

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

1. Name of Property

Historic Name: Parque Zaragoza

Other name/site number: Zaragosa Park

Name of related multiple property listing: N/A

2. Location

Street & number: 2608 Gonzales Street

City or town: Austin

State: Texas

County: Travis

Not for publication:

Vicinity:

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this

(nomination request for determination of eligibility) meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property meets does not meet) the National Register criteria.

I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following levels of significance:

DRAFT: DO NOT DISTRIBUTE

national statewide local

Applicable National Register Criteria: A B C D

State Historic Preservation Officer

Signature of certifying official / Title

Date

Texas Historical Commission

State or Federal agency / bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of commenting or other official

Date

State or Federal agency / bureau or Tribal Government

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4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that the property is:

- entered in the National Register
- determined eligible for the National Register
- determined not eligible for the National Register.
- removed from the National Register
- other, explain: _____

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

<input type="checkbox"/>	Private
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Public - Local
<input type="checkbox"/>	Public - State
<input type="checkbox"/>	Public - Federal

Category of Property

<input type="checkbox"/>	building(s)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	district
<input type="checkbox"/>	site
<input type="checkbox"/>	structure
<input type="checkbox"/>	object

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
1	1	buildings
3	2	sites
3	5	structures
0	0	objects
7	8	total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register: 0

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6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

RECREATION AND CULTURE

Outdoor recreation: playground, park, picnic area, hiking trail

Sports facility: play slab (tennis/basketball court), sand volleyball court, baseball field, swimming pool

SOCIAL

Clubhouse: Bathhouse, community center

Current Functions

RECREATION AND CULTURE

Outdoor recreation: playground, park, picnic area, hiking trail

Sports facility: courts, baseball field, swimming pool

7. Description

Architectural Classification: Other: Bathhouse; National Parks Service—Rustic, modern, vernacular

Principal Exterior Materials: Cement, brick, steel

Narrative Description: See continuation sheets, p. 5-10

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	A	Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
<input type="checkbox"/>	B	Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
<input type="checkbox"/>	C	Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
<input type="checkbox"/>	D	Property has yielded or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations: N/A

Areas of Significance: ETHNIC HERITAGE/Hispanic; and SOCIAL HISTORY

Period of Significance: 1931-1970

Significant Dates: 1931, 1933, 1941

Significant Person (only if criterion b is marked): N/A

Cultural Affiliation (only if criterion d is marked): N/A

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Architect/Builder: CCC/NYA, Austin Parks and Recreation Department, neighborhood volunteers

Narrative Statement of Significance: See continuation sheets, p. 11-28

9. Major Bibliographic References

Bibliography

See continuation sheet, p. 29

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #

Primary location of additional data:

- State historic preservation office (*Texas Historical Commission, Austin*)
- Other state agency
- Federal agency
- Local government
- University
- Other -- Specify Repository: Austin History Center, Parks and Recreation Department Annex

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): N/A

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property: 15 acres

Coordinates

Datum: WGS84

1. Latitude: 30.263339 Longitude: -97.712368
2. Latitude: 30.262270 Longitude: -97.709015
3. Latitude: 30.261111 Longitude: -97.709296
4. Latitude: 30.261563 Longitude: -97.710608
5. Latitude: 30.260921 Longitude: -97.710904

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6. Latitude: 30.262075 Longitude: -97.712646

Verbal Boundary Description: Parque Zaragoza is bounded by one- and two-story residences to the north, North Pleasant Valley Road to the east, restaurant and retail buildings to the southeast, Gonzales Street to the south, and Pedernales Street to the west.

Boundary Justification: The boundary includes all property historically associated with Parque Zaragoza since its acquisition by the City of Austin in 1931.

11. Form Prepared By

Name/title: Kalan Contreras

Organization: City of Austin Historic Preservation Office

Street & number: P.O. Box 1088

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Date: Dec. 1, 2020

Additional Documentation

Maps: See continuation sheets 32 through 40.

Additional items: See continuation sheets 41 through 70.

Photographs: See continuation sheets 71 through 95.

Photograph Log: See continuation sheets 69 through 70.

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

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SUMMARY

Parque Zaragoza is a 15-acre public park at 2608 Gonzales Street, owned and maintained by the City of Austin Parks and Recreation Department. Nestled within an East Austin neighborhood, the park is surrounded by modest one- and two-story residences to the north, Gonzales Street to the south, North Pleasant Valley Road to the east, and Pedernales Street to the west. This neighborhood has been occupied by predominantly Mexican American families since its development in the early- to mid-twentieth century.

The L-shaped property, bisected by Boggy Creek, comprises a large parcel to the north and a smaller one to the south.¹ Mature oaks shade green space, used for picnics and outdoor gatherings, to the northeast. The northwest quadrant contains a 1933 pool and 1941 bathhouse, both contributing elements to the historic district that retain a high degree of integrity. The pool remains in seasonal use. A playground, bandstand, basketball courts, and volleyball courts lie roughly in the park's center. The south parcel includes a baseball field and bleachers and a modern recreation center (built in 1996) with parking. A steel footbridge spans the creek northeast of the baseball field, while another links the recreation center to the park's northern amenities. A concrete and steel bandstand, located to the northeast and across Boggy Creek from the new recreation center and erected during the 1970s, occupies the site of an earlier wooden bandstand donated from nearby East Avenue Park in the late 1930s.²

Since its establishment as a City of Austin recreational area in 1931—after years of petitioning by Mexican American community leaders—Parque Zaragoza has continuously served the surrounding neighborhood, as well as Austin's larger Mexican American community.³ As physical evidence of Mexican American Austinites' successful advocacy against institutional racism, the park symbolizes the power of grassroots organizing and persistence. Today, it remains a recreation destination and special-events venue for sports, civic activities, fiestas, and education.

NARRATIVE DESCRIPTION

Parque Zaragoza contains a variety of built resources in addition to public green space. The bathhouse, pool, basketball court, bandstand, and undeveloped picnic areas retain enough integrity to contribute to the historic district (see Map 4). While other park structures and objects have been replaced and added over the years as the community's needs changed, a few remain in the relative locations of earlier resources.

I. Swimming pool and pumphouse

Parque Zaragoza's swimming pool (contributing) was built in 1933 as a segregated public facility. Though it was one of the smallest City pools, it remained the only public pool open to Mexican Americans for much of the twentieth century, drawing record crowds to the park each summer. The concrete pool in the northwest quadrant of the park measures approximately 100 feet by 40 feet.⁴

¹ Ulila, "Parque Zaragoza," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Unpublished report, University of Texas, 2018), Section 7.

² Jen Massing-Harris, unpublished interview by author, Austin, February 2020; Amanda Covo et al., "The History of Rosewood Park," Austin Parks Foundation, February 5, 2020.

³ "About Parque Zaragoza Neighborhood Park," Parque Zaragoza Neighborhood Alliance, 2019, <http://www.zaragozaparkneighborhoodassn.org/parque-zaragoza-history.html>.

⁴ Brian D. Behnken, *Fighting Their Own Battles: Mexican Americans, African Americans, and the Struggle for Civil Rights in*

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A concrete sidewalk punctuated by depth markers and benches and edged by a grassy lawn surrounds the pool. Three-quarters of the site are enclosed by a chain-link fence topped with razor wire, with the northeast corner wrapped by the 1941 bathhouse. While the pool's interior has been resurfaced and its ladders, lifeguard stands, benches, and diving boards have been replaced, its design, location, and function remain intact.⁵ It receives regular maintenance to accommodate seasonal use. A shed-roofed CMU pumphouse and tank (noncontributing) are adjacent to the east sidewalk.

II. Bathhouse

Parque Zaragoza's bathhouse (contributing) was constructed around 1941 by community volunteers and National Youth Association program members. It abuts the northeast corner of the swimming pool. In addition to its basic function as a restroom, shower, and changing area for bathers, the bathhouse—referred to as a “shelter house and caretaker's unit”⁶ in period documentation — was historically used as both the caretaker's residence and an all-purpose community center. Its character-defining features include expansive horizontal windows, low-relief brick coping and windowsills, long and low massing, and pointed-arch entrances on the pool-facing (west) elevation.

The one-story L-plan building's shorter east-west wing measures approximately 47 feet in length, while the longer north-south wing measures 69 feet. It is 10'6" in height to its flat roofline.⁷ Its slab foundation meets a sloping sidewalk at each door, which have all been modified to meet ADA requirements.

The building hugs the fenced pool area, with parking areas to the north and west and a new (2017) playground across a grassy lawn to the east. Oaks shade the parking areas. There is evidence of an original gravel drive and small parking area in the lawn between the bathhouse and playground, adjacent to the current main entrance on the east façade. When community meetings or celebrations grew too large for the activity areas within the bathhouse, organizers often set up tables in this space; all were welcome to participate.

The bathhouse is long and low, clad in red street-paver-style brick with pale grey mortar in a running bond that highlights the building's horizontality.⁸ Brick coping at the parapet extends approximately one inch in relief, with replacement metal scuppers beneath it. Door and window openings are framed in steel and covered with painted steel grilles. What appears to be a structural steel C-channel spans each grille.

Texas, University of North Carolina Press, 2011, www.jstor.org/stable/10.5149/9780807877876_behnken; Nina Hernandez, “Austin's Pool System Will Collapse If We Don't Save It,” *The Austin Chronicle*, June 1, 2018, <https://www.austinchronicle.com/news/2018-06-01/austins-pool-system-will-collapse-if-we-dont-save-it>; Ulila, “Parque Zaragoza.”

⁵ Andrew Leith, “Parque Zaragoza,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Unpublished report, University of Texas, 2014), Section 7.

⁶ City of Austin Recreation Department, 1941 Annual Report.

⁷ Leith, “Parque Zaragoza.”

⁸ *Ibid.*

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Most windows have low-relief brick sills that reflect the simple coping; however, two large windows at the east elevation have unadorned openings that sit only four brick courses—less than one foot—above ground level. To the right of these are a wooden door; a smaller vertically-oriented window of medium height with a missing sash; a painted metal door without grilles but covered by a flat-roof portico with two steel-pipe supports (non-original); and a long narrow window whose sill sits roughly halfway up the building, further emphasizing its horizontality.

The north elevation of the building's short (east-west) wing contains two high-sill horizontal windows on the left and two medium-height, vertically oriented windows on the right. Each window's dimensions match their counterparts on the east elevation. The east-west wing's west elevation has no openings.

At the interior corner of the L, two gated pointed arches provide access to the pool from the building's interior changing areas. The arched openings, facing west and south, are the building's most notable character-defining features. A long window extending almost to ground level lies to the left of the south-facing arch on the east-west wing, similar in dimension and placement to the two largest windows at the east elevation. Three identical windows adorn the east wall adjacent to the arch on the north-south wing. Each window has a simple brick sill to match the coping and sills on the building's smaller windows.

The north-south wing's south-facing end wall is obscured by a large, fenced plastic water tank, but it appears to have a door and a large window of similar proportions. All openings, save the small medium-height window on the east elevation and the arched entryway on the west elevation, are boarded up beneath their grilles.

While the interior of the building was inaccessible at the time of submission, Leith (2014) and Ulila (2018) describe its interior in detail:

The interior. . .originally featured a large multipurpose activities room, a two-room apartment for a permanent caretaker, [and restrooms] . . . The caretaker's lodgings may have occupied what is today the northwest activities room. . . The interior of the pool house is made up of five main rooms. The first is a large 17'-8" by 39' activities room to the south. The primary point of egress in this room is to the east, a secondary point of egress [is] to the south, and an interior hallway [is] to the north. This room is open, and contains a small utilities closet in the southwest corner, two large east[-]facing. . . windows, one south-facing widow, and three large west[-]facing. . . windows that overlook the pool [and are] 113" wide and 67" tall and 10" [from] the floor. The walls. . . are exposed brick, with. . . [an 8' ceiling and unfinished concrete floors] . . . A small central office (13' by 7'-4") sits just north of the south activities room. This space has an east facing [sic] exterior window as well as north- and south- facing interior windows, [sic] that may have been used for ticket collecting/admissions. A hall extends to the west of the office [. . .] The second main point of exterior egress opens onto a small porch with a flat concrete and steel awning that was likely a later addition. [One] restroom . . . occupies the northeast corner of the building. It contains two character defining

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window openings . . . These windows are 123” wide by 22” tall, approximately 5’-6” above the floor, along the east and north walls. [Another] restroom . . . along the north wall contains . . . one long window . . . A small utilities closet is located along the east-west hall. . . to the west is another deeper storage closet (5’ by 11’). Finally, the far northwest room is. . . 18’ by 19’-3”. This space is painted red and features a built-in sink in the northern corner of the east wall. Two small windows (each 38” wide by 40” tall) are centered along the north wall and one large (75” wide by 53” tall) window is centered along the south wall, facing the pool. The opening into the room, on the south corner of the east wall, has been enlarged and remains unfinished.⁹

The bathhouse interior floor is made up of plain reinforced concrete elevated approximately an inch above the natural grade line. The interior walls seem to recycle broken red bricks due to the varying dimension and random pattern. The low-sill windows have a protruding concrete sill in the interior which looks like a later addition. The ceiling on the longer wing [is missing] . . . The ceiling on the shorter wing is covered with plain plywood.¹⁰

From these accounts, we can infer that the bathhouse’s interior has been altered continuously throughout the course of its lifetime to suit the changing needs of the City and park patrons. The bathhouse shows signs of deferred maintenance inside and out, likely exacerbated since its 2015 closure. Aside from the missing eastern window, non-original portico, and replacement doors, the exterior building envelope is intact. It still clearly conveys its significance.

III. Playground, courts, and bandstand

The Parks and Recreation Department constructed a new playground and climbing structure (noncontributing) in 2018 to the southeast of the bathhouse. Beyond it lies an asphalt basketball court constructed during the 1940s (contributing), a volleyball court (noncontributing), and a 1970s bandstand (contributing). According to a community member with longstanding ties to the park, baseball games were originally held on the current site of the basketball court.¹¹

The bandstand is located just north of Boggy Creek on the site of an early twentieth-century wooden structure donated from East Avenue Park during the 1930s. However, historical drawings suggest it is a post-1970 replacement.¹² Its painted-brick platform, rectangular in shape and around three feet high, sits atop a concrete pad. It is covered by a corrugated metal shed roof supported by painted steel pipes. Painted metal guardrails enclose three sides of the platform. A small brick storage room with a painted metal door and flat cement roof projects from the western side of the stage, flanked by concrete steps. Though the bandstand’s construction date is estimated at 1973, three years outside the period of significance as of December 2020, it contributes as a recent-past addition to

⁹ Leith, “Parque Zaragoza.”

¹⁰ Ulila, “Parque Zaragoza.”

¹¹ “About Parque Zaragoza,” PZNA

¹² Ulila, “Parque Zaragoza.”

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the park. Because the volleyball courts cannot be dated to the period of significance, they do not contribute to the character of the district.

IV. Picnic areas

Next to the courts and bandstand, the park's natural picnic area (contributing) sprawls northeast. Over 400 mature trees¹³ shade this grassy meadow dotted with benches and picnic tables and crisscrossed by dirt walking paths. This site has been used as a gathering space for Mexican and Mexican American cultural celebrations since at least 1931. This natural landscape continues along Boggy Creek's meandering path to the west within an area annexed in 1970, which extends the park's usable space and retains enough integrity to contribute to the historic district.

V. Ball fields

In the 1950s, park advocates successfully campaigned for the construction of a baseball field (noncontributing) in its southwestern quadrant. Today, the fenced field contains a 1947 grandstand (contributing).¹⁴ A softball field was originally adjacent to the baseball diamond, but it was removed to make space for the new recreation center in the mid-1990s. The baseball field has been modified to provide for continuous use, and it no longer retains the setting or feeling once provided by the adjacent softball field.

VI. Boggy Creek retaining walls and bridges

Boggy Creek, a tributary of the Colorado River, bisects Parque Zaragoza. Its path has changed over time as floods, erosion, and human intervention have molded the landscape. Original wooden footbridges have been replaced by two arched steel truss bridges. One crosses the creek west of the baseball field, while the other abuts the recreation center at its north elevation. The creek bed has been reinforced with concrete; modern terraced rubble-fill retaining walls buttress its steep banks. The bridges and retaining walls do not contribute to the district.

VII. Recreation center

After decades of lobbying by community advocates and residents, a new recreation center (noncontributing) was constructed on the site of the former softball field in 1996. Accessed via Gonzales Street, this building houses a gymnasium, classrooms and meeting rooms, offices, and a kitchen. Its main hall is ornamented with murals by local artist Fidencio Duran, whose work focuses on telling the stories of his family and community histories. Many of Duran's Austin murals honor the contributions of Hispanic East Austinites.¹⁵

¹³ Leith, "Parque Zaragoza."

¹⁴ Minutes of the City Council of Austin, Texas, January 23, 1947; "Survey Ordered for New Tennis Courts Given City," *The Austin Statesman*, January 24, 1947.

¹⁵ "Fidencio Duran," <https://www.fidencioduran.com/welcome.html>

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VIII. Summary of Resources

Map 4 Key	Name	Type	Date	Integrity	Status
I.A.	Swimming pool	Structure	1933	Yes	Contributing
I.B.	Pumphouse	Structure	ca. 2000s	N/A	Noncontributing
II.	Bathhouse	Building	1941	Yes	Contributing
III.A.	Playground	Structure	2018	N/A	Noncontributing
III.B.	Basketball court	Site	ca. 1940s	Yes	Contributing
III.C.	Volleyball court	Site	ca. 1970s	No	Noncontributing
III.D.	Bandstand	Structure	ca. 1973	Yes	Contributing
IV.A.	Picnic area	Site	1931	Yes	Contributing
IV.B.	Picnic area annex	Site	1970	Yes	Contributing
V.	Ball fields	Site	ca. 1950s	No	Noncontributing
V.A.	Grandstand	Structure	1947	Yes	Contributing
VI.A-B.	Footbridges	Structures	ca. 1996	N/A	Noncontributing
VI.C.	Retaining wall	Structure	ca. 1996	N/A	Noncontributing
VII.	Recreation center	Building	1996	N/A	Noncontributing

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SUMMARY

For over eighty years, Parque Zaragoza has served as a gathering place for Mexican American Austinites to celebrate their cultural heritage, honor their civic accomplishments, and educate younger generations on the importance of cultural identity and community involvement. Established in 1931 after extensive grassroots activism by community leaders, the park is a physical reminder of the resilience and fortitude of those who fought for a uniquely Mexican American space during an era rife with segregation, institutional disenfranchisement, and systemic racism.

Parque Zaragoza's period of significance stretches from 1931 to 1970, spanning the fifty-year eligibility criterion at the time of submittal in 2020 in recognition of the park's ongoing use for its historic purposes. Its intact layout and contributing sites, buildings, and structures tell how community advocacy shaped East Austin's landscape and Austin's cultural identity throughout the twentieth century. As we acknowledge the struggles and triumphs of Mexican Americans in Austin's tumultuous history, it is essential to honor their contributions to the city's civic, economic, social, and built fabric. Parque Zaragoza exemplifies these contributions and is eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A in the areas of ethnic heritage and social history.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

I. Austin's Mexican American roots

A. Emigration from Mexico

Mexican culture flourished in Central Texas since long before the establishment of the Republic of Texas and subsequent statehood, but many Austin residents trace their roots to those who arrived from Mexico within the last 150 years. Generations of Austinites have struggled for representation in the face of societal prejudice and systemic governmental discrimination against people of color. Parque Zaragoza's story begins with those who fought for change in East Austin at a time when equality seemed impossible. The city's cultural landscape—and Parque Zaragoza's significance as a touchstone of Mexican American heritage within it—is entwined with their hardships and triumphs.

East Austin is located east of Interstate Highway 35 from downtown and north of the Colorado River. Before the Civil War, Anglo American farmers occupied most of the eastern Outlots, land apportioned to settlers by the General Land Office.¹⁶ After the war, the Outlots' population grew and its demographic makeup shifted.¹⁷ Post-war railroad expansion made Texas more accessible, bringing people, jobs, and building materials to Austin and its environs. A mix of native-born Texans, European immigrants, Mexican immigrants and migrants, and African American freedmen lived in East Austin by the 1870s. However, those who emigrated from Mexico often settled first in the "Old Mexico" neighborhood downtown, near present-day Republic Square.¹⁸

¹⁶ Hardy-Heck-Moore, Inc., "East Austin Historic Resources Survey," City of Austin, 2016.

¹⁷ Martha Doty Freeman, "East Austin Multiple Resource Area," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1985), Section 8.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I-26

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In the early twentieth century, civil unrest in Mexico spurred a steady influx of new residents seeking stability in Texas. *Racial Dynamics in Early Twentieth-Century Austin, Texas* identifies the Mexican Revolution of 1910 as “the catalyst for, rather than the main cause of, the massive immigration occurring during the next two decades”¹⁹ and cites Texas’ economic potential as the impetus for its sustained population growth. As Mexico’s decade-long civil war wore on, “increased immigration from Mexico augmented the size of the existing Tejano community and invigorated it with an unadulterated dose of Mexican culture.”²⁰ The Chamber of Commerce encouraged Mexican immigrants to live and work in Austin to meet the expanding city’s labor needs.²¹ The 1910 census reported that Hispanic households represented around 2 percent of all Austin residents;²² by 1930, they represented 13 percent.²³

B. Early displacement and intra-city migration

While Austin’s Old Mexico neighborhood remained an epicenter of Mexican American life at the turn of the 20th century, its conditions deteriorated as more people arrived and critical infrastructure and sanitation issues were ignored by the municipal government. Industrial growth spurred construction of railroad spurs and warehouses near Mexican American enclaves along the tracks at East Avenue and 3rd Street, obliterating residential blocks and pushing out their inhabitants.

As churches and businesses moved east amid rising racism, displaced families often migrated east to be closer to these institutions, some taking advantage of new housing as the railroad boom facilitated residential development away from the city center. A series of bridges constructed throughout the 1870s linked downtown Austin to new neighborhoods east of Waller Creek, and the streetcar system extended east during the 1890s.²⁴ Travis County records indicate that, by 1924, one-third of Mexican American households lived in East Austin, with the rest residing in older Mexican and Mexican American enclaves or in rural settlements.²⁵

The wave of Mexican immigrants faced immense societal pressure as they struggled to build new lives in Texas. “The state was still . . . grappling with an antebellum legacy of . . . Jim Crow era regulations and the construction of identity as a binary of black and white,”²⁶ Andrew Leith writes, citing Ruth Allen’s 1920s observation of “the temerity of a people who still insist upon a third element—Mexican Americans.”²⁷ The ongoing threat of cultural erasure underscored the community’s need for a space dedicated to the expression and celebration of Mexican heritage.

¹⁹ Jason McDonald, *Racial Dynamics in Early Twentieth-Century Austin, Texas*. (Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2012), 25.

²⁰ Robert C. Overfelt, “Mexican Revolution,” Handbook of Texas Online, June 15, 2010, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/pqmhe>.

²¹ Ethan A. Raath and Jennifer E. Ruch, “Parque Zaragoza, 1931 – Present,” (Unpublished report, Texas Historical Commission, 2014).

²² Note that the census most likely left a significant percentage of nonwhite residents uncounted.

²³ Vivian Elizabeth Smyrl, “Travis County,” Handbook of Texas Online, September 2, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hct08>.

²⁴ Hardy-Heck-Moore, Inc., “East Austin Historic Resources Survey”; Greenhill, Sharon Edgar. *Impact of Central City Revitalization on East Austin—Austin, Texas*. (Austin: The University of Texas, 1980) 12-22.

²⁵ Leith, “Parque Zaragoza.”

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ McDonald, *Racial Dynamics*, 17.

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II. Austin's parks

A. 19th-century Austin and public spaces

While Edwin Waller's 1839 plan for Austin included four public squares, all were occupied by non-civic uses such as markets, religious gatherings, and—in what would later become Wooldridge Square—a garbage dump.²⁸ During the 1870s, the railroad economy prompted construction of streetcars and bridges to accommodate the population boom. In 1875, Austin gained its first true public park when Governor E. M. Pease gifted 23 acres to the City for the express purpose of public recreation.²⁹ However, a municipal park system did not develop until relatively late in Austin's history.

Municipal funding was sporadically allocated to civic projects after the 1870s, depending on the indebted city's available resources, with varying success. The collapse of the 60-foot Austin Dam in 1900 further compounded the City's growing debt. Park acquisition, construction, and administration — like electric streetlights, pavement, sewers, and flood control — did not factor into early politicians' budgets.³⁰

B. Emancipation Park and Republic Square celebrations

In 1907, the Travis County Emancipation Celebration Association purchased five acres near Rosewood Avenue and Chicon Street to create one of the first parks in East Austin.³¹ Thomas J. White, the Association's founder, believed that the annual Juneteenth celebration should be held on land owned by Black residents. As such, Emancipation Park was not only a prototype for Austin's future parks; it also promoted the idea of outdoor gathering spaces tailored to cultural celebrations, much like the traditional multi-day fiestas during Diez y Seis and Cinco de Mayo held in what is now Republic Square (prior to and during the mass displacement of residents from the surrounding Mexican and Mexican American neighborhood) from the 1870s onward.³² Emancipation Park hosted civic events all year long, but the largest crowds arrived on June 19 each year to celebrate the end of slavery in Texas.³³ The park was seized thirty years later by the City via eminent domain to build Rosewood Courts, a segregated public housing project for low-income African American residents.³⁴

C. 20th-century changes

Austin made slow progress toward a public park system during A. P. Wooldridge's decade-long tenure as mayor. Elected on a platform of growth and reform after a complete government overhaul in 1908, Wooldridge funded substantial, long-overdue civic improvements. Wooldridge Square

²⁸ "Wooldridge Square," The Cultural Landscape Foundation, <https://tclf.org/landscapes/wooldridge-square>. Accessed May 27, 2020.

²⁹ Smyrl, "Travis County."

³⁰ Hardy-Heck-Moore, Inc., "East Austin Historic Resources Survey"; Smyrl, "Travis County."

³¹ Teresa Palomo Acosta, "Juneteenth," Handbook of Texas Online, June 15, 2010, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/lkj01>.

³² Preservation Central, Inc., "Historic/Archeological Research on Republic Square: Draft Letter Report," March 4, 2002.

³³ Hasan, Syeda. "Staring Down Development, Neighbors Seek Historical Recognition for Emancipation Park," KUT.org, Jan 19, 2017, <https://www.kut.org/post/staring-down-development-neighbors-seek-historical-recognition-emancipation-park>.

³⁴ Hardy-Heck-Moore, Inc., "East Austin Historic Resources Survey"

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was cleared of trash, its drainage improved, and a bandstand erected; downtown streets were paved and lighted; public sewers were constructed; and Barton Springs and adjacent parkland were acquired for public use.³⁵

After another government reform established the current council-manager format in 1924, politicians turned their efforts toward city planning and beautification.³⁶ This ultimately led to their solicitation of Dallas planning firm Koch and Fowler and City Council's adoption of their 1928 master plan. Though the Koch and Fowler plan had disastrous consequences for Austin's racial integration (see Section III), some of its recommendations resulted in a \$4.25 million bond issue for civic improvements, including new parks and public pools.³⁷ In 1928, Council established the Austin Recreation Department (now the Parks and Recreation Department); within a year, the Department calculated that 139,000 Austinites had visited the City's parkland and recreational facilities.³⁸

III. Displacement to East Austin and institutionalized racism

East Austin's Mexican and Mexican American communities grew steadily in the first decades of the twentieth century, a result of increased immigration, rising discrimination in other parts of the city, and displacement from the Little Mexico neighborhood. Racial tension escalated around the time of World War I, precipitating changes that physically and ideologically distanced East Austin's neighborhoods from downtown and from white enclaves to the west. By the end of the 1920s, white Austinites had begun to voice dissatisfaction with the population boom, and citizens of color faced discrimination daily.³⁹

A. Institutionalized segregation and the Koch and Fowler plan

Institutionalized segregation—codified by Koch and Fowler's 1928 city plan and Jim Crow laws and enforced by government denial of services and construction of physical infrastructure barriers—forced Austin into an era of cultural and environmental division. Jason McDonald describes the social changes that accompanied the city's demographic shift: "Prior to WWI Mexicans in Austin were normally viewed and treated as part of the white population. After the war Mexicans increasingly found themselves marginalized, and by the eve of the Great Depression they were largely viewed and treated by whites as an extraneous racial group."⁴⁰

The 1928 Koch and Fowler plan was designed to thwart the 1917 Supreme Court ruling against segregationist zoning laws. It recommended restricting all government services for African Americans to East Austin, which previously held a more racially and culturally diverse mix of residents. Thus, African American Austinites were forced to move to a single area to access parks, schools, and other segregated municipal facilities; to receive City utilities; and to have residential

³⁵ David C. Humphrey, "Austin, TX (Travis County)", Handbook of Texas Online, October 23, 2018, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hda03>.

³⁶ Humphrey, "Austin, TX (Travis County)"; Leith, "Parque Zaragoza."

³⁷ Ibid.; Hardy-Heck-Moore, Inc., "East Austin Historic Resources Survey."

³⁸ "Administrative History," Parks and Recreation Department Photo Negative Collection, 2014,

<https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/taro/aushc/00409/ahc-00409.html>; City of Austin Recreation Department, 1930 Annual Report.

³⁹ Hardy-Heck-Moore, Inc., "East Austin Historic Resources Survey," I-63.

⁴⁰ McDonald, *Racial Dynamics*, 6.

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streets paved. Immediately following the plan's adoption, industrial zoning was allowed in the area and higher-intensity transportation corridors were planned, further stifling residential improvements.⁴¹

B. Denial of services and other discriminatory policies

Though the Koch and Fowler plan did not explicitly segregate Mexican American residents, prejudice and racial barriers—such as racially restrictive deed covenants on West Austin properties and rampant municipal disregard for quality of life in East Austin—affected their daily lives. Even before the plan was officially adopted, churches and large employers of Mexican Americans relocated to East Austin as discrimination increased elsewhere. Property values in East Austin began declining nearly a decade before the plan's implementation as the City failed to provide essential services to the area.⁴²

The City government's refusal to provide services to communities of color extended to all aspects of daily life: African American and Mexican American schools, parks, and other institutions ceased to exist in West Austin and essential services like sewers, paved streets, and electricity in East Austin were nonexistent or substandard. Utility and transportation lines were deliberately underprovided and poorly maintained, even as similar public amenities in West Austin improved. Residents could not avoid substandard services by choosing private utility providers, as those providers did not offer services to East Austin.⁴³

New Deal housing policies encouraged private covenants and deed restrictions to safeguard “good neighborhoods,” reinforcing the prejudiced practices already employed by white sellers in Austin. The federal government established the Housing and Loan Corporation (HOLC) in 1933 to help homeowners avoid foreclosure during the Great Depression via low-interest mortgages. However, HOLC's redlining policies—discriminatory classifications that equated lender risk with minority populations—made it harder or impossible to obtain mortgage insurance in neighborhoods with nonwhite residents.⁴⁴

In 1936, the Federal Housing Administration issued policy guidelines intending to increase homeownership and bolster property values, insisting that covenants were “an absolute necessity if good neighborhoods and stable property values are to be maintained.”⁴⁵ Of course, these “good neighborhoods,” as defined by the redlining maps of the era, were characterized by the absence of “infiltration by foreign-born, negro, or lower-grade population”—that is, they were occupied by wealthy white homeowners.⁴⁶ To comply with the FHA guidelines, Austin's City Council decided to allow new subdivisions in North and West Austin to exclude African American and Mexican American buyers.

⁴¹ Greenhill, *Impact*, 32; Hardy-Heck-Moore, “East Austin Historic Resources Survey.”

⁴² Hardy-Heck-Moore, Inc., “East Austin Historic Resources Survey,” I-22.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, I-29.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, I-77.

⁴⁵ Hardy-Heck-Moore, Inc., “East Austin Historic Resources Survey,” I-78.

⁴⁶ Home Owners' Loan Corporation, “Residential Security Map”; Hardy-Heck-Moore, Inc., “East Austin Historic Resource Survey,” I-77.

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IV. The rise of activism and comités patrióticos

Since East Austin residents could not depend upon the City to provide adequate public services, they looked to their neighbors for support. Enterprising Austinites of the post-World War II era strengthened already prominent non-governmental institutions, from churches to political organizations to businesses. Communities of color all over the nation drew from strong traditions of grassroots activism to effect change in their cities, and their efforts resulted in policy changes that laid the groundwork for correcting inequities in municipal services and facilities in the decades to come.⁴⁷

A. A backdrop of nationwide activism

“At a time when the Hispanic population was denied the most basic of civil right[s] in America, unity within the local communities was an important means of preserving their cultural identity,” write Ethan Raath and Jennifer Ruch.⁴⁸ The League of United Latin American Citizens was established in 1929 by a group of Corpus Christi residents to advocate for better education, employment rights, and civic equality.⁴⁹ Following LULAC’s lead, Ladies’ LULAC, the G.I. Forum, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, and local civil rights chapters mobilized to combat political disenfranchisement and racial discrimination against Mexican Americans. Austin citizens recognized the need for local activism in order to facilitate these changes, including the right to express their culture in an outdoor space of their own.

B. Establishing Austin’s comités patrióticos

During the 1920s, the Mexican consulate established statewide chapters of the Comisión Honorífica Mexicana in Texas. The Comisión, organized for the purpose of mutual aid to Mexican Americans, gave rise to many associated local comités patrióticos (“patriotic committees”). These local groups worked with the consulate to “promote Mexican patriotism and foster good relations”⁵⁰ between Texas and Mexico. In 1932, Amador Candelas established Austin’s official comité patriótico.⁵¹ Through community outreach, it helped Austinites stay informed on political issues, both in Mexico and the United States. Comités also sponsored educational activities and events celebrating Mexican culture, with the goal of cultivating “mutual appreciation of the cultures on opposite sides of the border.”⁵² One of the comités patrióticos’ most visible roles involved planning, advertising, and fundraising for annual fiestas Diez y Seis de Septiembre and Cinco de Mayo, which “aim[ed] toward remembering the thirst for freedom the Mexican Americans and others who cherish independence celebrate every September 16th and May 5th”⁵³ (see Section IV). In a time when many struggled to assimilate to the dominant, often hostile Anglo culture in Austin, the comité

⁴⁷ Hardy-Heck-Moore, Inc., “East Austin Historic Resources Survey,” I-94.

⁴⁸ Raath and Ruch, “Parque Zaragoza.”

⁴⁹ Cynthia E. Orozco, “League of United Latin American Citizens,” Handbook of Texas Online, June 15, 2010, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/wel0>.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Raath and Ruch, “Parque Zaragoza.”

⁵² María-Cristina García, “Comité Patriótico Mexicano,” Handbook of Texas Online, August 4, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/pqc03>.

⁵³ *The Austin American Statesman*, May 4, 1996.

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patriótico encouraged Mexican Americans to take pride in their heritage, strengthening their cultural ties to Mexico while forming a tight-knit local community. Parque Zaragoza soon became a cultural center for the entire region under the auspices of the comité patriótico. In addition to Candelas, founding members included Macrino Ortiz, Ignacio Arriaza, Frank Morales, Ignacio Acosta, Pedro Cortez Sueiez, Severino Guerria, Frank Rios, and Frank Prado.⁵⁴

C. Founding Parque Zaragoza

The 1928 Koch and Fowler city plan recommended allocating funding to public amenities, including parkland, as part of its strategy for segregating African American residents in East Austin. Rosewood Park, a segregated park for African Americans between Rosewood Avenue and E. 12th Street, opened soon after the plan's adoption.⁵⁵

Mexican Americans had been migrating to East Austin throughout the decade, but still had limited access to dedicated public space adequate for large outdoor gatherings. According to Recreation Department documents, a segregated park opened near Our Lady of Guadalupe church in 1929, called the "Lydia Street playground" or "Mexican Park" in contemporary planning documents. The Lydia Street park hosted City-sponsored recreational programming, but its lack of lighting limited evening activities (see Figure 6). This playground remained in use until the 1930s, even after Parque Zaragoza opened.⁵⁶

Intensive lobbying by cultural advocacy groups, including founding members of Austin's earliest comité patriótico and community members, businesses, and affiliated organizations, finally convinced the City's new Recreation Department to purchase a plot of land for a new segregated Mexican American park in East Austin in 1930. In 1929, the comité organized a Diez y Seis de Septiembre gathering across the street from Parque Zaragoza's current location,⁵⁷ by 1930, the Recreation Department planned for a new "Mexican Park" to be built in the vicinity.⁵⁸ On April 23, 1931, W. S. Benson sold 9.27 acres on Pedernales Street to the City for \$5,250.⁵⁹ In a 2014 interview, a senior community member described the parcel as "a small farm on the outskirts of Austin, with a house sheltered by live oak trees along Boggy Creek."⁶⁰

Parque Zaragoza—known as Zaragosa Park⁶¹ in early publications—opened later that year. Its name honored Mexican general Ignacio Zaragoza Seguin, who led his army to victory against French invaders at the Battle of Puebla on May 5, 1862 (See Section 6.A). As soon as the City purchased the land, community advocates sprang into action, establishing the Zaragosa Park Board

⁵⁴ Parks and Recreation Board Meeting Minutes, 1931-1935, Austin Files AF_Parks: P1200(31)-(35): 203280, Austin History Center; Arnold Garcia, Jr., "Zaragoza Celebration a Grand Time for Community," *The Austin American-Statesman*, May 4, 1996, A13; City of Austin Recreation Department, 1941 Annual Report.

⁵⁵ Leith, "Parque Zaragoza."

⁵⁶ City of Austin Recreation Department, 1928-1937 Annual Reports.

⁵⁷ Raath and Ruch, "Parque Zaragoza"

⁵⁸ Recreation Department Board Meeting Minutes, 1931-1935.

⁵⁹ City Council Meeting Minutes, February 19, 1931, <http://www.austintexas.gov/edims/document.cfm?id=89179>; Travis County Warranty Deed, April 23, 1931, Austin History Center.

⁶⁰ Leith, "Parque Zaragoza."

⁶¹ The park operated under the incorrect spelling of "Zaragosa" until the Zaragoza Advisory Board petitioned to have the misspelling recognized and revised to Zaragoza in 1989. The petition was approved on June 19, 1989. Source: Leith, "Parque Zaragoza"

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to organize activities, plan improvements, and lead park maintenance efforts.⁶² Severiano Guerra, Amador Candelas, Frank Rios, Miguel Guerrero, and a host of neighborhood residents jump-started the board with tireless commitment, ensuring that the City maintained the momentum necessary for the park's completion.⁶³

Guerra was well known in the community. A veteran of the Mexican Revolution of 1910, he also founded a branch of the Cruz Azul (Blue Cross), a community-based welfare society that provided medical services to the residents of East Austin. Candelas was a business leader in the community [. . .] remembered fondly for the “midnight movies” he presented for Mexicans in downtown Austin. These men began the work of building the park, but the local comité patriótico cemented its place in Mexican American culture and history in Austin.⁶⁴

D. Early improvements

Neighborhood residents and Austin's larger Mexican American community repeatedly petitioned the City for park improvements, maintenance, and program funding for years after Parque Zaragoza's founding. Despite the City's historical apathy regarding East Austin, Parque Zaragoza's advocates made improvements—even when they had to rely on volunteer labor.

Recreation Department minutes from the 1930s describe the park's development leading up to the construction of the 1941 bathhouse. After a June 4, 1930 pledge that the “Mexican park and playground [will] be purchased as soon as possible,” the department allocated funding for improvements in 1931: \$2,000 for a playground, followed by relocation of the East Avenue Park bandstand to Zaragoza. In 1933, the department allocated another \$2,500 for the construction of a swimming pool.⁶⁵

In 1934, the Recreation Department recommended adding a tennis court, a fence, scum gutters and a walkway around the pool, a concrete bridge to replace one of the rustic cedar-and-rubble footbridges spanning Boggy Creek, and a dressing room for the pool. At the same time, the Department selected the “Mexican neighborhood committee” as the park's caretakers.⁶⁶ It would take the committee six more years and the promise of volunteer labor and additional funds to convince the Department to implement further recommendations.

By the end of the 1930s, park attendance consistently surpassed previous estimates. In 1941, the Recreation Department reported 8,890 swimmers and 9,000 “Mexican Celebration” (Diez y Seis de Septiembre) participants.⁶⁷ Continued programming and infrastructure improvements, spearheaded by the Zaragoza Park Board in conjunction with the Recreation Department, bolstered Parque Zaragoza's popularity.

⁶² Raath and Ruch, “Parque Zaragoza.”

⁶³ Mark Forsyth, “Parque Zaragoza,” *Texas Architect*, July-August 1996, 44.

⁶⁴ Alvino Mendoza, interview by Ethan Raath, November 18, 2014.

⁶⁵ Recreation Department Board Meeting Minutes, 1930-33; Leith, “Parque Zaragoza.”

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ City of Austin Recreation Department, 1941 Annual Report.

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This initial success sparked support from the Department for the addition of a bathhouse, referred to as the “NYA Construction Project” in Recreation Department records. The project’s budget, augmented by extensive community fundraising, was finalized in early 1941. The *Austin American-Statesman* noted in a February 1941 article that profits from the previous year’s fiestas patrias and “other entertainments sponsored by the Federation of Mexican Societies” were earmarked for park improvements: “A check for \$250 from the federation has been turned into the city’s general fund, and the city [council] passed a resolution Thursday calling for an expenditure of that amount at the park.” (See Figure 9).⁶⁸ In addition to forty-five National Youth Association workers, community volunteers and Recreation Department staff completed the bathhouse the following spring.⁶⁹

A photograph dating to the 1950s identifies a later bathhouse improvement project: conversion of the caretakers’ living quarters to a public multipurpose space. As outlined in Section VI, the converted rooms sheltered decades of community assemblies, educational activities, club meetings, health clinics, and board sessions.

E. Later development and deferred maintenance

A 2018 summary of the park buildings’ histories describes park development toward the end of the district’s period of significance, paraphrasing contemporary Recreation Department publications and recollections of former administrators:

During the heavy rains of 1967, the community center suffered sewage problems and toilet overflows. A [\$]1.5 million improvement budget was allocated but got delayed due to the City’s high debt. . . In the 1970’s [*sic*] more structured activities were established. In 1973 the band stage and bathhouse-cum-community center were redeveloped with a grant from [the] Model Cities Program [administered by] the US Department of Housing and Urban Development [with] the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation of the Department of the Interior through the Parks and Wildlife Department. . . The outdoor stage was [replaced] while the community center was renovated. . . It became a three-room building that housed the table tennis and crafts area. During the winter months, the windows were boarded up with plywood for warmth. Additional acreage was added over the years. The US Army Corps of Engineers riprapped Boggy Creek with limestones [in the 1980s].⁷⁰

In 1970, the park’s natural space was expanded to about 15 acres when the City purchased an adjacent 6-acre undeveloped parcel. Years of constant use and deferred maintenance by the Recreation Department had taken its toll on the bathhouse by the end of the period of significance. Year after year, the building deteriorated, and the sewer issues that plagued its plumbing system

⁶⁸ “\$656,000 Bonds Burned: Paid-Off City Obligations Destroyed,” *The Austin Statesman*, Feb 27, 1941; City Council Resolution 410227-4, February 27, 1941, <https://austintexas.gov/edims/document.cfm?id=87753>.

⁶⁹ City of Austin Recreation Department, 1941 Annual Report.

⁷⁰ Ulila, “Parque Zaragoza.”

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continued through the 1980s.⁷¹ Multiple municipal budget crises scrapped City promises to fully refurbish it.

In 1996, after decades of petitioning by the Mexican American community, the new recreation center was constructed. While the 1941 bathhouse remained in use as a restroom and changing facility, its occupancy proved sporadic. It has been vacant since 2015.

V. CCC and NYA contributions in the Works Progress era

A. The CCC in Texas

In the wake of the Great Depression, Roosevelt’s New Deal promise to “put America back to work” included efforts to construct public infrastructure, conserve natural resources, and enhance public access to America’s outdoors, opening doors for tourism and bolstering economic viability for rural states. The Civilian Conservation Corps, a federal public works program active between 1933 and 1942, offered construction and maintenance jobs to the unemployed. In Texas, the CCC was instrumental in establishing and expanding state parks and their facilities, creating a network of accessible natural sites.⁷²

B. Building style

The CCC’s iconic building style—horizontal forms constructed with native materials, simple structural techniques, and rustic ornamentation—was a product of its time, influenced heavily by National Park Service architects and administrators Herbert Maier and Thomas Chalmers Vint. Now called “National Park Rustic,” this uniquely American style is nicknamed “parkitecture” for its longstanding association with public outdoor spaces.

Park designers drew inspiration from Texas’ history and landscape, employing the Arts and Crafts movement’s ideals, Frederick Law Olmsted’s planning theories, and Frank Lloyd Wright’s principles of organic architecture to align park buildings with the natural forms and phenomena surrounding them. To designers following Vint’s precept of landscape preservation,⁷³ Texas itself provided the visual interest that drew people to parks; buildings should blend in while providing simple shelter to visitors.⁷⁴ Parque Zaragoza’s rustic bathhouse, though modest in scale, clearly exhibits CCC-influenced design choices.

C. NYA labor and Parque Zaragoza’s bathhouse

⁷¹ Ulila, “Parque Zaragoza.”

⁷² James Wright Steely. *The Civilian Conservation Corps in Texas State Parks*. (Austin: Texas Parks and Wildlife Department, 1986), 6; Leith, “Parque Zaragoza.”

⁷³ Linda Flint McClelland, “Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1995), Section E. <https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/82e96ca0-ee26-47fd-8d4f-aa60e4c6d023>; “Thomas Chalmers Vint: Cornelius Amory Pugsley National Medal Award, 1955,” Texas A&M University Department of Recreation, Park and Tourism Sciences, 2006. <https://web.archive.org/web/20061019081818/http://www.rpts.tamu.edu/pugsley/Vint.htm>.

⁷⁴ Ethan Carr, “The ‘Noblest Landscape Problem’: Thomas C. Vint and Landscape Preservation,” In *Design with Culture: Claiming America’s Landscape Heritage*, ed. Charles A. Birnbaum and Mary V. Hughes (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005) 157-177.

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The 1941 bathhouse, historically the only enclosed structure in the park, was constructed by community volunteers and laborers from the National Youth Administration, a CCC affiliate under the Works Progress Administration. Funded by the National Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, the NYA supplied professional and trade-oriented training, as well as student financial aid, to U.S. citizens between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five.⁷⁵ Between 1935 and 1943, the NYA's "out-of-school" program employed more than 75,000 unenrolled young adults.⁷⁶ Like the CCC, the NYA in Texas focused on projects with clear public benefits and connections to the outdoors: maintenance and development of highways, schools, and parks. It frequently collaborated with other federal agencies and CCC affiliates as well as local craftsmen.⁷⁷ The Recreation Department's 1941 annual report notes that "45 boys helped construct the new shelter house and caretaker's unit"⁷⁸ at Parque Zaragoza.

The bathhouse, a functional and harmonious—if simple—structure, originally consisted of two rooms for private living space, a public activity room, and combined toilets and dressing rooms. Vangie Ulila remarks in a 2018 analysis that the Recreation Department may have sourced the building's masonry from a Congress Avenue paving project.⁷⁹

Though the bathhouse is humble in scale compared to the park's modern recreation center, it symbolizes grassroots achievement in a time of rampant inequity. Those who made the park and its facilities a reality during the Great Depression and determined suppression of Mexican American civil rights provided an outdoor space that would serve the community for the next eighty years.

VI. Parque Zaragoza as a cultural hub: activities and gatherings

"Parque Zaragoza was *the* place. It's where everyone in the Hispanic community met for fiestas, Cinco de Mayo, Diez y Seis, quinceañeras, and just for fun. It's our place. There is a lot of history there. Families got started there, and they aren't going anywhere—they pass places down father to son. We worked hard for it and we're proud of it."⁸⁰

Former park supervisor

"There were big celebrations, rallies, patriotic activities, weddings and fiestas at Parque Zaragoza. All the neighborhood children knew one another and played together there. The men and women of the community created the park[:] cleared

⁷⁵ Tally D. Fugate, "National Youth Administration," The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture, <https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=NA014>.

⁷⁶ Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr., "National Youth Administration," Handbook of Texas Online, June 15, 2010, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ncn04>.

⁷⁷ Leith, "Parque Zaragoza."

⁷⁸ City of Austin Recreation Department, 1941 Annual Report.

⁷⁹ Ulila, "Parque Zaragoza."

⁸⁰ Leith, "Parque Zaragoza."

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the land[;] built the pool house, bandstand, and sports courts[;] and made it theirs. This place is special and needs to remain a fixture in the community.”⁸¹

Senior neighborhood stakeholder

Parque Zaragoza has played a pivotal role in the civic and cultural lives of Austin’s Mexican American residents since 1931. While most famous as the site of Cinco de Mayo and Diez y Seis de Septiembre celebrations, the park has hosted countless smaller gatherings that have shaped Austin’s cultural identity and sense of place. As a local space for recreation, civic engagement, and health advocacy, the park also facilitated access to essential services for the historically underserved citizens. Most of all, Parque Zaragoza has provided a place where Mexican American voices could be heard, whether raised in protest or lifted in song, declaiming with conviction or shouting with joy.

A. Fiestas patrias

Parque Zaragoza was the nexus of local fiestas patrias, or patriotic holidays, for much of the twentieth century. Sponsored by the comité patriótico, the festivities began as simple park get-togethers where people could reunite, honor their heritage with music and dancing, and relax. As attendance soared, they grew into massive four-day celebrations featuring live music and packed dance floors, speeches by Mexican consuls, extravagant barbecues, and theatrical performances. Though Tejanos had observed the fiestas patrias with parades, picnics, and speeches since the early 19th century, Parque Zaragoza’s opening expanded Austinites’ opportunities for celebration.

Cinco de Mayo commemorates General Ignacio Zaragoza de Seguín’s victory over French invaders at Puebla de los Angeles on May 5, 1862. A Mexican national hero, Zaragoza was born at La Bahía del Espíritu Santo, a settlement near present-day Goliad. His parents moved the family to Matamoros during the Mexican Revolution, and—after brief stints in a seminary and as a mercantile—Zaragoza joined the army. He fought for a democratic and constitutional Mexico throughout the 1850s, honing his skills as a military strategist. At the Battle of Puebla, Zaragoza lost only 86 men, while the French lost between 476 and 1,000.⁸²

El Diez y Seis de Septiembre commemorates Mexico’s independence from Spain. On September 16, 1810, Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla began the Mexican War of Independence in Dolores—near Guanajuato—by ringing the church bells before sunrise and urging the crowd that gathered to revolt in a speech known as the Grito de Dolores⁸³ or Grito de Hidalgo.⁸⁴ In 1931, Parque Zaragoza’s first official Diez y Seis celebration was organized by committee members Frank Rios, Emilio Davila, Luis F. Rivera, Lalo Gonzales, Juan Carillo, Miguel Arredondo, Ignacio Arriago, Gonzalo Hernandez, Lupe L. Brigido, S. Salinas, and Francisco Estrada.⁸⁵ Today, the three- to

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² “Zaragoza, Ignacio Seguin,” Handbook of Texas Online, June 15, 2010, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fza04>.

⁸³ “Cry of Dolores,” Library of Congress, 2015, <https://www.loc.gov/item/today-in-history/september-16>.

⁸⁴ “Diez y Seis,” In the Parks, September 16, 2015, <https://www.austintexas.gov/blog/diez-y-seis>.

⁸⁵ “Mexicans Complete Plan for Independence Party,” *The Austin American*, September 13, 1931, p. 2

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four-day celebration begins with el Grito in a traditional retelling of the early-morning revolution. At Parque Zaragoza:

The fiesta operated on a “tribuna libre” basis, with impromptu speeches and poetry recitations celebrating Mexican culture and independence. The fiesta celebrated both Mexican and American patriotism. Attendees sang the anthems of both nations, and the queen’s attendants dressed in the flags of the two countries... The Cinco de Mayo celebration followed much the same formula as the Diez y Seis fiesta, with music, dancing, speeches, and the crowning of the queen.⁸⁶

As the comités patrióticos of the United States were established under the auspices of the Mexican Consulate, consul representatives sponsored rallies, debates, and similar political events at Parque Zaragoza.⁸⁷

B. Sports

Neighborhood residents immediately mobilized to help make the new playground a safe and enjoyable place for their children. A 1937 report indicates that the playground had lighting and that a volunteer monitor had been elected.⁸⁸

As soon as the park opened in 1931, athletes organized a second Mexican American baseball league, replacing the original Lydia Street park’s league.⁸⁹ Teams from all around the city gathered for games and tournaments at the park, and “each game was a fiesta unto itself, complete with food and live music. Originally, these teams played on a concrete slab attached to the bandstand, with the bases painted onto the concrete.”⁹⁰ The Recreation Department logged significantly higher community attendance at these games than any other league in the city, and constructed bleachers for fans in 1947.⁹¹ In 1956, parkgoers rallied to move the field to its current location, adding a softball field and constructing a fence, scoreboard, and drinking fountains.⁹²

As park use increased—particularly after the pool was built—its spartan amenities proved insufficient. As area schools and playgrounds went undermaintained and underequipped by the City, Zaragoza community advocates planned athletics programs and petitioned the Recreation Department for installation of sports equipment. By the end of the period of significance in 1970, the park held courts for basketball and volleyball, fields for baseball and softball, swim clubs and lessons, and boxing competitions.

⁸⁶ Raath and Ruch, “Parque Zaragoza.”

⁸⁷ Leith, “Parque Zaragoza”; “Prof Will Speak,” *The Austin Statesman*, June 18, 1940; “Latin Guests at Zaragosa,” *The Austin Statesman*, June 20, 1940; “Zaragoza Rally Slated Tonight For Candidates,” *The Austin Statesman*, April 1, 1953; “Workers march in support of D.C. rally,” *The Austin American Statesman*, Sep 6, 1977.

⁸⁸ City of Austin Recreation Department, 1937 Annual Report.

⁸⁹ City of Austin Recreation Department, 1931 Monthly Reports; City of Austin Recreation Department, 1931 Annual Report.

⁹⁰ Raath and Ruch, “Parque Zaragoza.”

⁹¹ “Minutes of the City Council of Austin, Texas,” January 23, 1947, <http://www.austintexas.gov/edims/document.cfm?id=88634>

⁹² Gloria Mata Pennington, “A Living Legacy: Honoring Our Past, Celebrating Our Present, and Creating Our Future – Austin Parks and Recreation Department 1928-2003,” n.d., ftp://ftp.austintexas.gov/PARDPlanningCIP/McKnight_HistoricResources/East_Austin_PARD_resources/PARD_75th_ann_boklet.pdf; “Century Club, City Recreation Lead Baseball Planning at Zaragosa Park,” *The Austin Statesman*, March 22, 1956.

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C. Arts and education

The community center's popularity as an educational venue also grew. Sewing circles, art courses, and hands-on workshops attracted visitors year-round. At the end of each course or project, participants gathered to display their work. These were public events often accompanied by live music, food, and awards ceremonies.⁹³

Theatrical, music, and dance performances also showcased the arts. By learning traditional Mexican music and dance, artists learned, experienced, and promoted cultural cornerstones to their audiences. The park also hosted lecture series and reading groups, led by community leaders or academic professionals volunteering their time.⁹⁴

In addition to their primary goals of informing listeners and teaching useful skills, these activities brought the neighborhood together. During childcare courses, parents could come together, forming a network of people facing similar challenges, while their children played nearby. These opportunities for connection often proved as important to community enrichment as the information presented in formal courses.

D. Music

From fiestas patrias, religious holidays, and political rallies to baseball games and boxing matches, live music played a pivotal role in almost every large-scale community gathering held at Parque Zaragoza.

The park has served as a nexus of live Tejano music since its establishment, rooting it in Austin's robust musical heritage. Gloria Mata Pennington, longtime Parks and Recreation Department staff member, explained the park's performance legacy:

Early on, Mexican celebrations and fiestas became an important part of the events at the park. Adding to the importance was the live music played by Mexican musicians, including icons of Tejano music like Lydia Mendoza and Manuel 'Cowboy' Donley, which was part of the start of making Austin the Live Music Capital of the World.⁹⁵

Notable mid-century performers included Junior Gomez and the Sound Pounders, Johnny Gonzales and the Sensations, and the Alfonso Ramos Orchestra.⁹⁶ Bands from around the world traveled to Austin to play alongside local artists.

Conjunto, the predominant style of música tejana showcased at Parque Zaragoza, developed in the early twentieth century among working-class Mexican American musicians who sought to maintain their cultural identity amidst intense pressure to assimilate.⁹⁷ Conjunto is deeply intertwined with

⁹³ City of Austin Recreation Department, 1934-1942 Monthly Reports

⁹⁴ The Austin Statesman, 1940.

⁹⁵ Leith, "Parque Zaragoza."

⁹⁶ "Zaragoza Features 4 Bands," *Austin American-Statesman*, August 10, 1969.

⁹⁷ Manuel H. Peña, "The Texas-Mexican Conjunto," in *Música Tejana: The Cultural Economy of Artistic Transformation* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999); Teresa Palomo Acosta, "Texas-Mexican Conjunto," *Handbook of Texas*

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both the park's history and the history of its neighbors, and has even shaped the park's landscape: nearby residents and conjunto fans remember a time (probably during the 1950s) when a raised plataforma was installed as a dance floor at the current site of the baseball diamond.⁹⁸ Belinda Acosta described the style in a 1995 *American-Statesman* article on La Pesado, a conjunto festival sponsored by arts nonprofit La Peña:

Conjunto music is a visceral, musically poetic response to the life and times of Mexican Americans in Texas. When one stops to think that many masters of the music—Ybarra, Jimenez, Austin's Johnny Degollado featured at “Conjunto Pesado II”—are self-taught, one realizes the gravity of their task to keep and pass on this musical tradition.⁹⁹

E. Other holiday gatherings

Thanksgiving, Christmas, Easter, and Fourth of July holidays attracted record-breaking crowds to Parque Zaragoza. Each November, nearby residents brought their signature dishes to the park to share a massive holiday potluck with their neighbors. While the Thanksgiving festivities were originally set up in the multipurpose rooms at the bathhouse, they eventually grew so large that partygoers had to sit at tables spread across the bathhouse lawn.¹⁰⁰ Christmas brought a nativity pageant and other performances, while Easter was celebrated with a park-wide egg hunt for the neighborhood's children.¹⁰¹ The Fourth of July drew crowds from around Texas for baseball games, track and swim meets, fireworks, and political speeches.¹⁰²

F. Community health and wellness

Along with recreation and civic meetings, the community space in the bathhouse provided a venue for health and wellness lectures, clinics, and screenings open to the public. According to community elder Alvino Mendoza:

A local doctor held routine medical clinics there[,] including lectures on tuberculosis [...] A philanthropic women's group catering to the poor and infirmed [*sic*] in the neighborhood also had headquarters in the park. For many years their dedicated service functioned as a primary form of health care in the neighborhood.¹⁰³

Online, December 5, 2015, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/xbtpa>.

⁹⁸ Abel Salas, “Conjunto Pesado, not Pescado,” *The Austin Chronicle*, July 14, 1995, <https://www.austinchronicle.com/music/1995-07-14/533758/>; “\$338,000 Play Funds Being Examined by City,” *The Austin Statesman*, July 25, 1950.

⁹⁹ Belinda Acosta, “Conjunto heats up parque,” *The Austin American-Statesman*, July 22, 1995, C12. <https://infoweb-newsbank-com.atxlibrary.idm.oclc.org/apps/news/document-view?p=NewsBank&docref=news/0EAD97A3989D852A>

¹⁰⁰ Leith, “Parque Zaragoza.”

¹⁰¹ “Easter Egg Hunt is Planned for Children,” *The Austin American*, Mar 20, 1932.

¹⁰² “Mexican Celebration for July Fourth is Planned,” *The Austin American*, Jun 26, 1932; “Mexicans Plan for July 4 Fete,” *The Austin American*, June 25, 1939.

¹⁰³ Leith, “Parque Zaragoza.”

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For many Austinites, traditional healthcare was difficult to obtain and often viewed with suspicion. Groups that educated lecture attendees on public health issues empowered Mexican American residents to exercise agency when making healthcare decisions.¹⁰⁴

Within the context of community wellness, the role of casual recreation cannot be understated. A common thread unites many stakeholder interviews:

Perhaps among the most meaningful activities for community members that took place at Parque Zaragoza were the countless more intimate, day-to-day events. Walking in the park, swimming in the pool, watching one's children play on the swing sets, evening baseball or volleyball games, family picnics on the lawn, weekend concerts, anniversary and birthday celebrations.¹⁰⁵

By providing a place to enjoy the outdoors with their families and neighbors, Parque Zaragoza's founders granted East Austin much more than a parcel of land. In the era of segregation, when division and despair intruded upon the everyday lives of Mexican American Austinites, the park offered space for togetherness and belonging.

Unfortunately, by the mid- to late twentieth century, Parque Zaragoza fell victim to negligence. The park's wooded setting became a haven for drug use and violent crime due to inadequate policing. Lack of maintenance took its toll on park amenities, and its crowds gradually diminished. Yet again, the surrounding community mobilized to reclaim the park through repairs, cries for reform, public education, and the construction of a new recreation center. Today, Mexican American Austinites and the broader community enjoy Parque Zaragoza as a place to relax, play, swim, and participate in civic and wellness activities.

VII. Conclusion

Parque Zaragoza, an epicenter of recreation, cultural celebration, and grassroots activism in the twentieth century, presents a physical reminder of Mexican American Austinites' resilience. For decades, it was the most-used outdoor space for Mexican Americans in segregated Austin; today it serves the entire city as a testament to the strength of their voices in the face of systematic oppression. From its landscape to its historic sites, building, and structures, Parque Zaragoza embodies the ideals of its founders, advocates, and volunteers: those who ensured that Mexican Americans in Austin would have a place to celebrate their heritage and preserve their cultural identity through the segregation era and beyond.

¹⁰⁴ Lopez, interview by author, 2019.

¹⁰⁵ Leith, "Parque Zaragoza."

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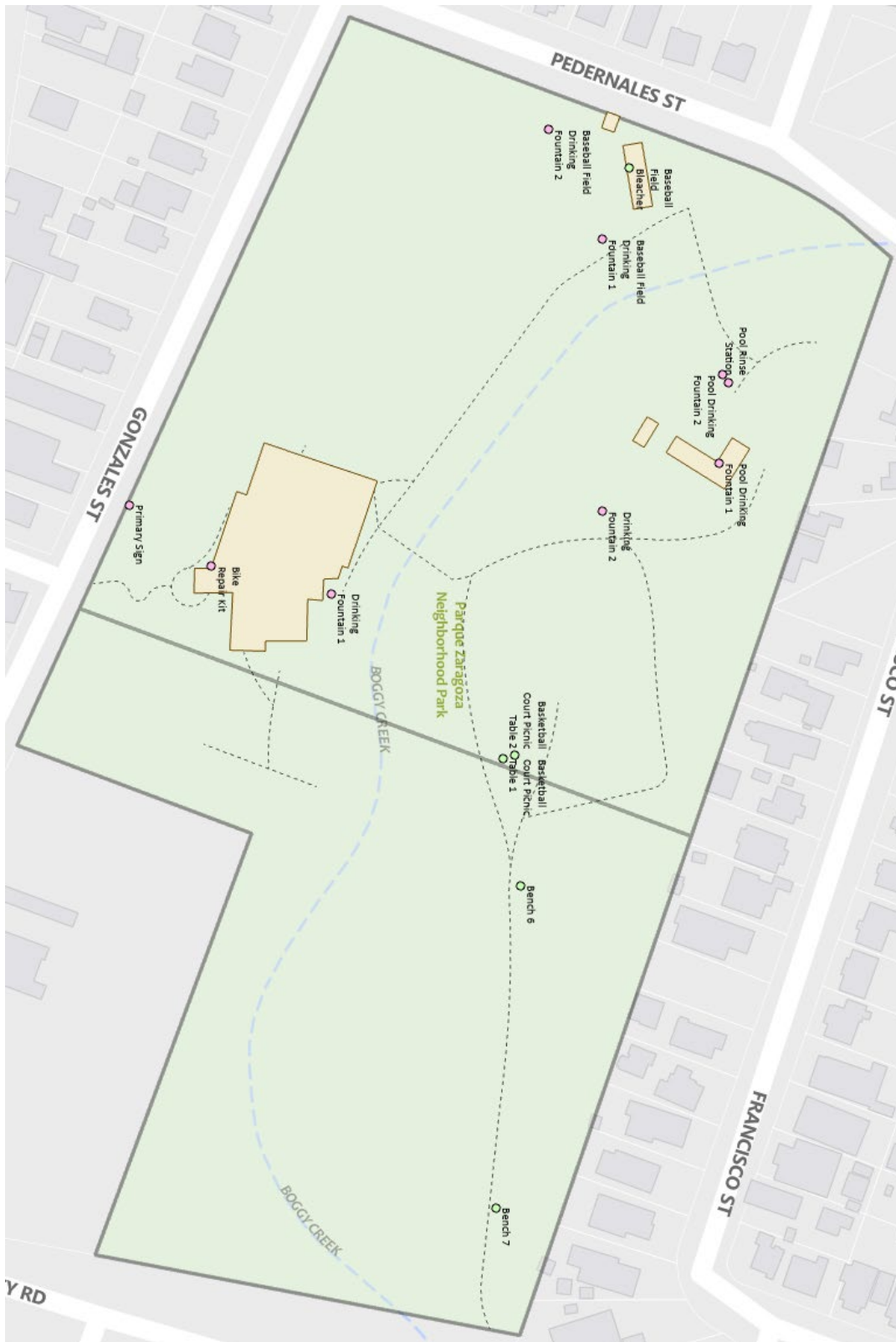
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Map 1. Contributing and noncontributing structures within parcel bounds.

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Map 2. Parks and Recreation Department asset and trail map.

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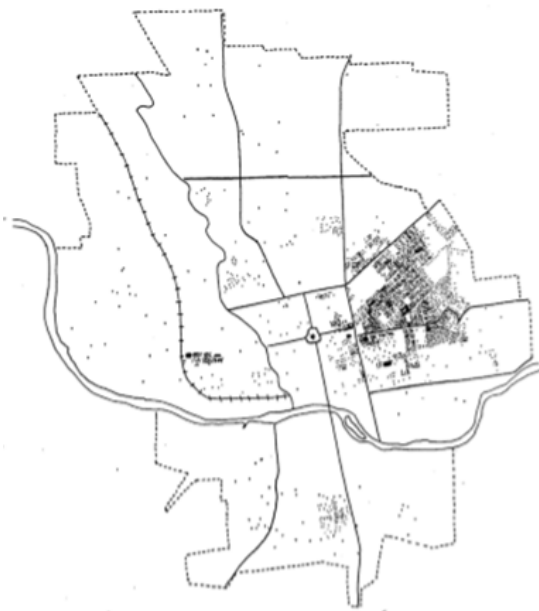
BLACK HOUSEHOLDS, 1910

Map 6 - Black Households 1910 (City of Austin Human Relations Commission, 1979)



MEXICAN-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS, 1910

Map 10 - Mexican-American Households 1910 (City of Austin Human Relations Commission, 1979)



BLACK HOUSEHOLDS, 1940

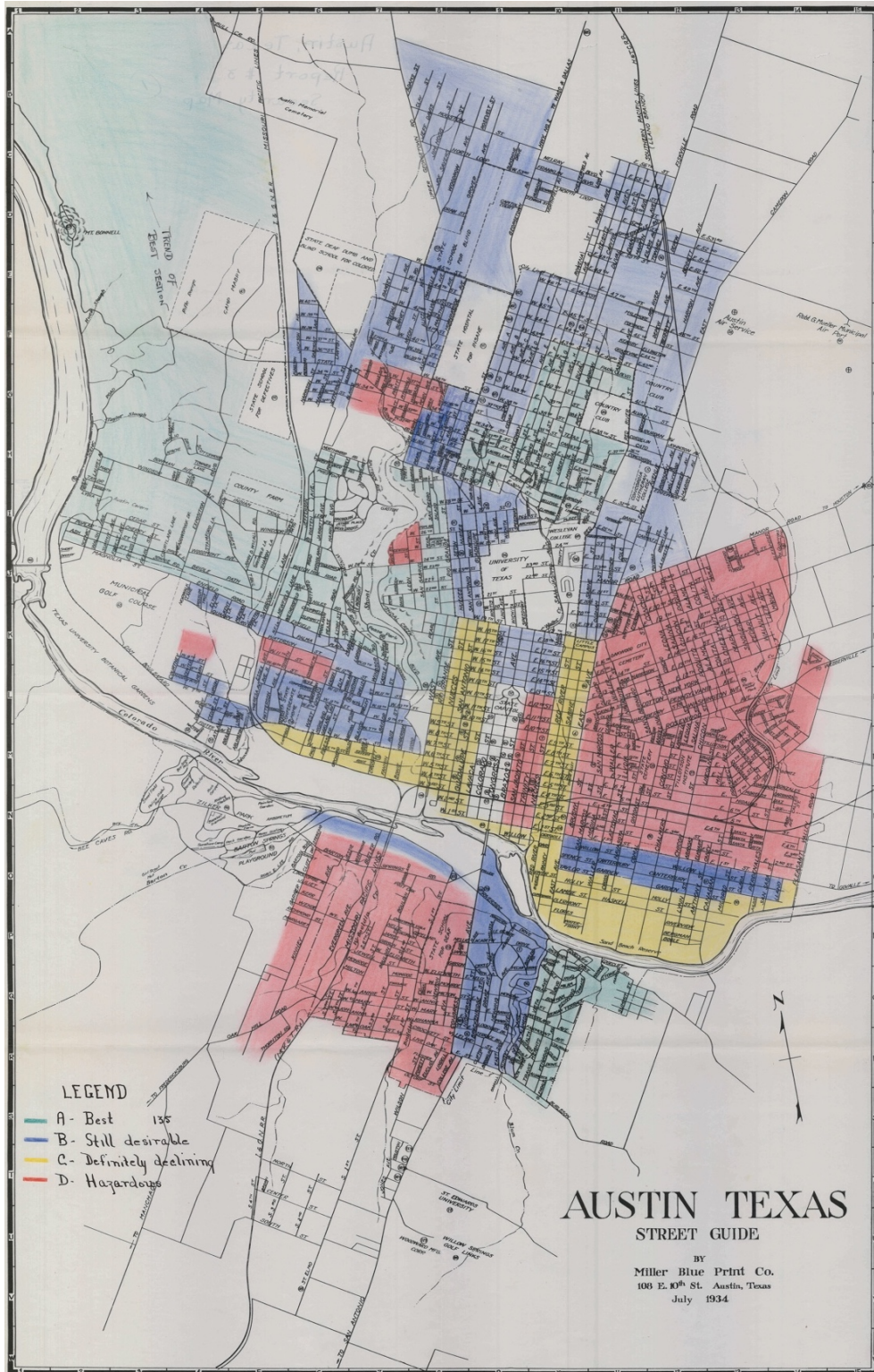


MEXICAN-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS, 1940

Map 11 - Mexican-American Households 1940 (City of Austin Human Relations Commission, 1979)

Maps 3.1-3.4. Black and Mexican American Households, 1910 and 1940. City of Austin Human Relations Commission, 1979; from Austin Restricted: Progressivism, Zoning, Private Racial Covenants, and the Making of a Segregated City, Eliot M. Tretter

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Map 4. 1935 “redlining” map. Home Owners’ Loan Corporation, 1935. National Archives, Record Group 145, Austin Texas Folder, via the University of Texas Libraries, http://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/historic_tex_cities.html#austin

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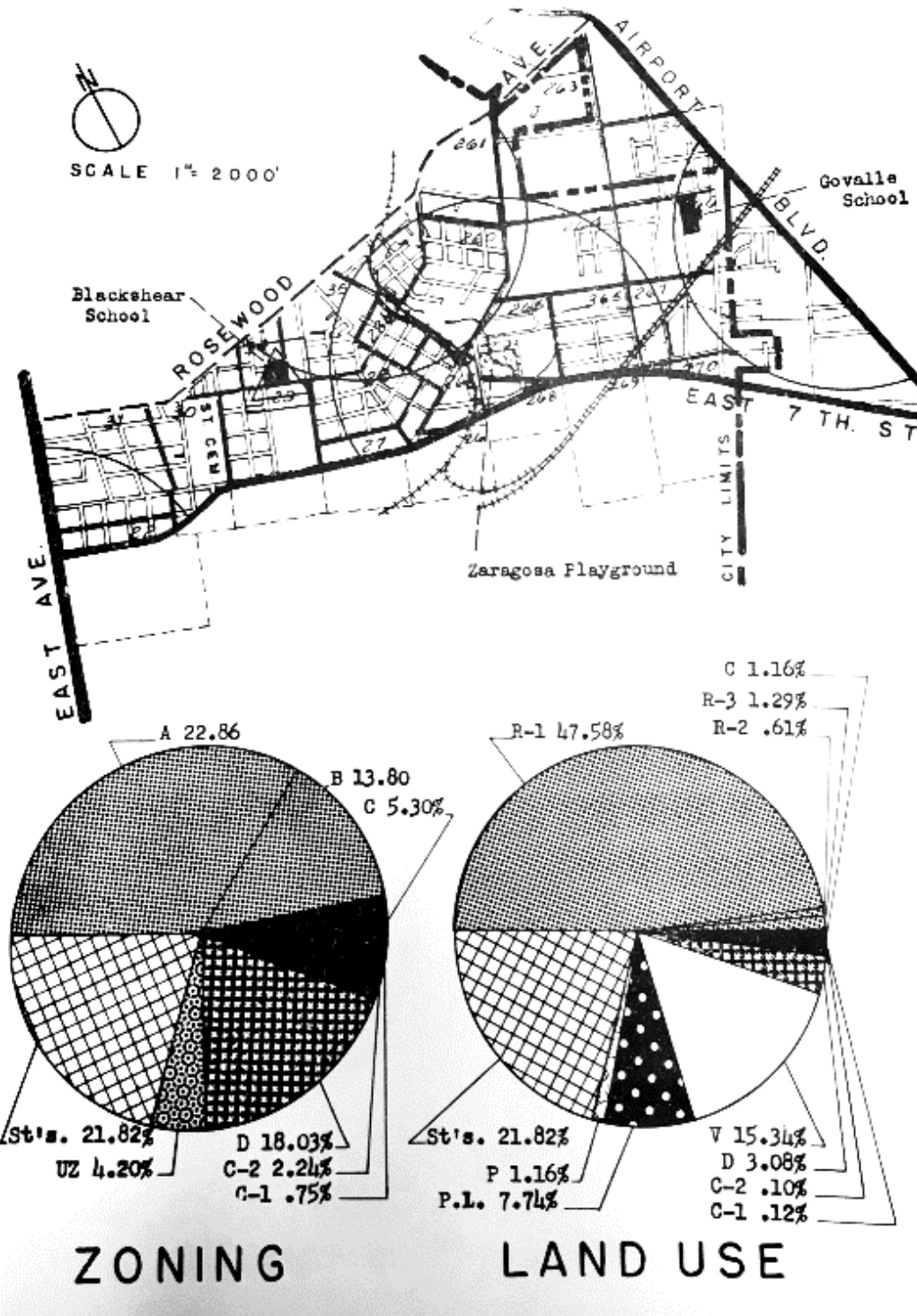
Map 5. Contour map of Parque Zaragoza, December 31, 1940. *W. K. Kingsbury, Office of the City Engineer, City of Austin, Austin History Center. Photo by C.V. Ulila.*

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Map 6. Parque Zaragoza Creek Realignment Study and Sprinkler System, July 1, 1970. *Austin History Center.*
Photo by C.V. Ulila.

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Map 8. Neighborhood EJ. Sheffield, Beverly S., in "Planning Ahead for Recreation in Austin: A study of present and future needs of the Parks and Recreation System in Austin, Texas, 1951-1960." City of Austin Parks and Recreation Department, 1951.

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Aerial Image 1. 1940 aerial view of Parque Zaragoza. *City of Austin, 2020.*



Aerial Image 2. 1958 aerial view of Parque Zaragoza. *City of Austin, 2020.*

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Aerial Image 3. 1965 aerial view of Parque Zaragoza. *City of Austin, 2020.*



Aerial Image 4. 1977 aerial view of Parque Zaragoza. *City of Austin, 2020.*

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas

Mexicans To Donate Labor On Playground

Mexican residents of Austin will donate their labor free of charge in development of the new playground in East Austin, according to reports made by leading Mexican residents to James A. Garrison, superintendent of recreation. One hundred Mexican workmen will report at the grounds Monday afternoon, it was said.

Figure 1. "Mexicans to Donate Labor on Playground," *The Austin American*, 1931, Austin History Center.

Zaragoza Park Billed For Opening This Week

Zaragoza park will hum with activity this coming week when swimming classes, Red Cross life saving classes and a playground baseball league all swing into action.

Registration for the life saving classes was held Saturday night, and the first class will be held on Tuesday at 7:30 p. m. Regular classes will be held each Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday until the course is completed.

Officials of the swimming pool have announced that the following swimming classes will be offered every day after June 1:

Boys and girls under 15, 3 p. m.; boys over 15, 4 p. m.; women, 5 p. m., and men, 8:30 p. m.

A playground baseball league will be started at the park next week, and the team managers will meet Monday at 7:30 p. m.

Figure 2. "Zaragoza Park Billed for Opening This Week," *The Austin American*, May 28, 1933.

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	<u>Participants</u>	<u>Spectators</u>
<u>ZARAGOZA PLAYGROUND BASEBALL LEAGUE: (Mexicans)</u>		
First meeting for league organization has been set for June 5, at the Zaragoza Playground. It is expected that some eight or ten teams will be organized.		
<u>ZARAGOZA SWIMMING POOL:</u>		
The Zaragoza Swimming Pool was opened to the Mexican people May 1.	1000	
<u>CINCO DE MAYO:</u>		
The Mexicans of Austin observed their usual three day celebration in observation of the National Independence Day of Mexico, holding a fiesta at the Zaragoza Park on the 4, 5, and 6 of May.		
Cinco de Mayo is one of the two big events of the year, and practically all of the Mexicans in Austin turned out for the three day program under the direction of the Mexican Patriotic Committee and the Recreation Department.		
Concessions were leased, and the Recreation Department received the usual ten percent of the gross sales of the concessions.	5,500	
<u>SECTION OF MEXICAN PATRIOTIC COMMITTEE:</u>		
The Mexican Patriotic Committee held a general election at the Zaragoza Park on the night of May 21, and by a general vote of the members of the Mexican colony present, Ernest Rios was elected President of the Mexican Patriotic Committee to serve during the year of 1934.		
On May 31, this committee met in the Recreation Department's Office and recommended the following people to serve on the Mexican Patriotic Committee:		
Ernest Rios -	President	
Hugh Salazar -	Vice-President	
Dario G. Lopez -	Secretary	
Frank Rios -	Treasurer	
Lupe Laguna -		

Figure 3. Monthly Report, May 1934. *Austin Parks and Recreation Department.*

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas

**MEXICAN GROUPS
FRIDAY TO BEGIN
OBSERVANCE**

Austin's and Travis county's Mexican colony will begin celebration of Mexican independence day at two scenes Friday night and at a third Saturday, continuing the observance until Sunday night.

The Mexican patriotic society, with Ernest Rios as president, is in charge of the three-day event at Zaragoza park. The Mexican patriotic committee, headed by Ramon Guerrero, is directing arrangements for an observance at Sixth and Chicon streets, and Mexicans of Travis county are expected to gather Saturday and Sunday for the third celebration on Onion creek near Del Valle.

♦ ♦ ♦

Hundreds Expected

The coronation of Enriquea Daywood will climax the Zaragoza park event Sunday night following a series of dances and patriotic addresses. Herlinda Jimenez has been named queen of the celebration near Del Valle.

Hundreds are expected to be at Zaragoza park Friday night for the first of a series of dances; the Casino club orchestra will play for the opening event, starting at 8.

Saturday's program includes music and games at 5 p. m., a recreation hour at 6:30 and a formal address of welcome by Alberto B. Castanon, master of ceremonies, at 7:30. Ernest Rios, president of the society, will speak also.

The dance, which is to begin after the opening ceremonies, will be interrupted at 10:30 p. m. for a civic program at which Darlo G. Lopez, secretary of the society, will read the Mexican declaration of independence. A series of addresses and other entertainment features will follow, and at 11:30 the traditional Mexican cry of independence will be given. Dancing will then be continued until about 2 a. m.

♦ ♦ ♦

State Officials Invited

The coronation Sunday night will follow a reception for the queen and her court at 7 p. m. State officials have been invited to attend and Mayor Tom Miller has been asked to represent the city as one of the principal speakers.

State officials have also been invited to attend the event at Sixth and Chicon streets, and orchestras have been secured for a series of dances and balls.

Figure 4. "Mexican Groups Friday To Begin Observance." *The Austin Statesman*, September 14, 1934.

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MEXICAN CELEBRATION.

The Mexican Patriotic Committee, composed of the following people, handle the celebration of the Independence of Mexico for the Mexican Colony of the City of Austin:

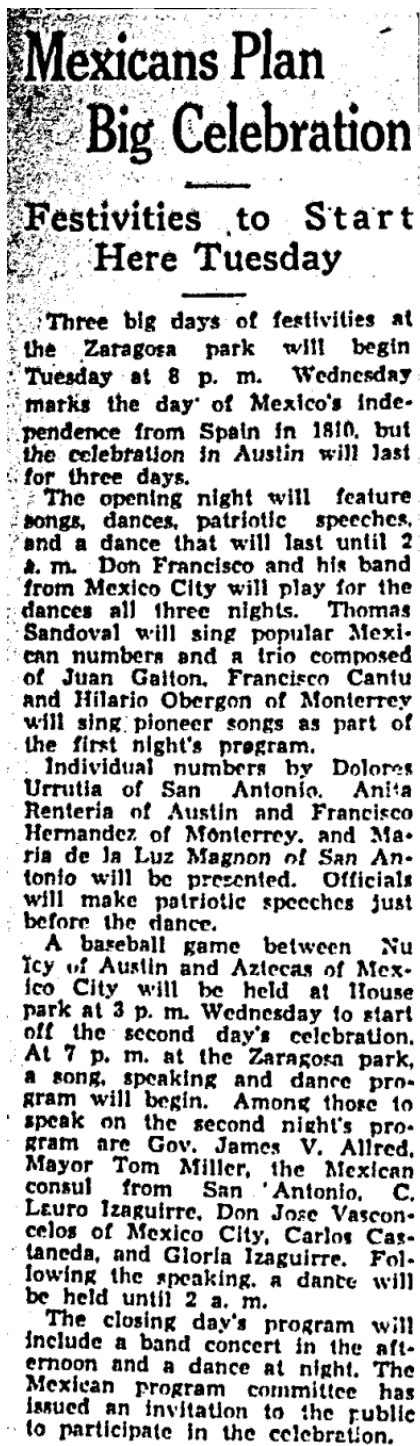
Ernest Rios	President
Dario G. Lopez	Secretary
Lalo Gonzales	Asst. Secretary
Louis Martinez	Vice-Pres.
Alberto Castanon	Treasurer
Frank Rios	First Vocal
Lupe Laguna	Second Vocal
Luciano Espinos	Third Vocal
Juan P. Gonzales	Fourth Vocal

Through this committee, a list of patrons were selected to help finance the celebration. In previous meetings, the Queen and escorts were elected by votes. The Concessions on the ground were rented, loud speakers were temporarily installed, an orchestra hired, and all other necessary arrangements for the celebration were paid.

On September 14, 15, 16, and 17, the Mexican Colony celebrated with programs of entertainment, speaking, concert, and social dancing. Approximately 10,000 people attended this celebration. 10,000

Figure 5. "Mexican Celebration." Monthly Report, September 1934. *Austin Parks and Recreation Department.*

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Mexicans Plan Big Celebration

Festivities to Start Here Tuesday

Three big days of festivities at the Zaragoza park will begin Tuesday at 8 p. m. Wednesday marks the day of Mexico's independence from Spain in 1810, but the celebration in Austin will last for three days.

The opening night will feature songs, dances, patriotic speeches, and a dance that will last until 2 a. m. Don Francisco and his band from Mexico City will play for the dances all three nights. Thomas Sandoval will sing popular Mexican numbers and a trio composed of Juan Galton, Francisco Cantu and Hilario Obergon of Monterrey will sing pioneer songs as part of the first night's program.

Individual numbers by Dolores Urrutia of San Antonio, Anita Renteria of Austin and Francisco Hernandez of Monterrey, and Maria de la Luz Magnon of San Antonio will be presented. Officials will make patriotic speeches just before the dance.

A baseball game between Nueces of Austin and Aztecas of Mexico City will be held at House park at 3 p. m. Wednesday to start off the second day's celebration. At 7 p. m. at the Zaragoza park, a song, speaking and dance program will begin. Among those to speak on the second night's program are Gov. James V. Allred, Mayor Tom Miller, the Mexican consul from San Antonio, C. Leuro Izaguirre, Don Jose Vasconcelos of Mexico City, Carlos Caslaneda, and Gloria Izaguirre. Following the speaking, a dance will be held until 2 a. m.

The closing day's program will include a band concert in the afternoon and a dance at night. The Mexican program committee has issued an invitation to the public to participate in the celebration.

Figure 6. "Mexicans Plan Big Celebration: Festivities to Start Here Tuesday," *The Austin American*, September 13, 1936.

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ZARAGOSA CLUB MEMBERS MANY

Demand for membership in the Zaragosa Sewing club was so great that after 53 had enrolled, the active membership had to be closed and a waiting list started.

The women are making quilts, aprons, and dish towels which will be shown in the regular exhibit to be held every month in conjunction with the girls' sewing club.

Those enrolled in the club, which meets every Tuesday and Thursday from 8:30 until 11 a. m., are as follows:

Airgail Acosta, Constannia Alba, Mamie Cortes, Agnes Besa, Lupe Castro, Loranza Castro, Henrietta Castro, Elmira Costillo, Trinida Domingo, Tesua Dominguez, Maria Evins, Espora Ruperta, Francisca Feneria, Bacilia Guzman, Maria Guerrero, Ysabel Guerrero, Isabel Govea, Sally Gomez.

Soledad Guzman, Juanita Govea, Elizabeth Guerra, Lucy Gil, Teresa Gil, Porfiria Gonzales, Sabas Guerrero, Romona Guzman, Benita Hernandez, Audrea Mendoza, Felicianna Montoya, Susie Martinez, Ida Moreno, Juanita Montoya, Sara Olivarez, Dalarez Pena, Objentina Ojeda.

Gregoria Padilla, Enermencia Rios, Simona Roderiguez, San Juana Salazar, Virginia Sanchez, Fressia Sanchez, Eloiza San Migel, Ofilia Villapando, Alejandra Vasquez, Janie Vasquez, Canuta Vidal, Vidala Salazar, Ruth Gil, Yulia Gil, Bessia Resas, Ynez Ortiz Sara Ontivarez, Rosa Mendoza.

Figure 7. "Zaragosa Club Members Many," *The Austin Statesman*, June 24, 1937.

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas

PLAYGROUND CHART

Name of Playground	Leadership
I. For Whites (Grounds with no lights)	
East Woods	One (Woman)
Peace	One (Man part-time)
(Lighted grounds)	
Bailey	Two (Man and woman)
East Avenue	Two (Man and woman)
Metz	Two (Man and woman)
Palm	Two (Man and woman)
Shipe	Two (Man and woman)
Stacy	Two (Man and woman)
West Austin	Two (Man and woman)
II. For Mexicans	
Lydia (not lighted)	One (Man part-time)
Zaragoza (lighted)	One (Woman)
III. For Colored	
Rosewood (lighted)	Two (Man and woman)

Figure 8. 1937 Recreation Department Annual Report.

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas

Mexicans Will Hold Big Fete

Thousands Expected For Dance

Six to eight thousand Central Texas members of the League of United Latin American Citizens are expected here Monday night for an inauguration dance and entertainment program at Zaragoza park.

The program will start at 8 p. m. Monday. Delegations will come to Austin from points as far away as Bay City, according to word received by Frank Garza, chairman

of the entertainment committee.

Officers and members of the Austin chapter of the "Lulacs" will be hosts for this program and dance. Dr. J. T. Saldívar is president of Council No. 85, Austin; Raul Del Rio, vice president; E. M. Acevedo, secretary. Committee chairman for this inauguration ceremony and for general activities of the patriotic organization include Lorenzo Aleman, publicity; Frank Garza, entertainment; Raynaldo Garza, education; J. A. Santos, Gabriel Martins and Vincent Valdes, finance; Genaro Briones, Frank Lopez and Julio Velasques, membership.

SCHOLASTIC CENSUS DOWN

Special to Sunday American-Statesman

ELGIN, Aug. 20.—The scholastic census enrollment for Bastrop county this year will be 6,007, a loss of 384 in one year.

Figure 9. "Mexicans Will Hold Big Fête: Thousands Expected for Dance," *The Austin American*, August 21, 1938.

Latin Guests At Zaragosa

Consul and Prof On Program

Zaragosa park will have three guests at its community night program this week, Playground Leader Dan Ortega announced. Fidencio Sorio B., Mexican consul, Dr. Vicente T. Mendoza of the University of Mexico who is serving as visiting professor at the Latin American institute in the University of Texas, and Professor Virginia Rodriguez Rivera have all been invited to take part on the program, which will be held from 8 to 10 p. m. Thursday night at Zaragosa.

Mr. Sorio will show several films of Mexico from his personal collection. Dr. Mendoza will give a talk on various influences which make up Mexican music, the Indian influence and the Spanish influence and the actual Mexican music which resulted. Dr. Mendoza will be aided by Professor Rivera who will interpret the selections in song. Monico Rodriguez will be accompanist on the guitar.

Horace Perry has offered the service of his public address system to augment the night's program.

Figure 10. "Latin Guests At Zaragosa." *The Austin Statesman*, June 20, 1940, p. 13.

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas

410227-4
R E S O L U T I O N

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE CITY COUNCIL OF THE
CITY OF AUSTIN:

THAT the sum of \$ 250.00 be and the same is hereby appropriated out of the GENERAL Fund, not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of paying for the cost of the construction of rest rooms and a shelter house at Zaragosa Park. The above amount of \$250 was turned over to the City of Austin by the Federated Mexican Societies of Austin for the purpose stated above, the same representing the net profit derived from the various festivities held by the Mexican population of Austin during the year 1940.

Adopted. February 27, 1941

Approved: February 27, 1941

Attest:

Shelley McKeen Rowell G. Kelly
CITY CLERK MAYOR Pro Tem.

Figure 11. City Council Resolution 410227-4, February 27, 1941,
<https://austintexas.gov/edims/document.cfm?id=87753>

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas

Candidates Asked To Zaragoza Rally

Austin's GI Forum has arranged a political rally at Zaragoza Park for next Wednesday at 8 p. m. All candidates on the Travis County ballot are invited to attend and discuss their platforms.

The rally, said Forum President Pat Mendez, is part of the organization's campaign to promote interest in all elections this year. He said the forum will try to send speakers to meetings of other civic and social clubs to encourage attendance at the rally.

In case of bad weather, the meeting will be held in the Zavala School auditorium.

Plans for a fund raising dance at Zaragoza Park Friday at 8:30 p. m. with tickets at 50 cents a person also were made at the Forum's Thursday night meeting.

The Forum's next meeting will be held Thursday at 8 p. m. at the Pan American Center, 300 Comal.

Figure 12. "Candidates Asked To Zaragoza Rally," *The Austin Statesman*, July 14, 1950.

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas

Zaragoza Rally Slated Tonight For Candidates

Busy City Council candidates have another rally on their full schedules Wednesday night—at Zaragoza Park at 8 p. m.

This rally is sponsored by the League of United Latin-American Citizens (Lulac)—a non-partisan educational and civic work organization.

All 10 candidates have been invited to attend. In event of bad weather the rally will be moved to the Zavala Elementary School auditorium.

Meantime, Ted Thompson's campaign—for Place 3—has gained new support from two directions—from a former Girl Scout executive, Mrs. Frank Spiller, and an East Side pastor, the Rev. J. H. Washington of the Greater Mount Zion Baptist Church.

On radio Tuesday Washington called Thompson a man of "convictions, foresight . . . and a clear knowledge of the city's needs."

Speaking on the same broadcast, Mrs. Spiller credited Thompson with the spark which has put over civic projects, describing him as a man with "tenacity and far sighted wisdom."

Also Tuesday Councilwoman Emma Long made a major campaign speech in which she attacked the supporters of the five candidates she opposes and charged the daily newspapers with treating her and members of her ticket unfairly. Mrs. Long withheld copies of her speech from the press.

In a speech to Negro voters Monday night she called for election of these candidates—Ben White, Travis Howard, A. B. Campbell, Charles Birdwell and herself.

Howard has disclaimed any affiliation with Mrs. Long's ticket.

Figure 13. "Zaragoza Rally Slated Tonight For Candidates." *The Austin Statesman*, Apr 1, 1953.

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas

Cinco de Mayo To Begin At Zaragoza on Thursday

One of two big fiestas celebrated each year by Austin Latin Americans—Cinco de Mayo—is scheduled for Zaragoza Park Thursday and Friday.

Festivities will begin each evening at 8 p. m. and will run until 12:30 a. m. The fiesta commemorates a decisive victory of General Zaragoza's outnumbered Mexican Army against the French on May 5, 1862. The other celebration—Días y Seis de Septiembre—commemorates the day Mexico won her independence from Spain—Sept. 16, 1862.

A true fiesta atmosphere has been arranged, with carnival booths, concession stands, dancing, speeches and the coronation of the queen climaxing the evening.

A dance, with music provided by Nash Hernandez and his orchestra, will start festivities, Mrs. Margaret Munoz, chairman of the program committee of the Mexican Patriotic Committee, said. At 10 p. m. a civic program will begin with a salute to the United States and Mexican flags. Alphonso Martinez and Abram Cuevas will be flag bearers. They will be accompanied by Miss Lillie Hernandez and Miss Rebecca Santa Anna.

Luis Guzman, a representative of the Mexican consul, will crown the queen, Miss Lupe Caballero, the candidate sponsored by the Century Club. Her court will include Miss Trine Garza, princess, and Miss Mary Gutierrez, duchess.

Following the coronation, Edi-

berto Retta will read the official declaration of the Battle of Puebla, the battle in which General Zaragoza distinguished himself. Luiz Guzman will then speak for the Mexican consul.

Miss Emma Trevino will sing the national anthems of Mexico and the United States, followed by a dance by Miss Carmen Ledesma. Robert Villanueva, master of ceremonies, will present guests, who will include city council members, other city officials, etc. Three dance numbers will follow—a solo by Miss Carmen Guerrero, a duet by Miss Julia Anna and Miss Leonore Pacheco, and a solo by Miss Carolina Lemon.

The Ricuirdo, a traditional dance of Mexico, by the queen and her court, will conclude the civic program. The Nash Hernandez dance will continue until 12:30 p. m.

The program for Friday will be a dance with the Hernandez orchestra providing music. The festivities have been arranged by the Mexican patriotic committee and Austin Recreation Department. Officers of the committee are Robert Villanueva, president; Jesse Guerrero, vice president; Ediberto Retta, secretary; and Marciso Gil, treasurer.

Organizations helping with arrangements are Century Club, Adult Lulacs, Junior Lulacs, GI Forum and Auxiliary and Alba Club. The recreation department is providing facilities, platform, chairs, etc.

Figure 14. "Cinco de Mayo To Begin At Zaragoza on Thursday," *The Austin Statesman*, May 4, 1955.

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Members of the Austin Century Club and other interested persons erect sheet strips on the fence around East Austin's Zaragoza Park. The Century Club and the city

recreation department mean to put Austin on the map once again as the statewide center of Latin-American baseball activity.

Century Club, City Recreation Lead Baseball Planning at Zaragoza Park

The Austin recreation department and the Century Club stepped out Thursday to make the Capital City once again the statewide center of Latin American baseball activities.

Goals of the joint venture:

1. A good field to play on.
 2. Development of a good local ball club to attract top Latin American teams from throughout the state and Mexican.
- Austin's Zaragoza Park, until recent years, was the site of a great

deal of Sunday afternoon baseball activity, weekly attracting some of the finest Latin American teams available.

But since the worn-out-delapidated wooden fence was taken down four years ago, there has been little or no baseball at Zaragoza for adults.

The aim of the Century Club and recreation department is to rebuild the field facilities and local team and schedule weekly games beginning later this spring.

Improvements planned for the field, some of which are already under way, include plowing up the field, enclosing the field with tin sheets on the present cyclone fence, installation of a sprinkling system for the grass, installation of public drinking fountains and other conveniences, and installation of a score board.

In addition, the club will operate a concession stand at each game.

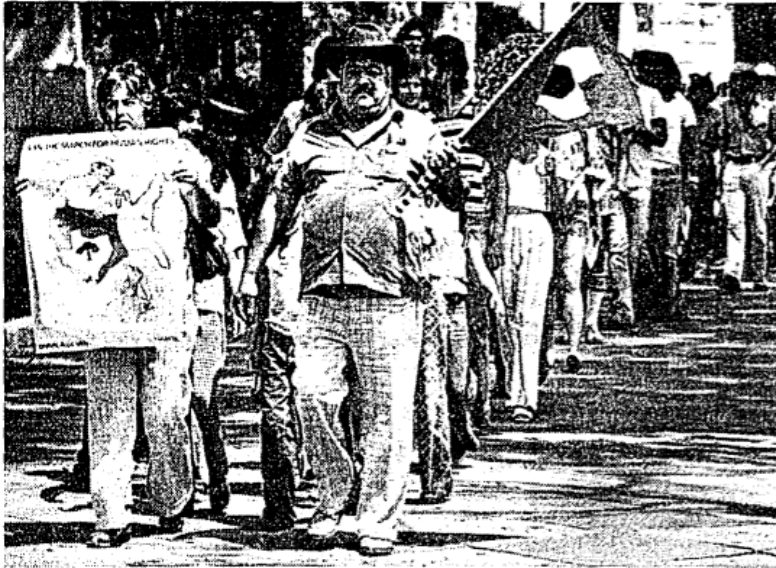
Prospective ball club managers have already met this month, and will meet again March 29 at the recreation department office.

Foremen heading up the Century Club's activities are Mike Guerrero, Roy Guerrero and Clarence Guerrero.

Figure 15. "Century Club, City Recreation Lead Baseball Planning at Zaragoza Park," *The Austin Statesman*, March 22, 1956.

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas

Workers march in support of D.C. rally



FARMWORKERS BEGIN MARCH FROM CAPITOL TO ZARAGOSA PARK

Staff Photo by Zach Ryall

'The Chicano community . . . will use this as a tool to get their rights'

By JULIE FERNANDEZ
Staff Writer

Keeping in step with their *compadres* in Washington, D.C., an estimated 150 Texas Farmworkers Union members and their supporters marched in downtown Austin Labor Day, demanding collective bargaining rights.

The event began with a rally at the Capitol and continued with an orderly march to Zaragoza Park in East Austin where an evening of fund-raising activities was planned to aid farmworker organizing efforts.

Farmworkers from Texas and other states gathered Monday on the U.S. Capitol steps in Washington in an effort to appeal to President Carter for collective bargaining rights and abolition of right-to-work laws.

Speaking at the day's events in Austin were farmworker union organizers from Dallas and Houston and representatives of *La Raza Unida* political party.

Several chants rang out during several speeches given Monday including, "Huelga!" (strike) and "El pueblo unido *jamás* sera vencido!" ("A united community will never be defeated.")

"The Chicano community and anyone who doesn't have access to the government will use this (march) as a tool to get their rights," explained Fernando Tafoya, director of the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO) and co-chairman of the march.

And people will unite as a close community, Tafoya continued, to raise themselves socially and economically.

Sunday's event culminated with a bazaar in Zaragoza Park which attracted several hundred persons to varied activities including a baseball tournament, food and games and a public dance featuring *conjunto* music.

Figure 16. "Workers march in support of D.C. rally," *The Austin American Statesman*, Sep 6, 1977.

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas

Zaragoza Park echoes with memories of Cinco de Mayo

By Carlos Vidal Greth
American-Statesman Staff

Roy Guerrero attended his first Cinco de Mayo celebration at Zaragoza Park in East Austin in 1938. His father was a Presbyterian minister who didn't approve of dancing, so the boy watched from the sidelines as couples gracefully dipped and swirled before the bandstand.

Over the years, Guerrero, known to friends as "Mr. G," came to appreciate the music of groups such as Matt Velasquez and the Latinaires, Ben Garza's Band and Big Papa from San Marcos playing at the fiestas patrias, or patriotic holidays.

But Guerrero enjoyed baseball at Zaragoza as much as fiestas. "We played on a cement slab," he said. "We joked that it was the only diamond in town where no one could steal the bases. They were painted on."

To Guerrero and thousands of other East and South Austin residents, community parks and recreation centers are much more than a place to play or picnic. The historic parks reflect the heritage of generations. They have served as centers of social and political activity, roughly equivalent to the plaza or town square in Mexican towns.

Proceeds from the Cinco de Mayo celebration May 2-3 at Fiesta Gardens on Town Lake will benefit Metz-Martin, Montopolis, Pan Am, South Austin and Zaragoza parks.

Zaragoza, bordered by Pleasant Valley, Weherville and Gonzales roads, typifies the spirit and traditions the parks have engendered over the years.

In 1931, the Austin Park & Playground Commission bought a 95-acre tract which was later named after Texas-born Ignacio Zaragoza, the Mexican hero who conquered French invaders in the Battle of Puebla. Cinco de Mayo commemorates the struggle on May 5, 1862, which ignited the first intense feelings of nationalism in Mexico.

From the start, the park was designated for use by Hispanics. In a 1933 report, the city manager referred to the site as "Zaragoza Park for Mexicans."

The park soon became a hub of the barrio, or "colonia mexicana" as it was then called. Soon after it opened, the *Austin Statesman* reported: "The Mexican Patriotic Committee of the city at tributed fruit and candy to 300 Mexican children of the city at a Christmas party at Zaragoza Park. They also distributed baskets of groceries sufficient to feed for one week 50 needy Mexican families."

Maria Guadalupe Ledesma has researched the history of the park. She was inspired by her grandfather, Eustacio Cepeda, who was president of the *Comite Patriotico Mexicano*. The committee organized fiestas at the park and acted as a social service organization.

Ledesma has a 1932 clipping from the Mexico City newspaper *El Nacional* which discussed Zaragoza Park. The writer, impressed with the establishment of the park, optimistically reported that in Austin, Mexicans have "all the rights and guarantees belonging to North Americans."

May 3, 1932

Ledesma laughed. "It was intentionally segregated," she said. "Rosewood Park was built for blacks in 1930. Zaragoza was built for Mexicans one year later. But there was solidarity in the barrio because it was segregated. People were poor and had to stick together."

Many barrio residents, particularly members of the last two generations, recollect fiestas at Zaragoza with feelings undiminished by time.

Nellie Tellez, 60, recalls with bittersweet sentiments U.S.O. dances at the park during World War II.

"I was a young girl when America declared war," Tellez said. "The government drafted all young men, so the dances weren't so romantic. But occasionally soldiers came from local bases. It was sad seeing young wives with children who didn't know if they'd ever see their husbands again."

Steve Mendoza, a smart dresser in a snap-brim hat and sunglasses, had a personal hand in the development of Zaragoza. He is proud that he helped build the bandstand and pedestrian bridge in the park, though he was paid only 30 cents an hour during the Depression.

"We had a beautiful Cinco de Mayo celebration in 1932," he said. "The mayor and city manager came. It was the first time the big shots came out here to talk to us."

Mendoza, 76, once served as president of the park's *Comite Patriotico*. When someone got sick or lost his job, the committee took groceries and cash to his family.

The members, alas, were not all saints. Mendoza remembers one bad apple who embezzled \$300 from the committee. The memory still pains him.

For the most part, Mendoza remembers the barrio of his youth as a friendly place where store owners left their cash registers open and neighbors left their doors unlocked. "The only thing men ever stole, he said with a grin, was someone else's girlfriend."

Hilario "Lalo" Ancira, 71, lives half a block from the park. As a boy, he once worked on a spinach farm that occupied the present site of Zaragoza. Cinco de Mayo celebrations, he said, suit him better than picking greens.

Ancira recalled that vendors at Cinco de Mayo sold innumerable tamales and cups of menudo. Pictures of Mexican heroes festooned their stands. At the kickoff ceremony, a dozen girls in traditional

costumes sang the national anthem of Mexico in Spanish. Then a dozen girls in American dress sang the anthem of the United States in English. After a few cervezas, the men shouted "Viva Mexico!" and fired shotguns loaded with blanks into the air.

The revolutionary spirit still lives in East Austin, where residents feel threatened by development interests. "We're afraid the white people will run us out of here," Ancira said. "We see their businesses creeping east. This is more than land and buildings to us. This is our community. We care about the grocery store, the barber shop and the druggist. We don't want to see them replaced with tall, vacant buildings. We'll stay and fight for what is ours."

The barrio has shown a renewed interest in Zaragoza Park in the 1980s. Fund-raising activities have helped improve facilities.

Tim Bunkley, program supervisor for Zaragoza and Pan Am Recreation Centers, listed some of the services offered at the parks: nutrition and activity programs for seniors, adult education classes and an after-school program for children who would otherwise go home to empty houses.

Alicia Garcia, 53, assistant director at Brooke Community School, has helped Bunkley pull off popular events. The annual tamale cookoff the first Saturday in December is the only one of its kind in Central Texas. The 1987 Easter egg hunt drew more than 500 determined candy hunters. And a six-week summer day camp probably will have full occupancy.

For all their successes, Garcia feels as if something has been lost in the translation to the American way. The children who play at Zaragoza are closer to mainstream culture than their parents were. But for every gain there is a loss.

"The new generation has become more like whatever Americans are," Garcia said. "They're not as close to their Hispanic roots. Our parents taught us to be intensely proud we were Mexican. That's what Cinco de Mayo is all about."

Figure 17. "A Place to Gather," *Austin American-Statesman*, May 3, 1987. Austin History Center. Photograph by Andrew Leith.

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Figure 18. Photo of the Comité Patriótico Mexicano. Standing, left to right: Pedro Cortez Suarez, Severino Guerra, and Frank Prado. Seated, left to right: Macrino Ortiz, Ignacio Arriaga, Frank Morales, and Ignacio Acosta. Dated April 3, ca.1930s. *Austin History Center: Austin Files – Parks, P1200(31), Zaragoza. PICA 20328.*

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Figure 19. Swimming pool construction, ca. 1933. *Jen Massing-Harris, "Parque Zaragoza Neighborhood Park Pool & Bathhouse Caretaker Cottage Updates," September 24, 2019, <http://www.zarozaparkneighborhoodassn.org/neighborhood-nose-sniffing-out-the-scoops-for-the-east-austin-parque-zaragoza-community>*

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Figure 20. Photo of Boggy Creek and west footbridge, dated 1934. *Austin History Center: Austin Files – Parks, P1200(31), Zaragoza. PICA 18241.*

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Figure 21. Photo of Boggy Creek and east footbridge with original bandstand in background, dated 1934. *Austin History Center: Austin Files – Parks, P1200(31), Zaragoza. PICA 18242.*

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Figure 22. Photo of park grounds dated April 3, 1939. *Austin History Center: Austin Files – Parks, P1200(31), Zaragoza. PICA 24231.*

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Figure 23. Photo of bathhouse construction dated February 7, 1941. *Austin History Center: Austin Files – Parks, P1200(31), Zaragoza.*

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



PICA 20323. Austin History Center. Austin Public Library

Figure 24. Photo of crowd at Parque Zaragoza festival with food and retail stalls in background, n.d. *Austin History Center and University of North Texas, Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph124548>.*

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Figure 25. Photo of bathhouse conversion to community center, dated April 8, 1950. *Austin History Center: Austin Files – Parks, P1200(31), Zaragoza.*

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Figure 26. Photo of play slab/basketball court dated April 8, 1950. *Austin History Center: Austin Files – Parks, P1200(31), Zaragoza.*

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Figure 27. Aerial photo looking south from East Austin, dated January 11, 1958. Parque Zaragoza is in the center-right foreground with baseball diamond and pool/bathhouse. *Austin History Center and University of North Texas, Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph19192/m1/1/?q=%22zaragoza%20park%22>.*

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Figure 28. Photo of swimming pool and bathhouse, dated 1968. *Austin History Center: Austin Files – Parks, P1200(31), Zaragoza. PICA 37827.*

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Figure 29. Photo of play slab and original bandstand, n.d. *Austin History Center: Austin Files – Parks, P1200(31), Zaragoza.*

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Figure 30. Photo of original bandstand interior. Hanging linens may be associated with one of the community center's sewing circles. *Austin History Center: Austin Files – Parks, Zaragoza. P1200(31), PICA 20327.*

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Figure 31. Children's arts and crafts class, n.d. *City of Austin Parks and Recreation Department.*

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas

Photograph Log

Parque Zaragoza, Austin, Travis County, Texas

Photographs by City of Austin Historic Preservation Office, February-March 2020:

<p>Photo 1 TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0001_1 Texas State Historical Marker Camera facing east</p>	<p>Photo 7 TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0007_1 Bathhouse and pool, west elevation Camera facing east</p>
<p>Photo 2 TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0002_1 Bandstand Camera facing east</p>	<p>Photo 8 TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0008_1 Bathhouse interior, hall and admission window Camera facing west</p>
<p>Photo 3 TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0003_1 Bandstand Camera facing southwest</p>	<p>Photo 9 TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0009_1 Small bathhouse window, east elevation Camera facing west</p>
<p>Photo 4 TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0004_1 Bathhouse, east elevation Camera facing southwest</p>	<p>Photo 10 TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0010_1 Bathhouse secondary entrance, east elevation Camera facing northwest</p>
<p>Photo 5 TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0005_1 Bathhouse, west elevation and pool Camera facing southeast</p>	<p>Photo 11 TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0011_1 Large bathhouse windows, east elevation Camera facing southwest</p>
<p>Photo 6 TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0006_1 Bathhouse, west elevation Camera facing east</p>	

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas

Photographs by Vangie Cheryl C. Ulila, 2018, courtesy of Austin PARD and the University of Texas:

<p>Photo 12 TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0012_2 Boggy Creek Camera facing east</p>	<p>Photo 16 TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0016_2 Baseball field Camera facing west</p>
<p>Photo 13 TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0013_2 Play slab/basketball court Camera facing north</p>	<p>Photo 17 TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0017_2 Grandstand and parking Camera facing southeast</p>
<p>Photo 14 TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0014_2 Swimming pool and bathhouse Camera facing northeast</p>	<p>Photo 18 TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0018_2 Park expansion and picnic area Camera facing east</p>
<p>Photo 15 TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0015_2 Bathhouse interior, south room Camera facing north</p>	

Photographs by Andrew Leith, 2014, courtesy of Austin PARD and the University of Texas:

<p>Photo 19 TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0019_3 Bathhouse, southwest elevation Camera facing north</p>	<p>Photo 23 TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0023_3 Bathhouse interior, east office Camera facing east</p>
<p>Photo 20 TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0020_3 Bathhouse pointed arch, south elevation Camera facing north</p>	<p>Photo 24 TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0024_3 East bridge Camera facing northeast</p>
<p>Photo 21 TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0021_3 Bathhouse interior gateways Camera facing southwest</p>	<p>Photo 25 TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0025_3 West bridge Camera facing west</p>
<p>Photo 22 TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0022_3 Bathhouse interior, west room Camera facing northwest</p>	

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas

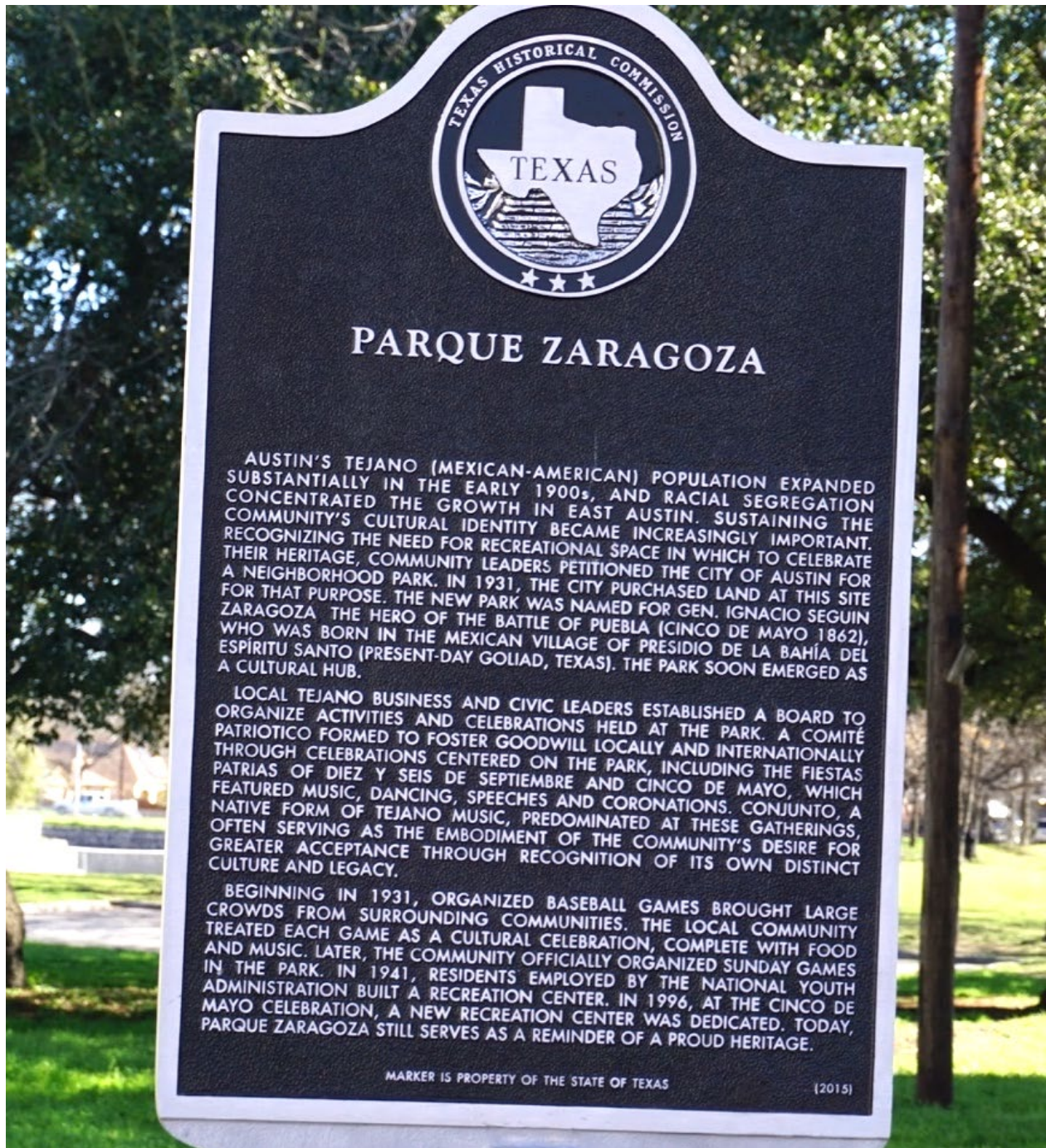


Photo 1. TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0001_1

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 2. TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0002_1

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 3. TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0003_1

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 4. TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0004_1

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 5. TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0005_1

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 6. TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0006_1

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 7. TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0007_1

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 8. TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0008_1

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 9. TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0009_1

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 10. TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0010_1

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 11. TX_Travis_ParqueZaragoza_0011_1

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 12. TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0012_2

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 13. TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0013_2

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 14. TX_TravisCounty_Parque Zaragoza_0014_2

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 15. TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0015_2

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 16. TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0016_2

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 17. TX_TravisCounty_Parque Zaragoza_0017_2

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 18. TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0018_2

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 19. TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0015_2

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 20. TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0020_3

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 21. TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0021_3

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 22. TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0022_3

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 23. TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0023_3

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 24. TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0024_3

Parque Zaragoza, Travis County, Texas



Photo 25. TX_TravisCounty_ParqueZaragoza_0025_3