The Quakertown Story:

The removal of an African-American community and the creation of Civic Center Park in Denton, Texas.

by Michele Powers Glaze

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COVER: Joe and Alice Skinner

Joe Skinner married Mrs. Alice Clark on Christmas Day 1913. The following Spring, the newlyweds moved to Bell Avenue. Skinner operated a shoe shop in a tiny building on the south end of the property where he also repaired toys. They settled with the City in July 1922 for $1,000. The couple purchase land on East Prairie across the tracks from Alliance Milling Company. He opened another repair shop. The first street east of the T&P Railroad ran along the side of the Skinner property and bears their name today.

The Quakertown Story

By Michele Powers Glaze

While early twentieth-century histories of Denton, Texas, chronicle the strides made by the young College of Industrial Arts, an all-white women's college on the hill, few mention Quakertown, a thriving black community nestled at its foot along the banks of the Pecan Creek. By 1920, nearly sixty middle- and working-class black families occupied land in the flood plain of the creek below the college. Small, mostly unpainted houses and businesses dotted the area bordered by Bell Avenue on the east, Withers Street on the north, Oakland Avenue on the west, and south of Pecan Creek on the south.

Former Quakertown residents remember the sense of pride and desire for a better life their families felt. Many families had arrived in groups in the years following Reconstruction. They had travelled to the small, agricultural community in north central Texas to escape former owners who pressured them to return to the plantations.

27 black families from the Dallas settlement of White Rock arrived in 1875, settling about 2.5 miles southeast of the courthouse in what they called “Freedman Town.” By the early 1880s, they had begun buying property and constructed St. James AME Church along Oakland Ave, north of McKinney Street. They had named the new location Quaker in honor of northern abolitionist Quakers who had taken in runaways during slavery. The very name represented freedom.

During the 1890s, Quaker continued to grow, extending to land formerly belonging to Elisha Chinn. Terry Street vertically halved the property, which lay between Oakland and Bell, while Holt Street stretched east and west along it southern border, just south of Congress Street.

Like many Southern blacks, Quakertown residents subscribed to Booker T. Washington's philosophy of self-help and coexisted peacefully with their white neighbors. Most worked for white employers and frequented the white businesses around the nearby square. Yet, they were surrounded by reminders of their second-class status.

A handful of the settlers managed to overcome some of the limitations faced by blacks in the South and established businesses. Ford Crawford ran a grocery below the Odd Fellows Hall at the intersection of Oakland and Holt. His son, Bert, the black mortuary was located in shotgun building at the corner of Holt and Terry, at the front of the woodyard and diagonally across from the Pleasant Grove Baptist Church and the home of *Rachel Ellis* who was reported to the Denton’s oldest black resident at the time.

Opposite Crawford's Store on both sides of Oakland, numerous businesses operated throughout the years. *Dr. E. D. Moten medical office, H. C. Bell’s drug store, James Berryman’s confectionery, Allen’s restaurant and, a few yards down Holt Street, the Quaker Tailor Shop. In 1913, 3 barbershops occupied the tiny intersection, owned by Luther Drennon, L.L. Allen, and Roy Cochran. Farther down Oakland Street, Anthony Goodall operated the Buffalo Bayou Cafe.* These were the exception, however. Most residents worked in low-paying service jobs, buying their small homesteads on time. Women took in laundry or worked in white homes to supplement the meager wages of their menfolk. Together, the black men and women sought to build a new life in the tightly-knit community affectionately known as "Quaker".

As the black settlement blossomed in the 'teens, so did the nearby College of Industrial Arts, which had opened in 1903. The young school was faced with an ever-increasing need for expanded facilities and under the guidance of President F. M. Bralley, began to court state officials in Austin in a bid to win legislative appropriations and recognition as a full-fledged liberal arts college. The college regarded Quaker as a danger and an embarrassment in their bid for acceptance. The mud-lined streets, laundry-filled yards, and profusion of black children did not present the impression they wished visitors to get on their approach to the school. Conscious of the college's importance to Denton's economic growth, local businesses supported Brally wholeheartedly in his endeavors. It is within this dynamic that the Quakertown story emerges.

The only published reference to Quaker is in C. A. Bridges' 1979 history of Denton, in which he discussed the black community within the context of the movement for a city park. Like many women of the Progressive period, Denton club women had campaigned actively to beautify the city. But with nearly eight thousand inhabitants, Denton was a full decade behind its neighbors in establishing a park system. Dallas, just forty miles to the south, had already created seven park sites. Bridges told of the passage in Denton of a $75,000 municipal bond issue in April 1921 to buy out the predominantly black property owners. He described the purchase as being "several pieces of property" bought over a several month period and concluded that "most of the former residents of the area soon had newer and better homes about a half mile east of the railroad depot" in the newly settled area known as Solomon Hill.

A closer study suggests that although the creation of a city park fulfilled a valid civic need, it camouflaged the deeper desire of administrators at the college and business leaders to minimize contact between the black community and the all-white women's campus. Supported by local women's clubs and civic groups, CIA spearheaded the move, which proved to be neither a willing nor beneficial one for the black community. By 1923, traces of the once-vibrant settlement had virtually disappeared.

Although the unified campaign for a city park did not become evident until January 1921, the idea was not new. Mrs. Alvin C. Owsley, a prominent local club woman, addressed the Woman's Shakespeare Club of Denton in February 1916 seeking suggestions for possible park sites. As early as 1914, CIA professor C. N. Adkisson suggested converting the Quakertown property. It appears likely that city fathers were contemplating a similar action, for when Quakertown's Fred Douglass school mysteriously burned the Sunday night school was to open in September 1913, the city rebuilt it on a tract nearly a mile south of the original site between the branches of the M.K.T. and T. & P. railroads, the same area which would first be offered to the displaced residents in 1921. Nonetheless, the idea lay dormant until the close of the 1920 county fair.

Although no location was cited, articles in the Denton Record-Chronicle, alluded to the need for fairgrounds and a city park in late October 1920. The articles linked the future growth of Denton's dairy industry to the city's ability to host the annual county fair and called for immediate action to provide adequate facilities, including a coliseum.

Civic organizations embraced the project. The Chamber of Commerce held a special directors' meeting in early November to discuss the park and fairgrounds idea and created a three-member committee to research it further. In a November 18, 1920, speech to the Rotarians, CIA President Bralley spoke of the mutually beneficial relationship between Denton and its two colleges. Recounting CIA's contributions to

the city, Bralley indicated that in reciprocity the city could "rid the college of the menace of the negro quarters in close proximity to the college and thereby remove the danger that is always present so long as the situation remains as it is." This, he said, could be done "in a business way and without friction."

In early December the annual Chamber of Commerce banquet hosted by CIA attracted a large number of area farmers eager to discuss new fairground plans. By now the women' clubs, Chamber of Commerce, Rotarians and other civic groups supported the project. The Denton Carpenters Union, anxious to provide improvements, pledged to donate six days work for each union member. The dawn of 1921 saw a full-fledged park campaign.

The Chamber of Commerce initiated a petition drive in mid-January, outlining the Quaker area and several adjacent parcels owned by whites. The petition called for the City Commission to schedule a special bond election in April to raise funds for the purchase of the designated park property. Despite its sponsorship by the Chamber, the document clearly bore the imprint of the college. Of the 140 signatures, forty-six were linked to the CIA. Signers included President Bralley, Dean E. V. White, Associate Dean R. J. Turrentine, Professor C. N. Adkisson, who had originated the idea, and other key administrators and faculty as well as parents of current, former, and future students. All had a vested interest in the welfare of the college. The business community and neighbors comprised the balance of the signatures.

The park issue only interested a limited segment of the general population. Although the inclusion of a fairground and coliseum secured the support of local farmers and otherwise-disinterested citizens, only 607 of Denton's eligible voters cast their ballots. Women, having won the right to vote the previous year, were well-represented in the 367 votes in favor of the park. This was due in part to an intensive house-to-house canvas conducted by members of the City Federation of Women's Clubs, which was made up largely of female faculty members and faculty wives from the city's colleges. Despite these efforts, the bond issue passed by only a slim margin of 127 votes.

Interestingly, once procurement of the property became a reality, no further action was taken to include a fairground at the location. The wheels of the legal system turned rapidly as purchase preparations continued. Ordinances, City Commission and Park Board meetings, municipal bond negotiations, and other legalities filled the ensuing months. From the beginning, the park committee seemed convinced of a willingness on the part of the owners to sell. They felt the City would be forced to evoke its condemnation right on few properties.

While plans moved swiftly in the civic arena, rumors ran rampant in Quakertown as residents wondered where they would go. Older residents in particular resisted the thought of moving. A committee of concerned black citizens beseeched the Commission to pay full price for their property so they might afford a permanent settlement. Despite this effort, many residents, including Will Hill, feared they would not receive fair compensation for their land.

Hill and his wife, Ida, had arrived in Denton in 1896 with a group of families from Kaufman and Van Zandt counties in East Texas and bought property. Hill did odd jobs using his wagon and the sturdy team of horses he raised. Early Christmas morning, Hill and his horses could be seen “spreading Christmas cheer” as he delivered the gifts by the city’s wealthy white families. To many, he was known as “Dollar Bill” for his price to plow a garden plot was always $1.

A firm believer in saving money and owning land, Hill was aware that the white man could take it away. The proposed removal of Quakertown residents only substantiated these fears and Hill resented the racial implications that he and other blacks felt were the underlining cause for the move. But of the fifty-eight property owners involved, Hill was the only one openly to challenge the City's actions. Acting in accord with his motto "Respect every man, but fear none," Hill sued the City. But in 1922 southern blacks had little legal recourse and his action brought no compensation. Fearing reprisals against his family, he eventually dropped the suit.

Another of Quaker's elder residents, Henry Taylor, also felt the impending doom. Henry and Mary Ellen Taylor had purchased their property from Mary Ellen's brother, Giles Lawson, an early black settler. Enticed by the promise of education for their children, the couple had moved from Decatur in 1895 where Henry had worked as a cowboy. Now he cleaned houses and gardens for wealthy white families on the west side of town. With throwaways from the lawns he tended, Taylor's yard resembled a park, boasting a rare white lilac and a magnificent elm tree. Brick walks led to the house and surrounding buildings. When the committee rejected Taylor's asking price of $2,000, countering with a lower figure, Taylor's daughter travelled from Denison to implore the committee to reconsider. Her parents were old, and the tree alone was worth what they were offering, she argued. In the end, Taylor accepted $1038.55 and moved his house and the prized lilac bush.

By May 1922, the City, near to closing the municipal bond contract, began to conduct negotiations in earnest. Throughout the month, owners pleaded their cases before the City Commission. Twenty-two property owners appeared the first night. The three white, owners, C.I.A. store manager W. P. Whitson, and developers John Alexander and Ray Lakey, spoke first. Commissioners accepted Alexander's and Whitson's requests of $4,500 and $435 respectively, but delayed action on Lakey's land. Later that evening black Henry Maddox finally accepted $4,000 for his three lots and large frame boardinghouse; neighbor Henry Webster settled for $850. The Commission took no action on the requests of the remaining seventeen black owners.

As price negotiations continued, the question of where the residents would move loomed paramount. Most Quaker residents objected to the tract of land between the railroad tracks originally suggested to them and sought more favorable property. White property owners, on the other hand, wished to move the blacks further from their neighborhoods. One petition specified locating the blacks east of the railroad tracks and south of McKinney Road. A second, signed by twenty-one “concerned citizens”, read:

> *The undersigned property owners and citizens of McKinney St. [handwritten in] Frame and Paisley streets hereby advise you that a majority of us voted in favor of the Park Bond issue; that we do not wish to sell our property on said streets, and hereby protest against any attempt to locate the colored population of Quaker Town in our midst, or near [sic] us than you would wish them located to you.*

Yet not all sentiments expressed were as restrained as the petitions. Early on morning in late June, J.W. Reynolds, an Oakland Ave. resident who lived just south of the park site found two anonymous notices lying in a Quakertown street:

Negroes Take Notice:

No building or moving east of CIA, north of Railroad or south of Jace Walker's. Those already there will be given time to sell their property and move. Understand?

The warning came follow Henry Maddox's recent purchase of 20 acres northeast of the CIA near Peach Orchard Hill, an area inhabited by several Black families. 72 year old Maddox had been the first black to sell. He had invested the proceeds from his Oakland Avenue property in the land where he planned to move 3 rent houses and provide lots for himself and some of his displaced neighbors. Carpenters had begun works on the Maddon home when the elderly farmer was visited by tax collector B.M Hammett and George Elbert, owner of the Elbert Product Company. The men informed Maddox that the committee has met with the City Commission, and it had been decided that the Black residents were not welcome on the property. Hammett and Elbert told Maddox that the group would let him know by Saturday what he was to do. They further advised him to suspend all work on the property, despite the presence of a man and his team hired to begin moving Maddox's rent houses and household goods.

Commission members denied that such a decision had been made and told Maddox a petition to prevent the Blacks from moving to the property had been tabled. Under pressure to move and with few options available, Maddox settled east of Alliance Milling Company between the railroad tracks. Despite his position in the community, he found himself living in a rickety section know as "Shack Town."

The altruistic quest for a city park touched a more deep- seated issue as the relocation question was addressed. What had been treated as a move for the civic good suddenly became a campaign to remove the black population from the white neighborhoods.

The solution came from rancher A. L. Miles. In 1920, Miles had borrowed to purchase sixty acres adjacent to his forty-nine acre homestead southeast of town, but he had been unable to make the subsequent payments on his land. A fair man with a mind for business, Miles saw the Quaker relocation as an answer to his cashflow problem.

In July 1922, Miles platted 35 acres of pasture and offered to sell the lots to the displaced blacks, calling the development Solomon Hill.

As subtle as the racism may have been with regard to the park issues, the quiet Texas community of Denton was not immune to the violence and anti-black sentiment that was sweeping the country. In December 1921, the Ku Klux Klan marched in downtown Denton and left an anonymous $50 contribution to city charities. It followed with a second unsigned communique to the Denton Record-Chronicle claiming:

"The KKK stands for law and order. It stands for the protection of the sanctity of the home and the purity of young girls -- college girls who are without the immediate parental guidance ... With its large membership drawn from every walk of life, it gathers information from many sources and of varied character. . ."

The Klan in Texas reflected the mood of the nation and remained active throughout 1922. In September, 6 robed Klansman carried a burning cross up the aisle at the newly formed holiness church in southeast Denton and left a note: “Worship God - but go pick cotton.” Weeks later, the KKK pelted the “Holy Roller” group with eggs, just 4 days before the tent that served as a church burned. On at least 2 occasions, Record Chronical employees were kidnapped by Klansmen to report Klan event. On April 21, 1922, the paper reported one of it linotype operators, S.M. Richardson, had ben hailed by an unmasked driver. When Richardson had approached the curtained car, the doors had opened suddenly, and two masked men had pulled him inside and sped away. They drove him to the bridge over the Elm Fork of the Trinity on the Sherman highway where about 300 people has gathered to witness the initiation of about 30 Klansmen. Richardson was returned unharmed. Despite the organization’s high visibility, no physical violence had erupted in Denton.

Rev. Willie Clark, a young man of 21 at the time, recalls an incident that occurred on Miles' land. Miles had been warned of possible trouble from the Klan; many white residents were disgruntled that he had offered his property to the blacks. As Clark and two cousins cleared land at $.50 a day to make way for the black homes, they heard riders approaching. Miles directed the young black men, who were all "crack shots," to take cover behind some fallen logs and await his command.

"Don't shoot until I shoot," he warned. "If I shoot, you shoot - and shoot to kill; otherwise, we'll all be dead." Luckily, the hooded riders did not notice the hidden men or their shotguns, and no encounter occurred.

Throughout the summer and into the fall, the houses were moved, one by one, often travelling by night to avoid traffic. The houses rested on sled-like runners atop large rollers. As teams of horses pulled the structures forward, work crews scrambled to reposition the cylinders. The arduous process required careful calculation to traverse the creeks and narrow roadbeds on the way to the ultimate destinations.

When time came to move the Taylor home, Mary Ellen refused to leave it. She was a proud woman, proud of her home and proud of the possessions she had collected. Many had been gifts from the Evers family, for whom she did laundry. Seated in her rocking chair in the center of the parlor, Mary Ellen made the arduous journey to the corner of East Hickory and Wood Street in Solomon Hill.

As 1922 progressed, a number of Quakertown owners refused to accept the City's offers. In response, City Commissioners set about condemning the disputed properties. John Neal, Clarence Nix, and Callie French were among eight owners whose property was cited for condemnation. Land belonging to C. F. Witherspoon, a leading white citizen whose recent death put these holdings into the hands of an estate, was included in the suit. The proceedings dragged on into 1923.

But by early 1923, the majority of the land lay vacant. Terry and Holt Streets were closed, and crews cleared remnants left behind in the evacuation. Equipment leveled and graded the once-vibrant residential area. The creeks received much-overdue drainage work as brush and sediment were cleared from their banks and beds. Precautions were taken to alleviate the flooding problem, made worse in recent years by continued developments to the west. Soon the area bore no resemblance to the Quakertown community.

Not all the families bowed to the will of the City and accepted the land offered to them. The Crawfords left for Wichita, Kansas to reestablish their businesses. The community’s American Woodmen lodge

honored the younger Crawford, who had served as their presidents for the previous 5 years, with a pair of gold cufflinks and a tearful farewell salute. The next morning, he left for Wichita; his wife and mother-in-law would follow by train. Curley Hill, Will's nephew and several your men volunteered to drive Crawford's "extra-fine" gray hearse across county.

John Neal, a porter on the M.K.T. railroad, moved his wife and seven daughters to Parsons, Kansas, a railroad town where he felt his family would receive more equitable treatment. Neal was bitter about his treatment and vowed never to return to Denton.

"Aunt Angelina" Burr, daughter Cora Logan and Cora's husband John Logan were living in Los Angeles when they signed the final papers deeding their land to the City of Denton. Burr and the Logans had joined relatives already living in California, but son Wiley faced separation from his family as he moved his wife Rhoda and 3 children to Muskogee, Oklahoma. The city lost its only black physician when Dr. E. D. Moten and his family returned to Indianapolis, Indiana.

Earlier, the outspoken comments of the Rev. J.A. Ayers, pastor of St. Emmanuel Baptist Church for over 12 years, had force him to flee the city at night, leaving his wife behind temporarily.

But the pain of these departures penetrated deeper than just the loss of friends and neighbors. Most Quakertown families had intermarried, which meant the separation of extended families, long an important element in black culture.

As the new park took shape, the former Quaker residents went about transforming cow pastures into a new home. They no longer feared flooding, for the land was high, but it lacked the trees so abundant in Quaker. Henry Taylor dug saplings from the creek banks to line his property. He carefully nurtured his beloved lilac as he planted vines and flowers around his new home. Mary Ellen Taylor told of flies so heavy she was forced to burn them off the screens, and mosquitoes prevented sleeping outdoors to escape the summer heat. Odors from the open sewer disposal system nearby frequently lay heavy on the air. Even after a new system was completed further downstream, a strong breeze often brought the pungent stench uncomfortably close. "Cessie has her skirt up" became a popular term for the offensive condition.

The added distance to work and shops presented problems for those without transportation. What had been a short walk to CIA, where many blacks worked as janitors and cooks, was now well over a mile; and black residents had to walk nearly two miles to North Texas State Normal College.

Few neighborhood businesses survived the move, so all shopping was done at the now-distant square. No longer able to walk to the houses he tended, Henry Taylor was forced to buy a horse and wagon to carry his tools. Many residents felt cut off from the mainstream of city life they had enjoyed in Quaker.

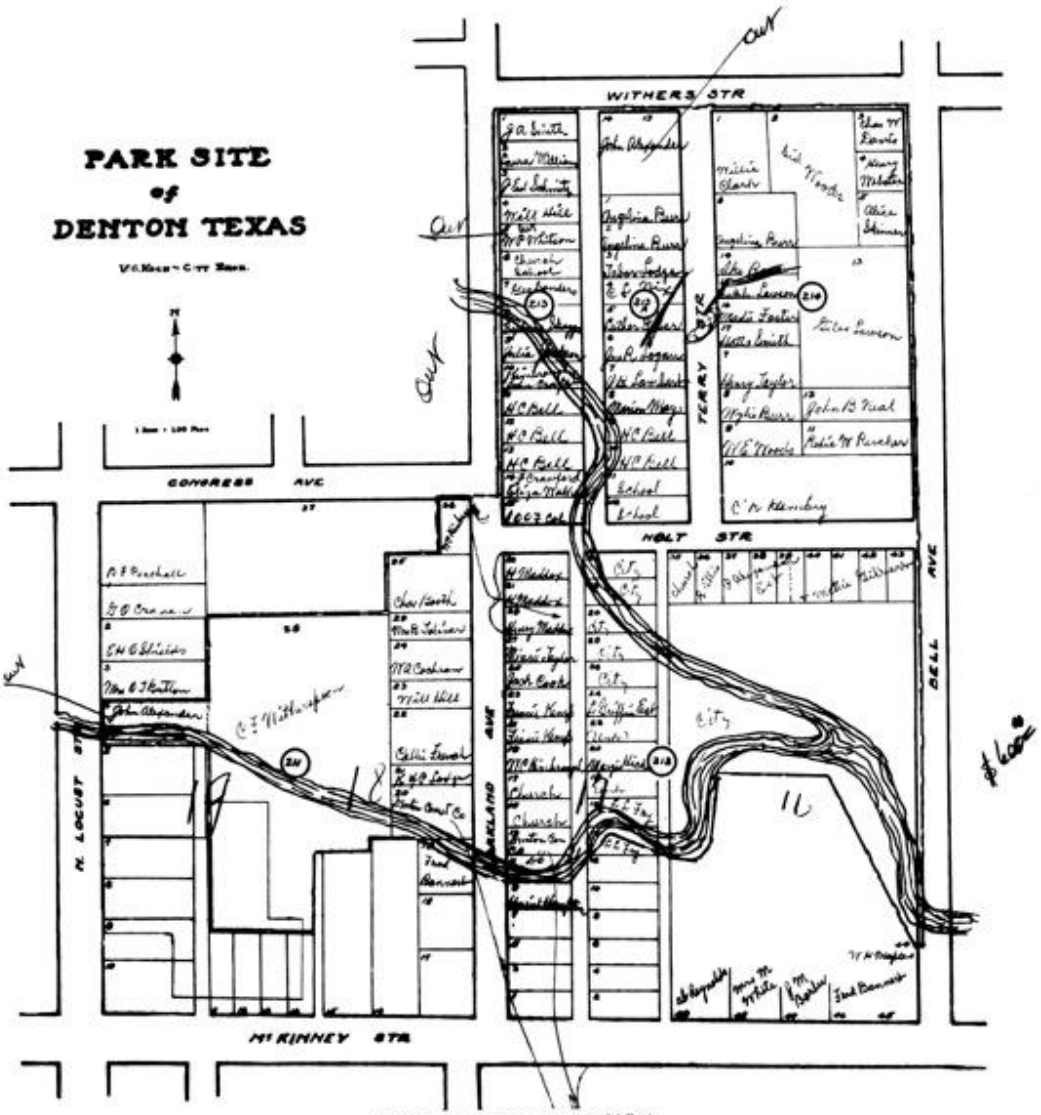
But in time, flowers and greenery flourished and the new land became home. Along Pecan Creek, the city park flowered and became a center of community activity. White families enjoyed band concerts in the cool evening breeze, and children splashed in the wading pool where the branches converged. On the hill above, the college grew as a symbol of women's ongoing struggle for equality.

Yet life never totally returned to normal.

Although Denton and the College of Industrial Arts benefitted from the creation of the park, the damage to the black community was long-lasting. With the departure of most Quaker businessmen, the community lost its leaders with the vision and means to improve the quality of black life, and the black business community rebuilt slowly.

But the psychological damage was perhaps the most devastating. The black community again found themselves at the effect of white society; their years of freedom and toil seemed fruitless. 70 years later, the effects can be seen in the fear expressed by many former Quakertown residents that it could happen again as the city marches eastward.

Quaker – 1920 City Directory



Park Site plan ca 1922 (Courtesy John Walker)

16 17

Bell Avenue:

@ Holt St Intersection

- 613 Charles & Roxie Rucker, Bootblack
- 619 J.W. & Estella Neal, laborer; Children: Clara, Essa, Gussy, Muriel
- 701 Will & Viola Haywood; 4 children
- 702 Dr. E.D. & S.A. Moten, physician; 3 children
- 707 Jerry Cooper; 12 children
- 708 Sam & Addie Walker, janitor; and Emma Walker, teacher
- 712 Ford & Mollie Crawford, grocer

- 713 vacant
- 717 Isaac & Bessie Ross, cook; 3 children
- 800 James & Mattie Jones, porter for W.B. McClurkan store
- 801 Skinner Shoe Shop
- 804 Ben & Millie Owens, janitor; 2 children
- 805 Joe & Alice Skinner, carpenter and shoe repair
- 806 M.C. & Willie Bell, cook at Lowry Hall-CIA; 3 children
- 809 Henry & Mattie Webster, laborer
- 810 Bert & Lizzie Crawford, undertaker; 3 children

Holt Street

- 308 Quaker Tailor Shop
- 320 Pleasant Grove Baptist Church
- 326 Rachel Ellis
- 402 A.L.C. Alexander, laborer

Oakland Avenue

- 311 Jerry Reynolds
- 314 Harriet Hampton
- 317 vacant
- 400 W.P. & Viola Crockett, minister at St. James AME; 1 child
- 404 St. James AME Church
- 408 John & Laura Logan, Curtis Drug Store; 1 child
- 411 Knights of Pythias Hall
- 414 Tom & Vina Kemp, laborer; 2 children
- 417 Evis & Frankie Givens, cook at CIA; 4 children
- 418 vacant
- 421 Will & Ida Hill
- 422 Jack & Jennie Cook, laborer and stableman at CIA; 2 children
- 502 Gus & Minnie Taylor, oil mill; 1 child
- 503 Henry & Lilly Grimes; 1 child
- 504 Will & Millie Logan, cook
- 507 E.A. & Bettie Tolivar, laborer; 5 children
- 508 Henry & Charlotte Maddox, farmer; 1 child
- 514 Jack Allen, Allen Restaurant
- 515 Jeneva Grimes
- 523 Peter Kenney

Holt intersection

- 600 Crawford Grocery & IOOF
- 606 Lula Keith
- 610 Linery Stephenson & wife, laborer; 2 children
- 611 C.A. Smith, Smith Café
- 614 Carrie Hill
- 615 Pete & Silva Kenney
- 616 Mrs. May Griffith
- 622 Mrs. A.M. Milam
- 623 L.L. & Amelia Allen, barber; 1 child
- 701 George Foster, laborer
- 709 Charles & Silven Tucker, laborer
- 800 Hollis & Myrtle Allen
- 802 Harry & Gertrude Williams, dishwasher CIA; 1 child
- 803 J.S. Hume (white)
- 806 W.M. & Laura Williams, woodchopper
- 810 J.D. Crowder (white)
- 813 Mrs. Clara Bell (white)

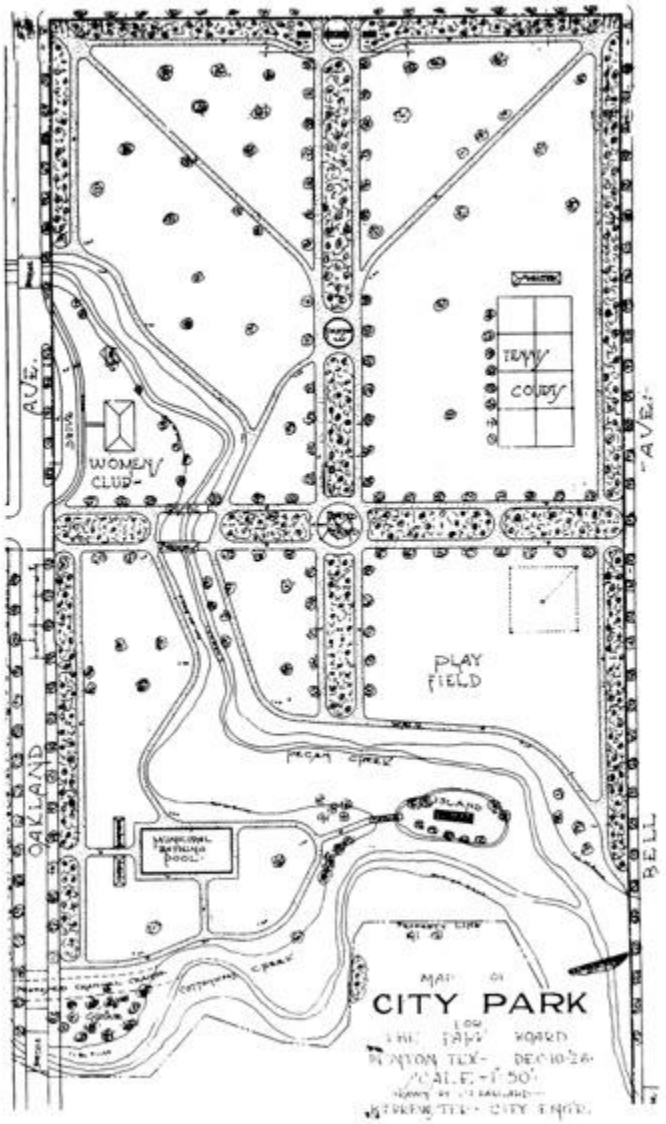
Sanders Street

- 701 Riley & Julia Jackson, cook; and Viola Jones
- 709 George & Ella Sanders, farmer
- ? St. Emmanuel Baptist Church

Terry Street

- 602 Citizens Undertaking
- 614 C.P. & Pearl Prince, porter; 1 child
- 615 J.E. & Addie Nicks, laborer; 2 children
- 618 Wiley & Rhoda Burr, fireman Norman; 3 children
- 619 Marion & Martha Mays, janitor NTSN
- 700 Henry & Mary Ellen Taylor, gardener
- 701 John & Pearl Lambert, porter CIA
- 705 vacant
- 706 Walter & Hattie Smith, laborer; 6 children
- 709 Luther & Fredonia Gober, laborer Acme brickyard; 2 children
- 713 Clarence & Willie Nix, cook at Lowry Hall-CIA; 2 children
- 802 vacant
- 803 Patsy Hayden
- 806 Angeline Burr
- 807 I.J. & Lottie Pettie, farmer; 4 children

- 810 Gussie Mitchell, cook
- 818 Ross & Maud Hembry, janitor at Exchange National Bank



PHOTOS & CAPTIONS

Angeline Burr came to Denton from Arkansas with 4 children and in 1897 became the first black to purchase land from Elisha Chinn's daughter, Mollie Taylor. Burr put $25 down on her Terry Street homestead which cost $125, paying it off in $15 payments. The next $15 she paid was on an adjacent parcel to the north, paying $12 every 3 months until the $100 note was clear. Ambitious and outspoken, Burr continued to acquire property on the other side of Terry St and built one of the finest houses in Quaker. The fiery woman took in laundry and delivered many of the city's babies. "Aunt Angeline" was the only Quaker resident departure mentioned in the Denton Record-Chronicle.

Cuvier and Delores Bell in 1919 on Bell Avenue. Some of Quakers' nicest residences lined the east side of Bell south of Withers Street. On the corner stood the home of Marcellus C. Bell and his family

Bridge crossing the lower branch of Pecan Creek on Oakland Ave. just north of McKinney Street. The home of Harriet Hampton can be seen in the background on the left. Hampton, a widow with two daughters, purchased the property in 1905. Photo taken just south of St. James AME Church parsonage.