Thematic Historic Context Statements
Final Report

Volume II









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ACRONYMS

CCA Citizens Charter Association

DART Dallas Area Rapid Transit

DMDA Dallas Metropolitan Development Association

FHA Federal Housing Administration

GC&SF Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe Railway

H&TC Houston and Texas Central Railway

HABS Historic American Buildings Survey

HAER Historic American Engineering Record

HOLC Home Owners' Loan Corporation

HUD Housing and Urban Development

LOC Library of Congress

LTV Ling-Temco-Vought

MKT Missouri–Kansas–Texas Railroad

RTHL Recorded Texas Historic Landmark

T&P Texas and Pacific Railway

USGS United States Geological Survey (maps)

II-1| Geography and Topography

INTRODUCTION

In defining Dallas's current built environment and its history, the city's physical and natural setting may not be the first influence that comes to mind. In fact, Dallas writer and historian A. C. Greene argued that Dallas has no reason to really exist, seeing as it "has no harbor, no river, no natural resources or agricultural pool to draw cityhood from."[1] But in reality, the city's geography—its soil, springs and rivers, flora, climate, and terrain—provided the foundation for its existence and influenced the current built environment. Dallas was in part founded on the belief that its natural resources could be economically advantageous. As the city evolved, its natural features influenced settlement, commercial growth, transportation, and building construction. Be it the availability of water and fertile lands, or the dream of navigable waters and aesthetically pleasing suburbs, environmental factors played a key role in shaping how Dallas developed. Tangible links to the geographic influence on Dallas's built environment are present throughout the city, from the obvious—like pumping houses, levees and dams, and the altered course of the Trinity River—to the more nuanced suburban neighborhoods and parks. These resources span the city's history and date from the nineteenth century to the present. These links represent the influence that geography played in location and site selection for settlement and development, how the environment impacted industry and commercial growth, and how man overcame physical determinants by manipulating and harnessing the city's natural resources.

GEOGRAPHY AND CITY BUILDING

Geography and topography have played integral roles in city-making throughout history. Not only have geographic conditions influenced and encouraged settlement, but people's relationship with the environment—the ways in which we use, mine, and manipulate it—has played a significant role in determining and shaping cities. In choosing a settlement location, one had to consider a series of questions: Is there water for drinking? Is the soil suitable for farming? Does the landscape allow for easy travel? Are there raw materials for building shelter? Is the climate hospitable? And for a settlement to evolve into a city, favorable geographic conditions typically existed, from which people economically benefitted.

In America, cities exist for a number of reasons; New York City has abundant waterways and was strategically poised to become an important port and commercial center; Pittsburgh has rivers and raw materials that allowed it to become an industrial center; Denver's location on existing trails along the South Platte River allowed it to become a hub for nearby gold-mining communities. The built environments of cities also reflect the ways in which humans responded to the environment: open-space dwellings are often found in warmer climates like Honolulu and Miami; mine headframes dot the landscape of Butte, Montana; and sea walls, built to protect against rising waters, are found in coastal cities like New Orleans. These distinct characteristics of American cities are often a direct reflection of geography.

The pattern of settlement and city-making is no different in Texas. After the establishment of the Republic of Texas, the first permanent settlements generally developed in areas of productivity and near water sources: along the coast, along rivers, and near springs. Galveston was founded due to its strategic location on the Gulf of Mexico, where it could become a major port. Austin originated as Waterloo, a riverside settlement selected by Republic of Texas president Mirabeau Lamar as the capital due to its natural resources, beauty, and location on established travel routes. Similarly, the first

settlements in Waco, San Antonio, and San Marcos were by springs.[2] Not all settlements evolved into cities, but by the mid-to-late nineteenth century, centers of commerce, government, and industries in Texas began to emerge in locales where favorable geographic conditions allowed.

DALLAS

GEOGRAPHIC SKETCH OF DALLAS

In 1857, Maximilian Reverchon, a member of the "La Réunion" colony, described Dallas's largely virgin landscape (see fig. II-1):

> The town of Reunion is situated on the edge of high plateaus that dominate the vast basin of the Trinity. From this highest point the view is immense. On his feet looking north, the spectator can follow all the contours of the Trinity that is buried in the forest. The course of this river is marked by immense cottonwoods that project 30 to 40 feet above the other trees. On the southern side opening to the west, the slope of the high prairie is very steep; it is hilly, irregular and wooded in a most picturesque manner. To the north of the Trinity the land rises in a gentle slope; vast plains, slightly uneven, are found between the forest and the high lands, and form that which is called the Bottoms, the lands of these Bottoms are heavy, dense, exclusively argillaceous [clay], and saturated with a humus accumulated for centuries; they are extremely rich. The aspect of the great valley of the Trinity is severe and imposing, perhaps a little sad; man finds himself small in the presence of this grand nature. On the highlands, or undulating prairies, the impression is not more of the same: there all is more smiling, more gracious, and more appropriate to human proportions. In the fold of these vast undulations an infinite number of little streams form naturally to unite with larger ones, to finally flow into the Trinity. All these watercourses are diverse in form and aspect, and do not identically resemble each other; on their banks is crowded a very picturesque, woody vegetation, the plant growth following the progress of the gullies. Slight at its beginning, this vegetation soars most splendidly in the lower part of the big gullies. . . .[3]

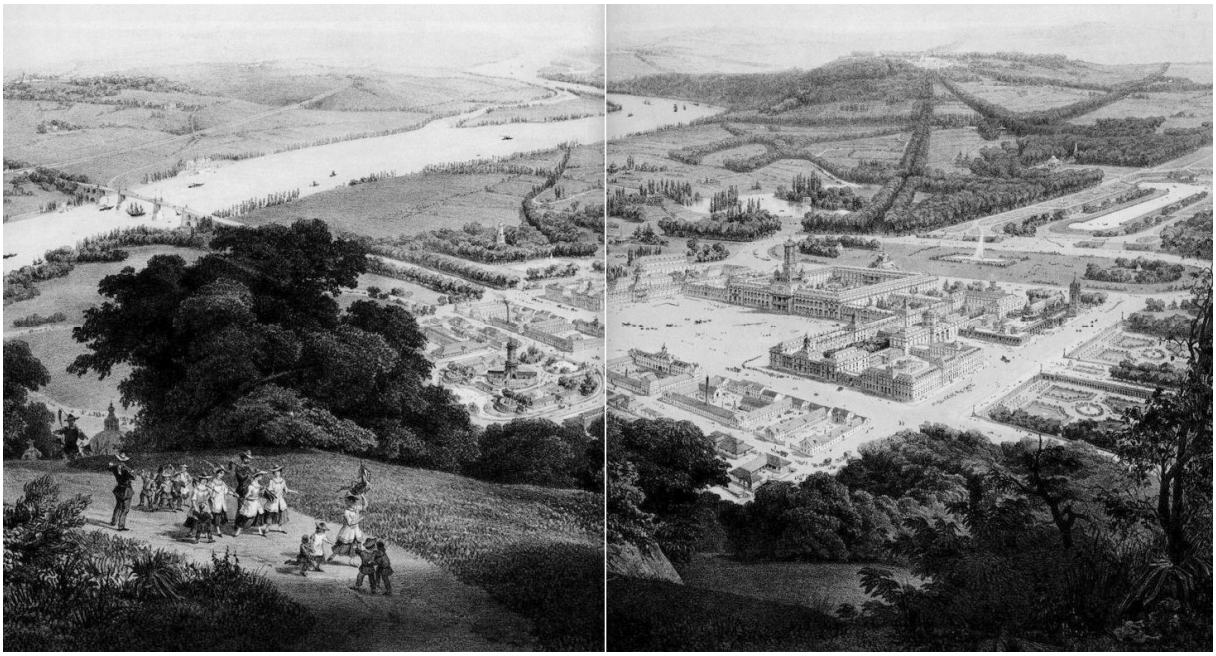


Figure II-1. Depiction of an idealized version of La Réunion amid the landscape of what would become Dallas. Source: Dallas Historical Society via "La Réunion: Utopia on the Trinity," Flashback: Dallas (blog), accessed October 13, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2016/03/26/la-reunion-utopia-on-the-trinity/.

Learn more! *Refer to Chapter 2. Demographics and Spatial Settlement for more information on La Réunion.*

Reverchon's description paints a vivid picture of the pre-urbanization landscape of Dallas. Located in North Central Texas, Dallas lies in the heart of the Blackland Prairie. The surrounding land is generally flat to rolling and is bisected by a myriad of springs and small tributaries of Dallas County's largest waterway, the Trinity River. In Dallas, two of these waterways, the Elm and West Forks of the Trinity River, converge west of downtown. Over 300 miles of smaller tributaries cross Dallas, among them White Rock Creek, Fivemile Creek, Cedar Creek, Turtle Creek, and Elam Creek (fig. II-2).[4] In some areas, these waterways have carved steep, flora-covered clay and limestone bluffs into the landscape. Dallas County has rich, dark soil—a mixture of alkaline and acidic clayey soils and loamy topsoil—and areas of soft limestone.[5] Prior to Anglo settlement in the mid-nineteenth century, tall native grasses covered vast swaths of land. Stands of trees, including oak, cottonwood, pecan, and mesquite, grew along the waterways and in the bottomlands. In and along the creeks and rivers, fish and fowl were plentiful. Wild animals, including foxes, rabbits, wolves, and deer, roamed freely in the river bottoms and prairie.[6] Centuries before the arrival of Anglo settlers, Native American tribes, including Caddo, Wichita, Comanche, and Cherokee, hunted, traveled, and camped in the area in and around Dallas.

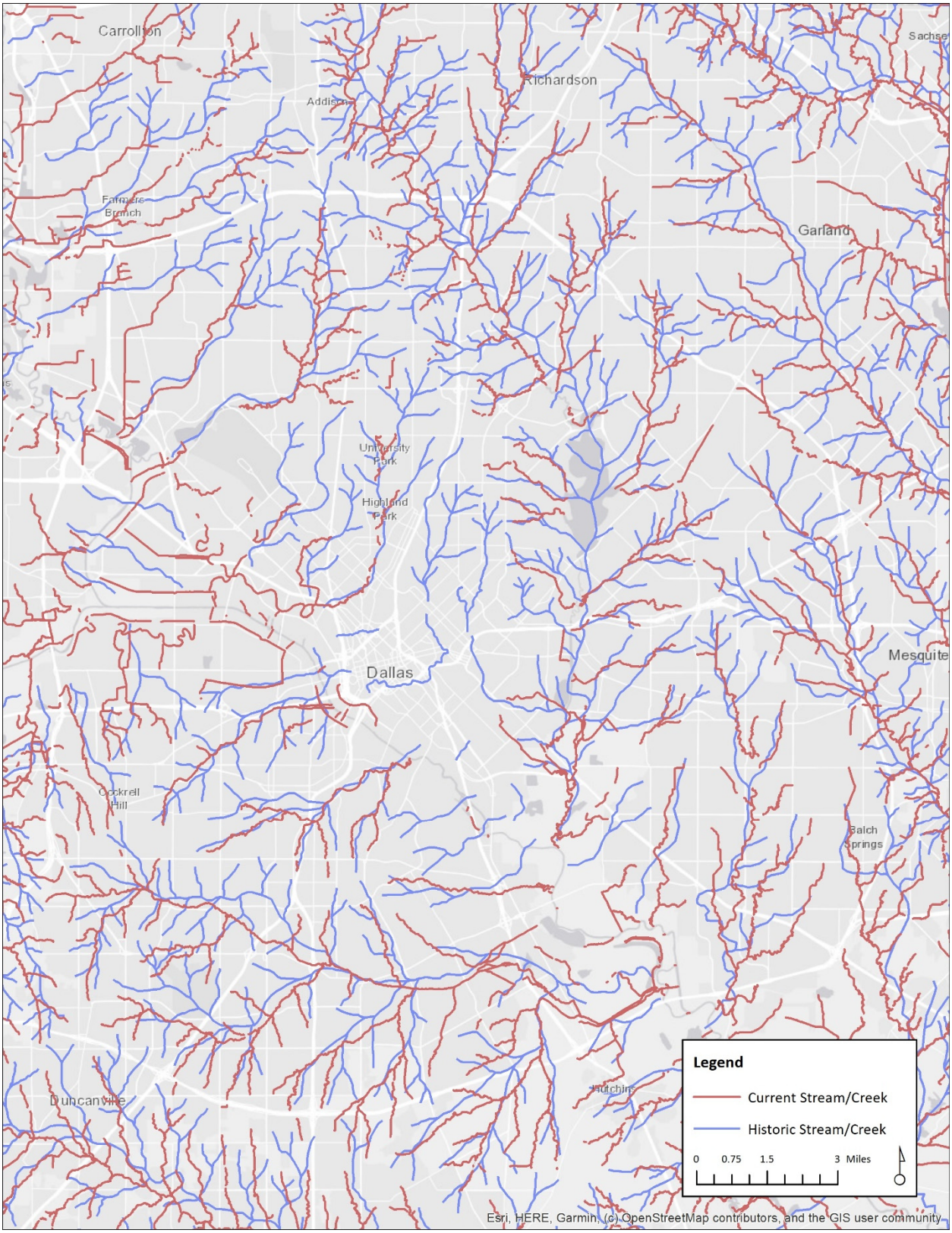


Figure II-2. Map showing a comparison of the historic streams (blue) and creeks (red) and the existing streams and creeks (gray) in Dallas. Source: HHM, 2021.

Dallas has a subtropical climate with hot and humid summers and mild to cool winters, and it is prone to tornadoes and severe storms. Precipitation varies considerably from year to year – Dallas can get less than 20 inches of rainfall in years of drought, but on average it receives around 38 inches of rain annually. Most of the city's rain falls in spring, during the four-month period from March to June.[7]

EARLY LAND-USE PATTERNS AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

Early Settlement and Agricultural Development

Like members of the La Réunion colony, other early settlers were drawn to the Dallas area in part due to its abundant water, rich soils, and livable climate. The land and climate proved good for growing crops, including wheat, corn, and cotton, as well as for grazing cattle, and this attracted migrants from the Midwest and American Upland South. Agents of the Peters Colony (founded in the 1840s) lauded the land, enticing settlers with promises of "a thriving prairie paradise of rich black land."[8] Because the landscape of Dallas was generally free of physical deterrents, settlement was largely influenced by the area's environmental attributes: water and soil. Many of the earliest settlers in Dallas and Dallas County established homesteads and communities around and near the county's numerous springs and waterways. Mid-nineteenth-century communities in Dallas include Frogtown and settlements at Cedar Springs, Browder Springs, Alpha Springs, Honey Springs, Gilbert Springs (renamed Kidd Springs in Oak Cliff), and Reunion Springs (La Réunion) (fig. II-3). The pioneers of these early settlements left the first discernible impact to the landscape by building houses, falling trees, growing crops, and raising livestock on farms. The Big Spring site, also known as White Rock Spring, is a City of Dallas landmark and home to one of the last intact springs in Dallas County. The history of the site is a good example of the early land-use patterns and cultural landscapes created in Dallas in the mid-nineteenth century. John Beeman, who had migrated to Texas from Illinois with his family and two brothers, claimed 640 acres of land along the western edge of White Rock Creek (near present-day Dolphin Road and IH 30) in 1842. Over the next few years, Beeman expanded his property, acquiring nearly 2,000 more acres along White Rock Creek and the Trinity River, including the Big Springs site.[9] On his property, the Beemans built a cabin, established a cemetery, and even erected a grist mill on the banks of the creek (not extant). The family grew corn, pumpkins, and peas, and they harvested wild rye and hunted wild game on their land.[10] In the late 1860s, Margaret Beeman (John Beeman's daughter) and her husband, Dallas founder John Neely Bryan, moved to the 161.6-acre Big Spring tract that she had inherited from her father.[11] The family lived on the land for 10 years, operating a small farm. The 1870 census shows the family had 10 acres of tilled and improved land, 150 acres of woodland, as well as 3 horses, 2 oxen, 4 milk cows, and 12 pigs.[12] When the property sold in 1880, the new owner, Edward Pemberton, continued agricultural endeavors on the land but shifted to raising cows to support his dairy operation. By the early twentieth century, however, land use on the property began shifting away from agriculture when the owners began mining gravel on the land.

> *Refer to Chapter 2. Demographics and Spatial Settlement Patterns for more on Peters Colony and John Neely Bryan.*
>
> ***Learn more!*** *Read the entire Big Spring Landmark Nomination Form on the City of Dallas's Historic Preservation website: https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/Pages/Big-Springs.aspx.*

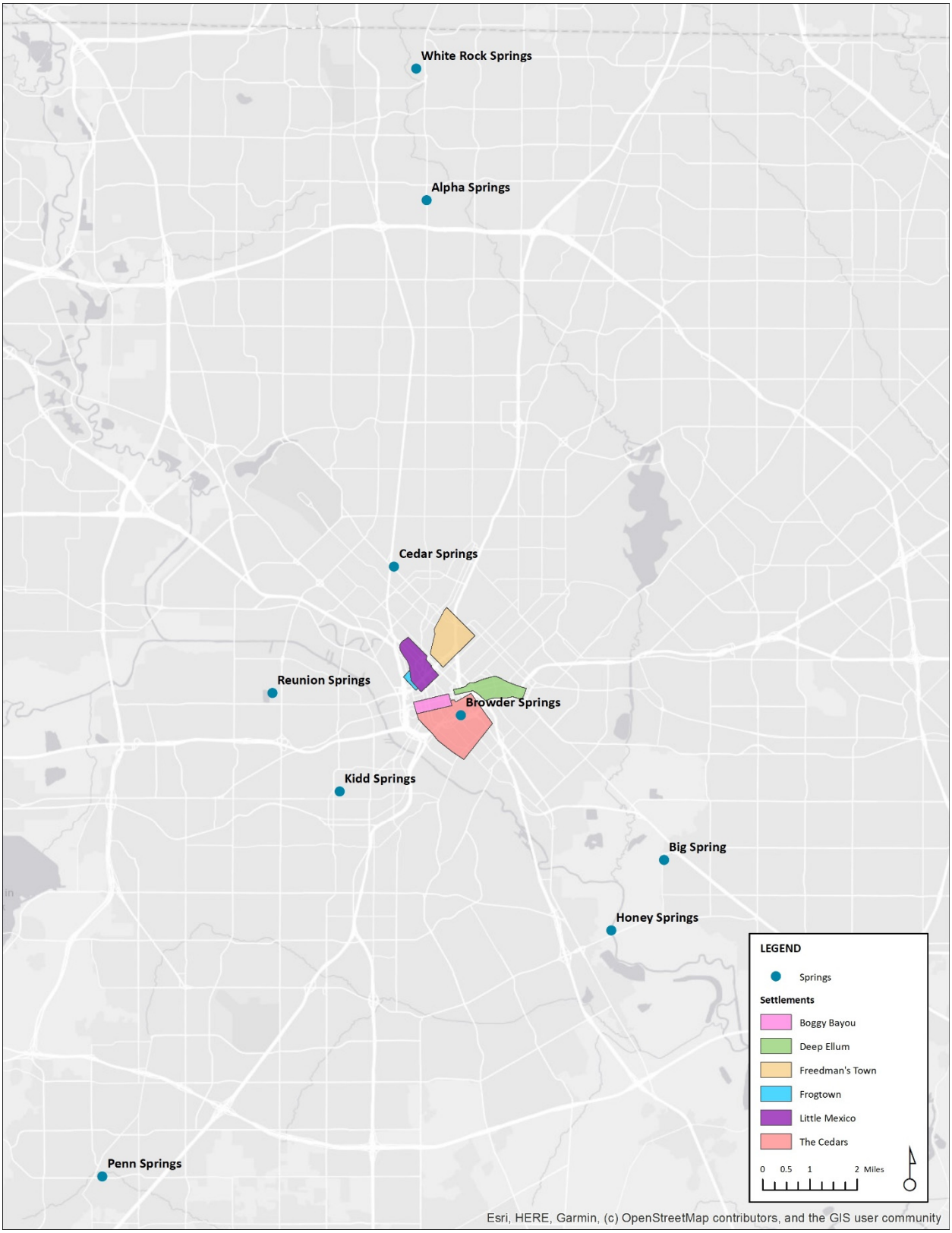


Figure II-3. Map showing the locations of historic springs and settlements in Dallas. Source: HHM, 2021.

Gravel and Sand Mining

The bedrock and soil in Dallas proved a valuable, raw building material, particularly for city roads. During the period of significant road building in the 1910s and 1920s, gravel pits in Dallas were working at full capacity to meet demand.[13] Many of the pits were located along the Trinity River due to the high-quality gravel located in the river's proximity. By the 1970s, the demand for gravel had waned, so the City looked to using the pits for much needed landfills. A 1973 report lists 10 gravel pits used by the City as landfills; nine of them are located on the river, including one at McCommas Bluff. More recently, a focus on land reclamation and cleanup has led to the acquisition of some of these sites by the City. One example are the former Elam and South Loop landfills, which were transformed into the Trinity Forest Golf Course in southeast Dallas.[Fig. II-4]



Figure II-4. Example of a gravel yard in Dallas from the 1920s. Source: [Photograph of Gravel Yard], photograph, 1928; (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth480518/: accessed October 13, 2021), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, https://texashistory.unt.edu; crediting Dallas Municipal Archives.

Despite the persistence of agricultural land use in Dallas's outlying areas into the twentieth century, the cultural landscapes created by these early settlers were largely lost as the city grew in size (fig. II-5). Not only were the houses, barns, and cropland lost to mining and suburbanization, but most of the springs that supported the early settlers were also lost to building and road construction (see fig. II-3).

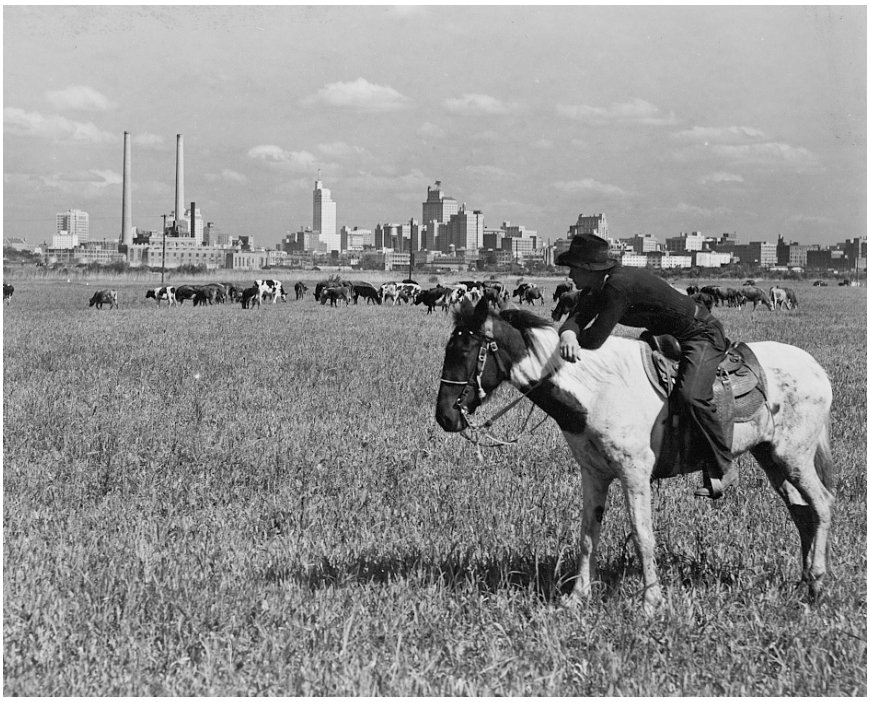


Figure II-5. Undeveloped, agricultural field near downtown Dallas, ca. 1945. Source: *Skyline, Dallas, Texas*. Texas Dallas, ca. 1945. Aug. 20. Photograph, the Library of Congress, accessed October 13, 2021, https://www.loc.gov/item/2005688926/.

> ***Learn more****! Refer to Chapter 2. Demographics and Spatial Settlement for more information on agricultural trends in the nineteenth century.*

MANIPULATION, CONTROL, AND UTILIZATION OF DALLAS'S WATERWAYS

As Dallas evolved from a settlement to a city in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, commercial pressures, residential demands, and environmental events forced the City to reassess its relationship with its natural resources. While raw materials and the city's natural beauty played roles in Dallas's development, the handling of water sources left one of the most significant marks on the city's landscape and built environment.

Manipulation: Navigation

The existence of Dallas owes a great deal to the Trinity River. Fed by the Clear Fork, West Fork, Elm Fork, and East Fork, the Trinity River flows 423 miles from the confluence of the Elm and West Forks in Dallas to the coast, making it the longest river with its entire course in Texas. For much of the city's history, the promotion of this body of water, like the region's rich soil, attracted settlers and entrepreneurs who were sold on the belief that the Trinity could be navigated by ship to the Gulf of Mexico. But despite more than a century's worth of effort, money spent, and political maneuvering, the dream of reaching the Gulf via ship never transpired, leaving behind only ghosts of failed projects along the Trinity River in Dallas.

Five years before the arrival of John Neely Bryan, the steamboat Scioto Bell is said to have made the first successful trip up the Trinity River from the Gulf of Mexico. Over the next three decades, more would attempt the feat, but it was not until 1868, after one year and four days on the river, that a steamboat successfully reached Dallas.[14] The lack of constant water proved difficult in navigating the river, creating obstacles with too much or too little water. In the 1890s, the Trinity River Navigation Company attempted some of the earliest efforts to rectify this problem. At McCommas Bluff, approximately 10 miles southeast of downtown Dallas, the company constructed a primitive lock-and-dam system, using timber and limestone taken from the bluff (some remnants remain) (fig. II-6). After the completion of the dam, an excursion steamboat, the H. A. Harvey, Jr., ran between McCommas Bluff and Commerce Street downtown for a short period of time.[15]

Efforts at making the Trinity River navigable picked up momentum in the early twentieth century, particularly after the devastating flood of 1908. Combining flood-control efforts and navigation efforts, the US government spent around $2 million on river improvements between 1900 and 1921.[16] As part of the navigation efforts, 37 locks and dams were to be built on the river between Galveston and Dallas. World War I interrupted the efforts, and only seven were completed.[17] Lock and Dam Number One, the northernmost built lock and dam, was completed at McCommas Bluff between 1916 and 1918 (figs. II-7 and II-8). Remnants of this system, as well as the lockkeeper's house built on the bluff overlooking the river, remain today, just west of Lincoln Memorial Cemetery in southeast Dallas.

Despite the setback caused by World War I, Trinity River canalization pressure persisted throughout the twentieth century. By the 1960s it appeared the project would be realized after the federal government authorized the construction of the Trinity River Project, a flood-control and navigation project that included a 300-mile-long canal connecting Dallas to the Gulf of Mexico. In 1973, after a contentious battle between supporters and opponents of the project who criticized its budget and environmental impacts, voters along the project corridor voted against funding it, and the project was ultimately abandoned. Though canalization of the Trinity River never transpired, the city's tall bridges and

overpasses—built high enough to accommodate barges—from the 1970s and 1980s stand as lasting reminders of the project.[18]



Figure II-6. McCommas Bluff in the 1890s after the completion of the dam on the Trinity River. After the completion of the dam, McCommas Bluff became a popular recreation and picnic area. Today, parts of the area belong to the McCommas Bluff Preserve. Source: "McCommas Bluff Is Finished," *Dallas Trinity Trails (blog)*, October 11, 2012, http://dallastrinitytrails.blogspot.com/2012/10/mccommas-bluff-is-finished.html.



Figure II-7. Trinity River Lock and Dam No. 1 near McCommas Bluff in 1918 shortly after its completion. Remnants of this system are still intact. Source: Trinity River: Lock and Dam #1, photograph, July 22, 1918; (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth3990/: accessed October 13, 2021), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, https://texashistory.unt.edu; crediting Dallas Historical Society.



Figure II-8. The lockkeeper's house (through the trees in the middle of the photo) at McCommas Bluff around 1916. The house is extant and located just west of Lincoln Memorial Cemetery. Source: "McCommas Bluff Preserve and Trails," *Dallas Trinity Trails (blog)*, March 17, 2011, http://dallastrinitytrails.blogspot.com/2011/03/mccommas-bluff-preserve-and-trails.html.

Control: Flooding

Today the Trinity River takes a relatively straight and controlled path through Dallas, abutted by grassy floodways and levees that protect adjacent development. This is a far departure from the meandering, sometimes wild Trinity River of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Prior to any sort of flood control efforts, the river and the Elm and West Forks took snake-like paths through the city, twisting and turning and slowing carving new paths over the years. In downtown, the river narrowed, and its tree-lined banks immediately gave way to gentle, tree-covered bluffs, upon which buildings sat (figs. II-9 and II-10). As the city grew in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, development in the boggy floodplains of the river and its tributaries was largely limited to parks, nodes of industry, and residential clusters of poor and predominantly Black communities. Due to the nature of the land and the area's proclivity for heavy storms and rain, the river and its tributaries were prone to flooding. Without flood-control mechanisms, Dallas suffered major floods in 1844, 1866, 1871, 1890, and 1908.

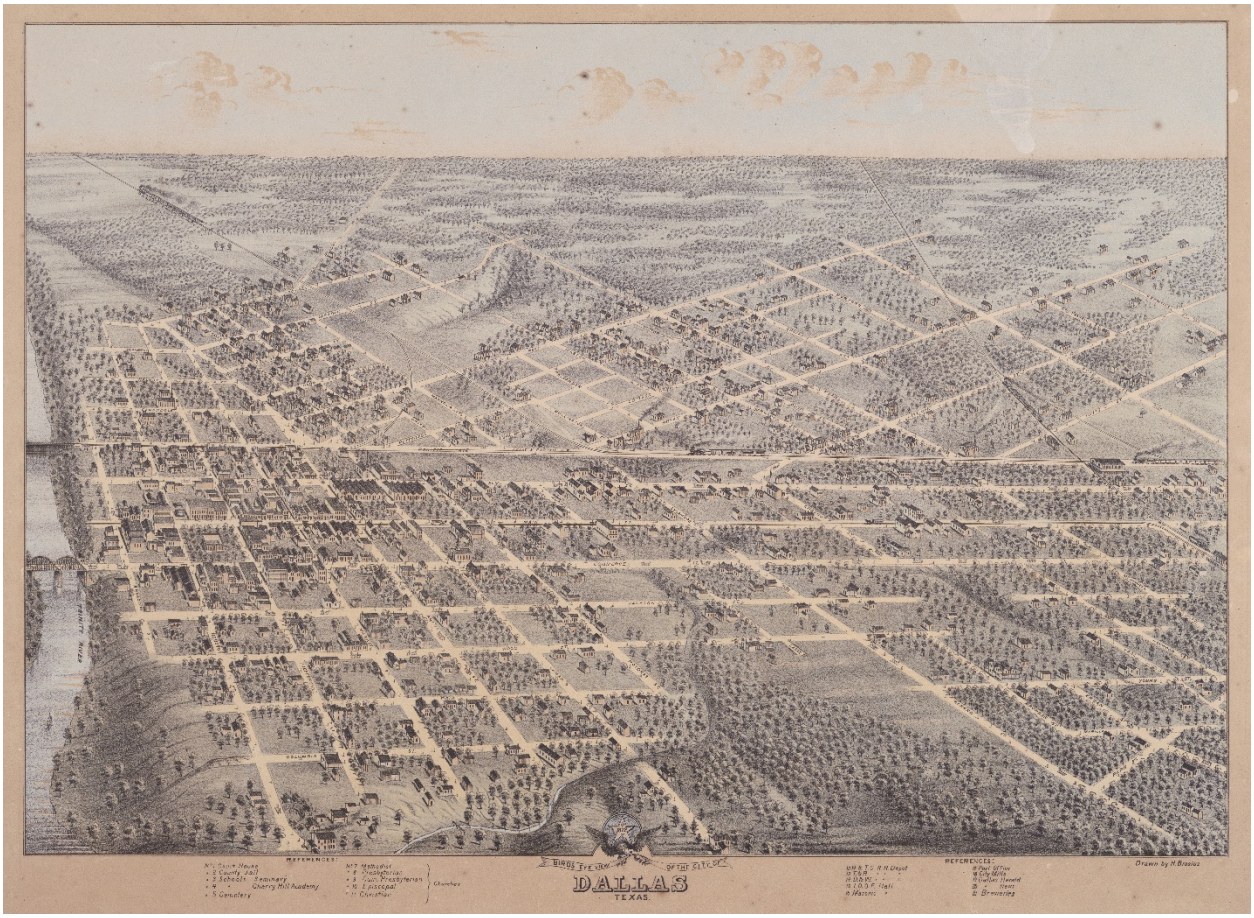


Figure II-9. 1872 Bird's Eye view map of Dallas showing the tree-lined bluffs along the Trinity River near downtown. Source: Dallas Historical Society via Wikimedia Commons, accessed October 13, 2021, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/84/Old_map-Dallas-1872.jpg.



Figure II-10. Aerial image of downtown Dallas in 1923. Note the Trinity River in the lower half of the photo and its proximity to the Old Red Courthouse. Source: DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, accessed October 13, 2021, https://digitalcollections.smu.edu/digital/collection/tex/id/1145/rec/2.

In 1908, the Trinity River rose nearly 53 feet, resulting in 5 deaths, over 4,000 displaced, thousands of dead cattle, and property losses totaling $2.5 million.[19] The devastation caused by the flood forced the City to address the problem. The 1911 Kessler City Plan proposed a levee system to redirect and straighten the course of the Trinity River, but it was not until 1928 when work finally began on the river under the Ulrickson Plan. Completed by 1934, the project dug a new 15-mile canal for the river between 1 and 3.5 miles west of its original course and added 30-foot levees – 9 feet higher than the water levels during the 1908 flood (figs. II-11, II-12, and II-13).[20] The levees ran for 13 miles on each side of the river with around 2,000 to 3,000 feet between them; the floodway between was cleared of obstructions and trees.[21] Three new storm-sewer systems—Mill Creek, Dallas Branch, and Coombs Creek—and four new pumping plants—Able Pump Station (extant), Baker Pump Station (extant), Charlie Pump Station (extant), and Delta Pump Station (extant)—were built on the levees to help move storm and rain water from the city into the floodway. New viaducts along Continental Avenue (the NRHP-listed Lamar-McKinney Bridge), Commerce Street, Corinth Street, and Cadiz Street provided access over the new floodway to help relieve congestion on the only other viaduct across the river, the 1912 Houston Street Viaduct. In total, the project moved over 20 million cubic yards of dirt and created 7,317 acres of reclaimed land on the west and 3,333 acres on the east side of the river for development.[22] East of the river, on newly reclaimed land, the Trinity Industrial District developed. Since the completion of the project in the 1930s, the City has strengthened existing levees, built new levees and pump stations with larger capacities, and further excavated the river channel.

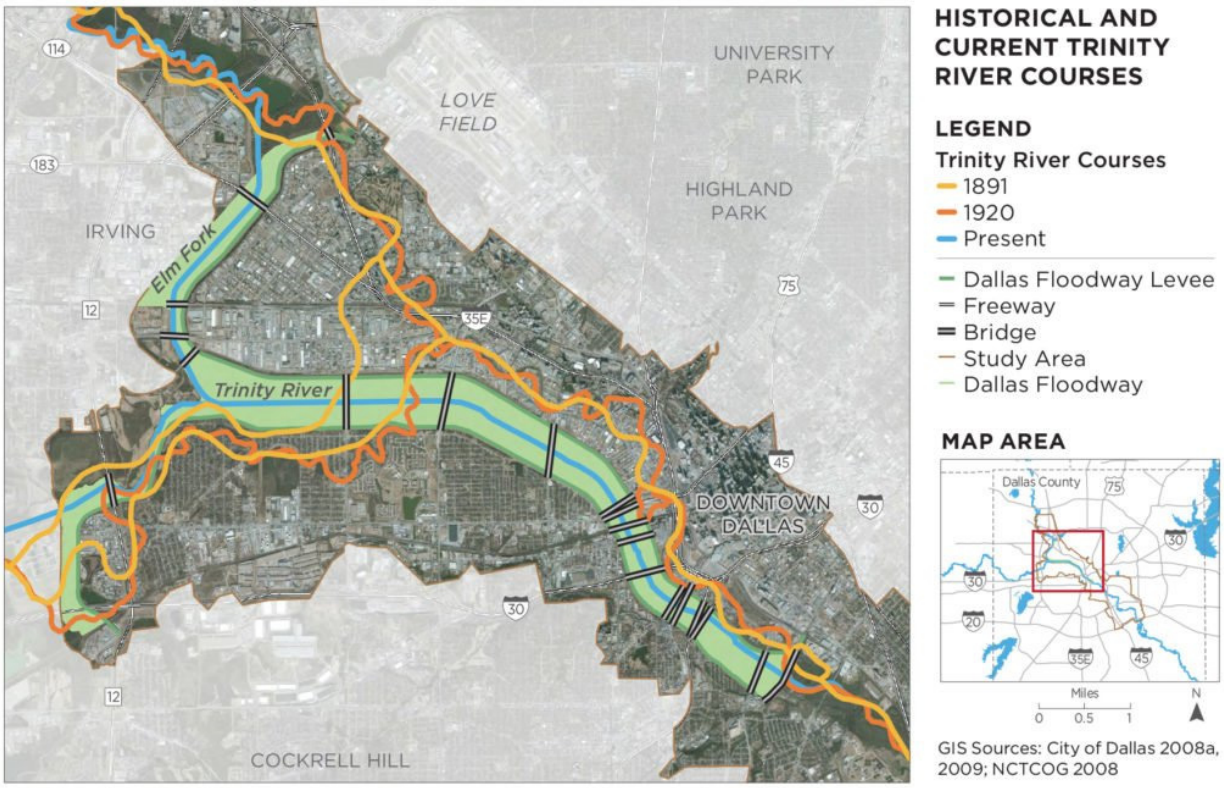


Figure II-11. Map showing the shifting course of the Trinity River through Dallas between 1891 and the present. Prior to any flood control efforts, the river and its tributaries had snake-like paths. Source: Troy Oxford, "Where Dallas' Oldest History Goes to Die," *DMagazine,* December 2017, https://www.dmagazine.com/publications/d-magazine/2017/december/dallas-prehistory-archaeology-smu-history/.



Figure II-12.The Trinity River in downtown Dallas, looking southwest, prior to flood control efforts in the early 1930s. Source: Edwin J. Foscue Map Library, Southern Methodist University, accessed October 13, 2021, https://digitalcollections.smu.edu/digital/collection/mav/id/5/rec/40.



Figure II-13. The Trinity River in Dallas after flood control efforts completed in 1934. Source: Edwin J. Foscue Map Library, Southern Methodist University, accessed October 13, 2021, https://digitalcollections.smu.edu/digital/collection/mav/id/79/rec/22.

> ***Learn more****! Read the HAER report for the Lamar-McKinney Street Viaduct: https://www.loc.gov/item/tx0958/.*

Though these historic flood-control efforts prevented another devastating flood, smaller creeks in the city continued to flood after the levee system completion. As a result, the City continued channelizing, sometimes burying the smaller creeks and streams that once ran wild through the city. The loss of the wild streams to pipes and culverts helped with flood control and also created more buildable land for the growing city. Whereas earlier suburbanization was limited to higher locales, these flood-control efforts helped spread suburbanization to other areas and made factors like transportation access and zoning more important than flood-avoidance when making development decisions.

Refer to Chapter 9. Suburbanization for more information on the relationship between suburbs and the environment.

Mill Creek

Mill Creek is just one of the many smaller tributaries lost to flood-control efforts. A tributary of the Trinity River, Mill Creek was a historically significant waterway that flowed approximately five miles from North Dallas through parts of East and South Dallas before turning west toward the Trinity. Its history is tied to Browder Springs and City Park, and it provided water for both the first bottling works and meat-processing plant in Dallas.[23] Winding its way through the streets of Dallas, Mill Creek flowed through a range of economically and racially diverse neighborhoods including the Cedars, the Prairie, and Deep Ellum. Like the Trinity River, Mill Creek was prone to flooding. Wood bridges, crude housing, and slums typically lined the creek along the floodplains in the neighborhoods it passed through. The 1911 Kessler City Plan called for the creation of several parkways in the city, including one along Mill Creek. Kessler stated that the parkway would "give new character to much of the territory through which it passes and will be the means of a general uplift in a section fairly close to the business center."[24] While the City implemented the Turtle Creek Parkway through a white, upper class neighborhood, they did not follow through on the Mill Creek Parkway, which would have run through a more racially diverse part of Dallas. Instead, in the 1930s, the City buried and incorporated Mill Creek into an underground storm-sewer system. The flood-control effort entombed the creek in underground pipes, leaving no trace of the historic waterway.

(fig. II-14; fig. II-15).



Figure II-14. Map showing the historical path of Mill Creek through Dallas. Source: HHM, 2021.

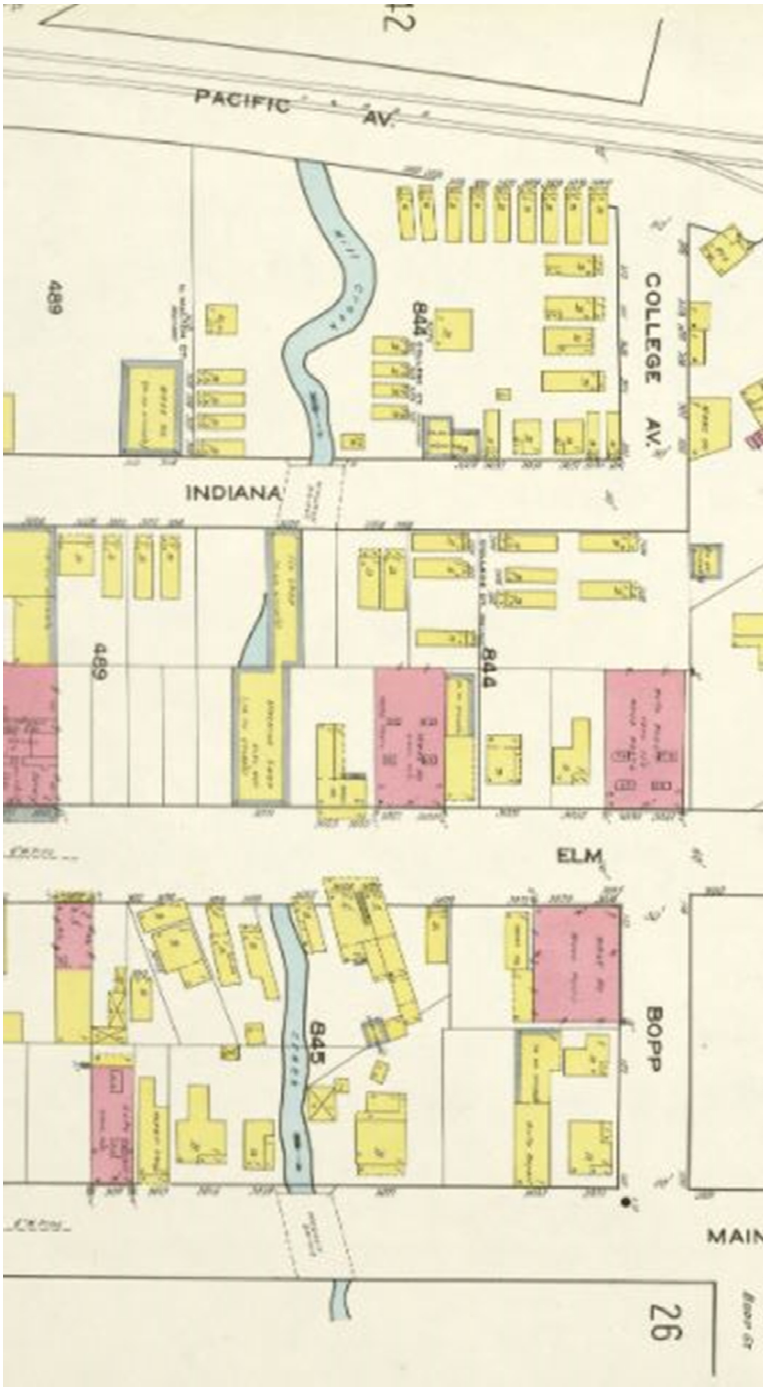


Figure II-15. Snip of the 1921 Sanborn map showing Mill Creek as it passes through Dallas. Note the wood bridges over and small residences lining the creek. Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance map no. 25, 1921, University of Texas.

Utilization: Public Water

Throughout the city's history, its numerous springs, creeks, and rivers provided Dallas residents with water. Despite the multiple water sources in Dallas, its availability was sometimes scarce. Creeks, wells, and even the Trinity River could run dry during the hot summer months, and in rainy seasons, the water could be muddy. As the city grew in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, so too did the demand for water. As a result, the City continually sought new ways to provide residents with clean water. The evolution of public water in Dallas highlights this persistent need for water, showing how the City

utilized all the area's waterways, what resources they built to do so, and how these efforts impacted the water sources themselves.

Until the City established its public water utility in 1881, water sourcing was the responsibility of private individuals, and most relied on springs and wells. A privately owned company, the Dallas Water Supply Company, developed the first public water system in 1876. The source of the water came from Browder Springs, a privately owned spring located approximately one mile southeast of the Dallas County Courthouse, near present-day South Harwood Street and R. L. Thornton Freeway (see II-3). At the site, the company added engines, a boiler, pumps, standpipes, hydrants, hoses, and fire plugs for fighting fire (none extant).[25] The City established the Dallas City Water Works and purchased the pumping facility at Browder Springs in 1881.

Over the next 10 years, the city's population nearly doubled. To supplement Browder Springs, the City looked to the Trinity River as a water source. In 1887, the City purchased 71 acres of farmland at the confluence of Turtle Creek and the Trinity River, three and a half miles north of downtown. In 1887 at Turtle Creek, the City established the first of over 20 pumping facilities across the city on various tributaries and reservoirs beginning in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Other pumping stations built include one in Oak Cliff (1913, demolished in 2015), Highland Park (1924, extant), and the South Cliff Pump Station in South Dallas (1958, extant). The City manipulated the waterway with a dam and settling basins (not extant), and it added a pumping station (replaced in 1909) and residence for the chief engineer (not extant). A water main that followed the Missouri–Kansas–Texas Railroad (MKT) tracks carried the untreated river water into town and the city's distribution system. The new facility essentially rendered Browder Springs obsolete by the 1890s. It was used in summers when the Trinity River ran low, and again during the droughts of 1909 and 1910, and for one last time in 1937 before it permanently closed. Though the springs were incorporated into City Park—the city's first public park—in the 1880s, construction of R. L. Thornton Freeway in the early 1960s took five acres from the park and paved over the springs. Nothing of the springs or former pumping facility remains.

> ***Learn more!*** *The 1909 pumping facility at Turtle Creek, built to replace the original one that was damaged in the flood of 1908, was listed in the National Register in 2001. Read the Turtle Creek Pump Station nomination on the Texas Historical Commission's website: https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/.*

In 1903, Dallas created its first manmade lake, Bachman Lake, in its efforts to provide a stable and steady source of water for the growing city. Shortly after in 1910, in response to a water shortage, the City began construction of a larger lake, White Rock Lake. Approximately seven miles northeast of downtown in an area of small farms, the City dammed White Rock Creek and built its second pumping facility (a City of Dallas landmark). Though the City could cull more water from the Trinity River and its lakes than from Browder Springs, the water quality was significantly lower. The Trinity water contained impurities, including mud and dumped wastewater from nearby Fort Worth.[26] To address the water quality issues, the City built filtration, purification, and treatment plants; the first filtration plant was built at Turtle Creek in 1913 (demolished in 1939). Other plants built in Dallas include White Rock Lake (1923, extant) and Bachman Lake (1929, and the oldest treatment plant still in use in Dallas).

> ***Learn more!*** *Read the entire White Rock Pump Station Landmark Nomination Form on the City of Dallas's Historic Preservation website: https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/Pages/white_rock_pump_station.aspx.*

Over the next 70 years, more manmade lakes were built in and around Dallas to supply the city and growing metroplex with water. Some lakes served as sources of water, while others served as cooling reservoirs for Dallas Power and Light. Dallas's largest reservoir, Lake Ray Hubbard, lies approximately 15

miles east of the city, though because it is owned by the City, it technically falls within city limits. Finished in 1969 with the completion of a two-mile-long dam on the East Fork of the Trinity River, the lake spans nearly 23,000 acres of former river bottom. At Lake Ray Hubbard, like the other city reservoirs, the site includes a pump station and a spillway and dam. The lake, like Bachman and White Rock Lakes, also serves as a source of recreation.

CONCLUSION

The environment is deeply woven into Dallas's history, from how it influenced settlement to how the city used and controlled its natural resources. Among the many resources related to the environment constructed in Dallas during the historic period, extant examples include pump houses, treatment plants, reservoirs, and locks and dams.

While the environment impacted how humans lived in Dallas, the human impact on the environment is also significant. In addition to the buildings and structures in the city constructed to harness natural resources, the human impact also resulted in the destruction of some of the very resources that led people to Dallas in the first place. The rich soils on which early settlers farmed have largely given way to urbanization and suburban sprawl, and hundreds of miles of creeks have also been lost to urbanization and flood control. Presently, a renewed interested in the environment has Dallas rethinking nature. Creation of one of the largest urban parks in the country, Trinity River Park, is currently underway along the Trinity River. The park project incorporates recreation, flood control, and environmental stewardship of the ecology of the river and its floodway. Part of the park is the Great Trinity Forest, one of the largest urban bottomland hardwood forests in the US. The City acquired much of the forest in an aim to preserve the wilderness within city limits. Like historical manmade resources, these natural features are an important part of place making and help people connect to the past. As such, the protection and preservation of both historic buildings and the natural environment ensure a continued role in telling the story of Dallas.

NOTES

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[5] Lisa C. Maxwell, "Dallas County," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 19, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/dallas-county.

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[10] Prior, "Big Spring," 7.

[11] Prior, "Big Spring," 9.

[12] Prior, "Big Spring," 9.

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[17] Jackson, "McCommas."

[18] McNeely, "The Unholy Trinity Incident."

[19] "The Great Flood of 1908," Dalworth Restoration, accessed March 10, 2021, https://www.dalworthrestoration.com/blog/historic-dallas-flood-of-1908.

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[22] Furlong, Aiemian, and McPherson, "History of the Dallas Floodway," 4.

[23] Koshalev, "Developing Eligibility Criteria For Daylight Streams As Applied to Dallas Mill Creek," 72

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[25] Michael V. Hazel, "Browder Springs," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 19, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/browders-springs.

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II-2| Demographics and Spatial Settlement Patterns (Ca. 1841–1972)

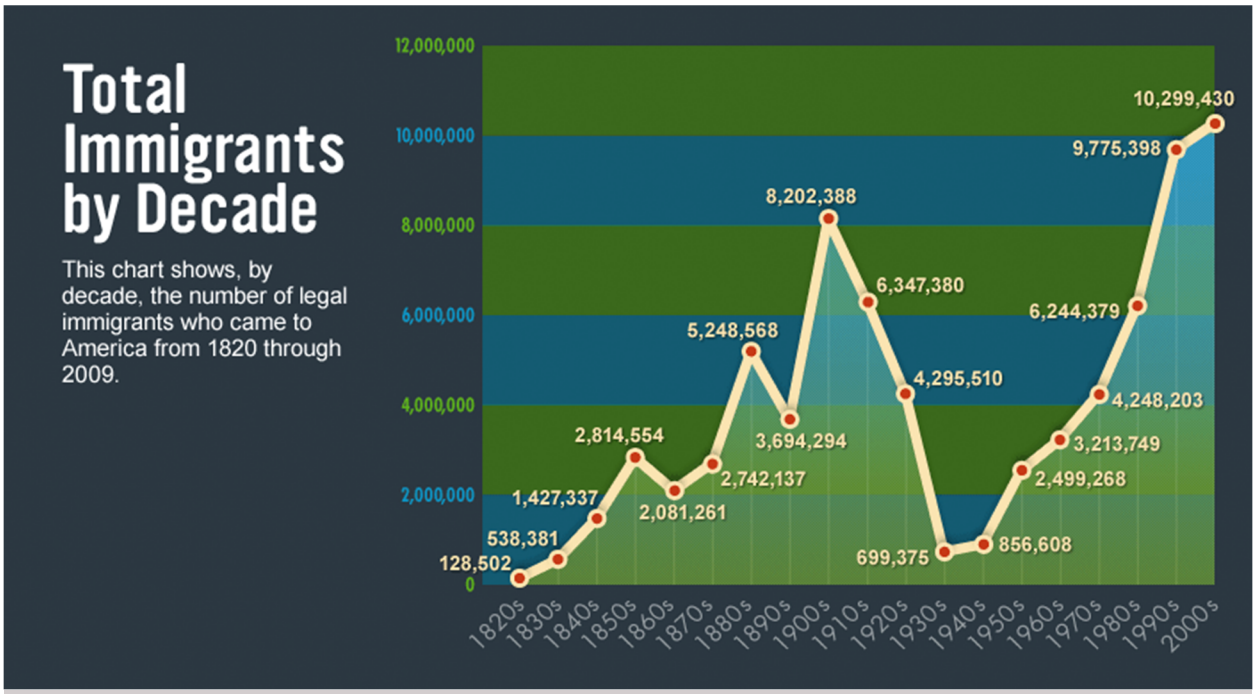
INTRODUCTION

From the time of the earliest permanent settlement in Dallas around 1841, different groups of settlers brought distinct cultural and ethnic traditions of architecture and spatial planning to Dallas. Understanding where different cultural and ethnic groups settled and when lends insight to understanding the architecture and cultural landscapes that shape Dallas today. Types of manmade resources that illustrate cultural and ethnic settlement patterns range from individual homes, places of worship, and cemeteries, to broad neighborhoods. When they retain physical integrity, these types of resources may be eligible for the National Register under the Area of Significance of Ethnic Heritage and/or Community Planning and Development.[1]

NATIONWIDE POPULATION GROWTH AND SETTLEMENT

Beginning in the seventeenth century, the European and British immigrants who came to America brought cultural traditions of permanent settlement in both urban and rural contexts. By the 1840s—around the time non-native settlers came to Dallas—population growth and the need for more land for agriculture increasingly drove European and Anglo-American settlers westward into traditional indigenous tribal lands. Federal and state governments encouraged this trend. Embracing a philosophy commonly known as Manifest Destiny, American leaders adopted policies including the purchase of lands, territorial expansion through war, grants of free land, allowing slavery in some new territories, and funding "Indian Removal." The independent Republic of Texas (1836–1845) followed similar policies–including legal slavery (as further described below). The state-by-state system of slavery laws drove enslavers to concentrate their western migration into places where slavery was allowed, like Texas, often forcing enslaved humans to migrate with them. Before the Civil War (1861–1865), the settlement pattern throughout the United States remained overwhelmingly rural, but more industrial urban areas clustered in northern states that prohibited slavery, while agriculture dominated southern states that allowed slavery.

The nationwide prohibition of slavery with the Thirteenth Amendment (1865) led many formerly enslaved individuals to seek work in urban areas in both northern and southern states. The need for cheap agricultural labor without slavery, as well as the ever-growing desire for cheap industrial labor, also led to increased immigration. Political unrest and oppression in Eastern Europe drove immigration as well, as did religious discrimination against Jews in Eastern Europe. While many immigrants arrived through the port of immigration at Ellis Island in New York, tens of thousands also arrived via the port of immigration in Galveston, Texas (graph II-1). In urban areas nationwide, the wave of immigration at the end of the nineteenth century led to overcrowded, polluted, and unsanitary living conditions. A number of federal immigration policies placed quotas on immigrants of different nationalities at different points in time, but the overwhelming need for labor led total immigration numbers to continue to trend upward in the late nineteenth century. In the early twentieth century, political unrest troubled much of the globe in this era, with revolutions in Mexico (1910–1920) and Greece (1912), plus two World Wars, all of which created thousands of refugees, many of whom immigrated to the United States.



Graph II-1. Graph of immigration into the US by decade. Source: "Explore Immigration Data," Scholastic, accessed March 4, 2021, http://teacher.scholastic.com/activities/immigration/immigration_data/.

> ***Learn more!*** *Information about the history of American immigration laws is available from the US Citizenship and Immigration Services at "Our History," https://www.uscis.gov/about-us/our-history.*

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, new technologies like railroads and streetcars facilitated suburban development, allowing people to commute into the central city but live away from its overcrowding and pollution. This possibility created a new pattern of spatial segregation by economic class, with upper-class professionals moving into the suburbs while working-class families (many of whom were African Americans or recent immigrants) remained in more dense urban settings. With political and economic power concentrated among upper-class Whites, government policies and private-sector lending practices ensued, perpetuating spatial segregation along economic, ethnic, and racial lines. By the early twentieth century, many state enabling ordinances gave municipalities the right to enact zoning laws mandating spatial separation of different land uses, as well as racial zoning.

> ***Learn more!*** *A helpful history of zoning laws nationwide and in Texas is provided by the Texas Chapter of the American Planning Association in "A Guide to Urban Planning in Texas Communities: Chapter 4 – Zoning Regulations in Texas," available online at file:///C:/Users/ect14/AppData/Local/Temp/39-Article%20Text-126-1-10-20131004.pdf.*

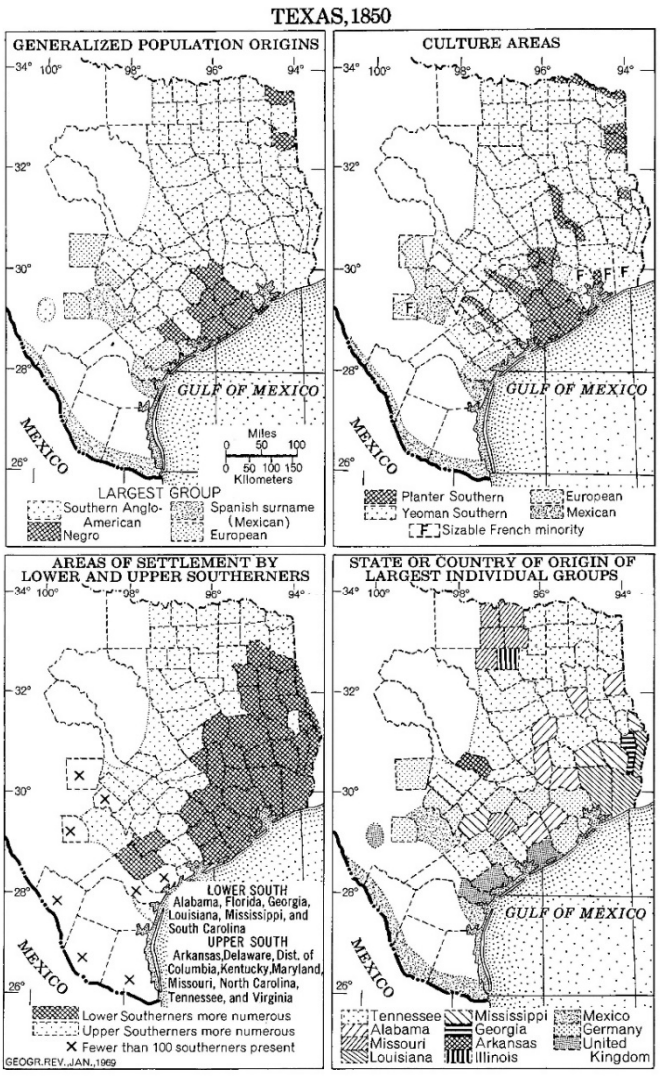
The federal government continued to enact policies reinforcing racial segregation into the mid-twentieth century. These policies included upholding zoning laws in courts, using tools like mortgage insurance from the Federal Housing Authority to give preference to loans in predominantly White areas with newer homes; funding highway construction and subsidizing the auto industry to promote suburbanization; and giving grants of federal funds to demolish and redevelop depopulated "blight" in central cities. Each of these policies impacted the shape of cities nationwide.

> ***Learn more!*** *See Chapter 9. Suburbanization, as well as Chapter 15. Urban Renewal.*

STATEWIDE DEMOGRAPHICS AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

LAND GRANT POLICIES IN TEXAS

The various governments of Texas all encouraged non-native permanent settlement to secure their claims to the land despite resistance from indigenous American Indians. To do so, the various governments that controlled Texas offered grants of free land to entice people to move to and settle in the region. The policy of land grants began under the Spanish crown in the eighteenth century and continued under the Mexican government (1821–1836), the Republic of Texas (1836–1845), and US statehood (post-1845). The Mexican Colonization Law of March 24, 1825, provided individual grants of approximately 4,600 acres; it also offered larger "empresario" grants to entities colonizing 100 families or more, which typically yielded approximately 230 acres of land per each colonizing family.[2] Beginning in 1836, the Republic of Texas offered even larger "headright grants," with initial grants of 1,476.1 acres for existing settlers. Between 1837 and 1842, the size of grants decreased gradually, ranging from 1,240 to 320 acres. The Republic of Texas also gave land grants to veterans of the Texas War for Independence.[3] Throughout Texas, settlers utilizing the land grant system generally came from the American Upland South or from Europe (figs. II-16-18). The constitution of the Republic of Texas also permitted slavery, encouraging the expansion of the plantation system into Texas, especially in areas where soil could support cotton, like the Brazos River basin and the Trinity River basin in southeast Texas. To further incentivize settlement, the Republic of Texas funded construction of forts and improvement of overland wagon trails. The State of Texas continued the policy of land grants after annexation into the US, giving up to 320 acres of public land to homesteaders between 1845 and 1853, followed by up to 160 acres between 1854 and 1898.[4] This free land proved especially attractive to slaveholding plantation owners, and Texas's slave population grew by more than 300 percent between 1850 and 1860; from 58,161 to 182,566.[5] The state's politicians and entrepreneurs sought to fill the need for labor with immigrants from Europe, even creating "a Department of Immigration in 1871 that published brochures and literature about the agricultural and economic assets of the state and distributed them widely, including in Europe."[6] According to one source, "The amount of land disposed of under the pre-emption and homestead laws of Texas is recorded at 4,847,136 acres" – or about 3 percent of the state.[7] The state granted even more public land—around 20 percent of the state—to private entities charged with public infrastructure improvements like building railroads, irrigation canals, highways, and schools.[8] These policies had drastic effects on the settlement and development of land across the state.



FIGS. 1–4

Figure II-16. Map documenting cultural/ethnic regions in Texas in 1850. Note that the "Anglo" group also includes Americans of European ancestry. Source: Terry G. Jordan, "Population Origins in Texas, 1850," *Geographical Review* 59, no. 1 (1969): 83-103, from JSTOR.

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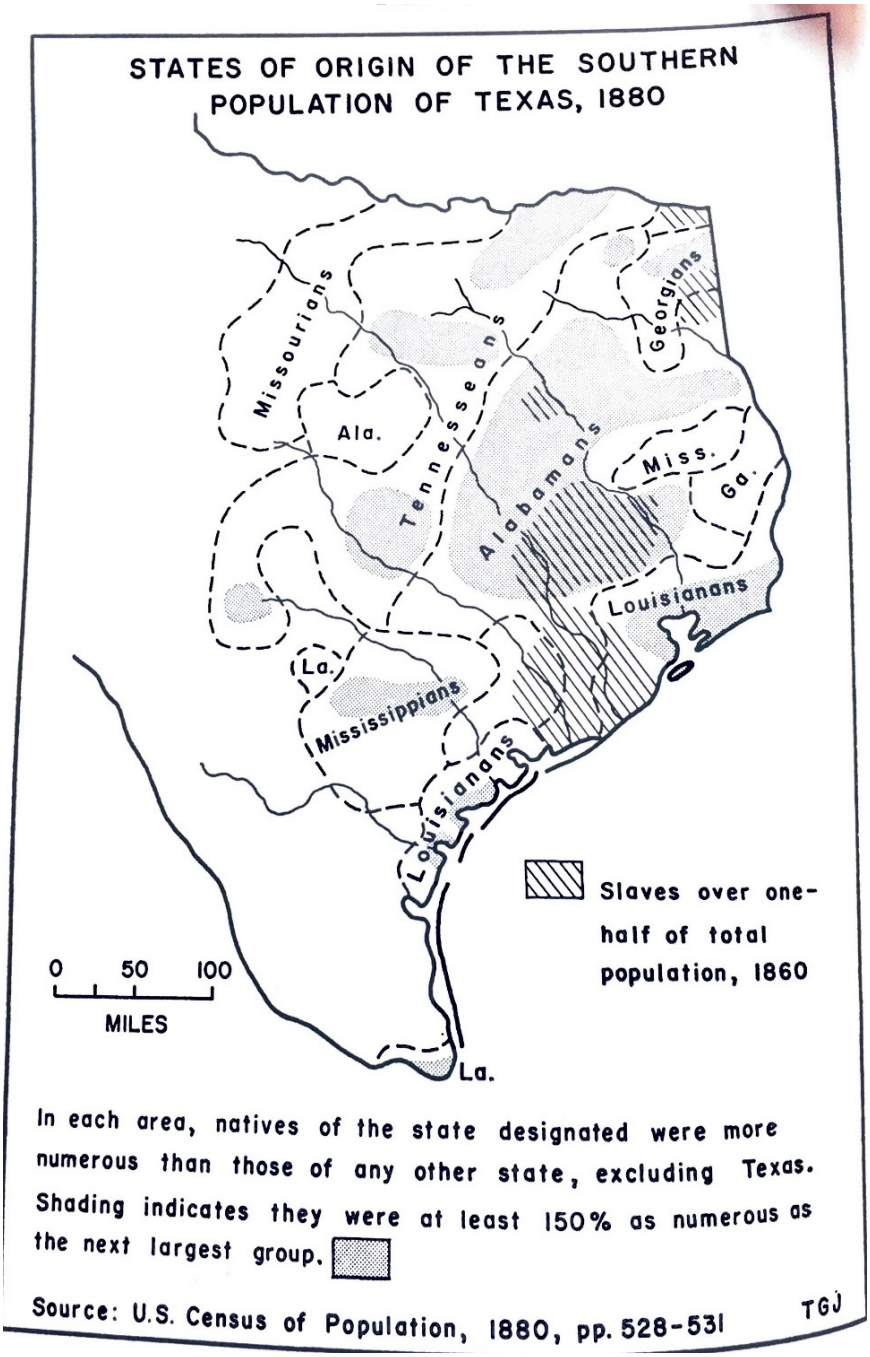


Figure II-17. Map showing state of origin among "Old Stock Anglo" settlers in 1880. Note that the "Anglo" group also includes Americans of European ancestry. Source: Terry Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1994).

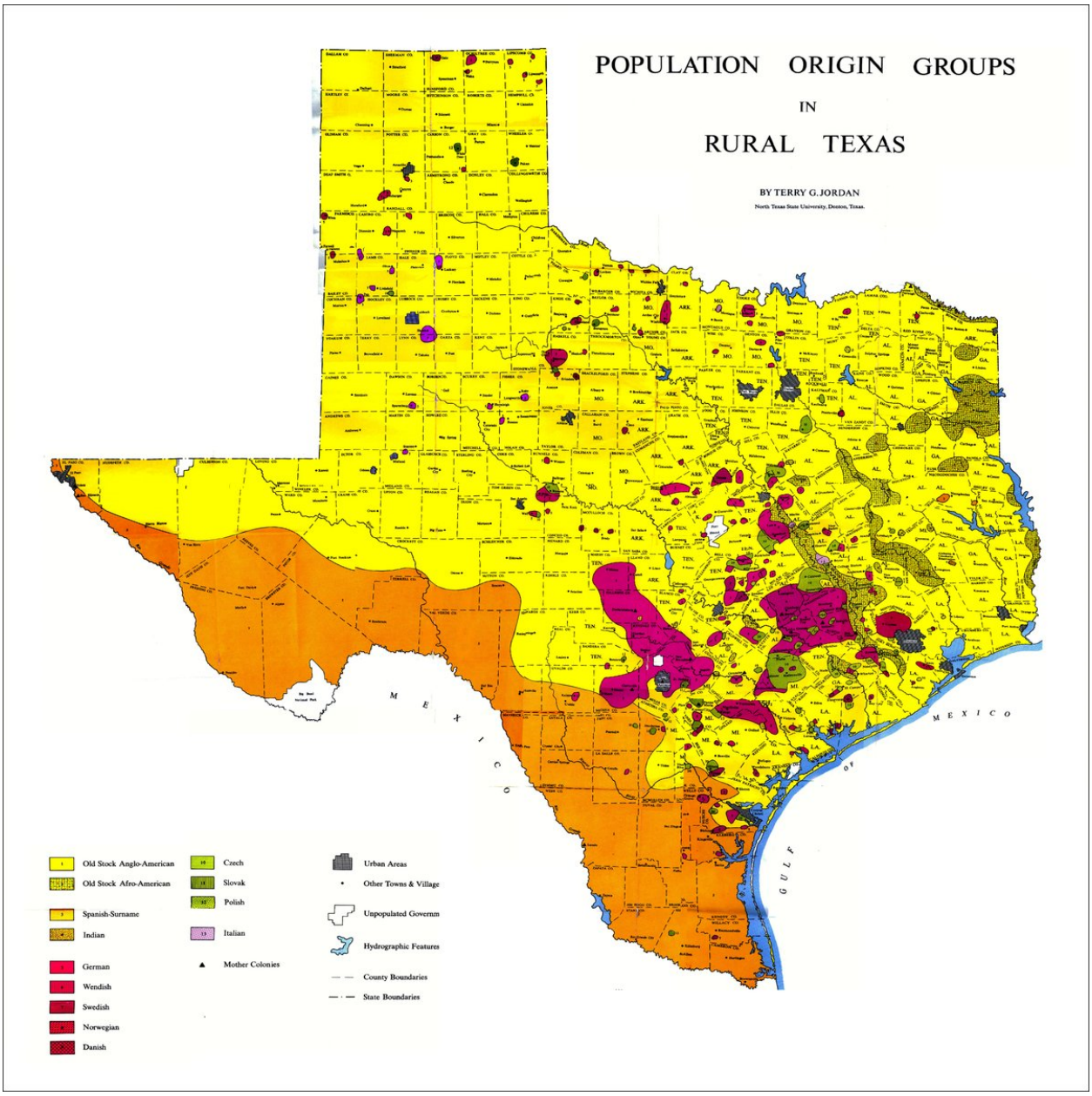


Figure II-18. Map showing areas of settlement among different ethnic groups in Texas around 1910. Source: Terry G. Jordan and Norman J. W. Thrower, "Annals Map Supplement Number Thirteen: Population Origin Groups in Rural Texas," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 60, no. 2 (1970): 404-05, from JSTOR.

STATEWIDE ETHNIC SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Statewide, the population in Texas grew continuously during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with waves of immigration responding to land grant policies, immigration policies, economic growth, and global unrest, driving immigrants to seek a better life. The overall demographic patterns that characterized Texas's population over time are summarized in figure II-19. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Spanish and Mexican citizens only sparsely settled Texas. Southern American pioneers outnumbered settlers of Spanish and Mexican ancestry as early as 1830. These pioneers held ancestry from throughout Europe, including "not just English, Scotch-Irish, and Welsh . . . but also

Pennsylvania Germans, Hudson Valley Dutch, French Huguenots, Delaware Valley Finns and Swedes, and others."[9] Spatially, Spanish and Mexican settlement concentrated along the Rio Grande Valley and in San Antonio; American slaveholders from the lowland south and enslaved African Americans settled in the lowland areas along the gulf coast and the valleys of the Brazos, Trinity, Sabine, and Red Rivers; yeoman Americans from the upland south without slaves dispersed across the broad Blackland Prairie; and European immigrants settled in more upland areas along the Guadalupe and Colorado Rivers, as well westward into the Texas Hill Country (figs. II-16 and II-17). European immigration began with Irish settlement in the 1830s, followed by German and Scandinavian immigrants in the 1840s, and Czech and Polish immigration beginning in the 1850s.[10]

After the Civil War, the decline in plantation agriculture led to the establishment of the sharecropping system, farming of more grain than cotton, and increases in livestock grazing, as well as growth of industry. The state's population gradually grew more urban as a result of both migration within the United States and immigration. Many formerly enslaved people moved to urban areas or westward to take advantage of these jobs, but many also moved beyond the state of Texas (fig. II-20). Statewide, the total African American population declined after the Civil War. As a result, as late as the 1980s, the majority of Black families in Texas held roots in the state dating back to between 1836 and 1885.[11] Meanwhile, European immigration into Texas through the port of Galveston continued at a rapid pace until the US entry into World War I (1914–1918). As part of the wave of European immigration, Jewish settlement in Texas likely began by the 1830s and accelerated into the 1890s.[12] Jewish immigration also increased in the early twentieth century, when:

> Ten thousand Jews who entered through the port of Galveston, Texas, between 1907 and 1914 under the "Galveston movement" or "Galveston plan," organized and funded by New York financier Jacob Schiff. A relocation agency helped them find work.[13]

Over the course of the twentieth century, population in Texas increasingly centered in urban areas (graph II-2). The overall population continued to grow as well, fueled by job growth in the Sun Belt during World War II and the post-World War II era, Mexican immigration under the Bracero program from 1942 through 1962, and Chinese immigration in the 1960s, supplemented by Southeast Asian and Indian immigration in the 1970s.[14]

Learn more! *More information about the Bracero program is available from the Bracero History Archive at http://braceroarchive.org/about, while more information about Asian immigration can be found from Texas Time Travel at https://texastimetravel.com/node/28686.*

Figure II-19. Table documenting population growth and ethnic composition in Texas in 1850, 1887, and 1980. Note that the "Anglo" group includes "Pennsylvania Germans, Hudson Valley Dutch, French Huguenots, Delaware Valley Finns and Swedes, and others." Source: Terry G. Jordan, "A Century and a Half of Ethnic Change in Texas, 1836-1986" *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 89, no. 4 (1986): 386, 418, from JSTOR.

Table 1

Cultural/Ethnic/National Origin Groups in Texas, 1850–1980

Group	1850[a]	1887[b]	1980[c]
Old-Stock Southern Anglo-Americans	114,500 (53%)	1,156,000 (57%)	5,100,000 (45%)
Old-Stock Northern Anglo-Americans	10,000 (4½%)	148,000 (7%)	
Mexicans	14,000 (6½%)	83,000 (4%)	2,495,000 (22%)
Blacks (African)	58,600 (27%)	396,000 (20%)	1,368,000 (12%)
Louisiana French	600 (<1%)	2,300 (<1%)	375,000 (3%)
Europeans	16,000 (7½%)	225,000 (11%)	1,315,000 (12%)
Orientals	0 (–)	800 (<1%)	120,000 (1%)
Amerindians	? (–)	800 (<1%)	117,000 (1%)
Other or unknown	2,000 (<1%)	2,900 (<1%)	520,000 (4%)
Total Population	215,700 (100%)	2,015,000 (100%)	11,412,781 (100%)

SOURCES:

[a]Hand count of the manuscript free population schedules of the 1850 United States census, including an estimate for the El Paso area, which was not enumerated. The Louisiana French total is represented by the French surnamed population of Harris, Galveston, Jefferson, and Liberty counties. The black total is from *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, D.C., 1853), 504.

[b]L. L. Foster (ed.), *First Annual Report of the Agricultural Bureau of the Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics, and History, 1887–88* (Austin, 1889), xlvi, 1–249. The Anglo-American population was subdivided into northern and southern groups on the basis of the United States census of 1890 (Vol. II, Pt. 1, pp. 568–571) figures for state of nativity for "native whites of native parents," with the Texas-born held neutral. For the adjustment of the Hispanic population, see Terry G. Jordan, "The 1887 Census of Texas' Hispanic Population," *Aztlan*, XII (Autumn, 1981), 274–275. The fragmentary total for American Indians was adjusted upward on the basis of the 1890 U.S. census, as was the total for Orientals, which in the state census included only Chinese (U.S. census of 1890, Vol. XI, Pt. 1, p. 609). The Louisiana French total is based on the "French" population of Galveston, Hardin, Harris, Jefferson, Liberty, and Orange counties; this total was subtracted from the European total. See Foster (ed.), *First Annual Report*, 35, 80, 95, 96, 118, 139, 173.

[c]Based upon the response to question 14 in the long form of the 1980 census: "What is this person's ancestry?" The results are available in the 1980 Census of Population and Housing, more exactly in (1) *Ancestry of the Population by State: 1980*, Supplementary Report PC80-S1-10 (Washington, D.C., 1983), 20, 38, 44, 50, 56, 62, 68; (2) "Public-Use Microdata Samples," unpublished computer tape (Washington, D.C., 1983); and (3) "Technical Documentation," Summary Tape File 4, unpublished computer tape (Washington, D.C., 1983). Only 11,412,781 of 14,229,191 Texans gave usable responses. The "Old-Stock Anglo-American" figure is the total of persons reporting full or partial

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Figure II-20. Map documenting cultural/ethnic regions in Texas in 1887. Source: Jordan, "A Century and a Half of Ethnic Change in Texas, 397.

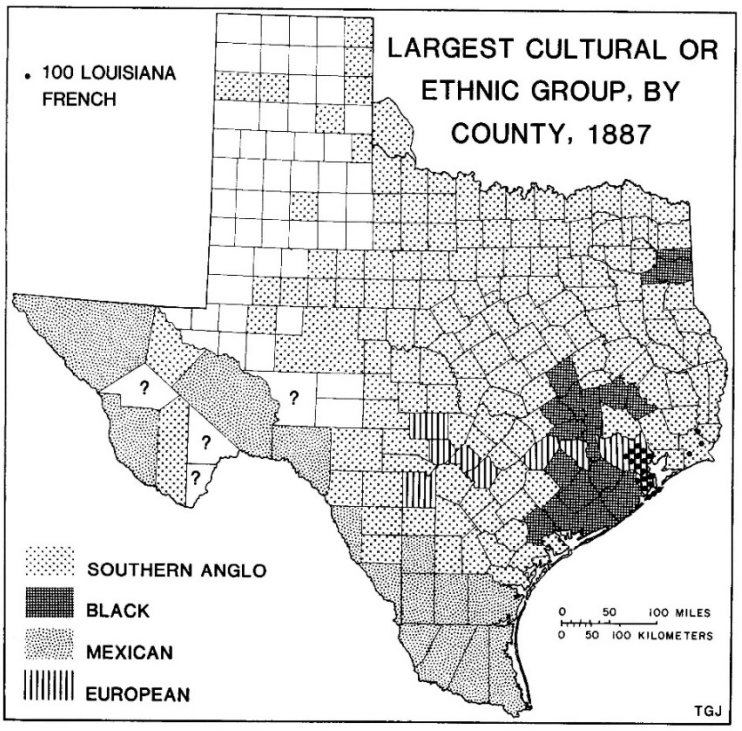
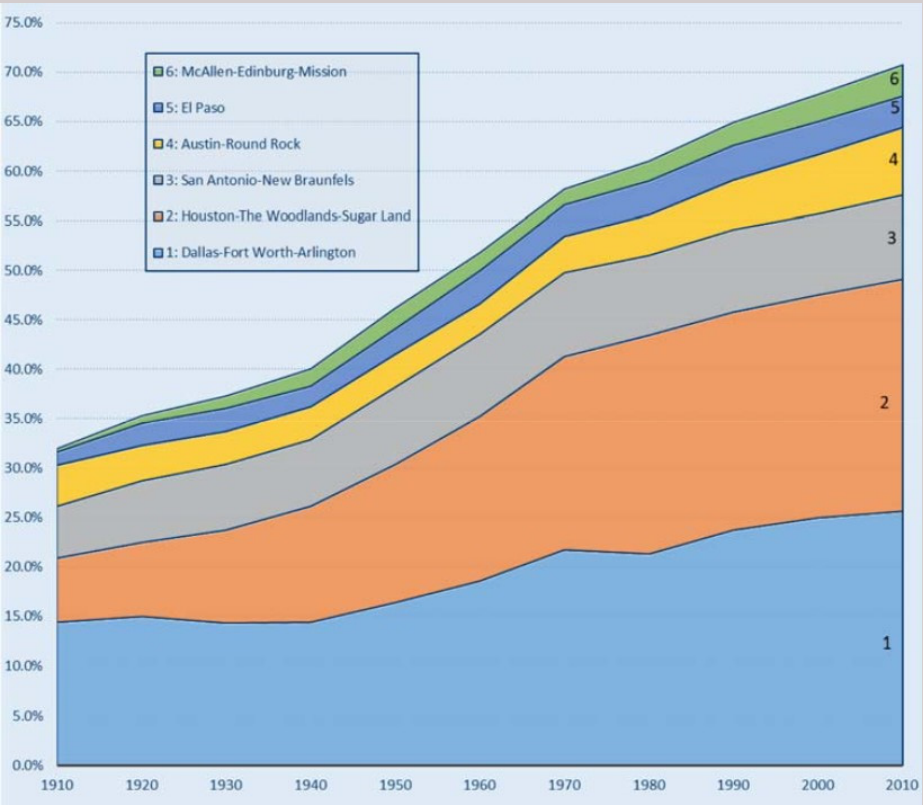


Figure 4

At the golden jubilee of Texas independence, the Anglo host culture enjoyed, proportionately and areally, its finest hour. Louisiana French were interpreted to be persons of French ancestry living in the far southeastern counties. (Source: Texas State Census of 1887, published in L. L. Foster (ed.), *First Annual Report of the Agricultural Bureau of the Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics, and History, 1887–88* [Austin, 1889], 1–249. Adjustments were made for missing data for Encinal County and for flawed data for Gillespie County on the basis of manuscript population schedules of the 1880 U.S. census and the published 1890 U.S. census, *Population of the United States, 1890* [Washington, D.C., 1894].)

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Graph II-2. Graph showing the percent of the Texas population living in the six largest Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) by decade. Source: "Urban Texas," Texas Demographic Center, accessed March 4, 2021, https://demographics.texas.gov/Resources/publications/2017/2017_08_21_UrbanTexas.pdf.

LOCAL DEMOGRAPHICS AND SETTLEMENT IN DALLAS

OVERVIEW OF DEMOGRAPHICS IN DALLAS

From the time of its earliest settlement around 1840, Dallas grew continually – both in population and in land area. Prior to 1880, settlement in Dallas County remained predominantly rural, so census counts documented population on a countywide scale, showing the total population of Dallas County rising from 2,743 in 1850 to 33,482 in 1880, with the sharpest growth between 1870 and 1880 (table II-2). City-scale census counts—which began in 1880—also show continuous population growth, marked by sharp upticks between 1920 and 1930, then again between 1950 and 1960 (tables II-2 and II-5). Because of the city's location on the prairie, with few geographic barriers, the spatial growth of Dallas took on a sprawling character. The city's footprint ballooned from 9 square miles in 1890 to 378 square miles in 1980 (table II-1 and fig. II-21). The discussion below chronicles Dallas's growth in terms of both population and land area, noting the unique ethnic and cultural heritage associated with specific sectors and neighborhoods in the city.

Table II-1.City of Dallas: Territorial growth in square miles, 1890–1980.[15]

1890	1910	1930	1950	1970	1980
9	16	42	112	280	378

Learn more! *See Chapter 9 Suburbanization to learn more about the suburban growth of Dallas.*

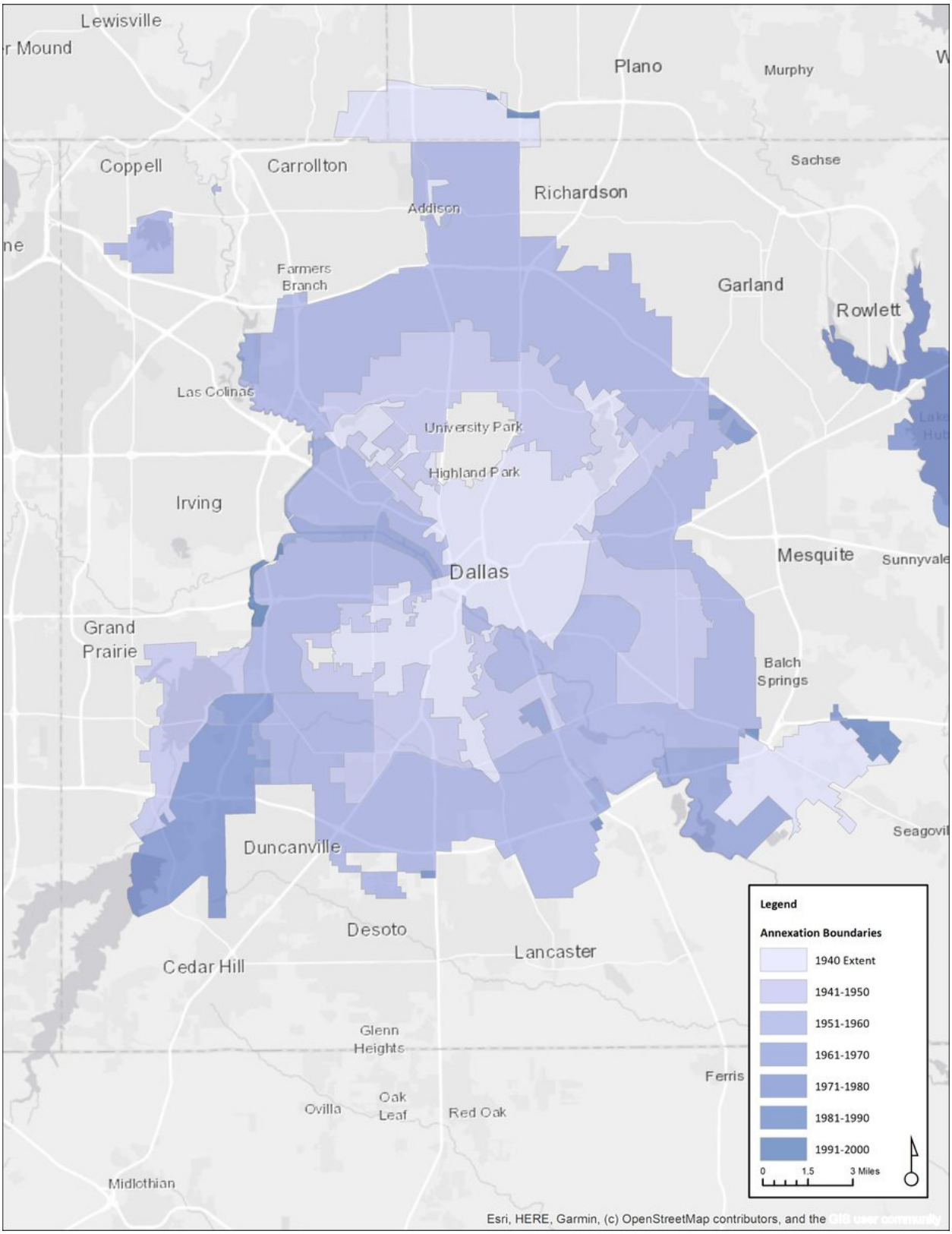


Figure II-21. Analysis of historic maps showing the growth of the City of Dallas's annexation boundaries over time. Source: Overlay by HHM, base maps from Harland Bartholomew & Associates, citing the Dallas Municipal Archives.

EARLY SETTLEMENT IN DALLAS

Prior to permanent Anglo-American settlement in the 1830s, nomadic indigenous tribes routinely traveled through the area. As described by historian Michael Hazel:

> Native Americans certainly traversed this area on hunting expeditions for thousands of years before then, but there is little evidence of prolonged encampment. Traces of conical structures typical of Caddo farm sites have been found in the Mountain Creek drainage area southwest of Dallas, and prehistoric tools and spear points have been unearthed on the edge of downtown Dallas. But such artifacts are still very rare, and knowledge about these early inhabitants of the region is scanty.[16]

The lure of land grants and economic possibility first brought permanent settlers to Dallas from the American Upland South around the 1830s, when the first sparse settlement occurred along the Trinity River. Construction of Fort Bird in northeast Tarrant County in 1841, as well as subsequent councils with local indigenous tribes, assured settlers that the area would be safe from American Indian attacks.[17] More permanent settlement around Dallas followed in the early 1840s. Around the same time, permanent agricultural development increasingly absorbed outlying areas today encompassed by the Dallas city limits. The Blackland Prairie soil in Dallas County made it especially attractive for the expansion of European American farming traditions, including cotton planting, as well as farming corn and wheat.[18]

Learn more! *Refer to Chapter 1. Geography and Topography to learn more about the natural features that influenced development of Dallas.*

Early Agricultural Communities

The earliest development of the Dallas area was characterized by agricultural land dotted with small-scale communities. Although the earliest title to the land encompassing the core of present-day Dallas dates to 1834 with the John Grigsby grant, that grant appears to have gone largely unrecognized, with others staking claim to the same land beginning in the 1840s.

The John Grigsby Survey

The early agricultural communities that sprung up in Dallas County resulted from the land grant system, but in practice, the system was chaotic and often conflicted. For example, in 1834, John Grigsby received a grant of around 4,000 acres under a policy that granted land to veterans of the Texas War for Independence, which was later surveyed and patented in 1841.[19] Grigsby's sons William and Crawford received adjacent grants for their war service.[20] Together, their grants encompassed much of the historic core of Dallas (figs. II-22 and II-23). John Grigsby moved his family from Illinois to Anderson County, Texas around 1834, but he died in 1841 and never settled on his land in Dallas County. The nine Grigsby heirs received equal title to their father's land in Anderson County courts in 1848, but none of them ever settled in the Dallas area. Meanwhile, other homesteaders staked claims on the land, and none of the Grigsby heirs were present to defend their title.[21] When the Grigsby heirs attempted to reclaim title to their Dallas lands between 1888 and 1892, the Texas Supreme Court upheld homesteaders' rights, and no Grigsby heir received title to any land.[22]



Figure II-22. Detail of an 1855 map showing land grants in the area that would become Dallas. Source: J. H. Swindell, *Dallas County* [map] (n.p., August 14, 1855), from The Portal to Texas History, crediting Texas General Land Office, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth88480/m1/1.

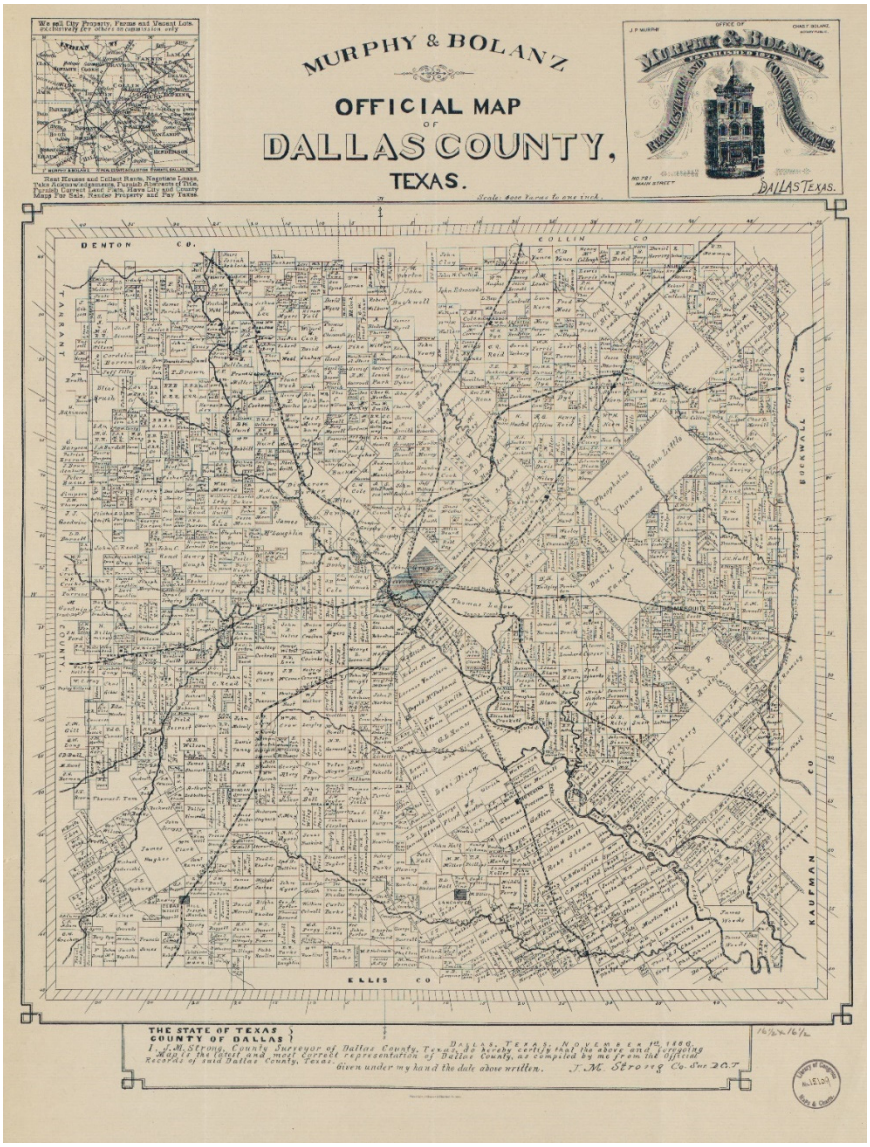


Figure II-23. Detail of a map showing land ownership in Dallas in 1886. Note parcels owned by Grigsby (center), J.N. Bryan (just south of center), Hord (south), and Miller (far south), plus smaller towns now encompassed by Dallas. Source: J. M. Strong and Murphy & Bolanz, *Official map of Dallas County, Texas* (Dallas: Murphy & Bolanz, 1886), from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2005625350/.

Before his death, John Grigsby did sell around 160 acres to Dr. John Cole, which formed the core of the early agricultural community of Cedar Springs, located in the present-day Oak Lawn area of North Dallas. By the early 1840s, Cedar Springs included Cole's medical practice, a store also owned by Cole, "a gristmill, a blacksmith, and a Gold and Donaldson distillery. The community also had a school called Cedar Springs Institute."[23] An example of an apparently overlapping claim placed on the Grigsby land is the Peters Colony, founded in the 1840s. One early settler who arrived in the area around this time was John Neely Bryan, who later founded the City of Dallas.

John Neely Bryan: Founder of Dallas

In 1839 a Tennessee-born trader named John Neely Bryan staked a claim to land on a bluff on the east bank of the Trinity River, near a river ford. (See fig. II-23.) To do so, Bryan simply "[marked] his claim with a stick and some stones."[24] Around 1841, he constructed a log cabin reflecting the construction traditions of his Tennessee home (1926 replica extant and designated an RTHL, fig. II-24).[25] Bryan went on to operate a ferry across the Trinity, eventually serving as postmaster in the Republic of Texas. After Texas joined the US in 1845, Bryan also lobbied to make his town the seat of Dallas County, donating the land for the county courthouse.[26] Later in life, Bryan sold much of his property and lived in Dallas only sporadically, seeking gold in California and Mexico, and living with the Creek Nation for six years to evade the law after shooting a man. Surviving historic documents show that Bryan rented slave labor, and in the Civil War he served in the Confederate calvary. When in Dallas, Bryan would reengage

with civic affairs, including encouraging railroad construction in the late 1860s and early 1870s. By 1874, though, Bryan entered confinement in the State Lunatic Asylum in Austin, where he died in 1877.[27]



Figure II-24. Current photo of the reconstruction of John Neely Bryan's 1841 log cabin. Source: HHM, 2020.

In addition to independent settlers, many people came to the Dallas area with larger groups or colonies. A Kentucky native, W. S. Peters, formed the Texan Land and Immigration Company around 1840. Between 1841 and 1843, the Republic of Texas granted the Texan Land and Immigration over 10 million acres, encompassing most of Dallas County (except a "ten-mile strip along the eastern edge") plus portions of surrounding counties (fig. II-25).[28] Advertised both in the US and Europe, the Peters Colony ultimately attracted around 3,000 settlers of Anglo-American, English, European American, and European descent. These settlers spread out on large farm tracts (640 or 320 acres) across approximately 2,500 square miles.[29] One example of a settler who came to the Dallas area as part of the Peters Colony was a farmer and enslaver named William H. Hord. The Hord family came from Tennessee and settled south of present-day downtown near the present-day location of East Oak Cliff, where they founded the rural community of "Hord's Ridge" (fig. II-23).[30] The family brought the construction traditions of the upland south, building "a log cabin, which was the first permanent structure in the area, on a hill overlooking the west bank of the Trinity River" which is an extant Recorded Texas Historic Landmark (fig II-26). A number of similar cabins likely housed the enslaved people who worked on Hord's property.[31] William H. Hord received his official grant of 640 acres in 1852 upon attesting that he had met all stipulations of permanent settlement required by the Texan Land and Immigration Company.[32] Although Hord enslaved people, this was rare among settlers in Dallas County in the 1840s, most of whom came from the upland south. As described by historian Michael Hazel:

> According to the Federal Census, in 1850 there were 207 slaves in Dallas County. They were owned by 56 individuals—or 2 percent of the white population of 2,536. Most slave owners were engaged in agriculture, although slaves were also owned by two lawyers, two physicians, two wagon makers, two merchants, one inn keeper, and one tailor. The majority of slave owners possessed fewer than four slaves; only thirteen owned more than ten, and none owned more than twenty.[33]

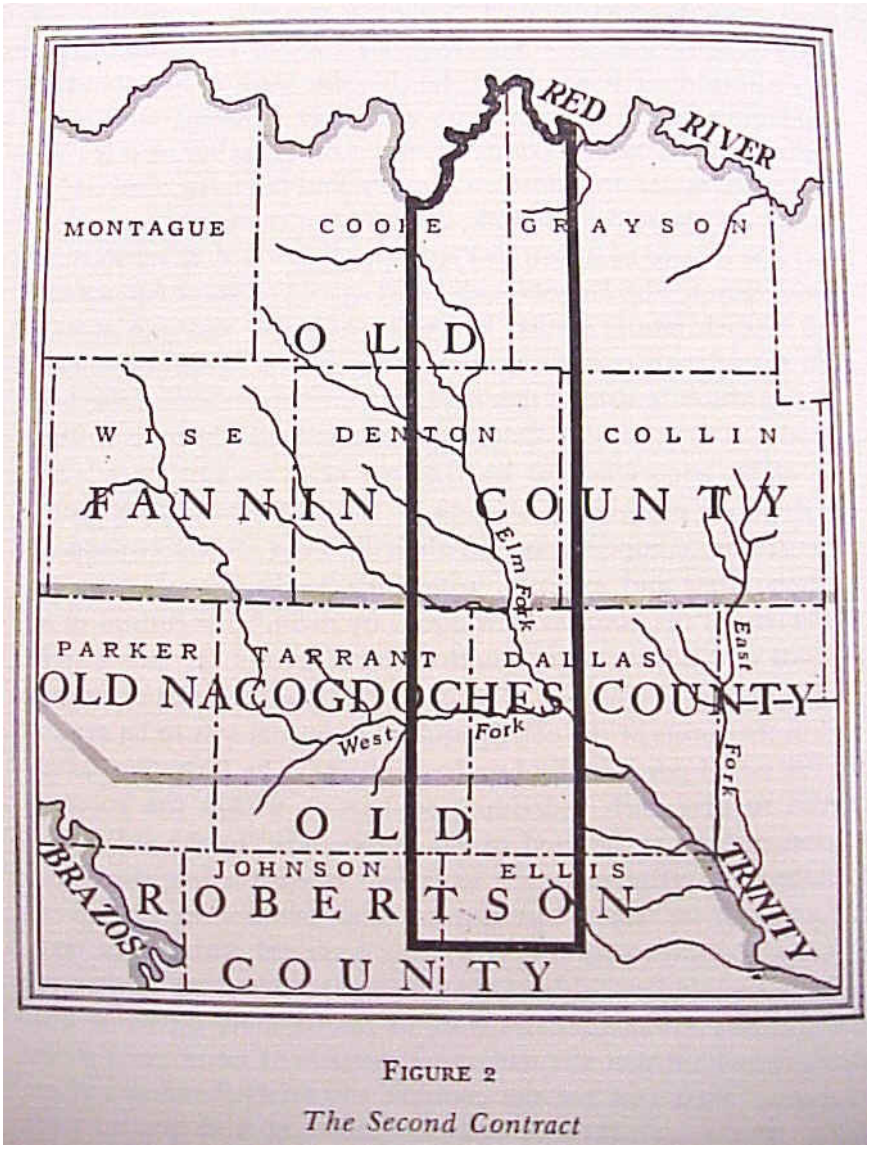


FIGURE 2

The Second Contract

Figure II-25. Map illustrating the Peters Colony in 1841. Source: *The Peters Colony of Texas* [map], 1841, from Hometown by Handlebar, https://hometownbyhandlebar.com/?p=8097.



Figure II-26. Photo of the 1845 Hord Cabin, taken in 1976. Source: Stan Kline and Michael D. Yancey, [Hord Log Cabin], photograph, August 10, 1976, Portal to Texas History, crediting Texas Historical Commission, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth684385.

After 1853, the State of Texas also allowed land grants on unsettled portions of the Peter's Colony, and other early land grants were resold. An example of a colony from this period, La Réunion (also known as the "Old French Colony"), brought French, Belgian, Swiss (namesake of Swill Avenue), and Alsatian immigrants to settle near Dallas. A French agent named François Cantagrel purchased the land rather than receiving a land grant.[34] Around 200 colonists reached the Dallas area in 1855, settling along the southwestern bank of the Trinity River, near present-day Fish Trap Lake Park and south to present-day Stevens Park Golf Course, where they attempted to create a utopian socialist community. Although the community dispersed by 1860, a number of the members who remained in the Dallas area became prominent and influential citizens.[35] For example, natural scientists Jacob Boll and Julien Reverchon (namesake of Reverchon Park) gained nationwide recognition for their work, geologist Pere Frichot made important advancements to brickmaking in Dallas, and Françoise Santerre and Emil Remond made influential agricultural advances.[36] The traditional French building techniques brought by the La Réunion colonists also impacted architecture in Dallas. As described by historian Donald J. Kagay:

> The rapid building method of filling wooden boxes with crushed stones, stacking those containers like cinder blocks, and then stuccoing the resulting rough-hewn wall formed by this method was much admired by Dallasites and was used in the construction of houses throughout the city during the late-nineteenth century.[37]

The 1850s also brought an increase in slaveholding to Dallas County, with the countywide African American population increasing five-fold between 1850 and 1860 (table II-2). The agriculture enterprises in Dallas County grew larger in scale, with cotton planting playing an increased role. A map from 1855 shows many of the largest parcels fronting the Trinity River and its tributaries, which would have provided the richest soil and best irrigation for large-scale planting (fig. II-22). One example of a plantation from this era was established in 1855 by William Brown Miller, who moved from Missouri to Texas and established a cotton plantation in present-day South Dallas (near the extant Miller Family Cemetery at 2907 King Cole Drive).[38] Miller apparently purchased his land rather than receiving a land grant.[39] Between 1855 and 1862, the Miller family constructed a plantation house known as "Millermore" (fig. II-27, extant, relocated to the Dallas Heritage Village in 1966). Meanwhile, the

enslaved people on the property lived in minimal log cabins – one of which remains extant today as a rare surviving dwelling that housed enslaved persons in Texas (fig. II-28, also relocated to the Dallas Heritage Village).



Figure II-27. Photograph of the relocated Millermore plantation house, along with the small cabin to the left that housed enslaved workers. Although the date of the photo is unknown, it is some time after the buildings were relocated in the 1970s. Note that the original spatial relationship between the main house and cabin likely was lost when the buildings were relocated. Source: Texas Historical Commission, [Millermore Building], photograph, date unknown, Portal to Texas History, crediting Texas Historical Commission, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth682997.



Figure II-28. Photo of the Miller Cabin, which historically housed enslaved people working on the Millermore plantation. The building was relocated and opened in Dallas Heritage Village in 1969. Source: "Slave Dwellings Project Comes to North Texas," Dallas Truth, Racial Healing, and Transformation, published March 2, 2019, https://dallastrht.org/event/slave-dwelling-project-comes-to-north-texas/.

Early Urbanization

The core of urban Dallas emerged around 1841 on land granted to John Neely Bryan, located just south of the John Grigsby grant at a high point on the eastern banks of the Trinity River (figs. II-22 and II-23). Bryan settled on the site around 1839, and the official grant of 640 acres came to him as part of the Peters Colony in 1843.[40] With the construction of Fort Bird in 1841, the Republic of Texas also commissioned William G. Cooke to survey the Preston Trail to improve access to the fort. The Preston Trail happened to travel through Bryan's land. As the population in the area increased, Bryan saw the

opportunity for a town on his land and encouraged other settlers to move nearby, even offering free town lots to married couples. By 1842, the settlement on the eastern bluff of the Trinity River (at the western end of present-day downtown) became known as "Dallas," but it still lacked a formal plat or street grid.[41] In 1844, Bryan engaged J. P. Dumas to develop the original plat for the town (fig. II-29).[42] The site retained as the courthouse square—bound by Main Street, Jefferson Street, Commerce Street, and Houston Street—became the core of downtown Dallas.

> ***Learn more!*** *Additional background about the original town plat for Dallas may be found in Chapter 6. Urban Planning.*

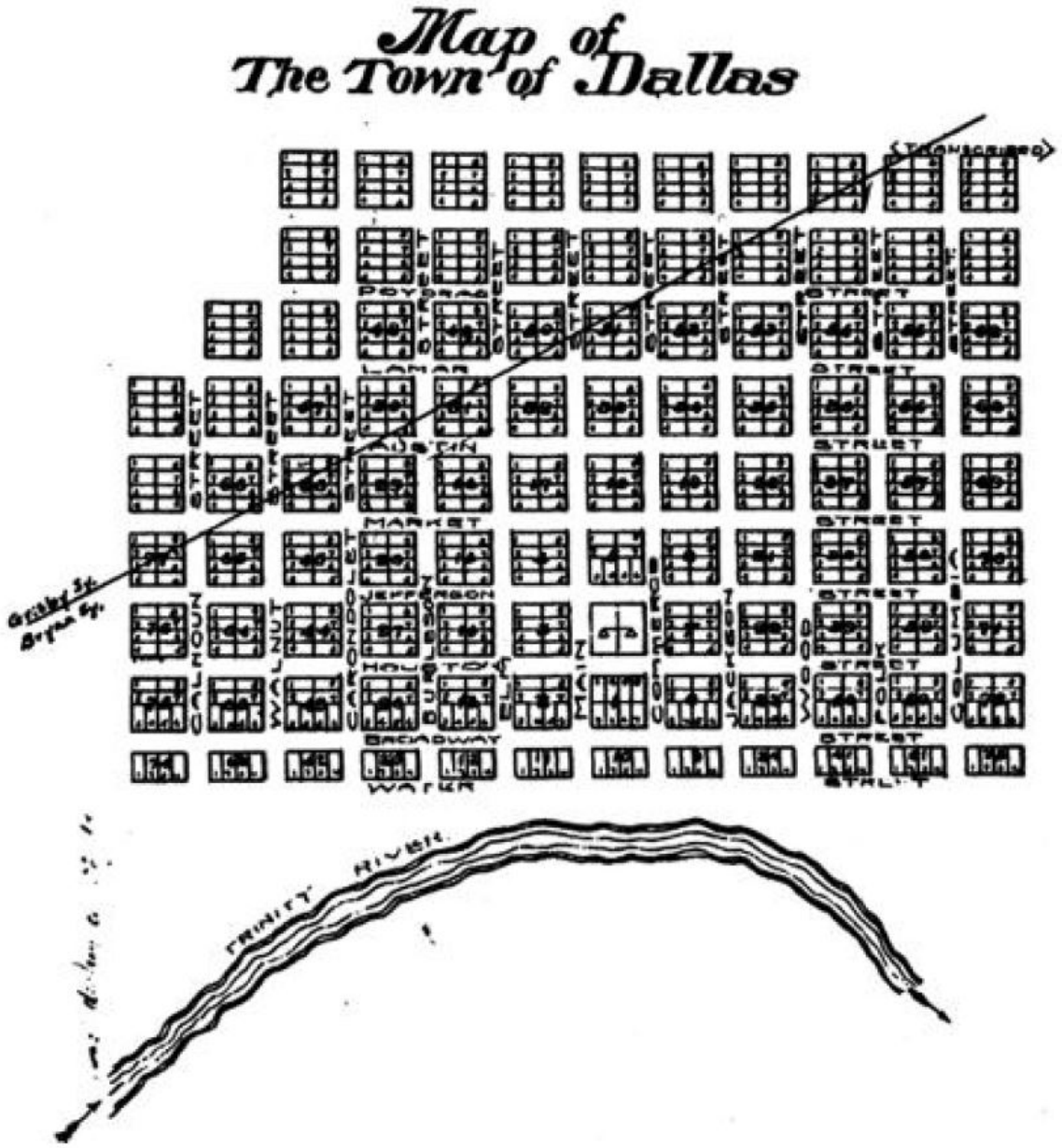
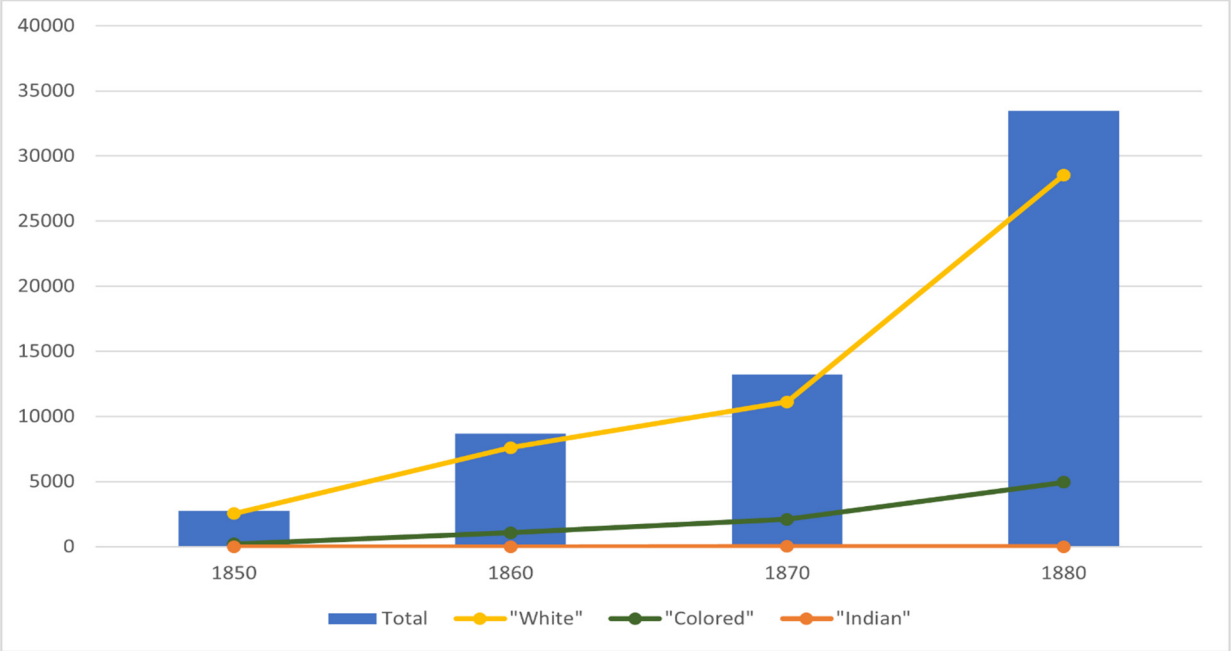


Figure II-29. Plat map of Dallas from around 1850. This plat likely closely resembles the original 1844 town plat. Source: Jennifer Anderson, "Sarah Horton Cockrell – Dallas' Wealthiest Early Business Leader," City of Dallas Office of Historic Preservation, posted March 19, 2019, crediting the Dallas Municipal Archives, https://cityofdallaspreservation.wordpress.com/tag/john-neely-bryan/.

In 1852, Bryan sold the undeveloped portions of his land and his ferry business to Missouri natives Alexander and Sarah Cockrell – prominent business owners with interests in farming, grist milling, livestock, freighting, lumbering, sawmilling, and brick-making. They also constructed a new toll bridge and causeway to connect Dallas with Hord's Ridge (present-day Oak Cliff), and the bridge is shown on maps from 1855 (fig. II-22). The Cockrells' enterprising work helped make subsistence and construction on the Dallas frontier more achievable for the new settlers they hoped to attract. Between 1853 and 1857, the Cockrells also constructed a number of houses, commercial buildings, and a hotel.[43] After Alexander's death in 1858, Sarah continued the family work, completing a hotel while also maintaining the operation of other businesses.

***Table** II-2. US Census statistics for the population of Dallas County. Note that census statistics are subject to error, and census methodologies for recording race and ethnicity were inconsistent from decade to decade.*

Year	"White"	"Colored"	"Indian"	Total
1850	2,536	207	-	2,743
1860	7,591	1,074	-	8,665
1870	11,107	2,100	8	13,215
1880	28,530	4,947	5	33,482



Graph I-3. Graph documenting US Census statistics for the population of Dallas County. (Separate Census counts for the City of Dallas began in 1880.) Note that census statistics are subject to error, and census methodologies for recording race and ethnicity were inconsistent from decade to decade. Sources: US Census Bureau, "Population, by Race, Sex, and Nativity," 1880, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1-13.pdf; US Census Bureau, "Texas," 1850, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1850/1850a/1850a-36.pdf; Hazel, History of Big "D," 13.

***Learn more!** Explore the interactive online exhibit, "What Census Calls Us," from the Pew Research Center to better understand how census methodologies changed over time.*

LATE-NINETEENTH-CENTURY GROWTH

Immigration and Migration

The population of Dallas County experienced a sudden jump between 1870 and 1880, attributed primarily to the arrival of the railroad in 1872 (table II-2). (Also see *Chapter 3. Railroads* for additional detail.) As in many Western towns, the initial population boom in Dallas in the 1870s was predominantly male and working class. Soon thereafter, the growing regional importance of Dallas as a rail crossroads led to migration of merchant-class settlers to the booming town. This group of settlers included German Jewish merchants – both recent immigrants and Jewish Americans with business experience on the East Coast. For example, brothers Alexander and Philip Sanger worked as merchants in Connecticut and New York before migrating to McKinney, Texas in 1857, opening a string of stores along rail lines beginning in 1858, and ultimately the Sanger Brothers Department Store in Dallas in 1872 (as further discussed in *Chapter 21. Retail*).[44] Many non-Jewish German immigrants arrived around the same time. A search of census records for Dallas from 1880 yields 362 German-born individuals.[45] Swiss, Italian, and Mexican immigrant entrepreneurs also arrived in Dallas in increasing numbers beginning in the 1870s. Census records from 1880 document 59 individuals born in Switzerland, 31 in Italy, and 5 in Mexico.[46] Immigration continued in the 1880s and escalated at the turn of the century (table II-3). Noteworthy establishments owned or operated by immigrants included:

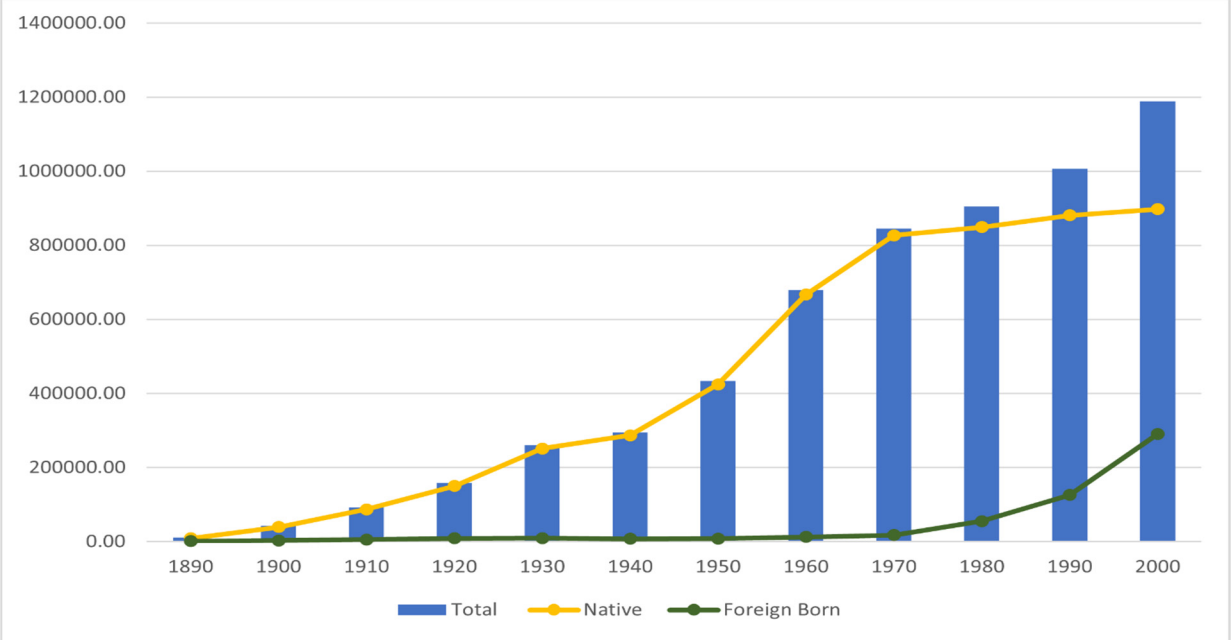
- German-owned beer gardens, breweries, ice houses, bakeries, newspapers and magazines
- Swiss dairies
- Italian groceries, food producers, newspapers, and civic organizations
- Mexican "merchants, clerks, physicians, grocers. . . vendors, cotton buyers, printers, candy manufacturers, . . . tailors, [and] tamale vendors."[47]

The same booming job market that attracted immigrants also attracted African Americans. As described by Alan B. Govenar and Jay F. Brakefield, "Black men also found jobs in the industrial area that grew up near the railroad junction, in lumber mills, meatpacking plants, oil works, waste mills, and dairies."[48] For Freedman's Town, the African American community in North Dallas, the railroad had a twofold impact. In 1872, the Houston and Texas Central Railroad (H&TC) cut through Freedmen's Town, and several years later, the Texas & Pacific Railway (T&P) laid tracks approximately one mile to the south. The arrival of the railroad not only altered the landscape of the community as new houses were erected, but it brought with it a surge in population and economic growth as hundreds of African Americans arrived to work on the railroad in a variety of positions, including laborers, teamsters, draymen, expressmen, porters, carpenters, plasterers, wood sawyers, and brickmakers.[49] Together, these immigrant and African American communities helped to build downtown Dallas, as well as the ethnic and racial nodes that gradually spread outward from Dallas's historic core.

Table II-3. *Table and graph depicting the total population and foreign-born population for the City of Dallas.*

Year	Total	Native	Foreign Born	%
1890	10,358.00	9,035.00	1,323.00	12.8%
1900	42,638.00	39,257.00	3,381.00	7.9%
1910	92,104.00	86,840.00	5,264.00	5.7%
1920	158,976.00	150,175.00	8,801.00	5.5%
1930	260,475.00	251,014.00	9,461.00	3.6%
1940	294,734.00	287,339.00	7,395.00	2.5%

1950	432,970.00	424,620.00	8,350.00	1.9%
1960	679,684.00	666,964.00	12,720.00	1.9%
1970	844,280.00	826,854.00	17,426.00	2.1%
1980	904,074.00	849,162.00	54,912.00	6.1%
1990	1,006,831.00	880,969.00	125,862.00	12.5%
2000	1,188,204.00	897,768.00	290,436.00	24.4%



Graph II-4. Graph depicting the total population and foreign-born population for the City of Dallas. Source: U.S. Census, "Nativity of the Population for Urban Places+A14 Ever Among the 50 Largest Urban Places Since 1870: 1850 to 2000," accessed February 10, 2021, https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/working-papers/2006/demo/POP-twps0081.pdf.

Learn more! *Refer to Chapter 10. Industry to learn more about the sources of jobs in Dallas.*

Spatial Growth and Diversity

Spatially, the core of early Dallas was determined by the intersection of the Trinity River and the T&P – which happened to run adjacent to the original John Neely Bryan townsite. After the arrival of the railroad, the urban fabric of Dallas began to stretch from the original townsite eastward along the rail line. Early Dallas land investors and boosters worked diligently to ensure that future railroads also selected alignments close to town. For example:

> William H. Gaston, one of the first successful bankers in Dallas, was a leading protagonist in nurturing the city as a commercial hub. In 1871, Gaston owned a 400 acre tract of land that stretched from Swiss Avenue (then called White Rock Trail) to the fair grounds. When he learned that the Houston and Texas Central Railroad (H&TC) planned to construct a main railroad eight miles east of Dallas along White Rock Creek, bypassing Bryan's fledging city, he and a bunch of friends met with the officials from the H & TC and persuaded them to lay the track closer to Dallas. Gaston and his business friends promised to improve the city's main thoroughfares (Main, San Jacinto, Gaston, Live Oak, Ross, Haskell, Hall, and Peak Streets) . . . Impressed by the civic undertakings, the H & TC changed their plans and built their rails closer to Dallas.[50]

Learn more! *Refer to Chapter 3. Railroads for a fuller description of the many impacts of railroads in Dallas.*

The H&TC reached Dallas in 1872.[51] Construction of the H&TC depot a mile east of the courthouse further encouraged development to move eastward.[52] Rapid new construction followed, with an estimated 700 buildings constructed between 1872 and 1873.[53] As late as 1885, however, most development remained within a relatively dense rectangle bound roughly by the Trinity River at the east, the T&P line at the north, the H&TC line at the east, and Jackson Street at the south (fig. II-30). Commercial and residential buildings side by side—free from zoning laws dictating land-use separation—through the end of the nineteenth century). The diverse communities of Dallas generally lived close to one another in this era, with houses and businesses intermingled and people of varied economic classes all choosing to live within walking distance to their employment. Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps from 1885 illustrate large and small dwellings grouped together on the same block as well (fig. II-31). This pattern of diverse housing stock and diverse residents continued even in the early suburbs that developed north of downtown in the 1880s, like the Overland Addition (today part of the Slate-Thomas Historic District).[54] Although these new suburban additions typically catered to middle- and upper-class European American homeowners, pockets of housing for domestic workers also sprang up within walking distance. Often these less-expensive pockets took advantage of affordable real estate near railroads or flood plains. For instance, just south of the Overland Addition, an African American district emerged along Flora Street (fig. II-32, largely redeveloped today). In the rural areas surrounding Dallas, however, one type of concentrated racial node began to emerge in the post-Civil War era: the freedom colony (further discussed below).

> ***Learn more!*** *Refer to Chapter 9. Suburbanization for additional context, as well as Chapter 7. Streetcars and Motor Trolleys and Chapter 8. Highways, Roadways, and Automobiles.*

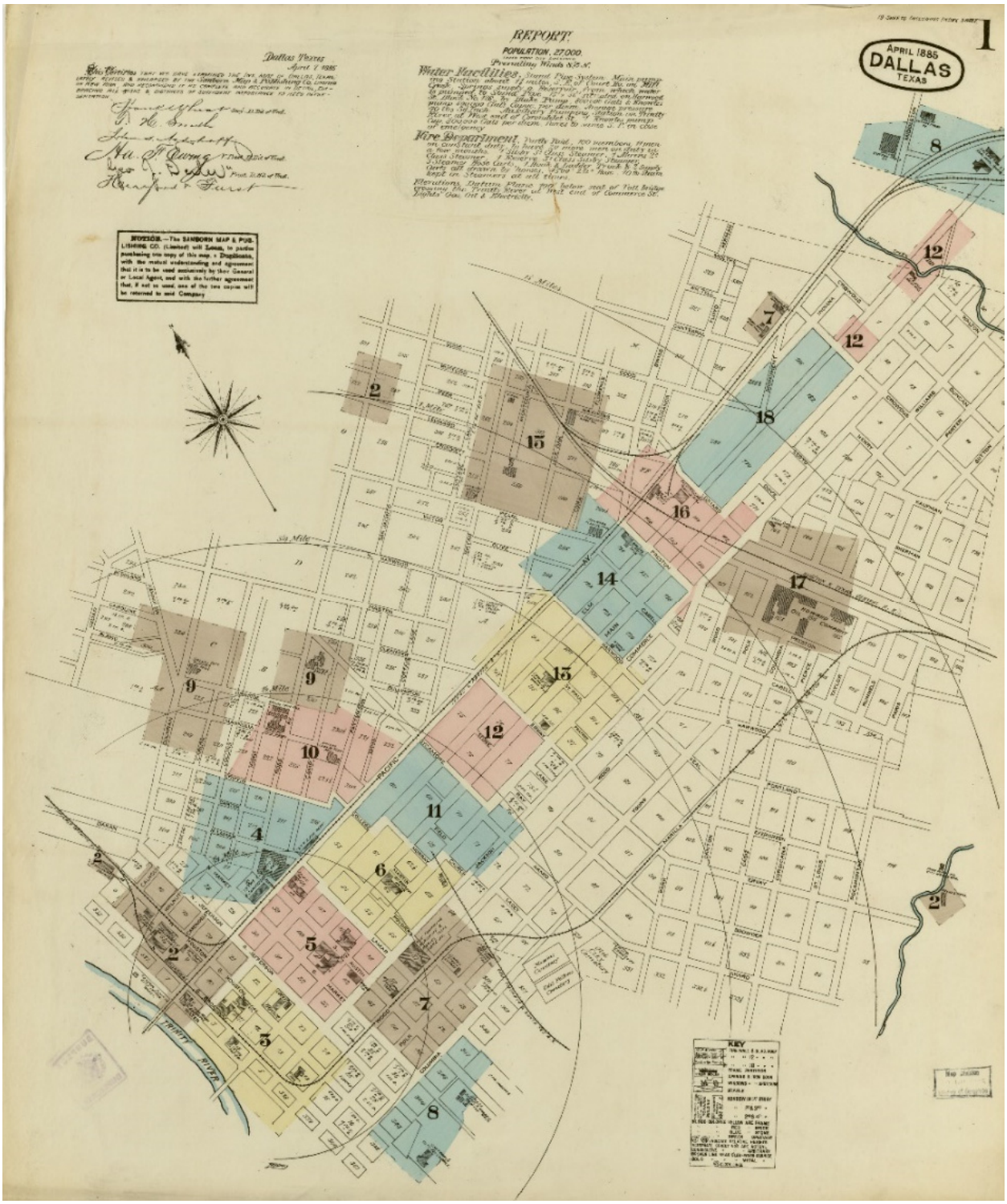


Figure II-301. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Dallas in 1885 showing rail expansion downtown. Source: University of Texas Libraries, https://maps.lib.utexas.edu/maps/sanborn/d-f/txu-sanborn-dallas-1885-01.jpg.

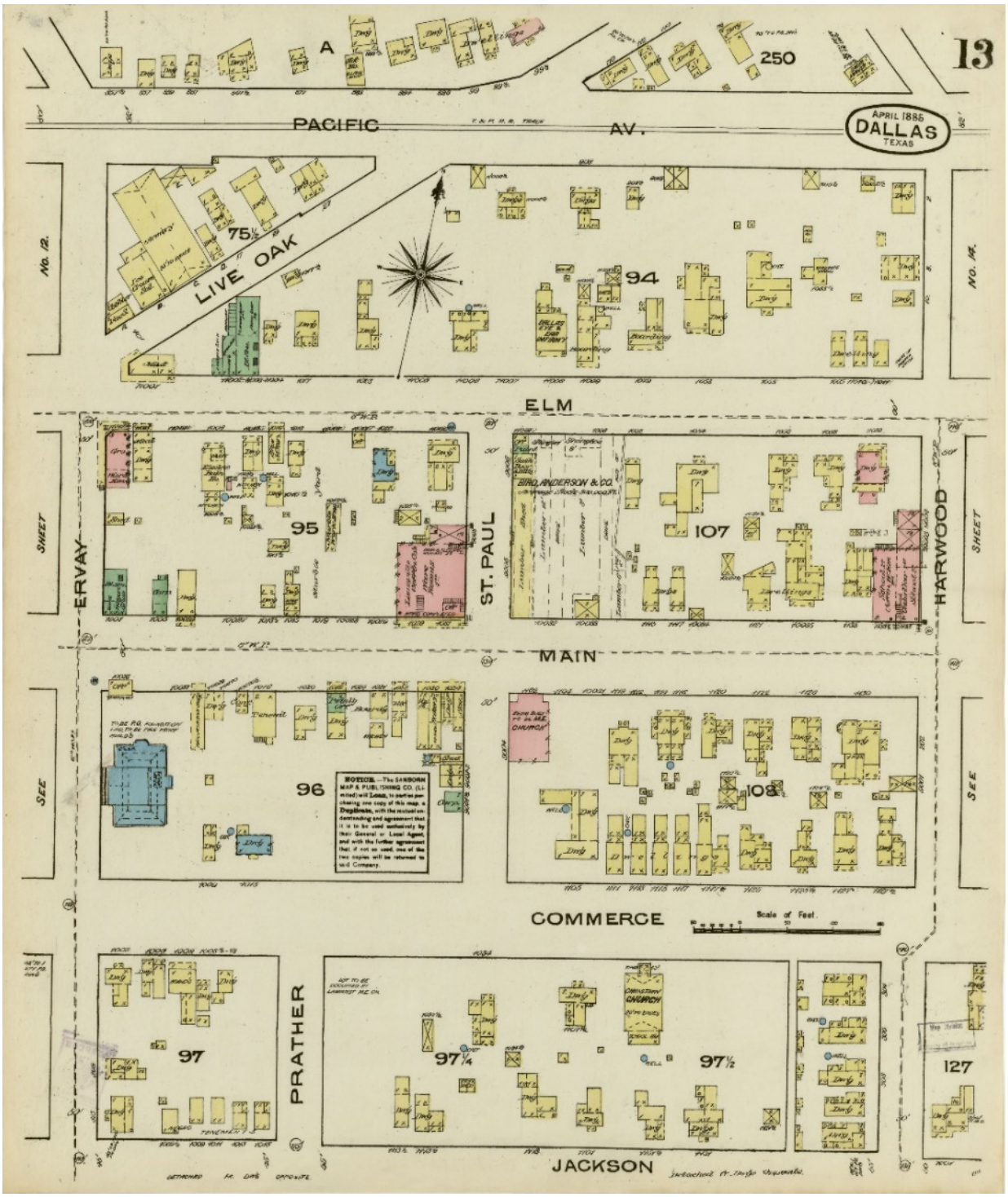


Figure II-31. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Dallas in 1885 showing intermixed residential and commercial development downtown. Source: University of Texas Libraries, https://maps.lib.utexas.edu/maps/sanborn/d-f/txu-sanborn-dallas-1885-13.jpg.

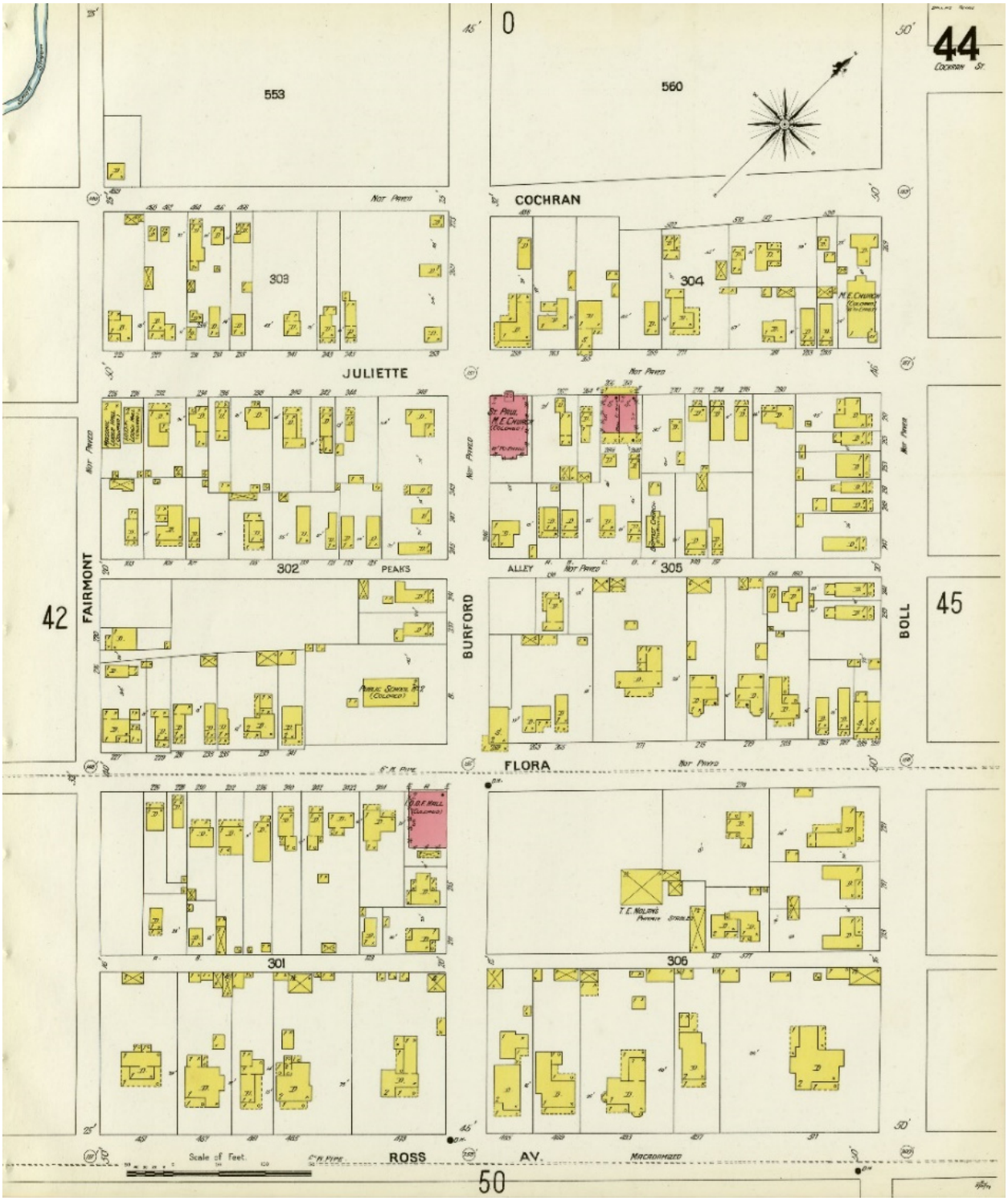


Figure II-32. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Dallas in 1899 showing the African American district along Flora Street, including the St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, a public school labeled as "colored," and an Oddfellows (O.O.F.) Hall also labelled as "colored." Source: University of Texas Libraries, https://maps.lib.utexas.edu/maps/sanborn/d-f/txu-sanborn-dallas-1899-44.jpg.

FREEDOM COLONIES IN EARLY DALLAS

Formerly enslaved African American families ". . . Aggressively pursued land ownership after the Civil War in Texas. Clusters of agrarian, land-owning settlements or "Freedom Colonies" emerged from secluded areas. . . ."[55] Sometimes, formerly enslaved individuals would pool their money to purchase the land and establish community institutions like churches and schools. Locations of known Freedom Colonies in Dallas are mapped in figure II-33. Over time, many of these communities evolved into thriving African American neighborhoods that survive today.

Considered the city's oldest Freedom Colony, Freedman's Town in near North Dallas was established in 1869 when freedmen purchased one-acre plots of land.[56] Forced to rely on themselves due to threats of violence, discrimination, and laws and ordinances that targeted African Americans in other parts of Dallas, the members of Freedman's Town created a self-sufficient and thriving community with religious and educational offerings. Over time African American dentists and doctors served the community and Black-owned stores and movie theaters opened in the twentieth century. By this time, Freedman's Town had evolved into what was known as North Dallas and into what many considered the heart of the city's African American community during its peak in the 1920s. Government-sponsored projects in the 1940s—Central Expressway and Roseland Homes—followed by the real estate and development boom in the 1970s eroded and erased much of this Black community, including its historic cemetery.

> ***Learn more!*** *Read about the history of Freedman's Town in Freedman's Cemetery: A Legacy of a Pioneer Black Community in Dallas, Texas, Volume 1 (copies available at the Dallas Public Library).*



Figure II-33. Map showing approximate locations of documented Freedom Colonies in Dallas, established after the Civil War and expanded in the 1870s and 1880s. Sources: Texas Freedom Colonies Project, accessed Feb. 4, 2021, https://tamu.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html?appid=48f89e0f870c4400a990682a09cf919f; Peter Simik, "Lost Dallas," *D Magazine*, accessed Feb. 4, 2021, https://www.dmagazine.com/publications/d-magazine/2018/march/lost-dallas-history-secrets; HHM "Tenth Street Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form. Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1994, from the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/Pages/tenth_street.aspx.

Other Freedom Colonies developed across the city, including one in the area that today encompasses the Tenth Street Historic District. Prior to the Civil War, this area was home to enslaved African

Americans owned by William H. Hord, some of whom stayed in the area after emancipation. Formerly enslaved individuals from other plantations nearby also settled in the area after the Civil War. Together, this community constructed the Sunshine Elizabeth Chapel C.M.E. Church (fig. II-34, demolished in 1996), a school, and vibrant residential and commercial districts. Into the mid-twentieth century, this neighborhood remained segregated by Jim Crow laws and contained self-sufficient businesses and professional services to serve the African American community, including doctors and lawyers. Today, this area is listed in the National Register as the Tenth Street Historic District; as well as designated as the Tenth Street Historic District Freedman's Community by the City of Dallas.



Figure II-34. Photo of the 100 block of East Tenth Street, facing southwest, with Sunshine Elizabeth Chapel C.M.E Church in the background. Only the house at the far left remains extant today. Source: HHM, "Tenth Street Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form. Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1994.

The Joppa Community

The community of Joppa in southeast Dallas also illustrates this trend. Workers from the nearby Miller plantation formed the core of Joppa's earliest community.

> Joppa, sometimes spelled Joppee, or Joppie, is Hebrew for "beautiful" or "new beginnings." It is north of I-45 and Highway 12, between the Trinity River & Union Pacific rail lines, w/ Great Trinity Forest just to the east & Joppa Preserve to the south. Joppa is primarily shotgun houses that have stood in the neighborhood for generations. The land where Joppa currently sits was once inhabited by Native American tribes. Henry Critz Hines was an enslaved person sent as property from Missouri or Alabama to Texas for protection until the end of the Civil War. After Emancipation, many formerly enslaved peoples who had been on the Miller Plantation stayed in the area. Henry Critz Hines settled in Joppa. Soon after other formerly enslaved persons at the Miller Plantation or other E. Texas plantations came & settled in the area. In 1888, Henry Critz, the founder of Joppa, was living in nearby Millers Switch.[57]

By 1900, a map of the Joppa area showed homes and churches clustered near the railroad line (fig. II-35). Extant cultural resources that continue to document the legacy of the Joppa Freedom Colony include the New Zion Missionary Baptist Church, established in 1882 and relocated to 7814 Hull Street in 1888 (existing building constructed in 1960), as well as the circa 1952 Melissa Pierce School at 7822 Hull Avenue.[58]



Figure II-35. Clip of a 1900 map showing development in the Joppa area. Note that the presence of the rail lines and converging creeks likely made the property affordable for development of a Freedom Colony. Source: *Sam Street's map of Dallas County, Texas* [Map] (Dallas, Tex.: Sam Street, 1900), from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2005625344/, reproduced in "Joppa Neighborhood Stories," published July 3, 2020, bc: buildingcommunityWORKSHOP, https://www.bcworkshop.org/posts/joppa-neighborhood-stories.

Immigrant Enclaves

As the city's territory expanded in the late nineteenth century, immigrant communities gradually clustered together to build distinct ethnic enclaves. For example, the Sanger Brothers and many of their merchant-class Jewish contemporaries constructed homes and synagogues in a new residential district known as The Cedars, located immediately south of downtown.[59]

> ***Learn more!*** *See the Dallas Public Library online exhibit of historic photos of The Cedars at https://dallaslibrary2.org/dallashistory/photogallery/cedars.php.*

By the 1890s, the prosperous Jewish community in The Cedars continued to expand southward into Colonial Hill.[60] While established merchants could afford property downtown, Jewish merchants just starting out tended to opt for more affordable commercial real estate in Deep Ellum. These middle-class Jewish merchants built homes on less-desirable land located north of downtown near the Trinity River, known as "Frogtown because it was inundated with frogs fleeing to higher ground when the nearby Trinity River flooded."[61]

A few Italian immigrants also lived in this area. A sampling of census entries from 1880 shows that many other Italian immigrants lived downtown or in Deep Ellum, often above their shops or in multi-family properties like boarding houses. Italian enclaves also existed in Freedmantown/North Dallas.

The area north of downtown also became home to Mexican, Italian, and Greek immigrants. A new enclave known as "Little Mexico" or "El Barrio" emerged around the old Frogtown area, "bordered by Oak Lawn Avenue to the north, McKinney Avenue to the south, the Missouri, Kansas and Texas railroad to the west, and Maple Avenue to the east." [62] By the 1890s, Dallas also established two segregated schools for Mexican American children – Cumberland Hill School at 1901 North Akard Street (extant, City of Dallas historic landmark) and William B. Travis Elementary at 3001 McKinney Avenue (extant but building replaced around 1950).[63]

> ***Learn more!*** *See the City of Dallas Cumberland Hill School Landmark Nomination Form at https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/Pages/cumberland_hill_school.aspx.*

EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY CHANGE

Demographic Diversity

The population of Dallas County remained predominantly "Old Stock Anglo American" throughout the early twentieth century, but the minority and immigrant populations steadily grew and diversified (fig. II-19 and tables II-3-5,). The global political unrest of the day fueled immigration. Around the same time, the 1920s boll weevil infestation decimated the cotton industry and drove Black cotton farmers and laborers to look for industrial work in cities – a trend that was compounded by the growth of large-scale corporate farming and the decline in the sharecropping system with the introduction of mechanized agricultural tools beginning in the 1930s.[64] Increased population diversity collided with zoning ordinances mandating spatial separation of land uses and racial segregation.

> ***Learn more!*** *The urban plans and zoning ordinances that dictated land-use separation in Dallas are detailed in Section 6. Urban Planning.*

***Table** II-4. Counts of birthplace in census records, 1900–1940.* [65]

Birthplace	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Germany	1,110	1,480	1,180	1,185	1,024
Switzerland	146	185	170	168	125
Italy	169	343	582	566	451
Greece	7	78	279	234	207
Syria	1	9	39	65	80
Mexico	47	148	2,337	3,061	2,467
China	20	15	11	14	39
Japan	3	20	41	39	23

Economic Class Separation among White Neighborhoods

Until about 1910, residential neighborhoods maintained the diversified land-use patterns that characterized the nineteenth century – with industrial owners and managers living close to their places of work and near their laborers, albeit in larger and more elaborate houses. After about 1910, neighborhoods began to segregate along class lines. Given the flood-prone nature of Trinity River, higher elevations became most desirable. Neighborhoods with tighter development restrictions also became more desirable and thus more expensive to live in. This largely reflected American homebuyers' dependence on mortgages by the 1930s and lending institutions' perceptions that restrictions would yield safer investments.

> ***Learn more!*** *For more background on the history of mortgage lending in America, read "The American Mortgage in Historical and International Context" by Richard K. Green and Susan M. Wachter, available online at https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1000&context=penniur_papers.*

Early upper-class residential neighborhoods began developing around 1910 on high ground northeast of downtown Dallas. (See *Chapter 1. Geography and Topography* for topographic maps.) One of the earliest examples was the Junius Heights addition, bound by Gaston, Paulus, Reiger, and North Henderson Avenues. Advertisements for the new neighborhood "expounded on the virtues of the 'altitude' of Junius Heights which would have a 'direct and unequivocal bearing on your selection of a home site.'"[66] Between 1910 and 1920, however, restrictions became more indicative of property value than elevation. Upper-class families increasingly clustered in subdivisions with tighter development restrictions, like Munger Place, located adjacent to Junius Heights in East Dallas, roughly bound by Gaston, North Henderson, Columbia, North Fitzhugh Avenues.[67] Around the same time, suburban "bubble cities" in north Dallas like Highland Park and University Park layered on even more restrictions

by creating entirely separate municipal governments, zoning ordinances, taxing entities, and school districts.

> ***Learn more!*** *Refer to Chapter 6. Urban Planning and Chapter 9. Suburbanization for additional background on "bubble city" suburbs within Dallas.*

In turn, older neighborhoods without development restrictions became more consistently middle class or working class. Older neighborhoods declined in value as wealthy residents moved to newer suburbs with more restrictions. This trend especially impacted areas in South Dallas like The Cedars and Colonial Hill, which had been exclusive, upper-class neighborhoods in the nineteenth century. Real estate developers further encouraged this trend by constructing new working-class subdivisions nearby. For example:

> Immediately to the east of the earliest Colonial Hill subdivisions on Pennsylvania, Peabody and Birmingham streets, hundreds of modest four and five room houses emerged between 1902 and 1930 to house clerical and managerial families, many of whom worked for the merchants and factory owners." [68]

Industry leaders worked together to promote working-class housing in South Dallas as well, especially since the area was accessible by streetcar for easy transportation to a wide variety of jobs. As described in the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form for East and South Dallas, "Mill organizers, including vice-president, Alex Sanger, collaborated with real estate developers to build workers' cottages in the new additions."[69] The affordability of South Dallas also attracted new urban migrants from East Texas—both African American and White—seeking new jobs in the wake of the disintegration of the sharecropping system.[70]

Evolution of Ethnic Enclaves

As new groups of immigrants and minorities moved to Dallas, they settled in or near the ethnic enclaves and freedom colonies formed in the nineteenth century. In part, this was because these neighborhoods included familiar religious and cultural institutions, as well as helpful social outreach organizations. Also, though, Dallas's urban plans and zoning ordinances forced immigrants and minorities into these areas since they tended to use existing demographics as a foundation when delineating zoning. Mortgage lenders and real estate agents also reinforced spatial segregation.

> ***Learn more!*** *Find interactive versions of maps of perceived lending risk published by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) in 1938 from the University of Richmond Digital Scholarship Lab at https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=15/32.688/-96.879&city=dallas-tx.*

The cultural character of existing ethnic enclaves began to evolve, reflecting the different waves of immigration shown in table II-4. The Deep Ellum and South Dallas areas, for example, provided economic opportunity for a variety of immigrant groups. The Park Row area of South Dallas accommodated much of the growth in the Jewish American community in the city in the early twentieth century (fig. II-36).[71] Alongside longstanding Jewish-owned businesses, Italian immigrants established bakeries and groceries, while Greek immigrants established cafés.[72] For example, the Campisi family immigrated via New Orleans in 1904 and settled in Dallas, opening their first restaurant north of downtown at Knox and McKinney Streets in 1946 (original restaurant no longer extant, but multiple other locations in operation today).[73]



Figure II-36. Aerial photograph of South Dallas in 1930, labelled with the following resources:

1. Forest Avenue (Section renamed Martin Luther King Boulevard); 2. Grand Avenue; 3. Second Avenue; 4. Southern Pacific Railroad - Texas and New Orleans Railroad; 5. Houston and Texas Central Railroad; 6. Harwood; 7. South Boulevard; 8. Park Row; 9. Peabody Avenue; 10. Pennsylvania Avenue; 11. Oakland (Renamed Malcolm X Boulevard); 12. Oakland Cemetery; 13. Cowser Lumber Company; 14. J.W. Cearley and Sons - Wholesale Granite and Marble Plant; 15. "Ignorant Hill"- Alamo Hill; 16. Gulf, Colorado, and Santa Fe Railroad; 17. Forest Avenue High School (Renamed James Madison High School); 18. Texas and Pacific Railroad; 19. John Henry Brown School; 20. Cotton Bowl; 21. Birmingham Avenue; 22. Warren Avenue; 23. Tefereth Israel Congregation Synagogue; 24. Elihu; 25. Gunter Avenue; 26. Parry Avenue; 27. Oak Lane; 28. Commerce Street; 29. Exposition Avenue; 30. First Avenue; 31. Third Avenue; 32. Fourth Avenue; 33. Trunk Avenue; 34. Malta; 35. Chestnut; 36. Baylor Hospital; 37. Mays Avenue; 38. Pearlstone; 39. Meyers Street; 40. Jeffries Street; 41. Merlin Alley; 42. Cuero Court; 43. Dawson Street; 44. Ash Lane; 45. Medill Street; 46. Meadow Street; 47. Clarence Street; 48. Coombs Street; 49. Logan Street; 50. Gladys; 51. Cranfill; 52. Myrtle Street; 53. Atlanta Street; 54. Harrison Avenue; 55. Latimer Street; 56. Kimble Street; 57. Edgewood Street; 58. Bourbon Street; 59. Orleans Street; 60. Ferris Street; 61. Hickory Street; 62. Louise Avenue; 63. Fitzhugh Avenue; 64. Alamo School; 65. Thos C. Hassell School; 66. Wheatley School; 67. Ash Lane; 68. Queen City Neighborhood

Source: Fairchild Aerial Surveys, Inc., *South Dallas* (Labeled) [photo], 1930, SMU Libraries Digital Collections, crediting the Edwin J. Foscue Map Library, Southern Methodist University, https://digitalcollections.smu.edu/digital/collection/dmp/id/163.

The Mexican immigrant community's growth quickened after the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution in 1910, leading to a large population jump between 1910 and 1920 (table II-4). By 1914, many Mexican Americans congregated together at Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church on Harwood Street north of

downtown (figs. II-36 and II-37, II-39).[74] By 1916, Dallas's zoning laws officially segregated public facilities serving the Mexican community in this area. Rapid population growth and lack of access to fair mortgage lending led to substandard living conditions. Although levees were constructed along the Trinity River in 1928, smaller tributaries continued to flood, and the area stayed flood-prone throughout the twentieth century (fig. II-40).[75] As described by historian Michael Hazel:

> "In Little Mexico, the principal barrio just north of downtown, none of the streets were paved, nobody had hot water, and three-fourths of the residents lived without gas heating or indoor plumbing. Almost 60 percent of the residents lived without electricity. A 1935 study concluded that 74 percent of the houses were overcrowded, and 40 percent were "unfit for occupancy." Inevitably, contagious disease was rampant. Between 1934 and 1936, Little Mexico had the highest death rate in Dallas from tuberculosis."[76]

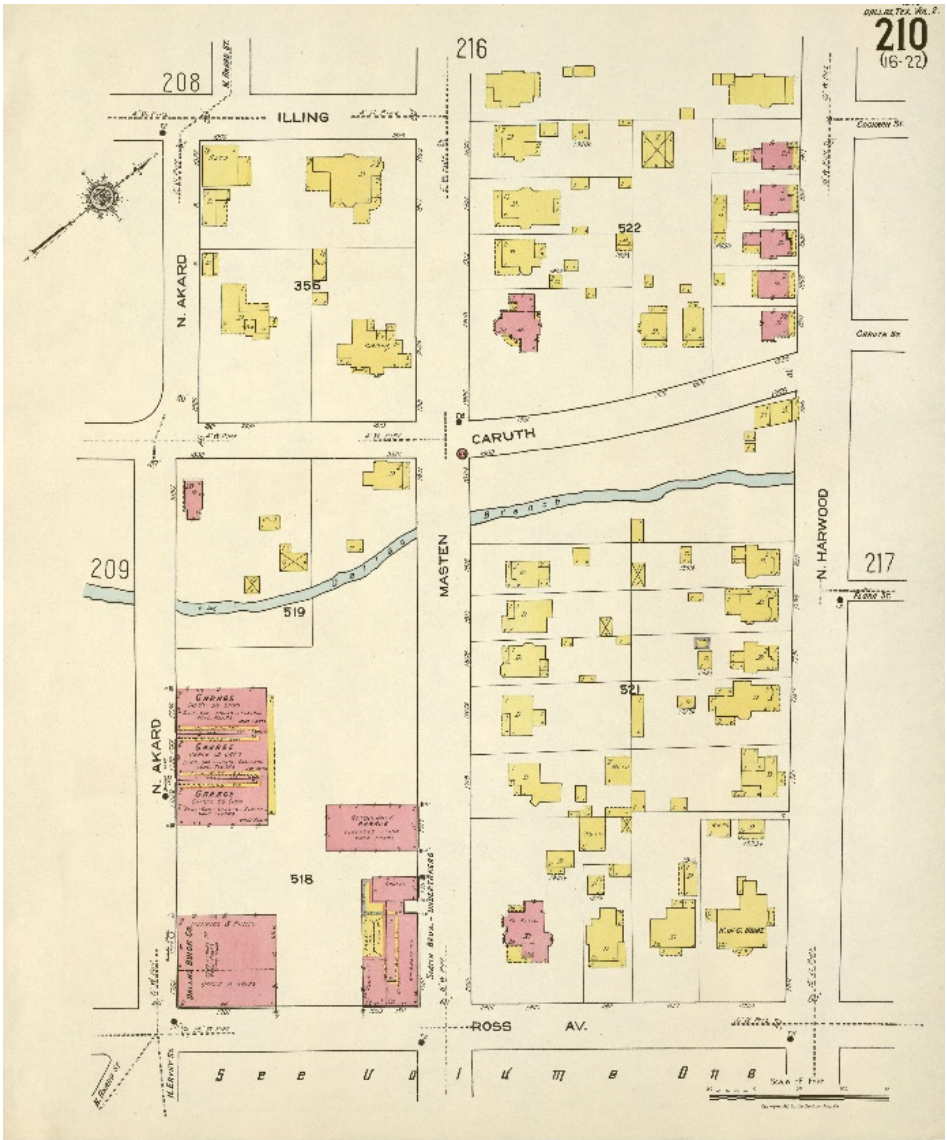


Figure II-37. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Dallas in 1921, showing the Mexican American community centered round Our Lady of Guadalupe. Source: University of Texas Libraries, https://maps.lib.utexas.edu/maps/sanborn/d-f/txu-sanborn-dallas-1921-210.jpg.

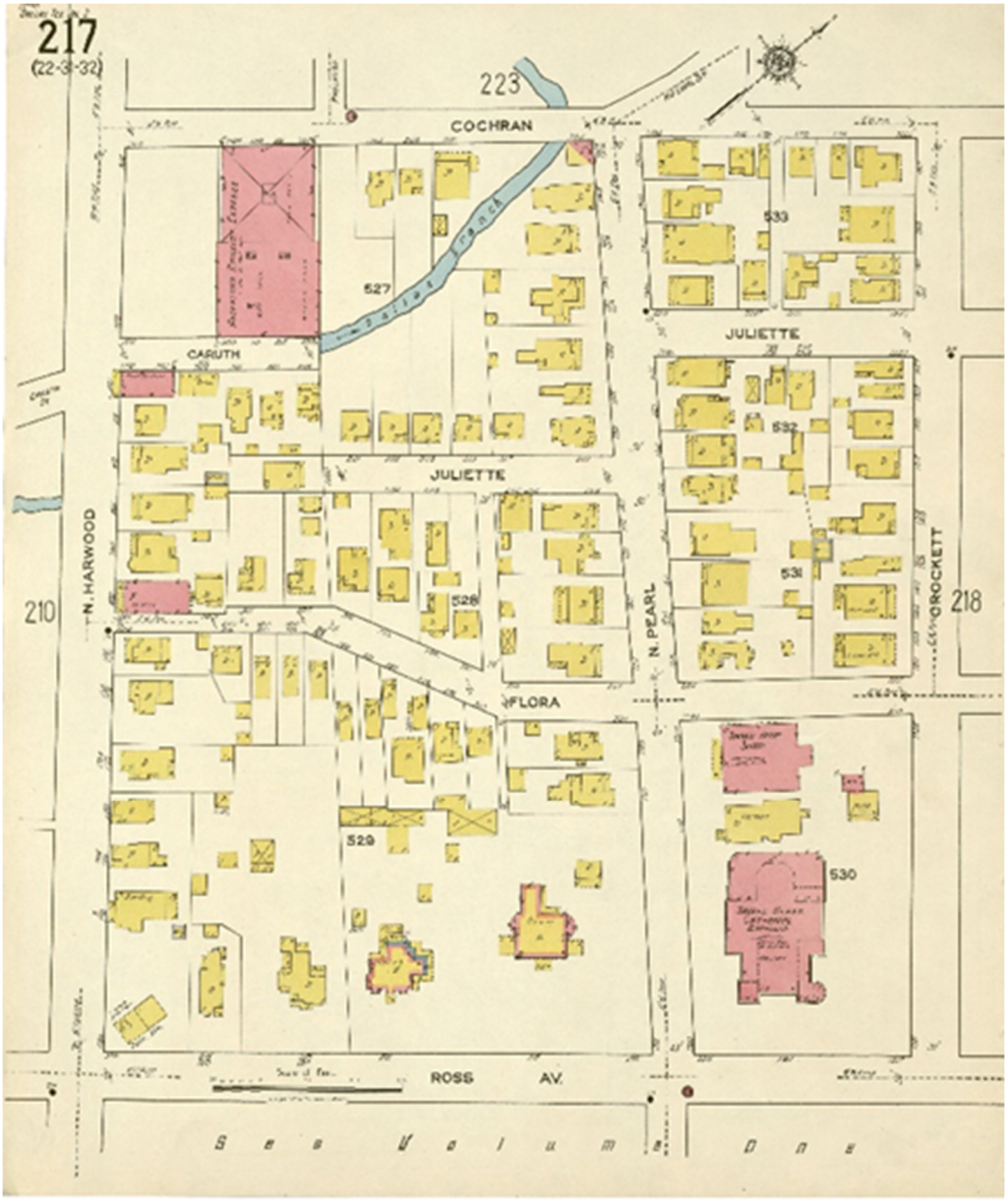


Figure II-38. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Dallas in 1921, showing the Mexican American community centered round Our Lady of Guadalupe. Source: University of Texas Libraries, https://maps.lib.utexas.edu/maps/sanborn/d-f/txu-sanborn-dallas-1921-217.jpg.

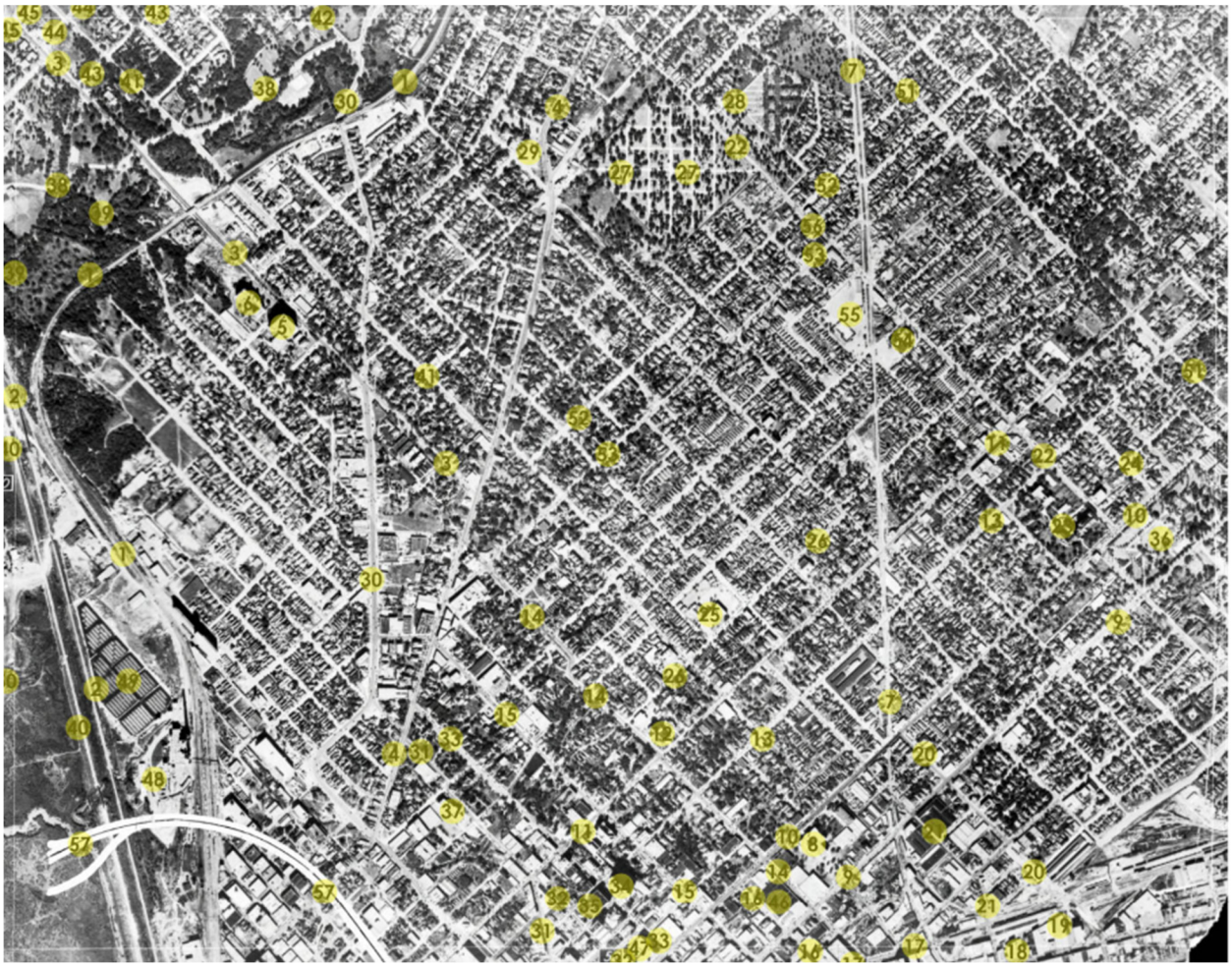


Figure II-39. Aerial photograph of downtown, Deep Ellum, and the area north of downtown in 1930, labelled with the following resources:

1. Missouri, Kansas, Texas Railroad / Katy Railroad (Now, as of 2008, Katy Trail); 2. Saint Louis Southwestern Railroad (S.L.S.W. Railroad / Cotton Belt Railroad); 3. Maple Avenue; 4. McKinney Avenue; 5. Stoneleigh Court (Hotel); 6. Maple Terrace (Apartment / Hotel); 7. Houston and Texas Central Railroad (Location of North Central Expressway, New U.S. Highway 75); 8. Old Dallas High School / Bryan Street High School / Dallas Technical High School (As of 1930, Cruzier Technical High School); 9. Live Oak Street; 10. Bryan Street; 11. Ross Avenue - US Highway 75; 12. Sacred Heart Cathedral (Renamed Our Lady of Guadalupe); 13. San Jacinto Street; 14. Pearl Street; 15. North Harwood Street; 16. Olive Street; 17. Pacific Avenue; 18. The True Deep Elm (Phonetically Spelled "Deep Ellum") - From Harwood Street to Good Street; 19. Knights of Pythias Grand Lodge (AKA Pythian Temple); 20. Good Street; 21. Hawkins Street; 22. Hall Street; 23. Saint Paul Hospital (Relocated to Hines Boulevard / Inwood Road in the 1960s); 24. Washington Avenue; 25. Booker T. Washington High School; 26. Flora Street; 27. Greenwood Cemetery; 28. Old Calvary Hill Cemetery; 29. William B. Travis Elementary School; 30. Cedar Springs Road; 31. Akard Street; 32. Ervay Street (Pronounced "Ervie" after pioneer Dallas family); 33. Saint Paul Street; 34. Cotton Exchange Building; 35. First Baptist Church; 36. Exall Park; 37. Cumberland School; 38. Turtle Creek Boulevard; 39. Reverchon Park; 40. Forth Worth and Denver City Railroad (FW&D Railroad, Division of Burlington Railroad); 41. Fairmount Street; 42. Gillespie Street; 43. Hood Street; 44. Welborn; 45. Oak Lawn Avenue; 46. Prather Cadillac / LaSalle Company (Auto Dealership, later Medical Arts Building parking facility); 47. United States Post Office; 48. Dallas Power and Light Company Electric Plant; 49. Dallas Power and Light Company cooling ponds for electric plant; 50. Trinity River (Old Channel); 51. Haskell Avenue; 52. State Street; 53. Thomas Avenue; 54. B.F. Darrell Elementary School (African American school in 1930); 55. Hall Street Recreational Park; 56. State / Thomas / Hall African American Business - shopping area; 57. Proposed McKinney / Continental Street Project to connect new viaduct over Trinity River.

Source: Fairchild Aerial Surveys, Inc., *Downtown Dallas* (Labeled) [photo], SMU Libraries Digital Collections, crediting the Edwin J. Foscue Map Library, Southern Methodist University, https://digitalcollections.smu.edu/digital/collection/dmp/id/154.



Figure II-40. Photo of a flood-prone street in "El Barrio," also known as "La Bajura" or "Little Mexico," ca. 1970. Source: Shirley Anchor, Mexican Americans in a Dallas Barrio (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1978), 23, from the University of Arizona Libraries, https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwim4LfhoKHvAhVLAp0JHZ8rB44QFjASegQIDRAD&url=https%3A%2F%2Frepository.arizona.edu%2Fbitstream%2Fhandle%2F10150%2F632270%2F978-0-8165-3878-2-web.pdf%3Fsequence%3D1&usg=AOvVaw1pb0pkJytRR1IqxgD6vmSj.

Black American Neighborhoods in the Early Twentieth Century

Black American neighborhoods in Dallas in the twentieth century also retained ties to nineteenth-century neighborhoods, typically evolving from longstanding Black communities – both freedom colonies and historically diverse neighborhoods at the urban core. One such example of a historically diverse neighborhood was located just north of downtown:

> . . . Where a freedmans town established by former slaves during the Reconstruction era was located. The thriving neighborhood, also known as 'Short North Dallas' [also referred to simply as North Dallas – became known as Short North Dallas when city expanded further north] was largely destroyed by the creation of Central Expressway, Woodall Rodgers Freeway, and by subsequent redevelopment projects over the years. The remaining portion of the neighborhood was protected and designated as the State-Thomas historic district.[77]

The old "Stringtown" freedom colony also experienced growth in the early twentieth century, evolving into the "Central Track" neighborhood (further described in the sidebar below).[78] In 1916, Dallas enacted a racial zoning ordinance that solidified these areas as officially segregated Black communities. (Compare the locations of additional freedom colonies depicted in figure II-33 with the African American-owned businesses and cultural institutions remaining in 1930 as shown in figures II-36 and II-

39 – as well as with the interactive HOLC maps at the link above.) Adjacent White neighborhoods experienced depopulation as upper-class White homeowners moved into neighborhoods with more restrictions and better access to mortgage lending. As the Black community grew, longstanding freedom communities expanded into adjacent neighborhoods originally constructed for White residents. The Junius Heights neighborhood just northeast of Central Track exemplified this trend, becoming identified as an African American neighborhood by the 1940s.[79]

The Central Track Commercial District

The "Central Track" neighborhood north of Deep Ellum became a culturally rich African American community in the early twentieth century. The neighborhood's growth resulted from the availability of cheap real estate along the railroad tracks, proximity to rail-related industrial jobs, and adjacency to the Jewish community in Deep Ellum, which welcomed business from African Americans in an era when many businesses turned away Black customers. Segregation forced the Black community to seek self-sufficiency, leading to the establishment of a wide variety of Black-owned businesses in Central Track. Some of the earliest examples were vaudeville theaters and music clubs established as early as the 1890s, like the Gypsy Tea Room and the Black Elephant.[80] The growth of the Black population in Dallas led to broad expansion of Black-owned businesses, with a snapshot from 1925 captured below:

> . . . The 1925 Negro Business Bulletin listed four other music stores in the area: the Ajax Music Shop (705 N. Central Avenue), Black Swan Music Shop (1717 Hall Street), Brashear's Music Shop (1727 Hall Street), and Jordan's Music Shop (Hall and Central). Many of the traveling entertainers stayed at the Del Monico Hotel, established in 1918, at the corner of Central and Swiss avenues. The 1925 Bulletin also identifies three other hotels (Frazier Hotel, Lincoln Hotel, and Waukesha Hotel), as well as numerous private residences that offered furnished rooms for rent. . . . The Bulletin highlights the increasing concentration of African American businesses in "black" areas and the existence of an essentially self-sufficient community. The 1925 directory lists a range of businesses, including carpenters, cement workers, blacksmiths, painters, decorators, a bricklayer, contractors, landscapers, auto repair shops, a carpet renovator, plumbers, a cooper, accountants, a private detective agency, moving businesses, attorneys, undertakers (two of which provided ambulance service), doctors and dentists, hospitals, taxi services, dressmakers, cafés and restaurants, barbershops and beauty parlors, furniture stores and repair businesses, a dairy, real estate agencies, shoe shops, shine parlors, a newspaper and a magazine, a dry cleaner, notions and dry goods stores, tailor shops, dancing schools, grocers, drugstores, and ice dealers.[81]

Together, the residents of Central Track persisted despite structural segregation, Jim Crow laws, and rampant segregation to forge "one of the liveliest cultural scenes in the nation."[82]

> ***Learn more!*** *Find out more about the cultural contributions of the Black community in Dallas in Chapter 18. Arts and Entertainment.*

The same factors also led to increasing spatial segregation of the African American community in South Dallas. The growing Black population quickly infilled numerous—though sparsely built up—subdivisions platted in South Dallas in the early 1900s, such as the Bermuda Lawn Addition at Atlanta and Latimer Streets (platted 1906), the present-day Romine Avenue Historic District (1908, "the first enclave of substantial, middle-class/professional class housing" in South Dallas), Queen City Heights (1908), Oak Grove (1911), and Wheatley Place (1916).[83] These South Dallas neighborhoods gained streetcar service in the 1910s and 1920s, leading to hastened residential growth partly fueled by developer advertising aimed specifically at Black residents.[84] Although these neighborhoods included a variety of housing types at various price points, the bulk were inexpensively constructed and overcrowded:

> A survey conducted in 1924–1925 declared that a quarter of the city's African Americans were living in rental housing "unfit for human habitation." Sixty-six percent lacked a bath, toilet, or running water. Half the houses had no electricity or gas.[85]

> ***Learn more!*** *Read the local and National Register nominations for the Wheatley Place Historic District at: https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/Pages/wheatley_place.aspx.*

MID-TWENTIETH-CENTURY SOLIDIFICATION OF SEGREGATION

Suburban Boom

Population growth in Dallas grew exponentially in the 1940s and 1950s (table II-3). Defense-related manufacturing during World War II brought tens of thousands of new workers to Dallas; the North American Aviation plant alone employed 30,000 workers.[86] After World War II, the government and private sectors worked together to convert wartime industrial plants for private aircraft manufacture – continuing to drive job growth and population growth. As described by historian Michael Hazel:

> The postwar period saw the rise of the so-called "Sunbelt," as well-educated middle class professionals flocked to the South and Southwest to pursue good-paying jobs in new, "clean" industries such as aviation and electronics. With its geographic centrality, modern airport, and strong free-enterprise climate, Dallas was among the fastest growing of the Sunbelt cities.[87]

The land area of Dallas grew tremendously in this era as well (table II-1). Because these industrial plants required ample land and access to highways, they typically developed on suburban sites. In turn, the City of Dallas and Dallas County funded construction of roadways and infrastructure to support these plants as essential parts of the economy. The availability of suburban jobs and infrastructure encouraged development of sprawling residential suburbs (fig. II-21). In turn, new suburban construction supported the construction industry, furthering suburban growth. Persistent racism in zoning and mortgage lending policies led the vast majority of suburban developers to target White homebuyers. Maps of Dallas developed by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) from 1935–1940 show a clear pattern of "improving" desirability at the outer edges of the city, with the most central areas shown as "hazardous" – the lowest grade by HOLC standards.[88] (Refer to interactive HOLC maps at the link above.) These grades of desirability were also used as tools for exclusionary loan practices based on race and ethnicity nationwide. In Dallas, White homebuyers rapidly abandoned older urban neighborhoods for the suburbs in the 1950s and 1960s – a trend known as "white flight."[89]

> ***Learn more!*** *Refer to Chapter 9. Suburbanization and Chapter 10. Industry for additional background.*

Black American Neighborhoods in the Mid-Twentieth Century

"White flight" perpetuated the depopulation of Dallas's older inner-city neighborhoods, allowing Black neighborhoods to continue to slowly expand into some formerly White neighborhoods. In the immediate postwar era, Black people settled in small pockets, mostly surrounded by White people. For example, in 1950, "South Dallas, a fan-shaped area spreading southeast from downtown, was home to whites, and to blacks segregated into some nine separate areas."[90] However, zoning laws prohibited Black residents in many neighborhoods despite declining density with "white flight." While the African American population in Dallas increased rapidly after 1950 (table II-5), growth was constricted within a few segregated nodes. The Dallas political leadership resisted constructing public housing because of pressure from the private construction industry.[91] Instead, the City actively destroyed existing housing supply for construction of the Central Expressway and other urban renewal projects into the 1970s.[92] As a result, the postwar housing shortage in Dallas grew especially dire for Black Americans. Compounding this pressure, racist White neighborhood groups confronted Black homeowners with violence and unrest as they tried to seek housing in historically White areas.[93]

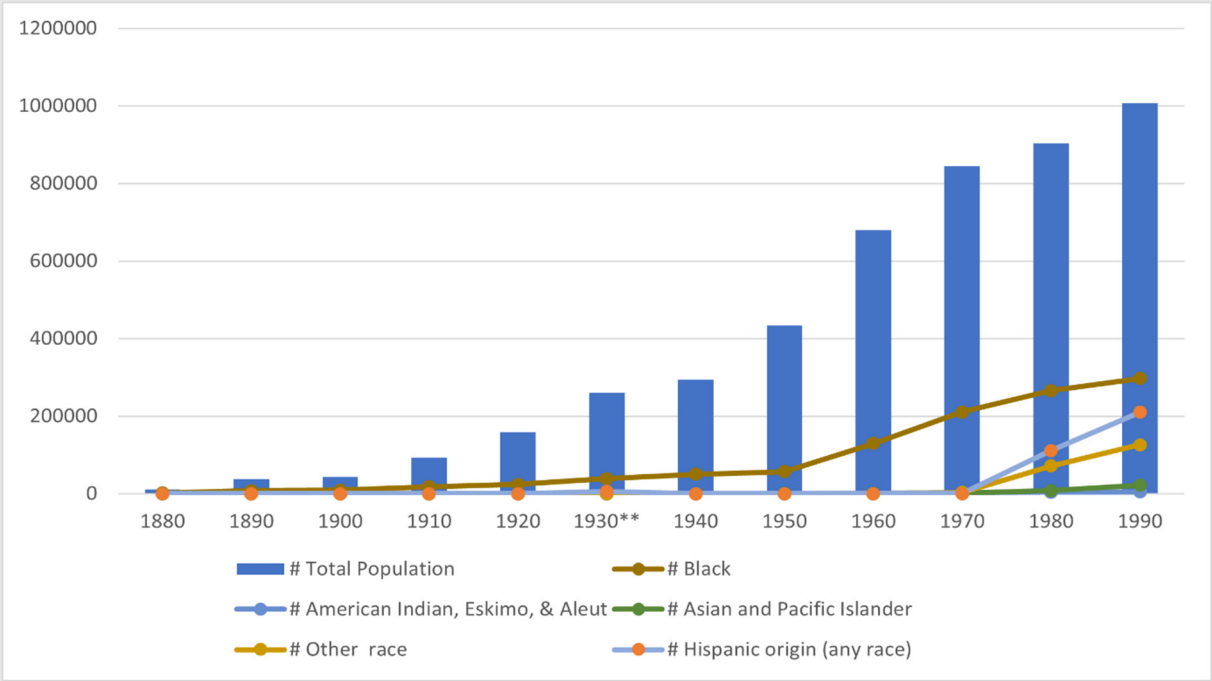
> ***Learn more!*** *Refer to Chapter 16. Reconstruction, the Jim Crow Era, and the Civil Rights Movement to learn more about segregation in Dallas.*

Some private developers attempted to profit from the demand for Black housing with limited success. Development of Black housing faced opposition from surrounding White property owners, as well as the head of the Dallas district of the Federal Housing Association (FHA). Finding land for Black housing that met both FHA requirements and City planning standards proved difficult. The FHA required transportation access to industrial areas and/or downtown, as well as a lack of "significant opposition" from adjacent property owners. At the same time, the recommendations of the 1943 city plan for Dallas called for locating new Black neighborhoods at the edge of the city—especially on less-desirable low-lying land—but White property owners surrounded all available outlying land. Between 1945 and 1950, FHA officials in Dallas more proactively began seeking to solve the problem, partnering with the Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce. Although many developers presented plans for new Black neighborhoods, almost all collapsed, with FHA refusing to fund construction and the City refusing to provide streets and utilities in the face of opposition.[94] The one example of a successful postwar residential suburb targeted at Black homebuyers is Hamilton Park.[95] Yet Hamilton Park could not accommodate the overwhelming demand for housing, and Black neighborhoods near downtown Dallas remained overcrowded with substandard housing into the late twentieth century.

Continuing Immigration and Assimilation

Overall immigration slowed substantially with World War II and stayed relatively low through the 1970s (table II-3). Although statistically small, immigrants of Asian and Pacific Islander descent increasingly impacted Dallas beginning in the 1950s (table II-5). Around the same time, second- and third-generation immigrant families of European descent became increasingly assimilated into White suburban culture, eroding some traditional ethnic nodes. The "Little Mexico" area remained intact longer than most ethnic enclaves, but the area was largely demolished with urban renewal projects from the 1960s into the twenty-first century, pushing Dallas's Latino community into South Dallas neighborhoods like Oak Cliff in the wake of White flight in the 1960s and 1970s.[96] Today, the continuing investment in Oak Cliff enabled by the influx of Mexican Americans is credited with helping maintain the area as one of the inner city's most vibrant mixed-use neighborhoods. Similarly, investment in Deep Ellum by the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) community helped revitalize another former ethnic node in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

> ***Learn more!*** *Refer to Chapter 13. LGBT Community to learn more about the history of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender communities in Dallas.*



Graph II-5. Graph documenting total population and population by race for the City of Dallas. Source: U.S. Census, Historical Census Statistics On Population Totals By Race,1790 to 1990, and By Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, For Large Cities And Other Urban Places In The United States, accessed February 10, 2021, https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/working-papers/2005/demo/POP-twps0076.pdf; Hazel, History of Big "D," 24.

	Total Population		White		Black		Race						Hispanic origin (any race)*		White, not of Hispanic origin*	
							American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut		Asian and Pacific Islander		Other race					
Year	# Total Population	%	# White	%	# Black	%	# American Indian, Eskimo, & Aleut	%	# Asian and Pacific Islander	%	# Other race	%	# Hispanic origin (any race)	%	#	%
1880	10,358	100.0%	8,431	81.4%	1,921	18.5%	-	-	6	0.1%	-	-	-	-	-	-
1890	38,067	100.0%	30,006	78.8%	7,993	20.9%	4	-	64	0.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-
1900	42,638	100.0%	33,575	78.7%	9,035	21.1%	1	-	27	0.1%	-	-	-	-	-	-
1910	92,104	100.0%	74,043	80.4%	18,024	19.6%	1	-	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1920	158,976	100.0%	134,888	84.8%	24,023	15.1%	4	-	61	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1930**	260,475	100.0%	221,621	85.1%	38,742	14.9%	41	-	71	-	-	-	5,901	2.3%	(NA)	(NA)
1940	294,734	100.0%	244,246	82.9%	50,407	17.1%	28	-	53	-	-	-	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1950	434,462	100.0%	377,199	86.8%	56,958	13.1%	66	-	202	-	37	-	-	-	-	-
1960	679,684	100.0%	548,473	80.7%	129,242	19.0%	1,466	0.2%	359	0.1%	144	-	-	-	-	-
1970	844,401	100.0%	626,247	74.2%	210,238	24.9%	3,437	0.4%	1,381	0.2%	3,098	0.4%	-	-	-	-
1980	904,078	100.0%	555,270	61.4%	265,594	23.4%	3,732	0.4%	7,678	0.8%	71,804	7.9%	111,083	12.3%	514,401	56.9%
1990	1,006,877	100.0%	556,760	55.3%	296,994	24.5%	4,792	0.5%	21,952	2.2%	126,379	12.6%	210,240	20.9%	479,980	47.7%

**Hispanic origin not counted consistently until 1970 census*

***Hispanic origin only counted as "Mexican" within "Other race" (non-Mexican Hispanic origin not counted)*

Table II-5. Table documenting total population and population by race for the City of Dallas. Source: U.S. Census, Historical Census Statistics On Population Totals By Race,1790 to 1990, and By Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, For Large Cities And Other Urban Places In The United States, accessed February 10, 2021, https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/working-papers/2005/demo/POP-twps0076.pdf; Hazel, History of Big "D," 24.

CONCLUSION

As a prosperous and ever-growing city, economic opportunities in Dallas have beckoned immigrants and migrants for more than 160 years. Dallas historically attracted a diverse population, with each ethnic and racial group bringing unique cultural heritage that enriched the city's urban fabric. The movement of different communities through the city over time is physically documented by its historic architectural resources. Historic resources associated with vanishing communities are especially rare and valuable. For example, a historic synagogue holds significance as a tangible link to the Jewish community in South Dallas – even if much of that community has dispersed over time. Amid Dallas's rapid pace of growth and redevelopment, preserving historic resources associated with the history of ethnic settlement gives every citizen of Dallas documentation of their heritage and provides an important reminder that each group of settlers played an important role in the development of the city.

NOTES

[1] Note that special National Register criteria conditions apply to places of worship and cemeteries. See *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (National Park Service, 1997), from the National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/upload/NRB-15_web508.pdf.

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II-3| Railroads (1872–1972)

INTRODUCTION

Few trends of the past affected Dallas as profoundly as the arrival of railroads. Although Dallas was not part of the state's earliest rail efforts, it soon assumed a critical role. During the height of the railroad construction era in Texas at the end of the Reconstruction Period, Dallas served as the crossroads of multiple major railroads that served Texas during the final third of the nineteenth century. Railroads proved a new and far more efficient means of transporting people, agricultural implements, and raw and finished goods. The increase of commerce and trade had a critical impact on the city and the state, which enjoyed unprecedented population growth and broad economic prosperity well into the twentieth century. The railroads also contributed to the development of the fertile Blackland Prairie belt that extended through Central Texas, which became one of the world's largest and important cotton producers by the turn of the twentieth century. The location of Dallas railroad tracks also had a notable impact on the city's spatial development patterns or informal zoning. Because railroads arrived in Dallas in 1872 and continue to impact the city's industry and fabric, the period of significance for railroads in Dallas is 1872–1972. Potentially significant types of resources to railroads include railroad depots, tracks, bridges, overpasses, and control towers; and railroad-dependent industry, warehouses, or commerce. Railroads in Dallas are potentially significant under the National Register Criteria A and C in the Areas of Significance of Transportation, Engineering, Industry, Community Planning and Development, and Commerce.

RAILROADS IN US HISTORY

Although railroads were a subject of interest and fascination in the United States as early as the 1700s, the development of improved steam engines in the 1820s finally made railroads a viable means of long-distance transportation. Early rail lines of the 1830s in the US largely concentrated along the eastern seaboard, although surveying and exploring new westbound routes began shortly thereafter. Rail lines initially struggled to compete with canals and other waterways for freight hauling and could not make a profit with passengers alone. But by the 1840s, they showed their usefulness for transporting industrial and agricultural products, leading to greatly increased interest.[1] Also in the 1840s, New York merchant Asa Whitney began to advocate for a transcontinental railway. His proposals gained traction after California statehood, the discovery of gold, and the increased settlement of the western frontier, although the politics of choosing a route proved challenging. The Railroad Act of 1862 finally formalized government support for the project, and two railroad companies, Central Pacific (beginning in the west) and Union Pacific (beginning in the east), built tracks towards the middle of the country, meeting in Utah in 1869.[2] By 1883, a second southern transcontinental route, owned by Southern Pacific, was completed. The southern section of the route extended from Los Angeles to West Texas, a favorable route given the mild climate and ability to run trains year-round.

Railroad tracks proliferated at a dizzying rate, and rail quickly became the staple mode of US transportation for industrial, agricultural, and military industries, and passengers. This led to the expanded settlement of previously inaccessible or inhospitable areas. Commoditization of products such as wheat, cotton, sugar beets, and livestock allowed the US economy to boom. Railroads provided the means for large-scale trade of these products nationwide and connected to existing shipping ports, making the US a crucial contender in the world economy. Railroads also impacted the everyday lives and consciousness of nineteenth-century Americans. Train schedules began to standardize time both locally and nationally, the noise of trains became a staple of both urban and rural living, and the ability to travel

great distances in a relatively short time expanded geographical possibilities. The US rail network continued to expand until the 1910s, after which point route mileage began to decline. Passenger travel lessened beginning in the same period and steeply declined after World War II. While railroad use for cargo initially also dropped after World War II, it picked up again by 1960, consistently handling a large percentage of intercity cargo freight into the present day. The profitability of freight lines increased after the 1980 Staggers Act, which deregulated railroads and increased competition.

> ***Learn more!*** *Why did passenger travel by train decline? See Chapters 7-8 Streetcars and the Interurban and Highways, Roadways, and Automobiles!*

TEXAS RAILROADS

Railroads in Texas developed at a modest pace compared to the Eastern and Northern states, but their eventual growth had massive impacts on the state. Prior to rail development, the lack of efficient transportation greatly hindered Texas's ability to participate in the national economy, and much effort was expended in the 1830s and 1840s to get a rail system off the ground, to little avail. Two of the earliest Texas rail companies, the Buffalo Bayou, Brazos & Colorado Railway Company, and the Galveston & Red River Railroad Company, began construction in the early 1850s on lines in the Houston area. By 1861, Texas had approximately 470 miles of track operated by nine railroad companies. The financing of railroads took many forms as the state lacked the capital to build them, and foreign investors were wary of the frontier area. The majority of incentives took the form of state-provided land grants and loans, and bonds issued by individual cities and counties (a practice outlawed in 1876). The Civil War caused a halt in railroad construction and exacted a heavy toll on the existing rail lines. The Texas legislature passed an 1865 law that allowed all railroads in the state 16 sections of free land for every mile of railroad completed.[3] This enabled companies such as the Houston & Texas Central (H&TC) to continue building track despite their dire financial situation after the war.[4]

Railroad construction began to boom in earnest, and by 1873, the Texas railroad system connected with the nationwide network. It is impossible to underestimate the impacts of this national connection, which allowed new agricultural and industrial markets to flourish in Texas, especially related to cotton, ranching, and grain. Anti-railroad sentiment caused resentment in the 1870s, and by 1890 it was such an important issue in Texas that James S. Hogg was able to win his Texas governorship largely based on a platform of railroad regulation. In 1891, the Texas legislature established the Railroad Commission, which was responsible for regulating rates and operation of railroads, terminals, and wharves (among other things).[5] Compared to the rest of the US, Texas continued to build large sections of track between 1900 and 1932, when mileage reached 17,078. As in the rest of the country, passenger traffic declined throughout the twentieth century. By 1970, Santa Fe and Southern Pacific were the only remaining passenger trains in Texas. Amtrak took over remaining passenger lines in 1971 and continues to operate passenger service. Texas freight, especially coal, remains extensive and profitable to this day.[6]

RAILROADS IN DALLAS

DALLAS AS AN EARLY RAIL TOWN

Building a Crossroads

The vision of a railroad in Dallas appeared as early as 1848 when Dallas business leaders began pushing for the Galveston & Red River Railroad to make its way to the new city.[7] The railroad company, which changed names to Houston & Texas Central Railway (H&TC) in 1856, also saw the benefits of a route

through the rich Blackland Prairie.[8] Although the H&TC would not arrive in Dallas until 1872 due to construction delays, the promise of a future rail route made Dallas an enticing city for new settlement. By the late 1860s and early 1870s, planning for another route, the Texas and Pacific Railroad (T&P) neared its final stages, and Dallas citizens were determined that it should pass through their city. A crossroads of the H&TC (which had yet to be completed) and T&P railroads would allow easy connection to points all over the continental United States and beyond. Corsicana was the most logical crossroads because it lay near the 32nd parallel (the general route specified by a Texas railroad charter) and near the existing H&TC route. However, Dallas business leaders introduced language in state legislation and offered strong financial incentives that led the H&TC and T&P officials to change their routes and pass through Dallas (fig. II-41).[9] Dallas's hard work securing rail access to their city finally came to fruition when the first H&TC railroad car made it to Dallas in July 1872, working its way north along the Trinity River from a bridge about five miles south of the town (fig. II-42).[10] The H&TC route continued south to Galveston, a major port, and had connections to St. Louis and Chicago (fig. II-43).

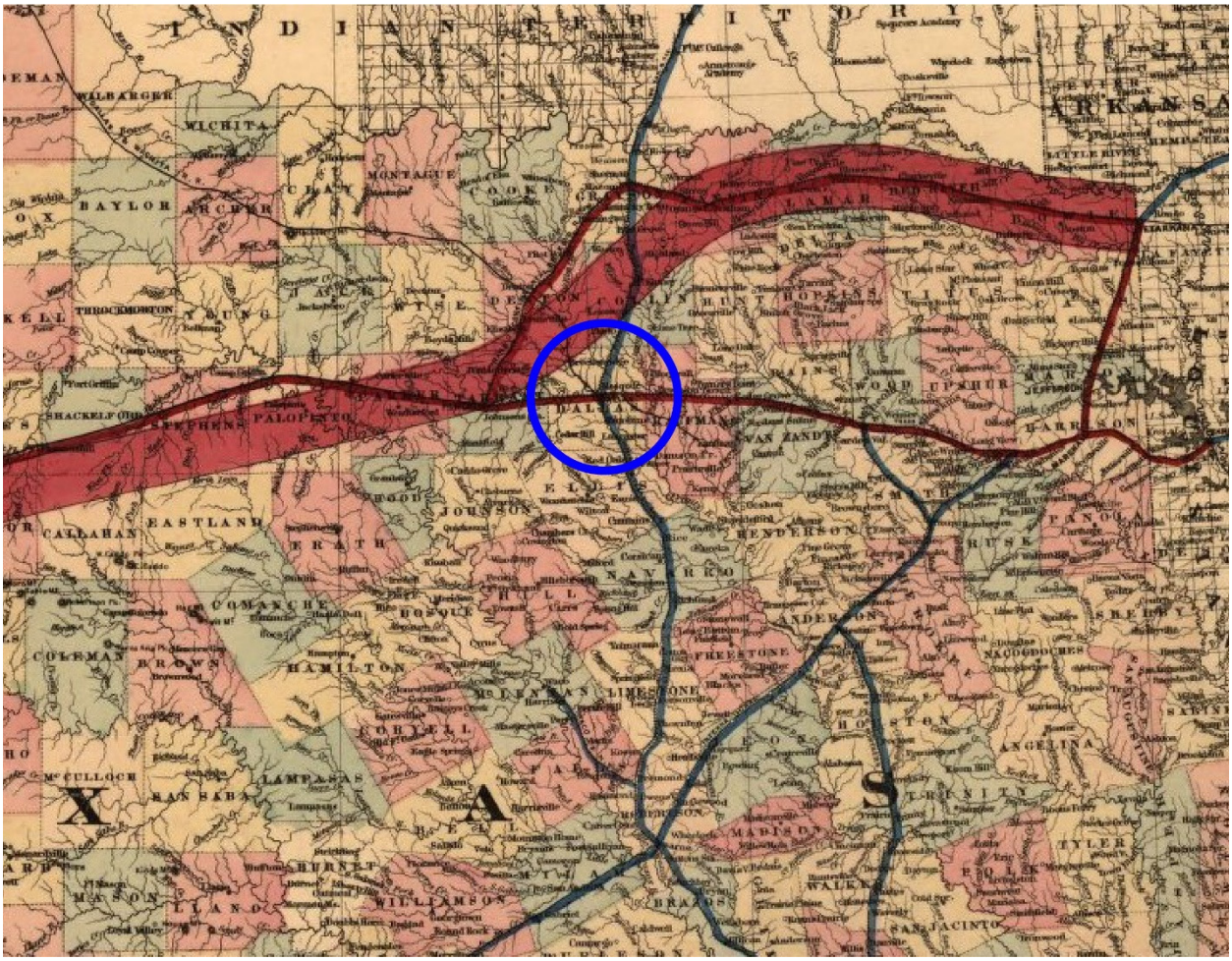


Figure II-41. Detail from an 1873 map showing the Texas and Pacific (T&P) land grants from the state of Texas and rail route with major connections. Dallas, circled in blue, is the only crossroads of north-south and east-west rail lines in a huge swath of territory spanning all the way to the Pacific Ocean, making it a useful hub in routes from places throughout the entire southwest. Source: G.W. & C.B. Colton & Co., and Texas & Pacific Railway, Map of the State of Texas showing the line and lands of the Texas and Pacific Railway reserved and donated by the State of Texas. New York, 1873, Map, accessed May 6, 2021, https://www.loc.gov/item/98688821/.

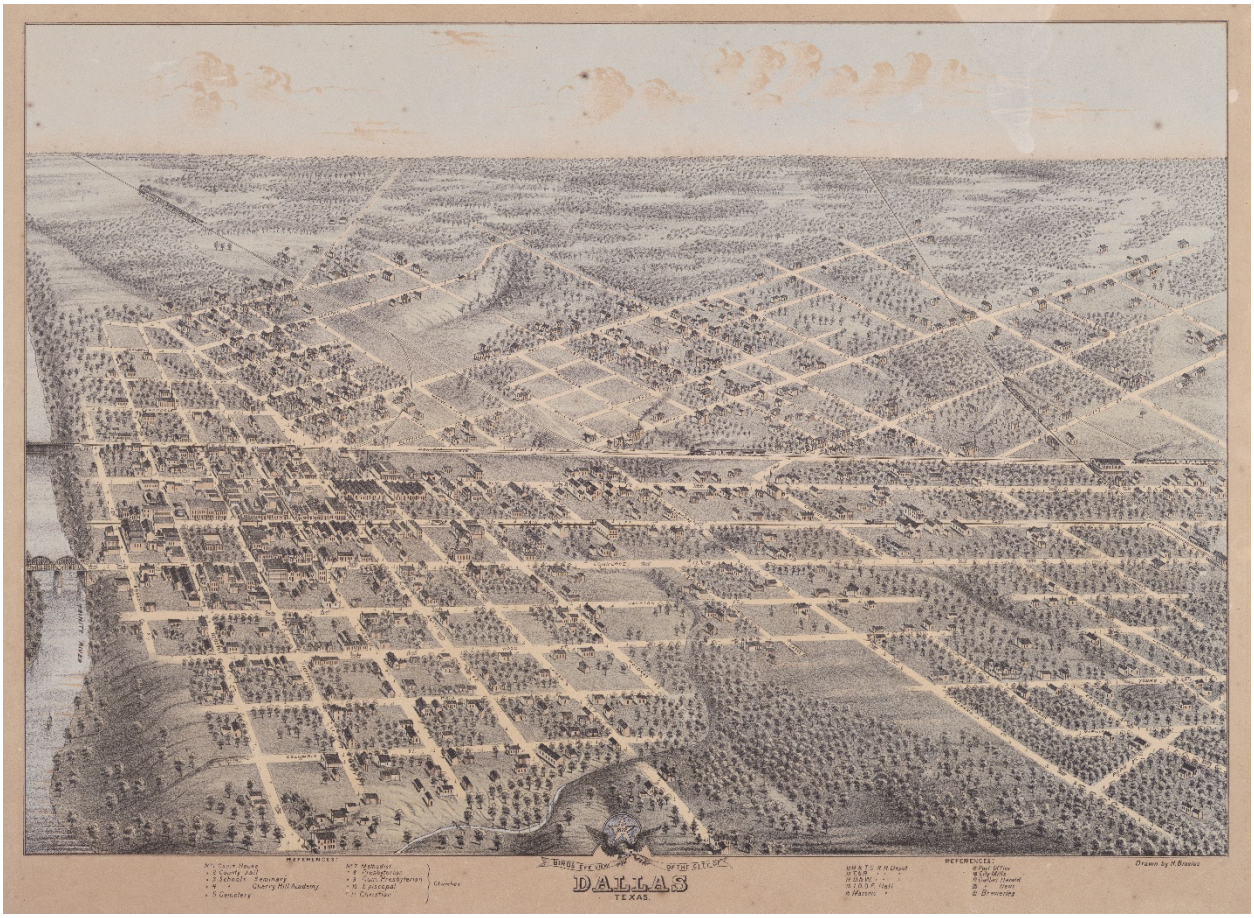


Figure II-42. An 1872 birds-eye rendering of Dallas depicting the two first rail lines to enter the city. The H&TC tracks are shown entering to the right of the image, with the original H&TC Union Depot at the middle right. Note the lack of development around the depot and the east side of town. The T&P tracks bisect the map from left to right, entering from a bridge across the Trinity River on the west side of downtown. Source: H. Brosius, "Bird's Eye View of the City of Dallas, Texas," Wikimedia Commons, accessed April 7, 2021, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/84/Old_map-Dallas-1872.jpg.

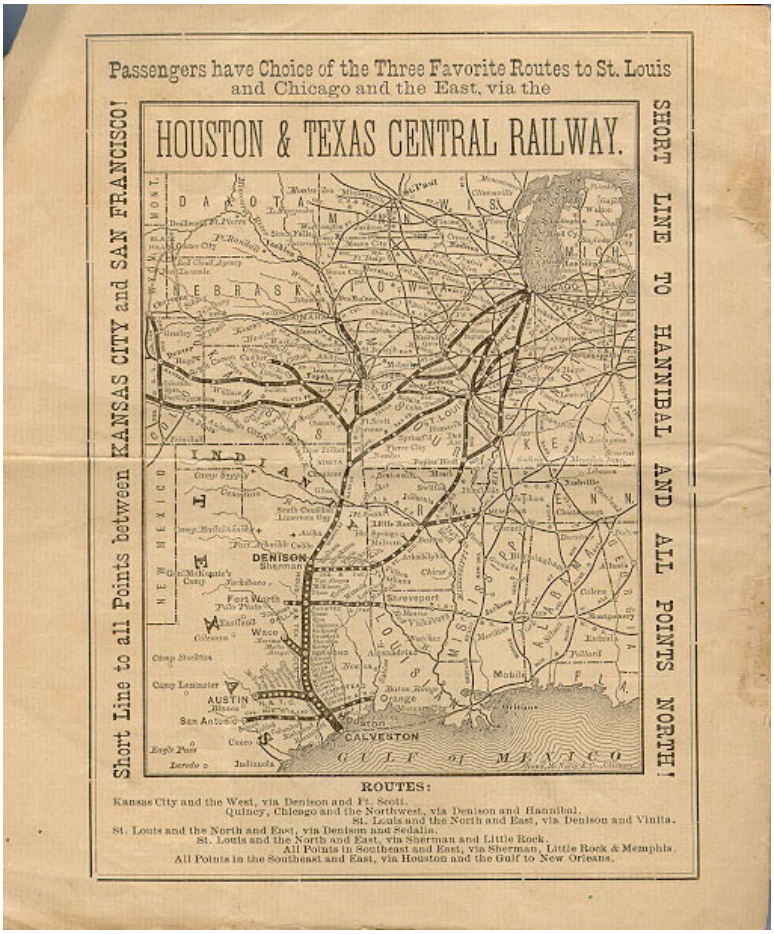


Figure II-43. Map from an 1879 H&TC schedule booklet, showing the H&TC line and important connections. Being part of this route offered Dallas connections to the industrializing cities of Chicago and St. Louis, as well as a multitude of other locations. Source: "Texas Joins the Battle: Schedule of the Houston and Texas Railway, 1879, Back Cover," Texas State Library and Archives Commission, accessed May 6, 2021, https://www.tsl.texas.gov/exhibits/suffrage/battle/railroad-schedule-map.html.

Early Rail Growth

In 1872, the first train pulled into the new H&TC depot—later known by many names, including Union Depot—located at the corner of Pacific Avenue and Central Avenue, in present-day Deep Ellum (building not extant, intersection later subsumed by Central Expressway). William H. Gaston, a property developer in East Dallas, urged construction of the depot in this location. Many charged that the location of the depot one mile east from the center of town gave developers such as Gaston an advantage, given the construction profits that development near the terminal would proffer.[11] The rail station and tracks certainly did spur development. An 1872 birds-eye rendering of Dallas shows the terminal surrounded by open space and trees, yet by 1885 Sanborn maps show a proliferation of lumber and milling yards and residences surrounding the station (figs. II-42 and II-44). By the 1890s, the depot was teeming with both streetcar and railroad activity (fig. II-45). Deep Ellum, directly surrounding the depot, had previously developed as a Freedom Town and continued to grow as an African American neighborhood and Jewish commercial area.

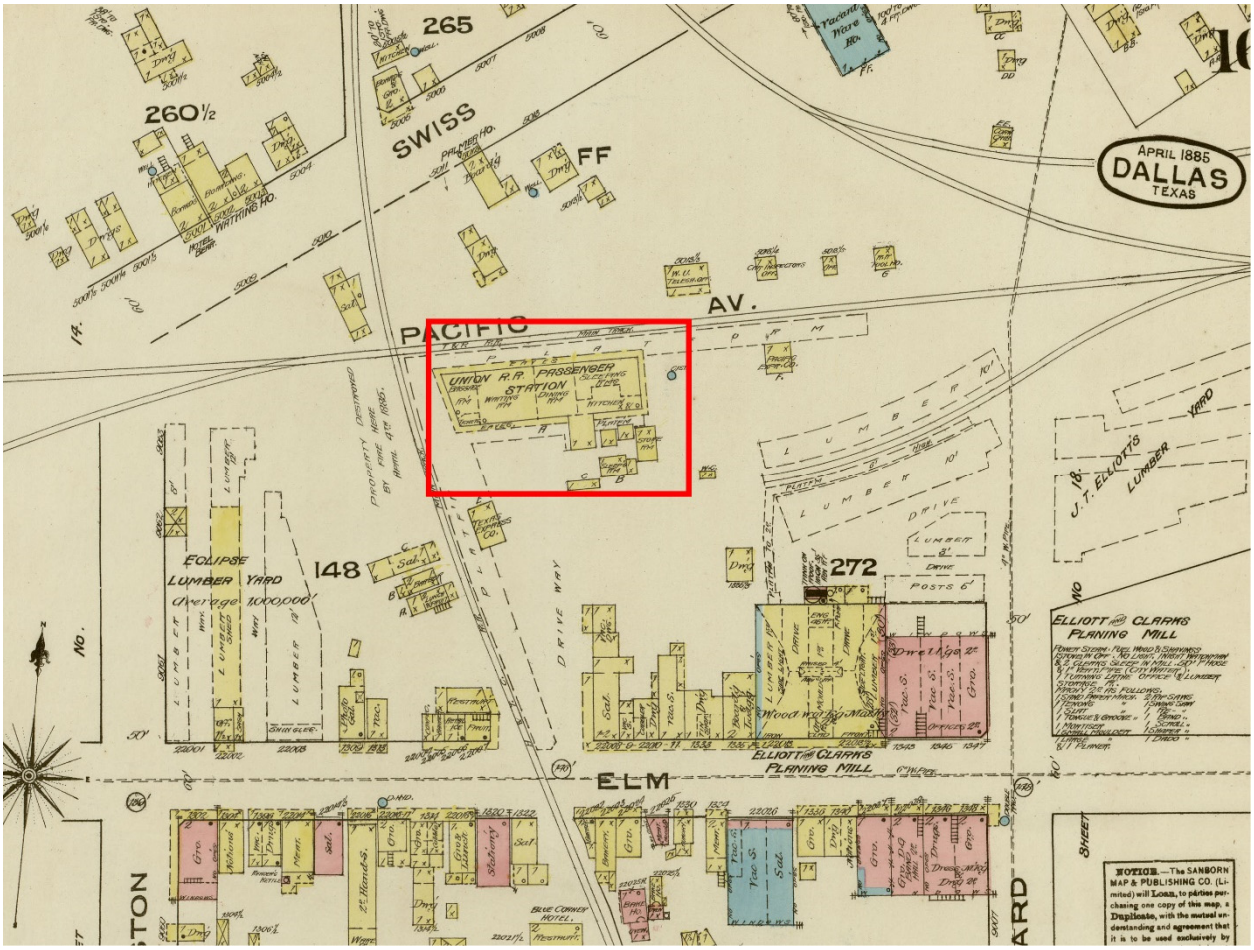


Figure II-44. Detail of a Sanborn Fire Insurance map from 1888. The H&TC depot in East Dallas is outlined in red. Note the development of the area since 1872, including residences, lumber yards and mills, and commercial buildings. Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Dallas, 1888, sheet 16, from the University of Texas Libraries, http://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/sanborn/d-f/txu-sanborn-dallas-1885-16.jpg.

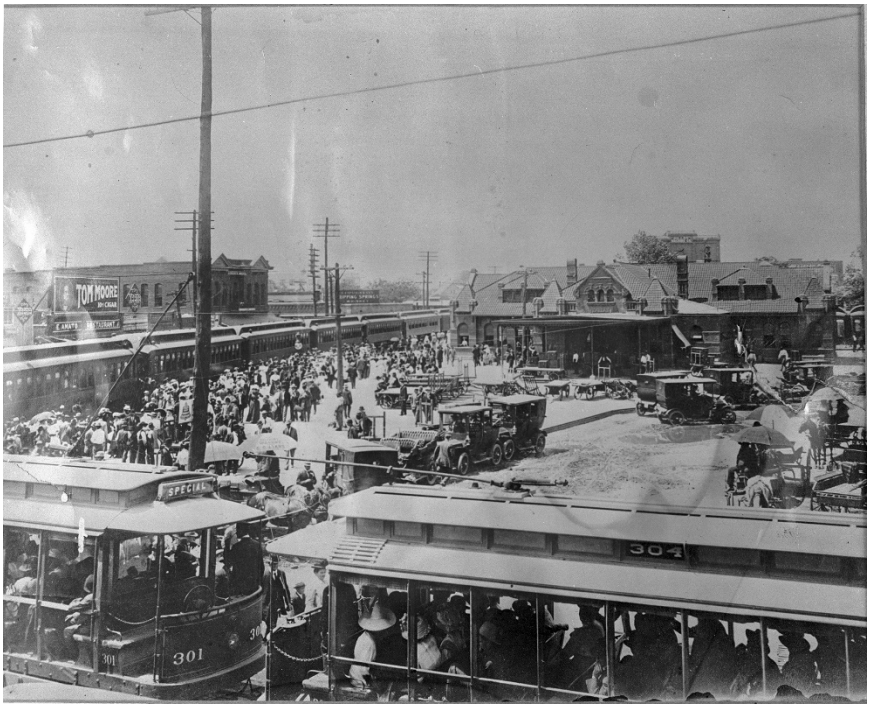


Figure II-45. Photograph from around the 1890s, showing a bustling scene of streetcars and passengers boarding an H&TC train at the Union Depot in East Dallas. Source: Squire Haskins Photography, Inc. Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, "Lines of streetcars with crowds of people waiting to board the train at the Dallas Union Depot of the Houston & Texas Central Railroad," UTA Libraries Digital Gallery, 1890–1919 (Approximately), accessed May 5, 2021, https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/10006717.

> ***Learn more!*** *Refer to Chapter 2 for additional context about how the railroad affected demographics and spatial settlement.*

Unlike the H&TC line, the T&P tracks extended into downtown, passing two blocks north of the Dallas County Courthouse along Pacific Avenue. The T&P spurred commercial growth along an east-west axis in the city, running towards East Dallas. Whereas growth had previously concentrated near the courthouse square, Sanborn maps indicate dense commercial growth forming a band in the blocks between Commerce Street and Pacific Avenue by 1888. Other railroads that extended into Dallas in the 1870s also built lines near downtown, further stimulating industrial growth in this area (fig. II-46). These included the Missouri–Kansas–Texas (MKT) and the Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe (GC&SF). By 1885, Sanborn maps show various industrial resources adjacent to the rail lines at the western edge of downtown, including a massive cotton warehouse, brick kilns, and a flour mill. Despite the economic growth it spurred, the proximity of the rail line to the downtown area was not universally praised. For its first two decades, Dallas residents dubbed the H&TC line "the angel maker" on account of the massive number of casualties incurred along the line.

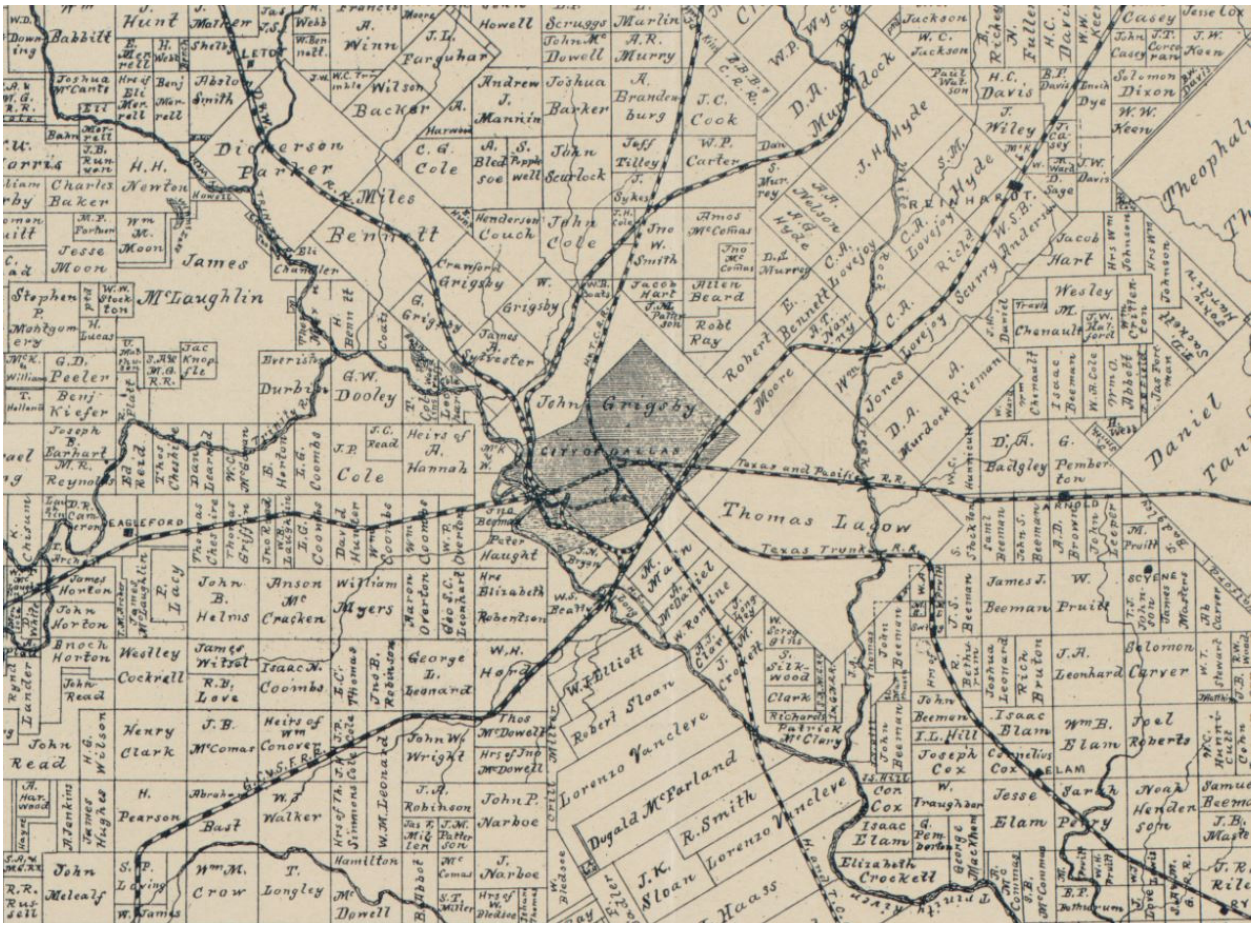


Figure II-46. Detail of an 1886 map showing the City of Dallas (shaded at center) with numerous rail lines crisscrossing in all directions, several of which pass through the downtown area, seen at the northwest corner of the city (north is up). Source: Strong, J. M, and Murphy & Bolanz, Official map of Dallas County, Texas (Dallas, Tex.: Murphy & Bolanz, 1886) accessed April 7, 2021, https://www.loc.gov/item/2005625350/.

Early Rail-Related Businesses

Some of the city's most prominent merchants arrived in Dallas following the railroad's construction. Many had begun in Houston and followed the railroad as track was laid, establishing businesses in new rail towns in their wake. Upon learning that the junction of the T&P and H&TC lines was to be in Dallas, they immediately purchased 70 lots on Elm Street. The prominent businesses they founded included Sanger Brothers, a dry goods chain (fig. II-47).[12] East Dallas also grew rapidly, partly due to the depot's location. By 1882, the area was large enough to incorporate as its own city. Early industrial enterprises, including the Continental Gin Company at 3301–3333 Elm Street, also clustered in the area, taking advantage of its proximity to the rail line (see fig. II-135 in *Chapter 10. Industry*).



Figure II-47. Historic photograph from the 1890s showing downtown Dallas as viewed looking west from the corner of Commerce and Akard Streets. Although some residences are still visible at left, the dense commercial area spurred by the arrival of the railroad is visible along Commerce Street and Main Street to the right. Source: Squire Haskins Photography, Inc. Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, "Downtown Dallas looking west from the Oriental Hotel which was located on Commerce and Akard Street," UTA Libraries Digital Gallery, 1890–1919 (Approximately), accessed May 5, 2021, https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/10006720.

In 1897 a new East Dallas Union Depot building replaced the original station, by then described as a "wooden shanty" (1897 building not extant, fig. II-48).[i] Otto Lang, who would later become a prominent Dallas architect as part of the firm Lang & Witchell, designed the new depot with more grand and permanent materials.[13] By using the Romanesque Revival style, popular for rail stations in the late nineteenth century, Lang linked Union Station (and Dallas) to other prominent cities across the country and beyond.

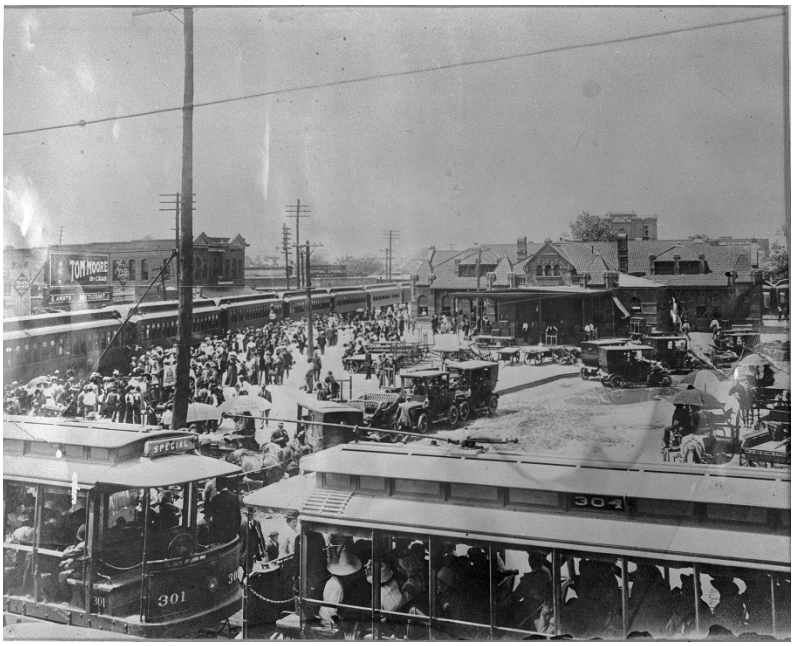


Figure II-48. Photograph from around the 1890s, showing a bustling scene of streetcars and passengers boarding an H&TC train at the Union Depot in East Dallas. Source: Squire Haskins Photography, Inc. Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, "Lines of streetcars with crowds of people waiting to board the train at the Dallas Union Depot of the Houston & Texas Central Railroad," UTA Libraries Digital Gallery, 1890–1919 (Approximately), accessed May 5, 2021, https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/10006717.

[ii]Note that this East Dallas terminal was referred to by many names, including "Union Depot," and "Union Station," but is unique from the extant Union Station located which is discussed further below.

Railroad Boomtown

The railroad's arrival in Dallas dramatically impacted the city's population size, economic growth, and building construction. Dallas became an increasingly important node of activity thanks largely to the many railroads that serviced the city and its increasingly important role in the nation's extensive rail network. The agricultural and manufacturing potential of the city shifted and grew, allowing a rural farming community to expand into a large-scale producer and trade hub of cash crops such as cotton. Agricultural implements produced in Chicago and St. Louis began to arrive in Dallas *en masse* and could be distributed to a rapidly growing market in the north Texas area and throughout the Southwest, allowing crops to be grown and harvested in greater quantities. Dallas became a major center for trading crops such as cotton and wheat, as well as associated industries such as flour milling and textiles. Areas that had been peripheral to the original walking city became industrialized, with warehouses, mills, and factories opening on land close to the railroad tracks. These parts of the city included the area now known as the West End Historic District, East Dallas or Deep Ellum, and the area northwest of Colonial Hill, along Mill Creek.[14] Established industries such as milling and buffalo and leather trade continued, while new ones such as textile and garment-making, cotton trade, and cotton gin manufacturing flourished.

See Chapter 10. Industry to learn more about the growth of industry in this era.

By 1901, an extensive web of rail connections emanated from the Dallas–Fort Worth area. The city saw the arrival of new types of rail infrastructure in the landscape. In 1901, the Texas legislature passed a law regulating train intersections. This led to the proliferation of control towers at places where two rail lines intersected in Dallas, built shortly after the passage of the law. These towers controlled "interlockers," machinery used to prevent train collisions. One such tower, Tower 19, served the crossing of the T&P and GC&SF railroads, southeast of downtown near the Cedars neighborhood (extant but relocated, fig. II-49).



Figure II-49. Photograph, likely from the 1930s–1940s, showing Tower 19. Tower 19 was a 1903 structure used to control the rail intersection also shown in the photograph, located about three miles southeast of downtown Union Station near the Cedars neighborhood. Source: "Texas Railroad History – Tower 19 – Dallas," Texas Railroad History, crediting photographer John W. Barriger III, accessed April 20, 2021, http://txrrhistory.com/towers/019/019.htm.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY RAIL EXPANSION AND DECLINE

Consolidation of Downtown Rail and Urban Planning

By the 1900s, the extensive rail network converging in downtown Dallas had continued to grow and was causing significant congestion and unsafe conditions for pedestrians and drivers (fig. II-50). One of the recommendations in George Kessler's 1911 *City Plan for Dallas* was to simplify rail traffic in the downtown area. Kessler proposed that this could be obtained via the construction of a "belt railroad," circling the city and consolidating rail traffic, freight terminals, and a passenger station that would serve multiple rail lines. The need for a new passenger station was uncontested, and railroads serving Dallas quickly chartered the Union Terminal Company in 1912. Kessler's plan had advised that the terminal be located on the western edge of the downtown area:

> It is recommended that a Union Passenger Station be built along the [proposed] belt railroad in the vicinity of Main and Broadway so that all trains entering or leaving the city may be accommodated there.[15]

Dallas Union Terminal (extant, later renamed Union Station[ii]), opened in 1916 at 400 South Houston Street (a National Register-listed historic property and Dallas Landmark Structure, fig. II-51).[16] The station's siting followed Kessler's intent of creating a hub at the western edge of downtown. This was an industrial area and already close to existing rail tracks, making it a logical choice. Renowned Chicago architect Jarvis Hunt designed the terminal in a Neoclassical style influenced by the Beaux-Arts movement.[17] This building was essentially the gateway to the city for any passenger arriving by rail. The opening of the new station roughly coincided with the beginning of service by the *Sunshine Special*, a long-distance passenger train later known as the *Texas Eagle*. Given the amount of visitor traffic the building would serve, Hunt chose a reliably monumental style that helped give Dallas a dignified and worldly appearance, tying it to other popular civic works on the East and West Coasts. A plaza fronting the station further contributed to a grand and uncluttered approach to the station by visitors, also heeding advice from Kessler's plan. Eight of the railroads that served Dallas shared ownership and use of the terminal (the City of Dallas later becoming a partial owner), greatly reducing the amount of track required through downtown and consolidating five previous passenger depots into one.[18] Depots, including the original Union Depot in East Dallas, shuttered after 1912, with the old Union Depot in Deep Ellum eventually being demolished in 1935.[19]

[ii] Not to be confused with the Union Depot previously mentioned, located in East Dallas.

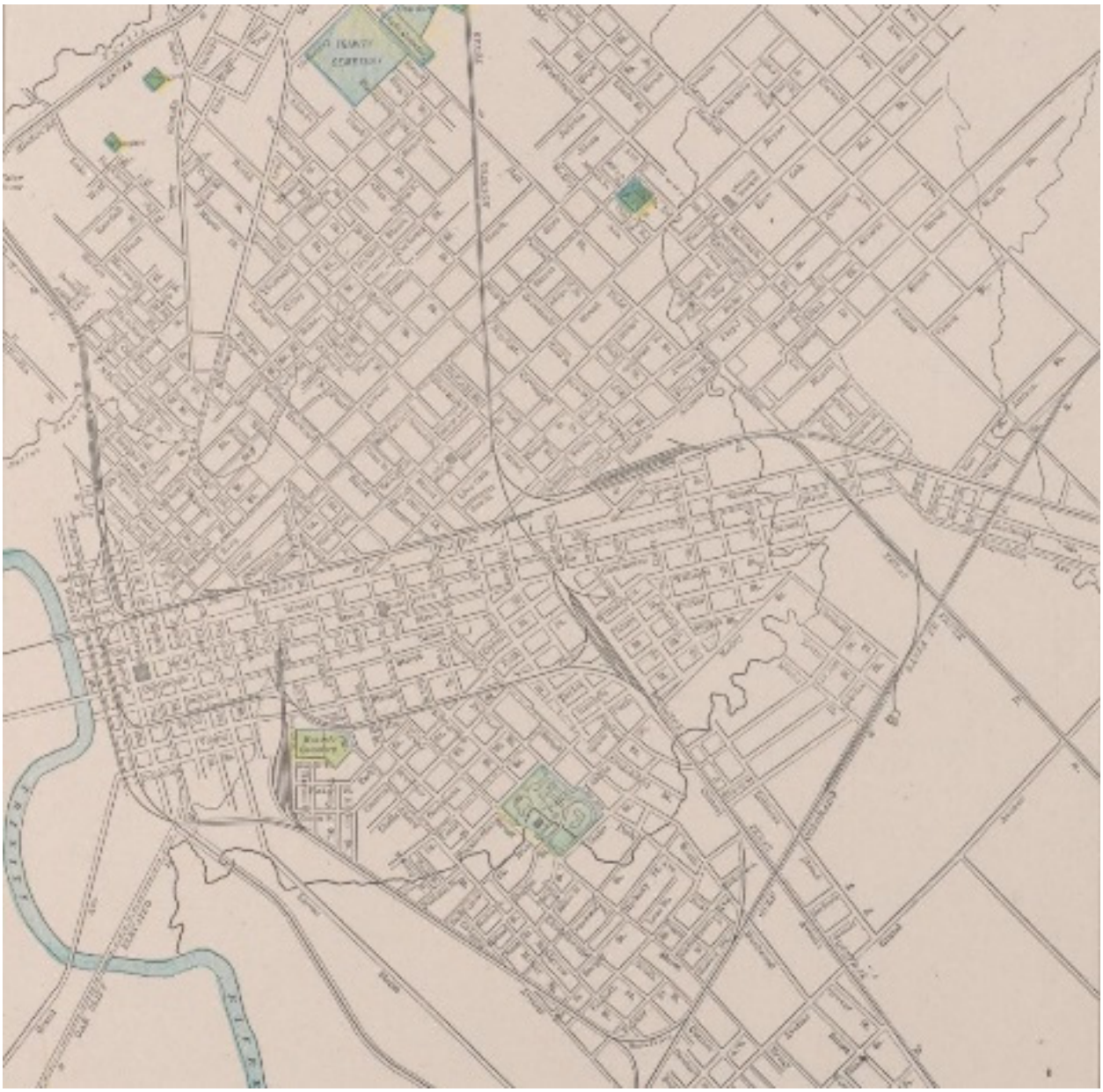


Figure II-50. Map of Dallas from around 1900 showing the multitude of rail lines converging at and around the downtown Dallas area. This congestion of railroad tracks, yards, and intersections caused excessive amounts of downtown rail traffic, leading to unsafe and unpleasant conditions. Source: Cram, George Franklin, 1841–1928, Dallas Texas, map, 1900, [Chicago, Illinois], University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting University of Texas at Arlington Library, accessed May 5, 2021 https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth231402/.



Figure II-51. Photograph from 1937, showing the 1916 Dallas Union Terminal located at 400 South Houston Street. The terminal's grand Neoclassical Beaux-Arts-inspired design and public plaza created a worthy entrance to the growing city. Chicago architect Jarvis Hunt designed the terminal. Source: "[Photograph Union Terminal with Fountain in Front]," photograph, September 9, 1937, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting Private Collection of Mary Newton Maxwell, accessed April 20, 2021, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth834072/m1/1/?q=union%20station%20dallas, .

To further reduce downtown congestion, the "belt" lines proposed by Kessler were finally developed in the early 1920s, the first phase of construction occurring with a T&P bypass route south of downtown. Individual railroad companies continued work on the beltline throughout the 1920s (fig. II-52).[20] The downtown area also saw huge changes to surface congestion when the GC&SF Railway undertook a massive endeavor to relocate its tracks underground in 1923–1925. Although passenger traffic reached its peak in 1920, Dallas was still a growing center for merchandising and wholesale trade in the Southwest, much of which relied on the railroad. Four new multi-story buildings, known as the Santa Fe Terminal Building complex, went up in tandem with the tunnel system, located in the blocks between Commerce and Young Streets near Griffin Street (fig. II-53). Three of these buildings, called Santa Fe Buildings 1, 2, and 4, are still extant and addressed as 1114 Commerce Street, 1122 Jackson Avenue, and 1033 Young Street, respectively.[21] This agglomeration of buildings provided much-needed space for warehousing and showrooms and was easily connected to the rail cars below via a system of tunnels. The 1912 consolidation of rail depots meant that land previously occupied by the earlier GC&SF rail station could be repurposed to house these new terminal buildings.[22]

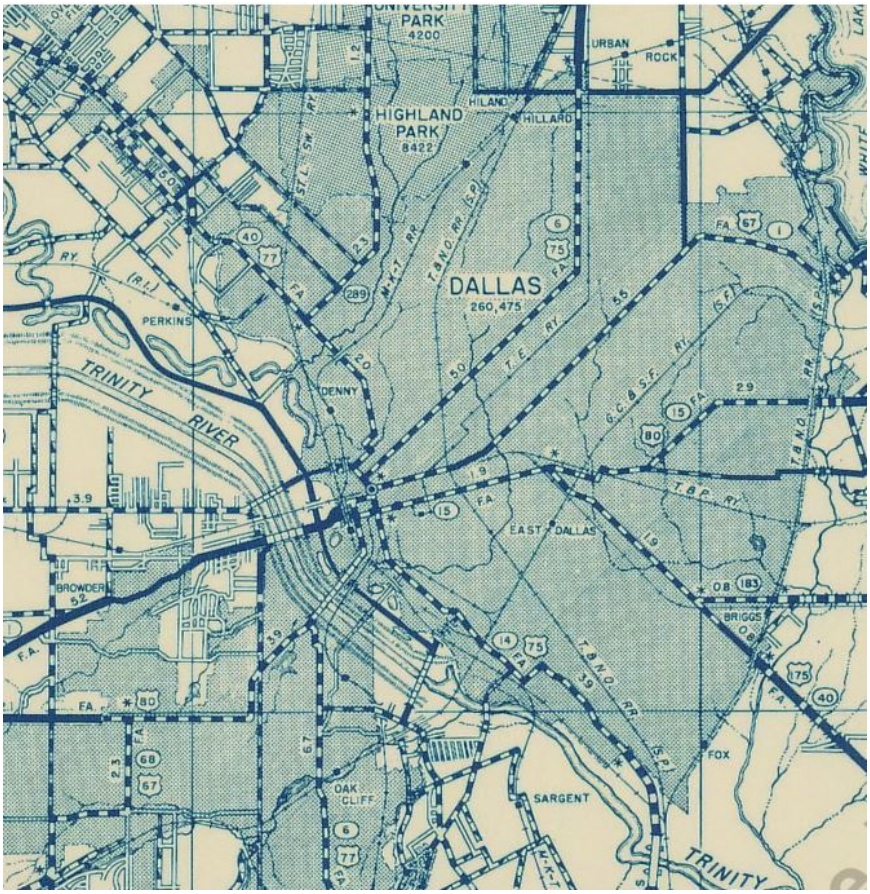


Figure II-52. Detail from a 1936 map showing Dallas highways and rail lines. The rail line at far right, labeled T.&N.O. RR (S.P.), is the completed belt line, allowing trails to circumnavigate the downtown area by routing further east of town. Source: Texas State Highway Department, in cooperation with the US Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Public Roads, 1936. Partially revised to February 1, 1940, "General Highway Map, Dallas County, Rockwall County, Texas," map, 1936, from the Texas State Archives Map Collection, accessed May 5, 2021, https://www.tsl.texas.gov/apps/arc/maps/maplookup/04838.



Figure II-53. Historic photograph of the Santa Fe Terminal Building Complex, with Santa Fe Building #1 in the foreground, on Commerce Street between South Field and South Griffin Streets. The terminal buildings consolidated rail-related warehousing, offices, and showrooms into several city blocks and were designed by architect Lloyd R. Whitson. Source: "Santa Fe Complex," Stanglin Collection PA84-12/53, Dallas Public Library crediting Frank Rogers, accessed Arpil 20, 2021, https://dallaslibrary2.org/dallashistory/photogallery/downtownliving/i_frame/santafe3.htm.

See Chapter 5. Distribution and Warehousing for more information about the relationship of warehouses to the railroad, as well as Chapter 6. Urban Planning for more about the Kessler Plan and its impact on the Dallas landscape and Chapter 10. Industry for more on Dallas's growth as a center for industrial activity in the Southwest.

Postwar Decline in Rail Use

After World War II, Dallas Union Terminal experienced the same fate as other passenger stations locally and nationally, with its use steadily declining. Despite a major interior renovation by architect Wyatt C. Hendrick from 1947 to 1950 to attract more passengers, use continued to drop. Industrial uses also began to drift further from the downtown area and often closer to trucking routes as well as or instead of rail lines. By the 1950s, USGS maps indicate a pocket of industrial activity northwest of downtown, between downtown and the Trinity River. While this area's eastern edge was adjacent to a rail line, much of the area was accessible only via roadways, indicating the growth of trucking as a viable means of industrial transport (fig. II-54).



Figure II-54. Aerial photograph from 1951, showing an industrial area developing northwest of downtown. Note that the area is flanked by both rail lines and auto routes, indicating the growing importance of trucking to Dallas industry. Source: Squire Haskins Photography, Inc. Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, "The industrial area near downtown Dallas, Texas," UTA Libraries Digital Gallery, 1951, accessed January 29, 2021, The industrial area near downtown Dallas, Texas | UTA Libraries Digital Gallery.

See Chapter 5. Distribution and Warehousing.

The last of the T&P *Texas Eagle* passenger trains pulled out of Dallas Union terminal in 1969. The City of Dallas—which was already operating Dallas Area Rapid Transit (DART) trains out of the station—purchased Union Station in 1972. After further renovations in 1974, Amtrak began serving the station in the same year, opening it to long-distance passenger traffic once again.[23] Amtrak revived the *Texas Eagle* line in 1981, following much of the same track as the original route.

The City of Dallas and DART purchased various railroad tracks and other rail-related resources throughout the late twentieth century. This trend evidences the City's commitment to maintaining these resources and developing public transit in the city. Some rail control towers remained in service well into the twentieth century. Tower 19 ceased operations in 1993 after Santa Fe sold its Dallas yard and some tracks to DART. While the tower is no longer in its original location, the structure moved to the

Museum of the American Railroad in Fair Park in 1996 and subsequently to Frisco when the museum relocated in 2011.[24]

CONCLUSION

The arrival of a junction of two important railroad lines, one running north-south and another running east-west, provided an immense advantage to the fledgling City of Dallas. The city quickly outgrew its status as a pioneer town and thrust itself into national and global economies. The ease of transportation gave Dallas a strategic advantage for many national businesses and allowed the city to grow as a center for manufacturing and trade. These connections abroad also bolstered Dallas's aspirations and capabilities to become one of the nation's major and ever-growing cities. The initial wealth created by early rail-associated commerce allowed the city to continue to grow in other realms throughout the twentieth century. The paths rail tracks took through the city, and the buildings and infrastructure associated with the railroad, gave early shape to Dallas, and the traces of this infrastructure are still evident today.

NOTES

[1] Library of Congress, "The Beginnings of American Railroads and Mapping," Collection: Railroad Maps, 1828 to 1900, accessed April 20, 2021, https://www.loc.gov/collections/railroad-maps-1828-to-1900/articles-and-essays/history-of-railroads-and-maps/the-beginnings-of-american-railroads-and-mapping/.

[2] Library of Congress, "The Transcontinental Railroad," Collection: Railroad Maps, 1828 to 1900, accessed April 20, 2021, https://www.loc.gov/collections/railroad-maps-1828-to-1900/articles-and-essays/history-of-railroads-and-maps/the-transcontinental-railroad/; "Transcontinental Railroad: Two railroads become one in Utah," Utah Division of State History, accessed April 20, 2021, https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=e679f80b19ed4482b10910f2a918946e.

[3] George C. Werner, "Railroads," *Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed May 6, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/railroads.

[4] Maxine Holmes and Gerald Saxon [Works Progress Administration], eds., *WPA Dallas Guide and History*, Denton: University of North Texas Press, 1992, 136-137.

[5] David F. Prindle, "Railroad Commission," *Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed April 20, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/railroad-commission.

[6] Werner, "Railroads"

[7] Holmes and Saxon, *WPA Dallas Guide,* 64,136

[8] "Houston & Texas Central Railway Company," *Dallas Herald*, July 31, 1858, Image 2. From The Library of Congress, Chronicling America, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84022278/1858-07-31/ed-1/seq-2/.

[9] Holmes and Saxon, *WPA Dallas Guide,* 137; Michael Hazel, *Dallas: A History of Big "D,"* Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1997, 31. From the University of Texas Libraries, https://search.lib.utexas.edu/permalink/01UTAU_INST/apl7st/cdi_proquest_ebookcentral_EBC1605669.

[10] *Dallas Weekly Herald,* Saturday July 6, 1872, Vol. XIX, Issue 43, 3.

[11] Holmes and Saxon, *WPA Dallas Guide,* 137.

[12] Holmes and Saxon, *WPA Dallas Guide,* 125.

[13] Paula Bosse, "The Old Union Depot in East Dallas: 1897-1935," *Flashback: Dallas,* June 10, 2014, accessed April 7, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2014/06/10/old-union-depot-east-dallas/.

[14] For more information, see: Joe Williams, "West End Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1978. From the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Resources%20Page/West%20End%20NRHD%20Form.pdf; Daniel Hardy and Terri Myers, "Historic and Architectural Resources of East and South Dallas, Dallas County, Texas," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1995. From the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Resources%20Page/Historic%20and%20Architectural%20Resources%20of%20East%20and%20South%20Dallas%201990.pdf; Daniel Hardy and Terri Myers, "Colonial Hill Historic District, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, February 2, 1995. From the Texas Historical Commission, https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/95000334/95000334.pdf.

[15] George E. Kessler, "A City Plan for Dallas," Prepared for the City of Dallas, 1911, 13. From the Portal to Texas History, citing the Dallas Municipal Archives, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth129158.

[16] See Joe R. Williams and Stephen Smith (Texas Historical Commission), "Dallas Union Terminal," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historic Commission, Austin, 1975, 2. From the City of Dallas Office of Historic Preservation, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/Union%20Station%20National%20Register%20Form.pdf.

[17] Williams and Smith, "Dallas Union Terminal," 2.

[18] "Towers 106 and 107 – Dallas Union Terminal," Texas Railroad History, accessed April 20, 2021, www.txrrhistory.com - Interlocking Tower 106 - Dallas, Texas; Jennifer Anderson, "Dallas Union Terminal Company and Union Station," City of Dallas Office of Historic Preservation, March 25, 2019, accessed April 20, 2021, https://cityofdallaspreservation.wordpress.com/2019/03/25/dallas-union-terminal-company-and-union-station/.

[19] Bosse, "The Old Union Depot in East Dallas."

[20] "Tower 118 (Belt Junction) and Tower 119 (T&P Junction) – Dallas," Texas Railroad History, accessed April 20, 2021, http://txrrhistory.com/towers/118/118.htm.

[21] For more on the Santa Fe Terminal complex, see Marcel Quimby, "Santa Fe Terminal #4," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 2004. From the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhallcom/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/Santa%20Fe%20II%20National%20Register%20Form.pdf; Ron Emrich, "Santa Fe Freight Terminal and Warehoues/Santa Fe Buildings," Dallas Landmark Commission Nomination Form, City of Dallas, January 19, 1998. From the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/Santa%20Fe%201%20

Landmark%20Nomination.pdf; Ron Emrich, "Santa Fe Freight Terminal and Warehouse #2/Garment Center," Dallas Landmark Commission Nomination Form, City of Dallas, 1998. From the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/Santa%20Fe%20II%20Landmark%20Nomination.pdf; Quimby, "Santa Fe Terminal #4."

[22] Quimby, "Santa Fe Terminal #4," 7.

[23] Williams and Smith, "Dallas Union Terminal," 8-1 – 8-2.

[24] "Tower 19 – Dallas," Texas Railroad History, accessed April 20, 2021, http://txrrhistory.com/towers/019/019.htm.

II-4| Municipal and County Governments (1846–Present)

INTRODUCTION

As the Dallas County seat, the City of Dallas has been the host of county government since 1846 and its own formal municipal government beginning in 1856. The relationship between these two political entities has evolved over time, and both continue to impact the built environment to this day, marking 1846 as the start of this theme's period of significance and roughly 1972 as its end. Municipal and county governments, including governing bodies as well as the policies and services they create, have had a fundamental impact on the way Dallas developed both as a city and a county. They enacted policies that had enduring impacts on the area's form, growth patterns, and social organization. Both city and county governments have also more directly marked the landscape by building some of the most enduring and monumental architectural landmarks to house their governmental services. Resources such as city halls and offices, county courthouses, fire stations, libraries, schools, and other public infrastructure are directly relevant to this theme. Municipal and county governments in Dallas are significant under Criterion A for their contributions to Politics and Government, Community Planning and Development, and Education.

WESTWARD EXPANSION AND AMERICAN CITY BUILDING

The formation of Dallas as both a city and county occurred as part of a nineteenth-century nationwide trend of westward expansion. The county developed during a period of growth in the US county system as a means of dividing large swaths of land for European American settlement. Before and during his presidency, Thomas Jefferson prioritized gaining and exploring new western territories as an agenda for nation-building and control of the lands of various conflicting nations and sovereignties.[1] Part of this endeavor included the surveying and division of western lands into parcels. States established counties, resulting in a neatly gridded system of counties in much of the American West. The concept of "manifest destiny," or the idea that expansion of the United States throughout new territories was justified and inevitable, was part and parcel to this political and territorial trend. Individual settlers were considered crucial to the growth of US sovereignty. Settlers dispersed throughout the western territories, clearing land and building preliminary homes such as log cabins and slowly forming small townsites. In the second half of the nineteenth century, federal and state entities also made land grants to railroads, spurring the growth of new rail-based towns and settlement along their path with rampant speculation and boosterism.[2] Some of these towns flourished and became larger and more permanent cities, which led to the creation of municipal governments to handle policing, public works, and taxation. In the early twentieth-century Progressive era, American city-dwellers advocated for the improvement of various public infrastructure and amenities, leading to an increased governmental presence regulating and developing US cities.[3] As the twentieth century progressed, governments took on increased responsibility in the urban context, expanding to incorporate new infrastructure such as roadways, bridges, waterworks, flood control, and public amenities like libraries, schools, and parks. Municipal governments also began adopting zoning ordinances in the early twentieth century, taking a role in shaping private development in addition to public works.

> ***Learn more!*** *Read about land grant policies in Texas in Chapter 2. Demographics and Settlement Patterns and the effects of railroads in Dallas in Chapter 3. Railroads. See also Chapter 13. Plazas and Parks for a deeper discussion of Dallas's public parks.*

LOCAL TEXAS GOVERNMENTS

Before the establishment of the Republic of Texas in 1836, the local unit of governance in Texas was the municipality, a Spanish system of governance. After 1836, these municipalities became counties, after which many new counties were formed. In 1846, Texans could establish counties by petitioning the government after becoming a US state. The number of counties grew rapidly from 36 in 1845 to 122 in 1860. The early responsibilities of these counties arose in response to the need for improved infrastructure and access and included road construction and maintenance, law enforcement, and tax collection. As counties grew, their needs expanded, and the Texas Constitution of 1876 increased the political organization of counties, including new legal, tax, law enforcement, and education positions.[4] These increased responsibilities led to heightened demands for the physical spaces that would accommodate bureaucratic functions. This era saw a boom in courthouse construction, with designs reflecting county growth as well as aspiration, incorporating imposing and ornate architectural styles such as Romanesque Revival.[5] In this era of rapid county growth, cities often competed for the honor of becoming county seat, as it provided fuel for growth.[6]

As counties grew in Texas, their population centers also changed in size, scope, and autonomy. After 1836 and throughout the nineteenth century, Texas Congress enacted laws that allowed cities to be incorporated into the Republic (and later the state) and granted "city charters," effectively keeping city government somewhat under state control.[7] After the adoption of the Home Rule Charters in 1913, Texas cities with over 5,000 inhabitants gained autonomy to write and adopt their own charters setting out their chosen form of government.[8] As municipal governments grew and gained power, the early twentieth century saw the erection of monumental city hall buildings often designed in the then-fashionable Beaux-Arts and Neo-classical styles, as well as the proliferation of support buildings for city services such as libraries and fire stations. City governments gained more power and organizational complexity throughout the twentieth century, leading to increased demands for employees, space to house new offices, and public infrastructure developments. Public schools in Texas also grew in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as tax funding and public demand for schools increased.

DALLAS COUNTY GOVERNMENT

EARLY EUROPEAN AMERICAN SETTLEMENT AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DALLAS

Dallas Emerges as Seat of County Government, 1841–1855

Europeans and European Americans did not formally settle Dallas as a townsite until the arrival of John Neely Bryan, a Tennessee-born trader, in 1841.[9] By 1842, deed records and correspondence already referred to the town of Dallas. Dallas County officially formed in 1846, with Dallas as its temporary county seat.[10] A planned military road and functioning river crossing gave Dallas an advantageous location as county seat. The County quickly established a tax rate and granted a ferrying license to John Neely Bryan and William Baker,[i] indicating that a county system helped raise funds for needed infrastructure. In its early years as a cluster of pioneer enclaves, Dallas County had several settlements of comparable size, including Fort Branch (the most populous in the mid-1840s), Cedar Springs, Dallas, and Hord's Ridge (later Oak Cliff).[11] Bryan's home, a log cabin, served as the initial makeshift courthouse,

[i] Further research would be necessary to determine William Baker's involvement. He may have been an early settler or an investory.

as well as post office and store.[ii] Bryan donated a city block at the center of the early townsite which he designated for the future courthouse in 1846 (fig.II-55). The perimeters of the block were Main Street, Jefferson Street (now Record Street), and Commerce Street.[12] The town's inhabitants built a small log cabin courthouse at the northeast corner of the donated square, an improvement on the previous accommodations inside Bryan's home (fig. II-56).[13]

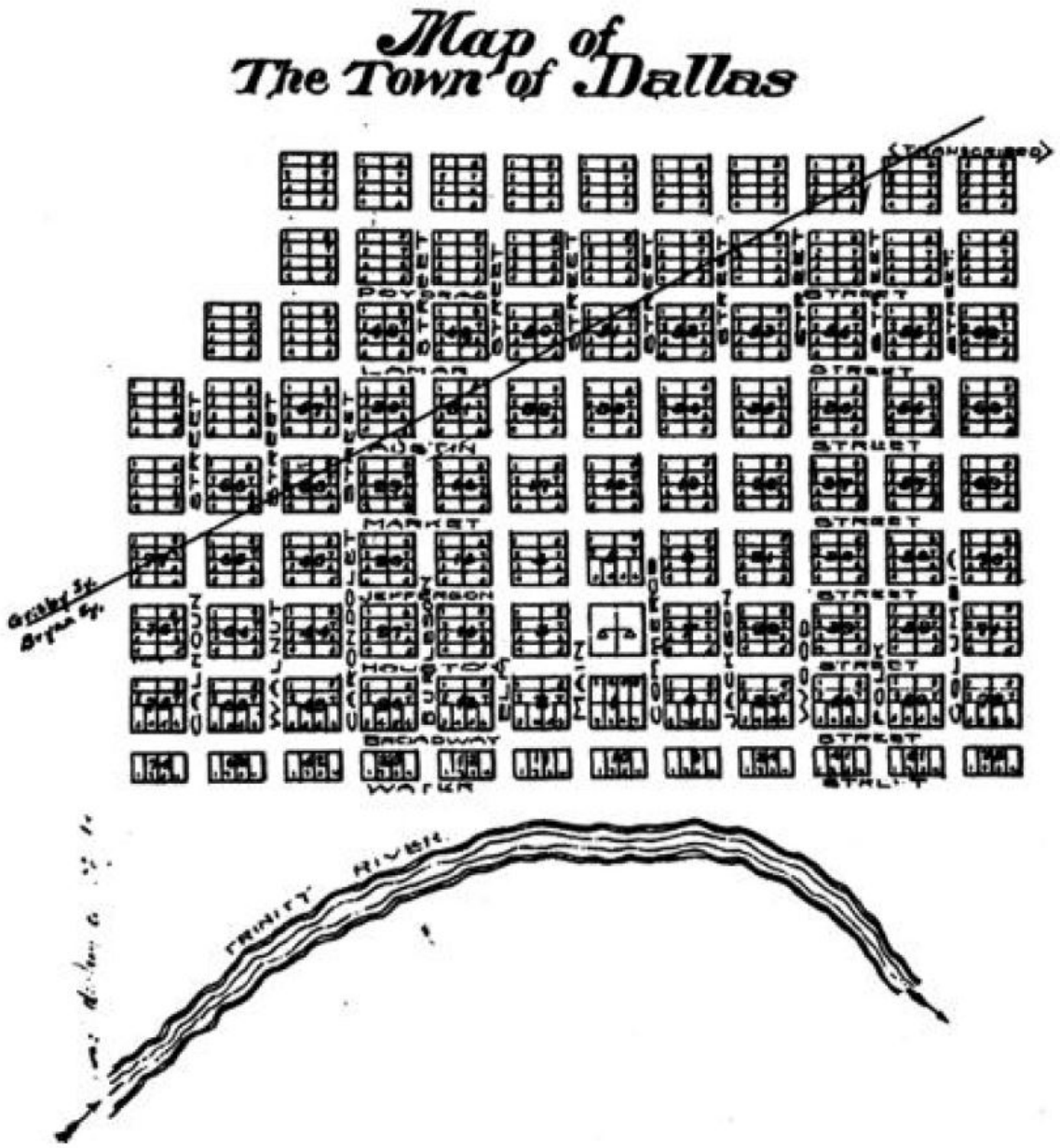


Figure II-55. Early town plat map of Dallas, the courthouse square is an open block with an image showing scales of justice. Source: Michael Hazel, Dallas: A History of Big "D" (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1997), 21, from ProQuest, p. 23, crediting Dallas Historical Society.

[ii] The log cabin currently located in courthouse square is a replica of Bryan's cabin, possibly built in the 1930s. *WPA Dallas Guide and History*, 44.



Figure II-56. Map showing approximate locations of Dallas County courthouse buildings over time. Sources: Willard B. Robinson and S. Elizabeth Sasser, "Dallas County Courthouse," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1976, 3; H. Brosius, "Bird's Eye View of the City of Dallas, Texas," Wikimedia Commons, accessed April 7, 2021, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/84/Old_map-Dallas-1872.jpg; Google Maps.

See Chapter 2. Demographics and Spatial Settlement Patterns for more about John Neely Bryan and early settlement in Dallas.

Although being the county seat afforded the small settlement of Dallas a certain degree of prestige compared to other nearby settlements and villages in the area, it remained comparable in size to its counterparts and barely won the runoff election as permanent county seat to Hord's Ridge in 1850.[14] Dallas sought to outgrow its pioneer-town log cabin courthouse and legitimize itself as a county seat in the 1850s. Some historical sources note that the County built a more permanent wood frame courthouse around 1850, which housed records and offices. According to some sources, district court sessions often took place at more comfortable settings such as a nearby barroom.[15] The County built a more durable courthouse in 1855, a two-story brick building (not extant), credited to John J. Good, J. M. Patterson, and W. W. Peak,[iii] which was the most impressive building in the town at the time.[16] Growth accelerated in Dallas after it became permanent county seat, especially around the courthouse square. Because visitors conducting legal business or summoned to serve as juror or witness had to pass by the courthouse square, the surrounding area benefited from foot traffic and experienced an increase in

[iii] Good, Patterson, and Peak were influential early Dallas businessmen and politicians. While none were architects, they are credited with designing the building or preparing the plans.

commercial activity.[17] The courthouse square quickly took on prominence as the center of town and remained the nucleus of county government and urban growth into the twentieth century.[18]

Growing Prestige, 1855–1892

Dallas residents were ambitious and eager for their town to grow, fighting hard for the city to be the crossroads of two rail lines—a boon to their economy and population—which eventually came to fruition in 1873 when the T&P arrived one year after the H&TC.[19] By 1871, Dallas County had grown significantly, and the County began construction on a larger, permanent limestone courthouse at the center of the courthouse square in 1872 (not extant, figs. II-57 and II-58), indicating the county's growth as well as their optimism and boosterism as an imminent railroad hub. The contract for the courthouse went to James Donegan, and after a fire in 1880, James Flanders (one of Dallas's earliest influential architects) designed a substantial renovation (fig. II-59).[20] Although Dallas continued to expand eastward along new rail lines during the late nineteenth century, the courthouse still marked the center of town. A small tower at the courthouse's center served as a landmark for new rail visitors, the highest point in downtown.[21] This courthouse suffered a second fire in 1890, which it did not survive. The County occupied yet another courthouse in 1892, designed by architect M. A. Orlopp of Little Rock, Arkansas (building extant, listed on the National Register, II-60).[22] This impressive and monumental courthouse, designed in a Romanesque Revival style, solidified Dallas County's prestige and relevance in an era of rampant courthouse construction in Texas. Further county growth and need for supplemental spaces is indicated by a nearby Dallas County Jail at the corner of Houston and Jackson Streets (no longer extant) as shown on 1885 Sanborn maps.

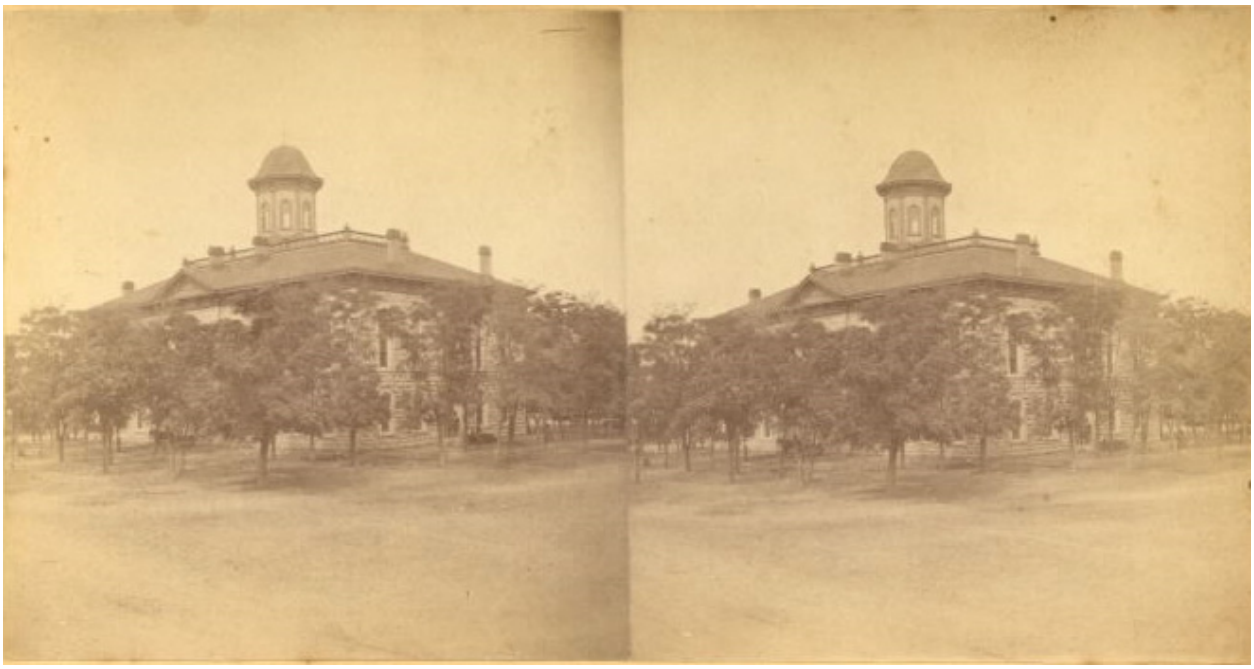


Figure II-57. Photograph of 1871 Dallas County Courthouse, built by James Donegan, sited at the center of the courthouse square. Source: Texas Historic Sites Atlas, Atlas Number 4302002354, https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/.

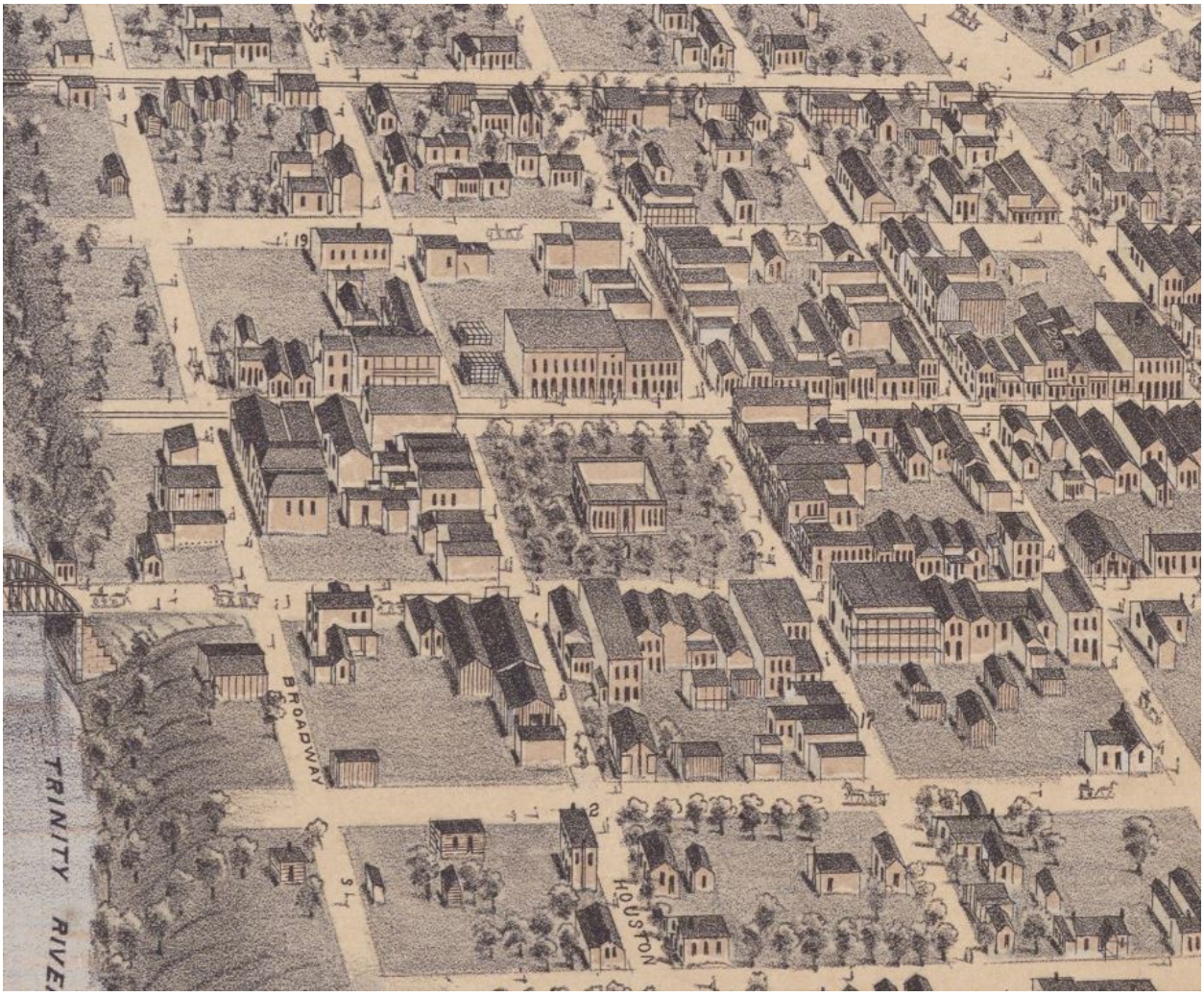


Figure II-58. Detailed view of an 1872 birds-eye map of Dallas showing the county courthouse building under construction. Source: Wikimedia Commons, crediting Dallas Historical Society, accessed March 15, 2021, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Old_map-Dallas-1872.jpg.



Figure II-59. Photograph of the 1881 Dallas County Courthouse. This building, designed by James Flanders, was a remodeled version of the 1871 courthouse which suffered fire damage in 1880. Source: Pinterest.com, accessed March 15, 2021, https://www.pinterest.com/pin/91127592440787990/.



Figure II-60. Tinted photograph of the 1892 Dallas County Courthouse located on the courthouse square and designed by M. A. Orlopp. Source: "[Postcard with a Tinted Photograph of the Dallas County Courthouse]," postcard, October 27, 1907, The Portal to Texas History, crediting Private Collection of Margay Welch, accessed January 6, 2021, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth744167/m1/1/?q=dallas%20county%20courthouse, .

CONSOLIDATION AND EXPANSION OF COUNTY SERVICES

Dallas County began a long trend of urbanization and population growth after around 1920, placing new demands on the kinds of services the county government provided. Beyond the initial functions of tax collection and legal proceedings, the County was responsible for county highway construction and maintenance, public health and assistance, and greater judicial and criminal needs. This trend expanded the needs for physical space for County buildings. To meet this demand, the County built structures such as the Criminal Courts Building at 501 Main Street, finished in 1915 and designed by local architect H. A. Overbeck (extant, fig. II-61). The county also began constructing roadways and bridges in the early twentieth century, with partnership from the Texas Highway Department after 1917.[23] Dallas experienced another growth spurt after World War II, and by that point Dallas County was sorely in need of an updated courthouse. While some advocated for demolishing the 1892 courthouse (known as "Old Red"), the County ultimately decided to maintain the building and construct a new "government center" complex in the eight blocks bound by Elm, Jackson, Houston, and Market Streets, closing Record Street to through traffic.[24] In 1966 Dallas County erected a new, larger courthouse, with Modern and Brutalist influences, designed by Associated Architects and Engineers, to replace the 1892 building (which is still used for county functions; fig. II-62).[25] Other county facilities including district and criminal courts and district attorneys moved to the new complex.[26] This consolidation of county functions and creation of a large-scale urban center, crowned with a new Brutalist-style building, illustrates Dallas County's massive growth, its continued desire to contend as a modern and relevant entity, and the centralization of county services.



Figure II-61. Photograph of Dallas County Criminal Courts Building, showing the expansion of County needs and services, located at 501 Main Street, 1978. Source: Hardy, Daniel & Moore, David [Dallas County Criminal Courts Building, (Southwest Oblique)], photograph, 1978, The Portal to Texas History, crediting Texas Historical Commission, accessed March 15, 2021, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth688133/?q=dallas%20county%20courts%20building.



Figure II-62. Postcard of the 1966 Dallas County Courthouse showing its modern design and greatly expanded facilities. The courthouse is located in the block bound by Commerce, Jackson, South Market, and South Houston Streets, designed by Associated Architects and Engineers. Source: "Images for Dallas County, Texas," CourthouseHistory.com, accessed March 15, 2021, http://courthousehistory.com/gallery/states/texas/counties/dallas.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

ESTABLISHING AND DEFINING AN EARLY CITY

By 1856, the Texas legislature granted Dallas a town charter due to demand from residents for greater government and police protection, and the town organized its first local government.[27] Growth of municipal services in Dallas came to a standstill during the Civil War, and the town was temporarily controlled by military appointment from 1867 to 1872 during the Reconstruction era.[28] From 1856 to 1872, City aldermen met in various rented locales but had no official meeting place.[29] Dallas restructured its government in 1871, changing from the original town charter to a city charter with an elected mayor and aldermen for respective wards. At the same time, the city grew to three times its original land area, indicating that a system of wards and aldermen may have been necessary to oversee larger and more varied parts of the city.[30] The post-Reconstruction era also saw the growth of municipal services that had been halted by the war, such as a fire department. The Dallas Fire Department was established in response to one of several local fires that caused great destruction in the downtown area in 1860, and by the 1870s the department had evolved into four companies with a total of 168 men.[31]

The City government moved into its first formal city hall around 1872, a rented space on the second floor of a house at the corner of Commerce and Jefferson (currently Record) Streets—almost next door to the county courthouse—which included market stalls and city offices (no longer extant).[32] The proximity of this early city hall to the county courthouse indicates the relative importance of county government as the nucleus of the nascent city. A statement from Mayor Ben Long in the 1873 *Dallas*

Daily Herald suggested that the shared space may have meant that the City, "which has no money to build [a city hall] herself," was still in a tenuous financial situation.[33]

As Dallas became less centered on county government and began to grow as a city, subsequent city hall buildings moved farther away from the county courthouse. This anchored the downtown to the east as it continued to expand in that direction, following the railroad tracks. In 1881, a building on Commerce and Lamar Streets (no longer extant) housed the City offices, as well as the fire department (fig. II-63). By that point, the City had already begun planning for a more permanent space, which did not come to fruition for several years. The foundations for the new city hall were laid in 1887, and the Renaissance Revival-style stone building, designed by local architects Bristol & Clark, opened at Commerce and Sycamore (now Akard) Streets in 1889 (not extant, fig. II-64).[34] The siting of this city hall continued the eastern trajectory, but was a more central compromise as some city council members advocated that it should be located "as far east as Harwood Street" in anticipation of eastern growth.[35] City council also debated what the contents of the new building should be. Some hoped to include a myriad of services, including a market house, calaboose, and tool house. Ultimately the building housed many but not all services, including a municipal jail and a small library and reading room (fig. II-65).[36] These debates indicate a City with shifting roles attempting to establish and redefine its relationship and functions within the urban fabric.

During the 1889 move, the Dallas Fire Department separated from city hall, constructing a new fire station at the corner of Commerce and Harwood Streets in 1897.[37] By 1888, Sanborn maps also indicate a large city office building one block away at Field Street between Commerce and Main Streets (no longer extant), perhaps temporarily housing additional services as City offices were re-housed and organized with the move.



Figure II-63. Photograph of the 1881 Dallas City Office, located at Commerce and Lamar Streets, one of several early buildings that hosted City government in the late nineteenth century. Source: City of Dallas, "History of Dallas City Hall Buildings," Municipal Archives, accessed March 15, 2021, https://dallascityhall.com/government/citysecretary/archives/Pages/Archives_buildings.aspx.



Figure II-64. Architectural drawing for the 1889 Dallas City Hall, which was later demolished to make way for what is now the Adolphus Hotel. Located at Commerce and Akard Streets, designed by architects Bristol & Clark. Source: City of Dallas, "History of Dallas City Hall Buildings," Municipal Archives, accessed March 15, 2021, https://dallascityhall.com/government/citysecretary/archives/Pages/Archives_buildings.aspx.

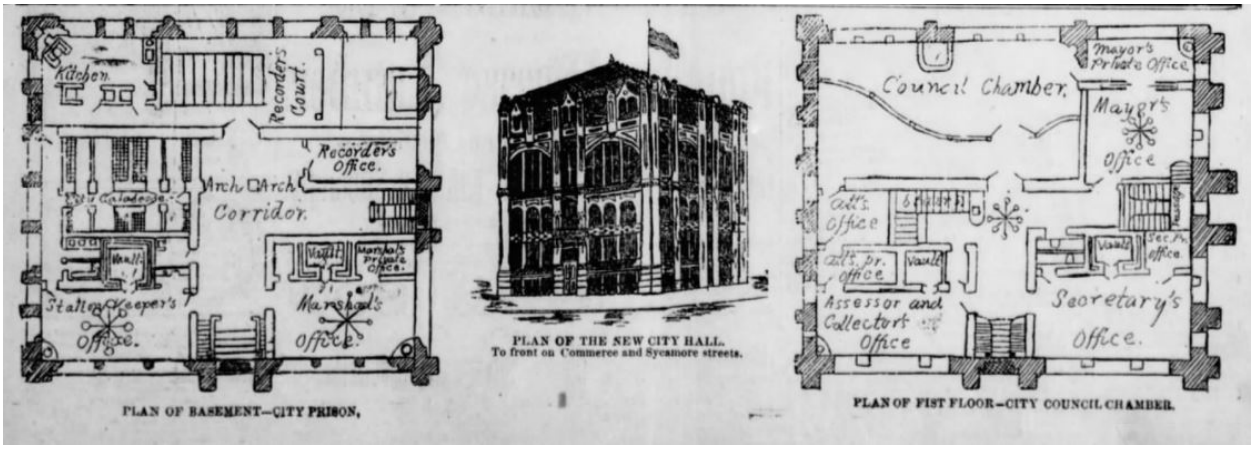


Figure II-65. Sketch of the architectural plans for the Basement and Level 1 of the proposed 1889 City Hall building, as published in the November 1887 Dallas Daily Herald. Source: "Mayor Connor Resigns: Interesting Council Proceedings," Dallas Daily Herald, November 21, 1887, 1.

"Bubble Cities" and Urban Growth via Annexation

The City of Dallas has grown steadily and greatly throughout its history—both in terms of population and land area—and a large part of that growth can be attributed to the City's annexation of surrounding suburban areas and previously independent towns. Deep Ellum, originally a Freedom Town, and a later Black business district situated along Elm Street, also informally agglomerated into Dallas due to its proximity to a railroad terminal built in 1872.[38] East Dallas incorporated as its own city in 1882, but then was annexed by Dallas in 1889, which officially made Dallas the most populous city in Texas by 1890.[39] Oak Cliff followed shortly thereafter, incorporated in 1891 and annexed in 1903–1904.[40]

Cities such as Highland Park, University Park, Fruitdale, and Preston Hollow, which flanked Dallas on all sides, were incorporated from 1913 to 1939, but remained suburban cities with their own governments.[41] These independent "bubble cities" maintained their own policy departments, school districts, zoning ordinances, and taxation systems. While Highland Park and University Park remain independent, Preston Hollow became annexed in 1945, and Fruitdale in 1964.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE MODERN CITY AND EXPANDED MUNICIPAL NEEDS

The timeframe between the late 1880s and 1930 saw rapid municipal growth as the city's population and economic prominence grew. The City secured and expanded municipal water resources by purchasing the Dallas Hydrant Company (established in 1873) in 1881, and constructed dams in 1910 and 1911 to deal with water shortages.[42] In the early twentieth century, the City of Dallas built a new filtration plant and a sewage disposal plant.[43] Due to recurring flood issues, the City began to move and straighten the course of the Trinity River to prevent flooding in 1930, which had a profound impact on the potential for reliable urban growth.[44] While some streets were paved with wood and macadam in the 1800s, brick and cement paving occurred at the end of the nineteenth century.[45] The Fire Department also grew, with a new station at Commerce and Akard Streets in the late nineteenth century, and the Fair Park station, hosting "Old Tige," at Second and Perry Avenues, in 1907 (fig. II-66).[46]



Figure II-66. Historic photograph of the Fair Park Station, or Station No. 5, of the Dallas Fire Department. At the corner of Kentucky and Parry Avenues, the 1907 station had spaces for horse-drawn equipment and for living spaces. Source: "Station 5," The Dallas Firefighter's Museum Gallery, accessed March 15, 2021, https://dffm.smugmug.com/Stations/STA05/i-fqnttTb/A.

***Learn more**! Read about the Trinity River's role in Dallas's history in Chapter 1. Geography and Topography*

In 1850 there were 10 single-teacher public schools throughout Dallas County, and by 1856–1857, the City was collecting public money for its schools.[47] However, there were not enough educational institutions to meet the need, and religious schools provided the primary means of instruction. After 1877, the City took charge of public education, creating schools in each of its four wards, for White

students. The City established a tax in 1883 to raise funds for new two-story schoolhouses. In the following year, the Dallas Board of Education came to be, creating the Dallas Independent School District. The school district took responsibility for the four existing schools as well as a new school for Black students, eventually called the Booker T. Washington School. These schools were overcrowded by the mid-1880s, and some expanded, such as the 1889 Cumberland School, designed by Dallas architects Bristol & Clark at 1901 North Akard Street (extant, a Dallas City Landmark Structure; fig. II-67).[48] The expansion of the school district continued in the twentieth century, and the school district grew with 13 new buildings in the first two decades of the century.[49]



Figure II-67. Photograph depicting the 1889 Cumberland Hill School, an early school building managed by the Dallas Independent School District. The school building is located at 1901 North Akard Street. Source: Rene Martinez Hill, "Dallas Little Mexico's School," Dallas Gateway, Feb. 18, 2018, accessed March 15, 2021, https://dallasgateway.com/dallas-little-mexico-school/.

Although several libraries existed in Dallas in the late nineteenth century, they were dependent on the private fundraising of devoted citizens and were subsequently only intermittently run.[50] City directories and Sanborn maps from the mid-to-late 1880s indicate a "Public Library" in a commercial building at 808 Main Street, likely organized by early Dallas women's clubs. The small library in the 1889 City Hall showed the City's willingness to take on responsibility for a public library. The first building dedicated entirely to library functions did not open until the erection of the 1901 Carnegie Library at Commerce and Harwood Streets, which hosted an auditorium and art gallery (which would grow to become the Dallas Museum of Art) on its second floor (not extant, fig. II-68). Architects R. Sanguinet and Carl G.

Staats, based in Fort Worth, designed the library.[51] The first branch library, the Oak Cliff Library (not extant), also partially funded by Carnegie, opened in 1914, and several more branches opened throughout the 1930s.[52]



Figure II-68. Photograph showing the 1901 Carnegie Library, likely from the 1930s. This building was located at Commerce and Harwood Streets and designed by architects R. Sanguinet and Carl G. Staats. Source: "Dallas Guide and History," unpublished manuscript prepared for the American Guide Series, written and compiled by the Dallas Unit of the Texas Writer's Project of the Works Progress Administration, 1940, p. 228, from the University of North Texas Digital Library, accessed March 15, 2021, https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc28336/.

In 1904 the City of Dallas acquired Fair Park (extant, listed as a Dallas Landmark District, Texas Centennial buildings therein listed as a National Register historic district and National Historic Landmark), another important municipal asset which hosted the Texas State Fair as well as the 1936 Texas Centennial Exposition.[53] Local architect George L. Dahl worked with the City to build the exposition site and Art Deco buildings in eight months with the use of public and private funds. Buildings constructed during the Centennial Exposition by Lone Star Gas, Continental Oil, and Magnolia Oil Company, as well as the iconic "Big Tex" remain on-site.[54] Centennial buildings had continued use after the Exposition, hosting cultural institutions such as museums, theaters, and a music hall, in addition to the annual state fair. Of note, the Negro Hall of Life, another building erected for the event, was the only building demolished after the fair.

This rapid growth of needs and demands on municipal services meant that by 1910 Dallas had outgrown its previous city hall, and beer baron Adolphus Busch showed interest in purchasing the site of the 1897 building (now the Adolphus Hotel at 1321 Commerce Street). The City agreed to sell to Busch, using funds from the purchase to build a new city hall in 1914 on Harwood Street between Main and Commerce Streets (currently occupied by the University of North Texas College of Law), adjacent to the Central Fire Station (a Dallas Landmark Structure, fig. II-69).[55] This city hall, built in a Beaux Arts style and designed by Dallas architect Charles D. Hill, reflected dominant trends in American municipal architecture at the time, indicating the city's growth and rising prestige in the state and national economy. The building was also an early element in City Beautiful planning in Dallas, an American trend that combined neoclassical architecture with planned urban greenspaces for urban respite. This building, much larger than the previous one, was able to house additional offices that had been renting space throughout the city. These offices included the board of education, water, sanitary, and engineering departments, the city park board, city chemist, and an auditorium.[56] While many of the properties surrounding the new city hall were residential in 1913, the new building continued the trend of eastward expansion and spurred further commercial and civic growth. The idea of staking out new ground and preempting eastern growth seems to have remained a valuable endeavor to the City, as this property was quite expensive and coveted at the time.[57] This city hall expanded to encompass two adjacent buildings—both adjoined to the city hall via hyphens—the adjoining E. R. H. Green mansion in 1926, which housed the City Health Department, and a 1956 Streamline Moderne addition that housed further offices now known as the Municipal Courts Building.[58]

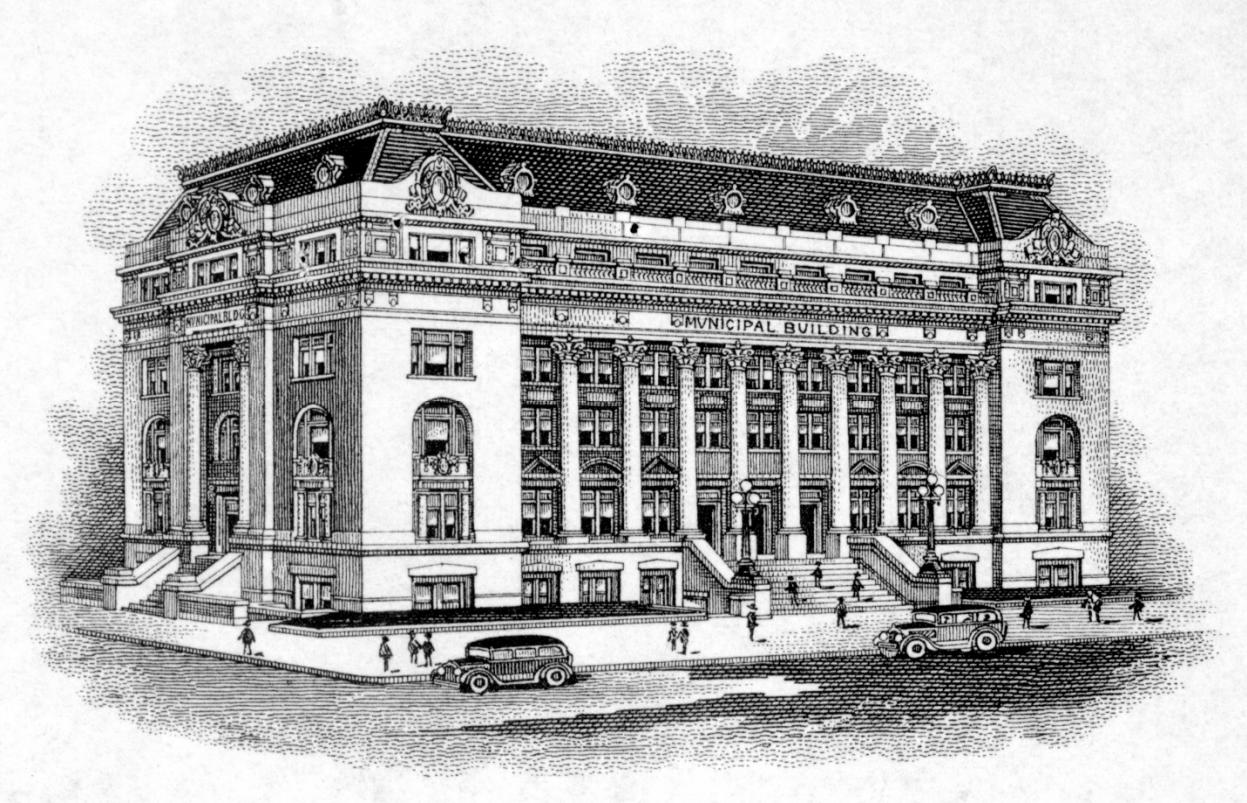


Figure II-69. Drawing of the 1914 City Hall or "Municipal Building," the most eastern city hall location on Harwood Street, solidifying the City's prominence as its own entity. The building was located between Main and Commerce Streets and designed by Charles D. Hill. Source: City of Dallas, "History of Dallas City Hall Buildings," Municipal Archives, accessed March 15, 2021, https://dallascityhall.com/government/citysecretary/archives/Pages/Archives_buildings.aspx.

In the postwar era, the City's continuing growth required further municipal expansion. In 1954, the City replaced the original Carnegie Library with a new, Modernist-style central library at the corner of Commerce and Harwood Streets, designed by Dallas's George L. Dahl (extant, fig. II-70).[59] The growing population necessitated further expansion of the public school system, with City Directories showing a proliferation of school buildings, expanding by almost 150 percent between 1950 and 1960.



Figure II-70. Photograph showing the 1954 Dallas Public Library, located at Commerce and Harwood Streets and designed by George L. Dahl. Source: Dallas Public Library, "About Us: The History of the Dallas Public Library," accessed January 22, 2021, http://dallaslibrary2.org/about/history.php.

In 1964, the Dallas City Council appointed a Citizens City Hall Site Committee to investigate an appropriate location for a new city hall building, as the old one had become outdated and cramped due to further expansion of City services in the mid-twentieth century.[60] The city hall still in use today at 1500 Marilla Street opened in 1978, and was designed by world-renowned architect I. M. Pei, based in New York City (fig. II-71).[61] This geographic return to a site on the west end of downtown reflected a late-twentieth-century consolidation of governmental buildings in the downtown area and a closer relationship between county and state governments. In addition to desires for a more updated building and proximity to the highway (rather than the congested downtown commercial district), the site was specifically desirable because of its proximity to County and federal buildings.[62] One informant for the *Dallas Morning News* commented that "an inevitable move toward consolidation of some governmental services now provided separately by City and County would logically point to the suggested location."[63] The new city hall hosted 1,400 workstations and even more services than before, including the Department of Housing and Urban Rehabilitation, public utilities, and building services, as well as a monumental open plaza reflecting mid-century monumental tastes.[64] The City of Dallas continues to operate within this building today.



Figure II-71. Photograph showing the 1978 Dallas City Hall building, returning to a westward location, and forming a more consolidated governmental complex with both County and City offices. Located at 1500 Marilla Street and designed by I. M. Pei. Source: WBAP-TV (Television station: Fort Worth, Tex.) "[Dallas City Hall]," photograph, 197?, The Portal to Texas History, crediting UNT Libraries Special Collections, accessed March 15, 2021, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1611333/?q=dallas%20city%20hall.

CONCLUSION

Municipal and County governments have had a lasting impact on the growth and organization of Dallas. City and County buildings reflected the growth of Dallas from its beginnings as a pioneer settlement with only a handful of log cabins, through the massive 1978 City Hall building. Furthermore, political organization has impacted institutions such as schools, infrastructure projects, and other public spaces. Governmental structure dictated the way Dallas and outlying cities grew, and eventually impacted the urban fabric directly through planning. As a City with many outlying separate municipalities, Dallas has a unique patchwork of public systems. Growth of governmental offices also reflected and influenced urban growth and settlement patterns throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The period of significance begins with the foundation of Dallas County in 1846 and extends to 1972.

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II-5| Distribution and Warehousing (1872–1972)

INTRODUCTION

Beginning as a small trading post on the Trinity River, Dallas evolved into one of the country's principal distribution hubs. The city's status as a distribution and warehousing center developed along with its transportation networks, industries, and growing population. Clusters of warehouses first developed in the nineteenth century along rail lines. Expanded highway and air travel in the twentieth century facilitated new warehouse districts outside the city's central core. The beginning of the period of significance for this theme corresponds to the railroad's arrival in 1872. The period of significance ends in 1972, although distribution and warehousing remain a significant theme in Dallas today. Resources associated with distribution include warehouses, industrial parks, and transportation infrastructure. These resources may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A with areas of significance including Commerce, Community Planning and Development, and Industry.

OVERVIEW OF DISTRIBUTION AND WAREHOUSING

Areas of trade and distribution followed settlement across the country. As settlements grew and people required more goods, centers of distribution developed, and businesses constructed warehouses for storage of goods. Before the arrival of the railroad, distribution centers primarily developed on waterways: the ocean, lakes, and rivers. Some of the first distribution centers included New York City, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New Orleans. In Texas, coastal cities including Galveston, Indianola, Aransas, Matagorda, and Corpus Christi developed as supply points for Spanish missions in the seventeenth century.[1] By the mid-nineteenth century, Galveston emerged as the principal port and was designated an official port of entry by the Mexican government in 1825.[2] Houston also established itself as an important early distribution center, as merchants and farmers used the Buffalo Bayou to transport goods to and from Galveston as early as the 1830s. Across the interior of Texas, small trading posts developed in areas of settlement, typically near fertile agricultural lands and on established roads. At these small posts, trade occurred between Native Americans, the military, and settlers.

The rapid railroad construction after the Civil War facilitated the development of inland distribution hubs across the country. Cities strategically located on multiple rail lines, like Denver and Dallas, grew into large regional distribution hubs, developing alongside industry and wholesaling in the late nineteenth century. By the early twentieth century, major ports, including New York, San Francisco, and Galveston, remained some of the busiest importers and exporters, though inland cities including Chicago were also heavily involved in distribution. President Woodrow Wilson's signing of the Reorganization of the U.S. Customs Service in 1913 benefited some inland distribution centers by establishing 49 new national ports of entry, including Dallas.[3]

Port of Entry Status Significance

Designation of a national port of entry was advantageous to importers, whose goods could be received and stored in bonded warehouses secured by the federal government. Importers and distributors saved money by using a bonded warehouse because cargo was stored duty-free until leaving the warehouse. In cities without bonded warehouses, traders and merchants received goods from ports of entry and paid duties, shipping, storage, and insurance fees. Bonded warehouses eliminated many of these fees and inconveniences.[4]

Distribution grew even bigger in the mid-to-late twentieth century as populations, manufacturing, and mass production increased. As automobiles and air travel enabled greater connectivity, trucks and airplanes supplemented railroads in the distribution of goods. As a result, warehouses were bigger and

often constructed in planned districts with other light industry, located along major roadways and further from downtown.

DALLAS: THE SOUTHWEST'S PRINCIPAL DISTRIBUTION CENTER

ESTABLISHING A DISTRIBUTION HUB

Dallas was settled as a trading post in the mid-nineteenth century. Over the three decades after its founding, a small area around the courthouse developed into the core of commercial activity for residents in and around Dallas. During this period, the city's population steadily grew as new residents arrived, many under the assumption that dredging the Trinity River would transform Dallas into an inland port. Though ships would never navigate between Dallas and the Gulf of Mexico, a network of railroads laid in the late nineteenth century positioned Dallas at a strategic crossroads for transporting goods in and out of the state.

Between 1872 and the turn of the century, multiple railroad companies constructed miles of tracks across the city. The arrival of the railroad brought new jobs, industry, and residents. Facilitated by the rail, Dallas emerged as a major trade center for area farmers, who grew crops including cotton and wheat. Manufacturers—attracted by the region's fertile lands, expanding workforce, and railroads—came to Dallas and established new industries, including agricultural processing and garment making. The city's growing industries and population also created demand for a greater variety of goods not manufactured in Dallas. As a result, the growing number of goods entering and leaving the city created a need for storage.

> ***Learn more!*** *Refer to Chapter 10. Industry to learn more about the history of various industries, including the garment and agricultural implement industries, in Dallas.*

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, several areas on the periphery of downtown emerged as warehouse districts. Located along railroad tracks, the area now known as the West End was the city's first warehouse district. Located north of the courthouse and loosely bounded by the Texas and Pacific Railroad, the Houston and Texas Railroad, the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, and the Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe, the area experienced a commercial and warehouse construction boom during this period. Along the rail lines, retail and wholesale firms built new warehouses and stores. The multi-story masonry buildings, many reflective of the popular forms and styles of the time, were generally constructed on vacant lots, though some older buildings gave way for new construction.[5] A variety of businesses constructed warehouses in the district, but agricultural implement companies comprised a high percentage of the businesses with warehouses. As agricultural production in the region increased and grew in economic importance, so too did the demand for various implements and equipment including plows, cultivators, and wagons. As a result, the West End emerged as the major farm implement distributing center for North Texas, with out-of-state companies including Parlin and Orrendorff (1905, 601 Elm Street), John Deere, (1902, 501 Elm Street), and Southern Rock Island Plow Company (1901, 409 Elm Street) building offices and warehouses in the district (fig. II-72).



Figure II-72. The John Deere Building at 501 Elm Street in the West End historic district. Built in 1902, the building is contributing to both the local and National Register historic districts. The brick, multi-story building has Chicago School architectural influences and is reflective of the warehouses built in the West End in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Source: HHM, 2020.

> ***Learn more!*** *Find the National Register and local historic district nominations for the West End Historic District online at https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/Pages/west_end.aspx.*

The railroad also facilitated the development of other warehouse clusters on the periphery of downtown in the early twentieth century. South of downtown, the Sears Roebuck Company opened a catalog merchandise distribution center on South Lamar Street and the Cotton Belt Railroad line around 1911 (fig. II-73).[6] The first of its kind outside of Illinois, the Sears warehouse stored goods and fulfilled catalog orders placed in the state.[7] The complex grew throughout the first half of the twentieth century, reflecting the city's growing market importance as well as its role as a major distribution center.



Figure II-73. Postcard of the Sears Roebuck complex on South Lamar Street. The complex currently consists of four buildings built in the 1910s (with multiple additions). Architects Lang and Witchell designed the buildings at 1401 and 1409 South Lamar Street between 1912 and 1915. Source: Ebay via *Flashback: Dallas blog*, accessed October 8, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2018/08/19/dallas-in-the-western-architect-1914-businesses/.

> ***Learn more!*** *Find the local nomination for the Sears Catalog Distribution Center online at https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Districts%20Page/Sears%20Landmark%20Nomination%20Form.pdf.*

Dallas Becomes a National Port of Entry

By the early twentieth century, Dallas was an established regional distribution hub, and local leaders pushed for official recognition as a US Port of Entry. Political influence, led by the Dallas Chamber of Commerce and its secretary J. R. Babcock, helped secure such a designation in 1913 with the passage of the Reorganization Act of 1913.[8] The designation not only recognized Dallas as a significant distribution hub but it also "mandated continued growth as a regional distribution and marketing center serving the Midwest, including parts of Oklahoma, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri."[9]

One area particularly impacted by the designation was Deep Ellum, east of downtown. Several industrial nodes existed in Deep Ellum as early as the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries along the Texas and Pacific and the Gulf Coast and Santa Fe Railroad lines, but the area generally remained residential in the early 1910s. Shortly after the passage of the act, in August 1913, the city's first bonded warehouse opened in Deep Ellum at 3200 Main Street (fig. II-74). The building's developers, Milam and Connor, chose the site for its access to rail lines, proximity to downtown, and affordable land.[10] In addition to serving as a US Customs warehouse, the building also included leased space. Another early tenant in the building was the warehouse operating company Interstate Forwarding Company, for whom the building is named. Over the next two decades, a number of warehouses and industrial

buildings filled in the area around the building, with Truck Avenue in particular emerging as a principal site for handling merchandise entering and leaving Dallas.[11] This development "mirrored a concurrent development that established Dallas as the mid-continent center for trade, manufacturing, and commerce rivaling the more established eastern and north markets."[12]



Figure II-74. The Interstate Forwarding Company Building at 3200 Main Street in Deep Ellum. Built in 1913 in the Chicago Style, the warehouse helped establish Deep Ellum as a distribution hub in the city. Source: HHM, 2020.

> ***Learn more!*** *Find the National Register and local landmark nominations for the Interstate Forwarding Building online at https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/Pages/interstate_forwarding_building.aspx.*

Warehousing and distribution remained vital activities in both the West End and Deep Ellum throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s and 1940s. In the West End, the Interstate Forwarding Company, having outgrown the Deep Ellum building, built its own warehouse in 1924 at 301 North Market Street. Just east of the district, the Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe Railway constructed the Santa Fe Terminal complex between 1923 and 1925. In addition to housing offices, the massive complex had sample rooms, merchandise storage, and wholesaling facilities that centralized the railroad's transferring and warehousing operation.[13] In Deep Ellum, Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company moved into the warehouse at 3200 Main Street in 1920. From the building, the company stored and distributed tires manufactured in its Akron, Ohio plant. Into the 1940s, companies continued building warehouses in Deep Ellum, reflecting the importance of distribution in the neighborhood. One of those companies,

Westinghouse Electric Supply Company, erected a new general office and warehouse at 601 Good Latimer Street in 1949 (not extant).[14]

> ***Learn more!*** *Find the National Register nominations for the Santa Fe Terminal Buildings #1 and #2 and Building #4 online at: https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/97000478/97000478.pdf and https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/11000344/11000344.pdf.*

EXPANDED DISTRIBUTION AND WAREHOUSING IN DALLAS

While the railroad maintained its role in distribution, advances in transportation in the mid-twentieth century introduced new patterns of development that spurred the construction of warehouse districts in areas further from downtown, where land was both more plentiful and affordable.

Trucking emerged as a viable means of shipping in the 1920s. As the highways improved and the road network expanded, new freight companies like Central Forwarding Warehouse Company opened (its freight business became Central Freight Lines in 1929, fig. II-75). Founded in 1925 in Waco, the company initially had one Model-T truck to transport stored goods from Dallas to merchants in Waco.[15] By the mid-1930s, over 30 freight trucking companies operated in Dallas, and several maintained corporate headquarters in the city. Together, these trucking companies employed around 15,000 people in Dallas and paid over $13 million in taxes a year in the 1930s.[16] City directories from the 1930s indicate trucking companies maintained warehouses and buildings across the city, some along rail lines and spurs, but many along major commercial streets. Unlike the nineteenth and early twentieth-century brick multi-story warehouses in the West End and Deep Ellum, motor freight companies typically built one- to two-story, reinforced concrete buildings large enough to accommodate a truck. In 1939, a *Dallas Morning News* article reported on Central Freight Lines' new freight building south of Deep Ellum, which included a dormitory and lounge for truck drivers, a concept "believed to be a new idea in such structures" (demolished around 2010).[17]



Figure II-75. The Central Freight Lines building at 2308 Inwood Road near Love Field (not extant). Built in 1951, the company occupied the building until the 1960s when it relocated to a larger site in Irving off Loop 12 and US 183. At the site, goods picked up in Dallas by company trucks were unloaded and reloaded in "line trucks" that then delivered the goods across East Central Texas and the Rio Grande Valley. Source: Squire Haskins Photography, Inc. Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries. "Central Freight Lines office building." UTA Libraries Digital Gallery. 1952. Accessed October 8, 2021, https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/20003840.

As freight companies operated across the city, new districts combining light industry and manufacturing and warehousing developed. With shipping no longer confined to rail, companies and developers relocated to areas easily accessible to major highways and newly opened airports where land provided

room for expansion because it was generally undeveloped and affordable. Unlike the development of earlier warehouse districts, which were integrated into existing city blocks and whose locations were largely driven by rail accessibility and proximity to industry, many new districts were specifically developed as light industrial and warehouse districts. Planned by real estate developers, many new districts were platted with specifications and regulations for building setbacks and height and building use, while others even integrated landscaping for beautification.

One of the earliest planned light industrial and warehouse districts was the Trinity Industrial District north of downtown. Developed on reclaimed land on the east bank of the Trinity River, plans for the district originated in the early twentieth century but did not transpire until the late-1940s, after additional flood control efforts diminished flooding risks in the area. Industrial Properties Corporation, headed by developer Leslie Stemmons and later by his sons John and Storey, filed a series of plats in the late-1940s, laying the groundwork for development in the district (fig. II-76). Two of the earliest buildings in the district were the Texas and Pacific and the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific railroads new freight depots, both built in the late 1940s (not extant). The construction of the freight depots and the laying of additional tracks in the district highlight the importance an integrated network of rail and streets was to the success of the district that saw most goods brought in by rail and shipped out on trucks. Much of the earliest development largely centered on Industrial Boulevard, but by the mid-1950s, a dense mix of small- to medium-sized buildings filled the district. Though planned as a mixed-use district, businesses primarily focused on wholesale and distribution operations rather than manufacturing. As such, to facilitate the movement of goods, the buildings were typically utilitarian in design and of masonry construction. Commonly one-story, the buildings had loading docks on their rear facades for rail access and service bays on their front façades for truck access (fig. II-77). On Oak Lawn Boulevard and Hi Line Drive, larger buildings with a more retail-like quality appeared, thanks in part to developer Trammell Crow and the construction of Stemmons Freeway (IH 35E) in 1959 that facilitated increased truck traffic.



Figure II-76. Aerial view of the Trinity Industrial District in 1947 in the early stages of construction. Source: Squire Haskins Photography, Inc. Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries. "Industrial district." UTA Libraries Digital Gallery. 1947. Accessed October 8, 2021, https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/10003623.



Figure II-77. Abandoned railroad easement between Cole and Leslie Streets. Note the loading docks on the rears for rail access. Source: HHM, 2009.

Trammell Crow

Trammell Crow (1914–2009), a Dallas native, was one of the city's most influential real estate developers in the postwar period. In 1948, Crow built his first warehouse at 139 Cole Street in the Trinity Industrial District (fig. II-78). Unlike other developers, Crow built the warehouse on speculation, securing a tenant (Ray-O-Vac Battery) after its completion rather than before. This business model was a dramatic departure from previous commercial real estate practices, but one that other developers adopted. For his part, Crow worked closely with the Stemmon brothers, developing more properties in the Trinity Industrial District on speculation. These buildings typically lacked front service bays and instead featured prominent showrooms with display windows, a building trend that others followed. By the 1950s, Crow was the city's most prolific warehouse builder and was responsible for developing the Dallas Decorative Center, Trade Mart, the Dallas Market Center, and the Dallas Home Furnishing Mart in the Trinity Industrial District. In Dallas, Crow developed numerous shopping malls, hotels, and office-residence complexes. By the 1970s, his company, Trammell Crow Company, worked nationwide, and in 1986 the *Wall Street Journal* dubbed Crow the largest landlord in the nation.[18]



Figure II-78. The 100 block of Cole Street, showing Trammell Crow's speculatively built warehouse. Also note the front loading bays. Source: HHM, 2009.

As goods began entering Dallas via air in the late-1930s, warehouse districts opened in proximity to the city's airports, luring some companies from older warehouse districts, including the West End and Deep Ellum. Love Field, which opened to civilian and commercial use in 1928, spurred the opening of several distribution parks during the historic period. One of the first airport-oriented parks, Airlawn Industrial Park, opened in 1938 immediately south of Love Field. Developed cooperatively between the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad and real estate brokers National Industries Corporation, Airlawn contained a mix of distribution warehouses and light manufacturing facilities.[19] Occupying 250 acres 4 miles from downtown, Airlawn had restrictions for minimum building setbacks, construction materials, and truck dock locations to create a suburban aesthetic.[20] Businesses with warehouses at Airlawn included US Rubber Company, Huttig Sash and Door Company, and American Thread, who moved from downtown to the park in 1943 for its bigger buildings and room for expansion (fig. II-79).



When completed late in 1949, the office and warehouse building sketched above will give the American Thread Company 50 per cent more room for its southwestern branch. The project is to be located at 6214 Cedar Springs Road.

American Thread Will Expand Plant

The second major expansion within five years for the American Thread Company's facilities here was announced at the annual banquet of the Dallas Chamber of Commerce Tuesday night at Hotel Adolphus.

A modern, 44,000-square-foot office and warehouse building will be constructed for the company at 6214 Cedar Springs Road in the Airlawn Industrial Park development by the National Industries Corporation of Dallas.

Work on the 1-story, steel, concrete and brick building is to start Jan. 20, with completion scheduled for Oct. 1, H. B. Pixley, vice-president of the developing firm, said. He set the cost of the building and its site at $375,000 and the total rental under a 20-year lease at $572,000.

The air-conditioned office part of the building will occupy 6,000 square feet. It will house the district sales office under the management of Walter Grayson Jr. and the Dallas branch under the direction of Theodore P. Hughes. The walls of the warehouse will be 90 per cent glass to give it the maximum amount of daylight. Facilities will include a lunchroom for employees.

The building will be set back 100 feet. The site will be landscaped, with ample parking space provided for customers and employees.

The American Thread Company opened a small office here in 1932 with a staff of six people, Hughes said. "In 1943 we established a branch here in the Perkins Building to serve Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma and a part of New Mexico. This is one of the company's nine branches.

"We have expanded our staff to fifty-nine people of whom fifteen are salesmen who travel out of Dallas.

"The new building will give us almost 50 per cent more room. In addition, more than 36,000 square feet of area adjoining the building will be available for future expansion.

The company operates ten mills of which five are in the South and five in New England. It is the largest producer of industrial thread and a major producer of cotton thread for home sewing and wool and cotton yarns. Our new plant will enable us to carry complete stocks of all our products."

The building was designed by F. J. Woerner & Company, architects and engineers. J. L. O'Rourke & Company are the contractors.



New home of Huttig Sash & Door Company, 6519 Cedar Springs Road, adds another modern structure to expanding Airlawn Industrial area.

Huttig Company Installed In New Airlawn Factory

The Huttig Sash and Door Company announced Saturday removal to its new plant at 6519 Cedar Springs Road in the Airlawn industrial district near Love Field.

A one-story buff-colored tile structure, the building contains 61,380 square feet of floor space, divided into office, display center, warehouse and factory areas. Grayson Gill was the architect and J. N. Meeks general contractor. Offices are air conditioned.

The company produces windows, doors, moldings, frames, cabinets, built-in woodwork, screens, insulation, garage doors, roofing and other building products, and operates through wholesale distribution exclusively with retail lumber dealers. Some manufacturing is done in Dallas but most products are received completely finished and ready for shipment. Others are machined elsewhere and assembled here.

The Texas corporation is a subsidiary of the Huttig Sash and Door Company of St. Louis. The parent company was organized in 1885 and began shipping to Texas in carloads more than forty years ago. In 1922 a plant was built in Dallas and used until the present one was completed.

Texas general manager is Creighton C. Graves; Ash P. Huse is assistant general manager; S. R. Butler, office manager, and Tom Lee King, superintendent.

Figure II-79. *Dallas Morning News* articles with drawings of new office/warehouse buildings construction in the late 1940s in Airlawn Industrial Area near Love Field. The American Thread building, at 6214 Cedar Springs Road was designed by F. J. Woerner & Company architects (not extant). The Huttig Company's warehouse at 6519 Cedar Springs Road was designed by Grayson Gill (extant but modified). Source: "Huttig Company Installed in New Airlawn Factory," *Dallas Morning News*, September 14, 1947.; "American Thread Will Expand Plant," *Dallas Morning News*, December 8, 1948.

Following the pattern set by Airlawn, other airport-oriented light industrial and warehouse parks opened in the vicinity of Love Field throughout the 1950s. Highland Industrial Park opened in the mid-1950s on US 77 12 with rail service provided by Rock Island and Frisco Railroads. Touted as an "attractive, planned garden-type industrial community," Highland Industrial Park also had setback regulations, planned landscaping, and control over the types of buildings and industries allowed.[21] Brook Hollow Industrial District also opened in the mid-1950s near Love Field. Located near US 183 and Stemmons Freeway (IH 35E), the district provided more than 9 million square feet of buildings on 1,200 acres for over 360 companies (fig. II-80). In 1957, the developers, Windsor Properties, opened a business park, Empire Central, next to Brook Hollow. Advertising efforts for the new industrial and business parks boasted the proximity to Love Field and downtown, access to major freeways, planned traffic patterns for smooth traffic flow, and architectural review for all buildings.[22]



Figure II-80. 1960 cover of *Dallas* magazine. Image looking southeast toward downtown from about Regal Row with US 183 in the center and IH 35E to the left. Brook Hollow Industrial District is located to the right of US 183. Source: *Flashback: Dallas blog*, accessed October 8, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2016/10/18/empire-central-and-its-fabulous-empire-club/.

By the 1960s, developers eyed property even further from downtown. Near Red Bird Airport (renamed Dallas Executive Airport) in southwest Oak Cliff, Red Bird Industrial Park opened in 1964 west of the airport on Loop 12 and Westmoreland Road. One of several industrial parks developed in the 1960s in the largely undeveloped section of the city, Red Bird Industrial Park was the largest and fastest growing.[23] In addition to proximity to the airport, the Santa Fe Railroad served the district, and it was "literally surrounded by expressways and main highways."[24] Its strategic location and availability of land saw the park more than double in acreage two years after opening. Among the firms with warehouses in the district were Norwich Pharmacal Co., Stokely-Fan Camp Foods, and Ford Appliance Co. The Oak Cliff Chamber of Commerce credited the industrial park as stimulating growth in Oak Cliff, ushering in "all phases of civic, cultural, residential, business and industrial development."[25]

By 1966, the 9 airlines, 9 railroad companies, and 37 motor freight lines that served Dallas moved approximately 20,000 tons of freight into the city daily, firmly establishing the city as the Southwest's leading distribution center.[26] Dallas retained this status throughout the historic period, as companies and developers continued building warehouses and industrial parks further from the city center and near major roadways. This trend continued after the period of significance, with the opening of Dallas-Fort Worth International Airport in 1973 and as the continued construction of highways and interstates facilitated even more movement of goods.

CONCLUSION

The nationwide pattern of distribution and warehousing played out in Dallas. Growing with its population, transportation networks, and industry, distribution developed into one of the city's most important economic sectors. Warehouses from the various phases of this history are located across the city: the oldest in the West End and Deep Ellum and newer ones located further from downtown along and near major roadways and airports. Reflective of this theme, the warehouses and other resources associated with distribution may be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A in the areas of Commerce, Community Planning and Development, and Industry.

NOTES

[1] Edward Coyle Sealy, "Galveston Wharves," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed October 7, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/galveston-wharves.

[2] Sealy, "Galveston Wharves," *Handbook of Texas Online.*

[3] Kellie Powers-Lawson, "The Interstate Forwarding Building/Goodyear Building," Dallas Landmark Nomination Form, City of Dallas Historic Preservation, June 22, 1990, p. 7, accessed October 1, 2021, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/Interstate%20Forwarding%20Building%20Landmark%20Nomination.pdf.

[4] Alan S. Mason, "Interstate Forwarding Company Warehouse," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, February 1992, 8-2, https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/92000021/92000021.pdf.

[5] Joe Williams, "Westend Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1978, 8-2, https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/78002918/78002918.pdf.

[6] Various *Dallas Morning News* articles from 1911 mention a Sears facility on South Lamar Street.

[7] "Store History – Texas: Dallas and Fort Worth," Sears Archives, accessed September 15, 2021, http://www.searsarchives.com/stores/history_texas.htm.

[8] Mason, "Interstate Forwarding Company Warehouse," 8-1.

[9] Mason, "Interstate Forwarding Company Warehouse," 8-2.

[10] Mason, "Interstate Forwarding Company Warehouse," 8-4.

[11] Powers-Lawson, "The Interstate Forwarding Building/Goodyear Building," 5.

[12] Powers-Lawson, "The Interstate Forwarding Building/Goodyear Building," 6.

[13] Peter Flagg Maxson and Henry Hall Wagner, Jr., "Santa Fe Terminal Buildings #1 and #2," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, May 1997, 8-9, https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/97000478/97000478.pdf.

[14] "Westinghouse Supply Plant Built to Meet Postwar Growth," *Dallas Morning News*, May 29, 1949, 1.

[15] Rajni Madan, "Central Freight Lines," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed September 14, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/central-freight-lines.

[16] *Dallas Morning News*, July 27, 1935, 6.

[17] "Dormitory and Lounge For Truck Drivers in New Freight Building," *Dallas Morning News*, November 2, 1938, 5.

[18] "Trammell Crow, Innovative Developer, Dies at 94," *The New York Times*, January 15, 2009, https://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/16/business/16crow.html.

[19] Theodore K. Pasma, *Organized Industrial Districts: A Tool for Community Development,* (United States: U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Technical Services, Area Development Division, 1954) 76, https://www.google.com/books/edition/Organized_Industrial_Districts/k65yuC3qbdMC?hl=en&gbpv=1&bsq=airlawn.

[20] Pasma, *Organized Industrial Districts*, 76.

[21] "'Boom Town' Dallas, U.S.A.," *The Rocket* (October 1955): 13, https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=sOlEAAAAIAAJ&pg=GBS.RA9-PA14&hl=en.

[22] Paula Bosse, "Empire Central and Its Fabulous Empire Club," *Flashback: Dallas (blog)*, accessed October 7, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.files.wordpress.com/2016/10/empire-central_1958_ebay.jpg.

[23] "Red Bird Industrial Park Sets City's Fastest Rate of Growth," *Dallas Morning News*, August 14, 1966, 11.

[24] "Red Bird Industrial Park Sets City's Fastest Rate of Growth," *Dallas Morning News*, August 14, 1966, 11.

[25] Jim Key, "Oak Cliff 'Red Bird' Ushers 'Golden Era,'" *Dallas Morning News*, August 14, 1966, 1.

[26] "Goals for Dallas," prepared for the City of Dallas, 1966, from the Dallas Public Library, 97.

II-6| Urban Planning (1844–1982)

INTRODUCTION

The history of urban planning sheds light on how Dallas developed and why. The period of significance for this theme begins with the original town plat in 1844 and continues through 1982. During this period, community organizations and the City of Dallas developed plans that recommended how the city should be laid out and how buildings should be constructed (fig. II-81). The history of city planning in Dallas is complex and full of various plans: some fully implemented and successful, some ineffective, and some counterproductive. Oftentimes, the members appointed to boards and commissions responsible for these plans historically came from privileged backgrounds, and their decisions furthered their own economic and political self-interests. Understanding this history helps one understand why some historic resources remain and why others were lost. This context is interrelated with many other context statements, including Highways, Roadways, and Automobiles, Suburbanization, Parks and Plazas, and Urban Renewal (cross-references provided in context where relevant), and nearly every cultural resource in Dallas bears the mark of urban planning. Some of the most relevant resources associated with this theme include historic districts, roadways, infrastructure systems, and parks. Significant associations with a historic urban plan may lend these resources eligibility for listing in the National Register under Criteria A in the area of Community Planning and Development.

Date(s)	Urban planning event
1850	Dumas original plat
1909	George B. Dealey encourages city planning movement
1911	First Kessler plan
1919	Updated Kessler plan
1925	Ulrickson Committee formed
1927	Comprehensive zoning ordinance enacted
1931	City Manager municipal government instituted
1943-1945	Harland Bartholomew report
1947	Zoning ordinance revised
1951	Zoning ordinance revised again
1955	Huley Committee
1966	"Goals for Dallas"
1977	Carr, Lynch & Associates Arts Plan
1978	Goals for Dallas, compared with Goals for Black Dallas and Mexican American Objectives
1982	Sasaki Arts Plan

Figure II-81. Timeline summarizing major urban planning events in Dallas. Sources: William Neil Black, "Empire of Consensus: City Planning, Zoning, and Annexation in Dallas, 1900-1960" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1982), 334; Harland Bartholomew & Associates, "Your Dallas of Tomorrow," Planning report submitted to the City of Dallas, 1943, from the Portal to Texas History, crediting the Dallas Municipal Archives, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth610711/.

URBAN PLANNING NATIONWIDE

The traditional American town began with an orderly grid of streets, often with a plaza or courthouse square at the core. The Puritan New England town, with a central common open space, is often cited as the precedent for this grid design. Another precedent is Thomas Jefferson's 1785 Land Ordinance, which introduced the one-mile grid as the basic unit of land survey throughout the US. As towns expanded over time, however, the urban fabric often became more chaotic. For example, rapid immigration into cities like New York in the late nineteenth century led to overcrowded tenements. Similarly, boom-town growth without regulation in the Mountain West and California led to landslides and fire hazards. Community-minded activists in the late nineteenth century banded together to oppose substandard living conditions, forming the Progressive Movement. The Progressive Era brought about a number of charities aimed at improving living conditions. Progressive-Era health and sanitation ordinances also introduced the concept that private development could be regulated if it impinged upon public health and safety. The aesthetic polestar of the Progressive Movement was the City Beautiful. The City Beautiful ideal used symmetry, order, minimal detailing, and the color white to project an image of cleanliness. The City Beautiful Movement also encouraged integrating parks and open spaces into cities to provide fresh air.

The merger of Progressive-Era activism with the concept of broad urban beautification stirred interest in urban planning. Nationwide, new organizations emerged, advocating for cities to adopt urban plans. These included the 1901 American League for City Improvement (with a Dallas chapter founded in 1902) and the 1909 National Conference on City Planning (with Dallas representation from the outset).

In the early twentieth century, urban plans across the nation typically were advisory, without any legal basis for implementation or enforcement. The degree to which municipal governments adopted and codified urban plans depended on the political climate. Regions with stronger traditions of city government, like New England and California, were the first to adopt urban plans and zoning ordinances. Los Angeles passed the nation's first zoning ordinance in 1908, with Dallas following in 1915 and New York in 1916. Over time, courts widely acknowledged the legality of these ordinances, and they gained greater acceptance across the nation. The federal government published the first Standard State Zoning Enabling Act in 1921, and many states adopted enabling ordinances legalizing zoning by the end of the 1920s.[1] In Texas, the state legislature adopted an Enabling Act for local zoning in 1929.[2]

URBAN PLANNING IN DALLAS

THE ORIGINAL TOWN PLAT FOR DALLAS

> ***Learn more!*** *For background on how original land grants and roadways affected early settlement patterns in Dallas, refer to Chapter 2. Demographics and Spatial Settlement Patterns.*

Early nineteenth-century settlement in Dallas followed no formal spatial pattern. Original land grants from Mexico, the Republic of Texas, and the State of Texas often determined the boundaries of parcels of land, but construction and cultivation of the parcels depended on access to natural resources rather than man-made planning. Access to water played a pivotal role, and with the construction of military trails in the late 1830s, adjacency to roadways made some sites more desirable for settlement, too. The site that would become Dallas, located on the east bluff of the Trinity River along a fort trail, boasted both water access and roadway access. As a result, a town settlement emerged around 1840, centered on land owned by pioneer John Neely Bryan.

Learn more! *The role of natural features in settlement is discussed in Chapter 1. Geography and Topography.*

By 1842, the town became known as "Dallas," but it still lacked a formal plat or street grid.[3] In 1844, Bryan engaged a surveyor named James Pinkney ("J.P.") Dumas to develop the original plat for the town.[4] The resulting layout of the town followed a conventional American grid pattern, with each block divided into eight narrow rectangular lots – with the exception of one block retained as open space for a courthouse, bound by Main, Jefferson, Commerce, and Houston Streets (fig. II-29). Dumas oriented the streets in his plat roughly north-south and east-west. However, the original land grants along the Trinity River used boundaries oriented northeast-southwest and northwest-southeast (fig. II-22). As the town grew beyond the original plat, these different orientations created sharp angles where different street grids intersected (fig. II-9). Among the other plats that conflicted with Bryan's was the one laid out for John Grigsby by Warren Ferris around 1850. Covering Old East Dallas, Oak Lawn, and South Dallas, the 45-degree angle grid follows cardinal directions, while Bryan's is oriented toward the river. These conflicting plats, and the competing interests of landowners, contributed to downtown's disjointed street grid.

Learn more! *Refer to Chapter 4. County and Municipal Governments to learn more about the history of courthouse construction in Dallas.*

THE EVOLUTION OF URBAN PLANNING IN DALLAS

Rail- and Commerce-Related Development

The growth of Dallas beyond the original plat accelerated in the late nineteenth century. The arrival of the railroad in 1872 triggered tremendous growth of both the population and the city's land area. The Dallas County population jumped 150 percent between 1870 and 1880. Rapid new construction resulted as well, with an estimated 700 buildings constructed between 1872 and 1873.[5] The land area covered by the city rose from less than one square mile in 1870 to nine square miles by 1890.[6] Commerce fueled this boom-town growth, and business interests—rather than planning principles—inspired construction. Even the locations of the rail lines resulted from business motives.[7]

Learn more! *The roles of business interests in determining railroad locations are described by René Schmidt and Tracey Cox in their application for the Junius Heights Historic District at https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Districts%20Page/Junius%20Heights%20Landmark%20Nomination%20Report.pdf.*

Since the Houston & Texas Central Railway Depot was located a mile east of the courthouse, rail-related development moved eastward as well. Development east of downtown quickened even more after a streetcar line began operating between the depot and downtown in 1873. The new railroads and streetcars also increased values for adjacent property.[8] Property owners divided their land into small lots for dense commercial and industrial construction. In turn, property adjacent to streetcars and railroads shifted to commercial and industrial use. Residential development moved outward to suburban land. The residential development that remained downtown often occupied noxious, less-expensive land in flood-prone areas or near rail lines and industrial sites.

Learn more! *The growth of the city's land area over time is further discussed in Chapter 2. Demographics and Spatial Settlement Patterns, as well as Chapter 9. Suburbanization.*

Without thoughtful planning, nineteenth-century development proved susceptible to floods and fires. Lack of infrastructure and poor drainage led to sanitation problems and disease. By the end of the

nineteenth century, some community members began to advocate for better living conditions, in tune with nationwide Progressive-Era thinking. For example, the City of Dallas hired a health officer in 1873, created a sanitary sewer system in 1880, and enacted a series of health and sanitation ordinances in the 1880s and 1890s.[9] Similarly, the "Cleaner Dallas League" began meeting in 1899.[10] This movement would underpin the beginnings of urban planning in the early twentieth century.

Early Twentieth-Century Planning

By the early twentieth century, some businessmen in Dallas recognized that planning could help protect their land values. Prominent business leaders increasingly joined together with Progressive-Era community activists to support urban planning. Private individuals and organizations even took the lead in hiring planning consultants and developing plans. With the support of the business community, the Dallas municipal government implemented a series of urban plans (fig. II-81).

One of the most prominent and influential advocates for urban planning proved to be George Bannerman Dealey, manager of the *Dallas Morning News* (and later owner of the newspaper). Dealey adopted a belief in the power of urban planning early in the twentieth century, and he used the *Dallas Morning News* to vocalize his support for planning throughout his career.[11] Dealey's perspective was business-minded as well as idealistic. He envisioned how flood control, safer railroad crossings, and other infrastructure could improve property values in many areas of the city. While Dealey advocated for urban planning and infrastructure improvement in his newspaper, he also covertly purchased land that could escalate in price as a result of his advocacy.[12]

Support for urban planning gained traction after the disastrous flood of 1908, which destroyed all of Dallas's bridges and left at least 4,000 residents homeless.[13] One year later, in 1909, Dealey became a founding member of the National Conference on City Planning, attending the first conference in 1909.[14] The conference gave Dealey an opportunity to meet many of the most prominent urban planners of the day, including George E. Kessler.[15] That same year, the Dallas Chamber of Commerce established a working group known as the "City Plan and Improvement League."[16] Upon Dealey's recommendation, in 1910 the group hired Kessler to develop a plan for the city, using private Chamber of Commerce funding.[17] Kessler completed his first plan for Dallas in 1911.

Kessler's "City Plan for Dallas," 1911

George E. Kessler was born in Germany but immigrated to Dallas at the age of three in 1865. Kessler returned to Europe to study civil engineering, then came back to the US in 1882 to begin his career in Kansas City. He developed an interest in urban design, executing a plan for a system of parks and boulevards in Kansas City in 1893, as well as a landscaped site plan for the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904.[18] Around 1909, Kessler met Dallas newspaperman George Dealey through their shared involvement with the National Conference on City Planning. The plan for Dallas that Kessler developed in 1911 focused on increasing developable space, especially at the West End of downtown (where Dealey happened to own land) and in Oak Cliff. To accomplish this, Kessler began his plan with an emphasis on floodplain control, including the construction of levees lining the Trinity River.[19] In remaining flood-prone areas, Kessler recommended that the City acquire property to develop a system of parks and boulevards (fig. II-82), shifting the City's transportation system toward the automobile rather than the streetcar. Other key features of the 1911 Kessler plan included:

- Constructing new bridges and roadways to link downtown with reclaimed land in Oak Cliff (fig. II-83)
- Creating grade-separated crossings where railroads intersected streets
- Consolidating rail depots into a grand central terminal
- Relocating railroad tracks that ran through downtown (fig. II-83)
- Suggesting widening and/or realigning streets to alleviate angular street intersections
- Building a civic center, monuments, and fountains to beautify downtown[20]

Although the plan offered little guidance for implementing these recommendations, the City of Dallas moved forward with implementing some important changes. Completed portions of the proposed boulevard and parkway system included Turtle Creek Boulevard and Turtle Creek Park, as well as South Oak Cliff and Burlington Boulevards.[21] In addition, a grand new

bridge known as the "Houston Street Viaduct" opened in 1911, connecting downtown with Oak Cliff.[22] Construction of the Union Station rail terminal at 411 S. Houston Street came to fruition in 1916 (fig. II-84)[23]. In 1923, George Kessler passed away before many of his recommendations could be implemented.[24] Many additional developments echoing the Kessler plan were completed in decades to come, including construction of levees along the Trinity River in 1929, sponsored by the Army Corps of Engineers.[25] The federal government helped fund a number of grade-separated railroad crossings in the 1920s and 1930s. White Rock Lake Park came to fruition between 1934 to 1942, using New Deal funding.[26] Although removal of the rail lines from downtown began in the 1920s, coordination with railroad companies took decades, and construction of Central Expressway in their place continued into the 1950s.[27]

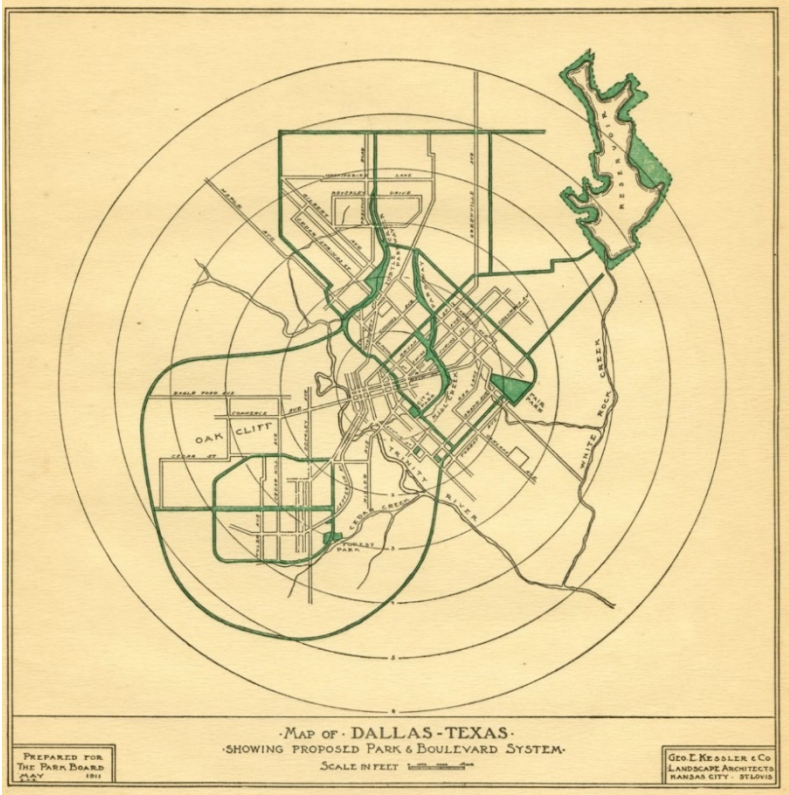


Figure II-82. Map showing proposed new parks and greenways in the 1911 Kessler plan. Source: George E. Kessler, A City Plan for Dallas (Dallas: n.p., 1911), from the Portal to Texas History, crediting the Dallas Municipal Archives, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth129158.

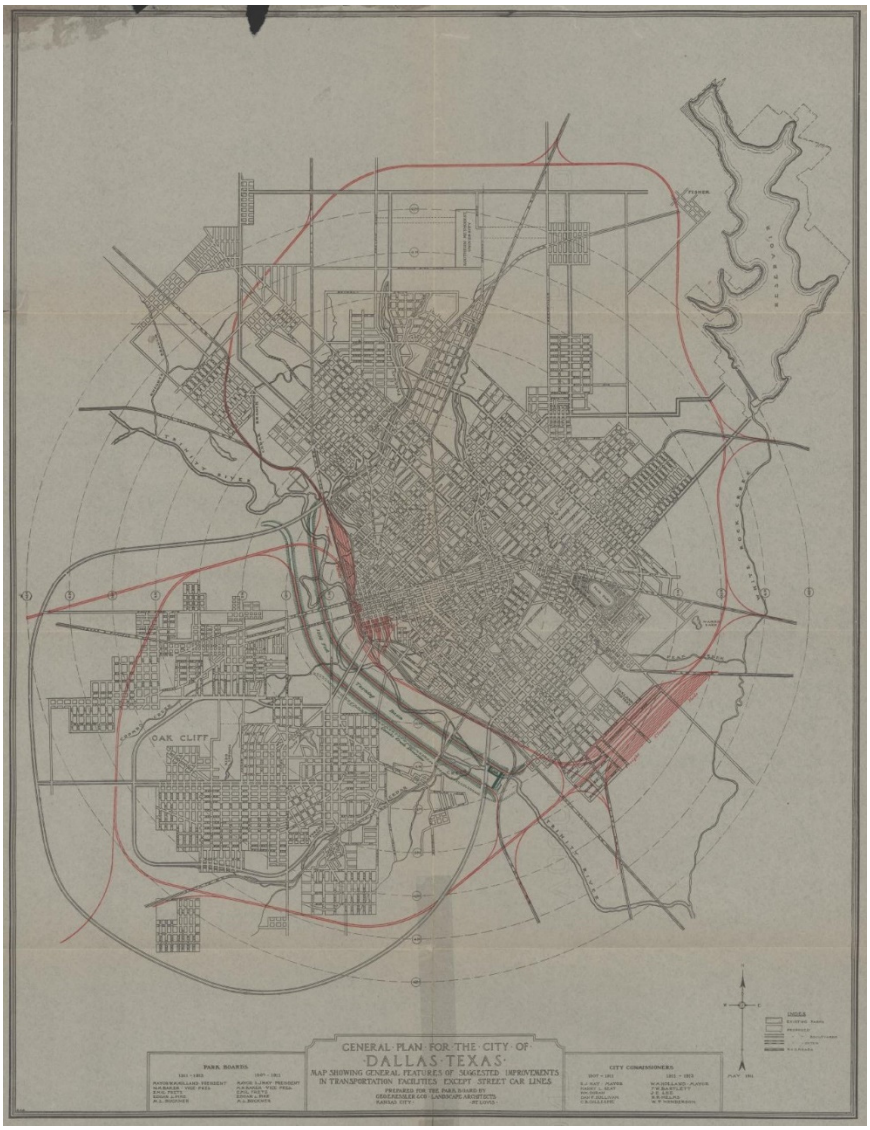


Figure II-83. Transportation map from the 1911 Kessler plan. Source: Geo. E. Kessler & Co. General Plan for the City of Dallas, Texas: Map Showing General Features of Suggested Improvements in Transportation Facilities Except Street Car Lines [map], (Dallas: n.p., 1911), from the Portal to Texas History, crediting the Dallas Municipal Archives, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth587008.



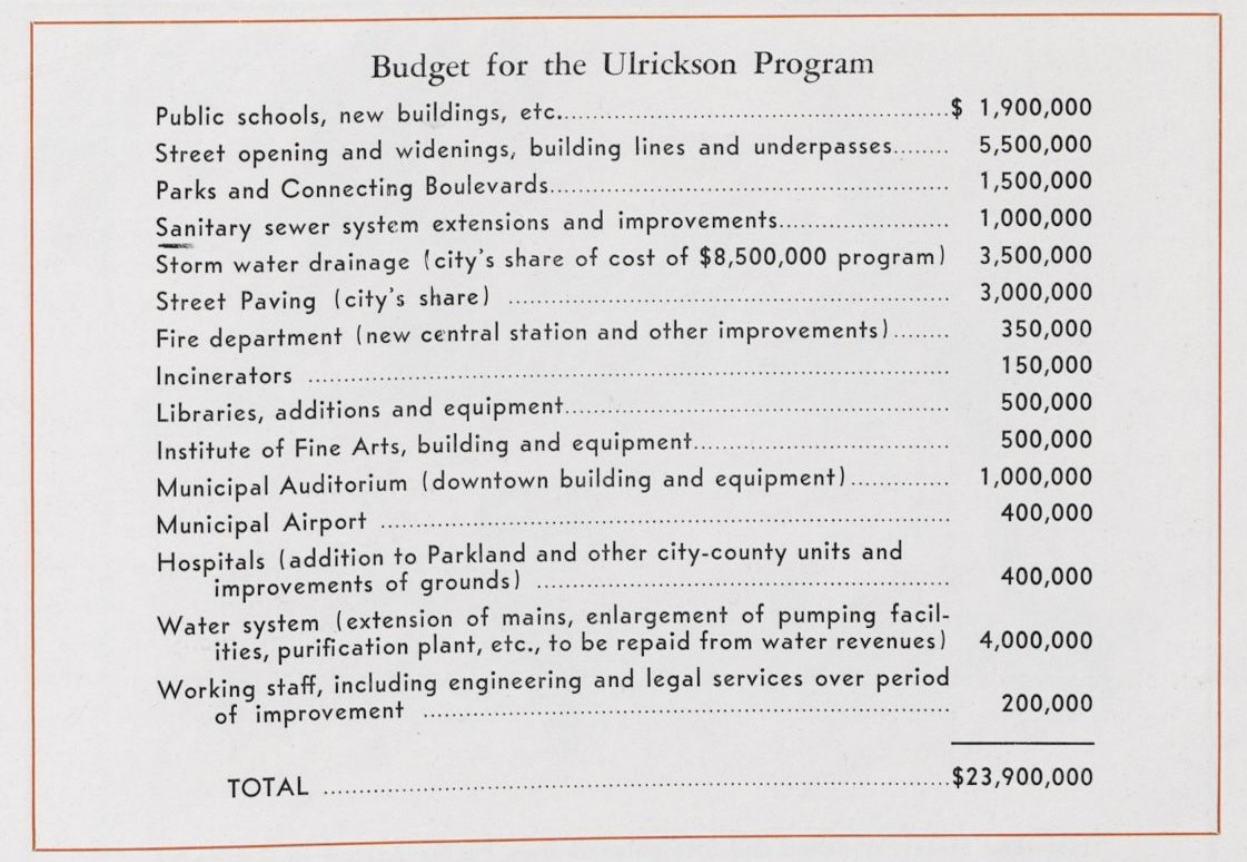
Figure II-84. Photo of the 1916 Union Terminal at 411 S. Houston Street, constructed based on recommendations from the 1911 Kessler plan. Photo by HHM, 2020.

> ***Learn more!*** *Additional information about street and bridge development, including Central Expressway, is provided in Chapter 8. Highways, Roadways, and Automobiles.*

Soon after the publication of Kessler's 1911 plan, nationwide perspectives on urban planning began to shift toward using regulatory zoning ordinances rather than just planning recommendations. By 1915, the City of Dallas attempted to implement a use-based zoning ordinance that prohibited non-residential uses in some areas, despite legal challenges to zoning laws at the state level.[28] In 1919, the City of Dallas established a "City Plan Commission" to help administer the zoning ordinance, as well as to continue to implement the Kessler plan.[29] The Dallas Chamber of Commerce created a new group, the Dallas Metropolitan Development Association (DMDA), which focused on advising the Plan Commission.[30] From 1919 to 1920, the Chamber of Commerce again hired Kessler. This time, Kessler's commission included drafting a comprehensive zoning ordinance for the city.

However, zoning laws still were unfamiliar in Texas, and the Texas Supreme Court declared the ordinance unconstitutional in 1921. The City modified its 1915 ordinance in 1921, yet court challenges continued. Amid continuing legal uncertainties about zoning, the Chamber of Commerce renewed its commitment to the implementation of Kessler's 1911 goals. The Chamber formed the "Ulrickson Committee" in 1925, chaired by a businessman in the cement industry named C. E. Ulrickson.[31] The

Ulrickson Committee focused on practical funding strategies for implementing major infrastructure improvements citywide, using city bonds as well as state and federal funds (fig. II-85).



Budget for the Ulrickson Program

Public schools, new buildings, etc.	$ 1,900,000
Street opening and widenings, building lines and underpasses	5,500,000
Parks and Connecting Boulevards	1,500,000
Sanitary sewer system extensions and improvements	1,000,000
Storm water drainage (city's share of cost of $8,500,000 program)	3,500,000
Street Paving (city's share)	3,000,000
Fire department (new central station and other improvements)	350,000
Incinerators	150,000
Libraries, additions and equipment	500,000
Institute of Fine Arts, building and equipment	500,000
Municipal Auditorium (downtown building and equipment)	1,000,000
Municipal Airport	400,000
Hospitals (addition to Parkland and other city-county units and improvements of grounds)	400,000
Water system (extension of mains, enlargement of pumping facilities, purification plant, etc., to be repaid from water revenues)	4,000,000
Working staff, including engineering and legal services over period of improvement	200,000
TOTAL	$23,900,000

Figure II-85. Table summarizing budget priorities established by the 1925 Ulrickson Committee. Source: Harland Bartholomew & Associates, "Your Dallas of Tomorrow," planning report submitted to the City of Dallas, 1943, p. 35, from the Dallas Public Library and/or the Portal to Texas History, crediting the Dallas Municipal Archives, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth610711.

In 1927, with the Texas Legislature's passage of an Enabling Act permitting local zoning, Dallas finally had firm legal grounds for a zoning ordinance. A comprehensive Dallas zoning ordinance followed in 1929.[32] The 1929 Dallas Comprehensive Zoning Ordinance defined which types of land use were allowable where, as well as building heights and setbacks, lot dimensions, and yard sizes.[33] Although some zones allowed only residential uses, the 1929 ordinance continued to allow construction of duplexes in residential districts rather than making them exclusively single-family – which later would become controversial.[34]

Despite the Enabling Act, many of Kessler's recommendations remained unrealized. In 1929, the Ulrickson Committee attributed the lack of progress to Dallas's strong-mayor form of government, recommending a city-manager system instead. A city manager, they posited, would be more accountable to the city as a whole rather than to political special interests. A city manager also would have a longer tenure, necessary to oversee large-scale construction projects. The city-manager movement gained support from a new community organization known as the Citizens Charter Association. As a result of their advocacy, the City of Dallas implemented a city-manager system in 1931.[35]

Dallas Citizens Council

Dallas adopted the city-manager system in part to deter corruption and the influence of a small group of well-to-do businessmen and leaders. Despite the effort, influential Dallasites remained entrenched in the city's politics and planning. The Dallas Citizens Council (DCC) in particular wielded significant political and planning power during this period. Founded in 1937 by banker Robert L. Thornton, the DCC aimed to influence city development. Members of the DCC, lined with company presidents and board chairmen, included more than 20 of the city's wealthiest businessmen.[36] As such, the DCC used their power and wealth to promote their interests and candidates sympathetic to their causes. The DCC prioritized among the many projects presented to them by groups and organizations seeking funding. Their funding and support often met with approval from the City, while those without the DCC's support had less success. The DCC thrived during this period, claiming they, as businessmen, had the best perspective on what Dallas needed while other groups, including minority leaders and neighborhood and labor groups only identified with one segment of the city. Among the projects promoted by the DCC include the expansion of Love Field, the refurbishment of Fair Park, the construction of Dallas Memorial Auditorium, and the creation of Central Expressway and Dallas Area Rapid Transit. The DCC also had a close relationship with city council and a number of its members, including Thornton, went on to become mayor. Efforts to break from their exclusive, oligarchical image saw the DCC broaden its membership base in the 1970s and 1980s to include women, lawyers, and African Americans. With the city-manager system intact, City staff and appointed members of the City Plan Commission began to take the lead in urban planning. The Chamber of Commerce continued to play an important role advocating for planning, but they no longer would hire or manage planning consultants. The City of Dallas hired the St. Louis-based firm of Harland Bartholomew & Associates to develop a new master plan in 1943.

Harland Bartholomew & Associates, "Your Dallas of Tomorrow," 1943–1945

Developed between 1943 and 1945, the Bartholomew plan continued to promote a number of the Kessler goals that would improve downtown property values – especially reclaiming flood-prone land along the Trinity River and replacing downtown at-grade rail lines with a central expressway.[37] The Bartholomew plan also argued that Dallas included too many duplexes and multifamily properties compared to other cities, and that they were too intermixed with single-family homes.[38] Bartholomew recommended a revised zoning ordinance to prohibit duplexes in some districts, as well as limit multifamily housing to only two districts, while promoting taller buildings in the central business district.[39] The plan also advocated urban renewal strategies common at the time, such as demolishing "slums" and replacing them with public housing and large-scale public buildings and plazas.[40] Overall, the Bartholomew plan focused on maximizing land-use in the central city and using infrastructure to increase buildable land near downtown. Though the plan expressed opposition to sprawling suburbs because of travel time and infrastructure costs, its recommendations encouraged sprawl by advocating single-family housing, large lot sizes, and ample parking for commercial and institutional buildings.[41] The plan was also generally ineffective as the postwar growth of the city presented new, pressing issues that the city was unable to keep up with. As a result, only some of the plan's proposals were implemented.

Learn More! *Refer to Chapter 15 for additional background on Urban Renewal in Dallas.*

Mid-Twentieth-Century Planning

After World War II, mayor Robert L. Thornton appointed a committee of citizens tasked with developing a new master plan to guide the city's growth. As Director of the City Planning Department, Marvin Springer oversaw much of the work of the newly formed Dallas Master Plan Committee. Having previously worked for Harland Bartholomew and Associates, Springer endorsed revising the recommendations laid out in the Bartholomew Plan to account for the city's growth in the postwar. In the phased plan, Springer and the committee laid out recommendations for transportation, parks, and public buildings in multiple reports. Though the reports were never formally adopted by City Council, many of the recommendations were implemented, including Springer's plan for highway improvements and freeway loops.[42]

The Springer Plan also focused on housing and neighborhood improvement and meeting the demands created by the city's growing population. Prior to Springer's plan, the City of Dallas worked to implement a new zoning ordinance based on the recommendations within the Bartholomew plan in 1947. The new ordinance faced significant opposition from the business and real estate communities since it "would convert to apartment or residential use much property now zoned for business," limit the types of

businesses allowed adjacent to residential neighborhoods, and place new restrictions on lot sizes and setbacks in residential neighborhoods.[43] Despite opposition, City Council approved the new law on April 30, 1947.[44] Revisions to the zoning ordinance in 1951 continued along this same path, requiring even more parking for neighborhood commerce, as well as providing flexibility in residential setbacks and yard requirements to help facilitate suburban development.[45] Under Springer's plan, which also considered suburbanization the fastest and most affordable option for creating housing supply, the municipal government annexed a broad land area in the 1950s and 1960s to help bring utilities and schools to new suburban communities.[46] (See fig. II-21 in Chapter 2. Demographics and Spatial Settlement).

Like Springer, community-based planning organizations in this era also focused advocacy on a regional approach to growth. For example, the Citizens Charter Association (CCA) developed a "Greater Dallas" campaign, which promoted cooperation with other municipal governments in the region and supported projects that brought the region together, like the Central Expressway.[47] In 1965, the City of Dallas hired the Chicago firm of DeLeuw, Cather and Company to develop a "Long Range Transportation Plan for the Central Business District," focusing on multi-level traffic realignment, underground parking, and skywalks for pedestrian connections.[48] In 1966, a privately funded research consortium known as the "Graduate Research Center of the Southwest" developed a new plan, called "Goals for Dallas," also based on a regional philosophy.[49] In 1969, the City of Dallas supplemented these plans by hiring planner Vincent Ponte and transportation planner Warren Travers, who recommended a system of pedestrian tunnels through downtown.[50]

"Goals for Dallas," 1966

The *Goals for Dallas* publication was prepared in 1966 by the private Goals for Dallas organization, in partnership with the Graduate Research Center of the Southwest. The report was based on a conference of 87 prominent Dallas citizens from a range of backgrounds, held in Salado in June 1966.[51] The report then was presented to the City for consideration. Goals listed in the report included:

- Working jointly with surrounding governments on regional issues
- Promoting good city management and strengthening the City Planning Department
- Distributing cultural facilities and municipal services more equitably around the city
- Considering urban renewal and public housing
- Continuing highway and airport development
- Developing museums and cultural facilities
- Redeveloping Fair Park
- Continuing to acquire greenways[52]

Learn more! *"Goals for Dallas" published four progress reports in total. They are available for download at the Institute for Urban Policy Research at UT Dallas's website: https://urbanpolicyresearch.org/download/archive-goals-for-dallas-progress-reports-1966-69/.*

Late Twentieth-Century Planning

Because the policies promoting suburbanization in the mid-twentieth century had led to depopulation and building vacancies downtown, much of the planning in the late twentieth century concentrated on revitalizing the area. One aspect of the revitalization of downtown, as recommended in the 1966 *Goals for Dallas* report, was the development of museums and cultural facilities. In 1977, the City of Dallas hired the prominent Massachusetts-based planning firm of Carr, Lynch & Associates to develop an arts plan for downtown.[53] The resulting plan recommended revitalizing Fair Park, as well as consolidating most of the arts facilities near downtown using a combination of rehabilitation and new buildings. Proposed site plans for the district depicted a walkable, landscaped urban area.[54] In 1982, the firm of Sasaki Associates elaborated on this plan, proposing the construction of major new buildings (fig. II-86), recommending tall buildings combined with setbacks to allow open plazas at the street level, and

provide below-grade parking.[55] Preservation of the historic Booker T. Washington High School at 2501 North Flora Street for reuse as an arts magnet school anchored the plan (fig. II-87). New arts facilities constructed as a result of this plan include the 1985 Dallas Museum of Art (1811 North Harwood Street), the 1989 Myerson Symphony Center (1800 North Pearl Expressway), the 2009 Winspear Opera House (2403 Flora Street), and the 2009 Dee and Charles Wyly Theater and 2012 Moody Performance Hall (both at 2400 Flora Street).

> ***Learn more!*** *The City and private developers also used urban renewal projects and parks as tools for revitalization during this period - see Chapter 15. Urban Renewal for a discussion on plans and projects stemming from urban renewal efforts, including One Main Place. Also see Chapter 13. Parks and Plazas for a discussion of park development during this period.*

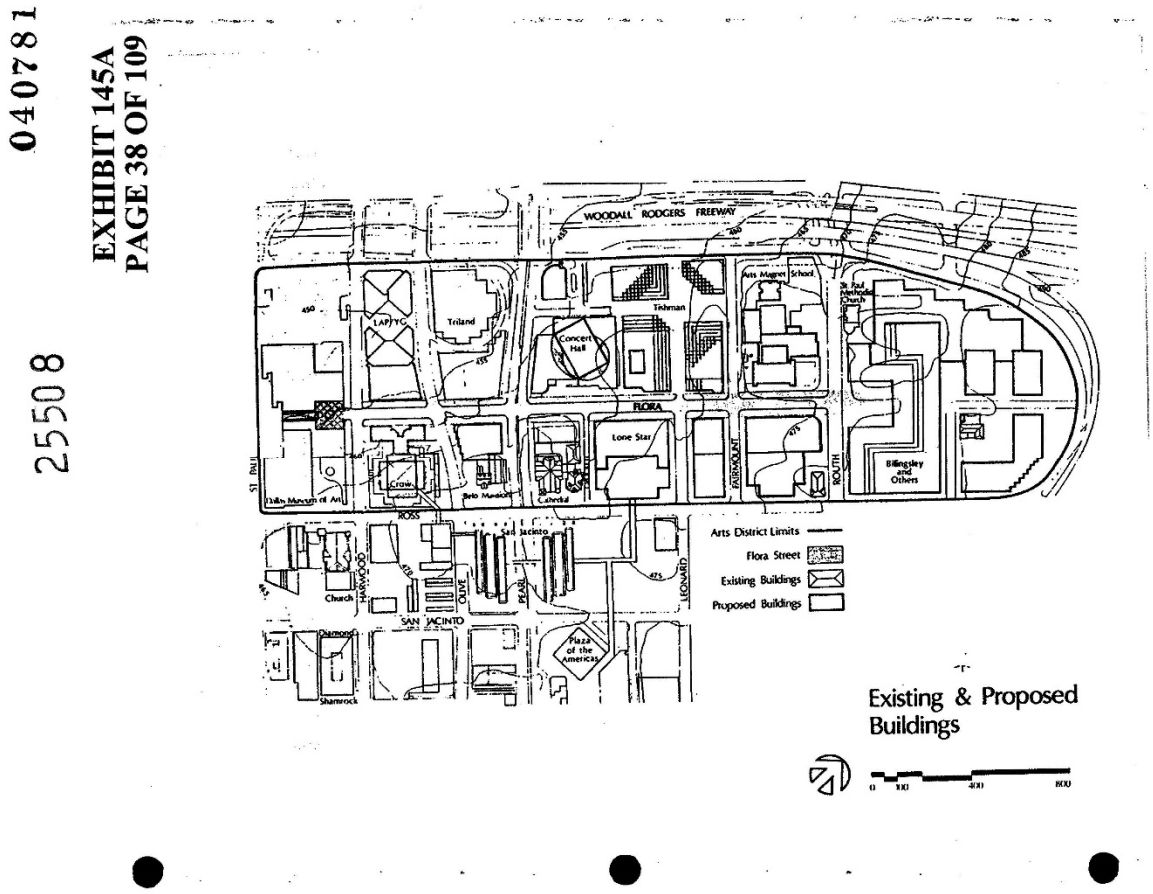


Figure II-86. Plan showing existing and proposed arts facilities aimed at revitalizing downtown, 1982. Source: Sasaki Associates, "Dallas Arts District," p. 34, prepared for the City of Dallas, 1982, from the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/planning/DCH%20Documents/authorized%20hearings/arts_district/Sasaki%20Plan.pdf.



Figure II-87. Photograph of the 1922 Booker T. Washington High School, now an arts magnet school, at 2501 Flora Street in the Downtown Dallas Arts District. Photo by HHM, 2020.

"Goals for Dallas, compared with Goals for Black Dallas and Mexican American Objectives," 1978

Notably, planning in the late twentieth century accomplished little to rectify inequities created by the business-minded, investor-driven perspectives of earlier urban plans. In 1978, the Goals for Dallas organization created a "Tri-Ethnic Committee" to try to identify the goals of people in Dallas's Black and Latino communities. The group published a document called "Goals for Dallas, compared with Goals for Black Dallas and Mexican American Objectives." The rhetoric surrounding the document tried to emphasize that goals of all ethnic groups were consistent and that the Black and Mexican communities were committed to trying to implement "Goals for Dallas." The specific goals set forth by the Tri-Ethnic Committee, however, diverged significantly from "Goals for Dallas." Rather than focusing on zoning or infrastructure, the Tri-Ethnic Committee focused on the social justice issues that underly urban planning, such as:

- More diverse citizen involvement
- Increased job opportunities for all
- Improved cultural awareness in education
- Improved access to health care
- Improved public housing
- Enforcement of federal Fair Housing laws[56]

Yet the City of Dallas never officially adopted these goals, and these social justice issues continue to challenge urban planners today.

Learn more! *Refer to Chapter 16 for further discussion about Reconstruction, the Jim Crow Era, and the Civil Rights Movement in Dallas.*

CONCLUSION

Between 1850 and 1982, the combined efforts of planners and community advocates led to the publication of an array of documents dictating how and where Dallas should develop. Many of Dallas's historic roadways, bridges, parks, and cultural facilities developed as a direct result of the recommendations of these plans. Residential historic districts are physical documents of urban plans as well, reflecting planners' values about where homes should be located and how they should be arranged to promote community health and well-being. By interpreting Dallas's historic fabric through the lens of urban planning, we can better understand the tremendous time, energy, and passion that community activists and public servants poured into shaping the city. Values about urban planning have evolved over time, and many historical planning decisions seem obsolete today. Nonetheless, every historic-age resource in Dallas reflects the culmination of years of debate and decision-making about how to shape a city.

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[20] Black, "Empire of Consensus," 72-73; Fairbanks," Rethinking Urban Problems," 816.

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[30] Fairbanks," Rethinking Urban Problems," 820-821.

[31] Black, "Empire of Consensus," 84-85.

[32] Bartholomew, "Your Dallas of Tomorrow," 33.

[33] Bartholomew, "Your Dallas of Tomorrow," 33.

[34] Bartholomew, "Your Dallas of Tomorrow," 34.

[35] Fairbanks, "Rethinking Urban Problems," 818, 831; Black, "Empire of Consensus," 334.

[36] Jay Firshing, Sr., "One Main Place," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 2015, 8-13, https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/15000245/15000245.pdf.

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II-7| Streetcars and the Interurban (1873–1956)

INTRODUCTION

In 1870, Dallas covered less than one square mile. Commercial buildings surrounded the courthouse, while a scattered mixture of commercial and residential development fanned away from the city's nucleus. In just two decades though, the city grew to nine square miles; its downtown transformed into a dense, bustling commercial center, and its former agricultural outskirts transformed into residential suburbs.[1] Dallas's late nineteenth century transformation was in large part the result of the business motives of land speculators and streetcar and interurban owners. The period of significance for this theme spans the years the streetcar and interurban operated in Dallas: 1873 to 1956. Resources associated with this theme include rail lines, machine shops and barns, stables, bridges, powerhouses, and terminals and waiting shelters. It is likely that many of these resources, in particular the rail infrastructure (lines, overhead cables), no longer exist in Dallas. However, other evidence of the streetcar's impact on the urban landscape do remain. Streetcar suburbs and the lakes and parks built by streetcar and interurban owners from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reflect the significance of the rail network, as do the commercial nodes that developed along some areas of the routes. These suburbs and commercial nodes, as well as other extant resources associated with the streetcar and interurban are potentially significant under National Register Criteria A in the Areas of Significance of Transportation, Commerce, and Community Planning and Development.

PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION AND THE STREETCAR IN US HISTORY

The history of public transportation in the United States dates back to the 1820s and 1830s, when privately-owned omnibus lines began operating in cities on the East Coast. An urban version of the horse drawn stagecoach, omnibus lines first started in Newark, New Jersey in 1826 and subsequently appeared in New York City, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore.[2] Running on unpaved streets without tracks, omnibus lines were mired by mud and dust and were ultimately short-lived as cities sought alternatives modes of transportation. In 1832, the county's first railed-streetcar system began operating in New York City. The animal-powered streetcar concept was an adaptation of technology used in the United Kingdom, where miners used mules and horses for hauling coal along tracks. Over the next 20 years, the streetcar grew more popular, with major cities including New Orleans (1835), Boston (1856), Philadelphia (1855), Pittsburgh (1859), Chicago (1859), and Washington, D. C. (1862) all boasting privately-run streetcar lines.[3] By the 1880s, the streetcar had even reached small cities and towns, and over 400 companies operated more than 6,000 miles of railroad track in the United States.

From the 1860s throughout the nineteenth century, cities began replacing their horse- and mule-drawn streetcars with systems run by other forms of power. The animal-powered streetcar technology was limited and prone to accidents, collisions, and track-jumping. Seeking a better, more powerful system, streetcar companies began experimenting with steam, tram engines, cable cars, and electricity. Small electric streetcar systems operated in Cleveland, Ohio, Montgomery, Alabama, and Scranton, Pennsylvania, in the mid-1880s, but the country's first successful large-scale electric streetcar system opened in 1888 in Richmond, Virginia, after inventor and electrical engineer Frank Sprague improved upon the earlier trolley pole technology.[4] Shortly thereafter, cities across the country began electrifying their systems using Sprague's technology. By the turn of the century, there were around 100,000 electric streetcars in operation across the United States.[5]

The electric-streetcar technology was also applied to a new form of transportation: the interurban. While streetcars operated within cities, the interurban connected regional cities and smaller, rural communities. The first interurbans in the country opened around 1890 in Ohio and Oregon. The electric-powered interurbans typically ran more often and provided a cleaner alternative than the wood- and coal-powered passenger and freight trains. In cities, interurbans usually shared tracks with the streetcar, and in rural areas the lines typically paralleled roads. Interurbans grew in popularity in the early twentieth century, and, by 1917, they covered over 18,000 miles of track in the U. S.[6]

The popularity of both streetcars and interurbans began to decline in the 1920s as automobile ownership rose and municipal, state, and federal governments began investing in highway improvement and expansion. Introduced in American cities in the 1930s and 1940s, gasoline and diesel busses also contributed to declining streetcar and interurban ridership. Fuel rationing and a halt to automobile manufacturing during World War II created a short reprieve on the declining industry, as many Americans had no other option than to ride the rails. Following the war, though, the industry quickly collapsed. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, streetcar and interurban companies dissolved, and rail lines were abandoned in most cities across the country.

Despite their decline, streetcars and interurbans significantly altered the urban landscape of the U. S. In many older East Coast cities, the impetus for streetcars was initially a response to congestion that plagued their inner cities. The streetcar served as a connection between established residential and commercial areas. Later, the streetcar served as means to stimulate growth. In downtowns, commercial activity benefited from the streetcar, and property along the lines became prime real estate for business ventures. The streetcar also made possible the expansion into undeveloped areas outside of city centers. In places with little development outside of their downtowns, the streetcar played a significant role in dictating the shape and direction of the city. Because streetcars were privately owned and operated—and often only minimally regulated and taxed by municipalities—development occurred in areas where streetcar owners would profit. Across the country, real estate developers and streetcar owners collaborated to buy and subdivide land outside of cities for residential development. Coinciding with the City Beautiful and Garden City movements that rejected loud, dirty city centers, the streetcar allowed people to work downtown but live in a residential suburb. Oftentimes developers and streetcar owners built parks or other attractions on their lines to entice prospective buyers to the new subdivisions.[7] As a result of the streetcar, swaths of undeveloped, often agricultural lands became new residential streetcar suburbs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries across the country.

Learn more! *Refer to Chapter 9. Suburbanization to learn more about streetcar suburbs.*

TEXAS STREETCARS AND INTERURBAN NETWORK

In Texas communities, the streetcar originated as a means to transport goods and people within emerging commercial, agricultural, and industrial centers. In many Texas cities, the arrival of the streetcar is closely tied to the arrival of the railroad. In some of the state's earliest streetcar examples, in cities including Galveston (1867), Houston (1874), and Austin (1875), the mule-powered streetcars arrived several years after the railroad. In other cities, including Fort Worth (1876) and Dallas (1871), streetcar lines were built in anticipation of the railroad's arrival. Oftentimes, streetcar lines ran from the railroad depot into downtown, commonly terminating at the courthouse, along established city streets.

Beginning in the 1890s, steam- and electric-powered streetcars began replacing the animal-powered cars across the state. Laredo is reported as having not only the first electric streetcar in Texas, but also the first one west of the Mississippi.[8] Shortly thereafter, streetcar companies in cities across the state electrified their streetcars. Reported as having the most cities with electric streetcar systems of any

state in the West, Texas's small cities, like Bonham (1890) and Uvalde (1894), even boasted this new mode of transportation. The new, more powerful, and faster streetcars enabled investors and developers in cities across Texas to build more lines and new streetcar suburbs. With over 600 miles of electric track in the state, the streetcar played a role in developing over 30 cities across Texas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[9]

Texas also boasted one of the country's largest interurban networks. After the opening of the first interurban in 1901, between Denison and Sherman, investors built nearly 500 miles of rail line during the building boom in the early twentieth century.[10] The interurbans first served to connect communities where the steam railroad did not, but later they served as a more frequent, faster, and cleaner alternative to the steam passenger trains. Though north central Texas had most of the state's interurban lines, smaller systems operated around Texas, including in Houston and Galveston, Beaumont and Port Arthur, and Bryan and College Station.

In Texas, the demise of the streetcar largely occurred prior to World War II. By the early 1950s, streetcars remained in operation in only a few cities, and in 1974 the last electric streetcar in the state, El Paso's Ciudad Juárez line, ceased running. Interurbans had a similarly short existence. Reaching their peak popularity in the late 1910s and 1920s, Interurban ridership steadily declined as automobiles grew in popularity. By 1941 only two interurban lines remained in operation; both were discontinued in 1948.[11]

DALLAS'S STREETCAR AND INTERURBAN SYSTEM

STREETCAR DEVELOPMENT

> *See Chapter 9. Suburbanization for more information on streetcar suburbs and their character-defining features.*

In 1871, Dallas stood on the precipice of tremendous growth. The Houston & Texas Central Railroad (H&TC) was scheduled to reach the city in 1872. Anticipating the city's growth, as well as a need to transport people and goods from the new H&TC depot, nine Dallas businessmen obtained a charter from the state to build a streetcar. The one-and-a-quarter mile track from the depot to the courthouse, known as the Main Street Line, opened in 1873 and was powered by two mules (fig. II-88).[12] Though no known resources from this period are extant, the company would have built stables and storage barns. The City, happy to have a streetcar, which reflected a level of prosperity, granted the company a franchise but enacted very little regulation over its operation or its owner, the Dallas City Railroad Company, a trend that was sustained for the next four decades.



Figure II-88. The mule-powered streetcar on the Commerce and Ervay line, undated. Source: DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University.

After the arrival of the railroad and the ensuing population and building boom, congested streets plagued Dallas. Eager to alleviate some of its problems, City Council granted three more streetcar franchises by 1884. Longer than the Main Street Line, the three new lines, the San Jacinto, Commerce and Ervay, and the Belt Lines, ran past downtown to the east, southeast, and northeast (figs. II-89 and II-90). They served some existing neighborhoods, including ones along Ross Avenue and San Jacinto Street, but the lines also spurred new development. Just south of downtown on the Commerce and Ervay Line, Dallas's first streetcar suburb, The Cedars, opened in 1876.

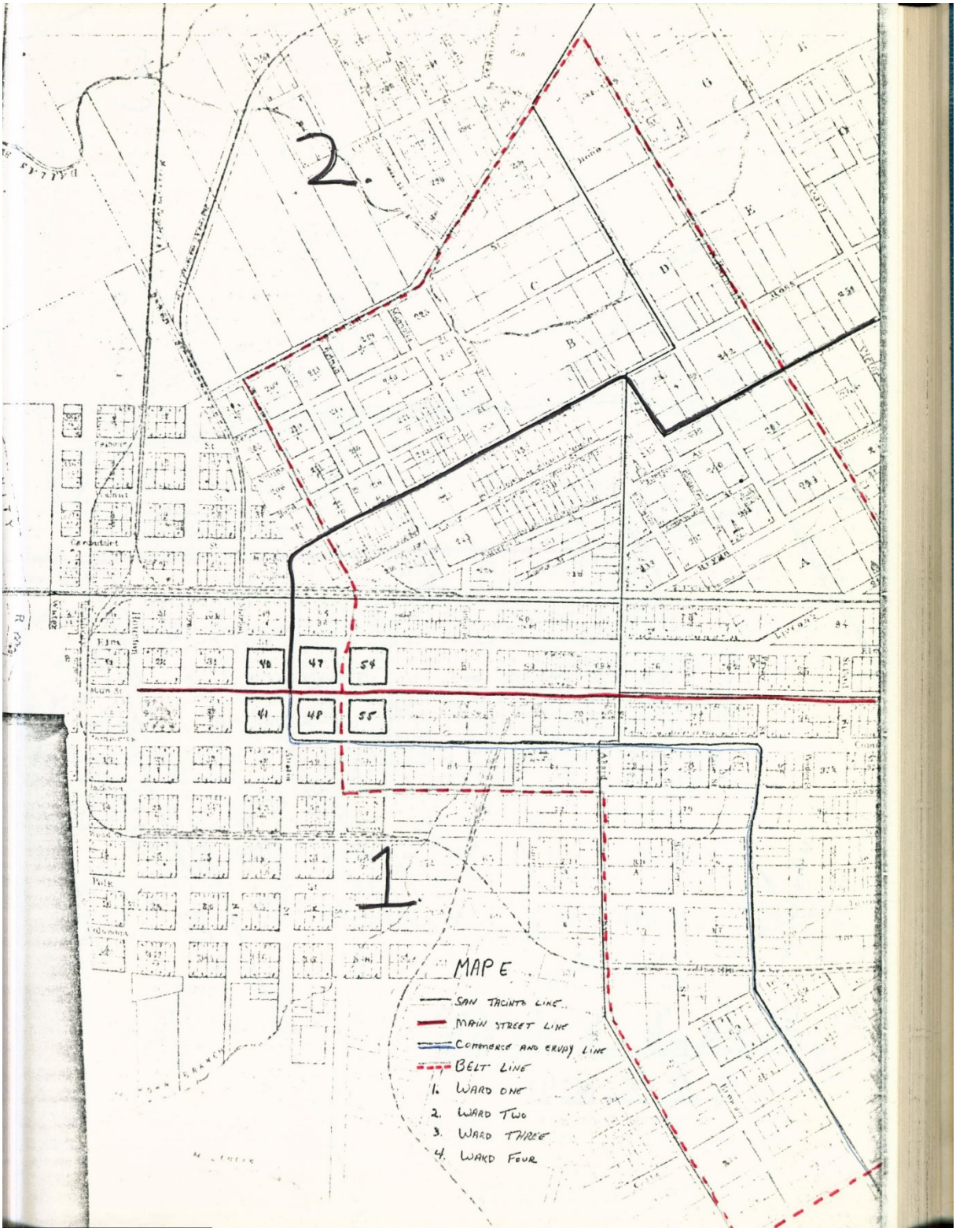


Figure II-89. Map reflecting the streetcar network in Dallas around 1884. The route of the four lines: the San Jacinto (black line), Main Street (red line), Commerce and Ervay (blue line), and Belt (dotted red line) lines are shown. Source: Diane Curtis Powers, *The Development and Expansion of the Street Railroad System in Dallas, Texas: 1871-1890,* unpublished master's thesis, Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 1969, 35-36.

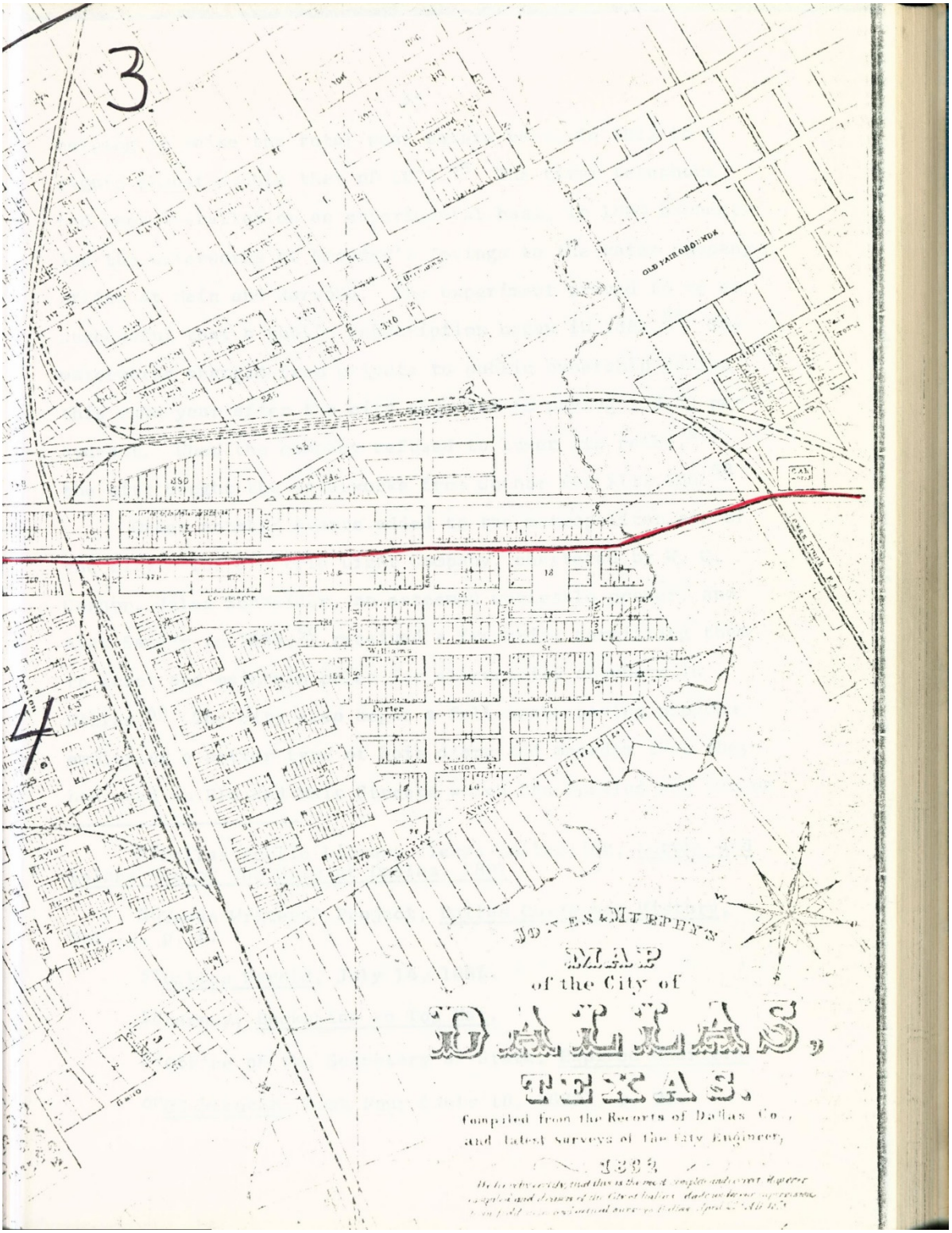


Figure II-90. Map reflecting the streetcar network in Dallas around 1884. The route of the four lines: the San Jacinto (black line), Main Street (red line), Commerce and Ervay (blue line), and Belt (dotted red line) lines are shown. Source: Diane Curtis Powers, *The Development and Expansion of the Street Railroad System in Dallas, Texas: 1871-1890,* unpublished master's thesis, Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 1969, 35-36.

Over the next 40 years, following the pattern set by The Cedars, real estate investors and streetcar companies collaborated and purchased large sections of land outside of the central business district. They then subdivided it and built streetcar lines to bring in prospective buyers. Because development in Dallas had not expanded much past one square mile, the streetcar essentially dictated the ensuing real estate boom. Advancements in technology prompted new steam-powered streetcars. While easing some of the issues caused by the mules, the new technology also allowed streetcars to extend even further from downtown. Throughout the 1880s, the existing lines (now owned by one company: the Dallas Consolidated Street Railway Company) extended their tracks and added more routes, while other companies applied for City franchises. These new streetcar companies, the Dallas and Oak Cliff Elevated Railway, the North Dallas Circuit Railway, and the South Dallas Rapid Transit, spurred the development of Oak Cliff across the Trinity, as well as new additions in southeast Dallas, including Colonial Hill, and in north Dallas, including Cockrell Fairland Addition. Together with the existing lines, the streetcar network covered around 30 miles and allowed for a million dollars worth of new homes to be placed on the market in 1889.[13]

> ***Learn more!*** *See the Historic and Architecture Resources of East and South Dallas Multiple Property National Register of Historic Places listing for more information on the streetcar's role in development in South and East Dallas: https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Resources%20Page/Historic%20and%20Architectural%20Resources%20of%20East%20and%20South%20Dallas%201990.pdf.*

Dallas and Oak Cliff Elevated Railway

In 1887, a group of local businessmen formed the Dallas Land and Loan Company and purchased 2,000 acres on the west side of the Trinity River. The company, which was funded by investors in St. Louis, named the new community Oak Cliff. In addition to clearing and subdividing the land, they also built a baseball field and other amusements at a new park, Spring Lake (later Lake Cliff Park), to attract potential residents. The land company partnered with the Dallas and Oak Cliff Elevated Railway, which laid track from the intersection of Commerce Street and Jefferson Street (now Market Street) in downtown Dallas, south to the Trinity River. While railroad bridges already spanned the river, a new single-track wooden trestle was built strictly for the streetcar. When interurban service to Fort Worth began in 1902, it shared the trestle with the streetcar. A new, two-track concrete trestle replaced the 1880s bridge in 1931 following the construction of river levees. The trestle remained for several years after streetcar service ceased but was eventually demolished and replaced with the Jefferson Viaduct in 1972 (fig. II-91).

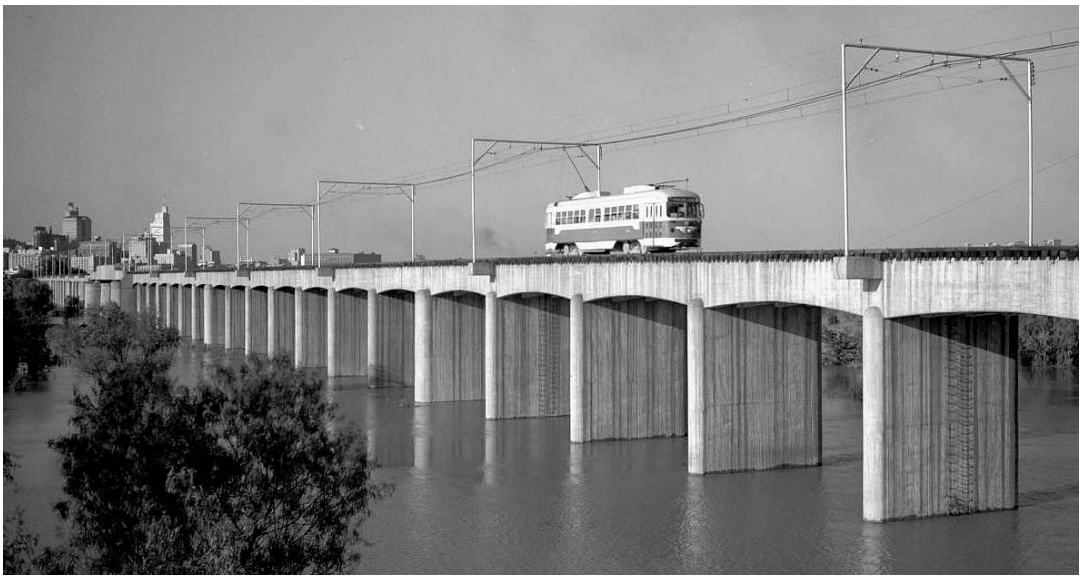


Figure II-91. The new streetcar and interurban Trinity River Viaduct. Built in 1931, the bridge replaced the older 1880s trestle that connected to Oak Cliff. This bridge was replaced with the Jefferson Street Viaduct, an automobile bridge built in 1972. Source: Denver Public Library Special Collections.

The streetcar network continued to expand throughout the 1890s and into the early twentieth century. The city's first electric streetcar, owned by South Dallas Rapid Transit, went into operation in 1890, and other operators shortly followed (fig. II-92).[14] In the transition, new infrastructure, including electric power houses and overhead cables, replaced the animal barns required for the operation of the mule- and horse-powered cars. In the early twentieth century, new lines continued to extend further and further from downtown, breaking up former estates and agricultural lands for new subdivisions including Highland Park and Munger Place in north Dallas, and the African American neighborhoods of Myrtle Place and Wheatley Place in southeast Dallas (fig. II-93).

Streetcar Segregation

Dallas's streetcars were not exempt from the city's institutional segregation during the Jim Crow era. Moveable signs separated the front of cars for White passengers from the rear of the cars where Black passengers rode. In 1911, Black passenger J. A. Gilmore refused to move from his seat in the front of the car and was subsequently assaulted and thrown off the train by its conductor. Later, a court of civil appeals ruled the conductor was legally enforcing the law but used too much force in doing so. Gilmore was awarded $100.[15] In 1956, the last year the streetcars operated in Dallas, the Supreme Court banned racial segregation on public transportation within the borders of a state.

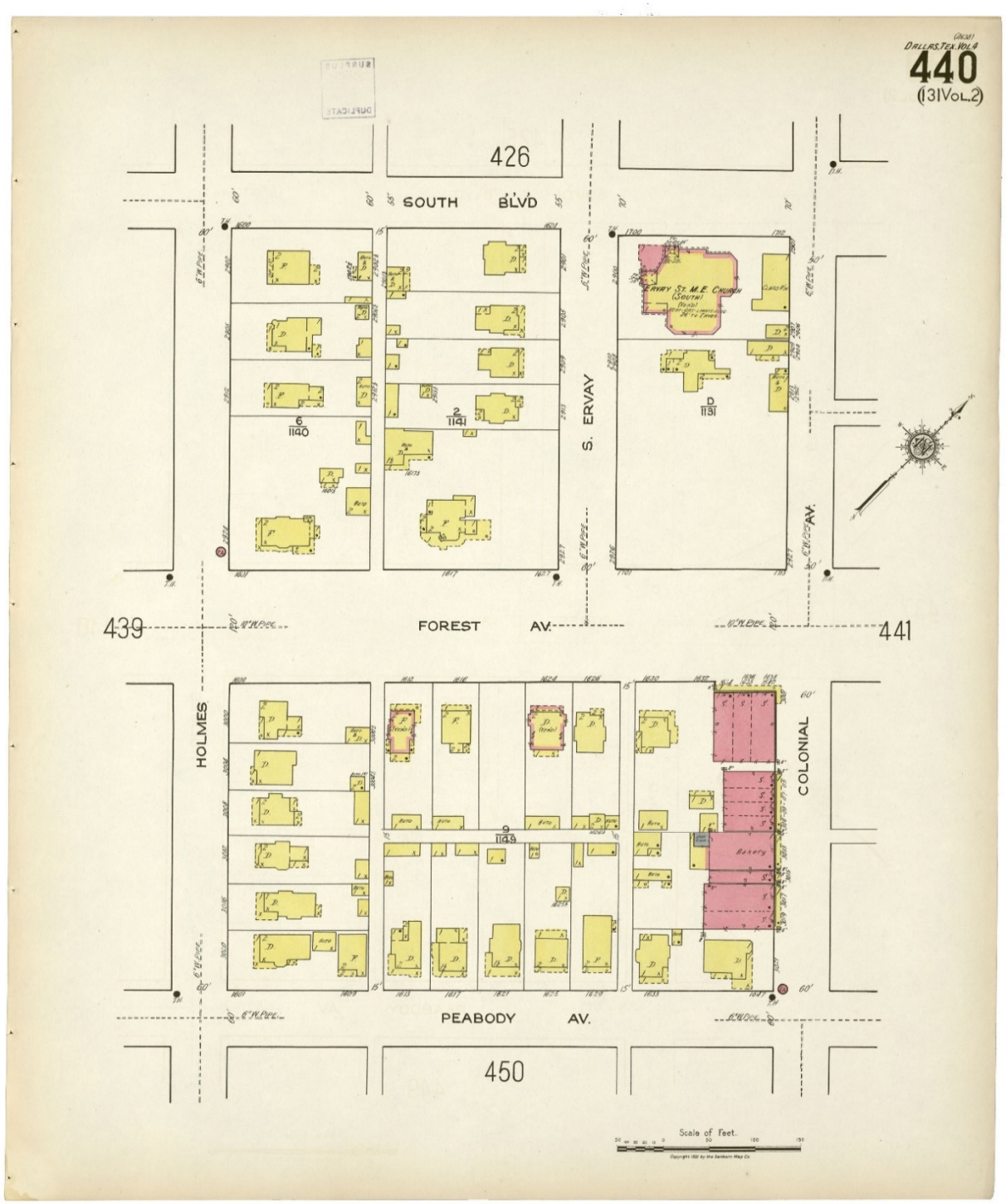


Figure II-92. Main Street, Dallas between Austin and Market Streets around 1900 with an electric streetcar running down the center of the street. Source: DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University.



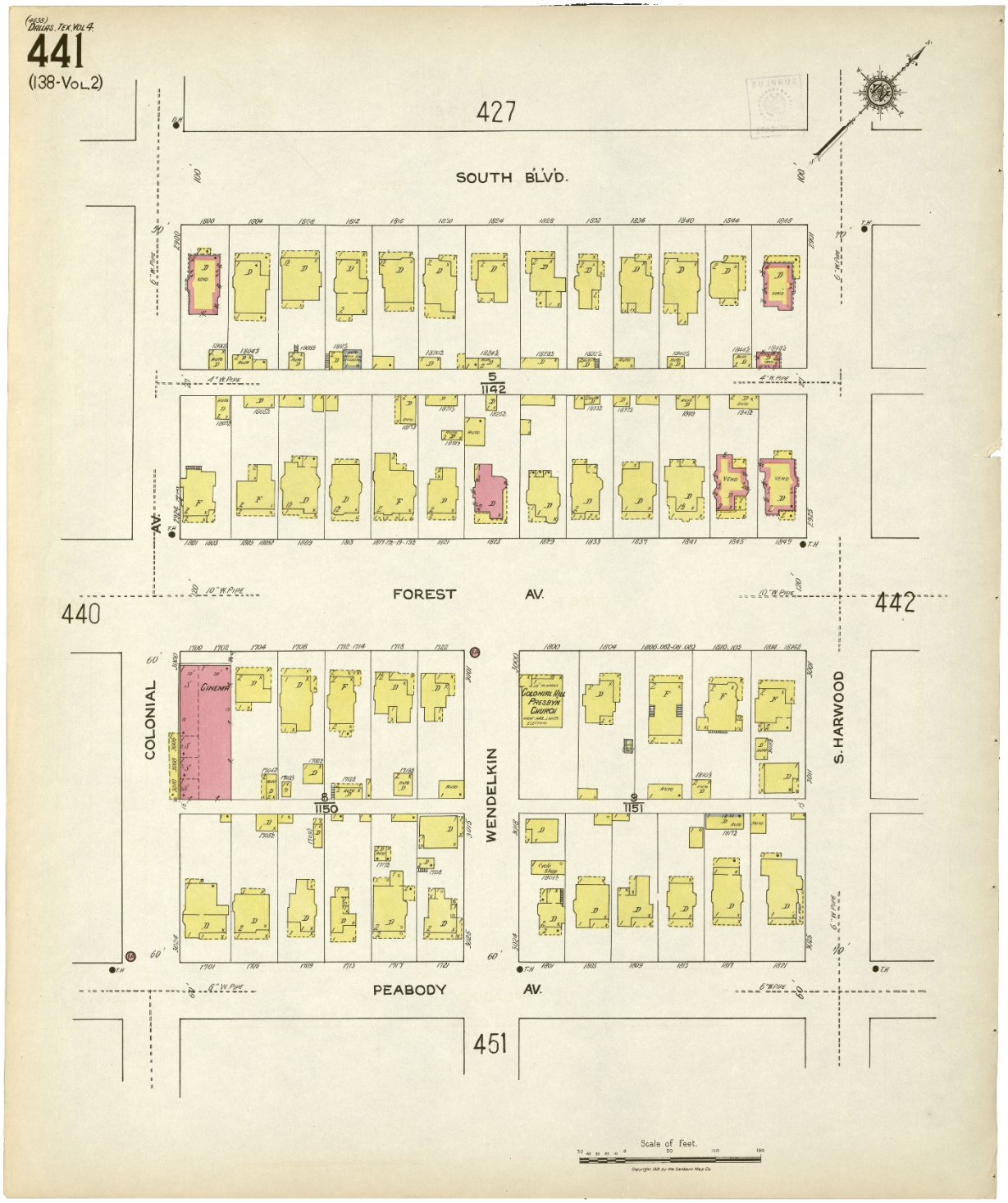
Figure II-93. The electric streetcar in Oak Lawn. In the early twentieth century the area experienced growth when the North Dallas Circuit Railway arrived. The streetcar company also developed Oak Lawn Park as a way to attract riders on the line and residents to the area. Source: Denver Public Library Special Collections.

The streetcar's impact was not only felt in the far reaches of town. In downtown, the streetcar increased property values along its lines. For example, in 1879, with only one streetcar line, less than one acre at the intersection of San Jacinto and Harwood streets was valued at $600. A smaller lot on the same corner in 1887, with two streetcars, was valued at $3,500.[16] Several downtown business owners, including Lehman Sanger and J. E. Henderson, understood the benefit of having passengers dropped near their shops. In the early 1880s, Sanger Brothers Department Store downtown had streetcar lines on two sides of its building. A third line, the Belt Line, was franchised in 1884 by Sanger and several other businessmen.[17] Similarly, when J. E. Henderson became president of the Belt Street Railway in 1886, he owned an entire block downtown which had streetcars on three sides.[18] The streetcar also contributed to the development of commercial nodes in residential areas, particularly at the intersection of two lines (figs. II-94 and II-95).[19]



Original located at the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin

Figure II-94. Example of a small commercial node that developed at the intersection of two streetcar lines south of downtown. Though not shown on the map, the lines ran along Forest Avenue and Colonial Avenue. Source: 1922 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, vol. 2, sheets 440 and 441, from the University of Texas at Austin.



Original located at the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin

Figure II-95. Example of a small commercial node that developed at the intersection of two streetcar lines south of downtown. Though not shown on the map, the lines ran along Forest Avenue and Colonial Avenue. Source: 1922 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, vol. 2, sheets 440 and 441, from the University of Texas at Austin.

Until the 1920s, developers and streetcar owners had more influence over the growth of residential development than any governing body. Zoning restrictions were not passed until 1927, and the City had taken a largely hands-off approach to regulating streetcars. Not only were many prominent local bankers and businessmen attached to the streetcar companies, but leaders welcomed the mobility and amenities, including the lakes and parks, that the streetcars provided.[20] As a result, by the mid-1920s, 16 different lines, covering over 100 miles, connected all parts of the city (fig. II-96).[21] At this time, in addition to new zoning restrictions, the City also took on a larger role regulating streetcars, granting franchises when the service was needed, rather than promoting development.[22]

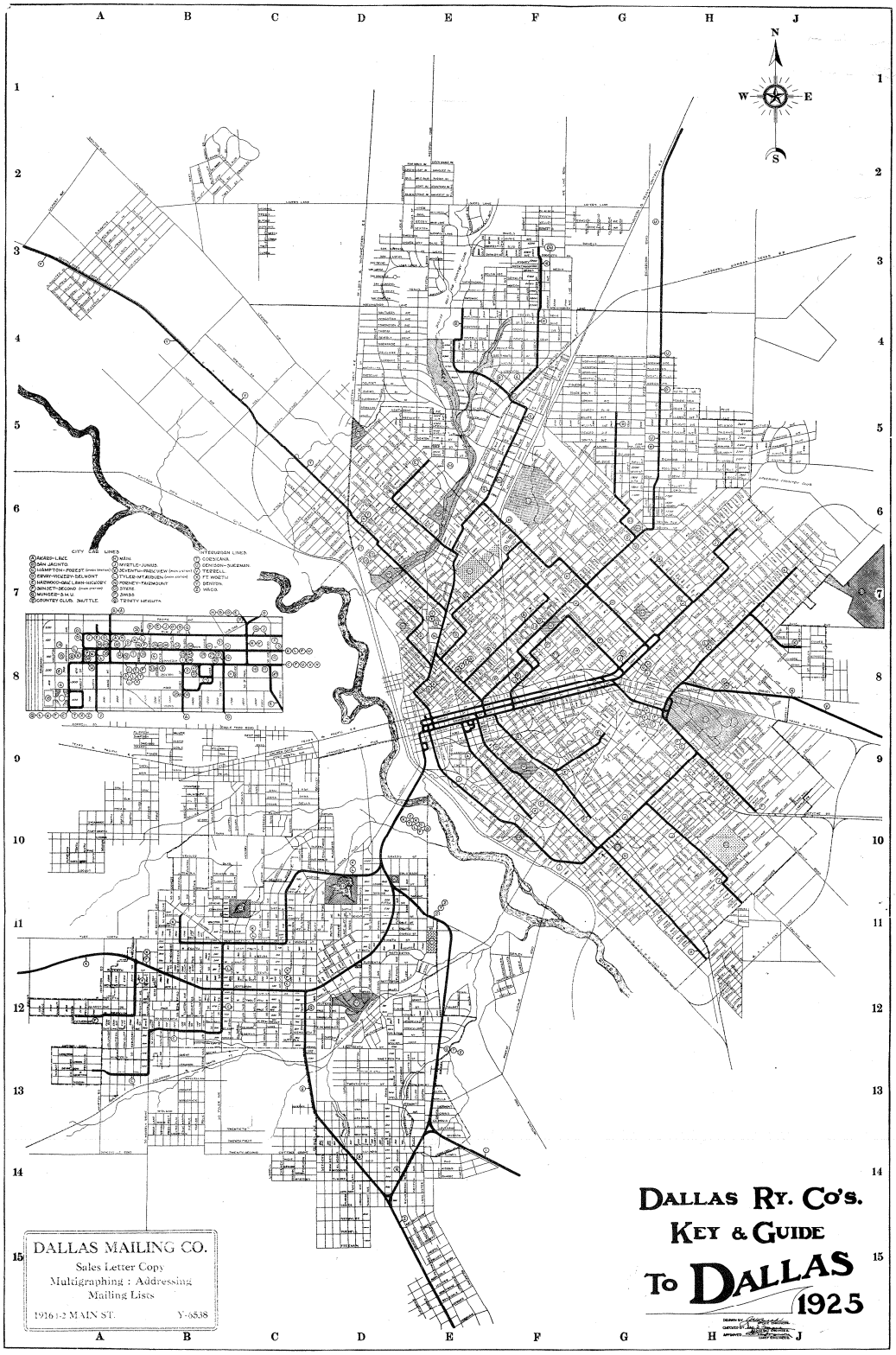


Figure II-96. 1925 map of Dallas showing the various streetcar and interurban lines. The legend identifies 16 lines (A through Q) and six (T through Z) interurban lines. Source: "Dallas Ry. Co's. Key & Guide to Dallas 1925," from DART, accessed August 2, 2021, https://dartdaily.dart.org/home/dallas-streetcar-flashback-see-dallas'-streetcar-map-from-1925.

As happened across the country, Dallas's streetcar network began its decline in the 1930s as automobile usage rose. The introduction of buses in 1936 also stole passengers from the streetcar. In 1954, City Council called for the shutdown of all streetcars, with Mayor R. L. Thornton declaring, "Dallas will never be a modern city as long as it is tied to an antiquated electric rail transit system."[23] The city's last streetcar made its final trip in January 1956.

In 1964, Dallas Transit System (DTS), the first City-run public transportation agency, formed by consolidating various privately owned transit companies, including old streetcar companies. Dallas Area Rapid Transit (DART) formed in 1983 and assumed DTS operations in 1988. Since then, they have reinstated a commuter light rail system similar to the interurban, a trolley, and the Dallas Streetcar, a nearly two-and-a-half-mile route connecting downtown to Oak Cliff via the Houston Viaduct.

THE INTERURBAN

Just one year after the state's first interurban opened between Denison and Sherman, the Dallas-to-Fort Worth interurban line opened in 1902. In less than 20 years, Dallas sat in the center of the state's largest network of interurban lines (fig. II-97). Prior to the interurban, the railroad provided the fastest connection between north Texas cities and towns, though its infrequent schedule made it less than ideal for many potential passengers traveling from smaller communities. To fill the gap left by the railroad, a combination of outside investors and local businessmen organized to bring the interurban to Dallas. The addition of the interurban allowed more merchants and buyers to reach Dallas and ultimately contributed to the city's transformation into a leading transportation, financial, wholesale, and distribution center.[24]

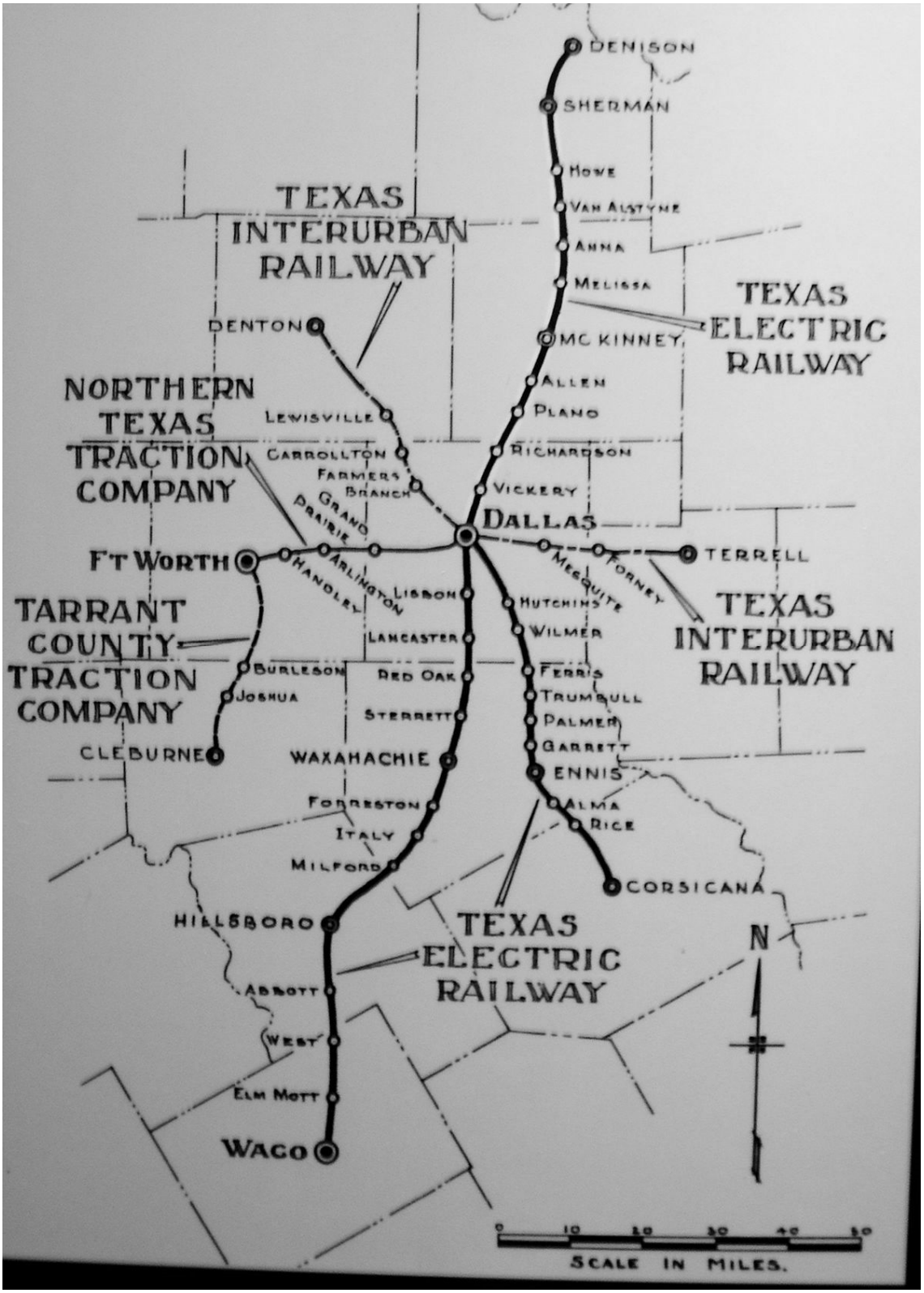


Figure II-97. A map showing the interurban network of North Texas, with Dallas as its center. Source: University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting University of Texas at Arlington Library, accessed August 2, 2021, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth298394/m1/1/.

The Northern Texas Traction Company operated the Dallas-to-Fort Worth interurban line. Headed and funded by a group of Cleveland capitalists, the company purchased Fort Worth's City Railway and the Dallas and Oak Cliff Elevated Railway. They then laid new track between the two cities. A power supply station in Handley, west of Dallas, provided electricity for the train, and 15 new passenger shelter stations lined the rail between Dallas and Fort Worth (no known to be extant) (fig. II-98). Lake Erie, a manmade lake in Handley, provided water for the power plant while a pavilion, skating rink, auditorium, and other amusements, served to attract visitors and interurban passengers. The interurban departed both Dallas and Fort Worth every hour after 6:00 AM, making stops in Oak Cliff, Cockrell Hill, Arcadia Park, Grand Prairie, Arlington, and Handley in between (fig. II-99).[25]

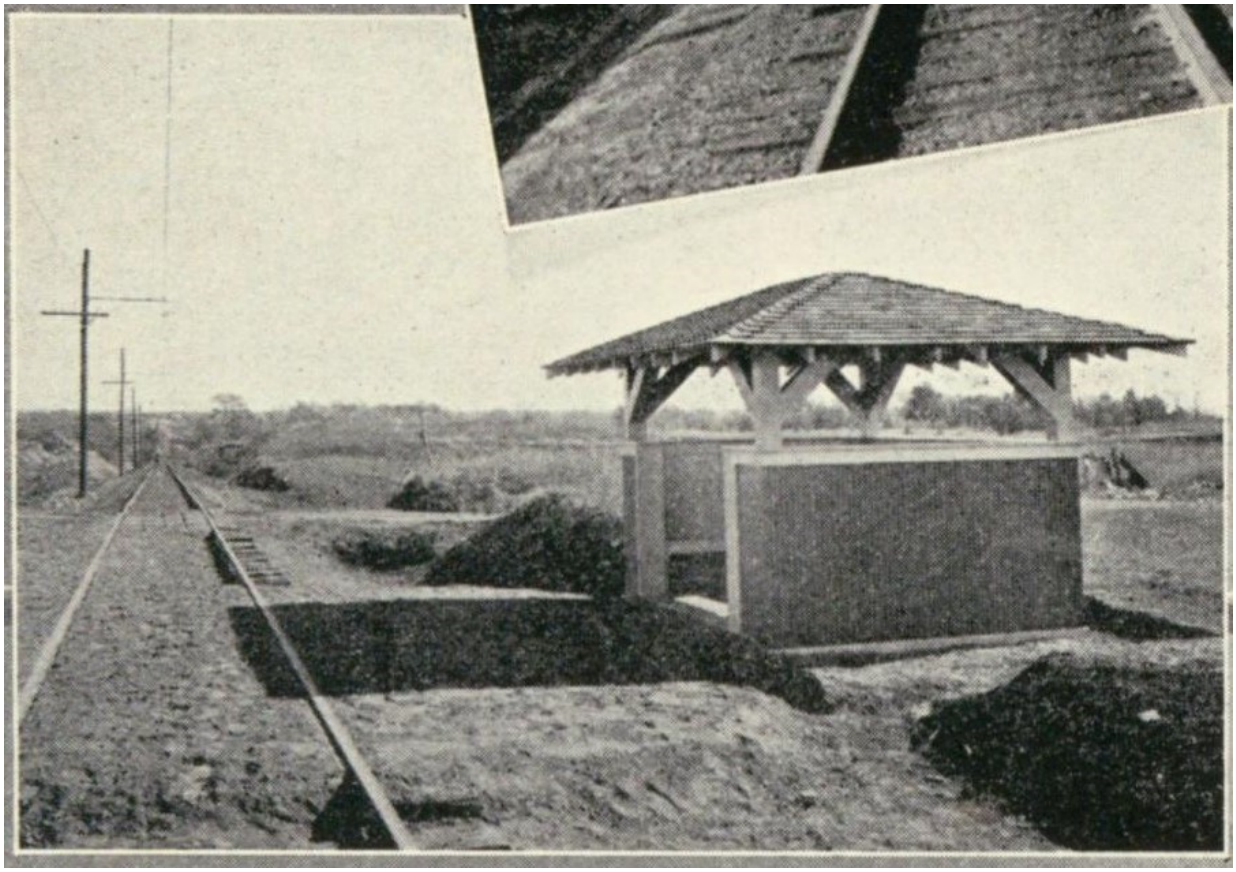


Figure II-98. One of the shelters built along the Dallas-to-Fort Worth interurban line in the early twentieth century. Source: Texas Interurban Railway, *Making Neighbors*, pamphlet, 1925, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting Mesquite Public Library, accessed July 29, 2021, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth388671/m1/11/.



Figure II-99. The interurban station in Oak Cliff at 718 Addison Street, taken in 1980. The building is not extant. Source: Steve Wallace, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting the Texas Historical Commission, accessed August 2, 2021, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth684646/.

In the early nineteenth century, a combination of local and outside investors helped expand Dallas's interurban network. Dallas-based J. F. Strickland, head of the Dallas Securities Company, acquired the Denison and Sherman Railway in 1908, renaming it the Texas Traction Railway Company. He expanded the line south to Dallas, with stops in Howe, Van Alstyne, Melissa, McKinney, Allen, Plano, and Richardson. Boston-based Stone and Webster, an electrical engineering firm that owned at least one city streetcar and had also acquired the Northern Traction Company, chartered the Dallas Southern Traction Company in 1912. The Dallas Southern Traction had two routes, one terminating in Corsicana, and one terminating in Waco. In addition to rail lines, the companies also built a number of bridges over the city's various creeks, including one at East Clarendon Drive over Cedar Creek (partially extant) (fig. II-100). In 1914, Monroe Shops opened at 2111 South Corinth Street (extant, listed in the National Register fig. II-101). The extant maintenance facility serviced cars for both the Southern Traction and Texas Traction companies.

> ***Learn more!*** *Read the National Register nomination for Monroe Shops: https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/07000130/07000130.pdf.*



Figure II-100. The remains of the concrete interurban bridge over E. Clarendon Drive and Cedar Creek along the former line to Corsicana and Waco. The streetcar also used the bridge. The bridge, abandoned since 1948, was partially demolished in 2014. The piers remain and an interpretive sign provides history on the interurban. Remnants of another bridge remain around 400 South Moore Street. Source: Patrick Feller, via flickr, accessed July 29, 2021, https://www.flickr.com/photos/nakrnsm/14753902723/in/photostream/.



Figure II-101. Monroe Shops at 2111 South Corinth Street from around 1916, two years after its construction. After its abandonment in 1948, DART purchased the building and rehabbed it in the mid-1990s. The building was listed in the National Register in 2007 and currently serves as DART's Police Headquarters. Source: URS Corporation, *Preservation and Maintenance Manual: DART Police Headquarters at Illinois Station/Monroe Shops*, prepared for Dallas Area Rapid Transit, February 2012, 27, from University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting Dallas Area Rapid Transit, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth1148419/m1/1/?q=monroe%20shops.

In 1913, Dallas interurban companies had over 500 miles of line in operation, under construction, and/or proposed, as well as three small interurban stations: one at 1316 Commerce Street, one at 1810 Commerce Street, and one at Jefferson and Wood streets (none extant, fig. II-102).[26] Observing the need for a larger, more grand terminal that reflected the success of the city and interurban, Stone and Webster spent one and a half million dollars on a new interurban terminal.[27] Opened in 1916 at 1500 Jackson Street, the new interurban terminal station was considered one of the finest and most modern in the world (fig. II-103).



Figure II-102. The interurban station for the Dallas-to-Fort Worth line located at 1810 Commerce Street, ca. 1910 (not extant). Source: J. W. Dunlop Photograph Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries. "Fort Worth Interurban Station in Dallas, Texas." UTA Libraries Digital Gallery. 1911. Accessed August 3, 2021, https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/10002486.



Figure II-103. The 1916 Interurban Building at 1500 Jackson Street. The building has been converted into apartments. Source: HHM, 2020.

In 1917, Strickland merged his Texas Traction Railway Co. with the Dallas Southern Traction Co., forming the Texas Electric Railway Company. Together, they created the largest interurban company west of the Mississippi. Strickland was also involved in the organization of the Texas Interurban Railway. The company's service to Terrell opened in 1923, and service to Denton began in 1924.[28] With over 300 miles of track connecting north Texas communities, the interurban line helped develop this section of the state. As reported in Texas Electric:

> The interurban lines have done much to increase the development in this section. Suburban development in many places has been rapid and extensive, many beautiful suburban and country homes being found along the liens outside the cities of Dallas, Waco, and Fort Worth.[29]

The interurbans reached their peak in the 1920s, before their demise in the 1940s, unable to compete with automobiles and buses. At the height of operations, around 250 interurban trains traveled through Dallas's interurban terminal building daily. The Dallas-to-Fort Worth lined closed first in 1934, and by 1942, the Texas Electric Railway Company was the only interurban line in operation. The final run of the interurban in Dallas occurred in December 1948. Many of the lines were abandoned and paved over. Monroe Shops was largely abandoned before DART purchased the complex in 1993 and converted it into its Police Headquarters. The interurban terminal station, which began serving buses in 1940, solely became a bus terminal after the interurbans stopped running.

CONCLUSION

Old streetcar lines remain in various parts of the city, and more are likely to be uncovered with continued road work and construction. These remnants serve as reminders of Dallas's streetcar history, one that is easily forgotten as most of the infrastructure and buildings associated with it have been lost since the streetcar ceased operating. The streetcar was more than just the infrastructure and buildings constructed for its operation though. Between 1873 and 1956, the city's streetcar and interurban network connected people within Dallas and to other cities and communities in North Texas. Not only did the network contribute to the city's economic and population growth during this period, it also played a major role in the city's residential development. First connecting people within downtown, the streetcar quickly extended outward and spurred the development of streetcar suburbs. As such, many of the various late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century neighborhoods in Dallas reflect the impact of the streetcar network.

NOTES

[1] Stan Solamillo, "Interurban Building," Dallas Landmark Commission Nomination Form. City of Dallas, 1999, 3, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/Interurban%20Building%20Landmark%20Nomination.pdf.

[2] Laura V. Trieschmann, Robin J. Weidlich, Jennifer J. Bunting, Amanda Didden, and Kim Williams, "Streetcar and Bus Resources of Washington, D.C., 1862-1962," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Listing Form, National Park Service, 2006, E-8, https://npgallery.nps.gov/pdfhost/docs/NRHP/Text/64500948.pdf.

[3] Trieschmann, Weidlich, Bunting, Didden, and Williams, "Streetcar and Bus Resources of Washington, D.C.," E-12.

[4] Trieschmann, Weidlich, Bunting, Didden, and Williams, "Streetcar and Bus Resources of Washington, D.C.," E-32.

[5] Trieschmann, Weidlich, Bunting, Didden, and Williams, "Streetcar and Bus Resources of Washington, D.C.," E-32.

[6] Raanan Geberer, "Trolleys' Time: When Streetcars Were Desired," HistoryNet, October 2019, https://www.historynet.com/trolleys-time-when-streetcars-were-desired.htm.

[7] Trieschmann, Weidlich, Bunting, Didden, and Williams, "Streetcar and Bus Resources of Washington, D.C.," E-4.

[8] "City of Laredo: Historic Preservation Plan,"1996, 12, accessed July 27, 2021, https://www.cityoflaredo.com/LaredoPlanning/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/historic-preservation-plan-08142012123040.pdf.

[9] Robert A. Rieder, "Electric Street Railways," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed July 27, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/electric-street-railways.

[10] Robert A. Rieder, "Electric Interurban Railways," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed July 27, 2020, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/electric-interurban-railways.

[11] Rieder, "Electric Interurban Railways."

[12] Peter Simek, "Lost Dallas," D Magazine, March 2018, https://www.dmagazine.com/publications/d-magazine/2018/march/lost-dallas-history-secrets/.

[13] Diane Curtis Powers, *The Development and Expansion of the Street Railroad System in Dallas, Texas: 1871-1890,* unpublished master's thesis, Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 1969, 78.

[14] Powers, *The Development and Expansion of the Street Railroad System in Dallas, Texas*, 84.

[15] Thedore M. Lawe, "Racial Politics in Dallas in the Twentieth Century," *East Texas Historical Journal* vol. 46 issue 2, 29.

[16] Powers, *The Development and Expansion of the Street Railroad System in Dallas, Texas*, 58.

[17] Powers, *The Development and Expansion of the Street Railroad System in Dallas, Texas*, 38-40

[18] Powers, *The Development and Expansion of the Street Railroad System in Dallas, Texas*, 40.

[19] HHM, "Historic and Architectural Resources of East and South Dallas, Dallas County, Texas." National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form. Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1995, F-67.

[20] HHM, "Historic and Architectural Resources of East and South Dallas, Dallas County, Texas," E-6.

[21] *Dallas, Texas, City Directory, 1925*, (Dallas, Texas: John F. Worley Directory Co., 1925) 3, digitized in "U.S. City Directories, 1822-1995," database, Ancestry, www.ancestry.com.

[22] HHM, "Historic and Architectural Resources of East and South Dallas, Dallas County, Texas," E-30.

[23] "History Corner: End of the Original Dallas Streetcars," M-Line Trolley, January 22, 2020, http://www.mata.org/history-corner-end-of-the-original-dallas-streetcars/.

[24] Solamillo, "Interurban Building."

[25] Solamillo, "Interurban Building," 4.

[26] Solamillo, "Interurban Building," 6.

[27] Solamillo, "Interurban Building," 7.
[28] Rieder, "Electric Interurban Railways."
[29] Solamillo, "Interurban Building," 10.

II-8| Highways, Roadways, and Automobiles (1841–1972)

INTRODUCTION

Highways, roads, and streets have played a key role in the history and physical development of Dallas, influencing socio-economic and demographic patterns since the city's founding. The dynamic quality of this network has been an interplay between both the public and private sectors that have evolved over time. The prominence of federal and state governments in the design, construction, and maintenance of roads and highways is a fairly recent trend, contrasting with the far more significant role that local government played in the transportation network until the early twentieth century. Citizens and area residents continue to rely on a robust and intricate web of streets, roads, and highways that have become vital to the city's economic prosperity, culture, and quality of life. Properties associated with this context include a broad range of public infrastructure – expressways, bridges, streets, and over-and under-passes that support vehicular traffic. Other resources associated with this context include gas stations, dealerships, garages, warehouses, shopping centers, and a wide range of other businesses and commercial enterprises related to vehicular (automobile and truck) traffic. These resources may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A and C under Areas of Significance that may include: Community Planning and Development, Engineering, and Transportation. The period of significance extends from the city's founding in 1841 when John Neely Bryan settled on the east bank of the Trinity River and ends in 1972, the cutoff year for this project.

NATIONAL AND STATE TRENDS

The development of Dallas's roadways emulates trends of urban centers at both the national and state levels. Although overland transportation was fundamental to the settlement and expansion of the nation, early roads in the pre-industrial age were difficult to build and costly to maintain. The primitive road network remained in a poor state of repair for much of the nineteenth century. Railroad expansion revolutionized transportation during the mid-to-late nineteenth century, but the distribution of goods and people by rail continued to rely heavily on a road network leading to and from railroad stops. By the late nineteenth century, the invention of the bicycle and its subsequent rise in popularity led to the founding of the Good Roads Movement, an effort that early automobile enthusiasts soon joined and quickly took over. The Good Roads Movement filled the void of the diminished role that both federal and state governments played in the evolving road network. In 1908, Henry Ford began production of the Model T, the first mass-produced and reasonably priced automobile. Sales of Ford's new automobile rose dramatically and proved to be a major contributor to the development of a more robust road network. Private citizens and groups organized to promote auto trails and highways to improve roads that would better serve the growing number of automobile owners. Although they initially set modest goals and worked to improve roads from city to nearby city, these good roads advocates soon expanded their efforts and began to think on a far more ambitious scale. By 1912, for example, the Lincoln Highway was the first transcontinental highway in operation. The establishment of other long-distance auto trails or highways soon followed, and among those that passed through Texas and Dallas included the Bankhead Highway and King of Trails Highway.

> ***Learn More!*** *The Texas Historical Commission (THC) and the Texas Department of Transportation (TxDOT) co-sponsored a project to examine the development of highways in Texas including the Bankhead Highway,*

> *which extended through Dallas. The report is available online at https://www.thc.texas.gov/public/upload/preserve/survey/highway/Bankhead-history.pdf.*

A diverse coalition of groups that included Progressives, farmers, and automobile enthusiasts helped pass the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1916. For the first time, this landmark piece of legislation brought federal funding and state-level management to the development of a nationwide road and highway network. These efforts typically relied on previously established auto trails, which provided the foundation for a national and state highway network. The web of roadways began to expand as the numbers of vehicles increased on highways and public demands for better and safer roads grew louder. Texas was the last state to create an agency to oversee a highway program and did so only after the Federal-Aid Highway Act required such an agency to receive federal funds. In 1917, the newly organized Texas Highway Department (THD) published a map that depicted the proposed state highway network (fig. II-104). Prominent among them was State Highway No. (SH) 1 (Bankhead/Texarkana, Dallas Ft. Worth, and El Paso Highway), SH 6 (King of Trails Highway), SH 14 (Colorado-to-Gulf and Exall Memorial Highway/Dallas-Houston Highway), and SH 15 (Dixie Overland/Dallas-Louisiana Highway).[1] Oversight of local streets remained under local control, except for those major roadways that were part of the state highway network. Local governments in Texas began to overcome their fiscal conservatism and relied on voter-approved bonds to improve their street network.

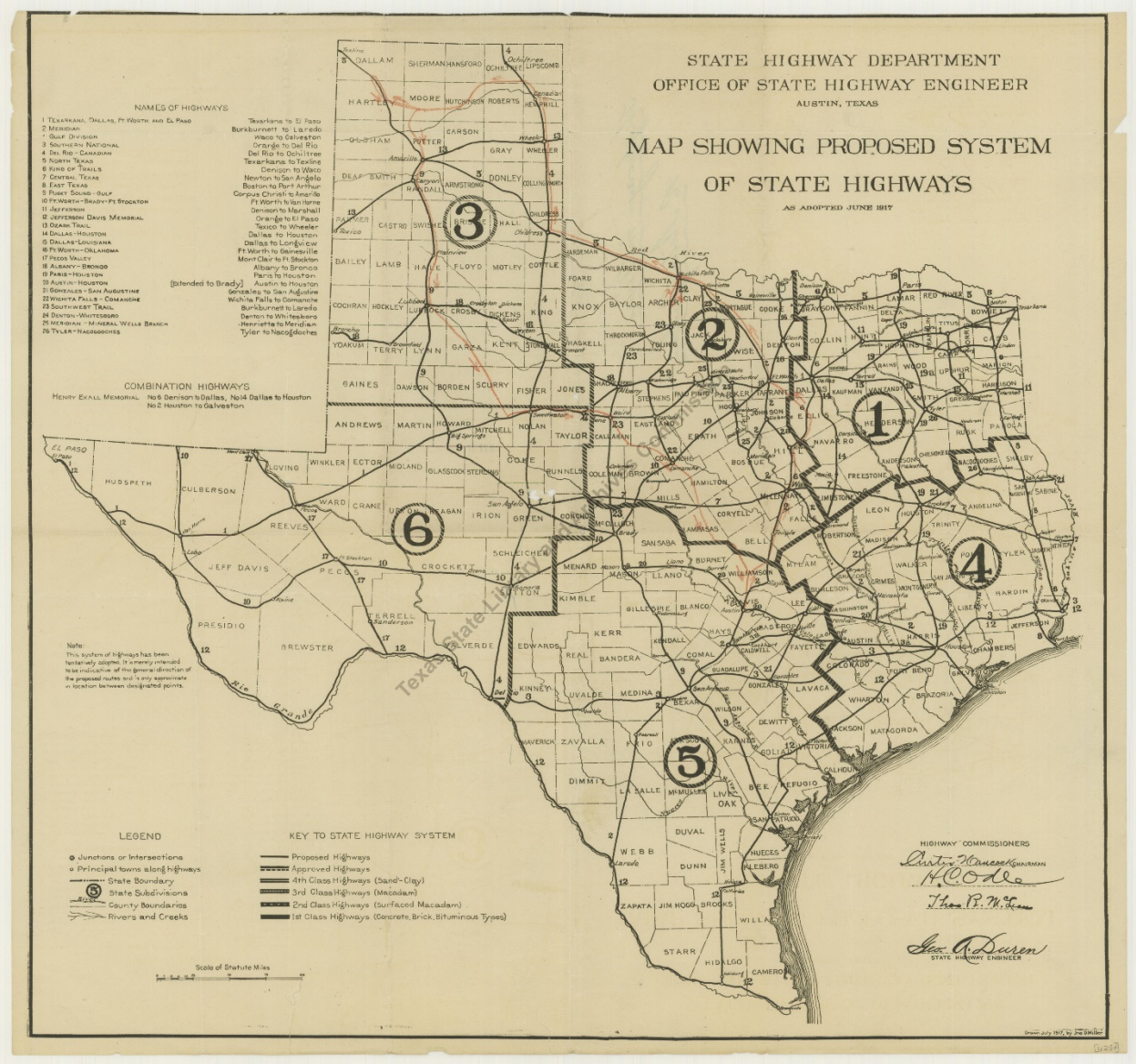


Figure II-104. This map depicts the proposed state highway system that the newly organized Texas Highway Department prepared in 1917. The map shows Dallas to be an early crossroads in the emerging highway system. Source: Texas State Library and Archives.

With the automobile era now in full swing, new businesses and commercial enterprises mushroomed in communities throughout the country. Gas stations, auto dealerships, garages, tourist camps, and motor courts were just a few examples of new types of buildings that became commonplace on the nation's landscape (fig. II-105). All remained dependent on automobiles, and the construction of these businesses often lined the busiest thoroughfares.



Figure II-105. This Magnolia gas station at 3400 Main Street in Dallas was on the Bankhead Highway/SH 1. This building illustrates how new architectural forms were built to serve the growing number of motorists on local streets, roads, and highways. Source: Texas Historical Commission.

> ***Learn More!*** *Refer to TxDOT's field guide to historic gas stations in Texas at https://www.thc.texas.gov/public/upload/preserve/survey/highway/TxDOT%20Field%20Guide%20to%20Gas%20Stations%20in%20TX%202016.pdf.*

The decade-long economic downturn that began soon after the stock market crash of 1929 slowed highway construction. After assuming office in 1933, President Franklin Roosevelt believed that infrastructure and other public works projects afforded opportunities to provide jobs for unemployed workers and help to stimulate an underperforming economy. Highway improvements, such as construction to reduce the number of at-grade railroad crossings, were particularly popular, but other transportation-related efforts of the era also included the construction of bridges, retaining walls, and roadside parks.

Another underappreciated but nonetheless important innovation of the Roosevelt era was the proposed construction of an interregional highway system with continuous traffic flow and controlled access. Lack of funding, as well as mobilization and the outbreak of war, thwarted the implementation of such a system. Still, the idea remained in the minds of transportation officials at both the national and state levels.

The postwar boom and the economic prosperity it offered directly affected the nation's highway network. Attempts to establish the interregional highway system began at a modest scale, but the existing federal funding formulas hampered its full implementation. The city of Houston claimed the honor of the first completed section of the new interregional highway in Texas when a stretch of US 75 opened in the city on September 30, 1948. Other cities soon followed, and the first interregional to begin operation in Dallas was a segment of Central Expressway (US 75) on August 19, 1949.[2]

Highway planning and construction throughout the nation changed dramatically after President Dwight Eisenhower signed the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956. The unprecedented scale of this legislation called for the construction of 41,000 miles of interstate highways throughout the nation (fig. II-106). To further incentivize the program, the Act changed the funding formula for states and allowed the federal government to pay 100 percent of land acquisition costs and 90 percent of construction costs.[3] The new interstate highway designations typically were imposed over existing federal highways, but the rights-of-way were widened and improved and sometimes re-routed.

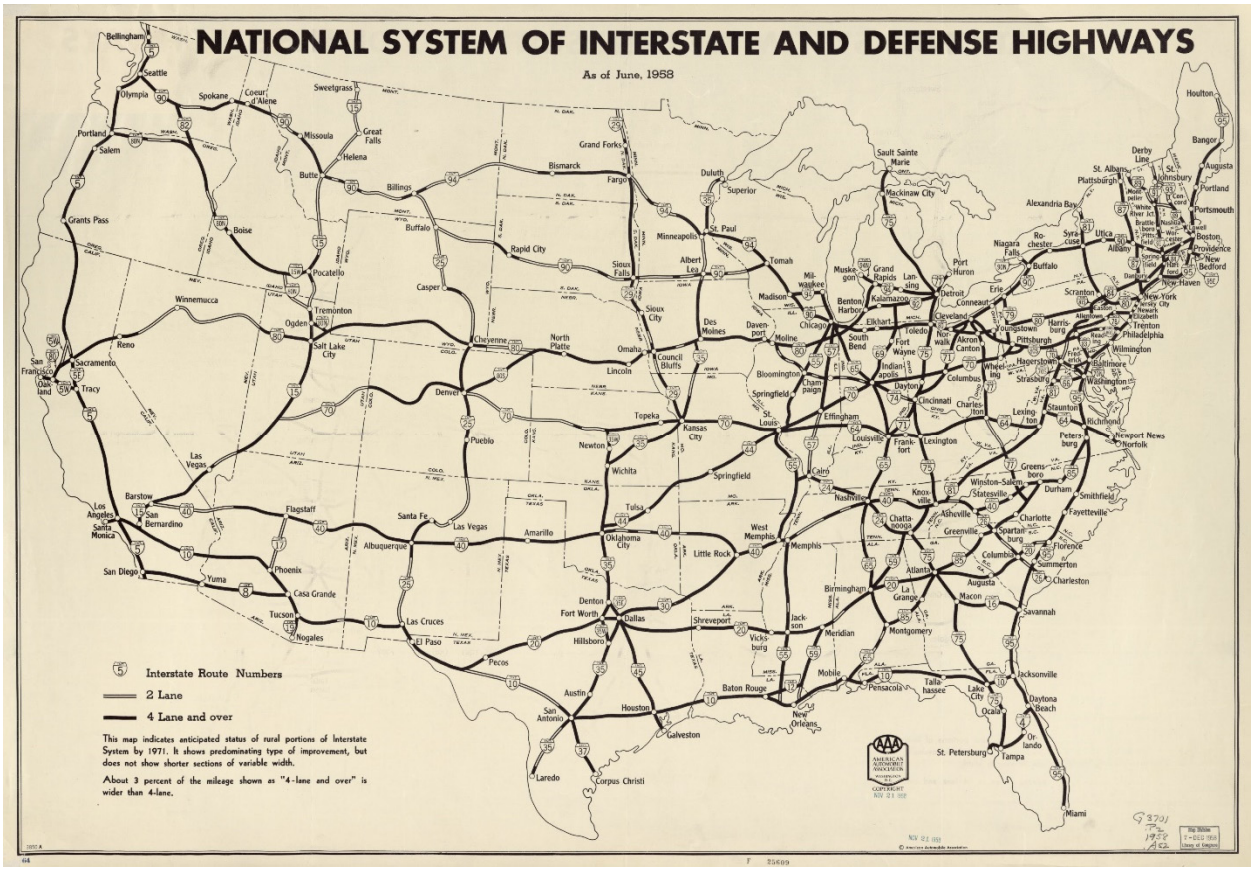


Figure II-106. This 1958 map illustrates the complex network of interstate highways that were part of the initial implementation of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956. Source: Library of Congress.

Soon after the act was signed into law, work on the interstate highway system began in earnest, and public officials offered little or no opportunities for citizens or groups to comment on proposed routes. In most urban centers, the freeways extended through well-established neighborhoods and had little regard for any effects the roadways would have on the residents of those communities. Neighborhoods of economically disadvantaged and racial and ethnic minority populations were particularly affected since they typically lacked political power or sway, and their concerns were often ignored.

By the mid-1960s, the lack of public input and involvement on highway construction, as well as the massive demolitions undertaken under the banner of "urban renewal," led to the passage of major pieces of legislation that began to reign in the power of the federal, state, and local governments. Enactment of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, the Transportation Act of 1966, and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 mandated greater public involvement in the planning and construction of federally sponsored projects and required that the public have opportunities to comment on the projects and what, if any, they would have on the environment and important historic and cultural places.

The Federal Highway Administration with the US Department of Transportation and the Texas Department of Transportation continue to oversee and implement the highway system in the state and work to maintain these vital transportation corridors and improve public safety.

LOCAL TRENDS

INITIAL PATTERNS IN THE PRE-AUTOMOBILE ERA IN DALLAS

Native peoples established a series of trails through and near Dallas, some of which became the foundation for the emerging road network when permanent Anglo American settlement arrived in the 1840s. Early pioneer John Neely Bryant chose a low-water crossing on the Trinity River near the intersection of two major trails blazed by tribal nations for the new town of Dallas. The location underscored the strategic significance of the site, which continued to be a factor in the city's subsequent development. The original townsite adopted a grid plan of streets, a configuration that prevailed throughout much of Texas and other newly settled regions of a rapidly expanding United States at that time. As the city expanded, the orientation of the grid typically adhered to that of the overlying land grants and surveys and continued the same block and street pattern established earlier. Both Dallas' streets and the roads emanating outward were poorly built and maintained and often were difficult to travel even in ideal conditions, much less during inclement weather.

Under the Texas Constitution, county governments assumed the primary responsibility for the construction and maintenance of the state's road network, but municipalities also had similar authority for streets within their respective jurisdictions. Both the city and county of Dallas followed this trend. Such a decentralized structure was consistent with a prevailing wariness of state-level oversight of government operations that most Texans embraced during the nineteenth century. This policy created a piecemeal transportation network with roadways of varying quality and states of repair. As Dallas began to rise in prominence, one newspaper noted that, "farmers arriving in our city with loaded wagons complain bitterly of the county roads."[4] Bridges over waterways were among the highest priorities in Dallas and elsewhere, and crossing the unpredictable and flood-prone Trinity River was particularly challenging. In 1855, local entrepreneur Alexander Cockrell constructed a toll bridge; however, it was washed away by a flood in 1858. Subsequent bridges over local waterways—including one across the Trinity River built under the supervision of Cockrell's equally enterprising widow Sarah— met similar fates, but the city's continued growth underscored the need for good bridges and an expanded street network.[5]

The railroad era marked a particularly crucial time in the history and development of Dallas. The successful operation of railroads necessitated a corresponding network of streets and roadways that extended to and out from strategically placed railroad stops. As early as October 1882, the City of Dallas sought to improve its own street network when it awarded a contract to pave a segment of Elm Street with bois d'arc wooden blocks.[6] The section targeted for paving extended between Market and Sycamore Streets and by no coincidence lay between depots for the Texas & Pacific (T&P) and Houston & Texas Central (H&TC) Railways (fig. II-107). The particular project was only marginally successful due to the limited strength and durability of the materials; nonetheless, the effort demonstrated that civic leaders understood the importance of improved infrastructure and street networks to support continued city-wide growth, development, and prosperity. Subsequent paving efforts used other materials, including macadam (crushed stone and gravel), asphalt, brick, and concrete.[7]



Figure II-107. The Sanborn Fire Insurance Map published maps of Dallas in 1885. This overview map notes the location of the primary railroad depots that served Dallas at that time. Elm Street, which was the primary street that extended between the depots, was heavily used and paved with bois d'arc blocks to improve the flow of traffic. Source: Library of Congress.

THE DAWN OF THE AUTOMOBILE ERA

Noted railroad developer Edward Howland Robinson Green of Terrell, Texas, introduced the first automobile to Texas. Just a few days after the vehicle was shipped by rail to his residence in Terrell, Green and a mechanic made the arduous trip to Dallas on October 5, 1899, for the state fair.[8] While the arrival of Green's horseless carriage caused an immediate sensation (one newspaper article at the time noted that "…Dallasites were startled"[9]), few, if any, truly realized or understood what this monumental event represented. The beginning of the automobile era in Dallas would bring fundamental and profound changes to the people of Dallas and altered development patterns that transformed the city's physical, social, and cultural characters.

Just three years after Green brought the first automobile to the city, local newspapers began running advertisements for "motor carriages."[10] As sales climbed, a group of local citizens organized the Dallas Auto Club on June 23, 1904. The group promoted local driving tours but also lobbied for improved streets, roads, and highways.[11] However, automobiles remained a hobby of the affluent.

In 1908, two major events occurred that had a profound influence on the history of highways and roads in Dallas. The Ford Motor Company introduced the Model T, the world's first mass-produced automobile

that revolutionized the transportation business and made autos more affordable to a growing middle class. The company later constructed a plant in Dallas that contributed to Dallas's rise into an early regional auto distribution center.[12] The other event was the infamous Trinity River Flood of 1908. Heavy rains over a three-day period in late May caused the waterway to overflow, leading to widespread damage and human suffering across the city, especially in West Dallas. In its aftermath, public officials proposed, among other provisions, the construction of a new concrete viaduct to cross the Trinity River to re-establish direct connections between Dallas proper and the growing suburb of Oak Cliff on the west bank of the river. [13] In addition, business and civic leaders also embarked on the development of an ambitious and forward-thinking, city-wide master plan by Dallas native but Kansas City transplant, George Kessler. When completed in 1911, the so-called Kessler Plan proposed a network of roadways that accurately predicted a growing dependency on automobiles and sought to manage and control the anticipated surge in traffic flow. (fig. II-108). Supporters of the plan were unable to convince city officials and the general public to implement the plan in its entirety. Nonetheless, several important transportation-related aspects were eventually undertaken and included the construction of a tree-lined boulevard that became Central Expressway and a series of boulevards within the city, including Turtle Creek, South Oak Cliff, and Burlington Boulevards.[14]

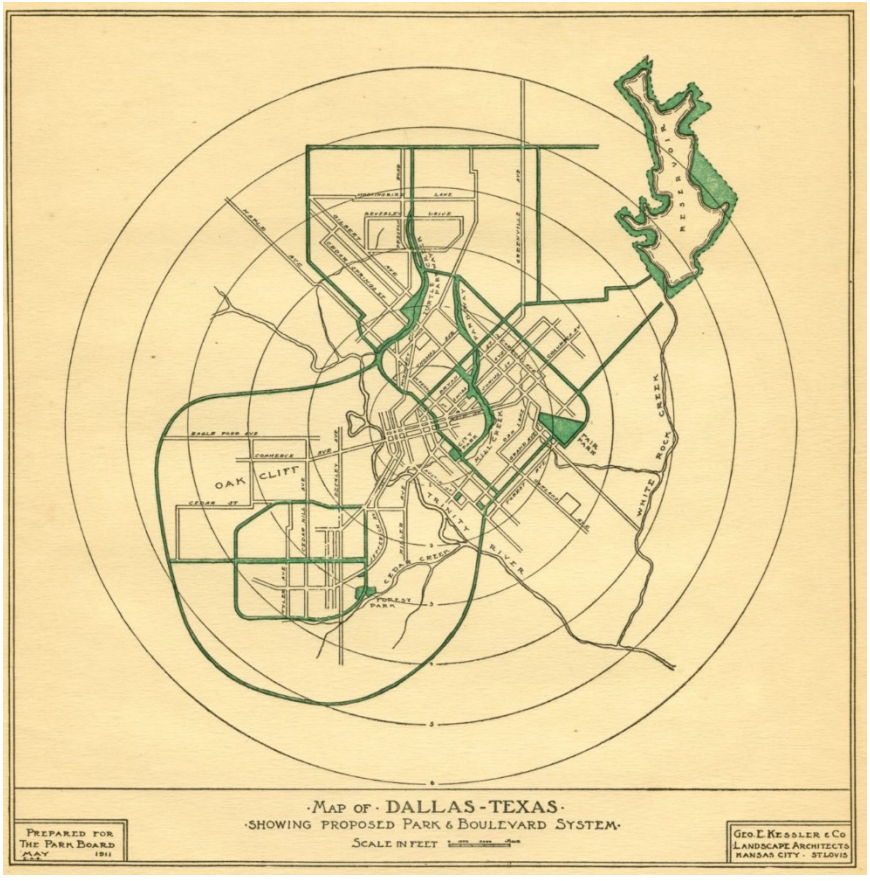


Figure II-108. Landscape architect and urban planner George Kessler proposed a series of boulevards in anticipation of increased popularity and use of automobiles in city-wide master plan of 1911. Prominent among the features was a boulevard along the right-of-way of the H&TC Railway. Although not immediately implemented, the idea endured and later became the basis for the construction of US 75 Central Expressway. Source: The Portal to Texas History, crediting the Dallas Municipal Archives.

> ***Learn More!*** *Refer to Chapter 6. Urban Planning to learn more about the history of the Kessler Plan and other master plans for the city Dallas.*

The popularity of the Model T and the subsequent proliferation of automobiles in Dallas and elsewhere generated even greater support for the Good Roads Movement. The almost complete lack of federal

and state highway involvement led several automobile enthusiasts to propose grandiose schemes to expand the nation's fledgling highway network. Although the earliest efforts were modest in size and scope, advocating highways from city to nearby city, they soon expanded to promoting highways that extended into multiple states. Among the earliest and most important in Texas were the Bankhead Highway and the King of Trails Highway, both of which passed through Dallas and signified the city as an early highway hub in the state. Passage of the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1916 changed that dynamic and led to the organization of the THD in 1917. The agency soon established a network of state highways, four of which serviced Dallas. (fig. II-109).

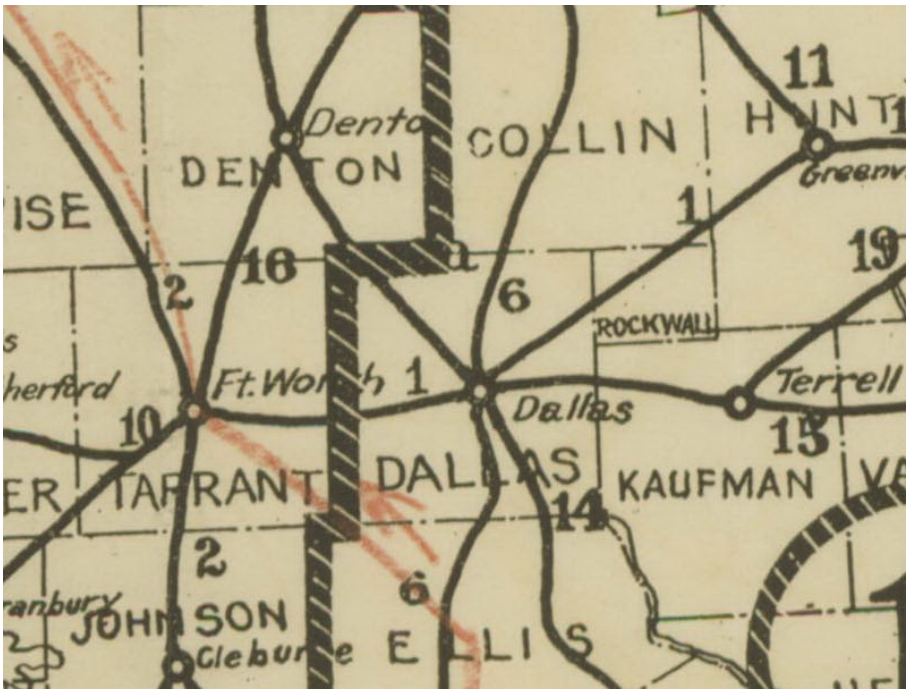


Figure II-109. This detail from a 1917 map of Texas highways illustrates how Dallas was a highway crossroads in the early automobile era. Source: Texas State Library and Archives Commission.

The formalization of the highway network spurred the further establishment of new types of businesses that catered to the growing number of motorists traveling the highways. Early automobile sales often relied on existing commercial enterprises; Cadillac sales, for example, were sold and distributed from the Purlin & Ordendorff Building as early as November 1903 (fig. II-110). Over time, automobile dealerships with showrooms began to appear in downtown. In addition, gas stations, garages, repair shops, tourist camps, and motor courts were among the new kinds of businesses that lined some of the busiest roadways in the city. In addition, Dallas and other municipal governments undertook street paving efforts that augmented the highways and facilitated intracity travel. Brick was a particularly popular material during the early days of the automobile era but other materials such as concrete, macadam, and asphalt also became commonplace. The popularity of automobiles also affected residential designs of the era. A new building type—the garage—became a popular ancillary building in new residential developments in more outlying areas of the city.

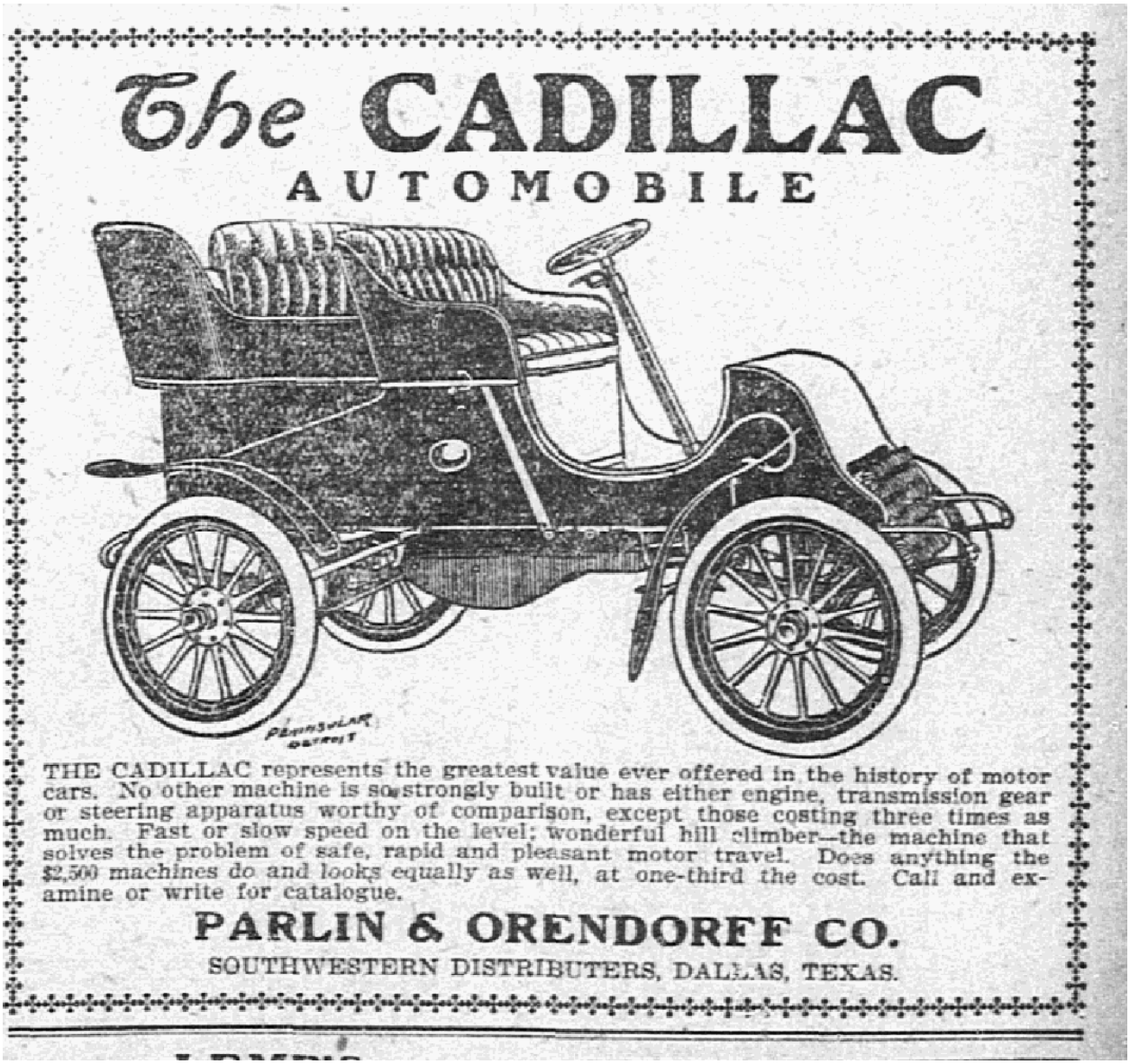


Figure II-110. This newspaper advertisement from November 5, 1903, informs readers how they can order a Cadillac at its Detroit factory and have it shipped to the Purlin & Ordendorff Building in Dallas. At that time, automobile dealerships did not exist and were ordered from the auto maker. Source: Dallas Morning News.

World War I disrupted the improvement to the highway and street networks in Dallas; however, local voters approved a number of bond programs in the late 1920s and early 1930s to fund a wide range of transportation-related enhancements. Relying on many ideas presented in Kessler's master plan of 1911, a citizens advisory group led by businessman Charles E. Ulrickson (better known as the Ulrickson Committee) lobbied for and oversaw a series of public works projects that included the construction of bridges, elimination of many at-grade railroad crossings, street paving and upgrades, and other enhancements.[15] The state highway department, likewise, continued to improve the highway network and funded other transportation projects along major highways using available federal monies targeted for the most important highways, including SH 1, SH 6, SH 14, SH 15, and SH 68, (fig. II-111).

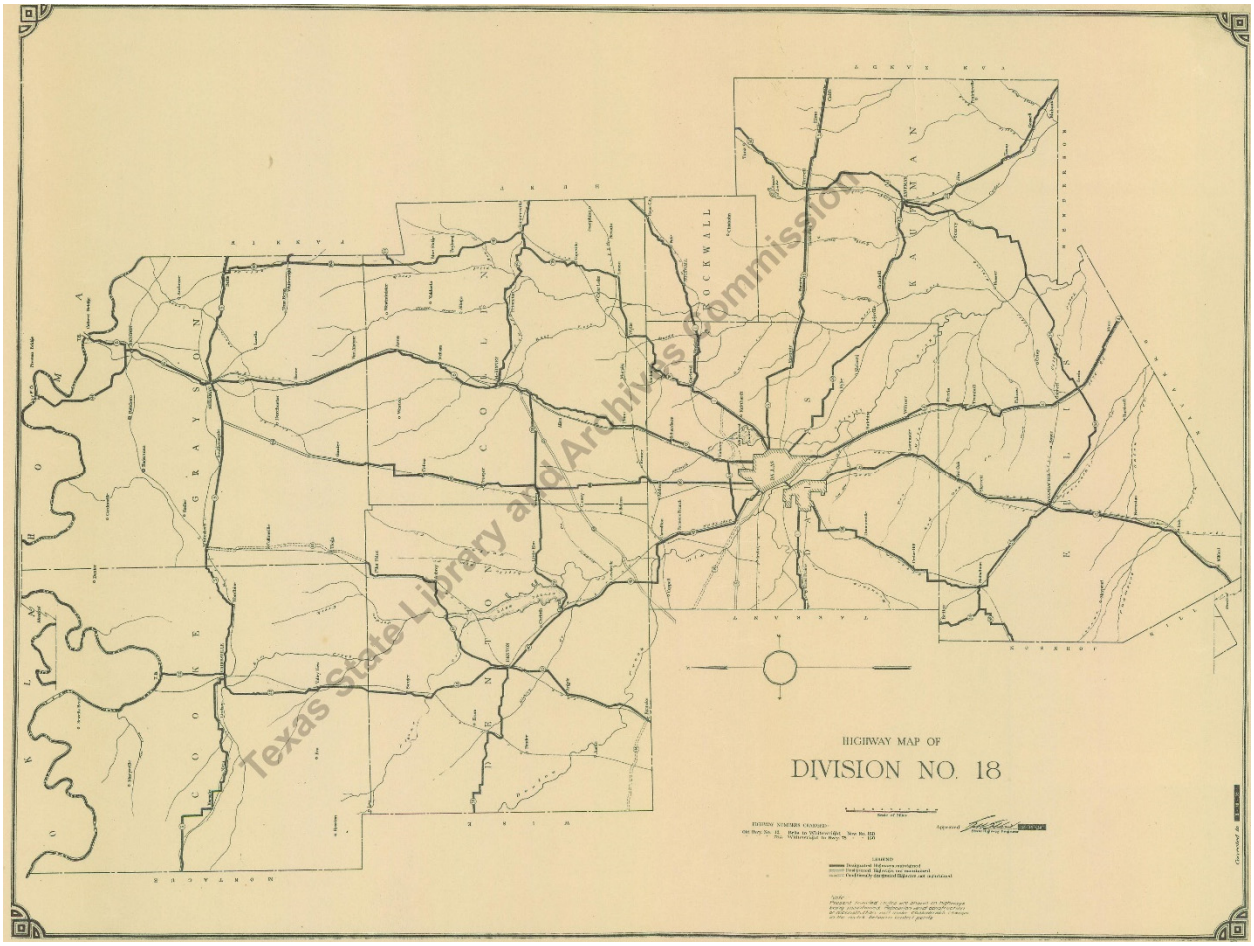


Figure II-111. A detail from the 1930 map of Division 18 of the Texas Highway Department displaying highways in Dallas County. Source: Texas State Library and Archives Division.

Learn More! The *construction of the Lamar-McKinney Street Viaduct Bridges across the Trinity River showed how civic and business leaders in Dallas garnered support for this and other important public infrastructure projects in accordance with the recommendations of the Ulrickson Committee. To learn more, visit the following: https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Resources%20Page/Lamar-McKinney%20Bridge%20Historic%20American%20Engineering%20Record.pdf*

Auto-related businesses continued to flourish and expanded their presence on the landscape. Gas stations, for example, became a ubiquitous feature on major roadways, and oil companies adopted standardized plans of gas stations that reinforced a sense of familiarity and loyalty to motorists. Dallas-based Magnolia Oil was among the leaders of such a trend.[16]

EXPRESSWAYS, SUBURBS, AND DECENTRALIZATION

The Great Depression slowed the Dallas economy, but various factors helped mitigate its effects, especially when compared to other cities in the nation. The federal government funded a number of local public works projects, including such high-profile transportation projects as the triple underpass downtown (Elm, Main, and Commerce streets). While these and other federally supported efforts brought a degree of relief, both the local and national economies only rebounded fully when the

country began to prepare for war in the late 1930s. During this mobilization phase, the federal government funded the construction and/or expansion of industrial plants and new military bases across the country, including Dallas. Local examples included the new North American Aviation plant and nearby Hensley Field (later Naval Air Station Dallas). In support of this effort, federal highway planners proposed the construction of "super" or interregional highways in 1939–1940 to support broad strategic defense-related needs.[17] At about the same time, the City began preparing a new city master plan and hired Harland Bartholomew and his St. Louis-based firm to prepare the report. Earlier that year, President Franklin Roosevelt had appointed him to a seven-member Interregional Highway Advisory Board. Bartholomew embraced the interregional highway concept and advocated its adoption in Dallas.[18] Among the many transportation-related recommendations included in the plan was the construction of a new interregional highway along the H&TC tracks north of downtown, an idea first proposed by George Kessler in his 1911 plan. Lack of funding delayed construction on the expressway, but in the late 1940s, work began in March 1947, and on August 19, 1949, the first section of the new Central Expressway (US 75), a segment between Fitzhugh and San Jacinto streets, was opened amid great fanfare and celebration.[19] The new highway was the first of several expressways developed over a five-year period. In 1954, two years before President Eisenhower's Interstate Highway project was enacted, state and local highway planners proposed freeways for segments of US 67, 77, and 80 through Dallas (fig. II-112). Altogether, the new highways forever changed land-use and development decision-making processes.

> ***Learn More!*** *Oscar Slotboom examines the postwar history development of highways in the Dallas-Fort Worth area in his detailed and informative book; it is available online: http://dallasfreeways.com/dfwfreeways/pdf/Dallas-Fort-Worth_Freeways_book-20140803.pdf.*

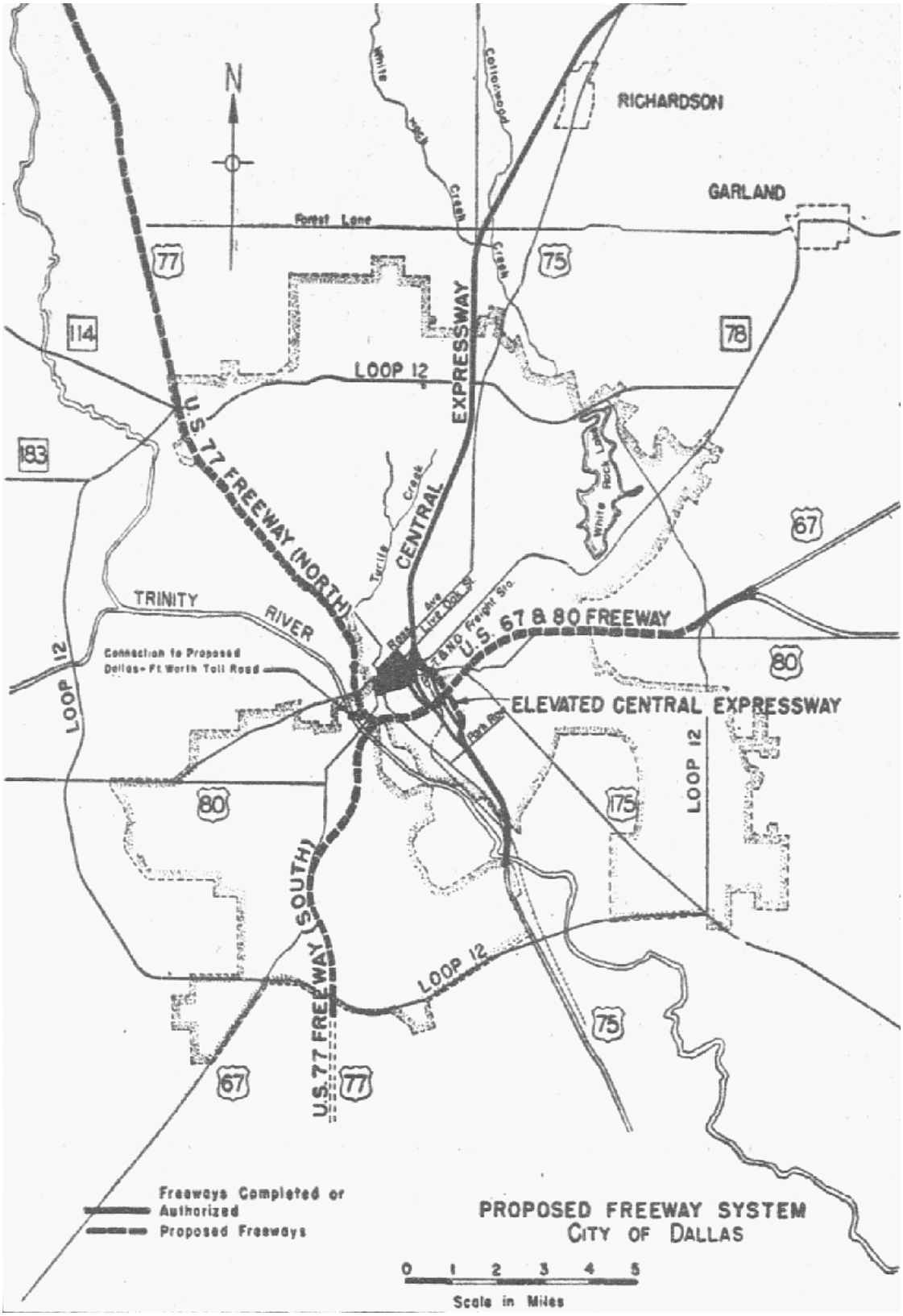


Figure II-112. This front-page image from the *Dallas Morning News* of February 21, 1954, depicts the proposed interregional highway system that predated the passage of the 1956 interstate highway act. Source: Dallas Morning News.

Despite the ambitious intentions of the new interregional highway system first introduced during the final years of the Great Depression, insufficient federal support and funding impeded its implementation. Conditions changed dramatically in 1956 when President Dwight Eisenhower signed the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956. The enactment of such legislation heralded a new era in the local transportation network, which brought lasting cultural changes to the city. The new generation of superhighways in Dallas included Interstate Highway [IH] 30 (US 67 and 80), IH 45 (US 75), and IH 35 East (35E) (US 77).

Both the planning and construction of the interstate highways had profound consequences on the economic value of nearby properties and on the social fabric of the affected neighborhoods. As was true elsewhere throughout the state and nation, the new interstate highways typically supported business interests. For example, a segment of IH 35E (Stemmons Freeway) extends along reclaimed bottomlands of the Trinity River. After the construction of a levee to control Trinity River flooding, newly reclaimed lands were developed into an expansive warehouse and distribution center (Trinity Industrial District) that relied on the proximity of the highway to transport goods via trucks.[20] Other areas in outlying lands became more attractive for residential, commercial, and light industrial development, and architectural and landscape designs evolved to adapt to an increasingly auto-dependent populace. Banks, for example, began offering drive-through facilities for motorists. Within older, more established parts of the city, the highways often extended along new alignments that passed through low-income neighborhoods – particularly those with racial minority populations with little or no input from residents who lived on or near the proposed routes. The construction IH 35E south of downtown, for example, extended through Oak Cliff and clipped the western edge of the city's most intact Freedom Community (Tenth Street District). Once completed, the highway became a physical barrier that cut off this predominately African American neighborhood from the rest of Oak Cliff (fig. II-113).[21] Likewise, the completion of Central Expressway and Woodall Rodgers Freeway destroyed the thriving Black community known as Short North Dallas. The destruction caused by the construction of the roadways was compounded by the subsequent redevelopment of projects facilitated by the highways.

> ***Learn More!*** *Refer to Chapter 5. Distribution and Warehousing to learn more about the Trinity Industrial District.*



Figure II-113. This aerial photograph from 1957 shows construction of IH 35E through Oak Cliff. Source Squire Haskins, Inc., Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries.

The new highways and an expanded auto-based society led to new types of businesses and commercial operations, all of which contributed to increased decentralization of the downtown and greater suburbanization. The THD adopted a frontage road system that contributed to greater commercial development along expressways and generated even more traffic along these thoroughfares. The City of Dallas continued to maintain and upgrade its own street network regularly through the issuance of voter-approved bonds to improve traffic flow.[22] New businesses along the highways now needed parking lots for the convenience of auto-based shoppers, and new highway hotels catered to interstate motorists (fig. II-114). Strip shopping centers, typically located on busy thoroughfares, continued to siphon off retail business from the central business district and offered shoppers ample space to park their cars conveniently near their stores. Large regional shopping centers accelerated the trend, and developers of such enterprises sought large tracts of land adjacent to highways in outlying areas, further contributing to suburbanization. These commercial enterprises also influenced the establishments of new residential developments, schools, and other improvements. An increasingly automobile-dependent Dallas relied on an intricate and well-development network of streets, roads, and highways.

> ***Learn More!*** *Refer to TxDOT's field guide to motels in Texas from the 1950s to the 1970s at https://www.thc.texas.gov/public/upload/preserve/survey/highway/TxDOT%20Motels%20in%20Texas%201950s%20to%201970s.pdf.*



Figure II-114. This aerial photograph from 1963 shows the newly opened Cabana Motor Hotel adjacent to IH 35E (Stemmons Freeway). Source Squire Haskins, Inc., Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries.

REFORMS TRIGGERED BY HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION

Passage of the Transportation Act of 1966, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, and the National Environmental Act of 1969 changed the dynamic of highway planning, construction, and maintenance. These reforms gave the public greater input and mandated transportation to consider how to avoid or minimize adverse effects to important historic and recreational places (fig. II-115). Among the foremost local examples was the expansion of US 75 (Central Expressway), a project that took 12 years of consideration and another 13 years of construction. In 1974, highway officials first began to plan for the highway's widening due to increased traffic congestion and rapid suburban growth to the north. In December 1985, an archeologist working with TxDOT discovered the remains of a cemetery within the freeway corridor (fig. II-116). The discovery temporarily halted construction as archeologists conducted more thorough and intensive investigations. The discovery led to a collaborate effort to mitigate the adverse effects of the highway project to one of Dallas's most important African American communities. Much of the story has been captured in an exhibit at the African American Museum in Dallas[23]

Learn More! *Visit this THC's website to learn more about researching roads and roadside architecture at https://www.thc.texas.gov/preserve/projects-and-programs/historic-texas-highways/researching-roads-and-roadside-architecture.*

Also see: Freedman's Cemetery: A Legacy of a Pioneer Black Community in Dallas, Texas, Volume 1 *(copies available at the Dallas Public Library).*



Figure II-115) This image from 1959 shows the construction of IH 30 (R.L Thornton Freeway) through an unidentified part of Dallas. As the photograph illustrates, the path of many interstate highways cut through existing neighborhoods. The disruption such projects had on affected residents was part of a later effort to increase public involvement in the planning and development of highways. Source: Squire Haskins, Inc., Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries.

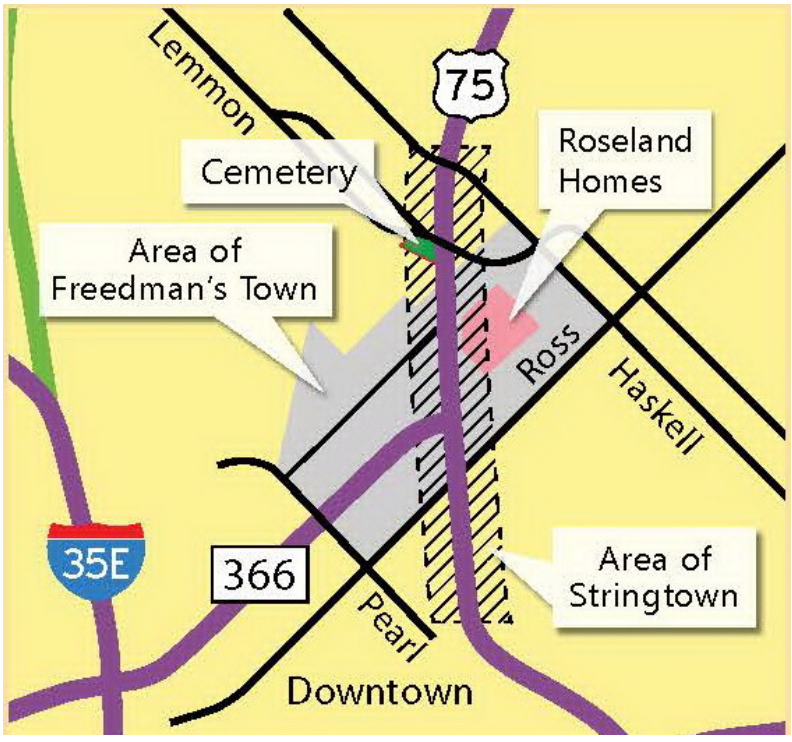


Figure II-116. The reconstruction of US 75 (Central Expressway) led to the discovery that the highway paved over the cemetery of formerly enslaved people. This image shows how the highway extended through one of Dallas's most important African American neighborhoods. Source: Oscar Slotboom, Dallas-Fort Worth Freeways: Texas-Sized Ambition.

CONCLUSION

The history of streets, roads, and highways in Dallas highlights the importance of road transportation in Dallas's phenomenal growth and development in the modern era. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, local business and civic leaders recognized the importance of a robust and well-maintained network, and they understood how visitors would perceive Dallas as they considered moving to and/or investing in the city. The highway network mirrored Dallas's development into an important railroad crossroads, and many of the most important roadways of Texas and southern US extended through Dallas. The existing network reflects collaborative efforts of public officials and the private sector to provide the city with an intricate system of streets, roads, and highways, all of which cater to a population that remains heavily dependent on automobiles.

NOTES

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[2] Oscar Slotboom, *Dallas-Fort Worth Freeways: Texas-Sized Ambition,* http://dallasfreeways.com/dfwfreeways/pdf/Dallas-Fort-Worth_Freeways_book-20140803.pdf, 1, 77.

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[10] Oldsmobile advertisement, *Dallas Morning News*, December 14, 1902, 24.

[11] "Dallas Auto Club," *Dallas Morning News*, June 24, 1904, 4.

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[13] Jackson, "Dallas-Oak Cliff Viaduct (Houston Street Viaduct) HAER No. TX-33."

[14] Jennifer Anderson, "The Kesler Plan," *City of Dallas Office of Historic Preservation*, accessed October 4, 2021, https://cityofdallaspreservation.wordpress.com/2018/01/19/the-kessler-plan/.

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[16] W. Dwayne Jones, (David W. Moore, Jr., and Shonda Mace, 2016 update), *Historical Studies Report No. 2003-03: A Field Guide to Gas Stations in Texas*, prepared for the Texas Department of Transportation, Environmental Affairs Division, Historical Studies Branch), https://www.thc.texas.gov/public/upload/preserve/survey/highway/TxDOT%20Field%20Guide%20to%20Gas%20Stations%20in%20TX%202016.pdf.

[17] Hardy·Heck·Moore, Inc., *A Historic Context of the Bankhead Highway and Other Historic Named Highways, Volume I*, 151, 161-162.

[18] "F.D.R. Appoints Committee on Super-Highways," *Dallas Morning News*, April 15, 1941, 2.

[19] "38-Year Dream Becomes Reality," *Dallas Morning News*, August 20, 1.

[20] Slotboom, *Dallas-Fort Worth Freeways: Texas-Sized Ambition,* 181-196.

[21] Daniel Hardy, "Tenth Street Historic District National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Prepared for the City of Dallas. Available at *Dallas Landmark Historic District, Historic Preservation, City of Dallas*. https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Districts%20Page/Tenth%20Street%20National%20Register%20Form.pdf, 8-12.

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II-9| Suburbanization (1876–1972)

INTRODUCTION

While downtown Dallas was both a residential and commercial area in the city's nascent years, the city quickly established a growth pattern of developing outlying residential neighborhoods. The growth of suburban areas was linked to both population growth and dominant modes of transportation. Railroads, streetcars, automobiles, and highways all created distinct development patterns that pulled residential areas further away from the downtown center. Rapid, large-scale suburban development took off in the late nineteenth century, with land speculators and streetcar operators encouraging the growth of new "streetcar suburbs" surrounding downtown Dallas. Suburban growth entered a new phase after about 1910, with the introduction of automobile suburbs. Automobile suburb growth intensified with highway construction in the postwar era, and throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century. The period of significance for suburbanization extends from approximately 1876 (the arrival of the first streetcar in Dallas) and continues until 1972. Relevant resources documenting the history of suburbanization include homes and associated structures such as garages and sheds. Other related resources may include non-residential suburban resources such as commercial, religious, or community areas, parks and other amenities, transportation networks, and early auto-based features such as drive-in restaurants and shopping centers. Examples of suburbs that retain integrity may be significant under National Register Criteria A and C. Suburbs may have Areas of Significance in Community Planning and Development and Architecture. Note that for eligibility under Criterion C for Community Planning and Development, a district must have distinctive site planning and landscape features.

AMERICAN RESIDENTIAL SUBURBS

The growth of American cities was heavily impacted by the development of residential suburbs, beginning in some places as early as 1830 and accelerating nationwide in the 1880s. Suburban design typically reflected picturesque and "Garden City" planning principles. These planning movements favored pleasing vistas, verdant landscapes, curving roadways, and ample open space. These trends in suburban design were oftentimes a response to prominent nineteenth-century urban problems in the US, such as excessive crowding and lack of fresh air, sunlight, and recreational space.[1] Suburban development can be roughly divided into stages dictated by the dominant mode of transportation at the time.

The first wave of suburban development occurred around passenger stations on railroad lines in outlying urban areas and later around streetcars. Railroad suburbs were typically relatively far from urban centers and reserved for those who could afford the high cost of rail travel. The introduction of horse-drawn cars provided a more affordable option and broadened the class landscape of suburban growth.[2] Suburban growth exploded with the introduction of electric streetcar systems in the late 1880s. Unlike rail suburbs, streetcar suburbs formed continuous corridors and were affordable to the middle class. Between the 1910s and the 1940s, increased automobile ownership and decentralization of industry led to steep declines in streetcar ridership.[3] Automobile ownership skyrocketed after Ford introduced the Model T in 1908, leading to an increase in paved roadways and suburban expansion between 1918 and the onset of the Great Depression in 1929.[4] The Federal Highway Act of 1944 injected money into a new National System of Interstate Highways, which, combined with local highway systems, made new swaths of land available at increased distances from city centers. After World War II, American suburbs dramatically expanded once again, spurred by an increase in auto ownership, advances in construction methods, and the Baby Boom.

> ***Learn more!*** *Refer to Chapter 7. Streetcars and The Interurban and Chapter 8. Highways, Roadways, and Automobiles to learn more about the transportation systems that impacted suburbanization. Ford Motor Company's role in Dallas is discussed in Chapter 10. Industry. For further reading, consider* Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States by Kenneth T. Jackson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

Suburban patterns influenced urban areas at many scales, from the individual home to the neighborhood at large. Trends in individual home construction included the development of popular new home types and styles, often from pattern books, stock plan suppliers, or house architects. Suburban elements such as front lawns, back yards, and fences also gained popularity.[5] Deed restrictions sometimes created homogeneous housing stock in a particular area that reflected popular regional housing tastes.[6]

New models of financing, planning, and building residential areas led to increased speculative housing development. Nationally accepted postwar development recommendations alleged that drive times of 45 minutes to an hour were acceptable in large cities. These recommendations urged developers to establish residential areas in concentric rings, following directions of previous "desirable" growth (fig. II-117).[7] Much of this new home construction in Dallas, as well as nationwide, was possible due to Federal Housing Administration (FHA) loans. These low-cost mortgages often carried stipulations on home siting, based on a location rating system with points removed for proximity to things such as industry and traffic thoroughfares, and points added for proximity to commercial centers, or "general appeal" of an area.[8] The Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) also produced "Risk Maps," indicating which parts of American cities were the most desirable and therefore the most qualified for federal loans. These maps often provided a means for withholding funding from people and neighborhoods based on economic and racial factors. As suburbs moved ever more distant from city centers, many US cities experienced massive growth in land area, changing the bounds and purview of municipal services. Highway development and automobile availability encouraged not just massive population movement but also commercial and industrial sprawl to extra-urban areas adjacent to new "bedroom communities." These patterns also served to reinforce segregation along racial and economic dividing lines.

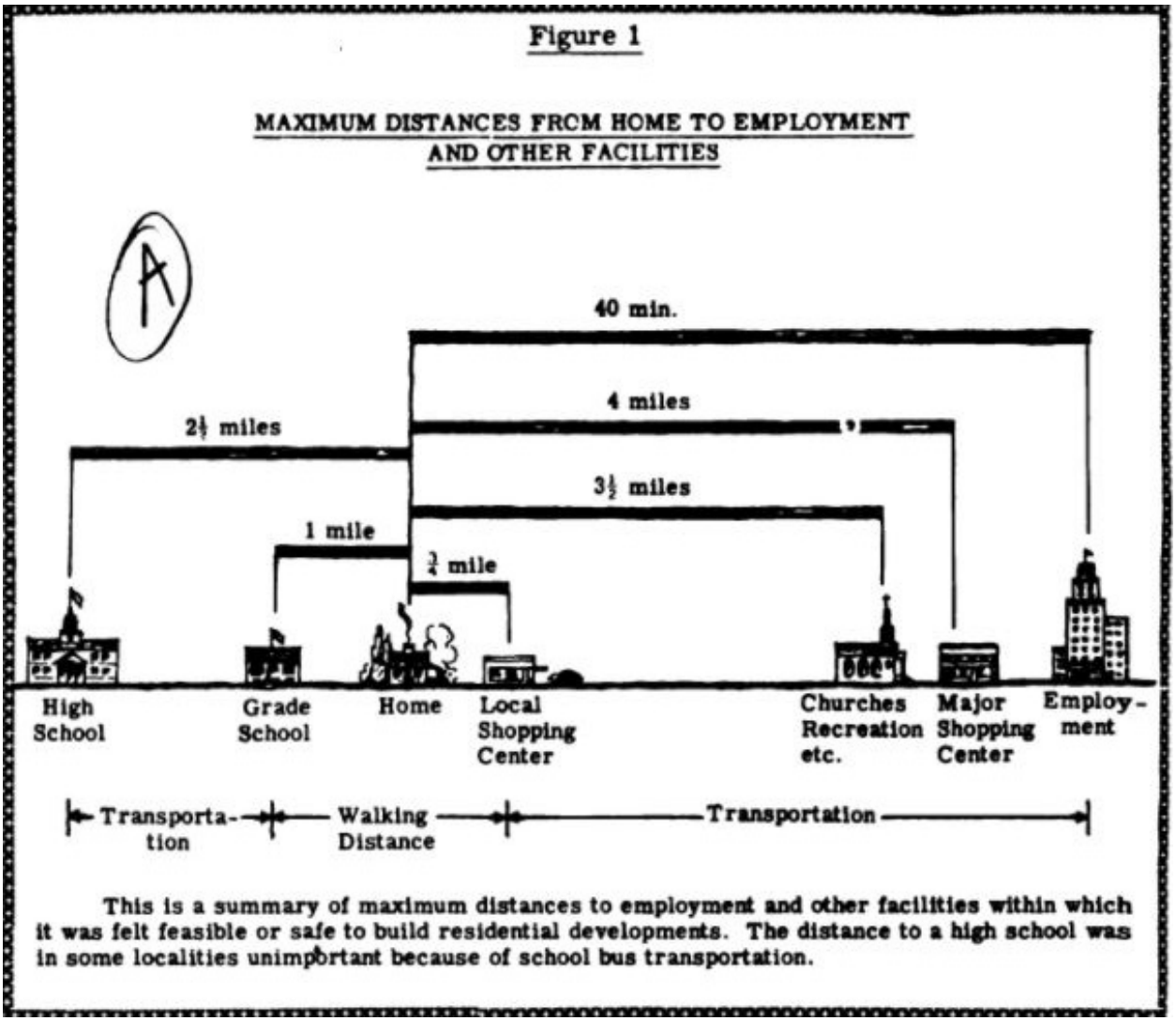


Figure II-117. Figure from the 1953 "Home Builder's Manual for Land Development," illustrating acceptable distances traveled from the home in US automobile suburbs. Source: National Association of Home Builders of the United States, "Home Builders Manual for Land Development," Washington, 1953, 4.

SUBURBANIZATION IN TEXAS

Although urbanization in Texas had a slow start compared to the rest of the nation, Texas cities began to grow rapidly after the arrival of railroads in the late nineteenth century. As in the rest of the nation, this growth often happened first along rail lines and subsequently along streetcar lines. Discovery of oil in Spindletop, Texas in 1901 vastly reduced the cost of personal automobile transportation, hastening the growth of automobile suburbs.[9] The municipal structure and land area of Texas suburbs were greatly impacted by the Texas Home Rule Charters, which were adopted in 1913. These granted Texas cities of over 5,000 inhabitants the autonomy to write and adopt their own charters and allowed for the annexation of adjacent land with or without approval of the residents to be annexed.[10] This, combined with abundant available land, meant that cities such as Houston, San Antonio, and Dallas grew exponentially in land area, especially throughout the twentieth century, swallowing outlying communities into their municipal area. This helped create efficiencies of scale for municipal services and grew the municipal tax base. Every major Texas city was at least 10 times larger in 1960 than in 1900.[11]

The increase of highway transportation in this era was both a cause and effect of suburbanization. Dallas and Houston were some of the first cities in Texas to build four-lane expressways that cut through their urban centers, facilitating automobile transit to and from the urban center and linking the cities with national interstate systems. Over time, this sprawl increased the costs of municipal services such as water and police protection, and cities eventually experienced a trend away from annexation and toward more suburban municipalities with lower tax rates.[12] In the 1990s, more than 80 percent of Texans lived within city limits, indicating the vast growth of not just urban, but suburban residential enclaves.[13]

Learn More! *Read about railroads in Texas and Dallas in Chapter 3. Railroads.*

DALLAS AS A SUBURBAN CITY

RAIL AND STREETCAR SUBURBS

Satellite Suburbs at Rail Lines

While proximity to the courthouse square was desirable in the city's early years, Dallas residents began to favor more secluded, primarily residential areas beginning in the 1870s. The arrival of rail transportation in Dallas had a marked impact on residential growth, beginning with early railroad construction and shortly thereafter with the rapid growth of the urban streetcar system. The first railroad lines, built in 1872 and 1873, crossed Dallas at north-south and east-west axes, leading to the growth of rural towns with easy access to Dallas like Richardson and Mesquite. As more rail lines filled in between these two major axes, even more towns began to appear, and others that were close to rail lines grew as well, such as Rowlett and Irving.[14] The Dallas-Fort Worth area also hosted roughly 70 percent of the 500 miles of electric interurban rail line in the state of Texas in about 1913. The interurban connected Dallas to outlying communities such as Fort Worth, Denton, Denison, Terrell, Corsicana, and Waco, making stops along the way.[15] Predominant currents in urban thought led Americans to value railroad towns because they offered open space, fresh air, and greenery, while still providing convenient access to the workplace. These urban values would continue well into the twentieth century, creating the ideological fuel for large-scale urban sprawl in the US. The cost of rail travel made it a trend possible primarily to the most well-to-do Dallas residents.[16]

Streetcar Suburbs

See Chapter 7. Streetcars and Interurbans for more.

The first streetcar in Dallas, installed in 1871, was essentially a support system for the anticipated railroad, meant to shuttle goods and passengers from the courthouse to the Houston and Texas Central Railway (H&TC) depot east of town. Streetcars quickly began expanding to areas further afield, and by the late 1870s, there were four streetcar lines, including one to East Dallas and one going south along Ervay Street.[17] The first streetcar owner and land speculator sealed a partnership in 1876, leading to the development of "The Cedars," a neighborhood historically bounded by Akard, Harwood, Canton, and Browder Streets. The fashionable neighborhood was known as a Jewish area and hosted a park, early Victorian cottages, and eventually ornate Neoclassical and Victorian mansions (fig. II-118).[18] The Cedars was close enough to downtown to be convenient, but it also offered residents an exclusive enclave insulated from the noise and activity of the central business district. The Cedars also set a precedent by including a park, a practice the City looked kindly on as it took the onus for providing such amenities off of the public sector. Today this park is known as City Park, the only extant remainder of the original Cedars development, located between Fannin Avenue, Elm Street, and Main Street (fig. II-119).[19] Parks,

lakes, and other landscaped spaces increased the allure of subsequent neighborhoods as bucolic urban oases.[20]



Figure II-118. Photograph from 1895 illustrating the historic neighborhood, "The Cedars," showing a view of South Ervay Street. Source: Dallas Public Library, "Dallas Neighborhoods: The Cedars," accessed January 20, 2021, https://dallaslibrary2.org/dallashistory/photogallery/cedars.php.



Figure II-119. Photograph from 1975 depicting City Park, referred to today as "Old City Park." The park came as part of The Cedars suburban development and is one of the only intact resources remaining of this historic neighborhood. Source: "Dallas Neighborhoods - Parks," Dallas Public Library, Dallas Morning News Collection, PA 83-42/1975-6-29.2, accessed April 20, 2021, https://dallaslibrary2.org/dallashistory/photogallery/parks.php.

Soon after the Cedars, other developer-streetcar operator partnerships solidified, leading to rapid and unplanned growth of the city's then-peripheral areas following in the path of streetcars (fig. II-120).[21] Areas that were previously farmlands to the south, east, and west were quickly within reach of streetcar lines. Developers advertised these new neighborhoods as glamorous places to live. While streetcar suburbs were available to a wider economic spectrum than earlier railroad suburbs had been, these were typically (if not always) racially segregated, and some were prohibitively expensive for working-class residents. Oak Cliff, west of the Trinity River, was promoted as the "Brooklyn of Dallas," (listed as a National Register Multiple Property nomination, and includes other National Register districts such as Lake Cliff, see fig. II-121).[22] Streetcar suburbs also established a pattern of initially forming as independent cities and later annexing to the City of Dallas. East Dallas, home to the early streetcar connecting the railroad depot and county courthouse, began to grow rapidly in the late 1870s, and the early streetcar line continued further eastward along San Jacinto Street (East Dallas is listed as part of a National Register Multiple Property nomination). This growth was spurred partly by the creation of Keller's Addition, a 100-acre swath of land acquired by brothers C. E. and W. J. Keller at what would later become the terminus of the streetcar line that ran down San Jacinto Street, which they also developed. Other East Dallas neighborhoods developed along streetcar lines at Swiss Avenue, Live Oak, and Bryan Streets (fig. II-122).[23] East Dallas set the precedent for subsequent suburban areas by incorporating in 1882 and annexing as part of Dallas in 1899, at which point its land area was larger than that of Dallas.[24]

Oak Cliff, which developed rapidly in the late 1880s as a streetcar suburb, also annexed to Dallas in 1903. Oak Cliff developers continued the trend of increasing the value and attraction of its residential areas by including large greenspaces and lakes, which became the namesakes for areas such as Spring Lake (later Lake Cliff Park) and Kessler Park.

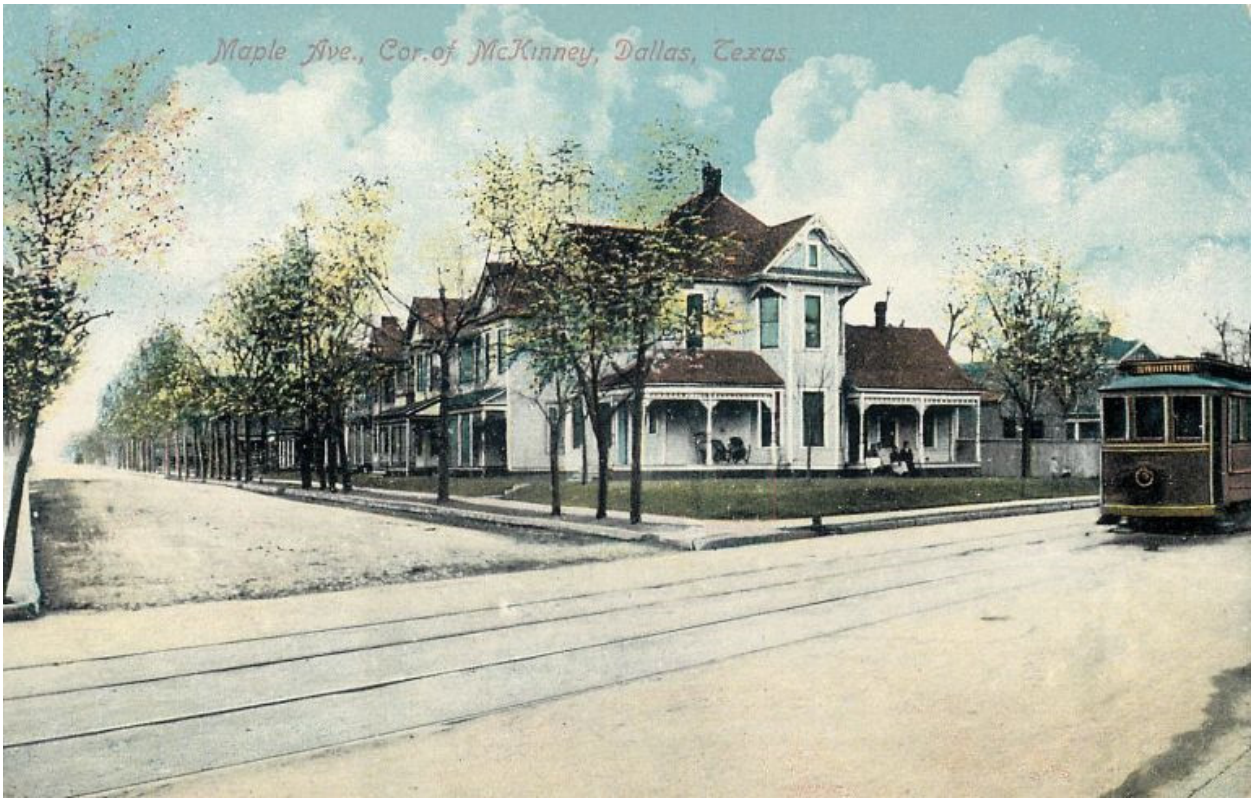
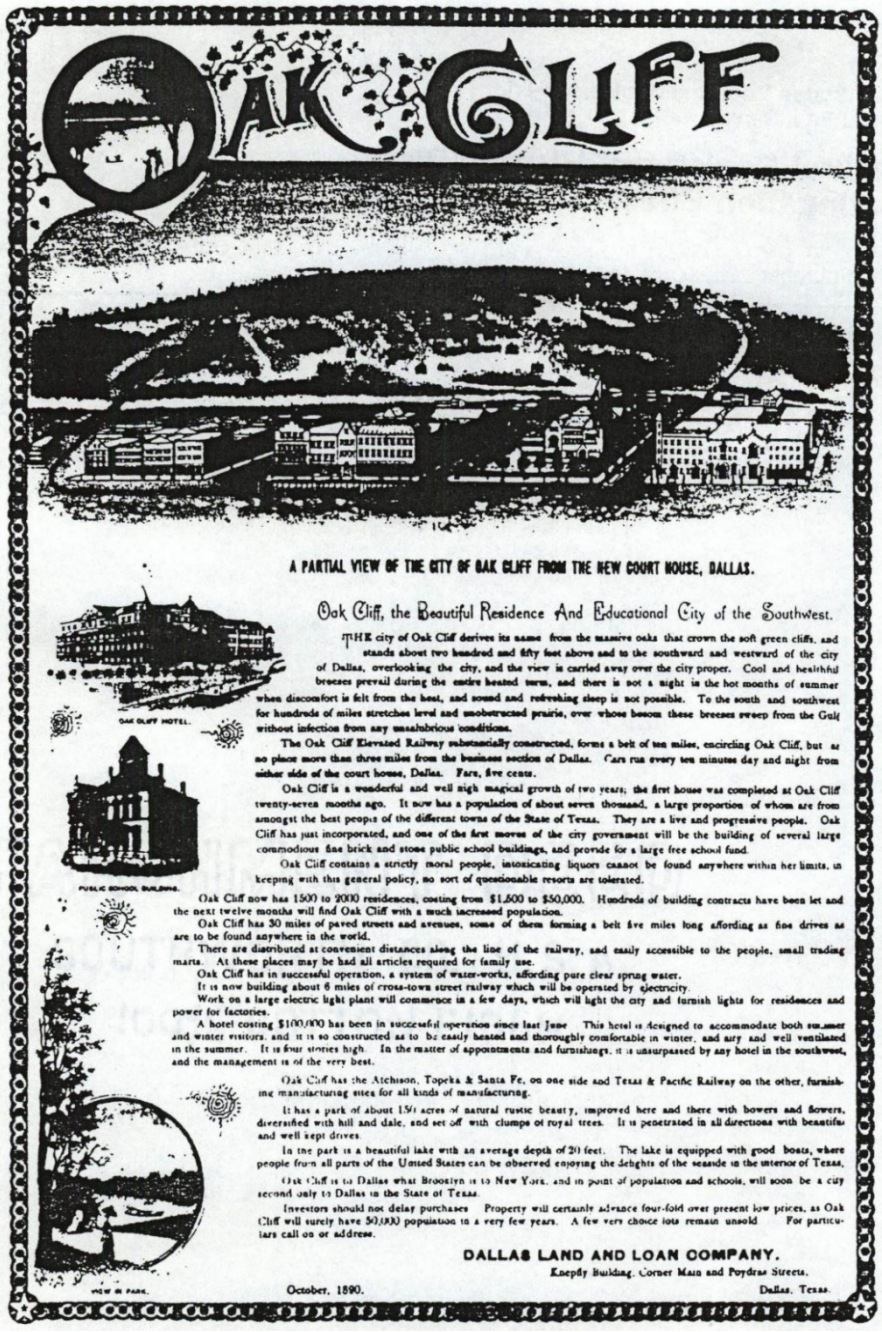


Figure II-120. Historic postcard showing a streetcar in a residential area at the corner of Maple and McKinney Avenues. Source: "McKinney Ave. Postcard Views" *Flashback : Dallas*, from eBay, accessed January 20, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2018/05/03/mckinney-avenue-postcard-views/.



OAK CLIFF

A PARTIAL VIEW OF THE CITY OF OAK CLIFF FROM THE NEW COURT HOUSE, DALLAS.

Oak Cliff, the Beautiful Residence And Educational City of the Southwest.

THE city of Oak Cliff derives its name from the massive oaks that crown the soft green cliffs, and stands about two hundred and fifty feet above and to the southward and westward of the city of Dallas, overlooking the city, and the view is carried away over the city proper. Cool and healthful breezes prevail during the entire heated term, and there is not a night in the hot months of summer when discomfort is felt from the heat, and sound and refreshing sleep is not possible. To the south and southwest for hundreds of miles stretches level and unobstructed prairie, over whose bosom these breezes sweep from the Gulf without infection from any unsalubrious conditions.

OAK CLIFF HOTEL.

The Oak Cliff Elevated Railway substantially constructed, forms a belt of ten miles, encircling Oak Cliff, but at no place more than three miles from the business section of Dallas. Cars run every ten minutes day and night from either side of the court house, Dallas. Fare, five cents.

PUBLIC SCHOOL BUILDING.

Oak Cliff is a wonderful and well nigh magical growth of two years; the first house was completed at Oak Cliff twenty-seven months ago. It now has a population of about seven thousand, a large proportion of whom are from amongst the best people of the different towns of the State of Texas. They are a live and progressive people. Oak Cliff has just incorporated, and one of the first moves of the city government will be the building of several large commodious fine brick and stone public school buildings, and provide for a large free school fund.

Oak Cliff contains a strictly moral people, intoxicating liquors cannot be found anywhere within her limits, in keeping with this general policy, no sort of questionable resorts are tolerated.

Oak Cliff now has 1500 to 2000 residences, costing from $1,500 to $50,000. Hundreds of building contracts have been let and the next twelve months will find Oak Cliff with a much increased population.

Oak Cliff has 30 miles of paved streets and avenues, some of them forming a belt five miles long affording as fine drives as are to be found anywhere in the world.

There are distributed at convenient distances along the line of the railway, and easily accessible to the people, small trading marts. At these places may be had all articles required for family use.

Oak Cliff has in successful operation, a system of water-works, affording pure clear spring water.

It is now building about 6 miles of cross-town street railway which will be operated by electricity.

Work on a large electric light plant will commence in a few days, which will light the city and furnish lights for residences and power for factories.

A hotel costing $100,000 has been in successful operation since last June. This hotel is designed to accommodate both summer and winter visitors, and it is so constructed as to be easily heated and thoroughly comfortable in winter, and airy and well ventilated in the summer. It is four stories high. In the matter of appointments and furnishings, it is unsurpassed by any hotel in the southwest, and the management is of the very best.

Oak Cliff has the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, on one side and Texas & Pacific Railway on the other, furnishing manufacturing sites for all kinds of manufacturing.

It has a park of about 150 acres of natural rustic beauty, improved here and there with bowers and flowers, diversified with hill and dale, and set off with clumps of royal trees. It is penetrated in all directions with beautiful and well kept drives.

In the park is a beautiful lake with an average depth of 20 feet. The lake is equipped with good boats, where people from all parts of the United States can be observed enjoying the delights of the seaside in the interior of Texas.

Oak Cliff is to Dallas what Brooklyn is to New York, and in point of population and schools, will soon be a city second only to Dallas in the State of Texas.

Investors should not delay purchases. Property will certainly advance four-fold over present low prices, as Oak Cliff will surely have 50,000 population in a very few years. A few very choice lots remain unsold. For particulars call on or address.

VIEW IN PARK.

DALLAS LAND AND LOAN COMPANY.

Knepfly Building, Corner Main and Poydras Streets.

October, 1890. Dallas, Texas.

Figure II-121. Advertisement from the Dallas Land and Loan Company from 1890, explaining the benefits of the newly planned Oak Cliff. Note that a suburb such as Oak Cliff, which possesses distinctive landscape and site-planning features, may be eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion C for Community Planning and Development. Source: Hardy·Heck·Moore, Inc., "Historic and Architectural Resources of Oak Cliff, Dallas, Texas," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1994, E-5.



Figure II-122. Aerial view of Swiss Avenue. Although the photograph was taken around 1950, after the decline of the streetcar, the original residential architecture and urban layout remain. Source: *Flashback : Dallas*, crediting Gerald D. Saxon, ed., *Reminiscences: A Glimpse of Old East Dallas*, accessed January 20, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2016/05/25/reminiscences-a-glimpse-of-old-east-dallas/.

> ***Learn more!*** *Read "Historic and Architectural Resources of Oak Cliff, Dallas, Texas," by Daniel Hardy (Austin, 1994); "Historic and Architectural Resources of East and South Dallas, Dallas County, Texas," by Daniel Hardy and Terri Myers (Austin, 1995); and "Colonial Hill Historic District," by Daniel Hardy and Terri Myers (Austin: 1995): https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/95000334/95000334.pdf.*

Middle- and working-class streetcar suburbs also proliferated. One of these was Colonial Hill (also known as Chestnut Hill, approximately two miles southeast of downtown Dallas, listed as a National Register Historic District). Colonial Hill's residents included mill workers and clerical manufacturing employees for the nearby industrial area, and dwellings ranged from modest worker housing to more highly stylized homes.[25] Colonial Hill grew with five new additions at its core between 1887 and 1891, and it experienced a boom in home construction between 1903 and the 1930s.[26] As in other streetcar suburbs, building construction was primarily residential but also included neighborhood staples such as churches and schools. While many of the new residences were single-family, construction of multi-family housing, including duplexes and apartments, began in earnest in streetcar suburbs in this period following the housing shortage after World War I. Supplanting the boarding houses and long-term hotels built in the late-nineteenth century, apartment buildings were generally viewed favorably and lacked the stigma typically associated with shared housing of the nineteenth century. As such, these multi-family residences provided housing to single male and female professionals, as well as married couples. One example is the Bella Villa Apartments in Vickery Place, a streetcar suburb in East Dallas. Built in

1926, the three-story apartment represents the type of apartment buildings constructed in the city in the 1920s (fig. II-123).

> ***Learn more!*** *Read the National Register Nomination for the Bella Villa Apartments to learn more about the development of apartment buildings in the early twentieth century in Dallas: https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/100004371/100004371.pdf.*



Figure II-123. The NRHP-listed Bella Villa Apartments at 5506 Miller Avenue in Vickery Place, East Dallas. The Mediterranean Revival style building was designed by Young & Young Architects and built in 1926. The apartment building is representative of the types of multi-family residences constructed following the post-World War I housing shortage. The building was geared toward young couples and professionals. Source: "Tax Credit Program Highlight: Bella Villa Apartments," Texas Historical Commission, accessed February 11, 2022, https://www.thc.texas.gov/content/tax-credit-program-highlight-bella-villa-apartments.

As streetcar lines expanded, the once-coveted early inner suburbs (such as The Cedars) lost some prestige due to increased activity and commercial intrusion. In the early 1900s, developers created even more remote residential neighborhoods, such as Munger Place, which included deed restrictions limiting future commercial growth and regulating home size, setback, cost, and design elements (a National Register Historic District and Dallas Landmark District).[27] Furthermore, it was a time of flourishing new residential architectural styles such as Prairie and Craftsman, which rejected imitative trends from Europe, lending Munger Place and other neighborhoods a "distinctly American" feel (fig. II-124).[28]



Figure II-124. Craftsman-style home at 714 N. Beacon Street in Junius Heights, a late streetcar suburb lauded for the introduction of new home styles such as Craftsman in the early twentieth century. Source: City of Dallas Junius Heights Survey photographs (flickr), accessed January 20, 2021, https://www.flickr.com/photos/cityofdallaspreservation/36492995464/in/album-72157689294226915/.

Developers built streetcar suburbs specifically for the Black population in Dallas, namely along the Myrtle Line, which extended into South Dallas via Myrtle Street.[29] A community of Black farmers existed in South Dallas after the Civil War, and by 1908, the area began to be platted as Queen City (now Queen City Heights National Register Historic District).[30] The Myrtle Street streetcar line extended southward into this growing community of Black residents in 1912. The developers of Wheatley Place, a subdivision planned for Black residents only, platted the new streetcar suburb in 1916. Wheatley Place was near the Myrtle Line as well as the Forest Avenue crosstown line, which ran along present-day Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard. Wheatley Place (a National Register historic district and Dallas Landmark District) was roughly bound by Warren, Meadow, McDermott, and Malcolm X Streets. An early resident, a Black man named Wash Russell, advertised the neighborhood in Wheatley Place newspapers, touting the neighborhood's amenities and exclusive and privileged reputation in much the same manner as upper-class White streetcar suburbs had done. Wheatley Place's original plan included a park and an elementary school, eventually known as Philis Wheatley School, located at the corner of Metropolitan Avenue and Meyers Street (fig. II-125). This was one of few elementary schools available for Black children during segregation and was a cultural anchor for the community. Wheatley Place was home to many important and influential Black Dallasites, including Civil Rights activists, business leaders, and educators. Subsequent South Dallas housing developments for Black families looked to Wheatley Place

as an example of an exclusive subdivision meant for Black residents since its inception.[31] The Ideal Addition, located to the south and west of Wheatley Place, used similar advertising techniques and also catered to the Black middle-class community.

> ***Learn more!*** *Read about the Wheatley Place district in the National Register nomination by Daniel Hardy and Terri Myers in 1995 at https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/95000331/95000331.pdf.*[32]

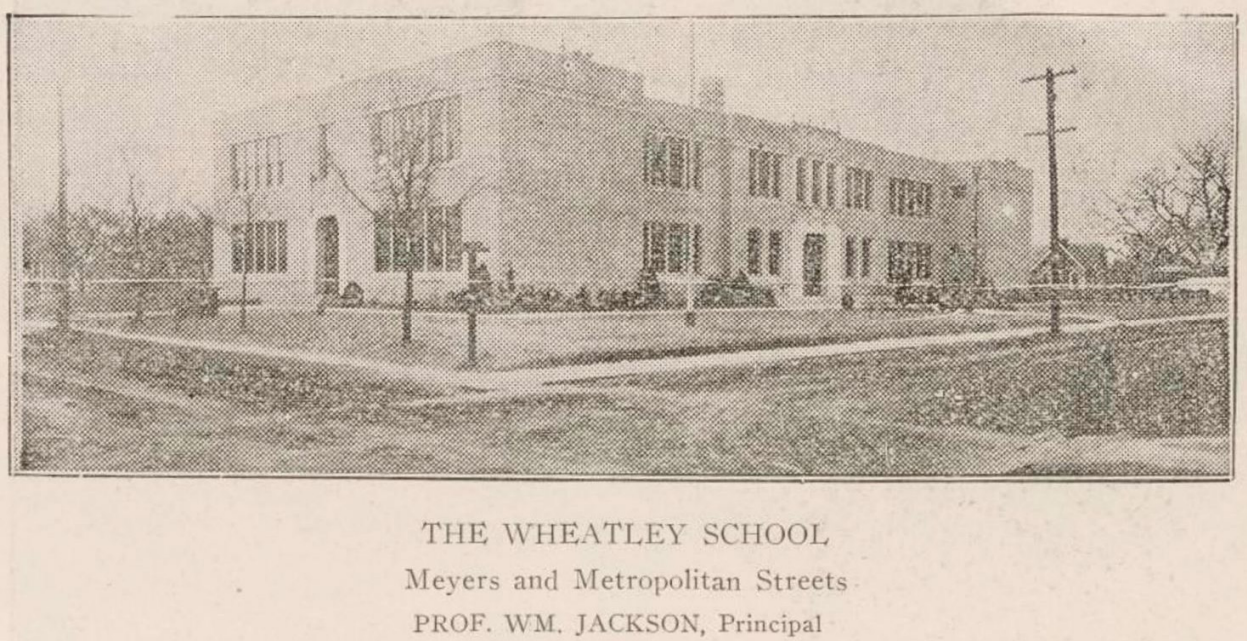
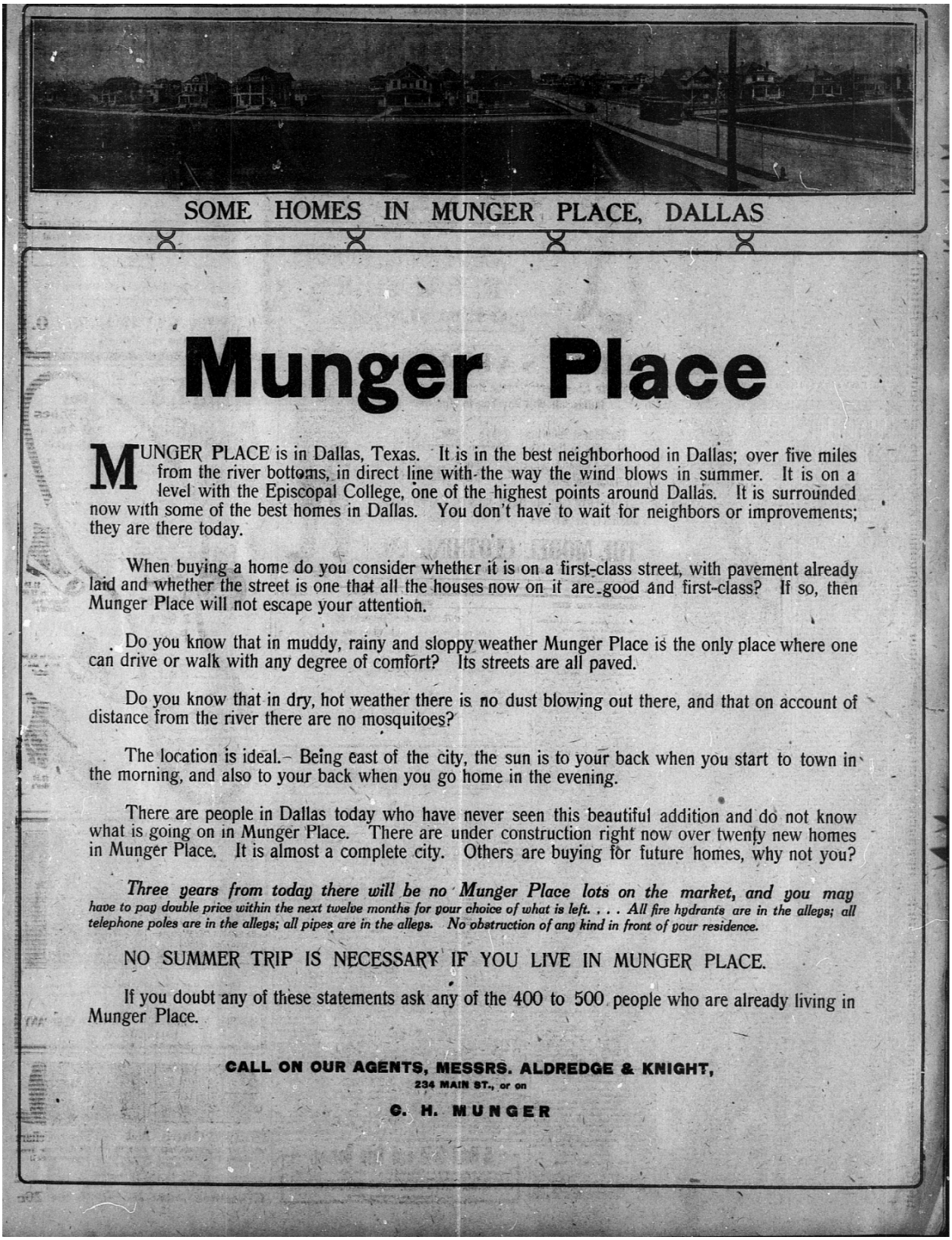


Figure II-125. A 1930 photograph of the Philis Wheatley School, an elementary school in the Wheatley Place neighborhood. Before schools were desegregated, this was one of a few schools serving Dallas's Black community. Source: Paula Bosse, "Black Schools in Dallas – 1930," *Flashback: Dallas*, February 22, 2020, accessed January 20, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2020/02/22/black-schools-in-dallas-1930/.

AUTOMOBILE SUBURBS

The Transition to Automobile Ownership

While suburbs such as Munger Place grew up around streetcar lines, they also advertised their auto-readiness, representing a transition from streetcar to automobile-based residential development. Photographs in advertisements for Munger Place featured visible streetcars in the background, indicating the continued desirability of a nearby streetcar line, but also alluded to "pavement already laid . . . where one can drive or walk with any degree of comfort" (fig. II-126).[33] Advertisements also touted the neighborhood's environment, a high point in Dallas that was distant from flooding, muddy roads, and factory smoke. Advertisements also heralded necessities nearby, such as schools, shade trees, and the fact that plumbing and utilities were already installed in homes with a "suitable distance from the front property line."[34] These features indicate the continued desires of Dallas residents to further distance themselves from urban problems and remain on the cutting edge of modernity and comfort. Greenland Hills in East Dallas also represents the transition from streetcar to automobile suburb. Platted in 1923, the subdivision's developers advertised its proximity to the Vickery streetcar line but designed it for automobiles, building houses with garages.



SOME HOMES IN MUNGER PLACE, DALLAS

Munger Place

MUNGER PLACE is in Dallas, Texas. It is in the best neighborhood in Dallas; over five miles from the river bottoms, in direct line with the way the wind blows in summer. It is on a level with the Episcopal College, one of the highest points around Dallas. It is surrounded now with some of the best homes in Dallas. You don't have to wait for neighbors or improvements; they are there today.

When buying a home do you consider whether it is on a first-class street, with pavement already laid and whether the street is one that all the houses now on it are good and first-class? If so, then Munger Place will not escape your attention.

Do you know that in muddy, rainy and sloppy weather Munger Place is the only place where one can drive or walk with any degree of comfort? Its streets are all paved.

Do you know that in dry, hot weather there is no dust blowing out there, and that on account of distance from the river there are no mosquitoes?

The location is ideal. Being east of the city, the sun is to your back when you start to town in the morning, and also to your back when you go home in the evening.

There are people in Dallas today who have never seen this beautiful addition and do not know what is going on in Munger Place. There are under construction right now over twenty new homes in Munger Place. It is almost a complete city. Others are buying for future homes, why not you?

Three years from today there will be no Munger Place lots on the market, and you may have to pay double price within the next twelve months for your choice of what is left. . . . All fire hydrants are in the alleys; all telephone poles are in the alleys; all pipes are in the alleys. No obstruction of any kind in front of your residence.

NO SUMMER TRIP IS NECESSARY IF YOU LIVE IN MUNGER PLACE.

If you doubt any of these statements ask any of the 400 to 500 people who are already living in Munger Place.

CALL ON OUR AGENTS, MESSRS. ALDREDGE & KNIGHT,
234 MAIN ST., or on
C. H. MUNGER

Figure II-126. Advertisement published in the 1910 *Dallas Morning News*, extolling the fresh air, paved roads, and "first-class" nature of the new Munger Place neighborhood. Source: Advertisement, "Munger Place," *Dallas Morning News,* May 1, 1910, 21.

During the period of roughly 1910–1930, automobile ownership in Dallas increased rapidly, and streetcar ridership, which peaked around 1929, lost traction in subsequent years until the disappearance of streetcars in the 1940s. Primarily White upper- and middle-class residents began moving to areas to the east and north of the inner streetcar suburbs as commercial development hastened along streetcar lines.[35] Based on George E. Kessler's 1912 urban plans for Dallas, the City widened major downtown streets in 1928, leading to improved automobile access to the downtown area, thereby increasing the feasibility of commuting by car.[36] Throughout the twentieth century, new highways such as Loop 12 (a much larger version of Kessler's "belt loops" meant to wrap the city), Interstate Highway 635, and Belt Line Road, as well as urban thoroughfares such as Northwest Highway and Montfort Drive, made areas that had previously seemed very far away much more accessible, and created new zones of residential and commercial development in their wake.

Early auto-based suburbs such as Preston Hollow, Lakewood Heights, and the Park Cities, were typically more distant from downtown Dallas and experienced rapid growth in the 1920s to 1940s. These suburbs followed different municipal strategies, despite being comparably distant geographically from the downtown area. Originally a largely rural area, Preston Hollow rapidly developed from approximately 200 inhabitants in 1930 to more than 1,500 in 1940. This increased population size meant that the residents could no longer avoid incorporating as an independent community to provide essential services. Incorporation did not solve problems such as lack of sewerage or faulty garbage collection, and Preston Hollow eventually decided to incorporate into Dallas in 1945.[37] Highland Park and University Park (both directly south of Preston Hollow), chose to remain independent. This decision to reject annexation was common among affluent twentieth-century American suburbs, who could afford control of their physical and social environment.[38] These early automobile suburbs often feature architectural styles which were popular in the mid-twentieth century. These include Craftsman homes, revival style homes such as Tudor Revival, Colonial Revival, and Greek Revival, as well as houses in the Modern style (see fig. II-127 for an example of a Tudor Revival home, and fig. II-128 for a Modern home).

See Chapter 8. Highways, Roadways, and Automobiles and 6. Urban Planning for more.



Figure II-127. This 1924 Highland Park Tudor Revival home showcases a popular suburban architectural style in early automobile suburbs. Architects Marion Fooshee and James Cheek also partnered to design Highland Park Village shopping center. Source: Stephanie Allmon Merry, "Sneak a peek at 4 historic Park Cities homes before tour doors open," Culture Map Dallas, published April 8, 2019, https://dallas.culturemap.com/news/home-design/04-08-19-park-cities-preservation-society-home-tour-2019/#slide=0.



Figure II-128. The 1957 Graf House, designed by renowned American Modernist architect Edward Durrell Stone, located at 5243 Park Lane in Preston Hollow. While this home was built after the largest period of growth in Preston Hollow, it showcases the new and fashionable architectural styles evident in mid-twentieth-century suburbs, such as Modernism. Source: City of Dallas Historic Preservation (flickr), accessed January 20, 2021, https://www.flickr.com/photos/cityofdallaspreservation/37102993950/in/photolist-XQCJbs-YwExju-YwExsf-XQCJN9-XQCJE3-XQCJnj/.

Postwar Suburban Boom

RESIDENTIAL SUBURBANIZATION

Advancements in automobile ownership and infrastructure combined with numerous factors—a postwar population boom, a shortage of available housing in the city center, low-cost federal mortgages, and advances in building technology—to create a social and economic climate favorable to sudden and rapid suburban expansion.[39] These factors compounded with an "aggressive postwar annexation policy," with the City of Dallas absorbing huge swaths of land in anticipation of growth, drastically increasing its land area (see table II-6).[40] Maps of Dallas from 1935–1940 show a clear pattern of "improving" desirability at the outer edges of the city, with the most central areas shown as "hazardous," the lowest grade by HOLC standards.[41] This meant that suburban home developers could only get loans for new construction in "desirable" outlying areas. These grades of desirability were also used as tools for exclusionary loan practices based on race and ethnicity nationwide. In Dallas, downtown areas experienced "white flight" and increasingly became home to more Black families in the 1940s and 1950s.[42]

Table II-6. City of Dallas: Territorial growth in square miles, 1890–1980.[43]

1890	1910	1930	1950	1970	1980
9	16	42	112	280	378

Suburbs built during this era embraced the most popular architectural trends of the early to mid-twentieth century. Developers and homeowners chose architectural styles such as Colonial, Tudor, and Spanish Revival, Ranch, Minimal Traditional, and Midcentury Modern for new homes, reflecting the desire to follow national trends in upscale neighborhoods. Neighborhoods often developed with a cohesive architectural style. The "Disney Streets" area of Midway Hills in northwest Dallas (bound by Northaven Road, Midway Road, Royal Lane, and Rosser Road) employed a Modern Ranch-style aesthetic, showcasing new building technologies such as cast concrete frames, and the work of prominent modern architects such as California's Cliff May (fig. II-129).[44] These neighborhoods continued the earlier trend of using restrictive covenants to limit commercial encroachment. Additionally, these covenants impacted the physical characteristics of homes, with restrictions on building materials, lot size, or minimum home square footage, in an attempt to maintain home values over time.[45]



Figure II-129. Contemporary photograph of the home at 11038 Snow White Drive located in the "Disney Streets" neighborhood. This neighborhood was an early automobile suburb, which showcased new building technologies and homes with modern design, such as this one designed by well-known modernist California architect Cliff May. Source: Bill Griffin Real Estate Brokerage, accessed January 20, 2021, https://www.billgriffinrealestate.com/listing/11038-snow-white-dallas-tx-75220-fairy-tale-streetsn-dallas/.

Other Dallas neighborhoods that developed in the 1950s and 1960s include Lake Highlands, Lochwood, and Wynnewood. Wynnewood was an 820-acre planned community in Oak Cliff, originally intended to be near Interstate Highway 35.[i] It featured wide, curving streets and ranch homes, as well as apartment

[i] Zang Boulevard, which runs through Wynnewood North, was originally intended to become the route for IH 35 through Oak Cliff, although it was eventually routed elsewhere.

buildings and a commercial center (fig. II-130).[46] Lochwood and Lake Highlands, in East Dallas and far Northeast Dallas, respectively, also feature Modern Ranch-style homes and amenities (fig. II-131).



Figure II-130. Aerial photograph from 1961 showing the new Wynnewood development. Source: Paula Bosse, "Wynnewood," *Flashback : Dallas*, January 9, 2017, accessed January 20, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2017/01/09/wynnewood/.



Figure II-131. A Ranch-style home located in the Lochwood neighborhood, a postwar suburban area in East Dallas. Source: "Dallas Neighborhood Guide: Lochwood," *D Magazine*, accessed March 2, 2021, http://neighborhoods.dmagazine.com/dallas/east-dallas/lochwood/.

COMMERCIAL SUBURBANIZATION

Suburban growth provided new markets for goods and services in previously peripheral areas. This, combined with the increased use of trucking, led to rampant commercial growth in suburban and other outlying areas. Commercial centers, offices, banks, schools, parks, churches, and industry all relocated to suburban areas. These auto-based commercial amenities made suburban living feasible for car owners and created a new lifestyle where all aspects of daily life were accessible by car.

Dallas was a national pioneer in auto-based suburban commercial growth, its suburbs and those of its outlying communities hosting some of the first examples of retail forms that came to dominate the American landscape. Dallas was home to one of the nation's first drive-in restaurants, Royce Hailey's Pig Stand, which opened in 1921 on Chalk Hill Road in Oak Cliff and soon expanded with many new locations (not extant, fig. 132).[47] Although not within Dallas city limits, Highland Park Village shopping center (designated a National Historic Landmark in 2000), which opened in 1931, was also one of the country's earliest shopping centers.[48]



Figure II-132. The last "Pig Stand" location that survived in Dallas, which closed its doors in 1985. Pig Stand was innovative in its drive-through service, as evidenced by its modern canopy design. Source: Rachel Stone, "What ever happened to the Pig Stand on Northwest Highway?" *Lake Highlands Advocate*, February 27, 2020, accessed January 20, 2021, https://lakehighlands.advocatemag.com/2020/02/pig-stand-2/.

By the post-World War II era, places of work in Dallas may have been just as common in new auto-adjacent areas as in the central business district. By the time Wynnewood Village, built in 1949, opened its doors, shopping centers were hugely popular, both as commercial and social spaces. Wynnewood Village had a modern design, and by 1967 housed over 100 stores, a hotel, theater, and 40,000 square feet of office space.[49] Department stores, such as Neiman-Marcus and Titche's, opened their own "town and country" locations to complement their flagship downtown stores, often in suburban shopping centers. After 59 years in downtown Dallas, Titche's opened 3 new suburban locations in 1961, and by 1969 they boasted 7 stores in the Dallas area. The first suburban stores, located in North Dallas, Oak Cliff, and far East Dallas, fully embraced the new suburban paradigm with their choice of location and architectural style. All were located in shopping centers and featured Modern designs (fig. II-133).

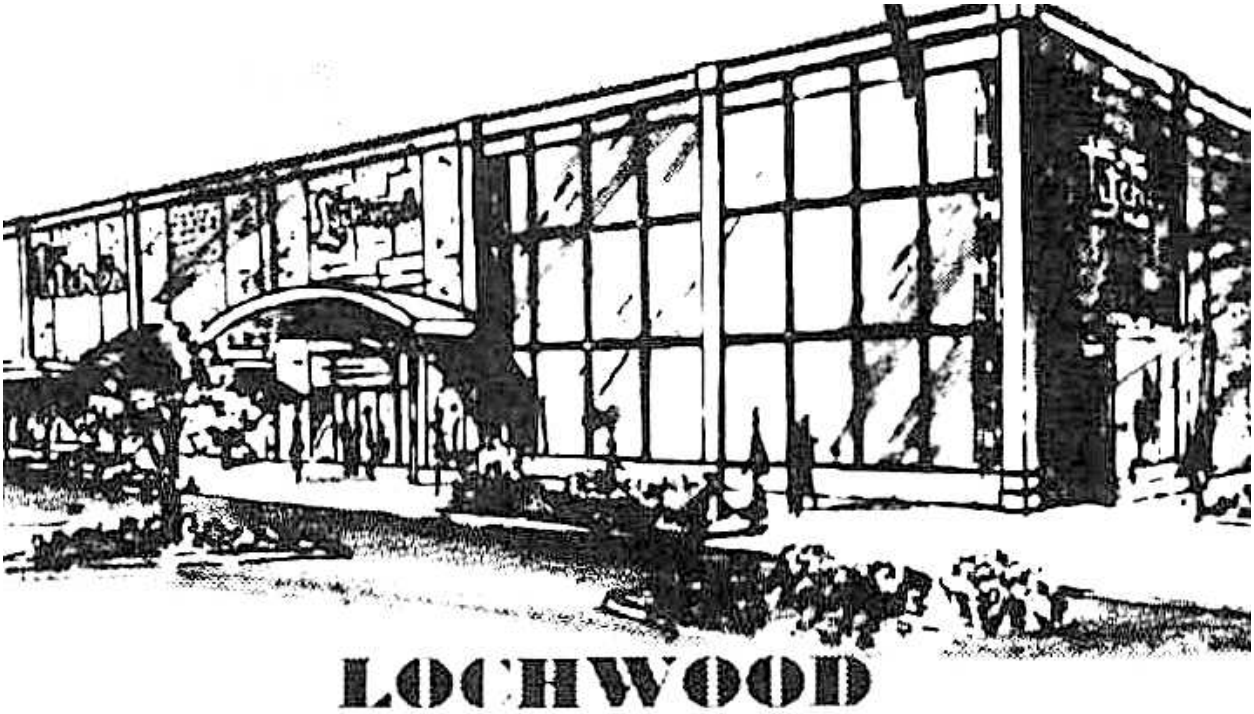


Figure II-133. An architectural rendering depicting Titche's department store location in Lochwood, which opened in 1961. The growth of suburban commerce included the proliferation of suburban locations of stores with downtown flagship locations. Source: Paula Bosse, "Titche's Discovers the Suburbs – 1961-1968," *Flashback : Dallas*, October 5, 2017, accessed January 20, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2017/10/05/titches-discovers-the-suburbs-1961-1968/.

Companies also migrated to the suburbs, building new office buildings and office parks easily accessible from the newly constructed highways and freeways. Among the first companies to move to the suburbs was General American Oil Company. Acquiring land on North Central Expressway, the company built Dallas's first high-rise office building outside of downtown in 1955 (fig. II-134). Designed by J. N. MacCammon of Dallas, the Meadows Building was heralded for its modern design and amenities, as well as its landscaping, designed by Lambert Landscaping Company.

> *See Chapter 10. Industry for more information on the suburbanization of Industry.*
>
> *See Chapter 11. Modern and Postmodern Architecture for more discussion on the architecture of suburban buildings.*



Figure II-134. The Meadows Building in 1956, one year after opening on North Central Expressway (located to the right of the building in the image). The building was the first of many high-rise offices building constructed outside of downtown Dallas during the postwar suburbanization period. Source: Squire Haskins Photography, Inc. Collection. University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, UTA Libraries Digital Gallery, accessed February 11, 2022, https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/10000568.

The trend of suburbanization continued into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, including recent explosions of contemporary suburbs such as Richardson, Plano, and Irving. While these communities have origins as early as the nineteenth century, they saw huge booms in population growth beginning in the 1970s and continuing through the present day.

CONCLUSION

Suburban development patterns had a marked impact on the way Dallas grew as a city. Residential areas and the transportation networks that served them were major factors in the form and size of the city, as well as which areas were desirable for both residential and commercial construction. Beginning with early railroad towns of the 1870s, hastening with streetcar suburbs in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, and expanding exponentially with automobile suburbs throughout the twentieth century, the period of significance for this theme extends from 1876 to around 1972. Suburban growth patterns in Dallas were often at the forefront of modern US city-building strategies, especially throughout the twentieth century. Suburban neighborhoods reflected the cultural values of the

residents who were able to live in them, as well as the economic values of early investors and developers, their growth inextricably linked to the form, styles, and patterns of daily life in Dallas.

NOTES

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[2] Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 16-17.

[3] Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 18-20.

[4] Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 20-22.

[5] Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 10.

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II-10| Industry (1852–1972)

INTRODUCTION

Industry has been a crucial part of Dallas's economy since its beginnings as an early pioneer settlement. Its potential for industrial development was both a cause and effect of early population growth, the area providing the labor source necessary to fuel the manufacturing and industrial workforce. Early industries typically relied on local agricultural production. Industry began in roughly 1852, shortly after the arrival of the first European American settlers, making the period of significance for Dallas Industry 1852–1972. The arrival of two railroad lines in the early 1870s drastically fueled industrial growth, helping Dallas transition into a regional hub for agricultural processing and shipping, leading to a proliferation of factories and warehouses. Growth only hastened in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as national industrial giants saw the strategic advantage of opening regional plants and distribution centers in the Dallas area. Oil discoveries in this era also fueled Texas industry and put Dallas in a unique position to profit from both lending and distribution of petroleum products. Industrial growth often occurred in relatively undeveloped parts of the city, fueling urban expansion in its wake. Originally centered around the downtown area, population centers were often directly adjacent to early industry. As highway transportation increased throughout the twentieth century, industrial facilities spread further from the central business district and relied on suburban populations for their workforce. Resources that tell the story of industry and manufacturing in Dallas include factories and warehouses, mills and other agricultural processing centers, and more specific production infrastructure such as airports or aircraft hangars. Industrial resources may be eligible for the National Register under Criterion A or C, with Areas of Significance in Industry, with Commerce and/or Military also sometimes relevant.

NATIONWIDE INDUSTRY AND MANUFACTURING

The global industrial revolution in the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries depended on advancement in steam-driven technology powered by fossil fuels, as well as increased access to metals for fabricating durable machines. In turn, industrialized mining and drilling processes made extraction of coal and oil easier, fueling the industrial revolution at an exponential rate. On the American East Coast, the textile industry ushered in rapid industrial change. Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1794 made cotton processing far more efficient and spurred the growth of cotton planting throughout the American South.[1] In the American Mid-Atlantic and Northeast, textile mills and garment factories proliferated, turning cotton into finished goods. Steamships also gained efficiency—especially after naval advancements during the War of 1812—which made the nation's capacity to ship goods to Europe robust enough for massive agricultural trade of cash crops such as cotton.[2]

> ***Learn more!*** *The Tsongas Industrial History Center and Lowell National Historical Site provide background about industrialization of the American textile industry at https://www.uml.edu/Tsongas/Resources/. For further reading, consider* Mill and Mansion: A Study of Architecture and Society in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1820-1865 by John Coolidge (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993) *and* Engines of Change: The American Industrial Revolution, 1790-1860 by Brooke Hindle and Steven Lubar (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 1986).

Railroads represented the earliest manifestation of the Industrial Revolution in the American West. By the 1850s, established rail lines were connecting major urban centers on the East Coast and across Appalachia, and by 1860 the country had 30,000 miles of railroad track. The availability of rail transportation encouraged agriculture to move westward. Successive inventions in the late nineteenth century led to increased agricultural productivity, such as widespread availability of grain elevators

around 1880, reinforced-concrete grain silos around 1900, and commercial availability of gasoline-powered tractors in 1910.[3] Gasoline-powered trucks also became widely available around the same time, helping to transport raw agricultural products to industrial processing centers. Personal automobile ownerships rapidly increased in the 1910s and 1920s as well. Trucks and cars required paved roads, and the federal government began helping to fund roadway improvements with the Federal Road Act of 1910.

Learn more! *Refer to Chapter 8. Highways, Roadways, and Automobiles for additional background.*

Investment in industrial research and development received huge federal government subsidies before and during World War I and II. (Notably, imperialist expansion to access oil and other rare materials needed for industrialization played a key role in triggering both World Wars.) Aviation technology especially advanced due to government-funded military research, with involvement in two World Wars spurring innovations in airplane technology and airport design.[4] After World War II, many wartime aviation plants transitioned to manufacturing private aircraft and automobiles. The increased availability of airplanes and automobiles for private transportation again placed demands on the supply of oil and gas, deepening the relationship between industry and the petroleum business.

INDUSTRY IN TEXAS

Once the railroad arrived, Texas quickly supplemented its pastoral economy with a diverse set of industries. Texas had an advantage in industrial development due to abundant and varied natural resources, a large population, and, eventually, a robust transportation network. Agriculture in the state also increased in scale and reliance on mechanization to plow and harvest more and more acreage.[5] This agricultural production boom was both a cause and effect of the region's sudden connection to national markets and agricultural machinery. Some of the first permanent industries in nineteenth-century Texas depended on processing the state's agricultural products such as lumber, flour, and grist milling. Although cotton arrived as a major cash crop in Texas later than other southern states, it was an important part of the economy by the late nineteenth century. This led to the proliferation of industries such as cotton milling and cottonseed oil.[6] Meanwhile, the railroad's expansion into West Texas, in conjunction with the advancements in ranching thanks to barbed wire in the 1870s, brought about industries like meat processing, leather tanning, and wool and mohair processing.[7] Although textile manufacturing initially struggled to become a successful industry in Texas when compared to burgeoning mill towns on the East Coast or in England, the availability of cotton and wool encouraged growth of a garment industry in the state by the 1870s.[8]

After the discovery of oil in Texas in the late nineteenth century, the oil and gas industry grew rapidly, becoming the largest industry in the state by 1920.[9] The first commercial oil discovery in Texas was in Corsicana in 1896, followed by the discovery of the Spindletop Oil Field in 1901. Other productive oil fields emerged in North, West, and East Texas around the turn of the twentieth century.[10] Construction of refineries for oil processing quickly followed, with pipelines connecting oil fields and refineries. Since oil refineries required connections with both oil field pipelines and transportation networks, they arose in cities with preexisting rail connections (like Dallas) and, especially, cities with both rail connections and shipping access (like Houston). The discovery of natural gas in the Texas Panhandle in the 1910s led to another flurry of pipeline construction, with a portion of the natural gas piped to the Gulf Coast for export and a portion retained and piped to local power plants to produce electricity – further driving industry.[11] By 1967, the petroleum industry accounted for 66 percent of all manufacturing dollars in the state.[12]

When the US military selected sites for industrial research, development, and manufacturing during the World Wars, Texas's access to both oil and gas and transportation connections proved highly desirable. The federal government constructed and operated aircraft plants in the Dallas area, where the surrounding flat prairieland supported airfields, as well as shipbuilding plants in coastal areas like Houston, where bays and shipping channels provided access to the Gulf.[13] After World War II, when military-supported industrial infrastructure transitioned into private hands, industry increasingly concentrated in these areas of the state. By 1967, the Houston area generated 42 percent of the state's manufacturing economy, and the Dallas area generated another 28 percent.[14]

INDUSTRY IN DALLAS

PIONEER INDUSTRY

Due to the rich soils present in the Blackland Prairie, the Dallas area favored agricultural production. Early European American settlers quickly adopted crops such as wheat, corn, and cotton, which did well in the area and became local staples.[15] Dallas's pioneer industries took advantage of the need for processing and cultivating these early crops. Early settlers Sarah and Alexander Cockrell saw the economic potential of the area's abundant grain and opened a gristmill called Todd Mill (not extant today) shortly after moving to the town in 1852.[16] One of the first commercial ventures of the town, the horse-powered gristmill drew wheat farmers from surrounding areas.[17] The Todd Mill was located at Broadway and Pacific Avenues, along the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks (fig. II-135).[18] Cotton was also integral to Dallas's growing agriculture and processing. Much like milling, cotton refinement was a seminal commercial endeavor, with the first gin built in 1851.

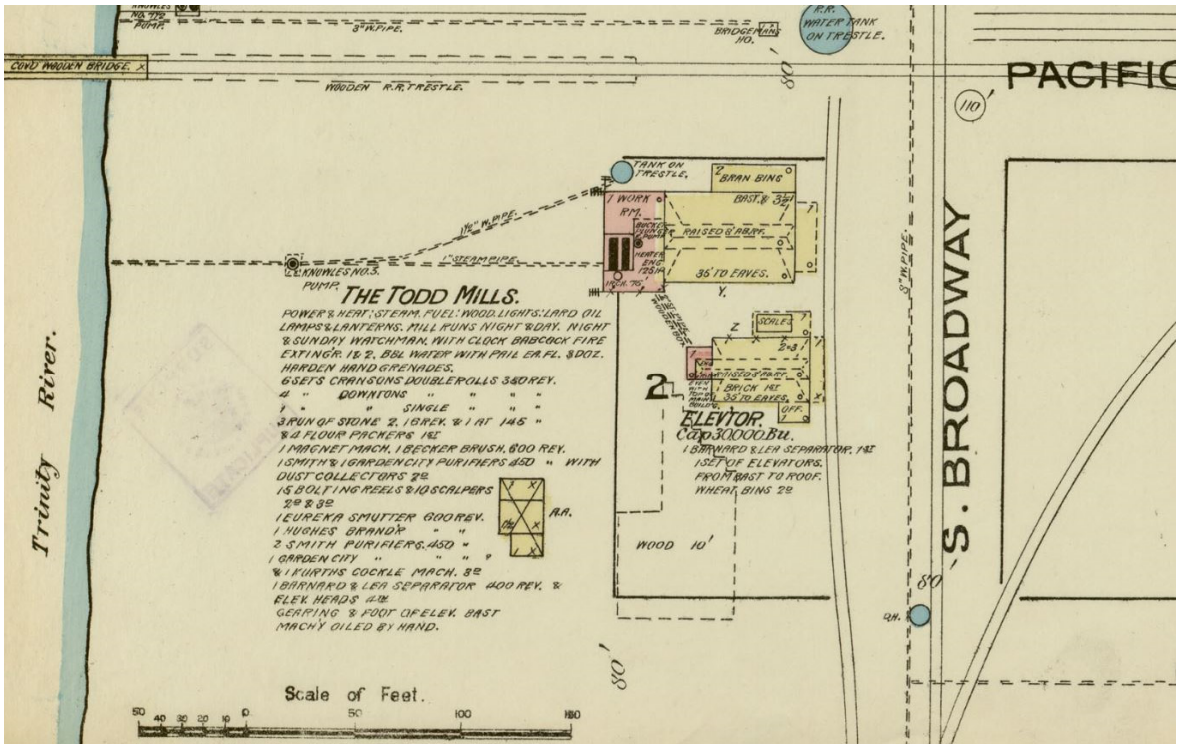


Figure II-135. Detailed view of an 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance map showing Todd Mills. The large milling complex included a grain elevator as well as storage bins. The map notes that the mill ran night and day and lists its extensive machinery. Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Dallas 1885, Sheet 2, From the Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection at the University of Texas at Austin.

French immigrant Maxime Guillot started another successful manufacturing enterprise in early Dallas – a wagon factory.[19] Guillot settled in Dallas in 1852, opening a shop to manufacture wagons and carriages at Elm and Houston Streets (not extant, site of the current Dallas County Administration Building). He expanded the shop in 1854 when he brought four skilled craftsmen from France to join his workforce.[20] Guillot's business flourished until his retirement in 1869, and wagons later became crucial to Dallas's early economy because they carried goods from the rail to destinations farther afield. Dallas was also known as a fabrication center for travel accessories such as saddles and harnesses into the early twentieth century.[21] These early enterprises revealed Dallas's potential as a commercial and business center, providing the necessary machinery and supplies to process the area's agricultural products.[22]

DALLAS MANUFACTURING EXPANDS

When Dallas established itself as a rail crossing in the early 1870s, the city gained financial power as a hub for the sale and shipment of crops via rail. Rail lines suddenly connected Dallas to much larger trade networks and ways to participate in industry on a national scale. The city gained importance as an agricultural processing center and as a manufacturing center for the machinery that made agriculture flourish on a larger scale than previously possible. Over time, industry in Dallas evolved to include agricultural processing; fabrication of agricultural tools, textiles, and clothing; petroleum processing; automotive manufacturing; and aviation manufacturing.

Agricultural Processing

Some of the earliest Dallas industries adapted to the railroad's arrival, with their businesses transitioning to take advantage of the city's strategic location. The Stanard-Tilton Milling Company bought the Todd Mill in 1892. Stanard-Tilton was a St. Louis-based enterprise; at the time, St. Louis was a national milling center due to its proximity to midwestern farms. Owner E. O. Stanard's interest in acquiring a Dallas mill indicated the city's potential as a grain hub due to available rail routes and proximity to southwestern growers and markets.[23] Like many industrial enterprises originally downtown, the mill relocated to South Dallas after the 1908 flood (extant today, a National Register-listed historic building and Dallas Landmark Structure, at 2400 Ervay Street, fig. II-136). This site was on higher ground and close to both the railroad tracks and working-class neighborhoods with abundant labor supply.[24] By the early 1900s, the Dallas area had other major mills in addition to Stanard-Tilton: New Century Milling Company at the corner of Wood and South Houston Streets, and the Morten Milling Company, at 916–932 Cadiz Street (neither are extant).



Figure II-136. Photograph (date unknown) of the Stanard-Tilton Flour Mill (also known as American Beauty Mill), located on an approximately 2-acre tract at 2400 South Ervay Street. This early Dallas industry grew with the arrival of the railroad, located near the railroad tracks and taking advantage of national markets for flour production. Source: Texas Historical Commission, "[Standard Tilton Flour Mill]," photograph, Date Unknown, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, accessed March 2, 2021, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth937631/.

Agricultural Equipment

Ginning machine fabrication also flourished with the arrival of the railroad, with production in Dallas as early as 1884.[25] The demand for cotton gins resulted from the overwhelming increase of cotton grown nearby and brought to market in Dallas (as described in the sidebar below). In 1884, Robert S. Munger opened a small gin-manufacturing plant in Dallas, producing and patenting an improved gin. The plant grew rapidly, and in 1899 Munger created the Continental Gin Company, a merger of his own Dallas and Birmingham companies with others in Alabama, Georgia, and Massachusetts.[26] The company grew to include several buildings in Dallas, located adjacent to the railroad tracks at the corner of Trunk and Elm Streets (a National Register historic district and Dallas Landmark historic district, fig. II-137).[27] Munger also invested in real estate development, and his choice to move industry eastward was tied to his land ownership in the area (he developed Munger Place to the north) and desire to create a new industrial zone. Continental Gin Company was booming in the 1920s, and several other gin manufacturers opened in Dallas after Munger's.[28] By World War I, Dallas was a center of cotton-gin manufacturing.[29] Also notable, the New Century Cotton Mill opened in 1902 along the H&TC Railway tracks on the southwest side of downtown (no longer extant, on the site of the circa 1916 Union Station Depot). Although only in operation for four years and ultimately a financial failure, the mill represented an innovative venture that tried to partner White investors with Black mill workers, giving the workers some ownership interest in milling profits.[30]



Figure II-137. Photograph showing the Continental Gin Company, a grouping of industrial buildings that comprised Munger's plant for cotton gin production. The cluster of buildings is located adjacent to the railroad tracks, at the intersection of Trunk and Elm Streets. Source: Texas Historical Commission, "[Continental Gin Co]," photograph, Date Unknown, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, accessed March 2, 2021, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth930545/m1/1/?q=continental%20gin%20dallas.

The Dallas Cotton Market

The Dallas cotton market was exploding in the late 1800s due to the new intersection of rail lines, allowing a much broader trade network for this coveted crop. Cotton traders and their carts filled the streets around the intersection of Elm and Lamar Streets during the ginning season (fig. II-138).[31] Black farmers waited near the railroad station in the Deep Ellum area to be hired for cotton picking during harvest season.[32] The street-side cotton market moved to a more formal dedicated space in around 1884. This early marketplace relocated to the Gaston Building at Commerce and Lamar Streets (not extant) in order to relieve roadway congestion. Eventually known as the Dallas Cotton Exchange, this marketplace moved several times, eventually settling at a 17-story building at the corner of North St. Paul and San Jacinto Streets in 1926 (not extant).[33] By World War I, Dallas was the world's largest inland cotton market.[34]

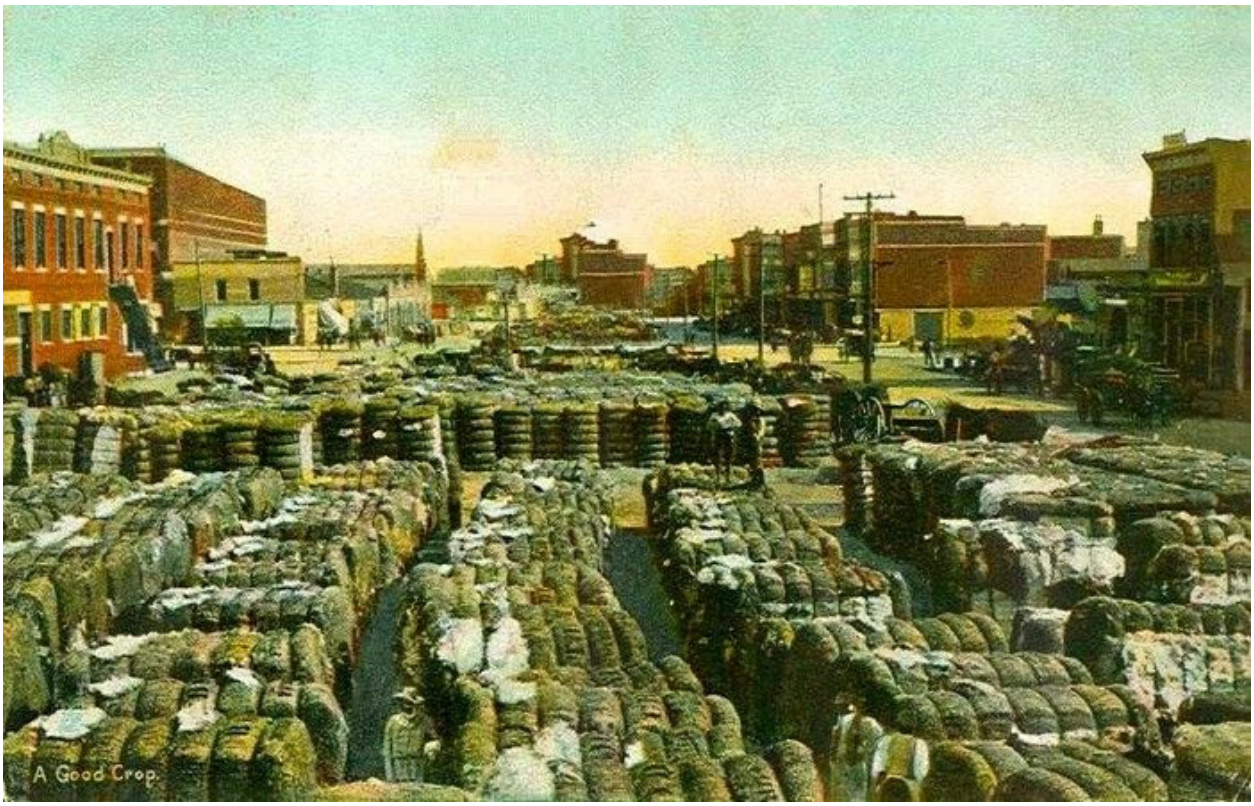


Figure II-138. Before there was a formal cotton marketplace building in Dallas, cotton traders gathered on the streets near the intersection of Elm and Lamar Streets to buy and sell cotton. This early 1900s postcard shows a similar streetside scene in Dallas. Source: Pinterest, accessed March 15, 2021, https://www.pinterest.com/pin/458804899413655536/.

Dallas also was a strategic location for the sale of new mass-produced, affordable farm equipment, as it was adjacent to the railroad and surrounded by farming territory. Largely out-of-state companies such as John Deere, Parlin and Orrendorff, and Southern Rock Island opened branch offices in multi-story warehouses. These businesses clustered in the growing warehouse section of what is now the National Register-listed West End Historic District. They sold implements such as plows, cultivators, other agricultural supplies, and vehicles such as farm and spring wagons, carriages, and buggies.[35] These warehouse and sales offices often reflected architectural styles newly imported from Chicago or St. Louis via the railroad.[36] The importation of this language of commercial architecture went hand in hand with the city's integration into national networks due to rail connection. The John Deere Plow Company Building, built in 1902 and designed by Dallas-based Hubbell and Greene, reflects Chicago School elements (located at the northeast corner of Elm and Houston Streets, fig. II-139). By 1893 farm implement sales reached a total of $10 million, doubling by the 1930s.[37] The Great Depression had a permanent effect, though, as agricultural suppliers moved out of the downtown area *en masse*, eventually settling in more peripheral areas for direct access to trucking routes.[38]



Figure II-139. Photograph of the 1901 John Deere Plow Company Building, located at the northeast corner of Elm and Houston Streets and designed by Hubbell and Greene architects. The building reflects the importation of Chicago Style commercial architecture for the burgeoning industrial growth of Dallas. Source: Paula Bosse, "Dallas in 'The Western Architect,' 1914 Business," *Flashback: Dallas*, August 19, 2018, accessed March 3, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2018/08/19/dallas-in-the-western-architect-1914-businesses/.

Textiles and Clothing

Due to the area's abundant cotton supply, and access to wool from West Texas via the railroad, Dallas companies began producing textiles and garments in the late nineteenth century. Garment production began in the early 1880s and was a major industry by the turn of the twentieth century. The first cotton cloth mill opened in 1888 with 250 employees, and companies continued to produce fabric into the twentieth century.[39] As early as 1909, Dallas's textile and clothing industry was beginning to grow with the creation of the Lorch Manufacturing Company, founded on Elm Street in 1909 (original building not extant). The garment industry had taken off by the 1920s, and Dallas clothing companies were creating a market for high fashion as well as locally appropriate attire. Lorch produced cotton dresses, which were suited to the Texas heat. Other Dallas companies such as the Haggar Company (founded in 1926) made men's clothes, particularly trousers. By the 1920s, a new garment district formed in the downtown area roughly bounded by Commerce, Griffin, Jackson, and Market Streets, with Haggar initially leasing space in the then brand-new Santa Fe Terminal Building No. 4 just to the east. The garment district housed both manufacturing and merchandising, with a women's-wear outlet as well as factories.[40] Hat-making flourished, with milliners opening throughout the city, and a wholesale store, S. G. Davis Hat Company, at the southern edge of the garment district (800 Jackson Street, fig. II-140).



Figure II-140. The S. G. Davis Hat Company, located at 800 Jackson Street and designed by Lang and Witchell, formed part of the downtown garment district. Source: eBay, accessed March 15, 2021, https://www.ebay.com/itm/1917-DALLAS-TEXAS-BILLHEAD-S-G-DAVIS-HAT-CO-DOWNTOWN-/193655885299.

By the 1930s, Dallas was known for producing house dresses and comfortable womenswear such as slacks, with companies such as Nordis, Donovan, and Justin McCarty in the area.[41] There were more than 30 plants making "wash dresses," in the 1930s, as well as companies manufacturing overalls, tents, awnings, mattresses, curtains, neckwear, and uniforms.[42] By the mid-twentieth century, the apparel industry followed other manufacturing in decentralizing from the central core. The Dallas Apparel Mart opened in 1964, providing a massive one-stop-shop for consumers within the Dallas Market Center, which had convenient freeway access, making it a desirable location for conventions and large events. Lorch built a new factory at 4949 Beeman Avenue (approximately four miles northeast of their downtown location) in the same year.[43]

> ***Learn more!*** *Refer to Chapter 21. Retail for a deeper discussion on connections between the apparel industry and retail.*

The Dallas Garment Workers Strike

Although the garment industry brought jobs to the Dallas economy, the grueling work often made seamstresses question whether business owners treated their workers fairly. Increasing organization among labor unions nationwide helped to spark these questions. In 1934, many garment workers in Dallas began to join the ILGWU, or the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. In 1935, garment mills tried to fire labor leaders, and union members responded with a strike on August 7 (fig. II-141). The strike lasted into October, with police arresting at least 68 women. Ultimately, though, factory owners refused to concede, and the strikers returned to work with no known concessions.[44]



Figure II-141. Historic photograph of the 1935 strike by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, demanding improved working conditions. Source: "Ancestry Anthology: Texas State History Association: Texas Day by Day: August 7- Garment Workers Strike," *Livejournal*, accessed March 15, 2021, https://tsmithjohnson.livejournal.com/570194.html.

Automotive Industries

A huge boost to Dallas manufacturing came when Ford Motor Company opened their Southwest Assembly Plant in Dallas in 1913. After introducing Ford's Model T, the company grew rapidly and decided to decentralize their vehicle assembly operations from Detroit, shipping auto parts via rail to regional centers. Dallas was the site of one such assembly plant, built 1913–1914 (a Dallas Landmark Structure).[45] The plant, located at the corner of Henry and Williams (now Canton) Streets in Deep Ellum, was designed by noted Seattle-based architect John Graham, Sr. (fig. II-142). Graham was an early specialist in reinforced-concrete construction, and the plant design is notable in its use of this material, which later became synonymous with industrial construction.[46] While the area surrounding the early plant was largely residential when Ford opened, other industrial enterprises such as Continental Gin and the Murray Company settled nearby through the 1930s.[47] The plant was four stories tall and hosted the full production line from parts to the finished automobile, including assembly, painting, and upholstery.[48] Ford also sold vehicles onsite until 1917, by which time the number of outside dealerships had grown.[49] The location of a well-known and important manufacturing enterprise such as Ford's in Dallas was extremely important to the local economy and solidified the city's status as a manufacturing center. By 1925, the Ford assembly plant had outgrown its downtown location and moved to 5200 East Grand Avenue in East Dallas, a location with much more space and direct access to the rail network (fig. II-143).



Figure II-1402. Historic photograph of the 1914 Ford Assembly Plant, located at the corner of Henry and Williams (now Canton) Streets, designed by Seattle architect John Graham, Sr. The opening of an industrial center for Ford, a hugely influential company, helped solidify Dallas's role as an industrial hub. Source: "Check out These Vintage Ford Assembly Line Pictures," W*estern Slope Auto Official* (blog), accessed March 15, 2021, https://www.westernslopeauto.com/blog/ford-assembly-line-history-in-vintage-pictures/.



Figure II-143. A 1936 photograph of the Ford assembly plant located at 5200 East Grand Avenue in East Dallas, built in 1925 after Ford outgrew its original 1914 plant. Source: Jennifer Anderson, "The History of Ford Motor Company in Dallas," City of Dallas Office of Historic Preservation, accessed March 15, 2021, https://cityofdallaspreservation.wordpress.com/2018/12/07/the-history-of-ford-motor-company-in-dallas/.

Dallas quickly became a hub for auto and tire sales as well as parts and service. These businesses clustered around "Auto Row," a strip of merchants especially concentrated along Commerce Avenue between Harwood and Preston Streets in downtown Dallas. Other nationally important brands opened distribution centers in Dallas, such as the 1930 Goodyear Southwest Regional Division office (also known as the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company Building or the Goodyear and Goodrich Building, a Dallas Landmark Structure).[50] Designed by Dallas architectural firm F. J. Woerner & Company, the building was sited near the railroad tracks at the intersection of Parry Avenue and Commerce Street in the Fair Park area (fig. II-144).[51] Although many tire companies had their factories in the Northeast, regional distribution centers like these were essential to tire distribution and sales.[52] Dallas was a perfect location for these centers due to its centrality in the southwestern region. In addition to Ford, Dallas was home to manufacturers of specific auto parts, such as Texas Wheel & Body Co., located in a factory at 2500 Commerce Street.[53] A 1928 city directory also lists another auto manufacturer, the REO Motor Car Company of Texas.[54] Furthermore, an independent manufacturer out of nearby Fort Worth made an early automobile called "The Texan."[55] Manufacturing slowed during the Great Depression, as indicated by plant closures such as the temporary closing of the Ford assembly plant from 1933 to 1934.



Figure II-144. Contemporary photograph of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company Building, located at 3809–3821 Parry Avenue, designed by the F. J. Woerner Company, a local architectural firm. Source: "Goodyear and Goodrich Building," Dallas Landmark Structures and Sites, City of Dallas Historic Preservation, accessed March 3, 2021, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/Pages/Goodyear-Goodrich-Building.aspx.

The Petroleum Industry

Oil, petroleum products, and oil financing were a mainstay of the quickly growing Dallas economy. This industry made its mark on Dallas in two major ways: with business headquarters and with industrial facilities.[56] Many oil companies moved their headquarters to Dallas because it was central to oil fields and easy to travel to, thereby reducing business costs.[57] The offices and administrative centers of early oil companies were some of the first tall buildings to dominate the Dallas skyline, indicating the profits, optimism, and exuberance of this booming industry. One of the first early oil companies to operate out of Dallas was the Magnolia Petroleum Company, which moved its headquarters to Dallas from nearby Corsicana in 1920. Magnolia was a wholly owned subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company of New York by 1925, and later, Mobil.[58] The Magnolia Building, located at the intersection of Akard and Commerce Streets downtown, was designed by London and New York-based architect Sir Alfred Bossom, completed in 1922 (a Dallas Landmark Structure, fig. II-145).[59]



Figure II-145. Historic postcard depicting the Magnolia Petroleum Company Building, an early Dallas skyscraper designed by Sir Alfred Bossom, at the corner of Akard and Commerce Streets. Source: "The Red Flying Horse in Downtown/Pegasus," *The Dallas Whisperer,* March 26, 2013, accessed March 3, 2021, https://thedallaswhisperer.wordpress.com/tag/magnolia-hotel/.

Dallas became a strategic hub for oil product distribution. The former Magnolia Distribution Center, built in Dallas between 1911 and 1918, was the first distribution center of their North Texas division (a Dallas Landmark Historic District, fig. II-146). The cluster of buildings was built by Dallas-based contractor S. B. Scott and located at 1607 Lyte Street, adjacent to Pike Park. The complex had a simple commercial architectural style and featured a sales office, warehouse, and distribution facility. Like other industrial complexes and oil distribution centers, Magnolia was located along the railroad, off the Greenville branch of the Missouri–Kansas–Texas Railroad (MKT).[60] Gulf Oil opened a similar distribution facility in 1921, located in a then-growing industrial area east of Deep Ellum at 501 Second Avenue (a Dallas Landmark Structure and National Register-listed historic building (fig. II-147). This was one of several Gulf distribution centers opened in the 1920s to expand the company's reach.[61] Both the Magnolia and Gulf complexes also historically hosted storage tanks, where oil would be held on its journey from rail cars into barrels or trucks for further delivery.[62]



Figure II-146. Contemporary photograph of the Magnolia Petroleum Company's distribution center, built by S. B. Scott and located at 1607 Lyte Street. Source: "Magnolia Station Historic District," Dallas Landmark Structures and Sites, City of Dallas Historic Preservation, accessed March 3, 2021, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/Pages/magnolia_station.aspx.



Figure II-147. Contemporary photograph of the Gulf Oil Distribution Facility, located at 501 Second Avenue. Source: "Gulf Refining Company/Hickory Street Annex," Dallas Landmark Structures and Sites, City of Dallas Historic Preservation, accessed March 3, 2021, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/Pages/Gulf-Refining-Company.aspx.

National Defense and the Aviation Industry

With the onset of World War II, Dallas was poised to be an important player in wartime military and industrial efforts. Established Dallas industries contributed greatly to the war effort, the Continental Gin Company later receiving honorable recognition for its aid, and Ford converting all plants to military production beginning in 1942.[63]

The military also sponsored construction of various defense-related plants in the Dallas area, such as Plancor No. 25, built from 1940 to 1941 for North American Aviation Inc., to foster mobilization of aircraft production before and during the war (the Plancor No. 25 plant is listed in the Historic American Buildings Survey collection). Dallas was an attractive city for an aircraft plant due to its mild climate, small tax burden, and abundant electric power. The plant's location—southwest of downtown Dallas and partially located in Grand Prairie city limits—was chosen for its accessibility to two highways and the Texas and Pacific (T&P) Railway (fig. II-148).



Figure II-148. Photograph from around 1941, showing Plancor #25, or the North American Aviation Plant, an aviation factory built to meet the demand for aircraft at the start of World War II. Source: "AT-6A 'Texan' Airplane," Bullock Museum Artifact Gallery, accessed March 15, 2021, https://www.thestoryoftexas.com/discover/artifacts/AT6A-texan-airplane-spotlight-08-01-18.

Defense and aeronautics continued to play a vital role in Dallas industry into the mid-twentieth century, and industrial facilities originally built for the war effort continued to play a role in subsequent years. For instance, after World War II, Plancor No. 25 was leased to Texas Engineering and Manufacturing (Temco), a military aircraft and missile manufacturer, and defense contractor Chance Vought Aircraft Corporation.[64] The location of industry continued to impact the surrounding built environment in the automobile era, and Temco had a deep impact on the city of Grand Prairie, which greatly increased its police force, fire department, schools, water, and sewerage.[65]

Other Defense-Related Technologies

The defense sector in Dallas also pivoted to other technologies in the postwar era. Many companies that innovated in defense during World War II later diversified their products and services to adapt to changing markets. Geophysical Services, Incorporated (later Texas Instruments), which had moved to Dallas in 1930, realized the potential of oil-exploration technology in detecting submarines during World War II, and began producing military electronics. The 1937 Dallas City Directory shows that the company officed in the Gulf States building downtown at the corner of Akard and Main Streets. By 1951, the company changed their name to Texas Instruments and gained an industry niche in developing production techniques for transistors, silicon circuits, and, eventually, portable calculators.[66] City directories from 1953 indicate that the company moved to 6000 Lemmon Avenue, near Love Field northwest of downtown. In 1956, the company expanded further, moving north to the suburban municipality of Richardson (fig. II-149).



Figure II-149. Photo depicting a Texas Instruments facility, taken approximately between 1955 and 1960. Prominent Texas architect O'Neil Ford designed the facility, which was located in Richardson, a suburban town outside Dallas. Source: John Rogers, "[Texas Instruments]," photograph, [1955, 1960], University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, accessed March 15, 2021, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1633695/.

Similarly, in 1960, Temco, Chance Vought, and the Dallas-based Ling Electric Company merged to form Ling-Temco-Vought (LTV). LTV expanded to produce and invest in many goods and services in addition to defense and aerospace over the course of the next several decades. The company constructed the LTV Tower at 1600 Pacific Avenue downtown in 1965, designed by Harwood K. Smith & Partners with Dales Foster (extant, within the listed Downtown Dallas National Register Historic District).[67] By the late 1960s, it was one of the 40 biggest industrial corporations in the nation, employing 29,000 people.[68]

CONCLUSION

Industrial development in Dallas played a crucial role in spurring the city's growth and attracting new residents. Pioneer industries such as milling established the early town as an important place for trade. With the arrival of two railroad lines, Dallas became a crucial hub for the trade of goods and equipment, including agricultural processing equipment to process goods from the booming cotton and wheat markets. Industrial facilities were often located at the urban periphery, inviting further expansion in their wake. By the twentieth century, Dallas had firmly established itself as an industrial center, home of important automotive and textile industries, as well as a booming oil industry which would allow the city to weather the Great Depression relatively unscathed. The city maintained its status as a nexus of trade

routes into the twentieth century, aided by its vast highway network and airport. Industry decentralized from the urban core, later including defense and technology, allowing Dallas to remain at the forefront of industrial growth into the twentieth century.

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II-11| Modern and Postmodern Architecture (1920–1972)

MODERN VERSUS POSTMODERN ARCHITECTURE

Modernism is a broad term that describes a range of architectural styles aimed at breaking from classical traditions used in decades past, not just in the United States, but internationally. Modernism describes not just one period of time, but a movement with a particular set of ethos brought on by rethinking the way humans used the built environment. Modern architects experimented with their designs and were able to use materials and technology in new ways. The resulting designs are characterized by emphasis on rational, efficient use of space that is clearly articulated through structure and materials rather than superficial, decorative ornament. Visually, these concepts look like buildings with clean lines, bold masses, and open floor plans. The movement encompasses styles such as International, Expressionist, and Googie architecture. First documented in the US in the late 1920s, early modern architecture was prevalent throughout the twentieth century and continues to be a popular style today.

Postmodernism, on the other hand, was a reaction to the austerity and formality of Modernism. By the 1960s, Modernism—especially the International style—began to seem elitist and exclusive despite its original intentions. As a criticism, some architects began to draw their inspiration once again from historical styles, although not in the pure traditional sense. Instead, they took elements or ideas from those styles and exaggerated, enlarged, or modified them, which resulted in an eclectic, colorful style. Postmodernism was popular through the 1970s and continued to evolve into the 1980s and 1990s.

To be clear, Postmodernism did not replace Modernism. Depending on the architect, project, and location, concepts from both movements are visible in designs across the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Together, these architectural styles marked a time in history when architects and designers developed their own unique styles, despite the traditional schools of thought and patterns they may have learned from. In Dallas, Modern and Postmodern buildings include all kinds of building types, including residences, churches, public buildings, office towers and parks, shopping malls, sports arenas, industrial buildings, gas stations, and more. The period of significance for a Modern building can range from 1920 through the 1970s. Arguments can be made to extend this period as later Modern buildings reach the 50-year mark. The period of significance for Post-Modern buildings starts in the 1960s and extends into the 1990s as significant buildings become 50 years or older. Modern and Postmodern buildings are typically significant under National Register Criterion A, with contributions to broad patterns of history; Criterion B, for their association with the life of a significant person; or Criterion C, embodying a distinctive type, period, or method of construction. Applicable Areas of Significance could include architecture, art, commerce, community planning and development, economics, invention, landscape architecture, and social history. The following sections break down the intricacies and development of each style, how they came to Dallas, and how they shaped the city's landscape that is visible today.

MODERNISM AND POSTMODERNISM NATIONWIDE

MODERNISM

The words "modern" or "modernism" in architecture are often associated with a simple, glass box of a building, unadorned and universal, no matter the location. The term is also associated with recently constructed buildings, relating to current trends and ideas. These assumptions are both true but limiting. Through the years, "modernism" has been applied to many different types of buildings and various architectural styles. Their common denominator is best described in the Merriam-Webster Dictionary's definition of modernism: "modern artistic philosophy and practice, *a self-conscious break with the past and a search for new forms of expression*."[1]

Modernism was first used to categorize the work of several architects and schools of thought in the United States and Europe in the early 1900s. These architects were experimenting and designing in ways that broke from architectural traditions. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, formal architectural education was limited to a select few schools in the United States. Most aspiring American architects attended the predominate École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, which taught the classical, decorative Beaux Arts style of design.[2] Modernists would turn away from these ideals and focus on new concepts rooted in contemporary life and societal needs.

> ***Learn more!*** *Refer to Volume I Section 1. Property Types for character-defining features of the Beaux Arts style.*

Emergence of Modern Architecture

Modernist ideals developed in Europe as a result of the First World War (1914–1918) in countries whose buildings were ravaged by the war.[3] Architects who are now iconic to the modern movement shaped new architectural concepts that would have a lasting impact. For example, during the war, a Swiss-French architect known as Le Corbusier focused on developing new theoretical concepts using reinforced concrete.[4] Similarly, Mies van der Rohe, a German traditional architect turned modernist, experimented with similar, simple constructions made of steel and glass, devoid of ornament; a complete break from the traditions of the pre-war Old World.[5] At the start, both Le Corbusier's and van der Rohe's concepts would be used for public housing and other social-impact projects. Their "less is more" ideology—a concept attributed to Mies—would set the foundation for what later became the International style.[6]

> *What does the International style look like? Check out Volume I Section 1. Property Types for character-defining features and examples.*

Several American architects developed their "own unique manifestations of Modernism based on their own analysis of building problems and contemporary needs" at the same time of the European Modernists—and even prior to World War I—that laid the groundwork for Modernism in America.[7] Through new spatial arrangements, articulation of structure, and material and technological innovations, American architects responded to the country's changing social patterns in a modern way. Louis Sullivan of Chicago believed that "form follows function."[8] Sullivan was later recognized as the father of Modern architecture for his foundational work in the development of the modern commercial skyscraper. One of Sullivan's protégés, Frank Lloyd Wright, expanded on his mentor's philosophy by combining function with expressive, organic building forms that took their cues from nature.[9] Sullivan and Wright are just two of the architects that paved the way for Modern design in the United States.

Although these architects did not yet interpret Modernism as the pure International style, they developed a body of work that defined American Modern Architecture for years to come.

Between the World Wars, Modernism, specifically International style, became very prominent in Europe. However, Modernist design still did not take firm hold in the United States until after the Great Depression (1929–1933) and World War II (1939–1945). Several events in the 1930s solidified the development of modern architecture in the US. In 1932, the Museum of Modern Art hosted an exhibit called "Modern Architecture" by Henry Russell Hitchcock and Phillip Johnson (described in the sidebar below).[10] In the mid-to-late 1930s, several Bauhaus architects emigrated to the United States to escape persecution by the Nazis.[11] This small but vocal group became intertwined in the American architecture scene. Together, these architects worked to combine European influences with American practicality and the influences of Sullivan and Wright to forge an American interpretation of Modernism.

Museum of Modern Art "Modern Architecture" Exhibit, 1932

This exhibit in New York shared examples of European Modernism with an American audience and developed a clear manifesto on the principal attributes of Modern design yet to be defined in the US, which also was distributed to the broader public through an exhibit publication:

1) Because a skeletal structural framework could be used to support a building instead of masonry bearing walls, Modernism favored volume over mass in the form of open plans.

2) The exterior motif of Modernism should be a reflection of the underlying structural system, regular rhythms, expression of varied purposes of a building.

3) Ornament served no function, therefore no need for it.12



Figure II-150. Modern Architecture, International Exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, New York in 1932. Source: Modern Architecture, International Exhibition. 1932. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Photographic Archive. Accessed via https://www.archdaily.com/409918/ad-classics-modern-architecture-international-exhibition-philip-johnson-and-henry-russell-hitchcock.

As Modern design became more commonplace across the country, architects would continue to evolve and morph the basic Modernist principles into new forms all their own. These Contemporary variations of Modernism were more expressive and bolder in form and often used color to emphasize unique features. Many designers found inspiration for Contemporary design in the future looking towards the Space Age and created buildings for what they thought life would look like as technology evolved.

A more minimal variant of Modernism with a focus on function continued throughout the Postmodern period as well (1960s–1980s). A group of five architects, on their own terms, but during the same time period, explored designs that focused on purity of form through theoretical abstraction and objectivity; architecture for the sake of architecture regardless of function or purpose. [13] Peter Eisenmann, for instance, continued to pursue and abstract Modernist ideals, resulting in a series of precise and geometrically perfect house designs.[14] Richard Meier's design concepts reduced the "form follows function" ideal to sculptural solids and voids rendered in monochromatic white exteriors.[15] These designs would become known as Late Modernism.

***Learn more**! Visit www.docomomo-us.org for more on the Modern Movement in America.*

POSTMODERNISM

By the late 1950s, some architects and even professionals outside of architecture started to question and criticize the uniformity of Modernism, specifically the International style.[16] They began to imagine designs and styles that looked again to history and coalesced more with everyday human activity, not as a reversion to traditional style but as a contemporary interpretation of precedent. Robert Venturi was among the first to write about and design structures that illustrated what would later be dubbed Postmodern design. To Venturi, architects should accept that most of the built world is mundane and imperfect, budgets have limits, and that one stylistic "solution" would not work for every city or site.[17] He argued instead that architecture should capitalize on "complexities, contradictions, ambiguities, and paradoxes – qualities which he thought consonant with the temper of the times."[18]

Postmodernism evolved through the late twentieth century and was not limited to one architectural style or school of thought. Instead, designers explored a variety of concepts and research that resulted in an array of building styles throughout the time period – some loved, others hated, but all worthy of discussion. Some Postmodern architects thought that historic building materials and architectural elements should be used, but combined eclectically with modern materials and features. Some architects "revived the case for an architecture of service," or architecture that benefited the greater good rather than just corporate America.[19] This resulted in social science-based research to better understand how people use buildings and the built environment in general. Other designers focused on prefabrication and how building components could be standardized and constructed off site for a quicker, cheaper alternative to traditional construction. Others researched the microclimates around buildings and how they directly impacted the structures. Others still focused on how computers could help solve complex problems and design issues in the architecture profession.[20]

Two popular styles of architecture that became more defined under the Postmodern umbrella were New Formalism and Brutalism. New Formalism was the result of designers looking to historical precedent and turning the symmetry and rhythm found in those classical structures into contemporary designs. Typically, New Formalist structures are free-standing with a strictly symmetrical elevation reinforced by columns, colonnades, or pilasters. Brutalism is characterized by large concrete structures devoid of ornament with punctured or minimal fenestration. Many Brutalist architects created these monumental concrete structures with the intention of expressing strength, power, confidence, and safety in a time of uncertainty. The resulting structures and landscapes, however, were often misinterpreted as imposing and intimidating.

One prominent Postmodern architect, Michael Graves, explored architectural form's aesthetic and expressive potential through historical precedent. Graves found inspiration in Tuscany and Italian Renaissance Villas of which he drew muted color palettes like pale violet, terra-cotta, buff, and turquoise, that he incorporated onto modern forms and volumes.[21] Grave's quirky structures stood in stark contrast to the Modern monuments of prior decades and would become the poster children for Postmodern design. The term "Post-Modern" started to be used to formally describe architecture in 1975 and, by the 1980s, was an accepted architectural style.[22] Michael Graves's Portland Public Services Building, finished in 1982, was the first major Post-Modern public building in the United States. While it did not signal general acceptance of the style, it did signal the arrival of Post-Modern design at a nationally visible level.[23] The Venice Biennale of 1980 also solidified that Postmodernism had emerged at the global architecture scene with the "The Presence of the Past" exhibit (fig. II-151).[24]

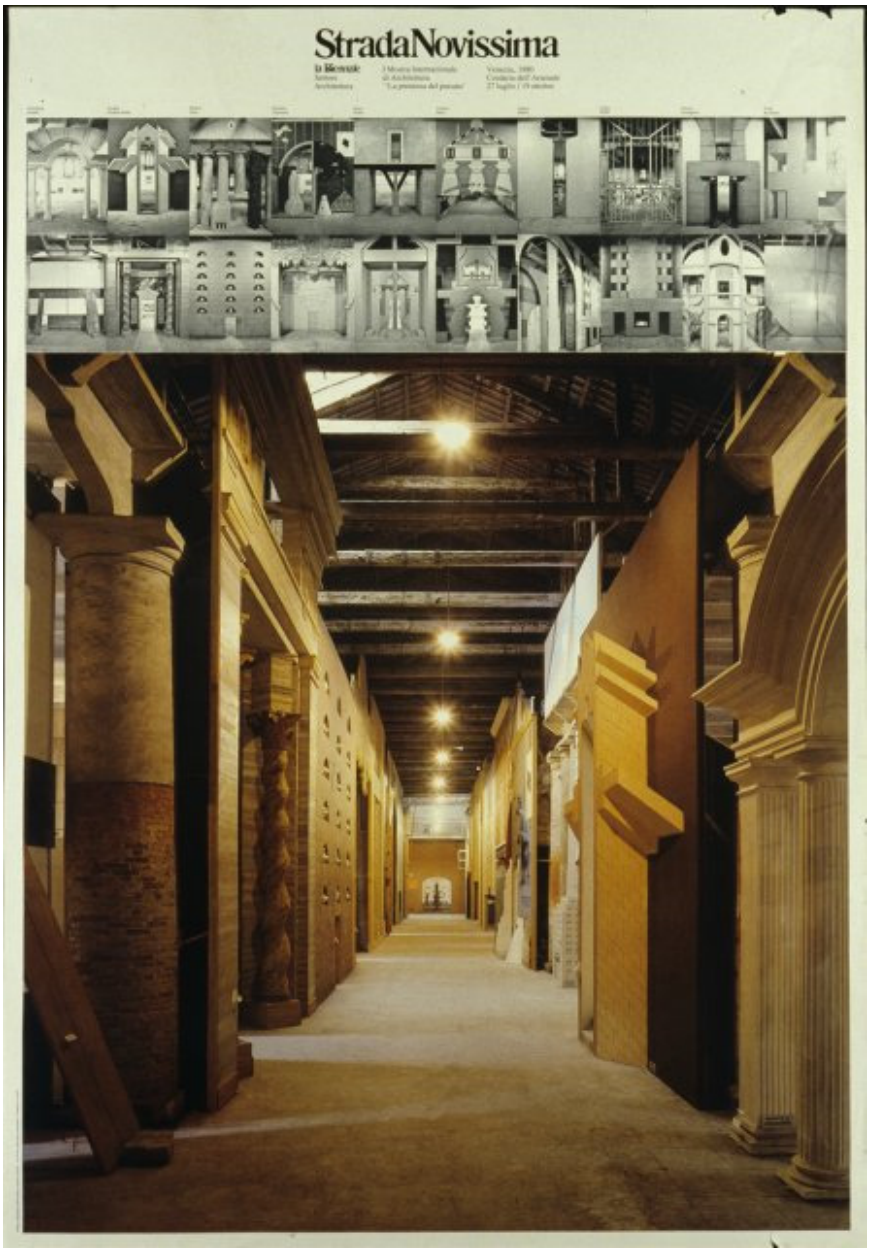


Figure II-151. View of the "Presence of the Past" exhibit at the 1980 Venice Biennale. Source: https://biennalewiki.org/?encyclopedia=the-presence-of-the-past

Significant events shaped Postmodern design and architecture in general in the 1960s and 1970s. The Vietnam War (1955–1975), drastic inflation in the 1970s as a result of the war and government spending, and the resulting recession and energy crisis of the mid-1970s essentially halted major construction projects and put numerous architects and designers out of work.[25] Postmodernism also seemed more appropriate for places with preserved historic buildings. Historic preservation and reusing existing buildings became popular throughout the 1970s as a result of the high cost of construction paired with people's distaste for the urban renewal projects of the 1950s and 1960s that gutted entire neighborhoods in the name of progress.[26] Preservation was further promoted by the federal funding and tax advantages that encouraged the development of local preservation programs and rehabilitation projects.[27]

> ***Learn more****! Refer to Volume I Section 1. Property Types for character-defining features of the Postmodern styles.*

MODERNISM AND POSTMODERNISM IN TEXAS

MODERNISM

"Modern Classicism," more commonly referred to as Art Deco or Art Moderne architecture, was Texas's first venture into a non-traditional architectural model. According to Jay C. Henry, "Although not overtly historicist, [Modern Classicism] sought contemporary expression of the traditional conception of architecture as decorated construction."[28] While European Modernists were breaking with tradition as an overt reaction against traditional models of government and policies that lead to turmoil and war in their home countries, American Modernists were celebrating their success following World War I. The resulting designs were a mixture of traditional ideals, such as symmetry and decoration, executed in a way that looked to the future, using shapes and motifs that had never been used before. The Modern Classicism idiom "proved to be the new monumental style for public architecture in Texas in the 1930s."[29] Some 45 new courthouses were erected between 1929 and 1941, and a majority were completed in the Modern Classical style, with a hiatus between 1932 when the Depression precluded the planning of new facilities and 1935 when the Public Works Administration (PWA) began to supply construction subsidies.[30] The PWA also supported the construction of city halls, schools, and public recreation facilities that utilized the Art Deco style. Texas architects including Trost and Trost, Lang and Witchell, and Wyatt Hedrick became the force behind these modern edifices.[31] Paul Cret also had a significant impact on Texas's modern structures, although he was not a Texas resident. Art Deco was also the popular architectural style for memorial structures celebrating the Texas Independence Centennial in the mid-to-late 1930s, including Fair Park in Dallas, the Texas Memorial Museum at the University of Texas in Austin, and the San Jacinto Monument near Houston.[32]

> ***Learn more!*** *For more information on Art Deco in Texas, consider reading* Fair Park Deco*,* DFW Deco*,* Houston Deco*, and* Hill Country Deco *by Jim Parsons and David Bush.*

The International style crept into the Texas architecture scene in the form of homes, small office buildings, and a handful of public buildings in the 1930s. Some of these buildings were designed by US architects known for their International aesthetic, others by regional architects who played with International techniques but executed the design in materials fit for Texas.[33] One of the state's first public buildings constructed in the International Style was the Margo Jones Theater, designed by William Lescaze of New York City for the Texas Centennial Exposition in Dallas. Private residences like the Kraigher House (1937) by Richard Neutra in Brownsville, the Karl Kamrath House (1938) in Houston, and Howard Meyer's Sanger House (1937) in Dallas signaled the arrival of Modernism in Texas.[34] It wasn't until after 1945 and the end of World War II, however, that "the so-called International Style increasingly influenced design throughout the state."[35] Economic prosperity following World War II, a booming oil industry, and technological advances in building materials encouraged the adoption of the straightforward and functional modern design in Texas. In 1953, the National Association of Home Buildings constructed the first ever air-conditioned village in Austin as an experiment and model neighborhood to promote the development of central air conditioning in residential buildings.[36] Innovation in the steel and concrete industries improved structural systems, which made "unprecedented spans of space" and taller structures possible. The result was large shopping malls, sports arenas, medical complexes, college campuses, airports, and towers throughout the major metropolitan areas of the state.[37]

> ***Learn more!*** *For more information on Modernism in Texas, consider reading* Architecture in Texas 1895–1945 *by Jay C. Henry.*

POSTMODERNISM

While architects across the country started to experiment with Postmodern design in the mid-to-late 1960s, significant International-style buildings were still popular in Texas. This can be seen in the towers designed by Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill Towers for several major automotive and oil companies in Houston, including the Tenneco Building (1963) and One Shell Plaza (1971), and it is also visible in the major Dallas tower projects discussed later.[38] But by the 1970s and through the 1980s, and well into the 1990s, Postmodern design would be the chosen architectural style for the state's rapidly changing built environment. It is hard to pinpoint exactly where Postmodern first appeared in Texas. The state's two major cities during the late 1900s, Houston and Dallas, grew at rapid rates due to the oil and gas industry and numerous other companies and corporations that called these cities home. Between 1950 and 1990, the population of Dallas County tripled, from approximately 614,700 to 1,852,000, while Harris County (Houston) has long been the most populated county in the state with more than a million residents in 1960.[39] According to Ada Louise Huxtable, architecture critic for the *New York Times*:

> Houston [was] arguably the paradigmatic postmodern city. In the 1970s and 1980s, with its nonexistent zoning regulations, untroubled acceptance of commercial signage (no matter how ugly), and unapologetic accommodation of the automobile, as an urban landscape it had few rivals in disregarding the norms of good urbanism.[40]

Houston broke all the rules, which in itself became a rule for Postmodern design. The city was shaped by a "roster of major architects" including Philip Johnson, Michael Graves, Robert Venturi, and Denise Scott Brown. The latter two also taught an "influential studio" as visiting professors at Rice University in 1969, "as they were beginning the research that culminated in 'Learning from Las Vegas."[41] Postmodernism was shaped mostly by the oil industry, the medical/educational-industrial complex, and real estate developers like Gerald Hines, responsible for massive buildings like Penzoil Plaza (1976).[42] Some critics accused Postmodern design as elite and for a certain group of people – one of the very issues that inspired the first Postmodernists to break away from Modern design. For example, architectural historian Kathryn O'Rourke noted that, "Postmodern architecture has been widely critiqued as an embodiment of Reagan-era consumption and capital concentration."[43] In some ways, Postmodern Houston was no different. However, in true Houston, rule-breaking form, Postmodern design was not limited to the upper echelons of big business. The Children's Museum of Houston (1980) designed by Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown has become synonymous with the facet of Postmodern design that does not take itself too seriously and exudes playfulness.[44] Postmodern architecture in Houston despite its critics, "signaled an opening up — something Houston, with its influx of capital and immigrants," and today, Postmodern designs can be found throughout the city.[45]

During the latter half of the twentieth century, Austin was still an infant city. Despite being the state's capital, the population of Austin in 1970 was only 267,000 people. However, due to the capitol and the University of Texas, Austin has several significant Postmodern structures that have become iconic for the style. The first of these was the New Formalist-style Westgate Tower (1966). Designed by Edward Durell Stone, the 26-story mixed-use building was the tallest structure in the city at the time of its completion and set the stage for the Downtown Austin skyline.[46] The Lyndon Baines Johnson (LBJ) Presidential Library and Museum introduced Brutalism to Austin and possibly to the state. The 10 story, travertine structure designed by Gordon Bunshaft of Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill (SOM) is a fortress on the exterior with the purpose of preserving and protecting the historic materials of the LBJ

administration, while the interior opens up into a multi-story atrium designed to give visitors an impressive view of the archive collection.[47] Brutalism would become synonymous with civic architecture in Texas in the 1970s, with Dallas City Hall (1978) and J. Erik Jonsson Central Library (1982) following suit. Austin was also home to the "father of Post-Modernism," Charles Moore, at the end of his career. Moore came to Austin to teach at the University of Texas after already having won the AIA Gold Medal and serving as dean of the Yale School of Architecture.[48] The seventh house he designed for himself, now known as the Charles Moore House (1984), is where Moore experimented and played with color and features unlike anyone else.[49] Today, Moore's house is still one of the best examples of Postmodern design in the country.

Each major Texas city has used Postmodern design for all types of buildings – from corporate towers, city buildings, and museums to individual homes. Eventually, the many sides of Postmodern design have become universal throughout Texas's built environment, and as the buildings age, Postmodern design will be remembered as the style that shaped the state as it came of age.

MODERNISM AND POSTMODERNISM IN DALLAS

ARRIVAL OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE IN DALLAS

There is not a clear demarcation that signals the arrival of Modernism in Dallas. Like most of America and the state, Dallas was not so quick to adopt a purely modern aesthetic. Instead, the root of Dallas Modernism starts at Fair Park and the Texas Centennial Exposition of 1936. The majority of Fair Park's design is rooted in the Beaux-Arts principles of symmetry and ornament masked in Art Deco's geometric shapes, clean lines, and somewhat streamlined façades that appeared very modern to the fair goers at the time – "Modern Classical" as Paul Cret liked to call it.[50] However, tucked at the edges of Fair Park are several unassuming buildings that foreshadowed the arrival of true Modernism in the city.

The Texas Centennial Exposition of 1936: Modernism in Fair Park

The buildings of Fair Park that are a result of the Texas Centennial Exposition of 1936, which was the center of the statewide celebration of 100 years of Texas Independence. In 9 months, 10 architecture firms and numerous craftspeople led by George Dahl designed and constructed 50 buildings to house the Expo's exhibits. Dahl was known as a "chameleon of style."[51] By the end of his career, Dahl designed over 3,000 buildings, including the Renaissance Revival Neiman-Marcus in Downtown Dallas and the mammoth LTV Aerospace Center. For most of Fair Park, Dahl's primary aesthetic was the bold, modern classical style of Art Deco, rendered in bright colors and motifs that celebrated Texas culture over its first 100 years and "loudly proclaimed the value of integrating all visual arts as a means of extolling both technology and social revolution."[52]

For a few buildings on the periphery, Dahl experimented with the clean, functional, and futuristic lines of International style. Dahl commissioned renowned New York architect, William Lescaze, to design potentially the first true International-style building in Texas as a part of the Texas Centennial Exposition in Dallas.[53] Lescaze was well versed in the style and created the unassuming Magnolia Lounge as an air-conditioned resting place for fair-goers (fig. II-152). The Magnolia Lounge design utilized long horizontal lines and simple asymmetrical massing articulated in stark white stucco and curved glass block, completely devoid of ornament to elude a sleek, modern aesthetic, which showcased its most important feature – air conditioning. DeWitt and Washburn's Contemporary Model Home for the Expo used similar stylistic elements to form an elegantly modern home unlike any other seen in Dallas neighborhoods at the time. Dahl himself designed the Swine Building, originally known as Livestock Building #2. The building is pure in form with a massing that reflects the interior function. The exterior is plain stucco with carefully placed ribbon windows, the only decoration being thin cantilevered canopies over the openings.

The Texas Centennial Exposition of 1936: Modernism in Fair Park



Figure II-152. Drawing of The Magnolia Lounge, a modern building that was created for the Texas Centennial Exposition of 1936 in Fair Park and designed by architect William Lescaze. Source: "William Lescaze's Ultramodern Magnolia Lounge – 1936," *Flashback : Dallas*, blog, accessed April 20, 2022.

In Downtown proper, the burgeoning oil and gas industry started to alter the skyline with distinctly modern edifices. The Art Moderne detailing of the Tower Petroleum Building, constructed in 1931 by Mark Lemmon, "marked a significant stylistic departure from the classically inspired skyscrapers of the 1920s" (fig. II-153).[54] That same year, the clean lines and Art Deco geometries of the Dallas Power and Light Company building and Lone Star Gas Company building by Lang & Witchell were also constructed in downtown.[55] In general, though, the Great Depression and World War II added to the slow adoption of large-scale modern design in Dallas due to shortages in steel, labor force, and economic feasibility.[56] Virtually the only skyscraper built in America during the war was Dallas's Mercantile Bank Building completed in 1942, which "was heartily despised by some people for diverting raw materials from the war effort" (fig. II-154).[57]



Figure II-153. Tower Petroleum Building at 1907 Elm Street by architect, Mark Lemmon. Source: Rogers, John. [Tower Petroleum building]. Photograph, [1960..1969]. University of North Texas Libraries Special Collection. The Portal to Texas History. Accessed March 30, 2021. https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1615181/



Figure II-154. Mercantile Bank Building at 1800 Main Street by architect, Walter W. Ahlschlager. Source: [Postcard of Mercantile Bank Building in Dallas]. Postcard. Date Unknown. University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, Texas History Collection. Provided by the McFaddin-Ward House Museum. Accessed March 30, 2021. https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth562662/.

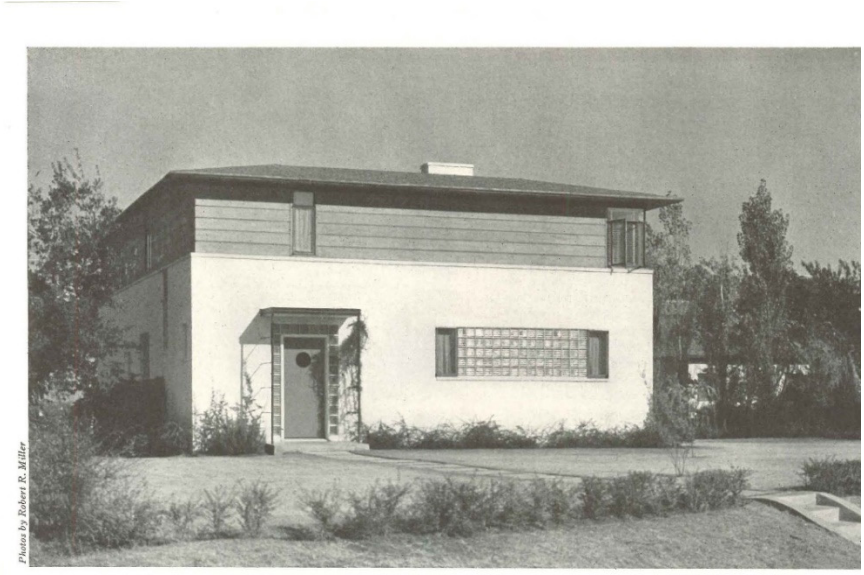
Public work projects and private residences sprinkled throughout the city carried Modernism through the struggle of the 1930s and 1940s. Dewitt and Washburn constructed the "most significant modernistic structures in Dallas," including the Robert E. Lee Elementary school (1931), now Geneva Heights Elementary in East Dallas, which was an experiment in cast-in-place concrete.[58] Texas's first New Deal public housing project, Cedar Springs Place, was constructed in 1937 near what is now the Medical District. This project was dubbed an "outstanding example of the International Style" by AIA Dallas (fig. II-155).[59]



Figure II-155. Cedar Springs Place aerial (top) and typical single-story apartment block (bottom). Located at 2531 Lucas Drive. Funded by the Public Works Administration. Source: Short, C.W. and R. Stanley-Brown. "Public Buildings: A Survey of Architecture of Projects Constructed by Federal and Other Governmental Bodies Between the Years 1933 and 1939 with the Assistance of the Public Works Administration." (1939). Accessed via https://livingnewdeal.org/projects/cedar-springs-place-dallas-tx/.

One example of modern residences from the late 1930s includes Howard Meyer's first built work in Dallas at 3216 Jacote Circle for Mr. and Ms. Sanger (fig. II-156). The house's International style was a direct result of Meyer's study in Europe. He would go on to become Dallas's "most accomplished modern architect."[60] Local architects, DeWitt and Washburn, completed the design for the Marcus Residence with similar International-style detailing in 1937 (fig. II-157) after Stanley Marcus fired Frank Lloyd Wright for designing a house that did not consider the Texas climate.[61] At the same time, O'Neil

Ford and Arch Swank were experimenting with a modern style that was more in tune with Texas's landscape, local materials, and climate.[62]

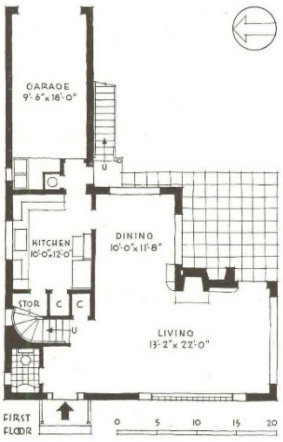


Photos by Robert R. Miller

L-SHAPE PLAN ADAPTED TO CORNER LOT

The young couple for whom Architect HOWARD R. MEYER designed this house felt that they probably would not live in it longer than five years. Consequently the plan was developed to meet their present minimum needs. Owners are Mr. and Mrs. Eugene K. Sanger of Dallas, Tex.

INFORMAL LIVING requirements set the keynote of the plan and offered the opportunity of combining living room, dining room, and stair hall. This open L-shaped area gives spaciousness to what would have been three comparatively small rooms had they been partitioned off. Since the house is on a corner lot, with streets on north and west, the L-shape proved a desirable solution for the plan as a whole, giving a maximum of exposed wall and window areas for the living and sleeping areas, as well as privacy for the rear garden. Prevailing summer breezes in this locality are from the southeast, and the main rooms are oriented to take advantage of the winds. The long wall of the living room faces west—a warm exposure during the summer; to reduce heat infiltration but at the same time admit light to the room, the glass-block panel was used. The house is of wood-frame construction, with brick veneer, painted white up to the second-floor windows, and V-jointed shiplap of pine stained gray brown above. The entrance door is of wood painted Indian red. The roof is copper. Interior walls and ceilings are plaster: the south wall of the living room is painted rose, and other walls and ceiling are light beige. Approximate cost: $7500.



ARCHITECTURAL RECORD

54

Figure II-156. Sanger House at 3216 Jacote Circle designed by Howard Meyer. Featured in Architectural Record, September 1940. Source: Miller, Robert. [L-Shape Plan Adapted to Corner Lot.] September 1940. Architectural Record. Accessed via https://usmodernist.org/AR/AR-1940-09.pdf.



Figure II-157. Stanley Marcus Residence at 1 Nonesuch Road by architects, DeWitt & Washburn.
Source: Stanley Marcus House (dallascityhall.com)

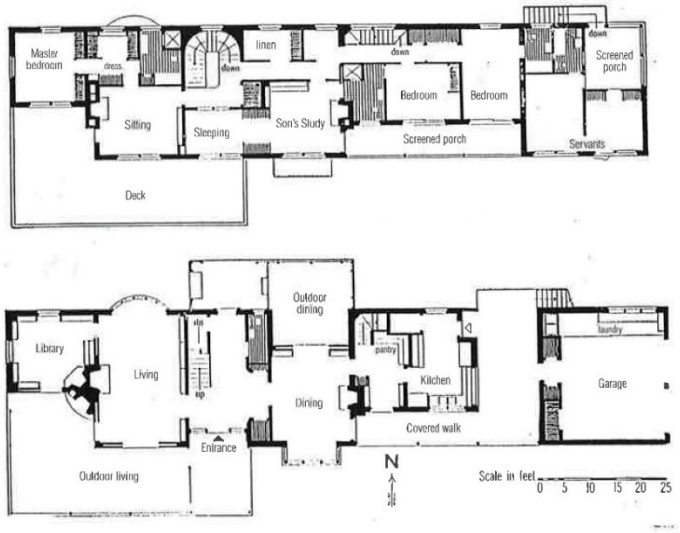
Regionalist Interpretations of Modernism

Regionalism describes architecture that celebrates its place by responding to the site and climate and using and natural materials that typically can be found nearby. In Dallas, Regionalism can be seen best in the work of O'Neil Ford. Ford was born and raised in the small town of Pink Hill, Texas, near Sherman. He graduated from the University of North Texas and spent the early part of his career studying the various vernacular constructions found throughout the state. Because of this, Ford had a firm grasp on traditional Texas architecture, and he was able to translate modern design into structures fit for a Texas landscape.

The Bromberg House (1939) at 3201 Wendover Road in Lakewood is considered Ford's first home designed in the "Texas Regional" style (fig. II-158).[63] The design incorporates many features found in Texas's vernacular homes. These include "informal living areas, the use of native indigenous materials . . . large screen porches for outdoor living, and its relationship to the natural site" – while at the same time "it is modern in spirit and devoid of any architectural pretense."[64]



3.16 *Bromberg residence, Dallas.* LARRY PEARLSTONE.



3.17 *(Below) Floor plan of Bromberg residence.*

Figure II-158. Bromberg Residence at 3201 Wendover Road by architects, O'Neil Ford and Arch Swank. Source: Dillion, David. The Architecture of O'Neil Ford: Celebrating Place. Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1999.

EVOLUTION OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE IN DALLAS

The 1950s brought only a handful of Modern buildings to Downtown, but throughout the city, Modern design became prevalent. Banks, hotels, office parks, shopping malls, churches, schools, public buildings, and even residential neighborhoods embraced Modern design. For many, Modern buildings were a symbol of growth and prosperity after several decades of nation-wide hardship. Dallas had many booming industries at the time including oil and gas, technology, and aircraft – and they all wanted their buildings to reflect their forward-looking ideals. Technological advancements in building materials and systems also played a significant role in the adoption of Modernism.

The first major post-war project was the Republic National Bank Tower (1954) designed by Harrison & Abramovitz from New York, notable for their design of the iconic UN Headquarters (fig. II-159).[65] The Republic Tower's design is modeled after the Alcoa Building in Philadelphia, with thin, interlocking

aluminum panel cladding with a four-pointed star motif that was later integrated into the Bank's logo design. At thirty-six stories, the building was the tallest skyscraper in the Dallas skyline at the time. On Commerce Street, two of the best examples of mid-century modern architecture were constructed side by side. The sleek Dallas Public Library at the corner of Harwood was designed by George Dahl and completed in 1953 (fig. II-160).[66] The six-story facility held 433,000 books and was used by the Library until the 1970s when it once again outgrew the space.[67] Today, this building has been restored for the Dallas Morning News offices. Later, in 1956, the Statler Hilton Hotel by William B. Tabler was completed next door (fig. II-161). "Tabler employed an innovative cantilevered flat slab structural system to give the inflected façade a luxuriously urbane appearance" for the 1,000-room hotel.[68]



Figure II-159. Republic National Bank Building designed by architect Wallace K. Harrison of Harrison & Abramovitz. Located at the corner of Pacific and Ervay Streets. Source: Dallas Public Library, PA78-1/167, Frank Townsend collection. https://dallaslibrary2.org/dallashistory/photogallery/downtownliving/republic.htm.



Figure II-160. Dallas Central Library at 1954 Commerce Street by architect George Dahl. Source: Dallas Public Library Archives, MA82.2/, http://dallaslibrary2.org/about/history.php.



Figure II-161. Statler Hilton Hotel at 1914 Commerce Street, designed by architect, William Tabler. Source: Haskins Photography, Inc. Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries. "Statler Hilton Hotel, Dallas, Texas, 1960." UTA Libraries Digital Gallery. 1960. Accessed March 30, 2021. https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/10008861

Movement Out of Downtown

The Central Expressway (1949), Stemmons Freeway (1959), and Turtle Creek Boulevard development (1950s) projects spurred growth outside of downtown and into the suburbs surrounding Dallas in the mid-twentieth century.[69] For some, the highways brought prosperity. In the early 1950s, Trammell Crow and John Stemmons initiated development of the World Trade Center and Trinity River Industrial District along Stemmons Freeway.[70] For others, the highways created a literal division in Dallas's built landscape, which brought disinvestment to already segregated neighborhoods.[71]

> ***Learn more!*** *Refer to Chapter 8. Highways, Roadways, and Automobiles, as well as Section 15 Urban Renewal.*

Modernism flourished outside of Downtown in the form of large suburban office parks, office towers, industrial buildings, private residences, public buildings, and even churches. In the post-war period, when the city was rapidly expanding, a number of architects and builders incorporated functionalism and minimalism into their designs, focusing on expediency rather than ornamentation. The Meadows Building (1955) was the first high-rise built outside of downtown Dallas (fig. II-162).[72] Located at Central and Lovers Lane, the Meadows building was designed by J.N. MacCammon and Jack Morgan for its site-specific climate with operable windows, office balconies, spacious roof terraces, patios, and gardens that take full advantage of the site meant to be an urban oasis.[73] Off Stemmons Freeway, Exchange Park

(1955), was constructed as another example of an early suburban modernist development (fig. II-163).[74] Owner William Blakley's goal was to transform 120 wooded acres into a mixed-use commercial development landscaped as a park.[75] He proclaimed that "Exchange Park will be a self-contained business community — America's first completely integrated and weather-controlled commercial development."[76] The first tower to open in 1956 was designed by Gamble & Associates for Exchange Bank. The design featured yellow spandrel panels and project sun visors on the exterior, while the interior featured cutting-edge modular flexibility with moveable partition walls that could be rearranged overnight, snap-in air outlets and light fixtures, and floor construction that allowed wiring and outlets to be rearranged based on the occupant's needs.[77] Two additional towers were completed in 1958 and 1966, but the full vision of the development was never realized.



Figure II-162. Aerial view of the Meadows Building at 5646 Milton Street. Designed by J.N. MacCammon. Source: [Postcard of the Meadows Building]. Postcard. Date Unknown. University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History. Provided by Dallas Heritage Village. Accessed March 30, 2021. https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth121598/.



Figure II-163. Exchange Park at 6300 Forest Park Boulevard by architects, Lane Gamble Huddleston. Source: https://www.aiadallas.org/v/columns-detail/LOST-FOUND-Exchange-Park-1950s-Cutting-Edge/va/

In Far North Dallas, the Texas Instruments Semiconductor building brought not only groundbreaking building to Dallas, but it was also home to a new and revolutionary industry for the region and the country (fig. II-164).[78] Texas Instruments, "the pioneer developer of silicon transistors, integrated circuits, pocket calculators, and semiconductor microprocessors, produces a wide range of consumer, industrial, and military electronics and hardware," commissioned O'Neil Ford, Richard Colley, and Arch Swank to design a new building for their rapidly growing company.[79] In the design, Ford introduced "the use of long-span, thin-shell-concrete hyperbolic paraboloid roof modules and precast concrete tetrapod interstitial floor systems."[80] The building was completed in 1959.



Figure II-164. Texas Instruments Semiconductor Building at 13500 Central Expressway by O'Neil Ford. Source: https://www.dallasnews.com/arts-entertainment/architecture/2017/09/21/how-frank-welch-shaped-modern-dallas-and-put-the-texas-in-texas-architecture/

Dallas is also responsible for an innovative building type that would change the way people shopped throughout the United States. NorthPark Center was among the first indoor shopping malls in the country. It was envisioned by local developer Raymond Nasher who enlisted a team of architects and designers including Eero Saarinen, Kevin Roches, Lawrence Halprin, and architect-of-record, Harrell and Hamilton. What they designed was not just a mall, but a "total urban community" with an interior courtyard, auditorium, theater, and other flexible spaces for public activity, not to mention a world-class art collection that rivals any museum (fig. II-165).[81]



Figure II-165. View of Neiman Marcus interior entrance at NorthPark Center, 8687 N. Central Expressway. Source: https://lakehighlands.advocatemag.com/2015/07/a-look-back-historical-photos-of-northpark-center/

Beyond high-style, high-end buildings, Modern design in its many styles and shapes became the architectural language of the city through the mid to late twentieth century. Examples of Modern design can be found at gas stations, strip malls, retail stores, industrial buildings, and small roadside restaurants. Some vernacular buildings embraced the clean lines and simplicity seen in high-style Modern buildings. Other embraced a quirky, mid-century modern aesthetic all their own, with sweeping canopies, bold shapes, and bright colors.

As an example of 1950s Modern residential design, 3525 Turtle Creek by Howard Meyer was Dallas's first high-rise apartment building.[82] Located in Uptown, the building was completed in 1957. The building was sensitively located on site with generous setbacks from the street, so as to not block views of the creek from neighboring building. Meyer used a combination of soft Mexican brick, textured concrete, and distinctive concrete sunscreens to create a uniquely modern design that has stood the test of time.[83] Modernism continued to be a popular style for private residences, including Howard Meyer's design for the Lipsky House at 5381 Nakoma Drive constructed in 1951 (fig. II-166).[84] Here Meyer's design appears to be influenced by nationally acclaimed Richard Neutra, whose designs were popular in California. The Modern style was not just reserved for the affluent neighborhoods of Dallas. Modernistic elements can be seen throughout several of Dallas's middle-class, suburban neighborhoods as well, including Keistwood, Jan Mar, and Wynnewood (fig. II-167).

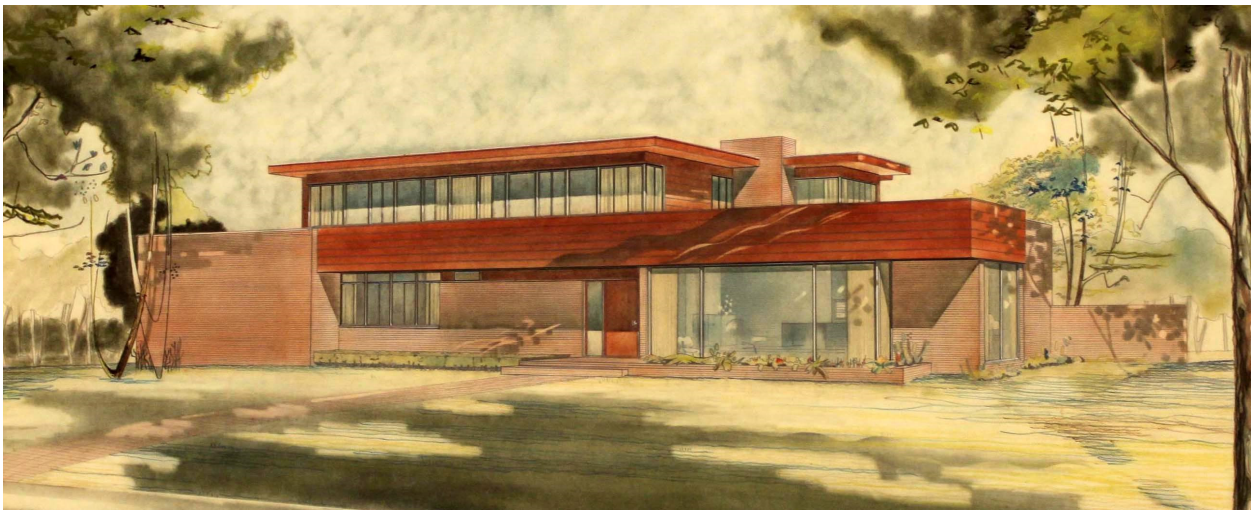


Figure II-166. Lipshy House designed by Howard Meyer at 5381 Nakoma Drive. Source: Howard R. Meyer Collection at the University of Texas, https://www.lib.utexas.edu/find-borrow-request/collections/howard-r-meyer-collection, accessed December 2021.



Figure II-167. House in North Wynnewood on 504 Monssen. Built by architects DeWitt and Swank in 1951. Source: Dallas Public Library - PA 76-1/8428.1, Hayes Collection, https://dallaslibrary2.org/dallashistory/photogallery/images/wynnewood/pa76-1-8428-11.jpg.

Modern civic structures and churches were also popular throughout Dallas, some of which expressed unique forms and bold colors that trended toward the Contemporary style. The most notable is Howard Meyer's design for Temple Emanu-El in 1957. The building was designed for Dallas's first Reform Jewish congregation who still occupies the building today (fig. II-168).[85] St. John's Episcopal Church (1963) in

East Dallas by O'Neil Ford and Arch Swank is the ultimate example of bold form, as the architects used only curves in the design.[86] In Oak Cliff, the Cleophas R. Steele Jr. Courthouse (1961) by Prinz and Brooks is quintessential Contemporary design with its folded zigzag canopy lifted above two patterned brick office blocks.[87]

> ***Learn more!*** *For more examples of Modern architecture in Dallas, consider reading The American Institute of Architects Guide to Dallas Architecture, edited by Larry Paul Fuller (Dallas: American Institute of Architects, 1999).*



Figure II-168. Temple Emanu-El located at 8500 Hillcrest Avenue, designed by architect, Howard Meyer. Source: Joe Scherschel, *Life Magazine*, 1957, Time Inc., accessed December 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2019/01/29/temple-emanu-el-at-the-northern-limits-of-dallas-1957/.

ARRIVAL OF POSTMODERN ARCHITECTURE IN DALLAS

Like Modernism, the adoption of Postmodernism in Dallas was slow to catch on. While architects at a national level were experimenting with Postmodern ideas, Dallas designers and developers continued to embrace Modern aesthetics throughout the second half of the twentieth century. The first major projects that can be considered Postmodern were commissioned by the City of Dallas. Following the assassination of JFK (1963), the City spent the late 1960s and early 1970s planning and constructing new civic buildings, including a new city hall, central library, and airport, to get "its major institutions in shape, hoping that in so doing it could begin to overcome its grim reputation," as it had come to be known as the City of Hate.[88]

The *Goals for Dallas* Master Plan (1969) focused on reimagining the Central Business District (CBD).[89] One of the main goals focused on the "Design of the City," which demanded "a city of beauty and functional fitness that embraces the quality of life for all is people."[90] This new goal was the catalyst for a contemporary and monumental City Hall to serve the rapidly growing city. Planning for the new Dallas City Hall began in 1966.[91] I.M. Pei and Partners, in association with Harper and Kemp, were selected by a citizen committee to design the new structure. In 1967, Dallas voters appropriated $42.4 million to fund it. However, the building was not completed until over ten years later, in 1978, due to the size of the programming scope and its severely underestimated budget (fig. II-169).



Figure II-169. Dallas City Hall located at 1500 Marilla Street, design by architect I.M.Pei. Source: Historic American Buildings Survey. Creator, I M Pei, and Harper & Kemp. Dallas City Hall, Photograph.

Around the same time, AIA Dallas created a comprehensive set of urban design guidelines, also for the CBD, called "Design Dallas."[92] Again, the guidelines were never adopted by the City, but in the early 1970s, the City did adopt "a set of general design guidelines governing the height, materials, color, and setback of all new buildings around City Hall Plaza," with the intention of creating an "architecturally coherent town square."[93] This resulted in the new Dallas Central Library across the street from City Hall designed by Fisher & Spillman Architects, which was not completed until 1982, but had been planned years in advance (fig. II-170).[94] Both buildings were designed in the style that came to be known as Brutalism. One city commissioner accused the design of City Hall as a cold "monument to themselves" and citizen comments included, "It doesn't say people to me. There is no warmth in it."[95]



Figure II-170. Rendering of proposed J. Erik Jonsson Central Library by Fisher and Spillman Architects. Completed in 197x at 1515 Young Street. Source: Dallas Public Library, Texas/Dallas History and Archives Division, The Dallas Morning News Collection, 1976. Photograph, https://www.dallasnews.com/opinion/letters-to-the-editor/2018/12/30/letters-three-cheers-to-texas-dps-dallas-public-library-christmas-morning-edition/

Brutalist Interpretations of Postmodernism

The Brutalist style can be seen throughout Dallas on a variety of building types beyond civic design. From monuments to experimental towers and world class showrooms, some examples include the JFK Memorial (1970) by Philip Johnson, the Brookhollow Tower (1970) by Paul Rudolph, and the World Trade Center (1974) by Edwin E. Beran (figs. II-171-173).

The John F. Kennedy Memorial, a large box broken at the center, sits on the edge of Downtown isolated on a featureless plaza. The design concept for the cenotaph was an attempt to "express the emptiness and anguish of a city and nation in the years following the 1963 assassination."[96] The box is constructed of 72 slim concrete elements held together by post-tensioned cables.

Brookhollow Tower was the vision of concrete mogul and developer Ralph B. Rogers and architect Paul Rudolph. Rogers imagined a whole concrete community of office towers that could showcase his company Texas Industries' primary product, concrete. Rudolph, who was already known for his designs with the material, "embraced concrete as an expressive medium, reveling in the freedom of form and texture. . .an antidote to what he perceived as the sterility of the reflective glass curtain walls that had come to define the midcentury skyscraper."[97] The Brookhollow Tower was the first precast concrete building in the Southwest, and although the remainder of the concrete community was never realized, the Tower still stands as an example of Postmodern design.[98]

The World Trade Center first opened in 1974 with seven floors of showrooms selling everything from home furnishings to jewelry, toys, and clothing. By 1979, the building was expanded to 15 stories, totaling 3.1 million square feet. From the exterior, the building is a supersized warehouse clearly visible from Stemmons Freeway. On the interior, the showrooms are centered on a full height atrium, which faces the whole experience of the building inward, instead of outward towards the street. This introspective spatial arrangement would define many Postmodern buildings of the late 1970s.



Figure II-171. John F. Kennedy Memorial by Philip Johnson at 646 Main Street. Source: Flashback: Dallas, https://flashbackdallas.com/2020/11/22/kennedy-memorial-and-the-county-courthouses-early-1970s/



Figure II-172. Brookhollow Plaza by Paul Rudolph at 7200 North Stemmons Freeway. Source: G.E. Kidder Smith, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, https://www.paulrudolphheritagefoundation.org/196606-brookhollow-plaza



Figure II-173. World Trade Center located in Dallas Market Center campus at 2050 N. Stemmons Freeway, designed by Beran and Shelmire. Source: Darnell Renee. "The World Trade Center is the largest building in the 5 million-square-foot Market Center complex." The Dallas Morning News. https://www.dallasnews.com/business/real-estate/2015/03/12/crow-holdings-paying-140-million-to-gain-sole-ownership-of-dallas-market-center/.

From the late 1960s throughout the 1980s, Downtown saw a boom in construction with over a dozen new tower projects over the same amount of time. The first of these was One Main Place by Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill (SOM), completed in 1968 for the Dallas Texas Corporation, a real estate development group created in an attempt to revitalize downtown through private investment (fig. II-174).[99] The concrete tower that is visible today is one of three planned towers for Dallas's first ever superblock project that was intended to cover over 10 acres of the surrounding blocks to the south, incorporating skybridges and underground walkways.[100] The other towers were never finished due to lack of funding, but the design "influenced city planning in Dallas for another three decades" with the concept of a vertically-layered, "two- shift" city.[101] The vertical layer concept separated pedestrian, auto, and freight traffic, with auto and bus traffic at the street, and freight and pedestrian traffic at two separate levels below ground. The two-shift city concept meant that the center would serve as office space during the day with programmed public plazas for after hours. The plan for One Main "is of the International Style, but the use of a massive concrete structural frame is a significant departure from the lightweight metal and glass curtain wall more typical of the style,"[102] which makes the building appear Brutal upon first glance, but the overall rhythmic design, plaza, and smooth masonry characteristics lend itself more towards New Formalist style.[103]



Figure II-174. One Main Place designed by Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill (SOM) at 1201 Main Street. Source: https://www.som.com/news/dallas_one_main_place_on_path_to_historic_designation

Due to a nationwide recession there was a lull in tower construction between the completion of One Main Place and the mid-to-late 1970s, with only the completion of Renaissance Tower (HOK, originally known as First International Bancshares Tower) in 1973 and Bryan Tower in 1975..[104] But by 1978, tower mania started to pick up speed, with the completion of Reunion Tower and Hyatt Hotel designed by Welton Beckett at the edge of downtown in 1978, which "demonstrated renewed investor confidence in downtown" (fig. II-175).[105] One Dallas Center by Henry Cobb of I.M. Pei and Partners officially "signaled of the end of the recession" as it was commissioned by Vincent Carrozza who correctly bet that first-class office space would soon be needed..[106] The towers of the late 1970s were a continuation of Modernist ideals with simple volumes and glass curtain walls, putting them in the Late Modernist style category. Tower construction continued throughout the 1980s, resulting in the iconic Dallas skyline visible today. Some towers were built for bank headquarters and hotels, but many of the towers were constructed as speculative office space by local, national, and international developers betting that there would be an increasing need for space in downtown as the economy improved. Downtown became home to numerous corporations from the oil and gas industry, telephone services, and large conglomerate companies. Towards the mid- to-late 1980s, however, some architects started to incorporate Postmodern detailing into the base and capitals of the towers. Comerica Bank Tower (1987) and Chase Bank Tower (1987) are both good examples of Postmodern towers (figs. II-176-177).



Figure II-175. Reunion Tower by Welton Beckett and Associates at 300 Reunion Boulevard. Source: Visit Dallas, https://www.visitdallas.com/things-to-do/venue/view/14140/Reunion-Tower-GeO-Deck.html.



Figure II-176. Comerica Bank at 1717 Main Street by Philip Johnson and John Burgee. Source: https://www.dallasnews.com/business/real-estate/2020/10/01/downtown-dallas-comerica-bank-tower-hangs-onto-major-headquarters-lease/



Figure II-177. Chase Bank on the January 1988 cover of Architecture Magazine. Source: https://architect.com/people/project/17783856/texas-commerce-bank-tower-retail-pavilion-and-piazza/17795913.

While the center of Downtown was reaching for the sky, the beginnings of the extensively planned Arts District were starting to take shape in mid-1970s on the northern edge of Downtown, aiming to use Postmodern architecture as tool for revitalization. The first project completed was the new Dallas Museum of Art (DMA) building designed by Edward Larabee Barnes in 1984 (fig. II-178).[107] The building was a "low sprawling structure combining traditional Beaux Arts elements, such as a monumental barrel vault and interior gardens and courtyards, with the hard-edged detailing of mainstream modernism," with what some may call a Brutal exterior of "unbroken expanses of Indiana limestone."[108] Barnes designed the museum as "a retreat" that turns its back on the noise of the city and focuses quietly inward towards the art.[109] The subsequent installments of the Arts District plan along Flora Street would be the Crow Collection of Asian Art, which occupies the base of the Trammell Crow Center (1984) and houses Trammell Crow's personal collection and the Meyerson Symphony Center (1989) by I.M. Pei (figs. II-179-181). Both buildings are distinctly Postmodern in design but completely unique from the other.

Learn more! *It should be noted that the Arts District was built on a portion of a historic African American neighborhood, Freedmantown/North Dallas, that was mostly destroyed by the construction of the Central Expressway and Woodall Rodgers Freeway. Booker T. Washington High School, St. Paul's United Methodist Church, and the Moorland YMCA building have been preserved today on the edge of the Arts District, two of which have been used to further support the education of artists in the community. Learn more at the Handbook of Texas Online - https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/freedmantownnorth-dallas.*



Figure II-178. Aerial of Dallas Museum of Art by Edward Larabee Barnes at 1717 N. Harwood Street. Source: R&B Roofing https://rbroof.com/gallery#23.



Figure II-179. Entrance of Crow Collection and Trammell Crow Center by SOM at 2010 Flora Street.
Source: Marie Oehlerking.



Figure II-180. Meyerson Symphony Center at 2301 Flora Street by I.M. Pei and Partners. Source: https://www.dallasnews.com/arts-entertainment/architecture/2014/09/06/meyerson-at-25-cutting-edge-in-1989-is-dallas-premier-concert-hall-still-in-the-forefront/.

Who were prominent Postmodern architects in Dallas?

Dallas is known for its love of "starchitects," or famous architects, and the Postmodern era is when this love affair started. The towers, civic structures, office parks, and large commercial developments of the time were dominated by nationally acclaimed names such as Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill (SOM), Philip Johnson, and I.M. Pei. These architects may not necessarily be known for the buildings they designed for Dallas, but Dallas is forever shaped by their influence. Johnson's most iconic project for Dallas was Thanksgiving Square, which brought a public plaza back to Downtown (fig. II-181).[110] Johnson would go on to design several tower projects in the city limits. Pei was brought to Dallas first to design Dallas City Hall but would end the Dallas chapter of his career with the iconic tower design for Fountain Place in 1986 (fig. II-182).[111] The building was named for the 172 fountains that line the base of the tower, a concept that was new for its time.[112]

Local architects also made some notable contributions during the Postmodern period and built lasting design firms that continue to shape Dallas today. Jarvis Putty Jarvis (JPJ) Architects and Omniplan, founded by George Harrell and E.G. Hamilton, constructed many of the towers that make the skyline what it is today, while Oglesby Group, started by Bud Oglesby, now Oglesby Greene, is responsible for numerous buildings, from modern homes to the restoration of the Majestic Theatre to a portion of Parkland Hospital.[113]



Figure II-181. Thanks-Giving Square Rendering by Philip Johnson. Located at 1627 Pacific Avenue. Source: https://www.aiadallas.org/v/columns-detail/Lost-Found-Contemplating-Thanks-Giving-Square/10d/

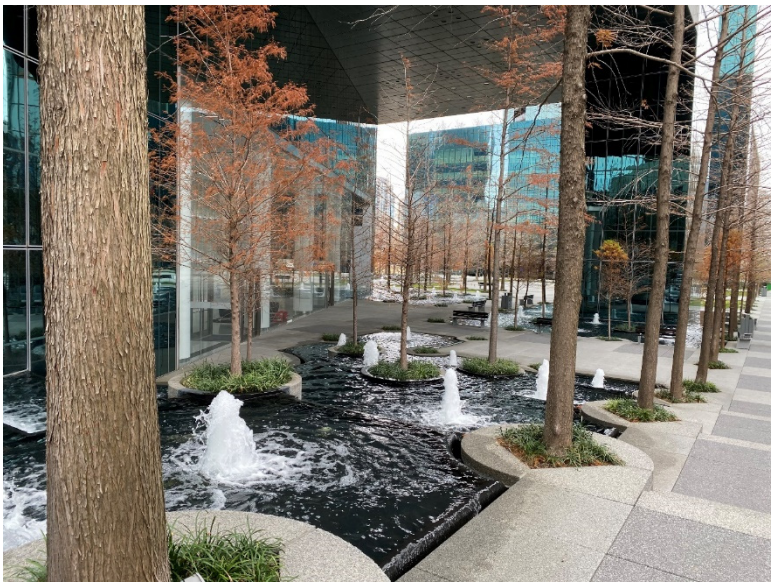


Figure II-182. Fountain Place by I.M. Pei and Partners and landscape architect, Dan Kiley at 1445 Ross Avenue. Source: Marie Oehlerking.

Suburban office buildings were quick to adopt Postmodern style, like the Campbell Center (1972) on Central Expressway, whose gold glass is iconic due to its inclusion in the opening credits for the

television show *Dallas*. While the overall shape and form of the building are Modern in style, the gold glass façade is synonymous with the Postmodern office era. The most notable suburban Postmodern office building is the Crescent (1985) by Philip Johnson and John Burgee (fig. II-183).[114] The mixed-use complex includes office space, a hotel, and retail, and was designed in an exaggerated neo-French Classical style, with massive mansard roofs and rusticated stone. The Crescent marks the height of opulent design, as the city and the county headed toward recession again during the latter half of the 1980s.[115]



Figure II-183. The Crescent by Philip Johnson at 200 Crescent Court. Source: Crescent Real Estate vis Dallas Morning News - https://www.dallasnews.com/business/real-estate/2017/03/30/sneak-peek-at-crescent-court-hotel-s-30-million-makeover/

By the mid-1980s, "Dallas [had become] the fastest growing metropolitan area in the nation."[116] Dallas no longer had one downtown, "it [had] three – the central business district, Las Colinas, and North Dallas – plus numerous subcenters."[117] Suburban office parks that started as a few towers on a few more acres evolved into the concept of Megaprojects, or planned developments that included millions of square feet and a variety of uses. These projects cost millions to billions of dollars and took years to complete. The first of the Megaprojects in the Dallas metro area was Cityplace on Central Expressway, just north of Downtown. In 1983 when the project was first announced, "the master plan for the Cityplace development included 18 million square feet of office, hotel, and residential space on 130 acres."[118] By the completion of the first two towers in 1987, the price of oil had tanked, which halted the project permanently (fig. II-184).[119] Projects like this, however, laid the groundwork for other Megaprojects which are commonplace in and around Dallas today.

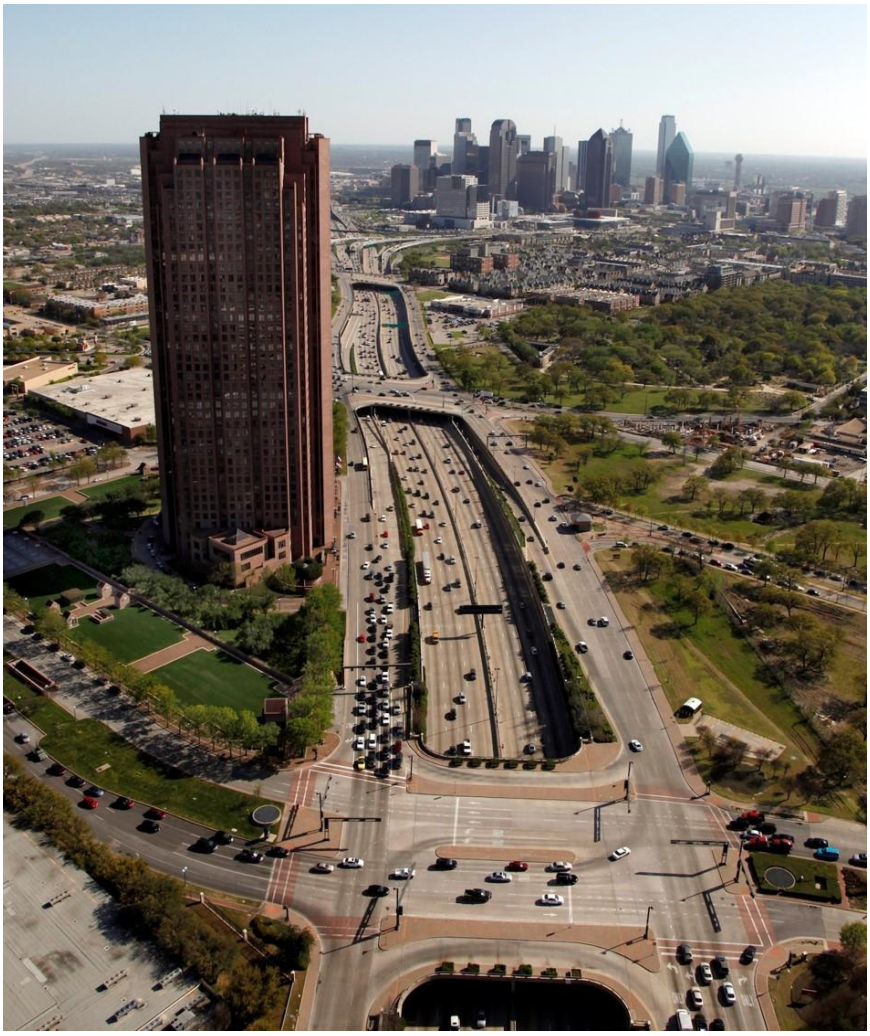


Figure II-184. Cityplace Tower by Cossutta & Associates at 2711 N. Haskell Boulevard. Source: https://www.dallasnews.com/business/2016/11/07/dallas-landmark-cityplace-tower-gets-120-million-in-funding/

Postmodern design was used throughout Dallas for every facet of life throughout the 1980s and into the early 1990s. From the Galleria Dallas Mall (1983), the Lamplighter School Jonsson Library and Fine Arts Wing (1985), St. Rita Catholic Church, and the Downtown Farmer's Market, architects continued to look at historical precedent to inform their designs with a contemporary flare.

Historic Preservation & Adaptive Reuse

While new construction looked back to historic precedent in the Postmodern era, actual preservation of historic and existing buildings became popular in Dallas in the early 1970s, roughly a decade after other parts of the country.[120] Early projects included rehabilitation and restoration of downtown buildings, like the Adolphus Hotel, the Magnolia Building, Union Station, and the Majestic Theatre, between the flurry of new towers. SEDCO, a major oil drilling company, refurbished the 1888 Cumberland school in 1970, which was the first time a corporation took on an historic building in Dallas for their main office.[121] The first major historic district in Dallas was for the grand homes of Swiss Avenue in 1973.[122] By the 1980s, the concept of preservation could be seen across the City from large buildings funded by corporate or public monies to smaller adaptive reuse projects of industrial buildings by individuals for residences. Although the resulting structures did not physically look like the architectural styles of the times, these projects are evidence of a wider train of thought in the Postmodern era. Examples include the Sammons Center for the Arts (1981), which was a primary pump station for the water department and was reused as a multipurpose arts facility, and the 3800 Main Street Silos (1989) (figs. II-185-186). Built as one part of Frito Lay's "chip" plants following World War II, the silos were re-envisioned as a mixed-use facility with office space and retail.



Figure II-185. Sammons Center for the Arts, adaptive reuse of historic Turtle Creek Pump Station at 3630 Harry Hines Boulevard. Source: https://www.abbae.com/project/sammons-center-for-the-arts/



Figure II-186. Adaptive reuse of Frito Lay silos at 3800 Main Street by Phillips/Ryburn Associates. Source: HHM, 2020.

CONCLUSION

The Modern and Postmodern periods span a majority of the twentieth century. From the 1920s, as the nation recovered from war, through the Great Depression and the Texas Centennial Exposition, through the success and rapid evolution of the city's fabric following World War II, and through the rise and fall of the oil industry through the 1970s and 1980s, the architectural styles of this period are the result and remaining artifacts of recent history. The Modern and Postmodern eras are significant in Dallas because they mark the evolution of the city from a burgeoning frontier town to the contemporary metropolis that it is today, including the many characters and events that came with it. Modernism and Postmodernism also mark a time when one style or form of architecture did not fit every purpose or use. Instead, these buildings are the result of experimentation and new ways of thinking that could only be possible due to technological and material advances. Avant Garde homes, roadside architecture, public buildings, the tallest towers, and every building in between contributes in some way to the overall story of that era and the development of the City of Dallas.

NOTES

[1] Merriam-Webster, "Modernism," accessed February 22, 2021, https://www.merriamwebster.com/dictionary/modernism.

[2] Leland M. Roth, *A Concise History of American Architecture* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), 127, 134-135.

[3] Leland M. Roth, *American Architecture: A History (*Boulder: Westview Press, 2001), 411.

[4] Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History (*London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 1980), 45.

[5] Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History (*London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 1980), 186.

[6] Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History (*London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 1980), 189.

[7] Leland M. Roth, *American Architecture: A History (*Boulder: Westview Press, 2001), 160.

[8] Leland M. Roth, *American Architecture: A History (*Boulder: Westview Press, 2001), 276.

[9] William H. Jordy, *American Buildings and their Architects*, Vol. 5, *The Impact of European Modernism in the Mid-Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 279-360.

[10] David P. Handlin, *American Architecture (*London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 1985), 200.

[11] Leland M. Roth, *American Architecture: A History (*Boulder: Westview Press, 2001), 411.

[12] David P. Handlin, *American Architecture (*London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 1985), 202.

[13] David P. Handlin, *American Architecture (*London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 1985), 269.

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II-12| Banking and Finance (1868–1972)

INTRODUCTION

Banking holds perhaps one of the best-known and storied places in Dallas's business history. From the area's beginnings, banking grew alongside the city's development, especially directly preceding and after arrival of the railroad. The Dallas business environment was strengthened early on by the intersection of two rail lines in the city and the community's ambitious business leaders. As industry and commerce expanded, wealth began to concentrate in the city, and new industries needed access to improved local banking. The opening of the Federal Reserve Bank in Dallas, as well as the city's proximity to East Texas oil booms in the 1930s, provided a huge upper hand to Dallas as a financial leader in the twentieth century. Dallas also made a name for itself in innovation, using oil in the ground as collateral for petroleum financing, and embracing new types of auto-based and electronic banking with drive-through and automated banking systems in the postwar era.

Banks, perhaps more than any other private enterprise, rely on architecture to convey a sense of stability and grandeur to their clientele, and Dallas banks have shaped the skyline with some of the tallest high-rise buildings. Banking also impacted the financing of real estate, petroleum, and industry, all of which have greatly altered Dallas as a built city and a community. The period of significance for banking in Dallas begins in 1868, when the first known bank opened, and continues until 1972, as banking still plays a crucial role in Dallas's development and economy. Resources that link Banking and Finance to the built environment include bank buildings (including structures as varied as skyscrapers and drive-through tellers). Resources related to Banking and Finance may be eligible for the National Register under Criteria A, B, or C with Areas of Significance including Commerce and Economics.

NATIONWIDE FINANCIAL SYSTEMS

Financial institutions have been critical to the growth of the United States as an economic engine. The earliest American banks were private and operated with minimal government oversight. Each state had its own banking rules (or lack thereof), and banks in different states often printed their own currencies, in addition to use of gold and silver as currency. Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the federal government made incremental changes to US financial systems to make them more standardized. Passage of the 1863 and 1864 National Bank Acts began the process of creating a single national currency and a system of national banks.[1] The Banking Acts set a high standard for national banks to participate in the system, which few institutions could meet, thus many unaffiliated private banks continued to operate. Successive financial crashes and wild market fluctuations – including the Panics of 1873, 1893, and 1907 – triggered widespread support for further banking reform. This culminated in the 1913 Federal Reserve Act. This regulated banks and created the Federal Reserve, a central bank with locations in eleven nationwide districts. Federal Reserve banks could normalize the supply of money, as well as lend money and provide oversight to other banks.

By the 1930s, the nation still had many small independent banks. As the economy began to decline at the onset of the Great Depression, these small banks could not weather the storm. Approximately 9,000 banks failed between 1930 and 1933, leading to a total loss to depositors of about $1.3 trillion.[2] This led to a lack of confidence and further bank decline as accountholders began withdrawing their cash. At the beginning of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's term in 1933, Congress enacted the Emergency Banking Act, leading to the creation of the Federal Deposit Insurance Fund (FDIC), which eventually became a permanent US institution. The FDIC insured bank deposits, which led to increased stability in

the banking system.[3] By the late 1960s, American banks introduced their first Automated Teller Machines (ATM's) and coded cards, revolutionizing the way financial transactions took place. Amendments to the Bank Holding Company Act in 1970 set new regulations for the ways banks could grow by accumulating smaller banks under the umbrella of a larger "holding company."[4] Banking regulations continued to evolve throughout further economic crises in the late 1980s and late 2000s, with an overall trend of bank consolidation, giving nationwide power to a few huge banks.

STATEWIDE BANKING AND FINANCE

Although Texas had some chartered banks under Mexican rule, no banks were chartered under the Republic of Texas. Although the Republic issued some currency, its value was hard to standardize. Other currencies such as Louisiana and Mississippi banknotes, Mexican silver dollars, and US coins were also used.[5] Throughout its early years as a state, Texas prohibited state-chartered banks, relying instead on private firms.[6] This stance reflected a general distrust for the banking profession. When Texas joined the Confederacy in 1861, it adopted Confederate currency, which lost value as the tides began to turn against the South in the Civil War.[7] The state adopted a new constitution during the Reconstruction Era, which allowed some state-chartered banks, though very few were established before a new constitution again prohibited such operations in 1876. Still, many of the state's business leaders advocated for bank reform, eventually establishing the Texas Bankers Association in 1885. Among the early leaders in this group was Henry Exall, who eventually moved to Dallas and became one of the city's prominent entrepreneurs. By the 1890s, the growing Texas economy made additional financial facilities a pressing concern. State banks were allowed after a 1904 amendment to the state constitution and proliferated greatly in the following years. This 1904 amendment also specified that branch banks were not allowed in Texas, limiting banks to operate out of one location.[8] This restriction proved impactful for the ways that banks could grow, both physically and organizationally. The Panic of 1907 caused many banks to restrict cash withdrawals, spurring popular demand for banking reform. The *Dallas Morning News* began a campaign for a depositors' guaranty fund law, which the Texas legislature approved in 1909. After passage of the Federal Reserve Act, the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas was established in 1914, requiring large state-chartered banks to become members of the federal system. Failures of the state guaranty system caused many Texas banks to convert to national banks by the 1920s.

As in the nation at large, banks had proliferated greatly prior to the Great Depression, and the economic collapse caused turbulence and bank closures in the state. However, oil discoveries beginning in 1930 helped Texas weather the Great Depression in better shape than many other regions. Following World War II, banking in Texas began to grow in size and scope. Until 1986, though, the size of Texas banks was limited by a state law prohibiting branch banking in order to prevent market monopolies.[9] By the 1970s, Texas had many more banks than other states, and its largest banks controlled fewer total deposits, limiting Texas banks' ability to finance large-scale projects.[10] Beginning in the 1970s, many Texas banks took the strategy of forming multi-bank holding companies to circumvent size limits. By 1985 about 130 groups controlled nearly three-quarters of bank deposits in the state. By 1986, though, the state allowed interstate and branch banking, and many Texas banks merged with large banks from other states.[1112]

DALLAS BANKING

EMERGING FINANCIAL SYSTEMS

Because Texas currencies varied widely in type and value during the first years of Dallas history, the financial situation in the early town was often characterized by a lack of money. This was a common phenomenon in frontier towns, and the early pioneer city often relied on barter for everyday

transactions.[13] Although John Beeman, an early pioneer, is reported to have started a small money lending operation in 1850, no official banks existed in Dallas until after the Civil War.[14]

Dallas banks began opening directly preceding the arrival of the railroad in 1872, and they started taking off as the local economy boomed with new industry and commerce. Bank buildings served as symbols of permanence and reliability and were often located at prominent downtown intersections.[15] In the 1870s and 1880s, Dallas banks largely clustered on or west of Lamar Street.[16] One of the earliest private banking firms, T. C. Jordan & Company, opened by 1868 at the west side of the courthouse square. At that point, the courthouse square was the nucleus of important commercial enterprises, indicating the utility and clout of the new bank. Some other early financial institutions included Gaston & Camp (1868), and The City Bank of Dallas (1873, originally located at Commerce and Market Streets).[17] All of these early banks were private enterprises, which operated with little or no regulation. An 1875 City Directory states that City Bank had already moved to a new space at 601 Elm Street:

> The new and capacious building recently fitted up for it is an honor and an ornament to Dallas, its arrangements and fixtures have been specially designed for convenience as well as for beauty. Exchange can be had here on all the principal cities of this country and in Europe, while depositors can demand no higher protection against loss than the careful manner that characterizes the administration of all the affairs of this bank.[18]

This statement showcases themes in Dallas banking that would be crucial for years to come: the importance of grand, elegant spaces to convey financial stability, opulence, and a cosmopolitan connection to other financial centers of the world. Also characteristic of early Dallas banks, City Bank performed several mergers and business reorganizations over the years, including a merger with Dallas National Bank in 1886, resulting in a move to Main and Murphy Streets.[19] Because national banks needed to adhere to state and federal regulations, they grew slowly, but the growth of Dallas National indicates that the Dallas economy had already grown enough to support a diverse financial system. The cotton market played a significant role in Dallas's integration into national (and global) markets, initially establishing something akin to a stock market in Dallas. The trade of cotton boomed in the late nineteenth century, warranting the construction of an exchange building (not extant) opened in 1884 at Commerce and Lamar Streets, where brokers could trade in cotton futures with New York and New Orleans via Western Union wire.[20] As national wholesalers began to open distribution centers in Dallas, banking grew even more to meet their needs.[21] Nonetheless, Dallas banks were subject to the same closures as banks nationwide during Panics of 1873, 1893, and 1907, although Dallas often fared relatively well as an economically viable city. For instance, the financial collapse in 1873 led to a pause in construction on the Texas & Pacific Railroad, making Dallas the temporary western terminus of the line for at least two years. This led to increased traffic and financial opportunity for the growing town.

See Chapters 3. Railroads and 10. Industry for more about the early growth of Dallas.

GROWTH OF DALLAS BANKING

The Federal Reserve Comes to Dallas

By the 1910s, the city was developing as a major center for banking and insurance in the Southwest. The city's financial reputation was both validated and augmented by the Federal Reserve's decision to open a Federal Reserve Bank in Dallas in 1914. The national district that Dallas served included Texas and parts of New Mexico, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Arizona. The Federal Reserve used several criteria to determine which cities would make good bank locations, and Dallas's already thriving economy and viable transportation connections, as well as its promise for future growth, factored into the decision.[22]

The bank originally rented space at 1309 Main Street, and after multiple expansions and relocations it settled at 400 South Akard Street in 1918 (building extant, a Dallas Landmark Structure, fig. II-187).[23] The austere and refined Beaux-Arts style building, designed by Chicago architects Graham, Anderson, Probst, and White, lent the institution a sense of permanence. The Federal Reserve relied on Neoclassical architecture for all of its district banks to imbue a sense of lasting legacy as in Greek and Roman traditions. At the time of the Federal Reserve Bank's opening, Dallas was already a major national contender in terms of its capital assets and number of banks (see table II-7). Dallas's new role in the Federal Reserve further bolstered the city's credibility on a national scale, with the word "Dallas" quite literally circulating on newly minted money that might eventually circulate far and wide (fig. II-188).



Figure II-187. Historic photograph from 1941 depicting the 1918 Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas located at 400 South Akard Street. The Neoclassical Beaux-Arts style building, designed by Chicago architects Graham, Anderson, Probst, and White, lent a monumental austerity to the federal institution. Source: Bobby Weinberg, "Inside the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas," December 9, 2016, accessed April 23, 2021, http://recouncil.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/1921-image-of-Fed.gif.

Table II-7 Federal Reserve Bank Districts as of March 4, 1914[24]

Federal reserve city	District population	Number of District National Banks which have accepted the provisions of the Federal Reserve Act	Total Capital Stock of Federal Reserve Bank*
Boston	6,552,681	445	$165,409,043
New York	9,113,614	477	$343,693,437
Philadelphia	7,932,065	757	$208,135,631
Cleveland	8,326,668	767	$200,123,060
Richmond	8,519,310	475	$105,055,023
Atlanta	8,677,288	372	$77,353,221
Chicago	12,348,767	952	$207,997,941
St. Louis	8,747,662	458	$83,179,348
Minneapolis	5,195,886	687	$78,382,081
Kansas City, MO	5,671,051	836	$93,166,912
Dallas	5,797,970	731	$92,333,673
San Francisco	5,089,304	514	$130,422,921

**Calculated as six percent of total capital stock and surplus of assenting national banks in the district.*



Figure II-188. A twenty-dollar bill printed by the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas in 1914, immediately upon its opening. This paper currency replaced National Bank Notes, which had been printed by National Banks. Source: Wikimedia commons, accessed April 23, 2021, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d1/US-%2420-FRBN-1915-Fr.828.jpg.

Race to the Top: Innovations and Rivalry

In 1930, explorers discovered massive oil reserves less than 100 miles from Dallas in East Texas. These discoveries gave Dallas a huge advantage in terms of petroleum financing and revenue. Vast amounts of Dallas wealth began to flow in, even despite the Great Depression. While some Dallas residents certainly experienced financial strife during the 1930s, oil companies and landowners borrowed and gained great amounts of capital, many moving to Dallas to take advantage of its strategic location. Dallas banks benefited from the influx of cash and created new ways to capitalize on their unique position.

Some of the banks that benefited from oil business were already well-established cornerstones of Dallas banking, such as First National Bank of Dallas. A 1929 incarnation of early banking firm Gaston & Camp, First National grew throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries along with Dallas's

financial boom under the leadership of banker Nathan Adams. The bank's headquarters at 1401-1409 Main Street hosted a 17-story building with Neoclassical motifs (fig. II-189). Built in approximately 1919 as the American Exchange National Bank building, the bank hosted one of Dallas's early tall buildings and used a refined architectural style to show its prominence in the community. Newspaper advertisements from the time of the bank's opening indicate the importance of sumptuous materials and refined taste to any banking operation:

> Texas marble, bronze, and American walnut woodwork will be the principal materials used in the interior finish of the main banking room. Simplicity and serviceability will be the keynote of its architectural design.[25]

By 1930, First National was one of the largest banks in the entire southern US poised to profit handsomely from the new oil activity.[26]



Figure II-189. Historic photograph of the First National Bank building, located at 1401-1409 Main Street. First National was built before 1921, but the strikingly similar 1926 Republic building is visible at the left of the photograph, evidencing competition between the two banks even in the 1920s. Source: Squire Haskins Photography, Inc. Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, "1st National Bank Building, downtown Dallas, Texas," UTA Libraries Digital Gallery, 1952. Accessed May 7, 2021, https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/20005664.

Republic National Bank of Dallas, an outgrowth of a bank established in 1920, was relatively new at the time of the 1930 oil discoveries and took advantage of the growth in finance by claiming a competitive role with First National. The bank showed promise and growth, however, and by 1926 Republic had

completed a new headquarters at 1309 Main Street, which was reported to have been the second tallest building in Dallas at the time (building extant, a Dallas Landmark Structure, fig. II-190). The location of the building marked the bank's drive to participate in the growing Dallas business scene. The tower was adjacent to the corner of Main and Akard Streets, near the 1922 Magnolia building, the Adolphus Hotel, and several other tall Dallas landmarks. The building was also next door to First National Bank, slightly taller, with a very similar architectural motif (see fig. II-189). Republic continued to grow for many decades, and this growth was largely attributed to bank President Fred Florence (president from 1929–1957). Florence has often been described as an innovative and highly driven banker, credited with developing new investment strategies and bringing the practice of using oil reserves as collateral in petroleum financing to Texas.[27] Other banks in Dallas adopted this risky but profitable practice, leading petroleum companies from Texas, Louisiana, and Oklahoma to do business in the city.[28] By 1931 Republic had grown sufficiently to add a rear addition to their original tower, more than doubling the size of the original building. The addition, designed by Dallas architects Coburn and Fowler (W. B. Fowler had made the drawings for the original building while working at C. D. Hill and Company), continues the same fenestration pattern as the original tower and appears almost as a single building.



Figure II-190. Historic photograph of the Republic National Bank Building (also known as the Davis Building) located at 1309 Main Street. Designed by Dallas architecture office C. D. Hill and Company. Note that this photograph reflects changes made in a 1931 renovation, visible at the rear of the building. Source: "Postcard History: Dallas, TX," accessed April 26, 2021, http://www.soultones.com/pc_dallas.html.

See Chapter 10. Industry for more about the petroleum industry in Dallas.

Automobile Innovations: Drive-through Banking in Dallas

While some of the largest banks were consolidating their operations into ever-larger downtown buildings, a new phenomenon in suburban banking was taking hold: the drive-through bank. Because branch banking was not allowed in Texas, many small suburban banks opened to meet the need of more peripheral parts of the city. Drive-through banks allowed suburban customers a more convenient way to do business. These banks came to Dallas as early as 1938 with one of the nation's earliest drive-throughs at the Hillcrest State Bank in University Park, designed by architect George Dahl (building not extant, fig. II-191). The architectural designs of postwar banks typically embraced more Modernist themes to convey a forward-looking and optimistic attitude about the future (fig. II-192). Although drive-throughs were well suited to the suburbs, the trend also struck the downtown area (fig. II-193).

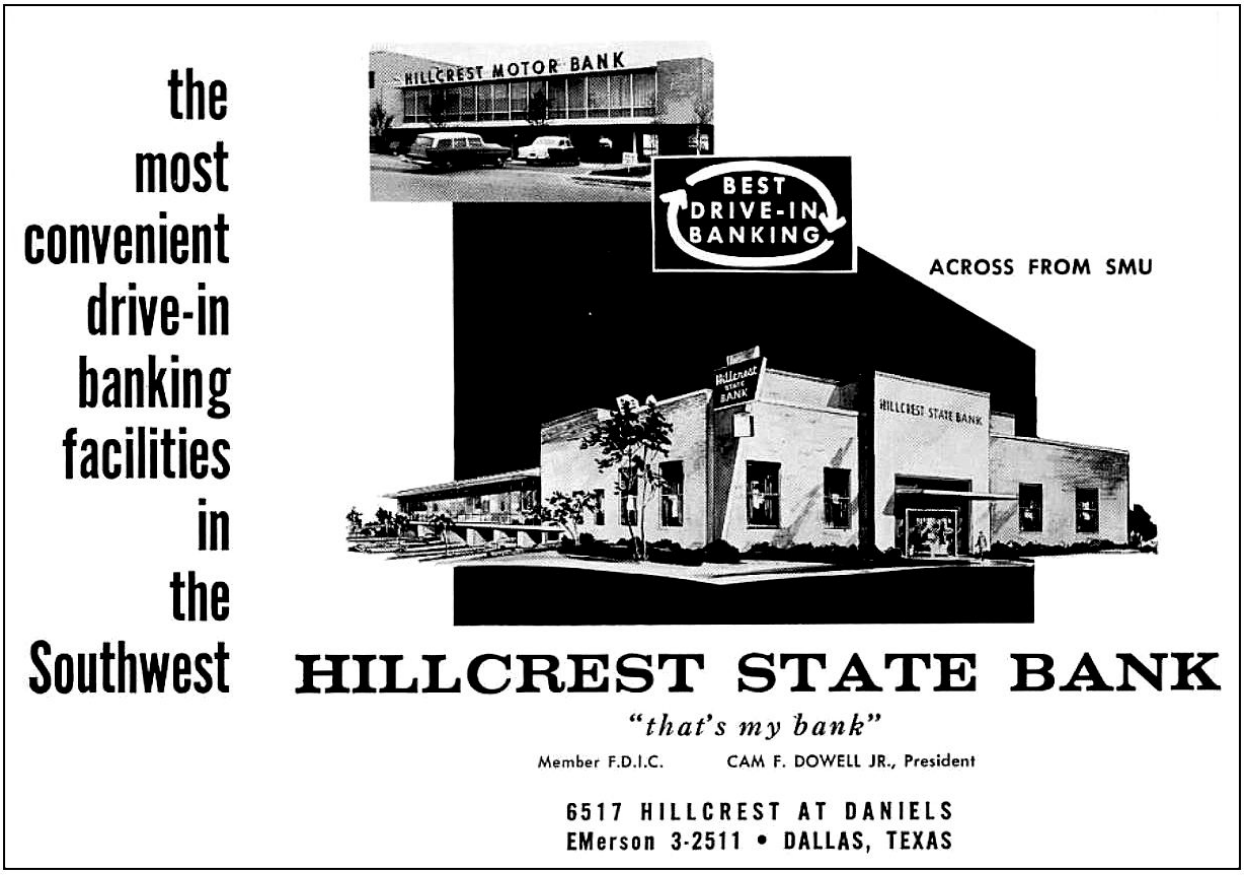


Figure II-191. Advertisement for the Hillcrest State Bank at 6517 Hillcrest Avenue. Designed by architect George Dahl, the bank's cutting-edge Modernist design and novel drive-through bank telling heralded in a new era in bank design. Source: Paula Bosse, "Highland Park High School: Ads from the 1966 Yearbook," *Flashback : Dallas,* November 20, 2017, accessed May 7, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2017/11/20/highland-park-high-school-ads-from-the-1966-yearbook/.



Figure II-192. Historic photograph of the Oak Cliff Savings and Loan Building located at 325 West 12th Street (building extant). Small suburban banks such as these with Modern aesthetics were common in the postwar era. Source: Squire Haskins Photography, Inc. Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, "Oak Cliff Savings and Loan Building," UTA Libraries Digital Gallery, no date. Accessed May 7, 2021, https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/20022954.



Figure II-193. Historic photograph of a drive-through bank in downtown Dallas. Although drive-throughs were a product of suburban life, they were used in urban areas as well. Source: Squire Haskins Photography, Inc. Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, "Texas Bank drive through, downtown Dallas, Texas," UTA Libraries Digital Gallery, 1961. Accessed May 7, 2021, https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/20005524.

See Chapter 9. Suburbanization for more about drive-through culture in Dallas.

By 1943, another bank surpassed the Republic building—and the rest of the Dallas skyline—when Mercantile National Bank completed its 31-story headquarters at 1704 Main Street (extant, a Dallas Landmark Structure).[29] This tower, designed by Chicago architect Walter W. Ahlschlager, pushed the Dallas skyline into the twenty-first century by using an Art Deco architectural style (fig. II-192). Art Deco, a predecessor to Modernism, used new formal languages and decorative motifs that were innovative rather than imitative, reflecting the forward-thinking and ambitious Dallas banking industry. While this bank continued to project the same solidity and monumentality as earlier bank buildings, it also featured significant glazing at its first story, a new trend in building construction at the time. This represented a balance between old signifiers of weight and permanence with new aspirations to be at the forefront of progress.



Figure II-194. Historic photograph from 1951 showing the Mercantile Bank Building in the Dallas skyline. Located at 1704 Main Street, this impressive tower showed growth in Dallas finance and banking. It also exemplified the ambitions of Dallas bankers to make their mark with ever larger and architecturally ambitious office buildings. Source: Squire Haskins Photography, Inc. Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, *Downtown Dallas - Mercantile Building,* (1951), UTA Libraries Digital Gallery. Accessed May 7, 2021, https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/20003585.

While the Mercantile Bank building reportedly held the record for the tallest building west of the Mississippi for 10 years, a fierce competition began in the 1950s over which bank would lay claim to the Dallas skyline.[30] In 1954, Republic built a 44-story tower, crowned with a beacon that shone from a mast at its pinnacle, constantly touting its height. Located at 300 North Ervay Street, the New York City architects Harrison and Abramovitz designed the building with associate architects Gill and Harrell of Dallas (fig. II-195).[31] Republic continued in the trend established by Mercantile when choosing Modernism as the language of their tower, presenting an image of innovation and relevance. The building technology was cutting edge, using a glass and aluminum façade system. The building interiors also seeped with opulence; they included gold rugs, gold-plated water fountains and balustrades, and the banking area was the size of a football field.[32] This expression of confidence and grandiose ambition prompted First National Bank, increasingly threatened by the growing competition, to build a rival building.[33] First National's tower, completed in 1965 and located at 1401 Elm Street, climbed 30 feet taller than the Republic Bank Tower (fig. II-196).[34] Designed by noted Dallas architects George Dahl and Thomas Stanley, the First National tower also embraced innovation with both its architectural design and building technology. Within months after the First National Bank tower took the title for the tallest

building in Dallas in 1965, Republic finished a second tower, adjacent to its first, which surpassed First National's. This battle continued until the 1970s when First National built yet another tower.

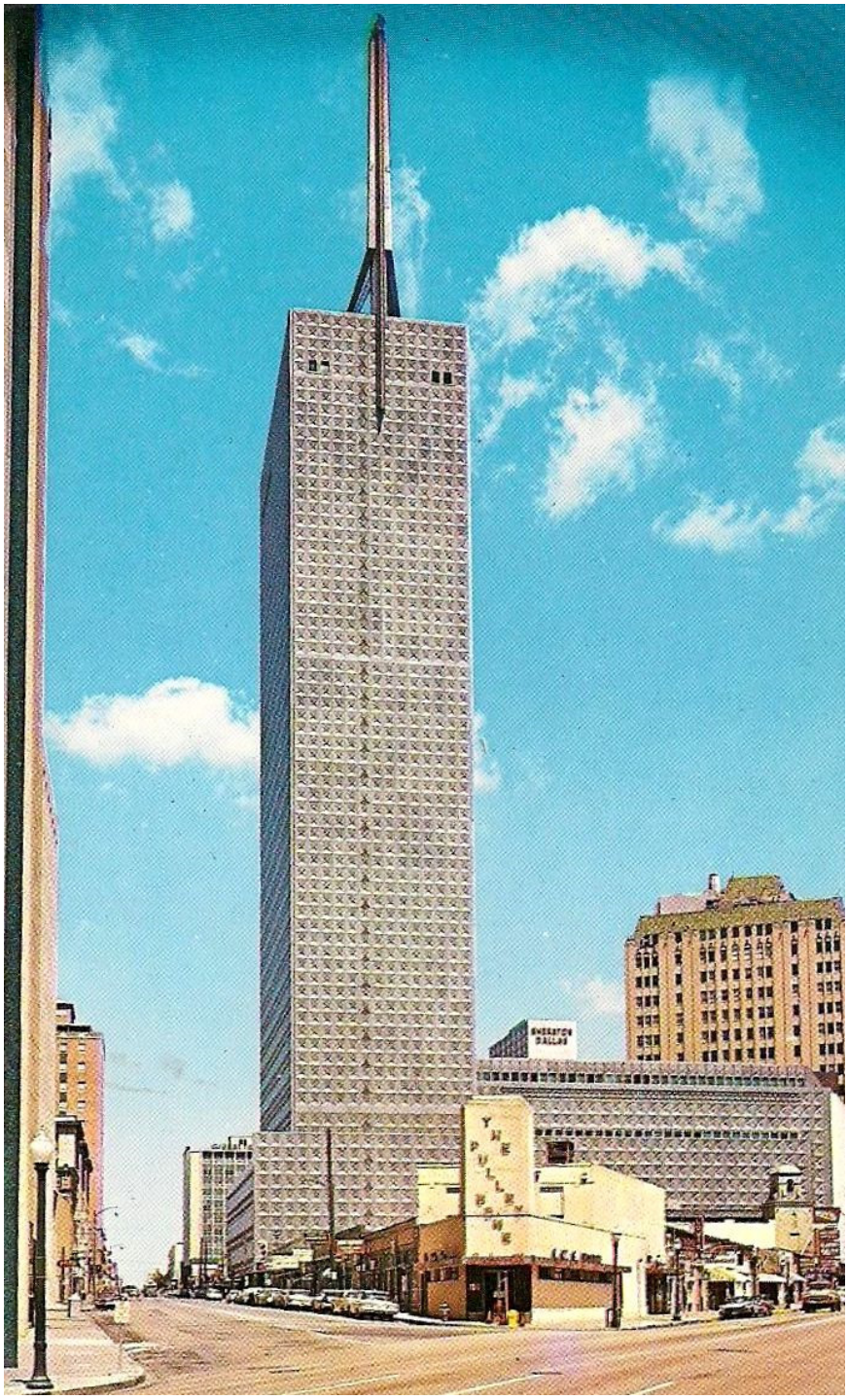


Figure II-195. Historic photograph (exact date unknown) of the 1954 Republic Bank Building, designed by Harrison and Abramovitz Architects with associate architects Gill and Harrell of Dallas. The tower stands at 300 North Ervay Street. The star-shaped aluminum panels, combined with glass façade elements, created a novel and modern material system for the new building. Source: Paula Bosse, "The Republic National Bank Building: Miles of Gold Aluminum, Gold Leaf, and a Rocket," *Flashback : Dallas,* April 25, 2014, accessed May 11, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2014/04/25/republic-national-bank-building/.



Figure II-196. The First National Bank tower, which in 1962 soared above the Republic Bank tower, continuing a Dallas banking battle for the tallest building on the skyline. Located at 1401 Elm Street and designed by Dallas architects George Dahl and Thomas Stanley, the skyscraper used a New Formalist architectural language at street level with a Modern tower above. Its glass curtain wall system put it at the forefront of skyscraper design. Source: "First National Bank Building Dallas Texas Vintage Postcard B30," Hippostcard, accessed April 26, 2021, https://storage.googleapis.com/hippostcard/p/8252eabecf7e9a4244fa1d01526b095a.jpg.

This competition for the largest skyscraper directly preceded structural changes in the way banks conducted business in Dallas (and beyond) after amendments to the federal Bank Holding Company Act in 1970. Although Dallas banks had always been characterized by continuous mergers and acquisitions, the 1970s saw a flurry of strategic formations of "holding companies," which could hold multiple banks. This essentially created a regulatory loophole, allowing banks to grow despite laws against branch banking.[35] Republic National Bank, along with rival First National Bank, would play a role in an increasingly competitive era of bank mergers and absorptions, leading to successively larger banks controlling more of the market.[36] First National and Republic eventually grew into banking behemoths InterFirst Corporation and RepublicBank Corporation, respectively. Facing failure after the real estate market crash in the late 1980s, these two banks ultimately joined to form First RepublicBank

Corporation, which for a brief time occupied what had in 1985 become the tallest building in Dallas at 910 Main Street (currently known as Bank of America Plaza). The bank giant failed within twelve months of its founding in 1987.[37] Nonetheless, Dallas continued to be a center for banking in the modern era. Organizations such as the Southwestern Automated Clearing House Association, formed in the 1970s, provided innovations in the Texas banking industry as electronic payment systems became popular.[38] Architecture was a powerful tool in this battle for dominance, evidenced by the construction of several downtown towers, each surpassing the next in terms of height and grandeur.

CONCLUSION

Banking and finance both characterized the business-savvy identity of Dallas since its early days as a rail town, playing a part in the creation of the city's built resources. Banking in Dallas began by taking advantage of the arrival of rail-based industries and grew rapidly as the city made a name for itself as a trade and industrial center. The city's financial growth and strategic location proved an asset when the Federal Reserve decided to open a regional bank in Dallas in 1914, which further solidified the city's reputation as a financial center. This status continued to grow when Dallas became a major center for petroleum financing following discoveries of oil in East Texas in 1930. Dallas's opulent economic growth and accumulation of wealth are often linked with the finance industry, and banking has had an indelible mark on the city's skyline, industry, and real estate.

NOTES

[1] Crum, "Banks and Banking."

[1] Jeff Seidel, "Interfirst Corporation," *Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed April 26 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/interfirst-corporation.

[1] Crum, "Banks and Banking."

[2] "The FDIC: A History of Confidence and Stability," Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, accessed April 23, 2021, https://www.fdic.gov/exhibit/p1.html#/10.

[3] "The FDIC, A History of Confidence and Stability."

[4] "Bank Holding Company Act of 1956," Federal Reserve History, accessed May 5, 2021, https://www.federalreservehistory.org/essays/bank-holding-company-act-of-1956.

[5] Maxine Holmes and Gerald Saxon [Works Progress Administration], eds., *WPA Dallas Guide and History*, Denton: University of North Texas Press, 1992, 161.

[6] Lawrence L. Crum, "Banks and Banking," *Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed April 23, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/banks-and-banking.

[7] Holmes and Saxon, *WPA Dallas Guide,* 161.

[8] John S. Pratt, "Banking Phobia in Texas," *Southwest Review* 60, no. 4 (1975): 346. From JSTOR, http://www.jstor.org/stable/43468770.

[9] Crum, "Banks and Banking."

[10] William Broyles and Alex Sheshunoff, "How First National Passed Republic, and Other Stories of the Banking Game," *Texas Monthly,* May 1974. Accessed April 26, 2021, https://www.texasmonthly.com/articles/how-first-national-passed-republic/.

[11] Crum, "Banks and Banking;" "History of the Banking Industry in Texas and the Department," Texas Department of Banking, accessed May 5, 2021, https://www.dob.texas.gov/about-us/history-banking-industry-texas-and-department.

[12] Crum, "Banks and Banking."

[13] Holmes and Saxon, *WPA Dallas Guide,* 161.

[14] Holmes and Saxon, *WPA Dallas Guide,* 162.

[15] For more on the impact of banking and finance in the downtown area, see: Lila Knight and Marcel Quimby, "Dallas Downtown Historic District" [1888-1958], National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 2006. From the Texas Historical Commission, https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/04000894/04000894.pdf.

[16] Holmes and Saxon, *WPA Dallas Guide,* 163.

[17] Further research would be necessary to ascertain the location of early bank Gaston and Camp.

[18] F. E. Butterfield and C. M. Rundlett, *Directory of the City of Dallas,* 1875, 69. From ancestry.com.

[19] "Strong Home Enterprise," *Dallas Morning News,* May 1, 1886, 5.

[20] Holmes and Saxon, *WPA Dallas Guide,* 122.

[21] Knight and Quimby, "Dallas Downtown Historic District," 8-26.

[22] United States, Reserve Bank Organization Committee, *Decision of the Reserve Bank Organization Committee Determining the Federal Reserve Districts and the Location of Federal Reserve Banks Under Federal Reserve Act Approved December 23, 1913*, April 2, 1914, with statement of the committee in relation thereto, April 10, 1914, 3-4. Accessed April 22, 2021, https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/603.

[23] Richard W. Fisher, "Vignettes of Dallas Fed History on the Eve of Our Centennial (With Grateful Reference to George Dealey and a Tip of the Hat to Ebby Halliday, W. F. Ramsey, and Fed and Ginger," speech before the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, June 26, 2012, Dallas, Texas, accessed April 23, 2021, https://www.dallasfed.org/news/speeches/fisher/2012/fs120626.cfm; Dallas Historic Landmark Preservation Committee. "The Federal Reserve Bank." Dallas Landmark Commission Nomination Form. City of Dallas, November 9, 1976, 5. From the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/Federal%20Reserve%20Bank%20Landmark%20Nomination.pdf.

[24] United States, *Decision of the Reserve Bank Organization Committee*, 10.

[25] Advertisement, "Details of our New Banking Rooms," *Dallas Morning News*, February 24, 1918, 12.

[26] Firsching, "Republic Bank Tower," 4-17.

[27] Joan J. Perez, "Florence, Fred Farrell," *Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed April 24, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/florence-fred-farrel; Jay Firsching, "Republic Bank Tower," Dallas Landmark Commission Nomination Form, City of Dallas, September 1, 2003, 13-4. From the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/Republic%20Bank%20Tower%20Landmark%20Nomination.pdf.

[28] Firsching, "Republic Bank Tower," 13-4.

[29] Mercantile already had a place of architectural prestige even before creation of its own building. City directories from the early 1930s list them as located in the Magnolia Building at Commerce and Akard, a tall and prestigious building at the time.

[30]Robert Mawson, "Mercantile Bank Building," Dallas Landmark Commission Nomination Form, City of Dallas, June 15, 2005, 13-1. From the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/Mercantile%20Bank%20Building%20Landmark%20Nomination.pdf.

[31] Firsching, "Republic Bank Tower," 12-1.

[32] Broyles and Sheshunoff, "How First National Passed Republic."

[33] This fear of competition was not unwarranted, as by 1949 *Fortune* magazine had named Republic the second largest bank in Dallas, after First National. After a merger with National City Bank in 1954, Republic gained ground over First National and much of the Southwest. For more, see Richard Flores, "Davis Building," Dallas Landmark Commission Nomination Form. City of Dallas, January 14, 1998, 2. From the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/Republic%20National%20Bank%20(Davis)%20Building%20Landmark%20Nomination.pdf.

[34] Steve Brown, "Downtown Dallas' $450 million First National Bank redo nears opening with new tenant," *The Dallas Morning News,* February 19, 2020, accessed April 26, 2021, https://www.dallasnews.com/business/real-estate/2020/02/19/downtown-dallas-450-million-first-national-bank-redo-nears-opening-with-new-tenant/; Broyles and Sheshunoff, "How First National Passed Republic."

[35] Broyles and Sheshunoff, "How First National Passed Republic."

[36] Crum, "Banks and Banking;" Broyles and Sheshunoff, "How First National Passed Republic."

[37] Jeff Seidel, "Interfirst Corporation," *Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed April 26 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/interfirst-corporation.

[38] Crum, "Banks and Banking."

II-13| Parks and Plazas (1876–1972)

INTRODUCTION

Since the creation of Dallas's first public park in 1876, parks have been an integral piece of the city's urban fabric. Not only have they provided outdoor space for recreation and leisure, the city's parks have also served as sites of social services, memorialization, and cultural events and celebrations. The more than 100 historic-age city parks in Dallas reflect a myriad of important trends including: relationship to water and natural features, park design, city planning, recreation, and social and cultural history. The period of significance for this theme begins with the creation of City Park in 1876 and continues through to the 50-year mark of 1972. In addition to parks and plazas, resources associated with this theme include recreation centers, swimming pools, tennis courts, golf courses, playgrounds, and playing fields. Resources eligible under this theme may have significance under one or several areas of significance under Criterion A including Recreation, Community Planning and Development, Social History, and Ethnic History. Some resources may also be eligible under Criterion C for Landscape Architecture.

CITY PARK DEVELOPMENT IN THE US AND TEXAS

The history of American city parks roughly begins in 1634 with the establishment of Boston Common, considered the oldest city park in the country. Unlike its well-maintained, designed landscape of today, at the time of its creation, Boston Common was a natural area that served as both a gathering place and as a grazing space for cows and horses. The first parks created in cities across the nation, including in Texas, in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries were similarly natural, created with minimal design or development.

Across the nation and in Texas, park planning and development grew more formal with time and the growth of cities. By the nineteenth century, parks offered a respite from the stressors of city life by providing a natural setting in an urban environment. The idea of a "pleasure garden," stemming from the City Beautiful and Romantic movements, was epitomized by Frederick Law Olmstead and Central Park (1757–1876) in New York City.[1] In other cities, these parks materialized as large city parks, as well as smaller privately developed parks built in new streetcar suburbs. Designed to mimic the countryside, these parks incorporated tree groves, pathways, lakes and ponds, and meadows and fields. Landscaping was often orderly, and structures were typically limited to pavilions, boat houses, and benches.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, during the movement known as the "Progressive Era," parks became an issue of urban reform. City parks were generally located on the outskirts of town or in middle- and upper-class neighborhoods, while many inner city and economically disadvantaged residents lacked access to parks. By this period, most cities had their own parks departments, and they, along with charitable organizations and advocacy groups, focused on park accessibility and park offerings. Bolstered by the development of city and urban plans in cities across the country, park development expanded in this period to provide more neighborhood parks, playgrounds, and recreational options, including swimming pools, tennis courts, golf courses, baseball fields, and recreation centers. In addition to providing space for recreation, these new indoor centers also provided cultural, educational, and social spaces for the community.

In Texas, in addition to the opening of new recreational facilities, several nationally renowned city planners and landscape architects from this period left their mark on the state's urban fabric. The firms tasked with providing guidance and recommendations for city and park development included planners Koch and Fowler (Austin), landscape architecture firm Hare and Hare (Fort Worth, Dallas, Houston), and

prolific city planner and landscape architect George Kessler. St. Louis-based Kessler, who created both comprehensive city plans as well as park plans, worked in Texas cities including Dallas, Denison, El Paso, Fort Worth, Houston, Sherman, Waco, and Wichita Falls.[2] In addition to providing park design and development guidance that influenced the landscape of Texas cities, these plans also highlighted the disparity of park space between White communities and racial and ethnic minority communities that existed. Across the state, municipal parks served White-only populations. Due to the lack of park space provided by cities for African Americans, individuals and organizations historically established their own parks. One of the oldest examples in the state is Emancipation Park in Houston. Founded in 1872, the park, like other privately owned Black parks in Texas, served as the site for the annual Juneteenth celebrations. Emancipation Park, like many other Black-owned parks in Texas, was later incorporated into the city's park department during this period. While city and park plans of the era attempted to alleviate park disparity between White and non-White citizens, they perpetuated the segregation of parks in cities across Texas, a trend that generally existed into the 1960s.

During the Depression, parks across the country benefitted from President Roosevelt's New Deal programs. While cities established few new city parks during the Depression, New Deal programs, including the Works Progress Administration (WPA), Public Works Administration (PWA), Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), and National Youth Administration (NYA), helped fund the creation of some new parks, but they largely contributed to the beautification and improvement of existing parks across the country. These programs provided funding and manpower for park landscaping, as well the construction of park roads, pavilions, shelters, bridges, and curbs. In Texas, *The Living New Deal* lists over 207 parks projects—including municipal, state, and roadside parks—funded by New Deal Projects across the state[3].

> ***Learn more!*** *Visit The Living New Deal website to learn more about New Deal projects, including parks projects, in the country, Texas, and Dallas: https://livingnewdeal.org/.*

In the post-war period, park development followed suburbanization trends, resulting in the opening of new parks in and near newly developed post-war suburbs. The principles of park creation remained much the same from previous periods and focused on providing recreation and outdoor space near existing communities. Urban renewal efforts also saw the creation of new inner-city and downtown parks. Often the by-product of a collaboration between private investors and city parks departments, urban renewal efforts saw new parks built in downtowns across the country, including in Fort Worth (the Fort Worth Water Gardens) and Dallas (Thanks-Giving Square in Dallas).

A HISTORY OF DALLAS PARKS

NASCENCY OF PUBLIC PARKS IN DALLAS

The City of Dallas first spent public funds on the acquisition of land for use as a park in 1876. The land, 10 acres adjacent to Browder Springs—the city's main source of water—, was already a popular picnic spot for Dallasites. For a decade after its acquisition, City Park remained largely undeveloped due to a lack of government funds. In the 1880s and 1890s, the City expanded the park by nine acres and added paved walkways, a fountain, bridges, new grass and trees, plantings, decorative lighting, a bandstand, and greenhouse – features reflective of the City Beautiful movement (fig. II-197).[4] For the next several decades, City Park was one of the focal points of recreation, leisure, and concerts and entertainment in Dallas.



Figure II-197. Postcard from around 1915 of City Park. Dallas's oldest park, City Park, was its first representation of the City Beautiful Movement. Established in 1876, the park was developed throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Construction of R. L. Thornton Freeway in the early 1960s took five acres from the park and paved over Browder Springs. Source: Ebay, accessed October 4, 2021, https://www.ebay.com/itm/114786736519.

City Park Origins

Though the land was already a popular outdoor area in the city, the creation of City Park was not entirely one of civic improvement. The park's creation financially benefitted both the landowner, J. J. Eakins, and W. J. Keller, a streetcar magnate who paid for a portion of the park on behalf of the City. The park, which would be on the streetcar line, would not only increase values of adjacent property, of which Eakins owned land to the east and south, but also would attract people to the streetcar and newly developed streetcar subdivisions.[5] Whatever the motives behind City Park, it became the first in a collection of the public parks and served as the focal point for recreation and leisure in the city decades after its creation.

While City Park remained the only publicly owned park in Dallas throughout the nineteenth century, several private parks—some eventually acquired by the City—existed. Like City Park, these sites became popular picnic and celebration spots. Real estate developers and streetcar companies, with a similar financial motivation behind the creation of City Park, built excursion parks in Dallas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Two examples include Shady View Park (not extant), built by the San Jacinto streetcar company at the line's terminus in the nineteenth century, and Oak Lawn Park, built by the Dallas Consolidated Electric Railway Company and acquired by the City in 1909. Lake Cliff Park in Oak Cliff was another excursion park. Built in 1906 by Oak Cliff businessman Charles Mangold to encourage development in Oak Cliff, Oak Cliff Park started as an amusement park with a roller coaster, skating rink, and a casino. When the City purchased the park in 1914, it removed the rides and transformed it from amusement park to municipal park.

EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY PARK EXPANSION

As Dallas expanded in the early twentieth century, so too did the demand for parks. Despite acquiring another park—Fair Park, home of the state fair since 1886—in 1904, the fact remained that Dallas had only two public parks for a population that topped 60,000. In 1905, City Council established a Board of Park Commissioners (evolving over time to the current Parks and Recreation Department) to oversee Fair Park, and while its focus was Fair Park, the creation of the board signaled the City's growing interest in parks and "opened the door to land donations and purchases."[6]

See Chapter 20. Tourism for more information on Fair Park.

The City began park expansion shortly after the creation of the Board of Park Commissioners. Between 1905 and 1910, the City added seven new parks. The motivation for these new parks varied, but pressure and advocacy, and sometimes financial support, from groups and clubs, including neighborhood, women's, library, and charitable groups, influenced the City's decision in creating many of the new

parks. Influence from residents in Oak Cliff helped create Forest Park (renamed Marsalis Park) in 1909 (extant, fig. II-198). Meanwhile, near Deep Ellum, pressure from residents helped establish Central Square Park—a popular concert location—in 1908 (extant). The playground committee of the Dallas Federation of Women's Clubs was also influential in creating several new playgrounds, including Trinity Play Park in the Cotton Mills District (not extant: dismantled in 1964 and buildings razed in the 1980s). Opened in 1909 on Cockrell Street, the park catered to children of mill workers. In addition to playground equipment, the park also provided an after-school program and was used by the Infant Welfare and Milk Association to provide milk and lectures on caring for babies (fig. II-199).[7]



Figure II-198. Created in 1909 at Marsalis Avenue and Crawford Street in Oak Cliff, Forest Park (renamed Marsalis Park) cost over $98,000 for land acquisition and improvements. Cedar Creek runs through the park that at the time featured cliffs, drives, and popular picnic spots. Around 1912, the municipal zoo moved to the park (first from City Park and then from Fair Park) where it currently still operates. Source:

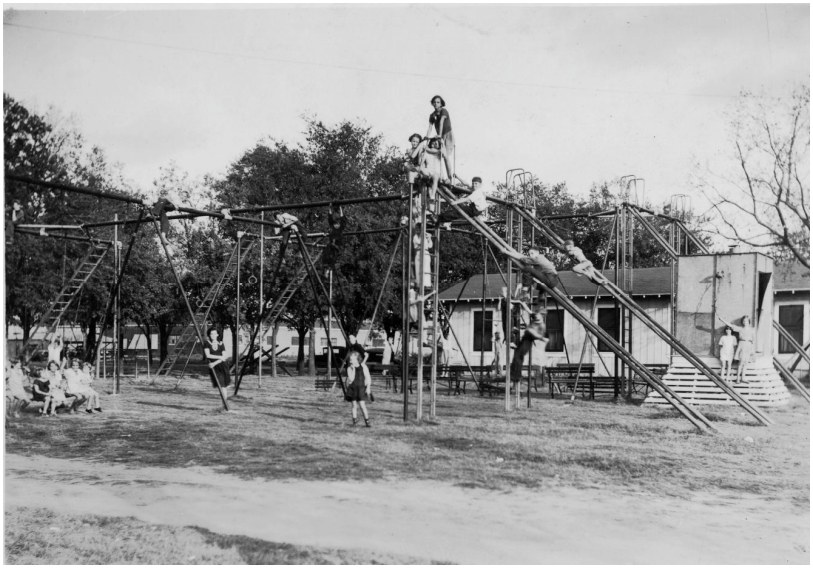


Figure II-199. Trinity Play Park from an unknown date. Only remnants of the park remain. Source: Portal to Texas History, citing the Dallas Municipal Archives, accessed October 26, 2021, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth129099/m1/2/?q=trinity%20park.

1911 Kessler Plan and Continued Expansion

George Kessler's 1911 "City Plan for Dallas" provided a boost to the city's park expansion program. Kessler, who had worked on the redesign of Fair Park a few years prior, made park expansion and development a key feature in his recommendations for the successful growth of the city. An adherent of the City Beautiful Movement, Kessler embraced the movement in his recommendations for park expansion for the city with a system of parks and parkways connected via boulevards. Kessler's recommendations also embraced the growing national trend that saw parks not only as sites to escape city life but as sites of

recreation. Kessler recommended all neighborhoods be within walking distance to a park, writing: "It is necessary in the distribution of park lands to bear in mind that if the majority of people are to have the full benefit of outdoor recreation, parks and playgrounds must be provided within easy walking distance of their homes."[8] Acquisition and construction of parks in Kessler's plan was aided by the passage of a $500,000 bond issue for the development of parks, playgrounds, and boulevards in 1913.[9]

See Chapter 6. Urban Planning for more detail and other recommendations in Kessler's 1911 plan.

In addition to Kessler's general recommendation for the creation of playgrounds and larger parks throughout the city, he also had specific recommendations for several parkways and parks that were created in compliance with his plan. Turtle Creek Parkway, along Turtle Creek, was among the parks created directly from the plan. Through acquisition and land donations, the City obtained the land and began work on the park around 1913 (fig. II-200). Kessler also recommended development of White Rock Lake—created in 1911 as a source of water—into a regional park for recreation. Early work on developing the park began in the 1910s and early 1920s and included constructing a boulevard around the lake and stocking the lake with fish.[10] Ferris Plaza downtown was also a direct recommendation in Kessler's plan (fig. II-201). Kessler's plan called for a Union Station with the blocks fronting it converted into a plaza, "giving to Dallas a dignified and worthy railroad entrance."[11] With bond money, Dallas purchased the land, and work began in 1916 on the plaza.[12]

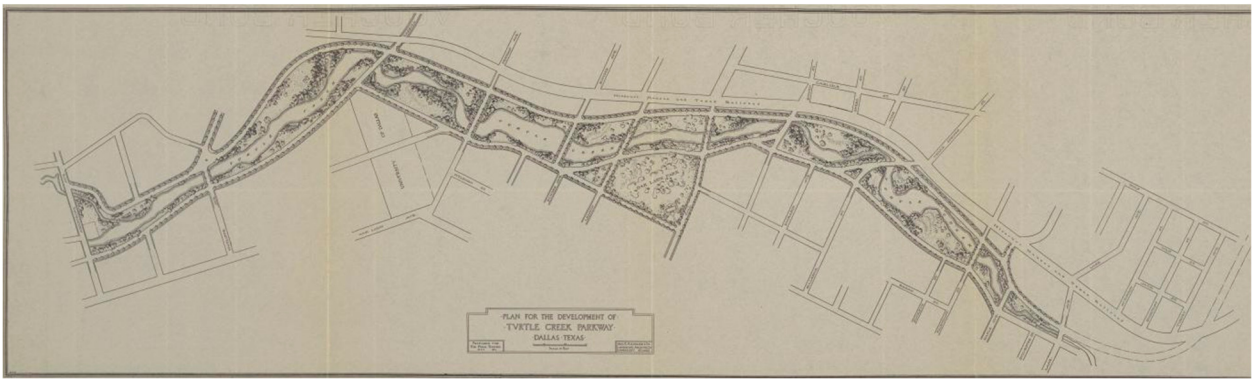


Figure II-200. George Kessler's 1911 plan for the development of the Turtle Creek Parkway. This plan, unlike the Mill Creek Parkway, was implemented. Source: Portal to Texas History, citing the Dallas Municipal Archives, accessed October 26, 201, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth129160/?q=turtle%20creek.



Figure II-201. 1937 photograph of Ferris Plaza in foreground with Union Station in background. Source: University of North Texas Libraries, Portal to Texas History, crediting Private Collection of Mary Newton Maxwell, accessed March 14, 2022, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth834072/.

Other parks established in the 1910s and 1920s following Kessler's plan and acquired through the sale of bonds include Garrett Park, Colonial Park, and Buckner Park – all created in 1914. Exall Park was also acquired by the City through eminent domain and established in 1914. The City also acquired parks via donation. In the 1920s alone, Dallas was gifted over 650 acres of land worth more than half a million dollars.[13] Among the most significant was the donation of 104 acres in Northeast Dallas by banker and civic leader Edward Tenison and his wife Annie in 1923.[14] The City's investment and public interest and support for parks resulted in the rapid creation of new parks in 1910s and 1920s. As a result, in the decade

and a half following the Kessler plan, Dallas added over 30 new parks and in 1928 had more park acreage and recreational facilities per person than any other American city of similar size.[15]

AFRICAN AMERICAN PARKS

As part of the city's park expansion program, Dallas established the first public parks for African Americans. Prior to the creation of the first park in 1915, African Americans had few options for outdoor recreation, picnics, or celebrations since all the City-owned parks were White-only, and no record exists of any privately owned Black parks in Dallas.[16] With money from the 1913 bond issue, the City established several segregated African American parks, including the first, Oak Cliff Negro Park (renamed Eloise Lundy Park in 1987). Two more parks followed in the 1910s: Hall Street Negro Park (renamed Griggs Park in 1924) in the predominantly Black State-Thomas neighborhood and the South Dallas Negro Park (renamed Wheatley Park). The three parks remained relatively unimproved until the 1930s, at which time they became popular recreational sites.[17] The City, in part influenced by pressure from some Black civic groups petitioning for parks, added three more African American parks to its inventory in the 1920s through the 1940s: Moore Park in Oak Cliff, Juanita J. Craft Park near Fair Park, and William Blair, Jr. Park in far south Dallas. In the 1950s, two White parks, Exline and Lagow (now Mildred Dunn) parks, became African American parks as the surrounding neighborhoods transitioned from predominantly White to Black (fig. II-202).[18]

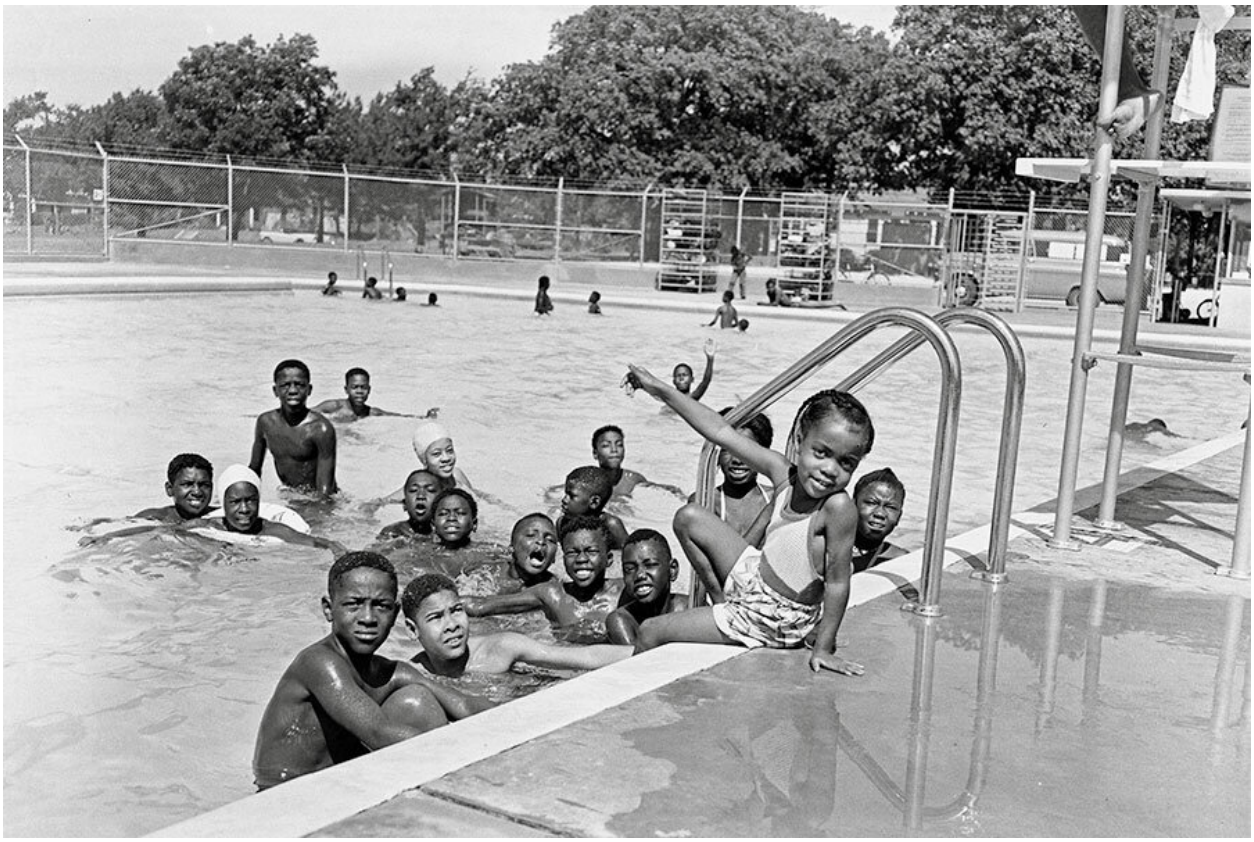


Figure II-202. The Exline Park pool in the 1950s. Located at 2525 Pine Street in south Dallas, the park was historically White, but as the surrounding neighborhood transitioned in the 1950s, the park transitioned into an African American park. Source: "Exline Park Swimming Pool – 1950s," Flashback: Dallas blog, citing Photos by R. C. Hickman Collection, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, accessed October 26, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2014/08/27/exline-park/.

While these parks offered African Americans spots for outdoor recreation and became popular for Juneteenth celebrations, park inequity remained an issue. African American parks had inferior and/or poorly built resources, and the Parks Department was often slow to respond to requests for improvements in the 1920s and 1930s.[19] African Americans also had fewer park facilities and park space. In 1944, African Americans had 60 acres of park land, or one acre per thousand people, while 5,000 acres was devoted to the city's White residents, a ratio of 64 acres per thousand people.[20]

By 1964, with the passage of the Civil Rights Act legally ending segregation, the Parks Department had grown more responsive to requests for improvements, but African Americans still had far fewer park facilities than their White neighbors. Additionally, because desegregation was generally disapproved of by White residents and officials, the City closed many of its largest pools and the bath house at White Rock Lake Pak as a way to halt integration. To ease the transition while still providing public pools, the Parks Department operated under a gradual integration plan, developing "a grid system of communities, both Black and White, with a swimming pool at the middle of each."[21] The plan aimed to replace larger public pools that served both White and Black neighborhoods with smaller pools for each community. Where pools existed in neighborhoods transitioning from White to Black, the City closed the pool for a period of time and reopened it as a "Black" park.[22] Such was the case at the pools in Lagow and Exline parks in South Dallas, where the plan helped prevent an escalation of hostility. The plan perpetuated segregation of public parks and pools but at the time was supported by Black leaders and the Negro Chamber of Commerce as a way to prevent violence.[23]

See Chapter 16. Reconstruction, Jim Crow, and Civil Rights for more information on segregation in Dallas.

MEXICAN PARKS

The Mexican community in Dallas also suffered from a lack of park resources throughout much of the twentieth century. Similar to African Americans, Mexicans were not prohibited from using park facilities by any ordinance or law, but because segregation was the social norm at the time, Mexicans did not freely use the parks. As more Mexicans arrived in Dallas during the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920), the need for park facilities grew. Many Mexicans settled north of downtown in an area with few park facilities where children played in the streets. Concerned with the safety of the children and a lack of sanitation in the area, social workers successfully petitioned the City for a neighborhood park in 1919.[24] On McKinney Avenue, the City built a playground and shower facilities in the park. Simply called "Mexican Park," the site was popular for family and community celebrations and played host to dignitaries including Mexican Consul R. Cantu Lara and Mexican President Alvaro Obregon in 1920.

A second park, Pike Park, became the heart of the Mexican enclave north of downtown (located at 2807 Harry Hines Boulevard, Pike Park is a City of Dallas landmark). When it opened in 1914, Pike Park (originally named Summit Play Park) was in a predominantly Jewish neighborhood but shortly after evolved into a predominantly Mexican neighborhood nicknamed Little Mexico. As neighborhood demographics shifted, so too did park demographics, and in 1931 the City established joint-use rules, setting times for Mexican use and Anglo use.[25] Soon after, Pike Park became a cultural center for the Mexican community who used the site and its Lang and Witchell-designed field house for *quinceañeras* and Cinco de Mayo and Mexican Independence Day celebrations (fig. II-203).[26]



Figure II-203. A celebration at Pike Park in 1926. Located in what was named Little Mexico, Pike Park was a cultural and recreational gathering site for the local Mexican community beginning in the late-1910s. The park is a designated City of Dallas landmark. Source: "Lost and Found," AIA Dallas, crediting the Dallas Mexican American Historical League, accessed October 26, 2021, https://www.aiadallas.org/v/columns-detail/Lost-Found-Pike-Park-Little-Mexico-s-Struggle-for-its-Oasis/12k/.

Park Features and Recreational and Social Offerings

The parks from this era varied in size from less than one acre to over 2,000 acres.[27] A number of them incorporated City Beautiful Movement characteristics, with features including lighted walkways, lily ponds, flower beds, and shrubbery (fig. II-204). At the same time, the various park improvements and offerings of the period reflected the city's focus on recreation, education, and social offerings. In various parks, both White and non-White parks, across the city, Dallas built athletic fields and courts. At least two parks, Trinity Park and Lake Cliff Park, boasted track and field facilities. The parks department's 1923 progress report boasted that Dallas was the first in the nation for its number of athletic field offerings with 5 soccer fields, 6 football fields, 10 basketball courts, 30 baseball fields, and 28 tennis courts.[28] In addition to pickup games, the Parks Board also offered organized sports leagues with teams made up from the various parks (fig. II-205). At least 10 parks had wading pools, and the city's first large municipal pool opened at Lake Cliff Park around 1914. A second pool, for African American residents, opened around 1915 at Griggs Park. The City also opened its first public golf course during the period. On the large property donated by the Tenisons, the City built a clubhouse and greens and opened Tenison Glen.



Figure II-204. Aerial photo of Exall Park at 1355 Adair Street (extant) in 1954. Established in 1914, the symmetrical design of the park and its walkways and plantings reflect the City Beautiful Movement. Source: "Photo Gallery," Dallas Park and Recreation Department, accessed October 5, 2021, http://www.dallasparks.org/Gallery.aspx?PID=60..



Figure II-205. A basketball game in the 1940s at one of the multiple-use courts at Grauwyler Park (extant, 7780 Harry Hines Boulevard). The park was established in 1923 and continues to offer a variety of activities for the community, including senior activities, fitness classes, and sports leagues. Source: The Portal to Texas History, citing the Dallas Municipal Archives, accessed October 26, 2021, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth619073/?q=park.

In addition to the athletic offerings, the Parks Department, guided by a "progressive spirit," also offered a myriad of free entertainment and social services.[29] At various parks, the city showed free movies during the summer. At Trinity Play Park, Pike Park, and Griggs Pak, the City provided free baths and also hosted various club and organization meetings, storytelling, game and club rooms, welfare talks, band concerts, dances, and a variety of other educational, entertainment, and social services.[30] Charitable organizations also used the parks for various activities including toy distributions at Christmas, and the Dallas Free Kindergarten and Day Nursery provided free daycare and schooling at Trinity Play Park.[31]

PARK IMPROVEMENTS AND CONTINUED EXPANSION

Despite the 1927 Ulrickson Committee's budget recommendation of $1,500,000 for the acquisition and improvement of parks, disputes over the plan and political infighting, followed by the Great Depression, drastically limited park investment in the 1930s.[32] Even so, between 1927 and outbreak of war, the city added 17 new parks totaling 3,282 acres, of which a large portion can be attributed to the donation of Dr. William Samuell.[33] Equally significant during this period were the park improvements made possible by the various New Deal programs that provided labor and funding.

Dr. William Samuell

When wealthy surgeon and benefactor to Dallas, Dr. William Samuell died in 1937, his concise, handwritten will left the bulk of his estate to the Dallas Park Board.[34] Motivated by his appreciation of city parks and wanting to give the city a great regional park, Samuell left around $18 million in today's dollars in land and investments – more than twice the city's annual park budget.[35] His contribution, still the largest single donation to the department, resulted in the addition of thousands of acres of new parkland and was a significant factor in establishing one of the country's richest park systems.[36] From his donation, the City created more than a dozen parks, including Samuell-New Hope Park (1938), Oak Cliff Founders Park (1938), Samuell-Garland Park (1938), Samuell Farm (1938), and what is considered the crown jewel of his bequeathment, Samuell-Grand Memorial Park (1937) (fig. II-206). The Park Board also expanded some existing parks, including Buckner Park, with Samuell's benefaction. While the Park Board established a number of these parks in the late-1930s, labor shortages and building restrictions during World War II and later the Korean War, as well as controversy and legal issues surrounding Samuell's will, delayed their development until the mid- to late-1950s and 1960s. During this time, the City built tennis facilities, a pool, sports fields, and a gymnasium and recreation center at Samuell-Grand Park. Learn more about Samuell at the Dallas Municipal Archives: https://dallascityhall.com/government/citysecretary/archives/Pages/Archives_1995-031.aspx .



Figure II-206. Aerial view of Samuell-Grand Park in East Dallas from the 1950s or 1960s. Established in 1937 from the donation of Dr. Samuell, the park developed over time into one of the city's largest recreational facilities. Among its offerings is a tennis facility that hosted the Davis Cup and other events including the Dallas Invitational Tennis Tournament in 1966. The event was moved from the all-White Dallas Country Club to Samuell-Grand Tennis Center because it is believed the country club would not open their venue to Black tennis player Arthur Ashe. Source: Squire Haskins Photograph, Inc. University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, UTA Libraries Digital Gallery, accessed October 26, 2021, https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/20022672.

New Deal Park Improvements and Building

During the Great Depression, New Deal programs provided funding and/or labor for 32 park projects in Dallas (fig. II-207). Primarily funded by the WPA, the City received nearly $300,000 in WPA Park Improvement funding and contributed $124,000 to improvements.[37] Throughout the city, the WPA Park Improvement Fund helped fund landscaping, walks and paths, picnic tables, shelters, retaining walls, drinking fountains, and sewer lines in various parks.[38] Among the extant resources attributed to the WPA can be found at a number of parks across the city, including Tenison Park (drainage, bathroom, and bridge), Juanita Craft Park (a community building, retaining wall, and walks), Kiest Park (stone structures), Lake Cliff Park (stone picnic shelter, retaining wall, picnic units, a bridge, and pavilions), and Reverchon Park (extensive stonework in stairs, paths, and bridges) (figs. II-208-209).

Project	New Deal Agency	Built	Project	New Deal Agency	Built
Alamo Park	WPA	1936-38	**Lagow (Mildred Dunn) Park**	WPA	1936-38
Bachman Lake	CCC	1929-36	**Lake Cliff Park**	WPA	1928-36
Cedar Crest Golf Course	CCC	1936-38	**Maple (Maria Luna) Park**	WPA	1937
City Park	WPA	1930-39	**Marsalis Zoo**	WPA	1932-28
Cochran Park	WPA	1936-38	**Martin Weiss Park**	WPA	1936-38
Cole Park	WPA	1936-38	**Monument Plaza**	WPA	1936-38
Colonial Park	WPA	1936-38	**Randall Park**	WPA	1936-37
Dealey Plaza	WPA funds NYA labor	1936-41	**Reverchon Park**	WPA	1936
Exall Park	WPA	1936-38	**Robert E. Lee Park**	WPA	1936-38
Exline	WPA	1936-38	**Stevens Memorial Park**	WPA	1934-39
Fair Park	WPA, CCC, PWA	1936	**Tietze Park**	WPA	1934
Field-Frazier Park	WPA	1936-38	**Tenison Park**	WPA	1941
Fretz Park (Original)	WPA	1926-38	**Tenison Memorial Park**	WPA	1936-38
Grauwyler Park	WPA	1934	**Wahoo (JJ Craft) Park**	WPA	1936-38
Harlee School	WPA	1936-38	**White Rock Lake**	WPA, CCC	1935-42
Hogg School	WPA	1936-38			
Kiest Park	WPA	1935			

Figure II-207. Table showing the City of Dallas parks projects wholly or partly funded through federal New Deal programs during the Great Depression. Source: Dallas Municipal Archives, accessed October 13, 2021, https://dallascityhall.com/government/citysecretary/archives/Pages/Archives_PF_06FederalRelief.aspx.



Figure II-208. The Kiest Park entrance gate in 2014. Typical of WPA structures, the gate was built using stone in the Rustic style the agency and National Park Service were known for. Source: Larry D. Moore, CC BY-SA 3.0, June 25, 2014, from *The Living New Deal*, accessed October 26, 2021, https://livingnewdeal.org/projects/kiest-park-dallas-tx/.



Figure II-209. The Lake Cliff Park picnic shelter in 2014. Designed by M. C. Kleuser and George Christensen and built by the WPA in the Rustic style. Source: Larry D. Moore, CC BY-SA 3.0, June 11, 2014, from *The Living New Deal*, accessed October 26, 2021, https://livingnewdeal.org/projects/lake-cliff-park-improvements-dallas-tx/.

The labor provided by the CCC also contributed to park improvement during this period. In 1939, the CCC completed the Bachman Lake Shelter House. Designed by the National Park Service, the shelter served as a community gathering spot. The CCC also helped the city realize Kessler's goal of an improved White Rock Lake Park. By the late 1920s, the addition of more reservoirs in and around the city enabled Dallas to abandon White Rock Lake as a source of water.[i] In its conversion to a recreational site, the Parks Department, with help from the CCC, developed the site throughout much of the 1930s (fig. II-210). The CCC planted trees and built a shelter house and other buildings, latrines, a lily pond, walking trails, picnic units, and a campground.[39]

[i] Dallas would use the lake for water again for a short period of time during the severe drought in 1953. During this time they prohibited swimming, a ban which remains in effect today.



Figure II-210. The entrance to White Rock Lake Park at Lawther Drive and Garland Road. The stone walls and entrance were part of the development of the park by the CCC in the 1930s. Source: University of North Texas Libraries, crediting Dallas Municipal Archives, The Portal to Texas History, accessed February 11, 2022, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth129120/.

Funding and labor from New Deal agencies also contributed to two other significant park developments in Dallas: Fair Park and Dealey Plaza. At Fair Park, the WPA, CCC, and PWA contributed to the massive redevelopment in preparation for the 1936 Centennial Exposition. In downtown, funding from the WPA and NYA labor contributed to the construction of Dealey Plaza between 1934 and 1940. Conceived as part of Kessler's civic center area, Dealey Plaza was part of a coordinated effort between the City, the Texas Highway Department (THD), and New Deal Agencies to revitalize the area and combine rail and road alignments into "The Front Door of Dallas."[40] Funding for the project came from local tax dollars, the THD, and the WPA, while NYA provided labor. Built around the triple underpass, the three-acre park, designed by landscape architects Kansas City-based landscape architects Hare and Hare, featured concrete pergolas, reflecting pools with fountains, curved concrete colonnades, concrete obelisks, and planter boxes (fig. II-211).



Figure II-211. Dealey Plaza downtown in 1962. The plaza was designed by Hare and Hare and was built in part with New Deal agency funding and labor in the late-1930s. Source: The Portal to Texas History, citing the Dallas Municipal Archives, accessed October 25, 2021, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth618976/m1/1/?q=dealey.

Post-War Parks

The post-war period in Dallas was one of expansive population growth that saw the city limits stretch outward with the incorporation of new residential subdivisions. During this period, Dallas maintained its investment in parks and expanded its inventory in an effort to provide new residents and neighborhoods with park facilities. Between 1946 and the end of the historic period (1972), Dallas added over 90 new parks and over 4,600 acres to its inventory during this period of park expansion.[41] While a combination of sources, including donations, dedications, and land acquired from other city departments, contributed to this increase, bond money provided the biggest source of funding for parks during this period.[42] The subsequent development and expansion of city parks was guided by several park and city plans.

Prior to the outbreak of war, in 1942, Hare and Hare, who had worked on the designs of several parks including Dealey Plaza and the grounds at Lake Cliff Park, developed a park plan for Dallas. Hare and Hare, anticipating the growth of the city, proposed adding 500 to 600 acres of new playgrounds, fields, and neighborhood parks; over 4,000 acres of parkways and boulevards nearly encircling the city; and over 2,000 acres in "reservations," or large natural areas with minimum development.[43] Though the outbreak of war prevented any action on the proposed recommendations, the plan gained strength when Harland Bartholomew and Associates incorporated it into their city plan, *Master Plan for Greater Dallas,* published in 1944. Following publication of the plan, over the next decade and a half, the City built around 50 new playgrounds, large parks, and play fields across the city. One reservation, California Crossing Park was also created in far northwest Dallas in 1956.[44] Land donations accounted for some of these new acquisitions, but a city-wide bond program passed in 1946 that provided $2,500,000 to the park department was the source of funding for much of these park acquisitions.[45] The City also frequently cooperated with Dallas public schools in developing parks and playgrounds on and adjacent to school properties. Among the many parks created in this fashion was Webb Chapel Park, opened in 1956 adjacent to Everette L. DeGolyer Elementary School in northwest Dallas. Hare and Hare continued working for the Parks Board, creating plans for new and existing parks. The firm worked on the design of Kidd Springs Park in 1954, as well as the mid-1940s expansion plan of Tietze Park, calling for a new swimming pool, pool house, and baseball field (fig. II-212).

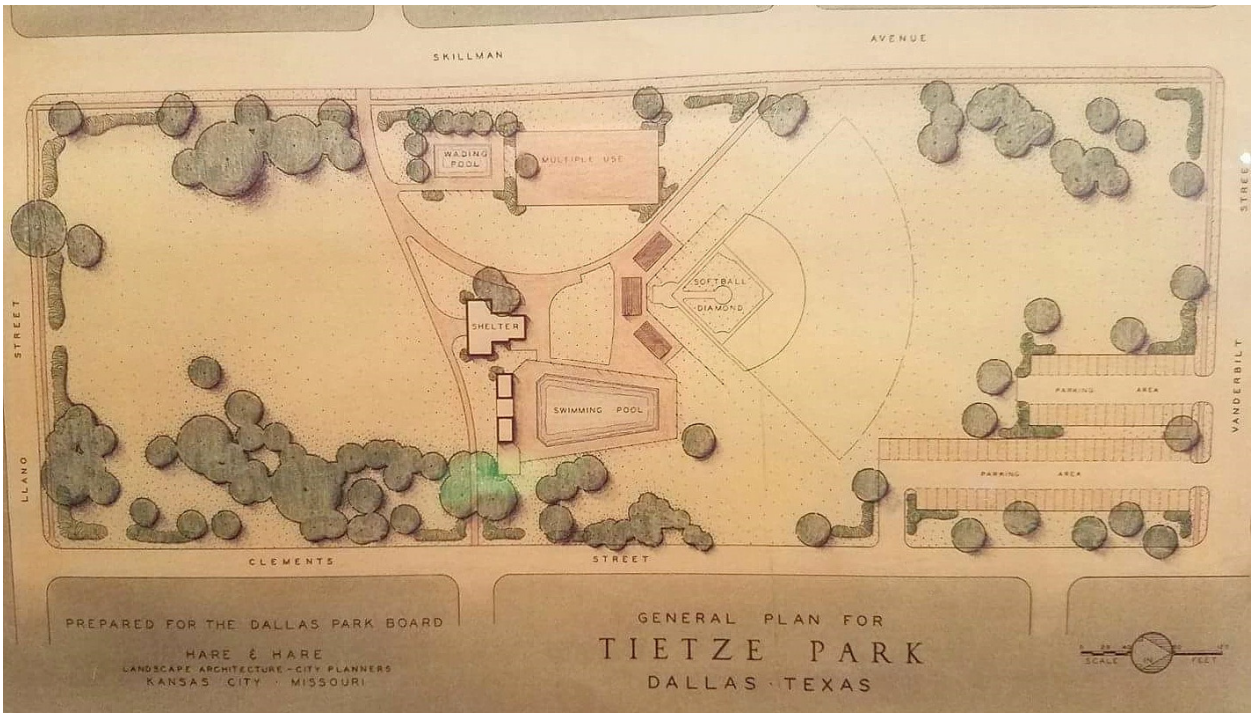


Figure II-212. Hare and Hare's expansion plan for Tietze Park (2700 Skillman Street). Originally established in 1934, Hare and Hare helped design the expansion and improvements to the park in the 1940s. The recent restoration of the pool facilities won a 2021 Preservation Dallas award. Source: "Tietze Park," *Flashback: Dallas* blog, accessed October 25, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2014/07/22/tietze-park/.

In 1959, the Department of City Planning and the Department of Parks and Recreation published *Parks and Open Spaces* as an updated guide for park development. The updated plan reinforced many of the recommendations of the previous plan and emphasized the continued "necessity of seeing that adequate acreage is set aside for park properties, properly located as Dallas grows."[46] In accordance with the plan, the City purchased an additional 2,000 acres of park land, largely for development of neighborhood parks and playgrounds.[47] The plan also recommended the development of a park in the floodplains of the Trinity River. Though previous plans recommended development of a parkway along the Trinity River, the 1962 U. S. Army Corps of Engineers plan for the river gave strength to the 1959 plan by calling for recreational development, as well. The 1959 recommendation was further strengthened in 1970 when the city adopted the *Coordinated Plan Open Space Development: Trinity River System in Dallas, Texas.* Prepared by urban planner Marvin Springer for the Dallas Park Board, the plan once again called for the development of recreational and open park space in the reclaimed floodplains of the Trinity River.[48] Over the next four decades, subsequent plans, studies, and land acquisitions led to the creation and expansion of the Trinity River Greenbelt, the 3,652-acre park currently running along the Trinity River.[49]

> ***Learn more!*** *Read a complete history of Dallas city parks in "Centennial History of the Dallas, Texas Park System, 1876-1976" available online at: https://dallascityhall.com/government/citysecretary/archives/DCH%20Documents/Dallas_Park_Rec_Centennial_History.pdf*

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the city continued building neighborhood parks and playgrounds and promoted recreational activities by building new, modern recreation centers (fig. II-213).[50] This period also saw a public-private collaboration result in the creation of a new downtown park. Motivated to revitalize downtown during a period of decline and serve as a reminder of the importance of gratitude, a

group of Dallas businessmen envisioned Thanks-Giving Square, a meditative open space. Working with the City, the Thanks-Giving Foundation acquired the land at Bryan Street and Pacific Avenue in 1968. Construction began in 1973, and the park was dedicated in 1976. Designed by architect Philip Johnson, the sunken park contains water features, a bell tower, and a spiraling concrete chapel (fig. II-214).



Figure II-213. Redbird Recreation Center (renamed Thurgood Marshall Recreation Center, 5150 Mark Trail Way) shortly after its completion in 1971. The recreation center was one of a number of modern recreation centers built in the 1960s and 1970s during a period in which the department promoted such development. Located in far southwest Dallas, the center is also reflective of the suburbanization of park development during the period. Source: Portal to Texas History, citing the Dallas Municipal Archives, accessed October 26, 2021, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth619023/m1/1/?q=recreation.



Figure II-214. Current photo of Thanks-Giving Square in downtown Dallas (1627 Pacific Avenue). Source: HHM, 2020.

CONCLUSION

Though the period of significance for this theme ends in 1972, the significance of parks and sites of recreation has not diminished. The City's continued investment in parks through site improvements and new master plans since 1972 reflects its commitment to parks and recognizes the important role they play in the well-being of Dallasites. The hundreds of resources associated with this theme—parks, playgrounds, pools, recreation centers—are associated with a variety of significant recreational, cultural, and social trends and events in Dallas's history. These resources highlight the important role parks played in the lives of Dallasites and reflect the various factors that contributed to the development of the city's robust inventory of parks that exists today.

NOTES

[1] Galen Cranz, The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in American (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982) 3-5.

[2] "Texas," George E. Kessler, accessed October 20, 2021, http://georgekessler.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=71:texas&catid=36:locations-by-state&Itemid=61.

[3] The Living New Deal, accessed October 2, 2021, https://livingnewdeal.org/us/.

[4] Michael V. Hazel, "Old City Park," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed October 20, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/old-city-park.

[5] Harry Jebsen, Jr., Robert M. Newton, and Patricia R. Hogan, "Centennial History of Dallas Texas Park System: 1876-1976," prepared for the City of Dallas, Department of Park Administration, Landscape Architecture, and Horticulture, in cooperation with the Department of History, Dallas Technical University, Lubbock, Texas, 1976, pp. 6-8, from the Dallas Public Library, https://dallascityhall.com/government/citysecretary/archives/DCH%20Documents/Dallas_Park_Rec_Centennial_History.pdf.

[6] John H. Slate, Historic Dallas Parks (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2010) 22.

[7] "Trinity Play Park Milk Station Opens," Dallas Morning News, June 24, 1913, p. 4.

[8] George E. Kessler, "A City Plan for Dallas," prepared for the City of Dallas, 1911, p. 25, from the Portal to Texas History, citing the Dallas Municipal Archives, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth129158.

[9] "Bond Issue to Be Voted on Tuesday, April 1," *Dallas Morning News*, March 23, 1913.

[10] "Park and Playground System, Dallas, Texas 1921-1923," Dallas Park Department, 1923, p. 27, from the Portal to Texas History, citing the Dallas Municipal Archives.

[11] Kessler, "A City Plan for Dallas," 13.

[12] Jebson, Newton, and Hogan, "Centennial History of Dallas Texas Park System," 278, 335.

[13] Jebson, Newton, and Hogan, "Centennial History of Dallas Texas Park System," 367.

[14] "Park and Playground System, Dallas, Texas 1921-1923," 7.

[15] Jebson, Newton, and Hogan, "Centennial History of Dallas Texas Park System," 367.

[16] Peter Simek, "The Lost History of Dallas' Negro Parks," *D Magazine online*, published June 2016, https://www.dmagazine.com/publications/d-magazine/2016/june/dallas-negro-parks-history/.; Segregation was not imposed by any ordinance. The City charter contained a section on segregation, but more than anything the social custom of the day reflected the segregated nature and systemic racism in the South, in Texas, and in Dallas and African Americans did not go to parks for fear of harassment, beatings, or worse.

[17] John H. Slate and Willis C. Winters, "A Means to a Peaceful Transition: L. B. Houston and the Desegregation of Dallas Parks," *Legacies* vol. 28 no. 1 (Spring 2016), 34, from the Portal to Texas History, crediting the Dallas Historical Society, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth798747/m1/34/?q=legacies%20spring%202016.

[18] Slate and Winters, "A Means to a Peaceful Transition," 33.

[19] Slate and Winters, "A Means to a Peaceful Transition," 33.

[20] Slate and Winters, "A Means to a Peaceful Transition," 33.

[21] Christina Hughes Babb, "How desegregation shaped Dallas' public pool system," *Lake Highlands Advocate*, accessed February 11, 2022, https://lakehighlands.advocatemag.com/2016/06/06/desegregation-shaped-dallas-public-pool-system-photos/.

[22] Babb, "How desegregation shaped Dallas' public pool system."

[23] Babb, "How desegregation shaped Dallas' public pool system."

[24] Jebson, Newton, and Hogan, "Centennial History of Dallas Texas Park System," 351.

[25] Jebson, Newton, and Hogan, "Centennial History of Dallas Texas Park System," 352.

[26] David Preziosi, "Lost + Found: Pike Park – Little Mexico's Struggle for its Oasis," Springboard: AIA Dallas, accessed October 7, 2021, https://www.aiadallas.org/v/columns-detail/Lost-Found-Pike-Park-Little-Mexico-s-Struggle-for-its-Oasis/12k/.

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II-14| The Kennedy Assassination and Memorialization (1963–1972)

INTRODUCTION

What started as an event-filled yet ordinary fall day in the political life of President John F. Kennedy and his wife Jacqueline (Jackie) quickly turned into a watershed moment in US history, and its implications were felt around the world. The assassination of the country's 35th President on November 22, 1963, shattered the collective sense of political innocence of a nation and left an enduring impression on the image of Dallas that civic and business leaders have worked hard to overcome. This context explores the events of that tragic day and notes the physical features that survive and remain as tangible links (historic places) to this pivotal point in history. Properties associated with this context derive significance in the areas of Politics/Government, Community Planning and Development, Architecture, and Social History. The period of significance extends from 1963, the year of the assassination, and ends at 1972, the cut-off date for this project.

NATIONWIDE AND STATE CONTEXT OF THEME

John F. Kennedy (JFK) won the 1960 presidential election in what was the closest election in US history, benefitting from his selection for Vice President, US Senator Lyndon B. Johnson (LBJ) of Texas, who helped the ticket carry the state of Texas. Voters in Dallas, on the other hand, expressed their strong support for Richard Nixon, who carried Dallas by a larger margin than any other major city in the country.[1] The elevation of LBJ to the office of the Vice President exposed a growing rift that had been developing between the liberal and conservative wings of the Democratic Party in Texas. The party held all statewide offices and US Senate seats since the Reconstruction era, but intraparty fissures had begun to emerge by the 1950s.[2] In 1961, this split helped elect Republican John Hightower in a special election to replace LBJ's seat in the US Senate, as many in the liberal wing of the party sat out the election or voted for Hightower. To help bring the two factions of the party together, Vice President Johnson and Texas' other US Senator, Ralph Yarbrough, brought President Kennedy and his popular wife to Texas for a series of events. The itinerary included planned stops in San Antonio, Houston, Fort Worth, Dallas, and Austin in hopes of reminding Texans how much they benefitted from Kennedy administration policies and to boost the highly anticipated but-not-yet-announced re-election campaign of the Kennedy-Johnson ticket for 1964.

DALLAS AND JFK

THE ASSASSINATION OF KENNEDY

By the early 1960s, Dallas had a reputation as being a far-right and politically conservative city with an oftentimes toxic political climate.[3] Dallas had already been the location of a handful of aggressive political incidents involving officials including Lyndon B. and Lady Bird Johnson, as well as the US ambassador to the UN (Adlai Stevenson) who was jostled by angry mobs in October 1963.[4] Rumors flew that if Kennedy were to have been reelected, he would outlaw firearms so that citizens would not "have the weapons with which to rise up against their oppressors."[5] Despite such unfounded rhetoric, news of President Kennedy's arrival was warmly embraced and highly anticipated by many in Dallas and generated a considerable amount of interest among residents.

On the morning the presidential limousine left Dallas Love Field, masses of people lined downtown streets to watch the President, the First Lady, and Governor John Connally and his wife Nellie Connally proceed through central Dallas on route to the Dallas Trade Mart, where they were scheduled for lunch (fig. II-215). People greeted the motorcade excitedly, hoping to shake hands with the President and see the fashion icon Jackie dressed in her pink suit set and pillbox hat (fig. II-216). This was the first public outing for Jackie since the couple lost their youngest child, Patrick, only months before.



Figure II-215. The presidential motorcade on Main Street, November 22, 1963. Source: The Portal to Texas Historic, crediting The Sixth Floor Museum at Dealey Plaza, accessed October 11, 2021, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth184652/m1/1/?q=Jacqueline%20Kennedy.



Figure II-216. President John F. Kennedy and Jackie Kennedy at Love Field the morning of November 22, 1963. Source: The Portal to Texas History, crediting The Sixth Floor Museum at Dealey Plaza, accessed October 11, 2021, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth184558/m1/1/?q=Jacqueline%20Kennedy.

Along the route, Kennedy's vehicle was fully exposed as the convertible or bubble top, as they referred to it, was open to allow crowds to see the President and First Lady. Secret service agents and Dallas Police followed closely but were unable to protect the President (fig. II-217). As Kennedy waved to citizens, the governor's wife turned to the president and said, "See, you can't say Dallas didn't treat you right."[6] Before an answer could leave his mouth, three shots rang out, striking Kennedy and the governor. Secret service agents pulled out their weapons but had nobody to fire at. The President was immediately driven to Parkland Memorial Hospital (5201 Harry Hines Boulevard) via the Stemmons Freeway (IH 35 East), where he was pronounced dead that afternoon. Later that day, Lee Harvey Oswald was arrested at the Texas Theater in Oak Cliff (231 West Jefferson Boulevard) and charged with the assassination of the President and the earlier murder of a Dallas police officer.

> ***Learn More!*** *See a timeline of the events of November 22, 1963, from the Sixth Floor Museum: https://www.jfk.org/the-assassination/jfk-assassination-timeline/.*
>
> ***Learn More!*** *Read the local and National Register nominations for the Texas Theatre: https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/Pages/texas_theater.aspx.*



Figure II-217. The presidential motorcade turning onto Main Street in downtown on November 22, 1963. Secret Service Agent Clint Hill rides on the rear bumper. Source: The Portal to Texas History, crediting The Sixth Floor Museum at Dealey Plaza, accessed October 11, 2021, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth184627/.

Law enforcement officials searched nearby buildings and found evidence that the shots had come from the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository, which had a clear view of the motorcade as it traveled through Dealey Plaza. Dealey Plaza, which local citizens considered to be the "front door" of Dallas, was a critical component of a Civic Center Plan and thought to be a symbol of optimism.[7] It was named in honor of George Bannerman Dealey (1859–1946), who published *The Dallas Morning News* and was a strong advocate for city planning and major civic improvement projects.[8] The Texas School Book Depository was within a warehouse district in downtown Dallas and occupied a strategic site that overlooked Dealey Plaza and Elm Street where the presidential motorcade passed (fig. II-218). Both the Depository and Dealey Plaza subsequently gained almost instant worldwide notoriety.

> ***Learn More!*** *Refer to the NHL nomination for Dealey Plaza: https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/93001607/93001607_NHL.pdf*



Figure II-218. Oswald's view from the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository taken by *Dallas Times Herald* staff in November 1963. Source: William Allen (photographer), The Portal to Texas History, crediting The Sixth Floor Museum at Dealey Plaza, accessed October 11, 2021, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth184782/.

IMPACT ON DALLAS

The death of Kennedy was a devastating blow to the city of Dallas and its residents. The entire world had come to know Dallas as the city where the youthful and charismatic leader of the free world had been shot in the open and in full view of his admirers. The tragic event left a stain on the city's reputation but soon triggered a response from business and civic leaders to recover from the pain of the assassination and move forward while still acknowledging the event. In 1966, Dallas mayor J. Erik Jonsson oversaw the development of a plan entitled "Goals for Dallas," which outlined ways for the city to move on and deal with future challenges with a renewed sense of optimism.[9] Many of the goals outlined in the plan focused on aspects that Kennedy himself would have supported. Even though Kennedy was now gone, perhaps some of the aspirations he tried to bring to communities rang true on the day of his death in Dallas. Suggestions to improve education, public safety and welfare, and the design for the city offered the opportunity for Dallas to make a new name for itself. "Goals for Dallas" also gave strength to the city's plans for a new city hall to replace the one where Lee Harvey Oswald had been killed.[10]

"Goals for Dallas" also incorporated community input.[11] [12] The city acknowledged the need for community consensus to promote unity and growth. Quoted in the preface of the initial draft of the goals is a line from the Gardner quotation: "To the extent we have made progress, we have done so through fierce and faithful effort…the same measure of devotion is required today."[13] In terms of urban life and patterns, the increasing concentrations of the population require broader social responsibilities than the ones used prior. The new design or general goal of the city was to be completed in stages so

that it might be functional and aesthetically pleasing, and that it might continue dynamic living for those in the city.[14]

A huge step in this development of the city of Dallas was turning the tragedy of the Kennedy assassination into motivation for creating a better city. It charged the city, and specifically Dealey Plaza, with new meaning, allowing the community to work together and go from "assassination to commemoration, moving from memory to history."[15] Preservationists, planners, and city officials transformed the area in and around Dealey Plaza into the center of the commemoration. In an attempt to honor the late President, Dallas began plans for memorialization. In 1970, the John F. Kennedy Memorial Plaza was dedicated just east of Dealey Plaza. Designed by architect Philip Johnson, the memorial, meant to symbolize Kennedy's freedom of spirit, has since become a significant part of not just the urban landscape of the assassination site but all of Dallas (fig. II-219).



Figure II-219. Philip Johnson's Kennedy Memorial (1970). Source: HHM, 2020.

USING THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT TO INTERPRET HISTORY

"The Goals for Dallas" offered guidance on how urban design could be used to help the city move forward and overcome the stigma of the assassination. "The goals you establish for Dallas," the report states, "will have maximum impact and greatest possibility of attainment if determined and sought in the context of an urban environment directed toward satisfying human needs and representative of our highest aspirations and most deliberate efforts. The improved welfare, prosperity and enjoyment of people can be the only reason for planning the development of a fine city."[16] This was exactly what

government officials in Dallas did. Changing the city's form allowed a new focus to occur and relocated the center of interest. The new areas of interest included the Dallas County government center, Kennedy Memorial Plaza, One Main Place, the new city hall, a system of pedestrian ways, Thanksgiving Square, transportation terminals, as well as several landscape approaches for city beautification.[17] The City also tried securing a new Federal Building during this period; a lack of funding delayed the project until the 1970s.

Sites associated with the event have also been researched, designated, and acknowledged. A historical marker was added to Parkland Hospital. The building's historical significance as the location President Kennedy was pronounced dead makes the hospital a site worth observing. In a letter from the hospital administrator C. Jack Price to all employees of the Dallas County Hospital District, it is outlined that in the 48 hours following the events of November 22, 1963, Parkland had: "1. Become the temporary seat of the government of the United States; 2. Become the temporary seat of the government of the State of Texas; 3. Become the site of the death of the 35th President; 4. Become the site of the ascendency of the 36th President; 5. Become the site of the death of President Kennedy's accused assassin; 6. Twice become the center of the attention of the world; 7. Continued to function at close to normal pace as a large charity hospital."[18] Today, the hospital has a plaque to mark the exact spot of Trauma 1, currently located in the Radiology Department, to honor the hard work of those who attempted to save the President's life.

Dealey Plaza and its "grassy knoll" have become a tourist destination and a place for visitors to contemplate and reflect on the monumental events that happened that fateful day in November 1963. The space has been designated a National Historic Landmark District and was recently restored to make the memorial more accessible. The project developed in two phases between 2008-2009. Phase I focused on the two main plazas on Houston Street (both sides) by replacing deteriorated concrete, restoring fountain stone coping, and updating plumbing, in addition to the restoration of the architectural concrete peristyles and pylons.[19] The second phase strived to beautify the memorial with landscaping, implement interpretive graphics, and protect the structure from possible vandalism.[20]

Along with Dealey Plaza, the Texas School Book Depository is also intertwined with the JFK assassination. At the precise moment that the bullet left the rifle barrel of Lee Harvey Oswald from the sixth floor of the seven-floor brick warehouse (fig. II-220), the city of Dallas was doomed to be labeled "The City of Hate." From that point on, the reputation of being "the city that killed Kennedy" was in the back of city officials' minds as they began an attempt to move forward. The development on the urban fabric surrounding the site of such tragedy was meant to not only memorialize the late president but raise awareness to the community of the "bitter struggle that the city had in coming to terms with the assassination."[21] In 1977, plans made to demolish the building were thwarted, and local voters approved a bond issue that enabled Dallas County to purchase the building. The County renovated most of the building for county offices and worked with the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Texas Historical Commission, and the Dallas County Historical Commission to use the now-famous sixth floor for a JFK exhibit.[22] The decision to block demolition or alteration of the depository regardless of the resentful opinions, and redirect them into a sensitive approach, acted as a starting line for the future. The preservation efforts of "this architectural reminder of Dallas' biggest tragedy helped people move on" and emphasized how this significant event continues to shape the city of Dallas and no longer be associated with a level of hate that once encompassed it.[23]



Figure II-220. The Texas School Book Depository Building at 411 Elm Street. Built in 1901, the building originally housed offices for the Southern Rock Island Company. Source: HHM, 20201.

CONCLUSION

The city of Dallas has come a long way since that day in November 1963. The fine line between memorializing the fallen and accepting responsibility for the response to the events is a struggle the city faced head-on. It took on a level of maturation to take the problems at hand and evolve them into strategies that could be viewed as an urban planning model. The transformation involved a great deal of growth from every perspective. The city's urban fabric, local and national leadership, and the overall involvement of community members took something broken and made it whole again. While the City of Dallas will always be the site of the assassination of JFK, it will also be the site of influential and proactive improvement that will be a model for future development in the United States.

NOTES

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[15] Fernandez, "50 Years Later, a Changed Dallas Grapples With Its Darkest Day."

[16] "Goals for Dallas." Prepared for the City of Dallas, 1966

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II-15| Urban Renewal (1911–1972)

INTRODUCTION

The term "urban renewal" typically applies to self-conscious large-scale efforts to improve part of a city considered to be in poor condition, usually executed by a government entity or an institutional organization. In Dallas, the period of significance for resources associated with the theme of urban renewal begins in 1911, upon George E. Kessler's completion of the city plan. The period of significance ends in 1972—50 years ago—although urban renewal projects continue to be implemented today. Types of historic resources associated with this theme include public buildings, parks and plazas, public housing projects, and transportation structures. Resources associated with this theme may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A under areas of significance including Community Planning and Development, Politics/Government, and Social History.

NATIONWIDE BACKGROUND FOR URBAN RENEWAL

The idea of urban renewal emerged in the nineteenth century as the industrial revolution created jobs in the city. In most cities, housing construction could not keep pace with population growth, leading to overcrowding and sanitation problems. From around 1880 to 1910, charitable organizations and religious institutions advocated for urban reforms such as parks, recreation centers, health clinics, and the construction of model housing – all part of a movement known as the "Progressive Era."

> ***Learn more!*** *See the Smithsonian Learning Lab's collection of Progressive Era historical materials at https://learninglab.si.edu/collections/the-progressive-era/Bebz4d432k2fs27p.*

After about 1910, governments assumed more responsibility for housing reform and sanitation. The profession of urban planning gained prominence around the same time. Urban planners of the early twentieth century relied upon court decisions upholding the government's use of eminent domain to purchase land for public use.[1] The power of eminent domain enabled city planning departments to acquire land for projects deemed to be in the public interest – like roadway construction, flood control, parks, and housing projects. Cities often used these projects to help with "slum clearance" – removing unsanitary housing but often displacing non-White communities in the process. During the Depression Era of the early 1930s, the Public Works Administration (PWA) provided federal funding for large-scale public works projects, many of which entailed "slum clearance" or alleviating "blight" in urban areas. Around the same time, in the 1930s, the Federal Housing Authority (FHA) established mortgage lending standards that promoted suburban single-family development – driving middle-class White families out of urban neighborhoods, causing commerce to move outward as well, and exacerbating "urban blight." The federal government responded with a series of funding bills for urban public housing from the 1930s through the 1960s.

> ***Learn more!*** *Read about the PWA from the Living New Deal website at https://livingnewdeal.org/glossary/public-works-administration-pwa-1933-1943/. Also refer to Chapter 9. Suburbanization within this historic context study.*

Background on Public Housing in the US

Construction of public housing using federal funding represented one of the primary tools for urban renewal in the US from the 1930s through the 1960s. In 1937, the US Congress passed the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act to loan local governments funds to construct housing. In the 1940s, urban renewal projects waned as the US redirected labor and construction materials toward World War II. After World War II, urban populations boomed, and many American cities lacked sufficient housing supply. The US Congress passed the Housing Act of 1949 to help cities fund new urban housing construction.[2] By the 1950s, though, anti-

communist political sentiment led politicians to prefer to let the private market provide most new housing. Mortgage lenders and the FHA continued to incentivize development in the suburbs. Local infrastructure investments followed taxpayers to the suburbs, perpetuating disinvestment in American downtowns. The US Congress passed another Housing Act in 1954, which supplemented funding for public housing projects with incentives for privatized rental housing and rehabilitation, as well as requirements for "full-fledged citizen participation" and "adequate housing of displaced families."[3] In 1965, as part of President Lyndon Baines Johnson's "Great Society" program, the congressional Housing Bill directed additional funding toward public housing construction and rehabilitation grants, and the Housing and Urban Development Act created the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).[4] During his Presidency, Johnson also signed the 1968 Fair Housing Act.[5] Much of the funding from both the 1954 and 1965 allocations went toward demolition of longstanding non-White neighborhoods for construction of multi-story apartment blocks. Some examples of public housing projects from this era lacked adequate infrastructure and social services, engendering crime and discontent among residents, leading to widespread public opposition to public housing. In 1973, President Nixon responded by freezing federal funding for most public housing.[6]

Significant displacement of urban neighborhoods also resulted from construction of the interstate highway system in the 1960s and 1970s. State highway departments often selected affordable land in low-lying areas or along railroad corridors for new interstate alignments, but this affordable land also often accommodated non-White communities. The interstate highway network, in turn, encouraged manufacturing and warehousing operations to relocate to suburban locations, shifting jobs away from central cities and leaving large swaths of urban industrial land abandoned. In the 1970s and 1980s, city planners tried to counter these overwhelming national forces by encouraging civic developments and tourist amenities that took advantage of undervalued urban land. Private residential and commercial use of downtown remained sparse in most American cities, though, and earlier government-funded projects faced harsh criticism for failing to revive cities. Federally funded projects of the era typically reduced or removed public housing from downtowns in hopes of making them more attractive to private developers. For example, the 1992 "Hope VI" federal housing allocation demolished over 50,000 units of public housing and only replaced about half.[7] In the 1980s and 1990s, the federal government instead initiated a number of tax incentives—ranging from the historic preservation tax credit to tax credits for cleanup of polluted former industrial sites—leading to the private-sector revitalization and gentrification projects characteristic of the early twenty-first century.

URBAN RENEWAL IN TEXAS

In the early twentieth century, government entities in Texas hesitated to use the power of eminent domain, and the State of Texas had no Enabling Act for local zoning until 1929.[8] In the New Deal era of the 1930s, the use of eminent domain for urban renewal efforts like public housing construction still found limited support in Texas.[9] In 1937, though, the election of Lyndon Baines Johnson to the US House of Representatives ushered in a wave of federal urban renewal projects in Texas. Johnson ran on a New Deal platform and played a major role in gathering political support to pass the 1937 US Housing Act, ensuring that a large proportion of the funding came back to Texas. One of the first three loans in the nation from the 1937 Housing Act came to the City of Austin. [10] Federally funded housing projects in Texas during Johnson's Congressional term (1937–1949) included Santa Rita Courts, Rosewood Courts, and Chalmers Courts in Austin; Cedar Springs Place in Dallas; Butler Place in Fort Worth; and Victoria Courts, Lincoln Heights, Apache Courts, and Alazan Courts in San Antonio.[11] Johnson continued to advocate for public housing funding while serving in the US Senate (1939–1961), as Vice President (1961–1963), and as President (1963–1969). Johnson continued to bring federal funds for urban renewal to Texas throughout his political career.[12] One high-profile example in San Antonio, the 1968 "HemisFair" exposition, used federal Housing and Home Finance Agency funding to clear a site designated a "slum," constructing fairgrounds and museums while displacing an estimated 2,239 households and 686 businesses.[13] HemisFair spurred a movement of urban renewal for arts and recreational redevelopment rather than public housing, echoing throughout the state in the 1970s and 1980s.

URBAN RENEWAL IN DALLAS

EARLY URBAN RENEWAL EFFORTS IN DALLAS

Urban renewal efforts in Dallas date from the early twentieth century – significantly earlier than most cities in Texas. As described in *Section 6. Urban Planning*, Dallas attempted to implement a zoning ordinance as early as 1915 – 14 years before the State of Texas passed an enabling ordinance for zoning laws in 1929. In Dallas, influential private property owners advocated for zoning and urban renewal projects in hopes of increasing property values. Support from key property owners led the City of Dallas to employ the power of eminent domain widely in the early twentieth century. Although many smaller property owners opposed the acquisition of their land for urban renewal, they often lacked political capital, and their voices were drowned out by the business-minded majority in Dallas City Hall.

Most early urban renewal projects in Dallas resulted from recommendations in the 1911 "City Plan for Dallas" by George E. Kessler. (See *Section 6. Urban Planning*.) The City of Dallas typically cooperated with property owners to acquire land to implement the Kessler plan. The Kessler plan focused on improving citywide parks and transportation, sometimes with the unintended consequence of displacing private property owners, but not with the explicit goal of "slum clearance" that characterized projects in the mid-to-late-twentieth century. Most property owners acquiesced to the sale of their land for public use without the need for an eminent domain case. For example, from 1911 to 1914, the City Park Board consolidated lots to create Exall Park (extant, located just northeast of downtown, bound by Bryan, Live Oak, Skiles, and Adair Streets; fig. II-221). When one property owner resisted an attempt to increase the City's compensation, the City began the process of taking the land with eminent domain. However, the City and the property owner ultimately agreed to a fair price, and the eminent domain case never went to court.[14]

> ***Learn more!*** *Chapter 13. Plazas, Parks, Monuments, and Memorialization provides additional background about park development in Dallas.*



Figure II-221. Aerial photo of Exall Park in 1954. Source: "Photo Gallery," Dallas Park & Recreation Department, accessed October 5, 2021, http://www.dallasparks.org/Gallery.aspx?PID=60.

Kessler's recommendations also brought about the construction of the 1916 Union Terminal to serve as the single grand entry point for rail travelers arriving in Dallas (extant, 400 S. Houston Street, fig. II-222). A private consortium, known as the Union Terminal Company, came together to complete the Union Terminal project – in contrast to most urban renewal projects, which generally involved public funding.[15] The land for the new terminal previously contained a dense cluster of "negro dwellings," along with the "Dallas Brick Co. buildings & machinery in ruins," as illustrated on Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps from 1899 and 1905.[16] The Union Terminal Company purchased the land privately around 1908, paying $1,000 per acre (significantly below market value).[17] The company immediately cleared the land and likely encouraged Kessler to recommend siting a new depot in the area. Though Kessler's plan does not designate this site specifically, it does recommend the general area, calling for, "The building of a union passenger station…in the vicinity of Main and Broadway at the present western terminus of the business district."[18] Kessler also recommended the creation of a landscaped plaza in front of the new terminal, "giving to Dallas a dignified and worthy railroad entrance."[19]

> ***Learn more!*** *Find the National Register nomination for the Dallas Union Terminal online at https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Details/2075001966.*



Figure II-222. Photo of Union Terminal looking west across Ferris Plaza, in 1974. Source: Joe R. Williams and Stephen Smith, "Union Station." National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1974, from the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/Union%20Station%20National%20Register%20Form.pdf.

Immediately after the railroad station's completion in 1916, the Dallas mayor began discussing issuing bonds to fund construction of the "Union Depot Park."[20] Sanborn maps show that dense, modest-scaled residential development occupied the block at the time.[21] The railroad companies strongly advocated spending public money on the plaza, seeing that beautification potentially could increase their revenue. The *Dallas Morning News* repeatedly promoted plaza construction as well, with publisher George Dealey standing to profit on his own real estate investments nearby.[22] Dallas voters approved issuing bonds for land acquisition and construction of the plaza in 1916 and 1917. [23] After prolonged negotiation, property owners and the City agreed upon a fair purchase price for the land, avoiding forced displacement of families with eminent domain.[24] Completion of the new public open space—named "Ferris Plaza"—followed in 1918 (fig. II-223).[25]



Figure II-223. Photo of Ferris Plaza in 1949 showing the waiting station just above plaza's circular fountain. Source: Paula Bosse, "Ferris Plaza Waiting Station — 1925-1950," Flashback: Dallas, accessed Aug. 13, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2014/10/16/ferris-plaza-waiting-station/.

EVOLUTION OF URBAN RENEWAL IN DALLAS

The New Deal Era

DEALEY PLAZA AND THE CIVIC CENTER

In the 1920s and 1930s, the area west of downtown fell into disuse with the decline of rail-related warehousing and manufacturing, along with the abandonment of the Texas and Pacific Railroad tracks along Pacific Avenue in 1921.[26] The grade-level rail crossings in the area also made transportation unsafe and inhibited development of new commerce. The Kessler plan recommended City and County investment in construction of a civic center in the area, building upon the presence of the 1892 county courthouse and 1906 city jail (described in *Chapter 4. Municipal and City Governments*). In the early twentieth century, the County constructed two additional buildings in the area—the 1913 Criminal Courts Building and the 1922 County Records Building—but the area still lacked a cohesive plan. Federal funding provided by the New Deal provided an opportunity for the City of Dallas to attempt to revitalize the area more comprehensively.

In the early 1930s, the City proposed the project that would combine rail and road realignment with construction of a landscaped plaza, building upon their experience developing Union Station and Ferris Plaza. The site selected for the project was bound by Houston Street on the east, Commerce Street on the south, Elm Street on the north, and a series of railroad tracks on the west. Sanborn maps from 1921

show a combination of commercial properties, warehouses, and industry on the site.[27] The City of Dallas assumed responsibility for acquiring the land.[28] To execute the project, the City combined local tax dollars with funds from the Texas Highway Department and the federal Works Progress Administration (WPA). Planning and construction spanned from 1934 to 1940, featuring Art Deco architecture and landscaping designed by architects Hare & Hare of Kansas City (extant, designated as a National Historic Landmark, fig. II-224).[29] The architecture and landscaped elements masked a complicated interchange with three side-by-side underpasses, traveling under the railroad tracks and fanning out to connect to the downtown street grid (fig. II-225).[30] Named Dealey Plaza, the project honored newspaper editor and city booster George Dealey, who had advocated for development of the area for decades. Whereas Ferris Plaza was the gateway into Dallas for rail passengers, Dealey Plaza, in part a reflection of the proliferation of automobiles, was Dallas's automobile gateway. Concurrently, the City of Dallas planned a series of additional plazas linking civic buildings. City engineer Harold H. Denney drafted a proposed "Civic Center" study in 1935 (fig. II-226). The City acquired land for the plazas incrementally (as discussed under *Chapter 13. Plazas, Parks, Monuments, and Memorialization*), although the civic center plan was never fully executed.

> ***Learn more!*** *Find the National Historic Landmark nomination for Dealey Plaza online at https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Details/2093001607. Also refer to Chapter 14 for information about Dealey Plaza's association with President John F. Kennedy's assassination.*



Figure II-224. Aerial photo form 1987 looking northeast over Dealey Plaza. Note the number of empty lots despite urban renewal efforts. Source: Conover Hunt and James H. Charleton, "Dealey Plaza Historic District," National Historic Landmark Registration Form. Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1993.



Figure II-225. Photo from 1993 facing east and looking toward the triple underpass entering Dealey Plaza. Source: Conover Hunt and James H. Charleton, "Dealey Plaza Historic District," National Historic Landmark Registration Form. Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1993.

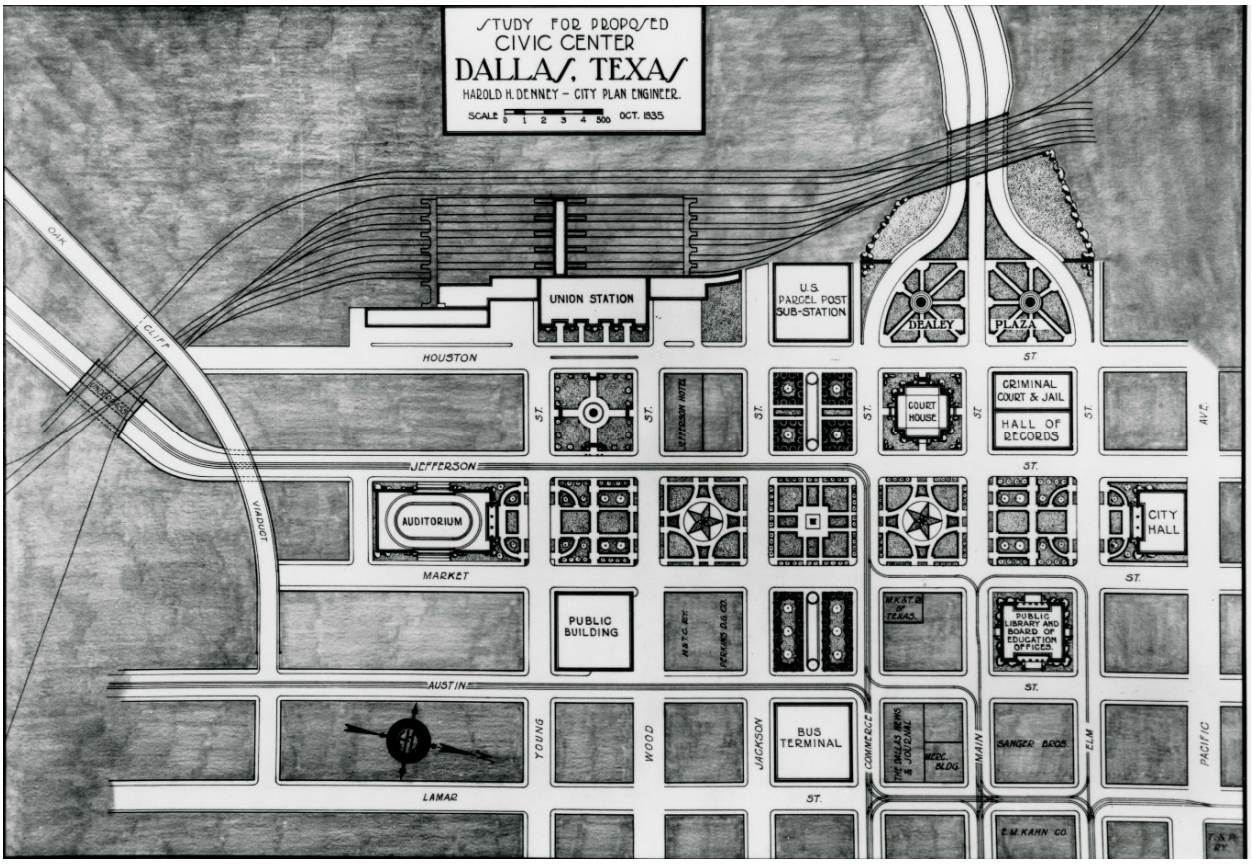


Figure II-226. Plan for a proposed "Civic Center," 1935. Source: Conover Hunt and James H. Charleton, "Dealey Plaza Historic District," National Historic Landmark Registration Form. Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1993.

FAIR PARK

To the east of downtown and Deep Ellum, the City of Dallas sought to redevelop the languishing State Fair Grounds site near the eastern terminus of Commerce Street at its intersection with the Texas & Pacific Railroad tracks. Private organizations owned the 80-acre fairgrounds from 1886 until 1904, but operation of the fair dwindled after a 1902 fire and the passage of a state law outlawing horse racing (a major driver of fair revenue).[31] The City of Dallas purchased the site in 1904, in exchange for the City's payment of debt.[32] The City constructed the "Fair Park Football Stadium" on the grounds in 1921, used for community events and high-school and college football games. This stadium was replaced by the current Cotton Bowl football stadium in 1930 (extant, part of the designated Fair Park National Historic Landmark).[33] An aerial photo from 1930 shows the Cotton Bowl anchoring the 80-acre fairgrounds, surrounded by the Texas & Pacific Railroad tracks to the northeast, the Deep Ellum commercial strip to the northwest, and dense residential development to the southwest and southeast.[34] A working-class, multi-ethnic demographic occupied the adjoining neighborhood (as described in *Chapter 2. Demographics and Spatial Settlement*).

The 1936 centennial of Texas's independence from Mexico provided a rationale for a grand celebration to stimulate tourism and boost the state's economy. In 1934, the State of Texas formed a Texas Centennial Commission, which selected Dallas as the site for the Texas Centennial Exhibition.[35] The commission required a minimum of 200 acres for the exhibition site, and between 1934 and 1936, the Dallas fairground grew from 80 acres to approximately 300 acres.[36] To obtain the land, the City of Dallas acquired hundreds of acres of homes, often using condemnation against the owners' objections.[37] Once acquired, the land was transformed into a grand, landscaped series of Art Deco exhibition halls, museums, and auditoriums – with design oversight by architect George Dahl. (extant, designated as a National Historic Landmark and City of Dallas historic district, fig. II-227). Construction funds came from a combination of private money and public bonds, totaling approximately $5.5 million.[38] Additional federal funding came from three major New Deal programs – the WPA, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), and the Public Works Administration (PWA).[39]

> ***Learn more!*** *Find the National Register nomination for the Fair Park Texas Centennial Buildings online at https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Details/2086003488.*



Figure II-227. Photo of the Fair Park Esplanade in 2016. Source: Photo by Will van Overbeek, "Art Deco Achievement: The historic art and architecture of Fair Park in Dallas," Texas Highways, August 1, 2016, https://texashighways.com/culture/art-deco-achievement-dallas-fair-park/.

Public Housing in the LBJ Era

The earliest use of public housing for urban renewal in Dallas dates from 1938, following the election of Lyndon Baines Johnson to the US Congress in 1937. Between 1938 and 1954, around 11 multi-family housing projects rose in Dallas. Using funding from the PWA, the first project in Dallas, the 1938 Cedar Springs housing project, housed exclusively White families (extant, fig. II-228).[40]

> ***Learn more!*** *The National Register Nomination for the Cedar Springs Place housing project is available online from the Texas Historical Commission at https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/91001901/91001901.pdf.*

On March 17, 1938, the City of Dallas established the Dallas Housing Authority (DHA).[41] This enabled the City of Dallas to apply for federal housing funding allocated from the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act. DHA targeted locations for new public housing within the ring of "slums" surrounding downtown—Mill Creek, Hall-Thomas, and "Little Mexico"—with the *Dallas Morning News* arguing that current conditions posed a fire threat and health hazard to surrounding property. The city selected Hall-Thomas as the first site for "slum clearance" to construct new public housing. The City used the power of eminent domain to force the sale of property in the selected area for the new housing project. The longstanding Black community in the area protested the demolition and forced relocation, using the Munger Avenue Baptist Church as their organizational headquarters (extant at 3919 Munger Avenue). Opponents even brought a lawsuit against the DHA that went to the Texas Supreme Court, but the ruling ultimately favored DHA. Groundbreaking for the project in Hall-Thomas began in 1941, demolishing 266 houses, nearly all owned by African Americans.[42] The new housing project, known as Roseland Homes, opened

in 1942 (extant, fig. II-229). Many Black homeowners who lost their residences to demolition for the project rented units at Roseland Homes as they were left with few other options. Only two buildings in the Roseland Homes complex are extant, as most units were demolished in the twenty-first century.



Figure II-228. Photo of the newly constructed Cedar Springs Housing Project in 1938. Source: "Cedar Springs Place," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1991, from the Texas Historical Commission, https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/91001901/91001901.pdf.

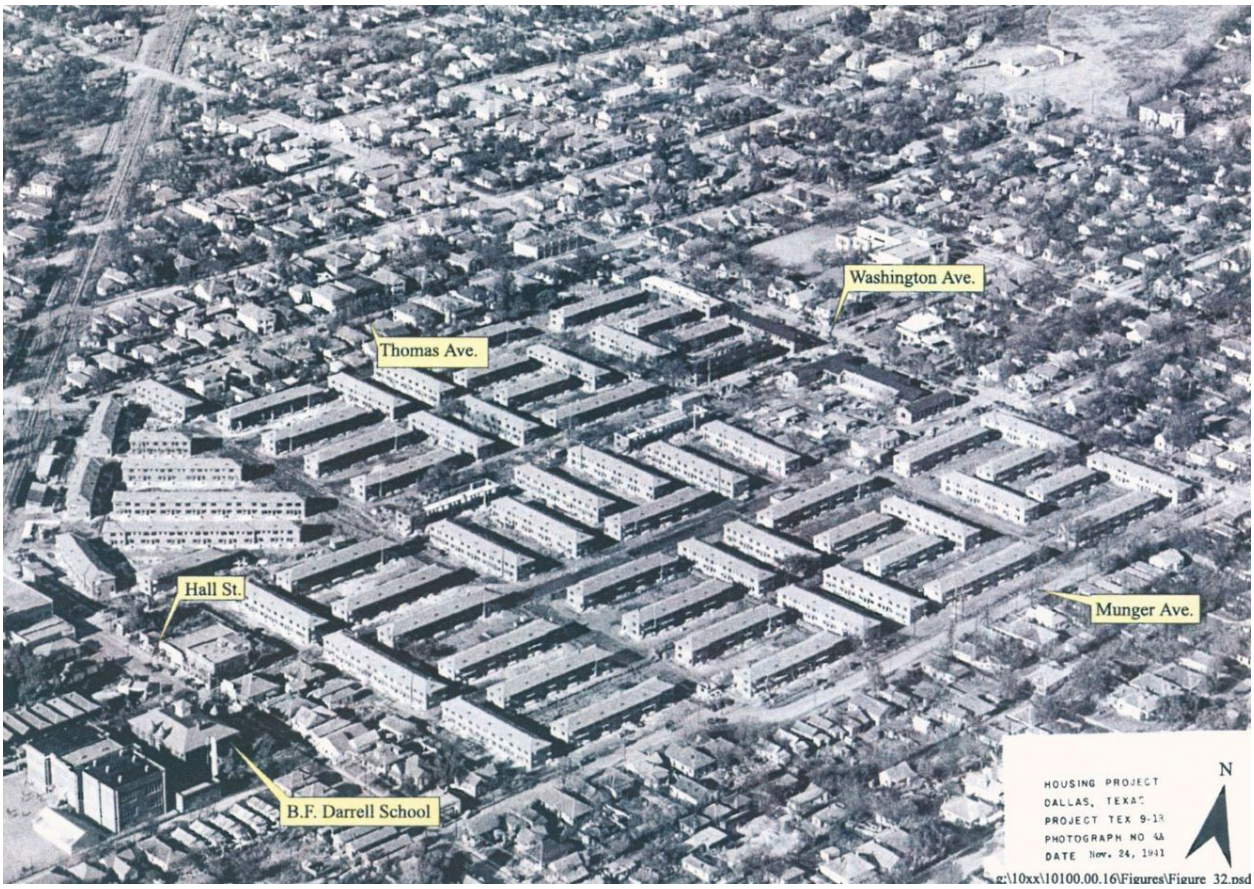


Figure II-229. Aerial view of Roseland Homes under construction in July 1941. (Courtesy of Dallas Housing Authority archives.)" Source: Dana Amihere, "Dallas' public housing residents struggle as homes become more distant from city's core," Dallas Morning News, Apr. 13, 2017, https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2017/04/13/dallas-public-housing-residents-struggle-as-homes-become-more-distant-from-city-s-core/.

With the favorable court decision for the Roseland Homes project, DHA quickly moved forward with land acquisition and construction for a number of additional public housing projects. Between 1941 and 1943, these included Frazier Courts (250 units, designated for Black families only, replaced), Little Mexico Village (102 units, Latin-X families only, extant), expansion of Cedar Springs (an additional 220 units, for White families only, extant), and Washington Place (242 units in 1943 plus 111 units in 1944, White families only, no longer extant).[43] With the 1949 federal Housing Act, DHA secured additional federal funding. From 1951 to 1954, DHA moved forward with construction of Brackins Village (102 Units, Black families only, extant), an additional 300 units at Frazier Courts, Turner Courts (294 units, Black families only, no longer extant), Edgar Ward Place (2,662 units designated for Black families, replaced), Elmer Scott (500 units for Latin-x families, replaced), Rhoads Terrace (426 units for Black families, no longer extant), and George Loving Place (1,500 units for White families, replaced).[44]

By the mid-1950s, nationwide sentiment opposing public housing affected Dallas as well. From around 1956 through 1957, DHA used some funding from the 1954 Housing Act for rehabilitation and sanitation projects that improved thousands of existing homes. Although DHA proposed new widescale slum clearance projects in this era, they lacked political support.[45] In the late 1960s, the new US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) began providing federal funding for multi-story low-rent housing for the elderly – a program which the City of Dallas supported.[46] In the early 1970s, DHA constructed elderly housing – Brook Manor, Park Manor (fig. II-230), and Cliff Manor. Although not

officially segregated, Brook Manor housed mostly White residents, Park Manor mostly Black residents, and Cliff Manor mostly Latin-X residents.[47] Additional mid-rise elderly housing followed in late 1978, with the construction of Forest Green Manor and Lakeland Manor. These "manor" housing towers were distributed throughout the central city. Because of their smaller footprint and taller height, the multi-story projects acquired less land. The projects also required displacing fewer residents. Historic aerial photographs from the 1960s and 1970s show that DHA selected vacant land for the sites of all of the manors, learning from the experience of earlier opposition.[48]



Figure II-230. Photo of the Park Manor elderly housing project and the adjacent Kimble Park, date not specified. Source: "Park Manor," Dallas Housing Authority, accessed Aug. 14, 2021, https://dhantx.com/properties/park-manor/.

Transportation Construction as an Urban Renewal Tool

Meanwhile, from the 1940s through the 1980s, construction of new highway transportation systems also served as a tool for urban renewal in Dallas. Following nationwide trends, transportation planners typically sought land in flood-prone neighborhoods and along railroad tracks. In Dallas, this less-desirable land often provided affordable housing for non-White communities (as discussed in *Chapter 2. Demographics and Spatial Settlement*). In one of the earliest examples of urban highway development in Texas, the State Highway Department constructed the Central Expressway (now US 75) along the eastern edge of downtown Dallas from 1947 to 1955. The Central Expressway followed the Houston & Central Texas rail tracks, which ran at grade level, lined with modest, affordable housing (fig. II-231). As described by historian Michael V. Hazel, the highway "destroyed blocks of African American houses and cut a barrier right through the middle of the historic State-Thomas neighborhood, Dallas's original post-Civil War Freedmen's Town."[49] Historic before-and-after photos of the highway construction document the drastic change, showing the wide swath of historic homes demolished to accommodate the new

roadway (figs. II-232-235). This trend continued into south Dallas in the late 1950s with the construction of the RL Thornton Freeway, compounded by the freeway's expansion in the 1960s to form Interstate Highway 35 East (fig. II-234). The freeway destroyed much of the area around the Tenth Street Historic District (listed in the National Register and designated locally), where a freedom colony formed in the late nineteenth century and a tight-knit Black community formed by the early twentieth century.[50] Each of the many highways constructed in Dallas over the course of the twentieth century required the acquisition of private land and demolition of neighborhoods. In addition to the destruction of some neighborhoods, highways also divided and cut off existing neighborhoods from one another. Highways made transportation challenging within, into, and out of neighborhoods challenging, often leading to disuse and disinvestment in the cutoff areas.

> ***Learn more!*** *See the interactive exhibit titled "The Road to Disinvestment: How Highways Divided the City and Destroyed Neighborhoods" from AIA Dallas at https://www.aiadallas.org/v/columns-detail/The-Road-to-Disinvestment-How-Highways-Divided-the-City-and-Destroyed-Neighborhoods/pt/.*
>
> *For additional background on highway development in Dallas, see Chapter 8. Highways, Roadways, and Automobiles.*



Figure II-231. Photo of the rail line near Munger Avenue prior to construction of Central Expressway. Note the low-lying and poorly drained soil, with substandard City sanitation. Source: "From Pioneer Paths to Superhighways - The Texas Highway Department Blazes Texas Trails 1917-1968," Texas State Library and Archives, accessed Aug. 14, 2021, https://www.tsl.texas.gov/exhibits/highways/greatage/centralexpressway1950s.html.

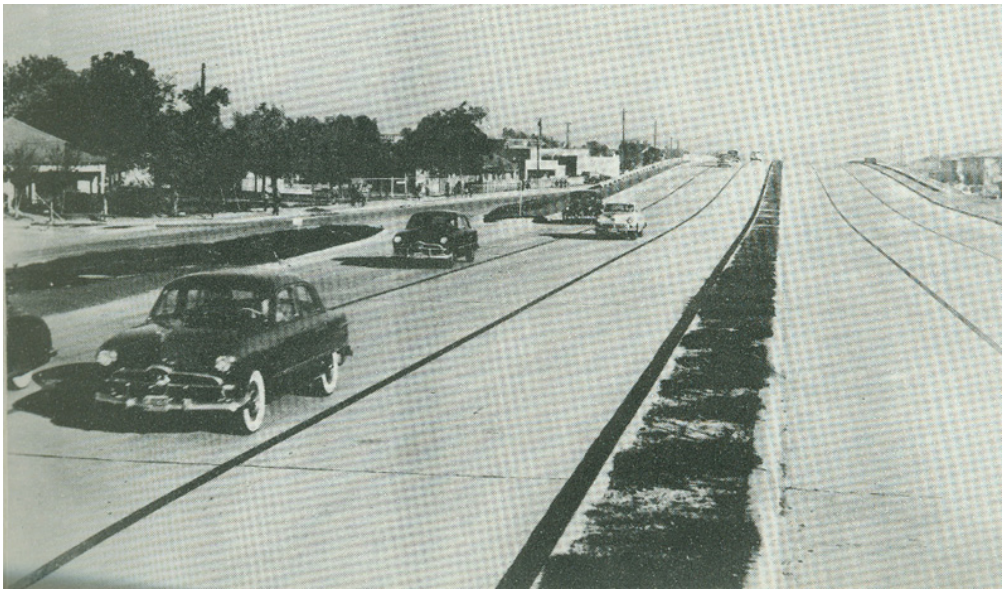


Figure II-232. Photo of the new Central Expressway near Munger Avenue (taken from the same point as II-231). Source: "From Pioneer Paths to Superhighways - The Texas Highway Department Blazes Texas Trails 1917-1968," Texas State Library and Archives, accessed Aug. 14, 2021, https://www.tsl.texas.gov/exhibits/highways/greatage/centralexpressway1950s.html.



Figure II-233. Aerial photo of Central Expressway (now US-75), around 1955. Source: "From Pioneer Paths to Superhighways - The Texas Highway Department Blazes Texas Trails 1917-1968," Texas State Library and Archives, accessed Aug. 14, 2021, https://www.tsl.texas.gov/exhibits/highways/greatage/centralexpressway1950s.html.



Figure II-234. Aerial photo showing the RL Thorton Freeway (now I-35) in South Dallas, 1959. Source: "The Road to Disinvestment: How Highways Divided the City and Destroyed Neighborhoods," AIA Dallas, accessed Aug. 15, 2021, https://www.aiadallas.org/v/columns-detail/The-Road-to-Disinvestment-How-Highways-Divided-the-City-and-Destroyed-Neighborhoods/pt/.

Private Urban Renewal Ventures in the Late Twentieth Century

ONE MAIN PLACE

A number of private investors also played a role in urban renewal in central Dallas in the late twentieth century, seeking to reverse the economic decline of downtown caused by suburbanization. In 1953, for example, private property owners merged holdings near Main and Griffin Streets, forming the Dallas Texas Corporation. Their initial landholding included a full city block along Main Street, between N. Griffith and N. Field Streets. Historic aerial photos from 1958 show that the block included a collection of small-scale commercial buildings, with a surface parking lot at the core of the block.[51] In 1961, the corporation privately sought a three-phase redevelopment plan from the Columbia University School of Architecture Master's Program, converting an ambitious 100 blocks of downtown into a new development known as "Main Place."[52] The prominent Modernist architecture firm Skidmore, Owings, & Merrill (SOM) refined and simplified the Phase I design in 1964 (extant, listed in the National Register and designated as a local landmark, fig. II-235).[53] In addition to the land already owned by the Dallas Texas Corporation, the City of Dallas abandoned some streets and realigned others to accommodate the

design.[54] Construction of the first phase "One Main Place" tower at 1201 Main Street occurred from 1965 through 1968, resulting in a clean Modern skyscraper that communicated the business community's commitment to continuing to invest in downtown.[55] The Dallas Texas Corporation acquired and cleared land for the second phase, and the City gave the developers rights to the land underneath Main Street for construction of underground tunnels connecting the two phases. However, the developers struggled to secure additional financing, and completion of phases two and three never materialized.[56] Lack of financing would prove to be an obstacle for private redevelopment of the central city throughout the 1970s. (See fig. II-224.)



Rendering of One Main Place from marketing brochure, 1965: View from northwest
Courtesy Dallas Public Library Dallas and Texas History Center

Figure II-235. Rendering of One Main Plaza by SOM, 1964. Source: Jay Firshing and Hayli Ballentine, "One Main Place," Dallas Landmark Commission Nomination Form, City of Dallas, 2015, from the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/One%20Main%20Place%20Landmark%20Nomination.pdf.

THANKS-GIVING SQUARE

Around the same time, in 1964, a group of Dallas businessmen envisioned an urban renewal project that took advantage of the decline of downtown to create a meditative green space. This new project aimed to remind the men and women working downtown about the importance of gratitude to religions and cultures worldwide. [57] The businessmen formed the Thanks-Giving Foundation, which acquired a triangular parcel of land at the intersection of Bryan Street and Pacific Avenue downtown. Historic aerial photos of the site from the late 1960s suggest a grouping of irregularly shaped small commercial buildings on the site.[58] The Thanks-Giving Foundation commissioned architect Philip Johnson, who had recently completed the design for the Fort Worth Water Garden. Construction of Thanks-Giving square proceeded from 1973 to 1976, resulting in a sunken green space with a spiraling concrete chapel (extant, fig. II-236).[59]

> ***Learn more!*** *Redevelopment of the Dallas Arts District from the 1970s through the early twenty-first century represents another urban renewal effort, as discussed within Chapter 6. Urban Planning.*



Figure II-236. Photo of Thanks-Giving Square, 2020. Source: Photo by HHM.

CONCLUSION

The trend toward private-sector implementation of urban renewal projects continued through the end of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century, with private developers leveraging tax incentives and government grants to develop the vibrant network of parks, areas, auditoriums, and museums that characterizes central Dallas today. Many of the early public renewal projects discussed herein remain integral parts of this network. Each example of urban renewal in Dallas communicates the social thought of its day. Each urban renewal project was conceived with humanitarian intent—aiming

to make people's lives better by improving their environments—although unintended consequences often counterbalanced the positive impacts. These past urban renewal projects provide important lessons about balancing visionary utopianism with community outreach and engagement, applicable to the ongoing urban renewal efforts of today.

NOTES

[1] "History of the Federal Use of Eminent Domain," US Department of Justice, accessed August 3, 2021, https://www.justice.gov/enrd/history-federal-use-eminent-domain.

[2] "Housing Act of 1949," American Planning Association, accessed August 4, 2021, https://www.planning.org/awards/2014/1949housingact.htm.

[3] B. T. McGraw, "The Housing Act of 1954 and Implications for Minorities," *Phylon* [1940-1956] 16, no. 2 (1955): 171-82, from JSTOR; "The Housing Act of 1954," *Monthly Labor Review* 77, no. 9 (1954): 990-95, from JSTOR.

[4] "Evaluating the success of the Great Society: Lyndon B. Johnson's visionary set of legislation turns 50," *Washington Post*, May 17, 2014, https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/national/great-society-at-50/.

[5] "History of Fair Housing," US Department of Housing and Urban Development, accessed August 10, 2021, https://www.hud.gov/program_offices/fair_housing_equal_opp/aboutfheo/history.

[6] Jennifer Amy Stoloff, "Public Housing and Paid Work" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, 2004), from Research Gate, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228789405_A_brief_history_of_public_housing.

[7] "Public Housing History," National Low Income Housing Coalition, accessed August 5, 2021, https://nlihc.org/resource/public-housing-history.

[8] Bartholomew, "Your Dallas of Tomorrow," 33.

[9] "Eminent Domain," *Dallas Morning News,* p. 2, July 18, 1935. This article provides an example of sentiment opposing use of eminent domain at the time.

[10] Fred L. McGhee, PhD, "Santa Rita Courts," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 2008, p. 8-8 – 8-10, from the Texas Historical Commission Atlas, https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/08000319/08000319.pdf.

[11] [Search for "Housing" in Texas], Living New Deal, accessed August 10, 2021, https://livingnewdeal.org/advanced-search/?search_query=housing&tax_state_city%5B%5D=tx&wpas=1.

[12] "Public Housing Takes New Turn," *Dallas Morning News*, p. 33, Oct. 11, 1970;

[13] Frank Duane, "HemisFair '68," Handbook of Texas Online, accessed August 11, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/hemisfair-68.

[14] "Invokes Its Right of Eminent Domain," *Dallas Morning News*, p. 9, May 27, 1914, from ProQuest; Jebson, Newton, and Hogan, "Centennial History of Dallas Texas Park System."

[15] Chris Cravens, "Union Terminal Company," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 11, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/union-terminal-company.

[16] *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Dallas, Dallas County, Texas*, Sanborn Map Company, 1899 sheet 14 and 1905 sheet 103, from the University of Texas at Austin, https://maps.lib.utexas.edu/maps/sanborn/d.html.

[17] "Will Let Contract for Union Station," *Dallas Morning News*, Mar. 17, 1912, p. 1, from GeneologyBank; "Dallas City Hall and Depot Sites Selected," *Dallas Morning News*, Jan. 17, 1911, p. 1, from GeneologyBank. For price comparison, a downtown lot under an acre was valued at $3,500 in 1887 per Powers, *The Development and Expansion of the Street Railroad System in Dallas, Texas*, 58.

[18] George E. Kessler, "A City Plan for Dallas," prepared for the City of Dallas, 1911, p. 9, from the Portal to Texas History, citing the Dallas Municipal Archives, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth129158.

[19] Kessler, "A City Plan for Dallas," pp. 12-13.

[20] "Mayor Favors Union Depot Parks Bond," *Dallas Morning News*, Feb. 25, 1916, p. 8, from GenealogyBank.

[21] *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Dallas, Dallas County, Texas*, Sanborn Map Company, 1899, sheet 13, from the University of Texas at Austin, https://maps.lib.utexas.edu/maps/sanborn/d-f/txu-sanborn-dallas-1899-13.jpg.

[22] Robert M. Newton, and Patricia R. Hogan, "Centennial History of Dallas Texas Park System: 1876-1976," prepared for the City of Dallas, Department of Park Administration, Landscape Architecture, and Horticulture, in cooperation with the Department of History, Dallas Technical University, Lubbock, Texas, 1976, pp. 279-281, from the Dallas Public Library, https://dallascityhall.com/government/citysecretary/archives/DCH%20Documents/Dallas_Park_Rec_Centennial_History.pdf.

[23] Jebson, Newton, and Hogan, "Centennial History of Dallas Texas Park System," pp. 278, 335; "Dallas Has Chance to Group Buildings," *Dallas Morning News*, Apr. 15, 1917, p. 4, from GeneologyBank.

[24] "Difference in Value as to Plaza Property," *Dallas Morning News*, Jul. 8, 1917, p. 4, from GeneologyBank; "Mayor Selects Board to Fix Value of Proposed Park Site," *Dallas Morning News*, Dec. 8, 1917, p. 6, from GeneologyBank; "Decision Reached as to Park Property," *Dallas Morning News*, Mar. 12, 1918, p. 7, from GeneologyBank.

[25] Jebson, Newton, and Hogan, "Centennial History of Dallas Texas Park System," pp. 278, 335.

[26] Joe Williams, "West End Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form. Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1978.

[27] *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Dallas, Dallas County, Texas*, Sanborn Map Company, 1921, sheet 1, from the University of Texas at Austin, https://maps.lib.utexas.edu/maps/sanborn/d-f/txu-sanborn-dallas-1921-01.jpg.

[28] Conover Hunt and James H. Charleton, "Dealey Plaza Historic District," National Historic Landmark Registration Form. Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1993, p. 5. Note that newspaper research did not uncover any information about the process of land acquisition.

[29] "Dealey Plaza – Dallas, Texas," Living New Deal, accessed July 21, 2021, https://livingnewdeal.org/projects/dealey-plaza-park-dallas-tx/.

[30] "Dealey Plaza – Dallas, Texas," Living New Deal, accessed July 21, 2021, https://livingnewdeal.org/projects/dealey-plaza-park-dallas-tx/.

[31] Stephen G. Snyder and James H. Charleton, "Texas Centennial Exposition Buildings (1936-37)," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1986, https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Details/2086003488; Sarah Hunter, "Fair Park," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 13, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/fair-park.

[32] Stephen G. Snyder and James H. Charleton, "Texas Centennial Exposition Buildings (1936-37)," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1986, https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Details/2086003488.

[33] Lisa C. Maxwell, "Cotton Bowl," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 13, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/cotton-bowl.

[34] "South Dallas (Labeled)" [photo], Dallas Historic Aerial Photographs, 1930 Fairchild Survey, from Southern Methodist University, https://digitalcollections.smu.edu/digital/collection/dmp/id/163.

[35] Stephen G. Snyder and James H. Charleton, "Texas Centennial Exposition Buildings (1936-37)," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1986, https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Details/2086003488.

[36] Stephen G. Snyder and James H. Charleton, "Texas Centennial Exposition Buildings (1936-37)," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1986, https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Details/2086003488.

[37] "Suits to Condemn More Houses for Centennia Ready," *Dallas Morning News*, Aug. 11, 1935, p. 1, from GenologyBank; "Third Centennial Board to Condemn Houses Appointed," *Dallas Morning News*, Aug. 29, 1935, p. 1, from GenealogyBank; "Fourteen Tracks On Fair Grounds to Be Condemned," *Dallas Morning News*, Nov. 7, 1935, p. 13, from GeneologyBank. Newspapers include numerous additional articles documenting land acquisitions and condemnation proceedings.

[38] Sarah Hunter, "Fair Park," Handbook of Texas Online, accessed August 13, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/fair-park.

[39] "Fair Park – Dallas TX," Living New Deal, accessed Aug. 13, 2021, https://livingnewdeal.org/projects/fair-park-dallas-tx/.

[40] "Cedar Springs Place – Dallas, Texas," Living New Deal, accessed July 21, 2021, https://livingnewdeal.org/projects/cedar-springs-place-dallas-tx/.

[41] Robert B. Fairbanks, *The War on Slums in the Southwest: Public Housing and Slum Clearance in Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico, 1935-1965* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014), 61, from JSTOR.

[42] Fairbanks, *The War on Slums in the Southwest*, 61-64.

[43] Fairbanks, *The War on Slums in the Southwest*, 65-66, 175.

[44] Fairbanks, *The War on Slums in the Southwest*, 99, 176.

[45] Fairbanks, *The War on Slums in the Southwest*, 134-140.

[46] "Housing Cited as Problem for Elderly," *Dallas Morning News*, May 26, 1969, p. 1, from GeneologyBank.

[47] "Minorities Sought for High Rise," *Dallas Morning News*, Nov. 21, 1973, p. 6, from GeneologyBank; "DHA under Pressure," *Dallas Morning News*, Sep. 26, 1973, p. 1, from GeneologyBank; "DHA dedicates 4th high-rise Opening of facility for elderly provides diversion," *Dallas Morning News*, Dec. 1, 1978, p. 7A, from GeneologyBank.

[48] [Aerial photos of Dallas, 1968 and 1972], Historic Aerials, accessed Aug. 14, 2021, https://historicaerials.com/viewer.

[49] Hazel, *History of Big "D,"* 71.

[50] HHM, "Tenth Street Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1994.

[51] [Aerial photos of Dallas, 1958], Historic Aerials, accessed Aug. 14, 2021, https://historicaerials.com/viewer.

[52] Firshing and Ballentine, "One Main Place," pp. 33-34.

[53] Firshing and Ballentine, "One Main Place," p. 39.

[54] Jay Firshing and Hayli Ballentine, "One Main Place," Dallas Landmark Commission Nomination Form, City of Dallas, 2015, p. 3, from the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/One%20Main%20Place%20Landmark%20Nomination.pdf.

[55] Jay Firshing and Hayli Ballentine, "One Main Place," Dallas Landmark Commission Nomination Form, City of Dallas, 2015, p. 3, from the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/One%20Main%20Place%20Landmark%20Nomination.pdf.

[56] Jay Firshing and Hayli Ballentine, "One Main Place," Dallas Landmark Commission Nomination Form, City of Dallas, 2015, p. 3, from the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/One%20Main%20Place%20Landmark%20Nomination.pdf.

[57] Thanks-Giving Foundation, "Guide to Thanks-Giving Square," Accessed August 29, 2020. https://thanksgiving.org/thanksgivingsquare/visit/#1573264139120-633b3f39-f5e3.

[58] [Aerial photos of Dallas, 1958], Historic Aerials, accessed Aug. 14, 2021, https://historicaerials.com/viewer.

[59] Thanks-Giving Foundation, "Guide to Thanks-Giving Square," Accessed August 29, 2020. https://thanksgiving.org/thanksgivingsquare/visit/#1573264139120-633b3f39-f5e3.

II-16| Reconstruction, the Jim Crow Era, and the Civil Rights Movement (1866–1975)

INTRODUCTION

The themes of Reconstruction, Jim Crow, and the Civil Rights Movement follow the efforts of racial and ethnic minority groups and their allies to access equitable treatment over the course of more than a century. These three themes often overlapped—with different constituencies experiencing different themes at the same time—but the period of significance for the Reconstruction Era is generally considered to date from 1866 to 1896, while the Jim Crow period dates from approximately 1896 to 1949 and the Civil Rights Movement dates from approximately 1950 to 1975.

The types of above-ground cultural resources that provide tangible links to these themes in Dallas include, but are not limited to:

- Gathering places such as churches,
- Freedmen communities,
- Offices of civil rights organizations,
- Homes of civil rights leaders,
- Public spaces where marches and protests occurred, and
- Sites of violence and destruction, even if they lack above-ground cultural resources (akin to battlefields).

Relevant National Register criteria and areas of significance used to evaluate the eligibility of resources associated with these themes include Criteria A and B in the areas of Ethnic Heritage, Law, Politics/Government, and Social History.

NATIONWIDE CONTEXT

RECONSTRUCTION

After the Civil War, the United States lay damaged and neglected. The process of attempting to heal these wounds became known as Reconstruction. Despite the end of legal slavery, formerly Confederate states issued a number of laws trying to limit the freedoms of freed men and women. The US Congress countered by implementing federal laws, amending the constitution to ensure some basic rights, and attempting to provide opportunities for formerly enslaved people. One primary institution created by the federal government in this era was the Freedmen's Bureau, "an agency established by Congress in March 1865 to oversee the transition from slavery to freedom, intervened to protect individual freedpeople and, at times, overrule discriminatory laws."[1] Another groundbreaking change at the federal level was the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment to the US Constitution in 1866, with ratification in 1868, "which established that all people born in the United States were US citizens with equal rights and protections under the law and authorized the federal government to overturn violations of these rights by the states."[2] To help enforce the Fourteenth Amendment, Congress dispersed military troops to southern states.[3] On March 2, 1867, the US Congress also passed the First Reconstruction Act, which enabled the federal government to replace elected officials in formerly Confederate states with appointed officials deemed amenable to rejoining the Union.[4] These new state governments tried to balance the voices of the elite planter class with input from Black people,

immigrants, and poor or middle-class whites. Addressing the concerns of this broader constituency, Reconstruction-era state and local governments implemented public infrastructure and systems at the state level that Confederate states previously lacked, like public schools and institutional homes for veterans, the elderly, and the people suffering from mental illness. In 1869, Ulysses S. Grant was elected President—in part due to votes from southern Black Americans—and immediately began working with Congress to help solidify the legal rights of Black citizens. In 1869, Congress passed the Fifteenth Amendment, "which stated that male citizens' right to vote could not be 'denied or abridged' based on 'race, color, or previous condition of servitude'" – with ratification concluding in 1870.[5]

As a result, in the late 1860s and early 1870s, a number of African American men gained elected offices – about 2,000 positions nationwide between 1865 and 1900.[6] With political representation, formerly enslaved people were able to bring their concerns to state legislatures. One major request was for land grants to homestead – a system long available to white Americans and European immigrants (as described in Chapter 2). Yet very few southern Black Americans gained land ownership, and most became subject to an unfair sharecropping system, where wages were meager and often withheld. As an alternative to sharecropping, free Black people began migrating to cities.[7] Urbanization, in turn, helped fuel the development of Black institutions, especially churches, schools, and colleges.

However, the period of widespread enfranchisement of southern Black Americans in the Reconstruction era was short-lived. Many white southerners violently repressed Black citizens, and the federal government did not have adequate resources to respond.[8] In the 1890s, southern states passed a number of voter repression laws that were not overturned at the federal level.[9] Finally, in the 1892 case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the US Supreme Court upheld a philosophy of "separate but equal" treatment for Black citizens, signaling the end of the ambitious efforts to promote equality sought by many at the beginning of the Reconstruction era.[10]

> ***Learn more****! Gregory P. Downs, Ph.D. and Kate Masur, Ph.D. provide a thorough background of the Reconstruction Era nationwide in "The Era of Reconstruction: 1861–1900," National Historic Landmark Theme Study, from the National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/upload/Reconstruction.pdf. In addition, the Library of Congress provides a compilation of primary source materials related to Reconstruction at https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/civil-war-and-reconstruction-1861-1877/.*

THE JIM CROW ERA

Federal acquiescence to discriminatory laws at the state and local level characterized the Jim Crow era, often defined as the period between 1896 and 1950. The period coincided with increasing urbanization and housing shortages in cities, driving diverse populations into tight proximity and heightening tensions. Violence and repression toward Black people, immigrants, and other ethnic and religious minority groups ran rampant during this period nationwide, but especially in the South: "Scholars estimate that white Southerners lynched about thirty-five hundred black people between the 1880s and 1950s."[11] More widespread and systematic destruction terrorized the Black community as well, devastatingly illustrated by the 1921 mass attack on the prosperous "Black Wall Street" in Tulsa, Oklahoma, where White mobs massacred approximately 300 Black people.[12] At the same time, the public institutions founded in the Reconstruction era with the aim of helping all became, perversely, tools for systemic repression of minorities. Southern schools taught romanticized versions of the history of slavery and the Civil War and used violent discipline to indoctrinate Black children to defer to white power to protect themselves. Institutional homes and prisons became holding pens for noncompliant Black people, most of whom were denied the legal due process granted to Whites. Federal government infrastructure projects, like the construction of the highway system beginning in 1916, often displaced

poor and racial and ethnic minority communities for the benefit of White communities. Federal government programs also systematically denied racial and ethnic minorities access to federal aid, offering federally backed mortgages in white neighborhoods but "redlining" non-White neighborhoods to discourage lending.[13] By the New Deal era of the 1930s, though, some equity-driven federal programs emerged, such as fair hiring standards for federal employees and investment of federal New Deal funding to construct parks, schools, and infrastructure in "redlined" neighborhoods, subtly laying the groundwork for the Civil Rights movement.[14] World War II, though, called Jim Crow policies into effect more dramatically. Racial and ethnic minority men and women in the armed forces showed heroic valor during the war, and labor shortages on the home front allowed non-White men and women to move successfully into job positions formerly denied to them. World War II also brought together men and women from diverse geographic areas, encouraging them to learn from the experiences of different places and organize on a national level. Empowered by these experiences, people from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds moved into the post-World War II era ready to demand their civil rights.

> ***Learn more!*** *See the interactive article about the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre from the New York Times at https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/05/24/us/tulsa-race-massacre.html. Also see the interactive exhibit "Mapping Inequality: Redlining and the New Deal" from the University of Richmond at https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=5/39.1/-94.58.*

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Consciousness among Black and Mexican-American veterans from World War II led to the growth and strengthening of nationwide civil rights associations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), as well as numerous religious organizations. These organizations presented unified, polished messages designed to resonate with white audiences. In 1948, President Truman responded by issuing Executive Order 9981, which officially desegregated the US Armed Forces.[15] Shortly thereafter, a series of landmark Supreme Court cases began to unravel the legal concept of "separate but equal" that underlaid Jim Crow laws. In 1950, the Supreme Court decision in the case of *Sweatt v. Painter* led Heman Sweatt to gain admission to the University of Texas Law School rather than a segregated law school to be created at a new "School of Law of the Texas State University for Negroes," and that same year *McLaurin V. Oklahoma State Regents* decision allowed George McLaurin to enter the graduate school of education.[16] By 1954, the US Supreme Court's decision in the *Brown vs. Board of Education* case found school segregation unconstitutional. By 1955, a second court decision directed federal circuit courts to determine the speed required for desegregation, leading to patchwork desegregation in some places, while others remained effectively segregated for the years. The presidencies of John F. Kennedy (1961–1963) and Lyndon B. Johnson (1963–1969) also brought civil rights to the forefront of the political arena. During the Johnson Presidency, the US Congress passed the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which tied the desegregation of schools to federal funding (fig. II-237). By 1965, Congress and the Johnson administration passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which outlawed discriminatory voting requirements.[17]

> ***Learn more!*** *Read "LBJ Champions the Civil Rights Act of 1964" Ted Gittinger and Allen Fisher, featured in Prologue Magazine (Summer 2004, Vol. 36, No. 2), available from the National Archives at https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2004/summer/civil-rights-act-1.html. Also see primary-source documents and photographs related to the Civil Rights Act from the LBJ Presidential Library at https://www.lbjlibrary.org/news-and-press/media-kits/civil-rights-act-of-1964.*



Figure II-237. Photo of the signing of the Civil Rights Act by President Johnson in 1974 with Martin Luther King in the background. Source: "Signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964" [Photo], 1974, LBJ Presidential Library, Object No. 276-13-WH64, https://www.lbjlibrary.org/object/photo/signing-civil-rights-act-1964-2.

STATEWIDE CONTEXT

RECONSTRUCTION IN TEXAS

Before the Civil War, the State of Texas stood divided on issues of slavery and civil rights, reflecting the diverse origins of its population (as discussed in Chapter 2). About 1,000 Black Texans held freedom prior to the Civil War. Some families of longstanding freedmen dated their ancestry in Texas back to the Texas Revolution, and some even received land grants from the Republic of Texas in recognition for their service in the Texas Revolution. Others came to Texas with the Union Army and chose to stay after the Civil War. Most of the Black residents of Texas, though, worked as enslaved servants prior to emancipation, laboring on cotton plantations, but also on smaller farms and as domestic servants.

In 1859, Texas voters elected Sam Houston as governor on a unionist platform. However, a wave of racial violence in 1860, dubbed the "Texas Troubles," drove many voters to support secession. The 1861 vote on secession resulted in three-to-one support for secession statewide, resulting in Texas's secession from the United States and entry into the Confederacy.[18] At the close of the Civil War, the news of emancipation came to Texas on June 19, 1865, leading to the creation of a local holiday—Juneteenth—which would grow to have nationwide significance. Over 250,000 people of African American descent lived in Texas immediately after the Civil War – comprising more than one-third of the state's population at the time.[19] After the first Juneteenth, formerly enslaved men and women founded Freedom Colonies in Texas, often near their former plantations, while others moved into new enclaves

of free Black people in urban areas. Many Black Texans also opted to become "Buffalo Soldiers," joining the US Army to guard America's western frontier between 1866 and the 1890s.[20]

Juneteenth

On January 1, 1863, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, establishing all enslaved individuals in Confederate states would forevermore be free. While this was a thrilling event, the news did not travel to all states as quickly as it should have nor did it instantly free every enslaved person. In fact, "the proclamation only applied to places under Confederate control and not to slaveholding border states or rebel areas already under Union control. However, as Northern troops advanced into the Confederate South, many enslaved people fled behind Union lines."[21] By the time Federal troops arrived in Galveston, TX to take control of the state and ensure those enslaved were indeed freed, it was two and a half years after the original signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. As Major General Gordon Granger and his men marched through Galveston spreading the news of General Order, No. 3, all were *finally* informed that all enslaved peoples were now free.[22] This proclamation reached 250,000 enslaved Texans who were gradually freed as their enslavers informed them of their rights, following the end of the Civil War.[23] This day known as Juneteenth honors the end to slavery in the United States and in June 2021, President Biden signed a law establishing the day as a federal holiday.[24]

> ***Learn more****! Read On Juneteenth by Annette Gordon-Reed (New York: Liveright Publishing, 2021), available from the Dallas Public Library in hard copy, electronic, and audio formats.*

Between 1865 and 1867, the state government of Texas struggled to come to terms with the concessions required for reentry into the union of the United States – nullifying secession and ratifying the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the US Constitution. During this period, lawlessness prevailed across the state, and an estimated 379 murders of Black individuals by whites went largely unprosecuted. The First Reconstruction Act led the federal government to replace over 400 elected officials across the State of Texas with new officials who did not maintain secessionist views.[25] State representatives in Texas approved a new constitution that complied with federal requirements for readmission in November 1869.[26] The US Congress officially readmitted the State of Texas on March 30, 1870.[27] Black male Texans then gained the right to vote and hold office (a right still denied to women of all races). When given the right to vote, Black men formed a political coalition with anti-secession white men (largely Republican at the time). This coalition elected 52 African American men to serve in the Texas Legislature or as delegates at Texas Constitutional Conventions.[28]

> ***Learn more!*** *See the online exhibit documenting Early African American Senators from the Texas State Library at https://www.tsl.texas.gov/treasures/giants/aalege.html.*

Akin to the Reconstruction-Era movement toward more government assistance programs across the south, public schools began opening across Texas in the 1860s. At first, many of these schools were open to children of all races and ethnicities. The State of Texas founded a public school system in 1876 and set aside land and state funding for school construction.[29] At that time, the State mandated racial segregation of schools, segregating many school systems that had been integrated since the 1860s.[30]

THE JIM CROW ERA IN TEXAS

By the end of the nineteenth century, the white majority in many southern states, including Texas, adopted a reinterpretation of Reconstruction as a "lost cause" – a narrative used to forge a political alliance between wealthy Whites and poor Whites to end Reconstruction programs (despite the fact that many poor Whites had benefited from the reforms of the Reconstruction era).[31] A series of discriminatory state and local laws ensued. Texas adopted a poll tax in 1902, which:

> "…required each eligible voter to pay a poll tax at the time he or she paid property taxes each year. Each prospective voter also had to pay the tax before February 1 in order to participate in all elections held during the year. By the 1930s, the rate of the poll tax was $1.75 [equivalent to

> approximately $35 in 2021], and many African Americans and poor whites chose not to vote rather than pay the tax.[32]

Between 1903 and 1906, the Texas Legislature's passage of a series of laws that included the "Terrell Election Law" dictated that political parties must hold primary elections and that each political party could decide voter eligibility requirements for their own primaries. Since the Democratic Party strongly controlled all levels of state government at the time, discriminatory requirements for participating in primaries effectively disenfranchised the voices of Black voters, even though they were permitted to vote in the general election.[33] In the 1930s, statewide growth of the NAACP and organization of the Progressive Voters League (PVL, first organized in Dallas in 1936) helped to coordinate voter registration, pay poll taxes, and mount court challenges to the poll tax law. The Supreme Court finally overturned the poll tax with the 1944 case of *Smith v. Allwright*, and Black voters participated in the Democratic primary for the first time in 1946.[34]

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN TEXAS

At the state level, Texas inched into the civil rights movement slowly and begrudgingly. In Texas, the federal Fifth Circuit Court maintained segregationist views and did not rush to enforce federal civil rights laws. For example, although the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision called for desegregation of schools, the Fifth Circuit Court held the authority to determine the pace of desegregation. Many school districts did not submit plans for desegregation until the 1960s, and often those plans implemented segregation gradually, keeping some form of segregation in place into the 1970s.

The election of President Johnson strongly pushed Texas politicians to align with his civil rights platform, lest they lose the support of his powerful political machine. As President, Johnson also brought about change in his home state of Texas using the federal court system. In the mid-1960s, President Johnson appointed new anti-segregationist federal judges in Texas, who were more likely to speed the pace of school desegregation and overturn laws that conflicted with federal civil rights laws. Nonetheless, the civil rights movement proceeded unevenly in Texas, with some constituencies supporting the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act, while others continued to evade and undercut these laws into the twenty-first century.

RECONSTRUCTION, JIM CROW, AND CIVIL RIGHTS IN DALLAS

RECONSTRUCTION IN DALLAS

The initial founding and growth of Dallas related to the movement of cotton planting westward from the American South, and slavery underpinned the economy from the city's founding. As discussed in Chapter 2, the census schedules documented that the percentage of the "Colored" population in Dallas County grew from about 8 percent in 1850 to about 12 percent in 1860 – nearly all enslaved.[35] By 1860, "1,074 slaves were owned by 228 slaveholders" in Dallas County (or about 3 percent of the white population).[36] The slaveholding elite held disproportionate political power throughout the South and in Texas, creating political and social tension with anti-slavery citizens increasingly moving to Dallas from northern states and emigrating from Europe. In July 1860, these tensions erupted with a series of fires in Dallas and surrounding towns – which some vocal pro-slavery voices blamed on enslaved people and abolitionists seeking to end slavery, despite questionable evidence.[37] The rhetoric and press after the fires portrayed the Black community as dangerous and spurred many white vigilantes to hang at least 30 slaves and abolitionists.[38] Riding the wave of this campaign of fear, in 1861, "Dallas men voted 741 to

237 to secede."[39] This vote paralleled the three-to-one support for secession statewide – despite the fact that the state elected staunch unionist Sam Houston as governor in 1859.[40]

At the close of the Civil War, the institution of slavery ended. Formerly enslaved people throughout Dallas worked together to create Freedom Colonies, often located near earlier plantations. The process of Reconstruction, though, faced many obstacles in Dallas, as it did throughout the South. Some White employers refused to pay formerly enslaved employees for their labor, and White vigilantes continued to use violence to limit the freedom of the Black community. The Army and the Freedmen's Bureau maintained a presence in Dallas, attempting to insist on fair wages and adjudicate grievances from formerly enslaved citizens. However, these federal institutions often lacked sufficient power to enforce federal laws and policies effectively.[41]

The Dallas Freedmen's Bureau

In an effort to effectively transition a society that recognized African Americans as people rather than over-worked, undervalued property, the Freedmen's Bureau came to be. William H. Horton was brought in to act as Dallas County's first agent to represent the Bureau in March 1867 with the challenge of ensuring all federal Reconstruction policies were carried out.[42] The main purpose of the Bureau was designed "to help with the problem of hundreds of thousands of African Americans cut adrift from the shackles of slavery. Its responsibilities were to see that Freedmen received fair pay for their labor, that schools were provided for their children, that Freedmen received fairness in the courts of law, and that families were united."[43] Establishing a school for African American children was high on the list of things to accomplish. There was heavy opposition to the idea of opening a "colored school", and it was difficult finding a teacher willing to go against those not in support of educated African Americans.[44] The Freedmen's Bureau operated until 1870. During this time, in addition to education, agents also focused on the agricultural labor system.

> ***Learn more**! Read Chapter 2. Demographics and Spatial Settlement for more information about locations of Freedom Colonies in Dallas, as well as extant historic resources related to Freedom Colonies.*

In the absence of government support, the growing Black community in Dallas founded a number of community institutions. One extant example, the St. Paul United Methodist Church, dates to 1873 (extant at 1816 Routh Street, designated a Dallas Landmark and Registered Texas Historic Landmark, fig. II-238). Another, the Black-owned *Dallas Express* newspaper, helped the community share information and learn about community organizing efforts across the country. Between 1892 and the 1970s, the *Dallas Express* helped Black Dallasites organize politically and socially. The paper also carried stories of lynchings and other crimes against Black people not published in the white media. [45] Concurrently though, racist white factions also began to organize formally: "Two Confederate organizations sprang up in Dallas: Camp Sterling Price, formed in 1889 as part of the national organization of the Union Confederate Veterans, and the Daughters of the Confederacy, established in 1894."[46]

> ***Learn more**! Read full-text copies of The Dallas Express published in 1900 and between 1919 and 1924 from the Portal to Texas History at https://texashistory.unt.edu/explore/collections/DSXPS/dates/.*



Figure II-238. Photo of St. Paul United Methodist Church at 1816 Routh Street (date not specified). Source: "St. Paul United Methodist Church," Dallas Arts District, accessed October 25, 2021, https://www.dallasartsdistrict.org/community/st-paul-united-methodist-church/.

THE JIM CROW ERA IN DALLAS

By the late nineteenth century, many in Dallas accepted the Southern rhetoric reinterpreting Reconstruction as a "lost cause," used to forge a political alliance between wealthy Whites and poor Whites. This political alliance led to the systemic adoption of segregationist policies throughout Dallas. By the 1870s, public schools in the city segregated children by race in compliance with state law, providing Black citizens with schools with inferior facilities, no libraries, and "only sixty days of instruction each year, compared to 100 for whites."[47] Beginning in the 1890s, Confederate monuments rose in prominent public spaces, clearly marking those spaces as White-only (as further discussed below).

Confederate Monuments and Memorials in Dallas

The monument of an eight-foot-six Confederate soldier standing atop a 25-foot shaft facing south in City Park is said to be the likeliness of Lt. Robert Hickman Gaston. Four other life-sized statues surround the main monument at all four corners, all also associated with the Confederacy. At the time of the monument's dedication on April 27, 1897, between 40,000 and 50,000 people were in attendance in City Park, including old soldiers and their families.[48] The monument stood in the park until 1961 when the freeway was widened. It was relocated to nearby Pioneer Park Cemetery, and in 2020 the monument was dismantled, removed, and placed in storage. The move followed the mayor's appointment of a 2017 task force charged with making recommendations for the city's Confederate statues, memorials, street, and park names and a subsequent 2019 vote of City Council and the Landmark Commission approving the monument's removal from the park. Several years earlier, in 2017, another Confederate monument was also removed from Dallas City property. The bronze statue of Robert E. Lee, erected in Oak Lawn Park (which was also renamed at the time to Robert E. Lee Park) in 1936, was dismantled and stored before it sold in auction for $1.4 million.[49] The removal, reinterpretation, and relocation of these monuments present a number of questions for discussion among preservationists today. Most equity-minded cities today aim to foreground and celebrate the significant contributions of a broader and more inclusive group of community leaders rather than a few white men, but, at the same time, ensure that the hurtful truth of racism in the Jim Crow era is not erased. Throughout the nation, communities are working together to find sensitive solutions for this pressing preservation challenge. At present, most preservation professionals recommend removing Confederate monuments from public open spaces and reinterpreting them in a different setting, like a

museum, where the monument can become a small part of a larger and more equitable historical narrative rather than a focal point.[50]

The 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* court decision emboldened the City to embed the policy of "separate but equal" into its laws. By 1907, the philosophy of segregation even informed the City's charter:

> [The] charter for the City of Dallas written in 1907 contained a section entitled "Segregation of the Races." This section was amended through 1952 and was carried forward as part of the charter until it was repealed in 1968. This section authorized the City Council to pass city ordinances providing for the use of distinct blocks, for the housing, amusement, churches, [and] schools, by members of the "white" and "colored" races.[51]

Building upon this charter, the City also segregated all City parks in 1915, though no ordinance enforced it.

***Learn more**! For additional information about the segregation of parks in Dallas, refer to Chapter 13. Parks and Plazas.*

Law-enforcement organizations in Dallas adopted racist practices as well, routinely overlooking violence against Black people. One telling example from 1910 involved Allen Brooks:

> … an African American accused of raping a white girl. A mob dragged him from a courtroom, threw him out a courthouse window, and hung his stripped and stabbed body from the Elks Arch, which had been constructed downtown for a lodge convention. A photo of the lynching was used on a postcard. The incident generated nationwide news coverage and outrage among members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), established [nationwide] a year earlier.[52]

The Black community in Dallas again responded by coming together to create organizations and events to support one another. In 1918, Dallas leaders charted a local chapter of the NAACP.[53] Similarly, newspapers increasingly advertised organized Juneteenth celebrations beginning in 1919 and 1920, held at Fair Park.[54] By coming together, the Black community was able to convince the Dallas school district to replace the old Dallas Colored High School – resulting in the construction of Booker T. Washington High School in 1922 (extant at 2501 Flora Street, designated as a Dallas Landmark).[55] Again, though, white supremacist groups continued to organize in kind, and by 1922 the KKK became a dominant force in Dallas.

***Learn more**! Read "A History of Juneteenth in Texas" from the Dallas Historical Society, available online at http://www.dallashistory.org/juneteenth/.*

The KKK in Dallas

Organized in 1920, the Dallas chapter of the Ku Klux Klan (Dallas Klan No. 66) grew within four years to become the largest in the US with approximately 13,000 members.[56] These members held various leadership positions in the city in industries ranging from banking, utilities, and law enforcement. Community leaders such as the Dallas police commissioner and chief of police, Democratic Party county chairman, and the county tax collector were just a few of those involved.[57] This of course led to corruption in the community as involved members were deliberately hindering investigations for crimes associated with the fraternity.[58] When the time came for the chapter to announce its overwhelming presence in the city, they organized a large parade in May 1921.[59] Nearly 800 Klansmen marched in white hooded uniforms, carrying flags, crosses, and signs displaying their hatred of African Americans, Catholics, Jews, and other foreigners, attracting a large audience in the center of Dallas.[60] Signs reading "White Supremacy," "Dallas Must Be Clean," and "Our Little Girls Must Be Protected" sparked attention in the eyes of the public.[61] The Klan continued to instill terror in Dallas, "kidnapping blacks whom they suspected of some behavior such as consorting with white women, whipping them or tar-and-feathering them, and sometimes etching the initials KKK into their foreheads with acid. Prosecuting the perpetrators of such outrages in the justice system was hopeless since the police and juries

were packed with Klan members."[62] As they took matters into their own hands, "river bottom courts" quickly became a place of horrific and torturous treatment of their victims. An example of this took place in March 1922 when "a group of men presumed to be Klansmen kidnapped a white Dallas lumberman named F.H. Etheredge and drove him to the Trinity River bottoms. Here they tied him to a tree and whipped him severely. Journalists reported that members of the nearby New Zion Colored Baptist Church had frequently heard screams coming from the grove where Etheredge was whipped and referred to one of the trees as the "torture tree".[63] Many people grew opposed to the actions taking place by the Klan, and those who spoke out became targets. Especially those acting as agents for the local newspapers suffered financially for its steady opposition to the Klan[64]. The Klan continued to gain power, though their 1924 attempt to win the Texas governorship failed.[65] As more people learned of the horrors of the Klan's abuse, the public began to turn against the organization rather quickly, leading to its eventual collapse of power.[66] While Anti-Klan men regained control of the city government, "The collapse of the Klan by no means alleviated the prejudice faced by African Americans in Dallas. The ideology instilled by the fraternity regarding "white supremacy continued as a force in Dallas until the 1950s and 1960s, when federal legislation and court rulings began the process of desegregation and integration."[67] While conditions did improve, the hateful actions and fear brought on by the Klan were not forgotten overnight. Many African Americans and Jews relocated to areas of Dallas where they could establish homes, businesses, and worship centers without fear of attack.

Despite the terrifying power yielded by the KKK in Dallas, Black community leaders realized that only a minority of Dallas citizens subscribed to their views, and they saw opportunities to forge coalitions to counter white supremacists in local politics. For years, the poll tax deterred Black voters from levying their full political power. Articles and advertisements in the *Dallas Express* attempted to motivate Black voters to pay the poll tax, but as late as 1928 "less than a third of the potential African American electorate (approximately 2,944 out of an estimated 10,000 potential voters) in Dallas paid their poll taxes and voted."[68] Many Black voters distrusted the political system entirely and doubted that their vote could make a difference even if they paid their poll tax. Increasingly, though, Black organizations from around the nation began to educate one another about successful strategies for increasing political capital. In 1930, a driven and educated young civil rights leader named Antonio Maceo Smith arrived in Dallas, where he would serve as publisher for the *Dallas Express*, lead the NAACP, and help found the Dallas Black Chamber of Commerce (discussed further below; note that Smith's longtime home at 2407 Thomas Avenue is no longer extant).[69] By the mid-1930s, the *Dallas Express* campaigned with the Dallas Black Chamber of Commerce to raise funds to help people pay their poll tax and to challenge the poll tax system in court.[70]

A. Maceo Smith and the Dallas Black Chamber of Commerce

Established in 1926 and headed by A. Maceo Smith from 1933 to 1939, the chamber assisted Black businesses but also worked to advocate for voting, help voters pay their poll taxes, and promote Black political concerns. "Frequently the chamber organized civic leagues, prepared petitions, and arranged conferences with local governmental officials."[71] With Smith's adept ability to network and bring people together, the Chamber also forged important partnerships with the NAACP, the Dallas Interdenominational Ministers' Alliance (IMA), the Progressive Voters League (PVL), and the biracial "Committee of Fourteen" designated to work collaboratively to address local racial issues (fig. II-239).



The Negro Chamber of Commerce in 1936 at a YMCA membership drive. A. Maceo Smith is seated in the first row on the right.

Figure II-239. Photo of the Negro Chamber of Commerce in 1936 with A. Maceo Smith in the first row on the right. Source: W. Marvin Dulaney, "The Progressive Voters League: A Political Voice for African Americans in Dallas," *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* vol. 20 no. 1 (Spring 2008), 27, from the Portal to Texas History, crediting the Dallas Historical Society, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth35118/.

Texas Association of Mexican American Chambers of Commerce

In addition to the Dallas Black Chamber of Commerce, Dallasites organized to form the Texas Association of Mexican American Chambers of Commerce (TAMACC).[72] The original group was composed of fewer than 20 Hispanic Americans with hopes of succeeding as small business owners. As a result, "The organization gained momentum and steadily grew and developed its focus of promoting business leadership, creating economic opportunities, and providing legislative and business advocacy for the Hispanic business community in Texas."[73] The Greater Dallas Hispanic Chamber of Commerce is another organization worthy of note. Beginning in September 1939 with a mission similar to that of TAMACC, "the vision was to develop, promote and protect Mexican businesses…and to ensure the advancement and economic growth of the Mexican business community."[74] The founding members were small business owners in Little Mexico and West Dallas who consulted on matters in the community regarding civil rights, cultural preservation, and most importantly, collective buying power and business growth.[75]

The first major test of the new Black political coalition in Dallas came in 1935 when Ammon S. Wells—an attorney and former NAACP president—ran for a seat in the state legislature.[76] Although Wells lost, he finished competitively. The close margin of his loss demonstrated to the Black community that their political engagement had not been a lost cause, stimulating efforts to motivate Black voters and organize poll tax campaigns. To organize these campaigns, A. Maceo Smith partnered with the Dallas Interdenominational Ministers' Alliance (IMA). The New Hope Baptist Church at the intersection of San Jacinto and Bogel Streets served as a meeting place for campaign organizers (no longer extant, fig. II-240).[77]

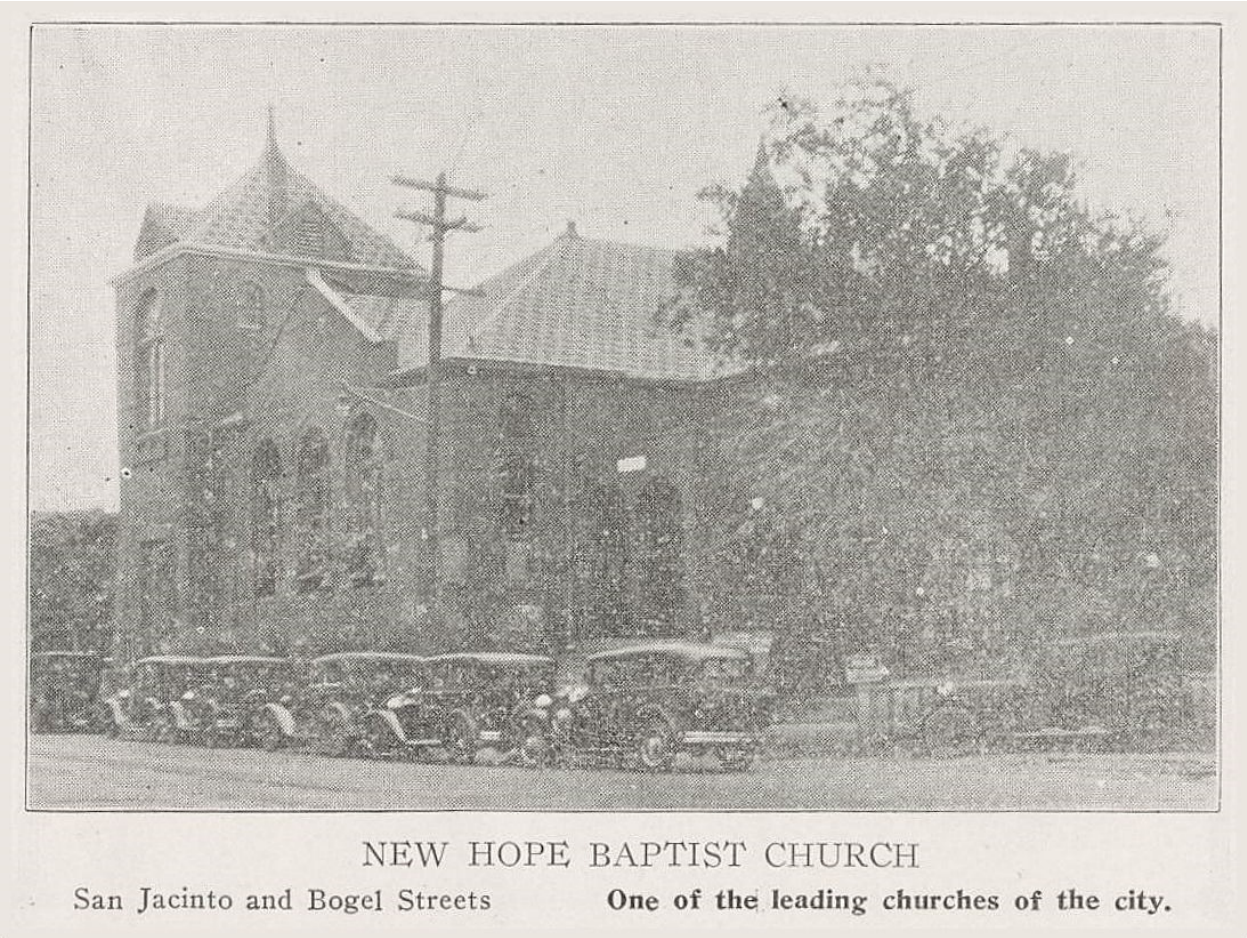


Figure II-240. Photo of the New Hope Baptist Church (date not specified). Source: Paula Bosse, "Twelve Prominent Black Baptist Churches – 1967," Flashback: Dallas, accessed August 3, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2017/03/12/twelve-prominent-black-baptist-churches-1967/.

In 1936, Black leaders in Dallas worked to further consolidate Black political power by founding the Progressive Voters League (PVL), which "consisted of representatives from all African American groups in the city" – including the YMCA, Knights of Pythias, prominent churches, fraternities, and sororities. The PVL helped to register voters and raise funds to pay poll taxes. By 1937, the number of Black voters in Dallas who paid their taxes rose to 7,000. Local politicians began to acknowledge the significance of Black voters and, gradually, began communicating with Black political leaders and supporting initiatives that they proposed. One early example was the Hall of Negro Life at the 1936 Texas Centennial Exposition at Fair Park (discussed below). By 1937, the City Council agreed to begin considering Black applicants for City jobs and allocate funding for a second segregated high school – Lincoln High School (completed 1939 at 5000 Oakland Avenue, extant and designated as a Dallas Landmark and Recorded Texas Historical Landmark).[78] However, the Dallas White political system only made concessions aimed to appease Black voters; they refused to actually cede white power. For example, "Another demand, for black police officers, proved too controversial for the white power."[79] Similarly, in 1937, the City Council continued to pass segregationist laws, such as an ordinance requiring "separate spaces in commercial motor vehicles for white and black passengers," segregating taxis and buses.[80]

Hall of Negro Life at the 1936 Texas Centennial Exposition

One of the most significant achievements for the African American community in Texas during the 1930s was their participation in the Texas Centennial, highlighting the contributions they had made towards the development of the state and nation.[81] Antonio Maceo Smith was a key contributor to the progress of equality in the state. The building of The Hall of Negro Life in Dallas mirrored the larger African American struggle for social equality, and consequently, "the groundwork for the civil rights movement that emerged later was put into place as Smith and other black leaders fought for a building dedicated to the accomplishments of African Americans."[82] Being the first executive secretary of the Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce, as well as secretary of the Dallas NAACP and the Progressive Voters League, Smith was able to develop important ties within the Dallas community. Smith was determined to showcase Black achievements at the centennial. He made sure to mention that the participation of African Americans "promises new life, new activity, inspiration, and a season of recreation which breeds loyalty and patriotism that generates interracial amity and goodwill, by encouraging the spiritual, intellectual, and economic ambition of a much neglected race."[83] In fact, "had it not been for Smith's leadership and the determination of African Americans around the state to take part in the centennial celebration, the matter of Black representation at the Texas Centennial Exposition might have died at the time."[84]

Black political organizers in Dallas persistently continued to press for gradual change in the face of ongoing discrimination. The next effort, spearheaded by the NAACP in 1938, aimed to end all-White jury selection:

> This had been inspired after George Porter, a teacher, attempting to serve on a jury, was seriously injured when two white men threw him down the steps of a building. This incident brought a number of NAACP members together, and with the help of Thurgood Marshall, a lawyer from the national NAACP headquarters, they were able to end barriers to blacks serving on juries in Texas and Dallas County at the trial level.[85]

Gradual political changes did nothing to slow persistent racism, though. Tensions increased in the late 1940s as Black residents began to move into previously White neighborhoods, driven by housing shortages caused, in part, by the demolition of Black neighborhoods to construct highways and public housing projects. For example, when the City of Dallas constructed the Roseland Courts housing project in 1948, they used the power of eminent domain to force the sale of property in the selected area for the new housing project. The longstanding Black community in the area protested the demolition and forced relocation, using the Munger Avenue Baptist Church as their organizational headquarters (extant at 3919 Munger Avenue, fig. II-241).[86] The housing project moved forward nonetheless, forcing former residents to search for homes elsewhere.

> ***Learn more****! Read about the displacement of Black neighborhoods in Chapter 8. Highways, Roadways, and Automobiles, as well as Chapter 15. Urban Renewal.*

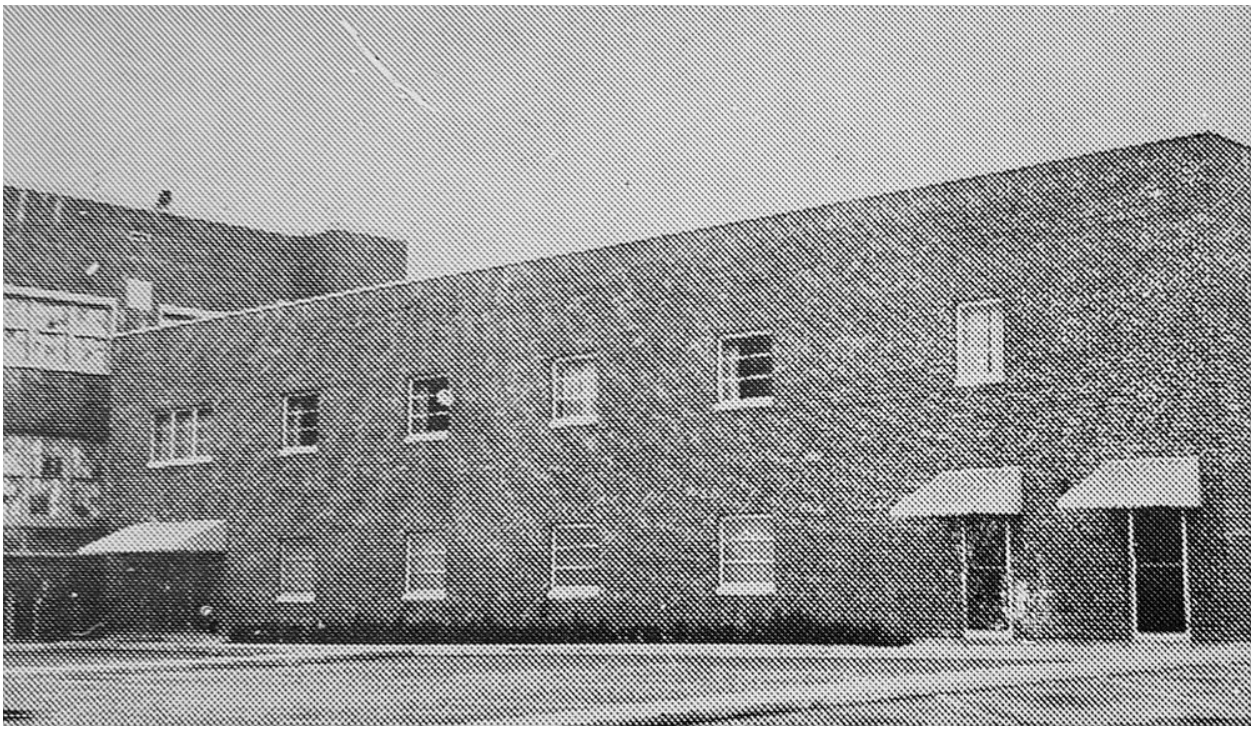


Figure II-241. Photograph of the Munger Avenue Baptist Church (likely a rear view, date not specified). Source: Paula Bosse, "Twelve Prominent Black Baptist Churches – 1967," Flashback: Dallas, accessed August 3, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2017/03/12/twelve-prominent-black-baptist-churches-1967/.

South Dallas became one place where displaced Black families could find affordable homes. In response, white supremacist groups terrorized Black households with a string of nighttime bombings, destroying at least 12 houses in 1950 and 1951 and drawing national media attention to Dallas. Though police increased patrols of the neighborhood, the bombings continued without repercussions:

> Although the investigations began to point to some prominent white citizens, the grand jury adjourned without indicting any of the major players, convinced that they would never be convicted in a courtroom. And indeed, the only man who was ever brought to trial, a man against whom eyewitness testimony seemed overwhelming, was found not guilty by a white jury.[87]

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN DALLAS

Amid the radical racism in the early 1950s, nationwide civil rights shifts began to filter into Dallas. In 1951, Southern Methodist University admitted three Black ministers to the graduate school of theology – following the direction of the 1950 *Sweatt v. Painter* Supreme Court case.[88] The following year, in 1952, the first African American baseball player joined the Texas League with the Dallas Eagles.[89] David Hoskins pitched for the Eagles for both the 1952 and 1958 seasons, while the team played at Burnett Field (no longer extant).[90]

Larger changes—like the integration of the Dallas school district—came more slowly. In 1954, after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, the NAACP petitioned the Dallas school district for school desegregation, partnering with Reverend R.C. McNeil, pastor of the Greater New Bethel Baptist Church (extant but altered, 3817 South Malcolm X Boulevard).[91] (Two residences associated with Reverend McNeil also remain extant today: 2810 Burger Avenue, where he lived from approximately 1953 to 1964, and 3935 Myrtle, where he lived after 1965.)[92] One known organizational meeting place was the St. John Baptist Church (extant, 2600 S. Marsalis Avenue), where the NAACP held its 1954 convention

attended by national civil rights leader Thurgood Marshall, who later would become the first Black Supreme Court Justice.[93]

Despite the efforts of the NAACP, the Dallas school district maintained its policy of segregation, responding that the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision did not require immediate action. The *Dallas Morning News* echoed support for a policy of gradual change.[94] Undeterred, civil rights organizations in Dallas continued to meet, strategize, and learn from the efforts of partner organizations nationwide. Dr. Martin Luther King made five visits to Dallas beginning in 1956 to assist local efforts (fig. II-242).[95]



Figure II-242. Photograph from 1963 showing, "Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., with, from left to right, H. Rhett James, Rabbi Levi Olan, and J. A. Stanfield, on a visit in Dallas for Dallas County United Poll Tax Rally at the Fair Park Music Hall." Source: Dallas Public Library Digital Collection, Call No. PA2005-4/3.2, http://fusion.dallaslibrary.org/Repository/PA2005_4_3_2.jpg.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in Dallas

Sites where Dr. King delivered speeches in Dallas included the Good Street Baptist Church in 1955 (extant, 3110 Bonnie View Road), the Lane Hotel in 1957 (2611 Flora Street, not extant), the Dallas Memorial Auditorium in 1957 and again in 1966 (not extant), Fair Park Music Hall in 1963 (extant, within a designated Dallas historic district and a National Historic Landmark district), the SMU McFarlin Auditorium in 1966 (extant, 6405 Boaz Lane), and the Melrose Hotel in 1966 (extant, 3015 Oak Lawn Avenue).[96]

Yet desegregation action lagged throughout the 1950s. The Fifth Circuit Court ultimately required that the Dallas school district submit a desegregation plan by April 1960, but the approved plan proved very gradual.[97] A segment of prominent White businessmen in Dallas supported integration and feared

violence; organizing a Citizens Council led by advertising executive Sam Bloom, the Citizens Council mounted a public relations campaign aimed at keeping integration nonviolent. The centerpiece of the campaign was a film entitled "Dallas at the Crossroads" (further discussed below).[98] Rabbi Levi Arthur Olan of Temple Beth Israel also served as an important white ally for civil rights activists in Dallas, broadcasting anti-racist sermons on KRLD radio and WFAA television.[99]

The vocal support of the civil rights movement from prominent White Dallasites led to the creation of a biracial committee, known as the "Committee of 14," dedicated to working together to end segregation.[100] By July 1961, the committee reached consensus for integration of "cafeterias, restaurants and lunch counters in downtown Dallas" (fig. II-243).[101] Hotels were desegregated later in 1961.[102] Desegregation of downtown stores followed in 1962, along with golf courses, tennis courts, museums, and the zoo. Then, by 1963, parks, pools, and theaters desegregated as well.[103] Around the same time, private employers also began to integrate their workforces.[104] The Texas State Fair, though, stayed segregated until 1967 despite years of protest from the NAACP.



Figure II-243. Photograph from October 1960 showing, "Protesters, including Dallas ministers Rev. E.W. Thomas and Rev. H. Rhett James, in front of H.L. Green's fighting for integrated lunch counters." Source: Dallas Public Library Digital Collection, Call No. PA2005-4/2, http://fusion.dallaslibrary.org/Repository/PA2005-4-2.jpg.

Integration in the early 1960s in Dallas proved relatively nonviolent compared to other cities in the South, but in part, that was because the process moved so slowly. By 1964, only 194 Black students in Dallas had been allowed access to white schools.[105] A pivotal year came in 1965, though. That March, the NAACP and other peaceful protestors gathered in Ferris Plaza to show their solidarity for the protestors in Selma, Alabama (fig. II-244).[106] With the 1965 Civil Rights Act, Dallas schools risked losing federal funding—more than $4 million—if they failed to hasten desegregation. In June 1965, the Dallas school district voted to integrate elementary schools that fall, then to fully integrate junior and senior high schools by the fall of 1967.[107] Federal courts amended that plan with an order to also integrate twelfth grades by the fall of 1965.[108]

> ***Learn more!*** *Read Desegregating Schools in Dallas: Four Decades in the Federal Courts by Glenn M. Linden (Dallas: Three Forks Press, 1995), available from the Dallas Public Library.*



Figure II-244. Photograph of the Civil Rights March on March 14, 1965 in Dallas. Source: Dallas Public Library Digital Collection, Call No. PA83-42/1965-3-14.1, http://fusion.dallaslibrary.org/Repository/PA83-42-1965-3-14-1.JPG.

The desegregation law and policies of the 1950s and 1960s directly addressed segregation of Black people from white people, but they did little to eliminate policies that segregated Mexican Americans. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Mexican American activists began to challenge the current system in Dallas in court. They partnered with Black activists who also argued that Dallas schools continued to be effectively segregated. In 1971, the case of *Tasby v. Estes* went before a new federal judge appointed by President Johnson and intent upon upholding federal civil rights laws. That case ultimately led to busing in the Dallas schools to integrate both Black and Mexican American children, as well as a policy opening voluntary minority-to-majority school transfers to both Black and Mexican American children, beginning in the fall of 1971 (fig. II-245).[109] The 1971 *Tasby v. Estes* decision also required desegregation of faculty and staff.[110]

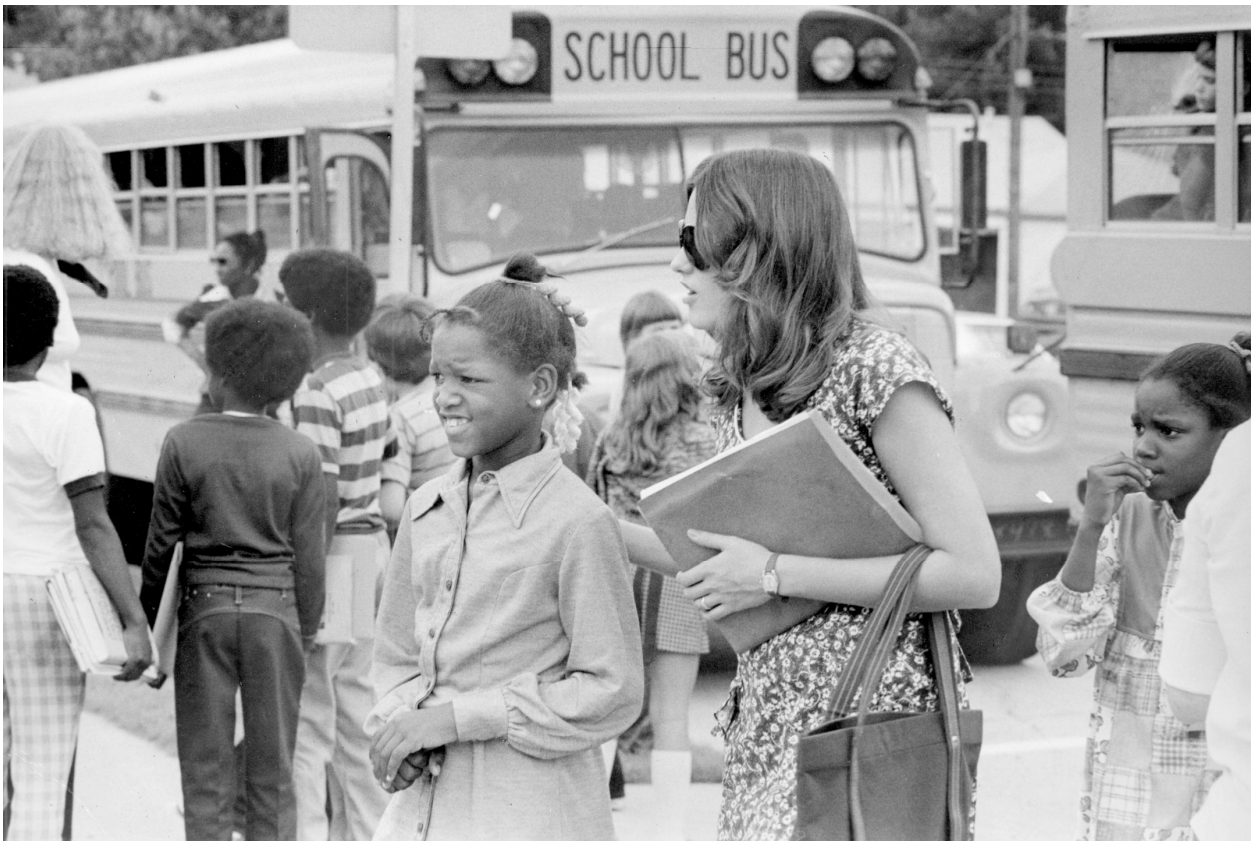


Figure II-245. Photograph from August 29, 1977, "[Stephanie Zimmerman helps Bridgette Monique Robinson, Lakewood Elementary fourth grader." Source: Dallas Public Library Digital Collection, Call No. PA83-42/1977-8-29.9, http://fusion.dallaslibrary.org/Repository/pa83-42-1977-8-29-9.jpg.

Learn more! *Find primary-source documents and photographs from the DISD Desegregation Archives held by the Underwood Law Library at the SMU University Dedman School of Law, available online at https://www.smu.edu/Law/Library/Collections/DISD-Desegregation-Litigation-Archives. Also listen to "Documenting the History of Civil Rights in Dallas," a collection oral histories from civil rights leaders held by the Dallas Public Library, available online at https://catalog.dallaslibrary.org/polaris/search/title.aspx?ctx=1.1033.0.0.6&pos=1&cn=1897216.*

By the late 1960s and 1970s, decades of tenacious organizing finally led to incremental political power for Black Americans and Mexican Americans in Dallas. Dallas's first Black Councilman, George L. Allen, was elected in 1969. Also in 1969, Dallas elected its first Latin-X Council member—a woman—Anita Martinez.[111] The city elected its first Black female City Council member, Lucy Patterson, in 1973.[112] Prominent civil rights activist and longtime NAACP leader Juanita Craft gained election to the City Council in 1975 (as described further below).[113] A court challenge to the Dallas City Council district lines in 1974—the *Lipscomb v. Wise* case in federal Fifth Circuit court—further attempted to make City Council elections more equitable:

> A former Dallas city planner testified that, based on federal census analysis, Dallas was one of the most segregated cities in the country because while black Dallasites comprised more than 20% of the population, 90% of those citizens lived essentially within the same neighborhoods….In 1975, as the result of the lawsuit, Dallas moved from 10-1 to an 8-3 plan, whereby voters elected eight single-member district council members and three other at-large members (one of those being

the mayor). The 8-3 system was used for all Dallas City Council elections from Judge Mahon's decision in March 1975 through the 1979 Council elections (although the single-district lines were redrawn in 1979 and in 1982).[114]

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, additional redistricting efforts continued the process of attempting to make the political representation in Dallas more diverse. [115]

Juanita Craft

Juanita Craft was awarded the prestigious Linz Award in 1969 for "the actions she took to protect only a small segment of the African American community. It did not recognize or acknowledge that for thirty years she had been one of the city's and the state's most active citizens fighting for equal rights for all."[116] Craft worked to expose fraudulent business schools in Dallas which had "promised African-American youths training and jobs to attract them to the city but failed to provide them adequate living facilities and the training that they needed to secure employment."[117]Craft found resources for these students, lead campaigns and fundraisers, and ensured the schools became regulated with proper accreditations. In addition to this work, she continued to interact and support young people in Dallas. Craft worked with the Dallas NAACP Youth Council and the Negro Chamber of Commerce and also led protests and demonstrations in the city. On top of her three decades working with the Youth Council, she was also active in politics. She became one of the first three African Americans appointed as a poll tax deputy collector in Dallas County.[118]

Craft's house in Queen City at 2618 Warren Avenue remains intact (fig. II-246) and is owned by the City of Dallas and open to the public as a museum.[119] The house is designated as a City of Dallas Landmark and Recorded Texas Historic Landmark.[120] The house is also a contributing resource in the Wheatley Place National Register Historic District.



Figure II-246. Photograph of the Juanita Craft Home at 2681 Warren Avenue – an excellent example of how a modest home associated with a significant community leader can be eligible for historic designation, provided that it maintains architectural integrity. Source: "Juanita Craft Home," Dallas Landmark Structures and Sites, accessed October 25, 2021, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/Pages/Juanita-Craft-House.aspx.

Learn more! *The Dallas Public Library holds the Juanita Craft Papers – an extensive archive documenting Craft's life and work. A finding aid for the collection is available online at http://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/taro/dalpub/00034/dpub-00034.html.*

CONCLUSION

The themes of Reconstruction, Jim Crow, and Civil Rights continued from the end of the Civil War into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, with battles to protect and enhance the rights of all people extending to today. Many examples of places associated with these movements remain extant in Dallas and communicate the legacy and struggles of racial and ethnic minority communities. While a few examples of resources associated with these themes have been designated as Dallas Landmarks and/or

listed in the National Register, many more resources have gone unrecognized or have even been destroyed. Sites of painful history—such as lynching and bombings—are especially significant but underrecognized resource types. Resources associated with Reconstruction, the Jim Crow Era, and the Civil Rights Movement hold tremendous potential to educate the public about the injustices historically experienced by people of color in Dallas and how those historical injustices continue to obstruct equity today.

NOTES

[1] Gregory P. Downs, Ph.D., and Kate Masur, Ph.D, "The Era of Reconstruction: 1861–1900," National Historic Landmark Theme Study (National Park Service, Washington, D.C., 2017), 4-6, from the National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/upload/Reconstruction.pdf.

[2] Gregory P. Downs, Ph.D., and Kate Masur, Ph.D, "The Era of Reconstruction: 1861–1900," National Historic Landmark Theme Study (National Park Service, Washington, D.C., 2017), 4-6, from the National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/upload/Reconstruction.pdf.

[3] Gregory P. Downs, Ph.D., and Kate Masur, Ph.D, "The Era of Reconstruction: 1861–1900," National Historic Landmark Theme Study (National Park Service, Washington, D.C., 2017), 4-6, from the National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/upload/Reconstruction.pdf.

[4] "An Act to provide for the more efficient Government of the Rebel States [Passed over President Johnson's veto March 2, 1867]," The Reconstruction Acts, Texas State Library and Archives, https://www.tsl.texas.gov/ref/abouttx/secession/reconstruction.html.

[5] Gregory P. Downs, Ph.D., and Kate Masur, Ph.D, "The Era of Reconstruction: 1861–1900," National Historic Landmark Theme Study (National Park Service, Washington, D.C., 2017), 4-6, from the National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/upload/Reconstruction.pdf.

[6] Downs and Masur, "The Era of Reconstruction," 7.

[7] Downs and Masur, "The Era of Reconstruction," 19.

[8] Downs and Masur, "The Era of Reconstruction," 4-6.

[9] Downs and Masur, "The Era of Reconstruction," 4-6.

[10] Downs and Masur, "The Era of Reconstruction," 8.

[11] Downs and Masur, "The Era of Reconstruction," 7.

[12] Alan B. Govenar and Jay F. Brakefield, *Deep Ellum: The Other Side of Dallas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2013): 63.

[13]

[14] Linden, *Desegregating Schools in Dallas*, 11.

[15] "Executive Order 9981: Desegregation of the Armed Forces," [Government Document, 1948], National Archives, https://www.archives.gov/historical-docs/todays-doc/index.html?dod-date=726.

[16] "Sweatt v. Painter (1950)," The Papers of Justice Tome C. Clark, University of Texas Tarlton Law Library, accessed October 24, 2021, https://tarlton.law.utexas.edu/clark/sweatt-v-painter.

[17] Susan Cianci Salvatore, Waldo E. Martin, Jr., Vicki L. Ruiz, Patricia Sullivan, and Harvard Sitkoff, "Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations," National Historic Landmark Theme Study (National Park Service, Washington, D.C., 2004, revised 2009), from the National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/upload/Civil-Rights-Public-Education-2018.pdf; Susan Cianci Salvatore, Waldo E. Martin, Jr., Vicki L. Ruiz, Patricia Sullivan, and Harvard Sitkoff, "Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation in Public Education in the United States," National Historic Landmark Theme Study (National Park Service, Washington, D.C., 2000, supplement 2004), from the National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/upload/Civil-Rights-Public-Education-2018.pdf and https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/upload/Civil-Rights-Public-Education-Supplement-2018-2.pdf;

"Civil Rights in America: Racial Voting Rights," National Historic Landmark Theme Study (National Park Service, Washington, D.C., 2007, revised 2009), from the National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/upload/Civil-Rights-Racial-Voting-Rights-2018.pdf; "American Latino Heritage Theme Study," National Historic Landmark Theme Study (National Park Service, Washington, D.C., updated 2017), from the National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/latinothemestudy.htm.

[18] Donald E. Reynolds, "Texas Troubles," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed October 25, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/texas-troubles.

[19] Alwyn Barr, "Black Texas During the Civil War," in *Invisible Texans: women and minorities in Texas history*, ed. Donald Willett and Stephen Curley (Boston: McGraw-Hill, ca. 2005. From the San Angelo Public Library), 86-93.

[20] Mark Odintz, "Buffalo Soldiers," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed October 26, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/buffalo-soldiers.

[21] Elizabeth Nix, "What Is Juneteenth?" History.com. History, June 19, 2015, https://www.history.com/news/what-is-juneteenth.

[22] "JUNETEENTH AND GENERAL ORDER NO. 3," Galveston Historical Foundation, June 2021. https://www.galvestonhistory.org/news/juneteenth-and-general-order-no-3.

[23] Teresa Palomo Acosta, "Juneteenth," Texas State Historical Association, *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, 1952. https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/juneteenth.

[24] Elizabeth Nix, "What Is Juneteenth?" History.com. History, June 19, 2015. https://www.history.com/news/what-is-juneteenth.

[25] Carl H. Moneyhon, "Reconstruction," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed October 14, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/reconstruction.

[26] Jean Carefoot, "Narrative History of Texas Secession and Readmission to the Union," Texas State Library and Archives, published April 1997, last modified August 25, 2011, https://www.tsl.texas.gov/ref/abouttx/secession/index.html.

[27] "An Act to admit the State of Texas to Representation in the Congress of the United States, March 30, 1870," Texas State Library and Archives, https://www.tsl.texas.gov/ref/abouttx/secession/30march1870.html.

[28] "African-American Legislators of 19th Century," Texas Almanac, accessed October 14, 2021, https://texasalmanac.com/topics/history/african-american-legislators-19th-century.

[29] "An Overview of the History of Public Education in Texas," Texas Education Agency, accessed October 24, 2021, https://tea.texas.gov/about-tea/welcome-and-overview/an-overview-of-the-history-of-public-education-in-texas.

[30] Linden, *Desegregating Schools in Dallas*, 11.

[31] Kelly McMichael Stott, "The Lost Cause in Dallas, Texas, 1894-1897," *Legacies* vol. 12 no. 1 (Spring 2000), 4, from the Portal to Texas History crediting the Dallas Historical Society, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth35100/m1/6/.

[32] W. Marvin Dulaney, "The Progressive Voters League: A Political Voice for African Americans in Dallas," *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* vol. 20 no. 1 (Spring 2008), 28, from the Portal to Texas History, crediting the Dallas Historical Society, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth35118/.

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[36] Lisa C. Maxwell, "Dallas County," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed October 25, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/dallas-county; US Census Bureau, "Population, by Race, Sex, and Nativity," 1880, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1880/vol-01-population/1880_v1-13.pdf.

[37] Hazel, *History of Big "D,"* 24-26.

[38] Donald E. Reynolds, "Texas Troubles," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed October 25, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/texas-troubles.

[39] Hazel, *History of Big "D,"* 26.

[40] Donald E. Reynolds, "Texas Troubles," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed October 25, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/texas-troubles.

[41] Hazel, *History of Big "D,"* 28-29. The experience of Freedmens Bureau agent William H. Horton illustrates these challenges. As described by Hazel, "Horton faced his greatest opposition when trying to prosecute whites for acts of violence against African Americans. The courts refused to convict whites despite strong evidence. Horton increasingly took the law into his own hands, establishing a sort of administrative court of his own. His opponents fought back, bringing suit against him in District Court for false imprisonment. Bowing to pressure, the military authorities transferred Horton to Bastrop and then gave him a dishonorable discharge. Horton's successor as Freedmen's Bureau agent was murdered, and the next one stayed in Lancaster, in southern Dallas County, and rarely ventured into Dallas."

[42] Dallas Historical Society. Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas, Volume 1, Number 2, Fall, 1989, periodical, 1989; (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth35123/: accessed October 22, 2021), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, https://texashistory.unt.edu; crediting Dallas Historical Society.

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[44] Dallas Historical Society. Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas, Volume 1, Number 2, Fall, 1989, periodical, 1989; (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth35123/: accessed October 22, 2021), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, https://texashistory.unt.edu; crediting Dallas Historical Society.

[45] "The Dallas Express," The Portal to Texas History, accessed October 24, 2021, https://texashistory.unt.edu/explore/collections/DSXPS/.

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[47] Hazel, *History of Big "D,"* 37.

[48] Dallas Historical Society. Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas, Volume 1, Number 2, Fall, 1989, periodical, 1989; (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth35123/: accessed October 26, 2021), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, https://texashistory.unt.edu; crediting Dallas Historical Society.

[49] Sabra Ayres, "Dallas Removes City's Largest Confederate Monument – What Happens to it Now?," Spectrum News 1, June 26, 2020, https://spectrumlocalnews.com/tx/south-texas-el-paso/news/2020/06/26/dallas-confederate-monuments-removed.

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[51] "Dallas Governmental System Overview," City of Dallas, accessed October 25, 2021, https://dallascityhall.com/government/citysecretary/archives/Pages/Archives_14-1gov.aspx.

[52] Alan B. Govenar and Jay F. Brakefield, *Deep Ellum: The Other Side of Dallas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2013): 47.

[53] Glenn M. Linden, *Desegregating Schools in Dallas: Four Decades in the Federal Courts* (Dallas: Three Folks Press, 1995), 9, from the Dallas Public Library. Note that the location(s) of NAACP headquarters could not be found in research to date; further research is recommended to identify these locations and evaluate any extant buildings for eligibility for historic designation.

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[57] Hazel, *History of Big Đ,"* 55-57.

[58] Hazel, *History of Big Đ,"* 55-57.

[59] Hernandez, "Dallas Klan No. 66," 137.

[60] Hernandez, "Dallas Klan No. 66," 137.

[61] Hazel, *History of Big Đ,"* 55-57.

[62] Hazel, *History of Big Đ,"* 55-57.

[63] Hernandez, "Dallas Klan No. 66," 141.

[64] Hazel, *History of Big Đ,"* 55-57.

[65] Hazel, *History of Big Đ,"* 55-57.

[66] Hazel, *History of Big Đ,"* 55-57.

[67] Hazel, *History of Big Đ,"* 55-57.

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[69] Neil Sapper, "Smith, Antonio Maceo," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed October 25, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/smith-antonio-maceo; City Directories, 1933-1971, ancestry.com.

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[93] "[Press conference at St. John Baptist Church during the NAACP Convention]," [Photo], July 1956, Dallas Public Library Digital Collection, Call No. PA2005-4/16.1, https://catalog.dallaslibrary.org/polaris/search/title.aspx?ctx=1.1033.0.0.6&pos=24&cn=928655; "[Thurgood Marshall during the NAACP convention in Dallas]," [Photo], July 1954, Call No. PA2005-4/10, https://catalog.dallaslibrary.org/polaris/search/title.aspx?ctx=1.1033.0.0.6&pos=27&cn=928653.

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[102] Linden, *Desegregating Schools in Dallas*, 63.

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II-17| Dallas LGBTQ History (1945–1996)

INTRODUCTION

Definitions

This context embraces a diverse community as well as a broad time period that carries into the recent past. The community typically referred to today as LGBTQI (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and intersexed) and sometimes LGBTQIA (adding asexual or "allies") crosses a number of identity groups. Hereafter, this context refers to the collection of identities that is complex and ever-changing as simply a "community" or LGBTQ (leaving off the I and A), in compliance with the thematic research of the National Park Service and its research on underrepresented communities.[1]

The history of the Dallas LGBTQ community is positioned within a broad historical time frame, mostly in the decades following World War II (1945–1996). Geographically, the community positioned itself within a region of the American South stretching from Virginia to Texas. The LGBTQ experience in the American South from 1945 to 1996 intersected with complex social constraints, including race relations, Southern conservative politics, Protestant denominations trending toward evangelicalism, and a geographic area sometimes colloquially known as the "Bible Belt." These factors worked together to produce a vibrant but often overlooked community that developed a rich social environment, created new and very large religious entities, and challenged dominant social norms that may have contributed to a shift in American politics in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Led by mostly gay men and lesbians, the Dallas community created a powerful social and political system of reckoning against the staid Dallas networks that continues to this day. The successes and failures of the Dallas community are important to document and identify existing historic sites and resources that represent the community.

This context addresses the development of an LGBTQ community in Dallas from about 1945 to 1996. While the LGBTQ community existed prior to this period, the postwar era marked the emergence of an organized and visible community. At present, the 50-year cutoff date for National Register eligibility ends in 1972, so historic resources dating from after 1973 may not yet be eligible unless they are exceptionally significant. While there is at this time little documentation regarding a gay and lesbian community in Dallas prior to World War II, additional research may be forthcoming to expand the period of significance. The initial date of 1945 is inclusive of a potential community forming in Dallas after World War II. The end date extends into the 1980s and 1900s to encompass the HIV/AIDS crisis, beginning with the first testing of HIV among gay and bisexual men and ending with the use of protease inhibitors or "cocktails" around 1996. These temporal boundaries mark important dates in the LGBTQ community in Dallas as well as nationwide. Areas of significance for the community during this period include Architecture, Social History, Religion, Art, Recreation, and Entertainment, Health and Medicine, Communication, Community Planning and Development, Politics and Government, and Law. Given the evolving narratives around LGBTQ history, the category of "other" may be justified in some cases.

NATIONWIDE CONTEXT

The typical LGBTQ community development in North America occurred in urban areas in the initial decades after World War II and gradually moved into more focused neighborhoods and areas with small discreet bars and restaurants, "safe" residences in "house parties," public parks, transportation centers (rail and automobile), and public streets that developed reputations for meeting like-minded men and women. This urban phenomenon resulted from the migration of men and women (many formerly affiliated with the military) from rural areas and small towns into major urban centers in Texas and on

the West and East coasts. Urban areas offered anonymity, as well as opportunities to meet similar-minded men, women, and people of alternative gender identities.

Most LGBTQ historians denote World War II as a watershed event for the community worldwide. The extraordinary movement of men and women for military purposes shifted personal lives, offered opportunities for meeting others, and created a world view for many young drafted and enlisted personnel. Alan Berube's significant research on World War II entitled *Coming Out Under Fire* (1990) illustrated how men and women evolved and created private and sometimes public communities, especially in urban areas. The war also shifted lives from a predominately rural nation to one of an urban concentration of population and workforce. Through the late 1940s and into the 1950s these urban LGBTQ communities evolved and connected to a local, state, and national network. The formation of a national LGBTQ community began in the largest urban areas – most notably in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and New York. The Los Angeles gay male leadership, however, established the first significant and lasting LGBTQ organization. The Mattachine Society was formed in 1950 in Los Angeles under the leadership of Harry Hay. Individuals, usually Hay, hosted new and invitation-only members to meetings. In 1952, an offshoot organization called ONE was formed with many of the same members. ONE began publication of a small journal in January 1953 that sold for twenty-five cents at newsstands across the country and to subscribers who received it in a brown envelope. In October 1954, the US Postal Service determined ONE to be "obscene" and refused to deliver it to subscribers until the determination was appealed successfully.

The Mattachine Society is noted as the beginning of sustained postwar community organizing and led to national networks of gay men and, soon thereafter, lesbians who formed the Daughters of Bilitis. Both the Mattachine Society of Los Angeles and Daughters of Bilitis in San Francisco focused on education, building awareness, and political action, but mostly the organizations formed connections between gay and bisexual men and lesbians with a goal of assimilation into the larger social networks. The Society for Individual Rights (SIR), formed in September 1964 in San Francisco, focused less on assimilation and more on liberation factors. SIR leaders are credited with the first gay community center, health awareness programs, and social events, as well as setting up an important connection to religious life. In December 1964, SIR joined the leaders of the Council on Religion and the Homosexual to breach traditional barriers between religious entities – an effort that spread across the country, mostly among liberal Protestants. This national movement solidified into homophile organizations forming in many urban areas. "Homophile" is the word created among the leaders of these organizations to capture all similar organizations and encourage measures of assimilation that would bring homosexual men and women into traditional American spaces. In 1966, the North American Conference of Homophile Organizations met for the first time in Washington, D.C., to coordinate programming and messaging across the United States.

Gay men and lesbians developed extensive channels of communication, challenged the US Postal Service definition of "obscene," and picketed the federal bureaucracy in Washington to protect gay workers from being fired and their lives destroyed. As these communication and educational networks formed in urban communities across the US a community, a physical presence began to emerge in addition to the written one. As the community's physical presence emerged—most notably in California, New York, and Washington—the gay, transgender, and lesbian communities fought back against police entrapment and raids of bars. These sites would become important places of resistance and strengthening LGBTQ forces.

The June 1969 riot at Stonewall Inn in New York became the landmark resistance that rallied the communities of North America. Stonewall Inn is now recognized as a National Historic Landmark (NHL) by the National Park Service. While the Stonewall incidence was not the first challenge to police

authorities, it is the best known, and it spawned a national movement of reconciliation and determination. The decade of the 1970s that followed is now seen as the formative period of local, state, and national organizations under the banner of Gay Liberation in politics, sports, education, and health care. Within this national context, Texas and Dallas grew in participating numbers and gradually in visibility.

> ***Learn more!*** *Read the NHL nomination for the Stonewall Inn at http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/eresources/exhibitions/sw25/gifs/stonewall_national_historic_landmark_nomination.pdf. At a national level, read "LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History" by the National Park Service at https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm. This theme study sketches broad themes important to documenting LGBTQ sites in the United States.*

STATEWIDE CONTEXT

In 1879, the Texas Legislature passed its first laws referencing "unnatural" acts to address allegations of sodomy between men. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, additional clarification emerged regarding sodomy and "unnatural" relations between both males and females through court actions. Physicians with para-medical theories and cure treatments formed in Texas as well. Following World War II, rural Texans migrated in significant numbers into Dallas for employment in the growing defense industries, banking and financial businesses, and educational centers. Members of the loose LGBTQ community would be included in that migration—though largely invisible—in response to familial, religious, political, or employment restrictions set by the federal government and most businesses for homosexuals. In cities across the state, local governments and police actions targeted gay and bisexual men for issues of "vagrancy" and loitering as measures of harassment. A number of arrests and cases in Dallas added to the threats for local residents, particularly in the parks, transportation centers, and downtown streets. In 2003, the US Supreme Court decision determined a landmark case in *Lawrence v. Texas* that ended claims of sodomy as unconstitutional in Texas and elsewhere, essentially reducing arrests to some individuals (but not all) of the LGBTQ community.

To date, no significant effort in any Texas community has attempted to identify important local LGBTQ historical sites worthy of designation in the National Register of Historic Places, Texas historical markers, or local historical designations as in cities like Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, Chicago, or Philadelphia. The programs to identify, designate, and interpret for educational purposes and tourists is a shift from valuing archival collections to recognizing vastly hidden and disappearing sites once key to the LGBTQ community in each Texas city and in some rural areas of the state. The only official Texas Historical Commission marker dedicated to an LGBTQ subject is for the "The Crossroads" at Cedar Springs and Throckmorton in Dallas (2017).[2]

Researching LGBTQ History in Texas

Relatively few historical texts exist on the development or formation of an LGBTQ community in Texas, either before World War II or afterward. However, archives and small community organizations (formal and informal) did form - namely in Dallas, Houston, Austin, San Antonio, Fort Worth, and Bryan-College Station. A largely rural community network formed in Central Texas around Waco in the mid-1980s as one of several alternatives to urban community organizations. No fully documented and valid history, however, traces these efforts in any of the major cities or rural areas in the state. References to the formation of a statewide urban LGBTQ community in Texas are scantily published, except as a few doctoral dissertations or master theses.[3] These academic studies tend to focus on a particular segment of the LGBTQ community—like social settings (bars, nightclubs), political, social, sports, and religious organizations (Stonewall Democrats), and fetish organizations (leather, cowboy, drag, and motorcycles)—with an occasional biographical sketch of a community leader. The relative obscurity of the community makes it especially difficult to track an individual through city directories, census records, or other standard research methods, though – especially since many used pseudonyms.

In spite of these limitations, a growing number of collections of archival materials related to LGBT history are now present across the state – both cataloged in archives and online. These archives are either sections of academic collections like the Don Kelly Collection at the Cushing Memorial Library and Archives at Texas A&M University (College Station), the LGBTQ Archives at the University of North Texas (includes the former Phil Johnson Archives in Dallas), the Botts Collection at the University of Houston, and the LGBTQ Collection at the University of Texas at San Antonio or found in alternative community settings and with websites like the Happy Foundation Archives (San Antonio), *houstonlgbthistory.org* and JD Doyle Archives (Houston), and the Transgender Foundation of America's archives (Houston). These alternative archives are sometimes referred to as counter archives to distinguish between more traditional collections and locations of more conventional research. Most of these counter archives now contain, and some continue to accept, personal donations from LGBTQ community members – including letters, books, photographs, and various ephemera. A few, most notably the Dallas Way, focus on collecting personal stories or oral histories, and the long-running statewide publication *This Week in Texas* (TWIT) and the community newspaper *Dallas Voice* (founded 1984) constitute the most comprehensive collections of any Texas-based publications. In coordination with the University of North Texas and the Portal to Texas History, many items related to these two entities and the collections of other Dallas residents are digitized, and many are available online. Additional short-run publications emerged from Dallas at different times, including *Our Community* (founded 1971), *The Nuntius* (published in Houston for both cities), *Community News*, *Tryst Entertainment Magazine*, and *The Dallas Gay News* (founded 1982). These publications, while limited in issues, are available on a Houston-based website (https://houstonlgbthistory.org).

LOCAL CONTEXT IN DALLAS

The Dallas LGBTQ community largely formed within the 1950s and 1960s city limits denoted by Loop 12 (1939). The loop encircles the central business district set along the Trinity River and incorporates most of the pre- and post-World War II neighborhoods that extend in all directions from that center. As is common in urban areas in North America in the two to three decades after World War II (as well as before), the LGBTQ community mostly resided, worked, and socialized around the central business district. Residential opportunities often came in small apartment buildings or single-family dwellings west of downtown, in the lower neighborhoods of East Dallas, and in north Oak Cliff. Residential choices lay near the nightclubs, parks, and social centers of the LGBTQ community's largely underground networks.

The cultural geographic setting for the Dallas community is concentrated in three to four areas of the city: Old East Dallas, downtown, north Oak Cliff and Oak Lawn/Cedar Springs. These areas all experienced depopulation in the mid-twentieth century (as discussed in *Chapter 9. Suburbanization*). The underutilized buildings and public landscaped areas—considered dangerous or uninhabitable spaces for many—became comfortable spaces for gay and bisexual men, lesbians, and transgender people. These "dark," hidden places provided protection and anonymity for the emerging community of Dallas.[4] Gay men and lesbians also often assumed pseudonyms to hide real identities for fear of retaliation and job or family loss.

EARLY LGBTQ DALLAS BEFORE WORLD WAR II

The documentation on a pre-World War II LGBTQ community in Dallas is scarce, though several local historians in the late twentieth century discuss aspects of the community and significant landmarks. This period in national LGBTQ history is typically described as publicly somewhat discrete, contrasting to an active underground and "overlooked" community. Historians typically confirm similar communities in North American urban areas until after the mid-twentieth century.

Dallas sites associated with this community include residential buildings, such as "Lavender Shingle," a 1930s rooming house at Marsalis and Colorado in Oak Cliff (demolished). Another historical reference is to a female impersonator named Bobby Allen, who performed in disguise during the 1930s Texas Centennial, both at the event and a club on the Fort Worth Turnpike in Oak Cliff called the Torch K-9

Club.[5] Despite these short references to a visible and active community, some LGBTQ interactions occurred in public parks, like Craddock Park, Lee Park, Exall Park, and Ferris Park near the Union train station downtown. The popular "theatre row" on Elm in downtown Dallas attracted a steady crowd of gay and bisexual men as well, who subtlety sought partners in the dark theaters (now mostly gone). Surrounding properties and dining facilities most likely attracted the same crowds, particularly in the evenings.[6] A vast underground LGBTQ community would have existed, though little material evidence remains, and many associated properties are now demolished.

EVOLUTION OF THE LGBTQ COMMUNITY IN DALLAS (1945–1985)

Dallas, as one of the state's major urban areas, followed the same path as the nation toward urbanization after World War II. A handful of letters in the ONE Archives in Los Angeles document the distribution of the publication to a few Dallas residents. In 1953, G.W. Tharp wrote to ONE inquiring about the Mattachine Society, and the following year Charles W. Bigby did the same, asking about a chapter in Dallas. The secretary of ONE responded to Bigby, saying: "I am sorry to say that we do not have a chapter in or near Dallas at the present time. However, we have had many inquiries from that area."[7] At virtually the same time, W.A. Covington, Jr., an instructor at Byrne Commercial College in Casa Linda Plaza, wrote to ONE in praise of the movement and organization, granting ONE and Mattachine Society leaders the approval to share his name to others in Dallas. These letters reveal an underground movement in Dallas largely unknown but similar to what occurred in other cities in the early 1950s. None of these men are associated by documentation with the later formation of a Dallas LGBTQ organization. Still, nonetheless, their correspondence reflects a national pattern of connecting gay men and lesbians to a network through publications and community organizing. The home and business addresses of these men also provide a geographic boundary of the erstwhile community. For example, in 1954, Covington's home at 4637 Virginia Avenue was a wood frame fourplex (extant, but in an area of intense redevelopment today and a likely candidate for demolition).

Local LGBTQ historian Phil Johnson penned a number of short articles for the statewide publication *This Week in Texas* in the 1980s and 1990s, mostly about the post-World War II LGBTQ community. Johnson's writing covers several decades of the twentieth century and includes random stories he recalled or observed. A number of his stories focus on the early post-war period. He mentions the Milam Hotel bar (one block east of Dallas Municipal Building at 106 S. Harwood Street) as the first LGBTQ-friendly bar in Dallas in the post-World War II era. Johnson also notes that Club Reno (Ervay Street and Wood Street, 1947, demolished) was an early business catering to the community, as well as the Dallas White Plaza Hotel, active in the late 1940s (still in operation at 1933 Main Street as Hotel Indigo; the building is a Local Landmark, individually listed in the NRHP, and contributing to a local and NRHP-listed historic district).

Phil Johnson (1925–2019)

Johnson was one of the Dallas LGBTQ community's most important and early leaders (fig. II-247). A native of the city, his life and accomplishments record the breadth of local LGBTQ history from the pre-World War || era to the early twenty-first century. A founder of the Circle of Friends and other organizations, Johnson's legacy remains in his passion for collecting and telling the history of LBGTQ Dallas. His archives, collected over many years, are now part of the University of North Texas' Portal of Texas History, allowing a wider audience of researchers and historians to share the importance of LGBTQ accomplishments and contributions to Dallas.

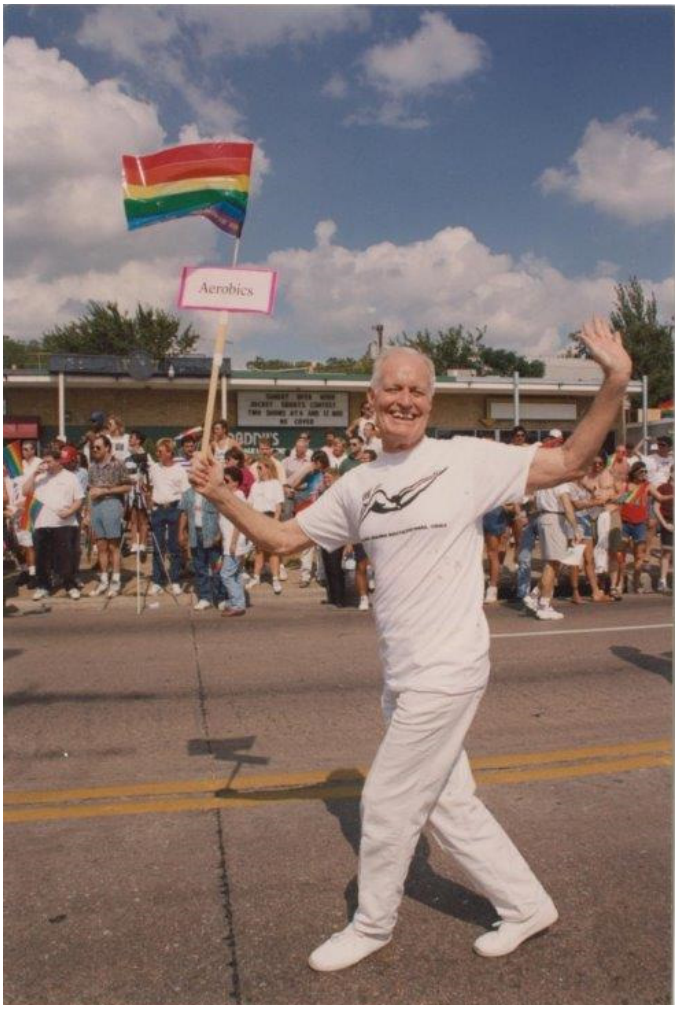


Figure II-247. Phil Johnson at the Alan Ross Freedom Parade, local Dallas LGBTQ historian and one of the Circle of Friends founders, no date, https://texashistory.unt.edu.

Later publications and local historians noted the popularity of the *Le Boeuf Sur Le Toit* (The Bull on the Roof), which was established by East Dallas real estate developer and business owner Frank Perryman (1916–2002) at 1315 Skiles (near Exall Park) in the 1950s (demolished but operated at least until the 1970s). Throughout the 1950s, the central business district offered other more casual and "known by the community" meeting places, including those from the pre-war decades such as Theatre Row on Elm and the nearby Dunton's Cafeteria (demolished). Most likely, these places offered gay and bisexual men opportunities for meeting, while women and those with more ambiguous sexual identities found other places or met in private residences.[8]

In the 1960s and 1970s, LGBTQ activities and organizations in Dallas followed paths similar to the recorded history of such communities in other major North American cities. In Dallas, LGBTQ gathering places centered in a few inner-city neighborhoods and downtown. Bars and nightclubs, cafes, restaurants, hotel bars, baths, parks, certain segments of streets, and public transportation depots or stations all likely functioned as meeting places. Specific properties of note in the 1960s include Zila's Bank Box (308 S. Akard Street), Gene's Music Bar on Akard (built 1961), and the Alley Door at Fairmont Hotel (built 1969, 1717 N. Akard Street, extant). Several other sites continued from the pre-war decades and are mentioned in period documentation, including "Maggie's Corner" (near the Magnolia Building, Commerce Street at Akard Street), Ferris Plaza (400 S. Houston Street, immediately east of the Union train station and near the bus station, extant), and Craddock Park (4600 Lemmon Avenue, extant). New

public sites emerged around 1970, including Lee Park (on the west bank of Turtle Creek south of Lemmon Avenue, extant).[9] Gradually, the community began emerging from hidden places and claiming a more visible position. Later in the period—by about 1980—significant gathering places were repositioned into sites for religious practice, health facilities, recreation and entertainment, and a few community-based support industries like newspapers and other forms of printed communication.

The Circle of Friends (January 1, 1965)

The Circle of Friends, easily the most significant formation of a community LGBTQ entity in Dallas, began meeting in 1965 at the home of Phil Johnson. Five gay men and four non-gay ministers of Dallas met on the eve of January 1, 1965, to form what was believed to be the first homophile organization in Texas. In the summer of 1965, a San Francisco-based newspaper—*Cruise News and World Report*, operated by a former Dallas resident, Guy Strait—ran an advertisement by a Dallas Methodist minister asking for a Dallas gay leader interested in forming a homophile organization. Phil Johnson read the advertisement and set about finding other gay men to organize. The organization's goals were to help the homosexual help himself and provide a place where gay people could meet other gay people, other than a gay bar or public restroom. After a challenging start and stop period, the men wrote a constitution, visited each other in their homes, and met with the four supportive ministers associated with the Council on the Homosexual and Religion, first initiated in San Francisco. At the end of the first year, the Circle had 12 members and the 4 ministers. Phil represented the Circle at the North American Conference of Homophile Organizations in Washington, D.C., in 1966. The group self-published a Circle of Friends Newsletter that later became *The Ampersand*. By the early 1970s, the Circle disbanded, as other Dallas organizations formed, and the LGBTQ community emerged as a significant force in the city. Documentation of the first and subsequent meetings suggests that this was a loose organization that slowly grew in its first years of development but would be an essential early catalyst for Dallas LGBTQ residents to organize. There is no known property associated with the organization based on research available to date.[10]

As the LGBTQ community formed and took a more visible public presence, a significant level of opposition began to form as well. This counter history includes important individuals such as Edwin Walker – a former US Army general, Republican gubernatorial candidate, conservative spokesman, and vocal opponent to the LGBTQ community in the 1960s. Walker forcefully led opposition to the emerging community as well as other ultra-conservative causes.[11] Walker eventually disappeared from public awareness by the 1970s and was arrested in the latter part of that decade for lewdness in a neighborhood park.

After Stonewall in 1969 and other national LGBTQ events, the Dallas community expanded its geographic base but still maintained a strong connection to downtown, the lower Swiss Avenue area, and Oak Lawn/Cedar Springs. A 1970s gay travel publication listed a number of gay and lesbian establishments in lower Swiss Avenue, including Studio 9 (4817 Bryan Street, near Fitzhugh), Act III (3115 Live Oak Street at Skiles Street, demolished), Entre Nuit (3116 Live Oak Street), Bachelor Quarters Baths (3116 Live Oak Street), Club Dallas (baths) and Toddle House (4010 Live Oak Street near Haskell). The Oak Lawn/Cedar Springs area was by then called "Homo Heights" and included very popular retail and nightclubs mostly in an area known as "the Crossroads" (Cedar Springs and Throckmorton to Oak Lawn) – including Machine Gun Kelly (The Mark Twain, 4015 Lemmon Avenue, 1974), The Swinger (4006 Maple Avenue), Sundance Kid (4015 Maple Avenue), The Marlboro (4100 Maple Avenue), Terry's Ranch (4117 Maple Avenue), and Lucas B&B Coffee Shop (3520 Oak Lawn Avenue, extant but extensively modified). The central business district also remained active and included The Lasso Bar (215 Akard Street), Gene's Music Bar (307-309 S. Akard Street, 1958), Ellwest Stereo Theatre (308 S. Ervay Street, an arcade, demolished), Southern Plantation, and Bayou Landing (2609 N. Pearl Street).[12] The commercial strip along Cedar Springs, referred to as the Crossroads, grew substantially in scope and depth of commercial and entertainment businesses in the 1970s and 1980s. In time these establishments became more declarative in their marketing and promotions. Some of these businesses adopted identity names like the country and western bar Round Up, while others by the late 1970s included transposed names of popular television stars from *Dallas*—like JR's and Sue Ellen's—and other fetishized clubs like Throckmorton's.

Pride Parades

Another major signifier of the public presence of the LGBTQ community was the advent of pride parades. Recent local historians such as Johnson noted the 1972 gay pride parade as the first major public presentation of the LGBTQ community. It was later renamed (1980) the Alan Ross Freedom Parade Dallas Pride and eventually was managed (1983) by the owners and managers of Dallas' gay bars known as the Dallas Tavern Guild (1982) (figs. II-248-249). In more recent years, Dallas Southern Pride (Annual Black Gay Pride) and Texas Latino Pride were formed to diversify public awareness. In 2014, the QueerBomb Dallas started as its own alternative to Pride Parade. The Dallas Gay Political Caucus (DGPC) was formed in 1976 at the MCC facility at 3834 Ross, with Chance West elected as President and Helen Harvey as Vice President. The DGPC became an important advocate for the LGBTQ community through the 1970s to the present day. These events and entities have no known associated sites, although parade routes could be considered culturally significant if identified through future research.



Figure II-248. Image from the Gay Pride Parade. Renamed the Alan Ross Freedom Parade (1980) and managed by Dallas Tavern Guild after 1983, 1972, https://texashistory.unt.edu.



Figure II-249. Gay Pride Parade. Renamed the Alan Ross Freedom Parade (1980) and managed by Dallas Tavern Guild after 1983, 1972, https://texashistory.unt.edu.

The increasing public presence of the community led to continued vocal opposition. Likewise, the growth of the conservative Christian Protestant movement across the American South gave rise to evangelicals like televangelist James Robison of the Dallas/Fort Worth area. Robison's outspoken sermons denouncing homosexuals in the late 1970s led to the activist response from the Dallas LGBTQ community to close his radio program on the Dallas station WFAA and a subsequent evangelical

gathering at the Reunion Arena in 1979. Later, Mike Huckabee—Southern Baptist minister, staff member of Robison, and former Arkansas Governor—referenced that event as the beginning of the Moral Majority. The Moral Majority would lead the nationwide conservative agenda against the LGBTQ community, as well as the 1980s and 1990s AIDS protests and propaganda machine.[13]

The LGBTQ community also faced numerous political and government-led efforts meant to suppress the community's rights and visibility during the 1970s. Despite the intent of these efforts, the vice laws, bans, and police raids ultimately led to several court victories and furthered the cause and visibility of the LGBTQ rights movement. One of the first court victories stemmed from a nineteenth-century statewide law against homosexuality and sodomy and the state's 1973 law that criminalized homosexuality as a misdemeanor.[14] Following the state's lead, in 1977, Dallas Independent School District (DISD) superintendent Nolan Estes declared a ban on homosexual teachers and announced that any teachers found to be gay would be fired.[15] That same year, DISD fired teacher Don Baker after he came out as a gay man during a television interview. In turn, Baker filed suit in 1979, seeking to overturn the state's anti-sodomy law. In *Baker v. Wade*, the United States District Court sided with Baker. The ruling, however, was overturned just six years later in 1985 and stayed in place until the United States Supreme Court struck down all anti-sodomy laws in 2003.[16]

The 1970s also saw a number of police raids on gay-friendly establishments. One of the largest raids, and a turning point for the community, occurred in 1979 at Village Station, a popular club at the corner of Cedar Springs Road and Throckmorton Street in Oak Lawn. At the club, the Dallas Police Department vice squad arrested 12 men and charged them with lewd conduct. Backed by the DGPC, several of the men fought the charges, making them the first to challenge the law and the police raids. The courts acquitted three of the four men, emboldening the LGBTQ community. Afterward, the community grew more vocal, publishing the names of arresting police officers and speaking at City Council meetings on the harassment the community faced.

Coinciding with these events, several very important organizations and community entities formed in the 1970s and early 1980s. One of the most significant is the Metropolitan Community Church (MCC) that formed in Dallas as an early offshoot of Troy Perry's similar church in Los Angeles. After initial meetings in the home of the pastor, Reverend Richard Vincent, at 4612 Victor Street, the congregation moved to another location in 1972 (3834 Ross Avenue). In 1976, church members purchased a building at 2701 Reagan Street, and in 1987, MCC elected a new minister, culminating in the renamed Cathedral of Hope (5910 Cedar Springs Avenue). The Cathedral of Hope contracted with gay architect Philip Johnson (not to be confused with local historian Phil Johnson) to design the congregation's new sanctuary in 1995 (fig. II-250).[17] The MCC's Reagan Street location joined with the Gay Community Center in 1983 (later renamed the Dallas Resource Center), providing outreach and services to the LGBTQ community (fig. II-251). In 1985, the Resource Center shifted to assist the growing HIV/AIDS-affected community. The Phil Johnson Historic Archives and Research Library (1994) later relocated to this site as well. The Resource Center expanded significantly during the late twentieth century and assumed many important roles for the LGBTQ community in Dallas, including social service outreach, medical/dental assistance, counseling services, and community meeting space.[18] Evolved from Dallas's strong political organizing and founded by the DGPC, the Resource Center not only grew into one of the country's largest LGBTQ resource centers but also pioneered the creation of similar community centers across the country. *The Dallas Voice* (1984) organized as the city's unique community newspaper in the Oak Lawn/Cedar Springs neighborhood. It continues today as an important voice for all of the state's LGBTQ community.



Figure II-250. Interfaith Peace Chapel, 5910 Cedar Springs Avenue, Dallas, designed by renowned architect Philip Johnson (New York), photograph by Michael Nelson, April 15, 2011, http://www.flickr.com/photo/man11191/.



Figure II-251. John Thomas Gay and Lesbian Community Center at the Resource Center of Dallas (formerly AIDS Resource Center), c. 1990, https://texashistory.unt.edu.

The Aids Crisis: Ron Woodroof and the Dallas Buyers Club

The HIV/AIDS crisis devasted the LGBTQ community, particularly gay men, during the 1980s and 1990s. During this period, over 14 million people across the globe died of AIDS, and another 33 million were thought to be living with HIV.[19] Largely unknown and understudied prior to the pandemic, the illness generated fear and disinformation and led to discrimination of those with and associated with the illness. Because the illness struck gay men, an already marginalized segment of society, at a disproportionally high rate, the public and government response was generally slow to respond after the first case was reported in the US in 1981. In 1987, the first AIDS treatment, AZT, became available. Only moderately effective, AZT was the primary drug used in the treatment of AIDS until improved therapies developed in the mid-1990s. Ron Woodroof, a Dallas electrician, was prescribed AZT after his AIDS diagnosis in 1986. Unhappy with the effectiveness of the drug, Woodroof studied the illness and

searched for different drugs and treatments to combat the illness and its symptoms. Woodroof discovered several antiviral drugs unavailable in the US that he believed worked at combating the illness and began acquiring them from around the world, smuggling many in from Mexico. As other AIDS patients sought out Woodroof for these therapies, the Dallasite, with the help of his doctor and another AIDS patient, started the Dallas Buyers Club in 1988. Woodroof operated the Dallas Buyers Club for four years, first distributing drugs from his house in Oak Lawn and later from a rental at 3102 Swiss Avenue (extant).[20] Woodroof died in 1992, six years after his AIDS diagnosis.

The Turtle Creek Chorale (1980) is now one of the nation's largest gay and bisexual male choirs with an international reputation. This ambassadorial organization moved a number of times in its existence but is an important "permanent" LGBTQ organization.[21] The Women's Chorus of Dallas (1989) represents the city as well with no known associated sites.[22]

The annual Black Tie Dinner (1982) makes Dallas' LGBTQ community the largest contributor to the national equality organization Human Rights Campaign. Other significant community events and organizations formed after the 1970s, including the annual Purple Party and Texas Bear Round-Up. The North Texas LGBT Chamber of Commerce (2005) organized to promote community businesses building off of several earlier attempts to organize. These organizations have a number of meeting places and therefore have no permanent associative site.

The city's political and governmental sphere also reflected the growing visibility of the LGBTQ community in the 1970s and 1980s. Though the first openly gay man to hold office in Dallas was not elected until 1993—Craig McDaniel served on city council—openly gay candidates ran for office in the two previous decades. Since McDaniel, more openly gay people have held positions on the DISD School Board and have also served as Dallas County Sheriff, Dallas County District Clerk, and as Dallas County Judge.[23]

CONCLUSION

Properties identified as significant to this context from 1945 to 1996 are most likely to be eligible under National Register of Historic Places Criteria A and B with some under Criterion C or a combination of these three. Resources that post-date the National Park Service's 50-year threshold must meet Criterion Consideration G. Areas of significance will include Social History, Religion, Commerce, Politics/government, and Health/medicine. Resource types will include nightclubs/bars/restaurants, community centers, medical and health care, religious facilities, parks and public spaces, and domestic spaces.

The vast resources and sites found today in Dallas reflect the development of an important community with a breadth of resource types. While domestic spaces or the private homes and residences of LGBTQ leaders were important places to the community, this area is not well researched. Despite the scarcity of known examples of extant resources, the geographical centers around the Oak Lawn and Cedar Springs neighborhood and the northern parts of downtown around lower Swiss Avenue and Live Oak would be likely areas of important residences. Scattered sites may still exist around these areas, such as Oak Cliff, but late twentieth-century and twenty-first-century developments have obliterated many of the possible sites. Identifying sites, however, is challenging for the LGBTQ community, as some sites are already noted within preservation communities for other reasons or areas of significance that intentionally do not acknowledge LGBTQ men and women or that obscure that part of their lives. Other sites are demolished, in poor condition, or altered irretrievably, leaving this part of LGBTQ history hidden.

NOTES

[1] Megan E. Springate, ed., LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History (Washington, D.C.: National Park Foundation, 2016)

[2] https://atlas.thc.state.ts.us/5507018770.

[3] There is no comprehensive text or document on the LGBTQ community in Texas. Several academic theses and articles address aspects of statewide history including Kyle Edelbrock, "Taking it to the Streets: The History of Gay Pride Parades in Dallas, Texas: 1972-1986," MA thesis, University of North Texas, August 2015; Molly Ellen Bundschuh, "Cowboys, "Queers," and Community: The AIDS Crisis in Houston and Dallas, 1981-1996," MA thesis, University of North Texas, August 2014; Eric Jason Gunther, "From Closet to Crusade: The Struggle for Lesbian-Gay Civil Rights in Austin, Texas, 1970-1982," MA thesis, University of Texas Austin, 1990; Gene Alviar,"Recovering Queer History in Texas, University of Texas at San Antonio, December 2019. Other websites on Houston LGBTQ history and the Portal of Texas History at University of North Texas contain articles and documents from the state's history.

[4] … but make historic preservation techniques and programs today more difficult to identify in field methods and documentation…

[5] Phil Johnson, "Bobby Allen," This Week In Texas (TWIT), November 21-27, 1986, 36-37.

[6] Phil Johnson, "Gay Thursdays," TWIT, April 10-16, 1987, 29-30.

[7] … May 25, 1954…

[8] Phil Johnson, "World War II Stories," TWIT, 32-34; "Gay Thursdays: Theatre Row Before World War II," TWIT, April 10-16, 1987, 29-30.

[9] Phil Johnson, TWIT, "Dallas Roots," TWIT, 33-34; "Maggie's Corner," TWIT, August 2-8, 1991, 35-36.

[10] "The Beginning of 'The Circle of Friends," no date, https://texashistory.unt.edu.

[11] Official assassination reports determined Walker was a target of his own assassination attempt in his home in the Oak Lawn/Cedar Springs area. His house was peppered with gunshots that are attributed to Oswald prior to the Kennedy assassination. "Before gunning for JFK, Oswald targeted ex-Gen.Ewdin A. Walker—and missed," The Dallas Morning News (November 19, 2018).

[12] Paula Bosse, "Hidden in Plain Sight: A Photo History of Dallas' Gay Bars of the 1970s," July 21, 2016 found at https://houstonlgbthistory.org, collected from Ciao: The World of Gay Travel, June 1975.

[13] "Evangelist Fights Cancellation of TV Show," New York Times (April 1, 1979) 43; Ariel Levy, "Prodigal Son: Is the Wayward Republican Mike Hukabee His Party's Best Hope," The New Yorker (June 21, 2010).

[14] Todd Camp, "Fort Worth LGBT Community," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 23, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/fort-worth-lgbt-community.

[15] Eric Miller, "DISD ban on gays told," *Dallas Morning News*, October 7, 1977.

[16] Sam Childers, "Dallas LGBT Community," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 15, 2022, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/dallas-lgbt-community.

[17] https://cathedralofhope.com.

[18] https://myresourcecenter.org.

[19] "History of HIV and AIDS Overview," *Avert*, accessed March 15, 2022, https://www.avert.org/professionals/history-hiv-aids/overview.

[20] Dallas Buyer's Club. NEW Source, December 1991, periodical, December 1991, 2; Dallas, Texas. (https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc271479/: accessed March 15, 2022), University of North Texas Libraries, UNT Digital Library, https://digital.library.unt.edu; crediting UNT Libraries Special Collections.

[21] https://turtlecreekchorale.com.

[22] https://thewomenschorusofdallas.com.

[23] Childers, "Dallas LGBT Community," *Handbook of Texas Online*.

II-18| Fine Arts, Performing Arts, and Entertainment (1873–1972)

INTRODUCTION

The fine arts, performing arts, and entertainment have played a huge role in cultural development in Dallas and include such media as painting, sculpture, theater and performance, music, and film. The arts slowly grew until and after the arrival of the railroad with early opera houses and theaters. These early establishments showed that Dallas had potential as an entertainment hub due to its accessibility via transportation routes, making it an easy stop for touring performers. Arts and entertainment blossomed along with the city's desire to become a cosmopolitan city and an alluring destination to visitors. Fine arts flourished after the turn of the twentieth century with the city's first art gallery.

Throughout the twentieth century, Dallas became known for its music, art, and theater; the city hosted a vibrant arts scene, and its cultural institutions played a large role in the city's identity. The period of significance for this theme begins in about 1873, when opera houses opened in the city, and extends through 1972 because the arts are still an essential and thriving aspect of Dallas's culture. Relevant resources documenting the history of Arts and Entertainment in Dallas include museums, theaters, cinemas, nightclubs, artist's workshops, and works of public art. This theme is relevant under National Register Criterion C, with Areas of Significance of Art, Entertainment/Recreation, and Performing Arts.

THE ROLE OF ARTS AND ENTERTAINMENT IN AMERICAN IDENTITY

From the beginning of US independence, art played an important role in establishing a national identity. In the eighteenth century, America's founding fathers looked to ancient Greece and Rome as an inspiration for art to inspire democracy, breaking from the more decorative Baroque and Rococo styles associated with European monarchs at the time. Early American artists also used Greek and Roman classicism to help symbolize permanency and bring an impression of stability to the fledgling nation. As a result, the US government and private donors invested in classical art as an important political and civic symbol. Over time, though, the revival of Greek and Roman classicism gained popularity in Europe too. Some American artists and tastemakers sought new artistic styles and forms that would break away from European traditions, while others continued to follow European precedents in hopes of borrowing European legitimacy and sophistication. This dichotomy continued to shape the American art scene throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. On the one hand, influential and wealthy Americans considered traveling to Europe to absorb and purchase art as the pinnacle of refinement, and the most skilled US artists sought training in Europe or from European-born teachers in America. The Gilded Age exemplified this trend, with wealthy individuals purchasing European artistic treasures to bring to America.

Progressive Era threads also ran through this Gilded Age movement, with wealthy individuals establishing public museums and institutions that would display artistic masterpieces to the masses. High art, some believed, could improve the moral fabric of the working classes and inspire them to seek to climb the social ladder. For example, between 1886 and 1919 steel magnate Andrew Carnegie founded a nationwide system of Carnegie Libraries, all designed in the classical Beaux-Arts style, to share books of classical learning and works of art with the general public.[1] On the other hand, both avant-garde artists and popular entertainers rebelled against this institutionalized admiration of high-

European art. Both saw revolutionary artistic potential in new technologies and forms – like photography, film, and audio recording, which became available across the nation in the 1890s and early 1900s.

ARTS AND ENTERTAINMENT IN DALLAS

A FLEDGLING ARTS COMMUNITY: MUSIC AND ENTERTAINMENT

As a nascent city, Dallas was home to artistic and musical residents who laid the groundwork for later cultural growth. Several former residents of La Réunion colony (a French immigrant group living as a communal society) were talented musicians and came to Dallas after the dissolution of La Reunion in 1857. The city also hosted events held by German and Swiss singing societies.[2] An early photograph gallery opened at the Art Saloon of Adolph Gouhenant at the south side of the courthouse square in 1853. Opportunities to see art in Dallas also occurred in the courthouse itself, as well as at the state fairs.[3] After the arrival of the railroad, venues for music and entertainment began to appear. Dallas's rail connections made it a city easily visited by reputable musical acts, who typically traveled by rail.[4] Several small opera companies opened in the 1870s, including Field's Opera House, which opened in 1873 on the south side of Main Street between Lamar and South Austin Streets.[5] According to City Directories and Sanborn maps from the 1870s and 1880s, there were already musical instrument dealers and "Variety Show Theaters" in Dallas, some of which were concentrated on Main Street between Poydras and Murphy Streets, indicating a fledgling growth of the musical arts and an interest in entertainment. The Dallas Opera House opened in 1883 at the southwest corner of Commerce and Akard Streets (no longer extant) and became the primary venue for touring opera companies as well as other acts, including musicians and acting troupes (fig. II-252). By 1901 the original opera house had burned down, and a new one replaced it at 427 Main Street. Speakers at the opening speech for the opera house stated that while in 1880 Dallas theaters were risqué "fly-by-nights" located above businesses, the new theater offered "the best stage has ever produced."[6] This indicated the strides that early Dallas was making towards establishing itself as a premier artistic city.



Figure II-252. Historic photograph of the Dallas Opera House, opened in 1883 at the southwest corner of Commerce and Akard Streets. The opera house was one of the early formal venues for musical and theatrical entertainment in Dallas. Source: Christina H. Wilson, rev. by Laurie E. Jasinksi, "Opera," *Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed March 16, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/opera.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY DEMOCRATIZATION OF ARTS AND ENTERTAINMENT

By the turn of the century, music, arts, and entertainment in Dallas began to flourish, showing that Dallas residents valued the growth of the creative arts and sought a reputation as a cultural city. The Dallas Symphony Orchestra played its inaugural concert in 1900.[7] Although the symphony was out of reach for most Dallas citizens, the overarching trend in Dallas arts at the time was accessibility for the masses. In 1901 the Carnegie Library opened at the corner of Commerce and South Harwood Streets (not extant), hosting a "Public Art Gallery" in one of its second-floor rooms, charging 25 cents for their first exhibition (see fig. II-68 in *Chapter 4. Municipal and City Governments*). The Dallas Federation of Women's Clubs, specifically member May Dickson Exall, was the driving force behind the library as well as the creation of a new Art Committee of the Dallas Public Library. The new committee set about looking for new pieces of art and acquired four pieces in its first year, aided by an initial donation from local artist Frank Reaugh.[8] A prominent landscape painter, Frank Reaugh moved to Dallas in 1890 and was well known for his depictions of cattle and longhorns. In 1903, The Dallas Art Association formed and was responsible for running the fledgling gallery, until they decided to transfer their collection to the City of Dallas in 1909, "that they might formally recognize the gallery as a permanent institution, and give the people a more liberal use of the pictures than was possible under the old management."[9] The public gallery relocated to a new building at Fair Park in 1909, which was eventually damaged by a storm (fig. II-253).[10] Fair Park, which the Texas State Fair donated to the City of Dallas in 1904, was a convenient and well-visited location for leisure.[11]

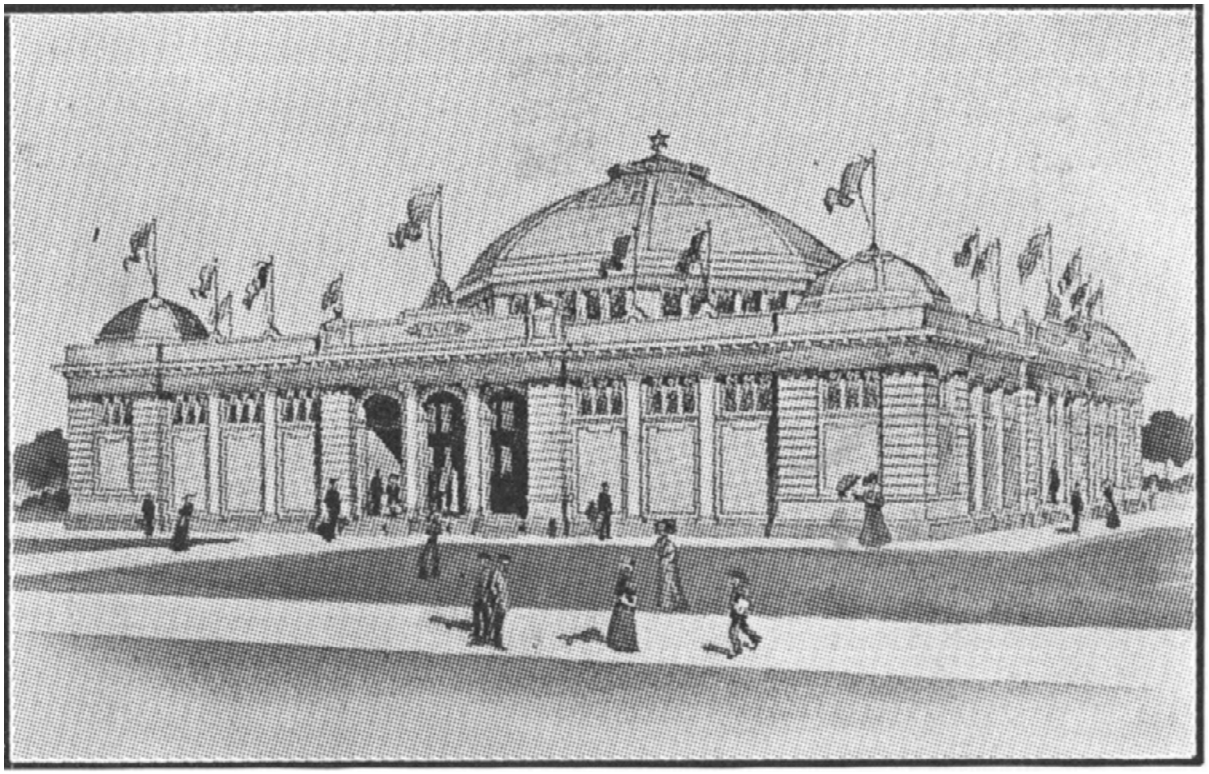


Figure II-253. Illustration of the 1909 Free Public Art Gallery of Dallas, located in Fair Park. The gallery, recently acquired by the City, was free and open to the public and eventually evolved into the Dallas Museum of Art. Source: Dallas Art Association, Official Catalogue of the Dallas Art Association, 1909, pamphlet, 1909; Dallas, Texas. (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth183247/m1/4/: accessed March 17, 2021), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, https://texashistory.unt.edu; crediting Dallas Museum of Art.

Pioneer Painter and Teacher: Vivian Aunspaugh

Another early twentieth-century development in the arts that emphasized the influential role of women was Vivian Aunspaugh's 1902 founding of an art school in Dallas, creating opportunities for future generations of artists in the city.[12] Aunspaugh, a Virginia native who had spent time in Europe and taught art in the US south extensively, moved to Dallas in 1898. She and sculptor Clyde Chandler opened a joint studio with classes, which in 1902 became the Aunspaugh Art School in the Dreyfuss Building in downtown Dallas. Aunspaugh was a crucial fixture in the Dallas arts throughout the rest of her life. She continued teaching for 57 years, eventually in a new location at 3509 Bryan Street. Her influence was instrumental in establishing a market for Texas artists by introducing them to Dallas art collectors. In 1945, former and current students of Aunspaugh, as well as those interested in studying art, joined to form the Vivian L. Aunspaugh Art Club (fig. II-254). Aunspaugh specialized in watercolors and pastels and was known for her landscape and wildflower paintings.[13]



Figure II-254. Photograph of an outdoor drawing session at a meeting of the Vivian L. Aunspaugh Art Club. Source: Diana Church, "Aunspaugh, Vivian Louise," *Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed March 26, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/aunspaugh-vivian-louise, crediting Southern Methodist University Libraries.

At the same time, artists and entrepreneurs sought to create more democratic forms of art and entertainment that would be accessible for Dallas's working class. Moving pictures and jazz together played an important role in this effort. "Nickelodeons" or early cinemas opened throughout the city, such as the 1905 Theatorium at 1315 Elm Street (later known as the Dixie theater, building not extant).[14] The Dixie established a nucleus of theaters along Elm Street, eventually known as Theater Row. The Majestic theater opened shortly thereafter in 1905, close to Theater Row at 427 Commerce Street (original building not extant). The Majestic was one of four theaters opened by Karl Hoblitzelle's Interstate Amusement Company, a vaudeville theater circuit. Hoblitzelle, originally from St. Louis, saw

Dallas as a promising location for a Southwestern circuit, potentially due to its rail connections and growing population with a desire for cosmopolitan amenities. Part of Interstate Amusement Company's aim was to show that vaudeville, which often had a risqué reputation, could be a viable medium for family entertainment. Hoblitzelle was a pioneer in this regard, and his theaters included amenities such as crying rooms, seats with earphones for people with hearing loss, and special seats for children. As Black customers were not allowed in White theaters in the era of segregation, a theater industry for Black clients (and often Black-owned businesses) also emerged in Dallas. The Swiss Airdome Theater (not extant) opened in 1910 on Swiss Avenue near North Central Avenue (now encompassed by the Central Expressway), followed by several other Black theaters in the surrounding area.[15]

By the 1920s through the 1940s, the Dallas entertainment industry skyrocketed with the arrival of film. After the 1905 theater burned down, Hoblitzelle built a new Majestic Theater at 1925 Elm Street, which opened in 1921 (a National Register historic building and Dallas Landmark Structure, fig. II-255).[16] At that point, Hoblitzelle had permanently moved to Dallas, and the Elm Street theater served as a flagship. Designed by prominent theater architect John Eberson, the theater's Renaissance Revival architecture and exuberant interiors reflected the opulence and grandeur of cinema in this era. Hoblitzelle's theaters were some of the first in the southwest to feature air conditioning and sound wiring for "talkies" or films with sound, and the Majestic began to show films in 1925.[17] Many other theaters opened along Theater Row until the 1930s and the eventual suburbanization of movie theaters.[18] Other large theaters included the Palace Theater, at 2407-9 Elm Street (not extant) and the Texas Theater at 231 West Jefferson Boulevard in Oak Cliff (extant, listed as a Dallas Landmark).[19]

> ***Learn more!*** *For further reading, consider "Hoblitzelle, Karl St. John (1879-1967)" by William H. Crain, Handbook of Texas Online, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/hoblitzelle-karl-st-john, and "Karl Hoblitzelle and the Inauguration of Interstate Theaters," by Jane Lenz Elder, Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas Vol. 6 No. 2, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth35113/m1/6/.*



Figure II-255. Photograph from around the 1930s showing the 1920 Majestic Theater as well as a view of Theater Row looking West on Elm Street towards downtown. Source: Used with permission from The Texas Collection, Baylor University.

Developing in tandem with Theater Row was an area called Film Row, which provided necessary support services to the film industry nearby. Film Row, roughly bounded by Commerce, South Pearl, Young, and South Harwood Streets, served as a distribution and marketing center. It housed numerous film exchanges, theater chain headquarters, and services such as theatrical architects and photography studios. Film exchanges typically contained sales areas, screening rooms, and vaults for film storage.[20] Theater owners visited Dallas via train, booked entire seasons of films for their theaters, purchased necessary supplies, and returned home.[21] This area also housed services for the music industry, as Dallas was becoming a regional center for recording genres such as country, western swing, blues, and jazz (as detailed in the sidebar below). The 1929-30 Warner Brothers Exchange Building (extant), located at 508 Park Avenue, hosted both film and music spaces (fig. II-256). The upper stories had recording studios and record distribution, while the first floor housed a film exchange. New Orleans architects Dreyfous and Seiferth designed the building in an Art Deco style. Such a popular architectural style would have helped Warner Brothers maintain their relevance and display their status as an important film house. Many film companies moved to less central parts of Dallas from about 1950 onward, seeking updated facilities and improved access to automobile transportation.[22]

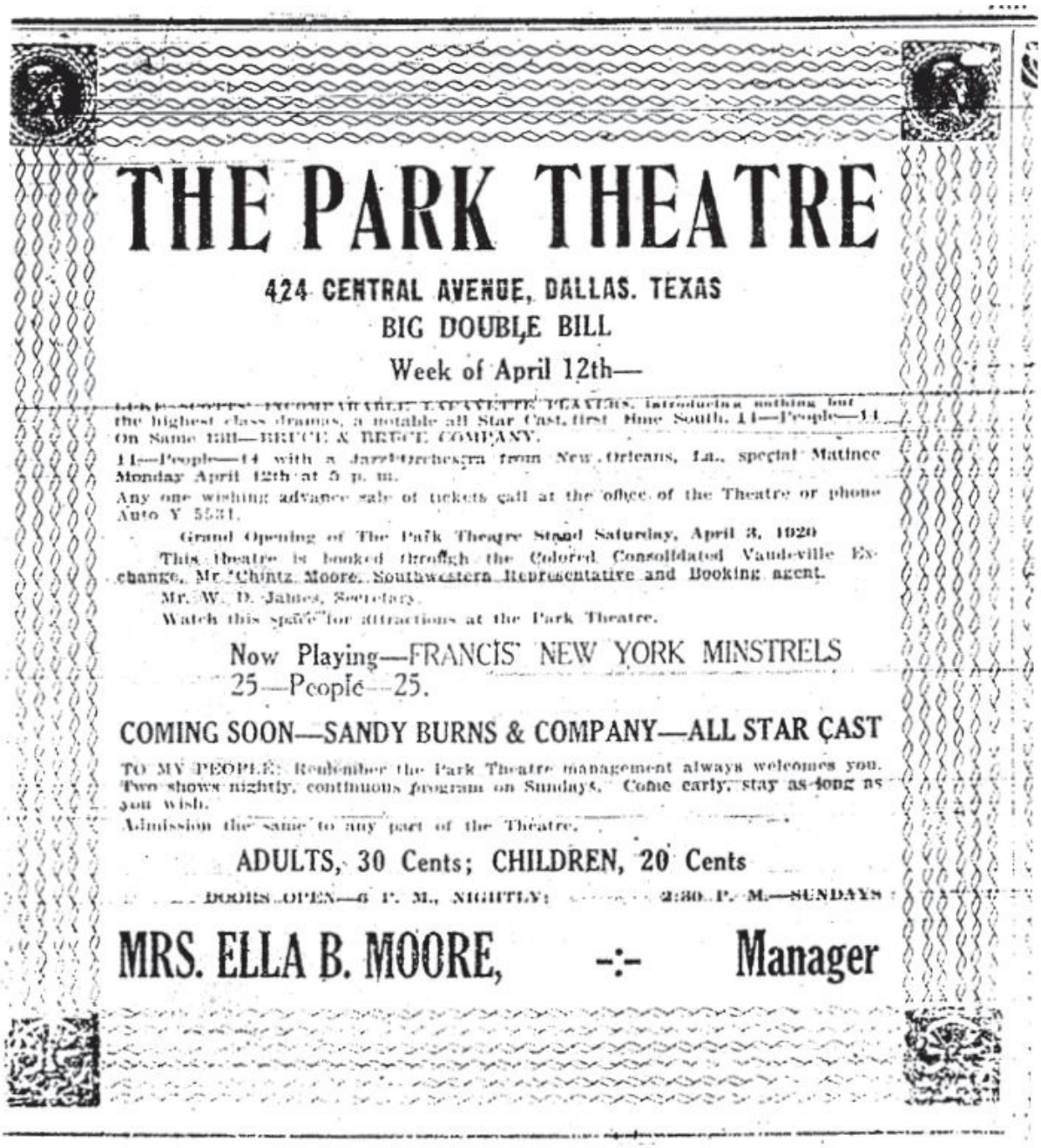


Figure II-256. Photograph from the 1940s of the ornate Art Deco entryway to the Warner Brothers Exchange building at 508 Park Street, designed by New Orleans architects Dreyfous and Seiferth. Source: Taylor Frantum, "Encore Park Closer to Reality Thanks to $2 Million Grant from Foundation that Backed Clyde Warren," *Dallas Observer*, February 16, 2017, crediting Dallas Public Library, accessed March 16, 2021, https://www.dallasobserver.com/music/encore-park-closer-to-reality-thanks-to-2-million-grant-from-foundation-that-backed-klyde-warren-9195319.

Blues and Jazz in Dallas

By the 1920s, a thriving blues and jazz community existed in Dallas, especially in the Deep Ellum area. Just east of the central business district along Elm Street, Deep Ellum was a historic Freedom Town, which had developed into a commercial district by the turn of the twentieth century. By the 1920s, the area was home to a bustling nightlife scene, including theaters, clubs, dance halls, and speakeasies. Much of the entertainment district was concentrated near the intersection of Elm Street and "Central Track," the section of railroad track running down North Central Avenue (not extant, part of the area developed as the Central Expressway in the 1940s). Some of the most well-known clubs were the Park Theatre at 424 North Central Avenue (fig. II-257), the Tip Top dance hall above the Tip Top Tailors at 223 North Central Avenue, and Hattie Burleson's Dance Hall (location unknown). 1922 Sanborn maps used the term "colored" to demark several film and vaudeville theaters in the Deep Ellum area (none extant). Some musicians, such as blues legends Blind Lemon Jefferson and Leadbelly, simply performed on the streets at Central Track or Union Depot. Blind Lemon Jefferson was a seminal influence in the development of Dallas blues and, like many

musicians, worked by picking cotton and took the interurban to Deep Ellum, often performing on the train cars (fig. II-258).[23] Dallas blues, jazz, and swing performances were not limited to Deep Ellum, and many major acts performed at the Adolphus Hotel at 1321 Commerce Street or in North Dallas clubs.[24] By the 1940s, Deep Ellum had been hard-hit by the Great Depression and lost some of its built fabric and connection to downtown with the construction of the Central Expressway. Although little is left of these music and entertainment venues, their history shows some of the ways that Black Dallas residents were able to create their own storied musical district while living in a segregated city. The growing recording industry, rail connections to cotton-growing areas and other US cities, and existing Texan and southern musical traditions all made Deep Ellum a ripe place for musical innovation.



THE PARK THEATRE

424 CENTRAL AVENUE, DALLAS. TEXAS

BIG DOUBLE BILL

Week of April 12th—

[illegible] the highest class dramas, a notable all Star Cast, first Nine South. 11—People—11 On Same Bill—BRUCE & BRUCE COMPANY.

11—People—11 with a jazz orchestra from New Orleans, La., special Matinee Monday April 12th at 5 p. m.

Any one wishing advance sale of tickets call at the office of the Theatre or phone Auto Y 5531.

Grand Opening of The Park Theatre Stand Saturday, April 3, 1920

This theatre is booked through the Colored Consolidated Vaudeville Exchange, Mr. Chintz Moore, Southwestern Representative and Booking agent.

Mr. W. D. James, Secretary.

Watch this space for attractions at the Park Theatre.

Now Playing—FRANCIS' NEW YORK MINSTRELS
25—People—25.

COMING SOON—SANDY BURNS & COMPANY—ALL STAR CAST

TO MY PEOPLE: Remember the Park Theatre management always welcomes you. Two shows nightly, continuous program on Sundays. Come early, stay as long as you wish.

Admission the same to any part of the Theatre.

ADULTS, 30 Cents; CHILDREN, 20 Cents

DOORS OPEN—6 P. M., NIGHTLY; 2:30 P. M.—SUNDAYS

MRS. ELLA B. MOORE, -:- Manager

Figure II-257. Advertisement from the *Dallas Express* (a Black newspaper) for the Park Theatre, run by Ella B. and Chintz Moore and located at 424 Central Avenue. The Park Theatre showcased vaudeville entertainment as well as musical performances. Source: Govenar, Alan B., and Jay F. Brakefield. *Deep Ellum: The Other Side of Dallas*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2013, 50.



Figure II-258. A photo from around 1927 depicting Blind Lemon Jefferson, a renowned blues artists who was a seminal musician in the Deep Ellum (and national) blues scene. Source: Govenar, Alan B., and Jay F. Brakefield. *Deep Ellum: The Other Side of Dallas*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2013, 80.

> ***Learn more!*** *For further reading, consider Deep Ellum: The Other Side of Dallas by Alan B. Govenar and Jay F. Brakefield. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2013).*

DEPRESSION-ERA SUPPORT FOR THE DALLAS ARTS SCENE

The 1930s and 1940s saw great growth in the realm of fine arts as Dallas cemented its reputation as a world-class destination for both fine and performing arts. Prosperity from the Texas oil boom, other private industries, and art boosters helped fuel this growth.

The State Fair drove the creation of many architecturally significant buildings that would become important to the Arts in Dallas (the Texas Centennial Exposition Buildings form a National Register historic district).[25] Architects Lang and Witchell designed the original 1925 State Fair Auditorium, located in the southwest corner of the Fair Park. The building was Spanish Colonial in design, reflecting popular architectural trends and showing the park's commitment to modernization (fig. II-259).[26] Peterman & Peterman designed minor renovations for the building in 1936 to prepare it for use by General Motors in the Texas Centennial (building extant, further renovated in 1972, fig. II-260).[27] The building subsequently became known as the Fair Park Music Hall. The Dallas Symphony performed there (along with the McFarlin Auditorium at Southern Methodist University), and it became the Symphony's permanent

home beginning in 1973.[28] The building continued to be used for the State Fair as well as other musical and theatrical acts.

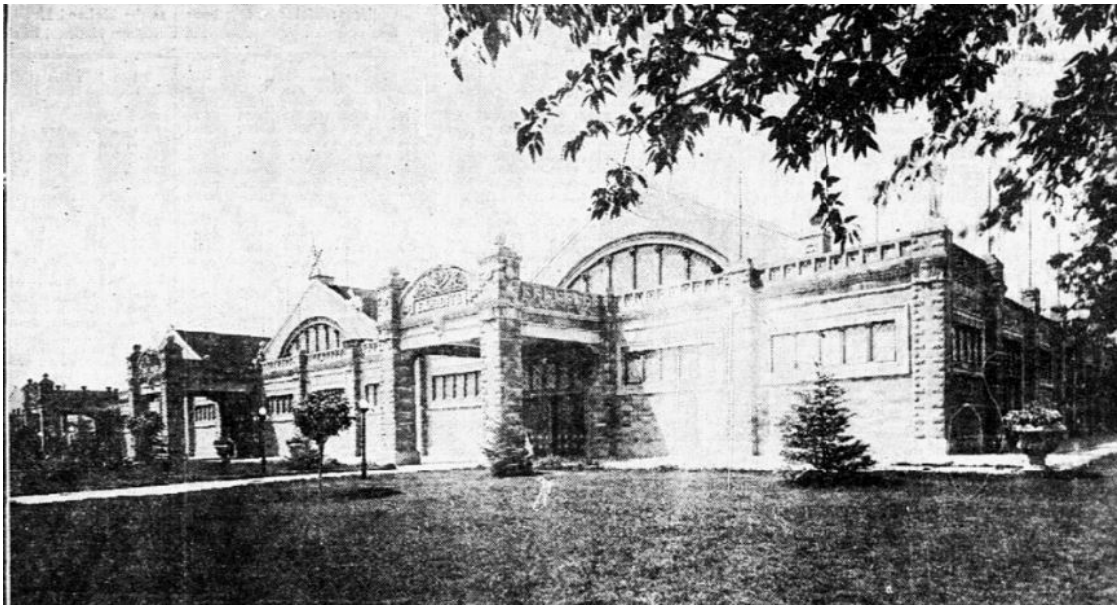


Figure II-259. Photograph from 1925 showing the newly built State Fair auditorium building built at Fair Park and designed by architects Lang & Witchell. Source: "State Fair of Texas is Great Factor in the Upbuilding of the State," *Dallas Morning News,* October 1, 1925, 12.



Figure II-260. The Fair Park Auditorium, later known as the Music Hall, as it appeared in a 1939 postcard. Lang and Witchell designed the 1925 building, which was subsequently renovated in 1936 for the Texas Centennial by Peterman & Peterman. Source: "Vintage Postcards of Dallas, Texas," accessed March 17, 2021, http://www.thepastwhispers.com/Dallas_Postcards.html.

After a 1926 hailstorm broke the roof of the Fair Park building of the Free Public Art Gallery of Dallas, the collection was temporarily hosted in the Majestic Theater and the Dallas Power and Light Company Building. In 1934-35, city bonds of $500,000 funded construction of a new museum building, which at that point became known as the Dallas Museum of Fine Art (later the Science Place, building extant). Built as part of the Texas Centennial Exhibition planned for 1936, the building was located in Fair Park and designed by architects DeWitt and Washburn, Herbert M. Greene, LaRoche and Dahl, Ralph Bryan, Henry Coke Knight, and Paul Philippe Cret. The museum building had Streamline Moderne and Neoclassical influences and was a monumental structure fitting for an art museum gaining cultural and financial clout (fig. II-261).[29]

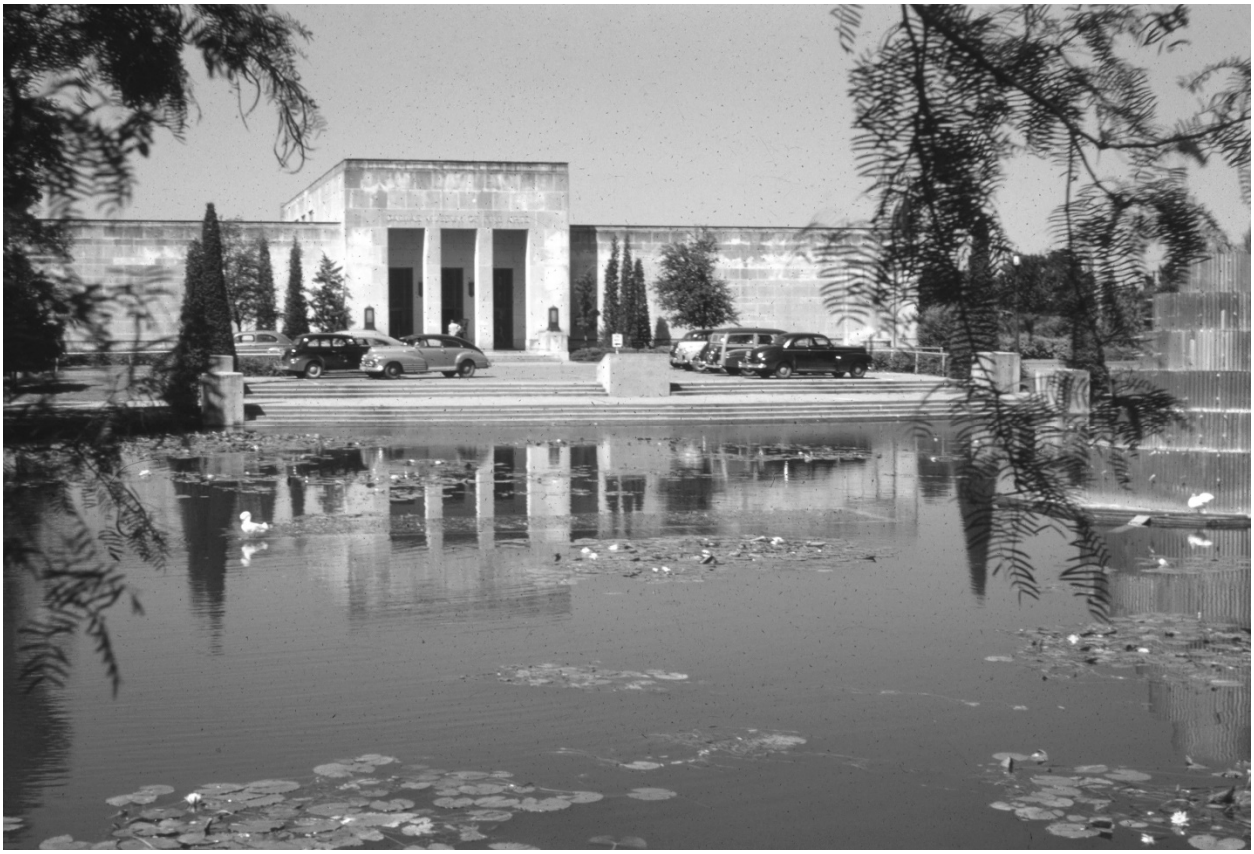


Figure II-261. The Dallas Museum of Fine Arts building designed by architects DeWitt & Washburn, Herbert M. Greene, LaRoche & Dahl, Ralph Bryan, Henry Coke Knight, and Paul Philippe Cret. The museum opened in 1935 during the Texas Centennial at Fair Park. Date of photograph unknown. Source: Peter Simek, "Birth of the Dallas Museum of Art," *D Magazine*, November 2013, accessed March 17, 2021, https://www.dmagazine.com/publications/d-magazine/2013/november/dallas-1963-birth-of-the-dallas-museum-of-art/.

The private sector also historically played an important role in promoting the arts in Dallas. Supporting the arts became an essential public relations tool that helped win civic support for important private businesses and industries. The 1936 Magnolia Lounge, built for the Texas Centennial by the Magnolia Petroleum Company, became the Margo Jones Theater in 1947 (fig. II-262). John Rosenfield, Jr, the *Dallas Morning News* arts editor and booster of the arts, not only encouraged Jones, a renowned theater director-producer, to open the space but also helped secure the financial backing from wealthy Dallasites for the re-opening of the theater. Jones used the space to create one of the first non-profit professional resident theater companies in the nation.[30] Jones, a native Texan with directing experience across the country, came to Dallas as a well-known director and would later put on such renowned

productions as *Inherit the Wind* and several collaborations with Tennessee Williams (fig. II-263). Jones was a pioneer of the "theater-in-the-round" theater style wherein audience members surround the central stage area.[31] The avant-garde building, designed by New York architect William Lescaze in the International style, served Jones's worldly and trailblazing approach to theater well. The Margo Jones Theater was not the only theater backed by Jones and Rosenfield. Tireless supporters and boosters of the arts in Dallas, the duo also supported the establishment of one of the country's first regional community theaters in the late 1950s. The idea for the Dallas Theater Center was formed in the mid-1950s at a meeting between civic leaders, including Rosenfeld, and when presented to an organizational meeting, Margo Jones jumped on board, declaring, "Let's get started."[32] Officially formed in 1959, with director Paul Baker as artistic director, the Dallas Theater Center hired renowned architect Frank Lloyd Wright to design their new theater. Wright, who first visited the city in the 1930s, had obtained several previous commissions in Dallas, including one for the design of Stanley Marcus's house, though only one came to fruition, the John Gillin residence at 9400 Rockbrook Drive in Northwest Dallas (designed in 1950 and built in 1958). Wright's innovative design for Dallas, adapted with input from Baker from a previous theater design for an unbuilt project in Hartford, Connecticut, incorporated a circular stage with a revolving center platform. Taliesin Associated Architects, Wright's firm, completed the project in 1959, several months after Wright's death. The Kalita Humphreys Theater, located at 3636 Turtle Creek Boulevard, is the only Wright-designed theater ever built (the theater is owned by the City and is a local Dallas landmark). Under Baker, who served as artistic director until 1982, the Dallas Theater Center established itself as one of the nation's top producers of "experimental interpretations of classics and world premieres."[33]

> ***Learn more!*** *Read the local landmark application for the Kalita Humphreys Theater: https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/Pages/Kalita-Humphreys-Theatre.aspx.*

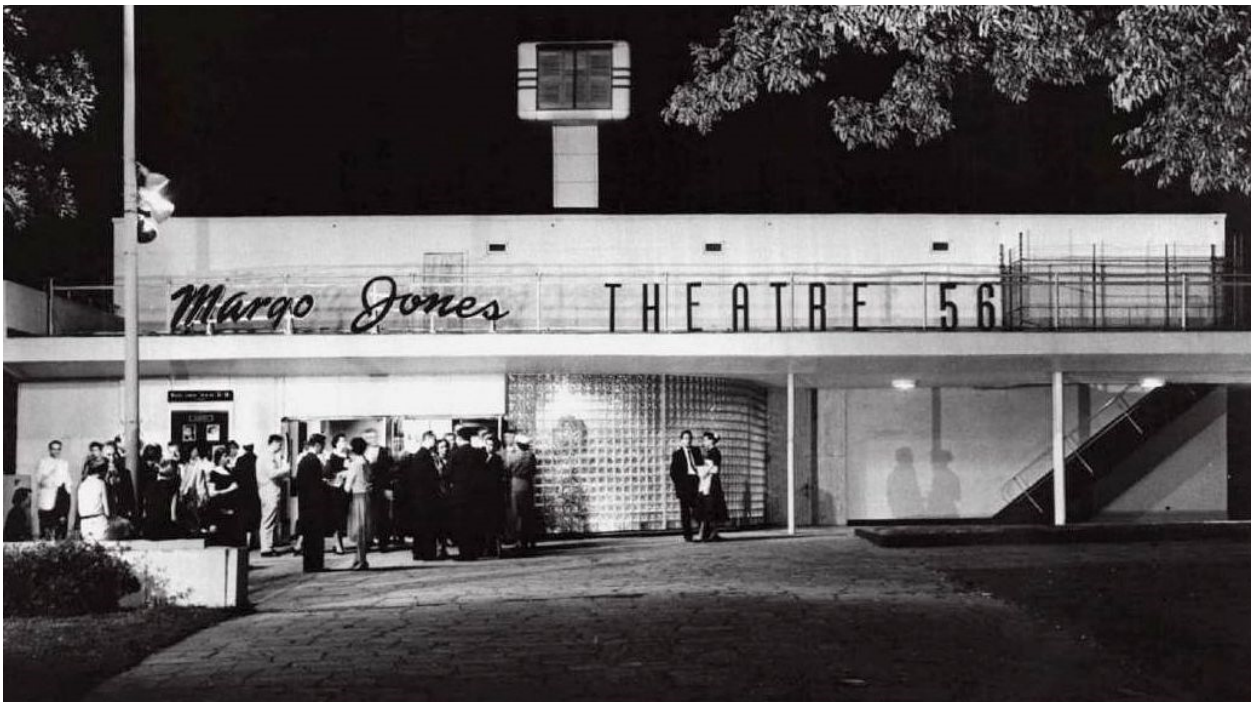


Figure II-262. Historic photograph of Margo Jones Theater 56. The theater used the International Style Magnolia Lounge designed by architect William Lescaze for the Texas Centennial at Fair Park. Source: Paula Bosse, "William Lescaze's Ultramodern Magnolia Lounge – 1936," *Flashback : Dallas,* August 5, 2014, accessed March 17, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2014/08/05/magnolia-lounge-1936/, crediting *Historic Dallas Theatres* by D. Troy Sherrod, from the collection of the Dallas Public Library.



Figure II-263. A photograph taken during 1955 Dallas rehearsals for Margo Jones's production of *Inherit the Wind* with Jones standing at center. Jones's techniques, including her "theater-in-the-round" style, allowed audience members to feel like they were participating in the drama. Source: Kay Cattarulla, "'I'm Doing It, Darling!': Dallas, Margo Jones, and *Inherit the Wind,*" *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* 16, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 45. From The Portal to Texas History, crediting the Dallas Historical Society, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth35093/m1/41/.

The Role of the Dallas Craft Guild

The Depression Era also helped elevate the role of craftsmanship in the art world, building upon the popularity of the early twentieth-century Arts and Crafts Movement popularized in Great Britain by William Morris. Artists and craftswomen Esther Webb and Velma Dozier began an important legacy for Dallas creative arts during this period. After meeting during metalwork classes at the College of Industrial Arts (now Texas Woman's University) in Denton, the pair dreamt of their own studio and gallery space. The pair founded the Dallas School of Creative Arts in 1933 at 2714 Greenville Avenue[i], then a vacant building owned by Dozier's father (fig. II-264).[34] By 1935, the school was a center for exhibitions, classes, and parties, and it had gained recognition in the city. After closing from 1939–1945, Webb and Dozier reopened their school under the name The Craft Guild of Dallas. The Craft Guild's metal shop opened at the YWCA at 1709 Jackson Street and later hosted classes in other spaces such as the Dallas Museum of Fine Arts Museum School at Fair Park.[35] The Craft Guild was essential to the growth of techniques such as silversmithing, ceramics, and weaving, and Webb and Dozier became essential voices in the Dallas arts and crafts community.

[i] Further research would be necessary to determine if the original building is extant.



Figure II-264. Photograph from about 1939 of the workroom of the Dallas School of Creative Arts at 2714 Greenville Avenue. Source: Esther Webb Houseman art work and papers, circa 1780-1977, Bywaters Special Collections, Southern Methodist University, accessed March 17, 2021, https://digitalcollections.smu.edu/digital/collection/ewh/id/39/rec/24.

CONTEMPORARY GROWTH AND FORMALIZATION OF ARTS FACILITIES

The mid to late twentieth century saw the growth and modernization of Dallas arts facilities and the creation of a dedicated arts district in the downtown area. By 1957, Dallas had its own resident opera company called Dallas Civic Opera, which gave an opening performance with celebrated singer Maria Callas. The Dallas Civic Opera performed at the Music Hall at Fair Park (see above) and quickly gained national prestige.[36] The Dallas Museum of Fine Art received a new two-story wing in 1965, which almost doubled the museum's space.[37] The new wing opened with an exhibition titled "20th Century Sculpture," featuring 82 pieces. Subsequent exhibitions in the new hall displayed the museum's development into a broad and internationally renowned institution; Modern surrealist paintings, American drawings circulated by the Guggenheim Museum, architectural drawings of O'Neill Ford, a Latin American painting showcase, and eighteenth to nineteenth-century Austrian decorative arts (fig. II-265).[38] By the 1970s, the Dallas Museum of Fine Art was looking for a larger, more accessible space. The 1970s–1980s witnessed a renewed interest in the development of the downtown central business district, and the Fair Park location seemed less desirable and outdated. At the same time, the Dallas Civic Opera, the Dallas Symphony Orchestra, and the Dallas Civic Ballet Society were all looking to expand and improve their facilities. In 1977, Carr, Lynch Associates carried out a Comprehensive Arts Facilities Plan for Dallas, which contained recommendations for moving the various facilities to the same area.[39] After many years of planning and development, the Dallas Arts District emerged in the 1980s as a viable downtown destination, including a 1984 Dallas Museum of Art and the 1989 Morton H. Meyerson Symphony Center. These large-scale contemporary works of architecture were partly funded by the City and demonstrated Dallas's continued desire to compete as a cosmopolitan arts destination. These anchors for the new arts neighborhood helped revitalize older buildings with new creative uses, such as the Moorland YMCA at 2700 Flora Street, which became the Dallas Black Dance Theatre in 2002. Other new arts resources opened, such as the 2003 Nasher Sculpture Center at 2001 Flora Street, featuring over 300 modern and contemporary sculptures.

New public spaces created through large-scale redevelopment projects such as the arts district and the civic complex around the new 1978 City Hall also became inviting places for large works of public art. *The Dallas Piece,* a massive 1976 bronze sculpture by artist Henry Moore, came to City Hall Plaza upon its completion. Marta Pan's *Floating Sculpture* resides nearby, the two pieces anchoring the massive plaza and creating visual interest for the passerby.

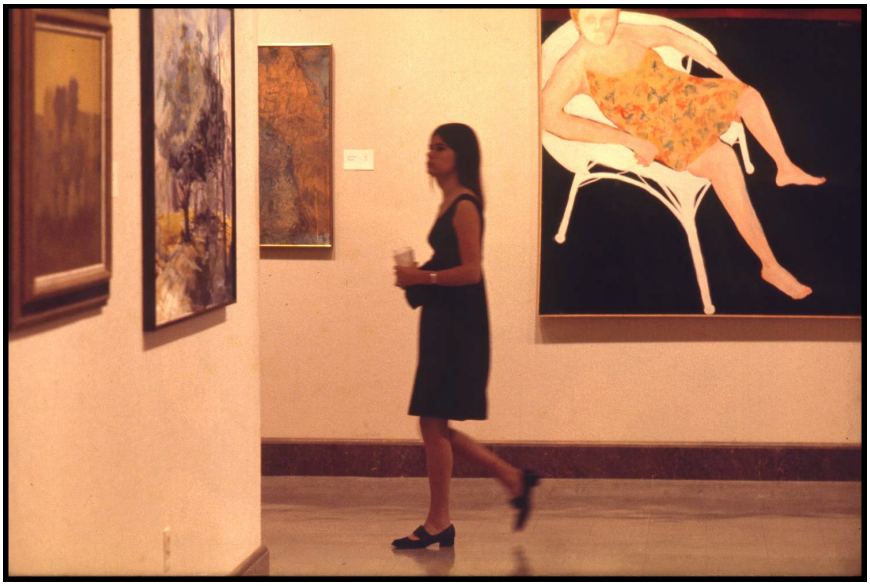


Figure II-265. Photograph of the Dallas Museum of Fine Arts in 1966 showing people walking through the exhibition "Texas Painting and Sculpture, 1966." Source: Dallas Museum of Fine Arts. Texas Painting and Sculpture, 1966 [Photograph DMA_021304], photograph, 1966; (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth533305/: accessed March 26, 2021), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, https://texashistory.unt.edu; crediting Dallas Museum of Art.

CONCLUSION

Dallas arts and entertainment began with early venues such as opera houses and theaters and gradually grew to encompass a wide range of media, styles, and topics. Dallas residents had access to education and institutions that helped the region spawn pioneers in their fields. As a bustling crossroads and growing metropolis, the city also provided ample stimulus and cross-fertilization to produce innovative music, art, and theater. The arts also contributed heavily to Dallas's image as a cosmopolitan city, its residents and boosters proudly funding and promoting a vibrant arts scene. Beginning with early organizations such as the Art Committee of the Dallas Public Library and extending into the twentieth century with projects like the Symphony Center, private citizens have collaborated with the City to produce many of the most renowned arts organizations in Dallas. This practice continues today with various public-private partnerships, wherein the City owns arts venues that are run by third-party organizations.[40] Arts resources tell the story of some of Dallas's finest cultural movements and works. The fine arts, performing arts, and entertainment are relevant under National Register Criteria of Art, Entertainment/Recreation, and Performing Arts, and in the period of roughly 1873–1972.

NOTES

[1] "Carnegie Libraries: The Future Made Bright," National Park Service, accessed March 24, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/articles/carnegie-libraries-the-future-made-bright-teaching-with-historic-places.htm.

[2] "An Arts and Entertainment Timeline, 1840-2004," *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* 16, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 5. From The Portal to Texas History, crediting the Dallas Historical Society, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth35093/m1/6/; Rondel V. Davidson, "La Réunion," *Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed March 16, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/la-reunion.

[3] Jackie McElhaney and Michael V. Hazel, "Dallas, TX," *Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed March 17, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/dallas-tx.

[4] Christina H. Wilson, rev. by Laurie E. Jasinski, "Opera," *Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed March 16, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/opera.

[5] Lisa C. Maxwell, "Field, Thomas William," *Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed March 16, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/field-thomas-william; "ORIENTAL HOTEL First Called 'Field's Folly,'" *Dallas Gateway,* March 15, 2018, accessed March 24, 2021, https://dallasgateway.com/oriental-hotel-called-fields/.

[6] "Open New Theatre," *Dallas Morning News,* November 30, 1901, 8.

[7] Theodore Albrecht, "Dallas Symphony Orchestra," *Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed March 17, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/dallas-symphony-orchestra.

[8] "About Us: The History of the Dallas Public Library," *Dallas Public Library,* accessed March 24, 2021, http://dallaslibrary2.org/about/history.php; "Museum History: A Brief History of the founding of Dallas Museum of Art," *Dallas Museum of Art,* accessed March 17, 2021, https://dma.org/about/museum-history.

[9] Dallas Art Association, Official Catalogue of the Dallas Art Association, 1909 (pamphlet), 1909: Dallas, Texas, 10. (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth183247/m1/12/: accessed March 17, 2021), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, https://texashistory.unt.edu; crediting Dallas Museum of Art.

[10] Henry S. Parker III, "Dallas Museum of Art," *Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed March 17, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/dallas-museum-of-art.

[11] Sarah Hunter, "Fair Park," *Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed March 17, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/fair-park.

[12] "An Arts and Entertainment Timeline," 7.

[13] Diana Church, "Aunspaugh, Vivian Louise," *Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed March 26, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/aunspaugh-vivian-louise; Vivian L. Aunspaugh Art Club records, Jerry Bywaters Special Collections, Hamon Arts Library, Southern Methodist University Finding aid, accessed March 26, 2021, https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/taro/smu/00151/smu-00151.html.

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[21] Rucker, "Film Row," 24.

[22] Rucker, "Film Row," 24.

[23] Govenar, *Deep Ellum*, 88-89; Larry Taylor, "Crossroads: Roots Music in Dallas, 1920-1942," *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* 16, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 14. From The Portal to Texas History, crediting the Dallas Historical Society, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth35093/m1/14/.

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[30] Kay Cattarulla, "'I'm Doing It, Darling!': Dallas, Margo Jones, and *Inherit the Wind,*" *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* 16, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 39. From The Portal to Texas History, crediting the Dallas Historical Society, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth35093/m1/41/.

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[34] Ellen Buie Niewyk, "A Lady Blacksmith: The Jewelry and Metalwork of Velma Davis Dozier," *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* 16, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 27. From The Portal to Texas History, crediting the Dallas Historical Society, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth35093/m1/26/.

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[39] Dallas Public Art Planning Reports, 1977-1987, Dallas Municipal Archives, https://dallascityhall.com/government/citysecretary/archives/Pages/Archives_1996-008.aspx; George Rodrigue, "The Battle to Build the Dallas Arts District," *D Magazine,* October 2009, accessed March 17, 2021, https://www.dmagazine.com/publications/d-magazine/2009/october/the-battle-to-build-the-arts-district/. (Note that this article was originally published in May 1982).

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II-19| Religion in Dallas (1845–1972)

INTRODUCTION

Religious institutions played an important part in the city's social, moral, and cultural fabric, and they proliferated as the city grew. The religious makeup of Dallas also indicated broader demographic trends and migration patterns, shifting as the city's regional and ethnic makeup morphed over time. Religious institutions often started as modest buildings and grew in monumentality as they gained members and financial clout. Places of worship were some of the first structures to be built with permanent materials such as masonry and designed using more intentional architectural styles. They often spurred growth in urban areas, first developing in somewhat peripheral residential zones, gradually becoming more commercial. As such, their congregations sometimes relocated on numerous occasions as their members shifted in location throughout the city.

Religious gatherings occurred in Dallas as soon as early settlers arrived, and religion continues to play a crucial role in the life of the city, making the period of significance 1845–1972. The significance of religion in Dallas is evidenced by historic resources such as churches, temples, and other places of worship, as well as parochial schools, religious community centers, and other structures associated with a religious group. Religion is significant under the National Register Criterion A, with Areas of Significance in Religion, with potential additional significance under Architecture, Education, Ethnic Heritage, or Social History. Note that, for a religious resource to be eligible for listing in the National Register, it also must meet Criteria Consideration A, which requires "deriving primary significance for architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance," in addition to association with the theme of religion.[1]

DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Throughout American history, religion has shaped the nation's culture, architecture, and urban fabric. Many of the earliest settlers to North America came to seek religious freedom or spread their religious values. The earliest settlers in New England and the Mid-Atlantic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were Protestants who could not practice their religion freely under Catholic monarchies in Europe. Early Protestant communities commonly formed with a church at the center of town, and religious doctrines of simplicity shaped their aesthetic lives, including their architecture. At the same time, these Catholic monarchies also staked footholds in the new world to spread their faith, with Catholicism dominating the French and Spanish colonies in the Southwest, Louisiana, and Florida. Catholic missions similarly became the core of new communities, and the Catholic church heavily influenced land divisions and settlement patterns in French and Spanish colonies.

Over time, Protestant and Catholic cultures increasingly intersected as Protestant settlers moved southwest into the upland south and Texas. Irish Catholic immigrants also began settling in the upland south by the late eighteenth century and migrating into the southwest by the mid-nineteenth century. Political turmoil in Europe drove increasing immigration in the late nineteenth century, bringing more Catholic immigrants from Italy and Germany, as well as an influx of German Jews. Nationwide, Roman Catholicism increased between 1870 and 1890, with nearly one-third of all people in the US claiming Catholic religious membership.[2] Into the mid-twentieth century, many Americans held ties to organized, global religious organizations like the Presbyterian Church, the Methodist Church, the Baptist Church, and the Catholic Church. The breadth of these churches enabled them to construct monumental places

of worship in prominent urban locations, as well as operate community outreach organizations like schools, community centers, and clinics.

> ***Learn more!*** *Refer to Chapter 2. Demographics and Spatial Settlement for more background about immigration.*

At the same time, an undercurrent of decentralized religion also characterizes American religious history. In remote American rural areas, the absence of an organized religious infrastructure allowed new religious communities to form, meeting the unique social needs of their communities. For example, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, enslaved people of West African descent merged traditional African music and oral histories with Protestant Christianity to form Black churches, like the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church. Similarly, Native American converts to Catholicism held onto many of their spiritual traditions and integrated them into a uniquely Southwestern American form of Catholicism. A number of new religious sects also emerged in the American West in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some of these borrowed from Mexican-American Catholic traditions as well as Protestant traditions. This diversification of American religion persisted into the 1960s and 1970s as increased Asian and Middle Eastern immigration brought Buddhist, Hindu, and Muslim traditions, coinciding with cultural shifts that led many individuals from Christian backgrounds to explore these Eastern paths of faith. New congregations representing these smaller and less organized religions often lacked funding for monumental places of worship. Instead, many worshipped in temporary spaces, shared public spaces, or repurposed commercial and residential buildings.

RELIGION IN TEXAS

Texas's religious roots date back to Native American spiritual traditions, as well as the Spanish Catholic Mission system. Conversion of Native Americans to Catholicism was a primary impetus of the Spanish mission system. Under Mexican rule, Texans were required to accept Catholicism as their religion. When Protestant settlers from the American upland south first came to Texas in the early nineteenth century, they could not be openly Protestant. After the formation of Republic of Texas in 1836, Catholicism lost its official status, and denominations such as Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians grew. Protestant churches quickly dominated the religious landscape in Texas – especially large, organized groups like Baptists and Methodists. By the end of the nineteenth century, Texans worshipped with less variety than the rest of the nation, with only 30 percent of church members outside of the Baptist and Methodist denominations.[3] By 1910, however, Catholicism became a stronger force in Texas religion, with Mexican immigrants fleeing the Mexican Revolution, alongside German and Italian immigrants coming into Texas via the port in Galveston.

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY IN DALLAS

EARLY FORMATION OF DALLAS RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS

Organized religion appeared in Dallas almost as soon as its first European and European American settlers arrived. Migrants from the Mississippi and Ohio Valley regions, which were largely Protestant, impacted the denominational makeup of the region from early on, with a Methodist congregation forming in 1845 and a Baptist one in 1846.[4] Although no permanent places of worship existed in Dallas until roughly the 1860s, early congregants found temporary locations to meet. The first Disciples of Christ arrived in Dallas as early as 1845, although they did not initially establish a church because "this village of half a dozen cabins. . .had no prospect of becoming a city. . . and was too wild and dangerous because of the Indians." However, they began holding meetings in the courthouse in 1857, where they continued to meet until about 1863.[5] (Note that this original courthouse building is no longer extant).

Other denominations, such as Presbyterians, also held meetings in the courthouse until 1873, and City Directories indicate a Sunday School meeting there in the 1870s. Dallas also had an early Catholic community. Catholics were more likely to be immigrants from Europe, and French immigrant Maxime Guillot's home was allegedly the place of an early Catholic mass in Dallas. Guillot was an early Dallas entrepreneur and interpreter for residents of La Réunion. Like other denominations in frontier Texas, early Catholics often received ministry from traveling preachers who had circuits in the area.[6]

Religious revivals and camp meetings were also a common occurrence in early Dallas history. Although early camp meetings occurred as early as the 1840s, they gained strength over the decades.[7] The Disciples of Christ and Baptists held Dallas revivals in the 1860s, boasting new converts in the area, and revivals continued throughout the 1870s. By the 1890s, revivals gained popularity and frequency. William Evander Penn, the "Texas Evangelist," held a five-week revival in a tent at the corner of Sycamore and Bryan Streets.[8] Although revivals often took place in tents outdoors, they sometimes occurred in church buildings, such as an 1874 revival led by "Weeping Joe" at the First Christian Church (not extant) at the corner of Bryan and North Pearl Streets. Preachers also found captive audiences in more suburban areas such as Oak Cliff, including an 1891 revival led by Reverend Sam R. Hay of Saint Mark's Methodist (later Oak Cliff Methodist).[9]

By the 1870s, the City Directories listed nine churches and one Sunday school. With the exception of one Catholic church, the majority were Protestant sects, including Methodists, Episcopalians, Methodist Episcopalians, Christians, Missionary Baptists, and Presbyterians. Many groups were likely meeting outside of organized churches or simply were not listed in the City Directory.[10] Some examples of unlisted religious organizations are the 1876 Saint James African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church located at 421 Young Street, and the 1875 Temple Emanu-El synagogue, located at Commerce and Church (now Field) Streets.[11]

The Black community in Dallas had several congregations that began practicing in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Members of the Saint Paul United Methodist Church began meeting in 1873 under a brush arbor. In 1874, they purchased land to build a church at the corner of Burford and Juliette Streets. The church also opened a school, which was one of few schools available to the Black community in this era. Saint James A.M.E. had origins as far back as 1876 and began meeting in a church at 421 Young Street (not extant) in the 1880s. Churches were often social and cultural strongholds in Dallas Freedom Towns – settlements of former slaves who invested in their own land for agrarian communities. Shortly after the organization of Freedman's Town near North Dallas in 1869, the community organized church services. By the turn of the twentieth century, a handful of churches offered religious services while also providing the community with educational and social needs. Among the churches that existed in Freedman's Town are New Hope Baptist Church, Evening Chapel, St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, St. John Missionary Baptist Church, and Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church.[12] New Hope Baptist Church, organized in 1873, was the first church entirely organized and owned by Black citizens.[13] Churches such as the Elizabeth Chapel Christian Methodist Episcopal (C.M.E.) church, originally built in 1889 at 1026 East Tenth Street, also served a growing Black Freedom Town in the late nineteenth century.[14] While the number of Black residents in the area at the time is unknown, the existence of the church indicates that at least several families lived there. Extensive settlement began around 1890, and the confines of segregation made Tenth Street grow into a somewhat self-sufficient community, with Elizabeth Chapel serving as an anchor.[15] The Missionary Baptist Church, formed around 1903 and originally located on rural land between the town of Rylie and the Trinity River (current address 33 Haymarket Road), served a population of Black landowners and tenant farmers in the area. Although the congregation left the church building around 1945, members continued to bury their loved ones in the adjacent cemetery for many years, a testament to the importance of the initial land to the community.[16]

The Jewish Community

The Early Dallas Jewish Community

A sizeable Jewish community began forming in Dallas in the late nineteenth century, partly due to an influx of mercantile families emigrating from Germany and Russia.[17] The opening of Temple Emanu-El in 1875 at Commerce and Church (now Field) Streets (original building not extant) marked the rise of the Jewish population in Dallas (fig. II-266). This temple location was central and near the Cedars neighborhood, which was home to many prominent civic and business leaders in the Jewish community.[18] The Jewish faith encouraged construction of places of worship near homes since operating machinery or using electronics was discouraged on the sabbath. Other early synagogues formed near Deep Ellum and Goose Valley or "Frogtown," which also had sizeable Jewish populations. Members of the newly formed congregation Shearith Israel began meeting above a shop in Deep Ellum in 1884. They built a temple shortly thereafter, located near Deep Ellum at 214 Jackson Street (not extant).[19] Congregation Tiferet Israel, which began meeting in a congregant's home, established a synagogue on Akard Street just north of downtown in 1893.[20]

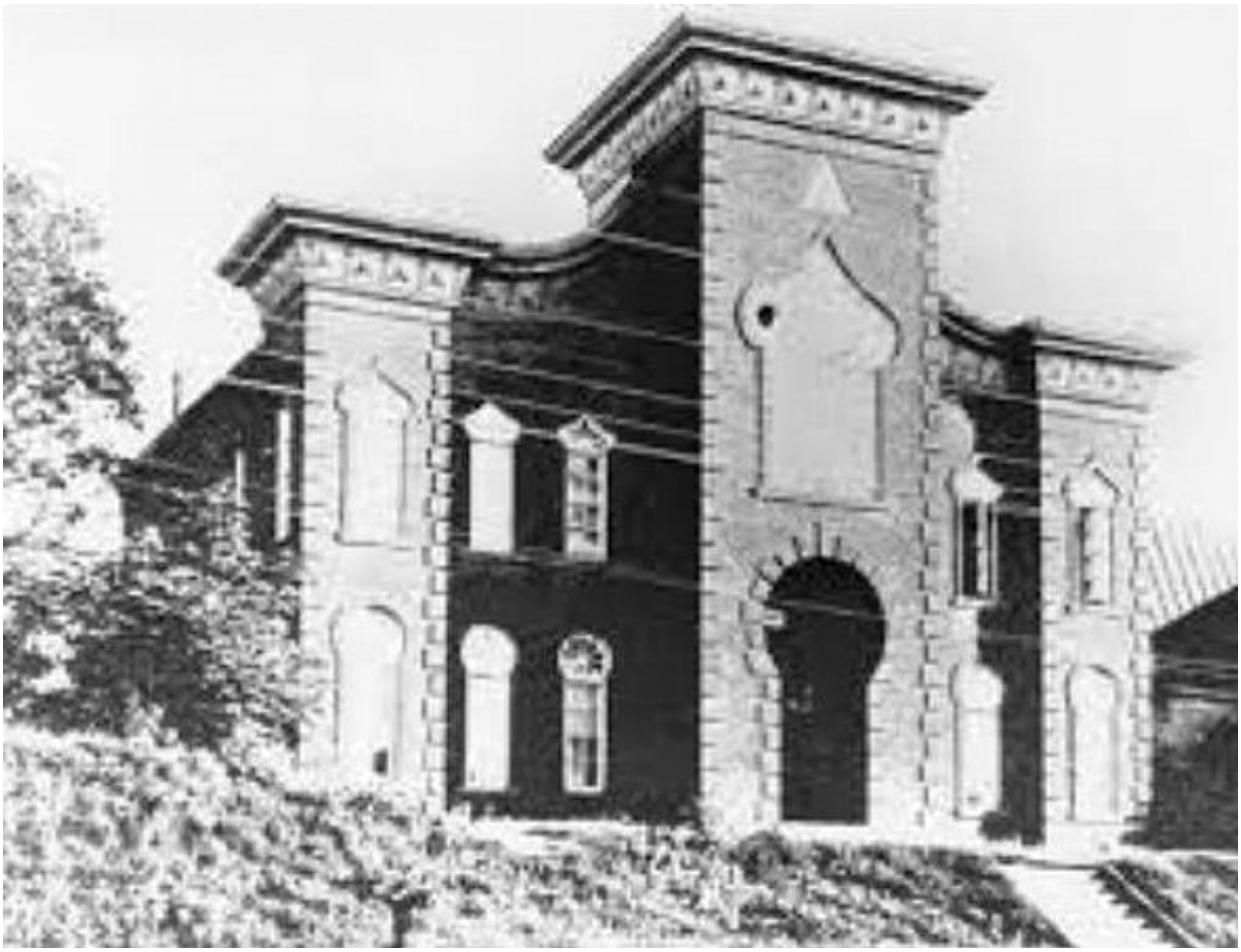


Figure II-266. Historic photograph of the 1899 building for Temple Emanu-El, located at South Ervay and Saint Louis Streets. Source: "History and Architecture," *Temple Emanu-El Dallas,* accessed March 19, 2021, https://www.tedallas.org/about-us/history

The latter part of the nineteenth century saw the construction of several more permanent places of worship, largely concentrated in what is now the central business district, but these sites subsequently moved slightly further from the center. After several attempts at organizing a cohesive congregation, the First Baptist Church of Dallas bought its own building on Akard Street in 1872. By 1890, the parish had grown sufficiently to construct its own sanctuary at 602 North Ervay Street (extant), an area that was largely residential at the time (fig. II-267).[21] The fact that First Baptist was able to build an imposing church with permanent construction materials such as brick and stone is indicative of the growth of

Dallas wealth and the growth of religious institutions in the area. Catholic parishioners also eventually built their own church in 1873, Sacred Heart Church located at Bryan and Harwood Streets (original church not extant, fig. II-268). Religious institutions were also crucial in providing schooling during this era before the public system was firmly established. Ursuline Academy, founded in 1874, was an early secondary school for young women located adjacent to Sacred Heart. After the Catholic Church created the Diocese of Dallas in 1890, plans began for a new Sacred Heart Cathedral. The Diocese officially opened the cathedral at the north side of the intersection of Ross Avenue and Pearl Street in 1902 (extant, fig. II-269). Renowned Galveston architect Nicholas J. Clayton designed the cathedral in a Gothic Revival style. This part of Dallas was largely residential at the time of the church's construction and may have been a convenient walking distance for parishioners at the time of its construction.[22] Similar to First Baptist, Sacred Heart began as a simple frame structure in the 1870s, and as the congregation grew (and the Diocese of Dallas formed), it gained the means to build a more permanent and stylized structure out of durable materials. Both the Sacred Heart Cathedral and the First Baptist Church reflected common trends of religious institutions establishing places of worship in residential areas just outside the business district, which slowly became more commercial in nature. The Mexican Catholic population in Dallas grew substantially following the Mexican Revolution, beginning in 1910. As Mexicans and Mexican Americans were not welcome in Sacred Heart, a new church, Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish, opened in 1914, located in "Little Mexico" at 2501 North Harwood Street (not extant).[23]

See Chapter 2. Demographics and Spatial Settlement Patterns for more.

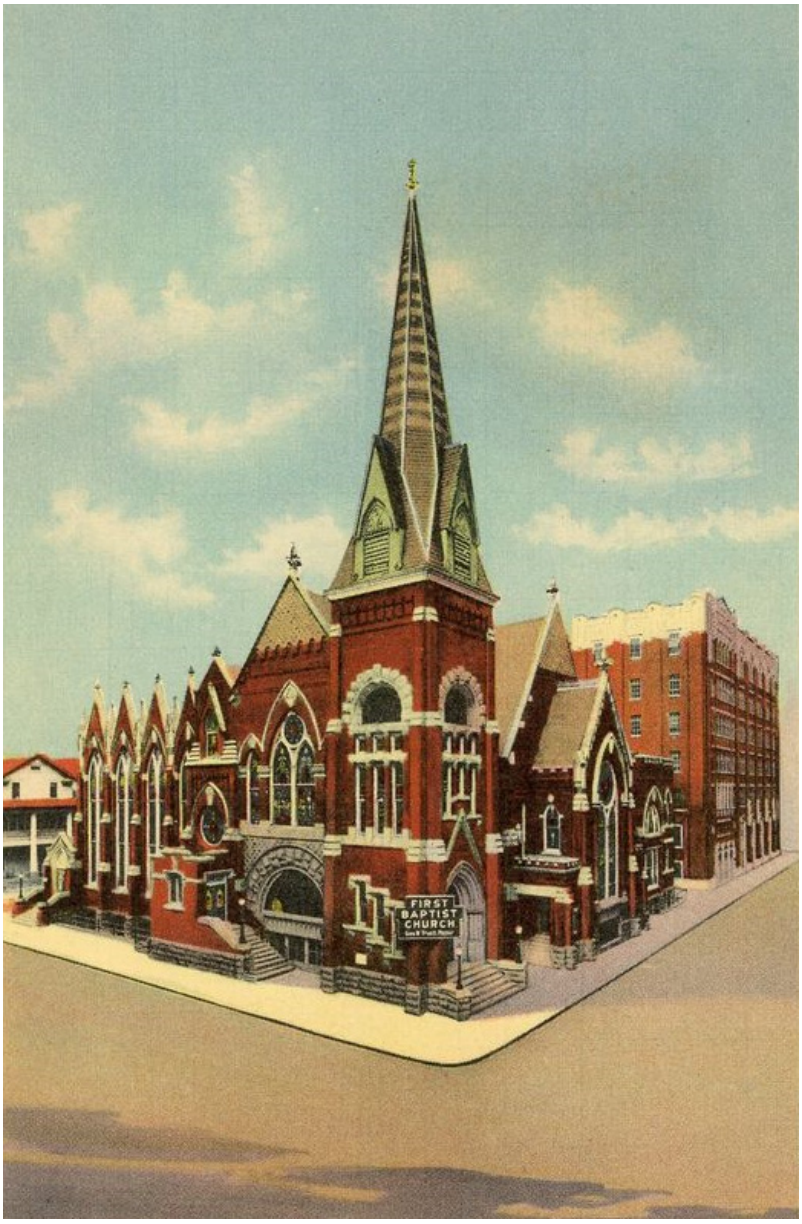


Figure II-267. The 1890 First Baptist Church at 600 North Ervay Street showed the growth of early Dallas religious institutions with its permanent construction materials and Gothic Revival design. Source: Pinterest, https://www.pinterest.com/pin/604467581212020631/.

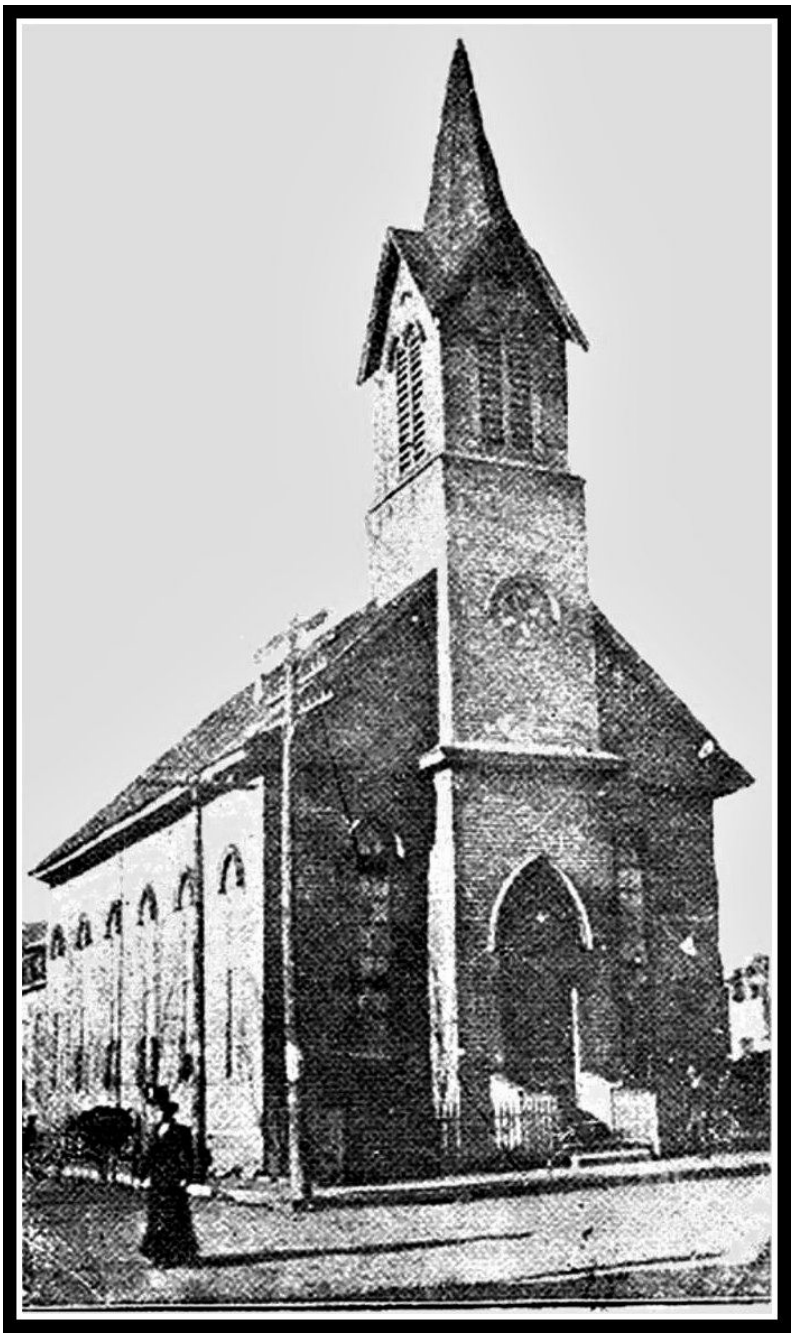


Figure II-268. Photograph of the original Sacred Heart Church, a wood frame building at Bryan and Harwood Streets. This church was replaced with a larger cathedral when the Diocese of Dallas decided to use Sacred Heart for its cathedral. Source: "First Catholic Church in Dallas Texas," Pinterest, accessed March 18, 2021, https://i.pinimg.com/originals/19/60/be/1960be2c2f0a4488de13cc67282957b8.jpg.



Figure II-269. The Sacred Heart Cathedral built from 1898–1902 at the corner of Ross and Pearl Streets. Now called Cathedral Guadalupe, Nicholas J. Clayton designed the austere Gothic Revival church. Source: "Cathedral Gudalupe," *Catholic Diocese of Dallas,* accessed March 18, 2021, https://www.cathdal.org/cathedral.

SUBURBANIZATION AND POPULATION GROWTH'S IMPACT ON RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS

As Dallas suburbs appeared with the arrival of the streetcar in the late nineteenth century, religious institutions became integral parts of these suburbs. Steady population throughout the twentieth century also led to the proliferation of places of worship as well as religious denominations. Residential developers sometimes encouraged religious groups to locate on their land for moral and economic reasons. Thomas Marsalis, prominent Dallas resident and founder of Oak Cliff in the 1880s, had quasi-spiritual aims for his new development. He hoped Oak Cliff would be inhabited by "a strictly moral people" and referred to it as a "New Jerusalem," advertising it as a dry city, free of vice-related establishments.[24] Tent revivals were extremely common in Oak Cliff in the early twentieth century, including a three-week revival sponsored by multiple churches on Tenth Street. By the 1930s, Tenth Street had gained the nickname "The Street of Churches" due to the high concentration of churches in the area. Churches were likely able to be successful in this area due to the high residential population and the streetcar running along Jefferson Avenue, which ran parallel to Tenth.[25] Jefferson Peak, founder of the Peak Suburban Addition, also donated a half block of land to the First Christian Church in 1879.[26] Another group of Disciples of Christ formed an early suburban church nearby when they opened the East Dallas Christian Church in 1903 at the southeast corner of Peak and Victor Streets. This congregation's lineage dated back to the 1840s, but rifts among members led to the creation of various churches. The 1903 building was a wood frame construction, but by 1913 the church had expanded sufficiently to purchase a new lot at Peak and Junius Streets. The church commissioned C. D. Hill & Company to design the building in a Neoclassical style with masonry construction (building extant, a Dallas Landmark Structure, fig. II-270).[27] By 1923, the church had grown sufficiently to warrant the

enlargement into a larger complex, also designed by C. D. Hill & Company. By the 1970s, this once-suburban area had lost enough population that the church considered changing locations, but it remains in its original location to this day.[28]



Figure II-270. Historic photograph of the East Dallas Christian Church located at 629 North Peak Street and designed by architects C. D. Hill & Company. Source: East Dallas Christian Church, accessed March 19, 2021, https://www.edcc.org/about.html.

Suburbanization in the Jewish Community

By 1899, the congregation at Emanu-El had outgrown its original temple and built a new one at Saint Louis and Ervay Streets (fig. II-271). This more southern location went hand in hand with the migration of wealthy Jewish families to South Dallas/Colonial Hill.[29] Due to the rapid growth of the congregation, the temple moved yet again in 1917 to South Boulevard and Harwood Street (fig. II-272). Prominent Dallas architects Hubbell and Greene designed the imposing and monumental Neoclassical building. This neighborhood already had a Jewish population, and the temple's move to the area solidified its reputation as a Jewish area.[30] Important Jewish leaders built homes near the synagogue, and other Jewish community institutions moved nearby, including the Jewish Community Center and the Columbian Country Club.[31]

In the 1930s, other synagogues had also relocated further south. By 1930, Shearith Israel had relocated to 1324 Park Row (building not extant, fig. II-273), and Tiferet Israel relocated to the corner of Grand Avenue and Edgewood Street in 1939 (building extant).[32]



Figure II-271. Historic photograph of the 1899 building for Temple Emanu-El located at South Ervay and Saint Louis Streets. Source: "History and Architecture," *Temple Emanu-El Dallas,* accessed March 19, 2021, https://www.tedallas.org/about-us/history.

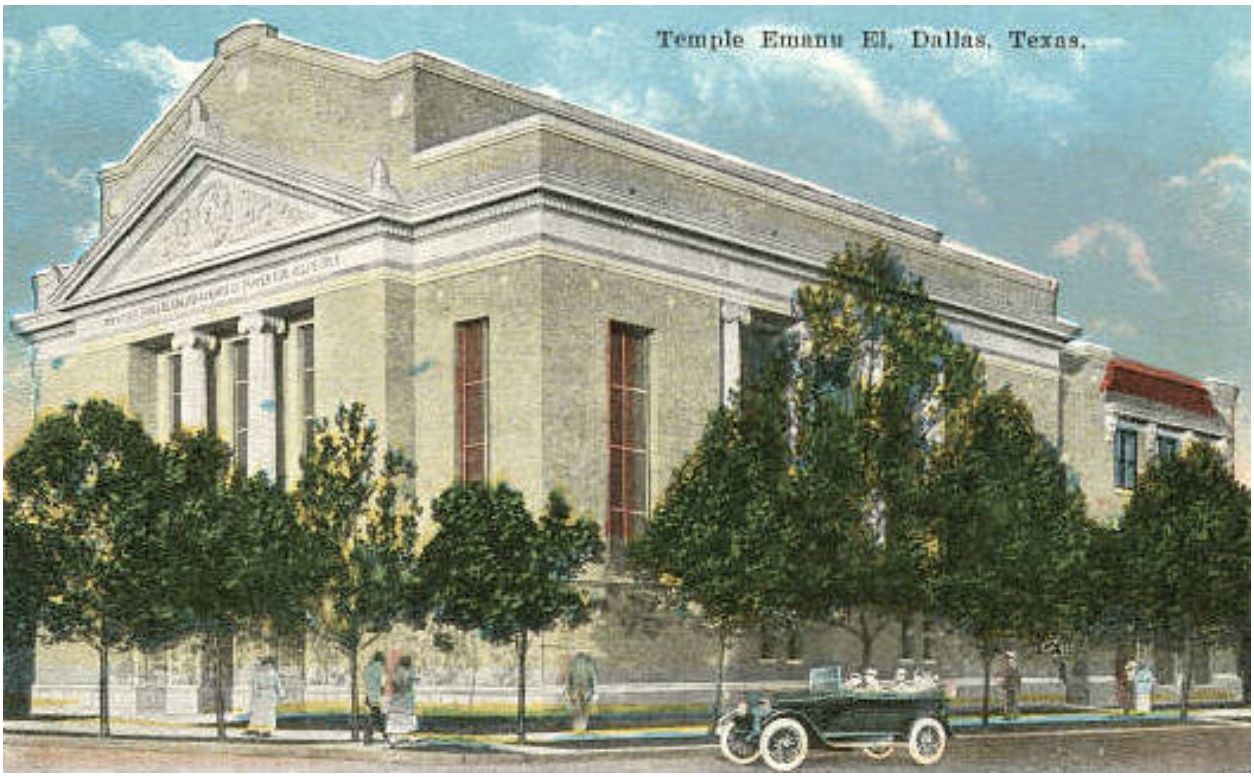


Figure II-272. Historic postcard depicting the 1917 Temple Emanu-El located at South Boulevard and Harwood Streets, designed by Hubbell and Greene architects. Source: Paula Bosse, "Temple Emanu-El, at the 'Northern Limits of Dallas' – 1957," *Flashback : Dallas,* January 29, 2019, accessed March 19, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2019/01/29/temple-emanu-el-at-the-northern-limits-of-dallas-1957/.

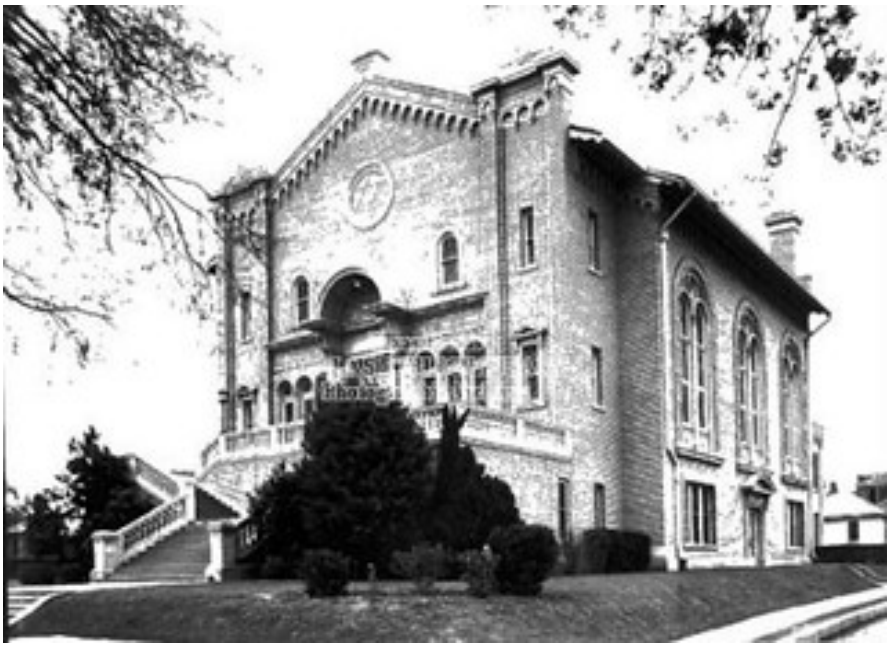


Figure II-273. Photograph of the Shearith Israel synagogue from 1930. Shearith Israel and two other major Jewish synagogues moved to south Dallas in the early mid-twentieth century, both spurring and following the migration of Jewish Dallas residents to South Dallas. Source: Jennifer Anderson, "Dallas' Oldest Synagogues," City of Dallas Office of Historic Preservation, December 4, 2018, accessed March 29, 2021, https://cityofdallaspreservation.wordpress.com/tag/shearith-israel/.

In 1919, the Saint James A.M.E. Temple decided to move from their location in the central business district to a new lot at Good and Florence Streets (now addressed as 624 North Good Latimer Expressway, a Dallas Landmark Structure).[33] They commissioned William Sydney Pittman, a prominent Black Dallas architect, to design their new church (fig. II-274).[34] This area, just north of Deep Ellum, was largely residential at the time, with scattered business and other churches, making it a thriving Black neighborhood. By 1927, the Saint Paul United Methodist Church completed an extensive new church building.[35] While the new building did not relocate as a result of suburbanization, its expansion marks the residential growth of the Black community in this section of North Dallas. The church filled a void in the needs of the Black community during the era of segregation. As one of the few large-scale gathering spaces available to the community, the church space hosted high school commencements and other social and educational events.[36]

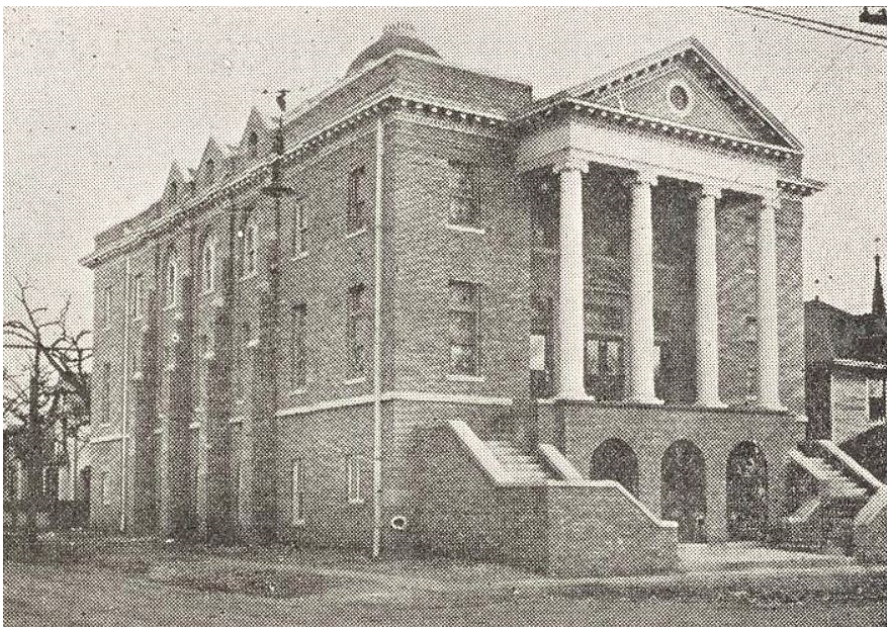


Figure II-274. Photograph from 1921 of the Saint James A.M.E. Temple built in 1919 at Good and Florence Streets (now addressed as 624 North Good Latimer Expressway). William Sydney Pittman, a Black Dallas architect, designed the building, which became an important religious and cultural center for Black residents of Dallas. Source: Paula Bosse, "Black Churches in Dallas- 1930," *Flashback: Dallas,* February 23, 2020, accessed March 19, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2020/02/23/black-churches-in-dallas-1930/, crediting *Official Directory: Dallas Negro Churches, Schools, and Other Activities; Civic, Business, Fraternal, Social, Etc.* compiled by James H. Smith, 1930.

Suburbanization and urban sprawl intensified throughout the twentieth century, and new places of worship located themselves further from the urban core. Churches established themselves in outlying areas, sometimes presaging subsequent rapid growth in the area. One such congregation, Preston Hollow Presbyterian Church, began a building campaign for a church building in 1951. The church founders' original aim was to create a new Presbyterian church "somewhere in the grassy fields north of Northwest Highway," presumably to take advantage of open land in an exceedingly popular residential area.[37] Accomplished church architect Mark Lemmon designed the new building in a minimalist Georgian style, and the building opened in 1967 at 9800 Preston Road.[38] While the church building used a historicist language, its formal composition and restrained ornamentation link it to a slightly more Modernist aesthetic. Mid-century suburban churches were sometimes more Modern in style, reflecting the tastes of the day and a break from previous traditions.

Not all downtown congregations experienced a mid-century loss of membership, however, as suburbanization often followed racial and economic dividing lines. While White residents were leaving the center of town, Black and Latino populations remained (as discussed in *Chapter 2. Demographics and Spatial Settlement*). Buildings such as the 1921 St. James A.M.E. Church and the 1914 Lady of Guadalupe hosted thriving congregations in this era. Attendance at Saint James grew steadily after the new church building opened in 1921 and reached its height in the 1940s as one of the largest congregations of that denomination in the US.[39] Our Lady of Guadalupe parish was also growing and had outgrown its building by the 1960s. At the same time, the Sacred Heart Cathedral faced dwindling attendance as its parishioners had largely relocated to more suburban areas. Bishop Thomas Tschoepe invited Lady of Guadalupe to merge with Sacred Heart, leading to the closure of Lady of Guadalupe in 1975 and the renaming of Sacred Heart to Cathedral Guadalupe in 1977.[40] These religious institutions often provided social services to downtown communities during a period when governmental services were disproportionately distributed to the suburbs.

Religious Leaders and Dallas Political Movements

As advocates for their community and for ethical behavior, religious leadership in Dallas has often played an important role in political movements, especially in the mid-twentieth century. In the Black community, congregants often looked to religious institutions for political leadership. Pastors such as Reverend Maynard H. Jackson, Jr. of New Hope Baptist Church (then located at 2802 San Jacinto Street) were crucial figures in the struggle for Black voting rights and political representation. Jackson, a second-generation pastor at New Hope, began his Civil Rights efforts as early as 1935 when he became a spokesman for the Interdenominational Ministers' Alliance. In 1936, Jackson aided in the creation of the Progressive Voters League, which was successful in impacting several decisions, including concessions for a second high school for Black students. Jackson's involvement in the Progressive Voters League expanded territorially; in 1938 he helped organize a statewide league, and by 1944 he served as president of the national league. Reverend Jackson was also the first Black Dallas resident to run for election in the School Board, facing potential violence with this courageous decision. Although his campaign was not successful, it marked a departure from the previous status quo and indicated the growth of a Civil Rights movement in Dallas.[41]

The Dallas Jewish community also had very vocal leadership on political topics and the Civil Rights movement. Rabbi David Lefkowitz, who came to Dallas from Ohio in 1920, became a very respected member of the community and used his social and political clout to stand up against the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in 1920s Dallas. Jews, along with Black Americans and Roman Catholics, were persecuted by the Klan, and Lefkowitz implored his fellow citizens to recognize the ludicrous nature of KKK "Grand Wizard" Hiram Evans against Jewish Americans.[42]

When Rabbi Levi Olan arrived in Dallas from Massachusetts in 1948, he continued Lefkowitz's tradition of community participation. He also continued a tradition of radio broadcasting, both educational and religious in nature, as a platform for sharing his beliefs with the general public. He later added television broadcasting and used both platforms to talk about his views on topics such as segregation, civil rights, poverty, and the Vietnam War. Although his beliefs were unpopular in largely conservative Dallas, he used his sermon to speak about the "evil" of segregation after the 1954 Supreme Court decision of Brown v. Ferguson spelled the eventual legal dissolution of segregation in public schools. Olan participated in Civil Rights marches and met Dr. Martin Luther King when he came to Dallas in 1963. Shamed at crude anti-Democratic public displays in Dallas and seeing John F. Kennedy's assassination as tied to this tradition, Lefkowitz was also instrumental in pushing for a memorial in Dallas and a donation to the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library in Massachusetts. The John F. Kennedy memorial, built in 1970 and

designed by noted architect Philip Johnson, sits in downtown Dallas near the Old Red courthouse (see Chapter 14. *President Kennedy's Assassination* for more information).

CONCLUSION

Throughout Dallas's history, religion has served as an important social and cultural force for the city's population. Places of worship have served as anchors for communities, and their presence has often spurred further residential and commercial growth in an area. As reflections of a congregation's zeal and moral aspirations, places of worship have typically taken on architectural styles that allude to celebrated religious structures but also sometimes reflected new and popular styles such as Modernism. These buildings grew in permanence and size as Dallas grew and gained the financial stability to support great works of architecture. Religion has been crucial to Dallas's development since its inception and continues to be into the present day, making its period of significance 1845–1972. Provided that a religious resource also meets National Register Criterion Consideration A, a resource associated with the theme of religion may be significant under the National Register criteria of Religion, with potential additional significance under Architecture, Education, Ethnic Heritage, or Social History.

NOTES

[1] "National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation," National Park Service, updated 2005, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/upload/NRB-15_web508.pdf.

[2] Linda K. Pritchard, "A Comparative Approach to Western Religious History: Texas as a Case Study, 1845-1890," *Western Historical Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 4 (Nov. 1988), 422. From JSTOR.

[3] Pritchard, "A Comparative Approach to Western Religious History," 422.

[4] Pritchard, "A Comparative Approach to Western Religious History," 424.

[5] Stan Solamillo, "East Dallas Christian Church," Dallas Landmark Commission Nomination Form, City of Dallas, 1993, 3-16. From the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/East%20Dallas%20Christian%20Church%20Landmark%20Nomination.pdf.

[6] "Old Calvary Cemetery," *Uptown Dallas Inc.*, November 1, 2016, accessed March 18, 2021, http://uptowndallas.net/news-press/venues/calvary-cemetery/.

[7] Michael Hazel, *Dallas: A History of Big "D,"* Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1997, 17. From the University of Texas Libraries, https://search.lib.utexas.edu/permalink/01UTAU_INST/apl7st/cdi_proquest_ebookcentral_EBC1605669.

[8] Thomas H. Smith, "'A Poor Pilgrim of Sorrow:' 'Sin Killer' Griffin and Dallas Revivals," *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* 17, no. 2, Fall, 2005, 5. From the Portal to Texas History, crediting the Dallas Historical Society, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth35091/m1/6/?q=volume%2017%20no.%202.

[9] René Schmidt, "Road to Glory: Tenth Street Becomes Church Street," *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* 21, no. 2, Fall, 2009, 38. From the Portal to Texas History, crediting the Dallas Historical Society, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth66965/m1/40/?q=road%20to%20glory%20tenth%20street%20church.

[10] More intensive research using more diverse archival sources would likely yield more examples of religious groups. The information included here is based on reconnaissance-level research.

[11] Lily Corral, "Beliefs That Bind: Religion's Role in Shaping Dallas Communities," AIA Dallas Springboard, accessed March 19, 2021, https://www.aiadallas.org/v/columns-detail/Beliefs-That-Bind-Religion-s-Role-in-Shaping-Dallas-Communities/107/; S. Solamillo, "St. James African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Temple," Dallas Landmark Commission Landmark Nomination Form, City of Dallas, 2000, 13-1. From the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/St%20James%20African%20Methodist%20Episcopal%20Temple%20Landmark%20Nomination.pdf.

[12] Marsha Prior and Robert V. Kemper, "From Feedman's Town to Uptown: Community Transformation and Gentrification in Dallas, Texas," *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development*, 34, no. 2/3, Summer-Fall, 2005, 181, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40553482.

[13] "New Hope Baptist Church History," New Hope Baptist Church, accessed March 14, 2022, https://thenewhopedallas.org/history/.

[14] "Elizabeth Chapel," City of Dallas Demolished Landmark Structures, accessed March 29, 2021, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/Pages/Elizabeth-Chapel.aspx.

[15] Hardy-Heck-Moore, "Tenth Street Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historic Commission, Austin, May 1994, 8-9 – 8-10. From the Texas Historical Commission, https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/94000604/94000604.pdf.

[16] Frances James, Marcel Quimby, Evelyn Montgomery, and Daron Tapscott, "Missionary Baptist Church Cemetery," Dallas Landmark Commission Nomination Form, City of Dallas, 2012, 6-7. From the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/Missionary%20Baptist%20Church%20Cemetery%20Landmark%20Nomination.pdf.

[17] HHM, "Historic and Architectural Resources of East and South Dallas, Dallas County, Texas," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1995, E-7.

[18] Cary Lawrence Young, "A History and Guide to the South Boulevard/Park Row Historic District: Park Row," Masters' thesis, University of Texas at Arlington, 1980, 5.

[19] "Our Congregation," Congregation Shearith Israel, accessed March 29, 2021, https://www.shearith.org/our-congregation-and-history.html; Corral, "Beliefs that Bind." Note that historic source material refers to Shearith Israel as "Shaareth Israel."

[20] "History," Tiferet Israel – A Traditional Congregation, accessed March 29, 2021, https://tiferetisrael.org/about-tiferet-israel-dallas/history/.

[21] Corral, "Beliefs That Bind."

[22] Stan Solamillo, "Stan Solamillo, "Historic St. Ann's School/St. Ann's Com. H.S./Guadalupe Social Center," Dallas Landmark Commission Landmark Nomination Form, City of Dallas, 1998, 18. From the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/St.%20Anns%20School%20Landmark%20Nomination.pdf. This source notes that the surrounding neighborhood was predominantly White at the time. After 1910, when increasing immigration from Mexico led to Mexican-American settlement in the neighborhood, Mexican-American Catholics were encouraged to worship at Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, decreasing neighborhood attendance at Sacred Heart. In 1965 the Catholic Church merged the Sacred Heart and Our Lady of Guadalupe parishes in the Sacred Heart building, so that again many parishioners lived in walking-distance.

[23] Solamillo, "Historic St. Ann's School."

[24] Schmidt, "Road to Glory," 38. For more on the development of Oak Cliff, see: Hardy, Daniel. "Historic and Architectural Resources of Oak Cliff, Dallas, Texas." National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form. Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1994. From the Texas Historical Commission, https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/64500648/64500648.pdf.

[25] Schmidt, "Road to Glory," 39.

[26] Solamillo, "East Dallas Christian Church," 3-17.

See more about Peak's Suburban Addition in National Register and Dallas Landmark documentation:

Daniel Hardy and Terri Myers, "Peak's Suburban Addition Historic District" [ca. 1895-1945], National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1995. From the Texas Historical Commission, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Resources%20Page/Peak%27s%20Suburban%20Addition%20National%20Register%20Historic%20Places.pdf.

; City of Dallas, "Peak's Suburban Addition/Millcreek Neighborhood," Dallas Landmark Commission Nomination Form, City of Dallas, 1993. From the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/DCH%20documents/Peaks_Suburban_Dallas_Landmark_Nomination%20Form.pdf.

[27] For more on the East Dallas Christian Church, see Dallas Landmark application: Stan Solamillo, "East Dallas Christian Church," Dallas Landmark Commission Nomination Form, City of Dallas, 1993. From the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/East%20Dallas%20Christian%20Church%20Landmark%20Nomination.pdf.

[28] Solamillo, "East Dallas Christian Church," 3-14 – 3-15.

[29] HHM, "Historic and Architectural Resources of East and South Dallas," E-3.

[30] HHM, "Historic and Architectural Resources of East and South Dallas," E-14.

[31] Corral, "Beliefs That Bind."

[32] Jennifer Anderson, "Dallas' Oldest Synagogues," City of Dallas Office of Historic Preservation, December 4, 2018, accessed March 29, 2021, https://cityofdallaspreservation.wordpress.com/tag/shearith-israel/.

[33] For more on Saint James A.M.E. Church, see Dallas Landmark application: S. Solamillo, "St. James African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Temple," Dallas Landmark Commission Landmark Nomination Form, City of Dallas, 2000, 13-1. From the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/St%20James%20African%20Methodist%20Episcopal%20Temple%20Landmark%20Nomination.pdf.

[34] S. Solamillo, "St. James African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Temple."

[35] Paula Bosse, "Black Churches in Dallas – 1930," *Flashback : Dallas,* February 23, 2020, accessed March 29, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2020/02/23/black-churches-in-dallas-1930/.

[36] City of Dallas, "St. Paul United Methodist Church Designation Report," Dallas Landmark Commission Nomination Form, City of Dallas, date unknown, 1. From the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/St%20Paul%20United%20Methodist%20Church%20Landmark%20Nomination.pdf.

[37] "About Us," Preston Hollow Presbyterian Church, accessed March 29, 2021, https://www.phpc.org/about/.

[38] Frank Thrower and Marian Ann J. Montgomery, "Architect Mark Lemmon," *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* 17, no. 2 (Fall 2005), 62. From the Portal to Texas History, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth35091/m1/64/.

[39] S. Solamillo, "St. James African Methodist Episcopal," 13-5.

[40] "Cathedral Guadalupe," *Catholic Diocese of Dallas,* accessed March 19, 2021, https://www.cathdal.org/cathedral.

[41] Michael B. Hazel, "Rev. Maynard H. Jackson, Sr.," *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* 16, no. 1 (Spring, 2004), 6-8. From the Portal to Texas History, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth35092/m1/8/.

[42] Jane Guzman, "Rabbi David Lefkowitz of Dallas: A Rabbi for All Season," *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2000), 31. From the Portal to Texas History, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth35100/m1/31/.

II-20| Tourism (1872–1972)

INTRODUCTION

Throughout its history, travelers visited Dallas on business and for leisure. Visitors came for meetings, conferences, parks, shopping, sporting events, and in particular, they came for the fairs held at Fair Park. With little civic promotion of the city, Dallas still emerged as one of the state's leading visitor destinations. The period of significance for tourism begins in 1872 with the arrival of the railroad and ends in 1972, although tourism remains a significant theme in Dallas today. A variety of resources associated with this theme include hotels, motels, tourist courts, the convention center, amusement parks, and resources associated with Fair Park. These resources may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A for significance under Commerce and Entertainment/Recreation.

AMERICAN TOURISM OVERVIEW

Tourism and vacations are relatively modern constructs in America. Early settlers had little leisure time, and limited means of transportation restricted where they could travel. In the eighteenth century, health spas and resorts opened, and scenic locales like Niagara Falls attracted some tourists. However, work obligations and financial and transportation limitations prevented most Americans from traveling for enjoyment. Though traveling and tourism benefited from the rapid railroad building across the country after the Civil War, these activities remained largely restricted to those of financial means. Those who did travel for pleasure took trains to cities including New York and San Francisco and visited beaches and new amusements in places like Coney Island, New York; Asbury Park, New Jersey; and the Florida coast. Sites of outdoor recreation and natural beauty, including the earliest national parks—Yellowstone, Sequoia, and Yosemite—also drew visitors. Tourists flocked to events such as the World's Fairs and Expositions, which brought visitors from across the country and globe to US cities beginning in the nineteenth century.

By the early twentieth century, the tourism industry benefited from several factors. Progressive Era labor reforms helped create a larger middle-class and provided Americans with more time off from work. The 1910s through the 1930s also saw expansive highway building and growing automobile ownership. Along the country's new highways, roadside camps, cabins, and tourist courts appeared. New local attractions sprung up as well, promoted by local chambers of commerce and automobile clubs through maps, brochures, and magazine advertisements. In the postwar period, tourism emerged as one of the country's fastest-growing industries, facilitated by the continued growth of the middle-class and new and improved transportation. More Americans received paid time off from work, and the new interstate highway system and more accessible passenger air travel flights encouraged more people to take vacations. Promotional tourism campaigns also aided the industry, led by both state and local tourism boards. National motel and gas station chains also spent more money during this period to promote travel and tourism. The postwar tourism boom saw large tourist attractions and amusement parks like Disneyland (1955) and Disneyworld (1965) open, causing many smaller pre-war attractions to close.

TOURISM IN TEXAS

Even though guidebooks on Texas were published as early as the mid-nineteenth century, tourism and travel were limited prior to the arrival of the railroad. Once the railroad reached Texas after the Civil War, outdoorsmen came to Texas on commercial hunts sponsored by the railroad and entrepreneurs, and health resorts in cities including San Antonio and Mineral Wells grew as tourist destinations.[1] The

state's climate also attracted visitors, and by the turn of the century the Rio Grande Valley and coastal cities—especially Galveston—had become destinations for visitors from the north during winter months.

While Texas travel and tourism benefited from the highway construction in the 1910s and 1920s, the state's first major tourist draw was the 1936 Texas Centennial Exposition. Held at Fair Park in Dallas, the event gained worldwide attention and drew over six million attendees.[2] The event also highlighted the role the Texas Highway Department (THD, now named the Texas Department of Transportation) would play in promoting tourism in Texas. In preparation for the event, the THD built 14 information bureaus, the first of their kind in the nation, at principal entry points into the state for visitors. The THD also published its first annual travel map, highlighting tourist sites like the Alamo across the state.

By 1950, tourism was the state's fifth-largest industry.[3] After the Texas Centennial Exposition, the Texas State Fair at Fair Park became one of Texas's largest attractions, while the state's cities and historical and natural areas, including its state parks and Texas's first national park, Big Bend National Park, also drew vacationers and visitors. Other attractions included small amusement parks like Aquarena Springs in San Marcos and Playland Park in Houston. In the 1960s, the interstate highway system and air travel boosted the industry, as did the state government's commitment to tourism. In 1960 a constitutional amendment allocated tax money for use in the promotion of the state to visitors, and in 1963 the legislature established the Texas Tourist Development Agency and authorized a new tourist-advertising budget.[4] Throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s, other state agencies—including Texas Parks and Wildlife, the Texas Historical Commission, and the Texas Commission on the Arts—joined in the promotional campaign. These campaigns highlighted the state's scenery, culture, climate, outdoor activities, museums, and modern accommodations, as well as some of Texas's newer attractions and events. Some of the largest attractions included Six Flags over Texas in Arlington (1961), the Astrodome in Houston (1965), AstroWorld in Houston (1968), and HemisFair'68 in San Antonio. As a result of the campaigns and investment in tourism, by 1969, Texas was one of only seven states to bring in over a billion dollars of tourism annually.[5]

TOURISM IN DALLAS

EARLY HOSPITALITY

Dallas's nascent hospitality and tourism sector emerged in the late nineteenth century in Dallas, somewhat as a byproduct of simply being one of the state's largest cities and financial and commercial centers. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, industries like agriculture, railroads, oil, and distribution brought thousands of people to Dallas on business trips, creating an abundance of wealth that fostered a rich social and cultural fabric. While the museums, zoo, theaters, symphony, department stores, and parks opened to benefit Dallasites, they also drew visitors. The Dallas State Fair, which hosted its inaugural fair on 80 acres in East Dallas in 1886, also became an annual tourist draw after attracting over 100,000 attendees in its first year (fig. II-275).[6]



Figure II-275. Fair Park during the annual State Fair of Texas in 1900. Source: DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, accessed October 5, 2021, https://digitalcollections.smu.edu/digital/collection/tex/id/4381/rec/21.

To accommodate these visitors, a robust hotel scene developed in Dallas. In 1878, less than a decade after the arrival of the railroad, Dallas boasted 22 hotels. By 1915, few of the 1878 hotels remained, but in their place were many new modern hotels. Most of the hotels resembled the Boyd Hotel in Deep Ellum. Opened in 1911 on Elm Street, the hotel operated on the second floor of a two-story building, while the first floor housed retail businesses (fig. II-276). The hotel hosted visitors, traveling businessmen, and, later, blues musicians who played in clubs in Deep Ellum. Several large luxury hotels also opened, including the Ambassador Hotel in the Cedars (built in 1904 and demolished after a fire in 2019) and the Adolphus Hotel on Commerce Street downtown. Upon its opening in 1912, the Adolphus Hotel was the tallest building in the city and its most luxurious hotel (fig. II-277). Built by Adolph Busch—owner of the Anheuser Busch Company in St. Louis—at the urging of Dallas businessmen, the Adolphus Hotel became the social, cultural, and professional location of choice in Dallas and throughout the Southwest.



Figure II-276. The Boyd Hotel at 2934 Elm Street. Built in 1911, the building is one of the oldest hotels in Dallas. Like many hotels from the era, the ground-floor contained stores and the hotel operated on the second story. The building is a Dallas Local Landmark. Source: HHM, 2020.



Figure II-277. Postcard of the Adolphus Hotel at 1321 Commerce Street. Opened in 1912, the Beaux Arts hotel was designed by St. Louis architects Barnett, Hanyes and Barnett. Source: [Postcard of the Adolphus Hotel], postcard, Date Unknown; (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth121554/: accessed October 5, 2021), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, https://texashistory.unt.edu; crediting Dallas Heritage Village.

Learn more! *Read more about the history of the Adolphus Hotel from the building's local landmark and National Register nominations: https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/Pages/adolphus_hotel.aspx*

https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/83003133/83003133.pdf

Read more about the history of the Boyd Hotel from the building's local landmark nomination: https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/Pages/boyd_hotel.aspx

HIGHWAYS AND THE AUTOMOBILE ERA

While Dallas primarily benefited from business visitors in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, leisure tourism picked up following the rapid highway expansion of the 1910s and 1920s. In Dallas, new highways passed through the city, easily connecting it to the rest of the state and country. The State Fair remained one of the top attractions in Dallas, bringing in over one million attendees in 1916.[7] Fair Park, the site of the fair, was also an attraction in its own right. Assuming ownership of the grounds in 1904, the City oversaw park improvements that included the construction of a museum in 1908, an auditorium (Music Hall) in 1925, and a new open-air 46,000-seat stadium, Fair Park Stadium in 1930 (fig. II-278).[8] Fair Park Stadium, later renamed the Cotton Bowl, became host to the annual "Red River Showdown" between the University of Texas and University of Oklahoma football teams.



Figure II-278. Aerial view of the Cotton Bowl stadium in Fair Park, taken in 1933. Completed in 1930 on the site of an older stadium, the new stadium's capacity was 46,000. During the 1936 Centennial Exposition the stadium was used for the play Cavalcade of History and it also hosted President Franklin, who spoke to 40,000 spectators. Over the years, the stadium has hosted a variety of football, baseball, and soccer teams. The venue also hosted a variety of speaking and music events, including shows by Frank Sinatra and Elvis Presley. Source: Edwin J. Foscue Map Library, Southern Methodist University accessed October 5, 2021, https://digitalcollections.smu.edu/digital/collection/mav/id/56.

Other sporting attractions in Dallas included minor league baseball. In 1924 a new stadium, Burnett Field (razed in 1966), opened at 1500 East Jefferson Boulevard in Oak Cliff. Between 1924 and 1964, the stadium was home to several Texas League baseball teams, including the Giants, Steers, and Rangers. The 9,000-seat stadium also hosted spring training for the Chicago White Sox in 1929.[9]

Outside of Fair Park and sporting events, other Dallas attractions included the zoo and city parks. In particular, Lake Cliff Park in Oak Cliff was popular among visitors. Originally built as an excursion park between 1888 and 1906 by the streetcar and development company behind Oak Cliff, Lake Cliff Park boasted amusement rides into the 1920s, as well as a natatorium and swimming pool. A 1924 *Dallas Morning News* article entitled "Numerous Tourists Enjoy Facilities for Amusement Here" recounts a typical day for tourists in Dallas:

> Dallas parks, as well as places of amusement were sought out Sunday by visiting motorists, many of whom spent Saturday and Sunday here. The zoo at Forest Park was a mecca for many, the park drives were lined with automobiles bearing license plates for a score of other States. The baseball games in Reverchon Park attracted many, while the natatorium and lake at Lake Cliff Park were popular all hours of the day. [10]

Learn more! *Read more about Lake Cliff Park from AIA Dallas: https://www.aiadallas.org/v/columns-detail/Lost-Found-Lake-Cliff-Park/13p/.*

Refer to Chapter 8. Highways, Roadways, and Automobiles to learn more about the history of highway expansion in Dallas.

The largest tourist draw to the city during this period, though, was the 1936 Texas Centennial Exposition (fig. II-279). The State selected Dallas as host over the other contenders, San Antonio and Houston, due in part to the campaign led by the Dallas Chamber of Commerce and its president, R. L. Thornton, who touted the City's financial commitment and benefits of using the existing fairgrounds at Fair Park. The City hired architect George Dahl as "Centennial Architect"[11] to oversee the expansion of Fair Park for the centennial. In preparation for the fair, the grounds expanded to almost 300 acres, and more than 50 new buildings and structures, many designed in the Art Deco style, were added to the site, while some existing buildings were reskinned in the Art Deco style for the event. The fair featured various pageants, speeches, parades, exhibitions, and even a scale model of the Alamo. The fair, which was segregated, also included the Hall of Negro Life (not extant). The first exhibition to recognize Black culture at a world's fair, the hall highlighted Black history and culture and featured the works of Black musicians and artists.[12] The centennial opened on June 6, 1936, and ran until November 29, 1936, attracting over six million people during the six-month period.[13] In 1937, the fair ran again under the name Greater Texas and Pan American Exposition, and since then, Fair Park has continually hosted the annual Texas State Fair.



Figure II-279. Entrance to Fair Park in East Dallas during the 1936 Texas Centennial Exposition. Architect George Dahl oversaw the layout of the grounds and construction of the buildings at Fair Park in the leadup to the exposition. Unlike most other World's Fairs and Expositions, most buildings at Fair Park were not demolished after the event, leaving Fair Park as one of the nation's most intact examples of exposition buildings. Source: Fort Worth Star-Telegram Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries. "Texas Centennial Exposition, Dallas, Texas." UTA Libraries Digital Gallery. 1936. Accessed October 5, 2021, https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/10001280.

Learn more! *Learn more about the history and buildings at Fair Park from its National Register nomination: https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/86003488/86003488_NHL.pdf.*

As the number of tourists to Dallas grew during this period, so too did the city's inventory of accommodations (fig. II-280). The West End saw the opening of the Jefferson Hotel on Houston Street (built in 1925 and demolished in 1975), while in downtown, new hotels included the Baker Hotel (built in 1925 and demolished in 1980) and the Plaza Hotel at 1933 Main Street, strategically located near the

theater district and major financial and business institutions. Built in 1925 by hotelier Conrad Hilton, the Plaza, Hilton's first high-rise hotel in the state, offered another luxurious option in downtown. Outside of downtown, new accommodations appeared along the city's highways. Throughout the period, tourist camps like Dal-Oak (not extant) on the Bankhead Highway in Oak Cliff opened for touring motorists (fig. II-281). Established in 1923 by the Dallas Automobile Club, the camp offered gas and cabins, as well as amusements including a pool, park, and golf course.[14] Motor courts, like the 1930s Palace Courts on the Bankhead Highway in West Dallas, also catered to motorists during the period (fig. II-282). On Fort Worth Avenue, another important thoroughfare, the Waco-based motel chain Alamo Plaza Hotel Courts opened one of their distinctive Mission Revival-style motor courts, meant to mimic the Alamo, in 1940 (demolished in 2010). The Belmont Motor Hotel also opened on Fort Worth Avenue. Built in 1946 and designed by Dallas architect Charles Dilbeck, the Belmont Motor Hotel remains at 901 Fort Worth Avenue.



Figure II-280. A page from a 1930s promotional pamphlet published by the Dallas Chamber of Commerce, the leading promoter of tourism and travel to Dallas during the period. This page highlights the city's "130 hotels, large and small, valued at $30,000,000 and with a total guest capacity of around 20,000." It also boasts of the annual State Fair as a tourist attraction, the city's variety of restaurant and cuisine offerings, as well as the number of conventions held every year in the city. Source: "Dallas: A Friendly City in a Friendly State," Dallas Chamber of Commerce, c. 1934, from the DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, accessed October 5, 2021, https://digitalcollections.smu.edu/digital/collection/tex/id/2783/rec/7.



Figure II-281. Dal-Oak Tourist Camp in Oak Cliff (not extant) in the late 1920s. The camp was a typical tourist camp of the era, providing gas, groceries, accommodations, and some amusements for motorists traveling along the state's new highways. Source: DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, accessed October 5, 2021, https://digitalcollections.smu.edu/digital/collection/gcd/id/397/rec/1.



Figure II-282. The former Palace Courts, a tourist court from the 1930s, at 4054 West Davis Street (the former Bankhead Highway). The Rustic style tourist courts are another example of the types of accommodations that developed in the automobile era. Source: HHM, 2013.

While hotels, motor courts, and tourist courts proliferated during this period, they primarily catered only to a White clientele. Because of segregationist policies and racism that abounded during the Jim Crow era, travel for Black Americans was both risky and difficult due to the limited number of businesses that served Black patrons. The Green Book, first published in 1933, served as a guide for Black travelers across the country, providing information on safe restaurants, hotels, gas stations, and entertainment

venues. In Dallas, most of the listings were in historically African American areas, including the area north of downtown. Despite over 30 business listings published for Dallas between the first Green Book and the last one in 1966, only two are extant: the Moorland YMCA (now the Dallas Black Dance Theater) at 2700 Ann Williams Way and the Triple A Ranch Motel (now the Inn of the Dove) in West Dallas at 1839 Fort Worth Avenue (fig. II-283).[15]



Figure II-283. The Moorland YMCA (now the Dallas Black Dance Theatre) at 2700 Ann Williams Way, just north of downtown. Built in 1930 in a historically African American neighborhood, the YMCA was designed by architect Ralph Bryan of Washington, D. C. and local Dallas architect Walter Sharp. In addition to serving as a social, cultural, and political center for Black Dallasites, it also provided accommodations for traveling African Americans during the Jim Crow era and is one of only two extant resources in Dallas listed in the Green Book.Source: HHM, 2020.

POSTWAR TOURISM

Despite little civic promotion of tourism in the postwar period, Dallas continually attracted some of the largest number of visitors in the state. Not only did Dallas lack a promotional campaign, but the 1966 *Goals for Dallas* report also painted a bleak picture of Dallas and its attractions, quoting a visitor to the city:

> Where do we go? What's to see? Yeah, I've seen Fair Park, and your pretty residential areas and White Rock Lake, and the tall buildings where you keep all your money. My wife loved Neiman-Marcus. But that seems to be it.[16]

Even so, Dallas regularly vied with Houston as having the most out-of-state visitors of any city in Texas in the 1960s and 1970s.[17] The biggest draw to Dallas remained the State Fair of Texas, regularly bringing in between two and three million visitors annually.[18] It competed with Six Flags Over Texas—developed by Dallasite Angus Wynne, the developer behind Wynnewood and Wynnewood Village—in nearby Arlington as one of the region's biggest tourist attractions after the amusement park opened in 1961. In the postwar period, Dallas emerged as one of the state's leading sports towns. In addition to the Red River Rivalry and the Cotton Bowl collegiate bowl game, the Cotton Bowl stadium welcomed visitors for professional football games. The Dallas Texans played at the stadium in 1952, and the Dallas Cowboys played there between 1960 and 1971 before relocating to Texas Stadium in Irving.[i] Fair Park and its museums, the city's shopping establishments, and the city's parks and lakes also remained sites of interest to tourists. Though, without any sort of promotion or advertising, they did not necessarily bring in out-of-towners, according to the city's Chamber of Commerce Convention Bureau:

> The problem is to let people across the nation know what Dallas has to offer. The Convention Bureau has a limited budget. The Texas Tourist Development agency helps some. But other major cities have full-fledged promotion programs.[19]

Dallas's trade shows and conventions contributed greatly to the number of visitors to the city. After its completion in 1957, the Dallas Memorial Auditorium (expanded and renamed the Dallas Convention Center in 1973, and again renamed the Kay Bailey Hutchinson Convention Center) in downtown served as an entertainment venue, a sports arena, and as one of the city's primary convention sites (fig. II-284). One year earlier, another convention facility had also opened downtown. Finished in 1956, the 18-story Statler Hilton had 1,001 guest rooms, a rooftop heliport, and the largest ballroom in the Southwest, in addition to conference rooms (fig. II-285). The opening of the two facilities helped make Dallas one of the country's most popular convention cities. Early in the 1950s, before either facility opened, conventions contributed around $20 million to the local economy; by 1966, they added more than $90 million, and by 1970 they added around $129 million.[20] The Dallas Chamber of Commerce's Convention Bureau helped promote the city to organizations and businesses. The city's Chamber of Commerce manager, Ray Bennison, said these facilities—along with the city's hotels, motels, and transportation network—all contributed to Dallas's success as a convention city. By 1970, Dallas was easily accessible to most Americans by both car and air, and Bennison anticipated the opening of Dallas-Fort Worth International Airport in 1973 would further welcome international travelers to the city.

[i] In 1972, the Texas Rangers became the first professional baseball team in Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex. They played in Arlington Stadium in neighboring Arlington. Their establishment in Arlington is consistent with the suburban movement of sports at the time. The construction of Reunion Arena (demolished in 2009) in downtown Dallas in 1980 brought sports downtown. Between 1980 and 2001, it was home to the NBA's Dallas Mavericks, and between 1993 and 2001, it was home to the NHL's Dallas Stars.



Figure II-284. Now sprawling over several city downtown blocks, the Kay Baily Hutchinson Convention Center originally consisted of only the Dallas Memorial Auditorium. Completed in 1957 and designed by architect George Dahl, the auditorium hosted conventions, sporting events, and some of the world's most popular musicians, including the Jackson 5, Elvis Presley, Led Zeppelin, Queen, and Prince. In 1973, the center was renamed the Dallas Convention Center and underwent the first of multiple expansions. Source: HHM, 2020.



Figure II-285. The Statler Hilton at 1914 Commerce Street in downtown in 1960. Opened in 1956, the hotel was designed by New York City architect William Tabler in the International style with Miesian influences. The Statler was the first major hotel built in Dallas in 30 years and upon its completion it and was the city's most modern. A convention host, the hotel's rooftop heliport enabled easy transport of guests to and from the city's airports. Source: Squire Haskins Photography, Inc. Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries. "Statler Hilton Hotel, Dallas, Texas, 1960." UTA Libraries Digital Gallery. 1960. Accessed October 5, 2021, https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/10008861.

Love Field and Braniff Airways

Before the opening of Dallas-Fort Worth International Airport, Dallas Love Field supported a booming post-World War II commercial and passenger airline industry. Opened in 1917 as an army airfield, Love Field evolved into the city's and north Central Texas's primary commercial airport after passenger service began in 1927. After serving as an army airfield during World War II, passenger service resumed at Love Field, and aviation deregulation led to the expansion of the state's aviation industry. By the 1960s, Love Field was the largest air terminal in the Southwest and employed over 13,000 people.[21] The airport was a major contributor to the city's tremendous growth in the 1960s and 1970s, bringing in new businesses, jobs, residents, and visitors. Contributing to new developments across the city, around Love Field new developments included hotels, motels, and restaurants. While facilitating increased development and traffic into the city, Love Field also played a significant role in the promotion of Dallas across the country and the world. Braniff Airways in particular played a large role in the city's promotion. The airline, which relocated its headquarters to Love Field in the 1930s, grew throughout the 1930s through 1950s, acquiring other airlines and

adding routes across the country and into Central and South America. In the late-1950s, the airline, the tenth-largest in the country, built a ten-story headquarters building (extant) in nearby Exchange Park and a new terminal at Love Field. Rebranded to take on a more stylish and modern aesthetic in the 1960s, Braniff opened a hostess college in Dallas to train flight attendants in safety protocols as well as personal appearance. Known for designer outfits, Braniff's flight attendants were an integral part of the airline's brand that "promised customers a travel experience as stimulating as the destination itself."[22] As the face of Love Field and the entry vehicle into Dallas for most air travelers, Braniff Airways helped promote Dallas as a stylish and flashy city to people around the world.

Learn more! *Braniff International Hostess College is listed in the National Register. Read more about the site in the nomination: https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/100006219/100006219.pdf.*

Throughout the 1970s, the City initiated more promotional efforts. In 1974, the Dallas Chamber of Commerce created its first tourism sector and hired a Director of Tourism after having "coat tailed onto state tourism promotion efforts in the past."[23] By the end of the decade, tourism was one of the city's most significant industries in terms of economic impact. Realizing the economic impact of the industry, the City continued its promotional efforts and created a new Visitors Department within the Chamber of Commerce, approving an increase in spending on advertising the city across the country.[24]

CONCLUSION

Dallas managed to become one of the state's leading destinations for visitors without focusing much attention on promoting it as such. Early on, most visitors came on business, a trend that continued throughout the historic period (1872 through 1972). Though Dallas boasted attractions like the zoo, museums, and its parks system, the city's main tourist attraction was, and continues to be, the annual State Fair held at Fair Park. The mix of business and leisure travelers contributed to the development of a variety of accommodations, ranging from luxurious hotels downtown to modest motor courts along highways. Though many of the resources associated with this theme are also associated with a number of other themes like industry, parks, retail, urban planning, and the arts, tourism has been an essential and interwoven part of the history of Dallas, helping shape its development since the city's early years.

NOTES

[1] Keith Elliott, "Tourism," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed October 1, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/tourism.

[2] Anonymous, "Texas Centennial," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed October 1, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/texas-centennial.

[3] Elliott, "Tourism," *Handbook of Texas Online*.

[4] Elliott, "Tourism," *Handbook of Texas Online.*

[5] "Texas Tourism Income Tops $1 Billion in 1969," *Dallas Morning News*, February 1, 1970, 10.

[6] "History," The State Fair of Texas website, accessed October 1, 2021, https://bigtex.com/about-us/history/.

[7] "History," The State Fair of Texas website.

[8] Lisa C. Maxwell, "Cotton Bowl," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed October 1, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/cotton-bowl.

[9] Frank Jackson, "Burnett Field," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed October 14, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/burnett-field.

[10] "Numerous Tourists Enjoy Facilities for Amusement Here," *Dallas Morning News*, July 21, 1924, 7.

[11] Stephen G. Snyder and James H. Charleton, "Texas Centennial Exposition Buildings," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1986, 430.

[12] Anonymous, "Texas Centennial."

[13] "History," The State Fair of Texas website.

[14] "Dal-Oak Park Will Be Opened Tuesday," *Dallas Morning News*, August 3, 1924, 1.

[15] Jennifer Anderson, "Dallas Green Book Listings," City of Dallas Office of Historic Preservation, January 22, 2019, https://cityofdallaspreservation.wordpress.com/2019/01/22/dallas-green-book-listings/.

[16] "Goals for Dallas," prepared for the City of Dallas, 1966, from the Dallas Public Library, 247-248.

[17] Larry Howell, "Dallas Leads in Tourism, But…" *Dallas Morning News*, December 9, 1966, 2.

[18] Howell, "Dallas Leads in Tourism, But…" *Dallas Morning News.*

[19] Mike Kingston "Dallas Has a Bright Future-If," *Dallas Morning News*, December 29, 1970, 2.

[20] Howell, "Dallas Leads in Tourism, But…" *Dallas Morning News*.; Kingston "Dallas Has a Bright Future-If," *Dallas Morning News*.

[21] "Love Field," Dallas Municipal Archives, accessed March 13, 2022, https://dallascityhall.com/government/citysecretary/archives/Pages/Archives_1991-099.aspx#:~:text=%E2%80%8BLove%20Field%20is%20owned,commercial%20business%20and%20barnstorming%20pilots.

[22] Cindy Hamilton and Nate Curwen, "Braniff International Hostess College," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 2020, 8-21.

[23] "Warner to Lead City's New Tourism Thrust," *Dallas Morning News*, May 25, 1974, 15.

[24] Tom Bayer, "Tourism in line for boost," *Dallas Morning News*, September 14, 1977, 8.

II-21| Retail (1842–1972)

INTRODUCTION

Although Dallas's remote location made early commerce difficult, the town's establishment as a permanent county seat in 1850 allowed somewhat of an early advantage. Dallas gained a real competitive advantage in 1872 when the first railroad came to town, and its subsequent advantage as a hub for sales stemmed from the intersection of two rail lines that passed through. The increased economic potential and population vastly expanded the retail possibilities in the city. Dallas stores grew to serve the local population as well as visitors who came to the city to find products they could not access in their hometowns. Innovators such as Neiman-Marcus played to the city's strengths by providing merchandise that could not be found elsewhere west of New York.

Retail establishments greatly shaped the built fabric of the city's commercial districts, beginning with the central business district and later moving to suburban areas such as shopping centers. The period of significance for Retail begins in 1842, as the sale of goods has been crucial to Dallas since its founding, and continues to 1972, as the city maintains a vibrant retail market to this day. Retail-related historic resources in Dallas may include freestanding stores, retail districts, and shopping centers. These resources may be eligible for the National Register under Criteria A or B under the Area of Significance of Commerce.

AMERICAN SHOPKEEPING

Early American merchants often sold supplies necessary for agriculture or were freestanding artisans. When money was not available, goods were sometimes bartered for in a more informal fashion. By the mid-nineteenth century, local dry goods stores began to open, creating a more formal economy for foodstuffs and other basics. Fresh food vendors also began to proliferate as urban areas grew, specializing in one item such as milk, meats, baked goods, fruits and vegetables, etc. Increased rail connectivity in the late nineteenth century led to the growth of mail-order buying, which made previously unavailable products accessible to even remote buyers via catalogs. As the US economy boomed in the first decades of the twentieth century, local dry goods stores such as Chicago's Marshall Field's began to gain size and scope, developing into retail giants. Chain stores such as Sears, Roebuck and Company, and F. W. Woolworth's proliferated in the 1920s, providing mass-produced items to rural and urban areas at low prices. At the same time, department stores boomed in major urban centers, appealing to middle and upper-middle-class customers with fanciful marketing techniques such as the annual Christmas Parade at Macy's in New York City, first held in 1924.[1] Chain and department stores were able to grow due to multiple factors such as increased population and purchasing power, multi-story building technology, improved rail and road networks, and the invention of elevators and air conditioning (among others).

Beginning in the early twentieth century but heightening in the postwar era, retail endeavors grew in suburban areas. As automobile use increased, these shopping locations provided easier parking access, as well as easy distribution of goods via trucking, which was often preferred due to the flexibility of routes when compared to rail distribution. Auto-related retail also flourished because of this new infrastructure. The postwar era saw a general increase in disposable income. Some contributing factors to this increased spending money include an expanding low-cost food supply based on nitrogen-based fertilizers and industrial agricultural machinery, as well as general economic prosperity in the US. Innovations in home appliances and electronics led to stores marketing these items specifically.

Commercially viable refrigerators also increased the success of supermarkets, which replaced previous dry goods and fresh food markets in one central location. Household appliances, as well as ready-made garments, decreased the amount of time women needed to work in the home, sometimes leading to female employment outside the home and even greater disposable incomes. The mid-twentieth century also saw criticism of the exclusivity and racial discrimination in the mainstream US retail economy during segregation, leading to lunch counter sit-ins at department stores nationwide. By this time, shopping malls were increasingly widespread, further centralizing suburban retail into a few auto-accessible and large-scale developments.[2]

DALLAS RETAIL

EMERGENCE OF RETAIL IN DALLAS

In Dallas's early days as a pioneer town, the difficulties posed by rudimentary transportation routes and lack of capital greatly inhibited the ability to sell supplies. Dallas fared better than some other Texas towns because by the mid-1840s, it had roads to Austin and along the Red River to Jefferson and Shreveport.[3] Yet, reliable access with heavily laden wagons was difficult. In the early days, Dallas founder John Neely Bryan's log home served as a place of business, selling frontier essentials such as gun powder and lead, tobacco, and whiskey.[4] When J. W. Smith and James M. Patterson decided to open a general store in 1846, it took them 40 days to make the 200-mile trip from Shreveport where they procured their merchandise. The trip included river crossings encumbered by swimming their oxen or floating their wagons on rafts.[5] In 1847, Smith & Patterson was the only store in town, and Dallas was nothing but a small village with homes connected by paths and no official roads.[6] In 1850, Dallas became the permanent county seat, and early businesses clustered around the courthouse square in order to benefit from this foot traffic. While by the late 1850s Dallas had grown into a productive agricultural area due to the rich Blackland soil surrounding the area, it was still a remote place. An author for the 1859 *Dallas Weekly Herald* commented on the lack of a local market in the area:

> While our granaries are teeming with the wealth of the finest soil in the Union, they remain land locked and their treasures literally rotting for the want of consumers, and the proper mode of transportation. Our farmers have… no means yet of carrying it to market, and [are] dependent almost solely upon the immigration that may or may not come, for the means of disposing of their surplus.[7]

While this passage specifically addresses agricultural surplus, the same circumstances applied to other markets, which had the potential to be productive but were hindered by a serious lack of transportation and a dearth of available buyers. Nonetheless, the agricultural activity in the area spurred some degree of commercial growth catering to agricultural trades, with 1850 and 1860 censuses listing blacksmiths, wagon makers, saddle makers, and carpenters. Saddle and carriage making grew to become early industrial-scale production and sales endeavors in 1860s and 1870s Dallas.[8] The arrival of the railroad in 1872 drastically expanded Dallas's potential for retail profitability. The new rail lines headed in all cardinal directions, providing access to supplies nationwide as well as connections to ports such as Galveston. This gave Dallas residents increased access to a variety of affordable mass-produced items. It also gave Dallas a competitive advantage over other nearby towns, making it a shopping destination for those living in surrounding areas. Recognizing this business opportunity, many existing and aspiring merchants flocked to the area to open up shop. An entire group of storekeepers and "pack-peddlers" followed the Houston and Texas Central (H&TC) rail line as track was laid, opening stores in their wake (fig. II-286). When they got news that the eventual junction of the H&TC and Texas and Pacific (T&P) lines would be in Dallas, the group of "terminal merchants" purchased 70 lots on Elm Street for retail

establishments.[9] Some of these merchants were German Jewish sellers who had business experience in New York and the East coast before coming to Texas.[10]

See Chapter 3. Railroads for more on the arrival of the railroad in Dallas.

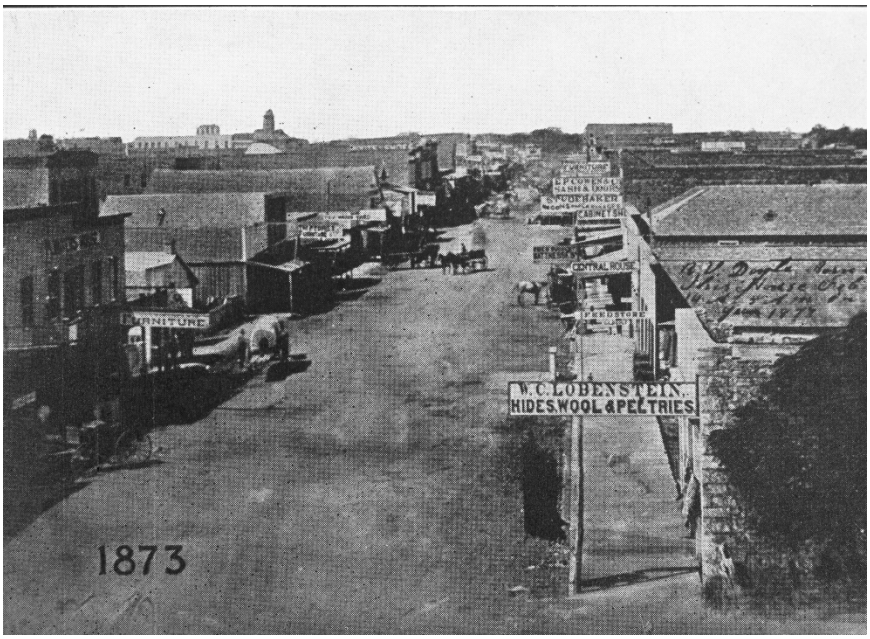


Figure II-286. Photograph of the downtown area from the 1870s, illustrating typical commercial buildings from the era. The photograph shows retail establishments related to the agricultural economy, such as feed, hides, and carriage stores, as well as businesses catering to the growing city, including furniture and building/carpentry shops. Source: Squire Haskins Photography, Inc. Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, "Downtown Dallas, Texas," 1873. Accessed May 7, 2021, https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/20007919.

Sanger Brothers: "Terminal Merchants" to Dallas Retail Giants

Two of these traveling merchants, Alexander and Philip Sanger, opened Sanger Brothers Store in Dallas in 1872, which would become a Dallas retail essential. Although the Dallas store was not the Sanger Brothers' first, it grew rapidly, and the brothers became staples in Dallas business and society. The original Sanger Brothers building was a two-story brick structure located on Main Street across from the courthouse (not extant, located in what is currently addressed as the 500 block of Main Street).[11] The courthouse was still the most highly trafficked area in town, despite developers' beginning attempts to drum up business further east. Sanger Brothers initially sold a wide variety of items, including plows, dress goods, hams, and groceries.[12] The store had a wide variety of products at cheaper prices as they had pioneered the practice of buying directly from New York (rather than via Galveston like other Texas merchants) as early as 1868. Sanger Brothers innovated in many areas, providing Dallas customers with a first-rate shopping experience. They were one of the earliest department stores in Dallas, a trend that would only gain in popularity throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[13] Shortly after opening in Dallas, Sanger Brothers expanded to a wholesale operation—a practice that influenced consumer trends regionally—hiring traveling salesman to bring product samples to retailers in surrounding areas.[14] The store began a signature practice of providing Dallas customers with free delivery to their homes beginning in 1879.[15]

By the late nineteenth century, Sanger Brothers had 1,000 employees and had grown sufficiently to build a new store in 1889 at the southeast corner of Elm and Austin Streets (building not extant, fig. II-287).[16] This building's design highlighted the entrepreneurs' goals of pushing the budding city into an American metropolis. Its use of a Richardsonian Romanesque style and steel framing linked Dallas to Chicago, another growing western rail-based city where such styles and practices were becoming popularized.[17] They also began publishing *Monthly Magazine*, an advertising tool for their business that also helped them understand consumer trends, and began selling through mail order. By the turn of the century, Sanger Brother's range of offerings and businesses, including real estate, had the potential to provide for most consumer needs.

Sanger Brothers continued to expand during the early twentieth century as the Dallas economy grew. Their department store building, designed by local prestigious architectural firm Lang and Witchell, opened in 1910 (building extant, fig. II-288). The building embraced an American commercial aesthetic, similar to that popularized by Chicago architect Louis Sullivan, furthering their connection to important US trends. Although Sanger Brothers suffered financial losses after the deaths of the founding brothers (the last of which passed away in 1925), by 1921, they owned almost an entire block in downtown Dallas, hosting their department store as well as warehouses.



Figure II-287. Photograph from around 1890 of the Sanger Brothers store built in 1889 at the southeast corner of Elm and Austin Streets. The popular architectural style and innovative construction technique show a desire to link the store, and Dallas, to larger national modern trends. Source: Joe R. Williams and Stephen Smith, "Sanger Brothers Complex," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, April 1, 1975, 20. From the Texas Historical Commission, https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/75001967/75001967.pdf.



Figure II-288. Photograph from 1913 showing the 1910 Sanger Brothers Building, located at North Lamar Street between Elm and Main Streets. Designed by locally prestigious firm Lang and Witchell, the building used architectural styles popular in Chicago, highlighting Sanger Brothers' success and desire to show their relevance in nationwide trends. Note the period marquee over the door. The building is now used by El Centro College. Source: Paula Bosse, "Dallas in 'The Western Architect,' 1914: Businesses," *Flashback: Dallas,* August 19, 2018. Accessed May 4, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2018/08/19/dallas-in-the-western-architect-1914-businesses/.

By the mid-1880s, Sanborn maps illustrate a flourishing retail district in the downtown area, forming a band running east-west between Pacific Avenue (the route of the T&P railroad tracks) and Commerce Street (fig. II-289a). This dense growth of businesses began at the western edge of downtown, near the courthouse and the Trinity River, and tapered off to the east near Sycamore Street. Stores picked up again near Preston Street, forming another node of retail activity in Deep Ellum near the intersection of the T&P and H&TC tracks, south of the original rail depot (fig. II-289b). Growth along these corridors was aided by streetcar lines running along Main and Commerce Streets.[18] Businesses of the era included jewelers, tobacconists, grocers, musical instrument vendors, and harness and saddleries.

Business owners continued to come to Dallas during this era, including Adolph Harris, a German immigrant with years of experience doing business in Texas. Harris arrived in Dallas in 1885, bringing his dry goods business with him. In 1891, his business began going by the name of A. Harris and Co., and

was located at 266-270 Elm Street, near the courthouse square (building not extant). According to city directories, the store had expanded to sell notions, cloaks, ladies' wear, and ready-made goods.

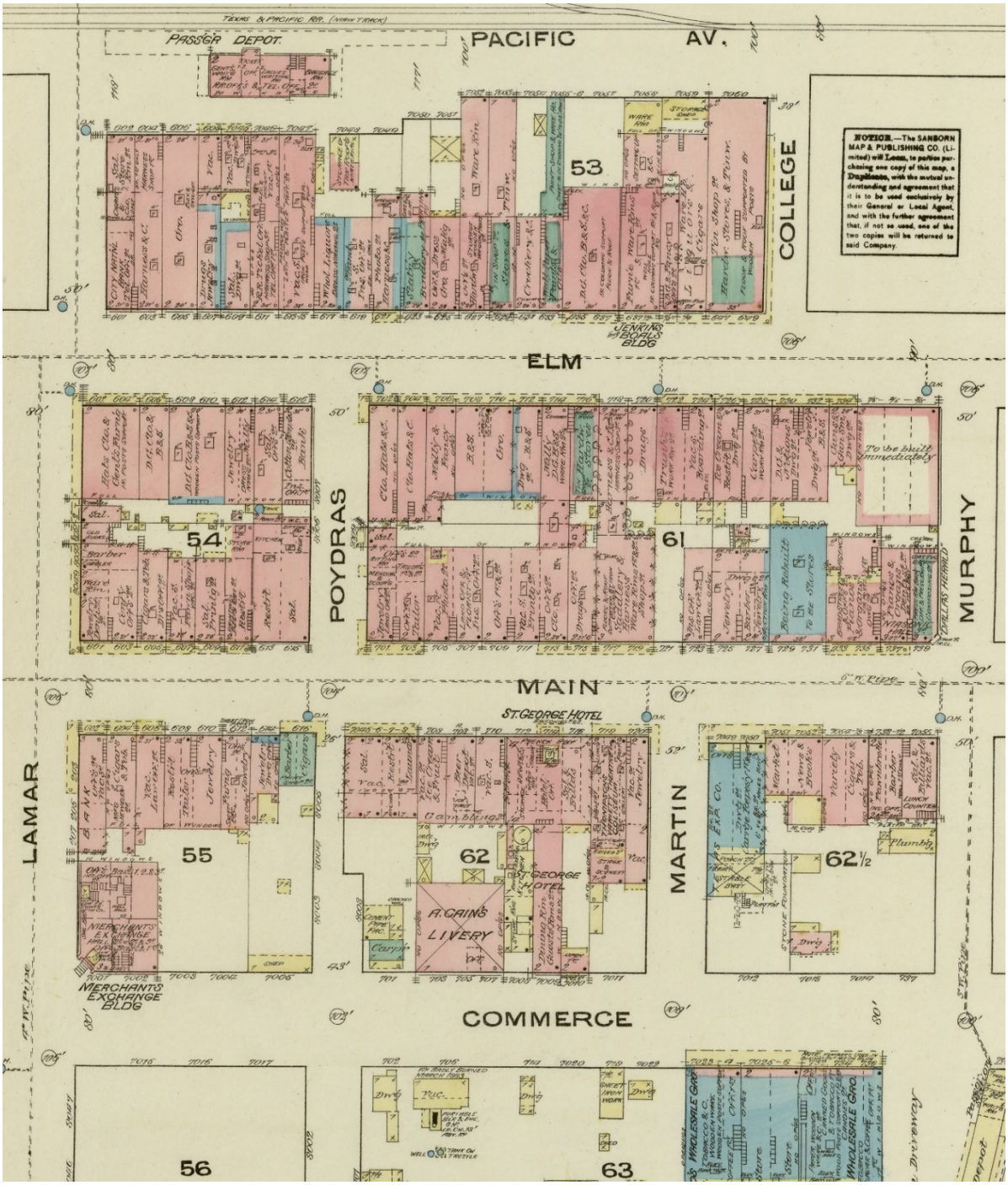


Figure II-289a. Detail of a Sanborn Fire Insurance map from 1885 showing the proliferation of commercial establishments along Pacific Avenue, Elm, Main, and Commerce Streets in the downtown area. The majority are one and two-story brick buildings. Businesses include groceries, pharmacies, tailors, clothing, restaurants, and saloons. Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Dallas, 1885, sheet 6, from the University of Texas Libraries, http://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/sanborn/d-f/txu-sanborn-dallas-1885-06.jpg.

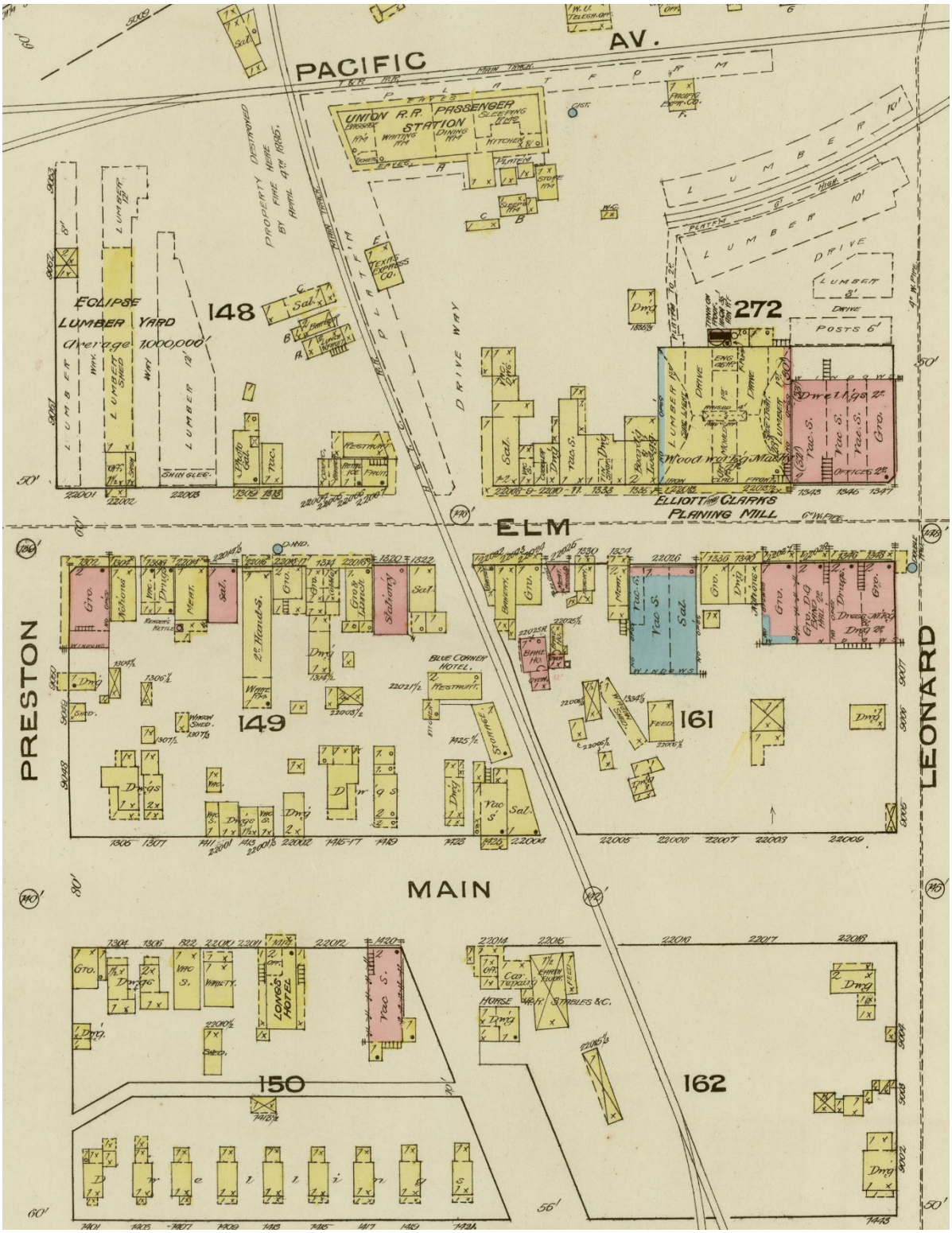


Figure II-289b. Detail of a Sanborn Fire Insurance map from 1885 showing a growing retail district in the Deep Ellum area, south of the railroad terminal, near the intersection of the T&P and H&TC railroad tracks. Although the business area is less dense than it was further west in the same era, and most of the structures are wood frame (rather than brick), the area was notably growing in this era. Businesses included groceries, bakeries, and saloons. Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Dallas, 1885, sheet 16, from the University of Texas Libraries, http://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/sanborn/d-f/txu-sanborn-dallas-1885-16.jpg.

DALLAS GROWS AS A SHOPPING CITY

Building Dallas Department Giants: 1895–1913

By the early twentieth century, the businesses that opened directly after the arrival of the railroad had solidified their reputation, and a new generation of Dallas-born retail enterprises began to open. Several of these establishments evolved into huge department stores, furthering downtown Dallas's status as a retail pioneer, shopping destination, and commercial hub. Many of these retail giants clustered in the dense downtown area along Elm Street and were surrounded by other commercial enterprises, mainly along Elm, Main, and Commerce Streets (which all hosted streetcar lines). Some business owners had experience working in other cities or in successful Dallas businesses such as Sanger Brothers or A. Harris and Co. These Dallas businesses continued to value connections with cosmopolitan markets such as New York and Europe, and they strove to make Dallas one of the most innovative and impressive places for shopping in the Southwest.

Two of these early twentieth-century businesses were Titche-Goettinger and Neiman-Marcus. Titche-Goettinger came out of a 1902 partnership between two Dallas business owners, Edward Titche and Max Goettinger. Titche had his own store in Dallas since 1894, and Goettinger came to Dallas with Adolph Harris in 1887 to help build the business that later became A. Harris and Co. The first Titche-Goettinger shop was located at the southwest corner of Elm and Murphy Streets (building not extant), and they moved shortly thereafter into the first floor of the 1903 Wilson Building, at Elm and Ervay Streets (extant, fig. II-290).[19] When A. Harris moved into the Wilson Building annex in 1911, another Dallas department store called H. L. Greens took over their ground-floor space in the 1903 building, making the Wilson building important in the legacy of Dallas department stores.[20]



Figure II-290. Historic photograph from 1908 showing the 1903 Wilson Building at 1621-1623 Main Street, designed by Forth Worth architects Sanguinet and Staats. The Neoclassical design with Chicago School influences, as well as the building's unprecedented height, made it a grand and novel structure for growing Dallas. These characteristics likely made it a valuable choice for a growing retail establishment such as Titche-Goettinger. Source: Paula Bosse, "The Wilson Building & Its Tenants – 1908/1909," *Flashback : Dallas,* July 7, 2015, accessed May 4, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2015/07/07/wilson-bldg-tenants-1908-1909/.

Neiman-Marcus: Creating a Market for High Fashion

Dallas-born department store Neiman-Marcus also had its beginnings in early established Dallas staples A. Harris and Co. and Sanger Brothers. Co-founder Carrie Neiman was a blouse buyer at A. Harris in the early 1900s, and her brother Herbert Marcus was a buyer for Sanger Brothers. Together with Carrie's husband Abraham Neiman, the trio founded Neiman Marcus in 1907.[21] Originally located at Elm and Murphy Streets, the store's Renaissance Revival design harkened to nineteenth-century France, evoking the refined and international reputation the store sought (fig. II-291). From its beginnings, the store prided itself on a reputation of high-quality and high-fashion women's ready-to-wear clothing, the likes of which had previously only been available by traveling to cities such as New York City or Paris.[22] After a fire destroyed the original building in 1913, Neiman-Marcus built a new headquarters on Main and Ervay Streets later the same year (building extant).[23] The building was just a block away from Titche-Goettinger and helped bolster a vibrant downtown retail district. Neiman-Marcus developed many sales strategies that gave them a competitive advantage in Texas and even further afield, including bridal and weekly fashion shows, which sparked interest in new fashions from abroad.[24] The company's focus on prestige and quality also greatly contributed to Dallas's growth as a hub for the fashion industry.

Neiman-Marcus grew in prestige and size in the 1920s, carrying out an extensive 1927 remodel and expansion. Architect George L. Dahl designed the project, which extended the store's footprint from Main Street to Commerce Street (fig. II-292). While the exterior largely continued the style of the 1913 building, the interiors began to form into a more open space. In contrast to older, more compartmentalized store layouts, this concept embraced new trends in retail and interior design (fig. II-293).[25]

Despite initial resistance to growth outside of their exclusive downtown location, Neiman-Marcus opened its second location in 1950 on Preston Road at the new "Varsity Village" shopping center in University Park.[26] The new location was immediately

successful and altered the original business model by marketing some mid-priced lines that were not available at the downtown location.[27]

In 1957 they introduced the "Fall Fortnight," a showcase of the merchandise and culture of a foreign country or theme. Fortnight buyers scoured nations for merchandise that was rare and unique to a given region, which helped Neiman Marcus bring back the sense of exclusivity that had originally given them their competitive edge. Fortnights were an exorbitant expense for the store (fig. II-294), though ultimately well worth it, providing a huge boon to sales and fanfare.[28]

In 1969, California-based Broadway-Hale Stores bought Neiman-Marcus, although the Marcus family continued to be heavily involved as the store grew on a national scale in the 1970s and beyond.



Figure II-291. Historic photograph of the original 1907 Neiman-Marcus store located at Elm and Murphy Streets. The building's downtown location and European-inspired design helped build the Neiman-Marcus reputation as a competitive and exclusive addition to the Dallas retail market. Source: William Frank Rogers (1878-1961), [Neiman-Marcus Store, Elm and Murphy, 1913], photograph, 1913, from the DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University. Accessed May 4, 2021, https://digitalcollections.smu.edu/digital/collection/smp/id/131.



Figure II-292. Postcard from the 1930s showing the Neiman-Marcus store at the corner of Main and Ervay Streets. The original 1913 building occupied a lot at the corner of Main and Ervay Streets, and renovations in 1927 increased the footprint from Main Street all the way to Commerce Street. Architect George Dahl designed the 1927 renovation as part of the architectural firm Herbert M. Greene. Source: [Neiman-Marcus Building], photograph, 193x~, from the DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University. Accessed May 4, 2021, https://digitalcollections.smu.edu/digital/collection/tex/id/1853/.



Figure II-293. Photograph from around 1935, showing an interior space in the Neiman-Marcus store at South Ervay Street between Main and Commerce Streets, designed by architect George L. Dahl. The photo shows a fashion show taking place in a relatively open space with high ceilings, reflecting new trends in retail and interior design which favored wide open spaces. Source: Charles C. McNally, [Neiman Marcus Downtown Dallas Store Fashion Show], photograph, ca. 1935, from the DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University. Accessed May 5, 2021, https://digitalcollections.smu.edu/digital/collection/smp/id/71/rec/3.



Figure II-294. Photograph from the 1964 Danish Fortnight, showing the purse and accessories area on the main floor, decorated after Tivoli Gardens in Copenhagen. Esteemed costume and set designer Alvin Colt was responsible for much of the aesthetic success of Fortnight events, working with Neiman-Marcus beginning in 1962. For more photographs of historic Fortnight events, see the *Alvin Colt Design Drawings, Photographs, and Other Materials for Neiman Marcus Fortnights* collection from Southern Methodist University Libraries, https://www.smu.edu/libraries/digitalcollections/alv. Source: Rhoton Gilbert (1902-1990), [Danish Fortnight, 1964. Main Floor, Tivoli Gardens, Copenhagen], photograph, 1964, from the DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, accessed May 5, 2021, https://digitalcollections.smu.edu/digital/collection/alv/id/77.

The "Big Four" Flourish

Sanger Brothers, Titche-Goettinger, A. Harris and Co., and Neiman-Marcus all experienced considerable success into the mid-twentieth century as department stores boomed both locally and nationwide. Titche-Goettinger, having grown sufficiently by 1929, built one of the largest department stores in the Southwest at 1901 Main Street (building extant, fig. II-295). George L. Dahl—who had recently designed Neiman-Marcus's 1927 store—designed the new Titche-Goettinger location, making him a popular department store designer in this era. The store's design employed a Renaissance Revival style to impart a sense of grandeur, while new technologies such as neon signs and pneumatic delivery tubes made the building cutting-edge.[29] The lot and building construction were incredibly expensive, but the site was valuable because it allowed the department store access to foot, streetcar, and automobile traffic from multiple locations. Also in 1929, Titche and Goettinger became part of the trend toward chain stores when they sold their business to Hahn Department Stores, integrating the store into a national network of retailers.[30] Throughout the 1930s, the number of Texas retail stores increased by 35.7 percent, and the number of retail employees increased by 13.9 percent.[31]



Figure II-295 Historic postcard showing the 1929 Titche-Goettinger Department Store, located at 1900 Elm Street and designed by George L. Dahl of architectural firm Greene, LaRoche and Dahl. At the time of its construction, the building was one of the largest department stores in the Southwest. Source: "Titche-Goettinger Building," Dallas Public Library, Texas/Dallas History, accessed May 4, 2021, https://dallaslibrary2.org/dallashistory/photogallery/downtownliving/titches.htm.

Deep Ellum

By the 1930s, the dense downtown shopping district had expanded to form a continuous band from the courthouse east to Deep Ellum between Pacific and Commerce Streets, with some retail and industrial uses mixed south of Commerce as well. By this period, Deep Ellum had grown into a vibrant retail district. Just as the upscale shopping district downtown attracted visitors from all over, Deep Ellum attracted farmers, ranchers, and others from smaller surrounding communities who came to buy more affordable wares on Saturdays.[32] With the onset of the Great Depression, many customers were interested in pawning their possessions, and the concentration of pawnshops and second-hand stores grew along Elm Street. Many were owned by Jewish immigrants from Europe, such as the Klar and Winterman Pawn Shop, which had been open since the 1920s at 2310 Elm Street (not extant, fig. II-296), or Rubin "Honest Joe" Goldstein's pawn shop at 2526 Elm Street, which opened around 1936 (building extant, fig. II-297).[33] Other 1930s Deep Ellum businesses included a harness company, a gun and lock shop, produce markets, tool and hardware shops, and a fish market.[34] Deep Ellum shops filled a void in retail options for Black shoppers, who Jewish shopkeepers typically allowed in their stores during times of segregation, and poor White shoppers who needed access to more affordable goods.[35]



Figure II-296. Photograph from around the 1920s showing the Klar and Winterman Pawn Shop at 2310 Elm Street. A City Directory from 1931 touts their size and stock: "Largest and most reliable pawnbrokers in the entire Southwest, jewelers, watchmakers, men's furnishings, leather goods, etc.". Source: Alan B. Govenar and Jay F. Brakefield, *Deep Ellum: The Other Side of Dallas*, College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2013, 71, crediting the Jewish Community Center.



Figure II-297. Photograph from around the 1950s showing "Honest Joe's" Pawn Shop and Tool Shop at 2526 Elm Street. Rubin "Honest Joe" Goldstein owned the store, and many members of Goldstein's family also owned businesses in the vicinity. Source: Alan B. Govenar and Jay F. Brakefield, *Deep Ellum: The Other Side of Dallas*, College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2013, 76, crediting the Texas/Dallas History and Archives Division, Dallas Public Library.

Retail and the Jewish Community

At the turn of the twentieth century, Dallas Jews were concentrated in the retail business, owning 10 groceries, 14 dry goods stores, 25 clothing stores, 8 saloons, 6 tobacco businesses, and 9 tailor shops.[36] Jewish merchants also dominated the city's growing department store realm, with Adolph Harris, the Sanger brothers, Edward Tiche, Max Goettinger, and Stanley Marcus all members of the city's Jewish community. Not only did these retail giants greatly impact and contribute to Dallas's retail, commercial, and economic growth in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, their business successes helped fund the growth and infrastructure of the Jewish community in Dallas, including Temple Emanu-El in the Cedars.

Learn more! *For more on the Jewish merchant community in Deep Ellum, see "Chapter 5, Jewish Pawnbrokers and Merchants of Deep Ellum," in Deep Ellum: The Other Side of Dallas, by Alan B. Govenar and Jay F. Brakefield, (Texas A&M University Press, 2013).*

RETAIL GOES TO THE SUBURBS

While downtown retail was coming into its own during the first three decades of the twentieth century, Dallas also saw the beginnings of retail suburbanization. These commercial areas first developed along streetcar lines and later along automobile routes. Smaller businesses adjacent to streetcar lines proffered groceries and household items in suburban areas. These businesses allowed residents to pick up items on their way home from work and provided convenient shopping for housewives. As commercial buildings came to these suburban areas, they would often spur further commercial development as homeowners relocated to more exclusively residential areas, turning over their properties to commercial development. The arrival of the streetcar on Seventh Street in Oak Cliff in 1904 spurred the development of a retail corridor six blocks in length in the area now called the Bishop Arts District.[37] Similarly, Peak Avenue in East Dallas, originally a residential streetcar corridor, transformed by the 1920s into a commercial, institutional, and multi-family area.[38] These suburban retail buildings often combined retail space on the first floor with offices or residences on the second floor, such as the 1928 Bishop Arts Building at 408 West Eighth Street (building extant, fig. II-298).



Figure II-298. Contemporary photograph of the Bishop Arts Building, built in 1928 by contractor E. B. Burll. The building combined retail space on the first floor with one-bedroom apartments on the second. Buildings such as these grew along streetcar lines in nodes of retail activity. Source: Rachel Stone, "Seven historic landmarks in Oak Cliff," *Advocate Oak Cliff,* January 21, 2015. Accessed May 5, 2021, https://oakcliff.advocatemag.com/2015/01/seven-historic-landmarks-oak-cliff/.

The postwar period ushered in a new era of suburban retail growth in the automobile suburbs that were growing around the periphery of the city. Early shopping centers such as Highland Park Village in Highland Park (1931), and the beginnings of what would become the Preston Center in University Park (1930s), showed the promise of retail opportunities outside of downtown. Highland Park Village, a

National Historic Landmark, was particularly significant as its intended niche in upscale retail and design and layout marked a departure from older designs and served as a prototype for shopping centers across the country. New models of suburban development began to include shopping centers as part of their master plan. One such retail hub, Wynnewood Village Shopping Center, opened in Oak Cliff in 1949 as part of the brand-new Wynnewood neighborhood (some of the original buildings are extant, fig. II-299).[39] Although retail giants such as Neiman-Marcus initially resisted suburbanization, the success of these early shopping centers made it clear that expansion from downtown was inevitable.[40] Suburban supermarkets also began to replace smaller grocery stores and specialty food shops, centralizing shoppers' needs in one auto-friendly location.

> ***Learn more!*** *Read more about the design and history of Highland Park Village: https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/97001393/97001393.pdf.*



Figure II-299. Historic photograph showing the 1949 Wynnewood Village Shopping Center in Oak Cliff, part of the Wynnewood Village residential development. The shopping center and residential area were meant to be a self-contained community, making shopping and living easy for Dallas residents. The original 1949 shopping center was a strip with 17 stores, designed by Dallas architects DeWitt and Swank, and it grew to hold a movie theater, restaurants, a hotel, and offices. Source: David Preziosi, "Lost + Found: Wynnewood Village – From a Strip to a Center," *AIA Springboard,* crediting Squire Haskins Photography Collection, The University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, accessed May 10, 2021, https://www.aiadallas.org/v/columns-detail/Lost-Found-Wynnewood-Village-From-a-Strip-to-a-Center/sr/.

Titche-Goettinger attempted to remain downtown, building a 1955 addition which included three restaurants and a 1,600-seat auditorium (building extant, fig. II-300).[41] The addition, designed by Dallas architects Thomas, Jameson and Merrill, mimicked the fenestration rhythm of the original 1929 building while using a completely novel Modernist style.[42] In 1961, Titche's (as it became known in the 1960s) opened three suburban stores, and by 1969 they had five in the Dallas area (fig. II-301). Titche's became known as Joske's in 1978, and the downtown location eventually closed in 1987 after Arkansas-based

Dillard's bought it.[43] Dallas staples A. Harris and Sanger Brothers also expanded downtown before committing to the suburban leap. In 1961, Sanger Brothers merged with Federated Department stores A. Harris and Co. under parent company Federated Department Stores, forming Sanger-Harris.[44] Architect Thomas Stanley designed the Sanger-Harris store built at 1401 Pacific Avenue in 1965 (extant, fig. II-302). With its sleek, New Formalist design and exaggerated arched porticoes, the store attempted to draw customers into the downtown area one last time. Sanger-Harris ultimately sold the location within three years of its opening, pursuing expansion as a suburban shopping mall anchor into the 1970s, where the famed arches and mosaic tilework were incorporated into the design at various suburban malls, including Valley View Center Mall (demolished in 2017).[45]



Figure II-300. Historic photograph from around 1955 showing the original 1929 Titche-Goettinger building on the left and the 1955 Modern expansion to the right. Designed by Dallas architects Thomas, Jameson and Merrill, the building was proudly one of the largest stores in Dallas at the time, despite currents that were pulling retail away from the downtown area. Source: Paula Bosse, "The Expanded 'Texas Size' Titche's Building: Twelve Glamorous Acres of Department Store – 1965," *Flashback: Dallas,* November 15, 2016, accessed May 5, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2016/11/15/the-expanded-texas-size-titches-building-1955/.

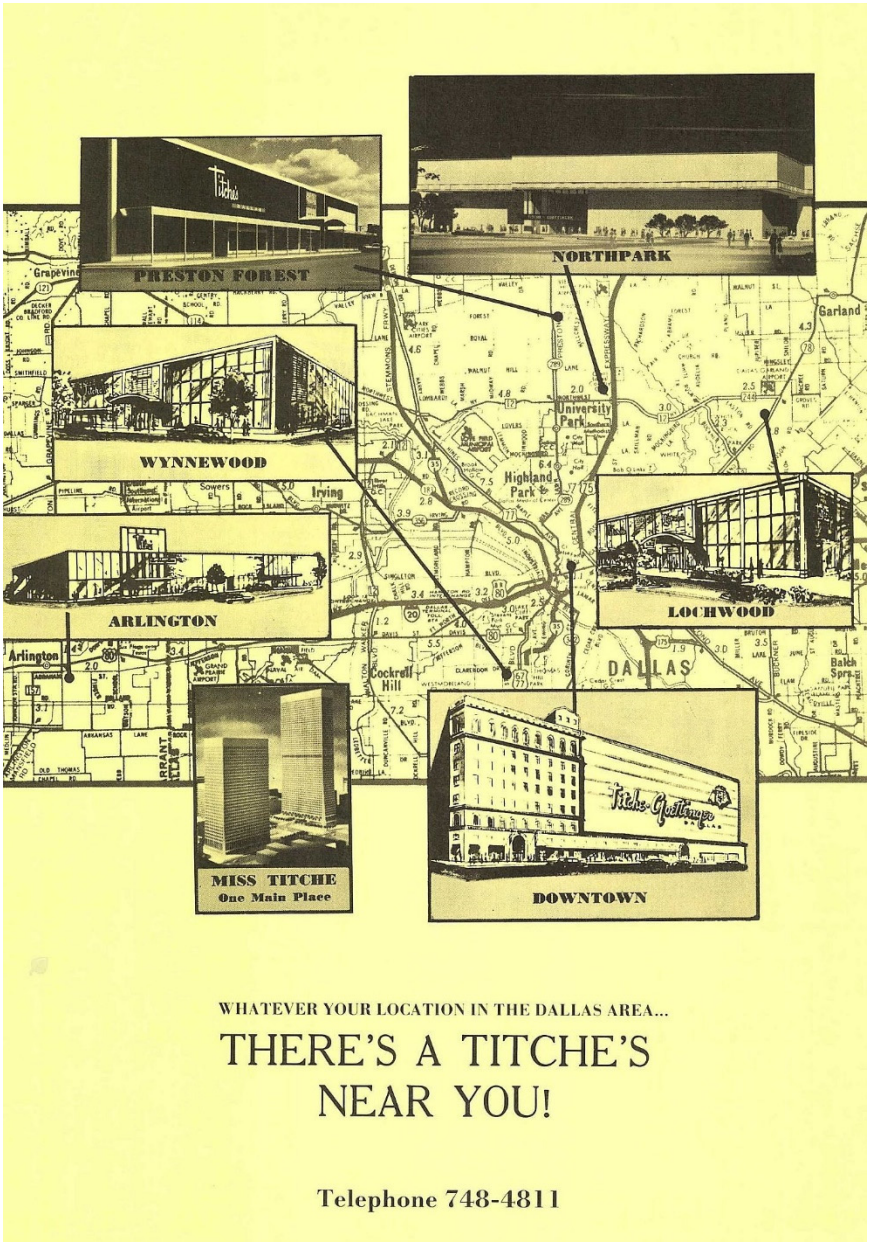


Figure II-301. An advertisement for Titche's from a 1969 City Directory showing the store's seven locations, five of which were in suburban areas. The advertisement boasts the convenient location of these stores, which would have been easily accessible via car from suburban neighborhoods. Source: Paula Bosse, "Titche's Discovers the Suburbs – 1961-1968," *Flashback: Dallas,* October 5, 2017, accessed May 5, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2017/10/05/titches-discovers-the-suburbs-1961-1968/.



Figure II-302. Historic photograph of the 1965 Sanger-Harris building, located at 1401 Pacific Avenue and designed by architect Thomas Stanley. Although the Sanger-Harris downtown location was not successful due to rapid suburbanization of retail traffic, the architectural motif of exaggerated columns became a trademark of later suburban Sanger-Harris stores. Source: The Department Store Museum, accessed May 5, 2021, http://www.thedepartmentstoremuseum.org/2010/05/sanger-harris-dallas-texas.html.

In 1965, NorthPark Center, a massive upscale suburban shopping center, opened on a 96-acre lot (a former cotton field) at the northern edge of town (today addressed as 8687 North Central Expressway). Designed by architectural firm Omniplan and developed by Dallas real-estate and art collecting magnate Raymond Nasher, the shopping center featured a sleek, Modern aesthetic. Pleasing open interior spaces with elements such as water features, natural light, and sculptural works reflected the beginnings of an American design current that favored mega-sized interior spaces meant to provide a variety of services and amenities in one place (fig. II-303).[46] Neiman-Marcus opened a location at the NorthPark Center upon its opening, serving as one of four anchors along with Titche-Goettinger, Woolworths, and J.C. Penney.[47]



Figure II-303. Image of NorthPark Center developed by Raymond Nasher. Source: NorthPark Center website (northparkcenter.com) via "NorthPark – 1965," *Flashback: Dallas*, blog, accessed April 18, 2022, https://flashbackdallas.com/2016/03/10/northpark-1965/.

> *See Chapter 9. Suburbanization for more on the impacts of suburban growth in Dallas, and Chapter 10. Industry for more on changes to the fashion industry in the 1960s and 1970s.*

CONCLUSION

After a slow start, Dallas retail took off as one of the city's most coveted industries after the arrival of the railroad in 1872. The confluence of available wealth from agricultural, petroleum, and industrial enterprises in the area throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries created a high demand for products ranging from basic foodstuffs to high-fashion womenswear. Dallas retailers were some of the first in their region to practice new and successful marketing strategies and business models that put the city at the forefront of Southwestern sales. As staples in the local economy, Dallas businesses used fashionable architectural styles as advertisements for their stores, and they contributed greatly to the number and quality of buildings throughout the city. Dallas stores adapted fruitfully to the suburban era, innovating new ways of marketing goods in the postwar era and beyond, setting precedents for auto-based retail centers. The period of significance for Retail begins with the founding of Dallas as a European American settlement in 1842 and continues to 1972 as retail plays a large role in the Dallas economy to this day.

NOTES

[1] Library of Congress, "Guide to People, Organizations, and Topics in *Prosperity and Thrift,"* Accessed May 5, 2021, https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/coolhtml/coolencf.html. Note that the Christmas Day Parade evolved into the Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade.

[2] For more on the development of retail commerce in the US, see Smithsonian, "American Enterprise, Exhibition," National Museum of American History, accessed May 10, 2021, https://americanhistory.si.edu/american-enterprise-exhibition.

[3] Maxine Holmes and Gerald Saxon [Works Progress Administration], eds., *WPA Dallas Guide and History*, Denton: University of North Texas Press, 1992, 135.

[4] Holmes and Saxon, *WPA Dallas Guide and History*, 44.

[5] Michael Hazel, *Dallas: A History of Big "D,"* Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1997, 16. From the University of Texas Libraries, https://search.lib.utexas.edu/permalink/01UTAU_INST/apl7st/cdi_proquest_ebookcentral_EBC1605669.

[6] Holmes and Saxon, *WPA Dallas Guide*, 46.

[7] "The Southern Pacific Railroad," *Dallas Weekly Herald,* September 21, 1859, 1.

[8] Holmes and Saxon, *WPA Dallas Guide*, 130.

[9] Holmes and Saxon, *WPA Dallas Guide*, 125.

[10] Hazel, *Dallas: A History of Big "D,"* 35.

[11] Holmes and Saxon, *WPA Dallas Guide,* 125.

[12] Holmes and Saxon, *WPA Dallas Guide,* 125.

[13] Lila Knight and Marcel Quimby, "Dallas Downtown Historic District" [1888-1958], National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 2006, 8-27. From the Texas Historical Commission, https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/04000894/04000894.pdf.

[14] Holmes and Saxon, *WPA Dallas Guide,* 128.

[15] Diana J. Kleiner, "Sanger Brothers," *Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed May 3, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/sanger-brothers.

[16] Holmes and Saxon, *WPA Dallas Guide,* 125. This number of employees may include personnel at other locations such as Waco and Fort Worth.

[17] Joe R. Williams and Stephen Smith, "Sanger Brothers Complex," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, April 1, 1975, 8-1. From the Texas Historical Commission, https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/75001967/75001967.pdf.

[18] Knight and Quimby, "Dallas Downtown Historic District," 8-28.

[19] Natalie Ornish, "Titche, Edward," *Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed May 4, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/titche-edward; Kate Singleton, "Titche-Goettinger Department Store/ Joske's Department Store," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, April 22, 1996, 8-13. From the Texas Historical Commission, https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/96000586/96000586.pdf; Carol Roark, "Wilson Building," National Register of Historic Places Inventory/Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, May 1, 1979. From the Texas Historical Commission, https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/79002931/79002931.pdf.

[20] "Wilson Building," Dallas Public Library Texas/Dallas History, accessed May 5, 2021, https://dallaslibrary2.org/dallashistory/photogallery/downtownliving/wilson.htm.

[21] Dorothy D. DeMoss, "Neiman, Carrie Marcus," *Handbook of Texas Online,* accessed April 30, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/neiman-carrie-marcus.

[22] Stanley Marcus Papers, SMU DeGolyer Library, https://www.smu.edu/libraries/digitalcollections/smp.

[23] Texas Historical Commission, "Original Site of Neiman-Marcus," Marker No. 6798. Official Texas Historical Marker, 1982. From the Texas Historical Sites Atlas, https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Details/5113006798.

[24] Stanley Marcus Papers.

[25] James Adams, "A Curiosity in Architecture: The Legacy of Stanley Marcus," *AIA Dallas Springboard,* accessed May 4, 2021, https://www.aiadallas.org/v/columns-detail/A-Curiosity-in-Architecture-The-Legacy-of-Stanley-Marcus/s4/.

[26] Paula Bosse, "Neiman's First Suburban Store: Preston Road – 1951-1965," *Flashback : Dallas,* August 2, 2020, accessed May 5, 2021, https://flashbackdallas.com/2020/08/02/neimans-first-suburban-store-preston-road-1951-1965/.

[27] Marian Ann J. Montgomery, "Retailing in Dallas in the 1960s: Neiman Marcus and Its Competitors," Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas vol. 10 no. 2 (Fall 1998), 43-44. From the Portal to Texas History, crediting the Dallas Historical Society, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth35105/m1/3/?q=cotton%20exchange.

[28] Si Dunn, "Fabulous Fortnight '84," D Magazine, October 1984, https://www.dmagazine.com/publications/d-magazine/1984/october/fabulous-fortnight-84/.

[29] Noah Jeppson, "Titche-Goettinger Building," *Unvisited Dallas,* January 26, 2012, accessed May 5, 2021, http://www.unvisiteddallas.com/archives/857.

[30] Singleton, "Titche-Goettinger," 8-14.

[31] Singleton, "Titche-Goettinger," 8-11.

[32] Holmes and Saxon, *WPA Dallas Guide,* 125.

[33] Alan B. Govenar and Jay F. Brakefield, *Deep Ellum: The Other Side of Dallas*, College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2013, 70-71.

[34] Govenar and Brakefield, *Deep Ellum*, 70.

[35] Govenar and Brakefield, *Deep Ellum*, 72-73.

[36] "Encyclopedia of Southern Jewish Communities – Dallas, Texas," Goldring/Woldenberg Institute of Southern Jewish Life, accessed March 15, 2022, https://www.isjl.org/texas-dallas-encyclopedia.html.

[37] David W Spence, "Bishop Arts Building," Dallas Landmark Commission Nomination Form, City of Dallas, 1990, 4. From the City of Dallas, https://dallascityhall.com/departments/sustainabledevelopment/historicpreservation/HP%20Documents/Landmark%20Structures/Bishop%20Arts%20Bldg%20LMC%20Nomination.pdf.

[38] Daniel Hardy and Terri Myers, "Historic and Architectural Resources of East and South Dallas, Dallas County, Texas," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, Texas Historical Commission, Austin, 1995, E-49. From the Texas Historical Commission, https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/95000334/95000334.pdf.

[39] Evelyn Barker, "Wynne, Angus Gilchrist, Jr.," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed August 28, 2020, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/wynne-angus-gilchrist-jr.

[40] Montgomery, "Retailing in Dallas," 43.

[41] Singleton, "Titche-Goettinger," 8-15.

[42] Singleton, "Titche-Goettinger," 8-18.

[43] Singleton, "Titche-Goettinger," 8-15.

[44] Montgomery, "Retailing in Dallas," 42; Jennifer Anderson, "Sanger Brothers in Dallas," *City of Dallas Office of Historic Preservation,* November 8, 2018, accessed April 29, 2021, https://cityofdallaspreservation.wordpress.com/2018/11/08/sanger-brothers-in-dallas/#:~:text=Sanger%20Brothers%20opened%20their%20first,Weatherford%2C%20Corsicana%2C%20and%20Sherman.

[45] Montgomery, "Retailing in Dallas," 44; Anderson, "Sanger Brothers in Dallas."

[46] "History," *Northpark,* accessed May 5, 2021, http://www.northparkcenter.com/pages/northpark-history.

[47] Montgomery, "Retailing in Dallas," 43-44; "History," *Northpark.*

II-22| Women's History and the Feminist Movement (1845–1972)

INTRODUCTION

Dallas women were instrumental in forming a civic infrastructure that addressed cultural and social voids in the growing city. From the town's beginnings, Dallas pioneer women were crucial to stabilizing the nascent economy and society. The somewhat egalitarian relationships in frontier settlements provided a degree of liberty to women. Although this freedom was quickly lost, it established a pattern of women gaining some degree of equality due to necessity and using these temporary gains to leverage more permanent change. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, Dallas women organized to form clubs around topics important to them, such as fine arts, shared ethnicity, or public beautification. As Dallas grew, many of these organizations evolved to address the conditions of a newly industrialized city, including lack of adequate education, shelter, or healthcare. These clubs created a social network and infrastructure that could be easily deployed to work for political aims, including women's suffrage and temperance.

The period of significance for this theme begins in 1845 because women's history has been an important aspect of Dallas's development from its beginnings as a European frontier town, and it extends to 1972. Resources such as clinics, settlement houses, parks, schools, museums, offices, and houses are directly relevant to this theme. Women's History and the Feminist Movement are significant under National Register Criteria A and B, with Areas of Significance of Social History- Women's History, Education, Healthcare/Medicine, Politics/Government, and Recreation.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

Movements for women's equality and suffrage in the US began in the nineteenth century and gradually gathered momentum into the twentieth century up until the present day. Women's cultural organizations such as literary groups in the US dated as far back as 1800 and blossomed throughout the century. These organizations, while not directly linked to women's rights, provided an early birthing ground for women's organizing efforts. Many abolitionist women in Eastern cities began to apply their ideologies about racial equality to their own subordinate status as women. These women eventually hosted the 1848 Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, a seminal event. Some of these women's demands were reforms in marriage and divorce laws, social and legal reform for unmarried women, and an end to corsets and restrictive Victorian-era clothing. Many of them saw patriarchal religious conventions and domestic politics as the source of their subordinate status. Although the Civil War slowed women's organizing, they formed the Woman's Loyal League for emancipation, partially due to their exclusion from male-dominated abolitionist events. By 1869, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony founded the National Woman's Suffrage Association, which became the National American Woman's Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1890. NAWSA honed its political aims by specifically fighting for suffrage and some radical gender-based reforms. Their tactics included appointing vice presidents from each state who organized local groups. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), an organization that would play a role in the movement for suffrage, was also formed in 1874.

Despite this rapid expansion, the movement dissipated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries due to various factors, including a more conservative, anti-radical political climate and the

death of Susan B. Anthony. However, by the 1910s, the movement was taking off once more, partly due to women's organizing for other issues such as temperance and the World War I war effort. Women's involvement on the home front during World War I was varied. Some contributions were financial, including fundraising for wounded soldiers and organizing sales of liberty bonds, Red Cross stamps, and thrift stamps. Women also played an important role in promoting conservation and rationing efforts, especially related to food consumption, a crucial measure given the country's slowed agricultural production and ability to import food items.[1] In part due to women's involvement in the war effort, as well as their tireless organizing, the US House of Representatives passed a constitutional amendment granting women primary suffrage in 1918, but suffrage did not become a reality until the US Senate passed the amendment in 1919 and states ratified the amendment between 1919 and 1920.[2]

> ***Learn more!*** *Find a timeline of the suffrage movement from the Library of Congress at https://www.loc.gov/collections/women-of-protest/articles-and-essays/historial-timeline-of-the-national-womans-party/.*

World War II saw great shifts in women's participation in the labor force and military due to available labor shortages. These women, portrayed by the icon of "Rosie the Riveter," made great contributions to wartime production, this temporary equality partially responsible for another wave of women's organizing for further rights. One result of this activism was increased political action aimed at an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which would grant equal rights to all US citizens, regardless of gender. Activism for an ERA picked up in the Civil Rights era, culminating in approval from the US Senate in 1972. Although it was not ratified by enough states to become adopted, organizing for an ERA, along with broader feminist movements of the Civil Rights era, vastly changed the dialogue about women's equality to this day.

WOMEN'S ACTIVISM IN TEXAS

Concerted, large-scale activism for women's rights in Texas began in the 1890s, borne out of organizations such as the WCTU, which had formed in Texas in 1882. Activism in Texas took place later than in some Eastern areas partly due to its association with the abolitionist movement in an era when the South was still recovering from the effects of the Civil War. Many women saw prohibition as a powerful tool for protecting women's rights and safety against male drunkenness, and their involvement in that movement spurred further political participation. The Texas chapter of the WCTU endorsed female suffrage in 1887.[3] Although Texas women's clubs were less political than their Eastern counterparts, they did establish an organized network of women. After a flurry of activism, a Texas NAWSA affiliate formed in 1893, growing rapidly throughout the next several years. During this era, women's suffrage was just as much a state issue as a national issue, with different states allowing women the right to vote in lieu of a federal amendment. Although an 1895 women's suffrage amendment was not successful in the Texas House, this early movement sparked conversations about the established institutions such as the church, marriage, and education, and their effects on the status of women. Women's clubs also proliferated in Texas, arguing for educational opportunities and against the domestic status quo. In the early twentieth century, these women organizers had many victories, including the establishment of the Girl's Industrial College (later Texas Woman's University), which opened in 1903. After a brief pause, the suffrage movement in Texas returned in the 1910s as a more organized and politically astute group that eventually gained the right to vote in Texas primaries in 1918.

As in the rest of the nation, Texan women played a role in World War II efforts, training as pilots for the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP) in Sweetwater, Texas, and participating in the labor force at defense-related industrial plants. In the postwar era, many Texan women moved to new suburban areas, where their isolation has sometimes been credited with an increase in politicization and

organization among neighbors. The mid-twentieth century saw the organization of the Texas Federation of Republican Women in 1955 and the beginnings of a movement for equal rights in Texas. Because women in Texas still did not have the right to manage and own property independently of their husbands, the Texas Federation of Business and Professional Women began a 15-year campaign culminating in the passage of the Texas Equal Rights Amendment in 1971.

WOMEN'S HISTORY IN DALLAS

FRONTIER WOMEN

During the period of early pioneer settlement, Dallas women were a crucial part of the nuclear family structure that allowed families to survive on the frontier. In some ways, the harsh conditions and isolation of the pioneer life supplied some degree of gender equality. Women were responsible for refining raw materials to make essentials such as preserved food, clothing, and lights. With the individual home as the nucleus of frontier production, a family's survival and prosperity were often dependent on women's labor.[4] As early White pioneers gained stability in the mid-nineteenth century, those who could afford the help of enslaved labor might have purchased a female domestic servant.[5] Some have argued that the importance of women's labor and the temporary isolation of the frontier family as a unit led to an increase in power on the woman's part. However, as pioneer cities such as Dallas slowly grew, women were expected to return to their "normal" status in the domestic realm.[6]

Sarah Cockrell: Early Dallas's Female Business Leader

Sarah and Alexander Cockrell, one of the earliest pioneer families in Dallas, grew to become influential entrepreneurs in the early town. In 1845, they settled in the Mountain Creek area (west of the Trinity River), and by 1853 they had relocated to Dallas. Shortly thereafter, they established the Todd Mill, one of the first manufacturing enterprises in the area, and Alexander Cockrell purchased ferry rights to cross the Trinity River, which proved to be a wise investment. The Cockrells established a ferry and, later, a toll bridge to cross the river, providing an essential means of reliable connection across the river. When Alexander Cockrell lost his life to a gunman over a dispute of a contested debt in 1858, Sarah Cockrell (fig. II-304) took control of the family's business ventures and ran them successfully until her own death in 1892.[7]

Cockrell, conscious of societal expectations regarding a woman's place in the home, re-arranged her husband's business portfolio in order to suit her needs as a nineteenth-century woman. Because her husband had been illiterate, she had helped him prepare documents, read, and write, and therefore already had a great involvement in business operations.[8]

She also astutely chose male relatives and other male business partners to fill the public-facing roles in her endeavors so as to maintain a more traditionally feminine role outwardly. Cockrell chose to close her husband's construction company and sawmill because they would have obligated her to travel extensively, taking her away from her family affairs. In 1859, the Saint Nicholas (later the Dallas Hotel), a project her husband began, opened near the intersection of Commerce and South Jefferson Streets and became a mainstay of the downtown area (original building not extant, fig. II-305).[9] Cockrell appointed Texas politician Nicholas H. Darnell to manage the hotel, preferring not to take such a position herself.[10]

Also in 1859, Cockrell applied for a charter from the Texas Legislature to build a more permanent bridge, as her husband's earlier bridge had collapsed in 1858. Despite the clear advantage to Dallas such a dependable route across the river would provide, her proposal was met with local pushback, likely because of her gender. Although Dallas residents petitioned against the bridge, family lore indicates that Cockrell traveled to Austin to advocate for the bridge, and the charter passed successfully in 1860. In doing so, Cockrell was one of the first, maybe the first, woman to advocate in front of the state legislature. By 1870 Dallas had grown substantially, and Cockrell spearheaded the Dallas Wire and Suspension Bridge Company. Cockrell worked within and pushed the boundaries society placed upon businesswomen. Although she held the majority of shares, she was unable to serve on the board of directors, leaving her son-in-law to represent her interests.[11] Similarly, though she owned much of the interests for Todd Mill, management fell to male family members. Cockrell's business ventures continued throughout her lifetime, including the Sarah Cockrell Addition, an upscale residential subdivision, and the construction of a downtown office building.[12] Her accomplishments made Cockrell one of the city's earliest, if not the first, millionaires, male or female.

Cockrell's investments and endeavors were crucial to the early Dallas economy, and her management style indicated the importance of maintaining propriety and a limited public presence as a female business leader.



Figure II-304. An 1885 photograph of Sarah Cockrell, pioneer Dallas resident and influential entrepreneur. Cockrell's endeavors were varied and crucial to the burgeoning Dallas economy. Source: Elizabeth York Enstam, *Women and the Creation of Urban Life, Dallas, Texas, 1843-1920,* College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998, 71.



Figure II-305. The 1858 Saint Nicholas Hotel, located near the intersection of Commerce and South Jefferson Streets. Source: Elizabeth York Enstam, "The Forgotten Frontier: Dallas Women and Social Caring, 1895-1920," *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* 1 no. 1 (Spring 1989), 23. From the Portal to Texas History, crediting the Dallas Historical Society, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth35122/m1/25/. Crediting the Texas/Dallas History and Archives Division, Dallas Public Library.

"CLUBWOMEN" AND THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

Once Dallas established itself as an economically viable and increasingly urban area, women often shifted their creative and productive efforts to "voluntary associations" or clubs. These experiences gave women a venue to create positive changes on issues they felt passionate about and to establish a social and cultural network that linked them. The largest types of associations in Dallas were related to aiding women or industrial employees or were benevolent or missionary societies tied to churches or synagogues. Between 1880 and 1890, these societies multiplied and gained membership rapidly.[13] Clubs were often divided along racial and class lines. Missionary and ladies' aid societies largely had membership of middle and lower-middle-class women. In contrast, the wealthiest women were often members of literary and music groups, which eventually became focused on improving living conditions in Dallas.[14] Much like clubwomen of other US Progressive-era cities, these clubwomen tackled gaps in existing urban infrastructure. They attempted to ameliorate the new urban conditions brought on by increased industrialization, such as widespread poverty, lack of healthcare and education, and issues of public health and safety. These upper and upper-middle-class women, eventually dubbed "clubwomen," had the leisure time to dedicate themselves to activities outside the home, and participation in such clubs became somewhat of a social obligation. Some clubs formed along ethnic or racial allegiances. The German Ladies' Aid Society, for instance, was formed in 1886 to care for their community's elderly.[15] Due to their exclusion from White clubs, Black middle-class women formed many of their own societies,

such as The Grand Order, Court of Calanthe, and chapters of the Women's Christian Temperance Union.[16]

Some of the earliest endeavors of these women's clubs were aimed at helping working women, who were often employed in labor related to domestic skills and struggled to make ends meet with their limited wages.[17] In 1887, the Dallas Woman's Art Exchange (organized under a charter of the Public Library), opened the Exchange for Women's Work (typically referred to as the "Women's Exchange"). The Exchange had 150 members and met twice a month at a temporary Public Library building at 808 Main Street (not extant). The aim of the Woman's Exchange was to provide a locale where

> …worthy women, skilled in handiwork and cooking, may place articles on sale to the public, the exchange retaining a small commission to pay expenses of showing goods and making bargains.[18]

Similarly, by 1891, another group of Dallas women decided to open the Girls Co-Operative Home and Training School, located at 223 Ross Avenue (not extant). The Girls Co-Operative Home provided meals, vocational training to help women qualify for higher-paying jobs, and low-cost lodging for employed women. Baker Brothers architects designed a remodel of an existing frame house, providing their services as a donation to the home.[19] City directories from 1891 indicate that the women residing in the home had professions such as dressmaker, laundress, and medical student. The Girls' Co-Operative home eventually became the Dallas chapter of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) in 1908.[20]

These early clubs provided a social network that ultimately allowed them to mobilize effectively in support of political aims important to them, such as temperance and women's suffrage. The first Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) chapter in Dallas was formed in 1884. Meetings took place at various locations, including a space at 1009 Elm Street.[21] Membership grew steadily despite a dip in the 1890s. Early WCTU chapters mirrored those of other women's clubs. Additionally, they applied political pressures at the municipal level for police matrons and backed the Dallas Woman's Forum's efforts for a city ordinance to regulate food and drugs and a state law regulating child labor.[22] Dallas also hosted some of the most important meetings in the early suffrage movement because the Texas Woman's Congress convened at the State Fair grounds during the annual fair, leveraging the fact that women were traveling to the city during a period when travel was difficult. The first statewide meeting of the National Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) met in 1893 in Dallas, where attendees established the Texas Equal Right Association.[23] The state organizer for NAWSA, Sarah L. Trumbull, was a Dallas resident who traveled throughout Texas to organize local NAWSA affiliates.[24] From 1894–1895, during the height of the first wave of suffrage organizing in Texas, up to 300 women convened in Dallas at Texas Equal Rights Association meetings at Fair Park. Although the organization ceased to function after 1896, it laid the early groundwork in the struggle for enfranchisement.[25]

Although the movement for suffrage lost momentum in the late 1890s, over the next decades, Dallas women devoted their efforts to improving resources for women and children, as well as many other civic endeavors. They continued to fight for City ordinances and regulations for public safety, such as a City water filtration plant and the eventual passage of a 1907 pure food and drug ordinance.[26] Early childhood development was a growing concern in the late nineteenth century, and clubs often focused on lack of prenatal and infant healthcare, milk and nourishment of babies and children, or kindergartens and early education. By 1898, members of several Dallas clubs banded together to form the Dallas Federation of Women's Clubs (DFWC), organized primarily by May Dickson Exall and Isadore Minor Callaway (also known by her pen name of Pauline Periwinkle). The DFWC largely consisted of elite, influential women who spearheaded many projects to improve municipal services and public health for

women and children. One of their first endeavors was the creation of a dedicated public library building, which successfully led to the creation of the 1901 Carnegie Library (not extant, see fig. II-68 in Chapter 4. Municipal and City Governments). Callaway, employed by the *Dallas Morning News,* advocated for women's rights and used her position to voice her opinions publicly.[27]

During Callaway's presidency of the DFWC, she fought to open a children's play park in Dallas, which eventually opened as the Trinity Play Park in 1909 at Corinth and Cockrell Streets (park not extant, fig II-308).[28] A 1923 Park and Playground System Annual Report vouches for the 1909 park's success and also outlines the sometimes paternalistic vision of Progressive-era "improvements:" "[the park] proved popular from the start, and has been a real service in reducing crime and improving the moral condition of its neighborhood."[29] Trinity Park provided an important physical space for further infant and child social services that came to be located there. The first such service was a milk station for young mothers in 1913. Organized by the Dallas Infants' Welfare and Milk Association, the cotton mill owner J. T. Howard provided the initial milk station for his employees.[30] The milk endeavor eventually evolved into a medical clinic for children, infants, and mothers, located at the park.[31] Like many of these Progressive-era social services, these programs were largely meant for children of European descent, and Black mothers were reluctantly accepted only through the back door.[32] In 1915, a "Field House" came to Trinity Park, housing showers, play rooms, reading rooms, an auditorium, and free picture shows (building not extant). Rooms and housing for Dallas Free Kindergarten and Day Nursery were also housed in the park (fig. II-306).[33]

> *For further reading, consider* Women and the Creation of Urban Life, Dallas, Texas, 1843-1920 *by Elizabeth York Enstam (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998), and* Pauline Periwinkle and Progressive Reform in Dallas*, by Jacquelyn Masur McElhaney (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2015).*

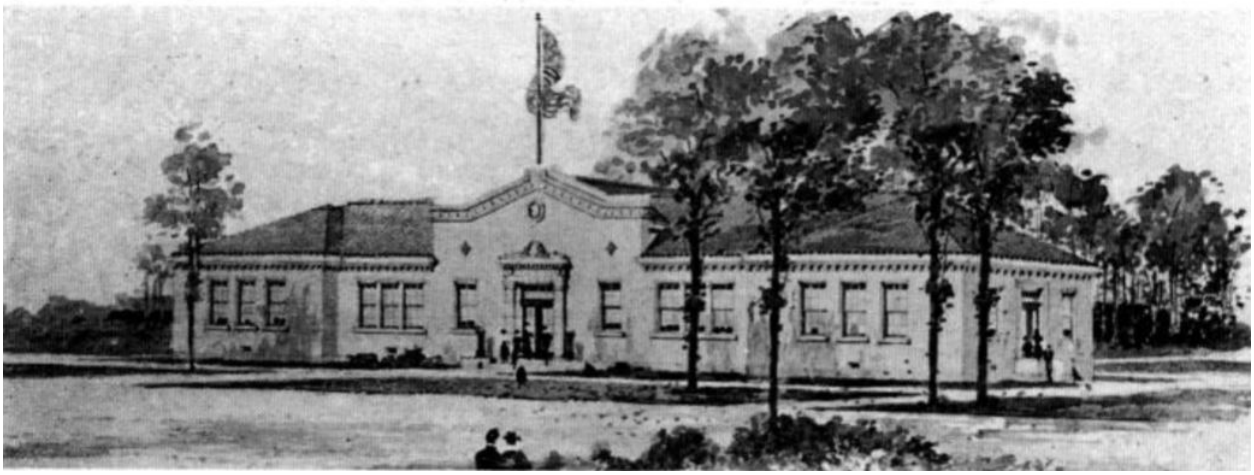


Figure II-306. The Trinity Field House opened in the Trinity Play Park in 1915. The building housed many recreational opportunities for children. Source: Park Board of the City of Dallas, *Park and Playground System, Dallas, Texas, 1921-1923* [Annual Report], Dallas Texas: 1923, 16. From the Portal to Texas History crediting Dallas Municipal Archives, accessed March 23, 2021, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth129156/.

WORLD WAR I, WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, AND PROHIBITION: 1913–1918

The Second Wave of Suffrage Organizing

Beginning in the early 1910s, Dallas women reassumed the effort of political organizing towards the aim of women's suffrage. Their efforts were more organized and well-received, as a previous generation of

women organizers had paved the way through public outreach, newspaper columns, and hard work towards important public improvements. Many women who joined the suffrage movement were either the children of the first generation of suffragists or had been involved in the earlier movement, although the majority were young women. They typically had ties to earlier groups like the WCTU, the Dallas Housewives League, and other Dallas clubs. Like earlier women activists, they also typically came from upper or middle-class families.

The Dallas Equal Suffrage Association (DESA) was one of the primary organizations working towards the goal of suffrage. After the organization's formation in 1913, almost 150 members joined within six weeks, indicating the amount of interest for the struggle. Similar to the suffrage gatherings of the 1890s, DESA held events at the State Fair, hosting a booth in 1913 and sponsoring an "Equal Suffrage Day" with speeches by prominent suffragists in order to gain members and recognition (fig. II-307).[34] By 1915 City Directory listings indicate that DESA had a regular meeting place at 1004 ½ Commerce Street (not extant).[i] The passage of time (and these women's privilege) allowed this generation of suffragists to be more confident and explicit in their political goals.[35] All the while, though, they carefully couched their goals in symbolism related to motherhood, children, and the domestic sphere.[36]

Women's political participation also grew on other topics, such as temperance. By 1913, the Dallas WCTU had three chapters and a growing membership, indicating political participation by Dallas women involved in various groups.[37] As other clubs had taken on much of the socially philanthropic endeavors that the WCTU once supported, the group narrowed in, lobbying for constitutional prohibition and taking political measures in local elections. However, the WCTU did continue to argue for women's suffrage, among other social and municipal reforms, if less than before.[38] The WCTU joined with other organizations, such as the Texas Anti-Saloon League (headquartered in Dallas) and the Dallas Pastors' Association, to fight for temperance both locally and nationally. By 1916, Congress initiated the process for a federal amendment, and by 1917 Dallas County voters opted for a dry county via a local option election.[39]



Figure II-307. Image from 1918, depicting female officers of the Dallas Equal Suffrage League (DESA). Beginning in 1913, DESA was an integral organization in the fight for women's rights in Dallas. Source: Wikipedia, accessed March 30, 2021, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dallas_Equal_Suffrage_Association#/media/File:Officers_of_the_Dallas_Equal_Suffrage_League_were_first_to_enroll_for_the_Primaries_(1918).png.

[i] 1004 ½ Commerce Street may have been a community space adjacent to 1004 Commerce (a commercial building), as it was also listed as the address for the Municipal Band.

Women in the War Effort

With the approach of World War I, these same women's organizations devoted their skills to crucial activities for the war effort. Because of their other efforts, these groups were already incredibly well-organized and in frequent communication, making them an asset for war efforts due to their rapid mobilization. During World War I, Dallas women fundraised for aid for frontline soldiers and participated in the same activities as other women nationwide to promote conservation and support the effort. They also campaigned for War Gardens for food production and supported classes at the YWCA aimed at entering women into the workforce.[40] Women also provided aid to the Red Cross, which was the center of much Dallas volunteer work. The Red Cross offered training for basic nursing and sewing, likely at a location listed as the "American Red Cross Women's Work Department" in the 1918 City Directory, located at 1517 ½ Jackson Street. The Red Cross also provided assistance to families with absent family members in the service and social work training through the Civilian Relief and Home Service Department, located at number 508 in the Scollard Building (at Main Street and Scollard Court or Exchange Place, not extant).[41]

One of the proudest accomplishments of these clubwomen's war efforts was the opening of the Recreational Canteen of the City Federation of Women's Clubs, initially located at 1713 ½ Commerce Street (not extant).[42] World War I canteens provided refreshments and entertainment for soldiers, typically those en route between various military installations. There were many military personnel in the Dallas area at the time, including visiting soldiers from Forth Worth and Waco, as well as those training at Camp John Dick (in Fair Park), Love Field, and an aviation repair depot.[43] Dallas businessmen saw a canteen as a public relations opportunity for Dallas and agreed to support such an effort if Dallas women agreed to carry it out.[44] The canteen opened in 1918 to much local fanfare and pride, providing refreshments and snacks, stationery for letter writing, and musical entertainment, sometimes in the form of orchestra performances.[45] Different Dallas clubs took turns staffing the canteen every night of the week. A newspaper writer praised the canteen's downtown location because it was easy for both the soldiers and the women running it to access.[46] A bus soon began running between Love Field (then a training base for the Army Air Service) and the canteen, providing easy access to pilots in training.[47] Due to an influx of soldiers stationed at Camp John Dick (at Fair Park), the canteen came under the auspices of the Dallas War Camp Community Service a few months after it opened, becoming part of "Camp Khaki," a much larger facility with bowling alleys, dormitories, and a reading room, located at 507-9 South Harwood Street (not extant, site of Masonic Temple building).[48]

Victory in Suffrage

By 1918, women were finally able to gain suffrage in the state of Texas, granting women political enfranchisement for the first time. Women's work on the war effort has often been cited as a contributing factor to this political victory. DESA had been hard at work for six years advocating for their cause and participating in public events, winning over many women as well as men for their cause. As a state referendum for suffrage approached in 1918, State legislator Barry Miller provided Dallas women with an opportunity. Miller promised them that he would vote for women's suffrage if 5,000 women from his district signed a petition. Dallas women far surpassed this goal. Mrs. Nonie B. Mahoney, vice president of the Equal Suffrage Association, expressed her gratitude as well as her reluctance to participate in any more challenges:

> The suffragists of Texas welcome the support of Mr. Miller. The suffragists accepted Barry Miller's challenge and have shown what they are capable of doing, but they refuse to accept any more such challenges to unproductive labor. They can not spare any more time from their war work.[49]

The massive registration of Texas women in anticipation of the 1918 elections was credited for the victory of political candidates such as Governor William P. Hobby and Annie P. Blanton, who had broad support from women. Texas women in favor of the temperance movement also had victories at the same time, with the 1918 Texas ratification of the 18th amendment and the 1919 passage of a state prohibition amendment. These two political victories were deeply linked, as temperance had been an important issue in the women's movement. However, the fight was not completely over, as Texas women still fought for a referendum adopting women's suffrage to the Texas constitution and in the national struggle for federal suffrage, which was eventually granted in 1920 when three-fourths of US states ratified the federal amendment.[50]

Black and Latino women were largely excluded from the White suffrage movement and still had much work to be done as the nineteenth amendment did little to alter their status. Black women were still hindered by poll taxes, literacy tests, and "white primaries," which restricted Democratic party (the primary Texas party) voting to White people.[51] Because organizations such as the League of Women Voters of Texas (the new name for the Texas Equal Suffrage Association) excluded and oftentimes discriminated against non-White members, people of color in Dallas had to form their own organizations for enfranchisement.[52]

WOMEN IN WORLD WAR II

During World War II, women once again became necessary to the war effort, and the roles women in Dallas played indicated the advances women had made towards equality. Women proved that they were capable of doing jobs typically reserved for men, such as manufacturing aircraft and flying as pilots for the Air Force. Once again, necessity allowed women to show their skills in arenas typically reserved for men. Federal agencies began to hire women in the 1930s as the labor pool dwindled, and the government urged women to work and asked the private sector to hire them.

As the Dallas area was becoming a major producer of aircraft during World War II, this sector was a huge employer of both men and women in the manufacturing industry. During the war, Dallas and Fort Worth companies employed around 70,000 men and women who built 50,000 aircraft.[53] Before and during the war, the federal government spurred the growth of US aircraft production in partnership with private industries. Plancor no. 25, built in 1940-41, was one such aircraft plant located in Dallas in partnership with North American. North American began hiring women in 1941, and by 1942 women made up roughly 30 percent of their total workforce. Around 60 percent of these women were from the Dallas area and had never worked in the industrial workforce previously, many of whom had been housewives. Most did not desire to work permanently in the field, but wished to help the war effort and supplement their family income.[54] When Vought took over Plancor no. 25 in 1948, opportunities for female employment diminished, indicating the often short-lived advancements in women's equality.[55] However, these women proved that they were capable of industrial production, continuing to challenge conceptions of women's abilities in the workplace.

Women Air Force Service Pilots and Love Field

When World War II began, most male pilots who had been ferrying aircraft for the Army were re-assigned to combat training. This left a void in pilots available to move aircraft from factories to training bases or embarkation points for shipment abroad. The Air Force began training women pilots to fill this role. When Love Field became a hub for ferrying flights during World War II, it also became a base and training point for these female pilots (fig. II-308). These women, called Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASPS), were already experienced pilots, but they were called in to serve as civilians rather than members of the Army Air Force. Veteran pilot Nancy Love designed the program and oversaw a squadron of pilots, which grew over the course of the war. By the end of World War II, 303 women officially flew for the Ferrying Division, 128 of whom were stationed at Love Field at some point. In total, 1,102 women flew for the Army Air Forces in some capacity during the war.[56] Although these women did not receive the same benefits as Air Force pilots, and Black and Latina women were excluded from the program, their temporary inclusion in a position typically reserved for men granted them some degree of equality.[57]



Figure II-308. Historic photograph of Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASPs) from the Fifth Ferrying Group at Love Field. Source: Sarah Byrn Rickman, "WASP Pilots and 'the 5th,;" *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* 20, no. 1 (Spring 2008), 55. From the Portal to Texas History, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth46805/m1/50/.

POSTWAR ADVANCES FOR WOMEN

Building off labor equality advances during the war, women further expanded their influence in a variety of arenas in the postwar era. Economically, more women entered the workforce, and companies founded and run by women also grew more common after the passage of equal rights legislation such as the Texas Equal Rights Amendment. In Dallas, in addition to the number of women who entered the workforce, several entrepreneurs also founded successful million-dollar companies, including Bette Nesmith Graham (Liquid Paper in 1956), Mary Crowley (Home Interiors and Gifts, a direct sales home furnishing company in 1957), and Mary Kay Ash (Mary Kay Cosmetics in 1963). Graham, who invented Liquid Paper in her kitchen in 1957, operated her business out of several buildings in Dallas, including a plant at 9130 Markville Drive in Hallmark Industrial Park in 1969 (the United States Post Office now occupies the site).[58] With earnings from her business, Graham helped establish several charitable foundations, including the Gihon Foundation, aimed to support women artists, and the Bette Clair McMurry Foundation to support women in need.[59] Mary Kay Cosmetics, founded in 1963, also occupied several buildings in Dallas, including the building at 8900 Carpenter Freeway (designed by architect Frank L. Meier) and the company's former eight-story corporate headquarters, designed by Meier and architect Dales Y. Foster in 1977, at 8777 North Stemmons Freeway.[60]

Women also made gains in fields historically dominated by men. Between 1956 and 1984, journalist Vivian Castleberry worked for the *Dallas Times Herald,* becoming one of the nation's and the newspaper's first female editorial board member. As editor of the "women's pages," assigned with writing about food and fashion, Castleberry focused instead on women's rights, breast cancer, child abuse, and other topics considered taboo at the time, including depression and domestic violence. Castleberry also fought for more coverage of the city's Black citizens and successfully printed the first Black bridal announcements in the paper.[61] In addition to advocating for and advancing women's rights through her writing and work at the *Times Herald*, Castleberry also helped establish the Dallas Rape Crisis Center and Recovery Inc. as ways to support victims of abuse.

In the realm of law and politics, women also made advances. Among them include lawyer Sarah T. Hughes, whose work in the 1930s and 1940s helped women, including herself, break barriers in the postwar. A women's rights activist, Hughes practiced law in Dallas before entering politics, serving in the Texas House for three terms in the 1930s. In 1935, she was the first woman appointed to the 14th District Court in Dallas, where she was the first female state district judge. In this role, Hughes was instrumental in passing the constitutional amendment allowing women to serve on juries in Texas. After suffering a loss for a seat on the Texas Supreme Court in 1958, Hughes was appointed by President Kennedy to the U. S. District Court of the Northern District of Texas, making her the first female federal judge in Texas.[62] In this role, Hughes administered the oath of office to Lyndon Johnson following President Kennedy's death in Dallas in 1963. Hughes also heard *Roe v. Wade* as a federal judge, ruling in favor of Roe (see sidebar for more information on *Roe v. Wade*).

Louise Raggio was another Dallas lawyer who used her position as an assistant district attorney and the first female prosecutor in Dallas County to fight for women's rights and to overturn the discriminatory Texas legal doctrine and tradition allowing husbands to absorb the legal identity of their wives. This doctrine severely limited the control women had over their own lives, including their finances. As chairperson of the Family Law Section of the State Bar, Raggio created the Marital Property Act of 1967, equalizing spousal rights and paving the way for other states across the country to adopt similar legislation.[63] In addition to her activism, Raggio also founded one of the country's top family law firms, Raggio and Raggio, with her husband Grier Raggio in 1956. By the 1960s, the law firm had offices downtown at 1025 Elm Street.

Linda Coffee and *Roe v. Wade*



Figure II-309. Linda Coffee as a high school student at Woodrow Wilson High School. Born in Houston, Coffee and her family moved to Dallas when she was child. The family lived on Anita Street in East Dallas and were active members of the Southern Baptist Church on Gaston Avenue. Coffee graduated from Rice University and the University of Texas Law School. Prior to taking on Roe v. Wade, Coffee worked for Dallas District Judge Sarah T. Hughes.

Roe v. Wade, the landmark 1973 Supreme Court abortion case, has its roots in Dallas. The case stemmed from a challenge to a Texas statute banning all abortions except when deemed necessary to save the woman's life. Seeking to challenge the statue, Norma McCorvey, known by the pseudonym "Jane Roe," enlisted attorneys Sarah Weddington, based in Austin, and Linda Coffee, a Dallas-based lawyer (fig. II-309). The attorneys filed a lawsuit challenging the statute at the Dallas Federal District Courthouse, naming Henry Wade, the Dallas County District Attorney, as the defendant in 1970.

Despite the District Court's ruling in favor of Roe, making the anti-abortion law unconstitutional, the court granted no injunction against enforcing the law. As a result, the attorneys, both in their 20s, appealed directly to the Supreme Court to hear the case. In 1973 the Supreme Court rendered the historic ruling in favor of Roe. After the case, Weddington entered into politics and activism, while Coffee, who disliked the public stage, continued working at the Dallas law firm Palmer and Palmer, focusing on bankruptcy cases. Coffee, who grew up in Dallas and graduated from Woodrow Wilson High School in 1961, would become a partner at the firm before retiring in the early 2000s

CONCLUSION

Dallas women deeply shaped the infrastructure, environment, and social and political atmosphere of Dallas, beginning when the town was a pioneer settlement and extending into the present day. Sometimes these women acted on an individual basis, and, beginning in the late nineteenth century, they often acted as members of social, political, and cultural clubs. Women's endeavors often sought to fill gaps in existing social services and infrastructure, especially in the Progressive era when citizens of US cities were responding to issues of poverty, inadequate healthcare, and lack of education. These clubs provided a social network that eventually allowed Dallas women to organize quickly and efficiently on issues that were important to their movement, such as temperance and women's suffrage. Dallas women gained more equality throughout the twentieth century, serving important roles in World War II and eventually securing increased equality after the Texas Equal Rights Amendment in 1971. The period of significance for this theme begins in 1845 because women's history has been an important aspect of Dallas's development from its beginnings as a European frontier town, and it extends to 1972. Resources such as clinics, settlement houses, parks, schools, and museums are directly relevant to this theme. Women's History and the Feminist Movement are significant under National Register Criteria A and B, with Areas of Significance being Social History- Women's History, Education, Healthcare/Medicine, Politics/Government, and Recreation.

with Areas of Significance being Social History- Women's History, Education, Healthcare/Medicine, Politics/Government, and Recreation.

NOTES

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[4] Elizabeth York Enstam, *Women and the Creation of Urban Life, Dallas, Texas, 1843-1920,* College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998, 6-8.

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[10] "Early Dallas Hotel Facts," *Dallas Gateway,* accessed March 30, 2021, https://dallasgateway.com/early-dallas-hotel-facts/.

[11] Enstam, *Women and the Creation of Urban Life,* 21.

[12] Enstam, *Women and the Creation of Urban Life,* 71.

[13] Enstam, *Women and the Creation of Urban Life,* 52.

[14] Enstam, *Women and the Creation of Urban Life,* 58.

[15] Melissa J. Prycer, "A Larger Housekeeping: Dallas Clubwomen and World War I," *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* 3 no. 1 (Spring 2008), 20, From the Portal to Texas History, crediting the Dallas Historical Society, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth46805.

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[17] Enstam, *Women and the Creation of Urban Life,* 175.

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