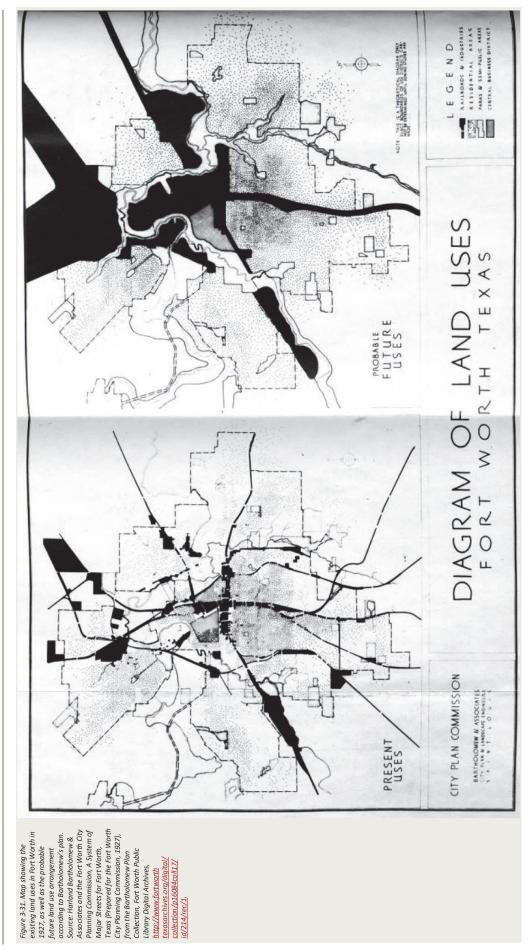
INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

Improvements to Fort Worth's transportation network encouraged continued industrial growth, especially in Fort Worth's Southside. As shown in figure 3-13, access to the Texas and Pacific Railway (T&P) made the Southside especially attractive to industry, but it had been inaccessible to the labor force that still largely lived in Fort Worth's central city. Completion of the Jennings Avenue Underpass facilitated transportation between downtown and the Southside via streetcar or automobile. By 1910, Sanborn Fire Insurance maps showed the Darnell Lumber Company established on the Southside. By the 1920s and 1930s, the Southside industrial area had grown to include enterprises including Manning's Dyeing and Cleaning Company, the Southern Publishing Association, the Dickson-Jenkins Company garment factory, the Branch-Smith Publishing Company, and a broom factory. The map of land uses accompanying the 1927 Bartholomew plan indicated that the booming industry lining the T&P railroad on the Southside rivaled the meatpacking industrial complex on the North Side (fig. 3-31). Through the 1930s and 1940s, continued highway improvements led companies to locate along State Highway 1 (US Highway 80), which roughly followed the T&P alignment. Some of the most influential industries developed during this era were the garment industry, oil related industries, agricultural processing, auto manufacturing, and—especially—the aviation industry.



The Garment Industry

Garment factories appeared on the Southside in the early twentieth century, largely focused on sewing work clothing like overalls. The Southside's first garment factory, the Miller Manufacturing Company, began producing work clothes like overalls in its new facility at 311 Bryan Avenue in 1911 (fig. 3-32). The company began its operations in 1903, from a site on South Boaz Street in East Fort Worth, under the name "Hawkins-Miller Manufacture Company." The name changed to the "Miller Manufacturing Company" in 1905, and the company continued to grow. A competing overalls manufacturer—the US Overall Company, later bought by and named Williamson-Dickie Company—entered Fort Worth's market in 1918, and eventually expanded its facilities in a new factory at South Jennings Avenue facing north on Rio Grande Avenue in 1924 (fig. 3-33). Other garment manufacturing firms included the Dickson-Webb Company, the Jenkins Manufacturing Company (later the Dickson-Jenkins Manufacturing Company), and the H. J. Justin & Sons boots manufacturer on the Southside in 1939 (fig. 3-34). Garment and footwear manufacturing remained a major employer throughout the era, despite slowdowns during the Great Depression and material shortages during World War II. In fact, during World War II, the Dickson-Jenkins Manufacturing Company manufactured clothes for the US Army under their "Kangaroo" brand. 33

Figure 3-32. Photo of the Miller
Manufacturing Company building at
311 Bryan Avenue, constructed in
1911. The extant building is listed in
the National Register. Source: Susan
Allan Kline, "Miller Manufacturing
Company Building," National Register
of Historic Places Nomination Form,
Texas Historical Commission,
September 13, 2010, from the THC,
https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/NR/
pdfs/10000865/10000865.pdf.



Figure 3-33. Photo of the Dickson-Jenkins Manufacturing Company Building at 120 St. Louis Avenue in 1942. The building is extant and contributes to the NR-listed Jennings-Vickery Historic District. Source: Kline, "Jennings-Vickery Historic District," citing the Commercial Photography Collection, Special Collections, University of Texas at Arlington, photo no. AR430 42-374-1, June 21, 1942, courtesy of W. D. Smith.



Figure 3-34. Photo of the H. J. Justin & Sons Boot Company, which opened in 1939 at 610 W. Daggett Avenue (building originally constructed in 1911). The extant building is a local landmark and contributes to the NR-listed Jennings-Vickery Historic District. Source: Kline, "Jennings-Vickery Historic District," citing the Commercial Photography Collection, Special Collections, University of Texas at Arlington, photo no. AR 430452471, March 7, 1945, courtesy of W. D. Smith.



See the next page for a sample statement of significance for resources associated with the theme: Industrial and Economic Growth, subtheme: The Garment Industry.

Statement of Significance*			
Theme:	Early-to-Mid-Twentieth-Century Industrial and	d Economic Growth	
Subthemes:	The Garment Industry, Oil Pipelines and Oilfield	Supplies, Agricultural Processing, Auto	
	Manufacturing		
Summary Statement of	Resources significant within this theme reflect	,	
Significance:	encouraged by its improved and expanded rail	and road networks during the period.	
	Resources are mostly likely eligible under Comr	munity Planning and Development, Industry,	
	and Architecture. Social History may apply to so	ome resources associated with labor unions	
	and strikes. Eligible resources must retain sufficient integrity in order to convey significance		
	and association with this theme.		
Period of Significance:	Roughly between 1900 and 1945.		
Period of Significance	Covers the twentieth-century pre-war period of industrial growth. Some periods of		
Justification:	significance may extend past 1945 to reflect the ongoing significance of the industry.		
Geographic Location:	Citywide; industrial nodes from this period are generally located on the Southside and		
	Northside, and along rail lines and highways.		
Area(s) of Significance:	Community Planning and Development, Industr	ry, Social History, Architecture	
Criteria:	National Register: A, C	Local: 1, 2, 5	
Associated Property Types:	Resources include manufacturing facilities, war	ehouses, offices, and grain mills and elevators.	
Example:	Miller Manufacturing Company Building, 311 B	Bryan Avenue	

The Miller Manufacturing Company Building reflects the early-twentieth-century emergence of the garment industry as one of Fort Worth's most significant economic contributors. Miller Manufacturing was the first of several Southside garment factories that opened in the first three decades of the twentieth century. Established in 1903, Miller had this building constructed in 1911, approximately three blocks from a rail line. Miller and many of the other factories manufactured work clothing such as overalls. In 1922, employees at the factory went on strike and the company subsequently relocated out of the city. Despite its departure, garment manufacturing remained an important industry in Fort Worth into the postwar period. The building is also an excellent design example of a typical early-twentieth-century industrial building. This building is listed in the National Register under Criteria A and C in the areas of Industry, Social History, and Architecture and may be eligible for designation as a local landmark.



The Miller Manufacturing
Company Building at 311
Bryan Avenue. Source:
Susan Allan Kline, "Miller
Manufacturing Company
Building," National Register
of Historic Places
Nomination Form, Texas
Historical Commission,
September 13, 2010, from
the THC, https://atlas.thc.st
ate.tx.us/NR/pdfs/1000086
5/10000865.pdf.

*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.

Oil Pipelines and Oilfield Supplies

Another prominent new industry in early twentieth century Fort Worth revolved around oil. Geographically, Fort Worth sat at the center of the cluster of oilfields in Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Arkansas, and Louisiana (fig. 3-35) – making it an ideal terminus for oil pipelines. In 1909, Lone Star Gas (now Enserch Corporation) began construction on a pipeline from Petrolia to Fort Worth that was one of the world's longest pipelines at the time.³⁴ The 90-mile pipeline enabled more than 3,000 Fort Worth customers to receive gas through the Fort Worth Gas Company.³⁵ By 1911, the Gulf Refining Company (fig. 3-36) and the Pierce Oil Company both had sizable oil refineries in the city, and the *Fort Worth Star Telegram* boasted that Fort Worth was the "state's leading inland refining and pipeline city."³⁶ Continued oil expansion led new companies to establish facilities in the city, like Texas Arizona Petroleum, White Eagle Refining, Montrose Oil, Magnolia Petroleum, Texas Continental Oil, Federal Oil, Home Oil, and Invader Oil. These companies generally established their industrial sites at the far periphery of town, adjacent to rail lines, while management functions took place in offices downtown (fig. 3-28). (A selection of company locations is included in table 3-5.) Expansion continued throughout the era, so that by 1921 the city had 50 companies manufacturing oil field supplies, and by 1925, Fort Worth claimed to be "the leading pipeline [oil] center in the United States." ³⁷

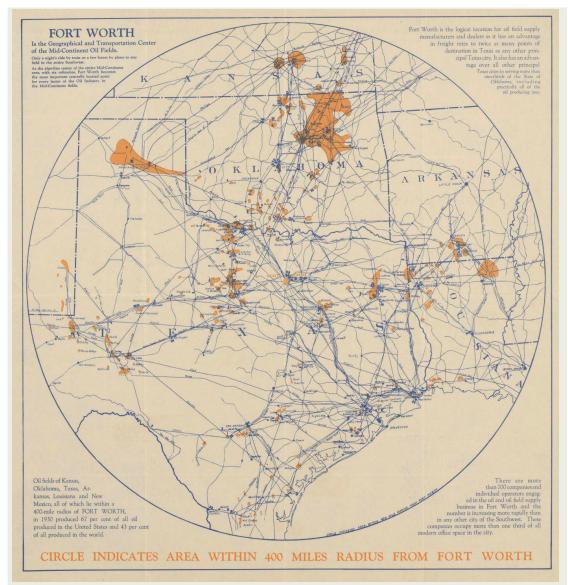


Figure 3-35. Map showing Fort Worth's location relative to oil fields. Source: Fort Worth is the geographical and transportation center of the Mid-Continent Oil Fields [map], (Fort Worth: n.p., 1930), from the Portal to Texas History, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth190477/m1/1/7q=map%20fort%20worth.

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Figure 3-36. Photograph of the view toward the Gulf Refinery in Fort Worth, 1925. Source: South East to Gulf Refining Co. Fort Worth, Texas [photo], [n.p., 1925], from the Online Archive of California, https://oac.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/kt0d5nc006.



Table 3-5. Selected oil company locations, 1912.38

Oil Company	Address
Fort Worth Gas Company	
Office	1001 Throckmorton
Works	Rear 1215 N. Adams
Gulf Refining Company	
"whol. dealers illuminating oils and greases"	400 E. Magnolia Ave.
Refinery	"1 mile e. of stock yards, N. Ft. Worth"
Lone Star Gas	
Office	807–810 First National Bank Building
Pierce Fordyce Oil Ass'n	
Office	Moore Building (5th fl.)
Depot	2426 Cypress
Auto supply station	109 E. 10th

Agricultural Processing

Fort Worth's rail connections, combined with livestock industry's need for abundant feed, further encouraged the development of the agricultural processing industry. Farmers brought grain and cotton grown on the surrounding Blackland Prairies to Fort Worth for processing – primarily using the rail lines, but increasingly using trucks as the highway system improved by the 1930s and 1940s. One prominent agricultural processing company was the Kimbell Milling Company (originally the Beatrice Milling Company). Founded Sherman in 1912, the company eventually landed in Fort Worth at 1900 South Main Street by 1925. ³⁹ In the following decades, Kimbell developed a massive grain milling and storage complex along the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe Railway (figs. 3-37 and 3-38). In 1938, Kimbell Mills consolidated under the Producers Grain Corporation. ⁴⁰

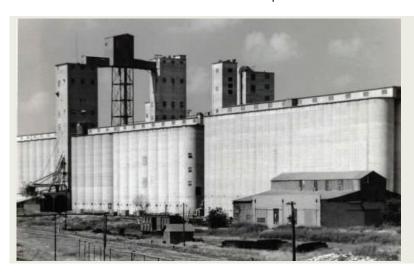


Figure 3-37. Photograph showing the Kimbell Mills at 1900 South Main Street, constructed in 1924. The complex is extant. Source: Franz Berko, Kimbell Mills [photo], (n.p., 1959), from the Fort Worth Public Library Archives, First National Bank of Fort Worth Records Collection, Series VII, Box 95, http://www.fortworthtexas.archives.org/digital/collection/p16084coll-30/id/193.

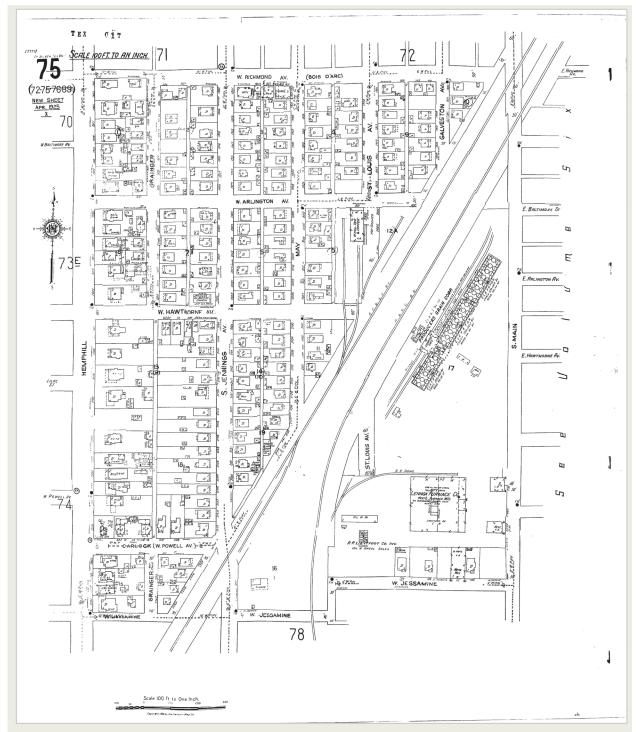


Figure 3-38. Map showing the "Producers Grain Corp." mills—formerly the Kimbell Mills—at 1900 South Main Street. Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Company, Fort Worth, 1910 (updated through 1951), volume 1, sheet 75, from the UT Austin.

During World War II, mills throughout Fort Worth saw an expansion of "flour mill production and grain storage" as well as an increase in the demand for processed meat.⁴¹ By the end of the era, the Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce emphasized the significance of milling within the city:

...because Fort Worth is the largest milling and storage center in the South the grain industry is one of the strongest links in Fort Worth's economic chain. The grain mills here have a daily

capacity of 8,000 barrels of flour and 1,500 of corn meal. Feed mills have a daily capacity of 5,500 tons. Grain storage capacity is 26,597,000 bushels.⁴²

Auto Manufacturing

The rapidly developing highway system—combined with competitive local tax incentives—also attracted the General Motors Company, and a Chevrolet assembly plant was constructed in Fort Worth. ⁴³ The plant was located south of West Seventh Street, west of Trinity Park (fig. 3-39). It operated from 1917 until 1922, when the City ended the tax breaks that had lured the auto maker. ⁴⁴ Other automakers operating in Fort Worth around the same period are listed in table 3-6.

Figure 3-39. Photo of the Chevrolet plant on West 7th Street, no date. The building was demolished in the 1980s. Source: "Crank up the Flivver Fever (Part 3): The Big Two (Plus One)," Hometown by Handlebar, crediting the Amon Carter Museum, accessed September 15, 2019, https://hometownbyhandlebar.com/?p=4688.

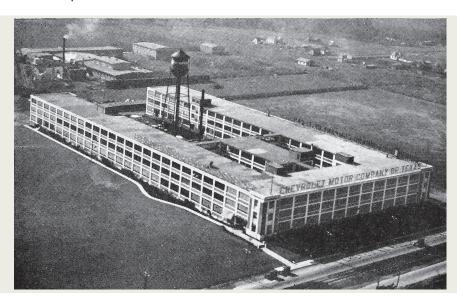


Table 3-6. Selection of known auto manufacturers in Fort Worth. 45

Company	Approximate Date(s)
Chevrolet	1917–1922
Bridges Motor Car & Rubber Company	1918
Texas Motor Car Association	1918–1922
McGill Motor Car Company	1922

MILITARY DEVELOPMENT

The presence of the aviation industry and the development of Fort Worth's military complexes were interrelated in the period from 1900 to 1945. Until the military arrived, the West Side of Fort Worth had lagged behind other areas in terms of infrastructure like roads, water, and sewers. During World War I, the "Army established Camp Bowie (in the Arlington Heights area [west of downtown, fig. 3-40]), which trained 100,000 men, and the United States Army Air Corps converted three airfields into centers of aviation training." The value of the improvements around Camp Bowie, including road-paving, railways, and streetcars, totaled approximately \$2.2 million. When the military's presence decreased after the war's end, real estate developers capitalized on the opportunity and "millions of dollars of new construction was launched on the west side of town in the first month of peacetime." As summarized by Tarrant County archivist Susie Pritchett, the development of Camp Bowie and surrounding airfields "pulled us into the 20th century like no other event and changed us from provincial to worldly in outlook."

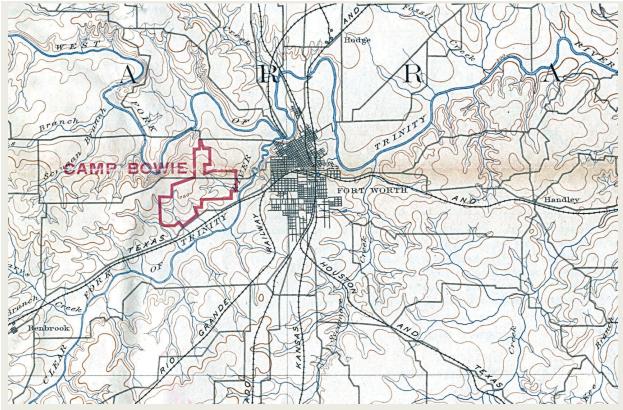


Figure 3-40. Map of Fort Worth in 1918, showing Camp Bowie located west of downtown. Source: University of Texas at Austin libraries, accessed 09/15/2019, http://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/fort worth18.jpg.

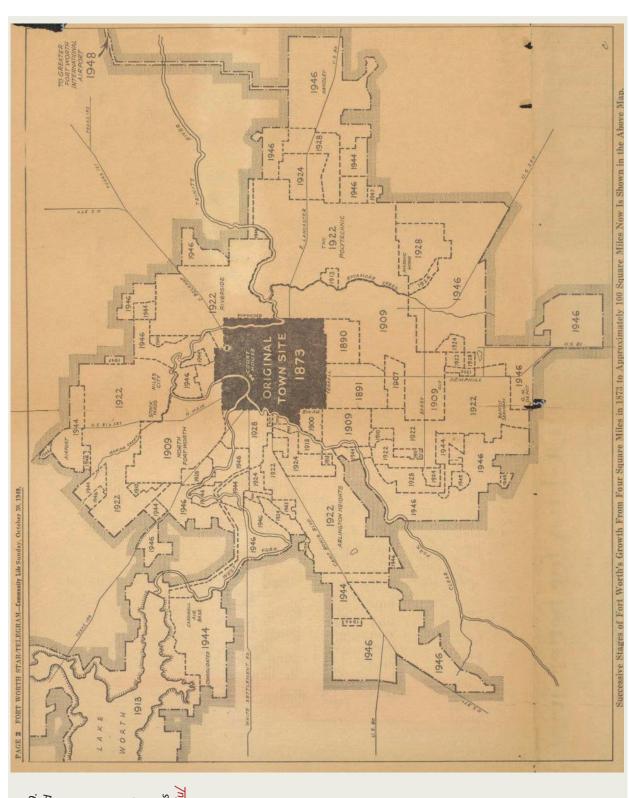
The Aviation Industry

Fort Worth's mild climate and rail connections led to the establishment of airfields around the city by 1917. By 1922, the US Army began aviation operations in Fort Worth. Meacham Field began as a 100-acre site located north of downtown in 1925. ⁵⁰ Commercial flights via Braniff Airways and "Texas Air Transport" (which later became American Airlines) departed from Fort Worth's Meacham Field beginning in 1927 (figs. 3-41 and 3-42). ⁵¹

Figure 3-41. Meacham Field in 1942. The airport is extant and the 1933 American Airways Hangar and Administration Building is a local landmark and listed in the National Register. Source: United States Public Works Administration, and United States Committee on Architectural Surveys, Airport administration building, Fort Worth, Texas. Fort Worth Texas [photo], (n.p., 1939), from LOC, https://www.loc.gov/item/2004672454/.



Figure 3-42. Map showing the growth of Fort Worth through 1949. Note the location of Meacham Field north of downtown, as well as the Consolidated plant and Carswell Airfield northwest of downtown. Source: Successive stages of Fort Worth's growth from four square miles in 1873 to approximately 100 square miles [map], (Fort Worth: n.p., 1949], from the Portal to Texas History, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth193678/m1/1



To build upon its existing aviation industry and growing military complex, the City of Fort Worth enticed the Consolidated Aircraft company (later Consolidated-Vultee) to open an aviation manufacturing plant in 1941, and the "City Council purchased 526 acres of land, at the time outside of city limits, for \$99,750 and turned it over to the United States Army for a bomber plant." The land lay northwest of downtown, along the shores of Lake Worth (fig. 3-42). As part of a military-industrial partnership, the Army funded the plant's construction, but Consolidated-Vultee oversaw manufacturing operations. By 1942, the Army finished the plant for Consolidated-Vultee Corporation, which then produced B-24 "Liberator" bombers and employed over 30,000 workers at its peak, including thousands of women who went to work to support the war effort (figs. 3-43 and 3-44). After 1943, the corporation's name changed to Corvair, and later, General Dynamics and Lockheed-Martin, eventually becoming "the largest manufacturing establishment in the Southwest." The facility expanded to encompass 528 acres and over 4 million square feet of buildings, valued at \$52 million. The area's concentration of skilled workers enticed other manufacturers, and initiated new trades including steel processing, food processing, and the manufacturing of plastics, chemicals, and air conditioners.



Figure 3-43. Photo of a woman working at the Consolidated-Vultee plant in Fort Worth in 1942. Source: Howard R. Hollem [photographer], Drilling on a Liberator Bomber, Consolidated Aircraft Corp., Fort Worth, Texas. Fort Worth Texas United States [photograph], (Washington, D.C.: US War Office, 1942), from LOC, https://www.loc.gov/item/2017878325/.

Figure 3-44. 1942 Interior photo showing the size and scale of production of B-24s at the Consolidated-Vultee plant in 1942. Source: Howard R. Hollem [photographer], Production. B-24 bombers and C-87 transports [photograph], (Washington, D.C.: US War Office, 1942), from LOC, https://www.loc.gov/resource/fsa.8b04856/.



Once Fort Worth became a hub for airplane manufacturing, the Army Air Corps built the Tarrant Field Air Dome (later Carswell Air Force Base) next door to the Consolidated-Vultee plant.⁵⁷ The military build-up before and during World War II also led to the rapid expansion of Carswell Air Force Base. (See Appendix A for additional information about the base's development). By the end of the 1940s, "Payrolls of the 5,000 officers, airmen and civilians at Carswell Field, along with commercial bills and local expenditures, put more than \$1,000,000 a month in circulation in Fort Worth." ⁵⁸

BUSINESS AND COMMERCE

Fort Worth's industrial success and military growth translated into great prosperity for the city's businesses. Between 1900 and 1945, clerical and professional occupations skyrocketed, as did employment in the wholesale and retail trades (fig. 3-45). Banking and finance played a key role in this transition. Fort Worth entered the twentieth century with seven banks and six savings-and-loan associations in operation. Two of these were national banks – the Fort Worth National Bank and the First National Bank. The meatpacking boom led to the founding of another national bank, the Continental National Bank in 1903, headquartered at 317 Houston Street. Over time, the Continental National Bank gained a reputation as the "oil man's bank," playing a key role in investment in oil-related businesses as they flourished in Fort Worth. ⁵⁹

The oil business also played a key role in Fort Worth's commercial development. The same oil companies that operated industrial plants on the outskirts of Fort Worth also often maintained business offices downtown. The discovery of oil led to a frenzy of business and legal transactions to gain mineral rights, and one witness described the frenzy in Fort Worth as the "hotbed of oil transactions." Early on, the "center of activity was the Westbrook Hotel, where the management was forced to remove all furniture in the lobby to clear space for the oil mart" (fig. 3-46). Meanwhile, the oil companies began constructing downtown office buildings of their own (as documented in table 3-5), and by 1921 more than 340 oil companies officed in Fort Worth.

By 1936, Fort Worth proclaimed itself "a complete market center," with more than 250 wholesalers handling more than \$200 million in sales annually. ⁶³ Fort Worth's wholesale trade included goods processed locally—like meat, textiles, grain, oil, and petrochemical products—as well as other goods brought in from around the country. About half of Fort Worth's wholesale trade was distributed around the state and nation via its rail and highway network. The remaining local retail sales that year amounted to over \$100 million shared among nearly 10,000 retailers. ⁶⁴ Fort Worth's commercial prosperity continued to grow during the World War II years, and by the end of the 1940s the city "ranked 36th in the nation in total volume of retail sales."

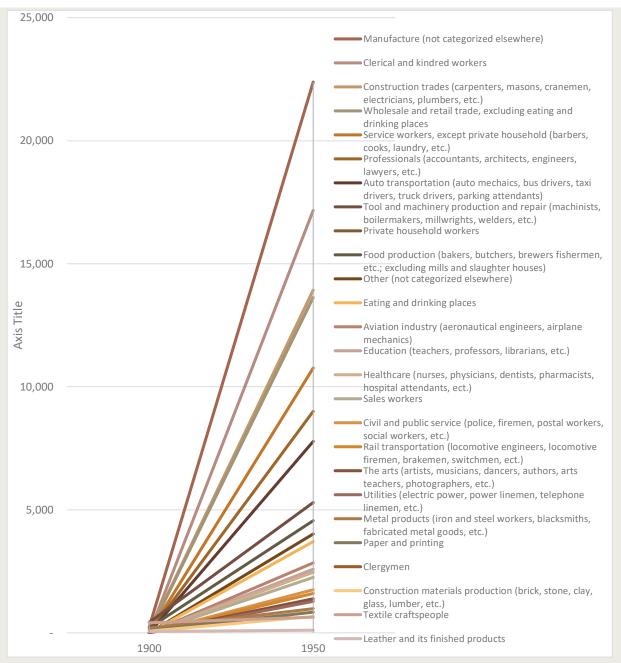


Figure 3-45. Graph showing occupation increases between 1900 and 1950. Source: US Census, 1900 Table 3-42, pp. 442-443, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/occupations-part-10.pdf; US Census, 1950, table 76, pgs. 43-487, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1950/population-volume-2/11027772v2p43ch5.pdf.

Figure 3-46. Photograph showing the Westbrook Hotel in 1912, located at 408 Main Street (not extant). Source:
"Westbrook Hotel Collection," Tarrant County Archives, accessed September 15, 2019, https://www.tarrantcounty.com/en/tarrant-county-archives/holdings/named-collections/w/westbrook-hotel-collection.html.



URBAN GROWTH

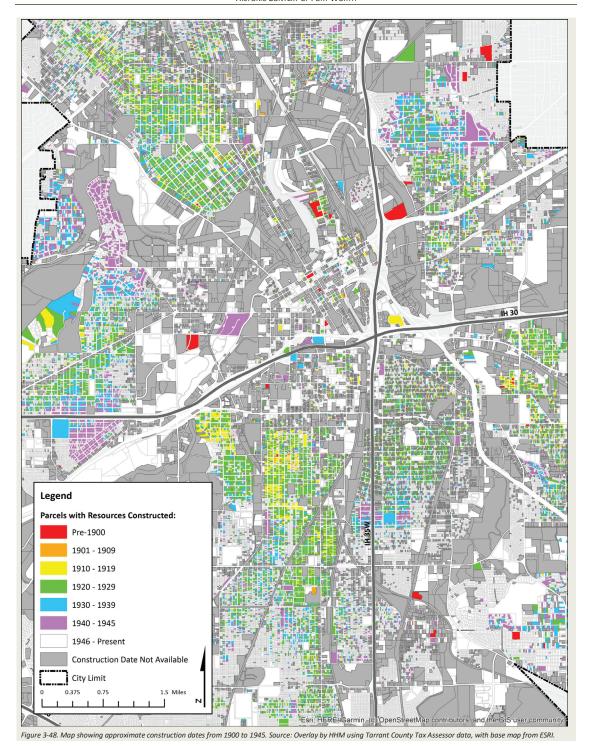
Central Core

The rapid industrial, military, and commercial growth experienced by Fort Worth between 1900 and 1945 resulted in the transformation of the city's urban fabric. Prior to 1900, the city's physical growth was largely confined to a central core, bound on three sides by the Trinity River, with some very limited residential development south of downtown (figs. 3-47 and 3-48). With the city's meatpacking boom and the concomitant population growth, the city's center grew dense, and new buildings including high-rise office buildings. The growing density had its risks, and in 1909 a raging fire swept through the Southside, destroying hundreds of homes. By 1910, Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of Fort Worth included a detail of the "Congested Area" downtown (fig. 3-50). Over time, fireproof construction replaced many of downtown's nineteenth-century wooden buildings, and the area's frontier character faded and was replaced by modern masonry construction following popular nationwide styles and forms. ⁶⁶ For example, the Farmers and Mechanics National Bank Building at 714 Main Street was constructed in 1921 in the American Commercial style; at 24 stories, it was the tallest building in the southwest at the time (fig. 3-51). ⁶⁷ (Additional examples of notable buildings are included in table 3-7.)



Figure 3-47. Map showing the eras of growth of the City of Fort Worth, created in 1927. Source: Harland Bartholomew & Associates and the Fort Worth City Planning Commission, A System of Major Streets for Fort Worth, Texas (Prepared for the Fort Worth City Planning Commission, 1927), from the Bartholomew Plan Collection, Fort Worth Public Library Digital Archives, https://www.fortworthtexasarchives.org/digital/collection/p16084coll17/id/214/rec/1.

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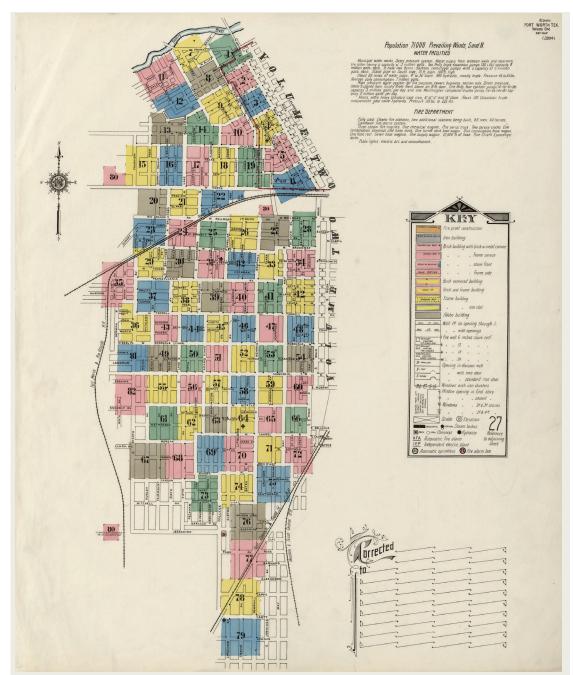


Figure 3-49. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, 1910, showing the "congested area" of downtown Fort Worth. Note the masonry construction (in pink) lining N. Main Street and the adjacent blocks, rising two stories in height or more, as well as the courthouse at the intersection of N. Main Street and W. Weatherford Street. Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Company, Fort Worth, 1910, volume 1, sheet 1c, from the University of Texas at Austin, https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/sanborn/d-f/txu-sanborn-fort_worth-1910-1k.jpg.

LICTORIC	CONTEXT	OF EOD	r M/ODTII

Figure 3-50. Photo of the Farmers and Mechanics National Bank Building at 714 Main Street, constructed in 1921. The extant building is a local landmark and is listed in the National Register. Source Tanya McDougall and Marcia Pryor, "Farmers and Mechanics National Bank Building," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Texas Historical Commission, October 19, 2012, from the THC, https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/NR/pdfs/12001004/12001004.pdf.



Table 3-7. Selection of notable examples of popular architectural styles in downtown Fort Worth, 1900-1945.68

Building Name/Address	Construction Date	Style
Flatiron Building/1000 Houston Street	1907	Renaissance Revival
Burke Burnette Building /500 N. Main Street	1914	Neoclassical
Neil P. Anderson Building/411 W. 7th Street	1921	Chicago Style
First National Bank Building/711 Houston Street	1925	Beaux Arts
Blackstone Hotel/100 N. Houston Street	1929	Art Moderne

The city's growth during World War I contributed to a boom in construction downtown, prior to any systemic effort by the City to plan or zone for future growth. 1923 marked the creation of the City Plan Board, and was followed in 1925 by an ordinance establishing a City Plan Commission. ⁶⁹ Another explosion of new construction downtown occurred between 1924 and 1926, amid the nationwide financial prosperity of the 1920s (fig. 3-51). In 1925, the Board and Commission directed their first initiatives toward the infrastructure needed to support the health and sanitation of Fort Worth's rapidly growing population. The City had secured a reliable water supply in 1914, when it dammed the West Fork of the Trinity River to create Lake Worth, yet significant infrastructure gaps remained. ⁷⁰ In 1925, Fort Worth's citizens passed a bond for \$7,659,000 to be directed toward "street widening, paving, sewer, and water extension, swimming pools, additional park sites, and an annex to the City-County Hospital" – reportedly the largest bond ever approved in Texas at the time. ⁷¹ The City's planning efforts continued in 1927 with the decision to hire Harland Bartholomew to complete *A System of Major Streets* (discussed above). Bartholomew's work extended far beyond street planning, including the full text for a

recommended *Zoning Enabling Act*. ⁷² However, the City postponed adoption of a formal zoning ordinance until 1940. ⁷³

The Great Depression marked the intervening years, with major redevelopment programs funded by the federal New Deal, including the construction of schools, public housing, institutions, parks, and roadways. Federal funding helped construct two important public housing projects near Fort Worth's downtown core: Ripley Arnold Place for white residents and H. H. Butler Place for African American residents (figs. 3-52 and 3-53).74 Ripley Arnold Place (no longer extant) was located northwest of downtown near the intersection of W. Belknap and N. Henderson Streets (fig. 3-54). H. H. Butler Place was sited southeast of downtown at 1201 Luella Street (listed in the National Register). Both sites were situated on land that had been so far undeveloped, located in the floodplain of the Trinity River and deemed undesirable for private development for its risk of flood. Other notable New Deal projects include the Alice Carlson School Addition, Amon Carter-Riverside High School, the City Hall (now the Public Safety and Courts Building, fig. 3-55), Elmwood Sanatorium, Fort Worth Botanical Garden, John Peter Smith Hospital, Fort Worth Zoo Improvements, Lincoln Park, and Oakhurst Scenic Drive. 75 Overall, most of these projects were suburban in character, continuing the trend of pushing Fort Worth's urban character further out from the city's core; a model endorsed by prominent planners of the day. When the City of Fort Worth finally passed its zoning ordinance in 1940, its main effect was to segregate commercial uses from residential uses, driving residential building use out of downtown and toward the growing suburbs.

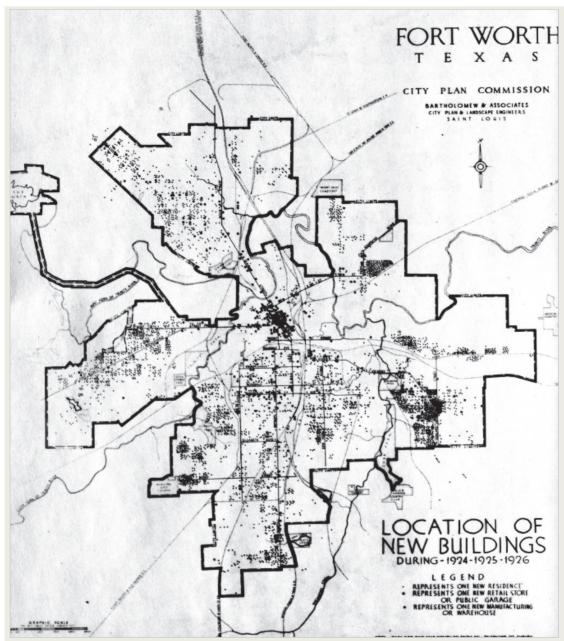


Figure 3-51. Map showing location of new buildings in Fort Worth, 1924-1926. Source: Harland Bartholomew & Associates and the Fort Worth City Planning Commission, A System of Major Streets for Fort Worth, Texas (Prepared for the Fort Worth City Planning Commission, 1927), from the Bartholomew Plan Collection, Fort Worth Public Library Digital Archives, http://www.fortworthtexasarchives.org/digital/collection/p16084coll17/id/214/rec/1.

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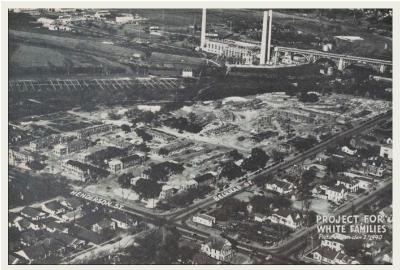


Figure 3-52. The Ripley Arnold Place (not extant) housing development was one of two housing projects built between 1938 and 1940. This development housed white residents, while its partner, H. H. Butler Place, housed African American residents (fig. 3-54 below). Both developments included landscaping, play areas, administrative buildings, and community facilities for "social gatherings, educational work, health clinics, and any other beneficial use." Source: The Housing Authority of the City of Fort Worth, Texas, "Public Housing Fort Worth Annual Report, 1938-1939," Genealogy, History and Archives Unit, Fort Worth Public Library. http://www.fortworthtexasarchives.org /digital/collection/p16084coll3/id/148



Figure 3-53. Photo of the H. H. Bulter Place public housing project, constructed from 1938 through 1940 to house black residents. Like its partner development, Ripley Arnold Place (fig. 3-56 above), H.H. Butler Place included landscaping, play areas, administrative buildings, and community facilities for "social gatherings, educational work, health clinics, and any other beneficial use." The housing project is listed in the National Register. Source: The Housing Authority of the City of Fort Worth, Texas, "Public Housing Fort Worth Annual Report, 1938-1939," Genealogy, History and Archives Unit, Fort Worth Public Library, http://www.fortworthtexasarchive s.org/digital/collection/p16084coll3/id/148

See the next page for a sample statement of significance for resources associated with the theme: Urban Growth, subtheme: Central Core.

Statement of Significance*				
Theme:	Early-to-Mid-Twentieth-Century Urban Growtl	h		
Subthemes:	Central Core, Suburbanization			
Summary Statement of	Resources significant within this theme reflect t	the transformation of the city's urban fabric as		
Significance:	a result of rapid population, industrial, military,			
	core experienced a boom in construction of cor			
	undeveloped areas outside of downtown exper were aided in part by the streetcar, and later by			
	also designed a number of buildings during this	•		
	aesthetic. Clusters of these resources may be el			
	districts may be eligible under a variety of areas	of significance but must retain sufficient		
	integrity to convey significance and association	with this theme.		
Period of Significance:	Roughly between 1900 and 1945.	Roughly between 1900 and 1945.		
Period of Significance	Covers the twentieth-century pre-war period of commercial and residential growth. Historic			
Justification:	districts may have longer periods of significance that reflect continued buildout.			
Geographic Location:	Citywide			
Area(s) of Significance:	Community Planning and Development, Comm	erce, Ethnic Heritage, Government,		
	Architecture			
Criteria:	National Register: A, C	Local: 1, 2, 3, 5		
Associated Property Types:	Resources include a variety of residential buildings such as single- and multi-family residences.			
	Bungalows built in the Craftsman and Tudor Revival style were common. Commercial buildings include one- and two-part commercial-block buildings and high-rise buildings that			
	housed a variety of commercial functions. A var			
	and Art Deco, were popular. Also includes gove			
	buildings. Clusters may be considered historic d			
	Historic Residential Suburbs for more information	S		
Example:	Farmers and Mechanics National Bank Building	g, 714 Main Street		

The Farmers and Mechanics National Bank Building reflects the pre-war construction boom experienced in Fort Worth's central core as a result of the city's economic prosperity. As a result of the booming cattle, meatpacking, and industrial growth, banking demands increased. Built in 1921, the new 24-story bank building was one of several notable buildings constructed downtown during the period. The building reflects downtown's changing skyline as well as its architectural aesthetic. The building was designed in the popular American Commercial style by local architects Sanguinet and Staats. The firm designed numerous commercial and civic buildings across the state and in Fort Worth, where they helped define the architecture of the growing city, between the turn of the century and 1926. This building is a designated local landmark and is listed in the National Register under Criteria A and C in the areas of Commerce and Architecture.



The Farmers and Mechanics National Bank Building downtown on Main Street. Source: Fort Worth Star-Telegram Collection, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, 1927, UTA Libraries Digital Gallery, accessed August 26, 2021, https://library.uta.edu/digitalgallery/img/10001347.

*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.

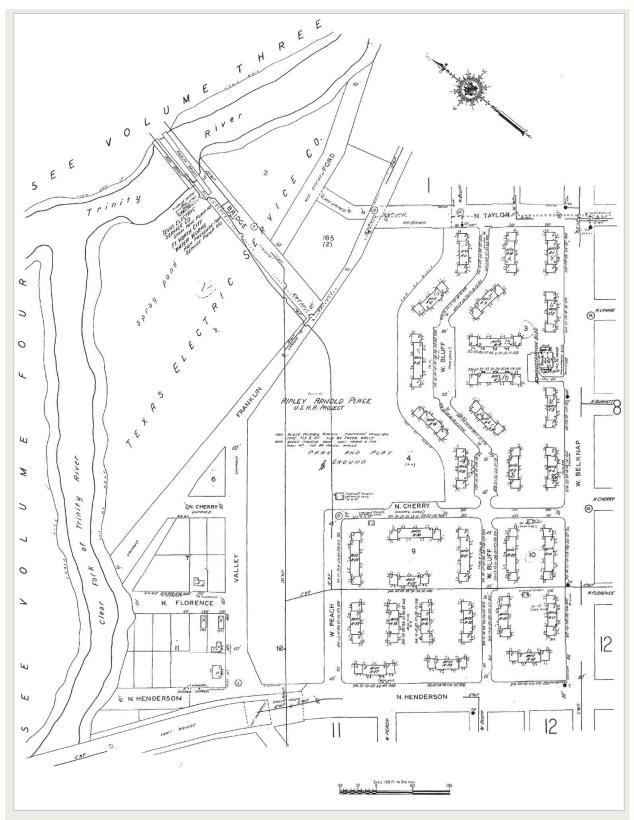


Figure 3-54. Map showing the Ripley Arnold Place Development near West Belknap and North Henderson Streets. Source: Sanborn Fire Insurance Company, Fort Worth, 1910 (updated through 1951), volume 1, sheet 7, from the University of Texas at Austin.

Figure 3-55. Photo of the New Deal Era City Hall (now the Public Safety and Courts Building), constructed in 1938 at 1000 Throckmorton Street. Source: Susan Kline [photographer], "City Hall (Former) – Fort Worth, Texas," The Living New Deal, accessed September 15, 2019, https://livingnewdeal.org/projects/former-city-hall-fort-worth-tx/.



Suburbanization

The process of suburbanization began organically, decades before the enactment of the zoning ordinance in 1940. Fort Worth's residential development began stretching outward with the arrival of streetcars in the 1890s, but the process accelerated in the twentieth century. Until 1920, it was the streetcar lines that determined the locations of most of Fort Worth's suburban growth (figs. 3-28 and 3-48).

As soon as the Swift and Armour meatpacking plant opened on the North Side, commercial nodes sprung up to support workers. One of these nodes—now the Marine Commercial Historic District (listed in the National Register)—exemplifies this trend, as described below:

This area...centered along Exchange Avenue and North Main Street developed with one-, two-, and three-story commercial buildings. These buildings housed hotels, bars, restaurants, leather shops, western wear stores, and other enterprises that serviced the needs of cattlemen and others engaged in the livestock industry.⁷⁶

Similar commercial nodes appeared surrounding downtown in all directions, especially along the streetcar lines (fig. 3-28). South of town, a grouping of commercial buildings arose near the intersection of South Jennings Street and West Vickery Avenue (near the present-day Jennings-Vickery Historic District, listed in the National Register). Additional commerce developed east of Fort Worth along the interurban line and the Fort Worth—Dallas Pike. One node, for example, formed around the Handley railroad stop, where the Northern Texas Traction Company located its car barns and power plant. By the 1920s, the commercial district along East Lancaster Avenue featured one- and two-story brick buildings housing the post office, feed stores, a car dealership, and a variety of other small businesses. As the city commerce moved outward, the downtown corridor lost its retail monopoly as well as its residential anchor, beginning the trend of urban disinvestment that would mark the decades to come.

SOUTHSIDE

By 1927, a map of population density showed downtown virtually devoid of residences (fig. 3-56), but with most suburbs still tightly adjoining downtown. However, increased automobile ownership and roadway improvements allowed suburbanization to continue its spread further outward. Fort Worth's twentieth-century suburban growth initially stretched to the south. The prevailing winds from the south and southeast kept the air fresh and free from the smells of the stockyards to the north. Infrastructure development, like the completion of the Jennings Avenue underpass, also made the Southside "easily accessible to the downtown as it was not cut off from the central city by the Trinity River as were the east, west, and north sides of town." The availability of streetcar lines made the Southside even more attractive. St

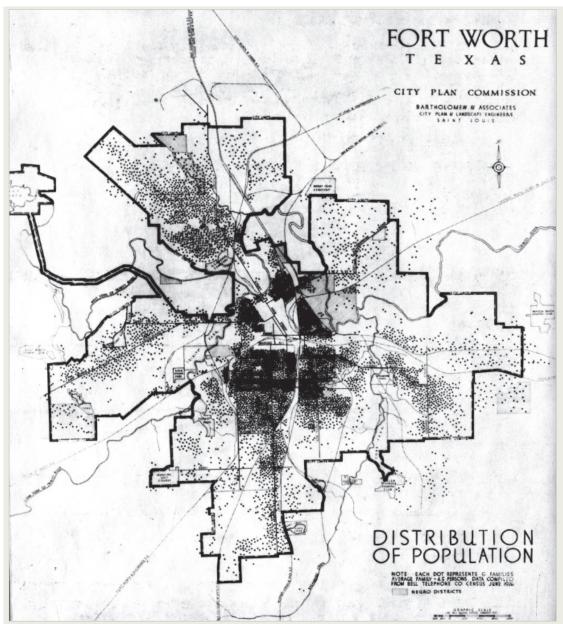


Figure 3-56. Map showing population density in 1927. Note the lack of residences remaining in downtown. Source: Harland Bartholomew & Associates and the Fort Worth City Planning Commission, A System of Major Streets for Fort Worth, Texas (Prepared for the Fort Worth City Planning Commission, 1927), from the Bartholomew Plan Collection, Fort Worth Public Library Digital Archives, http://www.fortworthtexasarchives.org/digital/collection/p16084coll17/id/214/rec/1.

HISTORIC	CONTEXT	OF FORT	\\/∩pTH

One early residential suburb on Fort Wort's Southside was Fairmount. Although Fairmount's development began in the 1880s, the bulk of its housing construction occurred between 1905 and 1920. 82 Fairmount's population in the early twentieth century was economically diverse, including middle class tradesmen, civil servants, teachers, and office workers, as well as bank presidents and local business leaders. 83 The area was also home to a significant Jewish community. 84

A variety of multifamily apartment buildings also was constructed just south of downtown, helping to meet the demand for housing amid Fort Worth's rapid population growth. Apartment buildings typically clustered along streetcar lines, and typically were small in scale and rose to only two or three stories in height, to best fit within the surrounding single-family neighborhood. So Notable examples include the Markeen Apartments at St. Louis and Daggett Avenues (listed in the National Register), as well as the apartments within the Leuda-May National Register Historic District, primarily constructed between 1920 and 1940 (fig. 3-57). So

Figure 3-57. Photograph showing apartments at the intersection of Leuda Street and May Street, looking southeast, 2004. The apartments contribute to the NR-listed Leuda-May Historic District. Source: Susan Allan Kline, "Leuda-May Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Texas Historical Commission, October 15, 2005, from the THC, https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/NR/pdfs/05000240/05000240.pdf.



Early on, residents of Southside neighborhoods predominantly were white, even within multifamily apartments. ⁸⁷ Many of the single-family subdivisions in the area even included restrictive deed covenants forbidding the sale of properties to African American families. ⁸⁸ One of the earliest subdivisions with such deed restrictions was platted along Elizabeth Boulevard in 1911 by developer John C. Ryan, Sr., who "envisioned Fort Worth as 'the oil center of the southwest' and sought to make Elizabeth Boulevard 'the residence section of oil men located here.'" ⁸⁹ Between 1911 and 1929, prominent oil men and professionals constructed grand homes in the styles popular at the time, such as the Classical Revival, Renaissance Revival (see fig. 3-58), Spanish Colonial Revival, Mission Revival, and Prairie styles. ⁹⁰



Figure 3-58. Photograph of an extant Renaissance Revival style home at 1001 Elizabeth Boulevard, 2010. Source: City of Fort Worth Historic Preservation Office.

After 1920, though, prominent white families increasingly purchased automobiles and moved to newer suburbs to the west. ⁹¹ As white families moved away, African American neighborhoods shifted from the city's core to the Southside, as well as to the southeast. ⁹² The Near Southeast neighborhood, for example, began around 1900 as a working-class white neighborhood of National Folk and Folk Victorian houses. Beginning around 1910, a prominent African American community leader named William Madison McDonald purchased land near the intersection of East Terrell Avenue and East Humbolt Street to develop as an African American neighborhood and commercial district. ⁹³ The neighborhood evolved into "the historic premier African American neighborhood in Fort Worth" – with African Americans forming a majority of the residents by 1926. ⁹⁴ Occupations represented in the neighborhood ranged from "prominent African American doctors, business and professional people, religious leaders, and educators" to working-class African Americans "employed in the Fort Worth Stockyards, the railroad industry, and as domestics." ⁹⁵ (The core of the neighborhood is listed in the National Register as the Near Southeast National Register Historic District, and a small portion is also listed as the Locally-Designated Terrell Heights Historic District.)

NORTH SIDE

Around 1906, streetcar lines also reached across the Trinity River to the west and northwest (fig. 3-28). One early suburb lay northwest of downtown along Grand Avenue (listed in the National Register as the Grand Avenue Historic District). Grand Avenue's subdivision plat dated to 1888, but the lack of bridges across the Trinity River discouraged development until around 1906. Between about 1906 and 1925, middle-class families constructed modest homes like Bungalows on lots with broad front yards (fig. 3-59). This followed suburban development patterns popular across the nation at the time. ⁹⁶

Figure 3-59. Photograph of 1406 Grand Avenue, a contributing building in the Grand Avenue National Register Historic District, 1987. Source: Ron Embrich and Tom Niederrauer, "Grand Avenue Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Texas Historical Commission, 1990, 8-1, from the THC, https:// atlas.thc.state.tx.us/NR/pdfs/ 90000337/90000337.pdf.



Following World War I, Fort Worth annexed several suburban and manufacturing areas, doubling its geographic size. ⁹⁷ By 1924, annex communities included Arlington Heights, Riverside, Niles City, and Polytechnic neighborhoods (fig. 3-2). ⁹⁸ Fort Worth's footprint grew to nearly 62 square miles – as compared with 3.7 square miles when originally platted in 1873 (see fig. 3-48). ⁹⁹ The population continued to grow as well, and a construction boom ensued, so that "During the 1920s a new residence was constructed for every 4.0 persons added to the population." ¹⁰⁰ By 1922, bridge and roadway improvements enabled suburbs to extended in every direction, as residents could rely on personal

automobiles. The only remaining undeveloped land lay along the flood-prone Trinity River valley and the right-of-way adjoining the city's many railroad lines. 101

The locally designated Hillcrest Historic District provides a representative example of an automobile-oriented neighborhood constructed west of downtown after World War I. At the outset of World War I, developer Robert McCart purchased land west of downtown and donated a portion to the US Army to construct Camp Bowie (discussed above). The Army and the City then added extensive infrastructure linking Camp Bowie with downtown – including Camp Bowie Boulevard, water and sewer lines, electricity, and power lines. After World War I, McCart platted his remaining land as residential suburbs, benefitting from the remaining infrastructure. Between 1925 and around 1945, McCart's Hillcrest development evolved to include middle-class brick bungalows reflecting popular revival architectural styles, especially the Tudor Revival style (fig. 3-60). 102



Figure 3-60. Photograph of 2309 Tremont Avenue in the Hillcrest Local Historic District, 2010. Source: City of Fort Worth Historic Preservation Office.

Another example of a suburban neighborhood that developed west of downtown in the 1920s is found within the locally designated Linden Historic District. The area was platted in 1907, but development stalled until the 1920s and 1930s, when working-class railroad and industrial employees invested in building an exemplary collection of Craftsman bungalows in the area. ¹⁰³

GARDEN SUBURBS

Fort Worth's neighborhood planning efforts reflected the nationwide shift toward the concept of the "Garden Suburb," which aimed to integrate more natural and recreational open space into suburban planning to promote health. These neighborhoods used curvilinear streets to slow traffic and recreate bucolic streetscape views. ¹⁰⁴ These neighborhoods also frequently made use of exclusionary deed covenants, which were discriminatory and prevented non-white residents from purchasing the homes. In the early 1920s, John C. Ryan (developer of Elizabeth Boulevard) platted the Morningside development to the southeast of downtown. Morningside targeted middle-class white homebuyers. ¹⁰⁵ Like his earlier developments, Morningside included deed covenants that restricted the population of homebuyers, as well as the physical character of development. As quoted from LopezGarcia Group's 2008 "Survey of Five Urban Villages," these included:

 Restriction against the sale to Negroes or those of African descent, but servants' quarters could be erected

- Only can erect a private dwelling and outbuildings, no apartments or garage apartments
- No school house, old house moved in, store, saloon or other business or shop can be erected on a residential lot
- The houses had a minimum cost of construction
- Required a 20-foot set back from the front property lie, five feet on the side
- No stable or barn erected within 90 feet of the front property line
- Established setbacks for hedges and fences
- No houses built on rear of lot or alley for rental purposes¹⁰⁶

The 1927 Bartholomew plan for A System of Major Streets codified the ideas of the Garden Suburb by setting forth recommendations for future subdivision plats. Key recommendations of the Bartholomew plan included:

- Laying out streets to fit the topography
- Platting curved streets rather than angular ones
- Connecting street systems and lot setback patterns with adjacent subdivisions where possible
- Setting minimum standards for lot sizes
- Placing utility poles along rear lot lines
- Encouraging alleys for utility service
- Encouraging reservations of land for future parks and schools¹⁰⁷

However, realization of Bartholomew's recommendations lagged as Fort Worth's construction market stalled between 1929 and 1935 due to the Great Depression (fig. 3-61). The limited housing constructed during this period was typically built in remaining lots within earlier subdivisions, using more modest and utilitarian forms and styles. Within the locally designated Linden Historic District, for example, "in the mid to late 1930s the economic crisis and a looming World War caused a departure from decorative detailing," and Minimal Traditional housing sprung up beside earlier Craftsman-style housing. 108 Fort Worth's housing market finally began to recover in 1936, aided by new federal polices promoting home ownership. In 1934, President Roosevelt and Congress introduced the National Housing Act, which over the next decade boosted home ownership and influenced the adoption of new standards for neighborhood planning and subdivision design. Part of the Act included creation of the Federal Housing Authority (FHA), which provided federal insurance for home mortgages deemed low risk. Racial biases of the day also factored into risk assessment, preventing minorities from accessing the same federal mortgage assistance as whites; effectively continuing their exclusion from traditionally white neighborhoods. The US government-backed Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) prepared maps for cities across the nation that identified areas based on risk with grades of "Best," "Still Desirable," "Definitely Declining," and "Hazardous." In Fort Worth and throughout the country, predominantly nonwhite residential areas and areas of industrialization received the riskiest grades (fig. 3-62). As a result, these areas received little investment during the period due to the perceived risk the government associated with lending money to racial minorities.

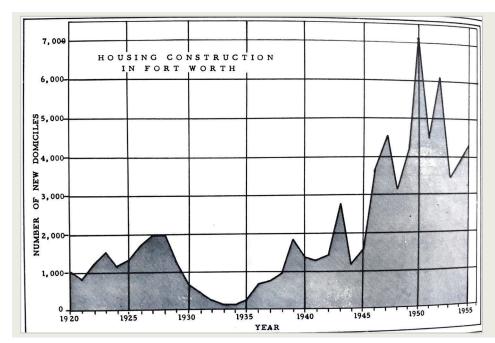
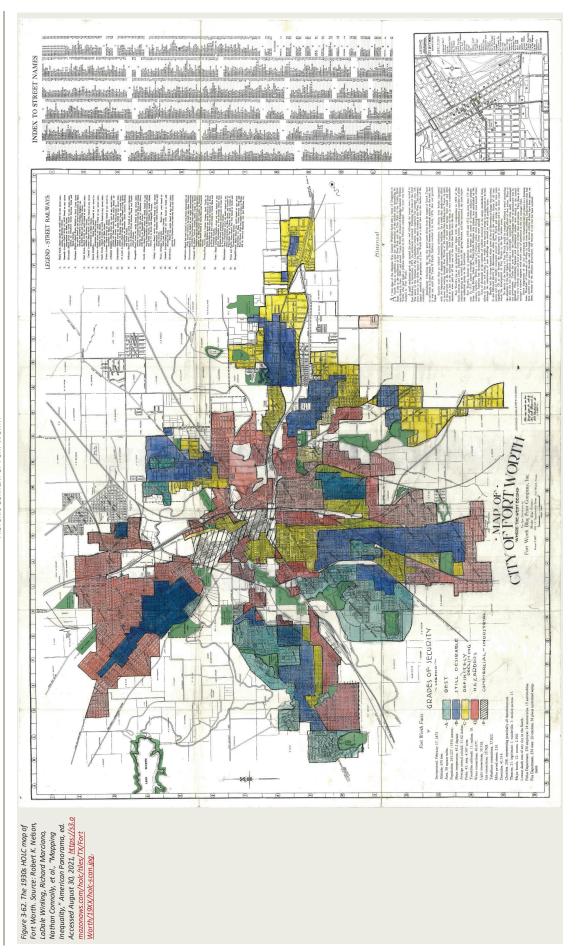


Figure 3-61. Graph showing the volume of housing construction over time. Source: Talbert, Cowtown-Metropolis, 172.



3 | Early Twentieth Century Urbanization, 1900–1945 169

In addition, in 1936 the FHA introduced pamphlets setting standards for subdivision and neighborhood planning. By providing these standards as factors influencing project approvals, FHA planners hoped to influence developers to design neighborhoods that would fit the garden suburb ideal. Initially, the FHA released the following minimum requirements for new subdivisions:

- Location exhibiting a healthy and active demand for homes.
- Location possessing a suitable site in terms of topography, soil condition, tree cover, and absence of hazards such as flood, fog, smoke, obnoxious odors, etc.
- Accessibility by means of public transportation (streetcars and buses) and adequate highways, schools, employment and shopping centers.
- Installation of appropriate utilities and street improvements carefully related to the needs of the development.
- Compliance with city, county or regional plans and regulations, particularly local zoning and subdivision regulations to ensure that the neighborhood will become stable.
- Protection of property values through "appropriate" deed restrictions (including setbacks, lots sizes and minimum costs of construction).
- Guarantee of a sound financial setup, whereby subdividers were financially able to carry through their sales and development program, and where taxes as assessments were in line with the type of development contemplated and likely to remain stable.¹⁰⁹

With the boost provided by FHA financing, Bartholomew's subdivision prescriptions finally came to fruition in the 1939 West Oakhurst Addition. This middle-class suburb had begun in 1924 and originally used a rectilinear street grid. Construction in Oakhurst slowed after 1927, as it did in the rest of the city, but when it revived in the late 1930s the developers adapted the plan to include more curvilinear streets. To do so, the neighborhood's developers hired landscape architects Hare and Hare of Kansas City, Missouri. Hare and Hare formulated a site plan with curvilinear streets following the topography, resulting in irregularly shaped lots and scenic views. The new design had the added benefit of meeting FHA standards.

Despite the increased interest in the new suburban homes, Fort Worth's housing construction rates did not rise to pre-depression levels again until 1943 because of rationing of construction materials at the outset of World War II. By 1943, population growth from wartime expansion of the Carswell Airfield and aircraft manufacturing industry finally led the City and the federal government to construct new housing for war workers (fig. 3-63). 112

During World War II, the Fort Worth Housing Authority also constructed several housing projects for war workers using \$600 million in federal emergency housing funding. One example, known as "Liberator Village" was constructed near the Consolidated-Vultee plant to house employees (fig. 3-63; the Consolidated-Vultee plant and associated development is discussed earlier, see also figs. 3-43 and 3-44). The project consisted of 500 apartment units, but demand far outstripped supply, with 690 families immediately applying for housing in 1943. As a result, maps depicting Fort Worth's growth in the 1940s show very little expansion through 1945—primarily clustered around Carswell Air Force Base and the Meacham Field airport (see fig. 3-43). In the postwar years to come, though, pent-up demand would create a housing boom 350 percent larger than the boom in the 1920s.

See the next page for a sample statement of significance for resources associated with the theme: Urban Growth, subtheme: Suburbanization.

Statement of Significance*			
Theme:	Early-to-Mid-Twentieth-Century Urban Growt	h	
Subthemes:	Central Core, Suburbanization		
Summary Statement of	Resources significant within this theme reflect t	the transformation of the city's urban fabric as	
Significance:	a result of rapid population, industrial, military,	=	
	core experienced a boom in construction of cor	<u> </u>	
	undeveloped areas outside of downtown exper in part by the streetcar, and later by an expand		
	designed a number of buildings during this peri		
	Clusters of these resources may be eligible as h		
	eligible under a variety of areas of significance		
	significance and association with this theme.		
Period of Significance:	Roughly between 1900 and 1945.		
Period of Significance	Covers the twentieth-century pre-war period of commercial and residential growth. Historic		
Justification:	districts may have longer periods of significance that reflect continued buildout.		
Geographic Location:	Citywide		
Area(s) of Significance:	Community Planning and Development, Comm	erce, Ethnic Heritage, Government,	
	Architecture		
Criteria:	National Register: A, C	Local: 1, 2, 3, 5	
Associated Property Types:	Resources include a variety of residential buildi		
	Bungalows built in the Craftsman and Tudor Revival style were common. Commercial		
	buildings include one- and two-part commercia		
	housed a variety of commercial functions. A val and Art Deco, were popular. Also includes gove		
	buildings. Clusters may be considered historic d		
	Historic Residential Suburbs for more information		
Example:	Leuda-May Historic District, Southside		

The Leuda-May Historic District is associated with the city's rapid population growth and subsequent residential development in the pre-war 20th century. Comprised of three 1920s and 1930s two-story apartment buildings and two garage apartments, the district is largely surrounded by early-twentieth-century single-family homes. Though the area was platted in the nineteenth century, like many subdivisions, it did not fill in until the 20th century, when the streetcar extended further south. Between 1920 and 1926, when the first apartment was built, the city's population was estimated to have grown by more than 50,000, creating a housing shortage. As a result, apartments like those in the district began to appear in neighborhoods along with single-family homes. The district is listed in the National Register under Criteria A and C in the areas of Community Planning and Development and Architecture. The district may also be eligible as a local historic district.



Apartments at the intersection of Leuda Street and May Street in the Leuda-May Historic District. Source: Susan Allan Kline, "Leuda-May Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Texas Historical Commission, October 15, 2005, from the THC, https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/NR/pdfs/05000240/05000240.pdf.

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Figure 3-63. Article clipping showing photographs of the "Liberator Village" housing complex for Consolidated-Vultee employees during World War II. Source: "Liberator Village Homes Built For War Workers" [article clipping] (n.p., 1943), from the Fort Worth Public Library, https://www.fortworthtexasarchives.org/digital/collection/p16084c oll3/id/41.



CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

As Fort Worth's economy and urban fabric expanded from 1900 to 1945, its cultural and social fabric grew richer as well. The major anchors of culture and society from 1900 to 1945 were religion, education, outdoor recreation, and the arts. Women's groups also continued their role in the community that began in the nineteenth century, advocating and advancing issues such as suffrage, the arts, education, and the health and wellbeing of Fort Worthians. At the same time, the spirit of frontier independence and cowboy flair lived on from Fort Worth's early days and continued to permeate all aspects of society and culture.

Religious Institutions

Census numbers show that, by the end of the 1940s, Fort Worth supported 775 clergymen (or one clergyman per 446 residents). In 1902, the City Directory listed 37 churches – four Baptist, one Catholic, three "Christian," two Episcopal, two Evangelical, 11 Methodist, five Presbyterian, two Christian Scientist, one Seventh Day Adventist, one "Spiritualist," three "Miscellaneous," and five "Colored Denominations" as well as one "Hebrew Synagogue." Many of these churches had earlier and more modest roots, but later expanded their buildings in the early twentieth century to meet the