

CHAPTER 10: SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Historic Resources

Archaeological monitoring of construction activities associated with the San Pedro Creek Improvements Project (SPCIP) uncovered a complex of foundations near the southwest corner of the W. Houston and Camaron Streets intersection. The foundations were assigned trinomial 41BX2359 (Figure 10-1).



Figure 10-1. Overview of site 41BX2359, on the east bank of San Pedro Creek.

This chapter summarizes the results of archival research and archaeological investigations presented in greater detail in earlier chapters. The historic contexts with which to assess the National Register

of Historic Places (NRHP) eligibility and State Antiquities Landmark (SAL) designation of site 41BX2359, is also summarized in this chapter. This chapter also provides NRHP eligibility and SAL designation recommendations. The detailed information in support of these recommendations is presented in the main body of the report, and in particular, Chapters 7, 8, and 9.

Site 41BX2359 may be adversely impacted by the construction of the Alameda Plaza San Pedro Creek Culture Park, planned in the immediate proximity of the site. The final segment of this chapter and Appendix 10-1 outline the various design alternatives considered by the San Antonio River Authority Design Team to mitigate adverse impacts to the site while providing effective and long-term flood control along the downtown segment of San Pedro Creek. This is only the Summary and Recommendations chapter of a much longer and more in-depth document.

The history of site utilization and a chain of title was compiled with the help of several researchers including Clint McKenzie of the Center for Archaeological Research at the University of Texas at San Antonio; Matthew Elverson, City Archaeologist, with the City of San Antonio's Office of Historic Preservation; Mariah Pfeiffer, independent researcher residing in San Antonio; and members of the San Antonio African American Archives and Museum. Research made available to RKI staff included deed records and mechanic's liens that aided the reconstruction of the chain of title, discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2. The studies also identified a series of Sanborn Fire Insurance maps depicting the use-history of the site and the businesses that operated there. The history of construction, occupation, and re-use of the property is presented in Chapter 3. These documents also helped relate portions of the foundations to historic businesses and industrial work-spaces within the site. These relationships are described in greater detail in Chapter 4. Limited archaeological investigations of the foundations consisted of careful documentation of their construction methods and materials, the mapping of the foundations, and the limited examination of the fill matrix present within the footprint of the foundations. These investigations, described in Chapter 5, resulted in the documentation of distinct construction sequences that helped relate architectural features to specific archaeological components. Several unanswered questions remain as in-depth research continues into the history of the site. Nonetheless, we feel that the information hitherto compiled is sufficient to make and support the proposed NRHP eligibility and SAL designation recommendations outlined in the remainder of this chapter.

Through the archival research and limited archaeological investigations, four components were identified at 41BX2359: 1) the Soap Factory (1847-1859); 2). The A.M.E. Church (1871-1877); 3) the Alamo Ice Company (1878-1887); and 4) the Alamo Ice and Brewing Company and Alamo Brewery (1887-1904).

The oldest component is associated with soap making by two mid-nineteenth century German immigrant families, the Klemckes and the Mengers. The component is hereafter identified as the Klemcke/Menger soap factory, or simply the Soap Factory. Early deed records suggest that the first structure on the lot may have been the Klemcke residence/soap factory, built sometime between 1847 and 1850. When Johann Simon Menger purchased the property in 1851, he also acquired the soap factory and its equipment. At the time of purchase, the lot measured 14 varas (39 feet) in width. No improvements were made to the lot until 1875. The first depiction of what the Soap Factory may have looked like is provided by Koch's 1873 Bird's Eye View of San Antonio (**Figure 10-2**). It shows two adjoined structures on the east descending bank of San Pedro Creek. Unfortunately, given the perspective of the depiction and the lack of a scale, it is not possible to transfer the footprint of the two structures onto the foundation remnants of 41BX2359 to determine what portion, if any, they represent.



Figure 10-2. Detail of Koch's 1873 Bird's Eye View of San Antonio, showing two structures that may have been part of the Soap Factory.

In 1871, the A.M.E. Church began using a portion of the Soap Factory for religious services. Since the Koch depiction dates to 1873, it may be concluded that one or both structures served as the A.M.E. Church. The church congregation consisted of freedmen and formerly-enslaved people who were seeking a place where they could establish a community shortly after emancipation. Two enclaves of freedman and formerly-enslaved African American groups were present in San Antonio during the mid-nineteenth century. One was in east San Antonio, while the other was centered on or just west of San Pedro Creek. The A.M.E. Church served the African American population on the west-side of town.

Spurred by the growth of the congregation, in 1873 the trustees of the church purchased the property and in 1875 contracted with San Antonio builder, A. Earhart, to enlarge the building used for services. The footprint of this enlarged structure is depicted on Sheet 1 of the 1877 Sanborn Fire Insurance map (**Figure 10-3**). However, by December 1877 the congregation abandoned the site, as Sheet 1 of the Sanborn Fire Insurance map identifies the building as “Vacant” (**Figure 10-3**).

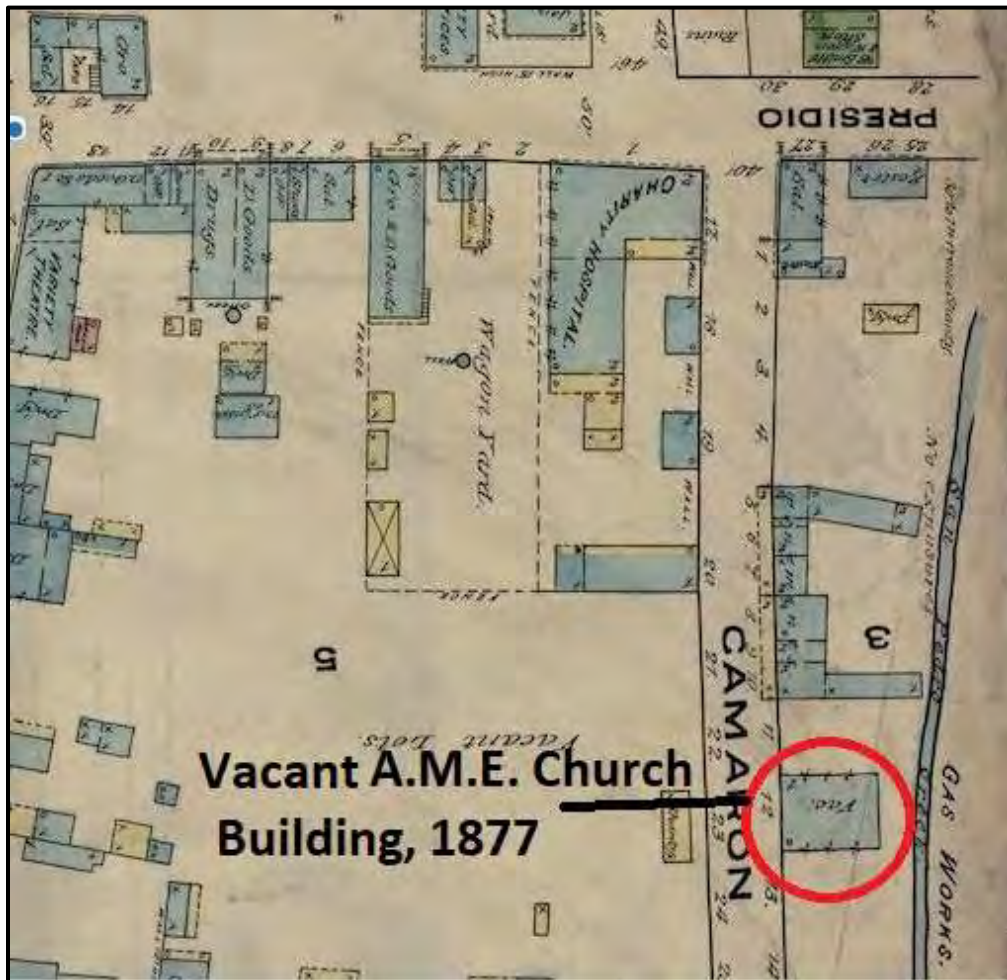


Figure 10-3. The vacant A.M.E. Church building in December 1877, Sheet 1 of the Sanborn Fire Insurance map.

The structure depicted in **Figure 10-3** is a single building compared to the two adjoining structures shown on the 1873 Birds Eye. The change implies that in the process of enlarging the Soap Factory, the smaller structure, or possibly both structures, were razed. A photograph of the A.M.E. Church, dating to the mid-to late-1880s, suggests that as part of the enlargement a new façade was added to the front of the building facing Camaron Street.

We also know from later Sanborn Fire Insurance maps that the 1877 vacant structure continued to be incorporated into the footprint of subsequent on-site businesses, such as the Alamo Ice Company in 1885. Therefore, the footprint of the vacant A.M.E. Church can be overlaid and clearly identified within the boundaries of 41BX2359 (**Figure 10-4**).



Figure 10-4. Overlay of A.M.E. Church footprints from 1877 (dark blue) and 1885 (light blue) Sanborn Fire Insurance maps onto foundations of 41BX2359.

Figure 10-4 shows two projected outlines of the A.M.E. Church, one (dark blue) is based on the 1877 Sanborn Fire Insurance map. In this projection, the church is depicted as measuring 39 feet north/south by 50 feet east/west, based on the map scale. The second projection (light blue) identifies the A.M.E. Church as the central core of the Alamo Ice Company complex (see Sheet 8, 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance map). In this projection, the footprint of the A.M.E. Church measures 45 feet north/south by 60 feet east/west. These dimensions closely match measurements obtained during field documentation (44.5 feet north/south by 58.5 feet east/west) by RKI staff using a hand-held, 30-meter pull-tape. Both projections are anchored to the northeast corner of the rectangular foundation, where the A.M.E. Church cornerstone is situated. The discrepancies between the two projections cannot be explained at this time.

The remaining two archaeological components are associated with the manufacturing of artificial ice (1878–1887) and the brewing of German-style lager beer (1887–1904). The Alamo Ice Company occupied the site between 1878 and 1887. Its footprint is depicted on Sheet 8 of the 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance map (**Figure 10-5**).

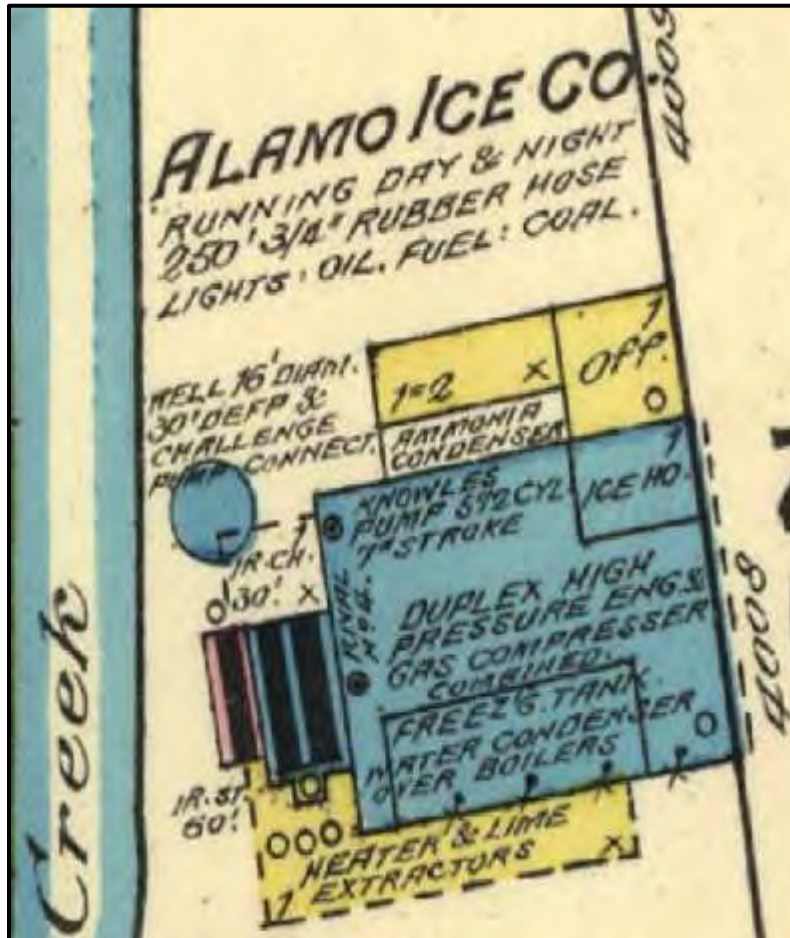


Figure 10-5. The Alamo Ice Company depicted on Sheet 8 of the 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance map. The structure identified in blue at the center of the complex is the former A.M.E. Church.

Figure 10-6 shows the footprint of the Alamo Ice Company component of site 41BX2359. In comparing Figures 10-5 and 10-6, it is evident that some portion of the foundations correspond well with the architectural features that are part of the archaeological site (i.e., Well, Ice House at the east end of the complex). Other architectural features are no longer evident among the foundations (i.e., the compartment for the freezing tank and water condenser, the lime extractor room, and the office building at the northeast corner of the complex), while others differ in size and shape (i.e., the boiler

room at the west end of the complex). Furthermore, new features (i.e., room full of charcoal at the southeast corner of the complex) are present that are not shown on the 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance map. In addition, no architectural signature exists within the site representing the vertical boilers (symbolized by open circles) that are depicted on the Sanborn Fire Insurance map.



Figure 10-6. Footprint of the Alamo Ice Company as it appeared in 1885, overlain on the foundation complex of site 41BX2359.

Following the sale of the company, the Alamo Ice and Brewing Company and Alamo Brewery used the property between 1887 and 1904 (**Figure 10-7**). By 1888, the complex expanded to the south to include a three-story iron-clad ice house and beer vault, a classic sign of the implementation of industrial-scale brewing.

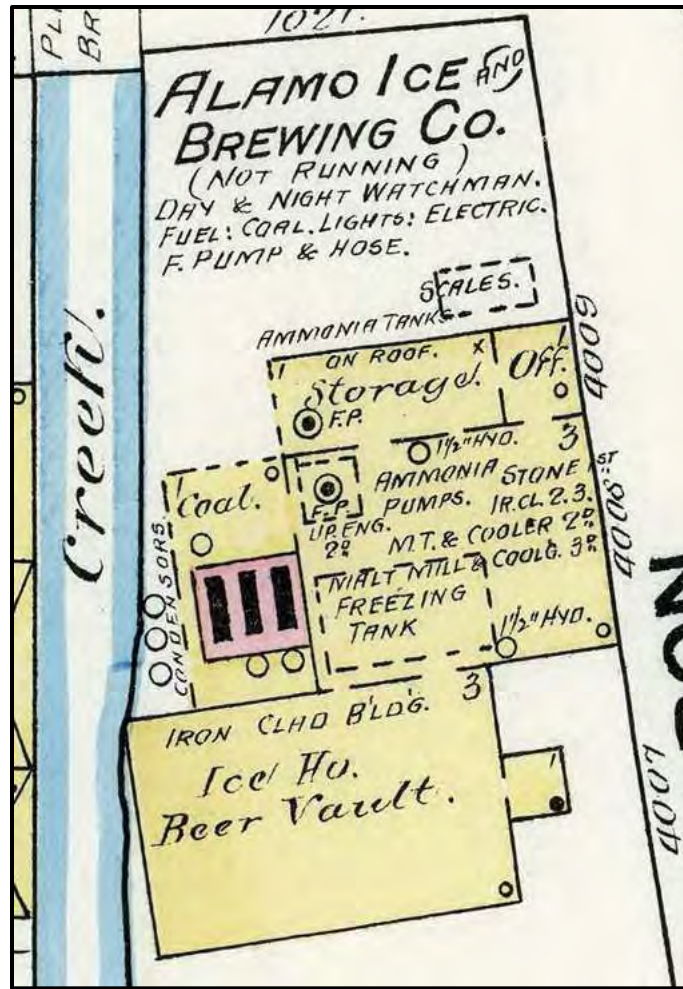


Figure 10-7. Alamo Ice and Brewing Company as depicted on Sheet 8 of the 1888 Sanborn Fire Insurance map. The first floor of the central structure is part of the A.M.E. Church.

Figure 10-8 shows the footprint of the Alamo Ice and Brewing Company in 1888. As in the previous overlays, some portions of the foundations correspond with the architectural features that make up the archaeological site (i.e., the central core that was the A.M.E. Church, and the “compressor” room at the west end). Other architectural elements (i.e., the “ice house” and beer vault, the Office and Storage Complex north of the former A.M.E. Church) appear to have been extensively impacted, demolished, or rebuilt at different dimensions. Other structural features are no longer evident among the foundations (i.e., the Scale Room, the numerous vertical boilers, the Coal Room next to the boilers), while others are of different sizes and shapes (i.e., the Freezing Tank Room which seems to have been moved toward the back of the building, and the Storage Room which seems to have been enlarged to match the length of the former church structure).



Figure 10-8. Footprint of the Alamo Ice and Brewing Company as it appeared in 1888, overlain on site 41BX2359.

By 1896, the complex reached its maximum size with the addition of a self-standing Storage Shed that occupied much of the southwest corner of W. Houston and Camaron Streets (**Figure 10-9**).

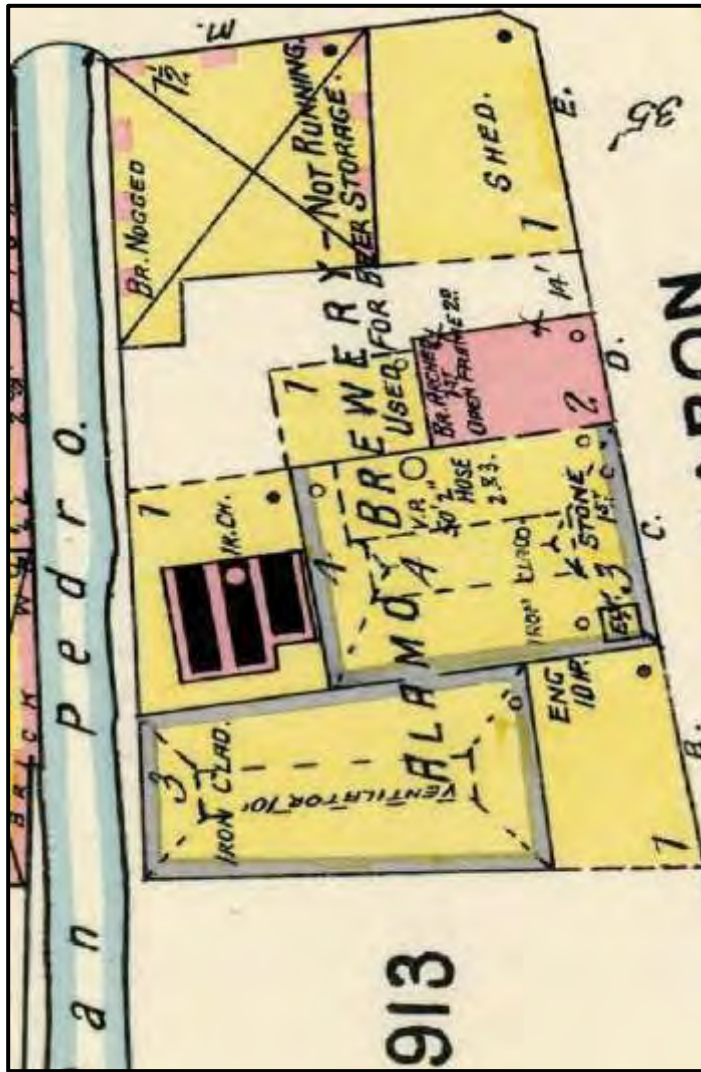


Figure 10-9. The Alamo Brewery as depicted on Sheet 10 of the 1896 Sanborn Fire Insurance map. The first floor of the central structure made of stone, is part of the A.M.E. Church.

Figure 10-10 is an overview of the Alamo Brewery as it was depicted on Sheet 10 of the 1896 Sanborn Fire Insurance map. The complex had reached its largest size by this time.



Figure 10-10. Footprint of the Alamo Brewery as it appeared in 1896, overlain on site 41BX2359.

Some portions of the foundations correspond well with the architectural features of the site (i.e., the central core that was the A.M.E. Church and the “compressor” room at the west end). The storage space and offices to the north have been enlarged and divided into spaces that match the archaeological foundations very closely. The Coal Room that surrounded the condensers at the west end of the complex has been enlarged. A large, self-standing storage complex was added at the north end of the complex overlooking W. Houston Street. The former Beer Vault at the southern end of the complex was extended to the edge of Camaron Street. Other structural features (i.e., the Scale Room and the numerous vertical boilers) are no longer evident because they may have been demolished to make way for new construction or are simply not shown on the Sanborn Fire Insurance map.

Based on the composite results of these comparisons and investigations, **Figure 10-11** presents the currently hypothesized relationships between the historic occupations of site 41BX2359 and the various architectural elements identified during construction monitoring and subsequent site investigations. It is currently assumed that, to a large extent, the foundations of the former Soap Factory and A.M.E. Church (as enlarged in 1875) may overlap. It is also evident that some architectural elements of the site were part of multiple components, most likely serving distinct functions in each (i.e., the A.M.E. Church footprint, the Office, the Storage space north of the former church, and the “Ice House” inside the A.M.E. Church foundation, etc.). Therefore, additional archaeological and architectural investigations may be necessary to confirm the structural and temporal affiliations of some of the foundations.

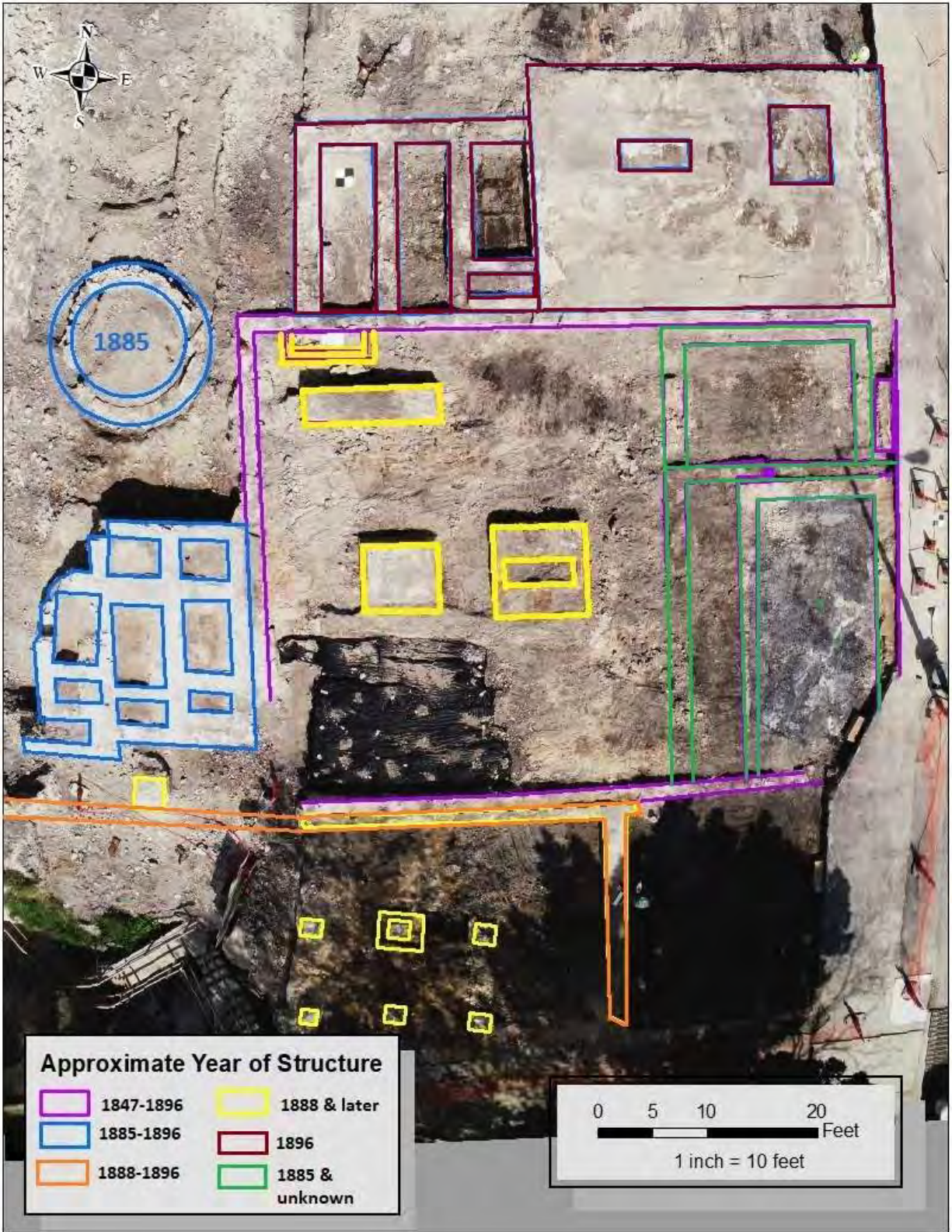


Figure 10-11. The hypothesized association between the foundations uncovered during monitoring and the archaeological components of site 41BX2359.

Consideration of Historic Contexts

To assess the significance of the archaeological components of 41BX2359 and their eligibility for listing on the NRHP and formal designation as SALs, two broad historic contexts were defined in Chapter 6. They consist of the early days of the industrial revolution in San Antonio, and the formation of the A.M.E. Church during the Reconstruction Era. Because the oldest component is associated with industrial development, the industrial historic context is described first. This is followed by the description of the conditions in San Antonio during the Reconstruction Era which prevailed at the time that the second component, the A.M.E. Church, was established.

Within the early days of San Antonio's industrialization, three themes were defined: 1) the changing perceptions of personal hygiene and the early days of soap manufacturing; 2) the manufacturing of artificial ice; and 3) the early days of lager beer brewing in San Antonio. Four themes were identified in association with the A.M.E. Church: 1) multi-cultural race relations and slavery in Texas and San Antonio; 2) general conditions during the Reconstruction Era; 3) German Immigrant and African-American relations; and 4) A.M.E. Church and Reconstruction in San Antonio.

Soap Making

The earliest method used to make soap involved the extraction of lye from wood ash, the rendering of animal fat, and the combination of the two ingredients through boiling. Soap making using these rather basic steps and equipment was sufficient to meet domestic needs and provide a limited surplus for small markets and commercial sale. Overtime, the manufacturing of soap shifted from household production to local and regional markets because of mechanization (i.e., the use of lard rendering tanks that employed heat under pressure; Gordon 1990:58).

Soap making in Texas began during the second half of the nineteenth century, following the Civil War. German immigrants brought the knowledge of soap making from the "Old Country" where soap making was part of each household's basic skill set. 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 consisted of kettles, catchers, and boilers. The invention of more efficient means of fat rendering using steam heat resulted in increased production capacity, encouraged market production, and added specialized industrial equipment to the soap factory.

As outlined above, the Klemcke and Menger families were intimately associated with the 41BX2359 and soap making during the earliest occupation of the site. Soap manufacture ended in 1859 when flooding of San Pedro Creek in 1859 may have damaged some portion of the Soap Factory causing Menger to move his operation to an upstream location. This second site has been listed on the NRHP since 1975.

Artificial Ice Manufacture

Just as immigrants to San Antonio established the foundations of a burgeoning soap manufacturing industry, so too during the mid-nineteenth century, several newcomers placed the city on the cutting edge of the manufacturing of artificial ice. Large scale and commercially-viable ice manufacturing machines began in France in 1850, when Ferdinand Carré patented the “Carré machine” to make ice using an ammonia absorption process. The American 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. However, by the end of the Civil War, four of Carré machines made their way through the Union blockade, one of them arriving to San Antonio in 1865 (Clark 1966:297). Here, an engineer named Daniel Livingston Holden, improved the original design by using steam to heat the liquid ammonia. Holden also began using distilled water to produce clear ice, a product that was more readily accepted by consumers.

Andrew Muhl, a Paris-born San Antonian, also made important contributions to the story of artificial ice manufacturing. 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, he 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.” In the patent application, Muhl specifically stated that: “The improvements herein described are intended specially to meet the wants of distilleries and breweries, though they may be used in other connections.”

The timing of these technical advances in the manufacturing of artificial ice could not have been more opportune for several entrepreneurs who, in 1878, moved into the vacated A.M.E. Church building and refurbished/repurposed the structure(s) for the making of artificial ice. These individuals included Alfred Giles, Leroux and (N.J.) Cosgrove, Hans L. Degener, W.C. Peters, and J.N. Smye. At least one individual among these investors was in the early stages of a distinguished career as an architect.

Alfred Giles began his architectural practice in San Antonio through the Alfred Giles Company in 1878. He designed numerous public buildings (courthouses, libraries, jails), as well as the private residences for influential families in San Antonio, South Texas, and Monterrey, Mexico. Giles was not only an investor in the Alamo Ice Company but also designed the expansion of the building/complex soon after it was acquired in 1882. An advertisement in the City Directory dating to 1883, shows a large three-story industrial complex identified as the Alamo Ice Company (City Directory:95). Alfred Giles also may have designed the improvements and expansion of the building when it became the Alamo Ice and Brewing Company in 1887. A depiction dating to circa 1888 shows a dramatically different façade and structure from that which earlier illustrated the Alamo Ice Company.

The plat was established for the Alamo Ice Company early in 1881, and in December 1882 (BCDR 15/456), Steves deeded the lot with the already operating ice factory to the Alamo Ice Company. The horizontal steam boilers, shown on the 1885 and 1888 Sanborn Fire Insurance maps (**see Figure 10-5 and 10-7**) adjacent to San Pedro Creek, may have been made at the Wiggin and Simpson's Phoenix Iron Works in Houston. These same boilers, fueled by coal, may have been the first such boilers to be installed in San Antonio in early 1880. The coal house is seen on the 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance map and thick deposits of coal have been identified in several spaces inside the foundations of the former A.M.E. Church. The Alamo Ice Company operated the ice factory until 1887.

Beer Brewing and Artificial Ice

Prior to the 1840s, beers 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. These beers did not require cooling for fermentation; hence, they were commonly referred to as "warm beers." 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, anywhere from four weeks to nine 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 untenable, above-ground ice houses were used to store the aging beer. The mid-nineteenth century interest in the manufacturing

of artificial ice coincided with the increased demand for lager beer and the capacity to store and age large quantities in above-ground stock houses, cooled through artificial means (Appel 1990).

During the second half of the century, as the manufacturing of artificial ice began to take hold on a commercial scale, artificial refrigeration really took hold in breweries across the country. In the United States, the Albert Ziegele Brewery was one of the first to install an ice machine in 1877 (Appel 1990:28-29). In 1878, the same ammonia condensing cooling system was installed at the Lemp Brewery in St. Louis, Missouri. This cooling system was also in operation at the Alamo Ice Company and led to the eventual purchase of the business in 1877, by the Alamo Brewery.

William A. Menger's Western Brewery (1855–1878) is usually considered the very first commercial Texas brewery. When Menger died in 1871, Charles Degen his former brew master, continued operating the brewery. By its' last year of business in 1878, it was the largest operating brewery in Texas. Several other small breweries 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 on the banks of San Pedro Creek. Both breweries operated between 1855 and 1860 (Holt 2014). By 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 and the Lone Star Brewing Company each had their own integrated system of brewing and artificial ice manufacturing.

Throughout the late-1880s, the business continued to suffer hard times. In December 1888, the property was sold at auction and was purchased by S.D. Scudder. In January 1889, Scudder conveyed it to yet another individual who operated the Alamo Brewery on the premises until 1904, when the business closed and some of the buildings were demolished.

Multi-Cultural Race Relations and Slavery in Texas and San Antonio

The confluence of cultural and racial groups has been a defining feature of San Antonio since its inception and directly shaped the unique, layered built landscape of the city as illustrated by this site. Race relations in San Antonio had their origins in the Spanish colonization of the Americas and informed how various racial groups were positioned in San Antonio society (Mason 1998: 3). This

site was initially a Spanish land grant secured by Maria Josefa Flores y Valdez in 1740, and it would remain in the hands of Hispanics and Mexican-Americans for the next century.

From the beginning, the varied demographic make-up of Spanish colonial San Antonio was one of diversity with three principal groups ultimately coming together to form what would become modern day San Antonio. These groups were the Spanish Catholic religious community that established the missions and set up communities that included local Native American converts, the military presidio, which was established to protect the missions and the frontier, and the community of Canary Islanders and other immigrants that joined with the military community to establish the first municipal government of San Antonio de Béxar. Though the stratified social hierarchy of Spain, known as *las castas*, where place of origin, religion, family, and race determined one's social status, was transplanted to Spain's colonies, things were not always so clearly delineated in far-flung outposts like San Antonio, the capital of the Spanish Province of Coahuila y Tejas (Mason 1998: 3-4). This aristocratic tradition, which had structured society in Spain, was more fluid in colonial settlements like San Antonio. This was because many of the settlers were from what were considered lower classes in Spain but whose social status could become elevated in a colonial context. These groups, such as Canary Islanders and racially mixed soldiers that were posted at Spain's colonial presidios, began to create their own hierarchical system within the developing colonial society (Mason 1998: 3-4). These already racially mixed settlers of European and African ancestry further mixed with local Native Americans through intermarriage. This early diversity in San Antonio reflected the realities of life in an isolated frontier post (Mason 1998: 4-5). These attitudes, however, would change with increasing white Anglo and African American settlement.

Though San Antonio's diverse community did not exhibit exactly the *las castas* of Spain, eventually a certain hierarchy appeared where blacks would be placed on the bottom. This began to occur as white Anglo settlers, who brought their enslaved blacks with them, began to settle Texas after it became a Republic. The racial subjugation of blacks, whether free or enslaved, increased as Texas became a state and a social hierarchy that placed whites at the top, blacks at the bottom, and Tejanos situated between these two groups, would remain in place.

Following the War of Texas Independence, the constitution of the Republic of Texas explicitly allowed slavery and when Texas was finally annexed into the United States in 1846, it entered as a slave state (Constitution of the Republic of Texas 1836). Fifteen years later, Texas would secede from the Union, with the Alamo, the site of the U.S. Army Quartermaster's Department in San Antonio, being

surrendered to Confederate forces. Texas was the last bastion of chattel slavery in the United States. Chattel slavery is the enslaving and owning of human beings and their offspring as property. It was not until June 19th, 1865, that the last enslaved peoples were freed on Galveston Island. This was the origin of the annual “Juneteenth” celebration that commemorates this event, to this day.

San Antonio’s unique demographics also shaped how chattel slavery was accepted. Though slavery was legal and there were slave-holders in the city and surrounding area, many German immigrants opposed slavery and tended to be sympathetic to the Union during the Civil War. Contemporary accounts illustrate the influence that this population had on checking the spread of slavery in the region. One of the most prominent anti-slavery voices in San Antonio was Dr. Anthony M. Dignowity. The Bohemian-German (modern-day Czech Republic) immigrant worked to encourage the settlement of Germans into Texas to bring it into the Union as a free state. In 1849 and 1850, Dignowity organized the German citizens of West Texas into an anti-slavery party and worked to establish an anti-slavery press in San Antonio (Dignowity 1865a:10-13). During Reconstruction, in December of 1865, he once again appealed to Congress for support in the German settlement of Texas, writing that with these new settlers the “...German residents of West Texas would have been strengthened, that state redeemed from the blasting effects of slavery and rebellion...” (Dignowity 1865b:14).

The Reconstruction Era: c. 1863–1877

As one of the Southern states that was part of the former Confederate States of America, Texas was subjected to efforts by the United States government to bring it back under its jurisdiction. These efforts were part of Reconstruction which began with the enactment of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 and ended with the withdrawal of all remaining occupying Federal troops by 1877.

Efforts during Reconstruction included the establishment of government agencies like the Freedman’s Bureau, which provided provisions and support for formerly-enslaved persons and refugees that had been displaced by the Civil War. In addition, many Southern cities and towns were occupied by Federal troops to ensure law and order during this turbulent time. Issues that were dealt with during Reconstruction included: the reintegration of the former Confederate states into the Union and their renewed representation in Congress; the civil status of former Confederate leaders; and the legal status, civil rights, and enfranchisement of freedmen.

Reconstruction represented a period of both physical and social mobility of formerly-enslaved people and the larger black community and the increased oppression and violence of the Jim Crow era-South. Nonetheless, the Reconstruction Era was a crucial period for the growth and development of African American communities throughout the South, including San Antonio. Communities of former enslaved peoples (as well as those communities consisting of African-Americans who were free before the Civil War but who, nonetheless experienced significant discrimination), exercised rights not possessed under slavery. This included the establishment of independent churches and the ability to buy and sell property. Though independent black congregations of both enslaved and free blacks had been present since at least the eighteenth-century (particularly in the states of the East coast, and in the Southeast), the Reconstruction period saw the increased formation of new and independent church congregations and the construction of purpose-built church buildings which were, perhaps most importantly, legally recognized (McQueen 2000:xiii).

German Immigrant and African-American Relations

By the time, the congregation of A.M.E. Church occupied the former Soap Factory building, San Antonio, like other Southern cities, had enacted a series of ordinances, codes, and common law practices that curtailed the civil rights and social mobility of free, formerly-enslaved, and enslaved blacks. It was into this multi-cultural matrix that the congregation of the A.M.E. Church established itself through negotiations and interactions with white European and German immigrant families.

Many German immigrants to San Antonio, such as the Klemcke, the Menger, and the Steves families, on the whole opposed slavery. However, there were exceptions. German immigrant William A. Menger (no apparent relation to Simon), who established the famous Menger Hotel, purchased an enslaved black man named Jack Robinson who subsequently worked in the hotel as a servant (Barr 2004: 16). William Menger's ownership of an enslaved man illustrates the complicated nature of racial relations, especially between blacks and those white European settlers who generally opposed slavery, like the Germans. It was among the Germans who had servants in Germany that slave ownership was prevalent in San Antonio (Kamphoefner 1999: 444). Germans also advocated that they cultivate crops like cotton without slave labor. Cotton production by Germans continued after the Civil War and into Reconstruction in Texas and around San Antonio.

We cannot, however, necessarily view this as being motivated purely by abolitionist sentiments. As we have seen, German immigrants like Dr. Anthony Dignowity, though opposed to institutions like

slavery, were especially keen to settle Texas with ethnic (read white) Germans at the expense of black labor, even going so far as to advocate for the eventual exodus of blacks from Texas. It is not known how Simon Menger personally felt about slavery or the newly freed black community in Reconstruction Era-San Antonio. However, what is certain is that he had a direct business, if not personal, relationship with the A.M.E. Church and its congregation. This relationship illustrated the necessary economic cooperation between the various communities to mutually prosper as San Antonio boomed in the years after the Civil War and into the late-nineteenth century.

This evidence points to a complicated relationship that the German immigrant community had with the black community in San Antonio. On the one hand, there was a close-knit and self-sufficient immigrant community that had, overall, rejected the more prevalent Anglo practice of owning enslaved blacks, but who, nonetheless, were themselves involved in slavery to a lesser extent. This community also advocated for the German settlement of Texas before the Civil War, during Reconstruction, and after, and made a point to prove that slave and black labor was not necessary to produce lucrative staple commodities, like cotton. Self-interest seems to have been the defining factor that structured the relationships between German immigrants and the black community in San Antonio.

A.M.E. Church and Reconstruction in San Antonio

The birth of the religious freedom and the establishment of the A.M.E. Church is symbolic of the social forces at work during the Reconstruction Era. Though they could certainly be precarious for African-Americans, conditions in San Antonio during Reconstruction seem to have been relatively stable compared to the conditions further east (i.e., East Texas and southeast). These conditions perhaps provided the African-American community with a certain measure of security in forging a community for themselves. This was likely the result of a unique combination of social, cultural, and political factors that had shaped San Antonio into a culturally diverse community where anti-slavery sentiment had been strong despite the city's role as a Confederate city. It was in this dynamic and sometimes fraught environment that the A.M.E. congregation established its church on Camaron Street, in a city where the African-American presence had been contentious, uncertain, and marginalized from its inception.

The presence of the A.M.E. Church at this site is a rare vestige of African-American history in downtown San Antonio. The site of the A.M.E. Church was part of a larger African-American community that had grown up along the banks of San Pedro Creek. It was, however, an interim site;

one of transition and adaptive rehabilitation, representative of a church that was continually in search of better spaces whilst seeking a permanent site for building a physical church building that would hold their growing congregation and represent their presence in the community.

The growth of the A.M.E. Church and congregation reflected the seismic social and political changes of Reconstruction. Improving existing commercial spaces like the Soap Factory for short periods of time, while the congregation established itself and raised more funds to construct larger and more permanent houses of worship, whilst maintaining a denominational relationship with the larger A.M.E. Church, was typical of congregations. This process, known as “church planting”, has been in place since the earliest days of Christianity and is a characteristic of churches today.

NRHP Eligibility and SAL Designation Considerations

Chapter 7 examined the linkages between the themes of the historic contexts and the archaeological components defined at 41BX2359. It was found that the soap making component represented the earliest documented example of the transition in soap manufacture from household to industrial production (Criterion A). In addition, the Klemcke and Menger families were the earliest entrepreneurs to provide the means for improved hygiene in mid-nineteenth century San Antonio (Criterion B). The archaeological component associated with the A.M.E. Church at 41BX2359 played a short but significant role in the history of the African American freedmen and former-enslaved community of San Antonio, its search for religious freedom embodied in the establishment of the A.M.E. Church, and more comprehensively, in the struggle for human rights during the Reconstruction Era (Criterion A). Furthermore, several individuals linked to the church as trustees, preachers, and bishops, played significant roles as community leaders and spearheaded the growth of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the State of Texas and nationally (Criterion B).

Finally, the two late-nineteenth century components of 41BX2359 are some of the first local enterprises to combine the manufacturing of artificial ice and lager beer brewing into a complimentary industrial process within the same brewery in San Antonio (Criterion A). The merging of these processes represents a significant association of these two components with late-nineteenth century industrial advances in manufacturing in San Antonio (Criterion A). In addition, Alfred Giles, one of the entrepreneurs that served as a financial backer of these new enterprises, was a recognized architect in San Antonio, the State of Texas, and internationally (Criterion B). He designed the Alamo Ice Company facility shortly after its acquisition in 1882, and may have also

designed its expansion into the Alamo Ice and Brewing Company and Alamo Brewery (Criterion C). However, the evaluation of the Alamo Ice Company, the Alamo Ice and Brewing Company, and Alamo Brewery from the perspective of the architectural style typical of Alfred Giles cannot be completed except from sketches made for period newspaper advertisements. Such sketches are infamously unreliable and cannot be used as serious means by which to assess the eligibility of the two components under Criterion C. **Table 10-1** summarizes the recommended associations between the archaeological components identified at 41BX2359, specific aspects of the historic contexts, NRHP-eligibility and SAL-designation criteria, and the levels of significance.

Table 10-1. Summary of the associations between archaeological components and levels of significance at 41BX2359.		
Soap Factory		
Criterion	Associational Significance	Level of Significance
A	Significant	Local
B	Significant	Local
C	Not Significant	N/A
A.M.E. Church		
Criterion	Associational Significance	Level of Significance
A	Significant	Local
B	Significant	Local, State, National
C	Not Significant	N/A
Alamo Ice Company		
Criterion	Associational Significance	Level of Significance
A	Significant	Local
B	Significant	Local & State
C	Cannot be Assessed	Local
Alamo Ice and Brewing Company/Alamo Brewery		
Criterion	Associational Significance	Level of Significance
A	Significant	Local
B	Significant*	Local & State
C	Cannot be Assessed	N/A

*the association of Alfred Giles with the design of the Alamo Brewery is still under study and will be finalized as definitive information is obtained on the topic.

Since 41BX2359 is an archaeological site, in Chapter 8 a series of research topics and questions were derive from the historic contexts. The questions outlined in Chapter 8 are not intended as a finite set of research topics but rather as a beginning point from which related and/or entirely new research directions may be developed and pursued. When considering the significance of the four archaeological components under Criterion D, the pursuit of these research questions may provide additional and valuable data to our understanding of the early days of industrialization, the cultural underpinnings of race relations as San Antonio grew into an urban center, and as freedmen and formerly-enslaved African American residents searched for a place to call their own, both within the City and the religious landscape of the times.

The eligibility of the site's components for formal designation as SALs was also considered in Chapter 8. Each archaeological site in the State of Texas is eligible for formal designation as a SAL. However, to be formally designated as a SAL, the site/component must meet one or more criteria for designation. Most of the designation criteria focus on the research potential. Therefore, the research topics and questions identified under the Criterion D discussion also apply when considering formal designation of the site or its components as SALs. For instance, to be formally designated as a SAL, the archaeological site or component must retain the potential to yield new and important information related 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 Chapter 8, it was proposed that the archaeological components associated with the Soap Factory and the A.M.E. Church possess "rare and unique attributes concerning the history of Texas." These rare and unique attributes include buried segments of the original Soap Factory and A.M.E. Church foundations, as well as portions of the original east façade of the A.M.E. Church and the cornerstone that is still *in situ* at the northeast corner of the rectangular foundation (**Figure 10-12**). Similarly, a time capsule buried under the cornerstone may contain significant historical documents from the period when the church was enlarged to accommodate a growth in the congregation. In addition, within the Soap Factory and A.M.E. Church footprint, there may remain intact cultural deposits and features that may yield significant research findings and interpretation during future archaeological investigations. Therefore, it was recommended that the Soap Factory and A.M.E. Church components of site 41BX2359 also warrant formal designation as SALs.



Figure 10-12. A.M.E. Church cornerstone uncovered at the northeast corner of the foundation.

The association of a historic property or archaeological component with a significant historical event or persons, is not by itself sufficient for it to be listed on the NRHP or for formal designation as a SAL. The property also needs to possess the physical features that convey aspects of the event or trends or person(s) 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 Chapter 9, the integrity of the architectural elements and deposits that are part of the four archaeological components of 41BX2359 was reviewed considering the research questions identified in Chapter 8. Part of this discussion relied on the results of the preliminary archaeological investigations conducted by RKI staff (Chapter 5) to uncover the boundaries of the site and assess some of its partially buried features. We concluded that 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 two most recent components (i.e., Alamo Ice Company, Alamo Ice and Brewing Company, and Alamo Brewery). The lack of intact,

stratified archaeological deposits severely limits the research potential of the Alamo Ice Company and Alamo Brewery components. In addition to the lack of intact cultural deposits associated with these two components, the numerous phases of construction, remodeling, and re-purposing of the buildings, coupled with the W. Houston Street widening have both altered the footprints of the various buildings and, in the most dramatic instances, demolished architectural elements of these businesses, leaving formerly three-storied structures as foundation outlines. The overlays of the generations of Sanborn Fire Insurance maps onto the aerial image of 41BX2359 (**Figures 10-4, 10-6, 10-8, 10-10 and 10-11**) indicate how much these foundations have been impacted compared to their original designs. Because the current configuration of the foundations reflects an incomplete combination of structural spaces that does not fully convey the architecture and the organization of space of either the Alamo Ice Company, the Alamo Ice and Brewing Company, and/or the Alamo Brewery, these components are not recommended for listing on the NRHP under Criterion D. Similarly, they are not recommended for formal designation as SALs.

However, it is felt that the foundations associated with the Klemcke/Menger Soap Factory and the A.M.E. Church, coupled with potential buried features (i.e., basements) below the construction fill may retain sufficient research potential to warrant the nomination of the two components for listing on the NRHP under Criterion D. Furthermore, it is recommended that these two components also warrant formal designation as SALs due to their potential to yield significant data related to the technical and social aspects of soap manufacture, and the establishment, growth, and multi-faceted role of the A.M.E. Church during the Reconstruction Era. **Table 10-2** summarizes the proposed eligibility and designation recommendations for each archaeological component.

Table 10-2. Proposed NRHP and SAL Recommendations for each Archaeological Component at 41BX2359.						
Archaeological Component	Period of Significance	Criterion A	Criterion B	Criterion C	Criterion D	State Antiquities Landmark
Soap Factory	1847-1859	Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible	Eligible	Warrants Formal Listing
A.M.E. Church	1871-1877	Eligible	Eligible	Not Eligible	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

Figure 10-13 illustrates the footprint of the Soap Factory and A.M.E. Church archaeological components recommended for listing on the NRHP and as SALs. Again, it is assumed that the Soap Factory footprint is contained within or directly under the A.M.E. Church foundations. As noted, included within the footprint are post-1888 features (outlined in yellow), and foundations that may date to 1885 and earlier (outlined in green).



Figure 10-13. Footprint of the Klemcke/Menger Soap Factory and A.M.E. Church archaeological components recommended for listing on the NRHP and as SALs.

Having summarized the NRHP eligibility and SALs designation recommendations related to the four archaeological components present at 41BX2359, the next section briefly discusses the impacts that may befall the site as various design alternatives are considered and evaluated in designing and constructing the Alameda Plaza San Pedro Creek Culture Park.

The Alameda Plaza San Pedro Creek Culture Park

A public feature, such as a culture park, has been part of the SPCIP in the vicinity of Alameda Theater since the early stages of project design (**Figure 10-14**). Sheet 1 of 3 of Pape-Dawson Engineering's Exhibit 2-1, shows the schematic rendering of the amphitheater on the east-descending bank of San Pedro Creek in 2016. One of the key aspects of the design was the widening and deepening of the creek channel in the vicinity of the culture park. Hydrological modeling indicated that these actions would dramatically increase the channels capacity to carry flood-waters through the area, eliminating thereby overbank flooding in downtown San Antonio during 100-year flood events, the principal technical and engineering goal of the SPCIP.

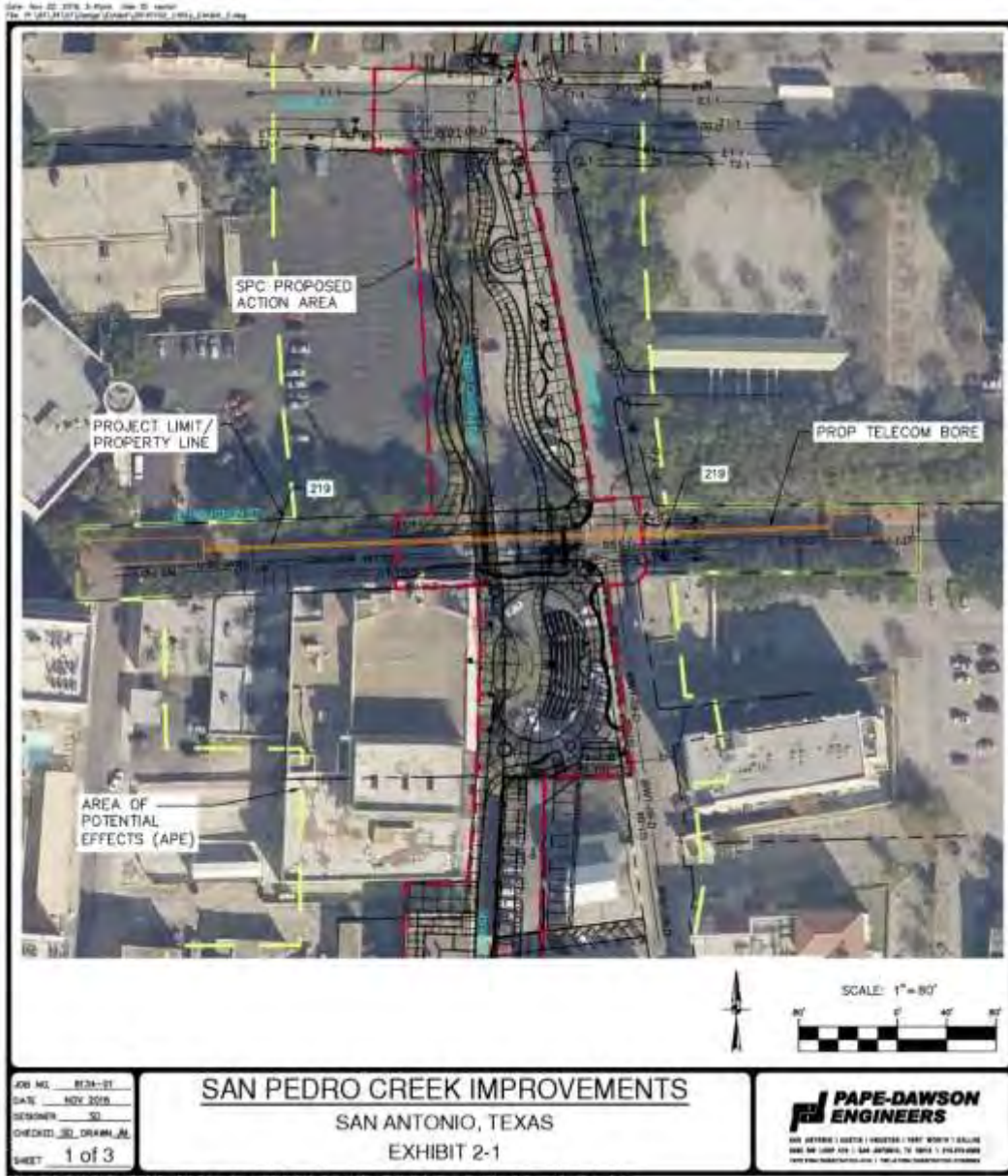


Figure 10-14. Schematic details of the original amphitheater designed for the east descending bank of San Pedro Creek south of W. Houston on Camaron Street.

The components and design aspects of the culture park have evolved and been refined since the original design. Current plans call for a public space that will include a community plaza which will provide an lookout over the channel of San Pedro Creek, as well as low-bank and high-bank paseos connected by both stairs and ramps, lighted seating areas at the level of the high bank paseo, and restroom facilities for the convenience of the citizens of San Antonio and visitors.

The archaeological revelation of site 41BX2359 with its historically significant foundations provides an enriching new feature to the culture park that allows the project design team the opportunity to contextualize and root visitors to the significant historic, cultural, social, and industrial trends that have taken place at this exact location during the mid- to late-nineteenth century. While the encounter of the foundations provides significant opportunities, it also accentuates design challenges related to how to incorporate the finds into an already existing site plan and still maintain the critical flood control aspects of the project. The widening and deepening of the creek channel at this exact location was a key design aspect that allowed the realization of the flood control benefits of the entire SPCIP. Therefore, design changes considered because of the incorporation of the new finds, must consider not only the artistic balance and engineering feasibility of the task, but also the impact of any alterations on the underlying flood-control goals of the SPCIP.

Shortly after initial discussions began with the oversight agencies, including the USACE, THC, and COSA-OHP, the Design Team began developing and evaluating multiple alternative designs to capture the way the entire 41BX2359 site, selected components, or portions of components could be incorporated into the Alameda Plaza San Pedro Creek Culture Park. Currently, the SARA Design Team has developed and evaluated multiple design options for the Culture Park. These design options are presented in greater detail in **Appendix 10-1**. The appendix outlines the options, presents visual renderings, considers the impact of the designs on the different components of 41BX2359, and suggests a series of mitigation steps and measures, in instances where the components will be adversely impacted.

In summary, site 41BX2359 contains four archaeological components that are each associated with historically significant trends/events in mid-nineteenth century San Antonio. The two earliest components, the Klemcke/Menger Soap Factory and the A.M.E. Church also were associated with the lives of individuals that have contributed significantly to industrial trends and the establishment of the African A.M.E. Church in San Antonio. These components may also possess buried features (i.e., foundations) and possible intact cultural deposits that may have the potential to contribute significant information to several research topics during future archaeological investigations. The two more recent components, the Alamo Ice Company and the Alamo Ice Company and Brewery/Alamo Brewery, were also associated with historically significant events, and important people but their archaeological manifestations lack integrity to provide significant information during future research or to sufficiently embody their association with important persons. Therefore, it was recommended that the Klemcke/Menger Soap Factory and A.M.E. Church component warrant

listing on the NRHP under Criteria A, B, and D. Furthermore, these components also are recommended as warranting formal designation as SALs. On the other hand, the Alamo Ice Company, the Alamo Ice Company and Brewery, and the Alamo Brewery components, are recommended as not eligible for listing on the NRHP nor for formal designation as SALs.

Going forward and based on the Culture Park to be constructed in the immediate vicinity of 41BX2359, these NRHP- and SALs-eligible archaeological components may be adversely impacted by the planned improvements. Numerous design alternatives have been developed and are considered from several perspectives. These alternatives are presented and discussed in greater detail in **Appendix 10-1**. These alternatives range from the preservation of all foundations that make up site 41BX2359 to partial preservation of selected foundations and components. The preservation of all the foundations will eliminate all flood control benefits of the SPCIP. The preservation of selected components will have different degrees of immediate and long-term impact on flood control.