

sectors, and some also opened their own businesses.²⁸ The O. B. Macaroni Company, founded by Italians Giovanni Laneri and Louis Bichocchi in 1899, remains in operation today.²⁹

While most of Fort Worth's foreign-born population originated from Europe, small numbers of immigrants from Mexico and China also settled in the city. Though large-scale Mexican immigration to Texas and Fort Worth occurred in the twentieth century, around a hundred Mexicans likely settled in the city before 1900. Census records indicate fewer than 10 individuals born in, or born to a Mexican parent, lived in Fort Worth prior to 1880.³⁰ Using the city directory and US Census records, Kenneth N. Hopkins, former local historian and archivist at the Fort Worth Public Library, estimated that between 50 to 100 Mexican-born or second-generation Mexicans lived in Fort Worth by 1900.³¹ Many were single men and laborers. A small number of Chinese men, who likely worked on the railroad, also settled in Fort Worth during this period. City directories from the 1880s and 1890s show around 10 Chinese-run laundries in the city, and census records show some Chinese cooks and domestic servants. Forty Chinese people lived in Fort Worth in 1890.³² This number dropped to 22 by 1900.³³

EARLY GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

FORMATION OF TARRANT COUNTY

Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, Anglo settlers and enslaved African Americans slowly made their way to north central Texas. Though they were largely dispersed, separated from one another on large tracts of land, several small communities had emerged in the region by the late 1840s, including Dallas, Grapevine, Johnson's Station (present-day Arlington), and Lonesome Dove (in northeast Tarrant County) (fig. 2-7). With a population around 600 in the area encompassing present-day Tarrant County, and the anticipation of more settlers in the wake of Fort Worth's (the military fort) establishment, the Texas legislature created a new county in December 1849.³⁴ Tarrant County, named for General Edward Tarrant, covered nearly 900 square miles. The 1850 US Census recorded 664 inhabitants in the newly formed county.³⁵

The first elections in Tarrant County occurred in 1850 at Traders Oak, a massive live oak tree and the site of Fort Worth's first trading post (present-day Traders Oak Park on Samuels Avenue, fig. 2-8).³⁶ Here, the first county officials were elected, and Birdville was designated the county seat. Chosen for its location in the geographic center of the new county, Birdville was a small farming and ranching community approximately 10 miles northeast of Fort Worth. By 1855 Fort Worth had become a small frontier community and several of its prominent citizens wanted to move the county seat from Birdville to Fort Worth; the men called for another election to determine the matter. Fort Worth won the 1856 vote in an election said to have been marred with voter fraud and bribery.³⁷ Birdville citizens subsequently protested the vote, and another election was held in 1860. Fort Worth again won the vote and was officially designated Tarrant County Seat in 1860.

Over the next three and half decades, Tarrant County oversaw the construction of three different courthouses. The first courthouse, a stone building, was completed around 1870, after the five-year interruption caused by the Civil War. Built east of the former fort buildings atop the Trinity River bluffs, the courthouse burned in 1876. The second courthouse was completed in 1877 in the same location. In 1893, the Tarrant County Commissioners Court voted to allocate \$500,000 for a new courthouse that reflected the city and county's growing wealth and prominence.³⁸ Completed in 1895 and designed by Kansas City architects Gunn and Curtis and built by Probst Construction Company of Chicago, the new (extant) pink granite Renaissance Revival building atop the bluff became the focal point of the burgeoning city. The Tarrant County courthouse (100 East Weatherford Street, listed in the National

Register, Recorded Texas Historic Landmark), which resembled the Texas State capitol building, did lend an air of importance to Fort Worth while also cementing its status as a governmental center (fig. 2-9).

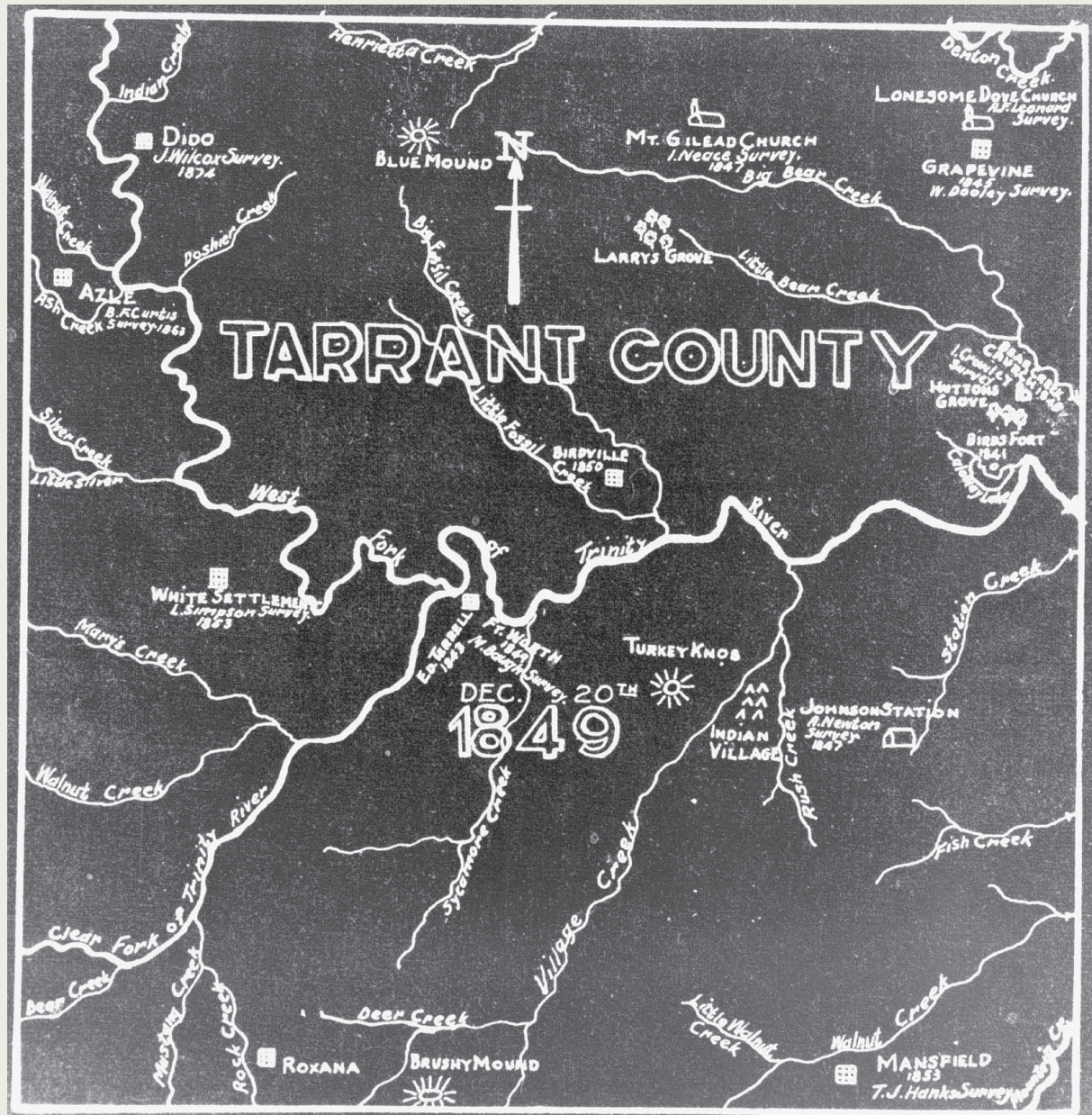


Figure 2-7. Map of Tarrant County in 1849 showing early settlements. Source: Fort Worth Star-Telegram Collection, University of Texas at Arlington, UTA Libraries Digital Gallery, accessed May 24, 2021, <https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/10000112>.

Figure 2-8. Current view of Traders Oak, site of the first trading post in the city, in Traders Oak Park on Samuels Avenue (extant). Source: "Famous Trees of Texas," Texas A & M Forest Service, 2012, accessed May 2, 2021, <https://tfsweb.tamu.edu/websites/FamousTreesOfTexas/TreeLayout.asp?pageid=16150>.



Figure 2-9. Front of the Tarrant County Courthouse in the late-nineteenth century (extant). Source: Tarrant County Courthouse, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting Tarrant County College NE, Heritage Room, accessed May 24, 2021, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph28238/>.

North of the courthouse square, on West Belknap Street, the creation of a county government district took root during this period (fig. 2-10). The first county jail, which was built in Fort Worth in 1856 as part of the city's attempt to gain the county seat from Birdville, was located at Jones and Belknap Streets. In 1883, the county commissioners court approved a bond for a larger jail that would be located near the courthouse. The new jail was completed in 1884 north of the courthouse square at 100 West Belknap

Street (currently Paddock Park).³⁹ Though a new jail was later built a block west at 200 West Belknap Street in 1918, the construction of the jail in its original location on West Belknap Street in 1884 helped create the cluster of county government buildings that still exists north of the courthouse.

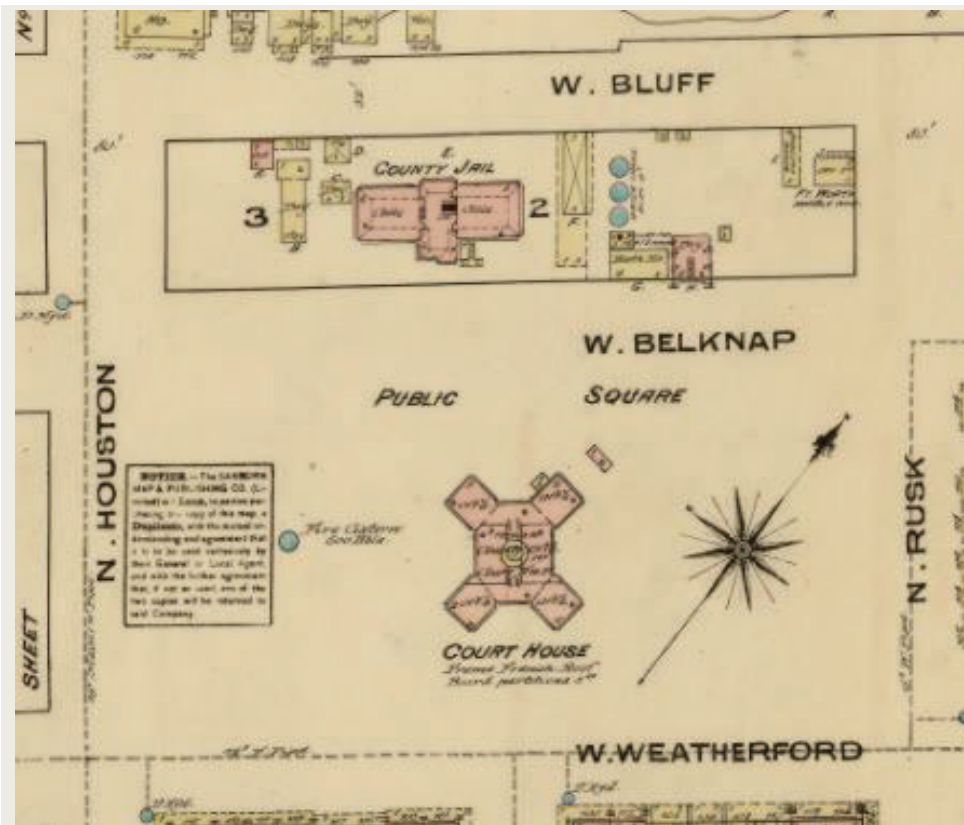


Figure 2-10. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, 1885, showing the county courthouse and jail. Source: Fire Insurance Company, Fort Worth, 1885, sheet 3, from the University of Texas at Austin, <http://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/sanborn/d-f/txu-sanborn-fort-worth-1885-03.jpg>.

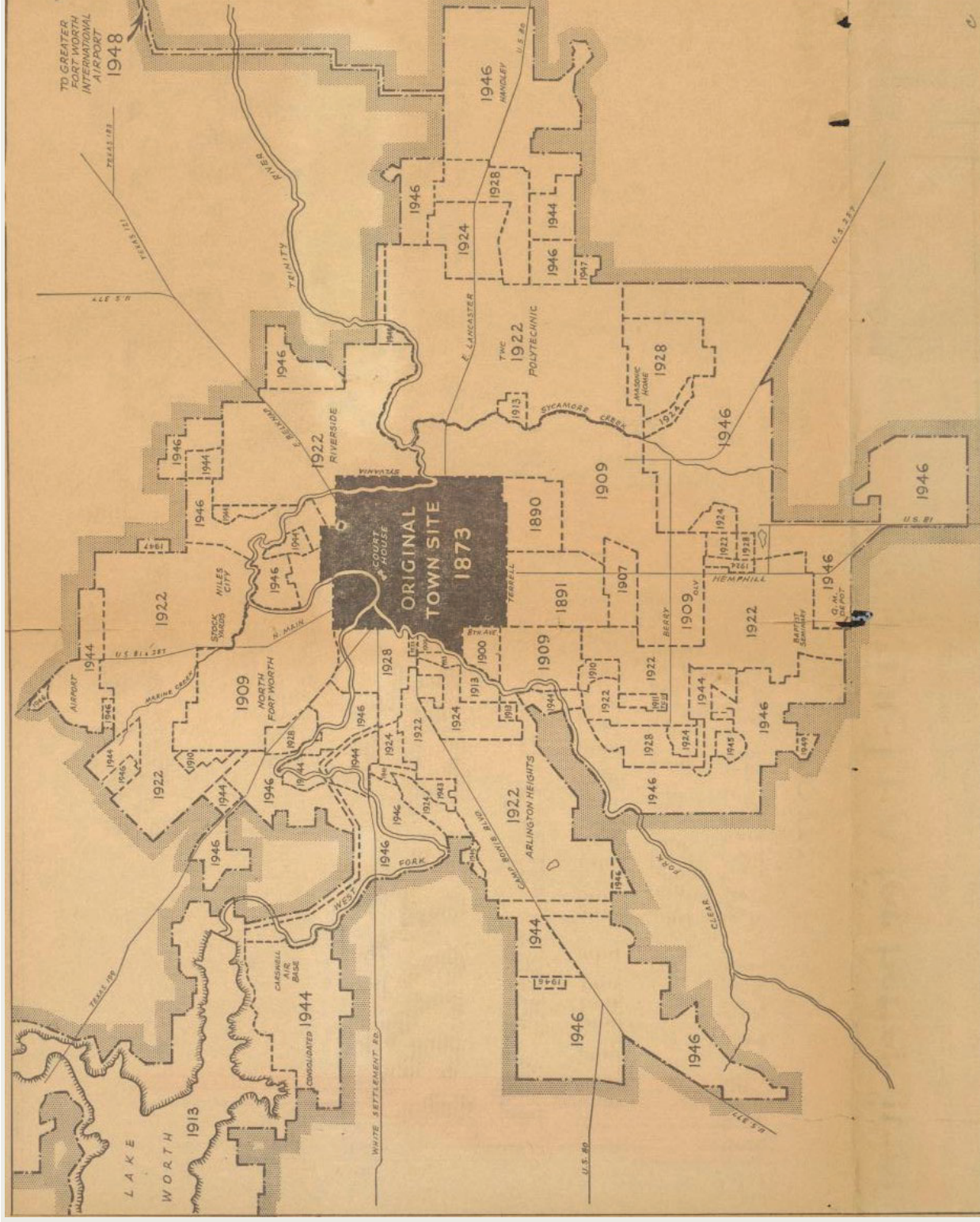
FORT WORTH INCORPORATION AND EARLY MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

After a period of decline and instability caused by the Civil War, Fort Worth’s population and economy rebounded by the early 1870s. In large part bolstered by the thriving cattle drive industry and the businesses and jobs it spawned, the city’s economy stabilized, and its population nearly reached 2,500.⁴⁰ The city expected continued economic prosperity and population growth in the coming years, as the arrival of the first railroad seemed imminent given that it was scheduled to reach Fort Worth in 1874. Prior to the arrival of the railroad, though, residences dotted the areas east and west of the commercial district that stretched from the courthouse south to around 14th Street. With a large transient population of cattlemen in an area that lacked any sort of law enforcement, an “unsavory” district arose in the southern end of town. Dubbed “Hell’s Half Acre,” saloons, dance halls, gambling, and prostitution defined the area. In general, the city retained a frontier atmosphere: it lacked law enforcement, its streets were not paved, there were no public utilities or public education, garbage piled up outside businesses, and pigs roamed the streets.⁴¹

In recognition of the city’s growth and its growing need for order, several prominent citizens wrote a charter for the city’s incorporation. In March 1873, after the Texas state legislature approved the city charter, Fort Worth was officially incorporated with a mayor-council form of government.⁴² The new municipality occupied approximately 4.2 square miles, stretched roughly between present-day Northwest 7th Street and Terrell Avenue to the north and south, and present-day Sylvania Avenue and the Trinity River to the east and west (fig. 2-11). In 1877, the city council divided the city into three wards.

HISTORIC CONTEXT OF FORT WORTH

Figure 2-1.1. Map from 1949 showing the various stages of growth and annexation in Fort Worth spanning outward from the original 1873 townsite. Source: University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting University of Texas at Arlington Library, accessed May 24, 2021, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metatp193678/>.



As anticipated, the remainder of the nineteenth century proved a period of significant growth for Fort Worth. In the two and half decades after its incorporation, Fort Worth’s population ballooned to over 26,000, and the city limits also expanded. Through several annexations in 1890 and 1891, the city added an additional 2.1 square miles immediately south of the original townsite, stretching the city limits to present-day Jessamine Street.⁴³ By 1891 the city had nine wards. During this time, the municipal government enacted ordinances and regulations (including ones on gambling and prostitution), began collecting taxes, and established new departments that oversaw a number of improvements in the growing city. By the end of the period the city had streetlamps, graded streets, and sewers. Included among the City departments and municipal services established and organized during this period were: a police force (1873), public schools (1882), public water and sewers (1884), a Board of Health (1888), public parks and a Board of Park Commissioners (1892, 1897), a public library (1892), and a fire department (1893). Other utilities—including gas (1880s), electricity (1885), telephone (1878), and streetcar service (1876)—were provided by private companies that had franchises with the City.⁴⁴

During this period, Fort Worth’s white majority ran the city. The city’s eight nineteenth-century mayors were prominent white men such as John Peter Smith, a large landowner, and Buckley B. Paddock, a newspaper and railroad man and the namesake of the Paddock Viaduct.⁴⁵ The City Council was entirely composed of white men. Though African Americans could not legally be denied the vote, poll taxes and literacy tests minimized their voting rights and power. One of the few arenas in which the Black community was provided some representation was the police force. Hagar Tucker, a freedman, was appointed in 1872 by city council to serve as a “special policeman.”⁴⁶ In this role, Tucker was paid less than his white counterparts and was restricted to policing the African American community.

See the Social and Cultural Institutions section for a discussion of the role Black community organizations played in bridging the gaps left by the government.

The municipal government operated out of buildings downtown near the former fort site. Prior to the construction of the first city hall in 1877 (not extant), the first meetings of the mayor and council occurred in the county courthouse and later in a rented office on Weatherford Street.⁴⁷ In 1893, a larger city hall built at Throckmorton and West 10th Streets replaced the 1877 building (fig. 2-12). The 1893 building served as city hall until 1937, when it was demolished and replaced with a new building in its place (currently the Public Safety and Courts Building at 1000 Throckmorton Street).

Like the original city hall, many of the buildings associated with early municipal government in Fort Worth do not remain.ⁱⁱ However, there are several extant resources, including a school, pumping station, and park, that reflect this governmental period and the city’s early transformation from a frontier town into an organized metropolis.


ⁱⁱ The Central Fire Station, built in 1899 at Throckmorton and 8th Streets, was demolished in 1938. The public library system began in 1892 as the Fort Worth Public Library Association and the first library was built in 1901 at 915 Throckmorton Street (demolished in the 1930s) with the financial support of Andrew Carnegie. The city agreed to finance its yearly budget.



Figure 2-12. The 1893 City Hall at Throckmorton and West 10th Streets. The building was demolished in 1937. Source: Jack White Photograph Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, UTA Libraries Digital Gallery, accessed April 21, 2021, <https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/10004065>.

See the next page for a sample statement of significance for resources associated with the theme: Early Government Development and Public Institutional Development.

HISTORIC CONTEXT OF FORT WORTH

Statement of Significance*	
Theme:	Early Government and Public Institutional Development
Subthemes:	Formation of Tarrant County, Fort Worth Incorporation and Early Municipal Government
Summary Statement of Significance:	Resources significant within the theme of Early Municipal Government may include a variety of resources associated with local and county governments, as well as public infrastructure and utilities associated with the incorporation of Fort Worth and its development into an organized city. Resources may be eligible under a number of areas of significance but must retain sufficient integrity in order to convey significance and association with this theme.
Period of Significance:	Roughly between 1873 and 1899.
Period of Significance Justification:	Broadly covers the period of time between the incorporation of Fort Worth and the subsequent establishment of many of the City's municipal departments and utilities, including the police force, public schools, and public water and sewers.
Geographic Location:	Generally within the city limits that existed in 1899.
Area(s) of Significance:	Community Planning and Development, Education, Government, Entertainment/Recreation, Engineering and Architecture
Criteria:	National Register: A, C Local: 1, 2, 3, 5
Associated Property Types:	Known extant resources include a school, pumping station, park, and courthouse. Other resources may include: police stations, fire stations, jails, and city hall.
Example:	Sixth Ward School, 319 Lipscomb Avenue
<p>The Sixth Ward School (renamed the Stephen F. Austin Elementary School in 1904) is an example of a resource associated with the theme of Early Government and Public Institutional Development. Built in 1892, the school was one of the first constructed after Fort Worth established a public school system in 1878. Built nine years after the city's incorporation, the school was one of many new public buildings and utilities constructed during this period of municipal development. Designed by local architectural firm Messer, Sanguinet, and Messer, the school reflects Fort Worth's early civic and municipal development as well as its commitment to education. This building is a local landmark and listed in the National Register under Criteria A and C in the areas of Education and Architecture. The school is also potentially eligible under Criteria A in the area of Community Planning and Development.</p>	
	
<p><i>The front (west) façade of the Sixth Ward School (Stephen F. Austin Elementary School). Source: Charles Dickie Williamson and Jean Donovan Williamson, "Stephen F. Austin Elementary School," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, February 10, 1983, 15, from the THC, https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/83003160/83003160.pdf.</i></p>	
<p>*This sample provides a framework for the identification of resources associated with significant themes in Fort Worth's history. Resources significant under one theme/subtheme may also be significant under one, or several other themes. Period of Significance dates are also just a guide, and resources may have periods of significance that start earlier or end later. Each resource needs to be evaluated individually for historical significance.</p>	

Public Schools

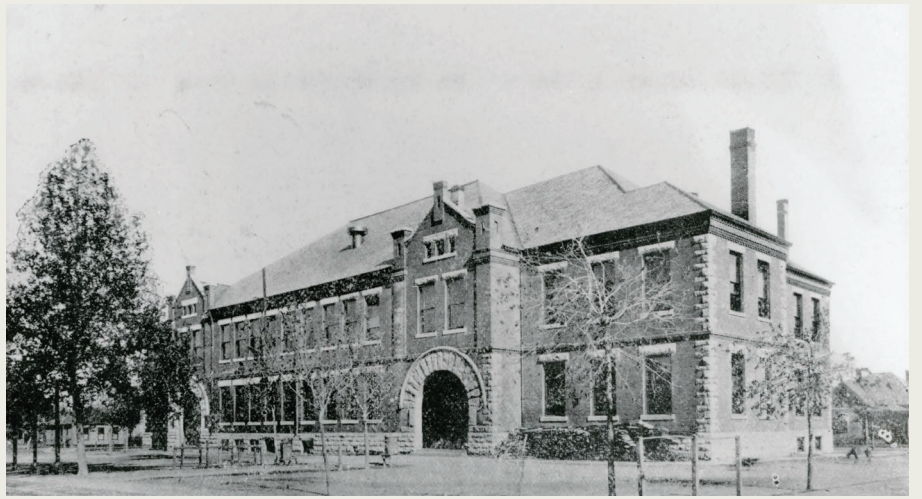
Prior to the establishment of a public education system in Fort Worth, private schools provided the city's only option for education. Early settler John Peter Smith established the first private school for white children in 1854 and charged five dollars a month for tuition.⁴⁸ Despite an interruption during the Civil War, private education continued at a handful of private schools in the city, many operating out of residences, churches, or rented buildings. During Reconstruction, private schools for African American children also opened with the help of James A. Cavile, a leader of the Black community in Tarrant County. Cavile and a board of trustees established schools in several communities in the county, including Fort Worth.⁴⁹ Outside of these schools, Black children were also educated privately in churches and homes.

Despite various mid-nineteenth-century efforts at the state level to establish a public school system, it was not until the passage of the Texas Constitution of 1876, which provided funding and public land for establishing and supporting schools, that prompted the creation of a public school system in Fort Worth.⁵⁰ Despite some objections to using taxes for public schools, the City passed an ordinance in 1878 that established the city's first public school system.⁵¹ This milestone, along with the establishment of other municipal utilities during this period, reflects Fort Worth's transition into an organized municipality and its commitment to its citizens' education and well-being.

In 1882, nearly three decades after classes began in private households, the first public schools in Fort Worth opened. The school district hired 13 white teachers and four African American teachers, including freedman Isiah Milligan Terrell, considered the father of Black education in Fort Worth. For the first eight years, the school district held classes in rented or donated buildings. Because Texas required the segregation of schools by race, roughly 1,200 white children attended classes in various buildings including the Masonic Hall, and the school district rented several African American churches and other small wood-frame buildings for the city's 300 or so African American students.⁵² Throughout the period, the city's African American population was instrumental in the organization of the city's Black public schools. In the early 1890s, the city's only school for Black children, located at East 9th and Pecan Streets, was inconveniently located for residents in the city's southside.⁵³ With the community's insistence and petitioning to City Council, a second school, the Southside Colored School, opened in 1894, presumably out of Mount Zion Baptist Church.⁵⁴ While the district provided schools for its white and African American population, it is not known where the small number of Mexican and other non-white and non-Black children attended school in this era.

In 1890 the first public school built by the district, Fort Worth High School, opened at Hemphill Street and West Daggett Avenue (no longer extant, burned in 1909). The Fourth Ward School also opened during this period (renamed Sam Houston School and demolished around 1930 to allow construction of the extant Central Fire Station No. 2 at 1000 Cherry Street), as did the Sixth Ward School (extant). The City purchased land at 319 Lipscomb Street in 1890 for the Sixth Ward School, which opened in 1892 (renamed Stephen F. Austin Elementary School). Reflective of the importance the City placed on education, they hired architects for the design of both Fort Worth High School and the Sixth Ward School. Haggart and Sanguinet designed the ornate Richardsonian Romanesque and Renaissance Revival high school, while Messer, Sanguinet, and Messer designed the brick Richardsonian Romanesque Sixth Ward School. The only extant nineteenth-century school in Fort Worth, the Sixth Ward School operated until 1977, and was listed in the National Register in 1983 (fig. 2-13). The Williamson-Dickie Manufacturing Company (established in Fort Worth in 1922) now owns and occupies the building.

Figure 2-13. The Sixth Ward School (Stephen F. Austin Elementary School) at 319 Lipscomb Avenue around 1916. Source: Charles Dickie Williamson and Jean Donovan Williamson, "Stephen F. Austin Elementary School," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, February 10, 1983, 11, from the THC, <https://atlas.thc.texas.gov/NR/pdfs/83003160/83003160.pdf>.



Public Water

The city's water originally came from private wells, cisterns, springs, and the Trinity River. In 1882, Buckley B. Paddock, who would later become mayor, organized the Fort Worth Water Works Company, a private water venture that piped water from the Trinity River to businesses and residents.⁵⁵ The City purchased the company in 1884 and built the Holly Pump Station at 1500 11th Avenue (extant) on the east side of the Clear Fork of the Trinity in 1892 to meet the growing demand for water (fig. 2-14).

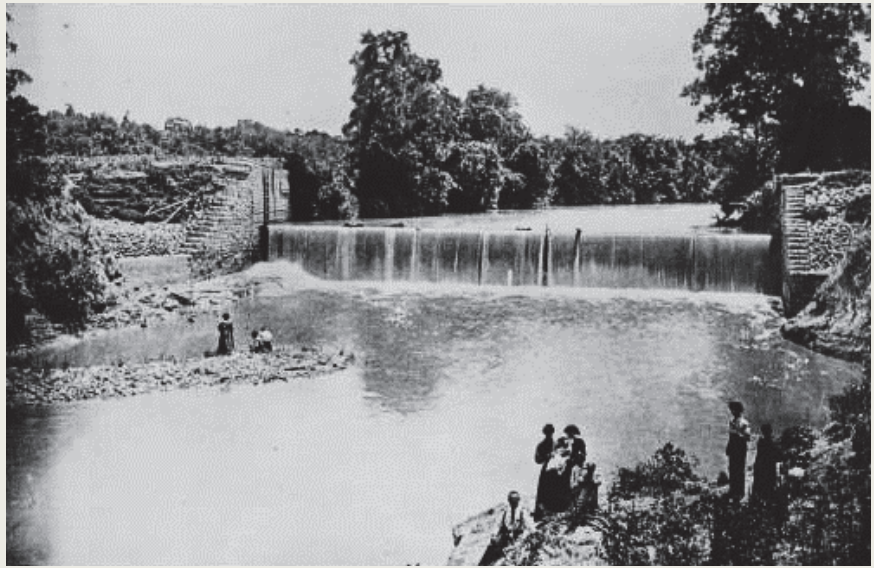


Figure 2-14. The original 1892 section of the Holly Pump Station at 1500 11th Avenue (extant). Source: Fort Worth Star-Telegram Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, UTA Libraries Digital Gallery, accessed April 22, 2021, <https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/10005232>.

Public Parks

Like many municipal endeavors in Fort Worth, the public park system began during this period. Though park development really began in earnest in the twentieth century, the city laid the foundation for such development during this period. Prominent landowner Sarah Gray Jennings donated to Fort Worth its first park, Hyde Park (Throckmorton and West 9th streets), in 1873. Nineteen years later, the City purchased 50 acres south of West 7th Street on the Clear Fork for public use; land on the west side of the river was set aside for a park (City Park, fig. 2-15).⁵⁶ Renamed Trinity Park in 1910, today the park is over 250 acres and one of nearly 300 public parks and open spaces managed by the City.

Figure 2-15. City Park around 1904 (extant – renamed Trinity Park). The dam was built in 1892 for the Holly Water Treatment Plant but was demolished in the 1930s during the straightening of the Trinity River. The Lancaster Avenue bridge crosses near this site today. Source: Courtesy of the Genealogy, History and Archives Unit, Fort Worth Public Library, accessed April 21, 2021, <http://www.fortworthtexasarchives.org/digital/collection/p16084coll20/id/436/rec/2>.



North of the river, Marine Park (303 Northwest 20th Street) also opened during this period. Falling outside city limits at the time, the 14-acre park was created in 1894. Organized by residents of the community of Marine who used the space for picnicking, the park included a small lake (since drained). A nine-foot picket fence enclosed the park to deter stray cattle from entering.⁵⁷ The Fort Worth Park Department incorporated the park when the City annexed North Fort Worth in 1909.⁵⁸

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture played a significant role in the early settlement of Fort Worth, as the area's fertile lands attracted many of the city's earliest migrants from the South and Midwest. With these early white settlers, around 700 enslaved African Americans also arrived in Tarrant County prior to the Civil War.⁵⁹ These early settlers formed the nucleus of the community's population. Many of the white men would become involved in the organization of the county and municipal governments, railroad development, and other business ventures. Some freedmen also remained after the Civil War, purchased property, and helped create small communities and organizations in the support of the African American population. In addition to contributing to the settlement of the area, agriculture also emerged as one of the primary economic forces that drove community development. As farms and plantations proliferated in and around Fort Worth, so too did the city's economic growth as it became a commercial and shipping center for area farmers. Fort Worth not only served as a market and shipping center for agricultural goods, it also developed a significant agricultural processing industry that remained a leading economic sphere into the twentieth century.

EARLY SETTLERS

A handful of settlers arrived in the 1840s prior to the establishment of the military post, including the Seaborn Gilmore and John B. York families from Missouri, both of whom established homesteads north of the river (see fig. 2-2).⁶⁰ Over the next decade, around 10 other families, many from Tennessee, joined the Gilmores and Yorks north of the river on scattered farmsteads.⁶¹ A Denton County native, Merida Green Ellis, also farmed north of the river in the nineteenth century. On his 1,067 acres, Ellis raised cattle and horses, and established four dairies in the 1880s.⁶² Among the other early settlers to Fort Worth were the Daggett brothers: Charles Biggers, Henry Clay, and Ephraim Merrell, who are considered to be among the founders of Fort Worth. Canadians by birth, the brothers arrived in Fort Worth via Shelby County in East Texas in the late 1840s and early 1850s.⁶³ While Henry went into the merchant trade, both Charles and Ephraim established farmsteads in Fort Worth. In 1870, Charles had 100 acres of improved land and 600 acres of woodland, known as Daggett's Woods, northeast of Fort Worth on the northern banks of the river. Here, Charles raised horses, milk cows, cattle, sheep, and pigs and grew wheat, corn, and oats.⁶⁴ By 1880, Charles accumulated over 1,600 acres and his farm was valued at \$11,500.⁶⁵ For his part, Ephraim purchased more land, adding to his headright south of the river. In the 1850s and early 1860s, he established a plantation on over 600 acres south of present-day downtown where enslaved people grew cotton and corn.⁶⁶ Like many of the agricultural properties in Fort Worth, much of Ephraim Daggett's property gave way to development growth in the latter half of this period. In the early 1870s, Daggett donated 96 acres of this farm for railroad development, and throughout the rest of the nineteenth century, much of his property was platted into multiple subdivisions, including the Hillside Addition and Daggett's Addition.

After the arrival of the railroad, many of the agricultural areas within the city limits began to erode as developers eyed land for new residential neighborhoods. Though no resources associated with any of these early farmsteads remain (Ephraim Daggett's house was presumably located on the site of the Convention Center), the Khleber Miller (K. M.) Van Zandt homestead at 2900 Crestline Drive is one of the few extant resources associated with early agricultural settlement in Fort Worth (fig. 2-16). Just west of present-day downtown Fort Worth near the western bank of the Clear Fork, the house dates to between 1855 and 1869 and was part of a larger agricultural property, roughly totaling 600 acres.⁶⁷ In 1869, Major K. M. Van Zandt purchased the farm and house. Van Zandt, though, was a business- and railroad man and not a farmer, and he only lived in the farmhouse until the late 1870s. Van Zandt moved into a new house at the corner of West 7th and Penn Streets and leased the farm property.⁶⁸



Figure 2-16. View of the ca. 1856 Van Zandt cottage at 2900 Crestline Drive, undated (extant). The property is listed in the National Register. Source: Fort Worth Star-Telegram Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, UTA Libraries Digital Gallery, accessed May 7, 2021, <https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/10000461>.

OUTLYING COMMUNITIES PRIOR TO ANNEXATION

Small agricultural communities developed in some areas outside the city limits in the nineteenth century. Unlike the agricultural properties within the city limits, these agricultural-based communities persisted into the twentieth century and were eventually annexed by the city. These communities were settled in much the same pattern as Fort Worth, by farmers from the South and Midwest, but they developed independently of their neighboring city, with their own schools, churches, mills, and cotton gins. Polytechnic Heights, east of Fort Worth, is an example of this trend. Settled in the early 1850s by white farmers and enslaved persons, the community, then called Manchester Mills, boasted a school, church, water works, post office, and cotton mill by the end of the nineteenth century. While founded as a small agricultural community, Polytechnic Heights's growth was aided by the opening of Polytechnic College in 1890 and the Polytechnic streetcar line in 1892, connecting the area to Fort Worth.

Other early agricultural communities were founded by freedmen. Garden of Eden developed along the Trinity River approximately 15 miles northeast of downtown Fort Worth. After the Civil War, several African Americans, including the Loyd and Boaz families, settled near their former enslavers in the flood-prone river bottoms on land undesirable to white farmers, but therefore affordable for newly freed African Americans. Among the largest landholders in Garden of Eden were Malinda and Major Cheney, who owned over 200 acres along the river. Here, the Cheney family raised cattle and grew a variety of crops that they sold at area markets and in Fort Worth.⁶⁹ By the 1880s, there were enough African American households in Garden of Eden to warrant a school. After donating land and petitioning the nearest school district, Birdville, Cheney helped open the Birdville Colored School in 1891.⁷⁰ The school no longer exists and a fire destroyed the original Cheney house, though several houses built in the twentieth century by the Cheney family remain on Carson Street.

Approximately six miles southeast of downtown Fort Worth, another freedmen community developed. Purchasing one acre of land located near present-day 1910 Amanda Street for around \$45 in 1896, Amanda Davis was one of the first settlers of Cowanville.⁷¹ Davis earned money working as a laundress in Fort Worth, but she also grew cotton and raised chickens on her property.⁷² Around the turn of the century, several other African American families, including the Brockmans, Stalcups, and Alonzo and Sarah Cowan established small farms near Davis's.⁷³ In the early twentieth century the community was renamed Stop Six, as it was the sixth stop on the Northern Texas Traction Company interurban streetcar that ran between Fort Worth and Dallas. Though the agricultural properties gave way to residential subdivisions in the twentieth century, Stop Six maintained a majority Black population throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries.

AGRICULTURAL PROCESSING

The rich soils of the nearby prairie favored agricultural production and early settlers adopted crops that did well in the area, including wheat, corn, and cotton. The need for processing and cultivating these crops led to some of Fort Worth's earliest industries. Captain Julian Field was said to have opened the city's first flour and corn mill in 1856 on the river near the courthouse.⁷⁴ Smaller mills, including Randol Mill east of town and Archibald Leonard's gristmill west of Precinct Line Road in east Fort Worth, also opened along the Trinity River. A growing cotton trade led to the emergence of cotton yards, including the Battle and Boaz Cotton Yard at 14th and Houston Streets (fig. 2-17). The arrival of the railroad in 1876 strengthened the city's agricultural industries, as grain elevators, flour mills, and a cotton gin opened along the railroad tracks near the river. By 1890, Fort Worth boasted 5 grain elevators with a capacity of nearly a million bushels and 4 flour mills that turned out 1,700 barrels of flour a day.⁷⁵ One of the largest mills, Anchor Mills, was located on Front Street (present-day Lancaster Avenue) near the railroad tracks. Renamed Bewley Mills in the twentieth century, it was one of several large mills that

contributed to Fort Worth's claim as the largest grain market in the southern US by the mid-twentieth century.⁷⁶ Another flour mill, Cameron Mill and Elevator, opened in 1888 at Jennings and Lancaster Avenues. J. Perry Burrus purchased this mill in the early twentieth century and eventually relocated the renamed Burrus Mills to Saginaw, an inner suburb of Fort Worth, where it became the state's largest flour mill.⁷⁷ It was during this period that grain milling became a seminal commercial endeavor in the city, and the foundation was laid for Fort Worth's twentieth-century emergence as one of the nation's most important grain markets.



Figure 2-17. Battle-Boaz-Portal: The Boaz and Battle cotton yard at 14th and Houston streets ca. 1881 (not extant). Source: *Boaz and Battle Cotton Yard*, photograph, University of North Texas Libraries, *The Portal to Texas History*, crediting Tarrant County College NE, Heritage Room, accessed August 30, 2021, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph28044/>.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The dramatic shift in the city's land use and growth during this period directly reflects its economic prowess. Between 1849 and 1899, Fort Worth expanded from just several acres to over two square miles. In the decades after the military post's abandonment, Fort Worth's commercial district evolved out of the former military post, while residential areas developed away from the commercial core, scattered among agricultural properties that fanned outward past the city's boundaries. A bird's-eye view of Fort Worth in 1876 depicts a sparsely developed and populated settlement centered around the county courthouse, with only a few blocks of commercial development surrounded by dispersed residences (fig. 2-18). In contrast, the 1891 bird's-eye view highlights the city's expansive transformation over 15 years, depicting a densely developed commercial core, residential subdivisions stretching in all directions, and nodes of industry where agricultural properties once existed (fig. 2-19).