United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form

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___ New Submission ___ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic and Architectural Resources of East and South Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

The Development of East and South Dallas, 1872 - 1945

C. Form Prepared by

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D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature and title of certifying official

State Historic Preservation Officer, Texas Historical Commission

Date 14 Feb 1995

State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Signature of the Keeper Date of Action
THE DEVELOPMENT OF EAST AND SOUTH DALLAS: 1872 - 1945

Introduction

The Dallas neighborhoods surveyed in this project can all be viewed as manifestations of Dallas’ early suburbanization due to their physical relationship to the central business district, their establishment along streetcar lines and the promotional techniques employed by their developers. Beyond these similarities the project area diverged into three distinct regions and corresponding spheres of study, by virtue of their physical location, fluctuating demographics, and perceived social and economic status. For the purposes of this nomination, as well as future planning efforts, it may be most useful to consider these three regions first as extensions of Dallas’ emergence as a major transportation and distribution center following the arrival of the first railroads in 1872 and then as separate regions identified as Colonial Hill, South Dallas, and East Dallas.

Although both the Colonial Hill and South Dallas additions included in this nomination are physically located in South Dallas, separated only by Central Expressway, their development was guided by such different forces that separate discussion is warranted. Colonial Hill is the overall name given to more than a dozen additions platted on either side of Ervay Street, south of Grand Avenue and east of Central Expressway, between 1888 and 1924. In this nomination, the development of South Park Addition, between Forest Avenue and Warren Avenue, east of Central Expressway and west of the Fairgrounds, is included in the discussion of Colonial Hill because it was developed and promoted at the same time and in response to the same streetcar lines. Initial development in the additions followed the completion of the Dallas Rapid Transit streetcar line across then-vacant farmland in South Dallas in 1888. Subsequent additions were platted and improved as the Ervay line extended south to Hatcher Street. Like East Dallas, the Colonial Hill additions followed typical streetcar suburb patterns. The area includes residential buildings with supportive institutional (churches and schools) and commercial buildings. Although a great many industrial plants appeared along the Trinity River and railroad tracks to the west, employing many early residents of the Colonial Hill and South Dallas additions, none are found in the Colonial Hill additions. Colonial Hill is historically differentiated from the rest of South Dallas, south of Warren Avenue and east of Central Expressway, by virtue of its clearly defined streetcar development and promotion to white families.
school building inte the 1970s, but Crocket School survives as the oldest Dallas school building still in use. Schools and churches were a natural outgrowth of suburban development and as the Colonial Hill area grew farther south along the Ervay Street streetcar line, other neighborhood churches appeared up to serve the community.

Colonial Hill offers a stark contrast to the planned, restricted neighborhoods being developed at the same time in Munger Place and Highland Park, in East and North Dallas. A study of the Sanborn maps reveals a great difference in the housing types, lot sizes and set-backs within the area. City directories reveal that mill and factory owners lived on streets adjacent to those housing their workers (Sanborn maps, 1905; Dallas City Directories, 1901, 1910, 1915, 1925). The preponderance of workers' houses simply reflected the greater number of workers than managers. The latter tended to cluster on Forest Avenue and Holmes Street. Many of the finer houses were demolished in the 1920s as Forest Avenue, a major crosstown streetcar line, became commercialized. Others, virtually all of which were constructed as single-family dwellings, became boarding houses or were divided into rental units as the neighborhood declined in popularity as early as the 1920s.

Gooden has said that the major shift in popular house styles in the 1910s and 1920s, as well as the introduction of the heavily restricted neighborhood, contributed to the exodus of well-to-do families from Colonial Hill in South Dallas to Munger Place and Highland Park in East and North Dallas. The houses that were built in Munger Place after about 1907 were predominately Prairie School-influenced in their design and many fashion- and status-conscious homeowners decided to abandon their then-outmoded Colonial Hill homes for new ones built in the popular styles of the day. The advent of the restricted neighborhood had to be appealing to these families who earlier fled industrial and commercial encroachment in The Cedars only to experience it anew in Colonial Hill. Prior to the introduction of zoning regulations in Dallas, developer-initiated deed restrictions were the only protection upon which a homeowner could rely. Without such protective development restrictions the upper Colonial Hill additions enjoyed only a brief popularity before the vagaries of haphazard development began to erode its residential character. Those who could afford to do so, moved to the new planned neighborhoods in the 1910s and 1920s. Gooden observed that the Colonial Hill additions "had too much of what the planned neighborhoods were built to avoid" (Gooden, 1986: 51).

Nevertheless, housing construction continued in the Colonial Hill additions through the 1920s, particularly in the additions farther south along the Colonial streetcar line. While its popularity declined with the well-to-do, the Colonial Hill additions attracted more middle-
and working-class homeowners and renters after about 1910. Following the Colonial Street
carline to its ultimate terminus just south of Hatcher Street, half a dozen additions opened on
either side of the line between 1904 and 1910 (Dallas County Plat Books). Sanborn maps
show that the entire area west of Holmes Street and south of Peabody Street was fully
developed between 1905 and 1922, with the exception of the tiny Featherstone Addition
(1924). All of this portion of the project area, including any previously vacant lots in the
original Chestnut Hill development, from Forest Avenue south to Cooper Street, and from
the H&TC tracks west to and including Wall Street, was completely filled in with small,
single-story dwellings. On newly developed streets (since about 1905), the houses formed
tidy rows of nearly identical frame bungalows and cottages, all with the same set-back and
front half-porches. On streets where they became "infill" properties, especially near Holmes
and Cleveland streets, the bungalows seemed like poor cousins, lacking the bays and wrap-
around porches, of the older, more stylish houses (Sanborn map, 1922).

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

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

The land had not been developed only because the owner of the property, Mrs. W. A. Warren, did not wish to be crowded. Mrs. Warren's first husband, Aaron Camp, had been William Gaston's partner in his first bank and owned more than 400 acres between Grand and Warren avenues in what is now South Central Dallas. His widow simply chose not to develop the land until well after the turn of the century (Gaston, n.d.) although there was much pressure and justification for development. The prominent Jewish families who originally settled in The Cedars, had been fleeing industrial and substandard encroachment in that area since the 1890s. Some had migrated to the upper Colonial Hill additions, but that area, too, had begun to deteriorate by the 1910s, as has been noted. Mrs. Warren's tract, just south of The Cedars and within one or two blocks of streetcar service to downtown mercantile houses and industries on the Trinity River, must have been attractive to the merchant and industrialist families. The parcel of land above Forest Avenue, in particular, was a pristine, completely undeveloped area far from the river, railroad tracks and industrial zones. Names given to the area indicate its attractiveness. The plat was called Forest Park when Mrs. Warren first submitted it to the city for subdivision in 1910. It was approved in 1912 as the Edgewood Addition, with the streets named Park Row, South Boulevard and Forest Avenue (Watson, 1980: 6). The streets south of Forest Avenue, in contrast, made no similar allusions to park or forest imagery. Forest Avenue became the dividing line between an affluent, predominately Jewish development to the north and a lower-level managerial, clerical and working-class neighborhood to the south.

When the Warren property finally opened to development in 1912, the blocks fronting on Forest Avenue and to the north became an exclusive enclave of wealthy merchant families and industrialists. Many of the Jewish families from The Cedars built houses in Warren's Edgewood Addition between 1913 and 1914. When the third Temple Emanu-el, a Classical Revival synagogue designed by Hubbell and Greene, was built on South Boulevard at
the first to be developed between about 1905 and 1915, while Edgewood Addition, north of Forest Avenue, was developed after 1912 and through the 1920s (city directories, var.; Edgewood and South Park plat maps; Watson, 1980: 6).

A major impetus to growth in this part of the project area was the extension of the Ervay streetcar line from Grand Avenue south to Forest Avenue in 1898. There it connected with the South Dallas Rapid Transit line running east across what is now Forest Avenue to the fairgrounds on Second Street. This major crosstown streetcar, chartered in 1888 by real estate developers to serve their Chestnut Hill (Colonial Hill) subdivision (Powers, 1969: 71), ran across virtually vacant land. The city welcomed the access to the Fairgrounds and it is possible that William Gaston, on whose East Dallas property the Fairgrounds were located, had some influence in having the line built across Warren’s tract. The Forest Avenue line, which forms the northern boundary of both the South Dallas and Colonial Hill project areas, served to open up all of South Dallas to extensive development in the years between 1905 and 1922. The Gaston scrapbook article described the situation ca. 1919,

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

The fact that the Forest Avenue line preceded the development of the area is another indication of streetcar companies still leading real estate promotion in the early 1900s (Gooden, 1986: 46). Speculators still had free rein to build streetcar lines to their own property to attract prospective buyers until the 1920s so they were still guiding the direction and quality of Dallas’ suburban growth at that time. In addition to Mrs. Warren’s South Park Addition, John P. Murphy and Charles F. Bolanz, formed the "Murphy and Bolanz Land and Loan Company," to take advantage of the crosstown Forest Avenue streetcar across then-vacant Warren property. They intended to develop the Warren and Winchester Additions adjacent to South Park (Dallas Morning News, October 1, 1935). Severe economic depressions shook the nation in 1893 and again in 1898 curtailing nearly all construction throughout the city. When the economy improved about 1903, additions that were already platted for development were the first to see new construction.

Phenomenal growth occurred south of Forest Avenue between 1905 and 1922 as shown in the Sanborn maps of those years. Developers were poised to exploit the vast South Dallas territory as soon as the economy and Dallas’ population was on the rise again. New housing starts exploded on Pennsylvania, Peabody and Birmingham streets after 1905 and by
Although South Park was initially platted in 1889, city directories show only a handful of residents in the addition before 1903, probably due to the depressions and attendant construction lull of the preceding decade. In 1901 the city directories did not list residents of Peabody or Pennsylvania streets east of Central Avenue (then S. Camp Street in the Warren property) although it is known that a few of the lots contained houses and were occupied. Full scale development of the area began about 1905 after the economy revived, with a growth surge occurring about 1915. Nearly all the lots in the addition had houses by 1920. An indication of the increase in construction is seen on Pennsylvania Street where only 14 addresses cropped up between Central Mrytle avenues in the nine year period from 1901 to 1910. Five years later, in 1915, there were 137 residences on Pennsylvania between Central Avenue to Second Avenue.

Some of the typical occupations of the residents on Pennsylvania Street at that time included: foreman of the Dallas Coffin Company, owner of an auto repair shop, assistant to a vice-president of Pierce Oil, bookkeeper, metal worker, vice-president of Greyhound Gravel, cotton buyer, salesman, and grocery clerk. These middle-class occupations appear to be standard for white residents of South Dallas below Forest Avenue in 1915 (Dallas City Directories, 1901, 1905, 1915).

Throughout the Colonial Hill and other South Dallas additions the vast majority of buildings constructed in the initial development period were residential structures, nearly all of which were single-family dwellings. As is true among nearly all residential suburban districts, however, institutional facilities that reflected residential aspirations appeared within the various neighborhoods. As soon as an area began to be developed, and sometimes in churches and church-related educational buildings to serve the new communities. Public schools usually took longer to plan and build because they required a greater consensus and cooperation from governing bodies. Wood-frame churches appeared in both the Colonial Hill and South Park additions soon after Dallas began to recover from the economic doldrums of the 1890s. Some whose congregations increased, later built brick or brick-faced buildings that reflected the success of the particular parish. Neighborhood churches often occupied corner lots and included one or more additional lots for parsonages or future building purposes. Trinity English Lutheran Church (now Mt. Olive, at the corner of Forest Avenue (now Martin Luther King Blvd.) and Meadow Street followed this pattern (see Trinity English Lutheran Church, DAL/DA 50). The original frame church that faced Meadow was later replaced by a substantial brick church building. The congregation had purchased additional lots and constructed a parsonage that faced Forest Avenue. They later built an education building on the original site of the frame church.
that resulted in the breakup of the old estates and contributed to the area’s piecemeal redevelopment throughout the remainder of the 20th century. The earliest Colonial Hill additions were developed between 1887 and 1893, as part of a streetcar\real estate enterprise and a natural extension of an established suburb known as The Cedars, which lay just south of the business district. Prosperous Jewish merchants residing in The Cedars, moved farther south, to Colonial Hill, in the wake of commercial and sub-standard residential encroachment into their once-exclusive neighborhood. 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. Just south of this working and lower-middle class neighborhood, the South Dallas project area lies between Central Avenue (now Central Expressway) on the west and the fairgrounds to the east, south of Warren Avenue to Hatcher Street, and is adjacent to the lower Colonial Hill additions. During the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s a number of subdivisions were built in the area exclusively for African American families. The documentation and promotional materials relating to these African American subdivisions makes South Dallas a particularly intriguing project area within the suburban development context.

This submission first examines the early history of Dallas and its phenomenal growth after the arrival of the railroads as a prelude to its suburban expansion. Next, Dallas’ suburban development is outlined with particular attention to the role of streetcar companies in determining the direction and extent of that growth. Finally, the three regional project areas are explored separately to better define their special characteristics and determine their contributions to Dallas’ architectural and cultural heritage.

Introduction to Dallas

Nothing in Dallas’s early history foretold of its preeminence among Texas’ cities thirty years after its founding in 1841. Wrestling the county seat away from Hord’s Ridge (present day Oak Cliff) in an 1850 election brought a degree of regional commercial and political prominence to Dallas, but until the railroad connected the town to eastern markets it proved of little practical benefit. It was the arrival of the Houston & Texas Central (H&TC) Railroad in 1872, and its intersection with the Texas and Pacific (T&P) Railroad a year later, that ushered in an era of growth that would make Dallas the premiere merchant city of the Southwest.
On the heels of the railroads, in fact in anticipation of their arrival, mule drawn streetcars were built to facilitate the movement of goods from the terminals to the business houses that began to spring up in the ensuing commercial boom. It became immediately apparent that streetcars would also be a boon to residential real estate ventures. The flurry of building activity in downtown Dallas following the arrival of the railroads made it a congested, noisy place in which to live but street railroads enabled people to live more than a few blocks away from their work and enjoy the benefits of suburban life - a revolutionary concept that changed the way American cities would develop. Because Dallas had grown very little from its Trinity River site by the time streetcars arrived, the new technology largely determined the direction of the city’s growth.

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

The First Streetcars

In the heady days following the arrival of the railroads, it became immediately apparent that there were fortunes to be made in real estate. Developers began acquiring large parcels of land outside the corporate limits for subdivision and in the first six months of 1874, 600 houses were built (Powers, 1969: 18). The developers anticipated building street railroads to provide access to the far distant additions. Prior to the advent of the streetcar, people had typically lived within a few blocks of their work (Gooden, 1986: 15). The fact that Dallas had not expanded more than half a mile from its courthouse prior to the arrival of the railroad and ensuing real estate boom allowed the streetcar to shape its growth. McDonald wrote, "the streetcar was unquestionably the most influential factor in the growth of the suburbs, and the traffic patterns it established help to explain why certain areas developed while neighboring ones did not" (McDonald, 1978: 87). It was not by coincidence that Dallas' earliest organized suburban housing developments, including those in the project areas of Colonial Hill, adjacent South Dallas and East Dallas, were designed along streetcar lines.
Dallas was a fledgling city when its first streetcar systems were designed and installed. Unlike the older, congested Eastern Seaboard cities of New York and Boston, Dallas' streetcar systems were not built in response to the problems its residents faced living in an intensely developed, crowded and unhealthy inner city, although there are reports of noise and confusion in the early days of the post-railroad building boom. Rather, it appears that Dallas entrepreneurs incorporated the new technology to stimulate growth in those areas where they either owned land or had an investment interest. It was always at the instigation of land speculators and independent street railroad developers that new streetcar companies and lines, in their formative and most influential years, were introduced. Dallas city commissioners invariably followed the lead of their entrepreneurial citizens, thankful for the municipal benefits that occurred as a by-product of their enterprise. Both Diane Powers and Carolyn Gooden who conducted extensive research into Dallas' early streetcar development concur with city planner George Kessler's assessment that Dallas' residential growth, "Instead of having been planned, . . . [was] directed by the land speculator . . . (Wilson, 1989: 261), who often owned or controlled and frequently used the streetcars, not for civic improvement, but for personal financial gain.

The first streetcar line was constructed in anticipation of the railroad and the growth it promised to bring. Nine businessmen, including William Gaston, chartered the first mule-drawn line in 1871 to carry goods and passengers from the courthouse, along Main Street, to the H&TC Depot, east of town (Powers, 1969: iv). In 1875, W. J. Keller took control of the streetcar operation and added a second line, the Dallas Street Railroad Company, which ran along San Jacinto Street, to a parcel of farm land he owned in East Dallas. In the following year Keller's brother, Dr. C. E. Keller, chartered the Commerce and Ervay Street Railway to promote his real estate venture in South Dallas. By 1887, these three streetcar lines and a fourth, the Belt Line, merged to become the Dallas Consolidated Street Railway Company (Powers, 1969: 56). All four lines terminated at the courthouse.

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

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

Powers concurs,

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

Eventually, the streetcars would help convert all of downtown Dallas to commercial use by allowing (and encouraging) commuters to leave the city for residential suburbs in East and South Dallas. Streetcar entrepreneurs had more influence over where people would live and work than any governing body. There were no zoning restrictions in Dallas until 1927 and the city, far from regulating or restricting the streetcars, welcomed the increased mobility, its concomitant development, and the amenities, such as lakes and parks, provided by the streetcar/real estate promoters which became permanent municipal fixtures (Gooden, 1986: vi). One suburb, Oak Cliff, boasted a beautifully landscaped park (Lake Cliff Historic District, Historic and Architectural Resources of Oak Cliff, NR, 1994) with a lake, dance pavilion and summer opera house – all accessible by the streetcar line built by its developer, T. L. Marsalis. In fact, street railroads themselves became a popular way to promote real estate in the late 1870s through the early 1890s evident in the successful promotion of Dallas’ first "streetcar suburb", The Cedars, just south of the downtown area and to the immediate north of the Colonial Hill and South Dallas project areas. The promotion and resultant success of The Cedars established a pattern for subsequent suburban development.

First Streetcar Suburb - The Cedars

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

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

The Cedars was a protected enclave, separated from the downtown commercial center as well as from the mills and factories along the Trinity River and the MK&T Railroad to the west by a "buffer zone" of workers' cottages. Within a decade, however, the factories and workers' houses began nibbling at the edges of The Cedars. In 1888, when two new streetcar lines passed through the area opening all of South Dallas to development, it destroyed the exclusivity of The Cedars in the process (McDonald, 1978: 123). By the turn of the century, the popularity of the neighborhood had waned and its mansions, built in the flamboyant styles of the late Victorian era, were considered gaudy and old-fashioned when compared to the Prairie School-influenced houses being built in newer subdivisions. By the
1920s, many of The Cedars' fine houses were destroyed and the area nearly abandoned. Its residents moved south to Colonial Hills or the developing Edgewood Addition (South Boulevard/Park Row, NR 1981) or the restricted neighborhoods of Munger Place and Highland Park in North and East Dallas (Gooden, 1986: 51). Nothing remains of The Cedars today except City Park.

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

**Colonial Hill**

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

Adjoining the Colonial Hill development were the Cotton Mills and Exposition Park additions, located between City Park and Pennsylvania Avenue and developed primarily for lower- to middle- and working-class renters who either worked in the mills or held lower-
level clerical positions with the manufacturing companies. The houses were generally 1- or 1 1/2-story without indoor plumbing (McDonald, 1978: 118; Sanborn Maps, 1905: vol. 2). As Powers has stated, "the geography of the region and its industrial development precluded expensive homes" (Powers, 1969: 71). What the area lacked in aesthetics, however, was compensated in its location near the industrial plants that proliferated along the banks of the Trinity River and flanked the South Dallas railroad tracks. Within two decades of the arrival of the H&TC, Dallas had attracted a number of large industries like the Trinity Cotton Oil Company, the Dallas Union Stockyards, and the Armstrong Packing Company that located along the railroads flanking both sides of South Dallas (McDonald, 1978: 123). Soon after the plants were established, hundreds of small, wood-frame vernacular dwellings were constructed in hastily platted additions to house industrial workers. One of the largest employers was the Dallas Cotton and Woolen Mills which hired 750 workers, all of whom required nearby housing, when it opened in 1888. (Powers, 1969: 72) Mill organizers, including vice-president, Alex Sanger, collaborated with real estate developers to build workers’ cottages in the new additions. Such undertakings increased the perception of South Dallas as a predominantly working-class area.

The advent of the steam-powered street railway directly aided the creation of these industrial suburbs. In 1888, the same year the mill and Colonial Hill additions were opened, Luther Rees and Alex Sanger helped charter the Dallas Rapid Transit Company, a steam-powered excursion line that went south on Lamar from the courthouse then eastward on Forest Avenue [then an unnamed street through empty fields - See Murphy and Bolanz Official Maps of Dallas, 1887 and 1889] to the fairgrounds. It was Rees, Edward Holmes and L. R. Wright, who incorporated the Dallas Investment Company and opened Chestnut Hill, one of the first Colonial Hill additions, that same year (Powers, 1969: 70). The circuitous route of his streetcar line accomplished two goals for Rees: it brought potential buyers past his addition which lay in a virtual wilderness south of the city, and it assured them of transportation to the city and work once they built in the new addition (Powers, 1969: 71). Sanger’s connections with Rees in the streetcar venture assured him of both housing and transportation for his mill workers. The connection between streetcar lines and real estate development was not overlooked by the public, either. The Times Herald editorial of July 17, 1888, stated that cheaper houses were needed in the city and praised the Dallas Rapid Transit Company’s efforts to provide them. As soon as the streetcar line was installed, Rees began advertising in the newspapers for houses on "easy terms" with small cash payments and one- to five-year mortgages. Pictures of the cottages resembled those offered to workers in other areas of the country (Powers, 1969: 72). When the Dallas
Consolidated Street Railway Company met Rees's competition by extending its own lines down Akard, Ervay and Harwood streets and east along Hickory, all of South Dallas was opened up for such development (McDonald, 1978: 123).

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

Building came to an abrupt halt as the "panic of 1893" and the subsequent economic depression swept much of the nation and Dallas with it. Speculators throughout the city had overbuilt and the ensuing crash curtailed further large-scale development throughout the city for almost a decade. Whole rows of commercial buildings were vacated and houses abandoned as Dallas lost almost 5,000 residents from 1892 to 1894 (Dallas Morning News, October 1, 1935; Gooden, 1986: 37). Foreclosures and reorganizations left only three street railways remaining in the city at the turn of the century, all owned by outside investors who, chastened by the crash, were less inclined toward risky speculation. Nevertheless, renewed efforts to completely develop the Colonial Hill area were spurred by the extension of the Ervay streetcar line from Grand Avenue to Forest in 1898. Encouraged by an immediate building response along the line, the streetcar company extended the line ten blocks farther, jogging over to Colonial Avenue. Gooden described the relationship between the streetcar lines and subsequent real estate development in the area:

The 1899 map showed almost no development south of the Santa Fe Railroad. . . . The 1905 Sanborn's maps showed about 95 percent development along the Ervay carline just south of Grand and over 50 percent a block away on each side. Much of the area between Grand and Forest was less than half developed; but the property fronting on the north side of Forest, where the Rapid Transit's South Belt ran, was two-thirds developed. This area clearly demonstrated that the street railroads were still leading development in the early 1900s (Gooden, 1986: 46).
It is noteworthy that the only detail maps of South Dallas below Grand Avenue in the 1905 Sanborn collection are those depicting the Colonial Hill additions along the streetcar lines and one lone block, surrounded by vacant lands, straddling Forest Avenue between Meyer and May (now Meadow) of the Rapid Transit Railway’s car barns.

The 1905 Sanborn maps show a wide assortment of housing types, styles, and lot sizes throughout the Colonial Hill additions proving it to be a very mixed residential neighborhood. Some of the largest and most elegant houses in the area appeared on Holmes Street, between Forest and Pennsylvania avenues. Built in the early years of the development, prior to 1905, the houses in those two long blocks had much more complex configurations than those on neighboring streets, with wrap-around porches and multiple bay windows. The only brick house south of Forest Avenue at that time was located on Holmes Street, and about 50% of the houses had two stories (Sanborn maps, 1905). George S. Leachman, president of the Dallas Steam Laundry and Dye Works, built his house on Holmes Street in 1901 (razed 1973). It displayed "the popular pattern book design of a transitional period between older Victorian ornamentation and the emerging Prairie style" (McDonald, 1978: 124) and was typical of others built on that street.

Other pre-1905 development in the area included 12 substantial frame houses on the north side Forest Avenue, east of Central Avenue, five of which had two stories. The nine frame houses on the south side of Forest were substantially smaller and only one had two stories. Colonial Avenue in 1905 was already showing signs of commercialization along the streetcar line. It had only two medium-sized frame houses between Forest Avenue and Peabody Street and one frame store with an attached warehouse. From Peabody Street to Pennsylvania Street were five medium-sized frame houses and from Pennsylvania to Belle (Warren) Avenue were six small and medium-sized houses. Smaller houses was scattered throughout the section on the east-west streets of Peabody, Pennsylvania and Belle streets.

As the residential neighborhoods developed, schools and churches were built nearby to serve the expanding community. The two major non-residential features of the neighborhood in 1905 were the 2-story brick Colonial Hill Public School, at Wendelken and Pennsylvania, and the Colonial Hill Presbyterian Church (razed), at the corner of Forest Avenue and Wendelken Street (Sanborn maps, 1905). Colonial Hill School was built in 1903 by Dallas architect C.W. Bulger, who also built David Crockett School that same year in East Dallas. The schools were the first authorized by the Dallas School Board in response to the post-1900 population boom that was occurring principally in the city's southern and eastern suburbs. Colonial Hill School was demolished and replaced on its site by a new...
Early city directories mentioned a South Park suburban school on Birmingham Street prior to 1900, but little additional information about the school has been located. It appears that the school served a semi-rural population of tradesmen who lived in the scattering of early houses in the addition and gardeners and truck farmers who lived, for the most part, on small, 10- to 40-acre truck farms and orchards to the south. The first city school in the vicinity was Colonial Hill School (razed and replaced), built in 1903 by Dallas architect C.W. Bulger at Wendelken and Pennsylvania avenues. The school was constructed in response to the growing population in South Dallas but it also served to attract more families to the area in the years following its construction.

Increased development in the lower Colonial Hill additions and in the far South Dallas suburban tracts throughout the 1900s and 1910s prompted the erection of several wooden temporary school buildings named for Ascher Silberstein, a Dallas entrepreneur, about 1920. In 1922, a new brick Ascher Silberstein School (now Charles B. Rice) replaced the temporary buildings at 2525 Pine Street in far South Dallas (see DAL/DA 1356). By 1916, the burgeoning residential populations of the Edgewood, South Park and Colonial Hill additions warranted the construction of Forest Avenue High School (now James Madison High) at 3000 Forest (now Martin Luther King, Jr., Blvd.) on the site of the Rapid Transit Railway streetcar barns (see DAL/DA 49). The influential families of the Edgewood and upper Colonial Hill neighborhoods strongly supported the school and for many years Forest Avenue High was considered to be one of the city’s finest, best-equipped and best-staffed schools (McDonald, 1978: 126).

By 1920 the South Dallas and Colonial Hill additions were intensely developed white residential neighborhoods that had their own community churches, schools, and parks. Wealthy home owners in the prestigious Edgewood Addition and some of the residents of the upper Colonial Hill additions notwithstanding, South Dallas consisted primarily of middle- and working-class or tradesman families. South of Birmingham Street and north of Cooper Street lay a largely vacant area stretching across the southern border of the old Warren tract. Some older, vestigial farms and farmhouses remained in the area in the early 1920s and city directories show that much of the land was still under cultivation at that time. This narrow strip of land was all that separated the growing African-American community to the south from the booming lower-middle class white subdivisions between Forest Avenue and Birmingham Street in 1922 (Sanborn maps, 1922: Vol.4).
The city directories show that as soon as this region was opened, sometime after 1905, developers were poised to exploit its potential. New housing starts exploded on Pennsylvania, Peabody and Birmingham streets so that 95% of the platted lots had residences on them by 1920 most of which were developed by 1915. South of Birmingham Street and north of Cooper Street lay a largely vacant area stretching across the southern border of the old Warren tract. Some older, vestigial estates remained in the area in the early 1920s and city directories show that much of the land was still under cultivation at that time. This narrow strip of land was all that separated the growing black community to the south from the booming lower-middle class white subdivisions between Forest Avenue and Birmingham Street in 1922 (Sanborn maps, 1922: Vol.4).

A number of demographic and physical changes occurred throughout Colonial Hill and the adjacent South Central Dallas neighborhoods between the mid-1920s and the mid-1950s. Many of the large Classical Revival and American Foursquare houses of upper Colonial Hill were abandoned by their original owners as early as the 1910s and 1920s for new houses in the restricted subdivisions of North and far East Dallas. many of these big houses were divided into separate rental units or later demolished for redevelopment. There was a corresponding effect on subsequent development farther south, and off "the hill," on the Ervay streetcar line. These later additions of lower Colonial Hill developed between about 1910 and 1925, were composed of smaller and less expensive, single-story, frame bungalows on smaller lots. The result was a change in the residential character of the neighborhood from one of well-to-do homeowners to a more transient population of renters and middle- and working-class families.

A major demographic change that occurred throughout South Dallas in the 1940s and 1950s was the shift from white to African-American occupancy in previously all-white neighborhoods. Several historic African-American communities south of Warren Avenue grew and expanded to abut the all-white neighborhoods that surrounded them in the 1930s and 1940s. Regardless of efforts by whites to keep African-American families from moving into their neighborhoods, white families began to abandon houses nearest the African-American developments, leading to the phenomenon of "white flight" - the wholesale abandonment of an area by whites. African Americans adopted the previously white-occupied houses, churches and schools of the South Park, Edgewood, Colonial Hill and other surrounding additions to the south and east.
In this nomination, South Dallas refers to those communities south of Warren Avenue, most of which were platted and developed exclusively for African-American families. Those subdivisions grew up around a core community of African-American families that already existed along S. Central Avenue (now Central Expressway) and Greer Street (now Metropolitan), by 1898 (Dallas city directory, 1898). There is some evidence that a black farming community existed in the area prior to this time but the establishment of several additions specifically platted for black residents between 1904 and 1911, particularly on Atlanta and Latimer streets, solidified its identity as an exclusively African-American community. Although streetcars did not lead the initial development of African-American communities as they had in East Dallas and Colonial Hill, they played an important part in the promotion of later additions which were developed similarly to those of whites in the 1910s and 1920s. In addition to the suburban residential, institutional and commercial buildings in the area, South Dallas also contains some farm houses that may pre-date the area’s suburban development.

East Dallas is the historic name of a separate municipality, incorporated from 1883 to 1890, that developed two miles east of the Dallas courthouse. The project area, bounded by Ross Avenue on the north, Fitzhugh Avenue on the east, Elm Street on the South, and Haskell Avenue on the west, encompassed nearly all the eastern half of the old city of East Dallas. The area is all known as "Mill Creek," a recent appellation, for which no historic reference has been found. The creek itself runs to the west of the project area and had little impact on its development. Consequently, this part of the project area is referred to as East Dallas. It is composed of streetcar suburbs that were developed in the early 20th century for middle and upper-class whites. Developmental patterns followed those seen in other streetcar suburbs (see Historic and Architectural Resources of Oak Cliff, NR 1994). In addition to the residential buildings which were the primary purpose of the suburbs, other kinds of buildings are found throughout the area including apartment, commercial, institutional (schools, churches) and industrial buildings.

Although the three regions share some common elements of early suburban development, most particularly their relationship to Dallas’ early streetcar network, they also had unique histories and characteristics that contribute to their present status and appearance. The eastern half of East Dallas, where the project area lies, underwent several phases of development, the first of which consisted of the country estates and plantation lands of wealthy bankers, railroad magnates, and ranchers, carved principally from the homestead of Dallas County pioneer Jefferson Peak between 1872 and 1893. The extension of streetcar lines to the East Dallas suburbs after the turn of the century precipitated a real estate boom
Another factor that precipitated the abandonment of the area by upper-middle class families was the steady deterioration of the area due to lack of zoning restrictions and early, long-range planning for the preparation of residential, commercial and industrial districts. As a result, businesses and multi-family apartment buildings began infiltrating residential streets particularly along the Forest Avenue streetcar route. Although many of the elegant Edgewood Addition houses on South Boulevard and Park Row were purchased by African-American professionals in the 1960s and are today well-maintained, the elegant houses on Forest Avenue began losing ground to commercial development as early as the 1920s, in a typical response to streetcar-related encroachment. A few grand houses remain from the original period of development but even as they were being built, in the 1910s and early 1920s, the majority of new buildings in the 2700-3000 blocks of Forest Avenue were 2-story brick apartment complexes. In both South and East Dallas, as families began to avoid busy thoroughfares and move to modern houses in the new suburbs of North Dallas, former single-family neighborhoods on or near streetcar routes were developed with 2- and 3-story brick apartment buildings which housed singles or small families. As this trend continued, the older suburban tracts took on more of an urban character and they increasingly became identified with the central city as Dallas’ suburban growth continued to expand far from its Trinity River origins.

In addition to commercial and multi-family development, the H&TC railroad tracks, which had always been a magnet for factories, increased industrialization continued to aid in the deterioration of adjacent residential tracts. This in turn had a negative effect on other nearby neighborhoods. The construction of Central Expressway (later part of Interstate 45) in 1952 further fragmented the neighborhoods (McDonald, 1978: 127). The deleterious effects of these forces are evident throughout this project area. Still, individual buildings and historic neighborhoods that retain their original architectural fabric, survive in South Dallas and are important reminders of the city’s early suburban development and African-American heritage.

**South Dallas**

Adjacent to the Colonial Hill additions, to the east of Central Expressway and south of Warren Avenue, lies the largest expanse of the South Dallas project area. Bounded by Forest Avenue, now Martin Luther King (MLK), to the north, Hatcher Street to the south, Second Avenue along the eastern edge of the fairgrounds, and Central Expressway to the west, the area is divided into locally identified neighborhoods some of which are Queen City, the Prairie, Wheatley Place, English Place and South Side. The entire area is generally referred to as South Dallas.
Much of this vast tract of South Dallas real estate was, like Colonial Hill and East Dallas, a product of the building booms and suburban streetcar development that characterized Dallas’ phenomenal growth. Unlike those areas, however, South Dallas was initially settled by and later developed exclusively for African-American families. It is a misconception that African Americans flooded into South Dallas in the 1940s and 1950s, precipitating the "white flight" that took place in the prestigious Edgewood Addition, now the South Boulevard/Park Row Historic District (NR, 1979). Actually, an established, thriving African-American residential community known as Queen City, for one of its additions, Queen City heights (1908), existed south of Warren Avenue, centered around Atlanta and Latimer streets, for decades prior to the 1940s. There is evidence of an even earlier African-American community in the vicinity of the Queen City additions, dating to the 1890s and possibly the 1870s. The first city directory indications of an African American presence near Queen City, shows residents along the east side of S. Central Avenue and along Romine and Greer (now Metropolitan) streets in the 1890s. Further research should be conducted to determine the exact location and extent of a post-Civil War farming community, possibly the precursor of "the Prairie," also reported to have been in the project area (see James H. and Molly Ellis House, DAL/DA 1302). The development of the African-American communities in South Dallas, from their inception as a black farming community to their expansion as exclusively African-American suburbs, is an intriguing area of study in the history of the segregated South of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

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

When the city directories first began listing streets in this far South Dallas community, shortly after the turn of the century, African-American families had apparently been living and farming in the area for more than 30 years. The existence of several congregations in the community, such as Romine Street Christian Church (ca. 1873) and St. John's Primitive Baptist Church (1892), prior to the turn of the century, shows that African Americans resided in the area before additions were platted. Their presence, though, so far from the hub of Dallas, had little impact on the city at that time. The communities grew, white developers like Clinton Russell and farmers-turned-real-estate developers like James Warren, James Greer and William Jordan platted additions that were exclusively sold for African American residents.

The African-American community continued to grow until its presence was eventually felt by the white families who lived north of Warren Avenue and expanse of vacant land that served as a "buffer zone" separating the two communities. In the years just before and immediately following World War I, the "buffer zone" was greatly reduced as it was gradually developed for lower and moderate-income white housing, in the area south of Birmingham Street, and for the first of many exclusively "colored" additions in the areas north and east of the original core community. The dynamic was one of expanding black and white neighborhoods grew closer and closer together. Finally, by about 1920, only the railroad tracks along Warren Avenue separated the white community on the north, from the African American community to the south. This situation was not welcomed by white property owners who attempted to establish a "color line" to discourage African Americans from moving into their neighborhoods (Dallas Express, 1920: 1).

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

There were probably people living on Atlanta and Latimer and the adjacent streets of
Ruskin and Dildock prior to 1905 but since city directories typically did not extend far
beyond the city limits, the presence of these rural hamlets often went unreported. It is clear,
however, that the area was rapidly urbanizing between their first mention in 1902 and 1910.
Between 1905 and 1910 Atlanta Street added 34 new addresses, six of which extended north
to Lenway, approaching Warren. By 1910, Louis Hayden’s home and frame grocery store
appear at 3721 and 3725 S. Atlanta Street. Hayden and members of his family maintained a
presence on Atlanta Street for many years. The 2-story brick store building at 3735 Romine
Street, at its intersection with Atlanta Street, was built by Hayden in 1925 replacing the
original frame store. It remains a landmark in the community and is currently being
renovated for a community credit union. In addition to the houses and Hayden’s store, a
second grocery and two major churches, St. Paul AME and St. John’s Primitive Baptist,
were on Atlanta Street by 1905. (Dallas City Directories, 1905, 1910; Sanborn Maps, 1922:
vol. 4). Clearly, Atlanta and Latimer streets between Cooper and Metropolitan were
developing as the core of black community life in South Dallas.

Of the 12 Atlanta Street residents listed in 1905, nine were still living in their original
homes 12 years later. This was a remarkably stable community in a period of great
mobility, especially for black families. The 1905 city directory lists their occupations as:
Louis W. Wade, teamster, George Bowles, Dallas Calloway, Milton Cox, and Claiborne
Cooksey, laborers, Mattie Myers, laundress, Charles Cooper, porter for Yonack Brothers,
James Cross, farmer, and H. M. Jackson, teacher. In 1908, Atlanta developed south of
Casey (then Metropolitan) Street and some of the same family names appear there, (Cross,
two Calloways, and Wade), indicating that new generations of established South Dallas
families were buying houses in this area. That was the first year the Hayden family
appeared in the directory along with two members of the Bluitt family, another old name in
the community. Erving B. Bluitt, who resided at 3731 S. Atlanta, was listed as a realtor
and it is possible that he contributed to the promotion of the community at that time.
Latimer Street had three Satterwhite families and another Calloway family in 1905 (Dallas
City Directory, 1905). Latimer followed a growth pattern similar to Atlanta Street during
this time with the construction of several commercial establishments and the Knights of the
Golden Chain Church. By 1917, both streets were fully developed between Lenway and Eugene streets, including the area of Atlanta Street known as "Queen City" (Dallas City Directories, Dallas County Plat Books).

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

In the late 1910s and early 1920s there was a proliferation of additions in far South Dallas exclusively for "colored" people, some of which surrounded the original community and others, developed just south of the project area in the Trinity River lowlands. From the crosstown Forest Avenue streetcar line three parallel lines already extended into South Dallas by 1912, aiding in its development. The first two lines served the extreme western and eastern fringes of the project area: the Ervey Street carline, built to promote the Colonial Hill additions in the late 1890s and through the 1920s, and the Second Street line to the fairgrounds. When the Myrtle line bisected the territory between those two lines about 1912, it facilitated the development of the South Central Dallas region. The additions that appeared around the Myrtle line were almost exclusively sold to African Americans. The Myrtle line also provided access to several cemeteries in far South Dallas that were adjacent to one another, including Oakwood Cemetery which had separate black and Confederate portions. Within ten years of the line's construction, all vacant land south of Warren Avenue on either side of the line was platted for development by area farmers and real estate developers (Dallas County Plat Books).

One of the earliest and best examples of streetcar suburbs planned for black families was Wheatley Place (see Wheatley Place Historic District). The addition, named for 18th century black poet Phyllis Wheatley (WPA, 1940: 5), included both sides of Havana, Meyers and Dunbar streets and the west side of Meadow Street, between Lenway Street to the north and McDermott Street to the south. It was platted in 1916 by A.C. Camp, son of Martha
Warren and her first husband, Aaron Camp, who, in partnership with William Gaston, owned more than 400 acres of land in South Dallas. A.C. Camp was a lawyer and sometimes real estate developer who assisted in the promotion of this mother's Edgewood Addition as well as several later additions in far South Dallas. He also served on the Dallas City Council for a brief time in the 1920s. Camp was one of several South Dallas real estate developers like James Ellis, Phillip Peyton, and James Greer whose families had owned farms in the area since the 1870s and 1880s. As Dallas' suburban growth expanded into South Dallas, they platted their farms for new additions.

Camp apparently included plans for Wheatley School and a park from its inception (Wheatley Place original plat, 1916; Dallas Express, March 13, 1920). All the houses were situated on nice-sized lots with a uniform set-back and appearance. All were 1-story frame houses with similar front porches and faced the north-south streets, leaving the east-west streets for traffic. Sanborn maps show the houses on Roberts Street, adjacent to Wheatley Place on the east, to have nearly identical building footprints as those in Wheatley Place. Since residential development occurred on Roberts Street at about the same time as Wheatley Place, they may have been developed together, although Roberts Street was not officially part of the addition.

Just as school and churches were an integral part of white suburban development as evidenced by Colonial Hill School and James Madison High School in the Colonial Hill, Edgewood and South Park Additions, so too, were they important to African-American developments. The original Wheatley School was the frame building depicted at the far southern end of Wheatley Addition on the 1922 Sanborn maps. First known as "Queen City School", the ca. 1919 building was replaced by the current brick building in 1929 (Sanborn map, 1922: vol 4). To the north and west of Wheatley Place, large tracts remained vacant in 1922. South of the school lay what is now labeled Opportunity Cemetery on current maps. For about five years Wheatley Place was an enclave, isolated from other neighborhoods.

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

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

Although Wheatley Place, platted in 1916, was not the first addition exclusively developed for African-American families in South Dallas, it was one of the first additions planned and promoted similar to white suburban neighborhoods in East and North Dallas. Wheatley Place so successfully paralleled middle-class white community development that it must have had symbolic significance, if not for actual equality with whites in the Dallas of that time, at least for the possibility. Similarities between black and white real estate promotions are obvious and revealing. The October 9, 1920, edition of the Dallas Express, a weekly black newspaper, advertised a new residential addition for "colored" families in much the same way that developers of upper class white communities, such as Munger Place in East Dallas, were promoting their additions. They specified amenities and exclusivity. The Ideal Addition beckoned with "A Look Means a Lot!" and "The High Class, Bon Ton, Restricted Residence Addition" [emphasis added].

Advertisements for black subdivisions offered some of the same features as white communities, but with a few twists. The Ideal Development Company emphasized its policy of "straight and liberal dealings" with prospective buyers, implying that previous real estate dealings with black families might not have been so "straight" or "liberal". The newspaper ad also referred to other additions developed by the Ideal (later Elite) Development Company, such as Lincoln Manor No. 2, Elite and Southland Additions, all at the far southern edge of the project area. It mentioned that, in those three additions alone, more than 800 lots had been sold since the addition opened. The terms of sale for the Ideal
Addition were $6.00 cash, per lot, down with payments of $6.00 per month, although it did not mention for how long. The ad emphasized that there would be "no interest and no taxes" - possibly because it was well outside the city limits - at least for another five years (Dallas Express, April 28, 1923: 7). The proliferation of black additions led to the solicitation of black patronage in related sales areas. Advertisements in the 1918 Dallas Express, such as the one placed by the American Realty and Construction Company, targeted a black audience:

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

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

After World War I, South Dallas, along with the rest of Dallas, burgeoned with housing starts. The advent of the many new additions platted for black residents in the traditional "buffer zone" prompted white property owners just to the north of the growing black community area to establish a "color line" to prevent black migration to their area. The South Dallas Improvement League, a group of white residents in the Colonial hill and South Dallas project areas, attempted to institute a ban on racial integration into their community. Their efforts were reported in Dallas' black newspaper, the Dallas Express, in a front page article of its March 13, 1920 edition. Under the headline, "South Dallas Residents Would Establish Color Line", the article read, in part:

Discussion of the removal of the terminal tracks from Exposition avenue [sic] and the establishment of a "color line" in South Dallas occupied the attention of the South Dallas Improvement League at its meeting last night in the Forest Avenue High School.

The "color line," as proposed by the league, would begin at the Houston and Texas Central Railway, run east on Cooper street to Pondren street, north on Pondren street to Lenway, east to Atlanta street, south 200 feet on Atlanta street to Cooper street (not opened through at this point), thence east to Myrtle street, south on myrtle to
Casey street, west on Casey to Wilder street, south on Wilder street to Opey alley and south on Opey alley to Eugene street.

The district south of this dividing line is now the Negro section, and it is the plan of the league to maintain the section north of the line for whites. Two or three Negro families are now living north of the line and these will be induced to remove to the other side of the line, it was said (Dallas Express, March 13, 1920:1).

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

At the same time the South Dallas Improvement League was trying to dissuade further black development in South Dallas, blacks were being urged by their community leaders to purchase their own homes in the area. The Dallas Express of November 13, 1920, ran an editorial headlined by "Home Owning Increasing With Opening of Negro Additions in Dallas". It mentioned that the Ideal Development Company had begun in 1914 by putting 214 lots in the Elite Addition on the market "exclusively for Colored people" [emphasis added]. Developers of the Elite Addition were also responsible for Lincoln Manor No. 2 with 752 lots, the Southland Addition, and the 279 lot Ideal Addition. Although all these additions are to the south of the project area, their development further identified South Dallas as a predominantly African-American residential district. This in turn put some pressure on the enclaves of white property owners in the Colonial Hill additions that lay east of the H&TC railroad tracks, as well as owners of small farms and suburban tracts that remained in South Dallas wedged between the large black additions to the far south and the Queen City area to the north of them.

Even though the Ideal and Elite additions are outside the range of the survey area, the techniques used by their developers are indicative of tactics used to a lesser degree within the
Queen City, Wheatley Place and other African American additions. The development company took pains to invite the editor of the Express to the area, after which he wrote:

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

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

The developers advertised their additions with the same kind of jargon agents used to sell white subdivisions and Wheatley Place was even touted as the "Black Munger Place". The Ideal Addition was advertised as a restricted addition although it is not clear what or who was restricted. It is clear, though, that the idea of restriction was salable. An advertisement for the same addition in 1920 proclaimed there to be excellent prospects for the Ervay and Myrtle streetcar lines being extended "to within a short distance of this addition" a promise that was realized when both the Ervay and Myrtle lines were extended south to Hatcher Street placing them within walking distance of the far south suburb. It is of note that in this area, in the early 1920s, the streetcar lines were no longer preceding development, but were following it. One reason was that the city of Dallas had begun to take a larger role in streetcar regulation by the 1920s and followed a policy of providing services once a need was demonstrated, rather than to promote development. It is also possible that developers did not feel compelled to provide such an expensive incentives for less profitable additions in African-American communities.
Advertisements for lots in the Ideal Addition stressed the good soil and reasonable terms of sale, appealing of people of moderate means who were inclined to raise some livestock and plant large vegetable gardens to meet expenses. The lots in the area were advertised as follows:

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

The advertisement went on to declare that:

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

Although the advertising techniques were similar, the amenities were in stark contrast to those of Munger Place which promoted itself as "emphasizing the important fact that its occupants need never fear the encroachment of factories, shops, or any other undesirable class of neighbors within its boundaries" (McDonald, 1978: 155) and as having "no unattractive environments to mar the beauty of its perfect surroundings or to disturb the peace of its occupants." Houses on Swiss and Gaston avenues in Munger Place were required to cost a minimum of $10,000 in an era when the average cost of a home was $2,000 to $3,000. Prices on side streets like Worth and Junius cost $4,000 to $5,000. The lots were sold "to white persons only" and had all the latest amenities: gas, water and sewer connections, street railway service on side streets, concrete sidewalks, and paved streets" (McDonald, 1978: 161). There was a world of difference between the two additions and yet the Ideal Development Company was appealing to similar desires: comfort, beauty in one’s surroundings, and the ability to own a home. Their approach differed from those of Munger Place’s developers in that they promised happiness rather than status or wealth.
Apparently, the Ideal Addition was successful and its developers were able to offer lots in Ideal Number Two Addition, adjacent to it, within the year. The salient features of Ideal Number Two were the same as its predecessor: the developers declared them to be the prettiest and cleanest additions ever put on the market in Dallas for COLORED PEOPLE (emphasis theirs), that deeds were free of any lien and the buyers would be treated fairly by the development company (Dallas Express, April 1922: 6). In this advertisement, the developers mentioned that buyers could either build on the lots themselves, with funds supplied by the developers, or they could purchase houses already built by the company on easy terms (Dallas Express, April 1922: 6).

Throughout the 1920s, other, similar ads were placed for exclusively "colored" additions. In 1923 the Bon Ton Addition, at the end of the Ervay Street carline near the Ideal Additions, went on the market. The following year Lincoln Place was advertised as being the best location in Dallas with "No mud, close to the Myrtle line, good water, phones, electric lights, no city taxes, no water rents" (Dallas Express June 1924). An interesting comparison between sections is that Lincoln Place in 1924 promised "the City has ordered Oakland Avenue to be paved within 8 blocks of our Addition" [emphasis added] (Dallas Express, June, 1924) while Munger Place was advertising "streets paved by the new bitulithic process on a solid concrete foundation" in 1905 (McDonald, 1978: 161).

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

The tract, consisting of Twyman, Tanner, Burger and Dathe (Waverly) streets, opened as English Place Addition in the early 1920s and played a major part in the changing demographics of South Dallas. English Place was followed by English Place Addition Two and Three and the Dathe Homestead Addition. In 1922 no occupants were listed in the city directory between Atlanta (through Myrtle) and Jeffries streets and no buildings appeared on the 1922 Sanborn maps. By 1926, however, 21 houses had been built on Twyman between Atlanta and Oakland streets, with an additional 21 built by 1934 to Jeffries Street.

Similar growth was occurring in the three streets south of Twyman Street. Tanner Street, just to the south, had eight houses built between 1922 and 1926, between Atlanta and
Oakland streets, with an additional 18 built by 1934 extending to Jeffries Street in Wheatley Place. On Burger, two streets south of Twyman Street, 23 houses were built between Myrtle and Jeffries streets, starting at Wheatley Place between 1922 and 1926. By 1934, six more houses were constructed on that block with an additional 23 between Myrtle and Jeffries streets, starting at Wheatley Place between 1922 and 1926. Dathe Street, the southmost street in this section, was already developed in the block between Ruskin and Myrtle streets but between 1922 and 1926 eight new houses were built west of Oakland Avenue with an additional 10 built between Oakland and Jeffries streets. The development of this addition linked South Dallas’ two major black neighborhoods, Queen City and Wheatley Place, for the first time. It is of note that about one third of the houses were owner occupied in 1934, at the height of the Great Depression. Home ownership appeared to be highly prized within this neighborhood (Sanborn maps, 1922: vol. 4, Dallas City Directories, 1921, 1922, 1926, 1934).

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

Another important development occurred to the west of the Queen City area during the late 1920s and 1930s. A row of 17 substantial brick or stone Tudor Revival-inspired houses were built in the 2300-2400 blocks of Romine Avenue, to the west of Queen City (see Romine Avenue Historic District). The small development was the first to be built in the P.T. Peyton addition, platted by white gardener Phillip Peyton in 1908. Prior to 1926, the block was completely vacant with the exception of one house across the street at 2332 Romine. Of the 17, six were already built by 1926 with the rest completed prior to 1935. Adjacent to the established black community formed by Atlanta and Latimer streets, none of the 17 homes have been demolished or substantially altered. They are all similar in appearance, with a uniform set-back, and building materials. There are some similar houses on Packard Street, also in South Dallas, but the Romine Avenue houses represent the most intact group of Tudor Revival-inspired houses in the project area. They offer a contrast to the 1910s and 1920s wood frame bungalows and cottages that dominate the streetscapes in the area. Several of the original families who purchased houses on Romine, including members of the Hutchinson, Carter, Keary, Jackson and Christian families, were still living
in the houses in the 1940s and three were still there in 1982. It is again remarkable that throughout the Great Depression, eight of the 17 homes were owner-occupied. Several homeowners were prominent throughout Dallas' black community including teacher A.S. Jackson, Jr., son of influential New Hope Baptist Church leader, A. S. Jackson, Sr., and L. Virgin Williams, principal of Booker T. Washington High School.

During the 1920s a number of commercial buildings were constructed in the Queen City area, particularly along Metropolitan and Romine avenues, two of the earliest thoroughfares in South Dallas, and on Atlanta Street (see Queen City Heights Historic District). Among them were Isaac Andres' grocery at 4121 Metropolitan Avenue, Mrs. Phila Harrott's store at 2704 Romine Avenue, and Philip Hechtman's grocery at 3111 Atlanta Street. One of the most notable was Louis J. Hayden's new brick grocery store at 3741 Atlanta Avenue. Hayden owned a grocery store on Atlanta Street since about 1910 but his business expanded by 1925 to warrant the construction of a 2-story building at the northwest corner of Atlanta and Romine streets. Hayden went on to own more than 20 rental houses and several other businesses in the Queen City area and his brick store building is considered a South Dallas landmark. Several stores appeared along the Myrtle streetcar line after it was extended to this area in 1912 including Armstrong & Grace's store at 4701 Myrtle and the Dance Grocery and Market at 4709 Myrtle Avenue (City directory, 1925). It appears that while Atlanta Street had a number of established commercial enterprises by 1920, but Myrtle Street, directly on the streetcar line had more businesses that specifically catered and advertised to African Americans. All of these establishments were located south of the "color line".

Although the Myrtle line provided transportation for most of South Dallas' residents, the private automobile was beginning to make its presence known in the early 1920s. Two service stations were listed in the 1925 City Directory: S & L Service Station at 3319 Meyers near Wheatley Place and Getson T. Hayden's Queen City Service Station at 3731 Atlanta. In a June 16, 1923 edition of the Dallas Express there is an advertisement for Lingo Lumber Co. soliciting "Your patronage" to build in Cedar Springs Park, a new colored addition on Mockingbird Lane. They offered free auto car rides as an incentive to bring prospective buyers to the area (Dallas Express, June 16, 1923: 2). In one of the most distant additions, south of Hatcher Street, scores of identical homes shown on the 1922 Sanborn map had identical auto garages all situated at the same angle from their houses. Apparently they were amenities of the subdivision indicating, perhaps, the developers' faith that automobile transportation would supplant the streetcars (Sanborn maps, 1922: vol. 4). Streetcars never did extend that far south to the subdivisions.
Most of these South Dallas suburban additions lay outside the city limits until about 1925, when a large segment of the project area, including nearly its traditionally African-American communities, was annexed by the city of Dallas. Although South Dallas was becoming increasingly identified with African Americans in the 1920s and 1930s, Dallas’ historic black neighborhoods were more centrally-located. A centennial edition of the Dallas Morning News printed in 1935, listed 40,000 "negroes" in the Dallas Metropolitan area. It identified the "well-known haunts of the negro" in Dallas as Deep Ellum and Central Avenue, in east-central and central Dallas, well to the north of the project area. The article also mentioned the original post-Civil War villages of Freedmantown and Stringtown as forerunners of the "chief negro community" centered around Hall, State, and Thomas Avenue (Dallas Morning News, October 1, 1935). City directories for the year confirm that the majority of prominent and professional blacks lived in that area. There was no mention of South Dallas in this regard, possibly because it was relatively new to the city and contained a smaller black population. Also, many of Dallas' black leaders, officers in the NAACP and the Progressive Voter’s League lived and worked on Thomas, Hall and State streets, in central Dallas, at that time (Gee and Williams, n.d.). Another reason South Dallas might have been overlooked was that it lacked the notoriety of areas like Deep Ellum, with its blues clubs and redlight districts. South Dallas was primarily a residential black community that had rapidly, but only recently, begun to affect greater Dallas at that time.

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

Here the poor are lodged in squalid, dilapidated shanties and frame houses of the "shotgun" type, some without the elementary conveniences and almost all unfit for human habitation. . . . a low income group, the majority of negro residents are compelled to live in dwellings of this sort although many are home owners, particularly in the exclusively Negro sections (WPA, 1940: Box 4157).
It was also estimated that 25 percent of blacks living in the city resided in servants' houses on their employers' lots. Efforts to rid the central city of its housing blight created a housing shortage in that area. Many prominent African Americans who could afford to do so, purchased single-family houses in South Dallas neighborhoods like Wheatley Place, English Place and Romine Avenue. Still others flocked to the large black additions, such as Ideal and Lincoln Manor, that had been platted to the south of the project area. Although multi-family housing projects replaced single-family dwellings in the central city, until the 1960s almost all of South Dallas' African-American neighborhoods consisted of single-family residences. It was common, however, for members of several different families to share houses, particularly in lower income areas. Indicative of the major shift of Dallas' black population to the far south was the 1939 construction of the new Lincoln (Negro) High School at 5000 S. Oakland Avenue at the southern end of the project area. WPA files note that Wheatley Park at Nellie and McDermott streets, and Colonial Park at Wendelkin and Pennsylvania avenues were two of four "Negro Parks" in the city (WPA, 1940: Box 4J57). The location of the city's black parks is evidence of large black populations not only in South Dallas but across the H&TC tracks in Colonial Hill.

World War II brought many more blacks into South Dallas to work in defense industries, solidifying South Dallas' identification as the predominant African-American neighborhood. In addition, many prominent leaders of Dallas' African-American community moved to South Dallas in the aftermath of a program of "slum clearance" in their central city neighborhoods around Thomas, Good, and Hall streets. A comparison of 1922, 1934 and 1945 city directories shows the relocation of prominent black families, identified in Black Presence in Dallas, from central Dallas addresses to those in South Dallas. Charles Asberry, a well-known teacher at Booker T. Washington High School, moved to 3741 Atlanta between 1922 and 1934; Clarence Carr, principal of Booker T. Washington, moved to 2241 Casey (now Metropolitan) between 1922 and 1934; the family of Juanita Craft, celebrated Civil Rights activist, moved to Warren Avenue between 1934 and 1945; John Rice, editor of the Dallas Express moved to his Dunbar Street home between 1934 and 1945; the family of Harold Wendell Lang, a distinguished professor of Education, moved to 3917 Atlanta in 1934 and to 2830 McDermott in 1944. Dr. Lang was a graduate of Wheatley Elementary and Lincoln High School. St. Paul AME pastor, Reverend Ira B. Loud's family moved to 2615 Burger between 1922 and 1934; John Henry Mackey, a district manager for Atlanta Life Insurance, moved to 3801 Myrtle Street where he started the Myrtle Street Improvement Club, between 1934 and 1945; Joseph J. McMillan, principal of Wheatley School, moved to 2308 Jordan between 1934 and 1945.
In the early history of the Queen City neighborhood, school for African-American children were conducted in several of the area churches including Mt. Moriah Church on Latimer Street. City directories indicate that there were suburban Negro schools in several locations in South Dallas around the turn of the century, as well. The first Dallas public school for African-American students in the project area, though, was Wheatley School, on Metropolitan Avenue to the South of Wheatley Place. Area residents were proud of the school, particularly when the original frame building built about 1919, was replaced by a brick structure in 1929. South Dallas students traveled to Booker T. Washington School, in central Dallas, until 1939 when Lincoln High School was built in Far South Dallas. After African-American neighborhoods expanded into the surrounding traditionally white communities, previously white schools were designated for Negro use. Charles B. Rice School, originally Ascher Silberstein School, on Pine Street, and James Madison High School, formerly Forest Avenue High, on Martin Luther King Blvd., became designated as Negro schools in the mid-1950s. Today, nearly all their students are African Americans who live in the surrounding neighborhoods.

Churches played an important role in the development of South Dallas’ African-American communities, particularly in the formative years of the Queen City area. By 1900, at least four historic African-American congregations had established churches near Queen City at Atlanta and Romine streets. St. Paul’s AME, originally begun about 1898 on S. Central Avenue, Mt. Moriah Church, established in 1898 near its present site on Latimer Street, St. John’s Primitive Baptist Church, formed in 1892, also near its present site on Latimer Street, and Romine Avenue Christian Church, reported to have been established as early as 1873, near its present site on Romine Avenue were essential in establishing a community core for African-American settlement in the area. In addition, many white churches were purchased by African-American congregations when their parishioners moved out of their neighborhoods in the 1940s and 1950s. They include the Colonial Baptist Church (now New Zion Baptist) at 2210 Pine Street, and Trinity Lutheran Church (now Mt. Olive Lutheran), at 3100 Martin Luther King Blvd. Trinity Lutheran is one of the oldest, intact churches in South Dallas, but it is also known for its early associations with the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s. As Mt. Olive Lutheran Church, the congregation was one of the only integrated congregations in South Dallas and its pastor and members were at forefront of Civil Rights and social reform activities.

In addition to the churches and schools in the area, there were several black cemeteries located in South Dallas. Two were established about 1935, probably as a result of the Ideal and Elite Additions in far South Dallas in the 1920s. They were the Woodlawn
and Hillside Cemeteries which adjoined on the south side of Hatcher Street between Second and Oakland. Lincoln Memorial Cemetery, containing 43 acres on Kaufman Road, opened in 1930 and was said to "rank as one of the finest negro cemeteries in the South". Oakland Cemetery, at 3808 Oakland Avenue, was established in the 1890s for whites and engulfed a large tract between McDermott Street, below Wheatley Place, and Pine Street, between Oakland Avenue and Meadow Street. According to the *Dallas Morning News*, it was considered "one of the city's most beautiful burying grounds". Although the paper didn't mention it, Oakland Cemetery contained both Negro or Confederate sections (*Dallas Morning News*, October 1, 1935). The cemeteries also stimulated a number of ancillary businesses in South Dallas. Oakland Avenue, in particular, had several florist shops, nurseries, marble works and other funerary businesses established early in the century (Sanborn maps, 1922).

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

*East Dallas*

The first neighborhoods to be developed east of the Dallas central business district were in the old separate city of East Dallas. The area experienced successive waves of development "starting with Victorian houses and followed by frame, two-story Prairie homes, brick mansions and finally frame cottages and bungalows" (Caswell, 1986: 32). In addition to the residences, there are many pre-World War II apartment complexes, commercial and institutional buildings throughout the district, especially along the old streetcar routes. The East Dallas project area boundaries are Haskell and Fitzhugh avenues on the west and east, Ross Avenue and Main Street on the north and south. The project area lies completely within the boundaries of the old city of East Dallas, and is considered by many to be the heart of that early, separate municipality. Three major forces that shaped the development of East Dallas were the arrival of the railroads, the establishment of the Texas State Fair and the network of street railways that determined routes of growth.
The early settlement of East Dallas from 1855 until the town's incorporation in 1882, was agricultural in nature. The first recorded settlement occurred in 1855 when Captain Jefferson Peak purchased a large tract of land far to the northeast of Dallas and built a farmhouse near the corner of present-day Worth and Peak streets. Peak had passed through Texas in 1846 to fight in the Mexican War and in 1855 he returned with his family to settle east of the emerging town of Dallas (Butterfield, 1875: Peak). An 1880s map of East Dallas shows that Peak owned roughly half the land bounded by Ross Avenue and Main Street to the north and south, Haskell and Carroll streets to the west and east, constituting more than a quarter of the project area. When the land was platted in 1879, it consisted of more than 16 city blocks.

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

Although the railroads promised to spur building activity in East Dallas, the area remained sparsely settled due to an economic downturn in 1875 that stalled development for some time (Powers, 1969: 19). The area was heavily wooded, especially along Mill Creek as it flowed through Exall Park along Hall Street, just east of the project area, toward The Cedars in South Dallas (McDonald, 1978: 137). There was little building or street construction in the project area east of Washington Street prior to the late 1870s, although the Butterfield and Rundlett Official Map of Dallas shows East Dallas as a platted entity by 1875 (Mabry, 1984:16). A small commercial district sprang up around the depot and consisted of a few boarding houses, lumber yards and restaurants that survived only because of the railroad traffic (Powers, 1969: 14). One mule-drawn streetcar line, operated by the Dallas Street Railroad Company, ran out Ross Avenue and up San Jacinto Street. Built by Colonel William J. Keller in 1875, the San Jacinto line, as it was known, was the only line
to serve the area until 1882. Its primary purpose was to bring passengers from the depot to the downtown Dallas business district (Powers, 1969: 19, 36).

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

When the economy recovered in the latter part of the 1870s, East Dallas began to experience the same wild, uncontrolled growth that was afflicting central and South Dallas (McDonald, 1978: 137). Many businesses began building east along the streetcar line that stretched from downtown Dallas to the railroad depot. The Fairgrounds drew people to the area, and many began investing in property nearby. By 1882, the community had grown so rapidly that its leading citizens, among them Peak, Gaston and rancher Christopher Columbus Slaughter, met and voted to incorporate as the separate municipality of East Dallas (Saxon, 1983: 10). At the time of its annexation, which took effect the last day of 1889, the land area of East Dallas was actually larger than that of Dallas.

Between November 1882 and 1889, the separately incorporated city of East Dallas undertook a number of projects to enhance the growth of the town. It set up a school district, erected a combination City Hall and schoolhouse building, commissioned a street railroad to go out San Jacinto Street, and extended Ross and Haskell avenues to its city limits - those of the project area - Fitzhugh Avenue and Main Street. During that time William Gaston, who served as Treasurer of the town, headed the State Fair and Exposition Association and purchased 80 acres of land to the southwest of the project area for a new Fairgrounds. It has remained the location of the State Fair and was instrumental in bringing street railroads and visitors to the area, aiding in its development (Mabry, 1984: 10). When the city of Dallas acquired East Dallas, along with several unincorporated suburban parcels, on the last day of December, 1889, Dallas became the largest city in Texas for the 1890 census (Keith, 1930: 168; Dallas Morning News, October 1, 1935). It was both the first and last time in its history that Dallas had the honor.
East Dallas' single largest landowner, Jefferson Peak, platted his first subdivision in 1874 along Ross Avenue (Mabry, 1984: 3), but in the mid-1880s, Captain Peak still owned most of the land bounded by Ross Avenue, Main Street, Haskell and Carroll streets (East Dallas Map: 1880s). It wasn't until after Peak's in 1885 that his son, Junius, began large-scale subdivision of the family's extensive holdings. The land around the old Peak homestead at Worth and Peak streets was sold by Junius Peak in 1897, although it wasn't developed until the economy began to revive after the depressions of the 1890s. Once construction started up again, the subdivision of Peak's homestead land spurred many housing starts in the area (McDonald, 1978: 129). Major East Dallas streets still bear the Peak's name and those of his children: Junius, Worth, Victor and Carroll. Although the original Peak farmhouse is gone, Junius Peak's home still stands at 4409 Worth Street.

Another highly influential force in East Dallas real estate development during the late 1880s and early 1890s was Jefferson Peak's son-in-law, Thomas Field. Through his firm, Field and Field Real Estate and Financial Agents, Thomas Field either owned, controlled or influenced the sale of large parcels of East Dallas real estate. He "flamboyantly promoted his extensive East Dallas holdings in 1884 with the construction of a palatial residence (razed 1922) in the middle of his property" (McDonald, 1978: 137) located on Peak Avenue between Gaston and Junius streets. His real estate promotion was characteristic of the boomtown atmosphere that enveloped all of Dallas during the years between the arrival of the railroads and the depressions of the 1890s: grandiose and unfettered. Many elaborate mansions were constructed on Swiss and Gaston avenues during the 1890s in addition to smaller but substantial homes on Live Oak, Junius, and Worth streets (Saxon, 1983: 16)(see Peak's Suburban Addition Historic District). Most of the largest homes were demolished and their lots sold for redevelopment between 1920 and 1950 (Sanborn maps 1905, 1922; Dallas City Directories).

One of East Dallas' first organized real estate developments was the result of a streetcar enterprise. Street railroads became popular with real estate promoters who purchased large sections of land and then built streetcar lines to the property. Prior to the construction of their San Jacinto street railroad in East Dallas, brothers C. E. and W. J. Keller purchased about 100 acres of land at its eventual terminus (Powers, 1969: 59, 22). In 1886, Colonel Keller extended the line south, down Washington Avenue, to the fairgrounds where he created Shady View Park, a small picnic grounds, as an attraction to potential buyers. The Kellers had successfully promoted The Cedars in this manner and the practice became a hallmark of streetcar/real estate promotions during this speculative era. T. S. Marsalis promoted his Oak Cliff suburb (See Historic and Architectural Resources of Oak
Cliff, NR 1994) which opened in 1887, with enticements of a park with a pavillion and a baseball field. Still others ran streetcar lines past cemeteries to their property hoping to attract those who spent their Sunday outings visiting their dearly departed (Powers, 1969: 63). Keller's Addition was the first of its kind in East Dallas. The first home constructed in Keller's Addition was Keller's own, at the northeast corner of Ross and Washington avenues in that same year. Keller's Addition, and Ross Avenue in particular, boasted some of the most prestigious addresses in Dallas from about 1885 to 1920, but all of East Dallas prospered in the boom of the late 1880s and early 1890s (McDonald, 1978: 137, 147).

The proliferation of streetcar lines between 1887 and 1893 was probably the most important factor contributing to the success of East Dallas during that period. Many neighborhoods existed only because they had streetcar access and developers took advantage of that fact. McDonald explains:

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

In 1892, East Dallas development had grown along Swiss Avenue, Live Oak and Bryan streets to their intersections with Texas and Cantegral streets, just west of the project area. This was the exact area covered by street railroads at that time (Goeden, 1986: 47). After a construction hiatus of nearly ten years, following the economic depressions of 1893 and 1897, streetcar lines resumed the lead in determining the direction of suburban development in Dallas.

Most areas vied for streetcar access but Swiss Avenue residents petitioned the city commissioners against installing a railway along their street because of the noise and commotion (Powers, 1969: 47). When St. Mary's Episcopal College opened up between Ross and Bryan, though, they recanted as people clamored for transportation to the prestigious school. The result was that the Dallas Consolidated Street Railway Company obtained the right of way across Swiss Avenue to Texas Street, from Texas Street to Live Oak Street, then north on Peak Avenue to Bryan Street all the way to Garrett Street, traversing the entire width of the project area. Service was initiated about 1888 and the
Bryan line, as it was known, became the major crosstown streetcar serving the northern section of East Dallas (Powers, 1969: 78; Eidt, conversation, 1990), opening up all of East Dallas to wide-scale development. Between 1886 and 1890, Dallas real estate transfers jumped from under $6 million to over $14 million, much of it concentrated in East Dallas. The completion of the Bryan line was followed by the opening of Middleton Brothers’ Addition, Hunstable’s College Hill Addition, Livingston Place, Peak’s Addition, Caruth Heights, Nussbaumer and McCoy’s Addition and the Belmont Addition, between 1888 and 1892 (McDonald, 1978: 153). All were accessible to the Bryan line.

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

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

Although Dallas began to rebound from the depression about 1898, East Dallas did not fully recover for almost a decade after the crash (Dallas Morning News, October 1, 1935). When the economy began to pick up there was a resurgence of residential building in the area, particularly in the project area, and churches and schools were constructed to accommodate the increased population. David Crockett Elementary School, built in 1903 by the firm of C. W. Bulger and Son on Carroll Street, is the oldest extant school in the city of Dallas (see Alcalde Street-Crockett School Historic District). Bulger and Son also designed the Colonial School in the Colonial Hill section but they specialized in Baptist churches. One of the best examples of their work is the Classical Gaston Avenue Baptist Church, built between 1902 and 1904 at the southwest corner of Gaston and Haskell avenues (McDonald, 1978: 161). Another important early church in the area was the East Dallas Christian Church, at 631 N. Peak, founded about 1905. The current church replaced an earlier dwelling on that site. The imposing Classical Revival mansion at the corner of Peak and Swiss avenues was originally built as a residence but it served the prestigious Terrill School for Boys as a dormitory through the 1920s (Sanborn maps 1905, 1922; Dallas City Directories). Dominating the 4100 block of Junius Street, at North Haskell Avenue, is the Gothic Revival-style Grace Methodist Episcopal Church designed by W. A. Caan in 1903. The church sanctuary and its 1925 education annex are listed on the National Register of Historic Places (NR, 1982). Parishioner Henrietta Eidt recounted that Grace Church was considered to be "the silk-stocking church of East Dallas" because of the many well-to-do residents of exclusive Munger Place who attended its services (Eidt, conversation, March 30, 1990). These East Dallas institutional and religious structures are among the city’s outstanding architectural landmarks remaining from the early 1900s.

East Dallas grew tremendously after about 1902, especially east of Washington Avenue and into the project area, as many old estates and farmlands were subdivided for new residences. Between 1902 and 1922 the entire project area became filled in, particularly along streetcar routes, with only an occasional vacant lot between buildings or estates. The 1899 Sanborn maps show Haskell Avenue as the eastern boundary of most development, but by 1905 that boundary extended to Carroll Street below Gaston Avenue and all the way east to Fitzhugh Avenue above it (Gooden, 1986: 47). Houses that date from this period include
those at 4620 Swiss Avenue, 4800 Victor Avenue, 4503 Junius Avenue, and 1007 Moreland Street. In 1905 the development between Haskell Avenue and Carroll Street north of Elm Street was almost entirely residential with the exception of the schools, churches, one store, a carpenter shop, and a nursery. Ross Avenue continued its role as "Dallas' Fifth Avenue" as it extended into the project area with the erection of magnificent Colonial Revival and Prairie School-influenced houses, almost all of which have been demolished. One of the few remaining palatial residences on Ross Avenue is that built by Charles H. Alexander, c. 1906, at the northeast corner of Ross Avenue and Annex Street. It was purchased and restored by the Dallas Women's Forum in 1930 (McDonald, 1978: 141, 143). An exception to the overall residential character of East Dallas was the placement of the Dallas Consolidated Street Railway complex, covering three-quarters of the block between Elm and Main streets where they crossed Peak Avenue (Sanborn maps, 1899, 1905).

Two factors were taking shape in 1905 that had a major impact on housing styles and development in East Dallas. One was the shift in the popularity from the later Victorian-era styles to the emerging Prairie School and Mission Revival styles. The other was the development of Munger Place, one of Dallas' first planned, heavily-restricted, neighborhoods (Gooden, 1986: 51; Munger Place Historic District, NR 1978). After carefully researching several restricted-residence parks in other cities, Robert S. Munger bought raw farmland near prestigious St. Mary's College and began development of Munger Place. Between 1905-1925, some of Dallas' most promising architects gained their reputations building modern, progressive homes in Mission Revival, Colonial Revival and Spanish Colonial Revival variations on Frank Lloyd Wright's Prairie School style. Some of the finest are along Swiss and Gaston avenues (MacDonald, 1978: 161; Swiss Avenue Historic District, NR 1974). Although no part of this project area was in Munger Place proper, the planned development lay immediately to the east and many East Dallas houses constructed during this time were built in the same styles including those at 4108, 4409, 4726, 4818 and 4826 Swiss Avenue and at 4310 and 4400 Gaston Avenue. Munger Place shared the same streetcar lines and major thoroughfares as the rest of East Dallas but it did not share the methods of development.

Munger chose to skip over East Dallas for his subdivision, perhaps in part because of the noisome and flood-prone creeks that flowed through the area (Caswell, 1986: 33) but more likely because East Dallas was so unevenly developed. There was much vacant land in the project area in 1905 but Munger purchased a large, vacant tract of cotton land beyond its eastern edge that offered him an opportunity to completely control the layout and design of a new subdivision. Munger attempted to avoid the commercial and industrial encroachment
that plagued previous developments like The Cedars by regulating all aspects of his development long before Dallas enacted restrictive zoning ordinances of its own. "Uniformity was achieved by meeting zoning restrictions, such as height, distance from the street, and cost minimums; they [houses] generally have symmetrical facade elevations, central dormers over the entry bay, low-pitched roofs, and broad front porches supported on heavy pillars" (Texas Historical Commission, 1984: 44). Deed restrictions excluded blacks and other "non-whites". Other restrictions governed landscaping and outbuildings and placed utilities and services off the main streets. The appeal of a planned, uniform neighborhood was tremendous in Dallas and attracted judges, doctors, lawyers, railroad magnates and oilmen (Caswell, 1986: 26). East Dallas, with its array of out-of-fashion mansions, haphazardly placed outbuildings, and vacant lots adjacent to rows of simple frame houses and the beginnings of commercial nodes at streetcar intersections, could not compete with Munger Place for exclusivity. Junius Heights, Highland Park and Vickery Place, followed Munger Place in 1906 and 1907 and drew the prosperous middle- and upper-class homeowners further east and away from old East Dallas.

Commercial enterprises began to appear as early as 1905, according to Sanborn maps. They tended to proliferate on the streetcar lines, especially at the intersections of two lines. A comparison of 1905 and 1922 Sanborn maps shows the profound influence these intersecting carlines had in converting residential areas to commercial. There are notable commercial buildings at 4300, 4301, and 4311 Bryan Avenue, and in the 1300 block of N. Peak Avenue, where the Bryan line intersected with the Peak carline. The intersection of streetcar lines at Elm and Peak streets also prompted a commercial district at the juncture, but streetcar barns engulfed two corners of the intersection.

Interurban railways began service to Dallas about 1908 and had a profound effect on the neighborhoods through which they ran. The Bryan interurban line was established in 1908 and ran along the same street as the streetcar (Gooden, 1986: 55). It is notable that by 1922, Bryan Avenue had the greatest amount of commercial buildings in the project area, particularly at its intersection with Peak Avenue, the crosstown streetcar line.

Although streetcar lines dictated much of Dallas' suburban development since their introduction in the city, automobiles began to affect building patterns by the 1910s. The first automobile was registered in Dallas County in 1901, and by 1917 registration had increased to about 15,000, most of it in the city of Dallas (Gooden, 1986: 56). The automobile eventually changed the way suburban growth and development occurred in Dallas and served to push the city even further from its center. Some East Dallas developers began addressing
the automobile in their promotions as early as the mid-1910s, in addition to their streetcar access. While R. S. Munger took care to court the extension of Consolidated's streetcar lines to his development, Munger Place, with its superior paving and main house-fronting streets located off the streetcar lines, was "automobile ready" from its inception (Gooden, 1986: 52). Munger's early advertisements for "the Place" touted its paving as "ideal for carriages and automobiles, as well as for mud-free walks to the streetcar", but by 1917 the focus had shifted in favor of the automobile, "Only 20 minutes' car ride... You can motor out... in half the time--10 minutes" (Gooden, 1986: 58).

During the 1910s and 1920s a number of fine Mission Revival and Prairie School-influenced houses, as well as smaller bungalows and cottages, were built in pockets between earlier subdivisions and in previously undeveloped areas to completely fill in the remainder of East Dallas (see Didaco & Ida Bianchi House, DAL/DA 599 and Thomas Shiels House, DAL/DA 594). But as the popularity of Highland Park, Munger Place and other outlying developments grew, land and building uses in the older part of the project area began to change. By 1922, almost no vacant areas remained in the project area with the exception of the large estates built before about 1905. When their wealthy owners began moving to the more fashionable developments farther out, the estates were broken up for re-development one by one.

The sporadic evolution and re-definition of the area continued to contribute to the uneven appearance of East Dallas. The 1922 Sanborn maps show many large houses with a handful of large estates remaining on Swiss and Gaston avenues, but commercial development had already replaced residences along the crosstown streetcar routes of Bryan, San Jacinto and Elm streets, and along Peak Avenue running perpendicular to and connecting the crosstown lines (Sanborn maps 1905, 1922). At the southern boundary of the project area, the Main and Elm Street lines converged at Carroll Street where they merged into the Columbia line along the southern edge of Munger Place. A major commercial node including restaurants, drugstores, groceries and dry cleaning establishments appeared along the lines and at their intersections by 1922. In 1922, there was a fire on Peak Street that burned 32 houses to the ground (WPA, 1940: Box 4157). The houses were replaced with commercial enterprises taking advantage of the streetcar frontage. The James W. Fannin Elementary School (1915, DAL/DA 185) at 4800 Ross Avenue became the second school at this location reflecting the continued growth and redevelopment occurring in the East Dallas area through the 1920s. New churches also appeared including the Central Congregational Church (1920, DAL/DA 96) and a few years later Emanuel Lutheran Church (1931, DAL/DA 194).
As Dallas’ population increased in the first decades of this century, greater low-cost and temporary housing demands in the central city areas resulted in more intensive re-development of such close-in neighborhoods. One of the most outstanding changes that took place in the project area between about 1915 and 1930 was the advent of large apartment buildings such as the Viola Court Apartments at 4845 Swiss Avenue (NR, 1984). By 1922, boarding houses and apartments began cropping up in the streets bounded by Swiss and Gaston avenues between Haskell Avenue and Carroll Street, replacing some of the area’s largest estates and mansions (Gooden, 1986: 69; Sanborn maps 1922). The Dallas City Directory for 1930 lists a remarkable number of 3-story apartment buildings at almost every intersection in the project area. Two notable apartment buildings constructed at this time were the Claremont Apartments (1924, DAL/DA 186) at 4636 Ross Avenue and the Mary Apartments (1925, DAL/DA 15) at 4524 Live Oak Street. Both were located within a block and a half of intersecting streetcar lines.

The changing role of women in the urban workforce and the migration of young, single men and women to the city from rural communities during the early 20th century, prompted new solutions to housing needs. Large numbers of young people flocked to cities like Dallas in search of work in the post-World War I era, in particular. Suitable housing was at a premium and organizations like the Young Women’s and Men’s Christian Associations (YWCA & YMCA) established residence halls in cities throughout the country. These dormitory-like halls provided safe, clean and inexpensive rooms for single women and men. They also provided a wholesome family type of atmosphere for their residents, most of whom had never before lived away from home. Several such residence halls were established in Dallas, including Proctor Hall (1921, DAL/DA 180), built at 1206 N. Haskell in East Dallas. The East Dallas location had good streetcar access to downtown offices while maintaining its largely residential character.

The streetcar lines continued to serve the project area throughout the 1920s and 1930s, but they no longer figured prominently in its development as a residential neighborhood. The principal contribution of the lines from that time forward was in re-development. The conversion of properties from residential to commercial use along main streetcar routes initiated a trend that continued past the streetcar era to the present, eroding the residential fabric on adjacent streets (Sanborn maps, 1905, 1922). The intersection of two major crosstown streetcar lines at Bryan and Peak avenues, provided the impetus for the redevelopment of adjacent lots from residential use to a well-developed commercial node by the early 1920s. Retailers learned early that streetcar stops were good locations for neighborhood stores and services. It was most convenient for customers to purchase
groceries and household at their streetcar stop on their way home from work and it was also a great boon to housewives to have several stores or shops in one location. As a result, commercial nodes appeared along main streetcar lines and at their intersections. At the same time, the noise of streetcars drove some home owners to sell out and move elsewhere. The proliferation of commercial businesses on previously residential streets, discouraged owner-occupancy along the streetcar lines and home owners often sold their houses for commercial redevelopment or as rental property. Peak Avenue became a conduit for institutional, multi-family, and commercial buildings as early as the 1920s. The commercial nodes that developed at its intersections with other major streetcar lines at Bryan and Elm, provided the principal shopping and service areas for the East Dallas neighborhoods.

Lack of zoning regulations encouraged mixed use in East Dallas at a time when real estate developers were adding their own restrictions against commercial encouragement in the outlying neighborhoods of Munger Place and Highland Park. Increased commercial and manufacturing operations in East Dallas resulted, particularly where easily they were accessible by streetcar. By the mid-1920s, the Bryan-Peak commercial node was a full service shopping center with drug and grocery stores, clothing and hardware stores, restaurants, movie theaters, dry cleaners and a post office (see Bryan-Peak Commercial Historic District). In 1928, the Mrs. Baird’s Bread Company (DAL/DA 111) installed its first branch bakery outside Fort Worth at the corner of Bryan and Carroll Streets, a block from the commercial node. It was one of the first wholesale businesses in the area and eventually employed 300 people by the time it was sold in the 1950s. The introduction of a manufacturing operation in East Dallas further contributed to its decline as a residential area. From that time forward, East Dallas was increasingly perceived as a haven for types of development that were prohibited in the more popular restricted neighborhoods then being developed farther east and north.

Streetcars themselves were beginning to decline in importance as automobile use increased. Dallas County led the state with 34,000 automobiles registered in 1921. Garages, gas stations and parking areas were beginning to appear on the city’s landscape. Ironically, the Ross Avenue mansion of former street-railway president, Jules E. Schneider, was torn down in 1919 and replaced with a car sales lot (Gooden, 1986: 70). Streetcar ridership increased slightly through the 1920s until its height in 1929 (Gooden, 1986: 71). After that year, the Great Depression eliminated many work-related trips, and ridership fell steadily until the latter 1930s. Even though public transportation increased during World War II when the government restricted fuel and tires, streetcars never again had the prominence they held in the pre-automobile years of suburban real estate development.
The Great Depression and Texas Centennial Fair in 1936 both encouraged multi-family use of older dwellings in East Dallas. Although apartment buildings appeared in East Dallas as early as the mid-1910s, very few houses were built specifically as boarding houses. The hard years of the depression forced some families to take in boarders or to divide their houses up into several apartments like those at 1007 Mooreland and 713 N. Carroll (city directories, var.). During the Centennial, large houses in Munger Place were divided into rooms that rented for $1.00 per night (Eidt, conversation 3/30/90). By the end of the 1930s, Writer’s Project researcher Paul Myers described East Dallas in these terms:

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

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

World War II brought or expanded a number of defense-related industries to Dallas, such as the Ford Motor plant on East Grand Avenue that produced military vehicles (Gooden, 1986: 77, 86). People flocked to the city for the jobs and the resultant housing shortage accelerated the conversion of East Dallas from a primarily single-family residential area to a multi-family neighborhood. The government unwittingly assisted that process by
asking local residents to rent rooms to the temporary workers to aid the war effort. Many who owned large homes in East Dallas patriotically complied with the request, which served to further identify the area with multi-family housing. This image may have led to the post-war re-zoning of the entire area for apartments. In some cases the older houses were demolished for apartment buildings and parking lots (Gooden, 1986: 86). Another change since World War II has been the ethnic makeup of East Dallas that includes more Hispanic and African-American residents. In recent years a number of Asian immigrants have settled in East Dallas neighborhoods, adding to its multi-culturality.

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

INTRODUCTION

Dallas’ suburban buildings built during the city’s rapid expansion in the late 19th and early 20th centuries reflect significant changes in architectural forms and development patterns. Much of this is the result of technological advances in construction and the production of building materials. New and expanding transportation systems and modes greatly stimulated the suburbanization process. The portions of East Dallas and South Dallas on which this property-type discussion focuses are fairly typical of the patterns of other Dallas suburbs and other Texas cities that experienced rapid growth from the 1880s to World War II. In East Dallas, sporadic, low-density development already existed as new neighborhoods were created on re-subdivided parcels around the turn of the century. The planning and development of South Dallas was more systematic, though the uneasy coexistence of European American and African-American communities -- divided by a "color-line" -- strongly affected the configuration, and later the transformation, of the neighborhood. Only a few vernacular and High Style domestic buildings survive from the Victorian period in these neighborhoods, and many of them are altered.

Property types identified in East and South Dallas intensive surveys are Domestic buildings (3,829 or about 94.5%); Commercial Buildings (184 or about 4.5%); Institutional Buildings (32 or less than 1%); Infrastructural Elements (7); and Industrial Buildings (2). This discussion focuses on the three primary property types and addresses infrastructural elements and industrial operations as subsidiary components of the prevailing property types.

PROPERTY TYPE: DOMESTIC BUILDINGS

Description

Domestic building types found in East and South Dallas are defined by original or intended use (or pre-1940 change in use), broad architectural movements, form and stylistic influences. The three primary categories of domestic buildings according to use are Domestic single-family dwellings, Domestic multiple-unit dwellings, and Domestic auxiliary buildings. Superimposed on these use-defined types are broadly defined architectural movements, which are the Victorian-era; the late 19th and early 20th century modern American movements (which are referred to hereafter as the Popular movement); and the Revival Style movements. Vernacular, modest revival-styled, and eclectic domiciles most
often transcend the periods of strong stylistic trends. Plan-types and building form
typologies provide another system of building categorization, especially for the vast majority
of buildings not clearly distinguished as, or influenced by, a specific style.

Multiple-unit domestic buildings and auxiliary buildings are distinct, but less
conspicuous, elements of early suburban expansion. The forms of these buildings clearly
suggest their original function, except for boarding houses, many of which resemble or were
originally built as single-family dwellings.

Apartment buildings with two to ten units are numerous in East Dallas. These
buildings initiated the third wave of development that changed residential neighborhoods to
higher density, commercial uses from the 1920s to the 1960s. Typical apartment buildings
are 2-story, 4-plex blocks of brick-veneer construction. Each unit has four to six rooms,
including a bathroom and one or two bedrooms. A slightly projecting bay, or infrequently,
an inset courtyard, distinguishes the entry. The brick or stucco buildings incorporate popular
or revival-styled motifs, which often determines the roof forms. Steep-pitched gable roofs
cover Tudor Revival apartment buildings, while flat roofs with tile pent roofs are attached to
the parapets of Mission and Spanish Colonial Revival apartment buildings. Larger apartment
buildings of the period have two or more entries. Apartment buildings fill most of their
multi-lot sites, leaving little room for the insubstantial frame parking structures which
sometimes stand at the rear of the sites. Boarding houses are more likely to imitate single-
family dwellings in East and South Dallas. Most 1930s-1940s boarding houses are Four-
square dwellings that were carved into small apartments or changed to rooming houses with
common bath and kitchen facilities. The forms of these buildings, construction materials,
and stylistic detailing are harmonious with the neighborhood character.

A dramatic exception to typical boarding houses is Proctor Hall -- a large, dormitory-
like building in East Dallas that is not only substantial in scale, but serves as a fine example
of Georgian-Revival Style architecture. In many ways, this subtype, which is found in other
parts of Dallas, transcends narrowly defined domestic property types, and can be categorized
as domestic-institutional or domestic-commercial because of their dual functions.

Auxiliary buildings of suburban developments are the small structures that augment
single-family dwellings or apartments. The vast majority of these are auto garages that are
modest in scale and construction. They range from box-frame, single-stall enclosures, to 2-
story frame or brick-veneered double garages with second-story apartments. The most
elaborate of these are detailed similarly to the main building. A few exceptional and rare urban examples of historic ancillary buildings found in East and South Dallas are small sheds and a privy.

**Victorian Era (1880s-1910)**

The Victorian-period domestic buildings that pre-date the suburban expansion into East and South Dallas were relatively few in number, especially in South Dallas, which was mostly farmland. A few houses remain from this period, including Queen Anne-influenced designs typical of the large suburban country houses on the outskirts of early Dallas, and vernacular houses in both East and South Dallas. These rare circa 1890s houses might be on their original sites, although they were more likely relocated, just as many others were razed when re-subdivision and changing land use occurred after 1900. Typical Victorian-period houses found in rural South Dallas and, less frequently, East Dallas are modest buildings with modified L-plan forms. Also existing, in fewer numbers, are L-plan, T-plan, shotgun, center-passage, and I-house forms. All of these dwellings are of frame construction with weatherboard or "false bevel drop" (McAlester:41) siding. The addition of asbestos shingles, or vinyl or aluminum siding, is common, and some early frame houses have had brick or stone veneers added in recent years. Roof forms vary considerably from simple gable or hip configurations, to complex hipped roofs with dormers and gable extensions on the modified L-plan houses. Composition shingles are widely used for roofing. Buildings of this period emphasize verticality, with high walls, steep roofs, and tall doors and windows. Porches, both front and rear, are essential elements, although many houses have lost their porches or have newer metal or wooden post supports resting on modern concrete porches. Pier and beam foundations are constructed of brick, or wooden posts such as Bois d'Arc or Cedar. Concrete piers or concrete blocks have replaced older supports. Brick chimneys vent fireplaces and, in modest dwellings, wood- or coal-burning stoves. Simple, jig-sawn, and turned decorative elements are used to embellish otherwise plain houses.

The few substantial, High Style, Victorian-period houses that survive in East and South Dallas have had historic alterations that resulted in hybrid, eclectic forms. Original elements retained on the 2- and 2-1/2-story dwellings are asymmetrical massing (indicative of Queen Anne architecture); wrap-around porches; and multiple-patterned wood sheathing. This sheathing may consist of weatherboards, shingles, faux half-timbering, or decorative jigsaw or turned-wood ornamentation. Significant auxiliary buildings remain for very few properties. These outbuildings mirror, in less elaborate fashion, the verticality and detailing
of the main house. Intricate brick construction of chimneys, foundations, and porches emphasize the elaborate complexity of these Victorian designs.

**Popular Architectural Movements (1910-1941)**

Domestic architecture underwent significant changes in design and function around the turn of the century, as large parcels of land were subdivided into numerous small additions in East and South Dallas, and Popular-type houses proliferated in the new neighborhoods. Architecture from this period vividly expresses the early-1900s period of expansion in Dallas; many 1900s-1920s additions remain substantially intact, having been spared the effects of urban renewal that destroyed close-in, earlier developments. Strong rhythmic patterns are evident in early-20th century neighborhoods containing bungalows and box-like Four-square houses, as well as numerous Popular movement variants. Most of these neighborhoods fall into one of three general types: semi-exclusive neighborhoods of professional, white-collar residents; modest blue-collar areas composed mostly of bungalows; and segregated, ethnic minority enclaves developed in less desirable geographic areas.

Bungalows of this period reflected the changing, increasingly "modern," lifestyles of the early 20th century: emphasis was placed on economy, efficiency, and privacy, and garages provided space for the automobile, a prized new symbol of independence for many families. Bungalow designs eliminated frills and were somewhat spare in interior planning. They were constructed by the thousands in Dallas in every context, from infill housing to suburbs to farm houses. Craftsman-inspired bungalows, by far the most common subtype, are distinguished by their form and by their solid, simplistic design. The emphasis is horizontal and angular, with low roofs, multiple intersecting gables and porches that are integrated into the overall form rather than added components. Stout columns are often composed of two parts: a box base of frame or brick construction, upon which a tapered box column rests. Typical porch alterations are the replacement of bungalow columns with cast-iron supports or simple wood posts, and the addition of concrete floors. It is rare to find a bungalow that does not carry through on the design with such elements as unique door and screen decor and roofline detailing. Wide overhanging eaves are supported by exposed, often decorative, rafter ends and knee brackets. A splayed foundation skirt wall emphasizes the harmonious relationship to the site. One car garages were commonly built at the rear of the site, and sometimes featured detailing similar to that used on the main house, but were usually simple, flimsy, wood frame buildings.
Most bungalows are 1-story, though many variants in form and size are found. Common deviations include 1-1/2 and 2-story versions, which often have plans that integrate standard bungalow details into Four-square or center passage dwellings. Most Craftsman-inspired bungalows are frame with weatherboard or false bevel drop siding, or are covered with asbestos, composition perma-stone, aluminum, or vinyl siding. The later bungalow and "revival-styled" cottages have brick or stucco veneers. The front-end gable bungalow is the most common, with its primary roof oriented front to back and a gabled porch partially inset and projecting forward. Side-gabled bungalows are much less common, but incorporate the same detailing as other subtypes and often have gabled or shed dormers on the primary elevation. Another significant bungalow sub-type is a hipped roof variant that has a deep, inset front porch. Although not categorically considered Four-squares, these one-story permutations imitate the form and plan of a Four-square house. They are quite common in neighborhoods developed from the 1910s to the 1930s, and whether utilizing Craftsman or Classical porch details, provide a classical allusion with their symmetrical or near-symmetrical facades.

Somewhat standard plans unify bungalow subtypes. The form itself can be cloaked with a surprising variety of materials and stylistic details to sufficiently be catalogued as Spanish Colonial, Tudor, or other revival styles. The universal, unifying element is the economical plan with little space allocated for halls, and most often, two side-by-side sequences of rooms, staggered to accommodate the integral front porch. Scale is reduced from the tall, vertical spaces of Victorian interiors of 10-12 feet high ceilings, to 8-9 foot vertical dimensions.

Four-square dwellings share at least a few basic design concepts with bungalows: economy of space, use of materials and, often, a lack of superfluous detailing. A cube-like form distinguishes Four-square houses, one that can be detailed in a number of ways to suggest the influence of a particular style. True Four-square dwellings are defined by an interior plan that is approximately four equal rooms on each floor. One of the first-story spaces usually serves as a substantial entry hall with stairs leading to the second story. Frame construction, covered by weatherboard or false bevel drop siding is most common, but original sheathing is sometimes obscured by modern siding. The cube-shape usually has a hipped roof, although gable roofs are sometimes found. A substantial 1-story attached porch often extends to one side, forming a porte cochere. Some Four-square variants have grand, 2-story porches across the facade, creating a Classical Revival allusion. Centered or slightly off-center entries also are used to provide classical symmetry, sometimes resulting in a center-passage plan. Like their bungalow counterparts, many Four-squares suffer the porch
indignities of replaced supports, modern concrete floors, or loss of the original porch altogether. Occasionally, bays project on side elevations or appendages are at the rear, altering the "pure" Four-square form, but many variations exist in essentially the basic form. Auto garages placed at a rear corner of the site are more substantial than bungalow garages and often have two spaces and a small, second-story apartment.

Details associated with Craftsman bungalow architecture and simplified Prairie School expressions are the most common stylistic applications to Four-square houses, but Classical Revival, Mission Revival and other contemporaneous trends provided the means to personalize the basic designs. Architectural detailing that suggests Prairie School influences are low, horizontally-designed, 1-story extended porches and the use of low-pitched hip roofs. When thick porch supports of brick construction are used, they are often detailed with Prairie School-like geometric patterned caps of contrasting cast stone. The expansive boxed eaves found on most Four-squares are occasionally detailed with heavy timber brackets and an elaborate Sullivanesque-like frieze.

Revival Styles (1920-1941)

From the late 19th century and well into the 20th century, the promotion of academically correct historic styles in builder’s magazines, professional journals, and the popular press created a demand for houses in the Classical, Spanish Colonial, Mission, Tudor and other revival styles. Architects drafted ambitious plans for High Style residences, but plans for smaller, less-detailed versions were disseminated primarily through women’s magazines. A strong local preference for Tudor Revival dwellings is evident from the numerous extant 1920s and 1930s examples that utilize interpreted Gothic elements. Although Dallas’ suburban Tudor Revival cottages present historical facades, the building techniques used, as well as the conveniences included, reveal the houses’ modern construction. Most revival-styled houses have accompanying auto garages, or garage apartments whose scale and detailing generally reflects the size and level of craftsmanship of the main dwelling.

East and South Dallas residences with Tudor Revival detailing exhibit many characteristics that distinguish them from contemporaneous domestic architectural forms. The forms and plans of the few High Style Tudor Revival houses are often rambling and irregular, creating picturesque compositions, while Tudor-detailed bungalows are modest and neatly ordered on small lots. Tudor Revival houses typically have masonry veneers detailed with stone or cast-stone elements. Steeplly pitched gabled roofs are another distinctive
feature of the style, and most examples have cross- or side-gabled roofs with decorative half-timbering in the gable ends. The facade typically is asymmetrical and has a large, front-facing gable to one side and a smaller gabled entry offset to the other side. Round-arched door openings are common, although other examples have Tudor- or pointed-arch doorways. Porches are significant features, either as attached elements or inset components of the plan. The chimney is a prominent architectural element and is often placed in a highly visible location, usually on the facade. Chimneys typically display noteworthy detailing and craftsmanship, such as patterned brick or stonework and shallow niches. Window types vary from casement windows to double-hung wood sash windows to, more infrequently, fixed art glass lights.

Various interpretations of classically-inspired styles include Classical Revival, Georgian Revival, Colonial Revival and Renaissance Revival. The few Classical Revival dwellings in East and South Dallas incorporate the associated elements such as classical orders, pediments, temple front motifs and symmetrical organization. A 2-story portico, which is found on both private and public architecture, is the style's signature detail. Georgian and Colonial Revival houses have balanced facades that are relatively undecorated except for the entry bay, where shallow, single story, 1-bay porticos or molded door surrounds embellish the opening. Dormers enhance the hipped roof, as do exaggerated chimney stacks. Palladian windows and motifs are used to mark stair placement or other significant interior elements. Frame construction and detailing is common, although brick variants acknowledge the original Georgian and Colonial prototypes.

High Style, eclectic, domestic designs -- including Mission Revival, Spanish Colonial Revival and Renaissance Revival -- are found infrequently in East and South Dallas; only a few outstanding examples remain. Mission Revival parapets are incorporated into High Style eclectic dwellings and popular houses alike. This feature and other typical Mission details are often accentuated with bold bands of wood or masonry coping that contrasts with the brick or wood-sided walls. Vents and small windows in the parapets often use stylized quatrefoils or other Mission Revival shapes. Spanish Colonial Revival stylistic details are generally incorporated into the eclectic designs of multiple-unit apartment buildings. Stuccoed walls and tile pent roofs are the most indicative elements of the style. High Style, elaborately detailed, eclectic dwellings in South Dallas incorporate Renaissance Revival details such as tile roofs with wide overhanging eaves decorated by heavy brackets, and often give an impression of three-part vertical composition. These asymmetrical forms also have characteristics associated with Prairie School architecture in their massing and geometric
details. Abstract, classical detailing is also typical of these eclectic designs and is emphasized with stone or cast-stone copings, window and door surrounds and applied ornamentation.

**Significance**

Domestic Buildings associated with suburban development in East and South Dallas can have both historical and architectural significance, and therefore, can be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A, B or C. Because the historic context by definition examines broad patterns of suburban development in a large section of Dallas, domestic buildings most likely to be nominated to the National Register will be part of a historic district. A small number of residences may also be considered on an individual basis. Regardless of the category, however, nominated properties with historical significance are those that are representative of important events or trends of the past (Criterion A) or are associated with individuals who made noteworthy contributions to the suburb’s development (Criterion B).

Properties considered eligible under Criterion A include residences that were erected as part of East and South Dallas suburban development during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Consequently, domestic buildings can be indicative of patterns in local history, especially if these dwellings are grouped in historic districts. Many of the early suburbs in East and South Dallas were developed exclusively for African Americans, and their establishment marked a significant chapter in local African American history. Domestic buildings may also be indicative of re-developemental changes that took place in East and South Dallas, as changing demographics during the 1920s and 1930s resulted in the construction of multiple-family domestic buildings (apartments) along busy thoroughfares where late 19th century single-family dwellings once stood. These and other kinds of domestic buildings that are important for broad historical trends may be nominated to the National Register under the Areas of Significance of Community Planning and Development, and Ethnic Heritage. For example, a historic district may encompass a suburb that was the first in a particular part of town and its establishment may have spurred development in the area. A historic district that was developed in tandem with a local streetcar line may have significance for contributions to the physical development of the area. A historic district that encompasses a suburban addition that was intended for, and marketed to, African Americans may be historically significant and would be important for its contributions to Dallas' ethnic heritage.
Historical significance can also involve associations with individuals who were important in the past (Criterion B) and typically is a dwelling that was the home of an individual that achieved significance while living in that structure. Few buildings associated with suburban development in East and South Dallas likely will be nominated under Criterion B because, once again, the historic context examines broad patterns in local history. If the property is nominated under Criterion B, it may be the residence of a person who developed a suburb and the house would be considered under the category of Community Planning and Development, according to the National Register's Areas of Significance. Many of the other National Register Areas of Significance may apply, depending on research undertaken in the future; however, a property being nominated under Criterion B should be directly related to the historic context.

Domestic buildings are most likely to be nominated to the National Register under Criterion C as noteworthy concentrations of historic structures within a well-defined area and are designated as members of a historic district. The structures need not be outstanding examples of an architectural style, type or form but should convey cohesiveness and invoke a strong sense of the past. When nominated within a historic district, domestic buildings can provide a more complete cross-section of the local history and can help determine the broad themes and influences that contributed to the growth and development of a suburb in East and South Dallas. Groupings of domestic buildings typically enable a better understanding of how the area functioned as a whole and often, but not necessarily, are associated with more significant individuals in local history. An analysis of architectural styles within a district can show developmental patterns and can also reveal to what degree designers, builders and contractors conformed to or diverged from prevailing tastes in architecture. If a historic district is nominated under Criterion C (as most are), it likely will be listed under the Architecture Area of Significance.

Domestic buildings can also be nominated individually under Criterion C as a noteworthy illustration of an architectural style, type or form, most of which are identified and discussed in the Description section of the property type Domestic Buildings. If nominated for this reason, the property would be significant in the area of Architecture.

Registration Requirements

This historic context has been developed to allow for the nomination of historic districts and individual properties that are closely associated with the suburban development of East and South Dallas. They need not be of statewide significance; instead, they will
most likely be considered for listing in the National Register for at a local level of significance. To be nominated, a domestic building must be closely associated with, or representative of, the historic context, The Development of East and South Dallas: 1879-1945, and the nomination should contain a clear and concise discussion that identifies that association. Most domestic buildings associated with East and South Dallas' suburban development will be nominated to the National Register as components in a historic district.

To be eligible, a historic district must be a well-defined area that contains a significant concentration of historic (pre-1941) dwellings that retain much of their architectural integrity. At least 50 percent of all buildings in the district should be classified as Contributing, a designation which requires that a structure still possess enough of its original fabric to be recognizable to the district's period of significance. The structures do not necessarily have to be unaltered but should retain important historic architectural details and materials. A Contributing property can also be a structure that does not necessarily relate to the architectural character of the district but is considered to be eligible for the National Register on an individual basis. An effective illustration might be a school that is surrounded by historic domestic buildings. Though the school obviously would share few common physical characteristics with the surrounding domestic buildings, the school may also be a significant architectural landmark and, therefore, would be a contributing element.

Domestic buildings classified as Contributing should have their original exterior sheathing and porch trim and materials. The application of asbestos, vinyl, aluminum or any other synthetic siding over the original exterior walls is often regarded as insensitive to a dwelling's historic character and proper maintenance, and can disqualify a building for listing as a Contributing property. The replacement of wooden porch floors and supports, likewise, can compromise a structure's historic integrity, as the porch usually displays some of the most significant and distinguishing architectural detailing on a residential structure. One of the more common alterations is the installation of wrought-iron porch columns. For example, the tapered box columns of bungalows are an extremely important visual element of this house form, and the removal of these features can represent a severe modification to a structure's historic appearance and justify its exclusion from the Contributing category. More superficial alterations, such as the application of nonhistoric colors or paint schemes or the installation of a metal roof, are less severe compromises of the structure's historic integrity and do not, by themselves, warrant rejection of the building as a Contributing element.

Associated historic outbuildings can also be considered as Contributing elements if they display architectural detailing that is in keeping with the overall district and if they are
substantial enough in size and scale to be perceived as separate structures, independent of the main house. Such outbuildings may include 2-story garage/apartments that have an addresses that are separate from the primary dwellings, or they may be 1-story garages that incorporate stylistic elements similar to those exhibited on the main houses.

Noncontributing properties are those that detract from a district’s historic character and should comprise less than 50 percent of all buildings in a district. This category includes historic buildings and their ancillary structures that have lost their integrity through severe exterior alterations, as discussed above, or have been relocated to a new site within the last 50 years. Post-1941 structures comprise the other major grouping within the Noncontributing category; most of these display physical characteristics that have little in common with the prevailing historic character in the area.

Finally, a residential historic district, like all historic districts, must have boundaries that are logically determined and can be defended on aesthetic and/or historical grounds. Gerrymandering to bypass Noncontributing structures and to ensure compliance with the National Register’s recommendation that 50 percent of the buildings be listed as Contributing cannot be allowed. Instead, the boundaries must be regularly shaped and, whenever possible, follow block lines.

A domestic building being considered for listing in the National Register on an individual basis, rather than as part of a historic district, must be at least 50 years old and retain a significant amount of its historic integrity. It should be recognizable to its period of significance which, in most cases, is the date of construction. To be listed, a residential structure must meet at least one of the four National Register Criteria for Evaluation. Because individual domestic buildings being nominated under Criterion A or B are those with strong historical associations, they do not necessarily have to be virtually unaltered or particularly noteworthy examples of an architectural style, type or form. They should, however, be linked directly with important trends and events in the past (Criterion A) or be associated with individuals who have been historically significant (Criterion B). Whether nominated under Criterion A or B, a strong argument must be made to establish the relative importance of that event or person within suburban development in East or South Dallas. Merely stating, for example, that a residence was the home of a locally successful businessman who lived in the area is not enough to justify listing in the National Register as part of this multiple-property nomination. The accomplishments of that individual must be articulated and then related to the historic context. Also, such a property must have been used by that person when significance was achieved or be the residence most closely
associated with that individual. The dwelling need not be a particularly noteworthy example of an architectural style but must retain sufficient integrity to be recognizable to its period of significance.

Many individual historic dwellings are candidates for listing in the National Register under Criterion C as good examples of an architectural style, type or method of construction or are noteworthy commissions of an architect. However, for such a property to be designated within the multiple-property nomination, the structure's relation with the context must be addressed. Moreover, its physical integrity must be retained to a high degree. A building's exterior detailing should appear almost exactly as it did when it was originally constructed or when it was sympathetically altered at least 50 years ago. While architectural fabric inevitably deteriorates over time, restoration, rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts should be sensitive to a dwelling's historic character and should utilize shapes, forms and materials that are compatible with original detailing. The installation of historically inappropriate elements can detract from a structure's integrity and, therefore, can make it ineligible for the National Register.

Common alterations, which can compromise a structure's integrity, include the replacement of wood-sash windows with modern metal-sash ones, the installation of wrought-iron porch supports or a concrete porch floor, or the application of vinyl, asbestos or aluminum siding over original wood siding. The removal of architecturally significant details can also compromise a dwelling's historic integrity.

**Property Type:** Commercial Buildings

**Description**

Commercial building types identified in East and South Dallas are defined by *use, form, stylistic features* and their *contextual relationship* within the community or neighborhood. As a property type, Commercial Buildings consist of three primary groups, which are Commercial-retail buildings, Commercial-wholesale buildings and Commercial-services buildings. These types are determined largely by function, which very often affects the form and appearance of commercial buildings. Many historic commercial buildings were designed to house mixed uses such as retail and offices (services) or housing. Retail outlets sell products to consumers in such venues as stores and service stations. Wholesale commercial buildings house operations that generally produce and sell large quantities of
goods to distributors or outlets. The warehouse and light industrial buildings that constitute the building subtypes of wholesaling sometimes incorporates final processing of the products. Commercial-services are most often housed in office buildings, banks, theaters and restaurants.

Historic commercial architecture is most clearly understood by the building’s form, which incorporates facade organization, size, massing and stylistic applications. Architectural Historian Richard Longstreth refined a system of cataloging commercial architecture using these notions that has superseded ordering commercial buildings simply by their stylistic influences. Longstreth’s method serves as the basis for describing the commercial architecture of suburban Dallas. East and South Dallas commercial buildings reflect building forms common throughout Dallas’ early suburbs and are typical of the pattern of suburban commercial configurations from 1900 through the 1930s. Local commercial architecture is found in three configurations, which are: one-building "Mom and Pop" enterprises within residential areas; densely concentrated clusters or rows of small buildings at intermediate crossroads; multiple-block commercial strips along major thoroughfares or former streetcar lines.

Building forms run the gamut from small, one-story frame structures to 1 and 2-story brick row buildings to larger department store buildings or medium-rise office buildings. Most suburban commercial lots were narrow and deep, establishing a pattern for the rectangular-plan row buildings. Solid sidewalk surfacing spans the short distance from the curb line to the buildings’ facades, although corner buildings and service stations provide variances to this pattern, with entrances or drive-throughs angled to the intersection.

Construction of commercial buildings is typically masonry, with wood roof framing and concrete floors. Red or tan to brick with a raked surface are preferred over smooth-faced brick and, with rare exceptions, face brick is laid in common bond and varies only for decorative patterning on parapets. Limestone or cast-stone details also highlight window and door voids as well as raised parapets. Dominant display fronts with large expanses of wood-framed windows and wood and glass doors are divided into bays by brick piers or wooden supports. Rear walls, normally facing alleys for service access, are spare and constructed of inexpensive materials. Wood-frame commercial buildings are rare in early 20th century Dallas additions, and either are ancillary buildings to dwellings, or corner commercial buildings similar to masonry examples. Behind the parapet is a flat or very shallow hipped roof, slightly inclined to divert runoff to a rear drainage system. Built-up tar and gravel or asphalt sheathing is commonly used for roofing material. The most significant architectural embellishments are reserved for the fronts of the buildings and less so for the street-side
elevations of corner buildings. Stylistic features used throughout early Dallas suburbs are most often fused into eclectic compositions and include Tudor, Spanish Colonial, Mission and Classical Revival elements, or simplified Prairie motifs using geometric elements. The preferred commercial embellishments of the 1920s and 1930s echoed domestic architecture in surrounding neighborhoods. East and South Dallas are somewhat atypical of other contemporaneous Dallas developments, in that subdued eclectic compositions, including the use of geometric patterns associated with Prairie School architecture, were preferred over revival-, Art Deco- and Moderne-style facades.

Few East and South Dallas commercial buildings clearly embody a particular style, although many are uniquely, but simply, detailed. For this reason, commercial buildings are more rationally described using a typology classification system developed by Richard Longstreth (Longstreth, Richard. *The Buildings of Main Street: A Guide to American Commercial Architecture*. Washington: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1987). Rather than relying solely on stylistic influences or use, Longstreth analyzes the building’s facade, size, and massing, and how its elements are composed. Of Longstreth’s eleven subtypes, the modest examples identified in the project area fall into one of three common subtypes, one-part commercial blocks, two-part commercial blocks, and enframed window wall buildings. Other Longstreth subtypes, of which only a few insignificant or altered examples are located in East and South Dallas, include stacked vertical block, two-part vertical block, three-part vertical block, temple front, vault, enframed block, central block with wings, arcaded block and, of course, the numerous combinations and exceptions.

The most common subtype, one-part commercial block, typically is a 1-story, modestly scaled building with rectangular, taller than wide facades. Their prominent display areas have two- or three-bay storefronts with centered or offset entrances and fixed plate-glass display windows. A row of fixed-light transoms often spans the facade above the window and door openings. If the one-part commercial block includes a series of adjoining stores, brick piers often separate each storefront. The piers can extend above the parapet and have ornamental urns or other decorative caps. Pent, tile-covered, bracketed roofs are attached between piers in some designs although generally wall surfaces above the transoms are relatively straightforward with little noteworthy ornamentation. This vernacular, understated detailing includes the use of some type of decorative masonry work such as stretcher bonds along the top of the parapet or inset and patterned brick panels below the coping.
The two-part commercial block is the second most prevalent subtype of surveyed commercial building in the project area. Two-part commercial blocks are typically 2-story, relatively unadorned structures with regularly spaced fenestration along the street level commercial front. The buildings' plans are narrow and deep like the one-part commercial blocks. Construction and detailing are also similar to the smaller counterparts. The lower, street-level zone is designed for retail establishments and, because of its proximity to the street, is accessible to pedestrians. The upper zone, on the other hand, extends above the first floor to three or four stories and is more private in its use and character. The upper zone houses offices or, in some cases, apartments. Unlike the lower zone which has a prominent entrance and large display area fronting on the street, the upper zone is less accessible, often entered by a discreet entrance to the side of the commercial bays and from the rear. Most examples of the two-part commercial blocks in East and South Dallas lack high-style ornamentation but still possess the distinctive bipartite composition that defines the subtype. The two-part commercial block often includes two or three storefronts, each with multiple-bay configurations and, occasionally, a recessed central doorway. Brick piers on the lower level define the storefronts and wooden infill articulates the bay arrangements. The upper zone usually has symmetrical fenestration whose double-hung or casement wood-sash windows are occasionally replaced with new wooden or metal units or boarded over. The parapet displays understated masonry detailing and ornamentation such as stepped parapets, brick corbeling and cast-stone coping.

The third subtype of historic commercial buildings in this project is the enframed window wall which, as Longstreth writes, is "...unified by enframing the large center section with a wide and often continuous bay which is treated as a single compositional unit." It is distinguished from the one-part commercial block by its strong horizontal emphasis with a wide front that usually is about twice the size of individual bays on the one-part commercial block. Moreover, the end piers are wide and more pronounced visual elements and appear to "frame" the front bay. Although the enframed window wall sometimes includes a series of adjoining stores, most have a single storefront with central doors and flanking display windows.

Significance

Though far outnumbered by Domestic Buildings, Commercial Buildings are often an important component of suburban developments and, therefore, can be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A or C. Businesses that occupied these buildings were patronized almost exclusively by citizens who lived in surrounding residential neighborhoods.
which contributed to the viability of suburbanization. Commercial buildings were an integral part of the suburban economy and they enabled proprietors to operate businesses in a symbiotic relationship with residential development. The construction of these buildings and the enterprises that occupied them also enabled developers and realtors to promote the suburbs as a quasi-independent communities within a larger city and therefore may be nominated under the Area of Significance of Commerce. Commercial buildings may also be indicative of developmental changes that occurred over time. For example, the construction of streetcar lines could transform a predominately residential area into a highly concentrated commercial node, especially if the streetcar line intersected another one. Such a trend was seen in East and South Dallas, as the streetcars advanced during the early 20th century. In such cases, the commercial buildings may be nominated under the Area of Significance of Community Planning and Development.

Most commercial buildings are likely to be nominated for their architectural merits and can be listed in the National Register either individually or as members of a historic district. An individual commercial building may display noteworthy craftsmanship and/or design qualities and can be an outstanding example of an architectural style, type or form. Moreover, it may be an important commission of a local architectural firm or represent the work of a noted local contractor or builder. Groupings of suburban commercial buildings often possess architectural significance when considered as a historic district. These buildings often are of a similar scale and form, utilize similar materials and were erected at about the same time. Thus, they are closely interrelated physically and aesthetically, and often appear as a unified grouping of independent parts. Such concentrations can have several structures that are significant individually and/or can include structures that may lack significance on an individual basis but are more important when considered as part of a collection. If the individual or historic district is being nominated for any one of these reasons, it likely will be considered under the Area of Significance of Architecture.

Registration Requirements

As is true for Domestic Buildings, Commercial Buildings nominated to the National Register as part of this historic context must be evaluated in terms of their associations with suburban development in East and South Dallas. Intact concentrations of commercial buildings may be considered for National Register designation as historic districts under Criterion A or C. They should qualify if a majority of structures within the district retain their historic architectural integrity and the overall impression of the district conveys a sense of time and place from the period of significance. These buildings are classified as
Contributing properties, and a recommended minimum of 50 percent of the total number of structures within a district should be so categorized. Although each historic district will have its own definition as to what constitutes a Contributing property, the National Park Service defines Contributing as a "Building, site, structure or object that adds to the historic architectural qualities, historic associations, or archeological values for which a property is significant because a) it was present during the period of significance, and possesses historic integrity reflecting its character at that time or is capable of yielding important information about the period, or b) it independently meets the National Register criteria" (National Register Bulletin No. 16).

Buildings that detract from the district's overall historic character are considered as Noncontributing and include new (post-1940) buildings and severely altered historic structures. The National Park Service requires that less than 50 percent of the buildings be classified as Noncontributing properties. In addition, the boundaries must be logically drawn and not gerrymandered to achieve the 50 percent requirement.

A commercial building being nominated individually must be at least 50 years old and retain enough of its architectural integrity to evoke its date of construction or period of significance. A commercial building should maintain its original facade and/or fenestration, as well as its exterior finish. Superficial and easily reversible changes, such as the covering of transoms or the removal of signs, are less important than major remodelings or additions that can detract from a building's overall historic character. Alterations completed over 50 years ago sometimes are important in their own right and can represent the architectural evolution of a building over time. For example, a frame building constructed in the 1910s but remodeled in the 1930s with the application of a brick veneer to the front still can be architecturally noteworthy. If essentially unchanged since that time, such an alteration may not necessarily be intrusive to the structure's integrity and could be regarded as an architecturally significant feature.

Individual commercial buildings can be eligible for the National Register under Criterion A or C. A structure with strong historical associations should retain enough of its integrity to be recognizable to its period of significance. For example, a mercantile establishment that played a vital role in the economic development of the suburb need not be unaltered but must appear much as it did when the company achieved its significance. Most but not all of the building's architectural fabric should survive in a relatively intact state. However, an individual structure being considered for designation under Criterion C must be virtually unaltered and retain its historic integrity to a high degree. It can be a noteworthy
example of a particular style or type, or display outstanding craftsmanship or detailing. If important or distinguishing architectural elements such as parapets, cornices, original surface materials or fenestration patterns are changed, modified or removed, the building cannot be considered for National Register designation under Criterion C.

PROPERTY TYPE: INSTITUTIONAL BUILDINGS

Description
With the development of the old East Dallas and South Dallas as somewhat self-sustaining suburbs, schools, fire stations, churches, libraries, men’s and women’s organizations and other institutions became an expected and integral part of larger developments. The property type Institutional Buildings includes meeting halls (churches, temples, and auditoriums for gatherings) and schools. Unlike other property types, institutional buildings are less conducive to categorization by plan and form, and have traditionally been analyzed as individual and isolated components of development. But, institutional structures, especially suburban examples, often share characteristics that provide the means for collective cataloguing as a unique type. These factors include use, scale, form, siting and site features, architectural style or stylistic influences and contextual relationship.

Historic East and South Dallas institutional buildings are reflective of the contemporaneous neighborhoods surrounding them, in spite of their grand and somewhat more traditional designs. Imposing churches and schools on large sites often provide the stylistic inspiration for domestic and commercial construction around them. The procurement of land for institutional buildings and subsequent expansion has been a powerful element in creating the character of and transforming residential communities. Although the variety of building forms for meeting halls, schools and government buildings is infinite, several distinctive forms reoccur often. Churches, whether grand or modest, traditionally are built in a rectangular, basilica configuration, with the High Style designs incorporating a transect, apse and corner towers. Some church plans, especially those with Classical Revival designs, utilize a square plan with seating radiating from a centered or corner alter. Most churches have steep, gable roofs over the nave with composition shingle covering. Shallow truncated hip roofs are found, and near the project area in East Dallas, domes top Classical Revival churches. Large churches are consistently located on a corner site, although the facility may occupy an entire block or more. Smaller churches, found in greater numbers in South Dallas, are the exception and may be in the middle of a block, hardly distinguishable
from the dwellings surrounding it. In fact, many small churches are likely to be modified domestic buildings. Schools in East and South Dallas suburbs occupy one block (or more including playgrounds) and regularly are built in the middle of the block, with the primary facade close to the street. A centered hall is typical and the schools built after 1920 have distinct lateral forms with halls extending from side to side, verses the square or deep, rectangular plans typical of earlier schools. The schools have symmetrical massing, with porticos and flanking pavilions creating multiple-bay facades. The overall massing of most of these large two- and three-story buildings are U- or T-plan configurations, although later additions have often disrupted the original symmetry. Full or half basements are common in these buildings, both for schools and churches. Auxiliary buildings and structures such as church educational buildings, school cafeterias and gymnasiums and utility structures are usually of the same construction, but less decorative. Flat or low-hip, built-up roofs commonly used for institutional buildings are often obscured by raised parapets.

Many of East and South Dallas’ institutional buildings reinforce their visual and symbolic prominence with finely crafted masonry construction. Load bearing walls with raked or smooth, red or occasionally tan face brick walls are articulated with stone or cast-stone architectural detailing. The embellishments suggestive of a style are often emphasized by the use of these contrasting materials in window and door surrounds and tracery, cornice detailing, entrances and porticos and utilitarian elements such as coping. Wood or metal framed trusses or rafter systems support the building’s roofs. Most substantial suburban institutional buildings have concrete foundations and floor slabs, but the modest frame examples are built upon wood frame foundations. In the academically rooted designs, intricate details also include art glass and stained glass windows in churches and multiple light window sashes in the few schools where original windows are retained. Most schools have aluminum framed windows with varying degrees of integrity problems as the results.

A strong preference for historic revival styles is shown in the institutional architecture of early Dallas suburbs. Classical Revival, Gothic Revival, Renaissance Revival and Georgian Revival embellishments are standard elements in the eclectic designs. Gothic Revival is the most prominent historic style used in institutional buildings. Several exuberant High Style churches are among the best examples of early 20th century Gothic Revival buildings in the city. Lancet and Tudor arched windows, arcades and entrances, ribbed moldings and tracery and towers or spires in ecclesiastical buildings successfully convey the Gothic imagery. Vernacular expressions of Gothic Revival buildings are identified by their distinctive, imitative forms and restrained detailing. Classical Revival institutional buildings of the period are clearly identified by their symmetry, use of classical orders in colonnaded
entries and porticos, pedimented porticos or gable ends and classical moldings including fret work, festoons, cartouches and pedimented facings. Georgian and Renaissance revival styled buildings utilize classical elements in a restrained manner to create the eclectic designs found in early suburban Dallas. Centered entrances have the greatest detail and are punctuated by broken pediments and simplified classical surrounds. Similarly detailed window facings are found on isolated windows in balanced fenestration patterns of flanking wings. Prominent balustrades and Palladian motifs are typical elements of these revival styles, and Renaissance Revival buildings often have three vertical zones as an embodiment of the style. The symmetrical compositions rarely have extended porticos, and rely on the building’s orderly facade, decorative entry and subtle bay arrangement to distinguish the style.

Significance

Although typically few in numbers, Institutional Buildings are important components of virtually all suburban developments. Institutional Buildings complement the prevalent domestic architectural character, and they make suburban neighborhoods more desirable places to live. Examples of this property type are often prominent and highly visible landmarks in suburbs and are frequently noteworthy for their elaborate detailing, grand scale and prominent siting. Most were designed by architects and may represent an important or pivotal commission of a designer. Suburban developers actively promoted the construction of these buildings as a way to boost sales in their developments, and in some cases, set aside corner lots or entire blocks specifically for churches, schools and related structures. These buildings were also used by nearby residents, further reinforcing their ties to the suburban development. Consequently, Institutional Buildings may be significant for their historical associations (Criterion A) or for their architectural merits (Criterion C). Schools, for example, are associated with the public school system and are indicative of local efforts to educate the children of East and South Dallas. These structures may be reflective of the city’s prosperity and expansion during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and their locations can reveal much about historic growth patterns and residential development. Moreover, schools can also demonstrate local support for the educational program of the district. The passage of several bond packages during the early 20th century, for example, can reveal much about local citizen’s commitment to education. Historically significant institutional buildings are likely to be nominated under the following Areas of Significance: Education, Government/Politics, Religion, and Community Planning and Development.
Although institutional buildings that are used for religious purposes are rarely nominated for their historical associations, several religious structures in East and South Dallas were built by congregations whose members were comprised primarily of European immigrants. These buildings may have added significance if they are representative of a particular immigrant group and reflect how that group assimilated into American society. In such a case, an institutional building may be nominated under Criterion A under the Area of Significance, Ethnic Heritage: European.

While they typically are important in broad trends in local history, Institutional Buildings may also be significant for their architecture. They often are among the most substantial structures in a suburb and may represent the work of a locally prominent architect, builder or contractor. Churches, for example, are most likely to be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C because they may be an outstanding example of a style or type, display noteworthy craftsmanship. Therefore, they would be nominated under the Area of Significance of Architecture.

Registration Requirements

To be eligible for the National Register on an individual basis, an Institutional Building must be at least 50 years old and retain sufficient structural and/or architectural integrity to evoke its date of construction or period of significance. Superficial and easily reversible changes, such as the installation of new doors, are less important than major remodelings or additions that can severely alter a building’s historic character. Physical changes completed more than 50 years ago may be important as evidence of the architectural evolution of a building over time. An example might be a school that was constructed in the 1910s but was enlarged and remodeled in the 1930s to accommodate an expanding student enrollment. If essentially unchanged since that time, such an alteration may not necessarily be intrusive to the structure’s integrity and could be regarded as an architecturally significant feature.

Institutional Buildings can also be listed in the National Register as a Contributing member of a Historic District. Examples within this category need not retain their historic integrity to such a high degree as those being nominated individually. However, the structure should retain enough of its character to be recognizable to either its own or the surrounding historic district’s period of significance. The installation of nonhistoric
windows, for example, may deem an Institutional Building ineligible for listing in the National Register on an individual basis, but it still may add to the historic character of the suburb as a whole.

Institutional Buildings may be nominated to the National Register within the banner of Late 19th and Early 20th Century Suburban Development in Texas under either Criteria A or C of the Criteria for Evaluation. Institutional Buildings are most likely to be nominated under Criterion C for their architectural significance because they are noteworthy examples of a style, they display exceptional craftsmanship and/or detailing, they are important works of significant architects, and/or they are significant elements in historic districts. To be considered under Criterion A, however, Institutional Buildings must retain the most important physical features of their historic integrity. Institutional Buildings that are nominated under Criterion A represent efforts to fabricate socially and culturally independent enclaves within larger communities.

PROPERTY TYPE: INFRASTRUCTURE

Description

As the intended market of suburban developments varied, so did the concern for and implementation of amenities. For most of the additions aimed at middle- and upper-class markets, landscaping, for example, was a vital part of any development. Not always so conspicuous in most older neighborhoods today are other private and public efforts at incorporating enticing improvements. Careful attention was directed at street lighting, sidewalks, street surfacing, curbing and placement of utilities. Parks, recreational facilities and creatively patterned bridges were important considerations. These efforts were not exclusive to the more affluent developments, for the competitiveness during the booms of the early 20th century provided an incentive for some basic amenities in working-class developments. At the opposite end of the spectrum, developers of additions for poor and minority communities, notably African Americans, were notorious for ignoring basic improvements and sound construction techniques. Such neighborhoods were often platted in undesirable areas such as flood plains or near railroads or industrial areas.

Subtypes included in suburban infrastructural components are landscape features, parks and their recreational facilities, and engineering structures.
Landscaping

Perhaps the most conspicuous intact subtype amenity remaining in Texas’ early suburbs are the trees that were planted in distinctive patterns along streets and boulevards. Most often, only portions of these aesthetically desirable and practical plantings remain. These deciduous survivors provide welcome relief from the Texas heat and shed their leaves for a warming effect during the winter months. When planted in areas not in east or southeast Texas, trees typically were the only substantial non-grassy or brush growth. Elm, Sycamore, Pecan and Hackberry saplings in orderly rows contrasted sharply with the stark prairie into which they were set. Private landscaping efforts often would converge with the developer or public tree placing efforts from the curb, along the public right-of-way where sidewalks mark the private portion of yards. Private landscaping varies considerably and historic examples of intact period yards and plantings are rare and are usually the result of archeological evidence or historic photographic views. Most private, public and institutional landscaping has evolved greatly over the life of the building.

Parks and Recreational Facilities

Part of the appeal of suburban lifestyles was the spaciousness of the neighborhoods and this aspect was certainly enhanced by the planning of neighborhood parks. The design of parks was dependent on several considerations, including terrain, location, size and shape, period of development and the extent of facilities offered at the park. Some of the smaller parks were simply a single block with trees planted around the perimeter or use of indigenous greenery if along a creek or draw. Many suburban parks were created by virtue of their locations - areas lying in creek or river bottoms or other lowlands prone to flooding or located next to a public school. Natural existing elements, including large pecan and oak trees were incorporated into the landscape of these low-lying parks. Parks with springs were usually dammed to create ponds or small lakes that served multiple uses - decorative, practical and recreational. Grand scale rides, amusement facilities and recreational structures were often integral parts of early parks, though few of these types of structures remain. Skating rinks, theaters and boats were some of the attractions in larger parks in the state’s major metropolitan areas. Historic structures that most often survive are swimming pools, restrooms, open air pavilions, picnic tables, footbridges, entry pylons, light standards, sidewalks and park clubhouses. Ordinarily, these are brick, fieldstone or concrete structures. Typical additions as parks have evolved are tennis courts and basketball courts, community centers, baseball and soccer fields, hike and bike trails, intensive lighting and children’s
playground equipment. Additional plantings and the maturation or demise of early greenery have changed the appearance of most older suburban parks.

**Engineering Features**

The components of suburban neighborhoods that are often taken for granted are the basic transportation, pedestrian amenities and utilities. Street surfacing, sidewalks and lighting are carefully designed in suburbs or additions of the middle and upper class markets. Dramatic entries at the primary streets into many additions were created by fanciful masonry piers or pylons with flanking walls. This creative touch was used for middle class suburbs as well and in at least one known location, frame, Prairie School Style pavilions flank a street that led to a non-existent development. Brick pavers for streets and sidewalks are rare, but remain in at least a few Texas suburbs. Concrete sidewalks are sometimes scored to appear as stone or concrete blocks. The craftsmanship and attention to detail of these components is sometimes remarkable when compared to modern standards. Original street lighting was often geared to the intimate pedestrian scale, with uprights that complimented and served compatibly with plantings and the architecture of the streetscape. Attempts at replacing new "old looking" lighting standards in early neighborhoods is common now, but often fall short of replicating originals because of inadequate research efforts. The most thoughtful planners of suburban additions hid unsightly utility poles by placing them along alleys or burying them.

Streets in all but the substandard additions were clearly delineated with curbing, which is often marked with the construction company's name and date, much like the original concrete sidewalks that survive. In the few areas of the state where historic suburbs are built on hilly terrain, auto and pedestrian bridges provided crossing at creek and draws. Concrete structures were commonly used and many had creatively detailed railings and piers. They were often marked by the construction companies which placed plaques on the end piers or imprinted their mark in the concrete. Beginning in the 1930s, steel support structures and railings were combined with concrete roadbeds. The metal railings were simply decorated, often with modern geometric motifs.

**Significance**

Infrastructure is an important, yet often overlooked component of any suburban neighborhood. Though rarely significant in and of themselves, infrastructural features typically contribute to the overall historic character of a suburb and can enhance a sense of
cohesiveness and continuity. A row of trees, the installation of street lights, or the use of brick in paving streets are but a few examples of how Infrastructure can help unify individual buildings within a historic district.

Registration Requirements

Infrastructural features associated with suburban efforts in Texas will rarely be nominated to the National Register on an individual basis. Rather, they are likely to be listed as contributing elements in a historic district, either for their historical associations or for their noteworthy physical characteristics and/or craftsmanship. Infrastructural features can be representative of important trends in the design and layout of suburbs and may be eligible under Criterion A of the National Register Criteria for Evaluation. For example, some suburban developers and landscape architects set aside esplanades in neighborhoods, especially in more affluent and car-oriented developments in larger cities. The use of esplanade can be indicative of a popular design trend of the early 20th century.

Some suburbs have gates that mark the primary entrance into a neighborhood. Such gates may display noteworthy detailing and could be eligible for the National Register under Criterion C.
GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

The geographical area encompasses parts of East Dallas roughly bounded by Fitzhugh Avenue, Main Street/Columbia Avenue, Haskell Avenue, and Ross Avenue. It also encompasses parts of South Dallas bounded by Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard, Robert B. Cullum Boulevard, Southland Street, and the Trinity River. The geographical area and historic districts are identified on page G - 78. East and South Dallas are within the City of Dallas, Dallas County, Texas.
SURVEY AND EVALUATION METHODS

The surveyor canvassed two main land areas prior to the preparation of the nomination in order to locate buildings built before 1945. The first surveyed area, in East Dallas, is roughly bounded by Fitzhugh Avenue, Main Street/Columbia Avenue, Haskell Avenue, and Ross Avenue. The area investigated in South Dallas is bounded by Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard; Robert B. Cullum Boulevard; Southland Street; and the Trinity River. Early in the field investigation, the surveyor examined City Tax Plat Records to determine the names and dates of additions for verification of development patterns. The surveyor located pre-1945 buildings by driving all streets and examining developed areas in a systematic manner. For all properties, the following data was recorded:

* preservation priority
* address
* typology
* estimated date of construction
* city planning map number

HIGH, MEDIUM, and LOW preservation priority ratings were assigned according to architectural or structural significance, assumed historical significance, site integrity and other criteria used by the city and state for designating significant properties. The priority ratings in this survey are from a brief assessment and should be considered preliminary until follow-up research and site inspection is conducted. In certain areas where significant properties are highly concentrated, such as Peak’s Suburban Addition or Wheatley Place, the HIGH priority sites are representative examples from an important group of buildings.

Each property’s original use or function dictates the typology of the building. The Domestic Building category includes single-family dwellings, apartments and ancillary buildings; the Commercial Building category identified places of business, offices, service stations, warehouses and industrial sites; and the Institutional Building category includes schools, churches, government buildings, cemeteries, public parks, utilities, and bodies of water -- generally, non-residential and non-commercial properties. Some properties, such as engineering structures (bridges, viaducts, water towers), were classified either as commercial or institutional. Estimated dates of construction were rounded to increments of five years and exact dates were noted for the few that could be verified. Each property in two survey areas received an identification number which, when used with the city planning map number, forms the Site Number.
Following completion of the survey, a multiple-property nomination was prepared in two phases. The first phase, submitted along with the historic resources survey in July 1990 to the Texas Historical Commission, included preparation of forms for both the multiple-property area and two historic districts. The second phase, which was undertaken in 1991, included an expansion of one district form Phase One, as well as the addition of four new historic districts and nineteen individual properties.

During the initial part of the nomination phase, buildings considered for National Register designation were evaluated primarily on their architectural merit. However, a historic context, which identified major social and economic forces shaping East and south Dallas’ historical development, was prepared prior to the final selection of properties eligible for inclusion in the nomination. This context provided a more effective means of evaluating potential National Register properties, for it demonstrated how each property can be seen as representative of specific historic and architectural trends in the East and South Dallas areas.

Before any survey work or research was undertaken, the project director estimated that all HIGH priority buildings and two historic districts could be nominated to the National Register with available funding. However, field investigations conducted during the survey phase of the project noted that the most significant properties were concentrated in relatively small groupings. Historical research indicated that these concentrations followed primarily subdivision and addition lines. These observations, along with the development of the historic context, mandated a change in the philosophy for selecting properties to be nominated. This change involved focusing not on the nomination of individual buildings, but rather on the designation of groupings of historic buildings in districts, based on additions and subdivisions. Such a method was considered the most flexible, and also enabled more properties to be listed in the National Register, thereby aiding local, state, and national preservation efforts. Moreover, this approach in no way hinders or impedes the nomination of individual buildings and historic districts in the future.

The second phase of the nomination process involved documentation of additional historic districts, as well as 15 to 20 individual sites. Eleven areas identified in the initial phase that were considered to have potential for listing in the National Register were examined more closely during the second phase. An analysis of these areas helped to determine the Contributing/Noncontributing status of all buildings in these potential historic district. This information was used to evaluate whether or not an area met established National Register criteria. Of the eleven areas examined, only five were considered to be worthwhile candidates. A sixth neighborhood, along Junius and Worth streets, was found to have a large concentration
of relatively intact historic buildings. Because this area lies adjacent to the Peak’s Suburban Addition Historic District, which was documented during Phase One, the project director concluded that the Junius-Worth neighborhood should be incorporated into the previously submitted historic district nomination, with the enlarged district being called the Peak’s Suburban. The five remaining areas were deemed to lack sufficient integrity at this time, but they could be considered for National Register designation in the future following sensitive restoration or rehabilitation.

Individual sites considered included primarily institutional buildings (schools and churches) and other public buildings, although some privately owned residences and stores were also considered. Every effort was made to provide a cross-section of the various types of architectural and historical resources found in East and South Dallas. Budget constraints limited the number of individual properties that could be nominated at the time the nomination was submitted; however, many more buildings are believed to be potentially eligible and should be considered at a later date.
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Singleton, Kate. Interview with Terri Myers, March 30, 1990.


**MAPS**

Dallas City Annexation Map, c. 1925, City of Dallas Planning Department

Simpson & Whiteman Co. Map of Dallas, 1925.

Murphy & Bolanz’ Official Map of the City of Dallas and East Dallas 1887, 1889, 1891, on file Barker Texas History Center

Wheatley Place Plat Map, filed by Alex Camp, 1916.

Dallas Railway Company’s Key and Guide to Dallas, 1925, in William McDonald’s *Dallas Rediscovered*.


**NEWSPAPERS**

Dallas Daily Times Herald

Dallas Dispatch

Dallas Morning News

Dallas Express
PHOTOGRAPHIC INVENTORY

The following applies to all photographs unless otherwise noted:

Multiple Property: Historic and Architectural Resources of East and South Dallas
City, County, State: Dallas, Dallas County, Texas
Name of Photographers: Ralph Newlan, Daniel Hardy
Date of Photographs: February-March 1990
Location of Negatives: Texas Historical Commission, Austin, Texas

Photograph Number: 1 of 69
Name of Property: Mrs. Baird's Bread Company Building
Location: 1401 N. Carroll
Camera Facing: East

Photograph Number: 2 of 69
Name of Property: Central Congregational Church
Location: 1530 N. Carroll
Camera Facing: Northeast

Photograph Number: 3 of 69
Name of Property: Proctor Hall
Location: 1206 N. Haskell
Camera Facing: East

Photograph Number: 4 of 69
Name of Property: Mary Apartments
Location: 4524 Live Oak
Camera Facing: Southeast

Photograph Number: 5 of 69
Name of Property: Bianchi, Didaco and Ida, House
Location: 4503 Reiger
Camera Facing: Northwest
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<td>Claremont Apartments</td>
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**Location** 3100 Martin Luther King Blvd.  
**Camera Facing** Southeast

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**Name of Property** Dixon-Moore House  
**Location** 2716 Peabody  
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**Name of Property** Rush-Crabb House  
**Location** 2718 Pennsylvania  
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### Photograph Number 16 of 69
**Name of Property** Ellis, James H. and Molly, House  
**Location** 2426 Pine  
**Camera Facing** Southeast

### Photograph Number 17 of 69
**Name of Property** Silberstein, Ascher, School  
**Location** 2525 Pine  
**Camera Facing** Northeast

### Photograph Number 18 of 69
**Name of Property** 200 Blk Alcade - Alcalde Street-Crockett School Historic District  
**Camera Facing** West

### Photograph Number 19 of 69
**Name of Property** 323 Alcalde - Alcalde Street-Crockett School Historic District  
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United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service  

National Register of Historic Places  
Continuation Sheet  

Historic and Architectural Resources of  
East and South Dallas - Dallas Co., TX

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| Photograph Number | 52 of 69 |
| Name of Property   | Hayden Store, 3737 Atlanta, Queen City Historic District |
| Camera Facing      | West |

| Photograph Number | 53 of 69 |
| Name of Property   | 3735 Dildock - Queen City Historic District |
| Date of Photograph | August, 1991 |
| Camera Facing      | West |

| Photograph Number | 54 of 69 |
| Name of Property   | 3700 Blk Dildock - Queen City Historic District |
| Date of Photograph | October, 1991 |
| Camera Facing      | East |
Photograph Number 55 of 69
Name of Property 2415-2435 Romine - Romine Avenue Historic District
Camera Facing Northwest

Photograph Number 56 of 69
Name of Property 2302 Romine - Romine Avenue Historic District
Camera Facing Southeast

Photograph Number 57 of 69
Name of Property 2614-22 Warren - Wheatley Place Historic District
Camera Facing East

Photograph Number 58 of 69
Name of Property 2707 Lenway - Wheatley Place Historic District
Camera Facing North

Photograph Number 59 of 69
Name of Property 3007-3033 Lenway - Wheatley Place Historic District
Camera Facing North

Photograph Number 60 of 69
Name of Property 2638-2614 Tanner - Wheatley Place Historic District
Camera Facing East

Photograph Number 61 of 69
Name of Property 2700-2720 Tanner - Wheatley Place Historic District
Camera Facing East

Photograph Number 62 of 69
Name of Property 2601-2619 Burger - Wheatley Place Historic District
Camera Facing East

Photograph Number 63 of 69
Name of Property 2838-2814 Burger - Wheatley Place Historic District
Camera Facing North
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<td>Northwest</td>
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Harwood Street in 1913, it may have been an added incentive to many of the Jewish families to locate nearby Edgewood Addition (Watson, 1980: 5). It certainly confirmed the neighborhood’s status as Dallas' new Jewish residential community (McDonald, 1978: 127). Well-to-do families built grand Prairie School influenced and Mission Revival houses, designed by prominent Dallas architects of the 1910s and 1920s like H.A. Overbeck and Lang and Witchell, lined South Boulevard, Park Row, and the north side of Forest Avenue in the Edgewood Addition (see Levi-Topletz House, DAL/DA 9 and Levi-Moses House, DAL/DA 16). Much of the Edgewood Addition is now South Boulevard/Park Row Historic District (NR 1979).

Additions south of the Forest Avenue streetcar line such as South Park (1898, replatted 1902), were developed quite differently. Many working-class families and day-laborers were drawn to the industrial jobs located near the railroads and Trinity River in the early decades of the 20th century. They flocked to the nearby South Dallas area, a short streetcar commute to the east of the river, where they sought housing. After World War I there was an influx of rural East Texas families, both black and white, who came to the city seeking work. Because they lacked professional or business training, they, too, were attracted to the industries and railroad-related work in the already-crowded district (Singleton, conversation, March 30, 1990). The area had been "plumbed" for housing starts as early as 1898 when Mrs. Warren platted the huge 39 block South Park Addition but due to depressions in the mid- and late-1890s, little construction occurred before 1902. In 1905, with five parallel streetcar lines extending into South Dallas and the crosstown Forest Avenue line stretching across the width of the region to the fairgrounds, construction in the South Park Addition began in earnest.

South Park consisted of hundreds of modest houses that filled Pennsylvania, Peabody, and Birmingham (then Julius) streets between the H&TC railroad tracks and Second Street. The houses were consistently smaller and less elaborate than their neighbors in the upper Colonial Hill additions to the east, although they more closely resembled those built in later Colonial Hill additions developed after 1905 at the southern end of the streetcar line. Houses in South Park were nearly all of wood frame construction and had only modest ornamentation (see Dixon-Moore House, DAL/DA 96 and Rush-Crabbe House, DAL/DA 204). This addition was almost entirely developed by the time Mrs. Warren platted the exclusive Edgewood Addition, adjoining her own house, north of Forest Avenue. It was unusual to have such a large undeveloped tract lie between the city and a fully developed area but plat maps and city directories confirm that South Park, south of Forest Avenue, was
1920, 95% of the platted lots contained residences. In 1905 the only detail maps of the southern sector of the city depicted a few of the upper Colonial Hill subdivisions and a mixed residential and commercial strip along the western edge of the fairgrounds to the east of the project area. The 1905 city directories confirm that few residents lived on the streets below Forest Avenue but by 1920 hundreds of families had moved to Pennsylvania, Peabody, and Birmingham streets. By 1922 the Sanborn maps included scores of detail sheets on this area. All of the blocks south of Forest Avenue, which separated the exclusive Edgewood Addition from the less prestigious middle- and working-class areas of South Park, Winchester and Warren's additions, were fully developed.

The four major east-west streets were Peabody, Pennsylvania, Birmingham and Belle (now Warren). Peabody, Pennsylvania and Birmingham streets were developed earlier than Warren Avenue that, in 1922, served as a boundary line between white and black neighborhoods. Consequently, development was spotty along Warren Avenue. The other streets, though, were fully developed by 1922 and the houses had many similar features: setback, size, uniformity of style, and porch configurations. Virtually all the houses on these streets were 1-story frame structures of a simple, square or rectangular building footprint of the vernacular or popular styles of the day. The only exceptions were on the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue, between Jeffries and Meyers streets, where there were two brick houses and one of brick-veneer construction, and on the south of Birmingham between Atlanta and Oakland streets where there were two stores, one of which was brick.

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

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