

GUARDING SPACE AND PLACE: ELITE AND KLAN  
COUNTERBALANCE COMMUNITIES  
IN JAZZ AGE DALLAS

by

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A thesis submitted to the Graduate Council of  
Texas State University in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts  
with a Major in History  
May 2015

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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The author deeply thanks her thesis committee and the wonderful faculty in the History Department.

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## I. PROLOGUE

As Dallas strolled into the twentieth century, it was still shaking off the frontier. Many black and white residents lived in homes without water and sewage utilities, located on unpaved streets. They used backyard wells and outhouses. Gas and electric services were not widely available, and they were expensive. Municipal officials slowly modernized the city's neighborhoods, first bringing basic amenities to downtown and exclusive white neighborhoods by the turn of the century. The black neighborhood of Freedman's Town, adjacent to downtown, also acquired these amenities by 1913.<sup>1</sup> In the 1910s, the city council was constantly preoccupied with managing the space of the growing city, including the quotidian duties of road and sewage construction.

On a larger scale, the city council also engaged with the city's business elite in grand zoning and commercial development schemes.<sup>2</sup> These schemes reflected the national urban booster culture of the Progressive Era, which sought to modernize cities through the cultivation of administrative efficiency, sanitation, pleasing aesthetic, and commercial growth.<sup>3</sup> Like business leaders in other growing Southern cities, Dallas's business leaders actively shaped the city and formed an elite business class. This elite's identity rested on their civic leadership and their greater wealth and social status in comparison to the city's middle-class business owners. Dallas's growth benefitted both aspects of this elite identity, and consequently elite men were dedicated to augmenting

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<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth York Enstam, *Women and the Creation of Urban Life: Dallas, Texas, 1843-1920* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1998), 91.

<sup>2</sup> Dallas City Council Minutes, April 3, 1906, Minute Book 31; Dallas City Council Minutes, May 21, 1907, Minute Book 32.

<sup>3</sup> Robert B. Fairbanks, *For the City as a Whole: Planning, Politics, and the Public Interest in Dallas, Texas, 1900-1965* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 6.

the city's commercial reputation and success.<sup>4</sup> Leading businessmen, like *Dallas Morning News* owner George B. Dealey, promoted street improvement and urban planning. They aimed to provide modern living conditions and commercial incubation. In pursuit of city growth, they employed the resources of the government to draw investors and amenities from other cities.<sup>5</sup> Since Dallas's economy was not based on natural resources, but rather on serving as a financial and processing hub for the region, the city's business leaders recognized the importance of creating an appetizing environment for business.

During the first couple of decades of the twentieth century, Dallas thrived commercially. As national companies established factories in the Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex and the booming oil and timber industries in Texas created banking, insurance, and transportation opportunities, Dallas grew into a regional business hub alongside Southern cities like Atlanta.<sup>6</sup> Sears opened a plant in Dallas in 1908; Montgomery Ward opened a headquarters in nearby Fort Worth in 1911; and Ford opened a Dallas factory in 1914. Dallas was also chosen as the site of the regional Federal Reserve Bank, which opened in 1914.<sup>7</sup> Businesses stimulated a building spike in downtown Dallas, and by the late 1910s and early 1920s, skyscrapers began to command the city skyline.<sup>8</sup> This immense economic growth required workers and made Dallas an alluring destination within the region.

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<sup>4</sup> Don H. Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Mobile, 1860-1910* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), xii, xiv, 189.

<sup>5</sup> Fairbanks, 35, 38-46.

<sup>6</sup> Judith McArthur and Harold L. Smith, *Texas Through Women's Eyes: The Twentieth Century Experience* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 3.

<sup>7</sup> Walter Buenger, *The Path to a Modern South: Northeast Texas Between Reconstruction and the Great Depression* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 63, 135; Graff, 93.

<sup>8</sup> "Skyline Charts Growth," *Dallas Morning News*, May 1956, in Fairbanks, 29, 51.

With a massive influx of migrants, Dallas surpassed the six-figure population mark, alongside three other Texan cities, by the dawn of the 1920s.<sup>9</sup> Some migrants, including many wealthy businessmen and affluent women, came from other regions and large cities across the country to take advantage of Dallas's growing finance, commercial, and real estate sectors. At the same time, Texas's countryside lost population as many migrants sought to either abandon the increasingly stagnant and stifling worlds of sharecropping and tenant farming or attempted to try their hand at business in a rapidly expanding urban economy. The percentage of Texans who lived in rural communities steadily declined after 1900, while the state's percentage of urban population rose proportionately. Rural counties west of Dallas, in central Texas's ranching and cotton land, recorded population decreases between 1910 and 1920. Some migrants also came from small towns and farms to the east of Dallas, which struggled to maintain their populations even as migrants flowed into the region from contiguous states.<sup>10</sup>

Over the course of two decades, Dallas's business leaders and new migrants had significantly reshaped the city's residential and commercial landscape. To their surprise, their effect on the city's social and political culture was just as radical.

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<sup>9</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *A Compendium of the Thirteenth Census, 1920. Population, Agriculture* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), 33. By size, (largest to smallest) cities are: San Antonio, Dallas, Houston, and Fort Worth.

<sup>10</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *A Compendium of the Thirteenth Census, 1920. Population, Agriculture* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), 9.

## II. INTRODUCTION

At the dawn of the Jazz Age, a group of Dallasites developed a new political culture in order to challenge elites' construction of modern Dallas. The Second Ku Klux Klan, revived in Atlanta in 1915, gained a foothold in Dallas with the inception of local Klavern No. 66 in 1920. After their brutal attack on bellboy Alex Johnson in 1921, the Klan escalated in both membership and violence, flogging an estimated 68 people in the spring of 1922.<sup>1</sup> The klavern grew quickly, becoming the nation's largest single klavern, with an estimated 13,000 members, and it subsequently entered into Dallas's political arena.<sup>2</sup> In the 1922 Texas Democratic primary election, the Klan achieved a stunning victory in the election of Senator Earl B. Mayfield over former governor Jim Ferguson. The Klan ticket also swept Dallas municipal elections that year, bringing staunch Klansmen such as Mayor Louie Blaylock and Police and Fire Commissioner Louis Turley into power. With their domination of municipal commissioner posts and their ubiquity in the police force and justice system, the local Klan gained decisive political power in Dallas by 1923.

Since Dallas's implementation of the Mayor-Commissioner system in 1907, which reduced the number of elected officials from twenty-five persons to eight, elites had enjoyed strong municipal control.<sup>3</sup> Prior to the rise of the Klan, white upper-class and

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<sup>1</sup> Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 67-68.

<sup>2</sup> Judith McArthur and Harold L. Smith, *Texas Through Women's Eyes: The Twentieth Century Experience* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 67.

<sup>3</sup> Dallas City Council Minutes, April 3, 1906, Minute Book 31; Dallas City Council Minutes, May 21, 1907, Minute Book 32.

upper-middle-class business and civic leaders had concerned themselves with internal differences over methods and geographical emphases for city booster plans.<sup>4</sup> However, the forceful challenge of the Klan shocked this civic elite and stimulated the solidification of a unified elite political culture. The elite and Klan political cultures waged bitter campaigns against each other, and municipal elections amounted to total regime changes, first as the Klan swept municipal elections in 1922 and then as the consolidated elite regained control in the next election. Following their victory, the elite retained a firm grip on Dallas municipal politics for decades to come. In the wake of its resounding political defeat, Klavern No. 66 died just as rapidly as it rose, a mere six years after its inception.<sup>5</sup>

Dallas's brief period of Klan dominance is a fascinating anomaly in its twentieth-century political landscape. Historians writing on Dallas or the Second Klan have discussed the 1920s politics of the city as part of the larger movements of Progressivism or Klanism, an approach that gives proper national context to their ideologies and activism, but ultimately does not explain the particularly explosive situation in Dallas. Scholarship on the Second Klan has not analyzed its unique and massive popularity in Dallas, and scholars have not drawn a major distinction between Klavern No. 66 and less popular Southern klaverns.<sup>6</sup> In the historiography of Dallas, the Second Klan is a blip on the radar screen of a city dominated by the control of oil and banker elites in the

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<sup>4</sup> Robert B. Fairbanks, *For the City as a Whole: Planning, Politics, and the Public Interest in Dallas, Texas, 1900-1965* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 44-50.

<sup>5</sup> Jackson, 67-79.

<sup>6</sup> For Klan scholarship, see Charles Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995); David Mark Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865-1965* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Press, 1965); Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967); William Pierce Randel, *The Ku Klux Klan: A Century of Infamy* (Philadelphia: Chilton Company, 1965); Craig Wyn Wade, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

twentieth century.<sup>7</sup> However, Michael Phillips, in his book on the role of race in the shaping of the city, suggested the importance of class and gender in the Dallas Klan, a topic that has not been further explored.<sup>8</sup> Additionally, Kathleen Blee and Nancy Maclean have each analyzed the Klan's obsession with guarding the purity of white women, in Indiana and Georgia, respectively.<sup>9</sup> Maclean also sought to understand the motives of Klan members and focused on their ordinary reputation, refusing to brand them as anomalies. Like Phillips in his analysis of Dallas, she emphasized the deeply intertwined relationship between class, race, and gender in Klan ideology.<sup>10</sup> This framework of the relationship between class, race, and gender is useful for analysis of the Dallas Klan, and it remains to be applied to the historical structures of 1920s Dallas in order explain why the Klan was so particularly attractive to Dallasites in a city already ruled by Jim Crow.

Dallas and Klan historiography leaves us with the question of how such strong reactions were triggered in Dallas and why they occurred during this historical time period. Scholars have also not explained how a previously fragmented elite was able to unify quickly enough to push the Klan out of municipal politics by the next election. Scholars in different historical fields have pointed to historical structures that shape cities and political cultures, however, and such scholarship provides a new approach to understanding the rapid rise and fall of the Dallas Klan within the context of Dallas's

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<sup>7</sup> For Dallas scholarship, see Harvey J. Graff, *The Dallas Myth: The Making and Unmaking of an American City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008); Patricia Hill, *Dallas: The Making of a Modern City* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996); Darwin Payne, *Big D: Triumphs and Troubles of an American Supercity in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (Dallas: Three Forks Press, 1994).

<sup>8</sup> Michael Phillips, *White Metropolis: Race, Ethnicity, and Religion in Dallas, 1841-2001* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 75, 85, 87.

<sup>9</sup> Kathleen M. Blee, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Nancy Maclean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

<sup>10</sup> Maclean, xii.

urbanization. Historiography on rising Southern cities and the concept of the traditional Southern lady ideal indicate the importance of space and place in the Southern city. As Southerners modified commercial, leisure, and residential space in their cities and young, single white women pursued economic and leisure opportunities that challenged their traditional place in Southern society, they changed space and place in growing cities like Dallas. Immigration and community building scholarship illustrates how such changes could cause Dallasites to form collective identities and defensive political cultures.

Dallas's business and civic leaders actively shaped changing space in the growing city, and historians of the urban New South have indicated that such organization was far from apolitical as these leaders propounded. Scholars such as Christopher Silver and John V. Moeser have explored the political and social implications of the Jim Crow city, demonstrating that city leaders' segregationist direction of municipal development heavily impacted the ideology, collectivity, and activism of residents. In their comparison of the development of black communities and political cultures in mid-twentieth-century Memphis, Richmond, and Atlanta, Silver and Moeser emphasized the social facet of physical separation within a city. In the typical Southern city, black residents formed a "separate city" that "was not simply a matter of demographics."<sup>11</sup> Silver and Moeser's recognition that the organization of urban physical space affects residents' social and political action provides a useful framework for analyzing Dallas urban space, particularly as it changed drastically during the rise of the Klan.

Scholars Ronald Bayor and Larry Keating, in each of their studies on the development of Atlanta, emphasized the importance of zoning in the shaping of the city.

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<sup>11</sup> Christopher Silver and John V. Moeser, *The Separate City: Black Communities in the Urban South, 1940-1968* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1995), x.

As in Atlanta, Dallas's white city leaders controlled the black population through zoning ordinances during the 1910s that designated blocks by race and continued to do so after the Texas Supreme Court ruled such ordinances unconstitutional. When necessary, they conducted this regulation creatively, avoiding blatant racial discrimination by decreeing building types, property usage, and tenant categories that disproportionately impacted African Americans.<sup>12</sup> The approaches of Southern urban historians thus highlight a darker side of the Progressive urban planning movement that swept Dallas and many other Southern cities in the first decades of the twentieth century, as white civic boosters leading such initiatives were often obsessed with zoning as a means to achieve what they perceived as the best layout for the city as a whole.<sup>13</sup> However, the way that elites shaped Dallas's growth deeply affected the social and political culture of the city through the ways in which they organized race and class.

White civic leaders planning the cities of the New South injected not only a racial topography onto their growing cities, but also one that revolved around class. Larry Keating found that white civic leaders' urban planning goals, such as the redevelopment of downtown Atlanta in the late 1940s, often "had very little appeal to the city's white middle class."<sup>14</sup> As Ronald Bayor pointed out, white leadership could be at odds with the wishes of white middle and working-class residents, who in Atlanta reacted violently to city-condoned black migration near their West Side neighborhoods. The details and coordinates of black residential containment were a contentious issue in Southern cities, and one which dominated the relationship between the white upper crust and the

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<sup>12</sup> Ronald H. Bayor, *Race and the Shaping of Twentieth-Century Atlanta* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), xiv, 55; Larry Keating, *Race, Class, and Urban Expansion* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 45-46.

<sup>13</sup> Fairbanks, 37.

<sup>14</sup> Keating, 69.

middling white residents of Dallas in the early 1920s. Stephanie Cole, in her essay that emphasized the social construction of race in Jim Crow Dallas, indicated a key reason for this class contention. She argued that what it meant “to be white was not clear in turn-of-the-century Dallas, despite the fact that ‘whites’ of that city seemed firmly committed to the separation of ‘white’ and ‘black’ races.” Despite segregation’s “lie” of distinct white and black worlds, the cities of the New South contained not only residents of mixed white and black ancestry, but also different ethnicities and nationalities.<sup>15</sup> In the dense contours of the growing city, stark racial segregation was a way to reinforce whiteness.

While early elite boosters at the turn-of-the-century sought to emphasize their white civility by forming the Grand Order of Kaliph and dressing in Oriental costumes, Dallas residents in the following decades felt compelled to achieve racial contrast by starker residential segregation.<sup>16</sup> As Kevin M. Kruse has pointed out in his study of white flight in Atlanta, “the system of racial segregation was never a fixed entity, but rather a fluid relationship in which blacks and whites constantly adjusted to meet changing circumstances.”<sup>17</sup> The class and race-informed structures of the Southern city were always changing, then, especially as these cities grew and modernized during the twentieth century. As Dallas grew, attendant spatial changes had the potential to drive a wedge between white residents who possessed different, class-based tools available to maintain their Jim Crow privilege.

In addition to racial and class tensions, the politics of space in urbanizing Dallas

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<sup>15</sup> Stephanie Cole, “Finding Race in Turn-of-the-Century Dallas,” in *Beyond Black and White: Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the U.S. South and Southwest*, Eds. Stephanie Cole and Alison M. Parker (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press for The University of Texas at Arlington, 2004), 91.

<sup>16</sup> Cole, 86-87.

<sup>17</sup> Kevin M. Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 7.

included tension over the increased public presence of women. Dallas's leaders and female migrants created an urban environment that altered the place of the Southern woman. Historians have indicated the importance of the conceptual place of the Southern woman at the root of race, class, and moral signifiers. Just as Dallas followed the Jim Crow residential patterns of most Southern cities, its white culture was also rooted in traditional Southern gender ideology that sanctified the image of what historian Ann Firor Scott has termed the Southern lady. The discourse surrounding the Southern lady was rooted in separation. The Southern lady ideal had been a pillar of antebellum plantation society and functioned as a useful justification for slavery. It segregated white plantation women from work in the fields and from unregulated interracial and cross-class mingling. The work of slaves enabled them to remain within a leisured domestic sphere in which their sole task was cultivating the morals and character of their husbands and children.<sup>18</sup> With these roots in plantation society, the Southern gender discourse was deeply intertwined with race. The Southern lady, through her leisured domesticity, upheld white privilege. White Southern men—both in novels like *The Clansman* and through real life lynchings of black men—contrasted this idealized white feminine purity with the stereotype of the “beastly black rapist.”<sup>19</sup> Through the supposed protection of white women, white men denied black men sexual equality, while also reinforcing social, economic, and political inequality. The concept of the Southern lady was thus at the center of Jim Crow segregation and the maintenance of white supremacy.

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<sup>18</sup> Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics 1830-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 17.

<sup>19</sup> Glenda Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 85.

White Southerners used the discourse of the Southern lady not only to separate people by race, but also by class. By confining expected behavior for women into a fixed “lady-like” mold, the Southern lady discourse additionally defined its counterpart of class debasement.<sup>20</sup> Women’s activities in the home signified the family’s class status as much as their husband’s paychecks.<sup>21</sup> Women’s role in constructing the class status of their household became particularly crucial during unstable economic periods that threatened consistent income.<sup>22</sup> Rapidly urbanizing cities like Dallas were an unpredictable place to establish a stable, middle-class household, but traditional white gender ideology provided a consistent identity for families struggling to negotiate the changing landscape. As a result, white women’s activities and the discourse surrounding them carried immense power in prescribing gender, race, and class boundaries in the urban environment. Southerners constructed the two major tenets of the Southern lady discourse, place and purity, around this need for stability and separation.

In the nineteenth-century, most white, middle-class Americans separated men and women into two different social and sexual spheres. In this dominant Victorian discourse, men were cursed with sexual proclivities that could undermine the home by bringing into it venereal disease, illegitimate children, or emotional discord between husband and wife. As early twentieth-century male youth culture increasingly encouraged pre-martial sex, and as prostitution proliferated and commercialized in order to address this proclivity, middle-class men looked to their wives to regulate their sexuality and maintain a sense of purity for their homes. The role of middle-class women, then, filled an important gap

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<sup>20</sup> Scott, x.

<sup>21</sup> Jeanne Boydston, *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), xii, 153.

<sup>22</sup> Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 13.

between men's behaviors and their consciences.<sup>23</sup> In order to "restrain man's natural vice and immorality," it was important that the Southern lady be modest, pious, and innocent.<sup>24</sup> By being sexually and morally pure, she protected the Southern home's sacred priorities of matrimony and Christianity, despite any wayward male activities.

Place meant rootedness in the Southern home, where it was the Southern lady's job to manage the household and raise children.<sup>25</sup> In Southern society, this task was considered of paramount importance, as the woman's domestic role served to counterbalance men's changing economic role, which increasingly separated work from home. Jeanne Boydston has shown that Americans constructed ideal domestic feminine traits in contrast to the masculine business world of industrializing America, where men "daily risked losing their soul" in a changing environment devoid of "social or personal stability," making the woman's "presence [in the home] crucial for her husband." For, "Where Woman was, was sanctuary. And Woman was in the Home."<sup>26</sup> Many Southern men and women in the nineteenth century considered this domestic female sphere as "a place and duty" appointed by God and a cornerstone upon which their society rested. An antebellum Southern sociology book "equated any change in the role of women or in the institution of slavery with the downfall of the family and the consequent demise of society." In the Southern family, the roles of men, women, and children were intimately intertwined, and so Southerners considered changes in one role as deeply affecting the roles of other family members. Scott demonstrated that Southerners had "put their faith in

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<sup>23</sup> John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 179-186.

<sup>24</sup> Scott, 4.

<sup>25</sup> Scott, 4; See also Anastasia Sims, *The Power of Femininity in the New South: Women's Organizations and Politics in North Carolina, 1880-1930* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), 1.

<sup>26</sup> Boydston, 144.

the family as the central institution of society, a faith that was slow to change.”<sup>27</sup>

Southerners fixated on the home as an anchor for the central institution of the family.

This home could only be held together by a proper Southern lady at its helm.

Southern gender discourse, then, predicted dire consequences from threats to the white Southern women’s sexual purity and place in the home. Changes in these hallmarks of the Southern lady ideal destabilized the care of husbands and children, blurred gender, class, and racial boundaries, and threatened the image of the Southern home as a sacred and moral space untainted by the urbanizing world. Since Southern gender discourse drew a stark boundary between the public and private spheres of Southern life, any shift in the role of the Southern lady also contributed to redrawing “what Americans considered ‘public’ and ‘private.’”<sup>28</sup> In sum, changes to the Southern lady ideal could shake the foundation of the white Southern family. Under this weight, the Southern lady ideal persisted in the twentieth century as a powerful discourse, despite immense change that directly affected conceptions of white women’s purity and place in the urbanizing South.<sup>29</sup> The changing place of women in Dallas, then, redrew lines of race and class, and of “public” and “private,” calling the stability and homogeneity of the white Southern home sphere into flux.

The key to understanding the development of Dallas’s contentious political cultures during the 1920s lies not only in changes that elites and women made to the city’s residential and gender landscape, but also in the way that the city’s residents adapted to these changes. Scholars writing on community formation have shown that

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<sup>27</sup> Scott, first quote from 8, second quote from 18, third quote from 213.

<sup>28</sup> Paula Baker, *The Moral Frameworks of Public Life: Gender, Politics, and the State in Rural New York, 1870-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), xv.

<sup>29</sup> Sims, 4.

spatial, economic, cultural, and racial factors shape the process of community building. White Dallasites adapted by forming entrenched class-based communities that they hoped would protect them from the perceived threats of urbanizing Dallas, which reorganized Jim Crow residential space and challenged the Southern lady ideal. In response, these new communities employed practices and institutions that defended and reinforced their ideals of the perfect Southern home.

Both the Klan and elite communities had a concentrated geographic core in the residential districts where population surged during Dallas's growth. Precinct 1 in North Dallas grew the fastest, swelling by over 51,000 residents between 1910 and 1920. Precinct 7, which covered Southwest Dallas, increased by 21,000 during the same decade.<sup>30</sup> These two precincts already contained small communities based on their former organization as separate towns before Dallas bled into their borders. However, the populations of Highland Park in Precinct 1 and Oak Cliff in Precinct 7 transformed during the first two decades of the twentieth century, and by the early 1920s, each became an epicenter for specific class- and race-based communities that also considered themselves integral parts of Dallas. Precinct 1 became the center of the elite community, and Precinct 7 was the cradle of Klavern No. 66. This geographic concentration carried over into political contests, with Klan senatorial candidate Earl B. Mayfield sweeping Oak Cliff, Fair Park, and pockets of north Dallas—areas of middle and working class income—and his opponent Jim Ferguson drawing support from downtown, Highland Park, and the wealthy area surrounding the new Southern Methodist University.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *A Compendium of the Thirteenth Census, 1920. Population, Agriculture* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), 19.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

As Dallas in the 1920s was a segregated city based on race and class, residential segregation shaped the communities that formed and solidified as Dallas grew. Annelise Orleck, in her study of the politicization of black welfare mothers in Las Vegas after World War II, considered the role that segregated space and discriminatory reception played in creating the mothers' inclination to collective action. The confinement and deprivations that Orleck's protagonists endured on the Westside of Las Vegas due to Jim Crow enforcement contributed to their desire for resistance and increased collective identity. Additionally, Orleck found that spatial proximity contributed to more socialization, easier organizing, race consciousness, and a common sense of purpose.<sup>32</sup> Dallas's segregated residential neighborhoods, then, are an important factor in the formation of the city's strong communities based on location and class. Like Orleck's protagonists, spatial proximity heavily contributed to the Klan's development of a common sense of purpose, race consciousness, and ease of socializing and organization. For Dallas's elite clubwomen, spatial proximity contributed to the same developments as well, and in both cases, space came to define class.

Such a close correlation between spatial concentration and class-based communities makes sense given John Bodnar, Roger Simon, and Michael P. Weber's scholarship on socio-economic status and residential enclaves. In their 1982 book, *Lives of Their Own*, the authors demonstrated the importance of residential patterns and socio-economic resources by comparing the disparate communities of Polish, Italian, and black migrants in Pittsburgh. Polish and Italian communities in Pittsburgh fostered their ethnic networks by building close-knit social communities through religious institutions and high levels of

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<sup>32</sup> Annelise Orleck, *Storming Caesar's Palace: How Black Mothers Fought Their Own War on Poverty* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2005), 55-56.

homeownership in ethnic enclaves. And they were able to do so precisely because they enjoyed “intergenerational access to steady work and acceptable living accommodations.”<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, the authors argued that black residents’ geographic dispersal and frequent movement—a result of labor and housing discrimination—precluded the concentration of economic and social resources that formed in Polish and Italian enclaves and enabled stable, local white-collar positions.<sup>34</sup> In sum, African Americans lacked the cohesive community and strong social networks that supported second-generation Italians and Poles. The authors located “the nexus between familial networks and socio-economic structure” as the “origins of disparate adjustment and ultimately urban inequality.”<sup>35</sup> Migrants adapted to socio-economic structures by forming distinct residential enclaves, which in turn influenced the formation and traits of communities.

Even in the same city, these communities could look quite different when they interacted with disparate socio-economic structures. As the authors showed, communities that benefited from strong, intergenerational economic networks were able to create spatial enclaves that cultivated community. In Dallas’s elite community, business connections and wealth allowed residents to congregate in controlled suburbs on the northern and eastern fringes of Dallas. Living in these neighborhoods contributed to further entrenchment as an elite community. In contrast, the instability of middle-income residents in 1920 threatened their ability to create rooted enclaves and further induced them to form a stabilizing institution such as the Klan.

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<sup>33</sup> John Bodnar, Roger Simon, and Michael P. Weber, *Lives of Their Own: Blacks, Italians, and Poles in Pittsburgh, 1900-1960* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 201.

<sup>34</sup> Bodnar et al, 79.

<sup>35</sup> Bodnar et al, 91.

In each community, different spatial and economic structures stimulated different modes of collective action and ultimately created two distinct political cultures around similar priorities of the home sphere. Each community responded to a unique set of structural obstacles or opportunities, and so their adaptations looked markedly different. In Highland Park and adjacent affluent neighborhoods, the elite community used their wealth to segregate their homes and create educational and social networks for community women. In Oak Cliff, where residents were not as wealthy, the Ku Klux Klan used violence, intimidation, and social networks to carve out segregated space for their homes and women. These social structures became the basis of their identity, for people both inside and outside of the community.

In their creation of defensive subcultures, white Dallas migrants followed a similar pattern as Okies during the Great Depression, whom James Gregory analyzed in *American Exodus*. Gregory saw the Okie subculture as a defensive outgrowth of the socio-economic structure that these migrants encountered in agricultural California. This socio-economic structure was heavily influenced by space. Compared to urban Southwesterners who settled in cities and quickly assimilated into the urban workforce, Californians defined rural Okies by their separate space and class. They cast Okie agricultural laborers as burdensome social problems, and this cultural conception contributed to migrants' severe difficulty in achieving economic mobility, social acceptance, and assimilation within the "caste-like social structure" of California's agricultural areas.<sup>36</sup> Gregory showed that migrant groups who did not enjoy all the economic advantages of their environment were motivated to form defensive

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<sup>36</sup> James N. Gregory, *American Exodus: The Dust Bowl Migration and Okie Culture in California* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 102.

communities that ultimately wielded political influence. Okies pursued “residential congregation” and “habits of separation” that reinforced their collective identity and preserved their homeland culture.<sup>37</sup>

Like the Okies, the Klan perceived themselves as deprived of economic mobility and constrained by elite power structures, and in response they used rhetoric that defiantly recategorized their separation from other residents. The Klan’s rhetoric claimed not only separation, but also supremacy, based on the categories of race and moral purity. The Klan community was an institution through which its membership reframed their class separation from the white elite. Defensive communities, then, could be a reflection of opportunities or discrimination at a given time, explaining how Dallas could contain two disparate communities formed in response to economic benefits on the one hand and perceived economic hardship on the other.

While the Klan desperately fought to defend shaky white middle-class turf, the elite built lasting conservative institutions that withstood the liberalizing effect of urbanizing Dallas. Elites were not more liberal than the city’s middle class—they did not advocate social or economic equality for the races and sexes—but their resources enabled them to endorse a more heterogeneous public space for the purpose of business, while maintaining a private segregated space within their neighborhoods by means of economic exclusion. As the unstable middle class did not possess the same tools to counterbalance the class and race mixing of Dallas’s new urban spaces, they used different tools to maintain residential congregation and social separation.

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 42.

Despite their different resources, both communities formed around the home. As labor historian Herbert Gutman pointed out in his 1977 book, *Work, Culture, and Society*, migrants adapted to American industrial society by using their homeland cultural resources to create communities.<sup>38</sup> Even though most migrants into Dallas leading up to 1920 were native-born white Americans, they formed distinct communities and brought with them a Southern family culture rooted in the physical home as a haven from public space. Southern historian David Goldfield applied Gutman's approach specifically to migrants in the Southern city, which he categorized as a "middle landscape" between the countryside and the Northeast city, characterized by low density and single-family homes as a result of annexation.<sup>39</sup> This landscape encouraged even native-born white Southern migrants to bring "cultural baggage" with them to the city, in the same way that Gutman's immigrants carried their homeland culture.<sup>40</sup> Both Gutman and Goldfield have emphasized the potential oppositional nature of migrant culture, arguing that migrants have used their culture to accommodate their interests in the face of industrialization and urbanization. Dallas's residential layout and new commercial spaces, which mixed races, classes, genders, and notions of private and public, particularly challenged migrants' discourse of the Southern home. Citing Southern historian Francis Butler Simkins, Goldfield argued that for Southern migrants, "family and religion were rural bulwarks," within which "everything worthwhile took place."<sup>41</sup> The bulwark of Southern family

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<sup>38</sup> Herbert Gutman, *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977).

<sup>39</sup> David Goldfield, *Region, Race, and Cities: Interpreting the Urban South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 44.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>41</sup> Goldfield, 51-52.

culture, then, was a cultural tool with which Dallas's migrants built defensive communities in the face of a rapidly changing city.

Defense of Southern family culture in the new urban environment incorporated many aspects of public and private life. Immigration historians writing after Gutman suggested structures and institutions through which migrants created communities. John Bodnar, in his 1985 work, *The Transplanted*, further developed Gutman's emphasis on community building by describing a complex process of immigrant community formation shaped by structural contexts.<sup>42</sup> Bodnar acknowledged that immigrants adapted to the demands of their new environments and structural changes in a myriad of individual ways and first seek to accommodate needs within the private sphere of the family. When immigrants could not meet their needs by private adaptation, they resisted publicly through political or labor activism. Bodnar thus opened up vast areas for research in analyzing how private concerns of immigrants became public modes of resistance. When white Dallasites felt that the landscape of the city prevented them from privately protecting the Southern family through the purity and place of white women, they similarly adopted public modes of resistance that took the form of aggressive elite and Klan political cultures.

Bodnar's emphasis on immediate needs as catalysts for community organizing and collective action is particularly applicable to Dallas at the time when the Klan entered the political arena in the name of the Southern home. Earl Lewis explored the effect of historical structures on public and private adaptation in his 1991 book *In Their Own Interests*. Lewis traced the transformation and politicization of the black community in

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<sup>42</sup> John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985).

Norfolk, Virginia, during “historic moments” of Depression and wars.<sup>43</sup> Lewis, like Bodnar, viewed community formation as a dynamic process shaped by key events as well as longer-term transformations in socio-economic structures. This process occurred in Dallas, where the structures of the changing Dallas residential and gender landscape led white residents to respond by forming a strong collective identity. Lewis pointed out that different historical periods are crucial in the development of community formation, because they offer different political and economic opportunities. As Bodnar showed, collectivity is an adaptation to such opportunities. Lewis demonstrated that in each historical period, cooperation or fragmentation along class and race lines led to a “modified perspective” in the Norfolk black community. In eras of interracial fragmentation, the black community did not focus on economic parity, but instead adapted by focusing on “progress in the home sphere—improved social services and fuller political and social rights,” which were seen as benefitting the entire community.”<sup>44</sup> Historical eras, then, are crucial in understanding community formation, as they realign racial and class interactions. They influence the way that migrants adapt to challenges.

Lewis thus reinforced Bodnar’s portrayal of the adaptive migrant who could alternately draw from their work or home spheres, based on the particular obstacles that they faced in a given era, and demonstrated how historical context can shape a community’s political goals and methods. When the black residents of Norfolk felt economically excluded from other groups in Norfolk, they tended to concentrate on the home sphere and the development of race consciousness. Lewis’s approach to the

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<sup>43</sup> Earl Lewis, *In Their Own Interests: Race, Class, and Power in Twentieth-Century Norfolk, Virginia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 28, 17.

formation of black political consciousness is equally applicable to the formation of white communities in Dallas. Dallas in the 1920s was likewise economically and politically divided, by class as well as race, and many of Dallas's white migrants similarly turned to the home sphere and racial solidarity as alternate ways to take care of their community. Dallas's socio-economic landscape and the changes it underwent in the 1910s and during the early 1920s threatened the traditional Southern home sphere, and thus caused white Dallasites to build coalitions around race and class.

As Jeffrey Helgeson has shown in his study of black community development in Chicago, these coalitions can take on a "broad understanding of community" that connects the home with the city as a whole and the struggle for "access to opportunity and power."<sup>45</sup> This cohesive, comprehensive view of the role of community, also reflected in Matthew Countryman's analysis of black community formation in Philadelphia, intimately connects home and politics. Members of Klavern No. 66 and the elite Dallas community similarly saw political access and community behavior as closely intertwined within the new urban landscape. Like the Black Power activists that Countryman examined, white Dallasites often turned their efforts inwards to cultivate community institutions and achieve "community control."<sup>46</sup> For the Klan, this frequently involved intimidation and violence, while for Dallas's elites, community control took a less aggressive form through educational and social institutions for community women.

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<sup>45</sup> Jeffrey Helgeson, *Crucibles of Black Empowerment: Chicago's Neighborhood Politics from the New Deal to Harold Washington* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 8.

<sup>46</sup> Matthew J. Countryman, *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 3.

As Helgeson has pointed out, for both communities, “households and neighborhoods could never be disentangled from the wider world of political and economic power.”<sup>47</sup>

The exceptional political atmosphere of Jazz Age Dallas corresponded with the height of residential and cultural changes in the city. As Chapter Two will demonstrate, Dallas’s growth into a twentieth-century metropolis occurred in unique ways, stemming largely from its rapid and sporadic population increase that included a new contingent of young, single, white women. This growth poured into a Jim Crow residential structure, leading to a tight residential market and rapid white suburbanization. Dallas’s rapid population and economic growth also fed revolutionary changes in women’s economic, social, and sexual activities. At the same time, elites reconfigured the residential pattern of the city with their development of exclusive suburbs.

These changes in Dallas’s geographical, economic, and social landscape struck at the heart of the white Southern home. Chapters Four and Five will discuss how the Klan and elite communities, respectively, responded by creating social structures and spatial enclaves that cultivated solidarity and reinforced their core home sphere values. They defined the home by its property investment and the activities of the community’s women, which reflected the family’s class status and second-generation opportunities, and so each community solidified around these shared priorities. By analyzing these communities as defensive subcultures, we can see how their residents responded to unsettling historical changes in Dallas by developing corresponding structures in order to maintain social cohesion. Dallas’s tumultuous political culture in the 1920s grew out of

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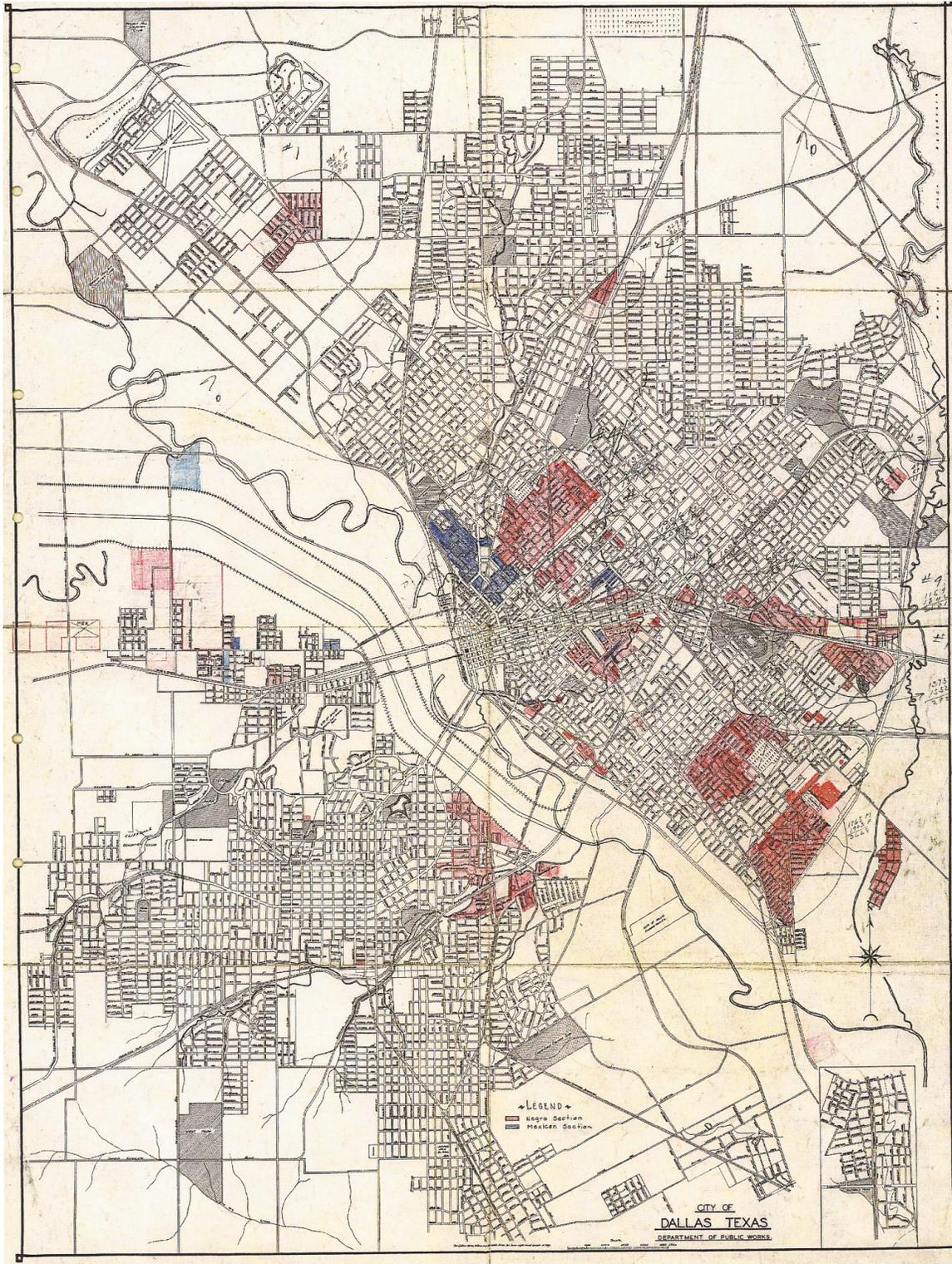
<sup>47</sup> Helgeson, 27.

these communities and reflected each community's goal to maintain their home sphere status quo in the face of immense urban change.

### III. NEW SPACE AND PLACE

While Dallas remained a Jim Crow city in the face of urbanization, its growth coincided with a shift in how residents moved across racial, classed, and gendered space. The city's rapid population increase fueled the speed of these changes. Elites developed exclusive suburbs that intensified class segregation among white residents, while introducing leisure venues that provided young single white women with new spaces in which to step out of the traditional place of the Southern lady. Elites simultaneously removed their homes from the city center and populated it new commercial attractions in the form of hotels, movie palaces, and department stores. As a result, single white women were increasingly mobile and visible in a public space marked by increased class and race mixing.

In 1920, Dallas was more Lost Cause than Wild West. In the three decades before the city slid into the stirrups of cowboy motion pictures, Western Swing music, and the 1936 Texas Centennial fair, it first developed as a metropolis of the New South. Like many other burgeoning Southern cities in the early twentieth century, Dallas was a starkly segregated city where white municipal and business leaders determined the residential blocks open to residents based on their race. White Dallasites relegated black residents to the historic Freedman's Town neighborhood, where the city's sole black high school was located. Dallas's diminutive population of European immigrants formed the border of Freedman's Town, and a small Mexican and Mexican-American neighborhood, Little Mexico, formed to its southwest beginning in the 1910s. On the map in Figure 1,



**Figure 1.** Ambrosio Villarreal, "Mexican/Hispanic Neighborhoods, City of Dallas, 1920-1940," 1995, Dallas City Directories, Texas/Dallas History & Archives Division, Dallas Public Library, Dallas, TX.

Freedman's Town occupies the large red block in the center and Little Mexico is the blue block to its left.<sup>1</sup> These neighborhoods were all contiguous to the business district at the city's center, particularly the Deep Ellum neighborhood, well known as the epicenter of African American music, entertainment, and business in the early twentieth century. Ronald H. Bayor found that in twentieth-century Atlanta, white city leaders likewise set black residential neighborhoods near industry and the central business district so that they served as a buffer zone for white residential neighborhoods.<sup>2</sup> In his studies on the urban New South, historian David Goldfield has found that racial residential clustering was common in Southern cities, with typically "one large cluster in the most decrepit area near the center, surrounded by smaller clusters moving outwards toward the periphery." Black residential periphery clusters tended to be remnants of freedmen communities that were either rural towns annexed as the metropolis grew or makeshift neighborhoods spawned in the wake of Emancipation. These makeshift neighborhoods were often slums set on undesirable land, like the blue and red blocks on the far left side of the Figure 1 map, which lay in the dangerously unprotected floodplains of the Trinity River.<sup>3</sup> As in other Southern cities, white Dallasites had been careful to geographically contain the city's black population.

Unfettered by Jim Crow regulation, Dallas's white population was more dispersed at the beginning of the twentieth century. Working-class white residents lived in pockets near the mills or factories where they worked, and middle-class white residents, along

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<sup>1</sup> Ambrosio Villarreal, "Mexican/Hispanic Neighborhoods, City of Dallas, 1920-1940," 1995, Dallas City Directories, Texas/Dallas History & Archives Division, Dallas Public Library, Dallas, TX.

<sup>2</sup> Ronald H. Bayor, *Race and the Shaping of Twentieth-Century Atlanta* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996) 55.

<sup>3</sup> David Goldfield, *Region, Race, and Cities: Interpreting the Urban South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 60.

with some working-class white residents, lived in various residential areas around the compact city.<sup>4</sup> Affluent white residents lived in the heart of downtown or built mansions nearby on Maple Avenue and Ross Avenue, radiating to the north and east of downtown.<sup>5</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century, prior to increased industrialization in South Dallas, wealthy white residents had additionally clustered in the Cedars, which was the city's first residential subdivision located on the opposite edge of downtown from Freedman's Town.<sup>6</sup> Dallas's middle-class and upper-class Jewish residents also concentrated in the Cedars, including Herbert Marcus, the co-founder of the city's iconic fashion boutique, Neiman Marcus, and the Sanger brothers, who ran a large eponymous department store.<sup>7</sup>

As it grew, Dallas also began to change geographically. As in many Southern cities like Atlanta, developers and municipal leaders responded to this population increase with geographic growth. In the late nineteenth century and during first few years of the twentieth century, Dallas slowly annexed small towns on the city's edge, such as East Dallas and Oak Cliff, which included affluent areas.<sup>8</sup> These annexations encouraged geographic growth as a solution to the city's influx of migrants. However, town annexations did not provide enough housing for Dallas's increasing urban population, as

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<sup>4</sup> Terry Anne Schulte and Marsha Prior, "'We Return. We Return From Fighting. We Return Fighting.' Post-World War I Freedman's Town/North Dallas, 1919-1930," in *Freedman's Cemetery: A Legacy of a Pioneer Black Community in Dallas, Texas*, eds. Duane E. Peter, Marsha Prior, Melissa M. Green, and Victoria G. Clow (Plano, TX: Geo-Marine for Texas Department of Transportation, 2000), 154; "Mexican/Hispanic Neighborhoods, City of Dallas, 1920-1940."

<sup>5</sup> Mark Doty, *Lost Dallas* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012), 114.

<sup>6</sup> Jackie McElhaney and Michael V. Hazel, "DALLAS, TX," *Handbook of Texas Online* (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hdd01>), accessed June 10, 2014. Uploaded on June 12, 2010. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

<sup>7</sup> Stanley Marcus, *Minding the Store* (Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 1997), 27.

<sup>8</sup> Lisa C. Maxwell, "EAST DALLAS, TX," *Handbook of Texas Online* (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hte14>), accessed June 10, 2014. Uploaded on June 12, 2010. Published by the Texas State Historical Association; Matthew Hayes Nall, "OAK CLIFF, TX," *Handbook of Texas Online* (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hvo43>), accessed June 10, 2014. Uploaded on June 15, 2010. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

the nature of Dallas's growth in the twentieth century was different than the more established metropolises of Houston and San Antonio. Dallas had the most explosive growth of all Texas cities during the first decades of the twentieth century. With a 72.6% population increase, Dallas passed the six-figure population mark between 1910 and 1920, and the county became 75.5% urban. This increase is dramatic compared to Texas's growth as a whole over the decade, which only rose approximately twenty percent.<sup>9</sup> By 1922—only two years later—Dallas's population had increased by approximately another 40,000.<sup>10</sup> By 1920, Dallas had easily passed Houston in population and came within approximately 2,400 residents of tying the much older city of San Antonio. While San Antonio and especially Houston grew steadily, Dallas and its neighbor Fort Worth experienced erratic growth beginning in the 1890s, booming in some decades and ebbing in others. With each census between 1890 and 1930, Dallas grew by 45% at a minimum and escalated to as much as 255%, while Houston never strayed from less than a fifteen percent change.<sup>11</sup> By the 1920s, Dallas reflected two decades of fitful and massive population change, which did not fit easily with the slow pace of annexation. As a result, there was a high level of housing pressure in the city by 1920. That year's census indicates that there were only approximately 42,000 dwellings in Dallas for 48,000 families.<sup>12</sup> The city's unpredictable growth, rigid Jim Crow segregation, and slowly modernizing residential development created a haphazard, tense

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<sup>9</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *A Compendium of the Thirteenth Census, 1920. Population, Agriculture* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), 7, 34.

<sup>10</sup> Laura Lee Mohsene, "'The Women—God Bless Them:': Dallas Women and the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s." (PhD diss., University of North Texas, 2011), 23. Her population estimation is between 197,000 and 200,000.

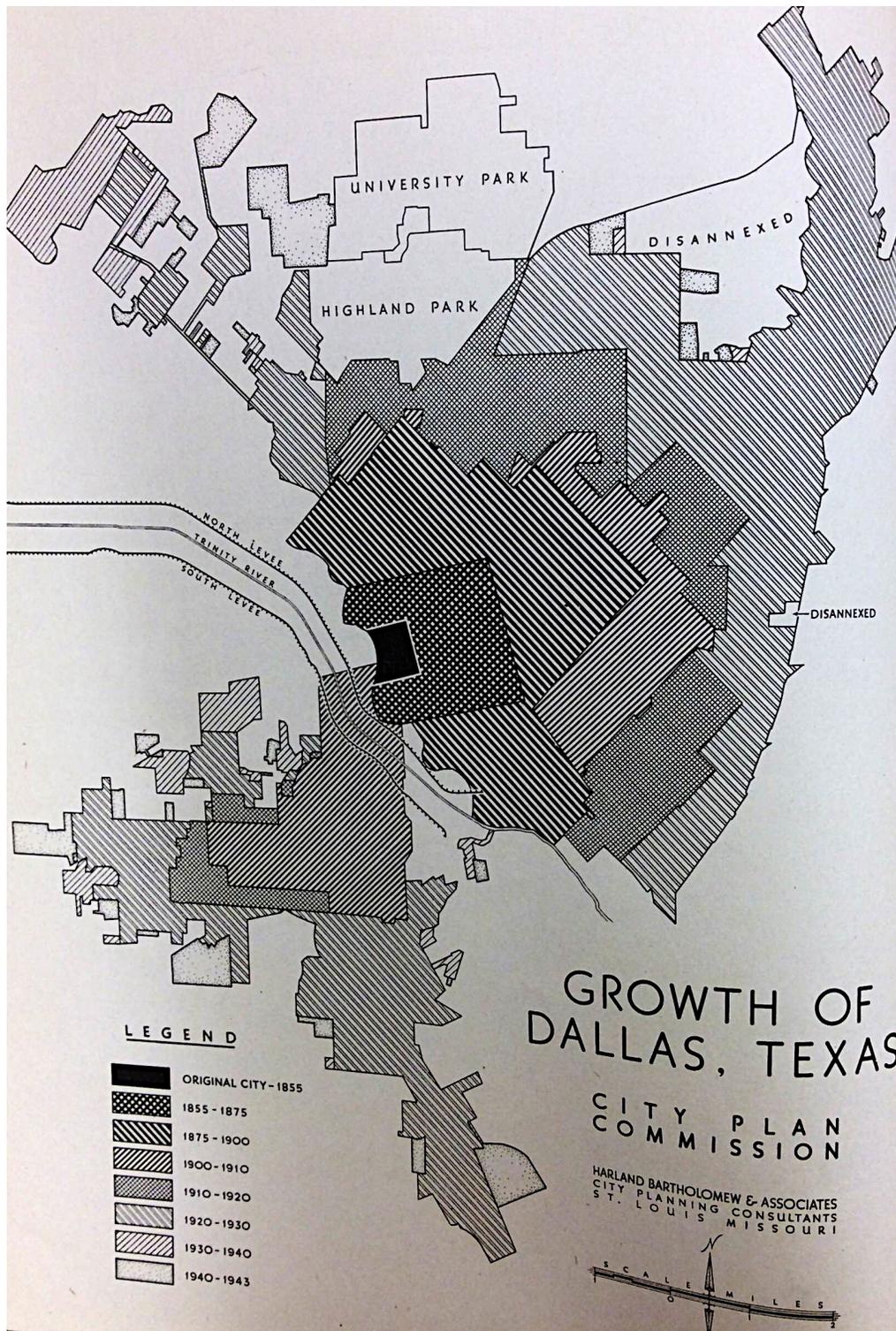
<sup>11</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *A Compendium of the Thirteenth Census, 1920. Population, Agriculture* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), 8.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

residential environment. Dallasites entered the 1920s hungry for more space and better homes.

Due to the city's geographical growth and housing pressure, its residential landscape had inevitably shifted by 1920. While Dallas logically grew outward from the epicenter of downtown, as expected for a city acquiring new territory, the character of its new space was unique. In the city center, the business section and its surrounding ethnic and black neighborhoods remained in place. Some growth occurred in South Dallas to accommodate increased industrialization. Dallas's major growth throughout the 1910s, however, occurred in strictly white residential additions on the perimeter of Dallas, to the north in the separately incorporated districts of Highland Park and University Park, to the east in the districts of Belmont and Munger Place, and on the perimeter of the annexed residential district of Oak Cliff across the Trinity River to the southwest (Figure 2). Developers of the new white residential additions that proliferated around the widening edges of Dallas in the 1910s targeted upper-class and upper-middle-class white homeowners, further exacerbating the tight housing market for middle-income white residents. These residential additions escalated current block-by-block class segregation to starker and larger class segregation by residential district, which only opened up housing opportunities for more affluent white residents.

The city's new residential landscape reflected elite white residents' desire for increased residential segregation in the midst of urban growth, as well as their decision to reinforce Jim Crow segregation on a class basis through the development of elite suburbs. Elites' class priorities and residential choices consequently shaped a new relationship with the city's white middle class and working class. As Clarence Lang has pointed out in



**Figure 2.** Bartholomew & Associates, "Growth of Dallas, Texas" in "A Master for Plan Dallas, Texas: Report Number One, Character of the City, Scope of the City Plan," September 1943, Texas/Dallas History & Archives Division, Dallas Public Library, Dallas, TX.

his study of the role of the black working class in the development of the black community in St. Louis, “Classes are, in fact, always in a state of historical formation—coming into being, developing, and acting in multiple ways. Moreover, because classes are fundamentally relationships, they only exist in reference to each other. Ultimately, these are relationships of power.”<sup>13</sup> The relationship of power between Dallas’s elite and middle-income contingents had changed by 1920, and the city’s residential landscape, as well as its politics, reflected this dynamic. As Edward L. Ayers has pointed out in *The Promise of the New South*, residential patterns in Southern cities often reflected class:

In general, the more prestigious a white man’s occupation, the less likely he was to move; the wealthiest merchants and professionals were comfortably ensconced and moved only to enjoy the possibilities of the elaborate new houses being built in exclusive new areas. Small businessmen, on the other hand, moved often, as did clerks, bookkeepers, and traveling salesmen.<sup>14</sup>

Ayers argued that these middle-income white Southerners often moved farther and farther out from the city center as streetcar and automobile suburbs expanded. In Dallas, however, elite suburban control stymied this movement until developers introduced middle-income suburbs during the much larger geographic expansion of the mid-to-late 1920s (Figure 2). Until then, middle-income white Dallasites could only move into neighborhoods that elites had vacated, and stability was a luxury often reserved for the Dallas urban elite.

By 1920, Dallasites were precipitating shifts in gendered space that were as drastic as those in the realm of residential development. Urbanization in the early

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<sup>13</sup> Clarence Lang, *Grassroots at the Gateway: Class Politics and Black Freedom Struggle in St. Louis, 1936-75* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 6.

<sup>14</sup> Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 67.

twentieth century caused major shifts in the opportunities of Southern white women, and as a result, their new economic and social activities challenged the Southern lady ideal and doctrine of separate gender spheres.<sup>15</sup> Migration and the subsequent growth of new urban public spaces for women threatened the Southern home sphere due to the opportunities they provided young women for economic and personal independence. The New Woman ideal that arose from these shifts directly countered traditional Southern gender beliefs, and was typified in Dallas's influx of young, single, white migrants. These women enjoyed new access to income and freedom from familial and domestic constraints, coinciding with the rise of urban Jazz Age culture and new leisure spaces in the city in which genders, classes, and occasionally even races mixed. Together, these developments made women more visible in the public sphere at the precise time that entrepreneurs increasingly commercialized and sexualized public space.

New urban opportunities influenced Texas women to abandon farm work in the early twentieth century and migrate to cities for employment. Migration helped reduce by half the number of women in agriculture between 1900 and 1930.<sup>16</sup> Rebecca Sharpless, in her oral history-based study of Texas Blackland farm women, found that her interviewees consistently associated migration to cities with youth, most particularly with young women.<sup>17</sup> Other young women migrated to Dallas from small towns. Graduates of the Kidd-Key women's conservatory in Sherman—young white women originally from small towns across the region—migrated roughly sixty miles to Dallas. Five decades after the school's founding, enough alumni lived in Dallas to organize an alumni association,

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<sup>15</sup> Paula Baker, *The Moral Framework of Public Life*, xiv.

<sup>16</sup> Judith N. McArthur and Harold L. Smith, *Texas Through Women's Eyes: The Twentieth Century Experience* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 3.

<sup>17</sup> Rebecca Sharpless, *Fertile Ground, Narrow Choices: Women on Texas Cotton Farms, 1900-1940* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

the Dallas Kidd-Key Club, in 1913. It contained 75 members, including several girls originally from Sherman who had moved to Dallas and eventually married there. Part of the mission of the club they formed was to entertain alumni visiting the city, further encouraging the strong link between country and city for young white women.<sup>18</sup> The 1920 Census correspondingly shows a concentration of “native white” women in Dallas in the 15-19-year-old bracket—approximately 1,100 more Dallas women than men of that age, despite their equal numbers in the next bracket of 20-44-year-olds.<sup>19</sup> In 1920, there were approximately 150,000 more men than women in the state of Texas, yet young women were specifically drawn to urbanizing Dallas.<sup>20</sup> While national percentages stayed the same between 1910 and 1920, there was a 12% rise in single women employed in Dallas.<sup>21</sup> This rise in employment for women followed a post-Civil War Southern trend, in which employment for single women of all social classes slowly became more common. In Dallas, however, the trend escalated sharply, just as the city grew drastically and young, single, white female migrants poured in.<sup>22</sup>

As more young white women worked, they claimed new urban and professional space. In Dallas, farmers’ daughters and conservatory graduates found more options than the agricultural work or school teaching positions of rural Texas. The Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex was a manufacturing and distribution center, and so many of Dallas’s young

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<sup>18</sup> Yearbooks in folder 71 (1921), Box 5 and folder 64 (1916), Box 5, Kidd-Key Archives A2002.0001, Archives of the Women of the Southwest, DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX; “Kidd-Key Girls Honor Their Preceptress,” *Fort Worth Record* April 20, 1913, Folder 1, Box 1, Kidd-Key Archives A2002.0001, Archives of the Women of the Southwest, DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX; “Mrs. Key Entertained in Dallas,” *Denison Herald* undated, Folder 1, Box 1, Kidd-Key Archives A2002.0001, Archives of the Women of the Southwest, DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX.

<sup>19</sup> *U.S. Census*, 42, 69.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>21</sup> Elizabeth York Enstam, *Women and the Creation of Urban Life: Dallas, Texas, 1843-1920* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1998), 212.

<sup>22</sup> Scott, 110-125, 129.

white women worked in traditional urban employment sectors, for the cotton mills or various other manufacturers.<sup>23</sup> Feminization of teaching and clerical work in the early twentieth century also offered young white women numerous opportunities in new sectors of urban employment.<sup>24</sup> Women proliferated at pink collar jobs in front of “typewriters, switchboards, and store counters” in the clerical and service sectors.<sup>25</sup> Their drive toward employment was so strong that they overcame many structural discriminations: lower wages, lower positions, and less ambitious expectations for their gender. Pink collar jobs became the largest employment sector for white women in Dallas by 1920.<sup>26</sup> Telephone operators, such as Nelle Wooding, were the most numerous women workers in Dallas. Wooding related that she began working for the Dallas telephone exchange as a teenager and made \$30 a month in 1914.<sup>27</sup> For professional women like Wooding, work in clerical and service sectors provided them with income that was not tied to the family-centered world of agriculture or to the household-centered world of domestic service.<sup>28</sup>

Women’s increased labor force participation since the Civil War “was mainly white, urban, and young,” and the new pink collar positions of the twentieth century typified this trend.<sup>29</sup> Employers only employed white women for these positions, and for teaching and clerical jobs additionally required that the women were not immigrants.”<sup>30</sup> The practice of “racing” such pink collar jobs maintained respectability for white women

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<sup>23</sup> McArthur and Smith, 3.

<sup>24</sup> Scott, 129.

<sup>25</sup> Nancy Woloch, *Women and the American Experience*, Fourth Edition (New York: McGraw Hill, 2006), 245; Enstam, 83.

<sup>26</sup> Woloch, 245; Enstam, 83.

<sup>27</sup> McArthur and Smith, 3.

<sup>28</sup> D’Emilio and Freedman, 189.

<sup>29</sup> Woloch, 235.

<sup>30</sup> McArthur and Smith, 3-4; Woloch, 244.

as they entered a working world popularly associated with black and immigrant women. As a result, by 1920, native white women finally reached approximately the same percentage of the female labor force as black women.<sup>31</sup> Cities like Dallas that offered these raced and respectable economic opportunities were a strong pull for single white women.

The lopsided economic growth of the pink collar sector meant that the discourse surrounding Jazz Age urban women was also embroiled in whiteness. In Dallas, black women remained segregated in more traditional domestic roles, working as home or hotel servants and laundresses, in addition to performing the worst manufacturing jobs.<sup>32</sup> While black women remained in a shrinking economic sector that reinforced traditional gender (and racial) roles, white women benefitted from an expanding sector with progressive gender ramifications. The occupational shift thus increased visibility for young white women whose work was increasingly separated from the home, to such an extent that it provoked considerable anxiety in Dallas residents about their shifting gender role, while white employers' racial discrimination kept black women in largely domestic positions, which placed them outside of both the new economic benefits and the new discourse surrounding the New Woman.<sup>33</sup> The domestic work of black Dallas women made the new white female workforce possible.

Urban employment was particularly liberating for the young, single, white woman. Rural women, whether working on farms under the supervision of their family or in a small town schoolhouse where they were subject to social and moral restrictions, earned

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<sup>31</sup> Enstam, 88.

<sup>32</sup> McArthur and Smith, 4.

<sup>33</sup> Enstam, 83, 88, 212.

little and spent their wages within strict social confines. In contrast, urban women's paychecks were not tied to such forms of social and moral control.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, while some pink collar jobs such as department store sales clerk paid little, others such as stenography provided better salaries for white women.<sup>35</sup> Better wages gave these young white women more purchasing power and more prerogatives in their leisure, lodging, and relationships. As a single young woman, Jean Briton worked as a lobby hostess at a hotel downtown in the late 1920s or early 1930s and recalls that she made "really good money" doing so. Her experience at the hotel proved indelible, as she collected hotel keys from all over the world during her travels in the following decades.<sup>36</sup> Hotels provided freedoms not only for their employees like Briton, but also for their new migrant guests.

Hotels were one of many new public spaces that young women frequented in Dallas, as both workers and patrons. They countered the traditional ideology of separate gender spheres, as

The novelty of young women working outside the home threw men and women together in a variety of ways. On downtown sidewalks and streetcars, in offices, department stores, restaurants and factories, and in parks at lunch hour, young men and women mingled easily, flirted with one another, made dates, and stole time together. Freed from the protection, or restraints, of their elders' supervision, young women encountered the sexual and romantic suggestions of male admirers.<sup>37</sup>

This intermingling was intertwined with urbanization and population growth, as in modernizing cities like Dallas, businessmen created new institutions and sites of leisure for the purpose of pleasure. Dallas's hotels, cinemas, Deep Ellum dance halls, and department stores encouraged both pleasure and interaction.

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<sup>34</sup> McArthur and Smith, 75.

<sup>35</sup> McArthur and Smith, 3-4.

<sup>36</sup> Jean Briton, interview with author, Fort Worth, TX, June 6, 2014.

<sup>37</sup> D'Emilio and Freedman, 194.

Hotels became physical and social landmarks in urban Dallas, and were a portal for migrants. Upon arriving in Dallas, the single female migrant would have encountered the Adolphus Hotel, the city's premier hotel, as well as its growing number of competitors. The Adolphus was so successful that several additions were built following its original unveiling in 1912. A new elite rival, The Baker, was also being built only a short downtown block away. The hotel industry in Dallas exploded in the early 1920s, which saw massive expansions of the Adolphus and the Jefferson Hotel and the construction of the Hilton, Hotel Scott, and The Baker as well as new apartment hotels such as Stoneleigh Court and Maple Terrace.<sup>38</sup> The *Dallas Morning News* made a point of noting the skyscrapers' effect on the skyline of Dallas, posting a photo and boasting that it was second only to New York City.<sup>39</sup> Despite this exaggeration, their effect must have been palpable to passersby and particularly to the middle-class and upper-class travelers and occasional residents to whom they catered. Their proliferation also indicates a substantial increase in such customers in the years following World War I.

The popularity of hotels in Dallas, particularly among female clientele, increased the presence of white women in the city's public space and their opportunities for unchaperoned gender mixing. The Jefferson Hotel, built in 1917 and notable for its location in Oak Cliff rather than in downtown, dedicated a specific floor for unattended women. No men were rented rooms on that floor. The dedication of this floor at an immensely popular and upscale hotel indicates a consistent clientele of unattended women and simultaneous social concern about their safety or propriety. The hotel's

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<sup>38</sup> Sam Childers, *Historic Dallas Hotels* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2010) 9, 54-55, 63, 66, 68.

<sup>39</sup> Childers, 66.

owner, Charles Mangold, publicized this connection between his hotel and propriety, noting that a woman customer expected to find Dallas “uncouth” based on reputation, but was instead impressed by the atmosphere of the Jefferson.<sup>40</sup> Aside from Mangold’s curated floor, many lodging options were less predictable and segregated. Guests could use hotels as sites for affairs and even prostitution.<sup>41</sup> A federal investigation of a husband and wife who committed various crimes in major cities across the South and Midwest uncovered their attempt to run a prostitution business out of the Adolphus Hotel in 1921.<sup>42</sup> The couple had attempted to use a black bellboy as a liaison, a regular strategy among white prostitutes.<sup>43</sup> In this way, hotels threatened the Southern lady ideal by blurring the lines between races, genders, classes, and the public and private spheres.

While they promoted propriety as a way to attract middle- and upper-class women as reliable customers, the hotel magnates of Dallas were embedded in alcohol interests in a county that had preempted national Prohibition. Charles Mangold, a native Ohioan, was a liquor wholesaler; the Adolphus was named after and financed by St. Louis resident Adolphus Busch, whose fortunes from the Busch beer business made him one of the country’s wealthiest men.<sup>44</sup> Given these connections, it is unsurprising that “it was generally known that a downtown hotel was an easy place to obtain illicit whiskey, and hotel management defiantly resisted public officials’ efforts to ban the sale of ‘set-ups’” to compliment the alcohol.<sup>45</sup> These hotels were social spots not only for guests, but also

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<sup>40</sup> Childers, 51.

<sup>41</sup> D’Emilio and Freedman, 199.

<sup>42</sup> Federal Bureau of Investigation, Case 31-327, Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation—FBI Headquarters Case Files, Classification 31, National Archives, College Park, MD.

<sup>43</sup> Alan Govenar and Jay Brakefield, *Deep Ellum: The Other Side of Dallas* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1998), 58.

<sup>44</sup> Childers, 31, 51.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

for Dallasites. The first three floors of the Adolphus were open to the public and contained shops, a ladies' parlor, and various dining, dancing, and event venues.<sup>46</sup> Hotels, then, were not merely a collection of rooms, but also an introduction to Dallas social life, including vice.

The Adolphus, and the other downtown hotels scattered around it, were a few blocks away from the rest of Dallas's new entertainment that offered troubling forms of heterosocial leisure. A cinema craze swept Dallas in 1921, when entrepreneurs such as St. Louis migrant Karl Hoblitzelle built new movie palaces in Dallas, especially near Elm Street downtown. Hoblitzelle owned a chain of vaudeville houses, including the Majestic Theatre on Elm Street, which he converted to cinemas in 1921. As part of this conversion, Hoblitzelle renovated the Majestic using Dallas's premier architects, Adolphus designers Lang & Witchell, and the theater became the city's flagship cinema.<sup>47</sup> The Majestic was such a draw to young women that two students from Kidd-Key conservatory spent Christmas Day visiting Dallas in order to patronize the theater before visiting a classmate in Corsicana.<sup>48</sup> While men frequented taverns and saloons in the nineteenth century, young men of the twentieth century abandoned these same-sex environments for the coed space of the cinema. Cinemas were an especially charged environment for young men and women, due to films' frequent romantic content and the simple factor of darkness. Couples could sit in the back row, which became known as a

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid. 35.

<sup>47</sup> John William Rogers, *The Lusty Texans of Dallas* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1951), 223.

<sup>48</sup> Eula Milburn scrapbook, Folder 49, Box 2, Kidd-Key Archives A2002.0001, Archives of the Women of the Southwest, DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX.

“lovers’ lane.”<sup>49</sup> While the Majestic was racially segregated, it encouraged cross-class, mixed-gender socializing away from the protection of home.

Perhaps even more problematic, Dallas offered recreational venues that were interracial as well as heterosocial. From the Majestic, patrons had only to walk a few blocks more down Elm Street and across railroad tracks to arrive in Deep Ellum. Deep Ellum was a business hub for black and Jewish merchants, but more famously, it was an epicenter of blues, jazz, and bars that further solidified in the wake of the city’s 1916 segregation ordinance. Legendary bluesmen Leadbelly and Blind Lemon Jefferson frequented Deep Ellum in the 1910s and 1920s, and the neighborhood became a destination for regional musicians who recorded race records. These records brought the blues and jazz music of black musicians to the mass market, attracting black customers as well as an increasing number of whites. Black musicians who went on to play with famous swing jazz orchestras across the country and white musicians who founded Texas Swing both recall learning their virtuosity in Deep Ellum barrooms.<sup>50</sup> Deep Ellum attracted whites in a similar vein as the Jazz Age mecca of Harlem in New York City, pushing at race and class boundaries under the draw of music and white curiosity.<sup>51</sup> While a black cultural hub, its black music venues held Midnight Rambles for a white audience. White musician Bill Neely, whose familiarity with Deep Ellum likely comes from his adolescent years around when he met the legendary musician Jimmie Rodgers in Dallas in 1929, described these Rambles as “rowdy” and recalled that “The girls took most of their clothing off.” Black blues musician Sammy Price, a Dallas performer

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<sup>49</sup> D’Emilio and Freedman, 197-198.

<sup>50</sup> Govenar and Brakefield, 47.

<sup>51</sup> Chad Heap, *Slumming: Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife, 1885-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

during the 1920s, gives more reliable testimony that while the Rambles were spirited, such scandalous behavior has been exaggerated. Regardless, barrooms and dance halls were known for their intimate Jazz Age dances, which introduced young white patrons to a new level of bodily contact in public. To the tune of music filled with sexual innuendo, “tough dances” such as the “hug me close” and the “lovers’ walk” encouraged a new physicality in leisure activities.<sup>52</sup> Additionally, Neely’s memory provides a take on the (white) discourse and gossip surrounding Deep Ellum in the 1920s, which exaggerated the concept of white women’s new uninhibited sexuality within mixed urban space, in a reflection of white anxiety surrounding Jazz Age culture.<sup>53</sup> The alcohol, risqué music, and interracial and cross-class socializing that typified Deep Ellum at night occurred within an easy walk of the Majestic Theatre and the Adolphus Hotel.

Downtown Dallas also became a center of female consumer culture, where the young single white woman could spend her money not only on cinemas and music, but also on the new phenomenon of urban fashion. Dallas department stores employed and catered to young females from small towns in the region. Sanger Brothers department store advertised in Kidd-Key’s 1921 yearbook, with an experienced pitch listing specialized graduation gifts and “Frocks for Graduating” that were “frilly and youthful.”<sup>54</sup> Ready-to-wear clothes and department stores were not new to Dallas or the 1920s, but they had become increasingly popular across the country, and Dallas had its own particular

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<sup>52</sup> D’Emilio and Freedman, 195.

<sup>53</sup> Govenar and Brakefield, 61; Keith Huang, “NEELY, BILL,” *Handbook of Texas Online* (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fnewx>), accessed June 20, 2014. Uploaded on June 15, 2010. Published by the Texas State Historical Association; Bradley Shreve, “PRICE, SAMMY,” *Handbook of Texas Online* (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fpr37>), accessed June 20, 2014. Uploaded on June 15, 2010. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

<sup>54</sup> Yearbook, Folder 71 (1921), Box 5, Kidd-Key Archives A2002.0001, Archives of the Women of the Southwest, DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX.

boutique institution that further encouraged the trend. Jewish merchants Herbert Marcus, Carrie Neiman, and Al Neiman started Neiman Marcus in 1907 and, after a fire destroyed the original store, relocated to a larger location at Main and Ervay Streets—halfway between the Adolphus and the Majestic. The store’s success grew over the years, and by 1926, Stanley Marcus launched a series of fashion shows at the Baker Hotel—the Adolphus’s neighbor and successor as the new premier hotel—to correspond with luncheon seating. Marcus recorded both a large audience at such shows and an increase in post-show business at the store. He had found his perfect customers in the upper-class ladies who attended Baker luncheons.<sup>55</sup> The store made shopping an experience for women rather than a chore, with a highly designed décor, expertly curated selection of clothing, personalized customer service, and a diversity of product previously unavailable to Dallasites.

Neiman Marcus’s client base consisted of Dallas’s upper-class women, but since the owners strove to keep some items affordable, it was also an aspirational yet possible destination for middle-class women. For young women like the normal school graduate who “spent all [her] money getting a diploma” and whose family “hasn’t got any cash to spare,” the owners set up payment plans. This normal school graduate wrote Herbert Marcus before departing the Dallas area for a small town schoolteacher position, in order to request a suit “in the latest style” that had “a lot of zip” and would impress “the promised phalanx of local swains along the depot wall” when she arrived at the train

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<sup>55</sup> Marcus, 48; Don M. Coerver, “NEIMAN MARCUS,” *Handbook of Texas Online* (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/dhn01>), accessed July 1, 2014. Uploaded on June 15, 2010. Published by the Texas State Historical Association; The Neiman Marcus Group, “Historical Timeline” ([www.neimanmarcuscareers.com/story/timeline.shtml](http://www.neimanmarcuscareers.com/story/timeline.shtml)), accessed July 1, 2014.

station.<sup>56</sup> For young Dallas women, new urban fashion was an opportunity to accentuate their youthfulness, trendiness, and attractiveness. As both customers and sales clerks in department stores, young Dallas women explored the connection between appearance and attraction as they intermingled with male customers and sales clerks.<sup>57</sup> Interracial interactions were also possible in this unchaperoned space, as black men worked as department store doormen.<sup>58</sup> Department stores encouraged the connection between attraction and appearance, selling goods not for their quotidian function, but for their embodiment of ideals and desires. Fashion became emotional, and even romantic.<sup>59</sup> After Marcus sent the suit, the schoolteacher responded that it “set my heart palpitating.”<sup>60</sup>

By the early 1920s, Dallas was an exciting place for its swelling population of young white women. It held opportunities for work and play that did not exist in the countryside, or even in cities ten years before. In this young, large city, shifting economic structures and new sites of residence and leisure opened up new female space, especially for young white women, with important consequences. These sites and structures offered mobility and prerogative, challenges to Texas’s traditional gender ideology, which was rooted in white men’s ability to restrict white women to their homes in order to safeguard their sexual purity and task them with domestic responsibility. The young white women of Dallas who worked pink collar jobs, stayed at the Adolphus or Jefferson, spent money on Jazz Age fashion, and perhaps walked to the Majestic or even Deep Ellum for new kinds of entertainment, were a direct threat to the traditional Southern home sphere. And

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<sup>56</sup> Marcus, 40-41.

<sup>57</sup> D’Emilio and Freedman, 194.

<sup>58</sup> Govenar and Brakefield, 58.

<sup>59</sup> Jan Whitaker, *Service and Style: How the American Department Store Fashioned the Middle Class* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2006).

<sup>60</sup> Marcus, 40-41.

they did this at the precise time that Dallas's neighborhoods and concept of homeownership transformed under the pressure of rapid population increase and real estate development. Physically and socially, the Dallas landscape entered the 1920s in a state of massive flux. Elite suburbs and autonomous women rearranged the city's traditional Jim Crow and gender structures, throwing into question the boundaries of the white Southern home. Such changes necessitated a response.

#### IV. THE KLAN COMMUNITY

The Klan's reaction to urbanizing Dallas in the early 1920s reflected a complex and widespread status anxiety among the city's middle-income residents. While the Dallas Klan's ideology certainly manifested in patriarchal and racist violence, particularly during the spring of 1922, its deeper base lay in a broad reaction against change in urbanizing American society. The Klan's battle cry was a reaction to economic, gender, and racial alterations in urbanizing Dallas. Understanding the profile of grassroots Klan members and how they were affected by urban changes allows for a more nuanced analysis of their particular brand of misogyny and racism. An analysis of the Klan's desired home sphere within the pressures of a rapidly urbanizing Dallas explains the structures in which these ideologies and conservative communities can flourish. The Klan's actions reflected a perceived economic and social threat to their community's white patriarchal home sphere, which they believed hung in tenuous balance as Dallas blossomed. The Klan searched for stability in a changing residential and gender landscape, but its members did not have the ability to create a segregated and privileged home sphere through wealth alone like the city's elites. Instead, the Klan community pursued violence and eventually politics to create a segregated home sphere that protected their property and the purity and place of the domestic Southern lady.

The Dallas Klavern's newspaper, *The Texas (100 per cent) American*, was fond of displaying the support it received from non-Klan members, via letters to the editor or articles such as, "Non Member Tells Why He Approves Klan." The organization's claims

to wide support were confirmed by the electoral victories of the Klan.<sup>1</sup> Any explanation of the Klan's broad appeal at the time among white Dallasites necessitates an understanding of the city's little-explored middle class. As Michael Phillips briefly noted in his discussion of the role of race in Dallas politics, the city's aggressive Klan entered the public sphere "led largely by middle-class professionals locked out of Dallas decision-making," and their condoning of violent tactics in the spring of 1922 showed disaffection with the tactics of Dallas's ruling class.<sup>2</sup> Dissatisfied with elite politicians' weak efforts to protect middle-class white space and investments in Dallas, the Klan resorted to extra-legal violence and cultivated their own political culture. They began to challenge elite political domination, initially from a place of defensiveness. *The Texas (100 per cent) American* constantly complained that the Klan was misrepresented and attacked by the mainstream media and Dallas elites, who voiced disapproval of the Klan surge in display and violence. George B. Dealey and the *Dallas Morning News*, along with the *Dallas Dispatch*, were so critical of the Klan that Klan sympathizers dropped their subscriptions to the newspapers.<sup>3</sup> In response to elite antagonism, the Klan consolidated around the theme of the defense of the white middle class. Since elites could no longer be counted on to protect the white middle class's access to homeownership, home purity, and economic mobility, the Klan sought to reform Dallas in their image. Their use of extra-legal violence, which elites rightfully categorized as a threat to law and order, was nothing short of complete subversion.

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<sup>1</sup> "Non Member Tells Why He Approves Klan," March 31, 1922, *The Texas (100 per cent) American*.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Phillips, *White Metropolis: Race, Ethnicity, and Religion in Dallas, 1841-2001* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 87.

<sup>3</sup> Patricia Hill, *Dallas: The Making of a Modern City* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 102-103. See also "Agents of the Journal and Dispatch Go Wrong" and "Non Member Tells Why He Approves Klan."

Modern Texas historians have agreed on the general economic level of the Klan's grassroots membership. Historian Patricia Hall designated the Klan "base" as "low-level, white-collar workers" and small business owners, and Michael Phillips noted that this broad base of "wage earners," including "municipal employees, such as policemen, firefighters, and teachers...proved receptive to the KKK."<sup>4</sup> When we review the Dallas Klan through the city's residential patterns, the relationship between its middle-income residents and the Ku Klux Klan is even more explicit. While the Klan's membership was highly secretive, barring a few members in the organization's higher echelons, its local newspaper was vocal and revealing. In addition to ideological homilies and national Klan news, *The Texas (100 per cent) American* included local announcements and business advertisements, which show members' social and geographical spheres precisely at the time that Klan activity in Dallas intensified.

Dallas Klan No. 66 was founded in 1921, following the Klan's Texas debut in Houston at a Confederate veterans' parade in October of 1920. By the spring of 1922, Klan No. 66's membership had grown to the largest in the nation and its leader Hiram Wesley Evans ascended to leadership of the national Klan.<sup>5</sup> During this peak of popularity, business advertisements in *The Texas (100 per cent) American* confirmed historians' portrait of a middle-class and skilled worker Klan base, and they additionally demonstrate a stark geographical concentration of Klan advertisers' home and office locations. These ads are particularly telling, for, as Mark Nolan Morris explained, "An important part of the doctrine was 'klanishness' (using only business establishments with

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<sup>4</sup> Hill, 105; Phillips, 79.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 1-4, 20.

klan connections).”<sup>6</sup> Klan members were aware of their purchasing power, and they boycotted businesses that they perceived as antagonistic to the Klan or its doctrine. This may have led some businesses to advertise with *The Texas (100 per cent) American* out of pressure or merely to attract Klan customers, but even this exception reveals the establishment’s customer (and employee) base. Additionally, most of these same Klan advertisers appear on a list of purported Klan members held by George Dealey, who actively attacked the Klan through his newspaper, the *Dallas Morning News*.<sup>7</sup> Together, Dealey’s list and *The Texas (100 per cent) American* advertisers demonstrate a Klan financial and grassroots base of small business owners and a few lawyers and doctors.

With only a few exceptions, businesses advertising in the March 9 and March 31, 1922 editions of *The Texas (100 per cent) American* were concentrated in the downtown business district and in the residential district of Oak Cliff. Downtown business locations are no surprise, but interestingly these Klan businesses were in especially close proximity to each other. For example, the South Ackard Café was four blocks south of the American Shine Parlor, which occupied the same block as Men’s-Wear and Mallcorn Tire Company. Dallasites who walked one block further arrived at Dr. A. M. Gantt’s office and could then walk one block to the Dallas Hardware Company. Klan leader Hiram Wesley Evans’s home was also conveniently down the street. The proprietors of these businesses represent the high and low parameters of the Klan’s middling base. Ben N. Rogers, the proprietor of Men’s-Wear had disposable income, as he wisely owned a plot of land on the cusp of the expanding upper-middle-class suburbs of Oak Lawn.

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<sup>6</sup> Mark Nolan Morris, “Saving Society Through Politics: The Ku Klux Klan in Dallas, Texas, in the 1920s,” (PhD Diss., University of North Texas, 1997), 67.

<sup>7</sup> “List of Members of the Dallas KKK,” A42.166, Dallas Historical Society, Dallas, TX.

While also a homeowner, American Shine Parlor proprietor O. H. Waggoner owned low-valued properties, one near the border of Freedman's Town and middle-class Greenwood and another that was likely in the contiguous upper-working-class neighborhood of Oak Grove. At the bottom of this contingent was South Ackard Café owner W. E. Franklin, who was delinquent on his taxes in 1922 and 1923.<sup>8</sup> Some Klan advertisers worked downtown and commuted to Oak Cliff. Suit merchant Hudson C. Lockett, whose store was located downtown on Main Street, represented the higher end of Oak Cliff residents. His home in the new suburban area of Oak Cliff was estimated at a \$625 ground value with \$2,400 of improvement, and it contained \$550 of personal property. Lockett was current on his taxes.<sup>9</sup>

Oak Cliff also contained a solid base of neighborhood businesses that advertised in *The Texas (100 per cent) American*, many of which apparently struggled to meet expenses. The commercial base of the Klan was highly local and under constant financial pressure. Advertisers included building contractors W. D. Hayn and M. L. Fluke, along with Oak Cliff Auto, Engle Auto Sales, and Elliott's Pharmacy (with two locations one on the eastside near Engle Auto Sales and one on the Westside—in old Oak Cliff). Fluke also lived in the center of the older Oak Cliff district. Oak Cliff Auto owner A. T. Cruze owned a home in Oak Cliff too, but his home was situated at the eastern edge of the older area, which bordered the lowest property value residential district in the entire city. His auto store was a couple of blocks away from the house. Cruze's property held a low

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<sup>8</sup> R.W. Eaton, "Tax Roll of Real Estate and Personal Property in the Corporate Limits of the City of Dallas for the Year 1922 As Assessed by R.W. Eaton, Assessor and Collector of Taxes," Dallas Municipal Archives, Dallas City Hall, Dallas, TX; R.W. Eaton, "Tax Roll of Real Estate and Personal Property in the Corporate Limits of the City of Dallas for the Year 1923 As Assessed by R.W. Eaton, Assessor and Collector of Taxes," Dallas Municipal Archives, Dallas City Hall, Dallas, TX.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

value, with a residential ground value of \$475, \$500 of improvements, and \$300 of personal property, and Cruze was marked delinquent for both his 1922 and 1923 property taxes.<sup>10</sup> All of these Oak Cliff Klan businesses experienced difficulty in paying their property taxes: Engle Auto Sales was marked delinquent in 1923; Oak Cliff Auto owner Cruze was delinquent in both 1922 and 1923; Fluke was delinquent on property taxes in 1922; and Elliott's Pharmacy made late payments in 1922 and 1923.<sup>11</sup> While Klan patronage could be a healthy boost to businesses, similar to the hike in membership experienced by Klan-friendly churches, many of these advertised businesses were marked as delinquent or late on property tax payments. Their association with the Klan, then, could be not only economically beneficial, but also a source of solidarity in times of adversity.

In addition to business and homeownership, Klan social activity often congregated in Oak Cliff. At the 1923 Klan Day at the Texas State Fair in Dallas's Fair Park, the Klan staged a football game between the Dallas Klavern and the Fort Worth Klavern. The high school football team of a small rural town represented Fort Worth, and the football team at Oak Cliff High School represented the Dallas Klavern.<sup>12</sup> Oak Cliff residents not only commuted to Fair Park to display Klan pride and sociability, but they also organized events closer to home. The March 9, 1922 announcements in *The Texas (100 per cent) American* include the Dallas Sanitarium Campaign's meeting at Oak Cliff Methodist, and as historian Craig Wyn Wade has noted, Methodist and Baptist churches

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<sup>10</sup> Industrial Department, Dallas Chamber of Commerce, *Dallas as a City in Which to Live: A Consideration of Living Conditions and the Cost of Living Planning for a City of Half a Million Population* (Dallas: Industrial Dallas, Inc., 1927), 21-22.

<sup>11</sup> Eaton, "Tax Roll... 1922;" Eaton, "Tax Roll... 1923."

<sup>12</sup> Darwin Payne, *Big D: Triumphs and Troubles of an American Supercity in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (Dallas: Three Forks Press, 1994), 93.

were often strongly connected to the Texas Klan.<sup>13</sup> The Klan demonstrated their public solidarity in Oak Cliff, where both male and female Klan supporters joined a massive march. The residential district was also the site for a Klan parade in honor of national leader Hiram Wesley Evans when he visited his home klavern in 1925.<sup>14</sup>

The residential district's association with the modestly middle-class Klan constituency is unsurprising. As historians Bill Minutaglio and Holly Williams have shown, the area's demographic and geographic expansion during the early twentieth century sparked the construction of local businesses and hundreds of middle-class residences. These new, moderately priced homes and businesses led the formerly affluent residential district to be "downgraded to middle-class status" by the 1910s, relative to the rise of wealthier communities like Highland Park, which siphoned off Oak Cliff's elite citizens by the 1920s. At the same time that Oak Cliff lost its elite residents to new suburbs, its population of middle-class residents also grew, increasing by roughly 5,500 between 1900 and 1910 and by another 10,000 in 1920.<sup>15</sup> This growing residential district at the forefront of Dallas's population boom became a class and race-based homogenous space ripe for the formation of a strong collective identity.

The modestly middle-class and skilled worker residents that formed the base of the Klan remained located between Dallas's shiny new suburban additions and its impoverished inner city. Unable to afford new suburban neighborhoods, or saving for such an opportunity, middle-class residents settled in Greenwood in Precinct 1-North

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<sup>13</sup> Craig Wyn Wade, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 150.

<sup>14</sup> Hill, 105; Ben G. Stephens, "Ku Klux Klan: 1867-1997," March 5, 1997, Texas/Dallas History & Archives Division, Dallas Central Library, Dallas, TX, 8. Unpublished manuscript.

<sup>15</sup> Bill Minutaglio and Holly Williams, *The Hidden City: Oak Cliff, Texas* (Dallas: Elmwood Press, 1990), 108.

Dallas and in the older parts of Oak Cliff, residential districts where the typical house was “medium grade, 6 room house, fair condition, fair neighborhood.”<sup>16</sup> These middle-class areas—alongside upper-working-class neighborhoods consisting of similar but older houses, such as Oak Grove in North Dallas and districts spattered throughout South Dallas—offered their residents a degree of white flight and separation from the lowest income areas surrounding the city center, which consisted of smaller, “low grade” houses that contained “no bath.”<sup>17</sup> However, unlike new elite additions on Dallas’s periphery, modestly middle-class and upper-working-class areas bordered the low-income, black, and ethnic neighborhoods in the city center. The Metropolitan Development Association’s Zone Plan shows business zoning arteries running out from the city center through these middle-income neighborhoods and depicts industrial zoning often bleeding over their borders.<sup>18</sup> The residents of these buffer areas were the crux of a swelling and extremely class-conscious white middle class in early 1920s Dallas, who simultaneously looked ahead to the suburban dream homes and anxiously looked back at the inner city behind them. This transitional demographic, focused on both entrenching their current toehold in Dallas’s economy and geography and reaching for socio-economic mobility, comprised the grassroots of Ku Klux Klan Klavern No. 66.

The residents of Klan-heavy hubs like Oak Cliff did not have access to the zoning and real estate opportunities of Dallas’s elite, but they were powerfully galvanized by perceived threats to their home sphere. The defensive nature of Klavern No. 66 was pervasive in the articles of *The Texas (100 per cent) American*, such as “The Public Asks

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<sup>16</sup> *Dallas as a City in Which to Live*, 22, 25.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> “Tentative Zone Plan for Dallas, Texas.”

Why the Whippings” and “Non Member Tells Why He Approves Klan.” The paper frequently sought to justify the Klan’s actions and rhetoric by portraying the Klan as a rational, necessary, and positive force in the city.<sup>19</sup> The Klan felt necessary to its members because they believed that they were under attack. Klan members like A. T. Cruze struggled to keep ownership of their businesses and homes, and they also sought to shore up a homogenous space for white families that aspired to stability and upward mobility. Klanishness contributed to their business profits, but Klan members also strove to protect their home sphere, which, unlike that of the elites, could not be insulated by economics.

By the early 1920s, both middle-income and affluent Dallasites viewed homeownership and real estate in a new way. Wide swaths cut by residential additions increased the degree to which location was an important signifier of class, a determinant of the people around residents, and a serious investment in the future of their families and economic mobility. Within a competitive environment short on housing, homeownership was not easy to come by and held high stakes once achieved. For Dallasites, the physical sphere of the home became more than a simple shelter. By the 1920s, it had become a chief signifier of class status and potential economic mobility. Residents with the ability to own a home and protect it from devaluation were able to secure a new homogenous home sphere in the midst of a large city. Less fortunate residents were at the mercy of the changing market, for both economic terms and social surroundings. By the 1920s, Dallasites were hungry for new real estate. A 1925 map of Dallas’s residence additions shows thirty-five additions in upper and upper-middle-class areas, including eleven in the

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<sup>19</sup> “The Public Asks Why the Whippings,” March 31, 1922, *Texas (100 per cent) American*; “Non Member Tells Why He Approves Klan.”

suburban edges of Oak Cliff. The accompanying article notes that many additions sold all of their properties immediately.<sup>20</sup> These new housing additions offered the most stable middle-income Dallasites a chance to emulate the city's elite and secure a controlled piece of property that functioned as an investment.

An advertising pamphlet for the popular addition of Kessler Square on the suburban edge of Oak Cliff indicates what lured able residents to solve their housing pressure problems by purchasing houses in new suburban additions.<sup>21</sup> Most explicitly, the pamphlet pitched the investment aspect of Kessler Square, arguing that it was an "Addition With a Future Assured" and "The Best Real Estate Opportunity in Dallas Today." A full page described the "100 foot Scenic Boulevard" leading into Kessler Square, claiming that it "Enhances Value of Kessler Square" and "will assure the highest class development of all property around and approaching Kessler Square. It will increase the value of every lot in the addition!" The Kessler Square investment pitch targeted new Dallasites' aspirations of class mobility, claiming that "REAL ESTATE IS THE BASIS OF ALL WEALTH." The Dallas Trust and Savings Bank pointed to the lifestyle of the wealthy and indicated that Kessler Square homeowners could emulate them by making this wise purchase, asking, "DO YOU KNOW a wealthy man in Dallas who does not own Real Estate?" They advised that Dallas real estate would continue to increase in value and was a virtually risk-free investment.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> "Here's Route to be Followed to Reach Dallas Residence Additions," 1925, *Dallas Times-Herald*, Texas/Dallas History & Archives Division, Dallas Public Library, Dallas, TX.

<sup>21</sup> Dallas Trust and Savings Bank, "Kessler Square: The Show Place of Oak Cliff," 1925, Texas/Dallas History & Archives Division, Dallas Public Library, Dallas, TX.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

Next to these claims of for a sure investment on one page, on the next the bank linked this security to “Restrictions to Protect the Future...Because Dallas People Want Home Property with a Future Assured.” The Bank suggested that outside of Kessler Square, threats to homeowners’ future abounded when changes in the neighborhood environment occurred. Alluding to the unsavory nature of certain sections of Dallas, they advised homebuyers to “be extremely careful as to location, improvements, restrictions and the class of homes about you.” The solution to this specter of “unprotected property” was the addition’s “iron-clad restrictions,” which promised to shield its white suburban homeowners from the frame shacks and businesses of the Dallas inner city, where residents exhibited diverse racial, ethnic, and class complexions. The pamphlet’s descriptors highlighted many of the attributes that market suburban additions today: “near school,” “good location,” “environment,” “accessibility,” “secluded,” “easy terms,” “all conveniences,” and “restricted”—the code word for racially segregated. Whether enforced by white developers, real estate agents, insurance agents, or bankers, such private sector residential segregation was common throughout the country. Historian Kevin Boyle has credited these private sector “structures of segregation” with financially incentivizing white homeowners to maintain strictly white neighborhoods and inducing white anxiety when black residents moved in.<sup>23</sup> This correlation can be seen in Kessler Square, as the bank argued that the result of the neighborhood’s restrictions would be an assured “successful future.”<sup>24</sup> Such an assurance was comforting to white homeowners in the midst of a changing city.

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<sup>23</sup> Kevin Boyle, *Arc of Justice: A Saga of Race, Rights, and Murder* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2004), 9.

<sup>24</sup> “Kessler Square.”

Unlike the homeowners in Kessler Square, white residents of upper-working-class and middle-class buffer zones could not exclude all black residents by simply pricing them out. The core Klan members who lived in Oak Cliff and neighborhoods contiguous to impoverished and ethnic or mixed-race neighborhoods were particularly motivated to buttress residential segregation, in a way that was not even applicable to Dallas elites ensconced in Highland Park. In Dallas's Jim Crow society, where black residents were often shunned as neighbors and relegated to sub-standard housing, an interracial neighborhood's properties were worth considerably less. Black residents, then, threatened not only the Klan's desire for a white domestic sphere, but also their investment wallet.

As the city grew in every direction and Dallasites with means flocked to new suburban additions, realtors and homeowners alone could not enforce complete racial segregation in buffer zones in the heart of Dallas. In the years prior to the emergence of the Dallas Klan, residents in buffer zones began to look to the city to protect the investment value of their houses through racial zoning that institutionalized the segregation that Dallas residents had always maintained through social and economic practices. Klan Kleagle George K. Butcher owned a home at 4215 Thomas Avenue in the upper-working-class neighborhood of Oak Grove, and prior to his involvement in the Klan, he was active in neighborhood planning as president of the Deere Park Improvement League of South Dallas. Urban historian Robert Fairbanks credited the Deere Park Improvement League with the initiation of official racial zoning in Dallas, for which they agitated in 1916. The League's involvement further politicized when the City Commission—four elected officers and one mayor from the elite circle, who ran the municipal government—declined to enact racial zoning laws in response to their

agitation. The League, over public editorial objections of the *Dallas Morning News*, essentially overrode the Commission by collecting 14,000 petition signatures that led to a municipal vote heavily in favor of racial zoning in 1916.<sup>25</sup>

The encroachment of black residents into white middle-class territory grew along with the rise of racial zoning laws and the Klan. Despite high levels of migration into Dallas at the time, the intensity of the Klan's surge in the city did not correlate to a large increase in black residents. Rather, the percentage of black residents actually declined from twenty percent in 1910 to fifteen percent in 1920, which matched the percentage of black Texans in the whole state for that year.<sup>26</sup> While Dallas had once attracted more than its proportion of African Americans, it was a less attractive place for them to live by 1920.<sup>27</sup> The change in the black community that worried the Klan was not one of size, but of class and residential mobility. B. Mayfield wrote the first letter of inquiry from Dallas to the national office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1918. Mayfield described himself as a resident of the Tenth Street District, which was located on the eastern edge of Oak Cliff. He intended to start a Dallas chapter of the NAACP, and in compliance with the NAACP's request for a list of potential officers, he forwarded a list of "leading men of the city." These leading black men, who included Dallas's Negro Business League president, a dentist, funeral home owner, and

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<sup>25</sup> Robert B. Fairbanks, *For the City as a Whole: Planning, Politics, and the Public Interest in Dallas, Texas, 1900-1965* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 29-30.

<sup>26</sup> Bartholomew and Associates, "A Master for Plan Dallas, Texas: Report Number One, Character of the City, Scope of the City Plan," September, 1943, Texas/Dallas History & Archives Division, Dallas Central Library, Dallas, TX.

<sup>27</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *A Compendium of the Thirteenth Census, 1920. Population, Agriculture* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), 2.

druggist, lived in either downtown or the Tenth Street District.<sup>28</sup> Mrs. A. V. West and G. F. Porter of the Freedman's Town neighborhood began corresponding with the NAACP around the same time, for the same purpose. Porter stated that he did not know Mayfield, and West and Porter sent a separate list of prominent black Dallasites residing in Freedman's Town. Mayfield eventually deferred to the older Freedman's Town community in setting up the local chapter and subsequently became a member. This circumstance indicates that the black community of the Tenth Street District was likely a newer community, and judging by the initiative of Mayfield and his peers, it was one of middle-class aspirations and a degree of achievement. It was also becoming politically active.

The slow encroachment of black residents in Oak Cliff came to a head in May of 1921, when black Dallasite Roby Williams challenged zoning laws by moving into the white enclave of Oak Cliff. According to the *Dallas Times-Herald*, a paper popular among Klan sympathizers, Williams's Oak Cliff neighbors asked him to leave and then requested the city's assistance when he declined. Future Klansman and Judge Felix Robertson issued Williams a harsh fine and he subsequently moved out of Oak Cliff.<sup>29</sup> However, later in that year, the Texas Supreme Court's ruling in *Spann v. the City of Dallas*, which concerned Spann's resistance to a non-racial, property-usage aspect of

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<sup>28</sup> Terry Anne Schulte and Marsha Prior, "'We Return. We Return From Fighting. We Return Fighting.' Post-World War I Freedman's Town/North Dallas, 1919-1930," in *Freedman's Cemetery: A Legacy of a Pioneer Black Community in Dallas, Texas*, ed. Duane E. Peter, Marsha Prior, Melissa M. Green, and Victoria G. Clow (Plano, TX: Geo-Marine for Texas Department of Transportation, 2000), 152-153.

<sup>29</sup> "Municipal Charges Were Filed Against Williams," May 10, 1921, *Dallas Times-Herald*, Texas/Dallas History & Archives Division. Dallas Public Library, Dallas, TX.

Dallas's zoning laws, overturned the city's zoning ordinances, including its racial zoning law. This year also saw the birth of the Dallas Klan.<sup>30</sup>

In the wake of *Spann* and the Klan's rise in Dallas, black real estate mobility was especially visible in 1922. The March 25 and April 22 editions of Dallas's black newspaper, the *Dallas Express*, printed large advertisements for new homes. One advertisement asked black residents, "Do You Want To Own a Nice Home?" in "The New and Most Beautiful Exclusive Colored Addition in the City of Dallas." The homes in each addition were located on the eastern edge of Oak Cliff, and prospective buyers were directed to reach them by taking a streetcar into the heart of Oak Cliff and walking a few blocks east.<sup>31</sup> That same spring, James Lewis attempted to build a home at Hall and Howell streets on the edge of Freedman's Town, less than a fifteen minute walk from George K. Butcher's house. In May, Lewis's house was dynamited. While the detectives working the case asserted that the Klan was uninvolved, "Lewis said a man had threatened him, saying: 'I will have the Ku Klux Klan on you if you move in'" and the contractor and painter, likely white men, supported Lewis's statement. *The Texas (100 per cent) American* openly claimed Klan credit for the bombing of Lewis's home, threatening the resident against "stick[ing] his nose in white-folks quarters."<sup>32</sup> Lewis's house was an unsurprising target for the Klan. Its vicinity, while close to the black stronghold of Freedman's Town, was clearly close to white houses as well, as the *Dallas*

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<sup>30</sup> Fairbanks, 29-30.

<sup>31</sup> "Homes on Easy Terms in Oak Cliff," March 25, 1922, *Dallas Express*, Texas/Dallas History & Archives Division, Dallas Public Library, Dallas, TX; "Gigantic Lot Own a Home Sale," April 22, 1922, *Dallas Express*.

<sup>32</sup> David Mark Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865-1965* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Press, 1965), 41; "Agents of the Journal and Dispatch Go Wrong," April 21, 1922, *Texas (100 per cent) American*, Texas/Dallas History & Archives Division, Dallas Public Library, Dallas, TX.

*Morning News* noted the reaction of white people “living a block away,” who “heard the blast and declared it jarred the entire community.” The house’s builders, J. S. Robinson and real estate dealer C. S. Newton, “erected several rent houses in that vicinity” and had “received several messages warning them not to permit negroes to occupy the houses.” Lewis, described as a “disabled soldier,” was likely a black veteran of World War I—a group who greatly concerned white supremacists, since many returned home from the war with hopes of partaking in full citizenship.<sup>33</sup> While a contingent from Freedman’s Town responded with threats of their own, calling themselves the “Black KKK” and threatening to meet the next nightriders with shotguns, this reaction did not develop into sustained activism after the heat of the Lewis affair died down. The Dallas police, heavily infiltrated by the Klan, used intimidation to quell black activism. They stationed officers at meetings of the new NAACP and it flailed in the face of Klan fear. Organizers could not convince residents to attend meetings under the supervision of the police. As a result, there would be no NAACP presence in Oak Cliff, or even in Freedman’s Town, in the 1920s.<sup>34</sup>

While the Klan frequently resorted to extralegal destruction and violence, the political success of Klansmen in the 1923 municipal elections allowed for legal residential segregation in addition to intimidation. Even in the wake of the *Spann* decision, the Klan-led government continued to pass racial zoning laws until 1924.<sup>35</sup> In 1923, Mrs. H. C. Weaver submitted a petition to the City Commission, asking for

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<sup>33</sup> “Bombing of Negro’s House Remains Mystery,” May 4, 1922, *Dallas Morning News*, Dallas Public Library, Dallas, TX.

<sup>34</sup> Schulte and Prior, 157.

<sup>35</sup> Fairbanks, 30.

“protecting against the erection of negro houses” on Red Oak Street in Oak Cliff.<sup>36</sup>

Weaver owned many properties in Dallas, but her petition related only to Red Oak Street, which was close to all six of her Oak Cliff properties. Weaver’s other group of properties was clustered in an area approximately ten blocks north on Ross Avenue from Freedman’s Town, but she did not complain about black presence near those properties.<sup>37</sup> Her petition was recorded the day that the Commission reported the 1923 municipal election results, in which the Klan political ticket swept the city. Klan politician Louis Blaylock, elevated by the election from City Council Commissioner No. 1 to mayor, duly forwarded Weaver’s petition to the city attorney that day.<sup>38</sup> For the decade, the Klan had succeeded in protecting their white neighborhood in Oak Cliff and in the middle-income neighborhoods that rested between Freedman’s Town and Highland Park.

Dallas’s threat to the Klan’s desire for homogenous space involved not only members’ finances and properties, but also the social and moral identity of their families. For the Klan home sphere was rooted in both their physical homes and in their representations of domesticity. As the symbol of domesticity in patriarchal society, Texan women represented the morality of the home sphere, and to the Klan, women in their community were even more embattled than their property. Unlike the elite community, middle-income residents were not able to use class status and exclusive institutions to segregate women from men outside of their community. Instead, the Klan responded with reactionary violence and rhetoric that attempted to claim separation through white

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<sup>36</sup> Dallas City Council Minutes, April 11, 1923, Minute Book 18, Dallas Municipal Archives, Dallas City Hall, Dallas, TX.

<sup>37</sup> R.W. Eaton, “Tax Roll.”

<sup>38</sup> Dallas City Council Minutes, April 5, 1921, Minute Book 18, Dallas Municipal Archives, Dallas City Hall, Dallas, TX; Dallas City Council Minutes, April 3, 1923, Minute Book 20, Dallas Municipal Archives, Dallas City Hall, Dallas, TX.

supremacy and moral standards. The Klan's violence, near Dallas and around Texas as a whole, most frequently concerned protection of the sexual purity of white women, as wives and daughters, in response to perceived threats to the morality of their home spheres. As *The Texas (100 per cent) American* repeatedly showed, the Klan considered their prototype of womanhood under severe attack in Dallas: "Womanhood—blessed American Womanhood—we're making a fight for YOU—and with the help of Almighty God, we will do our all to tear away the web of destruction being weaved about you."<sup>39</sup> To the Klan, the city's new leisure spaces and changing residential structure formed an insidious web that threatened to ensnare community women through unsupervised mixing with black and immoral white men.

Klan rhetoric suggested that its members' very manhood depended on their identities as "clean men; pure men" and also argued that they became "Real Men" by giving their "brains and protection to your great and noble AMERICAN WOMANHOOD—the mothers of your children and future Americans."<sup>40</sup> By engaging in true manhood, then, the Klan aimed to protect pure white womanhood and the "sanctity of the home."<sup>41</sup> The foreword that opened the souvenir book for Klan Day at the 1923 State Fair in Dallas relayed a manifesto of the Klan at its popular peak and represented their intent to reach a broad audience. It aimed to defend the Klan and present its ideals in terms considered logical and apparent, so its publicity angle is particularly useful when considering how the Klan desired to display its core values. The publishers note that the Klan "believes in proper respect and protection for the pure and noble

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<sup>39</sup> Harry W. Grant, "Wanted- Real Men!," March 31, 1922, *Texas (100 per cent) American*; "Bomb Thrower Wrecks Home," March 31, 1922, *Texas (100 per cent) American*.

<sup>40</sup> "Bomb Thrower Wrecks Home;" Grant, "Wanted- Real Men!"

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

womanhood of America and the sanctity of the home,” pointing out that at every formal meeting, each Klansman swore loyalty to God and America, as well as to his home.<sup>42</sup> Klan interest in maintaining strong white families coincided well with their drive for economic and community stability, as all three were crucial to the middle class’s goal of creating a controlled, investment-friendly neighborhood, such as Kessler Park, within a heterogeneous city.

While elite women in Highland Park and Munger Place gathered in clubs and guarded their daughters with private school chaperones, the women of the Klan formed their own chapter, the Women’s Ku Klux Klan, or the “Kamelia.” Started in the summer of 1922, before national WKKK recruitment reached Texas in 1923, the Dallas-Fort Worth Kamelia flourished. Fifteen-hundred Kamelia women paraded in Fort Worth in June of 1923 and one thousand paraded alongside Klan men in Dallas in 1924. Three hundred members gathered to set a recruitment campaign at the 1924 annual convention in Dallas.<sup>43</sup> Like the KKK, the Kamelia was concerned with the prevention of promiscuous sexual scandals involving young white women, an aim also common among progressive women of the time. Progressive organizations sought to provide a structure for single women in Dallas, so that they were safely lodged and kept within acceptable societal norms. Just as young, single, white women in 1920s Dallas became increasingly economically and social autonomous, clubwomen were anxious to prevent them from translating this autonomy into sexual promiscuity that threatened the ideal of the Southern lady and the white nuclear family. The Women’s Christian Temperance Union

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<sup>42</sup> *Official Souvenir of Klan Day at the State Fair of Texas Dallas, October 24, 1923* (Dallas: Standard American Publishing House, 1923), Dallas Historical Society Archives, Dallas, TX.

<sup>43</sup> Judith McArthur and Harold L. Smith, *Texas Through Women’s Eyes: The Twentieth Century Experience* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 68.

(WCTU) established Willard Memorial Hall to lodge working girls at an affordable price, and the City Federation of Women's Clubs likewise had a Business Girls Lodge.<sup>44</sup> These two women's organizations, along with the Dallas Democratic Women's Association, the Mothers' Council, and the Dallas County Humane Society, shared some membership with the Kamelia.<sup>45</sup> Like the WCTU, the Kamelia ardently opposed the vices of alcohol, prostitution, and promiscuity as threats to the home sphere.

Since the daughters of skilled workers or cash-strapped small businessmen commonly worked outside of the home prior to marriage, Klan mothers had a personal stake in guiding the social activities of single professional white women in Dallas. Their daughters had to maintain racial and class markers of respectability in order to be fit for middle-class marriage. To this end, sexual purity and social respectability were paramount in separating these young working white women from black women. Kamelia members focused on young white women who had slipped through the cracks of social supervision and been seduced by way of hotel, nightclub, or automobile. In 1924, the women and men of the Klan built Hope Cottage to take care of orphans born from such situations. At the dedication of Hope Cottage, Klan politician and Mayor Louis Blaylock illuminated the connection between orphan care and repaired womanhood: "I have, in my lifetime, saved three girls who had made the one fatal misstep. Children were born to these girls here and I paid their bills. Later these girls returned to their homes, were

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<sup>44</sup> Laura Lee Mohsene, "'The Women—God Bless Them:’ Dallas Women and the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s" (PhD diss., University of North Texas, 2011), 50. See also Elizabeth York Enstam, *Women and the Creation of Urban Life: Dallas, Texas, 1843-1920* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1998), 122 and 134.

<sup>45</sup> Mohsene, 50.

married, lived good lives and made their husbands good helpmates.”<sup>46</sup> Hope Cottage, then, repaired broken white home spheres.

Once community women became helpmates, the Kamelia sought to ensure that they were proper wives and also stressed that community men should be proper husbands. For the Klan, proper spouses did not engage in behavior that threatened the cohesion of the white family. The Klan responded to the shift in Dallas’s Jazz Age cultural and sexual practices by attacking sexual, social, and physical behavior that ostensibly loosened the bond between wife and husband. Protecting the home sphere also meant protecting marriages, as they too were threatened by the increased mobility and interaction of urbanization. Laura Mohsene, in her analysis of the WKKK, asserted, “women wanted to protect their marriages from infidelity and called on the Klan to punish unfaithful husbands and immoral women.”<sup>47</sup> Mohsene argued for the centrality of women in the moral policing enacted by the Dallas Klan. Female Klan sympathizers encouraged Klan protection of the pure domestic sphere and referred instances of spousal misconduct to their Klan husbands, brothers, or fathers. The Kamelia “called for men to punish immoral women as well as immoral men.”<sup>48</sup> Heeding their own advice, Dallas Kamelia members even traveled to the neighboring city of Fort Worth to pull a supposedly immoral woman from her home and whip her with 100 lashes.<sup>49</sup> Klan

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<sup>46</sup> *Dallas Morning News* article reprinted in “The Story of Hope Cottage: A Wonderful Story of Loving Achievement That Is Well Worth Reading and Re-reading,” in *Official Souvenir of Klan Day at the State Fair of Texas Dallas, October 24, 1923* (Dallas: Standard American Publishing House, 1923), Dallas Historical Society Archives, Dallas, TX. While Blaylock claimed to not be an official member of the Klan, their wholehearted support for each other was mutual and Blaylock owed his election to the Klan. In action and constituency, then, he was as much a Klan politician as an official member.

<sup>47</sup> Mohsene, 14.

<sup>48</sup> Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 77; Mohsene, 3.

<sup>49</sup> Stephens, 6.

punishment served the same goal as their work at Hope Cottage: to induce recantation and redemption when possible and to categorize such behavior as deviant in order to keep others from imitating it. In Chalmers's recount of white victims of the Klan, many of their transgressions revolved around marital problems.<sup>50</sup> By targeting men who had abandoned, separated from, or divorced their wives, the Klan reinforced stable white patriarchy in middle and upper-working-class communities, as an absent husband or father led to an unguarded woman surrounded by financial troubles and unprotected from sexual temptation easily encountered in the city. Like the Klan's agitation over residential segregation, their fixation on retaining the purity of the home grew in response to a powerlessness to enforce it through economic and political means, as the city's elite could do. While Klan women supported the suppression of prostitution and alcohol consumption, neither could ensure the suppression of promiscuity nor obviate spousal abuse or abandonment. Despite women's social advances in the Jazz Age, wives in traditional households had little recourse to address these issues outside of the Klan. Klan enforcement and involvement thus provided a voice and security for the complicit women of its community.

By cultivating the sanctity of the home, Klan men and women regulated white women's roles in the home as well as in the public sphere. In a growing city where the public and private spheres increasingly overlapped, Klan violence aimed to enforce a pure environment for women in both spheres. The Klan envisioned this pure environment as one that confirmed rather than challenged the Southern woman ideal and as a result shored up the nuclear white family. While the Klan recognized the internal pressures on

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<sup>50</sup> Chalmers, 41-42.

this environment by cheating spouses and curious youths, its actions also reflect a cognizance of a more external threat. As with their response to black residential encroachment, the Klan lashed out against another perceived invasion: that of the urban New Woman. In addition to increased opportunity for interracial interaction in the city's new leisure, work, and residential spaces, the New Woman challenged traditional Southern gender stereotypes and acceptable patterns of behavior. Revisionist Klan scholarship of the past couple decades has explored this aspect of Klan motivation. Michael Phillips directly connected the New Woman to racial violence in Texas, arguing that "Texas lynching rose just before and during the 1920s partly as a reaction to the women's suffrage campaign."<sup>51</sup> Drawing from the work of Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, he credited this correlation to lynching's role in shoring up white male patriarchy, since "portraying women as victims of rape symbolically enfeebled the threatening 'modern woman' and also denied her a voluntary role in her own sexuality."<sup>52</sup> Hall argued that by assuming the role of protector, Klansmen gained power over Southern women, as "the right of the Southern lady to protection presupposed her obligation to obey."<sup>53</sup> By protecting community women, the Klan sought to keep them from participating in the new gender role available to them in urbanizing Dallas.

Within this framework of Southern gender relations and Klan goals to protect the domesticity of community women, the population of young "native white" women in Dallas—81.4% of whom in the 15 to 19-year-old bracket were single—appealed to Klan members as objects in need of strict moral reform or a rescuing crusade. Additionally, the

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<sup>51</sup> Phillips, 79.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>53</sup> Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993; quoted in Phillips, 80.

male population that caused the gender populations to equalize in the 22 to 44-year-old bracket did not consist of “native white” men, but instead was made up of enemies of the Klan—black men and foreign-born white men.<sup>54</sup> Klan rhetoric against Catholic and foreign residents was frequent and graced the same editions of *The Texas (100 per cent) American* as its entreaties to defend white women. The Klan more broadly conceived of itself as protectors of “the pure young womanhood of our community,” which it considered endangered by immoral men of all races. The word “community” is particularly telling in a large city, connoting once again the geographic and socio-economic solidarity of Klavern No. 66.<sup>55</sup>

In early 1920s Dallas, the Klan saw possibilities for danger in any public place that fell outside the supervision of the white patriarchal community. The homes of Klan members and their neighbors also contained daughters, whom they saw as even more susceptible to contamination than their wives. For example, in response to new opportunities for unsupervised intimacy in automobiles, the Klan enforced acceptable automobile behavior for youths. Members intimidated “joy riders” and ordered a jury to investigate whether boys were taking girls to a road on the city’s perimeter in order to engage in “parking.”<sup>56</sup> This concern with maintaining the sexual purity of youths in an urban environment was echoed in Houston, where Klan members severely beat one man for insulting high school girls and castrated another for his indecent exposure to young

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<sup>54</sup> *U.S. Census*, 69, 83.

<sup>55</sup> “The Public Asks Why the Whippings.”

<sup>56</sup> Stephens, 5.

girls in a park.<sup>57</sup> Closer to Dallas, in Fort Worth's working-class Northside neighborhood, the Klan even took precautionary measures. Leta Lewis recalls a story that her mother, Wilma, who was approximately seven at the time, repeatedly told throughout her life. Around 1920, young Wilma stayed too late at a friend's house and had to walk home in the dark. She suddenly noticed a group of hooded Klansmen marching behind her, "swinging their lanterns," and she "was terrified." They followed her until she arrived safely home, and Wilma noticed that it was "as if they knew her." Later, she came across the Klan costumes of two of her uncles, and discovered that they belonged to the Klan.<sup>58</sup> The Klan also emphasized preventative measures in *The Texas (100 per cent) American*, charging, "One hasty move might wreck forever a sweet young life." On behalf of Dallas's parents, the (anonymous) Klan writer of this article expressed gratitude to police officers, who were well-represented in the Klan, for exercising "vision and judgment" by addressing such cases that were outside the traditional and legal arms of the law.<sup>59</sup> Police officers and Klan members served as supervisors of young women in communities that did not have the resources to guard women through private school chaperones. However, this supervision was not expensive and elective, but instead compulsory, free, and occasionally violent.

The Klan credited a lack of sufficient law enforcement as the cause of increased promiscuity, writing to the *Dallas News* in 1921 that the "number of infants cared for by

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<sup>57</sup> Casey Greene, "Guardians Against Change: The Ku Klux Klan in Houston and Harris County, 1920-1925," *Houston History* 8, no. 1 (Dec. 2010): 4. <http://houstonhistorymagazine.org/2010/12/the-klk-in-houston-and-harris-county-1920-1925/> (accessed November 22, 2013).

<sup>58</sup> Leta Lewis, interview with author, Dallas, TX, November 25, 2013.

<sup>59</sup> "The Public Asks Why the Whippings."

this institution [Hope Cottage] are directly due to lax law enforcement.”<sup>60</sup> Since social activity in the new leisure spaces inhabited by Dallas’s New Women was difficult to regulate through municipal law, the Klan responded by organizing their own enforcement. In a milder move, they protested the Majestic Theatre when it reopened as a cinema.<sup>61</sup> Unlike elites, the Klan community also combatted the freedom of the New Woman by putting restrictions on white and black men who might lead a young woman or girl astray. The Klan claimed that they were not “fighting the negro,” as they believed that “so long as the negro keeps his place and recognizes his limitations, he should have the fullest opportunity...of living a happy and undisturbed life in our midst. At the same time...the Klan is absolutely and unalterably opposed to racial equality and the intermarriage of white and blacks and any efforts along this line will certainly meet with determined opposition by every legal means at its command.”<sup>62</sup> Young white women outside of the Klan community recognized this connection between the Klan’s professed defense of white womanhood and a desire for spatial control. A senior student at the Kidd-Key conservatory, Sadye Jack, lampooned the Klan in the high school’s 1921 yearbook, predicting that her classmate Edith Hurdle would become “president of the Kat Klub Klan, which has as its main purpose the extermination of all black path-crossing cats. It was Miss Hurdle’s idea that the fair sex of the United States had been unduly harassed by this menace.”<sup>63</sup> White, single young women like Sadye Jack were migrating

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<sup>60</sup> Ku Klux Klan to *Dallas News*, July 18, 1921, reprinted in *Official Souvenir of Klan Day at the State Fair of Texas Dallas, October 24, 1923* (Dallas: Standard American Publishing House, 1923). Dallas Historical Society.

<sup>61</sup> Jeanette Howeth Crumpler and James H. Davis, *The Lakewood Starwalk As Seen Through the Eyes of the DOT* (Dallas: Nortex Press, 1998), 5, 8-9.

<sup>62</sup> *Official Souvenir of Klan Day at the State Fair of Texas Dallas, October 24, 1923* (Dallas: Standard American Publishing House, 1923), Dallas Historical Society Archives, Dallas, TX.

<sup>63</sup> Yearbook in folder 71 (1921), Box 5, A2002.0001 Kidd-Key Archives.

to Dallas and trying out new paths that might cross with men of different classes and races.

In Dallas, the space that black men and white women shared was drastically changing. Young white women flocked to department stores, where black men served as doormen, and stayed in hotels where black men worked as bellhops. These positions necessitated interracial interaction, and in some cases, bellhops even served as liaisons for white guests working as prostitutes.<sup>64</sup> In their first known attack, Dallas Klan members kidnapped a black bellboy named Alex Johnson from his home in Freedman's Town to punish him for a supposed affair with a white woman in the Adolphus Hotel where he worked. The Adolphus Man's Shop, located in the hotel's public section, was on the Klan business list and was perhaps the source of this rumor. The Klan brutally whipped Johnson and then painted "KKK" on his forehead with acid, as a message to people contemplating race mixing and promiscuity. Later, Klansman and Dallas Sheriff Dan Harston classified the punishment as just and Dallas judge Robert B. Seay considered it "a lesson."<sup>65</sup> To seal this message, the Klan dumped Johnson at the doorstep of the Adolphus afterwards. Hotels were a particular concern of the Texas Klan, as they offered women a bedroom free of supervision by male family members or a surrogate patriarch—inconceivable in rural areas—and additionally brought unaccompanied white women into direct contact with black bellboys. The Klan in Fort Worth and Texarkana additionally warned their local bell hops "to watch behavior around

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<sup>64</sup> Alan Govenar and Jay Brakefield, *Deep Ellum: The Other Side of Dallas* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1998), 58.

<sup>65</sup> Schulte and Prior, 156.

white women.”<sup>66</sup> Interracial liaisons were particularly unforgivable to the Klan, as they represented the height of women’s sexual prerogative and transgressions, which were considered betrayal of the white male order. Interracial social activity was just as threatening to the homogenous white community as the concept of black neighbors.

While the middle-income constituency of the Klan did not have the same resources available to them as the city’s elite, they also desired to segregate their homes from the changing urban landscape, and they pursued collective identity and retrenchment through violence, intimidation, and zoning. In the midst of financial instability and shifting residential and gender boundaries that threatened white and patriarchal privileges and redefined class signifiers, the Klan avidly resisted change. Whether keeping black residents out of their neighborhoods or keeping community women tied to the domestic ideal of the Southern lady, they created, however temporarily, a sense of stability among a people plagued by status anxiety, transience, and gender revolution.

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<sup>66</sup> Stephens, 5.

## V. THE ELITE COMMUNITY

Dallas's population surge posed a new threat to the home sphere of its wealthy citizens. At the beginning of the twentieth century, affluent residents in urbanizing Dallas were scattered in each direction and those within Dallas's center were brushing up against the city's industrial expansion. Industry grew especially in South Dallas around the Cedars. Stanley Marcus, son of Neiman Marcus co-founder Herbert Marcus, recalls that in the Cedars, he went to school with many students from "a rough and tough adjoining area."<sup>1</sup> Dallas's wealthiest residents responded to the city's growth and the threat of rough and tough neighbors by using their financial and political resources to create a new physical and social space for a homogenized elite home sphere. Through municipal zoning and the development of exclusive suburbs, women's educational clubs, and private schools, the city's white elite created class-specific sites and institutions to solidify their community and segregate themselves from the city's other races and classes. Rather than being dispersed by Dallas's growth, the elite responded with successful conservative community building.

A small group of civic elites dominated city politics in Dallas and directed a Progressive Era drive for urban planning for the blossoming city. Wealthy bankers Edward O. Tenison and J. T. Trezevant took particular interest in zoning for the benefit of both their businesses and homes, and they formed a myriad of civic organizations to control the issue. Trezevant chaired the municipal City Plan Commission, and Tenison

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<sup>1</sup> Stanley Marcus, *Minding the Store* (Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 1997), 27.

funded public parks and belonged to the Dallas Property Owner's Association. The Chamber of Commerce's Metropolitan Development Association, a well-funded private group that worked with Trezevant and included Tenison and *Dallas Morning News* owner George B. Dealey, prepared a "Tentative Zoning Plan for Dallas, Texas" (Figure 3). The plan reflected their perception of the contemporary layout of Dallas and also sheds light on the preferences of Dallas's civic elite.<sup>2</sup> For the city's new white upper-middle-class suburbs like Kessler Park, the zoning plan depicted rare pockets for businesses that are keyed by the color black and often occupy less than a block. The plan also included strictly residential zones, keyed by the color white, which dominated the new upper-class districts sprouting on the perimeter of the city.

In addition to favorable zoning laws, elites used their wealth to escape the diversity of the inner city. They migrated away from industry, business districts, and ethnic and poor neighborhoods in the city's core to protected residential areas that intrinsically restricted the class and race of their neighbors through the price of real estate and exclusivity of location. Dallas zoning laws protected all-white residential blocks from black occupancy, so the homogeneity of wealthy neighborhoods solidified residential segregation for white elites. Some families settled in large estates on Turtle Creek, which runs from downtown northward to Highland Park. These large, greenbelt-surrounded estates provided a rare sense of separation in the midst of Dallas. Trezevant's Turtle Creek property amounted to \$22,175 of ground value and \$15,925 of improvement value, and Tenison also lived in

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<sup>2</sup> Robert B. Fairbanks, *For the City as a Whole: Planning, Politics, and the Public Interest in Dallas, Texas, 1900-1965* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 49.

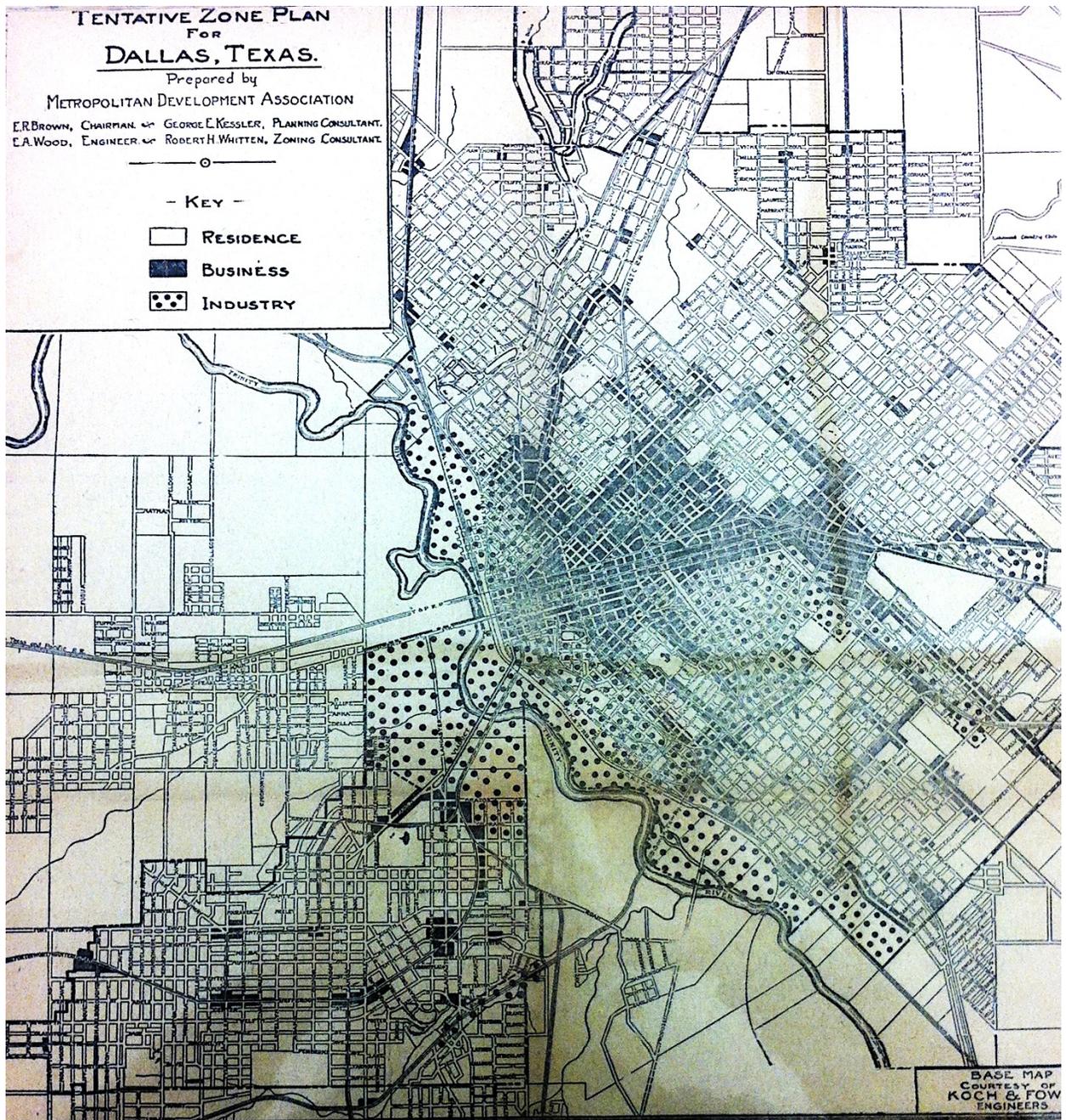


Figure 3. Dallas Chamber of Commerce and Metropolitan Development Association, "Tentative Zone Plan for Dallas, Texas," 1925, Texas/Dallas History & Archives Division, Dallas Public Library, Dallas, TX.

the neighborhood, with \$30,000 of improvement attributed to his property.<sup>3</sup> These property values were especially high in light of the \$5,000 to \$6,000 purchase cost for middle-class houses.<sup>4</sup> Turtle Creek represented a step in elite segregation by means of migration to the city's perimeter, but the city's boom of sizable upper-class perimeter suburbs initiated a new era of elite community building.

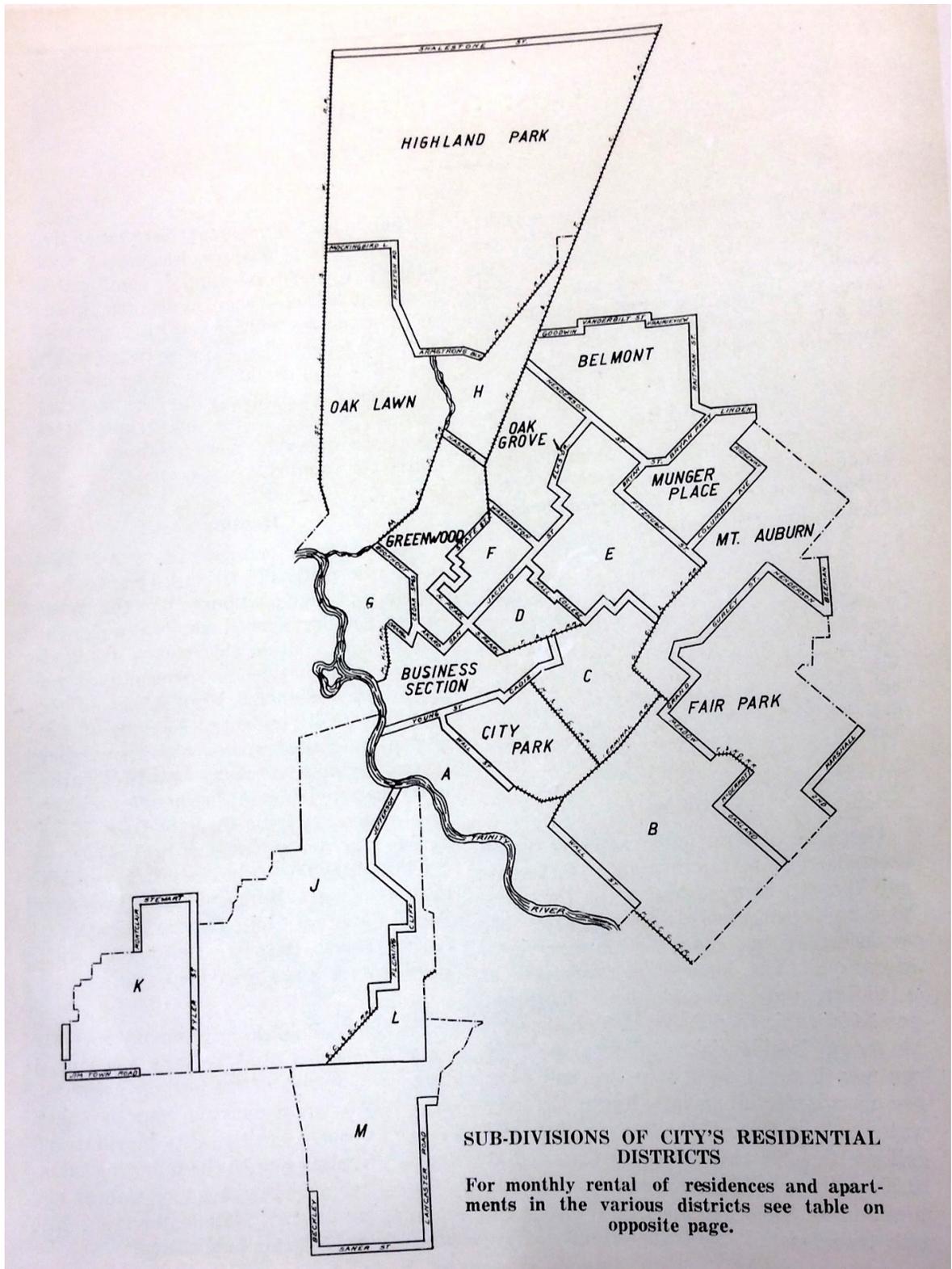
By the 1920s, most elites lived in distinct and exclusively white and upper-class neighborhoods on the northern and eastern edge of Dallas, even further removed from the city center (Figure 4). A promotional guide for Dallas categorized the typical residence in these neighborhoods as a "6 or 7 room, brick veneer house, good condition, good neighborhood."<sup>5</sup> In 1905, wealthy cotton gin manufacturer Robert S. Munger began developing Munger Place, which he touted as "The City Man's Home." It was the first deed-restricted neighborhood in Dallas, as Munger stipulated that homes must be two stories high and achieve a construction cost minimum. The most desirable houses were on Swiss Avenue, Dallas's first paved street, a wide road that extended from an affluent pocket in Old East Dallas through the heart of Munger Place. The neighborhood drew

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<sup>3</sup> R. W. Eaton, "Tax Roll of Real Estate and Personal Property in the Corporate Limits of the City of Dallas for the Year 1923 As Assessed by R.W. Eaton, Assessor and Collector of Taxes," Dallas Municipal Archives, Dallas City Hall, Dallas, TX; R. W. Eaton, "Tax Roll of Real Estate and Personal Property in the Corporate Limits of the City of Dallas for the Year 1922 As Assessed by R.W. Eaton, Assessor and Collector of Taxes," Dallas Municipal Archives, Dallas City Hall, Dallas, TX.

<sup>4</sup> Industrial Department, Dallas Chamber of Commerce, *Dallas as a City in Which to Live: A Consideration of Living Conditions and the Cost of Living Planning for a City of Half a Million Population* (Dallas: Industrial Dallas, Inc., 1927), 22, 25.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*



**Figure 4.** "Sub-Divisions of City's Residential Districts" in Industrial Department, Dallas Chamber of Commerce, *Dallas as a City in Which to Live: A Consideration of Living Conditions and the Cost of Living Planning for a City of Half a Million Population* (Dallas: Industrial Dallas, Inc., 1927), 22.

prominent citizens, such as Neiman Marcus co-founders Carrie Marcus Neiman and her husband Al Neiman, who lived on Swiss Avenue.<sup>6</sup> Investor August Belmont, Jr., developer of the New York City subway system and the Belmont Stakes horse racetrack, financed another affluent residential addition on the city perimeter next to Munger Place. Wealthy residents filled the Belmont Addition in the 1910s and 1920s, and by the mid-1920s, it was the third most costly area of Dallas for housing—one slot behind Munger Place.

By the mid-1920s, Highland Park, located on the city's perimeter next to Belmont, was the most expensive district in the city in which residents could reside. It has remained separately incorporated from the city to this day.<sup>7</sup> John Armstrong began development of Highland Park in 1907 and added further additions in 1910, 1915, 1917, and 1924. Highland Park was part of the population boom in Precinct 1- North Dallas, but its economic exclusivity and refusal to officially incorporate into the city of Dallas kept its population controlled. In zoning and development, it remained not only overwhelmingly residential, but also solidly upper class.<sup>8</sup> In its first U.S. Census appearance in 1920, Highland Park contained only 2,321 residents, despite its large size.<sup>9</sup> Highland Park and its kindred additions in Belmont and Munger Place thrived like the rest of the city, but within strict spatial, racial, and economic controls.

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<sup>6</sup> "Munger Place History," *Munger Place Historic District* ([www.mungerplace.com](http://www.mungerplace.com)), accessed June 11, 2014; "History," *Swiss Avenue Historic District* ([www.sahd.org](http://www.sahd.org)), accessed June 11, 2014.

<sup>7</sup> Lisa C. Maxwell, "HIGHLAND PARK, TX," *Handbook of Texas Online* (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hfh03>), accessed November 30, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *A Compendium of the Thirteenth Census, 1920. Population, Agriculture* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), 19.

In the fashion of the Southern lady ideal, affluent housewives in Dallas signified household class status through their leisure and educational activities. Southerners did not see education for women as a challenge to economic gender segregation, but instead viewed it as a chance to instruct women in ladylike etiquette and hence mark their gentility. The purpose of educating Southern women was not progressive or feminist, but instead served to maintain elite status by fashioning ideal wives for elite men.<sup>10</sup> Following this Southern elite tradition, affluent women in Dallas participated in both extensive educational training as girls and in social, educational, and political clubs as adults. Through these activities, they demonstrated and cultivated their class privilege.

During the Progressive Era, Dallas women's activities included social-educational clubs and political organizations. Outward-facing political and charitable clubs had large memberships and progressive goals. Ella Caruthers Porter, born into one of Dallas's nineteenth-century elite families, organized both the Dallas Women's Forum in 1906 and the local chapter of the Texas Congress of Mothers in 1909. These clubs were inclusive, offering open membership to women of all classes, and they attracted a large number of Dallas women. Within two years of its founding, the Dallas chapter of the Texas Congress of Mothers had 8,800 members. Caruther's organizations, as well as the local chapter of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs (TFWC), included many committees and departments that carried out issue-driven initiatives popular within the maternalist progressive movement.<sup>11</sup> This brand of maternalist progressivism was a national

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<sup>10</sup> Christie Anne Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 2.

<sup>11</sup> Judith McArthur, *Creating the New Woman: The Rise of Southern Women's Progressive Culture in Texas, 1893-1918* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 61; Judith N. McArthur, "PORTER, ELLA CARUTHERS," *Handbook of Texas Online*

discourse that justified women's involvement in politics through motherhood rhetoric that asserted women's "right and responsibility to participate in the public world."<sup>12</sup> The large Dallas Women's Forum had nine departments, including one for home economics, which advocated for the passage of the city's first pure food law. The Dallas chapters of the Texas Congress of Mothers and the TFWC had committees on education, kindergartens, and school improvement. These clubs, in sync with national initiatives, focused on maternalist issues that addressed the health, safety, and modernization of the urban environment for the benefit of the whole city, especially including its most vulnerable residents.<sup>13</sup>

In contrast to these outward-facing, inclusive progressive clubs that charitably concerned themselves with citywide improvements, elite suburban women also formed inward-facing clubs that served to signify and replicate their class status to their peers and further consolidate the elite community. Such elite educational clubs counterbalanced the public and political concerns of the more mixed-class progressive clubs, providing instead a domestic, class-restricted, and apolitical environment that reinforced women's traditional Southern gender role and place in the home.

Elite women's educational clubs, which moved to Dallas's perimeter along with their affluent members, reveal how the elite community consolidated—both spatially and socially—in the city's new suburbs. The educational clubs of Dallas's upper class helped define elite space and community, and took on a defensive role that contributed to the

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(<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fpo42>), accessed February 1, 2015. Uploaded on June 15, 2010. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

<sup>12</sup> Molly Ladd-Taylor, *Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890-1930* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 75.

<sup>13</sup> McArthur, *Creating the New Woman*, 43, 61, 126.

tight solidarity of neighborhoods like Highland Park and Munger Place. The Highland Park Browning Club, a newer club founded in 1919, can easily be identified as neighborhood-specific.<sup>14</sup> Other elite clubs, such as the Standard Club and Bay View Century Club, while tacit, were no less spatially specific by 1922 and 1923. During the early 1920s, the Standard Club's membership evolved from scattered elite pockets around the city to a concentration in Munger Place, Highland Park, and a strip along Turtle Creek. Membership addresses from the 1920-1921 yearbook include five homes in the Cedars and one in Oak Cliff (popular around the turn-of-the-century); as well as two residences in the Oriental Hotel downtown and seven homes in Old East Dallas (popular by the 1910s). The newer areas of Munger Place, Highland Park, and Turtle Creek were home to eleven, five, and four homes respectively.

After two decades of chaotic urban growth, wealthy communities had scattered around the new city sprawl, but the beginnings of the elite's concentration in Dallas's new suburbs were already beginning to appear. The elite were regrouping and adapting to Dallas's new population and real estate market. By the 1923-1924 yearbook, three years later, seven Standard Club members had moved to different neighborhoods. They had previously lived in downtown, the Cedars, Oak Cliff, or Old East Dallas, and all moved to Munger Place, Highland Park, or Turtle Creek. Of the Standard Club's nine new

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<sup>14</sup> "The Highland Park Browning Club: Dallas, Texas 1919-1969," Folder 1, Box 1, A94.1988 Highland Park Browning Club Archives, Archives of the Women of the Southwest, DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX.

members by 1923-1924, eight lived in these same three new suburbs.<sup>15</sup> Elite residential consolidation was clearly a rapid phenomenon in the early 1920s.

The Bay View Century Club, another elite educational club formed in the nineteenth century, likely followed a similar migration pattern and elite neighborhood concentration. In the club's earlier years, members lived in older elite neighborhoods, such as Old East Dallas and an affluent turn-of-the-century neighborhood in Oak Cliff, and some members remained in these neighborhoods into the 1910s and 1920s.<sup>16</sup> Most members, such as officer Mrs. J. E. Sandusky, moved each decade as elites migrated further and further away from the city core. Around 1910, Sandusky hosted a Bay View event at her home in the Cedars. She migrated to the heart of Old East Dallas by 1917, and by 1924, she had moved to the new suburb of Belmont.<sup>17</sup> As of 1923, Bay View Century Club members were concentrated in Belmont's neighboring suburb, Munger Place. One member strongly rooted in the neighborhood was Mrs. Olin Hockaday, wife of the nephew of the headmistress of Hockaday School, an elite academy for the girls of Highland Park, Belmont, and Munger Place.<sup>18</sup> The Bay View Century Club and the Standard Club maintained compact geographic concentrations in these very neighborhoods.

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<sup>15</sup> Folders 3 (1920-1921) and 4 (1923-1924), Box 2 (Yearbooks), A2008.0006 Standard Club Archives, Archives of the Women of the Southwest, DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX.

<sup>16</sup> 1915-1916 Yearbook; 1920-1921 Yearbook; 1921-1922 Yearbook; "Birthday of Club Observed," 1925 and "Bay View Century Club Christmas Party" 1928, Bay View Century Club Scrapbook; Box 1, Unprocessed Bay View Century Club Archives, Archives of the Women of the Southwest, DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX.

<sup>17</sup> "Woman's Club Notes," circa 1910, Bay View Century Club Scrapbook; 1917-1918 Yearbook; 1921-1922 Yearbook; and 1924-1925 Yearbook in Box 1, Unprocessed Bay View Century Club Archives.

<sup>18</sup> 1922-1923 Yearbook, Box 1, Unprocessed Bay View Century Club Archives. For further discussion of Hockaday School, see following section herein.

The social space that elite women created through their educational clubs reinforced the conservatism of the home sphere. They cultivated a stronger local identity by restricting club membership to their neighbors, family, and social networks. Members interacted socially with a slightly larger slice of Dallas society through annual open meetings attended by 200 to 300 guests of the members, but in their normal routine the clubs were highly local in nature. Membership was exclusive, operating on an invitation-only basis, and numbers were small. The Highland Park Browning Club (one of the few with a geographic name) had 20 members in 1919 and grew to 35 in 1922-1923. Members intentionally limited numbers through their constitution, which capped membership at 40 members (both active and honorary) and stipulated that membership was by invitation only.<sup>19</sup> The reason for maintaining the small size of the clubs was to foster personal development and community. As the Highland Park Browning Club put it, “Membership is limited to 40 in order that each member may have an opportunity to develop her ability in whatever field of clubwork she may be called upon to do.”<sup>20</sup> A club such as the Highland Park Browning Club was a place where the community’s women not only socialized and learned, but also where they found their place in the elite social world.

Elite women’s place was rooted in maintaining the affluent home. In the South, where women of the upper middle class and upper class regularly engaged black domestic workers to clean and cook for the household, this maintenance did not involve housework, but rather the replication of class status through material appearance and

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<sup>19</sup> On member numbers, see “The Highland Park Browning Club: Dallas, Texas 1919-1969” and “Newspaper Clippings, 1920-1939,” Folder 1, Box 1, A94.1988 Highland Park Browning Club Archives. For Constitution, see Box 1, Folder 2.

<sup>20</sup> Delegate report, Folder 2, Box 2, A94.1988 Highland Park Browning Club Archives.

socializing.<sup>21</sup> Clubwomen's homes were important not only for their location, but also for their central place in clubwomen's social lives. The Standard Club met weekly at the homes of its members on a rotating basis, a routine that reinforced the importance of a member's house location and hostess ability and also further emphasized the large role that these homes played in the social identity of these clubwomen.<sup>22</sup> The Highland Park Browning Club was formed in the home of its founder, Mrs. Matt F. Armstrong, and also met regularly at the homes of its members, on a bi-weekly basis. As the Bay View Century Club had a clubhouse downtown, they did not need to hold regular meetings at homes, yet they often held luncheons and other events at the homes of officers.<sup>23</sup> The Standard Club met on Tuesday afternoons and the Highland Park Browning Club met at noon on Thursdays, times that ruled out the possibility of membership for women who worked regular jobs.<sup>24</sup> The clubs were not for professional women, but for housewives.

While homes were central to the life of Dallas's education clubs, clubwomen also enjoyed engaging with a specific set of public spaces that reinforced their class status. They patronized downtown's upscale hotels, holding events at the Oriental, the Adolphus, and the Baker as each became the new premier hotel of the city.<sup>25</sup> When another organization, the Melodie Club, threw a costume ball at the Adolphus, the Highland Park Browning Club considered attendance important enough to elect a

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<sup>21</sup> Rebecca Sharpless, *Cooking in Other Women's Kitchens: Domestic Workers in the South, 1860-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 39.

<sup>22</sup> "Newspaper Clippings, 1920-1939," Folder 1, Box 1, A2008.0006 Standard Club Archives.

<sup>23</sup> "Club Has Open Meeting," Bay View Century Club Scrapbook, Box 1, Unprocessed Bay View Century Club Archives.

<sup>24</sup> "The Highland Park Browning Club: Dallas, Texas 1919-1969," Folder 1, Box 1; and "Browning Club to Reassemble: Highland Park Group to Distribute Yearbooks at Session Thursday" in scrapbook, Folder 7, Box 2, A94.1988 Highland Park Browning Club Archives.

<sup>25</sup> Program for Pioneer Dinner, November 11, 1926, Folder 4, Box 1, A2008.0006 Standard Club Archives; "Woman's Club Notes," 1916, 1910, Bay View Century Club Scrapbook, Box 1, Unprocessed Bay View Century Club Archives.

representative, Mrs. Noble Wright, to represent them at the event.<sup>26</sup> In addition to homes and hotels, clubwomen also used the Dallas Country Club, an intermediary space that was outside the home, yet still private, exclusive, and neighborhood-based.<sup>27</sup> The Highland Park Browning Club held annual open meetings at the Dallas Country Club, a perfect location, as it is nestled in the heart of Highland Park.<sup>28</sup> The Bay View Century Club particularly focused on the site of the country club in the late-1920s, likely as their concentration in Munger Place and the new suburb of Lakewood above it made the Lakewood Country Club an ideal location.<sup>29</sup>

Within a burgeoning city, elite women had strengthened their homogenous home sphere by creating social networks rooted in leisured domesticity and in class and race-specific sites. As a result, they created a strong sense of shared identity in their households. When Kay Murphy Fuller talks about growing up in Highland Park, an involuntary smile creeps across her face, and she describes it like a community. Born in 1927, Fuller lived near the mayor's home, where the streets of Turtle Creek, Dickens, and Purdue collide. There were no school buses in Highland Park at the time, yet Fuller and her childhood friends were not chauffeured to and from school everyday. The children's parents instead gave them money for the city bus, which they often pocketed for the soda fountain in the afternoon and instead walked home. Fuller describes the twenty-five to thirty minute walk across the mid-section of Highland Park with relish, listing the streets,

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<sup>26</sup> "Highland Browning Club Aids Biennial," in scrapbook, Folder 7, Box 2, A94.1988 Highland Park Browning Club Archives.

<sup>27</sup> Birthday Party Invitation, February 16, 1926, Folder 4, Box 1, A2008.0006 Standard Club Archives.

<sup>28</sup> "The Highland Park Browning Club: Dallas, Texas 1919-1969," Folder 1, Box 1, A94.1988 Highland Park Browning Club Archives.

<sup>29</sup> For an example of Bay View's annual event at Lakewood, see "Bay View club 30 Years Old: More Than 200 Attend Anniversary Tea at Lakewood," October 31, 1929, Bay View Century Club Scrapbook, Box 1, Unprocessed Bay View Century Club Archives.

the soda fountain, the Dallas Country Club, the park with a swimming pool, and the housewives who watched the children pass by. It is a safe picture, full of nostalgia. Parents always knew that their children were safe, Fuller says, because as they walked past neighbors' houses, one of the mothers always knew where they were.<sup>30</sup> Fuller is not describing a small Texas town, but rather a residential district in the largest city in the state. And yet, families headed by stay-at-home mothers felt comfortable with their young children walking unchaperoned across the neighborhood and even taking a city bus. For neighbors in Highland Park, bus passengers within the neighborhood were a known quantity. They were part of the most elite community in Dallas.

Elite mothers took care not only to supervise the safety of neighborhood children on the way home from school, but also to construct an educational and social world for their growing daughters. Anxiety over Jazz Age culture did not escape elite clubwomen, who sought to groom their daughters to fit their conservative home sphere. Educational clubs respected legacies, ensuring that daughters often followed their mothers in membership. In addition, the elite community created a solid educational structure for their girls, to protect them from cross-class socializing and prepare them for elite domesticity by keeping them within a small, strictly white and upper-class social network. This educational structure demarcated elite Dallas girls from the lower classes while further reinforcing their place in the community.

Kay Fuller followed a common educational trajectory among Highland Park young women. Like Fuller, many began at Highland Park High School or the private school Hockaday and then continued to university, at either the University of Texas or

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<sup>30</sup> Kay Murphy Fuller, interview with author, Fort Worth, TX, June 6, 2014.

Southern Methodist University in state or at Sweet Briar, Vanderbilt, or an elite university in “the East” because these “had the best reputation.” Like Fuller, some women continued further with graduate degrees and professional careers. Education and careers were stressed in the Fuller household, a tradition inherited from Fuller’s maternal relatives. Her mother grew up in Ohio as the oldest of four sisters, all of whom were encouraged by their father to “be independent” and pursued graduate education followed by careers. Fuller relates that this was common among her peers from Highland Park, which at first seems surprising given common gender discourses of the era and the neighborhood’s conservative reputation.<sup>31</sup> Yet Highland Park was heavily invested in local education for both sexes. Their civic elite ushered in the opening of the coed Southern Methodist University nearby in 1915, as the city provided \$300,000 and 666.5 acres for the establishment of the private university.<sup>32</sup> The campus neighborhood became University Park, resting directly North of Highland Park. Dallas’s elite sent their daughters to these specific sets of schools in order to keep them within an affluent social network.

Citizens of Dallas’s elite neighborhoods also established a private educational experience for their girls prior to their university attendance. M. B. Terrill of the Terrill School for Boys recruited Miss Ella Hockaday, a Texan native and Oklahoma schoolteacher, at the request of H.H. Adams, Mrs. Ruth Lindsley, “and several other parents who had decided that Dallas needed another school for girls.”<sup>33</sup> As Ann Firor

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<sup>31</sup> Fuller interview.

<sup>32</sup> Riis Christensen, “The History of Dallas, Part II,” *D Magazine*, 9-19-13, realestate.dmagazine.com.

<sup>33</sup> Virginia Savage McAlester, “Hockaday’s Campuses and Its Architecture” in *The Hockaday School: An Anthology of Voices and Views 1913-2013* (Dallas: The Hockaday School, 2013), 30.

Scott noted in her discussion of the popularity of boarding schools, the elite patrons of Hockaday looked to education to “emphasize correct female behavior more than intellectual development.”<sup>34</sup> Lindsley had a personal motivation, as her daughter Cadis was a charter member of Hockaday School, graduating in 1916.<sup>35</sup> This group of founders located a suitable first location in a mere day, a feat possible since they “felt that East Dallas was their part of town and so looked [only] there.” They chose an “old frame building” at 1206 Haskell Avenue in Old East Dallas, and Hockaday started its fall semester the next week.<sup>36</sup> Hockaday graduated one student in 1915, but grew rapidly. Like the elites who attended the school, when searching for a new and expanded campus in 1919, Hockaday looked further away from the city center. Almost two miles north, Hockaday built a new campus on Greenville Avenue with \$50,000 in new capital stock.<sup>37</sup> While early students recall the rural feel of the campus upon opening—there was only one other residence in sight among fields—Dallas was growing so rapidly that the campus was soon served by two streetcar lines and contiguous to what one student called “a desirable streetcar suburb.”<sup>38</sup> Another student recalled that it was “the perfect location for attracting Dallas students to a private school. It was almost exactly equidistant between the two most desirable residential areas—Munger Place to the east and

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“Another” school means in addition to public schools and a private Catholic academy for girls, Ursaline, founded in the nineteenth century.

<sup>34</sup> Ann Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics 1830-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 7.

<sup>35</sup> *The Miss Hockaday School for Girls*, circa 1931, Katherine Copeland folder A2001 2271c, Archives of Women of the Southwest, DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University.

<sup>36</sup> McAlester, 91. Recollections from the school’s first graduate.

<sup>37</sup> McAlester, 111-112.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 112; see also 30.

Highland Park to the west— each surrounded by a large and expanding group of neighborhoods.” And the campus itself felt “reassuringly residential.”<sup>39</sup>

The residential communities surrounding Hockaday were crucial to the school’s growth. When students started a newspaper, *The Fourcast*, in 1923, they “sought community support to fund this publication in the form of advertisements for local businesses such as Rainbow Pharmacy, Lloyd and Miller Market, and Republic National Bank.” The first edition featured two advertisements from businesses near the border of Old East Dallas and Munger Place, while the rest were located in the downtown business district.<sup>40</sup> Community support from businesses patronized and owned by neighborhood people made sense for a school whose students were drawn from specific neighborhoods: the older area of Old East Dallas and the newer elite suburbs of Munger Place, Belmont, and Highland Park. Marietta Jackson Scurry Ransone, who graduated from Hockaday in 1926, remembers a specific student constituency during the early 1920s:

The students consisted mostly of day pupils with a common social background. Their fathers were churchgoing businessmen, merchants, and bankers who were fairly affluent. Their respectable homes lined the broad avenues of East Dallas and later Highland Park. Heavily draped drawing rooms with Oriental rugs were the meeting-places for the Shakespeare Club to which their mothers belonged. Libraries and music rooms looked out on spacious lawns. Their fathers traveled to St. Louis, Chicago, and New York on occasional business trips.<sup>41</sup>

Ransone alludes to the elite migration that occurred in Dallas as the suburban real estate sector blossomed. One of Hockaday’s first students, Dorothy Marcus Jacobus, lived in the Cedars, but by the time that Genevieve Hudson and Mary Payne (who graduated in

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>40</sup> *The Fourcast*, February 1, 1923, Dallas, TX.  
[www.hockaday100.org/podium/default.aspx?t=204&nid=671477&bl=back&rc=0](http://www.hockaday100.org/podium/default.aspx?t=204&nid=671477&bl=back&rc=0).

<sup>41</sup> Nancy Shumate Miller, “The Early Years,” in *Of Hearts and Minds: The Hockaday Experience 1913-1988*,” edited by Camille R. Kraeplin (Dallas: Hockaday Alumnae Association, 1988), 24.

1923 and 1921, respectively) attended Hockaday, they were able to join a carpool group that commuted from Highland Park to the new campus.<sup>42</sup>

As a result of its elite students, Ransone relates, Hockaday became known as a “society school” despite its academic rigor. “This was understandable,” Ransone said, “for after graduation from an Eastern school, the daughters of these families would likely travel to Europe and likely would return to Dallas to be presented at the Idlewild Club Ball.”<sup>43</sup> A pamphlet promoting the school around 1931 listed all alumni, with current addresses and family information, as these were a testament to the success of the school. The most prestigious names often show up as Alumni Association Presidents. Hattie Higginbotham Lindsley, from the wealthy Higginbotham family in Munger Place, was the first of seven family members to serve in that role in the last century. Another student and Alumni Association President, Mary McReynolds Wozencraft, married Frank Wozencraft, son of the city attorney and himself the mayor of Dallas from 1919 to 1921.<sup>44</sup> Aside from Marie Garlington, a single graduate who headed a business school, the first six years of alumni remaining in Dallas lived in elite neighborhoods: mostly Highland Park and Munger Place, with others residing in Belmont, Old East Dallas, Turtle Creek, and new suburbs that were built to the west and north of Highland Park in the late 1920s. Most alumni were married, and four had daughters who also attended

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 17-18, 23.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>44</sup> McAlester, 374 on Alumnae Association presidents; Joan Jenkins Perez, “WOZENCRAFT, FRANK WILSON,” *Handbook of Texas Online* (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fwo33>), accessed July 4, 2014. Uploaded on June 15, 2010. Modified on October 26, 2010. Published by the Texas State Historical Association; Ruth Miller Fitzgibbons, “Dallas’ First Families: Old Money Still Survives,” *D Magazine*, August 1982. [www.dmagazine.com/publications/d-magazine/1982/august/dallas-first-families](http://www.dmagazine.com/publications/d-magazine/1982/august/dallas-first-families).

Hockaday.<sup>45</sup> Maude Emily Tenison Stewart's daughter, as well as her granddaughter, attended Hockaday.<sup>46</sup>

Hockaday's facilities matched the status of its elite students. The new campus, according to a 1921 advertisement, offered "6 tennis courts, 2 basketball courts, ball and hockey fields, an 18-hole putting green, a large swimming pool, and frequent hikes and horseback riding."<sup>47</sup> Fuller considered the tuition easily affordable, and points out that it was even more so for her family, who had a brother-in-law on the school board. She considered such connections between the school board and students common among her peers, a likely connection as the board represented the city's civic elite.<sup>48</sup> Neiman Marcus co-founder Herbert Marcus and cinema chain owner Karl Hoblitzelle both sat on the board.<sup>49</sup>

Hockaday girls made their own connections to the new leisure venues of Marcus, Hoblitzelle, and other elites. With spending money, leisure time, and a zest for Jazz Age pop culture, they were these businesses' best patrons. Ransone, a boarding student, recalls that they attended the opera and classical concerts, and that "usually we shopped at Neimans (everyone had a charge account), rushed to the movie at the Majestic Theater, and had a banana split or sundae at Nelson's elaborate ice cream parlor."<sup>50</sup> In addition to charge accounts at Neimans, boarders often received a weekly allowance for entertainment. Ransone's allowance was in the amount of \$2.50— "recommended by

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<sup>45</sup> *The Miss Hockaday School for Girls*, 25-35.

<sup>46</sup> *The Miss Hockaday School for Girls*, 25-35; Emily Goyer Comstock obituary, May 13, 2003, *Kerrville Daily Times*, Kerrville, TX, newspaperarchive.com.

<sup>47</sup> McAlester, 30.

<sup>48</sup> Fuller interview.

<sup>49</sup> Miller, 30.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 26-27.

Miss Hockaday.”<sup>51</sup> Boarders were not left completely to their own prerogative in the face of urban temptation. Their expensive boarding fee included faculty chaperoning on public excursions, which were conducted in groups. On their return home, they did not take streetcars, which necessitated close quarters with men and cross-class intermingling, but instead used private taxis.<sup>52</sup> Hockaday placed restrictions on boarders’ social lives within the campus as well, allowing visits only from family members. Fuller recalls that some girls circumvented this restriction by claiming boyfriends as brothers, until the administration caught on and required previous registration of all family members.<sup>53</sup> Hockaday’s social control of students went beyond chaperoning boarders, as a student recorded in her diary that the school expelled two of the most popular girls on the basis that they had smoked cigarettes at the Adolphus.<sup>54</sup> Hockaday, and the parents that supported it, sought to cultivate community women who maintained the decorum of a traditional Southern lady, even during the Jazz Age.

Hockaday thus provided an educational and social track for the young elite New Woman, allowing both a taste of Jazz Age culture and progressive empowerment, while cultivating the intellectual distinction, gendered manners, and social networks that marked Dallas’s elite. These marks of the Dallas elite community, in addition to their geographic isolation, separated these young women from the working-class and middle-class young women who likewise flocked to the Majestic Theater. Following Hockaday, many girls continued on the path that Fuller described, by enrolling in universities that further reinforced these elite community traits and even intensified their exclusivity

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Fuller interview.

<sup>54</sup> Miller, 30.

through connections with Eastern elites. Genevieve Hudson followed Hockaday with a year of study in England, then earned her bachelors' degree at Mt. Holyoke College in Massachusetts, and finally returned to Dallas to attend graduate school at Southern Methodist University.<sup>55</sup> Students carried Hockaday with them into college and then marriage through The Hockaday Alumnae Association, which served as an important transitional structure that continued the social networks of the past—and the social control that they fostered—while the young single women prepared for marriage. According to Maud Emily Tenison Stewart, the Alumnae Association's first 17 presidents married during their one-year term.<sup>56</sup> Without a gap in educational network immersion, they survived the snares of New Woman singledom and made it to the altar. Elites had successfully created a track for the young women of their community that ushered them into class and race specific spaces and institutions, from the private school to the educational club and home. Combined with spatial concentration in the form of restricted suburban enclaves, the elite home sphere by the 1920s successfully retrenched young women in a separate space for an affluent constituency. While Dallas's residential and gender landscapes grew rapidly and haphazardly as migrants poured in, the elite crafted a stable, safe, and segregated space on the perimeter.

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<sup>55</sup> "From Hockaday to College," in *Hockaday 1913-1938* (Dallas: Alumnae Association of Hockaday School, 1938), 197-220, discusses Hockaday girls going to college, including many Ivy League universities.

<sup>56</sup> McAlester, 374.

## VI. CONCLUSION

At the time that the Klan arose in Dallas, elites' commercial and residential development of the city and young white women's use of new opportunities challenged traditional conceptions of space and place. Klan members, unable to keep these changes at bay through wealth like the elite, formed a defensive community to protect their home sphere. Elites ultimately retained political control of the city, however, as they were able to create a more durable conservative community. For each community, the city's space and institutions became crucial vehicles of adaptation. Elites created race and class-specific sites and institutions through municipal zoning, exclusive suburbs, women's educational clubs, and private schools. The Klan also attempted racial segregation, as well as moral separation, without many of these resources, instead utilizing violence, intimidation, and residential congregation. The rise and fall of the most popular Klan chapter in the nation and the ascendance of Dallas's enduring ruling elite were ultimately determined by how these two communities conceptualized and accessed urban structures in their attempts to confront the changing landscape of Dallas and forge entrenched home spheres.

At the time that Dallas received an influx of young, single, white women, the city's business owners also opened up new spaces for them to inhabit in work, leisure, and lodging, through the city's hotels, cinemas, music venues, and department stores. These spaces contradicted traditional Southern gender ideology and represented an important change in women's leisure, residential, and work options. In response, communities developed structures to keep their young women within correct spatial and social

parameters. The use of violence is a known difference between these Klan and elite structures, but when considering the importance of private education in the elite community, we also see that class was an equally important difference. The elite simply had the resources to keep their girls and young women chaperoned and embedded in educational networks that fulfilled a social orthodoxy. Whether through following literal school rules that forbade smoking or following the community path from Hockaday to Southern Methodist University, elite girls remained within the community and demarcated themselves from the rest of Dallas's young women. The Klan, on the other hand, aimed to create a moral orthodoxy from which girls and young women would be afraid to deviate. Despite less financial opportunity, they also created a strong social network for community women that cultivated known expectations. The Klan's tone, however, was one of fear rather than aspiration. This comparison shows that even though communities can employ radically different structures—one considered progressive and the other considered reactionary—both can respond to the same changes in environment, encourage collective identity, and ultimately reinforce the status quo of the community. In both communities, women were groomed to make excellent housewives.

Comparing the community building of the Klan and the elite also sheds light on why the elite did not partake in the Klan and what motivated members to join the Dallas Klan in record numbers. The answer is both more discriminating and more useful than previous scholarship's emphasis on the ideologies of racism, patriarchy, and fundamentalism, by telling us what structures allowed these ideologies to flourish in Dallas within a particular part of the population. When distinguishing the Klan constituency from the rest of Dallas's population, consideration of Dallas's change in

population and geography is important, as is pinpointing an economic and geographic profile of the local Klan. The grassroots of the Klan represented largely middle-class, struggling entrepreneurs residing in Oak Cliff and other neighborhoods that buffered elites from the inner city. Their motivations for such a strong defensive community grew out of economic uncertainty and frustrated mobility within a rapidly changing city. As the city's elites fled for the perimeter and consolidated their own private communities, the Klan constituency looked to gain the same amount of control over their own declining neighborhoods. Just as their fixation on the purity of women reflected anxiety over their home sphere in the face of new social mores and spaces, the Klan's fixation on black residential encroachment reflected their concern for the value of their property. Like the elite, they craved a completely white home sphere occupied by community members that cherished the social status quo.

By comparing the elite and Klan communities of Dallas, we can see how different opportunities and structures in areas like real estate and education can cause disparate responses to the changing urban environment. The communities of urbanizing Dallas, then, fit with immigration scholarship that emphasizes conservative community building as a response to home sphere needs embodied in the structures and sites available to a group during a particular historical period. In 1920s Dallas, real estate and gender evolutions influenced the actions and solidarity of each group. Elites responded with suburbanization and educational networks for women. The Klan responded with violence and a moral network for both sexes. Both responses spoke to residents' desire to segregate their communities and chaperone community women, but the different structures available to each group and their cultivation of these distinct subcultures

created an unbridgeable gap between the elite and Klan communities. Their responses to Dallas's changes became the centerpiece of each community's culture, whether through official Klan ideology or through the inherited property and Hockaday legacies that typify Highland Park to this day. In the course of grappling with the city's changes, each community solidified around a common response that became central to its identity.

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