

The Fence and Gates of Ambos Nogales: A Postcard Landscape Exploration

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Charting the cultural geography of Mexican border cities is an ongoing project. Early writings laid a foundation for understanding spatial patterns and place characteristics of these cities (Herzog 1990; Arreola and Curtis 1993; Méndez Sáinz 1993). Further topical explorations have expanded this vision (Curtis 1993, 1995; Arreola 1996, 1999; Herzog 1999). Missing from the literature, however, is any effort to assess landscape change through time at a single border locale. This essay explores that possibility through the use of postcard imagery, a special source of visual evidence.

Unlike conventional photographic imagery about place that one might excavate from an archive, postcards, as mass commercial products, combine accessibility with visual repetition. Whereas archival photography can reveal an image of a city that is like a window to a particular time and place, repeat inspection of the same view at another time is not typically possible (Hales 1984). A diachronic, or time-series, record is therefore difficult to reconstruct from archival imagery. This problem is remedied somewhat by the strategy and application of repeat photography and by the transcription and comparison of archival photographs for selected cities (Foote 1985). In the case of Mexican border cities, however, no single historical repository of photo images has been assembled, although a portfolio of 1964 Tijuana has recently been published (Ganster 2000). No known repeat photography project is in progress.

In contrast to archival photographs, postcard views of a townscape allow images to be evaluated serially because postcard photographers typically were attracted to similar view sites, which were documented repeatedly. Over several decades, postcard views of the same landscape can be used to create a diagnostic visual interpretation of place.

The history of postcards is more recent than that of photography (Newhall 1982), and picture postcards as view cards first evolved in Europe during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Although many countries restricted early postcard circulation to domestic mail, Germany, Switzerland, and Austria encouraged international postcard

circulation with *Gruss aus*, or "greetings from," cards. These postcards depicted local views and scenes in art nouveau style on the borders of the front, or message, side of the cards; the back was by law reserved for the mailing address only (Staff 1966). After 1902 in Europe and 1907 in the United States, divided-back postcards appeared, allowing for a message and the mailing address on the back of the card while the front was entirely devoted to a view.

During the early postcard era in the United States, two Chicago-based companies came to dominate commercial production, Detroit Publishing Company and Curt Teich. Detroit Publishing is known to have printed postcards from seventeen thousand different images between 1895 and 1935 (Stechschulte 1994). By the 1910s, Curt Teich was selling some 150 million postcards annually, mostly view cards of scenes in the United States. During the 1930s and 1940s, Curt Teich was the most prolific publisher of linen postcards, so-called because the front view simulates a linen texture (Miller and Miller 1976). In Mexico, early postcard printers included the Sonora News Service, founded and operated by American photographer C. B. Waite (Montellano 1994). Perhaps the largest single Mexican producer of postcards from the 1930s to the 1950s was México Fotográfico, a Mexico City company whose real photo cards recorded scenes in many border towns as well as across the country.

While corporate postcard publishers dominated national production, independent photographic postcard producers operated in towns and cities across the country and in Mexico (Fernández Tejedo 1994). Eastman Kodak Company, for example, marketed postcard-size photographic paper that could be used to print directly from a negative, and this innovation was quickly copied by other companies, enabling amateur photographers and independent printers to begin producing postcards (Morgan and Brown 1981). Brownsville, Texas, photographer Robert Runyon (1909–1968) is an example of an independent border-town postcard entrepreneur (Samponaro and Vanderwood 1992). A local professional photographer, Runyon produced his own postcards and also contracted companies to convert his photos to postcards. He then made arrangements with local drug and cigar stores and other small retailers to sell his cards. In addition, regional distributors such as Gulf Coast News and Hotel Company, which had curio stores in San Antonio and Houston, bought several thousand of Runyon's postcards, which included landmark scenes from Matamoros, Mexico, across from Brownsville, especially his always-popular bullfight views. Runyon and

his brother-in-law, José Medrano Longoria, opened a curio store on the plaza in Matamoros in 1925, and this, too, became a strategic outlet for his postcards until they sold the business in 1939.

Postcards provided popular imagery about places before personal cameras and television became widely available. Ironically, postcard photographers sought the unique in the landscapes they documented, but typically they tended to capture the ordinary (Jakle 1982). Representations of the ordinary or vernacular landscape give postcard imagery great utility in historical geographic research. Their repetitive renderings of local scenes make them an excellent source of historic views about a place, especially if that place was popularly photographed over time and if the postcard images are compared serially by a researcher.

Mexican border-town landscapes have appeared in postcard images since the 1890s, yet there is great variability in the coverage of particular towns. If my private collection is any indication, almost half of all border-town postcards are scenes of Ciudad Juárez and Tijuana, the two largest and most famous border cities. Other popular border towns that have moderate postcard coverage include regional tourist destinations such as Nuevo Laredo, Matamoros, and Reynosa on the Texas border, and Mexicali on the California boundary, but the number of cards representative of these places is decidedly inferior to those picturing Ciudad Juárez and Tijuana. Small towns such as Tecate, Naco, and Ojinaga are poorly represented in postcards.¹

AMBOS NOGALES

Nogales, Sonora, is across the border from Nogales, Arizona, and together the towns are known as Ambos Nogales. My postcard collection of Nogales, Sonora, includes 290 individual images. This makes the town the third most popularly rendered border location in postcards after Ciudad Juárez and Tijuana. This is curious given the apparent relationship between the size of a town and its tourist potential (and, therefore, potential postcard popularity). Based on its size, Nogales should not be such a popularly depicted border town. Before 1980, Nogales, Sonora, had fewer than 70,000 people and thus was considered a medium-sized border town (Arreola and Curtis 1993, table 2.2). Nogales, nevertheless, has long competed as a tourist destination because of its historic advantage on the Arizona boundary, its hinterland access to nearby Tucson and Phoenix, its tradition of promotional effort, and

media exposure (Arreola and Madsen 1998; see figure 1). No less important has been the town's status as a *curio mecca* (Arreola 1999).

Nogales, Sonora, and Nogales, Arizona, were first settled in 1880. By 1882, a railroad linking Guaymas, Sonora, on the Gulf of California with Benson, Arizona, across the international boundary created Ambos Nogales. The earliest town plat suggests the peculiar asymmetrical morphology of the towns, which straddle the railroad corridor as well as the boundary (see figure 2). The irregular blocks to the east represent the nucleus of pre-railroad settlement in the narrow pass, whereas the blocks to the west show a rigid perpendicular alignment to the border. The boundary follows International Street (Calle Camou), yet Nogales, Arizona, hugs tight to the line east of the railroad—lending the city its early nickname of Line City—while Mexican Nogales is set back from the boundary. To the west, blocks on either side of the border are equally set back.

Table 1. Nogales Postcards by View Depicted

View	Number of Images
Gate crossings	38
Avenida Obregón	29
Panoramas	27
Public buildings and monuments	25
Fence line	24
Miscellaneous	21
La Caverna	20
Plazas	20
Calle Elías	20
Calle Campillo	15
Bullfights	12
Residential areas	11
Total	262

Source: Author's postcard archive.

Table 1 categorizes postcards of Nogales by the dominant location depicted in the view. The premier tourist street of the city, Avenida Obregón, is the second most popular depiction, and Calle Campillo, a secondary tourist street that leads to Obregón, has fifteen images. Calle Elías, ranking just above Calle Campillo, was the border town's first tourist street until the 1940s. The celebrated bar and eatery La Caverna was situated on Calle Elías, and, combined, these two locations rival

gate crossings as the most popular Nogales postcard view. There are an unusually high number of panoramas, accounted for by the fact that Nogales is spread out along a narrow pass creating spectacular vistas. Since the 1940s, when the population began to swell through immigration (Arreola and Curtis 1993, fig. 2.3), housing has pushed up and over these steep hills. Public buildings and monuments combine for a significant postcard category in part because Nogales has been from its founding a railroad gateway and official customhouse (*aduana*) location. The old aduana built in 1894 and razed in 1963 was a neoclassical architectural landmark of the border and the spotlight of many postcard views.

Garitas, or gate crossings, are, however, the most popular postcard views; combined with views of the famous border fence, they total almost one-quarter of all Nogales postcard depictions (see table 1). In the discussion that follows, I use only these postcard image categories to narrate landscape change along the boundary. The fence line, the Morley-Elías gate, and the main gate are the principal view sites assessed. Twenty-two postcards are arranged topically and mostly chronologically, and a separate caption interprets each postcard image or set of images. Information other than landscape description presented in the figure captions is drawn from standard histories and writings about the towns (Rochlin and Rochlin 1976; Ready 1980; Flores García 1987; Sokota 1990–91; Tinker Salas 1997) and from Sanborn fire insurance maps for 1890, 1893, and 1917.

The first fence dividing a Mexican from an American border town was erected at Nogales. Gate crossings evolved as official ports of entry along a declared buffer zone between the Sonora and Arizona towns. These landscapes became photographed as postcard views when Ambos Nogales began being promoted as a tourist destination. The fence line and gate crossings were fixed features of border-town identity by the early twentieth century.

For almost a century, postcards have faithfully recorded changes in landscape features along the boundary separating Ambos Nogales. Table 2 illustrates the frequency of borderline views by era. The fence-line view of the two towns looking west from Chureas Hill is perhaps the dominant postcard fix for Ambos Nogales, a landscape consistently rendered by postcard photographers of each generation. The Morley-Elías gate crossing was a popular depiction early in the century, especially during Prohibition (1919–1933), when Americans could easily cross the street to bars along Calle Elías. This gate survived as a

postcard image until 1960, but from the 1940s on, this landscape lost photographic allure as tourists and curio seekers increasingly opted for the main gate crossing and its proximity to Calle Campillo and Avenida Obregón, the premier tourist districts in the postwar period. This is demonstrated quite dramatically by the large number of postcard views of the main gate crossing during the 1950–1969 era, as well by the substantial number of depictions of this landscape during the 1930s and 1940s.

Table 2. Frequency of Nogales Border Postcard Views by Era

View	1910–	1930–	1950–	1970–
	1929	1949	1969	1995
Fence line	10	6	6	2
Morley-Ellas Gate	3	3	2	0
Main gate	2	7	11	8
Other gates	2	0	0	0

Source: Author's postcard archive

Table 2 also suggests that postcards no longer dominate as a visual medium for recording Ambos Nogales. Only two images of the fence line and eight of the main gate are available for the quarter century from 1970 to 1995. This is remarkable because Nogales, Sonora, is today a more popular tourist destination than perhaps it has ever been, attracting some 700,000 visitors each year (*Arizona Daily Star* 1997; *Arizona Republic* 1998). Tourists, however, have changed their visiting habits, making chiefly day-tripping excursions rather than overnight visits. The combination of shorter, more frequent visits with a general decline in traditional forms of correspondence like postcards means that postcard views have less credibility for travelers than they did in the past. Besides, many of the excursionists to Ambos Nogales today bring their own cameras and snap away at a myriad of views to capture their own images.

Still, picture postcards remain an important form of visual evidence for understanding and reconstructing place. These images are especially valuable for our appreciation of the towns of the Mexican-American border because other photographic sources are generally lacking or inaccessible to the researcher. A postcard archive of Mexican border cities can prove a useful lens through which one might view these evolving communities. ♦

NOTE

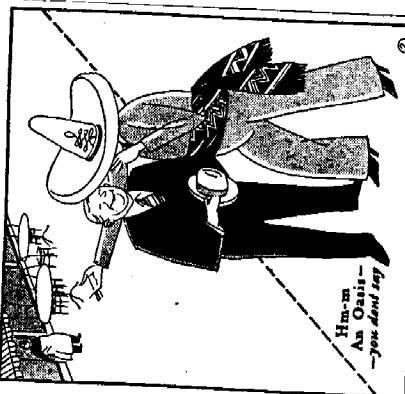
1. My postcard archive consists of some 2,200 individual postcards of Mexican border towns. Approximately 600 postcards are of Ciudad Juárez and 400 are of Tijuana. There are about 160 postcards of Nuevo Laredo, 152 of Matamoros, 140 of Mexicali, and 120 of Reynosa. Other towns such as Agua Prieta, Ciudad Acuña, and Piedras Negras account for between 65 and 95 postcards. The archive contains less than 20 postcards for the following Mexican border towns: Tecate, San Luis Río Colorado, Sonoita, Naco, Palomas, Ojinaga, Miguel Alemán, and Camargo.

photos

Figure 1. Between 1927 and 1929, Nogales was advertised regularly in U.S. national magazines as a tourist destination. Note the reluctance to use the word Mexican, which is substituted for by the ethnic referent Spanish. (Collier's, The National Weekly, January 28, 1928, p. 42.)

NOGALES

Arizona's Oasis



Stop off, where the Arizona-Mexico border line runs down the middle of a main street! You'll like the gayety and entertainment of this Spanish-American city...the hunting, fishing and scenic attractions nearby. Invigorating sun shine every day; nights cool; altitude 3869 feet. Everybody has a good time in Nogales—a mighty good place to live! Transfer at Tucson—two hours away.

Phoenix Tucson Douglas
NOGALES
NOGALES WONDERLAND CLUB, Inc.,
Nogales, Ariz.
Please send me free booklet (10¢)
Name _____
Address _____

Figure 2. Railroad engineers Bonillas and Herbert drafted this plat of Ambos Nogales in 1884. The railroad ran between the older, pre-railroad settlement aligned diagonal to the boundary at the bottom of the map and the grid of blocks arranged perpendicular to the border west of the tracks. The first railroad depot actually straddled the border. (After reproduction in Silvia Raquel Flores Garcia, Nogales: un siglo en la historia, 1987, p. 32.)

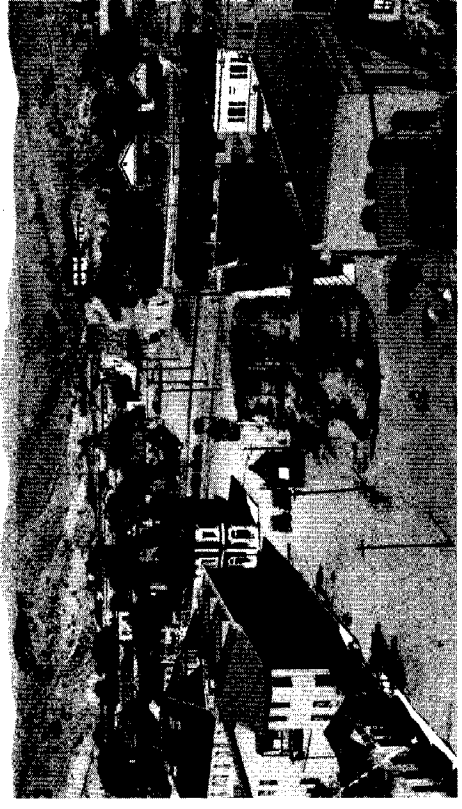
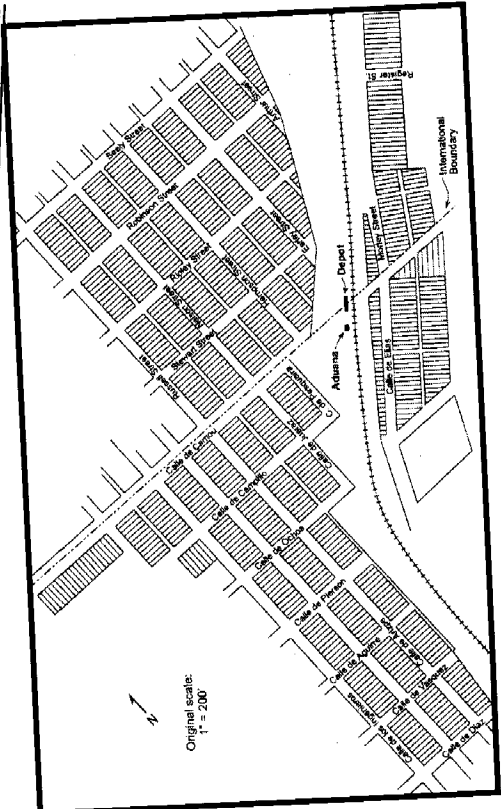
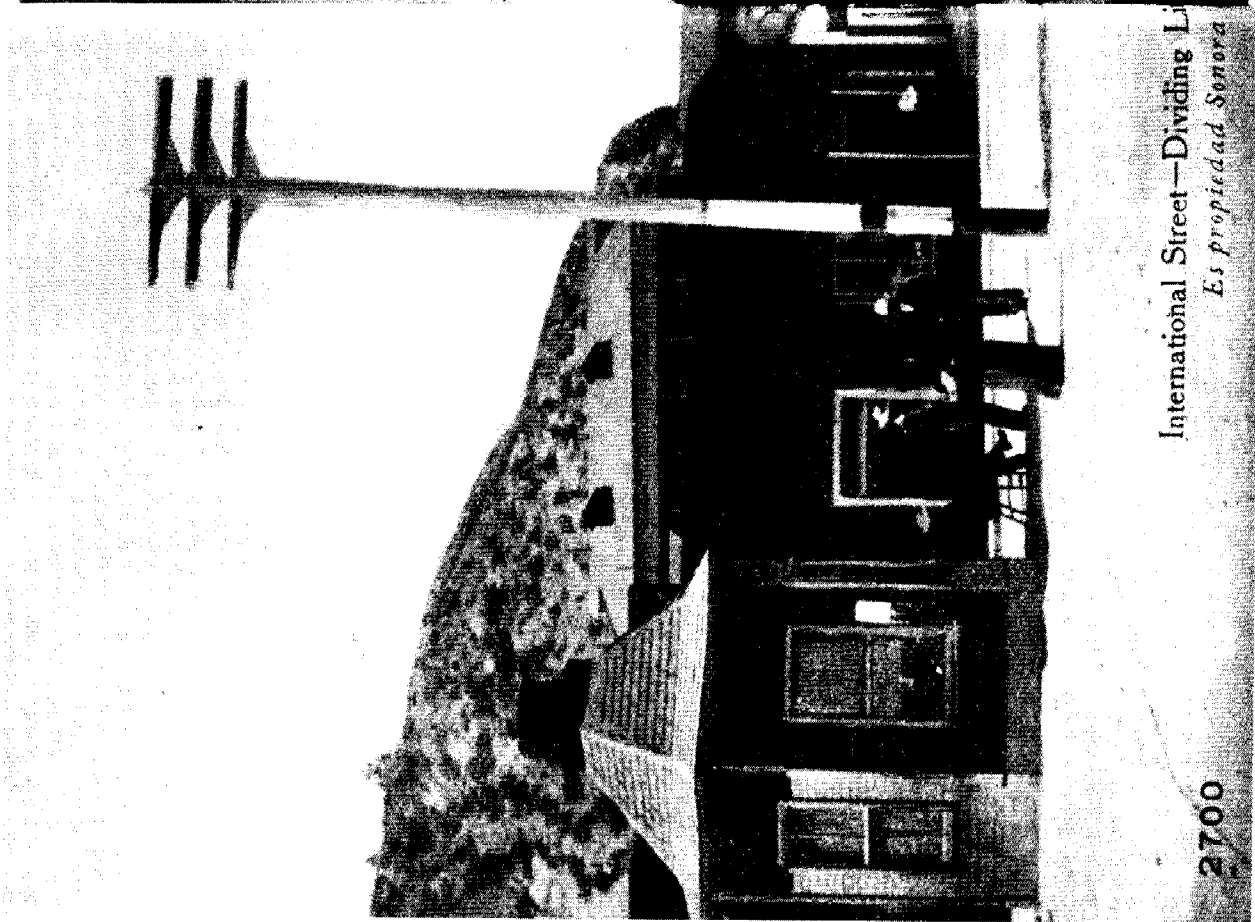


Figure 3. Ambos Nogales buffer zone, circa 1916. In 1896 by presidential proclamation buildings previously built up to the boundary on the Nogales, Arizona, side were razed and set back sixty feet. This created a 110-foot buffer between the two halves of Nogales because Mexico had created a fifty-foot setback in 1884. In this view looking west from Chureas Hill, a favorite vista point for photographers, no fence exists, but the boundary line is foreshadowed by the telephone poles immediately north of the Mexican kiosks. Several Model T automobiles with open carriages are discernible on the Mexico side near the railroad track. Kiosks stand at the boundary where Calle Elias meets International Street and at Railroad Avenue. The two-story brick building southwest of the kiosk is the Banco de Sonora. On the Arizona side, the triangular building at the corner of International Street and Morley Avenue is the Ville de Paris store, opened in 1901. The long roof of the new railroad depot built in 1905 to replace the original structure, which burned, is visible just beyond. An arroyo that cuts across the boundary near present Grand Avenue is discernible by the Bonillas Bridge, a stone structure across this channel west of the railroad corridor. This arroyo was filled and leveled in 1918. (All postcards are from the author's personal collection and printed here courtesy of Daniel Arreola)



International Street—Dividing Line
Es propiedad Sonora

2700

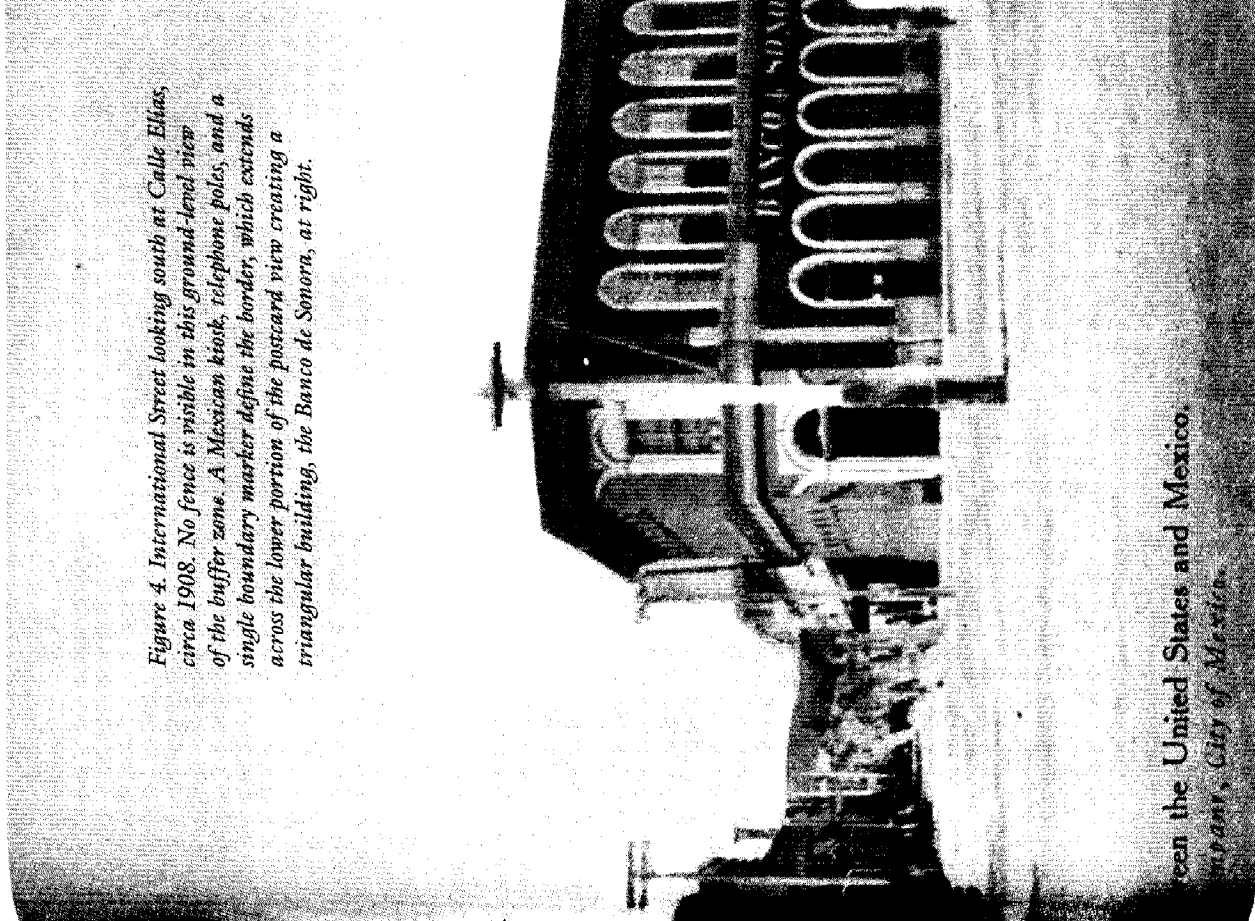


Figure 4. International Street looking south at Calle Elias, circa 1908. No fence is visible in this ground-level view of the buffer zone. A Mexican kiosk, telephone poles, and a single boundary marker define the border, which extends across the lower portion of the postcard view creating a triangular building, the Banco de Sonora, at right.

Between the United States and Mexico.
Nogales, City of Mexico



Figure 5. A fortified line, circa 1925. A simple wire fence was erected in 1918 by the U.S. government after hostilities erupted between U.S. and Mexican guards at Ambos Nogales, precipitating the so-called Battle of Nogales, a one-day clash on August 28. Officially, Mexico and the United States announced that the conflict was stirred by German spies. Unofficially, Mexicans insisted that the exchange erupted after months of resentment stemming from ill treatment of their countrymen by Americans. The American consul in Nogales, Arizona, refused to acknowledge that story, preferring to believe that Mexican border guards created the disturbance. Brigadier General D. C. Cabell, dispatched to Nogales from his post in Douglas, Arizona, recommended the construction of a fence, which was built entirely on the U.S. side of the boundary. As seen here, several sentry kiosks and the fence filled the buffer space between the towns. In time seven gatehouses were built, four near the Elias-Morley crossing, two others set back near the railroad crossing (hereafter referred to as the main gate), and one on the Mexican side near Calle Arispe (the present Avenida Obregón) beyond.



Figure 6. Calle Elias, gateway to wet Mexico, circa 1919. The wire fence is now visible and two kiosks are evident on the Mexican side. The former Banco de Sonora building has been converted to the Cosmopolitan Bar and Café, and the former single-story structure on the opposite corner is now the two-story Concordia Bar. Calle Elias became a street of wet palaces during Prohibition. Americans were enticed across the street for meals and entertainment served in the company of orchestras, surrounded by dance floors, and celebrated with legal disregard for the Volstead Act.

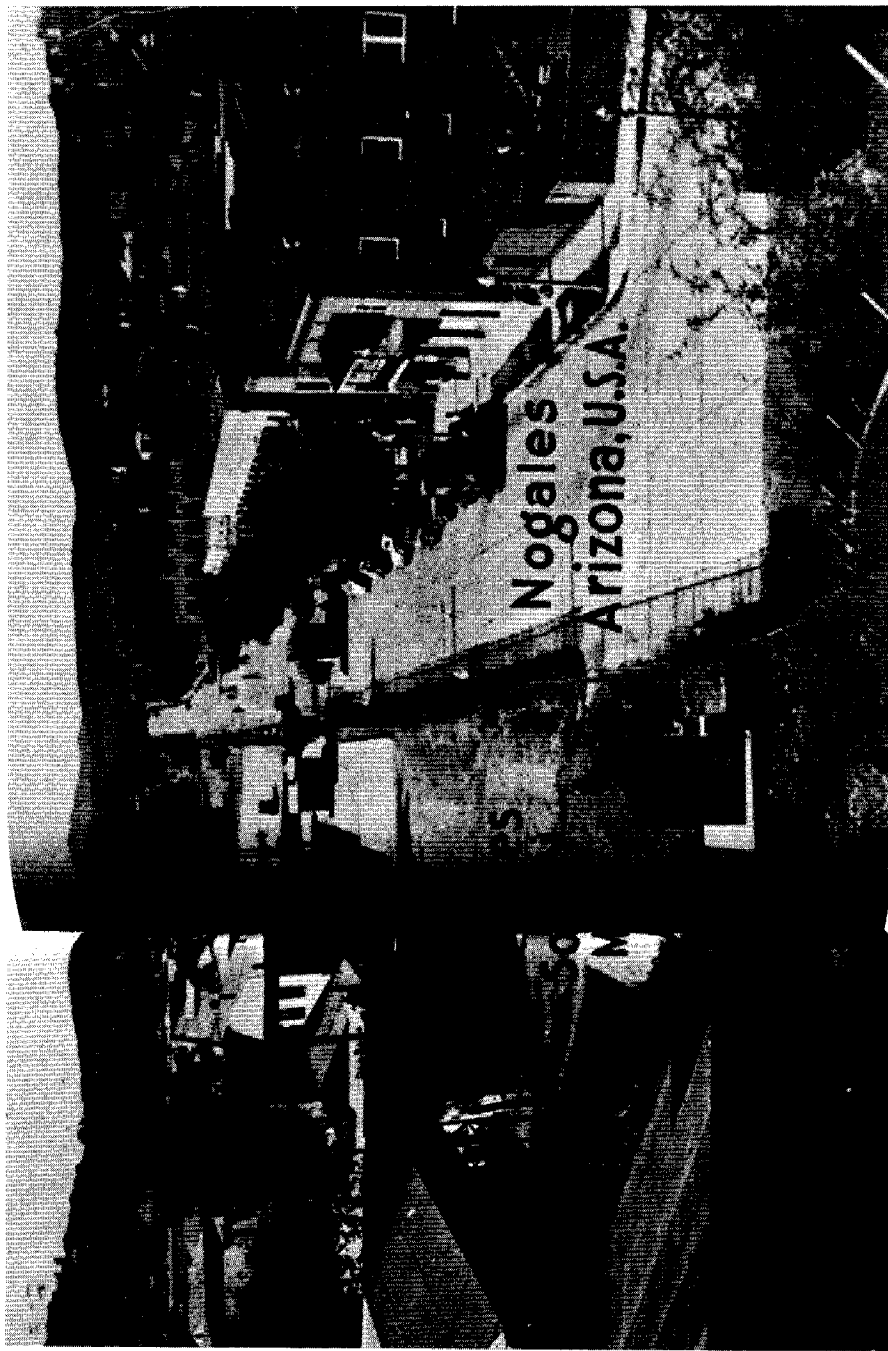


Figure 7. Two countries divided by a mere fence, a view circa 1935. In 1929 a new wire mesh fence replaced the simple strand-wire fence built in 1918. Masonry posts with lamps were added to the new fence at the Elias-Morley and main gate crossings, and electric light standards were erected along the border fence. The old kiosks were replaced with rectangular structures topped with tile roofs. An additional sentry house is now visible on the Mexican side at the base of Chureas Hill. The new U.S. Customs and Immigration Station, completed in 1934 in fashionable Spanish revival architectural style, is evident immediately west of the main gate crossing.



Figure 8. A second view of the fence, circa 1935. This view from slightly south of the line reveals the new Mexican railroad depot across the street from the town's principal public space, Plaza Trece de Julio. Like the U.S. Customs building, it is built in Spanish-revival style. The clock tower and neoclassical facade of the Mexican aduana (customs house) are visible in this view south of the railroad depot. The arroyo along the border on the Mexican side is now a concrete channel beyond Calle Arispe.

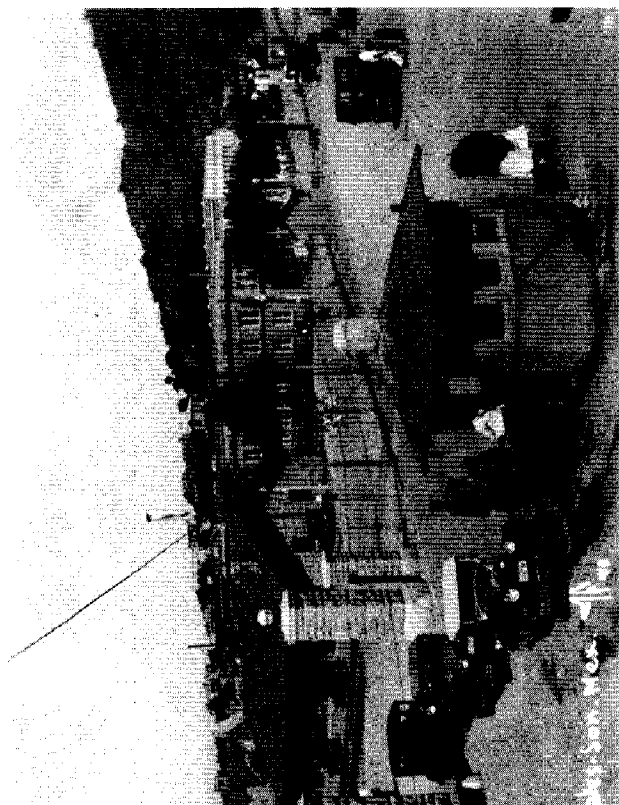


Figure 9. Main gate crossing, circa 1930. This view looks north from the Mexican garita through the improved 1929 fence of wire mesh with lighted masonry pillars. The U.S. gatehouse is partially visible behind the left pillar, and the U.S. railroad depot is in the center background. The dome of the Santa Cruz County Courthouse is visible in the far background.

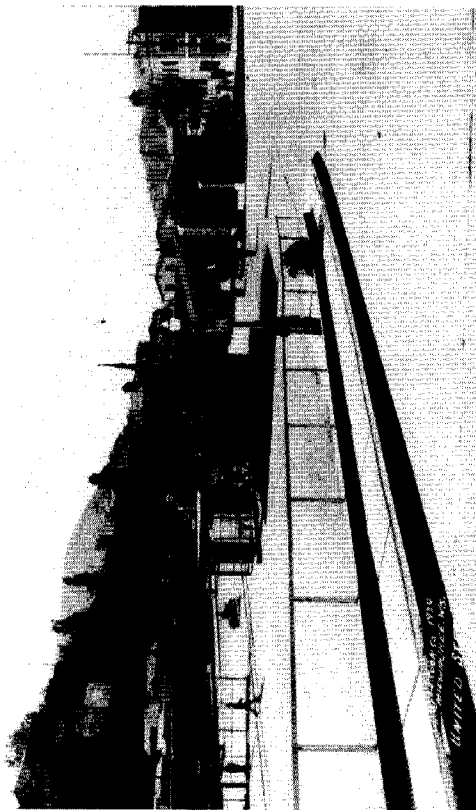
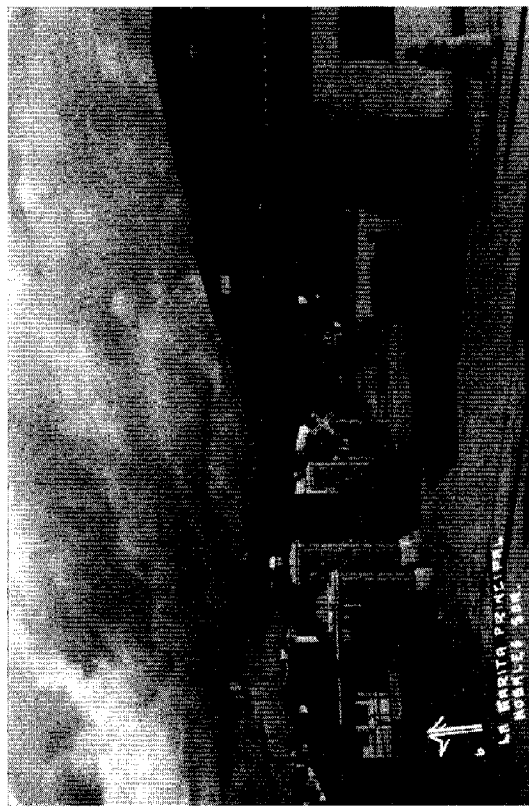


Figure 11. Main gate, 1939. This view looks south from outside the U.S. Customs and Immigration Station, out of view to the right. The U.S. gatehouse and Mexican garita are visible, as is the chain-link fence that replaced the single-strand wire fence. Railroad cars on the far left are crossing into the United States from Mexico. The tracks visible near the striding figure and motorbike in motion are those that cross to the Mexican side from the United States. The second story of the Mexican railroad depot appears over the top of the Mexican garita, and the clock tower and neoclassical facade of the Mexican aduana are visible in the right background.

Figure 12. Main gate crossing, circa 1935. This unusual view looks east along the border fence from the main crossing with the back of the Mexican garita in the right foreground and the U.S. gatehouse in the left midground. The chain-link fence is seen extending over Chureas Hill in the far background. The Mexican garita at the Elias-Morley crossing is visible in the center midground.





Via.
Vista a la Garita
Nogales, Son. Mex.

Figure 13. Main gate, circa 1945. This view is north from the Mexican railroad depot toward the main gate crossing. The Mexican garita is now a two-story structure, and the U.S. gatehouse is visible on the right just beyond. Curio stores and the leading edge of Plaza Tree de Julio are seen on the left. The tile roof of the U.S. Customs and Immigration Station is visible in the upper left. In 1940, Nogales, Arizona, had 5,135 residents, while Nogales, Sonora, totaled 13,866.

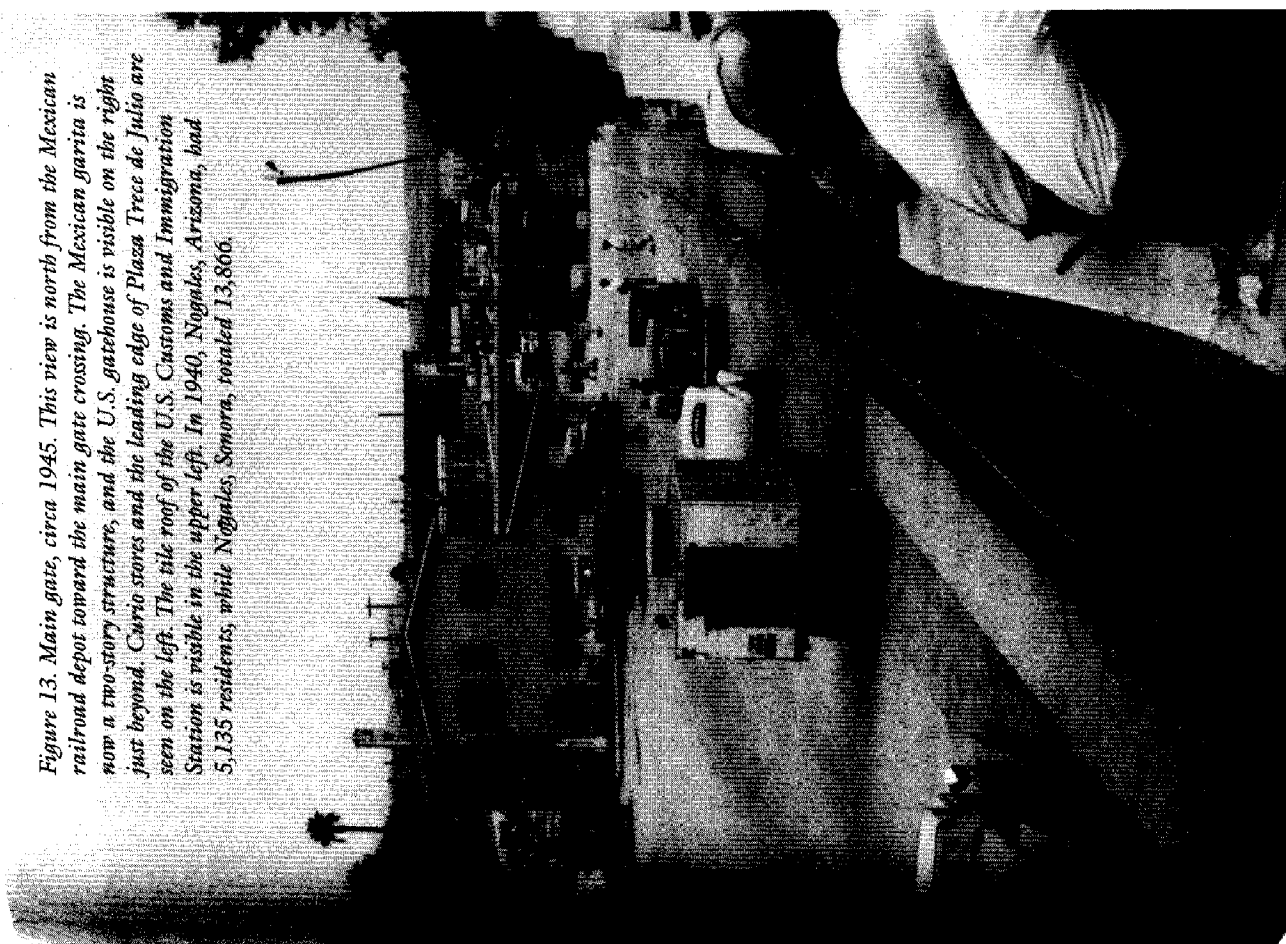




Figure 14. Main gate, circa 1952. The perspective is similar to that in figure 13, but the Mexican garita has been renovated into a single-story, flat-roofed, modern architectural style. A Safeway supermarket is now visible on the U.S. side. Many U.S. chain stores entered Nogales, Arizona, after World War II, and this Safeway store earned a reputation for high-volume sales because of the large number of Sonorans who would regularly shop across the border. On the Mexican side, the high art-deco facade facing Plaza Trece de Julio is the Teatro Obregón, featuring "Nuestras Vidas" on the marquee and "Gavilán Pollero" on the banner.



Figure 15. Los dos Nogales, circa 1950. By 1954, Ambos Nogales was a major automotive gateway to the west coast of Mexico, and a paved roadway extended from the border through Sinaloa to the national capital. Fence-line postcard views looking west from Chureas Hill now include the newly constructed million-dollar, high-rise Marcos de Niza Hotel. Auto traffic through Nogales nearly doubled in terms of passenger transit, from 38,000 in 1954 to 73,000 in 1959. This view shows that the Mexican garita at the main crossing is still a two-story structure in Spanish-revival style whereas the U.S. gatehouse has been renovated in a sleek, flat-roofed modern look.

Figure 16. *Linea divisoria*, circa 1955. This view, while similar to that in figure 15, was actually taken several years later, because the Mexican *garita* at the main gate is the same flat-roofed structure pictured in figure 14, and the new Safeway store is visible to the right of the U.S. Customs and Immigration Station. With the new emphasis on automobile tourism through Ambos Nogales, the curio district of Nogales, Sonora, shifted west from Calle Elias to Calle Campillo, and eventually, to Avenida Obregón. The Marcos de Niza Hotel on the corner of Calle Campillo and Avenida Obregón became a beacon drawing pedestrian and automotive tourists to a new district of the border town that only a decade earlier had been primarily a residential zone.

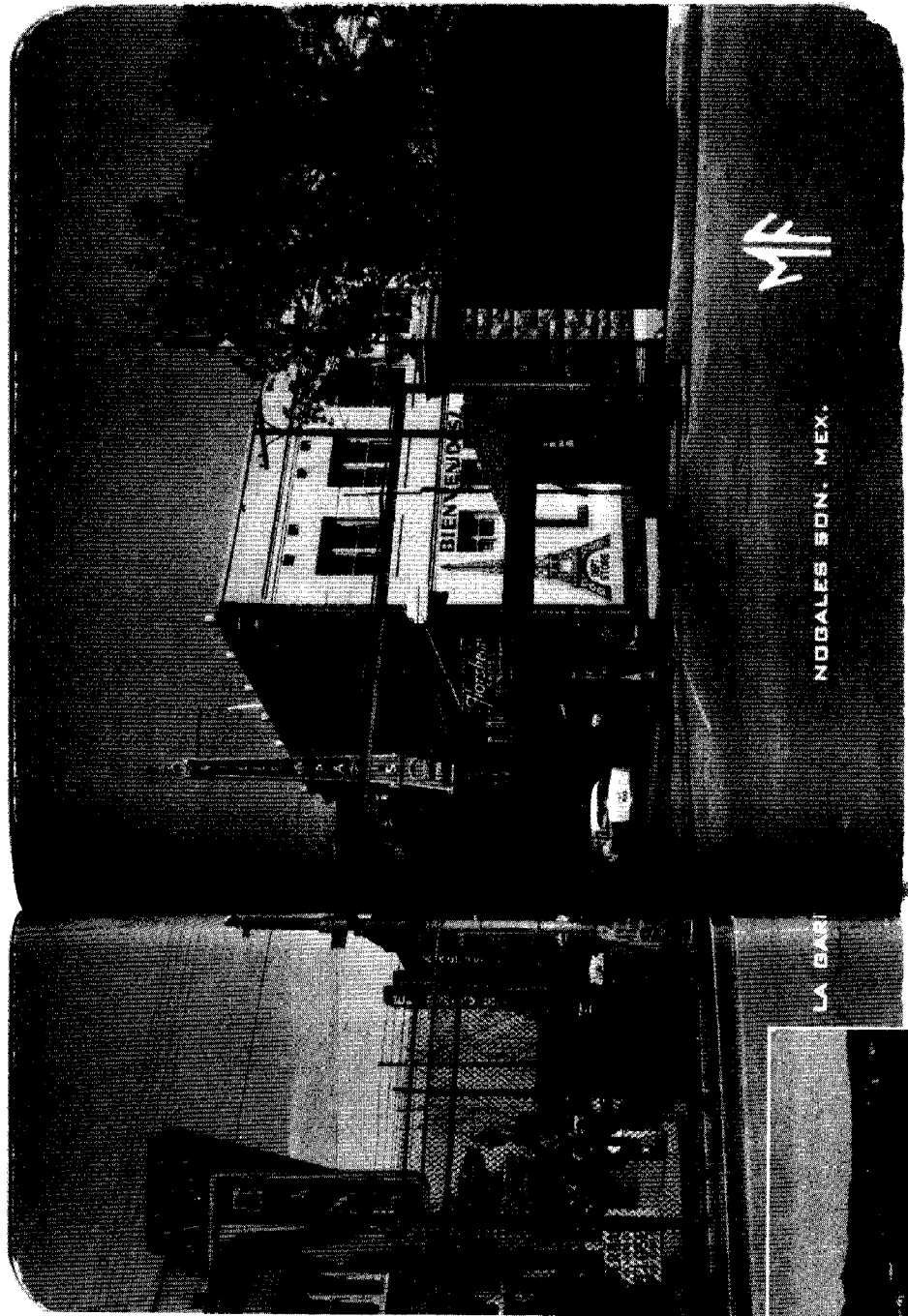


Figure 17. Morley gate crossing, circa 1960, looking north along Morley Avenue with the Mexican *garita* and U.S. gatehouse on the right. One of the 1929 masonry pillars has been removed (cf. figure 10), and a sign at the lower left as well as the sliding gate suggest that this crossing actually closes during certain hours. This implies that the Morley Avenue shopping scene was chiefly a daytime activity by the 1960s. The signature Eiffel Tower sign of Ville de Paris and signs for Valley National Bank, Kress, and the El Paso Store are visible along Morley.



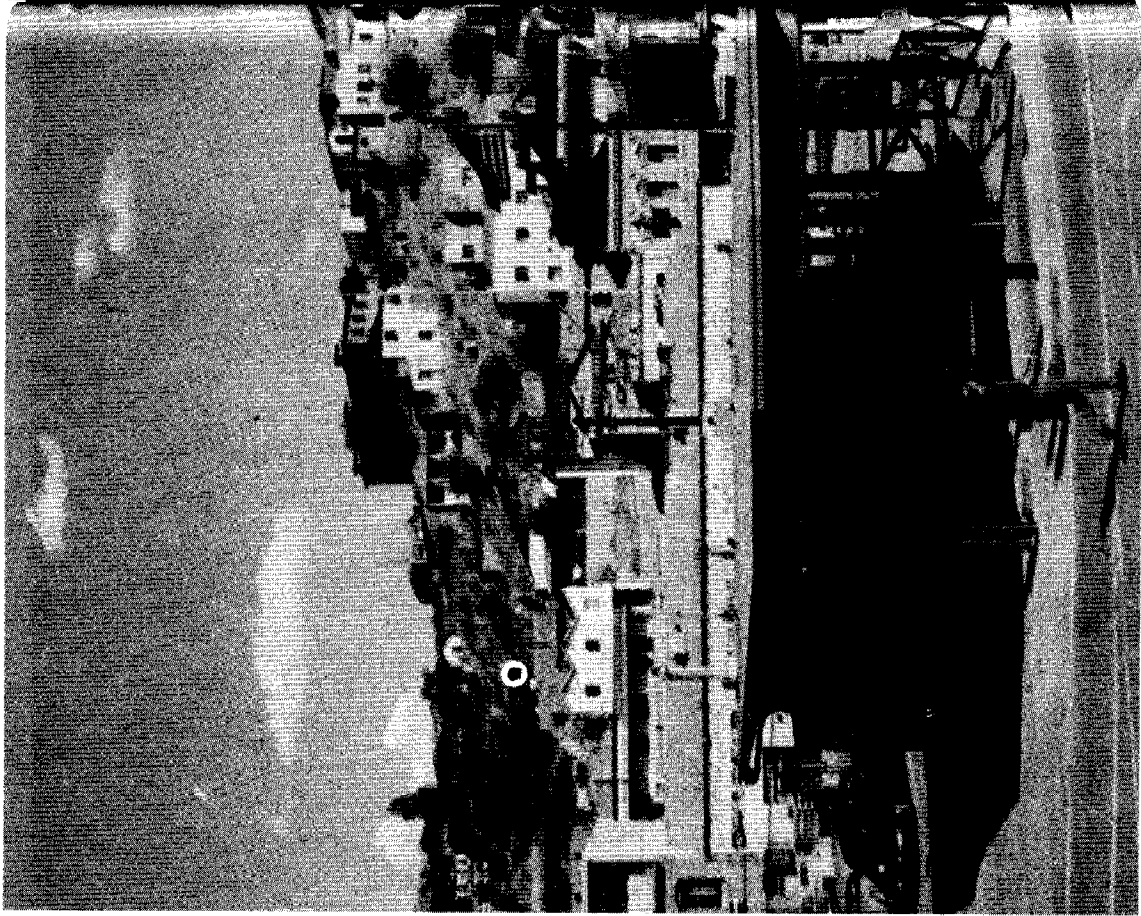


Figure 18. Main gate crossing, circa 1960. An unusual view of the main gate crossing looks east with the Mexican garita on the right and the U.S. gatehouse on the left. Billboards decorating building rooftops and the hillside advertise not only local sites such as La Caverna Cafe and Dance Club and La Azteca Silver Shop, but also air travel to the Mexican interior. This is the first postcard in this survey that is a color photograph, or chrome card, as this style came to be called because of the suffix associated with Kodak color film, Kodachrome. The photographer was Stan Davis, and the postcard was published by Petley Studios in Phoenix.

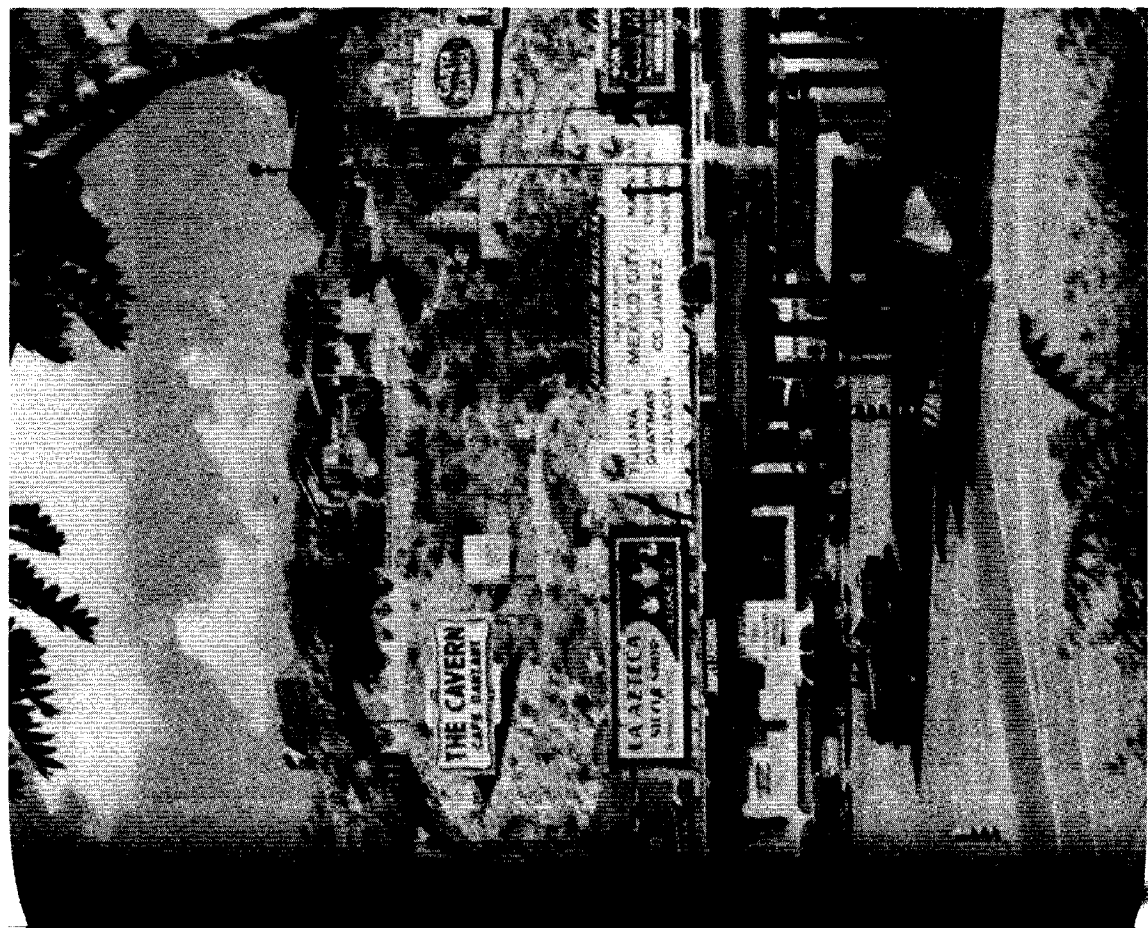




Figure 19. Birdseye view of Ambos Nogales, circa 1965. This oblique view looks north from just above the main gate crossing. The boundary is tracable as an east-west diagonal that cuts across the north-south-trending street and railroad corridors. In 1964, the Mexican national government through the Programa Nacional Fronterizo (PRONAF) completely modified the main gate crossing with a dramatic double-winged gateway and surrounding new buildings thematically connected to the garita by their white color and arched roofs. Gone is the old Plaza Trece de Julio, replaced with several traffic islands and associated ornamental landscaping. On the U.S. side, a new U.S. Immigration and Port of Entry in boxy, modern architectural style is positioned immediately north of the new PRONAF gate and aligned to the border. Each structure is massive in contrast to previous gatehouses, and multiple lanes accommodate increased automobile traffic. Roads that cross under these new gates have been expanded and realigned for single-direction passage. Both Mexican and U.S. railroad depots have been removed and relocated away from the gate, although a railroad crossing gate persists. On the U.S. side the 1934 U.S. Customs and Immigration Station remains standing. To the left of this facility on a nearby city block is an open lot with docking facilities used for inspection of trucks importing Mexican produce. Trucks lined up and crossed at the main gate every winter from 1950 until 1974, when the new Mariposa gate was opened several miles west of this view.

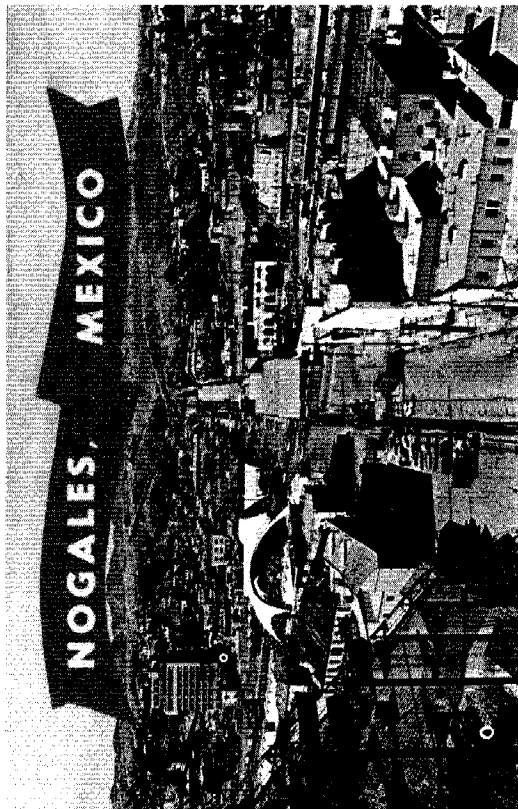


Figure 20. Fence line looking west, circa 1965. This view shows clearly how the new U.S. Immigration and Port of Entry squats directly in the old buffer zone and hard against the borderline, whereas the new Mexican garita is set well back from the line, a posture that respects the old transition space. The fence is still chain link with barbed wire along the top. Gone, however, are the trees that once fronted the Ville de Paris store along International Street on the Arizona side. Not visible in this chrome postcard view is Interstate 19, which would be completed in 1966. On the Mexican side an open lot at the intersection of Avenida López Mateos and Calle Campillo is the former site of the old aduana, which was razed in 1963.

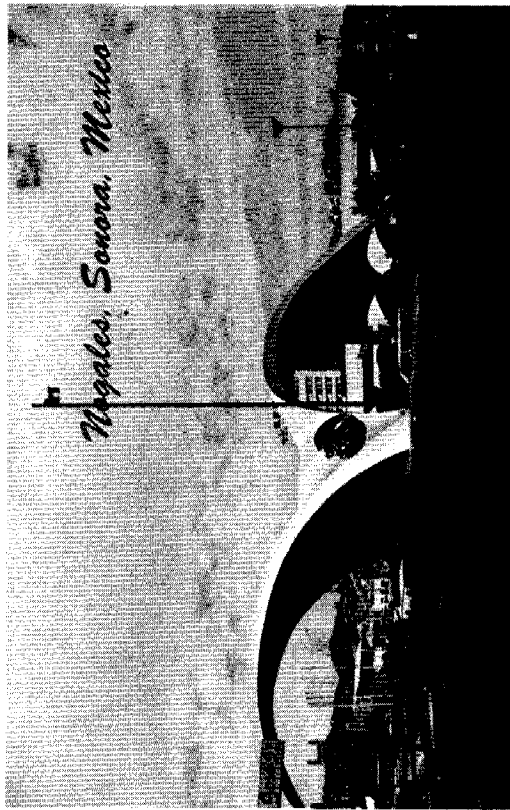


Figure 21. Mexican gariita, circa 1968. This ground-level view looks south into Mexico through the double-winged canopy built by PRONAF in 1964. Vehicles move into Mexico on the right and exit at the left. Traffic islands with ornamental vegetation and a flag standard display are visible in front of and behind the arched gateway. In 1969, the Nixon administration launched Operation Intercept, intended to combat drug trafficking at border crossings. The ensuing delays harmed border-area businesses and created traffic congestion at gate crossings.



Figure 22. U.S. Immigration and Port of Entry, circa 1968. This ground-level view looks south from immediately north of the main gate crossing on the U.S. side. The 1934 U.S. Customs and Immigration Station is out of view to the right. Unlike the double-winged gateway on the Mexican side, the American port of entry almost completely obscures any view of Nogales, Sonora, creating a defensive posture at the border. Compare this perspective with figure 11, photographed three decades earlier.

Figure 23. La linea divisoria, circa 1980. This view looks west along the borderline privileging more of Mexico than the United States. The fence is still chain link and is seen extending west beyond the built-up area of either town. The Elías-Morley gate is now permanently closed to automotive traffic and survives only as a pedestrian access across the line. Visible at the upper right as it cuts across a steep hill and winds down on the Arizona side is Interstate 19, completed in 1966. Curio shops now fill the space where the Mexican aduana once stood at Calle Campillo and Avenida López Mateos.

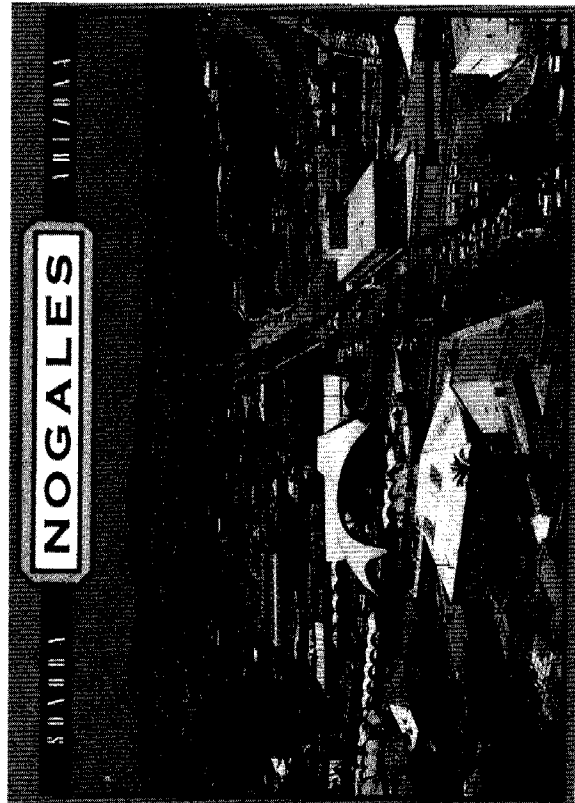
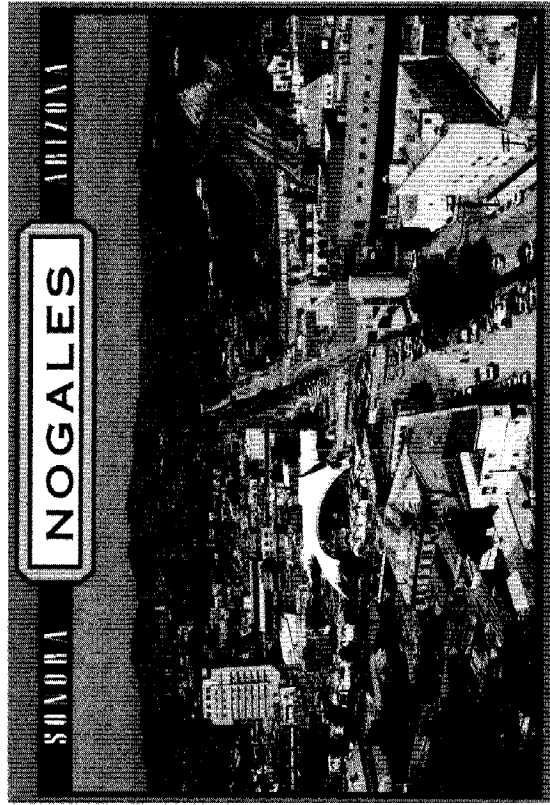


Figure 24. Ambos Nogales borderline, circa 1995. This look westward reveals the first postcard representation of the metal fence made of surplus military tarmac, creating a black line that now defines the border. The 1964 U.S. Immigration and Port of Entry is substantially renovated and extended in a postmodern disguise of battleship gray accented with a hot-pink color scheme; it is also renamed to honor former U.S. senator from Arizona Dennis DeConcini. An elevated tower positioned immediately east of the railroad corridor on the U.S. side monitors train crossings, which have increased greatly with the importation of vehicles from the Ford Motor plant in Hermosillo, Sonora. Faintly visible about one-half mile west of the main gate on the U.S. side is a closed-circuit television camera mounted on a tall standard; the camera scans the border to alert the U.S. Border Patrol to illegal crossings. On the Mexican side, three small tile-roofed pavilions are barely visible along the railroad track east of the double-winged gateway. These are part of a newly created public space called Garibaldi Plaza, where street musicians gather on weekend nights following the close of the bars and nightclubs on the Sonora side.



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