HISTORIC CONTEXT

STREETCAR SUBURBS OF DALLAS: COLONIAL HILLS, EAST DALLAS AND SOUTH DALLAS

DRAFT

INTRODUCTION

The Dallas neighborhoods surveyed in this project can all be viewed as manifestations of Dallas' early suburbanization due to their physical relationship to the central business district, their early residential character, their establishment along streetcar lines and the promotional techniques employed by their developers. Beyond these similarities the neighborhoods diverge into three distinctly different areas of study. For the purposes of this nomination, as well as future planning efforts, it may be most useful to consider them first as extensions of Dallas' emergence as a major transportation and distribution center and then separately as the unique communities of East Dallas, Colonial Hill, and South Dallas.

East Dallas is the historic name of a separate municipality that developed two miles east of the Dallas courthouse. The project area known as Mill Creek was an integral part of East Dallas. Mill Creek is a recent appellation with no historic precedent. The creek itself runs to the west of the project area and had little impact on its development. Colonial Hill is the name traditionally used to describe several South Dallas additions east of Central Expressway that were subdivided in the 1880s and early 1890s. The portion of Colonial Hill which lies in the survey area is considered part of South Dallas today but historically it has had an identity very separate from the traditionally black community to the south and east of it. In this nomination South Dallas refers only to those communities south of Warren Avenue that were platted and developed exclusively for black families. Those subdivisions grew up around a core community of black families

that was already established on Atlanta and Latimer streets south of Warren Avenue, at the turn of the century. There is evidence that a black farming community preceeded it in the area.

Although the three communities share common elements of early suburban development they had unique histories that contribute to their present status and appearance. The eastern half of East Dallas, where the project area lies, originally consisted of the country estates and plantation lands of wealthy bankers, railroad magnates, and ranchers. The extension of streetcar lines from Dallas to the town led to a real estate boom in the 1870s and 1880s that resulted in the breakup of the old estates and their piecemeal redevelopment throughout the 20th century. Colonial Hill was developed about the same time as the East Dallas real estate boom but it was a natural extension of an established suburb just south of the business district rather than a separate entity like East Dallas. Prosperous Jewish merchants residing in The Cedars, moved south to Colonial Hill in the wake of commercial and sub-standard residential encroachment into their once-exclusive neighborhood. To the east of the original Colonial Hill development, at its northern extensions, were built the more modest homes of clerical and managerial families, many of whom worked for the merchants and factory owners. South Dallas, south of the central city below Warren Avenue and to the west of the Fairgrounds, is adjacent to Colonial Hill and east of Central Expressway. During the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s, subdivisions were built in the area exclusively for black families. The documentation and promotional materials relating to these developments makes South Dallas a particularly intriguing project area within the suburban development context.

This submission first examines the early history of Dallas and its phenomenal growth after the arrival of the railroads as a prelude to its suburban expansion.

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Next, Dallas' suburban development is outlined with particular attention to the role of streetcar companies in determining the direction and extent of that growth. Finally, the three individual project areas are explored separately to better define their special characteristics and determine their contributions to Dallas' architectural and cultural heritage.

Introduction to Dallas

Nothing in Dallas' early history foretold of its pre-eminence among Texan cities thirty years after its founding in 1841. Wresting the county seat away from Hord's Ridge (present day Oak Cliff) in an 1850 election brought a degree of regional commercial and political prominence to Dallas, but until the railroad connected it to eastern markets it proved of little practical benefit. It was the arrival of the Houston & Texas Central (H&TC) Railroad in 1872, and its intersection with the Texas and Pacific (T&P) a year later, that ushered in an era of growth that would make Dallas the premiere merchant city of the Southwest.

On the heels of the railroads, in fact in anticipation of their arrival, street railroads were built to facilitate movement of goods from the terminals to the business houses that began to spring up in the ensuing commercial boom. It became immediately apparent that streetcars would also be a boon to residential real estate ventures. The flurry of building activity in downtown Dallas following the arrival of the railroads made it a congested, noisy place in which to live but street railroads enabled people to live more than a few blocks away from their work and enjoy the benefits of suburban life - a revolutionary concept that changed the way American cities would develop. Because Dallas had grown very little from its Trinity River site by the time streetcars arrived, the new technology largely determined the direction of the city's growth.

The suburban development of Colonial Hills, East Dallas and South Dallas, was made possible by the network of streetcar lines that allowed people to live farther and farther away from the central city and their places of work. The force behind the success of these suburbs lay in the union of real estate developers with street railway promoters, who frequently were partners in each others' enterprises. A typical collaboration involved the purchase and subdivision of inexpensive land far from the center of town, followed by the establishment of a park or other attraction, and the construction of a streetcar line to bring prospective buyers to the new subdivision. Though there are differences between the three areas in growth and development dynamics and in housing types and demographics, they each owe their existence to the street railroads.

Early History

John Neely Bryan initially came to Three Forks, a natural ford on the Trinity River, in 1839 to establish an Indian trading post at the crossroads of two major Indian traces (Switzer, 1954: 8). After a brief trip to Arkansas, he returned to his campsite on the Trinity in 1841 to find his plans ruined by two events: the defeat and evacuation of Caddo Indian encampments near Three Forks and the granting of a charter for Peters Colony Company for control of 16,000 acres of Texan land including Bryan's claim, making him a virtual squatter on the land he'd staked out. Although his hopes to establish an Indian trading post were permanently dashed, Bryan successfully retained his claim to a strip of land fronting the Trinity River and he promptly set about subdividing and promoting it as a town. In fact, Peters Colony Company included the townsite in maps promoting their colony (McDonald, 1978. 8-9).

The original townsite was platted by Bryan's surveyor in 1846 along a regular grid pattern. As the city developed, however, that pattern shifted to accommodate other claims, creeks and land forms, giving Dallas an irregular set of streets whose names were apt to change whenever the street jogged in a new direction. It was quite unlike the ideal midwestern design Bryan sought to emulate. The 1855 boundaries were Water and Murphy streets, Calhoun and Columbia (now Young) streets, running about eleven blocks fronting the river and about eight blocks deep from the river (McDonald, 1978: 6, c. 1855 plat map).

By its incorporation in 1856, Dallas had a population of about 350 people, most of whom were farmers (McDonald, 1978: 10). In fact, most of the 2,743 inhabitants of Dallas County in the 1850s were farmers living outside the boundaries of the town (Powers, 1969: 3). The earliest buildings, including the courthouse around which the others were clustered, were made of logs. Early settlers, lured by Peters Colony Company promotions were unnerved to find the town somewhat less grand than claimed. John Billingsly who had come to settle with his family in 1844 wrote in his journal, "We soon reached the place we had heard of so often: but the town, where was it? Two small log cabins--this was the town of Dallas, and two families of 10 or 12 souls was its population" (McDonald, 1978: 9). It wouldn't be the last time that real estate developers made inflated claims for their developments. By 1870 the population of the town had increased somewhat from about 600 inhabitants in 1860 to an estimated 1,500 ten years later (Keith, 1930: 172).

Dallas was little more than an agricultural outpost on the Trinity River in 1860. but what there was of it burned down on a hot July morning on the eve of the Civil War. The fire. most likely an accident. spread quickly through the poorly constructed wood-frame buildings, destroying most of the town within hours. With

little to convict them but hearsay evidence, three black men were charged with conspiracy by a vigilante jury and hung for the deed (Lewis, 1892: 177). With this exception, Dallas was not directly affected by the war and with Reconstruction, Dallas, too, began to build anew.

1865-1893 Post Civil War Growth and Development

Although some construction must have taken place immediately after the 1860 fire, concentrated efforts to re-build the town were made only after the end of the Civil War. The fire had literally wiped the slate clean for the construction of a more substantial city than the primitive one that preceded it. Citizens and new arrivals alike began to envision building a great commercial center upon the ruins of the pioneer farming village. While most Dallas business had been auxiliary to agriculture prior to the war, the town was becoming increasingly centered on the processing of crops and associated businesses. Accordingly, as the town rebuilt, more substantial commercial buildings were constructed, reflecting this focus. Sometime during Reconstruction, two itinerant architect/builders, T. B. Borst and John Ryan, arrived in Dallas and began erecting the start of what would become hundreds of 2-story Italianate commercial buildings in the downtown area between 1860-1890 (McDonald, 1978: 17).

Dallas grew steadily after the war with an influx of immigrants, white and black, primarily from the Southern states. Many Southerners whose homes and ways of life had been destroyed during the war wanted a fresh start. They nailed signs on their home places that read "Gone to Texas" and set out to build new homes on the Prairie. Freedmantowns, enclaves of safety and solace for ex-slaves, sprang up at the periphery of Dallas' white communities and had a lasting effect on the growth and development of the city. In the aftermath of the war, thousands of

people flooded into North Texas, and Dallas began to reflect that immigration in a post-war building surge. The following excerpt from an 1871 letter, written by Henry Coit to his cousin, presages the wild land speculation to come in the following decades:

> "Dallas is improving very fast. The census gave us over 2,700 inhabitants to the corporation. People anticipate its becoming another Atlanta and fortunes have been made in buying town property" (McDonald, 1978: 18). [note: Ruby Keith and others show the 1870 census at "1,500 est." but Lewis recorded the 1870 census as low as 800 (Keith, 1930: 168; Lewis, 1892: 275). All figures given before the 1880 must be considered estimates].

The influx of these eager new citizens to the Dallas area and the ensuing building boom led some to envision a greater future for the prairie town than previously imagined. The railroads, snaking their way westward, linked the towns in their paths to Northern and Eastern trading and manufacturing centers, rapidly transforming many of the former hamlets to urban trading centers. Dallas' more astute citizens, including William H. Gaston, set about ensuring that the railroads ran through Dallas. They planned for their own fortunes, as well, by buying up huge tracts of land in anticipation of successful negotiations.

The Arrival of the Railroads

The importance of a rail connection between the isolated north Texas town of Dallas and the rest of the country was not lost on its entrepreneurial citizens. In 1871, it was discovered that the Houston and Texas Central Railway (H&TC) planned to run its line eight miles east of the county courthouse leaving a huge gap between the town and the tracks. Businessmen led by Captain William H. Gaston sought to entice the railroad nearer. Gaston himself donated $5,000 and right-of-way through his property to bring the road closer (McDonald, 1978: 19).

Six months later, Gaston learned that the Texas and Pacific Railroad (T&P) tracks, following the 32nd parallel, would bypass Dallas by 50 miles to the south. Once again Gaston and his associates engineered the city's fate by attaching a rider to a legislative bill requiring the tracks to pass within one mile of Browder Springs (in present day Old City Park). The rider passed without comment and when the railroad company realized they'd been duped, Dallasites assuaged the wound with cash incentives and rights-of-way. Gaston himself donated 142 acres through his East Dallas property as well as ten acres for a depot at the intersection of the H&TC and T&P tracks (Central Expressway at Pacific Avenue) (Saxon, 1983: 9-10). When the T&P crossed the H&TC lines early in 1873, Dallas became the first rail crossroads in the Southwest and was on its way to becoming the premiere merchant city of North Texas. An editorial in the Dallas Herald of April 8, 1871 proclaimed:

> The continued growth of Dallas is now assured, and from this season forward it will be more rapid than ever before. Now that the owners of real estate have wisely consented to pay a tax . . . for the purpose of securing a depot for the Houston and Texas Central Railroad . . . Let our capitalists go to work at once building and preparing in every way for a large influx of newcomers (Stark, 1935: 181).

This they did with relish.

McDonald in Dallas Rediscovered described William Gaston as a "banker, financier, and empire builder" (McDonald, 1978: 133). Gaston had come to Dallas in 1867 after the Civil War in which he served the Confederacy as captain. He and his partner. Aaron Camp. established Dallas' first bank, Gaston and Camp, which later became First National Bank. They began purchasing real estate in both project areas of South and East Dallas. On his 400-acre "plantation that became the town of East Dallas" (McDonald, 1978: 133), Gaston designed and built a massive Greek Revival mansion at the northeast corner of Swiss Avenue and St. Joseph Street (demolished 1927) which served as headquarters of his operations. He owned another 343 acres in South Dallas in addition to his East Dallas holdings (Gaston. n.d.).

By engineering the intersection of the two railroads where he did, Gaston ensured the future of Dallas, as well as his own.

On the eve of the boom in 1871, Dallas was a town of three banks, two cotton gins, a flour mill, a good number of saloons and the distinction of being the world center of the leather and buffalo hide trade (McDonald, 1978: 18). The principal streets, Elm, Commerce and Main extended only three-eighths of a mile east of the courthouse. With the exception of some homes built two miles southeast of that point, most of the buildings were closely scattered around it (Powers, 1969: 5). The advent of the railroad would change all that permanently. Within the year, Dallas was transformed into a bustling commercial center. Cotton buyers rushed to open offices in Dallas, bringing with them the first telegraph connecting them to the world market quotations. The result was the establishment of the Dallas Cotton Exchange (Head, n.d., Box 4J58). Business was booming and the population exploded from about 2,500 to over 7,000 in a less than six months (McDonald, 1978: 19).

The railroad also brought the so-called "terminal" merchants like Alexander Sanger who had been following the H&TC Railroad from town to town as it progressed, trying to predict where the road would finally terminate. These merchants established stores in towns such as Milican and Corsicana, moving each time the railroad extended its lines to the next locale. When they realized that the H&TC was going on to Dallas they moved once again and in a single day bought 70 lots on Elm Street between Jefferson and Akard streets (Keith, 1930: 136). Many thought the terminal merchants would establish their businesses near the depot, thus ensuring rapid development of that site, but surprisingly, they chose to remain close to the county courthouse in Dallas "proper." Nevertheless, others did settle near the depot and a secondary center of population evolved in East Dallas.

The importance of the railroads to Dallas' tremendous growth cannot be overemphasized. They brought not only merchants but others who sought their fortunes in the boomtown, as well. Builders and construction crews arrived by the hundreds to provide housing and offices for the multitudes. By 1873, Dallas had three large steam-powered flouring mills, a sash and door factory, more than a dozen lumber yards, and a magnificent fairgrounds. In that year alone, following the intersection of the H&TC and T&P tracks, 50 large 2- or 3-story brick buildings with iron fronts, and 725 other buildings including houses were constructed in the city. The value of the new buildings was calculated at $1,377,500.00. This represented an increase of 1,000% in a 12-month period (Keith, 1930: 136-137). The junction of the T&P and H&TC railroads made Dallas a wholesale center for all of North Texas, taking much of the trade from Jefferson, more than 200 miles away. Wagon trade to Jefferson decreased, causing a 70% drop in its population between 1872 and 1874 (Keith, 1930: 138). Dallas' population grew accordingly.

Mills had been established along Mill Creek, which flowed to the south and east of the town, earlier in Dallas' history but the arrival of the railroads, which guaranteed product transportation to outside markets, spurred the growth of other manufacturing and industrial plants in the 1870s and 1880s. Plants sprang up in areas where there were natural power sources, along the Trinity River to the west of the City and along Mill Creek, and where manufacturers had easy access to railroad loading docks. The river and creek bottoms, subject to frequent flooding, were not favored residential areas and so became prime sites for factories and low-cost, rental housing for cheap labor. Although the railroads generated commercial and industrial development along their routes wherever they ran in the Dallas area, the point where they ran close to the Trinity River at the extreme west of the city became the focal point of industrial development. The accompanying worker's shanties and shotgun houses alongside the factories and railroad yards made the

area Dallas' poorest region from this time through the 1930s (Dallas City Guide. 1940: WPA box 4J57).

The railroad lines not only drew thousands of people to the area they also determined growth patterns to a great extent. Ross Avenue had been an established exclusive residential area prior to the arrival of the railroads but the T&P tracks cut off the area from the rest of the city, atrophying growth in North Dallas for a time (Dallas City Guide, 1940: WPA box 4J57). In other areas, the railroads stimulated growth. The second hub of population which developed more than a mile east of the Dallas courthouse at the H&TC railroad depot, eventually incorporated as the town of East Dallas in 1882. Undoubtedly, the most important spur to the growth of East Dallas was the arrival of the railroads. whose intersections "drew the entire city eastward, away from the river, . . . [establishing] the primary focus for an alternate city, which began to grow in the otherwise vacant area" (McDonald, 1978: 135).

> "fully eighty percent of the population diffused itself in a narrow band between these two poles [the Dallas courthouse and the H&TC railroad depot] almost in the shape of a bell; the flange ran along the river with its two short, lateral extensions into Frogtown and Boggy Bayou, and the two sides were bounded by the tracks of the T&P on the north and the H&TC switching yard (Marilla Street) on the south. The large-scale population shift north and south was not well established until the 1880s, leaving most of the population to congregate either around the courthouse or the East Dallas Depot (McDonald, 1878: 61).

A great deal of planning went into bringing the railroads to Dallas and through Gaston's properties in South and East Dallas, but the development that grew around the tracks seemed rather arbitrary. There was little civic planning involved and growth was a haphazard. if booming, affair. McDonald. describing the layout of the city in the 1880s. commented that urban planning was more than "freewheeling" and that a "definite attitude of laissez-faire prevailed in terms of

building codes, street design, regulation of housing development, or any sort of municipal planning" (McDonald, 1978: 59). The principal determining factor in the location of a new addition was its access to transportation. The introduction of the street railway system in 1873 and the subsequent partnerships between railway owners and real estate developers played the greatest part in directing Dallas' growth until the advent of the automobile.

The First Streetcars

In the heady days following the arrival of the railroads, it became immediately apparent that there were fortunes to be made in real estate. Developers began acquiring large parcels of land outside the corporate limits for subdivision and in the first six months of 1874, 600 homes were built (Powers, 1969: 18). The developers anticipated building street railroads to provide access to the far distant additions. Prior to the advent of the streetcar, people had typically lived within a few blocks of their work (Gooden, 1986: 15). The fact that Dallas had not expanded more than half a mile from its courthouse prior to the arrival of the railroad and ensuing real estate boom allowed the streetcar to shape its growth. McDonald wrote, "the streetcar was unquestionably the most influential factor in the growth of the suburbs, and the traffic patterns it established help to explain why certain areas developed while neighboring ones did not" (McDonald, 1978: 87). Not uncoincidentally, Dallas' earliest organized suburban housing developments, including those in the project areas of Colonial Hill, adjacent South Dallas and Mill Creek in East Dallas, were designed along streetcar lines.

Dallas was a fledgling city when its first streetcar systems were designed and installed. Unlike the older, congested Eastern Seaboard cities of New York and Boston, Dallas' streetcar systems were not built in response to the problems its

residents faced living in an intensely developed, crowded and unhealthy inner city, although there are reports of noise and confusion in the early days of the post-railroad building boom. Rather, it appears that Dallas entrepreneurs incorporated the new technology to stimulate growth in those areas where they either owned land or had an investment interest. It was always at the instigation of land speculators and independent street railroad developers that new streetcar companies and lines, in their formative and most influential years, were introduced. Dallas city commissioners invariably followed the lead of their entrepreneurial citizens, thankful for the municipal benefits that occurred as a by-product of their enterprise. Both Diane Powers and Carolyn Gooden who conducted extensive research into Dallas' early streetcar development concur with city planner George Kessler's assessment that Dallas' residential growth, "Instead of having been planned, . . . [was] directed by the land speculator . . . (Wilson, 1989: 261), who often owned or controlled and frequently used the streetcars, not for civic improvement, but for personal financial gain.

The first streetcar line was constructed in anticipation of the railroad and the growth it promised to bring. Nine businessmen, including William Gaston, chartered the first mule-drawn line in 1871 to carry goods and passengers from the courthouse, along Main Street, to the H&TC Depot, east of town (Powers, 1969: iv). In 1875, W. J. Keller took control of the streetcar operation and added a second line, the Dallas Street Railroad Company, which ran along San Jacinto Street, not coincidentally, to a parcel of farm land he owned in East Dallas. In the following year Keller's brother, Dr. C. E. Keller, chartered the Commerce and Ervay Street Railway to promote his real estate venture in South Dallas. By 1887, these three streetcar lines and a fourth, the Belt Line, merged to become the Dallas Consolidated Street Railway Company (Powers, 1969: 56). All four lines terminated at the courthouse.

Although the Consolidated had a virtual monopoly on street rail transportation in Dallas' central business district, several other streetcar lines were subsequently established on the periphery of town to draw prospective buyers to new real estate developments. The network of outlying and central business district lines enabled Dallas to spread over a broad expanse of field and forest. McDonald notes the importance of the streetcar lines in determining suburban development:

> As Dallas' real estate boom of the late 1880s and early 1890s progressed, all of . . . Dallas prospered. The most important factor in this success was the proliferation of streetcar lines during the period. The areas that received transit service were, of course, almost invariably the areas with the largest subsequent growth, and the decision as to where the lines would run very often was made by a land developer who either owned the streetcar company himself, or influenced its policy through a deft donation of land to the right people (McDonald, 1978: 147).

Powers concurs.

> The directions in which the lines ran were determined by the companies' owners and directors, who built the street railroads to serve their property and business interests in both the downtown sections and outer territory (Powers, 1969, iv).

Eventually, the streetcars would help convert all of downtown Dallas to commercial use by allowing (and encouraging) commuters to leave the city for residential suburbs in East and South Dallas. Streetcar entrepreneurs had more influence over where people would live and work than any governing body. There were no zoning restrictions in Dallas until 1927 and the city, far from regulating or restricting the streetcars, welcomed the increased mobility, its concomitant development, and the amenities, such as lakes and parks, provided by the streetcar/real estate promoters which became permanent municipal fixtures (Gooden, 1986: vi). One suburb, Oak Cliff, boasted a beautifully landscaped park (now the Marsalis Park and Zoo) with a lake, dance pavilion and summer opera house - all accessible by the streetcar line built by its developer, T. L. Marsalis (Clark, 1989: draft page 10). In fact, street railroads themselves became a popular way to

promote real estate in the late 1870s through the early 1890s evident in the successful promotion of Dallas' first "streetcar suburb", The Cedars, just south of the downtown area and to the immediate north of the Colonial Hill and South Dallas project areas. The promotion and resulting success of The Cedars established a pattern for subsequent suburban development.

First Streetcar Suburb - The Cedars

In 1876, three years after the H&TC railroad line intersected with the T&P, the first partnership was made between a local streetcar owner and a land speculator. John J. Eakins wished to develop the parcel of land south of the developed downtown area, known as The Cedars for its expanse of Red Cedar forest. He negotiated an agreement to sell the City of Dallas its first park in exchange for a tax exemption on The Cedars. Concurrently, Eakins struck a deal with Dr. C. D. Keller, owner of the Commerce and Ervay Street Railway Company, to extend the streetcar line down to The Cedars so that prospective buyers could be transported to the development with ease (McDonald, 1978:104). Keller and his associates also owned land in the vicinity and stood to profit from the arrangement. The promoters then built a lavish park at Browder Springs, now City Park, whose lovely lagoon and concert pavilions served as an inducement to bring Dallasites to the area on their Sunday outings (Powers, 1969: 36). It was a winning combination and land values in South Dallas "escalated in direct response to the streetcar line and park, and the tremendous boom in real estate prices was a lesson to later speculators, investors, and developers all over the city" (McDonald, 1978, 104). The Cedars, Dallas' first streetcar suburb, had set a precedent that was to be copied many times over.

The first houses were modest, wood frame Victorian cottages, similar to those shown in Downing's Cottage Residences pattern book. Within a few years, however,

The Cedars became an exclusive, "silk stocking" district, housing some of Dallas' most prominent merchants (Gooden, 1986: 17). Gooden postulates that The Cedars' popularity was a result of the convenience and prestige of having one of the city's few streetcar lines. Because many of The Cedars' residents were Jewish merchant families who had emigrated from Germany and Russia, the affluent residential neighborhood became known as a Jewish enclave (McDonald, 1978: 108). Alex Sanger, one of the most important of the "terminal merchants", and president of Sanger Brothers Dry Goods and Department Store, built an elaborate mansion at S. Ervay and Canton streets in 1882 (razed 1925) (McDonald, 1978: 107). Sanger was also instrumental in the establishment of the Dallas Cotton and Woolen Mills (at South Lamar and Corinth), a concern that would figure heavily in the development of neighborhoods further south. Philip Sanger, not to be outdone by his brother, built an enormous mansion on S. Ervay at St. Louis Street, for the staggering amount of $15,000 in 1885 (razed 1953) (McDonald, 1978: 109). Many other residents of The Cedars were also among Dallas' mercantile and industrial elite and their heavily ornamented Victorian-era mansions reflected their financial and social standings.

The Cedars was a protected enclave, separated from the downtown commercial center as well as from the mills and factories along the Trinity River and the MK&T Railroad to the west by a "buffer zone" of workers' cottages. Within a decade, however, the factories and workers' houses began nibbling at the edges of The Cedars. In 1888, when two new streetcar lines passed through the area opening all of South Dallas to development, it destroyed the exclusivity of The Cedars in the process (McDonald, 1978: 123). By the turn of the century, the popularity of the neighborhood had waned and its mansions, built in the flamboyant styles of the late Victorian era, were considered gaudy and old-fashioned when compared to the Prairie School-influenced houses being built in newer subdivisions. By the 1920s, many of

the The Cedars' fine homes were destroyed and the area nearly abandoned. Its residents moved south to Colonial Hills or the developing Edgewood Addition (South Boulevard/Park Row) or the restricted neighborhoods of Munger Place and Highland Park in North and East Dallas (Gooden, 1986: 51). Nothing remains of The Cedars today except City Park.

The Cedars set another precedent and established a pattern even in its deterioration. While the initiation of the streetcar preceeded and encouraged the development of residential neighborhoods, as those neighborhoods matured, the blocks closest to the streetcar lines converted to commercial uses (Gooden, 1986: 67-69). Such usage, coupled with increased industrialization and the attendant proliferation of workers' housing. pressured the residents to abandon The Cedars. This pattern, a result of unrestricted and unplanned development, was repeated with slight variations in other Dallas neighborhoods including the East Dallas and Colonial Hills project areas.

Colonial Hill

As Dallas' population surged from 10,358 in 1880 to 38,067 in 1890, (Keith, 1930: 168), speculators began furiously subdividing any available parcels of land in South Dallas, including those previously considered unsuitable for residential development because of their proximity to the Trinity River in the boggy lowlands. To the west and north of this project area, early cotton and flour mills had already established an industrial core along Mill Creek and the arrival of the Rock Island Railroad in its vicinity attracted other industrial plants (Gooden, 1986: 31). It was there, between the river and the railroad tracks that criss-crossed the southern region, that most of the post-Civil War industries were established and in large part it was those industries that attracted the new arrivals. The number of real estate transfers filed in Dallas increased tremendously from less than 300 in 1880, to 5,784 in 1887 (McDonald, 1978: 118) and much of this reflected activity in South and East Dallas. It was at the height of this real estate boom that speculators, banking on increased industrialization and the extension of streetcar lines into the area, opened the Colonial Hill (Chestnut Hill) additions in far South Dallas. Chestnut Hill, E. M. Kahn's Addition, the Lenway and Meyer Addition, and South Park were all opened between 1887 and 1891, forming the core of the Colonial Hill project area (Dallas County Plat Books).

Also adjoining the Colonial Hill development were the Cotton Mills and Exposition Park additions, located between City Park and Pennsylvania Avenue and developed primarily for lower- to middle- and working-class renters who either worked in the mills or held lower-level clerical positions with the manufacturing companies. The homes were generally 1- or 1 1/2- story frame houses without indoor plumbing (McDonald, 1978: 118; Dallas Sanborn Maps, 1905: vol. 2). As Powers has stated, "the geography of the region and its industrial development precluded

expensive homes" (Powers, 1969: 71). It was well-suited however, to the construction of hundreds of small, wood-frame cottages that housed workers for industries like the Trinity Cotton Oil Company, the Dallas Union Stockyards, and the Armstrong Packing Company that located along the railroads flanking both sides of South Dallas (McDonald, 1978: 123). When the Dallas Cotton and Woolen Mills opened in 1888, it initially employed 750 workers (Powers, 1969: 72) - all of whom required housing. Mill organizers, including vice-president, Alex Sanger, collaborated with real estate developers to build workers' cottages in the new additions. This increased the perception of South Dallas as a predominantly working-class area.

The advent of the steam-powered street railway led directly to the creation of these industrial suburbs. In 1888, the same year the mill and Colonial Hill additions were opened, Luther Rees and Alex Sanger helped charter the Dallas Rapid Transit Company, a steam-powered excursion line that went south on Lamar from the courthouse then eastward on Forest Avenue [then an unnamed street through empty fields - See Murphy and Bolanz Official Maps of Dallas, 1887 and 1889] to the fairgrounds. It was Rees, Edward Holmes and L. R. Wright, who incorporated the Dallas Investment Company and opened the Colonial Hills Addition that same year (Powers, 1969: 70). The circuitous route of his streetcar line accomplished two goals for Rees: it brought potential buyers past his addition, which had been in a virtual wilderness, and it assured them of transportation to the city and work once they built in the new addition (Powers, 1969: 71). Sanger's connections with Rees in the streetcar venture assured him of both housing and transportation for his mill workers. The connection between streetcar lines and real estate development was not overlooked by the public, either. The Times-Herald editorial of July 17, 1888, stated that cheaper homes were needed in the city and that the Dallas Rapid Transit Company might be able to provide them. As soon as the streetcar line was

installed. Rees began advertising in the newspapers for homes on "easy terms" with small cash payments and one- to five-year mortgages. Pictures of the cottages resembled those offered to workers in other areas of the country (Powers, 1969: 72). When the Dallas Consolidated Street Railway Company met Rees's competition by extending its own lines down Akard, Ervay and Harwood streets and east along Hickory, all of South Dallas was opened up for such development (McDonald, 1978: 123).

Not all of the housing in the Colonial Hill additions was designed for mill hands. however. While Powers, Gooden, and McDonald agree that much of the area housing was sub-standard rental property, there were zones of higher quality residential construction especially along Forest Avenue from Akard to the H&TC railroad tracks and on Holmes, from Forest south to Peabody (Sanborn maps.1905, 1922). A photograph of a Forest Avenue streetscape c. 1900, reproduced in Dallas Rediscovered, reveals a row of large, 2-story residences extending from S. Ervay Street westward. McDonald's caption described the street in the Colonial Hill Addition as "a fine neighborhood containing many large Neo-Colonial residences" (McDonald, 1978: 122). Thomas Scollard, owner of the Scollard and Jennie buildings in downtown Dallas, built one such house in 1890 (razed 1927) (McDonald, 1978: 122). As more neighborhoods developed to the south, schools and churches were built nearby.

Building came to an abrupt halt as the "panic of 1893" and the subsequent economic depression swept much of the nation and Dallas with it. Speculators throughout the city had overbuilt and the ensuing crash curtailed further large-scale development throughout the city for almost a decade. Whole rows of commercial buildings were vacated and houses abandoned as Dallas' lost almost 5,000 residents from 1892 to 1894 (Dallas Morning News, October 1, 1935; Gooden, 1986:

37). Foreclosures and recombinations left only three street railways remaining in the city at the turn of the century and those were owned by outside investors who, chastened by the crash, were less inclined toward risky speculation. Nevertheless, renewed efforts to completely develop the Colonial Hill area were spurred by the extension of the Ervay streetcar line from Grand Avenue to Forest in 1898. Encouraged by an immediate building response along the line, the streetcar company extended the line ten blocks farther, jogging over to Colonial Avenue. Gooden described the relationship between the streetcar lines and subsequent real estate development in the area:

> The 1899 map showed almost no development south of the Santa Fe Railroad. . . . The 1905 Sanborn's maps showed about 95 percent development along the Ervay carline just south of Grand and over 50 percent a block away on each side. Much of the area between Grand and Forest was less than half developed; but the property fronting on the north side of Forest, where the Rapid Transit's South Belt ran, was two-thirds developed. This area clearly demonstrated that the street railroads were still leading development in the early 1900s (Gooden, 1986: 46).

It is noteworthy that the only detail maps of South Dallas below Grand Avenue in the 1905 Sanborn collection are those depicting the Colonial Hill additions along the streetcar lines and one lone block, surrounded by vacant lands, straddling Forest Avenue between Meyer and May (now Meadow) of the Rapid Transit Railway's car barns.

The project area, bounded roughly by Forest Avenue to the north, Warren to the south, Lamar on the west and Central on the east, was almost entirely developed by 1922. The 1905 Sanborn maps show a wide assortment of housing types, styles, and lot sizes throughout the Colonial Hill section proving it to be a very mixed residential neighborhood. Some of the largest and most elegant homes in the area appeared on Holmes Street, between Forest and Pennsylvania avenues. Built in the early years of the development, prior to 1905, the houses in those two long blocks

had much more complex configurations than those on neighboring streets, with wrap-around porches and multiple bay windows. The only brick house south of Forest Avenue at that time was located on Holmes Street, and about 50% of the houses had two stories (Sanborn map, 1905). George S. Leachman, president of the Dallas Steam Laundry and Dye Works, built his home on Holmes Street in 1901 (razed 1973). It displayed "the popular pattern book design of a transitional period between older Victorian ornamentation and the emerging Prairie style" (McDonald, 1978: 124) and was typical of others built on that street.

Other pre-1905 development in the area included 12 substantial frame houses on the north side Forest Avenue, east of Central, five of which had two stories. The nine frame houses on the south side of Forest were substantially smaller and only one had two stories. Colonial Avenue in 1905 was already showing signs of commercialization along the streetcar line. It had only two medium-sized frame houses between Forest Avenue and Peabody Street and one frame store with an attached warehouse. From Peabody Street to Pennsylvania Street were five medium-sized frame houses and from Pennsylvania to Belle (Warren) Avenue were six small and medium-sized houses. Smaller housing was scattered throughout the section on the east-west streets of Peabody, Pennsylvania and Belle streets. The two major non-residential features of the neighborhood in 1905 were the 2-story brick Colonial Hill Public School, at Wendelken and Pennsylvania, and the Colonial Hill Presbyterian Church at the corner of Forest Avenue and Wendelken Street (Sanborn maps, 1905). Both have been demolished.

Colonial Hill offers a stark contrast to the planned, restricted neighborhoods being developed at the same time in Munger Place and Highland Park, in East and North Dallas. A study of the Sanborn maps reveals a great difference in the housing types, lot sizes and set-backs within the area. The city directories

reveal that mill and factory owners lived on streets adjacent to those housing their workers (Sanborn maps, 1905; Dallas City Directories, 1901, 1910, 1915, 1925). The preponderance of workers' houses simply reflected the greater number of workers than managers. The latter tended to cluster on Forest Avenue and Holmes Street. Many of the finer homes were demolished in the 1920s as Forest Avenue, a major crosstown streetcar line, became commercialized. Others became boarding houses or were divided into rental units.

Gooden has said that the major shift in popular house styles in the 1910s and 1920s as well as the introduction of the heavily restricted neighborhood, contributed to the exodus of well-to-do families from Colonial Hill in South Dallas to Munger Place and Highland Park in East and North Dallas. The houses that were built in Munger Place after about 1907 were predominately Prairie School-influenced in their design and many fashion- and status-conscious homeowners decided to abandon their then-outmoded Colonial Hill homes for new ones built in the popular styles of the day. The advent of the restricted neighborhood had to be appealing to these families who earlier fled industrial and commercial encroachment in The Cedars only to experience it anew in Colonial Hill. Prior to any zoning regulations in Dallas, developer-initiated building and deed restrictions was the only kind of protection on which a homeowner could rely. Colonial Hill had no such protection and, after only a short period of time, fell victim to the vagaries of haphazard development and those who could afford to do so, moved to the planned neighborhoods. Colonial Hill in South Dallas just "had too much of what the planned neighborhoods were built to avoid" (Gooden, 1986: 51).

There were other additions opened in the area after the initial Chestnut Hill development, all predominantly oriented to working-class families. Following the Colonial Street carline to its ultimate terminus just south of Hatcher Street, half

a dozen additions opened on either side of the line between 1901 and 1910 (Dallas County Plat Books). Sanborn maps show that the entire area west Holmes Street and south of Peabody Street was fully developed between 1905 and 1922. All of this portion of the project area, including any previously vacant lots in the original Chestnut Hill development, from Forest Avenue south to Cooper Street, and from the H&TC tracks west to and including Wall Street, was completely filled in with small, single-story dwellings. On newly developed streets (since about 1905), the houses formed tidy rows of identical, or reverse plan, frame bungalows and cottages, all with the same set-back and front half-porches. On streets where they became 'infill' properties, especially near Holmes and Cleveland streets, they seemed like poor cousins, lacking the bays and wrap-around porches, of the older, more stylish homes (Sanborn map, 1922).

Not all of South Dallas' early working-class neighborhoods were located west of the H&TC. The Trunk line about one and a half miles to the east, ran within a few blocks of the western edge of the fairgrounds located on lands donated by William Gaston that formed a triangular-shaped section of land separating East and South Dallas. A number of small, wood-frame homes along the tracks are shown north of Warren on the 1905 Sanborn maps. There were probably more such dwellings trailing the line to the south but the area, including the fairgrounds, was not annexed into Dallas until about 1905. Typical of construction near or on railroad rights-of-way, the housing along the Trunk line consisted of poorly-constructed frame dwellings and shotgun houses for renters, many of whom were black, who provided cheap labor for nearby industries (McDonald, 1978: 118). Rows of shotgun houses are shown on the 1922 Sanborn maps near the Trunk line and some of the ones surveyed may be among the earliest remaining buildings in the project area (Sanborn maps 1905, 1922).

The area between the two railroad lines, south of Grand Avenue, appears on the 1905 Sanborn overview map as a vast. vacant space, with the notable exception of the Rapid Transit streetcar barns on what would become Forest Avenue. As early as 1889, the Murphy and Bolanz "Official Map of Dallas" plotted a series of unnamed streets running parallel to Grand Avenue approximately to Warren Avenue, between Colonial Hill and the fairgrounds (Murphy and Bolanz, 1889). Sixteen years later, after an era of intensive real estate development in South Dallas, little had changed. The 1905 Sanborn overview map of the area still resembled an inverted "U" with development along two strips, one to the west of the H&TC tracks and the other to the east of the Trunk line but entirely vacant in the center. However, the map does show that development was certainly anticipated. All the major streets were identified, although several have changed names since 1905, and the entire region was gridded into 62 blocks with Oakland Avenue separating 39 blocks to the west from 23 blocks to the east. Forest Avenue, a major streetcar line for many years, was shown as the central east-west boulevard dividing the northern and southern sectors into two nearly equal halves. City directories confirm that few residents were living on Forest, Peabody, Pennsylvania, Birmingham or Warren (Belle in earliest records) streets prior to about 1915 (Sanborn maps, 1905; City Directories 1901, 1905, 1910, 1915).

The land had not been developed only because the owner of the property, Mrs. W. A. Warren, did not wish to be crowded. Mrs. Warren's first husband, Aaron Camp, had been William Gaston's partner in his first bank and owned all this South Central territory. His widow simply chose not to develop the land until well after the turn of the century (Gaston, n.d.) although there was much pressure and justification for development. The prominent Jewish families who originally settled in The Cedars. had been fleeing encroachment in that area since the 1890s. Some had migrated to Chestnut Hill in the Colonial Hill project area but that area,

too, as has been noted, began to deteriorate by the 1910s. Mrs. Warren's tract, just south of The Cedars and within one block of streetcar service to downtown mercantile houses and industries on the Trinity River, must have seemed attractive to the merchant and industrialist families. The parcel of land above Forest Avenue, in particular, was a pristine, completely undeveloped area far from the river, railroad tracks and industrial zones. Names given to the area indicate its attractiveness. The plat was called Forest Park when first submitted to the city for subdivision in 1910. It was approved in 1912 as the Edgewood Addition with the streets named Park Row, South Boulevard and Forest Avenue (Watson, 1980: 6). The streets south of Forest Avenue, in contrast, drew no similar allusions to park or forest imagry. Forest Avenue became the dividing line between an affluent. predominately Jewish development to the north and a lower-level managerial, clerical and working-class neighborhood to the south.

When the Warren property finally opened to development in 1912, the blocks fronting on Forest Avenue and to the north became an exclusive enclave of wealthy merchant families. Many of the Jewish families from The Cedars began building homes in the northernmost part of Warren tract between 1913 and 1914. When the third Temple Emanu-el, a Classical Revival synagogue designed by Hubbell and Greene, was built on South Boulevard at Harwood Street in 1913, it may have been an incentive to many of the Jewish families to locate nearby (Watson, 1980: 5). It certainly confirmed the neighborhood's status as Dallas' new Jewish residential community (McDonald, 1978: 127). Much of the Edgewood Addition is now in the South Boulevard/Park Row Historic District (N. R. 1976). Prairie Style and Mission Revival houses lined South Boulevard. Park Row and the north side of Forest Avenue.

The area south of the major crosstown streetcar line along Forest Avenue was developed quite differently. Many working-class families and day-laborers were

drawn to the industrial jobs located near the railroads and Trinity River and flocked to the South Dallas project area seeking housing in the early 20th century. After World War I there was an influx of rural East Texas families, both black and white, to the city. Because they lacked professional or business training, they, too, were attracted to the industries and railroad-related work in the already crowded district (Singleton, conversation, March 30, 1990). The area was already "plumbed" for housing starts by 1905 with five parallel streetcar lines extending into South Dallas and the crosstown Forest Avenue line stretching across the width of the region to the fairgrounds.

South of Forest Avenue, more modest homes filled the blocks of the project area streets of Pennsylvania, Peabody, and Birmingham (then Julius) between the H&TC railroad tracks and Second Street. The homes were smaller than their neighbors to the north, had less ornamentation and most were of wood frame construction. More of the city directories show that the area south of Forest Avenue was the first to be developed, between about 1905 and 1915, while the area north of Forest was developed after 1912 through the 1920s (Watson, 1980: 6).

A major impetus to growth in this part of the project area was the extension of the Ervay Street carline in 1898 from Grand Avenue south to Forest Avenue where it connected with the South Dallas Rapid Transit line running east across what is now Forest Avenue to the fairgrounds on Second Street. This major crosstown streetcar, chartered in 1888 by real estate developers to serve their Chestnut Hill (Colonial Hill) subdivision (Powers. 1969: 71), ran across virtually vacant land. The city welcomed the access to the fairgrounds and it is possible that William Gaston, on whose East Dallas property the fairgrounds were located, had some influence in having the line built across Warren's tract. The Forest Avenue line, which forms the northern boundary of both the South Dallas and Colonial Hill

project areas, served to open up all of South Dallas to extensive development in the years between 1905 and 1922. The Gaston scrapbook article described the situation c. 1919,

> For many years most of this property was planted in cotton and crops were raised on it as late as last year. The sight was unique - a field of green forage with paved streets and good sidewalks along it and homes all around it (Gaston, n.d. c. 1919)

The fact that the Forest Avenue line preceded the development of the area is another indication of streetcar companies still leading real estate promotion in the early 1900s (Gooden, 1986: 46).

Phenomenal growth occurred south of Forest Avenue between 1905 and 1922 as shown in the Sanborn maps of those years. In 1905 the only detail maps of the southern sector of the city were for the Colonial Hill subdivisions and a mixed residential and commercial strip along the western edge of the fairgrounds to the east of the project area. The 1905 city directories confirm that few residents lived on the streets below Forest Avenue but by 1920 hundreds of families had moved to Pennsylvania, Peabody, and Birmingham streets. By 1922 the Sanborn maps included scores of detail sheets on this area. All of the blocks south of Forest Avenue, which separated the exclusive Edgewood Addition from the less prestigious additions. were fully developed.

The four major east-west streets were Peabody, Pennsylvania, Birmingham and Belle (now Warren). Peabody, Pennsylvania and Birmingham streets were developed earlier than Warren Avenue which, in 1922, still served as a buffer area between white and black neighborhoods. Consequently, development was spotty along Warren Avenue. The other streets, though, were fully developed by 1922 and the houses had many similar features: set back, size, uniformity of style, and porch

configurations. Virtually all the houses on these streets were 1-story frame structures of a simple, square or rectangular building footprint. The only exceptions were on the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue, between Jeffries and Meyers streets, where there were two brick houses and one of brick-veneer construction, and on the south of Birmingham between Atlanta and Oakland streets where there were two stores, one of which was brick.

The east-west streets were almost exclusively residential while major north-south arteries like Myrtle and Oakland streets were dotted with commercial structures, a few of which were sheathed with brick. Auto garages were starting to make their appearance and about one-fourth to one-third of the houses in this section had them. Very few lots were vacant in 1922 and a typical block on the east-west streets had nine lots on each side. Some streets had five or six identical or reversed plan houses in a row (1922 Sanborn maps, volume 4). The majority of houses built in this area prior to 1922 were modest, non-architect designed, pattern-book homes, built for moderate income families.

As with other residential suburban districts, schools and churches were built soon after houses appeared. Forest Avenue High School, now James Madison High School, was built in 1917 at a time when most of the Edgewood Addition had been developed. The school served the neighborhoods both to the north and south of Forest Avenue and was considered to be one of the city's finest, best-equipped and best-staffed schools for many years (McDonald, 1978: 126).

The city directories show that the initial development of this section of the project area began after 1905, with a surge in growth occurring about 1915. In 1901 there were no residents listed on Peabody Street east of Central Avenue (then S. Camp Street in the Warren property). John P. Murphy and Charles F. Bolanz.

incorporated as the "Murphy and Bolanz Land and Loan Company", took advantage of the crosstown Forest Avenue streetcar constructed in 1888 across then-vacant Warren property. As soon the tract was available, they began to develop a number of residential tracts including the Warren and Winchester Additions in the project area (Dallas Morning News, October 1, 1935). Immediately after it was opened to development, about 1915, there were 103 residences listed below Forest Avenue between Central Avenue and the fairgrounds at Second Avenue. On Pennsylvania Street there were no residents listed in 1901 east of Central Avenue (S. Camp) but in 1910 there were 14 addresses listed between Central and Myrtle avenues and by 1915 there were 137 residences extending from Central Avenue to Second Avenue. Some of the occupations of the residents on Pennsylvania Street in 1915 include: a foreman of the Dallas Coffin Company, the owner of an auto repair shop, an assistant to a Vice-president of Pierce Oil, a bookkeeper, a metal worker, a Vice-president of Greyhound Gravel, a cotton buyer, a salesman, and a grocery clerk. These occupations appear to be standard for the area (Dallas city directories, 1901. 1905, 1915).

The city directories show that as soon as this region was opened, sometime after 1905, developers were poised to exploit its potential. New housing starts exploded on Pennsylvania, Peabody and Birmingham streets so that 95% of the platted lots had residences on them by 1920 most of which were developed by 1915. South of Birmingham Street and north of Cooper Street lay a largely vacant area stretching across the southern border of the old Warren tract. Some older, vestigal estates remained in the area in the early 1920s and city directories show that much of the land was still under cultivation at that time. This narrow strip of land was all that separated the growing black community to the south from the booming lower-middle class white subdivisions between Forest Avenue and Birmingham Street in 1922 (Sanborn maps. 1922: Vol. 4).

Many changes occurred throughout the entire Colonial Hill and adjacent neighborhoods in South Central Dallas between the mid-1920s and the mid-1950s. Regardless of efforts by whites living north of Warren to keep black families from moving into their neighborhoods, a demographic change began taking place in the late 1920s. White families began moving out of their homes and black families who had always lived south of Warren Avenue, began taking their places. The growing black community eventually adopted the entire. Some of the forces that precipitated this shift include a steady deterioration of the area due to lack of zoning restrictions and lack of early, long-range planning for the separation of residential, commercial and industrial districts. Although many of the elegant houses on South Boulevard and Park Row were purchased by black professionals, the stately houses along Forest Avenue began losing ground to commercial development as early as the 1920s, as so often happened along the streetcar routes. Along the H&TC tracks, which had always been a magnet for factories, industrialization continued to grow steadily aiding in the deterioration of adjacent residential tracts, which in turn had a negative effect on other nearby neighborhoods. The construction of Central Expressway and I-45 in 1952 further fragmented the neighborhoods (McDonald, 1978: 127). The deleterious effects of these forces are evident throughout this project area although there are individual buildings that retain their original architectural features and pockets of houses that still resemble neighborhoods.

South Dallas

Adjacent to the Colonial Hill additions, to the east of Central Expressway and south of Warren Avenue, lies the largest expanse of the South Dallas project area. Bounded by Forest Avenue, now Martin Luther King (MLK), to the north, Hatcher Street to the south, Second Avenue along the eastern edge of the fairgrounds, and Central Expressway to the west, the area is divided into locally identified neighborhoods some of which are Queen City, the Prairie. Wheatley Place, English Place and South Side. The entire area is generally referred to as South Dallas.

South Dallas is unique in the context of this nomination as well as in the history of Dallas. Texas. Much of this vast tract of South Dallas real estate was, like Colonial Hill and East Dallas. a product of the building booms and suburban streetcar development that characterized Dallas' phenomenal growth. Unlike those areas, however, South Dallas was initially settled by and later developed exclusively for black families. It is a misconception that blacks flooded into South Dallas in the 1940s and 1950s, precipitating the "white flight" that took place in the prestigious Edgewood Addition, now the South Boulevard/Park Row Historic District (N. R. 1976). Actually, there had been an established, thriving black residential community south of Warren Avenue, centered around Atlanta and Latimer streets, for decades prior to the 1940s. Further research should be conducted to determine the exact location and extent of a post-Civil War farming community. possibly the precursor of "the Prairie", reported to have been in the project area. The development of South Dallas from its inception as a black farming community to its expansion as an exclusively black suburb makes it an intriguing study area. both as a community and as part of the history of the segregated South of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The community, well outside the city limits until about 1925, was called "the Prairie" because of its distance from town (McDonald, 1978: 126), and possibly because it was a farming community. Research into the origins of this community, coordinated by Kate Singleton, a local historian, suggests that a historic black presence in the project area dates to the end of the Civil War. Also, according to Ms. Singleton, ex-slaves who settled in the area were agricultural workers and not tied to the mills as has generally been perceived. The earliest Dallas city directories that recorded information for this part of the project area corroborates her research. Some of the early black farming families were the Varners, Bluitts, Jacksons and Maloneys whose heads of household still listed their occupations as "farmer" long after the area had begun urbanization (Singleton conversation, 3/30/90: city directories 1900-1922). Earlier evidence of a black agricultural history in the area is recorded in county census tracts #104 and #109 which show several black families owning farms in what is now South Dallas immediately after the Civil War (Singleton conversation, 3/30/90). Newspaper advertisements for real estate at the southern end of the project area throughout the early 1920s promoted it as being a good place to raise vegetables, pigs, cows and chickens, further attesting to its history as a farming community (Dallas Express, 1920: 6). The subject is sufficiently intriguing and potentially significant enough to warrant continued research.

When the city directories first began listing streets in this far South Dallas community, shortly after the turn of the century, black families had apparently been living and farming in the area for more than 30 years. Their presence, though, so far from the hub of Dallas, had little impact on the city at that time. The community continued to grow, however, until its presence was eventually felt by the wealthy merchant families who built their homes in the Edgewood Addition north of the vacant acreage that lay between the two communities. At the turn of the

century, this acreage acted as a large "buffer zone" of uninhabited land separating black families from whites in South Dallas. In the years just before and immediately following World War I, the "buffer zone" was greatly reduced as it was gradually developed for lower and moderate-income white housing, in the northern sections south of Birmingham Street and for the first of many exclusively "colored" additions in the lower areas closest to the original core of the black community. Consequently, expanding black and white neighborhoods grew closer and closer together, a fact that was not welcomed, and was actively discouraged, by white property owners (Dallas Express, 1920: 1).

The 1900 City Directory does not include any east-west streets south of Warren Avenue (then Belle), or any north-south streets that extended south of Warren, all of which would have been outside the city limits at that time. In 1902 however, Atlanta Street is described with the notation, "not being built on." By 1905, 12 black heads of household are listed on Atlanta between Cooper (then Archie) and Metropolitan (then Greer) streets. Similarly, Latimer Street (then Vine), which ran parallel and to the west of Atlanta Street, was also described as "not being built on" in 1903. But by 1905 Latimer Street between Cooper and Metropolitan streets had 13 "colored" heads of household listed, most of whom lived on the west side of the street. Mt. Moriah Baptist Church, now at 3611 Latimer, was located on the west side of the street, as well. These two streets formed the nucleus of an entirely black community in South Dallas that would continue to develop through the first half of the century.

There were probably people living on Atlanta and Latimer and the adjacent streets of Ruskin and Dildock prior to 1905 but since city directories typically did not extend far beyond the city limits, the presence of these rural hamlets often went unreported. It is clear, however, that the area was rapidly urbanizing

between their first mention in 1902 and 1910. Between 1905 and 1910 Atlanta Street added 34 new addresses, six of which extended north to Lenway, approaching Warren. By 1910. Louis Hayden's home and frame grocery store appear at 3721 and 3725 S. Atlanta Street. Hayden and members of his family maintained a presence on Atlanta Street for many years. The 2-story brick store building at 3735 Romine Street, at its intersection with Atlanta Street, was built by Hayden in 1925 replacing the original frame store. It remains a landmark in the community and is currently being renovated for a community credit union. In addition to the homes and Hayden's store, a second grocery and two major churches, St. Paul AME and St. John's Primitive Baptist, were on Atlanta Street by 1905. (Dallas City Directories, 1905, 1910: Sanborn maps, 1922: vol. 4). Clearly, Atlanta and Latimer streets between Cooper and Metropolitan were developing as the core of black community life in South Dallas.

Of the 12 Atlanta Street residents listed in 1905, nine were still living in their original homes 12 years later. This was a remarkably stable community in a period of great mobility, especially for black families. The 1905 city directory lists their occupations as: Louis W. Wade, teamster, George Bowles, Dallas Calloway, Milton Cox, and Claiborne Cooksey, laborers, Mattie Myers, laundress, Charles Cooper, porter for Yonack Brothers, James Cross. farmer, and H. M. Jackson, teacher. In 1908, Atlanta developed south of Casey (then Metropolitan) Street and some of the same family names appear there. (Cross, two Calloways. and Wade), indicating that family members were buying homes nearby. That was the first year the Hayden family appeared in the directory along two Bluitts, another old name in the community. Erving B. Bluitt. who resided at 3731 S. Atlanta. was listed as a realtor and possibly had something to do with the growth in the community at that time. Latimer Street had three Satterwhite families and another Calloway family in 1905 (Dallas City Directory. 1905). Latimer grew similarly to Atlanta Street

during this time with several commercial establishments and the addition of the Knights of the Golden Chain Church. By 1917, both streets were fully developed between Lenway and Eugene streets, including the area of Atlanta Street known as "Queen City" (City Directories, Dallas County Plat Books).

The 1922 Sanborn maps show the houses on Latimer and Atlanta streets, which appear from city directories to be the first built in the area, to be quite varied in size and style, suggesting that they were not built by the same person or from a single plan. In contrast are the homes built about 1915 on Ruskin and Dildock streets nearby which appear to be smaller in size and very similar to one another in layout, set-back and size. With the notable exceptions of a very large 2-story house with 2-story stable at 3602 Dildock Street and the Queen City Holiness Church on Ruskin Street near Cooper Street, the remainder of houses in these two blocks appear to have constituted a planned development. It may, in fact, have been one of the first developer-planned residential communities for black families. The 1925 city directory shows that several grocery stores and other commercial enterprises appeared on Latimer and Atlanta Street, adding to their status as commercial centers. From this core grew a large and dynamic black community.

In the late 1910s and early 1920s there was a proliferation of additions in far South Dallas exclusively for "colored" people, some of which surrounded the core community and others, developed just south of the project in the Trinity River lowlands. From the crosstown Forest Avenue streetcar line three parallel lines extended into South Dallas aiding in its development. The first two lines served the extreme western and eastern fringes of the project area: the Colonial line built to promote the Colonial Hill Addition in the late 1880s and the Second Street line to the fairgrounds. When the Myrtle line bisected the territory between those two lines in the mid-1910s it opened the South Central area up to much greater

development opportunities, all of them exclusively black. The Myrtle line provided access to several adjacent cemeteries in far South Dallas, including black and Confederate portions. It also served to promote a number of real estate ventures that sprang up along its route in the late 1910s and 1920s. Within ten years, all the vacant land south of Warren Avenue on either side of the line was platted for development (Dallas County Plat Books).

One of the earliest and best examples of streetcar suburbs planned for black families was Wheatley Place. The addition, named for 18th century black poet Phyllis Wheatley (WPA, Texas, Dallas Unit, 1940: 5), included both sides of Havana, Meyers and Dunbar streets and the west side of Meadow Street, between Lenway Street to the north and McDermott Street to the south. It was platted in 1916 by A.C. Camp, who apparently included plans for Wheatley School and a park from its inception (Wheatley Place original plat, 1916; Dallas Express, March 13, 1920). All the houses were situated on nice-sized lots with a uniform set-back and appearance. All were 1-story frame houses with similar front porches and faced the north-south streets, leaving the east-west streets for traffic. Sanborn maps show the houses on Roberts Street, adjacent to Wheatley Place on the east, to have nearly identical building footprints as those in Wheatley Place. Since residents appear on Roberts Street at about the same time residents of Wheatley Place, they may have been developed together, although Roberts Street was not officially part of the addition. Wheatley School was in place on the 1922 Sanborn maps. To the north and west, large tracts remained vacant in 1922. To the south lay what is now labeled Opportunity Cemetery on current maps (Sanborn map, 1922: vol 4). For about five years Wheatley Place was an enclave unto itself, isolated from other neighborhoods.

Wheatley Place attracted aspiring, middle-class black families in the late 1910s and 1920s. The Dallas Express regularly reported the news of the Wheatley Place Civic League and an article of November 15, 1924 noted that several Dallas city officials were on hand at its annual banquet at Wheatley School, including attorney Jas. J. Collins, representing the mayor, who:

> brought greetings from the city commissioners, encouraging the well begun work and pledging their whole-hearted support in the accomplishment of whatever laudible program we may undertake for civic beauty.

Another article mentioned the Leading Star Charity Club of Wheatley Place which met at the home of Mrs. Wade D. Sanders, 3632 Meyers and later at Mrs. M. P. Butler's home at 3601 Meyers and W. P. Morgan's home at 3535 Dunbar (Dallas Express, April 24. 1920). Wheatley Place was home to several exemplary Dallasites remembered in Black Presence in Dallas. Among them are John Rice, English teacher and principal of Booker T. Washington High School as well as editor of the Dallas Express newspaper and Secretary-Manager of the Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Rice lived at 3603 Dunbar Street. According to Black Presence in Dallas, D.B. Garner built the first home in Wheatley Place at 3703 Dunbar. Garner served as dietician for the Federal Reserve Bank for 27 years and brought the Negro Chamber of Commerce to Forest Avenue (now MLK). Leonard Gibson, Dallas' first black mail carrier lived at 3725 Havana Street in Wheatley Place. It is of note that at the height of the 1930s Depression all these men owned their homes, as did the majority of residents in Wheatley Place (City directory, 1934). Wheatley Place was the modern, "upscale" black community of its day and served as a model for subsequent developments in South Dallas. such as the Ideal Addition.

Wheatley Place. platted in 1916. may have been the first of many planned subdivisions developed and promoted exclusively for black families in South Dallas over the following two decades. Wheatley Place so successfully paralelled middle-

class white community development that it must have had symbolic significance, if not for actual equality with whites in the Dallas of that time, at least for the possibility. Comparisons between black and white real estate promotions are obvious and revealing. The October 9, 1920, edition of the Dallas Express, a weekly black newspaper, advertised a new residential addition for "colored" families in much the same way that developers of upper class white communities, such as Munger Place in East Dallas, were promoting their additions. They specified amenities and exclusivity. The Ideal Addition beckoned with "A Look Means a Lot!" and "The High Class, Bon Ton, Restricted Residence Addition" [emphasis added].

Advertisements for black subdivisions offered some of the same features as white communities, but with a few twists. The Ideal Development Company emphasized its policy of "straight and liberal dealings" with prospective buyers, implying that previous real estate dealings with black families might not have been so "straight" or "liberal". The newspaper ad also referred to other additions developed by the Ideal (later Elite) Development Company, such as Lincoln Manor No. 2, Elite and Southland Additions, all at the far southern edge of the project area. It mentioned that, in those three additions alone, more than 800 lots had been sold since the addition opened. The terms of sale for the Ideal Addition were $6.00 cash, per lot, down with payments of $6.00 per month, although it did not mention for how long. The ad emphasized that there would be "no interest and no taxes" - possibly because it was well outside the city limits - at least for another five years (Dallas Express, April 28, 1923: 7). The proliferation of black additions led to the solicitation of black patronage in related sales areas. Advertisements

in the 1918 Dallas Express, such as the one placed by the American Realty and Construction Company, targeted a black audience:

> We guarantee prompt attention to all matters. Quick Sales and Little Profit. Purchase or sell Real Estate. Erect or repair houses and advance money on same (Dallas Express, 5: Feb. 8, 1918).

Interestingly, efforts to determine whether the owners of the American Realty and Construction Company or the Ideal and Elite Development Corporations were themselves black, were unsuccessful. The companies did not in any way, either in their ads or in city directory references identify themselves as being part of the black community. This, too, poses some interesting avenues for further research.

After World War I, South Dallas, along with the rest of Dallas, burgeoned with housing starts. That many new additions were being opened specifically for black families in South Dallas prompted white families just to the north of the growing black community area to establish a "color line" to prevent black migration to their area. For more than a decade the tracts of vacant land on either side of Warren Avenue that served as a buffer between developing black and white communities had kept them separate. As development intensified after World War I, the vacant and estate lands were subdivided eventually eliminating the buffer area. White homeowners who built in the Edgewood Addition before the war became alarmed at what they saw as a threat to their exclusive neighborhood. The South Dallas Improvement League, a group of white residents in the Colonial Hill and South Dallas project areas, attempted to institute a ban on racial mixing in their community. Their efforts were reported in Dallas' black newspaper, the Dallas Express, in a front page article of its March 13, 1920 edition. Under the

headline, "South Dallas Residents Would Establish Color Line", the article read, in part:

> Discussion of the removal of the terminal tracks from Exposition avenue [sic] and the establishment of a "color line" in South Dallas occupied the attention of the South Dallas Improvement League at its meeting last night in the Forest Avenue High School.
>
> The "color line," as proposed by the league, would begin at the Houston and Texas Central Railway, run east on Cooper street to Pondren street, north on Pondren street to Lenway, east to Atlanta street, south 200 feet on Atlanta street to Cooper street (not opened through at this point), thence east to Myrtle street, south on myrtle to Casey street, west on Casey to Wilder street, south on Wilder street to Opey alley and south on Opey alley to Eugene street.
>
> The district south of this dividing line is now the Negro section, and it is the plan of the league to maintain the section north of the line for whites. Two or three Negro families are now living north of the line and these will be induced to remove to the other side of the line, it was said (Dallas Express, March 13, 1920:1).

The article also reported that this group had opposed the establishment of a Negro park in South Dallas and caused the city authorities to cancel the pending contract with Alex Camp [who had earlier platted Wheatley Place] (Dallas Express, March 13, 1920: 1). There was no indication that the "color line" was endorsed or made official by the city but for several years afterward no new additions for blacks were opened in the vicinity of the "color line". It wasn't until the late 1920s and into the 1940s that the sections abutting Cooper and Lenway streets (the major north/south dividing line of the "color line"). By that time, white families were already leaving the area for other sections of Dallas. It is of interest to note that had the "color line" continued eastward, it would have bisected Wheatley Place. Perhaps the League was counting on the lands surrounding Wheatley Place to remain undeveloped.

At the same time the South Dallas Improvement League was trying to dissuade further black development in South Dallas, blacks were being urged by their

community leaders to purchase their own homes in the area. The Dallas Express of November 13, 1920, ran an editorial headlined by "Home Owning Increasing With Opening of Negro Additions in Dallas". It mentioned that the Ideal Development Company had begun in 1914 by putting 214 lots in the Elite Addition on the market "exclusively for Colored people" [emphasis added]. The Elite Addition is to the south of the project area, but the activities of the Ideal Development company had an impact on the area nonetheless. They also developed Lincoln Manor No. 2 with 752 lots, the Southland Addition, and the Ideal Addition, with 270 lots. These additions are near the southern boundary of the project area.

The development company took pains to invite the editor of the Express to the area, after which he wrote:

> It was surprising to see the hundreds of homes that have been built in these additions since they were put on and there are now about 25 houses going up. Banks Johnson owns a good general store and woodyard. Lincoln Manor Baptist Church . . . owns four lots and a good two-story building. The Lincoln Manor Masonic Hall . . . have purchased lots and are soon to erect a handsome two-story hall. . . .The owners of the addition have donated seven lots and a building for school purposes and there is a splendid city school now on the addition. The city also promises to build a new school house [Rice possibly Rice School]. There are four or five other churches belonging to both the Baptist and Methodist denominations.

The editor went on to describe the housing types as "a very handsome six-room cottage" (Dallas Express, November 13, 1920: 6). He encouraged black families to purchase houses in the area rather than rent reminding his readers that it was the policy of the Ideal Development Company to assist in that process by allowing them to "rent to own". He exhorted them to "start a home and [begin] gradually paying same off until we become a people of property owning power" (Dallas Express, Nov. 13, 1920: 6). Many took his advice. A number of subdivisions like English Place (1923) and Morningside Addition (1927) sprang up throughout South Dallas in the late 1910s and 1920s.

The developers advertised their additions with the same kind of jargon agents used to sell white subdivisions and Wheatley Place was even touted as the "Black Munger Place". The Ideal Addition was advertised as the "High Class, Bon Ton, Restricted Residence Addition [emphasis added]. It is not clear just what was restricted in these black subdivisions but it is clear that the idea of restriction was salable. An advertisement for the same addition in 1920 proclaimed there to be excellent prospects for the Ervay and Myrtle streetcar lines being extended "to within a short distance of this addition" a promise that was realized when both the Ervay and Myrtle lines were extended south to Hatcher Street making them within walking distance of the far south suburb. It is of note that in this area and time, the early 1920s, the streetcars were no longer preceding development - at least not in this area.

The lots in the area were advertised as follows:

> All lots 50 feet wide and at least 100 feet deep . . . There are 271 lots in the addition, all level, rich chocolate loam soil, no deep sand or mud. Prices are mostly $600.00 per lot with larger lots from $650. to 900. Terms $6.00 cash and $6.00 monthly on most lots . . . No interest or taxes. [This was well outside the city limits established in 1915 and even the 1925 annexation wouldn't bring it into the city (City Annexation Map, 1925)].

The advertisement went on to declare that:

> Lumber is fast coming down. Buy a lot and build a small house, if but two or three rooms of your own, to which you can add later on, is far better than paying rent on a house belonging to some one else. Home owners make contented people. good citizens and happy families. OWN YOUR OWN HOME. have a garden. raise chickens. keep a cow, enjoy flowers and thus be able to laugh. sing and be happy. Paying rent gets you no where (Dallas Express. Oct. 30, 1920: 6).

This was in stark contrast to the advertisements for Munger Place which promoted itself as "emphasizing the important fact that its occupants need never fear the encroachment of factories, shops. or any other undesirable class of neighbors

within its boundaries" (McDonald. 1978: 155) and as having "no unattractive environments to mar the beauty of its perfect surroundings or to disturb the peace of its occupants." Homes on Swiss and Gaston avenues were required to be of a minimum cost of $10,000 "in an era when the average cost of a home was $2,000 to $3,00. Prices on side streets like Worth and Junius cost $4,00 to $5,000. The lots were sold 'to white persons only' and had all the latest amenities: gas, water and sewer connections, street railway service on side streets, concrete sidewalks, and paved streets" (McDonald, 1978: 161). There was a world of difference between the two additions and yet the Ideal Development Company was appealing to similar desires: comfort, beauty in one's surroundings, and the ability to own a home. Their approach differed from those of Munger Place's developers in that they promised happiness rather than status or wealth.

Apparently, the Ideal Addition was successful and its developers were able to offer lots in Ideal Number Two Addition, adjacent to it, within the year. The salient features of Ideal Number Two were the same as its predecessor: the developers declared them to be the prettiest and cleanest additions ever put on the market in Dallas for COLORED PEOPLE (emphasis theirs), that deeds were free of any lien and the buyers would be treated fairly by the development company (Dallas Express, April 1922: 6). In this advertisement, the developers mentioned that buyers could either build on the lots themselves, with funds supplied by the developers. or they could purchase houses already built by the company on easy terms (Dallas Express. April 1922: 6).

Throughout the 1920s, other. similar ads were placed for exclusively "colored" additions. In 1923 the Bon Ton Addition. at the the end of the Ervay Street carline near the Ideal Additions. went on the market. The following year Lincoln Place was advertised as being the best location in Dallas with "No mud, close to

the Myrtle line. good water, phones, electric lights, no city taxes, no water rents" (Dallas Express June 1924). An interesting comparison between sections is that Lincoln Place in 1924 promised "the City has ordered Oakland Avenue to be paved within 8 blocks of our Addition" [emphasis added] (Dallas Express, June, 1924) while Munger Place was advertising "streets paved by the new bitulithic process on a solid concrete foundation" in 1905 (McDonald, 1978: 161).

While these additions were being developed in far South Dallas, south of the traditional black community around Atlanta and Latimer Streets, other tracts were filling in the gaps, not only between the different established black communities but also between the black enclaves and the white neighborhoods to the north. One such tract, to the north and west of Wheatley Place and along the eastern border of the Queen City area. had separated the two communities for years.

The addition, consisting of Twyman, Tanner, Burger and Dathe (Waverly) streets. opened in the early 1920s and played a major part in the changing demographics of South Dallas. In 1922 no occupants were listed in the city directory between Atlanta (through Myrtle) and Jeffries streets and no buildings appeared on the 1922 Sanborn maps. By 1926, however, 21 houses had been built on Twyman between Atlanta and Oakland streets, with an additional 21 built by 1934 to Jeffries Street. Similar growth was occurring in the three streets south of Twyman Street. Tanner Street, just to the south, had eight houses built between 1922 and 1926. between Atlanta and Oakland streets, with an additional 18 built by 1934 extending to Jeffries Street in Wheatley Place. On Burger, two streets south of Twyman Street. 23 houses were built between Myrtle and Jeffries streets. starting at Wheatley Place between 1922 and 1926. By 1934. six more homes were constructed on that block with an additional 21 between Myrtle and Atlanta streets. Dathe Street. the southmost street in this section, was already developed in the block

between Ruskin and Myrtle streets but between 1922 and 1926 eight new houses were built west of Oakland Avenue with an additional 10 built between Oakland and Jeffries streets. The development of this addition linked South Dallas' two major black neighborhoods, Queen City and Wheatley Place, for the first time. It is of note that about one third of the houses were owner occupied in 1934, at the height of the Great Depression (1922 Sanborn maps vol. 4, City Directories, 1921, 1922, 1926, 1934).

The significance of this addition, beyond its rapid development and owner-occupied status, lies in the fact that it was the first to venture into the traditional "buffer zone" separating the white community to the north and the black one to the south. For the first time since the "color line" was established, black residences abutted a traditionally white community. From that time through the 1950s, white families began leaving their South Dallas homes and black families moved into the once-exclusive neighborhoods north of the "color line". Eventually all of South Dallas came to be identified with the black community.

Another development that filled in a gap between established black communities was built on two blocks of Romine Street to the west of Queen City. Begun n the late 1920s and completed by the mid-1930s, 17 substantial brick, Tudor Revival-inspired homes were constructed for black families on Romine Street at 2323, 2327, 2329, 2333, 2337, 2403, 2405, 2407, 2411, 2415, 2419, 2421, 2423, 2429, 2431, 2433, and 2435. Prior to 1926, the block was completely vacant with the exception of one house across the street at 2332 Romine. Of the 17, six were already built by 1926 with the rest completed prior to 1935. Adjacent to the established black community formed by Atlanta and Latimer streets, none of the 17 homes have been demolished or substantially altered. They are all similar in appearance, with a uniform set-back, and building materials. They are the only houses of this design and style in

the South Dallas project area offering a contrast to the 1910s and 1920s wood frame bungalows and cottages that the streetscapes in the area. Several of the original families, the Hutchinsons, Carters, Kearys and Christians, endured over time and were still living in the houses in the 1940s. It is again remarkable that throughout the Great Depression, eight of the 17 homes were owner-occupied. One of the homeowners, A.S. Jackson, Jr., was the son of influential minister A. S. Jackson of the New Hope Baptist Church.

Notable commercial buildings constructed during the 1920s were: Louis J. Hayden's new brick grocery store at 3741 Atlanta Avenue, Isaac Andres' grocery at 4121 Metropolitan Avenue, Armstrong & Grace's store at 4701 Myrtle, Dance Grocery and Market at 4709 Myrtle, Mrs. Phila Harrott's store at 2704 Romine Avenue, Philip Hechtman's grocery at 3111 Atlanta, Joe's Grocery and Market at 3222 Tuskegee and E. J. Pollock's grocery at 2330 Southland. Willie M. Greer had a beauty shop at 2944 Warren Avenue. There were a number of other commercial buildings on Atlanta and Myrtle, the major streetcar line serving the neighborhood (City directory, 1925). It appears that the Atlanta Street core had a number of established commercial enterprises but Myrtle Street, along the streetcar line, had the most businesses catering to blacks. All of these establishments were located south of the "color line".

Although the Myrtle line provided transportation for most of South Dallas' residents, the private automobile was beginning to make its presence known in the early 1920s. Two service stations were listed in the 1925 City Directory: S & L Service Station at 3319 Meyers near Wheatley Place and Getson T. Hayden's Queen City Service Station at 3731 Atlanta. In a June 16, 1923 edition of the _Dallas Express_ there is an advertisement for Lingo Lumber Co. soliciting "Your patronage" to build in Cedar Springs Park, a new colored addition on Mockingbird Lane. They

offered free auto car rides as an incentive to bring prospective buyers to the area (Dallas Express, June 16. 1923: 2). In one of the most distant additions, south of Hatcher Street, scores of identical homes shown on the 1922 Sanborn map had identical auto garages all situated at the same angle from their houses. Apparently they were amenities of the subdivision indicating, perhaps, the developers' faith that automobile transportation would supplant the streetcars (Sanborn maps, 1922: vol. 4). Streetcars never did extend to this far south subdivision.

A centennial edition of the Dallas Morning News printed in 1935, listed 40,000 "negroes" in the in the Dallas Metropolitan area. It identified the "well-known haunts of the negro" in Dallas as Deep Ellum and Central Avenue, in east-central and central Dallas, well to the north of the project area. The article also mentioned the original post-Civil War villages of Freedmantown and Stringtown as forerunners of the "chief negro community" centered around Hall, State, and Thomas Avenue (Dallas Morning News, October 1, 1935). City directories for the year confirm that the majority of prominent and professional blacks lived in that area. The paper did not mention South Dallas, although it was a major black residential area by the 1930s, possibly because it was "new" to the city. A large portion of the project area had been annexed as recently as 1925. Also, many of Dallas' black leaders, officers in the NAACP and the Progressive Voter's League lived and worked on Thomas, Hall and State streets (Gee and Williams, n. d.). Another reason South Dallas might have been overlooked was that it lacked the notoriety of areas like Deep Ellum, with its blues clubs and redlight districts. South Dallas was primarily a residential black community that had rapidly, but only recently, begun to affect greater Dallas at that time.

The centennial edition hinted of changes to come in its statement that "housing, sanitary health, and other conditions among Negroes [needed to] be improved" and that "social surveys continued to reveal that much more should be done by public, tax-supported authorities to safeguard the health and social security of the whole community" (Dallas Morning New, Oct. 1, 1935). In the late 1930s and throughout the 1940s major physical changes occurred within the central-city black neighborhoods that altered the city's demographic make-up and eventually left South Dallas the predominant black community, a situation that continues to the present. By 1939 a major "slum clearance" effort was underway in the central sections of the city replacing sub-standard housing with Federal multi-family housing projects. The Dallas Guide and History records:

> Here the poor are lodged in squalid, dilapidated shanties and frame houses of the "shotgun" type. some without the elementary conveniences and almost all unfit for human habitation. . . . a low income group. the majority of negro residents are compelled to live in dwellings of this sort although many are home owners, particularly in the exclusively Negro sections (Dallas Unit, Federal Writer's Program, WPA box 4J57, 1940).

It was also estimated that 25 percent of blacks living in the city resided in servants' houses on their employers' lots. The effect of these efforts to rid the central city of its housing blight was a housing shortage for blacks and an increase in the number of black families moving to South Dallas. Indicative of the major shift of Dallas' black population to the far south was the 1939 construction of the new Lincoln (Negro) High School at 5000 S. Oakland Avenue at the southern end of the project area. WPA files note that Wheatley Park at Nellie and McDermott streets. and Colonial Park at Wendelkin and Pennsylvania avenues were two of four "Negro Parks" in the city (WPA, box 4J57. 1939: 7). The location of the city's black parks is evidence of large black populations not only in South Dallas but across the H&TC tracks in Colonial Hill. also.

World War II brought many more blacks into South Dallas to work in defense industries, solidifying South Dallas' identification as the predominant black neighborhood. From the mid-1930s through the 1940s, many of the leaders of Dallas' black communities had moved to South Dallas, as well. A comparison of 1922, 1934 and 1945 city directories shows the relocation of prominent black families, identified in Black Presence in Dallas, from central Dallas addresses to those in South Dallas. Charles Asberry, a well-known teacher at Booker T. Washington High School, moved to 3741 Atlanta between 1922 and 1934; Clarence Carr, principal of Booker T. Washington, moved to 2241 Casey (now Metropolitan) between 1922 and 1934; the family of Juanita Craft, celebrated Civil Rights activist, moved to Warren Avenue between 1934 and 1945; John Rice, editor of the Dallas Express moved to his Dunbar Street home between 1934 and 1945; the family of Harold Wendell Lang, a distinguished professor of Education, moved to 3917 Atlanta in 1934 and to 2830 McDermott in 1944. Dr. Lang was a graduate of Wheatley Elementary and Lincoln High School. St. Paul AME pastor, Reverend Ira B. Loud's family moved to 2615 Burger between 1922 and 1934; John Henry Mackey, a district manager for Atlanta Life Insurance, moved to 3801 Myrtle Street where he started the Myrtle Street Improvement Club, between 1934 and 1945; Joseph J. McMillan, principal of Wheatley School, moved to 2308 Jordan between 1934 and 1945.

In addition to the churches and schools in the area, there were several black cemeteries located in South Dallas. Two were established about 1935, probably as a result of the Ideal and Elite Additions in far South Dallas in the 1920s. They were the Woodlawn and Hillside Cemeteries which adjoined on the south side of Hatcher Street between Second and Oakland. Lincoln Memorial Cemetery, containing 43 acres on Kaufman Road, opened in 1930 and was said to "rank as one of the finest negro cemeteries in the South". Oakland Cemetery, at 3808 Oakland Avenue, was established in the 1890s for whites and engulfed a large tract between McDermott

Street, below Wheatley Place, and Pine Street, between Oakland Avenue and Meadow Street. According to the Dallas Morning News, it was considered "one of the city's most beautiful burying grounds". Although the paper didn't mention it, Oakland Cemetery contained both Negro or Confederate sections (Dallas Morning News, October 1, 1935). The cemeteries also stimulated a number of ancillary businesses in South Dallas. Oakland Avenue, in particular, had several florist shops, nurseries, marble works and other funerary businesses established early in the century (Sanborn maps, 1922).

Since the 1940s, South Dallas has been plagued with increased commercial and industrial encroachment, in much the same as its neighbor Colonial Hill. It also has had an abundance of poor-quality apartment complexes and housing projects intrude into the predominantly middle-class, residential neighborhoods. Nevertheless, much of South Dallas' historic residential architecture, consisting primarily of bungalows and cottages with neat yards and flower gardens, serves as a reminder of the middle-class values and aspirations of their builders and of the truly significant achievements made by the children and grandchildren of ex-slaves in the segregated South.

East Dallas

The project area known as Mill Creek or East Dallas, was the first neighborhood east of Dallas' central business district to become developed "starting with Victorian houses and followed by frame, two-story Prairie homes, brick mansions and finally frame cottages and bungalows" (Older Neighborhoods, 1986: 32). In addition to the residences, there are many apartment complexes, commercial and institutional buildings throughout the district, especially along the old streetcar routes. The East Dallas project area boundaries are Haskell and Fitzhugh avenues on the west and east, Ross Avenue and Main Street on the north and south. The project area lies completely within the boundaries of the old city of East Dallas, and is considered by many to be the heart of that early, separate municipality. Three major forces that shaped the development of East Dallas were the arrival of the railroads, the establishment of the Texas State Fair and the network of street railways that determined routes of growth.

The early settlement of East Dallas from 1855 until the town's incorporation in 1882, was agricultural in nature. The first recorded settlement occurred in 1855 when Captain Jefferson Peak purchased a large tract of land far to the northeast of Dallas and built a farmhouse near the corner of Worth and Peak streets. Peak had passed through Texas in 1846 to fight in the Mexican War and in 1855 he returned with his family to settle east of the emerging town of Dallas (Butterfield, 1875: Peak). An 1880s map of East Dallas shows that Peak owned roughly half the land bounded by Ross Avenue and Main Street to the north and south, Haskell and Carroll streets to the west and east, constituting more than a quarter of the project area.

After the Civil War, Peak was joined by Confederate Captain William H. Gaston who purchased 400 acres along old White Rock Road (now Swiss Avenue) where he built an enormous Greek Revival home in 1971 (razed) (Mabry, 1984: 4). Gaston was a powerful force in Dallas' early development. Within a few years after his arrival in 1867, he had purchased vast tracts of land in South and East Dallas, founded Dallas' first bank. donated land for the County Fair (present site of Baylor Hospital). and eventually parlayed the small exposition into the State Fair (Mabry, 1984: 10: Gaston. n.d.: 1). Most importantly, Gaston. with backing from local businessmen. brought the railroads to Dallas in 1872 and 1873, which ultimately made the city's fortune. His impact in East Dallas was achieved by maneuvering both the Houston and Texas Central (H&TC) and the Texas and Pacific (T&P) railroads to a junction approximately one and a half miles to the east of the Dallas Courthouse. In doing this. Gaston helped orchestrate Dallas' growth away from the Trinity River towards the railroad station on his lands in East Dallas. The resulting housing shortage encouraged Jefferson Peak and other landowners to begin subdividing their lands.

Although the railroads promised to spur building activity in East Dallas. the area remained sparsely settled due to an economic downturn in 1875 that stalled development for some time (Powers, 1969: 19). The area was heavily wooded, especially along Mill Creek as it flowed through Exall Park along Hall Street, just east of the project area, toward The Cedars in South Dallas (McDonald, 1978: 137). There was little building or street construction in the project area east of Washington Street prior to the late 1870s although the Butterfield and Rundlett Official Map of Dallas shows East Dallas as a platted entity by 1875 (Mabry. 1984:16). A small commercial district sprang up around the depot and consisted of a few boarding houses. lumber yards. and restaurants that survived only because of the railroad traffic (Powers. 1969: 14). One mule-drawn streetcar line, operated

by the Dallas Street Railroad Company, ran out Ross Avenue and up San Jacinto Street. Built by Colonel William J. Keller in 1875, the San Jacinto line, as it was known, was the only line to serve the area until 1882. Its primary purpose was to bring passengers from the depot to the downtown Dallas business district (Powers, 1969: 19, 36).

Beyond the tiny cluster of commercial structures near the depot, the remainder of East Dallas at this time consisted of large estates, like those of Jefferson Peak and William Gaston, and a number of smaller family farms (Map, East Dallas: 1880s). The early character of the region was articulated by William Gaston when, upon completing his mansion at 3900 Swiss Avenue in 1873, he lamented of being all alone out in the country and offered free land to his friends so he would have company. Gaston's nearest neighbors to his 400 acre plantation were Jefferson Peak, a mile to the east in the center of the project area, and Swiss immigrants, Jacob Nussbaumer and Henry Boll, who lived nearly that far to the west (Saxon, 1983: 9). This semi-rural condition persisted until Dallas began to recover from the depression in the latter part of the 1870s.

The most intensely developed part of East Dallas, in the early 1870s was its western perimeter where disappointed colonists of La Reunion, a failed Utopian venture, settled upon its dissolution in the 1850s. Rather than return to their native France, Switzerland and Belgium, many of the disappointed colonists, established homes and engaged in trades that proved vital to Dallas' development (McDonald, 1978: 129). Jacob Nussbaumer, a native of Switzerland, purchased 57 1/2 acres along Swiss Avenue in 1857 and persuaded his brother-in-law, Henry Boll, to purchase a tract of land nearby (Mabry, 1984: 5). They were among the first of many European immigrants who settled in East Dallas forming the nucleus of its early community life. Little remains of the early settlement, with the exception

of street names and the Wilson Block, a row of 19th century homes located across Swiss Avenue from the site of Henry Boll's 1859 homestead (razed 1905). Two early homes left standing are the c. 1885 gambrel-roofed Beilharz home at 2723 Swiss Avenue and the c. 1885 Wagner House which was moved to Live Oak Street in 1976 from its original site at Bryan and Germania (now Liberty) streets (MacDonald, 1978: 128, 130).

When the economy recovered in the latter part of the 1870s, East Dallas began to experience the same wild. uncontrolled growth that was afflicting central and South Dallas (McDonald. 1978: 137). Many businesses began building east along the streetcar line that stretched from downtown Dallas to the railroad depot. The fairgrounds drew people to the area and many began investing in property nearby. By 1882. the community had grown so rapidly that its leading citizens. among them Peak. Gaston and rancher Christopher Columbus Slaughter, met and voted to incorporate as the separate municipality of East Dallas (Saxon, 1983: 10). At the time of its annexation in 1889. the land area of East Dallas was actually larger than that of Dallas. The city of Dalals aacquired East Dallas, along with several unincorporated suburban parcels. on the last day of December, 1889. to make Dallas the largest city in Texas for the 1890 census (Keith, 1930: 168; Dallas Morning News. October 1, 1935). It was both the first and last time in its history that Dallas had the honor.

Between November 1882 and 1889, the City County of separately incorporated East Dallas undertook a number of projects to enhance the growth of the town. It set up a school district. erected a combination City Hall and schoolhouse building. commissioned a street railroad to go out San Jacinto Street. and extended Ross and Haskell avenues to its city limits - those of the project area - Fitzhugh Avenue and Main Street. During that time William Gaston. who served as Treasurer of the

town. headed the State Fair and Exposition Association and purchased 80 acres of land to the southwest of the project area for a new fairgrounds. It has remained the location of the State Fair and was instrumental in bringing street railroads and visitors to the area, aiding in its development (Mabry, 1984: 10).

East Dallas' single largest landowner. Jefferson Peak, platted his first subdivision in 1874 along Ross Avenue. (Mabry, 1984: 3) but in the mid-1880s Captain Peak still owned most of the land bounded by Ross Avenue. Main Street. Haskell and Carroll streets (Map. East Dallas: 1880s). It wasn't until after his father's death in 1885 that his son, Junius, began large scale subdivision of the family's extensive holdings. The land around the old Peak homestead at Worth and Peak streets was sold as Peak's Addition in 1897 and its subdivision spurred many housing starts in the area (McDonald. 1978: 129). Major East Dallas streets still bear the Peak's name and those of his children: Junius, Worth. Victor and Carroll. Although the original Peak farmhouse is gone. Junius Peak's home still stands at 4409 Worth Street.

Another highly influential force in East Dallas real estate development during the late 1880s and early 1890s was Jefferson Peak's son-in-law, Thomas Field. Through his firm. Field and Field Real Estate and Financial Agents. Thomas Field either owned. controlled. or influenced the sale of large parcels of East Dallas real estate. He "flamboyantly promoted his extensive East Dallas holdings in 1884 with the construction of a palatial residence in the middle of his property" (McDonald 1978: 137) located on Peak Avenue between Gaston and Junius streets (razed 1922). His real estate promotion was characteristic of the boomtown atmosphere that enveloped all of Dallas during the years between the arrival of the railroads and the depressions of the 1890s: grandiose and unfettered. Many elaborate mansions were constructed on Swiss and Gaston avenues during the 1890s in

addition to smaller but substantial homes on Live Oak, Junius, and Worth streets (Saxon, 1983: 16). Most were of the largest homes were demolished and their lots sold for redevelopment between 1920 and 1950 (Sanborn maps 1905, 1922; City directories).

One of East Dallas' first organized real estate developments was the result of a streetcar enterprise. Street railroads became popular with real estate promoters who purchased large sections of land and then built streetcar lines to the property. Prior to the construction of their San Jacinto street railroad in East Dallas, brothers C. E. and W. J. Keller purchased about 100 acres of land at its eventual terminus (Powers, 1969: 59, 22). In 1886, Colonel Keller extended the line south, down Washington Avenue, to the fairgrounds where he created Shady View Park, a small picnic grounds, as an attraction to potential buyers. The Kellers had successfully promoted The Cedars in this manner and the practice became a hallmark of streetcar/real estate promotions during this speculative era. T. S. Marsalis promoted his Oak Cliff subdivision, opened in 1887, with enticements of a park with a pavilion and a baseball field. Still others ran streetcar lines past cemeteries to their property hoping to attract those who spent their Sunday outings visiting their dearly departed (Powers, 1969: 63). Keller's Addition was the first of its kind in East Dallas. The first home constructed in Keller's Addition was Keller's own, at the northeast corner of Ross and Washington avenues in that same year. Keller's Addition, and Ross Avenue in particular, boasted some of the most prestigious addresses in Dallas from about 1885 to 1920, but all of East Dallas prospered in the boom of the late 1880s and early 1890s (McDonald, 1978: 137, 147).

The proliferation of streetcar lines between 1887 and 1893 was probably the single most important factor contributing to the success of East Dallas during that period. Some of those living in East Dallas rented hansom cabs to commute to the

city or the union depot (Eidt, conversation 1990) and others undoubtedly used their own horse-drawn buggies, evident in the number of personal stables situated at the rear of grand residences along Swiss and Gaston Avenues (Sanborn maps, 1905; Gooden, 1986: 48). However, those who did own horses and buggies began to prefer the thrift and convenience of the streetcar. A ride downtown at this time cost five cents or less, cheaper than the cost to board a horse and carriage (Nichols, conversation March 30, 1990). As Dallas grew further and further away from the central business district, it was imperative that reliable transportation be available for workers. Many neighborhoods existed only due to streetcar access and developers took advantage of that fact. McDonald explains:

> The areas that received transit service were, of course, almost invariably the areas with the largest subsequent growth, and the decision as to where the lines would run very often was made by a land developer who either owned the streetcar company himself, or influenced its policy through a deft donation of land to the right people. Streetcars quite dominated the city's pattern of evolution and growth, simply because they were the easiest and the cheapest (though not always the quickest) means of getting out of the rapidly commercializing downtown (McDonald, 1978: 147).

In 1892, East Dallas development had grown along Swiss Avenue, Live Oak and Bryan streets to their intersections with Texas and Cantegral streets, just west of the project area. This was the exact area covered by street railroads at that time (Gooden, 1986: 47).

Most areas vied for streetcar access but Swiss Avenue residents petitioned the city commissioners against installing a railway along their street because of the noise and commotion (Powers, 1969: 47). When St. Mary's Episcopal College opened up between Ross and Bryan, though, they recanted as people clamored for transportation to the prestigious school. The result was that the Dallas Consolidated Street Railway Company obtained the right of way across Swiss Avenue

to Texas Street, from Texas Street to Live Oak Street. then north on Peak Avenue to Bryan Street all the way to Garrett Street. traversing the entire width of the project area. Service was initiated about 1888 and the Bryan line, as it was known. became the major crosstown streetcar serving the northern section of East Dallas (Powers, 1969: 78; Eidt, conversation, 1990), opening up all of East Dallas to wide-scale development. Between 1886 and 1890, Dallas real estate transfers jumped from under $6 million to over $14 million. much of it concentrated in East Dallas. The completion of the Bryan line was followed by the opening of Middleton Brothers' Addition. Hunstable's College Hill Addition, Livingston Place, Peak's Addition. Caruth Heights. Nussbaumer and McCoy's Addition and the Belmont Addition, between 1888 and 1892 (McDonald. 1978: 153). All were accessible to the Bryan line.

Typically, there was little planning involved in the opening of these additions beyond running a streetcar line out to a vacant field owned by the operators, subdividing the land and selling it for a handsome profit. Lots were often sold before streets and utilities could be laid out (McDonald. 1978: 153) and sometimes on the mere promise that streetcar lines would be introduced. The Henry Clark and James Simpson addition between Peak Avenue and Hall Street, to the northwest of the project area. was one example. The developers began building broad avenues and artesian wells on their 65 acre tract in 1887 with the expectation of installing a streetcar line through it. The promise of a streetcar brought quick sales and prosperity to Clark and Simpson. but they never built the streetcar (Powers. 1969: 64-65). The land lay undeveloped for nearly a decade.

The suburban land boom was in full swing when nearly all building came to an abrupt halt with the economic crash of 1893. While some Texas communities were unfazed by the nationwide depression, Dallas had become linked to eastern and

northern markets and their leading banking institutions. When those institutions foundered, Dallas followed. The failure of the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad in February, 1893 started a nationwide panic that left 158 national banks and 415 state and private banks in ruins. Five Dallas banks failed in the crash and local business and agricultural concerns suffered as a result (MacDonald, 1978: 70). Unchecked real estate speculation prior to the crash left Dallas overbuilt and many newly opened additions in or near the project area remained vacant for years afterward (Dallas Morning News, October 1, 1935). The Caruth Heights Addition located on a portion of the old Caruth homestead between Ross and Swiss avenues, and Carroll and Fitzhugh streets, is an example. The addition was subdivided as a middle-class development during the height of the boom in 1889, but the 1893 crash prevented its development. For many years after it was opened, nothing was constructed in the addition and it was well after the turn of the century before attention was again focused on the area (McDonald, 1978: 154). Many individuals who had figured prominently in the East Dallas real estate frenzy lost fortunes in the downturn. Thomas Field not only lost several major projects in progress but his palatial home, as well. The effects of the depression reverberated throughout the city and had repurcussions on many of the city's enterprises, including streetcar and real estate consortiums, and essentially ended the early, speculative era (Powers, 1969: 92). It did, however, allow time for some reflection and the next phase of development in East Dallas was a more cautious endeavor.

Although Dallas began to rebound from the depression about 1898, East Dallas did not fully recover for almost a decade after the crash (Dallas Morning News, October 1, 1935). When the economy began to pick up there was a resurgence of residential building in the area, particularly in the project area, and churches and schools were constructed to accommodate the increased population. David Crockett Elementary School, built in 1903 by the firm of C. W. Bulger and Son on

Carroll Street, is the oldest extant school in the city of Dallas. Bulger and Son also designed the Colonial School in the Colonial Hill section but they specialized in Baptist churches. One of the best examples of their work is the Classical Gaston Avenue Baptist Church, built between 1902 and 1904 at the southwest corner of Gaston and Haskell avenues (McDonald, 1978:). The East Dallas Christian Church at 631 N. Peak was built shortly after 1905 replacing an earlier dwelling on that site. The imposing Neo-Classical mansion at the corner of Peak and Swiss avenues was originally built as a residence but it served the prestigious Terrill School for Boys as a dormitory through the 1920s (Sanborn maps 1905, 1922; City Directories). Dominating the 4100 block of Junius Street, at North Haskell Avenue, is the Gothic Revival Grace Methodist Episcopal Church designed by W. A. Caan in 1903. The church sanctuary and its 1925 education annex are listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Parishoner Henrietta Eidt recounted that Grace Church was considered to be "the silk-stocking church of East Dallas" because of the many well-to-do residents of exclusive Munger Place who attended its services (Eidt, conversation, March 30, 1990). These East Dallas institutional and religious structures are among the city's outstanding architectural landmarks remaining from the early 1900s.

East Dallas grew tremendously after about 1902, especially east of Washington Avenue and into the project area, as many old estates and farmlands were subdivided for new residences. Between 1902 and 1922 the entire project area became filled in, particularly along streetcar routes, with only an occasional vacant lot between buildings or estates. The 1899 Sanborn maps show Haskell Avenue as the eastern boundary of most development, but by 1905 that boundary extended to Carroll Street below Gaston Avenue and all the way east to Fitzhugh Avenue above it (Gooden, 198[illegible]: 17). In 1905 the development between Haskell Avenue and Carroll Street north of Elm Street was almost entirely residential with the exception of the schools.

churches, one store, a carpenter's shop, and a nursery. Ross Avenue continued its role as "Dallas' Fifth Avenue" as it extended into the project area with the erection of magnificent Colonial Revival and Prairie-influenced homes, almost all of which have been demolished. One of the few remaining palatial residences on Ross Avenue is that built by Charles H. Alexander, c. 1906, at the northeast corner of Ross Avenue and Annex Street. It was purchased and restored by the Dallas Women's Forum in 1930 (McDonald, 1978: 141, 143). An exception to the overall residential character of East Dallas was the placement of the Dallas Consolidated Street Railway complex, covering three-quarters of the block between Elm and Main streets where they crossed Peak Avenue (Sanborn maps, 1899, 1905).

Two factors were taking shape in 1905 that had a major impact on housing styles and development in East Dallas. One was the shift in the popularity from the latter Victorian-era styles to the emerging Prairie and Mission Revival styles. The other was the development of Munger Place, one of Dallas' first planned, heavily-restricted, neighborhoods (Gooden, 1986: 51). After carefully researching several restricted-residence parks in other cities, Robert S. Munger bought raw farmland near prestigious St. Mary's College and began development of Munger Place. Between 1905-1925, some of Dallas' most promising architects gained their reputations building modern, progressive homes in Mission Revival, Colonial Revival, and Spanish Colonial Revival variations on Frank Lloyd Wright's Prairie style. Some of the finest are along Swiss and Gaston avenues (MacDonald, 1978: [illegible]). Although no part of this project area was in Munger Place proper, the planned development lay immediately to the east and many East Dallas project area homes constructed during this time were built in the same styles. Cite X Munger

Place shared the same streetcar lines and major thoroughfares as the rest of East Dallas but it did not share the methods of development.

Munger chose to skip over East Dallas for his subdivision, perhaps in part because of the noisome and flood-prone creeks that flowed through the area (Older Neighborhoods. pg. 33) but more likely because East Dallas was so unevenly developed. There was much vacant land in the project area in 1905 but Munger purchased a large, vacant tract of cotton land beyond its eastern edge that offered him an opportunity to completely control the layout and design of a new subdivision. Munger attempted to avoid the commercial and industrial encroachment that plagued previous developments like The Cedars by regulating all aspects of his development long before Dallas enacted restrictive zoning ordinances of its own. "Uniformity was achieved by meeting zoning restrictions, such as height, distance from the street, and cost minimums; they [houses] generally have symmetrical facade elevations, central dormers over the entry bay, low-pitched roofs, and broad front porches supported on heavy pillars" (Texas National Register, pg. 44). Deed restrictions excluded blacks and other "non-whites". Other restrictions governed landscaping and outbuildings and placed utilities and services off the main streets. The appeal of a planned, uniform neighborhood was tremendous in Dallas and attracted judges, doctors, lawyers, railroad magnates and oilmen (Older Neighborhoods, 1986: 26). East Dallas, with its array of out-of-fashion mansions, haphazardly placed outbuildings, and vacant lots adjacent to rows of simple frame houses and the beginnings of commercial nodes at streetcar intersections, could not compete with Munger Place for exclusivity. Junius Heights, Highland Park, and Vickery Place, followed Munger Place in 1906 and 1907 and drew the prosperous middle and upper class homeowners further east and away from old East Dallas.

Commercial enterprises began to spring up in the 1910s and tended to proliferate on the streetcar lines, especially at the intersections of two lines. A comparison of 1905 and 1922 Sanborn maps shows the profound influence these intersecting carlines had in converting residential areas to commercial. Cite Bryan and Peak and Elm and Peak areas commercial blocks X . Interurban railways began running in the area about 1908 and, although they did not offer local service, had an influence on the neighborhoods through which they ran. The Bryan interurban line was established in 1908 and ran along the same street as the streetcar (Gooden, 1986: 55). It is notable that by 1922, Bryan Street, especially where it intersected with Peak Avenue, had the most commercial buildings in the project area. Automobiles were also having an impact on the area. The first automobile was registered in Dallas County in 1901. By 1917registration had increased to about 15,000, most of it in the city of Dallas (Gooden, 1986: 56). The automobile eventually changed the way suburban growth and development occurred in Dallas and served to push the city even further from its center. Some developers began addressing the automobile in their promotions in addition to the streetcars. While R. S. Munger took care to court the extension of Consolidated's streetcar lines to his development, Munger Place, with its superior paving and main house-fronting streets located <u>off</u> the streetcar lines, was "automobile ready" from its inception (Gooden, 1986: 52). Munger's early advertisements for "the Place" touted its paving as "ideal for carriages and automobiles, as well as for mud-free walks to the streetcar", but by 1917 the focus had shifted in favor of the automobile. "Only 20 minutes' car ride . . . You can motor out . . . in half the time--10 minutes" (Gooden, 1986: 58).

During the 1910s and 1920s a number of fine Mission Revival and Prairie Style homes, as well as smaller bungalows and cottages, were built in the pockets to completely fill in the remainder of East Dallas. But as the popularity of Highland

Park. Munger Place and other outlying developments grew, land and building uses in the older part of the project area began to change. By 1922. almost no vacant areas remained in the project area with the exception of the large estates built before about 1905. When their wealthy owners began moving to the more fashionable developments further out, the estates were broken up for re-development one by one. The sporadic evolution and re-definition of the area continued to contribute to the uneven appearance of East Dallas. The 1922 Sanborn maps show many large homes with a handful of large estates remaining on Swiss and Gaston avenues but commercial development had already replaced residences along the crosstown streetcar routes of Bryan. San Jacinto. and Elm streets and along Peak Avenue running perpendicular to and connecting the crosstown lines (Sanborn maps 1905, 1922). At the southern boundary of the project area. the Main and Elm Street lines converged at Carroll Street (the eastern boundary of 1905 Sanborn maps) where they merged into the Columbia line along the southern edge of Munger Place. Restaurants, drugstores. groceries. and dry cleaning establishments appeared along the lines and at their intersections by 1922. In 1922. there was a fire on Peak Street that burned 32 homes to the ground (WPA. Paul Myers. "Parks" pg. 6. Box 4J57. 1940). The homes were replaced with commercial enterprises taking advantage of the streetcar frontage.

One of the most outstanding changes that took place in the project area between about 1915 and 1930 was the advent of large apartment buildings. many of which remain in the project area Cite X . By 1922. boarding houses and apartments began cropping up in the streets bounded by Swiss and Gaston avenues between Haskell Avenue and Carroll Street. replacing some of the area's largest estates and mansions (Grodan. 1986: 66: Sanborn maps 1922). The Dallas City Directory for 1930 lists a remarkable number of 3-story apartment buildings at almost every

intersection in the project area. Again, their location at streetcar intersections is notable.

The streetcar lines continued to serve the project area throughout the 1920s and 1930s, but they no longer figured prominently in its development as a residential neighborhood. The principal contribution of the lines from that time forward was in re-development. The conversion of properties from residential to commercial use along main streetcar routes initiated a trend that continued past the streetcar era to the present, eroding the residential fabric on adjacent streets (Sanborn maps, 1905, 1922). Streetcars themselves were beginning to decline in importance as automobile use increased. Dallas County led the state with 34,000 automobiles registered in 1921. Garages, gas stations and parking areas were beginning to appear on the city's landscape. Ironically, the Ross Avenue mansion of former street-railway president, Jules E. Schneider, was torn down in 1919 and replaced with a car sales lot (Gooden, 1986: 70). Streetcar ridership increased slightly through the 1920s until its height in 1929 (Gooden, 1986: 71). After that year, the Great Depression eliminated many work-related trips, and ridership fell steadily until the latter 1930s. Even though public transportation increased during World War II when the government restricted fuel and tires, streetcars never again had the prominence they held in the pre-automobile years of suburban real estate development.

The Great Depression and Texas Centennial Fair in 1936 both encouraged multi-family use of older dwellings to East Dallas. The hard years of the depression forced some families to take in boarders. During the Centennial, large houses in Munger Place were divided into rooms that rented for $1.00 per night (Eidt, conversation [illegible] 90).

By the end of the 1930s, Writer's Project researcher Paul Myers described East Dallas in in these terms:

> Almost every trace of the past has been obliterated by modern development. Recurrent waves of construction have wiped out old buildings to make room for new ones. To the east of the business district is a fringe of residential sections - boarding and rooming houses once owned by socially prominent families. They extend to Bryan, Live Oak, Swiss and Ross. These houses are almost the only architectural reminders of the old city (WPA 4J57, "Dallas Today", pg. 2, 1940)

Gooden's investigation of the 1940 census tracks revealed that portions of the project area, particularly near the streetcar barns where three lines met, were congested and run down. Of the houses remaining in the block between Haskell and Peak avenues, Elm and Main streets, 80 to 100 percent were in need of major repairs or lacked private baths. In the entire area less than 20 percent of the homes were owner occupied at that time (Gooden, 1986: 84). Fitzhugh Avenue, the eastern boundary between the project area and Munger Place, had become a major crosstown automobile thoroughfare by 1932. Initially a residential area, the intersection of Fitzhugh Avenue with the Columbia Street carline generated eight businesses, including two gas stations, by 1932. By 1942, commercial growth was spreading into the project area westward from Fitzhugh Avenue and most of the blocks between Haskell Avenue and Fitzhugh contained a number of multi-family dwellings. Gaston and Swiss avenues, once the domain of proud homes, had the largest numbers of multi-family dwellings in the project area, and Gaston Avenue had become a major automobile thoroughfare (Gooden, 1986: 85-86; Sanborn maps 1922; City directories 1930, 1940).

World War II brought a number of defense industries to Dallas, such as the Ford Motor plant on East Grand Avenue that produced military vehicles (Gooden, 1986: 77, 88). People flocked to the city for the jobs and the resultant housing

shortage accelerated the conversion of East Dallas from a primarily single-family residential area to a multi-family neighborhood. The government unwittingly assisted that process by asking local residents to rent rooms to the temporary workers to aid the war effort. Many who owned large homes in East Dallas patriotically complied with the request, which served to further identify the area with multi-family housing. This image may have led to the post-war re-zoning of the entire area for apartments. In some cases the older houses were demolished for apartment buildings and parking lots (Gooden. 1986: 86). Another change since World War II Once a bastion of white. gentile Texans. East Dallas' ethnic makeup has changed a great deal since World War II with more hispanic and African American residents. In recent years a number of Asian immigrants have settled in East Dallas neighborhoods. adding to its multi-culturality.

The trends that began in the 1920s gaining momentum in the 1930s and 1940s. continue to erode the single-family residential character of East Dallas in the present. Once an entirely residential neighborhood. East Dallas is now a composite of architectural types. styles. and uses dating from the turn of the century through the 1970s. Single-family residences from the first three decades of the 20th century stand alongside apartment complexes and commercial buildings that sprang up along the streetcar lines. The combination of building types and uses spanning seven decades of Dallas' history makes East Dallas one of Dallas' more eclectic inner-city neighborhoods.