Title: Urban ethnic landscape identity.
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Source: Geographical Review; Oct95, Vol. 85 Issue 4, p518, 1/1p, 7bw
Document Type: Article
Subject Terms: *ARCHITECTURE, Spanish
*CITIES & towns
*HISPANIC Americans
Geographic Terms: SAN Antonio (Tex.)
UNITED States

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Full Text Word Count: 6104
ISSN: 0016-7428
Accession Number: 9527982

Persistent link to this record:


Database: Academic Search Premier
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Hispanic past, is manifested in two romanticized Spanish landscapes, the Paseo del Rio and La Villita. This essay examines the character of the ideal landscape-making process in this Texas Mexican city. Key words: Hispanic, landscape, San Antonio, urban identity.

To analyze the identity of a city is to begin to understand human association with place and how localities become defined by varied interests. The identity of a city is not necessarily the same as the image that individuals perceive. Neither is it exactly a mental map nor a sense of place. City identity involves the meanings projected by a landscape. Identity can change through time, as may image. Transcending physical examples that serve as the icon of a city, such as a skyline or a mountain, identity can also be conceptual—a regional flavor like southwestern or a specific function like mining. Urban identity is inevitably a constructed idea that is tied to a real or ideal landscape. This quality of inseparability from landscape distinguishes identity from image. In this essay I examine how ethnic association shapes urban identity and how ideal landscape is forged through a process directed by individuals and institutions in a specific cultural context.

AN URBAN ETHNIC STAMP

One of the strongest measures of American urban identity is the association of a city with a specific ethnic group and its landscape. The Chinese in San Francisco and the French-Creoles in New Orleans are two well-known examples, but there are many others. During the late nineteenth century immigrant groups settled in many American cities, and their presence became a major element in city identity, as was the case with the Germans in Milwaukee or the Irish in Boston. This pattern of urban ethnic association has persisted, although today many older urban immigrant centers in the United States are less diverse than are newer immigrant destinations (Allen and Turner 1989). Nevertheless, immigration in the United States remains an urban phenomenon and one very much concentrated in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and other large cities (Portes and Rumbaut 1990). But how can a large immigrant center with its highly diverse population develop a singular ethnic identity? Consider the case of Hispanic representation.

Hispanic subgroups are significant in Los Angeles, where they are enumerated as 40 percent of the city population; in New York, where they measure 24 percent of the city population; and in Chicago, where they are 20 percent of the city residents (Reddy 1993). Yet significant demographic concentration alone does not ensure an Hispanic identity for these places. The diversity of each is indicated not only by the presence historically and recently of other ethnic groups but also by the Hispanic plurality in each. Even Los Angeles, where Hispanic has long been equated with Mexican, is now diversified by the presence of Cubans, Central Americans, and South Americans in distinctive quarters.
Furthermore, Miami, which is 63 percent Hispanic and proclaimed as the "Cuban Capital of America," is admittedly multiethnic, with Haitian and other Latin American subgroups, despite the dominance of Cubans (Boswell and Curtis 1984).

Among large cities, San Antonio is the most Mexican urban area in the United States; the Hispanic subgroup accounted for 56 percent of the city in 1990. Although San Antonio is ranked the fourth-largest Hispanic media market in the country after Los Angeles, New York, and Miami (Veciana Suarez 1990), the Texas city's claim as the premier ethnic capital for the Mexican subgroup still has significant currency. Unlike other big cities with numerically large Mexican-descent populations, in San Antonio Mexicans are unchallenged as the Hispanic group of the city demographically, socially, and historically (Arreola 1987).

The Mexican identity of San Antonio is not, however, simply a result of relative population numbers or even of a long cultural presence. In large measure it is a constructed identity based principally on a pair of ideal landscapes conceived, assembled, and promoted by non-Hispanic city patrons. The ideal landscapes, the Paseo del Rio, or River Walk, and La Villita, or Little Town, are chiefly exotic creations situated in the downtown. Neither landscape is anything like the downtown landscape that has actually been shaped and sustained by local Mexicans. The spatial separation of the ideal and the real Hispanic landscapes in downtown San Antonio further accentuates their differences. Why do these two types of landscape coexist, and how were they formed? What is the process of ideal landscape creation, and how does it relate to city identity? Before I examine these questions and landscapes it is necessary to put in historical context the tradition and transformation of public-place use and Hispanic imprint in downtown San Antonio.

FROM HISPANIC PLACE TO EURO-TEXICAN SPACE

The creation and promotion of a Hispanic landscape ideal in San Antonio are rooted in the colonial and nineteenth-century public plazas of the city, their historic uses by locals and visitors, and their transformation into effectively non-Hispanic authoritarian spaces in the late nineteenth century. From its founding early in the eighteenth century, San Antonio was a presidial settlement, and Military Plaza, or Plaza de Armas, was technically the community's first open place, although its public use was not inaugurated until the nineteenth century. In 1731 colonists from the Canary Islands organized the Villa de San Fernando immediately east of the presidio, and a second public place, early known as Plaza de las Islas and today simply called Main Plaza, was created (Cruz 1988). The "Plano de la Villa y Presidio de S. Antonio de Vejar" by Joseph de Urrutia in 1767 showed these two plazas as distinctive open areas amid the few scattered blocks of the fledgling settlement (Reps 1979, plate 4). More than half a century later the two
plazas were still the chief public places of the built landscape of San Antonio, visible on an 1836 map of the city (Labastida 1836).

As San Antonio accommodated a more cosmopolitan, especially European, population during the middle to late nineteenth century, the principal plazas became the social centers of the local community as well as the chief spectacles visited by outsiders (Everett 1975, 5). The remarkable glass slides and stereograph photos made by amateur and professional photographers capture the panorama that was San Antonio's plazas during this era (Lochbaum 1965; Steinfeldt 1978).

During the last decades of that century San Antonio made the transition from a Hispanic to a Euro-Texican (European-Texan-American) town. The townscape changes that began to appear then marked the emerging dual landscape that would develop in the commercial center of the city. Although the plazas were mixing grounds for diverse residents and visitors, the creation of specific architectural landmarks in and surrounding the plazas and the authority attached to these, as well as property-ownership changes, signaled a pattern of ethnic segmentation of space in San Antonio. The city was still significantly Hispanic, but the cultural stamp of that group was beginning to fade as a separate, more pluralistic imprint appeared. By the early twentieth century this process led to the creation of separate downtowns, one Mexican and one American.

Military Plaza was the open space surrounded by the presidio. Urrutia's eighteenth-century map shows the presidio and plaza bounded by an acequia or irrigation ditch to its west, which is present-day San Pedro Creek, and by the back side of the San Fernando cathedral facing Main Plaza to the east. On its sides, the space was surrounded by adobe structures that constituted the presidio, several small and scattered L shaped dwellings, and others forming continuous, long blocks (Reps 1979, plate 4). It is doubtful that the plaza space was ever completely enclosed by the presidio. Maps published between 1836 and 1855 each show remnants of the old presidio, essentially pieces of the north and south blocks of barracks and dwellings (Pattan 1836; Freisleben 1845; Thielepape 1855). A late-nineteenth-century map showing the dwellings and ramparts as, perhaps, they once existed notes that most of those structures had been removed by 1850 (Corner 1890). Before that time, this plaza was a military post for soldiers, their families, and their animals. As early as 1850 a building on the northwest corner of this plaza, known to locals as the Bat Cave, functioned as city hall, courthouse, and jail. In 1892 the Bat Cave was replaced by a stylish French Second Empire city hall built of native Texas limestone and polished granite. Because the city hall was positioned in the center of the plaza, it disrupted permanently the decades-old tradition of Military Plaza as open-space market, social center, and general gathering place for the city.
The transformation of Military Plaza from an open, informal gathering spot into the site of a formal municipal-government seat was a process that would nearly repeat itself at San Antonio's other main plaza. When the Villa de San Fernando was created in 1731, a modest single-story adobe building, the casa real, was erected on the east side of Main Plaza directly across from the cathedral, then its dominant landmark (Cruz 1988). The first modern county courthouse, built in 1882 in French Second Empire style, was sited one block north of this plaza, which preserved, at least temporarily, the cathedral's dominance of the plaza. In 1896, however, a new courthouse in dazzling Romanesque style built with native Texas red sandstone and granite was completed on a south corner of the plaza (Carson and McDonald 1986). This courthouse, which still stands, is a massive building that covers the better part of the entire north-facing block of the plaza between the San Pedro Ditch and Dwyer (formerly Quinta) Street. This encroachment on Main Plaza capped several decades of private-property conversions that had been slowly transforming ownership of plaza-front parcels from families with Hispanic surnames to ones of northwestern European origin (Maverick 1860; Corner 1890; Mason 1968). The flat-roofed adobe, single-story buildings that once surrounded this plaza were replaced by mostly stone and some brick-and-frame structures by 1892. Land use also changed: residences gave way to hotels, mercantiles, saddle and harness shops, and especially the saloons that were plentiful on the perimeters of almost every block (Sanborn-Perris Map Co. 1892).

By the end of the nineteenth century the two main social public places in San Antonio had been converted from their previous Hispanic authority to a newly dominant Euro-Texican cultural imprint. This landscape change mirrored the demographic shift that occurred in the city from the colonial-Mexican era, when the population was chiefly Hispanic, to the late nineteenth century, when multiethnic migration from Europe, the South, the North, and elsewhere in Texas remade the city. In 1850 Hispanics, largely Mexicans, accounted for almost 47 percent of the total population, but by 1900 that proportion had dropped to 22 percent (De Le6n 1982, 29). Although the percentage of San Antonio's population enumerated as Mexican would not exceed the 1850 proportion for many decades, the absolute number of Mexicans in the city rose dramatically, from 14,000 to 84,000, during the first three decades of the twentieth century through immigration, and San Antonio became the central pivot of Mexican influence in the United States (Arreola 1987). That process would again produce a genuine Hispanic landscape, but one that was segregated and alien to almost everyone except the Mexicans in the city.

HEART OF THE MEXICAN QUARTER

By the early twentieth century observers of the local scene repeatedly remarked on the distinctive geographical situation of the Mexican population in the city Crossing San Pedro Creek west of Military Plaza.
was the equivalent of fording the Rio Grande (Newcomb 1926, 145). In 1938 one of the better guidebooks to the city declared that San Pedro Creek, long a line of demarcation, was the point at which the Mexican quarter of San Antonio began (Federal Writers' Project 1938, 62). After World War II this segregated geography of the central city was still very much evident to residents and outsiders (Peyton 1946, 146-147). The heart of this trans-San Pedro quarter was a ten-block core of commercial land and open squares west of the creek between Houston Street on the north and Monterey (Nueva) Street on the south that extended westward to Pecos Street, which is now west of the Interstate 10 loop.

During the 1920s and 1930s the city market, originally three blocks long, was the focus of this district. Formerly designated Presidio Square, the area became city property in the 1890s, when city hall took over the market space in Military Plaza. A new brick-and-iron market structure in modified Queen Anne style was positioned on the eastern third of the block between Produce Row and Commerce Street and included a refrigeration plant with a large meat-processing capacity (Noonan Guerra 1988). The new market was flanked by open plazas on all four sides. The plazas to the south and the west became the principal produce markets for the city. The western one also served as a social center for wandering bands of Mexican minstrels and chili stands until 1937. The plaza to the north not only was the meeting place for men seeking day or seasonal labor but also was the site of a civic event known as "Night in Mexico," where local organizations sponsored Mexican folk dances and other traditional celebrations (Federal Writers' Project 1938).

East of Santa Rosa Street across from the market squares was a six block area that contained the highest concentration of Mexican-operated and -patronized businesses in the city and perhaps in the United States. Because San Antonio was recognized in Mexico and across the southwestern states as a major commercial node for a vast agricultural hinterland and a collecting point for migrant labor, its Mexican business district ranked second to none (Garcia 1991). A 1924 directory listed 73 Mexican businesses on these six blocks alone, with the greatest number of establishments concentrated along Laredo Street between Houston and Nueva streets (Sologaistoa 1924).

The heart of the Mexican quarter of San Antonio was a commercial landscape operated chiefly by Mexicans and mostly for their benefit. When city officials decided to promote a Hispanic identity for San Antonio other than the missions, they did not select this vital quarter, the real Hispanic commercial landscape of the city; instead, they substituted an ideal landscape that was contrived, exotic, romantic, and in many ways the antithesis of the city's true Mexican downtown.

THE SHOPS OF ARAGON AND ROMULA
In a commendable guidebook, William Corner (1890) outlined a dozen things for out-of-town visitors to see in San Antonio; six were Spanish relics, but only two were part of the local Mexican scene. Heading the list, of course, were the five Spanish missions, including the Alamo. Other sites included the Espada Dam and Aqueduct, acequias, the San Fernando cathedral, and the plazas, all essentially Spanish-created landscapes, with most exuding a crumbling patina of age, the sort of antiquity that excited late-nineteenth-century excursionists. Of post-Spanish Hispanic origin, only the Mexican quarter and a Mexican meal were promoted as worthy of visitors' attention, and neither was linked to a historic landscape or a romantic ambiance; they were, instead, the standard tourist fare, meant to satisfy the quest for local color. Because the Alamo had been appropriated as a Texan symbol (Schoelwer 1985), there was little on the eastern flank of downtown San Antonio during the late 1920s and 1930s that was seen as worthy of the Spanish heritage of the city. If a genuine landscape was not available, it was incumbent on someone to create the necessary ideal. Two individuals who accepted the challenge were Robert H. H. Hugman, a local architect, and Maury Maverick, a local politician.

The disastrous flood of 1921 spurred interest among city officials to control the axe-shaped bend of the San Antonio River as it meandered through the downtown. A popular proposal called for the river to be paved over so that surface flooding would be reduced and the then unsightly appearance of the river eliminated from view. Rallying the opposition to this proposal were the City Federation of Women's Clubs and the San Antonio Conservation Society. In 1929 Hugman responded to the conservation call by drafting a proposal to construct an entirely new streetscape along the banks of the river bend, below street level. He had recently visited New Orleans, where he had seen restorations then under way in the Vieux Carre (Carson and McDonald 1986). He called his plan for the river the Shops of Aragon and Romula, which invoked romantic names from Mallorca and ideas about streetscape design from Palma. He even projected a plan to have gondolas on the river to add a further romantic flair to his vision of an enchanting river walk.

For nearly a decade Hugman promoted his plan to civic groups and the business community, but it went unfunded because of the Great Depression. Finally, in 1938, the mayor of San Antonio formed an improvement district that included 74 of 76 property owners who controlled land on either side of the river bend between Houston Street on the north and Villita Street on the south. The city approved a small millage assessment on the properties to fund bonds for the proposal. Congressman Maury Maverick, a native of San Antonio and a Democrat closely aligned with President Franklin D. Roosevelt, convinced the Works Progress Administration (WPA) to grant $355,000 for the redevelopment of the river (Workers of the Writers' Program, 1941).

Hugman's ideas for redesign of the river were all the more attractive to
the city because, in addition to his romantic vision, he announced a plan to close the axe-shaped bend of the river to ensure safety from future floods. He proposed bypassing the bend with a cutoff channel that could be sealed by control gates at both ends of the horseshoe during periods of flood. Plans called for clearing and especially deepening the river-bend channel and for constructing 17,000 feet of walkways and 31 stairways leading to 21 bridges (Carson and McDonald 1986). Known as the River Beautification Project, it was completed in March 1941.

The Paseo del Rio, unlike the original plazas of the city, was not an authentic Spanish colonial landscape, although it was certainly inspired by that vision. Like the plazas, the River Walk has been appropriated largely by non-Hispanic elements of San Antonio and promoted as one of several romantic landscapes that contribute to the city's Hispanic heritage and tourist appeal. As one popular guidebook proclaims, "Romance, culture, food, and an endless supply of hotels, shops, cafes, and margaritas all exist along the River Walk, the most picturesque part of San Antonio" (Rafferty 1989, 360). Although dozens of festivals and events held in San Antonio each year bring tourists to the River Walk, only six linked to a Hispanic celebration are staged along the river. These include the Ballet Folklorico de San Antonio, Fiesta de las Luminarias, Fiesta Noche del Rio, Mariachi Festival, Las Posadas, and the Diez y Seis de Septiembre. Most of these celebrations are recent activities, organized and promoted since 1965 (Simons and Hoyt 1992). However, they are staged at the River Walk's focal point, the Arneson River Theater. This amphitheater, situated on both banks of the river bend nearest La Villita, includes a Spanish colonial-revival backdrop with bell tower and stage on the north bank and a seating area on the south bank. As a signature landmark and shelter for ethnic celebrations it embodies the Hispanic flavor of the River Walk perhaps more than does any other single feature of the river landscape.

The River Walk continues to be the focus of downtown redevelopment, including artificial extensions of the river that equate pedestrian access with merchant success. The first extension was built to accommodate a new convention complex when the city hosted HemisFair in 1968; later changes occurred when a promenade was cut to connect the River Walk to Alamo Plaza and when the city facilitated the redevelopment of the Rivercenter Mall, a downtown shopping complex with two anchor department stores and many specialty shops. Today the original design of the Paseo del Rio is touted as a brilliant planning innovation that saved the downtown from certain economic catastrophe. The success of that romantic Spanish waterside streetscape helped to set the tone for future idealized Hispanic landscape creations like La Villita.

PEQUENA ALDEA ESPANOLA
La Villita, or Little Town, is promoted in the magazine of the Paseo del Rio Association as an "historic experience of old San Antonio" (Rio 1994, 8). In an official city brochure it is called "a monument to San Antonio's past" (San Antonio Department of Parks and Recreation 1993). La Villita is based on a real landscape of the past, but the inspiration for the reconstruction of a ramshackle neighborhood during the 1930s was a desire by the San Antonio mayor to create an idealized Spanish village (Ford 1976). Like the River Walk, La Villita has come to be emblematic of a romanticized past.

The cluster of dwellings that would become La Villita was initially a squatter settlement outside the Alamo mission compound (Habig 1968). The settlement does not appear on the 1767 Urrutia map of San Antonio, but it is identified as Villita on the 1836 Labastida map (Labastida 1836). About 1800 it became a residential quarter for soldiers who occupied the Alamo after it was secularized in 1793. By one account it was a village of small houses and gardens, separated from the Villa de San Fernando by the river and perhaps functionally by the reputed presence of its own mayor. Socially, La Villita was a lower-class quarter, housing mixed-race folk as opposed to the pure-blood Canary Islanders who lived near Main Plaza (Rodriguez 1913). By 1809 the village had been incorporated into San Fernando de Bexar (De la Teja and Wheat 1991).

The disastrous flood of 1819 destroyed fifty-five dwellings in the elite Barrio del Norte, near Main Plaza, and some upper-class residents relocated to the higher ground in La Villita (De la Teja and Wheat 1991). By the mid-nineteenth century German and French immigrants were arriving, and La Villita became something of a European-style village. Decline set in, however, when at the turn of the century residents were moving from La Villita to suburban locations. It became a community eyesore, chiefly with Mexican residents (Lipscomb 1976).

The restoration of this derelict quarter became the cause celebre of Maury Maverick in 1939, when as mayor he convinced the property holder, a local utility, to exchange the area for parcels of city-owned land elsewhere (Henderson 1970). Maverick, who had been a congressman, persuaded the National Youth Administration, a federal agency under the authority of the WPA, to allocate $75,000 for property restoration and the creation of a living museum to produce and display crafts, especially those reflecting a Hispanic tradition (Federal Writers' Project 1939; Webb 1977, 2).

Maverick's plan was overly romantic in its first incarnation, full of roses, arches, and what might be described as a "typical Spanish suburban idea" (Ford 1976, 5). Those characteristics were visible in a drawing of the first phase of the reconstruction that appeared in a WPA publication, complete with a romanticized sketch on the cover of a figure sporting a sombrero and a serape. The chief architect objected and asserted that "At no time do we expect to affect picturesqueness or
'sweetness' at the expense of good sense or structural honesty" (Federal Writers' Project 1939, 3). In the end it was decided that building restoration would highlight German, French, and Anglo-American folk traditions as well as Hispanic, so that La Villita would represent the multiethnic heritage of San Antonio. Invariably, given its name the Hispanic nature of the place became its recognized trademark. Furthermore, an early photographic record of La Villita featured exclusively Mexican Americans in its workshops producing metal, textile, and pottery crafts (Gideon 1908-1945). Late in 1939 the mayor proclaimed the La Villita project in English and Spanish texts (Villita de San Antonio 1939). The project included a public plaza in honor of Benito Juarez and a main street named for Miguel Hidalgo; it also called for the restoration of the General Cos house, where the Mexican prefect signed the surrender to Texans after they had captured the city in 1835.

Today La Villita is a facility of the city Department of Parks and Recreation. In 1972 it became a National Register Historic District. With federal assistance the city renovated the entire complex in 1981 and 1982. More than 300 public or private events are held annually at the site, including, since 1947, Night in Old San Antonio (San Antonio Department of Parks and Recreation 1993). Though closely associated with the city's Hispanic heritage, La Villita is increasingly seen more as a boutique-and-festival space than as a historic Hispanic landscape (La Villita n.d.).

WHOSE IDENTITY?

In 1968 a native Texan wrote, "We have never really captured San Antonio, we Texans—somehow the Spanish have managed to hold it. We have attacked with freeways and motels, shopping centers, and now that H-bomb of boosterism, HemisFair; but happily the victory still eludes us. San Antonio has kept an ambiance that all the rest of our cities lack" (McMurtry 1968, 83). The association of the city with a Spanish, not Mexican, heritage is testimony to the widely held perception that many Texans share about the state's Hispanic past. San Antonio has been ethnically Mexican for almost seven decades longer than it was under Spanish rule. Nevertheless, the modern Hispanic identity of the city is linked to ideal landscapes conceived, created, and sustained by local non-Hispanic city patrons. The promotion of an idealized Spanish identity in downtown San Antonio rather than an embracing of the vital Mexican community was perhaps in keeping with the vogue of an era for things Mexican, especially in the arts. Typically, the impression of Mexico that was translated for popular tastes was a romanticized product in which symbolic Hispanic landscapes were equally emblematic to that end (Delpar 1992; Oles 1993). This process of landscape making was also carried out with great excess in the tourist districts of the Mexican border towns during the same period (Curtis and Arreola 1989).
Idealized Hispanic landscapes have continued to attract attention in San Antonio. Washington Square disappeared during the 1960s as suburban shopping centers reduced the demand for a public produce market, and by the early 1970s the city market area was approved as an urban renewal project. A joint public and private investment effort between the City of San Antonio and the San Antonio Development Agency spawned the conversion of streets into pedestrian malls, with fountains, landscaping, and ornamental lights and benches. El Mercado, or Market Square as it is officially known, encompasses a large, enclosed Mexican crafts market, eateries, and tourist boutiques. On any given day the square attracts out-of-towners as well as locals and becomes especially crowded during festive celebrations, which are held at least once a month, when artists and the latter-day chili queens set up their stands to tempt passersby. Like the River Walk and La Villita, Market Square is administered by the city and is asserted to attract more than a million tourists annually.

Not all of the old Mexican commercial quarter has fared as well. Its core along Laredo, Commerce, Dolorosa, and Santa Rosa streets was riddled by urban removal during the 1960s, with landmarks like the Teatro Nacional and the Chapa Drug Store destroyed by the wreckers' ball. Several structures have been appropriated as government-service offices, and the rest appear to be struggling to survive. Like most downtowns in post-World War II American cities, the heart of the Mexican quarter in San Antonio, a vibrant shopping and social node during the interwar decades, has not competed successfully with urban commercial decentralization. A vital space during the period when romantic identity was fashionable, this commercial quarter was bypassed as a symbolic landscape for Hispanic San Antonio.

Realization of the idealized Hispanic landscape-making process in San Antonio may be what one landscape historian calls the American need for ruins. In preserving a past landscape, Americans are inclined to celebrate a bygone era without a definite date. Often the symbolic landscape is constructed from the ruins of a derelict landscape. River Walk and La Villita represent that unspecific, romantic past, places where one can fleetingly relive a "golden age and be purged of historical guilt" (Jackson 1980,102). But can San Antonio, or any place for that matter, ever be bound by the confines of an official past? "The past should never be one-dimensional. No matter how accurately a landscape is preserved, a scene depicting only one moment in time can never be authentic. No place has ever been so consistent" (Ford 1984, 47). The common ground between an ideal past and an official or authentic past may be a landscape that tolerates temporal diversity and accommodates multiple land uses that give character, not charm alone, to the cityscape. This is a lesson for many cities.

In a quiet corner of Market Square in San Antonio, near an art gallery, stands a tile mural executed by native artist Jesse Trevino. Titled "La
Feria” (The Fair), which is also the name of a downtown business, the hand-painted mosaic is a romantic scene, the artist's vision of San Antonio's vibrant Mexican quarter during its heyday, focused on the streetscape where Commerce and Santa Rosa streets converge, a principal social gathering spot for several generations of the city's Mexican Americans (Trevino 1986). In this rendering the Hispanic landscape is not completely idealized, because the view captures one place and one time. Yet the scene, which is based on historical photographs of the district, is a multiple-layered, many-textured experience that suggests the street, buildings, sounds, colors, people, congestion, and more. It may be impossible to re-create that milieu in the contemporary landscape of San Antonio, but the long Hispanic heritage of this Mexican American cultural capital would seem to demand a means of allowing that diverse quality of landscape identity to show through. San Antonio may very well continue to project an idealized Hispanic identity in its captivating tourist downtown, but there is more. The city is a contemporary Mexican American place, steeped in a vital social and economic past, and its landscape calls for recognition and remembrance.

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