted by the consumer public. In 1867, three companies were making ice in San Antonio (Clark 1966:297), one of these was the company that Daniel Holden and his brother, Eldridge, established. It reached a production capacity of 1.5-tons of ice per day. Additional technical improvements of the original design made the machine even more efficient and popular so that by 1869, Holden's ice making machines were operating in several southern states (Roberts 2020a).

Andrew Muhl, a Paris-born San Antonian, also made important contributions to the story of ice manufacture. He was already making ice machines in France before leaving for America (Roberts 2020b). After settling in San Antonio, in 1867 he developed the A. Muhl Ether Ice-Making Machine which used a mixture of ether and naphtha as refrigerant (Dugas 1955:177-178). In 1871, after resettling in Waco, we patented his "Refrigerating Apparatus" (U.S. Patent No. 121,402). The same year, he obtained Patent No. 146,267, for an "Improvement in Apparatus for Cooling the Air of Buildings." This patent represented an improvement to a machine that was intended to cool buildings, patented by another Frenchman, Louis Charles Abel Tellier, in 1869. In the patent application, Muhl specifically stated the following: "The improvements herein described are intended specially to meet the wants of distilleries and breweries, though they may be used in other connections."

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Between 1873 and 1874, David Boyle, another Texas inventor who hailed from the town of Jefferson, in Marion County, designed and built the first commercially-successful ammonia-based compression ice machine. Another inventor and entrepreneur, Thomas L. Rankin, designed and patented one of the first refrigerator box-cars that allowed the Texas and Atlantic Refrigerator Company to transport up to 450 head of dressed beef in trains made-up of ten refrigerated rail car, from Denison Texas to New York City beginning in 1873 (Ch. Clark 1966:297). In the late 1860s, Dr. Henry Payton Howard, a physician from San Antonio, obtained the Texas refrigeration and distribution rights from Wilson Bray, a New Yorker patentee. By 1869, he had equipped a small ship, named the "Agnes," with refrigeration and began shipping Texas beef from Palacios and Indianola to New Orleans (Clark 1966:297).

By 1880, Texas accounted for about one third of the ice production in the United States (Dugas 1955:178). Dallas was the home of the largest single ice factory in Texas, and San Antonio, Austin, and Houston, each had two ice making factories in 1880. By 1889, there were 56 ice manufacturing factories in Texas, and by 1900, Texas led the country in ice factories with 77 (Clark 1966:297).

Early ice machines used either ammonia, a mixture of ether and naphtha [called chimogene], or anhydrous sulfurous oxide, as the refrigerant and were based either on a compression or an absorption system. Within the compression system, a powerful steam-driven pump forces the liquid ammonia into a cylindrical iron tank, from which it passes into pipe coils that formed part of the freezing tank. The tank contained a brine within which cans filled with water to be frozen into ice, were floating. The brine was cooled through the evaporation of the ammonia that circulated through the bine through coils of pipes. The evaporating ammonia caused the brine to cool to 15 to 18 degrees Fahrenheit. The frigid brine, in turn, caused the water in the cans to congeal into hard blocks of ice over a period of about 60-hours (Fernald 1891). After passing through the freezing tank, the ammonia gas was drawn into a pump, where it was compressed and forced into the condenser. Here, cooled by cold water, the ammonia gas was liquified and piped into storage tanks. As the cooling cycle restarted under high pressure, the ammonia liquid was again pumped into the freezing tanks (Fernald 1891).

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The basic ammonia absorption ice-making system is depicted in **Figure 6-10**. The system utilized ammonia water which was heated in a boiler resulting in the production of a mixture of ammonia gas and steam (Fernald 1891). This mixture was piped into a rectifier which condensed the steam to water which was returned to the boiler. The ammonia, which contained no water vapor, was then sent into a condenser where it was liquified by the combined action of cold and pressure derived from the expansive force of steam vapor that was released from the boiler. The liquified ammonia was passed into expansion coils in the freezing tank. Here, the liquified ammonia expanded rapidly into vapor and in the process, it exerted its chilling effect. After doing its job, the ammonia gas was re-directed into an absorber where it was re-absorbed by the water that was driven out of the mixture at the beginning of the cycle. Typically, the absorption system was fueled by wood and the condenser water came from a well or a nearby stream.

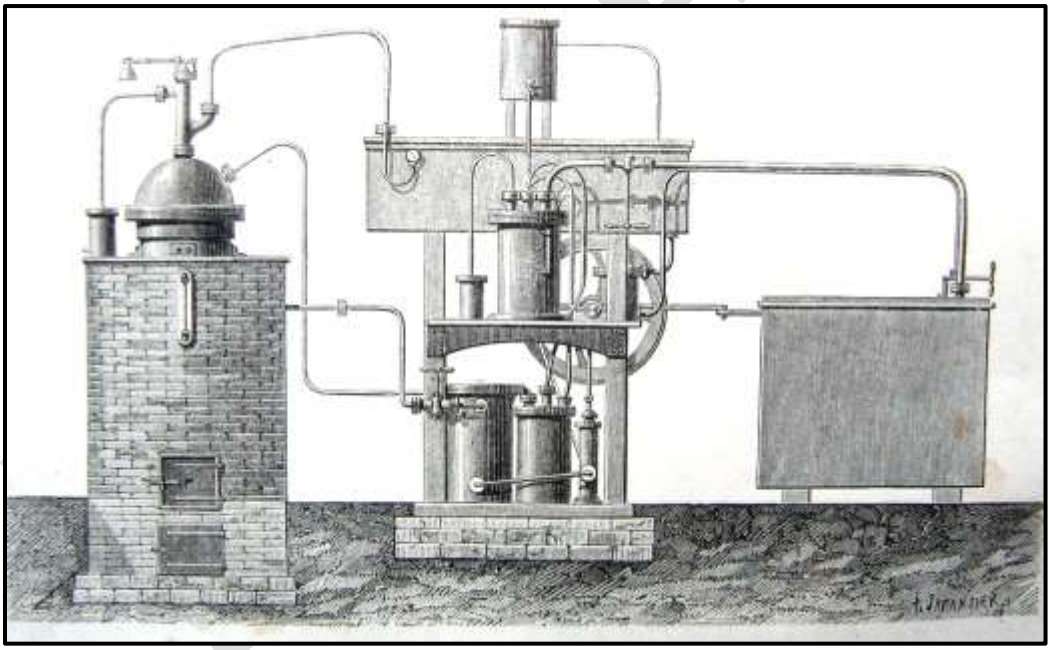

Figure 6-10. The basic ammonia absorption ice-making machine.

The explosion of artificial ice manufacture made possible through mechanization significantly improved the daily life of city-dwellers who could preserve foodstuffs for longer periods, farmers who could transport their produce longer distances, and major meat packing centers, such as Chicago and Cincinnati (Gordon 1990; Smith 2019) and to a lesser extent Texas slaughter-houses (Dugas 1955), who could not only preserve meat for longer periods but also distribute it across the country without incurring significant losses.

Besides creating artificial ice to refrigerate meat during transport (Woolrich and Clark 2019), ice was manufactured in San Antonio to cool and age the preferred lager beer.[45]

Description of the San Antonio Ice Factories

Two ice factories were in operation in San Antonio in 1885. The smaller of the two was the Alamo Ice Factory on the east descending bank of San Pedro Creek. It is discussed in detail in the next chapter. The larger ice factory was the San Antonio Ice factory on the east descending bank of the San Antonio River (**Figure 6-11**).

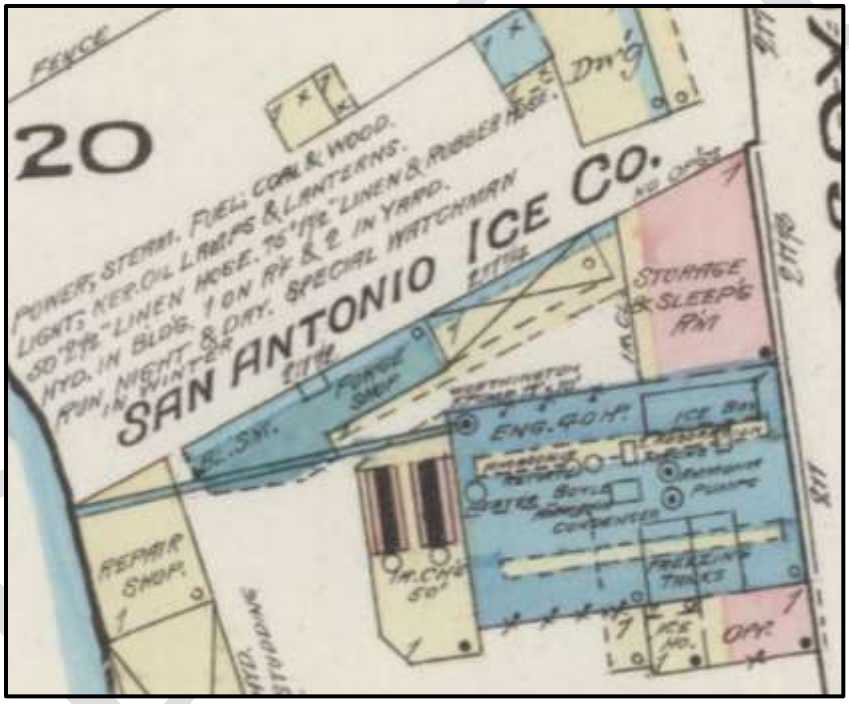

Figure 6-11. The San Antonio Ice Company on Sheet 8 of the 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance map.

The main portion of the San Antonio Ice Company was a large central room equipped with a 4.0 horsepower engine, a Worthington Pump, Ammonia retorts, pumps, and absorption tanks, heaters, the Boyle Ammonia Condenser, and the freezing tanks (see Figure 6-11). The central room also contained an Ice Box, while offices, a second Ice House, and storage facilities

[45] Understandably, the refrigeration of beef during transport by artificially made ice and then true refrigeration revolutionized the meat packing and transport industry. Early on, the King Ranch had its own on-site refrigeration equipment.

consisted of attached buildings. Two 50-foot tall iron chimneys were found at the back of the factory. The Worthington pump was connected to the San Antonio River through piping. Therefore, by 1885, no well is shown on the Sanborn Fire Insurance map, although one may have existed prior to the installation of the pump.

Ice Manufacture and Breweries

It is perhaps not surprising that the brewing of beer dates to the beginning of urbanization and civilization in the Neolithic period (Meussdoerffer 2009:1-7). It may also not come as a surprise that monasteries and churches of the Middle Ages played a significant role in brewing hopped beer (Meussdoerffer 2009:10-11). However, it was in the alehouses of the British Isles and the Bavarian breweries where "a quart of ale becomes the dish of a King" and where beer was seen as "the Fifth Element" (Meussdoerffer 2009:21, 25).

Prior to the 1840s, the beers that were produced in the United States were principally "top-fermented" brews that did not need aging. These were ales, porters, and stouts, which were brewed mainly by British immigrants with recipes they brought to America. These beers did not require cooling for fermentation; hence they were commonly referred to as "warm beer." However, by the second half of the nineteenth century, the popularity of German-style lager beers was on the rise. Lager beer was brewed with a bottom-fermenting yeast that used secondary fermentation and had to be aged at a cool temperature for four weeks to nine months.

As a result, beer brewing during the early days was a seasonal activity that took place during the cool months of the year. The year-round consumption of beer, however, led to various approaches and means by which brewers sought to age beer under cool temperatures even during the warmer months. During the early days of lager beer brewing, when small breweries made only enough for local consumption, the aging of the beer was done in naturally cooled underground cellars. As the production of lager beers increased and large underground cellars were not tenable, above-ground ice houses became places to store the aging beer. The mid-nineteenth century interest in the manufacture of artificial ice coincided well with the increased demand for lager beer and the capacity to store and age large quantities of it in above-ground stock houses cooled through artificial means (Appel 1990).

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Not only did the need for the cold storage of aging beer influence the architecture associated with beer making during the nineteenth century, but the increased demand for beer also influenced the technological components and architectural manifestations of breweries. Early nineteenth century breweries tended to be one-story structures (**Figure 6-12),** where the making of beer began with the water being pumped to the upper portion of the brewhouse only to drain in a copper where it was boiled and drained into the mash tub, where it was mixed with malt forming the mash. As the liquid was drained into the underback, the mash was strained to remove the impurities, and pumped into brew kettles for boiling to form the wort. The wort was subsequently cooled in large shallow pans, yeast was added, and the fermentations took place while the beer was stored in coolhouses or underground caverns where it cooled under natural conditions.

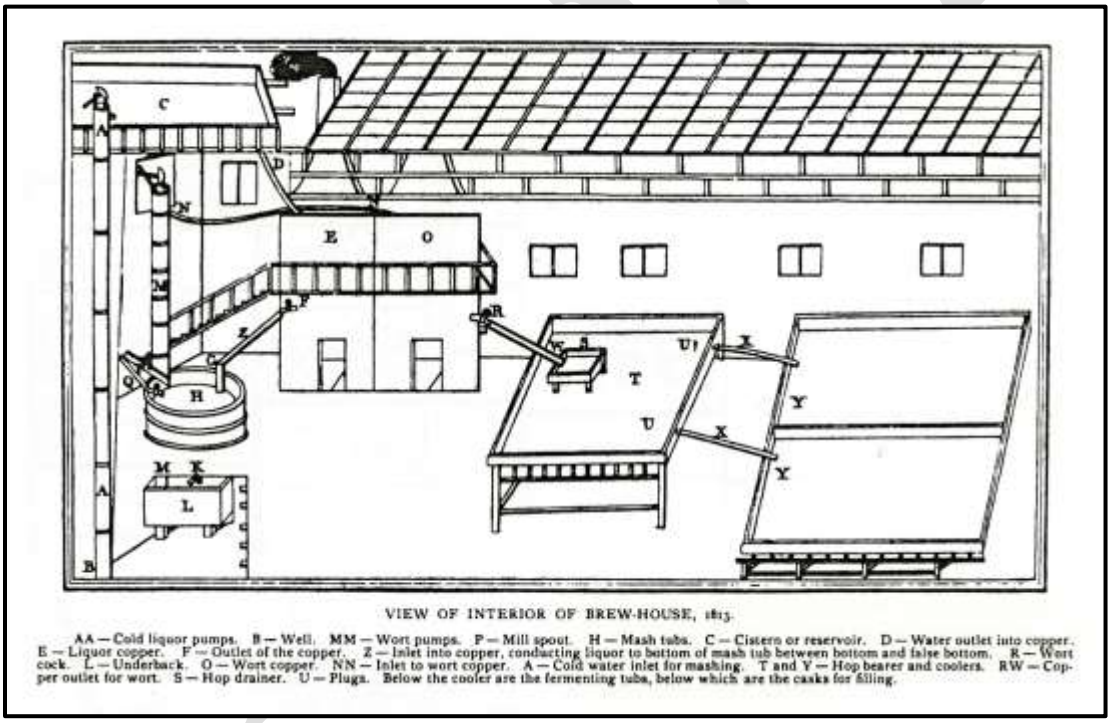

Figure 6-12. Interior of an early-nineteenth century Brewhouse.

With the development of artificial refrigeration, brewhouses grew larger and added new architectural elements absent in early breweries. These new elements included above-ground ice houses which were present at many 1860s and 1870s breweries (**Figure 6-13**). Above-ground ice houses contained enough ice to keep temperatures low for fermentation and laagering to take place. The early icehouses were kept cool using natural ice with the ice-

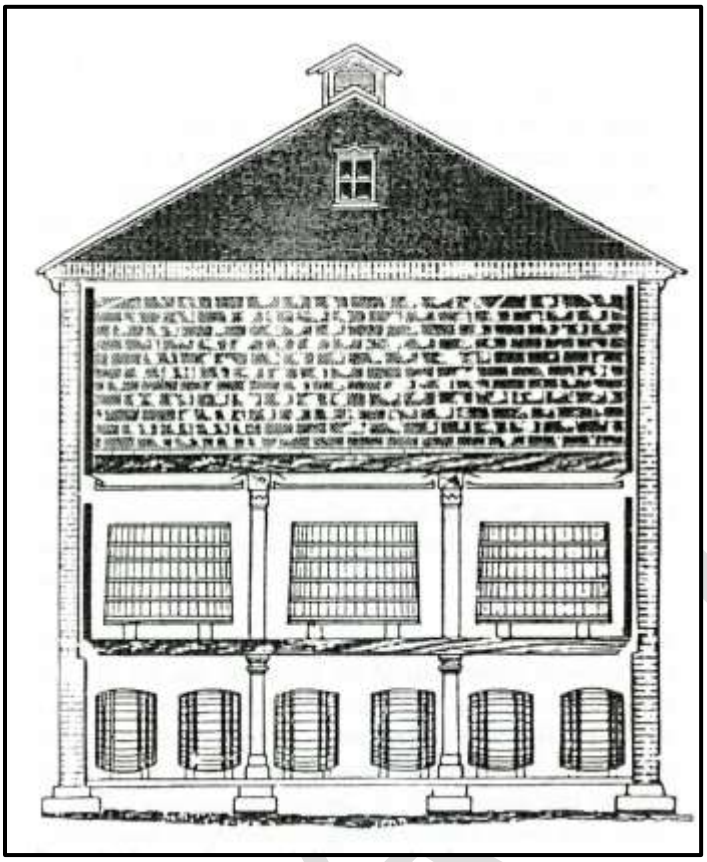

Figure 6-13. Sectional schematic of an above-ground Icehouse (Rich and Co. 1971).

blocks stored at the top of the building above the fermentation tanks and aging beer caskets. The cold air would sink to the bottom of the building thereby cooling the entire building. Supplying these ice houses with natural ice was an expensive proposition especially given the large quantities needed by breweries who sought to keep up with the increased demand for lager beer.

In contrast to the early-nineteenth century breweries, brewhouses of the late-nineteenth century tended to be multi-story structures. The increased height was permitted by new construction materials that were stronger yet lighter and were used in combination with previously employed construction materials. In these multi-story and multi-structure industrial facilities it was possible to prepare wort in much larger batches, brewing mixed with science (Anderson 2006), and much of the work was performed by steam-powered machines (**Figure 6-14**). In addition, different phases of the brewing process could be separated into functionally distinct buildings that made the brewing process more efficient.

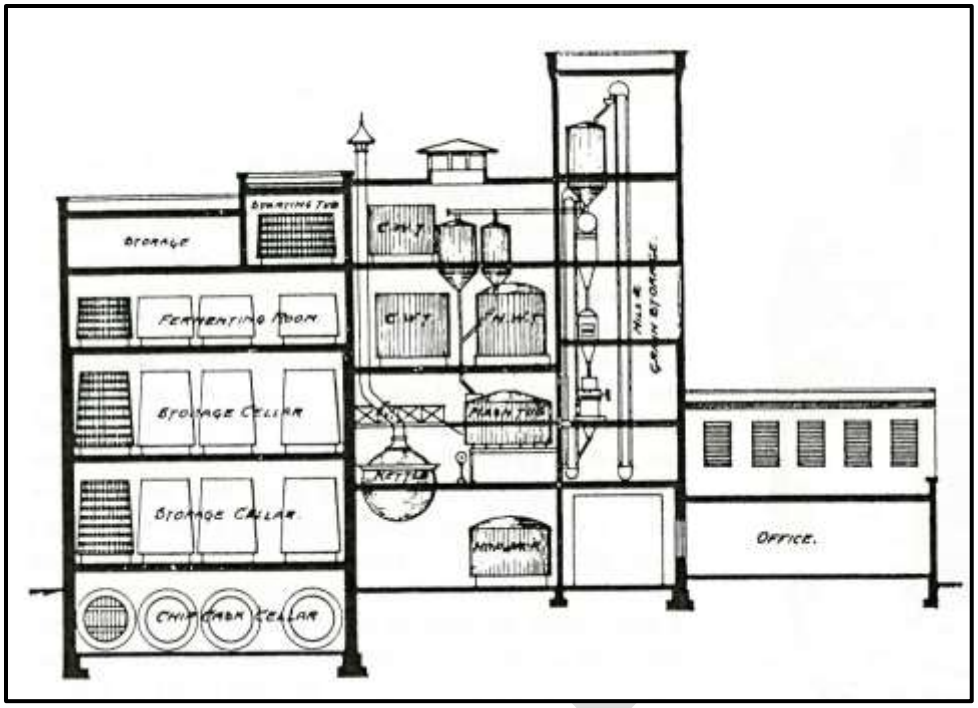

Figure 6-14. Sectional schematic of a typical brewery circa 1900. Note the stock house at the right, the brewhouse in the center, and the mill house and office at the right of the image (Rich and Co. 1971).

During the second half of the century, as the manufacture of artificial ice began to take hold at a commercial scale, artificial refrigeration really took hold in breweries across the county. In the United States, the Albert Ziegele Brewery was one of the first to install an ice machine in 1877 (Appel 1990:28-29). And, in 1878, the same ammonia condensing system was installed at the Lemp Brewery in St. Louis, Missouri. In 1878, the Pictet Artificial Ice Company installed an ice machine at the Alanzo Templeton Brewery in Louisville Kentucky. Its refrigerant was anhydrous sulfurous oxide.

In 1878-79, Edmund Jungenfeld, a German immigrant to St. Louis was engaged in building a brewhouse for the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association. In addition to the brewhouse, the complex also was to contain four ice-houses, three cellars, and a racking room. The refrigerating equipment included the Boyle ammonia-compression ice machines, which were upgraded to 50-ton capacity machines that formed the largest capacity mechanical refrigeration plant in operation in the United States.

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Beer Brewing in San Antonio

William A. Menger's Western Brewery (1855-1878), located on Alamo Plaza, is usually considered the very first commercial Texas brewery. In 1859, Menger opened his popular hotel next to his brewery.[46] Menger then hired Charles Degen as his brew master so that he could concentrate on the hotel business. When Menger died in 1871, Degen continued with this brewery until 1878. By its last year of business in 1878, it was the largest operating brewery in Texas.

Several other small breweries may have existed in San Antonio roughly about the same time as Menger's Western Brewery (Holt 2014). The H. Hammer Brewery may have been situated on the banks of San Pedro Creek near Martin Street. Henry Karber may also have owned a brewery also on the banks of San Pedro Creek. Both breweries may have operated only for a short time sometime between 1855 and 1860 (Holt 2014). Additional breweries may have attempted to compete with Menger's Western Brewery by the late-1870s including the F. Buelle and Company (San Antonio Daily Express May 1, 1875), William Esser and Company (1874-1875), and William Esser's Alamo Brewery which may have both imported porters, ales, and wine and bottled its own beer between 1874 and 1884 (Holt 2014). The brewery, located at 319 Avenue B, produced a German wheat beer called "Berliner Weisse."

In 1885 there were at least three breweries in San Antonio, the Alamo Ice and Brewing Company, the J.B. Belohradsky San Antonio Brewery, and the Lone Star Brewing Company. The Alamo Ice and Brewing Company, reportedly (Holt 2014) brewed a lager beer named "Vienna Lager."

As was the case with all breweries of the times, the J.B. Belohradsky San Antonio Brewery was located near a stream, in this case the San Antonio River. The brewery was established in 1881, and in 1883 it was purchased by a group of businessmen and renamed the San Antonio Brewing Company. The company began making Pearl Beer in 1886. Two years later, the name was changed yet again to the San Antonio Brewing Association. The original J. B. Belohradsky Brewery was situated just south of the large easterly bend in the San Antonio River (**Figure 6-15**).

[46] Ibid. The Menger Hotel still contains the large cellar, constructed with three-foot-thick stone walls, which were used to chill the lager beer produced by the brewery. These cellars were cooled by the Alamo Madre acequia that flowed nearby.

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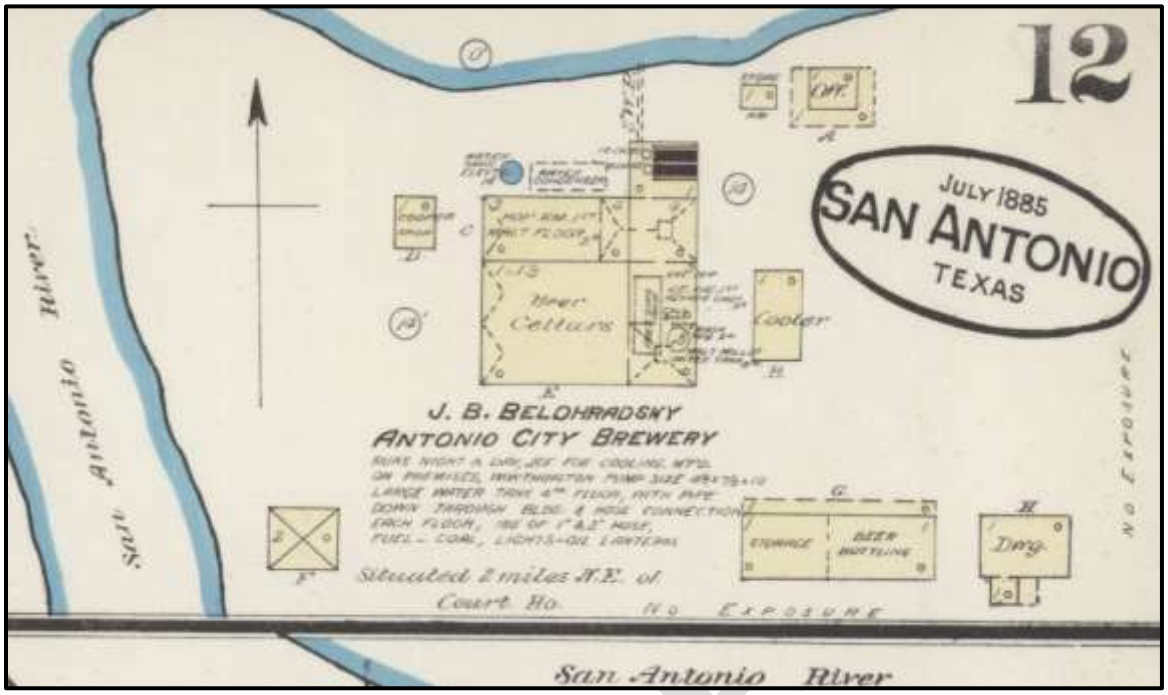

Figure 6-15. The J.B. Belohradsky San Antonio City Brewery depicted on Sheet 12 of the 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance map.

In 1885, the brewery complex consisted of multiple, functionally distinct, structures. The central complex included the Beer Cellars, the Hop Room on the 1st Floor and Malt Floor on the 2nd level. A smaller room in the central complex contained the 160-horsepower engine, ice factory and freezing tanks, the malt mills, water tanks, and mash tub. Separate but attached structures housed the water condenser, and boilers which exhausted through 50-foot chimneys. A water tank was present near the water condensers. A separate structure served as the Cooler, and storage and beer bottling occurred in yet another structure. A cooper shop was present on the premises, as were offices and a store (see Figure 6-15).

The Lone Star Brewery also was situated on the east bank of the San Antonio River. The structures that were part of the compound included a central complex and a series of support facilities (**Figure 6-16**). The central complex included a square four-story building that housed the pumps, mixer tanks, and several engines. Smaller spaces within this larger room held the mixer tanks and coolers. A combination of steps and an elevator provided access to the different floors. On the east side of the square room was a five-story long and narrow building that served as the beer vaults. Freezing tanks and condensers there housed in multi-story structures at the north end of the beer vaults. North of a driveway leading into the

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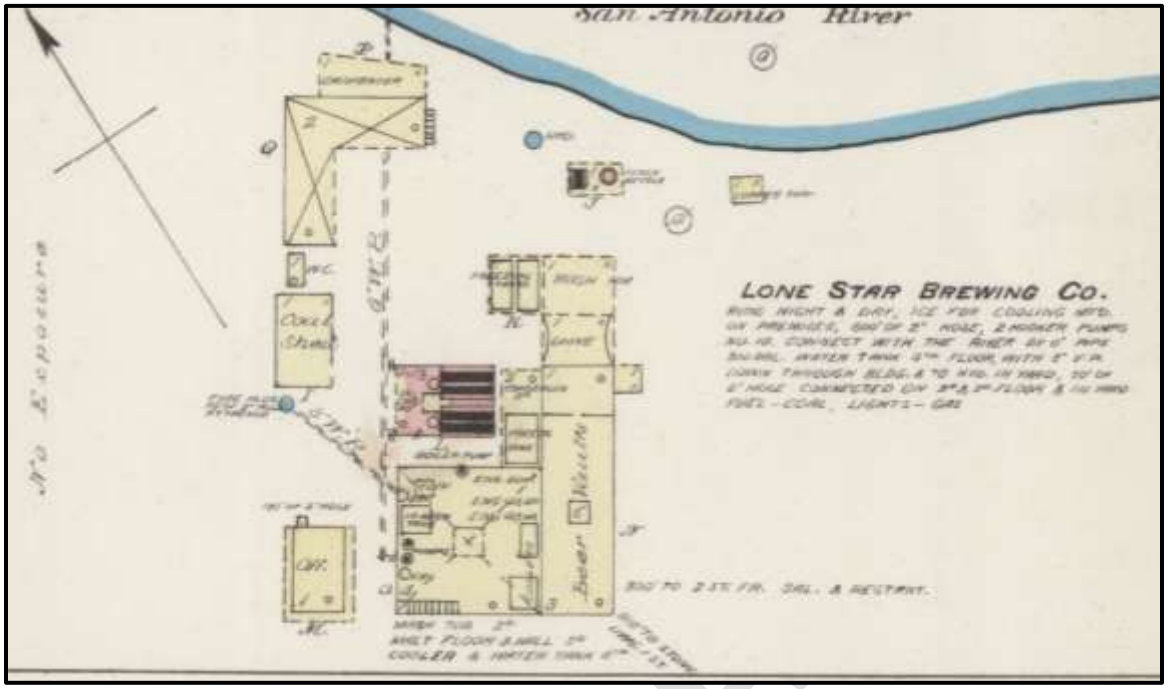

Figure 6-16. The Lone Star Brewery compound shown on Sheet 12 of the 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance map.

compound were additional freezing tanks and a washroom. Northwest of the beer vaults were boilers and two 80-foot tall iron chimneys. Self-standing facilities present in the compound included the Office and the southwestern corner of the property, a coal shed, a water container/tank, carpenter's shop, pitch kettle, and Cooper shop near the channel of the San Antonio River. Water was piped into the compound from the San Antonio River through a 6-inch pipe running west of the principal central structure.

The Anheuser Busch Brewing Association-owned Beer Vault shows yet another step in the evolution of the industrialization of brewing (**Figure 6-17**). Specifically, the facility, which in 1885 was located at the southeast corner of Matamoros Street and S. Medina Street was not part of a large brewery compound. Instead, the beer vault was strategically positioned adjacent to the principal rail hub in San Antonio. As such, Anheuser Busch took advantage of the distribution capacity of the railroad by positioning a refrigerated Beer Vault immediately at the rail depot allowing them to more efficiently ship stock outside of the City. In addition, the railroad also increased the capacity of the company to bring in needed resources, such as the large supply of coal, needed to fuel the condensers and other machinery that ran on steam power.

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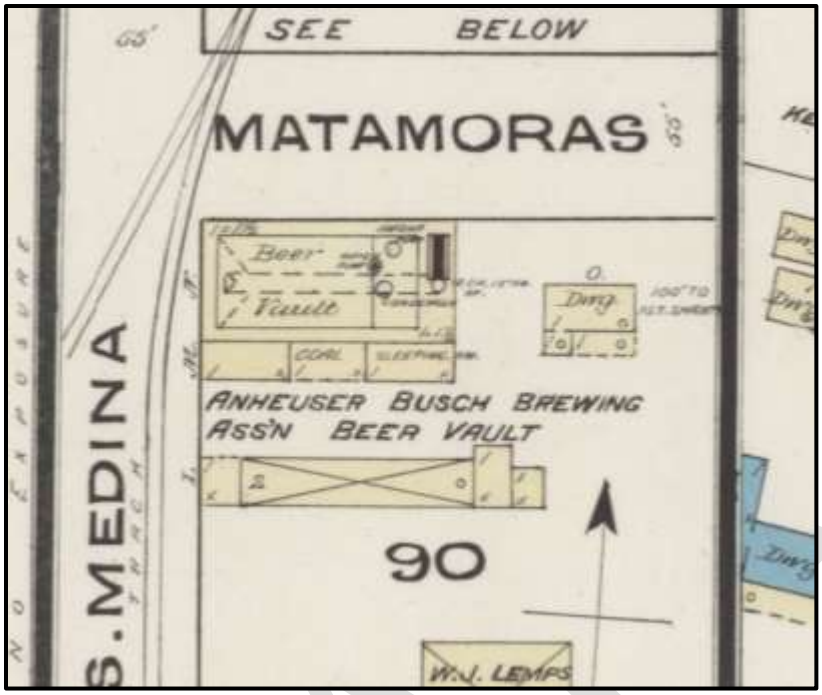

Figure 6-17. The Anheuser Busch Brewing Association Beer Vault shown on Sheet 12 of the 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance map.

Adolphus Busch brought mechanized technology to the brewing business and partnered with John Henry Kampmann and Edward Hoppe. Together they operated the Lone Star Brewery on Jones Avenue. Their only large and serious rival was the Pearl Brewery.

That same year, 1895, construction began on Busch's second and large, brick-faced brewery to be located on Jones Avenue, replacing an earlier, wood framed structure that was once owned by another independent beer brewing company. There, the Lone Star Brewing Company was founded and operated from 1884 until about 1920.[47]

In 1919, the U.S. Congress passed the Volstead Act (Pub. L. 66-66), formally called The National Prohibition Act, thus enforcing the Eighteenth Amendment, which prohibited the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages.[48] This law became effective in 1920, and caused many breweries, including the Lone Star brewery, to close forever.[49] Of the large breweries in town, only the nearby Pearl Brewery survived Prohibition and rolled out legal beer in 1933, when Prohibition was ended.

[47] Ibid. Prior to construction of the brick brewery on Jones Avenue (and now the location of the San Antonio Museum of Art), a wood frame brewery existed on the site.
[48] Britannica Encyclopedia, topic Volstead Act, accessed June 3, 2020, at www. britannica.com.
[49] *Handbook of Texas Online*, Brewing Industry. In 1940, another company acquired the Lone Star Beer copyright and produced beer in in different San Antonio location.

The failure of the Alamo Ice and Brewing Company in the late-1880s and early-1890s mirrored the failure of other small, independent brewing firms in San Antonio. These breweries could not keep up with larger, mechanized brewing processes introduced to the city by Adolphus Busch and his group of local investors. The decline was caused by several factors of the free enterprise system. National breweries such as Anheuser-Busch of St. Louis, came to Texas with a superior product that sold at a competitive price. The national breweries could afford improved, mechanized, and large scale brewing, along with packaging techniques and massive advertising campaigns. In addition, Texas breweries, like Alamo Ice and Brewing, were undercapitalized and did not have the financial or production capabilities to compete with the national breweries.[50]

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[50] Ibid.

CHAPTER 7: NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONSIDERATIONS: ASSESSING HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Chapter 6 introduced three specific themes under two broad historic contexts. The stories of soap and ice manufacture and beer brewing document the early days of San Antonio's industrial revolution when the manufacture of goods began to shift from household production for local markets to industrial manufacture for regional and national markets. The story of the formation of the African American Methodist Episcopal Church reflects the persistence of freedman and former enslaved people to establish a house of worship independent of the prejudices of the times. The Church played a multi-dimensional role in the lives of black communities within the broader segregationist context of the mid-nineteenth century.

The series of foundation remnants uncovered and documented during the weeks of monitoring represent an archaeological site. The results of archival research indicate that four distinct archaeological components may be distinguished within the site (**Figure 7-1**). The oldest component is represented by the soap making businesses that occupied the site between 1847 and 1859. Following a brief period of abandonment (1859-1870), the site was first rented and then regularly occupied by the Saint James A.M.E. Church congregation as a house of worship (1871- 1877). Next, the site was used as an ice factory (Alamo Ice Company; 1878-1887), and finally as a combined ice factory and brewery (Alamo Ice and Brewing Company; Alamo Brewery; and Lone Star Brewery Depot) between 1887 and 1904. **Figure 7-1** illustrates the location of the foundations associated with the four components.

According to the guidelines for evaluating properties (i.e., sites) for listing on the National Register (Little et al. 2000:19-22), an archaeological site is significant if it has been associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history (Criterion A), or has been associated with the lives of persons significant in our past (Criterion B). Archaeological sites that embody distinctive characteristics of a type, a period, a method of construction, or are the work of a master craftsman, may also be considered significant. Finally, sites that have yielded or may be likely to yield information important in prehistory or history may also be considered significant. Religious properties represent a special category and may be listed on the National Register only if it is considered significant based on architectural or artistic criteria (C) or due to historical importance (Criterion A or B).

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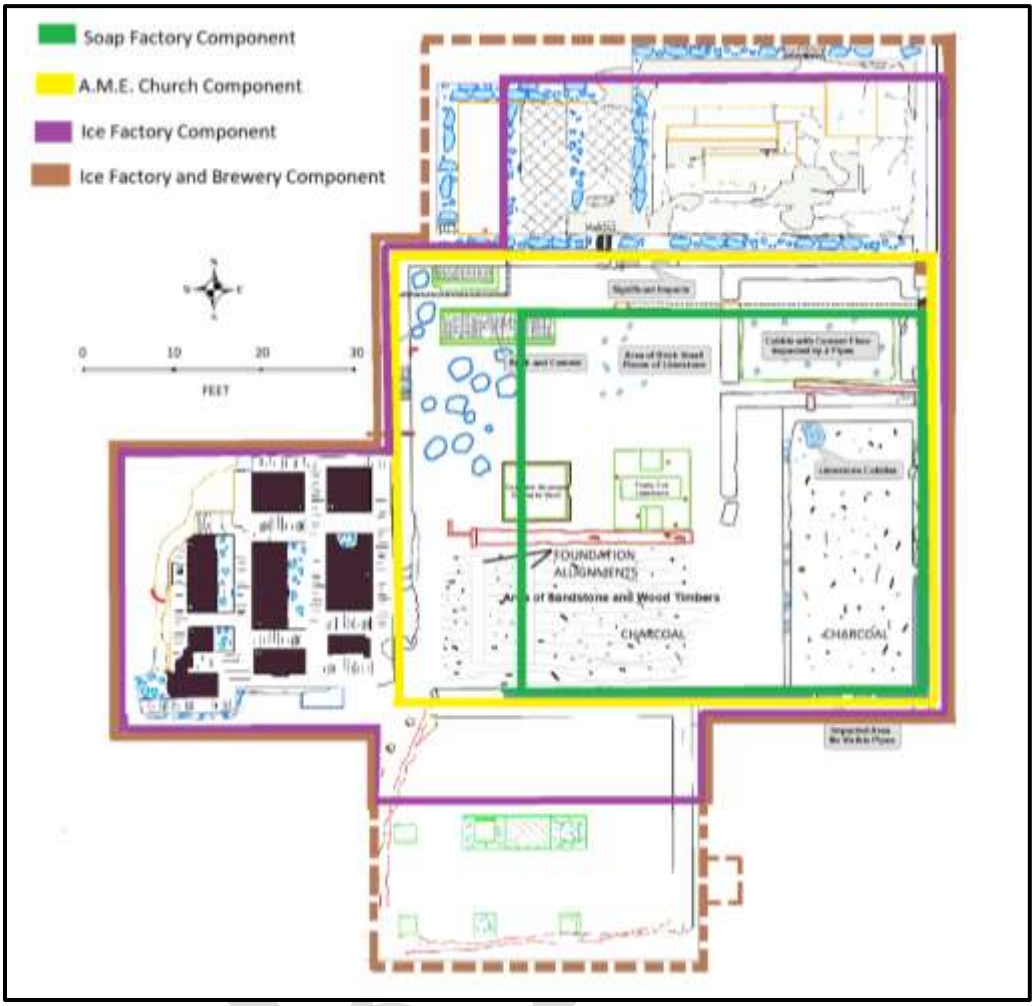

Figure 7-1. Foundations encompassed by each of the archaeological components identified at 41BX2359.

The general approach to determining whether a property is or is not significant consists of three steps: 1) identify the historic context(s) to which the property may relate (i.e., industrialization [soap making, ice manufacture and brewing] and the establishment of religious independence among freedmen and formerly-enslaved people); 2) define the property types that may be part of the historic context and their relevant characteristics (i.e., soap and ice factories, breweries, and churches); and 3) link the property to the historic context and determine whether it retains the relevant characteristics required to qualify it as part of the context .

The guidelines for evaluating archaeological properties for nomination to the National Register state that the "use of Criteria A, B, and C for archaeological sites is appropriate in limited circumstances and has never been supported as a universal application of the criteria.

However, it is important to consider the applicability of criteria other than D when evaluating archeological properties (Little et al. 2000:22). Under Criteria A, B, and C, the archeological property must have demonstrated its ability to convey its significance, as opposed to sites eligible under Criterion D, where only the potential to yield information is required." (Little et al. 2000:22).

Under Criterion A, it is not enough for an archaeological site to have been merely associated with a historic event or historic trends. To qualify for listing to the National Register under Criterion A, *the property's specific association with that event or trend must be considered important as well*. Often, a comparative framework is necessary to determine if a site is considered to have an important association with of an event or pattern of events. The following steps should be considered when evaluating a property's potential eligibility for listing under Criterion A: 1) identify the event with which the property is associated; 2) document the importance of the event within the broad pattern of history; 3) demonstrate the strength of the association of the property to the event or pattern of events; and 4) assess the integrity of the property. Under Criterion A, a site must convey its historic significance by having well-preserved features, artifacts, and intra-site patterning to illustrate a specific event or pattern of events in history. Archeological sites that are recognized "type" sites for specific archeological complexes, or time periods, are often eligible under Criterion A because they define archeological complexes or cultures and are directly associated with the events and broad patterns of history (Little et al. 2000:22).

Under Criterion B, the person associated with the property must be individually significant within the historic context. That is, the individual associated with the property must have made some specific important contributions to history. The following steps should be considered when evaluating a property's potential eligibility for listing under Criterion B: 1) identify the person(s) associated with the property who's activities have been demonstrably important within a local, regional, state, or national context; 2) discuss the importance of the individual within the specific historic context; the person must be individually significant, and not just a member of a profession, class or social or ethnic group; 3) demonstrate the strength of association between the person and the property; that is, the property should be associated with activities and events for which a person is important; and 4) assess the property's integrity by determining whether the essential physical features that were part of the property at the time of the individual's association with it are still intact. Under Criterion B,

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archeological sites need to be in good condition with excellent preservation of features, artifacts, and spatial relationships. An effective test is to ask if the person would recognize the property (Little et al. 2000:24-25).

Under Criterion C, a property must embody distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, represent the work of a master, or possess high artistic value (Little et al. 2000:25). Properties listed under this criterion exhibit some of the highest expressions of architecture, art, landscape architecture, and engineering. To document the exceptional nature of the property, comparisons are typically made to other properties representing similar or related types or illustrative of the evolution of a type. The following steps should be considered when evaluating a property's potential eligibility for listing under Criterion C: 1) identify the distinctive characteristics of the property type (i.e., sugar mill, brewery, soap factory, cotton gin); 2) discuss the importance of the property within the historic context; 3) evaluate how strongly the property illustrates the distinctive characteristics of the type, period, method of construction, master, craftsman, or artistic value; and 4) asses the integrity of the property. Archeological properties listed under Criterion C contain relatively intact architectural remains buried through either cultural or natural processes. In contrast, a significant archaeological site disturbed by modern activities (i.e., road construction) that have limited the potential to archaeologically identify individual activity areas and has compromised the spatial relationships between these activity areas, is not eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion C (Little et al. 2000:28).

The discussion of Criterion D of the National Register will take place in Chapter 8 in combination with the evaluation criteria associated with the designation of sites as State Antiquities Landmarks.

This chapter describes the linkages of site 41BX2359 to the mid-nineteenth century industrial revolution and the emergence of religious independence within the freedman and the formerly-enslaved African American community of San Antonio. The presentation begins with the association of the site's components to historic events, trends, and individuals. Next, the general characteristics of the components are discussed in relation to the theme of the historic context. Finally, a series of research questions that emerge from the historic context are presented as possible future research avenues associated with the historic property and archaeological component.

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Site 41BX2359 and Soap Making

Many German immigrants that fled from unrest on the European mainland during the middle of the nineteenth century learned soap making in their homeland. For some of these newly arrived families, the increased demand for soap that came about before and after the Civil War (Betts 2016, Kostka and McKay 2002) provided an opportunity to establish commercial soap making businesses. The 1860 census of Comal County for instance, identifies one soap and candle making business employing two individuals. Similarly, the 1860 Gillespie County census also lists one soap and candle making business in operation (Benjamin 1910:69-70). Locally, the San Antonio Soap Company was advertising the manufacture of made-to-order soap, during the mid-1870s (San Antonio Express, January 01, 1874).

When the Menger Soap Works was listed on the National Register in 1973, it was assumed that the site was the first or oldest soap-making factory in San Antonio. At the time, it was not yet known that Simon Menger had operated a soap factory further south on San Pedro Creek between 1851 and 1859. Nor was it known that this factory was preceded by yet another soap making business, owned by Wilhelm Klemcke operated between 1847 and 1851. The archival research completed under this project also suggest that there may have been at least one additional soap-making business along San Pedro Creek even before S. Menger built his second Soap Work Factory further north on San Pedro Creek. This soap factory may have been established by Emilie Klemcke in 1860, after the death of her husband. The location of Emilie Klemcke's soap factory has not been documented to date. Nonetheless, these soap making businesses predate the Menger Soap Works site, and therefore, represent the oldest known soap factories that operated in San Antonio.

Charles Frederick Wilhelm [William] Klemcke was the first hitherto documented businessman to establish a soap factory on the banks of San Pedro Creek. He was born in Ohlan Schlesien, Germany. Charles F. Wilhelm Klemcke (1816-1860), and his wife, Emilie Augusta Ernestine Ratzel Klemcke (1819-1894), were recruited by Henri Castro in 1846 as Castro Colonists. The Klemckes were soap and candle makers by trade but they could not turn away from the opportunity to own 640 acres of free land in Texas. In December, 1846, they arrived at Indianola, Texas, where their second son, William Klemcke, Jr. (Fritz) (1846-

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1892), was born.[51] From Indianola they traveled by oxcart to San Antonio and later to Castroville where Fritz Klemcke was baptized on October 3, 1847. Between 1847 and 1851, they resided in San Antonio, where they established their soap-making business on San Pedro Creek. It was a family business, with Emilie and Fritz taking an active role.

In 1851, they sold the soap factory to Johan Nicholaus Simon Menger and received a certificate to their lands as Castro Colonists.[52] In late-1855, they sold the certificate for $15.00 and began homesteading 130-acres on Cottonwood Creek. William Klemcke died at the age of 44, in 1860. Emilie moved back to San Antonio, where she started the soap factory.

When in 1851 Simon Menger purchased Klemcke's business, he became the second businessman to operate a soap factory in San Antonio. Johan Nicholaus Simon Menger (1807-1892) was born in Stadtilm, Schwarzburg–Rudolstadt, Thuringia, on June 6, 1807. He was a teacher before immigrating to Texas as a member of Castro's colony. He and his family arrived at Galveston, in October 1846. By the end of the year, the Mengers were in Comal County where Simon purchased 50-acres in Hortontown. In June of the same year, the Mengers moved to San Antonio.

After purchasing Klemcke's soap factory in 1851, Simon Menger continued to operate the business until 1859 when the flooding of San Pedro Creek may have damaged part of the factory. Rather than giving up, in 1870 he reestablished his soap making factory further up-stream on San Pedro Creek. The business prospered over the decades and Simon died in San Antonio on May 1, 1892. After his death, Erich, his son operated the factory until the end of World War I. The Menger Soap Works was restored in the early-1980s. The property is considered a rare example of pre–Civil War industrial architecture and was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1973.

The only historical depiction of the soap factory is Koch's 1873 Bird's Eye view of two attached structures at the southwest corner of Rivas and Camaron streets (**Figure 7-2**).

[51] Affidavit of Heirship, 1982, Bexar County Deed Records (BCDR) 2624:1024
[52] BCDR K1: 58-59 (Klemcke to Menger, July 1851)

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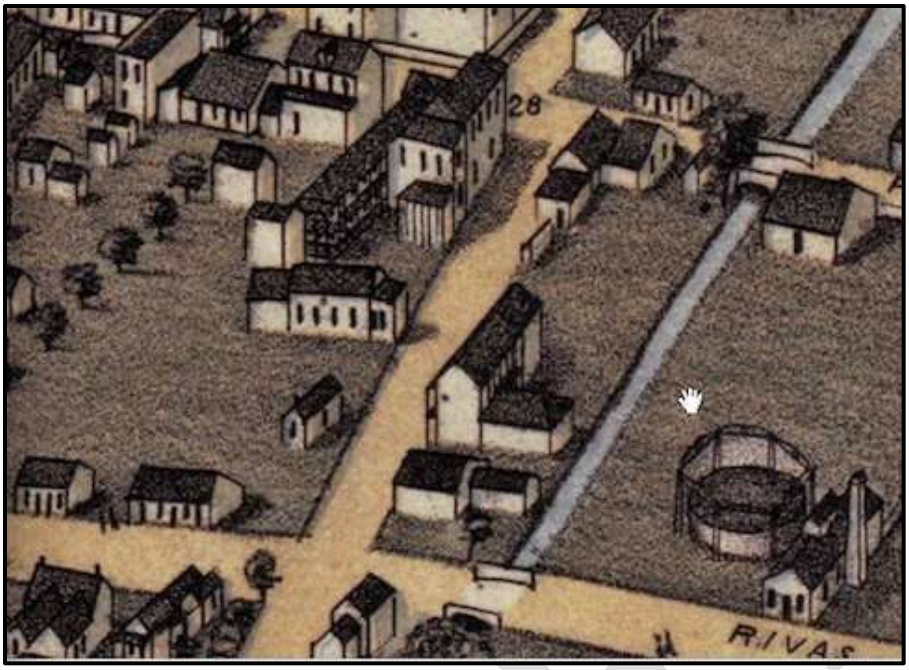

Figure 7-2. Koch's 1873 Bird's Eye view showing the two adjoining structures at the southwest corner of Rivas and Camaron Streets.

The structure fronting Camaron Street is significantly larger than the building behind it. No windows are shown on either structure, and no outdoor facilities are depicted. Which of the buildings may have served as a domicile is not known.

The 1877 Sanborn Fire Insurance map shows a single structure at the same location (**Figure 7-3**). It was argued in Chapter 3, that despite the date of the map, the structure that is depicted may predate 1875 and is more likely the soap factory prior to its enlargement by the A.M.E. Church congregation. The structure was vacant between the 1859 flood and its rental by the A.M.E. Church in 1871.

Based on the above outlined linkages between the soap manufacture component of site 41BX2359 and the early days of soap making in San Antonio, and the association with two of the earliest soap makers in town, we suggest that archaeological component is significant under Criteria A and B. Since no above-ground features of the soap making factory are present at the site, and only buried portions of the foundations can be linked to the original soap making establishment, it is suggested that the property cannot be considered significant under Criterion C.

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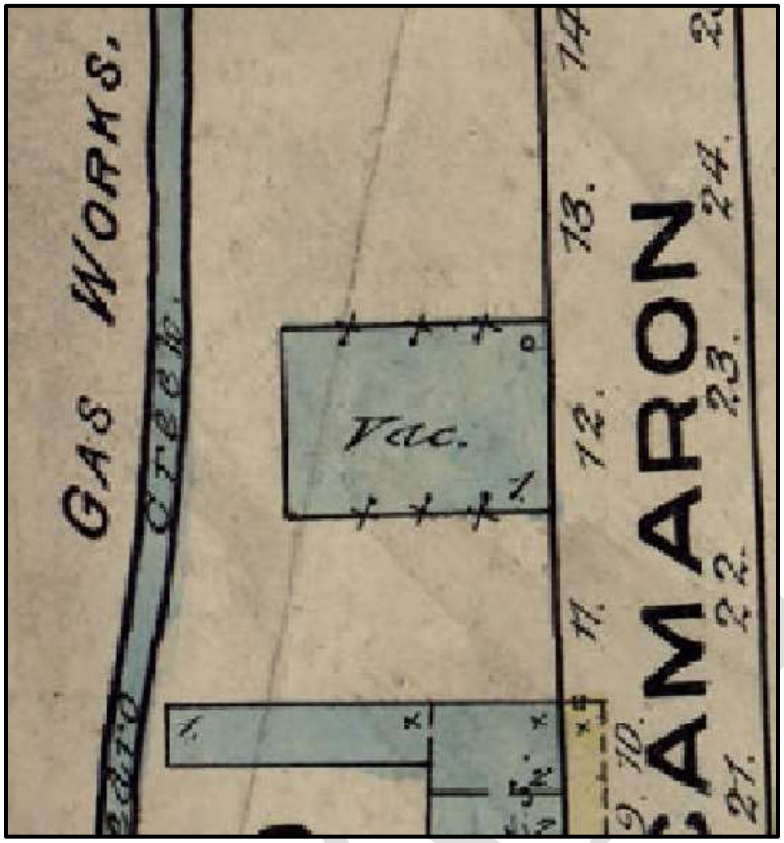

Figure 7-3. Vacant building shown on the 1877 Sanborn Fire Insurance map.

Site 41BX2359 and the A.M.E. Church

According to National Register Bulletin 15, "ordinarily cemeteries, birthplaces, or graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, ….shall not be considered eligible for the National Register" (National Park Service 1991:2). A religious property cannot be eligible simply because it was a place of religious services for a community, or was the oldest structure used by a religious group in a local area. (National Park Service 1991:27). In addition, a religious property is not significant in the history of education in a community simply because it had occasionally served as a school (National Park Service 1991:27).

However, under Criteria Consideration A, a religious property will qualify if "….it derives its primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance" (National Park Service 1991:26) and if the property is associated with an important historic context and it retains the historic integrity of those features necessary to convey its significance.

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The first A.M.E. Church in Texas was formed in Galveston by freedman and former enslaved people, many of whom found out that they were free on June 19, 1865. It came about after the Negro Methodist Episcopal Church South was reorganized as a member of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. The Rev. Michael M. Clark presided over the process. On March 18, 1867, the trustees of the white-dominated Methodist Episcopal Church officially recognized the change. A.M.E. Churches were established in many communities in Texas soon after emancipation. They included Cox's Providence A.M.E Church (1858) established in Cox's Providence, St John A.M.E. Church (1868) in Brenham, Shorter Chapel A.M.E. Church (1875) in Giddings, Bethel A.M.E. Church (1872), Metropolitan and Hope A.M.E. Churches (1872) in Austin, and many more (McQueen 2000).

The first A.M.E Church in San Antonio was the Saint Paul Methodist Episcopal Church established in 1866. The Saint James A.M.E. Church was established either in 1867 or 1868 (McQueen 2000:193-194). The congregation formed through the merging of two smaller "chapels," namely Rev. Frank Green's Chapel and the St. James Chapel. The two congregations attended worship services in St Mary's Chapel, a building deeded to the "Colored Methodist Church."

A schism developed within this newly merged black Methodist community leading to the St. James A.M.E community's separation. As early as 1871, the Saint James A.M.E. faction began renting Menger's old soap works to hold services there. In either 1872 or 1873, Rev. Carson, the pastor of the congregation, bought the building and converted it into a church. The congregation experienced rapid growth and in 1875, church trustees contracted with Anthony Earhart, a local architect and construction contractor, to enlarge the building. By the end of 1877, Rev. Johnson Reed sold the property and bought land at the corner of North Concho and Zavalla Streets (northeast corner of Center and North Streets) for a new church. The Camaron Street site, the second location of the St. James A.M.E. Church congregation, was rented between 1871 and 1873 and occupied between 1873 and 1877.

It is likely that the 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance map is the earliest depiction of the footprint of the A.M.E. Church, after its enlargement. This conclusion is based on the comparison of the depictions of the structure on the 1877 and 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance maps (see Chapter 4). If this conclusion is accurate, the footprint of the A.M.E. Church measured 44.5 x 58.5 feet

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following the enlargement (**Figure 7-4**). The enlargement encompassed the laying of the cornerstone at the NE corner of the building, the extension of the building to the west by approximately 8.5 feet and to the north by approximately 5 feet. This enlargement would have meant that the north and west walls of the A.M.E. Church were built as part of the enlargement while a 50-foot section of the south wall and a 39-foot section of the east wall of the church may have been built on the original foundations of the soap factory. In addition, it is also possible that the foundation of the original north wall of the Soap Factory may remain buried below the floor of the A.M.E. church expansion. Differences in construction techniques and materials between the south, north, and west foundations of the rectangular building that is assumed to have been the A.M.E. Church support this proposed construction sequence.

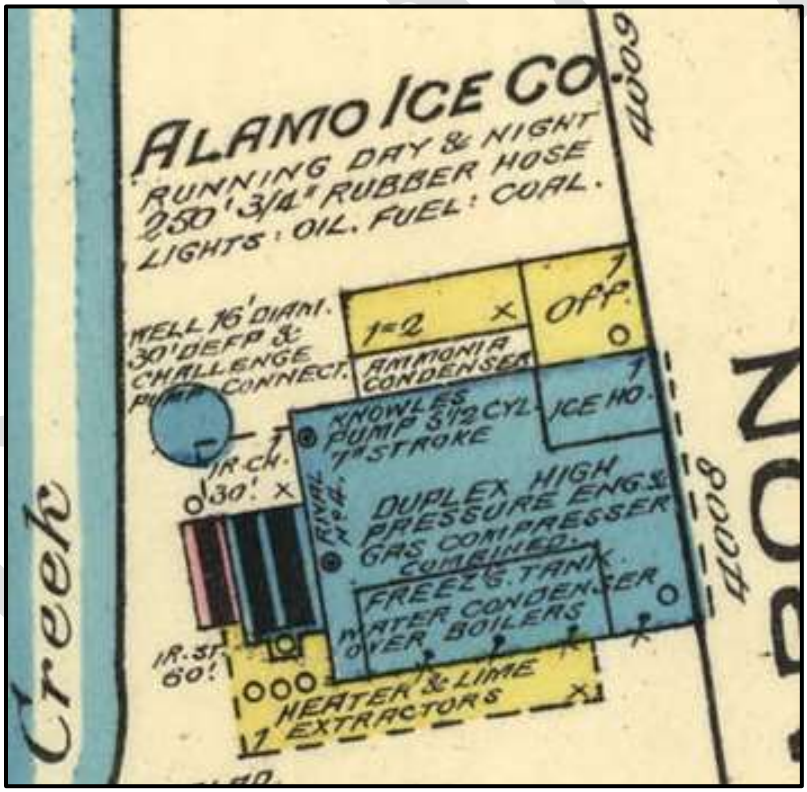

Figure 7-4. Depiction of Alamo Ice Company in 1885. Note former A.M.E. church footprint in blue.

The only image we have of what the church may have looked like comes from an undated B&W photo showing the façade of the building possibly before the completion of the renovations (**Figure 7-5**).

Figure 7-5. Façade of the A.M.E. Church circa 1875.

Given that the decade following the Civil War was a period of great significance in the freedman and ex-slave community as it sought to assert some degree of autonomy over its religious practices, a number of individuals played significant roles in the establishment of the A.M.E. church in Texas.

Reverend R. Haywood—came to St. James A.M.E. Church in 1868 as an organizing pastor. He looked over the interests of the St. James A.M.E. congregation during the legal dispute between the two factions. When Rev. W.R. Carson arrived at St. James A.M.E. Church, Rev. Haywood turned over all legal papers concerning the lawsuit to Rev. Carson. During the second Conference held in San Antonio, Rev. Haywood was appointed Presiding Elder and he was reappointed to his post in San Antonio. He remained in San Antonio for three more years.

Rev. W.R. Carson was the pastor of the church while it served the black community that burgeoned on the banks of San Pedro Creek following the Civil War. Rev. Carson bought the original soap work building and converted it into a church.

Based on the above outlined linkages between the A.M.E. Church component of site 41BX2359 and the early days of religious freedom sought by formerly enslaved people in San Antonio, we recommend that the archaeological component associated with the A.M.E. Church is significant under Criterion A. Although several freedman and formerly-enslaved

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people were associated with the formation of the Saint James A.M.E. Church in San Antonio, many of their significant contributions were made after the congregation had already relocated to the third site of the church. Therefore, we do not feel that the A.M.E. Church should be considered significant under Criterion B. Similarly, since the only above-ground features of the A.M.E. Church that is currently present at the site is the cornerstone, it is suggested that the property also cannot be considered significant under Criterion C.

Site 41BX2359 and Ice Making and Brewing Beer

The early days of refrigeration in the United States began with the harvesting and use of natural ice. Frederic Tudor and his Tudor Ice Company (1806-1930s) provisioned the citizens of Savannah, Charleston, and New Orleans with natural ice harvested from family ponds and New England Rivers. The Company even shipped thousands of pounds of natural ice to Jamaica, Brazil, and the West Indies. As inventions and technological innovations made possible the manufacture of artificial ice, several Texans came to play a significant role in the story of artificial ice.

Chief among these individuals was Daniel Livingston Holden, who improved on European inventor Ferdinand Carré's ice making machine by using steam to heat the liquid ammonia and by making clear ice by using distilled water. By 1867, the company established by Holden and his brother in San Antonio was manufacturing 1.5-tons of ice per day. By 1869, Holden's ice making machines were operating in several southern states (Roberts 2020a). Andrew Muhl, a Paris-born San Antonian, also contributed to the story of ice manufacture. In 1867 he developed the A. Muhl Ether Ice-Making Machine which used a mixture of ether and naphtha as refrigerant. After resettling in Waco in 1871, he patented his "Refrigerating Apparatus" (U.S. Patent No. 121,402), "…the express purpose of the machine was the cooling of air within buildings, including distilleries and breweries." By 1869, Dr. Henry Payton Howard, a physician from San Antonio, equipped a small ship with refrigeration allowing him to ship beef from Texas ports to New Orleans. Another entrepreneur, Thomas L. Rankin, designed and patented one of the first refrigerator box-cars that allowed the Texas and Atlantic Refrigerator Company to transport dressed beef from Denison Texas to New York City beginning in 1873.

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The impacts of these inventions and innovations can hardly be understated on a wide range of industries including food preservation, inter-regional commerce, and agriculture. Even the brewing industry benefited from artificial refrigeration by making it feasible to brew German-style lager beers that needed cold temperatures to ferment and age. The popularity of lager beers, coupled with several other architectural and technological innovations within the brewing industry, made possible large-scale beer production and its national distribution (see Chapter 6).

Following the abandonment A.M.E. Church in 1880, Edward Steves purchased the property and two additional adjoining parcels. On December 24, 1880, E. Steves sold his assembled property on Camaron Street to a newly formed group of investors in the Alamo Ice Company. However, it is likely that ice making began at the site soon after the A.M.E. Church vacated the property in 1877. The investors that were behind the Alamo Ice Company consisted of Alfred Giles, Leroux and Cosgrove, Hans L. Degener, A.C. Peters and J.H. Smye.

There were two ice factories operating in San Antonio in 1885, the San Antonio Ice Company and the Alamo Ice Company, the smaller of the two. Being located on the east bank of San Pedro Creek, the streams provided abundant water for the manufacturing process as well as the raw material for the ice. The factory consisted of a central structure that housed the pressure engines, gas compressors and freezing tank (**Figure 7-6**). The water condenser and boilers were situated in a smaller room inside the central structure. A small room identified as the "Ice House" was present at the northeast corner of the central structure. The water heaters and lime extractors were in a structure attached to the south side. A 30-foot Iron Chimney and a 50-foot smokestack were attached to the boilers at the back of the complex. The principal fuel used to heat the boilers was coal. A small office, space for ammonia condensers, and a storage facility were built against the north wall of the central structure. A 16-foot diameter well, dug to 30-feet below surface, was at the northwest corner of the complex.

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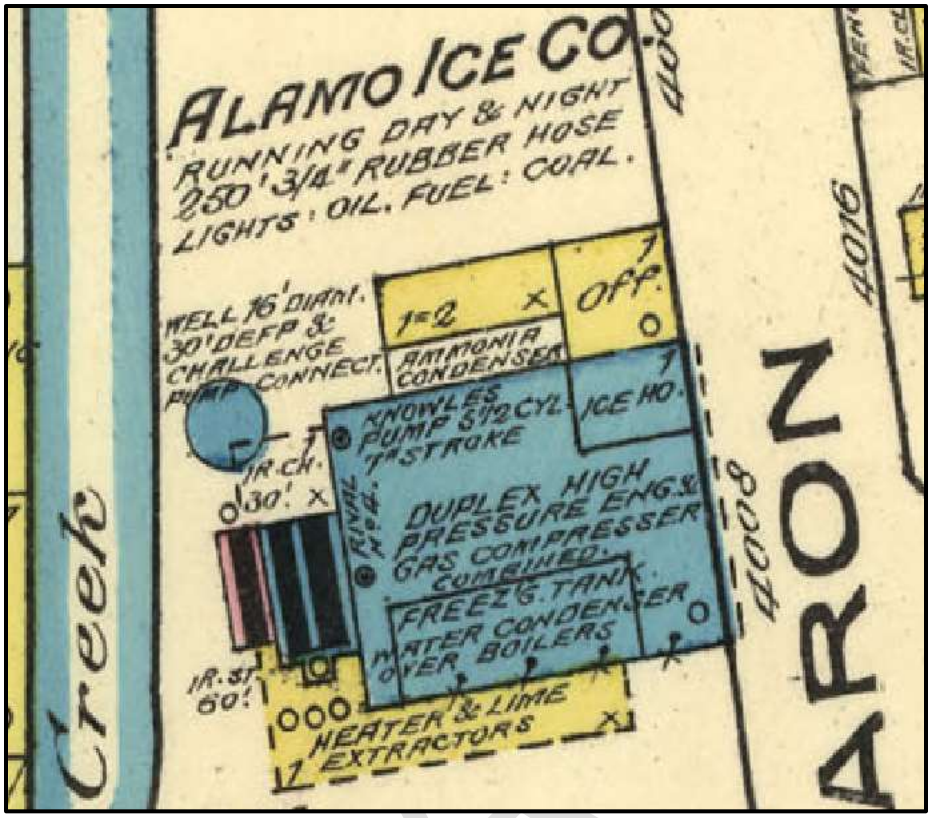

Figure 7-6. Close-up of the Alamo Ice Factory on the east banks of San Pedro Creek in 1885.

In November, 1887, the Alamo Ice Company was sold to the Alamo Ice and Brewing Company (**Figure 7-7**). Either just before, or most likely following the sale, the company undertook an ambitious expansion project that led to the construction of a three-story facility modeled after the layout of most industrial brewing facilities in the country (Appel 1990). Despite this expansion into beer brewing and the growth of the physical plant to several buildings, the company went through bankruptcies, and had liens filed against it for debts. In January of 1889, Sam Maverick bought the struggling Alamo Ice and Brewing Company and the local newspapers referred to the new business as "Sam Maverick's Ice Factory." Legal and financial problems continued leading to more employee layoffs. Operations ceased early in 1895.

In March 1895, Adolphus Busch of St. Louis purchased the entire plant (**Figure 7-8**) and consolidated it with his growing empire of beer brewing companies.[53]

[53] *Handbook of Texas Online*, Michael C. Hennech and Tracé Etienne-Gray, "BREWING INDUSTRY," accessed June 02, 2020, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/dib01.

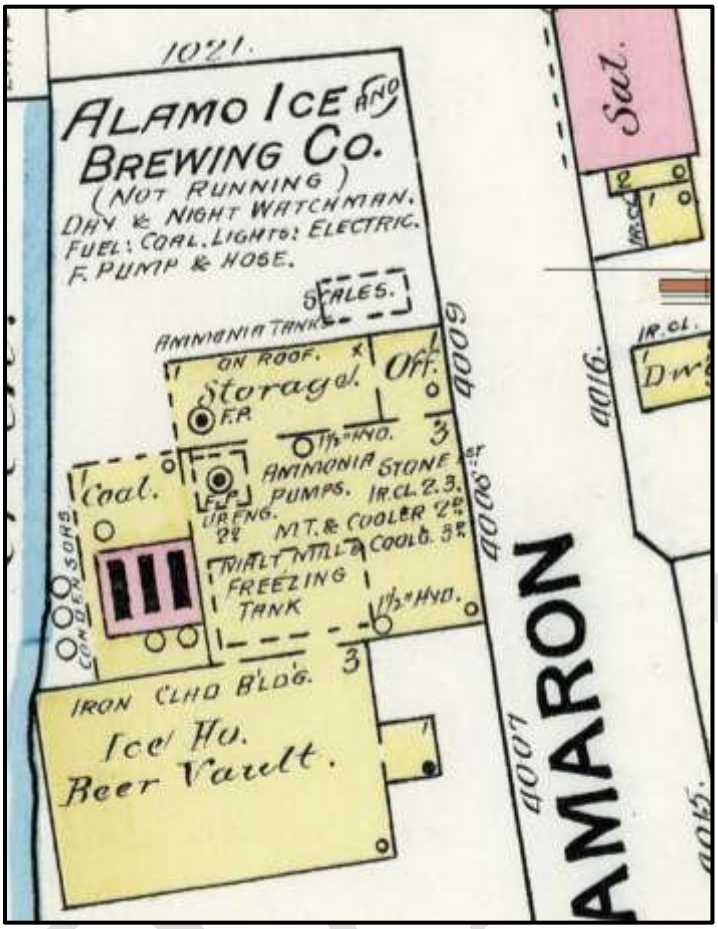

Figure 7-7. Alamo Ice and Brewing Company depicted on Sheet 8 of the 1888 Sanborn Fire Insurance map.

The preceding summary established clear linkages between the early days of artificial ice making and beer brewing in San Antonio and site 41BX2359. While other ice factories and breweries were operating during the same period, the Alamo Ice and Brewing Company combine the making of artificial ice and the brewing of German lager beer within the same industrial facility. Given this novel association of ice making and brewing within the same industrial complex, we suggest that the ice making and beer brewing component of site 42BX2359 is significant under Criterion A. However, because none of the early pioneers that patented new or improved ice making equipment were employed by the Alamo Ice Factory or subsequent businesses that operated at the site, it is suggested that the component is not significant under Criterion B. Finally, since only the outlines of the ground floor foundations remain of the former multi-story industrial complex, and therefore, the well-differentiated use of space that was adopted by breweries of the time-period has not survived demolition, it is suggested the component cannot be considered significant under Criterion C.

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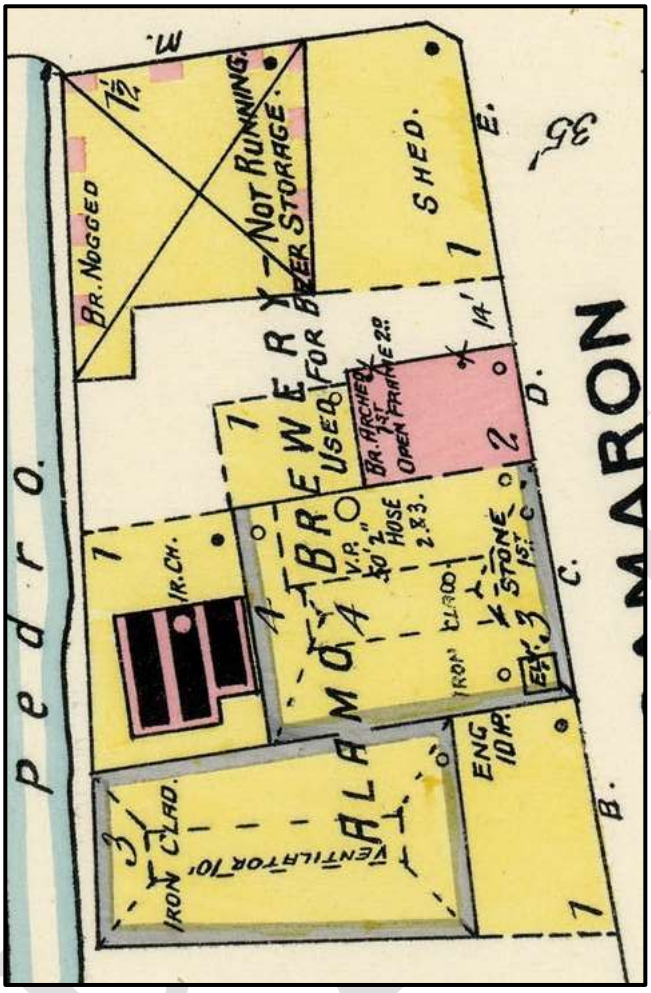

Figure 7-8. Alamo Brewery depicted on Sheet 10 of the 1896 Sanborn Fire Insurance map, after having been purchased by Adolphus Busch of Saint Louis.

In summary, based on the links between site 41BX2359 and the historic contexts presented in Chapter 6, it is proposed that each of the four components was associated with significant events that transpired in San Antonio during the mid- to late-nineteenth century. The soap making component (1847-1859) of 41BX2359 is linked to the earliest efforts to manufacture soap in San Antonio for the public. The former owners of these businesses, the Klemcke and Menger families, were two of the first families to have made soap in San Antonio. And, Menger's second soap works location has been listed on the National Register in 1973. Therefore, the soap making component is also seen as having a significant association with important individuals who contributed to local industrial development. The second archaeological component dating between 1871 and 1877 was associated with significant events in the history of the African American freedman and enslaved people community of

San Antonio and its struggles for religious freedom embodied in the establishment of the Saint James A.M.E. Church. Finally, the two late-nineteenth century components representing artificial ice manufacture and the brewing of lager beer, are the first local examples to combine the manufacture of artificial ice and lager beer brewing into a complimentary industrial process in San Antonio. Therefore, we recommend that the two components together (1878-1887 and 1887-1904) also were associated with significant trends in industrial production during the late-nineteenth century in San Antonio.

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CHAPTER 8: ASSESSING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SITE 41BX2359 UNDER CRITERION D AND AS A STATE ANTIQUITIES LANDMARK

Many of the property types listed on the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion D consist of archaeological sites. To be listed under Criterion D, a site produced at some point in the past (if it has been excavated prior to nomination) or may yield in the future, key information that can contribute to our understanding of human history of any time period. In considering a property's eligibility for listing under Criterion D, one needs to: 1) define research questions which may be pursued using data types present at the site; and 2) determine whether the archaeological components have sufficient integrity to allow the pursuit of these research questions (Little et al. 2000:29).

In Texas, each archaeological site is eligible for designation as a State Antiquities Landmark (SAL). However, to be formally designated as an SAL, the site must meet one or more criteria for designation. As in the case of Criterion D, the SAL evaluation criteria focus on the research potential of the site. Specifically, to be formally designated as an SAL, the archaeological site or component has to have the potential to yield new and important information to some aspect of history, the site has to poses and retain rare and unique attributes concerning Texas prehistory or history, or the study of the site should offer opportunities to test theories and methods of preservation which may contribute to new scientific knowledge. Finally, sites and/or components that could lose their research potential due to vandalism and looting, may be designated as SALs to provide a layer of protection. The remaining portion of this chapter considers the research potential of the four components identified in Chapter 6.

Site 41BX2359 and Soap Making

No detailed description of Klemcke's first soap making establishment has been found and the earliest possible depiction of the structures that may have been part of the soap works is Koch's 1873 Bird's Eye view. This image shows two attached structures. This depiction shows the area as it would have been after S. Menger purchased the property in 1851, following the flooding of San Pedro Creek in 1859, and after Menger abandoned the property to build his soap factory further upstream and on the west bank of the creek. Whether both

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are part of the soap factory or one is a residence while the other is the factory, cannot be determined from the illustration.

Menger's second soap works factory, built by 1870 and listed on the National Register, is approximately .2 miles north of the project area. Even though the site consists of a standing structure, little is known of the details of how soap was made at the site during the mid-nineteenth century. Little of the industrial equipment remains, and none of the features and facilities associated with soap making remain or have been archaeologically investigated. In addition, archival records have revealed little about soap making in San Antonio during the mid-nineteenth century.

Given this general lack of information, many research topics and specific research questions may be worth pursuing within this component dating between 1847 and 1859. For instance, during the early days of soap manufacture, soap making was a household activity with production centered on domestic use and many activities occurring outdoors. During these early days, the domestic residence doubled as the work-shop or rooms within a larger building were used as work-spaces. As societal demand for soap increased and soap manufacture came to be market oriented, soap making moved indoor, and the organization of the workspace became more segmented into functional units. Several related research questions arise out of these general trends associated with the impact of industrialization on the architecture of industrial production and the organization of labor and space use associated with industrial versus small-scale production. These research questions and topics apply as much to the consideration of the site's significance under Criterion D as its evaluation as a State Antiquities Landmark.

1) Was the Klemcke soap factory and domicile one and the same building?
2) If so, what was the organization of space within the building?
3) If not, is there any evidence in the site or its immediate vicinity for a domicile versus a soap factory, proper?
4) Are there any out-door activity areas that may date to the early days of industrial soap manufacture at the site?
5) Was there a crawl-space or formal basement in the workshop and how did it relate to the production of soap?

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6) Did changes in work-space structure and organization accompany the shift in ownership of the soap factory between Klemcke and Menger?
7) Is there evidence of the subdivision of the work-space within the footprint of the Klemcke and Menger soap factory?
8) Was the soap making process dependent on traditional methods and equipment brought to San Antonio and did Menger modernize the soap making process by upgrading equipment when he purchased the factory?
9) Did the installation of new industrial equipment change space-use within the soap factory?

The archival research has documented the fact that the two earliest proprietors of the soap factory were German immigrants. The early- to mid-nineteenth century immigrant families from Germany tended to be low- to middle-class families who sought out opportunities to make it big in America (Benjamin 1910). Archaeologists have always struggled with identifying ethnic identity within the archaeological record (Jones 1997). Given the German origins of both soap making families,

10) Is there any cultural material present within the 1847-1859 archaeological component that is indicative of the German cultural heritage of the site users?
11) Is there any cultural debris present at the site that may relate to the wealth of these immigrant families?
12) While neither the Klemckes nor the Mengers occupied the site for a long period, is there any material culture present at the site indicative of the acquisition of new cultural identities by the two families?

Site 41BX2359 and the A.M.E. Church

The sequential occupation and use of historic properties (i.e., soap factory and house of worship) is common during historic times because structures and facilities are constructed in a more permanent manner and are typically intended for reoccupation and reuse. The reoccupation and reuse of a former soap factory as a church, the occupation of the church by African American freedmen and formerly-enslaved people, and the multi-faceted role that churches played in the African American community centered on San Pedro Creek, raise a number interesting research avenues and questions. For instance,

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1) Was the entire former soap factory space employed as a church, or was space use limited or conditioned by the former use of the building?
2) Is there architectural evidence indicative of the portion of the building that served as a space of worship?
3) Where there any subdivisions of the soap factory space during the time the enlargement of the soap factory took place in 1875?
4) Is there archaeological evidence within the component indicative of the organization of space and activities within the former church?
5) Is there any cultural materials present within the 1871-1877 archaeological component of the site that can be linked to the role of the church in the health care of the congregation?
6) Is there any cultural materials present within the 1871-1877 archaeological component of the site that can be linked to the role of the church in the education of the children of congregants?
7) Is there any cultural materials present within the 1871-1877 archaeological component of the site that can be linked to the role of the church as a community center for the African American enclave that inhabited the upper reached of the San Pedro Creek?
8) Is there cultural material present within the 1871-1877 archaeological component of the site associating freedman and ex-slave members of the congregation to their past?

Site 41BX2359 and Ice Making and Brewing Beer

The 1878-1898 occupation and use of site 41BX2359 first as an artificial ice making factory followed by its use as a brewery represent activities that are dramatically different from the use of the space as a house of worship. Such dramatic functional shifts in site use are accompanied by significant changes in space use and site structure. The sequence of Sanborn Fire Insurance maps from 1885 through 1889 illustrate the dramatic changes in the footprint of the site in both two-dimensional and three-dimensional space. The new functionally distinct rooms that were added to the former A.M.E. Church, and the types and amounts of industrial equipment introduced on the premises exemplify the responses of these functional changes. As the function of the preexisting architectural components shifted over the 20-year span of this component, the relationship of the site to existing and new infrastructure within

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San Antonio (i.e., water supply, sewer, and electrical lines) also changed over time. The integration of industrial-scale production into the city's infrastructure represented challenges faced by a City emerging from a rural past into the industrial-age. Research questions inspired by this industrial component of the site include:

1) How did the previous uses of the site condition the capacity of the new owners to reconfigure the site to fit the new planned uses?
2) Is there any material culture preserved within the archaeological component dating between 1878 and 1904 that is reflective of the social and ethnic makeup of the labor force?
3) How did the architecture and design features of the ice factory and brewery reflect or accommodate the new functions of the site?

The above research questions derive from the historic contexts outlined in Chapter 6. No doubt additional research questions may be suggested from those historic context and other research interests. The research directions and questions apply as much to the consideration of the site's significance under Criterion D of the National Register as they do when considering the eligibility of the site for designation as a State Antiquities Landmark. The key aspect in each instance is to determine whether the archaeological components of the site retain their integrity to allow the pursuit of these research questions. The next chapter considers the integrity of the archaeological components.

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CHAPTER 9: ASSESSING THE INTEGRITY OF SITE 41BX2359 AND ITS ARCHAEOLOGICAL COMPONENTS

Simply stated, integrity is the ability of a property to convey its significance. To be listed on the National Register of Historic Places, a property must not only be significant under one or more National Register Criteria, but it also must have integrity. That is, the association of a property with a significant historical event is not sufficient for that property to be listed on the National Register. The property also needs to possess the physical features needed to convey aspects of the event with which it is associated. The evaluation of integrity is a subjective judgement, but it must always be grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its significance (National Park Service 1991:35). For instance, an archaeological site that is being nominated to the National Register under Criteria A (association with events/trends) and B (association with important individuals), should retain integrity of location, design, materials, and association. On the other hand, an archaeological site nominated under Criteria C should retain integrity of design, materials, and workmanship (National Park Service 1991:35). Finally, integrity of location, design, materials, and association are the most relevant aspects of integrity when a property is being considered for listing under Criterion D (National Park Service 1991:36).

This chapter considers whether the four archaeological components identified above have the ability, the features, and characteristics to convey their significance under the criteria identified in Chapter 7 and given the research questions defined in Chapter 8.

Seven aspects of integrity are relevant when evaluating the potential of a property to convey its significance. They are, location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

Integrity of location refers to the place where the historic property was constructed or where an event took place. Integrity of location is a prerequisite for a site to be considered eligible for listing on the National Register under Criteria A and B (National Park Service 1991:44).

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Integrity of design considers whether the form, the organization of space (i.e., the division of activity areas, functionally distinct spaces), the proportional relationships between components, the technological manipulation of materials, the ornamental components that add a distinctive character to the property, remain intact and whole. Integrity of design is seen as "extremely important" when considering properties under Criteria A and B (National Park Service 1991:39). When considering the eligibility of archaeological sites under Criterion D, integrity of design refers to the patterning of structures, buildings, features, activity areas, and associated artifact assemblages. If an archaeological site can convey its association with an event, upon viewing the patterning of buildings, structure foundations, facilities, features, and the distribution of activity areas, then it is likely to retain sufficient integrity of design to warrant listing on the National Register.

The integrity of setting refers to the physical environment associated with the property, including the space, landscape, view-shed, and artificial features that were present at the time the property was associated with significant events and people. For an archaeological site to convey its significance under Criteria A or B, *the site should appear as it did during the time period when it was associated with the significant event, historical trend, or important individual* (National Park Service 1991:40). It is important to note, however, that archaeological sites can be considered for listing on the National Register under Criterion D even if they lack integrity of setting (National Park Service 1991:40), since the primary aspect of Criterion D is the information potential of the site's features and deposits.

Integrity of materials refers to the choice and combinations of materials used in the construction of a historic property. These choices reflect both the availability of materials within the broader landscape and the economic sphere, as well as artistic, symbolic, and engineering requirements that may have conditioned the construction of a historic property (National Park Service 1991:45). Under Criteria A and B, integrity of materials needs to be assessed within the context of the features and characteristics that make the property significant. In the case of archaeological sites being considered under Criterion D, *integrity of materials is determined based on the presence/absence of intrusive materials that may have been introduced after the abandonment of the site*.

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Integrity of workmanship refers to the quality of labor or skill of the artisan in executing an architectural detail or feature, manufacturing a work of art, or making an artifact (National Park Service 1991:45). Integrity of workmanship is most critical in the case of properties being considered for listing on the National Register under Criterion C. Under Criteria A and B, integrity of workmanship can be important if it is explicitly identified as a significant feature of the property under these criteria.

Integrity of feeling is typically evaluated in combination with the property's setting. A property has integrity of feeling if when viewed within its historic setting *it takes the observer back in time to the events or people with whom the property was associated*.

Integrity of association represents the relationship between the historic property and the significant events or people that it was associated with in the past (National Park Service 1991:45). Integrity of association is a key characteristic of properties that are considered for nomination to the National Register under Criterion A or B. When listing a property under Criterion D, *integrity of association typically is assessed in terms of the association between activities, features, facilities and artifacts that may have made up the daily routines that were carried out at the site during daily, seasonal and annual activity cycles*. In nineteenth century industrial archaeological sites, association may represent the relationship between functionally distinct workshops, the equipment that was present in them, and the range of activities that were conducted as part of the manufacturing cycle.

According to the National Register guidelines, to retain historic integrity, a property will always possess several, and usually most, of the aspects. The retention of specific aspects of integrity is paramount for a property to convey its significance (National Park Service 1991:44).

Chapter 6 presented the historic contexts that are relevant when considering the significance of the archaeological components of 41BX2359. Chapter 7 linked the archaeological components to significant local historical events and individuals significant in the history of San Antonio. Chapter 8 identified a series of research topics and questions that may provide important historical information to our understanding of social developments and industrial advances in San Antonio during the mid- to late- nineteenth century. Below, we consider whether the archaeological components retain essential features that reflect their significance and allow archaeologists to explore the research topics.

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Site 41BX2359 and Soap Making Component

In Chapter 7, we identified significant associations between the earliest archaeological component of 41BX2359 and the early days of soap making on the banks of San Pedro Creek. We also suggested that a significant association existed between the site and the two families that were the first local soap makers in San Antonio.

However, these significant associations by themselves are not enough to qualify the component to the National Register. The site also should possess essential physical features that are reflective of its significant associations to these events and people. That is, the property must have well-preserved features, artifacts, and intra-site patterning that illustrates the specific event in history. In practical terms, Menger's second soap factory listed on the National Register exemplifies the characteristics that a property needs to possess to be listed. Specifically, the property consists of a standing structure that retains the original internal organization of space associated with soap making, and it contains artifact assemblages and industrial equipment that easily convey both the production steps and equipment used to make soap.

While site 41BX2359 represents the location where the Klemcke and Menger families engaged in soap making, no above-ground evidence of a factory was present prior to the unearthing of the buried foundations during archaeological monitoring. As a matter of fact, it is not possible to determine whether the former factory consisted of one or two structures. At the present time, the only evidence that links the site to soap making derives from archival research. Sanborn Fire Insurance maps helped pinpoint the footprint of one of the buildings that was part of the original soap factory. Either because of the 1859 flooding of San Pedro Creek, the enlargement of the soap factory by the A.M.E. Church, little of the original footprint of the soap factory remains.

Archaeological inspection of the foundations suggests that portions of the original soap factory foundations are present only along the southern and eastern margins of the site (**Figure 9-1**). These segments are buried below the bottom row of stones that remain from the subsequent construction, the enlarged A.M.E. Church. The overall extent and design of the soap factory is only evident from Sanborn Fire Insurance maps.

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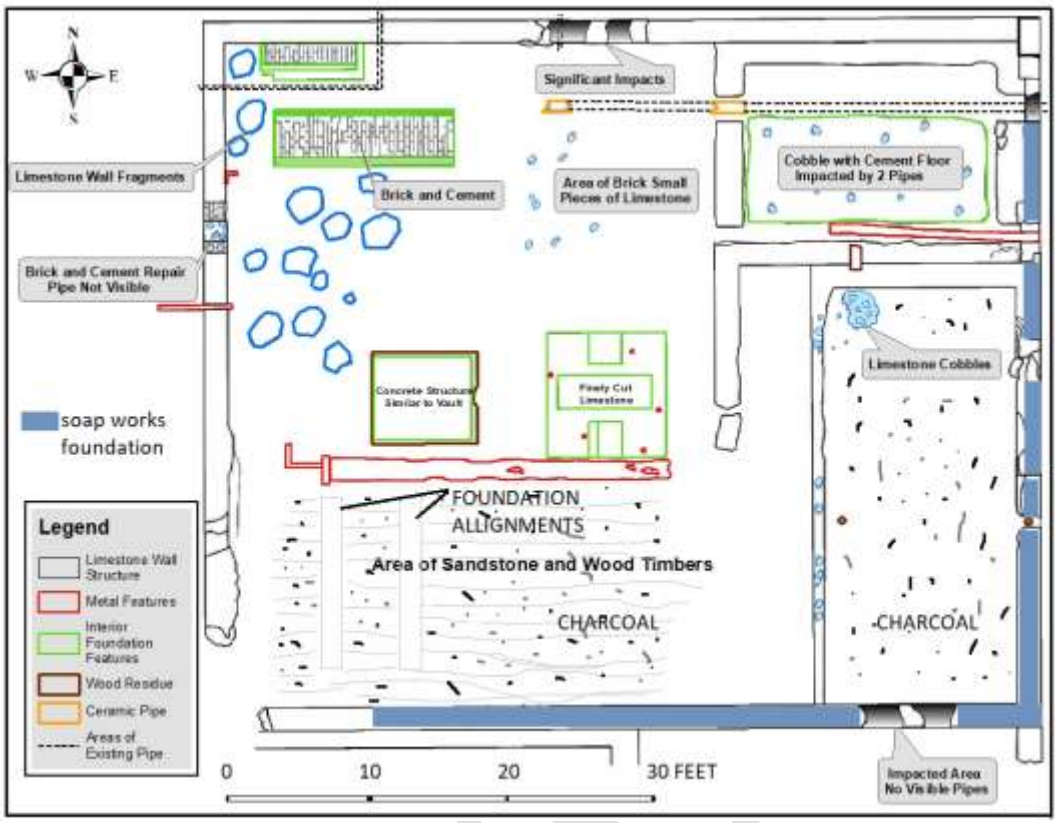

Figure 9-1. Soap work foundation remnant (in blue) within site 41BX2359.

The materials used in the construction of the factory are preserved only in the below- ground foundations and the workmanship associated with the construction of the factory and possible domicile, is no longer evident in any above-ground walls or architectural elements. If one were to stand on the east side of Camaron Street and gaze to the southwest toward San Pedro Creek, it would be difficult to recognize the spot as that upon which the former Soap Works stood. The view-shed west of the creek is blocked by modern establishments, the bottom of the creek channel is much deeper than it was during the nineteenth century, and the soap factory foundations are not visible at ground-level. It is not possible to associate any specific visible foundation with the soap factory.

To evaluate the potential of the soap factory component to address the research questions, it is important to consider the twentieth century history of the site. During March and April 2020, archaeological investigations (i.e., potholing reported in Chapter 5) have identified remnants of the soap factory foundations under the walls of the A.M.E. Church along the southern and eastern portion of the component. Prior to the exposure of the A.M.E. Church

walls, however, the foundations were buried under a parking lot. Construction debris from the demolition of the industrial complex that stood in the project area fills the spaces within the foundations. RKI archaeologists spent several weeks assisted by mini-excavators to clear the rubble that covered the project area and expose the foundations of the various buildings. The foundations were exposed primarily along their inside faces and only to a depth of approximately three feet. Potholing in selected areas has shown that at least three feet of fill remains within the space defined by the soap factory foundation. This fill consists of limestone blocks, bricks, chunks of concrete, sand, and other debris associate with the former structures that stood in the area (**Figures 9-2 and 9-3**). The removal of this rubble along the foundations was possible only with the use of power equipment. Many of the small hand-excavated potholes, had to be abandoned or were terminated when they exposed large impediments that could not be removed at the base of the excavation.

Figure 9-2. Damage to the west wall of the former A.M.E. Church from plumbing and utilities installation.

Figure 9-3. Fill derived from the demolition of the many structures that had been built in the area between 1851 and 1896.

While some cultural materials were present within the rubble and construction debris, the materials were not associated with well-defined intact depositional zones. The limited archaeological investigations carried out within the footprint of the old soap factory structure identified no intact cultural deposits, equipment, or artifact assemblages associated with soap making. Quite to the contrary, the investigations suggested that large portions of the former soap factory were used for coal storage to fuel the boilers used in ice manufacture. Therefore, it is unlikely that an intact cultural or depositional zone exists within the footprint of the soap factory that would contain intact, undisturbed materials and activity surfaces associated with the making of soap at this location.

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Site 41BX2359 and the A.M.E. Church Component

In Chapter 7, we documented the role of the A.M.E. Church in the lives of local African American freedmen and formerly-enslaved people who were seeking to establish religious independence following the Civil War. The use of the site by the Saint James A.M.E. Church began in 1871 and lasted into 1877. The Camaron Street location was the second site of the Saint James A.M.E. Church.

As in the case of the soap making component, this association by itself is not sufficient to qualify the component to the National Register. The component also must possess essential physical features that are reflective of its significant association to the A.M.E. Church congregation. That is, the property must retain features that illustrate its association to this significant event in the life of the community, the founding of the Saint James A.M.E. Church, and its use of the space as a house of worship.

No above-ground evidence of the prior existence of a church was present on site before the exposure of the foundations during archaeological monitoring. However, the monitoring, the careful removal of the overburden from across the project area, and archaeological investigations have led to the identification of two features that link the site to the A.M.E. Church congregation: 1) the remnants of the foundation of the A.M.E. Church after it was enlarged, and 2) the cornerstone of the church.

The foundation associated with the A.M.E. Church encloses a large rectangular space. The southwest corner of the foundation has been impacted during grading (**Figure 9-4**). Except for the westernmost 10-feet, the former southern wall of the church was built on the foundation of the soap factory's south wall. Similarly, except for the northernmost 5-feet, the church façade was built on the foundation of the east wall of the soap factory (**Figure 9-5**). The northern and western walls of the church extended beyond the walls of the soap factory and therefore were built on new foundations.

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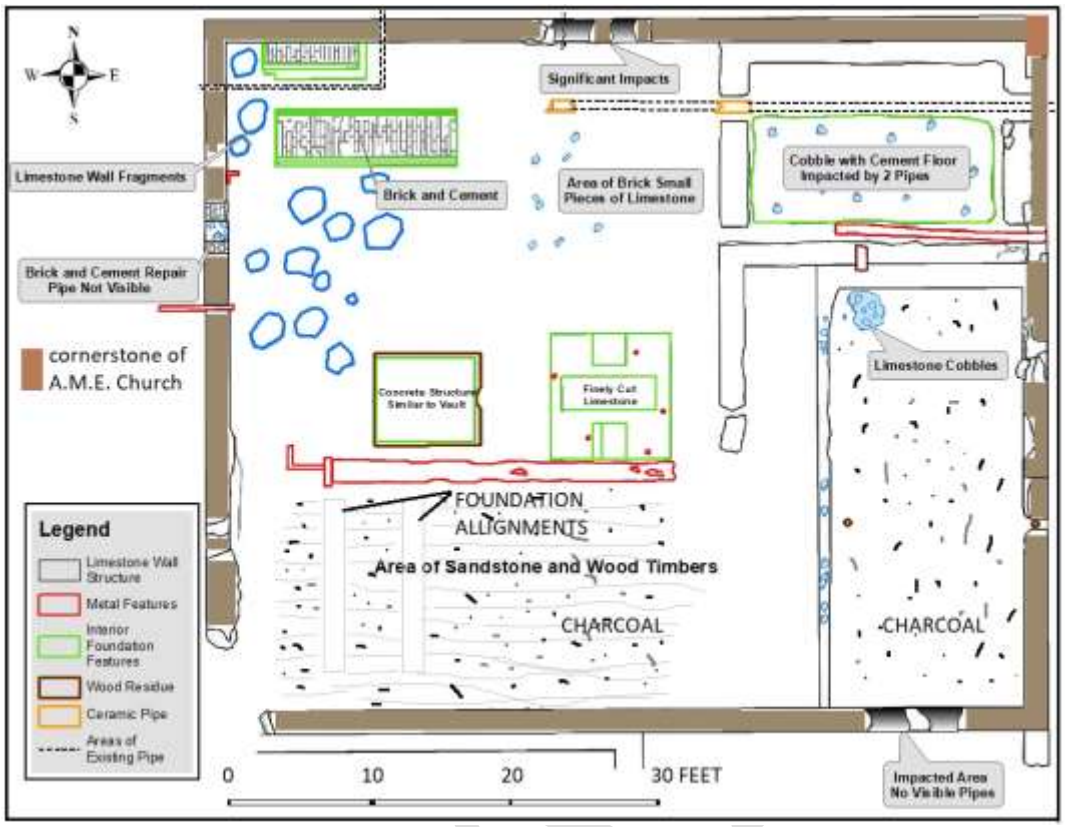

Figure 9-4. Depiction of the foundations of the A.M.E. Church (in light brown) following its enlargement in 1875. Note cornerstone at northeast corner of foundations.

Figure 9-5. Looking at A.M.E. Church wall remnants from near NE corner of ruins.

The cornerstone, which was dedicated at the start of the enlargement, was located, and partially uncovered at the northeast corner of the church building (**Figure 9-6**; see Figure 9-4). The top of the cornerstone sits just below the asphalt-paved surface of Camaron Street. Metal pipes and conduits, that may still be active, were installed within inches of the face of the cornerstone preventing its complete exposure.

Figure 9-6. Cornerstone of A.M.E. Church uncovered at NE corner of foundation.

The materials used in the construction of the Saint James A.M.E. Church are preserved in the upper row of limestone blocks that outline the perimeter of the church. The limestone blocks that form the base of the eastern wall are shaped, smoothed, and well-finished. The cornerstone is also a finely-finished limestone block that clearly shows the importance attached by the congregation and builder, to ensure a building façade worthy of a house of worship. The rocks that form the northern and southern wall remnants are shaped into rough blocks but are not finished and smoothed.

The removal of overburden, the clearing of fill, and potholing within the limits of the former Saint James A.M.E. Church indicate that large portions of the former structure (i.e., inside but adjacent the front of the building [see Figure 9-5] and along the south wall [see Figure 9-4]) were used for coal storage to fuel the boilers used in ice manufacture. Similarly, several large

concrete and brick platforms have been erected within the footprint of the church to support industrial equipment. And, pipes and other conduits are present throughout the area and penetrate through the foundations in several locations (see Figure 9-4). Therefore, it is unlikely that an intact cultural or depositional zone exists within the footprint of the former church that would contain intact, undisturbed materials and activity surfaces associated with the use of the space for religious worship.

Site 41BX2359 and the Ice Making and Beer Brewing Component

In Chapter 7, we recommended that the ice manufacture and beer brewing component of site 41BX2359 played a significant role in the mid-nineteenth century industrial development of San Antonio. This archaeological component represents one of the earliest linkages of artificial ice manufacture to the brewing of lager beer within the same industrial complex. The component dates between 1878 and 1904.

As in the case of the soap making and A.M.E. Church components, this association by itself is not sufficient to qualify the component to the National Register. The component also must possess essential physical features that are reflective of its significant association to ice manufacture and beer brewing. That is, the property must retain features that illustrate its association with the production steps and facilities that enabled it to combine these industrial activities into a single related process.

It can be argued that the entire complex of foundations documented at 41BX2359 links the site to the Alamo Ice Company and the later Alamo Ice and Brewing Company (**Figure 9-7**). The foundations identified to the north of the former A.M.E. Church were part of an office building, a possible scale room, and storage facilities behind them (**Figure 9-8**). The structure found at the west end of the complex and subdivided into multiple smaller spaces was the steam boiler housing unit (**Figure 9-9**) and the structure attached to the south of the former church was the Ice House and Beer Vault, around 1888 (**Figure 9-10**).

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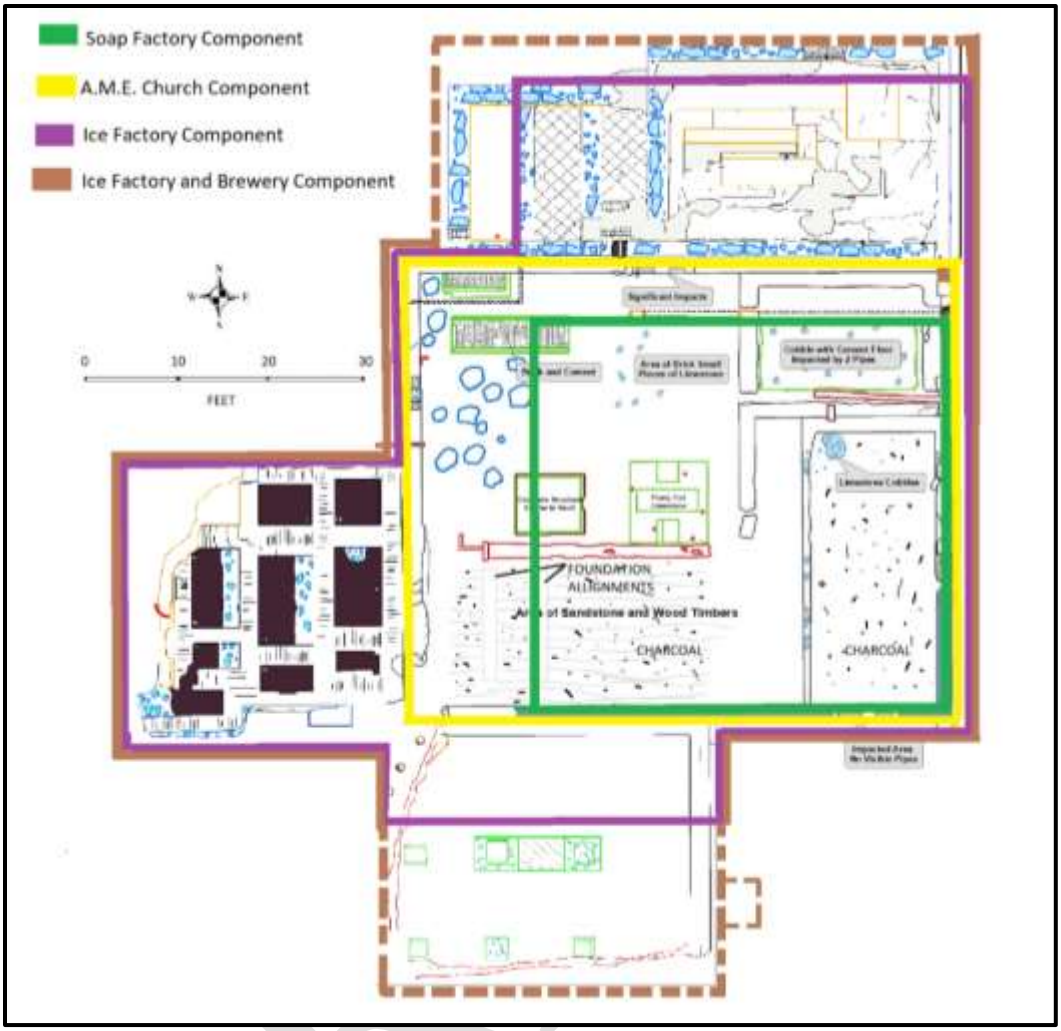

Figure 9-7. Overall outline of foundations associated with the Alamo Ice Company and Alamo Ice and Brewing Company.

The materials used in the construction of the ice factory and brewery are preserved only in the below- ground foundations and the workmanship associated with the construction of the three story Alamo Ice and Brewing Company is no longer evident in any above-ground walls or architectural elements. If one were to stand on the east side of Camaron Street and gaze to the southwest toward San Pedro Creek, it would be difficult to recognize the spot as the location of the former three-story Alamo Ice and Brewing Company. The three attached buildings, and the two three-story structures at the southern end of the industrial complex (see Figure 3-5), would have been the only structures seen in the distance on the west side of the street. The massive complex occupied the entire project area and blocked visibility to the west, across San Pedro Creek.

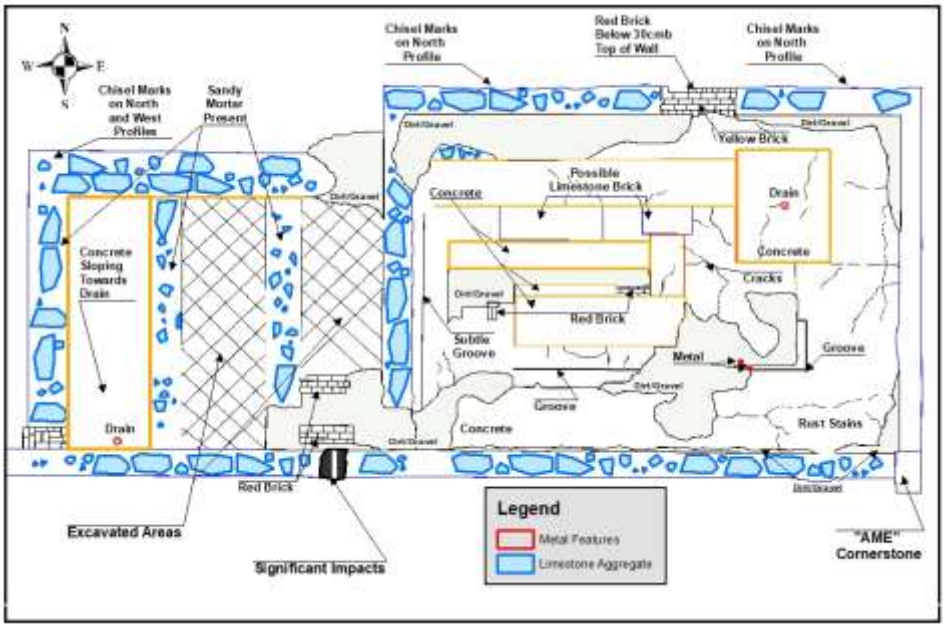

Figure 9-8. Foundations of the Office and Storage building at the north edge of industrial complex.

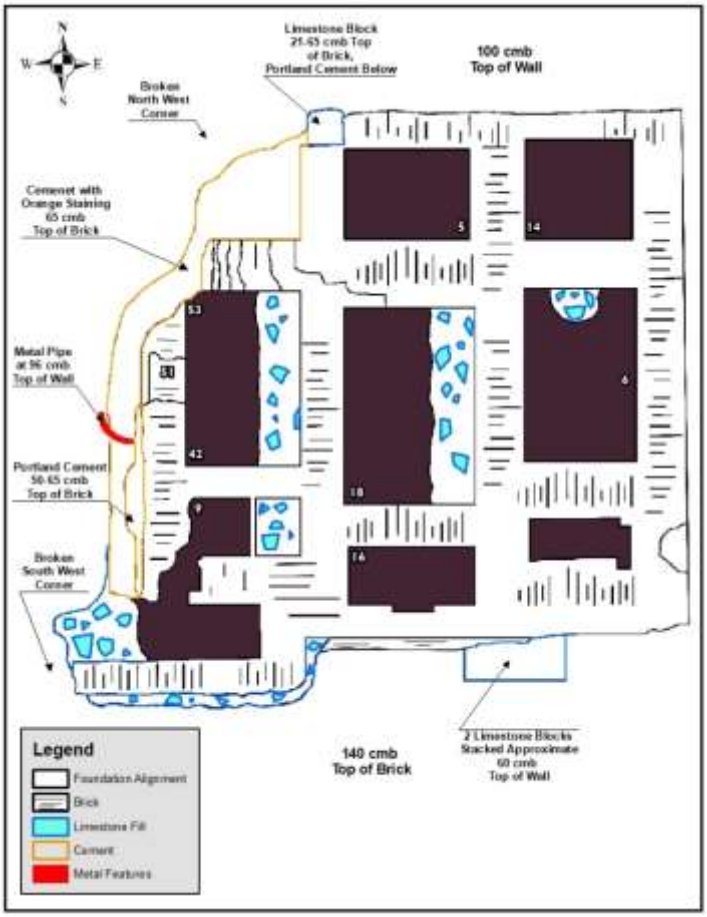

Figure 9-9. Condenser housing unit at west end of industrial complex.

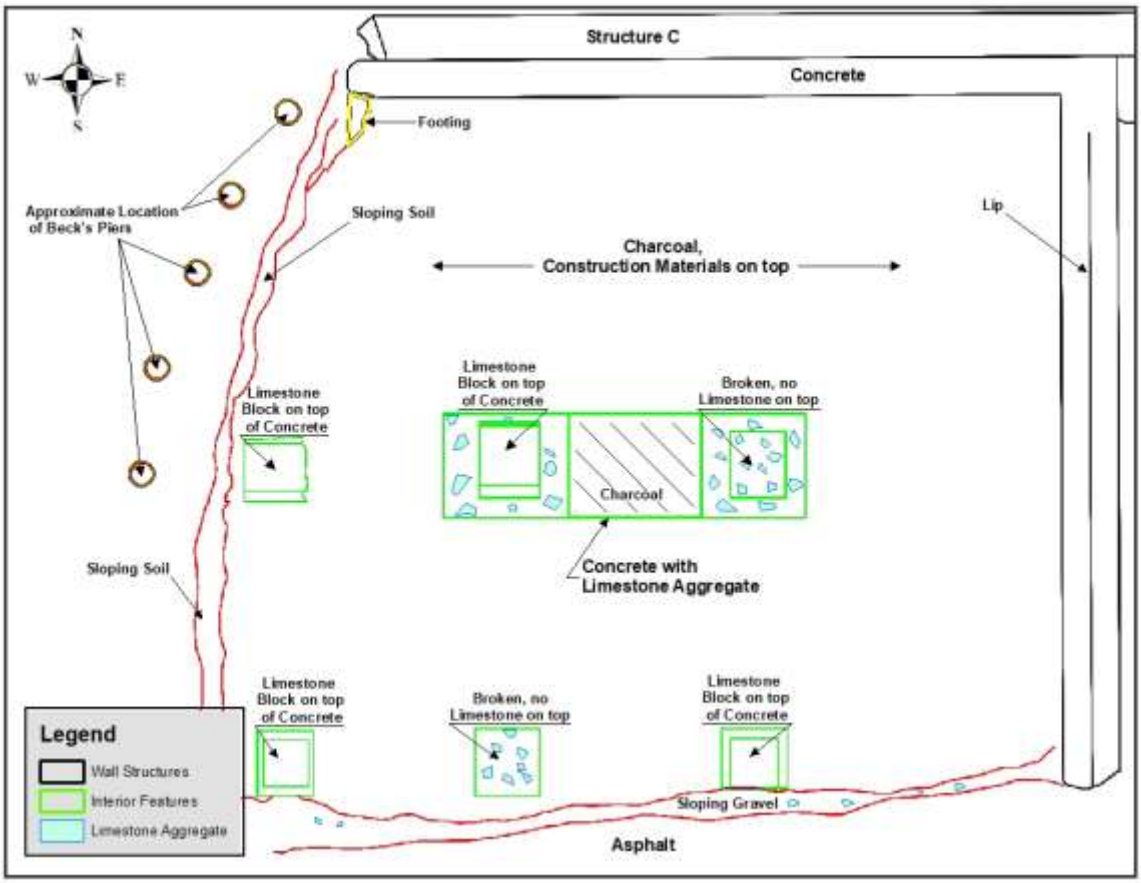

Figure 9-10. Remnants of the foundation of the former Ice House and Beer Vault, at southern edge of industrial complex.

In considering the integrity of the Alamo Ice and Brewing Company component of 41BX2359 to address the research questions and topics identified in Chapter 8, it is important to consider that during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, the industrial businesses that lined San Pedro Creek began to experience financial difficulties. Because they could not compete with more established national brands and companies, many were forced out of business and some were demolished within a few years.

During archaeological monitoring of the removal of overburden from the surface of the site, several limestone and reinforced concrete foundations and features were uncovered. Archival research connected these architectural remnants to the former Alamo Ice and Brewing Company. Prior to the inception of construction activities in the project area, these foundations and features were buried under a parking lot. Construction debris from the

demolition of the massive three-story industrial complex that developed in the project area fills the spaces within the foundations. Assisted by mini-excavators, archaeologists spent several weeks removing rubble from within the foundations to expose the formerly buried remnants of the various buildings. Limited archaeological hand excavations to expose sequences of construction represented in foundations revealed that construction fill derived from the demolished buildings was at least three feet thick across the project area. The fill included limestone blocks, bricks, chunks of concrete, mortar, unidentified metal artifacts, fragments of bottles, and unidentified glass. As noted earlier, many of the excavation units were abandoned because they encountered large obstructions that could not be removed.

The cultural materials encountered within the rubble and construction debris were not associated with well-defined intact depositional zones. The limited archaeological investigations carried out within the footprint of the central structure, identified no intact cultural deposits, equipment, or artifact assemblages associated with ice manufacture and beer brewing. Therefore, it is unlikely that an intact cultural or depositional zone exists within the footprint of the former Alamo Ice and Brewing Company that would contain intact, undisturbed materials and activity surfaces.

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CHAPTER 10: SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Archaeological monitoring of construction activities associated with the San Pedro Creek Improvements Project uncovered a complex of foundations near the southwest corner of the W. Houston and Camaron Street intersection. The foundations were assigned trinomial 41BX2359. Based on archival research and the archaeological inspection of the site, four archaeological components were identified at 41BX2359. The oldest component (1847-1859) was associated with soap making. In 1871, the Saint James A.M.E. Church began using space within the old soap factory for religious services. The church congregation consisted of freedmen and formerly-enslaved people who were seeking religious freedom shortly after emancipation. The growing size of the congregation lead to the purchase and enlargement of the property between 1873 and 1875. However, by 1878, the congregation appears to have abandoned the site. The remaining two archaeological components are associated with the manufacture of artificial ice and the brewing of German-style lager beer (1887-1904). The Alamo Ice Company occupied the site between 1878 and 1887. Following the sale of the company, the Alamo Ice and Brewing Company and Alamo Brewery owned and brewed beer on the property between 1887 and 1898.

This history of site use and the chain of title was compiled as part of an archival study that also yielded a series of Sanborn Fire Insurance maps. These documents helped related portions of the foundations to the historic businesses, and industrial work-spaces within the project area. Limited archaeological investigations of the foundations consisted of careful documentation of their construction methods and materials, the mapping of the foundations, and the examination of the fill present within the footprint of the foundations. These investigations resulted in the documentation of distinct construction sequences that helped relate architectural features to specific archaeological components.

To assess the significance of these archaeological components and their eligibility for listing on the National Register and formal designation as State Antiquities Landmarks, two broad historic contexts were defined (Chapter 6), the early days of the industrial revolution in San Antonio, and the formation of the A.M.E. Church and the struggle of freedmen and formerly-enslaved people for religious independence. The three themes were identified within the early days of San Antonio's industrialization: 1) the changing perceptions of personal hygiene

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and the early day of soap manufacture; 2) the manufacture of artificial ice, and its close linkage to 3) the early days of lager beer brewing in San Antonio.

In Chapter 7, it was proposed that each of the four archaeological components of 41BX2359 was associated with significant events (Criterion A) that transpired in San Antonio during the mid- to late-nineteenth century. The soap making component (1847-1859) of the site was linked to the earliest efforts to manufacture soap in San Antonio for the public. The former owners of these businesses, the Klemcke and Menger families, were two of the first families to have made soap in San Antonio. Therefore, the soap making component was also seen as having a significant association with important individuals (Criterion B) who contributed to local industrial development. The second archaeological component dating between 1871 and 1877 was associated with significant events (Criteria Consideration A – Religious Properties) in the history of the African American freedmen and former-enslaved community of San Antonio and its struggles for religious freedom embodied in the establishment of the Saint James A.M.E. Church. Finally, the two late-nineteenth century components representing artificial ice manufacture and the brewing of lager beer, are the first local examples to combine the manufacture of artificial ice and lager beer brewing into a complimentary industrial process within the same brewery in San Antonio. Based on the strong association between artificial ice manufacture and lager beer brewing, it was recommended that the two components are associated with significant trends in industrial production during the late-nineteenth century in San Antonio (Criterion A).

Since 41BX2359 is by definition an archaeological site, in Chapter 8 we identified a series of research topics and questions that derive from the historic contexts. When considering the significance of site 41BX2359 under Criterion D, the pursuit of these research questions would provide additional and valuable data to our understanding of the early days of industrialization and the formation of the A.M.E. Church in San Antonio.

The eligibility of the site for formal designation as a State Antiquities Landmark (SAL), also was considered in the chapter. Each archaeological site in the state is eligible for designation as a SAL. However, to be formally designated as a SAL, the site must meet one or more criteria for designation. The majority of the designation criteria focus on the research potential of the site. Therefore, the research topics and questions identified under the Criterion D

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discussion also apply when considering formal designation of the site or its components as a SAL. For instance, to be formally designated as a SAL, the archaeological site or component has to have the potential to yield new and important information to some aspect of history. In addition, however, sites may be formally designated as SALs if they possess and retain rare and unique attributes concerning Texas prehistory or history. In the narrowest interpretation, it is possible to view this criterion of evaluation to refer to "unique and rare attributes" that are not shared with other sites but which elevate the significance of the site above others. The emphasis of the criterion is on the uniqueness of the data type or attribute, rather than research potential possessed by the component. Based on this reading of the criterion of evaluation, it is suggested that the archaeological component associated with the A.M.E. Church possesses "rare and unique attributes concerning the history of Texas." These rare and unique attributes include portions of the original east façade of the Church and the cornerstone that is still *in situ* at the northeast corner of the rectangular foundation.

The association of a property with a significant historical event is not sufficient for a property to be listed on the National Register. The property also needs to possess the physical features that convey aspects of the event or trends with which it is associated. There are seven aspects of integrity that are considered when evaluating the potential of a property to convey its significance. They are, location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. To retain historic integrity, a property will always possess most of these aspects.

In considering the associations between mid- to late-nineteenth century events and people and 41BX2359, we proposed that the soap making component of the site is significant under Criteria A and B. It was proposed that the archaeological component associated with the A.M.E. Church also is significant under Criterion A. In addition, it was suggested that the components associated with artificial ice making and lager beer brewing also are significant under Criterion A.

However, following the review of the attributes and characteristics of each component vis a vis the historic contexts and the integrity criteria, it is suggested that only the A.M.E. Church component possesses both significance and the integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association to convey the component's historical significance and is therefore potentially eligible for listing on the National Register. It is also suggested that the same component also

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potentially warrants formal designation as a State Antiquities Landmark given its unique and rare attributes.

The extensive disturbances that have impacted the site's deposits during the multiple sequences of construction and demolition, have destroyed the integrity of setting, feeling, and association of the other components therefore limiting their ability to embody their associations to historic events and trends and important individuals in the life of San Antonio. Furthermore, the same post-abandonment impacts, have also severely limited the research potential of the fill materials present at the site. The lack of intact, stratified archaeological deposits, severely limits the research potential of the four components, and therefore, none of the components are recommended for listing on the National Register under Criterion D. Table 10-1 summarizes the proposed eligibility recommendations for each archaeological component present at 41BX2359.

Table 10-1. Proposed NRHP Recommendations for each Archaeological Component Present at 41BX2359

Archaeological Component	Period of Significance	Criterion A	Criterion B	Criterion C	Criterion D	State Antiquities Landmark
Soap Factory	1847-1859	not eligible	not eligible	not eligible	not eligible	not eligible
A.M.E. Church	1871-1877	**eligible**	not eligible	not eligible	not eligible	**warrants formal listing**
Ice Factory	1878-1887	not eligible	not eligible	not eligible	not eligible	not eligible
Beer Brewery	1887-1904	not eligible	not eligible	not eligible	not eligible	not eligible

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