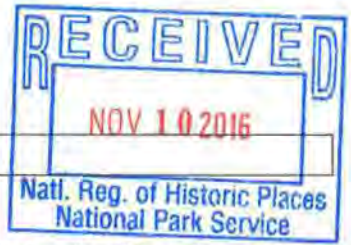


916

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
National Register of Historic Places Registration Form



1. Name of Property

Historic Name: St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church
Other name/site number: St. Paul Methodist Church (1939-1968); St. Paul United Methodist Church
Name of related multiple property listing: N/A

2. Location

Street & number: 1816 Routh Street
City or town: Dallas State: Texas County: Dallas
Not for publication: Vicinity:

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria.

I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following levels of significance:
 national statewide local

Applicable National Register Criteria: A B C D

Mark Wolfe State Historic Preservation Officer 11/7/16
Signature of certifying official / Title Date
Texas Historical Commission
State or Federal agency / bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria.
Signature of commenting or other official Date
State or Federal agency / bureau or Tribal Government

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that the property is:
 entered in the National Register
 determined eligible for the National Register
 determined not eligible for the National Register
 removed from the National Register
 other, explain:

Joe Edson B. Beall 12-27-16
Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Private
<input type="checkbox"/>	Public - Local
<input type="checkbox"/>	Public - State
<input type="checkbox"/>	Public - Federal

Category of Property

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	building(s)
<input type="checkbox"/>	district
<input type="checkbox"/>	site
<input type="checkbox"/>	structure
<input type="checkbox"/>	object

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
1	0	buildings
0	0	sites
0	0	structures
0	0	objects
1	0	total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register: 0

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions: Religion/religious facility = Church

Current Functions: Religion/religious facility = Church

7. Description

Architectural Classification: Late 19th and early 20th century revivals: Late Gothic Revival = Collegiate Gothic; Romanesque Revival

Principal Exterior Materials: Brick

Narrative Description (see continuation sheets 6 through 16)

St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	A	Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
<input type="checkbox"/>	B	Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	C	Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
<input type="checkbox"/>	D	Property has yielded, or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations: A (Religious property)

Areas of Significance: Social History; Ethnic Heritage: (Black); Architecture

Period of Significance: 1927-1966

Significant Dates: 1927, 1946, 1951, 1952, 1962

Significant Person (only if criterion b is marked): NA

Cultural Affiliation (only if criterion d is marked): NA

Architect/Builder: Attributed to M. H. (or N.H.) Black, architect (1911-1913); Charles H. Leinbach, architect (1924-1927), Hardeman-Belcher Co., contractor (1913); M. A. White (1924-1927), contractor

Narrative Statement of Significance (see continuation sheets 17 through 60)

9. Major Bibliographic References

Bibliography (see continuation sheets 61 through 68)

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #

Primary location of additional data:

- State historic preservation office (*Texas Historical Commission, Austin*)
- Other state agency
- Federal agency
- Local government
- University
- Other -- Specify Repository Diane E. Williams, Architectural Historian, P.O. Box 32332, Santa Fe, NM 87594

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): N/A

St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property: less than one (1) acre

Coordinates: Latitude: 32.792212°
Longitude: -96.796387°

Datum if other than WGS84: N/A

Verbal Boundary Description: All of lot 5, Block 305, Peak's Addition to the City of Dallas as currently shown on the Dallas County Appraisal District Lot and Block maps.

Boundary Justification: The nominated property encompasses all of Lot 5, which is the land owned by St. Paul United Methodist Church and includes all the property historically associated with the church and the now demolished ca. 1895 parsonage that was located at the south end of church property.

11. Form Prepared By

Name/title: Diane Elizabeth Williams, Architectural Historian
Organization: for St. Paul United Methodist Church
Address: P. O. Box 32332
City or Town: Santa Fe State: New Mexico Zip Code: 87594
Email: historyservices@yahoo.com
Telephone: 505 474-5705
Date:

Additional Documentation

Maps (see continuation sheets 69 and 70)

Additional items (see continuation sheets 71 through 90)

Photographs (see continuation sheet 91 through 112)

St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

PHOTO INVENTORY

St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church
Dallas, Dallas County, Texas
Photographed by Diane Elizabeth Williams, May 2015 and November 2015

- Photo 1:** Front (Southwest) and Side (Southeast) Elevations, Oblique, camera facing north.
- Photo 2:** Streetscape View, Routh Street and Front Elevation of Church, camera facing northwest.
- Photo 3:** Front (Southwest) Elevation, Detail, Gable, camera facing north.
- Photo 4:** Rear (Northeast) Elevation, camera facing southwest.
- Photo 5:** Side (Northwest) Elevation, camera facing southeast.
- Photo 6:** Rear (Northeast) Elevation, Detail, Hood Mold, camera facing northwest.
- Photo 7:** Side (Northwest) Elevation, Detail, Stained Glass Window, camera facing southeast.
- Photo 8:** Front (Southwest) Elevation, Detail, Entry Portico, camera facing north.
- Photo 9:** Front (Southwest) Elevation, Detail, Basement Door with Window, camera facing north.
- Photo 10:** Front (Southwest) Elevation, Detail, First Floor Doors, camera facing north.
- Photo 11:** Side (Southeast) Elevation and Church Parking Lot, camera facing northwest.
- Photo 12:** Rear (Northeast) Elevation, Detail, Brick Color Variation, camera facing southwest.
- Photo 13:** Interior View, Sanctuary and Choir, camera facing north northwest.
- Photo 14:** Interior view, Corner Pulpit, camera facing southeast.
- Photo 15:** Side (Southeast View, Secondary Entry (Elevator), camera facing northwest.
- Photo 16:** Interior View, Gallery, Original Glass Ceiling Light Fixture, camera facing southwest.
- Photo 17:** Interior View, Northeast Sanctuary Wall, Stained Glass Window, camera facing northwest.
- Photo 18:** Interior View, Northwest Sanctuary Wall, Detail, Stained Glass Window, camera facing northwest.
- Photo 19:** Interior View, Northwest Sanctuary Wall, Stained Glass Window, camera facing northwest.
- Photo 20:** Rear (Northeast) Elevation, Detail, Smoke Damage, camera facing southwest.
- Photo 21:** Streetscape View, Church Parking Lot and Wade Alley, camera facing northwest.
- Photo 22:** Rear (Northeast) Elevation, Detail, Mechanical Area Entry, camera facing northwest.

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Narrative Description

St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church (St. Paul Methodist Church, St. Paul church) was constructed beginning in 1913 and completed by 1927. Alterations were made in 1972, in the 1980s, ca. 1996, and possibly at other unknown dates, and during a 2006-2010 stabilization and rehabilitation work program. The church is a rare surviving example in Dallas of an early twentieth-century, architect-designed African American church that also incorporates the construction contributions of its membership and community residents. The church also is a rare example within the downtown Dallas area of the Collegiate Gothic Revival style. Located on Lot 5 of Block 305 in the Peak's Addition to the City of Dallas, the church's initial design is attributed to architect M. H. (or N. H.) Black, and its final form to architect Charles H. Leinbach, each of whom is thought to have contributed different elements. likely prepared the ca. 1911 concept drawing for the existing building. In 1924, Charles H. Leinbach made modifications to the original Collegiate Gothic Revival concept that resulted in the current edifice.¹ Church construction began January 13, 1913 and continued intermittently as funding became available. By 1921 the church consisted of a one-story partially raised basement, roofed with a combination of composition and shingle materials. The present church's footprint is nearly identical to that of the basement as it was in 1921. A variety of brick colors are visible on the northeast exterior (rear) wall of the church, and during 2006-2010 rehabilitation work differing levels of skill in laying up the brick were uncovered in interior basement walls, supporting church oral tradition. The ca. 1911 architect's concept drawing (**Figure 1**) and a ca. 1940 historic photograph (**Figure 2**) shows an exterior nearly identical to the present church. St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church received a Dallas Landmark designation in 1982 and an Official Texas Historical Marker in 2013.

General Setting

Dallas is the seat of Dallas County and a major metropolitan area in northeast Texas (**Map 1**). St. Paul M.E. Church (**Photo 1**) is located on Routh Street at the north end of what is now the Dallas Arts District, just north of downtown Dallas (**Map 2**), in the area formerly occupied by the now-demolished Freedman's Town/North Dallas neighborhood. The church is wedged between the mid-rise buildings and museum spaces of the arts district on the south and west, and parking lots and the Woodall Rodgers Freeway (Texas 366) on the northwest (**Map 3**). This highway, (originally Spur 366) and North Central Expressway (U.S. 75), located a few blocks northeast of the church, created physical and visual barriers within the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Freedman's Town/North Dallas neighborhood served by the church and were contributors to the depopulation of the area. Southeast of the church is One Arts Plaza, a large, mid-rise, mixed-use complex. Surrounding the church on the northwest, north and northeast is a large surface parking lot serving the adjacent One Arts Plaza. A small parking lot located at the southeast end of the church property occupies the former site of the ca. 1895-parsonage (**Figure 3**), which remained on church property into the 1950s or early 1960s and was demolished at an unknown date. The church parking lot is included in the boundaries of the nominated property. The church is sited at the northwest corner of its lot and extends northeast and southeast (**Map 3**). Directly across Routh Street is Booker T. Washington High School for the Performing and Visual Arts, formerly Booker T. Washington Technical High School, now altered. About one-and-a-half blocks southeast is the altered Moorland YMCA building, now the Dallas Black Dance Theatre. St. Paul M.E. Church is thought to be one of only

¹ Church oral tradition credits prominent African American architect William Sidney Pittman with the design of the church. However, extensive research by Jodi Skipper during her dissertation work on St. Paul church and by Diane E. Williams in 2015 have not uncovered any documentation that confirms this tradition. Pittman and his wife Portia Washington Pittman (daughter of Booker T. Washington) moved to Dallas in 1912. Pittman designed at least one African American church in Dallas, St. James African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church, as well as the Knights of Pythias building. Other designs include churches in Waxahachie and Ft. Worth, in other Texas locations, as well as buildings in Washington, D.C. A concept drawing for the present church appears to have a date of 1911 and a signature that may be that of M.H. Black, the architect listed on the 1913 building permit. Although largely illegible, the drawing signature does not resemble the word Pittman.

St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

three remaining buildings associated with the now-demolished North Dallas neighborhood. It is the only one of these three buildings to retain both exterior integrity and original use. Dallas natives, and especially descendants of Freedman's Town/North Dallas, often refer to these three buildings as Mind, Body, Spirit, with the high school representing the "mind", the Y. M. C. A., the "body," and St. Paul, the "spirit."

The church faces southwest onto Routh Street² (historically named at various times Burford Street and Good Street), recently re-designed as a widened and divided thoroughfare (**Photo 2**) that connects the residential and commercial area northwest of the Woodall Rodgers Freeway with the arts district and St. Paul church. The church occupies most of its approximately 174 foot long by 92 foot wide lot (Lot 5 of Block 305)³ (**Figure 4**), and landscaping is minimal. At the foot of the primary elevation are small shrubs planted between the church and the sidewalk (see **Photo 1**). The northwest elevation, which formerly abutted the now vacated Juliette Street (also named Munger Avenue), also features small shrubs in non-historic, at-grade, concrete-edged planters abutting the church. A small tree enhances the north corner of the church property, while a small lawn area, at-grade flower bed and small trees separate the southeast elevation of the church from the associated adjacent parking lot.

The present church replaced a ca. 1891 two-story brick,⁴ rectangular-plan church sited at what was the southeast corner of Routh and Juliette streets, on the northwest corner of the church lot. An area congruent with a portion of the now abandoned Juliette Street abuts the church's northwest property line and serves as a driveway for the One Arts Plaza parking lot that surrounds the church on the northwest, north and northeast. Wade Alley (formerly Peak's Alley) abuts the church's southeast property line, providing access to the One Arts Plaza parking lot behind the church and the adjacent One Arts Plaza, which is southeast of the church.

Exterior

St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church is a two-story, irregular plan, brick church with three corner towers of about two-and-one-half stories and one three-story corner tower. The church sits on a partially raised, brick basement, present by 1921,⁵ and features asymmetrical massing, exterior load-bearing brick walls, and largely symmetrical fenestration patterns. The church roof is a flat, built-up or coal tar pitch type with a ballasted surface (Rollins communication 12-10-2015). A raised parapet wall finished with a concrete or cast-stone cap includes three gable details (**Photo 3**) and screens the roof. Current landscaping is similar to that seen in a 1940s photograph of the church (**Figure 1**).

² The church is sited on roughly a 45-degree angle to cardinal north. Its front elevation is on a southwest axis, the side elevations roughly face northwest and southeast, and the rear elevation roughly faces northeast. Most documents discussing the church that include a north arrow on maps show north as parallel to Routh Street. However, Routh Street is oriented to the northwest, not the north.

³ When completed, the present church occupied a lot measuring 69 feet by 174 feet. The church footprint as shown on the 1921 Sanborn map occupied virtually the entire 69-foot lot width. Since that time, additional land was purchased, with the final parcel added in 1962 to form the present church site.

⁴ The first St. Paul church was a ca. 1875 rectangular plan wood-frame building. It apparently was a victim of arson in 1876 or 1877, but according to a *Dallas Morning News* article (1-2-1887:4) was still in use in 1887, suggesting that the damage had been repaired. Sometime after 1887, but probably about 1891, a brick church was built on the southeast corner of Juliette and Burford streets. This building appears on the 1899 and 1905 Sanborn maps as a two-story building with a two-story entry porch centered in the Juliette Street façade. According to church tradition, this brick church was demolished in 1917 or 1918, but the construction history of the present church suggests the ca. 1891 church was demolished in 1911 or 1912. No demolition permit was located.

⁵ Original plans were not located for the church, although the 1921 Sanborn map showing the church basement footprint states "from plans." They were likely destroyed in the 1973 church fire. Good Fulton & Farrell, Architects, of Dallas, prepared current church elevation drawings and interior floor plans as part of their 2006-2010 rehabilitation work program.

St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Massing is divided into two distinct sections. The northerly building section is rectangular with a square corner tower at the southwest, northwest and north corners (see **Photo 1**). The southerly building section is lower in height and more horizontal than the rectangular block and includes straight and curved walls forming a large space similar to the apse associated with medieval Gothic church design.⁶ The flat roof is at a higher elevation over the sanctuary than the flat roof over the curved southerly portion of the building.

Each exterior wall of the church features varying insets and projections that provide visual interest and a play of light and shadow. These elements lighten the imposing character of the massive, fortress-like brick walls. The square tower at the northwest corner of the church (originally at the intersection of Juliette and Burford streets) rises to approximately three stories (see **Photo 1**), while the other two towers are approximately two-and-one-half stories high; all originally contained stairs that accessed the basement, first and second floors. Today, the southwest and northwest towers continue to access all three floors, while the north tower accesses only the first and second floors. All three towers are detailed with parapet level battlements, a design feature associated with the Collegiate Gothic Revival style, and with corner buttresses also associated with that style. A square, two-and-one-half story elevator tower, built during the 2006-2010 rehabilitation project conducted by the Dallas firm of Good Fulton & Farrell, Architects, is at the southeast corner of the building (**Photo 3**, left side of image). The tower displays a slightly lower height than the original three towers, features a simplified parapet and faced with a slightly different color brick. Instead of windows, the tower includes slightly recessed rectangular panels containing stone panels relating church history. In these ways, the tower is differentiated from but compatible with, the massing, design, materials and colors of the original church, and its towers.

The church towers provide a vertical counterpoint to the church's strong horizontal lines. The tallest tower (**Photo 4**) would have been visible above the one-and-two story character of the surrounding residential and commercial neighborhood, and was likely the tower from which the church chimes rang out. The three original towers define the north and northwest corners of the building and the southerly termination of the interior sanctuary space; the tower at the north corner features a brown brick instead of the red of the other two original towers. The brown brick probably reflects the purchase of small lots of brick that were similar, but not identical, in color. Cast stone or concrete courses included in the tower designs highlight the towers' slightly stepped massing (see **Photo 1**). To the south of the southerly tower on the primary façade is the curved building section originally used as overflow sanctuary seating and historically known as the annex. This space was divided into a parlor, prayer room, chancel and sacristy during the ca. 1996 work program, and was modified again during the 2006-2010 project into a reception area called the welcome center, which continues to provide additional seating for church services and events, and retains the ca. 1996 secondary rooms associated with church liturgy.

Church fenestration is largely symmetrical, but some variation is present. Large, two-story-high wood sash 3/3 stained-glass windows are set within Gothic Revival influenced ogee-arch openings in two-story gabled bays on the southwest, north and northwest elevations (**Photo 4** and **Photo 5**). These windows, along with their gabled bays, identify the interior sanctuary space and provide additional verticality to the exterior design. The stained-glass windows on the northeast (rear) elevation are topped with a Gothic Revival influenced brick hood mold and a dentilated brick course (**Photo 6**). The stained glass windows on the southwest (front) and northwest elevations (**Photo 7**) do not include the hood mold or dentilated course. All three gable ends feature intricate carved stone, or cast-stone, designs (see **Photo 3**) positioned above the stained-glass windows. The towers display varying fenestration arrangements, but all openings include windows or vents within segmental brick arch openings. Each of the original three towers include exterior doorways that provide access into the sanctuary. The towers at the northwest and

⁶ In medieval Gothic churches, the apse is an interior semi-circular space at the west end of the nave (sanctuary) that sometimes contained a colonnaded aisle area connecting the side-aisles in the main portion of the nave to the apse.

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southwest corners of the sanctuary open onto the Routh Street entry portico (**Photo 8**), while the north tower opens onto an adjacent parking lot (**Photo 4**), but originally opened onto Juliette Street.

Stylistically, the church displays a modest Collegiate Gothic Revival influenced design, which was typically used for universities, schools and other secular buildings, but also was applied to church and chapel design. The church also displays Romanesque Revival elements in the segmental arches, the tripartite arch arrangement of the entry portico and dentilated detailing (see **Photo 8**). These two styles were sometimes paired.

The basement present by 1921 served as the church until the building was completed between 1924 and 1927. The 1921 Sanborn map shows a two-story, square, brick tower with a 45-foot-tall spire at the corner of Juliette and Burford streets (**Figure 5**). This feature identified the basement church. The 1921 Sanborn map also shows four basement level windows on the northeast elevation and one on the southeast elevation. No windows are shown on the other elevations, and no doors are indicated. The basement level now is pierced on the front (southwest) elevation by historic-era 1/1 wood sash double hung sash windows set within segmental brick arches and featuring privacy glass and clear glass panes. Doorways accessing the front elevation basement are reached by two sets of concrete steps that descend from the sidewalk to the left and the right of the entry portico's center point. Each set of concrete steps leads to what appears to be a historic-era, but not the original, wood door, detailed with a single window in the upper third of the door (**Photo 9**). Each door is set perpendicular to the primary façade wall. These two doors are separated by a historic-era, but post-1921, 1/1 wood sash window set in a segmental arch opening. Some exterior doorways retain their original/historic-era wood framing, but do not retain their original wood doors. Historically, entry into the basement church was likely from the corner tower at Juliette and Burford streets or through a below-grade door along Burford Street.

The first floor of the church's primary elevation is distinguished by an inset, flat roof, triple-arch, brick entry portico. Exterior concrete steps lead from the street to the central arch, which provides access to the exterior portico. A window-like arch flanks the central arch on each side (see **Photo 8**), a feature associated with Romanesque Revival design. The portico leads to non-original double metal doors located at each end of the portico within original segmental-arch openings (**Photo 10**). These doors are placed on a right angle to the façade and recreate the placement and orientation of the primary façade basement doors. The first-floor entry portico partially blocks exterior views of the primary façade sanctuary wall located behind it, and the portico hides virtually all of the large, tripartite, stained-glass window that pierces the wall. For security reasons, metal bars with integral, lockable, door-like gates enclose both the basement level and first floor facades. A 1949 photograph shows similar metal bars across the stairs to each front entry (**Figure 6**).

The first and second floor façades of the rectangular-plan (sanctuary) section of the church feature original, rectangular 1/1 double hung wood sash stained-glass windows arranged as single windows and in combinations of two within brick, segmental-arch openings (**Photo 4 and Photo 5**) or those topped with a brick lintel. Windows in the building's curved wall section are rectangular 1/1 types set within rectangular openings and featuring stained glass (**Photo 1 and Photo 11**). Large wood spandrels covered with what appears to be texturized paint, separate first from second floor windows in the curved building section (see **Photo 1**). In all, the church features thirty-five stained-glass windows covered with protective Plexiglas shields. All stained-glass windows are original.

Exterior brickwork varies in color, age, condition and dimensions, reflecting the long construction period, and supporting the oral tradition that the church was built by members and community residents, some of whom had limited, if any, training in brick laying. The brickwork variations are most visible on the northeast (rear) wall of the church (**Photo 12**), and further support the church tradition that the brick was purchased "one-at-a-time," i.e. in small lots.

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During the 2006-2010 rehabilitation project, archaic and/or unusual construction methods were identified when many interior spaces were stripped to the studs. Among these are the church's load-bearing exterior walls, built of multiple wythes (vertical layers) of unreinforced brick. The number of wythes determines the thickness of the walls, and at St. Paul these vary from location to location within the building. This method was commonly used in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, and differs from modern masonry construction in that walls built in wythes display multiple layers of brick set solidly in mortar. Modern construction incorporates a cavity behind the brick face to permit moisture to drain down and escape, while the wythe method largely traps moisture, setting the stage for slow damage to walls from retained moisture (Good Fulton & Farrell, Architects 2010:3), which did occur in places.

The exterior walls are purposely thickest at the bottom to provide for greater structural strength; they become thinner above. Six wythes are present at the basement floor level with a corresponding wall twenty-four-inches thick; at the main floor. The walls are five wythes and twenty-inches thick; and four wythes, which resulted in walls sixteen-inches thick, are used at the second-floor windows. The parapet wall above the roof steps from sixteen inches to twelve inches to eight-inches thick. No horizontal reinforcement is used between the courses, and this led to horizontal cracking, bowing and shifting of some exterior walls, now repaired.

On the south, west and north elevations, the exterior wythe above grade is a dark body face brick with varying amounts of black minerals, referred to as iron spot. The color and texture of the iron spot varies, reflecting its purchase in small lots as funds were available. The interior and core wythes, as well as the exterior wythe on the east elevation, are made up of a softer orange common brick, some of which are stamped KING B on the top⁷ (Good Fulton & Farrell, Architects 2010:4).⁸

Interior

The church is organized into three levels, or floors: the basement (present by 1921), and the first and second floors (completed by 1927 (**Figures 7, 8 and 9**). The plan of each floor is divided into spaces reflected in the exterior massing — a rectangular area at the northwest end of the building and a small rectangular area and semi-circular section at the southeast end, historically called the annex. A shear wall separates the two building sections. The rectangular portion of the basement is accessed from the interior of the building or from the primary façade via a below-grade entry porch and exterior doors, which access a large fellowship hall, kitchen and service areas. The semi-circular section of the basement houses restrooms, the nursery and classrooms, elevator and HVAC rooms. The first floor of the rectangular building section is largely filled by the sanctuary (**Photo 13**), with its original pews oriented southeastward toward the pulpit (**Photo 14**). The sanctuary area also includes the choir with its original wood-and-iron theater seats, the choir dressing room and a storage room. The southwest side of the sanctuary features a wide circulation aisle that leads to the primary façade and the entry portico, accessed via the first-floor doors of the northwest and southwest stairwells, and which open onto the entry portico. The circulation aisle also connects the sanctuary with the welcome center and

⁷ Research with Dallas city directories into KING B bricks did not reveal the ownership or location of the brick plant. Online research into KING B only turned up King Building Materials, a Dallas based company, which may be the descendant of KING B bricks — the "B" standing for the word "brick," or possibly "building materials."

⁸ Church member Reggie Smith, interviewed ca. 2003, remembered that someone in the church, possibly a trustee, had a connection to a brick yard and the church was able to get culls, which were bricks not selling well, and this was how the church got one brick at a time [or small lots of bricks]. According to Mr. Smith, there was a brickyard nearby on San Jacinto Street, and it could have been a source of the church's brick, because it was so close to the church. Some neighborhood residents or church members may have worked at the brickyard (Cox and R. Smith interview, ca. 2003).

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the elevator. The first floor of the semi-circular building section is occupied by the welcome center, altar room, sacristy, prayer room, and restrooms. The second floor of the rectangular block houses the "L" shaped sanctuary gallery with original wood-and-iron theater seats, restrooms (not originally present), and bride's room (originally the pastor's office), while the semi-circular building section contains recently reconfigured space housing offices, a conference room, restrooms and an HVAC-roof access room. The northwest and southwest towers provide stair access to all three levels. The north tower services the first and second floors only, but originally also accessed the basement. The elevator tower constructed as part of the 2006-2010 rehabilitation project at the southeast corner of the church provides access to all three floors through a secondary, first-floor exterior entry installed in an enclosed historic-era doorway (**Photo 15**). This doorway is sheltered by a cloth awning. Physical investigation of the building and church oral tradition supports the current interior spatial arrangement and uses as largely conforming to those present during the period of significance.

Original or historic-era interior finishes and materials include pressed tin ceilings in three different designs. Tin ceilings are present in some areas of the sanctuary, the gallery and the basement. Original wood flooring remains in the sanctuary and gallery, and linoleum flooring is found in one first-floor restroom. Historic-era hardware remains in one basement-level restroom. The theater seats are original to the church (see **Photo 13** and **Photo 14**), and although the construction date for the pews dates to the 1920s, at an unknown date they replaced the original church pews, which featured wood slat seats. Original, or historic-era incandescent lighting fixtures hang from the sanctuary ceiling (**Photo 13**) and gallery (**Photo 16**). Walls and ceiling areas are largely painted plaster and, except for reconfigured spaces containing new partitions and areas damaged by the 1973 fire, they appear to be original, or to date from the historic period. Paint colors are compatible with historic colors and uses.

The church's grand, original, stained-glass windows include the three, large, tripartite Gothic-influenced stained-glass windows that rise two stories on the southwest, northwest and northeast elevations to illuminate the sanctuary and gallery. The large stained-glass window in the northeast façade features a portrait of Jesus with text below (**Photo 17**), while another includes the eye of God placed above the letters F.L.T (**Photo 18**). At the bottom of this window are the letters G.U.O.O.F.⁹ The stained-glass window in the northwest wall displays a standing portrait of Jesus. Stained glass also fills all the smaller fixed pane and 1/1 double hung wood sash windows located in the sanctuary and gallery space, as well all the windows on the first and second floors of the church. Rectangular stained-glass windows (**Photo 19**) fill the rectangular window openings in the curved wall portion of the church. The rich colors recall the figureless stained glass of early Protestant tradition. Basement level windows contain historic-era privacy glass or clear glass. Most of the stained glass windows were dedicated in memory, or in honor, of church members and organizations. Family sponsors and organizations likely provided the funding for the windows.

Interior basement and first floor spaces of the church incorporate "unusual or archaic" construction methods, perhaps the most of uncommon of which is the "technique used to frame the sanctuary floor, which was exposed when the 2006-2010 rehabilitation project removed the non-historic suspended ceiling, the old mechanical system and the original tin ceiling in the basement-level fellowship hall area (Good Fulton & Farrell, Architects 2010:2)" The sanctuary floor is a curved, complex, sloping form created by wood joists and beams, and supported by round steel columns.

Three concentric curved beams form the primary structure, each built-up of multiple plies of three-quarter inch thick material to curve more easily, with the altar location used as a consistent center point. Each beam runs approximately level, though each is set at a different elevation, creating the

⁹ No information was located on the full organizational name represented by these initials. The O.O.F. suggests that this was a branch of the International Order of Odd Fellows (I.O.O.F.)

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floor slope. Between the curved beams, floor joists below the pew area are oriented radially, and two-by-four wood plates attached to the curved beams form a seat for the joists. Within the smallest ring beam (below the altar), parallel floor joists are oriented perpendicular to the shear wall which defines the south wall of the Sanctuary. Wood furring strips were attached to the bottom of the floor joists and run in a consistent direction square to the room, and utilize consistent spacing. These strips were used to attach the tin ceiling in the basement level fellowship hall area (Good Fulton & Farrell, Architects 2010:2).

Other surviving archaic construction methods include what are probably site-built secondary trusses of dimensions and attachment methods that no longer meet codes. Such site-built supports were common at the time St. Paul was constructed. During the 2006-2010 project, these elements were strengthened or replaced with steel members as needed (Good Fulton & Farrell, Architects 2010:3).

Alterations

Exterior

The ca. 1911 church concept drawing (see **Figure 1**) shows a design nearly identical to the present church, with some modifications made in association with the 1924-1927 work program. These modifications are not considered alterations to an existing building, but features associated with original construction. Changes from the ca. 1911 drawing include the present three-arch entry portico, instead of the two-arch type shown in the drawing; a much taller height for the two secondary church towers at the southwest and north corners of the building; elimination of the tower battlement finials; simplification of the high, prominent, hipped and gabled roof into a flat roof: construction of an encircling raised parapet wall to hide the flat roof; elimination of an exterior door in the primary façade of the southwest corner tower; extension of the south end of the church, which on the drawing features a three-story brick chimney and a vaguely designed, round-end segment; the inclusion of fewer windows on the basement level of the primary and northwest elevations than present today; and a brick chimney on the northwest elevation. Chimneys may have been part of the basement present by 1921, but probably were removed during the final, 1924 to 1927 construction phase.

During the 2006-2010 stabilization work, the Good Fulton & Farrell team found several enclosed windows in the basement level of the annex section of the church and a wide, bay door at the north corner of the basement level underneath the existing exterior north tower stair. The enclosed windows are now six to eight feet below current grade (Good Fulton & Farrell, Architects 2010:11), while the enclosed bay door remains roughly at grade.

Exterior alterations also include changes to the basement and first floor levels of the north corner tower where a brick wall with a concrete or cast stone cap and exterior stair led to the first floor of the north tower and its Juliette Street entry. The first-floor doorway featured a set of double wood-panel and fixed-pane, stained-glass doors topped by a stained-glass transom set in a segmental arch doorway (**Figure 10**). The basement level of the wall also included a vehicle bay-sized opening, identified by Good Fulton & Farrell, Architects, during the 2006-2010 work program. This opening originally was finished with double wood-panel doors (**Figure 11**), now enclosed in the brick stair wall. Current landscaping is similar to that seen in a 1940s photograph of the church (see **Figure 1**).

Both **Figure 10** and **Figure 11** are included in two photographs published in the church's 1950 diamond anniversary brochure. The clothing of the women in the images suggests the photos were taken in the 1940s. Although the wall, stair and first-floor doors remain, the basement level opening has been enclosed and the entire wall covered by brick that is a different color from the original and from the adjacent northwest exterior wall. The original wood-and-stained-glass doors at the first-floor entry have been replaced by windowless double doors. The wall, stairs and both sets of

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doors are likely to have been part of the 1924-1927 work, while the enclosure of the basement level wall necessitated the re-bricking of the wall sometime after the 1940s. The current first-floor doors appear to date from the 1970s or 1980s. The wall shielded the steps from traffic on Juliette Street, which abutted the church, and provided some measure of safety for people using this entrance. The wall retains its original decorative concrete or cast-stone cap, which references the horizontal concrete or cast-stone courses found on the church towers and the stair detailing at the main entrance on Routh Street. The present wall's form, size, materials and detailing are compatible with the original building design. The present doors are incompatible in design and materials but could be removed and replaced with compatible types, based on the original doors shown in **Figure 10** and **Figure 11**. This original door type also may have enclosed the exterior doors at the Routh Street entry, now enclosed with hollow metal types, possibly installed during the 1972 remodeling, or perhaps following the 1973 church fire. New doors compatible with the original Juliette Street entry type could be installed in the Routh Street entry openings.

Other apparent changes since 1927 include the conversion of two windows in the northwest elevation of the basement into vertical slat vents within the original wood framing and segmental arch openings (**Photo 5**). These vents correspond to the interior location of the HVAC room, storage area and kitchen, providing ventilation for those spaces, and are likely associated with one of the basement remodeling projects. Another change since 1927 is the stationary position of one leaf of the double exterior doors in the northwest tower (Good Fulton & Farrell 2010:21).

The 1973 fire is thought to have started in the southeast corner of the second floor, in, or near, the church offices. The fire spread to the roof framing in that portion of the building and smoke damage occurred on the exterior in the trusses and roof deck of the annex and in other areas of the church. The only exterior damage is seen on brick in the area of the fire's origin (see **Photo 20**) (Good Fulton & Farrell 2010:8). However, thermal shock from the heat of the fire and/or from rapid cooling from water used to fight the fire, from infilled basement level windows and moisture infiltration resulted in cracking at the southeast corner of the building, now repaired.

A work program conducted ca. 1996 resulted in the construction of a secondary entrance portico on the southeast end of the building (**Photo 4**), a handicapped access ramp leading to the new southeast elevation portico, and changes to the interior spatial arrangement of the annex (see below). During the 2006-2010 rehabilitation, a building entrance and new elevator tower were created at the southeast corner of the church (see **Photo 12**) to provide handicapped access to all floors from the adjacent, small church parking lot. On Sundays and during special events, access to the church is available through the Routh Street entry as well as the southeast elevation entry pavilion and its adjacent elevator entrance. At all other times, for security reasons, entry is made only through the elevator entrance (see **Photo 15**) on the southeast elevation.

The southeast entry portico (see **Photo 11**) features a flat roof, red brick walls, and round-arch openings that provide access to the church via concrete steps from the street and a concrete ramp from the adjacent church parking lot (**Photo 21**), which is adjacent to Wade Alley. Double, carved-wood doors open into the welcome center and into the sanctuary. This entry provides more shelter from the elements than does the original portico on the primary elevation, and also offers handicapped access. The wall between the portico and the original rounded end of the annex wall includes a nearly flat, rectangular projection of a slightly darker color of brick than that used on the rounded wall sections. This brick closely matches that of the north tower, suggesting that these features were built from the same brick. Further, this wall area section is pierced by the same rectangular 1/1 wood sash stained-glass windows used throughout the annex, and thus it appears to be original to the 1924-1927 construction.

During the 2006-2010 work program, a number of repair, rehabilitation, stabilization and restoration activities were conducted. These include waterproofing of the exterior wall brick surfaces from grade down approximately eight feet using a high performance waterproofing membrane on the entire exterior surface of the basement walls. This improved the stability and life-span of the exterior walls. Although some waterproofing had been done at an unknown date on the

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exterior of the basement wall above grade, no evidence was found of prior below-grade waterproofing. At an unknown date, an asphalt-based water-proofing material was applied to some areas of the interior basement wall. Cracks in the shear wall between the sanctuary portion of the building and in the annex were stabilized. Cracking in the south and southeast elevation walls and damage to wood window frames and interior plaster were repaired with epoxy grout and installation of tie rods where needed.

The elevator entrance into the church that was part of the 2006-2010 rehabilitation project is accessed from a concrete walk leading from the adjacent church parking lot (see **Photo 15**). A metal door encloses the opening, which probably was originally a window, and a cloth awning shelters the door from the elements. The current door occupies approximately the same location as an earlier door that, during the period of significance, had likely been placed within an enlarged window opening. The elevator tower is to the immediate east of the elevator entry door. Access to the elevator is only from within the building. The elevator tower is about the same two-and-a-half stories high as the original southwest and north towers, but features a simplified battlement. The brick is a brownish color to differentiate it from the original towers, and instead of windows, this tower includes two slightly recessed areas containing carved stone plaques presenting aspects of church history.

As part of the 2006-2010 project, mechanical equipment installed in the 1980s was removed and a new mechanical area created along the northeast side (rear) of the church to house new HVAC equipment and electrical panels. This area is screened from view by a fence and locked gate on the southeast side (**Photo 22**) and a brick wall along the side that abuts the adjacent parking lot at the rear of the church.

Interior

During the 1980s, an interior remodeling program included a new electrical system and installation of air conditioning, a new furnace and ducting. The ductwork placed during the 1980s was suspended below the original tin ceilings under dropped ceilings, and concentrated in the fellowship hall, kitchen and the nursery/offices on the basement level and in the classrooms and library on the second floor. New, suspended, acoustical tile ceilings were installed to hide the ductwork (Good Fulton & Farrell 2010:6). Associated heating and air conditioning compressors were placed on a concrete pad at the southeast corner of the church.

The interior stair in the northwest corner tower at the sanctuary level displays materials different from the other stairs (Good Fulton & Farrell 2010:21). Perhaps these remained from the two-story corner tower present in 1921 (Sanborn Map 1921), and extended to its current three-story height during the 1924-1927 work program. During the 2006-2010 work, the altar floor apron and altar rail was rebuilt following removal of the carpeting likely installed during the 1972 work program. Other changes in the sanctuary include the rebuilding of the altar backdrop, which is a soft, concave shape with ten tall, vertical fabric fronted panels facing the sanctuary (see **Photo 14**). These may have been decorative, or a way to conceal organ pipes. During the early 1970s, there were only three similar panels, with organ pipes located in the recesses. The ten panels appear to post-date 1973, and may have been undertaken as part of the 1980s work.

When the wall-to-wall carpeting was removed from the sanctuary floor during the 2006-2010 work, adhesive used to fix the carpeting was found, as was lead paint. After removal of these substances using approved processes, the wood floor was repaired, stained and finished. New carpeting was installed in circulation aisles. The gallery floor was similarly rehabilitated with new carpet installed in the aisles. A sound booth installed at an unknown date in the gallery of the sanctuary to permit taping of Sunday services, was removed during the 2006-2010 work along with the enclosing partitions. Nearly all of the gallery seating that was removed to accommodate the sound booth is stored on-site and can be re-installed. A new sound board was installed in a new location.

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Church tradition relates that the annex was used for additional sanctuary seating and that a "...large framed opening..." (Good Fulton & Farrell 2010:13) in the sanctuary wall allowed views of church services from the annex. Work performed as part of the 2006-2010 project revealed that the space originally was a single open area. In addition, the main floor of the annex sloped toward the altar, further supporting church tradition. During the ca. 1996 work program, the annex had been divided into smaller rooms including a parlor, prayer room, chancel and sacristy, and the large framed opening was reduced in size. The 2006-2010 work retained these uses but revised their configuration "...so that more of the area was restored as an open welcome center" (Good Fulton & Farrell 2010:13).

During the 2006-2010 work, architect and church member Reggie Smith created a small janitor's room between the kitchen and the old nursery area of the basement using framing independent of the exterior brick walls to provide a narrow space for plumbing. The 2006-2010 work program also identified basement alterations made at an unknown date: the kitchen and vestibule floor had been raised, probably to accommodate a sloped floor created by structural movement, and restrooms sometime within the historic period. An outer door also was added and frames attached over the original plaster. Painted plywood panels above the doors feature exposed studs on the back and modern hardware. Inner doors in these restrooms appear original and retain their original hardware. Similarly, changes were made to the first floor at an unknown date. These include restrooms added in an area containing an earlier linoleum floor, and existing, but probably not original, partitions between the toilet areas in the men's room that hid two sets of double hung wood sash stained-glass windows. A single set of such windows were present in the women's restroom. These were uncovered and repaired as needed. The 2006-2010 work program also uncovered historic-era colors and finishes in several places, and found three stamped-tin patterns on the ceilings of the fellowship hall, annex, annex basement, stair wells, kitchen area, in a restroom, in the choir room, on flat areas under the gallery and in the bride's room (Good Fulton & Farrell 2010:5-23), which were retained or reinstalled following construction.

Summary of Physical Condition and Integrity

Built between 1913 and 1927, St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church retains a very high degree of exterior integrity and a high degree of interior integrity. Known dates of alterations are 1972, following the 1973 fire, during the 1980s, ca. 1996, and between 2006 and 2010. Other changes may have been made to doors, windows and interior spaces prior to 1972. Although the location and extent of the repairs is unknown, the 1972 changes appear to have been largely modifications to the finishes and colors within the sanctuary and service areas of the church. Following the 1973 fire, portions of the interior were repaired. The 1980s, ca. 1996 and the 2006-2010 work programs were more comprehensive, but are small in scale and compatible with the church's historic design and materials. In its current form, the church closely resembles the ca. 1911 concept drawing. Changes made to the concept drawing between 1924 and 1927 are considered original design elements. After 1927, some changes may have occurred to doors and windows, but most exterior changes appear to date from the post-historic period. Written documentation for the 1972 alterations was lost in the 1973 fire, as were original plans, historic photographs and most church records, but physical remnants were uncovered and reversed during the 2006-2010 work program. Changes made during the 1980s include upgrades to electrical and HVAC systems. About 1996, a secondary entrance was incorporated into a new portico on the southeast façade. A handicapped ramp and wall also were built, and the interior space of the annex reconfigured into a parlor, prayer room, chancel and sacristy. Between 2006 and 2010, a project to rehabilitate, repair and restore the historic church building was undertaken by the Dallas firm of Good Fulton & Farrell, Architects. "Work included rehabilitation of both interior and exterior, restoration of signature exterior elements and bringing the building into compliance with current Life Safety and Building Code requirements" (Good Fulton & Farrell, Architects 2010:24). The 2006-2010 program removed incompatible changes made in earlier interior remodeling efforts and restored original materials and finishes wherever possible, and exterior work undertaken as part of that program is limited to

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repair of exterior cracks, repair and reinstallation of the church's thirty-five stained glass windows,¹⁰ design and construction of the elevator tower, installation of an elevator access entrance within an existing, previously enclosed door opening on the southeast elevation, and placement of mechanical equipment area on a concrete pad behind the east elevation. These changes were necessary to bring the church into compliance with electrical and Americans with Disabilities Act access requirements and ensure longevity of the building. Changes made to the church are compatible with the design, materials, scale and workmanship of the historic church and do not detract from it. Therefore, the church retains a very high degree of exterior integrity and a high degree of interior integrity in the first floor spaces, which contain the most significant design and use elements. The church's exterior and interior character-defining elements including plan, massing, design, materials, craftsmanship, detailing, fenestration patterns and window materials and detailing are maintained in good condition and retain a high level of integrity of location, materials, design, workmanship, feeling and association within the period of significance, which is 1927 to 1966. Today, St. Paul church is the only remaining building associated with the North Dallas African American community to retain its exterior integrity and original use.

¹⁰ When GFF began work, some stained glass windows already had Plexiglas installed over them. During the 2006-2010 work, all the windows were removed from frames, the glass and frames restored and Plexiglas installed over those without this protective shield. The window work was conducted by In His Service, a wood and window restoration firm in Fredericksburg, Texas. The large stained-glass window on the northwest elevation was already restored when GFF began work. At that time, the current church office was four rooms; one of these was a library, and two were offices and classrooms. These spaces were reconfigured into the current second floor office area. The altar rail installed as part of GFF's work was made to be removable for performances. The exterior brick was cleaned with a soft brush and low pressure water or chemical mix, and repointed. Architect Jonathan Rollins, AIA, describes the corner altar in the rectangular sanctuary as unusual and the three towers and three entry arches as elegant (Rollins interview 5-22-2015).

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Statement of Significance

Built beginning in 1913 from a design attributed to architect M.H. (or N. H.) Black and completed between 1924 and 1927 by Dallas architect Charles H. Leinbach, St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church is a two-to-three-story, red-brick Collegiate Gothic Revival style church with Romanesque Revival style elements constructed from plans by both professional contractor and church member labor. St. Paul church is significant under Criterion A for its associations with the Freedman's Town/North Dallas African American community, for its reflection of segregated community development patterns and life in Dallas, for its role in providing community support and social services to members and the larger African American community, assisting in the professionalization and permanence of African American churches, and fostering social change through action designed to desegregate institutions and provide improved living conditions for Dallas African Americans in the pre-Civil Rights era. The church also is significant under Criterion A for the contribution of member labor to its construction, which continues the prevalent late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century practice of first-generation-free-people working together toward a long-range goal. Now lost to demolition and redevelopment as an arts district, the Freedman's Town/North Dallas neighborhood was a stable, thriving, regional center of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Black culture that supported as many as fifteen churches, a number of educational and social service institutions, and many businesses, and included a mix of laborers, wage workers and professionals. St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church is significant under Criterion C for its unusual Collegiate Gothic/Romanesque Revival style architecture and its rare, surviving, archaic construction methods. St. Paul church is in excellent condition and retains a very high degree of exterior integrity. For these reasons, St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church meets Criteria Consideration A (Religious Properties) and is nominated at the local level under Criterion A in the areas of Social History and Ethnic Heritage: African American, and under Criterion C in the area of Architecture, within a period of significance of 1927 through 1966 (the current 50 year mark).

Community Development and Social History in Freedman's Town/North Dallas¹¹

African Americans were present in Dallas County as enslaved people as early as 1842 and continued to arrive with their owners until emancipation in 1865. Records do not show any enslaved people living within the limits of the town of Dallas during the pre-emancipation period, but when the Emancipation Proclamation was announced in Texas on June 19, 1865, settlement patterns changed and newly freed men, women and their families came to Dallas seeking new opportunities. Some African Americans sought farm work away from the places of their enslavement, while others pursued different means of earning a living and migrated to towns and cities. More job opportunities were available in urban centers, and there was still the possibility of farm work in surrounding rural areas. Towns also may have offered, or seemed to offer, more protection from violence, as well as being gathering places for freedmen and freedwomen seeking family members who, during slavery, had been sold or who ran away. Oral tradition relates that shortly after emancipation, freed people migrated to areas in and around the Dallas city limits, and that one of the earliest Black communities in the area was Freedman's Town (Prior and Schulte in Peter, Vol. 1 2000:63). Freedman's Town was located on both sides of the Houston & Texas Central (H&TC) tracks (**Figure 12**), which were built through the area in 1872, and was outside the city limits at that time. The center of Freedman's Town was about one-quarter of a mile southeast of the Freedman's Cemetery and about one-and-one-half miles northeast of downtown Dallas. The potential presence of slave burials in that cemetery is one reason given in oral tradition for the development of that community (Prior and Schulte in Peter, Vol. 1 2000:57-61). However, while deed records show that in 1869 Sam Eakins purchased an acre of land from property owner William Boales for the purpose of establishing a freedman's

¹¹ This section was excerpted from Chapters 1-4 of *Freedman's Cemetery" A Legacy of A Pioneer Black Community in Dallas, Texas*, Vol. 1. Plano, TX: Geo-Marine, Inc., 2000. Special Publication No. 6 for the Texas Department of Transportation, Environmental Affairs Division, Archeology Studies program, Report. No. 21. These chapters were authored by Marsha Prior and Terry Anne Schulte in Peter, Duane E., et. al. This section also includes information from Schulte-Scott, Terry Anne, et. al. *From Freedman's town to Roseland Homes: A Pioneering Community in Dallas, Texas*. Plano, TX: Geo-Marine, Inc., 2005.

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cemetery, no archival evidence located shows that slave burials also were, or were not, located there. But since Dallas residents "apparently buried their dead outside of established cemeteries..., the oral tradition cannot be completely discounted" (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:61).¹² One documented reason for the flourishing of Freedman's Town was the 1865 passage of a vagrancy ordinance by the town of Dallas that targeted freed people and other free persons of color in definitions of vagrancy. Fines ranged from \$3.00 to \$100 for the first offense, rising with subsequent convictions. Vagrants also were required to post a \$500 bond. Those not paying the fine or posting the bond were subject to arrest, confinement or "forced labor for up to six months" (*Dallas Herald* 11-25-1865 in Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.. 1:62). Thus, many freed people settled beyond the city limits.

The original Black community in what was called North Dallas was on the west side of the Houston & Texas Central (H&TC) railroad tracks (see **Figure 12**). By 1871 this area appears to have been within the city limits. North Dallas would come to contain most of the churches and businesses that served the diverse socio-economic African American population of North Dallas and Freedman's Town (Schulte-Scott, et. al. 2005:32). The center of North Dallas was about three-quarters of a mile south of the Freedman's Cemetery, just south of the present interchange of the Woodall Rodgers Freeway (Texas Highway 366), Interstate 45 and North Central Expressway (U.S. 75), and about a mile north of downtown Dallas. The center of the North Dallas neighborhood was located a few blocks south of the north city boundary in the vicinity of Hawkins, Munger and Leonard streets (see **Figure 12**) (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:63). As the two communities gained population and physical development occurred, North Dallas and Freedman's Town grew together and joined at the 1871 to early 1880s north and east Dallas city boundary. Eventually they became a single community called Freedman's Town/North Dallas (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol. 1:62). The lot containing St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church was split by the 1871-early 1880s city boundary, and the present church straddles this now vanished line. The church's location is in the heart of the now lost North Dallas community, where it was a focal point for religious and secular programs serving both Freedman's Town and North Dallas.

Following Reconstruction, African Americans continued to migrate to this area which became "...the central focus for African American life in Dallas during the latter part of the nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth century (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol. 1:61). Fostering this growth was the construction of two railroads — the Houston & Central Texas (H&TC) line in 1872, and the Texas & Pacific (T&P) in 1873 —through Dallas, events that spurred an enormous increase in population and expanded the physical development of the city. With the arrival of the railroads, Dallas was no longer an agriculturally based community, but a growing commercial center (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:69).

The two rail lines crossed about a mile east of the central business district, spurring city officials to extend major thoroughfares. A mule-powered street car operated between the courthouse and the railroad depot, which was on the southeast side of the crossroads, not too far from the North Dallas area. Although the railroads greatly impacted commerce and community development all over Dallas, African American communities were especially affected, with Deep Ellum, Stringtown, and the Freedman's Town/North Dallas area becoming "...intricately linked as they expanded and merged to form the heartland of African American culture in Dallas (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:71). Freedman's Town/North Dallas was about a mile north of the rail crossroads and benefited from new job opportunities

¹² Prior and Schulte reference two works by J. M. Davidson in their discussion of the presence or absence of slave burials at the Freedman's Cemetery. These are Davidson, J. M., "The Old Dallas Burial Ground: A Forgotten Cemetery" in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* CII (2):163-184; and Davidson, J. M., *Freedman's Cemetery (1869-1907): A Chronological Reconstruction of An Excavated African-American Burial Ground, Dallas, Texas*. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville. On file, Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.

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brought by¹³ the mills and manufacturing plants that sprang up along the lines. Declining cotton prices during the 1870s and 1880s resulted in a decrease in tenant farming and large numbers of Whites and Blacks sought employment in the growing Dallas economy, which included not only potential railroad and manufacturing jobs, but opportunities for day labor. The new residents needed housing, and on-going residential development (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:75) occurred in new subdivisions near the railroads, factories and mills, including Freedman's Town/North Dallas.

In 1870, Dallas County was home to 11,197 Caucasians and 2,109 African Americans; figures for the town of Dallas are not provided in the census. By 1880, the population of the City of Dallas had reached 10,352, including 1,921 African Americans (U.S. Census, Population 1870, 1880). Dallas continued to grow through the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, as the city and its environs became a magnet for thousands of new residents, both White and Black, seeking employment, access to health care and cultural/social activities. By 1890, the city population reached 38,067 people, with more than 4,000 additional residents arriving by 1900. During the next ten years the population jumped by nearly 50,000 people, bringing the total in 1910 to 92,104 people (U.S. Census, Population 1890, 1900, 1910). By 1920, the population of Dallas reached 158,976, a gain of more than 66,000 residents. The 1930 census shows that the population rose by more than 100,000 during the previous decade, bringing the total to 260,475 people. Between 1930 and 1940, the population grew more slowly to 294,734 people, due to fewer available jobs during the Depression. But by 1950, growth had accelerated and the population reached 434,462 residents. By 1960, it reached 679,684 people (Texas Almanac online).

By the early 1870s at least 500 African Americans resided in Freedman's Town. Figures for most of North Dallas are not available as it was part of the city. By the late 1870s, a few White landowners had provided African Americans with an initial land-ownership foothold. Owning land strengthened African Americans' control over their lives, and supported the creation of complete, stable communities. Among those Whites who sold land to African Americans in the Freedman's Town/North Dallas area were William Boales, who had sold land in 1869 to Sam Eakins for the Freedman's Cemetery, and Maxine Guillot, a Dallas businesswoman, who sold land to African Americans in the 1860s and 1870, including the parcel where Free Will Baptist Church was built (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol. 1:62, 78). New subdivisions in North Dallas appeared in the early 1870s, including the 1874 "Peak's Addition to the City of Dallas," which contains the site of St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church (Dallas County Deed Records: X/161, 5/4/1874). The lot containing St. Paul church in North Dallas was split by the corporate boundary, with approximately the northerly one-third of the lot just outside the 1874 city boundary, and the southerly two-thirds within it. Organized in the summer of 1873 with services held under a brush arbor, St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church was aided when, in late 1874, Richard Lane, who was probably White, sold the lot on which St. Paul church was built to William Brash¹⁴, L. H. Carhart, Anthony Banning Norton, W. P. Boliver and Ed Finn, trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church (Dallas County Deed Records: Y/782, 11/23/1874) for "...divine worship and school purposes...."¹⁵ These

¹³ Prior and Schulte (2000:72, footnote) state that before 1871, North Dallas was the area north and northeast of the city limits, and that it included an African-American enclave surrounded by White households. The 1886 Dallas city directory no longer referenced Freedman's Town separately, which suggests that the two areas had merged, and that Freedman's Town had been incorporated into the city.

¹⁴ William Brash shows up in other documents as William Bush, and the latter was likely his correct name.

¹⁵ A.B. Norton (1821-1893), one of the trustees, served in the Texas Legislature from Henderson and Kaufman counties in 1857 and 1859, opposed secession, and in 1860 became the editor of the *Southern Intelligencer*, a pro-union newspaper. He relocated to his native Ohio at the end of 1861 but returned to Texas in 1865, and was elected to the constitutional convention of 1866 representing Henderson, Kaufman and Van Zandt counties. He moved to Dallas about 1868, and that year established *Norton's Union Intelligencer*, which he published until his death. He was appointed judge of Fifth Judicial District, became Dallas postmaster in 1875 and United States Marshall for northern Texas in 1879. (*Handbook of Texas Online*, Norton, A. B.).

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trustees continued to help the congregation, assisting them in obtaining a loan to build, in 1875, their first church building (Dallas County Deed Records, AA/651-653, 2/7/1875).

Economic Growth and Opportunity in Freedman's Town/North Dallas

By 1873, the Dallas economy was booming. The railroads had fostered new businesses that translated into an expanding job market. African Americans living in Freedman's Town/North Dallas worked as brick makers, teamsters, laborers, barbers, preachers, servants, blacksmiths, farmers, sawyers, porters, plasterers, engineers, and laundresses. Other local residents established their own businesses. Isaac Leonard operated a grocery on the south side of Juliette between Boll and Good streets, and his business was in the same block as St. Paul M.E. Church. Administrative and pastoral positions as well as a small number of professional jobs in teaching rounded out the mix. The list of occupations expanded during the 1880s to include drivers, positions held by Alfred Boyd and Dock Rowen, who lived on the south side of Juliette Street between Boll and Good streets near St. Paul church. Other area businesses owned by African Americans were a blacksmith shop on Boll Street, a grocery store on Hall Street, and another grocery operating in a residence at Boll and Juliette streets, just a block northeast of St. Paul church. A grocery and meat market also operated on the north side of Juliette between Boll and Allen. White-owned businesses also served area residents, but they may, or may not, have been open to African American customers (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:96-97).

In 1892, the first Black-owned and operated secular newspaper was established. Originally called the *Dallas Bee*, in 1893 this weekly paper became the *Dallas Express*. William Elisha King, one of the founders, served as editor and sole proprietor for many years. Many residents of Freedman's Town/North Dallas helped organize and operate the paper (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:106-110). The publication was designed to report news within the African American community to African American readers by African American reporters. "The paper served as a trailblazer for the founding of large-scale enterprises that were tailored to the ignored and/or forgotten concerns of the local Black masses (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:110).

By the early-twentieth century, the founding of several new African American schools in Freedman's Town/North Dallas expanded not only educational access for students, but also increased teaching opportunities for men and women. At the same time, the grand White-owned homes on Ross Avenue and other streets outside the African American section of the district offered jobs as domestic workers, cooks, drivers and yardmen. Other opportunities were available in the factories and warehouses downtown (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:96-108). In this period, new African American businesses specializing in products needed by the community including coal, hay, feed and grain were established in Freedman's Town/North Dallas.

Between 1905 and 1918, Freedman's Town/North Dallas was home to more African American businesses than any other African American community in Dallas. The area included service stations, taxi cab companies, and businesses that provided necessities such as clothing, groceries and medicine. Restaurants, saloons, and wood dealers also were present, and the community included medical clinics, dry cleaners, hotels, shoemakers and shoe repair shops, soft drink stands. Most of the businesses were on Boll, Hall, Juliette and State streets, and Cochran Avenue. Home-based businesses included carpenters, dressmakers, plumbers and music teachers. Businesses outside the Black enclave were mostly located on San Jacinto and Bryan streets and downtown. (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:143-144).

Two especially important businesses were founded in the enclave in the early-twentieth century. One was the Penny Savings Bank. Incorporated by at least four Freedman's Town/North Dallas residents in 1907 and in operation until 1911, the bank was the first African American owned lending institution in Dallas. The bank provided home

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mortgages for Black residents in a period when such were largely unavailable from White-owned banks. Sadly, the bank failed in 1911 after an undisclosed person affiliated with the firm embezzled funds. To pay the bank's debts, Dr. Marcellus Cooper, a local dentist, who was a bank official and its primary financier, sold much of his personal property. Another important company was the Excelsior Mutual Benefit Association. Established by Henry "Pop" Strickland in 1916, and operated with partner Silas Cofield, the business sold African American residents low-cost sickness and "crisis" insurance. (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:140-145).

Business activity in the enclave spurred the founding of several business groups including the local branch of the Negro Business League, which opened in 1904. The Dallas Negro City Directory was published as early as the 1920s, and the Negro Business Bureau by 1925. In 1926, the local business community organized the Negro Chamber of Commerce to provide more dynamic leadership that would reach a cross section of the business community and fill a gap that the Negro Business League had not addressed in their focus on promoting professionals. One of the chamber's first projects was to organize the African American division of the donation drive for the Community Chest, giving special attention to organizations agencies that served African Americans. Within a year of founding, the chamber advocated for street paving and installation of sewer lines to alleviate sanitation issues, which did not occur in Freedman's Town/North Dallas until a much later date. The group also opened a free employment bureau in October 1927, and became active in local politics, encouraging the payment of poll taxes to increase African American effectiveness (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:165-167). In part because of the chamber, the federal government provided financial support for the Hall of Negro Life at the Texas Centennial Exposition in 1936 (Handbook of Texas Online "Dallas Black Chamber of Commerce").

Between 1920 and 1930, despite the threat posed by the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), Dallas's African American community gained nearly 16,000 residents. Business activity increased, just as it did in the White community where the city's location between major oil fields attracted oil companies that established executive offices in the city. With more White residents and businesses there were more working-class jobs for African Americans, and with more people employed, there was more demand for goods and services in the African American community. In the early 1920s, several businesses on Cochran Street catered to high school students enrolled at the nearby Booker T. Washington Technical High School. Other businesses operated on Hall at Thomas. A new movie theater opened on Hall Street and attracted more people, who patronized newly established businesses including a drug store, cleaners, electric shop, and piano store. A hotel opened and the North Dallas Club offered space for a variety of functions. A taxi service operated from the corner of Hall and Thomas and a business school offered courses at two locations, one on Hall and the other on Cochran Street. Women were active in business pursuits, establishing both traditional and non-traditional operations including corsetry, mortuary and ambulance services, a florist, food service, and hair care. Annie Turbo Malone and Madame C. J. Walker, who became the first African American millionaire, both developed products and marketing strategies for selling hair care products to millions of Black women, as well as training in hair care. Several hair salons in Freedman's Town/North Dallas offered their products. Independent salons also prospered, and Madame L. E. Coleman developed her own line of beauty products and hair care system (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:161-165). Women also established clothing stores offering department-store-quality merchandise and enticed customers with fashion shows. These stores provided opportunities for African American women to try on, and purchase, clothing in a friendly and safe environment. Since most White-owned stores did not serve African Americans, or if they did, African American customers were not allowed to try on clothes, hats or shoes. A men's shop also opened in Freedman's Town/North Dallas. The entrepreneurial activities and positive, forward looking attitudes of residents, business people and leaders within the community moved Freedman's Town/North Dallas toward a self-sustaining community that offered "...almost anything that could be acquired in other parts of Dallas" (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:165).

During World War II, businesses in Freedman's Town/ North Dallas included two taxi cab companies, a business school, Pinkston's Clinic, a two-story office building housing physicians and businesses, a one-story office building, a

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life insurance company, grocery stores, three ice cream parlors, McMillan Sanitarium, a beauty school, two undertakers, a druggist, tailor, cleaners, barber shops, cafes, a shoe shop, two hotels, a drive-in restaurant, and two gas stations.

Building a Complete Community: Churches, Schools, Social Services and Medical Care

Establishing and maintaining law and order in the violent, post-emancipation period was difficult, as was establishing schools for freed children, and a contract labor system to protect the rights of African Americans. Following the end of the Civil War, the Federal government developed the Freedman's Bureau, an organization designed to assist newly-freed people throughout the South. The Bureau assigned U.S. Army Capt. William H. Horton as the first Dallas agent. At first, Horton's area of responsibility included only Dallas and Dallas County, but within a short time, Tarrant and Ellis counties, and eventually Johnson County were added to his territory. At the end of 1867, following conflict with a Dallas judge over developing a fair trial system for African Americans, and establishing his own administrative court, Horton was replaced by George F. Eben, who, in April 1868 was murdered in Rockwall County. Eben was followed by two more agents, but by January 1869, the Freedman's Bureau was largely withdrawn from Texas, except for the educational division, which continued until 1872 (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:67-68).¹⁶ Between 1865 and 1870, the Bureau succeeded in founding about 100 schools for African American children throughout Texas, but sustaining schools in Dallas was difficult. Two short-lived schools operated in 1867 and 1868, but students' families were unable to pay the fees required by the Bureau, and they ceased operation (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:64-68). However, newly founded African American churches, including St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, stepped in to offer education to local children and, in some cases, to adults. When Reconstruction ended in Texas, Dallas' African Americans were largely ignored, allowing them to acquire land, establish churches, schools and small businesses and develop, in the face of racism, economic hardship, conflict, and violence, complete, but segregated, communities. In this way, they had more control over their lives (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:68) than otherwise would have been possible.

Following emancipation, African Americans in Dallas and elsewhere quickly established churches and schools. The first church services were often held in brush arbors until enough money could be saved to purchase land and build a church. Early African American churches were sometimes established on land bought from White residents or donated by White benefactors. Early church buildings were typically modest constructions later replaced with substantial facilities. During the 1870s, at least seven churches were established in or near Freedman's Town/North Dallas. These were (in alphabetical order): Bethel African American Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church; Evening Chapel, Free Mission Baptist Church, Free Will Baptist Church, New Hope Baptist Church, St. John Missionary Baptist Church, and St. Paul Methodist Episcopal (M.E.) Church (which is one of the churches that began services in a brush arbor). Nearby churches also may have served the North Dallas/Freedman's Town community. Churches established in the 1880s added to the availability of worship opportunities (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:91-94). Over the decades the neighborhood was served by fifteen churches: New Hope Baptist, Bethel A.M.E., Evening Chapel C.M.E, Greater New Zion Baptist, St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church, St. James A.M.E. Temple, St. John Missionary Baptist, Pilgrim Rest Baptist, Munger Avenue Baptist, the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Our Lady of Guadalupe, First Pentecostal Church of God in Christ (aka Page's Temple), Good Street Baptist, Church of the Living God, Zion Hill Missionary Baptist and St. Paul Methodist Episcopal (aka St. Paul Methodist and St. Paul United Methodist) (St. Paul United Methodist Church files j).

Although by 1866, the Texas legislature was providing funding for White public schools using taxes collected from owners of railroad lands, such funds were unavailable for African American schools, and schools established by the

¹⁶ Prior and Schulte cite B.A. Crouch, *The Freedman's Bureau and Black, Texans*, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1992, p. 37, and T. Smith, "Conflict and Corruption" in *Legacies* I (2) 1989, pp. 29-30.

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Freedman's Bureau in Dallas no longer operated after 1872. That same year, Dallas African Americans opened one of the earliest public schools, supported by tax money paid by African Americans. Both male and female teachers were employed there. The school operated five months of the year. However, African American churches provided most of the educational opportunities for the Black population by raising money to found church-operated schools, and pay teachers. Churches in the North Dallas/Freedman's Town neighborhood that created schools were New Hope Baptist Church, Evening Chapel (later Boll St./Cedar Crest C.M.E), Union Bethel A.M.E Church, and St. Paul M.E (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:94-95).

In 1876, the Texas legislature authorized a racially segregated school system, but funding for African American schools was very limited and churches continued to provide schooling. St. Paul operated a day school in its frame church at Juliette and Burford streets. Henry Swan, the church pastor taught classes with the help of teachers assigned by the Freedman's Aid Society. St. Paul church also provided classroom space for a Methodist sponsored normal school (teacher training college).¹⁷ By 1878, the school at St. Paul was designated the Third Ward Public School. It was the first public school in the Third Ward, and had an enrollment of 108 students. The principal was George O. Richardson, who was assisted by Loretta L. Webb. The school operated until 1884, when the Dallas public school system was founded.

In addition to the Third Ward Public School at St. Paul church, three other area churches held classes. Although city taxes supported construction of White public schools, facilities for African American children were typically inexpensive structures that had been abandoned by Whites (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:95). By 1890, there were four publicly funded elementary schools operating in the Freedman's Town/North Dallas community; other African American enclaves also had at least one public elementary school. During this period, the Dallas school board built a number of new brick school buildings for White students, but none for African American children. Following a community petition sponsored by New Hope Baptist Church, the school board authorized a new brick school building on Hall Street in the Freedman's Town/North Dallas area. This school was first used for elementary grades only, but following a protest by Freedman's Town/North Dallas residents, the Dallas Board of Education granted the citizen request that upper grade students at Colored School No. 1 be transferred to the brick school on Hall Street and that the upper grades be designated as a "high school," and not be part of the elementary grades also housed in the same new building. Prior to the student transfer in the fall of 1892, three students attending upper grade classes at Colored School No. 1 comprised the first African American graduating class from a publicly funded school in Dallas. The high school program provided instruction for students in grades eight, nine and ten (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:105-106).

In 1908, the Sister's Institute at the 1905 St. Peter the Apostle Roman Catholic Church opened as a result of the vision of an African American couple, Mary and Valentine Jordan, and with the support and investment of the Bishop of Dallas Edward Dunn. The bishop authorized the dismantling of the vacant, wooden Sacred Heart Cathedral on Bryan and Ervay streets and use of the salvaged materials in constructing a church on land he purchased at Allen and Cochran in Freedman's Town/North Dallas for the purpose of serving the African American population in that area. In 1908, nuns at the church opened an elementary school called the Sisters' Institute, which attracted Black residents from other areas of Dallas, and eventually from other parts of Texas and the country. In 1910, the school expanded to include high school grades, and by 1914, day school and boarding school operations attracted about 100 students. As many as 250 students attended by 1920. Most students were not Roman Catholic, but parents sent their children to the school to "...avoid the overcrowded and poorly funded public schools...." (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:135-136). Supported in part by tuition paid by parents, the students and their teachers sought additional funding from area businesses. The local Sunshine Bakery and other businesses provided food for the school. The Sister's Institute was

¹⁷ This normal school eventually moved to a church in Austin and later became Samuel Huston College, now Huston-Tillotson University.

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renamed St. Peter's Parochial School in 1930, and continued to operate for many years (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:139). During the 1950s and 1960s, the facility offered after-school programs and day-care for area African American children (Informal conversation with St. Paul church members Leah Parker and Sharon Spratt, May 6, 2015).

Overcrowding at the public high school on Hall Street was a problem as early as 1910, and forced the city school board to erect a separate twelve-room building on the Hall Street property to house the high school. The elementary grades continued to occupy the refurbished, 1892 building. By the late teens and early 1920s, overcrowding at the high school resulted in the construction of a new public African American high school at a site solely dedicated to secondary education. This new school was erected in 1922 at the corner of Burford and Flora streets, directly across from St. Paul M. E. Church on what is now Routh Street. Named Booker T. Washington Technical High School, it was the only public African American high school in Dallas until Lincoln High School was built in 1939 in South Dallas to serve the large African American population there. Booker T. Washington Technical High School also offered normal school (teacher training) courses during the summer months (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:139).

African Americans also petitioned for public school kindergarten facilities for African American children. Such facilities had been established for White children in the early-twentieth century. Black churches in Freedman's Town/North Dallas, led by female church members, "...supplemented the under-funded educational opportunities available in Black public schools by instituting kindergartens and nursery schools for parishioners and local residents" (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:123). By 1916, St. John Missionary Baptist Church had opened a kindergarten in the area, and during the following years additional kindergartens opened in Freedman's Town/North Dallas.

During the 1870s and 1880s, several African American fraternal orders and women's auxiliaries established lodges in the Freedman's Town/North Dallas neighborhood. Fraternal groups were an important component of life in segregated African American communities, offering relationships and opportunities that provided "...support networks and communal frameworks for survival in a discriminatory society. These groups were important to the advancement of newly freed people because they enabled men and women to acquire organizational affiliations, assume leadership roles, enjoy social activities and conduct charitable work" (Schulte-Scott, et. al. 2005:36). They also offered members sickness and burial insurance, and with this a measure of security during difficult times.

The first African American Masonic lodge in Dallas, Paul Drayton Lodge #9, was established in 1876. Freedman's Town/North Dallas resident Silas Pittman was the first presiding officer. Two women's auxiliaries, the Heroines of Jericho and the Order of the Eastern Star, Adah Chapter No. 4, followed in 1884 and 1888. In 1883, the Colored Knights of Pythias, St. Luke Lodge (Schulte-Scott, et. al. 2005:36) was established in Dallas, and other fraternal orders included the United Brothers of Friendship and an associated women's auxiliary called the Sisters of the Mysterious Ten. The International Order of Odd Fellows (I.O.O.F.) also established lodges and halls, with at least two such facilities near St. Paul's church (**Figure 13** and **Figure 14**) (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps 1899, 1905). The Odd Fellows were supportive of freed peoples, and opposed segregation.

African American social reform and service organizations provided leadership in the struggle to gain access for African Americans to schools and recreation-related institutions. Among these was the Ladies Coterie Club, a local African American group, which in 1906 led an effort to gain access for African Americans to public library facilities. The group's efforts continued for twenty-five years, during which time requests for a public African American library were repeatedly refused by the public library board until a city survey showed support for such a facility. The first public library for African Americans, the Paul Lawrence Dunbar Branch Library, opened in 1931. Meanwhile, private citizens and organizations in Freedman's Town/North Dallas had established numerous libraries to serve the African American community.

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African American women also joined forces to assist poor and sick African American women under the banner of the Carnation Charity Club. Dues were ten cents monthly and the only membership requirement was to be a ... "good Christian woman." In 1937, the organization bought an eight-room house to provide more space for the elderly and poor (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:125-126). African American reformer Josie Briggs Hall, a Freedman's Town/North Dallas resident, saw benefit in educating women in the skills of running a home. The mother of five children, Hall left her teaching career to raise her family, but also dedicated herself to establishing a domestic training institute "... where African American housewives could learn to properly manage their homes, while those not afforded the ability to stay at home could gain skills beneficial to domestic employment" (*Dallas Morning News*, June 15, 1919 as cited by Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:126). The school was established in 1916 as the Homemakers' Industrial and Trade School, with a White board of directors, and backed by the Board of Public Welfare, the Mothers' Council, and the Dallas mayor. In 1919, the school moved to the corner of Hall and State streets in the Freedman's Town section of the enclave. The school also offered the standardized elementary curriculum taught in public schools for children in grades one through six, and by 1917 had opened a kindergarten for African American children. A library was established at the school in 1925, and it operated until 1928, when the local Y.W.C.A. purchased the building.

Other social reform organizations established facilities in Freedman's Town/North Dallas in response to exclusion from White facilities. In 1905, a group of African American men founded the Colored Y.M.C.A., which offered social and cultural activities to the African American male youth of Freedman's Town/North Dallas and other African American enclaves in the city. The Y.M.C.A. also provided space for local school and church activities, but most programs sought to direct the moral and spiritual growth of young men. Financial assistance and moral support was provided by Freedman's Town/North Dallas residents and institutions, and with the continued participation of Black youth, the Colored Y.M.C.A. became and remained one of the most popular and influential institutions serving diverse socio-economic Black youth in Dallas (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:135).

Between the 1890s and 1918,

Freedman's Town/North Dallas emerged as the local center for African American social reform, During this period, called the Progressive Era, most African American organizations that were created with the intent of social and moral uplift during the era, as well as buildings erected by African Americans for the purpose of community outreach and reformation, were typically located in the enclave. Furthermore, a large number of individuals involved in reformist efforts resided in Freedman's Town/North Dallas. The inordinate number of reformers and institutions in Freedman's Town/North Dallas dedicated to social uplift reflects the large population of the enclave, a population that systematically expanded during the progressive Era as churches, businesses and educational facilities made the enclave exceedingly desirable to African Americans from various parts of the city and state. Despite the geographic centrality of reformist individuals and institutions within Freeman's Town/North Dallas, their efforts affected the lives of African Americans in various Dallas communities. Similarly, non-Freedman's Town/North Dallas African Americans did not limit the geographic expanse of their reformist ventures (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:117-118).

During the 1920s, social organizations increased their presence and importance in Freedman's Town/North Dallas as community leaders worked to promote the area as the hub of African American life in Dallas. The Community House was built in 1921 on the grounds of the no-longer-extant Hall Street Park and provided meeting space for various clubs and women's groups. The facility offered playground equipment for children, showers for men and children, and a movie room. The first African American branch of the Y.M.C.A met there for a while, before moving from place to place until a permanent building was built in 1930 and named the Moorland Y.M.C.A. in honor of Dr. J. E. Moorland, retired senior secretary of the Y's International Committee (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:169-170). The new

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building included lodging space, an important feature, as African Americans were refused lodging in White owned hotels and there were few hostelryes owned by Blacks. The Dallas Central Committee of the YMCA, a White group, donated \$100,000 for construction, and the remaining \$25,000 needed to complete the building was raised by the Freedman's Town/North Dallas community. The building, designed by the architectural firm of Bryan & Sharp (*Dallas Express* 10-13-1928:1) was located at the corner of Flora and Boll streets, about one-and-half blocks southeast of Booker T. Washington Technical High School and St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church in the heart of the thriving Freedman's Town/North Dallas neighborhood. In addition to St. Paul, there were another eight African American churches in the vicinity. These nine churches are described as among the largest African American churches in the city (*Dallas Express* 9-1-1928:1). The Y.M.C.A. drew male youth from these congregations, as well as from the community as a whole, and also offered programs of interest to all age groups.

As early as 1919, African American women, led by Frederica Chase Dodd, were busy lobbying the parent Y.W.C.A. for permission to form an independent branch of the Y.W.C.A. Black women also organized after-school programs for girls and young women at Hall Street Park, while the board of the Homemakers' Industrial School and the Council of Church Women donated land and a house. The new Y.W.C.A. chapter was named after the chair of the Methodist Council of Church Women Maria Morgan, and opened in 1928. Area African American women's clubs and women's divisions of fraternal groups donated kitchen equipment, desks and many other items. The new Y.W.C.A. served as a central location for meetings and activities, as well as offering social, educational and religious instruction to children and youth. Women's clubs such as the Royal Arts Club and the Priscilla Arts Club met prior to World War I, and were joined during the 1920s by many new women's clubs and groups devoted to a single activity, such as the G-Clef Club, which presented a variety of programs including a choir presentation on Thursday nights at St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church. These clubs offered women of all economic levels opportunity to participate in social and cultural development and community improvement programs in Freedman's Town/North Dallas, and along with men's social, professional and business clubs, attracted new residents and businesses to the area, further supporting the vital role of the neighborhood in Dallas African American life (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:170-173). By the early 1940s, neighborhood institutional facilities and fraternal orders included the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Odd Fellows Hall, the Colored U.S.O., Booker T. Washington Technical High School, and the school at St. Peter Catholic Church (St. Paul United Methodist Church files x).

On the health front, several African American medical providers began practices in Dallas during the late 1880s. They, along with White practitioners, worked in an environment that lacked basic sanitary systems and created unhealthful conditions. The first city health officer was authorized in 1873, and a city scavenger (street cleaner) was appointed in 1882. The first sewer and drain system was installed in 1884, but such infrastructure was lacking in African American enclaves well into the twentieth century. The city hospital, present by 1876, offered care for the indigent, while the pest house admitted those with highly communicable diseases such as smallpox and tuberculosis. These early facilities cared for both White and Black patients. In 1893, following years of complaints about conditions, \$40,000 for a new facility — Parkland Hospital — was approved by Dallas voters. Located on the wooded site at Oak Lawn and Maple, about a mile north of St. Paul church, Parkland continued to serve White and African American patients, but segregated them into separate areas.

By 1889, African American physicians Dr. John Wesley Anderson and Dr. Benjamin R. Bluit, both graduates of Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee, arrived in Dallas. They established offices outside of, but within walking distance of, the Freedman's Town/North Dallas area. In 1894, doctors S. W. Armstrong and C. V. Roman were serving patients in established practices. Dr. C. V. Roman had an office on Boll Street, near the Freedman's Town/North Dallas community. The 1900 city directory lists Dr. Anderson and Bluit, and two newer arrivals, Dr. F. M. Brooks, and James K. Nickins, who made medicines. Three dentists also were present by the mid-1890s: Marcellus C. Cooper, J. H. Holsey and Martha Jordan. In addition, a Black-owned drug store operated at the corner of Boll and San Jacinto streets, within walking distance of parts of the Freedman's Town/North Dallas neighborhood. A mid-wife

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and two "sick-nurses" also were present, but lived outside the Freedman's Town/North Dallas area. In 1905, Dr. Bluit opened the Bluit Sanitarium, which primarily served affluent African Americans, and that same year, Dr. Ollie L. Bryan, the first woman to graduate from Meharry Medical College as a dentist (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:101-103,140) established a practice. She was married to physician Felix A. Bryan who had his office on Central Avenue, near Freedman's Town/North Dallas. Another six physicians were in practice by 1905. By 1917, nineteen African American doctors practiced in Dallas. Several were located in the Knights of Pythias Building, which was designed by African American architect William Sidney Pittman (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:140-142). Many other African American professionals also established offices in the Pythias building.

During the 1920s, diversity of available health care expanded with the arrival of an African American optometrist in 1919, and the 1923 founding of the McMillan Sanitarium by Dr. William R. McMillan in a two-story brick building at Hall and State streets in the Freedman's Town/North Dallas neighborhood. This new facility included treatment space and had a surgery on the second floor. At Dr. McMillan's invitation, other physicians joined the sanitarium, which became a "...fine, quality care" facility (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:177-178). The McMillan Sanitarium closed in the 1930s, but many of the doctors associated with it formed new practices, include Dr. L. G. Pinkston, who started the Pinkston Clinic on Thomas Avenue in 1927 (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:178). Dr. McMillan and Dr. Pinkston and their families were members, and Dr. Pinkston and Dr. McMillan served as trustees, of St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Institutionalization of Racism

While the new century saw increased entrepreneurship and access to information in the Black community, the era also ushered in a new period of increased suppression and intimidation of African Americans. Access to the voting booth, for Blacks and for poor Whites, was an effective means of limiting advancement and political power for these groups. A poll tax bill was passed by the Texas legislature in 1901, despite opposition by Populists and some Republicans, and in 1903, another piece of legislation, the Terrell Election Bill, made the eligibility to vote was contingent on payment of a \$1.50 poll tax six months in advance of every election "... and further restricted suffrage by privatizing primary election guidelines" (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:115). In 1905, the Terrell bill was amended to make payment of the poll tax by others a misdemeanor. These bills eventually disenfranchised many poor Whites and most African Americans. By 1906, the number of African Americans voting dropped to about 5,000 compared to the approximately 100,000 who had voted in the previous decade.

During this period, the de facto segregation that had existed in the South and in Texas was legalized by the Texas legislature through a series of bills that required separation of races in almost all aspects of life. Among these measures was the prohibition of the adoption of children of one race by parents of another race, the requirement that lockers for black and white coal miners be separate, the creation of a mental hospital for African Americans where only Whites could hold administrative jobs, the prohibition of African American railroad porters from sleeping in Pullman cars or using bedding intended for White passengers, the requirement that the new City of Dallas pauper's cemetery have separate sections for White and Black burials, and that undertakers of each race could only prepare the bodies of people of the same race (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:131).

At this same time, Dallas, as well as communities all over the country, began to include clauses in deeds, called restrictive covenants, that limited the purchase and sale of land and homes owned by Whites to other Whites only. Restrictive covenants also excluded people of non-Christian faiths. Despite this, some deeds omitted the restrictive clause, and property did pass from White to Black ownership (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:131-132).

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In 1907, the City of Dallas replaced the aldermanic system and their associated wards, with the election of at-large city officials. This weakened African American political power since votes were cast city-wide rather than within each ward, and the number of African Americans eligible to vote was much smaller than the number of White voters. In the aldermanic system, residents of a ward voted for a specific person to represent them, and wards with large numbers of African American voters were likely to elect an African American representative. Under the city-wide system no African American ran for office again until 1949 (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:133). This system remained in use until 1991, when a U. S. District Court decision required that Dallas City Council members be elected under a district plan with one member representing each district (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:133).

African Americans served in World War I, but returned home to a society that exhibited continued discrimination and increasing violence. In 1919, the Dallas chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. was founded and Freeman's Town/North Dallas residents were prominent in organizing and participating in chapter programs. New members were actively sought and the chapter participated in national and state conventions. Aid was extended to the local Y.M.C.A. and lobbying increased for anti-lynching legislation. However, by 1923, some leaders of the chapter were unwilling to call a meeting due to the rising political power and activity of the KKK. Crimes against African Americans often went uninvestigated, while authorities reportedly defended KKK actions. Following the April, 1921 abduction, beating and branding by KKK members of a young African American man who admitted to having an affair with a White woman, African Americans went on record through letters sent to the *Dallas Times Herald* and the Dallas sheriff that African Americans would defend their citizens and neighborhoods against "masked perpetrators" attempting to assail African Americans within African American neighborhoods (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:152-153).

When the KKK announced a planned march through Freedman's Town/North Dallas, New Hope Baptist Church pastor D. A. S. Jackson "...informed city officials that should the march occur residents would respond with violence that would undoubtedly result in bloodshed" (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:157). That march did not take place, but in May 1921, more than 700 Klansmen marched through downtown Dallas carrying an American flag, a burning cross and signs declaring commitment to White supremacy. The next day, the KKK attached posters to trees and poles all over Dallas warning that anyone, regardless of color, who broke the [segregation] law would be subject to justice by Klansmen. Shortly thereafter, the *Dallas Morning News* began "...an anti-Klan crusade that lasted almost three years, publishing stories denouncing Klan activities, and exposing Klan membership of individuals, among other strategies. Other local papers also joined the anti-Klan fight, which continued for many years in the press and on the political front, with the situation deteriorating as Klansmen continued to be elected to public office and felt empowered to reveal their Klan associations. In November 1924, the Dallas NAACP charter was withdrawn by the national organization due to inactivity of the local chapter (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:157-159). An attempt to reorganize a Dallas NAACP chapter occurred in 1927, but a new charter was not issued until 1929. Following elections in 1925, when candidates in Dallas and on the state level who were associated with the Klan were defeated, the Klan's power waned, although the organization was still feared in the African American community in the 1920s and 1930s (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:161).

During the 1920s, at least two organizations interested in promoting race advancement emerged and formed local branches in Dallas: The Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and the Negro Brotherhood Movement.¹⁸ These groups regarded Black professionals as "self-appointed leaders" and often criticized them for imposing their belief systems and ideas of propriety on everyone. These two groups also criticized traditional religious institutions,

¹⁸ William Sidney Pittman, architect of the Knights of Pythias Building and a number of churches in Dallas and Texas, organized the Negro Brotherhood Movement, and also published a very controversial newspaper called *The Brotherhood Eyes*, which focused on the "less than pious activities of local ministers."

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race leaders and ministers for promoting what they saw as special agendas instead of ideas to bring about universal Black "betterment" (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:173). Dallas' African American churches exercised influence beyond spiritual issues, and "Church congregations and ministers were often in the forefront of petitioning for various neighborhood improvements, establishing organizations, and influencing African Americans to support local businesses....Dallas's secular African American organizations used church facilities to promote their political or social agendas, seizing their visits as opportunities to recruit new membership from local congregations" (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:173-174). However, despite opposition of local leaders, the UNIA and the Negro Brotherhood had wide appeal. The Brotherhood offered health and burial insurance and worked to unionize certain building and industrial trades. Twenty-eight of the organizations' forty-one Dallas members lived in Freedman's Town/North Dallas.

Physical Development in Freedman's Town/North Dallas

From the earliest days of Freedman's/Town North Dallas, both Whites and Blacks lived within the North Dallas area. Some streets contained concentrations of African American households, while others were home to White residents. Still other streets may have included residents of both races. In 1889, the city added six new wards to the existing six and Freedman's Town/North Dallas became part of the Ninth Ward. These additional wards provided for more aldermen and increased political representation, but also "...instituted the municipal enclosure of an area where Whites encircled the burgeoning Freedman's Town/North Dallas community. The African American enclave in North Dallas encompassed approximately one-fifth of the ward's more than 1.5 square mile area" (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:78). As a result of segregationist law, each race established institutions to serve religious, educational, social and commercial needs. "The Dallas African American population devoted time, labor, and limited resources to establishing the churches, schools, fraternal organizations, and businesses that were aspects of life...of utmost importance to Dallas Blacks" (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:80-88).

In 1900, the Ninth Ward boundaries were Ross Street (with high style, high priced White-owned homes) on the south, Haskell Avenue on the east, Pearl Street on the west and McKinney on the northwest (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:78) (see **Figure 12**). As the city's population increased during the 1890s and early 1900s, six new subdivisions were created within the Ninth Ward. Although these became White neighborhoods, pre-1900 deeds for these properties did not include racial restrictions, opening the door to later rental or purchase of homes in these areas. New African American residents to the Ninth Ward largely located in the area bounded by Ross Avenue on the south, Washington on the east, Colby to the north on the east side of the Houston & Texas Central railroad tracks, Cochran to the north on the west side of the tracks, and Leonard on the west (see **Figure 12**), an area inhabited by African Americans since the late 1860s. North Dallas was attractive to both Whites and Blacks because of its proximity to downtown, availability of housing, access to the North Dallas Circuit Railway, which linked North Dallas to other parts of the city and served the needs of both races. As the African American population grew, the White population relocated into non-integrated areas and by the mid-twentieth century, African Americans were the dominant group in the Ninth Ward, and in time the Freedman's Town/North Dallas area became synonymous with the boundaries of the Ninth Ward.

In 1899, the area near St. Paul church included a Masonic hall, an I.O.O.F. lodge with an African American school on the second floor, an I.O.O.F. hall, two churches, including St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, T. E. Nolan's stable, and Negro Public School No. 2 (see **Figure 13**). By 1900, much of the North Dallas African American enclave contained small shotgun dwellings and other house types (see **Figure 14**) that were owned by residents as well by absentee owners. Larger, more expensive homes existed along Ross Avenue, and north of Cochran Avenue. In 1905, development was denser, and the largest concentration of shotgun houses was on Juliette Street and Peak's (now Wade) Alley between Peak's alley and the Houston & Central Texas tracks (**Figure 15**). This area includes St. Paul church as

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well as fraternal organization buildings, a number of other churches, and an expanded Booker T. Washington School [elementary grades only at this date, formerly Negro Public School No. 2].

During the 1920s, the Freedman's Town/North Dallas African American population grew, but new housing subdivisions were available only to Whites. Overcrowding and deterioration of rental units resulted, and in 1924, the City of Dallas undertook a survey of African American housing. A team of African American men and White students from Southern Methodist University conducting the field work. This team included several residents of Freedman's Town/North Dallas and other Black enclaves. A total of 1,245 African American dwellings were documented in the eleven segregated districts in Dallas. The survey revealed that only sixteen percent of the documented dwellings were considered "desirable for habitation." About one-third were "good, but lacking," another third were described as "barely habitable" and about twenty percent were "unfit for human habitation." Half did not have gas, electricity, toilets, running water, or bath tubs (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:186). The deteriorated condition of area homes was made worse by the unsanitary conditions found in streets and in areas behind or next to dwellings. One of the worst was the need to dump dirty water from bathing and cleaning on the ground behind homes because there was no indoor plumbing and no sewer lines. Two-thirds of the homes were rentals, but those that were owner-occupied were "...considered to be in 'first class shape'" (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:186). More than eighty-five percent of streets were unpaved and without sidewalks, a factor, along with the absence of sewer lines, in the development and growth of unsanitary conditions. **Figure 16** shows the area around St. Paul church in 1921, and **Figure 17** is a detail of the St. Paul church area in 1951.

The survey findings also included an analysis of the reasons that Blacks moved into White areas adjacent to Black neighborhoods. Apparently it was generally assumed, and sometimes opined in publications, that African Americans moved into transitioning White neighborhoods out of a desire to live near Whites. The survey findings dispelled this arrogance by stating that African Americans moved into transitioning White neighborhoods to find among their own people clean, respectable homes. The report further pointed out that while poor Whites could move anywhere, African Americans were limited to a defined territory, where it was difficult, if not impossible, to find decent homes and sanitary conditions (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:187). Despite the survey and the associated report findings, newspapers continued to carry stories about the crowded and unsanitary conditions within local African American neighborhoods and identify the conditions as unaddressed. Out of necessity, and with the aid of land speculators who purchased White-owned properties and subsequently made these dwellings available as rental units or for sale to African Americans, the growing Black population continued to slowly expand into formerly White streets adjacent to Black neighborhoods. By 1929, Freeman's Town/North Dallas had expanded to include the entire area bounded by Pearl Street and McKinney Avenue on the west, Haskell Avenue on the east, Ross Avenue on the south and Freeman's Cemetery on the north (see **Figure 12**), while affluent African Americans occupied large, and smaller, dwellings in the adjacent area that originally domiciled Whites.

In addition to substandard housing, African Americans were subject to continuing exposure to infectious disease such as respiratory tuberculosis, which "continued to be one of the more prevalent causes of death throughout..." the 1920s (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:188). Access to hospital care for tuberculosis and other conditions was limited. The result was that African Americans suffering from tuberculosis most often lived at home, where they exposed other family members to this dreaded, and highly contagious, disease. Treatments were limited to rest, a good diet, and dry air. These were luxuries most African Americans did not have access to, and a cure, in the form of treatment with antibiotics, was not available until the early 1950s. While tuberculosis was a scourge that affected people of all races and economic status, its impact was greatest on the poorest segments of the population, which typically lived in overcrowded conditions that lacked basic sanitary facilities.

The federal Housing Act of 1937, authorized construction of new, cost-effective, public housing in low-income African American neighborhoods as a means to address substandard and unsafe housing conditions, but also to

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continue the practice of segregating African Americans in historically Black areas. To determine the best locations for such housing, the Dallas Housing Authority undertook a survey of nineteen residential areas citywide. Three of the nineteen districts were in the Freedman's Town/North Dallas area and comprised approximately one-quarter of that neighborhood (Schulte-Scott, et. al. 2005:85-89). Area #9, bounded by Thomas, Hall, Cochran, H&TC tracks, Munger and Routh (Schulte-Scott, et. al. 2005:89) included the site of St. Paul church. This area, along with the two other Black areas in the Freedman's Town/North Dallas neighborhood, were determined to be the most blighted Black areas in the city, even though these areas included many buildings and dwellings that were not substandard (Schulte-Scott, et. al. 2005:10). As a result, the Freedman's Town/North Dallas community was selected as a site for the construction of a new, low-income housing development for African Americans called Roseland Homes. However, the community's location, which was close to downtown and was served by public transportation, was also a strong factor in its identification as a blighted area. Instead of demolishing just areas where homes were deemed beyond repair, middle-class Black homes also were removed, resulting in a large cleared area (Schulte-Scott, et. al. 2005:90, 96-97).

Roseland Homes was built in Freedman's Town/North Dallas during the late 1930s in an area bounded by Hall Street, and Roseland, Thomas and Washington Avenues. The new development replaced homes considered to be in "severe disrepair and not worth refurbishing" (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:193). Although this project provided, new, decent housing, it eliminated many housing units for the short-term, forcing residents to find other places to live in a severely constrained environment. African Americans began moving into South Dallas, a predominantly White area, and violence erupted during 1940 and 1941 with eighteen bombings of African American owned homes and businesses, "...revealing the hostile sentiments of some South Dallas Whites resentful of the integration taking place in their neighborhood. Other Whites simply moved to escape the changes" (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:195).

The out-migration picked up speed and volume following the 1949 completion of the first segment of the North Central Expressway, which bisected the Freedman's Town/North Dallas community along the former H&TC railroad tracks (see **Figure 12**). The new high-speed highway created a dangerous barrier that effectively confined residents to their respective sides of the highway and prevented safe passage of children to and from schools. During the early-to-mid-1950s, Freedman's Town/North Dallas area residents continued to flock to South Dallas, but also relocated to other neighborhoods in the city, including Oak Cliff, Hamilton Park, West Dallas and an area east of Love Field. Decent, safe housing remained in short supply in Freedman's Town/North Dallas and in other older African American enclaves.

Also contributing to the area's loss of population, buildings and services was the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which ended legalized segregation in all arenas, including housing. Thereafter, public school districts began taking steps to desegregate their schools, a process mandated by the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision that ended segregation in public schools, but which in most places was not implemented for more than ten years. As a result of the 1964 civil rights legislation, new opportunities in housing, education, health care and employment became available to African Americans in Dallas and nationwide, accelerating the out-migration from Freedman's Town/North Dallas and other African American enclaves in the city and elsewhere.

Further impetus for out-migration came to Freedman's Town/North Dallas with the start of right-of-way acquisition for the planned Woodall Rodgers Freeway, which would link Interstate 35-E (Stemmons Freeway) with North Central Expressway (U. S. 75) and run through Freedman's Town/North Dallas on an east-west trajectory as an elevated roadway along portions of the former Cochran Street and Munger Avenue. Right-of-way clearance was completed in 1974, and the freeway opened in 1983 (www.dfwfreeways.com). By the 1970s, there were significantly fewer homes and fewer residents and few businesses or churches remaining in what had been, despite the physical conditions, a thriving center of African American life. By the 1980s, most African American churches in Freedman's Town/North Dallas had sold their property and moved to other areas of the city, or simply disbanded. St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church elected to stay to serve a congregation that includes multi-generation member families as well as new

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members. Located just a block northwest of St. Paul church, the Woodall Rodgers Freeway created another barrier within Freedman's Town/North Dallas, further separating areas that once were visually and physically connected.

Today, the neighborhoods, institutions and vibrant life of Freedman's Town/North Dallas are virtually erased by urban renewal and the transformation of the area into the Dallas Arts District, and high-end apartments, condominiums, restaurants and retail stores in the area northwest and northeast of the Woodall Rodgers Freeway. The Maple-Routh Connector passes under the freeway, linking the area around St. Paul church with the area to the north, but other north-south surface streets in the vicinity of St. Paul church no longer connect with remnants north of the freeway.

Once described as the "Harlem of the west," (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:191) the Freedman's Town/North Dallas enclave retains only a few surviving landmarks, and the demise of the area "...is rooted in the once-segregated area's residential congestion and subsequent ill-effects, city and federally sponsored slum clearance programs, the desirability of land immediately adjacent to the Central Business District, the upward mobility of many who chose to leave, and the displacement of others forced from their residences (Schulte and Prior in Peter 2000, Vol.1:191-192).

St. Paul church describes itself as the "Soul of the Arts District," with the goal of representing the past life of Freedman's Town/North Dallas while addressing the needs and interests of the present. Members are drawn to the church's spiritual message, but also to the many programs and events open to the public. However, the source of church life is no longer the community that once surrounded it, but people who have come together through shared culture. St. Paul is thought to be one of only three buildings to remain from the once vibrant North Dallas African American enclave. It is the only one of the three to retain its physical integrity and historic use.

Church Architecture in Freedman's Town/North Dallas

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, grand Gothic Revival and Romanesque Revival style churches were built in large and medium sized Texas cities, mirroring national trends. Such churches primarily served White congregations, but some affluent Black churches built similar, if typically more subdued, and less costly examples. Some urban congregations constructed smaller buildings with less elaborate detailing using one or a combination of these styles. Still other congregations built Classical Revival style buildings, while smaller and less affluent congregations focused on modest, unembellished church design that could be erected with member skills and labor, and which was within their means. By the 1940s, churches within the Freedman's Town/North Dallas neighborhood numbered fifteen and included the high style Classical Revival St. James A.M.E. Temple designed by noted African American architect William Sidney Pittman; the Romanesque-Gothic-influenced New Hope Baptist Church, and St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, which features Collegiate Gothic Revival and Romanesque Revival style elements. The massive walls of St. Paul church and its subdued detailing suggest elements drawn from the work of Chicago architect H. H. Richardson, for whom the Richardsonian Romanesque style is named.

St. Paul's design is attributed to architect M. H. (or N. H.) Black, about whom nothing was discovered during research for this nomination. Between 1913 and 1924, the church remained unfinished. In that year, Dallas architect Charles H. Leinbach and contractor M.A. White came on board to finish the church, which was completed by 1927. During this time, members of the congregation and the community contributed funds and labor to continuing church construction. As a result, St. Paul church incorporates not only professional design and construction methods, but also elements put up by members and the community, and the church is a rare surviving Dallas example of high-style and vernacular elements.

St. Paul and the Methodist Church

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St. Paul's founding was part of the post-emancipation movement among mainstream White Protestant denominations to provide opportunities for the development of African American churches. St. Paul church organized as a Methodist Episcopal Church, which was based largely in the North, and included both White and African American members. In 1844, the Methodist Episcopal Church split over slavery into the Methodist Episcopal Church (which did not support slavery) and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (which did not oppose it). Following emancipation, the Methodist Episcopal Church supported the organization of Black congregations within the denomination, but segregated such churches into their own annual conferences. Following emancipation, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South supported a separate Methodist denomination for African Americans — the Colored Methodist Episcopal (C.M.E.) Church. The development of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church also was favored by African American Methodists in the South because it promised to provide more autonomy and control over decisions and programs than did staying a part of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. During the 1950s, the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church changed its name to the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church.¹⁹

Although the Methodist Episcopal Church had not supported slavery, it did practice segregation, and as early as 1876 the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church voted to divide annual conferences along racial lines (United Methodist Church c).²⁰ In 1939, the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Methodist Protestant Church united to become the Methodist Church, and as part of that merger, the new Methodist Church decided to continue segregating Black churches within church organizational structure. To that end, the Methodist Church organized White churches geographically into five jurisdictions, but placed the annual conferences of all Black churches in a single administrative unit, regardless of geographic location. This administrative unit was the Central Jurisdiction (United Methodist Church d). In 1956 Black churches were permitted to move from a segregated annual conference and the Central Jurisdiction to the appropriate geographical jurisdiction, provided the receiving conference and jurisdiction agreed. In 1968, the Evangelical United Brethren Church joined with the Methodist Church to form the United Methodist Church of today. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 signaled the end of the Central Jurisdiction (United Methodist Church c). At a special session of the 1970 General Conference in St. Louis, the Central Jurisdiction was abolished and by 1972 "...those churches from the former Central Jurisdiction became member churches of the conference in their geographical location" (Bridwell Library d:130). In the case of St. Paul, that conference was the North Texas Conference.

St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church 1873-1913

Oral tradition relates that during the summer of 1873, a group of freedmen and freedwomen began meeting under a brush arbor²¹ on a vacant lot at the northeast end of North Dallas. At that time, the new congregation had not yet received official recognition by the Methodist Episcopal Church, nor had it received its official name. St. Paul church is considered the oldest African American Methodist Church in Dallas, and the third oldest African American church to be founded in the Freedman's Town/North Dallas neighborhood. St. Paul church was established a few months after New Hope Baptist Church and Boll Street C.M.E. Church, which both also organized in 1873. St. Paul's first pastor was H. Boliver. Those attending the initial services included "...ex-slaves and freed soldiers..." (St. Paul United

¹⁹ Other Methodist denominations include the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church, which was established in Philadelphia in 1796 when free people of color left the Methodist Episcopal Church over the issues of segregated seating, segregation during communion, and likely other segregated activities, during church services. Other African American Methodist denominations also were established over time including the Methodist Protestant Church.

²⁰ St. Paul was part of the West Texas Conference.

²¹ An undated photo supporting this tradition appears on page 39 of the 140th anniversary booklet produced by the church. It's very small size and poor image quality did not permit inclusion in this nomination. The original image was not located.

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Methodist Church files, y:1), and formed the nucleus of the congregation that became St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church.

St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church traces the foundation for its establishment to the 1865 Mississippi Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which was organized at Wesley Church in New Orleans to help found and administer all African American Methodist Episcopal Church congregations in Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas. In 1867, the Texas Conference was organized at Trinity Church in Houston. The conference's western boundary was roughly a line that ran from the east boundary of Matagorda, Wharton and Colorado counties north to Calvert, but excluding Calvert and all of Texas west of the line, and continuing to the north boundary line of the State of Texas. On January 22, 1874, the West Texas Conference was created at Wesley Church in Austin, and included all the African American Methodist churches west of the above described line. At the 1876²² West Texas Conference meeting, the Freedman's Town/North Dallas congregation was organized as St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church under the leadership of Rev. J. G. Webster and Dr. William Bush, Austin District Presiding Elder (Minutes of the Annual West Texas Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1876, in Skipper Papers a:1).²³ Rev. J. G. Webster served from 1876 to 1877 as the church's third pastor.

St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church is located in the Peak's Addition to the City of Dallas (**Figure 18**), which was platted by Jefferson Peak, an early White, Dallas resident and businessman on May 4, 1874 (Dallas County Deed Records X/161). The Peak's Addition was created during a period of land speculation which followed the arrival of two rail lines that spurred an influx of new Black and White residents into Freedman's Town/North Dallas, and other areas of Dallas, seeking new job opportunities. The church lot (see **Figure 18**) was bisected by the 1871-early 1880s Dallas City boundary in the Freedman's Town/North Dallas neighborhood.

On September 20, 1874, Jefferson Peak sold the west one-half of Lot 5 in Block 305 of the Peak's Addition to Richard Lane for \$200 (Dallas County Deed Records Z/11). This parcel was located at the southeast corner of Juliette Street (aka Munger Avenue) and Burford Street (aka Good, Routh streets).²⁴ Just five weeks later, on October 28, 1874, Richard Lane sold the same parcel for \$150 to William Brash [sic], L. H. Carhart, A. B. Norton, W. P. Boliver²⁵ and Ed Finn, Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church "as a place of Divine Worship and for school purposes" (Dallas County Deed Records Y/782). This property measured 46 feet wide and 174 feet long and became the site of the first St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church. Just a few months later, on February 7, 1875, the church trustees signed a deed of trust with John C. McCoy for \$250 for the "...better securing of the property by the Board of Church Extension of

²² There is a conflict in dates regarding the West Texas Conference organization of the Dallas mission church as St. Paul. A 1980 publication *Highlights of Our Church's History Pictorial Directory: "The Story,"* by church trustee W.A. Wells, cites 1874 as date for the creation of St. Paul church as a mission of the Dallas Methodist Episcopal Church, while the Skipper document, which utilized the West Texas Conference minutes, shows it as 1876. Since the conference minutes are contemporary to the organizational events, and the Wells document is not, the 1876 date is used herein. The Wells document is located in located in the C. A. Walton Collection in the History and Archived Division of the Dallas Public Library, but due to the remodeling of that department, manuscripts and collections will not be available for research until construction is completed. The Wells document was, therefore, not accessed during research for this nomination.

²³ St. Paul trustee A. B. Norton was Caucasian, and Richard Lane and William Bush, another church trustee, were likely Caucasian. Other trustees listed on the deed also may have been Caucasian. The assistance of educated White citizens in acquiring land and a loan to build a church, or to acquire a building to be used as a church, was not unusual in this era, when African Americans had limited financial resources and lacked access to financing through banks due to legal barriers.

²⁴ The lot containing St. Paul church may or may not be the vacant lot on which the congregation first met.

²⁵ H. Boliver is listed as the first pastor in church histories. W.P. Boliver is listed as one of the church's trustees on the 1874 Lane deed. Perhaps these men were brothers or otherwise related. Or, perhaps an error was made in recording their names and they were one and the same person.

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the Methodist Episcopal Church" (Dallas County Deed Records AA/651-653). This loan by the Board of Church Extension financed the acquisition of a wood frame building (or house), which served as the first church building.²⁶

The first St. Paul church was built on, or moved to, the site at Juliette and Burford streets in 1875. The building was oriented northwest, with its primary elevation facing onto Juliette Street. This church building has been described as a rectangular plan wood-frame building, which may have been designed for use as a house.²⁷ The church apparently was a victim of arson in 1876 or 1877, and church oral tradition relates that it was demolished about 1884. However, a *Dallas Morning News* article (1-2-1887:4) a visitor to the church in 1887 describes it as still in use, indicating that the fire damage had been repaired. On December 20, 1889, the church received a release of lien for the 1875 loan that funded the original wood church (Dallas County Deed Records 143/79).

On February 25, 1891, the Trustees of St. Paul church took out a mortgage with one Philip Lindsley, described as a trustee, on the south 90 by 46-foot portion of their original lot (Dallas County Mortgage Records 35/421), probably to finance the construction of a second church, which was built of brick, and hereinafter called the first brick church. The first brick church was erected on the northeast corner of Juliette and Burford streets (Sanborn Fire Insurance Map 1899) at the northwest corner of the church's 46 by 174 foot lot. This loan was repaid and the note released on October 24, 1892 (Dallas County Deed Records 160/550-551).

According to the 1899 Sanborn Map (see **Figure 14**), the new church included a centrally placed entry portico with a two-story spire. The east elevation was pierced by four, evenly-spaced windows on the second floor. A rectangular projection at the rear of the church (south elevation) included two windows on the first floor and two on the second floor. Perhaps for security reasons, there were no windows on the west or north elevations, which were street frontages. The 1905 Sanborn Map shows that the second floor windows had been replaced by three, evenly-spaced east elevation first-floor windows. The south elevation windows had been removed, but electric lights and heat stoves had been added (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, 1899:44, 1905:38).

A ca. 1914-1915 photograph (**Figure 19**) shows a class of children with their teacher against a wall with three clustered first floor windows. A caption for the photo identifies this image as a St. Paul church class about 1914 or 1915. However, the clustered arrangement of three first-floor windows do not correspond to the 1905 Sanborn Map, which shows evenly spaced windows on the first floor. However, since the windows were changed between 1899 and 1905, they could have been changed again between 1905 and ca. 1914. According to retired church historian Jimmie Mae Moore, the first brick church was condemned in 1917 or 1918,²⁸ and subsequently demolished. However, since construction of the present church began January 1913 in the same location as the first brick church, or a few feet east of it, it is likely the first brick church was demolished prior to 1913. Thus, either **Figure 19** is not the first brick church, or the photograph predates 1913.

Changes to the Church Lot

Additions to the original 46 by 174 foot lot were made in 1910, 1962, and at other, unknown dates. With these acquisitions, the church lot attained its current 92 by 174 foot dimensions, which is all of Lot 5 in Block 305 (see **Figure 4**). The first acquisition occurred on March 7, 1910, when Nicoli (or N.) Negro sold the trustees of St. Paul

²⁶ The 1950 diamond anniversary publication produced by the church states that on April 14, 1875, that the Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church donated \$250.00 for church construction. A deed of trust shows this amount as a loan, and an 1889 release documents the retirement of the \$250.00 debt.

²⁷ No photographs or drawings of this first church have been located, and the first Sanborn Map for the area including the church dates from 1899.

²⁸ No demolition permit was located.

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Methodist Episcopal Church a 23 by 87 foot lot facing Juliette Street and abutting the church's east lot line; the purchase price was \$400 (Dallas County Deed Records (464/636). Sometime after May 1911, St. Paul church sold the south 87 by 46 foot portion of their original lot to Mrs. Catherine (Kate) Turley, a church member, perhaps to help finance the present church building. On September 27, 1918, Kate Turley sold this same parcel back to St. Paul's trustees (Dallas County Deed Records 760/303) for a sum of \$500 to be paid in a mortgage with a vendor's lien. On April 4, 1962, W. R. McCarley sold the trustees of St. Paul church a 23 by 87 foot lot facing Juliette Street abutting the east line of the Nicoli Negro parcel. McCarley purchased this property from Viola Simmons on October 3, 1942 (Dallas County Deed Records 5752/252). At an unknown date, the church purchased two 23 x 87 foot lots located east of the south half of the original church lot. Deeds for these transactions were not located. By 1981, the church property reached its current size, and in that year, the lot was reduced slightly with the sale of 2,300 square feet off the northwest end and 920 square feet off the southeast end. These areas were sold to the Dallas Market Company and included former street right-of-way on Juliette Street (Dallas County Records QCD 10/26/1981). They are now part of the parking lots under non-church ownership that surround the church property.

Building the New St. Paul Church

The earliest located written record related to construction of the present church is a May 11, 1911 building permit noted in the city building permit log book at the Dallas Public Library. The actual permit, #669, is missing from city permit files,²⁹ but the log book entry shows the church lot as measuring 68.5 by 174, which includes the parcel purchased from Nicoli Negro in 1910, and the 23 by 87 foot lot directly south of the Nicoli Negro lot, which was not part of the church's original 46 by 174 foot parcel. The permit also shows the value of the proposed brick church building at \$25,000. The lot size indicates that the southern half of the original lot had not yet been sold to Kate Turley. An architectural rendering of the "new" St. Paul church, bearing what may be a date of 1911 (see **Figure 1**), was published in February 1913 in the *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Bridwell Library f 2-6-1913:10). The drawing depicts a building nearly identical to the present church.

The church applied for another building permit on January 10, 1913. This permit shows the architect as M. H. (or N. H.) Black and the contractor as the Hardeman Belcher Company. No information was located on architect Black, but the contractor was an established firm that operated in Dallas for many years under a number of changing, but similar, names (Dallas City Directories 1910-1940). This permit shows the lot measurements as 46 by 83, indicating that Kate Turley was still in possession of the southern portion of the original church lot, and that the Nicoli Negro lot was not included in the lot measurements. The lot width shown as 46 feet instead of 68.5 feet appears to be an error, as the present church occupies 68.5 feet of its 92 foot lot. The remaining 23.5 feet is the site of the mechanical equipment abutting the northeast elevation that was installed between 2006 and 2010.

The February 6, 1913, article in the Methodist publication *Southwestern Christian Advocate* states that construction of the new St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church in Dallas began on January 13, 1913. The article provides detailed information on the exterior and interior materials to be used as well as internal arrangement of space. The foundation was to be of rubble stone with concrete footings. Plaster walls and ceilings were specified for all rooms on the first and second floor and for all rooms under the Sunday school room. Wood wainscoting was to be used on the lower portion of walls in some rooms. The sanctuary ceiling, and the face and soffit of all arches were to be finished with expanded metal. Flooring for the sanctuary, gallery, and hall first floor rooms was specified as 1 by 4 tongue and groove native fir or Southern pine, while flooring in all basement rooms except the boiler room, toilet rooms, and store rooms, and in all halls and the Sunday school room were to be of 1 by 4 tongue and groove Oregon or native fir.

²⁹ Building permits often have a life span of a several months to a few years and if construction does not begin within a designated period of time, the permit expires. This may be the reason that the 1911 permit is missing from city permit records, or it simply may have been lost or is not included in the data for the church address.

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As was typical of the time, the article did not include the name of the building's architect or contractor. Written by church pastor Rev. N. J. Johnson, who was assigned to St. Paul during 1900-1901, and for a second term between 1907 and 1912 (St. Paul United Methodist Church z:12), the article also includes a photograph of Reverend Johnson and promises to provide, in the near future, the program for the laying of the cornerstone (Bridwell Library f:10). However, the promised second article was not located in *Advocate* issues published during the remainder of 1913, or during the early part of 1914. As Johnson apparently left St. Paul sometime in late 1912 or early 1913, construction may have stalled shortly after it began, or proceeded at a very slow rate. It is likely that the initial construction that began in 1913 eventually resulted in the basement, shown on the 1921 Sanborn Map (**Figure 5**). The basement was called Noah's Ark by the congregation. Since construction funding was an issue, the basement may have been wholly or in part hand dug by church members, and when finished used for church services and events until Dr. G. A. Deslandes became pastor of St. Paul church in 1923 to guide fundraising and completion of the current church between 1924 and 1927.

Despite the fairly straightforward construction history documented by building permits issued in 1911 and 1913, and the 1913 article in the *Southwestern Christian Advocate*, there are oral traditions, a historic photograph, two deeds recording the purchase and sale of church property, a plaque and a carved commemorative stone on the church, and a 1980 document written by church trustee W.A. Wells that may suggest a more protracted construction period than 1913-1927, and/or errors in passing along oral information about the construction of the present church.

The plaque on the Routh Street elevation of the present St. Paul church records that the building was constructed starting in 1912 under Rev. N. J. Johnson. The commemorative stone, also on the Routh Street elevation, gives dates of 1907-1919 for Rev. Johnson. An undated photograph shows a group of men with horses, a plow and shovels standing in a plowed lot (St. Paul United Methodist Church z:13).³⁰ The photograph is labeled "Digging the original foundation." The photo also shows a frame building on an adjacent lot surrounded by undeveloped land covered with dense vegetation. Sometime after May 1911, the church sold the south 46 by 87 foot section of the original lot to church member Kate Turley, who sold the same property back to the church in September 1918. The 1980 document by W. A. Wells, written after the 1973 fire that destroyed nearly all church records, including church plans that existed in 1921 (Sanborn Map 1921) states that the church was begun in 1901, the basement was concrete and was hand dug by the congregation. Oral tradition in the church relates that the first brick church was condemned about 1917 or 1918.

An attempt to sort out the confused construction sequence for the present church begins with the 1950 diamond anniversary brochure produced by St. Paul church as part of its celebration of the church's 75th year. It states "Under the leadership of Dr. N. J. Johnson the old church was condemned and the present structure was begun" (Mays-Roberson Papers b:7), but no date is provided. Rev. Johnson served the St. Paul congregation twice. His first term was from 1900-1901 and his second term was from 1907-1912, and his two terms may be the cause of the conflicting 1901 Wells document date and the 1912 church plaque date. Both the 1899 and the 1905 Sanborn maps show the first brick church. The 1919 date in association with Rev. Johnson's name on the carved stone marker on the church façade may indicate an error in his service dates, or it may note the completion of the basement, which was started during or just after Johnson's second term. The diamond anniversary brochure also relates that the original wood church served the congregation for many years and during that time "...a foundation was being dug for the first brick church" (Mays-Roberson Papers b:7). This likely refers to the digging crew seen in an undated photograph published in the church's 140th anniversary book (St. Paul United Methodist Church files z) and could be the origin of the 1980 Wells document statement that the basement was hand dug by church members.³¹ The undated photo more likely shows the start of excavation for the first brick church, which probably occurred during the summer of 1891.

³⁰ Due to the small size and poor quality of this image, it is not included here. The original photograph was not located.

³¹ It should be noted that the first brick church is shown on the 1899 and 1905 Sanborn maps. These maps do not show the church as having a basement (Sanborn Maps 1899, 1905). However, the first brick church would have had a foundation.

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Rev. Johnson's 1913 article in the *Southwestern Christian Advocate* includes reference to the present church foundation, which was to be rubble stone with concrete footings. This may be the origin of the Wells document statement that the foundation was concrete. The 1921 Sanborn Map (see **Figure 5**) shows the church basement as pink (for brick), not blue (for concrete or stone), and the historic walls of the basement level are brick, not concrete. Over time, the words foundation and basement may have been used interchangeably, accounting for Wells' reference to the present church as having a concrete basement. However, the digging crew photo also could show a short-lived 1911 construction start for the present church, which would coincide with the missing 1911 building permit. A third possibility is that the photo shows the start of construction in the summer of 1912. Since the trees and shrubs in the photo are in full leaf, and the men dressed for hot weather, the photo was not taken during the period just prior to the issuance of the January 10, 1913 building permit. If the undated photo shows initial 1911 or 1912 basement work for the present church, the location of that work would have had to have been east of the ca. 1891 first brick church because a portion of a frame dwelling is seen to the east of the plowed area where the digging crew posed, and there was vacant space between the first brick church's location and the dwelling. If the ca. 1891 first brick church was still present in either 1911 or 1913, such excavation would likely have undermined, or at least weakened, the foundation and walls of the first brick church, so it is possible that the estimated date of 1917 or 1918 for the condemnation of the first brick church may be correct. If that is the case, following the demolition of the first brick church in 1917 or 1918, basement excavation would have expanded to include the western section of the present church footprint, and continued southward to include the rounded portion of the church, located on the lot sold to Kate Turley in 1911 and sold back to the church in September 1918.³² The 1921 Sanborn Map (see **Figure 5**) shows the church as a one-story, roofed basement³³ with a two-story corner tower at Burford and Juliette, and a footprint that is nearly the same as the present church.³⁴ The two-story tower was topped by a 45-foot-high wood spire.

The 2006-2010 rehabilitation work conducted by the architectural firm of Good Farrell & Fulton revealed now-below-grade enclosed basement windows in both the straight and curved brick walls of the annex, suggesting that the annex was older than previously thought, but no information was located on how old it was previously thought to be, or if an

³² The Texas Subject Marker application narrative cites church W. A. Wells as the source for the 1901 construction date and the statement that the basement was concrete, called Noah's Ark, was hand dug by church members and was used until the church was finished in 1927. Although the basement of the present church *was* called Noah's Ark, *was* used until the church was finished in 1927, and *might have been* at least partially hand dug by church members, the basement of the present church does not appear to have been concrete, nor was it likely begun in 1901 as discussed above. In his illustrated book *Black Church in Texas*, author Clyde McQueen gives the start of the construction program for the present church as 1912 (McQueen 2000:175). However, the Prior and Schulte social history of Freedman's Town/North Dallas (Peter 2000, Vol.1:104) also gives the construction date as 1901. This reference is likely the result of the 1901 reference in the W.A. Wells document.

³³ Although the 1921 Sanborn Map shows the designation 1B and some researchers have interpreted this to mean the church was a basement and one story, one interviewed church member stated that the sanctuary floor was the basement roof in the years prior to completion of the present church. It appears that the 1B means the building was a one-story basement (some basements are one and one-half stories or even two-stories high. Such are known as raised basements, and the basement of the present St. Paul is a partially raised basement that rises a few feet above grade. In support of the one-story basement is the absence of important exterior design elements from the 1921 Sanborn Map footprint, including the current tower at the southwest corner of the sanctuary and the current raised, first-floor entry portico that has longer dimensions than the entry shown on the map. The height of the basement building is shown as 12 feet, which means that if it had been a basement and one story, the basement and the first floor would each have been only six-feet high. It also means that it would have been necessary to demolish a large portion of the Burford Street elevation to configure the sanctuary at its finished size and add the southwest corner tower. In addition, it would have been necessary to cut holes in the first floor brick walls to install windows, something that would have weakened the unreinforced walls.

³⁴ Since it was located on a corner, and entry was likely through a door at the corner of Juliette and Burford streets, the church has an address of 2600 Juliette Street. By the early 1940s, church records list the address is 1814 Routh Street. A secondary entrance was located in the north corner tower.

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estimated age was determined. However, the 2006-2010 architectural crew found no evidence that the annex section and the sanctuary section were built at different times. With the loss of virtually all pre-1973 historic church records in the November 1973 fire, development of a complete progression of the planning, design and construction of the present church is not possible. After extensive research into this issue, the date for construction of the present church given in this document is based on building permit information and the article on the church published in February 1913 in the *Southwestern Christian Advocate*.

A 1919 newspaper article states that "another effort is being put forth to complete the erection of the church" (*Dallas Express* 5-24-1919:11), which suggests that work had been done on the new St. Paul Church prior to 1919. As for where the congregation held services during the early part of construction, church tradition also relates that following the start of church construction (referring to the apparent erroneous 1901 date), services were held at the Odd Fellows Hall on Flora Street (south of the church property) or in the basement of the new church while it was being built (Prior and Schulte in Peter 2000, Vol.1:104). It seems likely that this information refers to the first brick church and to the present brick church as well.

That the congregation had been using the basement for services, church programs and other events for some time is evidenced by its name, "Noah's Ark," which refers to its age, but also may reference the presence of water in the basement, which often was deep enough to prevent its use (Cox interview, ca. 2003). Other African American churches in Dallas and elsewhere in Texas also built a basement that served as the church until funding was available to complete the building (*Dallas Morning News* 8-21-1950:III:1,11). Churches built over time from an initial basement were called "Nickel Cathedrals" (Leah Parker in Clay communication 1-20-2016). One Dallas example is the Greater El Bethel Church in the Tenth Street neighborhood of Oak Cliff (Quimby McCoy Preservation Architecture 2008:2). St. Paul church raised building funds throughout the construction period, and a November 1921 financial report shows \$2,957.39 in the building fund (*Dallas Express* 11-21-1921). Although not insubstantial, this sum and other similar amounts that may have been collected were not enough to bring the church to completion.

In 1923, Bishop Robert Elijah Jones³⁵ appointed Rev. Dr. George A. Deslandes, a Black native of Jamaica and former professor at Wiley College, an African American institution in Marshall, Texas, to guide completion of the church. Deslandes served St. Paul from 1923 to 1927, and was assigned to St. Paul for his ability to get churches "out of the basement" through his skill as a fundraiser within in his circle of White friends (Skipper Papers a:4). Other churches he helped complete were in Longview, Texarkana, Paris, Huntsville, Galveston, Houston, Beaumont, Marlin, Waco, San Antonio, Abilene and Austin (*Dallas Morning News* 8-21-1950:III:1,11)." Within thirty days of his arrival at St. Paul, white friends and businessmen had donated \$7,500. The church itself raised \$2,500. The national church [Board of Church Extension, Philadelphia] loaned \$5,000 and the Negro Knights of Pythias loaned \$15,000" (*Dallas Morning News*, 8-21-1950;III:1,11). If these amounts are correctly reported, the church now had enough to finish construction, but the two loans, amounting to \$20,000, was a debt that would have to be repaid.

In 1924, the church hired Charles H. Leinbach, a Dallas architect who later became a member of the American Institute of Architects, and practiced into the 1960s. Leinbach likely modified the ca. 1911 design to include the three towers of nearly equal height, the flat roof, the currently configured entry portico containing three arches, as well as minor changes not part of the original concept drawing. On December 5, 1924, Leinbach pulled building permit #4722 for a \$29,000 brick addition at the A.M.E. (sic) Church of St. Paul's, located at 1828 Burford Street. The permit lists

³⁵ Bishop Jones was elected in 1920 by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the post of General Superintendent and assigned to the New Orleans Area, which included both the Texas Conference and the West Texas Conference. Jones was the former editor of the *Southwestern Christian Advocate*, which published the ca. 1911 concept drawing for the current St. Paul church. He was the first African American General Superintendent in the Methodist Episcopal Church and the first, or one of the first, African American bishop.

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Leinbach as the architect and M. A. White as the contractor. On Sunday, November 1, 1925, the church held an opening program. It is not clear if the church was totally completed at that time, but it was complete enough to hold services in the sanctuary. At the start of the service, the congregation walked to the sanctuary in procession led by the choir singing "Onward, Christian Soldiers" and "God of Our Fathers." Gospel hymns also were an important part of the service, and J. H. Lovell, the private secretary of Bishop Robert E. Jones, delivered the sermon. Rev. Deslandes announced that all but \$21,000 of cost to construct the building had been paid, and during the service, \$270.30 was contributed for the building fund. The cost to construct the building was given as \$90,000.³⁶ Following the Sunday service, a series of talks were presented by African American citizens. Special services in conjunction with neighborhood African American churches were scheduled for each night during the following week (*Dallas Morning News* 11-2-1925:III:2). All work is thought to have been completed by 1927 (Skipper Papers a:4), which probably means the city signed off at that time on the 1924 permit. The construction and completion of the church spanned more than ten years, and is a testament to the vision, dedication, perseverance and hard work of the congregation and its ministers, and to the commitment of its members and pastors to the cooperation between Blacks and Whites that brought the new St. Paul to fruition.

In reflecting on the history of the present church's construction and the associated debts, it becomes clear that the timing and the amount of construction performed between 1913 and 1921 is less important to the story and significance of St. Paul than are the methods by which the church was built and its association with African American social history. Church tradition tells of the purchase of brick in small lots as funds became available and the participation of church members and community residents in the building of the walls, in lieu of hiring a contractor.³⁷ Church members also may have participated in excavation of the basement that served as Noah's Ark. These oral traditions are borne out by the length of time it took to complete the church, by the various, but similar, brick colors found in the basement walls of the church and on the east elevation, and the varying levels of skill used in laying up the walls — some wall sections were clearly built by trained masons, while other areas display looser application of mortar and uneven brick courses. Both the varying brick colors and varying levels of skill in laying the brick were documented during the 2006-2010 rehabilitation project (Rollins interview 5-22-2015). Further, the use of member and community labor in a brick-by-brick construction format continues the practice of first-generation-free-people working together toward a long-range goal, which was prevalent in African American histories during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries (Clay interview 6-11-2015). In this way, the church building itself, although designed by an architect, is in part a vernacular construction and interprets not only its architectural history and intended use, but the social history of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century African Americans.

Retiring the Mortgages on the New St. Paul Church

When Rev. Talbot W. Handy, Sr. was assigned to St. Paul church in 1941, the congregation was laboring under a staggering debt, and the church as well as the surrounding community was still suffering, like much of the country, from the economic effects of the Great Depression. But with the start of World War II, the congregation "...seemed to experience spiritual rebirth," and under his leadership, Handy inspired the congregation to "...a commitment that would assist in the liquidation of the church mortgage (St. Paul United Methodist Church files p ca. 1944). During this period, the church also sponsored a variety of activities and programs to serve the community and increase attendance and membership. One of the associated fundraising events was a popularity contest to select a Miss St. Paul, a Mrs. St. Paul and a Mr. St. Paul. Members and the community voted for the candidate of their choice by donating to the building fund. The three members who brought in the most money were Miss Grace Bradley, Mr. E. D. Grant and Mrs. Jimmie Mae Moore. Mrs. Moore became the church's longtime historian.

³⁶ A 1950 source says \$80,000.

³⁷ Some brick from the ca. 1891 church, which is thought to have been demolished in 1917 or 1918, also may have been salvaged and used in the construction of the new St. Paul.

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By 1944, the church construction debt had grown from \$30,000 to \$42,016.79 (St. Paul United Methodist Church files d:1-2). In February 1927, the church had borrowed \$30,000 from Southland Building & Loan Association. The mortgage was to be repaid in 126 monthly installments of \$399 each, and the final payment was to be \$558. At about the same time, building contractors and others who had supplied materials or labor for church construction, including contractor M.A. White, filed law suits against the church in an attempt to obtain payment. At first, enthusiasm for repaying the \$30,000 mortgage was "high" but as time passed, payments were missed and the amount owed increased. Church trustees had signed the loan documents in 1927, and because of the loan's size, additional endorsers were added to further guarantee the deed of trust. Refinancing arrangements were made to address the problem through additional deeds of trust, but the interest continued to increase. One of the refinancing trust deeds was executed on December 31, 1929, a little more than two months following the October, 1929 stock market crash and the start of the Great Depression. The 1929 trust deed was for \$34,640.15. Another trust deed signed in 1936 was for \$35,000. St. Paul was significantly behind in payments and the debt was growing. Following many bank failures in the 1930s all across the country, the federal government investigated banking and lending practices, and those institutions found to be unsound were forced to close. The lender on St. Paul's 1936 trust deed was one that closed (St. Paul United Methodist Church files d:3). Another Dallas area lender, a savings and loan that survived the banking upheaval and the Depression, took over St. Paul's loan, which in 1936 was \$42,016.79. To recoup some of its investment in accepting the failing loan, the savings and loan offered the church the following deal, which was accepted: Upon the church trustees signing a new loan for \$35,000, the lender dropped the amount owed from \$42,016.79 to \$35,000, then subtracted \$7,016.79 from the note, and included a provision that as the church made monthly payments of \$150, the lender credited the church with payment of \$300 monthly. St. Paul kept up with the notes until the end of 1941, when then pastor Rev. L.L. Haynes left his post at the church, and the interest again began to mount.

Meanwhile, Bishop Jones had been keeping a "watchful eye" on St. Paul, assisting as needed. Through Bishop Jones, St. Paul's situation came to the attention of the Board of Home Missions, and District Superintendent Rev. F. D. Young, working through the Bishop's office, offered to pay off the loan contingent on the church raising a specified dollar amount. Bishop Jones would approve "...cooperation from the Board for so much, and thus relieve the situation." Dr. F. W. Mueller, Head of the Board of Home Missions, Philadelphia, paid \$11,000 toward the note (St. Paul United Methodist Church files d:8), and during 1941, the church also received assistance in paying the notes from the Church Extension Section of the Board of Home Missions, which paid \$500 toward the loan. Additional funds were raised by St. Paul, and through a series of small loans from a local bank and the Board of Home Missions, the debt to the savings and loan was retired. The church then sold shares to members at \$12 each and raised enough to retire their debt to the local bank and the board.

Rev. Handy wrote an amusing, and at the same time, very serious document called "The Emancipation Proclamation of St. Paul Methodist Church, Dallas, Texas" in which he refers to the January 1, 1863 Emancipation Proclamation which set free "four million Negro slaves, and thus giving to the Negro race in America, freedom of body...", and summarizes the history of the church's debt retirement, honors Bishop R. E. Jones for his leadership in bringing about solvency, notes that President Roosevelt had asked everyone to "...pay himself out of debt," and exhorts the congregation to, on Sunday, January 2, 1944, "...arise up and buy our freedom (St. Paul United Methodist Church files g) through contributions needed to retire the remaining small debt. By April 1944, the remaining debt had been repaid and the church made plans for a "mortgage burning," held on May 14, 1944, St. Paul's Emancipation Day." Resident Bishop R. E. Jones of New Orleans and Dr. F. W. Mueller of Philadelphia were slated to attend. St. Paul's minister of music Professor S. J. Murphy planned a chorus of 100 voices (St. Paul United Methodist Church files p 4-1-1944) in celebration.

In 1950, the St. Paul congregation celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding (this probably refers to the acquisition or construction of the 1875 wood church) with Sunday morning and evening services and an afternoon tea.

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Rev. G.A. Deslandes, then 89 and living in San Antonio, attended as did guest speakers Everett Bell, dean of the law school at the African American law school in Houston; Rev. William M. Ellison, professor at Samuel Huston College in Austin, and Dr. L. G. Pinkston, prominent local African American physician, long-time member and trustee of St. Paul church, and trustee of Wiley College in Marshall (*Dallas Morning News* 8-18-1950:III:1).

Church Programs and Community Outreach

General Programs and Ministries

By the 1920s, St. Paul was considered a "silk stocking" congregation because of the large number of members in the professions, business, teaching, and social welfare work. These included Dr. W. R. Mc Millan, Dr. L.G. Pinkston, and others. But the church had more humble beginnings with most early members migrating to Dallas from rural areas and small towns for improved employment opportunities and at least a perceived sense of safety in numbers. This trend seems to have continued as Freedman's Town/North Dallas grew into a regional center for Black culture and life. Many of the church members interviewed for this nomination noted that their families came to Dallas for improved job prospects from the rural areas and small towns of central and east Texas.

Virtually all records that may have been kept on church programs and outreach during the first forty-plus years of the present St. Paul's existence were destroyed in the 1973 church fire. Newspapers, especially the African American weekly, the *Dallas Express*, provided much of what is known about church outreach during the 1920s, and 1930s, while other Dallas newspapers, church documents, oral histories and interviews and photographs provide information on the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. According to many church members interviewed, St. Paul's commitment to social service programs has always been done quietly to protect the privacy and dignity of those receiving help. Therefore, it is unlikely that many written records were kept about these activities. However, assistance likely to have been provided in the 1920s and 1930s was the distribution of cooked meals, help purchasing necessities including food, clothing, medicine and other related items, and visiting the sick and bereaved. Another factor affecting access to information on programs from these decades is the passing of members who were present during those years. Further, in the late 1920s the *Dallas Express* shifted its focus from local and statewide church news with some articles on important legal, political and social issues affecting African Americans to a format that largely presented social and political news of the day. But the paper continued to include a column called "Among Our Churches," which focused on Dallas, and a column that ran short listings on church activities in smaller communities throughout Texas and other states. St. Paul did not submit weekly information on its programs, since none appeared in the "Among Our Churches" listing, and members recall that the church disseminated information on weekly programs and events by word of mouth (Cox, Brown and Marshall interviews). Thus, program coverage in the press was limited to major church events.³⁸

The earliest located description of programs at St. Paul comes from the May 24, 1919 issue of the *Dallas Express*:

At a few minutes past nine o'clock, tots and grown-ups were found wending their way to the Sabbath school. Supt. and teachers were present and the spirit and enthusiasm ran high. The Sunday school is fast growing and a hearty welcome is extended.

The morning worship was good, and the attendance was large. We were treated to an excellent sermon delivered by Prof. A. A. Gordon, State Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. Prof. Gordon's remarks were to the point and well received. At the night service, Rev. J. D. Rice, assistant secretary to Prof. Gordon preached a powerful sermon. The distinguished gentlemen are always welcome. Collections

³⁸ Located issues of the *Dallas Express* do not include the years 1929-1934.

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for the day, above \$80.00. Another effort is being put forth to complete the erection of the church. A more set [sic] of loyal members cannot be found in the West Texas Conference. — A.M. Harris, Reporter.

Starting with St. Paul's housing of Methodist Church-sponsored normal school classes in its first church building during 1876, St. Paul church held many church-related meetings including district annual conferences, church conventions and other events. In 1928, St. Paul hosted at least two church-related events, a Methodist Sunday school convention that provided area Sunday schools opportunity to network and present programs (*Dallas Express* 8-25-1928:3), and the West Texas District conference under leadership of Miss Leola King (*Dallas Express* 11-16-1928:n.p.)

The earliest program document located in church files is for the 1929 Men's Day Program. By 1929 Men's Day was likely an established annual event that honored male members' service to the church and the community (St. Paul United Methodist Church Files t). Men's Day events continue to be held. Similarly, the contributions of female members were honored in an annual Women's Day ceremony and these events also continue to be held. The congregation's children also were, and continue to be, honored for their educational achievements and service to the church and community, and very likely this tradition dates back many years prior to 1929.

Major events hosted by St. Paul church during the 1930s include a February 1935 program to honor Dr. Carter G. Woodson of Washington, D.C., who was the founder and director of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (*Dallas Express* 2-9-1935:1) and the founder of National Negro History Week (now expanded into Black History Month). The St. Paul event concluded local activities held for Negro History Week. This and other major programs were open to the public. As part of its community service, and in the neighborly environment of the Freedman's Town/North Dallas community, St. Paul offered its facilities, which were at this time included one of the largest, if not the largest, sanctuaries, in Freedman's Town/North Dallas, for funeral services for those of other denominations as well as non-members. Two such events were the funeral of Hilaria D. Morgan, who was reported to be the first social worker and African American probation officer in Dallas. With experience in other cities, she came to Dallas at the invitation of Dallas business leaders who guaranteed her salary for six months. Thereafter, the City of Dallas employed her for twelve years, after which she became a probation officer (*Dallas Express* 3-2-1935). The service was led by the pastor of nearby New Hope Baptist Church, the oldest African American congregation in Dallas,³⁹ and the service included favorite hymns sung by the choir. Another funeral held at St. Paul was for William McWilliams, a World War I veteran who was the brother of St. Paul member Mamie Davis (*Dallas Express* n.d.:1), but apparently not a member himself.

As early as 1921, St. Paul held an annual baccalaureate church service to honor the achievements of graduating African American high school students. This event typically occurred the Sunday prior to the Dallas school district's commencement. In 1931, the church changed the baccalaureate program from a strictly religious one to an educational service (*Dallas Express* 5-25-1935:1). In 1935, the approximate number of African American high school graduates was 238 (*Dallas Express* 5-25-1935:1). St. Paul continued to hold baccalaureate services until 1999 or 2000, and these services included oratorical contests (Smith interview ca. 2003).

Following the 1939 merger of three branches of Methodism, the various women's missionary and service groups of these three separate denominations combined into the Woman's Society for Christian Service (United Methodist Church b). The following year, St. Paul hosted the 65th session of the West Texas Annual Conference. At this meeting, local African American branches of the Woman's Society of Christian Service and the Wesleyan Service Guild

³⁹ New Hope Baptist was organized just a few months before St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church. Church history credits St. Paul with being the third oldest African American congregation in Dallas and the oldest African American Methodist church in the city.

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organized. St. Paul members serving as officers in these organizations included Viola Pinkston, Maggie Chism, Nettie P. Hardeman and Hallie Sweeney. At a later date, Marie Loud, wife of longtime St. Paul pastor I.B. Loud also served as an officer in one or both of these organizations. In 1962, St. Paul male members organized a chapter of the Methodist Men (St. Paul United Methodist Church files 1, ca. 1994).

During the 1940s, St. Paul's member and outreach programs included Christian education, recreation, social activities and social service programs that included providing meals for the membership and the larger community (*Dallas Negro Directory* 1947). A 1941-1942 church budget shows the congregation providing funds for world service (missionary activity), for the Gulfside, Mississippi, Methodist center, and to Samuel Huston College, now Huston-Tillotson University in Austin (St. Paul United Methodist Church records f).

During the 1941 conference year (October to October), the church raised \$6,352, and an inventory of monies received lists the programs and organizations serving the congregation and the community. These included two adult choirs, the Communion Board, the Youth Choir, special rallies, the Woman's Society, the Gospel Chorus, the Live Wire Club, a dramatic club, the Courtesy Club, the Ever Ready Club, the Utility Club (a service group comprised of male and female members), the Usher Board, which provided seating assistance to members and guests arriving for services and events in the sanctuary, and volunteers. Church members assisted following the death of family members by providing food and home visits. The list documents the breadth of programs offered the congregation and the community — all programs were open to the community. Further, church records note payment to a local tin shop, plumbing company, electric company and organ company, indicating repairs and maintenance on the church building and its contents (St. Paul United Methodist Church Files f).

In 1941, the film *The Blood of Jesus* was made at St. Paul. Written and directed by Spencer Williams, Jr. of the television show *Amos & Andy*, the film includes scenes of the church exterior and interior, and performances by St. Paul's choir. The church's Allen electronic pipe organ is visible in the film. As described by African American scholar Jodi Skipper, who viewed the film, the story revolves around a Baptist woman, played by Cathryn Caviness, accidentally shot and killed by her atheist husband (played by Williams). Her spirit leaves her body and goes on a journey in which she must choose between heaven (Zion) and hell (an urban environment filled with juke joints, and a tempestuous devil), and between God and Satan. She chooses Zion and is returned to her husband who is sitting at her deathbed. Her survival is a Christian miracle. "Movies like these not only served as entertainment for the Black community, but provided moral messages to Black Christian audiences, many of whom lived in Dallas" (Skipper Papers a:6).

Reminiscences of church members present during the 1940s to the present recall a variety of first hand experiences as well as information passed down from older family members. The following excerpts provide personal viewpoints and reminiscences and help paint a broader picture of the programs, ministries, and culture of church and community life than is typically available from newspaper and journal articles, or other written sources.

In late 1940s and early 1950s, St. Paul had a Dining Room Committee, which prepared meals for the needy. Information about this charitable service was spread by word of mouth. The church also helped community and members for various reasons and provided food, and funds for rent and clothing, and assisted college students in buying clothing, books and food. Personal donations funded these projects. The church sponsored women's circles that provided benevolent services. The circles were named for Biblical women — Ruth, Naomi, Phoebe, Mary Magdalen (Marshall interview 5-26-2015). Mrs. O'Shelia (pronounced O'Sheela) Brown, daughter of Jimmie Mae Moore, long time church historian, remembers hearing about the women's circles as they functioned in the 1920s and later. The circles may have been organized by location of residence as no one had cars, and thus they would have drawn from an area within walking distance of the host's home. Activities included Bible study, arts and crafts, tea socials, contests to raise money for the church including baby contests and probably cooking (Brown interview 6-15-2015).

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During the 1940s and 1950s, St. Paul also had a youth fellowship group, Friday night fun night in the fellowship hall, where hot dogs were served and attendees skated, played games, and danced. St. Peter's Catholic Church located north of St. Paul alternated with St. Paul in hosting these Friday night dances. School friends and youth from area churches and the neighborhood also attended. Sunday school was divided by age and classes were coed. Adults had a men's group and a women's group. The church held an annual summer picnic for members and friends at Julia C. Frazier Park and at 8th Street Park (Marshall interview 5-26-2015). **Figure 20** shows a group of young women ca. 1940s-1950s, posing in front of a neighborhood dwelling following church.

Among the organizations and programs at St. Paul during the 1950s and 1960s was the Queen Esther Circle, a part of the Woman's Society of Christian Service. This group made quilts, among other service activities. The St. Paul community also included the Senior Choir, comprised of older members, and a variety of committees including the Dining Room Committee, which oversaw meals and programs held in the church's Fellowship Hall. Other events at the church in the 1950s included birthday parties, Easter and Christmas programs for adults and children, and the ever popular Tom Thumb weddings, which featured members' children in mock wedding dress. Adult members cast their votes for the bride, groom and couple of their choice by making a donation in the name of their favorite couple, bride and groom. Funds raised supported St. Paul's children's programs. Other activities in the 1950s included skating parties, movie nights, youth fellowship, youth choir, musical programs, and an event called Youth Sunday. Another church program developed from the Wesleyan tradition of offering hospitality to travelers, especially to traveling preachers. In the years of segregation, there were few restaurants and hotels open to African Americans and the "...Wesleyan tradition of feeding traveling preachers in homes as they sojourned..." their way, was the custom in African American communities and congregations (Bridwell Library c:2). During the 1950s, this tradition also was extended to the African American theology students attending Perkins School of Theology at Southern Methodist University. In this period, and into the 1960s, visitors to the neighborhood who did not have family or friends there, stayed with people in the community because hotels did not accept Black guests, and prominent local Blacks with large houses provided the lodging (Cox and R. Smith interview, ca. 2003).

In 1948, Rev. I. B. Loud was assigned to St. Paul. He guided St. Paul for next thirty-two years through the difficult post-World War II period when returning veterans began to speak and work against the continuing laws and practices of the Jim Crow South, and into the tumultuous era of Civil Rights protests, and beyond. He retired in 1980. Rev. Loud is much revered by older church members, but is somewhat controversial among younger members because of his traditionalist stance on ways to achieve progress. Loud grew up in the early twentieth century, was ordained and began his religious life during the 1930s, a period that had only recently seen a major resurgence in Ku Klux Klan violence against African Americans. Loud chose the path to progress that was available at that time, working within the system, and he was very effective in his efforts to improve African American life in Dallas. He went on record in speeches, interviews and radio broadcasts against demonstrations and marches that targeted the prevailing social injustices and lack of access to decent housing, medical care, professional employment and higher education of the time. At the same time, he emphasized the educational successes of African Americans, and the resulting increase in economic advancement. He networked within the Black and White communities to implement change, and worked openly as well as behind the scenes in instituting change. Whatever ones' view of Loud's approach, he was successful in his efforts, and as one church member related, it may be that both the traditional and the activist approaches were needed at that time to bring about lasting legal changes and opportunity for African Americans.

An example of the presence and impact of Rev. Loud in inter-personal relationships is that of the family of Florida Phillips, who began attending St. Paul in the early 1950s after her father, a part-time custodian at the church had a conversation with Rev. Loud in which the pastor told him to bring his family to church. He did, and they became long-time members. Activities she remembers include baby contests, baskets with food for the sick and shut-ins, fashion shows, women's teas supported by donations to provide refreshments, active social, children's and youth

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programs. Men's Day, Women's Day, Student Recognition Day, student scholarships and fellowships were important programs of the church. All students from pre-K through graduate school were honored in Student Recognition services. In the 1950s and early 1960s, St. Paul's youth programs teamed with volunteer activities sponsored by St. John Missionary Baptist Church, Boll St. CME Church, Allen Chapel, Good St. Baptist Church, First Methodist Church (a White church on Ross Avenue near downtown), and Our Lady of Guadalupe, which was largely a Hispanic congregation (Phillips interview 5-6-2015).

The success of St. Paul's longstanding word of mouth process for attracting new attendees and members, and advertising church events and programs is illustrated in the experience of Shirley Reid, who first came to St. Paul about 1955. Her mother met a St. Paul member on a bus. The woman had a daughter about the same age as Shirley. The two girls and their mothers became friends, and Shirley and her mother began attending St. Paul (Reid interview 5-6-2015). At this time the church was one of the more "aristocratic," with members including doctors, teachers, and postal employees. Few families had cars. St. Paul's youth group served teens between 14 and 18 years of age, and a favorite activity was to meet youth from other churches between Sunday school and services at neighborhood ice cream parlors including Roark's, which was a couple of blocks east of the church. Shirley Reid recalls that one could ride anywhere in Dallas on the street cars in 1956, and the youth did — and not only in the back. On city buses, they would sit together and when a White person boarded, they'd scatter to see if the person would sit next to them. Gradually, they did, if they wanted to sit down. The youth group sponsored kids at youth camp every summer in Austin. They'd stay at Huston-Tillotson College. The camp was always integrated and attendees had pen pals. Mrs. Loud drove kids to camp, and ensured that high school graduates received a Bible and a small scholarship for college. Ms. Reid recalls church events featuring dinners were held in the fellowship hall with participants seated at glass topped tables, enjoying food served on china (Reid interview 5-6-2015).

In this period, St. Paul participated in regional youth conferences and sent a representative on behalf of the church. Mrs. Lillian Williams Crouch was a representative, and she described the experience as one that broadened her horizons and increased her awareness of the larger world. She learned public relations and how to share information with others, and how to successfully navigate the race relations of the time. Church member Sophie B. Elliott, who was a teacher in the religious education program at St. Paul, wrote weekly to colleges where St. Paul students were enrolled to support the students and provide their families and the congregation with news. This increased parents' and the church's pride in their children's accomplishments. St. Paul also served as a liaison with neighborhood organizations that came to the church for support. A member or representative of an organization would bring information on the organization and its programs to St. Paul to see if they wanted to partner to make the organization's programs successful. From generation to generation, church members and the community had provided assistance and support for church programs and community service, and this tradition continues into the present (Crouch interview 6-9-2015).

During the 1950s, most church members still lived in the Freedman's Town/North Dallas neighborhood, but some attendees and members lived outside the community. One member who commuted was Charmayne Rolla, who grew up in the church and attended until she went to college. She returned to St. Paul some years later and continues to attend. Her mother started coming to St. Paul in the late 1930s, and sang in the choir but moved from the community at a later date. As a child Ms. Rolla lived with her family in the African American neighborhood near Love Field, and when she was old enough to take the bus by herself, traveled to St. Paul for Sunday services (Rolla interview 5-6-2015).

In a 2003 interview with Jodi Skipper, sixty-year church member Eva Partee McMillan recalled St. Paul as a very middle-class institution and described Sunday services as attended by well-dressed people wearing hats, nice shoes and women carrying purses. Among the many non-church activities was a dinner held by the Progressive Voters League in the I.B. Loud Fellowship Hall. No date was mentioned. Mrs. McMillan described St. Paul as a leader in the

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community. Its location was convenient for most area residents and everyone knew where it was. She recalled Sunday services as full and the sanctuary larger [prior to the remodeling of the annex in 1996], and described Rev. Handy (1941-1944) and Rev. Caldwell (1944-1948) as excellent preachers. But she felt Rev. Loud probably had the most visibility because he came to St. Paul in a period of great change in the community, and in the country, with integration becoming a part of American life. He had a broad impact on what went on in Dallas because he was part of the establishment, and White leaders included him in their business talks and deals so "...we made a lot of changes under Rev. Loud (McMillan Interview 12-31-2003). Mrs. McMillan did not grow up at St. Paul, but came into the church when she married a third- generation member. She described the continuity of the generations as wonderful, because they all took part. She remembered with special fondness the Easter services and the very popular Tom Thumb weddings.

In another 2003 taped interview, Jodi Skipper talked with Mrs. Ava Cox, and her son Reggie Smith, both long- time members. Mr. Smith was baptized by Rev. Loud shortly after the reverend was assigned to St. Paul church and Mr. Smith may have been the first baptism Rev. Loud performed at St. Paul. Mrs. Cox recalled the church teas held for upper echelon women, those married to doctors or school principals, and members of the Woman's Society of Christian Service. Held in the Fellowship Hall, the tea tables were covered with table cloths, tea was served from a silver tea service, and dainty food, such as sandwiches and cookies, was offered to participants. Growing up in the church was part of life, and she and her family were often at church for different events such as choir practice and Sunday school. Children were not allowed to misbehave and embarrass the family, and learning and discipline were part of the church experience. Reggie Smith remembered that his grandmother recalled that the floor of the church was the roof for almost twenty years. In those days church organization was not as free as the current structure, and there was less light used inside. The basement leaked then and still leaked in 2003. When the church was opened for Sunday services, a certain song was played as a call to worship. After the morning service, refreshments were usually provided, and some Sunday afternoons Methodist youth fellowship groups from other churches visited. Morning and evening services were basically the same. Mrs. Cox recalled long time church member Nora Cole, who was Mrs. Cox's grandmother's sister, as a special person who didn't talk much. For many years, Mrs. Cole and her husband lived in a house east of the present church. The Cox/Smith family bonded with Rev. Haynes, and Rev. Loud became like a member of the family. Rev. Loud, and later Rev. Henderson were highly respected in the community. Rev. Loud and the pastor of St. John Missionary Baptist Church were the two most powerful Black ministers in the community. They were included in decisions on the larger Dallas level. Both Mrs. Cox and Mr. Smith recalled the Majestic Theater in downtown Dallas, and the balcony where African Americans were required to sit. They remembered that there was a night club in the neighborhood, and lots of beauty parlors. They also recalled that most of Dallas' Black neighborhoods were close to downtown, but separated from white areas by some physical barrier (Cox and R. Smith interview, ca. 2003).

Mr. Smith, an architect, recalled the era of the Civil Rights movement when church leaders accommodated the White power structure to keep disturbances down, and Martin Luther King, Jr. was not allowed to come to Dallas. Mr. Smith regards the church as a battery, a place to recharge energy before going back out into the world where one has to turn the other cheek. He learned from his grandfather, who was a Pullman porter, and from Rev. Loud, that "you work the system, but don't let the system work you." The church was, and is, a safe haven. Both mother and son remember the stores in neighborhood, going to the barbershop, how everyone was dressed in hats, gloves, suits — it was all part of the culture. They enjoyed how "we dressed and how we looked." Rev. Loud sometimes wore a tuxedo to events and once dressed in tails (Cox and R. Smith interview, ca. 2003). Mrs. Carla Mitchell remembered Rev. Loud as having a wonderful, heavy voice. The church was always packed, lots of men attended and the church's choirs were distinguished. St. Paul had good music ministers, "choir," she said, "is a ministry" (M. Smith and Mitchell interview, ca. 2004).

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Mrs. Odetta Russeau attended St. Paul from about 1951-1952 until Hamilton Park Methodist Church formed in 1957. She recalls St. Paul as a center for many different events in that part of town because it was in proximity to Booker T. Washington Technical High School and to the Moorland Y.M.C.A., and these three institutions formed a nucleus for cultural, social, educational and educational activities in the Freedman's Town/North Dallas community — the Mind, Body and Spirit of the neighborhood. She recalled the neighborhood as having ice cream parlors, a liquor store, insurance agencies, churches, rental and owner occupied residences, and a bungalow court. Mrs. Russeau, who served on the board of the Dallas Bethlehem Center (see page 55), remembers Rev. Loud as famous for his surprises; he "...made religion come alive for me" (Russeau interview 7-25-2015). She described St. Paul as a home for young Black ministers who were coming on the scene. She recalled that Whites respected Rev. Loud, and invited him to preach at some White churches. He worked with African American leaders of the "fourteen-man committees, which where half White and half African American. These men met to discuss race relations. Loud did a lot of behind the scenes lobbying for causes he believed in. St. Paul had an open door policy for those in need. Rev. Loud was a "gentle giant" who was always available to the community when help was needed, but he also had a temper when he saw church members and others engage in self-destructive behavior. Loud wrote a weekly column for the "United Methodist Church Reporter" and he spent a lot of time working on his columns. Loud worked through the West Texas Conference, of which St. Paul was a member, to help the Methodist Church address issues of segregation and other social injustices (Russeau interview 7-25-2015).

Mrs. Raye Holman began attending St. Paul about 1955 after moving from Fort Worth where she grew up. She learned of St. Paul church through an aunt, who was a schoolmate of Rev. Loud. Mrs. Holman remembers the church had stewards and stewardesses, who organized and managed church programs (Holman interview 5-9-2015). Lillian Gray moved to Dallas from Waco and became a St. Paul member in 1958. She volunteered with the church's children's programs, and assisted people when they needed employment, housing or food. She recalled that Vacation Bible School was for both children and adults, with parents attending evening programs (Gray interview 5-27-2015).

Mrs. Macy Mays-Roberson, a life-long member, was brought into the church by her parents. Her father, Eugene Johnson, Sr., joined St. Paul in 1919. In the early 1960s, the church had youth lock-ins, where those attending engaged in Bible study, dancing, played cards and dominoes. Non-members were welcome. The "lock-ins" ensured that youth did not leave the church until the program ended, thus reassuring parents that their teens were indeed at the church in supervised activities, and not where they might get into trouble of some kind (Mays-Roberson interview 5-6-2015).

Joseph Lewis grew up in the church during the 1960s and 1970s. His maternal grandmother's family moved to the church neighborhood from Palestine in the 1930s, but eventually most of his family relocated to South Dallas. Mr. Lewis remembers church services as the traditional structured type, with hymns, not popular music. Children attended services with their parents, and there was no special children's service. Sunday school was held for children in what is now the second floor office area. Sunday school included members' children as well as children of non-members. Mr. Lewis recalls the Tom Thumb weddings, Easter and Christmas programs, Vacation Bible School, 4-H Club program and 4-H camp (Lewis interview 5-10-2015).

Mr. Lewis also recalled that during the 1970s, St. Paul lost a lot of young people and much of the neighborhood population moved away. By the end of the decade, the congregation included mostly older people. The late 1940-1950s was St. Paul's heyday, he said. At that time it was one of the largest churches in Dallas. Mr. Lewis described Rev. Loud as old school, and that he might not have appealed to younger people so much. During the 1960s and 1970s St. Paul provided members help in paying bills, paying for funerals and burials, and other similar needs. The church also sponsored school supply drives, holiday programs, provided food at holidays, support for children's education and teaching, and offered after-school programs. Following the 1973 fire, the church held services elsewhere for two to three years (Lewis interview 5-10-2015), including at Booker T. Washington Technical High School (Horn interview 5-6-2015). During the Civil Rights movement of the late 1950s to early 1960s, St. Paul church didn't demand, instead

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it worked behind the scenes to create change. Most parents were not radical, and neither was St. Paul church. The church was home to the Black social elite — the establishment. Rev. Loud had connections with the White business community and helped African Americans obtain loans from White banks. St. Paul hosted a Freedman's Cemetery exhibit in the 1990s, and the church appeared supportive of the memorial erected because old-timers had lived in the neighborhood and the exhibit was an expression of awareness for what had been. About 1984-1985, the United Methodist Church offered support for a move to a new location, but St. Paul opted to stay in North Dallas. The current congregation travels long distances to attend and keep church programs and momentum alive. It is connected by culture, not by community proximity (Lewis interview 5-10-2015).

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Special Church Projects and Programs

The Dallas Bethlehem Center

The Dallas Bethlehem Center, an important Dallas example of inter-racial cooperation and an early social service provider, is associated with St. Paul church, and may be the earliest program in which St. Paul Methodist and Highland Park Methodist churches joined forces to bring about change in the Dallas African American community. The Center focused, and continues to focus, on women, children and youth, and provided social services that were not available to Dallas' African American community (Robinson interview 5-27-2015). While the Center's development and programs represent something of the conditions confronting African Americans in Dallas and the Freedman's Town/North Dallas area during the early-to-mid-twentieth century, the Center's history also illustrates factors important in the demise of Freedman's Town/North Dallas.

The Dallas Bethlehem Center was organized on March 1, 1946 at St. Paul church in a meeting of White and African American women representing Dallas-area Methodist churches.⁴⁰ The Dallas center was the fourteenth operated by the Methodist Church's Woman's Society of Christian Service under the supervision of the Board of Missions.⁴¹ The center's mission was to serve the needs of African Americans through projects that built inter-racial goodwill, trained leaders, provided wholesome, supervised activities for children and youth and brought people into actual contact with Christian living. The sale of the Dallas Virginia K. Johnson Home in 1940, provided some of the funds for establishing the Dallas Bethlehem Center.⁴² Other sources included money from the Missionary Council of the former Methodist Episcopal Church, South (Bridwell Library j:29).

The March 1, 1946, organizational meeting, held at St. Paul church, was called by Mrs. Bard Paul, District President of the Woman's Society (Highland Park United Methodist Church a:7-8), and member of Highland Park Methodist Church. An inter-racial board of six women, including Mrs. G. H. Caldwell, wife of St. Paul's pastor, was elected. The board held monthly meetings from September to June each year. Other members of the first board were Ruby Chiles, Mrs. Wesley Davis, Mrs. F. L. Hine, and Mrs. W. D. Jordan. Miss Alice McLarty, a teacher and member of Highland Park Methodist Church, had moved to Dallas in 1923. She had run a Daily Vacation Bible School for African American children that was supervised by the Homemakers' Industrial Center in Freedman's Town/North Dallas, and when the Bethlehem Center was formed, she was named its head-resident administrator. Since the Center had no building, St. Paul's pastor Dr. G. H. Caldwell and the board of St. Paul church offered office space at the church for the program head, Alice McLarty, and for the Bethlehem Center's board meetings. The Bethlehem Center board used the church's facilities for more than two years, and Miss McLarty had her offices there. The center's governing board remained bi-racial through the years and the number of representatives attending meetings grew from forty-nine the first year to one-hundred-seventeen in 1954, representing thirty Dallas area Methodist churches (Highland Park Methodist Church b:1-3).

Upon discovering that no kindergarten coursework was offered at schools training African American teachers, the inter-racial Bethlehem Center board organized a course in methods, music, stores, handwork and art at the White demonstration school to train African American teachers for kindergarten instruction. The trained African American

⁴⁰ Although written source materials do not credit St. Paul church with more of a role than providing office space and hosting meetings, it is likely that the impetus for establishing the center was not solely created by area White churches since the Center served the African American community.

⁴¹ The earliest Bethlehem Centers were established in 1911 in Augusta, Georgia and in 1912 in Nashville, Tennessee by Methodist women's societies under supervision of the Home Mission of the Methodist Church, with the mission of serving African American children and youth through academic programs, day care and enrichment opportunities.

⁴² The Virginia Johnson Homes were established to serve unwed mothers.

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teachers then organized a permanent teachers group offering monthly meetings, forums and other programs in support of kindergarten instruction (Bridwell Library 1:87). Other important Bethlehem Center programs developed in 1947 included the organization of a Girls' Club by a group of African American girls, the establishment of a scholarship for a young African American woman then working at the Dallas center to further her education, and the presentation of a weeklong course in recreation leadership for young African American men and women in cooperation with the Dallas City Park and Recreation Board and the National Recreation Association. A local member of the Woman's Society of Christian Service paid the tuition for the forty young men and women attending the course (Bridwell Library 1:88).

The Center developed a decentralized program to serve the six distinct African American communities then identified within the Dallas city limits. African American churches provided the facilities. Three kindergartens were organized under the supervision of the Center, with two of the three pre-dating the Center's formation. The first kindergarten, called Kirkwood, operated since 1930 when Mrs. M.E. Kirkwood began caring, free of charge, for neighborhood children whose mothers worked. Another kindergarten was established 1927 in Freedman's Town/North Dallas by Mrs. Bessie Bobo following her rescue of two small children from their burning house. The children's mother had gone to work and had left her children at home since no child care was available. Following the rescue, Mrs. Bobo began providing day care in her home for neighborhood children. She, too, offered this service without payment. As the demand for her services outgrew available space in her home, Mrs. Bobo appealed to Mrs. L.P. Smith, a member of Highland Park Methodist Church for help. Gifts from Highland Park Methodist members and friends, and the labor of three [unidentified] African American ministers, allowed a small house to be built on the property of Trinity Methodist Church, which was located in the northwest portion of Freedman's Town/North Dallas neighborhood. This center was called the Mrs. L.P. Smith Nursery and Community Center and operated until Mrs. Bobo moved from the city prior to 1930.⁴³ The center reopened in 1939, and in 1946 was reorganized by Miss McLarty (Highland Park Methodist Church b:3-5).

Shortly after the formation of the Dallas Bethlehem Center, Elizabeth Chapel in Oak Cliff requested a kindergarten and offered a large basement area for the school, which opened in 1947. This was the third kindergarten. As the Black population of South Dallas continued to grow during the early 1950s, the Center's staff and volunteers became bi-racial, with graduates of Prairie View College serving as teachers, a Perkins School of Theology student employed to work with boys, and parents brought into the programs as volunteers. In 1954, Mrs. I.B. (Marie) Loud, wife of St. Paul's pastor was elected to the Center's Board of Directors as Recording Secretary, serving an unspecified term (Highland Park Methodist Church c:1-4).

In 1948, the Center purchased a building at 2921 Thomas Avenue, not far from St. Paul church and moved its administrative activities, including board meetings, there. The building on Thomas Avenue also hosted children's activities including story hour, scouting, crafts, sewing club and youth programs (Highland Park Methodist Church b:5-7). By 1951, following the construction of the North Central Expressway through Freedman's Town/North Dallas, African Americans were leaving the community and other Black enclaves for rapidly growing South Dallas, which at that time was home to 52,000 African Americans (Highland Park Methodist Church c:1-2). The exodus steadily increased and in 1955, the Center sold the Thomas Avenue facility, and purchased property at Leland and Pine streets in South Dallas, which was, and is, located in the zip code of the poorest area of Dallas (Robinson interview 5-27-2015). The new site included three, shady lots and a house and garage. After purchase, the property was fenced and a concrete area constructed for parking and games. The house was remodeled into club rooms, an office, a chapel, kitchen, a restroom and a storage area. The garage became a workshop and playroom. In 1958, a recreation building was constructed and as many as seventeen programs were offered. The Center also provided services at the Shady Grove facility, in suburban Irving. During the 1950s, the Center also worked with students from SMU and Prairie View who came to "...fulfill requirements in Education, Sociology, Religious Education, Home Economics or

⁴³ Bessie Bobo is listed in 1920 census for Dallas, but is not shown in the 1930 or 1940 census.

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Physical Education" (Highland Park Methodist Church c:1-5), and young people from local churches volunteered for service with various programs. The Dallas Bethlehem Center continues to offer enrichment, recreation, leadership, child care, and educational programs at its Leland Avenue location.

Desegregating Perkins School of Theology at Southern Methodist University

Between 1946 and 1950, Perkins School of Theology at Southern Methodist University (SMU) in Dallas sponsored annual Ministers' Week conferences. This integrated event brought pastors from all over the country and offered Rev. Loud and Rev. Marshall Steele of Highland Park Methodist Church the opportunity to promote the idea of desegregating Perkins. To that end, the two pastors began talks with Eugene B. Hawk, the Dean of Perkins. According to Rev. James V. Lyles,⁴⁴ in 1948, Rev. Loud increased pressure on the school to admit African American theology students. At the same time, White administrators wondered where they would find qualified candidates. Rev. Loud suggested one of St. Paul's members, Marion Ernest McMillan (Lyles Interview 7-10-2015), son of Walter R. and Meirriell Thomas McMillan, who were long-time St. Paul members (Holmes, Jr. interview 8-14-2015).⁴⁵ On January 3, 1951, Perkins allowed two black ministers from Dallas, one of which was McMillan, to register, and to attend some classes, sitting in the back of the room (*Dallas Morning News* 1-9-1951:1). "Unfortunately, they were not academically ready and had to drop out before the year was done" (Cuninggim 1994:10). In addition to being seated at the back of classrooms, these men did not receive regular student status and lacked access to campus food service and living quarters, all of which reflects the on-going presence of Jim Crow. But it was an important first attempt at desegregation. At this time, Perkins was moving into new quarters in a quadrangle set apart from the rest of the campus classrooms and dormitories, and university administrators reportedly stated for that reason, it was a good time to admit African American students (*Dallas Morning News* 1-9-1951:1).

In 1952, under the leadership of a new dean, Merrimon Cuninggim, Perkins followed formal application and admissions processes and that fall admitted five African American men into the three-year theology program as full-time, regular students. This was a landmark event, two full years before the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Brown vs. the Board of Education* that all public schools must be desegregated. As Southern Methodist University was a private institution and not subject to the 1954 ruling, this was a bold, just and foresighted decision. The event was little reported on, and it seems that both the White administration of Perkins and the African American community wished to keep the event quiet so as to better the chances of success. All five men graduated on time from the three-year program and went on to successful careers in the Methodist Church as pastors, evangelists, administrators and educators.

Prior to 1994, when Merrimon Cuninggim, published his account *Perkins Led the Way: The Story of Desegregation at Southern Methodist University*, little was known and even less remembered about the events of 1951 and 1952.

According to Cuninggim, scholars writing about desegregation have not discussed the "...first voluntary desegregation of a major educational institution in the South,...the admission of blacks [sic] to Perkins, SMU, in 1952, two years before *Brown v. Board of Education*...." (Bridwell Library b:2) for the simple reason that players on both sides of the battle didn't want it known. "Those who would have stood in the doorway didn't want their fellows to know they had failed. And those of us who helped to open the door didn't want to shout, for self-protection, or timidity, or distaste for boasting" (Bridwell Library b:2). In the following six years only two articles appeared in journals of limited

⁴⁴ Rev. Lyles was one of five African American theology students to desegregate Perkins in 1952.

⁴⁵ Odetta Rousseau recalled that Marion McMillan was one of the first pastors at St. Luke United Methodist Church, where Rev. Cecil Williams was later a long-time pastor.

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circulation, and later references are few. "Histories of Southern Methodist University, as well and biographies of its leaders, and even a history of Perkins School of Theology do not give full accounts" (Bridwell Library b:2-3). Rev. Lyles credits Dr. Cuninggim with moving Perkins from an also-ran institution to one of the top ten seminaries in the world.

The five young men who entered Perkins in 1952 were John Weston Elliott, James A. Hawkins, James V. Lyles, Negail R. Riley, and Cecil Williams. They lived in campus housing and ate in campus dining facilities, although Rev. Lyles recalled that they often sat apart from other students to reduce potential conflict. The Methodist Church provided scholarships for the five men, and St. Paul church provided on-going support for at least three of these students — Lyles, Williams and Riley. The men received informal internships, where they participated in home visits to the sick, bereaved and incarcerated, observed and worked with different internal church programs, assisted during worship services, and developed and preached sermons.⁴⁶

Lyles was assigned to the pulpit and he opened services and carried them until Rev. Loud arrived. Lyles also taught Sunday school classes and led young adults in activities. Williams and Riley sang in the choir and performed tasks as assigned. Other programs developed between Perkins and St. Paul church such as Boy's and Girls' clubs, and after school activities held in St. Paul's fellowship hall for latch key children. Following the end of the men's first academic year, Rev. Loud directed all five men to local White firms who hired students, and this provided the men contact with humanitarian companies who hired them for the summer. During their second year, the men were employed by the Methodist evangelism board and traveled the nation doing church work. The third year, in keeping with the Perkins tradition of providing pastors to churches without ministers, the men served at churches in the Central Jurisdiction that needed a pastor. Lyles' church was outside Memphis, Tennessee, and he traveled weekly by train from Dallas to Memphis for services and other duties, leaving Dallas on Friday afternoons and returning on Monday in time to attend classes Tuesday through Thursday. (Lyles interview 7-10-2015).

St. Paul church also assisted the five men with the purchase of clothing and other necessities. Rev. Lyles remembered that Rev. Loud would call his contacts at White-owned department stores in downtown Dallas and ask the stores to provide whatever the man needed — shoes, shirts, a new suit — and to send the bill to Rev. Loud, who either paid the bill from his own pocket or requested contributions from the most financially successful male church members. St. Paul also helped with the tricky situation of providing meals for the men on weekends when food service facilities at the university were closed. The men were steered to Black-owned restaurants and cafes for Friday night supper, Saturday meals, and Sunday breakfast. St. Paul organized an internal program to provide the men with Sunday dinner following morning services. Different member families opened their homes to the men each week providing, in the Wesleyan tradition of offering hospitality to travelers, especially to traveling preachers, the large mid-day meal. These meals not only gave the men an opportunity to interact with members in a social setting, but to learn more about the needs of the membership and the Freedman's Town/North Dallas neighborhood. Rev. Lyles recalled that this support was vital to the men because it alleviated a lot of the stress and worry about money to pay for clothing and other expenses and where to eat on weekends, allowed them to focus on their studies and provided invaluable, on-the-job experience (Lyles interview 7-10-2015).

In 1956, Zan W. Holmes, Jr. was admitted to the Perkins program. He was the only African American student in what was the fourth desegregated class at the school. Holmes's father, Zan W. Holmes, Sr. and Rev. Loud were friends and Holmes, Jr. had known Loud his entire life. When Holmes, Jr. started classes at Perkins, he began attending St. Paul because he knew his father and Loud would expect him to. Holmes, Jr. served an internship at St. Paul, and was given opportunities to preach. He became St. Paul's assistant pastor, and following the 1957 founding of Hamilton Park Methodist Church, Holmes, Jr. served as associate pastor under Rev. Loud who was the new church's senior pastor (in

⁴⁶ It is not known if the other two men were similarly mentored at other churches.

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addition to his duties at St. Paul) for the first year. After completion of the sanctuary at Hamilton Park Methodist Church, Holmes, Jr. became the church's full time pastor (Holmes, Jr. interview 8-14-2015), and served the Methodist Church in a highly visible and successful ministerial and administrative career. In the early 1950s, Odetta Russeau heard Zan Holmes, Jr. preach his first sermon. She described Cecil Williams as almost bigger than life and a force of nature.

In addition to his work toward desegregating Perkins and his support for the first African American men to graduate from the school, Rev. Loud and St. Paul church are credited with assisting sixty other young men in becoming ministers (Bridwell Library c:6). The integrated theology program at Perkins has continued ever since, preparing men, and later women, of all races for the ministry, and, of course, the entire university integrated decades ago.

Influencing Black and White Dallas

According to Rev. Lynda Mayberry in her biographical paper on Rev. Loud, St. Paul was considered the premier African American Methodist Church in Dallas during the period of the Central Jurisdiction (1939-1972). "St. Paul was affectionately called "Big" St. Paul, because all of the other African American Church (sic) in the Central Jurisdiction with that same name were built and/or modeled after it" (Bridwell Library c:6). In order to be selected as St. Paul's pastor, one had to be dynamic and resolute in his convictions and be able to work with the White establishment as well as with the African American community to create lasting, beneficial contributions to Dallas. Rev. Loud was a respected speaker and was highly thought of in the Central Jurisdiction and the West Texas Conference (Bridwell Library c:7).

During the spring of 1949, Rev. Loud served on an inter-racial panel formed to discuss race relations in a series of radio broadcasts on radio station KSMU. Other members of the panel were Angus Wynne, a real estate developer, George L. Mixon, vice-president of the Dallas Builders Association, A. M. Hudson, real estate project executive, and A. Maceo Smith, racial relations advisor for the Federal Housing Authority (*Dallas Morning News* 5-5-1949:18 cited in Bridwell Library c:8). Rev. Loud and Rev. Steele both had radio ministries, and later television ministries. A portion of their work was diffusing violence against African Americans and supporting desegregation. During the late 1940s and early 1950s, African Americans responded to the overcrowding, crime and deteriorating infrastructure and rental housing stock in traditional Black neighborhoods by continuing to move into South Dallas. In response, a number of bombings of Black-owned property in South Dallas took place. Both Rev. Loud and Rev. Steele impressed upon city officials the urgent need for more housing options for Black citizens, including new residential neighborhoods, and during the early -to-mid 1950s, the new Hamilton Park subdivision was created and developed (Lyles interview 7-10-2015). Although this was a step in the right direction, the shortage of decent, safe, housing continued until the Civil Rights Act of 1964 ended segregation and opened new opportunities.

St. Paul hosted the 1950 the West Texas Conference annual meeting and Loud spoke in favor of increasing pensions for retired ministers (*Dallas Morning News* 12-07-1950:I:20). During the conference the issue of the lack of care for African Americans in some Methodist hospitals was discussed. The Methodist hospital in Dallas did not have an African American ward, although one floor in one of two new wings would have twenty-six beds for African Americans. Rev. Loud contrasted the Dallas situation with Catholic and Baptist hospitals in Dallas and Houston, which placed African American patients in wards also occupied by Whites (Bridwell Library c:9). The impact, if any, of Rev. Loud's input on this issue is not known.

In 1956, the Methodist General Conference passed legislation allowing African American churches in the Central Jurisdiction to transfer to geographical jurisdictions, in other words, to integrate the geographical jurisdictions, provided the receiving conference and jurisdiction agreed to the transfer. In 1959, Rev. Loud was one of nine religious leaders from Texas to attend a national conference in Washington, D.C. on the issue of discrimination. Approximately

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500 religious leaders from around the country were joined by representatives from the fields of labor industry and the government. The meeting was called by the President's Committee on Government Contracts, headed by Vice-President Richard M. Nixon (*Dallas Morning News* 5-11-1959:I:4). During the mid-1960s, Rev. Loud also served on the Dallas City Council's Dallas Action Committee for Community Improvement (*Dallas Morning News* 6-1-1965:3).

Conversation within the Methodist church in 1960 brought varying opinions about ending segregation within the church. Dr. Albert C. Outler, a professor at Perkins School of Theology

...indicated that the most important action thus far is that of recommitting the church to a system of regional subdivisions or jurisdictions, and reaffirming their right to develop free and autonomous jurisdictional programs. He labeled as the most urgent matter acted upon thus far that of ticketing the Central Jurisdiction for speedy extinction and movements to implement the voluntary transfer of Negro churches to other jurisdictions" (*Dallas Morning News* 5-1-1960:1:1-3).

However, in response, Rev. Loud stated that "the Methodist Church has the broadest race relations plan in the entire religious field in America. The South is now offering a hand to help work out this problem. Of course, I am a foe of segregation. But I firmly believe that the best way to obtain progress is through the spirit of goodwill and cooperation" (*Dallas Morning News* 5-1-1960:1:1-3). Rev. Loud's objections to leaving the Central Jurisdiction may have stemmed from the probability that staying in the Central Jurisdiction at that time would permit Black churches more control and autonomy over decisions and programs, than would becoming a minority voice within White jurisdictions.

In 1964, Dr. Loud went on record regarding civil rights demonstrations in a manner consistent with his commitment to the spirit of cooperation and goodwill. Included in his comments was the statement "I believe that demonstrations are destructive. The sacrificing parents of students at the college [Huston-Tillotson College in Austin] with whom I have talked, are also opposed to their children participating in demonstrations" (*Dallas Morning News* 3-25-1964:IV:4). Rev. Loud accentuated the positive and promoted and engaged in inter-racial cooperation, and as a man who grew to maturity during the violent 1920s and the economically devastating 1930s, he saw inter-racial cooperation as the preferred means of achieving equal rights and equal opportunity. Following the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Loud continued to express his views in his column "From the Loud Speaker" published in the African American newspaper *The Elite News* (*Dallas Morning News* 3-18-1969:D:2).

Rev. Ira Benjamin Loud (1910-1984) was born in Somerville, Texas in 1910 to Reverend John W. and Lucinda Bradley Loud. He completed public school in Somerville, and graduated from Prairie View College. Loud, who was known throughout his adult life simply as I. B., received his D.D. degree (Doctor of Divinity) from Samuel Huston College (Nail 1961:523-524). Loud met his future wife Marie M. Moore while a student at Prairie View College. Loud became a minister in 1933 and was pastor at three United Methodist churches before serving at St. Paul from 1948-1980, from which he retired. From 1942 to 1948 he was District Superintendent of the San Antonio District within the West Texas Conference (Bridwell Library e:273). In 1947, he was named one of nine directors of Prairie View University (Bridwell Library c:7). He also was a member of the church's Council on World Service and Finance from 1960 to 1964, a member General Board of Evangelism Delegate to the General and Jurisdictional Conference, was publisher of the West Texas Conference newspaper, and was one of the first regents of Texas Southern University. From 1970 until his death, Loud reached thousands of listeners through his bi-weekly devotional service on KFSW-Television. He also served as a trustee of Huston-Tillotson College and Gulfside Assembly (Bridwell Library e:273). In 1957, Loud was tapped by Dr. Olin W. Nail, a Methodist minister and church historian, to write a section called "Methodism and Negroes" in Nail's upcoming book *The History of Texas Methodism 1900-1960*, which was published in 1961. Loud's section discusses Methodism's founder John Wesley's well-known statement "The world is my parish," and the presence of Harry Hosier, a free Black man, at the organizing of Methodism in the United States in

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1784 in Baltimore⁴⁷ (Bridwell Library c:11). In her biographical paper on Reverend Loud, Rev. Lynda Mayberry recalls Loud's practice of always weaving Matthew 6:19-21 into services he led, his ability to make one feel like a personal friend, to remember names, familial connections and what children wanted to be when they grew up (Bridwell Library:4).

Establishing and Expanding African American Methodist Churches

In 1952, there were only two Black churches in Dallas with full time pastors, St. Paul Methodist and Warren Methodist. Rev. Loud and Rev. Steele decided that Dallas should become a node for the development of new Black Methodist Churches nationwide. At that time, White Methodist churches that disbanded often sold their church buildings and land to Black Methodist congregations, but Rev. Loud and Rev. Steele lobbied church authorities to prohibit the sale of vacant Methodist churches by White congregations to Black congregations in an apparent effort to assist Black Methodist congregations in acquiring disbanded facilities. Following the change of rules, White congregations were permitted to sell vacant church property only to other denominations, but they did not want to sell church property out of the Methodist denomination. According to Rev. Lyles, the rule change fueled an explosion in the donation of vacant White Methodist churches to Black congregations, allowing many new Black churches to form, or existing ones to move into churches that were larger and in better physical condition. Although the new policy did not succeed in increasing the number of Black Methodist churches nationwide, it resulted in an expansion of Black churches in Dallas and adjacent areas. For the first time, the absence of a mortgage enabled many congregations to support a full time pastor (Lyles interview 7-10-2015) and expand their church and social service programs.

In 1955, St. Paul hosted a meeting of eighteen Methodist churches to discuss ways of increasing African American interest in Methodism. The meeting was led by Dr. Marshall T. Steel, pastor of Highland Park Methodist Church and Dr. Alexander P. Shaw (*Dallas Morning News* 11-6-1955:12 in Bridwell Library c:9). A major concern was the possibility that African American churches might leave the Methodist Church because of "...lack of support from their white counterparts."

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, St. Paul church assisted seven African American Methodist congregations in the Dallas-Ft. Worth area with organizing, constructing churches or with relocating existing congregations. In this endeavor, St. Paul Methodist Church and Highland Park Methodist Church partnered in establishing the 1957 Hamilton Park Methodist Church, and the 1960 Highland Hills Methodist Church, and assisting in relocating Crest-Moore-King Methodist Church and Warren Methodist Church (Russeau interview 7-25-2015). St. Paul Methodist, with possible assistance from Highland Park Methodist, also assisted in establishing or relocating Carver Heights Methodist Church, Grand Prairie Methodist Church (now disbanded) and Lambuth United Methodist Church (St. Paul United Methodist Church z:16).

The first church the St. Paul and Highland Park congregations assisted in forming was Hamilton Park Methodist Church in the then-new African American residential subdivision of Hamilton Park. This subdivision was in what was then far north Dallas, about ten miles north of downtown Dallas. The first official meeting of the Hamilton Park congregation was August 6, 1957. Ground breaking for the new church began in July 1958 on one-acre site purchased and donated by Highland Park Methodist Church, which also donated \$10,000 to the construction project (*Dallas Morning News* 7-13-1958:13). Rev. Loud served as pastor of the new congregation, and services were held at the Hamilton Park School during the congregation's first year, while the new sanctuary was being built. When the church was completed, Zan W. Holmes, Jr., became the first official pastor (Bridwell Library c:18). Holmes, Jr. later expanded the church's facilities to include an Education Building (built 1963), a day care center and classrooms.

⁴⁷ African American Methodist preacher Richard Allen also may have been present at the 1784 organizational meeting.

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The Hamilton Park subdivision developed in response to a variety of factors including overcrowding in deteriorating Black neighborhoods, the shortage of housing available to African Americans, the early 1940s and early 1950s bombing of residences owned by Blacks in South Dallas, and the city bond election that approved demolition of housing in the African American neighborhoods near Love Field in order to expand that air terminal. The subdivision was named for a Black physician and civic leader, Dr. Richard T. Hamilton. Dedicated in October 1953 and opened in May 1954, the subdivision included 742 single-family residences, an apartment complex, shopping center, park, a twelve-grade school, and several churches. The subdivision was built out by 1961 (Handbook of Texas e:1)

Warren United Methodist Church was founded 1916 in "Queen City" area, which at that time was outside the Dallas city limits. The congregation met in the county school. In 1919, the church was formally organized within the West Texas Conference, and when Queen City was annexed to the City of Dallas, the congregation purchased, for \$1,000, the school building which served as the church (*Dallas Morning News* 10-15-1976). St. Paul and Highland Park assisted in the purchase that moved Warren United Methodist Church to its present facility, and also similarly assisted Crest-Moore-King United Methodist Church.

Rev. James Lyles recalls Rev. Loud's work in helping to establish these new churches a big step in the professionalization and permanence of African American Methodist congregations because these churches had, for the first time, full time pastors and permanent buildings that provided adequate space for their programs. St. Paul and Highland Park members no doubt understood the importance of permanence, and given St. Paul's long and difficult efforts to build and pay for the present St. Paul church, the congregation remains proud of their church's efforts to assist other congregations.

Building the Methodist West Park Apartments

In 1962, Rev. Loud learned that the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) was offering forty-year loans to finance construction of large low-income housing developments (the maximum annual qualifying income for tenants was \$5,650). He approached the St. Paul congregation with the message "We have a chance to put up some buildings that will give people better housing..." (Bridwell Library h:66-67), but \$35,000 was needed in initial financing to qualify and St. Paul was unable to provide this amount. Highland Park Methodist Church stepped in, and the two congregations worked together on the project — Methodist West Park Apartments. Rev. Loud had a strong relationship with Rev. Steele and was a friend of Brian Brawiler, the financial officer of Highland Park, and these connections were instrumental in obtaining financing — an FHA loan for the project (Russeau interview, 7-25-2015). Businessmen within Highland Park Methodist's congregation were "recruited for the apartments' board of directors, guaranteeing the loan" (*Dallas Times Herald* 8-5-1964:A:16). The Methodist West Park Apartments was the first FHA-financed project in African American West Dallas, and St. Paul church was "...one of the first non-profit organizations in the country to apply for and receive 100 percent financing for such a project at below-market interest as permitted by the National Housing Act of 1961" (*Dallas Times Herald* 8-2-1964:26).

The complex was built by general contractor Charles L. Bowman on an eight-acre triangular parcel bounded by Winnetka, Shaw and Canada streets. The seventeen, two-story, red-brick, Classical Revival-style apartment buildings opened on August 2, 1964. The complex contained 172-units and cost \$1.8 million to build. The units offered modern housing with central heat and air conditioning. The 128 two-bedroom units at 820 square feet each rented for \$18.75 (or \$17.75) per week, and the forty-four three-bedroom units at 1,038 square feet each rented for \$20.75 (or \$19.75) per week. Rents included all utilities, as well as stoves and refrigerators (*Dallas Times Herald* 8-2-1964:26). Residents were largely factory and domestic workers, and for many, the complex offered the first opportunity for decent housing (Bridwell Library h:66-67). Charles Williams, a 22-year-old member of St. Paul served as the complex manager. Demand was high and all units were anticipated to be rented within the first fifteen days of the opening. At the time of the development's completion, St. Paul church was planning to add a community building to the complex. The

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community building was to house a nursery that would provide child care, marriage counseling and community activities, and Rev. Loud's wife, Marie M. Loud, planned to relocate the literacy classes she taught at St. Paul to the new apartment complex (*Dallas Times Herald* 8-5-1964:A:16). It is not known if the community building was constructed. Only seven members of St. Paul church benefitted from the development as most members' annual income was above the allowable maximum. But, Rev. Loud stated, "That doesn't lessen our responsibility at all" (*Dallas Times Herald* 8-2-1964:26). Two other African American churches in Dallas also used FHA loans to build apartment complexes. These were St. John Missionary Baptist Church which built a 300-unit development near Bishop College. Good Street Baptist Church also developed a 300-unit complex in Dallas (*Dallas Times Herald* 8-2-1964:26). Both of these congregations were located in the Freedman's Town/North Dallas neighborhood.

The End of Freedman's Town/North Dallas and the Flourishing of St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church

Developments that would slowly change, and finally remove, virtually all evidence of the once-vibrant community of Freedman's Town/North Dallas began with the late 1930s demolition of housing in Freedman's Town/North Dallas to make way for the housing project called Roseland Homes, and the 1949 construction of the first segment of the North Central Expressway (along the former Cochran Street and the Houston & Texas Central railroad right-of-way), which created a physical barrier through the community. Continuing removal of area buildings resulted from on-going decay of local housing stock, continuing highway construction, demolition of buildings through eminent domain, and the neighborhood's highly desirable location close to downtown. Residents started moving to South Dallas in the early 1940s, and an increasing flow continued during the 1950s. When new housing and employment opportunities in other areas became available with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Freedman's Town/North Dallas the out-migration increased, and continued during the 1960s and 1970s as right-of-way acquisition and clearance for the planned Woodall Rodgers Freeway (Texas Spur 366) took place. This high-speed, multi-lane elevated highway (visible in **Photo 2**), located just a block northwest of St. Paul church, was completed in 1983 and formed a second physical barrier within what had been Freedman's Town/North Dallas. These factors affected church membership, which declined dramatically. By the early 1980s most of the community's churches and fraternal organizations had disbanded or sold their property and moved to other locations. Few, if any, businesses remained. But St. Paul stayed, although its members "...were no longer connected to the church through the neighborhood, but through culture and history" (Skipper Papers a:9).

In 1982, St. Paul church was one of only three remaining institutional buildings associated with the North Dallas neighborhood. "Like many other historically Black institutions, St. Paul considered moving to another part of the Dallas metroplex. Unlike the other institutions, they did not. The congregation wanted to restore their church and solidified the decision..." (Skipper Papers a:9) by applying for, and receiving, in March 1982, just five months before the formal plan for the Dallas Arts District was unveiled that August, a City of Dallas Historic Landmark designation. St. Paul celebrated its City historic designation in October 1982, which drew attention to the church, its history and mission, and to the history of the neighborhood that once surrounded it. Membership began to grow and new ministries developed.

What was perhaps the final blow to the community occurred in 1986 when an Environmental Impact Study (EIS) conducted for the Texas Highway Department (now the Texas Department of Transportation — TX-DOT) identified some of the acreage needed for the widening of North Central Expressway (U.S. Highway 75) as containing a large number of human burials associated with Dallas' Freedman's Cemetery. Because the cemetery had never been associated with any religious denomination, nor had it been owned by the City of Dallas, detailed records regarding cemetery boundaries, and the location and number of burials, apparently were not kept. Initially, only twenty graves were thought to be in the project right-of-way, but with archaeological investigations, that number increased to an estimated 1,600. Dallas African Americans voiced their concerns, but the highway project went forward. Black Dallas Remembered, the City of Dallas and the Texas Department of Transportation sponsored a memorial ceremony and

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community forum on May 25, 1992. Speakers and participants included clergy from St. Paul United Methodist Church, Munger Avenue Baptist Church and New Hope Baptist Church, all of which served what had been the Freedman's Town/North Dallas community.⁴⁸ City and state officials also participated along with Dallas citizens.

In 2002, St. Paul church sponsored an archaeological excavation of the former location of the Nora and Thomas Cole House, which had occupied a church-owned lot east of the church. The Coles (**Figure 21**) were born into slavery in Texas during the Civil War, and moved to Dallas by 1887. They reportedly occupied the house from that date until 1910, when the church purchased it. Thomas Cole was a longtime church trustee. The Cole lot is now the site of the mechanical equipment located behind (northeast) of the church's rear elevation. The excavation, known as the Juliette Street Archaeology Project, was conducted by James Davidson and Jamie Brandon, then doctoral students at the University of Texas, Austin, under the direction of University of Texas, Austin professor Dr. Maria Franklin. According to Dr. Franklin, the dig is the only extensive excavation of an African American site in Freedman's Town/North Dallas (St. Paul United Methodist Church files w). The dig uncovered a variety of late-nineteenth- and early twentieth-century artifacts associated with the domestic use of the property, which after cleaning and cataloging were returned to St. Paul church for display. These have added to the understanding of Black life and material culture in Freedman's Town/North Dallas and offer tangible evidence of the once thriving community that surrounded St. Paul church.

In 2008, St. Paul church continued its quest to document and honor the history of the church and the community it served with an application for a Texas Subject Marker. The marker was approved in 2013 in the category of Untold Stories, and in 2014 was placed at the church amid celebration. St. Paul remains on its original site and is today the only surviving church in what was the heart of the once thriving Freedman's Town/North Dallas community. This nomination continues the church's desire to document and honor both church and neighborhood history.

Justification of Significance

St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church is an important local landmark that is architect designed and built by a combination of professional contractor and member labor. Constructed as a place of worship and a center for community service, the church is significant under Criterion A for its association with Dallas' Freedman's Town/North Dallas community, for its reflection of the segregated community development patterns and social life of Dallas, for its role in providing community support and social services, and for fostering social change through action designed to desegregate institutions and provide improved living conditions for Dallas African Americans in the pre-Civil Rights era. The church also is significant under Criterion A for the contribution of member labor to its construction, which continues the prevalent late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century practice of first-generation-free-people working together toward a long-range goal. Further, the church is a significant symbol of the hope, dedication and labor of its congregation to supporting and enhancing the lives of African Americans through worship, education and social change, despite the difficulties imposed by segregation and the limited economic and social opportunities inherent therein. The church is significant under Criterion C for its unusual Collegiate Gothic Revival/Romanesque Revival design. The church retains very high levels of integrity of location, materials, design, workmanship, feeling and

⁴⁸ Although Munger Avenue Baptist Church remains in what appears to be an altered ca. 1920s brick church building near the intersection of Lemmon and Haskell in the former Freedman's Town, it is northeast of the intersection of the Woodall Rogers Freeway (Texas Highway 366) and U.S. Highway 75 (North Central Expressway) and physically separated by these two major highways from what was the community's center. New Hope Baptist Church appears to no longer exist in its original location. Pilgrim Rest Missionary Baptist Church occupies a non-historic building on Washington Avenue near Munger Avenue Baptist Church some distance from the center of what was Freedman's Town/North Dallas. A variety of non-historic housing and commercial and institutional uses are located within the area around these two churches.

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association within the period of significance and is maintained in excellent condition. Although the church's setting is affected by the loss of the historic community that once surrounded it, and which it served, such loss heightens the church's visibility and significance. For these reasons, St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church is eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places at the local level under Criterion A in the areas of Social History and Ethnic Heritage (African American) and under Criterion C for its Architecture at the local level of significance within a period of significance extending from 1927 to 1966, which is the current 50 year mark. Associated with the church is an asphalt paved parking lot, which sometime after about 1960 replaced the demolished ca. 1895 parsonage.

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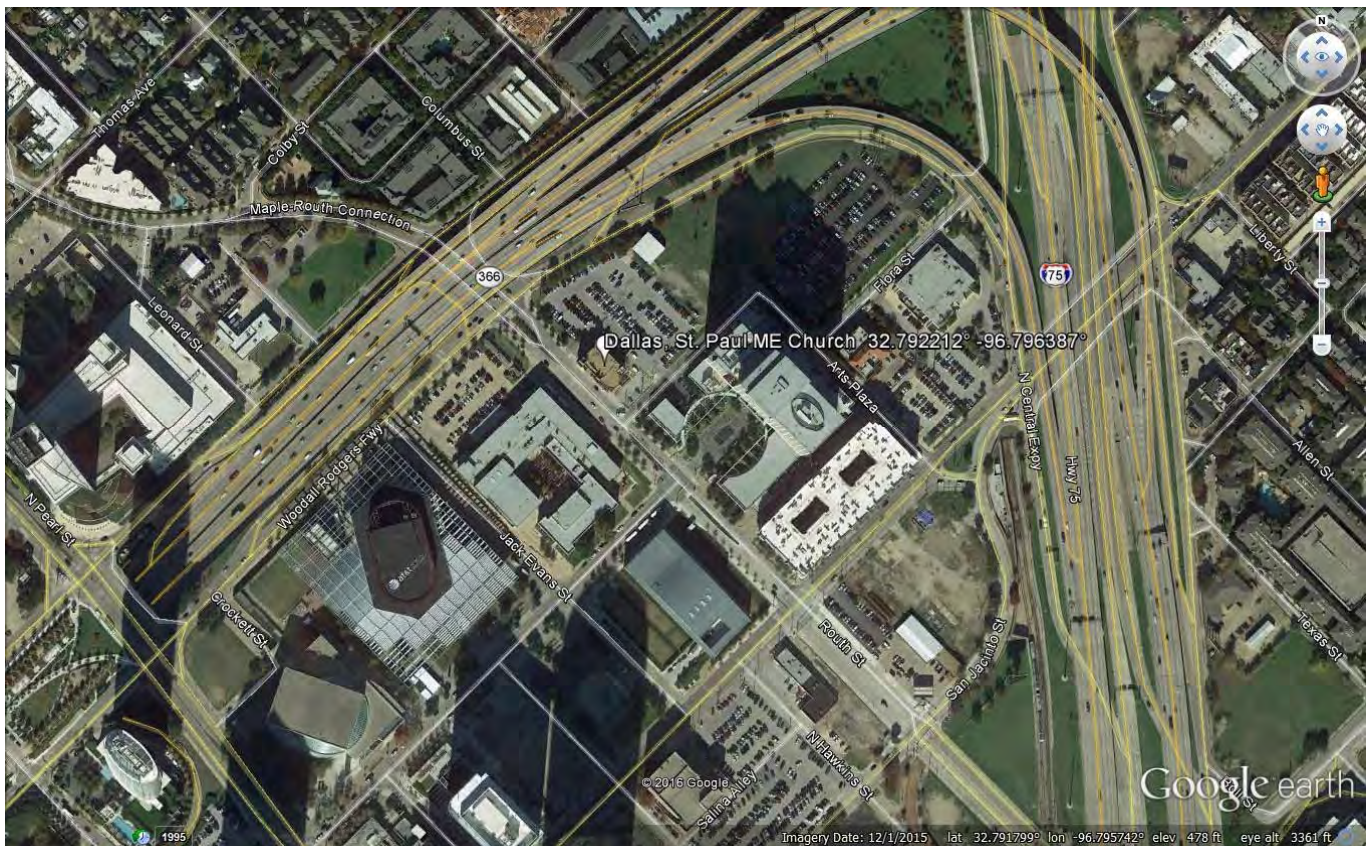
St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Map 1: State Location Map, Dallas County



Map 2: Area Map, Dallas, Texas

Source: Google Earth



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Map 3: Property Location Map, St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church

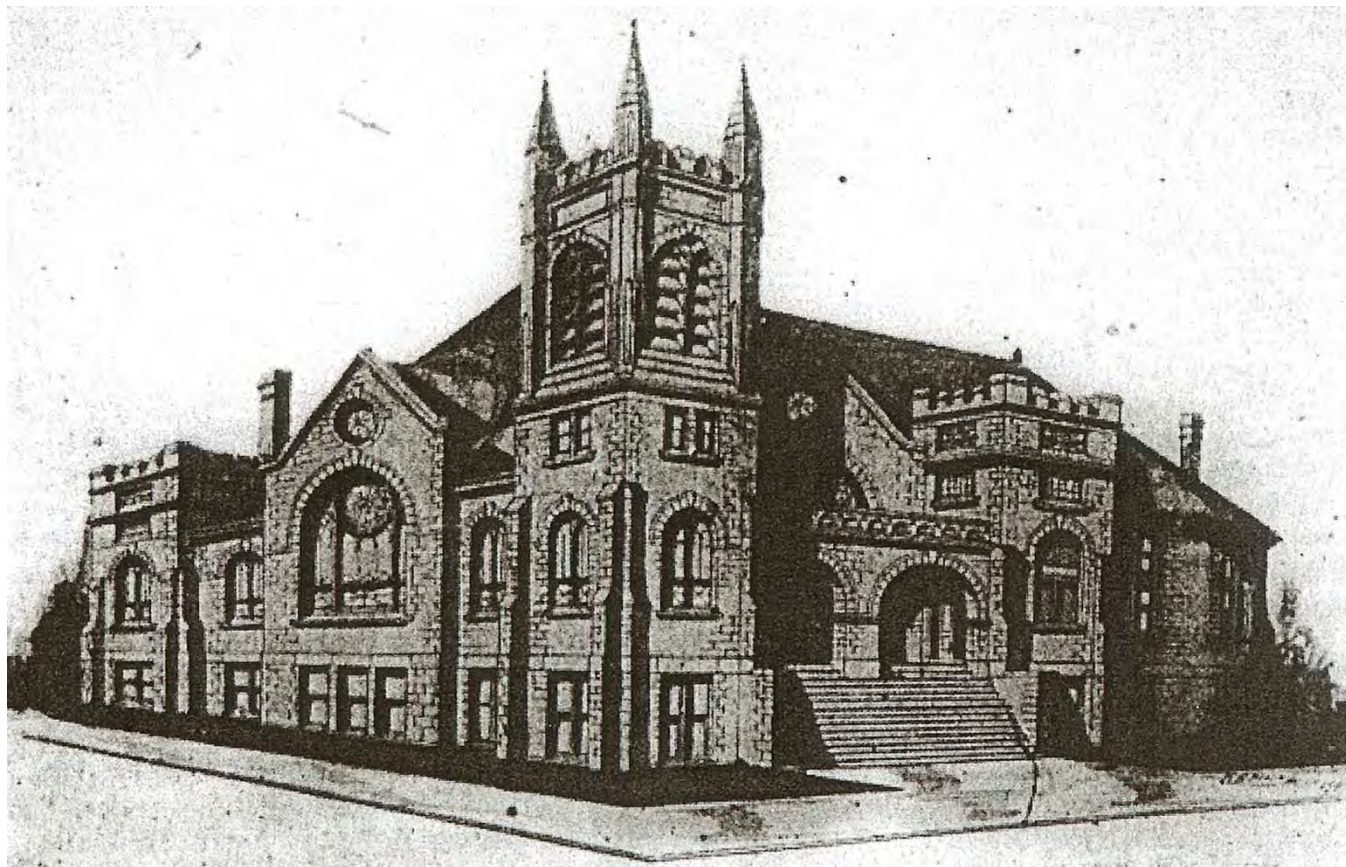
Source: Google Earth



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Figure 1: Concept Drawing, St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, ca. 1911

Source: Bridwell Library, Southern Methodist University, e



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Figure 2: St. Paul Methodist Church ca. 1940

Source: *Dallas Negro Directory, 1947*

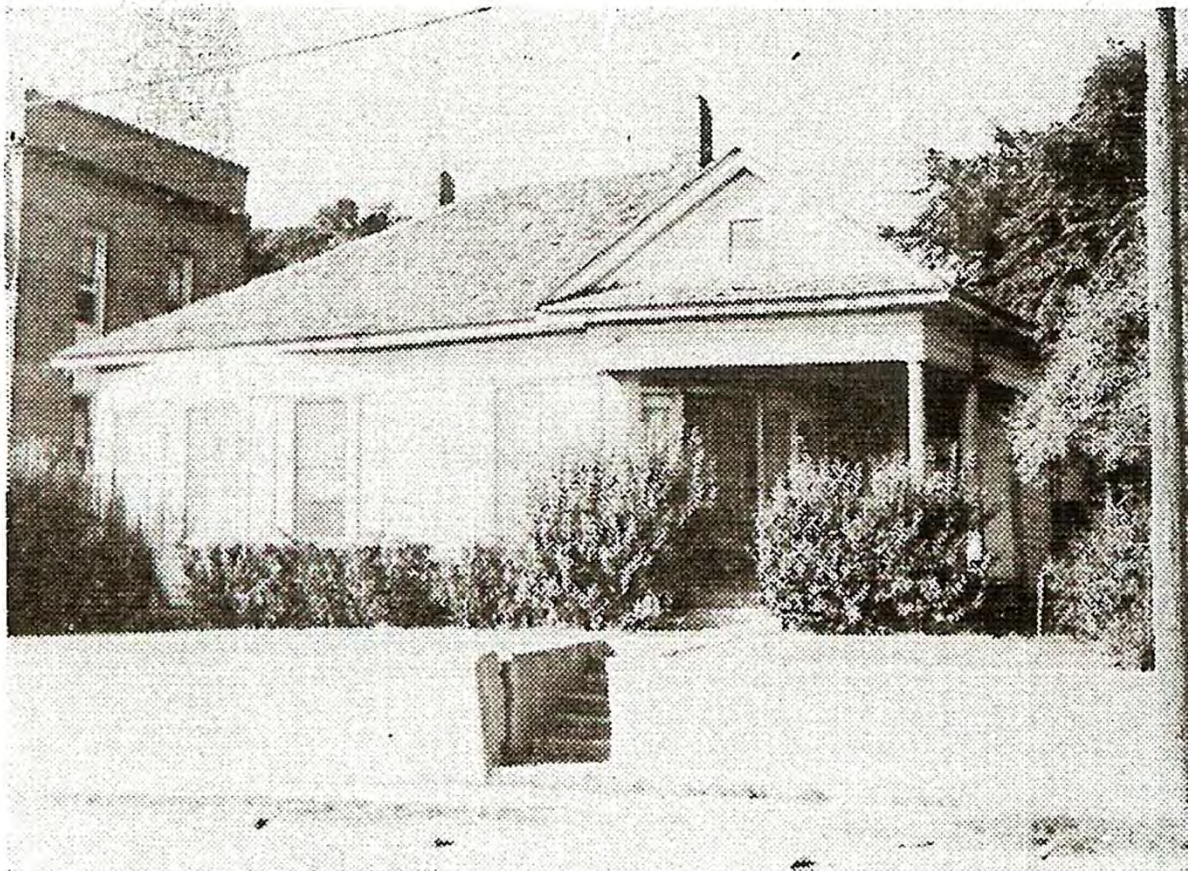


ST. PAUL METHODIST CHURCH

St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

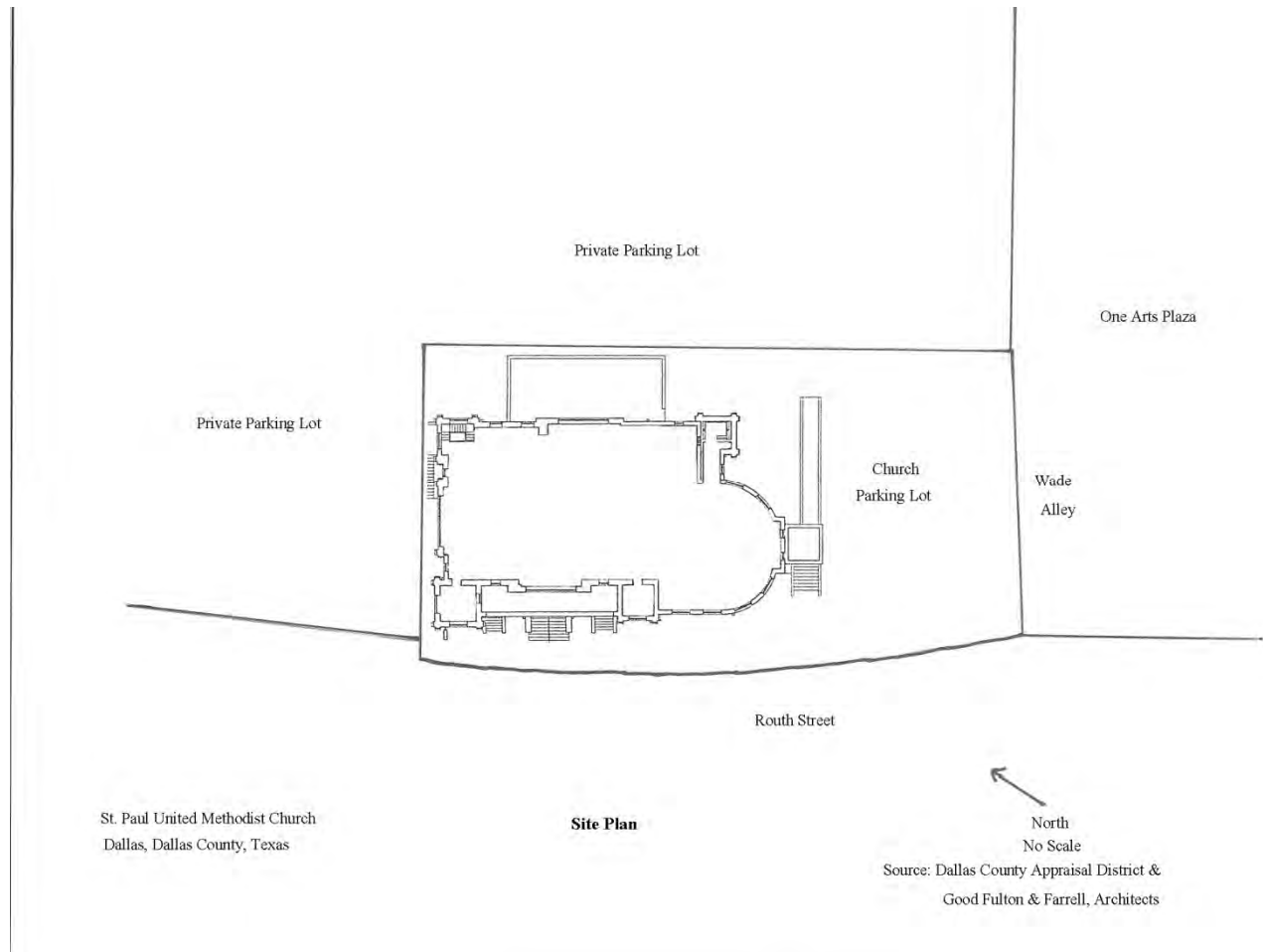
Figure 3: Routh Street Parsonage, ca. 1940

Source: Mays-Roberson Papers b



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

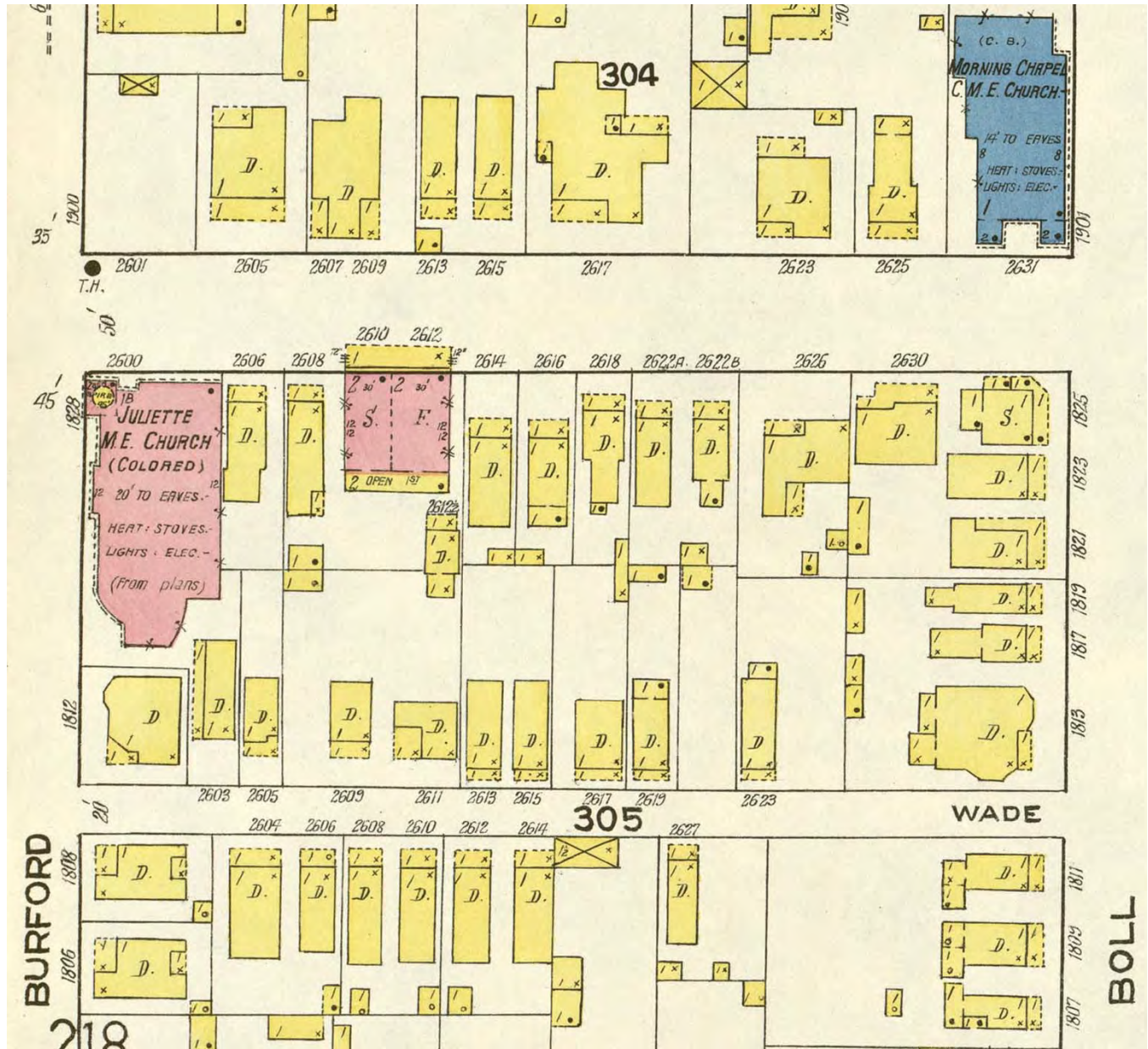
Figure 4: Site Plan, St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, 2010-2015
Source: Dallas Central Appraisal District & Good Fulton & Farrell, Architects
No Scale



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Figure 5: Detail, St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, 1921 Sanborn Map

Source: Briscoe Center for American History
No Scale



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Figure 6: Youth Choir in Front of the Church, 1949

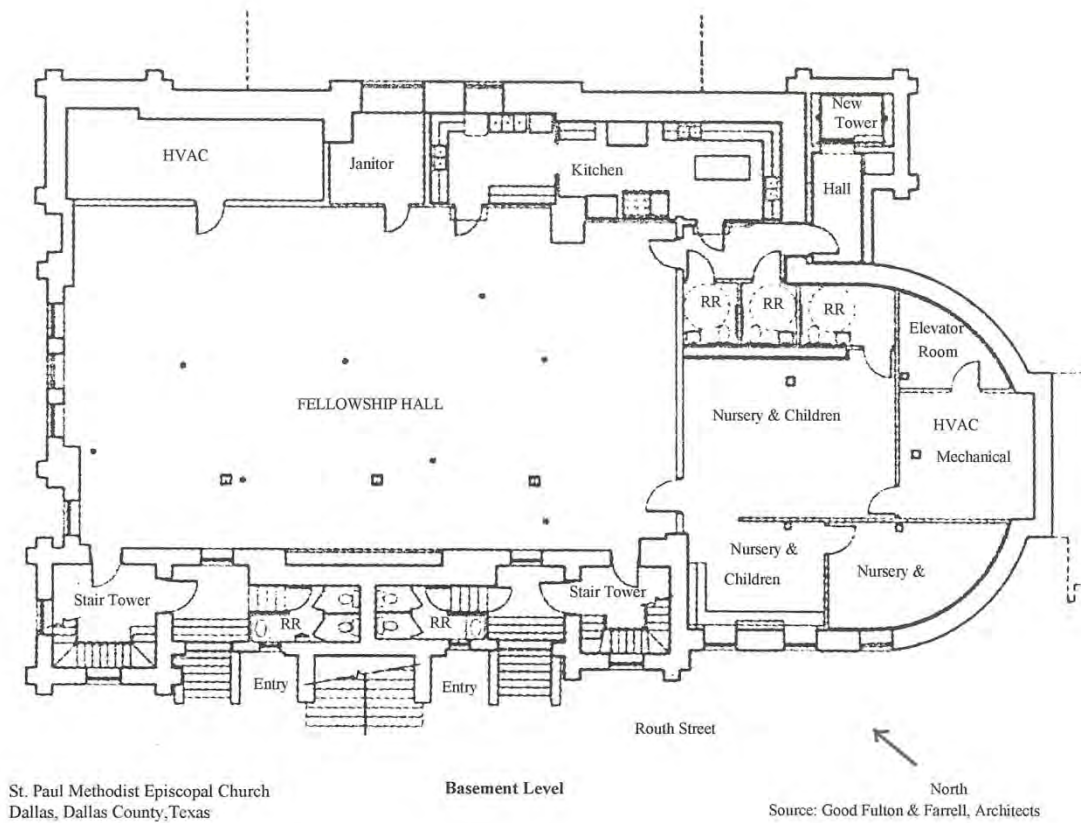
Source: Skipper Papers b



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Figure 7: Basement Floor Plan, St. Paul United Methodist Church, 2010

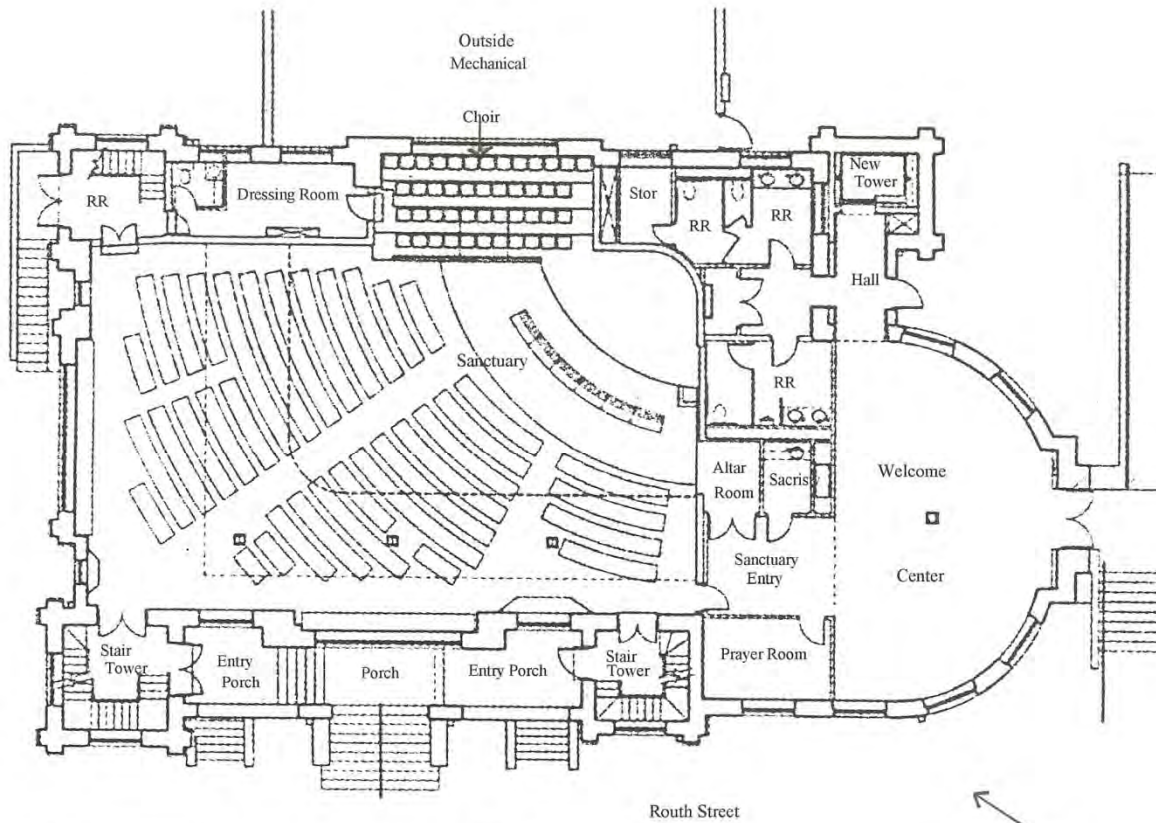
Source: Good Fulton & Farrell
No Scale



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Figure 8: First Floor Plan, St. Paul United Methodist Church, 2010

Source: Good Fulton & Farrell, Architects
No Scale



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church
Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

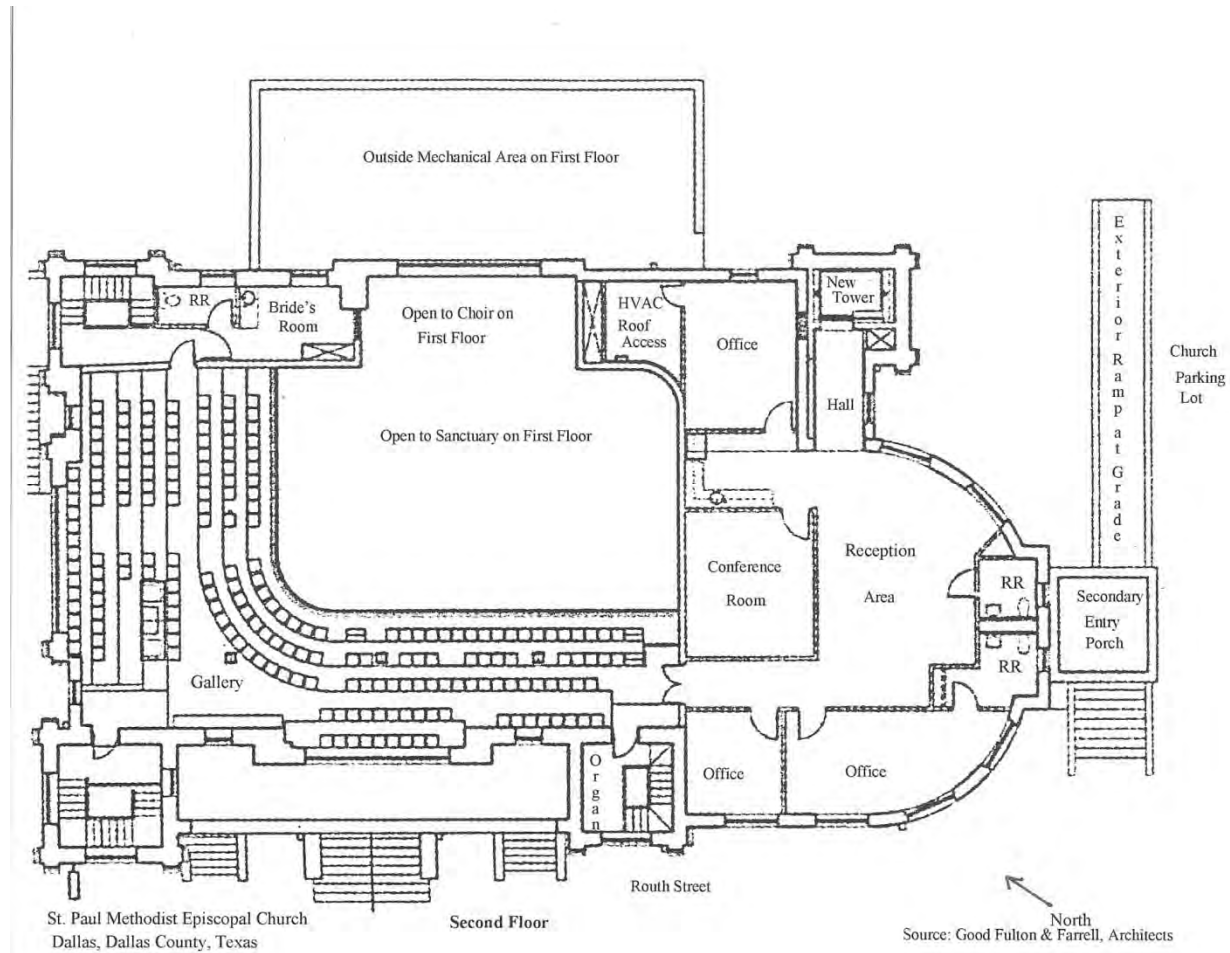
First Floor

Source: Good Fulton & Farrell, Architects

St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Figure 9: Second Floor Plan, St. Paul United Methodist Church, 2010

Source: Good Fulton & Farrell, Architects



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Figure 10: Young Women in front of the Northwest Elevation First Floor Door, ca. 1940s

Source: Skipper Papers b



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Figure 11: Young Women in front of the Northwest Elevation Basement Door, ca. 1940s

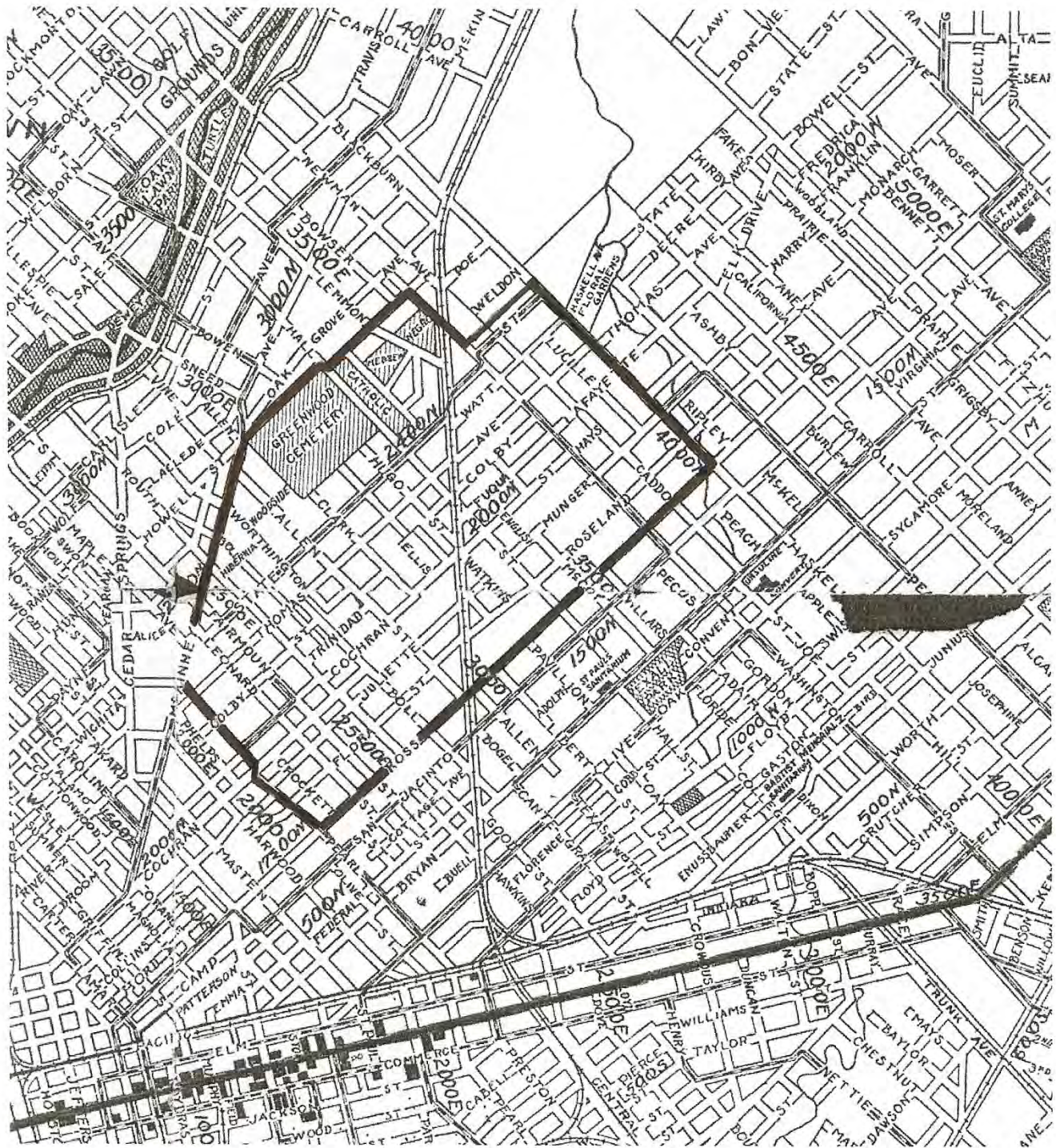
Source: Skipper Papers b



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Figure 12: Freedman's Town/North Dallas, 1929

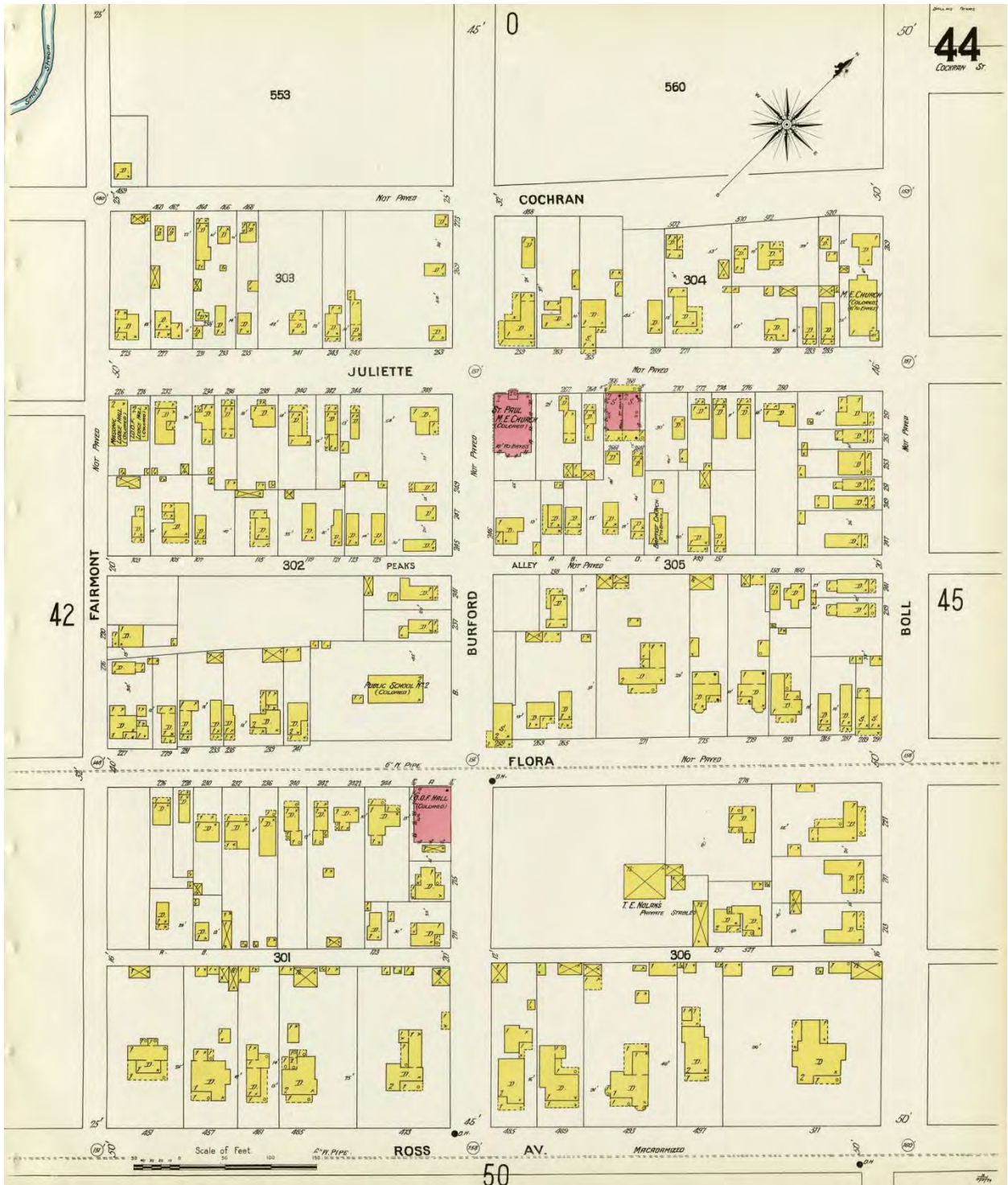
Source: Portal to Texas History and Prior 63
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St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Figure 13: St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, 1899 Sanborn Map

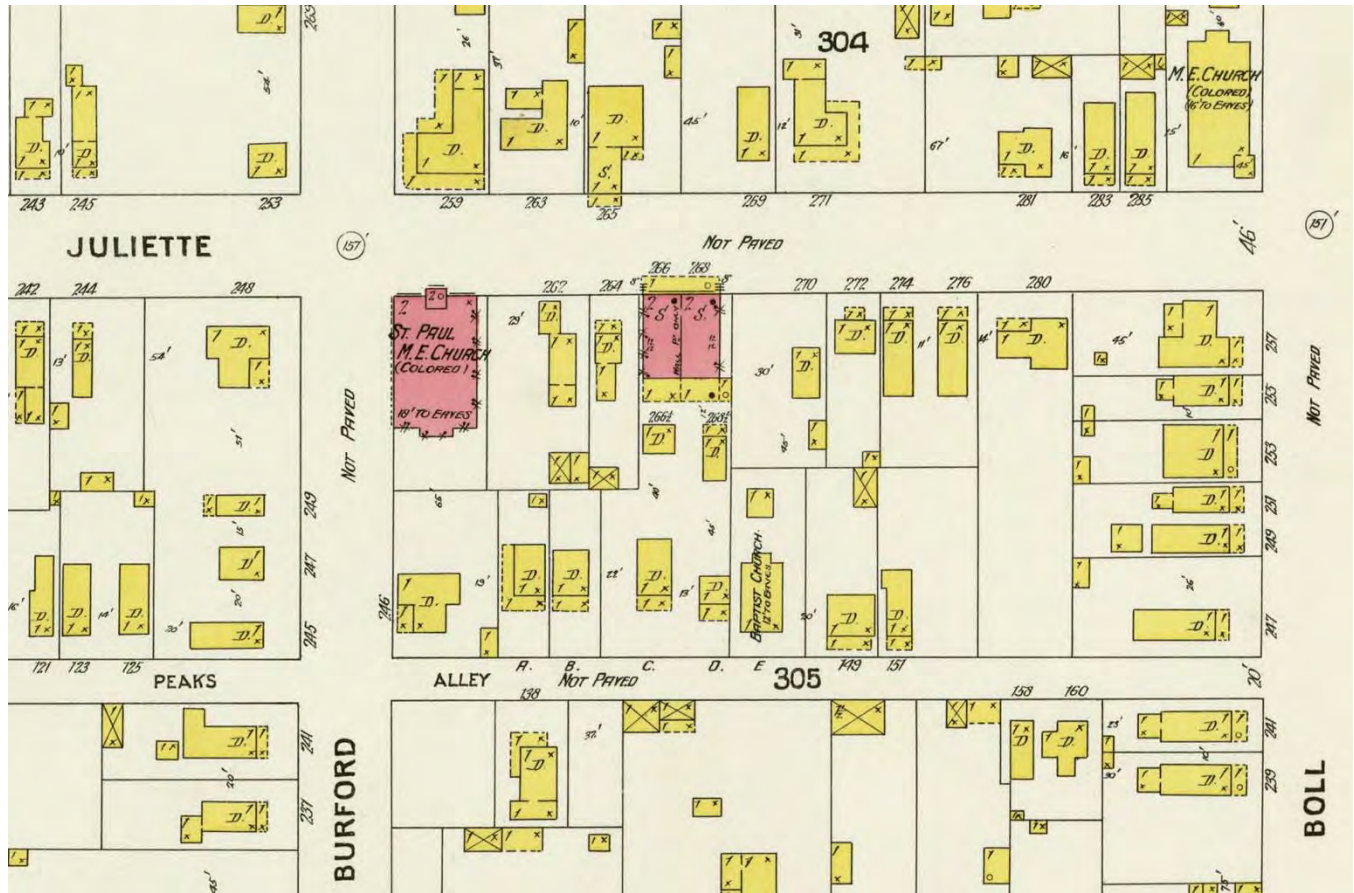
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St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Figure 14: Detail, St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, 1899 Sanborn Map

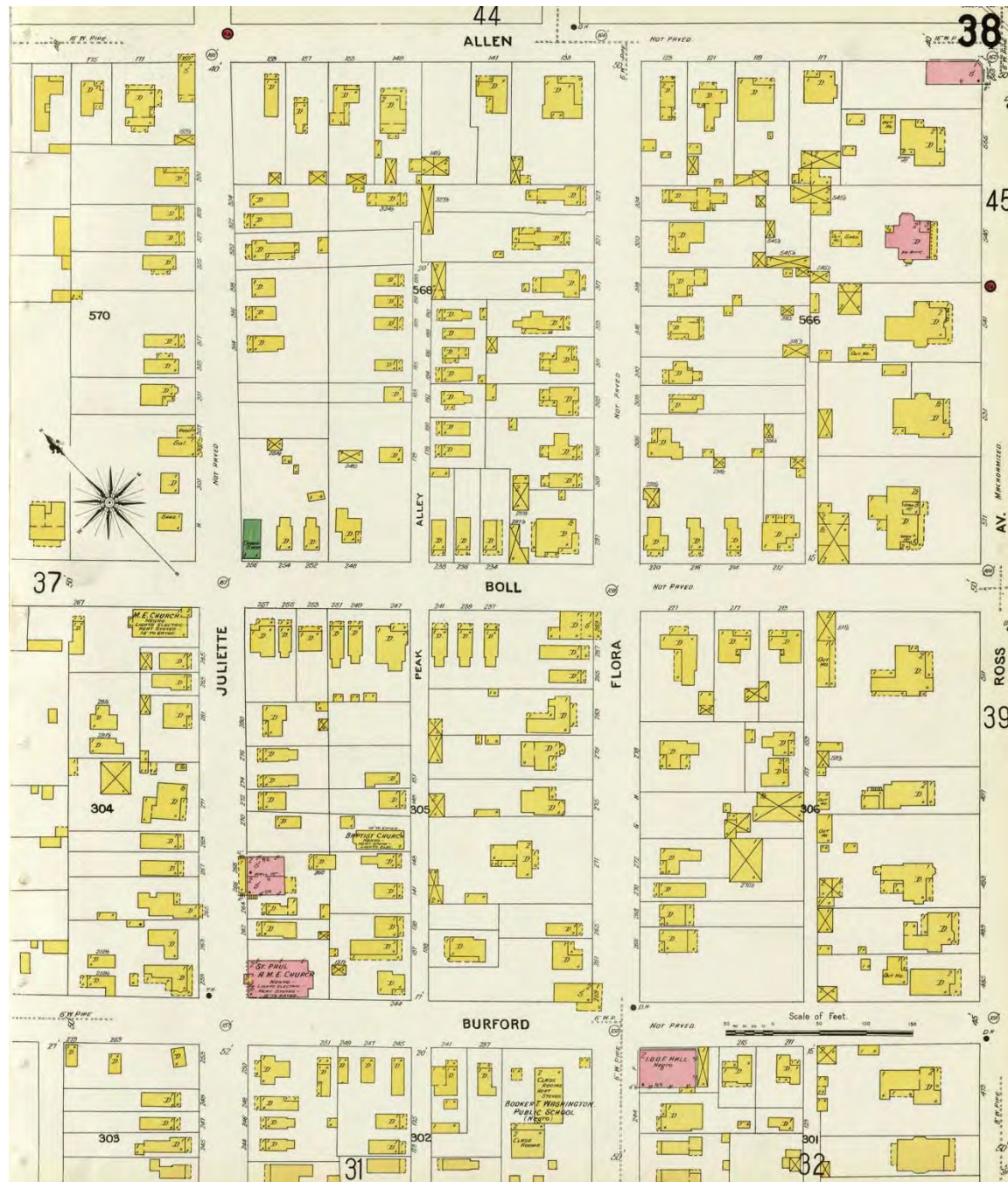
Source: Briscoe Center for American History
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St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Figure 15: St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, 1905 Sanborn Map

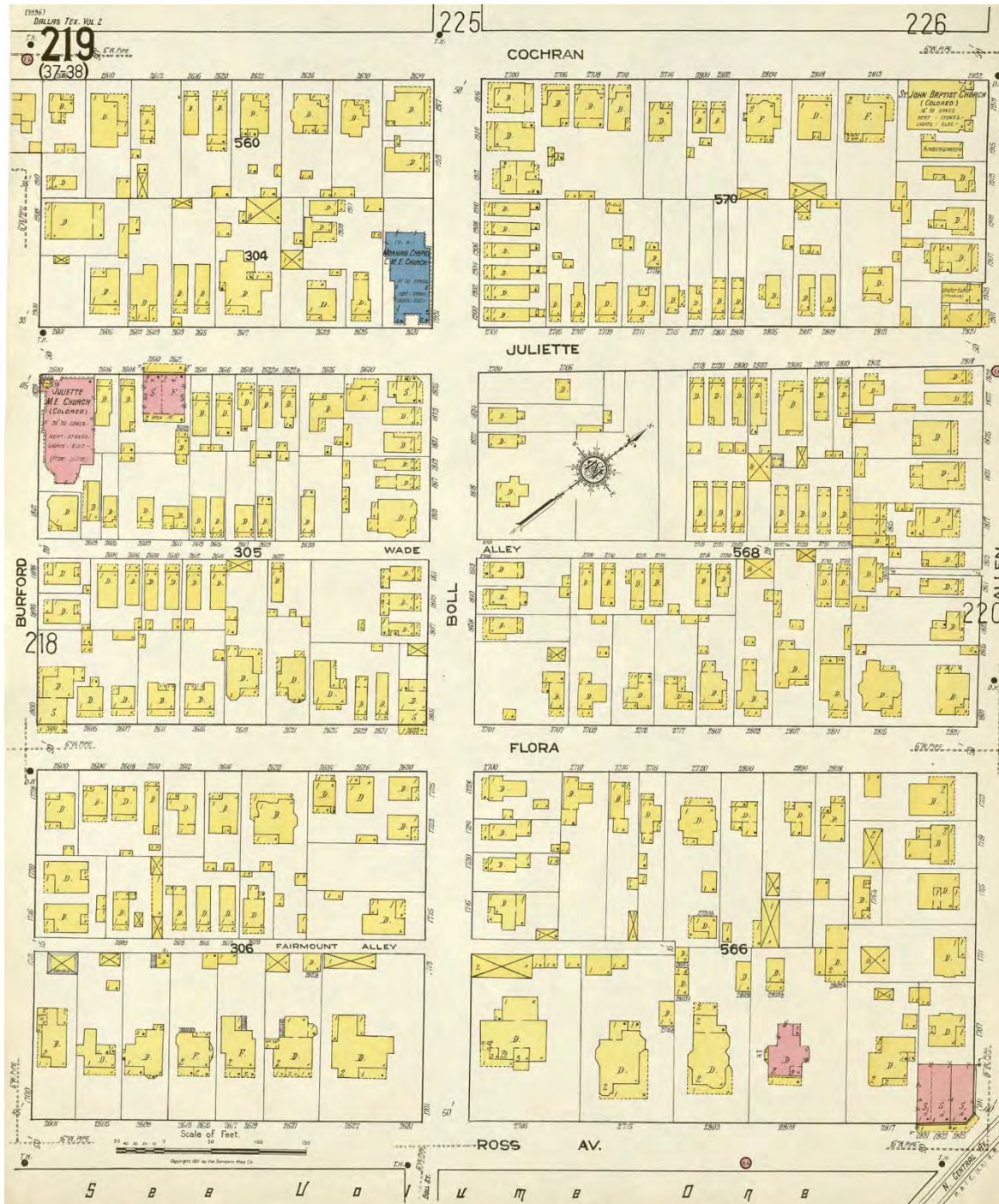
Source: Briscoe Center for American History
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St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Figure 16: St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, 1921 Sanborn Map

Source: Briscoe Center for American History
No Scale

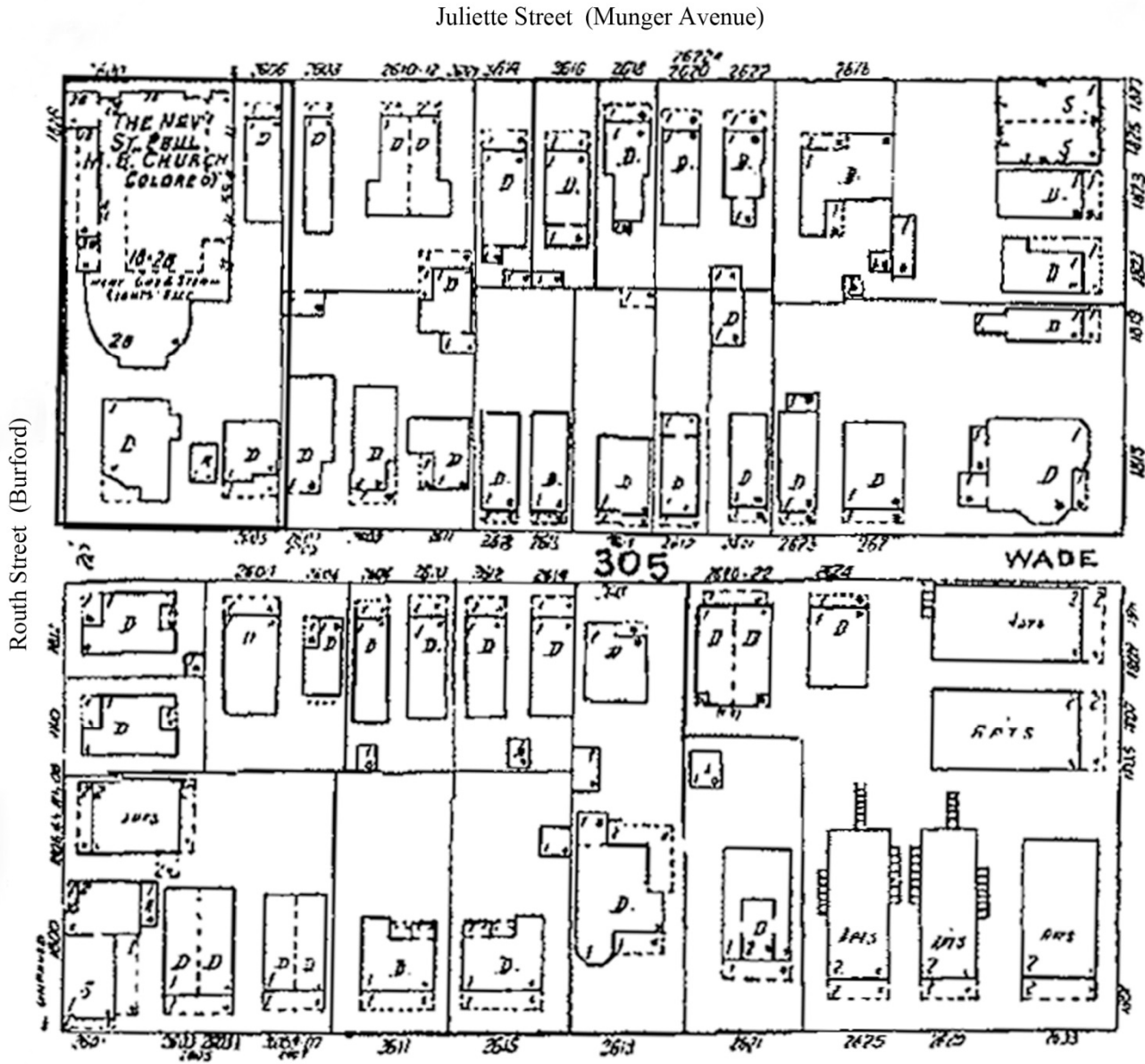


St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Figure 17: Detail, St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, 1951 Sanborn Map

Source: Texas Subject Marker Application, 2008.

No Scale



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Figure 19: Church School Class, ca. 1914-1915

Source: Skipper Papers b



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Figure 20: After Church in the Neighborhood, ca. 1940s-1950s

Source: Skipper Papers b



Figure 21: The Coles, n.d.

Source: Skipper Papers b



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 1: Front (Southwest) and Side (Southeast) Elevations, Oblique, camera facing north.



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 2: Streetscape View, Routh Street and Front Elevation of Church, camera facing northwest.



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 3: Front (Southwest) Elevation, Detail, Gable, camera facing north.



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 4: Rear (Northeast) Elevation, camera facing southwest.



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 5: Side (Northwest) Elevation, camera facing southeast.



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 7: Side (Northwest) Elevation, Detail, Stained Glass Window, camera facing southeast.



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 8: Front (Southwest) Elevation, Detail, Entry Portico, camera facing north.



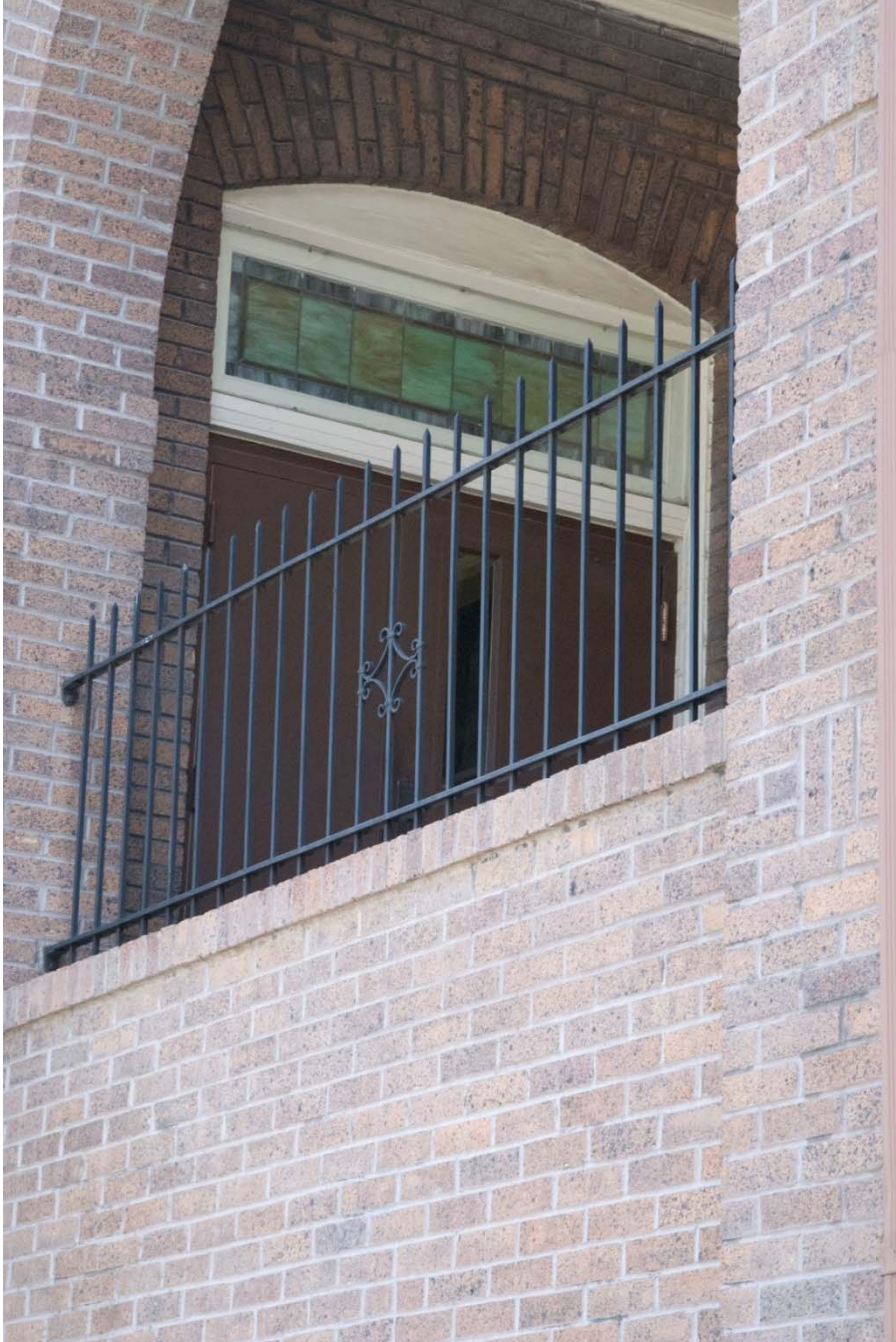
St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 9: Front (Southwest) Elevation, Detail, Basement Door with Window, camera facing north.



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 10: Front (Southwest) Elevation, Detail, First Floor Doors, camera facing north.



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 11: Side (Southeast) Elevation and Church Parking Lot, camera facing northwest.



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 12: Rear (Northeast) Elevation, Detail, Brick Color Variation, camera facing southwest.



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 13: Interior View, Sanctuary and Choir, camera facing north northwest.



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 14: Interior view, Corner Pulpit, camera facing southeast.



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 15: Side (Southeast View, Secondary Entry (Elevator)), camera facing northwest.



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 16: Interior View, Gallery, Original Glass Ceiling Light Fixture, camera facing southwest.



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 17: Interior View, Northeast Sanctuary Wall, Stained Glass Window, camera facing northwest.



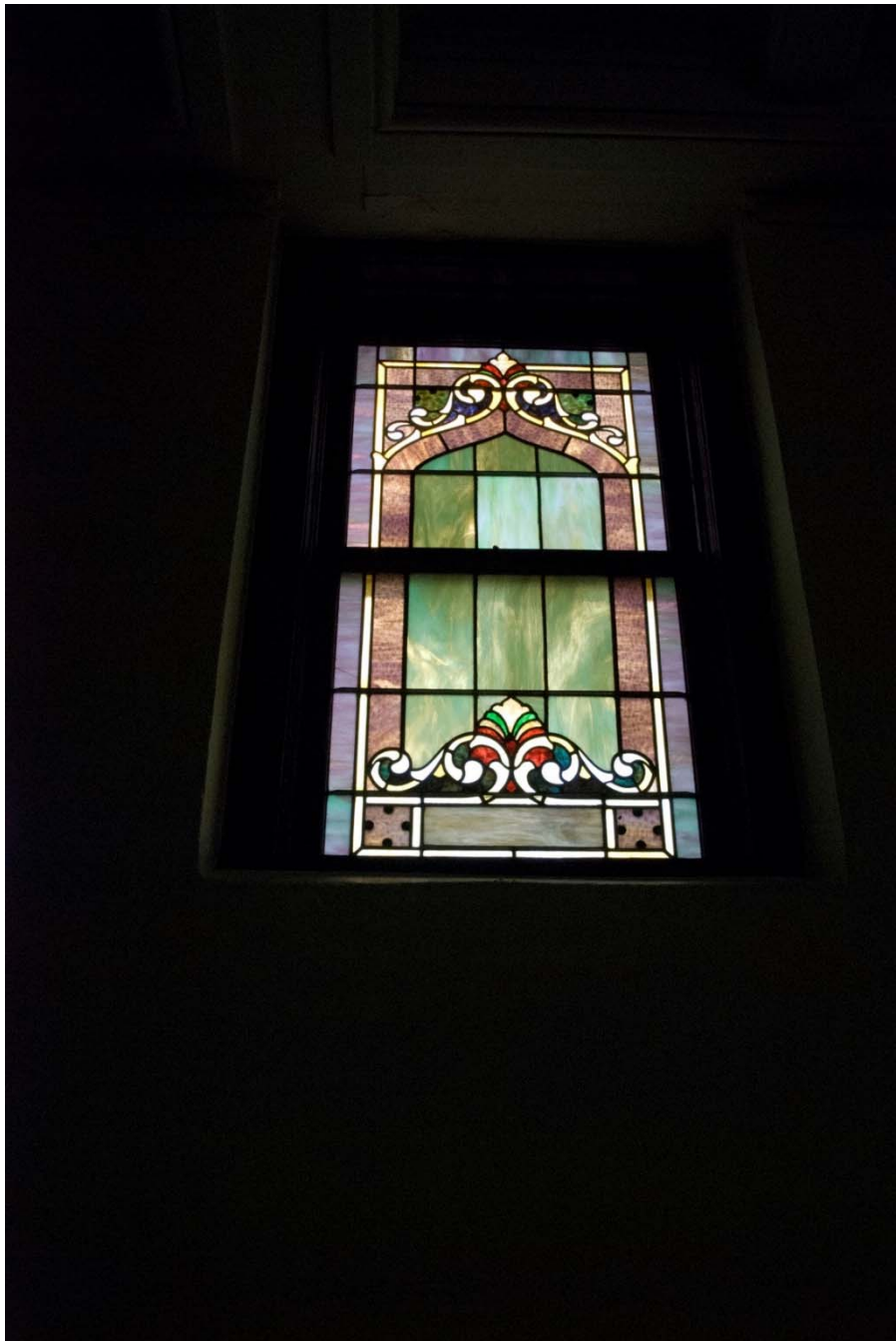
St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 18: Interior View, Northwest Sanctuary Wall, Detail, Stained Glass Window, camera facing northwest.



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 19: Interior View, Northwest Sanctuary Wall, Stained Glass Window, camera facing northwest.



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 20: Rear (Northeast) Elevation, Detail, Smoke Damage, camera facing southwest.



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 21: Streetscape View, Church Parking Lot and Wade Alley, camera facing northwest.



St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas

Photo 22: Rear (Northeast) Elevation, Detail, Mechanical Area Entry, camera facing northwest.



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ST. PAUL
UNITED
METHODIST
CHURCH

1000 W. 10th Street
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74106
918.492.1234

MEMBERSHIP
SERVICES
1000 W. 10th





NO PARKING TOW AWAY ZONE











St. Paul
Local Health Dept.
Main Entrance







G.U.O.O.F







