

Spring
2015

LEGACIES

A History Journal for Dallas & North Central Texas

Infrastructure

Roads from the Red River
The Houston & Texas Central Railway
Narrative of an Auto Trip in 1903
The Great Divide:
The Politics of Space and the First Trinity River Valley Controversy

Trinity River, Dallas, Texas.



\$7.50

Legacies is a joint publication of:
Dallas Heritage Village
The Dallas Historical Society
Old Red Museum of Dallas County History & Culture
The Sixth Floor Museum at Dealey Plaza

Editor

Michael V. Hazel

Designer

Liz Conrad Graphic Design

Book Review Editor

Evelyn Montgomery

Editorial Assistants

Sam Childers

Stephen Fagin

Editorial Advisory Board

W. Marvin Dulaney
University of Texas at Arlington

Elizabeth York Enstam
Dallas, Texas

Robert B. Fairbanks
University of Texas at Arlington

Russell Martin
Southern Methodist University

Jackie McElhaney
Dallas, Texas

Darwin Payne
Southern Methodist University

Carol Roark
Fort Worth, Texas

Gerald D. Saxon
University of Texas at Arlington

Thomas H. Smith
Dallas, Texas

Legacies is made possible
by the generous support of:

A. H. Belo Corporation
The Inge Foundation

Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas
is published semiannually. The editor welcomes articles relating
to the history of Dallas and North Central Texas. Please address
inquiries to Editor, *Legacies*, 1515 S. Harwood St., Dallas, TX 75215;
phone 214-413-3665 or email molsen@dallasheritagevillage.org.

Copyright 2015:
Dallas Heritage Village
The Dallas Historical Society
Old Red Museum of Dallas County History & Culture
The Sixth Floor Museum at Dealey Plaza

Front cover

Although dreams of navigating the Trinity River to the Gulf of Mexico proved elusive, some barge traffic did take place, as this early twentieth-century postcard illustrates. However, periodic flooding made the river more of a liability than an asset, leading George Kessler to recommend moving it away from downtown and confining it between levees. See “The Great Divide,” beginning on p. 48.



LEGACIES

A History Journal for Dallas & North Central Texas

Volume

27

Number

1

Spring

2015

Infrastructure

DEPARTMENTS

From the Editor

3

Book Reviews

61

Contributors

71

Dallas Then and Now

72

4 **Roads from the Red River**

By TED A. CAMPBELL

21 **The Houston & Texas Central Railway**

By THOMAS H. SMITH

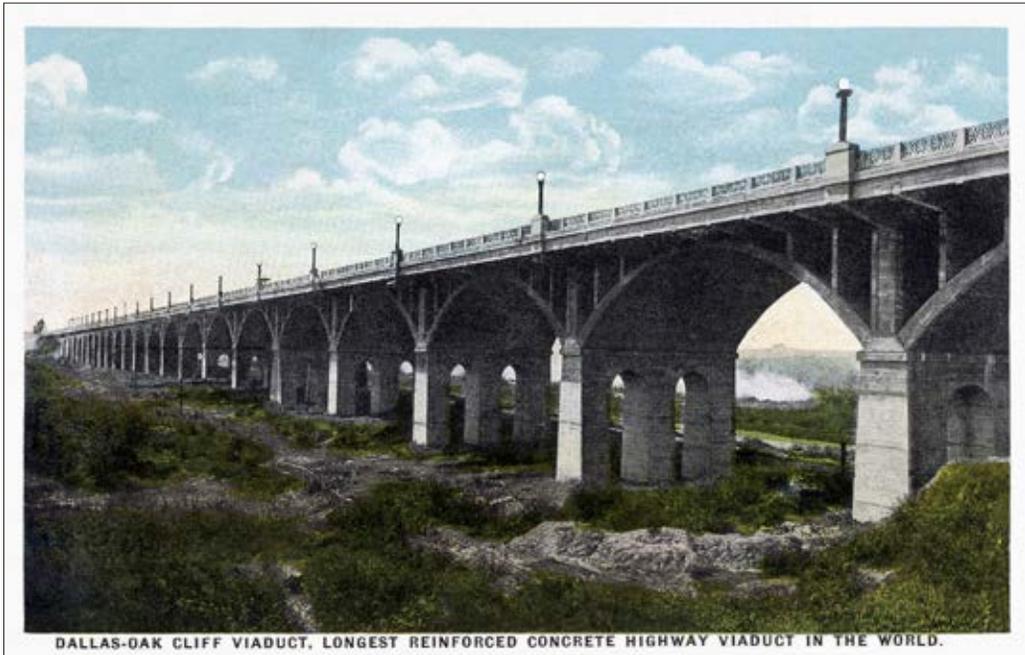
40 **Narrative of an Auto Trip in 1903**

TRANSCRIBED AND INTRODUCED BY JEFF DUNN

48 **The Great Divide:
The Politics of Space and the First Trinity
River Valley Controversy**

By ROBERT B. FAIRBANKS

All previous issues of *Legacies* from 1989 through 2014 are online at the University of North Texas Portal to Texas History. The address is: <http://texashistory.unt.edu/browse/collections/LHJNT>.



The flood of 1908 washed out all the bridges between Dallas and Oak Cliff. The Oak Cliff Viaduct, completed in 1913, provided a permanent connection between the two sides of town. The bridge is still in use, known today as the Houston Street Viaduct. See “The Great Divide,” beginning on p. 48.

FROM THE EDITOR

“Infrastructure” is one of those words often tossed around in contemporary political debates, usually when an official bemoans the decaying state of roads, sewage systems, or power grids. But when describing the essential underlying structures that enable daily communication and transportation, it’s a legitimate term. And the four articles in this issue of *Legacies* all deal with the development of some aspect of the infrastructure that allowed Dallas to grow.

Through careful analyses of early maps and pioneer memoirs, Ted Campbell concludes that instead of one defined route from the Red River to Dallas (often labeled the Preston Road or Trail) in the 1840s and ’50s, early settlers utilized a complex network or corridor of parallel trails, depending on such factors as the location of river fords and ferries. Getting to the Dallas area wasn’t easy in the mid-nineteenth century. Successful pioneers had to be flexible and ingenious. Campbell also explains how the existence of what was sometimes called “the McKinney Road” became forgotten while the reputation of the Preston Road survived.

While these early trails brought a small stream of settlers to the Dallas area, they couldn’t handle sizeable immigration, nor could they handle the importation of manufactured goods with any efficiency or economy. From an early point in Dallas’s history, its residents recognized that the ultimate solution was the railroads. But the struggle to get a railroad to Dallas took much time and effort, a story Thomas Smith recounts in detail. And even as the Houston & Texas Central

neared Dallas, the town complained about the location it chose for a depot and the prospects of a rival community developing around it.

The arrival of the railroads succeeded in turning Dallas into the economic hub of North Central Texas. This led to some improvement in streets and roads, although most remained dirt. But the quality of the road system didn’t progress much until the advent of the automobile. Horseless carriages, it turned out, demanded smoother surfaces than four-footed animals. Jeff Dunn shares with us a delightful account of an early car trip between Dallas and Fort Worth.

The Trinity River, which attracted John Neely Bryan and other early settlers, never fulfilled their hopes as a transportation corridor. On the contrary, periodic floods turned it into a liability. And acres of flood plain, right in the heart of the city, remained useless and undeveloped. Robert Fairbanks recounts the efforts to confine the Trinity between levees, a project first seriously proposed in George Kessler’s 1911 City Plan but not realized for more than two decades. In the process, it divided civic leaders and destroyed a leading civic improvement association. As citizens continue to debate the best uses for the Trinity River valley, it’s timely to study this earlier conflict.

A city is dependent on good infrastructure. When it works well, most people take it for granted. But developing and maintaining it are huge tasks, ones succeeding generations must shoulder.

—*Michael V. Hazel*

Roads from the Red River

BY TED A. CAMPBELL

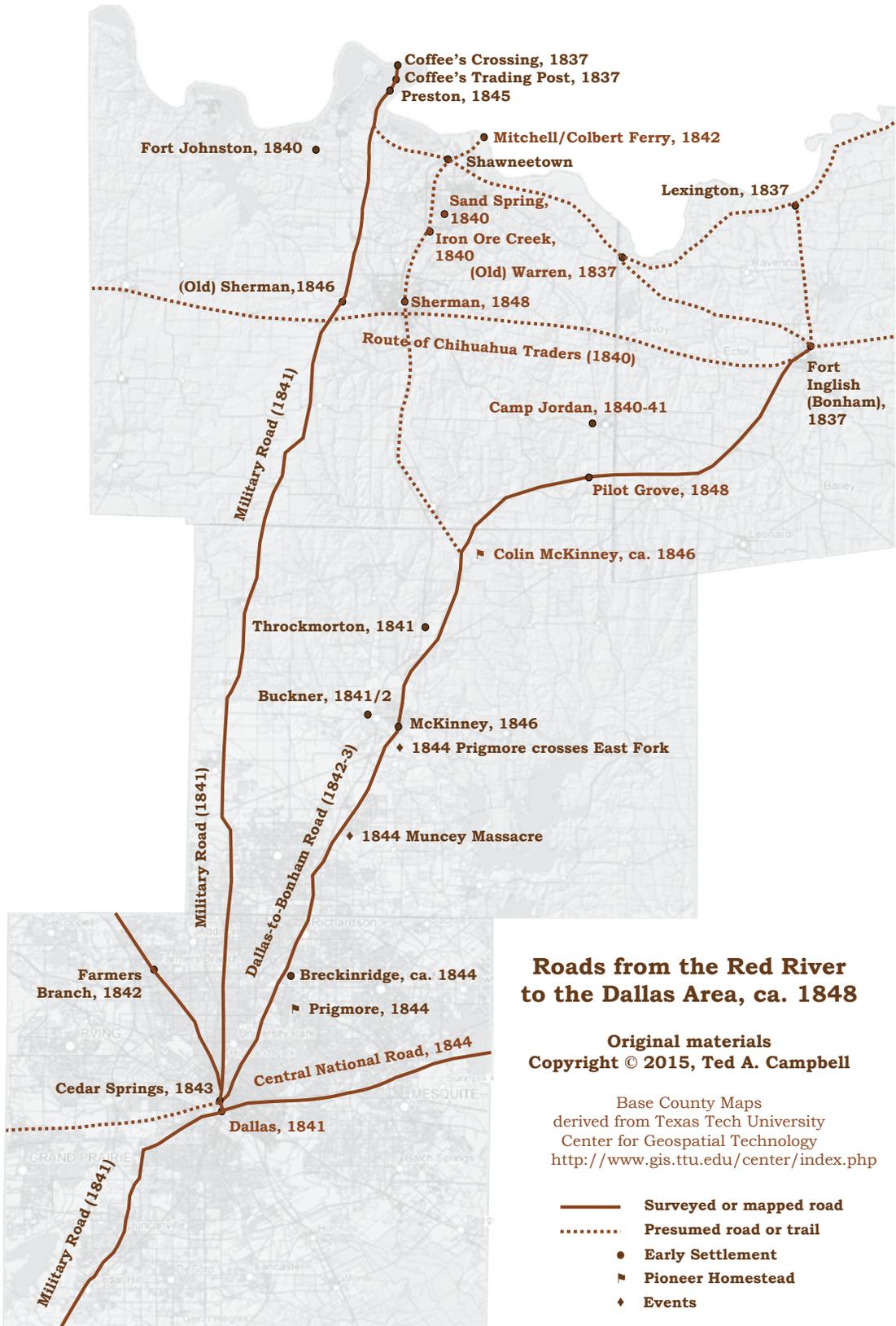
*I*n June 1891 *The Dallas Morning News* carried an account of an early settler in Dallas County, Benjamin Prigmore. One of the founders of the Dallas County Pioneer Association, Prigmore described his family's journey from Missouri to Texas forty-seven years earlier, in 1844. His account begins with this incident:

When we were moving to Texas we stopped on the East Fork of the Trinity several days to rest. There were some eighteen or twenty immigrant wagons along, and we were a pretty jolly crowd. The fourth day of July found us here in camp, and we thought we ought to celebrate our great national birthday; so we had the biggest sort of a dance upon the green grass of the prairie. The fattest yearling in the herd of cattle was killed and barbecued; and perhaps no festive occasion was ever more enjoyed than that 4th of July was by us—a little band of pioneers on this, the Texas frontier, at that time.¹

The account is interesting, for one reason, because the settlers had chosen to leave the United States when they celebrated this gleeful Fourth of July in 1844. For another thing, it may be the first documented reference to barbecue in north Texas. But it is also interesting because of the location “on the East Fork of the Trinity.”

The track that Benjamin Prigmore, his parents, and their band of immigrants took from Missouri to the Dallas area was probably part of that vast trail system stretching from Missouri to south Texas that by the 1850s had come to be called “the Shawnee Trail.”² But the location Prigmore described in this account was not on the Preston Road, earlier known as the Military Road that had been laid out in 1841 and had brilliantly steered between the East Fork and the Elm Fork of the Trinity. The area Prigmore described was probably near present-day McKinney, just below the headwaters of the East Fork of the Trinity.

The origins of Dallas were tied up with the roads from the Red River, the roads that John



This map, compiled by the author, lays out the various trails leading from the Red River to the Dallas area during the pioneer era.

Neely Bryan and Benjamin Prigmore and so many immigrants to the Dallas area traveled. In what follows, I will argue that there was at least one important alternative to the Preston Road from the Red River to the Dallas area. Like the Preston Road, this route was also an immigrant road that brought settlers to the area. This alternate route, an eastern route that originally came down from the area of Bonham to the Dallas area, was in use within a year or two of the establishment of the Preston Road. Unlike the Preston Road, however, the other route from the Red River never had a consistent, distinctive name. I will refer to it early in its history as the “Bonham-to-Dallas” road, though by some time in the 1850s, the road bypassed Bonham with a more direct route from Sherman to McKinney and from there on to Dallas. In Dallas, it was referred to as “the McKinney Road” up to the 1870s. I will make a case that we should think of the Preston Road and the Bonham-to-Dallas road as alternate routes of a north-south trail corridor that crossed the Red River and the Trinity River at multiple points.

Red River Crossings and Ferries

Within a few years of the Louisiana Purchase, explorers from the United States were entering the Arkansas and Oklahoma territories and reconnoitering their southern reaches. Around 1813 Nicholas Trammel had blazed a trail or “trace” from Nacogdoches to the Red River, skirting the eastern boundary of Texas. Hardly a road, his trail was probably little more than a series of markings (blazes) on trees that would let seasoned travelers find the way. Trammel’s Trace came to the Red River at multiple points, including Fulton, Arkansas, and such early river communities in northeastern Texas as Pecan Point and Jonesboro.³ From that time, pioneers extended a line of crossings along the river to the west. By 1833, Holland Coffee had established a trading post on the Red River in the vicinity of the Washita Bend or Preston Bend.⁴

Dallas histories have consistently represented Holland Coffee’s trading post on the Red Riv-

er as the principal entry point for early settlers entering Texas by way of the “Texas Road,” the Oklahoma portion of the Shawnee Trail, then following the Military Road or Preston Road from that point down to Dallas. One popular account of Dallas history from the mid-twentieth century states that early in the history of this area, “the only road between north and south Texas was the Preston Road.”⁵ There seems to be little doubt that Coffee’s Station was chronologically the first crossing point on the river where travelers to the forks of the Trinity could expect to find support. A native of Tennessee who had spent years exploring the Arkansas Territory, Coffee had established an outpost on the Mexican side of the Red River as early as 1833, and by 1837 he had settled in the area of Washita Bend. Coffee’s Station, later called Preston, is now submerged under Lake Texoma, but it was just inland from Coffee’s Station that two companies of soldiers of the Republic of Texas established Fort Johnston in November 1840 and set out from there in April of the next year to blaze the Military Road, later called the Preston Road, down to Cedar Springs. It was almost certainly this road that John Neely Bryan took down to the Dallas area a few months later in October or November 1841. The prominence of the Preston Road was enhanced in 1843 when the United States government established Fort Washita across the Red River from Coffee’s Station in the Indian Territory.⁶

But there were numerous other crossings of the Red River prior to 1845. Three years after Coffee’s Station was established, in 1836 when the territory had become part of the Republic of Texas, frontier trader Abel Warren established a post on the Red River right about on the present line between Grayson and Fannin counties. His post appears on older maps as “Warren” or “Warrenton,” although present-day historians refer to it as “Old Warren.” It would eventually become the first county seat of Fannin County during the period of the Republic of Texas.⁷ So, for example, when William E. Throckmorton applied for property as a new resident of the county in 1842, his property grant was made out at Warren.⁸

Republic of Texas Feb 4th 1842
 County of Fannin 640 acres
 This is to certify that William E. Throckmorton has appeared
 before us the Board of Land Commissioners for the
 County aforesaid and proved according to Law
 that he owned as said ^{Republic} on the — day of
 Decem^r AD 1841 and that he is a Married man and having
 never received a certificate for the quantity of
 of Land for which he applies: he is entitled to
 a conditional quantity of 640 acres of Land
 in accordance with an Act of Congress approved
 January 1841
 Given under our hands at Warren Tex
 this 3rd day of January 1842
 Attest
 J. W. Van Bailey English Secy
 Secy. Clk. C. C. & C. Justice & Ex^o president
 Ex. Off. Clk. 1842 of the Board of Land Com
 James R. Meacham Secy

William E. Throckmorton obtained this land certificate in 1842 at (Old) Warren. Among the signatories was Bailey English, who had established an outpost in 1837 called Fort English, now part of the city of Bonham, Texas.

In the same year as Warren established his outpost, Daniel Rowlett came up the river from Jonesboro and, after serving as a leader in the Texas Revolution, formed a community called Lexington on the Red River in Fannin County. Five years later (1841), Rowlett would establish a ferry across the Red River at this location.⁹

In 1837, yet another American trader, Bailey English, established an outpost with a stockade fort about ten miles inland from Lexington. The site of Fort English is now part of the city of Bon-

ham, Texas. The English settlement formed a small nexus of communities with Old Warren and Lexington. Fort English became a stopping-point for Colonel William G. Cooke's expedition with the Texas Army in late 1840, before two companies of these soldiers moved up the river to Coffee's Station and established Fort Johnston. Bailey English served as a land agent for Fannin County under the Republic of Texas, and he signed the land certificate to William E. Throckmorton mentioned above.¹⁰



Benjamin Franklin Colbert took over Joseph Mitchell's ferry across the Red River in 1847. He is buried in the Colbert family cemetery, north of the River Road near Colbert, Oklahoma

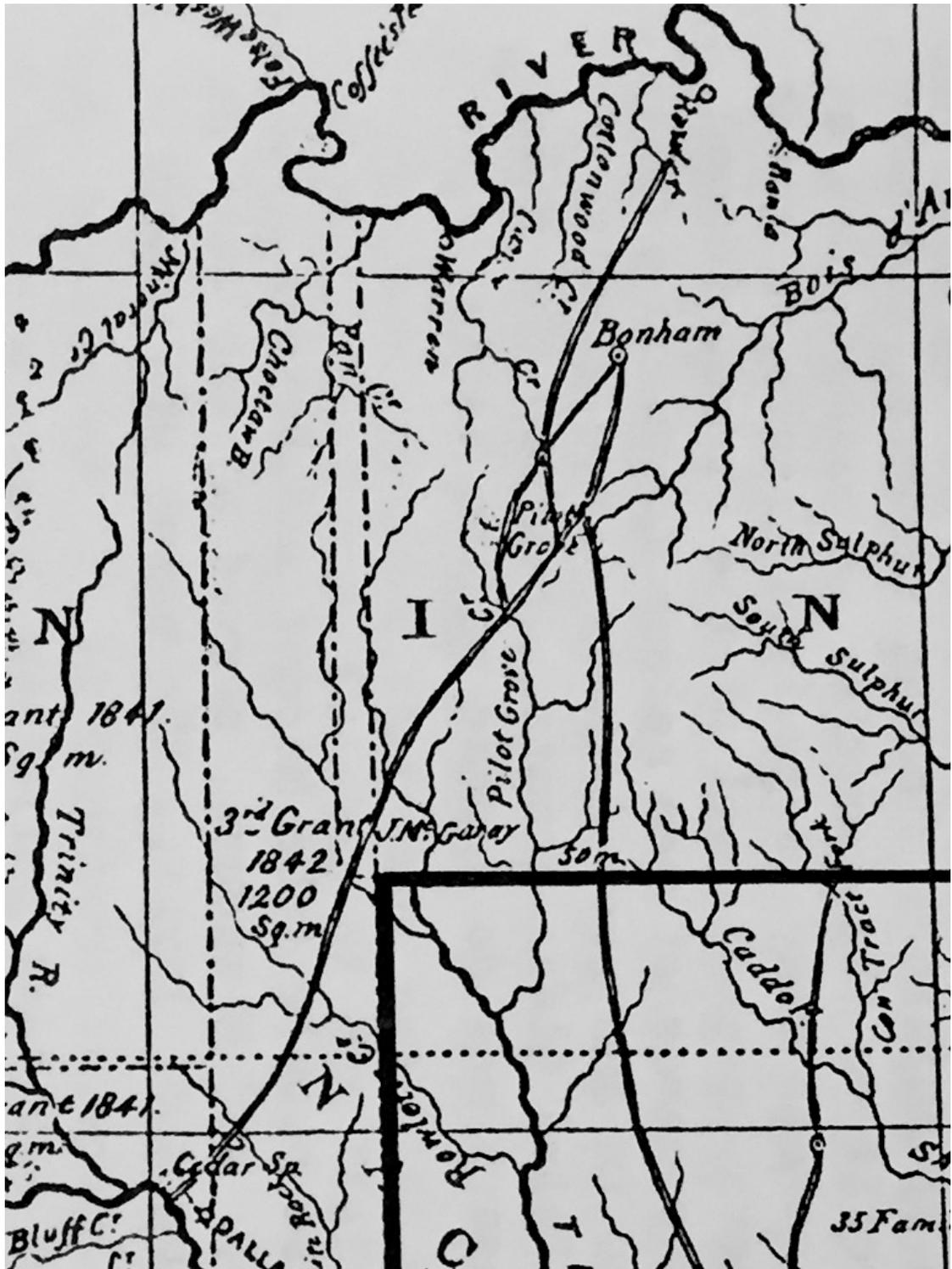
Only two companies of the Republic of Texas army had gone upstream to Fort Johnston from Fort English. Another group remained in the area and established a temporary encampment, Camp Jordan, north of Pilot Grove and southwest of Fort English. In February 1841, a company of twenty-five soldiers led by Captain William D. Houghton and accompanied by engineer and surveyor William H. Hunt surveyed and blazed a trail from Camp Jordan to the Cedar Springs crossing of the Trinity, now part of the inner city of Dallas.¹¹

The portion of this blazed road from Pilot Grove to the East Fork of the Trinity, roughly the area of present-day McKinney, would be a part of what I describe as the Bonham-to-Dallas Road. It is not clear what route the soldiers blazed from the East Fork of the Trinity on down to Cedar Springs: it may have been a new blazed road, answering to what would be the Bonham-to-Dallas road, but it is also possible that they went farther

west from the East Fork of the Trinity and joined the route that would be blazed all the way from Fort Johnston in April of that year, the Military Road that later came to be called the Preston Road.¹² As we will see, the Mercer Colony Map of 1845 shows the Bonham-to-Dallas road as a separate road from the Preston Road. It was very likely the road that Benjamin Prigmore and his family had traversed on their way to the Dallas area.

By 1841, as we have seen, there were at least three frontier outposts located at crossings of the Red River in Fannin County in the Republic of Texas (Coffee's Station, Old Warren, and Lexington), two forts located a few miles inland (Fort Johnston and Fort English), and at least one ferry service across the river (Lexington). The number of river crossings became four in 1842 when an enterprising man of mixed Chickasaw and European ancestry named Joseph Greer Mitchell established a ferry on the Red River midway between Coffee's Station and Old Warren. The Oklahoma side of the river at this point lay within the Chickasaw Nation, though the boundary of the Choctaw Nation was only a few miles to the north.¹³ Although Mitchell doubtless tended his ties with Chickasaw people in Oklahoma, he seems to have settled on the Texas side of the river in the area that became Grayson County upon Texas statehood.¹⁴

Mitchell's ferry appears in the earliest court records of Grayson County, Texas, which ordered the building of a courthouse in the newly established town of Sherman, Texas, in 1847, and two roads to the courthouse: "Roads ordered laid out: From the public landing at Preston by the nearest and best way to the town of Sherman; and road from Mitchell's Ferry to the county site."¹⁵ This makes it clear that the leaders of the newly created county wanted roads to the courthouse from both the Preston and Mitchell's ferry crossings of the Red River. At this point, the town of Sherman was located on the Preston Road, though we will see that it was soon moved to the east.



This detail from an 1845 Mercer Colony map shows a road from Bonham to Cedar Springs and an intertwined road from Rowlett's Ferry (Lexington) to Pilot Grove. Although the Washita/Preston Bend of the Red River is depicted, neither Preston Road nor Coffee's Station are shown. The straight solid and dotted lines in this map show the extent of the various Peters Colony grants (dotted lines) and the Mercer Colony (bold solid lines).

After Joseph Mitchell's death in 1847, another man of Chickasaw heritage, Benjamin Franklin Colbert (1828-1893), purchased and operated the ferry, and it is his name that has been historically associated with the ferry crossing, "Colbert's Ferry." Colbert and his large family and some enslaved servants settled on the Oklahoma side of the river at a location almost due south of present-day Colbert, Oklahoma, on a bluff about three hundred yards from the river bank. Although the family home is no longer standing, the family cemetery, including B. F. Colbert's imposing grave monument, remains on the property.¹⁶

Colbert purchased the ferry operation and land associated with it from Mitchell's heirs in 1848 and began running the operation from that time. He turned out to be a very successful businessman. One settler who came to north Texas in 1852 recalled a three-weeks' delay in a queue on the Oklahoma side waiting to take Colbert's Ferry across the river.¹⁷ A New York journalist who used the ferry crossing in 1857 on one of the first ventures of the Butterfield Overland Stage described B. F. Colbert as "a half-breed Indian of great sagacity and business tact."¹⁸ Colbert had allowed the Butterfield Stages free passage on his ferry, apparently very much aware of the publicity this was to generate, for instance, by this reporter from the *New York Herald*. One account of early Grayson County states that by the 1860s, Colbert was clearing \$100 per day by his ferry business.¹⁹ He would later build two toll bridges in the area, though neither of them survived more than a few years.²⁰ Colbert's success and the backlog of travelers suggest that the Mitchell/Colbert ferry was carrying a very significant number of people including early settlers into Texas.

The point I would emphasize here is that early settlers used multiple crossings of the Red River including the crossings at Preston, Old Warren, the Lexington ferry, and the Mitchell/Colbert ferry, all of which were available from 1842, just a year after the blazing of the Military Road (or Preston Road). It appears that the Mitchell/Colbert ferry gained prominence from

the mid-1840s. We should not be surprised to find that there were multiple tracks or roads leading down from these river crossings to the Dallas area.

Early Cartography (1845-1860) of Roads from the Red River

Early maps of the north Texas area confirm not only that there were multiple crossings of the Red River, but also that there was a road from the Red River through Bonham (Fort English) and then south to the Dallas area in addition to the Preston Road. In fact, some of the earliest maps show only the Bonham-to-Dallas road and not the Preston Road.

One of the earliest maps showing roads in the North Texas area was published to attract settlers to the Mercer Colony that had been established east and south of Dallas in 1844. Similar to the Peters Colony that had been established in the north Texas area in 1841, the Mercer Colony allowed settlers from the United States to claim land under specific provisions laid out in the Colony's contractual agreement specified by legislation adopted by the congress of the Republic of Texas. Daniel Rowlett, mentioned above as the founder of the Lexington settlement and ferry in Fannin County, drew up the surveys on which the Mercer Colony map was based. It was published in 1845 and shows a road from Bonham (Fort English) heading southwest and then south-southwest to Cedar Springs. It shows his own crossing simply as "Rowlett" (i.e., Lexington) and it also shows (Old) Warren on the Red River. It does not show the Preston Road or the Preston crossing of the Red River at Coffee's Station, and it does not show the Mitchell ferry, although we know that all of these were in use by the time this map was created.²¹ These omissions might not be completely innocent. Rowlett had a motive in representing the map in this way: it would serve to direct potential settlers to his own ferry service north of Bonham as a preferred route into northern Texas. On the other hand, with respect to the map's depiction of the Bonham-to-Cedar Springs road, Rowlett was in a position to know this area in great detail, and the



This detail from an 1855 map prepared for Yoakum's *History of Texas* shows a road north from Dallas to McKinney and on to Bonham. It also depicts another road from Dallas to Sherman, which probably represents the Preston Trail.

intertwined roads he depicted in the Bonham area indicate familiarity. His map suggests that by 1844, a separate road existed from the Bonham area to Cedar Springs, within a couple of miles of Dallas, whether or not it was the route that had been blazed by Houghton and Hunt and their company of soldiers from Camp Jordan in February 1841.

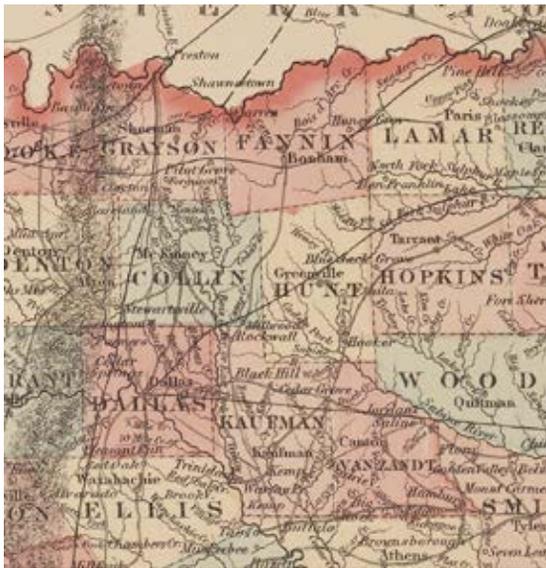
Three other early maps followed the pattern of Rowlett's Mercer Colony map in showing the Bonham-to-Dallas road from the Red River. The creators of these maps may have simply followed Rowlett's cartography without having visited the area.

- An 1846 "Map of the State of Texas Engraved to Illustrate Mitchell's *School and Family Geography*," which shows a single road north from Dallas to Bonham then crossing the Red River at Warrenton (Old Warren).²²
- An 1849 "Topographical-Geographical

Map of Texas" published by Dr. Ferdinand Roemer that also shows a single road north from Dallas to Bonham, crossing the Red River at what he called "Leksington-Rowletts" [*sic*].²³

- An 1855 map of "Texas: Prepared for Yoakum's *History of Texas*" that shows a road north from Dallas to McKinney, then to Plano (*sic*, out of place), then to Pilot Grove and on to Bonham. This map also shows another road from Dallas north to Sherman by way of Stewartsville, and this is probably its representation of the Preston Road.²⁴ In this case, then, both the Bonham-to-Dallas Road and the Preston Road are shown concurrently.

In contrast to maps that showed the Dallas-to-Bonham road, an 1858 map published by Johnson & Browning, "Johnson's New Map of the State of Texas," shows a road north from Dallas to McKinney which then veers west to the



This detail from “Johnson’s New Map of the State of Texas” (1858) shows a road north from Dallas to McKinney, which then veers west to the track of the Preston Road.



This detail from Colton’s 1859 map shows a road from Dallas to McKinney, which then curves west to meet the Preston Road. Later pencil lines indicate railroad routes.

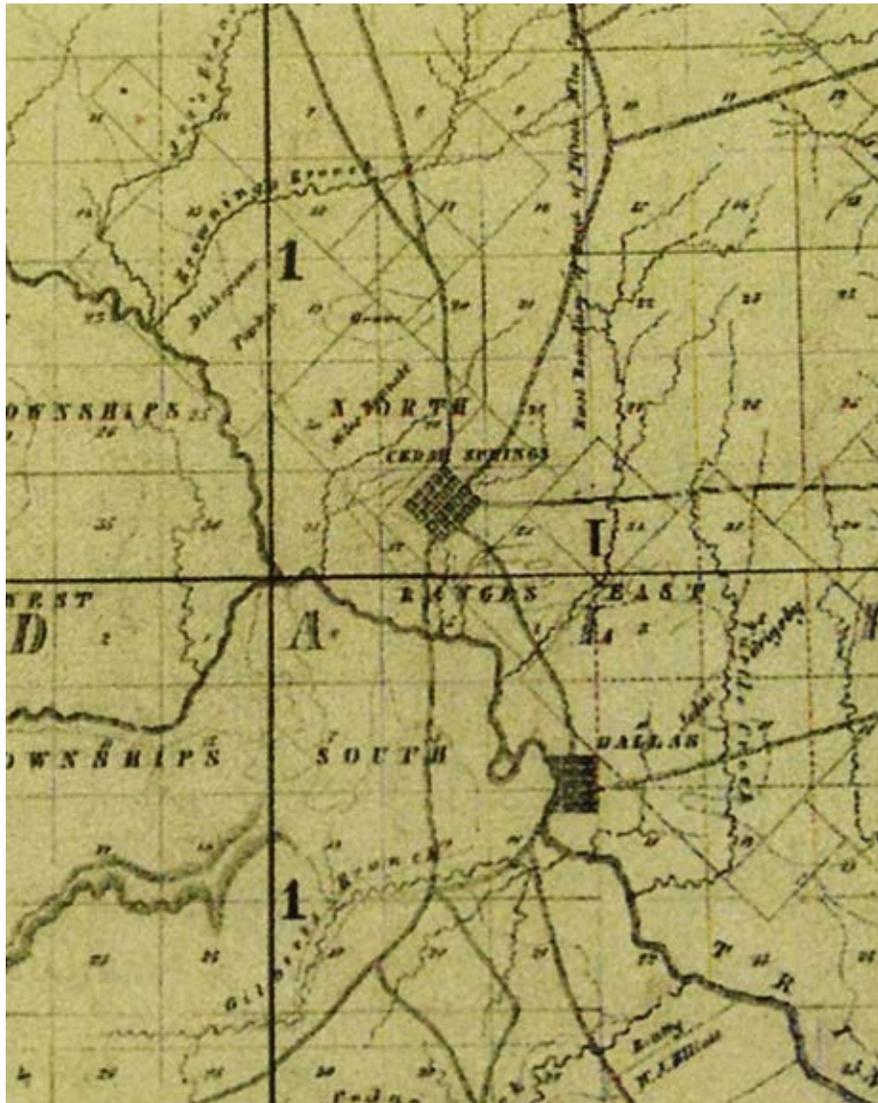
track of the Preston Road and only this track leads north to the Red River at Preston.²⁵ Similarly, “Colton’s New Map of the State of Texas” (1859) shows a road from Dallas to McKinney, then (north of McKinney) curving west to meet the track of Preston Road north to places identified as Roseland and Clayton, then to Sherman (shown by this time east of Preston Road), and then Preston.²⁶

What if anything can we discern, then, from these early maps? For one thing, four of the earliest maps (1845, 1846, 1849, 1855) show the Bonham-to-Dallas road with later versions of these appropriately showing McKinney as a mid-point on this route. This may indeed have been influenced by Daniel Rowlett’s role in drawing up the original Mercer Colony map with an eye to marketing his ferry service.

What does not appear in any of these maps is a direct road or trail between Sherman and McKinney, nor an explicit road connecting the Mitchell/Colbert ferry to Sherman as the County Court had ordered. It is difficult to believe that by the time Sherman and McKinney were estab-

lished as county seats (1847/1848), there was not at least a trail linking them. Perhaps there was, but it does not appear on these early maps. The overall impression one gains from these maps is that in addition to the Preston Road, there was an eastern route that came down from Bonham that went southwest to McKinney, then south-southwest down to the Dallas area. This road was fed by the Red River crossings at the Mitchell/Colbert ferry, Old Warren, and Lexington.

The fact that the Preston Road is absent from some of the maps should not greatly concern us. We know that the road existed from 1841, there is abundant evidence of its use from that time, and there is a credible reason why Rowlett might have wanted not to show it. Only one of the maps seems to show both the Preston Road and an eastern road from Lexington to Bonham to McKinney and thence to Dallas, but I would surmise from the maps and other information that the two roads existed concurrently, and that there was probably growing, even in the period prior to 1860, a more complex network of smaller roads and trails between them. What these maps may



This detail from a “Map of the Surveyed Part of the Peters Colony” (1852) shows two main roads to the north from Cedar Springs. The road to the left (west) has a Y branch about a mile above Cedar Springs with a left (westernmost) branch going to Farmer’s Branch and Denton and the central (due north) branch as the Preston Road heading north. The right (north-northeastern) road is the road from the Dallas area to Bonham.

suggest by showing only one track is that in the consciousness of early mapmakers, these varied routes really did represent one major road or trail, or as I will propose to call it, one trail corridor from the Red River down to the Dallas area.

There are also some early maps that show in more detail how these roads converged in the Dallas area. An 1852 “Map of the Surveyed Part of the

Peters Colony” shows the immediate Dallas and Cedar Springs area.²⁷ It shows one trail going north from Dallas to Cedar Springs, with two trails going north from Cedar Springs, and then a Y intersection on the westernmost of these roads above Cedar Springs which yields three trails headed to the north: 1) a north-northwest trail headed (I would guess) to Farmer’s Branch and Denton

County, 2) a northern trail that seems to be the Preston Road, and 3) a north-northeast trail that would be the Bonham-to-Dallas road that came to be called the McKinney Road in Dallas.

This general impression of early roads extending to the north in early Dallas is confirmed in an “Outline Map of the Country between Gainesville, Canton, Paris, & Dallas” dated 1860. Although it does not show Cedar Springs separate from Dallas, it also shows a road going north from Dallas that splits into two branches within a mile or so at a Y intersection, and a separate trail leading north-northeast, which looks like the Bonham-to-Dallas road.²⁸ This road in the Dallas area aligns roughly with the present route of North Greenville Avenue.²⁹

Early Settlers and Settlements (1840-1860) on the Roads from the Red River

The account of Benjamin Prigmore given above offers one indication that early settlers (in his case, in 1844) traveled from the Red River towards the Dallas area on a route that crossed the East Fork of the Trinity near present-day McKinney, most likely the Bonham-to-Dallas road shown in early maps.

But how might we gauge the extent to which immigrants entering north Texas used the Bonham-to-Dallas road? Was it perhaps only occasionally used? One way to test this in the 1840s and 1850s would be to ask what settlements were begun in these decades on both the Bonham-to-Dallas road and on the Preston Road in (present) Grayson, Collin, Fannin, and Dallas counties. On the Bonham-to-Dallas road, I find the following early settlements in these two decades:

- The Iron Ore Creek settlement,³⁰ just south of present-day Denison, dating from around 1840 which would be prior to the time (1842) when the Mitchell ferry was established north of there;
- The Hendrix settlement (from 1846),

a little further south towards present-day Sherman;

- Bonham (Fort English, 1837);
- The Mantua settlement, 1846, south of Sherman on the border between Grayson and Collin Counties;
- Throckmorton, 1841;
- Buckner and McKinney, about three miles apart, the one founded in 1841-42, the latter established as the county seat in 1846 nearer the center of the county as mandated by the State charter for the county;
- Plano, 1852; and
- The Breckinridge settlement in Dallas County, established in 1844 by the Jackson family who probably arrived in that year with Benjamin Prigmore.³¹

With the exception of Plano (1852), all of these settlements on the Bonham-to-Dallas road from the Red River were founded in the 1840s.

In addition to settlements like these were also homesteads and other historic sites along the Bonham-to-Dallas road from the 1840s. Some of these were:

- The Sand Springs site in Denison, the site of a natural spring and a small cave in a cliff face where pioneer travelers scribbled their names and other messages in soft sandstone;
- The William Wheatley homestead in southern Grayson County, 1842;
- The Collin McKinney homestead in northern Collin County, ca. 1846; and
- the site of the Muncey massacre in Collin county, 1844.

By contrast, I find only three settlements along the track of the Preston Road that date from the 1840s or 1850s. Sherman, the first of

these, presents an interesting case. It was originally laid out in 1846 or 1847 on the Preston Road, but the town moved in 1848 to a location closer to the center of the county, as required by state charter, and this then put it from that year on an east-west trail that would later be used by the Butterfield Overland Stage company. The move may also have placed the county seat on a road from Colbert's Ferry.

The only other settlements on the Preston Road were established in the late 1850s: Lebanon in southeastern Collin County (1858) and Fink, in Grayson County, also founded at some point in the late 1850s. Other communities along the Preston Road were from the railroad era or later: Celina (1879), Southmayd (1881), Dorchester (late 1800s), Gunter (1898), Frisco (1902), and Prosper (also 1902), just as Denison appeared as a railroad town east of the Preston Road from 1871.

Based on the number of active Red River crossings, early cartography that shows the Bonham-to-Dallas road as well as the Preston Road, and the predominance of early settlements on the Bonham-to-Dallas road, I conclude that the Preston Road was one prominent route from the Red River down into the Dallas area, but it was not the only one. The route from various crossings of the Red River to Bonham and McKinney into the Dallas area was also functioning in this early period and bringing an increasingly large stream of immigrants.

A winding path at the beginning, this road became more straightforward as roads grew up between Colbert's Ferry, Sherman, and McKinney. By at least 1857 when the Butterfield Overland Stage came through, there was a direct road from Colbert's Ferry to Sherman. This road was extended to McKinney, bypassing Bonham, and this would be the path taken by the Houston & Texas Central (H&TC) and the Missouri, Kansas and Texas (MKT) rail lines in the 1870s and 1880s.

I have an impression that although the Preston Road did function as an early immigrant road, it came to function more and more as a north-bound cattle trail (the Shawnee Trail) from Texas

as the 1850s progressed,³² and the Bonham-to-Dallas road, especially after the prominent rise of the Mitchell/Colbert ferry, functioned more as a southbound immigrant-settler road.³³ There were reasons why settlers might have preferred the eastern route that ran originally through Bonham and down to the Dallas area. Although the Preston Road was efficient because it kept to the high ground between the branches of the Trinity River, it was the westernmost of the routes down to the Dallas area and for that reason more open to attack by native prairie peoples. The fact that the Preston Road traversed open prairie also made it susceptible to attack, whereas the creeks and bottoms and thickets on the Bonham-to-Dallas road, though less efficient for travelers, offered a degree of protection that might have been chosen by native guides to the area.

There was one other alternative route from the Red River to the Dallas area by the mid-1840s, the Central National Road. Ordered by the legislature of the Republic of Texas in February 1844, the road was surveyed and blazed two months later. Envisioned as a more direct route to connect Austin with St. Louis, the road crossed the Red River at Kiomatia in Red River County far to the east of the river crossings described above. It came down to the Dallas area by way of present-day Paris and Greenville, Texas, and entered Dallas County almost due east of the city of Dallas. The road seems to have been little used for settlers and other traffic entering the Dallas area, although its route in Dallas County became part of the east-west road that accessed Shreveport, Louisiana.³⁴

The "Shawnee Trail" as a Trail Corridor

The Preston Road and the Bonham-to-Dallas Road were part of a larger north-south trail corridor that had may have been utilized by native peoples prior to the Euro-American exploration of Texas. From the 1850s, the term "Shawnee Trail" was used to describe the long cattle trail that came up from south Texas and ended at railheads in Kansas. The term apparently referred

to a Shawnee village on the Texas side of the Red River identified in early maps as “Shawneetown” near present Sherman.³⁵ Though strictly anachronistic when applied to the period prior to the 1850s, it is nevertheless a useful term to describe the whole system of trails extending from Texas to Missouri.

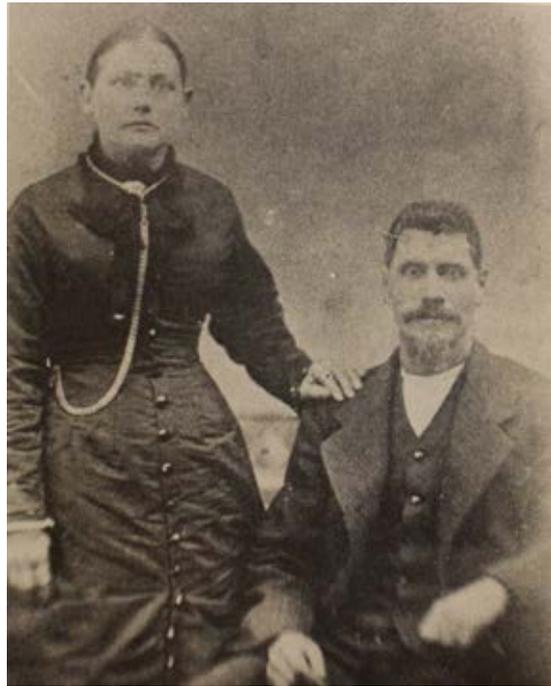
Historians are increasingly realizing that older trails and roads were seldom single tracks. A recent and strongly documented report of the Texas Historical Commission on named highways in Texas stated,

Although today we think of highways as permanent and fixed in a single alignment, highways historically have been a patchwork of zigzagging roads, with multiple routes all using the same name. Trails and early roads typically fluctuated depending on the location of river fords and ferries ...³⁶

That was the case with the Shawnee Trail. For example, an article on the Shawnee Trail in the Oklahoma Historical Society’s *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture* states that, “North of the Red River the trail divided for a time, coming together near Boggy Depot in the Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory.”³⁷ The trail doubtless forked at many points along the way from south Texas to Missouri.

It should come as no surprise that the Shawnee Trail would divide into multiple crossings at a major river like the Red River, and we have seen above that many crossings of the Red River were in use from 1842, leading to at least two distinct roads south from the river. In a broader context, then, we can think of the Preston Road, the Bonham-to-Dallas road, and perhaps other paths as alternative routes that travelers and their guides could select based on river conditions, weather, and reports of hostilities with native peoples. We should think of the Shawnee Trail, then, not as a single road, but as a trail corridor.

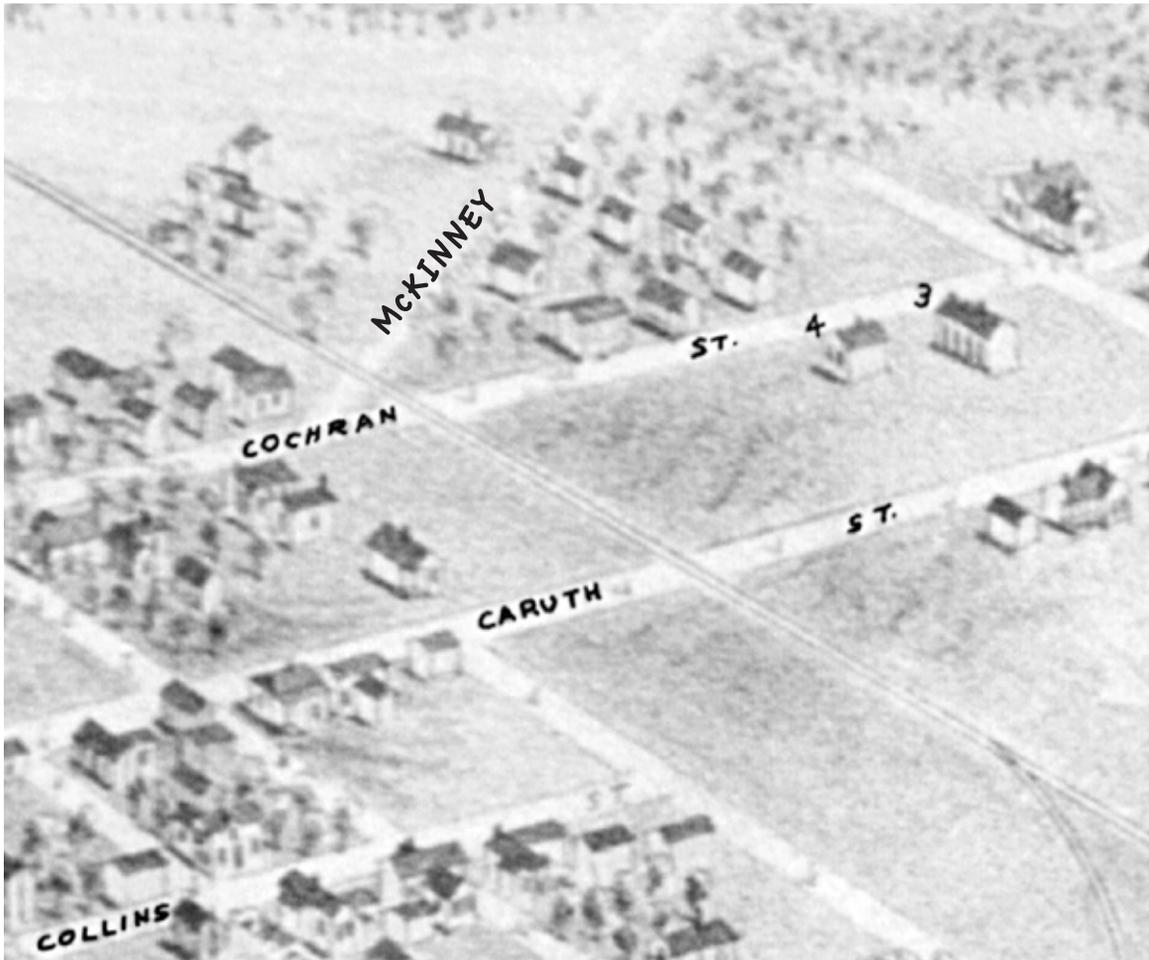
The location of Dallas on this trail corridor marked the character of the city in its infancy. It is perhaps surprising that early settlers did not come



Benjamin Prigmore’s family traveled from the Red River to the Dallas area in 1844, probably on a trail that passed near present-day McKinney. He married Lucy Jackson, member of another pioneer family. This photo was probably taken in the 1880s.

directly from the east, that is, from Louisiana, but southerly routes had to cross multiple wide rivers, bayous, creeks, and marshes, and there were no bridges over major streams. The first bridge over the Mississippi River was not built until 1855, and that was at Minneapolis, far to the north. St. Louis would not have a bridge until 1874. The northerly routes had fewer and smaller streams to ford or to cross by ferry boats. Even settlers from southern states like Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky came to northern Texas by way of Missouri and Arkansas, eventually joining up with the Shawnee Trail corridor to enter Texas from Oklahoma.

This had an important effect on the settlement of northern Texas and perhaps the continuing culture of Dallas: relatively few of the early settlers came directly from the Deep South. The first U.S. federal census of Dallas County in 1850 showed that of 435 families, the largest groups



This detail from Herman Brosius's 1872 Bird's-Eye Map of Dallas shows McKinney Road branching off Cochran north of the business district. The northern portion of this road soon became obscured by railroad construction and its route subsumed into Greenville and Abrams roads.

of settlers had been born in Tennessee, Virginia, Kentucky, Illinois, North Carolina, Ohio, Missouri, and Iowa.³⁸ Moreover, many families from southern states, like the families that immigrated to Dallas with Benjamin Prigmore in 1844, had actually settled in Missouri for years or even decades before moving on down the trail to the Dallas area. Benjamin Prigmore himself had been born in Missouri in 1830 and lived there for the first thirteen years of his life.³⁹ By the time these settlers arrived in the Dallas area, they had been formed by the culture of the southwestern fron-

tier. Dallas would not have a significant influence from the Deep South until after the Civil War, when the burgeoning cotton culture of the blackland prairie around Dallas attracted more settlers from Deep South states.

Roads from the Red River in Dallas Historical Memory

One question that remains is how Dallas folks might have lost the memory of a prominent old road like the route from the Red River through Bonham and McKinney down to Dallas,

the road that had been known in Dallas as “The McKinney Road” prior to 1870. The answer to that has to do with the coming of the railroads to the Dallas area in the 1870s and the 1880s.

All of the old roads were eventually straightened out, paved, and frequently re-routed. The old Bonham-to-Dallas road, eventually bypassing Bonham, became the route of the H&TC and MKT rail lines, which were joined together in Denison in 1872, placing Dallas at the midpoint of a stream of commerce flowing between Galveston and St. Louis. It also became the route of US Highway 75, which followed the route of North Greenville Avenue in Dallas until Central Expressway was built in the 1950s.

In 1872, the Houston & Texas Central Railroad literally bisected the old McKinney Road in Dallas very close to the place where North Central Expressway (the H&TC route) crosses Mockingbird Lane today. The coming of the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas (MKT) Railroad through Dallas in 1885 brought yet another intersection with the H&TC line and the old McKinney Road very close to the same location, and this further obscured the visual memory of the older road.

And not only was the visual memory of the old road obscured, but its name was as well. The northern parts of the old McKinney Road past Mockingbird Lane were eventually connected to an existing East Dallas street named Greenville Avenue, so the northern stretch of the old road from Mockingbird Lane and north is now “North Greenville Avenue.”⁴⁰ Interestingly, the cities of Plano and Allen have continued this name through their areas of Collin County. But “Greenville Avenue” doesn’t go anywhere close to Greenville, Texas, so the name of the road was cleanly dissociated from its identity as a historic road or trail. Preston Road, by contrast, had a long and continuous history under that name. The bisection of the old McKinney Road meant that the McKinney Road became McKinney Avenue, an urban thoroughfare that peters out in Highland Park.

However obscured they are today, the old roads from the Red River had provided a delicate

infrastructure that enabled Euro-American and African-American people to move to the Dallas area in the era of the Republic of Texas and in the earliest years of the State of Texas. The old roads were part of a complex north-south trail corridor or trail system that crossed the Red River at many points and also crossed the Trinity River at several points in the Dallas area. This trail corridor from Missouri to Texas played a crucial role in the evolution of the U.S. southwest, and the location of Dallas on this trail corridor would give the city a distinctive role in the evolution of this region of the United States.⁴¹ ■

NOTES

¹Benjamin Prigmore’s account is cited from a story written by Cliff D. Cates entitled, “Old Pioneers of Texas,” that appeared in *The Dallas Morning News* on June 7, 1891, p. 16.

²At least, the term is used in this very broad sense in Wayne Gard, “Shawnee Trail,” *Handbook of Texas Online* (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ays02>), accessed November 11, 2014. Uploaded on June 15, 2010. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

³Jack L. Pirtle, “Trammel’s Trace,” *Handbook of Texas Online* (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ext03>), accessed December 03, 2014. Uploaded on June 15, 2010. Modified on August 27, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

⁴The location of Coffee’s crossing and his “station,” that is, his supply post, changed many times prior to 1837 when he finally settled on the Washita Bend in a permanent location.

⁵John William Rogers, *The Lusty Texans of Dallas* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1951), 37; cf. Carol Roark, “Preston Road: A Highway for the New Republic in 1843,” in *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* 25, no. 2 (Fall 2013): 8–11.

⁶W. B. Morrison, in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 5, no. 2 (June 1927): 251 (available on the Oklahoma State University Digital Library at: <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/chronicles/v005/v005p251.html>); cf. Mattie Davis Lucas and Mita Holsapple Hall, *A History of Grayson County, Texas* (Sherman, Texas: Scruggs Printing Company, 1936), 25.

⁷Unsigned article, “Old Warren, TX,” *Handbook of Texas Online* (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hvo27>), accessed November 13, 2014. Uploaded on June 15, 2010. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

⁸Manuscript land certificate to William E. Throckmorton dated January 3, 1842; in the DeGolyer Library manu-

script collection, Southern Methodist University, call number “Mss 0051c.”

⁹Raymond Estep, “Rowlett, Daniel,” *Handbook of Texas Online* (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fro92>), accessed November 13, 2014. Uploaded on June 15, 2010. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

¹⁰Land certificate to William E. Throckmorton dated January 3, 1842, see above.

¹¹Gerald S. Pierce, “The Military Road Expedition of 1840–41” in *Texas Military History* 6, no. 2 (Summer 1967): 125–127. Pierce’s account is based on a letter from Capt. Houghton to Cooke dated 8 February 1841 and the muster rolls of Company E of the Republic of Texas Army.

¹²See Pierce’s note on the possible route taken by Houghton, Hunt, and their company: n. 28 on p. 127.

¹³This is still the case today: Colbert, Oklahoma, just across the river from Denison, Texas, lies within the Chickasaw Nation, whereas Durant, Oklahoma, just a few miles north of Colbert, is in the Choctaw Nation; cf. Morris L. Britton, “Colbert’s Ferry,” *Handbook of Texas Online* (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/rtc01>), accessed November 11, 2014. Uploaded on June 12, 2010. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

¹⁴Mitchell’s middle name “Greer” and the fact that he lived in Grayson County, in the State of Texas, are known from genealogical records available through ancestry.com. Early court documents in Grayson County show that Mitchell gave an enslaved woman to his niece Lucinda Atchison.

¹⁵Grayson County court record, cited verbatim in Lucas and Hall, *History of Grayson County, Texas*, 91.

¹⁶This account of B. F. Colbert is based partly on the article by Morris L. Britton on “Colbert’s Ferry” in the *Handbook of Texas Online* (cited above) and on my own extensive photographic documentation of multiple historical markers, monuments, and plaques in Bryan County, Oklahoma.

¹⁷The memory of Luke Caton of Dallas, recalling the experience of his father J. C. Caton, in W. S. Adair, “Traffic Jams Nothing New, As, For Instance, in 1852 at Ford across the Red River,” in *The Dallas Morning News*, August 9, 1931, p. 1.

¹⁸Waterman L. Ormsby, a letter to the *New York Herald* dated 1857 cited in Graham Landrum and Allan Smith, *Grayson County: An Illustrated History of Grayson County, Texas* (Fort Worth: Historical Publishers, second edition of 1967), 24.

¹⁹In Landrum and Smith, *Grayson County*, 78–79.

²⁰This is documented in a marble monument on the Colbert property in Bryan County, Oklahoma.

²¹Mercer Colony map shown in Nancy Timmons Samuels and Barbara Roach Knox, *Old Northwest Texas: Historical—Statistical—Biographical* (2 vols. with consecutive page numbering; Fort Worth: Fort Worth Genealogical Society, 1980), 40 and see the surrounding discussion of the map, 39–40; cf. another reproduction in Gifford E. White, *Mercer Colonists* ([Austin, Texas]: G. White, [1984]), p. v. The Mercer Colony map

shows a road from Bonham to Dallas, and a separate road from “Rowletts” (i.e., Lexington) to Pilot Grove.

²²“Map of the State of Texas Engraved to Illustrate Mitchell’s *School and Family Geography*” (1846); in the collection of the DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. This map does not show Preston (Coffee’s Station) or the Preston Road. The geography is skewed in comparison to the Mercer-Rowlett map: Bonham should be shown northeast of Dallas and Warrenton (Old Warren) should be west of Bonham, though this map shows them handily lined up north-to-south.

²³Ferdinand Roemer, “Topographische-Geognostische Karte von Texas” (1849); in the collection of the DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. Warrenton is shown on the river to the west of Lexington (appropriately), and “Coffee’s Trading house” is shown west of Warrenton, with a road skirting the south side of the river connecting them, though Roemer’s map does not show the Preston Road.

²⁴Map of “Texas: Prepared for Yoakum’s *History of Texas*” (1855); in the collection of the DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

²⁵“Johnson’s New Map of the State of Texas” (Johnson & Browning, 1858); in the collection of the DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

²⁶“Colton’s New Map of the State of Texas, Compiled from De Cordero’s Large Map” (1859); in the collection of the DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. This map shows a separate route of Preston Road from Dallas north, to which the other route joins past McKinney.

²⁷“Map of the Surveyed Part of the Peters Colony” (1852), shown in David Buisseret, *A Cartographic History of Arlington and the Dallas-Fort Worth Area* (Arlington, Texas: University of Texas at Arlington, 2006), 17.

²⁸“Outline Map of the Country between Gainesville, Canton, Paris, & Dallas” (supposedly 1860). I am trying to find the complete copy of this map and to ascertain its publication data. In this case, it appears that the Bonham-to-Dallas road terminates at Dallas rather than Cedar Springs, although Cedar Springs is not shown explicitly on the map.

²⁹It aligns with North Greenville Avenue north of Mockingbird; south of there it aligns with McKinney Avenue; these together formed a single road prior to 1871, the McKinney Road in Dallas (see below). The route of North Greenville Avenue had also been identified as the Richardson Road, State Highway 6, then US Highway 75, then simply North Greenville Avenue after the re-routing of US 75 to North Central Expressway in the 1950s.

³⁰The Iron Ore Creek settlement is documented in a Texas State historical marker at the Davis-Ansley log cabin: Carolyn Effie West, [Texas Historical Commission Marker: *Davis-Ansley Log Cabin Home*], Photograph, December 2011–March 2012; (<http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph256725/> : accessed November 14,

2014), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu>; crediting Private Collection of Carolyn West, Sherman, Texas.

³¹Benjamin Prigmore later married of the Jackson children, Nancy Lucinda Jackson. Dates of origin of each of these settlements or communities are given as they appear under each community's name in the *Handbook of Texas Online* (<http://www.tshaonline.org/>, published by the Texas State Historical Association).

³²Linda Barber McMath, "Cattle Town Dallas," in *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas*, 8, no. 2 (Fall 1996): 18-25.

³³One impression of this comes from a later (1868) account of a Texas cowboy, Jack Bailey, who left a detailed diary of one trip he made in 1868 from Parker County, Texas, to Kansas and back. The first pages of Bailey's diary are missing, but it begins with him northbound on the trail in Ar buckle, Oklahoma, which lies on the newly created (1867) Chisholm Trail that was replacing the older Shawnee Trail in those years. But the diary shows that he explicitly returned southbound by way of the "Texas Road" in Oklahoma and crossed the Red River at Colbert's Ferry, then came down to Sherman before turning west to Parker County: Jack Bailey, ed. David Dary, *A Texas Cowboy's Journal: Up the Trail to Kansas in 1868* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 87 and note 98 on that page.

³⁴J. W. Williams, "The National Road of the Republic of Texas," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (January 1944): 207-224. A Texas State historical marker near the spillway of White Rock Lake places the route of the Central National Road in that area, but Williams's extensive notes (and map) on the route of the Central National Road in Dallas County show that the road ran closer to the present route of I-30 (217-224; map on p. 219).

³⁵The Shawnee village near present Sherman is shown on older maps as "Shawneetown." On the name of the "Shawnee Trail," see the article by Wayne Gard referenced above in the *Handbook of Texas Online* and also the article by Linda Barber McMath, "Cattle Town Dallas," cited above.

³⁶Report of the Texas Historical Commission, "The Development of Highways in Texas: A Historic Context of the Bankhead Highway and Other Historic Named High-

ways" (ca. 2013; <http://www.thc.state.tx.us/public/upload/preserve/survey/highway/Statewide%20Historic%20Context.pdf>), 1, and see the subsequent section entitled, "I.2. Early Texas Roads and Trails 1680-1880."

³⁷Carl N. Tyson, "Shawnee Trail," in the *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture* (Oklahoma Historical Society, 2007); <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/S/SH015.html>.

³⁸Herbert Gambrell, article on "Dallas County" in the *Handbook of Texas* (two volumes; Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1952), 1:459.

³⁹The 1850 census for Dallas County shows Benjamin Prigmore with the family of his parents at 19 years of age, and his place of birth is shown as Missouri: U.S. federal census for Dallas County, Texas, roll M432_910, p. 100a. The same was true with the Jackson, Thomas, and Houx families who came to northern Dallas County, all of whom had lived in Missouri for years or decades before coming to Texas.

⁴⁰The winding character of North Greenville Avenue suggests that it was an older road. One small curve illustrative of this is identified as "Old Greenville Avenue," at the intersection of North Greenville Avenue and Whitehurst. The route of Abrams Road is also shown in early twentieth-century plats as having numerous winding curves that were straightened out; cf. Abstract 579, sheet 760. The fact that Abrams Road goes closer to the location of the older Breckinridge settlement (roughly at the present location of Richland College) suggests that Abrams may have been an alternative or earlier route for the old north-south trail that had been the McKinney Road. Older Dallas County maps show a community called Locust Grove, said to have been located roughly where Abrams Road crosses White Rock Creek.

⁴¹I would like to acknowledge the assistance of a number of people who have helped with this project. M. C. Toyer, Page Thomas, and Edward Wright have offered numerous suggestions and pieces of historical evidence for this article. I am also indebted to Mr. Terry Beal, the present owner of some of the Colbert family property in Oklahoma, who gave me permission to walk his property and photograph it, including B. F. Colbert's grave monument.

The Houston & Texas Central Railway

“The admiration of all,
and the attention of the world”

BY THOMAS H. SMITH

*W*hen the first regularly scheduled Houston & Texas Central locomotive chugged into Dallas on July 16, 1872, it opened the town and North Texas to a whole wide world of economic possibilities, ushering in a period of dramatic growth and prosperity. But this major turning point in the community's history was not easily gained. Looking deeper into the story, the coming of the H&TC to Dallas was not necessarily due to the munificence of the railroad, although the road would have been hard put to ignore the town in the heart of the Texas wheat belt. Rather its coming to Dallas was the result of a process of shaded democracy, stubborn persistence on the part of the business and professional community, which believed that self-interest equaled the common good, that local patriotism meant robust civic pride, and that bravado attracted more attention than timidity. John W. Swindells, Dallas's super booster, used his newspaper as the vehicle to exhort, guide, and promote an internal

improvement that changed forever the face and future of the small town on the east side of the Trinity River.

Railroads were inaugurated in Texas in 1836 under the Republic. Before the Civil War, the Texas legislature chartered 63 railroads, but on the eve of the conflict, only ten were operational, running on a combined 468 miles of track. The war interrupted any further building and, in fact, those built mostly disintegrated from neglect or over use by the Confederate military.

By the time of the Civil War, five railroads radiated outward from Houston; one was the Houston & Texas Central. Its story is intimately tied to that of the Galveston & Red River Railroad, chartered in March 1848.¹ The G&RRRR was to build from some point on or near Galveston Bay to the Red River between the state's eastern boundary and Coffee's Station (on the Red River) on a route determined by the company. As legislated construction deadlines were

DALLAS 1872



In 1872, on the eve of the arrival of the first railroad, Dallas was still a small town, with dirt streets and low commercial buildings surrounding the courthouse square.

unmet, those deadlines were extended. Capital funds to build Texas railroads were scarce and the Texas Legislature in 1854 established a policy to aid construction by making land grants from the state's vast public domain based upon miles of railroad track laid and operational.² Two years later, as further inducement, the legislature allowed railroads to borrow money from the state's Special School Fund.³ It also authorized local governments to sell bonds backed by local taxes sanctioned by popular vote, to purchase right of way and depot grounds to entice railroads to build through their communities.⁴

Railroads became the rage in Texas in the 1850s. The Buffalo Bayou, Brazos and Colorado

Railroad, the first operational railroad in Texas, began at Harrisburg, a settlement southeast of Houston. Building westward, it brought a brisk business to Houston and Galveston. But while the railroad prospered, a management decision concerning its route left open the opportunities for a different railroad to build from south Texas to the Red River. That opportunity was filled by the Galveston and Red River Railroad, first chartered in 1848.

Galvestonian businessmen backed the G&RRRR but were indecisive as to its route as well as its finances. Little progress was made. In 1852 a new charter was written and a new management team took control, which gave new

life to the enterprise.⁵ Men of capital in Houston's business community, eager to gain from the railroad's path to the Red River, were able to take the initiative and began to lay track. A major amendment in 1853 changed the railroad's starting point to Houston, rather than Galveston, but at the same time authorized the extension of the road to Galveston.⁶

Before the war the G&RRRR received land grants and a loan from the State School Fund and began building its road north out of Houston toward Cypress, which was reached in July 1856. On September 20 the twenty-five mile railroad became operational. On September 1, 1856, the Texas legislature authorized the road to change its name to the Houston & Texas Central Railway Company.⁷ The G&RRRR did so immediately.

The H&TC was the most prosperous railroad in Texas. By May 1857 it reached Hockley, ten miles northwest of Cypress in Harris County. Hempstead was reached in June 1858, and Millican, eighty miles from Houston, heard train whistles for the first time by late April 1861. An act of the Texas Legislature on February 4, 1858, permitted the H&TC to extend northward beyond the state's limits into the Indian and Kansas Territories. In exchange, the legislature demanded that the railroad had one year to determine its route and specifically mentioned it was to strike the Trinity River in Dallas County.⁸ That demand was never met because on the eve of the Civil War the legislature prescribed that the H&TC "shall run on the nearest and most practical route from its line at or near Horn Hill [Limestone County] to Dresden in Navarro county, and thence to the town of Dallas, or within one and a half mile of said town, and thence to the terminus on Red River, within fifteen miles of Preston."⁹

In 1860, R. R. Fletcher & Company, a Dallas Main Street merchant, shipped wheat, probably by the Dallas and Houston Rail-way Express Company, to Navarro and via the H&TC to Houston, then by water on to New York. Fletcher was the first Dallas merchant to use the H&TC.¹⁰

When Texas withdrew from the Union on February 23, 1861, the H&TC found itself se-

riously in debt. On April 2, 1861, just ten days before the Civil War began, William C. Hutchins and David H. Paige bought the road at a sheriff's auction at the Harris County courthouse. Hutchins, a very successful capitalist and politician, was a creditor to the railroad for \$110,000. He and Paige paid an incredible \$10,000 for the H&TC; for seven years Hutchins served as the railroad's president and general manager. The town of Hutchins in Dallas County was named for him. Millican remained the northern terminus for the H&TC until 1867 when it moved on to Bryan. The railroad was heavily used throughout the war and at war's end, its equipment and tracks were badly worn and in disrepair, and it was over one million dollars in debt.¹¹ However, following the war, the road's business increased, the company gained profits enough to refurbish its rolling stock, and it became the first Texas railroad to begin building.

Dallas's interest in Texas railroad construction prior to the Civil War was evident by the coverage that the town's newspapers gave to the subject. The *Dallas Weekly Herald* beat the booster drums to encourage railroads to come to Dallas. During the war, the *Herald* promoted Dallas and the surrounding area as the "bread basket" of Texas and lobbied for Confederate troops to protect the rich grain fields that fed the Texas Confederacy. After the war, John W. Swindells, as owner, and later as owner/editor of the newspaper, was the town booster *par excellence* for any civic endeavor that would enhance and promote his town. Swindells had visions of Dallas as the center of a railroad network that reached out from all points of the compass stretching from coast to coast and border to border. Dallas, he predicted, would be like Atlanta and Indianapolis, both railroad centers that tapped huge areas for resources and new markets and profits. Railroads, he believed, were Dallas's future, and the more the better.¹²

Following the war, two things were worrisome to those in Dallas who watched the H&TC begin to build northward in 1867. First, the pace of construction was painfully slow. It took the H&TC nearly a year to build from Bryan to



The first train, operated by the Houston & Texas Central Railroad and consisting of a string of lumber-laden flat cars and a single passenger car pulled by a steam-driven locomotive, chugged into Dallas on July 16, 1872.

Hearne, a distance of a little over twelve miles, and another three years to build to Corsicana, a distance of approximately 115 miles.¹³ Second, the State Legislature had twice, in 1861 and in 1866, outlined that the H&TC should run through Dallas; after construction began in 1867, the route was never verified.¹⁴ The line had been surveyed to the Trinity River before the war but that survey had not been confirmed and its direct route was a worry.¹⁵ Rumors were plentiful and Dallas was ripe for land speculation as land prices rose.¹⁶

As his patience ran thin, and with little encouraging news of the H&TC making significant headway, editor Swindells wrote a lengthy, probing, combative, and, at times, sarcastic editorial questioning the H&TC's leadership and its operations. The fact that three railroads—the Memphis, El Paso & Pacific Railroad; the Vicksburg, Shreveport & Texas; and the H&TC—were all building toward Dallas, Swindells argued, emphasized the importance of Dallas as the “omphalos” of Northern Texas. He lightly dismissed the first two railroads but then remarked with a dose of sarcasm that only the H&TC “has exerted the *won-*

derful activity and enterprise [italics in text] to build thirty miles in three years.” “Why not more?” he asked. Swindells answered his question with a populist list of ills held against the H&TC. First, he dismissed the notion that the railroad had little money. It had bought the Washington Company Railroad and assumed its debts. Also, the railroad could borrow money from Eastern and European capitalists. Swindells contended that the H&TC could get money from Northern capitalists and European investors but had not. The company, he said, because of the results of the late war, had refused Northern money and asserted that the railroad exercised a sectional prejudice and a “bigoted and suicidal policy.” Second, he said that the rates charged by the H&TC were the highest in the United States and Europe and that the complaint was common “to mention the Road in this country, is but to extract curses and imprecations.” Third, the railroad received sixteen sections of land from the state from the Texas public domain for every mile built and operational. By 1861 it had received 819,000 acres. In addition to this aid, along the routes' survey line, individuals, towns, and corporations offered gifts of land

for depots, right of way, and other facilities as an inducement for the railroads to build close to or within their municipal limits. In some cases the railroad sold these lands or tried to plat their own towns that were for sale. Based on these real estate activities, many people believed that the railroads were in the real estate business rather than the railroad business. Fourth, Swindells charged that the H&TC followed “the sinuosities [*sic*] of the Brazos” rather than build in a straight line from town to town. Rates were charged by the mile; therefore, the longer route meant greater revenues. Fifth, the combative editor concluded that the state needed another railroad to parallel the H&TC in order “to have an opposition road to relieve us from the known remorseless cupidity and unjust exactions of monopolies.” And, sixth, sweeping with a very broad brush, Swindells warned that if Galveston and Houston did not show more “generous and friendly disposition” toward North Texas, the trade of the great grain belt would be directed toward St. Louis instead of Texas’s port cities.¹⁷

A month later a director from the H&TC responded to Swindells’ rant point by point. After the war, the director said, the H&TC did not expand beyond Millican because there was no money, domestic, foreign, or Northern. At the war’s end, the railroad was worn out and it took two years and \$670,000 to repair it before it could expand. Currently, he said, a thirty-mile extension was under contract, and negotiations were being conducted to build an additional 129 miles, and all with Northern capital. Despite Northern money, Northern investors were leery and saw in Texas “a petulance and irritation.” He blamed the unease of Northern capitalists on the onerous requirements and liabilities the Texas legislature demanded, and the critical press was a “potent influence in repelling capital from investments in roads on this State.”¹⁸

Not to be on the light side of an argument, Swindells confessed the director’s rejoinder was “sufficiently exegetical” but nevertheless, he offered a compromising response. The people of North Texas for a long time “have censured in the

most severe terms every-body and thing, connected with the Central Road,” and he offered several obtuse examples but called for the H&TC to be more transparent and publish an annual report. To help smooth whatever feathers he had ruffled, the editor closed by saying: “In their efforts we wish the company a God-speed.”¹⁹

While Dallas merchants worried about the H&TC’s slow construction schedule and high freight rates, an alternative means for transportation floated up the Trinity River. In May 1867, the *Black Cloud*, a shallow draught steamboat, unsuccessfully tried to reach Dallas from Galveston. The *Herald* mused about the river as an alternative route to the Gulf but decided that the town should concentrate on getting a railroad.²⁰

A year later, on May 5, 1868, *Job Boat No. 1*, captained by James M. McGarvey, arrived in Dallas seven months after leaving Galveston. “The arrival of the Job Boat is the greatest event that will occur in the history of Dallas,” the *Dallas Herald* proclaimed, “and with it the dawn of her commercial prosperity dates.” The boat carried 300 packages of merchandise and 15 sacks of salt consigned to the Dallas mercantile concern Clark & Bryan. Water transportation between Galveston and Dallas was possible.

The *Dallas Herald* quickly outlined the advantages of river traffic: expansion of markets, growth in population, cheaper transportation and, importantly, a competitive alternative to the “selfish” railroads. Swindells speculated that with a railroad to his town, and access to river traffic, Dallas would be known as “the Chicago of the South.”²¹

Keen to political and economic opportunity, Swindells and his supporters adopted a strategy that they thought was failsafe. The success of *Job Boat No. 1* in navigating the Trinity River from Galveston was more essential to Dallas than the H&TC. “By establishing river navigation and thereby naming Dallas the Central Depot for Northern Texas,” he explained, “we *force* [*italics in original*] the junction of the Pacific and Central Roads at this point . . .”²² Swindells was so confident his strategy would work that on April

4, 1868, a new smaller secondary masthead appeared in the *Herald*. It was a shield with the Texas star on one side and an agrarian scene on the other boasting a train crossing on an arched bridge over the Trinity River.

Dallas leadership embraced river traffic. Meetings were held to plan and encourage the “practicality of the navigation of the Trinity.” The real hindrances to river traffic were the numerous “rifts” or log jams that dotted the upper Trinity. There were two obstacles to river traffic: the first was how to clear the “permanent obstructions to navigation” from the upper Trinity, and the second was how to pay for the first. To raise the necessary funds to clear the river, those counties and communities down river were asked to clear the debris from their river fronts, but there was no cooperation. Galveston, the city that had the most to benefit from the increased river trade, was asked to help, but the port town was not interested. The Dallas County court rejected a request for a property tax to help finance the project.²³ Dallas petitioned the Texas Constitutional Convention meeting in Austin but to no avail.²⁴ While Dallas’s excited quest to navigate the Trinity River was unsuccessful, it kept its dream to be an inland water port well into the twentieth century.²⁵

While Dallas was convincing itself that river transportation was practicable, it also began to envision railroads. Before the war Texas railroads had borrowed from the state educational fund. The H&TC had borrowed \$96,378.19. During the war, the H&TC had made interest payments owed on the money in Confederate state war-rants. At this time the Texas Constitutional Convention turned its attention to the state’s railroads. The H&TC got swept up in the convention’s contentious debate over *ab initio*, that all legislation and actions of the Texas Confederate legislature were null and void. That argument extended to most governmental transactions during the Confederacy period and thus the contention that the H&TC’s several payments of \$105,774.35 were worthless.

William Robinson Baker, the president of

the H&TC, was the only railroad officer of the six railroads in debt to the state to contact the chairman of the convention’s Internal Improvements Committee. Baker argued convincingly that his railroad had been rebuilding and expanding since the end of the war and that the Washington County Railroad, purchased earlier by the H&TC, should be an integral part of the railroad. The committee accepted the interest payments on the debt during the war and concluded that the railroad was “solvent, and desirous to extend its roads as rapidly as possible.” Of the other railroads, amid political shenanigans, the committee recommended that four should be sold to satisfy their debt to the state.²⁶

The “Declaration Respecting the Central Railroad Company” on August 29 was adopted by the Convention by a vote of 46 to 14 and gave Baker much of what he wanted. In addition, the state cancelled and delivered to the H&TC its 6 percent security bonds held for the funds borrowed from the Special School Fund in exchange for the railroad’s 7 percent interest bearing bonds.²⁷

What surprised Swindells in the “Declaration” was the proviso that directed the H&TC to build from its present terminus over a route selected by the railroad’s engineers that would strike the Red River within thirty miles of Preston in Grayson County. Despite the legislation of 1861 and 1866 that specified that the H&TC would build to Dallas, the town had been excluded from the road’s construction itinerary.²⁸ To the contrary, Swindells reasoned, since “capital seeks its interests,” the H&TC could not exclude Dallas because of its location in the center of the state’s grain growing area and because of its river connection to the Gulf. Swindells again mused that Dallas would become the “Chicago of the South.”²⁹

As the route question simmered, Swindells received a letter from a Houstonian that suggested that perhaps Dallas “is not imbued with the railroad spirit.” In reply, the editor, agitated, argued that twelve years earlier Dallas had embraced the “railroad spirit” in July 1857, when

it bought \$65,000 of H&TC stock because the tracks would come to Dallas. Madison M. Miller of Pleasant Run (Lancaster), a successful local businessman and a member of the railroad's Board of Directors, was reported in 1861 to have been one of the largest shareholders in the H&TC.³⁰ The railroad failed and now, the editor said, Dallas citizens have "not a dollar of stock, have not the railroad, and lost money out of pocket."

At this time, three railroads, the Southern Pacific, the Memphis, El Paso & Pacific, and the H&TC, were building in North Texas and all would come close to Dallas. Dallas's leadership, motivated by profits and competition, realized only aggressive action would bring a railroad through the town. Twenty-two of the county's leading citizens called for a public meeting for August 7. The meeting decided that to attract a railroad to build to Dallas, two well-tested vehicles should be used: political influence and money. A pledge was made to use political influence for favorable legislation for "any and all roads" to build to Dallas, and further, to deliver financial assistance to the necessary railroads. An ad hoc committee, without any legal sanction from local government, resolved to trade up to \$300,000 worth of Dallas County bonds for stock in the first rail company to reach Dallas, to build a depot, and to raise tax money to pay for the bonds. To cast a wider net, it offered \$200,000 to "all other companies" that reached Dallas.³¹

The slowness of construction and the failure to identify an exact route of the H&TC continued to be problematic to Dallas's economic interests. At the same time, the *Galveston Daily News* reported that the H&TC, then operating to Calvert, was doing a brisk business, ran freight and passenger trains daily, and could build 100 miles a year. Seven hundred laborers were laying track, the newspaper said, of which 300 were Chinese. This was a red flag to Swindells, who was a champion of Caucasians and in 1869 declared, "We want no Chinese in Texas."³²

The failure to communicate a route continued to vex Swindells. In utter frustration, the editor lashed out at the H&TC's management and

claimed that Dallas's economic growth had been retarded due to mismanagement by a handful of railroad capitalists. Rather than building the railroad on a time schedule, he said, the H&TC preferred to dabble in real estate and charge extortionate rates. The railroad was misnamed, Swindells argued, and suggested it should be called "Hutchins Shebang" and "Baker's Patent Swindling Machine."³³

By the end of May 1870, because a railroad bill was before the legislature, Austin was swarming with railroad lobbyists. Dallas lawyer and former state senator James K. Polk Record told Swindells that he had seen the proposed H&TC relief legislation and Dallas was not mentioned. Angry, Swindells accused the H&TC of betrayal because it ignored the earlier survey that had placed the railroad in Dallas and because the 1861 sale of the H&TC deprived "us of our stock in the road, subscribed in the faith that it was to pass through Dallas." He hoped the bill would not pass.³⁴

On June 30, 1870, House Bill 350, "An Act for the relief of the Houston and Texas Central Railway Company," was introduced in the legislature. The meat of the bill came from a "Declaration" by the Reconstruction Convention on August 29, 1868. Swindells saw the bill in committee and accepted it except for Section 3 which dictated a route that bypassed Dallas. However, when H. B. 350 was reported favorably out of committee, amendments recommended by the H&TC had restored the route through Dallas County as prescribed in the legislation of 1861.³⁵ John Lane, the Dallas County legislative representative who was the heftiest man in the House (topping the scales at 240 pounds),³⁶ was credited for putting the favorable language for Dallas in the legislation.³⁷ House Bill 350 passed the House on July 18 by a vote of 61 to 14.

But nothing dealing with the H&TC and Dallas was easy. H. B. 350 was first introduced in the Texas Senate on May 18, 1870. It was referred to the Senate Committee on Internal Improvements, but no action was taken. After the House passed House Bill 350, it was again sent to the



This Bird's-Eye View map of Dallas, produced in 1872, depicted the route of the H&TC Railway through town. Drawn by Herman Brosius, the map also showed the east-west route of the Texas & Pacific, although that line did not in fact reach Dallas until 1873.

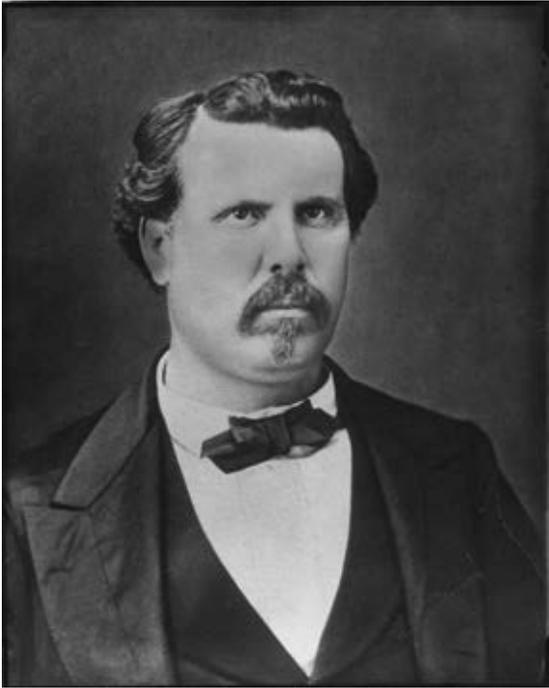
Senate on July 20, 1870. Eight days later it was reported out of committee, read three times, and approved 21-6 with amendments. On August 1 the House concurred with the Senate amendments, the Speaker of the House signed the legislation, and it was sent on to the governor's office.

However, on August 6, Governor Edmund Davis sent the bill back to the House and in a lengthy message asked that the bill be reconsidered.³⁸ Davis objected to state aid to railroads and charged that railroads had too much sway over state legislatures.³⁹ The House immediately overrode Governor Davis's veto. Nine days later, on August 15, the Senate concurred with the House by a vote of 21-4, and the bill was passed and became a law without the Governor's signature. Almost two years to the day after the Reconstruction Conven-

tion adopted the "Declaration" for the H&TC in 1868, it (with alterations) became law.⁴⁰

Suspicion ruled. While the legislation put the H&TC in Dallas County, it did not run through Dallas town, and a public meeting was called for September 14 at the courthouse. Swindells explained his vision of Dallas as a shining city on a hill and urged all citizens, no matter their economic status, "to lend their means to hasten" the road to Dallas. He promised "it will at once be in the power of the people of Dallas and surrounding country to build up here a city that would challenge the admiration of all, and the attention of the world."⁴¹

A called public meeting was part of the process to identify a local issue and then resolve to remedy it. The meetings gave the appearance of



John Lane, who represented Dallas County in the Texas Legislature, helped guide the law placing the town on the planned route of the H&TC Railway through the House.

a transparent democratic endeavor, but the call for the meeting, the selection of its chairman, the men named to the resolutions committee, and the resolutions were all prescribed by the local elite. The resolutions were adopted, usually unanimously, without debate, and a committee named to carry out the task assigned by the resolution.

At the September 14 meeting, a five-member committee composed of influential business and professional men was named to find the amount, location, and price of land needed for an inducement for the railroad. The committee on October 10 reported the results of its study, but no details were printed in the newspaper. Five months later, however, in March 1871, the City Council's minutes noted that the selected depot ground was "a place near Mr. Bentley's south of Elm Street."⁴² A new committee delegated by the citizens to negotiate with the H&TC was instructed to ask the Dallas authorities to hold an election to determine "whether or not" the public would tax itself to purchase land for depot grounds.⁴³

In a bold step, Baker, the president of the H&TC, on October 31, wrote to the committee and outlined his preference for the depot's grounds and location. The grounds, he wrote, should be so located for the railroad's easy access and regress from the northwest without great expense. Only "our Engineers," he stated, could define the exact location and they would visit Dallas when convenient for all.⁴⁴ It was a turbulent wind that began to swirl about the location of the depot.

Unhurried, the citizens' committee did not communicate its petition to the city council for a tax election until March 13, 1871.⁴⁵ The council reacted quickly and the next day ordered a special election for April 1, 1871.⁴⁶ Because the vote was about property taxes, only property owners were eligible to participate.⁴⁷ The election was announced to the public by posters nailed to poles throughout the town.

Before the April 1 tax election, the *Herald* announced that the committee had successfully selected "sufficient" land and fixed the depot's location without any specifics.⁴⁸ Added to encouragement for the upcoming election, on March 18, an H&TC survey team showed up in Dallas and surveyed a line from Miller's Ferry, six miles south of town, to Dallas's corporation limits east of Main Street.⁴⁹ In anticipating the need of money to buy the land, the city council, on March 13, notified the tax-paying public by posters that regular taxes were due within ten days.⁵⁰

On election day, April 1, the property owners by a vote of 156 to 11 overwhelming supported the tax.⁵¹ The *Dallas Herald* estimated the town's population at 2,500.⁵² That meant that 7 percent of the population participated in the election and 6 percent voted in the affirmative. In a letter to the editor, TAX PAYER, a very unhappy citizen, cried foul. He said the election notice failed to mention a specific amount of tax but said it called for a "tax sufficient" to procure the land for the depot. "Can you tell us," TAX PAYER queried, "how much is 'sufficient'?"⁵³ Thus, the Dallas property owners had taken a leap of faith, believing that the promised economic rewards

would accompany railroad construction, and approved a tax hike without knowing what the tax was.⁵⁴ Swindells, who promoted the election, the mayor, who called for the election, and the city council that approved the election, knew of the blatant omission. The *Herald* excused the omission as an oversight and quickly asserted that the tax increase would amount to probably between two and two and a half per cent.⁵⁵

The Dallas City Council wasted no time and passed an ordinance, "Levying a Special Tax to secure the location of a depot of the Houston and Texas Central Railway within the Corporation Limits." It was signed by Mayor Henry Ervay on April 3, two days after the election. On April 12, eleven days after Dallas voters approved a tax to help entice the H&TC to Dallas, the state legislature passed "An Act to authorize counties, cities and towns to aid in the construction of railroads and other works of internal improvements." This legislation outlined specifics about special elections, and Section 16 of the act dealt principally with municipal elections to encourage railroad construction. The Dallas City Council, knowing that such a bill was in the legislature, sent a memorial to Austin requesting that Dallas's "special tax ordinance" and all others "be legalized."⁵⁶ With a sigh of relief, the *Herald*, after the state bill was passed, confessed that the legislative act actually legitimized the city's election of April 1.⁵⁷

By mid-April H&TC agents were in town procuring right of way. The *Herald* reported that the railroad's survey line ran "through the center of the lands offered to the Company by the people of Dallas (100 acres) about one mile east from the Courthouse, where it is believed the depot will be located."⁵⁸ This mention of 100 acres in the *Herald* was the first public notice made of quantity and general location of the land given to the railroad. At this time William H. Gaston and Aaron C. Camp, who formed Dallas's first permanent bank, donated \$1,000 cash and the right of way across their land.⁵⁹

Told of Dallas's vote by a Houston correspondent, William R. Baker, president of the H&TC, was pleased but said his railroad had of-

ten been "wounded and riled" by criticisms from North Texas. Railroad construction had halted, he said, to change the railroad's gauge from narrow to standard, and he predicted it could lay three-quarters of a mile a day. Baker confessed he wanted to end the antagonism between his road and North Texas.⁶⁰

The Dallas City Council passed an ordinance on April 3, 1871, that authorized the expenditure of \$14,650 to purchase land for an H&TC depot within the corporate limits. The same day the council authorized the mayor, "to use any money in the hands of the Treasurer" to buy land for the depot.⁶¹ Ervay had earlier in the year dramatically fended off an attempt by the reconstruction governor, Edmund Davis, to remove him from office. To avoid criticism, the mayor immediately called for the appointment of an assessor/collector to assess the land for the special railroad tax and a special treasurer to handle the money. It was easier said than done, however. The administration found it difficult to fill the positions, although eventually it found qualified people.

While the council made preparations to pay for land acquired, the citizen's railroad committee for some time had been in negotiations with the H&TC. On July 19 William G. Veal, the agent for the H&TC, made two proposals to the "Rail Road Committee." Veal had been hired full time in October 1870 to represent the H&TC in its business operations in the field.⁶² The railroad would accept the "Hundred acres of Lands," Veal wrote, if Dallas would pay to "square" it, put it in good shape, and pay to get tracks from and back to the "direct line." Further, the city would provide a right of way through the lands up to two and a half miles on each side of the 100 acres. In the second proposition, Veal asked that Dallas square the 100 acres, give the right of way as mentioned, and pay to the H&TC "Five Thousand dollars gold" the day the first H&TC train reached the depot. In return, the railroad would pay all expenses for track to be laid into and out of the property and "give their obligation to establish a depot on the said land." Veal called for an answer at the committee's "earliest convenience."⁶³



Dallas Mayor Henry Ervay presided over the city council's negotiations with the railroad.

Agreement was reached very quickly. The citizens committee had its response hand delivered to Veal in Waxahachie, and Veal replied the next day, July 20. Dallas's offer to give the railroad 115 acres, the right of way as asked, and five thousand dollars in gold, Veal wrote, "is acceptable." Tell "your people," the railroad agent said, that the depot will be placed on the land the city bought "is certain." Veal promised to be in Dallas in several days "ready to receive your Deeds," and as he explained, the deal would not close until the railroad had all the land deeds in hand.⁶⁴

On July 25 the City Council authorized Ervay to give city bonds to the H&TC for the amount proposed by its agent "with the addition of the Donation of 15 acres of land is to secure the location of the Depot on the land herein stated and also the Right of Way for the Rail Road Track."⁶⁵ Noted on the margin of page 75 of volume one of the council's minute book is "The communications from the R. R. officials (which on the cause of this action) by the Council, will

be found in the Book of ordinances, copied therein in due order." This is the first public hint that an agreement had been reached between the H&TC and Dallas. An ordinance passed on September 5 was based upon the negotiations and agreements signed by Veal and Mayor Ervay on August 11, 1871.⁶⁶ That agreement was for the H&TC to receive Dallas bonds for \$5,000 in gold the day the railroad reached the city, and for the deeds to 115 acres plus the right of way which was to run for two miles on each side of the track.⁶⁷

Dallas had been buying up land to give to the railroad, and by February 1872 it was apparent that the amount of \$14,650 was not enough to cover the cost. Consequently, on February 17, 1872, the council passed another special tax "to make up the deficit and to discharge the balance of the city's indebtedness . . . in accordance with a contract entered into between W. G. Veal, Agent for the H&TC Railway, and Henry S. Ervay, Mayor of Dallas, on the 11th day of August, 1871."⁶⁸ After the Council's action of July 25, 1871, that referenced a formal contract between the city and the H&TC, it was only three weeks later that a formal agreement was reached and signed.

Despite the incentives given by Dallas to the H&TC, the railroad did not turn out to be a kissing cousin. Profit driven, the H&TC looked after its own interests while the city tried to protect its own. Dallas had been cautioned of the railroad's shenanigans. In early 1872 the *Houston Times* warned the *Herald* that the H&TC could be a rascal. The *Herald* agreed and proclaimed its greatest sin was that the road would accept land from a town and then create its own town to rival that of their benefactor.⁶⁹ Without knowing it, the Dallas newspaper's reply to the *Houston Times* was prophetic: that is exactly what happened to Dallas.

The controversy with the H&TC grew hot throughout the spring. The newspaper's criticisms were limited only because the *Dallas Herald* was a weekly paper and not a daily. Before the trains arrived, Dallas and the railroad argued over the use of the land, the location of the depot, and the alignment of the streets, and after rails ran in

Dallas, they argued over transportation rates, the responsibility of the right of way, street crossings, and safety.

The city knew that the H&TC was laying out a rival town. In March, Dallas began to widen both Main and Commerce streets from the river to the eastern corporation limits. In the meantime, in the land Dallas gave the railroad, the H&TC began to lay out town lots and streets and located its depot. When the expansion of Main Street reached the eastern city limits, it did not align with the street laid out by the railroad. Both city and the railroad protested. Dallas claimed the railroad had no legal right to build streets.⁷⁰ The *Herald* began to refer to Dallas as the “old town” and the H&TC ground as the “new town.”⁷¹

While Dallas wanted the railroad to locate the depot in the middle of the 115 acres for easy access, the H&TC, according to the *Herald*, sited it too far east and too far from the “old town.” Always ready with a waggish comment, Robert Josselyn, the *Herald*'s new editor, wrote: “If Central Railroad loved justice more and money less, it would put its depot on this [Main] street which runs out directly from the Court House Square, instead of locating it on a street which runs nowhere and stops before it gets there.”⁷²

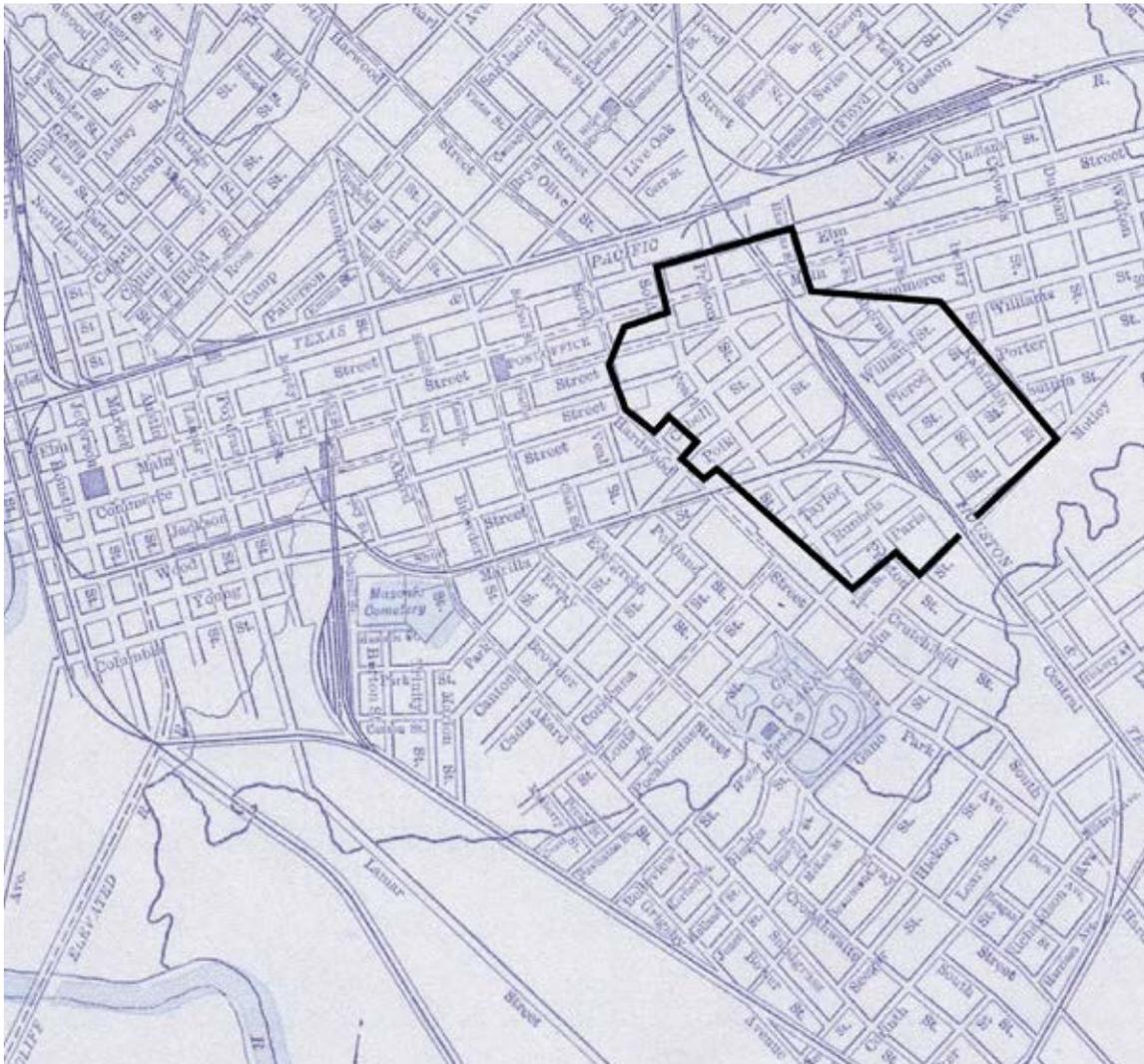
Veal, the H&TC's agent, publically defended the railroad and argued that the road was “a very virtuous and liberal institution, but much misunderstood and maligned.” The *Herald* interpreted his remarks as “defiant and menacing, as if conscious of the great moneyed power at his back,” and reported that Veal said if the people of Dallas were not satisfied, the H&TC would give the land back and the railroad “would run as far away from Dallas as possible.”⁷³

In an attempt to temper his threat, Veal wrote a letter to the *Dallas Herald*. The depot site, he said, on the “115 acres of awkwardly shaped land” was selected to accommodate the interests of the people and the company. Moreover, he said, the citizens' railroad committee approved the site, and he produced certificates signed by three of the five committee members to confirm the site selection. The certificates were published in the

Herald at Veal's request. The mayor agreed with the certificate's language but refused to allow his to be published.⁷⁴ The *Dallas Herald*'s editor could not leave Veal unchallenged. The editor said the depot was not sited in the center of the property, and measured the distances to prove his point. His judgment was the depot should be moved 400 feet north. “The Depot is placed and the streets run to enable the company if possible, to build up a new town in opposition to the old and to realize as much money as can be from the sale of lots.” Josselyn concluded, “That it is, and nothing more nor less.”⁷⁵

The 115-acre tract that the city gave to the H&TC and was the center of the controversy lay to east of downtown Dallas, approximately a mile and a half from the courthouse and not far from Dallas's water source at Browder's Springs. Of an irregular rectangular shape, it eventually consisted of thirty-nine whole or partial blocks; the property's long axis ran north by northwest. The northern limit started at the corner of Hawkins and Elm Street, followed Elm for two blocks west, turned south along Pearl a short distance and cut over to Harwood. The southern border followed Harwood to Lane Street. Harwood later paralleled an open sewer. At Lane the property line jogged east one block to Preston Street. Preston emptied into Motley (Eakins) Street and ran for three blocks where it turned northwest onto Kaufman. It followed Kaufman five and half blocks, took a forty-five degree angle to the northwest to Hawkins Street, crossed Main and ended where it began on Elm. The H&TC RR track passed through the long axis of the property.⁷⁶ The railroad did not move the depot as the *Herald* suggested, but rather it was built two thirds of the way into the property along the railroad line.

On December 31, 1889, Dallas annexed the Houston & Texas Central Railroad Addition, as the property was called, in addition to the town of East Dallas. An 1889 street map of Dallas clearly shows the outlines of the H&TC lands. Time, urban growth, and development have erased large amounts of the H&TC Addition's property lines.



Dallas gave the H&TC 115 acres of land occupied today by the Farmers Market and surrounding development.

The south side of the property is mainly occupied by Dallas's Farmers' Market, and in the middle of the plot are large urban apartments and town houses. But this 115-acre plot of ground, given by Dallas citizens to the Houston & Texas Central Railroad over 140 years ago, is where the roots of Dallas's economic transformation of the nineteenth century began.

The dispute of "old town" versus "new town" continued for a while longer but the H&TC's plan to build a town to rival Dallas never materialized. The land was platted but few if any lots were sold.⁷⁷ Things were "harmonized" when it

was agreed by the city and H&TC to allow Main and Commerce streets, both of which probably touched the north end of the railroad's property, to run to the corporation limits. That would allow commerce to be carried over the streets and arrive very close to the H&TC's passenger and freight depots. With a sigh, the *Dallas Herald* said "we trust all difficulties are now over and the prosperity of the whole city insured."⁷⁸

The land given to the H&TC railroad had to be paid for. The special tax the city council asked for earlier in 1872 was never collected. On June 25, the council approved city bonds to be sold to

liquidate the debt for the H&TC lands. However, on July 4, having second thoughts, the council repealed the bond ordinance. Not until late August did the council again address the debt issue and vote a three and one quarter per cent tax on all real estate within the city limits.⁷⁹

But Dallas had a much larger liability. The town agreed to buy the right of way through Dallas and assume any and all damages incurred while securing that property. Not everyone was satisfied with what the city offered. The railroad and the city both had purchasing agents who were also authorized to settle any disputes, of which there were many. City arbitrators were appointed who had sole authority to make settlements. But not all arbitration worked and some arguments went to court.⁸⁰ In June 1872, an H&TC agent told the council that he had paid six black homeowners in Freedman's Town a total of \$960 in currency, explaining that the amount "was as low as the same could be reduced by legal proceedings." Three months later, however, he told the council that he had paid the blacks in currency rather than gold, in which the settlement should have been made, and asked the council to make the necessary adjustments to have the payments equivalent to the value of gold. This the council did.⁸¹

In July the railroad threatened to stop work in the right of way because the city, according to the H&TC, was "unable to comply with her part of the contract in regard to the right of way." Apparently, the city had run out of money. The council reacted quickly. A committee was given the authority to borrow money to pay certain claims against the city so that "work may not be retarded by the default of the city," and the mayor was authorized to issue drafts for all money borrowed.⁸²

But the long awaited link was getting closer. Dallas residents could now catch a train going south by taking the El Paso Stage Line fifteen miles to Hutchins or Foundren's Station to reach the end of the railroad's construction.⁸³

The H&TC probably would have reached Dallas several weeks earlier than it did had it not been for "a death warrant" policy initiated by the railroad. The road asked its employees to

agree to exempt the company from any liability if a worker was injured or killed. Shorty Small, head of the Engineers Protective Union, called a strike all along the line on June 5. That meant that the laying of track between Hutchins and Dallas ceased. Largely supported by the general public, the strikers pledged non-violence. The work stoppage lasted about two weeks.⁸⁴

Dallas actually had two separate days to celebrate the arrival of the H&TC. The first was July 2 when the railroad's construction train crossed the Trinity River over its own bridge below Dallas. The *Herald* called it "a day to be remembered in Dallas." However, for some time, the railroad had been in service, carrying freight and materials for the laying of the track for the Texas and Pacific Railroad that was building east from Dallas to Longview. Not only was the H&TC at Dallas's door step, the company's telegraph and freight service was operating at an office on Commerce Street. The line also opened a ticket office in the Crutchfield House and rather ambitiously claimed that the H&TC offered through passenger tickets to St. Louis.⁸⁵ Two months later, the much anticipated passenger depot was nearly completed in proximity to where Commerce Street crossed the H&TC Railroad.⁸⁶

The influential in Dallas wanted to have a large celebration to commemorate the long awaited arrival of the H&TC. John C. McCoy, the city's oldest lawyer, was put in charge. The *Herald* proudly announced "a grand, old fashioned Barbecue" at Browder's Springs, Dallas's main source for water, "to which the whole world is invited."

Shortly before midnight on July 15, a special H&TC passenger train steamed into Dallas with William J. Hutchins, the railroad's vice president, other company officials, and dignitaries. Some railroad officials chose to spend the night in Corsicana and come into Dallas the next day. Thus, Dallas had its second celebratory day: July 16 was designated as the day to celebrate the "arrival of the first regular train of passenger cars over the Central Railroad from Houston . . ." That event was the beginning of the transformation of Dal-

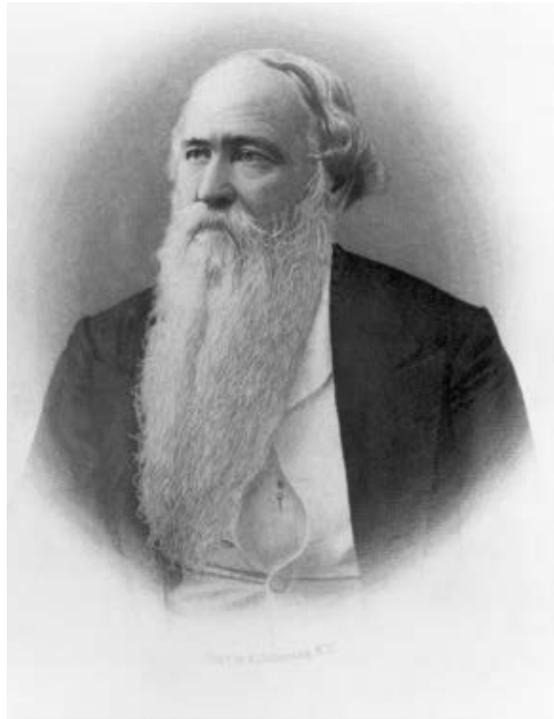
las from a frontier, dirt street village to one of the major cities in Texas.

The day dawned “favorable,” the heat moderated by an overcast sky, and a “gentle Southern breeze was fanning the fair face of reviving nature.” Visitors came to Dallas from all points of the compass on horseback and in wagons, buggies, and carriages of every description. The second train arrived about 9 AM carrying those who spent the night in Corsicana, while a third train showed up with more officials and guests sometime in mid-afternoon.

In anticipation of a very large gathering, the barbecue party had been moved from Browder’s Springs to the fair grounds on the edge of the prairie, not far from the depot. By 10 AM the crowd, composed of “people of all sexes and sizes” that had gathered in the courthouse square, began to move toward the fair grounds to be entertained by a brass band that signaled the beginning of the program by playing a lively rendition of “Dixie.” Honor was paid to Dallas’s early pioneers; John Neely Bryan, James J. Beeman, John C. McCoy and several others had seats on the platform.

The orator of the day was John Henry Brown, who had just moved to Dallas but was well known as a journalist throughout most of Texas; he spoke for 35 minutes. Other speakers followed including William J. Hutchins, who gave a concise history of the H&TC, but unfortunately, he spoke so softly he was barely heard. He was followed by William R. Baker, former H&TC president; A. H. Richardson, the company’s secretary; Eber W. Cave, manager of the Houston Navigation Company; and many local orators. Despite the number of speakers, the program was well organized, and it lasted no more than two hours. After the speeches, the guests, estimated between 6,000 to 8,000 people, were conducted to tables that stretched for 300 yards, all laden with food. It was reported that all “partook.” The ever skeptical John M. McCoy doubted if there were more than 2,000 in attendance.⁸⁷

Texas had gained a national reputation of being rather a wild and unruly place. Probably more for the national audience, a reporter for the



John C. McCoy, dean of Dallas lawyers, was placed in charge of organizing the festivities welcoming the arrival of the H&TC to town on July 16, 1872.

Galveston Daily News remarked about the peacefulness of the crowded day in Dallas. He pointed out that nothing “save water, lemonade, and the like” was served for beverage, “and not an intoxicated man was seen on the grounds during the day,” contrary to common belief for those who felt that all the real “polish and refinement of American society” resided in the East. In a land where there is plenty of whisky, he wrote, it was a “marvel” that men could “pass a whole day without drunkenness, disorder, police arrests, or a few men being shot.” The reporter attributed the wholesomeness of the event to the “real vital morality, self-denial, native refinement and virtue among a comparatively new agricultural population than any other.”⁸⁸

In the week prior to the celebration of the H&TC’s arrival in Dallas, the town’s property owners, in two separate special elections only two days apart, took on bond indebtedness to finance two major capital railroad projects. The first elec-

tion was on July 8 and 9. Dallas property owners voted 192-0 to donate \$100,000 to the Southern & Pacific Railroad (soon renamed the Texas & Pacific) through the sale of bonds and guaranteed an 80-foot right of way through the town. The SP was already under construction. The railroad was to cross the H&TC within shouting distance of Browder's Springs. On July 12 and 13, Dallas property owners, by a vote of 170-3, approved a second \$100,000 bond issue to subscribe for stock in the Dallas & Wichita Railroad, a homegrown enterprise that was to connect Dallas with the expected mineral rich region in Wichita County. As in the earlier property tax election, only about 5 percent of the population had participated, but this small group increased the town's indebtedness \$200,000 plus interest and the untold cost of acquiring the right of way for the SP. Because the country was much involved in the 1872 national elections, only scant attention was paid to the local elections and their results. The *Dallas Herald* commented during the D&W RR election that "the Southern Pacific proposition was carried, and we trust this [D&W RR.] will too."⁸⁹

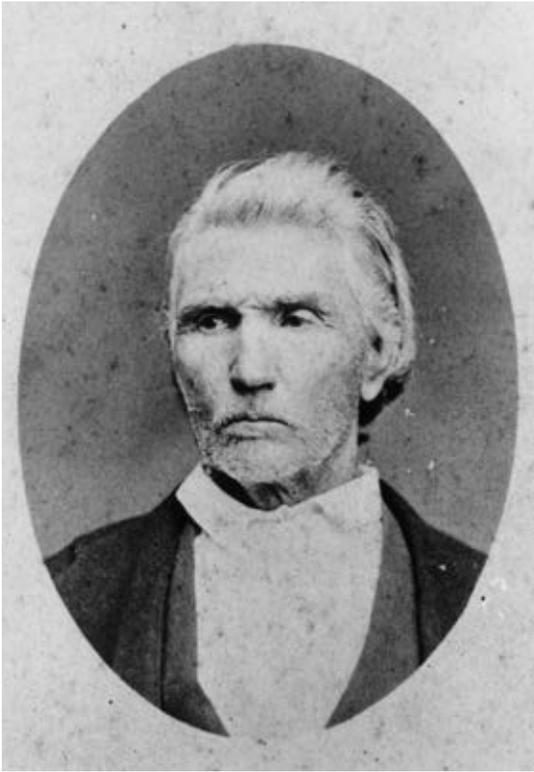
Getting the H&TC to Dallas was no small endeavor. It took patience, strong politics, money, dedicated leadership, and a very good public relations program. The public face for the public relations was the *Dallas Herald* and its editor, John Swindells. Behind him was the business and professional community of Dallas. The selling point was that everyone—businesses, farmers, shop keepers, laborers, and mechanics—would all benefit by the railroad coming to Dallas: a rising tide raises all boats.

The process was democratic, but it was a limited or shaded democracy. The called town meetings were organized and controlled by a small political and economic elite in Dallas. The ballot to raise property taxes to buy land for the H&TC never mentioned the amount of the tax; the purchase of the land, the negotiations and agreement between the railroad and the city were kept muted and not publically announced in the *Dallas Herald*; the work was done mostly by citizens' ad hoc committees with no official sanction



John Henry Brown, a former mayor of Galveston who had recently moved to Dallas, was the primary speaker during the festivities.

from city government; and the Dallas City Council minutes did not specifically spell out the terms of the agreement but rather mentioned it only to pass another tax ordinance in order to fulfill the city's part of the bargain. Perhaps in early 1870s Dallas, with a small property owners' base and a large transitory population, in a climate of local political and economic upheaval and uncertainty, and having to deal with an aggressive, sometimes hostile, and always powerful railroad, a controlled process may have been the only way that local internal improvements were accomplished. But there was an abiding faith that prosperity rode on the rails to Dallas. Flush with success in getting the H&TC through Dallas, despite the frustration and disappointments, the town's economic and political leaders forged on to gain more benefit from railroads and ensure the growth of their city. **L**



John Neely Bryan, the founder of Dallas, was among the dignitaries on the platform for the celebration of the arrival of the first railroad.

NOTES

¹“An Act to establish the Galveston and Red River Railway Company,” March 11, 1848. Hans Peter Mareus Neilson Gammel, *The Laws of Texas, 1822-1897*, Vol. 3, pp. 370-373 (376-379), University of North Texas Library, Portal to Texas History, hereafter cited as Gammel, *Laws*, Portal. See Andrew Forest Muir, “Railroads Come to Houston, 1857-1861,” *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 64 (July 1960), 42-63.

²“An Act to encourage the construction of Railroads in Texas by donation of lands,” January 30, 1854, pp. 11-15 (1145-1459), Gammel, *Laws*, Vol. 3, Portal.

³“An act to provide for the investment of the Special School Fund in the bonds of the Railroad Companies incorporated by the State,” August 13, 1856, pp. 31-37 (449-455), Gammel, *Laws*, Vol. 4, Portal.

⁴For example, see “An Act to permit the city of Houston to levy a special tax for Rail Road Purposes,” January 26, 1856, pp. 31-33 (329-331), Gammel, *Laws*, Vol. 4, Portal; and “An act to authorize the County Court of the county of Wharton to levy a Special Tax,” January 16, 1858, pp. 47-49

(921-919), Gammel, *Laws*, Vol. 4, Portal.

⁵“An Act supplementary to the act to establish the Galveston and Red River Railway Company,” February 14, 1852, Gammel, *Laws*, Vol. 3, pp. 142-147, Portal.

⁶“An Act supplementary to the act to establish the Galveston and Red River Railway Company,” February 7, 1853, Gammel, *Laws*, Vol. 3, pp. 36-37 (1590-1391), Portal.

⁷“An Act Amendatory of and supplementary to an Act to establish the Galveston and Red River Railway Company, and the several Acts Supplemental thereto,” Gammel, *Laws*, Vol. 4, September 1, 1856, pp. 250-160 (805-806), Portal.

⁸“An Act for the relief of the Houston and Texas Central Railway Company,” Gammel, *Laws*, Vol. 4, February 4, 1858, pp. 94-95 (1272-1273), Portal.

⁹“An Act for the relief of the Houston and Texas Central Railway Company,” Gammel, *Laws*, Vol. 5, February 8, 1861, pp. 11-12 (417-418), Portal.

¹⁰*Texas Almanac*, 1860, p. 218, digital images, (<http://texas-history.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph123773/>): University of North Texas, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu>; crediting Texas State Historical Association; *Dallas Herald*, March 11, 1860. Twice a month the Dallas and Houston Rail-way Express Company sent wagons from Dallas to Navarro after visiting seven other towns.

¹¹See St. Clair Griffin Reed, *A History of the Texas Railroads and of Transportation under Spain and Mexico and The Republic and The State* (Houston: The St. Clair Publishing Company, 1941), 207-208.

¹²For a review of railroading prospects in Texas, see “The Railroads of Texas, with glimpses of the country through which they pass,” *The Texas Almanac for 1868*, December 1867, pp. 118-145, Portal.

¹³A line had to be surveyed, graded, ties laid out and “bedded,” and the rails put down. The rails were hauled on a flat car that followed directly behind the crews, running on the rails that were just put in place. When the Union Pacific was being built, the crews built 247 miles in 182 days in 1866. The Santa Fe was putting down a mile of track a day in 1872 but in two months, laid down 74 miles. In the spring of 1870, the H&TC planned to lay down a mile of track a week. Borneman, *Rival Rails*, 50; 69. *The Galveston News*, March 3, 1870.

¹⁴“An Act for the relief of the Houston and Texas Central Railway Company,” February 8, 1861, pp. 11-12 (417-418), Gammel, *Laws*, Vol. 5, Portal. “An Act granting Lands to the Houston and Texas Central Railway Company,” September 21, 1866, pp. 33-34 (1253-1254), *Ibid*.

¹⁵*Dallas Herald*, March 10, 1866.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, January 22, 29; February 8, 22, 1868.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, February 29, 1868.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, March 28, 1868.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, April 4, 1868.

²⁰*Ibid.*, May 4, 11, 25, 1867.

²¹*Ibid.*, May 9, 1868. See *Ibid.*, May 16, 1868 for names of committee to draft resolution and May 23, 1868, for names

of committee to raise money to clear the Trinity River.

²²Ibid., April 25, 1868.

²³*Galveston News*, September 9, 1868.

²⁴“Memorial. To the Honorable President and Members of the Constitutional Convention, now in session at the city of Austin,” June 4, 1868, *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention*, Vol. 1, pp. 284-285, Texas Constitutional Convention (1868-1869). *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention, Which Met at Austin, Texas, June 1 A. D. 1868*, Book, 1870; digital images, (<http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaphth38132/>); University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal of Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/crediting> Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.

²⁵Ibid., October 3, 1868. For a creditable survey of the attempts to make the Trinity River a commercial highway up to 1921, see Chief of Engineers, U. S. Army, “Reexamination of project for improvement of Trinity River, Texas,” January 17, 1921, House of Representatives, U. S. Congress, Document 989, 66th Congress, 3rd Session, 1-88. Also see Jackie McElhaney, “Navigating the Trinity: A Dream That Endured for 130 Years,” *Legacies*, 3, no. 1 (Spring 1991):1-13.

²⁶“Report of Committee on Internal Improvements,” *Journal Reconstruction Convention*, July 11, 1868, pp. 270-279, Vol. 1, Portal. See Carl Moneyhom, *Republicanism in Reconstruction Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980), 88-89.

²⁷“Declaration Respecting the Central Railroad Company,” *Journal Reconstruction Convention*, Vol. 1, August 27, 1868, pp. 907-909, August 28, 1868, pp. 922-924, August 29, 1868, pp. 932-939, Portal. *Galveston Daily News*, September 3, 4, 1868.

²⁸“An Act for the relief of the Houston and Texas Central Railroad,” February 8, 1861, pp. 11-12 (417-418) Special Laws, Special Session, Eighth Legislature, Gammel, *Laws*, Vol. 5, and “An Act granting Lands to the Houston and Central Railway Company,” September 21, 1866, pp. 33-34 (1253-1254) Special Laws, Eleventh Legislature, Ibid., Portal.

²⁹*Dallas Herald*, May 9, 1868.

³⁰Letter, *Pro Bono Publico* to editor, *Dallas Herald*, June 14, 1869. For story of Dallas citizens buying \$65,000 worth of H&TC stock, see *Galveston Weekly News*, July 28, 1857, and May 11, 1858.

³¹*Dallas Herald*, July 31, 1869, list of 22 citizens who signed call for public meeting; August 14, 1869, report of meeting; list of members of resolutions committee and committee of five to contact railroads building toward Dallas.

³²Swindells’ attitude regarding Chinese labor was gathered from the *Dallas Daily Herald*, September 25, 1869; February 3; June 4, July 30, 1870. *Galveston Daily News*, October 8, 1869; March 10, 1870. For an introduction and use of Chinese labor in the United States see Stephen E. Ambrose, *Nothing Like It In the World: The Men Who Built the Transcontinental Railroad 1865-1869* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 145-165.

³³*Dallas Herald*, May 28, 1870. William J. Hutchins, for whom Hutchins, Texas, a town in Dallas County, was named,

purchased the railroad in 1861 and had served as its president and general manager while William R. Baker was president in 1870.

³⁴Ibid., June 4, 1870. Swindells was referring to the nearly \$58,500 worth of H&TCRR stock that Dallas purchased in 1857.

³⁵Ibid., June 25, 1870.

³⁶*Galveston Daily News*, May 29, 1870.

³⁷Reed claimed that Representative John Lane put the language in amended HB 305 that directed the H&TC through Dallas County. Reed, *A History of Texas Railroads*, 209.

³⁸“Message to House of Representatives,” August 6, 1870, pp. 891-894, House Journal, 12th Texas Legislature, 1st Called Session, Reference Library of Texas. Hereafter, Reference Library. *Dallas Herald*, June 25, 1870.

³⁹Speech to Joint Session, 12th Legislature, 1st Session, April 29, 1870, p. 22, “Legislators and Leaders,” Reference Library, www.lrl.state.tx.us.

⁴⁰The episode of HB 350 was taken from the House Journal of the 12th Texas Legislature, 1st Session, pp. 487, 562-63, 609, 645, 791, 899; Senate Journal of the 12th Texas Legislature, 1st Session, pp. 108, 398, 472, 488, 510, 580, 698, Reference Library.

⁴¹*Dallas Herald*, September 17, 1870. Report of meeting on September 14 and list of names for committee to plan for land for H&TC depot.

⁴²*Minute Book*, Vol. 1, March 13, 1871, p. 43. The Bentley property was three and a half acres and was purchased for \$700 in September 1871.

⁴³Ibid., October 15, 1870. Report of October 10 meeting plus names of old committee and newly appointed committee.

⁴⁴Ltr. William R. Baker to A. C. Camp, W. H. Scales, et. al., October 31, 1870, p. 55 in *Dallas Ordinance Book 1-A*.

⁴⁵*Minute Book*, Dallas, Vol. 1, March 13, 1871, p. 43

⁴⁶*Minute Book*, Dallas, Vol. 1, March 14, 1871, p. 45. *Dallas Herald*, March 25, 1871.

⁴⁷*Minute Book*, Dallas, Vol. 1, March 18, 1871, pp. 46. *Dallas Herald*, April 13, 1872.

⁴⁸*Dallas Herald*, March 25, 1871. See *Minute Book*, Vol. 1, March 14, 1871, p. 44 and March 18, 1874, p. 46-47.

⁴⁹*Dallas Herald*, March 18, 1871.

⁵⁰*Minute Book*, Vol. 1, March 13, 1871, p. 44.

⁵¹Ibid., April 1, p. 47-49.

⁵²*Dallas Herald*, July 1, 1871.

⁵³Ibid., March 25, 1871.

⁵⁴*Minute Book*, Dallas, Vol. 1, April 1, 1871, p. 27.

⁵⁵*Dallas Herald*, April 1, 8, 1871.

⁵⁶*Minute Book*, Dallas, Vol. 1, April 1, 1871, pp. 47-49.

⁵⁷“An Act to authorize counties, cities and towns to aid in the construction of railroads and other works of internal improvements,” Gammel, *Laws*, Vol. 6, passed April 12, 1871, pp. 29-32 (931-834), Portal.

⁵⁸*Dallas Herald*, April 22, 1871.

⁵⁹Ralph W. Widner, Jr., *William Henry Gaston: A Builder of*

Dallas (Dallas: Historical Publishing Company, 1977), 15–17.

⁶⁰Letter, C.H.B. to editor, Houston, April 18, 1871, *Dallas Herald*, April 29, 1871.

⁶¹*Minute Book*, Vol. 1, April 3, 1871, p. 50–51.

⁶²Contract, Wm. G. Veal and H&TC, October 11, 1870, in Houston and Texas Central Railway, Miscellaneous, 1867–1870, p. 47, Manuscript Collection, DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University. Hereafter cited as DeGolyer.

⁶³Letter, W. G. Veal to A. C. Camp, Dallas, Texas, July 19, 1871, pp. 55–56, *Dallas Ordinance Book 1-A*, A. C. Camp was the committee's chairman.

⁶⁴Letter, Veal to Camp, Waxahachie, July 20, 1871. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁶⁵*Minute Book*, Vol. 1, July 25, 1871, p. 75.

⁶⁶"An Ordinance authorizing the Mayor of Dallas, to execute to the Agent of the Houston & Texas Central Railway Company the Bond of the City for Five Thousand Dollars Gold, and also the Deeds to One Hundred and Fifteen acres of land, as heretofore selected and agreed upon and between the Agent of said H.&T.C.R.R.Co. and the Special Committee appointed by the citizens of the said City of Dallas together with the City Council." September 5, 1871, p. 57–58, *Ordinance Book, 1-A*.

⁶⁷A list of the properties received by the H&TC from Dallas County including references to filings in Deed Books found in the Records Building, Dallas County are cited in Houston and Texas Central Railway *Minutes Book, 1861-1890*, p. 309–318, DeGolyer.

⁶⁸The ordinance, "Levying a Special Tax for Depot Purposes," was printed in the *Dallas Herald*, March 2, 1872.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, February 10, 1872.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, March 2, 1872.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, March 30, 1872.

⁷²*Ibid.*, March 23, 1872.

⁷³*Ibid.*, March 30, 1872.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, April 13, 1872.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*

⁷⁶Murphy & Bolanz, Block & Addition Books, Dallas County, 1882–1920, Texas/Dallas History & Archives, Dallas Public Library at dallaslibrary2.org/texas/murphyandbolanz/bookindex.html. The block pages containing the H&TC lands are marked H.&T.C.R.R. Addition. Also see "Dallas, Texas," George Franklin Cram, publisher, Chicago, Il-

linois, 1900(?), call number 127/1200539, Map Collection from the University of Texas at Arlington, [texashistory.unt.edu/ark/67531/metaphtn50379/m/1](http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaphtn50379/m/1), Portal. Also see "Map of Dallas," Worley's Map of Greater Dallas, published by John F. Worley & Company, Dallas, Texas, 1905, University of Texas Libraries, Perry-Castaneda Library Map Collection, www.libutexas.edu/maps/historical/historic_text_cities.html.

⁷⁷*Dallas Herald*, April 27, 1872.

⁷⁸*Ibid.* See *Ibid.*, March 2; April 20, 1872, and *Minute Book*, Dallas, Vol. 1, April 22, 1872, p. 167. See Letter to editor from F.J. Patillo, reprinted from *Jefferson Times*, in *Dallas Herald*, December 21, 1872 that gives contemporary explanation of rift between Dallas and H&TC.

⁷⁹*Minute Book*, Dallas, Vol. 1, June 19, 25, 1872, p. 209–210. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1872, p. 217; *Ibid.*, August 27, 1872, pp. 248–249. *Dallas Herald*, July 6, 1872.

⁸⁰*Minute Book*, Dallas, Vol. 1, July 9, 1872, p. 219. The dispute between T. J. Putty and the city became quite contentious involving special investigations, lawyers, and several arbitrations before the issue was settled for \$800. *Ibid.*, Dallas, Vol. 2, November 12, 13, 14, pp. 9–12.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, Dallas, Vol. 1, June 25, 1872, p. 211; October 15, 1872, pp. 272–273.

⁸²*Ibid.*, Dallas, Vol. 1, July 4, 1872, pp. 216–217.

⁸³*Dallas Herald*, June 14, 29, 1872; *Galveston Daily News*, June 29, 1872.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, June 6, 8, 14, 1872; *Dallas Herald*, June 14, 15, 22, 1972.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, July 6, 13, 1872.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, September 14, 1872.

⁸⁷Letter, John M. McCoy to Parents, July 22, 1872, in Elizabeth York Enstam, (ed.) *When Dallas Became A City: Letters of John Milton McCoy, 1870-1881* (Dallas: Dallas Historical Society, 1982), 78.

⁸⁸The story of the celebration is from the *Dallas Herald*, July 20, 1872, and the *Galveston Daily News*, July 20, 1872.

⁸⁹*Minutes Book*, Dallas, Vol. 1, July 10, 1872 pp. 222–223; *Ibid.*, July 15, 1872, pp. 224–225. *Dallas Herald*, July 13, 20, 1872. See *Ibid.*, June 8, 1872, for petitions signed by citizens asking for elections for the Southern Pacific Railroad and the Dallas and Wichita Railway and the orders for the election signed by Mayor Henry S. Ervay.

Narrative of an Automobile Trip Between Dallas and Fort Worth in 1903

TRANSCRIBED AND INTRODUCED BY JEFF DUNN

Edward H. R. “Ned” Green ushered in the automobile age in north Texas when he purchased a gasoline-powered “horseless carriage” from a St. Louis manufacturer in October 1899 and had it shipped by rail to his home in Terrell. George Dorris, an engineer, accompanied the vehicle from St. Louis. With Dorris steering and Green in the passenger seat, the pair drove the automobile from Terrell to Dallas on October 5, 1899, reaching Main Street that night. The thirty-mile ride, which took over five hours, is considered the first automobile trip on Texas soil.¹

Another year and more would pass before Henry Garrett, a Dallas electrician and former superintendent of the Dallas Consolidated Electric Street Railway Company, became the first Dallas resident to purchase an automobile. On April 10, 1901, Garrett received by rail an electric-powered runabout built by the National Electric company

of Indianapolis. Garrett and his business partner, A. B. Lipscomb, under the company name “Lipscomb & Garrett,” secured the local dealership for National Electric and became the first automobile retail seller in Dallas when they sold an electric vehicle to Oak Cliff developer John S. Armstrong.²

By June 1901, there were seven automobiles in Dallas. At that time a general call was made for the owners of these vehicles to participate in a five-mile race to benefit an upcoming Confederate veterans reunion. This race, proclaimed the first automobile race held in Texas, took place on July 4, 1901, at the State Fair horse track. Six automobiles were preregistered for the contest, including two owned by Henry Garrett and one each owned by John S. Armstrong, L. S. Thorne, J. T. Taylor, and E. H. R. Green. But the only contestants to make an appearance on race day were

A. B. LIPSCOMB

TELEPHONE 66

HENRY GARRETT

LIPSCOMB & GARRETT ELECTRICIANS

Electrical Supplies, Motors, Dynamos and Locomobiles

Electrical Wiring and Repairs, Elegant Electric Fixtures. We Re-build Motors, Dynamos and Engines. Fully Equipped Machine Shops for Electrical and Mechanical Work.

Agents for the Locomobile Co. of America

No. 301 MAIN STREET

Thorne and a late entry by H. D. Raff, “both being owners of very fast machines, but not, strictly speaking, racers.” Thorne, who was vice president and general manager of the Texas & Pacific Railroad, won the race and received a gold medal. He had an African-American driver for the first three miles before changing seats and driving the car himself to the finish line.³

In early 1902, Lipscomb & Garrett obtained the local agency for steam-powered Locomobiles to complement their electric vehicles and an electrical repair and machine shop they established on Main Street. The company’s earliest Locomobile advertisement appeared in *The Dallas Morning News* on January 19, 1902.⁴ One of their competitors by September 1902 was the Texas Implement and Machine Company (James D. Schofield, President), which held the Oldsmobile agency at its business on the southwest corner of Market and Wood streets. The Oldsmobile was gasoline powered and featured a single cylinder with wire wheels, single-tube tires bolted to the rims, and a tiller steering gear. This company entered an Oldsmobile carriage in the September 28, 1902, “speed contests” held at the State Fair. Others who competed were David W. McElroy (Winton gasoline carriage), Wallace Stroud, an electrician who worked for Lipscomb & Garrett (Steam Locomobile), and local electrician George McEntyre (Steam Locomobile). Lipscomb & Garrett eventually took over the Oldsmobile agency from

Oldsmobile Talks to Merchants.
**Gasoline is Economy
Horses an Extravagance.**
25 cents worth of gasoline will run an Oldsmobile Light Delivery Car one day.
The Oldsmobile under any conditions will do the work of two wagons drawn by horses—it is doing the work of three in many places. It costs \$1.00 a day to keep two horses, besides paying \$3.00 a day for two drivers.
The Oldsmobile Express
is under no expense on Sundays or other days it is not working. How about the horse, does he fast on Sundays and holidays?
The appetite of two horses never sleeps.
The cost of shoeing the horses, repairing harness and wagon is about the same as repairs on the Oldsmobile with ordinary handling.
Then there is the advertising matter—it costs nothing and it worth much.
Send for catalogue, mailed free.
Oldsmobile Runabout, \$650.00; Touring Runabout, \$750.00; Light Tourist \$950.00; Oldsmobile Light Delivery Car, \$850.00.
Free demonstration by our nearest agent.
OLDS MOTOR WORKS, Detroit, Mich.
AGENTS
HENRY GARRETT
315 Commerce Street
DALLAS, TEXAS

the Texas Implement and Machine Company by September 1903, when they began advertising as agents for Oldsmobile, Winton, Packard, Locomobile, and Studebaker Electric vehicles. Jesse Illingworth, a Dallas resident who later became a noted race car driver, helped Garrett sell Oldsmobile cars in the newly completed Wilson Building annex.⁵

By August 1903, there were “over forty” steam, electric, and gasoline automobiles driving the streets of Dallas. *The Dallas Morning News* boasted that this number gave Dallas the “distinction of possessing more automobiles than any city of its size in the South.” Most of the autos were

small five-horsepower runabouts seating only two people and suitable only for city driving. L. S. Thorne, winner of the July 4, 1901, race, owned the largest automobile, a gasoline ten-horsepower Haynes Apperson that could carry four people.⁶

These autos could be unreliable and for this reason long distance trips were rare. Electric vehicles in particular could travel only short distances because of limited battery power. Gasoline cars could be taken on longer trips, but the uncertain condition of roads outside the city limited such travel. One of the earliest recorded long drives in north Texas took place on August 8, 1902, when “Mr. Shuttles” of Dallas and James Roberts of Sherman drove an automobile from Sherman to Dallas, a distance of seventy-five miles. The trip was made in five hours and forty-five minutes. “We found the roads in good condition,” Roberts told *The Dallas Morning News*, “and had a very pleasant trip. The only delay was occasioned by the antics of the country horses we met. Many of them showed a disposition to climb a telephone pole as soon as we hove in sight, and we had to stop until they could be calmed.” The model of the car was not identified, but the *News* reported that it was owned by E. S. Smith of Sherman.⁷

The thirty-six mile dirt road between Dallas and Fort Worth also was beckoning automobile owners in both cities. Reliable travel between the two cities was offered by the Texas & Pacific Railroad, and by June 1902 an electric interurban operated by the Northern Texas Traction Company began hourly service.⁸ But these alternatives did not deter an inevitable urge to drive the route by automobile. The road proved to be a challenge because it required passage through ungraded hilly terrain suitable for farm and teamster wagons, but not automobiles. Nonetheless, there is evidence that by June 1903 a few owners had successfully navigated the trip via Arlington and Handley.⁹

One of these early excursions to Fort Worth consisted of a caravan of three Dallas automobiles, including two electric autos owned by

O. A. Jennings and Henry Garrett, respectively, and David W. McElroy’s gasoline Winton.¹⁰ This trip was remarkable because McElroy prepared a detailed written account of the experience and sent it to the editor of *The Horseless Age* magazine. Published as a letter to the editor in the July 1, 1903, issue, the narrative is transcribed below together with a reproduction of two photographs sent to the magazine to accompany the narrative. Although McElroy’s account seems comical today, it was an educational piece for that era. *The Horseless Age* was America’s first national automotive magazine and to a large extent helped introduce Americans to automobile ownership at a time when technology was rapidly evolving and repairs often had to be improvised. As indicated in McElroy’s narrative, he was forced to rely on a blacksmith who lived somewhere between Dallas and Fort Worth to make a critical repair to one of their vehicles. McElroy’s conclusion that electric automobiles should be transported by railroad “box car” over long distances instead of driven was a commentary on the limitations of these vehicles and foreshadowed their eventual demise in favor of the more durable gasoline autos.¹¹

Another recorded trip between Dallas and Fort Worth – using a gasoline automobile – took place in August 1903. Col. R. Peterson, O. A. Perry and J. J. Pettus drove a large gasoline “Red Devil” class car from Paris, Texas, to Fort Worth by way of Dallas. On reaching Fort Worth, they claimed “the fastest time ever made over the dirt road between Dallas and Fort Worth,” having completed the trip in one hour and thirty-five minutes. This feat further demonstrated the superiority of gasoline automobiles, but even these vehicles were vulnerable to breakdowns. On their return to Paris, a part broke and the trio was forced to put the car on a train for the remainder of the trip home. Unfortunately, the railroad agent did not use proper blocking under the wheels and the car banged around the railroad car to such an extent that it was ruined by the time the train arrived in Paris. This lesson (making sure



proper wheel blocking was used when transporting automobiles by train) was also published in *The Horseless Age*.¹²

The popularity of automobiles in Dallas grew exponentially in the first two decades of the twentieth century, spurred by the Dallas Automobile Club (founded in June 1904), improvements in automotive technology and reliability, and an ambitious Dallas County roadbuilding program. The number of automobiles in Dallas jumped from 40 to 82 between 1903 and 1904, and from 445 in 1908 to 2,944 in 1912. In 1920 Dallas County recorded 27,937 registered automobiles, the most of any Texas county.¹³ Although both Dallas and Tarrant county officials paid considerable attention to the condition of the road between Dallas and Fort Worth, the road was not completely graded and graveled until 1908. Concrete pavement for a two-lane road, eighteen feet wide, was started after 1914 but not completed until 1922.¹⁴ It would be an understatement to say that automobiles transformed American society and Dallas in particular, but McElroy's narrative of an early automobile trip between Dallas and Fort Worth starkly illustrates the extent to which automobile travel has improved over the past century. ■

NOTES

¹"Mr. E. H. R. Green's Carriage," *The Dallas Morning News*, October 6, 1899 (hereafter cited as *DMN*); "Automobiles in Dallas," *DMN*, October 1, 1910.

²"Owners of Autos in City of Dallas," *Dallas Times Herald*, June 24, 1903; "Stages of Dallas Growth Recounted," *DMN*, December 19, 1920. See also *Dallas City Directory* (1898), 200, and *Dallas City Directory* (1902), 287.

³"An Automobile Race," *DMN*, June 15, 1901; "Draft of Program," *DMN*, June 18, 1901; "A Three Ring Circus," *DMN*, July 3, 1901; "Fourth in Dallas," *DMN*, July 5, 1901.

⁴Advertisement, *DMN*, January 19, 1902.

⁵Advertisements, *DMN*, September 27, 1903; *DMN*, December 17, 1902; *DMN*, September 9, 1903; "Automobiles in Dallas," *DMN*, October 1, 1910; "Introduced One-Cylinder Oldsmobile in 1902," *DMN*, October 21, 1917; *Dallas City Directory* (1902), 424, 529, 569.

⁶"Owners of Autos in City of Dallas," reported 25 automobiles in the city in June 1903; "Automobile Fad in Dallas," *DMN*, August 23, 1903, reported "over forty" automobiles in the city.

⁷"Automobile Trip," *DMN*, August 19, 1902. "Mr. Shuttles" is not further identified in the article, but was probably Lorenzo Shuttles, president of Shuttles Brothers & Lewis wholesale jewelers, or Robert H. Shuttles, secretary of the jewelry firm, or Will E. Shuttles of Shuttles & Mitchell wholesale jewelers. See *Dallas City Directory* (1902) 540-41.

⁸George C. Werner, "TEXAS AND PACIFIC RAILWAY," Handbook of Texas Online (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/eqt08>), accessed February 26, 2015 (published by the Texas State Historical Association); "First Trip a Success," *DMN*, March 2, 1902; "Service on Interurban," *Fort Worth Morning Register*, June 3, 1902; "Interurban Cars Run Today," *DMN*, July 1, 1902.

⁹"Owners of Autos in City of Dallas."

¹⁰D. W. McElroy, "An Electric and Gasoline Caravan Over Texas Roads," *The Horseless Age*, Vol. 12, July 1, 1903, pp.15-16. "Owners of Autos in City of Dallas," mentions that McElroy owned a Winton.

¹¹McElroy, "An Electric and Gasoline Caravan," pp.15-16. For information on *The Horseless Age* magazine, see <http://www.didik.com/horseless/>

¹²"Fast Time Made in Automobile," *DMN*, August 25, 1903; *The Horseless Age*, Sept. 9, 1903, p.291.

¹³"Dallas Auto Club," *DMN*, June 24, 1904; "Dallas is Center for Auto Business," *DMN*, January 1, 1913; "Dallas Automobile Club Is Important Factor in Growth of Dallas," *DMN*, October 5, 1919; "427,693 Autos Licensed in Texas in 1920," *DMN*, January 30, 1921; "Auto Created Dallas Suburbs," *DMN*, October 2, 1960. For a general history of automobiles in Dallas prior to 1925, see Gwen Simpson, "Early Dallas Automobiles," Master of Liberal Arts Degree thesis, Southern Methodist University (December 7, 1983), accessed from the Science/Engineering Library at SMU.

¹⁴"All Gravel Road to Dallas," *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, April 2, 1908; "Contract Let to Fill Gap on Fort Worth Pike," *DMN*, January 27, 1922; "Dallas to Complete Pike to Ft. Worth," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, December 11, 1921; "Old Fort Worth Pike to Be Widened," *DMN*, July 1, 1925.

...THE... Horseless Age

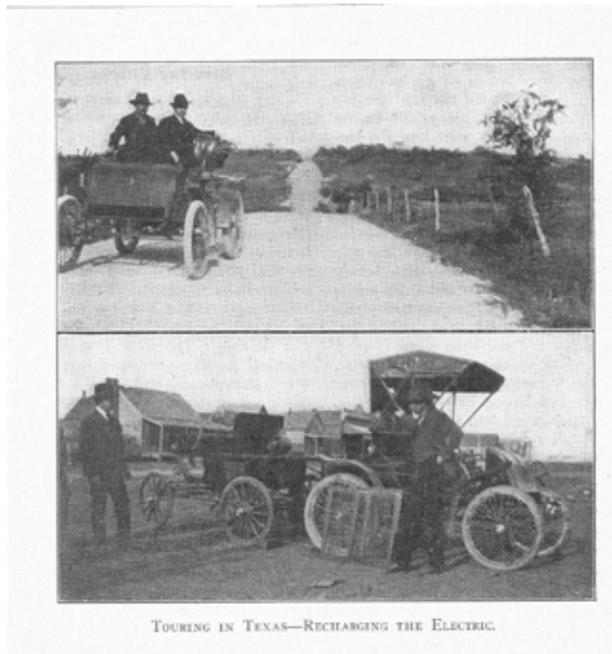
From *The Horseless Age*, July 1, 1903

An Electric and Gasoline Caravan Over Texas Roads

I send you herewith some photos taken on a trip from Dallas to Fort Worth, Tex. A patent medicine concern had decided to display an electric sign on the streets of Fort Worth during a street fair, and to this end made arrangements with O.A. Jennings, of Dallas, owner of an electric carriage, to carry the sign. As the electric carriage was not capable of making the trip from Dallas to the Fort without recharging, and as there are no charging facilities on the route, Mr. Jennings made arrangements with the writer to help him there by means of his gasoline machine.

I put a small electric generator on the back of the electric car, and we started on our way with another electric for company. The first 10 miles were made in fine shape. We were moving along at a pretty fast gait, when I heard Jennings shout, and on looking back saw him heading for a pool of water about 6 feet below the level of the pike. He managed to stop just in time to save himself getting a bath, although I think that, in view of the dusty conditions of the road and the fact that he drove behind, a bath would have done him no harm.

Upon examining his machine we found that one of the front springs had



broken, which let the body down on the steering gear, locking it so tight that the driver had no control of the machine. We took some barbed wire from a fence nearby and some sticks and wired the broken parts together, which enabled us to cover the next 5 miles. At that point we found a blacksmith shop, and there we had a new spring put in. While this work was being done we backed the machines together, put a belt over the pulley of the generator and the flywheel of the gasoline engine and began charging the electric. It took something like four hours to charge the first machine, and as it would have detained us considerably to charge the second machine in the same manner we decided to leave it there and take it back with us on our return trip.

When we took the blocks out from under the machine and let the weight down on the new spring, it broke. The blacksmith looked at it for a while and then said, "The thing must be heavy." We had to wait another two hours for another spring to be put in, which proved all right and capable of supporting the weight. Jennings started on his way while I was taking in water, and when I caught up to him after about 3 miles running his machine was dead. So we decided not to use the generator any more, but I threw out the life line and towed him into Fort Worth. The other spring on his vehicle broke just as we got into town. Just why the charge did not run him any further than

3 miles I cannot tell, for we ran 15 amperes at 115 volts into the battery until he said it was full.

At 5 o'clock Henry Garrett, who owned the other electric, and myself started on the return trip. Having nothing to bother with, and the roads being good, I decided to give him a good ride back to Dallas, a distance of 36 miles. We sailed along finely for about 12 miles and I felt highly elated and would not have changed places with the Governor; but at the end of that distance I would not have given 15 cents for my place, machine or anything else, for just after passing a farm wagon on an up grade and having arrived at the top of the grade, I tried to throw in the low gear, but it refused to take hold; so I tried the brake, which also refused to work, and finally applied the emergency brake with the same result. There was nothing left to do but steer the machine to one side down the hill and jump out. In jumping I caught my little finger in the rear wheel, but managed to get it loose, and then stood and looked at Garrett and the machine flying down the hill into a ditch, but without doing any harm. The engine was still running when I got to it.

The cause of all this trouble I found to be that the set screw which holds the key in the differential had worked out. The first thing we did was to get a farmer to pull us out of the ditch and up the hill, where we went to work to fix the machine, which took us about two hours, and then with the aid of the farmer and his lantern we made the trip home without further trouble. The first thing I did the next morning was to drill holes through the set screws, so they cannot possibly work loose again.

Four days later I went again to Fort Worth, to get Jennings. Having lost confidence in the generator, I did not bother with it, but had the electric fully charged before leaving, so as to help over the hills, and towed him over the level roads as fast as his machine would stand without shaking the batteries to pieces. In fact, the strain on the battery was so hard that he didn't have enough juice to burn his headlight, let alone running the wagon. On one of the hills my engine stopped and my car ran back against his and broke the exhaust pipe off near the engine. There being a few threads left on the end of the pipe, I took the piece broken off out of the cylinder and screwed the pipe back in place. We had no further trouble until getting home, but I decided that when an electric machine is to be transported any distance the best thing is to use a box car.

—D. W. McElroy



DALLAS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

www.dallashistory.org



Historic City Tours 2015

- Historic Neighborhoods- March 14th
- Endangered Dallas- March 21st
- New Deal in Dallas- April 11th
- Downtown Dallas- April 18th
- Mid Century Churches and Synagogues- April 25th
- Greenwood Cemetery- May 16th
- Running with Bonnie and Clyde- May 25th
- Oakland Halloween Cemetery Tour-October 31st

Brown Bag Lunch Series

Bring your lunch and join us at 12 PM (noon) on the second TUESDAY of the month March-September. All lectures are FREE and open to the public!



Exhibits

AN ARGUMENT FOR DALLAS: 100 Years of the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas 1914-2014 (December 19th, 2014 to June 5th, 2015)

Texas in the Time of Revolution (February 24th – August 9th, 2015)

BEHOLD THE PEOPLE: R. C. Hickman's Photographs of Black Dallas, 1949-1961 (June 19th, 2015 to Aug 15th, 2015)

For more information concerning tours, lectures, special events, renting the Hall of State, or memberships, please visit www.dallashistory.org or call 214.421.4500

The Hall of State

3939 Grand Avenue
Dallas, Texas 75210
Tues.-Sat. 10:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.
Sunday 1:00 p.m. -5:00 p.m.



The Dallas Historical Society is funded in part by the City of Dallas, and the Office of Cultural Affairs.

The Great Divide

The Politics of Space and the First Trinity River Valley Controversy

BY ROBERT B. FAIRBANKS

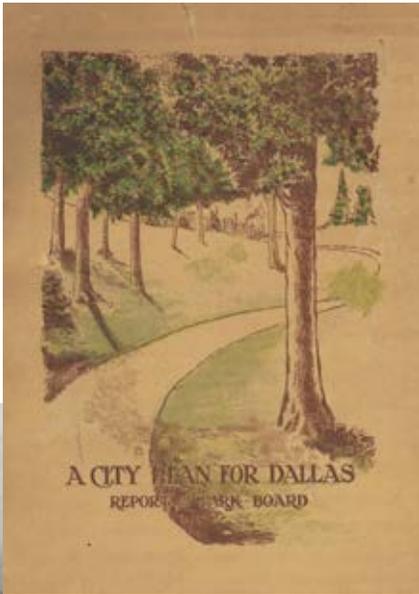
*A*lthough today's Trinity River Corridor Project has been one of the city's most controversial and divisive issues in recent years, we sometimes forget the earlier Trinity River controversy associated with efforts to levee the Trinity River and reclaim its floodplains. The controversy ended longtime friendships, resulted in vicious attacks on prominent civic leaders, brought about several lawsuits, and destroyed one of the city's key planning organizations, the Kessler Plan Association. It also probably accelerated political reform in the city but almost destroyed the organization that had fostered it, the Citizens Charter Association. Indeed, the levee/reclamation controversy of the late 1920s and early 1930s reminds us that, despite reports to the contrary, Dallas's civic elite was not always on the same page in its city building efforts.

Dallas has a long history of civic boosters, leading citizens who provided money and leadership to guarantee the city's growth at some crucial time. Whether it was efforts to secure railroads, the State Fair of Texas, or the Federal Reserve Bank, boosters often merged civic motives with private ambitions as city builders. Although they

sacrificed time and money for the city, they also understood that a growing, thriving city would benefit their prosperity too. Of the many city-building efforts in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, probably none created as much controversy as this one.

Although the horrendous flood of 1908 brought the need to levee the Trinity River to the forefront of civic issues, there had been advocates of leveeing the river as early as 1890.¹ But the final decision to do it did not come immediately, even after George Kessler's Plan for Dallas, completed in 1911, recommended leveeing the river and reclaiming the bottoms for industrial use. High costs of the project and controversy over who should pay for the levee/reclamation effort blunted enthusiasm, as did World War I. Because the war had generated great growth in the city that threatened to overwhelm the infrastructure, a new interest in planning resurfaced, resulting in new planning organizations and the return of George Kessler to revise his plan.

On April 14, 1919, George Bannerman Dealey, publisher of *The Dallas Morning News* and the driving force behind hiring Kessler in 1910, met



George Kessler's Plan for Dallas, published in 1911, included a recommendation to move the Trinity River away from downtown and confine it between levees.



FAIRCHILD AERIAL SURVEY, INC. DALLAS, TEXAS.

Periodic flooding of the Trinity River as it flowed through Dallas became an increasingly serious problem as the city grew, prompting calls to construct levees to contain it.



George Kessler returned to Dallas in 1919 to update his city plan. After his death, supporters formed the Kessler Plan Association to advocate implementation of his recommendations.

with nineteen business leaders from the western section of downtown concerned with the deteriorating stage of their part of town thanks to traffic congestion and creeping blight. They created the Dallas Property Owners Association (DPOA) to undertake “intensive planning in one section” of the city.² The group invited Kessler to revise his earlier work with special emphasis on revisiting his levee/reclamation plans, a project they all had agreed was important to the revitalization of their part of town. The planner emphasized the importance of dealing with the great divide caused by the meandering Trinity River that separated Oak Cliff and West Dallas from the rest of the city through moving and straightening the river, building levees, and constructing additional viaducts over the tamed river.³

Thanks to Dealey’s push, the organization, now composed of 100 members, helped those with property in the Trinity bottoms to organize a levee improvement district under state law to

undertake the leveeing of the Trinity River, moving the river toward the west, and reclaiming 5,500 acres of river bottoms near downtown.⁴ The state gave final approval to the new district on April 8, 1920, following a public hearing.⁵ For the next five years, the DPOA organization spent \$110,000 in promotional work for the improvement of the western section of downtown, including studies about how to control the Trinity River and salvage its bottoms.⁶ It also created controversy.

Although the DPOA claimed that it was for the “symmetrical development of the city, especially downtown,” business leaders on the east side of downtown perceived different motives. They viewed the DPOA as a lobby group to get funding for their side of downtown as outlined in the Kessler Plan. They particularly objected to the efforts of the DPOA to secure public funding for the levee district, fearing this would result in higher taxes and neglect of their needs. Indeed, businessmen from the eastern part of downtown responded to the formation of the DPOA by organizing the Central Improvement Association to promote Kessler’s recommendations for their part of town, especially street improvement. Despite the DPOA’s attempt to sell its agenda as benefiting the entire city, businessmen east of Akard Street viewed such planning goals with great suspicion and distrust. Looking back to planning efforts in the early 1920s, one observer concluded that “such sectional organizations . . . not only failed to get results in proportion to the money spent but that worse still they tend[ed] to create sectional animosity and sectional prejudice.”⁷

The high costs of the levee/reclamation undertaking, as well as significant public opposition to municipal funding for the project (through a special tax on downtown property), thwarted the program at this time, leading the DPOA to develop a new strategy.⁸ At an April 29, 1924, meeting at the Oriental Hotel, the DPOA created a citywide planning organization, called the Kessler Plan Association (KPA) in honor of the recently deceased planner.⁹ As he had in many city matters, newspaperman G. B. Dealey, worn out by the

sectional fighting that had taken place within the city over carrying out the Kessler plan, headed the movement. He was clearly influenced by John Surratt, secretary of the DPOA, who had argued that “The leveeing of the Trinity River [would] never be put over by a sectional organization.”¹⁰

Understanding that big ticket items from the Kessler Plan would need the support of the entire community, John Surratt emphasized the comprehensive nature of planning.¹¹ As a result, the chief objectives of the newly formed Kessler Plan Association were “to sell the Kessler Plan to the people of Greater Dallas” and to “work out a plan for financing the entire program.”¹² In order to prove it was no sectional organization, Surratt recruited individuals with various geographical and political affiliations to serve on the Kessler Board.¹³

Unlike the earlier downtown sectional planning associations created by and for business leaders, the Kessler Plan Association reached out to various neighborhoods throughout the city, including those occupied by African Americans as well as whites. It not only educated them about the importance of comprehensive planning but listened to their concerns. John Surratt, the executive secretary of the new planning body, visited every civic, social, or fraternal organization he could and presented lanternslide programs emphasizing the importance of planning. Indeed, he made the association’s maps and expertise available to these groups and became an advocate for various neighborhood associations when needed. By 1928 the Kessler Plan Association counted 20,000 members associated with 115 civic groups. Its broad clientele and non-partisanship made it respected by almost everyone in the city.¹⁴

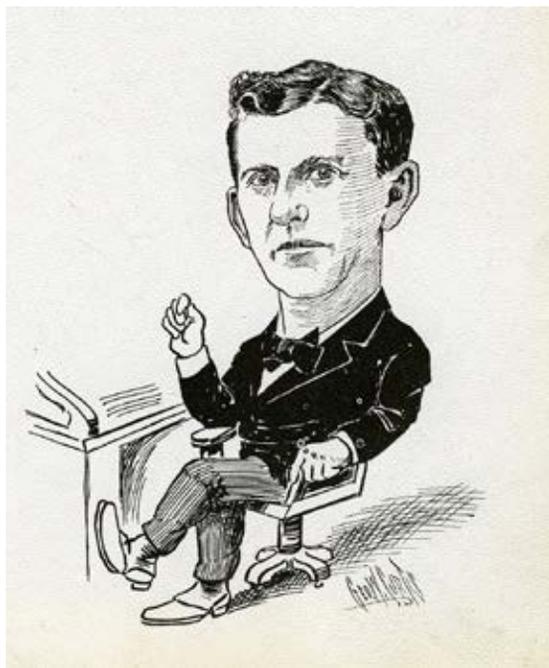
One of the Kessler Plan Association’s most significant achievements was its successful advocacy for the Ulrickson Program, a massive undertaking that would provide both the financial support and legal machinery to finance the rest of the Kessler Plan and other needs of the city. In June of 1925, the mayor appointed a five-person committee on the recommendation of the City Plan Commission to develop such a program.



George Bannerman Dealey, publisher of *The Dallas Morning News*, became known as the “Father of City Planning” for his staunch support of Kessler’s plans.

Dubbed the Ulrickson Committee after its Chair, C. E. Ulrickson, who was general manager of the Trinity Portland Cement Company, it issued its fifty-page report in 1927, titled *Forward Dallas!* The report proposed a nine-year, \$23.9 million bond program and also offered thirty-two charter amendments to help guide the city’s future development.¹⁵ The enthusiastic support by the city’s two largest newspapers as well as the promotional efforts of the Kessler Plan Association convinced voters to approve all the bonds and the charter amendments of the Ulrickson Program.¹⁶

By the time Dallasites voted for the Ulrickson Program, new plans were well underway for the leveeing of the Trinity River and the reclamation of its floodplain. Thanks to the efforts of the engineering firm of Myer and Noyes, the commitment to levee the Trinity River gained momentum in the spring of 1926 as a new group of promoters, prompted in part by both city and



John J. Simmons was one of three commissioners appointed to oversee development of the levee district.

county plans to support big bond programs, decided to initiate the most ambitious effort yet to levee the river and reclaim the flood plain.¹⁷ Unlike the Kessler inspired levee district, which it replaced, the new City and County of Dallas Levee Improvement District called for the reclamation of more than twice the amount of land that Kessler had recommended.¹⁸

Shortly after the County Commissioners approved the formation of the new levee district, they appointed John J. Simmons, Leslie A. Stemmons, and W. J. Wyatt commissioners of the district, made up exclusively of property owners of the flood plain property. At an April 3 election, those members of the district approved \$6 million in bonds to move and straighten the Trinity River and reclaim the bottoms for better use by building twenty-five miles of thirty-five-foot high levees.¹⁹

Nearly three years after the county court organized the reclamation district, Leslie Stemmons, the second largest landowner in the flood plain, established the Industrial Properties Corporation to develop the Trinity bottoms for industrial use.

The corporation traded shares for land and soon controlled nearly 75 percent of the reclaimed land.²⁰ Estimates that the land reclaimed by the levees, much of it previously worthless, would soon be valued at more than \$52 million raised new questions about how much the city should be helping private developers.²¹ Because the levee district had invested so much money into this project, it should come as no surprise that the levee district's supervisors constantly pressured city officials to give preference to this massive project that cost the district more than \$6.5 million to carry out.²²

Under the Ulrickson Program, the city had agreed to provide \$3.2 million for drainage, sewage, and streets from the Ulrickson bond program, while a county bond program provided \$3,339,000 for roads and viaducts for the reclaimed lands. Railroad and utility companies also pledged \$5,405,000 for the project. These commitments permitted the levee district to finance the actual building of the levees, work that started on July 24, 1928.²³

The effort to build the levees proved controversial almost from the beginning and created another type of great divide in Dallas. For instance, in the 1929 municipal elections, the United Dallas Association (U.D.A.) mayoral candidate, Temple H. Morrow, charged that levee district representatives were instrumental in organizing the Greater Dallas Association ticket (G.D.A.) with a plan to secure more financial help from the city than promised.²⁴ Although all five U.D.A. candidates lost their bid for office as three independents won along with two G. D. A. candidates, the politicization of the Levee District by the G. D. A. may have affected how some Dallas citizens now viewed the levee/reclamation project.²⁵

Stung by how the levee district had been portrayed during the campaign, Leslie Stemmons offered the city 350 acres for an airport in the reclamation area for a very low cost.²⁶ City officials declined the offer as the controversy over the city's relationship to the levee/reclamation project took on new prominence in May of 1930 as the city faced a financial crisis. At this time,



Leslie A. Stemmons, whose family owned extensive acreage in the flood plain, was appointed as a commissioner for the new levee district.



Rising costs associated with construction of the levees prompted Dallas Mayor J. Waddy Tate to threaten to raise taxes.

Finance Commissioner John C. Harris disclosed that Dallas's general fund was \$248,000 in the red as the fiscal year closed. Although the early years of the Great Depression did not have a major impact on Dallasites, the deficit appeared partly because of a combination of wasteful spending by newly elected major J. Waddy Tate's administration as well as an increase in delinquent taxes due to the financial downturn.²⁷ That development led Mayor Tate to declare he might have to raise taxes if he sold all the Ulrickson bonds for the Levee District's storm sewers.²⁸ Before the district moved the Trinity River, the city's sewer system emptied directly into the Trinity River. But now the levee blocked the old drainage system so that water ran off into the hydraulic fill area, making it useless to reclaim unless moved under the levees into the river by a \$1.1 million pressure storm sewer. The threat of higher taxes immediately set off a protest after the mayor's announcement.

A crowd of 1,000 people jammed city hall

auditorium on Saturday, June 7, to reject the proposed tax increase that would allow the city to sell its bonds for the levee district. Participants included Dr. E. H. Cary, President of the Kessler Plan Association, as well as theater magnate Karl Hoblitzelle, a board member of the same organization. Former state senator J. Hart Willis and prominent clubwoman Mrs. Kirk Hall were also part of the crowd including many residents of South Dallas. When John J. Simmons, official from the Levee District, attempted to speak, many of the audience walked out and others disrupted his talk with taunts and jeers. Despite this treatment, he continued his presentation and attacked the notion that the levee/reclamation project was a private enterprise, arguing that it was a very important cooperative public improvement among the district, the county, and the city.²⁹

At a later commissioners meeting, J. Hart Willis, attorney for the anti tax crowd, contended that a pressure sewer was currently unneeded and sug-

gested that the city spend no additional money at this time in the levee district when finances were so tight. Several opponents also argued that the city should not even help the levee district because much of the land was located outside of city limits. Willis threatened to secure an injunction against the city government and levee district if the Commissioners raised taxes.³⁰

After meeting with levee district supervisors, the city commission manipulated the budget so it did not need to raise taxes but could proceed with the sale and service of the Ulrickson bonds for the levee district. According to *The Dallas Morning News*, a strong advocate for the levee district, the decision not to raise taxes would placate the citizens who had so vehemently protested against funding infrastructure for the levee district.³¹ The *News's* optimism that the resolution of the levee/reclamation issue had been resolved, however, was misplaced. The day after the *News* reported a solution to the tax issue, some of the city's leading citizens organized the City-County Taxpayers League not only to guard against future tax hikes but to make sure all sections of Dallas received fair treatment in the distribution of bond funds. Prominent Kessler Plan Association members such as E. H. Cary, Karl Hoblitzelle, and John Surratt attended that meeting, but so did other civic leaders such as Tom Bradford, Edgar Flippen, Christian Weichsel, and George Loudermilk. Cary promised that the organization would "work for the protection of the small taxpayer and homeowner and insisted on co-ordination of all public improvements in Dallas."³² The organization met with levee district officials to develop plans on how bond money could be spent that would be acceptable to both the district and the taxpayers league. When the two sides failed to come into agreement, the taxpayers' league asked the commission to postpone selling the bonds.³³

By this time, the reclamation project had polarized the city. One side viewed the city's excessive preoccupation with the levee/reclamation project as retarding its response to the needs of neighborhoods and inhibiting the proper development of the larger city. Supporters of the levee



Dr. Edward H. Cary served as president of the Kessler Plan Association.

district viewed their opponents as small minded and incapable of understanding the contributions that the levee/reclamation project would make to the city's growth and its ability to attract additional industry. The city's two major newspapers warred over the issue. G. B. Dealey, a long time supporter of planning, lambasted opponents of the levee district as wrong and driven by their own selfish agenda, while the *Times Herald* argued that the attention (and money) devoted to the levee district drained the Ulrickson funds and supported primarily a business venture at the expense of neighborhoods. It was at this time that the newspaper started running a masthead reading, "The *Times Herald* Stands for the City as a Whole."³⁴ It also reminded the public that G. B. Dealey, one of the city's most revered public servants, owned a small bit of land in the bottoms, suggesting that his strong advocacy was tied to



This aerial photograph of downtown Dallas from the west shows how close the old river channel approached the business district.

personal interests—a charge that deeply infuriated Dealey. The contrasting positions taken in the Trinity River levee/reclamation controversy created significant fragmentation among the civic leadership. Indeed Dealey’s biographer observed that close friends and business associates split, and “bitter and irreconcilable enmities developed” between good friends. Even the city’s Critic Club, a forum where important civic issues were explored, suffered heavily from the tensions surrounding the controversy.³⁵

Furthermore, the levee/reclamation controversy greatly weakened the Kessler Plan Association. Although it was originally founded as a tool of the DPOA to secure the needed improvements for the west end of downtown, it morphed into

an organization that not only emphasized the need for comprehensive planning but became an advocate for neighborhood associations, leading E. H. Cary, its first president, to characterize it as the most democratic organization in the city. The Kessler Plan Association had played an important role in securing voter approval for the Ulrickson program by emphasizing how all sections of the city would benefit from the bond program. Even though it had been a strong advocate for the levee/reclamation project, leaders of the planning body became increasingly concerned about how the drainage sewer funds were being prioritized for the Trinity River levee project while neighborhoods continued to flood during hard rains because of inadequate sewers.

Under pressure from the Taxpayers League and the Kessler Plan Association to follow the Ulrickson program's mandate that "a complete storm water drainage system be planned . . . before any additional money be expended upon construction,"³⁶ city commissioners agreed to engage an engineer to develop such a plan. But neither the Ulrickson Advisory Committee nor the Kessler Plan Association approved the commissioners' choice, claiming that the Benham Engineering Company of Kansas City could not meet the exacting demands outlined in the Ulrickson report.³⁷ When the commissioners proceeded to engage Benham anyway, new controversy emerged, delaying the plan. Impatient about the delay, Mayor Tate threatened to release money for the drainage sewers immediately, but Karl Hoblitzelle secured a temporary injunction to prevent the city from spending additional drainage sewer money. The lawsuit claimed the contracts for the sewers were rushed so work could be awarded before the present administration left office.³⁸ In addition, it questioned the city's right to spend money that would only benefit privately owned lands in the levee district, most of which were outside the city limits. Finally the lawsuit claimed, "A majority of the board of commissioners [were] under the influence and control of those in charge of said levee district with reference to any improvement desired by said levee district and with reference to expenditure of public funds and improvements within said levee district."³⁹

Needless to say, the Hoblitzelle suit only accelerated feelings of betrayal by the levee district and created even greater fragmentation within the city. Hoblitzelle dropped the suit when the city attorney promised not to authorize additional drainage sewage funds until the newly elected city government took office, a government that would be made up of businessmen and functioning under the recently approved city manager/at large council format.⁴⁰ Such action enraged levee district officials who had completed the levees but could not close them until the sewer system was completed for the reclaimed lands. Unable to generate income the bonded district found

it impossible to pay property taxes or distribute interest to the bondholders.⁴¹ The two principal organizers, L. A. Stemmons and John J. Simmons, became particularly bitter, feeling betrayed by the city for its failure to provide the money to finish their project.⁴²

After the municipal election of 1931 that saw the election of the first Citizens Charter Association slate made up of prominent businessmen and committed to efficient government, the city council secured the services of W. W. Horner of St. Louis to develop a comprehensive drainage plan for the city. Horner, who provided first-rate experience in the matter of drainage sewer systems, produced a preliminary document for the council on September 20, 1931, that would allow the Trinity River Levee District to close its levees while also providing flood relief for East and North Dallas neighborhoods. Both the levee district and the East Dallas Drainage Association, formerly at odds with each other, signed off on the plan.⁴³

This agreement came too late for the Dallas and City Improvement District to pay the scheduled interest to the bondholders, and the following month it defaulted.⁴⁴ Although new Mayor Charles E. Turner concluded that the conflict over the reclamation area had been solved after the city council approved Horner's drainage sewer plan and promised to spend Ulrickson bond money to finish the city's obligations, the worsening Great Depression forced the city to sell fewer Ulrickson bonds in 1932 than anticipated, delaying implementation of the sewer program.⁴⁵

This action created new tensions between the neighborhoods, city government, and the levee district. The continued slow pace of municipal funding for the sewer system also helps explain why the Industrial Properties Corporation, owners of 57,000,000 square feet of reclamation land, sued the city in 1933 for "illegal discharge of flood waters, raw sewage, and garbage into lands of the reclaimed area of the Trinity River valley," claiming the land it owned and protected by the east levees had been rendered "useless and unsafe by the nuisances committed by the defendants."



This aerial photograph shows the newly constructed levees shortly before the Trinity River was diverted between them from its original, serpentine channel.

Although thanks to New Deal money the city finished its obligations, the suit had not been settled as late as 1938, and the damages demanded by the corporation now reached \$4 million.⁴⁶

Aided by federal money, work on the storm sewers for the hydraulic fill area started in May 1934 and was completed by March the following year, thus ending one of the most contentious political battles in the history of the city.⁴⁷ But not without civic casualties. The Kessler Plan Association, a creation of the DPOA and George Bannerman Dealey, was eviscerated by the conflict over the reclamation project. As the organization

became more connected to the numerous neighborhood associations in the city and educated to the needs and concerns of the everyday citizens, it became a strong advocate for lower taxes, fiscal responsibility, and fair treatment for all within the city. Although this organization had been a strong advocate for both the Ulrickson plan and the levee/reclamation project, it soon alienated itself from not only the levee district, but from G. B. Dealey, a founding force in the organization and the father of modern planning in Dallas. He not only had withdrawn support of the Kessler Plan Association by 1931, but he completely broke



John Surratt served as executive secretary of the Kessler Plan Association from its organization in 1924 until his death in 1957.

with his friend John Surratt and never reconciled. Dealey also encouraged friends and colleagues to do the same.⁴⁸ John J. Simmons, a board member of the Kessler Plan Association, tried to get Surratt removed as executive secretary. As a result of such harassment, this organization, which had become the city's strongest advocate for neighborhoods and their strongest voice at city hall, would be silenced. The loss of membership along with the impact of the Great Depression created a perilous financial situation for the Kessler Plan Association. As early as 1931, Surratt reported that the association had lost membership dues of more than \$17,000 and was in debt. He not only reduced office staff but cut his own salary by 20 percent.⁴⁹ Eventually the Kessler Plan Association became less of an advocate for city planning and neighborhood improvement and focused more on promoting the growth and vitality of towns within the Dallas Trade region.⁵⁰ By the 1950s, John Surratt was the Kessler Plan Association, and when he

died in 1957, the association ceased to exist.

The levee/reclamation controversy also damaged the Citizens Charter Association and helped defeat that organization's ticket in 1935. Although the incompetence of the Tate administration in handling the levee/reclamation controversy probably encouraged people to vote in 1930 for charter reform, that changed by 1933. G. B. Dealey never forgave the city's first city manager, John Edy, for not expediting the final stages of the sewer program for the levees. As a result, *The Dallas Morning News*, which had been the main advocate of manager/council government, failed to endorse the CCA ticket in both 1933 and 1935. That omission helped defeat the CCA slate in 1935, and put the future of the Citizens Charter Association in doubt until that body reorganized, thanks to help from the newly formed Dallas Citizens Council, and swept into office in 1939.⁵¹ For most of the 1930s, the stench of the levee/reclamation controversy remained present in municipal elections.⁵²

The levee/reclamation controversy then appears as one of the few efforts at city building, so common in Dallas history, to encounter barriers and promote controversy. Strong opposition developed particularly from neighborhoods that thought money should go to addressing the immediate problems of underserved areas such as East and South Dallas with their inadequate storm drainage, rather than long-term projects that would benefit the entire city in the future while also deeply enriching the levee district and stockholders of the Industrial Properties Corporation. But it also reinvigorated the downtown split between east side and west side businessmen. The Kessler Plan Association, originally formed by advocates of the levee/reclamation project to halt that divide, played a central role in the fight against municipal funding of the reclamation district because it felt that the district had betrayed the principal of comprehensive planning for all the citizens by neglecting neighborhood needs for those of the levee district. Meanwhile Simmons and Stemmons thought their district's self-funding of the levees and bottom reclama-

tion provided enormous benefits for the city by creating a new industrial district near downtown, and they grew frustrated when the city delayed fulfilling its financial commitment. Both groups thought that right was on their side and found it hard to compromise because of this belief. ■

NOTES

¹In a letter to the editor, C. W. Heppner, civic leader in West Dallas, noted that he had promoted the idea to straighten and levee the Trinity River as early as 1890. "Urges Action Toward Widening the Trinity," *The Dallas Morning News*, November 11, 1911, p. 4 (hereafter cited as *DMN*). Also see a reference to the levee movement in 1890 in "The Trinity River," *DMN*, June 7, 1890, p. 1.

²"Dallas Property Owners' Association is Organized," *DMN*, March 15, 1919, p. 1; E. A. Wood, L. V. Sheridan, and K. K. Hooper, "City Planning in Dallas," *Proceedings of the National Conference on City Planning, Cincinnati, Ohio, April 19 to 22* (National Conference on City Planning: Philadelphia, 1920), 15.

³Louis P. Head, *The Kessler City Plan for Dallas: Genesis and Development of the Plan of 1910, The Supplement Plan of 1920 Progress in Fifteen Years* (Dallas Morning News, 1925), 6-7.

⁴"City Planning in Dallas," 14-15. Membership fees were \$200 a year. "Trinity to be Straightened through City," *DMN*, March 18, 1926, p. 1.

⁵"Trinity River Levee is Coming," *DMN*, January 1, 1921, p. 6.

⁶Memo from Simon Linz Regarding Kessler Plan Efforts for West End, January 15, 1929, George Bannerman Dealey Papers, box 3, Dallas Historical Society (hereafter cited as Dealey Papers, DHS).

⁷*Ibid.* The first bulletin issued by the DPOA announced, "The Dallas Property Owners' Association exists primarily to rejuvenate and improve the downtown district—the original city and its environs, the gateway of the city today." "Co-Operation is Offered and Invited," *DMN*, May 17, 1919, p. 7. For more on the downtown split see William Neil Black, "Empire of Consensus: City Planning, Zoning, and Annexation in Dallas, 1900-1960" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1982), 92-93.

⁸First Southwest Company, *City and County of Dallas Levee Improvement District* (Dallas: The Company, 1951), 3; Lynn W. Landrum, "Men of Dallas Plan," *DMN*, May 12, 1933, p. 10.

⁹"Kessler Plan Body Will be Organized," *DMN*, April 4, 1924, p. 13.

¹⁰Memo, John E. Surratt to George Dealey, March 7, 1924, Dealey Papers, box 3, DHS. For more on the Kessler Association, see Robert B. Fairbanks, "Making Better Citizens in Dallas: The Kessler Plan Association and Consensus Building in the 1920s," *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* 11, no. 2 (Fall 1999): 26-36.

¹¹Memo, John E. Surratt to George Dealey, March 7, 1924, Dealey Papers, box 3, DHS.

¹²Charles L. Sanger, "Activities of the Kessler Plan Associa-

tion of Dallas, Texas," *City Planning* 1 (October 1925): 173.

¹³John Surratt to George Dealey, May 19, 1925, Dealey Papers, box 3, DHS.

¹⁴John E. Surratt, "Dallas Employs New Method to Sell Civic Spirit to 'John Citizen,'" *DMN*, May 8, 1928, p. 10. According to Surratt, the Kessler Plan Association's comprehensive emphasis allowed it to "have free rein to work and co-operate with labor unions and the manufacturer's associations, with the poor man and the rich men, with mothers clubs, the service groups, the Chamber of Commerce—in short, with all those forces of the city and county which have within them the instinct and power for progress," *ibid.*

¹⁵In June 1925, the mayor appointed a five-man committee on the recommendation of the City Plan Commission to develop such a program. Ulrickson Committee, *Forward Dallas!* (Dallas: The Committee, 1927). For more on the Ulrickson Program, see Robert B. Fairbanks, *For the City as a Whole: Planning, Politics, and the Public Interest in Dallas, Texas, 1900-1965* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press 1998), 51-56.

¹⁶"\$23,900,000 Bond Issue and Amendments Carry Easily," *DMN*, December 16, 1927, p. 1, 12. The chief opposition to the bonds and charter amendments developed in certain South Dallas precincts and the western edge of Oak Cliff. Strong support came from North and East Dallas and some large Oak Cliff precincts.

¹⁷First Southwest Company, *City and County of Dallas Levee Improvement District* (Dallas: The Company, 1951), 3; John E. King, "Floods Never Again to Split City in Twain," *DMN*, October 1, 1935, p. 1.

¹⁸John Surratt to E. H. Cary, December 1, 1930, Surratt Papers, possession of author. The City and County of Dallas Levee Improvement District actually joined with an earlier levee district that had been created to protect agricultural lands near Dallas. "Trinity to be Straightened through City," *DMN*, March 18, 1926, p. 1.

¹⁹*City and County of Dallas Levee Improvement District*, 3-4. The landowners of the other Levee District No. 5 that had combined with City and County of Dallas Levee Improvement District voted to support \$500,000 worth of bonds for the reclamation too.

²⁰Industrial Properties Corporation, "Under the Skyline of Dallas," in *Trinity Industrial District*, 1931; "Industrial Area Opened," *DMN*, September 1, 1946, p. 2. L. A. Stemmons owned 800 shares of stock in the company while L. Storey Stemmons held 200 shares, with Elizabeth Stemmons and John M. Stemmons holding 100 shares each. Together the Stemmons family controlled a majority of the shares available at the time. See the incorporation papers of Industrial Properties Corporation, October 21, 1930, Exhibit R, Surratt papers, author's possession.

²¹"Trinity Project Gains Attention," *Dallas* (April 1930): 27.

²²There are numerous references to this in the Surratt papers and the *Dallas Times Herald*. See for instance John R. John, Engineer, Dallas City Water Works, to F. G. Cunningham, Fuller and McClinton, Engineers, February 4, 1929, Surratt Papers, author's possession. Also see another letter between John and Cunningham, February 21, 1929, Surratt papers, author's possession.

²³Ernest Sharpe, *G. B. Dealey of the Dallas News* (New York: Henry Holt, 1955), 237; "Trinity River Flood Control—One of Greatest American Projects," *Dallas* (October 1929): 13-14.

²⁴"U.D.A. Ticket Stand on Levee Funds," *DMN*, March 27, 1929, p. 3 and "G.D.A. Men Fire Shafts at Opponents," *DMN*, March 30, 1929, p. 4. "Morrow Declines to Debate Levee Funds," *DMN*, March 31, 1931, p. 1.

²⁵Fairbanks, *For the City as a Whole*, 67.

²⁶"Airport Tract Near Midtown Offered Dallas," *DMN*, April 25, 1930, p. 17.

²⁷"Taxes Slow, City \$248 in Red; Will Clean Slate," *DMN*, May 7, 1930, p. 17.

²⁸*Dallas Times Herald*, June 6, 1930 (hereafter cited as *DTH*).

²⁹"Crowd of 1,000 As 'Taxpayers' Balks at Raise," *DMN*, June 8, 1930, p. 15.

³⁰"Tax Fuss Lifts to Reveal Real Fight Against Flood Control Project," *DMN*, June 10, 1930, p. 13.

³¹"Flood Control Program to be Carried on by Sale of \$400,000 Bonds," *DMN*, June 12, 1930, p. 24.

³²"City-County Taxpayers' League Organized," *DMN*, June 14, 1930, p. 13.

³³"Graves to Ask Action Friday on Sewer Bids," *DMN*, November 11, 1930, p. 13.

³⁴*DTH*, April 16, 1931, p. 4.

³⁵Sharpe, *Dealey of the Dallas News*, 251-52.

³⁶*Forward Dallas: Report of the Ulrickson Committee* (Dallas: The Committee, 1927), 41.

³⁷"Drainage Still Waiting for Engineers," *DMN*, December 23, 1930, p. 13.

³⁸L. A. Stemmons to L. S. Stemmons, March 18, 1938; L. A. Stemmons to John E. Owens, April 24, 1933, Dealey Papers, box 3, DHS; "Storm Sewer Plan Stopped by Injunction," *DMN*, March 13, 1931, p. 13.

³⁹"City Commission Throws Out Bids on Storm Sewers," *DTH*, March 13, 1931, p. 1, 3.

⁴⁰L. A. Stemmons to John E. Owens, April 24, 1933, Dealey Papers, box 3, DHS.

⁴¹*City and County of Dallas Levee Improvement District*, 8.

⁴²For instance, John Stemmons denied the city's request for easement across his property that would allow it to establish a temporary drainage system. L. A. Stemmons to John N.

Edy, March 2, 1933, Dealey Papers, box 3, DHS.

⁴³"Dallas Storm Sewer Plan is Ok'd by City Council," *DMN*, September 21, 1931, p. 1.

⁴⁴"Payment Deferred on Bond Interest," *DMN*, October 4, 1931, p. 5. The District continued to make no debt service payments until 1937 nor did it pay nearly \$3 million in taxes between 1930 and 1936. *City and County of Dallas Levee Improvement District*, 8.

⁴⁵"Dallas Storm Sewer Plan is OK'd by City Council," *DMN*, September 21, 1931, 1. Supporters of the levee district claimed the city purposely delayed letting the storm sewer contracts. John Surratt to Fred Florence, November 6, 1931, Surratt papers, author's possession.

⁴⁶"604,620 of Damages Asked for Destroying Value of Levee Land," *DMN*, September 28, 1933," p. 1, and "Pretrial Set in \$4,000,000 Suit Thursday," *DMN*, March 24, 1938, p. 1.

⁴⁷"Horner Approves Plans for Sewers in Levee District," *DMN*, May 1, 1934, 1; "Much Work Done to Prepare City for Centennial," *DMN*, January 3, 1936, p. 6.

⁴⁸John Surratt to Fred Florence, November 6, 1931, Surratt papers, author's possession. In explaining the declining financial support of the Kessler Plan Association, Surratt said that many declined to renew their membership because they were "afraid of those who opposed the Association."

⁴⁹John Surratt, "Report to President Cary," September 30, 1933, Dealey Papers, box 3, DHS. By the end of 1932 the Surratt had cut the Association's operating expenses by 60 percent. Surratt to Dealey, December 30, 1932, Dealey Papers, box 3, DHS.

⁵⁰The new focus started in the second half of the 1930s. Fred Florence to John E. Surratt, April 9, 1938, Surratt Papers, in author's possession. Also see *Helping Build the Towns that Build Texas*, pamphlet (no date), John Carpenter Papers, UT Arlington Special Collections. In this pamphlet Surratt writes that in 1936 the Kessler Plan Association made a commitment to help smaller towns.

⁵¹For more on the plight of the Citizens Charter Association in the 1930s see Robert B. Fairbanks, *For the City as a Whole*, 89-109.

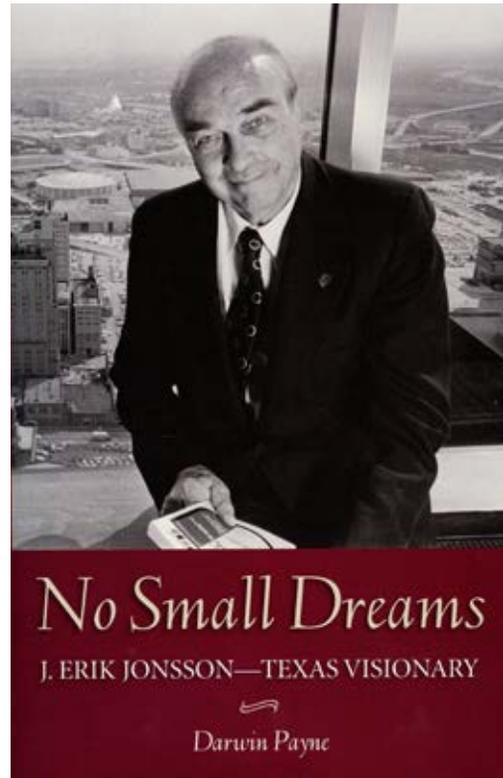
⁵²"River Bottom Issue Seen in 1939 Election," *DTH*, March 2, 1938, p. 1, 14.

Darwin Payne, *No Small Dreams: J. Erik Jonsson—Texas Visionary* (Dallas: DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, 2014, 272 pp., \$25.00).

It's about time that someone has written a comprehensive biography of J. Erik Jonsson. And I can't think of a better person to do this than Darwin Payne, currently one of the most prolific and insightful scholars writing about Dallas's past.

Payne's biography traces Jonsson's extraordinary (and I don't use this word lightly) life from his birth in Brooklyn, New York, on September 6, 1901, as the only child of a Swedish immigrant family, to his death at age ninety-three in Dallas. Payne depicts Jonsson as a "visionary" business leader who helped to transform a small oil exploration company into Texas Instruments, a multinational corporation that led the way with the electronics revolution during the last half of the twentieth century. In addition, after President Kennedy's assassination in 1963, Dallas city leaders tapped Jonsson to become mayor of the city, which was vilified in the press at the time as the "city of hate." Payne argues that Jonsson became the "greatest mayor in [Dallas's] history" during his seven years in office (1963-1971). Though Jonsson's leadership of TI and Dallas is what people remember most about him, Payne's excellent biography reveals that these accomplishments were only the proverbial tip of the iceberg for the Brooklyn native.

What an extraordinary (there's that word again) and impactful life Jonsson had, and Payne, like all good biographers, is careful to discuss every aspect of it and place it within the context of his times. Jonsson's journey took him from delivery boy, dishwasher, stamp dealer, motorcycle salesman, auto mechanic, magazine salesman, munitions factory worker, and car salesman to industrialist, mayor, visionary, and philanthropist. As Payne points out, it was an Horatio Alger story, "but Jonsson's life was played on a bigger canvas, and it was true." Jonsson's personal credo was "to strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield," a line from Tennyson's poem "Ulysses," and a



personal attitude with him that was reflected in everything he did.

And he did a lot. Whether Payne is referencing Jonsson's civic achievements, such as the DFW airport, the I.M. Pei-designed city hall, Goals for Dallas, and the new Central Library that bears his name, or his entrepreneurial leadership at TI on the cusp of the digital revolution, or his work in education as both philanthropist (to numerous colleges and private schools) and instigator for UT-Dallas, the author paints *primarily* a laudatory picture of Jonsson. This is not to say that Payne ignores Jonsson's shortcomings altogether. Indeed, the author discusses Jonsson's strained relationship with his father, an early bankruptcy and business failures, his absence as a father and husband to his family, his sometimes elitist attitude towards civil rights and challenges to his way of thinking, and his inaction and hostility as mayor to working to keep the Dallas Cowboys in Dallas by supporting the building of a new downtown stadium.

Payne is professor of communications emeritus at SMU, and his background as an ac-

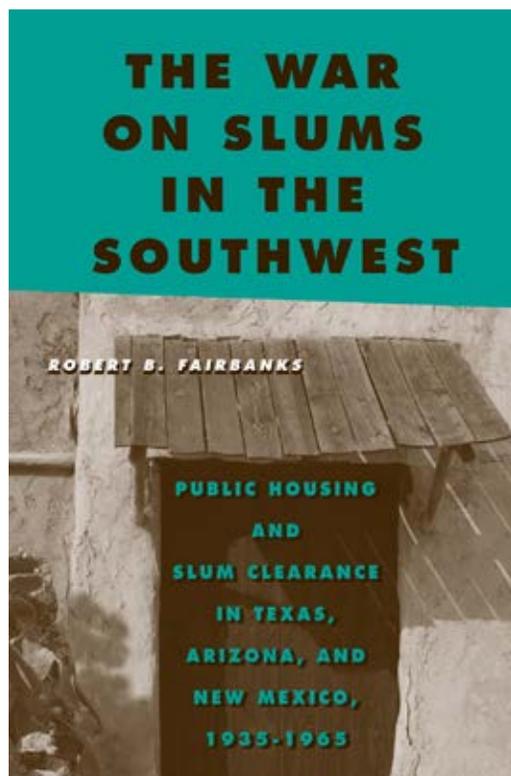
complished journalist is seen in the lively pace of the narrative and the numerous anecdotes and stories that he includes in the book. The biography is prodigiously researched and is based on the voluminous J. Erik Jonsson Collection at SMU's DeGolyer Library, as well as other archival collections around the city, numerous oral history interviews with Jonsson and colleagues, newspaper articles, and published and unpublished secondary works. Payne knows Dallas better than most people, having written several books about the city, including histories of the city, a book about DFW airport, a centennial history of SMU, another about the Dallas Citizens Council, and biographies of local leaders like Judge Sarah T. Hughes and Louis A. Bedford Jr.

This is a must read for anyone interested in Dallas history, TI and its evolution, local landmarks and institutions, the Kennedy assassination and its impact on the city, the development of local educational institutions, and, of course, Jonsson's compelling personal history. The DeGolyer Library published the book and should be commended for producing a handsome, well-illustrated volume that, thanks to Darwin Payne, is hard to put down.

—Gerald D. Saxon
University of Texas at Arlington

Robert B. Fairbanks, *The War on Slums in the Southwest* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014, 252 pp., \$59.50).

Robert B. Fairbanks is a scholar's scholar—meticulous, thoughtful, and fair. Those qualities are on full display in his earlier books, including *Making Better Citizens* (a compelling analysis of housing reform in Cincinnati) and *For the City as a Whole* (an incisive probe of the politics of planning in Dallas). They are also reflected in his latest work, *The War on Slums in the Southwest*. Indeed, with the others it forms a trilogy that solidifies Fairbanks' reputation: no one knows more about the fraught connections between housing policy and urban development at the



local, state, and federal levels.

The War on Slums upends our understanding of the urban southwest, now home to some of the nation's fastest-growing and largest cities. Fairbanks' attention is not drawn to the currently glittering skylines of Albuquerque, Dallas, Houston, Phoenix, and San Antonio but to that less-flashy moment just before these Sunbelt metropolises blew up in size and significance. During the mid-twentieth century, these cities struggled to transform their built environments by wiping out the deplorable slums that their poorest, least-enfranchised residents inhabited. Deciding how to knock down shotgun shacks, tin-roofed shanties, and rickety corrals was one problem. Another was figuring out how to pay for their demolition and the construction of replacement housing. Add to this mix the racial politics of these intensely segregated places that framed the decisions their public officials ultimately reached, an outcome still scored into the urban fabric.

Big D's experience is instructive. Although

a number of reports decried Dallas's housing for the poor, leading one 1911 critic to allege its stock was "viler than any he had seen in any city in America" (p. 39), it was not until the early 1930s that slum clearance and public housing gained serious consideration. Yet its first project, Cedar Springs Place, was for whites only and thus a bittersweet achievement: "it cleared no slums and did not serve the city's neediest minority citizens" (p. 61). That situation changed by the end of World War II, when 1,750 units housed more than 18,000 residents. By 1954, this conservative city had almost tripled the number of units available.

Yet even as Dallas and its peers ramped up slum-clearance efforts in the postwar era, these actions generated pushback. Homebuilders, real estate developers, and free-enterprise activists lambasted these cities' policies, stalling projects everywhere. Residents were also anxious about being displaced. By the 1960s, social critics such as Herbert Gans also raised questions: countering those who assumed "slum life" gave its denizens "attitude and behavior problems peculiar to itself," he asserted instead that "economic and social conditions, rather than the slum itself, have caused these" (p. 3).

Fairbanks uses Gans's insights to mark the end of a critical period in American urban history. City planners and public officials in Dallas, as elsewhere, began emphasizing "the importance of focusing on the needs and desires of the poor," a strategy that signaled "the end of the war on slums for the War on Poverty" (p. 166). This is a brilliant conclusion to a brilliant book.

—Char Miller
Pomona College

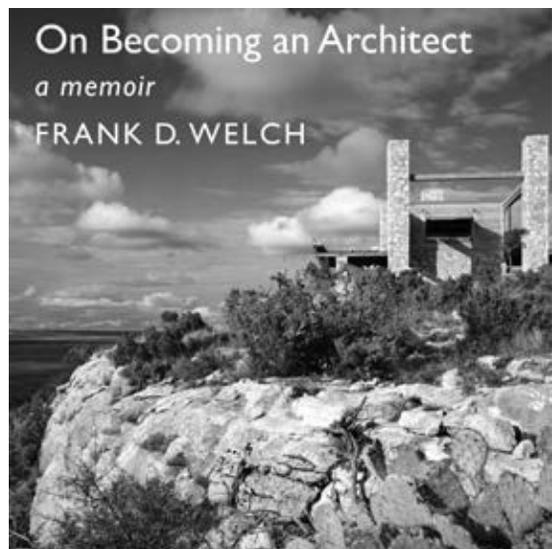
Frank Welch, *On Becoming an Architect* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 2015, 256 pp., \$45.00)

This memoir from noted Texas architect (and the Texas part is important) Frank Welch is not, in any way, an architecture lecture. Reading it is far more akin to sitting down with an old

friend and listening to him tell colorful stories while you both sip on a Scotch. Beginning with his childhood in Sherman, Texas, and ending, at least textually, with his days of practicing architecture in West Texas, Welch spins fascinating yarns of the characters and clients who were a part of his intertwined personal and professional lives.

Don't expect a linear explanation of the influences on this iconic architect's style. There is little in the way of explanations of how "seeing that building would come into play later as I designed X." Instead, we enjoy a freewheeling journal filled with memories of studies at A & M, travels in Paris as a Fulbright Scholar, and nights spent in the homes of Midland society, among others. And these memories are descriptive enough to make readers feel that they are there too. Tastes, smells, sounds, what someone wore or the particular cocktail they drank—all add up to a vivid portrait drawn by a keen observer. Welch is well-known as a photographer also, and that photographer's eye seems to permeate his prose style.

Architects and architecture aficionados might be disappointed in the fact that these memories far outnumber the actual descriptions of projects that Welch designed or collaborated on. It's also interesting to note that, in some cases, the descriptions that *are* there are not nearly as colorful



as the non-architectural details. Well-chosen and well-placed photographs by Welch and others are quite helpful in this respect. Nonetheless, we learn much about the author and do, in the end, learn much about his “Becoming an Architect.” Particular attention is paid to Welch’s relationship with O’Neil Ford, whom he refers to as his “mentor.”

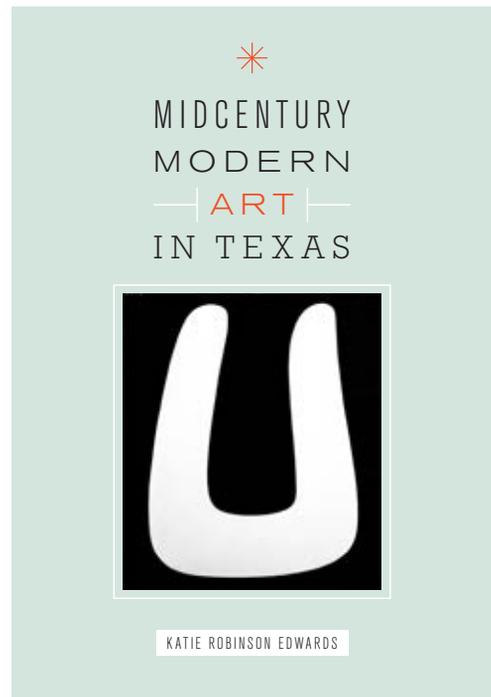
The memoir is incomplete inasmuch as it ends, although on a high note, with the design “that would establish [Welch] as a regional modernist architect and set the course for [his] career.” The Birthday was a weekend structure for client John Dorn on his West Texas ranch. As Welch describes it, it was his first project where he was given “design carte blanche,” and while it has been “transmogrified” by a subsequent owner, it is Welch’s most celebrated work, having been written about in *House Beautiful* and *Architectural Review* and awarded, in the same year as Kahn’s iconic Kimbell Museum, the Texas Society of Architects’ Twenty-Five Year Award. A pinnacle of success, it is a fitting end to the book.

However, it was not an end to a career. Welch remains active to this day and, thankfully, the appendix includes photos of most, if not all, of his works both before and after the 1964 commission for Dorn. Images of churches, civic buildings, and residences, including ones for familiar Dallas names like Fogelson, O’Donnell, and Nasher, give us a glimpse of the work of the architect who tells his story so well in the previous pages. One can only hope that the stories for the years not included in this volume have also been captured and will be shared with us in another publication.

—Greg Brown
Dallas Center for Architecture

Katie Robinson Edwards, *Midcentury Modern Art in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014, 392 pp., \$60)

The title *Midcentury Modern Art in Texas* might lead one to conclude that the book will focus only on works of Texas artists of the 1950s.



But Dr. Edwards has a Ph.D. in Art History from the University of Texas and is the Curator of the Umlauf Sculpture Garden/Museum and a Baylor University professor. She is highly conscious (and knowledgeable) of the appropriate place of Texas artists in the larger context of U.S. and world mid-century art. In this book, the term “midcentury” covers the time period from fifteen years after World War I (1933) to fifteen years after World War II (1960).

For the enjoyment of devotees of Texan Robert Preusser, the book opens with a quote from his unpublished “What Is Modern Art,” which he wrote in 1938. There are several chapters that describe various modernist art movements outside Texas that coincided with, or preceded, the midcentury Texas works that are the primary subject of the book. However, the author also points out that, before the U.S. was recognized as the center of post-World War II modernism, Texas artists were experimenting with modern art. In fact, an entire chapter is devoted to the history of the Museum of Modern Art’s “Americans 1942” exhibit, which includ-

ed works by well-regarded Texas artists Everett Spruce and Ottavio Medellin.

So, among its many merits, this book posits that works by Texas modernists should not be criticized as being derivative of any other well-known modernists. The independence of Texas artists, particularly those painting from the 1930s to the 1960s, and their place in the larger American art scene, are convincingly described in this book.

Midcentury Modern Art in Texas traces the early modernist impulse of Texas artists as part of the American modern art scene, to later movements such as Abstraction and Nonobjectivity. The reader can then compare works and artists described in the chapters on Texas Regionalism and the Fort Worth Circle. While works of these two movements arose from different artistic attitudes, they often had a uniquely Texas perspective, and this book shows how the Texas modernists also had a unique way of communicating their artistic visions. The chapter on the Art School at the University of Texas, home of nationally-recognized teacher/artists since the 1930s, is also important in understanding how Texas artists fit into modern art history. Much Texas

art has enjoyed a recent surge of collectability, and part of that surge could be attributed to the growing awareness of some of the threads of the teacher/student relationships described in the book.

Super color reproductions of many works enhance the book, and the bibliography and chapter end notes are a treasure trove of information for collectors.

Texas has an independent state of mind, and the artists who called Texas home reflect that independent streak. Regardless of your own art interests, the book's descriptions of how Texas modern art is associated with the American and world art scenes make it well worth being in the library of every collector or devotee of mid-century modern art.

—Scott Chase

Other Review Copies Received

Rosa Walston Latimer, *Harvey Houses of Texas* (Charleston: The History Press, 2014, 110 pp., \$19.99)

David G. McComb, *The City in Texas: A History* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015, 342 pp., \$35)

Santa Fe Terminal Complex

The Mission Revival style Santa Fe Terminal Complex was constructed in 1924 as a series of four buildings containing the headquarters for the Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe Railway and the Southwest's largest merchandising center. Underground railroad tracks served the complex and goods could be unloaded and delivered to the various buildings by a system of small steam locomotives in tunnels. Building No. 1 served as office space and still does. A garment center was located in No. 2 and is now loft apartments. No. 3 and No. 4 were both warehouses. No. 3 was demolished while No. 4 was converted into a hotel. In 1926, J.M. Hagggar started a clothing manufacturing company in the complex, later known as Hagggar Clothing, and coined the term "slacks" for clothing intended to be worn during "slack time." Buildings No. 1, 2, and 4 are listed on the National Register of Historic Places and 1 and 2 are City of Dallas Landmarks.



FOR HISTORY'S SAKE

PRESERVATION DALLAS

2922 Swiss Avenue Dallas, TX 75204

Tel. 214.821.3290 Fax 214.821.3575

www.preservationdallas.org



STEP INTO THE PAST

Nestled within 13 tree-lined acres, Dallas Heritage Village is comprised of 38 historic structures, including a working farm, elegant Victorian homes, a school, a church and turn-of-the-last-century Main Street. Visit with characters in historic costumes during "Living History Seasons" – March 1-June 30 and October 1 - December 30.

The Village is open Tuesday - Saturday,
10 a.m. - 4 p.m. & Sunday, Noon - 4 p.m.

COMING SOON. . .

Dallas Jazz Age Sunday Social
Sunday, March 22 • Noon - 4 p.m.

History with a Twist
Saturday, April 25 • 6 p.m. - 11 p.m.

Old Fashioned Fourth
Friday, July 4 • 10 a.m. - 3 p.m.

For more information, visit
www.DallasHeritageVillage.org or call 214-413-3674

 Find us on Facebook



1515 South Harwood; Dallas, Texas
One block south of the Farmer's Market



OLD RED MUSEUM

OF DALLAS COUNTY HISTORY & CULTURE

www.oldred.org



Discover What Made Dallas Great

The Old Red Museum of Dallas County History and Culture provides visitors with engaging experiences that help them to discover the fascinating stories of Dallas County's pioneers, outlaws and entrepreneurs from prehistory to the 21st century.

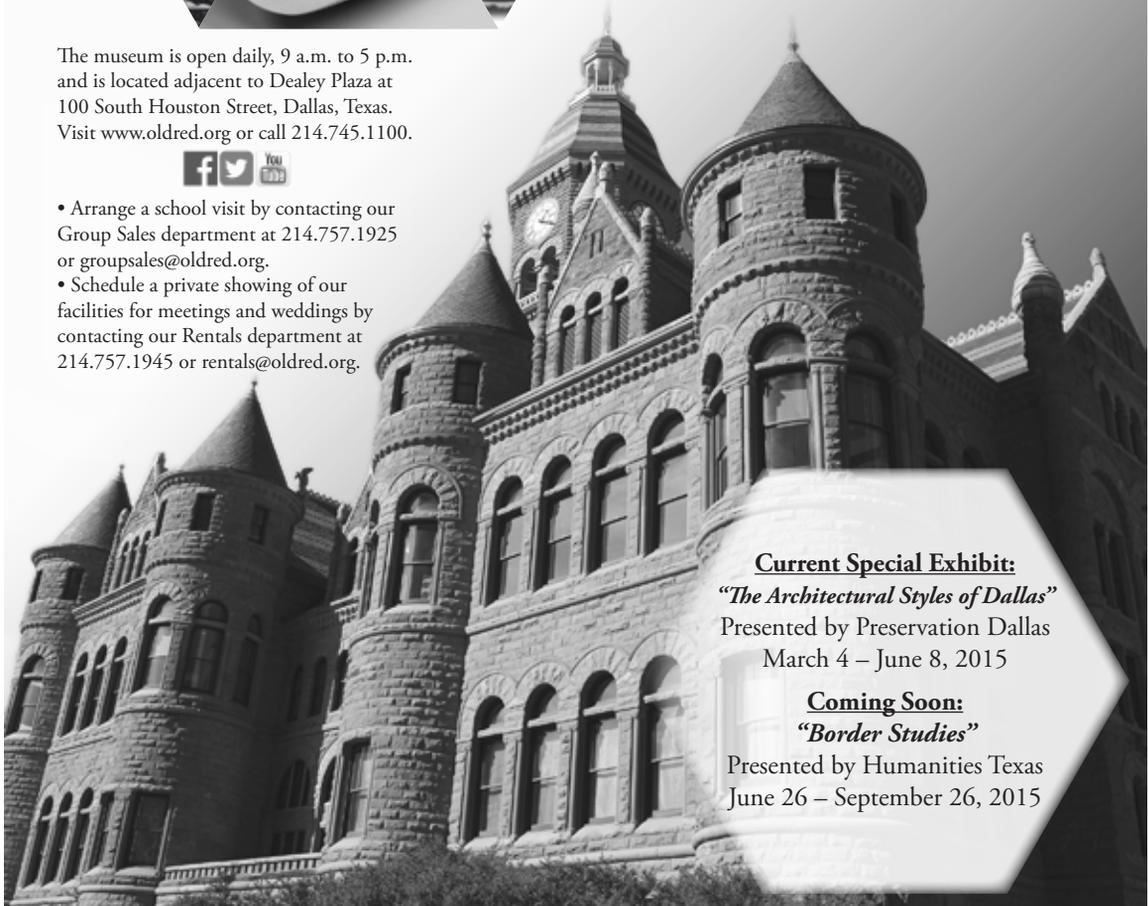
Set within the historic walls of the "Castle in the City", iconic artifacts and historic images are enhanced with theaters and touchscreen kiosks allowing you to select interviews, film clips and music that bring the story of Dallas to life.



The museum is open daily, 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. and is located adjacent to Dealey Plaza at 100 South Houston Street, Dallas, Texas. Visit www.oldred.org or call 214.745.1100.



- Arrange a school visit by contacting our Group Sales department at 214.757.1925 or groupsales@oldred.org.
- Schedule a private showing of our facilities for meetings and weddings by contacting our Rentals department at 214.757.1945 or rentals@oldred.org.



Current Special Exhibit:

"The Architectural Styles of Dallas"

Presented by Preservation Dallas

March 4 – June 8, 2015

Coming Soon:

"Border Studies"

Presented by Humanities Texas

June 26 – September 26, 2015

SAVE THE DATES

PARK CITIES HISTORIC AND PRESERVATION SOCIETY

Distinguished Speaker Luncheon

Wednesday, April 1, Dallas Country Club | 11:15 AM - 1:30 PM

Featuring Dr. R. Gerald Turner

2015 Historic Home Tour

Saturday April 11 | 10:00 AM - 3:00 PM

A Century of Classics

2015 Home Tour will feature four important and architecturally interesting homes of the Park Cities.
The Funds raised from the Home Tour will be used to further the mission of preserving the historic, architectural, cultural and aesthetic legacy of the Park Cities.



(214) 528-0021 | info@pchps.org | www.pchps.org

PHOTO CREDITS

Ted A. Campbell: pp. 5, 8, 16

Dallas Historical Society: pp. 22, 29, 31, 35, 36, 50, 52, 53, 54

Dallas Municipal Archives: p. 49 (top)

DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University

Belo Records: p. 51

Cockrell Family Papers: p. 37

DeGolyer Library Map Collection: pp. 11, 12

Everett L. DeGolyer Jr. Collection of United States Railroad Photographs: p. 24

Manuscript Collection 0051c: p. 7

Jean Humphreys: p. 58

Mark Rice: Front and back covers, pp. 2, 72

Texas/Dallas History & Archives Division, Dallas Public Library: pp. 9, 17, 28, 33, 49 (bottom), 55, 57, 70

Texas General Land Office, Austin

Detail of "Map of the Surveyed Part of Peters Colony, Texas," 1852, Henry O. Hedgecox, draftsman, Mine & Bruder, lithographers, Map #3155: p. 13

2015 LIVING HISTORY SERIES

Hear first-hand accounts of President Kennedy's assassination, the aftermath, and the impact of his legacy.

President Kennedy visits Mexico City on June 29, 1962.
Cecil Stoughton / John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston

April 18
BOB WELCH

Reporter and cameraman for Dallas
NBC affiliate WBAP-TV

May 9
KENNETH GIANNOULES

U.S. Secret Service agent
for three presidents

September 19
JERRY KASTEN

Dallas Police Reserves member

October 17
SCOTT GARBE

Songwriter who wrote
The Kennedy Suite in 2013

November 7
MARY WOODWARD PILLSWORTH

Reporter for *The Dallas Morning News* and
witness to the assassination

See our website for the complete Living History program schedule and to buy tickets.
All programs begin at 2 pm and require a general admission ticket (\$16 adult/\$13 youth).
Parking is available adjacent to the Museum.



**THE SIXTH FLOOR MUSEUM
AT DEALEY PLAZA**

411 Elm Street | Dallas, TX 75202 | 214.747.6660 | jfk.org

17TH ANNUAL LEGACIES DALLAS HISTORY CONFERENCE



The organizers of the Seventeenth Annual *Legacies* Dallas History Conference welcome proposals from both professional and lay historians on topics related to the theme: “**Breaking the Mold.**”

Dallas is often seen as a city uncomfortable with dissent. But its history contains many examples of individuals and groups that challenged existing norms, in fields as diverse as politics, business, the arts, religion, sports, issues of social justice, and historic preservation. In the process, they made an impact on the community, often expanding opportunities for themselves and others.

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 31, 2015**, to “Dallas History Conference, 1515 S. Harwood St., Dallas, TX 75215,” or by email to: molsen@dallasheritagevillage.org. Those selected will be notified by August 31, 2015.

The **Seventeenth Annual Legacies History Conference** will be held on Saturday, January 30, 2016, at the Hall of State in Fair Park. The conference is jointly sponsored by thirteen organizations: the Dallas Center for Architecture, the Dallas County Historical Commission, the Dallas County Pioneer Association, Dallas Heritage Village, the Dallas Historical Society, the DeGolyer Library at SMU, the Old Red Museum of Dallas County History & Culture, the Park Cities Historic and Preservation Society, Preservation Dallas, The Sixth Floor Museum at Dealey Plaza, the Texas/Dallas History & Archives Division of the Dallas Public Library, the Texas State Historical Association, and the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies at SMU.

CONTRIBUTORS



Ted A. Campbell serves as associate professor of church history at Southern Methodist University. A graduate of Lon Morris College, the University of North Texas (BA), Oxford University (MA), and SMU (PhD), he is the author of nine books. A former member of the Landmark Commission of the City of Dallas, he also writes on the history of the Dallas area and has produced a video history of the northern area of Lake Highlands in Dallas where he resides.



Jeff Dunn is Attorney at Law with Munsch Hardt Kopf & Harr, PC. Dunn served as Chairman of the Dallas County Historical Commission and Trustee for the Sixth Floor Museum at Dealey Plaza, 1999–2003, and is currently a member of the Board of Directors of the Texas State Historical Association. His article, “The Development of Automobile Roads in Dallas County, 1905–1926,” was published in the spring 2000 issue of *Legacies*.



Robert B. Fairbanks earned his Ph.D. in history at the University of Cincinnati and is a professor of urban history at the University of Texas at Arlington. He has written extensively on Dallas, including *For the City as a Whole: Politics, Planning, and the Public Interest in Dallas, Texas, 1900–1965* (1998). His latest book, *The War on Slums in the Southwest*, is reviewed in this issue. He was a member of the storyline team for the Old Red Museum and serves on the editorial advisory board for *Legacies*.



Thomas H. Smith received his Ph.D. in history from Kent State University. He has served as Executive Director of Old City Park, the Legends of the Game Baseball Museum at the Ballpark, and the Old Red Museum of Dallas County History & Culture, and as Interim Director of the Dallas Historical Society. A member of the Editorial Advisory Board of *Legacies*, he wrote about the coming of the Texas & Pacific Railroad for the fall 2013 issue.

Book Reviewers

Greg Brown is program director for the Dallas Center for Architecture, where he arranges lectures, film screenings, exhibits, and other events related to architecture. He leads public tours of downtown Dallas architecture. He has also served as the director of the AFI DALLAS International Film Festival and managing director of the Meadows School of the Arts and the Meadows Museum at Southern Methodist University. . . . Dallas attorney **Scott Chase** collects works by Texas artists from the Lone Star Regionalist, Fort Worth Circle, and Texas Contemporary movements and serves on the board of Dallas Heritage Village. In addition to writing articles on the history and architecture of Fair Park, he was married in the Hall of State in 1993. . . . **Char Miller** is currently the Director and W.M. Keck Professor of Environmental Analysis at Pomona College in Claremont, California. During his Texas days, he was a professor of history at Trinity University in San Antonio and a columnist for the *Texas Observer*. His growing list of publications includes *Deep in the Heart of San Antonio: Land and Life in South Texas* and *Public Lands/Public Debates: A Century of Controversy*. . . . **Gerald D. Saxon** is an Associate Professor of History and former Dean of Libraries at the University of Texas at Arlington. His experience as an archivist and his interest in maps have contributed to many publications, including *Collecting Texas: Essays on Texana Collectors and the Creation of Research Libraries* and *Historic Texas from the Air*.

Dallas THEN & NOW

Grace Methodist Church, Dallas, Texas.



Two small East Dallas churches, one on Floyd Street and another on Haskell Avenue, were merged in 1902 to form the Grace Methodist-Episcopal church. The combined churches erected a fine building at Haskell and Junius in the fall of 1903. The structure would be enlarged in later years and survives today as a priceless landmark in East Dallas, home to Grace United Methodist Church.

—Mark Rice

OVERLOOKING DALLAS-OAK CLIFF VIADUCT, TOWARD CITY, BY NIGHT, DALLAS, TEXAS.



THE LONGEST CONCRETE STRUCTURE OF ITS KIND IN THE WORLD, COST ABOUT \$700,000.
LENGTH 5,840 FEET, 71 FEET ABOVE LOW WATER MARK.