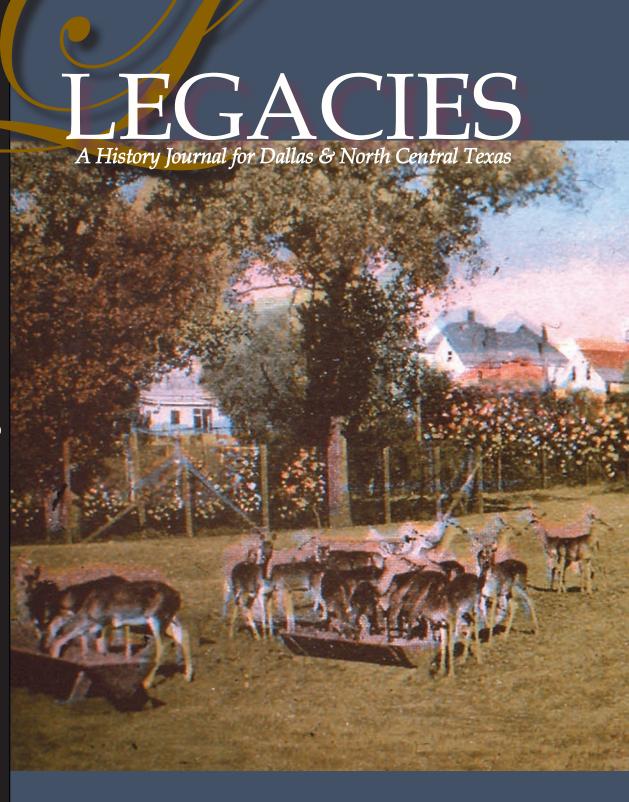
Spring **2014**

The Unusual Side of Dallas

Virginia K. Johnson: Dallas Rescue Home for "Erring" Women Roberta Dodd Crawford: The Voice with "Ethereal Charm" Cosette Faust-Newton's Garden Ship of Dreams Citizen Soldier: General Edwin A. Walker in Dallas Neighborhood Heroes of the Cedars



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Front and back covers

The city's first zoo, containing a motley assortment of antelope, deer, bears, and wolves, was located in City Park in the 1890s. The park was the centerpiece of Dallas's first "suburban" residential development, The Cedars. Today the neighborhood is being revitalized by entrepreneurs such as Matthews Southwest, which renovated the historic Sears Roebuck complex into SouthSide on Lamar. See "Heroes of the Cedars," beginning on page 52.



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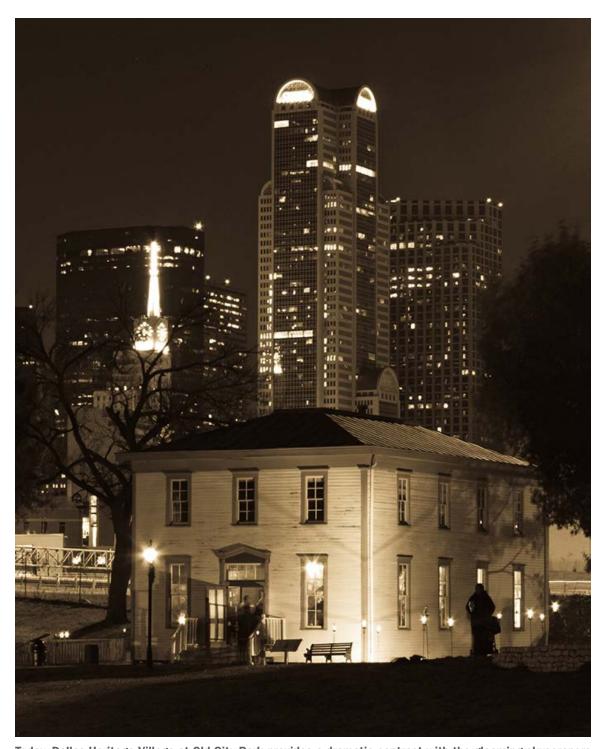
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All previous issues of *Legacies* from 1989 through 2013 are online at the University of North Texas Portal to Texas History. The address is: http://texashistory.unt.edu/browse/collections/LHJNT.



Today, Dallas Heritage Village at Old City Park provides a dramatic contrast with the gleaming skyscrapers of downtown Dallas. But the history of the park and its surrounding neighborhood, The Cedars, has been shaped for 140 years by unusual individuals who often faced big challenges in preserving and reviving the area. See "Heroes of the Cedars," beginning on page 52.

very city's history is enlivened by colorful individuals who defy convention. Dallas is certainly no exception. In this issue we explore "the unusual side of Dallas" through people who struggled to right wrongs, battled prejudice, stood up for unpopular causes, and fought to preserve an architectural heritage. Some were more successful than others, but all added a distinct flavor to the community.

Widowed in 1890, before she reached the age of 50, Virginia K. Johnson devoted the next four decades to providing a home for young women trying to escape from a life of prostitution. Jane Elder chronicles the surprisingly adventurous life of this devout Methodist woman, who used her charm and social position to win support for her cause, while working tirelessly at the grass-roots level.

Roberta Dodd Crawford faced different challenges. Born into a poor, black family in Bonham, Texas, in 1894, she was blessed with an outstanding singing voice. With the support of generous townspeople, she received excellent training and earned early success. In 1929 she traveled to France for further study, joining other African-American artists escaping racial prejudice in America. But there her life began to unravel. John Hanners recounts the sad ending of Mrs. Crawford's story, as she was trapped in France during the German occupation of World War II, and died in poverty in Dallas in 1954.

Cosette Faust-Newton, on the other hand, seemed to start life with all the advantages—financial means, good education, early appointment to the faculty of SMU. But something went wrong. Within two years she was dismissed from the university. She turned to travel and lecturing

and grew increasingly eccentric. Cynthia Shearer recalls Mrs. Faust-Newton's backyard party boat—her "garden ship of dreams"—that set off a twenty-year legal battle in the town of Highland Park, and her sad end as proprietor of a seedy museum on Oak Lawn.

Edwin Walker lived only a mile from Mrs. Faust-Newton in the 1960s, and his house was also notorious, for its United States flag flown upside down to signal what the former army major general perceived as a nation in distress. Walker was as eccentric as Mrs. Faust-Newton, although perhaps in a more politically dangerous way. Adrienne Caughfield tells his story, including his link with Lee Harvey Oswald.

Individuals can have a profound impact on a neighborhood, often against considerable odds, as Evelyn Montgomery shows in her article about heroes of the Cedars, the area just south of downtown. In the 1870s John J. Eakins donated land for City Park and created one of Dallas's first residential developments adjacent to it. Nearly 100 years later, a group of dedicated women launched the museum now known as Dallas Heritage Village by rescuing historic structures and moving them into the park. And then Bennett Miller, a visionary developer, began rehabilitating aging commercial structures by transforming them into loft apartments. All met with some skepticism, but all contributed to transforming and preserving the neighborhood.

This look at the unusual side of Dallas reminds us that history is rarely a steady, predictable unfolding of events. It is more often shaped by dedicated (even eccentric) individuals pursuing goals others might have thought impossible.

-Michael V. Hazel



Virginia K. Johnson and the Dallas Rescue Home for "Erring" Women, 1893-1941

By Jane Lenz Elder

nce upon a time in Dallas, there lived a singular lady named Virginia K. Johnson. Born early enough to remember men mustering for the American war with Mexico under President James K. Polk, she lived long enough to watch Franklin Delano Roosevelt mustering the forces of the United States government to combat the Great Depression.

Mrs. Johnson held deep convictions; her singularity sprang from her willingness to act upon them with startling tenacity. She was staunchly Confederate, devoutly Southern Methodist, unexpectedly feminist; cultured, educated, and dedicated to her family. She proved equally dedicated to a cause adopted when she was well into her middle age: a rescue home for girls trying to es-

cape a "life of sin," as it was euphemistically called. Mrs. Johnson created a home from scratch and through many vicissitudes kept it going for decades. All told, her home gave nearly 3,000 young women a new start in life, and it placed more than 1,000 babies with families able to raise them in comfort and security. All that it took was a dedicated and masterful leader with a gift for raising money.

Post-modern judgments could easily dismiss Virginia Johnson as one blind to the issues of race because of her focus on rescuing white women, or lacking a professional approach because of her initial employment of a trial-and-error strategy. In other words, she was a product of her age. She labored at a grass-roots level, working within ex-

isting power structures of church and city using what gifts she had—good looks, social connections, and a self-deprecating sense of humor. She charmed the male leaders of her day into giving her what she wanted and rallied women to her cause by insisting that women should be among the first to help other women. She cajoled, she improvised, and she worked relentlessly. She educated herself in the nascent field of social work and visited larger welfare institutions in the East, adapting their strategies for her work in Dallas. Nevertheless, this remains an old-fashioned story of an old-fashioned lady whose transforming Christianity worked miracles in the lives of "erring" women in Dallas for nearly fifty years, beginning in 1893.

Virginia Knight Johnson, or "Jennie" as she was known to her intimates, had been a genteel dynamo from her earliest years. At seventeen she discovered her gift for raising money, collecting a significant sum for a pet cause. Specifically, she raised \$1,800 in Union-held Missouri to help support Confederate soldiers, risking life and limb by seeking donations in a state well known for the bloody factionalism of its inhabitants during the Civil War. 1 Jennie came from a large family that had originated in Virginia, and her father and four brothers had enlisted in the Confederate army. The adolescent Jennie was apparently not one to let her gender stand in the way of serving the Confederacy like her menfolk. She understood that in Missouri women could move about more freely than men to gather information, supplies, mail, or money. Some went as far as cutting telegraph lines and harboring escaped prisoners of war, according to historian Thomas P. Lowry.² Jennie responded to "the privation and distress of the Confederate soldiers" in her war-torn state by raising money.³ In the company of two older lady chaperones, she travelled to St. Louis to present \$1,800 to unnamed Confederate officers. There she was arrested by Union forces, but not before "we got the money through," Jennie proudly noted.4

Jennie was sentenced to house arrest in the home of a Mrs. McClure, whose mansion stood practically in the shadow of the Old St. Louis Courthouse, famous as the venue of the Dred Scott case.⁵ Union forces had seized the McClure house, stripped it, and sold all the contents, turning it into the Chestnut Street Prison, a jail for women.⁶ Conditions there were difficult: inmates ate hardtack, spoiled bacon, and coffee so bad as to be undrinkable "even by prisoners, who are not supposed to be fastidious." The building was crowded and lacked privacy, even for its former mistress Mrs. McClure. Jennie, though, found some compensations: "The McClure library was one of the largest and finest then in existence and I read continuously, between writing appeals for liberation," she said.8 This reading supplemented the informal education she had picked up from her brothers and their tutors, making Jennie an unusually well educated woman for her day. Imprisonment yielded other long-term benefits, as well. For example, no other circumstance was likely to have provided a privileged girl like Jennie with the experience of incarceration. And, ironically, the Chestnut Street prison served as a kind of wartime finishing school for Jennie. She found herself locked up with much of the city's upper crust, including the socially unimpeachable St. Louis women convicted of participation in a celebrated information smuggling ring.9 Her social credentials from that time forward were secure, even as she gained an appreciation for the difficulties of life in a jail.

Jennie's father secured her release from jail after many months by posting a bond and pulling strings with Unionist Masons, but the Civil War had more in store for her. 10 As soon as she regained her liberty, she went right back to serving the South in whatever ways she could. "When I returned home," Jennie said, "I declared that the next time I was arrested, it would be for something." She resumed her illegal activities, securing money and clothing for Confederate soldiers. This time, when the Union authorities caught up with her, they exiled her from Missouri. Banishing recalcitrant southern women from Missouri had long been standard practice, but in general such women were "sent [south] beyond the lines of the US Forces for disloyal practices."11 For some reason, Jennie was instead sent to Lebanon, Illinois. 12 The reasons behind the choice of location and the circumstances of Jennie's life there are not known, other than that a married sister went with her to keep her company (and maintain propriety). ¹³ Going to an unfamiliar town to live away from much of her family provided Jennie with one more experience in common with the abandoned girls she would later try to help in Dallas. Her status as a young single woman far away from her familiar environment must have brought home to her the vulnerability of other girls in similar positions—especially those who had no married sisters to live with them and preserve their reputations. How long her banishment lasted and how long it took her family to reunite after the war ended remains unclear, but it is likely that Jennie spent nearly two years away from home living on what was, to her, the wrong side of the Mississippi River.

Jennie always marked her achievements during the war as the beginning of a life of practicing the "begging art," although over two decades would pass before she took on another large-scale project. 14 After the war she taught school, married her childhood friend, attorney William H. Johnson, and moved with him to Brownwood, Texas.15 There she taught art and piano and helped raise William's two young sisters. 16 In 1880 William Johnson moved his family to Dallas to open a law office.¹⁷ In April 1884 Johnson ran for City Attorney, winning the office in that and subsequent elections. 18 During her married life, Jennie took an active interest in her husband's work and he enjoyed talking it over with her. In the absence of any children of their own, William even suggested that Jennie take up law and practice with him, but she took a more traditional view saying, "I always put the ideal of home first." 19

Sadly, William died abruptly in March 1890, shattering Jennie's "ideal of home." She was left in comfortable circumstances, but much of her life's focus for the previous two decades vanished. Her extended family was large and she did not lack for company; she lacked an outlet for her formidable energies. She undertook piecemeal charity work, such as collecting food and clothing for the poor and teaching an English class for the Chinese residents of Dallas every Sunday afternoon. I Jennie belonged to many clubs and participated in many activities, including the beginnings of United Charities, but she needed a more absorbing project. Through a new kind of women's organization, called the King's Daugh-

ters, she found it. The King's Daughters was a service organization founded in 1886 as part of the International Order of The King's Daughters and Sons headquartered in New York. The first of twelve Texas circles was created in Paris in 1887, and in 1891 Jennie took it upon herself to organize a Dallas chapter, which she called the Central Circle.²² The Central Circle began with five members but grew quickly. It directed its charitable efforts toward supporting the City Hospital at South Lamar and Columbia and undertaking Christmas collections for various families.²³ Jennie later said that it was to preserve the ideal of family that she became active in the organization, a poignant comment given her personal circumstances.24

Through the King's Daughters Jennie first encountered the issue that would become her raison d'etre for the next forty years. The oft-repeated story goes something like this: a notorious madam in Dallas approached the King's Daughters asking them to help young women "living a life of shame" to get out of the underworld and be restored to respectable society.²⁵ No source ever named the "notorious madam," but evidence suggests that the most well-known madam in Dallas in 1892 and 1893 was Maud Shirley, otherwise known as Julia A. Coombs. Maud and her sister, Lillie Shirley, ran a brothel in a large house at the corner of S. Jefferson and Columbia.²⁶ Under the name of Julia Coombs, Shirley filed suit against the city of Dallas in a case concerning the legitimacy of the city's jurisdiction in leveling fines against the owners of brothels. The case was thoroughly covered in the press.²⁷

In actuality, the "notorious leader in the life of shame" had originally approached Mrs. N. A. McMillan, the president of the Dallas Girls' Cooperative Home, arguing that something similar might be done to help girls get out of the underworld. The Co-operative Home represented an 1891 initiative by a group of concerned citizens who wanted to provide low-cost, respectable housing for girls forced to earn a living for themselves and their families. It provided employment assistance, low-cost meals, and free board when girls fell ill and could not work. In the early 1890s Dallas experienced a lot of instability, with exponential population growth and an infrastruc-



Virginia K. Johnson, right, with two of her supporters, Mrs. Lula May and Deaconess Elizabeth Cox

ture struggling to keep up. This instability offered attractive opportunities for newcomers in terms of improving their lot in life through business, politics, or the city's nascent social life. In this era, the fluidity of many new cities throughout the western United States meant that new residents, both men and women, could make their mark as community leaders in ways that would be closed to them in more established cities of the east. ³⁰ Sadly, this fluidity cut both ways. Opportunities also existed in Dallas for crime, exploitation, and a host of dubious enterprises. The hazards of urban life proved as numerous as the opportunities, especially for women lured to the city by false promises.

The wealth and size of Dallas exerted a tremendous pull on naïve young women looking for an escape, and made it a convenient refuge for the unscrupulous. Over-worked and under-educated girls from farms and small towns ran away on their own or with false lovers who took them to the no-questions-asked hotels, referred to as "assignation houses." Darker circumstances, such as violent homes or home-town seductions, led girls of all economic stripes to the relative anonymity of the city. The permutations and combinations of these factors went on and on. Girls found themselves alone in a strange place, hungry, with no money, and no means of supporting themselves except for the obvious, however unthinkable, solution. The lightning speed with which young women could fall from respectability into a life of shame kept the vice districts fully populated.

Mrs. McMillan referred Coombs' plea to the King's Daughters, which Jennie headed at that time.32 Jennie was already somewhat acquainted with this problem through her husband's work as the City Attorney, and she realized that the King's Daughters had yet to find its primary charitable focus.³³ Despite the trepidation of the group's members, Jennie persuaded them to undertake the task of helping prostitutes who wanted out of the life. She spoke compellingly to the group, drawing her text from Matthew 25:35-40.34 Her theology was sound, but as she later recalled, she and the group remained "totally ignorant of the best methods of conducting such a home and lacked the means to procure the services of trained workers."35 Nevertheless, they resolved to collect funds, rent a house, and begin serving their chosen constituency. At a distance of more than a century, the organization's approach appears less faith-based than it was naïve, but the profession of social services had only recently come into being and little common knowledge existed. Those in charge of providing assistance to the needy had to improvise. In retrospect, and in light of their inexperience, Jennie Johnson called the eventual success of the Home "phenomenal."36

On Thursday, February 16, 1893, Sheltering Arms, "a home for friendless women," opened at 130 Bogel Street.³⁷ From the beginning Jennie took a leading role. She employed several fundraising strategies that would serve her well through the years. For example, Jennie saw to it that individual donors of a set dollar amount (\$5 in this case) received a mention in the press. She

encouraged churches and other organizations to provide funds to furnish whole rooms. Finally, she wrote hard-hitting, conscience-pricking appeals such as this one from January 1893:

We received a note from a noble lady yesterday enclosing \$5 ... declaring she would turn again her last winter's dress if necessary. What a worthy example. Let us sacrifice something for the cause. How many ladies will wear their old bonnets on Easter Sunday and invest \$5 in Sheltering Arms?

—A King's Daughter³⁸

o keep Sheltering Arms running, the King's Daughters realized that they would require more funding than they could raise from interested individuals. In the meantime, other difficulties presented themselves, having to do with the nature of the charity; as another worker in the field of rescue work stated, "we were not always met with encouraging words."39 Jennie Johnson described the "faint-hearted friends, the open attacks, the sneers and scoffs of the world," referring to the stigma attached to the inmates of Sheltering Arms. 40 Worse than society's prejudices was the economy, which was disintegrating into the panic of 1893. Conditions grew dismal. The next few years marked a period of great instability in the life of the Rescue Home, not simply due to the economic depression. After the first spurt of interest in February 1893, interest in and support for Sheltering Arms dwindled. By November, an announcement in the Morning News indicated that the Home's "larder was almost bare." The need for ongoing fundraising kept Jennie Johnson beating bushes for assistance almost continually. One of her most cogent appeals referred to the economic crisis: "We give you the opportunity to make a deposit where failure never occurs and where interest increases throughout centuries."42 Less than two years after opening the home, the King's Daughters called it quits and closed the Home.43

Jennie Johnson and a handful of others remained steadfast in the face of this development. By December 1894, they had created a board of interested Dallas citizens to re-open the home in

connection with the WTCU's Fort Worth Industrial Home. Nevertheless, three months later the Home was overflowing and once again in danger of shutting its doors. Sixteen girls were living in the cottage's three bedrooms; several had babies to care for, one young woman was seriously ill, and another was fighting morphine addiction.⁴⁴ The Home desperately needed larger quarters, but was so fiscally shaky that it was equally as likely to close altogether. The Morning News referred to a time of "crisis" at the Home. At a public meeting of the Home's board Jennie Johnson delivered another stirring and emotional address. The newspaper reported that "as Mrs. Johnson finished her appeal the tears glistened in her eyes and her voice choked with emotion . . . and in the doorway of the parlor a group of pale wanfaced women, some with babes in their arms, lifted their eyes with a hungry, beseeching look that rendered the appeal doubly intense."45

How much work went on behind the scenes and unreported in the press is easy to imagine; 1895 represented the nadir of the Dallas Rescue Home's forty-eight-year existence. Jennie scrambled to keep her idea of a home for women alive; at no time in its future would it come so close to failure. No record remains of how she cobbled together sufficient support for the next several months, yet somehow she did. The Home maintained its hand-to-mouth existence until November 1895, when the women of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, voted to rescue the Rescue Home.⁴⁶ At the November meeting of the Woman's Parsonage and Home Mission Society of the North Texas Conference, held in Gainesville, Texas, Jennie again spoke convincingly of the need for a place like the Rescue Home in the city of Dallas. Virginia Johnson listed the conditions young women faced in the city's underworld: "poverty, filth, misery, whiskey, beer, morphine, cocaine, all the enginery of evil, no restraining influence. Whither," she asked, "will such a soul drift?"47 This time her pleas met with success. "With many misgivings," the Southern Methodist women voted in favor of granting the Home their institutional support, and elected Jennie the organization's Financial Secretary. 48

The experiences of the last two and half years had opened Jennie's eyes to the realities of trying



Leila Prater is one of the few residents of the Virginia K. Johnson Home whose photograph exists.

to operate a mission enterprise like the Rescue Home. The first lesson brought home to her was the futility of depending on individual contributors to sustain such a major work. She experienced first-hand that faith could work wonders, but she preferred not to push her luck. She later recalled that she based her pitch to the Woman's Parsonage and Home Mission Society on the conclusion that "only the Church has the prom-

ise of permanence."⁴⁹ The second lesson brought home to her was the importance of doing her homework: she had already begun to rectify her lack of experience by corresponding with similar women's institutions and visiting them wherever she traveled. She established a network of friends and associates doing rescue work throughout the nation, and she would continue to expand it in the decades to come. She adopted their best prac-

tices, she observed and modeled, and she sought advice and assistance from the field's growing number of professionals. Finally, Jennie learned the lesson of communication. Many successful missions published their own newsletters, and she grasped the impact this would make on future fundraising endeavors. She wanted the Home to have financial stability, a future as a mission, and the means to "educate Missionary women about the needs of the girls and the Home." 50

In the five months between November 1895, when the Home achieved church-based sponsorship, to April 1896, when the first issue of the Home's little eight-page newspaper—the King's Messenger—was published, life at the Home underwent several positive changes, and order began to emerge from the recent chaos of its existence. They gave up the "pretty little cottage" at 130 Bogle Street, and moved to a larger house located at the corner of Peabody and S. Harwood. They began to hope that one day soon they could purchase a home of their own, and Jennie began some preliminary canvassing for that purpose.⁵¹ The Home's board gradually came to realize that they needed to institute age limits on those they accepted into the residence. They selected an age range of 13 to 19 years to prevent the "innocent young girls who had been betrayed through their own ignorance of the evils of life" from being influenced by the "old offenders, grown hard through a life of sin."52 Overall, circumstances grew increasingly stable.

Jennie Johnson's insistence on a publication for Sheltering Arms also had a steadying effect on life at the Home. The first issue of the King's Messenger appeared, as mentioned above, in April 1896. From the first it proved effective in communicating the Home's needs, its successes, and its goals. It reflected the personality, aspirations, and theology of its sole editor, Jennie Johnson, as well as giving her a consistent forum for expressing gratitude and praise for the Home's supporters—both in the aggregate and by individual name and offering.⁵³ For example, in the first issue Jennie extended her thanks to "the physicians of Dallas who have contributed their services for the last three years."54 In later issues further thanks went to past and present mayors for "municipal favors," and to A. H. Belo, owner of The

Dallas Morning News, and his editors, who never turned down anything Mrs. Johnson asked them to print on behalf of the Home.⁵⁵ For seven years, the Home's coal was supplied, gratis and by the railroad-car-full, by Col. William Busby, president of the Great Western Coal & Coke Company in McAlester, Oklahoma.⁵⁶ The Rescue Home also relied on smaller businesses whose gifts kept them afloat from month to month. Especially generous benefactors often received glowing editorial endorsements in the King's Messenger. the Busy Bee Candy Works, Aldredge and Co. Hammocks and Outdoor Games, the Metropolitan Book Exchange, and the Brown Cracker Factory. As Jennie wrote in 1903:

No one but those who have luxuries as seldom as we do can realize with what kindly feelings we think of the Brown Cracker Factory. Though we ask often they never refuse us, not the crumbs but great quantities of good fresh crackers and cookies, and almost once a week we each have a taste of the splendid product of this factory. Our friends out of the city as well as in Dallas should call for Brown's crackers and try them.⁵⁷

Surviving copies of the King's Messenger provide some interesting insights into the details of running the home.⁵⁸ Specifically, through the pages of the King's Messenger, a reader can begin to catch glimpses of the young women the mission home was created to serve. Helen, a minister's daughter and serious party girl, gave birth at the Home and there reconnected with Christianity; she "took her baby home resolved to live the disgrace down." Ida was able to return to her family with her infant son. Lulu, of Cleburne, took her son back to her hometown where friends had committed to support and sustain her.⁵⁹ Susie's mother and Fannie's sister had opened their homes to the two girls.⁶⁰ The bad tempered the good, however. Most of the girls arrived at the home "destitute of clothing," and some of them were seriously ill.61 Many of the girls crossing the Home's threshold were in poor physical health due to inadequate diets, illness, or the most common problem of all: hookworm.⁶² The Home provided medical attention and three



The Virginia K. Johnson Home's final facility opened in 1911 in Oak Cliff.

meals a day, as well as clothing, shelter, the society of their peers and, most important of all, direction. Many girls arrived having never been exposed to consistent religious instruction or any form of spiritual expression. At the home they received instruction in the four R's: reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion. They heard Bible stories, engaged in community prayer, and witnessed the phenomenon of women speaking publicly. Additionally they were encouraged to find their own voices in order to speak themselves. 63 The Home offered security and an environment in which young women could find God and themselves. While some found it hard going, many others responded to the heady environment that seemed to offer a better way. Ultimately the measure of the Home's success lay in the quality of the personal development of its young women and the integrity of the lives they led afterwards, rather than statistical reports.

In its early years the Dallas Rescue Home

kept statistics here and there, and published marginally more consistent reports beginning in 1911. They counted the number of girls entering the Home and the number of babies born, adopted out, or kept by their mothers. Less frequently, they recorded the number of girls who left after finishing the two-year course, those who ran away, those who married their "seducers," and those they expelled. Staff members sometimes reported the type of occupations girls moved into, such as domestic work or nursing. In later years, their graduates moved into clerical positions with companies like Southwestern Bell, the Texas Company (later Texaco), and Magnolia Petroleum.⁶⁴ By 1940, the Home estimated that nearly 3,000 girls had completed the required two-year course of study and that over 1,200 babies had been born there.65

The King's Messenger gives some picture of the formation of the Home's culture, although in general it avoided giving out too much informa-

tion about the Home's residents. The philosophy of the Home reflected typical late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Protestant liberalism, i.e. the belief in progress, liberty, and individualism. It stressed "personal honesty, dedication to work, temperance, and moderation, respect for civil authorities, self-control, and avoidance of vices and worldly pleasures."66 Of course, most of the girls who arrived on the doorstep of the Rescue Home had learned from painful personal experience the value of self-control and moderation. Those who did not generally failed to complete the two-year commitment to training and education that the Home required of its residents. Nevertheless, the mission of the Home, in addition to conversion to Christianity, was to make its young women fit to participate in respectable mainstream society as it then existed in Dallas, in Texas, or in other states in the South or Midwest. Thus, soon after her arrival, each girl met with Mrs. Johnson for a talk. One young woman, who later became Jennie's stenographer, described herself as a "poor foolish girl who had been seeking worldly fame," and came to the school "hopeless and apathetic."67 Her talk with Jennie, she recalled, "took that awful depressed feeling away."68 Still, as mentioned above, the Home was not everyone's cup of tea. A small but consistent number of girls continued to run away.⁶⁹ The course of study was demanding; as the years went by more training was added until it evolved into a two-year course in vocational training and remedial education. This program represented the most prominent feature of the Home and the Home's minimal staff grew accordingly. They employed teachers in academic subjects and practical trades and eventually added trained nurses and women doctors. By 1913, Jennie was actively encouraging readers of the King's Messenger to consider encouraging girls to look into careers in medicine, because the need for women in that field was so great.⁷⁰ Some alumna did go on to become professional nurses, but regardless of how the futures of these young women unfolded, they had at least had a small taste of life in a caring environment. As one student wrote, "it is our home, in some cases more truly than the homes we have left."71

In economic terms, Jennie Johnson's efforts to keep the Rescue Home afloat financially

could be described as vertically integrated: no opportunity to ask for a contribution was too large or too small, and no person was too large or too small for Jennie to ask. She covered all aspects of the Home's needs. She encouraged the girls at the Home to contribute to their own upkeep by dress-making, taking in "plain sewing," and baking bread for sale.⁷² In the late 1890s, Mrs. Ann Browder Cunningham and her husband donated a parcel of land where a new, permanent Home could be built.⁷³ They built the ABC Mission Home (for Ann Browder Cunningham) on Carroll Avenue near the State Fair Grounds as the money for construction came in.74 This piecemeal approach guaranteed that Jennie's job as chief fundraiser continued. She broke down the cost of building and furnishing the new Home into small units that almost any organization or individual could afford: \$50 could furnish a room, \$20 could provide a bed for the dormitory.⁷⁵ Some of the pleas for assistance sound like Jennie wrote them with a twinkle in her eye, fully aware of how audacious she sounded to her readers. Regarding a shortage of chairs at the Home, she said:"We said [to ourselves] we'll ask our Dallas friends if they do not want to get some new chairs and give us a few old ones. Fakes Furniture Store [a regular King's Messenger advertiser] sells beautiful ones."76

The capstone of Jennie's fundraising career occurred when the Home moved one last time, in 1911. Desirous of a more accessible location within walking distance of the streetcar lines, they settled in Oak Cliff. This site would remain the Home's permanent location until its closing in 1941, and The Dallas Morning News described it as the "crown of the effort that lasted through eighteen years of work, of steady progress, of results that have won for the institution the abiding place and the wonderful confidence of people all over the country."⁷⁷ The Home took possession of its brand new, \$75,000 dollar, state-of-the-art building on September 11, 1911, and because expanded facilities meant expanded opportunities for raising money, Jennie's work went on.⁷⁸ The Home's new digs—quickly christened the Virginia K. Johnson Home in honor of its founder—included a chapel, library, gymnasium, dorm rooms, housing for staff, sitting rooms, "double



Virginia Hall, a women's dormitory named in honor of Virginia K. Johnson, opened on the campus of Southern Methodist University in 1926.

parlors," a 100-seat dining room, an administrative wing, and a medical wing that included an operating room, a "diet kitchen," and sick wards. 79 Their Thanksgiving celebration that fall reflected the joy felt by everyone connected with the home, and a lavish meal (including turkey with oyster stuffing, creamed asparagus, and pistachio ice cream among more traditional fare) was followed by toasts. The first toast made reference to the story of Miles Standish and Priscilla, whom the speaker commended as a having "a tender and trusting heart but who could speak her own mind when the occasion demanded it." The second toast honored "all persons who had helped to build and sustain this splendid home," especially Mrs. Johnson who, though absent that day, "is ever-present in our minds and hearts." 80 At the age of seventy-one, Jennie had reached the zenith of her career.

Virginia K. Johnson continued to support the Home that bore her name, as well as many other worthy causes, until her death at the age of 91, on July 20, 1934. She remained active well into her eighties and extended her interest in women's welfare by taking on the challenge of funding a

women's dormitory at newly founded Southern Methodist University. Jennie announced the commencement of this campaign in the pages of the King's Messenger in 1918, quoting Methodist bishop Edwin D. Mouzon that the university was having to turn away young women applicants due to a lack of housing for them. Jennie dreamed of rectifying this situation with a plan for a Mother's Memorial Dormitory for Women that could house between 100 and 200 people. The Morning News quoted her as saying that this would not be an active drive, but rather a fund to which people could contribute any amount.82 Such a departure from her more recognizable style of canvassing may have been the only public indication that Jennie was slowing down. It would be her last major effort. The dormitory, named Virginia Hall, opened in December 1926, and Jennie attended the dinner and reception celebrating the event.⁸³

The Virginia K. Johnson Home and School outlived its founder by seven years. It continued to serve Dallas and North Texas until 1941, when changes in the city's infrastructure and in the delivery of social services led the Methodist Church to close its doors. For almost fifty years, however,



Virginia K. Johnson in old age.

the Dallas Rescue Home worked to meet an urgent need in the best ways it knew how—rather like Jennie Johnson herself. The Home tried to provide destitute and troubled young women with an education, some spiritual direction, and the survival skills they needed to navigate the rapidly transforming economy and society they inhabited. It was not a perfect place. It was, after all, an institution, it rarely experienced fiscal security, and it also represented the kind of whitesonly progressivism characteristic of its time and place.84 Nevertheless, at a time when most of her peers were easing into a comfortable old age, Jennie Johnson and her Home worked for decades to create better lives for one of society's most stigmatized groups of people—"erring" women.

NOTES

¹To provide a point of comparison, in 1861 a Confederate private earned \$11 per month, while a colonel in the cavalry received \$210. "Money, Money, Money!" —19th Century Currency—Soldier Pay in the American Civil War Activity, from Mark M. Boatner, "The Civil War Dictionary," online at http://www.nps.gov/fosu/forteachers/upload/Money-Civil-War-Activity.pdf.

²Thomas P. Lowry, *Confederate Heroines: 120 Southern Women Convicted by Union Military Justice* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 180.

³King's Messenger 7 (September 1902); The Dallas Morning News, May 1, 1927 (hereafter cited as DMN). A sizeable, but incomplete, run of the King's Messenger is housed in the archives of Bridwell Library, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

⁴DMN, May 1, 1927.

⁵The Old Courthouse sits within sight of today's Gateway Arch. The McClure home was one block west of the courthouse, and the courthouse dome would have been visible from the house's south and east-facing windows.

6Worse was the St. Charles Street Prison in St. Louis, where women were not only poorly treated but were also victims of exploitation and extortion on the part of the wife of the superintendent. Katharine T. Corbett, *In Her Place: A Guide to St. Louis Women's History* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1999), 95.

⁷Account by Mrs. Margaret McClure in Matthew Page Andrews, *The Women of the South in War Times* (Baltimore, MD: Norman, Remington Co, 1920), 336–339. Later in the century, Mrs. McClure was involved in the foundation of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

⁸DMN, May 1, 1927.

⁹⁴⁴Gratiot Street Prison Ledger Transcription List - Women & Children Prisoners," Gratiot Street Prison, Civil War St. Louis, D. H. Rule/G. E. Rule, 2001-1-2010: http://www.civilwarstlouis.com/Gratiot/Listwomen.htm; Lawrence O. Christensen, et al., "Absalom Grimes," *Dictionary of Missouri Biography* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 356.

¹⁰DMN, May 1, 1927.

¹¹"Gratiot Street Prison Ledger." Such was the fate of many of the Chestnut Street prisoners, including Mrs. Mc-Clure, who recorded her journey to Mississippi by steamboat, train, and bio-hazardous battle ambulance across the lines, under a white flag of truce to a Confederate military encampment. Once inside southern territory, the St. Louisians were left to fend for themselves, relying on the hospitality of the locals, or intervention by friends or family, in order to survive. Andrews, *Women of the South in War Times*, 339.

 $^{12}\mathit{King's}$ Messenger 7 (September 1902); DMN, July 21, 1934.

¹³Jennie had three older sisters: Ann, Eliza, and Mary. Mary died in 1863, so presumably this was Ann or Eliza. Federal Census of 1850 for Pike County, Missouri, and Findagrave.com.

¹⁴King's Messenger 21 (February 1918).

¹⁵National Park Service, "Soldiers and Sailors Database," *The Civil War*. http://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-soldiers.htm; *DMN*, May 1, 1927.

¹⁶Based on the Federal Census of 1880, the girls would have been quite small at this time, perhaps 11 and 6. Lizzie, age 19 in 1880, and Julia, age 14 in 1880. 1880 Federal Census for Brown County, Texas. Virginia K. Johnson obituary, *DMN*, July 21, 1934.

¹⁷Thomas Robert Havins, Something About Brown; A History of Brown County, Texas (Brownwood, TX: Banner Print. Co., 1958), 185.

¹⁸Field and Johnson on Main Street. Dallas City Directories, 1881-1889.

¹⁹In her appeals for the Rescue Home she would sometimes refer to her husband's work as City Attorney. The detail of her recollections indicates that she was engaged in his work and that he would discuss it with her. *King's Messenger* 1 (June 1896); *DMN*, May 1, 1927.

²⁰William died of Bright's Disease, which at the turn of the last century was a term used to denote any of a number of kidney ailments; he is buried in Greenwood Cemetery near the city center of Dallas, Findagrave.com.

²¹Dallas City Directory for 1889-1890 specifically lists 26 out of 31 commercial laundries in the city as Chinese.

²²Sara F. Gugle, *History of the International Order of the King's Daughters and Sons, Year 1886 to 1930* (Columbus, Ohio: Stoneman Press, 1931), 53, 368–369.

²³Digital Sanborn Maps, Dallas, Texas, 1892; DMN February 13,1891; July 22, 1891; December 5, 1892; February 2, 1892.

²⁴DMN, May 1, 1927.

²⁵The other version of the story is one that appears in *The Dallas Morning News*, March 5, 1893, in which the plea took the form of a letter from a girl entrapped in the underworld. *DMN*, March 5, 1893, and in *History of Woman's Work: North Texas Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (Dallas, TX: The History Committee, Woman's Missionary Society, North Texas Conference, 1929), 76. The version that appears above, however, is the one that appears most frequently in the historical record.

²⁶DMN, June 6, 1893.

²⁷Ibid., June 1, 1893. The attorney representing Julia A. Coombs argued that the City court had no right to assess fines (\$200 a day for brothel keepers) because it had no jurisdiction following the state legislature's "adoption of the constitutional amendments of 1891." The Hon. T. F. Nash ruled that Dallas had no legally constituted city court, so Ms. Coombs won. The city announced its plans to appeal.

²⁸King's Messenger 1 (April 1896).

²⁹DMN, February 2, 1894.

³⁰Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 11.

³¹Assignation houses were generally used by prostitutes, but they also proved convenient places for unscrupu-

lous men to take girls with whom they had run away. They could also be used by socially "respectable" women for their extra-marital affairs. Proprietors generally supplied rooms, liquor, and frequently cocaine. Josie Washburn, *The Underworld Sewer:A Prostitute Reflects on Life in the Trade, 1871-1909* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 250; *DMN*, September 23, 1893.

³²Washburn, Underworld Sewer, 250.

³³DMN, February 2, 1894. This information comes from Jennie Johnson's farewell speech when she stepped down from the presidency of the King's Daughters. *The Dallas Morning News* reproduced it verbatim.

 $^{34}\!\!\!^{\text{\tiny H}}\!\!\!^{\text{\tiny H}}$ For I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink . . ."

³⁵DMN, February 2, 1894.

³⁶Ibid., February 2, 1894.

³⁷Today, Bogel Street runs for a block between Bryan St. and San Jacinto adjacent to Central Expressway. The area is being reclaimed for townhome and condo developments. In 1893, the Home occupied the next block over, between Bryan and Live Oak. *DMN*, February 1, 1893. The King's Daughter's paid \$12 per month in rent for this house. The rent was low but it would have been even better if they had secured the premises for free for a year to see if the Home would grow and prosper. This method is described in Martha A. Lee, *Mother Lee's Experience in Fifteen Years' Rescue Work: With Thrilling Incidents of Her Life* (Omaha, NE: [s.n.], 1906), 44.

³⁸Letter to the editor of *DMN*, January 29, 1893. Although anonymous, the style in which it is written is absolutely that of Jennie Johnson.

³⁹Lee, Mother Lee's Experience, 49.

40 DMN, March 5, 1893.

⁴¹Ibid., April 20, 1893; November 26, 1893.

42Ibid., February 2, 1894.

⁴³Ibid., September 10, 1894; September 14, 1894; September 24, 1894. The King's Daughters still contributed financially to Sheltering Arms. They had just stopped administering it. *DMN*, May 4, 1895.

44Ibid., March 20, 1895; April 16, 1895.

⁴⁵Ibid., April 18, 1895.

⁴⁶The Woman's Parsonage and Home Mission Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, came into being in 1890 in order to "unite the efforts of Christian women and children in the collection of funds by private effort, personal solicitation, membership fees, donations, devises and bequests, for procuring homes for itinerant preachers, and otherwise aiding the cause of Christ." *Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (Nashville: Publishing House of the M.E. church, South, 1890), paragraph 372, article XI (pages 212-13). The Discipline also delineates the various departments and boards responsible for disbursing the funds collected.

⁴⁷King's Messenger 1 (April 1896).

⁴⁸Perhaps Jennie's election to the office of financial secretary was an assurance to the good ladies that every effort would go into making the Home a success. King's Messenger 16 (November 1911).

⁴⁹King's Messenger 16 (November 1911).

⁵⁰History of Women's Work, 78.

⁵¹King's Messenger 1 (April 1896).

⁵²History of Women's Work, 77-78; King's Messenger 1 (April 1896).

⁵³King's Messenger 1 (April 1896).

⁵⁴Ibid. 1.

⁵⁵Ibid. 18 (April 1915); ibid. 22 (January 1920).

⁵⁶Ibid. 16 (April 1911).

⁵⁷Ibid. 8 (December 1903).

⁵⁸Bridwell Library owns the largest surviving run of these newsletters, dating from 1896 to 1923. However, the collection is neither continuous nor complete.

⁵⁹King's Messenger 1 (April 1896).

60 Ibid. 1 (June 1896).

⁶¹Ibid. 1 (July-August) and 1 #6 (September 1896).

⁶²Hookworms are a species of long-lived parasite that live in ground contaminated by human feces. They enter the system through exposed skin, usually bare feet. They can cause anemia, stunted growth, delayed puberty, mental dullness and birth defects. Most of these symptoms are, however, reversible, with treatment and good nutrition. "Hookworm Disease," *Britannica Online*.

 63 Various issues of the King's Messenger describe the religious life of the Home.

⁶⁴This data came from a comparison of the Federal Census for Dallas County in 1930, the only census to list the girls by their full names, and the 1932–33 *Dallas City Directory*.

⁶⁵We can assume that these are live births; various annual reports list separately the infants and girls who died.

⁶⁶Orlando E. Costas, "Captivity and Liberation in the Modern Missionary Movement," in *Landmark Essays in Mis*sion and World Christianity, edited by Robert L. Gallagher and Paul Hertig (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2009), 39-40.

⁶⁷King's Messenger 22 (April 1921).

68Ibid.

⁶⁹Runaways accounted for 36 per cent of the 41 girls who left that year, or 28 per cent of the girls who entered the home that year.

⁷⁰King's Messenger 18 (May 1913).

⁷¹Ibid. 18 (June 1913).

⁷²This later expanded into a Mission Home Bazaar, where they sold "select millinery," and took orders and measurements for dresses. They also offered ready-made underwear, "comforts," maternity packets, aprons, and dusting caps. *King's Messenger* 8 (December 1903).

⁷³King's Messenger 1 (July-August 1896); I have not been able to trace the Cunninghams, leading me to wonder if they might have lived away from Dallas. *The Dallas Morning News* of August 22, 1900, announced that the Rescue Home would be hosting a memorial for Mrs. Cunningham, so perhaps she passed away that year.

⁷⁴The actual address was 229 S. Carroll Ave., which fell just beyond the area shown on the Sanborn Maps of the day. The streets were unpaved and it is likely that electricity and plumbing had not yet reached the area either. In today's terms the home would have been on S. Carroll between East Side Ave. and Willow Street or, more broadly, between Main Street and I–30.

⁷⁵King's Messenger 2 (September 1897).

⁷⁶Ibid., 8 (December 1903).

⁷⁷DMN, September 10, 1911.

⁷⁸Now the Diocese of Dallas' Catholic Conference and Formation Center at 901 S. Madison Ave. https://www.cathdal.org/pages/Services and Facilities.

⁷⁹*DMN*, September 10, 1911.

80 King's Messenger 16 (December 1911).

⁸¹Obituary for Virginia Knight Johnson, DMN, July 21, 1934.

⁸²King's Messenger 21 (July 1918); DMN, January 2, 1921.

83*DMN*, December 1, 1926.

⁸⁴Judith N. McArthur and Harold L. Smith, *Texas Through Women's Eyes: The Twentieth-Century Experience* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 18. Historians McArthur and Smith have noted that progress at the turn of the last century tended to extend only to white native-born Americans. As they wrote: "Progressivism is commonly described for whites only and the era itself as the nadir of race relations."



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The Voice with "Ethereal Charm"

African-American Lyric Soprano Roberta Dodd Crawford

By John Hanners

. In the 1920s and 1930s, African-American lyric soprano Roberta Dodd Crawford (1897-1954) blazed across the concert world like a rare comet, exemplifying the power of black classical musicians to seriously engage American and European critics and audiences. She came from humble circumstances, devoted years training her remarkable voice, toured extensively, married an American army captain and, later, an African prince, socialized with fellow expatriates in Paris, and suffered physically and mentally while under Nazi detention during World War II. In the end, engulfed in circumstances she could not control, she tragically flamed out, dying broke and virtually forgotten in Dallas. Her story is a reminder of fame's ephemeral nature and the black artist's uncertain public and professional life amidst twentieth-century upheavals in politics, race, and art.1

Roberta Dodd was born August 5, 1894, in Bonham, Fannin County. Her father, Joe Dodd, was a day laborer; her mother was Emma Dunlap Dodd, a domestic worker.² Joe came from a family once owned by E.H. Dodd, a wealthy stage-coach line owner and the founder of Dodd City,

Texas.³ He and Emma lived at 117 East 7th Street in Bonham's black Tank Town section where they raised eight children.⁴ Nothing in her early childhood suggested that she was anything but an ordinary young girl who went to Booker T. Washington School, played with her brothers and sisters in the streets of Tank Town, and faithfully attended church on Sundays. She left school early and worked service jobs, including waiting tables at the Curtis Boarding House.⁵ By her early teens it was obvious that Roberta had a formidable gift, a powerful soprano voice that deeply affected everyone who heard it. She sang in local churches, in the Bonham opera house, and at the Alexander Hotel, where her programs probably consisted of popular songs and African-American spirituals. One black farmer, Willie Ross, over sixty years later recalled her local appearances:

I can remember Roberta Dodd, the famous black opera singer, singing in the opera house there [Bonham]. She sang there many a night. The opera house—anyone could go who had money. It wasn't segregated. The blacks had to sit in the balcony though. ⁶



This photograph of Roberta Dodd Crawford appeared on the program for her professional debut in Chicago, April 15, 1926.



The Fannin County Courthouse dominated the town square in Bonham during Roberta Dodd's childhood.

In a rare example of interracial collaboration in Jim Crow Texas, the Bonham community rallied behind Dodd and worked together to further her career. In 1917, five socially prominent white women provided money for tuition and board for Dodd to study music at Wiley College in Marshall.⁷ After two years, again with hometown financial assistance, she transferred from Wiley to Nashville's Fisk University. Fisk, an all-black institution founded in 1866, was already home to a storied music program that featured Tennessee's first musical organization, the Mozart Society, and the renowned Jubilee Singers, still active today, and who appeared in Dallas as recently as 2007.8 Some sources claim that she studied with lyric tenor Roland Hayes (1877-1977), the first African-American international singing star and later her friend in Paris, France, but Hayes was on tour during her Fisk years. Her teachers more likely were C.A. White, longtime Fisk music professor; Marshall Palmer, manager of the Jubilee Singers; and, perhaps, John W. Work, Jr. 10

Around 1920, Dodd moved to Chicago to enroll in the Chicago Musical College. Founded in 1867 by Florenz Ziegfeld, Sr., father of the famous Broadway producer, the College earned a reputation for rigorous musical study and demanding teachers. ¹¹ Its driving force was Swiss conductor, pianist, and composer Rudolph Ganz (1877–1972) who was associated with the College as a professor and mentor for eight decades. The College also had a solid reputation for educating black musicians. Nora Holt (1885?–1974) upon her graduation in 1917 became the first black woman in the United States to earn a college master's degree.

Dodd studied primarily with Hattie Van Buren, a prominent voice professor, Broadway veteran, and wife of Herman DeVries, a composer and music critic for the *Chicago American*. ¹² Crawford worked under Van Buren's tutelage for six long years, honing her craft and launching her professional singing career. No evidence exists that Dodd completed a formal degree.



As a youth, Roberta Dodd sang at several venues in Bonham, including the Alexander Hotel, at left, which was still standing when this photograph was taken in the 1950s.

She painstakingly put together a recital program of classical pieces, along with black spirituals and works by contemporary African-American composers such as Henry T. Burleigh (1866-1949) and Major N. Clark Smith (1866?-1935), jazz pioneer and "America's Greatest Colored Bandmaster." A program from a 1928 appearance at Bonham's First Methodist Church lists her musical selections: 14

- I. "In Summer Time," Edward German
 - "The Dove," Kurt Schindler
 - "Thou Wilt Know How I Love Him," Herman DeVries
 - "O Liebliche Wangen," Brahms
- II. "L'aer du Summell Operian L'Africaine,"
 [Giacomo] Mayerbeer
 - "Message D'Amour—Valse Arietta," from *Mirielle [Mireille]*, [Charles] Gounod
- III. "Pasion del Alma Mia," Spanish opera El Anilo de Aierro, Miguel Marques
 - "La Barrachita," M. Easperon
- IV. "That Muttering Thunder (A Primitive African Melody)," N. Clark Smith

- "Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child," arranged by Lawrence Brown
- "Are You Ready, Hilbert," [James] E. Stewart
- "I Stood on de Ribber ob Jerdon," Henry T. Burleigh
- "Ah, Je Veur Vivre," Gounod

In this program she included not only pieces by prominent black composers, but compositions that required her to sing in five languages: German, Italian, French, Spanish, and English. Sources record that in other concerts she sang works by Bach, Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms.¹⁵

During her Chicago studies Crawford married Army Captain William Branch Crawford. Captain Crawford, born in Corinth, Mississippi, and reared in Denison, Texas, was a rare black officer and a genuine World War I hero. He was awarded both the Distinguished Service Cross for "extraordinary heroism in action" and the *Croix de Guerre* from the French government for gallantry. On September 30, 1918, just six weeks before war's end near Ferme-de-la-Riviere, Crawford personally led a charge out of the trenches into the "face of heavy fire" that resulted in a successful counterattack. ¹⁶

Roberta Dodd Crawford made her profes-



Captain William Branch Crawford, a decorated veteran of World War I, married Roberta Dodd while she was studying in Chicago.

sional singing debut on April 15, 1926, at Kimball Hall, an auditorium attached to the Musical College. She was sponsored by four individuals with the additional support of "seventy-four society patrons." The Kimball, built by the Kimball Organ Company, was one of Chicago's three major recital auditoriums. It was "a well-appointed recital hall" and seated 500. Her pianist, Cleo Dickerson Holloway, was the wife of Dr. Isaac H. Holloway, a Chicago physician and reputedly the city's wealthiest black citizen. 18

Her debut was triumphant. Chicago music critics hailed her performance, and effusive newspaper reviews came from the *Daily News*, the *Daily Tribune*, and black-owned *The Chicago Defender*. The *Daily Tribune* critic wrote that her voice possessed an "ethereal charm. Very high and clear yet soft and with a pure classic style." ¹⁹

Her voice was "bell like in quality [with] a facile mastery of vocal technique, ample musicianship and a delightful artistry of presentation." Other reviews were just as enthusiastic. One critic noted that "This young colored soprano is gifted with a voice of individual quality and a great beauty . . . it is the purest at its glistening top. [She] has control in her upper register that is marvelous and the pianissimo quality is exquisite." Another maintained that "Her French is beautifully pure and her diction in all languages is good."²⁰

In December 1926, accompanied by pianist Hortense Hall, Crawford toured cities in Texas, Oklahoma, and Missouri. During the next two years, she performed in Atlanta, Baltimore, Rockford (IL), Indianapolis, St. Paul, and other major venues.²¹

Black communities during her stops took pride in Crawford's presence and they surrounded her with social occasions and hospitality. Typical was her reception in Pittsburgh where she sang, with Adrienne H. Hall as her accompanist, at the Carnegie Music Hall on November 22, 1927. She was sponsored by the Pennsylvania Federation of Women's Clubs and the Frances E.W. Harper League, an African-American woman's service club. Upon Crawford's arrival, Mary Elizabeth Stanton, wife of Pittsburgh's leading black attorney, "honored Madame Crawford" with a bridge party where the door prize was a "rare French doll." She also was the guest at several other pre- and post-concert dinners and parties, including one hosted by "Miss Odessa Price, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Henry Carroll, of Boyle street [sic] and a popular member of the younger set."22

Nothing is known of the Crawford marriage, but apparently it fell apart in the late 1920s and the couple divorced. Marital problems may have arisen from Roberta's decision to embark on a European career. In 1929, Chicago utilities billionaire Samuel Insull, Sr., gave her a generous grant to study in Paris. Emigration was a viable option for both popular and classical black musicians in the Roaring '20s. Many individuals tired of performing before rigidly segregated audiences. Roland Hayes, for example, tried in vain to integrate his U.S. audiences before he, too, emigrated to Paris to work in a more racially tolerant so-



Roberta Dodd Crawford sang at the First Methodist Church in Bonham in 1928, shortly before leaving for Paris, France.

ciety. Also, a European classical music education was considered superior to U.S. models and Insull's grant allowed Crawford access to its finest teachers. Lastly, European careers traditionally afforded American blacks larger audiences, more opportunities for making money, as well as less racial discrimination.²³

Before sailing for France Crawford returned home to sing at Bonham's First Methodist Church on March 25, 1928. Black attendance was sparse because of the steep admission charge. According to the local newspaper, cotton seed was not yet available for planting and local black farming families could not spare any extra money for concert tickets.²⁴

Crawford moved to Paris early in 1929 and became a student of soprano Blanche Marchesi (1863-1940), a celebrated vocal coach and a revered figure in Parisian music circles. Crawford made her Paris debut, again singing in several

languages, at the famed *Salle Gaveau*, a 1,020-seat hall and Paris' primary concert venue.²⁵

Sometime during 1931 Crawford began a romantic relationship with Kojo Tovalou Houénou (born Marc Tovalou Quénum, 1887-1936), a prominent African anti-colonialist, human rights activist, and writer. Tovalou, nephew to the deposed king of Dahomey, a large West African country, was a controversial and charismatic figure who edited a radical newspaper, *Les Continents*; befriended American "Back to Africa" movement leaders such as Marcus Garvey (1887-1940); worked tirelessly for the Pan-African Movement; was constantly harassed, arrested, and rearrested by French authorities—and still found the time to be regarded as a debonair international playboy.

Roberta and Kojo's early relationship was a success. They married in a civil ceremony in the Paris' Sixth Arrondissement October 6, 1932.²⁶

The couple lived at 64-69 Rue Danton, a fashionable address on the Left Bank, 27 and as Crawford's career "flourished," their "home became a gathering place for the international music society of Europe" where they often hosted private "musicales." ²⁸ Calling themselves Prince and Princess Tovalou (to this day no one is quite sure whether or not Tovalou actually merited the title "prince"), they led a social life encompassing the Parisian art, music, and theatre scenes. Crawford's new friends, who proved crucial for her later survival, included Paul Robeson; Roland Hayes, the Fisk alumnus and now international singing star; Cecile Sorel, France's most popular actress; Prince Pierre of Monaco; fashion designer Jean Patou; Josephine Baker; and Chicago Musical College graduate Nora Holt.²⁹ It was a dazzling world of famous personalities, American expatriates, parties, plays, concerts, and nightclubs—a far cry from the Tank Town section of Bonham, Texas.

But Crawford's new and glittering lifestyle was short lived. At the time Tovalou met Crawford he was living with Princess Benhanzin, the wealthy white widow of his cousin, the late heir to the Dahomey throne. Princess Benhanzin, incensed at what she saw as Tovalou's betrayal, claimed that he had promised to marry her. Soon after the wedding she sued Tovalou in a Paris court for breach of promise and for 12,500 francs that she claimed he had stolen from her. In December, barely three months after the Crawford-Tovalou marriage, the court found Tovalou guilty of "abuse of confidence." He was sentenced to four months in prison and fined 100 francs.³⁰

Before Tovalou reported to prison, however, he and Crawford sailed to Dahomey, ostensibly to have a traditional African marriage,³¹ but more likely to avoid the authorities. They settled at Tovalou's family estate in Port Novo, French Colonial West Africa. In 1934, Tovalou, certainly no stranger to Colonial court system, sued another individual over a building sale. A fistfight broke out during the initial hearing, and in the aftermath Tovalou was found in contempt of court and convicted of "writing a bad check for 25,000 francs." He nevertheless continued his political activities, constantly running afoul of the Colonial French authorities. He lost his conviction appeal in Dakar and was sentenced to eigh-

teen months at Cap Manuel, a notorious prison. Tovalou died of typhoid fever while incarcerated there on July 2, 1936.³² The French Colonial Treasury impounded all of Tovalou's financial assets, which included Crawford's 100,000 franc wedding dowry, and "deposited [Tovalou's money] against her husband's debts." ³³ If the Princess Benhanzin episode is indicative, some of the impounded fortune may have included Crawford's concert earnings. Now the widow of a discredited political figure and stranded in a strange land, Crawford tried to get back the couple's money, but she was unsuccessful.

Destitute, Crawford made her way back to Paris, lived with some unidentified English friends, and acquired a clerk's position with the National Library of Paris.³⁴ She apparently never mentally recovered from the traumatic events of the mid-1930s and she never again referred to herself as "Princess Tovalou." She was from now on Roberta Dodd Crawford.

Lacking the necessary funds to escape, Crawford found herself trapped in Paris when the Nazis invaded France in 1940. She would spend fifty months in detention. The Nazi Paris occupation was devastating for expatriate African-American artists and musicians. A German edict "set out to eliminate. . . degenerate Jewish-Negro jazz," and on June 24, 1940, the Nazis officially banned all performances by black musicians.35 Josephine Baker, alone among Crawford's acquaintances, remained free because of her international fame. But other African Americans were harshly treated. Trumpeter Arthur Biggs was sent to a concentration camp. Classical composer Maceo Jefferson, trumpeter Harry Cooper, and bandleader Henry Crowder were all interned for the duration of the war. The end result was that the "vibrant African-American community that thrived in the 1920s and 1930s was for the most part absent from Paris during the occupation."36 After the war Crawford told Bonham friends that she had been in a concentration camp.37 No confirmation of that confinement exists, but this much is known: She lost her library job and desperately sought work. On November 15, 1943, the Nazis issued her a work permit as a cantatrice (opera singer) and professeur de chant (voice teacher). The permit, however, was soon withdrawn, allegedly for "insufficient work.



Roberta Dodd Crawford married "Prince Tovalou" of Dahomey in Paris in 1932. He is pictured here in the center, between an unidentified man and Marcus Garvey, a leader of the Pan-African movement.

. . poorly done,"³⁸ and, without a job, her food rations would have been cut accordingly. She suffered from anemia and later said she persevered through financial help from friends and from extra rations procured for her by an unnamed Fort Worth physician whose name, whereabouts, or connection to Crawford remain a mystery.³⁹

After liberation in 1945, Crawford worked at the American Red Cross's Left Bank Club information desk in Paris and sang for American GIs in hospitals and canteens across France.⁴⁰ "Poor in spirit and in health" and "unable to perform," she returned to the U.S. sometime in the late 1940s

and moved into the old Bonham family home at 117 E. 7th Street. 41 She apparently never sang in public again. She later moved to Dallas, she said, to be nearer medical facilities that could treat her numerous ailments. Her rented house at 2904 State Street sat in the middle of Dallas's Freedman's Town, the rigidly segregated residential area north of downtown, a far cry from the dynamic interracial environment of pre-war Paris. Her occupation officially was marked down both as a "soloist" and as a worker of "odd jobs." Crawford died at 7:30 A.M., June 14, 1954, of a heart attack while en route to Dallas's Parkland Hospital. She

was fifty-six years old.⁴² She was buried in an unmarked grave next to her mother in Gates Hill, Bonham's black cemetery.

NOTES

¹Crawford was a part of the black classical singer movement exemplified by, among others, her exact contemporary, Marian Anderson (1897-1993), who also achieved fame in Europe, but in contrast to Crawford experienced a lengthy and much celebrated career. The next generation of black female classical singers—for example, Leontyne Price (b. 1927) and Gloria Davey (1931-2012),—both had significant careers partly as the result of the groundbreaking efforts of early pioneers like Crawford and Anderson.

²Most published sources give Crawford's birth date as 1895. Her death certificate, attested to by her aunt, Mattie Phea, lists her birth year as 1897. (Texas Department of Health, Bureau of Vital Statistics Certificate of Death #27084, July12, 1954, Roberta Dodd Crawford Vertical File, Bonham (TX) Public Library). But Dodd's Bonham public school records indicate that she was born in 1894. Her father's occupation is listed in the grade book as "common laborer." ("Register and Record, Session 1910 and 1911": 94, 110. Booker T. Washington School Grade Book Collection, Heirloom Project Digital Collection, University Archives, Gee Library, Texas A&M University-Commerce; Commerce, TX.) The 1900 US Census also lists her birth date as 1894. (1900 US Census; Census Place: Justice Precinct 1, Fannin, Texas; Roll: 1633; Page: 7A; Enumeration District: 0062; FHL microfilm: 1241633.)

³"Slave Schedule," Fannin (TX) County, 1860, Fannin County Historical Museum, Fannin County Historical Commission; Bonham, TX.

⁴The Bonham (TX) Daily Favorite, clipping, n.d., vertical file, Drawer 338, Fannin County Historical Commission, Fannin County Historical Museum; Bonham, TX.

⁵Nancy Baker Jones and Cynthia Greenwood, "Crawford, Roberta Dodd," *Handbook of Texas* 2:396.

⁶ "Willie Ross," Interview, 6, AAOral History, University Archives, Gee Library, Texas A&M University-Commerce.

⁷The sponsors, Mary Tinnie Smith, Cornelia Ann Thomson, Eva Erwin White, Daisye Cawthon Rodgers, and Mary Belle Allen, were the wives of merchants, medical professionals, and cotton mill owners. http://www.txfannin.org/internments.php?cem id+7426, 8084, 8584, 6891, 120. [Accessed January 18, 2013].

8"The Fisk University Choir," http://www.fisk.edu/ CampusLife/ UniversityChoir.aspx. [Accessed January 20, 2013]; http://www.txfannin.org/ interments.php?cem_id=7426,8084,8584,6891,120. [Accessed January 20, 2013].

⁹Ellesmere (NZ) Guardian, 24, No. 4022 (November 13, 1918), 3.

¹⁰⁴ Walker's Famous Fisk Jubilee Singers," pamphlet, digital.lib.uiowa.edu/tc, University of Iowa Libraries,

http://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/cdm/ compoundobject/collection/ tc/id/55863/rec/40. [Accessed January 27, 2013].

¹¹"Chicago Musical College," Roosevelt University School of Music,http://web.arcive.org/web/20080417220323/http://ccpa.roosevelt.edu/music/history.htm. [Accessed January 12, 2013].

¹²Musical Bluebook of 1915—Recording in Concise Form the Activities of Leading Musicians and Those Actively and Prominently Identified in its Various Departments, INTERNET ARCHIVE, http://archive.org/stream/musicalbluebooko00 trapuoft/musicalbluebooko00trapuoft_djvu.txt. [Accessed January 29, 2013].

¹³Major N. Clark Smith Collection, LaBudde Special Collections, University of Missouri-Kansas City, http://library.umkc.edu/spec-col-collections/smith. [Accessed January 29, 2013].

¹⁴The Bonham Daily Favorite, March 26, 1928.

¹⁵Jones and Greenwood, "Crawford."

¹⁶"Distinguished Service Cross Citation for William B. Crawford," http://militarytimes.com/citations-medals-awards/citation.php?citation=2229: http://militarytimes.com/recipient-php?recipientid+11395. [Accessed January 30, 2013]. Crawford commanded Company L of the 370th Infantry Regiment, 93rd Division. 8th Army. Crawford, in a distinguished military career, served as president of the first all-black U.S. General Courts Martial Board, 1917–1918. 8th Infantry Illinois National Guard Association. http://www.8thinfantry.org/photos.html [Accessed 27 August 2013].

¹⁷Jones and Greenwood, "Crawford"; Thad Reynolds, "A Tale of Three Kimballs: A Comparison of Three Historic Pipe Organs," p. 5, http://www.reynoldsorgans.com/site/3%20 Kimballs.pdf. Accessed February 25, 2013; "Chicago Recreation Survey 1937," Vol. II, p. 50. http://www.archive.org/stream/chicagorecreatio02arth/chicagorecreatio02arth_djvu.txt. [Accessed February 24, 2013].

¹⁸The Afro American (Chicago), June 18, 1932.

¹⁹The Bonham Daily Favorite, Drawer 338.

²⁰Reviews qtd. in Carmen Goldthwaite, "Bonham Musicians Back Future Opera Star" *Texas Dames*, http://www.carmengoldthwaite.com/images/ 003sample%20 robertadodd. doc. [Accessed February 25, 2013].

²¹Hortense Hall, in a career pattern typical of classically-trained black musicians of the era, spent much of her career playing in night clubs and restaurants. As late as 1949 she was playing at Portsmouth, Ohio's Coral Reef nightclub. *Portsmouth* (OH) *Times*, August 8, 1949.

²²"Stantons Entertained," *The Afro American* (Pittsburgh, PA), 10 December 1927.

²³Indianapolis Recorder, September 1, 1945. One source (Goldthwaite) says that Crawford was killed sometime during the marriage, while another (Jones and Greenwood) states only that he died. The *Indianapolis Recorder* and the Baltimore *The Afro-American*, contemporary black newspapers, are the sources for the divorce statement. British-born Samuel Insull, Sr. (1859–1938), a controversial Chicago businessman and at one time one of the world's richest men, was a patron of the arts, built the Chicago Civic Opera House in 1929, and was known

for his charitable contributions to black causes. He partnered with Thomas Edison to popularize the use of electricity in American life, became a billionaire, and lost his entire fortune in the Great Depression. See the Baltimore Afro-American, October 15, 1932, and Forrest McDonald, Insull: The Rise and Fall of a Billionaire Utility Tycoon (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962; reprint, NY: Beard Books, 2004). For an extended study of black musicians in Paris, see William A. Shack, Harlem in Montmartre: A Paris Jazz Story Between the Great Wars (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001). Shack, using a list from the Chicago Defender (January 1, 1934), names ninety-seven prominent U.S. black jazz musicians living in Paris in 1934.

²⁴The Bonham Daily Favorite, March 29, 1928.

²⁵Jones and Greenwood, "Crawford."

²⁶"Work Record/Permit #3164," Vertical File, Fannin County Historical Museum; Bonham, TX.; *Le Figaro*, October 7, 1932.

²⁷"Business Card of Prince Kojo Tovalou Houenou," W.E.B. Dubois Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst, http://oubliette. library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b051-i183. [Accessed 28 January 2013].

²⁸Cheryl Mullenbach, *Double Victory: How African American Women Broke Race and Gender Barriers to Help Win World War II*, Chicago Review Press, n.p., eBook.

²⁹Indianapolis Recorder, September 1, 1945. Jean Patou made

a fortune designing dresses for rich American women. After the U.S. stock market crash his business failed. He gathered up bold-ly-patterned leftover dress fabrics, sewed them into men's neckties, and "invented" the "designer" tie. He also developed "Joy" perfume, currently the world's second-best selling essence after "Chanel No.5."

³⁰Reprinted in Robert A. Hill and Marcus Moziah Garvey, The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers: Africa for Africans, 1923-1945 (U. California Press, 2006), 164.

³¹Baltimore Afro American, January 21, 1933.

³²Hill and Garvey, Marcus Garvey Papers, 164.

33Ibid

³⁴Indianapolis Recorder, September 8, 1945; Jones and Green-wood, "Crawford."

³⁵Charles Glass, *Americans in Paris: Life & Death Under Nazi Occupation* (NY: Penguin Press, 2010), n.p., eBook.

³⁶Glass, Americans in Paris.

³⁷The Bonham Daily Favorite, Drawer 338.

³⁸Certificate of Death, Roberta Dodd Crawford Vertical

39 Jones and Greenwood, "Crawford."

⁴⁰Ibid.; The Daily Bonham Favorite, Drawer 338.

⁴¹Goldthwaite, "Bonham Musicians"; *The Daily Favorite*, Drawer 338.

 $^{42}\mbox{Certificate}$ of Death, Roberta Dodd Crawford Vertical File.

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Cosette Faust-Newton's Garden Ship of Dreams

By Cynthia Shearer

//ost published accounts of Cosette Faust-Newton's flamboyant life begin in medias res, focusing on her starring role in a legendary code compliance vendetta in the 1950s with the city fathers of Highland Park. In 1941, on the strength of a permit to erect a pergola in her back yard at 4005 Miramar, she had built an enormous mock yacht, christening it the S.S. Miramar. She launched it amid fanfare adroitly ginned up herself just days after Pearl Harbor had been bombed, awarding white kittens as party favors. In Faust-Newton's eyes, the mock yacht was a symbol of her earlier glamorous globe-trotting career that had been foreshortened by the fates. To the citizens of Highland Park her "Garden Ship of Dreams" was an inappropriate eyesore. The rest, as they say, is history--twenty years of legal conflict that a Texas Supreme Court judge quipped resembled the Hundred Years War. 1

Journalistic coverage of Faust-Newton's life has never quite adequately reconciled the two vernacular "Dallas myths" about her. One myth is that she was an eccentric, dangerously deranged old lady of Highland Park; the other hints that she may have been the victim of what Harvey Graff has described as "the Dallas Way" of punish-

ing transgression against the local power structure. The facts of Faust-Newton's early life, as they can be established from newspapers, surviving personal papers, and ephemera she saved in a scrapbook, suggest that she was destined, even formally trained, for difficulty with authorities, well before she stepped off a train in Dallas in 1917, a newly hired SMU English professor with a Radcliffe Ph.D.

Mary Cosette Faust was born in Kemp, Texas, on July 18, 1889, to Edwin Michael Faust, a schoolteacher, and Susan Noble Faust. They named her Cosette, after Victor Hugo's ill-fated heroine in Les Miserables,² shortening it to the less formal "Cosy." E. M. Faust's Masonic membership record suggests a peripatetic life for the family in Cosette's early years as they moved gradually farther west in Texas, staying only two or three years in towns that had peaked in the 1880s, such as Cooper, Commerce, Yowell, and Bloomfield. By 1907 the family had relocated to Baird, the last Texas and Pacific railroad stop before Abilene. As an adult, Cosy Faust would claim that the first book she ever read was Gibbon's Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire.

Cosette's name first surfaces in The Dallas Morn-

ing News as a twenty-year-old boarding a train, the Eastern Star special, bound for El Paso in mid-October 1909, with her father.³ In March 1911, E.M. Faust died of Bright's disease, two months before Cosette's college commencement at Polytechnic in Fort Worth. He was by then a "prominent lumber dealer" who left behind a widow and five children.⁴ Seven weeks later, Cosette had a letter from the Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Company and a check for \$924.49.⁵ That fall, the *Abilene Daily Reporter* noted, "Misses Cosette and Anna Faust left last night for Austin, where they will enter the University."

At the University of Texas, Cosette Faust served in the graduate section of the student government, along with Frank Wozencraft, future mayor of Dallas. She accepted a position chairing the English Department of Mexia High School during this time, and moved to Mexia to finish her master's thesis, a glossary of the West Saxon Psalms.⁷ This work provided her with the necessary credentials to be admitted to the Ph.D. program at Radcliffe University, the women's affiliate of Harvard.

A handwritten note preserved in her scrapbook indicates that Cosette studied with two iconic American academicians of the time: the legendary Harvard philologist George Lyman Kittredge, and George Pierce Baker, eminent drama professor and founder of the famous 47 Workshop. "Dear Miss Faust," the imperious Kittredge wrote on his elegant Barnstable stationery, "I should not advise you to rely upon an edition of a play as likely to suffice for a Ph.D. thesis. . . don't edit a play unless you have Dr. Baker's very specific and positive counsel so to do."8 Cosette eventually did her dissertation on Thomas May's poetry, after following the rigorous curriculum set for all Harvard Ph.D. students, which included French, Italian, and Old English. One of her most supportive friends was Stith Thompson, a young Ph.D. student of Kittredge's who would someday be regarded as the "father of American folklore." By all indications from the humorous notes and telegrams in her scrapbook, Thompson was a steady, reassuring presence. In later years Thompson would credit her with strong-arming him into collaboration at her family home in Baird on what would be the first "modern" translation of Old English poems,

their book that would become a standard in that field. She also introduced him to her younger sister Louise, his future wife. At this point in Cosette's life there seems to be no indication of the professional difficulties and personal estrangement from community that she would encounter back in Dallas later in life. The scrapbook's contents provide ample evidence of a rich social life. Amid dance cards, florists' cards, and hotel souvenirs is a clipping about a "new race of women" along with her addendum: "somewhat approaching my ideal of a woman." 10 Her copy of the 1916 commencement program lists her among the persons granted Ph.D. degrees. After a year in Cincinnati, she landed a new job at Southern Methodist University, a school with a board of trustees composed largely of clergymen.

Cosette Faust's first mention in the SMU student paper is routine courtesy: "Dr. Cossett (sic) Faust, who taught English in the S.M.U. summer school, will occupy a position in the English Department this fall. Dr. Faust is a Ph.D. of Harvard and is from Texas."11 The student paper also reported an "overflow" of women students, noting that "the war has little adverse influence on female applications" and "just how these 68 young women will be taken care of is yet in doubt, but the University is endeavoring to find accommodations for them." She arrived as the only woman faculty member with a Ph.D. at a time when only five male faculty held doctorates; when she left in 1919, English and modern languages accounted for 68 percent of women graduates, even as the school emphasized "domestic arts" as the proper sphere for women.¹³

"Dr. Faust" would appear frequently and affectionately in the pages of the student newspaper over the next two years. She was also inducted into the Dallas Pen Women on the strength of the pending publication of *Old English Poems* with the highly reputable Scott Foresman publishers; she would retain membership through her many self-published poetry volumes that would follow. Her first years in Dallas, Cosette Faust was very much a new breed of woman, an ascendant social star at SMU.

After she spoke on the importance of club work to the Pan-Hellenic Council, 14 the *Campus* affectionately spoofed her with a playful an-

nouncement of the Purist Club, "concerned with the correct pronunciation and use of certain words that are commonly handled erroneously."15 She was active in the university's Liberty Bonds drive, purchasing bonds herself, and she taught a course in war literature to the general public through the Dallas YWCA. Her name appears as one of a few women faculty who were among the predominantly male co-signers of a remarkable open letter to soldiers who had left SMU for the war, written by faculty in the Christmas season of 1917. Faculty reminded the young soldiers that they served a "high and holy purpose" in fighting a war that would put an end to war. 16 By the New Year in 1918, she was co-hosting afternoon teas of the University Woman's Club (mostly faculty wives who launched such war-related civic projects as "sewing for the Belgian babies") and offering toasts in mixed company faculty dinners prepared by home economics students.¹⁷ She served as a judge of written arguments for a competition sponsored by a powerful group on campus, the Intercollegiate Prohibition Association. 18 She held Thursday afternoon teas for "all town and all dormitory girls" in her home at 4008 Junius Street. At a Halloween party there in 1917, she was one of two women "dressed as Gypsies . . . telling real fortunes in the Gypsy tent." Within months, the names "Faust" and "Newton" became inextricably linked in the student paper as one of "famous love affairs in S.M.U."20

Frank Hawley Newton was the recently hired university physician about to depart for the battlefronts of France. Deemed "a gentleman of the highest order," he lived on campus in Rankin Hall.²¹ The couple married in Baird at the Faust home that summer, in a double wedding with Stith Thompson and Cosette's younger sister Louise. Their tandem wedding photo appears in Thompson's memoir; Drs. Faust and Newton seem somber and serious against a backdrop of unpainted clapboard. Both brides are wearing matching modern tea-length dresses, cradling large bouquets in their arms.²²

Cosette also passed another milestone that summer: she was named Dean of Women at SMU, within one year of having arrived. *The Dallas Morning News* notice shows a confident young woman with her hair marcelled into mod-

ern waves.²³ When classes resumed at SMU, the *Daily Campus* humorously demoted the couple from a "great romance" to "killed in action" and announced their marriage, "an event of the summer," noting that Frank Newton was recently commissioned as a First Lieutenant and would be serving as a military surgeon in France.²⁴ SMU's *Rotunda* yearbook for 1918 reveals a round-faced academic woman, the only female Ph.D. on campus.²⁵ *Old English Poems* was published that year; she also purchased property at 4005 Miramar in Highland Park and built a house.²⁶

The Dallas Morning News reported on a plan spearheaded by the new dean of women: "The girls at SMU are to have military drill, it was decided at a meeting of all women of the university." Faust-Newton expressed her desire that the girls approach it with enthusiasm, since "they had long needed some form of systematic exercise."27 One hundred girls reported for the first afternoon drill and formed three squads, learned "military commands," and practiced marching under the supervision of three military officers. That same week, Dean Faust-Newton formed a "novel advisory board, to offset "many misunderstandings" that had arisen in SMU's short existence, and to "inaugurate" a "tradition" of better communication between the girls and their dean.²⁸

Cosette's "advisory board" would consolidate the female student leadership of smaller civic units on campus. The Dallas Morning News noted that the SMU women were organizing a Civic Club, "formed around the nucleus of a club which existed last year" and that the group of girls "will do playground work, Mexican settlement work, will plant and tend war gardens in the spring and visit homes and orphanages of the county."29 Further, the girls would fundraise "to support a hospital bed in France."30 For whatever reason, Faust-Newton's Civic Club did not survive the 1918-1919 academic year; there is no mention of it in the Rotunda. By October of 1919, Cosette Faust-Newton had vacated the position of Dean of Women, succeeded by Mary B. Murphy, who held only a bachelor's degree. Many years later Faust-Newton would allude to "an old private grudge" that originated at SMU. Even after her death, local rumors persisted that she had been dismissed as Dean of Women at SMU for being



This photograph of Cosette Faust-Newton dates from the early 1920s, when she began to promote herself as a lecturer on culture and the arts.

an advocate of "free love."31

During the early 1920s, Faust-Newton seemed to be seeking to re-invent herself, as if the doors of academia had clanged shut behind her at SMU. Though she held membership in the Modern Language Association until 1928, she was never again on the payroll at a university. The first year of the Roaring Twenties found Cosette exploring options for her life away from SMU, as a student at the Baylor College of Medicine.³²

Early in 1921 Cosette began giving local lectures on the "Irish Question." In Wichita Falls, amid pink and lavender tulle decorations, she read aloud contemporary poetry by Irish nationalist rebels Lady Gregory, who was a collaborator of William Butler Yeats, and Padraic Pearse, a martyr of the bloody Easter Uprising, who had been ex-

ecuted by the English in May 1916.³³ The poetry of Irish nationalist radicals was a smashing success in Wichita Falls; the Dallas Woman's Forum heard the same lecture, but the Dallas newspaper coverage was non-committal.³⁴

She completed an undergraduate law degree at the University of Chicago, applying for a passport in Cook County, Illinois, on July 12, 1921, shaving some years off her age, asserting that she was born in 1891 rather than 1889.35 She intended to travel to England and France on the Albania, which would depart from New York harbor on August 20, 1921. Ship manifest records indicate that she returned to America on the Empress of India on Sept 29, 1921. In less than a year, she would return from another trip abroad, coming into New York on the Aquitania. For the better part of the next decade, she would routinely sail in and out of such ports as LeHavre, Cherbourg, New York, San Francisco, Southampton, and Trieste, sometimes shaving a few years off her age and sometimes listing her status as "single," but always listing her address as "4005 Miramar, Dallas, Texas."36 She also completed her medical degree at Baylor and in 1925 published a paper suggesting that pellagra, the scourge of the Southern poor, could be remedied simply by augmenting the diet.37 Later in her life, Faust-Newton would occasionally mention a "degree" from the Sorbonne; she does appear to have had a brief stint on the Left Bank in Paris in 1924-1925, amid a throng of other American expatriate women seeking liberties not afforded them in their hometowns.³⁸

By 1927 she had set her sights on the Orient. A report on her impending departure in The Dallas Morning News suggests she was under professional management: "Woman Will Circle Globe," the headline read, listing her freakish array of academic degrees. She embarked upon a year's tour that would take her Honolulu, Japan, China, the Philippines, "Siam," India, Syria, "Arabia," "The Holy Land," Egypt, Italy and France." By 1930, Cosette Faust-Newton was a seasoned professional of the American lecture circuit, having embraced a new profession that shared more affinities with vaudeville and the grandiose claims of P.T. Barnum than with Radcliffe or Harvard. An undated publicity flyer from this time shows an astonishing physical transformation in Cosette; she



This publicity photo from 1930 depicts Cosette in a Filipino evening gown, ready to lecture on her travels to the Middle East.

is elegant and urbane, in a sleeveless slinky Filipino evening gown, "Returned from a Special Mission to Turkey, Syria, and Palestine." She was marketing herself to audiences less educated than herself, as a vivacious but brainy public figure available for bookings through the Frank C. Payne talent agency located on Broadway in New York. Her academic degrees became a standard component of her advance publicity, except the public myth asserted that she had been 19, not 27, when she studied with Kittredge and Baker. She claimed to have "dwelt with moguls" but she had toured and shopped heavily, observing cannibals, head-hunters, monkeys, mad, naked priests, and Chinese communists. Her lecture series was dubbed "The Rainbow Hued Trail," illuminating such diverse topics as the cloistered lives of Turkish women, and the Japanese "threat" in the Philippines. 40 Testimonials from satisfied audiences indicate the degree to which Cosette Faust-Newton had shaped an exotic new identity for herself; she had positioned herself as a "brainy" beauty capable of assessing the "Japanese threat" in the Pacific, keeping her cool "even when under gunfire up the Yangtze." An Associated Press image of her now in the Bettman Archive listed her as a world traveler and collector of artifacts; in Dallas her appearances elicited only terse announcements routinely folded into coverage of the local clubwomen's activities.

The Rainbow Hued Trail, Faust-Newton's 310-page "crystallization" of her travels, photographs, and lectures, privately published in a limited edition in 1932, was bound in black damask embossed with a gold etching of an ocean liner plying the waves. An odd curiosity piece in Texas letters, it was also a work of conceptual art, an imaginary tour of the world fashioned into an "itinerary" that was a composite of her own trans-Pacific and South Seas travels. With a nod to Australian travel writer Katherine Mayo, and a wish to avoid Mayo's reputation for being a reformer of other "primitive" cultures, Faust-Newton balanced the greeting card cadences of her poetry with a Kittredge-trained unflinching stare at the cultural spectacles afforded her by travel, ranging from young prostitutes in India to freshly executed Communists in China. An excerpt on the Philippines was published in the Morning News, including her astute observation that the "cacique" system of delivering votes in local elections somewhat resembled "the old Ku Klux Klan secret organization in the Southern States of the United States. Both organizations win by playing on superstition, by creating nameless fears of the menace of an unknown and terrifying force."

. In July 1938, the image of Cosette Faust-Newton splashed across Associated Press wires, with accompanying copy concerning her recent arrest for kidnapping her Negro chauffeur, Mickey Ricketts. The photo is unflattering; clad in striped pajamas and bathrobe, she is under arrest for kidnapping. She, her husband Frank, his brother Will, and others were accused of holding Ricketts captive in the attic at 4005 Miramar for five hot summer days. Cosette and a private detective had attempted "psychological detective work" to coerce a confession so she could retrieve a "stolen" Chinese jade ring. The former chauffeur had been nobilled for theft charges earlier by a grand jury. The Chicago Defender framed the story from Ricketts' point of view, revealing that he had been so weakened by his confinement that police had to assist him into a car and hospitalize him. 43 The Dallas Daily Times-Herald covered it like a Hollywood whodunit, focusing on the fact that L.W. Reid, 38, was a former "G-man" who snatched Ricketts off San Jacinto Street and took him to Hillsboro before spiriting him upstairs to the Newtons' attic to perform "psychological detective work." Though charges were reduced to false imprisonment, the resultant trial gave the public a glimpse of a Cosette who functioned with an unattractive sense of wealthy privilege. Noting that she "gave her age as 41" (she was 49) the Times-Herald further reported her testimony that, during the protracted interrogation, Cosette had carried her typewriter to the top of the stairs and supplied Reid with interrogation questions. Even more damaging, she admitted to evening interludes of swimming with the 38-year-old former "G-man" in the pool at 4005 Miramar "to relieve the monotony." 44

The Dallas Morning News quoted without comment a rambling statement by Cosette, remarkable in its unrepentant narcissism and grandiosity, as she sought to transfer the public's atten-



This photo of the entrance to the S. S. Miramar gives only a hint of what a substantial structure it was.

tion to the intrinsic value of the ring. Its loss was "greater than death" and "no jocular matter":

I had intended to will it to the Metropolitan Museum, where it would top all their jade collections. . . . Cartier in Paris, Tiffany in New York, had each said it was priceless as an example of jade, and it was valued by them at prices ranging from \$1,100 to \$5,000 . . . when my husband, months ago tried to coax me to try to forget it and take my loss philosophically, I but replied, with a choke in my throat, that is (*sic*) was so irreplaceable, especially now since the war in China and that I just couldn't bear it yet . . . I am heartbroken . . . they do not allow jade of the kind I have described to leave their country. 45

A follow-up report the next day alluded to an unnamed "illness" of 1936, and a long pattern of conflict with servants over her possessions. 46 The false imprisonment case against the Newtons dissolved when it was revealed that the illiterate Ricketts had signed the previous February a written confession composed by an assistant D.A. Ricketts sued the Newtons for \$57,300 in damages; he settled for \$500. Eventually the ring surfaced; it had been at 4005 Miramar all along. 47

In 1939 Cosette built, without benefit of permission from the township, a *port cochere* that violated Highland Park's residential set-back ordinances; building inspectors halted construction

but did not enforce the township's order to tear it down;48 this would prove to be a costly error for the next two decades. When Cosette applied in 1941 to build a \$250 "pergola" behind her house, the township of Highland Park, in good faith and in the Highland Park way, granted her a permit. Cosette became inspired by the pergola's growing resemblance to a ship, and expanded it accordingly. She claimed to have invested \$60,000 in all on her "garden ship of dreams," installing two fully electric kitchens, a dance floor, a PA system, powder rooms, a drink machine, an upstairs promenade, a pilot's wheel, as well as a "purser" named Gloria Finley who would handle bookings. The coup de grace: a "pergola" of steel bars and mesh shielded the steam-heated pool from prying eyes next door.49

Five days after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Cosette "launched" her ship by inviting her Highland Park neighbors to a fete for the township's six debutantes. "Dreams are the cargo," was the ship's motto; "Captain" Cosette, svelte and fashion-forward in a pants suit and high heels, played mistress of ceremonies via a loudspeaker. Unfortunates not invited to the party could hear loud ship's bells, sirens, and foghorns. ⁵⁰ The *Moming News* called it "sensational"; the neighbors were less enthusiastic. Certainly no one's dreams that night included an expensive voyage all the way to the Texas Supreme Court.

As Cosette began to promote the space as a meeting place to groups such as Hadassah and the Career Girls Defense Corps, Highland Park authorities voiced their displeasure, with a polite inquiry about her purposes. In a long, effusive written response, she attempted to frame her activities as part of a desirable strenuous war effort, entreating authorities to "allow my ship to serve." Court documents would later include her publicity materials for the yacht, to prove intent to commercialize the mock yacht by providing the name of the assistant who would handle the bookings. The Atlantic Oil Company paid her \$100 for an event she staged, a fact that would not go unnoticed by the authorities.

The first act of local vandalism against the property occurred in late 1942, when the Newtons discovered the china and crystal service for 150 in the mock ship's galley shattered and strewn



At one point in the 1950s, Cosette bedecked her house with motel umbrellas, claiming they were needed to deflect beer bottles and dead animals thrown by delinquent teenagers. Note the sign on the chimney, "For Sale Negroes Only."

about the floor. The Newtons removed to an address on Oak Lawn Avenue in a commercial district in Dallas and christened it "The International Club," but left many of their furnishings behind.⁵² An ad in the Corsicana Daily Sun from 1943 shows Cosette was still attempting to exploit the "ship" commercially, seeking bookings to visitors from outside the city, in flagrant defiance of the Highland Park zoning restriction against using residential property for commercial ventures.⁵³ Faust-Newton appears in the Morning News in early 1944, her portly figure camouflaged by an enormous Ming vase, standing before her recent purchase, "the famous Imperial Chinese jade screen, which was shown at the Chicago World's Fair," which she planned to exhibit at 1019 Elm, near Povdras.54

In an odd real estate gambit in 1945, the Newtons purchased the Bagdad Supper club, a labyrinthine nightclub with a checkered past in

Grand Prairie, ostensibly to house their valuable collections and protect them from vandals and thieves, intending to establish it as an "art center." 55 In early 1948, as a precaution against vandalism, they hired a watchman, Glenn Pinckney, to live on the premises at 4005 Miramar with his family; nevertheless, five Highland Park High School boys were collared by a neighbor and arrested by the Highland Park police, and all were the "sons of well-to-do families."56 Within six days of that incident, the Pinckneys' three-year-old son drowned in the Newtons' pool, having climbed down a ladder and disappeared into six feet of stagnant water. Highland Park firemen had been impeded for thirty minutes by "broken glass, paper and boxes which choked the pool," after which Dr. Frank Newton had been summoned from his office downtown to perform artificial respiration.⁵⁷ Within weeks, the drowned child was cited in a petition circulated in Highland Park and signed



In the years before the house at 4005 Miramar was finally torn down in 1964, it had become nearly obscured by overgrown weeds and shrubbery.

by 35 neighbors who asked the township to condemn the *S.S. Miramar* and order the Newtons to tear it down. The Newtons, as if sensing a threat, moved back into the house.⁵⁸

The township attempted to persuade the Newtons to clean up the property; township officials and attorneys held conferences with them, at one point seeking to work with Dr. Frank Newton rather than Cosette, providing detailed instructions on how to meet the codes, and granting permits necessary to meet their specs. ⁵⁹ Cosette responded by installing penitentiary-grade iron bars, concertina wire, a series of German shepherd guard dogs. Neighbors who had paid a pretty penny to live on Miramar came home

to a 31-motel-umbrella salute, akimbo at assorted angles to deflect, she said, dead animals and beer bottles thrown by delinquent teenagers.⁶⁰

By 1953, the patient township of Highland Park had had enough. City attorney J. C. Muse obtained a temporary restraining order against any further modifications at the property when Highland Park joined with thirteen of the Newtons' neighbors, represented by Angus Wynne, Sr., in bringing suit against the Newtons, seeking a mandatory order to tear the ship down and remove the fortress-like walls and barbed wire around the property.⁶¹

In the run up to the August 27 district court hearings for the case, *The Dallas Morning News* ran

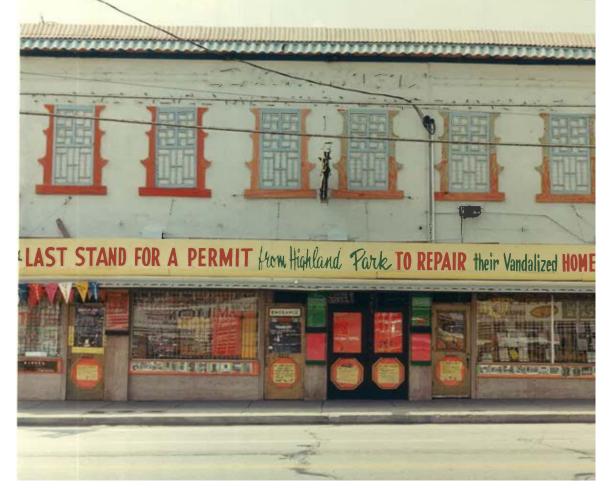


Cosette's Miramar Museum at 2215-19 Cedar Springs displayed her hodgepodge of items collected during her travels.

a piece sympathetic to the Newtons, picturing 65-year-old Cosette standing before a Cyclone fence and concertina wire, an odd canopy over the driveway. "I came here as a bride," Faust-Newton is quoted, "and here is where my husband and I want to die." ⁶² In another story, Cosette claimed she had been "beaten unconscious" by thugs. She had not called the police, she said, because they had long since stopped responding to calls at her address. ⁶³

Life magazine ran a chilling photo spread detailing the Newtons' code compliance woes, complete with aerial photography. Alongside glamorous photos of the Miramar's long-ago launch, Cosette, the "doughty skipper and poetess," was shown on the upper deck, above the stagnant water of the still-derelict pool with no

mention of the toddler who had drowned there. There was, however, a photo of her dead puppy poisoned with strychnine, and a close-up of her homemade security fence with shards of broken glass embedded upright in Portland cement. A pleased-looking Cosette mugged for cameras behind the penitentiary-grade steel bars.⁶⁴ On September 14, 1953, she appeared on the Art Linkletter television show on CBS, and she cannily seized the national platform in an impassioned speech: "What has happened to our home might happen to yours...So I am fighting for your home, for the American home you cherish, struggle for, love."65 Meanwhile, at Highland Park town hall, they were cautiously taking notes on her Linkletter performance, sending staff with cameras to document her continued outrageous code violations, follow-



Cosette used even the façade of the Miramar Museum in her battle against Highland Park.

ing the advice of their attorneys to refrain from talking to "outsiders," and to avoid publicity that would only serve to "stir up" Cosette further. A jury trial yielded a transcript 399 pages long, including testimony that Cosette had threatened Highland Park building inspectors with a gun. The ruling was that the Newtons were in serious violation of several ordinances, but the township had erred in not following up on its own order to tear down the *port cochere* in 1939. 67

After the Texas Supreme Court declined to hear Cosette's appeal of this decision, she hung a "For Sale To Negroes Only" sign atop the chimney at 4005 Miramar. A gasoline-soaked cross was anonymously set alight in front of 4005 Miramar on the of night January 25,1956. An AP photo shows an urbane, cloche-hatted Cosette returning "home" to retrieve her "personal belongings," glancing over her right shoulder like a vaudevillian sensing imminent offstage bombs or fires. A Unifax image of that time shows a trio of life-sized black paper dolls hanging like lynched Negroes

from trees at 4005 Miramar, purportedly left there as a message to her;⁶⁸ their resemblance to the *wayang* puppets of Siam is noteworthy.⁶⁹ The following month, another Newton-owned structure, an old "lodge" on Mountain View Lake, burned mysteriously while the young squatters living in it were at Parkland Hospital to give birth to a baby. Though Cosette claimed to have received a "vicious" phone call shortly before the fire, informing her "everything you have will be bombed and burned," fire experts ruled out arson.⁷⁰

The S. S. Miramar was razed to the ground on April 17, 1956, accompanied by a "ceremony staged by Mrs. Newton for the press," installing a tombstone commemorating it, with an American flag and a casket in black crepe as a prop. The following year a pulp-crime magazine, Inside Detective, published a "first-person account" of her travails, an odd pastiche of Dallas newspaper accounts, and some of the half-truths and hyperbole of her long-ago lecture publicity, such as the Ph.D. at nineteen and the "degree" from the Sorbonne.

The Newtons took up residence in the upstairs apartments of an old storefront at 2217-2219 Cedar Springs and in 1959 sued the township of Highland Park for its steadfast refusal to issue permits, as well as the *Morning News* for libel. One teenage trespasser arrested by Highland Park police on the property in 1960 remembers the thick concrete wall with the jagged glass embedded in the Portland cement, and a "living room floor that had been sawed in half and dropped neatly into the basement." She was taken to the police station for her own safety, informed by them that the house was booby-trapped by Faust-Newton herself.⁷²

Meanwhile, over at 2217 Cedar Springs, Cosette Faust-Newton was slated to open her new "Miramar Center" venture, a memorial to her scuttled ship, in late 1963. On November 20, 1963, while the rest of the city was preparing for a young president's visit, Cosette was rendering her deposition in the law offices of Angus G. Wynne, Sr., attorney for her Highland Park neighbors. Years before, she had flabbergasted Wynne publicly in court when he filed a motion to get access to her personal diary. She had handed over a diary all in various languages and "secret codes." Six years after the Supreme Court turned down her appeal concerning her "garden ship of dreams," Cosette was once again bringing suit, ever attuned to the American zeitgeist, asserting with an Ahab-like intensity that her civil rights had been violated by Highland Park's refusal to issue permits. The acrimony between the two seasoned combatants still crackles off the pages of her deposition fifty years later. Wynne repeatedly attempted to elicit statements from Faust-Newton that would prove malice towards his clients. She repeatedly re-framed the issue as being of national import, beyond personal antipathy towards her neighbors:

"I have had excessive, wealthy forces against me, but a great atrocity has been committed in America against one home and one couple. . . what I think was the most phony, horribly unpatriotic, unjust un-Christian, mob-like, Communistic-like, and I haven't got a case of adjectivitis, I am just telling it the case that has happened in America and perhaps in the world. . . I had a duty to my fellowman. . . I had a duty to my country, and I have a duty to God."

"Now," Wynne asked, "did you do it for your fellowman or to satisfy your own sadistic intention?"

"I have no sadistic intention," Faust-Newton replied, "and you are just as impudent as you were in '54."⁷⁴

When Dallas was swept into the national spotlight two days later, she delayed the opening of the Miramar memorial by two weeks. Perhaps she had learned from the Pearl Harbor-jinxed launch of the Miramar; perhaps she intuited the gracelessness of enshrining a faux ocean-liner "yard decoration," when America had just witnessed the real skipper of a real PT-boat get gunned down in Dealey Plaza. More likely, Cosette was canny enough to exploit this national trauma to publicize a personal venture. She installed a large neon sign that spanned the front of the building beneath shuttered windows reminiscent of old Shanghai and a row of flags of many nations. It read "MI-RAMAR MUSEUMS...A HERO'S SHRINE. ..DEDICATED TO MARTYRIZED JOHN F. KENNEDY.75 Early in 1964 the Newtons lost a libel suit against The Dallas Morning News, 76 and weeks later, in March, eight years after the Newtons finally scuttled the S.S. Miramar under court order, the Newtons' distressed home at 4005 Miramar was sold at auction to Charles E. Seay, a Highland Park businessman, and he demolished it.⁷⁷

In the years that followed, Cosette did a brisk business with local printers, repurposing old *Times-Herald* articles and *Life* photos into tabloid-size memorials to her "murdered home." In her quaint promotional prose she beckoned the public to view the "RAREST PRIVATELY-OWNED INTERNATIONAL COLLECTIONS IN AMERICA." Obsessive, she displayed her faded and tattered captain's pants suit on a mannequin. Even her small business card described the Newtons' "long, tragic futile FIGHT for their CIVIL RIGHT to a PERMIT to REPAIR ... their vandalized HOMESTEAD!"

Cosette's Miramar Museum on Cedar Springs was frequented by a certain kind of young Dallas counter-culture artist such as Jim Roche; her outsider-art installations showed the obsessiveness typical of self-taught artists driven by personal trauma to revisit it repeatedly, to make meaning from it. Towards the end, she began to depict her

story in comic-book style storyboards, fusing herself with characters such as Alice lost in Wonderland.⁷⁹ She devoted an entire alcove to an installation she called "The Garden of Grief."⁸⁰ She lived her last few years in near seclusion upstairs above the museum, with husband Frank always nearby, rattling around "like the proprietor of a speakeasy serving the past rather than liquor,"⁸¹ selling cheap items to strangers or reporters who wandered in. When Cosette died in 1975, the *Morning News* noted that she was a "lady of degrees,"⁸² listing them in a way that was not entirely accurate.

Was Cosette insane, or was she brilliant? Did she really devise a secret code for her diary during the turbulent years, or did she just rely on the Old English runes that Kittredge had required her to learn? Was she the victim of covert harassment, or a tormented paranoiac? Michel Foucault once observed that much of what we classify as "madness" is actually the indefinable gap between a society's bridle of compliance and an individual's resistance against that bridle. If so, Cosette Faust-Newton's mid-century struggle with the Township of Highland Park was not her first rodeo.

NOTES

¹Cosette Faust Newton et vir. v. Town of Highland Park, No. 14915, 282 S.W. 2d 266 (Court of Civil Appeals of Texas, Dallas, 1955).

²"Children's Names," photocopy from Faust family Bible, Stith Thompson papers at University of Indiana at Bloomington; Publicity flyer for the *Rainbow Hued Trail* lecture tour, Cosette Faust Newton vertical file, Dallas Public Library.

³"Baird's Eastern Star Delegates," *The Dallas Morning News*, October 12, 1909, p. 4 (hereafter cited as *DMN*).

4"Death of E.M. Faust," ibid., March 4, 1911, p. 7.

⁵Letter from A.S. Fowler, General Agent; Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance; April 22, 1911. Cosette Faust-Newton Scrapbook, Dallas Public Library.

⁶Abilene Daily Reporter, September 27, 1911, p. 3.

⁷University of Texas at Austin, *Alcalde*, 1912; *Dallas Daily Times Herald*, July 30, 1938, p. 13.

⁸Letter from George Lyman Kittredge, July 9, 1914, in Faust-Newton scrapbook, DPL.

⁹Stith Thompson, A Folkorist's Progress: Reflections of a Scholar's Life (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1996). Thompson was the office-mate of J. Frank Dobie at UT-Austin who introduced the term "folklore" to Dobie, enrolled him in the Folklore Society, and provided him entrée to what would become his life's work.

¹⁰Faust-Newton scrapbook, DPL.

¹¹"New Addition to English Department," *The Campus*, Southern Methodist University, September 7, 1917.

¹²Ibid., passim.

¹³Elizabeth York Enstam, Women and the Creation of Urban Life (College Station:Texas A & M Press, 1998), 172. Enstam states that no women faculty at SMU held Ph.D.s in 1917, possibly basing her statement on sources that predate Cosette Faust's arrival.

¹⁴Campus, November. 9, 1917, p. 1.

¹⁵Ibid., February 26, 1918, p. 2.

¹⁶Ibid., October 26, 1917, p. 1; December 14, 1917, p. 2; January 8, 1918, p. 1.

¹⁷Ibid., January 29, 1918.

¹⁸Ibid., April 2, 1918, p. 2.

¹⁹Ibid., November 9, 1917.

²⁰SMU Catalog, 1916-1917; Campus, April 30, 1918.

²¹Campus, January 26, 1917, p. 1.

²²Thompson, A Folklorist's Progress, p. 69.

²³"Professor of English to Be New Dean of Women At S.M.U.," *DMN*, July 14, 1918.

²⁴"Faust-Newton Wedding Last July," *Campus*, October 1, 1918, p. 3.

²⁵Rotunda, 1918.

²⁶China Galland, "The Prisoner of Highland Park," *D Magazine*, November 1977.

²⁷"SMU Girls to be Given Military Drill," *DMN*, October 26, 1918, p. 6.

²⁸Campus, November 13, 1918.

²⁹DMN, November 9, 1918.

³⁰Ibid.; a structurally similar "Civic Club" was organized at Radcliffe during Faust-Newton's time there; its purposes were suffrage and socialism. See *Radcliffe News*, October 16, 1914; January 15, 1915; January 22, 1915; March 19, 1915; April 30, 1915.

³¹Cosette Faust-Newton, "I Was Terror's Target," *Inside Detective*, September 1957, p. 23; Galland, "Prisoner of Highland Park."

³²Campus, October 13, 1920.

³³DMN, February 6, 1921, sec. 3, p. 2; "Gifted Lecturer Is Entertained at a Lovely Party," *Wichita Falls Daily Times*, April 3, 1921, sec. 2, p. 1.

³⁴"Organization Activities," *DMN*, February 6, 1921, p. 6.

³⁵Cook County, Illinois, Passport Applications, National Archives and Records Administration, ancestry.com.

³⁶New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957, National Archives and Records Administration, ancestry.com.

³⁷Cosette Faust-Newton, "Dietary Factor in Treatment and Prevention of Pellagra With Particular Reference to Yeast," *Southern Medical Journal* 19, no. 3 (1926) 168-175.

³⁸Cosette Faust-Newton receives no mention in Shari

Benstock's exhaustive *Women of the Left Bank: Paris, 1900-1940* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986); however, Stith Thompson's memoir places her in an apartment in the Rive Gauche in 1924–25. Benstock's study includes Sylvia Beach, Djuna Barnes, Nancy Cunard, Gertrude Stein, Hilda Dolittle (H.D.), Mina Lov, and others.

³⁹"Woman Will Circle Globe," DMN, August 25, 1927.

⁴⁰Publicity flyer for Dr. Cosette Faust-Newton's *Rain-bow Hued Trail* lecture tour, New York: Frank C. Payne Agency, n.d., in Cosette Faust Newton vertical file, Dallas Public Library.

41 Ibid.

⁴²Cosette Faust-Newton, *The Rainbow-Hued Trail Around the World*, (Dallas: published by the author, 1932), 163-64; Cosette Faust-Newton, "Our Little Brown Brother and His Isle of Fear," *DMN*, May 15, 1932, p. 2.

⁴³"Prominent Texas Citizens Charged With Kidnapping Former Chauffeur," *Chicago Defender*, August 6, 1938, p. 10.

⁴⁴"Private Sleuth Is Jailed in Attic Kidnapping," *Dallas Daily Times Herald*, July 30, 1938, p. 1, 13.

⁴⁵"Loss of Jade Ring Greater than Death," *DMN*, August 8, 1938.

⁴⁶"Newtons Tell of 275 Thefts," ibid., August 9, 1938.

⁴⁷Ibid., August 10, 1938; September 11, 1938. The Highland Park police had been so besieged with false alarms calls from 4005 Miramar that they had stopped responding. See also Diane Caylor Galloway, "Officer's Training Brought a Surprise," *DMN*, February 25, 1998.

⁴⁸Cosette Faust Newton et vir. v. Town of Highland Park, No. 14915, 282 S.W. 2d 266 (Court of Civil Appeals of Texas, Dallas. 1955).

49Ibid.

⁵⁰Dallas Times-Herald, December 12, 1941; DMN, December 12, 1941.

⁵¹Cosette Faust Newton vertical file, Highland Park Public Library.

⁵²Ibid.; DMN, August 8, 1931, sec 1, p. 11; Cosette Faust Newton et vir. v. Town of Highland Park, No. 14915, 282 S.W. 2d 266 (Dallas, Court of Civil Appeals, 1955); Cosette Faust-Newton, "I Was Terror's Target," Inside Detective, September 1957, p. 18.

⁵³Corsicana Daily Sun, May 11, 1943.

54"China In Dallas," DMN, February 2, 1944, sec. II, p. 9.
 55Robert Miller, "Old Bagdad Club Wrecked by Fire,"

ibid., April 20, 1953, sec. 3, p. 1.

⁵⁶Leonard Kimsey, "Vandalism Damage Estimated at \$20,000," *Dallas Times-Herald*, March 14, 1948, sec. III, p. 1, 6.
⁵⁷"3-Year Old Boy Drowns in Pool at Private Home,"

⁵⁷"3-Year Old Boy Drowns in Pool at Private Home," *DMN*, sec. 1, p. 3.

⁵⁸Cosette Faust Newton et vir v. Town of Highland Park;

"Cosette Faust Newton" vertical file, Highland Park Public Library.

59Ibid.

60 Galland, "The Prisoner of Highland Park."

⁶¹Cosette Faust Newton et vir. v. Town of Highland Park, No. 14915, 282 S.W. 2d 266 (Court of Civil Appeals of Texas, Dallas, 1955).

⁶²DMN, July 12, 1953, sec. 3, p. 1.

⁶³Ibid., July 17, 1953, section 2, p. 12.

⁶⁴"S.S. Miramar and Her Embattled Skipper," Life, September 14, 1953, pp. 67-69.

⁶⁵Faust-Newton, "I Was Terror's Target," *Inside Detective*, September 1957, p. 96.

66"Cosette Faust-Newton" vertical file, Highland Park Public Library.

⁶⁷Cosette Faust Newton et vir. v. Town of Highland Park, No. 14915, 282 S.W. 2d 266 (Court of Civil Appeals of Texas, Dallas, 1955).

⁶⁸"Cross Burned in Yacht Row," Odessa American, January 26, 1953; Corsicana Daily Sun, January 30, 1956; Unifax, January 1956.

⁶⁹NEA Telephoto image, *Clovis News Journal*, February 19, 1956, p. 2.

⁷⁰"Lodge Fire Not Arson, Investigators Declare," *Grand Prairie Texan*, February 9, 1956, p. 1.

⁷¹"Controversial Backyard Yacht is Being Razed," Odessa American, April 18, 1956, n.p.

⁷²China Galland, "The Prisoner of Highland Park."
⁷³Ibid

⁷⁴"Oral Deposition of Dr. Cosette Faust Newton," *Dr. Cosette Faust Newton and Dr. Frank H. Newton v. Town of Highland Park, et al.* Case 47137. (160th Judicial District, Nov. 20, 1963), 36. In Cosette Faust Newton papers, University of Texas at Arlington.

 $^{75\mbox{\tiny "}}$ Cosette Faust Newton" vertical file, Highland Park Public Library.

⁷⁶Dr. Cosette Faust Newton et vir, Appellants v. Dallas Morning News, Appellees, (Court of Civil Appeals of Texas, Dallas, February 21, 1964).

⁷⁷"Buyer to Raze Miramar House," *DMN*, March 1, 1964, p. 19.

⁷⁸Promotional flyer, Cosette Faust Newton papers, University of Texas at Arlington.

 $\rm ^{79}Interview$ with Alexander Troup, July 24, 2013, Dallas, Texas.

⁸⁰Galland, "The Prisoner of Highland Park."

⁸¹James Dunlap, "Memorabilia of an Exotic Past," *DMN*, September 22, 1974, sec. A, p. 36.

82"Dr. Newton, Lady of Degrees Dies," ibid., April 11, 1975, p. 30.

Citizen-Soldier General Edwin A. Walker in Dallas

By Adrienne Caughfield

Dallas for its right-wing element, thanks in part to conservative enthusiasts such as oilman H.L. Hunt and radio host Dan Smoot, as well as one of the largest branches of the John Birch Society, a conservative grass-roots organization. But in 1961, a newcomer moved to Dallas: former Major General Edwin A. Walker. He soon dominated its right-wing community in the early 1960s, even having peripheral involvement in the events preceding the Kennedy assassination in November 1963. Walker's story became one of the more colorful—and public—in the period, intersecting with many of the controversies of the era leading up to the president's arrival.

Born in Center Point, Texas, in 1909, Walker graduated from West Point Military Academy in 1931 and served both in World War II and in the Korean Conflict.² According to Smoot, Walker grew distressed by the soldiers under his command in Korea, "young Americans who had not the slightest notion what they were fighting for and who succumbed to enemy brainwashing, because they knew nothing about the great ideals on which their own society was founded."³

Walker's frustration grew stronger in 1957, when he commanded the Arkansas National Guard in Little Rock to enforce desegregation. The general saw the mission as federal intrusion into a state matter, but he never allowed his personal opinions to conflict with his orders.⁴

Soon Walker found an outlet for his beliefs. In 1959, he joined the fledgling John Birch Society and attempted to resign from the army because "[t]he fifth column conspiracy and influence in the U.S. minimize or nullify the effectiveness of my ideas and principles." The army refused his resignation, instead moving him to Germany to command the 24th Division.

But Walker found similar conditions in Europe as he had in Asia. Others in the Armed Forces had noted the mental lassitude of the Cold War army; in 1956, an army psychiatrist suggested that soldiers in Korea were easily brainwashed because they had no foundation in "the meaning of America." This led to an NSC directive encouraging training in American history and politics. When Kennedy took office, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara scaled back the directive. By that point, Walker had already created his own



Walker flew the United States flag upside down in front of his house on Turtle Creek Blvd. as a signal of distress for the state of the nation.

educational program for the men under his command, providing them a political and moral foundation. He called it "Pro-Blue," with blue symbolizing loyalty.⁹

However, reporters from the *Overseas Weekly*, an independent newspaper available to troops in Europe, published an article in April 1961 claiming that the Pro-Blue curriculum came from the John Birch Society and that Walker was essentially brainwashing his troops to be Birchers. Walker gave his men a conservative voter's guide from 1960 in order to understand the upcoming 1962 election, implying he was telling his men how to vote. The *Weekly* also said that Walker called former president Harry S Truman, former first lady Eleanor Roosevelt, and others "pinkos." The army disbanded Pro-Blue in May; it admon-

ished Walker himself in June.¹¹ Although McNamara called Walker both "patriotic and sincere," he believed the general guilty under the military version of the Hatch Act, which forbade most executive branch officials from promoting partisan political activity.¹²

The army removed Walker from command and began investigations into his ties to the John Birch Society. Eventually Walker was exonerated, but he declared his suppression to be "censorship," resigned from his two-star position, and rejected any military pension. ¹³ He did this because "I must be free from the power of little men who, in the name of my country, punish loyal service to it." Instead, Walker would attempt as a civilian that which he "found it no longer possible to do in uniform." Nevertheless, he maintained

a military mindset; the United States was, after all, in the midst of the Cold War. "War has been declared," he insisted. "Every man is a soldier." His "railroading" by the U.S. Army reinforced his concerns about increasing centralization of the federal government, and he took it upon himself to expose the growing evil at the heart of the nation. 15

Walker returned to Texas as his base of operations. He did this not only because it was his home state, but because he respected its tradition of "independence and courage." Its heritage stood in opposition to what he saw as the weakness of the federal government and its vulnerability to communist subversion. "Texas is a vital portion of this nation," he insisted. He moved into a house on Turtle Creek Boulevard in Dallas and planted an American flag in his front yard, which he later flew upside-down as a signal of distress. 17

He settled comfortably into life surrounded by the more conservative elements of Dallas society. He became the best known Bircher in town and was highly respected by those of like mind. 18 The lifelong bachelor was also a hit among the women, as he had been "the darling of the officers' wives" while still in the Army. 19 But Walker had not become a citizen soldier to charm the people of Dallas; he had a job to do, and he worked hard to accomplish it. A local women's public-interest group, the Public Affairs Luncheon Club (PALC), invited Walker to speak after his arrival in town. They had passed a resolution challenging the "military censorship" of Walker and wanted to learn more.20 He generously obliged, using his time before the PALC to criticize the government's attempts to squelch anti-communists in the United States and their efforts against expanding federal control. However, he also encouraged his audience with news of conservatism's ascendancy across the country.²¹

Walker viewed his interactions with the public as a call to arms. "We are at war," he told his listeners. "Our objective is the defeat of the national pretenders and the professional power politicians, and the reds and pinks in every land." Rather than military weaponry, Walker counseled enthusiasts to make good use of "the Holy Gospel, sovereignty, state's rights and Constitutional privileges. . . . Don't turn them loose," he warned. His audience, well-trained by constant warnings

about the menace of the Cold War, enthusiastically heeded his advice and used it in their attempts to save the nation from incipient communism.²⁴ Despite his good standing with fellow conservatives, Walker occasionally butted heads with those he viewed as obstacles, particularly the press. He made himself available to journalists, but insisted on parameters that reporters could not cross. While running for governor in 1962, he had one awkward moment at a press conference in Austin. There the general asked photographers to stop taking pictures of him while he spoke. He acknowledged that reporters had a right to take pictures, but at the same time insisted that he had the right not to have them taken.²⁵ The general wrangled with another journalist in Washington the next month, while he was there to speak before a Senate sub-committee, but insisted the reporter had started the fight.²⁶

Walker's tussles with the press were minor when compared to his actions at a PALC luncheon in November 1963. The club hosted George Wallace, Alabama's segregationist governor, at one of their meetings. Walker attended the luncheon, as did many members of the press, including George Phenix, a rookie cameraman for KRLD-TV. Phenix had been told to get silent footage of Walker listening to Wallace's speech. He turned on the camera's light and crouched near Walker to get a close-up. Walker did not accept his presence for long. "I've had enough of this," he told Phenix. "Get out of here." ²⁷

The cameraman ignored Walker. "One more picture," he insisted. Walker grabbed the camera light, throwing Phenix off balance. He then hit the camera with both fists, knocking Phenix over a tray of stacked dishes. Walker hit him twice more in the back before returning to his seat. The crowd applauded Walker; Phenix was later chastised by his editor for not keeping the camera rolling while the general beat him up.²⁸

Although the crowd at the PALC luncheon cheered Walker's actions, the altercation distracted the press and others from the scheduled speaker, George Wallace. The leadership of the club, mortified, berated Walker for his rudeness. "We had conducted ourselves with such dignity," Mrs. Charles Turner told the *Dallas Times Herald*. "We didn't want a scene. Now this happens. One in-



Edwin Walker posed for photographers in his home on April 10, 1963, three days after an attempt on his life. Lee Harvey Oswald was later identified as the person who fired the shot.

dividual spoils everything."²⁹ The editorial staff at the *Times Herald* agreed. "When a person comes in for public attention," one writer said, "he must be ready to receive attention of all kinds, like it or not."³⁰

The general had already garnered national attention in September 1962, when he joined a protest at the University of Mississippi in Oxford. James Meredith enrolled at Ole Miss with assistance from Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and the National Guard, and Walker led a coterie of those opposed to federal involvement in civil rights matters. Although Walker opposed the use of violence to prevent Meredith's matriculation, he believed he had the right "to encourage massive, peaceful protest against federal tyranny," as he

had been unable to do in Little Rock.³¹

What he did in Oxford, however, was unclear. The United Press International reporter on the scene said that Walker stood on a statue on campus and urged jeering protesters to avoid violence. Dan Smoot added to this in his newsletter, averring that federal marshals fired tear gas into the crowd before anything happened. In contrast, the AP reporter insisted that Walker led the riot that occurred. ³² One newsman from Dallas-based WFAA agreed, saying that rioters were already booing the marshals and tossing lit matches into trucks full of ammunition. ³³ Other Justice Department memos indicate that officials recognized Walker's peripheral involvement in the violence. ³⁴ Whatever actually occurred, Walker was



Protesters disrupted a speech by Ambassador Adlai Stevenson during a United Nations Day event at Memorial Auditorium in October 1963.

arrested on October 1 for "rebellion, insurrection and seditious conspiracy" and shipped to a federal prison "reserved for psychiatric and mental prisoners" in Springfield, Missouri, for evaluation.³⁵ Such a move mirrored earlier diagnoses of the general; when under investigation in Germany, doctors checked for a possible brain tumor or other personality-changing nervous disorder.³⁶ Walker was peaceful but uncooperative, only giving officials his name, rank, and serial number, "such as any American soldier would do if captured by the enemy."³⁷

Momentarily denied bail and *habeas corpus*, he became the champion of conservatives nationwide and was called by a *Morning News* columnist the "first political prisoner in the United States." Dallas Congressman Bruce Alger issued a statement asking Congress "to protect 'the Constitutional rights" of Walker. ³⁹ The president of the Dallas-based Defenders of American Lib-

erties protested the substitution of "compulsory pre-trial psychiatric examination" for a jury trial, labeling it an "aberration of justice." It was the emphasis on psychiatric diagnosis that met with the harshest response in the right-wing community. Many groups decried the postwar obsession with psychological targeting, particularly because many scholars labeled a belief in "restriction of constitutional government" as a mental disorder. To Walker's defenders, his case demonstrated this.

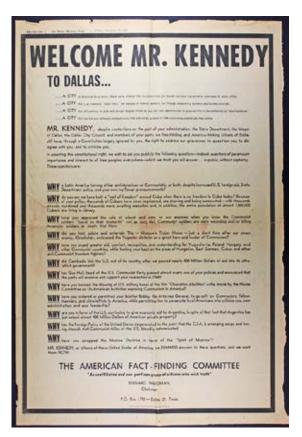
Eventually the court granted reduced bail and Walker returned to Dallas, where he met with a psychiatrist at UT Southwestern Medical Center. He then remained under watch at Parkland Hospital until November, when doctors diagnosed him as sane and discharged him.⁴² A grand jury dropped all charges against Walker in January 1963.⁴³ Walker's supporters celebrated his exoneration.

But Dallas had limits to what its populace

would accept, and Walker was already well aware of others' opposition to his efforts on behalf of the nation. This opposition was demonstrated on April 10, when Walker sat at his desk to complete his income taxes. As he bent down to his work, he later told police, "I heard a blast and a crack right over my head." He looked around the room and saw a hole in the wall behind him. 44 Walker called his aides and the police. An examination of the scene revealed a badly damaged slug resting on a pile of pamphlets in the next room, where it had fallen after penetrating the wall. Blood trickled down Walker's arm from fragments of the jacket of the bullet and broken shards of windowpane, which he removed with tweezers after someone pointed out he was wounded. Plaster from the wall and window frame through which the bullet had passed still rested in his hair.⁴⁵

Police searched outside for any sign of a weapon but found nothing. When they asked Walker who might have shot at him, he could give no definitive answer. He had too many enemies to consider. "There are plenty of people on the other side," he told them. "You don't have to go overseas to earn a Purple Heart.... I've been saying the front was right here at home."46 Eventually detectives continued their investigation elsewhere. Walker courteously excused himself to the reporters who remained and returned to his work. If he didn't finish his taxes on time, he said jokingly, "Bobby Kennedy's going to throw me back in federal jail again."47 To Walker, the attempt on his life and Kennedy's treatment of him were two sides of the same coin.

Matters grew worse in October 1963, when supporters of the United Nations planned to hold its annual United Nations Day in Dallas, as it had for several years. Most conservatives disapproved of American ties to the internationalist organization because they feared a loss of national sovereignty, especially since they perceived numerous ties between the UN and communist nations. ⁴⁸ As a result, activists in Dallas, led by Frank McGehee of the National Indignation Convention, had created United States Day as a counterpoint, usually observed close to UN Day. In October 1963, UN Day held particular interest because the headliner was Adlai Stevenson, former Democratic presidential candidate and current ambas-



This infamous ad, "Welcome Mr. Kennedy," was published in *The Dallas Morning News* the morning of November 22, 1963. Its content echoed concerns expressed by Walker over the previous few years.

sador to the UN. Walker took advantage of the occasion; he helped to bring United States Day to the Municipal Auditorium, where Stevenson would speak the next day. He spoke to an auditorium full of his supporters, labeling the ambassador as "a symbol to the communist conspiracy and its United Nations." Stevenson's speech, argued Walker, was the perfect arena "to show the world that Dallas was one place where the people couldn't be fooled."

Walker later said he urged his supporters not to demonstrate, but his encouragement of the crowd nevertheless spilled over into the next evening's events.⁵¹ His supporters poured into Memorial Auditorium and nearly drowned out Stevenson with their catcalls and other noise. The situation grew worse afterwards, when protesters accosted Stevenson on his way to his car. One

student spit at him, and a woman clipped him on the head with her protest sign. The fracas reinforced the impression nationwide that Dallas was a city full of extremists.⁵² Alarmed, Dallas Mayor Earle Cabell issued a public apology for the "political immaturity" of the "so-called patriots" responsible.⁵³

Citizens responded vehemently in letters to the mayor, occasionally dragging Walker into the fray. One individual hoped Stevenson's injury would drive some sense into him concerning the true nature of the UN. Then the writer wondered how the fracas at the Municipal Auditorium received such attention when no one seemed to care about the "near-assassination of Walker" in April. In addition, Robert F. Kennedy had yet to apologize for the "sadistic indignities" he inflicted on Walker in Mississippi, the writer said, even though it was clear to him that Kennedy had masterminded the affair. The fact that Stevenson got an immediate apology for something far less traumatic hinted at biased justice - or injustice.⁵⁴ Another writer, who attended UN Day, was embarrassed by what Walker and his like had encouraged. "Is our city going to take on the image of General Walker and his irresponsible followers?" she asked. 55 What would happen if such outbursts continued, no one knew.

The undertone of growing menace carried over into the upcoming visit of John F. Kennedy. While city officials scrambled to assure themselves and the president that Dallas would be both safe and welcoming, some groups shared with the public their fears about Kennedy's communist ties. During the fracas surrounding United Nations Day, the "Wanted for Treason" handbill began to circulate throughout Dallas, listing Kennedy's crimes against the United States.⁵⁶ The handbill was printed by Robert Allen Surrey, who had business ties to General Walker, and Surrey's associate Bernard Weissman.⁵⁷ The attacks continued until the morning of Kennedy's arrival, when The Dallas Morning News published an ad, bordered in black, declaring, "Welcome, Mr. President." Its language, however, belied its welcome, challenging Kennedy on various issues of domestic and foreign policy. Again, both Weissman and Surrey were involved in the ad's publication. Its content echoed similar concerns

to those Walker had voiced over the past few years, including an attack on "Bobby" Kennedy for ignoring communists while targeting "loyal Americans" whose only crime was public criticism of the administration.⁵⁸ While investigators never directly linked Walker to the handbill or the newspaper ad, their language and tactics closely echoed his own. As a result, after the assassination of President Kennedy, more moderate Dallasites assumed that "Edwin Walker and his crew" were somehow responsible.⁵⁹

The investigation into the Kennedy assassination resulted not only in the arrest and subsequent murder of Lee Harvey Oswald, but also in the closing of the Walker case. In December, the Chicago Sun-Times printed a story announcing that Marina Oswald, the widow of assassin Lee Harvey Oswald, admitted that her husband had tried to shoot Walker in April. Police had attempted to match Oswald's rifle to the slug they had found in the general's house, but the bullet was too badly damaged to trace effectively.⁶⁰ Not until Marina confessed her husband's involvement did they have enough proof to tie Oswald to Walker. The Times Herald's Warren Bosworth remembered later his frustration at the Sun-Times' scoop. He had written a similar story only a few days prior, but his editor had not printed it. Instead, he said, everyone had to read it in the Sun-Times.61

Marina's explanation satisfied investigators, but Walker continued to question the evidence. He came to believe that, not only had the Dallas Police Department arrested Oswald the night of the shooting, but Robert Kennedy had orchestrated his release within hours with the president's knowledge. As Walker put it in a letter to the Kerrville Daily Times, "The President did not live to know that he knew his assassin."62 To reach this conclusion, he relied on information discussed during the hearings of the Warren Commission, when he learned about a German newspaper article that indicated Kennedy's involvement in the case. In addition, the sensationalist National Enquirer added to the argument by saying that the Dallas police and the CIA worked in collusion to protect not only Oswald, but Oswald's killer, Jack Ruby, whom the rag argued had also played a role.⁶³ While the source of the German journalist's information remains unknown, the idea made sense to the beleaguered general, who had faced enough hostility to have developed overwhelming conspiratorial paranoia. He clutched those beliefs until his death in 1993.

By that point, few Dallasites remembered Edwin Walker or his part in Dallas history. Most citizens were eager to put the stigma of the Kennedy assassination - and the political turmoil that preceded it – behind them. Although Walker continued to speak for several years after the tragedy, his popularity waned substantially after 1963 until he found himself relegated to the sidelines of political discussion. Nevertheless, Walker's earlier efforts contributed to the groundswell that became the New Right, which by 1980 was able to elect its first representative to the presidency. This was only possible because Dallas, and other cities, were able to vet more stringent expressions of conservative philosophy, toning down Walker's militaristic rhetoric in favor of Ronald Reagan's more libertarian base. In many ways, then, Walker was not only an example of extreme conservatism; he also provided a warning of its potential hazards. L

NOTES

¹See interview with Jack Fletcher, by Stephen Fagin and Laura Osteen, September 6, 2012, Oral History Collection/The Sixth Floor Museum at Dealey Plaza.

²The Dallas Morning News, January 31, 1962 (hereafter cited as *DMN*); interview with Robert Patrin by Stephen Fagin, October 28, 2011, Oral History Collection/The Sixth Floor Museum at Dealey Plaza.

³The Dan Smoot Report, August 28, 1961, 273.

⁴Ibid., October 8, 1962, 324.

⁵DMN, January 31, 1962.

⁶The Dan Smoot Report, November 13, 1961, 366.

⁷Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), 146.

⁸Kent and Phoebe Courtney, *The Case of General Edwin A. Walker* (New Orleans: Conservative Society of America, 1961), 50.

⁹DMN, December 4, 1961; Courtney, *The Case of Edwin Walker*, 35. Given the timing of McNamara's actions, it can be implied that he repealed the earlier directive due to Walker's program. See Chris Cravens, "Edwin A. Walker and the Right Wing in Dallas, 1960-1966," MA thesis, Southwest Texas State University, 1991, 74.

¹⁰The Dan Smoot Report, November 13, 1961, 362.

¹¹Ibid., August 28, 1961, 275-276; admonishment of General Edwin A. Walker by the U.S. Army, June 12, 1961, Edwin A. Walker Papers, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas.

¹²The Dan Smoot Report, November 13, 1961, 362.

¹³DMN, January 31, 1962.

¹⁴The Dan Smoot Report, November 13, 1961, 363, 368.

¹⁵Interview with Fletcher, September 6, 2012.

¹⁶Edwin A. Walker, "The American Eagle, Uncensored and Unchallenged," speech in Amarillo, Texas, January 5, 1962, Walker Papers.

¹⁷Interview with Robert Miller by Stephen Fagin, June 24, 2005, Oral History Collection/The Sixth Floor Museum at Dealey Plaza; letter from Edwin A. Walker, September 6, 1989, Walker Papers.

¹⁸Interview with Fletcher, September 6, 2012.

¹⁹Edwin A. Walker to Brigadier General Donald E. Rosenblum, August 30, 1975, Walker Papers; interview with Patrin, October 28, 2011.

²⁰DMN, January 16, 1962, Public Affairs Luncheon Club Scrapbooks, Texas/Dallas History & Archives Division, Dallas Public Library, Dallas, Texas.

²¹Dallas Times Herald, January 16, 1962, PALC Scrapbooks.

²²Walker, "The American Eagle, Uncensored."

²³Edwin A. Walker, "The American Eagle: Weapons for Freedom," speech in Jackson, Mississippi, December 29, 1961, Walker Papers.

²⁴See Perlstein, Before the Storm, 116-17.

²⁵DMN, March 1, 1962. Walker came in sixth out of six candidates in the Democratic primary.

²⁶Ibid., April 11, 1962.

²⁷Bob Huffaker, Bill Mercer, George Phenix, and Wes Wise, *When the News Went Live: Dallas 1963* (Lanham, MD: Taylor Trade Publishing, 2004), 84; interview with George Phenix by Stephen Fagin, February 3, 2012, Sixth Floor Museum.

²⁸Huffaker et. al, When the News Went Live, 84.

²⁹Dallas Times Herald, November 19, 1963, PALC Scrapbooks.

³⁰Ibid., November 18, 1963, PALC Scrapbooks.

³¹The Dan Smoot Report, October 8, 1962, 324.

³²Ibid., October 15, 1962, 333.

³³Ibid., October, 8, 1962, 323.

 $^{34}\mbox{A.H.}$ Belmont to Clyde Tolson, October 3, 1962, Walker Papers.

³⁵Quote from Bruce Alger, in letter from Henry Steinman III, October 6, 1962, Walker Papers.

³⁶0Statement by Major General Joseph H. McNinch, September 11, 1961, Walker Papers.

³⁷DMN, October 3, 1962.

³⁸Ibid., October 9, 1962.

³⁹Bruce Alger, in Steinman.

⁴⁰Statement of Robert Morris, n.d., Walker Papers.

⁴¹Michelle Nickerson, Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 104–105, 125–30; The Dan Smoot Report, October 15, 1962, 334–35.

42DMN, November 11, 1962.

⁴³Ibid., January 22, 1963.

44Ibid., May 11, 2013.

⁴⁵Ibid., April 11, 1963.

46Ibid.

⁴⁷Interview with Warren Bosworth by Bob Porter, September 24, 1997, Oral History Collection/The Sixth Floor Museum at Dealey Plaza.

⁴⁸See Barry Goldwater, *The Conscience of a Conservative* (Shepherdsville, KY: Victor Publishing Company, 1960), 111-15.

⁴⁹DMN, October 24, 1963.

⁵⁰Chris Cravens, Edwin A. Walker and the Right Wing in Dallas, 1960-1966, MA Thesis (Southwest Texas State University, 1991), 141.

⁵¹Cravens, Edwin A. Walker, 144.

⁵²See DMN, October 26, 1963; Huffaker et. al, When

the News Went Live, 116; The Dan Smoot Report, November 4, 1963, 347; Cravens, "Edwin A. Walker," 141.

⁵³DMN, October 27, 1963.

⁵⁴Glenn Young to Earle Cabell, November 5, 1963, Earle Cabell Papers, DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

⁵⁵Helen Watson to Earle Cabell, October 25, 1963, Earle Cabell Papers.

⁵⁶Warren Leslie, *Dallas Public and Private: Aspects of An American City* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1964), 198–99

⁵⁷Paul Edward Trejo, *A Brief History of Edwin Walker*, unpublished manuscript, 214. Walker later denied any complicity in publishing the handbill (see Cravens, *Edwin A. Walker*, 145).

⁵⁸DMN, November 22, 1963; Trejo, Brief History, 222.

⁵⁹Interview with Mickey Greer by Stephen Fagin, August 14, 2003, Oral History Collection/The Sixth Floor Museum at Dealey Plaza.

60 DMN, May 11, 2013.

⁶¹Interview with Bosworth.

⁶²Kerrville Daily Times, January 19, 1992, Walker Papers.

63Trejo, Brief History, 264, 280.

One of the more unusual buildings in Dallas is a brightly colored Mexican restaurant with a frigid past. The restaurant located at 1207 North Zang Boulevard in Oak Cliff was once home to the popular Polar Bear Ice Cream store. The stores were located throughout the state and the one on North Zang was built around 1930 in a most unusual design. The stucco clad building was originally completely white and looked very much like something from the Arctic, with a whimsical parapet mimicking an



1207 North Zang Boulevard

iceberg. No doubt it helped to attract visitors from Lake Cliff Park across the street for a cool refreshing treat. The Polar Bear Ice Cream store remained in operation until the 1980s. Later

it became a Mexican restaurant, and the white stucco was painted over with bright colors.

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Neighborhood Heroes of the Cedars

By Evelyn Montgomery

fontier Dallas had barely finished becoming a city when some residents sought escape from the urban crush. They pushed south of downtown to inhabit tranquil acres covered with cedar trees, and the new Cedars neighborhood was the city's first residential frontier. Frontiers are won by heroes, both the flashy gunfighter types and the quiet, everyday pioneers. Today the Cedars faces downtown across the deep divide of a highway canyon, and remains imbued with the pioneer spirit.

In its modern form, it is a bit more gritty and urban than other parts of the metroplex. This urban frontier is layered with history. It contains the Victorian homes the residential pioneers built when the Cedars sprang up as Dallas's first elite neighborhood. They cohabit with the remnants of early industry that ended that era and began a new working-class community, where mill workers walked home at the end of the day past momand-pop shops and children who might be called urchins. Much was lost when the highway cut a gouge through the neighborhood, so that the Cedars briefly teetered on the edge, in danger of abandonment by the residents who loved it. But the Cedars has revived, and it would be an unfortunate twenty-first-century tourist who fails to see what it has become, a revitalized neighborhood full of delights. New pioneers have brought energy, art, historic structures creatively repurposed, and at the neighborhood's heart, the city's first public park. Now the home of Dallas Heritage Village, an outdoor museum of North Texas history, the park continues its historic role as a place for Dallasites and Cedars residents to find beauty, recreation, and entertainment. A lot of people brought the Cedars safely to its exciting present condition. Among these neighborhood heroes were John J. Eakins, the ladies of the Dallas County Heritage Society, and visionary developer Bennett Miller.

Some might question if John J. Eakins' contribution qualifies as heroic, since he enriched himself well. Eakins was a Civil War veteran and trained lawyer who owned land south of Dallas. In 1876 he gave the city ten acres for a park, in exchange for a \$300 check from a concerned citizen and \$400 in tax forgiveness. Though most available histories of the transaction detail how much money Eakins reaped from his "donation," a 1941 *Dallas Morning News* article called the park his gift to the city.¹

Eakins' parcel was the first of three that would eventually constitute the park. It was a lovely piece of land with two flowing creeks, near the water source called Browder Springs. But it was



This Italianate style house was the first of two homes built in the Cedars by Judge George N. Aldredge.

also isolated, without easy transportation downtown. The city waterworks were located near the springs, and so was the city Pest House, a sanitarium for people with contagious diseases. There were some nice picnicking areas that attracted the public, and cedar trees that would give their name to the neighborhood. The civic institutions and tradition of public recreational use limited the land's desirability for private residences, so Eakins' "donation" probably gave him the most possible profit from this piece of land. He is hardly the only person in Dallas's history to benefit the city and his own fortunes simultaneously.

The city took its time making improvements to the land, but as the nineteenth century marched toward its end, the park was made beautiful, stylish homes sprung up on the land around it, and a streetcar line made commuting easy for these lucky suburbanites. All of these developments fed off of each other for the benefit of many. Eakins platted two parcels of land he owned nearby, creating the successful Eakins' additions.² His once isolated land became valuable real estate because

of the park, the neighborhood's image, and the streetcar line.

The city still benefited the most. City Park was a proud accomplishment. Postcards depicted its beauty, and possession of such a civic attribute enhanced Dallas's image. It had paths where citizens could parade their best horses or attire. Picturesque bridges crossed the creeks. The park contained a poorly run zoo, with howling wolves and frequent bear escapes that offered excitement to Cedars residents. The City Park Pavilion was where the citizens gathered for plays, concerts, parties, revivals, and holiday celebrations.

The fine homes around the park reflected Victorian taste, and often the wealth of a growing city. Businessmen and civic leaders such as Phillip Sanger and Judge George N. Aldredge, chose to build in the Cedars. The neighborhood also offered more modest but still stylish middle class homes. People also lived near the park in boarding houses and in the city's first apartment building, Belleview Place, built in 1890.

After 1900, it became increasingly apparent



This building from the Hughes Brothers manufacturing complex is still standing across from Dallas Heritage Village.

that the neighborhood was changing. Industry was growing up amid the houses. The Hughes Brothers candy factory, opened about 1885 near their family home, was probably not very intrusive. Later industries such as the Dallas Cotton Mill polluted the air. The wealthy moved out. The workers moved in, and small houses filled in the remaining lots. By 1920 it was a lively new neighborhood, still centered on the green space of the park. The Frank Singer family operated one of the many small groceries there, and his sons remember a lively, multicultural neighborhood where small businesses served friendly residents.⁴

That stable neighborhood endured through World War II. After 1945, Dallas joined in the national trend of migration to new, outlying suburbs. Suburbanites needed to get downtown to work, so like every other city in the nation, Dallas ringed itself with highways. The unimaginatively named East–West Expressway, now R. L. Thornton Freeway, arrived in 1966 and took away half of City Park's land and several blocks of the Ce-

dars. New zoning encouraged heavy industry for the neighborhood. With newer parks all over the city and no local residents, the park might have disappeared as well.

The park's salvation was an 1861 Greek Revival house called Millermore, sitting quietly on the Oak Cliff homestead site of Dallas pioneer William Brown Miller. By 1966, Miller's descendants had sold the land to a church, and the house was to be razed for a parking lot. Barry Miller hoped that the Founders Garden Club would preserve the house.⁶ Many of the women who formed the Dallas County Heritage Society were from that club, as well as the Junior League of Dallas.

Their leader was Mrs. Sawnie Aldredge, whose husband's family had roots in the Cedars. Early members included Lindalyn Adams, a key figure in so many historic organizations in Dallas, Mary Lynn Aldredge McEntire, who carried on what her mother had begun, Harriet Weber, and Mary Nell Clampett. They used public opinion and the courts to halt destruction of the house,



Mrs. Sawnie Aldredge (left) posed with members of the Miller family at a groundbreaking ceremony for one of the family's historic houses at City Park.

and dismantled it for transport. They formed an unprecedented partnership with the Dallas Parks Board to move Millermore to City Park and eventually build a history museum there. Millermore gained a new home and the park, which soon added "Old" to its name, was given renewed purpose.

Starting from that single house museum, the society added the Miller family's pioneer cabin, the Gano dogtrot cabin, a church and a school, commercial buildings for Main Street, and even a local Cedars home, the Sullivan house. Joanne Wynn, wife of developer Angus Wynne Jr., was in charge of searching the hinterlands for buildings to move to the park. Loyal volunteers conducted tours, operated a gift shop and restaurant, moved and restored the historic buildings, and mastered

traditional household crafts to demonstrate for visitors.

Many strong women led this volunteer organization as the museum grew. Ruth Ann Montgomery served two terms as president during the key period in the 1970s. Among her contributions was bringing the city's Bicentennial celebration to Old City Park. In a recent oral history, she revealed that she attended a meeting with other local leaders to plan city celebrations. She preempted extensive discussion, by standing up and announcing that the celebration should be at Old City Park, and her suggestion was upheld.⁷ The museum staff rushed to finish several historic structures and a new bandstand for the event. The people of Dallas gathered once again at the historic site of so many earlier celebrations, and a



The working class neighborhood of the early 20th century supported many businesses like the Big Cash store

Fourth of July event became a tradition for the museum.

The museum reinvigorated the Cedars neighborhood, but it could not revive it without the efforts of others, the dedicated local residents and the developers who saw promise for future use in the neighborhood's historic buildings and empty lots. The foremost developer was Bennett Miller. He not only adapted historic buildings to new uses, he adopted the Cedars and embraced its future. His efforts were bold and brave, and he was a man who liked a challenge. He shared his knowledge about the Cedars and details of his own experiences in oral histories recorded at Dallas Heritage Village in 2012. The first was a driving tour of the neighborhood, where he recited the history of building after building, many of which he had owned.8 These included the neighborhood store that had grown by stages as the family prospered and then been abandoned, and a combination commercial and residential structure where African-American residents were segregated to the back, off of the alley.

Bennett had many careers over his lifetime. He had been a military bridge builder, an artist,



Two soldiers relax at City Park during World War I. The surrounding neighborhood and its residents changed through the years, but the park remained a central attraction.





These before and after aerial images show how much land City Park lost to the construction of R. L. Thornton Freeway in the 1960s.

and a hat factory manager. He came to Dallas to fight poverty, working for social service groups, where he operated an outpatient clinic. In his opinion, he had been unqualified for each position and should never have been charged with those jobs. In each case, however, he applied his common sense and boundless energy, mastered new knowledge, and succeeded.⁹

That familiar scenario brought him to Southern Methodist University, where he taught himself the craft of grant-seeking for nonprofits. He found the Cedars when SMU sent him to Old City Park to help the museum seek grant funding for educational programs. As he drove to the museum, he saw the condition of the surrounding neighborhood. Where some saw a place that might be a questionable location for a museum, Bennett saw his next career, and found his new passion.

He became a historian, and then he became a developer. He learned to do building research, poring over old City Directories and newspapers at the archives of the Dallas Public Library. He did some informal market research and determined that loft living was a good use for the neighborhood's vintage industrial structures, and that artists would make ideal Cedars residents. To this day that has been the secret to the revitalization of the neighborhood.

One of his many projects was the American Beauty Mill conversion. The mill is located at 2400 South Ervay Street. The original part of building was constructed in 1913 with additions right after World War II. It is concrete, and as Bennett described it, has "castle-like detail" reminiscent of "old mill towns of England and older American cities."10 He traced the history of the mill back to the Todd Flour Mill, the first in Dallas, run by Alexander and Sarah Horton Cockrell. Bennett extensively documented the history of the mill's ownership, changes in business practices, and architectural alterations, in order to write its nomination for the National Register. Writing such a nomination is a highly skilled feat of historic research and written argument. Bennett's effort equaled the work of experts and the building is now listed on the National Register.11

When Bennett acquired the building in



The American Beauty Mill had been deteriorating for years before Bennett Miller acquired it.

1995, it had been closed for 21 years. A distant owner had sealed it up with old mill equipment inside and left it to fall to ruins. Along with his historical research, Bennett carefully documented the existing conditions, before making plans to convert the building to artist-oriented lofts. As with so many of his projects, once the excitement of discovery, research, and rehabilitation were over, he sold the project and moved on to the next challenge. *The Dallas Morning News* credited him with teaching Dallasites to appreciate the industrial aesthetic and edgy atmosphere of a residential loft.

Bennett continued to support and build Dallas Heritage Village, recognizing its importance to the neighborhood. He oversaw the relocation and repair of three museum buildings: a carriage house, a companion outbuilding which is now used as the ticket office, and the home of Daniel Sullivan. The last building to arrive at the museum, the Sullivan house traveled only a few blocks from its original location on Akard Street,

one of the few remaining grand homes from the early Cedars neighborhood. One of Bennett's later contributions was to complete the museum's transportation exhibit by arranging for a length of railroad track and flat car to be installed in front of the depot.

Even when his professional interest expanded to other areas of the city, such as Deep Ellum, Bennett never ceased to be an advocate for the Cedars and the museum, always lending his talents, his connections and his knowledge. In 2011, the Cedars Neighborhood Association honored him with a lifetime achievement award, recognizing that the work of community building they do today would not have been possible without his earlier efforts.

The staff of Dallas Heritage Village never forgets the contributions of our founders, who built and operated that wonderful place in its youth. They did all the work the current paid staff does, but they did it for no pay, in high heels, and while serving homemade cookies at all their meetings.



Bennett Miller is seen here at one of his many loft projects.

Many have remained life-long supporters, volunteering, serving on the board of directors, and contributing funding.

In recognition that Dallas is today a thriving business city, let us not forget the contribution of John J. Eakins and his profit-making ambitions. He may not have given his land as a gift, but in the long run, he really did give Dallas a lasting treasure.

NOTES

¹Harry Jebson, Robert M. Newton, and Patricia R. Hogan, *Centennial History of the Dallas, Texas Park System,* 1876-1976 (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 1976), 4; Park Inventory, 1950s, not paginated, City Park...1300 Blk South Ervay, archives of the Dallas Park and Recreation Department; Mrs. George F. Carlisle, "Donor of City's First Park Rests in Cemetery of Pioneers," *The Dallas Morning News* Jan. 26, 1941, p. 7.

²Eakins' addition by the park is mapped in Murphy and Bolanz, Addition Book 1, pp. 34 and 35.

³See *Dallas Morning News* articles, including "City Hall Gleaning," February 9, 1892, p. 8, in which a bear escapes, and "Hugged by a Bear," January 31, 1894, p. 6, in which the

female bear attacks the keeper.

⁴An oral history was conducted with the three sons of the Singer family on December 12, 2012, conducted by Steven Sielaff, being processed by the Baylor University Institute for Oral History.

⁵This name appears through the 1950s in discussions of discussions of a connector for Fort Worth to Dallas and continuing through the city. J. Woodall Rogers was a proponent. See "On East-West Expressway," *The Dallas Morning News*, August 1, 1950, p. 12.

⁶Expressed in a letter from Helen Miller Eaton to the Dallas County Heritage Society, March 22, 1982, and held in the Millermore files at Dallas Heritage Village.

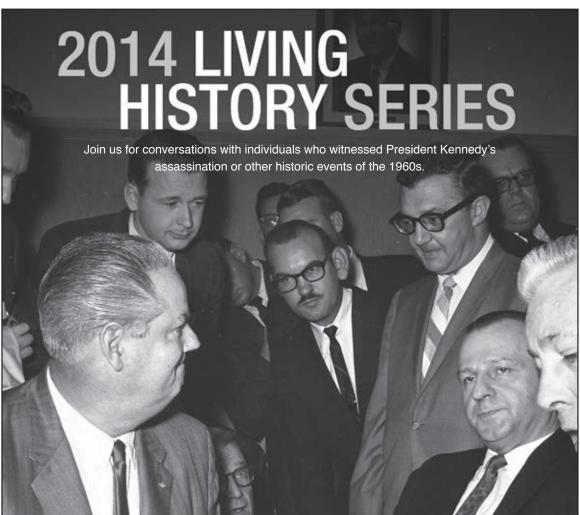
⁷Oral history conducted by author with Ruth Ann Montgomery and Lindalyn Adams, August 2011.

⁸This tour took place October 26, 2012. Audio and video recordings held by Steven Sielaff, Baylor University Institute for Oral History and Dallas Heritage Village.

⁹An oral history was conducted with Bennett Miller on November 11, 2012, conducted by Steven Sielaff, being processed by the Baylor University Institute for Oral History.

¹⁰National Register of Historic Places, Stanard-Tilton Flour Mill, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas, National Register #97001187.

¹¹The full history of the building is recorded in a notebook Bennett Miller donated to Dallas Heritage Village.



April 5 **JULIAN READ**

Press aide to Governor John Connally

July 12 **KEITH SHELTON**

Political reporter for the Dallas Times Herald in 1963

May 3 J. WALTER COUGHLIN

U.S. Secret Service agent

Evewitness to President Kennedy's from 1961 to 1977

August 8 & 9 **CHRISTINE LAVIN**

Award-winning folksinger and songwriter

June 6 & 7 J. ELKE ERTLE

speech in West Berlin

September 6 **NANCY MYERS**

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Bennett Miller Company: p. 58

Miller Family: p. 59

Mark Rice: p. 64

Cynthia Shearer: pp. 31 and 32

The Sixth Floor Museum at Dealey Plaza: p. 47
Bill Winfrey Collection, The Dallas Morning News: pp. 45 and 46

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The Sixteenth Annual *Legacies* History Conference will be held on Saturday, January 31, 2015, at the Hall of State in Fair Park.

The conference is jointly sponsored by twelve organizations:

Dallas Center for Architecture
Dallas County Historical Commission
Dallas County Pioneer Association
Dallas Heritage Village,
Dallas Historical Society,
DeGolyer Library at SMU
Park Cities Historic and Preservation Society
Preservation Dallas
The Sixth Floor Museum at Dealey Plaza
Texas/Dallas History & Archives Division of
the Dallas Public Library
Texas State Historical Association
William P. Clements Center for Southwest
Studies at SMU

The organizers of the Sixteenth Annual *Legacies* Dallas History Conference welcome proposals from both professional and lay historians on topics related to the theme: "Conflicts that Shaped Dallas."

Although "the Dallas way" has often been to avoid conflicts, in fact disagreements—sometimes loud and prolonged—have been central to the growth and development of the city. Debates over the form of city government (commission vs. city manager, single-member districts, etc.); civil rights; expansion of the highway system; development of the Trinity River corridor; liquor by the drink; the status of Love Field; the preservation of historic neighborhoods—these and many more conflicts merit research.

All papers must be based on original research and must not have been presented or published elsewhere. The best papers will be published in a subsequent issue of *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas*. Those interested in presenting papers should submit a brief summary of their proposal by JULY 1, 2014, to "Dallas History Conference, 1515 S. Harwood St., Dallas, TX 75215," or by email to: mvhazel@sbcglobal.net. Those selected will be notified by August 1, 2014.



Adrienne Caughfield teaches U.S. History at Collin College. She received her doctorate from TCU and has worked both as an instructor and as Director of Academic Programs at the Heritage Farmstead Museum in Plano. Her book, *True Women and Westward Expansion*, is a distillation of her dissertation, focusing on 19th century views of women and manifest destiny. However, she has always had an interest in the Cold War, and her research into Edwin Walker (and into Cold War Dallas as a whole) is a result of that.



Jane Lenz Elder is a Reference Librarian at Bridwell Library, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University. She holds graduate degrees from SMU and Texas Woman's University, and has authored or edited four books, ranging from the nineteenth-century Southwest to twentieth-century Hollywood. Her most recent article for *Legacies* chronicled the history of Cokesbury Book Store, published in the fall 2012 issue.



John Hanners holds the Ph.D. in theatre history from Michigan State University and is professor emeritus of Mass Media, Communication and Theatre at Texas A&M University-Commerce. He is the author of *It Was Play or Starve: Acting in the Nineteenth-Century American Popular Theatre* (University of Wisconsin Press) and nearly 100 articles and book entries on entertainment, sport, circus, and art.



Evelyn Montgomery is the Director of Collections, Exhibits and Preservation at Dallas Heritage Village at Old City Park, where she has worked for twelve years. Her article is based on her research for an exhibit the village premiered in 2013, "Cedars Stories: the Cedars Neighborhood and Dallas' Original City Park." Her other research focuses on Victorians, pioneers, domestic life and architectural history, as well as history of Dallas. She also serves as book review editor for *Legacies*. She earned a Ph.D. in Historical Studies from UTD.



Cynthia Shearer holds an M.A. in English from the University of Mississippi and is the author of two works of fiction, *The Wonder Book of the Air* and *The Celestial Jukebox*. Her first novel won the 1996 prize for fiction from the Mississippi Institute of Arts and Letters; her second was cited in the 2011 edition of *The Cambridge Companion to American Fiction After 1945*. She was a recipient of a fiction fellowship from the National Endowment for the Arts in 2000 and a Pushcart Prize for nonfiction in 2005. She lives in Fort Worth and is a writing consultant at Texas Christian University, teaching expository and creative writing.

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