RICE UNIVERSITY

ENVISIONING A PROGRESSIVE CITY:
HOGG FAMILY PHILANTHROPY AND THE URBAN IDEAL
IN HOUSTON, TEXAS, 1910–1975

by

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ABSTRACT

By Kate Sayen Kirkland

Houston, Texas, the fourth largest metropolitan area in the United States, is home to professional teams for all major sports, internationally acclaimed museums, a symphony orchestra, ballet and opera companies, commercial and repertory theaters, respected universities, the Texas Medical Center, and the Manned Spacecraft Center. Yet historians of the American city seldom include Houston in general surveys. Scholars who tackle Houston's history focus on the city's reputation as a "free-enterprise" business arena but ignore its citizens' philanthropic generosity, which has sustained the city's cultural, educational, and service institutions. For generations Houston pacesetters have espoused bold visions for urban development, but most biographers focus attention instead on their subjects' entrepreneurial genius.

Among the many generous families that merit study, the three children of Progressive Governor James Stephen Hogg (1891–1895) were exemplary civic activists who articulated an urban ideal of good citizenship within a healthy community. They believed that public service through political participation, economic development through good business practice, and civic leadership through voluntarism were necessary components of community life. They served in appointive and elective offices and amassed a fortune in oil, real estate, and other enterprises. Their greatest impact lay in philanthropic careers: they supported city planning; pioneered preventive mental health care; established the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health; and sponsored lectures and university scholarships. Will was a University of Texas regent; Ima served on Houston's
Board of Education; Ima founded and sustained the Houston Symphony; and family generosity nurtured the Museum of Fine Arts for fifty years.

Profoundly influenced by their parents' examples, the Hoggs' activism illuminates Progressivism, philanthropy, and civil society in the United States. Progressives like the Hoggs were proactive optimists whose moral response to social dislocations taught citizens they could improve their lives. Hogg philanthropies, which interpreted this promise of American life, help explain how millions of generous Americans build community institutions. The Hoggs' efforts to unite business leaders, politicians, and volunteers in partnerships of civic responsibility show how cooperation promotes democracy and fosters civil society. As the Hoggs were challenged a century ago to husband their oil wealth and build a great city, so must Houstonians today conserve resources to promote community goals and preserve diverse values.
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invaluable tool for understanding the Hoggs' collecting practices. My thanks to Ann Kelsey, Francita Ulmer, and Shelby Jones, for securing permission needed to read the Garden Club of Houston Records, and to Peggy Bailey and Mrs. Thomas L. Hail, for making available the River Oaks Garden Club Records, both in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Archives. June Stobaugh and Mary Beth Staine most graciously directed me to Junior League of Houston histories. At the Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, Director Don Carleton, former Associate Director Kate Adams, and Winedale curator Pablo Howze led me behind the scenes in their collections. At the Woodson Research Center, Rice University, archivists Kinga Perzynska and Lee Pecht and their colleagues were unfailingly interested in my project. Without the patient assistance of German Diaz at the GIS/Data Center, Fondren Library, Rice University, I would have been unable to include the maps of Houston. Librarians at the Texas Room and archivists at the Houston Metropolitan Research Center of the Houston Public Library, staff at the Board of Education, and former Associate Director Ralph E. Culler III of the Hogg Foundation helped me find valuable information, photographs, and maps. Joann Mitchell, former development director of the DePelchin Children's Center, scrambled through a storage warehouse to unearth the minutes of the Houston Child Guidance Center. Portions of chapters 1, 3, and 4 appeared in the Southwestern Historical Quarterly: "For All Houston's Children: Ima Hogg and the Board of Education, 1943–1949" (April 1998), 460-495; "A Wholesome Life: Ima Hogg's Vision for Mental Health Care" (January 2001), 416-447.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BE    Board of Education, Houston Independent School District
CAH   Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin
DCC   DePelchin Children's Center (Houston Child Guidance Center material)
HFR   Hogg Foundation Records
HMRC  Houston Metropolitan Research Center
HPL   Houston Public Library
IHP   Ima Hogg Papers
IHPC  Ima Hogg Program Collection, University of Houston Archives
JSH   James Stephen Hogg Papers
MFAH  Museum of Fine Arts, Houston
RU    Rice University
UH    University of Houston
WHP   Will Hogg Papers
WRC   Woodson Research Center, Rice University
GROWTH OF HOUSTON, TEXAS 1903-1973
HOGG FAMILY POINTS OF INTEREST, 1905-1975

1. DePelchin Children's Center
2. Faith Home
3. Julia Ideson Building (Houston Public Library)
4. Jones Hall/City Auditorium
5. Great Southern Building (Hogg Brothers)
6. Rice Hotel
7. Houston Child Guidance Clinic
8. Clayton Library
Introduction

Houston is apt to strike visitors as a city of extremes, an impression to which its torrid climate, flat terrain, great distances, and lack of apparent order contribute.

Stephen Fox, 1990

Philanthropy permeates American life, touches each one of us countless times in countless ways; philanthropy provides the resources for some of the most important activities that give shape and substance to our efforts to be a free and open and democratic society, and yet, inexplicably, it is not a matter of central intellectual concern, of thought and study.

Robert L. Payton, 1984

Houston — the Golden Buckle of the Sunbelt; Land of the Big Rich; Freeway City, Strip City, Mobility City; Space City; Oil Capital of the United States. Houston — the Bayou City, hot, humid, flat, unzoned, decentralized. Houston — champion of the anti-tax ethos where Free Enterprise advocates own City Hall. Houston — home to egomaniacal trial lawyers, uncaring tract developers, greedy commodities traders, and legendary wildcatters who toss silver dollars about as if they were copper pennies. Houston sometimes seems to be the city writers love to stereotype. Whether sensationalizing journalists, aggrandizing promoters, or serious scholars, chroniclers of Houston dwell on its phenomenal growth and periodic scandals. They often paint a one-dimensional picture that fails to explain why Houston is home to the Manned Spacecraft Center, to the internationally acclaimed Texas Medical Center, to "world-class" performing and visual arts institutions, and to respected universities. They rarely wonder how generations of Houstonians have marshaled public and private resources to build

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infrastructure, industry, and institutions that empower the citizens and enhance the urban scene. They seldom examine why civic activists consistently envision a city of destiny and pour financial and human resources into civic institutions.

Houston, the fourth-largest metropolitan area in the United States, is in fact a complex urban center that offers a wide range of choices to its citizens. The most ethnically diverse large city in the country, Houston today has no majority racial group. From the moment in 1836 when Augustus Chapman Allen and John Kirby Allen hammered surveyors' stakes into the mud at the junction of two bayous and proclaimed their "city" was open for business, civic leaders have welcomed newcomers willing to work hard to build the community. For generations Houston's proactive optimists have understood that aggressive economic expansion and innovative cultural achievement can march together. Chamber of Commerce boosters, oil heiresses, social workers, women, artists, men, immigrants, educators, architects have all imagined a great city. Their generosity has countered crass materialism with philanthropic vision. Their idealism has vehemently promoted quality of life issues to balance commercial development. They have tried to build an urban landscape destined to achieve "world-class" status.

Houston's reputation as a free-enterprise heaven in a hot climate tells only part of the city's story. Houston is also a laboratory of cultural experiment where generous patrons have created a climate "essential to the flowering of genius."4 It is time to discover what inspired this aspiration to greatness.


French propagandists of the 1840s depicted Houston as a thriving town fanning away from the banks of a deep river, protected by mountains rising at mid-distance, and capped by a fair blue sky. Perhaps their views derived from the sales pitch of the Allen brothers of New York City, who in 1836 described their 6,642-acre wilderness plot on the banks of Buffalo Bayou in hyperbolic terms: "handsome and beautifully elevated, salubrious and well-watered, and now in the very heart ... of population." Undaunted by heat, humidity, flat vistas, and periodic flooding, the Allens were only the first to imagine a great city rising along the bayou. Their eloquence convinced Sam Houston that a huddle of tents on a muddy prairie should be home to Texas's first government in 1837. Immigrants from the United States and Europe responded to the glowing propaganda, and Houston grew steadily in the nineteenth century to become a major entrepot for lumber, rice, and cotton, and a post–Civil War railroad center. Oil discoveries at Spindletop in 1901 and the opening of a deep-water port in 1914 transformed the town into a major energy capital in the twentieth century. Among the settlers attracted to boomtown Houston early in the last century, one family emerges as exemplary. William Clifford, Ima, and Michael Hogg, three of Governor James Stephen Hogg's four children, made Houston their permanent home and business headquarters after 1906. Until Ima Hogg's death in 1975, their imaginative approaches to commerce, government, and philanthropy

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5 "Vue de la Ville de Houston," by E. Therond, Paris, after O.L. Regnier, Paris, illus. 28 from Journal Universel, ca. 1850 (B.71.50); "View of Houston, Capital of Texas," from Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Board Companion, May 22, 1852, Boston, ca. 1852 (based on Therond-Regnier print; B.71.51), Bayou Bend Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.
6 Advertisement, Telegraph and Texas Register, Aug. 30, 1836, front page, repeated each issue through 1837; also quoted in David G. McComb, Houston, the Bayou City (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), 11-12.
allowed them to confront urban challenges and demonstrate the diverse ways in which private resources can support the public good and shape community.\footnote{The fourth, and youngest, child of James Stephen and Sally Stinson Hogg was Thomas Elisha (August 10, 1887–March 9, 1949). He never joined his siblings in Houston but lived at Varner-Hogg plantation, West Columbia and in San Antonio and Tyler, Texas, and Tucson, Arizona.}

"Houston" may have been the first word beamed to Earth from the moon, and the Hogg family may have held center stage in Texas for a century, but neither city nor family have received the study this notoriety merits. Historians of the American city seldom include Houston in their general surveys, and David G. McComb undertook the last scholarly "biography" of Houston in 1969, which he revised in 1981.\footnote{McComb, Houston, the Bayou City.} Numerous anecdotal chronologies recall a rowdy past, and several laudatory biographies detail the can-do spirit of prominent businessmen.\footnote{Exceptions to the booster enthusiasm include Houston: A Twentieth Century Urban Frontier (edited by Francisco A. Rosales and Barry J. Kaplan [Port Washington, N. Y.: Associated Faculty Press, Inc., 1983]), which provides demographic, social, political, economic, and cultural analysis with special emphasis on social impact and change; Houston's Forgotten Heritage: Landscape, Houses, Interiors, 1824–1914 (co-authored by Dorothy Knox Howe Houghton, Barrie M. Scardino, Sadie Gwin Blackburn, Katherine S. Howe [Houston: Rice University Press, 1991]), which tempers the boomtown image by suggesting that Houston had always been home to a coterie of families who included domestic and cultural concerns in their vision of community; Don E. Carleton, A Breed So Rare: The Life of J. R. Parten, Liberal Texas Oil Man, 1896–1992 (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1998), an "oil-entrepreneur" biography embedded in the context of Houston, Texas, and U.S. history; Marguerite Johnston, Houston: The Unknown City, 1836–1946 (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991). Chandler Davidson (Race and Class in Texas Politics [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990], xviii) points out that despite producing presidents and other national political leaders, the mayoral politics of New Haven and Chicago are better understood than politics in Texas.} A growing body of work defines Houston's economic dynamism and reputation as a "free-enterprise" business arena or analyzes political developments based on long-running demographic studies of Houston's multi-ethnic population.\footnote{Examples include Marilyn McAdams Sibley, The Port of Houston: A History (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968); Harold L. Platt, City Building in the New South: The Growth of Public Services in Houston, Texas, 1830–1910 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982); Walter L. Buenger and Joseph A. Pratt, But Also Good Business: Texas Commerce Banks and the Financing of Houston and Texas, 1886–1986 (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1986); Feagin, Free Enterprise City; Kenneth Lipartito and Joseph A. Pratt, Baker & Botts in the Development of Modern Houston (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991); Joseph A. Pratt and Christopher J. Castaneda, Builders: Herman and George R. Brown (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999); Stephen L. Klineberg, Houston's Ethnic} Few authors, however, specifically address issues of civic responsibility or
examine how philanthropy and voluntarism have molded Houston's traditions. Although journalists frequently praise Houstonians' creative ability to forge public/private alliances to develop cultural and social service institutions for the city, scholars have often disparaged what they see as an overly cozy relationship among business leaders, local government officials, and philanthropists in shaping the community. Suspicious that any generosity toward the citizenry displayed by these men and women merely masks more venal motives, these authors have failed to illuminate the nature of this interaction. Few students have asked why, over several generations, Houston pacesetters have identified with the city's destiny and deemed it their civic duty to build a great metropolis, not just for themselves but for their fellow citizens. How, then, did the conflicting motives of profit, power, and philanthropy shape Houston? The urban vision articulated by Will, Ima, and Mike Hogg, when placed within the context of their adoptive home, addresses this question, reveals Houston's complexity, and provides an antidote to analysis reliant on popular stereotypes.

The Hoggs arrived in Houston at an exciting moment. Oil discoveries were changing the economic foundation of development; a new commission form of city government promised political efficiency; and numerous voluntary associations centered in churches, women's clubs, a chamber of commerce, and several nascent musical and artistic groups were promoting cultural progress. Other pre–World War I newcomers included reticent bachelor Monroe D. Anderson (1873–1939), whose fortune in cotton


12 Two studies of Houston businessmen-philanthropists do demonstrate the interplay of business, government, and philanthropic goals. See Pratt and Castaneda, Builders; Carleton, A Breed So Rare.
later supported the M.D. Anderson Foundation (1936) and medical research; Jesse Jones
(1874–1956), banker, newspaperman, and builder of downtown Houston, whose Houston
Endowment (1937) has continued to nurture civic and cultural institutions; oilman Walter
B. Fondren (1877–1939) and his wife Ella Florence (1880–1982), whose deeply felt
Methodism inspired gifts to educational and medical facilities and creation of the
Fondren Foundation (1948); and wildcatter Hugh Roy Cullen (1881–1957) and his wife
Lillie, who donated millions to hospitals, education, and the arts and endowed the Cullen
Foundation (1947) to carry on their philanthropy. Edgar Odell Lovett, first president of
the Rice Institute, whose charismatic leadership inspired the fledgling institution's
ambition, circumnavigated the globe in 1908 to study institutions of higher learning and
arrived in Houston in 1909, the year Ima and Will Hogg rented their first apartment.
Lovett, a youthful astronomy professor from Princeton who had been commissioned by
visionary trustees to establish a university of international stature, joined the Hoggs and a
circle of forward-looking Houstonians who believed their city merited institutions that
could perform with confidence on the world's stage. Their proactive optimism
transformed Houston from a regional market center into a major metropolis.13

In Will Hogg's magazine, Civics for Houston (1928), in extensive correspondence
and interviews, and in their art collections and volunteer activities, the three Hogg
siblings reveal a clearly articulated ideal of good citizenship within a healthy community
that endures as a model for effective civic engagement. They understood that public
service through government participation, economic development through responsible
business practice, and civic leadership through private philanthropy were all necessary

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13 For information about Rice Institute, see Fredericka Meiners, A History of Rice University: The Institute
Years, 1907–1963 (Houston: Rice University Studies, 1982).
components of community life, and they nurtured partnerships among the three sectors. Although children of a famous and progressive Texas governor, their embrace of politics was guarded: Will served in appointive offices as Regent of the University of Texas and as chairman of Houston's Planning Commission; Mike was elected twice to the Texas Legislature; and Ima completed six years on Houston's elective Board of Education. Heirs to their father's business success, they amassed a fortune in oil, real estate, and other enterprises and used business ties to undergird their civic activism. Their greatest impact lay in their philanthropic careers as visionaries of an ideal American city whose residents enjoyed access to parklands, music, and art; were provided social service and health care options; and learned to appreciate their American heritage. This family philanthropy over a long period and on many stages demonstrates how citizens frame their communities and forge a civil society through private action for the public good. The Hoggs' triumphs and failures and their interactions with fellow dreamers and worthy competitors suggest both the limits to and the significance of citizen involvement.

In many ways the Hoggs were typical of their generation. Their activism was a conscious moral response to industrialization and urbanization. Like many Progressives who reached maturity before World War I, they believed society could be molded and improved. Their can-do spirit was informed by strong patriotism and pride in their adopted hometown, a boosterism reflected in the newspapers and promotional materials of the era. Finally, they viewed the Hogg Foundation, established in the 1930s, as a transformational agent that would prevent, not just palliate, social ills. Yet their lives also challenge several currently held academic assumptions. Seldom do we read of so exceptional a family: the mutuality of their interests provides a lesson in sibling
dynamics. Their use of power defies the analysis of many historians of the rich who criticize their subjects for using wealth to impose social and cultural controls. Not only did the Hoggs show a concern for minority voices that was exceptional during their lifetimes, but also they believed their philanthropy should be used to empower fellow citizens. Will established scholarships at colleges and universities throughout the state in the 1910s and 1920s. When creating the Hogg Foundation, Ima and Mike provided seed money to Texas communities so that men and women could define and ameliorate local problems without direction from a central bureaucracy. Will and Ima were among the first to understand the importance of material culture as a tool to explain history, inculcate national values, and define an American identity. Their collections of Kachina dolls, Native American baskets and pottery, German-American folk art, and American decorative arts, while enjoyed for many years in homes and offices, were always intended for a public audience. The Hogg Brothers collection of works by Frederic Remington, the finest in the nation at the time of its formation, was developed to encourage corporate support of the arts and foster a national consciousness.

Ima Hogg's life and career complicate academic assumptions about women's lives in the decades between 1880 and 1940. For over thirty years, historians of these women have been guided by a paradigm based on two premises: first, that women occupied a private, hidden sphere separated from men's public, well-recorded world; and second, that women joined volunteer associations to learn about this world, move from private to public sphere, and exert political influence before gaining the franchise. While this paradigm helps make visible women's multifaceted activities and explains ascendant middle-class culture from early nationhood through the world wars, it dwells too
insistently on the sharp lines between private and public action and too often emphasizes antagonism between male and female actors. Recent scholarship suggests that women's lives in all eras of American history were far more varied and complex than previously imagined and that the lines between public/male and private/female spheres cannot be clearly drawn in a complex American polity.¹⁴ Ima Hogg's activism reinforces this new scholarship. Like Will and Mike, Ima attended college, studied for a professional career, participated as a full partner in Hogg Brothers, Inc., and merged private and public interests to imagine a vision of community. Ima's interaction with her brothers and with other male civic leaders during her long philanthropic career suggests a level of cooperation and synergistic interaction in Houston's volunteer world rarely noted in scholarly studies. If women founded Houston's Art League, Ballet, Alley Theatre, and Grand Opera, they quickly recruited men as supporters; and men are frequently listed on the rosters of settlement house and social service boards, often deemed by scholars the purview of women's "municipal housekeeping."

Performers know activity on stage is meaningless without an audience. The Hogg's responded to Houston's ethos of progress with dreams that, in turn, shaped the drama of urban expansion in the Bayou City. Acting in concert with other forward-

¹⁴ In 1988 Linda K. Kerber ("Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," Journal of American History, 75 [June 1988], 9-39) traced the "central myth" of separate spheres, showing how women's history from the 1960s to the 1980s was infused with Marxist rhetoric. She encouraged writers to "embed women's experience" in the main stream of human history by abandoning this trope: "To continue to use the language of separate spheres is to deny the reciprocity between gender and society, and to impose a static model on dynamic relationships" (p. 38). Historians have been slow to heed her call, but scholarship that goes beyond the standard paradigm includes Fane Downs and Nancy Baker Jones, eds., Women and Texas History: Selected Essays (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1993); Elizabeth York Enstam, Women and the Creation of Urban Life, Dallas, Texas, 1843–1920 (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998); Elizabeth Hayes Turner, Women, Culture, and Community: Religion and Reform in Galveston, 1880–1920 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Elna Green, Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsock, eds., Visible Women: New Essays on
looking reformers, Will, Ima, and Mike inspired a responsive citizenry receptive to pleas for improvement and in turn called upon friends in the community to help them shape and explain initiatives. Thus, any analysis of the Hogg's urban ideal perfecf includes numerous city scenes and supporting players. Both the Hoggs' opportunity for civic activism and its success can be explained only by placing the family's work in a context that includes the advocacy of fellow reformers and a portrait of the city itself.

Understanding the Hoggs' diverse crusades within the context of Houston's development as a sophisticated, multifaceted center of culture illuminates the nature of Progressivism as practiced by the Hoggs and members of their circle, suggests new ways to relate philanthropy to community-building, and provides insight into the current debate surrounding the meaning and role of civil society in the twenty-first century.

Extensive publication and argument have done little to diminish disagreement about the meanings of Progressivism, philanthropy, or civil society in American life. Progressivism has seemed particularly opaque when examined only from a political perspective. Moreover, in the South, Progressives have been tainted in the eyes of historians because many white southerners embraced efficient government reform to rationalize Jim Crow legislation and codify racial separation. Yet elements of a "progressive conscience" pervade the nation's founding principles; since the sixteenth century, men and women have fled stratified cultures fortified by the belief that they could improve their condition in life. The very idea that conditions can and should be ameliorated lies at the heart of evolutionary progressive movements.

Academic discovery of woman's history in the 1960s forced scholars to redefine Progressivism. Most who examine the phenomenon now agree that the Progressive Era in the United States spanned the 1880–1920 decades and was an upper/upper-middle-class urban response to the transformations in technology, transportation, and communication that created modern America.\(^{15}\) Although advocates of modernity, Progressives shared a humanitarian horror of the excesses of industrialization and were moral activists who believed reform of governments, restraint of markets, and equitable distribution of social services could uplift communities while containing change. In the 1960s William Chafe distinguished two Progressivisms — men's social control\(^{16}\) through regulation and efficient expert management, and women's social justice through health, workplace, child care, and education reforms. In 1970 Anne Firor Scott reread the evidence on southern Progressivism to discover disfranchised, culturally restricted women who were deeply involved in Progressive political action. These revelations have inspired an enormous body of work that demonstrates how women volunteers began to address social problems largely ignored by male civic activists. Their female municipal

\(^{15}\) Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870–1920* (New York: Free Press, 2003), offers an interpretation of progressivism that presents the movement as a "radical" attempt by the middle class to reshape America in its image by eradicating the frivolity and waste of the rich and "uplifting" the "poor" from squalor. By reducing his analysis to a "class" movement, McGerr conflates middle class with progressive (despite ample evidence that many in the middle class opposed reform or change), reduces the upper class to stereotypical "spenders," fails to examine the "leadership" (upper/upper middle class) groups that emerge in every community, and demotes the working class to "victim" status.

\(^{16}\) The term "social control" has been variously defined. Carroll Smith Rosenberg (*Religion and the Rise of the American City: The New York City Mission Movement, 1812–1870* [Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1971], 7) uses the term "to describe policies intended to insure the continuity of a stable, graded society based upon universal acceptance of traditional patterns of deference and morality." I would suggest that social control implies the belief that all groups should assimilate to a dominant ethos articulated by the so-called well-informed. Social control suggests imposition of values from above, whereas empowerment suggests provision of tools to all so that community consensus can be reached without coercion.
housekeeping extended "women's" work from the home into the community. While woman's appearance on the historian's page demanded that the story of reform be rewritten, it occurred at a moment when the roles of men and women were frequently depicted in antagonistic opposition. The experience of the Hoggs and their circle suggests that the moral response to social issues, the passion for efficiency and expertise, and the public/private partnerships forged to promote social welfare and cultural development describe both male and female activists in Houston. Moreover, the Hoggs' Progressive conscience endured for decades.

Philanthropy — or the actions taken by individuals and private institutions for the public good — has also been a contested subject area, treated with suspicion by many authors who variously view donors as robber barons seeking to salve their guilty consciences, elitist experts hoping to influence policy decisions, or capitalist stooges maintaining social and political control through redistribution of surplus wealth in their own interest. Apologists for mankind's benevolent impulse who believe the "purpose of

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philanthropy . . . is to promote the welfare, happiness, and culture of mankind," have too often challenged this hostility with laudatory narratives of institutions and individuals or instructive descriptions of fund-raising techniques and volunteer activity. Efforts to quantify who benefits from philanthropy or how much social capital is produced by voluntary association have done little to illuminate the motives of philanthropists or explain how philanthropy informs community-building. Not until scholars regrouped philanthropic, voluntary, and charitable associations together under the rubric "nonprofit sector" in the 1970s did they begin to fathom how private resources as divergent as the charitable Salvation Army, the philanthropic Hogg Foundation, or the fraternal Elks could be marshaled for public action. When students began to examine these institutions as components of "civil society" in traditional and emergent democracies, they recognized that more than tax-exempt status linked these disparate nonprofit organizations. Indeed, recent scholarship has rediscovered private associations as sites where "the public in a democracy defines itself and its collective purposes." Although important scholars continue to insist that "philanthropic activity in America" is rooted in

relationship motivated by the desire to transform the recipients of the exchange according to the material and cultural ideals of the philanthropists themselves" ("Rethinking Assimilation: American Indians and the Practice of Christianity, 1800–1861," in Lawrence J. Friedman and Mark D. McGarvie, eds., Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 110).


21 By 1983 the Independent Sector Research Committee suggested universities make philanthropy an "interdisciplinary research field" (Lawrence J. Friedman, "Philanthropy in America: Historicism and Its Discontents," in Friedman and McGarvie, eds., Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility, 1).
individual desire "to impose . . . visions, ideals, or conceptions of truth" on "society," the nonprofit sector is also praised by some as "central to furthering democracy and the search for social justice."  

Critics and defenders of philanthropy do agree that the impulse to help others is, like the impulses to accumulate or to dominate, a fundamental human characteristic exhibited in all historic periods and praised by all religious and ethical ideologues. They also agree that the deep-seated humanitarian wish to palliate misfortune — the traditional charitable act — was superseded in the late nineteenth century by proactive efforts to prevent misfortune from occurring in the first place. They see that the "scientific" analysis of social problems and the "rational" application of private funds to their solution — attributes of large-scale philanthropy — were first made possible by the unimagined fortunes accumulated after the Civil War. Pioneering philanthropists like Margaret Olivia Sage and Jane Addams were appalled by the unforeseen consequences of rapid industrial and urban growth and the dislocation suffered by immigrant populations. Industrial titans like Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller defined a gospel of wealth that emphasized the redistribution of their surplus funds to institutions that would empower average citizens. In particular, libraries, universities, parks, hospitals, and other venues for self-improvement found favor. Not surprisingly, the unprecedented scale of this munificence and the unpopular business ventures that made such redistribution of

wealth possible garnered as much suspicion as praise and made fair appraisal of
"relatively disinterested benevolence" difficult. Indeed, it is often the unforeseen
consequences of this redistribution that cloud philanthropic effectiveness and limit our
ability to explain the role of private influence within a democracy.

In a January 1957 article in the *American Historical Review*, Merle Curti
challenged scholars to examine "the hypothetical statement . . . that philanthropy has
been one of the major aspects of and keys to American social and cultural
development." His call did not go unanswered. Hostile government investigations of
major foundations induced them to open their records to scholars in an effort to prove
their benevolent purposes. Research centers like the Rockefeller Archive (1974), the
Indiana University Center on Philanthropy (1994), and Harvard's Hauser Center for
Nonprofit Organizations (1997) house extensive collections, sponsor programs to
examine the role of philanthropy in American society, and encourage scholars to produce
period histories, institutional studies, biographies of donors, and topical studies that relate
philanthropy to all aspects of American life. The Association for Research on Nonprofit
Organization and Voluntary Action and the International Society for Third Sector
Research sponsor journals devoted to the study of philanthropy. Despite the torrent of
prose Curti's call has elicited, the story remains unsatisfactory. Too much stress is laid on

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negative unintended consequences. Too often reductionist analysis dismisses the voices of donors as self-serving. Too seldom are the topical studies integrated into a broader narrative of the American experience. Certainly it is important to understand that the redistribution of private wealth within a community can exacerbate rather than ameliorate that community's problems; certainly it is necessary to scrutinize motive and action. It is equally important to step back from present concerns and imaginatively reconstruct the world in which specific philanthropists tried to advance the social and cultural welfare of their communities.

The Hogg family philanthropy recalls an old tradition of civic stewardship, aptly defined by Kathleen McCarthy and relevant to twenty-first century concerns about citizen participation in a civil society:

Civic stewardship — the notion that successful citizens owe a dual obligation of time and money to the communities in which they have prospered — . . . has continually served to graft people's loyalties to their adopted cities, rekindling their commitment to the community ideal, and encouraging them to assume responsibility for the provision of essential social and cultural institutions.  

In the introduction to his recent compendium on American charity, philanthropy, and civility, Lawrence Friedman notes that philanthropists while "never a homogeneous lot" are remarkable for their intensity, their self-criticism, and their energetic passion "to transform the insufficiently civil world that is into the world that might be" if their visions could be realized. Understanding the actions of the Hoggs as philanthropists and

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25 Curti, AHR, 352, full article pp. 352-63.
27 Friedman, in Friedman and McGarvie, eds., Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility, 9, 10.
volunteers enables us to see ourselves as civic actors and to grasp the role private influence plays in a democracy. Ultimately the philanthropist's power, if secured by wealth, rests neither in marketplace goals of accumulating nor in political goals of dominating but rather in the authority of a voice that articulates the importance of pursuing a common good.

The collapse of communism and the emergence of "democracies" around the world coincided with scholarly reevaluation of philanthropy and voluntary associations as critical components of civil society. Viewed in the 1990s as engines of democracy, these associations are now believed to reconcile individual and community differences in a pluralistic society, teach responsible citizenship through participation in community activities, and nurture the constitutional values of America's liberal tradition. Just as students of emerging democracies were discovering that the countries most equipped to sustain self-government today have the longest histories of strong voluntary associations and benevolence, critics of the American scene were sounding alarm bells about a diminution in associative behavior in the United States. Whether or not "we have been pulled apart from one another and from our communities over the last third of the century" and are now all too often bowling alone, as Robert D. Putnam warns, Americans at the turn of the twenty-first century are anxiously debating the meaning of citizenship and the role of citizens in building communities. Indeed, Putnam and others

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now suggest that reevaluation of Progressive Era philanthropy will illuminate solutions to today's challenges.  

Like the terms "Progressivism" and "philanthropy," "civil society," too, is contested. Scholars of Eastern Europe, those working from a Marxist historical perspective, and some American conservatives tend to see civil society in opposition to the state. Fearful of state power and "mega-institutions," they group all "non-state" associations together and suggest that these "mediating structures . . . stand between the private world of individuals and the large, impersonal structures of modern society." As such, they "should become a permanent thorn in the side of political power." Skeptics working within the American tradition tend to see this mediation as a third force protecting individuals from the isolation of commercial society and the intrusion of centralized government. Although conceding that the term is "unavoidably nebulous and elastic," John Ehrenberg suggests a positive approach: "the most productive use of the term is to describe the social relations and structures that lie between the state and the market. Civil society delineates a sphere that is formally distinct from the body politic and state authority on one hand, and from the immediate pursuit of self-interest and the imperatives of the market on the other." Students of philanthropy have been quick to

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30 Putnam, Bowling Alone, Chapter 23, 367-401.
32 "Mediating structures" in Berger and Neuhaus, To Empower People, 148; "permanent thorn" in Keane, Democracy and Civil Society, 15.
33 Ehrenberg, Civil Society, 235. See also, Warren F. Ickman, Stanley N. Katz, and Edward L. Queen II, Philanthropy in the World's Traditions (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); Benjamin R.
join the debate and suggest that civil society is the place where "individuals undertake voluntary actions in concert with others to realize their vision of the public good." At bottom all agree that civil society incorporates the American passion to form associations so brilliantly described by Alexis de Tocqueville. Like Will, Ima, and Mike Hogg in the twentieth century, the Americans Tocqueville met in 1831 created "several kinds of associations . . . of which I confess I had no previous notion" and demonstrated "extreme skill . . . in proposing a common object to the exertions of a great many men, and in inducing them voluntarily to pursue it."

The Hogg family's ability to unite politicians, volunteers, and businessmen in partnerships of civic responsibility illuminates the power of philanthropic vision to nurture the associations of democracy and provide alternative solutions to society's problems. The Hoggs belonged to a cosmopolitan circle in Houston. Like many of their friends, they traveled frequently, maintained homes in other cities, read widely, and debated issues of the day in extensive correspondence. Like other philanthropists, they recognized social problems often overlooked by economic power brokers and politicians, and they integrated the needs of family, community, state, and nation in efforts to reconcile individual requirements with community purposes. Like most successful activists, they secured broad-based support. Through their city planning and residential


Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, edited and abridged by Richard D. Heffner (New York: Penguin Group, 1956), 198. Part II, Book Two, No. 29 also includes the paragraphs describing American's propensity to associate quoted in numerous current studies of civil society.
development projects they tried to create an ideal American city by incorporating design elements and expertise from the East, the South, the Midwest, and the Southwest. Through their education and health care initiatives they hoped to empower Houstonians and Texans to pursue individual goals of life, liberty, and happiness. Through their art collections and historic preservation projects they sought to bring Texans "closer to the heart of an American heritage which unites us."\textsuperscript{36} Their every action supports Robert Payton's observation that "philanthropy permeates American life."\textsuperscript{37} To better understand the American heritage the Hoggs were determined to foster, it is time to incorporate the study of philanthropy and philanthropists in master narratives of America's past.

Although analysis of the Hoggs' civic activism illuminates the way private resources can be marshaled for the common good, it leaves incomplete the story of civil society in Houston because the Hoggs lived in an era of racial separation and white dominance. In the waning years of Ima Hogg's life, the unheard voices of African-American and Hispanic Houstonians claimed their place in the majority chorus, and in the last twenty years scholars have revealed the rich social and cultural heritage of these previously "invisible" communities. In the Hoggs' day whites, African Americans, and Hispanics led parallel lives, isolated from each other in residential areas and nurtured by separate news media, business and professional infrastructure, and vibrant benevolent, church, educational, and social associations. While the Hoggs and their circle observed and addressed minority community needs, there was little penetration of the city's power structure by African-American and Hispanic leaders until the 1970s. As the twenty-first


\textsuperscript{37} Robert Payton in Taitt, ed., Citizen and Government, 126.
century begins, these three groups have reached equilibrium, especially in the political and educational arenas, and they have been joined by a fast-growing, multi-faceted Asian community. When historians tackle the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, perhaps they will discover that the Hogg's dream of a truly American city has been realized and that, working together, Houston's diverse citizens have at last created a world-class metropolis.  

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Prologue

The delight that her friends took in her company stemmed from the freshness of her mind as well as the richness of her conversation. She continued to grow intellectually all of her life, to explore new ideas and adopt new projects with a vigor that could be physically exhausting.

Lonn Taylor, 1975

Rain fell steadily on Friday, August 22, 1975. Dozens of chairs placed on the North Terrace at Bayou Bend stared empty and forlorn across the sodden lawn toward a marble statue of the goddess Diana standing in a garden framed by native bayou evergreens. For five decades Ima Hogg had welcomed visitors to this outdoor "room" for theatricals, orchestral evenings, garden trails, and weddings. On that dreary Friday, the empty chairs stood mute sentinels as friends crowded inside the house to bid farewell to the only daughter of James Stephen Hogg, remembered eighty years after he left office as one of Texas's most influential governors. Following the 3:00 P. M. memorial service, Ima would leave the home of her adult years and begin her final journey to Austin, the home of her youth, where she would join her parents and brothers in the family burial plot at Oakwood Cemetery.

Journalists sent to record Houstonians' memorial to "the First Lady of Texas" photographed the empty seats and the folded umbrellas leaning against the front entrance. Like the 350 mourners sheltered from the rain in the handsome center hall, they recognized that "an irreplaceable part of Houston's soul is gone." Front-page stories, obituaries, and editorials reprised a family tradition of civic activism; columnists recalled important contributions made by Ima's grandparents, parents, and brothers and recounted

anecdotes of a life devoted to "music, art, history and public service." Lonn Taylor remembered Ima's love of wildflowers, Bach, individualism, folk art, Picasso, and cajolery. "She was a master at getting people to do things; she set an example that others were embarrassed not to follow." But she was also a steadfast friend, showering old and young with recipes, advice, fruit cakes, plants, gadgets, grapefruit, and inscribed Bibles. At ninety-three, Ima Hogg offered young guests Tang, because the astronauts drank it in space, and "remained an active participant in today's world."  

Although suffering from arterial disease for some years, Ima had left Houston on August 5 for a vacation in London with friends. While negotiating a taxi in that city on August 14, she slipped and fell. Not strong enough to survive this accident, she succumbed to a coronary occlusion at 7:00 P.M. Houston time August 19. As she had planned her many civic projects, so she programmed her funeral, noting in a codicil to her will, "I do not wish to subject my friends and relatives to prolonged eulogies or ceremonies or to require them to listen to music which we have so deeply loved and enjoyed during my lifetime on an occasion of this nature." The seventeen-minute Episcopal service was intoned by the Reverend Maurice M. Benitez, at that time rector of St. John the Divine Episcopal Church. He was assisted by the Reverend Thomas W. Sumners, the church's rector emeritus, who noted in brief personal remarks that "Bayou Bend itself is [Miss Hogg's] eulogy." The handsome casket was draped in magnolia leaves and escorted by young pallbearers chosen by Miss Hogg. Attendees included tearful Bayou Bend docents seated on the curving staircase; her protégé and long-time

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2 Account of the memorial service is taken from clippings from the New York Times, the Houston Chronicle, the Houston Post, and personal recollection. The clippings are preserved in the Miss Ima Hogg, Vertical File, Archives, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (MFAH).
friend, the concert pianist Drusilla Huffmaster; Joyce Alegría, first recipient of the Ima Hogg Scholarship established in 1965 at the University of Texas by dear friend Nettie (Mrs. Albert P.) Jones; her lawyer Leon Jaworski; her cousin Dr. Robert A. Johnston Jr.; her general factotum of fifty-five years, Gertrude Vaughn; her butler/chaplain of twenty-three years, Lucius Broadnax; her friend, execurix, and secretary of twenty-three years, Jane Zivley; Houston's cultural, business, and political leaders; and her successor as overseer and developer of the Bayou Bend legacy, David B. Warren.4

Because Miss Ima, as she was known to intimates and family, retained an insatiable curiosity and zestful engagement in life, her many friends reacted to her loss as if she had been a young person whose promising journey had been unjustly halted. Instead, Ima and her two Houston-based brothers, Will and Mike, had left their adoptive city a broad-based legacy that continues to inform community life. Profoundly influenced by the teachings of their parents and working together, the siblings imagined a beautiful American city supported by a balanced and thriving economy and governed by dedicated public servants. To achieve this dream, they proselytized their causes, prodded their fellow citizens to action, and provided institutions that would long outlive them. No aspect of twentieth-century urban life escaped their notice. They created Houston's Memorial Park, founded the Houston Child Guidance Center (now merged with DePelchin), established the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, set up university scholarships throughout Texas, donated the Winedale collections and research center to the University of Texas, secured world acclaim for the Houston Symphony, endowed the

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3 Quotes in Houston Chronicle, Aug. 21, 1975, editorial, section 4, p. 4; Houston Chronicle, Aug. 20, 1975, sec. 4, p. 26; Taylor, Observer, p. 11; Chronicle, editorial.
4 Houston Post, Aug. 23, 1975, p. 3A; Houston Chronicle, Aug. 23, 1975, front page. Graveside services were held the next day in Austin.
Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, with several major art collections, and preserved historic sites in Quitman, Rusk, and West Columbia. Their community involvement, their urban vision, and their steadfast leadership enriched the lives of all who knew them and encouraged later generations to follow their examples of civic activism.
I: A Family Philanthropy

Then for the first time I understood why [my father] had always espoused the cause of the
common people, the need of battling for the weak against the strong, the necessity of free
education for all, if a democracy is to survive.

William Clifford Hogg

On January 26, 1905, former Texas Governor James Stephen Hogg boarded a
train in West Columbia, where he was developing a "model plantation" on the old Patton
Place, purchased in 1901 for renovation as the family home. Like many financially
successful Victorian patriarchs who commuted from country haven to urban workplace,
the widowed father of four was en route to explore legal and business opportunities in
Houston, sixty-five miles to the north. On this wintry morning, the Governor was
suffering from a nagging cold. While stopped at a station, he and other passengers were
jolted in a railroad car coupling "made with more force than usual." Although Hogg
continued his journey without complaint, camped out in the Rice Hotel, and eagerly
returned to his rural retreat when business was concluded, he soon developed several
ailments that culminated in death on March 3, 1906. The governor's decision to recreate
for his own children the antebellum plantation of his romanticized childhood on part of

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article, 1940), 4.

2 Despite conflicting dates given in various secondary sources, the Houston Telephone Directory of
December 1905 first lists a telephone for the firm of Hogg Watkins & Jones, the City Directory for 1905-
1906 lists Hogg Watkins & Jones and notes that James Hogg lived at the Rice Hotel. See also statement
that "father has decided on Houston" as the family's future home in Will Hogg to Mike Hogg, letter, Mar. 7,
1905, IHP, CAH, 3B124, folder 1; and engraved announcement of the governor's withdrawal from Hogg &
Robertson in Austin and his admittance to the firm of Hogg, Watkins & Jones in Houston, Feb. 1, 1905, in
2J215, JSH, CAH. William Booker Ferguson, long-time financial adviser to the Hogg family, notes that
James Hogg nowhere says why he chose the West Columbia property; Ferguson believed Hogg followed
the advice of Anthony F. Lucas, expert in salt dome topography, who brought in the discovery well at
Spindletop in 1901. The Patton property abutted the Kaisar Mound area, which displayed gas seeps and a
central, swampy basin indicating a salt dome near the surface. Subsequent purchases increased the
governor's Kaisar Mound holdings. William Booker Ferguson, "Hogg Family Financial History," 1981,
manuscript in Vertical File, Archives, MFAH.
the Martin Varner League in West Columbia while situating the family's business
headquarters in Texas's most modern and rapidly industrializing commercial center had
far-reaching consequences for city and family. For years, the children gathered friends
at the remodeled house and its surrounding acres for relaxation and rejuvenation. From a
salt dome on the property gushed the oil to secure a family fortune that would ensure the
Hoggs' civic influence in Houston. To Houston the governor's children would bring their
family's legacy of civic engagement.

*Founding a City on Buffalo Bayou*

Houston did not become the region's twentieth-century oil capital by
happenstance. From the moment of purchase in 1836, New York brothers Augustus
Chapman Allen and John Kirby Allen imagined a great capital city rising on their 6,642-
acre investment at the juncture of Buffalo and White Oak Bayous fifty miles inland from
the Gulf of Mexico. Stimulated by the national land craze of the 1830s, these urban
entrepreneurs embraced city-building as their route to wealth and Texas's hope for
greatness. They formed a partnership in New York financed by family members
interested in Texas land speculation, journeyed to Texas in 1832, and settled in
Nacogdoches in 1833. Following Sam Houston's victory at San Jacinto on April 21,
1836, and the subsequent declaration of a Republic of Texas, younger brother John was
elected congressman from Nacogdoches, and both men quickly recognized that the self-
proclaimed country would need a seat of government.\(^4\) Perhaps the Allen brothers were

\(^3\) W. G. Jameson, Chief Surgeon International and Great Northern Railroad, to Dr. J. R. Moore, Galveston,

\(^4\) Information about the Allen brothers and Houston's settlement comes from James L. Glass, "The Original
Book of Sales of Lots of the Houston Town Company from 1836 Forward," *The Houston Review: History*
aware of the Federal District's faltering ability to reach urban status in the early
nineteenth century because the struggling United States capital possessed no economic
reason for being. Perhaps they were slightly appalled by the crass materialism despoiling
New York's urban explosion. Perhaps they merely recognized that the buildings and
services necessary to a seat of government would be catalysts for wealth creation.
Whatever mix of motives underlay their vision, the brothers seemed to understand that no
frontier community would thrive and attract settlers without a firm economic purpose, an
ability to establish order, and provisions for civic enrichment.5

Searching for a site that could accommodate the Republic's capital but would also
serve as a transportation center for produce grown along the fertile rivers emptying into
Galveston Bay, the brothers located their town "at a point on the river which must ever
command the trade of the largest and richest portion of Texas." Imagining a "great
interior commercial emporium" for Texas, they named their settlement after the new
country's liberator, Sam Houston, and began a concerted political and advertising

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5 For analyses of nineteenth-century city-building, see David Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape: The
Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press,
1986); Stanley K. Schultz, *Constructing Urban Culture: American Cities and City Planning, 1800–1920*
(Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989); Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York:
Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938) and *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its
campaign to beat out competing speculators. On August 30, 1836, the optimistic opportunists purchased a long column in Texas's only newspaper, the *Telegraph and Texas Register*, and announced that "Nature appears to have designated this place for the future seat of Government." When the Republic of Texas's first congress convened at Columbia on October 3, John lobbied non-stop until the legislators voted on December 15, 1836, to designate the Allens' campsite as government headquarters for the legislative term ending in 1840. In January 1837 the settlement was named county seat for Harrisburg (later Harris) County. To ensure their site would be chosen as the Republic's capital, the hard-nosed entrepreneurs promised complementary building lots to senators and congressmen. They also agreed to construct a $10,000 two-story capitol building at their own expense and to provide other amenities including a city hotel. Galvanized by their political success, the Allens broadcast advertisements throughout the United States and Europe and launched Houston's first real estate "boom," which attracted carpenters and mechanics from across Texas and the South.

Accounts differ about the quality and success of this building frenzy. Confident of acceptance by the legislators, A. C. Allen had already hired Gail Borden Jr. and Thomas Henry Borden to make a survey and plat for the flat, muddy site that stretched south and west of curving Buffalo Bayou. Moses Lapham, in the Bordens' employ, completed this work between October 2 and November 19, 1836, and the first land sale was recorded on New Year's Day 1837. Mexican prisoners and black slaves endured mosquitoes and mud to clear streets and building sites. Although Francis R. Lubbock,

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6 *Telegraph and Texas Register*, front-page advertisement, August 30, 1836, and for several months thereafter. On December 30, 1836, the brothers added "The Present Seat of Government/Of the State of Texas" to their header. The full advertisement is published in several secondary sources, including McComb, *Houston*, 11.
later governor of the state, struggled through logs and snags for three days on his twelve-mile journey up the bayou and then chugged right past the settlement's dock on January 6, 1837, by March the Long Row of shops had been completed. In April the Capitol building was made habitable in fourteen days. Sam Houston may have counted more than one hundred houses and fifteen hundred people by April 28, 1837, but many observers recollected numerous tents interspersed among few buildings in these early months. Several contemporary accounts record an 1837 temperance meeting, a jockey club, and dancing assemblies, and the April 4, 1837, Telegraph includes New Orleans' impresario G. L. Lyons's announcement that he will open "the first temple dedicated to the dramatic muse in Texas." The Reverend W. Y. Allen, Presbyterian divine and first chaplain of the House of Representatives, was less enthusiastic, counting fifty gambling dens and one hundred grog shops in 1838 to counterbalance his Sabbath School, established that year. By 1839, however, retailer John F. Torrey and his brother David Kilburn Torrey had established their Jewelry and Fancy Store (1839–1849) that sold watches, clocks, spectacles, thimbles, cutlery, hair brushes, perfume, books, musical instruments, and other luxury items, a confident sign that some residents aspired to both elegance and stability.

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7 The Long Row is preserved today as part of the Harris County Heritage Society exhibit at Sam Houston Park in downtown Houston.
8 Most sources suggest a population of about 500 and stress the numerous tents used as residences and commercial spaces and interspersed among the few buildings.
9 King, Except the Lord Build, 6; Telegraph and Texas Register, Apr. 4, 1837.
10 Advertisement, Telegraph and Texas Register, Dec. 30, 1841. This store, said to be the first frame house built in Houston, was located on Main Street opposite the City Hotel. The Torrey Brothers became important Indian agents and by the 1840s advertised "all kind of Gold and Silver ware manufactured to order at the shortest notice." A third brother Thomas S. arrived in 1840. David died in 1849 and Thomas in 1843. In 1850 John Torrey moved to New Braunfels, where he operated a mill, and in 1873 to a land grant at Comanche Peak. He died in 1893. A pair of silver table spoons marked "Torrey & Bro" was acquired in Nov. 2003 for the Bayou Bend Collection and may be the "earliest silver bearing marks of a Texas maker or retailer." Agenda item, Bayou Bend and Collections Committees, MFAH. My thanks to
Diarists occasionally grumbled, but the Allen brothers embraced urban living as the site of economic, social, and cultural opportunity, and their vision established a development pattern followed by succeeding generations. Merchants who gathered products from the hinterland and traded them both locally and abroad had secured America's first fortunes. Following this example, the Allens chose a site where produce could be floated down river or dragged by oxcart from the interior and gathered for processing in Houston or for transshipment from Galveston Bay to Gulf and Atlantic ports. Like competitors in Chicago and Kansas City, who also trumpeted their new settlements as gateways to the West in the 1830s, the Allens adopted the popular grid pattern for their city plan. Standard for the era, the grid could be expanded relentlessly across the prairie as the city grew. The Allens platted broad avenues that would accommodate commercial traffic, a Commerce Square on either side of Main Street for trade, and public wharf space. To attract local and national government sponsors, their Borden-Lapham plat included Congress and Court House squares in the town's center. Finally, in laying out the town, the Allens recognized that a successful polity must be more than a political and economic entity, and they reserved space for church and school buildings.11

Houston began auspiciously with well-capitalized entrepreneurs, successful public relations, and the political blessing of first Texas President Sam Houston, but the village quickly experienced the negative consequences of unbridled boosterism. Recurring epidemics of yellow fever decimated the population, falling Texas currency values

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Sally Anne S. Gutting, Jameson Fellow at Rice University and Bayou Bend Collection and Gardens, for sharing her research on the Torrey Brothers.

11 The original plat is published in several places, including McComb, Houston, 13; Glass, "Original Book of Sales of Lots," 176; Siegel, Houston, 24. The original can be viewed in the Map Collection, Texas
caused financial backers to withdraw credit; and politicians proved less than enthusiastic about humid weather, flooded streets, frequent gunfights, and inadequate infrastructure. Second Texas President Mirabeau B. Lamar supported a new site for the capital and in October 1839 packed up the government records and moved to Austin, then a mere outpost in the rugged hill country of central Texas. Several Houston merchants recognized that only cooperative action could save their investments, and they took two steps that set a precedent for future growth: they formed a voluntary association, and they pressed for transportation improvements.

Because they were dependent on northern capital, Houston's leading citizens were familiar with the successful promotion of finance, industry, and commerce fostered by Chambers of Commerce in New York (founded 1768), Philadelphia (1801), and New Haven (by 1801). Houston needed a similar initiative to solve local problems, and business leaders successfully lobbied the Third Congress (December 1838–January 1839) for permission to charter a Houston Chamber of Commerce, officially incorporated January 28, 1840. In 1840 the Texas Congress also empowered Houstonians to build and maintain public wharves, and in 1841 the City Council authorized the Port of Houston to monitor all facilities along Buffalo and White Oak Bayous and to support efforts to improve access to the sea. This model of government blessing for private initiative and the interlocking private/public relationships such synergy implied proved critical to Houston's subsequent growth. Nineteenth-century civic leaders who maintained access to

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12 Austin sat on the edge of Comanche country, and in 1842 Sam Houston returned the capital to his namesake city for a few months before moving it to Washington-on-the-Brazos in September 1842. In 1845 Austin was made temporary capital, pending a statewide study, and became the permanent capital in 1850 after an election among Austin, Houston, and Waco.

13 Hurley, Decisive Years, 22-25; Siegel, Houston, 28-29.
eastern financial markets, were willing to adapt proven institutions to Houston's needs, and focused their attention on political support for port development and transportation issues perpetuated the Allens' dream that one day a great city would rise along the bayou. Although Texas's delayed entry into the union (1845), agricultural economy, primitive financial structure, and infant manufacturing sector precluded the extensive urbanization occurring in the Northeast or the Midwest during these decades, Houston's nineteenth-century entrepreneurs competed vigorously to process and ship cotton and lumber products and to improve commercial wharves and storage facilities along the bayou. Local merchants formed partnerships to build or attract railroad service and to dredge and improve the waterways. Houston suffered its share of setbacks but experienced continuous growth and economic expansion for fifty years as it developed from a small county seat (1850 population 2,396) to a post-Civil War entrepot (1870 population 10,382) to a vibrant market town (1890 population 27,557).\footnote{U.S. Department of the Census. Figures: 1850: 2,396; 1860: 4,845; 1870: 10,382; 1880: 16,513; 1890: 27,557; 1900: 44,633. Black population during this time: 1850: 533; 1870: 3,691; 1880: 6,479; 1890: 10,370; 1900: 14,608 (black statistics from Arthur C. Comey, draft of City Plan for Houston, 1913, in Joseph Cullinan Papers, MSS 69, Box 10, folder 5, HMRC, HPL). See Howard Beeth and Cary D. Wintz, eds., \textit{Black Dixie: Afro-Texan History and Culture in Houston} (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1992) for an analysis of the black population in this era. Other ethnic groups, including a growing Mexican population were grouped with "white" data during this period. F. Arturo Rosales estimates that about 2000 Mexicans lived in Houston by 1908 ("Mexicans in Houston: The Struggle to Survive, 1908–1975," \textit{The Houston Review: History and Culture of the Gulf Coast}, 3 [Summer 1981], 224). Information about the 1840s–1890s comes from Hurley, \textit{Decisive Years}; Siegel, \textit{Houston}; McComb, \textit{Houston}; Clarence Peckham Dunbar and William Hunter Dillard, \textit{Houston: 1836–1936: Chronology and Review} (Houston: Business Research and Publications Service, 1936), 39-45; Joe R. Feagin, \textit{Free Enterprise City: Houston in Political-Economic Perspective} (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 48-55, Dorothy Knox Howe Houghton, \textit{The Houston Club and Its City: One Hundred Years} (Houston: Gulf Printing Company, 1994); Dorothy Knox Howe Houghton, Barrie M. Scardino, Sadie Gwin Blackburn, Katherine S. Howe, \textit{Houston's Forgotten Heritage: Landscape, Houses, Interiors, 1824–1914} (Houston: Rice University Press, 1991); \textit{The Industrial Advantages of Houston, Texas, and Environs}, \textit{Also A Series of Comprehensive Sketches of the City's Representative Business Enterprises} (Houston: The Akehurst
spurred the inland city's development. Despite periodic hurricane devastation, Galveston had positioned itself as the sea-going port of the region in the 1840s and pursued railroad dominance of the East Texas hinterland by supporting state financing for a fan of north-south rail lines terminating at the Galveston docks. Determined to edge out their rival, Houstonians courted proponents of the national east-west system of privately funded lines then beginning construction, and they lobbied the Texas legislature for subsidies and land grants to the transcontinental builders. When state politicians bowed to the national consortium and its local spokesmen in 1856, Houston's boosters could celebrate.

By building railroad links to America's great cities, entrepreneurs began to develop Houston as a regional gathering, trading, and transshipping point while simultaneously nursing local efforts to create wealth through infant manufacturing operations. In the 1850s Alexander McGowan's iron foundry, A. Bering's sash, door, and blind manufactory, numerous cotton processing gins, and four railroad companies, including the Buffalo Bayou, Brazos and Colorado, Texas's first successful full-gauge rail line, formed an infant manufacturing sector.\textsuperscript{15} Although railroad expansion was temporarily slowed by the Civil War, Houston's post-war business leaders and government officials supported shipping rate manipulation and created a railroad-building boom that favored Houston merchants. By 1860 Houston had become the region's rail center; by 1890 fourteen national and local lines crossed in the city; and by 1910 boosters trumpeted "Houston, where seventeen railroads meet the sea" as the ideal gateway to markets in the

\textsuperscript{15} The Galveston, Houston, and Henderson rail line was also established in 1858, but its gauge was not standardized until the 1870s when the line was linked to the transcontinental system operating out of Houston. See Elizabeth Hayes Turner, \textit{Women, Culture, and Community: Religion and Reform in Galveston, 1880–1920} (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 20
South and West. Multi-tracked rail yards bustled with trainloads of King Cotton headed for Houston's growing cotton processing industry or bound for ports around the world. Railroads, cotton factors, and merchants provided excellent jobs and supported the banking, legal, and retail services that would promote Houston's economic expansion well into the twentieth century.

The Civil War years produced a mercantile boom for Houston as adventurers carted cotton overland to Mexico to avoid the Galveston blockade, and several merchants prospered at the expense of their island neighbors. Englishman Thomas William House (1813–1880), a baker and ice cream maker by trade, amassed his wealth in cotton transshipments, which he parlayed into Houston's first powerful private banking institution and first public utility, the Houston Gas Works (1866). Mayor during the war years, he and, later, his family helped establish critical business ventures in railroads, shipping, and sugar and influenced political activity through World War I. William Marsh Rice (1816–1900) also seized the opportunities provided by wartime conditions. He moved operations to Matamoros and ran cotton and other goods through the Mexican port, accumulating a fortune. Although he spent many post-war years in New York, Rice maintained his Houston connections and returned his riches to Houstonians by endowing

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16 Judy King (Except the Lord Build, 71) credits Rev. States Jacobs, pastor of First Presbyterian Church with coining the slogan: "Where 17 railroads meet the sea, there will arise a great city even if it were in the Sahara Desert."

17 J. H. Freeman, The People of Baker Botts (Houston: Champagne Fine Printing and Lithographing, 1992), photo, Oct. 1894, p. 35; McComb, Houston, 111.

18 Several sources describe contributions to Houston's growth made by the banking and legal professions. See for example, Walter Buenger and Joseph A. Pratt, But Also Good Business: Texas Commerce Banks and the Financing of Houston and Texas, 1886–1986 (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1986); Kenneth Lipartito and Joseph A. Pratt, Baker & Botts in the Development of Modern Houston (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991); Freeman, People of Baker Botts.

19 His son Edward Mandell House was a major supporter of Governor Hogg and his political heirs from 1899–1907 and a principal advisor to Woodrow Wilson. E. M. House was a canny manipulator of influential men, and he secured federal government posts for many prominent Texans during the Wilson Presidency.
"an institute for the advancement of literature, science, and art" that became Rice Institute after his death in 1900.\footnote{20}

Because Houston had suffered relatively mild hardship during the war years, by the 1870s the city was ideally positioned to embrace a New South faith in future prosperity built on business opportunity. A limited circle of socially compatible competitors assumed business and government leadership functions. Like leaders in other New South cities, they viewed their weak local government as an arm of the private sector and believed its first duty was to promote business. Houston's New South advocates assumed their clique of city councilmen, business and industry executives, and cotton and sugar barons would dominate politics, keep wages and taxes low, and nurture processing of raw materials from the surrounding region. Still strapped for capital, these men relied on Northern and British investors to jumpstart their nascent manufacturing sector. Suspicious of government interference, they used city funds only to support infrastructure improvements in the commercial areas of town, little money was reserved for parklands, for street paving or sewer amenities in residential areas, or for social services, still the purview of church women and private charity.\footnote{21}

A few local businessmen were alarmed by Houston's uncontrolled growth and seemingly heedless embrace of "foreign" — non-Texas — investors, and they feared the competition of national corporations. These urban populists actually hoped for government intervention to regulate the utilities and transportation outlets and to defray the cost of public services like sewers, roads, and sidewalks. They were to be disappointed. Municipal government remained relatively passive during these years and

\footnote{20 Muir, \textit{William Marsh Rice}, 151, charter of incorporation, May 1891.}
intervened only when the leadership clique believed public action would secure economic advantage. For example, little effort was made to build modern municipal sewerage treatment plants until businessmen realized a long-festering health crisis resulting from the dumping of raw sewerage into Buffalo Bayou was actually a business problem. In 1899 business groups seeking federal funds to dredge a deep-water channel to the sea supported bayou cleanup so they could secure federal dollars. They formed a Sewer Committee and voted a $300,000 bond issue to acquire the latest sanitary technology for the city.\textsuperscript{22}

In the mid-1870s Houston began to experience the technological changes and industrial concentration that were transforming commercial centers in the North and East. Businessmen who formed the Buffalo Bayou Ship Channel Company (founded 1869), the Houston Board of Trade and Cotton Exchange (1874), the Houston Street Railway Company (1876), the Houston Waterworks Company (1879), the Telephone Exchange (1880), the Electric Light Company (1882), and other commercial associations, positioned the city to attract manufacturing activity in the 1880s. During this period the Southern Pacific Railroad established the first repair shops for a transcontinental railroad in Houston, the first steamship office opened in the city; the first efforts to secure federal support for a ship channel and deep-water port were tested; and the first suburban development was incorporated when the Omaha and South Texas Land Company purchased 1,765 acres northwest of the city to build what became Houston Heights (1887). Double trolley lines ran past several blocks of three and four-story buildings on

\textsuperscript{21} See Feagin, \textit{Free Enterprise City}, 51-56; Rosales and Kaplan, eds., \textit{Houston}, 13-19; Houghton, \textit{Houston Club}.\textsuperscript{21}
Main Street, and numerous telephone poles attested to the new invention's popularity by the mid-1880s. Local unions for typographical workers, railway conductors, machinists, and iron molders defined the thrust of labor activity.

By the 1890s most white Houstonians agreed that their prosperous small city of more than 30,000 residents was a "home of intellectual vigor and refinement, with a past full of interest, a present full of earnestness, and a future full of brightness." I. J. Isaacs, editor of an 1894 business compendium praising the "industrial advantages of Houston, Texas, and environs," described the enterprising building and loan associations that had made good housing available in all income brackets and had thereby "created a class of citizens bound up with the interests of the locality . . . who are content to live and labor here for the general good." Isaacs commended the railroad connections to the whole country, the outlet to the sea, the electric streetcars linking residence to workplace, and the local government devoted to strict economy and secure progress. With rich natural resources, strong credit, and no burdensome taxes, the city's "advance is certain, it cannot be otherwise." Already a leading cotton market, second only to New Orleans in tons shipped, Houston was also headquarters for several lumber companies. Isaacs celebrated the mild climate and enumerated the fifteen public schools, nine for the 2,900 white pupils and seven for the 1,900 "colored" students. In 1894, 180 white and 30 black students attended two high schools in preparation for college. Citing Houston as one of

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24 Census figures show 1890 population of 27,557 and 1900 population of 44,633.
25 After 1900 these numbers would dramatically expand. The 1916 *Illustrated City Book of Houston* (containing the Annual Message of Ben Campbell, Mayor of the City of Houston [Houston: Cumming & Sons, Art Printers, 1916]) lists Houston as the largest inland cotton port, handling over three million bales a year and says eighty-one lumber companies have headquarters in the city (12, 27).
the best lit cities with fifty miles of electric wire, Isaacs also noted the Sweeney & Coombs Opera House (opened 1890), where the "cream of the dramatic and operatic profession appears . . . before the Houston public." Given Isaacs's uncritical enthusiasm, it is not surprising to read in other accounts that piano virtuoso Ignace Jan Paderewski entranced "thousands" in 1896 or that William Jennings Bryan orated to a vast crowd in 1897. If Isaacs and other boosters are to be believed, Houstonians were primed for a brilliant future in 1900.26

Then two events occurred that forever changed the demographic and economic balance in East Texas and propelled Houston to major-city status. On Saturday, September 8, 1900, a hurricane whipped out of the Gulf and inundated Galveston, long Houston's rival for sea-going trade. Historian Elizabeth Hayes Turner describes the devastation that left at least 6,000 of the 38,000 residents dead.

Not a single public structure in Galveston escaped damage. The hurricane blew away the bridges to the mainland and damaged the central water works system, . . . ships anchored in the bay were sent reeling off in the raging storm to land ten — even twenty-two — miles away from deep water. . . . Hardest hit, ironically, were the churches. African American churches — fourteen in all — suffered the most; every single structure was demolished.27

Turner goes on to relate the valiant volunteer cooperation that enabled the city to rebuild. Never again, however, would Galveston be a major commercial power in the state. Houston, lying fifty miles inland, would quickly capitalize on its sister city's calamity by creating a deep-water port sheltered from the full brunt of wind and water.

Four months after the Galveston disaster and eighty-five miles to the east in sleepy Beaumont, Texas, Captain Anthony F. Lucas realized his prophecy that oil lay beneath a salt dome called Spindletop. On January 10, 1901, the Lucas gusher erupted.

26 Industrial Advantages of Houston, Texas, and Environs, 7-36; quotes pp. title, 7, 23, 32.
At exactly 10:30 a.m. [sic], the well that made Beaumont famous burst upon the astonished view of those engaged in boring it, with such a volume of water, sand, rocks, gas and oil that sped upward with such tremendous force as to tear the crossbars of the derrick to pieces. . . . For nine days the phenomenon was the wonder and puzzle of the world. It flowed unceasingly and with ever increasing force and volume . . . quite two hundred feet, and spouting in wanton waste 70,000 barrels of oil per day.28

Hundreds of men rushed to the scene to build a wall around the well and try to contain its dangerous spray of oil that could be seen ten or fifteen miles away. Some 50,000 adventurers poured into the area, and soon "doormat" leases just big enough to sink a well turned the discovery site into a dangerous forest of combustible derricks and spurring oil. But Beaumont, reeling from the negative effects of careless wildcatters and inflated money, could not sustain such frenzied activity. As the boom continued, sober businessmen realized they needed executive headquarters that provided banking facilities, shipping links to industrial regions, and attractive housing for themselves and their employees. Fortuitously other oil strikes occurred north and south of Houston. Because the city already boasted the transportation, legal, banking, and retail infrastructure built over several decades, oil entrepreneurs began to see Houston as an ideal headquarters for executive staff and their families. Moreover, Houston's business leaders, always ready to welcome newcomers to the power structure, were quick to encourage location of oil-related industries and pipelines along the ship channel.

Access to the sea had brought the Allens to Buffalo Bayou's headwaters in the 1830s, and hopes for a deep-water port sustained the long struggle with Galveston for

27 Turner, Women, Culture, and Community, 34.
28 Caldwell Reines, Year Book for Texas, 1901, quoted in Siegel, Houston, 121, and in John S. Spratt, The Road to Spindletop: Economic Change in Texas, 1875–1901 (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1955), 274. A detailed account of the partnerships in and activities surrounding the Spindletop discovery is found in Lawrence Goodwyn, Texas Oil, American Dreams: A Study of the Texas Independent Producers and Royalty Owners Association ([Austin]: Texas State Historical Association, 1996), 9-25; Judith Walker
transportation hegemony. Following Galveston's catastrophe and Beaumont's triumph, Houston boosters finally secured deep-water facilities for their city.²⁹ For thirty years Houston and Galveston had been maneuvering to develop a deep-water port to accommodate ever-larger commercial ships, Houston through dredging and barge transport, Galveston by building jetties in the 1890s to create deep water. While most of this early activity had been privately funded, investors realized their limited resources would hamper coordination and efficient execution of grand schemes for an international port to rival New Orleans or New York. Willing to partner with federal authorities to fund infrastructure improvements, business leaders approached their congressmen for financial support. In 1896 retiring Congressman Joseph C. Hutcheson (1842–1924) of Houston introduced a House bill requesting federal aid to survey and build a twenty-five-foot-deep channel from Houston to the Gulf. Hutcheson then entertained members of the Rivers and Harbors Committee on an 1897 inspection tour and social whirl in Houston, gained support for the project from his successor, Thomas Henry Ball of Huntsville; and shepherded Houston businessmen through congressional hearings.³⁰

The 1900 hurricane tipped the balance in favor of building a protected inland deep-water port and access channel, but the politically astute Ball palliated both cities. He secured funding to help restore Galveston facilities to their pre-hurricane level and


²⁹ Information about Port of Houston development comes from Marilyn McAdams Sibley, The Port of Houston: A History (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968); Buenger and Pratt, But Also Good Business, 22-25; McComb, Houston, 94-96.

³⁰ "Joseph C. Hutcheson," Handbook of Texas Online (accessed Mar. 1, 2004); Hutcheson Family Papers, WRC, RU. Joseph Chappell Hutcheson was born near Boydton, Virginia; was graduated from Randolph-Macon College; served in the Army of Virginia; was graduated from the University of Virginia Law School, passed the bar, and moved to Anderson Texas in 1866; moved to Houston in 1874; served in the 17th legislature in 1880, where he sponsored the bill creating the University of Texas; and served in the 53d and 54th Congress, but refused a third term. Father of ten children, he established a large family of professional leaders that is still active in Houston today.
procured one million dollars in the 1903–1904 biennium to begin digging a new channel from Houston to the Gulf. In 1909 Ball struck again; this time he secured legislation permitting local areas to create navigation districts with power to issue bonds for improvements; and he suggested that a Houston delegation journey to Washington to propose sharing the cost of forming a deep-water channel with the federal government. This "Houston Plan" for local/federal cooperation stunned the politicians and established a precedent for subsequent improvement projects nationwide. Having secured $1.25 million from the federal government, the largest subsidy to a local authority made up to that time, the committee returned to Houston to convince citizens of Harris County, within whose jurisdiction most of the proposed ship channel area lay, to authorize the Harris County Houston Ship Channel Navigation District and vote for the bond issue needed to raise promised matching funds. Voters approved the authority and the bonds in January 1911, but investors proved reticent until real estate entrepreneur/banker Jesse Holman Jones, and lumberman/banker William T. Carter convinced seven Houston banks to purchase bonds in proportion to each bank's assets. Several bank presidents were active ship channel promoters and by November 1911 had agreed to buy half the bonds. City and county governments and private investors took the remainder, and the project moved forward. In 1914 Houston became a deepwater port when President Woodrow Wilson flipped a switch at the White House to inaugurate the facility.

*Forming a Social Consciousness in Houston*

Authors, whether aspiring to scholarship or civil panegyric, reflect the tastes and assumptions of their readers. Chroniclers of Houston have been no exception;
contemporary authors from the 1840s to the 1970s imagined their Houston reader as a white middle-class advocate of modernity and progress. Steeped in America's classic master narrative of ever-expanding material prosperity, ever-increasing political freedom, and ever-improving social opportunity, these writers focused on the city's economic growth and physical expansion as developed by white middle-class businessmen. Lost in these accounts was the growing uneasiness of a small but powerful circle of white civic visionaries who had begun to question the unforeseen consequences of unrestrained development by the late 1880s and who demanded improvements and institutions that would enrich urban life. Houston raconteurs have long emphasized the city's reputation as a free-market paradise and brash boomtown where "the individual's right to promote, build, buy, and sell without outside restraint" is paramount. In reality the city's residents have created a cosmopolitan community whose leaders traditionally welcome newcomers of diverse backgrounds and frequently cooperate in voluntary associations focused on mutual interests or civic goals. Men first shaped community through industry and professional groups that attracted manufacturing and trade. They also established the Lyceum (1848; state charter 1854) as a subscription library and enlivened the social and sporting scene by sponsoring a Bachelors Hall and Club (1871), the exclusive Z.Z. Club (1871), and the Houston Left-Handed Fishing and Hunting Club (1887), among numerous more serious-minded associations. The city's German immigrants quickly developed Houston's musical culture by founding several vocal and instrumental groups, including the German Quartette Society (1847) and the Saengerbund (1884).

While men's groups often looked outward toward commercial or professional participation in national and international markets or sought genial camaraderie, women's associations frequently turned inward to self, home, and community. Hoping to improve living conditions for themselves and their children, they formed parish associations and study groups that came to symbolize reform activism in the Progressive Era (1880–1920) as members broadened their concept of "family" to include every Houstonian. Discussion in the Ladies Reading Club (1885), the Ladies Shakespeare Club (1892), the Woman's Reading Club of Houston (1893), and other literary clubs quickly moved from great books to larger issues of civic and cultural impact for the entire community. Forming a federation of like-minded activists, club women cooperated to secure funding from Andrew Carnegie for a public library (1899) and municipal funding for the library's operation. They then oversaw construction and ensured that the doors opened with appropriate fanfare in 1903. Similarly, nineteenth-century church women like the lady visitors of Christ Church Parish Association (1871) began to discover that poor white, black, and immigrant neighborhoods suffered serious, unimagined deprivation that threatened the public health and safety of all.

Tentative nineteenth-century initiatives were followed by a burst of activity after 1900 that paralleled population growth and accumulation of new-found oil wealth. White volunteer women established the Public School Art League (1900) to place art in public schools, the first free public kindergartens (1902), the YWCA (1907) to shelter working women, the Settlement Association (1907) to assist immigrant families, the Thursday Morning Musical Club (1908) to study and present classical music, the first Mothers' Clubs to provide amenities in public schools (1908), the Woman's Political Union to
secure the vote (1909), the Emma R. Newsboys Association (1910) to care for orphaned or abandoned teenage boys, and the Houston Symphony Society (1913) to bring professional orchestral music to the city. Middle-class black women sought civic improvements by banding together in the Married Ladies Social, Art, and Charity Club (1902) and formed their own Ladies' Symphony Orchestra in 1915.

By 1904 competing charities and service organizations realized they needed to plan projects and coordinate goals, and volunteers formed United Charities to make giving more efficient and businesslike. By 1915 private activity and agitation had convinced municipal officials that city government had to play some oversight role in the dispensing of benevolence, and they created the Houston Foundation within a Department of Public Trusts to investigate and endorse "charities dependent upon public appeal" and to collect statistics about living conditions, unemployment, and delinquency "for the purpose of disseminating information relative to the social needs of the community."\(^{32}\) In the preceding decade Houstonians had developed a progressive approach to benevolence. No longer "content to patch and palliate distress," social activists were now hoping "to remove the causes of distress and to prevent their recurrence."\(^{33}\)

Houston men were often startled and dismayed to learn about the problems their wives and daughters lay before them. Seeing low taxes and wages as good for business, they had ignored the consequences for neighborhoods that lacked private sources of funding for up-to-date sewers and roads, effective schools, well-maintained housing, and

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\(^{32}\) Bylaws of the Houston Foundation, 2J371, folder 1, WCH, CAH; The Community: A Review of Philanthropic Thought and Social Effort, 1, May 1919, p. 1, WRC, RU.

\(^{33}\) Julia Cameron Montgomery, Houston as a Setting of the Jewel: The Rice Institute, 1913 (Houston: Julia Cameron Montgomery, 1913; reprinted by Rice Historical Society, 2002), 44.
provision for care of aging or indigent neighbors. Although Houston men and women certainly maintained gender-specific clubs and activities, they seem to have been eager to cooperate when addressing urban blight. Men admired female zealots who paced the sidewalks downtown and buttonholed their male friends on "tag" days; how could any self-respecting man refuse to wear a tag in his lapel to demonstrate support of the fair ladies and their worthy causes? Women copied their husband's business success to run their organizations with impressive efficiency and regard for expert opinion. Men appreciated female ability to identify the elements needed to build a city of recognized national stature. Women understood that no project would flourish without access to male-dominated business, banking, industry, and government resources.34

Business leaders and their wives mingled politics, business, social life, and community activism. Rosters of exclusive men's clubs, settlement house boards, city councils, and ladies improvement societies repeat names in overlapping bonds of interaction. In her chronicle of the Houston Club, founded in 1894 "for literary purposes; to promote social intercourse among its members, and to provide for them the convenience of a Club House," Dorothy Knox Howe Houghton notes that the club's original home on the northeast corner of Main at Rusk was a "hub of civic [and] commercial activity." The so-called Mason Block, owned by Houston Club member

John T. Mason, a real estate investor and city Commissioner, also housed the Houston Lyceum (forerunner of the Houston Public Library), and the Single Tax Club. The Ladies' Reading Club, the Ladies' Shakespeare Club, the City Federation of Women's Clubs, and the George B. McClellan Post 9, Department of Texas, Grand Army of the Republic held regular meetings in the Lyceum hall. Early Houston Club members included investor and philanthropist William Marsh Rice, lawyer and Rice trustee Captain James Addison Baker, railroad lawyer Robert S. Lovett, lumber baron John Henry Kirby, investor-builder Jesse Holman Jones, and Rice Institute President Edgar Odell Lovett. The Thalian Club, organized October 24, 1901, to maintain a library and promote "painting, music, and other fine arts," built a handsome four-story $40,000 clubhouse suitable for lounging and debutante balls in 1907. The club boasted as members "the very flower of Houston; men who . . . are the backbone and strength of the city." Will and Mike Hogg and their business partner Raymond Dickson, son of the club's founder, were active Thalians until the club roster of 175 merged with the Houston Club in February 1918.

The success of these and other clubs reinforced the bonds of civic leadership with ties of friendship. In club chambers business deals were settled, civic projects were born, and political careers were fostered. While members often disagreed about operational details, they shared an overarching faith in Houston's future as a great city. They believed in business "efficiency" and "progress," and they harbored no doubts that they could build institutions of enduring value beneficial both to themselves and to fellow

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35 Houghton, Houston Club, 7, 10, 13 (early members).
36 Quotes from Thalian Club articles of incorporation (1901) and Margaret Halsey Foster (1908) in Houghton, Houston Club, 20. The Foster quote comes from Key to the City, p. 17.
Houstonians. As yet unable to envision a broad-based and inclusive power structure, Houston's paternalistic boosters were at least beginning to sense that economic progress must be wedded to humanitarian concern for fellow citizens. Sophisticated Houstonians, aware of Andrew Carnegie's admonitions to invest surplus private wealth in institutions that would benefit average citizens, began to imagine how they, too, could use their wealth to mold their community.\textsuperscript{38}

Julia Cameron Montgomery, moved by the impressive dedicatory ceremonies that drew an international roster of renowned participants to launch Rice Institute in October 1912, compiled a compendium of Houston's institutions and leading citizens as a "permanent record of the progressive era upon which Houston is entering." She recognized Houston's importance as a commercial center but wanted to describe "Houston as a desirable dwelling place," supportive of education at every level and filled with music and art provided by "the world's greatest interpreters." Montgomery proclaimed Houston a place where "social and moral uplift" would touch "every phase of civic life; where health consideration is vital, and public comfort, pleasure, and recreation receive definite provision." Her vision of community suggests that many Houstonians, newcomers and natives alike, were awakening to the changes commercial success had brought to their lives. In the decades ahead a circle of men and women would emerge who were similarly dedicated to a community that nurtured institutions created and sustained for the public good. Exemplary among these community visionaries were the

\textsuperscript{37} The demise of the Thalian Club was probably due to World War I and to the need for a new building. The construction project was considered "unpatriotic" and never revived after the armistice. Letter to members, Dec. 28, 1917, 2I305, folder 3, WHP, CAH.

\textsuperscript{38} Andrew Carnegie, "Wealth," \textit{North American Review}, 148 (June 1889), 653-64.
Hogg siblings, Will, Ima, and Mike, who brought with them a family history of public service.\textsuperscript{39}

\textit{The Hogg Family Heritage}

The Hogg family had been established in East Texas since 1839, when the patriarch Joseph Lewis Hogg (1796–1862) and his wife Lucanda McMath Hogg settled near Nacogdoches. A lawyer and planter, Joseph Lewis built "Mountain Home" near Rusk in 1846, where he acquired 2,500 acres of timber and farmland and twenty slaves before the outbreak of war in 1861. Here four of his seven children were born; here he and his wife welcomed citizens of Republic and State with a cordial hospitality that framed the basis for many nostalgic family tales spun by their oldest daughter Martha Frances (1834–1920) in later years. At "Mountain Home" their fifth child and third son, James Stephen Hogg (1852–1906) was born. It was the memory of "Mountain Home" that James Stephen incorporated in a tribute to "Home! The Center of Civilization: The pivot of constitutional government: The ark of safety to happiness, virtue and Christianity: Home! The haven of rest in old age. . . . Every man should have a home!" It was the loss of "Mountain Home" after the war that later motivated the retired governor to purchase the old Patton Place in West Columbia as a haven for himself and his motherless children.\textsuperscript{40}

\textsuperscript{39} Montgomery, \textit{Houston as the Setting of the Jewel}, 5. In 2002 the Rice Historical Society reprinted in facsimile form this account and photographic record, making only one change by removing captions from an index and repositioning them next to the photographs.

\textsuperscript{40} Quote in Kathleen Sproul, "James Stephen Hogg: March 24, 1851–March 3, 1906." pamphlet printed on the occasion of the dedication of the Varner-Hogg State Park, West Columbia, Texas, March 24, 1958, p. 9. Years later Ima Hogg reproduced a Buck Schiwetz view of Varner with this quote on personal notecards. 3B155, folder 1,IHP, CAH.
Following a tradition of political and military engagement established by his forebears in Virginia, South Carolina, and across the cotton South, Joseph Lewis served in the 8th Congress of the Republic, supported Sam Houston's efforts to gain annexation to the United States, headed the Judiciary Committee of the Texas State Constitutional Convention, and was a member of the first Texas State Senate. As a forward-looking pioneer, Joseph Lewis headed a railroad convention in 1854, and as a man of culture he supplemented his children's schoolhouse education with private tutors in music and poetry. Like most members of the planter class, he joined the fight with Mexico as a colonel in 1846 and later followed his state out of the union in 1861. The Hogg family suffered severely during the Civil War. Joseph Lewis perished in Corinth, Mississippi, leading a Texas brigade for the Confederacy.\(^{41}\) Lucanda and youngest child Richard died in 1863, leaving household management to Martha Frances, a widow since 1857. Oldest son Thomas Elisha, himself a war veteran, struggled to support the family as a lawyer, newspaper editor, and author of several well-received epic poems, and brothers John and James Stephen sacrificed formal education to help the family. In the weakened and undercapitalized postwar economy, the young family could not wrest a living from the farm and timberlands and over time was forced to sell the heavily mortgaged land. The proud family heritage of political engagement combined with post-war hardships to inspire in James Stephen and in his children a passion to help Texas rise from defeat and reclaim its rightful place as a great state. As their lives unfolded, the governor and his

children would be driven to action by this legacy of duty to family and responsibility to community.\textsuperscript{42} At sixteen, James Stephen, or Jim as he became known, hired on as a printer's devil for the Rusk \textit{Texas Observer}, and he subsequently worked for newspapers in Palestine and Cleburne. Friends remember him as penniless, large, and awkward, a poorly educated youth who spent his leisure studying. Boyhood friend Charles Young recalled that Jim did not go hunting or fishing but instead "feasted" on the stories of old men lounging at a local hotel.\textsuperscript{43} After trying sharecropping and cotton ginning and being shot by outlaws in 1869, Jim decided to become a lawyer and fight the lawlessness that still threatened East Texas. In 1869 he also met Sarah Ann (Sallie) Stinson, the daughter of a successful sawmill owner who was completing her education at school in Quitman. For the next several years he read law while publishing his own newspaper, first in Tyler and after 1872 in Quitman. Serving as reporter, editor, typesetter, distributor, and salesman, he also slept in the paper's office and soon gained a reputation for "fearless" editorials that trumpeted fairness to all, regardless of station in life. Politics and journalism occupied his days, but he managed to court Sallie Stinson, run successfully for justice of the peace of Wood County (1872), and secure Sallie's hand from a reluctant

\textsuperscript{42} I am indebted to Lonn Taylor for the insight that Ina seemed typical of the generation that grew up in the aftermath of the Civil War and developed a "fierce desire" to see Texas "recover from defeat" and "take its place as a leader among states." Lonn Taylor to author, email, December 12, 2002. Information about the Hogg family comes from Ina Hogg, "Reminiscences of Life in the Texas Governor's Mansion" found both in IHP, Archives, MFAH and in 3B168, folder 4, IHP, CAH; Virginia Bernhard, \textit{Ina Hogg: The Governor's Daughter} (St. James, N. Y.: Brandywine Press, 1984), 17-32; William Lee Pryan, "The Fate of Marvin: An Epic Poem of the Civil War by a Texas Soldier," \textit{The Texas Quarterly} (Summer 1977), 8-9; Bruce J. Weber, "Will Hogg and the Business of Reform" (Ph.D. diss, University of Houston, 1979), 3-4; Robert C. Cotner, \textit{James Stephen Hogg: A Biography} (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1959), vii, 63, 447-54; Varner-Hogg dedication pamphlet; other reminiscences, 3B130, folder 3, IHP, CAH.

father on April 22, 1874. The young couple moved into a four-room frame house in Quitman, where their first child, William Clifford, was born in 1875, and Jim was admitted to the bar the following year. Subsequent moves took them to Mineola, where Ima was born in 1882, and to Tyler as Jim advanced his political career from County attorney for Wood County (1879–1881), to district attorney for Texas Seventh District (1881–1887), to Texas attorney general (1887–1891), and finally to governor (1891–1895). Sons Mike and Tom were born in 1885 and 1887.44

In reminiscences Ima always recalled a happy childhood filled with love for a fastidious, charming mother and adoration for a principled, activist father. As with any politician, Jim Hogg's conduct and motivation are subject to varied interpretation. His bitterly fought second gubernatorial campaign and pioneering social and regulatory reforms left a legacy of praise tempered by angry rhetoric, tall tales, and vicious cartoons that deeply wounded his daughter.45 Remembering a loving man who never bore a grudge, a serious reader who championed higher education and spent hours discussing issues of the day with his children, she despised accounts of a sweating giant in shirtsleeves, gulping water from a pitcher while railing against his opponents on the campaign trail — and she denounced such stories in print years later.46 Yet politics was a spectator sport in the late nineteenth century; at six feet, three inches and some two to three hundred pounds, Jim Hogg was certainly a massive presence. His girth was matched by a voice that projected over noisy crowds and a florid rhetorical style that held

44 James Stephen Hogg (1851–1906) and Sarah Ann Stinson Hogg (1854–1895) were the parents of four children: William Clifford (January 31, 1875–September 12, 1930), Ima (July 10, 1882–August 19, 1975); Michael (October 28, 1885–October 10, 1941), Thomas Elisha (August 10, 1887–March 9, 1949).
45 E. M. House claims Texas under Jim Hogg was the "first in the field" to enact progressive legislation and was followed by Wisconsin, California, and other touted "Progressive" states. Charles Seymour, arr., The Intimate Papers of Colonel House (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926), 35.
spellbound the "little" people whose welfare he espoused against the power of special interests.47

In later years Ima found it difficult to reconcile political hyperbole with her memories, and she adopted a protective, even obstructionist, attitude toward historians trying to explain her father's life. She worked closely with her hand-picked official biographer Robert Cotner, sharing many family papers and stories with him, and his detailed and laudatory biography of the governor remains the standard work. Unfortunately, Ima's guarded supervision of the family legacy has deterred subsequent study of an important political figure and limited understanding of how he acquired power, who assisted him, and why his name still carried political weight years after he had left office. Nor does the biography satisfactorily explain how the "people's governor" could, as a private citizen, become chief lobbyist for business interests seeking ties to national financial markets. Had not this champion of the weak fought the trusts and created the Texas Railroad Commission in a Populist gesture to protect small businessmen, farmers, and struggling Texas manufacturers from non-Texas competition by regulating intrastate shipping rates and operations at railroad terminals, express companies, and wharves?48 Was it only ironic coincidence that this erstwhile foe of "special interests" should form the Hogg-Swayne Syndicate to participate in the

47 See Seymour, Papers of Colonel House, 28, for Edward M. House's assessment of Governor Hogg's "courage and force" that made him a "dominating influence" and his reforms "the centre [sic] of the storm" between progressive and conservative Democrats.
48 At first an appointive commission, in 1894 Railroad Commission positions were made elective. In 1917 the commission was given legislative authority over oil pipelines, deemed "common carriers," and in 1920 the commission took authority over gas utilities. In the 1930s the Railroad Commission was authorized to set the rate of oil production. After the 1970s the commission's authority diminished as a world-wide force and focused on state environmental issues. "Texas Railroad Commission," Handbook of Texas Online.
Spindletop bonanza and team with Pennsylvanian Joseph Cullinan and his New York investors to create the Texas Company, forerunner of Texaco.⁴⁹

To their children, however, Jim and Sallie Hogg were above criticism, examples to be emulated in every detail. The parents' actions, teachings, and written admonitions influenced every phase of their children's development in ways that informed the children's outlook on life, their professional choices, and their vision of a healthy community. At every turn, the Hogg children were guided by an insistent moral compass instilled in them by conscientious and engaged parents. Through their devotion to each other and to their family, Sallie and Jim demonstrated their belief that happy family life was the foundation of a strong society. Through their years of government service and their declared love for all Texans, they emphasized their credo that public service was the highest responsibility of each citizen. In their children they instilled the belief that their father's "early exposure to hard work and harsh realities of economic and political life gave him broad sympathy for the problems, frustrations, and needs of his fellow men." Through their actions, Jim and Sallie Hogg became models the children felt compelled to emulate.⁵⁰

Apparently only Ima set down memories of childhood, and she chose her anecdotes with care to illustrate the values she believed marked well-adjusted family life. Except for descriptions of elegant parties at the governor's mansion and mention of family friends with state and national political connections, a reader of Ima's memoirs

⁴⁹Critics seem justified in viewing Hogg’s populism with skepticism. Certainly he was empathetic to the farmers’ plight; certainly he used populist rhetoric to attain office. In the last decade of his life, however, he assiduously sought investors in New York, London, and elsewhere for large corporate clients, and the Hogg-Swayne Syndicate condoned extremely aggressive exploration techniques.
⁵⁰Ima Hogg, draft of comments made to the Board of Regents, University of Texas, Mar. 8, 1962, MAI9/UI, folder 4, HFR, CAH. Ima later emphasized her father's dedication to the people's business; he
could mistake her recollections for an idealized vision of any middle-class Victorian household, where the home was man's haven from ferocious competition and woman's domain of social dominance.\textsuperscript{51} Certainly Ima's depiction of her mother resembles both the stalwart homemaker of countless advice books and the perfect Victorian lady limned by Elizabeth Brooks in "Prominent Women of Texas." In 1896 Brooks praised the late Mrs. Hogg as "quiet in her manners, retiring in her habits, unobtrusive in social intercourse, unostentatious in her hospitality, and instinctively humane in dispensing the sweet charities of life."\textsuperscript{52} Eighty years later, many would remember Sallie's daughter as modest, quiet-spoken, thoughtful, and Texas's greatest humanitarian.

Sallie Hogg may have been petite at five feet, two inches and distinguished by "her tiny, beautifully formed hands" and her "little feet," which "never gave her enough support." She may have always maintained "a sweet and refined appearance," but she also conveyed a steely determination not lost on her daughter. She managed a complicated household and was her husband's "confidant and advisor on all questions." The governor revealed to Ima that "he always discussed everything with her, even his business and felt that a wife should be in every way a complete partner."\textsuperscript{53} If Sallie supported her husband's career, cheerfully standing by his side at tedious political receptions and preparing his lunch every day, the governor relieved her of the noisy children by swooping them up in the carriage for long Sunday excursions while she


\textsuperscript{52} Clipping from Elizabeth Brooks, "Prominent Women of Texas," 1896, in Scrapbook 1, p. 9, IHP, Archives, MFAH.
rested. A remarkable housekeeper, Sallie showed her daughter how to make a small income stretch to provide a bountiful table and welcoming atmosphere. She moved her household often before settling in the governor's mansion, then an old house "in dreadful disrepair ... cracked and shabby." In fact, she and one or two helpers had to remove "buckets of old chewing gum" from tables, chair arms, and door moldings before completely redecorating. This thrifty woman who was renowned for her fine needlework and musical abilities ran her house like a business. "There were special days for everything and special ways of handling everything. There was complete order and always inventories taken." Yet she made her home the center of social life wherever she lived, hosting Sunday evening hymn-singing, amateur theatricals, and fondly remembered New Year's receptions complete with linen cloths and napkins, catered delicacies, low floral centerpieces, smilax and holly around the windows, mistletoe in the gaslight chandeliers, and dancing.

Ima also remembered her father's attachment to home life. When separated from his family by his business demands or by the children's vacations in the country, he would write poignantly of his loneliness or report on domestic changes. For Jim Hogg no home was complete without a garden; he planted rare specimens, vegetables and flowers, and native trees in Austin, and he boasted proudly of his agricultural experiments at Varner Plantation. Ima recalled that on each Arbor Day, celebrated on Washington's Birthday when she was a child, her father would gather his children and

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53 Ima Hogg, "Reminiscences of Life in the Texas Governor's Mansion," description, 7; partner, 10, 3B168, folder 4, IHP, CAH.
54 Governor's mansion, p. 2; inventories, p. 6, in ibid.
55 Ima Hogg to Mary Koock, April 16, 1964, 3B163, IHP, CAH.
56 James Stephen Hogg to Ima Hogg, Mar. 1, 1902, letter, MS 21, IHP, Memorabilia Series 11 and 13, Box 15, folder 2, correspondence 1888–1909, Archives, MFAH.
their friends to plant trees. Will, Ima, and Mike remembered these scenes of domestic felicity when they developed parklands, planted trees throughout Houston, and planned River Oaks as a residential community of winding esplanades and family-style homes set in landscaped gardens. Will and Ima also recalled frequent trips with the governor to political rallies and visits to hospitals, mental asylums, and schools. From these experiences they developed a willingness to fight for unpopular causes and an optimistic belief that problems could be addressed, that reform within established institutions was a viable path, and that the perfection of society was a goal that must be pursued.

If Ima's recollections of her mother's wifely role and housekeeping duties reflected a traditional nineteenth-century view of woman's work, her depiction of the senior Hogg's parenting practices suggests they did not follow the restrictive discipline often associated with formal Victorian child-rearing dictates. "Everything was always done to make our home life attractive to us and every encouragement was given us to stay there. Our grounds were a neighborhood playground," Ima remembers. She and her brothers were included in adult dinners where books and public affairs dominated the conversation. Listening to these well-informed leaders stimulated their curiosity and taught them the value of seeking expert opinion. Although Ima had to learn needlework, she was allowed to engage in tomboy romps with her brothers, and all the children were encouraged to study foreign languages, read history and literature, and prepare for college. These indulgent parents laughed at their pranks, took them to cultural events at Millet's Opera House, and did nothing to squelch their rowdy enthusiasm. Sallie also guided her children's spiritual development, making sure they attended Sunday School

57 Ima Hogg to Gordon K. Shearer, Director, Texas State Parks Board, letter, Jan. 19, 1951, 4W263, folder 7, IHIP, CAH.
and inculcating gentle values of concern for others and love of order and beauty. A capable musician, she recognized her daughter's musical talent and guided early piano study. Will, much older than his siblings, was a favorite with his mother, who hoped he would become a Methodist preacher. During his teenage years, he often accompanied Sallie on shopping expeditions and developed a life-long taste for nice clothes and beautiful objects. Ima, as the only daughter, was a special companion and helpmate to her frail but industrious parent.

In these happy family stories Ima alludes only fleetingly to an underlying tension in the household; Sallie did not enjoy robust health and often traveled to spas to regain strength drained away by pregnancies, household duties, and a fast-paced schedule. To give the tired mother further respite, the children usually spent summers with their Stinson grandfather and aunts at their beautiful old house in East Texas. Ima recalls her grandfather as a sweet-tempered, gentle, and merry man with white hair and beard. A Civil War veteran, lay Methodist minister, and legislator who had moved his family to Texas from Georgia in 1860, James A. Stinson was active in the Grange and used modern agricultural methods on his experimental farm. Of greater interest to Ima was a mysterious attic full of trunks, a spinning wheel, a loom, and stacks of old books. Here she first learned to love old things and to associate them with her state's history. At her grandfather's farm she also began her "love affair" with nature that would culminate in cultivation of a fourteen-acre garden at Bayou Bend, the Houston home of her mature years. Her grandfather Stinson was justly renowned for his flowering fruit trees, an

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58 "Reminiscences of Life in the Governor's Mansion," 24, 25, 3B168, folder 4, IHP, CAH.
59 Ima remembered her mother helped her with piano lessons between the ages of 3 and 6, when she began study with a professional piano teacher.
element used in several Hogg gardens, and Ima later replicated her grandfather's brick-edged flower beds filled with jonquils, bulbs, and roses in her own landscape plans.  

Summer relaxation from household responsibility could not conquer Sallie's troublesome ailments; finally, in 1895 she was diagnosed with tuberculosis, and doctors recommended a rest cure in Colorado. That summer Ima accompanied her mother to Pueblo for an extended visit with Governor Hogg's widowed older sister, Martha Frances Hogg Davis. Sallie's condition worsened, her husband and sons were hastily summoned, and she succumbed to the disease on September 20. Jim Hogg described his loss as the "severest shock" of his life and turned to his thirteen-year-old daughter for companionship. The children were devastated. To the end of her life Ima could not speak of these last months when she helplessly watched her mother fade away, unable to bring her relief, but she could honor Sallie's memory by trying to emulate her fierce determination, love of beauty, and concern for others. Will turned inward, immersed himself in study and work, and used the "powerful engine" of imagination to drive "melancholy and dyspepsia" from his thoughts.

Governor Hogg had to begin anew in 1895; his term of office ended in March, and he scrambled to find a home and set up his law practice while frantically seeking medical advice about his wife's condition. Her death in September left a void he tried to fill by securing the help of his sister Martha Frances (Aunt Fannie) as housekeeper and

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60 Clipping, Winnsboro News, Wood County, Feb. 16, 1967, MS 21 Series 14, Scrapbook I, p. 6, IHP, Archives, MFAH; Ima Hogg, oral history, HMRC, HPL.
61 Garden information from David B. Warren, "The Bayou Bend Gardens," Curator's Choice Lecture, Mar. 2, 2003, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston; correspondence, Series 1, Box 4, folder 2, IHP, Archives, MFAH.
62 James Stephen Hogg to Sister [Martha Frances Davis], Oct. 14, 1895, letter, 3B111, IHP, CAH.
helpmate in raising three children. Will, twenty when his mother died, was rarely home during the next decade because he was completing undergraduate and law school studies and beginning an independent law and business practice in San Antonio and later in St. Louis. Indeed, despite the governor's efforts to provide a family atmosphere by purchasing a comfortable house on Rio Grande and 19th Street, the children and their father were seldom together in Austin after Sallie's death. Governor Hogg traveled extensively for his clients; Mike and Tom soon left home for boarding school; and Ima attended schools in San Marcos and Austin before spending two "joyous" years at the University of Texas. In 1901–1902 she traveled to New York City to begin rigorous piano study.64

Aunt Fannie's efforts to manage her brother's household produced mixed results and caused Ima constant anxiety. Ima later recalled that Aunt Fannie disliked Tom, who had just turned eight when his mother died. Although Ima remembered Tom as "the most outgoing sweet child," she recalled that Aunt Fannie "punished him for everything." Tom found school difficult and in later life could not settle successfully in an occupation, problems his sister attributed to lack of understanding and helpful intervention in his youth.65 Equally devastating was Aunt Fannie's often-repeated but medically unfounded warning that the children might contract tuberculosis themselves and transmit the disease to subsequent generations. Her husband had died of tuberculosis, and her son had developed the disease, which he controlled by living in Colorado, so Martha Frances assumed her brother's children would follow a similar pattern. Although Ima claimed to

64 Reminiscences, 3B130, folder 10, IHP, CAH.
65 Ima Hogg to Robert Sutherland, Aug. 24, 1970, interview, Round Top, MA19/U1, folder 12, HFR, CAH. See also Ima Hogg to Anson Phelps Stokes, Aug. 22, 1903, letter, regarding healthy preparatory schools for
have had many beaux, she often commented that Aunt Fannie's warnings had kept her from marrying.  

The turmoil following their mother's death, the clumsy efforts of Aunt Fannie to discipline carefree spirits, and the cold comforts of boarding school drew the children to each other and to their father. Letters of affection, advice, and anecdote reveal the overpowering importance of Governor Hogg's influence on his children's development and reflect widely held Victorian virtues, defined by Stanley Coben as a "cult of character." The role of caring family patriarch suited Jim Hogg, and, like other fathers, he admonished his children to exhibit self-control, to be punctual, hardworking, sober, pious, honorable to others, and eager for self-improvement. He also assured his children repeatedly, "No man ever had a more dutiful, decent, loving and lovable set of children than I have!" Writing to Will on the eve of his second gubernatorial race, the governor told his son, "The guiding star of my life has been Duty and fidelity to Trust. . . I am fortified and feel strong in the cause of justice to stand for the people's rights." In other letters, he affectionately praised Will's exemplary behavior and good judgment, offered advice about college choices, and waxed eloquent when he learned his first-born son would follow him into the legal profession. "Had the wealth of the Vanderbilts been

her brothers, 3B131, folder 1, IHP, CAH; letters Oct. 17, 1910, Mar. 28, 1911, 2J343, folders 2, 3, WHP, CAH.
65 Ima Hogg to author, conversations in 1974, 1975; Bernhard, Ima Hogg, 31, based on Ima's reminiscences.
67 Coben, Rebellion against Victorianism, 4, outlines a "configuration of virtues" based on hundreds of contemporary statements about character.
68 James Stephen Hogg to Ima, Michael, Thomas Hogg, in South Egremont, Mass., July 18, 1904, 2J215, folder June 3, 1904–Dec. 19, 1905, JSH, CAH. This box includes numerous examples of affectionate and instructive letters to the children.
69 James Stephen Hogg to William Clifford Hogg, Apr. 19, 1892, letter, 2J327, folder 1, WHP, CAH; and Volume of letters to William C. Hogg, Apr. 19, 1892–Oct. 7, 1899, 2J418, JSH, CAH, on official governor's stationary. Also, James Stephen Hogg to Sister (Martha Frances Hogg Davis), Dec. 2, 1901, letter, 2J215, JSH, CAH, concerning Will's agreement to join his father's law firm and his own desire to retire after organizing his oil business on a solid footing.
placed at my disposal as the earnings of honest labor I could not have felt happier than by the reception of your splendid letter." Note the implied reminder that wealth earned by the sweat of one's brow is acceptable; wealth gained from inheritance suspect.⁷⁰ Clearly Will was being groomed to step into his father's shoes. The governor asked his oldest son to supervise activities of the younger children and proffered advice about dealing with Mike and Tom — teasing Tom is alright because he is "always forgiving," but "jokes, tricks or diplomacy" must not be tried with Mike, who is "as sensitive and unforgiving as he is manly and honorable."⁷¹

If proud of his sons, the governor developed an extraordinarily close attachment to his daughter, telling her she was "the best friend I have this side of Heaven!" In 1904 he exclaimed, "I think of my God in the deepest gratitude first, then of thee! Your splendid character, your sweet disposition, your charming manners, your fidelity to your young brothers added to your thoughtfulness of me at all times . . . have so impressed me that it is but natural for me to make you second to no living being." Assigning attributes of the precious wife to the daughter, the widower admonished Ima not to study too hard and "to do your part by your health"; he bought her a ring "made after my own design from pearls selected by myself from a lot taken out of the river above Austin" as a mark of the "love and affection of an indulgent father for his ever-deserving, loyal daughter", and he suggested she purchase a light gray silk dress because "your mother always looked best in that color." When Ima decided to break away from the Methodism of her mother's family, a decision that caused her much mental struggle and anxiety, her father

⁷⁰ James Stephen Hogg to William C. Hogg, from Fifth Avenue Hotel, Apr. 26, 1895, Letterbook, 2J418, JSH, CAH.
⁷¹ James Stephen Hogg to William C. Hogg, from Waldorf-Astoria, June 26, 1899, Letterbook, 2J418, JSH, CAH.
told her he had no objection if she joined the Episcopal Church. Because God had "no choice of churches," she should "let your own conscience and better judgment be gratified in this question and I shall be satisfied."  

In many letters he revealed a protective paternalism that reflected his generation's view that "the daughter is solely an inspiration and refinement to the family itself and . . . her delicacy and polish are but outward symbols of her father's protection and prosperity."

At times, however, the governor's effusive affection seems obsessive. Writing to her from New York on her seventeenth birthday, he admitted, "I am not weaned from you. In every feature of your face, in every movement of your hand I can see your Mother! . . . She was honorable, truthful, gentle, faithful, generous, faultless. . . . In you I look for a friend and counselor as wise, as faithful, as true." In other letters, the governor recognized Ima's profound influence over her brothers: "You have always exercised a fine control over Will. As to Mike and Tom, you know well, how they idolize you, and yield to your will."

He also acknowledged her "ability to 'think' — to study — to investigate — to form your own judgment by process of reason on the facts — [which] has for many years attracted my attention with the deepest interest and pride. This is a rare gift." These messages, while filled with affection and pride, may have produced conflicting emotions in his daughter; how was she to follow her mother's

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72 Quotes from letters to IH on following dates: Apr. 29, 1902 (aboard Southwestern Limited); June 12, 1904 (IH in Holyoke, Mass.), Oct. 9, 1902 (Beaumont), Nov. 24, 1902 (JSH at Rice Hotel), Nov. 7, 1902 (IH in New York), May 29, 1902, 2J215, folders 2, 3, 6, JSH, CAH.
74 James Stephen Hogg to Ima Hogg, July 10, 1899, letter, 3B111, IHP, CAH.
75 James Stephen Hogg to Ima Hogg, letters, Nov. 16, 1902, May 6, 1903, 2J215, JSH, CAH.
example of domestic perfection, be an independent decision-maker, and pursue her own interests? How could she be her father's "worthy daughter" and forge her own identity?76

Jim Hogg has been variously described as a Populist, a Progressive, and a Democrat, suggesting the continuing confusion associated with these terms. If historians have had trouble defining Hogg's legacy, his children found the lessons of his life, politics, and actions clear and consistent. To them, the governor was a man of probity and honor whose word was his bond and who believed that public servants should discover the will of the people and act in their behalf. From him they learned that social issues were the business of every citizen. Like him, they believed that citizen engagement could improve community life. Jim Hogg could be considered a Populist because he was suspicious of monopoly power and championed the powerless individual against well-financed special interests. Close friend of William Jennings Bryan, he affected the same florid rhetoric of empathy with the plain people and used his oratorical skills to gain political power.77 Hogg could also be labeled a Progressive because he advocated mild social improvements and government reforms to make the system work more fairly. If nostalgic for his Old South plantation home, Jim Hogg was a son of the New South: he looked forward to a bright future; he espoused administrative efficiency and decried government corruption; he was an activist steward of civic life and advocated reform of prisons, mental health care facilities, and educational institutions. Progress was his password. Technically, of course, Hogg was a loyal Democrat. By family tradition and

76 On her thirteenth birthday, the governor had written, "My confidence in the purity of your nature, in your deep regard for the rectitude and refinement of your sex . . . firmly . . . justifies my hope that in no act of your life shall I ever find cause for disappointment or regret. God bless you my worthy daughter." James Stephen Hogg to Ima Hogg, July 10, 1895, letter, 3B166, folder 1, IHP, CAH.
77 Bryan lived in Austin near the Hogg and House families for a time (Seymour, Papers of Colonel House, 39), and Will maintained a fairly extensive correspondence with the older man after his father's death (WHP, CAH, passim).
by inclination, he was drawn to incremental improvements, not to deracinations, and he saw no reason to overturn the social, political, or economic order. His concern for the average man was tinged with paternalism; the people might be the ultimate authority, but they needed his steady and superior guidance to achieve a common good.

Whether Populist, Progressive, or Democrat, Jim Hogg was foremost a Texan. His children remembered him as a great reader who carried history books with him on trips and who believed "public education at public expense" was the foundation of a democracy. They recalled his stories of a glorious Texas past and recognized that his commitment to education was informed by an understanding of the role history plays in shaping the future. The governor acknowledged the force of history at his death when he admonished his children to forego a marble memorial but instead to "plant at the head of my grave a pecan tree and at my feet an old-fashioned walnut tree." When these trees, with their roots in the past, "shall bear, let the pecans and walnuts be given out among the plain people so that they may plant them and make Texas a land of trees" — a land of greatness in the future. In one simple act, the governor reinforced critical lessons for his children: the value of symbol and simplicity; the importance of the natural world and good husbandry; and his love for all Texans who would build communities in the future. Surely he must have hoped that this request would endear him to posterity and affirm his role as the people's governor. Certainly it profoundly affected his children, who throughout their lives, "endeavored to continue our father's concern for the tangible needs

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79 Quote in Sproul, "James Stephen Hogg"; and in 2J296, WCH, CAH, statement regarding his father's death at the home of Frank C. Jones, Houston.
of the people by planting their own trees in a literal and symbolic legacy of civic work and enduring institutions.

*Will, Ima, and Mike Hogg*

Just thirty-one in 1906 when his father died, Will was now head of the family, and he was quick to assume duties as surrogate parent, estate executor, and confidante. Ima, not yet twenty-four, collapsed after discovering her father dead in the home of his law partner and friend Frank Jones and was "nervous and restless, especially of nights" for several months. Following two years of piano study in New York City, she had returned to Varner when her father's health declined after the train mishap suffered on January 26, 1905. Despite several operations to repair the damage resulting from the accident, doctors concluded the governor's heart was impaired. Ima remained with him until his death, and Will, who was working for Mercantile Trust Company in St. Louis, made frequent visits to Varner. Father, son, and daughter enjoyed long talks about the future and developed a vision for higher education in Texas that inspired Will's subsequent activities as founder of the Texas Ex-Students' Association and Regent of the University in the pre-World War I period. Mike, still a student at the Lawrenceville (New Jersey) School in 1905, became absorbed in college and law school studies after his father's death. Tom had left school "permanently" in January 1904 and had returned

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80 Draft to the Board of Regents, Mar. 8, 1962, MAI9/U1, folder 2, HFR, CAH.
81 Will Hogg to Col. James A. Stanson, Winniboro, letter, July 6, 1906, 2J327, folder 1, WHP, CAH.
82 Apparently in 1905 there was talk of suing the International and Great Northern Railroad Company, although witnesses stated the governor had not complained when the train jolted in a coupling "made with more force than usual so as to cause a good jar . . . but not sufficient to damage any . . . equipment or to throw any persons down or out of their seats." In describing the incident, the chief surgeon of the railroad outlines several other ailments and health issues (obesity, a bad cold) that might have produced the governor's subsequent heart trouble. See letter W. G. Jameson, Chief Surgeon International and Great
to Varner where he had been "looking after" the fences and recuperating from ill health and feelings of aimlessness.\textsuperscript{83}

In September 1906 Will took Ima and Tom to New York. Music study with her former teacher helped Ima "more quickly find herself." She decided to commit herself to serious musical training and sailed for Europe in July 1907 for fourteen months travel and study in Berlin.\textsuperscript{84} Will concluded that he could best settle his father's estate and manage family business from his father's headquarters in Houston. In March 1906 he opened an office and joined the business elite of his adopted city, falling heir to his father's legal and oil interests and quickly becoming embroiled in numerous "paternal" issues with his younger brothers.\textsuperscript{85} Correspondence with Mike and Tom reveals firm plans by 1909 to establish "a home in Houston for you, ... sister and myself. She is all we have left to tie us together, and we owe it to her to fix her up as happily as possible. I know you boys will sanction anything I do."\textsuperscript{86} Tom decided to join the marines in 1907 and never made Houston his permanent home. After his marriage in 1913 he cited Varner as home but tried business ventures in Tyler and San Antonio before moving to Colorado and later to Arizona. When Ima returned from Europe late in 1908, she and Will looked for an apartment to share. City directories show that the pair changed quarters at least twice.

\textsuperscript{83} Deposition of Thomas Hogg, 3F389, Hogg Family Papers, CAH.
\textsuperscript{84} Will Hogg to Judge James H. Robertson, Austin, letter, Mar. 16, 1906, 2J327, folder 1, WCH, CAH. "Memo of Absences from the state of Miss Ima Hogg" records travel and study in Europe from July 1907 through October 1908, 2J328, WHP, CAH; 3b118, folder 3, IHP, CAH, confirms the dates.
\textsuperscript{85} Houston City Directories, 1906, 1907, 1908. The Morrison & Fourny Director, 1907, lists Will in partnership with Oswald S. Carlton (Carlton & Hogg) as managers of the Provident Savings Life Association. Will also served as chairman of several advisory committees and as confidential assistant to Joseph S. Cullinan, president of the Texas Company. He had rooms at the Rice Hotel. Ima and Tom are listed at 1602 Travis in 1907, although neither spent much time in Houston that year. See letters William C. Hogg to Michael and Thomas Hogg about allowances, travel, career, and other "paternal" issues in MS 21, Box 15, folder 2, IHP, Archives, MFAH.
\textsuperscript{86} William C. Hogg to Michael and Thomas Hogg, Mar. 1, 1909, in ibid.
before Mike joined them in 1912, when the three siblings rented a home at the Oxford apartments. Ima moved to the Marie Louise Apartments in 1915, but the family finally settled in a house at 4410 Rossmoyne (now Yoakum) early in 1917.⁸⁷ From 1909 through the spring of 1918, Ima taught advanced piano students, some of whom went on to concert careers. In 1912 Mike began his business career in lawyer's quarters in the sixteen-story Carter Building, where Will maintained an office.⁸⁸ Nothing in correspondence from these years intimates that Will, Ima, or Mike imagined lives apart. Will seems to have been particularly dependent on his siblings for companionship and came to rely on Mike's calm good sense in business and civic matters. However, Will could be the heavy-handed older brother, instructing business subordinates to secure his permission before executing Ima's donations and demanding his sister attend to domestic affairs before leaving the city with an emphatic "Do this now" underlined twice in peremptory letters.⁸⁹

Life for the Hogg family settled into a busy and productive pattern as the siblings quickly joined Houston's bustling social and civic life. Ima pursued her professional interest by joining the Girl's Musical Club (formed 1911), where she served as vice president and president (1913), meeting leader, and performer.⁹⁰ She was one of twenty women who formed the Chautauqua Study Club in 1909 and, although a relative

⁸⁷ See Diary, Mar. 26, 1917 ("Sup at 4410 Rossmoyne for first time"), 2J399, WHP, CAH. At first the Hoggs rented from developer Ross Sterling. Apparently Ima and architect Mr. Frueling "conceived a good interior arrangement for the proposed house" by August 1916, so Sterling must have been willing to accommodate the Hoggs' wishes even though final purchase occurred in February 1919. William C. Hogg to R. S. Sterling, Aug. 26, 1916, letter, 2J328, WHP, CAH; diary Feb. 24, 1919, 2J299, WHP, CAH, notes purchase.
⁸⁸ Houston City Directories 1908–1912.
⁹⁰ Will C. Hogg to David M. Pickens, letter, Apr. 13, 1923, 4W271, IHP, CAH; William C. Hogg to Ima Hogg, letter, May 3, 1918, 3B119, IHP, CAH.
⁹⁰ See The Girls' Musical Club - Houston, program for 1914–1915, Texas Room, HPL.
newcomer to Houston, was named first recording secretary. She also doggedly marched the streets on tag days for various worthy causes. Most important she persuaded fellow music lovers that Houston must have a symphony orchestra. Working with local musicians, she organized the first successful symphony concert on a hot June afternoon in 1913. Will joined the revived Chamber of Commerce (1910) and focused his attention on social service projects, including support of the local Boy Scouts as Vice President and Finance Chairman, service on the Emma R. Newsboys board, and financial leadership for the Houston Foundation. In 1914 Will and Mike opened a cotton brokerage with friend Raymond Dickson, and the brothers leased oil production rights on much of the Varner Plantation property. As a member of the Chamber of Commerce Cotton Committee, Will lobbyed hard at the local and national levels to stabilize prewar prices by reducing cotton acreage across the South and by encouraging farmers to diversify crops. He gained statewide fame as regent and champion of the University of Texas when he spearheaded the 1917 fight against Governor Jim Ferguson, who was trying to wrest control of the university from the Board of Regents. Ima was elected president of the Houston Symphony Society in 1917 and vice president of the Texas Federation of Music Clubs in 1918. And on January 15, 1918, after years of exploration,

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91 Scrapbook 1, p. 15, MS 21, Series 14, IHP, Archives, MFAH. Original members in addition to Ima Hogg included wives of prominent Houstonians and leading women activists: Mrs. W. H. Hargrave, Mrs. Nell Lee Van Valkenburgh, Mrs. Eugene Blake, Miss Ella Cage, Mrs. Lynch Davidson, Mrs. Thornwall Fay, Mrs. Gibbs, Mrs. Herbert Godwin, Mrs. E. M. Haralson, Miss Mary Hays, Mrs. Vard Hulen, Mrs. J. C. Hutcheson Jr., Mrs. William States Jacobs, Mrs. William Hinds Kirkland, Mrs. H. H. Lummis, Mrs. Joseph Mullen, Miss June Percival (later Mrs. James Pittman), Miss Agnes Robinson (later Mrs. T. M. Norsworthy), Mrs. Mabel Franklin Smith.

92 William C. Hogg to the Chamber of Commerce, Houston, Sept. 21, 1914, letter, Lovett Papers, Box 43, folder 10 (Hogg Family), WRC, RU; William C. Hogg to various, letters, Sept.–Nov. 1914, Cullinan Papers, Box 59, folder 1, HMRC, HPL.
the first big oil well blew in at Varner Plantation; followed by dozens of gushers, the field elevated the Hoggs to Texas's oil aristocracy.\textsuperscript{93}

This activity came to an abrupt halt when the United States entered World War I. Mike and Will decided to disband Hogg, Dickson, & Hogg.\textsuperscript{94} Mike joined the army and was shipped overseas June 13, 1918. After seeing action in the Ardennes and being wounded, Captain Mike, as he was called thereafter, was mustered out in 1919. Will lobbied his father's old friends, Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan and presidential advisor Edward Mandell House, and won a voluntary advisory government post for the duration of hostilities.\textsuperscript{95} Then on July 11, 1918, Will opened an urgent telegram from old friend and Houston business associate Dr. Gavin Hamilton. The doctor advised that Ima, who was vacationing with friends in Delaware Gap, Pennsylvania, was "suffering from a marked degree of anaemia" and was "much run down, ... particularly her nervous system." He recommended physical and mental rest and a diet of milk and eggs. Ima joined her brother, who was in New York, and Will began a desperate search for medical help.\textsuperscript{96}

\textsuperscript{93} The Hoggs began exploring for oil at Varner, West Columbia, during the governor's lifetime. By 1917, when W. C. Hogg # 1 blew in on May 13, it was clear West Columbia would be a major producer, and on January 15, 1918, Tyndall-Hogg No. 2 heralded a rich discovery. In 1921 West Columbia wells produced over 12 million barrels; twenty-six years later, they continued to pump over 2 million barrels a year. Summary in Cotner, \textit{James Stephen Hogg}, 583.

\textsuperscript{94} William C. Hogg to Ima Hogg, April 1, 1918, letter, sale to Garrow, MacClain & Co., Inc., 3B119, folder 1, IHP, CAH.


\textsuperscript{96}Diary, July 20, 21, 22, Aug. 1, 8, 1918, 2J399, WHP, CAH, records visits to or consultation with doctors. In the 1880s, Silas Weir Mitchell, a famous Philadelphia neurologist, popularized a "rest cure" that called for extended and total bed rest, isolation from family and friends, a diet of cream and eggs, and massage. The cure was frequently recommended in the decades between 1880 and 1920 for middle- and upper-class women who suffered "nervous" disorders and melancholia. See a vivid account of Mitchell and the tragic effects of his "cure" on one patient, the author and social advocate Charlotte Perkins Gilman in Ann J. Lane, \textit{To Herland and Beyond: The Life and Work of Charlotte Perkins Gilman} (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990), 108-32. See Edward Prather to Will Hogg, July 29, 1918, letter 3B119, folder 1, IHP, CAH, about the need for bed rest.
A sojourn with friends in Maine again ended in illness, and Will pressed his sister to place herself under a doctor's care. Although she had "positively refused to go to a sanitarium" in July, by October 1, 1918, Will directed that mail be sent to his sister care of Dr. G. W. Ford, Kerhonkson, New York. Almost immediately, Ima began to "see some benefit," and by November 2 she talked of returning home. In fact, she returned to New York December 4 and to Houston December 24.\footnote{William C. Hogg to EEC, Aug. 27, 1918, letter, 3B119, folder 1, IHP, CAH; diary, Aug. 13, 31, Sept. 27, 2J399, WHP, CAH; William C. Hogg to D. Clark, Oct. 1, 1918, 3B119, folder 1, IHP, CAH. Diary (Sept. 30) shows a brief stay at a "rest cure" on Park Avenue and departure for Dr. Ford's Sanitarium on October 7, 1918. See diary, Sept. 30, Dec. 4, 24, 1918, 2J399, WHP, CAH; Ima Hogg to Will Hogg, Oct. 18, Nov. 2, 1918, letters, 3B119, folder 1, IHP, CAH.} However, this episode proved only the first of several that persisted until 1924. After a motor trip with friends in March 1919, Ima again fell ill and on May 3, 1919, left Houston with Will to enter a "rest house" at 1939 Wallace Street in Philadelphia, where she was placed under the care of Francis X. Dercum, a prolific author and specialist in nervous and mental disorders. Her depression was complicated by a dreadful mastoid abscess, which she later recalled as a searing pain and knocking sound in her ear. The abscess required surgery and was followed by pneumonia. She remained at the rest house until March 26, 1920, when she and a nurse went to a "pretty house in Ardmore" (Merion) outside Philadelphia, her home until March 1921.\footnote{Ima Hogg to Robert Sutherland, interviews, MA19/U1, folder 2, HFR, CAH. An account of the illness can be found in correspondence between Francis X. Dercum and William C. Hogg, June 13, 14, 19, 26, 1919, letters, 3B119, folder 2, IHP, CAH; diary, June 6, July 7-9, 1919, 2J399, WHP, CAH; memo in 2J328, WHP, CAH; Francis Dercum to William C. Hogg, Mar. 26, 1920, 3B119, folder 3, IHP, CAH.} During her stay in Merion, she took trips to Atlantic City and Lake Placid with a nurse, visited Will in New York, sat for a portrait by New York artist Weyman Adams, and purchased the eighteenth-century banister-back armchair of New England origin that inspired her collection of American decorative arts. Will's diary
entries and correspondence indicate he encouraged his sister’s collecting as a therapeutic way to reignite her interest in living a full, healthy life.

In March 1921 brother and sister returned to Houston and the excitement of occupying handsome new offices in the Great Southern Building for the recently formed Hogg Brothers, Inc., a family corporation created to handle the siblings’ business ventures. Following the company’s first annual meeting in April, Ima again traveled to Philadelphia, where she was stricken with appendicitis, consulted Dr. Dercum, and underwent an operation in June 1921. From July 1921 until February 1922, Ima convalesced in Atlantic City, New York, and Lake Placid before going to Houston for a few months. On September 25, 1922, she again consulted Dr. Dercum, underwent another operation in late November, and remained in Philadelphia until December 12, 1922, when she returned to Houston to recuperate. In April 1923, having pronounced herself well, Ima joined her bachelor brothers and some friends for a trip to Europe. After landing in Quebec on August 1 and enjoying a three-month sojourn at Lake Placid, she was troubled by insomnia and consulted Dr. Austen Fox Riggs, a popular author and pioneering therapist, who practiced in Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

The visit to Riggs’s clinic (November 11, 1923, to February 2, 1924) proved an inspiration that profoundly affected the Hogg family’s philanthropy. Not only did Ima

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99 Ima Hogg to William C. Hogg, Sept. 20, 1920, letter (Inness painting), Jan. 1921, several letters (Duncan Pfyfe table), Feb. 16, 1921, cable (antiques), 3B119, folder 3, IHP, CAH; diary references, Sept. 19, 20, 1920, Feb. 27, 1922, 2J399, WHP, CAH.
100 Operation on June 24, 1921, in Jefferson Hospital, Thomas E. Hogg to Ima Hogg, telegram, 3B126, IHP, CAH; Christmas in New York, telegram, 2J328, WHP, CAH; diary entries, 1922, 2J399, WHP, CAH; Michael Hogg to Ima Hogg, Nov. 28, 1922, letter, 3B124, folder 3, IHP, CAH.
learn to control her fitful sleeping, but also she acquired a friend and mentor who
reawakened her childhood interest in mental health care and taught her that every person
"must have a purpose which you believe in and which you will give yourself to."102
Riggs accepted voluntary patients only and espoused a regimen of therapeutic retraining
that stressed "intelligent living," the value of "play," and the relationship of emotions to
the nervous system. He believed nervous disorders were "due to some degree of
maladaptation of the patient to his environment," and he advocated a "balanced life" of
work and play that would enable individuals to achieve "happiness [the] byproduct of
living wisely." For Riggs, "intelligent living" required high ethical purpose in society
and gave "equal importance" to "physical health, work, play, rest, leisure, and
contemplation."103 As Ima later recalled, Riggs "introduced [her] to the equally
important area of positive mental health" and showed her that "all of us can function
more efficiently if we learn how to live with our emotions, if they become our allies in
achieving important goals instead of complicating factors of inner conflict."104 Ima
shared these revelations with Will and Mike, and the "wholesome life" she and her
brothers came to advocate in their philanthropy and business careers expanded Riggs's
view of "intelligent living" beyond the individual to the community. Not only must the
Hogg and all individuals strive to lead purposeful, balanced lives, but also communities

102 Ima Hogg to Robert Sutherland, Nov. 21, 1961, Aug. 24, 1970, interviews, MAI9/U1, folder 12, HFR,
CAH; Michael Hogg to Ima Hogg, Dec. 24, 1923, Stockbridge, Mass., Christmas greetings, 3B124, folder
3, IHP, CAH. Diary, Feb. 2, 1924, 2B399, WHP, CAH, notes Ima was in Stockbridge from Armistice Day
(Nov. 11, 1923) until Feb. 2, 1924. She also spent a few days in Stockbridge in November 1924.
103 Austen Fox Riggs, M.D., Intelligent Living (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc.,
1934), xvi. Riggs states "Work is . . . the first essential of a satisfactory life because it . . . is purposive
effort," ibid., 181; Austen Fox Riggs, M. D., Play: Recreation in a Balanced Life (Garden City, N. Y.:
104 Ima Hogg, draft statement to the regents, Mar. 8, 1962, MAI9/U1, folder 4, HFR, CAH.
themselves must work to become healthy, beautiful places that provide varied resources to their citizens.

The family crisis precipitated by Ima's long illness, Mike's war experience, and the need to manage their newfound oil wealth judiciously turned the siblings toward careers in philanthropy. Unlike Andrew Carnegie, who famously articulated a gospel of wealth management in his numerous writings, or Jane Addams, who made plain in several widely circulated books, her vision of civic activism, the Hoggs never defined their beliefs in specific terms. Nonetheless, correspondence with friends and colleagues, publication of Civics for Houston and the Garden Book of Houston, causes they espoused, and institutional legacies they created reveal that the siblings were driven by a well-directed mission. Archival evidence suggests that they explored three fundamental questions before formulating a consistent philanthropic vision. What could they do with the vast surpluses accumulating daily? How could they manage their personal resources effectively for the benefit of themselves and their community? How could they address the complexity of a rapidly changing twentieth-century world? If somewhat inchoate at first, a family philosophy grew ever clearer during the 1920s.

Parental example and family heritage had taught the Hoggs that individuals must give back to their communities and defend the "highest ideals of citizenship." They believed their growing wealth meant great opportunity and heavy responsibility. Almost immediately, they formed three convictions that framed their later careers as philanthropists. They concluded that the oil discovered under family land was a natural

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resource whose proceeds must be held in trust for the benefit of all Texans. They also developed the idea that communities and families could prosper only if each individual had acquired the intellectual, emotional, and physical means to lead a "wholesome life."\textsuperscript{107} Finally, like well-known philanthropists Olivia Russell Sage, John D. Rockefeller, and Julius Rosenwald, they realized that philanthropy should be managed efficiently and that the process of giving should be organized to affect social change through preventive rather than palliative approaches to public health, education, and welfare issues. Recognizing new demands to husband their wealth, the Hoggs began to analyze underlying causes of social problems and develop institutions to guide change.\textsuperscript{108}

As their vision matured they examined five critical issues. They asked what an ideal city should look like physically. The great American city they imagined would integrate public parklands, private developments, and civic and commercial zones in carefully planned spaces that would preserve natural beauty and provide recreational outlets for all citizens. They wondered how they could help individuals meet their responsibilities and achieve their fullest potential in this physically beautiful urban space. Feeling that individual, family, and community well-being were inextricably linked, they focused attention and resources on the little understood and controversial area of mental

\textsuperscript{107} Ima Hogg to Robert Sutherland, Nov. 21, 1961, May 10, 13, 1967, interviews, MAI9/U1, folder 12, HFR, CAH; memorandum on Hogg's mental hygiene activities, 1948, MAI9/U1, folder 14, HFR, CAH; Ima Hogg to Robert Sutherland, Apr. 27, 1967, letter, MAI9/U1, folder 4, HFR, CAH. The term "wholesome life" is not explicitly defined by Ima but comes to incorporate all activities or "principles of good living" that enable individuals to "utilize their capacities fully and work with their fellows creatively." Ima Hogg, draft statement to the regents, Mar. 8, 1962, MAI9/U1, folder 4, HFR, CAH (first quotation); phrases underlined in "A Modern Approach to Mental Hygiene Work," memorandum, MAI9/U25, HFR, CAH (second quotation).  
\textsuperscript{108} Rockefeller organized seven philanthropies between 1901 and 1913 and brought them together under a reconstituted Rockefeller Foundation in 1929; issues included education, medical research, and disease prevention. Olivia Sage founded the Russell Sage Foundation in 1907 to address social issues and influence social welfare policy. The Julius Rosenwald Fund, created in 1917, brought education to rural black southerners.
health care. They remembered their father's admonition that only an educated citizenry could enjoy real democracy. To support this contention, they created scholarships, nurtured Texas universities, and sat on the Houston Board of Education. They considered what this rationally organized urban space would offer its residents. Personal inclination and knowledge of great European and American cities provided the answer: a symphony orchestra and a museum of art. And they asked how Texans could participate in a greater United States cultural heritage. They collected American art and artifacts and undertook historic preservation projects that addressed this issue. The Hogg's vision of a wholesome community — a place that supports access to parklands, music, and art; nurtures knowledge of the "American heritage which unites us"\textsuperscript{109}; and provides social service and mental health care assistance — links them to generations of American idealists who advanced a moral response to change. The urban ideal they espoused and the institutions they nurtured profoundly influenced their contemporaries and changed forever the city they loved.

The Hogg’s philanthropic vision developed slowly, over time, as the siblings held "numerous discussions" to execute the "common goals we had in mind."\textsuperscript{110} References in statements, diaries, and interviews reveal a close working relationship that encompassed business and philanthropy. Although all three traveled widely, maintained an apartment in New York City during the 1920s, and spent many months apart each year, they consulted each other continuously and developed a family approach to problem solving. All three understood that their philanthropies should not be exclusive even if their

personal friends formed a restricted, homogeneous circle. "All" Texans meant every citizen of the state, and they specifically set aside funding to support under-served African-American and Hispanic communities. Childless themselves, they placed saving children at the heart of their dreams for family and community, whether through education, child guidance to improve mental health, or mentoring youth. Once they had identified an issue or problem, they plunged into months of self-education. Books, pamphlets, and study papers accompanied them when they traveled across the country to learn first-hand how others had addressed various issues — from urban planning, to historic restoration, to school lunch menus. Their ties to political and business leaders enabled them to forge public/private partnerships and bring people from diverse backgrounds together. Indeed, all three proved particularly zealous and vocal in their attempts to persuade the public to support controversial issues like city planning, mental health care, and a no-third-term drive to unseat Franklin Roosevelt in 1940. Finally, they tried to leverage their wealth by developing partnerships with community leaders and other philanthropists. By no means Houston's wealthiest donors, they worked hard to ensure that their dreams involved others and were adopted as city or state projects.

Will, Ima, and Mike worked well together because each sibling brought different strengths to the team, although all three displayed a marked reticence and modesty frustrating to the historian trying to unravel their myriad activities. Reporters did their best to capture the Hoggs in photographs or record Will's far-ranging, often exotic, trips, Ima's many good works, and Mike's hunting and flying escapades, but the candid poses of most shots and Will's threat to "kick" his dear friend columnist Odd McIntyre if his

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110 Ima Hogg, penciled memo, 1940, MA19/U1, HFR, CAH; see also Ima Hogg, draft statement to the regents, Mar. 8, 1962, in ibid.
name got in the paper suggest none of the Hoggs courted publicity. Will crept out of town when word reached him he had been named Rotary Club Man of the Year in 1928; Ima accepted awards but then often was "unable" to attend congratulatory ceremonies; and Mike seems to have been content to play the "little brother" role of relative obscurity. They did all recognize the importance of their family heritage and the seriousness of the civic work they had undertaken, and in later life Ima organized papers pertaining to the family's vast philanthropy and life of civic activism and distributed them to archives in Austin and Houston.\footnote{The bulk of the Hogg family's papers were placed in the Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin. Important collections are also housed in the archives of the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, and in the special collections of the University of Houston. Rice University received the family's transcribed copy of Governor James Stephen Hogg's state papers.} \footnote{See correspondence 3B119, IHP, CAH; 2J329, WHP, CAH.}

Playful affection and stalwart support characterize the strong bonds that bound the siblings. Numerous nicknames pepper their correspondence — Podsnapps and Miss Titewadd (variously spelled) were avid collectors; Bilog, Mikandi, and Mikalis corresponded furiously with friends — although most Houstonians knew the Hoggs as Will, Miss Ima, and Mike or Mickie.\footnote{Mystery attends Mike's wedding in 1929, which took place while Will and Ima were traveling. Ima suggests that Will was crushed, and perhaps Mike feared his reaction, but once the family had met his bride, letters of enthusiastic affection fly among them, and Will bought his new sister extravagant presents during the last year of his life. Ima Hogg, oral history, HMRC, HPL.} To each other, they were Brother, Missima, and Mickey. When Mike married the lovely Alice Nicholson in 1929, she seems to have retained her name untrammeled after she was welcomed to the family.\footnote{} To posterity the Hoggs remain three siblings who worked feverishly on behalf of mutual and individual interests. Will and Ima urged each other to pursue their new-found collecting furor in the 1920s, Mike and Will were proud of Ima's musical adventures and were closely allied business "chums"; and Ima made her maiden political speech when Mike requested her
support for Republican Wendell Willkie during a 1940 "no-third-term" campaign. Ima
developed a circle of friends — librarian Julia Ideson, pianists Eloise Chalmers and Mary
Fuller, Austin friend Dot Thornton, Symphony co-worker Nellie Jones, and
philanthropist Estelle Sharp, among others — with whom she traveled and shared civic
interests.114 Will and Mike acquired a number of business and hunting cronies, including
the popular pre-World War II humorists O. D. D. McIntyre, Irvin Cobb, and Will Rogers.
The exchange of letters among the McIntyres, Cobbs, and Mike and Alice Hogg is a
touching monument to powerful friendship. Close family friends for many years included
Houston's Sharp, Blaffer, and Cullinan families, with whom the Hoggs traveled,
celebrated Christmas, engaged in civic enterprises, and pursued business interests. Guest
lists for their frequent parties included the James A. Baker family and members of the
Rice Institute faculty as well as fellow workers on numerous civic projects.115

Diversified family business enterprises included insurance, cotton factoring, oil
and natural gas, and real estate, as well as ventures in shoe manufacturing and flirtations
with Hollywood and Broadway. Will seems to have been the idealistic dreamer who
always wanted to enlarge any proposed business scheme; "levelheaded" Mike provided
the steadying hand and "acted as a brake to the impulsive and emotional outbursts of the
dynamic and dominating elder brother."116 Opinions vary about Ima's business interest,
but she was eager to assume management of Hogg Brothers when Mike died in 1941 and
displayed astute business acumen when negotiating purchases for her collections and

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114 References to travels throughout papers. See for example, clipping about her trips in 1937 and 1950 in
3B168, folder 2, IHP, CAH.
115 Mike and Alice Hogg Papers, MS 19, Archives, MFAH; 2J329, folder 1924–1928, WHP, CAH. Men at
a stag luncheon in honor of Irvin Cobb, Dec. 14, 1928, included Port Director John Crotty, neighbor Harry
Hanszen, lumberman W. T. Carter Jr., former governor W. P. Hobby, newspaperman M. E. Foster (Mefo),
Judge F. C. Proctor, journalist Roscoe Wright, and business associates David M. Picton Jr. and Stephen L.
Pinckney, among others, 2J305, Irvin J. Cobb folder, WHP, CAH.
organizing her estate in later life. Politics always fascinated, and frequently disappointed, the governor's children, whose high standards of proper public conduct were rarely met. Will single-handedly drove the campaign that unseated Governor Jim Ferguson in 1917, and every governor and gubernatorial candidate from 1906 until the 1970s sought the magic endorsement of Hogg family members. Will and Mike also were kingmakers in local politics. Their exposure of perennial mayor Oscar Holcombe's real estate peculation and their subsequent support for friend and fraternity brother Walter E. Monteith assured Monteith's victory as mayor and "a good house-cleaning" for the city in 1928.\textsuperscript{117} When the 1928 Democratic National Convention descended on the city in June, Will and Mike were prominent supporters of the citywide effort to build a convention hall and welcome delegates. Will conceived, financed, and staffed Hospitality House, a fan-cooled tent across from the hall where delegates could meet local volunteers, find refreshments, and rest from their labors on the overheated convention floor. What was said of Will in 1933 applied to his siblings as well; they "had a vision of a great city and a great state and [they] labored incessantly and gave lavishly that this might be realized."\textsuperscript{118}

Will assumed leadership of family affairs from 1906 until his untimely death in 1930. An impulsive, sometimes autocratic, man with a hearty voice and demeanor, Will could also be softhearted, and he avoided recognition of his generosity by often giving anonymously. Prone to enthusiasms and grandiose schemes, his explosive temper was

\textsuperscript{116} Lomax, \textit{Will Hogg, Texan}, 10.
\textsuperscript{117} \textit{Houston Gargoyle}, Oct. 2, 1928, p. 8 (quote); Apr. 10, 1928, p. 5; Aug. 7, 1928, p. 6; Aug. 21, 1928, p. 6; Nov. 20, 1928, p. 6; Nov. 27, 1928, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{118} Statements collected by John Avery Lomax in preparation for his study of Will Hogg for the \textit{Atlantic Monthly} published in 1940, in 3D205, folder 2, John Avery Lomax Family Papers, CAH.
well known and documented by frequent letters of apology.\textsuperscript{119} He hated hot weather; loved to cook, hunt, take long walks, and travel; and he knew how to play, whether in New York, Hollywood, Europe, South America, or yachting at sea. "Intensely civic minded," Will was utterly self-effacing and often betrayed a "wistful desire to be of help."\textsuperscript{120} His blue books became famous. Brooking no refusals, Will would march into his friends' offices armed with blank-paged books bound in blue leather and demand pledges in writing to support worthy causes. He promised signatories that no one would pay unless the goal was met or exceeded; of course, no goal ever fell short because Will simply covered any difference himself. Friend O. D. D. McIntyre recalled his "big heart" and love of beauty, while admirer Nina Cullinan, Joseph Cullinan's civic-minded daughter, noted years later that Will "set a standard" for others.\textsuperscript{121} To fellow Ex-Student Association supporter Ireland Graves, Will was independent, generous, warm-hearted, unafraid, and uncomplacent.\textsuperscript{122} To Sister Ima, Will was a fascinating, complex man whose deep wells of empathy were understood by few who knew him.\textsuperscript{123}

Like his father Will was a large man with tawny coloring, a receding hairline, and a square jaw. Sheepish about his weight and looks, Will recorded attempts to diet and visits for hair treatments in his diary.\textsuperscript{124} Remembered for his gray-blue eyes, ruddy

\textsuperscript{119} See for example, correspondence with Edgar Odell Lovett, Sept. 28, Oct. 3, 1923, Box 43, folder 10, Lovett Papers, WRC, RU, where Will says "I felt utterly ashamed after I left you that I said anything to you."

\textsuperscript{120} Statements collected by Lomax in 3D205, folder 2, John Avery Lomax Family Papers, CAH.

\textsuperscript{121} O. D. D. McIntyre in 2J342, WHP, CAH; Nina Cullinan, oral interview, WRC, RU.

\textsuperscript{122} Thomas Watt Gregory in \textit{Alcalde}, 19 (October 1930), 10. This issue carries a long article and photograph, "William Clifford Hogg: He Was a Loyal Son of a Proud University," that recaps Will's life and prints warm praise from many friends.

\textsuperscript{123} Ima Hogg, remarks at dedication of the Hogg Building, University of Texas, clipping in IHP, Scrapbook 3, p. 57, Archives, MFAH. After Will's death, Ima became very protective of his memory and tried to control publication of John Lomax's \textit{Atlantic Monthly} article in May 1940. Lomax, who adored Will, was deeply wounded by Ima's fear that the article would be anything but laudatory. Letters, 3B122, folder 6, IHP, CAH; letters, 3D205, folder 3, John A. Lomax Family Papers, CAH.

\textsuperscript{124} See for example, Mar. 26, Nov. 1, 1929, and passim, diary 2J399, WHP, CAH.
cheeks, and resonant voice, Will was recognized as both a debonair, fashionably dressed bon vivant and a shy man, who often jumped up and left a room when strangers appeared. Trained as a lawyer at Southwestern University at Georgetown (two years) and the University of Texas Law School (LLB 1897), Will wrote letters that resembled well-argued legal briefs animated by vivid imagery or epithet. Known for his colorful language and strong opinions, Will called one political opponent a "dirt-dauber of discord...the apostle of avarice" and despised political grandstanding and business chicanery. A nationally recognized public figure, perceived by journalists in the 1920s to share honors with Jesse Holman Jones as Houston's most important citizen, Will detested the developer of downtown Houston because he questioned Jones's business ethics. He also felt Jones was self-important and exaggerated his civic deeds by taking sole credit that should have been widely shared. When Jones "allowed" himself to be put forward as a favorite son candidate at the 1928 convention, Will urged Governor Dan Moody not to "proffer as President this ill-fitted pseudo-statesman who...is always using the other fellow's chips to his own advantage" and "make yourself and your friends ridiculous." Best known as a "Tender Tempest" who gave "Millions for Learning" and other dreams, Will was praised for introducing a "leavening influence of beauty" that saved Houston.

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125 "Dirt-dauber" and other colorful language in remarks William C. Hogg, City Auditorium, Houston, June 8, 1926, speeches saved in 2J352, WHP, CAH.
126 William C. Hogg to Governor Dan Moody, Austin, June 19, 1928, letter, Cullinan Papers, Box 12, folder 2. This widely disseminated letter is also found in the Sharp, Lovett, and Hogg papers. Will felt Jones pushed the bounds of business ethics when he made loans to widows and orphans and then took property as recompense when repayments failed. Most histories accept Jones's view that he underwrote the 1928 convention, but archival sources show that many Houstonians helped build the center and support the convention. See entries in Will Hogg's diary Jan. 13, Jan. 16, Jan 17 (met "bunch" at mayor's office to finance convention), Jan. 21 (Will and Mike agree to help finance convention), Mar. 17 (lunch with Jones to review convention plans), Mar. 20, June 5 (lunch with FDR), 2J399, WHP, CAH. William B. Ferguson recalls that Will would invite Jones to lunch in his Hogg Bros. Solarium and voice his criticisms directly. Jones, Ferguson states, "never became angry, but genially listened with no rebuttal." Ferguson, "Hogg Family Financial History," 90. For information on Jesse Jones, see Bascom N. Timmons, Jesse H. Jones:
from commercialism and for promoting the "spiritual heritage of public service that will always be an inspiration to those who love their city."127

Ima, petite, blond, blue-eyed, and soft-spoken, was famous for her stylish hats, early morning and late night telephone calls, and clear-headed discernment. Many friends remember that it was impossible to turn her down. With dogged but charming determination she just worked and worked until she got what she wanted. Hogg Foundation director Robert Sutherland (1940–1970) described her as a humble, self-effacing, non-aggressive patron who shunned the limelight and avoided public appearances.128 Wayne Bell, Lonn Taylor, and David Warren, young professionals who worked with Ima during the last decade of her life, recall that she was a natural teacher who loved to share her knowledge and a nurturing mentor who encouraged their interests. Always bubbling with imaginative ideas, she would often begin a telephone call with the ominous, "I've been thinking," that signaled a new project was brewing.129 Friends believed that "the responsibility of [the family's] wealth was the overriding theme" that drove her life. They remembered her as a self-critical perfectionist with the "capacity to visualize and conceive constructive projects" and "the energy and ability to carry them through to fruition."130 A strict taskmaster, she expected much of others but was totally

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127 Roscoe Wright made the phrase Tender Tempest famous, and it has been much used to encapsulate Will's dual nature. See Roscoe Wright, "Tender Tempest — A Tardy Tribute to Will C. Hogg," Houston Gargoyle, Sept. 21, 1930, p. 6 and "Millions for Learning: Will Hogg's Will Materializes His Dream," Houston Gargoyle, Oct. 5, 1930, p. 14; "Leavening influence" in Lomax, Will Hogg, Texan, 26; "spiritual heritage" in Houston, editorial, Oct. 1930, p. 20.
128 Robert Sutherland, MA19/U1, folder 13, HFR, CAH.
committed to philanthropy as a way of life that demanded constant diligent work. Recalled by some as reserved and hard to know, she loved dogs, gardening, and the solace of music. In fact, her life-long battle with depression, her "shy" demeanor, and her determined effort to bring dreams to fruition suggest a complex and conflicted person, whose struggles mirror the transition from submissive lady to independent thinker limned by historians of Progressive-era women. On the one hand, Ima seemed anxious to appear a charming and well-schooled gentlewoman who fit the conciliatory but supportive image of her beloved, and long-gone, mother; on the other, Ima was a decisive, outspoken, courageous, and knowledgeable innovator who admired professionalism, brooked little opposition to her stated objectives, and espoused causes long before they were widely understood. Although blessed with a talent to sell her ideas to others, she yet displayed "gracious firmness" when explaining any course of action. Archival sources suggest that friends and contemporaries loved the volatile Will and fun-loving Mike, while they stood in awe of the iconic Ima.

Ima was educated at the Coronal Institute in San Marcos, at the University of Texas (1899–1901), and at piano conservatories in New York and Berlin. As a member of the Downtown Club, founded by professional and business women in the 1920s, she described herself as a composer (1928) and philanthropist (1940s). In addition to her extensive philanthropic and volunteer work in Houston, she was the first woman president of the Philosophical Society of Texas (1948), a member of the Texas State Historical Survey (1953), and a member of the committee to plan the National Cultural

131 Wayne Bell, interview with author, Mar. 17, 2003; Lonn Taylor, interview with Martha Norkunas, Feb. 28, 1996, Winedale Oral History Collection, CAH.
Center (1960, now the Kennedy Center). In 1962 she was named to an advisory panel charged by First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy with redecorating the White House, and in 1969 she, Lady Bird Johnson, and Oveta Culp Hobby were the first three women named to the Academy of Texas. In later years she accepted a number of important local and national honors, always demurring that the accolade should be shared with many others.\textsuperscript{133} When she transformed Bayou Bend from a home to a house museum, she worked steadfastly to remove all trace of her presence and preferences so visitors could experience their forebears way of life without distraction.

Mike, also a large, reticent man who constantly watched his weight, was a sweet-tempered, fun-loving person with a great capacity for friendship. Suffering neither Will's manic highs nor Ima's depressed lows, he was a calming influence who helped his brother and sister execute their grand schemes and fulfill their arduous work schedules. Ever the optimist, he confided to his sister, who was traveling in Germany in 1936, "you and I will live to see the day that people are more prosperous and happier than they have ever been in the history of the world. This is just my own individual fool belief."\textsuperscript{134} A gregarious clubman and host who regularly entertained his many friends at home, Mike loved horses and dogs, and was always among the first to be approached for civic improvements like the YWCA building (1919) or the Houston City Athletic Club (proposed 1930). Like Will and Ima, he was a life member of the University of Texas Ex-Students Association and made important contributions to building and academic programs on campus. Law

\textsuperscript{133} Awards include: the Amy Angell Collier Montague Award for Civic Achievement from the Garden Club of America (1959); the Louise du Pont Crowninshield Award from the National Trust for Historic Preservation (1966); the American Association for State and Local History award (1969); and the Thomas Jefferson Award for Outstanding Contribution to America's Cultural Heritage by the National Society of Interior Designers (1972). She was the first recipient of the Santa Rita Award for outstanding service to the University of Texas (1968) and was given an honorary doctorate of fine arts by Southwestern University at Georgetown in May 1971.
school classmate Palmer Hutcheson remembered that his "beloved friend . . . never failed to place his Alma Mater first."135

Mike was educated at the Lawrenceville (N. J.) School and the University of Texas (LLB 1911), practiced law at his father's old firm in Houston (1912–1914), and then devoted himself to business, philanthropy, and politics. More likely to be found in town than either Will or Ima, Mike frequently conveyed Will's wishes to business and civic associates. In 1929 he became president of Varner Company and gradually assumed responsibility for all family business.136 In July of that year he married the "charming and beautiful" Alice Nicholson, a loving soul mate, gracious hostess, and "treasure"137 who drew close to Ima after Mike's sad loss to cancer in 1941. Mike met Alice in Austin where he served in the fortieth and forty-first legislatures (1927–1931). As a politician he opposed state control and regulation of the oil and gas industry, opposed running pipelines into the Gulf of Mexico, and delighted in behind-the-scenes king making.138 He pushed his university friend Dan Moody to victory over Miriam "Ma" Ferguson but opposed a third term for his classmate in 1930, and he supported the liberal Ralph Yarborough in the candidate's losing bid for attorney general in 1938.139 He was named Outstanding Texan in September 1934 and praised for his superior business ability and courageous and untiring oversight of family investments during the difficult

134 Michael Hogg to Ima Hogg, Sept. 16, 1936, 3B124, folder 3, IHP, CAH.
135 Palmer Hutcheson in Alcalde, 30 (Nov. 1919), 39; William C. Hogg to Ima Hogg, June 18, 1919, recounts a visit of 40 officers invited by Captain Mike to the house, 3B119, folder 1, IHP, CAH. In 1938, Mike hosted his law class's 27th reunion at the Hogg Bros. office roof garden. Alcalde, 30 (Nov. 1941), 29.
136 Ferguson, "Hogg Family History," 55, 83.
137 Irvin S. Cobb to William C. Hogg (Dear Bill), n.d. (summer 1929), Box 4, folder 1; O. O. McIntyre to Michael Hogg, n.d., Box 4, O. O. McIntyre folder, Mike and Alice Hogg Papers, Archives, MFAH.
138 House Journal 40th Legislature, 41st Legislature. Journals record Mike's support for prison reform, permanent school funding, the University of Texas, aircraft development, and A&M appropriations.
139 Moody, clippings, Box 1, folder 16, Mike and Alice Hogg Papers, Archives, MFAH; Michael Hogg to Ralph Yarborough, Apr. 30, 1938, letter, Box 2, folder 1, ibid.
1930s. Friends frequently remarked on his happy marriage, and hunting companion Irvin Cobb lamented his death, noting that "Dear Mickie" had "died as he had lived — with courage, with unselfishness, with fortitude."¹⁴⁰ Ima and Alice had discovered numerous mutual interests after Mike's marriage and continued to work together on social service, garden club, and art museum projects until Ima's death in 1975. Houston and Texas were the fortunate beneficiaries of a family vision and determination unique in its breadth, persistence, and duration. Through success and failure, the Hoggs provided models for future activism and institutions of lasting importance.

¹⁴⁰ Irvin Cobb to Raymond Dickson, Oct. 11, 1941, letter, Box 4, folder 6, ibid.
2: Houston, a Domain of Beautiful Homes

All thoughtful citizens, now-a-days, accept the dictum of professional planners that a growing city must have a comprehensive plan, the sooner the better.

William Clifford Hogg, 1925

During the Civil War young Elizabeth Fitzsimmons often stood on the corner of Main and McKinney to get a "clear view" of the high sandy banks across Buffalo Bayou from the gullies and black oozing mud below her perch. She and her friends organized delightful and safe picnics in nearby woods filled with "magnolia bloom or dogwood blossom" or took steamboat rides to "some beautiful spot on the Bayou." As a forceful clubwoman and outspoken advocate of civic improvement forty years later, Elizabeth Fitzsimmons Ring remembered the simple pleasures of her childhood. As homes, stores, and factories began to clutter favorite picnic spots, she decided to transform the bayou banks into public parkland for all Houstonians. In 1899 Ring and an alliance of intrepid female activists stormed the all-male City Council to demand municipal authorities save Mrs. Kellum's deteriorating but historic house and create a city-funded park free to all citizens on her "ragged acreage of underbrush." Mayor Sam Houston Brashear, elected on a platform that promised municipal ownership of utilities and bayou cleanup, responded to this unusual agitation by purchasing sixteen pine and oak-covered acres

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1 Title of a promotional pamphlet in River Oaks Collection, vol. 7, HMRC, HPL.
2 William C. Hogg to Herbert Hare, Kansas City, letter, July 14, 1925, Box 2J299, City Planning folder 1924–1926, WHP, CAH.
3 Elizabeth Fitzsimmons Ring File, typescript, HMRC, HPL.
4 Quote in Houston Gargoyle, July 14, 1929, p. 15; see also Ruth West, "In Reminiscence," Houston Gargoyle, June 15, 1930, p. 23.
"full of gullies" straddling Buffalo Bayou to create City (later Sam Houston) Park. Designed by city engineer J. W. Maxey and dedicated in September 1899, the park proved so popular it had to be reworked in 1906 by the newly elected commission government of Mayor Horace Baldwin Rice. Recognizing that private companies could or would not provide citywide services, Mayor Brashear also hired New York civil engineer Alexander Potter to develop a plan for the city to gain control of electricity, water, sewerage treatment, and garbage disposal. With these modest, but remarkable, steps Houstonians began the continuing struggle to preserve natural beauty and organize the city's physical environment.

Houston in 1900

Houston matured from a modest town to a major metropolis in the three decades after Spindletop. The small city that welcomed the Hogg family was home to only 44,633 citizens in 1900; by 1930, 292,352 residents clogged city streets. In 1900 Houston boasted a skyline punctuated by church steeples and a countryside promising fresh air and recreation along three wooded bayous — Buffalo, White Oak, and Brays — that snaked lazily through the flat terrain from surrounding prairie farmlands. Unlike residents of larger cities, Houstonians had yet to experience the full impact of industrial consolidation or mass migration from rural hinterland to urban center, with concomitant

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5 In his statement to the newspapers when appointed chairman of the City Planning Commission, Will Hogg reviewed the history of park development and noted the gullies in the old brick works that made up part of the park property. William C. Hogg to M. E. Foster, Houston Press, April 16, 1927, 2J299, folder 3, WHP, CAH. By 1929 the park comprised 20.43 acres.
6 The 1900 census listed seventy-eight cities of over fifty thousand inhabitants. In the nineteenth century Houston and Texas lagged behind urbanizing trends by a generation, but by the 1910s the city stood in the mainstream of urban planning and growth. Figures U. S., Department of Census, 1970.
7 Photographs in Julia Cameron Montgomery, Houston as a Setting of The Jewel: The Rice Institute, 1913 (Houston: Julia Cameron Montgomery, 1913, republished by Rice Historical Society, 2002), 53-65.
concerns to preserve natural spaces, prevent neighborhood blight, and allocate demands of industrial, commercial, recreational, and residential developers. However, well-traveled civic leaders were aware of problems spawned elsewhere by urbanization, industrialization, and transportation innovations. Many of them had come to believe that urban issues could be addressed effectively when private citizens and municipal authorities cooperated to manage growth and plan land use in an "efficient" manner that would advance the health and well-being of the whole community.

These civic activists had witnessed the inability of Galveston's government to respond to that island's devastating storm in 1900. Emulating their suffering sister city's effort to banish corruption and inaction from city hall, Houstonians embraced urban reform as a community ideal and voted to become the second United States municipality to adopt a commission form of government (1904). Viewed favorably as "a governing body which should resemble as nearly as possible the board of directors of a business corporation," the small commission or council bypassed the ward system and its perceived control by special interests because voters elected all members at large. Each commissioner owed allegiance to the whole community and oversaw specific government departments and their staffs.8 In the 1910s and 1920s these commissioners would concede, step by slow step, that city government must respond to citizen demand for services, play a pivotal oversight role in the city's development, and mediate conflicting

private agendas. During these decades, municipal authorities structured an infant, professionalized bureaucracy to establish building, paving, and platting codes; oversee public sewerage and utilities; tackle public health issues; project transportation needs and traffic patterns; and organize park and recreation sites.

Many Houston reformers were also acquainted with Frederick Law Olmsted's defining plans for Central Park, New York (1857–1876), and with his far-flung and seminal planning work in other New York cities, in Chicago (1870–1895), in Boston (1878–1920), and in Washington, D. C. (1875–1894).9 Because of ties to St. Louis and Kansas City banking, insurance, and railroad interests, businessmen like Will Hogg were familiar with the private-street enclaves of the former city and with George Kessler's extensive and ambitious plan (1893) for parks and boulevards in the latter.10 As Houston's business and professional leaders grappled with economic boom times, they began to explore planning strategies that might contain change, facilitate growth, and stabilize land values to provide a secure home life for the city's energetic population. Despite Houston's late-twentieth century reputation as a city of uncontrolled development, today's metropolis can also lay claim to a serious engagement with urban planning processes that were attuned to national trends during the 1910s and 1920s.

If Houston in 1901 enjoyed access to natural beauty along its bayous, an enlightened public opinion, and the benefit of example, early twentieth-century Houstonians did not share a uniform vision of "progress." To some up-to-date entrepreneurs, "it was an absolute axiom . . . that whoever built a factory or organized a

business was *ipso facto* a social benefactor and a patriot."¹¹ These builders believed a "tide of progress and development" legitimized transformation of "woodland beauty" into a scene of "humming wheels and busy factories and mercantile houses."¹² Other visionary men and women recognized that Houston would be considered a "wide-awake, forward-looking city, actively conscious of many things other than the almighty dollar,"¹³ if city leaders organized utilities, parks, schools, residential spaces, factories, and roads "for the maximum in convenience, safety, health, and enjoyment for the residents."¹⁴ To advocates of planned growth, the natural landscape as much as the built environment demanded legal protection and would ensure economic prosperity for the region.¹⁵

As Houston began to incorporate the surrounding county into its urban structure, proponents of progress and progressivism battled for hegemony. Had progressive visionaries prevailed, Houston's bayous might now flow naturally to Galveston Bay; along their shores, parks and parkway drives might now be accessible to all citizens; building in the flood plains might now be minimized; throughout the urban area, large and small parks, recreation centers, and bayous might now be connected by shady boulevards; and the built environment might now reflect orderly placement of residential, recreational, commercial, and industrial sectors. Although their efforts to manage growth, provide natural open spaces, and make Houston a "domain of beautiful homes" were only partially realized, progressive Houstonians raised issues that inform a continuing struggle

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¹² Quote in Magnolia Park pamphlet, Houston Subdivision Collection, MSS 118, Box 1, folder 2 (Magnolia Park), HMRC, HPL. See also *Progressive Houston*, May 1910, p. 14, WRC, RU.
¹³ *Civics for Houston*, Jan. 1929, p. 1. *Civics for Houston* is available at WRC, RU.
to reconcile enthusiasm for untrammeled economic development with concern for humanitarian values and environmental protection in the twenty-first century.

Nineteenth-century Houston residents naturally gravitated to bayou banks for picnics, steamboat rides, and "happy hours . . . gathering wildflowers and berries," because the ravines and swales shaded by oaks and magnolias broke the monotony and heat of a flat, marshy coastal plain. Periodic flooding drove commercial and residential builders southward to the slightly higher ground of the bare prairie or northward to suburbs on the thirty-foot "heights" above the original city, leaving immediate bayou environs not reserved for wharves free for cemetery and private park development. Glenwood Cemetery, organized and designed by transplanted English horticulturist Alfred Whitaker in 1871, exploited the site's natural ravines and old growth trees north of Buffalo Bayou just west of town. Curving drives and park-like vistas attracted subscribers and visitors to Houston's version of the "rural" cemetery park made popular in the 1830s. Just outside the city limits, Glenwood, like other landscaped memorial grounds throughout the country, became a desirable recreational venue for scenic, meditative strolling. Hebrew (now Beth Israel) Cemetery, founded in 1844 and the oldest Jewish institution in Texas, and City Cemetery (now Founders Memorial Park) had also been located outside city limits south of the bayou along the road to San Felipe. Not only did these serene oases afford recreational space, but also their "rural" locations protected nineteenth-century city residents from the unhealthy "miasmas" believed to emanate from burial grounds. 17

16 Elizabeth Fitzsimmons Ring File, typescript, SC 6, HMRC, HPL.
South of Buffalo Bayou and west of downtown, Merkel's Grove attracted members of the Schuetzen-Verein, a German-American riflemen's club, while Anglo settlers congregated at Vick's (now Cleveland) Park on the Bayou's north bank.\footnote{Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 41; Dorothy Knox Howe Houghton, Barrie M. Scardino, Sadie Gwin Blackburn, Katherine S. Howe, Houston's Forgotten Heritage: Landscape, Houses, Interiors, 1824–1914 (Houston: Rice University Press, 1991), 29. Whitaker and his subscribers received a charter for the Houston Cemetery Association in 1874 and purchased 60 acres.} Magnolia Park, south of Buffalo Bayou just two miles east of the city center, became a favorite play and picnic area. Developed by John T. Brady in 1890 and connected to the city by Brady's Houston Belt and Magnolia Park Railway, the area's 3,750 mature magnolia trees, gravel paths, and water frontage were "better known to Houstonians than any other suburban acreage" twenty years later when the Magnolia Park Land Company decided to sacrifice natural beauty for commercial gain and promote industrial and residential lots. More far-sighted owners could have provided workers along the ship channel a unique natural refuge among the relentlessly expanding manufacturing plants. Despoiled of all vegetation, only industrial parks bloom there today.\footnote{"A Forum of Civics for Houston," pamphlet, May 15, 1926, River Oaks Garden Club Records, Archives, MFAH.} Also hoping to lure streetcar customers to more "remote" parts of town, the Houston Electric Company developed Highland Park in 1903 as a tourist destination north of the city at the juncture of White Oak and Little White Oak Bayous.

When James Hogg and fellow oil men began to transfer business operations to Houston after 1901, they found an overgrown country town where cows, horses, and chickens inhabited utilitarian yards behind rambling turreted mansions or more modest...
clapboard structures. A residential community of "irregular uniformity" radiated out about one or two miles from the commercial center at Congress and Main streets, and foreign-born immigrants mingled with white and black Houstonians in the city's six wards developing north and south of Buffalo Bayou. "Towered villas" built from the late 1870s through the 1890s still dominated Quality Hill between Main and Crawford or marched out Main Street. Even more impressive were the colonnaded "colonial revival" mansions made popular after Jonas Shearn Rice introduced the style in his grand 1902 edifice, or the twenty-room chateau built in 1906 by philanthropic siblings Abe, Haskell, and Harriet Levy for a reputed $150,000. Commercial activity clustered in a few downtown blocks, and a small but growing manufacturing sector was slowly moving east along both banks of Buffalo Bayou toward the turning basin and ship channel that was being dredged to accommodate sea-going vessels and access to the Gulf. As late as 1910, Boston architect William Ward Watkin "bumped and splashed . . . through a little pine-grown belt to an open, endless, formless swamp" three miles south of downtown. In this "muddy, dismal" spot he had been told to construct the campus of Rice Institute on ten tracts of property (nearly 300 acres), almost one-third of which had belonged to industrialist George Hermann.

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21 For examples, see ibid., plates 44, 45, 51, 91, 92, 125, pp. 94-96; Montgomery, *Houston as a Setting of the Jewel, "Lovely Homes and Suburbs,"* 66-75. Barrie M. Scardino, "The Development of Domestic Architecture," in Houghton, et al., *Forgotten Heritage*, 67-68, points out the eclectic tradition of Houston domestic architecture from its founding forward. Early builders included Thomas William Ward from Ireland, Charles Grainger from England, the Bering brothers from Germany, Michael DeChaumes from France, Eugene Piliot from New York, and several southern investors.
22 William Ward Watkin Papers, Box 2, folder 18, WRC, RU. Pockets of industry had also developed north of downtown where railroads converged and west of City Park around the Freedman's town African-American settlement south of Buffalo Bayou. See Fredericka Meiners, *A History of Rice University: The Institute Years, 1907–1963* (Houston: Rice University Studies, 1982), 26, for Rice data.
Newcomers, streetcars, and skyscrapers would soon change the cityscape as the municipality spread fingers of development in all directions into Harris County and began annexing unincorporated neighborhoods. Between 1900 and 1910 Houston grew from a town of 44,633, to a small city of 78,800; by 1920 this city had become a bustling, industrializing, urban center of 138,276; by 1930, 292,352 citizens called Houston home. Through annexation and consolidation, the city grew during these decades from under nine to about seventy square miles.  

By 1905 the automobile age had arrived in Houston: statisticians counted 80 horse-less carriages that year, 1031 motors by 1911, and an amazing 34,869 cars by 1922. While automobiles remained luxuries for the well-heeled, jitneys, streetcars, and buses connected worker to workplace. In 1908 an enthusiast exclaimed, "There is never a time when our streets are not crowded with busy, hurrying shoppers, men, women and children, white, black and yellow —all are here." Pedestrians admiring "handsome jewels, furs and lace" in shop windows had to "stand out of harm's way" as automobiles and carriages rushed "up and down with their freight of shoppers." The twenty-six miles of pavement noted in 1903 included nine of brick, "six of asphalt, six of gravel, three of bois d'arc blocks, and one of macadam."  

By 1908 the county had contracted to build thirteen miles of paved roads, and the city council had floated an ordinance authorizing $100,000 in street paving bonds. Subsequent agreements bartered a one-third/two-thirds split between city and property owners to spur paving. If these transportation innovations spelled comfort and improvement to most

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23 See data on city limits provided as an addendum to Houston 1928 map, Map Collection, HMRC, HPL.  
24 Federation of Women's Clubs, The Key to the City of Houston (Houston: State Printing Company, 1908), 165, located in Estelle Sharp Papers, Box 7, folder 2, WRC, RU.  
residents, they produced unforeseen circulation and communication problems that intensified as the human and vehicular populations boomed and development spread across the prairie.

In the 1910s sky-scraping office buildings began to dominate the commercial sector, and building sites encroached on residential neighborhoods as handsome mansions fell to the wrecker's ball and developers scrambled to house banks, law firms, cotton brokerage houses, and oil industry headquarters. 27 Hotels and apartments with roof gardens also began to climb several stories into the sky. 28 By September 1909 a Daily Post columnist noted that Houston's ten-story buildings could be seen for miles around as they rose boldly on the flat prairie to "puncture the blue firmament — and herald to the approaching visitor the location of the South's commercial center." The columnist then described the sixteen-story Carter Building under construction — the tallest in Texas — and claimed Houstonians "no longer marvel when a building reaches ten or more stories."

While the "big, broad buildings" were "bunched toward the center of the city," the outskirts were still "lost in the maze of brush, trees and shrubs" 29 beckoning speculators.

As oil industry employees poured into Houston, 30 numerous residential neighborhoods were platted, and the rattle of streetcars resounded further and further from city center. 31 Wealthy Houstonians migrated east of downtown toward the Houston

27 Note, for example, the Van Alstyne-Dickson house, built in 1877 at Main and Polk and demolished in 1918 to accommodate a headquarters building for the Humble Oil and Refining Company. Houghton, et al., Forgotten Heritage, plate 44, and p. 80.
28 For example, J. O. Ross's eight-story Rossonian, designed by Sanguinet and Staats in 1910, was built of reinforced concrete, boasted pergolas shading its roof garden, and provided clean-burning modern gas ranges to its occupants. Houghton, et al., Forgotten Heritage, 49, 317, plate 106.
29 Houston Daily Post, Sunday section, September 5, 1909, 14.
30 Although he names only fifteen, George Dixon in Houston claims that eighteen refineries are "in operation or in process of construction" along the ship channel in December 1919, pp. 5, 6.
31 See Steven M. Baron, Houston Electric: The Street Railways of Houston, Texas (Lexington, Ky.: Steven M. Baron, 1996) for a detailed study of the symbiotic relationship between streetcar expansion and suburban development.
Country Club, built on Brays Bayou in 1909, or moved south of downtown to secluded enclaves platted on prairie farmland that had been annexed to the city in 1903. Middle class residents followed the streetcars to suburban developments like Woodland Heights (1907–1910), north of the city. Boasting of its "splendid old trees, sandy soil, and perfect drainage," William A. Wilson Realty Company, the promoter of Woodland Heights, declared the 106-acre site provided the "best of improvements and facilities," fire protection, electric streetlights, streetcars, city utilities, fine schools, and graded streets. "Just far enough from the business center . . . to insure the quiet and repose of an ideal residential district," this neighborhood attracted "men of character and standing in the community" and forbade liquor sales or "any other kind of trade or business whatsoever."

A moderately priced and hugely popular cottage or bungalow home in Woodland Heights, "sold to white people only," included a modern bathroom and a kitchen equipped with refrigerator, sink, and gas range.\(^{32}\) Magnolia Park Addition (1909), a community of modest homes east of downtown between Harrisburg and the newly constructed turning basin (1906–1907), was designed to house workers employed in ship-channel industries. Privately operated rail lines carried residents downtown, and within a few years this suburb, too, had been swallowed by the voracious city.\(^{33}\) Houstonians bewildered by new neighbors, new industries, and new buildings were attracted to the excitement generated by so much expansion but repelled by the confusion caused by congestion and change. How could individuals find stability, safety, and beauty among

\(^{32}\) Houston Subdivision Collection, MSS 118, Box 1, folder 3, Woodland Heights, HMRC, HPL. Wilson spent $60,000 on permanent improvements, including an eight-inch water main, graded streets, and 600 building sites.

\(^{33}\) Houston Subdivision Collection, MSS 118, Box 1, folder 2, Magnolia Park, HMRC, HPL.
frenetic mass activity? How could they balance the demands of a growing economy with desires for an attractive place to live?

In some ways Houston's astonishing growth still seemed controllable in the 1900s and 1910s. Residential developers leapfrogged older neighborhoods to plat suburbs on open farmland. Manufacturers located plants near rail lines and port facilities north and east of downtown. Commercial expansion shot upward into densely packed multistory buildings. A secondary civic center grew around Rice Institute on South Main Street when George Hermann left his estate for park and hospital purposes (1914–1916). It almost seemed as if builders were effecting a spontaneous "plan" for land use, but by the 1920s, few could ignore the problems created by competing individual initiatives in an urbanizing, industrializing, fast-growing city whose population expanded 74.9 percent in ten years.34 Rural migrants attracted to high-paying jobs in the oil industry fled exhausted farmlands and poured into an area that was already absorbing trained workers from across the nation. Main Street soon became impassible as major arteries and electric railways carrying shoppers, deliverymen, and business executives converged on the downtown center. Suburban developers, especially in unincorporated areas outside city jurisdiction, followed no uniform building codes or plat regulations, and many contractors provided substandard amenities or failed to install utilities altogether. Blocks of privately developed streets constructed of various materials did not meet seamlessly, and some areas lacked paved thoroughfares well into the 1920s. When the growing city incorporated new developments, often under pressure from contractors, the municipal government was saddled with the costly burden of making streets and utilities conform to
city standards. Gaps between satellite settlements and the central business district
downtown were often neglected and unsightly. Yet William Ward Watkin, looking back
in 1927, noted that the 1910s provided a great opportunity to plan a beautiful, functional
city. Texans, he concluded, thought "in no small terms." The "amity of purpose,
directness of action and fine high-standing enthusiasm" that "are the known attributes of
Houston and its leading citizens" assured a high level of civic engagement at a moment
when citizens and public officials needed to allocate responsibility and resources to build
their "glorious" future.\textsuperscript{35} Watkin and fellow visionaries like the Hogg family began to
ask themselves what kind of urban environment would help Houston thrive. How could
the city's energetic population and thrumming economy be contained in a sensible urban
plan?

\textit{City Planning in Houston, 1900–1919}

The ongoing planning processes associated with the City Planning Movement
were relatively new phenomena before World War I, although ideas advanced by Andrew
Jackson Downing, Frederick Law Olmsted, George Kessler, and others in the nineteenth
century had been eagerly embraced by Progressive reformers grappling with rapid
urbanization. A response to the unforeseen congestion and blight that accompanied
industrial, technological, and transportation changes, planning was made possible by the
professionalization of American life and the search for "expert" solutions to unexpected
late nineteenth-century social problems.

\textsuperscript{34} Population grew 51% between 1940 and 1950 and in every decade since the city's founding has expanded
from 20.9% (1870s) to 74.9% (1920s). Beth Ann Shelton, et al., \textit{Houston: Growth and Decline in a

\textsuperscript{35} William Ward Watkin Papers, Box 2, folder 28, "Notes on Houston, 1927," WRC, RU.
Preserving open spaces, segregating residential and manufacturing locations, and projecting traffic circulation needs were unimagined issues to colonial Americans and to citizens of the early Republic. In the extractive, agrarian economy of the colonies, wealthy merchants lived within sight of their docks and the ships that carried raw materials to the imperial metropole or brought finished goods from Britain's cities to colonial outposts. Artisans like silversmith Paul Revere practiced their trades at home, and farmers walked from home to surrounding fields. Tiny New England villages straggled along a central lane leading to common ground that accommodated church and public meeting house. Prosperous Virginia's capital at Williamsburg was laid out along a central axis bounded by the College of William and Mary and the House of Burgesses. The town's few permanent residents welcomed students and politicians when classes or councils were in session, but the colony's economic and social life centered on its great rivers, whose traffic carried tobacco and wheat to imperial ports. William Penn had given his City of Brotherly Love a rudimentary grid plan in the seventeenth century, but even Philadelphia housed no more than thirty to thirty-five thousand residents on the eve of Revolution. Boston, Newport, New York, and Charleston, the other major centers of fashion and culture during this period, counted no more than twelve to sixteen thousand residents each. Growing in a somewhat haphazard fashion, these economic hubs were surrounded by miles of farmland and virgin forest.36

Once freed from the constraints of Britain's imperial economic system, American commerce, industry, and urban centers exploded. Established villages and towns bustled

36 Although Savannah, Georgia, had been carved out of the surrounding forest in the early eighteenth century and laid out in a grid plan of neighborhood units cut by wide thoroughfares, it had not developed into a major center before the Revolution. See A View of Savannah as it stood the 29th of March, 1734
while speculative settlements advertised new opportunities. Factories exploiting water power were built along fast-flowing streams and attracted rural workers to experience the regimentation of mechanized work and boarding-house life in company villages. The new Republic's equality of condition, opportunity for individual ownership, and imperatives of self-government were producing an energetic people "with nearly equal zeal for material wealth and moral good"37 at the same moment that technological innovation was mechanizing farm labor, concentrating manufacturing in large units, and improving everyday life through practical applications of science. Mid-nineteenth-century disruptions in Europe, relentless railroad expansion into the "untamed" West, and worldwide demand for cotton production attracted thousands of hustling entrepreneurs and workers who hurried to accumulate wealth. Believing that resources were endless, they dumped waste into streams, abandoned tired agricultural land, and threw up shoddy structures in their rush to embrace "progress" and modern innovations.

Most nineteenth-century Americans gave little thought to the long-term consequences of their "pursuit of happiness," but by mid-century some concerned citizens had begun to promote "a little better culture, in regard to the ideas and principles involved in the best and most tasteful arrangement of cities."38 They began to imagine the ideal cityscape, legislate the conflict between private and community interests, and support public and private responsibility for clean, healthy urban areas. In the century after 1820 more than 250 utopian communities, albeit always short-lived, tried to implement ideal practices. A vast literature described the glories and degradations of

urban life, as novelists, designers, and architects proposed both fanciful and useful plans to enhance the cityscape.\textsuperscript{39} Opponents of city life viewed the metropolis with suspicion; to them it was a place of vicious habits, epidemic illnesses, filthy streets, and crass materialism. Individuals were lost in mobs manipulated by venal ward healers and uprooted from family tradition and community constraint. Innocent youths were lured to perdition on its dangerous byways. Following Thomas Jefferson's dicta that independent yeoman farmers represented the Republican ideal and nostalgic for a rural past only recently relinquished, advocates of country life equated good individual husbandry with good national morality. In the 1840s and 1850s architect and designer Andrew Jackson Downing praised this agrarian ideal and argued that libraries, museums, parks, and gardens provided necessary nurture to the morals and health of urban residents deprived of communion with nature.\textsuperscript{40} In contrast, proponents of urban growth were awed by the wonders wrought by man's ingenuity; they praised cities as seats of moral enlightenment and cultural progress. In urban spaces could be found an educated population, a specialized workforce, and a leadership who welcomed innovation that would impel civilization forward. Only in cities, these enthusiasts believed, could individuals reach full potential.

By the late nineteenth century both groups were arguing for municipal reform. Critics of the city wanted civil authorities to eliminate, or at least control, vice and squalor; boosters wanted the same authorities to organize urban spaces efficiently to

\textsuperscript{38} Horace bushnell, "City Plans," ca. 1869, quoted in Schultz, \textit{Constructing Urban Culture}, xiii.

\textsuperscript{39} See Schultz, \textit{Constructing Urban Culture}, and Schuyler, \textit{New Urban Landscape}, for the genesis of urban planning efforts. Rogers (\textit{Landscape Design}) provides a thoughtful overview of landscape design through time and argues convincingly that a history of the built environment is "necessarily a history of human culture" and "one way of writing the history of the human mind" (p. 20). See Mel Scott, \textit{American City Planning Since 1890} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969) for a complete overview.

\textsuperscript{40} Rogers, \textit{Landscape Design}, 326-30.
attract business investment. All reformers began to understand that a properly managed built environment complemented a morally regenerated urban populace. David Schuyler argues that late-nineteenth-century promoters imagined a new "comprehensive city, at once thriving and humane, commercial and domestic," that encompassed central business districts, residential neighborhoods, recreational spaces, and civic centers housing educational, governmental, and cultural institutions.41

The influential writings and projects of Frederick Law Olmsted (1822–1903) had shaped this vision of the built environment. Obsessed with organization and planning, Olmsted articulated principles that dominated urban development in the United States from his unveiling of New York's Central Park in the 1850s through the 1920s. An advocate of moral environmentalism, Olmsted believed parks should provide humanizing vistas for restorative contemplation and democratizing venues where all classes of society could mingle and relax on equal terms. In his urban parks, peripheral suburbs, and connecting parkways, Olmsted sought to recover a feeling of community that was lost in dense, impersonal cities. Using broad expanses of lawn and carefully placed trees, he tried to recreate pastoral scenery, harmonize the city with nature, and separate residential and recreational havens from the turmoil of commercial and industrial zones. These ideas were adopted in hundreds of urban projects in the next decades.42 By 1909, when the First National Conference on City Planning and the Problems of Congestion was held in Washington, D. C., Americans had grappled with technological, familial, workplace,

41 Schuyler, New Urban Landscape, 23.
42 Schuyler, New Urban Landscape, 5, 6, 85-95, 101, 120, 149, 171-72, passim; Schulz, Constructing Urban Culture, 19, 87; Rogers, Landscape Design, 339-40; Rybczynski, Clearing in the Distance, 21, 131-399.
and residential changes for nearly a century, and their deliberations reflected a new understanding of the relationship between individual prosperity and the surrounding physical environment. Following publication of the massive and widely acclaimed *Plan for Chicago*, produced by architect Daniel H. Burnham in 1909, numerous towns and cities began to allocate funds to plan the growth of their cities.

In Houston and in other American cities, progressive citizens who hoped to develop a park system as an antidote to urban squalor were the first reformers attracted to planning processes. These park developers quickly became embroiled in debate about the problems of traffic circulation and the best use of private and public land within a metropolitan area. Their wish to create a beautiful physical environment also meshed with Progressive efforts to uplift the entire population by providing safe work places, wide-spread public education, modern health care, proper sanitation, competent child care, and adequate assistance to the needy. Pre-World War I advocates of the City Beautiful and 1920s proponents of the City Functional translated the language of Progressive reform into architectural structure and landscape design. Like Olmsted, advocates of the City Beautiful called for creation of large natural parks joined together by shaded boulevard parkways. Proponents believed that the park-parkway combination would provide ample recreational spaces for the average citizen who could not afford spacious private gardens while the beautiful park drives would encourage wealthy residents to construct elegant homes and well-tended gardens along their curving byways. City Beautiful architects also called for development of handsome, even monumental,

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43 Schultz, *Constructing Urban Culture*, 200, notes the conference was attended by "engineers, landscape architects, public health officials, conservationists, economists, lawyers, social workers, journalists, corporate leaders, and public officials," all the products of late nineteenth-century professional specialization.
civic buildings centered on a formally landscaped square or mall that emphasized the moral significance of these seats of education, government, and culture.

Critics of pre–World War I planning complained that too much emphasis was placed on grandeur and beauty and not enough on sound scientific principles. Gathering reams of statistics and applying a "businesslike" analysis to their findings, advocates of the functional city felt that it was not enough to provide beautiful park spaces, shady boulevards, and handsome civic centers. Planners should take a further step and examine the needs of an entire region. Armed with demographic data and analysis of natural resources and business needs, designers of the functional city tried to develop residential, commercial, industrial, and civic zones to maximize effective and efficient land use. Indeed, zoning became a byword in the 1920s for hundreds of municipalities as they quantified needs and legislated use of public and private lands.

Houston's natural environment seemed perfectly suited to Olmsted's theories of park and parkway development. As he had reclaimed natural features in Brooklyn, Boston, and Buffalo, so Houstonians could secure their bayous as nature preserves that would provide recreational spaces while eliminating "dumps, shacks, and tin can pyramids" and alleviating pollution, erosion, and flooding. In 1906 Mayor Rice, nephew of Rice Institute's benefactor, initiated a systematic park plan and began aggressively acquiring public utilities. Mayor Rice knew his aunt had bequeathed funds for park purchases, and he pushed the city to acquire the forty-acre Vick's (Cleveland) Park along Buffalo Bayou, five more acres for City Park, and the Houston Waterworks Company property. When the council took responsibility for pumping water throughout the city, it promised eight acres on either side of Buffalo Bayou for park purposes. In the spring of
1910 Rice appointed the first three-man Board of Park Commissioners to advise him and the council about park acquisition, development, use, and maintenance. Politically astute, Rice assured acceptance of a professional planning process by naming commissioners with economic interests in different parts of the city. George Hermann, bachelor investor and oil man, owned extensive agricultural acreage north of Brays Bayou. William A. Wilson, president of William A. Wilson Realty Company, had partnered with attorney and Rice Institute trustee James A. Baker and other prominent businessmen to develop Woodland Heights, the "picturesque woodland" being transformed into "a charming suburban park" north of White Oak Bayou. Baker, Botts, Parker & Garwood partner Edwin B. Parker was an amateur horticulturist with ties to Houston's business and cultural elite.\textsuperscript{44}

A few months after the commission began work, Houston Electric Company sold its twenty-six-acre Highland Park to the city, which purchased an additional eighteen acres adjacent to the tract at the juncture of White Oak and Little White Oak Bayous and renamed the area Woodland Park in 1914.\textsuperscript{45} Following commission advice, Rice announced Houston's first park plan, which closely resembled Olmsted's examples. Efforts would be made, he said, to girdle the city with parks joined in a unified, coordinated system by scenic parkways along the major bayous. The commission's recommendations were well received by press and Chamber of Commerce boosters, who supported private and business efforts to beautify and landscape bayou banks and who urged the council to approve a public right-of-way along city-owned bayou property. To coordinate these aspirations in a formal park and city improvements plan, the

\textsuperscript{44} Houston Subdivision Collection, Box 1, folder 3, HMRC, HPL; \textit{Houston Architectural Survey}, 6: 1276.
\textsuperscript{45} Baron, \textit{Houston Electric}, 117-19.
commission, at its own expense, hired Arthur Coleman Comey, an established landscape architect and consultant on city planning from Cambridge, Massachusetts.46

Comey traveled to Houston in the Spring of 1912 and began surveying the city and surrounding areas and gathering data about population, park acreage, neighborhoods, commercial and industrial activity, and growth potential. By March 1, 1913, he was ready to submit a tentative "preliminary report" based on "several months careful study," although he recommended further analysis of social conditions including "education, health, housing, industrial conditions, charities, and the causes of poverty and crime" to ensure a truly comprehensive understanding of urban demands. Taking an all-encompassing view of his assignment that moved far beyond assessment of park needs, he defined three major problems: circulation, use of public property, and restrictions on private property use.

Comey then outlined a step-by-step program that could be implemented in carefully orchestrated phases. Noting that by 1910, nationwide, 46.3 per cent of Americans chose city living because it provided greater job opportunities and better access to educational and cultural amenities, he recommended that the council adopt an on-going planning mechanism. Although Houston's 112.1 acres of parkland provided only one acre of park space for every 685 residents, far short of the average 110 citizens per acre in other cities, Comey believed Houston was blessed by the prerequisites of greatness: energetic individuals, a progressive civic government, a large marketing

46 Houghton, et al., Forgotten Heritage, 57; Arthur Coleman Comey, Houston: Tentative Plans for its Development; Report to the Houston Park Commission (Boston: Press of Geo. H. Ellis Co., 1913). All information about Comey's work is taken from this plan, which can be found in WRC, RU, and in Joseph Cullinan Papers, MSS 69, Box 10, folder 5, HMRC, HPL.
territory, a growing population, radiating railroads, and a unique ship channel resource.\textsuperscript{47} 

Explaining why park acquisition was only one part of an overarching plan to manage and nurture the city's growth, Comey defined city planning:

\begin{quote}
This, then, is city planning, — to study and determine in advance the physical needs of the growing city, and lay out a scheme of development in such a way that each improvement will dovetail into the next, thus gradually forming an organically related whole. The complex activities of a city demand an equally complex plan for development, so that each of its functions may be fulfilled without undue interference with any other.\textsuperscript{48}
\end{quote}

To Comey "circulation" meant all forms of communication by waterways, railroads, streets, electric trolleys, utilities (water, sewer, gas, electricity, telephone, telegraph, etc.), and "street furnishings" such as signs, lights, trees, and bridges. Public property that must be carefully planned included federal, state, county, and city administration buildings; libraries and schools; and recreational facilities like playgrounds, recreation centers, city squares, neighborhood open spaces, large parks, parkways and boulevards, and forest reservations. Municipal authorities were also told to regulate private property used for churches, cemeteries, institutions, theatres, and hotels; for industrial purposes; and for commercial, apartment, and residential projects. In sum, he advocated a complete Civic Art Movement that would coordinate architecture and landscape design in a systematic plan.\textsuperscript{49}

\textsuperscript{47} The Hare & Hare City Plan (1929) seems to compress pre-1912 and post-1912 park acquisition figures. While Comey counted only 112.1 acres of parkland, Hare & Hare state that Sam Houston Park comprised 20.43 acres, and acquisition in 1910 (Cleveland at 72.93 acres, Woodland, Jim Hogg, and White Oak) made a parkland total of 170 acres at that date. Inconsistencies found in Comey, Hare & Hare, newspaper accounts, and archival sources have led to confusion among historians regarding park growth in Houston. See Report of the City Planning Commission, Houston, Texas (Houston: Forum of Civics, 1929), p. 93.

\textsuperscript{48} Comey, Tentative Plan, 6.

Comey made four urgent recommendations: hire a professional Superintendent of Parks and Director of Recreation to oversee park activities; create a civic center around the Harris County Courthouse; develop a city gateway entrance of "architectural merit" at the railway station; and purchase the "beautiful pine woods in the vicinity of the Rice Institute and adjoining the proposed Outer System of parkways, where it meanders [along] Bray's Bayou." He also called for playgrounds around school yards, a special Port, or Dock, Board to monitor commercial development along the ship channel, and amendments to the city charter that would empower a strong planning commission and establish uniform building codes. While he stressed the need for playgrounds and recreation centers as healthy outlets for energetic youth and adults and valued city squares and neighborhood parks as "breathing and resting spaces," he placed at the center of his plan a system of natural parks along the three major bayous. He suggested that these nature preserves be joined by concentric tree-lined parkway circles within and outside the city limits. This system, he believed, would provide beautiful recreational space and soothing shade, prevent erosion, raise property values of adjacent land, and retain public control over all bayou banks, thereby preventing flooding in low-lying areas, unsightly degradation of bayou banks, and pollution caused by careless private owners. The principles he outlined remained the basis for subsequent planning initiatives through World War II and continue to inform public debate in the twenty-first century.

Perhaps Comey realized that his comprehensive plan contained an overwhelming list of tasks for five city commissioners with minimal staff support. At times his language verges on the wistfully apologetic — "The time is perhaps not ripe to undertake to carry such schemes into effect," he notes when urging "a single comprehensive scheme
of improvement" to create a civic center. Perhaps the banquet of suggestions was too rich for those who were still suspicious of government interference in daily life.

Although voters had authorized $250,000 for park acquisition in July 1912, while Comey was compiling his statistics, no attempt was made to adopt Comey's tentative plans as permanent policy. However, his work did produce several positive actions. In 1912 the city assumed responsibility for public park development and named Clarence L. Brock General Superintendent of City Parks, a post he would hold until 1943. In 1912 the Park Commissioners advised purchase of a stretch along the north shore of White Oak Bayou from Fifth Ward to the Houston Heights line. The city also acquired twenty acres along the shore north of Buffalo Bayou and thirty-five acres south of the bayou east of Shepherd's Dam Road (now Shepherd Drive). In his annual report for 1912 (published February 28, 1913) Mayor Rice advocated purchase of a park "of sufficient magnitude for our people" along Buffalo Bayou, but he was defeated for reelection in April.\(^5\)

Happily for Houston, his successor, Ben Campbell became an advocate of park planning and city beautification. Campbell's reputation as a park enthusiast was boosted when George Hermann gave the city 285 acres of "beautiful pine woods" north of Brays Bayou and across Main Street from Rice Institute for park purposes.

A life-long bachelor, George Hermann inherited extensive agricultural acreage from his parents and began his business career by operating a sawmill on land that became the park; he also ran cattle and developed a large real estate business after 1885. In 1903 he participated in the Humble Oil field discovery and became a millionaire. For the next decade he traveled widely in the United States and Europe, where he studied hospital procedures and befriended physicians. Hoping to support Comey's grand plan

\(^5\) Mayor's Report, 1913, HMRC, HPL.
for a "Pines Park" by providing a large area of land along Brays Bayou to the city, Hermann donated much of his property May 30, 1914, just months before his death at the Johns Hopkins Hospital on October 21, 1914. Hermann estate trustees revealed that the civic-minded benefactor had also bequeathed a square block downtown for a "breathing space" to be called Martha Hermann Memorial Square and had provided $2.6 million to the city for hospital development. Subsequently, Will Hogg interceded in 1915 to help the city purchase 122 1/2 acres from the estate to expand Hermann's original park bequest. Described in Mayor Campbell's 1915 annual report as the biggest event of the year, Hermann's gift was immediately recognized as a catalyst to stimulate "beneficial public interest in the movement to develop the playground and recreation centers" and "awaken the people" to the idea that "public parks, the recreation centers of the masses, are as essential to the City as its commercial activities."\(^{51}\) Campbell regrouped the Park Commission after Hermann's death and called on chairman Edwin B. Parker, Sterling Myer, and Jules J. Settegast, executor of the Hermann estate and owner of considerable acreage not far from city limits, to coordinate the city's valuable recreational resources. In quick succession, Stude Park was bequeathed to the city (May 1915); Hermann Park was officially dedicated (July 4, 1915); voters approved another $250,000 bond issue for park improvement (submitted 1914, passed fall 1915); and George Kessler was hired as consulting landscape architect to implement Comey's ideas and develop the Hermann legacy (fall 1915).\(^{52}\)

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\(^{51}\) Illustrated City Book of Houston containing Annual Message of Ben Campbell/Mayor of the City of Houston (Houston: Cumming & Sons, Art Printers, 1916), 39-40. Data about George Hermann from "Hermann, George," The Handbook of Texas Online.

\(^{52}\) J. W. Maxey, the city engineer, had worked with George Hermann on a park plan, but it was never used, in part because the city acquired 122 1/2 additional acres for Hermann Park in 1915. Stephen Fox, "Big Park, Little Plans: A History of Hermann Park," in Barrie Scardino, William F. Stern, Bruce C. Webb, eds.,
Of German ancestry, George Kessler (1862–1923) grew up in Dallas, Texas, but returned to his homeland for training as an engineer and landscape architect. He worked briefly for Frederick Law Olmsted before beginning an illustrious career in Kansas City, when he was hired as Superintendent of Parks for the Kansas City, Fort Scott, and Gulf Railroad. During that city's 1880s land boom, Kessler designed small parks near upper and middle-income neighborhoods, and in October 1893 he announced an exhaustive city-wide park plan. Initial resistance to his sweeping suggestions gradually dissipated, and he implemented first stages of a park and boulevard system that remained in place until the 1950s. In 1902 he settled in St. Louis to develop plans for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.\textsuperscript{53} Preceded by his fame, Kessler established park systems throughout the United Sates and was particularly popular in Texas after publishing the city plan for Dallas in 1910, the first comprehensive plan for a Texas metropolitan area. His aesthetic vision was informed by bold interpretations of City Beautiful concepts as he deplored commercial invasions of residential neighborhoods, used playgrounds and parks as "breathing spaces" for poor and working-class neighborhoods, and created boulevards to secure middle and upper income property values.\textsuperscript{54}

Kessler's plan for Hermann Park owed much to Olmsted's inspiration and to his own ability to reveal nature by selectively winnowing trees and smoothing slopes to create dramatic effects. Designs for the park's primary entrance led the eye along a formal avenue into a natural space, carefully manipulated with winding roads, an irregular grand basin, and extensive woodland. In this orchestrated "nature preserve"

\textit{Ephemeral City: Cite Looks at Houston} (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 118. The article (116-31) details Hermann Park's development.
linked to downtown commerce by a double-lane esplanade along Main Street, Kessler accommodated both public events and private contemplation of natural beauty. Kessler worked on the plan for two years and in 1916 was joined by Herbert A. Kipp, a civil engineer hired by the city to execute the design.55 By 1917 the park entrance had been completed, but bond money secured for park development had run out, and interest in park acquisition began to flag. Mayor Campbell did not seek a third term in 1917, and strong proponents of city planning and park development like Edwin B. Parker, Joseph S. Cullinan, and Will Hogg were sidetracked by wartime public service duties. Although he remained interested in city projects, Kessler turned his attention to private-sector activities.

Archival records do not make clear exactly when Joseph Cullinan and Will Hogg became involved in Houston's nascent municipal planning process. Cullinan, an innovative oil entrepreneur trained in John D. Rockefeller's Pennsylvania oil fields, was quick to take advantage of the Spindletop discoveries. Energetic and forceful, he formed a partnership with the Hogg-Swayne Syndicate in 1901 that became the Texas Company, forerunner of Texaco. In 1905 Cullinan scouted cities for the company's headquarters and refineries and decided Houston, with its financial infrastructure, railroad connections, and protected shipping facilities would be ideal. When Will inherited his father's business interests, he acted as special assistant to the older Cullinan and was chairman of numerous special projects undertaken at Cullinan's request. In 1913 both men refused to bow to New York investors insistence that Texas Company headquarters be moved to

New York City, and they resigned to form Farmer's Petroleum Company and other business ventures with their partner James Autry. A well-built, self-made Irishman with a penetrating gaze and generous mustache, Cullinan immersed himself in civic projects, served as president of the Chamber of Commerce, and began investing in real estate near Rice University. Cullinan was named to a committee considering sites for a park and fairgrounds in 1913 and may have sparked his younger colleague's participation in planning activities. In late May 1913, Cullinan gave Will a copy of Arthur Comey's tentative master plan for the city. Will immediately forwarded the report to newly elected Mayor Ben Campbell and urged him to study its tables and maps. When he received no response from the mayor, Will returned the report to Cullinan, scrawling "I wrote the mayor about this and heard nothing. Assume he is not interested" across Cullinan's cover letter. Fortunately for Houston, Hogg's assumption about Campbell proved incorrect. In April 1914 Cullinan met George Kessler by chance on a train from Kansas City to Dallas and soon urged Mayor Campbell to hire the "exceptionally well qualified" Kansas City park planner as a consultant to implement Houston's planning goals. In 1915 Cullinan and Hogg responded to an appeal from the private-sector Progressive League to organize a Good Roads and Drainage Congress on June 3. Hogg found guest speakers for the conference and suggested the chairman concentrate on "City Beautiful propaganda" and the proper development of suburban lands, advice that demonstrated his

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56 Solid information about Cullinan and his contributions is found in John O. King, *Joseph Stephen Cullinan: A Study of Leadership in the Texas Petroleum Industry, 1897–1937* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1970). Houston had maintained various businessmen's advocacy groups since the founding of the original chamber of commerce in 1840, but the modern Chamber of Commerce (now the Greater Houston Partnership) was reorganized in 1910.

wide acquaintance with experts in the field and contemporary theories about city
building. Seventy-eight delegates from thirty-three counties and forty Houstonians heard
Harris County Judge W. H. Ward and Mayor Campbell discuss drainage, flood
reclamation, and federal funding for rural improvements as they tried to reconcile
demands of a growing urban center with needs of the surrounding agricultural hinterland.
This early attempt to create a regional plan for the Houston area preceded by several
years tentative efforts to coordinate development of the rapidly growing Long Island
suburbs east of New York City in a multigovernment, regional plan (1921). In later
years, Will occasionally referred to the importance of coordinating regional issues, which
were often discussed in the press, but he focused his attention on a plan for Houston.

Houston, the Hoggs, and Urban Planning in the 1920s

In the 1920s Will became Houston's most vocal, tenacious, and organized
proponent of city planning, park acquisition, and zoning. He, Mike, and Ima developed a
family vision of what the great city should look like, incorporated this vision in their
model residential community of River Oaks, and personalized it when they built their
dream house in the Homewoods enclave adjacent to River Oaks. Will's was always the
dominant voice in articulating the Hogg family belief that an ideal urban setting separated
commercial and industrial from residential and recreational spaces to maximize land use
and preserve investor values. Believing "a beautiful city makes better citizens," the
Hoggs drove planning processes forward in three critical ways. As philanthropists who

58 Joseph Cullinan to George Kessler, letter, May 23, 1914, Joseph Cullinan to Mayor Ben Campbell, May
27, 1914, 2J307, Letter Box 17-A, WHP, CAH.
59 Rogers, Landscape Design, 423.
recognized the critical importance of open space and parkland to the city's health, the trio acquired lands suitable for park or civic center purposes and held them until the city could use them. Through complex transfer mechanisms, lands that now comprise Memorial Park, the Texas Medical Center, the Buffalo Bayou corridor between River Oaks and downtown, and civic center acreage near Hermann Square were secured for the city by the Hoggs. As a public servant who hoped every Houstonian might some day benefit from the improvements he advocated, Will ran the city planning commission (1927–1929) and actively promoted his ideas through a multi-pronged education initiative that drew citizen groups together to examine every issue of urban life. As investors who wanted to demonstrate the beneficial effects of planning processes on a grand scale, Will, Mike, and Ima collaborated with their friend Hugh Potter to create an ideal residential neighborhood. With formidable energy, Will, Mike and Hugh Potter traveled extensively to observe planning processes at work in other cities and absorbed the tenets of national and international trends. No element of the urban landscape from street vendors to magnolia walks to commercial construction to elegant homes escaped the Hoggs' comment and personal attention as they imagined a city that protected its inhabitants, provided beauty in its built environment, and promoted economic growth through efficient land use.

The Hoggs' visionary activism coincided with an upsurge of enthusiasm for city planning that swept Houston in the 1920s when businessmen, politicians, journalists, civil servants, and academics seemed to agree that Houston's severe housing shortages, traffic snarls, polluted bayous, overcrowding, and gyrating land values caused by unrestrained

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development demanded community solutions. Led by the Chamber of Commerce and its energetic, newly formed Young Men's Business League, business leaders set up committees, studied issues, and sought expert opinion about ways to make Houston a desirable destination for aggressive industrial investment and healthy family life. While still adhering to City Beautiful tenets espoused by Comey and Kessler, these business reformers demanded demographic evidence to bolster plans for most efficient land use to create a city that functioned well, and they began to explore the rational space solutions advocated by zoning proponents and first incorporated in city plans by New York City authorities in 1916.

In 1919 Mayor A. Earl Amerman (1918–1921) appointed a thirty-member City Expansion Board, headed by Rev. William States Jacobs, to recommend a planning mechanism. Amerman also named J. C. McVea the city engineer (1919–1929). That year the Young Men's Business League set up a Committee of Sanitation to study what it deemed the most pressing urban issue. In January 1921 McVea reported that Houston suffered from three critical problems: no major street plan, no zoning ordinance, and limited power to review subdivision platting.61 In the same month, Rice Institute initiated an extension course to explore the benefits of city planning. Incoming Mayor Oscar Holcombe revived the Board of Park Commissioners and appointed Rice German Professor Lindsey Blayney chairman of a one-hundred-member citizen's committee to establish a city planning commission that would be removed from politics and could "carry out a great system of city building."62

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61 See Houston, April 1921, p. 3.
62 Houston, April 1921, p. 17, reprinted Mayor-elect Holcombe's letter to the Chronicle wondering "how to get some agency in the City Hall that is permanent and continuous to carry out a scheme of city planning." 1920 Park Commissioners were F. C. Proctor, Herbert Godwin, and R. C. Kerr.
When businessmen talked, Houston mayors listened, and Houston's business community began speaking clearly about complex urban issues through its monthly magazine *Houston*, established in the fall of 1919 to detail activities of "the Young Man's Town." Month after month Chamber of Commerce publicity director George W. Dixon and Young Men's Business League Publicity Director Burt Rule touted Houston's growth but warned of the need for planning, parks, and zoning to protect and attract investments. Parks, said Rule, were a "show-place for visitors, and a civic asset" that had a "direct and far-reaching influence on the lives of every citizen, both young and old." Statistics, he claimed, had shown that access to parks decreased juvenile crime, provided "educational value to adults as well as to children" through botany lessons and zoos, were "rare specimens of the arts and sciences," and a necessity for Houston's children.63 George Dixon caught the "Build Now" mentality of his construction-business colleagues when he urged them to build homes because every Houstonian should own a home, the "haven to which we return from the daily struggle for existence," and the "center of all that is best in our national life."64 These homes would boost the economy, but more important they would produce responsible citizens who would work in Houston's port industries and purchase Houston's manufactured goods.65 Business leaders S. F. Carter Jr. and R. S. Allen called on their fellows to develop a "Houston Spirit" based on "co-operation" (agreed direction), "co-ordination" (harmonious adjustment of methods), and "organized effort" (more powerful than uncoordinated individual responses).66 Writers also addressed salient city needs: expanded hospital care, improved drainage, more public

63 Burt Rule in *Houston*, Nov. 1920, p. 4.
64 George Dixon in *Houston*, April 1920, p. 1; also Nov. 1919.
65 Articles in *Houston*, Dec. 1919, p. 1; Feb. 1920; March 1920, pp. 8, 26; May 1920, p. 7.
66 *Houston*, July 1920, p. 28; Oct. 1920, p. 22.
schools, playgrounds and parks, improved sanitation, a street and traffic control plan, and safely lit streets.\textsuperscript{67} Between April and December 1920, seven articles demanded that Hermann Park be improved and emphasized that parks no less than "commercial and industrial advantages" or "churches and schools" are "factors that go to make up a great city" and attract decent citizens.\textsuperscript{68} In 1921 Rule turned his attention to zoning — the "modern art" of city planning needed "on the grounds of business, public health and protection to land values."\textsuperscript{69} Houston's major newspapers also debated city planning issues in lengthy articles.

By the time Blayney's unwieldy group had united in recommending the city try a planning process, the civic leadership was attuned to needs and possible solutions. In October 1922 four men were appointed to a City Planning Commission, and in December three more were added.\textsuperscript{70} Although given purely advisory status, the commission was enjoined to produce plans for a major street system, a civic center, bayou beautification, and zoning, and to devise a uniform building code. Efforts to establish public/private partnering and communication were reinforced by the commission's mix of municipal officials (Houston Foundation Director and Rice Sociologist Dr. John Willis Slaughter, City Engineer J. C. McVea, former City Engineer E. E. Sands) and businessmen (newspaper men M. E. Tracy and George Bailey, lawyer R. L. Cole, and civic leaders H. B. Jackson, J. S. Pyeatt, and Paul B. Timpson). George Kessler was named consultant,

\textsuperscript{67} \textit{Houston}, Jan. 1, 1920, p. 15; Dec. 1919, pp. 8, 18; Dec. 1920, pp. 8, 14; Feb. 1920, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{70} Planning Commission Correspondence, City of Houston, Dept. of Planning Collection, RGA4, Box 6, folder 1, HMRC, HPL, lists the 1922 Commission: John Embry, M. E. Tracy (Chronicle), J. S. Pyeatt, A. C. Finn (architect), Robert Cole, Herbert Godwin, Paul Timpson, J. C. McVea (city engineer), Dr. J. W. Slaughter (Houston Foundation).
an appointment that ensured continued efforts to carry out the plans first articulated by
Arthur Comey in 1913 and developed by Kessler in the intervening years. The
commission realized that its work would be ineffectual unless it attacked two problems:
legislation to authorize budgets and empower compliance and broad-based popular
support for an ongoing planning process.

The Commissioners felt their legitimacy rested on actions taken at the state level,
and they asked McVea to prepare measures that could be submitted to the state
legislature. McVea developed three bills that would enable cities to regulate platting of
subdivisions, empower a zoning authority, and make assessments to "facilitate the
adequate provision of transportation, water, sewerage, schools and parks."71 Early in
1923, Oscar Holcombe, armed with the Commission report, lobbied the League of Texas
Municipalities in Austin to introduce the bills to legislators. The League failed to act, and
authorizing legislation was shelved; Kessler died in 1923; the commission lost members;
and in July it ceased to meet without presenting plans for city improvements or zoning.
In March 1924 Mayor Holcombe, still claiming enthusiasm for planning, tried again. He
selected a new commission, secured a modest budget for its operations, and named
newspaperman M. E. Tracy chairman. S. Herbert Hare of Kansas City's Hare & Hare
became planning consultant, and Rice engineering professor Lewis B. Ryon Jr. was
appointed planning engineer.72

At first it seemed as if this commission would rally public support despite its lack
of authority: the mayor was on board; Ryon corralled Rice students to map
improvements, tabulate traffic density, and develop a major street plan; and Hare & Hare

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71 John Willis Slaughter, secretary to Houston City Planning Commission, to Mayor Oscar Holcombe, City
of Houston, Department of Planning Collection, RG44, Box 6, folder 1, HMRC, HPL.
announced studies for Civic Center development, zoning, parks, and bayou beautification. S. Herbert Hare should have been an unthreatening figure to Houstonians wary of public interference in private development. Described by an admirer as the "City Doctor," Hare was "a little gray, with a close-cropped mustache and kind eyes, soft spoken, hard-headed," an advocate of order and aesthetics for this energetic city. Hare & Hare, the firm founded by his father, had first platted a Houston subdivision in 1908 and worked in the Olmsted/Kessler tradition.\footnote{Hare & Hare platted Bellaire and Forrest Hill, the first Houston suburb of large homes to feature curving streets. Located across Brays Bayou from Houston Country Club, the development was intended to accommodate large "country place" estates, but could not compete with South End development and the press of industrialization and soon gave way to modest homes; Roscoe E. Wright, "Hare Tonic," \textit{Houston Gargoyle}, Dec. 18, 1928, p. 5.} Media support for citywide planning mechanisms continued unabated, when in April 1924, Will, Ima, and Mike gave the city a major piece of undeveloped pine forest three and one-half miles west of City Park to create Houston's largest nature preserve.\footnote{Herbert Hare served as planning consultant to the city from 1923 (Kessler's death) to 1960 (Hare's death).}

\textit{The Hogg's Forest Preserve}

In the early 1920s Houstonians had begun to explore development opportunities along Buffalo Bayou to the west of downtown. Mike Hogg and Mike's law school friend, Hugh Potter, while scouting land north and south of Buffalo Bayou, discovered a hunting retreat in Tall Timbers among the wooded wilds west of Shepherd's Dam. This area south of Buffalo Bayou was accessible by a gravel road (later paved as Westheimer) or bridle paths cut through the timber. Other investors had decided to develop land between Tall Timbers and Shepherd's Dam as a country club in hopes they could lure prominent

\footnote{In "Memorial Park Donation to City Explained," \textit{Houston Chronicle}, Nov. 30, 1926, p. 10, Henry Stude, vice president of Varner Company, provided a detailed explanation of the complicated transactions that led to the Hoggs' transfer of Camp Logan to the city on extremely generous terms.}
Houstonians to the uncharted area. Public curiosity about the fate of western Houston had also been aroused by newspaper articles asking what would become of Camp Logan, a stretch of land north of the bayou, west of Shepherd's Dam, and south of Washington Avenue that had been home to thousands of soldiers during World War I.\textsuperscript{75} In October 1923 Catherine Emmott was named chairman of a committee to rally public opinion behind transforming the campground into a city park. Tirelessly she rode the streetcar to city council meetings, visited the Chamber of Commerce, civic clubs, and patriotic gatherings, and canvassed Mayor Oscar Holcombe in her search for a parks sponsor. Such public enthusiasm appealed to Will Hogg, who had been investing systematically in Houston real estate since 1921.

Late in 1923, the Hoggs' real estate investment company, Varner Realty, Inc., bought 875 acres of old Camp Logan, and by spring 1924, when they purchased an additional 630 acres, the Hoggs had decided the landmark should be preserved as a park. Their April overture to city hall proved the family was "absolutely disinterested in any personal profit."\textsuperscript{76} The Hoggs proposed an interesting deal for the city that presaged later efforts to secure prime land for public purposes: Hogg interests would acquire desirable land and hold it until the city could raise funds to secure title to the property; sales price to the city would be original cost plus any interest or property taxes that accrued. On July 1, 1924, Varner Realty sold to the city undivided title to 174 acres "for park purposes only" and gave the city an option to acquire more land each July 1 until the entire acreage of Memorial Park (eventually 1503 acres) was in city hands. To secure the first purchase,

\textsuperscript{75} Camp Logan had gained notoriety both as the site for many good works among clubwomen who wanted to support the war effort and as the cause of Houston's only full-fledged race riot. See Robert V. Haynes, \textit{A Night of Violence: The Houston Riot of 1917} (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976).

\textsuperscript{76} Henry Stude in \textit{Houston Chronicle}, Nov. 30, 1926, p. 10.
Will, Ima, and Mike donated $50,000 for the 1924 down payment. Hare & Hare was commissioned to draw up a design that would include an eighteen-hole golf course, and the Hogg family retained keen interest in the park and its use. Time and again until Ima's death in 1975, a family member had to remind the city of reversionary clauses included in each deed to ensure the city use the land for park purposes only. Efforts to lodge a Presbyterian University, the Astrodome, and oil wells within Memorial Park precincts were defeated by these carefully worded clauses and the persistent oversight of the family. Before her death in 1975, Ima secured promises from conservationist friends Sadie Gwin Blackburn and Terry Hershey that they would continue her vigilance.

The Hoggs acquired other property considered ideal for parkland or a civic and medical center, and Will began an active campaign to rouse popular support for planning processes. Through Varner Realty Company the Hoggs purchased 133 1/2 acres South of Hermann Hospital in 1923, which they sold at cost to the city a year later and which eventually was transformed into the Texas Medical Center after 1943. Recognizing the logic of associating a civic center with the popular City Park, Will authorized purchase of several downtown parcels on July 13, 1925. These would be transferred to the city "without profit or loss" to Varner Realty when civic center plans matured and funds

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77 Based on William Booker Ferguson, "Hogg Family Financial History," 59, Vertical File, Archives, MFAH. Ferguson, the Hogg's business manager for many years, based his account on meticulous records made at the time of events described in his narrative. Sarah H. Emmott, in the only published study of Memorial Park, quotes a Chronicle article that says the city "took possession" of 1503 woodland acres in May 1924. Clearly the Hoggs' intentions were known at that time, but title actually changed hands in a series of payments over ten years, and the Hoggs were still purchasing land in the area as late as 1926. Ferguson states first payments were made July 1, 1924. See Sarah H. Emmott, Memorial Park: A Priceless Legacy ([Houston]: Herring Press, 1992), 23-27. See also, Houston Architectural Survey, 1281. Exactitude is, however, difficult, because Will Hogg, himself, listed 1503 acres of Memorial Forest Park in a list of "Parks Owned by the City of Houston, 1927" in Civics for Houston, Nov. 1928, p. 22. Evidence of Ima Hogg's continued vigilance can be found in MS21, Box 7A, folder 15, Daughters of the Republic of Texas correspondence (DRT), IHP, Archives, MFAH.

78 Presbyterian University plan in River Oaks Resume, Mar. 1929, 2J363, folder 1, WHP, CAH. Sadie Gwin Blackburn to author, interview; DRT correspondence, IHP, Archives, MFAH.
became available. Earlier that month Hare & Hare had explained the importance of a civic center. "Beauty in our cities," Herbert Hare told the Planning Commission, "should not and need not be incompatible with use and convenience, but it should not be forgotten that beauty has a tangible and commercial value." Will's civic center agitation was insistent from 1925 until November 1929. His frequent letters to Mayor Holcombe explained that a civic center would be economical and convenient, would "achieve a measure of architectural beauty and dignity," would "advertise our city to the visiting guest," and would be "an enduring stimulus to the civic pride of this town." Also needed, in Will's opinion, were clean streets, removal of billboards, proper drainage, and closely regulated bus routes.

In 1925 Will secured support for park development and planning processes from important Houstonians, including James A. Baker, whose imprimatur seemed to guarantee success. Will and Hugh Potter brought J. C. Nichols, well-known developer of the Country Club District in Kansas City, to Houston several times to explain planning to skeptical businessmen. Nichols stressed the democratizing effects of planning, whose "primary object is to promote health and the general welfare" by creating "better living conditions and better recreational facilities for working people." The 1928 Map of Houston based on data from the City Engineering Department, the City Planning

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79 See William C. Hogg to Herbert Hare, Kansas City, letter, May 30, 1925, enclosing clippings showing press support for a civic center and noting the Hoggs had recently purchased "at a low price and on very "reasonable terms" six acres of an estimated one hundred he believes would be needed to provide proper park and building space. Will sent copies to J. C. Nichols, Captain James A. Baker, and Hugh Potter. In 213029, folder 2, WHP, CAH. Also William C. Hogg to James Cravens, letter, July 18, 1925, and to Oscar Holcombe, letter, Nov. 24, 1925, 21301, folder 2, WHP, CAH.
80 Herbert Hare to City Planning Commission, letter, July 8, 1925, City of Houston Department of Planning Collection, RGA4, folder 7, HMRC, HPL.
81 William C. Hogg to Oscar Holcombe, Mar. 9, 1927, 21301, folder 2 (quotes); other correspondence in 21301, WHP, CAH.
82 Quote in clipping, Jan. 19, 1924; William C. Hogg to J. C. Nichols, Kansas City, letter, Feb. 5, 1925; James A. Baker to William C. Hogg, June 1, 1925, 213029, folder 2, WHP, CAH.
Commission, and River Oaks Corporation and published by the Forum of Civics, shows Varner Realty had acquired properties along Buffalo Bayou from Glenwood Cemetery to Shepherd Dam Road and along White Oak Bayou west of the Heights to protect these critical natural areas.  

Media enthusiasm kept public attention focused on park needs and planning issues and generated another magnanimous gift for park development. In December 1925 Elizabeth (Peggy Stevens) MacGregor decided to fulfill the terms of her late husband's will by preserving the woodland beauty of Brays Bayou east of the city. She offered City Council $225,000 to acquire land for a large park and for a "serpentine" parkway along the bayou that would connect Hermann Park to the newly conceived MacGregor Park. Park and parkway would memorialize her husband, streetcar executive, ship channel advocate, and suburban builder Henry F. MacGregor. Working with city officials and the Park Board, Mrs. MacGregor agreed to furnish land and cash for improvements if the city would build the parkway, and she kept a close watch over the ensuing struggle between developers and park supporters to ensure that the city honor the spirit of her gift, announced April 4, 1926. Her vigilance secured nearly three miles of

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83 Ferguson, "Family Financial History," 59, 60; Houston Architectural Survey, 1282; Houston Map, 1928, map drawer, HMRC, HPL. A list in 2J299, folder 4, City Planning, WHP, CAH, records eight properties purchased (or sale pending) between July 30, 1925 and April 2, 1926, for a total $259,328.52 in cash and notes. Will saved a clipping from the Houston Labor Journal, Apr. 16, 1926, by HECK, which praises Henry F. MacGregor and George Hermann for their park bequests and lauds Will Hogg as "the only one truly human voice" willing to sell land at cost to the city. He disparages all other downtown landowners as greedy profiteers eager "to exact all that the traffic will bear." Clipping, 2J299, folder 2, WHP, CAH.

84 See Oct. 1926–Feb. 1927 coverage in Chronicle, Press, and Post; numerous articles on highway funding, city streets, residential development, city planning, zoning, and parks.

85 Oscar Holcombe Papers, microfiche, MSS 20, Box 2, folder 1, Dec. 1925–Aug. 1928, HMRC, HPL. See also Civics for Houston, Nov. 1928, pp. 22, 34; Houston Chronicle, Apr. 4, 1926, pp. 1, 38. For the next three years Mrs. MacGregor's agents at Guardian Trust vied with city bureaucracy, reluctant sellers, and temptation to build in the area so land needed to fulfill terms of the gift could be acquired. On February 15, 1928, C. M. Malone of Guardian Trust reported that all deeds but one, "which is promised," have been secured for MacGregor Park and Parkway. Mrs. MacGregor also donated Peggy Park adjacent to Albert Sidney Johnston High School. Short biography of Henry MacGregor in Baron, Houston Electric, 10.
parkland right-of-way north and south of the bayou and 108 acres of "naturalistic recreation," the third largest forest preserve in the city at that time. In admiration of his friend's civic generosity, Will provided two hundred live oak trees on North MacGregor Drive to form a War Mothers Memorial commemorating Harris County's World War I casualties.\(^6\)

While private citizens prodded the city to acquire prime parkland west and east of town, the Planning Commission worked through 1924 and 1925 on a major street plan that specified arteries leading downtown, cross-town connecting streets, bypass loops around the city, and scenic boulevards following the bayous.\(^7\) Although based on Ryon's statistical evidence and supported by extensive press coverage,\(^8\) the plan failed to attract the attention of City Council, where it slumbered for nine months after its formal submission on July 9, 1925. The Planning Commission also prepared a comprehensive zoning enabling ordinance in 1925 and quickly found two voluble champions in Hugh Potter, friend and associate of the Hogg brothers in the River Oaks development, and J. W. Link, lumber executive and developer of the Montrose residential subdivision. Link had discovered that deed restrictions on private enclaves could not prevent encroachment of garages, laundries, and other undesirable commercial establishments that depressed land values in residential areas. Potter waxed eloquent: "Will we continue to sit silent while a suburban belt of realty just beyond the city limits is being platted into a jumbled mass of varying and conflicting uses?" he asked in May 1926. No, Potter responded,

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\(^6\) Fox, "Hermann Park," *Ephemeral City*, 123.

\(^7\) L. B. Ryon Jr., "The Importance of a Major Street Plan," *Civics for Houston*, April 1928, pp. 5, 22, continued his advocacy with illustrated essays for public consumption. See also, Henderson, "City Planning," 113.

\(^8\) See for example, long article including a map by L. B. Ryon in *Houston Chronicle*, Oct. 19, 1924, p. 20.
"Let's make no little plans for this city" but instead adopt zoning, or "the public regulation of the use of private property," to ensure Houston becomes "the great city which she aspires to be."\(^{89}\) Despite this advocacy, Holcombe indicated in March 1926 that he would not support amending the city charter to enable zoning ordinances because the assistant city attorney believed such ordinances were unconstitutional.\(^{90}\) Chairman Tracy moved to New York late that spring, and once again planning efforts collapsed.\(^{91}\)

As the Planning Commission struggled unsuccessfully to secure legal status and legislate land use, Will turned his formidable energies to educating the public. In the spring of 1925 he organized the West End Improvement Association to promote controlled development on the west side of town.\(^{92}\) He created the Forum of Civics for Houston as an umbrella organization of civic associations in Houston "designed to stimulate civic pride and to combine many and varied forces for the betterment and beautification of our city and county" through "conference, discussion, and counsel."\(^{93}\)

Believing Houston had grown to a level of complexity that demanded cooperative and coordinated action of "interested citizens" who owe an "ethical and practical duty to the public and the community," Hogg declared his goal to "make this city more enjoyable, more adequately equipped, more beautiful — and consequently more useful for everyone who lives and works [here]" by seeking the "expert advice and counsel of leading minds

\(^{89}\) Hugh Potter in *Houston*, May 1926, p. 25. This article (pp. 25-27) grew out of a zoning talk given to the Rotary Club, March 19, 1926, and published in *Houston Chronicle*, March 10, 1926; talk praised by Mezo, Mar. 31, 1926, p. 1.

\(^{90}\) Henderson, "City Planning," 115-16, speculates that Houston shied away from zoning because of Dallas's problems. In *Spann v. City of Dallas* (1921), the Texas Supreme Court declared the Dallas zoning ordinance unconstitutional because, among other problems, it favored residential over other real property.

\(^{91}\) Henderson, "City Planning," 117.

\(^{92}\) Minutes, Apr. 14, 1925, founders meeting May 2, 1925, 2J395, folder 1 (West-End Improvement Association), WHP, CAH.

\(^{93}\) *Report of the City Planning Commission, Houston, Texas* (Houston: Forum of Civics, 1929, cover page.)
in every available field of experience."  

He also became active with the Texas Highway Association, organized in 1923, and lobbied in Austin to create a coordinated comprehensive road system for the state. By now well-known for his civic concerns and generosity, Hogg was asked to head the Planning Commission in June 1926 but refused because the commission still lacked a budget and enforcement authority. Will did, however, urge friends all over Texas to support planning processes and legislation. In his November 1926 reelection campaign, Mayor Holcombe promised to press City Council for a zoning ordinance and a budget to support a re-authorized Planning Commission. Will and Mike accepted his assurances and endorsed his candidacy.

*Will's City Plan for Houston, 1927–1929*

In 1927 Will and Mike became even more engrossed by planning issues. For years advocates had understood that without clear lines of authority, a budget, and an ability to enforce planning policy, a Planning Commission would be ineffective. From January to March 1927 Will wrote letters to friends throughout the state and lobbied hard on behalf of legislation pending in the Texas legislature that would enable municipalities to create planning commissions with enforcement powers. On February 4, 1927, the *Chronicle*'s "Our City" column supported Will's position and challenged "the right of selfish individualism to do what it pleases with its own." "A just regard for the rights of

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96 Prominent supporters of city planning urged Hogg to accept the post in 1926. See letters to William C. Hogg from M. E. Foster, President Houston Chronicle, June 23, 1926; John A. Embry, June 26, 1926; P. B. Timpson, Houston Land and Trust Company, Aug. 11, 1926, 2J299, folder 2, WHP, CAH.  
97 Correspondence, 2J299, folder 2, WHP, CAH.  
98 Correspondence, 2J299, folders 3, 4, WHP, CAH.
others, for the greatest good to the greatest number, makes up the principle of fairness on which the legal structure of zoning laws is being erected," declared the editor. Harris County legislators were then strongly admonished to work with other legislators to introduce and enact zoning enabling legislation.99

These pro-zoning articles coincided with Mike's campaign to replace a recently deceased Houston representative in the Texas House. Victorious by an "overwhelming vote" on February 20, 1927,100 Mike left immediately for Austin, where he was able to help secure passage in March of laws that directly effected city planning: to enable municipal zoning ordinances, to control platting of subdivisions, to assess money for park acquisition and development, to require building set backs, and to allow cities to assess property owners for street widening and improvements. On February 6, 1927, Houston voters approved $200,000 for park improvements, and on April 11, a mere 5,022 citizens authorized nearly $7 million in bonds to develop a civic center, build a new city hall, and make other public improvements.101 Journalists praised Will's devoted stumping and the "onslaughts of his logic [that had] thinned the ranks of doubters" to secure passage of the bond issue. Houstonians believed Will's advocacy and Mike's work in the legislature had insured success. Columnists noted that Will had called on "several hundred citizens" urging their support. Further, the Hoggs had promised to "transfer to the city . . . several lots at their actual cost . . . that could be sold at a big profit . . . in striking contrast with . . . some who are always speculating at the city's expense."102 The Press and Chronicle,
attributing the bond election result to Will's "characteristic energy" and sustained campaign to secure funds for city improvements, demanded he be named Planning Commission chairman. "He is for proper zoning and for beautification. We need his services," declared the *Press*. Armed with state support for municipal planning and assurances of monetary support for public improvements, Will accepted chairmanship of a revived seven-member Planning Commission on April 15, 1927. Also named to the Commission were Paul Timpson, John Embry, and Mrs. E. Clinton Murray, the last in response to Will's insistence that a woman be included in the group. The *Chronicle* gushed enthusiastically that Will's appointment "met with universal approval," because Will "has been a leader in every enterprise looking to city betterment . . . an informed and intelligent leader." The *Press* interviewed Will at length and began a series based on his statements to explain the concept of city planning, enumerate Will's goals for the commission, and outline the programs that would be put in place to accomplish those goals.

Although Will had asserted that he would not serve unless the commission were given full powers of enforcement, he accepted the first city planning ordinance, passed June 29, as a start. The ordinance authorized the Commission as an advisory body that could recommend, suggest, and report, and created a Department of Planning within city government. It also recommended that the Commission prepare plans for a civic center, for bayou and park beautification, and for zoning; study municipal control of subdivision

103 Houston *Press*, Apr. 14, 1927; Houston *Chronicle*, Apr. 11, 15, 1927, clippings in 2J299, folder 4, WHP, CAH.
104 Houston *Chronicle*, July 2, 1927, clipping in 2J299, folder 5, WHP, CAH.
105 Houston *Press*, July 7, 8, 9, 11, 1927, clippings, 2J299, folder 5, WHP, CAH.
106 City Ordinances establishing a Department of Public Parks under the Board of Park Commissioners and a Department of Public Planning under the Houston City Planning Commission, 2J300, folder 2, WHP,
platting; enforce street rights-of-way and assessments for widening and repair; and submit a major city plan to the counsel for deliberation.\textsuperscript{107} At their first meeting on July 9, 1927, the commissioners voted to retain S. Herbert Hare of Hare & Hare as consultant and Lewis B. Ryon Jr. as city engineer (1924–1930) and secretary of the Planning Commission. Will immediately wrote to Arthur Comey asking for original maps and plans from his 1912–1913 study, and Comey was only too happy to comply.

Will brought an ambivalent understanding of effective public leadership to his tenure as Planning Commission chairman. Although he affected the Populist rhetoric learned from his father, claimed that his work on the commission was to benefit all Houstonians, and worked hard to sway public opinion, he held all sessions in secret. He noted in the commission's 1929 report that he required secrecy to protect his experts from undue pressure of special interests and to ensure that a complete plan be laid before the people for their deliberation. This impolitic, closed-door approach may have precluded squabbling over undeveloped suggestions and trial balloons, but it immediately made potential opponents uneasy and suspicious and opened the commission to charges of elitism and self-serving cronyism.\textsuperscript{108} Equally disturbing were Will's frequent absences from the city. Even if he trusted surrogate Hugh Potter and other committee members to carry out tasks, even if he kept in constant touch through telegrams and letters, his absences ensured miscommunication and deflated enthusiasm at critical moments.\textsuperscript{109} By


\textsuperscript{108} See articles in the press critical of secrecy and preserved in 2J300, WHP, CAH.

\textsuperscript{109} Diary 2J399 shows Will was absent from Houston in 1928 from Feb. 3-26, Mar. 19-28, May 17-June 16, July 9-Nov. 3, Dec. 14-May 3, 1929. In 1929, besides the Jan.-May 3 absence, he was gone May 11-13,
March 1929, Potter reported a "general impatience that the commission doesn't begin to unfold plans." Meetings, he complained, were inefficient and disorganized.\footnote{Hugh Potter to William Clifford Hogg, Jan. 13, 1929 (Will in Brazil), Mar. 2, 1929 (Will in Paris), letters, 2J300, folder 3, WHP, CAH.}

Baffling admirers and critics further, Will countered this top-down distant approach with democratic inclusiveness as he campaigned aggressively to sway public opinion and reassure the African-American minority, whose interests were usually ignored by establishment spokesmen. On July 5, 1927, he met with the Inter-racial Committee and explained that he wanted to involve volunteers in an effort to fan out through African-American neighborhoods with a questionnaire that would pinpoint community needs. Hogg, who paid for the questionnaire's costs personally, became a hero to this group when he considered its needs and suggested that he would like to develop an up-scale neighborhood for blacks. His survey raised both expectations and fears. Disturbed by a new state law allowing de jure residential segregation, members of the Inter-racial Committee and volunteers who worked on the survey had immediately recognized that zoning ordinances could be used to stymie the African-American community's growth by restricting African Americans to undesirable areas or by forcing them to relinquish established neighborhoods to white encroachment.\footnote{See meeting notes, July 5, 1927, with Hogg and associates D. M. Picton (his lawyer), S. L. Pinckney, H. E. Brigham, 3 other white and "22 colored" Houstonians; minutes November 10, 1927; correspondence Dec. 7, 1927, Sept. 26, 27, 1929; in 2J339, folder 8 (Inter-Racial Committee), WCH, CAH. Black leaders recognized they had no power to halt condemnation proceedings in their neighborhoods should white developers wish to widen roads or rezone land use.}

Would Will's survey be used for such nefarious purposes, they wondered?\footnote{C. H. McGruder to William C. Hogg, Jan. 6, 1928, letter, 2J300, folder 2, WHP, CAH, about "disappointing progress" of the survey.} In May 1929 Will outlined his plan for "cooperative or voluntary segregation" that would protect "several
districts that are in full possession of the colored people . . . in which the white population will not undertake to reside and beyond which the colored population will not undertake to encroach." While Will did intend that established African-American neighborhoods be preserved, he did not propose avenues for future expansion.\textsuperscript{113}

By condemning politicians who ignored the civil rights of African Americans, by considering African-American issues in his city-wide plan, and by stating that "the colored population is . . . entitled to civic and economic justice," Will placed himself squarely in the progressive camp on racial issues.\textsuperscript{114} But his liberality did not move beyond paternalism, and he never imagined an integrated society, much less a city where all ethnic groups shared social, economic, and political power. Rather, he seemed to believe that minority voices would accept the status quo if white leaders consulted their needs, promised to provide "civic justice" and the same goods and services to all sectors of the city, and secured employment for all. Pledging schools, parks, and a black man's River Oaks did not address underlying issues of racial prejudice, although such actions did blunt racial strife when white Houstonians began to heed minority demands for access to the halls of power in the 1960s and 1970s.

In support of planning and city beautification, Will personally coordinated an imaginative public relations campaign directed to children, housewives, and families. Working with nurseryman Edward Teas, he distributed seeds and plants to school children and garden club members throughout the city to encourage families to create gardens at their homes. Each year between 1926 and 1930 Will paid to have thousands

\textsuperscript{113} William C. Hogg to Herbert Hare, May 25, 1929, letter, 2J300, folder 3.
\textsuperscript{114} William C. Hogg to Herbert Hare, May 25, 1292, letter, 2J300, folder 3.
of crepe myrtle trees planted at schools, parks, and commercial sites. Gardening along the humid Gulf Coast presented special challenges ignored by publications and catalogs, so Will persuaded writer and realtor Ethel Brosius, River Oaks resident Mrs. Cleveland Sewell, and close friend Mrs. Card G. Elliot to work with Teas and produce *A Garden Book for Houston*, written in "terms so simple that children may understand them." First published by the Hogg family in 1929, the book has never been out of print and continues to serve as a "practical guide book for all those who love the growing of green things."

Will believed if he could teach children one by one to love nature, as he had been taught by his parents, they would become adults who took individual steps to make their city beautiful.  

Turning from individual to group pressure, Will exerted his greatest public influence by guiding and financing the Forum of Civics and its publication, *Civics for Houston*. In December 1927 Will explained that he viewed the city and county as "interdependent communities" and hoped the forum would "give impetus to plans and methods for the improvement in attractiveness and usefulness of public structures and private homes and their environment."

Housed in the Forum of Civics building, a 1910 schoolhouse transformed at Will's direction into a meeting room, civic association headquarters, and library of works devoted to environmental issues, the forum provided a

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115 Note 1926 tree plantings of crepe myrtles and pecans, 100 magnolias, 100 dogwood, 980 rose bushes through schools, parks department, hospitals, art museum, and Auntrey House. Memos, 2J379, 2J318, WHP, CAH.


117 *Civics for Houston*, Jan. 1928, p. 18. See J. M. Heiser Jr. Environmental Collection, Box 17, folder 7, HMRC, HPL, for correspondence about joining the forum. Hester Scott assures Heiser there are no dues for member groups because "our organization is underwritten for some time to come."
central home for its one hundred member organizations. In January 1928 Will began publication of *Civics for Houston*, a year-long effort to provide "practical ideas about your city, your home and your garden" and help Houstonians build a better city.\(^{119}\)

The monthly magazine, edited by Hester Scott, included articles by prominent experts, provided a running catalog of national planning efforts and zoning triumphs, and reflected Hogg family beliefs that a great city began as a domain of beautiful homes whose inhabitants could pursue a wholesome life in a stable neighborhood. Columns covered home design, interior decoration, garden planning, and domestic activities. Articles devoted to art, music, and architecture were intended to uplift the taste of readers just as essays about the major street plan, the civic center plan, the Playground and Recreation Association of America, and important public buildings were included to engage citizens in public action. Long discussions of "The Dark Side of Houston" — the poor drainage, unpaved streets, and unsanitary living conditions "in the heart of the city that endanger the life and health of white and colored populations" — and illustrated articles of life in African-American neighborhoods mirrored the Hoggs' understanding that self-interest and humanitarian values must undergird urban development. "Even as a housewife is judged for the condition of her cupboards and closets, for the cleanliness and attractiveness of the seldom used rooms of her house, so may a city be judged by

\(^{118}\) *Civics for Houston*, Jan. 1928, p. 5. Architects for the renovation were prominent Houston practitioners associated with Shadyside, Broadacres, River Oaks, and other high-quality residential projects, John F. Staub, B. P. Briscoe, and J. W. Northrup. Will and Mike actually published their pamphlet announcing the Forum in May 1926, but travel, Mike's campaign, and other activities sidetracked development of the idea until fall of 1927 and the first meeting in early December 1927. The building was conveyed from Varner Company to Mike, Ima, and Tom in 1932, given by them to the University of Texas, and purchased by the River Oaks Garden Club for a headquarters in 1942. Box 1, Yearly Reports, Box Newspaper Articles 1927–1947, River Oaks Garden Club Records, Archives, MFAH.

\(^{119}\) *Civics for Houston*, Jan. 1928, p. 1. Other Zoning articles included "The Legal Side of City Planning in Texas" (Feb. 1928), "Planning Houston For Our Children" (March 1928), "The Importance of a Major Street Plan" (April 1928), Editorial Notes (May 1928).
drainage, water mains, lighting, protection, and paving on its less important streets and by-ways," declared the Progressive municipal housekeepers of the editorial board.\(^\text{120}\) Unfortunately Editor Scott and Will disagreed about presentation and substance. Scott felt the glossy illustrated format was an unwarranted expense and chided Hogg for preferring gardening and design articles to hard-driving calls to clean up degraded neighborhoods and provide widespread city services. Unused to female insubordination and annoyed by the intemperate language of her criticism, Hogg grew exasperated, fired his editor, and finally closed the magazine.\(^\text{121}\)

Articles in the city's major newspapers also continued to praise planning activities and explain the beneficial effects of zoning in other cities. This advocacy raised awareness throughout the city, and in April 1928 citizens north of Buffalo Bayou, who were worried that too much attention was paid to the many developments and parks in the South End, where Houston's leadership still resided, formed the North Side Planning and Civics group and began publishing *North Side of Houston* to support zoning. Sponsors hoped to protect their land values and to secure city improvements for the 65,000 residents of neighborhoods north of Buffalo Bayou that were largely unprotected by deed restrictions, private wealth, or influence at city hall. When *Civics for Houston* ceased publication in January 1929, the *Houston Gargoyle* took on its planning and zoning advocacy, and the *Post* began a year-long series about city planning under the aegis of Forum of Civics members.\(^\text{122}\) The *Gargoyle*, founded in January 1928 as a "critical news

\(^\text{120}\) *Civics for Houston*, Sept. 1928, p. 5 (quote) and lead story.

\(^\text{121}\) Hogg-Scott correspondence and her attacks on his "strongly dominant personality" and rude demeanor in 2J318, WHP, CAH.

journal for the progressive-minded" also continued Hogg's advocacy of park development and street improvements.123

When the Planning Commission began its work in 1927, Will suggested that members should immediately adopt a minimal set of temporary guidelines for platting residential subdivisions within the city and for five miles outside city limits. Although the commission's recommendations were not approved by City Council, City Engineer McVea seems to have secured developers' voluntary compliance during 1928, and twenty plats within the city and fourteen outside city limits conformed to commission suggestions. Will also asked Lewis B. Ryon to draft a zoning ordinance. Based largely on earlier models, the ordinance was submitted to City Council in December 1927 in hopes its enactment would not have to await deliberations about a complex master plan. The Commission then turned its full attention to drafting the comprehensive plan itself. Controversy heated up in the fall of 1928 when word leaked that the Planning Commission had begun developing temporary zoning measures because City Council had tabled the December 1927 zoning proposals. Intended to protect residential development from commercial encroachment, these draft measures would be used until a comprehensive zoning ordinance could be enacted. Realtor J. G. Miller complained that such protection discriminated against business development and began an anti-zoning campaign that did not flag until he permanently scuttled the commission's efforts in 1930. Faced with such strong opposition and fearful the temporary ordinance might undermine

123 See Gargoyle, May 22, 1928, p. 13; June 12, 1928, p. 17, editorial; Jan. 15, 1929, pp. 13, 18; Feb. 5, 1929, p. 16; Mar. 13, 1929, p. 14; June 16, 1929, p. 8; June 20, 1929, p. 27; July 14, 1929, p. 15. The Jan. 4, 1931, p. 1, "In Retrospect" column called Will Hogg its "greatest and truest" friend and claimed Will discontinued Civics for Houston to avoid competing with the Houston Gargoyle.
support for an overarching zoning law, the Commission itself dropped the zoning proposals and continued instead to develop the master plan in secret.

In the fall of 1928, Will also became embroiled in the mayoral campaign. In public Will and Mayor Holcombe seemed to be on good terms. In March 1928 the mayor appointed Will to a nine-man committee of "the best brains in Houston" to select an architect for a new city hall that would be built with $1 million in bond funds. These "brains" included chairman Judge Sam Streetman, Hogg as secretary, former governor W. P. Hobby, Press business manager Ward C. Mayborn, Chamber of Commerce activist E. A. Peden, and businessman George Wilson. Holcombe and Hogg also studied recently built city halls but could find few suitable models. Privately, however, Will had known by the 1926 mayoral race that Holcombe was profiting from cozy real estate deals in areas slated for civic center development. Will had kept quiet about activities he believed pushed the envelop of ethical responsibility too far because he believed Holcombe was a genuine supporter of planning, but by late 1928 Hogg no longer trusted Holcombe's avowals of commitment. He switched his allegiance to Mike's close friend Walter Monteith, and both Hoggs vocally supported a Monteith for Mayor candidacy. Frank letters to friends outlined ten reasons to abandon Holcombe, including extravagance, procrastination, graft, and "disdain of the colored population." After a nasty campaign of charges and counterattacks, Monteith replaced Holcombe at city hall in the December election.

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124 See memo, Nov. 11, 1928, 2J301, folder 4, William C. Hogg to W. L. Clayton, Nov. 24, 1928, letter, 2J301, folder 5, WHP, CAH. See exchange of letters, Nov. 16, 17, 1927, 2J299, folder 6, WHP, CAH. Holcombe claims he has "no record" that he had agreed to have the city pay Hare & Hare as Planning Commission consultant or establish a commission budget. Hogg counters with two and one-half pages detailing a luncheon with the mayor where those assurances were given.
Despite the political squabbles, press coverage in support of planning and zoning continued strong in 1929. A devastating flood that swamped Market Square and most of downtown in June made government control of land use seem the practical answer to many Houstonians.\textsuperscript{125} However, realtor Miller had rallied a vocal pro-growth coalition, and lawyer/lumberman John H. Kirby even declared zoning was "unwise and un-American."\textsuperscript{126} By the time Hogg submitted his report on October 30, 1929, a small group of opponents led by the real estate claque was ready for a fight. The ten-year barrage of press support and the recent torrent of coverage had failed to generate broad-based interest in planning mechanisms, and public opinion remained generally indifferent to the arcane issues raised by the city planning debate.

\textit{The 1929 Plan}

\textit{Report of the City Planning Commission, Houston, Texas}, published by Will Hogg's Forum of Civics when the mayor failed to allocate funding, lays out in clear detail, not only what Houston was but also what Will hoped Houston might become. On the cover is his concept of the ideal city: a photograph of the skyline etched nobly in the background against a cloudless sky, mediated in the foreground by trees and greensward. Hints of habitation and industry — an elevated roadway and smoke in the middle distance — are partially obscured by nature's bounty and man's genius. If Hogg had any goal in mind when he took on the task of guiding Houston's planning efforts, it was, in the words of aesthetic philosopher John Ruskin quoted on the inside cover, to do "such

\textsuperscript{125} Houston Post-Dispatch, June 23, 1929, clipping, 21299, folder 1, WHP, CAH. The writer believes the flooding could have been prevented had the city made bridge and channel improvements urged by B. C. Allin, director of the Port. Hogg also supported these Port improvement plans.

\textsuperscript{126} Quoted in Henderson, "City Planning," 131.
work that our descendants will thank us for, and let us think, as we lay stone on stone, that a time is to come when these stones will be held sacred because our hands have touched them." 127 Certainly, Hogg and his fellow commissioners hoped to lay foundation stones for a beautiful, functional city based on a continuous, rational, and popular planning process. 128 They also hoped to establish a tradition of cooperation and excellence by naming the Board of Park Commissioners as collaborators in developing the park, parkway, and boulevard proposals and by hiring assistants like F. W. Fratt of Kansas City, Missouri, who served as special consultant on railroad problems. 129

In many ways the plan, created by S. Herbert Hare of Hare & Hare, mirrors the recommendations distributed by Arthur Comey sixteen years earlier. City Planning is defined as a "continuous process" or "the art and science of planning in a comprehensive way for the future physical development of a city. Order, convenience and beauty are its watchwords. The practical and the aesthetic must go hand in hand if the citizens are to have the opportunity of living well rounded lives." Its purpose "is to look to the future as well as to the present, to plan with vision, but not be visionary." 130 Like Comey, Hare reviewed current conditions and trends and named traffic circulation, public property, and private property as three critical planning concerns. Unlike Comey, Hare recognized a fourth major issue in the urban planning process: the critical relationship of urban to

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127 John Ruskin, quoted in Report, inside cover. Hogg used this quote in River Oaks advertising materials also.
130 Hare & Hare and L. B. Ryon Jr., Forword, Report, 13.
regional problems. Hare described urgent challenges, financial constraints, and legislative solutions he believed necessary to secure effective planning mechanisms, and he included sample planning and zoning ordinances. Like Comey, Hare recognized that a major street plan "is the framework upon which most of the other city planning recommendations rest."\textsuperscript{131}

Revealing the deeply embedded racial beliefs of white Houstonians and Will's stated opinion, Hare candidly interpreted the results of the Inter-racial Committee's survey. The commissioners concluded that the "chief racial problem centers about the negroes," who made up about 18 percent of Houston's citizenry and were a "necessary and useful element of the population," and suggested that "because of long established racial prejudices, it is best for both races that living areas be segregated . . . by mutual agreement."\textsuperscript{132} Although the report called for four new neighborhood parks for African-American citizens,\textsuperscript{133} it failed to assure space for expansion of African-American neighborhoods. Indeed, in the Fourth Ward areas between downtown and the newly developing River Oaks subdivision to the west, Hare & Hare proposed transforming a blighted but historic African-American neighborhood long ignored by civic authorities into an attractive, white-only parkway development.

The 1929 report announced that "An adequate, comprehensive, and well balanced system of recreation areas for a city is no longer considered a luxury" and recommended the aggressive acquisition of parks to "preserve for the people as a whole the most beautiful scenery," to "reclaim land which is unsightly . . . and which, if not improved,

\textsuperscript{131} Report, 9.
\textsuperscript{132} Report, 25. Nathan William MacChesney to Hugh Potter, May 20, 1929, 21300, folder 3, WHP, CAH, says legislative enactment of segregation is declared void because it violates the 5, 13, 14 amendments. Restrictions at the time of sale of property are not violations of these amendments.
will become a menace to the city," and "to provide adequate recreation areas in the form of playgrounds for children, athletic fields for older children and adults, and places for various forms of active or passive outdoor recreation."\(^{134}\) Indeed, a complete park system must include large parks and reservations, parkways and boulevards, neighborhood parks, playgrounds, and squares.\(^{135}\) Hare, who was to produce designs for more than twenty Houston parks in the next two decades, included a sample plan for a typical neighborhood park/playground in the report.\(^{136}\)

A Civic Center or "axis around which to build a comprehensive plan" had long been central to Hogg's vision for Houston. Will hoped to force public officials to plan "with proper aspiration and imaginative foresight" and adopt City Beautiful teachings by gathering Houston's major municipal and cultural institutions around a central downtown plaza.\(^{137}\) He believed that all aspects of urban life should be included in this civic center: the city hall, the courthouse, the central post office, the public school administration building, the central fire station, the emergency hospital and medical center, a city college, and headquarters for women's clubs and civic organizations.\(^{138}\)

\(^{133}\) Report, 99.

\(^{134}\) Report, 91.

\(^{135}\) Report, 93.

\(^{136}\) These park/playgrounds had a tree-lined periphery, a greensward, a picnic area, and areas set aside for sports. Depending on the park's size, games included baseball, tennis, shuffleboard, horse shoes, swings, and jungle gyms. Some parks included swimming facilities and community centers. See Hare & Hare Collection, HMRC, HPL.

\(^{137}\) William C. Hogg to Herbert Hare, Kansas City, July 14, 1925, quoting his statement to the press, 2J299, folder 2, WHP, CAH. *Houston Labor Journal*, Apr. 16, 1926, clipping, 2J299, folder 2; William C. Hogg to Oscar Holcombe, letter, 2J301, folder 2, WHP, CAH. A civic center had been discussed at least since 1914. See clippings saved in William Ward Watkin Papers, Box 1, folder 8, folder 28, WRC, RU, where the architect proposes civic center planning. See also Roscoe E. Wright, "Temple of Government," *Houston Gargoyle*, Oct. 13, 1929, p. 16.

\(^{138}\) William C. Hogg to R. S. Sterling, letter Apr. 23, 1926, 2J299, folder 2, WHP, CAH, in which Hogg complains about unsympathetic *Post-Dispatch* coverage of planning and tries to explain the movement's purpose. The *Post* continued to express skepticism about the civic center. Clipping, Apr. 3, 1927, 2J299, folder 4, WHP, CAH. See *Houston Architectural Survey*, 1285-86. Finally, using Public Works Administration federal funds in the 1930s, a city center took shape downtown with a city hall, coliseum, and music hall as anchors. Ibid., 1286-87.
who had long stressed "Beauty in our cities . . . need not be incompatible with use and convenience," suggested that the Civic Center be located around Hermann Square where the public library had been completed in 1926. The Civic Center plaza could then link the waterworks site, Sam Houston Park, Buffalo Drive, and two cemeteries on the west with the proposed city market to the east in a coordinated public space.139 Hare & Hare developed detailed designs for the Civic Center Plaza to be constructed in the Spanish Renaissance style adapted by Ralph Adams Cram and William Ward Watkin in the Cram and Ferguson designs for the Rice Institute and the public library building. Architectural historian Stephen Fox suggests that various "Mediterranean" interpretations, a nationwide fashion in the 1920s, appealed to Houstonians on several levels. Claiming Spanish Mediterranean design linked Houston to a Spanish-Texas heritage and intrigued by its suggestion of a cultured, leisurely lifestyle, Houstonians, in fact, found Mediterranean patios with their soothing fountains and deeply shaded arcades perfectly suited to a hot, humid climate not yet blessed with the refrigerated air available in post-World War II construction.140 The style's subdued grandeur and suggestion of refinement combated crass commercialism and provided an architectural vocabulary to articulate civic importance and cultural sophistication.

His work on the city master plan completed, Will submitted his report to the Mayor October 30, resigned as chairman November 1, and left town for what he believed

139 Hare & Hare to City Planning Commission, July 8, 1925, letter, City of Houston, Department of Planning Collection, Box 6, folder 7, HMRC, HPL; Houston Architectural Survey, 1282.
would be an absence of two or three years on a tour of the globe — a trip cut short by his death less than a year later.\textsuperscript{141} Former Mayor A. Earl Amerman was named Planning Commission chairman; Hugh Potter was named vice chairman; and the report was released to the public December 12, 1929. The report was widely excerpted in the press and received enthusiastically by supporters who praised its thorough but speedy creation and its "intelligent conception of how the growth of a community may be directed, elevated and encouraged."\textsuperscript{142} Amerman promised that secrecy was a thing of the past and that the commission would hold public hearings to discuss all phases of the report. On December 17 he met with the Houston Real Estate Board, and a storm of protest broke over the zoning issue.

Clarence R. Wharton, a partner in James A. Baker's law firm of Baker, Botts, Parker & Garwood, organized the Houston Property Owners League to protest zoning; J. G. Miller, long fighting in the anti-zoning trenches, was named vice president of the group, and L. W. Duddleston, real estate editor of the \textit{Post-Dispatch}, became secretary. These powerful opponents began soliciting 10,000 signatures to stop zoning and stormed City Council chambers on January 7, 1930, to shout down support. Zoning, they declared, was "an abrupt departure from individualism" and deprived "people of modest means" of the easy access to drug and grocery stores they found convenient and congenial. Elitists, they suggested, were engaging in "dangerous governmental practices and an interference with, if not a reversal of, economic laws." Zoning offered "profitable opportunities for unscrupulous politicians" and placed "real estate . . . at the mercy of the commerce away from River Oaks and gave these businesses a "civic countenance" (Stephen Fox, "River Oaks: A Distinguished Experiment in Fine Living," typescript in author's possession).

\textsuperscript{141} Hogg remained on the Commission but intended a prolonged visit to Europe. He sailed in Nov. 1929, never to return because he succumbed to gall bladder surgery in Baden Baden on September 12, 1930.
city council."\textsuperscript{143} A. L. Hemphill, president of North Side Planning and Civics, countered that zoning prevented the confusion of unregulated development, ensured provision of public services, protected the "economic value of investment in homes," encouraged property development, and maintained a balance of values that promoted "the general welfare of our community."\textsuperscript{144} For Hemphill, who represented middle- and working-class residents, municipal intervention through zoning seemed a safe protection against rapacious, and politically influential, speculators. Hemphill's logic failed. Zoning made the council nervous, and even the commission was divided. On January 22 the council voted to approve all elements of the report except the zoning provisions. The brief but terrible battle left the commission scarred; on February 1 the City Planning Office closed; platting review was passed to the Department of Public Works, and planning proponents fell silent as the city turned its attention to problems caused by nationwide economic depression.

Subsequent efforts to revive the zoning issue under proponent Hugh Potter in 1938 and again in the 1940s and 1950s also brought explosive opposition and ended in failure.\textsuperscript{145} Houston remains the largest United States city impervious to the proponents of zoning as a mechanism for land use planning. Ironically the 1929 plan stressed that "the keynote of zoning is protection rather than regulation" to secure "the health, safety,

\textsuperscript{142} Allen Peden, "Ah, the Plan!," \textit{Houston Gargoyle}, Dec. 15, 1929, p. 38.
\textsuperscript{145} See letter to the editor from the Houston City Planning and Zoning Commission, May 21, 1938, signed by Jesse Andrews, John Embry, C. C. Fleming, J. Frank Jungman, Dr. J. Allen Kyle, J. Robert Neal, Hugh Potter, and John F. Staub, City of Houston, Department of Planning Collection, RGA 4, Box 6, Folder 13, HMRC, HPL. The Commission, bitterly fighting underhanded anti-zoning zealots, declared that "those who have been storming . . . City Council and the Zoning Commission are either ignorant as to the law . . . or they prefer for reasons of their own to deprive the citizens of Houston of an opportunity to consider the adoption of a zoning ordinance on its merits." Voters defeated zoning in 1948 and 1962. Stephen Fox, "Planning in Houston: A Historic Overview," in Scardino, et al., \textit{Ephemeral City}, 38.
morals or general welfare of the community." Authorized for the cities of Texas by enabling legislation passed in 1927, zoning was used by 750 cities in the United States in 1929 and was described as the benign "legal expression not only of the golden rule as applied to property, but of a natural economic law which tends to group various kinds of commercial enterprises so as to enjoy the cumulative effect of the concentration of business." Not retroactive, zoning was depicted as good for health, property values, street congestion, utility development, and orderly growth, values espoused by chamber of commerce boosterism.\textsuperscript{146} Yet so virulent was opposition to zoning that no planning activities succeeded in Houston until 1942 when a newly constituted City Planning Department issued a \textit{Major Street Plan} to implement bond funds authorized by voters in 1941. In 1972 Rice University architects founded the Rice Design Alliance to combat a perennial problem, "Houston's lack of civic interest in planning and urban design," and to rectify persistent national ignorance about the city's built environment.\textsuperscript{147}

Why was the 1929 Plan relegated to oblivion? One answer certainly lies in its emphatic enthusiasm for zoning. Does another answer lie in the seemingly impolitic departure of the Commission's chairman on an expedition of pleasure at the moment battle was joined? In the 1920s planning and zoning were popular instruments nationwide in towns and cities of every description and political persuasion. To be Progressive was to espouse zoning as a rational means of securing proper land use and ensuring successful urban growth. In Houston, most of the press, the Chamber of Commerce, civic associations from all quadrants of the city, experts, academic spokesmen, and important civic activists whose wishes were not easily denied all favored

\textsuperscript{146} \textit{Report}, 100, 102, 111.
\textsuperscript{147} Scardino, et al., \textit{Ephemeral City}, ix.
planning and zoning. Two mayors and several city councilmen claimed allegiance in the pro-planning, pro-zoning camp. However, a vocal minority stirred fears of zoning that scuttled planning efforts as well. Zoning, they suggested, was government encroachment on the rights of the individual; it was anathema to those who equated progress with growth; it was elitist and preserved "good" residential neighborhoods at the expense of demands for commercial expansion. Worst of all, zoning would stimulate corruption and speculation. Clearly City Hall vacillated as councilmen tried to please all parties. Some establishment voices are strangely missing from the debate. Did Jesse Jones, primary investor in downtown buildings, have a surrogate spokesman? What of Will Hogg? Did he realize the real estate interests would seize the day? Because of his untimely death, it is hard to know whether his continued advocacy could have salvaged his years of work. Unfortunately, his frequent absences from Houston, his secret meetings, and his feuds with Oscar Holcombe and others combined to vitiate the power of his generosity and the breadth of his vision.

In a post mortem January 9, 1930, a Press columnist concludes the zoning plan's "sudden and spectacular demise" resulted because friends were "never outspoken nor otherwise active," and because the commission was divided while enemies were united in their loud warnings of economic disaster if zoning laws were enacted. Friends of planning and its legal avatar zoning failed to make citizens understand that planning could be an ongoing process through which all private interests could be heard. If properly constructed, planning processes would balance, not affirm, government power by providing private interests a structured forum. Planning was not a matter of regulation or statutes but "something which can best be brought about through an awakened civic
conscience and voluntary work." Perhaps, in the end, the 1929 plan collapsed before Houston's proverbial love affair with individual private initiative. Growth unhampered by regulation triumphed over community concerns for the urban environment and defined progress.  

River Oaks, the Hoggs' Residential Ideal

The Hoggs fared better with private-sector planning projects. Although neither a philanthropic venture nor a public service, the Hoggs' garden suburb of River Oaks three miles west of downtown had elements of each. Conceived as a civic project to demonstrate the aesthetic and commercial value of sophisticated planning, River Oaks incorporated ideas developed successfully in planned communities across the nation. As philanthropists, the Hoggs and their partner Hugh Potter set aside acreage for a playground/park, a school, and pocket parks scattered throughout the subdivision. As idealists, they created a "rural" haven of peaceful, secure family retreats distanced from the hurly-burly of commercial horse-trading or the clang of industrial production. As planners, they designed an economically diverse, self-sufficient community to accommodate a mix of customers who sought large estates abutting the bayou, elegant homes on curving streets near the country club, and more modest dwellings on the periphery. They also purchased land along the Westheimer and Shepherd's Dam thoroughfares where they placed small shopping centers, a Forum of Civics community

149 Houston Press, Jan. 9, 1930, clipping in 2J299, City Hall folder, WHP, CAH.
149 Address to City Planning Commission, undated, probably 1925, City of Houston Department of Planning Collection, Box 6, folder 6, HMRC, HPL.
150 Fox, "Planning in Houston," 34, attributes 1920s failure to three problems: "exclusive dependence" on zealous individuals, the "apathy, if not hostility," of the public, and the "ambivalence" of public officials who talked a "progressive" line but failed to accord statutory or financial support.
center, and apartments. Potter explained the formative role played by residential
developers in shaping their cities: "What City Planning accomplishes . . . throughout the
whole city, the modern developer accomplishes by private contract in a particular section
of the city. The subdivider is really planning your cities today." Potter and the Hoggs
tried to demonstrate "that it costs very little more money to build a beautiful community
than it does to build an ugly one." They hoped River Oaks would inspire "beauty and
civic efficiency" for Houston's west side development and serve as an antidote to blight
cau sed by "failure to foresee, to gauge, and to direct the dynamic rapidity of [a city's]
growth and expansion."

During his youthful sojourn in St. Louis Will had discovered the private place
residential neighborhoods built in the late nineteenth century. Characterized by broad
boulevards with landscaped dividers, protected by substantial gates, and subject to strict
development controls, these streets were owned by their residents, not by the city. On
these one or two-block enclaves large houses sat imperiously on small lots and offered
their wealthy owners privacy and protection from the surrounding city. Often built by
syndicates of businessmen/residents and particularly popular in the 1870s and 1880s,
these private places were secured by deed restriction, maintained by assessments, and
overseen by associations of residents.

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151 In the 1930s San Felipe and Westheimer became major east-west thoroughfares, so houses were planned
to face away from these streets. Commercial developments on the periphery were built in the 1930s and
included apartment complexes along San Felipe, a large shopping center at the West Gray-South
Shepherd intersection just outside the River Oaks boundary, the ten-building garden apartments along
Shepherd, and Mirabeau B. Lamar High School (1935–1937) at the River Oaks Boulevard-Westheimer
intersection. Will had hoped to build a small medical center for area residents and had expressed interest in
a medical center for the city but could not rally support in the 1920s.
152 Hugh Potter, "Modern Residential Development — Its Relation to City Planning," Houston, May 1926,
pp. 25, 27.
153 "Our Story of River Oaks," 1925, in 2J303, folder 2, WHP, CAH.
154 Robert A. M. Stern and John Montague Messengale, eds., The Anglo American Suburb (London:
Travels across the country and Ima's prolonged stay in Merion on Philadelphia's Main Line of railroad suburbs, had also acquainted the Hoggs with country place homes set on pastoral acreage. These planned communities were made possible first by railroad, and later by automobile, and were accessible to larger metropolitan centers from which they took their economic sustenance. Escapes for wealthy executives and professionals, these semi-rural residential parks held several features in common. Llewellyn Park, New Jersey, developed in the 1850s employed a landscape architect, used deed restrictions to maintain standards, and sponsored a homeowners' association to foster community spirit. Riverside, planned outside Chicago in 1871, and the Philadelphia suburbs strung along the Pennsylvania Railroad's Main Line in the last quarter of the century followed these restrictive concepts to create country-like residential communities within easy access of downtown commercial centers. Roland Park, carefully planned by George Kessler and the Olmsteds and slowly developed outside Baltimore after 1891, provided model homes and relied on setbacks, landscaping, and minimum pricing to stabilize property values.

Jesse Clyde Nichols's Country Club District in Kansas City provided the example of a complete planned community most closely studied by Will, Mike, and Hugh Potter, who frequently visited Nichols's work in progress and conferred with Nichols about their Houston project. Nichols, himself influential in professional real estate circles, began development in 1908 and continued until his death in 1950 to acquire land, open subdivisions, and create a path-breaking large shopping mall accessible to automobile traffic. Not only did he recognize that the automobile had transformed middle-class

Architects and the Houses They Designed (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987), 3. Houstonians had frequently hired architects from St. Louis. Rice Hotel, built for Jesse Jones in 1912–1913, was designed by the St. Louis firm of Mauran, Russell, and Crowell and was constructed with a skeletal steel
American life, but also he stressed curving streets to draw homeowners into the womb of community, developed small neighborhood parks, and set aside spaces for schools and churches. Families in the Country Club District could escape the iron grid of congested urban space, relax along "country" lanes in their landscaped gardens, and still enjoy spiritual, educational, and commercial amenities a short drive away. On private streets and in country suburbs, developers provided tranquil escape from bustling urban turmoil, ensured stable land values, and created communal identity nurtured by access to club facilities, by neighborhood publications, and by unifying landscape design. The Hogg's would remember these examples when creating their own ideal planned community.

Houston boasted one of the first and most successful planned communities in the United States in the Houston Heights project north of Buffalo Bayou, which had been organized by Oscar M. Carter's Omaha and South Texas Land Company in 1887 and financed by investors from Nebraska and Boston, Massachusetts, source of much capital for residential construction at that time. Suburban subdivisions and factory towns built outside the urban center had become relatively commonplace features of urban growth in the Northeast and Midwest by the late nineteenth century, but few investors could risk organizing a preplanned new town that provided all necessary urban amenities. Houston Heights, located on 1,765 acres about three miles from downtown on a wooded thirty-foot "bluff" north of White Oak Bayou, promised a healthy location for families escaping the mosquito-ridden flatlands of Houston's residential wards. Envisioned as a satellite


155 Worley (J. C. Nichols) provides a detailed study of Nichols's development and his influence on residential real estate. See also Stern and Massengale, eds., Anglo American Suburb, 22, 24, 39, 78;
town dependent on Houston's economic vigor, the Heights was made attractive to prospective property owners when Carter and his associates chartered the Houston Heights Street Railway Company in August 1892 to connect residents to the downtown business district. Original plans for the suburb (somewhat scaled back after the 1893 recession) show a grid pattern bisected by a wooded central boulevard, the first in Houston. Some blocks were platted for handsome homes and gardens and others for modest shotgun or cottage construction. Northwestern and southwestern sections were reserved for industrial and railroad development. Streetcars, utilities, sewerage, graded roads, schools, and parks drew customers and brought eventual success. Although the original investors had to declare bankruptcy, lumberman and lawyer John Henry Kirby managed the receivership efficiently, and the development flourished. Several investors settled along Heights Boulevard, and they and their families supported a full complement of cultural, educational, social service, and recreational associations. By the time residents voted to join Houston in 1918, the community's steady growth had attracted a stream of middle- and working-class home buyers.156

Development in the south end of town beyond the Main Street trolley terminus incorporated both the private place concepts perfected in St. Louis's urban neighborhoods and the country place tenets espoused by suburban developers in Baltimore, Kansas City, Philadelphia, and the New York environs.157 Because the surrounding land had long been


157 An early example of "country-place" landscaping is pictured in Houghton, Forgotten Heritage, plate 142 (p. 188), which depicts the "Country Place," a 35-acre home of the Walter Benona Sharp family (1906–1917) that now is the site of Sears Roebuck.
agricultural, these early projects were considered rural alternatives to high-density urban living. Protected by detailed deed restrictions and high price tags, these properties were deemed safe from industrial encroachment. Gardens, boulevards, stables, and open spaces were incorporated in the plans. Unfortunately most of these small isolated enclaves separated by blocks of undeveloped land soon were surrounded by less substantial homes or by commercial investments. Westmoreland addition, Houston's first private place subdivision, organized by Wilmer Waldo, the civil engineer who developed Rice Institute's infrastructure, and Montrose, planned between 1902 and 1906, have been absorbed into the surrounding mixed-use district.\textsuperscript{158} Only Courtlandt Place, platted as an exclusive enclave of twenty-six large family homes in 1906, has retained its elegant and restricted status. Now an historic district, Courtlandt Place immediately attracted some of Houston's most important citizens, who employed well-regarded engineers and architects to design substantial homes in several revival styles popular in early twentieth-century residential planning.\textsuperscript{159} The Hoggs themselves experienced private place living when they moved to the Rossmoyne subdivision developed west of Montrose Boulevard by the Sterling Investment Company in 1914. Ross S. Sterling (1875–1949), a founder of the Humble Oil Company (1911) and chairman of its successor Humble Oil and Refining Company, published the \textit{Post Dispatch} from 1924 to 1932 and persuaded fellow oilmen William Stamps Farish, Edgar E. Townes, and Frank P. Sterling to become his neighbors. Although Ima worked closely with an architect on plans for the family's home and wrote enthusiastically of the gardens she planted there, the enclave encountered competition,

\textsuperscript{158} Houston Subdivision Collection, MSS 118, Box 2, folder 6 (Westmoreland Division). Development continued through 1919 here. See also Bruce C. Webb, "Evolving Boulevard: A Walk down Montrose," in Scardino, et al., \textit{Ephemerol City}, 88-99.
and by the time its deed restrictions lapsed in the mid-1930s most of the wealthy inhabitants had moved away.\textsuperscript{160}

Oil man Joseph Cullinan also invested in South End real estate and hired George Kessler and engineer Herbert A. Kipp to design Shadyside, a thirty-seven-acre wedge of land purchased from the Hermann estate in 1916.\textsuperscript{161} Protected by deeds of trust until 1969 and by deed restrictions thereafter, Shadyside remains a gated enclave of twenty substantial homes set on curving streets in large, landscaped gardens that replicate the "country place" style of home building in vogue before World War I.\textsuperscript{162} Although Kessler created his master plan for the enclave in 1916–1919, only the Cullinan house was under way when the United States entered World War I. Thirteen houses and two garage apartments were built between 1919 and 1927, three more houses between 1938 and 1942, and three after World War II.\textsuperscript{163} Cullinan urged friends to settle in "Shadyside," and the Hoggs considered purchasing Lot Q. Ima was very excited about the Shadyside project and suggested that Cullinan require all homes be constructed in the "Renaissance Mediterranean" style of Rice's master plan to ensure architectural

\textsuperscript{159} See \textit{Houston Architectural Survey}, 1363-68, for a detailed description of the Courtlandt Place Historic District; Houghton, et al., \textit{Forgotten Heritage}, 46-47.
\textsuperscript{160} \textit{Houston Architectural Survey}, 819-20. Rossmoyne was renamed Yoakum. Ima Hogg to William C. Hogg, Apr. 30, 1918, letter, 3B119, folder 1, IHP, CAH, speaks of the "wonderful garden" on Rossmoyne.
\textsuperscript{161} Cullinan had first broached Hermann about purchasing thirty-seven acres for his residential development in 1913, but Hermann's death precluded a decision. In October 1915, Jules J. Settegast, estate executor, approached Cullinan about the sale, concluded February 1916 for less than $30,000. Shadyside today includes thirty-seven acres from the Hermann Estate and one acre purchased in 1919. See \textit{Houston Architectural Survey}, 1126; Fox, "Shadyside," 41; Houston Subdivision Collection MSS 118, Box 2, folder 26 (Shadyside Subdivision), HMRC, HPL.
\textsuperscript{162} See Houston Subdivision Collection, MSS 118, Box 2, folder 26, HMRC, HPL, for the deed of trust and conveyance signed July 1, 1919, that set out binding obligations, exclusions, and building regulations, including burial of all utility conduits and commercial maintenance assessments. The trust agreement was signed by Cullinan, W. W. Moore, Henry Stude, and H. A. Kipp.
\textsuperscript{163} \textit{Houston Architectural Survey}, 1135.
harmony.\textsuperscript{164} Shadyside became the inspiration for several nearby enclaves established in the 1920s, including West Eleventh Place, Waverly Court, and Shadowlawn south of the Bissonnet thoroughfare, and Broad Acres, 34.1 park-like acres developed north of Bissonnet by James A. Baker Jr. and his father, the ubiquitous Captain James A. Baker. Owner-developers hired established architects and landscape planners to design elegant homes and invited their friends and professional associates to participate in the projects.\textsuperscript{165}

River Oaks stands today as the Hoggs enduring legacy to private-sector residential development, but the large planned community of 1100 acres was not the first residential real estate activity undertaken by the Hogg siblings. In November 1921, the Hoggs chartered the Varner Company to handle their real estate investments. Through Varner Company passed all transactions that were later deeded or sold to the city for park or civic center purposes, and in 1921 Varner Company began buying shares in the Stude Holding Association, chartered in February 1915 by their friend Henry Stude to develop eight tracts of family-held land north of White Oak Bayou and east of Houston Heights. By January 1922 the Hoggs held a majority interest and changed the name to Varner

\textsuperscript{164} William C. Hogg to Joseph S. Cullinan, Memo, April 6, 1916 (Ima's comments); Joseph S. Cullinan to William C. Hogg, letter, October 24, 1916 (Lot Q), 2J307, WHP, CAH. The Hoggs were still considering Lot Q in 1918; William C. Hogg to Ima Hogg, Apr. 16, 1918, letter, 3B119, folder 1, IHP, CAH. Historians suggest that Hogg withdrew from Shadyside because of a falling out between the two men. Although this theory is plausible given Cullinan's strong personality and Hogg's volatile temper, evidence is scanty, and the family friendships seem to have resumed after the War. It is also possible that Ima's long illness, Will's frequent absences from Houston from 1919 through 1922, and his decision to engage in post-war development schemes of his own combined to scuttle the purchase. The two disagreed about business issues in 1927. Ferguson, "Family Financial History," 78-79

\textsuperscript{165} See Houston Subdivision Collection, MSS 118, Box 2, HMRC, HPL; Houston Architectural Survey, 1126-37, 1144, 1156, 1164-65, 1113-15, 1202, 1215-18, 1335-39; Correspondence in 2J307, WHP, CAH; Houghton, et al., Forgotten Heritage, p. 191, pl. 148; Fox, "Shadyside." Homes in all these subdivisions remain prized residential properties in the early twenty-first century.
Realty, Inc. They subdivided the land into Norhill, North Norhill, East Norhill, and Norhill Park, donated land where the James S. Hogg Junior High School (now Middle School) was built, and within four years sold over 90 percent of the property for modest home sites spaced on a traditional grid. Particularly interesting was the Hoggs' civic-minded approach to this development. They demonstrated that amenities could be provided to lower-middle-income residents without decreasing a developer's profits. Homes were tied to city services, and the school, neighborhood parks, and paved streets were linked to the city by a broad parkway.

The Hoggs also expressed interest in Community Place, a Main Street concept being designed by Houston architect and family friend Birdsall Briscoe (1876–1971), but instead invested in the twelve-acre Colby Tract, an enclave in the fast-growing south end. The Hoggs installed paved streets, curbs, storm sewers and gutters, drainage, and landscaping and built a model home of brick veneer. Unfortunately, only three lots sold, perhaps because the speculative project abutted retail property. Facing stiff competition from other developments in the area along Montrose Boulevard, the Hoggs cut their losses. Will transferred the remaining lots to William States Jacobs, civic leader and pastor of First Presbyterian Church, and secured the trade on easy terms by a personal

166 See Ferguson, "Financial History," 56-62. Original directors of Varner Realty, Inc. were Henry W. Stude, David M. Picton Jr., W. H. Mead, W. B. Ferguson, and J. E. Key. In January 1923 Will and Mike Hogg were elected to the board, and Will replaced Stude as president; Stude and Mike became vice presidents.

167 Stephen Fox, remarks to the Bayou Bend Docent Organization, March 18, 2002. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Fox for his insights and his willingness to share his understanding of Houston's urban scene. Notes and manuscripts in author's possession. The school gift is discussed in A. B. Cohn, Asst. Secy. Rice Institute, to Henry Stude, Pres. Varner Realty, ca. 1922, 2J367, WHP, CAH. Had the land not been used for a school it might have reverted to Rice Institute. Today Norhill has been reclaimed by young professionals who appreciate the sturdy construction of the buildings and their proximity to downtown.
promissory note. The congregation eventually moved out Main Street to this property at Main and Bissonnet (Binz).  

When Mike and his law school roommate, "bosom" friend, and law associate Hugh Potter approached Will in 1924 about buying out the investors who had commissioned the new River Oaks Country Club organized in 1923 by United States Representative Thomas Ball, Kenneth E. Womack, William Stamps Farish, and others, Will scoffed at their modest proposal. According to Potter, he asked "why buy only two hundred acres?" and suggested they "make this thing really big, something the city can be proud of." Will then persuaded Potter to relinquish a successful legal career, "take charge of this thing," and create a model of advanced community-planning techniques "with the entire resources of the Hogg estate behind it." Will found the confusion of downtown with its jumble of mansions, skyscrapers, shabby shops, and boarding houses distasteful. Not only did he want to create distinct civic center, commercial, and industrial zones, but also he wanted to provide Houston's residential development the most up-to-date improvements. Early in 1924 the Hoggs and Potter took controlling interest of Country Club Estates, Inc. (River Oaks Corporation in 1928), which had been incorporated to develop land around the new River Oaks Country Club. They hired civil engineer

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168 Ferguson, "Financial History," describes easy terms for this transaction, and says the note was paid "in due course" (p. 62).


170 Memo, Apr. 8, 1924, 2J304, folder 1, WHP,CAH, describing acquisition of Country Club Estates, Inc.
Herbert A. Kipp to expand his 1923 subdivision plat for the area and established Widee Realty Corporation to purchase surrounding acreage then owned by truck farmers. The Hoggs and Potter operated as a team. Hogg Brothers supplied cash to Country Club Estates and Widee. Will spouted grand ideas but also scrutinized every advertisement and financial report. Mike served as vice president and secured day-to-day family interests, while Ima worked closely with architects to design speculative model homes and approve plans for subdivision landscaping and custom home designs. Potter, as president, oversaw corporate operations. Described as alert, small, active, and young "in appearance... inclination, sympathies, energy, vision," Potter became a power in professional real estate circles.

Will took particular interest in a 90-acre "parcel of woodland shade and quietude" first called Contentment and later renamed Homewoods. Although advertised as "in River Oaks," Homewoods was a separate enclave of three and one-half to fifteen-acre "home estates" conceived by Will as a "neighborly syndicate of families" "brought together solely by invitation and a community of interest." He, Ima, and Mike chose Plot C (14.25 acres) some time in 1925 or 1926 for their own home. In July 1925 Will wrote "confidential" letters to fifty-three prominent Houstonians, some of whom already

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171 Between Sept. 1924 and May 1925 Hare & Hare submitted several designs for River Oaks Boulevard, Sleepy Hollow Court, and entrance gateways. Apparently these designs were not used, because Kipp remains the designer of record. See Hare & Hare Collection, HMRC, HPL.

172 Ferguson states that between 1924 and 1928 Hogg Brothers loaned $479,500 to Country Club Estates and $1,003,750 to Widee. The two companies merged in 1928, and in 1928–1930 Hogg Brothers loaned $219,300 to River Oaks Corporation. When Will died in Sept. 1930, Hogg Brothers held notes totaling $1,822,550. The Hoggs had received only a few interest payments in May 1929 and Sept. 1930. Potter bought the Hogg family interest for about $1,500,000 in 1936, and in 1955 River Oaks Property Owners Association assumed management. Ferguson, "Family History," 64-65.


lived in exclusive enclaves and several of whom were vacationing in summer retreats, and invited them to invest in the Homewoods project. Thus, the Hogg's ideal development incorporated both the inclusive garden suburb made famous by Nichols and others and the exclusive private enclave popularized in St. Louis. Through their "distinguished experiment" in River Oaks, the Hoggs hoped to demonstrate the commercial viability of good business practices and astute planning. If successful, they believed their residential development would be widely emulated to set Houston apart as a city of modern design and incomparable beauty.

Although the Hoggs were enthusiastic, esteemed, and influential, their River Oaks scheme seemed a daring speculation. The land lay outside city limits far from fashionable South End residential areas, was separated from downtown by a slum neighborhood, and could be reached only by meandering Westheimer Road. To boost curiosity and attract customers, Country Club Estates asked John Staub, J. W. Northrup Jr., Birdsall P. Briscoe, and Sam H. Dixon Jr., architects respected for their work in other exclusive neighborhoods, to design fifteen model homes. Briscoe, who had been a classmate of Will's at the University of Texas, and Dixon designed the first model home under Ima's aegis — a pink stucco, simplified French Provincial revival structure on Inwood Drive. Northrup developed five modestly priced small models in various colonial revival styles popular in the 1920s. The corporation advertised these homes extensively and invited clients to "private showings" of "completely furnished" houses. John Staub, architect of River Oaks Country Club who later masterminded Bayou Bend

175 William C. Hogg to Ima Hogg, Jan. 10, 1926, telegram, indicates Ima had chosen the home site by that date, 3B119, folder 4, IHP, CAH.
176 Letters, July 25, 1925; memo William C. Hogg to Hugh Potter, May 18, 1926, 2J363, Homewoods folder, WHP, CAH; Hare and Hare Collection, RGO26, folder 16, HMRC, HPL.
for the Hoggs, began his long collaboration with Ima when the two created a stucco house on Chevy Chase that had been inspired by New Orleans' Spanish creole Absinthe House. With its iron grillwork, arched openings, and pale apricot color, the house seemed perfect for Houston's muggy climate. Staub always insisted that Ima invented the term "Latin Colonial" to describe the eclectic style she considered an indigenous expression of historic American domestic architecture that synthesized Mediterranean traditions with contemporary home requirements.

Despite the prestige of the architects, homes and lots sold slowly, and the corporation tried other approaches. From 1926 to 1932 the corporation employed Charles W. Oliver as project architect and in August 1927 hired Henry Hutchinson to landscape common areas and advise homeowners. Potter and Mike encouraged buyers to use in-house staff and assisted home buyers with financial arrangements. Like its carefully studied prototypes, River Oaks was separated from surrounding commercial zones by entry gateways and perimeter planting. A broad entry boulevard led travelers from commercial zone to country club retreat, while curving streets off the main thoroughfares drew residents into an identifiable community harmonized by uniform landscape design that suggested a rural escape from city travails. The corporation also laid utility conduits underground, paved roads and sidewalks, installed street lights and signs, and planted trees and shrubs. Detailed restrictions protected investors and prescribed the style, set-back, and minimum cost of construction block by block in a harmonious, overall design developed in 1924. Because the corporation struggled to compete with South End development in the 1920s and with a Depression economy in the
1930s, River Oaks grew slowly. The corporation opened twenty plats over a twenty-five-year period (1924–1947). To encourage a family "way of life" the corporation provided maintenance assistance and encouraged residents to participate in country club, garden club, and Forum of Civics lectures and activities. Neighborhood parks, home owner newsletters, and club membership nurtured community spirit.  

Houstonians, like most Americans, were susceptible to the blandishments of well-orchestrated advertising campaigns, and River Oaks' backers produced masterful propaganda as they worked to create a community identity for their enterprise. Heralded one year after inception as "one more evidence of the surging forces which are lifting Houston to a greater place among the cities of the nation," advertising copy implied that Houston has become "more majestically equipped in the competitive field of commerce and industry" because of this "country club community of homes." High-flown language describing a "panorama of marching green acres, a vista of alluring homesites," and practical descriptions detailing the natural gas mains to every homesite and the only express bus service in the city are mingled in pamphlets and essays that fashion a creation myth of this "major work of civic development." Other brochures proclaimed "It is Good for Any City to have its River Oaks" or admonished buyers to "Build Your Home in a Great Open Garden." Will and Potter carried on extensive correspondence about sales strategy and employed professionals to test market ideas. To promote sales, the

177 Hutchinson came from a family of gardeners and had been trained at Kew Gardens, London, and the Royal Botanical Gardens, Berlin. For ten years he had been practicing in Oklahoma City. Correspondence, 2J303, folder 1, WHP, CAH.
178 See "Living in River Oaks," pamphlet, for history of development, HMRC, HPL.
179 Flyer, in 2J303, folder 1, WHP, CAH.
180 Hogg Brothers, "Our Story of River Oaks, Chapter II, 1926," in River Oaks Collection, MSS12, Box 1, HMRC, HPL, and in 2J303, folder 1, WHP, CAH.
181 Brochures, 2J303, folder 1, WHP, CAH.
partners tried direct mail appeals, pre-development showings of new plats, invitation-only
tours of model homes, and a steady barrage of newspaper and magazine spots.\textsuperscript{182}

When Don Riddle joined the corporation as publicity director, the sales program
became a carefully crafted campaign to build a strong image of River Oaks as a "way of
living" not just a place to live. Advertising campaign word choices reflected Hogg
family values about the elements necessary to build a healthy community, and
correspondence lays bare Will's attentive scrutiny of each campaign brochure. On
romantic curving streets shaded by indigenous river oaks and magnolias, publicists
claimed, country place homes harbored men and women who exuded an aura of leisure,
athletics, gentility, and community. In River Oaks families could buy "homes for all
time," not lots, and be assured of contentment, permanence, and security.\textsuperscript{183} To
strengthen the myth of River Oaks as a secure community rooted in long-standing
tradition, the corporation ran a series of advertisements on the back cover of \textit{Civics for
Houston}, which linked the development to stories of the "hardy pioneers" and civic-
minded settlers who blessed cosmopolitan Houston.\textsuperscript{184} As the Great Depression set in,
Riddle began a series that described life in River Oaks — a father reading to his children,
a mother serving tea — and imagined a place that combined the "charms of country life"
and "city conveniences in a great protected area." Most important, in River Oaks
individuals could choose architectural styles that reflected personal tastes, tied buyers to

\textsuperscript{182} See for example, memo from H. Lyman Armes (marketing expert from Boston), May 5, 1925, and five-
page confidential memo from Hugh Potter to William C. Hogg, Oct. 23, 1925, reviewing advertising
strategies and critiquing Armes's work. This memo and other correspondence suggest Will took an active
interest in advertising campaigns and copy, not always to Potter's satisfaction.
\textsuperscript{183} Don Riddle, "River Oaks: A Pictorial Presentation of Houston's Residential Park," pamphlet published
by the River Oaks Corporation, n.d., n. p., River Oaks Collection, HMRC, HPL.
\textsuperscript{184} See for example the March issue which shows the "Laura" landing at the foot of Main Street, or the
April issue which ties River Oaks's civic mission to frontier settlement, or the October issue, which claims
long-standing historic traditions, and provided "harmony without monotony." Built to withstand the test of time, River Oaks purchases would be a buffer against depression financial fluctuations as well. In River Oaks's domain of beautiful homes, individuals and families could find stability, safety, and beauty far from the bewildering change and frenetic pace of a modern industrial city.

As part of his scheme for the West End, Will lobbied for paved roads leading west out of downtown and worked to develop parklands along Buffalo Drive (now Allen Parkway). He also prodded municipal authorities and private landholders to develop Kirby Drive as a tree-shaded, esplanade boulevard from Shepherd Drive to Brays Bayou, thereby connecting Buffalo and Brays Bayous to complete the plan Comey and Kessler had long advocated. Will's approach to the Kirby Drive problems typifies his civic style. In May 1924 Will just happened to be "passing" John H. Kirby's property and noticed development activity south of River Oaks. He suggested that Kirby work with the Hoggs to promote and build a drive one hundred feet across and bordered by double rows of trees on each side from the Kirby estate on Bellaire Boulevard through River Oaks to Buffalo Drive. Will and Hugh Potter then engaged in extensive correspondence with County Judge Chester Bryan, Mayor Holcombe, Houston City Engineer McVea, West University Place city engineer J. H. Rafferty, and property owners along the proposed route to secure public and private funding to develop the right-of-way. Describing himself as "more or less an intermediary," Will reminded the mayor in October 1927 that he and his partners had "put Kirby Drive through River Oaks from San Felipe to Buffalo

Houston of 1928 is as lovely and natural but "much more comfortable" than Houston of Indian legend and Spanish romance.
185 Houston Gargoyle, back covers of Jan. 26, 1930, June 1, 1930, Feb. 8, 1931, and June 14, 1931.
186 Ibid., back covers, October 4, 21, 1931.
Drive at a very heavy expense as a part of our conception of what proper planning of that property . . . should be." In March 1928, nearly four years after his initial approach to Kirby, Will announced all parties had agreed to cooperate, and Kirby Drive became the major north-south corridor between the incorporated suburb of Bellaire and downtown Houston.\(^{187}\) While advising the city on park and planning initiatives, Herbert Hare also designed Buffalo Drive (now Allen Parkway) along Buffalo Bayou from downtown to River Oaks. Begun late in 1925, by late 1926, the Parkway allowed River Oaks residents to motor downtown along its scenic byway in ten minutes.\(^{188}\)

River Oaks's serene, protected, park-like idyll had a price. Although Will, Mike, and Hugh Potter could imagine a beautiful built environment that would attract business to and earn praise for their great American city, they could not envision inviting everyone to share in this Edenic way of life. Clearly River Oaks was intended to be a community of like-minded people who shared standards of taste and compatible views about the structure of society. Deed restrictions specified that African Americans were welcome only in the servants quarters over the garage.\(^{189}\) The "gentlemen's agreement" that permeated real estate circles before World War II and barred Jews from "exclusive" neighborhoods was upheld in River Oaks with no recorded opposition from Hogg family members. Although a few prominent Jewish business leaders were granted admission, wealthy Jews created their own restrictive enclave around Riverside Terrace and avoided controversy. Will's wish to preserve Buffalo Bayou and its banks as a nature preserve is

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\(^{187}\) William C. Hogg to Oscar Holcombe, October 27, 1927, Oscar Holcombe Papers microfiche, MSS 20, Box 2, folder 5, Kirby Drive Improvements, May 1, 1924–Aug. 1, 1928, HMRC, HPL. All other information about the Kirby Drive developments from this file.

\(^{188}\) Advertisement, River Oaks Corporation, rear cover, *Houston Gargoyle*, June 1, 1930; Hare and Hare Collection, HMRC, HPL.

\(^{189}\) Reservations, Covenants and Restrictions in River Oaks Addition, Dec. 31, 1937 ed., #9, p. 4, in author's possession.
laudable, and his lobbying to construct attractive and safe corridors from River Oaks to downtown made good business sense. His failure to accommodate poor residents of the intervening low-income neighborhood with appropriate housing alternatives suggests the limits of his vision. Sufficient evidence exists to support the Hoggs' assertion that harmony, security, and compatibility rather than commercial advantage motivated their projects, but in the hands of enthusiasts less scrupulous than the Hoggs, harmony could quickly become conformity, security could breed exclusion, and compatibility could seem like prejudice.¹⁹⁰

In the 1910s and 1920s a vision of what Houston could become was given form in two master plans, and the possibility of this City Beautiful and Functional remains lodged in memory today. This vision was articulated most clearly by the Hogg family, who hoped to create a great American city built on past triumphs, ready for future greatness, and heir to traditions from across the nation. Like sister southern cities, their ideal Houston would offer a gracious, welcoming, leisurely lifestyle in homes nestled on wide tree-shaded streets not far from parks and nature preserves. Like commercial northern emporia, Houston would be headquarters for a vibrant, expanding manufacturing sector that traded in world markets. Like Chicago and Kansas City, Houston would adopt practical mid-western community values to organize space efficiently. Like romanticized southwestern towns, Houston would harmonize its civic spaces by adapting a "Mediterranean" mix of Spanish, Italianate, and Byzantine features to suggest links with a cultured, exotic, ancient past. The Hoggs' city was to be organized

¹⁹⁰ For example, Will became mired in misunderstanding when he tried to get the tuberculosis hospital relocated away from Buffalo Bayou and the route to River Oaks. Although he cited health and convenience arguments, critics claimed his motives were self-serving. A favorite charity of powerful oil families, the hospital remained on the bluff above the bayou for many years. See correspondence with Mrs.
on businesslike principles of efficiency and function; it was to adopt an on-going planning process legitimized by zoning laws and building codes; it was to secure individual or corporate investment by separating residential, commercial, and industrial functions; and it was to link distinct urban areas by major circulation arteries, scenic boulevards, and local traffic corridors. For the Hoggs, beauty was paramount, and their Houston would nurture bayou preserves, neighborhood and forest parks, and homeowner gardening projects. Most important, the Hoggs' Houston would be a community of homes. These havens of rest and arks of safety would be grouped in well-planned, self-sufficient residential developments. Whether modest Norhill or magnificent Homewoods, these residential parks would be protected from commerce by restrictions and homeowners associations and would be graced by every urban amenity. Through education and example, the Hoggs believed they could sway public opinion to imagine the same urban ideal.

Their hopes were only partially realized. Arthur Comey and Herbert Hare quantified and explained requirements of a great city; George Hermann, the Hoggs, and Peggy MacGregor set a standard for park development; Joseph Cullinan, James Baker, Hugh Potter, the Hoggs, and a handful of far-sighted builders placed community issues above commercial gain. While efforts to order the disorder of human behavior, to balance individual ambition and community good, and to retain beauty in periods of rapid transition permeate United States history, they met strong resistance in Houston. What was beauty to some became elitism, inconvenience, or social control to others. What seemed like a rational plan to facilitate growth became a stodgy restraint on personal

James L. Autry and clippings form Houston Chronicle Nov. 23, Dec. 28, 1927, in 2J299, City Hall folder, WHP, CAH.
freedom and individual initiative. Even visionaries like Will Hogg found it difficult to move beyond personal taste and business interest; even he failed to secure public right-of-way along the bayous that ultimately made his residential projects successful. Faced with a tradition of weak government and a belief that private rather than public initiatives would make Houston a great city, Houstonians fell prey to the propagandists of growth and the grip of speculators. The Hoggs themselves turned from organizing Houston’s environment to providing social service stability and cultural meaning for its residents.
3. A Wholesome Life for All Houstonians

I have always held a conviction that the greatest good could come from a Mental Health Program which was designed to prevent and allay some of the unhappy conditions which exist all around us. . . . Anything that contributes to a wholesome life is mental health.

Ima Hogg, 1958, 1967

Spring evenings in 1892 found Kezia Payne DePelchin, then sixty-four, trudging along dusty lanes and through piney woods between her modest lodgings in Houston and the Bayland Orphans Home in Woodland Heights, where she served as matron to Houston's abandoned boys and girls. 3 One evening after a long walk to save the nickel streetcar fare, DePelchin discovered three homeless toddlers on her porch. Unable to turn them away, or take them to Bayland, she and some friends borrowed furniture and a cottage to offer temporary care. 4 Revered as Houston's pioneer teacher, first city nurse, and sympathetic social worker, Kezia Payne DePelchin already spent every penny she earned helping others. Legend records that when relatives asked how she would finance a new orphans' home, DePelchin replied she was "entirely dependent on my faith in God and the good people of Houston." 5 So was born in the last months of her life Faith Home to "care for friendless children." DePelchin's faith that somehow God and his minions on

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2 Ima Hogg to Robert Sutherland, Jan. 5, 1958, letter, MAI9/U1, folder 3; Ima Hogg to Robert Sutherland, interview, May 10, 13, 1967, MAI9/U1, folder 12, HFR, CAH.
3 Originally founded to house children of Confederate veterans, the home was used forty years later to serve "all destitute white orphan children" of the area. Bylaws in program for recital in support of Bayland Orphans' Home Furniture Fund, Jan. 29, 1916, Scrapbook 3, Ima Hogg Symphony Programs Collection, 1900-1978, University of Houston, Special Collections (IHPC, UH).
4 Harold J. Matthews, Candle by Night: The Story of the Life and Times of Kezia Payne DePelchin: Texas Pioneer Teacher, Social Worker and Nurse (Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc., Publishers, 1942), 224-27, says she found 3 children; Federation of Women's Clubs, The Key to the City of Houston (Houston: State Printing Company, 1908), 55, records two waifs deposited on the doorstep. Key to the City in Estelle Sharp Papers (1883-1965), Box 7, folder 2, WRC, RU.
5 Matthews, Candle by Night, 226.
Earth would provide funds and caregivers to protect deserted or orphaned children was rewarded when Ruth (Mrs. T. W.) House, cooperating with Houston Post publicists, called one hundred privileged women together at Shearn Methodist Church to discuss ways to realize her dear friend's dream. As so often happened during these years, Captain James A. Baker was asked to assist the project by preparing a charter of incorporation. Patrons, including a "male auxiliary" of six advisers under Baker's leadership, raised money for two "permanent" homes that were built in 1893 and 1898 on property at Chenevert and Pierce. When need outran space in 1912, Kezia DePelchin's friend, the philanthropist Harriet Levy, persuaded her brothers Abe and Haskell to make a joint donation of five lots at 2710 Albany for a new facility. The Rev. Peter Gray Sears, rector of Christ Church (Episcopal), organized a committee and raised $55,000 to build a graceful Italianate villa designed by nationally acclaimed St. Louis architects John L. Mauran and Ernest J. Russell. Constructed of concrete, steel, and brick, this sturdy refuge opened in spring 1913 and sheltered as many as seventy-two children at a time over the next twenty-five years. By 1926 DePelchin Faith Home had expanded its services to include general child care, and in 1929, as the Children's Bureau Association, the Home began to assist all children who needed protection with programs developed by trained professionals. For eleven decades the DePelchin Children's Center has been a favorite charity of Houston's elite, its mission to protect defenseless children and repair

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6 Ibid., 231; Monit Cheung, Jennifer Levit, Carole R. Linseisen, "Children's Services in Houston: The First One Hundred Years of DePelchin Children's Center," Feb. 20, 1996, p. 10, 59-page pamphlet provided to author by DePelchin Children's Center.


the family fabric remaining constant as it developed new programs to meet changing needs.

*Social Responsibility in Houston, 1880–1918*

Houston's skyline was only one topic hotly contested by civic activists in the 1910s and 1920s. If urban vistas were to be punctuated by handsome structures and softened by lush greenspaces to proclaim the City Beautiful and Functional, what should be done for the residents of this great American experiment? How could their lives be improved? Would parks, model neighborhoods, and comprehensive plans for the built environment be sufficient if fellow citizens did not possess the necessary tools to lead happy, productive lives? Made uneasy by the unintended consequences of explosive industrial and urban growth, progressive Houstonians, usually colleagues and confidants of Will, Ima, and Mike Hogg, came to believe that all citizens should have access to social service, educational, and cultural resources that would empower them to realize their potential as individuals and participate responsibly in a great democracy. Imbued with serious moral purpose and profound optimism, these progressives began to see that solutions to social, economic, and health questions were inexorably entwined; epidemics, suffering, and low expectations among some would inevitably impinge on the health, prosperity, and dreams of all. These humanitarian activists, even as they flourished, did not fail to recognize that, like every bustling, industrializing city, Houston sheltered its share of the distressed and the dispossessed. They did not want Houston to be dismissed as just another New South city begrimed by dismal mills, peopled by down-trodden laborers driven from the land, and threatened by narrow-minded burghers who feared
elites, visionaries, and intellectuals and were susceptible to retrograde Red Scares and hooded Klansmen.

The path to empowerment was not clear to the Hoggs and their friends in the decades before the Great Depression of the 1930s. Most Houstonians believed in individual initiative, private problem-solving, and weak local government. Almost no one advocated meddling by outsiders, whether they were New York capitalists or Washington regulators. Personal charitable acts had long succored the less fortunate with almost no local government oversight or support. While assessed valuations rose 150 percent between 1916 and 1927, city appropriations to Houston's nascent Department of Public Welfare increased only 22 1/2 percent.9 However, as the city grew, leaders began to see that community-wide problems like modern sanitation, epidemic control, mass transportation, and low-income housing demanded cooperative solutions to realize dreams of economic progress, responsible democracy, and a humane society. Scholars have noted, sometimes with suspicion, the interlocking relationships among men and women who amassed Houston's first fortunes, managed the city's government, and orchestrated the community's social and cultural life. Ima Hogg, a more compassionate analyst, is reputed to have remarked that the first people in Houston to become rich were "nice" and "set a pattern" by giving money to schools, hospitals, charities, parks, libraries, and the arts.10 Rosters of civic and service organizations from the 1910s and 1920s confirm that Houston's turn-of-the-century prosperity had fostered a forceful circle of forward-looking men and women who were as willing to confront urban problems as

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9 *Houston Gargoyle*, Oct. 16, 1928, p. 12. Valuations rose from $131,145,690 to $279,504,515 between 1916 and 1927; welfare appropriations climbed from $40,844.06 to $49,672.64 during the same period.
they were to imagine an imposing metropolis. During those decades Houstonians established numerous privately funded social service institutions and reassessed municipal responsibility for the public's well being.

Historians have emphasized the dual character of America's Progressive movement. Men, these scholars assert, have sought social control through government regulation and expert management; women have struggled for social justice by extending the concerns of family and home into the greater community. Certainly an argument can be made that Houstonians have followed this bifurcated path: business men did support a reformed municipal government and did seek state and federal regulation of transportation and commercial activity when it favored local growth; women were the first to demand help for the poor and to suggest that books, music, and art enjoyed by a privileged few should be made available to all in public institutions. ¹¹ This gender-specific pattern can only be followed so far, however, for the behavior of Houston's leadership as a whole and the Hogg family in particular suggests a more complex model of civic activism. Both the consolidated men's Chamber of Commerce and the federated women's study groups focused attention on the quality of life offered in their prosperous city. In the 1910s Will and Mike used their business connections to support social service institutions and women's suffrage, while Ima turned her attention to professional development and the arts. By the 1920s the siblings had begun to see that all their civic enterprises provided "cultural enrichment and a stabilizing influence in the family life" of Houstonians. They also realized that charitable acts to palliate suffering were not enough

to dislodge social injustice and build a great city. Before individuals could function responsibly in a democratic society, they must, the Hoggs came to believe, enjoy sufficient emotional stability to overcome frustrations inherent in the harsh realities of daily life. Well-planned communities must, therefore, support service organizations that empowered citizens to lead "wholesome" lives. Anxious to discover underlying causes of the "unhappy conditions which exist all around us," the Hoggs in the late 1920s and 1930s turned their attention to the poorly understood arena of mental health care and developed the belief that positive mental health was as important as physical well being.

While projecting a booster spirit of growth and opportunity in the years before World War I, Houston unquestionably harbored thousands who needed assistance to manage daily struggles. In the Segundo Barrio around Rusk Elementary School, hundreds of Mexicans lived in cheaply constructed shacks or abandoned boxcars with access only to communal outdoor faucets. Children ran barefoot, illiteracy soared to 75 percent, delinquent boys threatened neighborhood stability, and unsympathetic school authorities insisted bewildered children speak only English. Southern custom and Jim Crow legislation were fencing African Americans into pockets of poverty where shabby wood-frame schools, inadequate "Negro" hospital wards, and deficient municipal services isolated the "invisible" community and perpetuated second-class status despite a small but prosperous African-American middle class and decent jobs in railroad yards and on ship channel docks. European immigrants found a warmer welcome but still required

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help to find housing and jobs or transportation to relatives and friends in surrounding agricultural areas.

Physicians and prominent citizens who comprised the city-sanctioned Board of Health (1866) had long been unable to persuade municipal authorities to assume responsibility for sanitary and health conditions. An under-funded small county/city hospital, originally organized in October 1837 with a $1,000 grant from the Texas Congress, and three denominational infirmaries — St. Joseph's Catholic hospital, the Baptist Sanitarium, and the Heights Christian Sanitarium — furnished a few "charity" beds, but a medical facility catering to all regardless of financial status or religious affiliation remained a "dream" that was only partially answered when the Houston Anti-Tuberculosis League opened a free clinic and nursing service in 1911.\textsuperscript{14} Houston's churchwomen were the first to recognize that slum areas existed in white, African-American, and Mexican neighborhoods, and they provided the town's few social services in 1900 when the Christ Church (Episcopal) Ladies Parish Association, the First Presbyterian Ladies Association, Shearn Methodist Church Women, and the Young Men's Christian Association Ladies Auxiliary are listed in city directories as primary dispensers of aid to widows, orphans, and the indigent. The Christ Church Ladies' Parish Association aided friendless and homeless old women at its Sheltering Arms facility founded in 1893 and opened in 1896. The Florence Crittenden Rescue Home (founded 1896) and St. Anthony's Home provided asylum to destitute mothers, infants, and elderly

\textsuperscript{14} Matthews, \textit{Candle by Night}, 183-85. The county and city each employed a physician, but for much of her career DePelchin was the only publicly supported nurse in the district. See Judy King, \textit{Except the Lord Build . . .: The Sesquicentennial History of First Presbyterian Church, Houston, Texas (1839–1989)} (Houston: The Church, 1989), 90-91. In 1929 the Ladies Association agreed to finance a wing for the
citizens, but leading activists realized palliative charitable organizations, while necessary, did not address root causes of poverty, illness, and loneliness. Nor did they help families find temporary counseling to overcome minor or short-term difficulties.

New approaches were needed to help others help themselves. Social reformers first addressed needs of hard-working newcomers. Wesley Home, staffed by Methodist volunteers, provided housing and recreation for self-supporting single women and foreigners who aspired to stable middle-class life. After 1885 the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) united Houston's major churches and the city's civic leaders to support similar facilities for young men.\textsuperscript{15} In 1907 volunteers founded the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) to provide recreation, church services, and housing for respectable businesswomen. That year civic activists also began to attack root causes of poverty and disaffection. Volunteers organized the Star of Hope Mission to feed the indigent and enable the "dregs of manhood, the reckless and the weak" to find their bearings and "face life." In its first year the Mission provided 1800 meals, 1620 baths, and 600 jobs.

In 1907, Alice Graham (Mrs. James A.) Baker decided to attack root causes of social problems. She invited several socially prominent friends to establish the Houston Settlement Association and provide basic medical care, day care and kindergarten programs, recreation for youth, and training for young women in home economics and practical crafts. In the years that followed, Mrs. Baker spearheaded efforts to develop Rusk Settlement, housed "up above the river, with a clear view of the busy workaday life

\footnote{Houston Tuberculosis Hospital and asked Alice Baker to organize the effort, which raised over $20,000 for 24 beds, treatment rooms, and furnishings.\textsuperscript{15} Key to the City lists supporters William D. Cleveland Jr., I. S. Myer, J. C. Hutcheson Jr., James A. Baker, and S. F. Carter.}
of Houston" in the Rusk Elementary School and organized to assist Jewish and Mexican immigrants living near the noisome cotton mills of the second ward. Her Settlement Association staffed North Side Settlement for white residents and supported Bethlehem Settlement, founded by Jennie Belle Murphy Covington for African-American citizens in 1917. While still largely palliative, these "experimental effort[s] to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems . . . engendered by the modern conditions of life in a great city" recognized that many working families could not afford basic social and medical services and lacked the skills needed to succeed in an urban, industrial work environment.

Expanding social services demanded coordination and new fund-raising methods. Although generous, few Houstonians welcomed repeated calls on their purses; most wanted efficiency and deplored overlapping programs or poorly managed organizations. In a May 1904 letter to potential donors, Mrs. E. N. Gray expressed the era's growing consensus that "ordinary methods of individual and indiscriminate giving increases pauperism and crime and degrades rather than encourages self respect and self support."

After 1910 the Chamber of Commerce Charities Endorsement Committee protected

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16 Audrey Y. Crawford, "'To protect, to feed, and to give momentum to every effort,': African American Clubwomen in Houston, 1880–1910," The Houston Review of History and Culture, 1 (Fall 2003), 16. Mrs. Covington lived at the corner of Dowling and Hadley in the Third Ward, was married to Benjamin Covington, a leading African-American physician, and was a prominent clubwoman from 1903 through the 1950s.

17 Quote in Corrine Fonde (Houston's first municipal social worker), "Rusk School, First Social Center," Houston Daily Post, Aug. 6, 1916, p. 27, for a detailed description of work at Rusk Settlement. Bethlehem Settlement is often called Colored Settlement in contemporary reports. Jane Addams's Hull House in Chicago stands as the quintessential Progressive-era settlement from the 1880s through the 1930s. Men and women of means and education "settled" in buildings in underserved immigrant or slum neighborhoods and attempted to "improve" conditions through example, classes, and direct assistance. The residents and their programs were supported by private philanthropic dollars. In Houston, volunteers from women's clubs and church groups met at non-residential settlements, each volunteer serving one day a week, and undertook a variety of helping, health-care, and educational programs. See also, King, Except the Lord Build, 76-7, for information about Alice Baker. The Rusk Settlement continued to be a popular subject for
donors by issuing cards to charitable organizations that met Chamber criteria. Women also took leadership roles in charitable fund raising. When the "exceptionally pretty and forceful young" Estelle Boughton Sharp accompanied her brilliant inventor husband Walter Benona Sharp to Houston in 1904, the city gained a champion of social welfare reform whose active civic career closed only with her death in 1965 at the wise age of 92.19 While her husband, president of Producers Oil Company, worked with Joseph Cullinan and Will Hogg on numerous oil deals, invented the famous Rock bit and other tools that revolutionized oil drilling, and co-founded the Sharp-Hughes Tool Company, Estelle turned her attention to social service work. She felt inadequate to provide hands-on assistance but excelled at administrative and fund-raising tasks. Houston friends knew she had participated in Dallas's kindergarten movement and asked her to help them develop United Charities, founded in February 1904 by eleven women to "take charge of the general charity work of the community . . . aid the worthy poor, and check the impositions of the unworthy."20 Although she demurred at first because a "stranger" to Houston, Estelle soon became a leading spokeswoman and "gracious lady of social welfare," served as president of United Charities several times between 1907 and 1914, and oversaw the group's interaction with the Houston Foundation in the 1910s, its transition to the Community Chest in the 1920s, and its incorporation in the United Fund and Community Council in the 1950s. A woman of strong opinions, Estelle Sharp forcefully urged United Charities to change its name to the Social Service Federation and

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18 Sharp Papers, taped interview, WRC, RU; Key to the City, 63 (quote)
19 Julia Cameron Montgomery, Houston as a Setting of the Jewel: The Rice Institute, 1913 (Houston: Julia Cameron Montgomery, 1913), 44; quote, James L. Autry to Estelle Sharp, Dec. 24, 1910, letter, Estelle Sharp Papers, Box 5, folder 3, WRC, RU. Autry, a business associate of Walter Sharp, Will Hogg, and Joseph Cullinan, praised Estelle's ability to penetrate "into the very inner fastnesses" to raise money.
broaden its mission in 1912 so it could more effectively attack fundamental causes of the problems that marred Houston's social fabric and better develop the most modern principles of charity work.\textsuperscript{21}

\textit{Will's Social Activism, 1909–1918}

It is possible that Estelle Sharp, a compassionate woman who established a fund "to benefit the Negro population of Houston" and believed with "courageous fearlessness" that communities must serve "those who falter along life's pathway," was largely responsible for drawing Joseph Cullinan and Will Hogg into social service work.\textsuperscript{22} The three families were very close. When Walter Sharp died tragically in 1912 at age 42, Hogg and Cullinan shared executor duties with the widowed mother of two boys; Will mentored the boys' progress; Estelle traveled with Ima during her illness in the 1920s and again in the 1930s. Joe Cullinan's daughter Nina remembered a slender, tall woman of great integrity who dressed carefully, "seemed so perfect," was warm but controlled, and "never stopped working for others despite the travail of old age" — a "paragon of someone who gave back to her community."\textsuperscript{23}

Contemporary correspondence and news accounts frequently recognized Will's generosity, integrity, and devotion to community. Historians are challenged to chronicle this activism because many gifts were made anonymously and because Will frequently

\textsuperscript{20} Key to the City, 63.
\textsuperscript{21} "Gracious lady" in Resolution, Jan. 23, 1957, Box 6, folder 6; Houston Chronicle, July 13, 1912, clipping, in Box 5, folder 14, Sharp Papers, WRC, RU. United Charities was reorganized in four departments: Constructive Relief, Health and Hygiene, Children's, and the Employment Bureau.
\textsuperscript{22} "Negro fund" in unsigned [Estate of W. B. Sharp stationery] to Joseph L. Zaneffsky, Executive Secretary Community Council, undated draft, Box 6, folder 7, WRC, RU; other quotes and adjectives taken from "A Resolution" made by the Board of Directors of the Community Council naming Mrs. Sharp Honorary Life Member, Jan. 18, 1957, Box 6, folder 6, Sharp Papers, WRC, RU.
\textsuperscript{23} Nina Cullinan, interview with Walter L. Buenger and Ruth Winterside, May 11, 1978, WRC, RU.
shunned ceremonies honoring his contributions. Like Estelle Sharp, Will supported organizations that promoted self help, served on the Houston Foundation board before World War I, and advocated Community Chest development in the 1920s. Will quickly established his reputation as a soft-hearted but determined fundraiser with a grand imagination and an inexhaustible supply of blue books — those blank-paged books bound in blue leather that Will carried with him when he solicited friends for worthy civic causes. In 1909 he persuaded one hundred men to purchase second mortgage bonds to secure Houston Country Club property, and in 1913 he suggested Estelle Sharp ask these bondholders to donate their bonds to the Social Service Federation or YWCA fund drives, a novel transfer of title often employed by the Hoggs, who later moved large blocks of stock to various nonprofit institutions. In September 1914 Will and two other Boy Scout supporters persuaded manufacturing corporations to participate in an Industrial Survey and host three hundred boys on visits to industrial plants throughout the city — at little cost but much public good will to the participants. When YWCA supporters decided they needed a permanent facility comparable to the well-equipped YMCA, they turned to Will and Mike to spearhead a fund-raising blitz in 1919–1920. Will pulled out a famous blue book, and the brothers persuaded friends to pledge $500,000 "as a gift of gratitude... to the splendid spirit of service of the women of Houston."

Ima recalls that Will responded to a request to assist the "little newsboys, waifs, on the streets of Houston" by providing a newsboy's home and club and donating

24 Accounts of Will's social service donations are spotty. A list of donations made in 1921 specifies $19,370 given to fourteen social service agencies, 2J331, WHP, CAH.
25 Will also served as First Vice President of the local Boy Scouts of America and as finance chairman and in other capacities, 1914–1917. 2J296, Boy Scouts of America file, WHP, CAH.
maintenance support "as always, anonymously." Archival records reveal that Miss E. Ferdinand (Ferdie) Trichelle, co-publisher of the Railroad Echo for area railroad workers, established the Emma R. Newsboys Home for orphaned and homeless boys in 1910 to honor her mother Emma R. Gilbreath. In 1913 Mayor Ben Campbell gave Trichelle the old Dow School, which was taken down so the materials could be reused to build a "splendid, up-to-date, well arranged" frame structure at 1600 Washington, for use as a headquarters home for about thirty homeless boys and a clubhouse for about four hundred neglected youth. About 150 boys, ages 6 to 16, who could not attend public school, received on-site manual training and other lessons so they could "improve themselves." Joseph Cullinan served on the board from 1915 to 1919 and suggested Will and Estelle Sharp as potential donors. The two prospects visited the facility on November 19, 1915, and urged director Trichelle to apply to the Houston Foundation for funds. By November 27, 1915, Cullinan, Hogg, and Trichelle had formed a committee to create a financial plan and raise endowment funds, and by January 1916 Will had mailed two hundred letters cosigned by the committee explaining how the home was founded "to harbor and guide homeless, neglected, and destitute" boys, prevent them from becoming criminals, teach them trades and good citizenship, and prepare them for

26 Blue book inscription in John Avery Lomax Papers, 3D205, folder 2.
27 Hogg Foundation Annual Report, 1972, MA19/U25, HFR, CAH. Archival records suggest that Will was approached, at Joseph Cullinan's suggestion, after the organization had been functioning for several years. It is possible that Will gave a substantial sum to renovate the home, and it is probable that he made numerous anonymous donations over the years. The William C. Hogg Papers do not clarify his participation. See 2J346, folder 4, WHP, CAH; Joseph Cullinan Papers, MSS 69, Box 18, HMRC, HPL.
29 William C. Hogg to Joseph S. Cullinan, Nov. 19, 1915, letter, Box 18, folder 1, Cullinan Papers, HMRC, HPL.
life in a better world. Cullinan sponsored a baseball team in 1915 and sent daughter Nina and a friend to arrange Christmas dinner for 259 newsboys and their mothers. Will helped the boys organize a "Newsboys Bank and Trust Company" savings account and told the young man in charge to interview cashiers at Lumberman's National Bank about an account. Despite Will's "guiding influence and example" and the financial support of important civic leaders, the Newsboys Home and Club faltered financially during World War I, was found to be "dilapidated" and "untidy" by Houston Foundation inspectors in December 1918, and closed its doors in March 1919.

Probably Will made his most lasting contribution to pre–World War I social service work through his brief tenure with the Houston Foundation, the city's first attempt to address social issues systematically and assume some responsibility for the fate of its less privileged citizens. Certainly the lessons he learned serving the foundation and its operating arm, the Social Service Bureau, impressed Ima and Mike when they began organizing the Hogg Foundation in the 1930s. The Houston Foundation, or Department of Public Trusts, was created by city ordinance March 22, 1915, to "investigate charities dependent upon public appeal or general solicitation for support," to encourage formation

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30 Letters, Emma R. Newsboys Association, Jan. 20, 1915, ibid. Will's soft-hearted affection for the newsboys was the basis for a poignant John Lomax tale. One Christmas at the Claridge Hotel, New York City, Will received a box of neckties in paper "spotted with smudgy fingerprints" from the "damned little rascals" and was overcome by tears. John Avery Lomax, Will Hogg, Texan (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1956; originally published in Atlantic Monthly, 1940), 41-42; notes in 3D205, folder 2, John Avery Lomax Family Papers, CAH.

31 John Ross to William C. Hogg, William C. Hogg to John Ross, Mar. 29, 1917, letters, 2J346, folder 2, WHP, CAH.

32 William C. Hogg to Joseph S. Cullinan, Mar. 5, 1919, letter, 2J346, folder 2, WHP, CAH. Sparse evidence suggests some sort of row occurred during the war years. Cullinan left the board, and Miss Trichelle resigned. City appropriations to a Newsboys' Club in 1927 indicate that the club re-formed after the war as part of the YMCA, but the Community Chest did not support an independent newsboy's club after World War I. In 1930 Ima contributed $15.00 to the YMCA Newsboys Club. 4W271, IHP, CAH. Houston Gargoyle, Oct. 16, 1928, p. 12; Community Chest, annual reports, Community Chest File, 1923–1931, HMC, HPL. Ferdie Trichelle operated a grocery in the Heights in 1920 and, with partner Alice Finfrock, formed an independent oil business that struck oil in 1922. See Anne Sloan, "Altering the Fine
of new private charities to "make life more worth living," and to "foster all worthy enterprises of a philanthropic nature." The foundation was authorized to expend city charity funds "wisely," receive benevolent bequests, investigate private charities, and endorse those that met standardized guidelines. Its seven-member volunteer board was also empowered to collect statistics relating to charities, living conditions, unemployment, and delinquency, and to oversee all activities to improve the city's quality of life. In 1915 philanthropic retailer Abe Levy was named president; R. E. Burt, subsequently chairman of the Welfare Finance Committee, was named first vice president; Estelle Sharp became second vice president; and Helena Holley, J. S. Rice, Thomas J. Donoghue, and Director F. J. Burkey completed the board. When Burkey resigned late in 1916, Will Hogg took his spot on the board. Scholars believe a bequest to the city of $200,000 from Judge E. P. Hill inspired the city to establish the Houston Foundation to administer his gift and to procure other donations. Founder of Houston Land & Trust Company, Hill urged passage of the ordinance establishing this mechanism to manage donated funds efficiently, and he executed his final testament April 21, 1915, a month after the ordinance was approved.

The public had begun to push reluctant commissioners to assume supervisory responsibility for social services, but funding municipal intervention to ameliorate living

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33 Bylaws of the Houston Foundation, 2J371, folder 1, WHP, CAH; Illustrated City Book of Houston containing the Annual Message of Ben Campbell, 1916, p. 541; The Community: A Review of Philanthropic Thought and Social Effort (May 1919), p. 1, in Box 5, folder 26, Sharp Papers, WRC, RU. Thomas Kelly, "Free Enterprise, Costly Relief: Charity in Houston, Texas, 1915–1937," The Houston Review: History and Culture of the Gulf Coast, 18 (1996), 39, says no money was budgeted for social spending until the Houston Foundation was founded in 1915. However, Campbell did turn over the Dow School to the Emma R. Newsboys Home and gave other "in-kind" assistance to private agencies. Early bylaws stated that no more than three women could serve on the board of the Houston Foundation in any given year and stipulated two-year terms. Box 5, folder 14, Sharp Papers, WRC, RU. Lines of authority
conditions remained a problem for politicians loath to levy taxes. The Foundation seemed an ideal bridge from private donor to public institution; professionally trained staff would approve recipients and authorize expenditures of the meager municipal resources and the more munificent private-sector donations. The Foundation replaced United Charities and assumed that body's functions and much of its volunteer support. Houston Foundation committees changed names frequently, but in general work was divided into "departments." Martha Gano, a trained social worker, investigated charities and ran operations during Will's active participation. During its first year of operation (1916), the Foundation received $26,000 from the city and placed 514 workers in new jobs each month. The Foundation also created a Council of Social Agencies to coordinate all service agencies and worked with the Negro Social Service League to better understand African-American living conditions, unemployment, and delinquency. With Progressive paternalism typical of the era's enlightened southern whites, the Foundation that year "planned our negro work on exactly the same lines as the work among the white population," formed a joint white/black advisory committee, and created parallel white and black departments. African Americans were asked to raise $50 a month so the Foundation could hire an African-American nurse and relief worker. Although white civic leaders acknowledged African-American service institutions and ability to care for their own, requested donations from these citizens, and planned to allocate municipal resources to the minority community, no one thought to include African-American spokespeople in the decision-making apparatus. While eager to raise

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34 Missions endorsed in 1916: Star of Hope, Bayland Orphans Home, Young Woman's Co-Operative Home, YMCA, Baptist Sanitarium and Women's Auxiliary, Industrial Home and Day Nursery, Houston
living standards for all, white Progressives did not tamper with the social-political status quo.  

Will joined fellow subscribers Estelle Sharp ($5,000), Abe Levy ($2,000), and Jim West, John H. Kirby, and the First National Bank ($1,000 each) with his own gift of $1,000 to support the Texas School of Civics and Philanthropy, incorporated in September 1916 by Foundation members to train professional social workers and volunteers for public social service in voluntary, civic, and social agencies that addressed urban issues of the day. His first Houston Foundation committee assignment, not surprisingly, landed Will on Welfare Finance, and on February 17, 1917, he voted with the group to supplement meager city appropriations with a fund-raising campaign seeking $25,000 from the private sector. Institutions with strong community support — Faith Home, Texas School of Civics and Philanthropy, Star of Hope Mission, and Bayland Orphans Home — were told to "arrange their own finances." Will worked closely with Mayor Ben Campbell, his successor Mayor Joseph Jay Pastoriza, and county commissioners to overcome "howling" opposition and secure land for a county/city tuberculosis hospital at Buffalo Bayou and Shepherd's Dam road. When former Mayor Campbell declined to serve as chairman of the Social Service Bureau in May 1917, Will seriously considered the post. He made sure that finances for the Foundation and the

College, Colorado Western Home for Orphans and Ex-Slaves, and Houston Settlement Association. Box 5, folder 16, Sharp Papers, WRC, RU.  
35 See Crawford, "African American Clubwomen," 15-23, for analysis of Houston's female African-American efforts to provide community services through club, mothers' groups, and fraternal organizations.  
36 Box 5, folder 22, Sharp Papers, WRC, RU. The two-year course of lectures and lab work included local government, case work, infant and child welfare, settlements, leisure and library study, housing, sanitation and public health, delinquency and sex problems, immigrants, minorities, and legal problems.  
37 William C. Hogg to Mayor Ben Campbell, Feb. 15, 1917, County Judge Chester Bryan to William C. Hogg, Mar. 10, 1917, William C. Hogg to Mayor Joseph Jay Pastoriza and Judge Chester Bryan, May 8, 1917, letters, 2J338, folder 3, WHP, CAH. Ironically, Will later regretted this endorsement when he tried to prevent hospital and commercial construction at the site in the 1920s after he had begun to develop River Oaks just west of Shepherd's Dam.
tuberculosis hospital land purchase were secure and concluded he had not "let [his] impulses, good or bad, run away with [him]" before he accepted the job and retired from the Houston Foundation board in June.\textsuperscript{38}

Immediately, Will set to work raising money for the Social Service Bureau. By 1914 activists had recognized that the begging pleas of ladies collaring friends on "tag days" resulted in annoyed prospects and small donations insufficient to meet growing urban requirements. Fundraisers needed large donations from influential and increasingly wealthy businessmen, and Will's forceful methods set the pace. In a July solicitation letter Will explained the broad mission of the Social Service Bureau — any activity that enabled citizens to live productively. The bureau purported to oversee all activities of the Houston Settlement Association, the Anti-Tuberculosis League, the Harris County Humane Society, the Kindergarten Association, and the Playgrounds Association with a "corps of efficient trained workers" and volunteers. Bureau workers also attempted to staff settlement and social centers, day nurseries, and fresh air camps; taught home economics; provided anti-TB nursing and free clinics; addressed housing problems; inspected hospitals; monitored public playgrounds and kindergartens; made sanitation inspections; cared for homeless or neglected children and animals; and prosecuted cases of non-support, vagrancy, and lunacy. This enormous array of activities cost the city $3,000 per month — of which about $17,000 annually came from tax revenues. It is no wonder that Beulah Bussell, the bureau's chief administrator, reported exhaustion and resigned after Will left office. Will's tenure as chairman lasted only a few months. Anxious to serve the war effort, he anticipated being absent from Houston for at

\textsuperscript{38} Quote from William C. Hogg to Abe Levy, May 16, 1917, letter, 2J338, folder 3, WHP, CAH. Several other letters in May and June record his deliberations.
least six months in 1918 and ceded his job to activist Christ Church rector Peter Gray Sears. In 1918, when Abe Levy's three-year term as Houston Foundation chairman expired, former Mayor Ben Campbell accepted that post and clarified the Foundation's expanding role as arbiter of "everything that would assist in improving conditions" in the city from supervision of charities and philanthropies, to management of hospitals, to public education and war work. 39

City and County officials and private citizens struggled from 1915 to 1919 to allocate responsibility for assisting the indigent and disabled and improving quality of life for all citizens. While the public/private Houston Foundation asserted its grand mission to oversee all social service activity in the city and developed the Social Service Bureau to implement policy, it remained sorely underfunded and pitifully understaffed, sometimes employing no more than two or three professionally trained social workers. City officials failed to allocate sufficient resources to Houston Foundation operations, and donations proved inadequate to support all its programs in these years of transition away from private palliative charity toward proactive public/private efforts to ameliorate causes of poverty and social injustice. Reformers had expanded the meaning of a wholesome civic life but had not foreseen the costs of citywide access to health care, education, and infrastructure amenities. Private citizens wanted to control expenditures, and in the prewar years no municipal bureaucracy existed to challenge or supplant their involvement. Volunteer Houston Foundation board members were expected to devote hours to investigative and supervisory tasks while lobbying large taxpayers to pressure city officials for funds. By the fall of 1917, war-related problems dominated social

39 Solicitation letter; Martha Gano to Ben Campbell, President, Board of the Houston Foundation, July 13, 1918, letter, Box 5, folder 23; report of the Social Service Bureau, 1917, Box 5, folder 18, Sharp Papers,
service agendas, and Baker, Botts, Parker & Garwood partner Clarence Wharton, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce War Service Commission, called on Mesdames Sharp, Harris Masterson, James A. Baker, and other welfare spokeswomen to turn the energies of all clubs, churches, and social organizations to the needs of soldiers.  

Postwar Social Service Work in Houston

World War I was a turning point in Houston as in the rest of the nation. Volunteers rallied to sell war bonds, hold meatless weekdays, plant victory gardens, and entertain troops stationed at Camp Logan. The war energized municipal government and was a catalyst for its bureaucratic expansion and professionalization. Unfortunately, the war also turned attention away from long-term humanitarian reform, and in the immediate aftermath of the armistice, civic activists discovered that unifying Progressive-era values had been challenged by a new ethos of progress focused on material well-being and fueled by explosions in the automobile, home appliance, and construction industries. Nationwide, the years following World War I shattered illusions about Anglo-Protestant traditions that had shaped American Victorian culture. Violent strikes in 1919, anti-Communist red scare hysteria enflamed by a revived Ku Klux Klan, and a severe recession in 1921 were succeeded by eight years of unprecedented intolerance, conformity, and prosperity, during which Americans amassed two-fifths of the world's wealth, attempted to legislate morality by banning alcohol, and discovered a generation

WRC, RU.

40 Clarence Wharton to Mrs. W. B. Sharp, Sept. 7, 1917, letter, Box 5, folder 17, Sharp Papers, WRC, RU.
41 Mayoral reports of the early 1920s reveal a more complex municipal bureaucracy. The five-man commission still divided supervisory duties; execution of city mandates fell to departments of police, water, street and bridge, legal, engineering, parks, public service, health, electrical, recreation, architecture, and to a censor board, a civil service commission, a library board, and the Houston Foundation. All employed
gap. Youthful Houstonians, like their peers elsewhere, found cheap cars, radio broadcasts, jazz, short skirts, short hair, and illicit gin much more exciting than earnest discussions about the health and welfare of downtrodden but distant neighbors; and many of their elders were similarly seduced by easy money, unexpected leisure, and fundamental disinterest in humanitarian concerns.\textsuperscript{42}

Robyn Muncy argues that during the roaring twenties women sustained the Progressive era commitment to humanitarian reform and forged a "female dominion" in the welfare policy arena by focusing attention on child-saving and family issues.\textsuperscript{43} In Houston a coterie of female reformers did continue to address social welfare issues with determination and imagination, but again this bifurcation of effort can only be carried so far. Certainly, Joseph Cullinan, Will and Mike Hogg, and John Henry Kirby stood in the forefront of Houston's business and construction boom, but the Hoggs applied Progressive values to their city and residential planning activities, while Cullinan and Kirby organized the American Anti-Klan Association to shut down the Houston klavern, which operated in the city from September 1920 until some time in 1924. Marcellus Fuller (Mefo), publisher of the Houston \textit{Chronicle}, debunked the Klan's racism, moral certitude, and resistance to change in two simple questions: "Why anonymity, if the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item[\textsuperscript{43}] Robyn Muncy, \textit{Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890–1935} (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), xi, xii, passim. Muncy traces a line from Hull House through the Children's Bureau (1903–1917), to the Chicago School of Social Service Administration, to federal legislation.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
common good is sought? Does decency need a disguise?" Fortunately, Houston's Progressive women and men did sustain humanitarian values as they searched for new approaches to social service activism.

Journalists kept Houstonians informed about an array of postwar problems even while trumpeting economic triumphs and exploding growth. Columns in Houston, the Chamber of Commerce mouthpiece after 1919; in Woman's Viewpoint, published by Florence M. Sterling from 1923–1926; in Will Hogg's Civics for Houston (1928–1929), and in the Houston Gargoyle (1928–1932), backed by Estelle Sharp and banker William A. Kirkland, pushed a Progressive agenda and made readers aware of issues littering the "thorny road of civic and social reform" as they attempted to build "phalanxes of solidarity" among pre-war humanitarians. Supporters of a Mother's and Children's Hospital annex to the Baptist Sanitarium remarked optimistically in 1919 that "war has brought to the front a philanthropic unselfishness unknown in our country before" that should be maintained in peacetime as citizens returned to the "business of living." Early in the decade, the Young Men's Business League, subsidiary of the Chamber of Commerce, set up a Home Welfare Department supervised by Miss Lou Stallman, a "food expert and dietitian." She published periodic reports about health conditions, vital statistics, child welfare, proper diet, and malnutrition. The "work of play" received much attention as did the visit of expert L. H. Wier, director of the National Recreation Association, who assessed Houston's playground needs for city commissioners and

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volunteer members of the city planning, park, school, and recreation boards in 1928.\textsuperscript{48}

Articles attempted to explain the "new morality" of young America; reviewed the tragedy of drug abuse; and applauded Margaret Sanger's "stormy" fight to introduce birth control, deemed by \textit{Houston Gargoyle} editors "one of the most necessary aids to decreasing misery and raising economic levels among the ignorant and poverty-stricken."\textsuperscript{49} \textit{Civics for Houston} devoted its August and September 1928 issues to "Houston's Colored Citizens," while the \textit{Gargoyle} examined poverty in the third and fifth wards, prison conditions, and child welfare.\textsuperscript{50} Blasting the Houston \textit{Post-Dispatch} for its "distinctly conservative and very, very Dry" stance against repeal, the \textit{Gargoyle} crusaded against Prohibition, "with its Federal police enforcement, its interference in the lives, liberty and pursuit of happiness of the citizens of the states." Citing the impossibility of enforcing such moral legislation when some states utterly repudiated the infringement on personal rights, \textit{Gargoyle} editors reprinted James Stephen Hogg's 1880s peroration against the "evil and inevitable results of Prohibition": "Morality, sobriety and religion spring from a different source than brute force or the lash of the law. Men cannot be made moral, forced into temperance, or whipped into religion," Hogg had announced as he warned that efforts to suppress saloons would only "scatter the traffic and use of intoxicants and force them into low dives and high places alike, without the attendance of law or the burdens of taxation." "Liberal" voters Joseph S. Cullinan, John E. Green Jr.,


Palmer Hutcheson, E. A. Peden, and Harry C. Wiess joined advertisers on May Day 1932 to urge defeat of the "Reactionary Dry Minority" at precinct conventions.  

During the 1920s the Social Service Bureau continued to connect clients with appropriate social service agencies for assistance, while the city began to address public health care needs seriously. In 1919 a municipal hospital opened at Camp Logan, and a Social Health Committee that included Rev. Peter Gray Sears, Rabbi Henry Barnstein, F. M. Law, R. E. Burt, Florence Sterling, and several doctors and religious leaders studied ways to enforce Texas's new Venereal Disease Act. Jefferson Davis Memorial Hospital, Houston's first municipal hospital entirely funded by a bond issue, opened March 1, 1925, with 150 patients and a psychopathic ward that ended confinement of the "insane" to the county jail. By 1928 writers deemed the facility "woefully" overcrowded and in 1931 regarded it as inadequate and poorly located. Hermann Charity Hospital, provided by a $2 million gift to the city of Houston from the estate of George Hermann and thoroughly planned by leading national experts, raised its fire-proof Mediterranean tower east of Rice Institute in 1925. That year Mrs. James Autrey donated funds for a Negro wing at the Tuberculosis Hospital, and in June 1926 Houston's Negro Hospital at the corner of Ennis and Cargill opened its doors.  

The Negro Hospital, made possible by Joseph S. Cullinan in honor of his son, John Halm Cullinan, "one of the millions of young Americans who fought in the World

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52 See *Houston Chronicle*, Nov. 17, 1922, p. 9, for a detailed review of the Social Service Bureau, "Houston's clearing house for charity," and its five departments staffed by twenty-five workers: relief and service; public health nursing; child welfare; women's and girl's protective; and settlement.  
53 Rabbi Barnstein changed the spelling of his name to Barnston some time in 1922. He is listed as Rabbi Henry Barnstein in the 1922 city directory and as Rabbi Henry Barnston in the 1923–1924 edition. Many United States citizens anglicized the spellings of their names during the xenophobic 1920s.
War to preserve and perpetuate human liberty without regard to race, creed, or color." was dedicated to "the American Negro to promote self-help, to inspire good citizenship, and for the relief of suffering, sickness and disease amongst them."\textsuperscript{54} Ironically, this modern, fully equipped monument to humanitarian values, built on two city blocks provided by the city council, sparked strenuous controversy. Managed by an African-American medical board supervised by a white advisory council who retained full power to approve all policies, the hospital pleased no one. White citizens complained that their African-American neighbors were incapable of responsibly running such an important institution; black spokesmen and disaffected Houston Informer editor C. F. Richardson bitterly attacked the "high-handed and czaristic" white oversight board. Cullinan's friends at the Gargoyle called Richardson's angry criticism "inexcusable" and noted that visitors found the plant clean, quiet, orderly, and up-to-date.\textsuperscript{55} Unhappily, these improvements neither ameliorated race relations nor enhanced health care delivery.

Jazz and gin may have addled some young minds, but many Houstonians were as eager to apply new approaches to civic problems as they were to build new industries and try new gadgets. The municipal Board of Health sponsored a clean up week each spring and fall during the decade to raise public awareness; Houston's branch of the National Council of Catholic Women opened a free clinic for Mexican residents in 1923; and

\textsuperscript{54} Tablet, Box, folder 2, Cullinan Papers, HMRC, HPL
several churches sponsored day nurseries for working mothers. Anxious "to make a difference," twelve young women, the daughters of Houston's pre-war civic leaders, met January 22, 1925, to form what became the Junior League of Houston. First president Adelaide Lovett Baker, daughter of Rice Institute president Edgar Odell Lovett, recalled years later her excitement when she learned about Junior League activities to harness the energies of privileged young women for civic work in New York, where the movement had been founded in 1901. Adelaide, Mary Cullinan Cravens, Margaret Cullinan Wray, and their friends charted a new course for educated young women when they opened a luncheon club in the basement of the Gibraltar Savings and Loan to raise funds to establish a well-baby clinic for indigent children. Volunteer women would manage the lunchroom and assist clinic medical personnel by assuming managerial and clerical duties. Following concepts already established at the national level, the Houston league recruited young women, trained them to identify social service needs, assigned them to projects throughout the city, and raised funds to support social service initiatives through the luncheon club (now the Tea Room) and special events. As the league grew, it combined serious civic purpose with camaraderie and fun to guide young women toward lives of civic activism. The founders were well acquainted with the pioneering work of Adelaide's mother-in-law Alice Baker and anxious to encourage their friends to contribute to the community. Continuing a Progressive tradition, they advocated projects that would help less fortunate women and children expand their horizons, improve their

56 Clean-up Week revived a prewar Clean-Up Day in Texas tradition. See Houston Post, Mar. 10, 1909, p. 1, which argues that "old slipshod methods must give way before modern requirements" of sanitation when promoting that year's clean-up day.
57 The twelve founding members (prominent Houston family names in parentheses) included first President Adelaide Lovett Baker and the two Cullinan sisters. Third sister Nina Cullinan joined later and served two terms as president. Also in the group were two Rice sisters (Ella Rice Winston and Lottie Rice Farish), a
health, and enrich their lives. Once trained to understand civic needs, many of these women later assumed leadership positions in the city's social service, cultural, educational, and other civic organizations.

Serving as a catalyst for these and other social service projects was a new approach in community fund raising — the Community Chest. An outgrowth of World War I War Chest bond drives, community chests engaged businesses and individuals in broad-based support of local urban philanthropic organizations. No longer were a few rich philanthropists supposed to shoulder the charity burden; rather, on a "democratic basis," all citizens of a community were called upon "to care for its members who are in need" by cooperating to alleviate suffering. Community Chest advocates embraced Progressive beliefs that "privation is abnormal, temporary and remediable" and that all citizens have "the right . . . to an opportunity to live and grow in the modern sense of the word." The Community Chest was organized in Houston in 1922 to carry on the work of United Charities and regroup civic activities interrupted by wartime demands. With the return of prosperity and with support from the Chamber of Commerce, citizens adopted the chest's format of one brief, city-wide charity campaign as a device to cut solicitation costs, to improve delivery of services, to relieve donors from irritating repeated solicitation, and to provide adequate funds for all institutions. In short,

Carter daughter (Frankie Carter Randolph), Nora Cleveland Fuller, Elizabeth Godwin Gordon, Mary Porter Kirkland Vandervoort, Virgilia Chew, Patty Lummis Sharp, and Rebecca Saunders Miller.  
39 Community Chest, Annual Report, 1930, foreword, Community Chest Files, HMRC, HPL.  
businessmen wanted a system that was efficient and effective. When the first fund drive, managed by a professional fund raiser fell short, a group of leading citizens met, raised the necessary money in a few weeks, and established November as Community Chest month when prominent volunteer business men would "ramrod" Houston's citizens to ever higher levels of giving. 61 Each year during the decade the Chest added agencies to its approved list as the budget climbed to $600,000 by 1931.

Will, Ima, and Mike embraced the modern fund-raising technique in 1922 and gave $2,000 apiece to the inaugural $400,000 campaign, in aggregate the largest Community Chest donation. After Will's death in 1930, Mike and Ima each contributed $3,000 to keep the annual Hogg family gift at a steady $6,000 per year into the 1940s. Will wrote to business acquaintances in Houston and around the state to endorse the Community Chest concept and urge other cities to examine its advantages. Ima served on fund-raising committees over the years; Mike was a board member during the late 1930s; and Alice joined the board soon after Mike's death in 1941. 62 In 1928 a Council of Social Agencies (1928–1976) was organized as an arm of the Chest to discover what underprivileged groups needed by conducting research on social conditions. Data in hand, the Council also acted as advocate for the powerless and helped agencies implement new services. Estelle Sharp served on the Council for years, watched it expand to include all Harris County communities, and guided its efforts to coordinate Chest, municipal, and voluntary groups. In 1956, Estelle and Ima provided funding

61 Houston Gargoyle, Nov. 30, 1930, p. 11, approvingly cited Harry Robinson Safford and Thomas Joseph Donoghue (Chest president), who "ramrodded Houston's Community Chest drive to an oversubscription."
62 See Annual Reports, 1923–1931, Community Chest Files, HMRC, HPL; 2J306, WHP, CAH; Houston Chronicle, Nov. 17, 1922, p. 9. A 1926 pamphlet lists Anderson Clayton at $10,000, First National Bank and the Hogg family at $6,000, and Humble Oil and Refining, Kirby Lumber, and Texas Company at $5,000 each.

\textit{Ima and Houston's Child Guidance Center}

The Hoggs' postwar wealth, the result of bountiful oil discoveries at West Columbia, coincided with Houston's experiments in voluntarism and with a redefinition in professional and public views of psychiatry, mental health, and youthful delinquency or social maladaptation — issues of particular interest to Ima and her brothers.\footnote{Ima frequently recalled visits to mental institutions with her father, and in 1968 she presented Henry Maudsley's "up-to-date" and prescient \textit{Responsibility in Mental Illness} (1878) to the Hogg Foundation. Well-worn and much-marked, this volume had been given to Governor Hogg in 1891. Ima Hogg, Memo, May 30, 1968, MA19/U1, folder 15, HFR, CAH.} By 1920 the application of scientific principles to the study of social problems had inspired both increased acceptance of and greater confusion about mental hygiene precepts. The science of mental hygiene originated in the United States in 1909 when Clifford Beers, himself a victim of mental illness, founded the National Committee for Mental Hygiene.\footnote{Theresa Richardson, \textit{The Century of the Child: The Mental Hygiene Movement and Social Policy in the United States and Canada} (New York: State University of New York Press, 1989), 1, 45-48.} An outgrowth of the public health movement and the revolution in psychiatric practice that sought prevention rather than institutionalization, "mental hygiene symbolized and advanced the application of science to social life." Mental hygiene's mission became the "study and application of principles of personality development" to help "all individuals utilize their capacities fully and work with their fellows creatively."\footnote{Ibid., 1-2 (first quotation); Modern Approach to Mental Hygiene Work, MA19/U25, planning folder, HFR, CAH (second quotation). For additional views of mental health care, see Gerald Grob, \textit{Mental Illness and American Society, 1875–1940} (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1991); David J. Rothman,} Its greatest challenges were the definition and perception of
"normal" behavior and the discovery and embrace of practical therapies. Mental hygiene activity was predicated on three assumptions: that "well-adjusted" children were the best guarantors of a stable, productive adult population; that "normal" behavior patterns in children could be identified and taught; and that children were malleable and greatly affected by environmental factors, which could be ameliorated or changed. In the Progressive tradition espoused by the Hoggs, mental hygiene advocates believed if the problem could be identified, it could be solved. 67

Nationwide the mental hygiene movement corresponded with and was nurtured by the development of "scientific" philanthropic foundations that adopted efficient management practices to organize the process of giving and to affect social change through preventive rather than palliative approaches to public health and welfare issues. Philanthropists like John D. Rockefeller, Olivia Sage, Elizabeth Milbank Anderson, and Kate Macy Ladd had transformed giving from a tradition of personal charity that palliated specific tragedy to a business of planned support that analyzed causes of social problems and guided change. Alarmed by social and economic transformations resulting from industrial growth, immigration, urbanization, and rural poverty and armed with social-gospel religious tenets that urged a moral response to change, they recognized new demands to husband their wealth and to address broad community issues. Rockefeller organized seven philanthropies between 1901 and 1913 and brought them together under

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67 See for example, William White, The Mental Hygiene of Childhood (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1923), vii, xiv, 174; and Jane Addams (ed.), The Child, The Clinic, and The Court (New York: New Republic, Inc., 1927), 19, 22, 41, 78, 93, 193-96. The collection of papers in Addams's book, given at a conference in January 1925 to celebrate the founding of the Juvenile Court and the Psychopathic Institute in Chicago, parallels Hogg's philosophy in tone and wording. Unfortunately books given to the Hogg Foundation from Ima's personal library have been scattered or deaccessioned. However, undated inventory
a reconstituted Rockefeller Foundation in 1929 to address education, medical research, and disease prevention. Elizabeth Milbank Anderson focused work of the Milbank Memorial Fund, founded in 1905, on public health, broadly interpreted. Inspired by her physician daughter and moved by the plight of freed slaves and immigrants plagued by epidemic diseases and poverty, she advocated preventive community health care projects. Olivia Sage founded the Russell Sage Foundation in 1907 to influence social welfare policy. She emphasized the importance of discovery and diffusion of knowledge, supported demonstration projects, published studies, and in the foundation's early years emphasized child-helping, the role of play, and the training of professional social workers. Kate Macy Ladd, who believed "no sound structure of social or cultural welfare can be maintained without health, that health . . . resides in the wholesome unity of mind and body," founded the Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation in 1930 to concentrate on "fundamental aspects" of health, sickness, and relief of suffering. Like the Hoggs, Mrs. Ladd believed that "in an enlightened democracy, private organized philanthropy serves the purposes of human welfare best, not by replacing functions which rightfully should be supported by our communities, but by investigating, testing, and demonstrating the value of newer organized ideas." Ima corresponded with Dr. L. Kast, President of the Macy Foundation, while exploring ideas for the Hogg Foundation and adapted its language and methods when establishing mental health care goals and programs in the 1940s. Like

Ima, Mrs. Ladd inherited strong family habits of service to mankind and suffered long periods of ill health.69

Not to be outdone by the social science experts staffing private-sector philanthropies, government, too, had begun to shape social and family life. By the 1920s newly enfranchised women and socially conscious men were pressing governments at all levels to redress social inequities and address personal difficulties. The traumatic dislocations and nationwide economic collapse of the 1930s made all but the most ardent individualists grapple with ways government agencies, individual philanthropists, and privately managed institutions could cooperate to address social problems. By the advent of World War II, a symbiotic public/private process had emerged: foundations and private institutions attempted to affect social policy and government spending by identifying a need, financing and organizing pilot programs, garnering public enthusiasm, and then turning to government agencies for continued funding and maintenance.70

Unquestionably these national trends influenced the Hoggs' two most important contributions to social service philanthropy: creation of the Houston Child Guidance Center in 1929 and establishment of the Hogg Foundation for Mental Hygiene a decade later.

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Philanthropists and experts interested in shaping social progress had first turned their attention to child saving initiatives to assist "maladapted" or delinquent children. Juvenile courts, introduced in Chicago in 1899 and adopted by all but three states by 1920, developed a nonpunitive separate system of justice designed to keep young offenders or neglected and dependent children out of institutions by encouraging education, treatment, and rehabilitation. To many observers, however, juvenile courts acted too late because their jurisdictions covered only those who had already displayed severely maladjusted behavior or had been the victims of abuse. What about the child at risk, the child for whom intervention and guidance could ensure a happy, productive life? Recognizing that maladapted children must receive careful professional evaluation, the Commonwealth Fund, founded in 1918 by Anna Harkness, widow of Standard Oil of Ohio investor Stephen Harkness, studied competing approaches to delinquency prevention and in 1920 decided to fund a "program of psychiatric treatment, research, and field work."^71 Fund professionals teamed with the National Committee for Mental Hygiene to inaugurate a four-pronged, five-year pilot program in 1922. As a first step, the fund collaborated with the New York School of Social Work to open a Bureau of Children's Guidance to train psychiatric social workers and examine "unadjusted" children. The fund next established seven demonstration child guidance clinics, including one in Dallas, Texas, to help "normal" children overcome temporary problems. A committee on visiting teachers cooperated with schools and community agencies to work with children and families. Finally, a committee on methods developed publicity to

^71 Horn, Before It's Too Late, 9, 4. For a contemporary view of children's institutes, see Joel D. Hunter, "The History and Development of Institutes for the Study of Children," in Addams, Child, Clinic, Court, 204-14. The first Juvenile Psychopathic Institute was founded in Chicago in 1909. Dissatisfied with her unstructured approach to religious, welfare, and cultural philanthropy, Anna Harkness created the Harkness
educate the public and combat stereotypical fears of mental illness and mental health care.\textsuperscript{72}

Scholars of the child guidance movement, while generally praising attempts to assist children with various mental health difficulties, point out the pitfalls of the mental hygiene approach. Experts found they could not define "normal" behavior, and they assumed, without sufficient evidence, that their paternalistic policies would ameliorate what were, in effect, socially constructed "maladaptations." Mental hygiene became a "catch-all for problem-solving through prevention," and by enhancing the status of professionals, the movement reinforced middle-class values and views of "normal" behavior.\textsuperscript{73} But parents and reformers who were worried about social change and family deterioration hailed the child guidance clinics enthusiastically as expert answers to the unsettling effects of industrialization, urbanization, and "the revolution in manners and morals" unleashed in the 1920s.\textsuperscript{74} At first, the clinics tried to incorporate both the preventive models of community education and family support and the palliative prototypes of patient treatment and professional training by coordinating all health and cultural resources to secure the emotional well-being of every child. By 1930, however, many clinics, headed by psychiatrists, had narrowed their goals to the treatment of "children with mild behavior and emotional problems."\textsuperscript{75} The goals of protecting community mental hygiene and intervening to prevent social problems were largely forgotten. In formulating her mental health care philanthropy and explaining it to her

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\textsuperscript{73} Richardson, \textit{Century of the Child}, 190; Horn, \textit{Before It's Too Late}, 186.
\textsuperscript{74} Allen, \textit{Only Yesterday}, ch. 5.
brothers, Ima experimented with both preventive and palliative models but never lost enthusiasm for prevention as the primary goal. Although the Houston Child Guidance Clinic came to privilege medical treatment and professional training in the 1960s and 1970s, the Hogg Foundation for Mental Hygiene has never wavered in its mission to bring the message of prevention and early intervention to cities, towns, and rural areas throughout Texas.

During Ima's 1923–1924 sojourn in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, Austen Riggs was organizing a Child Guidance Clinic in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and introduced her to the pioneering concept. Riggs told Ima about the Dallas demonstration clinic that had been established by the Commonwealth Fund in 1923 and helped her see how a similar institution could benefit Houstonians. Ima embraced Riggs's ideas with enthusiasm. Had not her parents demonstrated the importance of family; had not they emphasized the link between family and civic life? Would her brother Tom's volatile career and her own struggles have been avoided if the motherless children could have consulted experts at a child guidance clinic? Like her father, Ima had come to believe "that in every head there is a good idea hidden like the jewels of the Ocean," but she understood that individuals often needed appropriate tools to extract the gems and use them in everyday life. Just as they merited access to natural parkland, open spaces, and adequate housing, so

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75 Horn, Before It's Too Late, 39, 37.
76 Draft of Ima Hogg comments to the regents, Mar. 3, 1962, MAI9/U1, folder 3, HFR, CAH; Ima Hogg to Robert Sutherland, May 10, 13, 1967, interview, MAI9/U1, folder 12, HFR, CAH. The Pittsfield clinic opened January 14, 1924, and was operated by William B. Terhune, one of Hogg’s many correspondents. Books by Terhune and Riggs are listed on undated Bayou Bend book inventories (Archives, MFAH). See also Addams, Child, Clinic, Court, 210, for reference to these clinics.
77 James Stephen Hogg, to Ima, Mike, and Tom, July 22, 1904, reprinted in James Stephen Hogg, Varner-Hogg Dedication [West Columbia]: Varner-Hogg Plantation State Historical Park, 1958, p. 11, pamphlet in folder 8, James Stephen Hogg Papers, WRC, RU. The Hoggs were familiar with James Greenwood's Sanitarium for Nervous and Mental Disorders, built in 1912 at Old South Main and Old Spanish Trail. One of the first private hospitals to treat mental illness, alcoholism, and drug addiction, it had no facilities for
Houstonians deserved services that would empower them to lead wholesome lives.

Encouraged by Riggs, Ima embarked on a program of self-education in 1924 and devoured available literature describing mental hygiene and guidance clinic goals. She also discussed the possibility of a clinic with Will and their circle of friends familiar with the city's social welfare needs. Ima seems to have drawn several conclusions that affirmed her own beliefs from observing Will and dear friend Estelle Sharp's social service activism with the Houston Foundation. The Foundation's broad definition of social welfare responsibilities fit Ima's growing understanding that all quality-of-life issues — from sewers to symphonies — contributed to positive individual, family, and community mental hygiene. She also agreed with Houston Foundation efforts to collect data, educate the public, and disseminate information as broadly as possible. Houston Foundation attempts to coordinate all services under one umbrella and foster public/private sector cooperation undergirded Ima's struggles to deliver mental health care and engage municipal and state officials in the use of positive, preventive, therapeutic approaches.

Ima invited Dr. George Stevenson, director of the Division of Community Clinics for the Commonwealth Fund, to visit Houston and consult community leaders about organizing a fund-sponsored clinic for the city. In 1926 the Community Chest authorized $7,500 for a Child Guidance Clinic, but Stevenson concluded that the Community Chest, private agencies, and minimal municipal commitment did not yet provide requisite support or demonstrate sufficient civic enthusiasm to warrant a clinic.

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children and did not counsel families or espouse positive, preventive mental health care principles. See Houghton, et al., *Houston's Forgotten Heritage*, p. 258.
sponsored by the Commonwealth Fund. Undaunted, Ima kept up her propaganda and worked with like-minded volunteers to strengthen community services. When Stevenson made a second visit to Houston in 1929, he told Ima and other philanthropists that the social service infrastructure was at last sufficiently mature to support the referral program fostered by child guidance clinics.\footnote{Stevenson later became medical director of the National Association for Mental Health and continued to correspond with Ima well into the 1950s. Ima Hogg to George Stevenson, Dec. 1, 1952, 4W270, IHP, CAH.}

Child saving issues were given good press, especially by *Houston Gargoyle* publisher Estelle Sharp. Columnist Ruth West suggested the "Root of Evil" lay in failure to understand and guide small children during formative years. In a 1929 article, she outlined goals of a steering committee hard at work to establish "a Mental Hygiene Clinic" whose "most important function will be an educative one, to make the public fully aware of the powerful influence of mental hygiene in erasing crime, insanity, disease." According to spokesman John Willis Slaughter, professor of sociology at Rice Institute, parents attending the clinic would be trained to raise their children "happily." Slaughter also announced the steering committee's dream: a headquarters "in a dwelling house, with a yard where 'problem' children may be observed at play, with comfortable waiting rooms where harassed mothers may await a conference hour"; and a staff that comprised a psychiatrist "trained in mental diseases," a psychologist who understood emotions and mind, two or three social workers, and secretaries. Referrals would come from "every organization, every individual charged with the care or education of

\footnote{The Community: A Review of Philanthropic Thought and Social Effort, 1 (May 1919), 1; Ima Hogg to Robert Sutherland, Mar. 8, 1962, interview, Bayou Bend, MA19/U1, folder 12, HFR, CAH; "The Guidance Center of Houston," pamphlet in Box 5, folder 33, Sharp Papers WRC, RU. In Nov. 1933 Stevenson returned to Houston to evaluate the Clinic, and in Nov. 1934 he helped organize the Texas State Mental Hygiene Society in Austin. Minutes, Nov. 21, 1933, Oct. 18, 1934, DePelchin Children's Center (DCC).}
On October 20, 1929, West devoted three columns to understanding preschool and adolescent children "about whom a mass of specific information has been gathered in recent years." She noted that "science has reduced the business of child rearing to practical, or nearly practical terms" and advocated companionable parent/child relationships based on positive discipline where "Dos" replace "Don'ts" to open a "new line of thinking, instead of merely closing an old one."

Although Ima gavelled the organizing meeting of the Houston Child Guidance Clinic to order in her home at 7 P.M. on April 23, 1929, she never served as president of the organization. Instead, she exerted influence through unwavering financial support and energetic committee work. Because she believed it was important to secure male leadership in the business community for this privately funded organization, Ima asked neighbor John E. Green Jr. to read the steering committee report. Founders recommended the clinic be established and estimated that it might take $25,000 a year to operate successfully. John Willis Slaughter, at the time executive secretary of the Community Chest and head of the Houston Foundation, suggested representatives of several social service agencies as founding board members. Representatives from Faith Home, the Family Service Bureau, the Probation Department; several doctors like Robert Johnston and Marvin Pearce; school district administrators E. E. Oberholtzer and J. W. Mills; businessmen K. E. Womack, Leopold Meyer, and John Dorrance; public-spirited members of the Junior League and Parent-Teacher Association; and civic leaders

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81 Ruth West, "Young Habits and Hopes," Houston Gargoyle, Oct. 20, 1929, p. 15.
82 Houston Gargoyle, April 14, 1929, p. 12, lists members of the steering committee: C. W. Areson of Faith Home, Walter Whitson of the Family Service Bureau, Dr. John Willis Slaughter, Ima Hogg, Nina Cullinan, Dr. Fred Lummis, and J. W. Mills from the Houston Independent School District, among others.
associated with other city projects like Nina Cullinan, Maurice Hirsch, Haywood Nelms, and Mrs. Underwood Nazro comprised the original board.83

By October 16 the thirty-three-member volunteer board had pledged $10,000 ($2,000 from Ima), hired director Dr. James Cunningham and two social workers, and rented a headquarters house at 703 Gray at Louisiana.84 On November 1 the Houston Child Guidance Clinic was ready to embark on its dual mission as stated in the constitution and bylaws of its charter approved by the state of Texas: "The diagnosis, treatment and guidance of problem children. The study of the principles of mental hygiene, and the application of these principles to problem children and other persons connected with or related to such children."85 A memorandum inviting guests to the first open casework conference to demonstrate clinic procedure, held on November 17, 1930, further explained the clinic's purpose:

The clinic is a community agency designed to act as a bureau for mental health work for children. Its aims are the study, treatment and prevention of childhood behavior problems which may be forerunners of chronic physical illness, nervousness, mental disorders, delinquency, crime and other social problems of importance. In other words, it is an agency which protects and conserves human material.86

To lure supporters, the board invited three hundred Houstonians to partake of donated tea and sandwiches, visit the clinic, and meet the staff on January 20, 1930.87 Ruth West praised the nascent organization in long articles November 10, 1929, and April 17, 1930. She listed board and staff and explained the clinic's purpose to provide free service to any

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83 Lists in Board minutes, 1929, DCC; Box 5, folder 33, Sharp Papers, WRC, RU.
84 Financial records are not located at DeFelch Child's Center with the minutes, and archival sources are contradictory. A memorandum lists $2,000 for 1929, but other evidence indicates Ima probably pledged the entire $10,000. Memorandum, 4W235, IHP, CAH. Ima Hogg's cash book for 1929 lists three gifts totaling $1,000. Cash book, 2.327541, IHP, CAH.
85 Bylaws, minute book, 1929, DCC; history of Guidance Center notes incorporation in May 1929, Oct. 22, 1951, 4W235, folder 6, IHP, CAH.
86 Memorandum, Nov. 11, 1930, 4W235, folder 1, IHP, CAH.
child whose behavior was a problem, and she announced the goal of producing happy, healthy citizens through an ounce of prevention that will "supplant wherever possible the more expensive and less effective pounds of cure, our 'houses of correction,' prisons, insane asylums." She also offered two case studies to illustrate how practical advice had produced tangible results in some two hundred cases over the first six months of clinic operation.88 Founders of the Clinic were doing a fine job disseminating information about the organization and its mission.

Study, treatment, and prevention remained overarching goals during Ima's association with the clinic, although the institution changed programs over the years to accommodate community needs. By 1957 the clinic's purpose was encapsulated in a pamphlet for parents and teachers, "Every Child Has a Right to be Happy." Created by the board's education committee, the general information brochure announced that the renamed Guidance Center of Houston would "help children with emotional problems reach well-adjusted relationships with other people in everyday living."89 By the 1950s the center's approach to helping children form these well-adjusted relationships comprised four goals: to operate a psychiatric clinic for the treatment and study of children with "emotional problems"; to educate and train mental health care professionals; to conduct research in the fields of human behavior, mental disorders, and interpersonal relationships; and to promote understanding of mental health issues in the community. Participation in the programs was always voluntary and was open to

87 Minutes, Jan. 10, 1929, DCC.
89 Pamphlet in Minutes, Mar. 11, 1957, DCC. In 1939 the name was changed to Bureau of Mental Hygiene, Child Guidance Clinic, Adult Clinic; in 1944 Guidance Center of the Bureau of Mental Hygiene of Houston was adopted; in 1949 the name was shortened to Guidance Center of Houston; and, finally, to Child Guidance Center of Houston in 1956.
"children of all colors, creeds, [and] economic and social levels" who were under eighteen years of age and lived in Harris County and to their parents. Referrals came from parents, schools, social agencies, courts, clergy, and friends, and about 80 percent of cases in 1956, for example, were children ages six to thirteen. In that year the psychiatrist, psychologist, psychiatric social worker, and assistants counseled 325 children and 440 parents and provided information about sister agencies to 644 members of the community; they conducted, 266 interviews with children, 3,225 with parents, and 1,139 with care providers for their primary clients. The staff also lectured and supplied general information to the public; organized in-service training for childcare professionals and teachers; and consulted with other agencies to address community needs.⁹⁰ Typical treatment included weekly psychotherapy with the child and interviews with parents, and this process usually lasted about fifteen months (with a range from four to twenty-three months). Problems believed to inhibit the child's ability to "mobilize his inner resources and strengths and to find healthier and more constructive ways of dealing with inner stresses and the external pressures of everyday life" included poor adjustment to school, unhappiness, excessive fears, rebellious and withdrawn behaviors, truancy, destructiveness, excessive daydreaming, temper outbursts, sex and eating problems, depression, stealing, fire-setting, and an inability to get along with family or peers.⁹¹

During Ima's forty-six years on the center's board, she worked actively with colleagues Estelle Sharp, Nina Cullinan, Leopold Meyer, and others to secure the

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⁹⁰ Annual Report, 1956, DCC.
⁹¹ Annual Report, 1958, DCC.
institution's financial stability and define and disseminate its mission. Unfortunately, the Center's early funding records cannot be found, and memoranda in archival sources are confusing. It seems clear, however, that Ima guaranteed financial support of up to $10,000 per year from 1929–1932 and during that period dispensed at least $10,200 from personal funds and $4,250 from the Hogg Brothers, Inc. Correspondence shows that Mike joined his sister with enthusiastic endorsement of the Center and generous gifts to the struggling project. Unable to secure financing from the Commonwealth Fund, which had switched from funding to oversight functions in 1927, Ima defended the board's October 14, 1930, decision to explore Community Chest support. In 1932 the Community Chest defrayed $15,000 of an $18,000 budget for the first time; gifts from Ima and Mike made up the difference that year. Even with Community Chest funding, Depression era shortfalls necessitated staff and salary cuts that seriously threatened program development. By 1941 Community Chest donations covered all operating costs, and the center's financial stability for daily operations appeared more secure, although Ima occasionally made gifts for special purposes. After 1948 the center also received $20,000 a year from the Texas Department of Health through the National

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92 Box 5, folder 33, Sharp Papers; Nina Cullinan, interview, WRC, RU; Meyer, Days of My Years. These sources reveal the critical importance of these four determined supporters of the child guidance concept; without their years of devoted service on the board, the Center may well have failed. 93 Correspondence in 4W235, IHP, CAH, does not clarify Ima's record of donations. A 1932 letter from Hogg Bros. to Ima Hogg lists these figures. On Nov. 18, 1930, Ima wrote to George Stevenson at the Commonwealth Fund to explain an "acute" financial crisis and mentioned her $10,000 guarantee before asking if the fund could "justify itself in giving some financial assistance to a young and struggling clinic." A letter from Guidance Center Treasurer Leopold Meyer to President K. E. Womack, explaining the center's need for Community Chest money, stated that Ima had already given $8,000 in 1931, and "there is some question in my mind as to Miss Hogg's willingness to continue to pay all of the Clinic's expenses over and beyond the amount covered by the Chest's allotments." On Dec. 31, 1931, Ima gave an additional $1,200 to the Clinic (H. E. Brigham to Leopold Meyer, 4W235, folder 1, IHP, CAH). On Jan. 29, 1932, Ima wrote Stevenson that the Community Chest had promised major funding, "and my brother and I are donating the rest." Ima Hogg to George Stevenson, Jan. 29, 1932, letter, 4W235, IHP, CAH. Cash book entries detail donations totaling $2,500 in 1929, $6,500 in 1930, $3,250 in 1931, and small gifts in 1932, 2.325U514, IHP, CAH.
Mental Health Act, and from the mid-1940s on, Ima secured funding for targeted training and research programs through the Hogg Foundation. Always concerned that poor families might not be able to afford clinic services, Ima fought to keep fees low and scaled to a family's income. In 1961 she pledged $8,000 on the condition that the fee schedule remain unchanged. Her gift and conditions were accepted. In April 1962 Ima funded a formal review of Center activities, and at the September 10, 1962, board meeting, she moved that an endowment fund committee be established to receive endowment moneys. Finally, that year she made a special gift to the Hogg Foundation for support of a demonstration program in mental health education at the Child Guidance Center. In 1970 she wrote to Senators John Tower and Ralph Yarborough requesting continued federal support of the Texas Department of Public Welfare, whose allocations supported the center's programs. Despite these tenacious efforts, board minutes during these decades indicate that funding was always an acute and unsolved problem.

For thirty years, the Guidance Center also struggled to secure a permanent facility but made do with grossly inadequate and unsuitable quarters that restricted program development and effective delivery of services. Frequently ejected from rental properties on short notice, the board unsuccessfully tried to locate a site at the Houston medical center, which was being developed after World War II. Finally, in June 1959, stockbroker Edwin K. Dillingham, his wife Lottie, and their children alleviated the housing problem by donating the family's large neoclassical house on Austin Street for a

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94 Minutes, throughout 1930s, discuss deficits and staff cuts, DCC.
95 Horn, Before It's Too Late, 85; Minutes, Jan. 8, 1932, DCC; Leopold Meyer to Margaret McCann, secretary to Ima Hogg, Nov. 16, 1944, letter acknowledging receipt of $250 to pay a guest speaker, 4W235, folder 1, IHP, CAH; Ima Hogg to William Hobby, Oct. 27, 1961, letter, 4W235, folder 2, IHP, CAH.
96 Dr. Little read a copy of the letter from Ima Hogg to Chancellor Harry Ransom, minutes Nov. 19, 1962, 4W235, folder 4, IHP, CAH.
permanent home. Ima served on the building committee that oversaw remodeling, provided "a very generous" gift of $10,000 anonymously to begin a fund drive for building renovation, and relentlessly pursued recalcitrant prospects. Refusals by two major Houston philanthropies, the M. D. Anderson Foundation and the Houston Endowment, goaded Ima to counterattack. On June 14, 1960, she wrote Judge John H. Freeman, chairman of M. D. Anderson, to express her "genuine regret" that the foundation had refused to fund the center; she noted that after three decades in "impossible quarters" the clinic "desperately" needed facilities to treat "children . . . suffering from behavior problems." She then mentioned her own "substantial" donation and requested reconsideration. On June 23, 1960, a check for $25,000 arrived at the center. Similar pleas to John T. Jones Jr. elicited a like response from the Houston Endowment. In appreciation for these efforts, for securing $18,000 from the Hogg Foundation, and for her decades of service, the board named the facility's new wing for the Hogg family and honored Ima herself with a bronze and marble tablet acknowledging her contributions.

Ima made her most important contributions to the center's success by serving on the board's public education and long-range-planning activities. She shaped the board's character by heading the nominating committee in 1931, 1932, 1937, and 1944, and took direct responsibility for hiring and firing personnel and reviewing performance while serving on the personnel committee in 1948–1950. Always interested in young

97 Minutes, Sept. 10, 1962, DCC; Ima Hogg to Ralph Yarborough and John Tower, Nov. 25, 1970, letters, 4W235, folder 2, IHP, CAH.
98 The house had been built in 1911 by Edward W. Sewall and was occupied briefly by him and his widow. The Dillingshams bought the house after Mrs. Sewall's death in 1914 and lived there until 1959. Houston Historical Survey, 931.
99 Lovett Peters to Ima Hogg, June 15, 1959, letter, 4W235, folder 1, IHP, CAH.
professionals with stellar academic credentials, Ima supported hiring the youthful James Morrow Cunningham as founding director of the clinic. Described by contemporaries as "applying a keen, earnest, hopeful intelligence to the problem of correcting bad habits," the bespectacled, newly minted psychiatrist had completed a fellowship at the Institute for Child Guidance in New York. A lover of golf, bridge, music, and cabinet making, Cunningham was praised because he talked to juveniles "without using a lot of lumpy, indigestible words." Other original staff members also had proven track records with the child guidance movement: Psychologist Mary Lasater had been a Commonwealth Fund fellow at the Institute for Child Guidance; chief social worker Charlotte Henry had completed the Family Service Course at Western Reserve University; and social worker Lucretia Brewer had trained with the child guidance clinic in Cleveland. Typically, Ima had gone to the best sources to recruit the Center's initial staff. Although she later recalled Cunningham as a "wonderful" man and noted that his successor, J. P. Molloy, "worked his heart out," both men had personal issues that necessitated their resignations, and the clinic struggled for years to find the right man. Ima served on the selection committees that searched for new directors in 1934, 1938, and 1943 and was instrumental in securing Dr. Harry Little's services as director in 1948. Little proved one of the Center's most enduring and successful leaders, serving from 1949 to 1966, but during Ima's lifetime the center had difficulty hiring professional staff, always in short supply, because the board could not offer competitive salaries due to funding shortfalls.

100 Ima Hogg to John H. Freeman, June 14, 1960, letter 4W235, folder 1; Ima Hogg to William Hobby, June 12, 1960, letter, 4W235, folder 2, IHP, CAH.
102 *Houston Gargoyle*, Nov. 10, 1929, p. 17. Cunningham received his M.D. from the University of Texas Medical College at Galveston; Lasater held an M.A. from Columbia University; Henry was a Master of Social Service graduate of Smith College, and Brewer held a Master of Social Science from Missouri University.
In June 1944 Ima organized a special planning and policy committee to review mission and programs with the new director, John H. Waterman (1944–1948), and to develop a mutually acceptable plan of action better to serve community needs. Under her tutelage, this committee, which met frequently at Bayou Bend during 1944 and throughout 1945, presented formal proposals on January 28, 1945, that articulated two critical goals: to operate a psychiatric treatment clinic for children and adults and to maintain a community-wide preventive mental hygiene program. Focusing on the prevention of juvenile delinquency, Ima stressed the need to implement a visiting teacher program in the schools, to cooperate with the Houston Independent School District and the juvenile court system, to reach out to the public, and to support professional training, which she considered "key." Then she went to work to implement her recommendations.

Through Ima's efforts as a Board of Education trustee, Houston schools inaugurated a visiting teacher program in 1945. Ima worked closely with Hogg Foundation Executive Director Robert Sutherland to structure a professional training program at the Guidance Center in cooperation with the universities of Houston and Texas and to secure financial support for the project through the Hogg Foundation. After several discussions, Ima approved the course by the late fall of 1944 and applauded the "galaxy of stars" promised as instructors in 1945–1946. Ima could not contain her delight that the Center, the University of Houston, The University of Texas, and the Hogg Foundation would be associated in a unique and mutually beneficial partnership. Finally, Ima invited representatives of the juvenile court, the probation department, and the police department's crime prevention bureau to meet Guidance Center committee members at Bayou Bend on November 4, 1945. The group discussed ways to stem the growing

103 Ima Hogg, interview, Oct. 2, 1974, Oral History, HMRC, HPL.
incidence of juvenile delinquency and crime. Ima told her colleagues about a successful cooperative program in Baltimore that was funded by that city's Guidance Clinic, the Johns Hopkins University Hospital, and the county government. The Houston committee decided to emulate the Baltimore program and employ a psychiatrist to work full time with the probation and crime prevention bureaus, the salary to be defrayed by the center and the two city departments.\textsuperscript{104}

Ima's records during the 1940s make clear her concern that counseling and training take precedence over research because she felt the staff could not effectively discharge all three functions.\textsuperscript{105} Most important to Ima were community outreach efforts to explain the center's work to the public. She served as chairperson of the education committee from 1930–1933 and again in 1936–1937 and remained active on the committee for many years, helping the director set up community educational outreach programs and staff a speakers' bureau. Minutes reflect her attempts to inform board members; she often brought books to meetings and frequently bombarded members with reading lists of mental hygiene materials. She secured permission to reprint Commonwealth Fund Hygiene Bulletin articles in the Center Bulletin published by the committee, and she created other promotional materials. Always imaginative, Ima tried to educate college club women to the need for a city-wide mental hygiene program by reaching out to the Panhellenic Council in 1930 and by developing a joint Clinic/YMCA

\textsuperscript{104} Minutes, Jun. 2, 22, 23, 1944; planning report, Nov. 9, 1945; Jan. 28, 1945, DCC; also in 4W235, folder 3, IHP, CAH; Ima Hogg to Beulah T. Wild, Nov. 28, 1944, letter, 4W235, folder 3, IHP, CAH; Ima Hogg to Robert Sutherland, letter, Sept. 30, 1944, praising course outline; Robert Sutherland to Ima Hogg, Oct. 3, 1944, letter, requests "quite frankly any rewording" and "give your opinion concerning any phase of the organization of the course," 4W235, IHP, CAH; Ima Hogg to Robert Sutherland, Aug. 10, 1945, letter MAI9/U1, folder 1, HFR, CAH ("galaxy of stars" quote); Minutes, Nov. 4, 1945, 4W235, folder 3, IHP, CAH. In the 1960s Ima strongly supported affiliation with Baylor College of Medicine to place four or five residents on rotation at the center. Meeting minutes May 13, 1962, May 19, 1962, Nov. 19, 1962, Apr. 27, 1965, 4W235, folder 4, IHP, CAH.
summer camp program in 1939. Ima arranged public lecture series, invited guest speakers to annual meetings, placed articles in the Houston Gargoyle, and secured speaking slots on KTRH public interest radio broadcasts. She frequently brought groups to headquarters or entertained care providers and civic leaders together in her home. Periodically she supported efforts to broaden the clinic's mission and make it a mental health care facility open to all age groups.

In December 1948 Ima announced her intention to retire from the board in order to make way for new supporters. Instead, she was persuaded to accept lifetime honorary active status and was invited to serve ex officio on all committees. She remained an active participant on the personnel and building committees, secured publicity in local newspapers, and served as the center's delegate to the Texas State Department of Health meeting in Austin in 1951. In 1950 she outlined her vision of the organization's future at the annual meeting. She urged the Center to widen its scope of interest, to stay informed about state and national trends in mental hygiene, and to lobby for passage of legislation that supported eleemosynary and mental health institutions. In later years Ima became Houston's eminence grise of mental health care. In 1954 she joined psychiatrist Abe Hauser, Nina Cullinan, and three others to found a local mental health association that became the Mental Health Association of Greater Houston. She urged mental health education and counseled with social service and mental health professionals and

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105 Minutes, Planning Committee, Oct. 30, 1945, 4W235, folder 3, IHP, CAH.
106 Minutes, Mar. 14, 1930, June 2, 1939, DCC.
107 Minutes, Executive Committee, May 18, 1932, DCC.
108 Ima Hogg to George Stevenson, Jan. 29, 1932, letter, 4W235, IHP, CAH; Minutes, Apr. 10, 1931, Mar. 8, 1934, Dec. 11, 1936, May 12, 1939, DCC. Minutes in 1935 and 1965 record Mental Health Center debate.
109 Minutes, Annual Meeting, Jan. 27, 1950, DCC.
volunteers about dozens of projects.\textsuperscript{110} A typical admirer, Dr. Henry A. Cromwell, Chairman of a Youth Guidance Program for the 1,000-member Council of Churches of Greater Houston, wrote warmly to thank her for meeting with him and Mrs. Lamar Fleming Jr. to discuss Council efforts to stem juvenile delinquency in 1957. Both were grateful for her "sympathetic interest, excellent insights, and constructive suggestions."\textsuperscript{111} From the 1950s until her death she supported the Texas Society for Mental Health.

Despite Ima's diligence and generosity, the Guidance Center struggled to meet Houston's growing demands for mental health care services. A "Blueprint for Health" developed by center personnel in 1952 called for ten treatment teams to meet projected growth by 1962; when a study committee examined the Center's program and structure in 1959, it realized Harris County's exploding population would require eleven teams. At that date, the Center operated with "slightly less than two teams." From September 1958 through March 1959, the Center alone treated 374 children, while the five other Houston agencies that addressed the problems of "disturbed children" handled no more than 170 cases in toto.\textsuperscript{112} Desperate need notwithstanding, the Center could not meet demand because it lacked qualified personnel and was plagued by uncompetitive salary schedules, inadequate operating funds, and unsuitable facilities well into the 1960s. Even with these chronic problems, the Center garnered high marks in the 1959 study, which concluded that the "quality of service provided . . . is superior" and outlined a series of new programs to train personnel and improve therapies.\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{110} Mental Health Association of Greater Houston, History, www.mhag.org.
\textsuperscript{111} Henry A. Cromwell to Ima Hogg, Jan. 11, 1957, letter, 4W235, folder 1, IHP, CAH.
\textsuperscript{112} "Child Guidance Center Study Committee Report," May 4, 1959, p. 2, in Box 5, folder 33, Sharp Papers, WRC, RU.
\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., p. 3.
Gaps in the archival sources make it difficult to evaluate the center's achievement during Ima's lifetime, but the unending struggle to secure funding, the frequent change of directors, the acceptance and rejection of program ideas, and the attempts to define "mental health" suggest a mixed reception of the center and its mission. From the 1930s through the 1960s, when Ima was most active, professional approaches to mental health care and child development were harshly contested and underwent fundamental changes. During this time the public was still hesitant to embrace family therapy, and advocates of palliative efforts to treat patients warred with those who attempted to prevent problems through programs emphasizing public awareness and education. Nonetheless, Ima's determination to build public interest through a privately managed institution and her flexible approach to community needs continue to inspire staff and volunteers at the nonprofit DePelchin Children's Center, which merged with the Child Guidance Center in 1992. DePelchin's mission to sponsor services for children and families in crisis echoes the pioneering dreams of Kezia DePelchin and Ima Hogg to provide children love and guidance that would enable them to lead wholesome and happy lives.114

Ima, Mike, and the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health

The Child Guidance Center of Houston and the Hogg Foundation for Mental Hygiene (changed to Hogg Foundation for Mental Health in December 1957) embody contrasting attempts to create a wholesome community through mental health care philanthropy.115 In founding the Child Guidance Center, Ima relied on Commonwealth

114 Joann Mitchell to Kate S. Kirkland, Mar. 4, 1999, interview, DCC; DePelchin Children's Center brochures, 1999–2003.
115 The name change occurred at a December regents' meeting, Robert Sutherland to Ima Hogg, Dec. 10, 1957, letter, 4W235, folder 1, IHP, CAH.
Fund guidelines that favored a psychiatric treatment model. She shared planning and vision with a group of leading Houstonians, deferred presidential duties to others, and worked in the volunteer trenches day by day to secure the center's acceptance. When Ima and Mike established the Hogg Foundation, they benefited from Ima's accomplishments in Houston but brought a family interest in mental health care to a statewide constituency. The foundation's mission reflected Ima's mature vision that optimum mental health care could be achieved through education and prevention. She and Mike spent a decade discussing their plans for a memorial to Brother Will's dynamic life. Once a decision had been made to create the foundation, Ima worked with a small committee of top university administrators to assert her vision of the foundation's purpose while Mike strove to maximize the value of Will's estate in the depressed economy of the 1930s. Both sought financial stability and effective professional leadership by adapting the foundation model; from inception they foresaw only advisory roles for family members. Unfortunately, Mike had little time to enjoy the results of his hard work and generosity because he succumbed to cancer in 1941. Ima was left to define the family's wishes alone.\footnote{Ima's brother Tom and her sisters-in-law were supportive and left portions of their estates to the foundation, but they did not shape foundation programs.}

In the summer of 1930, Ima had joined Will on what proved to be their last trip to Europe together. While staying in Baden Baden, Will underwent unsuccessful emergency gallbladder surgery and died on September 12, 1930. As Ima frequently recalled, she and Will had been discussing ways to support mental health care in Texas during their travels, and these conversations proved critical to establishing the Hogg Foundation and to interpreting Will Hogg's final testament.\footnote{Memorandum, 1940, MAI9/U1, folder 1; statement to regents, Mar. 8, 1962, MAI9/U1, folder 4, HFR, CAH.} Setting aside a portion of
his fortune for family and for scholarship endowment at eighteen state colleges and universities, Will left the residue of his estate to be used in Texas in a manner to be determined by his executor Mike, "counseled by [Ima's] good judgment and opinion." The testament suggested three possibilities: a vocational school in Brazoria County for training "poor" boys and girls as a memorial to his parents, a lecture foundation at the University of Texas to attract scholars of "proved learning" to explain mankind's experience, or a foundation "for the common good of all or any part of Texas" to which Ima and Mike would also bequeath significant portions of their estates.118

After lengthy discussion, Ima and Mike combined elements of options two and three to fulfill their fiduciary duty. Remembering Will's devotion to the University of Texas as graduate, founder of the Texas Ex-Students Association, and regent, they settled on the university as the appropriate recipient of his funds. Mindful of her last conversations with Will and anxious to secure mental health care services on a broad scale, Ima persuaded Mike that the "common good" of all Texans would best be served by establishing a foundation devoted to a broad mental health program that promoted positive mental health and nourished the individual through social intervention, education, and community programs.119 This disposition of Will's estate reflected both the family's devotion to Texas, to education, and to the stability an endowment provided and Ima's overarching argument that mental health care formed the basis for wholesome community life. Moreover, the foundation became the first major philanthropy in the United States to focus attention on the broad issue of family mental health. In later years, Ima funneled financial assistance through the Hogg Foundation to mental health care

118 Will, 2J329; probated will, 2J330, folder 1, WHP, CAH.
119 "In Memoriam," MA19/U14, folder 1, HFR, CAH.
facilities in Houston and Harris County, and she helped Houston agencies participate in foundation initiatives.  

Ima worked closely with President Homer Rainey and other top university administrators and regents to refine terms of the gift and convince them that a foundation, still a little-used vehicle for transferring private wealth to public programs, would be a valuable university asset. The ideas were essentially hers, but Ima usually spoke of discussions with "my brothers" or referred to decisions made in concert with Mike. By July 1939 the letters of transmittal to the University of Texas had been signed, and the university announced the formation of a unique institution funded by the $2.25 million estate. A private foundation, housed within the university and administered under the supervision of the university's board of regents, would be established to provide a broad program of mental health education to communities throughout the state. Other Hogg family members would also bequeath funds to the foundation and could, therefore, guide its mission. Children of a famous politician and themselves attuned to government's possibilities, Ima and Mike saw the critical importance of engaging the public sector and awakening state and local governments to their social-welfare responsibilities. Ima's work in Houston had taught her the difficulty of raising money for mental health care, and she well knew the value of careful stewardship. By endowing a foundation, she and Mike ensured that funds would be available for controversial work. By placing the foundation under the control of publicly appointed regents, they assured public-sector

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120 Will, 2J329; probated will, 2J330, folder 1, WHP, CAH; Ima Hogg to Dr. H. L. Prichett, Southern Methodist University, Sept. 2, 1939, letter, MA19/U1, HFR, CAH; committee meeting with Homer Rainey, Jan. 30, 1940, MA19/U25, HFR, CAH.

engagement with mental health issues. By linking the foundation to a major state university system, they provided an avenue to make the latest scholarship available to all Texans. Community spokespeople, government leaders, and university researchers would thus be forced to work together to address mental health care issues effectively. Through such cooperation, no single agenda would dominate the delivery of high-quality mental health care.

The unique structure — a private foundation within a public institution — cleverly sidestepped the vexing question of public accountability for private philanthropy. The Hogg's private wish to nurture a broad vision of positive mental health would be carried out by professionals within an academic setting and administered by stewards who were public officials ultimately answerable to the Foundation's beneficiaries, the people of Texas. The Foundation would also serve three critical functions of philanthropic organizations: it would assist those in need; it would address a broad public constituency; and it would provide a public forum for advocacy and reform of mental health care delivery. Immediately Texans showered the Hogg with praise. University President Homer Rainey, in consultation with the Commonwealth Fund's George Stevenson, established an advisory committee to search for a director. Members included Ima, several doctors, Houston Child Guidance Center Director J. P. Malloy, Irene Conrad of the Houston Community Chest, Gaynell Hawkins of the Dallas Civic Federation, and experts on nutrition, health education, home economics, and family life.\textsuperscript{122}

\textit{Decades, 1940–1970} (Austin: University of Texas, 1970), 4, recalls lengthy discussions: "I became enthusiastic about the possibilities in the program. I gave her all the encouragement that I could."
\textsuperscript{122} July, Aug. 1939, letters; Homer Rainey to Ima Hogg, Sept. 8, 1939, letter, 4W239, IHP, CAH.
The foundation's purpose as Ima restated it over the years, remained quite consistent. "Educating people in the art of better living" through prevention, community outreach, and cooperation became, and remain, paramount goals. First, Hogg Foundation money would support services that reached all Texans. Remembering the lonely rural families she had met while traveling with her father and the insights of her mentor and favorite University of Texas professor Caswell Ellis about the desperate needs of poor farm women, Ima stressed the obligation to develop programs in rural communities and small towns. Nor were African-American or Hispanic Texans forgotten. From the foundation's inception, gifts were made to projects targeting these groups. Second, positive mental health became and remained the foundation's central mission. Recalling brother Tom's childhood problems and believing that individuals must learn how to live with their emotions, Ima encouraged the foundation to create resources that adopted new methods of treatment and prevention or helped individuals, families, or groups secure assistance in time of trouble to increase emotional stability and ensure effective functioning within a community. Third, Hogg Foundation work was based on consultation, integration, and cooperation at the local level. Reviewing her work in Houston and believing that problems could be addressed only when local groups worked together, Ima encouraged building mental health care resources in communities and supported the policy of granting aid only to pilot programs that could be matched by community funds. In this way, the influence of foundation money, modest by some standards, could be stretched and its significance as a catalyst for action multiplied.

Moreover, community values would be respected and nourished, and no attempt would

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123 Memorandum for planning the foundation, MA19/U25, HFR, CAH. Ima Hogg to Robert Sutherland, interview, Nov. 21, 1961, HFR, CAH, says Will wanted to support River Oaks School, the Guidance
be made to mandate standards set by experts housed in a central bureaucracy. Instead, foundation meetings, modeled on the three-day inaugural Home and Family Life Conference, February 11-13, 1941, would "convene" practitioners in related fields, academicians, and civic leaders to explore together strategic questions of mental health care. Finally, the foundation, although not a research institute, was to adopt scholarly practices, share information, and collaborate. It was also to retain all use of endowment income.¹²⁴

At the foundation's three-day opening conference held in the Hogg Memorial Auditorium (February 11-13, 1941), University of Texas President Homer Rainey affirmed the Hoggs' vision of positive, preventive, therapeutic mental health care and told guests that they were "witnessing . . . some real history in the making with the inauguration of a mental hygiene program for the state of Texas . . . one of the first in the nation." Echoing beliefs long espoused by the Hogg family, Rainey continued:

The home lays the foundation for the whole of American democracy in its individual, group, and institutional relations. It is therefore most important that we give recognition to the family and to family problems. . . . This concept of mental hygiene . . . is going to play the most important role in the redirection of education in the next 20 years — mental health for the normal man.¹²⁵

If some disputed Rainey's hyperbole, none could deny that expectations for the new institution were high, that university leaders fully endorsed its mission, or that the Hoggs' persistence was about to pay great dividends to all Texans. At a time when Texas was ranked last in the nation in mental health care standards, the foundation energized

¹²⁵ Homer Rainey, remarks, Feb. 11, 1941, 9:00 A.M., planning folder, MA19/U25, HFR, CAH. Speakers included Frank J. O'Brien, director of guidance clinics for New York City public schools; Daniel A. Prescott, director of the University of Chicago's Collaboration Center on Child Development; George S.
reformers and sponsored legislative initiatives. In the next three decades its staff worked to shape policies that would underpin "wholesome" communities, expand services throughout the state, educate citizens about available public and private resources, and reorganize the state system of mental health care delivery. The search for appropriate delivery of social services including physical and mental health care has long been cause for debate. In a complex, highly technical society, elite trained experts are needed to address arcane issues; accountability to a poorly informed public can become a serious issue. The Hogg Foundation's "convening" mechanism introduced at its inaugural conference provided a new way to resolve the conflict between democratic participation and expert management by bringing together men and women of many viewpoints at the community level where programs impact daily lives.

If the Hogg Foundation was blessed by founders of broad vision, it has also been fortunate in its professional leadership — only four directors since 1940. Described by admirers as a man of "compassion, empathy, and modesty" whose "remarkable capacity for detecting common ground" enabled him to form lasting and warm friendships, Robert Lee Sutherland, director from 1940 until 1970, was undoubtedly the ideal partner for Ima Hogg because both believed "there was nothing more productive than the creative abilities of human beings." Together they built an institution that today leads the state's

Stevenson, director of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene; and Dr. Muriel Brown, consultant on Family Life Education in the U. S. Office of Education. *Acalde*, Mar. 1941.


127 In March 2003 Dr. King Davis, former commissioner of Mental Health, Mental Retardation and Substance Abuse Services for the Commonwealth of Virginia, was named executive director to replace Dr.
mental health care activities and shapes the role of private foundation philanthropy in community life. Formerly associate director of the American Youth Commission and dean of men and chairman of counseling at Bucknell University, Sutherland had written extensively on social problems affecting African Americans, and he shared many concerns with the Hogs. In a 1941 resume he listed as "hobbies": "helping groups see the importance of group morality" and teaching individuals how to avoid personality disorders that "limit one's effectiveness in his field of work and in his community relationships." A memorial tribute eulogized his "pervasive influence and innate ability to draw people together in a common cause, regardless of background and political persuasion." Because of Sutherland's activism, statewide mental health care advanced from forgotten stepchild to robust adult during his thirty years with the Foundation.\(^{128}\)

Sutherland immediately understood Ima's grand vision to promote positive mental health and nourish "the individuality of each person through social intervention, education, and community programs," articulated it to others, and devised programs relating abstract concepts to current needs.\(^{129}\) Sutherland gradually expanded the foundation's definition of mental health care to include assistance with all facets of daily living, and he supported community demonstration projects targeted at issues as diverse as housing, crime prevention, health hazards, and delinquency — anything that related to the "optimum functioning of the personality in its social, familial, and vocational

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\(^{129}\) Quotes in "In Memoriam," MAI9/U14, folder 1, HFR, CAH; Hogg Foundation News, winter/spring 1977, MAI9/U14, HFR, CAH; Robert Sutherland to F. Leland, Nov. 12, 1941, resume, MAI9/U14, folder 1, HFR, CAH. Information about Sutherland is also found in Ralph E. Culler, III, associate director, Hogg Foundation, to Kate S. Kirkland, Mar. 15, 1999, telephone interview; Homer Rainey to Ima Hogg, June 21, 1940, letter, immediately after Sutherland accepted the position, MAI9/U25, HFR, CAH.

\(^{129}\) Wayne Holtzman, "The Hogg Foundation, Prologue and Promise," The First Three Decades, 8.
roles. Slowly he overcame Ima's reluctance to spend money on research and developed partnerships with faculty on University of Texas campuses statewide. In this way he assuaged administrators' concerns about university support of community outreach projects and provided these programs firm scholarly grounding. He also expanded counseling services for children and college students and nurtured interaction with personnel at state facilities for the mentally ill.

From the beginning Ima and Sutherland worked well together. No sooner had Sutherland arrived in Texas than Ima invited him and his wife and daughter to Bayou Bend to discuss the inaugural conference, a harbinger of the frequent visits that punctuated their relationship and fostered free-ranging exploration of ideas. Letters composed on trains, aboard ships, and while bouncing over rutted Texas roads detail a synergy and mutual enthusiasm that never waned. Ima came to trust Sutherland implicitly, and he quickly learned to appreciate "the daring and breadth of [her] ideas," her "wisdom and skill in thinking through practical methods for their attainment," and her willingness to introduce him to key players whose friendship he needed. In turn, he always kept her informed, invited her to address the biennial conferences of the foundation's national advisory committee, and encouraged her to participate on city and state-sponsored mental health boards in the 1950s and 1960s. He frequently sought her

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131 See for example, Robert Sutherland to Ima Hogg, Mar. 16, 1943, letter, and Ima Hogg to Robert Sutherland, Aug. 10, 1945, letter, MA19/U1, folder 1; Ima Hogg to Robert Sutherland, Nov. 5, 1952, letter MA19/U1, folder 2; Robert Sutherland to Ima Hogg, Mar. 19, 1956, letter, MA19/U1, folder 9; Robert Sutherland, memorandum on notes of visit with Ima Hogg ("she knows everyone"), MA19/U1, folder 13; Robert Sutherland to Ima Hogg in Mexico City, Aug. 19, 1944, letter (quotation), Ima Hogg to Robert Sutherland, Oct. 13, 1955, letter MA19/U1, folder 3, HFR, CAH; Robert Sutherland to Ima Hogg, Dec. 30, 1957, 3B166, folder 1, IHP, CAH; Jan. 9, 1962, MA19/U1, folder 4; Aug. 11, 1964, MA19/U1, folder 15; Wayne Holtzman to Ima Hogg, Nov. 1, 1972, MA19/U1, folder 17; annual report 1969–1970, MA19/U25. Letters about Mental Health Society of Houston and Harris County, 4W236, IHP, CAH; letters and memos, MA19/U1, folders 3, 4, HFR, CAH.
advice, was grateful for her moral support in battles with the university administration, and brought his students to Bayou Bend. Ima took his family to Symphony concerts and sent him books, flowers, and grapefruit. She defended him to regents and university presidents who questioned the community service orientation of a foundation managed by an academic institution, and at crisis moments she restated at length, clearly, and in writing the purposes of her philanthropy. Sutherland's prodigious energy must have impressed Ima. During the war years he traveled everywhere in Texas, provided services in 152 communities that included 2,000 groups, and touched the lives of more than 400,000 people. Sutherland was also active at the national level, establishing the Conference of Southwest Foundations in April 1949 (formal charter 1956), helping to charter the Foundation Center in New York, and serving on the Council of Foundations board for many years. In February 1969, with Ima's enthusiastic endorsement, Sutherland became president of the foundation, and he continued to serve as emeritus professor after his retirement in 1970.132

In 1941 Ima anticipated an advisory role in shaping the foundation's mission. As she wrote board of regents Chairman Leslie Waggener, "my active interest in the foundation was never anticipated after the estate was turned over to the University authorities. It is only through the courtesy of Dr. Rainey and Dr. Sutherland that I have

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132 See for example, Homer Rainey to Ima Hogg, Sept. 8, 1939, letter, 4W239, IHP, CAH; Ima Hogg to Robert Sutherland, Aug. 10, 1945, letter, MA19/U1, folder 1, HFR, CAH; Robert Sutherland to Ima Hogg, Nov. 19, 1957, letter, 3B166, folder 1, IHP, CAH. See also, Ima Hogg to Leslie Waggener, Apr. 8, 1941, letter, MA19/U1, folder 8; Robert Sutherland to Homer Rainey, Apr. 20, 1943, letter, MA19/U14; Robert Sutherland to Ima Hogg, Feb. 26, 1944, letter, MA19/U1, folder 3; Robert Sutherland to Ima Hogg, Mar. 13, 1945, letter, MA19/U1, folder 13, HFR, CAH; Robert Sutherland to Ima Hogg, Jan. 22, 1958, letter, 3B166, folder 1, IHP, CAH. The purpose is restated in Ima Hogg to Robert Sutherland, Jan. 5, 1958, letter, MA19/U1, folder 3; Ima Hogg, draft statement to regents, Mar. 8, 1962, MA19/U1, folder 4; "In Memoriam," MA19/U14, folder 1, HFR, CAH.
been drawn into discussions of any plans.\textsuperscript{133} While this modest description of her intentions belies the avid interest with which she supervised each of her philanthropic projects, Ima did not foresee, nor did she follow, a day-to-day involvement. So successful was her advisory approach that Sutherland praised her for "rigorously" avoiding unwanted interference. Instead, he lauded her responsiveness to "requests for counsel." Her "years of service to educational work, . . . special regard for the field of mental health, and . . . remarkable organizational experience" made her comments "indispensable." Three decades of correspondence and Sutherland's observations to others make clear that between patron and professional lay bonds of true friendship and mutual respect.\textsuperscript{134}

Typical of her approach to advisory planning was a January 6, 1958, letter to Sutherland, reiterating her "conviction that the greatest good could come from a mental health program which was designed to prevent and allay some of the unhappy conditions which exist all around us." She went on to praise the foundation's work and suggested "with some temerity" a comprehensive new program designed to goad the state into legislative action and civic responsibility. Noting that she knew of no "instance where a comprehensive Mental Health Program on a community or state level has been organized and projected which possessed all the factors to make it effective," she urged Sutherland and the Hogg Foundation to select a major city for a pilot program to arouse public interest and "insure a united effort of all civic forces . . . so that with the facilities of the required number of well-staffed public and private agencies, a sustained and successful plan of action could be evolved." She concluded that the Hogg Foundation's

\textsuperscript{133} Ima Hogg to Leslie Waggener, Apr. 8, 1941, letter, MAI9/U1, folder 8, HFR, CAH.
\textsuperscript{134} Robert Sutherland to Ima Hogg, Mar. 19, 1956, letter, 3B166, folder 2, IHP, CAH.
dynamic leadership, the university's prestige, and the governor's cooperation would ensure success. She then announced a gift of 395 shares of General Dynamics stock to underwrite the plan. Such a letter would have come as no surprise to Sutherland; instead, it reflected many months of thought, long discussions between themselves, and trial balloons floated by community leaders whose cooperation would be needed. Ima's imprimatur and financial support would pave the way for Sutherland to seek acceptance for the plan among University of Texas administrators and local agency personnel. From correspondence, it is hard to say with whom these ideas originated; in this case, Ima had long lobbied for a coordinated pilot program uniting all agencies in a broad effort, but Sutherland, too, favored this approach. Probably, he was inspired by her general wish and devised a plan to implement specific goals; she then restated their thinking in a long letter to him. Sutherland had an ability to shape issues discussed in meetings and telephone conversations to reflect his own ideas while expressing Ima's thoughts as well.\(^{135}\)

During Ima's lifetime, two outside committees were established to oversee strategic planning for the foundation. Since 1959, a national advisory council has held two two-day planning sessions each year. The council's work was augmented in the 1960s by a medical advisory committee that holds two daylong sessions each year to discuss the medical aspects of mental health programs. The foundation offices have long maintained a library of mental health publications and since 1962 have been a repository for the Foundation Center of New York, which provides information to the public about

\(^{135}\) Ima Hogg to Robert Sutherland, Jan. 6, 1958, letter, 3B166, IHP, CAH. A long draft dated Jan. 5, 1958, is in MA19/U1, folder 3, HFR, CAH, suggesting Sutherland worked closely with Ima to refine these ideas.
all national philanthropies. Today Hogg Foundation program priorities reflect Ima's
goal to help all Texas families and children achieve a wholesome life: Children and Their
Families, Youth Development, and Minority Mental Health — all broadly defined —
received grants totaling $3,293,910 in 2001–2002.137

After Mike's death in 1941 and Tom's in 1949, Ima strengthened the foundation
and expanded its mission through continued financial support. In the 1950s Ima, Alice
Hogg Hanszen, and the estates of Mike and Tom Hogg made substantial gifts to the
university that doubled the foundation's income and enabled Sutherland to hire Wayne
Holtzman as director of research, a goal of the university administrators. Several other
gifts followed, and in the 1960s, Ima also established a fund, administered by the
foundation, to provide fellowships for training in psychiatric social work and visiting
teacher programs at the University of Texas School of Social Work.138 Ima and Mike
were reluctant to use the family name in the foundation's title because they wanted others
to contribute. To Ima's disappointment, few donors who were not family members
supported the foundation directly during her lifetime. However, the foundation's
matching grant philosophy generated considerable additional support for mental health
care initiatives from national grantors like the Ford Foundation and from local

136 Annual Reports, MA19/U22, 25, HFR, CAH.
Ima and Mrs. Ray Willoughby of San Angelo had lobbied legislators in 1950 to secure authorization and
funding for the Graduate School of Social Work. Pat Folmar Robinson, "The School of Social Work
"Latin-American" student at the school. MA19/U1, folder 2, HFR, CAH. Several funds secure the Hogg
Foundation, the most important of which are the Will C. Hogg Fund and the Ima Hogg Endowment. Other
funds administered by the Hogg Foundation: Harry Estill and Bernice Milburn Moore Fellowship Fund,
Frances Fowler Wallace Fund, DeRossette Thomas Fund, Varner-Bayou Bend Heritage Fund. The Ima
Hogg Scholarship is a biennial award to a graduate student committed to serving children and families in
the public or nonprofit sectors. The Visiting Scholarship Program is a biennial award to a "person eminent
for learning" in the areas of Hogg Foundation expertise. The scholar participates in lectures and seminars,
philanthropists in communities throughout the state.\footnote{Robert Sutherland to Ima Hogg, Dec. 14, 1961, letter, overview of other gifts, MA19/U1, folder 3, HFR, CAH. See for example, Hogg foundation for Mental Health, \textit{Philanthropy in the Southwest: Foundations Cooperate in Community Program: A Resume of the Years 1966–1968} (Austin: Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, University of Texas, 1969), 9-10. From September 1964 through August 1968, 41 Texas foundations assisted 27 agencies to develop 38 demonstration projects through Ford/Hogg Foundation cooperation.} In 2000 the foundation's endowment, managed by the University of Texas System, was about $125 million. A staff of twenty-five organized conferences and other educational programs and provided funding and consulting services to academic and community projects statewide.\footnote{Robert E. Culler III to Kate S. Kirkland, Mar. 15, 1999, telephone interview.}

On October 2, 1964, Ima expanded the Hogg Foundation mission by incorporating the Ima Hogg Foundation with an initial gift of shares and property valued between $500,000 and $600,000. Into this endowment would be placed the residue of her estate, and the income from its investments would be allocated to children's mental health agencies in Houston and Harris County. Like the Hogg Foundation endowment itself, this fund was to be managed by the University of Texas and supervised by the board of regents.\footnote{Ralph E. Culler III and Wayne H. Holtzman, \textit{The Ima Hogg Foundation: Miss Ima's Legacy to the Children of Houston} (Austin: Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, 1990).} Although Ima considered endowing the Child Guidance Center itself, she seems to have decided that the stability and investment expertise provided by the state university would better protect her gift and provide funds to a wide array of Houston-area institutions. Moreover, the Ima Hogg Endowment fulfilled the commitment she had made in 1939 to bequeath substantial moneys for mental health care services to the Hogg Foundation at the time of her death. May 3, 1976, a "Day of Celebration" for Ima Hogg's life, provided University of Texas System Chancellor Charles LeMaistre the opportunity to announce activation of the Ima Hogg Foundation.
The fund's first grant, $604,349 to the Houston Child Guidance Center and the University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston to be paid from 1977 to 1983, established a child psychiatry training program and embodied Ima's mental health care goals. The program emphasized education; it meshed academic expertise with community outreach; and it reinforced the mission of a valued civic institution, Ima's beloved Child Guidance Center. In subsequent years, the fund supported numerous Harris County organizations that targeted "at risk" groups or pursued well-planned mental health care programs, but it focused major grants on the Child Guidance Center, the DePelchin Children's Center, and the Family Service Center, institutions created to empower children to live happy lives.\textsuperscript{142}

Family goals for the Hogg Foundation and the subsidiary Ima Hogg Foundation suggest that while the Hoggs advanced a moral response to social change, they wanted to avoid imposing personal values on others. Instead, they preferred to provide individuals and groups the resources with which to identify local problems and create particular solutions. In the 1920s and 1930s promoting mental health by helping individuals realize their potential and by turning victims of poverty or clients of welfare agencies into citizens was a relatively new approach.\textsuperscript{143} The Rockefeller, Milbank, and Macy Foundations had begun to apply proactive approaches to physical well-being, and the Commonwealth Fund had supported child saving through professional guidance, but Ima and Mike were the first philanthropists to establish a major endowment devoted to positive mental health care. Believing no individual or institution could act alone, the Hoggs brought volunteers and professionals, businessmen and academics, government officials and private-sector care providers together in cooperative partnerships. At a time

\textsuperscript{142} Ibid., 3, 33, 8, 10.
\textsuperscript{143} "In Memoriam," MA9/U14, folder 1, HFR, CAH.
when cultural philanthropy garnered social acclaim, they turned to the controversial and little-understood arena of mental health care and used their social position and wealth to publicize its needs. In an era when individuals often waited to seek help only after they had been overtaken by illness, misfortune, or delinquency, the Hoggs fought for education, prevention, and early intervention to train and guide children to be productive citizens. Their optimistic activism paved the way for others to imagine and pursue their own visions of life, liberty, and happiness. Hogg family initiatives in mental health, clearly emanated from a profound concern about the ability of individuals to sort out the complex problems of a changing America.

Ima had long ago internalized Austen Riggs's dictum that every mentally healthy person must have a serious purpose in life to which he or she gives with generosity. Contemporaries recognized her dedication to community mental health with awards and praise; in April 1956, the University of Texas regents honored her at dinner and presented a volume of letters from citizens throughout Texas who had been touched by her generosity.\textsuperscript{144} In retrospect, critics may justifiably contest definitions of "normal" or "maladjusted" behaviors. Skeptics may feel the Hoggs' faith in the ability of professional experts to solve social problems was misplaced and has both undermined parents' self-confidence and led to increased government intervention in everyday life. Pessimists may believe social problems defy solutions. Yet doubters should not disparage the Hoggs' attempts to confront the social cleavages that plague America. It is a mark of their foresight that the mental health care institutions they founded continue to prosper.

\textsuperscript{144} Houston Post, April 6, 1956, describes the dinner and presentation. Clipping in 3B166, IHP, CAH.
4. The Public's Education, a "Many-Sided Community Responsibility"¹

An efficient system of public schools is the growth of years, the work of ability and experience, and above all depends on the pride and generosity of a progressive, enlightened people. . . . The common free schools are intended for the education of the masses . . . so that they may be capable of self-government and the preservation of their rights and liberties.

James Stephen Hogg, January 21, 1891²

Nineteen-twelve is still remembered as the year of commercial shipping's most tragic — and, perhaps, most unnecessary — loss at sea. On April 12, 1912, White Star Line promoters launched Titanic, its very name trumpeting the hubris of its owners. Two nights later, an orchestra playing, the unimaginined happened as the colossus scraped an iceberg and sank to the ocean floor, carrying two-thirds of its passengers and crew to watery graves. Subsequent investigations revealed that overconfidence, greed, haste, and poor judgment had marked this magnificent maiden voyage.³ Six months later on October 10 seven ebullient trustees of a fortune accumulated by entrepreneur William Marsh Rice welcomed residents of Houston, luminaries of academe, and citizens of the world at the launching of another well-publicized enterprise, the self-proclaimed world-class university rising on the prairie west of Houston, on that day a small commercial city on the frontier of cultural progress. Weeks earlier lacquered wooden cylinders girdled with blue ribbon and closed with a silver seal had arrived at institutions of learning and repositories of culture wherever they existed on the globe requesting representatives be

¹ Ima Hogg, talk to the Woman's Club, Civic Department, typescript, Mar. 23, 1943, 4W237, folder 3, IHP, CAH.
sent to a three-day intellectual festival that would celebrate the birth of the William
Marsh Rice Institute.

All Houston rallied to greet the one hundred fifty-two dignitaries who journeyed
to the unfinished campus at the end of a dirt road. Elegant "programmes,"
commemorative versions sheathed lavishly in suede, announced twelve inaugural
lectures, which were subsequently bound in three handsome volumes. Political and social
leaders addressed visitors at breakfasts, banquets, receptions, and garden parties, their
oratory linking the nascent seat of learning to civic improvement. A "special train"
whisked guests to Galveston beaches for an overnight stay at the Hotel Galvez that
featured a "shore-supper and smoker." Club men provided participants two-week passes
to enjoy Thalian, Houston, and Houston Country Club amenities, while hostesses from
Houston's most influential families assisted Chairman James Addison Baker, President
Edgar Odell Lovett, and their wives with the important business of proffering southern
hospitality and introducing Houston's citizens to Institute guests. Musical interludes by
a New York quartet, a "popular illustrated Lecture" by acclaimed naturalist Hugo de
Vries of the University of Amsterdam, and a city-wide "service of song and prayer"
attended by "some six thousand souls," including "the clergymen and choirs of practically
all the churches of the city," proclaimed the Institute a cultural treasure. Formal
ceremonies culminated in a grand Procession of the Delegates and Guests gowned in
academic regalia, preceded by a band, and admired by crowds of proud Houstonians who
assembled to hear President Lovett explain the purpose and goals of the new institution.
The dynamic young leader, already a popular fixture at Houston events, announced "the
first alignment of the Rice Institute . . . on the map of the earlier universities" and promised to build a "community distinguished by high standards" of scholarship, self-government, and service. 5 This alliance of intellectuals, civic visionaries, politicians, and businessmen proved a potent force for the city's development in succeeding decades.

*Rice and Houston, a Synergistic Partnership*

Vaguely conceived by its benefactor William Marsh Rice, a merchant, cotton broker, and Civil War-era millionaire, the Institute had been much in the news by 1912. Houston's civic leaders greeted with enthusiasm word that Rice had counseled with his six most trusted friends and incorporated an "institute for the advancement of literature, science, and art" on May 19, 1891. 6 Parameters of the institute and its role in the city's civic life were not defined by Rice's trust documents; nor could planning begin until after the founder's death. When confirmation of Rice's demise on September 23, 1900 was followed quickly by news of another will, attorney and Rice confidante James Addison Baker, principal protector of the Institute's trust from its inception in 1891 until his death in 1941, boarded the train for New York. Captain Baker (1857–1941), as he was always called to honor his rank in the socially prominent Houston Light Guards, was not a man

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4 Houston Chronicle, Oct. 9, 1912, Society page, lists 17 hostesses (wives of board and faculty members) and 89 female assistants for the Institute garden party following the Thursday lectures and 98 couples and individuals who assisted Mr. and Mrs. Lovett at their farewell reception on Sat., Oct. 12, 1912.

5 Edgar Odell Lovett, "The Meaning of the New Institution," in Edgar Odell Lovett and the Creation of Rice University, with an introduction by John B. Boles (Houston: Rice Historical Society, 2000), 127, n. 10 (service of song and prayer), 82-83 (first alignment, etc.). Original Programme available in Rice Institute, Opening Ceremony Files, WRC, RU.

6 The original trustees were Cesar Maurice Lombardi, president of the Houston School Board; Emanuel Raphael, president of the Houston Electric Light Company and a trustee of the School Board; Frederick Rice, the founder's brother, banker, and treasurer of the Houston and Texas Central Railroad; James Everett McAshan, banker; Alfred S. Richardson, director of the Houston and Texas Central Railroad; and James Addison Baker Jr., Rice's lawyer. By 1912 Frederick Rice and Alfred Richardson, then both deceased, had been replaced by nephews Benjamin Botts Rice and William Marsh Rice Jr., a graduate of Princeton; Lovett took William Marsh Rice's seat on the board.
to ignore a suspicious testament. Son of Judge James A. Baker and partner in Houston's most powerful law firm, Baker would spend his adult years at the heart of Houston's business, political, and cultural activity as a banker, real estate developer, and director of numerous local companies and eleemosynary institutions. Contemporaries described Baker as handsome, charming, and dignified, a man who influenced every aspect of municipal life from a powerful strategic position behind the scenes, and usually with a twinkle in his eye.  

Baker's astute detective work and careless conspirators revealed scandalous news: the elderly Rice had been murdered by a greedy valet at the behest of a grasping lawyer. Baker's relentless pursuit of the malefactors and his determined defense of Rice's last wishes deflated spurious claims and secured for the Institute an initial endowment of $4,631,259.08 at the close of legal business in 1904. Houstonians, titillated daily by unfolding events, were also anxious to learn how the murdered man's dreams would gain substance and advance the city's reputation. It quickly became apparent that, like the entrepreneurs who envisioned a great city on a muddy bayou bank, the trustees who interpreted Rice's last wishes imagined no small enterprise. Even before legal issues had

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8 Fredericka Meiners, *A History of Rice University: The Institute Years, 1907–1963* (Houston: Rice University Studies, 1982), 14. Meiners provides an account of the Institute's origin and early years (1-69). John B. Boles also details the founding moments and, more important, reveals the roots of Lovett's thinking about higher education to show how the first president's formative experiences shaped the university's long-range goals and initial actions. John B. Boles, "The Education of a University President: Edgar Odell Lovett & The Opening of The Rice Institute," in *Lovett and the Creation of Rice University*, 2-50. Provisions in the will of William Marsh Rice's second wife seemed to contravene her husband's wishes, but Baker was able to settle claims for $200,000 and spent nearly $1 million on legal matters pertaining to criminal and civil suits. Careful investment brought the endowment to more than $7 million by 1910, when construction plans were approved by the board. Sylvia Stallings Morris edited the papers of Rice historian Andrew Forest Muir to limn Rice's life in *William Marsh Rice and His Institute: A Biographical Study* (Houston: William Marsh Rice University, 1972).
been resolved, the board had hired a New York law firm to solicit information from the nation's extant universities about the state of higher education.

Some contemporaries may have scoffed at the notion of a great seat of learning rising in a southwest hinterland far from the trodden paths of research and erudition, but it does not seem to have occurred to Rice or to his friends or to the citizens of Houston that the enterprise might fail. History has proven their faith was justified. Unlike the arrogant builders of Titanic, the confident trustees of Rice tempered imagination with humility, generosity, deliberation, and sound judgment. Because no trustee had experienced modern-day academic life, board members recognized the need for help and wrote to dozens of university presidents and scholars across the globe to learn about current scholastic trends and future societal needs. Trustee Emanuel Raphael, himself a member of Houston's school board, visited several technical schools during a scouting trip to the Northeast in 1906, and trustee and banker James E. McAshan made a similar voyage of discovery to Europe in 1908. Acting with generosity, the board hired Edgar Odell Lovett, a vigorous young scholar of great promise; insisted that he and his wife travel to seats of learning in America, Europe, and Asia; and gave him wide latitude to create an institution unique in its ability to combine seminal research in the arts and sciences with practical application in the urban arena. Moving deliberately, the trustees and their president made several judicious decisions: they would immediately lay claim to university status, with all that assertion implied about broad undergraduate/graduate offerings; they would aspire to the best in program, faculty, and physical plant; they

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would not dip into capital to establish or operate the university; and they would develop a master plan for physical plant and curriculum that could be executed over time.

Just as the trustees had sought expert advice in their choice of a president, so Edgar Odell Lovett interviewed many architects before settling on Bostonian Ralph Adams Cram of Cram, Goodhue and Ferguson. President Lovett knew well Cram's much-praised institutional work at West Point (1902–1908) and Princeton (1906–1929), but the architect immediately recognized that the "transmuted Gothic" he had fashioned on these campuses was "manifestly out of place" on the hot southwestern prairie. Seeking to retain the "religious and energizing force" of Gothic enthusiasm, Cram reassembled architectural elements indigenous to the Mediterranean basin and created "a measurably new style that, while built on a classical basis, should have the Gothic romanticism, pictorial quality, and structural integrity" of well-established universities.\(^{11}\) In time the Rice campus would prove a worthy monument to its benefactor's vision.

Persistent publicity had worked its magic by 1912. Houston was education mad and embraced the founders' dream. In turn, Lovett and the board recognized a dual opportunity: at once to tie the new institution to its host community while simultaneously linking the nascent university to worldwide educational innovations. For William Marsh Rice was not the only merchant prince or Titan of industry who recognized the critical role higher education would play in an industrial democracy dominated by a professionalizing middle class. No longer smiled upon as bucolic havens for clerics, scholars, and amateurs of learning, universities were being transformed during the

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\(^{10}\) Lovett described his visits to institutions of higher learning in long "letters" to the Houston Post. See, for example, Oct. 30, 1909, p. 6.
decades before World War I into engines of discovery and partners of urban culture. Goaded by the newcomer Johns Hopkins University, incorporated by bachelor railroad baron Hopkins in 1867 (opened 1876) to introduce the German model of seminar discussions and laboratory experiments, reformers Charles Eliot at Harvard and Woodrow Wilson at Princeton remade curricula and reshaped social life at their venerable but sleepy colleges. Merchant Paul Tulane's gift of $1 million (1884) enabled New Orleans' academics to restructure private higher education in the South's largest city and introduce the first coordinate college system in the nation, a model widely emulated to accommodate male and female students. When railroad magnate Leland Stanford and his wife, mourning the loss of their only child, decided to adopt all California children as their own (1884), they reinforced contemporary beliefs that the doors of academe should be opened to a broad public and that private funds should be used to uplift citizens of a democracy through education. Investor Marshall Field and oil king John D. Rockefeller were determined that their University of Chicago (incorporated 1890) would attract renowned researchers to a western university that combined general studies with concentration in a major field and balanced theoretical research with practical application. From the shores of Lake Michigan would come social science theories that revolutionized the way Americans perceived family and school.

Houstonians immediately understood that an institute of learning would shape its host city — economically by attracting and nurturing technically advanced industries and an educated work force; physically by spurring development; and culturally by offering

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residents opportunities for self-improvement through exposure to scholarly discovery. While planning their institute, the trustees — all astute and successful businessmen deeply engaged in Houston's post-Spindletop economic boom — addressed a persistent problem, inadequate local capital to underwrite commercial expansion. Choosing their business partners carefully, they linked the academic center firmly to Houston's commercial and manufacturing sectors by loaning trust funds to local businesses and institutions. Interest and dividends from these investments expanded the endowment, while loans to Jesse H. Jones, Judge Harris Masterson, John H. Kirby, and C. H. Bering, among others, forged unbreakable bonds between academic and business circles that remain in place nearly a century later.\textsuperscript{13}

Situated on farmland southwest of town, the Institute proved an immediate catalyst for urban expansion. The Institute's aspirations to greatness, the fine quality of its master plan and first structures, and the close interaction of Rice faculty, trustees, and business leaders provided an opportunity to develop surrounding areas as a satellite city center. George Hermann was first to understand the area's potential. Having sold a large block of property to the Institute's trustees, he secured the area's value by emulating William Marsh Rice's generous example and donating acreage to the city for its first forest park. Joseph Cullanan, looking for residential investment opportunities in 1913, broached Hermann about buying thirty-seven acres west of Main Street and north of the Rice Campus, a property transfer concluded by Hermann Estate trustees in February 1916 for the modest sum of $30,000. Cullanan then began planning his "Shadyside" residential

\textsuperscript{12} Boles, in \textit{Lovett and the Creation of Rice University}, 8, 9; web pages for the Johns Hopkins University, Tulane University, Stanford University, and the University of Chicago. Philosopher John Dewey, advocate of progressive education and child rearing practices, was an early star at Chicago.
neighborhood. Cullinan's fortuitous meeting with Kansas City landscape architect George Kessler on a Kansas City-Dallas train in April 1914 provided the impetus to incorporate park, university, and residential neighborhood in a coordinated plan that integrated architectural and landscaping design. Kessler articulated public spaces by developing the axis along Main Street as a double-laned boulevard planted with Houston's distinctive live oak trees. Connecting center city to satellite development, the boulevard was punctuated by a grand formal entrance to Hermann Park and led past Cullinan's acreage to the Institute's gates. Kessler then established Shadyside as an area separated from public intrusion by protective gates and winding "country" lanes.

By the 1920s the satellite residential/civic center developing around the Institute also included several public buildings. Rev. Harris Masterson Jr., concerned about student life on the then isolated campus, hired Institute architects Cram and Ferguson and their project supervisor William Ward Watkin to propose a master plan for a chapel, student center, and dormitory complex to be placed on a strip of land between Main Street and Hermann Park across from the Institute campus. Watkin's Autry House and Edward Albert Palmer Memorial Chapel and architect John Staub's Parish House incorporated a Mediterranean vocabulary that was also adopted by Berlin & Swern of Chicago for Hermann Hospital (1925), the nearby charity facility provided the city in George Hermann's will. Watkin turned to classical ancestors when he designed the Museum of Fine Arts (1917–1924) on a triangle of land between Main and Montrose at

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13 Alan Bath, "Enlightened Investment: Rice Institute and the Growth of Houston, 1900–1915, The Cornerstone (Summer 2001), 6-7. See also Buenger and Pratt, But Also Good Business.
14 Discussed in Chapter 2.
the entrance to Hermann Park, but all the buildings in this planned community at the end of Main Street were carefully placed in a setting that harmonized residential and public spaces and created a "center of learning, culture and the humanities" noted favorably by journalists.  

In April 1910 Lovett had assured 250 "influential and thinking men" of the Business League and Real Estate Exchange that cooperation with the city's "diversified interests toward the common goal of civic greatness" would characterize Rice Institute's relations with the city. Lovett explained that Rice would become a "vital part of the life of this city" with the audience's support, and he likened Houston to Athens, Florence, Venice, and Amsterdam, all centers of intellectual and commercial life inspired by a "love of truth and beauty." In his inaugural address, Lovett reiterated this vision of a university that linked theoretical research and abstract pursuit of knowledge to practical implementation in the commercial, social, and cultural life of the city. He articulated a view being developed at other urban universities that town and gown shared mutual concerns and could learn much from each other; Rice was to be no ivory tower secluded from contemporary life, but rather an integral part of the urban scene. Professors who participated in civic activities and understood needs of the commercial and professional markets could better prepare students for meaningful citizenship and prosperous careers, while the community, still lacking an expert infrastructure of its own, could rely on the Institute's formally trained professionals to address increasingly complex urban issues.

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17 *Progressive Houston*, 2 (May 1910), 3. The speech is reprinted in this issue, pp. 2-5. *Progressive Houston* available in WRC, RU.
18 See Lovett, "Meaning of the Institution," in *Lovett and the Creation of Rice University*, 57, 63-64, 113-14, 129, 133-34, and passim.
Lovett's plan for a complete curriculum of extension lectures that would appeal to the general public was an integral part of his initial academic program. In addition to creating department curricula and organizing courses for undergraduate matriculants, professors were expected to provide general-interest "courses of from three to twenty-four lectures each" by the 1914–1915 academic year. The hour-long lectures were usually given on campus at 4:30 in the afternoon and met with "hearty response" by audiences ranging from "some thirty to more than five hundred" per lecture. As the years passed, Rice tailored these courses to current debates, including its series on city planning and zoning in the 1920s. Rice professors often contributed to local journals, which frequently reprinted their lectures verbatim during the 1910s and 1920s. Professors and their wives immediately joined every type of civic enterprise, often taking indispensable leadership roles.

Edgar Odell Lovett set the pace: a popular speaker at women's club meetings, business luncheons, testamentary dinners, and graduations, he belonged to several social clubs, served on committees of the Museum of Fine Arts and Symphony Association, and was honored as King Nottoc during the 1911 No-Tsu-Oh festival, the city's pinnacle of social/commercial approbation in the years before World War I. Personal papers disclose that Lovett applied the same meticulous attention to his role as Cotton King that he did to all phases of planning for the Institute. Taking seriously the social and financial benefits for his nascent institution implicit in his temporary reign, Lovett drew careful seating charts for carnival events and made a point of including well-connected women

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19 Ibid., 126.
20 Progressive Houston, 3 (Nov. 1911) devotes the issue to the carnival and notes that past kings included A. C. Allen, John H. Kirby, Jesse H. Jones, B. F. Bonner, J. S. Rice, H. M. Garwood, James A. Baker, and
like Ima Hogg and Harriett Levy in his party.\textsuperscript{21} Lovett and his wife Mary Hale were amateur musicians and played important roles in sustaining the Houston Art League and subsequent Museum of Fine Arts and the Houston Symphony. Lovett encouraged Rice professors to fill strategic civic posts.\textsuperscript{22}

Stockton Axson, son of a Presbyterian minister, brother-in-law of Woodrow Wilson, and former Princeton professor, became chairman of the English Department. A welcome raconteur and "reader of great charm and impeccable taste," he forged "a genial and magnetic link between the university and the city," led the first lecture series in 1912–1913, and proved the Institute's most enduring and popular spokesman as the "Grand Old man of letters in Houston." When he decided to reject a tempting offer to return to the Northeast and instead make Houston his permanent home in 1916, citizens rejoiced and honored the popular bachelor at a formal (all-male) dinner. "Clever" and "poised," Axson interpreted Shakespeare to thousands of students and supported development of Little Theatre and professional acting companies in his adoptive city.\textsuperscript{23}

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item W. T. Carter, all names that appear repeatedly in the annals of Houston's commercial, civic, and social institutions.
\item\textsuperscript{21} E. O. Lovett Personal Papers, 1871–1957 (MSS 60), Box 3, folder 4 includes diagrams, dance cards, invitations, and other Carnival information. See also President's Office Records, Edgar Odell Lovett, 1912–1945, Box 18, folders 6, 7, WRC, RU, which detail numerous dinner parties and luncheons and confirm town/gown social interaction throughout Lovett's presidency. Ima Hogg was often invited to dine with visiting dignitaries. Despite regular invitations, Will was often out of town, and only invitations to commencements record interaction with Mike.
\item\textsuperscript{22} Art League of Houston Records, Archives, MFAH.
\item\textsuperscript{23} Quote \textit{Houston Gargoyle}, Dec. 4, 1928, p. 4. Axson was so popular that he was able to spend half the year teaching in Houston and half at institutions in the Northeast, but he came to be seen as "one of the first citizens of Houston" by the time of his death in 1935. See \textit{Houston Gargoyle}, Nov. 8, 1931, p. 11 (first and third quotes); Houston \textit{Post}, Feb. 27, 1935 (second quote), and other clippings in the Stockton Axson Papers, WRC, RU. Guests at the party included Judge Hiram M. Garwood, Rev. Peter Gray Sears, School Superintendent Paul W. Horn, Mayor Ben Campbell, Rabbi Henry Barnstein, Rev. William States Jacobs, and toastmaster Frank Andrews.
\end{itemize}
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In 1928 he was named chairman of the seven-man executive committee that oversaw Will Hogg's *Civics for Houston*.\(^{24}\)

In 1913–1914 Thomas Lindsey Blayney produced twelve Monday lectures on "Great Epochs of German Idealism"; William Ward Watkin chose Wednesdays to discuss "History of Ancient Architecture"; and on Fridays Albert Léon Guérard provided twelve talks about "France in the Nineteenth Century."\(^{25}\) These men played critical roles in the birth of Houston's Museum of Fine Arts. In 1915 Professor Guérard became the first male president of the Houston Art League, formed in 1900 by women to bring reproductions of famous works of art to Houston's schools but by 1915 reorganized to build a permanent collection for all citizens. Explaining that "all beauty is art," Guérard articulated the need for a municipal art museum. His wife, a graduate of Stanford University, was founding president of the College Women's Club, established in 1918 to promote higher education for women and to foster social relations among college women.\(^{26}\) Blayney followed Guérard as League president and worked with Joseph Cullinan and Hermann estate trustees to secure acreage for a permanent museum. Most important Blayney was "determined" to keep politics out of museum business and wrote the constitution for a self-perpetuating board of trustees. Watkin, brought to Houston to supervise construction of Rice Institute by Ralph Adams Cram, made the city his home, supervised construction of the Public Library (now the Julia Ideson Building), designed the Museum of Fine Arts, Palmer Memorial Chapel, Autry House, and several major

\(^{24}\) *Civics for Houston* masthead. Other members included A. C. Ford as vice chairman, former mayor A. E. Amerman, Norman Atkinson, Captain James A. Baker Sr., S. R. Bertron Jr., and W. C. Hogg.

\(^{25}\) Box 2, folder 12, William Ward Watkin Papers, WRC, RU. On Feb. 23, 1914, Guérard and Watkin, joined by Axson, began a second series of twelve lectures each.

\(^{26}\) Clipping in Albert Léon Guérard Information File, WRC, RU.
residences, and served as architectural consultant to Houston's Board of Education. An eloquent propagandist for "the art and culture which bring gentle charm to the community," Professor Watkin believed a museum, like a college, was "the nursery of the imagination and expresse[d] ... an art which is living, rising from the hearts of the people." Watkin's protégé, architectural historian James A. Chillman, served as the Museum's first director from 1924 to 1954 while juggling course work at Rice, an arrangement that helped the struggling museum meet its budget during lean times in the 1930s. Chillman's wife Dorothy became Ima Hogg's good friend and decorative arts consultant.

As other professors were added to the faculty, they, too, joined community activities. Engineer Lewis B. Ryon designed the first Houston example of a continuous-span bridge, which crossed Buffalo Bayou at Waugh Drive. He was mayor of suburban West University Place (1923–1925); was planning engineer for the City of Houston (1924–1930); and worked with Will Hogg and Herbert Hare on their City Plan for Houston while serving as secretary of the city planning commission (1927–1930). Radoslav A. Tsanoff and his wife Corrinne Stephenson Tsanoff came to Houston in 1914 so he could build the Philosophy Department. A popular lecturer and lay preacher who drew capacity crowds to learn about ethics, pessimism, and Immanual Kant, Tsanoff was an avid supporter of the Houston Symphony and the Museum of Fine Arts. He developed the Fondren Library collection, founded the Rice chapter of Phi Beta Kappa and the Houston Philosophical Society, and participated during "Educational Week" on joint

27 Information in Lindsey Blayney Information File; Guérard Information File; Boxes 6, 7, Watkin Papers, WRC, RU.
28 "Arts Museum Anniversary Is Celebrated," Houston Post, Apr. 16, 1934, clipping in Box 2, folder 18, Watkin Papers, WRC, RU.
panels with Houston school teachers. Corrinne Tsanoff was an active collaborator with her husband, both in academic and civic pursuits. Following the lead of Alice Baker and Estelle Sharp, she carved an important legacy of social service work as chairwoman of Rusk Settlement (1932–1933) and president of the Houston Settlement Association (1935–1942). A forceful leader, she established the Ripley House settlement and worked with the Family Service Bureau, the Red Cross, the League of Women Voters, the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, and the National Committee for Support of Public Schools. In the 1970s close friends Ima Hogg, Nina Cullinan, and the Dudley Sharps helped former students establish the Tsanoff Endowment Fund to sponsor the Tsanoff Lecture and scholarships to honor these popular Houstonians.30

Town and gown interaction continued into the 1920s when Curtis Howe Walker, professor of history and government, persuaded Houstonians to launch an Open Forum to debate the "leading problems of the times" and "to seek the truth persistently and bravely, no matter how arduous and painful the search."31 From 1926 through 1938 lumber industrialist James J. Carrell presided over an Open Forum board and fifty-member advisory council that included Ima Hogg, cotton magnate Will Clayton, librarian Julia Ideson, Post publisher Oveta Culp Hobby, school superintendent Edison E. Oberholtzer, realtors Hugh Potter and Ethel Brosius, Board of Education trustee Ray K. Daily, and Episcopal Bishop Clinton Quin. Men's and women's clubs, the Forum of Civics, the League of Women Voters, and the National Council of Jewish Women joined Rice as

20 Lewis B. Ryon Information File, WRC, RU.
30 See Radoslav A. Tsanoff Information File, Tsanoff Chair of Public Affairs Information File, WRC, RU. During Rice's $33 million capital campaign of the 1960s, alumnus Walter G. Hall and his wife Helen also
institutional supporters. Crowds from a few hundred to over six thousand heard speakers debate controversial issues like Prohibition (Clarence Darrow), birth control (Margaret Sanger), and Socialism (the "strikingly handsome . . . cultured, brilliant" Norman Thomas). Pledged to "throttle no idea," the Forum provided Progressive Houstonians a formal venue to engage the era's most advanced defenders of personal freedom, social justice, and international understanding.

The civic activism of the Institute's original faculty members generated great excitement in the community, which was proud of the handsome institution rising in its midst and grateful to these pioneering scholars for their eager participation in municipal life. In November 1918 Rice announced a series of lectures made possible by Estelle Sharp, who provided funds to place work of the Texas School of Civics and Philanthropy under Institute aegis. Sharp underwrote salaries for a visiting lecturer and a resident lecturer, and she persuaded Joseph Cullinan, Will Hogg, Abe Levy, and John T. Scott to sponsor four scholarships each year to attract students who would prepare for careers in social welfare work in the South. Sociologist John Willis Slaughter was named resident lecturer and began a frenetic life of undergraduate teaching, public speaking, and civic activism. During the 1920s and 1930s he served as president of the Houston Foundation (1921–1938), executive secretary and chairman of the Community Chest annual fund.

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memorialized the Tsanoffs' lives of civic activism by establishing the Tsanoff Chair of Public Affairs to kick off the political science department.

31 Houston Gargoyle, Sept. 21, 1930, p. 12.

32 Houston Gargoyle, Dec. 8, 1929, p. 8.


34 E. O. Lovett to William C. Hogg, Mar. 16, 1927, letter; Memo to William C. Hogg, Nov. 19, 1928, 2J367, WHP, CAH. Each man paid $250 per year; Mrs. Sharp paid $4,000 per year. Spotty records indicate the quartet continued support for many years.
drives (1922–1937), executive head of Jefferson Davis Hospital, and secretary of the City Planning Commission. In January 1925 Slaughter helped Joseph Cullinan make an "anonymous" donation to build a "Negro hospital" and in 1926 served with Susan Vaughn (Mrs. W. L.) Clayton as vice chairman of an advisory committee that managed the institution. In 1938 Slaughter became director of the Houston Community Trust, created to navigate New Deal tax codes by James Baker, Rice trustee Harry Hanszen, and five others. The founders worked with eleven Houston banks to encourage wealthy donors to establish trust instruments for bequests or make outright gifts to expand Houston Foundation resources and benefit designated civic institutions. Slaughter's wife, a noted horticulturist, was active with the Garden Club of Houston and promoted introduction of new plant materials for Houston gardens.

In late April 1922, Ima Hogg charmed President Lovett at a dinner party by telling him she wished to endow a lectureship "to stimulate an interest in, and love for music on the part of the student body of Rice, and . . . the people of Houston generally." A considerable correspondence details Ima's insistence that the yearly gift of $1500 be anonymous so she could "watch the results as any other bystander." She hoped her "experiment" would introduce formal music study to Rice students and produce an informed Houston audience for the professional performances she yearned to encourage. Ima may have been an anonymous donor, but she worked hard to secure prominent

35 "Negro hospital" box, folders 1, 2, Joseph S. Cullinan Papers, HMRC, HPL.
36 John Willis Slaughter Information File, WRC, RU; River Oaks Garden Club Records, passim, Archives, MFAH.
37 Quoted in William C. Hogg to Edgar Odell Lovett, Dec. 4, 1923, letter, Box 24, folder 1, President's Office Records, Lovett, WRC, RU. Support continued through the 1930s. See also David M. Picton to William C. Hogg, Apr. 9, 1923, describing Ima's desire to set up a $25,000 trust and distribute $1500 yearly. Correspondence about the lectureship in 4W271, IHP, CAH.
musicians for the lecture-recitals and approved many choices personally. Lectures were well attended, and Rice officials distributed tickets to musical clubs, alumni clubs; Rice students, faculty, and friends; journalists; politicians; and Chamber of Commerce officials. Even when Ima was out of town, Will and Mike supported her generosity by entertaining guests at post-performance receptions. Bright and intellectually curious, the Hoggs befriended Institute professors, enjoyed their social conversation and professional opinion, and found them congenial partners in numerous city planning and cultural initiatives. In March 1951, to commemorate the centennial of her father's birth, Ima chose Rice Institute as the site for the family's copy of the transcribed collection of the James Stephen Hogg State Papers because "we have followed with the deepest interest and a sense of civic pride the progress of the Institute since its inception."  

*Traditions of Learning in Houston*

Institute faculty members who joined social clubs, shared expertise with municipal commissions, and cooperated with business and political leaders to make Houston "a desirable dwelling place" found a receptive audience for their lectures, articles, and advice among dozens of men and women who had already experimented with self-education. By 1912, when city directories estimated a population of 109,000, Chamber of Commerce and professional men's study committees, women's literary and

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38 Ima Hogg to Edgar Odell Lovett, letter, June 9, 1922, 4W271, IHP, CAH. Correspondence also in Box 24, folders 1, 2, President's Office Records, Lovett, WRC, RU. The proposal was made in 1922, and the first lecture-recital took place Feb. 20, 1923 in City Auditorium.  
39 Box 24, folder 1, President's Office Records, Lovett, list attendees at Powell lectures, Apr. 5, 6, 1923.  
40 William C. and Mike Hogg to Edgar Odell Lovett, Apr. 2, 1926, in ibid.  
41 Typescript, Mar. 13, 1951, 4W271, folder 7, IHP, CAH. She also wanted Rice to have the transcribed volumes because the Sharp Foundation had helped underwrite Robert Cotner's research for the governor's biography. Cotner gave a paper to mark the centennial celebration at Fondren Library.
civic clubs, a Houston Chautauqua (organized 1907), and the Houston Lecture Association (organized 1908) had led hundreds of men and women up "the mountain side of culture and learning." If Houston's men had been first to seek self improvement when they founded the Philosophical Society of Texas among a huddle of tents in 1837 and established a members-only men's lyceum as a lending library in 1848, late-nineteenth-century Houston women had eagerly opened their "close, observing eye[s] and fertile brain[s]" to study all subjects that would improve life. 43 Adele Briscoe Looscan and Mrs. Cesar Lombardi inaugurated the woman's club movement in Houston when they formed a Ladies' History Class in 1885; quickly rechristened the Ladies Reading Club, this popular activity was followed five years later by the Ladies' Shakespeare Club, founded by Mrs. Emanuel Rafael. Only the next year (1891) did Messieurs Lombardi and Rafael counsel with William Marsh Rice about building an institute of literature, art, and learning. Like clubwomen across the nation, Houston women thirsting for knowledge quickly moved from self-culture to civic reform, and their activism had become "a mighty factor in the development of our present civilization" by the time the Rice Institute offered its first extension lectures in 1912–1913.

Led by the indomitable Elizabeth Fitzsimmons Ring, Houston's volunteer women federated to develop a free municipal library. Ring began a forty-year advocacy for library facilities by coordinating the five extant women's literary clubs in 1899 to request a $50,000 grant from Andrew Carnegie. Tempting city fathers with chicken salad, hot biscuits, and coffee, Ring and her committee lobbied City Council for land and an

42 Julia Cameron Montgomery, *Houston as a Setting of the Jewel: The Rice Institute, 1913* (Houston: Julia Cameron Montgomery, 1913), 5.
43 Federation of Women's Clubs, *The Key to the City of Houston* (Houston: State Printing Company, 1908), 18
operating budget of $200 a month. Ring then supervised opening of the Houston Lyceum and Carnegie Library in 1904 and welcomed Julia Ideson as permanent librarian. In 1907 Ideson urged Earnest Ollington Smith to develop the Colored Library Association to secure library services for African-American Houstonians. Ideson helped Ollington petition city council for assistance, secure a grant of $15,000 from the Carnegie Corporation for construction of a building, and train librarians to staff the Colored Carnegie Branch that opened in 1913. By 1920 Ideson had become a beloved figure who viewed the library not just as a repository of scholarly tomes and a researchers' haven but also as a community center and civic institution that empowered citizens and explained Houston to visitors.

As population soared and library patrons increased their requests for information about regional industries and local history, the city quickly outgrew its miniature neoclassical temple. By 1920 Ideson explained to municipal officials that conditions at Carnegie Library were "almost intolerable" and lobbied for additional funding and bond issues (1922, 1924) to construct a magnificent, much enlarged central library and strategically located branch facilities. Conceived as the first structure in a civic center that would one day rise around Hermann Square, the new facility was designed by Rice Institute architects Ralph Adams Cram and William Ward Watkin in their successful Mediterranean style deemed appropriate for important civic buildings. Interior spaces accommodated Ideson's belief that the library should "grow with a definite purpose." Trying to "build a library adapted to the needs of the community," Ideson sought

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44 See also pp. 19-37 for a description of civic activities in 1908. Ring information in Elizabeth Fitzsimmons Ring File, SC 6, Texas Room, HMRC, HPL. Ring began agitating for library services in the 1890s and served on the library board from 1900 until her death in 1941.
technical books relating to area industries and Southern agriculture as well as collections
of letters, manuscripts, and photographs to "form a sort of historical museum of old
Texas families." Friends rallied behind Ideson's vision. Annette Finnigan, recalling
Ideson's "most thorough and brilliant mind," provided rare books and manuscripts for her
dear friend's special collections. Traveling companion and frequent dinner guest Ima
Hogg added a large collection of art books to the library to honor her lifelong friend. In
April 1929 the Woman's Advertising Club passed its "torch of civic-mindedness" to
Ideson's "slim, busy hands" and recognized her devoted labors to bring the joy of reading
to Houstonians at branch libraries, schools, and settlement houses.

In her 1913 paean to Houston as the perfect setting for the jewel that was Rice
Institute, Julia Cameron Montgomery praised the city's embrace of electricity, natural
gas, indoor plumbing, and the telephone as well as its historic support of public schools.
Early settlers had quickly opened Sunday schools and numerous short-lived private
academies to provide rudimentary instruction, and in 1851 Mrs. Abraham W. Noble
began her life's work teaching Houston children, first as proprietor of a private academy
in her home, and after 1871 as principal of the county's first free public school. When the
city passed an ordinance authorizing municipal control of all county schools within city
limits in 1877, Mrs. Noble continued her career as teacher and principal.

By 1912, 372 public school teachers taught 15,000 students, double the staff and
enrollment of the previous decade. Costs at these segregated schools reached nearly
$331,000 that year because city officials had begun to incorporate Progressive reforms in

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Master's thesis, Atlanta University, School of Library Science, 1964, 16-25.
47 Annette Finnigan Vertical File, Archives, MFAH.
the curriculum and in the rapidly expanding physical plant. New schools were surrounded by spacious, well-equipped playgrounds and recreation gymnasiums. Twelve schools offered "modern" manual training and domestic science to "prepare the boys and girls to meet new conditions in life." Night schools for adults and children over twelve helped immigrants learn English and citizenship, taught illiterate adults to read, and provided practical classes in stenography, typewriting, book-keeping, cooking, and sewing. By 1912 the public schools ran four kindergartens for those who could pay the tuition, maintained mother's clubs and Parent-Teacher Associations in most schools, and provided music and art classes. City overseers had recently ordered new fireproof buildings, designed by established architects. Handsomely constructed of concrete, steel, and brick, they boasted the latest technology for sanitation, ventilation, heating, and lighting. Montgomery was particularly proud of the new Rusk Elementary School, whose dispensary and meeting rooms were to be used by the Settlement Association as the city's first neighborhood social center located in a school. This novel approach signaled the critical importance of full-time school attendance to immigrant and poor children living in the surrounding area. To ensure the success of this experiment in social service delivery, school officials had sought advice from Professor A. Caswell Ellis, an innovative sociologist from the University of Texas and long-time mentor to Ima Hogg. Houston in 1912 also supported several private academies that catered to the children of Houston's leaders and a segregated parochial system that maintained schools for white, African American, and Mexican Catholic children.\(^50\)

\(^{48}\) *Houston Gargoyle*, Apr. 21, 1929, p. 11.

\(^{49}\) The Texas Constitution of 1876 mandated racial segregation in public schools.

Will and the Battle for Higher Education in Texas

Advocacy of higher education and calls for universal public schooling were by no means widely held beliefs in early twentieth-century Texas. A rural population continued to be skeptical of "book learning," and persistent fiscal conservatism dampened enthusiasm for lavish expenditure on abstruse disciplines whose practical value was sharply contested. Indeed, the Hoggs and their circle of enlightened friends recognized that the battle for excellence in education was only beginning in 1912 when the Rice Institute opened its doors. In proselytizing their view that public education was a "many-sided community responsibility," the Hoggs continued a long-established family tradition. From colonial days, Hogg family members had stressed the value of education and recognized its role as a foundation stone of democracy. An ancestor had helped found what became the University of North Carolina; their grandfather, Joseph Lewis Hogg, taught his children that churches, colleges, and newspapers held equal sway over the public mind. As a Senator of the Texas Republic, Joseph Lewis linked learning to livelihood by voting for a revised Homestead Law that included protection of a homeowner's two hundred acres, a professional's books, a farmer's provisions, and a mechanic's tools. In antebellum East Texas, Joseph Lewis donated property for a school, hired a teacher, and provided additional tutors for his children's musical training.51

Jim Hogg insisted it was the duty of the state and its people to provide and pay for the "best" education for all Texas's children in campaign speeches, in two gubernatorial addresses to the legislature, and in his 1895 farewell address. He also pledged a fully funded, six-month academic year for school children and endowments for the University of Texas and Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College. A public university had been mandated in the 1876 constitution and opened September 1883 with 8 faculty members and 103 students, but representatives of the predominately rural citizenry were reluctant to allocate state funds.52 The governor's rhetoric exceeded his ability to persuade the legislature to enact enabling legislation for his educational reform agenda, but he worked hard to convince fellow Texans that universal public education was critical to the state's future growth as an industrial power. In his view, only an educated public could finally join mainstream national life. The governor also hammered home his definition of the university as a "forum of reason" to maintain liberty and justice, as a sanctuary for the scholars who preserved past accomplishments and generated knowledge, and as a site to train teachers of the young, engineers of modern economic life, and leaders of the state.53

When the capitol was destroyed by fire in 1881, the state's library of books, maps, and papers perished. In 1891, three years after the new capitol was completed, Governor Hogg reopened the state library under the aegis of the Department of Insurance, Statistics, and History. An avid reader of histories himself, Hogg appointed an historical

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52 The 1836 constitution called upon congress to "provide by law, a general system of education," and in 1839 more than 221,000 acres of land were set aside to endow two colleges or universities while in each county 3 leagues of land were set aside to finance public primary schools. The 1876 constitution mandated a university that included a branch for "the instruction of colored youths of the State" and an agricultural and mechanical college. Only in 1881 did the state pass various enabling acts that permitted classes to begin. Roger A. Griffin, "To Establish a University of the First Class," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 86 (Oct. 1982), 135, 137, 140, 143. In 1892 Governor Hogg escorted President Rutherford B. Hayes, then a director of the Slater Fund, around Texas in hopes of securing private money from the Fund to examine Texas's educational needs. Cotner, *Hogg*, 274, n. 1.
clerk that year and added a Spanish translator and archivist in 1893, steps that eventually led to creation of the Texas State Library and Historical Commission in 1909. Most important, the governor instilled in his children the belief that it was their duty to nurture public education for all Texas children, regardless of race, religion, or economic condition.

During the last months of his life, the dying governor spent hours rocking on the veranda at Varner, formulating plans to make Texas a leader in public education. The ailing father, his oldest son, and his only daughter developed a plan that guided the family's educational activism and philanthropy for decades. The governor well understood that Texas was hampered by its rural heritage, but he also realized that citizens and government officials must be made to see the urgent need for a fully funded public education system. Father and children reached critical conclusions. Like other Progressives, they believed only educated citizens could effectively participate in and safeguard democracy. They viewed education as a many-sided responsibility demanding individual, community, and state support. For them, the education process from kindergarten through post-graduate enrichment must be a seamless continuum of opportunity open to all. Philanthropists, they realized, could help ambitious young people help themselves by guaranteeing financial support for higher education. Finally, they recognized that an effective educational system was the slow work of years dependent "on the pride and generosity of a progressive, enlightened people." Two barriers threatened educational excellence: securing adequate financial resources and protecting intellectual integrity and freedom. The Hoggs recognized that these challenges

53 Cotner, Hogg, 581.
54 "Texas State Library," Handbook of Texas Online; Cotner, Hogg, 585.
were interrelated: financial independence would enable educational administrators to retain control of their institutions and would protect scholars in their pursuit and dissemination of knowledge.\(^{55}\)

In his new role as Hogg family spokesperson after his father's death in 1906, Will was the first to act on these principles. In 1911 he tackled the issues of control and funding at the University of Texas, at that date also the contested overseer of the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College. Recognizing that politics played havoc with university attempts to attract established scholars, Will conceived the idea of a Texas alumni group that would promote school spirit among alumni, raise money to educate the public about the need for a great university, provide funding to the institution, and develop a strong body of informed and loyal former students to lobby legislators for university support. Will prepared his "Texas Exes" Alumni Association initiative with care. First he studied the university systems of other states — and discovered some unflattering statistics about Texas's standing in the academic horse race. He then persuaded University President Sidney E. Mezes to serve as chairman of the Organization for the Enlargement and Extension by the State of the University Plan of Higher Education in Texas. Mercifully this cumbersome title was quickly shortened to Hogg Organization, much to Will's dismay. To manage the organization, Will called for a nine-member standing committee that included the president of the Board of Regents and an

\(^{55}\) Will saved "The Opportunity of American Universities," by Frank Strong, chancellor of the University of Kansas (University of Kansas News Bulletin, XV, Mar. 1, 1915), 2J306, folder 2, WHP, CAH, and heavily underlined the following: "the purpose of schools in a democracy is not to make an exclusive or ruling class . . . but that schools are great democratizing agencies for upbuilding the general intellectual life of a nation and providing reasonably sound intellectual standards upon which a democratic government may be based. . . . Our advance as a people depends . . . upon the extension of the boundaries of knowledge, upon discoveries and improvements, not only in scientific, but in literary, historical and economic lines." See John Avery Lomax, \textit{Will Hogg, Texan} (Austin: University of Texas Press for the Hogg Foundation, 1956; originally in \textit{Atlantic Monthly}, 1940); Cotner, \textit{Addresses}. 
eight-member advisory committee with non-university luminaries like Rice Institute president Edgar O. Lovett. Then he began to solicit his friends for donations.\(^{56}\)

By June 1911 Will had prepared pamphlets for distribution throughout the state and was ready to lay his plans before the newly formed Alumni Association at its annual meeting. He explained how he would fight "prejudice against higher education" in the state: he would raise at least $25,000 and not more than $50,000 per year for 5 years by securing pledges of $25 to $250; he would stimulate thought and "arouse aspiration" for higher education in Texas by speaking out and engaging the public; he would call on others to expand and maintain the faculty and facilities with a "carefully adjusted financial provision"; and he would demand that all state-supported educational institutions be removed from political influence.\(^{57}\) In what became a famous tactic, Will produced the first of his many blue books — blank-paged tomes in which subscribers could sign a pledge of financial support. Banking on his famous name and his father's connections, Will wrote and visited hundreds of Texas graduates or friends of education and raised 443 subscription pledges for $149,000 in a frenetic four-month tour of the state. By February 1912, the Organization had hired F. M. Bralley, state superintendent of public instruction, as executive secretary and Arthur Lefebre, former state superintendent of public instruction, as secretary for research. Lefebre's work resulted in a series of articles distributed to newspapers across the state that compared Texas's inadequate funding and decentralized administrative system to funding and programs in

\(^{56}\) A subscription renewal list of 1915 includes business partners Joseph Cullinan and James Autrey and Houston standbys James A. Baker, W. T. Carter, Jesse Jones and his Chronicle, John Kirby, Levy Brothers, Edwin B. Parker, Jim West, and a note that Walter B. Sharp, now deceased, should receive "no further notices." Box 2J310, WHP, CAH.

\(^{57}\) Founders list and speech to Alumni Association, June 12, 1911, Box 2J311, folder 1, WHP, CAH. Information summarized in Lovett, "Meaning of the Institution," 115-16, n. 8. See also, 2J403, Hogg
other states. Will was rewarded for this imaginative initiative with a term on the reorganized Board of Regents (August 1913–January 1917).58

Although Will had phenomenal success gaining and retaining subscribers for the Hogg Organization, as a regent he immediately embroiled himself in a series of controversies that culminated in a war with Governor Jim Ferguson (1914–1917) and continued until Will's death in 1930. What ended as a battle for the soul and control of public education in Texas began peacefully with a "chance" meeting September 23, 1914, and a follow-up letter a few days later. With his usual optimistic enthusiasm Will expressed pleasure that Ferguson would "give much thought and attention to the educational situation" and responded to Ferguson's "willingness to discuss educational affairs" with him by setting down key issues in four well-organized pages. After one year, this regent clearly understood every element of the state system, which he believed "should be thoroughly organized and adequately supported from the country school to the University." Will listed three ideas that would modernize and improve the state education system. All would prove later sources of conflict. Will felt all county schools should be locally controlled through "non-political supervision" selected on "a professional basis." He argued that constitutional amendments should ensure "permanency and dependability" in funding the University, the A. & M. College, the state normal schools, and the College of Industrial Arts. He believed the "petty jealousy" and "brambles of misrepresentations and personal abuse" existing between the University and the independently managed A. & M. College should be resolved either by passing a constitutional amendment that would separate the two institutions and provide each with

permanent funding sources or by uniting both institutions firmly under one board of 
regents. Hogg, an idealistic statesman of education, understood the pitfalls of political 
interference; Ferguson, a crafty demagogue whose populist rhetoric far exceeded his 
williness to deliver, had little interest in divesting himself of the political plums 
provided by control of a state school system.\textsuperscript{59} Amity between Hogg and Ferguson was 
short-lived. The governor was not interested in Hogg's offer to obtain "disinterested 
expert advice," and Hogg quickly realized Ferguson lacked visionary policy ideas and 
instead shifted his positions to pursue a personal agenda.

First Ferguson and Hogg clashed over A. \& M. governance.\textsuperscript{60} Next Ferguson 
decided too much money was allocated to higher education and too little to public 
schools, at the time administered by each county. Then the governor began to criticize 
university budgets in an attempt to wrest control of university business from the Board of 
Regents. Not satisfied with undermining the Regents' authority to approve budget 
requests, Ferguson locked horns with Acting President W. J. Battle over academic 
appointments and use of funds. When the unbowed governor attempted to influence the 
Regents' choice of a permanent president and demanded the new man, Robert E. Vinson, 
fire six professors in June 1916, the Regents refused to buckle to the governor's 
interference. The furious governor then tried to bully Rabbi M. Faber of Tyler to promise 
the governor his "full and complete co-operation." Remarking that he did "not concede 
to you the right or authority to interfere in the internal management of the university,"

\textsuperscript{59} During reorganization, members were assigned two, four, or six-year terms to achieve a rotation system. 
\textsuperscript{60} William C. Hogg to James E. Ferguson, Sept. 30, 1914, letter, Lovett Papers, Box 43, folder 10, WRC, 
RU. Throughout his life, Will sent copies of his letters to selected friends. He also always categorized the 
subject matter under the date, in this case Education (all capital letters). 
\textsuperscript{60} William C. Hogg to James E. Ferguson, Dec. 11, 1914, letter, Lovett Papers, Box 43, folder 10, WRC, 
RU, concludes the one-board plan is probably more feasible even though separation would be best "with 
permanent and adequate constitutional tax," a statement that Ferguson thought undercut his position.
Faber finally resigned in disgust that November. The governor then foisted three political cronies on the Board in January 1917. Almost immediately House and Senate committees began investigating Ferguson's activities but exonerated him of wrongdoing in March. Unchastened by findings that essentially substantiated his foes' charges of malfeasance and bullying, Ferguson demanded that the Regents fire President Vinson, Ex-Students Association Secretary John Lomax, and three faculty members. When Ferguson summoned the Regents to the Capitol on May 28, 1917, to threaten a veto of the appropriations bill if Regents did not bow to his will, the students rose in protest and marched en masse down Congress Avenue to the Capitol, brandishing "We oppose one-man rule" banners and demanding that the governor leave university business to the Regents.

At every turn in this drama, Will resisted Ferguson's attempts to destroy the university's independence and insisted that politics had no place in academe. After his Board term ended in 1917, Will provided anti-Ferguson data to alumni and legislative committees, and when the governor packed the Board of Regents and vetoed the university appropriation bill in June 1917, Will decided to fight. Organizing a coalition of faculty, students, and alumni, Will took rooms in the Driskill Hotel in Austin, appointed himself secretary of the Ex-Students Association, and teamed with prohibition advocates, suffragists, and "Mothers of Texas" to rouse the people and rid the state of its governor. Will saturated the media with details of Ferguson's financial peculation and

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61 "Ferguson's War on the University of Texas," pp. 8-9, pamphlet in 2J316, WHP, CAH.
62 Letters, 2J314, WHP, CAH. The box contains letters and pamphlets relating the Ferguson/Hogg struggle and outlining Ferguson's iniquities. Record of Investigation, 2J316, WHP, CAH, contains all printed information about the Ferguson impeachment. Progressive educators and close personal friends of the Hoggs, Acting Director of the Department of Extension A. Caswell Ellis and Texas Exes Secretary John Lomax, were dismissed to appease Ferguson.
other malfeasance and spearheaded calls for impeachment. He financed a pamphlet that was sent to every University of Texas graduate in August 1917 and used Ferguson's statements to condemn the governor "through his own mouth." Will also funded an Ex-Students' Association chronology of "Ferguson's War on the University of Texas" and paid for two thousand copies of the Record of Impeachment that included a colorful introduction. Dedicated "To the People in their hour of humiliation, this record of shame" outlined the governor's misdeeds: Ferguson had violated the constitution, falsely accused faculty members, "maliciously and mendaciously traduce[d]" the university, "attack[ed] the freedom he was elected to preserve," dismissed appointed officials who disagreed with him from eleemosynary boards, misappropriated government funds and misused properties, and violated civil and criminal banking laws. Will's cogent legal briefs, relentless exposure of greed, and impassioned press propaganda that decried Ferguson's "putrid paw of patronage" and his "paltry personal prejudices" carried impeachment forces to victory. Once Will had secured the House's bill of impeachment in August, he packed his bags and, "whistling cheerfully," slipped quietly out of town and headed for New York, content to allow the Senate "court of justice" to reach judgment without him. Will's "bear fight" with Ferguson proved only the first of several battles Will fought to keep politics out of university business. In 1923–1924 he rallied public opinion and Texas alumni to deny former governor Pat Neff the university's presidency. In 1927

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64 Record of Investigation, 2J316, WHP, CAH.
65 William C. Hogg to Austin Statesman, Feb. 9, 1917, in John Avery Lomax Family Papers, Box 3D168, folder 1, CAH.
66 John Avery Lomax, "Random Recollections of the University 'Bear Fight'" in 3D 168, folder 3, Lomax Papers, CAH. For the Ferguson war, see letters, clippings, pamphlets 2J312, 2J316, WHP, CAH; and 3D157, 3D168, Lomax Papers, CAH. See also Norman D. Brown, *Hood, Bonnet, and Little Brown Jug*. 
he declined to be nominated for another term on the Board of Regents because ultra-conservative, neo-Klansman J. Lutcher Stark, who had promoted Pat Neff's candidacy as university president, remained chairman of the Board of Regents.\textsuperscript{67}

While Will's battles for excellence in education at the University of Texas did not directly affect institutions in Houston, they did focus attention statewide on his goals for educational philanthropy and did establish his reputation as a fund raiser without equal. Working closely with lifelong friend and Texas Exes Secretary John Avery Lomax, Will developed the concept of a Texas Exes Student Loan Fund endowment after World War I and drew up a charter for its incorporation. Texas graduates and friends were invited to assist students who could show any kind of financial need with loans made on very generous terms. Over the years, Will helped hundreds of students with unrecorded thousands from his private account. Insisting on anonymity, Will authorized Lomax to provide funds to any students "in distress" and to bill him after the fact; any repayments were returned to the Texas Exes to increase endowment of the permanent loan fund. Will threatened Lomax he would withdraw all support if word of his generosity leaked abroad. Will also set up student loan funds at all other Texas institutions of higher learning, provided bequests to each in his will, and helped other alumni groups around the state develop alumni support groups.\textsuperscript{68} Probably his most enduring legacy, these loan funds

\textit{Texas Politics, 1921–1928} (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1984), 129-67, 352-54, for Will's continuing efforts to depoliticize the university.
\textsuperscript{67} Correspondence 2J312, WHP, CAH. Ima, too, defended apolitical academic administration. When forward-looking President Homer Rainey fell afoot of conservative regents suspicious of faculty interested in political, economic, and social reform or innovation in the 1940s, Ima helped rally thirteen former University of Texas students who opposed the regents' desire to fire the president (including oil man Jubal R. Parten, attorney Jesse Andrews, and librarian Julia I'deson) and raised a crowd of nearly 500, who argued whether to send a recommendation to the regents until past midnight but adjourned without declaring support for or against the regents (220-200). Don Carleton, \textit{A Breed So Rare: The Life of J. R. Parten, Liberal Texas Oil Man, 1896–1992} (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1998), 300-23
\textsuperscript{68} Lomax, \textit{Will Hogg, Texan.} After Will's death, Lomax revealed the scope of Will's generosity. Cullen Thomas to William C. Hogg, Sept. 21, 1912, 2J376, Sundry folder, WHP, CAH. In 1919 Will and F. M.
boosted students up the ladder of success and taught Texans who had benefited from their own college experiences to assist future generations. Will failed to persuade legislators to enact laws that assured funding to the university or removed its governance from politics, but he began a tradition of private generosity that continues to sustain innovation, construct buildings, support students, and counter political horse-trading.

During the 1910s and 1920s advocates of educational innovation at all levels could always count on Will to "advance progress and reform" by lobbying legislators and governors and by speaking out in public forums and the press. Family members and fellow Houstonians were quick to follow his example. Mike, also a devoted graduate of the university's Law School, became an invaluable propagandist for university expansion in the 1920s and 1930s and a member of the Ex-Students Executive Council in 1937–1938. With friend and old business associate Raymond Dickson, Mike led the 1924 drive to secure funds for a memorial stadium financed by the University of Texas Memorial Stadium Association incorporated by the Texas Alumni Association, and in the 1930s he raised money for the Hogg Memorial Auditorium dedicated to his father. All three siblings befriended University of Texas professors, established lectureships on the Austin campus, and endowed chairs during their lives and through bequests. Friends seeking

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Law established a Student Loan Fund at Texas A. & M. (charter complete by 1921), and in 1919 Will organized a fund for Rice Institute. By 1924 he had helped the following institutions set up funds and write charters of incorporation: University of Texas, A. & M. College, College of Industrial Arts at Denton, Sam Houston State Normal College in Huntsville, West Texas State Normal College in Canyon, East Texas State Normal College in Commerce, Rice Institute, John Tarlton Agricultural College in Stephenville, Grubbs Vocational College in Arlington, North Texas State Normal College in Denton, Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College, Sul Ross College in Alpine, and Southwest State Normal College in San Marcos. William C. Hogg to Ike Ashburn, Executive Secretary, Association of Former Students, A. & M., June 11, 1924, 2J313, WHP, CAH.


70 Correspondence with Jesse Jones, 1924, Houston Endowment Archives, courtesy of Ann Hamilton.

71 During her lifetime Ima used the Hogg Foundation as a conduit to fund scholarships and lectureships in
the College of Education; the psychiatry, sociology, and psychology departments; and the School of Social
support for education recognized the Hoggs' statewide influence and turned to them again and again for fund-raising support. Finally, Ima and Mike realized, without much hesitation, that only Will's beloved university provided a site appropriate for their memorial Hogg Foundation.

Although most of the Hoggs' philanthropic dollars and volunteer time went to their alma mater during the 1920s and 1930s, they did not forget Rice Institute. Despite President Lovett's announced intention to nurture town and gown ties, not all Institute activities were well-received by Houstonians. Rice historian Fredericka Meiners recounts several battles where religion, politics, open discussion, and academic freedom made uncomfortable bedfellows, and she notes growing town/gown coolness during World War I. Houstonians had believed the Institute was "their" university and felt justified in trying to influence policy. Trustees found political and press comment intrusive and unwelcome even as they sought funding for Institute programs from city philanthropists. The general public wallowed in ignorance. By 1929 Hubert Roussel felt called upon to defend Dr. Lovett against "fallacious" charges of aloofness and to outline the numerous contributions of Rice faculty members to Houston's public life. "A part of the city's population has enjoyed making a great mystery of Dr. Lovett," Roussel declared, despite the learned academician's quick smile, habit of walking about town, and inability to turn down an invitation to speak at "any . . . worthy organization in Houston."72 Roussel noted that "no great educational institution in the United States . . . has so tragically neglected the opportunity to sell itself to the people through the medium

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Work. In 1951 she was named advisor to the Graduate School of Social Work. Ima and Alice Hogg established the Mike Hogg Memorial Fund for Mental Health to train visiting teachers. See letters in MA19/U1; U14, folder 6; U25, HFR, CAH; 2J325, folder 4; 2J367, 2J313, WHP, CAH; Box 1, folder 10,
of good publicity," and he recommended the Institute establish a public relations
department to "translate Rice to the public and 'sell' it as scientifically as merchandise." Roussel's spirited reminders may have exaggerated the public's antipathy toward a prized civic institution, but they reflected concern among university advocates about town/gown harmony and future funding needs. In a Houston *Chronicle* article on April 1, 1929, John Willis Slaughter reminded readers that "their" Institute had no oil wells in West Texas, no State Treasury support, and no rich alumni but was "absolutely dependent upon the generosity of Houston citizens for its future." Each year, after all, young Houstonians received $200,000 in free tuition, while civic committees of every kind received untold thousands in the labor and expertise of Rice faculty. In September Slaughter told Kiwanis members "Rice belongs to Houston and we should back it up" by creating "endowments for its progress in years to come." Like other academic institutions, by the late 1920s the Institute's vision had begun to outpace even its generous endowment, and supporters were beginning to discuss the need for supplemental funds. Well aware of the services Rice provided "our city, our state, and our nation," Will continued to fund scholarships at the Institute and in 1929 responded to Roussel's essays and Slaughter's dire warnings about Rice's endowment predicament. In May Will presented a novel funding idea to Institute trustees, and in the fall, he prepared a petition to City Hall that he hoped would reinforce the bonds between city and Institute and reimburse the Institute for educating Houston's young people. By October 1929 he had gathered 815 signatures for this petition in a Memorial Book from

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Mike and Alice Hogg Papers, MS 19, Archives, MFAH; Box 2, folder 2, Julia Ideson Papers, HMRC, HPL; Box 43, folder 10, Lovett Papers, WRC, RU.


73 Hubert Roussel, "Lifting the Rice Taboo," *Houston Gargoyle*, June 23, 1929, pp. 16-17.
the Citizens of Houston. The petition he had proposed to the Rice board and to Houston's public recommended that the City Council adopt an ordinance to provide $250,000 a year to support Rice for a period of at least ten years beginning in 1930; it also called for a special election to amend the city charter "to permit municipal support for this institution of learning which is so essentially a part of our city." 

Ima, Mike, and a roster of Houston's leadership endorsed the idea, and Will set up a "Protective Campaign Committee" before he left town for his world tour in November 1929. Committee members included Mike, Hugh Potter, Steve Pinckney, and other business associates. After Will's death in September 1930 the initiative apparently collapsed. The contested benefits of public support, the strained Depression-era municipal budgets, and the nascent movement to create a University of Houston ended further discussion of municipal funding for the Institute, although town and gown continued to cooperate on mutually beneficial projects.

**Ima and Houston's Board of Education**

During the 1930s Mike and Ima focused their educational activism on projects at the University of Texas that culminated in creation of the Hogg Foundation, but in 1943, two years after Mike's death, Ima turned her attention to Houston's public school system. At 1:00 P.M. on Monday April 5, 1943, a small, elegantly dressed woman with sparkling blue eyes and softly curling hair entered the meeting room of the Houston Independent School District's Board of Education at Sam Houston High School. Dr. Ray K. Daily,

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74 Houston Chronicle, Apr. 1, 1929; Houston Post, Sept. 27, 1928, clippings in John Willis Slaughter Information File, WRC, RU.
who had been reelected to Position 4, introduced the newly elected representative for Position 3, and board president Holger Jeppesen extended the "best wishes and good will of the Board members" to Ima Hogg, who at age 61 was beginning her first and only term of elected office. Ima thanked them graciously and stated in her firm but soft-spoken manner that she would like to meet with each member of the board and with the superintendent and business manager "to get the benefit of their council so that [I] may become better acquainted with the workings of the Board and better prepared to become an active member."\textsuperscript{76} As Will had tried to imbue the processes of city planning with the family's vision of a City Beautiful and Functional, so Ima would endeavor to inspire Houston's Board of Education with the family's belief that high-quality public education formed the foundation for engaged citizenship in a viable democracy. She hoped to transfer lessons learned during her career in philanthropy to the public sector and fulfill her father's admonitions that the public school system was every citizen's responsibility.\textsuperscript{77}

Until 1923 Houston's public schools had been supervised by the city, but that year citizens empowered a separate taxing entity, the Houston Independent School District, and created a Board of Education to manage its programs and personnel.\textsuperscript{78} Houston's

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\textsuperscript{76} Board of Education, Minutes, Apr. 5, 1943; also reported in Houston \textit{Chronicle}, Apr. 6, 1943, sec. B, p. 1. Board of Education hereafter abbreviated BE. BE minutes and meeting folders are available on microfilm at the Board Services Department, Houston Independent School District Administration Building, 3830 Richmond Ave., Houston.
\textsuperscript{77} An earlier version of the information about Ima Hogg's service to the Board of Education appeared in Kate S. Kirkland, "For All Houston's Children: Ima Hogg and the Board of Education, 1943–1949," \textit{Southwestern Historical Quarterly} 101 (April 1998), 460-95.
\textsuperscript{78} In 1922 the Texas legislature created independent school districts. Houston's tax department collected the school tax for the district but otherwise had no connection with schools in the district, which has never corresponded exactly to city limits. In 1924 the district taught 35,186 pupils in 2 white and 1 black senior high schools, 4 junior high schools, 56 elementary schools, including 11 kindergartens, and 2 schools for "subnormal" children, reflecting both the city's progressive attitudes toward educational innovation and its
population grew 111 percent in the 1920s (from 138,276 in 1920 to 292,351 in 1930), and citizens realized the school system needed a major reorganization and modernization.

Edison E. Oberholtzer, who had overhauled the rapidly expanding Tulsa, Oklahoma, system, came to Houston in 1924 after a "conscientious and painstaking" national search and quickly seized opportunities to explain his philosophy and build a new administration committed to programs that kept up with changes in society, were managed frugally, and provided broad training for citizenship in a democracy.\textsuperscript{79} Taking advantage of 1920s prosperity and responding to the city's astonishing growth, Oberholtzer embarked on a much-needed building program that benefited all areas of the expanding city and added 950 classrooms to district schools between 1924 and 1931 at a cost of $11 million in bond indebtedness.\textsuperscript{80} Like other Progressives, Oberholtzer believed democracy demanded an informed, educated public, and he pointed with pride to curriculum innovations that stressed pupil/teacher cooperation and parent involvement and prepared students for the "complicated civilization which will confront" graduates in the 1930s.\textsuperscript{81}

The superintendent's innovations, while praised by many, were received with skepticism by critics who protested rapidly rising costs and feared that "structure has been literally

\textsuperscript{79} See Board member Mrs. O. C. Castle's letter to the Editor, \textit{Woman's Viewpoint}, Apr. 15, 1924, pp. 21, 29. Castle outlines the switch from city to school district administration and from appointed to elected school board membership. She also explains the decision to adopt junior high schools for grades 6, 7, 8 and senior high schools for grades 9-11 in the 1920–1924 period of transition. Grade 12 was not incorporated in most systems until the 1950s.

\textsuperscript{80} \textit{Houston}, Sept. 1931, p. 3. Of 1605 classrooms available in June 1930, 942 had been built since 1924 (Oberholtzer in ibid., p. 4). Howard Beeth and Cary D. Winz, eds., \textit{Black Dixie: Afro-Texan History and Culture in Houston} (College Station: Texas A. & M. University Press, 1992), 96, point out that between 1921 and 1940, the district built 8 elementary, 3 junior high, and 2 senior high schools for African-American students and renovated many older campus buildings. In his article (\textit{Houston}, p. 4), Oberholtzer noted that 1,000 parents attended child development classes sponsored by the school district and that special classes for tubercular, retarded, or deaf students and for children with speech defects and "social" diseases were included in the 105 schools.
thrown out of the window" to accommodate new theories that "integrated" (a new-fangled expression) "subjects for the pupil and . . . the pupil with his . . . community."\textsuperscript{82}

This conflict between innovation and tradition fueled a power struggle between reformist academicians Oberholtzer and conservative business manager Hubert L. Mills that persisted for two decades.

By the 1940s the all-white board comprised seven members elected for staggered six-year terms in nonpartisan citywide contests. Two places had traditionally been reserved for women, and citizens well known for their civic, professional, or business accomplishments vied for these positions, which demanded serious commitment because members were responsible for the daily affairs of all schools in the segregated system and oversaw all business of the University of Houston and its affiliated College for Negroes.\textsuperscript{83}

Members were expected to attend at least two regular meetings each month but were frequently asked to add specially called sessions and conferences to their schedules. A typical biweekly "Order of Business" covered petitions from citizens, letters and other communications to the board, committee reports, and lengthy statements from the superintendent and business manager. All personnel changes, leaves of absence, vacations, bills, and contracts required board approval, a process that usually provoked prolonged discussions. Meetings lasted for hours, were often adjourned before all matters could be covered, and frequently were continued to the following day. Each member visited schools and served on several standing and special committees, most of

\textsuperscript{81} Houston Gargoyle, Apr. 10, 1932, p. 9. See also, Patrick J. Nicholson, \textit{In Time: An Anecdotal History of the First Fifty Years of the University of Houston} (Houston: Pacesetter Press, 1977), 2, 4.

\textsuperscript{82} Houston Gargoyle, Apr. 3, 1932, p. 17. See also, Houston Gargoyle, Feb. 17, 1929, pp. 4-5; Sept. 29, 1929, pp. 15, 30; Mar. 27, 1932, pp. 10, 11, 30.

\textsuperscript{83} Nicholson, \textit{In Time}, 1.
which met at least once each month. During one typical week in 1945, Ima attended the board meeting, visited nine schools, and fulfilled obligations to six other organizations.84

Ima was not fooled by her cordial welcome at the April 5 meeting following her election victory. She joined a board deadlocked between forces loyal to the progressive superintendent and those partial to the entrenched business manager. Well aware of the power struggle forced on outsider Oberholtzer by Houstonian Mills, whose service to the Houston public schools antedated the superintendent's by more than a decade, Ima was prepared to tackle the "problems which have torn the school board for some years."85 When Oberholtzer came to Houston in 1924, he discovered that Mills's ties to city and state officials left him impervious to supervision. For several years, the rivalry slumbered while Mills strengthened his position by placing friends and relatives in jobs throughout the system and gained board members' support by pleading "fiscal responsibility" in arguments with the superintendent. Oberholtzer endeared himself to Ima and her circle of progressive friends by developing a strong academic program and by supporting the city's cultural institutions. Ima, Estelle Sharp, and other friends had worked closely with Oberholtzer in the late 1920s to build River Oaks Elementary as a model school attuned to the "child-centered" philosophy of "interest and effort" espoused by philosopher and reformer John Dewey. As Principal Eva Margaret Davis explained,

84 Date Book, week of February 5, 1945, 3B165, IHP, CAH. In BE Minutes, July 12, 1943, Ima was named chairman of the Lunch Room Committee and member of the New School Properties and Future Construction Committee. Other standing committees included Adult Education, under Ray Daily; Rules and Regulations, under Henry A. Petersen. Committees in 1947–1948 included: Adult and Vocational Education, Athletic, Lunch Room, Hours, Study Visiting Teacher Program, Handle Physical Examinations, Special Committee to Prepare Contracts for Architects for Building Program. Ima also represented the board at the annual meeting of the Association of Texas Colleges in 1944, served as special liaison to the City Planning Commission in 1945 and 1946, and participated on six of the eight standing committees in 1948 and 1949. See BE Meeting Folder, May 12, 1947.
85 Ima Hogg to B. F. Pittinger, letter, Apr. 7, 1943, 4W237, folder 4, IHP, CAH; Ima Hogg Oral History, typescript, 5, HMRC, HPL.
the River Oaks approach taught the child, not the subject. She believed interested
children would make an effort to learn. It is no wonder Ima and Miss Davis became
close friends as Ima built up the school library, landscaped the grounds, and urged
parents to support the school.\textsuperscript{86}

The rift between Oberholtzer and Mills widened in 1937 when newly elected
board member Holger Jeppesen formed an anti-Oberholtzer clique that lasted until 1945.
Described by fellow board member Ray Daily as "a man of no education" who was only
"interested in athletics," the tall and imposing Jeppesen found two influential allies in
Henry A. Petersen and Ewing Werlein, who were elected in 1938 and 1941, respectively.
Daily thought Petersen, an "elegant and brilliant" brain surgeon, was "disappointed" and
"frustrated" because he was forced to perform general surgery since there was little
demand for his specialty during most of his career in Houston. No such frustrations
marred lawyer Ewing Werlein's self-assured conservatism. The silver-haired and voluble
Werlein was an imposing figure who in 1943 was both a practicing attorney and law
school dean. In the 1950s Werlein, son of the pastor at First Methodist Church, became
the leader of the ultraconservative anti-Communist Committee for the Preservation of
Methodism founded in December 1950 to dislodge Methodism's perceived "pink
fringe."\textsuperscript{87}

\textsuperscript{86} Cables between the Hoggs and Hugh Potter indicate that they organized River Oaks mothers in a
telephone campaign to pressure Oberholtzer to build River Oaks Elementary on land donated by River
Oaks Corporation. Cables, Oct. 1928, 2J304, WHP, CAH. Recollections in interview with Eva Margaret
Davis, Principal of River Oaks Elementary, May 3, 1978, by Walter L. Buenger Jr., Estelle Sharp Papers,
interviews, WRC, RU. Mills's brother J. W. Mills served as Harris County Clerk at this time. Hubert Mills
served as business manager from 1923 until 1959, following a decade as teacher and principal (1913–
1923).

\textsuperscript{87} On Jeppesen, see Ray K. Daily Oral History, typescript of interview with Don E. Carleton, 20, HMRC,
HPL; Nicholson, \textit{In Time}, 1, 8, 147. Jeppeson resigned in January 1953 after more than twenty-five years'
service. On elections, see Records, Board Services files, Houston Independent School District
Administration Building, Houston, secured with the help of Veronica Mabasa. On Petersen, see Nicholson,
\textit{In Time}, 150; Daily Oral History, 14-15. Daily says Petersen, company physician for Houston Lighting
"A lively, brilliant, little woman, whose charm and staccato manner of speech, punctuated by infectious, merry smiles have won her legions of friends," Dr. Ray Karchmer Daily led the moderate group that usually supported Oberholtzer's educational reform programs. A feisty ophthalmologist who had practiced with her husband Louis since 1914 and had been elected president of the Baptist Hospital staff in 1931, Daily joined the Board of Education in 1928, when she replaced the appointed female incumbent who chose not to seek election. An outspoken critic of fellow board members, Daily later claimed the men believed that "the man with a Ph.D. was a fool" and that "a masters wasn't worth a hundred dollars more a year than anybody else." She recalled that several board members would not shake the hands of African-American teachers; so at the dedication of (black) Wheatley High School in 1950, she gave an address and shook hands with everyone. Accustomed to periodic accusations of Communist affiliation, the liberal Daily championed special education, equalization of pay for black and female district employees, reading programs, and industrial arts instruction to support the war effort and to provide training for those not going on to college. After twenty-four years of service, she failed to gain reelection in 1952 because she advocated federal funding for the school free lunch program, which her opponents condemned as a Communist plot.88

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88 Daily, Oral History, 2-6, 7, 13; Box 1, folder 1, Ray K Daily Papers, HMRC, HPL; Houston Gargoyle, Dec. 13, 1931, p. 11. The Gargoyle strongly supported Daily by running a long profile on her Tues. Aug. 14, 1928, pp. 10, 13, illustrated by a photograph of her and her smiling son, which reinforced the tacit presumption that Daily's professional and civic life had in no way impinged on her maternal duties.
Insurance executive E. Dale Shepherd Sr. voted with Daily on many issues. Fair-minded and deeply religious, Shepherd was appointed to the board in 1928, reelected twice, and served as its president from 1935 until 1940. He retired in 1945 to devote more time to his business. George D. Wilson, a prominent civic leader, also stood in the moderate camp. He was elected to the board in 1933, served as president in 1944, and retired in 1945 after two terms. Concerned about the effects of war on Houston's youth, Wilson was chairman of a 1943 Houston Symphony program that attempted to discourage delinquent behavior by providing twelve free concerts in city parks during the summer. 89

In the 1945 school board contest, Holger Jeppesen was reelected, and two new members, William G. Farrington and Charles W. McPhail, replaced Shepherd and Wilson. Farrington, a conservationist whose wife had taught in Illinois public schools, was president of his own real estate development company, director of the University State Bank, and president of the Southampton Civic Club. He advocated updated property evaluations and promoted economical construction methods. 90 Charles McPhail, vice president of Houston Lighting and Power, was endorsed by conservative businessmen. A former chief of police and FBI agent, McPhail stressed safety education and school involvement in the fight against juvenile delinquency, claimed to favor "the removal of politics from the school system," and supported additional school construction. 91

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Ima's Election Campaign

By seeking membership on this contentious body, Ima took an unusual step.

Houston women had long been considered indispensable leaders of Houston's cultural, educational, and health-care initiatives, but in the 1940s few held elective public office.

Moreover, Ima had always denied any affinity for politics.

Causes interest me. Strange as it may seem to you, I dislike politics — at least the negative way the world has continually gone about it. I had been hoping the time would come when men sufficiently wise and strong, could draw others to them through agreement on common needs, not because of agreement on some defiance or accusation. The only cure for a torn world, I am confident, will be a new mental attitude in our human relations.  

Ima's public advocacy in the 1940s belies this disclaimer. Her typewriter was rarely idle as she prodded reluctant public officials to assume some responsibility for the social and health-care services she continued to support through personal philanthropy. Letters in 1943 to Austin legislators, to Governor Coke Stevenson, and to fellow citizens urged passage of the aid to dependent children act, argued for a school to train social workers, and demanded creation of a dental college at the University of Texas. In May 1945 Ima endorsed adoption of the Prairie View State College budget; in June 1946 she supported the National Mental Health Act; and in 1948 she wrote numerous letters calling for federal appropriations for community mental hygiene clinics. To Mayor Oscar Holcombe she protested removal of the Division of Crime Prevention from police headquarters.  

The demands of war weighed heavily on Ima's conscience; when asked to stand for election, she felt called upon to serve Houston's children in a time of crisis.

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92 Ima Hogg to Terrill Sledge, Kyle, Texas, letter, July 5, 1946, 3B164, IHP, CAH.
93 See Ima Hogg to Honorable Jesse E. Martin, letter, Mar. 1, 1943, 3B164, folder 1; several letters including Ima Hogg to Mayor Oscar Holcombe, letter, Sept. 30, 1947, 4W235, folder 1, IHP, CAH.
World War II produced an economic explosion welcome after the sluggish stagnation of the previous decade. A world at war battling for ships, munitions, oil, and cotton products not only silenced Houston's Depression-era blues but also brought new industries and immigrants to the city's gates. Population jumped from over 384,000 to nearly 600,000 during the 1940s. Designated the "citadel of defense" by its Chamber of Commerce propagandists, the city stood "on the threshold of unprecedented industrial and business activity" in 1941. Already first in manufacturing in the South and eleventh in the nation, Houston attracted new refineries and related businesses every month that year. By 1943, when Ima launched the liberty ship SS James Stephen Hogg on April 23, Houston industries employed 114,000 in war-related work, paid a $5 million weekly payroll, could turn out a new ship in sixty-six days, and produced 50 percent of America's wartime energy needs. As the startling increase in chemical workers attests — from 180 to 20,000 between 1940 and 1949 — the war gave birth to whole new industries that transformed Houston into a modern manufacturing giant. Less gratifying were pressures on a school system neglected during Depression years. Schools were crowded well beyond capacity. Teachers and staff decamped for the military or for high-paying jobs in industry. Family dislocations caused a sharp rise in juvenile delinquency and a demand for nurseries and other extended care facilities for young children whose mothers were working in war industries. New industries demanded curriculum development. But

94 Chamber of Commerce propaganda in Houston, 12 (Mar. 1941), 2; 12 (Feb. 1941), 3, 14; 14 (Apr. 1943), 7-17, 28; "SS James S. Hogg Launched April 23," 14 (May 1943), 34. David G. McCombs, Houston: The Bayou City (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), 189, notes that Houston was the fastest growing U.S. city in 1948. In the 1940s bank deposits increased 252 percent, and the population rose 54 percent. The SS Hogg was the fifth vessel launched in April and the twenty-second in 1943.

financing the war effort strained taxpayers' ability or desire to increase inadequate school budgets.

In the summer of 1942 school board attention was focused not on war-related crises but instead on the continuing battle for control pushed by the district's business manager. Hubert Mills consolidated his power base by creating board deadlock; he offered Mrs. B. F. Coop, a board member since 1928 and an Oberholtzer ally, the lucrative position of assistant director of the district lunchroom department. After her departure, most contested school business ground to a halt. The remaining six board members could not agree on Coop's replacement and decided to await results of the scheduled April 1943 election for the seats held by Mrs. Coop and Ray Daily. Dr. C. M. Taylor, the well-respected former president of the Houston District Dental Society, had filed for the post, but a group of "women from all sections of the city" formed the Citizens' Educational Committee to secure female candidates for the two contested positions and combat a potential shift toward Mills's more conservative camp by advancing a non-political agenda. Stressing "the necessity of having two able women on the school board" in keeping with district tradition, acknowledging Dr. Daily's "proved . . . value," and noting Miss Hogg's long-standing interest in education, the committee persuaded Ima to challenge Taylor in Position 3 and endorsed the incumbent doctor for Position 4.96 While Ima occasionally appeared at campaign meetings alone, made her own statements to the press, and conducted a solo radio appeal on KPRC on April 2, she and Daily were linked as a moderate to liberal slate in the public mind. On February 27, 1943, the newly organized East End Children's Educational Forum responded to the
Citizens' Educational Committee's action by endorsing Taylor for Position 3 and Mrs. Sam H. Davis, wife of a Houston oil man, for Position 4.97

In the businesslike way Ima approached any new enterprise, she studied the issues and prepared a statement that she elaborated at coffees and meetings held in homes and businesses throughout the city and restated in her April 2 radio address. She outlined three reasons for running: first, Houston deserved two women representatives on its Board of Education; second, Ima's time could be devoted to "the welfare of the Houston public school system"; and third, service to education provided "an opportunity . . . to answer the challenge which this war makes to every man, woman, and child on the homefront." Viewing elected office as a "privilege and an obligation," she continued:

It is my belief that any person elected to the school board should regard himself or herself as a representative of all citizens of Houston, regardless of class, color, or creed. If elected, I would not look upon myself as promoting the interests of any special group or section of the City. It would be my desire, therefore, and hope, to perform a service, however modest it might be to my community as a whole.

She concluded by declining to say how she would vote on any issue since "one who is not a member of the Board of Education could hardly pretend to have sufficient information to know the answers to the many questions which have arisen and which will come before the Board."98

96 Houston Post, Feb. 21, 1943, sec. 1, p. 1. The story was carried by the Houston Press on Feb. 20, 1943, p. 1. A full statement of Ima's position was printed by the Post on Feb. 25, 1943, sec. 1, p. 7. See also folder 6, IHP, Archives, MFAH.
97 Houston Post, Feb. 27, 1943, sec. 1, p. 6; Apr. 3, 1943, sec. 1, p. 1. Rosella Werlin handled publicity for the Hogg/Daily campaign and years later placed her papers in the Museum of Fine Arts archives, at which time she described the campaign as "unusually heated." She found her task "candidly was not at all an easy assignment." Rosella Werlin to Geraldine Styles, archivist for the Bayou Bend Docents, May 19, 1983, letter, folder 5, IHP, Archives, MFAH.
98 "Radio Talk," KPBC, typescript, Apr. 2, 1943; "Miss Hogg's Statement to the Newspapers," typescript, 4W237, folder 3, IHP, CAH. See also "Talk by Ima Hogg before the Woman's Club," typescript, Mar. 23, 1943, in ibid.
Ima's major opponent, Dr. C. M. Taylor, ran a similarly high-toned campaign and advocated "four freedoms" for teachers: "freedom from fear of losing their jobs . . . freedom from salary discrimination . . . freedom from coercion in political campaigns . . . and freedom from want in old age, . . . already achieved through the teacher retirement law." Ima responded to these catchy slogans by saying she, too, would fight for "salaries commensurate with the service [teachers] render to society," for their financial security, and for freedom from interference in teaching.\(^9^9\) In contrast to this civil competition, Daily's chief opponent, Mrs. Sam H. Davis, attacked the incumbent bitterly. Davis accused Daily of advocating controversial books for the junior high school curriculum and insinuated that Daily's postgraduate medical study in Europe was somehow anti-democratic and had produced educational ideas dangerous to young Houstonians. Davis further charged that "our children's education is too general, too much social this and social that. Let us get back to essentials."\(^1^0^0\) Daily, lauded by her supporters as patriotic, courageous, and public-spirited, bluntly retorted that Davis "shows a profound lack of familiarity [with] the mechanics of the curriculum . . . not once during these two years has any textbook or reference book been discussed by the board. The selection of these books is an administrative function and is handled by competent people in the superintendent's department."\(^1^0^1\)

Intense negative undercurrents that foreshadowed the demagogy of the Cold War era in the 1950s roiled the campaign.\(^1^0^2\) On March 8 Mrs. Milby Porter claimed that Ima was the "victim of a wily scheme to exploit you that Dr. R. Daily may

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\(^{99}\) Houston Post, Mar. 28, 1943, sec. 1, p. 15 (Taylor); Houston Post, Mar. 31, 1943, "Teachers Morale Discussed" (Hogg).

\(^{100}\) Houston Press, Mar. 31, 1943, p. 7; Houston Post, Mar. 26, 1943, sec. 1, p. 6.
continue to be perpetuated in office on the School Board, by riding in on your skirts." In her reply of March 11, Ima defended herself and Daily as patriotic Houstonians.

Certainly Daily, Wilson, and Shepherd wished to regain control of the board, but they were joined by a significant number of progressive thinkers who feared the anti-intellectual stance of Davis and her fear-mongering supporters. Both candidates saved an anonymous campaign leaflet that attacked Hogg as "very old, very rich — no children, and all she knows about children is what she has read in a book," and Daily as a "Russian born Red Jewess — she has been investigated by the F.B.I. and they no doubt have their eyes on her now."

These scurrilous accusations were dismissed by the many prominent citizens who rallied to Ima's support, impressed by her long-standing civic consciousness, her executive ability, her willingness to serve, and her belief that teachers formed "the heart of the school." Letters of encouragement poured in, and every few days new endorsements were announced in a carefully orchestrated effort to counter negative rhetoric with positive statements. Dear friend Estelle Sharp, speaking for "civic and social club circles," stressed the importance of female representation on March 21. Long-time friend and fellow cultural philanthropist F. M. Law, president of the First National Bank, endorsed Ima's candidacy on March 24, 1943: "Miss Hogg has frankly stated that if elected she would enter upon her duties without commitment and bound by no preconceived ideas. She is a woman of broad viewpoint, generous and sympathetic in her

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101 Houston Chronicle, Apr. 1, 1943, sec. A, p. 7. Minutes confirm Daily's assertion; comparatively few meetings mentioned curriculum matters, and then only in broad terms.
102 Ray Daily to Ima Hogg, letter, Feb. 16, 1943, 4W237, folder 3, IHP, CAH.
103 Mrs. Milby Porter to Ima Hogg, letter, Mar. 8, 1943, and Ima Hogg to Mrs. Milby Porter, letter, Mar. 11, 1943, 4W237, folder 3, IHP, CAH. Nicholson, In Time, 218, states that the "Daily, Wilson, Shepherd bloc" had the "brilliant idea" of running Ima and Daily to regain control but cites no sources. Ima always asserted her independence.
nature." On March 30 University of Houston attorney Palmer Hutcheson and thirteen
men from the "city's educational committee" pledged to push the Hogg-Daily slate.
Finally, former school board president and prominent attorney Colonel William B. Bates
addressed the KXYZ radio audience on her behalf on April 2. 105

Houston's three major white newspapers united in affirming the judgment of
business, cultural, and social leaders. On Friday, April 2, the Houston Post noted that
Ima "has taken an active interest in civic and educational affairs for years; is well
informed on such matters, and has a sympathetic understanding of the problems of the
schools. She has no ax to grind, but only a patriotic desire to render a public service." In
its lengthy editorial on March 30 the Houston Press asserted Ima should be elected "by
virtue of her native ability, her background of cosmopolitan experience and her long
devotion to the cause of education" which "should be of invaluable assistance on the
board." In its election-eve endorsement the Houston Chronicle held "with many friends
of the school system, that we should have at least two women on the board." The
Bellaire Breeze, a neighborhood newsletter, departed from its nonpartisan policy to urge
the Hogg/Daily slate "simply because they are highly recommended by those most likely

104 Leaflet, Box 2, folder 1, Daily Papers, HMRC, HPL; leaflet, 4W237, folder 3, IHP, CAH.
105 Citizens in Houston Press, Mar. 31, 1943, p. 12; Sharp in Houston Post, Mar. 21, 1943, sec. 2, p. 7; Law
in Houston Press, Mar. 24, 1943, p. 12; Hutcheson in Houston Post, Mar. 30, 1943, sec. 1, p. 17; Bates
from Ima Hogg to Col. William B. Bates, letter, Apr. 4, 1943, 4W237, IHP, CAH. See also Box 2, folder
3, Daily Papers, HMRC, HPL; Houston Post, Mar. 30, 1943, sec. 1, p. 16; letters, Apr. 24, 1943, 4W237,
folder 3, IHP, CAH. Advertisement, Box 3, folder 1, Daily Papers, HMRC, HPL. Supporters included:
church leader and former dean of Stonewall Jackson Junior High School, Mrs. J. Nye Ryman; First
National Bank Chairman and museum trustee John T. Scott; the Reverend Gordon M. Roose of the
Episcopal Diocese of Texas; former YWCA board chairman Mrs. Harris Masterson; President of the
Business and Professional Women's Club Mrs. Mildred White; Heights Hospital Doctor Bill B. Taylor;
businesswoman Mellie Esperson; and Foley’s Vice President and long-time member of the Houston Child
Guidance Clinic board, Leopold L. Meyer.
to know: the majority of the teachers, the YWCA, and the community leaders of every type who we have found trustworthy in such matters."\textsuperscript{106}

White middle-class and elite leadership stood solidly behind the Hogg-Daily ticket, but support was mixed in blue-collar and black neighborhoods. Labor lawyer Arthur Josephus Mandell and his partner Herman Wright got the Oil Workers International, the United Steelworkers, and other labor unions to endorse Ima and distribute leaflets in blue-collar areas. Writing to congratulate Ima on April 13, 1943, Mandell noted that the unions supported her because "we believe that you will give progressive and intelligent leadership on the School Board. We know you will do your utmost to raise the teachers' pay to a level where they can live with economic security, and provide for all Americans regardless of race, creed, or color equal educational opportunities as befits our system of government."\textsuperscript{107} Apparently without studying Daily's board record, R. R. Grovey, president of the Third Ward Civic Club and black organizer for the CIO, claimed that Daily was unsympathetic to blacks or the underdog and gave his support to Taylor and Davis. The Negro Advisory Committee to the City Council endorsed Taylor and Daily. Carter Wesley, editor and publisher of the city's most influential black newspaper, the \textit{Informa}, repeated the "unfortunate" underground rumor that Ima was a surrogate for Superintendent Oberholzer, who was "not the friend of Negroes" because he set salaries for black teachers well below salaries for whites and hired "substitutes and supernumeraries at starvation wages to teach in the negro

\textsuperscript{107} Arthur J. Mandell to Ima Hogg, letter, Apr. 13, 1943, 4W237, folder 3, IHP, CAH.
schools." Ima's statements did reassure J. B. Grigsby, member of the board of the Houston Negro Hospital, who wrote to her that he would get "a large number of my racial group" to vote for her. 

Given the restrictive poll tax that severely limited black participation and the habitual apathy of voters in school district elections, it is not clear that the extensive press coverage or the hard work of the Citizens' Educational Committee swayed many voters. When ballots were officially tallied at the April 10 meeting of the Board of Education, only 7,515 voted in Ima's contest and 7,442 in Daily's, less than 10 percent of the more than 85,000 eligible voters. In Position 3 Ima received 4,369 votes, Taylor polled 3,034, and three others 112 votes. Daily routed Davis, 5,097 to 1,959, while a third candidate received 386 votes. With this endorsement, Ima Hogg began her career as an elected public official and spent a busy month gathering information, reading, and visiting schools. By May 24 she was ready to turn her attention to school board business.

**Ima's Contribution to Public School Education**

During the campaign Ima had adroitly avoided discussing two newsworthy matters: equal pay for black teachers and the renewal of Superintendent Oberholtzer's

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108 Informer (Houston), Mar. 13, 1943, p. 1; Apr. 3, 1943, p. 8. Wesley notes the $675 black vs. $1125 white starting salaries and $1800 white elementary principal vs. a little over $1600 black high school principal. Wesley's opinions are borne out by researchers like Jesse O. Thomas's Study of Social Welfare Status of Negroses in Houston (1929), which showed that in 1927–1928 sixty-eight white schools were valued at $16,544,902 and twenty-five "colored" at $278,068, a difference of $16,266,834 or sixty times the value of African-American schools. Report quoted in Amilcar Shabazz, "One for the Crows and One for the Crackers: The Strange Career of Public Higher Education in Houston, Texas," The Houston Review: History and Culture of the Gulf Coast, 18 (1996), 127. The weekly Informer had been founded by Clifton F. Richardson Sr. in 1919. After a fight with his partners in 1929–1930, he set up the rival Houston Defender, which he managed until his untimely death in 1939. Beeth and Wintz, Black Dixie, 128.

109 J. B. Grigsby to Ima Hogg, letter, Feb. 24, 1943, 4W237, folder 3, IHP, CAH.

contract. With business booming, population soaring, and labor at a premium, some Houston entrepreneurs began to change their way of thinking about race relations, and conditions improved for African-American Houstonians.\footnote{Michael Botson, "Jim Crow Wearing Steel-Toed Shoes and Safety Glasses: Dual Unionism at the Hughes Tool Company, 1918–1942," The Houston Review: History and Culture of the Gulf Coast, 16 (1994), 115. See also John Egerton, Speak Now Against the Day: The Generation before the Civil Rights Movement in the South (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 201-330, for a good summary of race relations on the eve of World War II. Pratt and Castaneda, Builders, and Levengood, "For the Duration," suggest just how precarious were these advances because men like the powerful Brown brothers were adamantly opposed to any kind of union organizing throughout their careers.} Spurred to action by 

Inform
er publisher and attorney Carter Wesley and by a Dallas lawsuit that had secured equal pay for African-American and white teachers, Houston's black teachers discovered the value of organized protest during the waning days of the Board of Education campaign. Although two high schools and the Houston Colored Junior College (later the Houston College for Negroes and now Texas Southern University) had been built in the 1920s, African-American schools suffered from lower pay scales and larger class sizes. Only white schools provided advanced classes, many extracurricular activities, and swimming; African-American students often lacked supplies and textbooks, and in 1943 the starting pay for black teachers was $675, for white teachers, $1,125. When victory in the Dallas case was announced in March 1943, Houston's black teachers decided to seek redress and met in several secret strategy sessions. A three-part plan emerged: the Reverend J. D. Moore was chosen chairman of the citizens' committee to shepherd a Houston lawsuit through the courts; a fund-raising committee began canvassing African-American business and professional leaders to raise $5,000 needed for legal expenses;
and attorney F. S. K. Whittaker agreed to prepare a petition and to represent the teachers before the school board and in court, if necessary. ¹¹³

Sensing that the Dallas decision might prompt court action to equalize the salaries of Houston's African-American and white teachers, the school board met on April 1 and decided to hear Whittaker and to consider the black teachers' petition on Monday, April 5. Oberholtzer estimated that $297,500 would be needed in 1943 to equalize white and black pay scales for more than four hundred black employees in thirty schools. ¹¹⁴ On April 5, the day Ima was introduced to the board, Whittaker and eleven teachers and principals appeared at the specially called meeting to present their proposal for salary equalization. Whittaker stated that he represented all black teachers and principals and hammered three critical points: first, "that negro teachers in the Houston school system receive at least a third less than white teachers for the same type of work"; second, "that this schedule, based on race, is a violation of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution"; and third, "that colored teachers for a number of years have met the standards required by the Board for white teachers." He also noted that "precedents for equalizing salaries of negro and white teachers have been set in several cities, including Dallas, since 1935." ¹¹⁵ Whittaker then introduced the teachers and principals and listed their salaries and qualifications.

After some general discussion the board retired to executive session to discuss two related issues: pay raises for all district employees so the district could compete in the tight labor market and equalization of black/white pay scales. While no record of the

closed-door meeting exists, members must have been persuaded by Whittaker's argument, by the lawsuit he had filed simultaneously in Federal District Court, by the weight of precedent, and by the knowledge that they could not replace a large body of teachers at a time when labor shortages were already a district-wide problem. Finally, Ima's campaign statements favoring improved salaries for all teachers and her frequently repeated promise to treat all sectors of the community in the same way made it clear that she would give a majority to the Daily-led group that favored black/white parity and pay raises for all employees. Delay was pointless.116

When the board met again on April 12, Melvin E. Kurth, attorney for the Board of Education, reported he had met with Whittaker, "as directed by the Board" on April 5. The lawyers had agreed that salaries of African-American teachers would be slowly raised and would reach parity with white salaries in September 1945. Retroactive to March 1, 1943, the agreement would be effective when "signed by each and every colored teacher and principal." In a show of unity, Werlein, seconded by Shepherd, moved to adopt the resolution, and the motion passed unanimously. The Informer, recognizing the drama of the board's voluntary action, devoted front-page space to the historic decision:

In the most inspiring example of racial cooperation and democracy at work, . . . the School Board of the City of Houston distinguished itself by the forthright manner in which it faced the fact of the inequality in the pay of Negro teachers, and the dispatch with which they took steps to adjust it. The action not only argues courage and character, but establishes the willingness of the board members to represent all the people and to so act to increase racial amity and confidence in the city.117

115 BE Minutes, Apr. 5, 1943; Houston Post, Apr. 6, 1943, sec. 1, p. 6.
117 Informer (Houston), Apr. 17, 1943, p. 1.
Houston thus became the first large southern city to equalize pay scales for white and African-American teachers without a courtroom fight. On May 3 James H. Law, president of the Colored Classroom Teachers and Principals Association, brought the school board thanks from 445 African-American teachers for a "second emancipation" and assured those present that every teacher would give "undivided support to the school system."\(^{118}\)

If the issue of pay equalization for black teachers and principals could be settled without Ima's official sanction, the question of Superintendent Oberholtzer's contract renewal awaited her tie-breaking vote. In response to requests from high school students who wanted a publicly supported local avenue for further education, Oberholtzer had created a segregated junior college system in 1927 that was administered by the Board of Education, with the school superintendent doubling as college president. In 1933 the Texas legislature approved expansion to a segregated four-year university system, still under Board of Education authority and still managed by a superintendent-president.\(^{119}\)

Almost at once it became clear that the demands of a school system and a growing university were too great to be handled effectively by one man and one board. When Holger Jeppesen joined the board in 1937, criticism increased, and by 1939 it was obvious that the dual administration was doomed. War distractions delayed the creation of a free-standing university, but on May 18, 1942, board members voted to study the university's status.\(^{120}\) At the May 24, 1943, meeting, the first Ima attended as a voting

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\(^{118}\) BE Minutes, May 3, 1943.
\(^{119}\) In 1936 Ben Taub and the Settegast Estate provided 112 wooded acres in Southeast Houston for a campus, and by 1937 Hare & Hare had developed a site plan of four linked quadrangles that retained dense tree cover, now largely destroyed by late 20\(^{th}\) century buildings and perimeter parking lots. The Roy Gustav Cullen Memorial building opened in 1939.
\(^{120}\) Information for this summary is based on Nicholson, *In Time*, 149-220.
member, the full seven-member board retreated to closed executive session to debate Oberholtzer's contract renewal and the related issue of university management for nearly two hours. When the public was readmitted to the board room, George Wilson moved that Oberholtzer be reelected and given a five-year contract identical to his current pact. Daily, Shepherd, and Hogg supported Wilson. Petersen and Werlein opposed the motion and stated that a three-year contract seemed more appropriate in wartime. Jeppesen abstained.\textsuperscript{121}

Subsequent events revealed that a deal had been struck during the contract battle to ensure Oberholtzer the presidency of a separated University of Houston (with its segregated College for Negroes) and Mills a continued position of power in the school system. On July 26, 1943, the Board of Education authorized the formation of an advisory board of fifteen prominent citizens, under the chairmanship of multimillionaire wildcatter and school drop-out Hugh Roy Cullen, who had already poured thousands of dollars into a university system he believed was committed to the practical needs of working men and women.\textsuperscript{122} Board of Education members in their roles as trustees for the university "agreed to abide by all decisions of [the] Advisory Board" and authorized it to oversee daily operations of the university and to secure legislative approval for separation. At a Board of Education meeting on May 29, 1944, Ima and all other members present voted to approve a bill drafted by school board lawyer Melvin Kurth

\textsuperscript{121} BE Minutes, May 24, 1943; Houston Post, May 25, 1943, sec. 1, pp. 1, 6.
and University of Houston advisors Palmer Hutcheson and Colonel W. B. Bates that would separate the university from the school district.\footnote{BE Minutes, July 26, 1943; H. R. Cullen to Board of Trustees, copy of letter, May 20, 1944, and notes of discussion, BE Meeting Folder, May 29, 1944; BE Minutes, May 29, 1944. The proposal also authorized the Advisory Committee to place the bill before the legislature in Jan.1945}

Disagreements immediately erupted. Ray Daily, who did not attend the May 29, 1944 meeting, joined faculty, politicians, and citizens in criticizing specific provisions of the bill relating to hiring and curriculum development. Ima clashed with the Daily faction when she sided with personal friends who had drafted the legislation. In an interview years later, Daily asserted that Ima was "taken in" by men on the board. It seems more likely that Ima agreed with friends who had supported her frequent requests for help with civic causes like the Child Guidance Clinic and Symphony Society. On March 12, 1945, the bill that separated university from school district passed and was signed by Governor Coke Stevenson; on March 13 Edison E. Oberholtzer became the first president of a free-standing University of Houston that included the segregated College of Negroes. In 1947 the state legislature granted autonomy to the Texas State University for Negroes, and this entity became Texas Southern University in 1957.\footnote{Houston \textit{Press}, Mar. 13, 1945, p. 1; Houston \textit{Post}, Mar. 13, 1945, sec. 1, p. 1.} Deputy Superintendent William Ernest Moreland, a modest, quiet man who had served tirelessly on community projects, was appointed acting superintendent. Ima hoped the board would pursue a candidate of national standing, but to her disappointment, Moreland was given a permanent appointment in July 1945. Having been promoted through the ranks of district administration, he was no match for the powerful Mills and
the board's conservative faction, even though he favored the enlightened academic policies inaugurated under Oberholtzer.¹²⁵

If the squabbles over Oberholtzer's contract and the creation of the University of Houston offered glimpses of the politicking Ima found distasteful, the vexing problems of wartime challenged her ability to address urban issues with imagination. In July 1943, Ima was named chairman of the Lunch Room Committee and member of the New School Properties Committee, assignments that forced her to address the district's severely overcrowded classrooms and exploding school enrollments, which climbed from 65,198 in 1940 to 83,090 in 1944–1945.¹²⁶ In fulfilling her duties as lunchroom chairman for two years, Ima oversaw the minutiae of a freestanding business operation that comprised one hundred cafeterias, provided forty thousand meals each day, and was expected to support operations from meal sales. No detail escaped Ima's attention, and during her chairmanship, she operated the lunchroom department with a surplus that was used to upgrade equipment, to provide raises and bonuses for the department's staff, and to teach proper nutrition and hygiene by providing low-cost, healthy meals for all children.¹²⁷

The New School Properties Committee presented different challenges. The Houston School District had used Public Works Administration (PWA) largesse, steered to the city by Reconstruction Finance Corporation Chairman Jesse H. Jones (1933–1939)

¹²⁵ Ima had written experts about candidates and even tried a letter to the press, but the board appointed Moreland at a special called meeting June 29, 1945. The nomination was made official at the regular July 9 board meeting. BE meeting folders; Houston Post, June 30, 1945, sec. 1, pp. 1, 2; Ima expressed disappointment in Ima Hogg to A. Y. Wilson, July 2, 1945, letter, 4W237, IHP, CAH.
¹²⁶ In subsequent years, the committee changed its composition and name, but its purpose of overseeing facility improvements remained the same. School population tapered off after war's end, reaching 84,866 in 1950. African-American students comprised about 22 percent of the population (14,145 in 1940, 18,167 in 1950). Hispanic, Asian, and Native American students were not treated as discrete demographic groups.¹²⁷ BE Minutes, July 12, 1943; Ima Hogg to Mary Gearing [University of Texas Home Economics department], letter, May 16, 1945; Ima Hogg to Lou Elva Eller, Director of Lunch Rooms, letter, Nov. 12, 1943, 4W237, folder 4, IHP, CAH.
and Houston's congressman Albert Thomas, to expand and rehabilitate its physical plant during the 1930s, but the 1940s population surge and failure to maintain school properties produced crisis conditions by 1943.\textsuperscript{128} Threats of half-day double sessions, stories of children standing in the aisles, and pictures of cooks preparing meals in kitchen/classrooms appalled board members. Worse still were the complaints of parents, who brought tales of falling plaster, standing water, faulty plumbing, and unsafe fire escapes to meeting after meeting with board members.\textsuperscript{129} Following visits to Foster Place and Southmayd elementary schools in March 1944, Ima confirmed parent complaints: water was standing in the school yards although no rain had fallen; at Southmayd six toilets served three hundred girls; and students at Foster Place ate lunch in a nineteen-by-twenty-four-foot room, which doubled as a classroom. "When you visit the schools and see that every one of them needs something—it's baffling. . . . I don't see how we're going to keep up with the rapid growth of the city," she concluded.\textsuperscript{130} While in office, Ima voted to use federal funds to pay for temporary and prefabricated rooms in 1943 and pressed voters to authorize $7.5 million in bonds in 1945 and another $25 million in 1947.\textsuperscript{131} Although Houstonians voted for the funds and the board authorized

\textsuperscript{128} Steven R. Strom, "A Legacy of Civic Pride: Houston's PWA Buildings," \textit{The Houston Review: History and Culture of the Gulf Coast}, 17 (1995), 103-21, for an overview of public buildings constructed with PWA funds, including $3,821,000 to build 25 elementary schools and 16 high schools, and to rehabilitate 37 other school system structures. Top architects executed the school board commissions. Birdsell P. Briscoe, Maurice J. Sullivan, Sam H. Dixon Jr., and Joseph Finger designed Stephen F. Austin Senior High School, and John F. Staub and Kenneth Franzheim built the moderne Mirabeau B. Lamar High School (Strom, "PWA Buildings", 114, 115). Other PWA projects included the San Jacinto Monument, the DePelchin Faith Home and Children's Bureau (now DePelchin Children's Center) campus, the Coliseum and Music Hall (now demolished), and City Hall.


construction, rehabilitation, and land purchase between 1945 and 1948, it was unable to keep pace with the city's growth, and Ima's term ended much as it had begun, with a struggle to provide safe facilities adequate to serve Houston's exploding school population while containing budget growth.

When the board was not preoccupied with "an urgently needed building program" that "overshadow[ed] curriculum concerns," it often seemed mired in personnel disputes regarding the district's thirty-five hundred employees.\textsuperscript{132} By 1943 pay scales had been stagnant for years, and increases were completely inadequate to meet the 69.9 percent cost-of-living increase that hit Houston between 1939 and 1948. Ima at once demanded fair and equitable treatment for all employees in salary matters, noting that an African-American toolroom keeper received only $.45 an hour in 1943 while a white employee performing the same tasks received $.65 an hour. For years journalists had complained about teachers "meager" financial rewards, their "nerve-racking" routines, and the failure of parents to appreciate classroom dynamics or cooperate with teachers' demands.\textsuperscript{133} Low pay and pressure to manage larger classes meant constant demands for higher salaries although many teachers were improperly trained, some without B.A. degrees. Ima seconded a motion to affirm board opinion that "teachers must be assigned in their area of expertise," but in matters of hiring and promotion, she "made it a policy . . . never

\textsuperscript{132} Ima Hogg to Mrs. Erma H. Froide, St. Louis, Mo., letter, June 7, 1946, 4W237, folder 5, IHP, CAH.
to make any suggestions to the Personnel Department, as I feel that is purely an administrative matter."\textsuperscript{134} She did, however, support "increasing teachers' salaries . . . to see that we get the best teachers available," and pressed the superintendent to improve training standards, and develop "a forward looking program" so the district could compete with more financially rewarding, less stressful jobs in the commercial sector.\textsuperscript{135} During her term of office salaries rose dramatically with starting contracts moving from $1,125 in 1943 to $2,300 in 1947–1948. Teachers viewed Ima as their champion and wrote to express "deep and sincere appreciation" for her "independent, thoughtful judgment and . . . genuine objective approach."\textsuperscript{136}

Although Ima dutifully managed the Lunchroom Department and valiantly struggled with personnel and facility issues, she had greatest success when she adapted lessons learned from her privately funded philanthropies to school district needs. Made aware of rising levels of juvenile delinquency associated with war-related distress by reports from Child Guidance Clinic, Houston Symphony, and Community Chest volunteers, board president Ewing Werlein initiated a long discussion in January 1944 about ways the Board of Education could aid Houston's youth. Ima agreed with Ray Daily and George Wilson that school playgrounds and athletic facilities should be available to groups free of charge, but she stressed the need for well-planned, well-supervised programs like the one being tried at the John Marshall Junior High School,

\textsuperscript{133} Woman's Viewpoint, May 1925, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{134} BE Minutes, Apr. 28, 1947; Ima Hogg to Dorothy Jarrett, letter, Mar. 26, 1945, 4W237, IHP, CAH. Automatic increments stood at $100 per year from 1920 until the Depression, were eliminated in the 1930s, and were restored to $50 per year in 1936. Figures provided by the U. S. Department of Labor and quoted in a report to the board made by the Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, Inc., BE Minutes Mar. 22, 1948. See also E. E. Oberholtzer, "Public Education in a Year of War," Houston, 14 (Aug. 1943), 13; BE Meeting Folder Apr. 23, 1948.
\textsuperscript{135} BE Minutes, Aug. 9, 1943; Nov. 22, 1943; May 31, 1943.
where nine youth-service agencies cooperated on a plan implemented by paid workers who conducted all activities. The board placed Ima, Daily, Oberholtzer, and Mills on a committee to investigate the use of school facilities for community needs and named Werlein chairman.137 With all factions in agreement, committee work moved quickly. On February 15, 1944, Werlein reported meetings with school physical education personnel and with representatives from the parks department, from social service and parent-teacher associations, and from other groups who might use school grounds. His committee recommended offering "without cost . . . school buildings and play grounds for recreational purposes, under policies and with activities approved by the Board of Education."138 The Board approved these recommendations, and during her term Ima endorsed program requests at individual schools. In 1948 she backed a cooperative program with the city to open "a limited number of schools, playgrounds, and pools" during the summer months.139

While Ima urged school board/recreation department cooperation, she also prodded her colleagues to aid Houston's youth by studying underlying causes of student maladaptation. Building on her work with the Child Guidance Clinic, Ima pressed citizen groups to petition the Board of Education for a visiting teacher program so problem students could be identified and helped. Visiting teachers, really trained social workers who visited homes and classrooms, had been used successfully in school systems since 1906 and had been incorporated in the Houston curriculum from 1929 until 1934, when the program lapsed due to lack of funds. On October 9,

136 Margaret Patrick to Ima Hogg, letter, Apr. 27, 1949; Houston Teachers Association President Eula Ware to Ima Hogg, letter, June 3, 1948, 4W237, folder 5, IHP, CAH.
137 BE Minutes, Jan. 10, 24, 1944.
138 BE Minutes, Feb. 15, 1944.
1944, the Youth Service Committee on the Youth Problem, a coalition of school, church, civic, and welfare groups, school principals, and Parent-Teacher Association representatives, followed Ima's leadership and petitioned the Board of Education for reinstatement of the program. Board members were shocked to learn that nearly 14 percent of children ten to seventeen were "known to the police department" in 1943. Convinced that it must take preventive measures, the board named Ima chairman of a committee to study the issue. Primed for action, Ima sent a thirty-four-item bibliography and excerpts of published material to local presidents of the Houston Teachers' Association, the Council of Parents and Teachers, and the Texas Congress of Parents and Teachers. Tactfully crediting Oberholtzer as host, she invited Carmelita Janvier, nationally known director of special services for the Orleans Parish school district, to Houston and arranged meetings and dinners so Janvier could share her knowledge with public school staff and representatives from community agencies, with the Board of Education, and with the "colored Principals to discuss their needs and problems." Significantly, Ima made sure all constituencies met with the expert.

Drawing on her long-held beliefs about the psychological factors that foster a "wholesome life" to illustrate the way visiting teachers could help "promote the welfare of the child as a whole," Ima explained the program to members of the Houston Teachers'
Association who had not met with Janvier. Ima reassured the classroom teachers that visiting teachers do not interfere, that they only "aid and supplement" other personnel in a preventive program "focused on salvaging as much human material as possible, and mobilizing every resource in the community to that end." Taking a practical approach, Ima noted that the classroom teacher cannot teach and the taxpayer loses money when children fail because of emotional, physical, or mental difficulties that go untreated.

Since the term "visiting teacher" was a misnomer, Ima carefully explained that a visiting teacher was "an expertly trained, psychiatric social worker, or school visitor, . . . with an ingratiating personality . . . skillfully trained in the art and techniques of interviewing." This staff member would help teachers recognize problems, study individual children, recommend therapies, visit the child's home, guide severe cases to proper social service agencies, and "cooperate with all individuals or agencies concerned with the welfare of children." After studying curricula from all over the country, Ima concluded that such programs succeeded only when social service staff and teachers worked together.  

On November 27, 1944, Ima made her formal report to the board. In addition to the visit from Janvier, Ima had digested readings from the research department of the school system, the Council of Social Agencies, and the Hogg Foundation, and she had made these materials available to the Board of Education. She had interviewed school administrators and representatives of community agencies to see how a program could be implemented in Houston, had met frequently with the superintendent to formulate recommendations, and had called a November 20 conference to discuss the proposals.

\footnote{Quote in Report to the Board, Nov. 27, 1944, 4W237, folder 1, IHP, CAH. See also Ima Hogg to Sarah Gaskell, Ima Hogg to Mrs. Leonard P. White, Ima Hogg to Mrs. C. R. Latimer, letters, Oct. 17, 1944, 4W237, IHP, CAH; BE Meeting Folder Nov. 27, 1944.}
Impressed by her diligence, the board gratefully accepted the report and voted to adopt the superintendent's suggestion that a coordinator be hired to set up a program. Delighted by these results, Ima sent copies of her report to Beulah Wild of the Bureau of Mental Hygiene, to Robert L. Sutherland at the Hogg Foundation, and to Carmelita Janvier, thanking them for their "invaluable service." During the search for a coordinator, she relentlessly prodded district administrators to hire staff and finally reported that the program had been launched in September 1945. Eleanor Craighill, "a very personable woman, young enough, modest, with ability" was named coordinator to supervise six visiting teachers — three white and three black. Given the usual pace of school business and the grave problems finding trained personnel, Ima's ability to push the program through the board and system bureaucracy was remarkable.144

Ima also championed programs for child care and for disabled children. Mike Hogg's widow Alice was chairwoman of the Working Mothers Advice Center during the war years and kept her sister-in-law apprised of private-sector initiatives to care for children left unsupervised while their mothers worked in war industries. Nearly nineteen thousand women, many with small children, took jobs in Houston's essential industries, and many of them lobbied school officials and civic leaders for help with child care. Congress responded to wartime demands by passing the Lanham Act, which provided federal funds for locally administered nursery schools. Houston's first Lanham Act

143 Speech to the Houston Teachers' Association, typescript, 4W237, folder 1, IHP, CAH. "Last of October or first of November 1944" written in ink on report.
144 BE Meeting Folder, Nov. 27, 1944. Dr. Petersen voted no, citing financial reasons. Ima Hogg to Mrs. Beulah T. Wild, Ima Hogg to Robert L. Sutherland, Ima Hogg to Carmelita Janvier, letters, Nov. 28, 1944; Ima Hogg to Gladys E. Hall, School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans, La., letter, Oct. 3, 1945, 4W237, folder 2, IHP, CAH. Trained visiting teachers were "impossible to find," and Ima instructed Robert Sutherland to help her make a grant, through the Hogg Foundation, for three scholarships to be given candidates for social service training who promised to return to Houston to work. Ima Hogg to Robert Sutherland, Aug. 10, 1945, MA19/U1, HFR, CAH.
nurseries, opened in 1943 for children ages two to five, were immediately successful, and additional nursery programs, summer care, and after-school supervision were introduced in 1944. Although run by the school district, these care centers often were located in housing that had been built for war workers with federal funds.\footnote{BE Meeting Folder, Mar. 26, 1945 (figures); Apr. 24, 1944; Sept. 21, 1944; Sept. 25, 1944; BE Minutes, Sept. 25, 1944; Houston Post, Sept. 26, 1944, p. 1.} When the Board of Education had to approve the extension of Lanham Act funds in April and September 1944, Ima and Ray Daily eloquently defended the use of federal funds to meet wartime needs for social services not provided by private agencies. Working mothers, led by Kathleen E. Houston, begged the board to continue funding and include after-school care in its peacetime planning. When federal financing ceased in August 1945,\footnote{Houston Post, Aug. 29, 1945, sec. 2, p. 1; Oct. 9, 1945, sec. 2, p. 1; Oct. 26, 1945, sec. 2, p. 1.} several private agencies recognized the critical need for day care and continued nursery, after school, and summer camp programs initiated during the war.\footnote{Houston Informer, Aug. 25, 1945, p. 1; Houston Chronicle, Oct. 9, 1945, Sec. A, p. 4. The segregated nurseries were a special boon to African-American working mothers, and when federal financing ceased, the privately funded black community center at Julia C. Hester House continued the Fifth Ward nursery as an extended day care center supported by the Fifth Ward Civic Club. The Houston Settlement Association operated nurseries for white children at Ripley House and at Christ Church and for Mexican children at Rusk Settlement, while the Jewish Community Center, the Industrial Home, and the Bayshore Recreation Home offered after-school and summer camp options.} Both Ima and Ray Daily believed that young children gained essential social skills and parents retained peace of mind when nurseries were available. As her final act on the Board of Education, Ima joined Daily to make sure six free kindergartens were organized in black elementary schools for the 1949–1950 school year.\footnote{BE Minutes, Apr. 25, 1949.}

In 1939 surveyors for the school health department and department of special classes discovered a significant population of physically and mentally disabled children who needed special services but who were being overlooked because programs
addressing their needs had been discontinued or reduced in the mid-1930s. For lack of money, little was done until Ima took action in 1943. In June Ima met with Margaret Caillet, a specialist who wanted to start a school for children with special needs in Houston. Ima carried Caillet's plans to the superintendent and in July persuaded her friend Susan Vaughn (Mrs. W. L.) Clayton to donate $1,000 to the Board of Education to equip a school for disabled children.\textsuperscript{149} In September, classes opened at the one-story Eastwood School with Caillet, a program assistant, and a nurse on staff.\textsuperscript{150} Serving as board liaison, Ima also organized a support group of prominent women, including sister-in-law Alice Hogg. On October 1 members of the group toured the new school and discussed problems confronting the disabled with the district superintendent and other officers. Everyone agreed the committee could best serve the program by educating the public about the problems of special needs children.\textsuperscript{151} After the state of Texas began funding special education in September 1945, Houston's program developed swiftly. By the time Ima left the board, the school system was implementing recommendations made in an extensive 1947 report. Attuned to the latest thinking about children’s issues because of her ties to the Hogg Foundation, Ima mustered support in the community for an overlooked sector of the school population. By initiating a pilot program, she made sure the district and Houston's parents were prepared to take advantage of state funding as soon as it became available.

\textsuperscript{149} Susan Vaughn Clayton was an old friend of the Hogg family. During the war years her husband William Lockhart Clayton (1880–1966) was under secretary of state charged with devising and implementing the Marshall Plan. Mrs. Clayton was involved in many philanthropic causes, and in 1958 the couple donated their home to the city for a branch library, now the Clayton Genealogical Branch.

\textsuperscript{150} Ima Hogg to Margaret Caillet, letter, Aug. 4, 1943, 4W237, folder 4, IHP, CAH; BE Minutes, July 12, 1943; Aug. 9, 1943.

\textsuperscript{151} BE Minutes, Nov. 8, 1943; Ima Hogg to Mrs. W. L. Clayton, letters, Oct. 5, 1943, Nov. 4, 1943, 4W237, folder 4, IHP, CAH. Mrs. Clayton served as chairman in absentia while living in Washington, D. C. during her husband's term of government service.
Dear to Ima's heart was the wish that all children could experience the joys of
great art and music. In her frequent school visits, she attended art classes and noticed that
many schools had no fine art displayed on their walls. To remedy this deficit, she revived
a popular pre–World War I tradition by giving the schools a collection of reproductions
"to acquaint our boys and girls with various masterpieces of art." These prints
circulated through the district's schools, and Ima made sure African–American schools
were included in the program. She also insisted that art programs be part of the
curriculum in African–American schools, and in later years she provided easels to display
prize-winning school art projects in public spaces. Ima studied the district's music
program and noted in 1945 that most schools lacked trained teachers, instruments, and
proper practice rooms. She argued for a district-wide program with proper instruments,
teachers, and music rooms provided to all elementary and secondary schools. Drawing
on her contacts at the University of Texas, she arranged for members of its College of
Fine Arts to study the district's needs and formulate a program, a seventeen-month
process begun in January 1948. Although no longer on the board when it met in May
1949 to discuss results of the study, Ima wrote her former colleagues and urged them to
accept the recommendations.

Endless other questions, large and small, confronted Ima during her years on the
board: budgets, bond issues, property condemnations, summer classes, libraries, athletic

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152 Thank-you note from a student to Ima Hogg, Feb. 23, 1944; Ima Hogg to Mabel McBain, letter, Apr. 13,
1945, 4W237, folder 4, IHP, CAH. See Chapter 6 for more information about the pre-World War I project
sponsored by the Houston Art League, forerunner of the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.
153 Ruth Red to Kate S. Kirkland, telephone interview, Mar. 24, 1997.
154 "Report on Music in the Houston Schools," undated, among 1945 minutes, 4W237, folder 5, IHP, CAH;
BE Minutes, Sept. 22, 1947; Jan. 12, 1948; Apr. 25, 1949 (copy in 4W237, folder 5, IHP, CAH); Ima Hogg
to Ewing Werlein, letter, May 2, 1949, 4W237, folder 4, IHP, CAH. Apparently Ima felt that even full
implementation of the University of Texas recommendations would leave the district with an inadequate
music program.
programs, even typewriter purchases and travel accounts.\textsuperscript{155} As 1948 drew to a close, rumors circulated that Ima would not run for reelection to the Board of Education. Responding to a crisis at the Houston Symphony Society, her "old and I might say first love," Ima had agreed to serve as president in June 1946. At that time she told a friend, "I would be tempted to resign from the School Board, but I am endeavoring to go on with both organizations."	extsuperscript{156} In February 1949 she announced her decision to retire, made known her desire that a woman "who would uphold something of the same philosophy of education and the principles which I cherish for the welfare of our children" replace her on the board, and stated that she regretted her inability to devote more time to the ever present problems of district business. Her decision not to run drew testimonials from fellow board members and sparked a front-page press battle as eight candidates, four of them women, filed for the post.\textsuperscript{157} Many considerations undoubtedly influenced Ima's decision not to seek reelection. In another six years, she would have been seventy-three years old, and the wartime crisis was past. The political aspects of school board business always troubled her. To close friend Margaret Patrick, director of physical education in the elementary schools, Ima confided: "I do not think I am particularly fitted for many of the phases of school board membership, though I have enjoyed participating in the work."\textsuperscript{158} Other interests also commanded her attention. She remained president of the Symphony Society until 1956, and in the late 1940s she returned to serious collecting of Americana, a pursuit she had neglected during the Depression and War years.


\textsuperscript{156} Ima Hogg to Mrs. Erma H. Friede, St. Louis, Mo., letter, June 7, 1946, 4W237, IHP, CAH.

Although retired from the Board of Education, Ima did not forget Houston's children. Working through the Symphony Society, she continued to foster district-wide music programs. In the summer of 1954 she joined an informal group of leading citizens — among them philanthropists Nina Cullinan and Ella Fondren, Marshall Plan overseer Will Clayton, banker William Kirkland, Rice Professor Radoslav A. Tsanoff, and former University of Houston president W. W. Kemmerer — to combat the red scare tactics that had paralyzed the school board since its 1952 election.\textsuperscript{159} Generated by sensational press coverage of red-baiting school board campaigns and lurid reporting of Senator Joseph McCarthy's House on Un-American Activities investigations, the anti-Communist hysteria had further exacerbated the split between the long-time incumbent business manager, Hubert Mills, and Oberholtzer's successor as superintendent, James Moreland. In October 1954 Ima tried to blunt the hatred and fear stirred by press agitation when she described the qualities needed in effective school board members: intellectual and emotional maturity, integrity and independence from any faction, a sound philosophy of education based on current needs, and a regard for spiritual and cultural values. Most important, a school board member must understand that a school board is "a judicial policy-making body" not an administrative department. She closed her letter to the editor of the Post with a strong restatement of her belief that Houstonians impose a "sacred trust" on everyone connected with the school system to see "that our children are fitted . . . to recognize and fulfil the obligations and privileges of democratic citizenship in a

\textsuperscript{158} Ima Hogg to Margaret Patrick, letter, Apr. 30, 1949, 4W237, IHP, CAH.
world which strives toward peace, harmony and prosperity." Ima's letter marked a change of heart at the Post, where publisher and former Governor William P. Hobby had condoned publication of vituperative attacks. By late 1954, his more liberal wife, Oveta Culp Hobby, had convinced her husband that this coverage only enflamed hate-mongering, damaged Houston's reputation, and destroyed the public school system. In 1956 Ima spoke at a televised Town Meeting on Public Education about "the obligation and opportunity" of educators "to equip our children, not only scholastically, but emotionally to live as useful and happy adults in a changing world" — a summation of her crusade to support positive mental health care. She went on to emphasize the importance of music appreciation and visiting teacher services to nurturing this well-balanced life. Board of Education President Verna Rogers declared "You should be a television star" and praised Ima's "vivid manner" and "effective" voice.161

In 1943 Ima told her supporters that she would represent all Houstonians. In her fight to equalize pay for lunchroom workers; in her insistence that all schools, black and white, be given copies of fine art works for classroom display; and in her care for the disabled, she persistently pressured the school board to serve all its constituents. In her 1949 retirement speech, Ima stressed the importance of educating the whole child for a lifetime of community involvement as the foundation of democracy. Through the visiting teacher program she brought principles of sound mental health to the classroom. By listening to the needs of school district personnel and by maintaining close ties to privately funded community organizations, she broadened the support system available to

school children and their parents. By advocating programs that nurtured physical, emotional, cultural, and academic well-being, she tried to assure that every child would be given the tools to live fully and that every school employee would be treated with fairness and dignity. In an era of change her vision of excellence never wavered. She served at a time when the board's superintendent and business manager often seemed more intent on destroying each other than on improving the school system. She served on a board that was overwhelmed by the conflicting demands of war and peace and hindered by innate conservatism that made its members reluctant to raise taxes and resistant to federal financial support.

The Hoggs espoused educational reform and activism at a moment of dramatic development. Texas's population moved from rural to urban during the first decades of the twentieth century, and even citizens resistant to change recognized that the shift demanded new approaches to school administration and academic curricula. Progressive thinkers at universities nationwide responded to change by developing social science disciplines that attempted to apply "scientific" methods to social problems. A growing middle class placed its faith in "experts" trained professionally to explain and manage complex technologies and demystify social relationships. While most Texans and many Americans continued to resist government interference in and spending for social improvements, a growing urban constituency recognized that mass education of a burgeoning middle class was a public responsibility demanding public investment.

The Hoggs' activism illuminates the complex confusions of this era. Firm believers that only a public steeped in its social history and apprised of its political

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161 Speech, Apr. 18, 1956; Verna Rogers to Ima Hogg, Apr. 23, 1956, letter, 3B168, folder 5 (speeches), IHP, CAH.
heritage could preserve liberty and justice for all, the Hoggs advanced the
professionalization of life by supporting fellowships and scholarships in the social
sciences at their beloved University of Texas. Ironically, however, they remained
suspicious of a marriage between politics and academe and sought the impossible —
separation of public education and politicking. Will's grand schemes themselves suggest
an ironic confusion. On the one hand, he would preserve the publicly managed
University of Texas from putrid political paws by securing constitutional guarantees and
large doses of supplemental private funding; on the other, he would assist privately
managed Rice Institute with a municipal allotment commensurate with the "free"
education provided Houston's youth. The Hoggs tried, with reasonable success, to
balance public and private initiatives and to recognize the importance of each. Will
understood that private money and unified public opinion could topple governors and
sway administrators. Mike and Ima discovered a unique way to support public ideals
with private money in their Hogg Foundation. Ima's school board service demonstrated
the valuable contribution "non-political" citizens can make to publicly supported
institutions. Heeding their father's admonition that good citizens must act with "pride and
generosity" to ensure that young people would learn how to live life fully, they devoted
years of service to extend quality public education to all Texans.
5. The Symphony, a Constructive Force in Houston Civic Life

Throughout the ages... man has sought to communicate his richest experiences to his fellowman through various forms of art. This mysterious godlike creative impulse, mankind has translated into the universal language of order and harmony. .. [M]ost significant works of art have appeared in vigorous centers of commerce where responsive patrons were enabled to offer reward and where public interest created a climate essential to the flowering of genius.

Ima Hogg, November 1952

June 21, 1913, like most Houston summer days, blazed well above 90° by five in the afternoon. A ladies' committee of classical music devotees, eager if apprehensive, stood in the sweltering lobby of the city's new Majestic Theater, a well-appointed vaudeville house that seated six hundred, boasted loge boxes, and cooled its audience with open windows and wall fans. Theater owner Karl Hobitzelle of Dallas had donated two hours between regularly scheduled matinee and evening performances for a great experiment. Julien Paul Blitz, a Belgian cellist with dreams of forming a symphony orchestra, and Ima Hogg, a professionally trained pianist who believed a "vigorous center of commerce" like Houston must support symphonic music, had lobbied friends and musicians to attempt a trial concert. Ima corralled the audience, and Blitz gathered thirty-five musicians to rehearse a modest program of popular favorites that featured an unspecified "ebullient" Mozart symphony in E-flat, the fantasia from Bizet's Carmen, and the "Waltz of the Flowers" from Tchaikovsky's Nutcracker Suite. Blanche Foley, a Houston soprano, sang Gluck's Divinités du Styx from Alceste with "purity" and "clarity;"

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1 Ima Hogg, Feb. 15, 1952, Speech to Friends and Sponsors of the Houston Symphony, 3B168, folder 5, IHP, CAH. Ima tells the audience, "It is our constant purpose to make the Symphony a constructive force in Houston civic life."
2 Ima Hogg, Nov. 1952, Speech, in ibid.
3 The Majestic was home to classical music ensembles, moving picture shows, and vaudeville reviews. Handsomely adorned with mirrors, statues, and frescoed ceiling, the theatre sported a motto over its door: "nothing is worth the wear of winning, but laughter and love of friends." Woman's Viewpoint, July 1, 1924, p. 21.
and Dr. Henry Barnstein, member of the Houston Music Festival board, described the
goals of a civic movement to bring great music to the city. *Dixie* triumphantly concluded
the performance. Houston *Post* music critic Wille Hutcheson gave equal space to the
"intensely warm" conditions, the socially prominent attendees who almost filled the hall,
and the musical effort. "Cordially enthusiastic" supporters agreed with her conclusion
that if not "perfected" after three rehearsals, there was "far more to enjoy and admire than
to condemn or sharply criticize" in the ensemble. Encouraged by this guarded
enthusiasm, the ladies' committee voted to continue its efforts to build a resident
symphony orchestra after the summer heat had subsided.  

_Early Houston's Musical Traditions_

The trial concert represented a culmination and a beginning. Entertainment had
always been central to Houston's civic life. G. L. Lyons's 1837 plan to build a "temple
dedicated to the dramatic muse" brought visiting performers to makeshift stages in the
frontier outpost. As the town grew, entrepreneurs lured troupes to gaslit vaudeville
houses, and local singing groups, amateur performers, and theatre bands provided music
for appreciative audiences and dancing assemblies in the years before Spindletop.
Invigorated by "unparalleled" commercial success and "prodigal" natural gifts,
Houstonians would have agreed with the 1907 Blue Book editor who asserted that
Houston boasted "all the pleasures of a metropolitan city," including the "best dramatic

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4 Accounts of the first concert are found in Wille Hutcheson, Houston *Post*, June 22, 1913, p. 20, "everyone
for it"; Hubert Roussel, *The Houston Symphony Orchestra, 1913–1971* (Austin: University of Texas Press,
1972), 16-19; Virginia Bernhard, *Ima Hogg: The Governor's Daughter* (St. James, N. Y.: Brandywine
by Levy Brothers encouraged Houstonians to spend 25 cents or $1 for tickets to do something "good for
Houston" and attend *your* first opportunity of expressing *your* wish for this new acquisition to Houston's
greatness." Houston *Post*, June 21, 1913, p. 5.
and musical attractions." With the trial symphony concert, however, Houston's civic leadership raised the bar of cultural ambition. No longer would visiting artists satisfy the city's cultural demands; cosmopolitan citizens now aspired to build in Houston cultural institutions of the highest quality. "Culture" is, of course, a highly contested term. To activist Houstonians of the early twentieth century, "culture" implied immersion in the European tradition of music, architecture, painting, and sculpture as studied in universities, heard in concert halls, and viewed in public and private collections. Like other well-traveled Americans, Houston's elite came to believe that music first played by dukes and princes and paintings commissioned by kings and tsars could be understood by all citizens of a democratic republic and appreciated in concert halls or museum palaces "erected by the people for the use of the people" — as Houston's Museum of Fine Arts would one day proclaim across its entrance.

In the century after Spindletop, Houston achieved cultural maturity as a world center that supports symphonic and chamber music, opera and musical theatre, classical ballet and modern dance, repertory and commercial theatre, comprehensive and specialized visual arts museums, an array of subject-specific museums, and experimental performing and visual arts groups, schools, and galleries that create a "climate essential to the flowering of genius." If remarkable for the breadth of its cultural offerings, Houston

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5 The Standard Blue Book of Texas Who's Who?, Edition Deluxe of Houston (Houston: Who's Who Publishing Company, 1907), "Houston Society" page. Traveling troupes improvised by using any space large enough for a performance. In 1866 Perkins Theatre opened, was refitted as Pillot's Opera House by Eugene Pillot in 1879, and burned ten years later. Gray's Hall was remodeled as a theatre with skylights and ventilation about 1880 and was demolished in 1890 to make way for Sweeney and Coombs Opera House, a favorite stage for visiting attractions for two decades until the City Auditorium opened in 1910. Sue Dauphin, Houston by Stages: A History of Theatre in Houston (Burnet, Texas: Sue Dauphin, 1981), 10, 16, 19.

also provides an exemplary legacy of civic cooperation. Although Houston's activists and philanthropists have had mixed success in their long struggle to shape the built environment, wrest parklands and open spaces from the grasp of private speculators and developers, provide social services, and ensure educational excellence, these same socially conscious leaders have enjoyed almost unqualified triumph in their efforts to link Houston to cosmopolitan centers of culture. Time and again, citizens, usually female, have identified a missing piece of the cultural scene, banded together to test popular interest, and generated support from enthusiastic donors. Whether founding the Art League in 1900, the Ballet Foundation in 1955, or the Children's Museum in 1986, women have demanded and created cultural traditions because they wished to enrich the lives of their children. 7 By acquiring reproductions of old masters for public school classrooms, providing ballet training for their daughters and sons, and securing a special place where young people could discover and understand their world, Houston's women framed the city's cultural development as volunteers, spokespeople, and patrons of experimental activities that became major civic institutions. 8 Husbands and fathers have been quick to recognize that cultural organizations are "an essential of modern life" and good for business. 9 After its reorganization in 1910, Houston's Chamber of Commerce

7 For example, in the 1980s women who wanted to build a Children's Museum for Houston first formed a volunteer committee, broadened support to include businessmen, hired consultants to develop trial exhibits in borrowed spaces, and, when assured of interest, secured funding to remodel galleries for a "permanent" headquarters. After a decade of successful operation, the Museum's board undertook a campaign to build a world-class edifice designed by Venturi Scott Brown & Associates, and the museum is now rated "in the top two" in the country.

8 Houston's experience contrasts with other American cities, notably Boston, New York, and Chicago, where men tried to define an "ideal" city in the late nineteenth century by showcasing cultural institutions as counter-forces to the crass materialism spawned by industrialization. See Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, Culture & the City: Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago from the 1880s to 1917 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976, 1989) for a study of the interlocking directorships of a powerful group of male cultural philanthropists.

9 Saengerbund Pamphlet, May 1, 1917, Ima Hogg Program Collection, University of Houston Archives, Scrapbook 3 (hereafter abbreviated IHPC, UH).
encouraged members to support the arts and participate on volunteer boards and Chamber committees that addressed arts issues. This early activism gave rise to a continuing tradition of business/volunteer participation and funding. Houston's business elite has long believed that a vibrant commercial city could not become a domain of beautiful homes populated by healthy, well-educated residents unless it also aspired to cultural sophistication.

Houston's cultural impetus coincided with the city's commercial ascendancy as a cotton, rice, and petroleum capital during two decades of population growth and urban expansion in the 1900s and 1910s. Well-heeled Houstonians had traditionally sought refuge from the summer heat by retiring to the countryside or traveling north, but improved rail and steamship access and unexpected wealth accumulation at the turn of the century permitted distant journeys to cities in the United States and to destinations in Europe and Asia. The elegant vistas of Paris, the glories of Rome, the beauties of Florence, the imperial collections of London, and the music festivals of Berlin and Vienna trained the eyes and ears of early twentieth-century travelers able to spend months away from home or business indulging their growing awareness of man's creative outpourings. When back at home, Houstonians joined musical and literary clubs that provided lectures, concerts, and discussion to strengthen their aesthetic taste and shape emergent civic goals. Like other Americans, Houstonians began to see arts institutions as avenues to provide personal and social regeneration, as beacons to edify public opinion, and as catalysts to help artists and craftsmen infuse commercial products with aesthetic value. Art, architecture, theatre, and music became visual and auditory expressions of a progressive civic consciousness eager to improve urban life; clean sewers, paved streets,
forest parks, museums, well-designed buildings, civic orchestras — all were fused in progressive minds as essential elements of an ideal city.\textsuperscript{10}

Critical to the development of Houston's cultural institutions was the emergence of leisure as a phenomenon that was changing daily life for all social and economic groups. Turn of the century urban Houstonians discovered they had more discretionary income and time to devote to pleasurable pursuits. Arts institutions in some cities may have been perceived as preserves of the elite, but Houston's Progressive-era idealists saw the arts as democratizing forces that could consolidate civic identity and promote social goals of civic responsibility and harmony. Houston's museums, theaters, and concert halls — much like the city's parks where everyone could mingle to enjoy natural beauty — would also welcome all Houstonians. Concerned that fellow citizens might fritter leisure hours in "unhealthful" saloons (311 in 1910 census reports), pool halls, or moving picture shows, guardians of culture hoped to instill the "moral fastidiousness and cultural refinement" of "elevated leisure pursuits" that placed classical music, Shakespearean drama, and Old Master oil paintings at the acme of a cultural hierarchy.\textsuperscript{11} In the Hoggs' ideal American city, cultural meaning for residents must balance the well-organized, beautifully built environment advocated by urban planners. As volunteers and benefactors in the 1910s and 1920s, Will, Ima, and Mike formed an association with two

\textsuperscript{10} Karen J. Blair, \textit{The Torchbearers: Women and Their Amateur Arts Associations in American, 1890–1930} (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 32-38. See also Saengerbund Pamphlet, Scrapbook 3, IHPC, UH, in which the author recognizes a "gradual awakening of the commercial interests to the fact that art is an essential of modern life" and links business support to future success of Houston's Symphony Orchestra. Marguerite Johnston, \textit{Houston: The Unknown City, 1836–1946} (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991) deals with these issues.

institutions that would benefit from their vision, oversight, and generosity for seven decades: the Houston Symphony Association and the Museum of Fine Arts of Houston. Both organizations bear witness to the Hogg family's attempts to infuse civic life with physical and moral excellence; both established development patterns replicated again and again as Houston's cultural philanthropists marshaled private resources to design and manage institutions for public purposes.\textsuperscript{12}

Ima Hogg fell in love with music when she was a little girl. Years later she recalled dancing in the aisle during a concert in Austin — and she was, she thought, perhaps three years old. At ninety-three she could be caught off-guard singing cheery ditties to herself. Grand pianos graced the drawing room and upstairs sitting room at Bayou Bend, and a big old radio hidden in a sitting room cupboard attested to hours of listening enjoyment.\textsuperscript{13} Grandfather Hogg had insisted that his children study piano, violin, and voice, and Ima remembered sitting with her father at the piano, while he sang in all the voice ranges, even lampooning a falsetto. Ima's mother was sufficiently proficient to guide her daughter's first piano lessons, but by age six Ima had begun formal piano training that continued through her years at the University of Texas. While living

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\textsuperscript{12} Ima and Will were avid theatergoers, and Ima adored grand opera and chamber music. She supported friends' Little Theatre activities (amateur, independent forerunners of municipal repertory theatre that enjoyed popularity in the 1920s and 1930s), attended opera in Houston, and opened her home for Music Guild performances in 1950, but family philanthropic focus centered on the Symphony Society and Museum of Fine Arts. The Music Guild, instigated by music maven Elva Lobit, assembled five musicians from the Symphony for chamber music concerts. Concertmaster Raphael Fliegel, violinist Andor Toth, cellist Marion Davis, violist Gaetano Molieri, and pianist Albert Hirsch performed for several years at the three-hundred-seat, acoustically perfect Playhouse Theatre in the round on Main Street. Playbills from New York, London, Paris, and Houston in IHPC, UH; Raphael Fliegel to author, Oct. 4, 2003; Hubert Roussel, Houston Post, Nov. 10, 1950, clipping in 23413, Symphony Scrapbook, 1950, WHP, CAH.

\textsuperscript{13} Recollection of the author. When Ima moved to Inwood Manor during the last decade of her life, she took one piano with her. A piano she gave to the Symphony Society was ruined by Hurricane Allison in 2001. In fact, Ima loved all kinds of music, often argued for fine arts festivals that combined music, art, and theater activities, and corralled teenagers to take her to rock 'n' roll concerts in the 1960s. Mary Ann
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in Austin, she performed at several musicales in private homes, attended every available musical performance, and noted breathlessly the "always great" Ignace Paderewski after his March 3, 1900, Austin triumph. Recalling her university days, she remembered the "red-letter evening" when a "beautiful" small orchestra from Mexico performed a classical program on campus. "From that night," she recalled, "I never rested until we had a symphony orchestra in Texas."

Ima continued professional-level study with the renowned but "kindly, patient" Adele Margulies at the National Conservatory in New York during 1901 and 1902 and performed in recital there. Carefully chaperoned, the eager young musician attended dozens of concerts, noted impressions on her programs, and kept meticulous notes in a theater record book. Jottings on her programs made during these and subsequent years reveal her maturing comprehension and her emphasis on technique and "sympathy" as

"Muffy" McLanahan to Patricia Prioleau, The Bridge, Feb./Mar. 2002, p. 12; Scrapbook 1, p. 33, MS 21, series 14, IHP, Archives, MFAH.

14 Clearly a fan during Paderewski's later career, Ima recalled in 1911 the virtuoso's last New York performances in March and April 1902. She noted that the March 29 recital "still stands for the biggest and most satisfactory playing I ever heard." Scrapbook 1, IHP, UH. Other programs indicate she continued to follow Paderewski's political efforts to reconstruct Poland after World War I and the many "farewell" concerts of his post-World War I career, including a Feb. 12, 1931, recital in Houston. Houston Gargoyle, Feb. 7, 1931, p. 7. Ima Hogg kept hundreds of programs, many with handwritten comments in the margins, collected them in scrapbooks during the summer of 1965, and donated them to the University of Houston archives some time before May 1966. The University of Houston archives do not record the history of this donation, but the Ima Hogg Papers (3B175, folder 5, IHP, CAH) include a letter from Alfred R. Neumann, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and long-time author of Symphony Program Notes, Feb. 25, 1965, thanking Ima for her proposed donation of a collection of music programs in honor of the Tuesday Musical Club of Houston. Apparently guaranteed her collection would have a home, Ima then organized the scrapbooks in July and presented them some time thereafter. A letter May 3, 1966, from Ima Hogg to Allan Soffar, a University of Houston graduate student, refers to her papers and programs at the University of Houston library.

15 Alcalde, 64 (Nov./Dec. 1975), 46-47.

16 Margulies taught Ima Hogg, Ima's life-long friend Mary Fuller, and seven other Houstonians, including Ima's pupils Eloise Chalmers and Bessie Griffiths before 1931, when Ima and Mary Fuller arranged for their mentor to teach an eight-month master class for pianists and teachers in Houston, the first such offering in the Southwest. Houston Gargoyle, Mar. 29, 1931, p. 6; advertisement, Sept. 13, 1931, p. 19. Petitioned by her students, Margulies returned for another teaching season in 1932. Houston Gargoyle, Feb. 7, 1932, p. 11. In later years, Ima helped support Ms. Margulies and made a gift of chamber music to the Houston Public Library in her honor in May 1949. 4W238, folder 1, IHP, CAH.
qualities critical to successful performance.\textsuperscript{17} Ima's musical training culminated with rigorous coaching in Berlin during 1907 and 1908.\textsuperscript{18} Encouraged by Brother (Will) to take "any opportunity to improve myself," Ima rented rooms with a German family, immersed herself in language study, and began lessons at the popular music school managed by Franz Xaver Scharwenka and his brother. After a few months there, she switched to a more compatible taskmaster, Martin Krause. Krause, protégé of Franz Liszt and famous pianist and teacher, wanted to present his talented pupil, but Ima, relinquished a concert career, returned to Houston late in 1908, and began teaching advanced piano students there.\textsuperscript{19}

Houston in 1909 was bustling with new residents and self-confident entrepreneurs, but its cultural amenities fell far short of those Ima had enjoyed during her European travels. Rice Institute was still only a dream in the minds of its trustees and new president, Edgar Odell Lovett. No broad boulevards, enchanting parks, elegant theaters, or well-stocked museums greeted the returning musician. But civic leaders had already demonstrated grand aspirations. The neo-classical Houston Lyceum and Carnegie

\textsuperscript{17} Scrapbook 1, IHPC, UH. Ima found rising star Josef Hofmann "disappointing," was held "spellbound" by Richard Strauss's tone poem "Ein Heldenleben," and noted that "Saint-Saens even at his age played very brilliantly" after a Nov. 1903 concert at Carnegie Hall.

\textsuperscript{18} Ima was in Europe from June 1907 through Oct. 1908. She toured England, Scotland, Holland, France, Italy, and Germany for several months and, encouraged by a friend's recommendation, decided to remain in Berlin. See 3B153, folder 1 (diaries), folders 2-4 (postcards), IHP, CAH, for information about the 1907–1908 trip. "Memo of Absences from the State of Miss Ima Hogg" gives dates, 2J328, WHP, CAH; dates confirmed in 3B118, folder 3, IHP, CAH. Ima once again noted her impressions on programs: Siegfried Wagner (Feb. 1908) was "a puny imitation of his father"; popular performer Frederic Lamond was "very exaggerated and mediocre"; and Felix Mott led the Philharmonie on Mar. 13, 1908, in "the most inspiring interpretation of Eroica Symphony I have yet heard." Scrapbook 4, IHPC, UH.

\textsuperscript{19} There is no archival evidence to explain Ima's decision to forego a concert career, although she apparently felt unqualified to perform at the highest levels. William Lee Pryor, a friend of her later years, believes Ima's standards must have been high indeed if she felt inadequate despite Krause's praise and encouragement (comment to author, June 2, 2003). It seems likely that family pressures, societal constraints, and a streak of perfectionism as well as her desire for a rooted home life brought Ima back to Houston. In a 1974 interview prepared for the Oral History Collection, HMRC, HPL. Ima recalled that she studied for her own pleasure. Virginia Bernhard (Ima Hogg, 54) cites a confidence made to a close friend:
Library, opened in 1904, beckoned the literary to its elegant temple of learning, and a City Auditorium, under construction for a princely $235,000, would seat more than 3,400 when its doors opened in 1910. Traveling theatrical companies, touring concert performers, and visiting lecturers were lionized by social leaders at elegant dining and garden parties, and Houston itself was home to several hundred amateur musicians of sufficient training to entertain music club and paying audiences at numerous recitals and music festivals each year. In addition, professional musicians, unionized in 1897, provided ensemble music for restaurants and movie theatres and constituted a nucleus for band and orchestral concerts.  

German immigrant Gustav Dresel recorded Houston's first musical performance in 1837. Fleeing religious persecution and political upheaval, Germans emigrated to Texas in large numbers in the half-century between 1830 and 1880. Demographers estimate that at mid-century, half the residents of Galveston and San Antonio and more than one-third of Houstonians were German migrants or their children. Industrious and prosperous, Houston's German minority congregated in an area south and east of Buffalo Bayou denominated "Germantown" and quickly organized singing, militia, and athletic groups, which began meeting in the Turnverein, or Turner Hall and Garden, built on the corner of Prairie and Caroline in 1854. Germans retained a strong cultural identity, but they developed an equally vigorous civic consciousness and opened their numerous instrumental and vocal concerts to all Houstonians. German immigrants were the first to organize formal music ensembles and clubs in Houston. In 1868 Professor Stadtler

"The great sorrow of my life is that I was never a concert pianist." These difficult choices may have contributed to her feelings of depression or melancholia in 1918–1923 and in later years.
formed a small ensemble, and in 1883 Professor Carl Zeus began offering Sunday
English language classes that quickly switched to music performance. His students
established a Singing Choir or Saengerbund May 23, 1884, drafted a constitution for the
group, and developed plans for a club house. 21 Chartered as a state institution in June
1890, the Saengerbund provided recreation, lectures, vocal and instrumental recitals,
drama, patriotic celebrations, and "other elevating and laudable" activities. Houston's
Saengerbund joined the German-Texan Singers' League and hosted the League's annual
Saengerfest in 1885, 1894, 1902, and 1913, when musicians entertained for three days at
the City Auditorium. 22 A driving force behind the civic music movement in Houston, the
Saengerbund maintained Saengerfest orchestras from 1885 to 1913 and invited the St.
Louis Symphony Orchestra (1903, 1917) and singers from the Metropolitan Opera (1903)
to enhance festival performances. 23 From 1899 to 1909 Professor E. Lindenberg directed
the thirty-two piece Houston Symphony Club, which had been formed to stimulate
demand for a professional orchestra, and led the group at Saengerfest activities. 24

German choral and instrumental groups, Lewis's Military Band and Orchestra
(founded 1883), and Gilbert and Sullivan productions (after 1886) encouraged music-
loving Houstonians to gather "for pleasure and enjoyment." By the 1890s reformist
enthusiasts sounded a serious note and joined the nationwide club movement "to educate

20 Dorothy Knox Howe Houghton, Barrie M. Scardino, Sadie Gwin Blackburn, Katherine S. Howe,
Houston's Forgotten Heritage: Landscape, Houses, Interiors, 1824–1914 (Houston: Rice University Press,
1991), 315.
21 Fred R. von der Mehden, ed. The Ethnic Groups of Houston (Houston: Rice University Studies, 1984),
160-71; B. H. Carroll, Standard History of Houston, Texas: From a Study of the Original Sources
22 Scrapbook 4, IHPC, UH, contains programs for the May 5, 6, 7, 1913, 29th Biennial State Saengerfest.
23 Mehden, Ethnic Groups, 171; Pamphlet on the Saengerbund, Scrapbook 5, IHPC, UH. The German-
Texan Singers' League, a federation of singing societies, was formed in New Braunfels in 1852 and was a
member of the German National Saengerbund.
24 Houston Post, Nov. 23, 1914, p. 34.
and improve the public taste by giving the best music only."\textsuperscript{25} The pioneering Treble Clef Club, organized by Stella G. Carr and a group of ladies in April 1896 to hire a coach and provide "concerts of a high artistic standard," enjoyed five successful seasons under three directors at the Light Guard armory or at Beach's auditorium on Main and McGowen.\textsuperscript{26} Finding it hard to attract a permanent leader, the club ceased operations briefly, but Mrs. W. C. Munger, a volunteer of "indomitable will and energy," finally found a director and announced a 1904 season. The reorganized club quickly grew from 23 to 75 singers, included 672 associate members by 1911, and attracted 4,000 to that year's closing concert. By 1912 Julien Paul Blitz was directing the group's productions.\textsuperscript{27}

Not to be outdone by the ladies' educational efforts, a group of men formed the Houston Quartette Society in 1900 to incorporate remnants of short-lived English men's singing clubs and bring the "world's best vocal talent to the city."\textsuperscript{28} In the fall of 1903 Quartette Society members invited the presidents and musical directors of Texas singing clubs to a concert in Houston and suggested that attendees form the Federation of English Singing Societies of Texas to complement the well-established statewide German Saengerfest movement. In 1904 and 1905 the Quartette Society sponsored state festivals that attracted 400 singers, featured performances by Walter Damrosch's stellar New York

\textsuperscript{25} Carroll, \textit{Standard History of Houston}, 378. For information about the early Houston music scene, see Roussel, \textit{Houston Symphony}, 3-12; \textit{Standard Blue Book}, 76-77; Federation of Women's Clubs, \textit{The Key to the City of Houston} (Houston: State Printing Company, 1908), 147-57, in Box 7, Estelle Sharp Papers, WRC, RU; Orin Walker Hatch, "Lyceum to Library: A Chapter in the Cultural History of Houston," \textit{Texas Gulf Coast Historical Association}, 9 (Sept. 1965), 21, 29.

\textsuperscript{26} Carroll, \textit{Standard History of Houston}, 381; Scrapbook 3, IHPC, UH.


\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Key to the City}, 149.
Symphony and the well-known Pittsburgh Symphony orchestras, and filled the old Beach auditorium "with splendid melody."  

In 1911 the Quartette Society asked the Woman's Choral Club to co-sponsor the festival. Brainchild of music mavens Mrs. E. A. Peden and Wille Hutcheson, who served as founding president in 1901, the Choral Club had fifty active members in 1911 who paid $5 dues and provided three annual concerts. The musical Mrs. Peden was married to a Houston industrialist, and Mrs. Hutcheson, member of a prominent Houston family, wrote a Houston *Post* column for twenty years and was the first accredited music critic in the South.  

Other choral club members included Katherine (Mrs. Edwin B.) Parker as musical director, much-praised singer Mrs. W. H. Kirkland, and music promoter and soprano Edna Saunders, three women who became formidable advocates of Houston's civic music movement for the next four decades. Associate members included oil men Will Farish and Robert L. Blaffer, artist Emma Richardson Cherry, and civic activists Henry Barnstein, Mrs. James L. Autrey, Mrs. Joseph S. Cullinan, Harriet Levy, Rev. Harris Masterson, and Estelle Sharp, all supporters of Houston's blossoming cultural scene.  

Other musical clubs and several church choirs further stimulated interest in musical performance. When music-loving civic leaders A. S. Cleveland, Henry Barnstein, and a committee met with the manager of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra in March 1907 to discuss forming a Houston Music Festival Association, they represented a well-informed public eager to join a movement then sponsoring May festivals.

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30 Obituary, Mrs. W. Hutcheson, *Dallas News*, Feb. 11, 1924, Hutcheson Family Papers, WRC, RU. Mrs. Hutcheson was a well-known character and incorrigible club woman whose energetic espousal of cultural causes stemmed from her "wide knowledge of literature and world affairs."
nationwide. In 1908 and 1909 the Chicago Symphony Orchestra teamed with local choristers to produce May festival concerts at the Prince Theatre. The New York Symphony Orchestra under Walter Damrosch provided an orchestra-only festival April 25, 1910, that featured Houston pianist Helena Lewyn. In May 1911 Damrosch returned and joined a massed chorus of local singers ably trained by conductor Hu T. Huffmaster, music director of the Woman's Choral Club and for years an important leader of Houston's music scene. Festival officers in 1911–1912 included Henry Barnstein, Rice Institute President Edgar Odell Lovett, School Superintendent P. W. Horn, William Marsh Rice (nephew of the Institute's founder), and philanthropic retailer Abe M. Levy. Leadership Houston comprised a patrons roster that grew to five hundred and listed musician Ima Hogg; business leaders Robert L. Blaffer, Hiram M. Garwood, Howard R. Hughes, John H. Kirby, and C. G. Pilot; suffragist leader and business woman Annette Finnigan; political leader Joseph C. Hutcheson Jr.; and prominent doctor Gavin Hamilton. This increased musical activity helped secure construction of the City Auditorium as part of Mayor Horace Baldwin Rice's civic improvement project that included a new County Court House and City Hall Market. Edna W. Saunders, daughter of former Mayor John D. Woolford, was named booking agent for the auditorium in 1910 and launched a five-decade career as Houston's premiere impresaria (1910–1963) by bringing sixteen symphony concerts to Houston for the hall's opening season. In her subsequent career, Saunders placed civic improvement and artistic merit before commercial gain and frequently booked acclaimed artists without regard to cost because

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31 Scrapbook 1, 1908–1909 program, IHPC, UH. Hu T. Huffmaster became music director in 1909.
32 Scrapbook 4, IHPC, UH.
33 Program, 4th annual festival in Scrapbook 5, IHPC, UH; Box 53.8, Edgar Odell Lovett Personal Papers, WRC, RU.
she felt their appearances in Houston were important to the development of Houston's musical culture.\textsuperscript{34}

Inspired by the May 1908 festival, a group of "best amateurs and leading professionals" met on May 25 to establish the women's Thursday Morning Musical Club, an aggressively serious study and performance club that would "stimulate greater achievement through rivalry."\textsuperscript{35} Members elected Treble Clef Club musical director Mrs. Robert L. Cox president and named Katherine (Mrs. Edwin B.) Parker chairman of its board of examiners. Candidates were required to pass a stringent exam, and the course of study included early and modern French, Italian, and German composers as well as sessions devoted to Slavonic composers, Grieg, American composers, and Famous Women composers. Although contemporary historian B. H. Carroll believed the founders hoped their group "would doubtless have developed into a conservatory," the club struggled to retain a director and seems to have withered after World War I.\textsuperscript{36}

When Ima returned from her European adventure, she avidly attended musical performances, quickly acquired several advanced pupils, and soon showcased their talents at formal recitals in her home.\textsuperscript{37} Although still considered a young lady at twenty-

\textsuperscript{34} Comment Raphael Fliegel to author, Oct. 4, 2003. In 1911 Houstonians heard ten concerts by the Russian Symphony Orchestra and return engagements by Walter Damrosch and his New York Symphony. Saunders attempted her first solo business venture by booking the Chicago Opera Company in 1918 and had to return $19,000 to patrons when the auditorium was shut down because of the nationwide flu epidemic. A year later she again engaged the opera and enjoyed her first commercial success. \textit{Houston Gargoyle}, Jan. 24, 1932, p. 11.

\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Key to the City}, 152; Carroll, \textit{Standard History of Houston}, 378.

\textsuperscript{36} Carroll, \textit{Standard History of Houston}, 379.

\textsuperscript{37} Programs for a Reception Musicale, Wed., Apr. 6, 1909, at the Houston Country Club; for a musicale with Louise Chalmette Daniel, pianist, and Julien Paul Blitz, conductor, at Bryan Hall, Nov. 30, 1909; the First Methodist Episcopal Church inaugural organ recital with Clarence Eddy of New York, Dec. 5, 1910; Liza Lehmann performing her own compositions at the City Auditorium, Dec. 19, 1910; and a performance by Efrem Zimbalist with the Women's Choral Club and Houston Quartette Society conducted by Hu Huffmaster, Jan. 29, 1913. Scrapbook 4, IHPC, UH. Student recital programs for Eloise Helbig (later Chalmers) and Florence Griffiths, who played Bach, Mozart, and Mendelssohn selections Sat. June 12, 1915. Scrapbook 3, IHPC, UH.
seven, Ima was immediately welcomed by Houston's musical leadership. Her
enthusiasm, her expertise, and her acquaintance with stars of the international concert
circuit drew admiration. Ima may, however, have been a little subversive. Always
described as both modest and determined, she did not join an established musical group
but instead was instrumental in forming a new contender in the battle to shape Houston's
musical taste. Younger Houston women may have felt excluded from leadership roles in
established clubs because bylaws of the Girls' Musical Club, associated in 1911 under the
aegis of Corinne Abercrombie (Mrs. Gentry) Waldo and the urging of Ima and a coterie
of her friends, state clearly that "girls shall be given preference" as active members and as
officers.\textsuperscript{38} The club's first meeting was held at the home of Mrs. James A. Baker but
included "an invited group of twenty-five young ladies"; Miss Alice Baker was named
president.\textsuperscript{39} Ima served as president for the 1912–1913 season, and the yearbook that year
lists eight officers, only one of whom was married.\textsuperscript{40} Active members in 1919 included
established cultural leaders like artist Emma Richardson Cherry and music patron
Katherine Parker; daughters of prominent families like Norma Autrey, Nina Cullinan,
and Emilie Stude; and talented musicians like Blanche Foley and Mary Fuller. Miss
Bessie Griffiths, Ima's star pupil and a promising local music teacher, was a "privileged"

\textsuperscript{38} Constitution of the Girls' Musical Club, in 1919–1920 program and membership roster, article III, sec. 1,
article VI, sec. 2, Tuesday Musical Club File, HMRC, HPL. The one hundred active members paid dues of
$3.00 per year, received two tickets per concert, and were required to attend meetings, perform, and
develop lectures. Twenty-five privileged members could pay $4.00 to attend meetings, and the club could
name honorary members by unanimous vote. The bylaws also mention associate members who pay $3.00
and receive 2 tickets but give no requirements for this category.
\textsuperscript{40} Given the fact that marriage was the most likely career path for these early twentieth-century women, the
predominance of unmarried members when combined with the statements in the club's constitution suggest
a youthful membership. 1912–1913 Yearbook, Art League of Houston Records, Scrapbook 2, pp. 129-40,
Archives, MFAH.
member that year as was Mrs. Baker, whose patronage had become essential to the success of cultural and civic endeavors.41

Extant yearbooks narrate the club's ambition. In 1911–1912 members linked painting and literature to musical traditions in several nations.42 In 1912–1913 members met every other week from November 19 through June 3, and they conducted two open meetings at Katherine Parker's home, where members and guests presented lengthy programs that included lecture presentations and instrumental and vocal performances. That entire year was devoted to the study of classical periods in music and their representative composers. A leader, who presented a paper and performed, presided at each meeting. Ima was chairman February 11 and February 25, 1913, for two of four sessions devoted to the music of Bach and Handel. On February 25 she described "Bach's Perfected Fugue Form" and performed the Well-Tempered Clavichord (G Minor Fugue, No. 16) and the Prelude in B Minor, No. 22, selections she repeated at the March 18, 1913, open meeting.43 As the club matured during the next two decades, it organized a Junior Girls Musical Club, began Sunday afternoon musicales at the Museum of Fine Arts during its 1928–1929 season, and sponsored concerts by established visiting recitalists and by string quartets from London and New York.

41 Girls' Musical Club program and yearbook, 1919–1920. Ima, who was ill during that season, is no longer listed as a member. However, she began participating again in 1923, when she was hostess for a "reciprocity meeting" on Mar. 6, and in 1924, when an open meeting was held in her home. Scrapbook 5, IHPC, UH.
42 MSS 27, Box 2, folder 1, E. Richardson Cherry Papers, HMRC, HPL.
43 Yearbook 1912–1913, IHPC, Archives, MFAH. See also the 1914–1915 Yearbook that describes a year devoted to Russian composers. Ima discussed and performed Russian folk songs at a meeting Nov. 17, 1914, and performed Tchaikovsky's Andante from the Sonata in G Minor at an open meeting Mar. 25, 1915. The March program also included a piano romance by Tchaikovsky, a piano barcarole by Rubenstein, selections from Rimsky-Korsakov's Snow Maiden, and the first movement of Concerto in D Minor by Wieniawski. Girls' Musical Club – Houston, program, HMRC, HPL. 1917–1918 programs were held at Chickering Hall, 718 Main Street.
In an action that would become typical of her philanthropy, Ima started a Trustees' Musicians' Fund in 1925 to secure "special benefits for Club members" or for those local performers who "identified with the club through common purpose and aims." As chairman of the fund, Ima worked with soprano Blanche Foley, music columnist Mary Elizabeth Rouse, and others to organize a benefit concert April 16, 1925, at the Main Street Auditorium. Proceeds would help local women pursue professional careers in music. The fund was Ima's first use of an endowment to stabilize an organization financially and was a tool she would develop for other philanthropic interests. Ima also understood that gala benefits could be used to broaden the support base and introduce potential donors to institutions with which they had not previously been associated. In 1930 the club re-christened itself the Tuesday Musical Club, an organization that continues to provide musical education to its members.44

*Founding the Houston Symphony*

Edna Saunders, the Treble Clef Club, the Thursday Musical Club, the Girl's Musical Club, the Saengerbund, the combined Quartette and Woman's Choral Clubs, and the Houston Music Festival Association — all were sponsoring programs for a growing city of 78,800 (1910 census), and it is not surprising that ambitious dreamers began to imagine building a resident symphony orchestra. Ima is credited as founder of the Houston Symphony Orchestra Association (the Houston Symphony Society since 1936) and lauded as its guardian angel from 1913 until her death in 1975. The scant extant records bear witness to her pivotal role in launching the Symphony movement in 1913, in

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reorganizing the struggling association in 1929–1931, in pushing the established regional orchestra to national and international prominence during her 1946–1956 presidency, and in securing top-flight conductors during the 1950s and 1960s. At every juncture her vision and tenacity propelled the organization forward. However, she was always quick to insist that she was "a," not "the," founder of the association, to acknowledge and pursue broad-based community support, and to recognize the continuing struggle of many vigilant music lovers dedicated to bringing symphonic music to the city. To Ima must go credit for articulating a grand vision and discovering ways this dream could become real, but her determination met receptive patrons anxious to develop a musical legacy. Without the sustained enthusiasm of countless performers, audiences, and angels, Houston would have been unable to nurture a vibrant musical culture for over a century.

Music inspired and stimulated Ima and brought her "release from daily care and frustration." She wanted to share this personal joy with all Houstonians, but she was able to succeed only because she navigated the treacherous shoals of cultural politics. Although comfortably circumstanced in the 1910s, the Hoggs were not in a position to underwrite philanthropic whims, so Ima quickly recognized she must draw the unwilling and the faint-of-heart as well as the true believers into a broad-based community coalition. Years later she recalled that the "basic theory upon which the Symphony was founded was that it should serve the best interests of all people in Houston, regardless of

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45 Bernhard, *Ima Hogg*, 57, notes Ima's insistence that she was "a" founder. Nonetheless, between 1970 and 1975 she is listed in Symphony programs as Founder and Past President. From 1956–1970, during Maurice Hirsch's term as president, Ima is listed as Immediate Past President. Hubert Roussel, *Houston Symphony Orchestra*, ix, states that "the organization's earliest documents were destroyed" while in the home of an officer. In 2001 waters from Hurricane Allison flooded Symphony Society offices and ruined many valuable papers, scores, and instruments. See also Ima Hogg, Oral History, HMRC, HPL. Roussel acknowledges that much information in his 1972 study of the Symphony comes from Ima's recollections and files. To date, Roussel's is the only published history of the Houston Symphony.
age, status, or religious faith." As a volunteer for, activist promoter of, and donor to the Symphony Society, Ima served these best interests in four important ways. Her vision informed the Symphony's mission: the orchestra must strive to maintain the highest standards of artistic achievement while responding to the "practical needs" of musicians; great music must be "available and understandable to every age and type of individual," especially to children; and the Symphony must secure broad-based financial and community support to ensure its place as "a constructive force in Houston civic life." Her generosity sustained the Symphony financially: she provided support through large personal donations; she recognized the dangers of dependence on one or two funding sources and inspired volunteers to broaden the donor base through subscription and maintenance fund drives; and she established an endowment fund and solicited other donors to invest in the organization's future. Her devotion nurtured effective Symphony Society leadership: for forty-five years Association members turned to her each time the organization needed a new conductor, president, or chairman, and she always looked for individuals who were builders, not consolidators, who grasped practical constraints, and who could be flexible enough to "grow with the Orchestra" as it improved. Finally, her musical knowledge defined programming strategy: she worked with conductors to unite artistic excellence with popular taste in a contentious marriage of convenience because she believed "a symphony . . . is a necessary component . . . of every great city just as are

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48 Ima Hogg, Remarks developed for Houston Independent School District bulletin boards, Aug. 12, 1968, 3B175, folder 5, IHP, CAH.
49 First quote from Ezra Rachlin to Ima Hogg, July 4, 1965, 3B175, folder 5; last two quotes from Speech to Friends and Sponsors of the Houston Symphony, Feb. 15, 1952, 3B168, folder 5, IHP, CAH.
49 Joseph S. Smith to Ima Hogg, letter, July 29, 1935, 3B174, folder 2, IHP, CAH.
schools, universities, libraries and museums." Her struggle to bring great music to the shores of Buffalo Bayou is a saga of one woman's determination to wrest harmony from the cacophonous disharmonies of conflicting constituencies.

Touring companies recorded their most successful year nationwide in 1912–1913. Visiting performers, local chamber groups, and club recitals taxed Houston's limited theater space, but dinner party conversation that year often centered on Houston's stimulating theater scene. When Modeste Altschuler, the conductor of a Russian Symphony Orchestra, absconded and left his musicians stranded in the city in 1912, talk turned to forming a resident symphony society. Local musicians did not receive the foreigners' overtures with enthusiasm, and potential supporters resisted voluble lobbying by Miss Hogg and the Mesdames H. M. (Huberta) Garwood, Gentry (Corinne) Waldo, Jules Hirsch, and William M. Abbey because they were satisfied with touring celebrities who brightened the social scene during their brief engagements but required no long-term local financial commitment. Still, musicians and music-lovers kept talking. Julien Paul Blitz, at the time musical director of the Treble Clef Club and conductor of a popular ensemble that entertained at Gus Sauter's Viennese-Victorian restaurant on the corner of Preston and Travis Streets, approached several leading clubwomen. Every time he mentioned his dream of a symphonic orchestra in Houston he was referred to Ima Hogg. When he finally sought her advice in the spring of 1913, she quickly saw the possibilities. Impressed by Houston's homegrown talent and anxious to build a symphonic tradition in

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50 Ima Hogg to R. C. Kuldell, Hughes Tool, letter, Mar. 13, 1935 (quote); R. C. Kuldell to Ima Hogg, letter, Mar. 22, 1935, 3B178, folder 2, IHP, CAH.
her adoptive city, Ima proposed the trial concert that Blitz executed so successfully in June.51

When summer travelers returned to Houston in the fall of 1913, the ladies' committee that had organized the June experiment began formulating a modest and logical plan to create a resident symphony, develop a regular concert schedule, and build an audience. Speaking the language of business, these women secured good press coverage and favorable editorial opinion. Readers of the Sunday morning Post on November 9 learned that "those who had the pleasure and privilege of hearing the concert given by a highly trained body of Houston musicians" would soon again enjoy a symphony season. Quick to dispel civic concerns about "aim, scope and expense," the writer listed several premises critical to orchestra promoters' thinking: a modest three-concert season; music selections of broad-based appeal; local musicians who would "send their children to our schools and [be] loyal to Houston's interests and enthusiasts for its future"; and low ticket prices "so that the orchestra may be really claimed as a people's orchestra." The writer also summarized Houston's music scene and noted that musical clubs, the Music Festival Association, and local promoters were already spending a lot on musical attractions: they imported "expensive soloists," "great Eastern orchestras . . . at a prodigious expense," and grand opera on "a most sumptuous scale." Despite this financial outlay, Houston would never be "fully musically equipped and in line with the great musical centers of the continent until we have our own symphony orchestra" to "attract the best class of people." There is no question that Ima and her friends sincerely believed symphonic music could and should be the heritage of all Houstonians. There is

51 In an interview for the Houston Public Library oral history project (Ima Hogg, Oral History, HMRC, HPL), Ima claims Blitz "didn't want to" consult her but that "everyone sent him" to speak with her.
also no question that they well understood the necessity of appealing to commercial self-interest. Common sense or their training as southern ladies suggested the importance of wedding musical appreciation to social prestige. Expensive boxes, festive parties, and formal attire ensured that Houston's elite would nurture "the city's latest and sturdiest infant." This formula of artistic appreciation, business acumen, and social acceptability continues to inform Houston's cultural philanthropy.

Buoyed by growing support, the ladies' committee organized by Corinne Abercrombie Waldo met in preliminary discussions at Katherine Parker's home and then gathered potential guarantors in the Chamber of Commerce rooms in early November to explain their program, elect officers and directors, and name Julien Paul Blitz conductor. The women well understood that their persuasive powers could carry them only so far, and they sought an alliance with Houston's business brokers to secure financial backing among those who might only respond if they could believe music would be good for business. Katherine Parker somewhat reluctantly accepted the office of president because she was not completely wedded to the idea of a resident company. Ima believed her the natural leader both because she symbolized the woman's music movement by virtue of her roles in the Woman's Choral Club, the Thursday Musical Club, and the Girls' Musical Club and because she was married to prominent lawyer

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Planning meetings at the home of Mrs. Gentry Waldo described in Houston Post, June 1, 1913.

52 Houston Post, Sunday, Nov. 9, 1913, p. 39. The article appears without a byline, suggesting editorial support. Wille Hutcheson, the Post's music critic, and Ima Hogg expressed similar ideas.

53 Houston Post, Oct. 26, 1913, p. 33; Wille Hutcheson, "The Symphony Orchestra is Assured," Houston Post, Sun. Nov. 23, 1913, p. 34; "Houstonians Backing Move for Symphony Orchestra," Houston Post, Nov. 23, 1913, p. 51, lists 150 guarantors, including Will Hogg, and announces three concerts at the Majestic Theatre; undated clipping in Scrapbook 3, JHPC, UH. Roussel says the organizational meeting took place at Mrs. Parker's home, but the Post clearly distinguishes the meetings. A July 11, 1948, Houston Chronicle clipping suggests that Florence Sterling worked with neighbor Ima Hogg to support "the struggling little orchestra," although the governor's sister and influential businesswoman is not included in any early Symphony Association rosters. Clipping in 2J414, notebook, WHP, CAH.
Edwin B. Parker, associate of lawyer-banker James A. Baker, Houston's most important pre-war power broker. Ima was named first Vice President; Frantz Brogniez became second vice president; Mrs. A. F. Lillard was elected recording and Mrs. William M. Abbey, corresponding secretary; and developer Henry F. MacGregor accepted the duty of treasurer. The twenty-five directors included Mrs. E. A. Peden, Corinne Waldo, Laura Rice, Blanche Foley, Henry Stude, Abe Levy, Jesse H. Jones, D. B. Cherry, Joseph S. Cullinan, and Edgar Odell Lovett. Will Kendall volunteered to serve as business manager, and Rabbi Henry Barnstein, Rev. William S. Jacobs, Estelle Sharp, and Mrs. Harris Masterson joined a seven-member advisory board. Miss Hogg, Mrs. Parker, Mrs. Abbey, Mrs. Waldo, and Julien Blitz signed the charter petition for incorporation.\textsuperscript{54} The founding board reflects Ima's ability to unite musical factions and her astute understanding of a board's role as promoter and guarantor of the worthy cause. Most female members had already demonstrated their passion for music and their ability to organize and proselytize through music club participation. Messieurs MacGregor, Barnstein, Lovett, Cherry, and Levy were officers or patrons of the Houston Music Festival; civic activist Rev. William Jacobs and banker/real estate investor Jesse Jones, 1913 president of the prestigious No-Tsu-Oh carnival Directorate, represented important power bases; while Mrs. Harris Masterson, Estelle Sharp, Joseph Cullinan, and Henry Stude were respected civic actors and close business and personal associates of the Hogg

\textsuperscript{54} Information about the organization of the Symphony Society can be found in Houston Post, Nov. 23, 1913, pp. 34, 51; Roussel, Houston Symphony, 13-27; Pentimento, Houston Symphony Magazine, Dec. 1993, 13-14. The Houston Symphony Society program magazine changed names over the years. Hereafter "program" and date are used to indicate a Society program publication. Programs from 1931 to the present are found in Alice Pratt Brown Fine Arts Library, Fondren Library, RU. Foley Brothers also began its long tradition of Symphony Society support by serving as a guarantor. Mrs. Parker moved to Washington, D. C., in 1918 but often visited Houston and attended concerts with her niece, Mrs. R. D. MacDonald or with Ima. She died Nov. 14, 1953. Program, Dec. 15, 1953, p. 33.
family. If Will and Mike did not share Ima's passion for music, they understood her project and proudly urged their friends' support.

The new board ratified proposals of the women's committee, and the first season began with three twilight concerts performed by local musicians at the Majestic Theatre, again available free through the kindness of Karl Hoblitzelle. Volunteers exceeded the announced goal of one hundred guarantors at $25 each and signed 138 socially prominent supporters to secure a comfortable $3450 to begin operations and keep ticket prices low ($.25 to $1). Years later Ima recalled how hard she and others worked to convince these pioneers. "We took the telephone book and talked to everybody we thought might be interested. Not many had ever heard of such a thing" as a municipal symphony orchestra; if they had they thought it was "impossible in Houston."55 On Friday afternoon, December 19, 1913, Ima triumphantly joined the capacity crowd to hear Blanche Foley sing and inaugurate the twilight season. In large part, this audience was generated by Abe Levy and the Levy Brothers Dry Goods advertisements, which admonished customers to "do something 'For the good of Houston'... and so pack the Majestic Theatre that there can be no doubt in the promoters' minds that Houston wants such an orchestra."56 Press articles assured readers that Houstonians were about to join an elite group of American cities offering resident symphony seasons. High school students formed a pupils' orchestra, and the Girls Musical Club announced it had chosen orchestral instruments for its field of study during 1913–1914. The first season proved a success; the public attended faithfully, the players were enthusiastic, and the criticism

55 Clipping, Houston Chronicle, Jan. 10, 1971, Miss Ima Hogg Vertical File, Archives, MFAH.
56 Clipping of advertisement, Levy Brothers Dry Goods Co., Dec. 18, 1913, Scrapbook 3, IHPC, UH.
was muted. Ima had realized her dream; she had placed Houston "in the list of symphony supporting cities."\textsuperscript{57}

Houston continued to attract touring soloists and ensembles during the 1914–1917 period. The Houston Art League sponsored concerts at the City Auditorium; the Girl's Musical Club, the Woman's Choral Club, and the Treble Clef Club all guaranteed concert seasons, while in May 1916 the New York Philharmonic, America's oldest symphony orchestra, founded in 1842, drew responsive crowds. In January 1917 the Minneapolis Symphony visited Houston, and in February of that year Boston's National Grand Opera performed \textit{Aida}.\textsuperscript{58} Despite the guns of August in Europe, Houston Symphony Association planners repeated their formula of three twilight performances at the Majestic in its second season, which opened on November 26, 1914, Thanksgiving Day. Blitz asked to be relieved of his conductor's post after the third season, and Paul Bergé, a violinist, replaced him for the fourth season of three twilight concerts, again opening on Thanksgiving Day, November 30, 1916. The season closed in March 1917, only weeks before the United States declared war on Germany on April 6, 1917. In a Soiree d'Art during Easter week 1917, Houstonians tried to palliate the horrors of war headlines through the solace of music. Ima played the orchestral accompaniment for Liszt's Concerto in E Flat Scherzo finale; cellist Julien Blitz and violinist Rosetta Hirsch performed solos; and Henry Stude provided a reading.\textsuperscript{59} At this terrible and uncertain

\textsuperscript{57} Wille Hutcheson, \textit{Houston Post}, n.d. but ca. Dec. 20, 1913 (clipping saved in Scrapbook 3, IHPC, UH). The scrapbook contains information about and critiques of the fall 1913 season. Scrapbook 2 contains the program and list of early patrons. Years later (program, Dec. 18, 19, 1967, p. 21), Ima recalled the high goals of the 1913 founders: an orchestra for Texas; an "instrument of entertainment and education"; broad-based community support; free summer concerts; best possible directors; recording contract; national tours; civic music hall, "acoustically perfect, glamorous and convenient."

\textsuperscript{58} Scrapbook 3, IHPC, UH.

\textsuperscript{59} Program, Scrapbook 3, IHPC, UH.
moment, Ima assumed the presidency of the Association and began planning the 1917–1918 concerts.

The next twelve months must have been very stressful for Ima. President of the Symphony Association, vice president of the Texas Federation of Music Clubs, mentor to her advanced piano students, and participant in several civic clubs, it is no wonder letters to Will are rushed and abrupt.\textsuperscript{60} Her life was filled with meetings and an awakening realization that the time was not opportune to inaugurate a civic symphony orchestra movement. Her beloved Germany had become the enemy, and works by her favorite composers were stricken from Association programs. Friends later remembered how she tirelessly trudged up and down Houston's streets seeking support, and contemporaries praised the remarkable strides made by the struggling orchestra in difficult times. Officers and directors worked unceasingly to gain the musicians' confidence, build an audience, and provide appropriate instruments for their musicians. Blitz and Bergé drilled local performers in the essentials of orchestral technique, and dress rehearsals were opened, free of charge, to high school pupils.\textsuperscript{61}

Despite widespread interest, Ima was faced with a terrible decision. Even before the United States declared war, some musicians had joined the armed forces. When the fifth season ended on April 3, no plans were made for 1918–1919 as more and more young men left for the front; how could the Association know an armistice would be declared in November 1918? Always generous with her energy and her purse, always turning every performance into a festive social occasion, always counseling, planning,

\textsuperscript{60} Ima Hogg to William C. Hogg, letter, Oct. 20, 1917 ("in a terrible rush"), 3B119, folder 1, IHP, CAH. The 1917–1918 program of the Girls Musical Club lists Ima as chairman of the Artistic Committee. MSS 27, Box 2, folder 1, Cherry Papers, HMRC, HPL.
\textsuperscript{61} Saengerbund Pamphlet, Scrapbook 5, IHPC, UH.
prodding, Ima exhausted herself trying to sustain the civic music movement. It is hard to say whether Ima's subsequent illness and absence from the city for long periods of time (1918–1924) or new entertainment diversions in the immediate post-war years most affected the Symphony Association's development in the 1920s. For more than a decade the Association maintained a presence in civic affairs and sponsored touring ensembles, but the drive to form a resident symphony lay dormant. In its first five seasons, however, the Association had laid the foundation for work that would follow: it had shown that Houston audiences did enjoy symphonic music; it had proved that the business community would support a resident orchestra as a civic asset; it had demonstrated the importance of music education to build an audience; and it had shown that a symphony association could unite professional musicians and music lovers in a project that brought pleasure to many and stature to the city.

*Classical Hiatus: Musical Houston in the 1920s*

Ima was asked to stay on as president in 1919, but by 1921 it had become clear that her illness and prolonged absences from Houston interfered with civic responsibility. Huberta Garwood, married to prominent judge and Houston Music Festival patron Hiram M. Garwood, assumed the Association's presidency for the next decade. Although the Association maintained membership and sponsored chamber orchestra recitals, its members were discouraged by the tepid response of post-war audiences to numerous attractions brought by Edna Saunders and various musical clubs. Did all Houston prefer Chicago's Isham Jones, king of Jazz, and his fourteen-piece "international" Recording Orchestra to recitals by Metropolitan Opera Soprano Alma Gluck and pianist Nadia
Boulanger or concerts by the revered Philharmonic Society of New York? Was the "cool top-of-town Rice Roof" more suited to boom-time Houston's Roaring Twenties enthusiasm than a staid concert hall? If recitals and symphonic concerts had lost their luster in the 1920s, opera and ballet captivated audiences. Citizens wrote lengthy letters to the editor explaining exactly how Houston could foster "a school of opera . . . with a gala week all our own." Edna Saunders received accolades for bringing ballet troupes, singers from the Metropolitan Opera, and a season of Chicago Civic Opera performances in March and April 1927. A Houston Chronicle reporter noted that Saunders's "one tremendous musical event of the year . . . will draw more people to Houston from surrounding cities and towns than will a convention of the first class."

So popular were these opera seasons that Houstonians attempted something truly daring in March 1930. Recognizing that Houston was known "throughout the length and breadth of the land" as the fastest growing southwestern city and home of one of America's engineering triumphs, the Houston Ship Channel, a citizens' group led by the Chamber of Commerce made a bid for recognition as one of the nation's elite cultural centers. Chamber officials learned of the German Grand Opera Company's "notable

62 Program of Rice Institute Lectureship, Nadia Boulanger, Scottish Rite Cathedral, Jan. 27-29, 1925, Scrapbook 5, IHPC, UH. Isham Jones, composer, bandleader, and saxophonist wrote hits like I'll See You in My Dreams and What's the Use and enjoyed a long engagement on the Rice Roof during the summer of 1930 (Houston Gargoyle, July 20, 1930, ad inside cover; July 27, 1930, p. 9). During the decade of Symphony Association quiescence Houstonians could hear, among numerous other offerings, Gluck, Mar. 24, 1919, City Auditorium; Paderewski, Feb. 1, 1923, City Auditorium; the London String Quartet, May 7, 1924, Main Street Auditorium; Boulanger, Jan. 27-29, 1925, Scottish Rite Cathedral; tenor John McCormack, Feb. 6, 1926, Feb. 16, 1928, City Auditorium; New York Philharmonic, Oct. 14, 15, 1926; Ballet and opera programs in Jan. and Feb. 1927; and a Chicago Civic Opera Company season, Mar. and Apr. 1927. Scrapbook 5, IHPC, UH.

63 Anna Clyde Plunkett, Houston Chronicle, Nov. 31, 1922, p. 13.

64 Houston Chronicle, Feb. 3, 1927, Our City column, p. 1; programs in IHPC, UH. The 1920 Blue Book claimed Texas was musically "advanced" and noted professional orchestras in San Antonio (under Julien Paul Blitz), Dallas, Austin, and Waco. The editor also listed music clubs and touring sites. Clyde Whitlock, "Musical Texas," The Standard Blue Book Texas Edition (San Antonio: N. S. Peeler & Co., 1920), 140.
1929 United States tour and asked to be included, as the only southern city, on the company's second coast-to-coast visit to the United States in 1930. Engaging impresario Sol Hurok to bring the German company to Houston, Chamber sponsors presented *Der Ring Des Nibelungen* at the City Auditorium on March 3, 4, 5, and 6. Richard Wagner's four-day Ring Cycle demands an attentive and sophisticated audience; Houston was game to try.

The project probably thrilled Ima Hogg. A passionate Wagner devotee who would attend the Ring Cycle at Bayreuth and elsewhere several times during her life, Ima was one of 231 prominent women marshaled as the Houston Committee to secure underwriting and audience support. Chamber leadership and female advocacy ensured success. Hugh Potter, president of River Oaks Corporation, served as general chairman of the event; Chamber of Commerce president R. C. Kuldell and Mayor Walter Monteith presided as honorary chairmen, and W. T. Carter, F. M. Law, B. B. Gilmer, W. Browne Baker, J. W. Neal, W. N. Blanton and C. S. E. Holland, all active Chamber members or staff, formed the working committee. Underwritten by Jesse Jones, Ross Sterling, the River Oaks Corporation, Levy Brothers Dry Goods Company, the First and Second National Banks, the Carter Investment Company, and Dollahite-Levy Company, the elegant program paid its compliments to the Chamber of Commerce and "the music lovers of Houston and the Southwest." Front page newspaper coverage and praise by Rice Institute professor S. A. Nock declared "Opera Debut Big Success," detailed the singers' triumphant performances, praised the splendid orchestra, and lauded the Chamber's "good judgment and courage." Mixing politics, society, and drama, Nock described the special train that brought performers and stagehands to the station where
hundreds of Houstonians led by Hugh Potter welcomed them. He noted the "fashion on parade" at the performances and included photographs of Governor Dan Moody and his party in their evening finery. Chamber of Commerce organization, social approbation, and musical excellence had worked their magic and proved once again that Houston was the "musical center of the Southwest."66

Civic leaders and cultural journalists did their best to stimulate public interest in "serious" music. Ima Hogg recognized the importance of an audience attuned to the beauties of classical music when she underwrote her first music lectureship at Rice Institute in 1923. Reporters described the minutiae of every activity when the Texas Federation of Music Clubs held its convention in Houston March 20-23, 1927. Dressed in her best azalea and camellia finery, the city offered musical meetings and social engagements to nearly three hundred delegates whose presence enlivened the somnolent music scene. Choir Director Ellison Van Hoose marshaled a mass chorus of convention participants for a Tuesday evening songfest, and Edna Saunders sponsored pianist Mischa Levitzki at a concert honoring the delegates. Scholarships to the New York School of Music and Art were awarded to students of voice, piano, and violin. Delegates were treated to tea at the headquarters Warwick Hotel, breakfast hosted by past presidents of the Girl's Musical Club, luncheon presented by the St. Paul's Methodist Church Choir, an excursion to Ross Sterling's Bayshore mansion for tea, a reception given by the Girl's Musical Club at the Museum of Fine Arts, concerts and recitals, and several "other entertainments." Special trains, front page newspaper coverage complete with flattering portraits of convention leaders, and a "royal" welcome from Mayor Oscar Holcombe and

66 Scrapbook 6, IHPC, UH.
School Superintendent E. E. Oberholtzer proclaimed Houston's status as a "well-balanced" artistic center. 67

In general, however, journalists found Houston's musical culture sadly mediocre. Ruth West complained that Houstonians in 1928 swooned over international stars who had been well advertised for weeks in advance but were indifferent to local talent and seemed ignorant of well-known artists not announced effectively in the press. Hubert Roussel suggested his fellow citizens preferred Lucky Strike cigarettes to Beethoven suites. "It was impossible," he railed, "not to be impressed by the size of the audiences that stayed away from" two concerts played by the "brilliant musicians" of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, brought to Houston by Edna Saunders in April 1929. 68 Mary Elizabeth Rouse declared, "Houston is going backward musically" in December 1929 and expressed shock that in 1926 Elizabeth Rethberg, "one of the greatest sopranos of all time," had attracted fewer than five hundred people. 69 Although the press covered musical club programs and activities in detail, provided lengthy articles about local musicians, and trumpeted Edna Saunders's concert offerings, most observers probably agreed with Ruth West's sad summation that only "a few individuals and one or two small groups . . . with negligible encouragement and no real estate for hope are struggling to keep alive in Houston a musical entity." 70 Writers opined the audience for

67 Houston Post-Dispatch, Feb. 15, 1927, p. 5; Mar. 20, 1927, pp. 1, 2; Mar. 21, p. 1; Mar. 22, pp. 1, 2; Mar. 23, p. 1; Mar. 24, p. 4.
69 Mary Elizabeth Rouse, "Houston and Harmony," Houston Gargoyle, Dec. 1, 1929, p. 25.
70 Ruth West, "Lyres and Easels," Houston Gargoyle, Nov. 17, 1929, p. 22. West then describes work of the Boudreaux Quartet, directed by violinist Josephine Boudreaux. See also an article on child prodigy and future Houston Symphony concertmaster Raphael Fliegel, in Ruth West, "Lyres and Easels," Houston Gargoyle, Feb. 16, 1930, p. 18; and a long article by Margaret Feigin on "Mrs. Saunders' Amusement Menu," Houston Gargoyle, Sept. 6, 1931, pp. 8, 9, 25.
classical music had not grown in twenty years, and critics believed "America as a whole is not musical," in part because serious music had been "presented to them as a duty rather than a pleasure." Allen V. Peden believed music should be advertised as recreation. Instead of "sneering at . . . musical innocents" and "frightening or annoying the timid aspirant away with programs that are completely beyond his head and driving him, in self-defense, into the banalities of the jazz-maniacs," music lovers must "skillfully cajole" the average citizen "into appreciating the better things by a consistent appeal to his pleasurable reactions." In later years, Ima did not forget Peden's warnings as she advocated programming that balanced traditional favorites with challenging contemporary compositions.

Commentators suggested several difficulties to surmount in building popular sentiment for a municipal symphony orchestra. So-called good music was difficult — to study and appreciate, to perform properly, and to support financially. Jazz and radio were spoiling America's ear for high-quality performance by "spreading a lot of racket everywhere in the name of music." To one jaded columnist, music teachers were failing to set high musical standards for their pupils, were aggressive self-publicists, and were often poorly trained themselves. Yet writers did not despair. Horton Corbett suggested building civic taste by purchasing a concert organ for the city auditorium and supporting a municipal band. Other advocates believed several concerts each year by first-class touring orchestras, lectures at Rice Institute, musical afternoons at the new Museum of Fine Arts, and recitals sponsored by Edna Saunders and the Girls' Musical

Club would create demand for symphonic music. Some appealed to that suspect character, civic pride: if Dallas could present a symphony orchestra of seventy-five musicians to an audience of nearly four thousand willing to hear new work by a Dallas composer, how could Houston lag behind? Houstonians were urged to heed this rival city's example of successful orchestra-building: find an ardent backer who combined music sensitivity and business acumen; offer a trial concert at a low price; accumulate patrons who paid dearly to join a cultural and socially acceptable elite. Did Dallas remember Houston's pre-World War I formula for success?

The Symphony Reborn

Ima must have sensed stirrings of interest in a rejuvenated symphony orchestra in the late 1920s. In 1928 Josephine Boudreaux had returned from six years' study in Europe and formed a string quartet that quickly gained press and audience attention, and Foley Brothers department store began sponsoring Wednesday musicales that year. In February 1929 Ima began a discreet survey of orchestras throughout the United States to ascertain reasons for their successes and discover potential candidates willing to wield the conductor's baton in Houston. Then late in 1930 Houston entered a season of symphonic soap opera. As recounted by critic Hubert Roussel, Houston gyrated from no interest in a local symphony orchestra to three contending organizations to one triumphant victor during twelve titillating months. The furor started when voice coach

73 Horton Corbett, Civics for Houston, Dec. 1928, p. 18.
74 Touring in Civics for Houston, Jan. 1929, p. 15; lectures, etc., in Rouse, "Houston and Harmony," 25.
76 Ima Hogg to Mrs. Underwood Nazro, letter, Feb. 5, 1929, 3B174, folder 1, IHP, CAH.
and piano teacher Mrs. John Wesley ("Ma") Graham decided she wanted an opera company and training school in Houston and set off for Europe in August 1930 to find a director. Described as a "personality of rare color, temerity, and impulse," the legendary choir director of the First Methodist Church at first secured promises of support for a civic opera company from Mayor Walter Monteith and the Chamber of Commerce, but her "saturation technique of publicity" seems to have repelled the cultural elite, and plans faltered. 77 Undaunted by establishment indifference or Wall Street tremors, Mrs. Graham dragooned Milan opera Maestro Uriel Nespoli and, not without difficulty, carried him through immigration hassles to Houston in January 1931. Ensconced in Mrs. Graham's "new and elaborate studio" on Westmoreland Boulevard, the "short, stout, nervous little man, who paced about . . . flinging his arms in Italian outbursts," began to train singers for a proposed Aida. Needless to say, his opera would require an orchestra. 78

Meanwhile, a group of musicians had begun practicing with the music director of public school bands and orchestras, Victor Alessandro, first in the Carter Music Company salesroom and later in the basement of the First Christian Church. By late 1930, Alessandro had attracted forty dues-paying players — $5.00 per annum to buy music — who were ready to perform. Somehow he was introduced to cotton and real estate broker N. D. Naman, who quietly promised financing and produced a charter signed by himself, Rev. Harry G. Knowles of the First Christian Church, W. H. Hogue, Herbert Godwin, and J. A. Philips. With $350 to cover one concert, the Houston Philharmonic announced

77 Roussel, Houston Symphony, 29, 30; "Houston Civic Opera Plans," Houston, Oct. 1930, p. 28.
78 Hubert Roussel, Houston Gargoyle, Jan. 25, 1931, p. 8. Roussel recounts Mrs. Graham's lobbying of consuls, congressmen, senators, and notable national politicians to secure Nespoli's residency in Houston.
plans for a 1931 concert series on Sunday afternoons at the Scottish Rite Cathedral Auditorium, to begin March 15, 1931.\textsuperscript{79}

Stunned that Houston was about to hear a resident orchestra supported by "a number of people who had not heretofore been associated with the symphony movement at all,"\textsuperscript{80} an Association committee, with Ima Hogg as pivotal spokesperson, invited Messieurs Naman and Hogue to a meeting in the venerable Chamber of Commerce offices. Pointing out the Association's years'-long, if currently slumbering, effort to cultivate a symphonic movement, Ima and her friends suggested the two groups work together, under the established Association banner, to create a "truly representative" orchestra. Naman and Hogue, feeling justifiably that their orchestra, organized by the musicians themselves, was already representative, declined the Association's offer. Galvanized by rejection, the Association began to play hard ball. First, it buried its decade-old argument that World War I had interrupted its work and left Houston disinterested in symphonic music. Next it reorganized and in early April announced new leadership: "wise" pillar of the Association, Dr. Joseph A. Mullen, was named president; Huberta Garwood stepped down to first vice president; Ima Hogg was named second vice president; Bernard Epstein, treasurer; and Mrs. Herbert Roberts, secretary.\textsuperscript{81} Then Association members secured the "colorful and dynamic" Uriel Nespoli as conductor.\textsuperscript{82}

Although Ima Hogg later claimed Nespoli "didn't know anything at all" about symphonic music, board members were quick to secure his services when Mrs. Graham proved

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\textsuperscript{79} Roussel, \textit{Houston Symphony}, 33, 37.

\textsuperscript{80} Hubert Roussel, "Unfinished Symphony," \textit{Houston Gargoyle}, Mar. 15, 1931, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{81} \textit{Houston Gargoyle}, Dec. 20, 1931, lauds Dr. Mullen as quiet, dignified, supportive of all cultural movements in the city; he was Houston's first ear, nose, and throat specialist, advocated public health issues, and in retirement had become a scholar of music and archeology. In 1965 Dr. Mullen's son Joseph Mullen endowed the Nazro Memorial Concert in memory of his grandmother Clara Wheeler Nazro and mother Joanna Nazro Mullen, both former board members. Program, Sept. 20, 21, 22, 1970, p. 9.
unable to finance her opera dreams and was willing to release him from contractual obligations. With a conductor on board, the Association organized an orchestra of some seventy-five local musicians who would be paid to rehearse and perform — unlike Philharmonic members, who played for free. Finally, the Association announced two introductory and complementary concerts at the Palace Theatre on May 6 and 7.

To further roil the musical stream, Ellison Van Hoose, internationally acclaimed tenor, choir director at First Presbyterian Church (1916–1936), and intimate friend of Edna Saunders, publicized formation of a "strictly commercial" Little Symphony of twenty-two musicians who would present concerts featuring vocal soloists. The ensemble would make its debut April 28, 1931, at the Palace Theatre. Apparently Edna Saunders, who had been cooperating with the Symphony Association for a decade to present orchestral and chamber music, resented Ima's attempts to reorganize a resident orchestra that would compete with her own touring attractions. Saunders left a fall 1930 meeting called by Miss Hogg to discuss a restructured symphony orchestra and refused to support Association efforts thereafter.

82 Maxine Tindel, "Symphony Is Success Here," Houston Post-Dispatch, Thur. May 7, 1931.
83 Hogg comment in Oral History Collection, HMRC, HPL. Ima tried to secure a conductor in New York, but other board members seemed to have felt the available Nespoli would enable fast action. Mrs. Graham finally launched her Houston Civic Opera Association in April 1932 with a production of Il Trovatore at the City Auditorium, coached by Harry Girard with sets from the Metropolitan Opera. Hubert Roussel, Houston Gargoyle, Apr. 24, 1932, p. 22.
84 Hubert Roussel, "Unfinished Symphony," 32, says friends of the Philharmonic charged that Association members called Philharmonic musicians and offered cash. Philharmonic members retaliated by threatening expulsion of any member who played with another group. Roussel omits this rumor in his history.
85 Students were invited to attend the 10:00 A.M. Thursday dress rehearsal.
86 Roussel, "Unfinished Symphony," 32; Houston Symphony, 34. Van Hoose made his opera debut in 1897, when he sang the title role in Wagner's Tannhauser with the Metropolitan Opera Company, and he performed frequently with the Metropolitan and Chicago Operas. He introduced Handel's Messiah to Houston audiences and presented the oratorio for twenty seasons. Once he had established a Messiah tradition, he worked with other church choirs and with the Houston Symphony Orchestra. Judy King, Except the Lord Build . . .: The Sesquicentennial History of First Presbyterian Church, Houston, Texas, 1839–1989 (Houston: The Church, 1989), 77.
It is not hard to sell tickets when Houston's social elite, its popular musicians, and its honest music mavens are engaged in mortal combat for the heart and mind and purse of the concert-going public. Healthy crowds witnessed the fight, which was vividly recounted in press reports. First to the mat was the forty-piece Philharmonic, whose modest program was warmly applauded March 15; next came the well-attended debut on April 28 of the Van Hoose gambit. Then on Sunday May 3 the Philharmonic tackled the second movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony at its second afternoon concert. Praised by critic Roussel for its "well-shaded interpretation," the orchestra showed promise and the effects of hard work. Encouraged by critical and audience acclaim, the Philharmonic announced a five-concert season for 1931–1932, to begin in October. When Nespoli mounted the podium before the seventy-odd "hastily gathered and quickly trained" musicians of the Symphony Association, did he intend a direct confrontation with the Philharmonic, or was it coincidence that his debut May 6 and 7 featured Beethoven's entire Fifth Symphony? The press waxed poetic about the rejuvenated orchestra and accompanying chorus of 110 church and amateur singers. Under Nespoli's internationally acclaimed baton, the musicians produced "some of the most beautiful music [heard] in the city in many a day" in "truly impressive demonstrations of musical zeal." The lengthy program featuring Wagner and Beethoven was probably overzealous, but the Association had filled the theatre and "demonstrated . . . that

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87 Roussel, "Symphony Week," Houston Gargoyle, May 10, 1931, p. 23. In his history Roussel is more critical of Philharmonic concerts.
[Houston] is a metropolitan city." A delighted Ima Hogg sent President Mullen her check for $602 to defray expenses of the two trial concerts.89

Mullen quickly secured Nespoli's services for a full 1931–1932 season of six concerts to be held in the 3,400-seat City Auditorium. Although the Philharmonic and Van Hoose orchestras bravely soldiered on, trumpeting their seasons and launching campaigns to sell tickets to an additional eighteen concerts, neither group could withstand grim reality: the three orchestras would have to share performers; national economic storms dampened funding ardor; and the Association, once roused, was too powerful to combat. Association members belonged to Houston's civic and economic power structures, and they could withstand attack from poorly financed and socially obscure contenders. Houston had room for only one symphony society, and the challengers succumbed to summer's doldrums. Determined to succeed, the Association immediately undertook a bold membership campaign to sell season tickets, consolidate its gains, and lure rival patrons and musicians to its camp. The Chamber of Commerce insisted the Association "should have the cordial support of the business and professional interests" to broaden musical culture and "establish a higher order of living" for all.90 Harmony may not have replaced discord, but by November 1931 Florence Hogue, wife of Philharmonic sponsor W. H. Hogue, had been named the Association's recording secretary.91

Houston's symphonic rebirth occurred at a moment of personal trial for Ima and Mike. Will, head of the family since their father's death in 1906, had died unexpectedly in September 1930 while undergoing emergency surgery in Baden-Baden. Although

89Tindel, Houston Post-Dispatch, May 7, p. 11; Ima Hogg to Dr. Joseph Mullen, letter, May 11, 1931, 3B174, folder 1, IHP, CAH. She itemizes union costs she will cover.
90Editorial, Houston, July 1931, p. 15.
prostrated for several weeks by the tragedy, Ima rallied bravely in the last months of 1930, fortified by "Mickey's" steadfast support and the loving affection of sister-in-law Alice. Mike stepped into his brother's role as family mentor and president of Hogg Brothers and other business interests, and Alice began to work closely with her sister-in-law on several projects. Perhaps energized by the symphony's tribulations, Ima did not at first succumb to the demons of depression that had immobilized her for so long in the early 1920s. Then in July 1933 her health betrayed her. Accompanied by close friend Estelle Sharp, Ima traveled to the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota, for orthopedic surgery. Setbacks followed, and in October she began a long recuperative visit in Tucson, Arizona, with brother Tom. During her absence, Mike held "long confab[s]" with the conductor, and kept his sister apprised of "the ins and outs and intrigues of your Symphony Orchestra." He reassured her that subscription sales seemed to be doing well. Letters from friends detailed successful fall 1933 concerts and other Symphony activity.\footnote{First quote, Florence Hogue to Ima Hogg, Aug. 30, 1933, 3B174, folder 1, IHP, CAH. Radaslav A. Tsanoff, Rice Institute, to Ima Hogg, Oct. 9, 1933, in ibid., makes clear that Ima was elected to the post, although official symphony rosters do not record this election. Mullen continued as president until succeeded by Joseph Smith in 1934. Tsanoff says in part: "Your enforced absence . . . at this season makes us realize anew the Symphony's great and constant need of your counsel and guidance. Your gracious letters of resignation as president were read at a meeting of the Executive Board, but of course we could only postpone action, hoping your convalescence may bring you back sooner than you at present expect.} The Symphony Association, which had hoped Ima would become its president in September 1933, refused to let her resign from the board during this period of enforced absence because any hint that she was not actively engaged "would disturb the confidence of the public and delay subscriptions." Clearly, Ima's "counsel and guidance" had become indispensable to the Symphony's continued development.\footnote{First quote, Florence Hogue to Ima Hogg, Aug. 30, 1933, 3B174, folder 1, IHP, CAH. Radaslav A. Tsanoff, Rice Institute, to Ima Hogg, Oct. 9, 1933, in ibid., makes clear that Ima was elected to the post, although official symphony rosters do not record this election. Mullen continued as president until succeeded by Joseph Smith in 1934. Tsanoff says in part: "Your enforced absence . . . at this season makes us realize anew the Symphony's great and constant need of your counsel and guidance. Your gracious letters of resignation as president were read at a meeting of the Executive Board, but of course we could only postpone action, hoping your convalescence may bring you back sooner than you at present expect.}
mind, 'Miss Ima' was the Houston Symphony, and she would remain its symbol long after her death in 1975. Hubert Roussel called her the orchestra's "exigent Juno, never easy to please, and at the same time its most devoted evangel."\textsuperscript{94} Ima understood that the symphony had to move slowly in a steady climb toward excellence; only gradually and through much hard work could audience, musicians, and conductors be brought to the highest standards of performance and appreciation. As Houston's musical history unfolded in the next four decades, it became clear that successive music directors had to please Ima and her highly trained ear, urge musicians to ever-higher levels of performance, charm Houston's social elite, and provide "melodious" music preferred by "people of average taste."\textsuperscript{95} Only a rare conductor could manage these conflicting requirements.

Although the Houston \textit{Press} congratulated Association directors at the end of Nespoli's 1931–1932 season for the symphony's artistic success, for giving jobs to unemployed musicians, for providing tickets at low prices, and for completing the season with "less than a $300 deficit," board members were not happy with his performance.\textsuperscript{96} Programs were too long, too unfocused, and often "woefully under-rehearsed," and apparently Nespoli lacked social skills to endear him to sponsors although he believed he

\textsuperscript{94} Roussel, \textit{Houston Symphony}, 47.

\textsuperscript{95} R. C. Kudell to Ima Hogg, letter, Mar. 22, 1935, 3B178, folder 2, IHP, CAH.

\textsuperscript{96} Houston \textit{Press}, May 30,[1932], clipping, 3B174, folder 1, IHP, CAH. Critics were generally positive, appreciating the effort being made more than the musical execution. Roussel mentions Nespoli's "splendid direction" after one concert and praises performances by local artists Drusilla Huffmaster (fourteen-year-old daughter of choral conductor Hu T. Huffmaster) and Josephine Boudreaux. Hubert Roussel, \textit{Houston Gargoyle}, Nov. 22, 1931, pp. 20-21; Dec. 20, 1931, p. 20. For $10.00 a patron could purchase two tickets to each of six concerts; $100.00 bought twenty-five tickets per concert. Advertisement, \textit{Houston Gargoyle}, Sept. 6, 1931, p. 29.
and his wife "had made very dear friends" in Houston.\textsuperscript{97} The Executive Committee decided the Italian must be replaced. Association treasurer Bernard Epstein suggested the committee consider his acquaintance, Frank St. Leger, the "charming and cultured" junior conductor for the Chicago Opera Company. The fortyish British-trained musician made an excellent impression, and on June 4, 1932, President Mullen, Ima Hogg, Huberta Garwood, Florence Hogue, and Treasurer Epstein offered St. Leger a contract, which was ratified by the full board on June 8.\textsuperscript{98} St. Leger was a great success socially, and he and his wife found shelter in apartments over the garage at Ima's Bayou Bend.\textsuperscript{99} He enchanted luncheon groups and ladies' musical clubs with earnest propaganda and relished card games and hunting or fishing trips with wealthy businessmen whose financial support was critical, but he seems to have misinterpreted Houston's musical taste and pampered audiences with unchallenging repertoire. Critics noted "steady improvement" in the musicians and "a new high in vitality, in tone quality, . . . in tone color" and in "expressiveness," but they often seemed more impressed by the "smartly-groomed audience [that] more than half filled the spacious auditorium," than by the musical selections.\textsuperscript{100}

Half-filled auditoriums and boring fare made board members restless after three seasons. Once again, it was time to find a conductor who would challenge musicians and

\textsuperscript{97} Letter, Uriel Nespoli to Houston, in \textit{Houston Gargoyle}, June 19, 1932, p. 4; "woefully underrehearsed" in Hubert Roussel, \textit{Houston Gargoyle}, May 1, 1932, p. 19. Roussel's account of Nespoli's dismissal (\textit{Houston Gargoyle}, July 31, 1932; \textit{Houston Symphony}, 53-55) suggests social and musical skills played equal roles. Nespoli took his case to the press in a barely comprehensible letter and filed suit for breach of contract, but in the end accepted the board's decision and continued his career in New York.

\textsuperscript{98} Hubert Roussel, \textit{Houston Gargoyle}, July 31, 1932, p. 16. Born in Madras, India, St. Leger was a piano prodigy, choir boy, and graduate and associate of the Royal Academy of Music. He had pursued a concert career before turning to conducting. Prior to his Houston engagement, St. Leger conducted at Covent Garden, guided the short-lived American Opera Company, and served Chicago's opera.


\textsuperscript{100} \textit{Houston Chronicle}, "Music to Suit All," Dec. 11, 1934; \textit{Houston Post}, "St. Leger Leads City Symphony In New Triumph," Dec. 11, 1934, clippings in Scrapbook 7, IHPC, UH.
audience to reach higher levels of musical sophistication. New president Joseph Smith (1934–1936), an astute insurance executive, revamped business operations and encouraged donated support so Houston could compete for the best musical talent. When it came time to renew St. Leger's contract in the summer of 1935, Smith hesitated. He knew Ima Hogg, Mary Fuller, and Mrs. Herbert Roberts, who happened to be vacationing together in New York, had "already taken steps" to discover a replacement for the lackluster St. Leger. The conductor must have understood that all was not well, and he challenged Smith with stringent demands that Smith refused to meet. Although Smith urged St. Leger to reconsider his stipulations, it is clear that both sides wanted important changes. St. Leger secured a position with the Metropolitan Opera Company, and the Association's Music Committee, after studying twenty-three applications, recommended that the board hire three guest conductors for the next season, Vittorio Verse, Modeste Alloo, and Alfred Hertz, and continue its search for a resident conductor.  

The press lauded the well-known maestros whose hiring was a "significant step forward," and large audiences during the 1935–1936 season enjoyed programs "replete with musical beauty" that raised expectations. If not all reviews glowed, if some conductors were shocked

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101 Letters between Ima Hogg and Joseph S. Smith July 23, 27, 29, 30, 31, 1935, reveal that Ima had thought through the requirements for director and begun interviewing candidates. Also Joseph Smith to Frank St. Leger July 31, Aug. 16, letter and telegram, reveal reconsideration requests. The board decision to hire three guest directors was taken Sept. 9 and announced in a series of letters Sept. 10, 1935. All in 3B174, folder 2, IHP, CAH. See also Hubert Roussel, Houston Post, July 26, 1935, "Scouts Seeking New Symphony Conductor/Committee of Four in New York Asked to Look Out for Successor to Frank St. Leger," clipping in Scrapbook 7, IHPC, UH. Apparently Dr. Mullen was also in New York, although not as part of the vacationing ladies' group.

102 See clippings in Scrapbook 7, IHPC, UH; Houston Post, Sept. 10, 1935 (Three Famous Maestros, "significant step"); Hubert Roussel, Houston Post, Nov. 5, 1935 (Large Audience Back); Pat Barnes, Houston Post, Nov. 5, 1935 (Verse Is Given Ovation by Colorful Audience); Pat Barnes, Houston Post, Dec. 16, 1935 ("much improvement"); Pat Barnes, Houston Post, Jan. 14, 1936 (Great Triumph Is Achieved By Symphony "replete with musical beauty"); Pat Barnes, Houston Post, Feb. 18, 1936 ("new standards"); Dallas Times Herald, Feb. 23, 1936 (Houston Symphony Orchestra Makes Notable Progress); Hubert Roussel, Houston Post, Mar. 10, 1936 ("graceful and civilized performance"); Walter Dancy, Houston Chronicle, Mar. 10, 1936 (Disappointing Debut)
by the quality of Houston's musicians, still orchestra and audience benefited greatly by exposure to the stringent demands of three directorial styles.\textsuperscript{103}

\textit{Ima's Search for Musical Excellence}

In the spring of 1936 with the conductor's job still unfilled, Ima engaged in a little self-confessed chicanery as chairman of the Association's nominating committee.\textsuperscript{104} One afternoon she invited several prominent Houston men, including friend and lawyer Walter Walne, to Bayou Bend to discuss candidates for Association president. As each guest entered the house he received a note saying he had been named president. After several rounds of Ima's famous, well-laced fish house punch, much laughter, and considerable cajolery, Walter Walne accepted the post, which he held until the summer of 1942.\textsuperscript{105} On May 26, 1936, the board announced Walne's election, a season ticket subscription goal of $30,000, and a committee to select a permanent conductor.

Prominent attorney Jesse Andrews was made chairman of the search committee because Ima wanted to ensure business support, but minutes and correspondence reveal that her leadership and opinion were decisive.\textsuperscript{106}

Costs had been steadily increasing from $12,000 to $16,000 to $24,000 between 1930 and 1936, and board members realized that their search for a well-known conductor

\textsuperscript{103} According to Roussel (\textit{Houston Symphony}, 69-71), Alfred Hertz was horrified by the lack of discipline and talent pervading Houston's music scene, but, placated by gourmet dinners at Bayou Bend and charmed by Ima's diplomacy, he stayed to give a "strict and intensive music lesson" to the performers.

\textsuperscript{104} Other members included Mrs. Ray Dudley, Mrs. John Vandemark, Miss Carolyn Bryan, Mrs. Herbert Roberts, and lawyer Daffan Gilmer (various clippings May 26, 1936, Scrapbook 7, IHPC, UH). Ima discusses her ploy in Oral History, HMRC, HPL.

\textsuperscript{105} Directors who served with Walne included Ima Hogg and oil man Harry Wiess as vice presidents, Jesse Andrews, W. L. Clayton, Lillie (Mrs. Hugh Roy) Cullen, Mrs. Harry Hanszen, Oveta Culp Hobby, and Radoslav A. Tsanoff.

\textsuperscript{106} Report of Committee on Selection of Conductor, July 1, 1936, 3B174, folder 3, IHP, CAH. Committee members included: Mrs. J. G. Flynn, Mrs. John Willis Slaughter, Dr. Joseph Mullen, and orchestra personnel manager H. R. Bourne.
must be accompanied by an aggressive campaign to secure broad-based support. Press
articles recounted efforts to build a donor base: On May 27 the Chamber of Commerce
pledged its cooperation because "the people of Houston have given conclusive evidence
of their interest in and appreciation of good music." On June 2 the board announced that
William L. Clayton of Anderson Clayton would lead a powerful group of businessmen to
raise needed funds and meet the budget, and on June 14 a Membership Group met at
Bayou Bend to announce results of a whirlwind subscription campaign. Finally, on July
3, following a June 30, 1936, meeting of the search committee hosted by Ima at Bayou
Bend, the board announced Ernst Hoffman would be the new orchestra conductor.107 A
slender handsome man, brisk, businesslike, and analytical, Hoffman was dedicated to fine
musicianship and had studied at Harvard and the Berlin Conservatory for Music. Son of
a German violinist, Hoffman conducted the Commonwealth Symphony Orchestra, a
Works Progress Administration project in Boston. Longtime Houston Symphony
Concertmaster Raphael Fliegel remembers that Hoffman was a great conductor, much
beloved by the musicians, who "did everything" for the orchestra and "asked for nothing
in return."108

Ima had been busy in May and June as she secured her choice for president,
organized a subscription campaign, and wrote to experts throughout the country
requesting information about candidates for conductor. Her gift of $1,000 headed a July
4, 1936, list of contributors and was one of only fifteen donations of $100 or more. With

107 See letters Ima Hogg to Dr. Nicolai Sokoloff, Federal Musicians Project, May 26, 1935; to Mary Fuller,
May 26, 1936; to Mrs. Walter Walne, May 27, 1936; Walter Walne to Ernest [sic] Hoffman, June 16, 1936;
Report of Committee on Selection of Conductor, July 1, 1936, in 3B174, folder 3, IHP, CAH; articles in
Houston Post, May 27, 1936, July 3, 1936; Houston Chronicle, May 27, 1936, June 2, 1936, June 14, 1936,
June 16, 1936, and numerous other clippings in Scrapbook 7, IHPC, UH.
108 Roussel, Houston Symphony, 76-80; Raphael Fliegel to author, Oct. 4, 2003 (quote). Fliegel recalls that
Hoffman was not "glamorous" and would set up chairs himself or do "whatever needed to be done."
the advent of Walter Walne as president and Ernst Hoffmann as conductor, Houston Symphony entered a period of administrative and musical stability that allowed board members to focus on improving the orchestra. In a May 1935 letter Ima indicated that the Association wished to move beyond "the best material among our citizens" and recruit musicians competitively with $10,000 set aside for that purpose.\textsuperscript{109} Ima also turned her attention to audience building and fundraising. She believed firmly that everyone who wished to should be able to attend symphony concerts. As early as 1931, she was purchasing tickets for music teachers in public schools, for pupils who displayed "meritorious work," and for charitable groups so citizens throughout the city could enjoy fine music during the economically stressful times. While these "free" tickets suggest a need to paper the house during lean economic times, they also reflect Ima's insistence that fine music be available to all citizens.\textsuperscript{110} By 1937 Ima was providing complementary seats to "several hundred underprivileged music lovers" at every concert and had helped the Society develop a pricing structure that included low-cost subscriptions for adult students, matinee concerts for children at 25 cents a ticket, and sections reserved for "negroes at popular prices."\textsuperscript{111} Ernst Hoffmann supported Ima's efforts to build an audience by introducing a series of Pops Concerts, made popular in his native Boston as a

\textsuperscript{109} Ima Hogg to Dr. Nicolai Sokoloff, Federal Music Project, May 26, 1935, 3B174, folder 3, IHP, CAH. The letter requesting names of musicians who might be willing to move to a city of 350,000 states the Symphony needs two violins, two violas, two double basses, one flute, one oboe, one English horn, two bassoons, and one French horn.

\textsuperscript{110} Charitable groups included the Catholic Women's Club, the Women's Cooperative Home, the Bellaire Home, Sheltering Arms, and the Young Men's Chamber of Commerce. See Unsigned letter to Ima Hogg, Nov. 22, 1931; Bessie Oliver to Ima Hogg, Jan. 19, 1932; Bessie Oliver to Ima Hogg, Nov. 11, 1932, 3B174, folder 1, IHP, CAH. Ima purchased 148 tickets at 50 cents each, although most recipients were seated in the orchestra "to make a better balance of the house." Recipients received a letter saying "a friend of the orchestra" was presenting the reserved tickets to them. Apparently Ima spent $1782.75 on donated tickets in 1931 and 1932. Patrons are still encouraged to purchase tickets to be used by school and other non-profit groups.

\textsuperscript{111} Form letter, 1937–1938 season in 3B174, folder 4, IHP, CAH.
way to "indoctrinate young people with the critical importance of fine music."\textsuperscript{112} By 1938 the symphony season included six regular concerts, six lower-priced Pops concerts, four concerts for school children, and four engagements in Beaumont and Galveston.\textsuperscript{113}

To guarantee the orchestra's financial security, Ima energized Houston's corps of volunteers by inviting young women to her home to form a Women's Committee (renamed the Houston Symphony League in 1978). She served as chairman during the Committee's first two years (1937–1939) and set a course still followed nearly seventy years later. A veteran volunteer of twenty years ascribed the Committee's long-term success to Ima Hogg: "like the conductor of her own orchestra, the Women's Committee, and with the greatest of artistic perfection [, she] was able to evoke the best possible performance from each of the players."\textsuperscript{114} Combining social enjoyment with serious purpose "to build an ever greater Orchestra," Ima inspired volunteers and organized each subcommittee around a particular function. She offered meetings in lovely homes or interesting civic venues and rewarded hard work with box seats, orchids, and friendship.\textsuperscript{115} Once these women had sorted address cards, planned fund raisers, entertained visiting musicians, or worked with children in the schools for a season or two, many of them became devoted advocates of their resident symphony, connoisseurs of fine music, and financial supporters.

Extensive coverage of committee activities in the \textit{Post} and \textit{Chronicle} reflected community belief in the Symphony as a "cultural force."\textsuperscript{116} The Women's Committee

\textsuperscript{112} Leopold Meyer, \textit{The Days of My Years: Autobiographical Reflections} (Houston: Universal Printers, 1975), 161-62, prints the Purposes and Objectives of the Pop Concerts Committee under the chairmanship of Caroline Wiess (later Law).

\textsuperscript{113} Walter Walne, Report to City Council, Jan. 31, 1938. Pop concert tickets cost 25 to 50 cents.

\textsuperscript{114} Mrs. Robert Stuart to her daughter Francita Stuart Koelsch Ulmer, Program, Dec. 7, 8, 1970, p. 21.

\textsuperscript{115} Program, Apr. 2, 1951, p. 35; remarks, Mrs. Albert P. Jones, May 13, 1957, 3B175, folder 4, IHP, CAH.

\textsuperscript{116} Houston \textit{Post}, April 1, 1937, editorial, p. 4, Scrapbook 7, IHP, UH.
took over the subscription drive, then the Symphony's only source of assured revenue, and immediately introduced innovations that allowed the board to increase its goals year after year, even in the slow economic times of the late 1930s. In the 1937 campaign more than three hundred workers were divided into committees covering all women's and civic clubs, businesses and industries, churches, schools, and residential areas; it would have been hard to miss any likely subscriber. An article describing the 1938 campaign estimated that women working for three weeks were able to check 22,000 prospect names in 700 hours of volunteer labor.\footnote{Clippings Houston Post, Mar. 5, Mar. 30, Apr. 13, May 2, 1937; Houston Chronicle, Mar. 30, 1937, Apr. 13, May 2, 1937, Scrapbook 7, IHPC, UH. See also a wonderful photograph spread in the Houston Chronicle, Feb. 17, 1938, of women working in the Bayou Bend library preparing prospect lists for the 1938–1939 season ticket campaign. Gilley and Bonney, Ima's terriers are "overworked" as they greet and "bid a canine Godspeed to all who leave." Committee report to Walter Walne, Jan. 1938, established a goal of 8,000 names (3B174, folder 5, IHP, CAH). See also, Program, April 2, 1951, "Houston Women's Committee" history by Mrs. Albert P. (Nettie) Jones, p. 35.} In 1939 the Women's Committee adopted by-laws, produced its first gala fund-raiser — a Viennese Ball at Houston Country Club that netted $1,057.20 — and created a Children's Committee to supervise youth-oriented activities.

Before handing the Committee's gavel to her successor, Ima announced plans for a Maintenance Fund drive. As the Women's Committee prospered, subcommittees expanded responsibilities to include numerous fund-raising special events, work at youth concerts, student and Young Artists auditions, a Junior Patrons Committee to provide funds for the orchestra and educate young members, and docent outreach to children in schools, hospitals, and libraries.\footnote{Today the League continues operations as one of Houston's most powerful volunteer support groups.}

As war clouds rolled across the globe, the Symphony Society again questioned whether it could sustain a full season. Far less timid than leaders of the infant Association had been when confronted by World War I dislocations, Society planners
decided "civilians and men in the armed forces needed their symphony to assuage the "stress of war." After six years as president, Walter Walne wanted to retire in 1942, and the executive committee, guided by Ima's firm hand, asked Hugh Roy Cullen, king of the wildcatters and possibly Houston's richest citizen, to form a committee to find Walne's successor. Cullen, a rough-hewn but kindly man of decided opinions, had no interest in music, but his wife Lillie adored the symphony. Cullen announced there was no need for a committee; he would sign on for the duration; and moreover he would underwrite operations, as much as $125,000 in 1944–1945 alone. In her report of a long-range planning committee that had met three times during Christmas week 1943, Ima praised Cullen's "leadership, guidance, and very generous contributions," and noted that his prestige advanced the Symphony's cause with the Chamber of Commerce and other donors.

Cullen viewed his job as a civic duty and the Symphony as a public morale booster, and he reorganized symphony management to separate artistic and business functions. Also sponsor of Houston's Wartime Youth Council to combat juvenile delinquency during wartime, Cullen pushed conductor Ernst Hoffmann to expand the repertoire and touring season and persuaded the city council to appropriate $5,000 for free summer concerts in neighborhoods where delinquency rates were high.

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119 "History of the Symphony Society," June 21, 1943, Box 2, IHPC, UH.
120 Symphony Society Minutes, Nov. 3, 1943, Cullen agreed to be president until war with Germany was over, reprinted in Meyer, Days of My Years, 344.
121 Ima Hogg to Hugh Roy Cullen, letter, Jan. 2, 1944, 3B176, folder 1, IHPC, CAH.
122 See Meyer, Days of My Years, 157-58, 342-43 (Appendix with reprint of minutes where Meyer suggested Hoffmann be relieved of "all responsibilities not pertaining directly to the duties of conductor").
123 Hugh Roy Cullen to Major General Richard Donovan, May 25, 1943, letter explaining Wartime Youth Council, Box 2, 1959-1964, IHPC, UH. Cullen lays out an extensive plan he and fifty representative citizens undertook in Feb.-Mar. 1943 to address wartime youth delinquency and other issues. As a result, the city was persuaded to allocate $5,000 for summer concerts in troubled neighborhoods.
the war years, concerts began with the Star Spangled Banner, and the Symphony became an important regional symbol that catered to servicemen by touring military bases and distributing free Pop Concert passes to soldiers. Cullen personally persuaded NBC to broadcast its national Cities Service weekly radio concert live with the Houston Symphony on January 15, 1943, and for the first time, a national radio audience heard the Houston Symphony in concert. Impressed by the broadcast's audience-building potential, Cullen then challenged Texas Gulf Sulfur's commercial self-interest and civic pride and signed the Houston company to underwrite free Saturday afternoon concerts to be aired live across the southwest.\textsuperscript{124} The 1944–1945 season listed seventy-two engagements: ten subscription concerts, one special event, four operas, eight student performances, twenty-eight tour stops, and twenty-three visits to military bases or USO halls. It is hardly surprising that Cullen told his successor, Joseph S. Smith, that Hoffmann had "worked like a dog" during the war.\textsuperscript{125}

Stimulated by Houston's wartime prosperity and population boom, Houston's boosters announced the city was entering an era of greatness. A world-class symphony seemed within reach at last. Cullen kept his word and resigned at war's end, although no formal action was taken by the Society until January 1946, when Joseph S. Smith was recalled as president and Cullen promoted to chairman, both terms to begin May 1. Almost immediately Houston's music world was plunged into crisis. Although Cullen accused Smith of starting "a row" with the conductor, Ima may have been the source of the trouble. In the next three decades neither she nor the executive committee would discover how to replace conductors whose usefulness had been exhausted without

\textsuperscript{124} According to Roussel, \textit{Houston Symphony}, 107-8, NBC was stunned by this unusual request but agreed to move its entire engineering and production staff to Houston for the experiment.
causing a firestorm. By 1946, Ima wanted to move the Symphony from regional to national status, and she felt that, after ten years, Ernst Hoffmann, beloved as he was by audience, musicians, and donors, had done all he could with the orchestra. Cullen, recalling Hoffmann's yeoman service during the war, stood behind the hard-working conductor and blamed Smith for stirring up trouble and failing to raise money. On April 23, 1946, Cullen resigned as chairman-elect, made public a letter strongly urging retention of Hoffmann as conductor, and challenged Smith to "assume full responsibility for raising money."\textsuperscript{126} Realizing he could not withstand Cullen's animosity, Smith resigned on May 8, having served for one week.

Ima rushed back from a vacation in Mexico, appointed a committee to choose a new president, and called on Cullen to discuss the crisis. "Shocked" that Ima "wanted to discuss firing Ernst Hoffmann, giving him $10,000, and getting a new conductor," Cullen threatened to withdraw his vital financial support.\textsuperscript{127} In the end, the committee and Cullen turned to Ima and demanded she become president. She took the reins provisionally in mid-May but insisted that insurance genius Gus Wortham be asked to serve as chairman to ensure strong financial backing from business leaders.\textsuperscript{128} Glad to be rid of Smith and confidant the new team would build the Symphony's reputation, Cullen told Wortham he would "subscribe 20% of the budget" and "continue his interest."\textsuperscript{129} In February 1947 the board voted to find a new conductor. Ima broke the news to Hoffman

\begin{footnotes}
\item[125] Roy Cullen to Pres. Elect Joseph S. Smith, Apr. 16, 1946, letter, 3B176, folder 1, IHP, CAH.
\item[126] Roy Cullen, resignation statement, Apr. 23, 1946, 3B176, folder 1, IHP, CAH.
\item[127] See letters Roy Cullen to Joseph S. Smith, Pres.-elect, Apr. 16, 1946; Roy Cullen to Ima Hogg, Pres., May 18, 1946, 3B176, folder 1, IHP, CAH.
\item[128] Ray Dudley, friend of the principal actors in the drama and member of the search committee, wrote Ima that he had talked to Wortham on Christmas Day. On Dec. 26 he learned that Cullen had tried to persuade Wortham to serve as chairman; by Dec. 27 Dudley was "convinced, and so are the rest of the committee you appointed that if you and Mr. Wortham will carry on for the next year, the success of the symphony . . . is assured." Ray Dudley to Ima Hogg, letter, Dec. 27, 1946, 3B174, folder 6, IHP, CAH.
\end{footnotes}
that the 1946–1947 season would be his last and initiated a search to find a replacement of national standing.\textsuperscript{130} Although correspondence and press accounts suggest that Hoffmann was treated cavalierly, he and Ima continued to exchange friendly letters until his death in a tragic automobile accident in 1955. Ima revealed to Hubert Roussel that Hoffman was "very sweet" about his dismissal, "always so reasonable." She would never forget how painful the interview had been.\textsuperscript{131} The wish for improvement had been hers, and the finesse with which she weathered the crisis restored harmony without alienating Cullen's critical financial support, even though the loyal Hoffman was pushed aside.

\textit{Toward International Acclaim}

Ima's election as president inaugurated a long period of stability (1946–1956) for the Society administration, which continued under Maurice Hirsch, who served as president from 1956 to 1970. Tom Johnson was hired as business manager in 1948 and reorganized the Society's finances and staff along more businesslike lines. Formerly the youthful manager of the Austin Symphony, he held a Bachelor of Music degree and had considerable experience as a military band conductor and as a publicist.\textsuperscript{132} During Ima's decade of service, four prominent chairmen, Gus Wortham (1946–1948), F. M. Law (1948–1950), Warren Bellows (1950–1953), and Harmon Whittington (1953–1956) built

\textsuperscript{129} Gus Wortham to Ima Hogg, letter, May 27, 1946, in ibid.

\textsuperscript{130} Cullen remained close to Hoffman, persuaded him not to announce his resignation during a concert, and told him there were two unappreciated professions — clergy and conductors — and that congregations and audiences became "restless" and wanted change, "often without cause." Roy Cullen to Ernst Hoffman, letter, Mar. 5, 1947, 3B176, IHP, CAH. Cullen was incensed by press reports that he had "thrown Joe Smith out of the Symphony," since he firmly believed Smith had caused the crisis. Roy Cullen to Gus Wortham, Mar. 19, 1947, ibid.

\textsuperscript{131} Roussel, \textit{Houston Symphony}, 116, n. 3. See Ernst Hoffman to Ima Hogg, letters, 1946–1948, 4W194, folder 1, IHP, CAH. The events of this crisis, the interim season, the hiring of Efrem Kurtz as conductor, and his tenure are explained in detail in Roussel, \textit{Houston Symphony}, 110-140.

strong ties to funding sources in the business community that helped stabilize the orchestra's finances, but trouble continued to plague relations among conductors, board members, and musicians. 133

Ominous rumblings often marked Ima's efforts to engage the ideal conductor and develop programs acceptable to disparate constituents. Civic-minded patrons with no ear for music like Hugh Roy Cullen could dispense money and leave musical matters to experts because they viewed a symphony orchestra as a civic asset, not as a source of personal pleasure. But to Ima, the Symphony brought personal delight and consolation. Trained as a musician herself, she held strong views about musical quality and appropriate programming. For her, financial patronage was insufficient; more important was the aesthetic imprint she hoped to stamp on the orchestra. To ease the transition from Hoffmann to a new man and to allow the board time to test several candidates, the executive committee decided to rely on guest conductors for the 1947–1948 season. Among the recruits were Leonard Bernstein (January 1948) and Efrem Kurtz, who was offered the job of resident conductor late in March 1948. Correspondence between Bernstein and Miss Hogg reveals that she hoped he would come to Houston as music director. In a charming letter, he tells her that he must remain in New York if he is going to try seriously to compose for Broadway productions. 134

Efrem Kurtz seems to have been the universal favorite. Wortham and Ima had already approached him in the spring of 1947, but the ongoing management crisis with

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133 See F. M. Law to Ima Hogg, letter, June 29, 1949, telling her to enjoy her vacation because the affairs of the orchestra have "never been in such sound and promising condition," 3B174, IHP, CAH.
134 Leonard Bernstein was invited to tea by the Women's Committee Jan. 2 and to luncheon at Bayou Bend on Jan. 4. In a letter Mar. 11, 1948, to My dear Miss Ima, Bernstein says, "The prospect of Houston was a bright and hopeful one; I had fallen in love with the town and many of its inhabitants; and the challenge of building an orchestra was a direct appeal." Leonard Bernstein to Ima Hogg, letter, Mar. 11, 1948, 4W195,
Cullen and Hoffmann made further discussion impossible until March 1948. Carefully vetted by several members of the board and well received during appearances in January 1947 and March 1948, Kurtz would remain in Houston until 1954. Like Hoffman before him, Kurtz began his tenure with high hopes, much praise, and great plans for expansion and improvement. At first all went well for the tall, elegant former conductor of the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo orchestra. Houston's symphony attracted musicians and guest conductors of high quality; the season expanded to include 103 performances by 1950–1951; and the new conductor was a popular attraction at luncheons, dinners, and committee meetings. At the close of the 1950 season, Sir Thomas Beecham declared Houston's orchestra, hitherto "virtually unknown and on the verge of collapse," to be "one of the very best in the country." A Christian Science Monitor article said the season had "made musical history in the Southwest" as ushers turned away "hundreds," crowds cheered, and Kurtz "stumped the country" for fresh talent. Ima had achieved her goal of national recognition.

Kurtz did not, however, develop a repertoire that satisfactorily sustained audience interest, and ticket sales began to flag during his third season. A less than enthusiastic executive committee renewed Kurtz's contract in 1951, but only for two years. Attendance did not improve, and when the 1953 season closed, new chairman Warren S. Bellows told Kurtz his contract would not be renewed. Instead, during the 1953–1954

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folder 3, IHP, CAH. Budgets confirmed the ambition; in 1950 symphony volunteers were given a $100,000 fund-raising goal. Houston, Sept. 1950, p. 34.

135 Cullen exploded again when Wortham and Hogg began making overtures to Kurtz, although both believed Cullen was reconciled to the search for a new man. See Roussel, Houston Symphony, 117-18. In Ima Hogg to Roy Cullen, [Mar. 1947], 3B176, folder 1, IHP, CAH, Ima indicated Cullen's telegram threatening withdrawal of support if she and Wortham continued negotiations for a new conductor was a complete surprise.

136 Of the 103 performances, 20 were subscription, 5 were free Henke and Pillot Saturday evening concerts, 10 were for students, 26 were radio broadcasts, 40 were touring spots, and 2 were special events.
season, the Society would rely on Kurtz, by letters of agreement, and on several guest artists. Once again, Ima and others felt the popular conductor had accomplished what he could, and it was time to move the symphony to a higher performance level in the long quest for national and international recognition. Critics had begun to complain that Kurtz's programs were unchallenging musically, while Society leadership feared the maestro's marital difficulties and growing intimacy with a young orchestra flutist might explode in scandal.¹³⁸

In trying to sidestep Kurtz's personal and musical difficulties, the Society's executive committee found itself embroiled in failures of communication that reached melodramatic, if not scandalous, proportions. A rising European star, the thirty-nine-year-old Hungarian Ferenc Fricsay, had dazzled Houston with his "gymnastic baton style" and "magnificent muscularity" as a guest artist in November 1953.¹³⁹ Negotiations for a yearlong trial residency in Houston began immediately.¹⁴⁰ Implicit in the sixteen-concert engagement announced January 16, 1954, was the promise of a permanent contract, provided Houston audiences reacted well to Fricsay's dynamic style and Fricsay and his wife enjoyed their stay well enough to make Houston a permanent home.

Although the search committee hoped to hire someone of international repute, possibly, therefore, of European background, it was adamant in requiring a full-time commitment

¹³⁷ Clipping, Christian Science Monitor, May 20, 1950, 2J413, Symphony Scrapbook, WHP, CAH.
¹³⁹ Pamphlet, 4W194, folder 6, IHP, CAH.
¹⁴⁰ Ima Hogg to Andrew Schulhof, Fricsay's manager, Nov. 26, 1953 (folder 6); Memorandum of conversation with Andrew Schulhof, Dec. 4, 1953, listing Fricsay's demands, which included a "big house" (folder 1); Ima Hogg to Mr. and Mrs. Ferenc Fricsay, letters, Dec. 11, 1953, Jan. 5, 1954 (folder 6); Memorandum announcing engagement, n. d.; Ferenc Fricsay to Tom Johnson, letter, Jan. 20, 1954 (folder 6), all in 4W194, IHP, CAH. On Dec. 23, 1953, Ima also asked friend Hazel Ledbetter to make inquiries about Maurice Abravanel. On Jan. 5, 1954, she thanked Nevena (Mrs. Don) Travis for her enthusiastic
to the Houston community as well as to the city's Symphony. Board members wanted the new music director to devote most of his time to building the orchestra's skills, repertoire, and reputation.

When Fricsay arrived for his first concerts in the fall of 1954, it seemed that he would propel the orchestra to new levels "in closer connection with American and European musical life." Musicians loved his vigorous style, and audiences responded enthusiastically to his "stunning" performances, but relations between the conductor and the Society's inner circle quickly soured and by December 1954 had reached a crisis. Unfortunately, Fricsay found Music Hall acoustics deplorable and said so volubly. Ima and other board members, who had supported the hall's expensive renovations, took strong exception to his criticism. Fricsay also seems to have believed that the executive committee wanted him to outline his wishes for an ideal orchestra in November 1954. When he submitted an elaborate long-range plan that included requests for a new music hall designed specifically for symphonic performance, extensive touring in Europe and America, better instruments, and higher salaries, board members balked. Although the board commended "his desire to look to the future and visualize a superior orchestra for Houston," the finance committee stated that his requests could not be met; his wish list was interpreted as a series of demands; and the imbroglio was aired in the press.

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letter about the Fricays and confided that Houston wants him for a few weeks so the city and musician could know each other better. Both letters in ibid., folder 6.

141 Patrick J. Nicholson III to Ima Hogg, letter, Dec. 23, 1953, mentions the importance of acceptance in the community and participation in the city's social life. 4W194, folder 6, IHP, CAH. In 1970 Ima continued to urge a resident conductor despite the "fashion for conductors to flit from orchestra to orchestra." Program, Women's Committee page, Dec. 13, 14, 15, 1970, p. 21.

142 Quote in Ferenc Fricsay to Tom Johnson, Jan. 20, 1954, 4W194, folder 6, IHP, CAH.

143 Ann Holmes to author, May 1, 2003. Raphael Fliegel to author, Oct. 4, 2003, says Fricsay was a "wonderful" man and a "brilliant" musician.

144 Ann Holmes to author, May 1, 2003, says Ima "froze," and soon she and Fricsay could agree on nothing.

145 Ferenc Fricsay to board, statement, Nov. 20, 1954; statement of the board, Nov. 27, 1954, 4W194, folder 6, IHP, CAH.
The storm worsened when rival Post and Chronicle publishers, editors, and critics seemed to be telling different stories. Long-time critic Hubert Roussel, then writing for Oveta Culp Hobby's Post, had grown very friendly with Symphony business manager Tom Johnson; Johnson fed Roussel an expurgated version of the board and administration viewpoint and ignored Chronicle critic Ann Holmes's requests for information. Trying to untangle the rumors, Holmes hired an interpreter, invited the misunderstood Hungarian and his wife to lunch, and listened attentively to his story, which she then retold to the public. According to Holmes, Fricsay "stoutly insisted" that Tom Johnson had solicited the maestro's vision for a great symphony. She stressed that the Johnson/Society report conflicted with Fricsay's statements and noted anguished telephone calls from musicians and the public praising the conductor.146

While a semantic misunderstanding centering on "wish" or "demand" may have triggered the December explosion, it is also possible that a Fricsay-Houston union was not to be. Ima objected to Fricsay's "phrasing," and business manager Johnson grumbled about costs. Letters from his promoter Andrew Schulhof warned the musician that his failure to ask what the public wanted or to understand financial constraints of privately funded community projects would alienate American music supporters. By January 1955

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146 Ann Holmes, "Ferenc Fricsay Reported Out," Houston Chronicle, Dec. 13, 1954, Sec. A, pp. 1, 14, disclosed "unofficial reports" from musical circles that Fricsay's requested improvements had been rejected. Ima Hogg refused to comment. Holmes, column, Dec. 15, 1954, Sec. F, p. 2, reported the "love and admiration of [Fricsay's] players and the gratitude of selective listeners." Holmes, column, Dec. 20, 1954, Sec. A, pp. 1, 13, re-explained the crisis. Clipping, Ann Holmes, Dec. 21, 1954, Sec. E, p. 6, saved in 4W194, folder 6, IHP, CAH, described Fricsay's departure and noted, "whether arrangements can be made to retain this very valuable man's services in this city where hostility to his efforts lurks remains to be seen." Holmes, "Symphony Airs Fricsay Issue," Dec. 22, 1954, Sec. F, p. 4, lays out both sides of the quarrel. Hubert Roussel, Houston Post, Dec. 14, 1954, Sec. 4, p. 9, countered that now was a "Good Moment to Keep Calm: A View of a Musical Agitato"; the article mentioned an "impressive concentration of misunderstanding" caused by talkative musicians "setting off fireworks," and claimed there was no change in symphony policy. Roussel, too, stressed the "disparity between the views of Mr. Fricsay and those of certain officials of the Symphony as to what should be the immediate objectives." In his Dec. 15,
Fricsay found himself without an agent and without a job.\textsuperscript{147} Ima and Chairman Harmon Whittington came to believe Fricsay had "endeavored to disrupt the morale of the musical employees of the Society" by making his grievances public.\textsuperscript{148} The Symphony Society's public statement announcing Fricsay's departure said merely the board had "learned with regret" that a "serious rheumatic condition" would preclude the conductor's return in February. Although she stood firmly with the forces arrayed against Fricsay, Ima may have been personally upset and affronted by the emotional explosion that pitted musicians and music lovers against music patrons. F. M. Law, who had been out of the city during the fray, tried to comfort her by complimenting her as "a great woman and a great citizen" and concluding, "Mr. Fricsay was not for us, and it is just as well for all concerned that we found that out early." Unhappily, business concerns and personalities seem to have trumped pursuit of musical excellence in relations with this acclaimed conductor.\textsuperscript{149}

Musically 1955 proved an exciting year for Houston. The Symphony Society prevailed on world-renowned maestro Sir Thomas Beecham, then seventy-six years old, to leave retirement and finish the 1954–1955 season.\textsuperscript{150} Elva Lobit founded the Houston Symphony Orchestra with funds from her father, John Lobit, and her husband, Elva Jr., who had been the orchestra's first conductor.

\textsuperscript{147} See Andrew Schulhof to Ferenc Fricsay, memo, Dec. 6, 1954, 4W194, folder 6, IHP, CAH. On Dec. 3, 1954, Schulhof had tried to rectify the situation by stressing that Fricsay never saw his suggestions as demands and that the director and his wife loved Houston (Schulhof to Tom Johnson, Dec. 3, 1954, ibid.). It is also possible that Schulof dropped Fricsay as his client because he saw more opportunity for himself by maintaining good relations with the Houston Symphony Board; in any case, he played a pivotal role in bringing Stokowski to Houston in the fall of 1955. See letters and letter of agreement signed by Stokowski, Schulhof, and Johnson Mar. 7, 1955, in 4W194, folder 7, IHP, CAH.

\textsuperscript{148} Ima Hogg and Harmon Whittington to board, Dec. 20, 1954, enclosing Ferenc Fricsay proposals, 4W194, folder 5, IHP, CAH.

\textsuperscript{149} Statement, 4W194, folder 6, IHP, CAH. F. M. Law to Ima Hogg. Jan 20, 1955, letter (ibid.) suggests the orchestra will not suffer because of the Fricsay flap. Raphael Fliegel recalls that Fricsay was, indeed, suffering health problems.

\textsuperscript{150} Beecham, known as a wry critic, had enjoyed conducting the orchestra and lecturing in December 1949. Betty, Lady Beecham to Ima Hogg, Dec. 16, 1949, 4W194, folder 5, IHP, CAH.
Grand Opera, and a group of ballet aficionados established the Houston Ballet Foundation to support creation of a professional school and resident company. In the fall of 1955 charismatic Maestro Leopold Stokowski, then seventy-three, began a six-year engagement that seemed to herald the Symphony's acceptance by the national and international music world. Ima had followed Stokowski's career faithfully since 1920, when she had attended concerts of the Philadelphia Orchestra conducted by the dynamic young conductor. When Ima retired as president of the Society in 1956, she must have felt confident that the orchestra would prosper under the combined guidance of music-lover and business leader Maurice Hirsch and world-acclaimed eminence grise of the symphony world, Leopold Stokowski.\footnote{ima attended numerous musical events during periods of recuperation in Philadelphia in the early 1920s. Stokowski brought the Philadelphia Orchestra to world-celebrated status during his 1912–1936 tenure and himself gained renown as a musical interpreter and orchestra builder. See Programs from Philadelphia} In negotiations leading to his letter of agreement with Symphony officials, Stokowski indicated he would encourage talented young conductors, make recordings, begin a scholarship program, and be available to critics and music departments at Rice Institute and the University of Houston.\footnote{While Stokowski's tenure certainly added luster to the orchestra's reputation, his stay was not untroubled. Although Ima befriended him, attended all his rehearsals, and often invited him for dinner, he seemed to her an unhappy and lonely man. His formal personality and his chilly criticism of Houston's music hall and musical taste did not endear him to friendly Houstonians who were proud of their efforts to build a musical culture accessible to everyone. Struggling through a divorce from socialite Gloria Vanderbilt and separated from his young sons, Stokowski failed to make friends and visited Houston only for rehearsals and concerts. Moreover, his passion for}
contemporary music fell on untutored ears and drove traditionalists from the hall. However, his potent reputation and ability to raise performance standards overcame any disquiet, and when his three-year contract expired in 1958, both sides agreed to continue on a year-to-year basis. This solution proved unsatisfactory; Stokowski spent less and less time in Houston, and Houstonians began to wish for a conductor willing to reside in the city.¹⁵³

When Sir John Barbirolli stopped in Houston February 1 and 2, 1960, as part of a nationwide tour, he provided "dramatic and spellbinding" revelations to an eager audience.¹⁵⁴ Critics acclaimed a thrilling evening, and board members began to think that Sir John might be just the figure to follow Stokowski. Well-known to Americans, through radio broadcasts, as the youthful genius confidant enough to follow Arturo Toscanini to the New York Philharmonic's podium from 1937 to 1943, Barbirolli had been knighted by George VI for returning to war-torn Manchester and restoring the Hallé, Britain's oldest symphonic orchestra, to its pre-war reputation. Once again Ima guided efforts to find an appropriate conductor. Who exactly had the idea to approach Barbirolli is unclear, although Ima's confidant, business manager Tom Johnson, executed the request. Speculating that Barbirolli would never leave his beloved Hallé orchestra but might want to vary his conducting duties, Johnson pursued the Barbirollis to Atlanta in March 1960 and suggested what was then a novel idea: would the maestro consider bridging the Atlantic to become head conductor in Houston while retaining his position in Manchester? Barbirolli was intrigued. The Symphony Society's inner circle kept

¹⁵² Telegrams and letters, 4W194, folder 7, IHP, CAH.
¹⁵³ Correspondence in ibid.
negotiations secret but continued an eager transatlantic pursuit. Finally, the executive committee signed a contract with the star in August but postponed announcement of its coup until after the fall 1960 season had begun. Nonetheless rumors of impending change in Houston had been leaked to the press by April. Displeased by seeming treachery, Stokowski forced the board's hand by telling his final April audience that the 1960–1961 season would be his last in Houston and that he was departing for "personal" reasons. Stokowski returned with appropriate fanfare in the fall, but between his October and November concerts, the Society announced Sir John Barbirolli's appointment, effective in the fall of 1961. Given little warning of the board's plan to make an announcement, Stokowski received this news coldly, packed up his bags, and notified the administration that he would not return. Once again the Society had failed to effect a smooth transition and was forced to complete the season with a series of guest conductors.  

Houstonians welcomed Sir John Barbirolli, an "adorable" man according to Ann Holmes, with warm enthusiasm. He returned the compliment during six happy seasons that saw the orchestra placed securely on the national stage. A January 1971 memorial to his genius explained his success in Houston: "the magic of the maestro was that he could get his musicians to see his vision and project it to the audience. . . . [He] recreated the miracle of music for the multitudes of many lands." Tours to Washington D. C. and New York City in 1963 to celebrate the Society's fiftieth anniversary made other

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154 Roussel, Houston Symphony, 170. Also see, 170-224 for a detailed account of Barbirolli's successful tenure.
155 Roussel, Houston Symphony, 154-75, covers Stokowski's tenure.
157 In Memoriam, Sir John Barbirolli, insert, signed by Mrs. Ray L. Dudley, Miss Ima Hogg, Gen. Maurice Hirsch, Mr. Thomas Fletcher, Mrs. Theodore W. Cooper, Dr. Charles F. Jones, Jan. 8, 1971, program, Feb. 28, Mar. 1, 2, 1971.
Americans aware of Houston's impressive musical scene. Inspired by the orchestra's new level of proficiency, John T. Jones, nephew of Jesse, proposed to the city June 11, 1962, that the Jones family foundation, Houston Endowment, underwrite the cost of a $6 million symphony hall. Since 1938 patrons had been pleading for a music hall that met a symphonic orchestra's acoustical needs and an audience's comfort. Neither the City Auditorium nor the much-renovated Music Hall had satisfied critics.\textsuperscript{158} Jones Hall met every aesthetic expectation when opened to great fanfare in 1966 and has been the home of Houston Symphony ever since. In her December 1966 program message, Ima enumerated Symphony blessings: a beautiful performance hall, a Ford Foundation Grant of $2 million, to be matched by Houston dollars, to secure endowment, and a Rockefeller Foundation Grant to the University of Houston and Symphony Society to support open rehearsals and a concert featuring American composers in April 1967.\textsuperscript{159}

Not everyone was so content with Symphony management and programming. When Barbirolli finally announced his retirement in 1967, he took emeritus status and oversaw a smooth transition to his successor, Andre Previn, a rising young star of the international music circuit. Unfortunately, Previn's tenure was short-lived for reasons personal and musical, not least among them that he offended Ima and others by parading about in hippie costumes with his paramour Mia Farrow while his wife languished in Los Angeles. Previn's dismissal in May 1969 shocked Houston Post music critic Carl Cunningham, who wrote an article condemning the "secrecy and duplicity" of the executive committee that "destroy the confidence of serious mature conductors who

\textsuperscript{158} WalterWalne to City Council, Jan. 31, 1938, 3B174, folder 5, IHP, CAH. Audiences and musicians protested when the Society moved to the Music Hall, a project of the Works Progress Administration, for the 1938–1939 season, and the orchestra returned to City Auditorium the following year. Following
might otherwise come and build an ambitious enterprise in Houston." Cunningham felt Houston was "not getting a full artistic return on investment" because the Society was controlled by four people. Although unnamed, he could only have meant Ima, Gus Wortham, Maurice Hirsch, and Tom Johnson, who, Cunningham believed, failed to make "efficient, intelligent, imaginative and artistically meaningful decisions." The four immediately counseled and decided to beg for harmony between critics and Symphony Society patrons. Ima mailed a letter to the Post's Sound-Off editor in October to explain the Symphony's "vicissitudes" and the frustrations of board members who had to fight Houston's reputation as a "hick" town "so rich it could afford impossible salaries, extensive tours abroad, and palatial furnished residences" — the demands of several conductor candidates. An uneasy truce seems to have been arranged, and during Ima's last years, Lawrence Foster wielded the Symphony's baton in relative calm.

Ima was an activist president who worked with conductors to shape season programs and select guest artists. Deeply interested in each incumbent maestro as a musician and a friend, she attended all rehearsals and proffered advice about personal matters. She kept abreast of the international music scene, encouraged the compositions and performances of Texas artists, and urged patrons to commission works for the orchestra. Each December during her tenure and for years afterwards, she addressed the audience at Christmas with a message in the program that reaffirmed her dream of a civic

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160 Carl Cunningham articles; Gus Wortham to Ima Hogg, July 7, 1969; Ima Hogg to Sound-Off editor, Houston Post, Oct. 6, 1969, all in 3B175, folder 5.
161 Roussel, Houston Symphony, 213-31 cover the years to 1971.
symphony of highest quality accessible to all citizens.\textsuperscript{162} While she was president, the slogan "Music for Everybody" was adopted; it encompassed free outdoor summer concerts, radio broadcasts from the Music Hall sponsored by Texas Gulf Sulphur, special events, subscription and student concerts, and ensemble performances at Junior and Senior high schools. In recognition of Ima's interest in young musicians, Maurice Hirsch and his wife Winifred "absolutely overwhelmed" her by endowing the Ima Hogg Scholarship Fund in her honor in 1957 — "the most beautiful and gratifying tribute I could imagine."\textsuperscript{163} Always anxious to bring the joy of symphonic music to new constituents, Ima inaugurated Promenade Concerts for young adults and a program to drive the handicapped to concerts in 1948.\textsuperscript{164} That year the Society persuaded board member W. D. Sutherland, president of the Henke & Pillot grocery chain, to underwrite free concerts on Saturday evenings during the winter season, the tickets to be distributed at Henke & Pillot outlets.\textsuperscript{165} In 1949 an Activities Committee took closer control of public relations and related issues, and in November 1951 Ima fulfilled a long-standing dream by establishing an endowment fund to secure the organization's future.\textsuperscript{166} A conduit for her own donations, the fund became a critical source of income in later years.

\textsuperscript{162} See Mrs. Joseph S. Smith Jr. to Ima Hogg, Oct. 8, 1968, 3B168, folder 5, IHP, CAH. Note that Jeanne Smith is the daughter-in-law of former Society president Joseph Smith. The letter reminds Ima of a Nov. 18 deadline and maximum length of two hundred words. With one or two exceptions, Ima wrote a Christmas column every year from 1953 through 1974.

\textsuperscript{163} Ima Hogg to Mrs. Ralph E. Gunn, Pres. Women's Committee, letter, 4W195, folder 8, IHP, CAH; program, Mar. 4, 1957, Women's Committee page.

\textsuperscript{164} Program, Apr. 18, 19, 20, 1971, p. 21, describes the special transportation program for children who "could not possibly go with the other children in a school bus, walk a block or climb the stairs." In 1970, 169 children participated in the program designed to "enrich the lives of the less fortunate."

\textsuperscript{165} Houston Symphony Society, program, Nov. 1, 1948, City Auditorium, Box 1, IHPC, UH. Efrem Kurtz wanted these concerts, which followed the example of similar successful business-endorsed concerts in Kansas City. The Dec. 13 program describes the well-established Orchestra on the Air program and its huge listening audience across the Southwest.

\textsuperscript{166} Houston Symphony Society, program, Nov. 26, 1951, p. 33; program, Dec. 10, 1951, p. 33. Endowment Fund Chairman L. R. Bryan Jr., noted that a symphony is "an institution like a museum, university, or library" that "must have some means of support other than earned income." He concluded that education,
During her tenure as president, the Symphony also increased the number of season ticket holders and donors. In 1952 she inaugurated a Painting to Music program to award prizes for art inspired by student performances. Winning entries were displayed in the foyer during performances, and in 1955 this art and music program was expanded to include exhibits provided by the city's leading museums and galleries.

In the seventeen years following Ima's presidency, her interest in Symphony activities never waned, and she remained active on the Women's Committee and as a revered counselor to the Society's executive committee. Possibly her most rewarding musical experience during these years was her work with Carlos Chavez, founder and director of the National Conservatory and Symphony Orchestra of Mexico (1928–1952). Over the years Ima had nourished the ambitions of contemporary composers and had encouraged the Symphony to commission works for the orchestra. In 1969 she realized a personal dream when she asked Chavez to compose what became the symphonic *Ode to Clio*. She had met Chavez on her many trips to Mexico, which always included attendance at musical events, and she had developed a warm friendship with him. In September 1946 she had worked closely with Gus Wortham to welcome "the great patriot" and "distinguished representative of our good neighbor to the south" at a

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recreation, entertainment, civic prestige, and advertising are "among the valuable annual dividends which accrue from Houston's investment in good music."

167 "The Symphony Story," a brochure prepared in 1953 for Maintenance Fund campaign workers explaining why a "top executive, or a housewife" should give, provides the following statistics: 40,000 students attend 10 student concerts; 100,000 citizens enjoy 21 free summer park concerts; 23,000 hear 5 free Pop concerts; 60,000 attend 20 subscription concerts; 45,000 hear the orchestra on tour; 26 broadcasts are heard by thousands on the radio. Brochure in Symphony archives, courtesy of Terry Brown.

168 Houston Symphony Society, program, Oct. 30, 1956, pp. 37, 39; program, Mar. 25, 27, 1957. Paintings by contemporary artists and exhibits organized by the Museum of Fines Arts, the Museum of Natural History, the Art League, and other organizations were included.

169 See files in 4W195 and 3B175, IHP, CAH for evidence of continued interest and involvement.

170 See correspondence in 4W195, folder 5, IHP, CAH, regarding a 1948 commission by "a lady, not Miss Hogg" (Blanche Sewell) of a work by American composer Roy Harris.
Chamber of Commerce dinner during Chavez's residency as a guest conductor. In February 1948 she had approached him about "building a great orchestra" in Houston. In his gracious refusal, Chavez told her he was tempted but could not leave his beloved orchestra and Institute of Fine Arts. He also shared with her his opinion of steps Houston must take to achieve greatness: better salaries, a concert hall dedicated to symphonic music, broad-based support, and no semi-classical offerings.

For several months in 1969, muse and composer carried on a fascinating correspondence about the genesis of Chavez's ode that clearly demonstrates why Ima would have been drawn to his work, for she and Chavez were united in their understanding of history and of music. Ima had long been a student of history, and in August 1969 she wrote to Chavez that she had been "startled" by an article in Life magazine that "set me to thinking of Cleo, the Muse of History, the subject you are now preparing for the Houston Symphony." Cleo, Ima noted, had two masks, "one is hideous and frightening. The other is infinitely beautiful." Ima "felt impelled to write" Chavez and suggest that the ode presented "an opportunity . . . to declare the exaltation which has inspired men to great achievements." Chavez replied in November that the Ode was finished and told her about his feelings that "the historic process of mankind is reflected in the development of music through the ages." Following the March 1970 premiere concerts, Ima expressed herself "completely satisfied" and proud to have Chavez's composition in Houston's repertory.

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171 Ima Hogg to Gus Wortham, letter Sept. 19, 1946; speech with handwritten notes, n.d.; seating plan for the head table, n.d., 4W194, folder 2, IHP, CAH.
172 Carlos Chavez to Ima Hogg, letter, Feb. 24, 1948, ibid. In 1966, Ima invited Chavez to be her guest for the Jones Hall opening, which he was unable to attend.
173 Correspondence, 4W194, folder 3, IHP, CAH.
In a December 1953 speech thanking members of the Symphony Society for reelecting her as president, Ima remarked, "we are custodians, all of us, of a very precious trust." Volunteer, civic activist, philanthropist, no one took more seriously the sacredness of her civic quest to nurture a resident symphony and make it a constructive force in Houston's civic life during the sixty-two years she fought to build a great orchestra for Houston. As a volunteer, no task was too small for her attention, whether sorting prospective donor cards, shopping with conductor's wives, or supporting the committee work of others. As a civic activist, Ima overcame innate reticence and went on the stump and on the air to advocate the civic benefits of a world-acclaimed orchestra. As a philanthropist, she gave generously year after year, often supporting new programs and plugging deficits.

Yet she viewed the Symphony as a civic enterprise that must have "unwavering loyalty and support of . . . civic forces and individuals who influence public opinion,"

and late in life she admonished the municipal government "to contribute sufficient financial aid . . . for this benefit to its citizens." As a manager she used economic, social, and aesthetic arguments to convince the business community its support of a resident orchestra made sound business sense. As a leader she "taught several generations of young women [on the Women's Committee] the meaning and rewards of disciplined service" by encouraging them to develop programs and expand ideas introduced during her two years as founding chairman of the Committee. Ima's style of board management mixed the democratic precepts so successful in Women's

174 Ima Hogg, speech, Dec. 7, 1953, 3B168, folder 5, IHP, CAH.
Committee work with a more autocratic approach. Determined to ensure that her vision for the Symphony be adopted, Ima relied on a small group of insiders who formed a liaison committee that supervised and managed the orchestra and board subcommittees, reviewed all contracts, and approved programming. Theoretically, this tight control should have ensured smooth operation, but it does not seem to have avoided miscommunications among musicians, conductors, critics, and public. In a May 16, 1956, farewell report to the board, Ima summarized her experience with the Symphony. "When I say that I have gained more than I have given, I am not being humble. Responsibility is rewarding. Association through so many years with hundreds and hundreds of men and women who are workers for something beyond themselves has given me a glow of love for Houston beyond measure."178 Her gratitude was reciprocated. Symphony volunteers recognized her "inspiring leadership" and "intelligent, enthusiastic insistence upon ever higher standards of excellence," which made her a "high priestess of beauty in all its varied forms."179

Ima's lifelong devotion to the cause of symphonic music in Houston illuminates the parameters of her philanthropy and reveals the complexity of her personality. She insisted on the orchestra's civic mission, wanted ticket prices to be kept low, and opened performances to all citizens, but she also demanded the highest possible standards, in musicians, in musical instruments, in performance selections, and even in audience attention. She believed support for the symphony should be broad-based and feared reliance on one or two major donors; yet she encouraged Hugh Roy Cullen to plug

177 Mrs. McClelland Wallace (Winifred), Secretary of the Executive Committee, tribute to Ima Hogg, program, Sept. 8, 9, 1975, p. 9.
178 Statement, Annual Report, May 16, 1956, Box 1, Programs 1948–1958, IHPC, UH.
179 Resolution of the Women's Council, n.d. (ca. 1962), 4W195, folder 6, IHP, CAH.
massive deficits during the 1940s and frequently stepped in herself to meet budget projections. She personally assisted many musicians, befriended conductors, and inspired volunteers, but among the hundreds of men and women with whom she shared musical joys and sorrows, only close friend Nettie (Mrs. Albert P.) Jones, fellow musician Mary Fuller, and former pupil, her "dearest friend" Eloise Chalmers stand out as confidants and companions.\textsuperscript{180} While she shunned publicity, she used her social position and insistent charm to persuade dozens of admirers to fulfill her dreams by making her passions their own. People could not deny her requests. By the 1930s Houston leaders realized Miss Ima was critical to the Symphony's success; by the 1940s she had become an icon.\textsuperscript{181} For nearly forty years no decision was taken without consulting her wishes. Although she demurred when others wished to honor her and frequently found excuses to avoid award ceremonies, she accepted the accolades and enjoyed the approval of others. While she sought expert advice from a wide array of music supporters, in the end she worked doggedly to ensure that her vision of excellence would prevail so the symphony's "universal language of order and harmony" could

\textsuperscript{180} Much archival correspondence suggests great admiration for Ima but little intimacy with her many symphony friends. Although Ima invited Raphael Fliegel to tea, followed his career from boyhood, and wrote a moving tribute when he retired as concertmaster, Mr. Fliegel recalls that it was "difficult" to get close to Miss Hogg. Program, Dec. 13, 14, 1971, p. 23; Raphael Fliegel, comments to author, Oct. 4, 2003.\textsuperscript{181} Archival sources and dozens of comments from Bayou Bend docents and others who knew and worked with Ima Hogg confirm that no one could deny her requests. Raphael Fliegel used the words "icon" and "head of state" to describe Ima's role in the symphony's life from the 1940s until 1975.
"insure some spiritual life and wholesome recreation for future generations" of men and women and reveal the "mysterious godlike creative impulse" inherent in the arts.\textsuperscript{182}

\textsuperscript{182} Program, Dec. 20, 1954, p. 33 ("insure . . . spiritual life); other quotes, Ima Hogg, speech, Nov. 1952, 3B168, folder 5, IHP, CAH.
6. The Bridges That Unite Us

When the Museum opened its doors in 1924 with an exhibition of paintings, some of which it owned but most of which were borrowed from the homes of Houston citizens, it marked the fulfillment of a dream for a group of Houstonians who saw in the arts the leavening force that would make their city truly great — a better place in which to work and live. . . . The growth of building and collections are not due to the beneficence of any one individual, but rather to the collective effort of many.

Ima Hogg, 1944

"You of the City of Houston, in setting apart this building dedicated to the arts, are initiating a work of vital importance," declared Homer St. Gaudens to civic leaders who had gathered on the evening of Saturday April 12, 1924, to swing wide the doors of the first municipal art museum built in the state of Texas. The orator, who was director of fine arts at Pittsburgh's Carnegie Institute and son of renowned sculptor Augustus St. Gaudens, predicted, "if this country is to continue to go forward through coming ages, it must nourish and stimulate its imaginative and emotional side, as it has already trained its practical sense." Houston Art League president Florence (Mrs. H. B.) Fall, director Ima Hogg, ex-officio trustee Mayor Oscar F. Holcombe, and other League officers, directors, and trustees welcomed hundreds of Houstonians eager to hear speakers praise project organizers and define the functions of an art museum. Newspaper accounts recorded that a "stream of humanity poured through the doors" for an open house from 5:00 to 6:00 P.M. and estimated that more than one thousand citizens were turned away from the crowded 8:30 P.M. dedication and reception. The central cultural problem, St. Gaudens

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1 In Ima Hogg's remarks at the dedication of the Bayou Bend Collection and Gardens, Mar. 5, 1966, she stated, "I hope in a modest way Bayou Bend may serve as a bridge to bring us closer to the heart of an American heritage which unites us." "Remarks by Miss Ima Hogg," in "Bayou Bend Collection of the Houston Museum of Fine Arts," Mar. 5, 1966, Dedication Pamphlet, p. 11. This pamphlet is found in the Archives, MFAH, in WRC, RU, and in other archival collections. The metaphor has proven emblematic to Bayou Bend's volunteer docents who named their publication "The Bridge."
told his audience, was "not confined to what you shall put upon your walls, but what you shall put into the hearts of your people. . . . You must reassure your public . . . that it must not feel the need of putting on felt slippers when it approaches art."3 Civic leaders had struggled for twenty-four years to reassure the public that everyone could enjoy fine art. When appeals for financial support to house a public collection of paintings and sculpture fell far short of funds needed to construct the city's art palace, "a coterie of businessmen" stepped forward to defray the deficit and assure completion of the building "as originally planned." Subscribers to the fund were told their names would not be announced when the "high-minded use of their wealth" to cultivate "the spiritual and cultural side of life" was made public to loud applause at the opening ceremonies.4 Despite the guarantees, one subscriber did not attend the festivities anyway: Will Hogg, who had conceived and executed a three-week campaign to raise more than $200,000, had, as usual, avoided the accolades of his friends by absenting himself from the ceremony.

Artistic Aspirations in Houston

Music was Ima's passion, but collecting and enjoying works of art were pleasures pursued by Will, Ima, Mike, and Mike's wife Alice. The Hogg family association with the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, began in the 1910s, was paramount in securing the institution's original galleries in 1924, and provided the largest single gift made to the institution at the time of Alice Hogg Hanszen's death in 1977 — the Bayou Bend

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2 Ima Hogg, "Look and Listen," KPRC broadcast from Lamar Hotel, Apr. 15, 1944, in Miss Ima Hogg Collection, Accessions File, Registrar's Office, MFAH.
4 William C. Hogg to donors, Apr. 11, 1924, 2J337, WHP, CAH; quotes from editorial, Houston Post, Apr. 13, 1924, p. 32.
Collection and Gardens. Like Ima's determined desire to build a great symphony for Houston, the Hoggs' collecting fervor advanced a didactic and civic purpose. The Hoggs believed that if Houston were to be a great city, its leaders must collect and display the fruits of humankind's creativity in a comprehensive municipal museum that would give every citizen opportunity to appreciate, understand, and participate in artistic achievement. Like fellow Progressives, the Hoggs believed art museums could promote civic identity, enrich urban life, and democratize culture by opening their doors freely to everyone. In developing their collections and their attitudes toward the role of artistic expression in civic life, the Hoggs were responding to national trends, and their actions as collectors and as advocates of public access to fine art provided exemplary leadership and inspiration to Houston's nascent arts community. In forming their individual collections, however, the Hoggs were often daring trendsetters. The Hoggs' visionary generosity ensured Houston a prominent place in the nation's cultural boardroom.

America's barons of industry may have gone west in the nineteenth century to build their fiefdoms, but they turned east to Europe to recover ancestral habits cast off by the Revolutionary generations and to sheathe their new-found wealth in a patina of cultural polish. London's monumental repositories attested to Britain's global hegemony. French and Tuscan palaces engorged by royal and ducal acquisitions but liberated by Parisians and Florentines weary of exclusion from power illuminated the ties that bound the arts to politics in mankind's struggle to build a just and nourishing society. Should not America's mercantile princes create their own collections? Should not America's

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5 In fact, the gift of Bayou Bend and its collection stood as the largest single gift in terms of monetary value at the time of the 1989 catalog. See A Permanent Legacy: 150 Works from the Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Introduction by Peter C. Marzio (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1989). Gifts of
great cities maintain palaces for the people to showcase civic pride and commercial success? Art museums, as they are known in the twenty-first century, arose in the 1870s at a moment when great wealth, urban density, and civic confidence merged with idealism. Charles Willson Peale had introduced his gallery of Revolutionary war portraits, curios, and natural wonders to Philadelphians in 1786 and had initiated the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1805. Yale had opened the first college museum in 1832, and the Hartford Athenaeum had revealed its antiquarian and aesthetic treasures in 1844, but the comprehensive, public museum with its departments, lectures, and studio courses was only conceived in 1870 when businessmen in New York and aesthetes in Boston incorporated the Metropolitan Museum of New York and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts with the premise that these cities would build collections to engage the general public.\(^6\) The immediate popularity of these institutions led to eager emulation around the country.

Art quickly followed commerce south and west. Business and professional men founded Chicago's Academy of Design in 1869, reorganized it as the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts in 1879, and opened a handsome Romanesque repository as the Art Institute in 1883.\(^7\) In 1875 Mary Telfair bequeathed her house, furniture, and fortune to Savannah for an Academy of Arts and Sciences, which finally opened in 1886.\(^8\) In many growing

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5. Nathaniel Burt, *Palaces for the People: A Social History of the American Art Museum* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1977), 75, 86-89, 106. Burt's study includes civic and college museums across the country, with pride of place going to New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago. He names "only a few states . . . . . . Massachusetts, New York, California, Ohio, and . . . . Texas . . . [that] can claim to be 'museum states'" (p. 203). Burt suggests American museums were an "ideal" that "began with a deliberate appeal to the public" (4). His informative study of America's first art palaces explores the relationships among donors, publics, and institutions.


cities, committees of women "fueled by the idea that no class of people should be denied
the leisure to bring beauty into their lives" fostered civic art movements that culminated
in dozens of incorporated art repositories in cities across the country in the years between
1870 and 1910. Celebrated poet, journalist, and arbiter of culture William Cullen Bryant
spoke for these groups and for individual collectors at a public meeting called in 1869 to
discuss formation of the Metropolitan Museum in New York. This museum, he said, was
a patriotic necessity that proclaimed America as a world power and New York as the
"third great city of the civilized world." Museums were needed to display works by
American artists, to house collections donated by munificent citizens, to offer training to
art students, and to provide "alternative entertainment of an innocent and improving
character" to burgeoning urban populations. The Hoggs later espoused these tenets and
found in Houston a receptive audience for their enthusiasm. The city's quest for a civic
art museum replicated national cultural reform initiatives and was heralded by the work
of an intrepid committee of women.

Emma Richardson Cherry, a professional artist trained in Chicago, New York,
and Paris, "brought art to Houston" when she and her husband, oil broker Dillin Brook
Cherry, settled in the city in 1898. Encouraged by her father and husband to pursue her
vocation as a painter, Cherry communicated her vitality and appreciation of beauty to

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9 Karen J. Blair, The Torchbearers: Women and Their Amateur Arts Associations in America, 1890–1930
(Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 34, referring to the work of trade union organizer Margaret
Dreier Robins, who devoted her life to securing rights for working women.
10 William Cullen Bryant, quoted in Burt, Palaces for the People, 91.
11 Box 8, folder 10, E. Richardson Cherry Papers, HMRC, HPL. As aesthetic taste changed, Cherry's work
fell out of fashion, and her life has received little attention, despite her important role in shaping Houston's
art heritage. Meredith M. Evans, "Emma Richardson Cherry: American Art Pioneer," research practicum,
University of Denver, Nov. 20, 2000, seems to be the only recent attempt to review Cherry's contribution.
This practicum is found in the Emma Richardson Cherry Vertical File, Archives, MFAH. Cherry, whose
father was an architect, studied at the Art Institute in Chicago; under William Merritt Chase at the Art
Students League in New York; at the Académie Julian in Paris; and during ten study trips to France, Spain,
hundreds of students who were also struck by her embrace of several media and her willingness to explore new art forms. While living and teaching art in Denver in the early 1890s, Cherry helped found the Artists Club of Denver, an exhibit and support group that became the Denver Art Association and eventually the Denver Art Museum. When she arrived in Houston, Cherry discovered no art clubs, no studio courses for aspiring artists, and no classes in the public school system. At once recognized for her "poetic temperament and charm of manner," Cherry plunged into Houston's cultural life as a founder of the Ladies Reading Club, sponsor of twilight musicales, and member of the Girls Musical Club.\textsuperscript{12} Her studio home in an historic antebellum house on the corner of Fargo and Hopkins Streets became Houston's first salon where artists and musicians mingled with the city's social elite.\textsuperscript{13} Cherry also conceived the Houston Public School Art League, established in 1900 to bring replicas of great art works into the classroom.

At 4:00 P.M. on March 17, 1900, Cherry, three Houston school teachers — Lydia Adkisson, Roberta Lavender, and Cara Redwood — and "a number of ladies and two gentlemen" met at the home of Lavinia Abercrombie Lovett, wife of well-known railroad lawyer Robert Lovett, to hear Mrs. Jean Sherwood of Chicago explain the purposes and benefits of an art association. Enthusiasm for Mrs. Sherwood's eloquent advocacy "subsided into a deep earnestness and the election of officers." Mrs. Lovett assumed the presidency; her husband, Mrs. Mary B. Hill, and Mrs. Adele B. Looscan were appointed to write a constitution; and a general meeting was called for March 24 at Houston High

\textsuperscript{12} Federation of Women's Clubs, \textit{The Key to the City of Houston} (Houston: State Printing Company, 1908), p. 75, found in Art League of Houston Records, Scrapbook 36-40, Archives, MFAH; and in Estelle Sharp Papers, WRC, RU; and in HMRC, HPL.

\textsuperscript{13} The Nichols-Rice-Cherry House is now preserved as a house museum in Sam Houston Park by the Harris County Heritage Society.
School to launch a membership drive.\textsuperscript{14} Forty-two men and women, including socially prominent couples, teachers, and mothers joined the Houston Public School Art League at the March 24 public meeting and pledged to advocate enriching children's lives by encouraging "art culture in the public schools."\textsuperscript{15} First order of business was building membership, especially among mothers of school children. Parent and teacher organizations were becoming important school support groups at the turn of the century, and the Public School Art League seems to have served as a catalyst for parent action in Houston's schools. Although the "awful storm" of September 1900, which made "it necessary for every one to contribute to the material needs of suffering humanity," had sidetracked efforts to "anticipate the spiritual needs of all future generations," by March 1902 the League had attracted 164 members.\textsuperscript{16} In January of that year League volunteers had raised enough money ($402.10) to begin placing replicas of great works of art in public school classrooms as their first step to build art programs in the schools. Years later, Emma Richardson Cherry recalled loading her buggy with reproductions of famous paintings and trotting up and down Houston's dusty streets to every school in town.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{14} Minutes of the Mar. 17, 1900, meeting, Art League of Houston Records, Scrapbook 1, p. 4, Archives, MFAH. The other man present was probably Dr. William Hayne Leavell, who opened the Apr. 1924 dedication with a prayer. Houston Post, Apr. 13, 1924, p. 24, says Dr. Leavell "attended the organizing meeting of the league." The name of Dr. Henry Barnstein, the cultured rabbi so prominent in Symphony activities, also appears on "founders" lists and histories elsewhere in the Museum's archives. The other officers: Cara Redwood and Roberta Lavender, first and second vice-presidents; Sibyl Campbell, corresponding secretary; Gussie Howard, recording secretary; Edith House, treasurer. Mrs. Sherwood traveled across Texas for 14 years, giving illustrated lectures in schools, clubs, and town auditoriums. Stella Hope Shurtleff, "Art Came to Texas," typescript, p. 129, Stella Hope Shurtleff Papers, WRC, RU.\textsuperscript{15} Key to the City, 72.

\textsuperscript{16} Minutes of the second annual meeting, Mar. 1902, Scrapbook 1, p. 8; folder 38, p. 7, Art League of Houston Records, Archives, MFAH.

\textsuperscript{17} Clipping, Emma Richardson Cherry Vertical File, Archives, MFAH. It is probable that these women knew about the traveling art gallery inaugurated in 1900 by the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs to travel from town to town exhibiting replicas. Shurtleff, "Art Came to Texas," 130. While Houston is credited with building the first civic art museum, Galveston in 1878 and San Antonio in 1888 organized community art groups. In 1894 artists formed the San Antonio Art League. Ibid., 134, 135.
By 1908 the League boasted 600 members, many of whom had responded to peer pressure and purchased $1.00 family memberships to secure "buttons" for their children as badges of belonging to an important civic movement. That year the League played host to sculptor Lorado Taft of Chicago for a school demonstration and public lecture. Deemed "one of the best things we have ever attempted for the children," Taft's demonstration inspired in his audience of five thousand a "wave of childish modeling, in crude clay" liberated from excavations for a new city sewer system. "Citizens" of Houston failed to "appreciate the opportunity" to hear the world-renowned artist at a paid evening event, leaving the League sadly in arrears for its experiment. However, by 1908 the League had been able to purchase twelve sets of thirty-five pictures needed for each grade school. Cooperating with parents, teachers, and children, the League exhibited a framed set in the Pagoda at the corner of Capitol and Fannin and raised $950 through ticket and refreshment sales. The Pagoda was owned by Jesse Jones, who loaned the space for the exhibit and thereby began a long association with League and museum activities. League president Mrs. George W. Heyer closed her remarks at the 1908 annual meeting by urging members to keep up their faithful and earnest work and create a fund to bring art lecturers to the city so that parents could "grow with the children in art knowledge." The League's goals of public education were quickly emulated in the African-American community, whose cultural activities were segregated from majority white institutions. Art Club members hosted Mrs. Booker T. Washington as guest

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18 Active members could sign on for $.50, and life members (25 in 1913) paid one-time dues of $15, which were set aside for an endowment fund. Folder 38, p. 13, Art League of Houston Records, Archives, MFAH.
19 Key to the City, 72-75.
speaker in 1908, and pioneering teachers provided limited art instruction in cultural clubs and public school art classes.\textsuperscript{20}

\textit{Building a Museum}

In 1913 the Art League's activist president, Corinne Abercrombie (Mrs. Gentry) Waldo, called on members to develop programs of citywide significance. Dropping "Public School" from its name, the Houston Art League secured a charter from the state and began a campaign to build a permanent civic art museum. During these years members rented headquarters space in a Victorian mansion at 1896 Main Street where they held classes, gave monthly lectures, and displayed their first loan exhibit.\textsuperscript{21} Members also took an active interest in city planning debates and efforts to develop a centrally located civic center that would include a museum of art. In 1913–1914 League President Corinne Waldo, Mrs. Joseph Mullen, and Mrs. Mullen's brother, banker W. H. Kirkland, engaged in prolonged discussions with George Hermann about a long-term lease of land adjoining Rice Institute, but Hermann's unexpected death in 1914 precluded execution of a contract.\textsuperscript{22} While these negotiations were underway, Mayor Horace Baldwin Rice, whose wife was League vice president in 1914–1915, tried to provide city

\textsuperscript{20} Covington Collection, HMRC, HPL.
\textsuperscript{21} Dorothy Knox Howe Houghton, Barrie M. Scardino, Sadie Gwin Blackburn, Katherine S. Howe, \textit{Houston's Forgotten Heritage: Landscape, Houses, Interiors, 1824–1914} (Houston: Rice University Press, 1991), 81. The house had been built in 1882, was subsequently owned by Dr. William Eckhardt (1899–c.1914), and was held in trust by Jesse Jones's Bankers Trust Company. Mrs. Waldo negotiated a yearlong lease for $75 a month. When the League broadened its purpose to focus on collections and a permanent facility, its membership dropped from 600 (1913) to 165 (1917), suggesting the importance of ties to parent and teacher organizations. By 1924, following effective propaganda efforts in the press, membership had risen to 2,000. Folder 38, pp. 8, 9, Art League of Houston Records, Archives, MFAH.
\textsuperscript{22} Hermann agreed to provide land free of rent for 40 years if the Art League would pay taxes, should the property not qualify for tax exemption. The property designated by the committee was near the final site provided by Cullinan and the trustees of the Hermann Estate. James Lockett, lawyer for the Hermann Estate and the Houston Art League, "George H. Hermann, Philanthropist," in Scrapbook 1, pp. 167-173, Art League of Houston Records, Archives, MFAH.
property for a museum, but the city attorney ruled the transfer illegal. Rice German
professor Thomas Lindsey Blayney, League president from 1915–1917, then worked
with Joseph Cullinan and trustees of the Hermann Estate to purchase property at the
juncture of Montrose and Main Boulevards, if a building worth at least $20,000 could be
constructed there within ten years. Assured the League would build a permanent facility
within the stipulated time, the sale was executed in August 1916.23 A committee led by
Mary Hale Lovett, wife of Rice Institute's president, and assisted by ten men and women
including Corinne Waldo, art lecturer Stella Shurtleff, architect William Ward Watkin,
and League president Florence Fall, mailed 1,500 engraved invitations to celebratory
dedication ceremonies, held April 12, 1917, at the site.24 Setting a precedent followed at
future dedication ceremonies, the League called on member Rabbi Henry Barnstein for
an invocation and invited Rice Institute Professor Stockton Axson to address supporters.
Speeches by Florence Fall and Mayor Ben Campbell underlined the new institution's
civic purpose, while the singing of "America" and a benediction completed the
ceremonies.25 Thereafter, the League held an annual Fete Day with formal exercises,
speeches, and music every April 12.

Although World War I interrupted construction plans, the League did receive its
first major collection in 1919 from the estate of George M. Dickson, a bachelor

23 "Hermann, Philanthropist," Scrapbook 1, 169-70, Art League of Houston Records, Archives, MFAH.
Published histories of the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston are found in Permanent Legacy, 11-15; Emily
Neff, Frederic Remington: The Hogg Brothers Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, with
Houston, 15 (Winter-Spring 1991), 3-45. All are based on the Art League of Houston Records, Archives,
MFAH. Cullinan, who was plotting his Shady Side enclave community on land purchased from the
Hermann Estate adjacent to Rice Institute, secured the League land with a payment of $3,300 to the estate
on the League's behalf. Houston Art League records are inconsistent about the duration of Blayney's
tenure, in one place saying he resigned in 1916 and in another that his term ran from 1915 into 1917, at
which time Mrs. Fall took over.
24 Folder 38, p. 8, Art League of Houston Records, Archives, MFAH.
manufacturer of iron locomotive wheels. Lacking permanent exhibition space, the League placed works by William Merritt Chase, Jean-Léon Gérome, and other well-known artists in offices of the mayor, the city council, and its own members. By 1920 Houston had become a vigorous port and manufacturing city with a population of 138,000 that was anxious for national recognition. League members believed it was finally time to build their museum, and they hired William Ward Watkin, project architect for Rice Institute and professor of architecture there, to develop plans. His mentor and former employer, Ralph Adams Cram, renowned Boston architect responsible for the design of Rice Institute's campus and many large civic projects nationwide, served as consulting architect.26

The Cram/Watkin design for a classical temple that would house a comprehensive collection comprised a central exhibit space and wings on each side that could be adapted as classroom, office, or exhibit space as the museum's collections grew and its educational outreach programs developed. Rather than use the Mediterranean Renaissance style made popular for civic structures on the Institute campus and in plans for the new city library (designed 1922, completed 1926), Cram and Watkin distinguished the museum and elevated its importance by linking its design both to significant temples of art in major United States cities and to the sublime traditions of Greece and Rome. Cram created a publicity pamphlet illustrated with conceptual drawings in which he justified the municipal art museum as a "shrine . . . wherein . . . we test and evaluate a past civilization." Collections, he claimed, provided "a criticism of

25 Dedication, program, Apr. 12, 1917, Scrapbook 5, Art League of Houston Records, Archives, MFAH.
26 Watkin article and plan in William Ward Watkin Papers, WRC, RU.
existing social conditions and a stimulus to better living" because "art and beauty are inseparable from life."27

With complete plans and a budget of $200,000 in hand, League President Florence Fall, a popular but imposing club woman of "queenly stature," turned the "man-sized task" of fund-raising over to a new — male — museum board of trustees headed by President Dr. Joseph Mullen and Treasurer John T. Scott. Banker Scott "anticipate[d] no difficulty in raising" needed funds. Believing the museum to be as important as "harbors, banks, and factories" to a "well-balanced, complete metropolis," he drafted an army of volunteers and turned to the community for funds early in 1922. Despite many small donations and a few "patron" supporters at $1,000 apiece, a "year of drudgery — hard work and tense " brought only $80,000 to League coffers.28 Watkin scaled back his plans, and in February 1923 Don Hall was awarded a contract for $115,000 to begin work on the central portion only. By early 1924, with completion of the building in sight, League officers still had raised little more than $80,000, including large donations from Will, Mike, and Ima Hogg, Estelle Sharp, the Cullinans, the Dickson family, and Susan Vaughn Clayton.29 Prospective donors needed to be reminded, forcefully, that an art museum heralded the city's cultural maturity and raised "standards of refinement and beauty" critical to a "wholesome environment."30 Fortunately, the museum found a champion in Will Hogg. Henry Stude recalled years later that Will had sought his

27 Ralph Adams Cram, publicity pamphlet, Box 6, Folder 37, William Ward Watkin Papers, WRC, RU.
29 The Houston Post, Apr. 13, 1924, p. 24, reported that $1000 sponsors also included Mrs. S. F. Carter, Mellie Esperson, the Parishes, Jesse Jones, H. F. MacGregor, Neill T. Masterson, Dr. Joseph Mullen, Cora V. Peden, Ross Sterling, the Harry Wiessens, and the Womacks.
30 School Superintendent R. B. Cousins, Houston Chronicle, Nov. 2, 1927, p. 16.
friend's protection from a "committee" of Art League Treasurer John T. Scott and cotton magnate William L. Clayton, who had requested an appointment to discuss the flagging campaign. 31 Will had been following the museum project since 1918 and had immediately agreed to support the construction effort in 1922, but he had left initial fund-raising to others. 32 Now he took the lead and told Treasurer Scott he would raise the necessary money himself.

In three weeks between March 24 and April 12, Will bullied and flattered and shamed his friends until thirty-one associates pledged $5,000 apiece, the Claytons pledged $25,000, the Cullinans $20,000, and Will himself promised another $30,000. The funds would enable the League to complete the central block and begin work on the East and West wings immediately. When the whirlwind campaign was announced to the public at the opening ceremonies on April 12, the generosity of these anonymous donors "thrilled the lovers of art" and "stir[ed] the pride of every citizen in Houston devoted to the community welfare." 33 Friend Burke Baker wrote effusively to Dear Will, noting that no names were mentioned "but everybody knew that there is only one man in Houston who has the spirit and the ability to successfully put over that sort of thing. You have done a service of permanent and in calculable value to the City and the State; and as a

31 Henry Stude to John A. Lomax, June 21, 1939, letter, 3D205, folder 3, John Avery Lomax Family Papers, CAH. Raconteur Marguerite Johnston (Houston: The Unknown City, 1936-1946 [College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991],) recounts a more dramatic legend that reveals Will's explosive temper and boundless generosity. Desperate for funds, charming Mrs. Clayton is said to have called on Will as he was dashing for a train. He peremptorily refused her request for an additional donation. Overcome by remorse only a few hours later, he apologized profusely when he returned to town and told John Scott he would raise the necessary money himself. John T. Scott to William Ward Watkin, July 29, 1924, letter, says Will "volunteered" to raise money needed to complete Watkin's original plan, 2J337, WHP, CAH. John Lomax claims Will called on Scott and "without hesitation, he at once expressed his willingness and desire to raise the necessary funds." 3D205, folder 2, John Avery Lomax Family Papers, CAH.

32 Diary entries for 1918 (2J399, WHP, CAH) indicate that Will discussed museum issues with Mrs. Joseph Mullen, vice president of the League. Will initially pledged $5,000 and Ima and Mike $2,500 each, making Hogg family support the largest single gift in 1923.

33 Houston Post, Apr. 13, 1924, editorial, p. 32.
citizen I want to express to you my own grateful appreciation." Edgar Odell Lovett protested to Will the next day that he had called home and business numbers in vain "to tell you that in my humble judgment if you live to be one hundred years old . . . you will in no subsequent ten days bring more genuine joy to your people than attended the anonymous announcement at the Art Museum last night." Lovett also teased his friend: "I have the impudence to add that I would give ten of my own span to have had the privilege of listening in on some of the personal exhortations."  

Will's success attests to his status in the business community and to the charisma of his personality. Like his sister, Will refused to take no for an answer, but his methods tended to be brutally direct rather than charmingly persuasive. The campaign also shows a thoroughly organized mind willing to work very hard. Taking the reins late in March, Will prepared lists of subscribers to any League activity, lists of those who had already given, and lists of those who had "already subscribed but not enough." When he could not meet with a prospect in person, he sent pointed letters and telegrams urging recipients to "join in this free will gift to the community without political sectarian fraternal or racial restrictions." When turned down, he turned up the heat. To John F. Dickson, nephew of the League's first benefactor, he telegraphed, "Your family name and connection with the ideals of the art museum . . . impel you to subscribe . . . You have no alibi so far as your business is concerned and I think your family interest is such that you

34 Burke Baker to William C. Hogg, letter, Apr. 14, 1924; Edgar Odell Lovett to William C. Hogg, letter, Apr. 13, 1924, 2J337, Art League of Houston, folder 1, WHP, CAH. A memo Nov. 15, 1925, lists the subscribers and shows Will at $35,000, Cullinan at $25,000, the Claytons at $30,000, and Mike and Ima at $7,500 — all sums including earlier pledges. Memo in 2J337, Art League of Houston, folder 2, WHP, CAH. In a letter to the Levys, Apr. 7, 1924, and in a memo to treasurer John T. Scott, Apr. 16, 1924, Will notes $30,000 from himself. Information about the fund drive is also found in Box 38, folder 19, Joseph S. Cullinan Papers, HMRC, HPL.
35 2J337, folder 1, WHP, CAH.
ought to deny something else." To James A. Baker he applied flattery, logic, and moral suasion. While "not in [his] heart to rebuke" the eminent business and social power broker, Will noted that Baker's "declination disheartened me so grievously" that he must try again for the sake of Baker's "family name and fame for several generations." Baker's position as head of Rice Institute, tied so closely to the Museum's progress, and his role as lawyer, banker, and citizen — "you are more completely identified with the commercial, financial, educational and realty development of Houston than any other man, bar none" — impelled his participation. As someone of Baker's stature, who had made a fortune in the town, the "amount of money involved and the terms of payment are relatively so insignificant as to be ridiculous." If these dire admonitions had been insufficient, Will closed with a plea to reconsider "if for no other reason than to encourage me and a number of other younger men" to be similarly generous. Both Baker and Dickson joined the list of re-subscribers.37 If his requests were insistent, Will's thank you letters assured donors of his "sincere appreciation of your cooperation in this movement for the aesthetic advancement of this beloved community."38 Best of all, Will's dedication to the museum's fiscal health did not stop with this one effort. After assuring Watkin the architect could "go ahead" with his original plan, Will wrote twenty-two of the original subscribers in December 1925 requesting funds to finish the two wings and furnish the building, and in 1926 he became a charter member of the Houston Friends of Art, a membership support group of three hundred Houstonians.39

37 William C. Hogg to John F. Dickson, telegram, Apr. 9, 1924, William C. Hogg to Capt. James A. Baker (Dear Captain Baker), letter, Apr. 3, 1924, 2J337, folder 1, WHP, CAH; list in file 10, pp. 90-91, Art League of Houston Records, Archives, MFAH.
38 William C. Hogg to Mike Hogg, Ina Hogg, Joseph Cullinan and others, letters, Apr. 10, 1924, 2J337, folder 1, WHP, CAH.
Through Will's efforts the Museum had been launched. Leading by example, he, Ima, and Mike had made contributions "of such generous proportions that they commanded from those he solicited the extraordinary response that followed."\(^{40}\) Probably because of Will's interest, Ima was named to the Board of the newly organized entity. Certainly with his support, the Museum began to develop an acquisition and exhibition policy. Before the museum opened in April 1924, it possessed forty-eight objects, most the legacy of George M. Dickson.\(^{41}\) Construction expenses and salaries for a part-time staff swallowed all available funds, and for many years only the director's ingenuity, the willingness of collectors like the Hogg Brothers to lend prized possessions, and the foresight of a few discerning donors brought works of aesthetic value to museum galleries. Because no single patron dominated policy and aesthetic choices, Houston families began, perhaps timidly at first, to step forward with offers to purchase or donate works of art to build the collection. This process was slow and was much impeded by financial uncertainty during the 1930s, when James H. Chillman Jr., the Museum's first director, often worked without salary so that operating bills could be paid. Chillman's sacrifice, although substantial, was made possible because he continued as professor of architecture and art history at Rice Institute.

Museum architect William Ward Watkin had suggested that his protégé and Rice colleague James Chillman accept the post of museum director, considered a part-time job in 1924. A native of Philadelphia who had received his bachelor's and master's degrees at the University of Pennsylvania, Chillman devoted thirty years to building the collections. His academic training enabled him to discern works of value and advise Houstonians

\(^{40}\) Comments, 3D205, folder 2, Lomax Papers, CAH.
who wished to form collections for themselves or for the museum, but he believed firmly that art was not "a shrine on a mountaintop or Old Masters in a museum." Instead he tried to show timid collectors or museum visitors why good art should be "closely associated with the everyday life of the people."

Strapped by a small budget, Chillman supported local talent and initiated the Annual Exhibition of Works by Houston Artists (1925–1960), the Annual Texas Photographers exhibits (1926–1953), and the Annual Exhibition of Works by Texas Artists (1940–1961). These innovations married necessity to community outreach by nurturing the local art scene and securing exhibits of interest to the community at relatively low cost. Chillman relied on a handful of benefactors like Will, Ima, and Mike Hogg to provide a permanent legacy. He also retained the good will of Rice Institute, a relationship that helped the museum develop high artistic standards for educational, exhibit, and acquisition programs. Rice professors provided expert assistance to museum projects, served on the board of directors, and preached the importance of high-quality arts institutions to the public.

*Will and His Remingtons*

The Hoggs began the collecting careers that would provide their most lasting legacies to Houston in 1920 when Ima purchased her first New England armchair and Will his first oil painting by Frederic Remington. Although no municipal or state museum existed in Texas at that time, brother and sister knew at once that their collections would ultimately reside in a museum in their beloved home state. Ima often

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41 *Retrospective Exhibition of Gifts to the Permanent Collections*, March 1 to 12 1933, Catalog Collection, Archives, MFAH.
claimed that collecting was a disease she had acquired in childhood when pebbles and wildflowers seized her imagination. Mike sometimes teased her about her "magpie proclivities," and observers thought Will's buying sprees illustrated an impulsive personality. In fact, the Hoggs' collecting activities suggest an overarching vision and systematic approach informed by aesthetic insight and intellectual curiosity that enabled them to secure works of great distinction. With two exceptions — Ima's collection of works on paper by contemporary European and Mexican artists and Will's collection of perfume bottles purchased as a wedding gift for sister-in-law Alice — Hogg family purchases illuminate their understanding of American history and their view that this history shaped the destiny, identity, and culture of nation, state, community, family, and individual.43 To the Hoggs, collecting works of art was a socially valuable way to mold and define a civic identity for Houston; collections lodged in a museum would perform the public functions of explaining the past and clarifying beliefs shared with the wider national community. They believed superbly crafted furniture, Native American southwestern artifacts, and the paintings of American artists interpreted the mythical elements of progress, westward expansion, and individual fulfillment that bespoke a unique American heritage and formed a foundation on which to build future dreams. The Hoggs were among the first collectors to teach a hesitant public that fine art did not have to originate in Europe to have lasting value.44

Three characteristics marked the Hogg family's approach to collecting: the Hoggs explored uncharted territory; they studied the subject matter of their collections

43 The perfume bottle collection, bequeathed to Alice Hogg Hanszen's niece Alice Simkins, was given to the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, by Miss Simkins in 2003.
thoroughly; and they worked with experts and trusted dealers to discover and authenticate potential purchases. When Will decided to pursue the works of painter and sculptor Frederic Remington (1861–1909), few were interested in the artist and no catalogs of his work existed. Ima purchased her New England armchair before the Metropolitan Museum in New York opened its American Wing (1924), before Henry Francis du Pont conceived his American period rooms at Winterthur (first purchase 1923), and before John D. Rockefeller Jr. decided to rescue Colonial Williamsburg (1926), indeed, long before academic art historians deemed American decorative arts worthy of serious study. Similarly, Ima helped establish widespread interest in kachina dolls, Native American pottery, and Texas furniture when she began collecting these objects. Will and Ima were among the first to recognize and affirm the still contested idea that material culture provides historical insights not revealed by the archival record. Finally, in the 1960s Alice Hogg Hanszen procured the first important pre-Columbian collection to be exhibited publicly in Houston. Her contribution reinforced Hogg family beliefs that America's heritage predated European incursion and melded cultural traditions.

Once they decided to invest in an artist or art form, Will and Ima immersed themselves in the subject. Will unearthed old magazines and color plates from Collier's Magazine and other sources to understand the scope of Frederic Remington's work as he built his collection.\(^{45}\) Ima read voraciously, traveled extensively to train her eye, and even took classes to expand her knowledge. If in doubt, she picked up the telephone and

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\(^{45}\) Scrapbook, Hogg Brothers Collection, Archives, MFAH. Will marked several passages, including comments about Remington's attraction to art and to a life of action at an early age; to the fact that the artist did not smoke; and that Remington was a "veritable giant" who had to watch his weight.
called an expert.\textsuperscript{46} Both siblings amassed extensive libraries of works on Americana and related visual and decorative arts, and Will ordered two subscriptions of the Magazine \textit{Antiques}, when it began publication in 1922.\textsuperscript{47} Finally, the Hoggs enjoyed the hunt for unexpected treasure, haunted galleries and antique shops, and delighted in driving a hard bargain. Although they relied on trusted dealers to help them find coveted objects, they made purchases only after considered examination and thought — and a good deal of negotiating.

When the Museum of Fine Arts opened its doors in April 1924, visitors could admire ten works by Frederic Remington from the Hogg Brothers Collection and \textit{Contentment}, a painting by George Inness that Will had purchased for his home. The next year Will suggested the museum organize the nation's first memorial exhibition of Remington's work and loaned the entire Hogg Brothers collection, at that time comprising thirty paintings and illustrations and one bronze sculpture.\textsuperscript{48} From January 3–18, 1931 the museum displayed a collection that had grown to include twenty-three oils, forty-two black and white "illustrations," four pen and ink sketches, and one sculpture, that memorialized "Mr. Hogg's sympathetic friendship and support of the museum, from its beginnings." Volunteers from forty-six civic, literary, and professional clubs served as

\textsuperscript{46} When Ima was restoring buildings at Winedale, she took classes in restoration techniques in New York.
\textsuperscript{47} Library inventories, Bayou Bend, IHP, Archives, MFAH. These inventories from the 1930s and 1940s specify room locations and suggest that Bayou Bend was crammed with several thousand books. Will applied the same focused zeal to book-buying that he did to collecting Remington. For example, in Mar. 1920, Yale University Press acknowledged Will's purchase of the George Washington Edition of The Chronicles of America, a fifty-volume history bound in blue; in Sept. 1920 Will purchased an extensive list of books on American decorative arts, china, rugs, and prints; and in Dec. 1920 he ordered several books on "mental efficiency." See entries in 2J341, "Library Sept. 16, 1920–June 8, 1925," WHP, CAH. \textit{Antiques} was delivered to Houston and to the New York apartment.
\textsuperscript{48} Frederic Remington Memorial Exhibit, October 1–October 28, 1925, Catalog Collection, Archives, MFAH. The bronze, now known as \textit{Bronco Buster} (43.73), is listed as "Bronze Statuette, cowboy and pony," James Chillman to William C. Hogg, Oct. 29, 1925, letter, 2J337, Art League of Houston folder, WHP, CAH, thanks Will for his Remingtons and says they were "very much enjoyed . . . and . . . of particular interest to the school children."
hosts and hostesses for this tribute to Will Hogg and his collection. Ima, as a member of the board, greeted guests on Sunday afternoon, January 4, and the exhibit received extensive press coverage.\textsuperscript{49} During the 1936 Texas centennial celebration the museum borrowed several Remington works from the Hogg Brothers collection, and each year from 1939 through 1941, works from the collection were displayed in museum galleries.\textsuperscript{50}

The Remington works comprised the first Hogg family collection to be assembled, but they were not transferred to the museum until 1943, after Mike's death and a reorganization of Hogg family business interests.\textsuperscript{51} In January 1942 Ima hired Charles Muskovich, conservator of art for the Dallas Museum, to study conservation and restoration needs of the Remington Collection.\textsuperscript{52} When satisfied that the paintings were ready for the museum, she, Tom, and Alice began negotiations to make the transfer. By May 18, 1943, museum and donors were ready to announce a formal gift of the collection to the museum. In press statements, Ima reiterated the "understanding and desire" of all

\textsuperscript{49} Loan Exhibition of the Works of Frederic Remington Lent Through the Courtesy of Hogg Brothers of Houston, January 3\textsuperscript{rd} to 18\textsuperscript{th}, 1931, Catalog Collection, Archives, MFAH. Categories reflect catalog language. Although records are not explicit, the wording in the catalog, itself a rarity in the museum's early years, confirms Paintings Curator Emily Neff's conjecture that the exhibit honored Will's memory. Emily Neff to author, email, July 14, 2003; Houston Post-Dispatch, Jan. 4, 1931, clipping in Box 1A, folder 47; Registrar's Records, Archives, MFAH; Hubert Roussel, Houston Gargoyle, Jan. 11, 1931.

\textsuperscript{50} H. E. Brigham to James Chillman Jr., Feb. 11, 1939, letter regarding Remington Exhibit Feb. 26–March 19, 1939, Box 3, folder 62, Registrar's Records, Archives, MFAH. Exhibition files show loan exhibits in 1940 and 1941, Archives, MFAH.

\textsuperscript{51} Houston Chronicle, May 29, 1943, clipping in Registrar's Records, Box 1A, folder 47, Archives, MFAH. At this time, the collection comprised 64 objects: 18 "oils in full color," 35 oils in black and white, 10 watercolors and drawings, and 1 large bronze. Subsequent study and authentication procedures reduced the current museum holdings to 41 works including 1 bronze, 16 color oils, 14 black and white oils, 7 watercolor and mixed media, 2 pen and ink sketches, and 1 graphite sketch. Until the 1960s, Alice kept The Fight for the Water Hole, and Ima retained The Herd Boy and The Mule Pack, which had been moved to Bayou Bend probably in the late 1920s. See Neff, Frederic Remington, checklist of works, 131-37. Neff's superb book, which analyzes Will Hogg as a collector and the collection he developed, is based on Hogg papers and emphasizes Will's civic activism, interest in history, and Progressive values as critical to understanding his interest in Remington's work.

\textsuperscript{52} Charles Muskovich to Ima Hogg, Jan. 19, 1942, letter, 4W234, IHP, CAH. He reported that many canvases were rotted and needed new linings but that the collection was in "excellent condition."
family members that the collection "portraying an earlier period of Southwestern life, should be preserved . . . for the use of the public and for the citizens of our state." Ima requested that "within a reasonable time after the war," the collection be installed as a unit.\textsuperscript{53} The deed of gift also stipulated that the collection be neither circulated nor loaned and that if the museum could no longer use it for exhibit purposes, the complete collection be donated to the University of Texas or to some other museum in Texas.\textsuperscript{54} The Spring 1944 Bulletin of the museum highlighted the Remington Collection and Will's outstanding "personal efforts in rallying citizens" that made possible a debt-free building.\textsuperscript{55}

Although Will himself made no specific comments about his interest in Remington, he gathered clippings in a scrapbook that suggest he was intrigued by the artist's depictions of man's confrontation with his environment, his imaginative ability to capture a vanishing way of life, and his empathy with Native Americans.\textsuperscript{56} Art historian Emily Neff posits several cogent reasons why Will may have been attracted to Remington's work. Neff feels Will may have been drawn to Remington's heroic view of American history and identified with the artist and the strong emotions his paintings excited; Remington's characters were unpretentious fighters, their stories direct, their values of individualism, self-reliance, and determination ones Will admired. Moreover, Neff hypothesizes, Will must have felt these important works of art, like the collections of pewter, glass, Windsor furniture, and looking glasses he was also acquiring,

\textsuperscript{53} Houston Chronicle, May 29, 1943, clipping in Box 1A, folder 47, Registrar's Records, Archives, MFAH.
\textsuperscript{54} Deed of gift, May 18, 1943, Accessions File, Registrar's Office, MFAH.
\textsuperscript{55} Bulletin, Vol. 7 (Spring 1944), in 4W234, folder 1, IHP, CAH. Interestingly, in 1943 Ima gave the large (4 ft. 8 in. by 11 ft. 4 in.) Cavalry Scrap, which filled a wall in the Hogg Brothers office beside the desk, to the University of Texas, where it is now displayed in the Jack S. Blanton Museum of Art.
illuminated an overarching national identity grounded in a common past. Neff concludes that Will may have believed he was preserving the reputation of an artist whose popularity seemed to be fading.\textsuperscript{57} Her analysis, based on close reading of family papers, suggests an even broader reading that links Will’s collection to the family’s civic activism and philanthropy in other areas of urban life. Will’s interest in Remington, like his passion for city planning, sustained his vision of a great American city whose residents were bound to other regions of the country by a unifying national culture.

If Will left no written explanation for his collection, he spoke through his actions: the paintings adorned the offices of Hogg Brothers and other family enterprises headquartered in the eight-story Great Southern Building on Preston and Louisiana from the early 1920s until their removal in 1943. Hoping to inspire by example, Will wanted other business men to understand the importance of the nation’s cultural heritage, form collections of their own, and donate them to a public institution where they could be enjoyed by everyone. The Hogg Brothers Collection became famous. Visitors to the Democratic National Convention in 1928 and other collectors of Western American art like Will’s crony Will Rogers or fellow Texan Amon Carter called to see the Remingtons; and Houstonians understood that one day the works would reside in a museum. Will’s example did inculcate a sense of civic responsibility in his associates, several of whom began to form collections of their own.

Ima urged her brother to broaden his taste, but Will must have satisfied his need for an art collection through his intense and in-depth pursuit of works by Remington and

\textsuperscript{56} Hogg Brothers Scrapbook, Archives, MFAH; Neff, \textit{Frederic Remington}, 29-30. The Scrapbook contains images of many Remington's Hogg did not collect, including a series of Great Explorers of the north and northwest.\textsuperscript{57} Neff, \textit{Frederic Remington}, 126-32.
a handful of landscapes by other American artists. Will had probably seen works by Remington during his prolonged stays in New York or in the collection of Joseph Cullinan, who had bought a bronze and a few watercolors by the artist in the 1910s, but he did not seriously consider a purchase until late January 1920, when he studied some Remingtons at Levy's Galleries in New York, or early February, when he purchased *Drawings by Frederic Remington* (1897). For the next seven months he studied available examples and then plunged into a buying frenzy in September that netted one bronze and twenty-five paintings and works on paper from three galleries in a few days. In early October, Will told Ima to visit the paintings he had purchased "for Hogg Brothers' Offices," but forbade her to ask the price! The *Transgressor*, Will's first purchase, is perhaps the most shocking and disturbing and original in the collection. A half-starved, barely clothed man dangles over a stark cliff suspended by one ankle from a point unseen by the viewer. Although a small troop appears to be riding to the victim's rescue, the martyred pose, relentless sun-filled pure blue sky, and barren yellow-pink cliff dramatize the desolation, violence, and uncertainty of life in the Southwest. The compositions of Will's subsequent purchases handle these strong emotions with less ambiguous narratives that are washed by romantic heroism. By 1924 when he purchased *A Cavalry Scrap* from

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58 Will collected works by several American landscape artists, and six remain in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston collection: "Sunlight and Shadow" (1888) by Willard Leroy Metcalf (41.28); "Two Soldiers" (n.d.) by Gilbert Gaul; "Sand Dunes, Lake Ontario" (1874) by Homer Dodge Martin (48.11); "The Storm" (1894) by Francis J. Murphy (48.12); "Moonlight" (n.d., 48.13) and "Afterglow" (n.d., 51.29) by Ralph Albert Blakelock, Gifts of Hogg Family, Accessions report Apr. 25, 2003.

59 See Diary, 1920, 2J399, WHP, CAH. Will saw two Remingtons at John Levy Galleries in New York Jan. 27 and purchased the book Feb. 4; while in Chicago he bought *The Transgressor* Sept. 15 from J. W. Young American Art Gallery and acquired the first black and white oils on Sept. 17 at Thurber Art Galleries. Back in New York, he bought his only bronze and paintings and prints from George H. Ainslie Galleries (Sept. 21), and paintings from Howard Young (Sept. 25), Levy Galleries (Sept. 28), and Holland Galleries (Sept. 28). He also records purchasing prints and sketches on Sept. 23 and 24 but doesn't list galleries. On Sept. 29 he visits "my" Remingtons at Levy's and Young's galleries.

60 William C. Hogg to Ima Hogg, Oct. 7, 1920, letter, 3B119, folder 3, IHP, CAH.
the estate of John Jacob Astor, Will owned the largest collection of Remington works outside the artist's own museum in Ogdensburg, New York, and he had reclaimed Remington as a major American painter. Will seems to have agreed with novelist of the Old West and Remington friend Owen Wister, who declared Remington was "not merely an artist; he is a national treasure." While he made a few more additions to the collection before his death in 1930, Will never again experienced the focused passion to acquire that had gripped him in the early 1920s.

Will made an impact on museum effectiveness in other ways. In a letter to Florence Fall on March 2, 1925, he promised to lend the Hogg Brothers Remington Collection for one month each year and stressed the importance of opening the museum's doors to black citizens. Chillman and the board honored Will's wish to offer African Americans a museum experience, an action based on Progressive beliefs that fine art transcended political, social, or ethnic boundaries. From October 3 to 10, 1930, Houston joined New Orleans and Los Angeles to co-host "Works by American Negro Artists," an interesting comment on segregation's complexity in the South's two largest cities. In 1926 Will urged the museum to establish an acquisition fund, a suggestion that took form as the Friends of Art (1926–1951) and brought Ima on board as a founding

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61 Neff details the story upon which Remington based his composition, but the viewer confronted only with the canvas is left to imagine the hideous fate that befell the man. Neff, Frederic Remington, 47-49.
62 Owen Wister, "Remington: The Man and His Work," Colliers, Jan. 8, 1910, clipping in Hogg Brothers Scrapbook, Archives, MFAH. Neff, Frederic Remington, 29, also cites the Wister article.
63 From November 1920 until his death, Will received information from dealers and others hoping to sell him Remington examples. See Accessions files, MFAH.
64 William C. Hogg to Mrs. H. B. Fall, Mar. 2, 1925, letter 2J337, Art League of Houston folder, WHP, CAH. Will suggested no admission "including one free day each month to the Colored population." Possibly the 19th to commemorate Juneteenth, the day Texas slaves learned they had been emancipated. He also suggested offering evening hours three or four days a week with volunteer staff, and he told Mrs. Fall to ask the electric company for lower fees, as a civic service. Finally he suggested a membership structure to raise funds.
65 Exhibition File, Archives, MFAH; Neff, Frederic Remington, 34, n. 66.
director.  Although Will shrank from public recognition, his voluble positions made an important impact: the museum lived up to its motto as a place that welcomed the bored husband, scampering child, eager esthete, earnest matron, and serious artist in the hope that all would share the universal values expressed in art. Only in 1933 did museum trustees dare manifest institutional gratitude for Will's determined fund-raising and outspoken advocacy by placing a plaque near the original entrance. Citing Will's "interest in art," his "vision," and his "civic consciousness," the tribute concludes, "His many virtues endeared him to [Houston's] people."

Early Museum Collectors (1925–1945)

While Will established a precedent of enhancing museum offerings through loans and bequests, two Houston women tried to help the infant museum through acquisition. Emma Richardson Cherry, sixty-four-year-old doyenne of Houston's professional artists in 1924, had been lobbying for a museum since arriving in Houston in 1898. She and her "art-minded" friends had persuaded Abe Levy to allow them to sit outside Levy Brothers, tin cup in hand, to solicit funds to buy land for a building. By 1924 she wanted to provide works of art for a permanent collection. Her efforts tested the youthful Chillman's tact but helped him articulate an accessions policy. Without authorization, Cherry had solicited paintings from friends, and the director was forced to explain to his "ever-enthusiastic" patron that only the accessions committee could undertake discussion with prospective donors, make purchases, or authorize gifts: "I

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66 Letter Mar. 4, 1926, 2J339, WHP, CAH.
67 Correspondence in 2J337, WHP, CAH, also cited in Neff, Frederic Remington, 16-17.
68 Plaque, Lovett Hall, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.
know you will collaborate with us in the future . . . know[ing] of our general regulations" and "will help me in making this fact known to our many friends who might solicit gifts to the Museum and all unknowingly place us in an embarrassing position." One can only imagine eager art supporters desperate to fill sparsely furnished halls, grasping gifts by little-known practitioners whose artistry failed to meet the stringent aspirations of a young academic trained in Philadelphia and Europe. Chillman seems to have mollified Cherry, who presented her portrait of Florence Fall to the museum in 1925 and participated frequently in annual exhibits of Houston and Texas artists.  

Happily Annette Finnigan, the Museum's first major benefactress, better understood the difficulties of developing a collection of museum quality with limited funds. A graduate of Wellesley College (1889–1894), where she studied art history and drawing and joined the Campus Art Society, Finnigan was a brilliant woman whose father specified in his will that she execute his estate and run his state-wide businesses. Finnigan had been an active suffragist at Wellesley and in New York City. When her family moved to Houston in 1903, she and her two sisters called the first meeting of the Houston Equal Suffrage League in their home and campaigned unsuccessfully for female representation on the school board. Busy with business affairs following her father's death in 1909, Finnigan nonetheless founded the Women's Political Union (1909) and

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69 Lucy Runnels Wright, "A Woman Extraordinary," *Texas Outlook*, 21 (May 1937), in Box 1, folder 3, Cherry Papers, HMRC, HPL.
70 James Chillman Jr. to Mrs. D. B. Cherry, letter, May 23, 1924, in Box 8, Cherry Papers, HMRC, HPL.
71 In 1931 twenty-three of Cherry's paintings, "shown by invitation of the Museum," were displayed as a group, many loaned for the occasion by their owners. Cherry painted numerous important Houstonians, including Mary McDowell, first president of the YWCA; Florence Fall, League President and President of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs; Adele Looscan, founder of the Ladies' Reading Club, oldest woman's club in Houston. See clippings, Box 2, folder 5; Wright, "Woman Extraordinary," Box 1, folder 3, in Cherry Papers, HMRC, HPL.
72 Finnigan's friend, librarian Julia Ideson remarked, "She has the most thorough and brilliant mind of anyone I know," clipping Feb. 10, 1937, in Annette Finnigan Vertical File, Archives, MFAH.
became president of the Texas Woman Suffrage Association in 1914. She stayed active in the movement until 1916, when she was felled by a mysterious illness, later thought to have been a stroke. Recognizing she must abandon her active life, Finnigan returned to New York to be near her married sisters. She then began a lifetime of leisurely travel that carried her to Europe and the Middle East each year and to Houston for a few months every winter.\(^{73}\) James Chillman described Finnigan as the "ideal Museum collector in many ways . . . because she would always ask me what I would want . . . rather than imposing her ideas on the Museum."\(^{74}\)

Some time in 1929 or 1930 Finnigan approached Chillman about forming collections for the Museum. Chillman saw an opportunity to marry Finnigan's expressed interest in antiquities to his desire for a comprehensive collection featuring examples from every artistic period, genre, and culture. An avid student, Finnigan sought the advice of Sir Arthur Evans, legendary archeologist and excavator of King Minos's Palace at Knossos, Crete.\(^{75}\) Each winter beginning in 1931 crates of treasures arrived at the museum to be opened and "anxiously" examined by Miss Finnigan, Chillman, and Adaline Wellborn, the museum secretary/curator. If a fragile and aging lady accompanied by cane and companion, Finnigan apparently battled in 1936 with patriotic

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\(^{73}\) Although Finnigan merits a monograph, printed records of her contribution are sketchy. See Janelle D. Scott, "Local Leadership in the Woman Suffrage Movement: Houston's Campaign for the Vote, 1912–1918," The Houston Review: History and Culture of the Gulf Coast, 12 (1990), 7-9; Johnston, Unknown City, 137; Betty Trapp Chapman, Houston Women: Invisible Threads in the Tapestry (Houston: Donning Company Publishers, 2000), 86-87, 133, 155, 162-63. See also Annette Finnigan Vertical File, Archives, MFAH, which includes an interview with James Chillman, Mar. 6, 1968, and a paper given by Betty Chapman at the Texas State Historical Association, Lubbock, Mar. 1989, as well as clippings from newspaper accounts of Finnigan's gifts to the museum. Finnigan was born in West Columbia, Texas, in 1873, lived in Houston from 1876 to 1888 and from 1903 to 1916. She lived in New York City from 1888–1903 and from 1916 until her death but retained close ties to Houston friends. She left most of her fortune to the Houston Public Library, Finnigan Park (specifically created for blacks in the Fifth Ward), and the Museum of Fine Arts of Houston.

\(^{74}\) James Chillman, interview, Annette Finnigan Vertical File, Archives, MFAH.

\(^{75}\) Ibid.
customs officials who reclaimed many of her "most priceless" discoveries that year.\textsuperscript{76} Seventy-three Egyptian and Roman objects entered the collection in 1931; in 1933 Finnigan shifted focus and procured over one hundred Asian and Indian textiles. In 1934 she donated seventeen Greek vases, Byzantine ecclesiastical garments, Asian and other textiles, and old lace. A Houston Post article praising her generosity described how the vases, which spanned Greek history, had been placed in the entrance lobby.\textsuperscript{77} More textiles and some jewelry entered the collection early in 1935, and a trip to Spain later that year provoked a shopping frenzy. More than fifty objects, including ecclesiastical furniture and textiles and dueling pistols, were unpacked in Houston in 1936.

In 1937 Finnigan recovered what remains one of the Museum's great treasures — an exquisite, perfectly preserved, gold foil laurel wreath from the Hellenistic period (330–27 B. C.). The extremely rare, very fragile wreath accompanied its owner in death to signify honors won in life.\textsuperscript{78} Finnigan had been a fine athlete and believed the wreath one of her most important discoveries. That year she also brought to Houston three objects that remain signature pieces in the Museum's antiquities collection: a third century B. C. alabaster hydria used to carry water, which had been excavated in Athens in 1933; a marble cycladic figure c. 2800–2300 B.C.; and a mid-fourth-century B.C. grave stela for a woman.\textsuperscript{79} Only a serious collector of respected reputation could have secured these recently excavated works for a little-known museum in remote Texas. In 1940 the museum produced a catalog of sixty-five examples of fine lace exhibited at the Museum that year and praised Finnigan as "quiet and retiring" but possessed of a "sharp public

\textsuperscript{76} Clipping, Houston Post, Jan. 15, 1937. See also Houston Post, Jan. 1935, describing gift of seventeen Greek vases. Clippings in Annette Finnigan Vertical File, Archives, MFAH.
\textsuperscript{77} Clipping, Houston Post, Jan. 27, 1935, Annette Finnigan File, Archives, MFAH.
\textsuperscript{78} Permanent Legacy, 84.
spirit and fine personal taste which have" exerted "outstanding . . . influence upon public
taste and knowledge." At her death in 1940 contemporaries estimated that one half to
two thirds of the objects in the Museum's collection had been provided by Annette
Finnigan. Her knowledge, foresight, and consideration of Director Chillman's needs
secured treasures that retain their value and importance over seventy years later.

Despite publicity surrounding Annette Finnigan's spectacular discoveries and
generous gifts, the museum struggled to meet its modest budgets in the years before
World War II. Artist Emma Richardson Cherry feared this indifferent support meant
Houstonians' appreciation of art was "only skin deep," but historian Susie Kalil believed
that art flourished in Houston even as museum funding sagged, largely because museum
outreach programs successfully bridged the gap between public and artist. In 1923
historian and critic Stella Hope Shurtleff launched the Thursday Art Previews (1923–
1935) to build the public's confidence in its ability to appreciate and enjoy works of art.83
These lectures proved so successful that Mr. and Mrs. William L. Clayton established the
Shurtleff Foundation to underwrite free public talks by Mrs. Shurtleff at the Museum, and
these lectures continued until the early 1950s. By November 1924 Director James
Chillman was offering public talks on Saturdays, and the Art League was sponsoring
special lectures "by representative artists and people of Houston who have studied the old

79 Note that the grave stela and cycladic figure are two of six examples from the antiquities' collection that
have been placed on the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston website.
80 The Annette Finnigan Collection of Laces (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts of Houston, 1940), n.p.
Information about the objects in the Finnigan Collection comes from the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston,
Accessions Files, thanks to the assistance of Archivist Lorraine Stuart.
81 Houston Gargoyle, Dec. 15, 1929, p. 3.
82 Barbara Rose and Susie Kalil, Fresh Paint: The Houston School: The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston
83 Stella Hope Shurtleff Papers, Archives, MFAH. Susan Vaughn Clayton, Ima Hogg, and others formed a
group to underwrite Shurtleff's history of art and art museums in Texas, manuscript in Stella Hope Shurtleff
Papers, WRC, RU.
world masters in their native haunts." Because so many League members were decorating new homes in the 1920s, Mrs. Chillman gave a series of talks about decoration and furniture in 1924.\textsuperscript{84} The Friends of Art Society, founded later that year to secure works for the permanent collection, also developed museum membership. A museum school opened in the fall of 1927 and two years later offered its first free class to twenty-five talented children who, regardless of residence or financial status, "express a recognizable aptitude for color and line."\textsuperscript{85}

Loan exhibitions from commercial gallery owners in New York City who were keen to build clientele among the wealthy oil barons, shows of work by local artists, and Museum Art School displays stimulated lively discussion among patrons, while museum space devoted to "half-dollar" exhibits that displayed local collectibles helped convince viewers that "art collectors need not be rich."\textsuperscript{86} The Hoggs, Mayor Oscar Holcombe, and Houston's civic leadership joined hands in January 9-23, 1926 to sponsor a Program for Leading Living American Artists. Volunteers from more than fifty civic clubs as diverse as the Chamber of Commerce, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Club of Applied Psychology, and the Lumberman's Club welcomed the public and affirmed the museum's civic purpose. In January 1931 Hubert Roussel declared the city "abloom with old masters" thanks to a "big show" of works by El Greco, Franz Hals, Gainsborough, Goya, and other European luminaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, courtesy of the Reinhardt Galleries of New York (January 3-18, 1931). Hanging with this "glorious" show were seventy examples of "bold, vivid" works by Frederic

\textsuperscript{84} \textit{Woman's Viewpoint}, Nov. 1924, p. 31.
\textsuperscript{85} Ruth West, "Lyres and Easels," \textit{Houston Gargoyle}, Apr. 27, 1930, p. 28; \textit{Retrospective Exhibition}, 1933.
Remington from the Hogg Brothers' Collection, "far and away the most representative group" by this artist.  

During its first decades, the museum also brought works by contemporary realist Rockwell Kent, who told Houston artists in 1938 that they "must evolve their own culture," not mimic New York dictates. Although fully aware of the public's cultural conservatism, the museum introduced Houstonians to the abstract painting and sculpture of leading international contemporaries (1928, 1929) and the lithographs of Mexican artist José Clemente Orozco (1930).  

Gradually a small but vigorous community of patrons and artists developed. Estelle Sharp, who purchased locally produced artwork, provided space for artists, landscape gardeners, and architects to work in her Studio Gardens (1930–1937).  

Edward M. "Buck" Schiwetz earned steady income as a commercial artist for River Oaks Corporation and Anderson Clayton while "his fine talent for exposing the romantic appeal of architectural subjects" and vanishing landscapes in pencil, wash, and lithograph brought him a loyal Texas following. Robert Joy established a lucrative career as a portrait and landscape painter, and other artists found Houston a congenial environment. Most visible to the general public during the 1930s were eleven major mural projects comprising more than fifty individual panels commissioned by corporate and federal

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86 Houston Gargoyle, Sept. 15, 1929, p. 24. A favorite of critic Ruth West was the display of paintings by students in Las Escuelas de Pintura al Aire Libre de Mexico sent by the Mexican Ministry of Education. Houston Gargoyle, Aug 24, 1930, p. 22.  
87 Hubert Roussel, Houston Gargoyle, Jan. 11, 1931, p. 32. See also "Loan Exhibition of Old Masters of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, Museum of Fine Arts of Houston, Jan. 3-18, 1931, Catalog Collection, Archives, MFAH. The Old Master exhibit also included works by Thomas Lawrence, Canaletto, Rubens, and Van Dyke, among others. Board members that year included Mary Hale Lovett (vice-president), Burke Baker (secretary), John T. Scott (treasurer), John F. Dickson, Florence Fall, Ima Hogg, Prof. R. A. Tsanoff of Rice, and Mrs. Cleveland Sewall. Mayor W. E. Monteith served ex-officio. The list of patrons reads like a who's who of Houston during the era.  
88 Rose and Kali, Fresh Paint, 18; "Modern French and American Art" (1928); "Post-Modern French Painters" (1929); "Drawings and Lithographs of José Clemente Orozco" (1930), in Catalog Collection, Archives, MFAH.  
89 E. B. Cherry purchases, Sharp Papers, WRC, RU.
government sponsors to decorate offices, stores, and public buildings. Executed in the social realist style made popular by Thomas Hart Benton and Grant Wood, the murals' historical content glorified American, Texas, and local triumphs and defined a civic identity that tied Houston to broader American traditions and married commerce, culture, and history. The Works Progress Administration commissioned Houston artists E. Richardson Cherry, Ruth Uhler, who was curator of education at the Museum of Fine Arts, and Angela McDowell to decorate the corridors and lobbies of the Houston Public Library with murals emphasizing the city's Southern and Spanish heritages. Houstonian Grace Spaulding John retold Native American traditions on the walls of Sidney Lanier Junior High School's main foyer, while former Grant Wood student Virgie Claxton imagined Houston's skyline of the future for the Chamber of Commerce offices.91

The museum may have struggled to build financial backing, but it was rich in volunteer friends during the Depression years. Former League members continued to welcome visitors, oversee educational activities, and hold fundraising events. In 1930 they were joined by members of the Garden Club of Houston, founded in 1924, who offered to design and maintain the grounds. Estelle Sharp, a museum trustee and Garden Club member, commissioned landscape architect Ruth London to prepare a master plan for the grounds in 1931. Lack of funds precluded execution of the scheme, but a reduced plan for the point at which Montrose and Main intersected was completed in 1936–1937.92 In 1932 the Junior League, formed in Houston in 1924, began a volunteer

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90 Christmas card for Ima Hogg of Bayou Bend; Houston Gargoyles, Nov. 9, 1930, p. 1; Feb. 9, 1931, p. 22. Rose and Kalil, Fresh Paint, 18. San Francisco artist John MacQuarrie supplied murals for Grand Central Station; Chicago artist Eugene Montgomery did 12 murals for Sears Roebuck and Company's Main Street store, and Dallas artists Jerry Bywaters and Alexander Hogue executed four paintings for the Parcel Post Annex.

92 Fox, "Museum of Fine Arts," 45, for detailed description of the plan, including a balustrade and bench designed by Watkin.
tradition that continues to the present and has incorporated tours for public school children since 1943. Most important for the poorly staffed museum was the organization in May 1939 of the Museum Guild, created by thirteen women who lived near the museum and wanted to "supplement the work of the Museum staff with special regard to those projects which come outside the regular Museum appropriations, either of time or money." Director James Chillman and curator Adaline Wellborn Bruhl outlined how volunteers could keep the staff "in touch with practically every phase of life in this community" by cooperating with other arts groups and publicizing museum activities. Within two years sixty volunteers were maintaining satellite exhibits at the Second National Bank, cataloguing library possessions, sponsoring summer concerts on the terrace, and serving refreshments in the lounge. Mrs. Kern Tips, a founding member of the Guild, approached her husband, KPRC station manager Kern Tips, about a fifteen-minute public service weekly program to cover "every possible point at which art may touch the consciousness of the general public." Broadly interpreted, the radio project, christened "Look and Listen" in September 1939, included segments on art by Chillman, slum clearance, the San Jacinto Memorial, the romance of gems by a Corrigan's Jewelry store manager, and the murals and sculptures at City Hall. Lacking paid staff, the Museum relied on the hardworking volunteers to advertise activities and keep the doors open until after World War II. As a result citizens felt the Museum was indeed built by and for them.

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93 Constitution and Bylaws, Museum Guild, Feb. 19, 1940, folder 1, Art Museum Guild Papers, 1939–1944, Archives, MFAH. By 2003 several hundred Guild volunteers staffed 29 standing committees and provided thousands of hours of invaluable service to almost every museum department.
94 Clipping, Houston Post, June 13, 1941, in folder 3, Art Museum Guild Papers, Archives, MFAH.
95 Folders 4, 5, Art Museum Guild Papers, Archives, MFAH. By 1940 (folder 8) the program included 18 speakers, some from New York, Austin, and London. Ima Hogg spoke on the program Apr. 15, 1944,
Ima's *Collections of Works on Paper and Southwestern Art*

As chairman of the Accessions Committee in 1927–1928 and member again in 1930–1932, Ima was well apprised of museum needs and monetary shortfalls. In 1927 she joined a "group of citizens" — Estelle Sharp, the W. L. Claytons, the W. S. Farishes, and Houston Friends of Art — to purchase *American Motherhood* by Charles W. Hawthorne for the permanent collection. ⁹⁶ During these years she also formed two collections that expanded her appreciation of artistic production and extended museum offerings to new areas: works on paper by contemporary artists and Native American art of the Southwest. Ima enjoyed both collections in her home for some years, but correspondence indicates that she always intended to place them in the museum's care. Ima first explored late nineteenth and early twentieth-century paintings and sculpture on her travels abroad and during her residence in New York City. In 1928, while in New York, she purchased her first example of twentieth-century art, *Meditation (Portrait of Lorette)* by Henri Matisse, ca. 1916. The painting graced a wall in the Drawing Room at Bayou Bend until 1948, when Ima gave it to the museum. ⁹⁷

In 1929 Ima set out on what proved to be a great art-collecting adventure — a summer trip to Sweden, Denmark, and Russia, followed by a sojourn in Munich, Berlin, and Paris. ⁹⁸ In Russia she experienced Abstract Expressionism for the first time and was fascinated. ⁹⁹ As soon as she turned back to Western Europe she began examining works

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⁹⁶ "Retrospective Exhibition of Gifts to the Permanent Collections," March 1-12, 1933, Exhibition Files, Archives, MFAH.
⁹⁸ William C. Hogg to Hermilla Kelso (a cousin), June 25, 1929, letter, 2J325, folder 1, WCH, CAH.
⁹⁹ Legend relates that Ima turned down a meeting with Soviet leaders in favor of a trip to art museums.
on paper by giants of the contemporary art scene. While in Munich in August 1929, she purchased recent work by well-known French contemporaries, including Henri Matisse. In Paris that September, she acquired four Picasso prints and the Picasso pastel, *Three Women at the Fountain*, which would hang in prominent places in her homes until the 1960s. While traveling with Will during the summer of 1930, Ima discovered works on paper by a less accepted and more daring group of modernists, Oskar Kokoschka, Lyonel Feininger, and Paul Klee. Intrigued by German Expressionism, she expanded her collection in the winter of 1931 to include works by Wassily Kandinsky, Kathe Kollwitz, and several other modernists who were represented by a German dealer then visiting in New York.\[^{100}\]

Museum records indicate that many of the eighty-four prints, drawings, and watercolors Ima gave to the museum in 1939 were always intended for the museum's collection even though each work "seems to have been selected because of its unique appeal to the discriminating taste of the collector." Ima asked galleries to ship her purchases directly to the museum, and she haggled over prices and demanded special "Museum" discounts because she intended to form a public collection.\[^{101}\] Chillman had counseled with Ima about her purchases and must have been anxious to accommodate his good friend since the acquisitions remained in her home for nearly a decade. In the fall of 1937 Ima made a formal offer to transfer the works on paper to museum possession, pending necessary cataloguing and curatorial work. By then her collection comprised works by American and Mexican artists, including John Singer Sargent, José Clemente

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\[^{100}\] Miss Ima Hogg Collection, Accessions File 39.47-131, Registrar's Office, MFAH.
\[^{101}\] Summary in Miss Ima Hogg Collection, Accessions File 39.47-131, Registrar's Office, MFAH. See shipping order Hans Goltz, Munchen to James Chillman, Aug. 31, 1929, regarding a Puvis de Chavannes drawing and Corot landscape "we send you by order of Miss Hogg." Note that her works on paper
Orozco, and Diego Rivera. In June 1939 the works on paper were moved to the museum and tentatively accepted by Chillman, pending formal recommendation of the gift by the Accessions Committee and its chairman Nina Cullinan. Expressing "deep personal thanks" for a gift that has "enriched the collections many fold," Director Chillman relayed "delight" and told Ima the individual items are of "high artistic value" assembled "with a taste and sensitive discrimination for which any words of congratulation seem inadequate." Ima's purchases in 1929 and her gift a decade later provided important additions to the museum's collection, secured Houston's first examples of works on paper by well-known late nineteenth and early twentieth-century artists, and enabled the Museum to begin building a department of prints and drawings.

A museum summary of Ima's holdings aptly noted that the German examples reflect introspection, intellectual curiosity, and an "effort to penetrate further into the unknown," while the American group illustrated Ima's personal taste and "sympathetic and understanding regard" for the artists, most of whom were friends or acquaintances.

Years later, Ima told Bayou Bend Curator David Warren that she was interested in the "tonal aspect" of Kandinsky and Klee, who incorporated musical ideas in their works. She also remarked that she enjoyed the "private aspect" of works on paper, which could be stored in a drawer and easily examined as one would a book or small object. Except

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102 Accessions File 39.47-131 records show 18 watercolors, 31 lithographs, 19 etchings, 9 drawings, 1 block print, 5 woodcuts, and 1 color reproduction, Registrar's Office, MFAH.
103 Correspondence between George Hill Jr. and Ima Hogg, July 21, 1939, letters, noting transfer on June 14, 1939; James A. Chillman Jr. to Ima Hogg, July 31, 1939, letter, thanking her for donation; James A. Chillman Jr. to Ima Hogg, Ritz Hotel, Mexico City, Sept. 4, 1939, notifying her that the collection had been gratefully accepted by unanimous assent. Accessions File, 39.47-131, Registrar's Office, MFAH.
104 James Chillman to Ima Hogg, letter, July 31, 1939, Accessions file, 39.47-131, Registrar's Office, MFAH.
for the larger Picasso pastels, Ima did not frame or display any works on paper at Bayou Bend; nor were these objects listed in 1933 room inventories, further confirming both their intimate appeal and their ultimate destination at the museum. Ima retained the great Picasso pastel, *Three Women at the Fountain* (1929) and a few other prints and drawings after she moved from Bayou Bend. In 1969 when she finally relinquished the beloved Picasso, the museum celebrated and the press took note. In one small but important collection Ima had satisfied personal needs while "greatly increas[ing] the community's aesthetic wealth."

The Hoggs had long been intrigued by southwestern cultures in Texas, Mexico, New Mexico, and Arizona. Their library contained several volumes on the conflict between Anglo settlers and Mexican overlords that ended in formation of the Texas Republic; Will and Mike owned extensive ranchland in Northern Mexico during the 1920s; and Tom finally settled on a ranch in Arizona, where Ima visited him during the 1930s and 1940s. Why Ima decided to form a collection of Pueblo art for the museum is not clear, although her motives for acquiring the objects are suggested by her deed of gift and by a KPRC "Look and Listen" segment in July 1941. Ima believed pueblo art represented the finest craftsmanship of urban Native Americans and as such was as important an element of America's heritage as the products of eighteenth-century New England artisans. Some time in the 1920s Ima had "discovered that the American Indian possessed a rare feeling for beauty, a fine sense of design, and superior craftsmanship" —

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105 The American list included work by E. Richardson Cherry, Mary Bonner, and Wayman Adams and 8 works by Mexican Roberto Montenegro, 3 by José Clemente Orozco, and 1 by Diego Rivera. Quote from summary prepared for the Accessions File, 39.47-131, Registrar's Office, MFAH.
106 Kroll, "Twentieth Century Collection," Bayou Bend Docent Organization Records, Docent Papers, Archives, MFAH.
107 Press clippings, correspondence, 4W382, folder 7, IHP, CAH.
qualities that characterized all Ima's collections. She spent several years "studying and carefully collecting this indigenous American art." Her collection, although not complete, had "been selected with some care" for "a museum which intends to have a department of Southwest Art."110

With Ima Hogg it is always difficult to know exactly who articulated the intention of forming this department of Southwest Art for the museum. Was Ima intrigued by kachina dolls and Southwestern pottery and jewelry on trips to Arizona and Santa Fe in the late 1920s? In a burst of enthusiasm did she tell Chillman she wanted to form a collection for the museum? Or did he suggest Ima underwrite the cost of a lecture on American Indian art in February 1930 and encourage her to build a collection appropriate for museum display? 111 In February 1929 Buton Staplie of Coolidge New Mexico corresponded with "Irma" Hogg about a necklace, an exhibit, and a lecture, and in February 1930, Ima helped Director Chillman curate a "Loan Exhibition of Houston-Owned Indian Handcrafts" from Crafts del Navajo of Coolidge (February 2-23, 1930).112 American Indian Pottery was a subject of interest in 1930 to journalist and Hogg family friend Dorothy Hoskins, who agreed with Ima that Native American ceramics represented high quality urban craftsmanship of the pueblo culture. Hoskins also noted that these important products, which married design and function, were fashioned by women

108 Shurtleff, Houston Post, Apr. 21, 1940, clipping in Accessions File, 39.47-131, Registrar's Office, MFAH.
109 Adaline Wellborn Bruhl, KPDC remarks, July 7, 1941, in Accessions File, 44.4-485, Registrar's Office, MFAH.
110 Deed of gift correspondence, Ima Hogg to John Bullington, President of Museum of Fine Arts of Houston, Aug. 16, 1943, in ibid.
111 H. E. Brigham, secretary to Ima Hogg, to Museum of Fine Arts of Houston, check for $100 to cover lecture on Indian Art, Feb. 6, 1930, Accessions File, 44.4-120, Registrar's Office, MFAH.
112 "Loan Exhibition of Houston-Owned Indian Handcrafts," Registrar's Records, Box 1A, Archives, MFAH.
artists. All her adult life Ima supported professional development for women in the arts and social sciences, and she may have wanted to encourage these female artisans by displaying their products in a museum.

Ima made her first purchases of Southwestern art in September 1928 from Fred Harvey in Albuquerque, and she discovered several objects in Santa Fe and Zuni, New Mexico, in the fall of 1932. During a three-month stay in New Mexico in 1934, she found several pieces at the Old Santa Fe Trading Post and bought the sixty-one Hopi Kachinas, four musical instruments, and one large jar that Ina Sizer Cassidy had collected between 1912 and 1933. Correspondence in June 1935 with the Spanish and Indian Trading Company reveals Ima's tough bargaining and clear intention of donating her purchases to a museum; she demanded and received a "museum" discount of nearly 20 percent on thirty-five items. Although she continued to buy items in the 1940s, she had essentially satisfied her goals by 1936, when she began lending watercolors to the museum for summer exhibits. As always Ima approached her purchases with intellectual curiosity and an eye for beauty. Before turning over objects permanently to the museum she corresponded with experts at the School of American Research in Santa Fe and the Indian Department in Albuquerque regarding the ethnography of nineteenth-century examples and information about contemporary artists, particularly the important Martinez family of potters from the Pueblo San Ildefonso.

113 Dorothy M. Hoskins, "American Indian Pottery," _Houston Gargoyle_, Feb. 16, 1930, p. 12. Hoskins had been editor of Will Hogg's _Civics for Houston_.
114 Southwest Indian (Miss Ima Hogg) Collection, Correspondence, Accessions Files, 44.4-485, Registrar's Office, MFAH.
116 Correspondence, May 20, 1937, North American Indian General File, 44.4-485, Registrar's Office, MFAH, regarding 35 paintings loaned for a June 1936 exhibit.
117 Correspondence in Southwest Indian Collection, Accessions Files, 44.9-120, Registrar's Office, MFAH.
Photographs of the library at Bayou Bend taken in the 1930s or early 1940s show the room furnished with several examples of North American pottery, but Ima gradually placed the entire collection on long-term loan at the Museum. In 1941 she told Chillman of her intention to make the loans permanent and in August 1943 set forth the terms of her gift: the gift would be executed officially in 1944; should the collection no longer fit the museum's exhibition mission, trustees would convey it to another museum in Texas; she reserved the right to borrow items of jewelry — which she did frequently during the next three decades; the gift was made anonymously, and objects were to be labeled "Bayou Bend Collection"; and Ima provided $1,200 to construct exhibit cases. The board unanimously endorsed her generosity in November 1943 and launched what became an extensive Art of the Americas Collection.\textsuperscript{118} Ima had begun to transfer ownership of decorative arts items that continued to be housed at Bayou Bend to the Museum as early as the 1920s, confirming that her Americana purchases were always intended for public display. With the transfer of the American Indian Collection, she established a pattern that would guide the subsequent transfer of her entire Bayou Bend property to museum custody. First she worked with the museum to make her gift at a time when the staff was prepared to receive a large collection; next she sought expert advice to verify the collection's value and discover whatever could be learned about each object; and finally, she provided funds to help prepare objects and exhibit space. This method of transfer through loan exhibits and subsequent gift educated the public, generated interest in the subject matter, and allowed Ima to take advantage of tax benefits.

\textsuperscript{118} Deed of gift letter, Ima Hogg to John Bullington, Aug. 16, 1943, Accessions Files, 44.4-485, Registrar's Office, MFAH. The collection comprised 168 ceramics, 96 jewelry items, 5 photographs, 81 paintings, 123 Kachina dolls, 7 musical instruments, and 7 miscellaneous items. It seems hard to imagine how a donation
By 1944 the Hoggs had provided the museum three major collections that greatly expanded the breadth and depth of its offerings: Hogg Brothers Remington Collection, Works on Paper, and Southwestern Art. The family had also devoted years of service to board committees and loaned individual works of art to numerous exhibits. Ima served as museum trustee from 1925–1933, was an advisory trustee from 1955–1960 and 1962–1967, and was named a life trustee in January 1970. During her tenure she was chairman of the accessions (1927, 1930–1931) and Bayou Bend Advisory committees (1959, member until 1975), and served on the entertainment (1926–1927), endowment (1939), and buildings (1955–1959) committees. Mike was elected trustee in 1939, served until his death in 1941, and participated on the finance (1939) and budget (1940) committees. Mike's widow Alice Hogg Hanszen became an active advisory trustee in 1963 and a life trustee ten years later. She served with Ima on the Bayou Bend Advisory Committee (1963–1970, 1974–1976) and was an important benefactress during these years.119

Although Mike was not always enthusiastic about lending objects to the Museum, Ima loaned two bronzes to an exhibition in March-April 1929, a sampler to "Silhouettes and Samplers" in April-May 1929, and a candle-stand in March 1930. That year she participated in the José Clemente Orozco exhibition of drawings and lithographs by the artist, and in 1947 she loaned Matisse's *Girl in Green (Meditation)* to 55 Works of *Modern Art Owned in Houston* (January 12-February 3, 1947). In February 1957, Ima loaned a Picasso pastel and Alice a Maurice de Vlaminck still life to an exhibit featuring nineteenth and twentieth-century French painters in Houston collections. From February

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labeled "Bayou Bend Collection" would remain "anonymous," but these instructions reinforce Ima's ambivalent attitude toward public recognition.
26 through March 4, 1957, "Colonial Portraits in the Ima Hogg Collection" demonstrated the importance of her newest collecting interest. Included in the brief loan were John Singleton Copley's *Mrs. Paul Richard* and *Portrait of a Boy*, Charles Willson Peale's *Portrait of a Girl* (now identified as *Boy with Toy Horse*), two portraits by John Wollaston, Joseph Badger's *Portrait of Elbridge Gerry*, and portraits by Joseph Blackburn and John Greenwood. During these years when the museum was so dependent on works from private Houston collections, curators mounted numerous small exhibitions of short duration, which enabled the museum to show a wide variety of objects to its public without depriving owners of prized possessions for too long. The exhibitions, fully insured by the museum, also encouraged Houstonians to purchase quality art for their homes or offices and share it with the public.¹²⁰

*Museum Expansion (1945–1966)*

Despite war dislocations the 1940s generated riches for the museum. Ima's gifts of works on paper (1939), the Remington Collection (1943), and the Southwest Collection of Native American Art (1944) and Annette Finnigan's final gift of fine old lace (1940) were overshadowed by the extraordinary generosity of two New Yorkers, whose oldest son had migrated to Houston, Edith A. and Percy S. Straus. Announced the morning Japanese planes struck Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941, their gift of fifty-nine paintings and works on paper and twenty-eight sculptures and reliefs raised the value of museum offerings to unforeseen heights and enabled the city to take a major step toward

¹¹⁹ Board service information provided by Archivist Lorraine Stuart from the Museum master list of board members. See also Ima Hogg to Alexander McLanahan, Feb. 16, 1970, letter, Series 1, Box 1, folder 7, IHP, Archives, MFAH, expressing delight to be an honorary Life Member of the board.
¹²⁰ Loan information from Exhibition Files, Archives, MFAH.
"Great Art Center" status.\textsuperscript{121} Percy Straus, former president and chairman of R. H. Macy & Co., and his wife sought the assistance of scholars and experts to purchase a large collection of Italian Renaissance works of art and major examples of the Flemish, German, French, and British schools as well as several Roman and medieval objects. Although residents of New York, the Strauses were friends of Jesse Jones and wanted to enrich an art center removed from New York's vast artistic treasury. Hoping to enhance their son's social position, they chose a Southwest boomtown pushing to achieve international recognition in business and the arts.\textsuperscript{122}

In 1947 Sara Campbell Blaffer, widow of Humble Oil Company founder Robert Lee Blaffer, announced she would donate works to the museum by building the Robert Lee Blaffer Memorial Collection of European Masters (1947). In 1952 her son John H. Blaffer and his wife Camilla donated more than $250,000 to construct the Blaffer Wing and complete William Ward Watkin's 1924 design.\textsuperscript{123} In March 1948, heirs of Frank Prior Sterling donated the land and home at 1505 South Boulevard to the museum in his memory. Museum trustees sold the property to insurance mogul and symphony supporter Gus Wortham in 1950 and used the funds to renovate interior museum space as the Sterling Galleries (open 1953). These galleries were quickly filled by a gift from the Kress Foundation, which informed museum trustees in 1949 that it wished to place thirty-three paintings on permanent loan in Houston. Samuel H. Kress, one of the most


\textsuperscript{122} For in-depth analysis of the Strauss collection, see Carolyn C. Wilson, \textit{Italian Paintings XIV--XVI Centuries in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston} (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, with Rice University Press and Merrell Holberton Publishers, 1996).

\textsuperscript{123} Museum Chronology, Archives, MFAH. The wing conformed to Watkin's plan and was designed by architect Kenneth Franzheim (1890–1959), former associate of popular Houston architects Alfred C. Finn and John F. Staub.
important art collectors in the United States and a friend of Jesse Jones, had given the museum its first Italian masterpiece in 1930, *Holy Family with Donatrice*, ca. 1550, by Lorenzo Lotto. In 1933 part of Kress's touring collection of Renaissance, baroque, and eighteenth-century masterpieces was exhibited in Houston during an eight-month tour of the United States. The Kress treasures complemented the Straus installation and became a permanent gift in 1963.

These donations expanded the quality and depth of museum holdings and spurred civic interest in all art genres. The Associated Artists of Houston exhibited and sold works by its members; in 1948 volunteers chartered the Contemporary Arts Association to stimulate interest in contemporary artists of international repute; and several local artists formed the Houston Art League to support shared studio space. Local artists attuned to international trends and newcomer art patrons Dominique and John de Menil, chairman of Schlumberger Oil Field Services company, challenged the museum's focus on art of the past and demanded more attention be paid to contemporary expression. As businessmen introduced the latest technology to Houston's cutting-edge economy, so, too, they argued, should Houstonians support the latest trends in artistic development. During these years the Menils began five decades of cultural leadership that culminated in the opening of their own museum on June 7, 1987. Houston's segregated art scene

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124 "Retrospective Exhibition of Gifts to the Permanent Collections," March 1-12, 1933, now labeled *Holy Family with St. Catherine*, Catalog Collection, Archives, MFAH.
125 Permanent Legacy, 17-19; Museum Chronology, Archives, MFAH. Today 26 Kress paintings are part of the permanent collection.
126 Discussion of the Menil's tremendous influence in the city from the 1940s through the 1980s at the University of St. Thomas and at Rice, as collectors and patrons, and as founders of the Menil Collection museum is well beyond the scope of this work. See *The Menil Collection: A Selection from the Paleolithic to the Modern Era*, foreword Dominique de Menil, introduction Walter Hopps (New York: Henry Abrams, 1997). The catalog describes the Menil's eclecticism: art of ancient cultures, medieval and Byzantine art, European painting, image of the black in Western art, colonial art in the new world, art of tribal cultures, twentieth century art, the Rothko Chapel.
shattered when mural painter John Biggers and sculptor Carroll Simms arrived at Texas State University for Negroes (now Texas Southern University) in 1949 to establish a fine arts department. Stunned by the lack of artistic opportunity for minority students, Biggers nurtured self-expression and established a national reputation that could not be ignored by Houston's white art patrons.\textsuperscript{127}

While the Menils hosted "a parade of some of the most creative people in the art world" in their home, the museum, too, recognized that the dynamic 1950s demanded new approaches.\textsuperscript{128} By 1950 the museum could no longer comfortably house its collections, loan exhibits, outreach programs, staff, and volunteers. The return of economic prosperity and its attendant population explosion prompted trustees to consider remodeling and expanding the facility. Trustee Nina Cullinan, who was keenly aware of space limitations and anxious to promote better appreciation for contemporary art, donated over $600,000 for a major addition to the museum. The gallery was to be named for her parents Joseph S. and Lucie Halm Cullinan and was supported by an additional gift of $100,000 for maintenance. Taking a bold step, the trustees hired internationally known architect Mies van der Rohe to develop a master plan, undertake renovations, and design the Cullinan addition. Miss Cullinan's generosity inspired substantial gifts from Olga Keith Wiess, Jesse and Mary Gibbs Jones, and Harris and Carroll Masterson to remodel existing space for galleries that continue to memorialize their donors.

Trustees recognized that physical and program expansion demanded a full-time director and enlarged professional staff. James Chillman had served valiantly as part-time director and Rice professor for thirty years. Although the board begged him to

\textsuperscript{127} See Rose and Kalil, \textit{Fresh Paint}, 21-24.
\textsuperscript{128} Campbell Geeslin, Houston \textit{Post}, cited in Rose and Kalil, \textit{Fresh Paint}, 21.
remain as full-time director, Chillman could not forego an assured academic pension and other benefits for an experimental director's post that promised no financial security. In April 1954 he accepted well-deserved emeritus status and made way for Lee H. B. Malone, a Yale-educated specialist in Italian Renaissance art, at the time the area most extensively represented in the museum's collections. Malone oversaw a shift from volunteer to full-time professional staff, creation of the Permanent Endowment Fund in January 1956, opening of the Wiess and Jones Memorial Galleries (January 1958), and the gala dedication of Cullinan Hall (October 1958).

In these years of transition, the museum attracted new friends whose generosity and imagination benefited Houston for decades after Ima Hogg's death. Alice Pratt Brown, wife of entrepreneurial builder George R. Brown, developed a love affair with art as a young girl and all her life took frequent "art trips" to visit collections, purchase treasures, and support favorite artists. In 1964 the family's Brown Foundation trustees created the Alice Pratt Brown Museum Fund in her honor to support museum operations and maintenance and to begin a tradition of family generosity that continues half a century later.\(^{129}\) When the museum undertook a $15 million Capital Campaign in 1970–1971, Alice Brown helped secure $4 million to build the Mies van der Rohe-designed Brown Pavilion, which more than doubled exhibition space.\(^{130}\) New friends and old who contributed more than $100,000 to the campaign included Jesse Jones's niece Audrey Jones Beck and her husband John; the de Menils; Ima Hogg and Alice Hogg Hanszen;

\(^{129}\) Information about the Brown family in Joseph A. Pratt and Christopher J. Castaneda, *Builders: Herman and George R. Brown* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999), 264; Museum Chronology, Archives, MFAH.

\(^{130}\) During this campaign Ima lobbied successfully for an "extra" $500,000 allocation to Bayou Bend. The Campaign Steering Committee allocated $4 million to the Brown Pavilion, $500,000 to the Museum School, $4 million to Endowment, $1.5 million to Bayou Bend curatorship and building, and $5 million to
Mrs. William S. Farish; Mrs. Harry C. Wiess and her daughter Caroline Wiess Law and her husband Ted (Theodore); the Harris Mastersons; Alfred Glassell Jr.; and Mrs. William P. Hobby. In 1973–1974 the Becks established the John A. and Audrey Jones Beck Fund to acquire Impressionist works of art and began placing pieces from their own collection on long-term loan at the museum.

Houston in the 1950s inspired public relations hyperbole. Declared number one in the value of its industrial plant and the largest city in the South by 1950 census takers and named the second largest port in the nation in 1952, Houston also boasted the most hospital beds in the state by 1951. Building programs promised gridlock at Rice Institute, the University of Houston, Baylor College of Medicine, the University of Texas Dental College, and the Texas Medical Center, whose ambitious backers lured medical personnel recently discharged from service in World War II and the Korean conflict with promises of expansion into every medical arena. Air-conditioned office buildings embellished the skyline as corporations moved regional and national headquarters to the vibrant metropolis, and freeways began to link suburban developments to downtown and industrial centers. Even the Duke and Duchess of Windsor wanted to see what was going on!131 Volunteer groups expanded opera, ballet, and theatre offerings, and Ima Hogg, as president of the Houston Symphony (1946–1956), sponsored artists and conductors of world-class status. At this moment of commercial vigor and public excitement, had Houston at last created "a climate essential to the flowering of genius?"132 Perhaps Ima

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131 See Houston, Mar. 1950, p. 54 (Windsors); Aug. 1950, pp. 6, 8-13 (population, academic building programs); Dec. 1951, p. 41 (Gulf Freeway almost finished); May 1952, p. 6 (port number 2).
132 Ima Hogg, Nov. 1952, speech, 3B168, folder 5, IHP, CAH.
thought so, because on June 25, 1957 she delivered a deed of gift to museum trustees that conveyed Bayou Bend's house, gardens, and collections into their care.

*Bayou Bend Collection and Gardens*

Such generosity was unprecedented in Houston or in Texas. Henry du Pont had established his Delaware home at Winterthur as a public house museum in 1951, but benefactions of this magnitude continued to be exceptional cause for celebration. Ima had always insisted that her collections were intended for public enjoyment, and archival records bear witness to her sincerity and consistency of purpose. As she began to reconsider her estate after Mike's death, Ima realized the sheer number of objects at Bayou Bend would overwhelm any extant or future Texas museum. As early as 1941 she and then museum President Ray L. Dudley discussed transferring the Bayou Bend property, house, and contents to the museum's custody. At the time she quailed before "seemingly insurmountable obstacles" but, intrigued, soon "began to entertain Mr. Dudley's suggestion as a possibility."\(^{133}\) As always with Ima's projects, there seems to have been a long period of gestation and negotiation before final provisions were announced. Plans to transfer her home, gardens, and Americana collections began to take shape in the 1940s and early 1950s and seem to have gelled during a house party in March 1956 when she discussed the gift with fellow collectors, who were in town for the Houston Antiques Forum; not surprisingly, they urged her to go forward.\(^{134}\)

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\(^{133}\) Ima Hogg to S. I. Morris, Museum of Fine Arts board president, Aug. 16, 1960, recollecting the evolution in her thinking about the collection and its permanent care, MS 21, Series 1, Box 1, folder 9, IHP, Archives, MFAH; see also Miss Ima Hogg Vertical File, Archives, MFAH; Ima Hogg to docents, July 5, 1961, Series 1, Box 4, folder 15, IHP, Archives, MFAH.

\(^{134}\) Members of the house party included fellow collectors Katharine Prentis Murphy, Electra Webb, Henry and Ruth du Pont, and Henry and Helen Flynn. The Introduction to *American Decorative Arts and Paintings in the Bayou Bend Collection* (David B. Warren, Michael K. Brown, Elizabeth Ann Coleman,
Ima's donations of the Remington, Southwestern, and Works on Paper collections in the early 1940s had tested the museum's ability to absorb, display, and appreciate her gifts and had made room at Bayou Bend for new purchases. After a hiatus of nearly fifteen years, Ima returned to the quest for American decorative arts objects of highest aesthetic and historic value, and the museum intensified its pursuit of her patronage by naming her honorary curator of Early American Art (1948–1956). Still suffering budget shortfalls, the board had agreed in the immediate postwar years to nominate amateur experts as volunteer curators, but their choice suggests that the subtle dance of courtship was well under way. Invoices and correspondence from 1943 on show that Ima had clarified her purpose and now intended to transform her home into a series of period rooms whose didactic message would tell America's story. For some years Ima had transferred ownership of specific pieces of furniture to the museum, always with the understanding that the objects remain in situ at Bayou Bend until such time as she could no longer use them. In December 1953 she secured assurances that these and any prospective gifts from her "rare and distinguished collection of furniture and other art treasures" would be properly preserved and displayed. In this "special exception" to the museum's policy not to give assurances about future retention or display of gifts and bequests, the museum tried to assuage Ima's fears that her wishes might be disregarded or

and Emily Ballew Neff [Princeton, N. J.: The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston and Princeton University Press, 1998], xiii] implies that these friends, especially Henry du Pont, "encouraged" her to transform her home into a house museum. Archival correspondence and Ima's intense and deliberate collecting in the 1940s make clear that discussions at the 1956 house party could only have reinforced decisions she had already made.

135 Miss Ima Hogg Vertical File, Archives, MFAH.
136 In 1943 Ima purchased three important pairs of side chairs, one in the rococo (F84), and two in the Grecian mode (F192, F194). In 1946 she found a chest of drawers with the rare bombe contour (F137), a magnificent neoclassical bedstead (F190), and a handsome baroque dressing table (F76), among other items that show she is looking for specific important examples of high quality craftsmanship. By 1948 her collecting fervor had reach high pitch, and several important pieces of furniture entered the collection (F42,
her collections disbursed.\textsuperscript{137} With this promise Ima's plans to transfer her property to the museum took firm shape, and her negotiations with museum trustees intensified.

Two decades later Ima described these discussions as an "awful time."\textsuperscript{138} Neighbors in the independent subdivision of Homewoods had to be persuaded that their tranquil enclave would not be invaded by tourists, and in 1954 Ima asked her lawyers to prepare consent forms for presentation to Homewoods residents.\textsuperscript{139} Baker and Botts lawyer Francis G. Coates, who served as the museum's board president from June 1953 to May 1958, was eager to accept Ima's extraordinary gift but felt he could not recommend board acceptance unless Ima promised to establish an endowment to cover operation, upkeep, and maintenance costs.\textsuperscript{140} Ima wanted the museum to match any monetary gift. Both Ima and the museum needed the city's cooperation to secure parking on city property across the bayou from her home and to construct a footbridge for public access to Bayou Bend.\textsuperscript{141} Despite these hurdles, Ima was satisfied with arrangements by July 1956 and drew up a detailed four-page plan for converting her home into a decorative arts center. On September 4 she asked Coates to seek board approval for these plans, which

\textsuperscript{137} Resolution, Dec. 23, 1953, 4W202, IHP, CAH; copy of resolution, dated Dec. 16, 1953, in Trustee Records: Full Board Meeting Minutes, folder 25, Archives, MFAH. This is the same resolution, although the dates differ. The trustees resolution indicates a vote taken December 16, 1953.

\textsuperscript{138} Ima Hogg, interview, Oct. 2, 1974, Oral History, HMRC, HPL.

\textsuperscript{139} Francis G. Coates to Ima Hogg, Aug. 6, 1956, 4W202, IHP, CAH, revisits the property owners' issue and notes that consent forms had been prepared and distributed two and one-half years earlier (early Spring 1954).

\textsuperscript{140} Minutes, Sept. 17, 1956, Executive Session of the Board of Trustees, folder 30, Trustee Records, Archives, MFAH.

\textsuperscript{141} Ray L. Dudley to Ima Hogg, letter Sept. 12, 1956, 4W202, IHP, CAH. Dudley reports successful discussions with the mayor, who will take the matter to city council and was "quite enthusiastic about what this [gift] would mean for Houston."
included her promise to establish a trust fund to cover operating costs. Board members enthusiastically accepted her terms at their September 17, 1956, meeting.¹⁴²

Then began a decade of preparation during which it became clear that Ima had thought about every aspect of Bayou Bend's future, including funding, governance, preparation of the collection, docent instructors, and care of the gardens. On November 14, 1956, Ima, Alice Hogg Hanszen, and Dixon H. Cain became trustees of the Varner-Bayou Bend Heritage Fund and began work to secure an endowment of $750,000 for Bayou Bend through a complex series of property and stock transfers.¹⁴³ On Sunday December 30, 1956, the museum made public her gift, described as "one of three leading collections of Americana anywhere in the world," and explained that she would continue to reside at Bayou Bend and supervise arrangement of her collections "for the purpose of opening the house and grounds to the public."¹⁴⁴ By December 1959 legal and funding issues were settled, and Bayou Bend officially became the property of the museum.¹⁴⁵ At the January 26, 1960, board meeting trustees honored Ima's wish that a Bayou Bend Advisory Committee be established to act as liaison between herself and the museum and to oversee operations and possible changes to the house's structure or the collection's

¹⁴² Ima Hogg to Francis G. Coates, Sept. 4, 1956, 4W382, folder 1, IHP, CAH; excerpt from Minutes, Sept. 17, 1956, folder 30, Trustee Records, Archives, MFAH. Ima appended her stipulations to this letter. Requirements included entrance from Memorial Drive over a footbridge, a guard, no structures but a guardhouse, and numerous other details.
¹⁴³ 4W382, folder 1, IHP, CAH; E. L. Wehner, Memorandum of Trust, various deeds of trust and gifts over the years, 4W202, folder 2, IHP, CAH. This fund was also used as a conduit for gifts to the Houston Symphony, the Hogg Foundation and Child Guidance Center of Houston, and Winedale and was a major estate planning tool during the last years of Ima's life as she gradually transferred all her wealth to eleemosynary institutions. See correspondence 4W382, folders 3, 4, 7, IHP, CAH. See also Trustee Records, Nov. 17. 1959, Archives, MFAH, which outline specific provisions of the trust; and Series 1, Box 1, folder 6, IHP, Archives, MFAH, for correspondence with lawyers John H. Freeman and Leon Jaworski over details of the trust.
¹⁴⁴ Press release, Sun. Dec. 30, 1956, 4W202, IHP, CAH. The other collections were the American Wing at the Metropolitan Museum in New York and Winterthur Museum in Delaware.
¹⁴⁵ Folder 33, Trustee Records, Archives, MFAH. It took several years to iron out all issues with the city regarding the footbridge and to get agreement from all residents of Homewoods. Some residents of River
contents. Trustees also named her curator of Bayou Bend, and they unanimously approved a testimonial of "deep admiration for her lofty purpose in presenting to the citizens of Houston and the generations to follow, a rich example of their heritage." 146 Through the Advisory Committee, Bayou Bend would develop a Friends group to secure the "matching" endowment funds, establish a docent volunteer organization to explain the collection to guests, and provide oversight and suggestions for the conversion process and for future development of the collection. In May 1961 Ima also received gratifying word that the River Oaks Garden Club wished to assume permanent supervision of the gardens and pay for a "skilled gardener at least one day a week." 147 On May 23, 1962, Ima presented a deed of gift covering contents of the house, pending authentication by experts, and in January 1965 she announced it was time to make final plans to complete the transfer and hire a curator. David Warren, youthful graduate of Princeton University and the Winterthur program in decorative arts affiliated with the University of Delaware, began his long career as the collection's caretaker (July 1965–December 2003); Ima moved to a high-rise apartment; and friends helped her organize a gala dedication March 4 and 5, 1966. Later that year, the River Oaks Garden Club announced it would place fresh flowers and plants in the house each week, an embellishment particularly appreciated by touring guests. In 1967 the club established a Garden Endowment Fund

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146 Jan. 26, 1960, folder 34, Trustee Records, Archives, MFAH.
to attract donations and memorial gifts, manage receipts from fund-raising events, and provide income for garden maintenance.\textsuperscript{148}

Journalists, friends, politicians, fellow collectors, oral historians — repeatedly people asked Ima Hogg why she had formed her collection and why she had given it to the people of Houston. She would reply playfully that she must have been born "with a fever for collecting" and could only "blame" her family for introducing her to beautiful relics of the past that sent her on a "mad career." Seriously and consistently for fifty-five years, Ima would recall an early American chair of New England origin that she had seen in artist Wayman Adams's studio in 1920; from the moment her curiosity was aroused and her aesthetic sense excited, she knew she wanted to form a collection of American objects for a museum in Texas.\textsuperscript{149} It did not matter that there was no museum in Texas in 1920; Ima began her quest with the enthusiastic approbation of her brothers. Indeed, in the 1920s Will and Ima often seemed engaged in a synergistic contest to see who would collect more fine objects for their homes and offices. In later years, Ima often explained that she was attracted to early American decorative arts because of their intrinsic aesthetic value; because these objects revealed the "circumstances and events surrounding the lives of our Founding Fathers"; and because she hoped to inculcate in others "a greater respect for the cultural life of our early American forefathers." She herself had "learned to respect the heritage of our country more through furniture and art than anything else." In an often-quoted remark, Ima hoped "in a modest way Bayou

\textsuperscript{149} Quotes from Ima Hogg, Remarks to the River Oaks Garden Club, Nov. 5, 1963, Docent Papers, Box A, Archives, MFAH. Entries in Will Hogg’s diary, 2J399, 1920, and correspondence confirm that Ima knew at once that she wanted to form a collection that would be enjoyed privately but would ultimately be placed in a public institution.
Bend may serve as a bridge to bring us closer to the heart of an American heritage which unites us.\textsuperscript{150}

Governor Hogg's children always remembered his reverence for America's heritage. Like him, they believed that only by understanding how their forebears had lived could Americans grasp the meaning of democracy, appreciate the values incorporated in the constitutional system, and plan for the future. In forming their Americana collections, the Hoggs did not look to Europe for affirmation but rather to American artists and artisans whose work proclaimed the values of their times and provided lessons for the present day. Ima and Will realized that these objects best expressed the subtle transformation that occurred when Europeans encountered the open spaces and natural bounty that was the new world. "There's something peculiarly American about the work Englishmen did when they got here," Ima noted in 1966. "American furniture is not as pretentious; the proportions, carving and veneering are more pleasing to the eye. . . . American portrait painters painted for character."\textsuperscript{151} As southerners who traveled widely and enjoyed long sojourns in New England, residence in New York, and frequent visits to the Southwest, Ima and Will were acutely aware of the regional differences that continued to separate Americans. By bringing examples of colonial and early American production from the Atlantic seaboard to a museum in the Southwest, Ima hoped, in her "modest" way to erase regional misunderstandings. Texans and all Americans, she explained, shared strong reverence for personal freedom, individual action, self-sufficient survival, and plain hard work. Workshop practices of

\textsuperscript{150} "Circumstances and events" and "bridge" from Ima Hogg, remarks, Bayou Bend Dedication, Mar. 5, 1966, pamphlet, WRC, RU (printed version); "greater respect," in Remarks to River Oaks Garden Club, Nov. 5, 1963, Docent Papers, Box A, Archives, MFAH; "learned to respect" from Ima Hogg in \textit{Texas}
colonial cabinet makers combined group cooperation with individual initiative and suggested to Ima a model for resolving community differences.

When Ima decided to transfer Bayou Bend and its collections to the museum, she reinforced long-held family beliefs that citizens of the United States had melded many traditions into something distinctly American. By entrusting her treasures to the people of Houston, she affirmed the family's faith that the community shared a curiosity about its heritage. In forming her collection and presenting it to the public, Ima had, in the words of museum Director James Johnson Sweeney, "given, not only a work of art, but an example of fuller living and an incentive to a fuller life." No encomium could have more aptly summarized Ima's progressive purpose: for her, collecting was both a pleasurable personal joy and a virtuous civic duty. Through good husbandry of her fortune and reverence for her family's values, she had preserved America's heritage and provided a model for future action.

The House

The Hogg's shaped their vision of America and its values through the structure of Bayou Bend itself as well as through the collections they amassed and the gardens Ima created. Will, Ima, and Mike spoke of Bayou Bend as the culmination of a dream to create the long-sought home that seemed to elude the family after its losses in the Civil War. Emily Neff, in her chronicle of the Hogg Brothers collection, suggests that for Will the ideal "home" was paramount. Yet Will had established a "home" at Varner in the

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*Texas Magazine*, Sunday, Feb. 20, 1966, clipping of extensive article on Bayou Bend in Miss Ima Hogg Vertical File, Archives, MFAH; also in vol. 25, River Oaks Collection, MSS 12, HMRC, HPL.


152 Bayou Bend Dedication pamphlet, 16.
1920s, and the siblings were ensconced among friends at 4410 Rossmoyne after 1917. Home does seem to have had special meaning for Will in his role as paterfamilias, but Ima's relationship to the property was at best ambiguous.\textsuperscript{153} Although she poured heart and soul into the planning, decoration, and care of the structure her brothers began to call "Miss Ima's house" even before it was ready for occupancy, she expressed no regrets when she left Bayou Bend. She always claimed the house was built only as a residence, its contents to form a "nucleus for other accessions in the decorative arts" at some museum in Texas, but she also frequently explained to friends and interviewers that she had long felt she was only "holding Bayou Bend . . . in trust" until it could be dedicated to the public.\textsuperscript{154} Like so many of the Hoggs' interests, the genesis and development of Bayou Bend served several goals.

Architectural historian Stephen Fox suggests a commercial purpose for the home. Developers of subdivisions often built grand dream houses, which they occupied, to advertise the ideal to which potential buyers might aspire, and over the years, Bayou Bend did serve as a model of inspired planning and high-quality construction for elite residential neighborhoods. Fox also posits the intriguing idea that Bayou Bend's placement on its site tempers crass commercialism with familial reticence. Usually developers' imposing homes faced a public thoroughfare and commanded attention through scale, placement, and landscaping. Bayou Bend, in contrast, is hidden from public view at the end of a long, winding driveway. While this seclusion could serve as a

\textsuperscript{153} See Neff, \textit{Frederic Remington}, 10-11, 16, for an excellent analysis of Will's search for a "home" for the family.

\textsuperscript{154} Bayou Bend Dedication pamphlet, 15; Remarks to River Oaks Garden Club, Nov. 8, 1963, Docent Papers, Box A, Archives, MFAH; Ima Hogg, oral history, HMRC, HPL. In an interview with the \textit{Texas Magazine}, Sun., Feb. 20, 1966, Ima says, "I never felt that anything here belonged to me. I always bought with the idea that everything would one day go to a museum." Chipping, Miss Ima Hogg Vertical File, Archives, MFAH.
particularly enticing advertisement for the charms of protected "country" life, Fox argues that placement of the house makes concrete the Hoggs' love-hate relationship with public recognition. Although compelled by strong moral tenets to take leadership positions in the civic arena, these children of the state's most famous politician shunned publicity. Fox suggests that their rhetoric of disinterest, like their hidden house, expressed a desire "to escape notoriety, suspicious criticism, and opposition." 155

The scale and arrangement of the interiors at Bayou Bend indicate that the Hoggs actually envisioned a civic purpose for their home. If they did not at first see its potential as a house museum, they certainly understood its value as a gracious setting for civil discourse. Although welcoming and human in scale, the commodious and elegant downstairs reception rooms — a central hall, dining salon, and drawing room — could accommodate the musicales, meetings, and receptions that were frequently held there. The large, sunny library, crammed with books, bespoke the family's intellectual fervor and progressive conscience, and the comfortable bed-bath guest suites upstairs anticipated the stream of conductors, dignitaries, and friends who would visit the estate. Even Ima's large upstairs sitting room could easily accommodate visitors. Only in the more intimate rooms of the brothers' quarters and in the practical amenities of the kitchen wing were the domestic requirements of the house made manifest. By contrast, the home next door to Bayou Bend that Mike and Alice Hogg purchased from Judge Proctor clearly served a domestic purpose. Placed far from the road on a large wooded lot, the Norman-style house, while boasting elegant and sophisticated drawing and dining rooms, has a modest entrance and charms visitors with its intimate bookroom and sunroom that bespeak family activity.

155 Stephen Fox, "Bayou Bend," 27, manuscript in the author's possession.
Bayou Bend home and gardens, listed on the National Register of Historic Places and protected as a Texas Historical Landmark, distill most vividly a sophisticated taste refined by years of observation and study to provide an example of elegant domestic life as well as a narrative of American history. Visitors leave a winding "country" lane in the heart of America's fourth largest city, and like pioneer settlers before them, traverse woodland, now carefully sculpted but still retaining a "natural" appearance. The woods open onto a generous clearing before a handsome stucco structure, built by Houston's finest craftsmen to announce man's conquest of the wild. Designed to recall colonial adaptations of the Palladian English country house, the central block is joined to two extending wings that embrace travelers and guide their eyes back toward the central door and welcoming hall. Once inside, visitors are quickly drawn through the hall to a doorway opposite the entrance that opens onto a broad terrace and vast expanse of lawn, garden, and barrier woods. Interiors are organized to complement period furniture and to define public, private, and domestic functions. To the left of the entrance lies a symmetrical dining salon that reflects the neoclassical taste of the early republic, to the right an elegant drawing room replicates the colonial saloon at Shirley Plantation in Virginia.\textsuperscript{156} Long windows in these public spaces recall Charleston and New Orleans and attempt to catch whatever breezes might blow from the Gulf of Mexico to the south, while high ceilings emphasize the lofty purpose of Hogg family civic discourse. The library, placed in the connecting section between main block and brothers' wing, uses paneling that recalls a 1740s room in the Metcalf Bowler House in Bristol, Rhode Island,

\textsuperscript{156} The dining room is, however, decorated in a scheme wholly Ima's own. Canvas painted with dogwood and camellias against a gold-leaf background was developed by Ima and New York artist William Andrew Mackay to bring her Spring garden inside. Correspondence in Series 1, Box 1, folder 1, IHP, Archives, MFAH.
and suggests the coziness of a family gathering place with its lower ceiling and huge fireplace. In their original configuration, the sitting room, tap room, and kitchen that comprised the brothers' downstairs rooms also had lower ceilings, dark wood paneling, and an intimate scale in harmony with New England traditions and domestic pleasures. In her upstairs sitting room and bedroom, Ima incorporated old floorboards and a mantel rescued from demolished buildings in Salem and Ipswich, Massachusetts, to complete her personal sanctuary. Guest bedrooms featured architectural details in keeping with the colonial revival taste so popular in the 1920s.

Emily Neff and Stephen Fox emphasize Bayou Bend's relationship to the "country house" and colonial revival traditions made popular by elite families in the late nineteenth century. While the country house was often set on one hundred acres or considerably more, its purpose was residential and recreational, not commercial. Experimental farms or orchards and extensive outbuildings announced the owner's hobbies, not the sources of his wealth. If quasi-public because owners invited strangers to examine specimen plants and animals or stroll through manicured gardens, these country estates still secured a domain of privacy. Ima and Mike may have recalled "Drumthwacket," a grand country house they must have passed on their way to the Lawrenceville School, which Mike and Tom attended from 1902 to 1906. Built in the Greek Revival style with a pillared façade, "Drumthwacket" was home to Moses Taylor Pyne, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad and patron of Princeton University. The coachman, dairyman, gardener, and stable overseer lived in handsome brick "Tudor"-style outbuildings with slate roofs and

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157 Original paneling from the Metcalf Bowler House had been installed in the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, shortly before the Hoggs designed their interiors. Ima often celebrated Christmas in this room, now denominated the Pine Room.
leaded windows, and the family maintained a zoo of exotic animals well into the
1930s. Bayou Bend with its sole outbuilding suggests this tradition on a suburban
scale.

To Fox, Bayou Bend represents an important regional expression of the colonial
revival impulse because of its unique and eclectic synthesis of styles and technologies.
Although constructed with the most up-to-date building practices and domestic amenities,
Bayou Bend created a Houston style by fusing Georgian elements associated with
English settlers of the Atlantic seaboard (the Palladian five-part floor plan), Spanish
elements associated with colonists of the southwest and the Pacific coast (the stucco
exterior and grill-work details), and Greek Revival elements associated with citizens of a
liberated Republic (the central portico and symmetrical elevations). Dubbed "Latin
Colonial," a term variously ascribed to Ima herself or to architect John Staub, the fusion
accommodated a warm humid climate as well as the owners' wish to continue nationally
acclaimed residential preferences in a consistent scheme that emphasized the stability and
security advertised to prospective buyers in the River Oaks/Homewoods subdivisions.

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158 Neff, Frederic Remington, 16-19; Fox, "Bayou Bend," typescript, 5, 6; Mark A. Hewitt, The Architect
and the American Country House, 1890–1940 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 234-36, defines
the concept and places Bayou Bend in context

159 Ima comments that she visited many houses while in school in the East but refers to none specifically.
She did visit her brothers while they were at Lawrenceville. She and her brothers must have come by train
from Philadelphia or New York to Princeton, where they would have hired a conveyance to take them
down the only road between the railroad station and the school. Drumthwacket can be seen from this road.
In the 1940s the outbuildings were converted into whimsical and commodious residences, and in the 1950s
the park was divided into large suburban lots. In the 1970s Drumthwacket and surrounding grounds
became the official residence of the governor of New Jersey. Author's recollections; "Drumthwacket"
website; Hewitt, American Country House; Mac Griswold and Eleanor Weller, The Golden Age of

160 Fox, "Bayou Bend," for an in-depth study of the house.

161 Staub biographer Howard Barnstone (The Architecture of John F. Staub: Houston and the South,
foreword by Vincent Scully [Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979], 28) says Ima invented the term
"Latin Colonial." Published information about the planning and construction of Bayou Bend can be found
in several secondary sources, including: Barnstone, Architecture of John F. Staub; David B. Warren, "Ima
Hogg and Bayou Bend: A History," Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, 12 (Fall 1988), 2-12; Virginia
A native of Knoxville, Tennessee, John F. Staub (1892–1981) was a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and began his architectural practice in the offices of New Yorker Harrie T. Lindeberg, a respected and popular builder of elaborate country houses. Sent to Houston in 1921 to supervise Lindeberg commissions there, Staub remained for sixty years and became the city's most popular and enduring advocate of eclectic domestic architecture. Staub's handsome, well-built structures remain prized residences in a city whose citizens more typically destroy the old and worship the new. He quickly began designing weekend retreats in the Tall Timbers area west of River Oaks Country Club, one of his first successful commercial commissions (1923), and his houses, "simple yet elegant, expensive but never vulgar" suited the aspirations of new corporate oil money as well as the taste of established elite families. According to legend, Staub met the Hogg brothers in July 1924 at a dinner on the Rice Roof where Will introduced Hugh Potter to potential investors and explained his visionary dream of a new planned community to be called River Oaks. Staub quickly agreed to design model homes for the Hogg-Potter development and began a lifelong family friendship that led to collaboration on numerous civic projects. Staub and Ima developed their first "Latin Colonial" design for a speculative home on Chevy Chase, and Staub adapted the floor plan of that house for his second model home, although he gave its exterior a "Federal" finish. In 1926, after the Hoggs selected Lot C for their future home, they

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163 Ibid., 10.

164 Ibid., 57 n. 30, 77-78, 81,
invited Staub and Birdsall P. Briscoe (1876–1971) to collaborate on a site plan and house design.\(^{165}\)

Staub is traditionally listed as Bayou Bend's architect of record. He claimed Bayou Bend as his great triumph of domestic architecture and said that he and Briscoe agreed to a shared partnership that allowed Staub to take the lead in building the Hoggs' home while Briscoe devoted his energies to the house being built for Judge F. C. Proctor and his wife on property adjacent to Bayou Bend.\(^{166}\) Correspondence with "Mssrs. Briscoe and Staub" and equal payments to each man throughout the design and construction phases suggest that Briscoe may have had more impact on the Hoggs' home than Staub later acknowledged.\(^{167}\) Briscoe, an old friend of Will Hogg's from university days, had worked closely with Will to transform Varner from a modest antebellum farm house to a grand colonial revival plantation. Emily Neff points out that the pillared façade grafted on to the original building at Varner purposefully recalls Mt. Vernon and memorializes Will's father by making a "visual connection between [George] Washington and [Governor Hogg's] retirement to a 'simpler' life after [long years] devoted to public service," thereby linking a Texas hero to an overarching national heritage.\(^{168}\) Similarly the north front of Bayou Bend boasts stately pillars and a porch overlooking the bayou that reprise the river homes of Colonial Virginia. Briscoe and the Hoggs had also discussed developing other residential neighborhoods before the River Oaks project began, and Briscoe was one of four architects hired to provide model plans for the

\(^{165}\) William C. Hogg to Ima Hogg, Jan. 10, 1926, telegram, indicates Ima had chosen a homesite by that date. 3B119, folder 4, IHP, CAH.

\(^{166}\) Ibid., n. 34. Historian Dorothy Knox Howe Houghton, a Briscoe descendant, affirms this split as family lore. Conversation with author, February 2004.

\(^{167}\) Payments in 4W203, IHP, CAH.

\(^{168}\) Neff, Frederic Remington, 19. See 17-19, 35 nn. 78, 80, for an in-depth analysis of the Varner project. For correspondence, see letters 1926–1928, 4W203, Bayou Bend folder, IHP, CAH.
corporation. In February 1926 Ima confided to Will that "Mr. Briscoe and Mr. Staub are working very congenially together, and I am delighted over having made this double choice." 169

Whether Staub alone or the partnership of Briscoe and Staub stand as architects of record may be a moot point, because there is no question that Bayou Bend was the dream of Will and Ima Hogg. Gertrude Vaughn recalled that the two fought (or debated) over every issue to the bitter end while Mike watched the struggle without much comment. Ima usually won the arguments, but Will demanded weekly written reports of progress and scrutinized every detail. Ima sent Will a copy of the "working" plans in February 1926, explaining that she and the architects are trying to get "maximum comfort" in "minimum space" and "exterior balance in proportion." Proud of the work to date, she describes the "stunning" elevations, which have "a great deal of character of old Charleston southern houses, which has always been much my idea." 170 Plans were progressing well by November 22, 1926, when Will returned a scheme with suggestions for improvement: location of an ironing board and maid's closet; reduction of the moth room but enlargement by two feet of the men's wing; French doors; gun storage in the moth room instead of the trunk room. On March 22, 1927, Will specified instructions about tile and color schemes for Ima's bath and for the bath and dressing rooms in the

169 Ima Hogg to William C. Hogg, Feb. 8, 1926, letter, 3B119, folder 5, IHP, CAH. See also, instruction book from John F. Staub & Birdsall P. Briscoe, Associate Architects, Feb. 7, 1927, in Series 1, Box 1, folder 3, IHP, Archives, MFAH; William C. Hogg to Ima Hogg, Aug. 25, 1927, letter, 3B119, IHP, CAH, in which Will comments that "Mr. Briscoe and I" feel cast iron work should be used on all balconies and grill details. By 1957 Ima remembered Staub as the architect and Briscoe as "consultant." Ima Hogg to Francis G. Coates, Jan. 7, 1957, letter, Series 1, Box 1, folder 5, IHP, Archives, MFAH. "The house is truly the work of John Staub."

170 Ima Hogg to William C. Hogg, Feb. 8, 1926, letter, 3B119, folder 4, IHP, CAH.
"Fat Men's Wing."\textsuperscript{171} If possessed with expansive vision, Will was also passionate about the smallest detail. Ima recalled that she had requested the five-part Palladian floor plan and had suggested that the Latin Colonial stucco, cast-iron grill work, and pink color would be most appropriate for Houston's climate. By June 1927 Will exclaims, "The more I look at the plans of that house and visualize that house, the more I am entranced by the simplicity and practicality and what, I think, will be the comforting loneliness of it."\textsuperscript{172} Unfortunately Will did not enjoy many months in the "Fat Men's Wing" because he departed for Europe November 1, 1929, never to return. Mike married Alice Nicholson in 1929 and within two years was settled next door. Bayou Bend had indeed become Ima's house.

Both the site of the house and its name caused debate. Although John Staub told the docents the house was placed on the only possible location and remembered that he, Ima, and Briscoe had chosen the site together, Ima recalled that Will turned the house ninety degrees (better to avoid hot afternoon sun) while she was traveling.\textsuperscript{173} An embossed guest book labeled "Bayou Banks" and correspondence with close friend Julia Ideson reveal Ima wanted a house name that would suggest rural contentment, but by 1929 "Bayou Bend," reflecting the property's location on a bend in Buffalo Bayou, had been chosen.\textsuperscript{174} All did agree that general contractor Christian J. Miller (1872–1954) and

\textsuperscript{171} William C. Hogg to Briscoe and Staub, Mar. 22, 1927, instructions, 4W203, Bayou Bend folder, IHP, CAH; Sarah Shaw, "William Clifford Hogg and His Relationship to Bayou Bend," Docent Papers, Box C, Archives, MFAH. See also William C. Hogg to Mr. and Mrs. O. O. McIntyre, Mar. 29, 1927, where Will laments the "mass of detail in building a new house that you can't even imagine until you get down to finalities." 2F342, McIntyre file, WCH, CAH.

\textsuperscript{172} William C. Hogg to Ima Hogg, June 16, 1927, 3B119, folder 5, IHP, CAH.

\textsuperscript{173} Shaw, docent paper; William C. Hogg to Briscoe and Staub, letter, Mar. 20, 1927 (re site), 4W203, folder 1, IHP, CAH. Dorothy Knox Howe Houghton recalls family lore that Staub could not attend the site conference, and so Ima and Briscoe sited the house. Conversation with author, Feb. 2004.

\textsuperscript{174} The "Bayou Banks" guest book records gatherings on Nov. 6–Nov. 13, 1928, in Hogg Family Personal Papers, Memorabilia Series, Box 15, folder 6, Archives, MFAH.
his talented craftsmen had built a magnificent residence worthy of the collections it contained and the national acclaim that quickly followed. By 1931 the house had been reviewed in two national publications, the first of many published references to the handsome home. After years of planning and discussion, the family finally sat down to its first meal, a breakfast on November 6, 1928, attended by Ima, Mike, Will, and their close friend and business partner Raymond Dickson; also noted in the "Bayou Banks" guest book were those who served the repast, Gertrude Anderson (later Vaughn), Ben Mouton, Della Jones, and Charles Rhodes Jr. On Friday November 9 Will and Ima hosted their first "informal" dinner, and on November 13, Tom and Marie Hogg, en route to New York, joined their three siblings for "Our First Family Dinner."\textsuperscript{176}

The Collection\textsuperscript{177}

If Bayou Bend's owners and architects imagined a Latin Colonial exterior that tied the building to traditions of the region, Ima insisted her "authentic" interiors be related closely to America's colonial and early national heritage. In the 1920s and 1930s this "authenticity" lay primarily in architectural features inspired by colonial and early Federal homes in New England, Philadelphia, and Virginia. Photographs and inventory lists reveal that the rooms were furnished as a comfortable family home with a delightful

\textsuperscript{175} "Bayou Bend" — A Georgian Residence in Texas," House and Garden, Mar. 1931, 63-65, and Southern Architecture Illustrated (Atlanta: Harman Publishing Company, 1931), 34-38. These publications, cited in Warren et al., Bayou Bend Collection, xx, n. 10, were only the first of numerous references and articles in magazines and general works.

\textsuperscript{176} "Bayou Banks" guest book, Hogg Family Personal Papers, Memorabilia Series, Box 15, folder 6, Archives, MFAH. The "informal" dinner included Estelle Sharp, Florence Fall, O. S. Carlton, F. Proctor, and one illegible entry. In 1957 Ima told Frank Coates the house was completed in December 1928. Either she misremembered the date, or there were still a few finishing touches to complete in the ensuing month. Ima Hogg to Francis G. Coates, Jan. 7, 1957, letter, Series 1, Box 1, folder 5, IHP, Archives, MFAH.

\textsuperscript{177} Objects in the collection accessioned through the mid-1990s are detailed in Warren, et al., Bayou Bend Collection.
jumble of objects. In the 1910s Ima had purchased English antiques for the family's apartments and house on Rossmoyne, and only gradually were these pieces replaced by American examples. When Ima and Will began collecting in 1920, with Mike's good-natured acquiescence, they were collaborating to furnish two apartments and an office in New York, the plantation house at Varner, and new offices for Hogg Brothers Inc. in Houston as well as embellishing their home on Rossmoyne. For a decade brothers and sister teased each other about extravagance and "antiquing around." "Mike says save a little money for next year," admonished Will in 1927, "and remember we are going to play along with you in the antique line the rest of your life, so don't do like I do — get het up all of a sudden and buy without looking back and then probably be sorry for it the next day."\(^{178}\)

Ima was recuperating from a long illness when she saw the chair in Wayman Adams's studio that inspired her to suggest the family form a collection of American furniture and other objects for a museum in Texas. Hoping to help her recover and genuinely intrigued, Will quickly got "het up" and took the lead, advising his sister, negotiating purchases, and making several major decorative arts acquisitions that remain in the Bayou Bend Collection. In January 1920 Will bought a Massachusetts gaming table (ca. 1800–1820) from Collings and Collings for the Hogg Brothers office, and a few months later Ima bought her "first chair" from the same dealer.\(^{179}\) In June 1921 Will told Ima he was looking for a "Duncan Fyffe [sic] American table" and then splurged at the Louis Guérineau Myers sale in February where he purchased a dozen Windsor chairs and

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\(^{178}\) William C. Hogg to Ima Hogg, June 16, 1927, 2J329, folder 1924–1928, WHP, CAH. Neff, *Frederic Remington*, 24-23, also analyzes Will and Ima's collecting interaction. In Jan. 1921 Will tells Ima to furnish the living room at the office "just as you want it." William C. Hogg to Ima Hogg, Jan. 29, 1921, letter, 3B119, IHP, CAH.
several other pieces of furniture. A year later at the January 1922 sale of the Jacob Paxson Temple Collection, Will bought several lots of furniture, ceramics, and glass. In 1922 on a visit to the Norristown, Pennsylvania, shop of William B. Montague, Ima discovered important porcelain pitchers produced in Philadelphia in the 1830s by William Ellis Tucker and his partners.\textsuperscript{180} Collings and Collings, New York, presented several museum-quality objects to the Hoggs during the decade, including a rare set of eight side chairs with accompanying settee (1927) that was used in the dining room at Bayou Bend for many years and a fine tambour lady's writing desk (1928) that remains one of the collection's star attractions.\textsuperscript{181} 

Will and Ima may have been neophyte collectors, but they immediately established certain patterns that foretold success, and their mutual enthusiasm and friendly competition fueled their avid pursuit of new treasures. If Will enjoyed the exhilaration and uncertainty of auction bidding, Ima preferred to establish relationships with trusted dealers. She bought objects she had examined on trips to the East, and she carried on extensive correspondence to learn about the provenance of each piece and its possible maker. Both Hoggs were apprised of well-known collectors, like Myers and Temple, and both were attracted to objects that were aesthetically pleasing, unusual, and of historic importance. The tambour writing desk exemplifies the Hoggs' astute

\textsuperscript{179} B.65.9, Hepplewhite-style card table, purchased Jan. 24, 1920; B. 20.1, New England arm chair (1735–1790), Accessions File, Bayou Bend. The table is F173 and the chair F50 in Warren, et al., \textit{Bayou Bend}. 
\textsuperscript{180} William C. Hogg to Ima Hogg, Feb. 28, 1921, letter, 3B119, folder 3, IHP, CAH. "You haven’t got any thing on me when it comes to auctions . . . I bought a mess of stuff, particularly sixteen varieties of Windsor chair." See Warren et al., \textit{Bayou Bend Collection}, 392-95, C83-91, for information about this important early ceramist, one of the first commercially successful porcelain factories in the United States (1827–1838).
\textsuperscript{181} B.65.12 (tambour desk), B.69.361.2-9 (chairs), B.69.361.361.1 (settee), Accessions Files, Bayou Bend; Warren et al., \textit{Bayou Bend}, 48, F 81; 58, F99; 110-11, F178. Legend relates that Henry du Pont was rushing to New York from Delaware to inspect the settee and chairs when the Hoggs happened by the store and scooped up the rare find. In 1956 du Pont is said to have entered the room where they were placed to
perception. Of handsome mahogany with intricate inlay, the desk still garners acclaim as one of the best examples produced by the well-regarded Seymour brothers of Boston (1794–1820); a new form at the time, this desk also suggests new expectations for women of the new Republic, who were assumed to be educated, outward-looking correspondents in need of storage space for their papers and a permanent surface for writing. This object enabled Ima, and the docents who followed her, to explain how women like Abigail Adams constructed their brilliant correspondence with family members who were pursuing public service far from home, and it subtly tied the Hogg and other Houston families to a wider, well-educated national heritage.

*The Gardens*

When Ima lost her collecting partner in 1930, she turned instead to other pursuits. During the Depression decade her days were filled with efforts to sustain the Houston Child Guidance Center and rebuild the Houston Symphony orchestra, and she worked closely with Mike to establish the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health. She also discovered she shared gardening interests with sister-in-law Alice, who specialized in growing dahlias and lilies and was an active participant in River Oaks Garden Club activities after 1930.182 Now next-door neighbors, both women spent long hours designing and building their gardens during the 1930s and planted their shared driveways with "unlimited" dogwood and redbud trees, azaleas, and "thousands" of naturalized

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daffodils. Alice's "Dogwood" and "Clock" gardens were well known to Houstonians who visited them each year on annual garden pilgrimages and azalea trails from the 1930s through the 1950s. Bayou Bend has been featured on every Azalea Trail since the fund-raising event was inaugurated in 1936.

To the Hoggs, gardens were as important as the homes that sat within them for they provided the refuge from commerce and industry beneficial to all citizens, the city of trees and plants that River Oaks was intended to inspire. Will and Mike hired a landscape architect to plan the entrances to River Oaks, shade its roads with magnolia and oak trees, and help its residents transform flat prairie lots into the garden suburb of tranquil lanes and private places promised in promotional literature. Thus Bayou Bend's landscape plan served as an ideal for horticultural aspiration. Governor Hogg had instilled a love of nature in all his children, who had vivid memories of their parents' and grandparents' gardens. Ima always recalled her Grandfather Stinson's brick-edged flowerbeds filled with bulbs, jonquils, roses, and dogwoods, all favorites used in Bayou Bend gardens. Like her father, Ima enjoyed the challenge of experiment and used several species that had not been tried in Houston's difficult climate and clay soils. Indeed, to Ima goes credit for popularizing the azaleas and camellias that now predominate in Houston's gardens. Challenged by the recalcitrant clay, Ima corresponded with soil experts and requested numerous soil tests, so she could discover the proper mix and transform nature to suit her idea of horticultural beauty.

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183 Houston, Mar. 1937, p. 21.
184 Photograph of Alice Hogg in the Clock Garden, Houston Chronicle, Mar. 29, 1936, p. 12.
185 See garden books and extensive correspondence with nurseries and garden experts in Series 1, Box 3, folders 11-20, IHP, Archives, MFAH.
186 Harry L. Daunoy, Metairie, Louisiana, to Ima Hogg, Dec. 4, 1939, letter, Series 1, Box 3, folder 11, IHP, Archives, MFAH.
Horticulture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was an important occupation for women, both as professionals and as family custodians of the ideal domestic domain. Like so many female pursuits in those years, gardening had both a personal and a civic dimension, and it was considered a "respectable" occupation for those women who were forced, or eager, to earn a living. Garden lovers advocated public parks and tree-lined parkways; they fought billboards and coordinated trash pick-up days; and finally they organized garden clubs, which sponsored conservation projects, landscaped public institutions, and educated their members through trips and lectures. Residents had barely settled in River Oaks when Will urged his female acquaintance to form the River Oaks Garden Club in 1927.187 Ima and Alice were active club members. Alice served as president in 1931–1932 and again in 1938–1939, and club records show that both women opened their homes for meetings and tours. Ima welcomed Garden Club of America annual meeting attendees in 1939, when she produced an innovative, and experimental, night lighting scheme for an evening garden party, and again in 1955, when she served as hospitality chairman.188 During the years Ima and Alice were most active, the club sponsored an annual pilgrimage (from 1934 to 1938?) and the azalea trail (1936 to present).189 These garden tours and other fund-raising activities supported

187 Houston has dozens of garden clubs, but the Garden Club of Houston, founded in 1924, and the River Oaks Garden Club, founded in 1927, remain the most prestigious and are members of the Garden Club of America, organized in 1913 by twelve clubs from the Philadelphia area. GCA member clubs adhere to strict requirements and must support civic projects in their communities, regions, and nationwide. Among its projects, the Garden Club of Houston cares for the grounds of the Museum of Fine Arts and Rienzi, while River Oaks Garden Club maintains Bayou Bend. By 1938 there were more than 2000 clubs nationwide (Griswold and Weller, Golden Age of Gardens, 16). For many years Ima and Alice belonged to the Garden Club of Houston, but they gradually focused attention on activities of the River Oaks club and eventually became inactive in the older club.

188 Information about River Oaks Garden Club activities, by permission of the River Oaks Garden Club president, is found in River Oaks Garden Club Papers, Archives, MFAH. See Nina Cullinan to Ima Hogg, Mar. 9, 1939, letter, 4W270, folder 5, enclosing a check for $250 to cover expenses for a tea at Bayou Bend during the annual meeting of the Garden Club of America.

189 Club records do not mention the pilgrimage after 1938.
landscaping at Faith Home (DePelchin Children's Center), River Oaks Elementary
School, the Forum of Civics, and, after 1961, Bayou Bend.

Just as John Staub recalled Bayou Bend as his masterpiece, so C. C. (Pat) Fleming
and his partner Albert Sheppard claimed Bayou Bend Gardens as their primary creation.
Records make clear, however, that Ima consulted a number of experts and that the basic
plan for the gardens was in place long before Fleming and Sheppard began to practice in
Houston in the late 1930s. In reality Ima was the mastermind behind her gardens.
Always a work in progress, the gardens were, nonetheless, an integral part of the house-
building project. Hare & Hare, who had provided ideas for River Oaks Corporation and
produced Houston's 1929 master plan for Will, submitted a very elaborate, formal
scheme whose grand architectural elements overwhelmed the natural topography and
vied with the house as constructed space. Perhaps because of the grandiose scale, or the
projected expense, the plan was never executed. In 1927, however, River Oaks
engineer Kipp prepared a topographical survey, treated extant trees, and planned the
driveway and sprinkler systems. That year the Blume System landscape gardeners
surveyed trees and suggested plantings, and Teas Nurseries was paid for plant materials.
In 1927–1928, the brickwork for Ima's ornamental "lower" garden, which recalled her
grandfather Stinson's designs, was laid out on the west side of the property near the
bayou and planted with roses and perennials, and the East ("upper") Garden adjacent to
the brothers' living rooms was also planted. In May 1929 Ima finally hired her first team
of three gardeners and invited her friends to a garden party.\footnote{List of disbursements, 4W203, IHP; CAH (Teas, Blume System, B. P. Briscoe and J. F. Staub, etc.); some disbursements as early as 1926; garden party in Will Hogg diary, May 17, 1929, 2J399, WHP, CAH; Hare & Hare Collection, RGD 26, Box 4, folder 16, Box 3, folder 17.}
In the early 1930s Ima consulted William H. Caldwell of Houston Landscaping, who was helping Mike and Alice with their gardens, and she also worked with Ruth London, a graduate of the Lowthorpe School of Landscape Architecture and Horticulture for Women established in Groton, Massachusetts in 1901. London practiced for forty years in Houston and took space in Studio Gardens, the haven for horticulturists and artists sponsored by Estelle Sharp before World War II (1930–1937). Undoubtedly Ima knew about the lecture given in Houston on March 25, 1934, by Ellen Biddle Shipman (1869–1950), doyenne of female landscapists. A participant in the artists' colony at Cornish, New Hampshire, Shipman opened her all-woman office in New York in 1920 and traveled the country lecturing and consulting well-heeled clients. Many Garden Club of America members requested her services, and her gardens were published in the popular gardening magazines. Shipman's gardens, like Ima's, reduced the formal architectural elements popular in earlier gardens and enticed visitors into small-scale "secret garden" refuges from modern city sprawl and industrial harshness. Shipman had several clients in Houston, and in 1938 she consulted with Ima about the large formal space that became the Diana Garden. But Ima wanted to express her own personality in her gardens. Her scrupulously maintained garden books include her own sketches for garden layouts and meticulous records of all the seeds and plants she ordered, where they were placed, and how they grew. She recorded many experiments in the 1930s and even then was mixing her favorite blue, pink, and white color scheme. In 1937 she planted hundreds of camellias from Louisiana, California, and Alabama and kept replacing plants


192 Rogers, Landscape Design, 396-97.
throughout the years, always intrigued by new varieties. She also developed an extensive library of garden books and kept back issues of several horticulture magazines. If the gardens benefited from much expert advice, they are, in reality, the embodiment of Ima's imagination and interests.

Bayou Bend comprises fourteen acres of gardens and protective woodland that defines the property's boundaries. Bordered on three sides by bayou fingers and on the fourth by a driveway that was originally shared with Mike and Alice, the garden expresses Ima's love of natural beauty, her sense of humor, and her view that art and nature were inseparable necessities for a happy, productive life. Visitors enter a magical world of garden rooms, each of which has a special purpose. Three are formal, three are whimsical, and two are contemplative. Some are open and inviting, others are secret or surprising. All harmonize Ima's interests and tell stories that anticipate the room narratives inside the house.

Visitors approaching the house from Lazy Lane, as Ima's friends would have done, first encounter the quiet, contemplative "White Garden." Perpetually in bloom, this private oasis hidden in the woods was the favorite spot of Alvin Wheeler, Ima's gardener for thirty years, and was dedicated to his memory in 1971. A collaboration of Ima and her gardeners undertaken in the 1930s, it features Ima's favorite dogwood in March. Visitors approaching through the woods or down the driveway next encounter Ima's

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193 $100 payment to Mrs. Shipman suggests Ima discussed broad concepts with Shipman but basically created her own design. Notes compiled by landscape historian Joanne Wilson on Shipman's Houston work do not include Ima Hogg as a major client (Papers courtesy of Joanne Wilson).
194 Series 1, Box 4, folder 2, IHP, Archives, MFAH.
195 Garden books in Series 1, Box 4, folder 2, IHP, Archives, MFAH; Bayou Bend library lists, IHP, Archives, MFAH.
196 "Bayou Bend Collection and Gardens," brochure, Museum of Fine Arts Houston, 1997, contains a map, a description of purpose and plantings, and photographs of each garden. Analysis based on author's observation and correspondence in Series 1, Box 3, folders 11-20, Box 4, folder 2, Archives, MFAH.
joyful butterfly garden, designed in 1941–1942 by C. C. (Pat) Fleming and Albert Sheppard. At Ima's behest, they used formal brickwork, pathways, hedges, and rows of pink azaleas in an informal, lighthearted parterre that reflects the owner's sense of humor, love of pink, and delight in ephemeral nature. The charming scale is feminine and welcoming, and the butterfly became the talisman of Ima's collection.197 Across the driveway from Ima's butterfly stands a topiary garden conceived at the end of her life to celebrate the United States Bicentennial. Although she was not able to enjoy her living memorial to Texas and the United States, Ima worked with landscape architect A. Gregory Catlow to design the circular garden, which incorporates brick edging and pathways around Texas's Lone Star of dwarf yaupon. Topiary animals include the emblematic American eagle and a deer, squirrel, rabbit, and turkey, wildlife believed to have inhabited East Texas woods in 1776.

Like many colonial revival homes built in the 1920s, Bayou Bend has a formal outdoor room that unites constructed and natural space as well as a broad sweep of lawn that draws the eye to an important distant focal point. Walled by a hedge that protects the East (or "upper") Garden from driveway and woods, the large outdoor room adjacent to the brothers' wing features a fountain in a small octagonal pool and a wrought iron fence and furniture decorated with a lyre motif that recalls Ima's musical interest. Designed in 1927–1928 by Ima and reworked by Ruth London in the 1930s, the East Garden organizes outdoor space and invites elegant discourse among beds of pink azaleas and

197 Female docents are awarded enamel butterfly pins when they complete eight years of service or serve on the board. Ima found the first pins in Mexico and established the tradition. Docents who serve twenty years receive a silver butterfly pin designed by sustaining docent and jeweler Mariquita Masterson, and thirty-year docents receive a silver and gold pin in the same design.
blue pansies, Ima's favorite color scheme. The visitor leaves this garden room and enters the north terrace to encounter a broad greensward terraced gently toward the bayou and terminating in the formal "Diana" garden, so named for the statue of the huntress Diana, goddess of maidens and the moon, that stands there. From the terrace the north garden's cruciform design becomes apparent, the house and Diana garden forming the vertical axis balanced by a horizontal axis that terminates in the Euterpe (east) and Clio (west) gardens, again named for the statues that now dominate them.

Garden statuary was a staple of elegant landscaping in the United States by the time Ima began planning her natural sanctuary. Ellen Biddle Shipman installed Diana and other classical figures in her frequently published landscape projects, and Ima would undoubtedly have seen marble objects in the gardens of her neighbor John Green or her friends Lillie and Roy Cullen. Floods invaded the low, north garden in 1933 and again in 1936, and by 1937 Ima turned her attention to this large area and began to conceive the terracing visitors encounter there today. While on a trip to Italy that summer, she discovered a reproduction of the Versailles Diana at the Florence studio of Antonio Frilli and considered several other statues for Bayou Bend. Typically she bargained with the sculptor but ultimately purchased the Diana and several benches and urns, and she ordered Frilli to make replicas of Clio and Euterpe to complete her plan. In choosing

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198 Ruth London to Henderson’s Iron Works, New Orleans, Apr. 19, 1935, ordering garden furniture, Series 1, Box 3, folder 11, IHP, Archives, MFAH.
199 Diana is pictured in "Gardens at Houston and River Oaks, Texas, visited by the Garden Club of America in February 1939, Landscape Architecture Quarterly, July 1939, pp. 184, 185, courtesy of Joanne Wilson.
200 See for example, Shipman’s Diana Garden at the Henry Croft Garden in Greenwich, ca. 1928, replicated in Rogers, Landscape Design, 397.
201 See David B. Warren, Bayou Bend: The Interiors and Gardens (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 1988), 78-85, for wonderful pictures of the gardens, the uncrating of Diana, and the transport of giant cypress trees from a New Braunfels graveyard to stand behind the statue. These transplants were unhappy at Bayou Bend and subsequently were replaced by the Japanese yew trees that tower there today. Warren’s subsequent research supercedes some attributions in this brochure. Warren, "Bayou Bend Gardens," lecture, Mar. 2, 2003, MFAH.
these classical figures, Ima gave visual form to core beliefs: Diana, the huntress, represented action in the present; Clio, Muse of History, reflects quietly on the past, while Euterpe, the Muse of Music, supports eternal delight and a future of inspiration.

In 1938 Houston gardeners accelerated their landscape improvement plans to secure the critical approbation of experts attending the Garden Club of America Annual Meeting announced for March 1939. Ima was anxious that her statues arrive to grace this grand event, but alas, only Diana was in place (spring 1938), and the muses arrived a month after the meeting had ended. Clio was placed in the brick ornamental garden abutting the service building. Euterpe took her place between two old trees, a lobolly pine and an American sycamore, in a shaded, natural grove appropriate for quiet contemplation. Although retaining the symmetrical axis, Ima shatters its formality by harmonizing this last garden room with lawn and woodlands.

The Butterfly Garden of 1941–1942 was the last installation Ima made until 1961, when she nestled a surprise garden in space cleared by Hurricane Carla's violent winds. Again she used her favorite brick border and paving, but she also constructed a retaining wall to contain erosion caused by Houston's torrential storms. Carla's circular shape and belts of colorful azaleas remind visitors that Ima loved the circus and originally intended to place a peacock carousel figure in the garden, whose intimate solitude provides a place to reflect on nature's transformation. Although her garden designs were basically complete by 1941, Ima struggled with stubborn soil, special azalea feeding formulas, and

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202 The original sculptures were part of the Vatican Collection. Only the Frilli Studio was authorized to replicate them, but it took months to get required permission.
203 Originally, Clio and Euterpe faced each other, but when Bayou Bend was opened to the public Clio was turned ninety degrees so she would not turn her back on visitors entering the property from the public parking lot.
204 Minutes, general meeting, Mar. 5, 1971, Information File (1968–1979), River Oaks Garden Club Records, Archives, MFAH, recount Ima’s plans for the peacock figure and later reworking of the space.
constant maintenance. She made large orders for bedding plants (blue pansies especially) and bulbs so her gardens would shine for Azalea Trail each Spring.\(^{205}\) When the River Oaks Garden Club asked her to open Bayou Bend for the 1957 Azalea Trail, as she had done every year since the club's first pilgrimage tour in 1934, she demurred; too much work needed to be done to correct years of indifferent care, she said. For the first time, she requested club help to prepare for the trail and offered $2,000 for plantings and labor, if the club would appoint a committee of assistants. Honored to comply, the club named a committee, undertook the work, and set in motion an idea that matured in 1961 when the club assumed full management of the gardens.\(^{206}\) Until her death in 1975 Ima continued to support garden development by purchasing plant materials each year, and at the end of her life she provided funds to build a greenhouse in Bayou Bend's service area.\(^{207}\)

*The Transformation*

After 1941, when Ima and Ray Dudley held their formative discussions about the future of Bayou Bend, Ima seems to have returned to collecting with renewed purpose and focus. The marriage of aesthetic excellence and historic significance that had characterized her first purchases continued to inform Ima's collecting fervor, but at first she felt "rusty" and isolated from the developing antiques market. In 1946 she wrote to Joseph Downs, curator of the American Wing at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, for advice, and in 1949 she attended her first Antiques Forum at Williamsburg. There,

\(^{205}\) Series 1, Box 3, folder 11-16 (1940s, 1950s), IHP, Archives, MFAH.

\(^{206}\) Ima Hogg to Mrs. E. Conway Broun, letter, Nov. 26, 1957, Mrs. Wesley West to Ima Hogg, Reports Folder (1957–1958), Box 2, River Oaks Garden Club Records, Archives, MFAH.
for the first time, she met fellow collectors and discovered a circle of dear friends who shared her enthusiasm and were working on museum projects of their own. The "antiquees" as Maxim Karolik dubbed the group included Henry Francis du Pont, who was developing Winterthur; Electra Havemayer Webb, patron of Shelburne, Vermont installations; Henry and Helen Flynt, who were restoring Historic Deerfield, Massachusetts; and the redoubtable Katharine Prentis Murphy, whose expertise dominated the fields of seventeenth and early eighteenth-century collecting. Despite great confusion that attended their first meeting in 1951, Katharine Murphy and Ima Hogg became inseparable long-distance friends who chatted on the telephone every Sunday morning when apart and who met often at house parties and on Ima's frequent scouting trips in New England. Ima's interaction with these brilliant and well-informed colleagues and with dealers Israel Sack, Bernard Levy, and John Walton greatly expanded her expertise about American decorative arts and her aspirations for the collection. Friends recalled that Ima was shrewd and tough when she bargained and "relished the chase," especially when her rival was Henry Ford, Henry du Pont, or some other formidable huntsman. Dealers knew how to whet her appetite by comparing

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209 "How Ima Hogg Met Katherine [sic] Prentis Murphy," typescript in MS 21, Series 14, Scrapbook 1, p. 1, IHP, Archives, MFAH. Lillian Cogan, an antiques dealer in Hartford, Connecticut, recalls sending Ima and a companion to meet Katharine at her Westbrook, Connecticut summer home. Directions were confusing, Ima drove slowly and got lost. Mrs. Murphy closed her kitchen and sent the cook home at 8:00 P.M. When the wayfarers arrived, whiskey sours cooled heated tempers and sealed a friendship.
210 Harold Sack to Max Wilk, "Miss Ima Hogg," Art & Antiques (Feb. 1986), 64, in Miss Ima Hogg Vertical File, Archives, MFAH.
their offerings to works in another famous collection, by emphasizing the quest's difficulty, or by suggesting a rival was pursuing the same piece.211

The Bayou Bend Collection, as conceived after 1943, is really many collections that allowed Ima to interpret America's story through the artifacts of material culture. Entranced by the high quality of American craftsmanship and the ability of artisans to marry beauty and function, Ima often made daring aesthetic choices. In 1944 she extended the meaning of "antique" beyond its then current 1830 terminus to include Rococo Revival furniture made by John Henry Belter, a German immigrant who worked in New York (ca. 1845–1865) and combined new lamination technologies with traditional hand-carved decoration to produce suites of furniture synonymous with mid-Victorian domestic taste.212 Bayou Bend Curator Michael Brown comments perceptively on the scale of Ima's purchases: feminine, straightforward, welcoming, domestic, her pieces do not dominate the room or the people within it. Nor were the rooms ever cluttered; rather each object is allowed its space for the reflection, comprehension, and enjoyment of user or viewer.213

Ima's eye for beauty and sensitivity to scale were informed by methodical purpose. In the 1930s she had made inventories of objects and books in the collection, and in the 1940s she began making lists of the many paintings, ceramics, glasswares, textiles, and metal objects she needed to complement the furniture and complete the room settings that would tell her story of America's birth as a nation. These lists guided

211 Many examples of this dealer strategy could be cited, but see correspondence with New York dealer Bernard Levy about a Baltimore sofa ("At last I have succeeded in getting the Baltimore sofa for you"), B.61.13; and John S. Walton regarding a Newport secretary bookcase ("exactly the same as Du Ponts but finer interior behind the doors."), B.69.22, Accessions Files, Bayou Bend.

212 See Warren, et al., Bayou Bend, 142-50, for detailed information about Belter and the objects Ima collected.

213 Michael Brown, conversations with the author, spring 2003.
transformation of the house to a museum in the 1950s and 1960s and continue to influence purchases for the collection. Ima never lost her zeal for bargaining, as her many shopping trips to the Northeast and extensive correspondence with dealers testifies. By the 1950s her intensive buying was having an impact on the antiques market, and she often used agents to scout for objects and buy for her. She also developed a strategy of collecting, often expressing horror at suggested prices, demurring that decisions could not be made without consulting her advisory committee formed in 1960, or pretending indifference to drive a hard bargain. Whether these strategies actually worked is hard to say; evidence suggests that on several occasions she just could not bear the suspense of a waiting game and succumbed to the passion to possess that lurks in the heart of every collector.

Clearly Ima enjoyed the intellectual challenge of reorganizing Bayou Bend as a series of period rooms that would explain the heritage of Anglo-America and the Founding Fathers. She would not reveal her favorite object or room to public questioners, but she was first attracted to seventeenth and early eighteenth-century New England furniture, and her first room installation, the Murphy Room, showcased this period. Ima and Katharine collaborated on the room, which is similar to installations created by Mrs. Murphy for other museums and contained at least thirty objects given to Miss Hogg by her friend. John Graham, director and curator of collections at Colonial

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214 Bayou Bend is a "living" museum. Ima hoped objects on her list would be discovered and admonished the museum to replace objects if better examples could be found. David B. Warren, interview, The Bridge, Dec. 2003/Jan. 2004, p. 4.
216 List of "Gifts of Mrs. Katherine [sic] Prentis Murphy," July 30, 1962, Bayou Bend, Accessions Files, MFAH.
Williamsburg, chose the room's colors and helped arrange the furniture.\textsuperscript{217} Overall, however, the collection is strongest in rococo examples made in the years just before the American Revolution (1760–1775) and in Neoclassical examples made immediately after independence (1785–1810), five decades when Americans were defining a national identity. In these examples of the nascent urban culture, transplanted craftsmen interpreted European traditions in a uniquely American way that intrigued Ima.

Once the museum had officially accepted her gift in 1957 and she had remodeled the brothers' service wing as the Murphy Room, Ima began to convert the rest of the house. She worked closely with experts and with her advisory committee to develop extensive, meticulous plans and begin the hunt for objects to complete each room setting. Charles Montgomery, director of Winterthur, urged Ima to develop a story she wanted to tell in each room. He and his wife, "herself an authority . . . of Americana," reviewed the collections and made invaluable suggestions. They helped Ima organize detailed worksheets for each room and inventories of objects to be displayed.\textsuperscript{218} Montgomery also persuaded her to chronicle the story of her collecting career, which she set down "with real temerity."\textsuperscript{219} "Antique" friends like Henry du Pont, the Flynts, John Graham, Maxim Karolik, and Katharine Prentis Murphy, who formed an honorary advisory committee, took seriously her request for help and responded to a detailed questionnaire with many thoughtful suggestions.\textsuperscript{220} Other authorities studied the collection, authenticated objects, and suggested placement of treasures in the period rooms, but,
once again, the vision behind every decision was Ima's own.\textsuperscript{221} In some rooms only the narrative had to be decided and the objects selected; other rooms required removal of built-in bookshelves, inappropriate in American homes before the twentieth century. Still other rooms called for extensive remodeling, including the removal of walls and the installation of appropriate woodwork and fireplace details. Purchases trace the progress of her renovation, as she moved from room to room, but clearly the overall concept was in place before serious work began because she bought important objects in all media and styles each year, whenever appropriate examples from her wish lists became available.

In the 1950s Ima concentrated on completing her furniture purchases in the Mannerist, Baroque, and Rococo styles, and began serious collecting of paintings, including four major works and several drawings by premier colonial portraitist John Singleton Copley. In 1954 she purchased two Copley oil portraits from galleries and plotted with dealer Bernard Levy to acquire treasures from the famous collection of Mr. and Mrs. Luke Vincent Lockwood. In a triumph of auction finesse, Levy purchased two Copley pastels, \textit{Portrait of Mrs. Gawen Brown} (1763) and \textit{Portrait of Mrs. Joseph Henshaw} (ca. 1770) for his delighted client.\textsuperscript{222} During this decade Ima also purchased several outstanding silver tankards, porringerz, and teapots as well as a number of rare pewter examples. Curator Michael Brown notes that the silver collection, although small, includes exceptional examples of popular period forms by most of America's prominent

\textsuperscript{221} Series 1, Box 4, folder 9, IHP, Archives, MFAH.

\textsuperscript{222} Correspondence in B.54.21, Accessions File, Bayou Bend (plotting for the 1954 Lockwood sale). In 1954 Ima also acquired \textit{Portrait of a Boy} (ca. 1758–1760) from Vose Galleries, Boston; \textit{Portrait of Mrs. Paul Richard} (1771) from M. Knoedler and Co., New York; and several studies from Childs Gallery and the Lyndhurst Library Sale. See Warren, et al., \textit{Bayou Bend}, 177-86, for detailed discussion of Bayou Bend's Copley holdings. In May 1954 Ima learned that she had beaten Henry Flynt for the Sarah Henshaw portrait, and, feeling a twinge of conscience because Flynt was a Henshaw descendent, she suggested that he purchase another pastel "not nearly as beautiful" and she would make a trade with him. Flynt replied
silversmiths working from 1650–1850, including work by craftsmen Jeremiah Dummer (1645–1718), John Coney (1655/6–1722), and Paul Revere (1734–1818), and manufactories Samuel Kirk (1793–1872) and Andrew Ellicott Warner (1786–1870).\textsuperscript{223} In the 1960s Ima focused on the Neoclassical and Grecian periods (1785–1835) and expanded her silver, pewter, and ceramics holdings while adding important paintings by period luminaries Charles Willson Peale, James Peale, and Gilbert Stuart. The help of dealers and lookout scouts notwithstanding, Ima's extensive buying sprees are impressive; even if cost had been no object, simply finding hundreds of museum-quality works when far removed from the antiques market demanded energy and persistence as well as luck and good friends. By the 1950s "antiquing" had become a sport engaged in by growing numbers of Americans with capacious pocketbooks, and Ima faced increasingly stiff competition for a finite number of period objects.

Nor did Ima rest after she moved from the house in 1966. Instead she and Curator David Warren began remodeling the servants wing as the Chillman Suite to honor her friend and consultant Dorothy Dawes Chillman and to display Grecian decorative arts. As was so often the case with Ima's projects, she had been intrigued by a 1964 exhibition catalog, "Classical Style in America," the first to examine the style professionally. Careful study of the catalog and Curator Warren's "reasoned" enthusiasm led to an innovative installation.\textsuperscript{224} In 1970–1971, Ima and her youthful curator reworked space

\textsuperscript{223} For detailed information about the silver collection at Bayou Bend, see Michael K. Brown, "American Silver at Bayou Bend," The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston Bulletin (Fall 1987), 22-32; Warren, et al., Bayou Bend Collection, 268-347.

\textsuperscript{224} The Intelligencer, III (Jan. 1969), in a memorial to Dorothy Dawes Chillman describes her "most recent contribution to Bayou Bend . . . as consultant for the new Empire Suite," in 4W202, folder 3, IHP, CAH. David B. Warren, "David Warren Looks Back," The Intelligencer, Winter 2003–2004, p. 6, recalls discussions with Miss Hogg about the importance of including an Empire style room, "something she had
between the front hall and kitchen wing to create the Victorian Belter Parlor, and during
the last years of Ima's life, they redecorated the Maple Bedroom by adding fireplace and
paneling to depict a country home lived in by many generations of one family. Ima
viewed Bayou Bend as an evolving work in progress and was negotiating for a portrait
and other objects at the time of her death in 1975. To commemorate this brilliant career
of civic activism and memorialize her sister-in-law, Alice Hogg Hanszen provided funds
to transform Ima's dressing and bathroom into a memorial room that enables docents to
discuss the Hogg family's many interests and wide-ranging philanthropy.

The Bayou Bend Docent Organization

If the Bayou Bend Collection and Gardens proclaim the Hoggs' faith in the power
of a unifying national heritage to shape individual lives, the Bayou Bend Docent
Organization confirms family belief that individual involvement will make dreams
manifest and transmit hopes to future generations through education. Volunteers were
essential to all Ima's philanthropies. She well knew that her wealth could not sustain her
vision; more important, she recognized that this vision would live and succeed only if
others adopted it as their own. Most important, she believed that in the civil society of a
thriving democracy, empowered citizens would bring spiritual and emotional strength to
their communities only through active participation in municipal institutions. As Ima
prepared in 1961 to turn over management of her gardens to volunteer members of the
River Oaks Garden Club, she also devised a plan to interpret the collection.

planned to skip," until he urged her to develop the suite. Denominated "Grecian" in Warren, et al., Bayou
Bend, 120, this style is also known as Empire or Greek Revival.
That year she invited younger friend Eugenia (Mrs. Borden) Tennant to lead a
group of volunteers who would be trained to serve as docent interpreters of the objects in
the collection. Members of the early classes included schoolteachers Ima had met while
serving on the school board, young women who worked with her on Symphony
committees, daughters of friends, and colleagues from the River Oaks Garden Club.
Virginia Elverson, a young member of the second class, says women often did not know
they loved antiques until Miss Hogg told them they did.\textsuperscript{225} By carefully selecting
members of the first classes, by transmitting her enthusiasm to them, by instilling in them
her passion for excellence, and by making the experience one of joyful friendship, Ima
ensured that her legacy would be admired and transmitted even as it was adapted to
accommodate changing times. Over the years, many docents have become recognized
scholars in the field of decorative arts and American history; many have acquired
museum-quality collections and become major donors to the Museum of Fine Arts; a
growing number have remained active volunteers within the organization for more than
thirty years.

In July 1962, at Ima's request, a recent University of Delaware and Winterthur
Museum graduate named Jonathan Fairbanks journeyed to Houston to teach the first,
carefully selected, class of twenty-two "charming ladies who will serve as volunteer
docents."\textsuperscript{226} Fairbanks went on to become the legendary curator of decorative arts at the

\textsuperscript{225} Mary Ann "Muffy" McLanahan to Patricia Prioleau, \textit{The Bridge}, Feb./Mar. 2002, pp. 2, 12-13; Docent
\textsuperscript{226} Talk to docents, Feb. 7, 1962, and Fairbanks information in Series 1, Box 4, folder 7, IHP, Archives,
MFAH. Fairbanks spent the month at the home of Charles and Faith Bybee, who at the time was president
of the Harris County Heritage Society. In the morning Fairbanks taught the docents; in the afternoon he
consulted with members of the Heritage Society about restoring the Kellum-Noble and Nichols-Rice-
Cherry houses. Mrs. Bybee and Miss Hogg were rival collectors with many common interests. See
Jonathan L. Fairbanks, "Introduction," \textit{American Furniture in the Bybee Collection} (Austin: University of
Boston Museum of Fine Arts (1970–1999), prolific author, painter, and professor at Wellesley College, Boston University, and Harvard, but at Bayou Bend he and his determined mentor had to conjure an "ideal" house tour and training program from their imaginations. From 1962 until David Warren's advent in 1966, aspiring docents used Fairbanks's remarks as their guide for continued research and self-training. Warren formalized the teaching process and worked with docents to establish a touring schedule and numerous outreach programs that extend docent education into the community and provide special instruction for students at the elementary, high school, and college levels. Provisional docents, who pledge to serve for five years, take a three-month course that includes lectures and on-site discussion and is completed only when the trainee has passed a final exam, prepared a research paper, given a practice tour, and completed a semester of touring. Active docents attend monthly meetings where docent colleagues and guest lecturers detail the latest discoveries in the ever-evolving field of material culture. In the tradition established by Ima and her first classes, docents combine camaraderie with lifetime educational goals while they perform the civic duty of interpreting America's past to the public.\(^{227}\)

The catalog of Hogg family benevolence to the museum continued to expand as both Ima and Alice pursued new projects in the 1960s. Alice married family friend and neighbor Harry Hanszen in 1948 but was widowed again a few years later. In the 1960s she began to collect seriously and loaned works to museum exhibits. She also provided generous funds so important works like Claude Monet's *Waterlilies* (given 1968), Ferdinand Bol's *Woman at Her Dressing Table* (given 1969), Benvenuto di Giovanni's

\(^{227}\) Information about the Bayou Bend Docent Organization based on experiences of the author, who has been an active docent since 1971. Ima Hogg attended docent monthly meetings until her death in 1975.
Saint Francis (given 1970), and Odilon Redon's charcoal Arbres (given 1972) could be added to museum holdings. Alice worked closely with Ima during Bayou Bend's reorganization as a member of the advisory committee and provided funds to purchase a silver tea set by New Jersey silversmith Henry Lupp (ca. 1783–1800), a sideboard attributed to the workshop of New York cabinet maker Joseph Meeks (1825–1835), and a Philadelphia loo table (1825–1835) for the Chillman Suite. Most important she helped director James Johnson Sweeney (1961–1968) secure the museum's first major collection of Pre-Columbian art. The public had been spellbound by a giant sixteen-ton, nine-foot Olmec head that gloomily surveyed the Bissonnet Street entrance for several months in 1965. That year Alice gave the museum 172 lots of clay, bone, and stone figures, vessels, and vases and jade ornaments comprising over 300 objects that had been collected by San Antonio residents Ralph Fabacher and Higford Griffiths. Lauded as "one more evidence of her wise and loyal help," her gift, which launched an Art of the Americas collection, "notably" enriched the museum's ability to interpret native American cultures and was greeted enthusiastically when the works were put on display in February 1966. Finally, Alice and Ima are each listed as major donors (over $100,000) to the 1970–1971 capital campaign to raise $15 million.

228 All in Warren et al., Bayou Bend: Lupp, M59, p. 298; Meeks, F219, pp. 135-36; loo table, F215, pp. 133-34.
229 Gifts and purchases of Alice Hanszen, Accessions File, Registrar's Office, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston; 19th and 20th Century French Painters in Houston Collections, Feb. 1957, Box 14, folder 2, Registrar's Records, Archives, MFAH; Pre-Columbian Art from Middle America, Catalog Collection, MFAH, Archives; Scrapbook 3, IHP, Archives, MFAH; Permanent Legacy, 25, (Bol) 140, (Redon) 212;
Ima's Last Career, Historic Preservationist

As if transforming Bayou Bend into the Decorative Arts Wing of the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston did not consume enough imagination and time, during the last two decades of her life Ima also supported the newly founded Harris County Heritage and Conservation Society and undertook several major historic preservation projects in Texas to honor her family and to illuminate important elements of the state’s complex history. Throughout their adult lives, Will, Ima, and Mike nurtured family ties, cared for widowed or orphaned relatives, and memorialized their father’s accomplishments. While proud of their family's contributions, the Hoggs also emphasized that families built the nation and presented the Hogg family as but one example of the actions others could, and did, take to build their own communities. Love of history, a desire to explain the American experiment, a wish to link the Hogg family's experience and all Texans to the nation's drama—these motives had inspired Ima and Will to collect. They had also caused Will to furnish Hogg Brothers offices with hooked rugs, Windsor furniture, Remington paintings, old clocks and mirrors, early glass, and seventeenth-century "Pilgrim" chairs that masked commercial crassness and proclaimed an "American" image of ethical business practice infused with strong family and home values. As paterfamilias Will was driven to provide a family home for his siblings. He and Mike also frequently corresponded with each other and with Confederate history buffs about transferring their Grandfather Hogg's remains from a battlefield site near Corinth, Mississippi, to a more

correspondence with James Johnson Sweeney in Series 2, Box 2, folder 14, Box 9, folder 10, Directors Records: James Johnson Sweeney, Archives, MFAH.
230 Ima Hogg was a founding member of the Society in 1954, served on its board 1957–1959, and gave a chest of drawers to the Noble House. The Society, created to save the Sam Houston Park from highway encroachment and preserve Houston's heritage, has moved period homes from Harris County locations to the park and furnished them in period styles, ca. 1830–1910. 4W238, folder 9, IHP, CAH.
231 See, Neff, Frederic Remington, 22-26, for analysis of the office furnishings.
congenial family resting place. All the children worried about maintaining the trees at their father's grave and made sure pecans harvested at the site were distributed to the people of Texas, in compliance with their father's wishes. Memorials to their father, and after 1931 to brother Will, were a consuming concern for Mike and Ima. For Christmas gifts to Mike and Tom in 1935, Ima compiled "Family Letters" written by the four Hogg children, their parents, and their Aunt Fanny; in the last two years of her life Ima began reorganizing these letters for publication.  

In 1939 Mike was named to a state commission charged with securing property in Quitman, Wood County, as a memorial to Governor Hogg. Struggling with cancer, in 1941 he asked Ima to take over his work and thereby launched her final career as historic preservationist. The Quitman project evolved slowly and was not completed until November 1974. First Ima worked with state officials and park department personnel to fulfill Mike's efforts to secure state funding to purchase land in Quitman for the park as a memorial to their father (completed 1945). Ima next decided to use family money to restore her parents' first home, the "Honeymoon Cottage," built in 1876 on the land, and create a museum/shrine to tell the story of her family and other pioneering settlers in East Texas. Opened to much fanfare in March 1952, the cottage houses family heirlooms and pictures, her father's desk, and a family Bible. Working closely with E. A. (Eddie) Spacek, Ima oversaw refurbishing and installations, including recreation of the bedroom in which Brother Will had been born. To further explain the Hogg family's East Texas roots, Ima acquired the old Stinson House she had remembered so fondly from her

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232 3B130, folders 1, 2, IHP, CAH.
233 The park is currently administered by the City of Quitman as the Governor Hogg Shrine Historic Site.
234 Speech, Ima Hogg, opening of James Stephen Hogg House, Quitman, Mar. 23, 1952, in 4W263, IHP, CAH.
childhood and moved it to the park. She collaborated with architect Wayne Bell on the building's restoration, which was completed between 1968 and November 1974. During the process Ima also helped with the Ima Hogg Museum, which accommodates a research and display center for the study of East Texas heritage. At the May 25, 1969, museum dedication, Ima thanked a crowd of well-wishers for the "beautiful museum" and told of her happy childhood summers in Wood County and her present joy that her parents' cottage and her grandparents' home would forever be "all nestled together around this museum." She felt she was "coming home" at last to the place in East Texas where her family and hundreds of other settlers "turned . . . wilderness into productive farms and graceful homes."235 In 1941 Mike and Ima had purchased a tract near Rusk as a park memorial to their father. Now the Jim Hogg Historic Site administered by the city of Rusk, the park includes a recreation of Jim Hogg's birthplace, a small museum, and a family cemetery. In later life Ima conducted Arbor Day tree plantings that recalled her father's admonition to make Texas a domain of trees.236

Retelling the story of her family and pioneering settlement at Quitman made Ima see how Varner could be restored to continue the family saga and explore Texas's economic expansion in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Varner presented a dilemma for Ima, who first considered making the property a park/museum in 1942, not long after Mike's death.237 At Quitman, Ima was able to preserve two structures that had fallen into disrepair but had not undergone changes that compromised their historical integrity. Varner was a different matter. The house and property had

235 Ima Hogg, speech, May 25, 1969, 4W263, folder 4 (nested, coming home); T. C. Chadick, remarks, Dedication of Stinson House, Nov. 2, 1974, folder 3 (turned wilderness), IHP, CAH. Information about the restoration at Quitman is found in 4W263, IHP, CAH, and in clippings in Scrapbook 1, MS 21, Series 14, pp. 4-7, IHP, Archives, MFPAH.
been dramatically altered during the years since 1826, when Martin Varner received his land grant from the Mexican government as part of the Stephen F. Austin colony. Sugar, cotton, and oil had sustained the families who lived there, a trajectory of the state's economic development. Varner as a home place and experimental farm was Governor Hogg's pride and great joy. To the children Varner had been a "holy place," and Will, with his usual expansive enthusiasm, had "tried to fix up the old place as George Washington would do if he had a bankroll." When Will decided to remodel Varner in 1916, he asked architect and friend Birdsall Briscoe to link what had been a simple family farm to grand colonial revival design schemes. To Ima's subsequent dismay, during the 1919–1920 remodeling, Will removed porches and added porticoes, pergolas, and satellite wings that drastically changed the house's original appearance. Furnished with family possessions from childhood homes in Austin, antique "copper and pewter stuff" found by Will as early as 1916, and period furniture, Varner suggested the evolving ambition of increasingly wealthy Texans.

Will may have wanted a home in the country, but he did not want the discomforts of an "authentic" antebellum farmhouse. Ima decided to retain Will's transformations but make changes that would better narrate the economic expansion of the Gulf Coast from an 1830s economy based on slave labor, sugar, and cotton production to a 1920s

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236 Information about the Rusk park in 4W263, IHP, CAH.
237 Ima Hogg to A. J. Bond, June 23, 1942, letter, 4W256, IHP, CAH
239 Rains delayed completion of the Varner project, but plumbers and electricians completed work in January 1920. William C. Hogg to Ima Hogg, letters, Nov. 8, 15, 1919, folder 2; Mike Hogg to William C. Hogg, letter, folder 3, 3B119, IHP, CAH. Varner information in 2J307, WHP, CAH. Ima's dismay in Ima Hogg to Mrs. Clifford Braden, Sept. 20, 1948, letter, 4W256, IHP, CAH. In a long letter she describes her recollection of the interiors during her father's lifetime and says Will had done "a great deal . . . which I later regretted" in 1920, when Ima was away from home. See Neff, Frederic Remington, 16-19, for excellent analysis of Will's attachment to Varner and its place in the Colonial Revival canon.
economy of boom-town oil discovery and exploration. To create Varner-Hogg Plantation State Historical Park, a fifty-two-acre area named for its first and last owners, Ima worked in partnership with the Texas State Historical Survey Committee, the Texas Historical Foundation, and a local advisory committee. She interviewed residents, rediscovered much Brazoria County history, and preserved the property’s plantation past, thereby encouraging scholars to explore plantation roots of black and white Texans.\textsuperscript{240} Always a hands-on benefactress, Ima made frequent trips to the worksite, stayed in "Miss Ima's Cottage" while supervising activities, and purchased numerous objects for the interiors. She finally dedicated the park on March 24, 1958, her father's one-hundred-seventh birthday.\textsuperscript{241} Believing her father to be one of the state's greatest figures, Ima realized another dream by uniting family and state history in the displays. Family and period furniture, Texian Campaign commemorative ceramics and George Washington memorabilia, portraits and photographs tell her story of Texas, link that story to America's past, and fulfill family wishes to share its own good fortune with all the people of the state.\textsuperscript{242}

For Ima these reconstructions provided examples of earlier ways of life as subjects for study and contemplation in a quest for self-understanding and "advancement through knowledge of the past."\textsuperscript{243} Her work at Winedale, her final preservation project undertaken when she had reached her eighties and pursued with vigor until the last

\textsuperscript{241} Letters in 4W256, IHP, CAH. Bernard Levy wrote Ima Mar. 11, 1958, to congratulate her and mentioned the "great satisfaction and pleasure" her "long hours of research and study that you put into furnishing the house correctly" must have afforded.
\textsuperscript{242} In offering the house to the park system, Ima noted, it was "always . . . the intention of my brothers and myself to some day offer the Varner house and a small park to the State." Ima Hogg to Gordon K. Shearer, May 4, 1953, 4W256, IHP, CAH. Furnishings include her mother's sewing box in the upstairs hall and an oversize rocker made by Huntsville prisoners for Governor Hogg during his term of office.
\textsuperscript{243} T. C. Chadick, remarks, Dedication of Stinson House, Nov. 2, 1974, 4W263, folder 3, IHP, CAH.
months of her life, expanded the purposes of open air museums. No longer merely a repository of artifacts for contemplation, Winedale became a laboratory where students and public could rediscover the immigrant journey and examine the "transmission of craftsmanship" from Germany and Bohemia to the new world. At Winedale, a rural hamlet in Fayette County, in Central Texas about eighty miles west of Houston, Ima created an open air museum of period houses, nurtured Shakespearean drama in an old barn converted to theater use, and sponsored classical music festivals to provide an adventure that blurred the distinction between "high art" and "folk" expression.244

Introduced to the German-American culture of the area by Houston friend and antique dealer Hazel Ledbetter, Ima purchased the Lewis-Wagner house and 130 acres in 1963, began preservation work in 1964, and promised the project to the University of Texas in 1965, where it became a center for research, teaching, and public outreach.245 What had begun as the restoration of an old house became a complex project that involved faculty advisers from the art, architecture, music, history, drama, botany, archeology, and biology departments — a holistic effort to examine the flora, fauna, and people of a region.

Ima had always loved German music and culture. Her time as a student in Berlin had been happy, and she admired German industriousness and passion for freedom. To her it was significant that German immigrants had never owned slaves but had wrested

244 Lonn Taylor, interview with Martha Norkunas, Feb. 28, 1996, Winedale Oral History Collection, CAH, discusses the "story she was trying to tell" and mentions that at first she hoped to pay homage to German settlement in Pennsylvania and Texas but discovered that this "story" confused guests.
245 James Dick, an Ima Hogg protégé, moved the classical music festivals to a separate facility adjacent to Winedale after her death. Ima funded Wayne Bell, a University of Texas employee, and all workmen until restoration of the first structures was complete. Bell spent every Saturday at Winedale for four years. Wayne Bell, lecture Bayou Bend Docent Organization, Mar. 17, 2003. Winedale fell on hard times in the late 1970s and early 1980s when university administrators did not know what to do with the property, but it
prosperity from the harsh Texas climate through communal and family effort. Ima began restoring the Lewis-Wagner house and Four-Square Barn on their original sites and moved a Texas dog-run house (Hazel's Lone Oak Cottage), the McGregor Greek revival-style planter's home, and a classic revival farmhouse (destroyed by fire in 1981) to the site for restoration. The beautifully painted ceilings and other decorative work in the Lewis-Wagner and McGregor houses particularly delighted Ima because the decoration typified German craftsmanship. She studied preservation techniques, hired youthful architectural overseers, and began to collect furniture made in the surrounding counties. In her eighties, Ima did not leave this project to others; most Saturdays found her and her station wagon, often filled with treasures, in Winedale on inspection tours. She climbed through rubble, chose wallpaper and colors herself, and insisted on detailed weekly progress reports. In the last years of her life Winedale became a happy retreat where she celebrated her birthdays, enjoyed music, and played a cat-and-mouse collecting game with friendly competitor Faith Bybee, who was restoring Texas pioneer structures at nearby Round Top. Amusing correspondence among the curators of Bayou Bend, Varner-Hogg, and Winedale reveals Ima's intimate involvement with all her projects. Although she had deeded property and contents to various public entities, she still viewed them as "hers," and she would frequently remove objects from one museum and transport

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is now under the egis of the Center for American History at the university. Winedale presents public programs and university seminars throughout the year.

246 Ima Hogg to Robert Sutherland, May 10, 13, 1967, MA19/U1, HFR, CAH.
247 Information about Winedale is found in 4W243, 4W244, and 4W245, IHP, CAH; Interviews with Wayne Bell, professor of architecture, University of Texas, June 14, 1995; and Lonn Taylor, former curator Winedale, Feb. 28, 1996, Winedale Oral History Collection, CAH. Wayne Bell, lecture to Bayou Bend Docent Organization, Mar. 17, 2003. John Young, the architecture student hired in 1964 seems to have had difficulty pleasing his employer; Wayne Bell, delegated by the University to oversee its new acquisition, established excellent rapport with his benefactress and became her "terrestrial godson." He, too, made weekly trips to the site and supplied meticulous accounts of every penny spent and every decision taken.
them to another, where she felt they might be more effectively used.\textsuperscript{248} Ima's determination to illuminate and preserve America's multifaceted heritage ceased only with her death in August 1975.

Houston without its Museum of Fine Arts, its Bayou Bend Collection and Gardens, and its ties to historic arts projects around the state is hard to imagine. Unquestionably Hogg family collections established a standard others were anxious to emulate, and they stimulated the competitive hunt for priceless objects that collectors cannot resist. Ima's often-noted "most marvelous aesthetic sense," the family's unflagging civic conscience, and the siblings' personal pleasure in using private resources to support public institutions inspired other benefactors. A natural teacher who "really liked to share her knowledge," Ima transmitted her joyful understanding of furniture and decorative arts objects to fellow lovers of beauty and history. Indeed, she may have served as midwife to Houston's other important house museum. In 1952 Harris and Carroll Masterson asked Ima to sell them a large wooded lot across a finger of Buffalo Bayou from Bayou Bend. There they built Rienzi, a handsome family home designed by John Staub and filled with an extensive collection of museum-quality English ceramics, paintings, and furniture. In 1966 Ima asked Harris Masterson, by then an important civic presence and well-loved bon vivant, to help her organize dedicatory ceremonies for Bayou Bend. As he helped her, watched her transform her home to a museum, and worked with her on the Bayou Bend Advisory Committee for many years, he may have come to several conclusions. Rienzi Director Katherine Howe suggests that the

\textsuperscript{248} Bayou Bend curator Barry Greenlaw wrote Winedale curator Lonn Taylor May 6, 1975, "I tried to explain to her that she couldn't just give things and then take them back, but as they were in storage and not being used, she was insistent, and as you know it's difficult to contradict her under these circumstances." Taylor replied sympathetically, "Short of physically preventing her from moving them, there seems to be
Mastersons learned several lessons from Ima's experience: they discovered a home could become a house museum; they learned donors could make gifts before departing their premises or relinquishing objects; they found Houstonians did enjoy decorative arts; and they recognized the museum was a trustworthy and appreciative custodian of an historic house. Undoubtedly the Mastersons learned many other lessons as well, but when they decided to emulate Ima's generosity and bequeath their home, gardens, and collections to the people of Houston, they gave to citizens of the Southwest a collection of European decorative arts that complements the Hoggs' vision. Houston's great Museum of Fine Arts with its extensive campus, roster of donors, and comprehensive collection reflects the power of cultural philanthropy and individual imagination to enrich lives, erect institutions "for the use of the people," and create a community identity through "the collective effort of many."

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249 Katherine S. Howe, remarks to docents, typescript in author's possession.
Epilogue

Only through a determined and effective long-term community-wide effort will this region truly be able to capitalize on its diversity and ensure that all of its citizens are prepared for lives of common purpose, personal fulfillment, and positive leadership in the new millennium that lies ahead.

Houston Area Survey, 2003

When Governor James Stephen Hogg decided to make Houston his business headquarters in 1905, he found a sleepy southern town awakening to the promise of modern life. Some citizens yearned for cultural and social amenities that would balance business expansion, but most were content to picnic on the bayous, browse in the lending lyceum, shoot birds on the flat prairie, or join friends for musical or literary afternoons. Residents walked to work along dusty (or muddy) streets; chickens and cows foraged in back yards; church steeples defined the skyline; and wooden opera houses welcomed traveling entertainment. Trolley cars clanged along Main Street, which was criss-crossed by telephone wires, but the urbanizing bustle of New York, Chicago, or St. Louis had not yet reached the Gulf Coast port.

When the governor's only daughter Ima died seventy years later, Houston had metamorphosed to a mega-metropolis and major shipping center traversed by multi-lane freeways. In 1975 the car was everyone's chariot of choice; skyscrapers dominated multiple "downtowns"; oil refineries and chemical plants pumped millions into the economy each week; residents cheered home-grown professional sports teams or attended nationally acclaimed symphony, ballet, opera, and theater performances. The region's great civic art museum had expanded its campus several times; major universities, a medical center, and a space center drew a highly educated workforce to the city and its

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satellite suburbs. Aggressive entrepreneurs and generous philanthropists had competed and cooperated to build a vibrant community at the cutting edge of economic and cultural development.

Critical to this growth had been the work of the governor's children, Will, Ima, and Mike Hogg, and their circle of progressive friends who recognized that citizens must temper unhampered economic expansion with concern for the quality of life their city provided each citizen. Modernization brought sprawl, confusion, congestion, and pollution as well as life-saving medicines, rockets to the moon, and imagined domestic comfort and leisure; individuals were called upon to imagine an ideal city and build institutions that would counter the negative results and nurture the promise of technological change. Houston in the new millennium is a metropolis transformed by changes of the last century. No longer a somnolent biracial town dominated by white men, Houston is a dynamic international conurbation dominating several surrounding counties. Within city limits reside nearly two million citizens whose fastest growing ethnic groups are Hispanic and Asian. Without a majority voice, Houston is poised to become the nation's premier multicultural melting pot if it can build on its historic foundation of boundless optimism, energetic activism, and welcoming hospitality.²

There are certainly many ways to look at the story of Houston. Analysts can wallow in the scandals of Enron's spectacular collapse, bemoan the muggy heat of long summer days, deplore endless traffic snarls, or fume about environmental degradation. Unethical business practice, poorly managed public works projects, unhealthy

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² Houston in 2000 had a population of 1,953,631; 30.8 white, 25.0 black, 37.4 Hispanic, 6.8 Asian and others. In 1970, Houston's population was 621 white, 25.7 black, 11.3 Hispanic, and .9 Asian and others. See Houston Area Survey, ibid., for comparisons and commentary. Harris County's 2000 population was
neighborhoods, and an obvious chasm between the fortunate and the forgotten are, indeed, matters that demand concerned scrutiny, public debate, and community action. If Houstonians are to attack these and similar quality-of-life issues effectively in the future, they must examine the work of those who took action in the past. The Hogg family imagined a great metropolis linked to regional, national, and world markets, cultures, and ideas. Will, Ima, and Mike advocated an approach to living and set an example that should inform present debate. Through positive leadership they articulated a common purpose and imagined an ideal city whose residents would achieve personal fulfillment and partake of America's "good" life. Decisive and determined, the Hoggs' insisted on high standards, demanded inclusion of all citizens, and dreamed on a grand scale. They did not wait for others to take action; they identified problems, gathered supporters, and proposed solutions themselves.

Houston has been fortunate in its philanthropists, and many generous families and individuals have contributed and still contribute to civic institutions, as any tour of the city will attest. These families and the ways they managed their surplus wealth also deserve study before a comprehensive history of Houston can be written. While the edifice complex that inspires some contributions greatly enhances the effectiveness of established institutions and benefits the public good, it is the aspirations of committed individuals that provide models for citizen action today. Men and women like the Hoggs, Joseph and Nina Cullinan, Estelle Sharp, James and Alice Baker, and hundreds of others looked beyond self-interest or group politics to envision a great city. Major philanthropic donations, of course, require money, but speaking out and volunteering demand only time.

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3,400,578, with a 42.1, 18.2, 34.0, 6.5 distribution. Hispanics and Asians have the fastest-growing number of young adults, the leaders of the future.
and imagination. Kezia Payne dePelchin could rarely afford fare on a public conveyance, and Julia Ideson supported herself on a public librarian's salary, yet both women are remembered today for their commitment to community and memorialized by the institutions they served.

The Hoggs' model of civic activism was based on a unique premise: the oil that fueled their beneficence was a natural resource, not the product of their labor, and as such was held in trust by them for the people of Texas. Earnest children of a serious family who understood the world as a complicated place, Will, Ima, and Mike became philanthropic entrepreneurs who created institutions that empowered others to address this complexity. They provided tools, not hand-outs, so others could create the "wealth" found in satisfactory lives. They leveraged the power of their family's reputation to gain widespread support for civic institutions. The Hoggs revered personal freedom and the tenets of constitutional democratic governance, so they fought for ideas and institutions they believed supported the individual and the democracy that was every American citizen's unquestioned birthright: a beautiful, safe physical environment; a well-ordered home; an educated, healthy populace; a milieu enriched by lively cultural opportunities.

Ima believed her Bayou Bend collections built bridges from the Empire that was Texas to the Atlantic seaboard of America's founders. In fact, all the Hogg philanthropies attempted to unite citizens in the community and tie community to state and nation. As idealists, the Hoggs advocated cooperation, not conflict, and tried to bring diverse groups together to confront common problems and find community solutions. This model of collaboration without collusion was best articulated in community conferences institutionalized by the Hogg Foundation. By engaging business leaders,
government officials, and volunteers, the Hoggs tried to show how the conflicting motives of profit, power, and philanthropy could be fused to achieve community goals. For the Hoggs, philanthropy was a creative art; they imagined a good life on a grand scale; they had great aspirations for and great faith in the citizens of Houston and the people of the United States; and their idealism infected those who worked with them. Stewards of a family fortune and a family value system, Will, Ima, and Mike led by example as volunteers, activists, and donors.

Analysis of the Hoggs' ideals and activism confirms the conclusion that Progressivism cannot be understood solely as a political movement; reconciling the Progressive politics of Republican Theodore Roosevelt and Democrat Woodrow Wilson continues to defeat historians. Nor can Progressivism be understood only in terms of economic development; if some Progressives believed "growth" and "progress" to be synonymous, others concluded growth destroyed humanitarian values Progressive reformers held dear. As practiced by the Hoggs, Progressivism can best be defined as an attitude, a moral response to perceived social dislocations and imperfections. Progressives like the Hoggs were proactive optimists who understood that change was inevitable and believed it to be good but who also respected tradition. To them, social, governmental, and economic structures were basically satisfactory and needed only periodic revision to strengthen underlying verities. The Hoggs' progressivism was evolutionary, moving slowly toward inclusion. In this vision of progress, individuals could and should aspire to improve their lives and partake of the American dream. Progressive leaders like the Hoggs built on the late-nineteenth-century Progressive Movement ethos articulated by people like their father, and they identified their personal
success with their city's destiny. To these Progressives, society was by no means perfected, but there was hope that a better life was within reach and was well worth fighting for.

The Hoggs' careers also suggest the dangers of this Progressive attitude. In the South, the Progressive's reliance on rational efficiency justified Jim Crow separation. Despite Will's financial support of higher education and civil rights for African Americans, he never overcame this societal construct and agreed with Herbert Hare, Hugh Potter, and brother Mike that both races would be happier in separate, if equally well-planned, neighborhoods. Nor did Will and Mike express concern that streamlined economic engineering would dislocate workers. None of the Hoggs reconciled their vision of inclusion and their faith in experts. Progressive expertise relied on a cadre of highly educated professionals who came to see knowledge as power. Able to analyze problems and posit solutions, they often took an elitist top-down approach that repelled public involvement. Will's secret planning meetings, even his easy access to political and economic power brokers, betrayed a paternalism born of family position and his own expert training as a lawyer. Ima had a more genuine understanding, in the abstract, that people must be empowered to solve their own problems, and she was a masterful recruiter of workers for her causes. However, when executing specific projects, she stood her ground and demanded that institutions she supported reflect her vision. Houston's Progressives condoned and encouraged change, but they also contained its evolution and advocated reforms well within the main stream of America's humanitarian heritage.

Philanthropy, the love of humankind, as practiced by the Hoggs and numerous Houston families, has been a shaping agent and a leavening influence countering the
city's commercialism. Houston philanthropists have tried to make their city a decent place to live; they have encouraged the better natures of their fellows and tempered greed and self-aggrandizement with aspiration. The Hoggs' broad vision of an urban ideal demonstrates that "philanthropy permeates American life."³ The Hoggs believed passionately that everyone can be involved in philanthropic activities: volunteers can pitch in and help dozens of nonprofit organizations; activists can speak up to identify problems and proselytize solutions; donors can give, a little or a lot, to institutions that gain their trust. The Hoggs' careers also show that both private and public resources and initiatives are needed in a complex society. Will, Ima, and Mike grew up witnessing the exercise of power in the state government, and they had clear views of the probity needed, but often lacking, in government officials. They also imbibed their father's teaching that power rested in the people, whose private resources ultimately supported individual as well as institutional action. The Hoggs' activism blurs the line between public and private worlds. By situating their private philanthropic foundation in a publicly managed university, they endeavored to merge private vision with public good. Most important, their philanthropies interpreted the promise of American life by offering avenues for men and women to pursue individual dreams of life, liberty, and happiness.

The persistent academic debunking of philanthropy as merely a means of imposing values on society and ensuring social control by those already in power is naïve, disheartening, and disingenuous. It is naïve to suggest that anyone, academic or otherwise, can propose a vision other than his or her own; it is disheartening to persist in obstinately disregarding the complex mix of motives, some of them altruistic, that lie

behind all human endeavors; and it is disingenuous to suggest that these philanthropic "impositions" are exerted by force against unwilling recipients. As Will's efforts to promote the civic virtues of zoning suggest, ideas cannot be imposed in a democracy if the audience is unwilling to receive them. Nor are most people forced to visit an art museum, attend a symphony, or walk in a park. By listening to the words and observing the actions of philanthropists, by assuming that their aspirations are sincere at some level, analysts may begin to understand the phenomenon of generosity as a major motivator in American life. By recognizing that motives are usually mixed, that individuals are often poor communicators, and that long-term consequences are rarely foreseen, scholars may be able to suggest a balanced and complicated reading of philanthropic action.

Fortunately, academe's long-held suspicion of philanthropy is being successfully challenged by analysts who now recognize that attitudes of inclusion and willingness to expend private resources for the public good are essential to the workings of democracy and a civil society. These scholars are fond of citing de Tocqueville's fascination with the American passion to address challenges by associating in groups of the like-minded. The Hoggs' civic careers demonstrate that cooperation and colloquy promote democracy. Individuals who work together in a civil society learn to respect, not disdain or fear, each other. The Hoggs cared deeply about individual rights and community welfare, and they tried to reconcile the two; the Hoggs in Houston were individuals in a community that was home. Ideally, citizen participation, as practiced by the Hoggs, advances civil discourse and the polite attention to many voices; it nurtures a sense of obligation to the polity, to larger goals, and to common purposes; it promotes ethical behavior in political, economic, and private spheres.
Today, as in the Hoggs' day, Houstonians struggle to define their heritage, to identify a common community good, and to preserve diverse and often divergent values. They look for ways to integrate expert opinion and popular needs, to develop representative leadership, and to encourage citizen participation. New millennium boosters, like promoters of yesteryear, proclaim Houston an international city with a "sizzling cultural climate" and an "over-the-top sports palace" at Reliant Stadium. Laudng the city's "ambitious downtown Renaissance," they also praise the "righteous mission" of an incomparable M. D. Anderson cancer center.⁴ Amid the hype and the hurry, twenty-first-century civic activists urge citizens to "voice your opinions" because venerable "Memorial Park is threatened by drastic change."⁵ Symphony supporters despair about unbalanced budgets and underpaid musicians. Candidates for public office decry urban imperfections, while demographers reveal the disturbing news that native-born black Houstonians have fallen behind Asian immigrants in the education chase for high-paying jobs. Is it really true that "in Houston, the only thing that's permanent is that everything is temporary?"⁶ Both recent booster enthusiasm and civic agitation suggest that Houston's populace and its self-perception in the twenty-first century closely resemble the world the Hoggs and their circle of progressive friends created in the twentieth century. As the Hoggs were challenged a century ago to husband their resources carefully and build a great city, so in the new millennium are Houstonians called to distribute the city's wealth and engage fellow citizens in ways that secure "the participatory, egalitarian and open character of public life at the heart of democratic

⁴ "Hello my name is Houston," issue of Texas Monthly, September 2002, pp. 178, 78, 149, 64.
movements.⁷ Through the collective effort of many, Houston can continue along its trajectory of promise.

Today when crowds gather at Bayou Bend, they come not to mourn the passing of Texas's "First Lady" but to celebrate the legacy of a family's vision. As parents pose before the pink azaleas and children race about the garden, they pay homage to the Hoggs' wish that all Houstonians could enjoy the natural beauty of their environment and the cultural heritage of their past to fortify them for daily struggles that lie ahead. It is hard to imagine Houston without Memorial Park, the DePelchin Children's Center, Rice University, the Texas Medical Center, the Houston Symphony, the Museum of Fine Arts, or all the other organizations touched by the Hoggs and their friends. Today as in the Hoggs' time, thousands of Houstonians give generously to build a better city. Today as then they recognize their city's many flaws and problems, band together in coalitions, and fight — to improve their library system, to reform their schools, to clean up their environment, to save their parks, to plant more trees, to preserve their cultural institutions, and to demand responsive action from city officials. Today, as always, greed and limited vision mar the great city Houston might become, but many Houstonians still envision a metropolis of destiny and appreciate a heritage of hope and civic engagement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Houston</th>
<th>Hogg Family</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nineteenth Century</td>
<td>1834 Martha Frances Hogg Davis born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop. 1890: 27,557</td>
<td>1839 Joseph Lewis and Lucinda McMath Hogg settle in East Texas</td>
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<tr>
<td>1836 Aug. 30 Allen Brothers announce Houston</td>
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<tr>
<td>1837 Houston capital of Texas</td>
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<tr>
<td>1836 First musical performance recorded</td>
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<td>1836 First theater announced</td>
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<tr>
<td>1839 Capital moved to Austin (October)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1840 Chamber of Commerce founded</td>
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<tr>
<td>1841 Port of Houston authorized</td>
<td>1846 &quot;Mountain Home,&quot; near Rusk built</td>
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<tr>
<td>1842 Mar.-Sept. Capital in Houston</td>
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<tr>
<td>1845 Texas joins the United States</td>
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<tr>
<td>1848 Lyceum founded</td>
<td>1852 James Stephen Hogg born</td>
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<tr>
<td>1861 Texas joins Confederacy</td>
<td>1853 Sarah Ann Stinson (Hogg) born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866 Houston Direct Navigation Company formed to dredge Buffalo Bayou</td>
<td>1860 James A. Stinson moves to Texas</td>
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<tr>
<td>1866 First National Bank of Houston</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1866 Houston Gas and Light Company</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1869 Buffalo Ship Channel Company formed to dredge channel</td>
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<tr>
<td>1871 Harris County public schools begin</td>
<td>1874 Apr. 22 Jim Hogg marries Sallie Stinson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christ Church Parish Association founded</td>
<td>1875 Jan. 31 William C. Hogg born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872 Federal grant ($10,000) to complete dredging</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1874 Houston Cotton Exchange &amp; Board of Trade</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1877 City assumes control of public schools</td>
<td>1882 Jul. 10 Ima Hogg born</td>
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<tr>
<td>1880 Houston Telephone Exchange</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1882 Electric Light Company created</td>
<td>1885 Oct. 28 Michael Hogg born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884 Saengerbund incorporated</td>
<td>1887 Aug. 10 Thomas E. Hogg born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884 First electric streetlights</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1885 Ladies Reading Club founded</td>
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<tr>
<td>1887 Houston Heights organized</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1890 Magnolia Park organized
1890 Sweeny & Coombs Opera House opens
1891 First electric street lights
1891 First successful city waterworks
1891 May Wm. Marsh Rice establishes trust

1890s Houston Heights developed
1893 Kezia Payne dePelchin founds Faith Home
1894 Houston Club founded
1894-95 6-story Binz Building

1896 Treble Clef Club founded

1899 City (Sam Houston) Park dedicated
1899-1909 Houston Symphony Club orchestra

1900s
Pop. 1900: 44,633

1900 Mar. Houston Public School Art League formed
1900 Houston Quartette Society formed
1900 Sept. 8 Galveston Storm
1900 Sept. 23 Wm. M. Rice dies
1901 Jan. 10 Spindletop

1903 Segregation by law on trolleys
1903 Highland Park created
1903-1905 8-story 1st National Bank Building
1904 United Charities organized
1904 Houston Lyceum and Carnegie Library
1904 Julia Ideson named librarian
1904-1906 Commission form of government organized
1905 Joseph Cullinan and Texas Co. to Houston
1905 July 5 Commission form of City government adopted
1906 Arts and Literary Club (African-American women)
1906-07 Turning Basin open
1907 Jesse Jones builds 10-story Texas Co. Building
1907 YWCA founded
1907 Settlement Association founded
1907 Colored Library Association founded
1907-1910 Woodland Heights developed
1908 Thursday Morning Musical Club founded

1887-1891 J.S. Hogg attorney general
1891-1895 J. S. Hogg governor
1892 Department of Insurance Statistics and History with state archives
1895 Sept. 20 Sallie Hogg dies
1897 Will LLB U of Texas Law School
1899-1901 Ima at U of Texas

1901 Hogg-Swayne Syndicate formed
1901 Gov. Hogg buys Old Patton Place (Varner-Hogg)
1901-1902 Ima to New York City to study music
1905 Gov. Hogg's office in Houston
1906 Mar. 3 Gov. Hogg dies
1906 Will to Houston
1907-1908 Ima to Europe
1908  Mothers' Club founded
1909  Chautauqua Study Club founded  1909  Ima Chautauqua founder
1909  Great Southern Life Insurance Co.  1909  Will founds Great Southern
1909  Texas State Library & Historical Commission  1909-1918  Ima teaches piano
1909  Women's Political Union (Houston)  
1909  Harris County Houston Ship Channel Navigation  
District approved

1910s
Pop. 1910: 78,800

1910  Chamber of Commerce Charities Endorse-  1910  Will joins Chamber of
ment Committee  Commerce
1910  Emma R. Newsboys Assn. Founded  
1910  City Auditorium opens  
1910  Board of Park Commissioner organized  
1911  Girls' Musical Club founded  1911  Mike LLB U of T Law
1911  Houston-Galveston interurban railway  School  
1911  Will founds Texas Exes  1911  Will founds Texas Exes
Alumni Association  
1912  Rice Institute dedicated  1912  Mike to Houston  
1912-13  Rice Public Lecture Series begins  1912-13  Ima president Girls'
1913  Mar. Comey Plan for the city  Musical Club  
1913  Colored Carnegie Library Branch  1913-Jan. 1917  Will on U of T
1913  New Rice Hotel opens  Board of Regents  
1913  New Faith Home opens  
1913  Houston Symphony Society founded  1913  Ima organizes first Symphony
1914  May Hermann Park donated  Concert  
1914 Oct. George Hermann dies  1914-17  Hogg Dickson & Hogg cotton
1914  Nov. Deepwater Ship Channel dedicated  brokerage  
1915  Ladies Symphony Orchestra (African-American)  1915  Will on Good Roads & Drainage
1915  Mar. Houston Foundation established  Congress  
1915  May Stude Park dedicated  1915-19  Will on Newsboys' board
1915  July Hermann Park dedicated  
1916-17  Shadyside designed  1916-17  Will on Houston Foundation
1917  Bethlehem Settlement organized  Board  
1917  Hogg's move to Rossmoyne house  
1917  May Tyndall-Hogg #2 gusher  
1917  May-1918  Will Social Service  
Bureau chairman  
1917  summer  Will vs. Gov. Ferguson  
1917-21  Ima President Houston  
Symphony Society
1918  Houston Heights joins Houston  1918  Jan.  Large oil discovery at Varner
1918  Sinclair Refinery first to open in Houston  1918  June Mike to French front
1918  Ima ill  
1919  City Expansion Board named  1919-21  Will remotes Varner
1920s
Pop. 1920: 138, 276
City grows 74.9% in decade

1920 Blue Triangle YWCA (African-American)
1920 Wayman Adams paints Ima
1920 Will and Ima begin collecting
   Remington and Decorative Arts
1921 Hogg Brothers offices in Great
   Southern Building
1921 Varner Company, realty business
1922 Norhill subdivision
1922 Apr. Ima underwrites Rice
   music lectures

1922 Community Chest organized
1922 Five-man Port Commission organized
1922-23 City Planning Commission named
1923 HISD created
1923 River Oaks Country Club organized
1923-1296 Women's Viewpoint
1924 Mar.-1926 2d City Planning Commission
1924 Hogg's take over Country Club
   Estates; begin River Oaks
1924 Mar-Apr. Will raises funds
   for MFAH building
1924 Hogg's transfer Memorial Park to
   city
1924 Apr. Remingtons loan to MFAH

1924 Apr. MFAH dedicated
1925-33 Ima MFAH trustee
1925 Will organizes West End
   Improvement Association
1925 Oct. Remington loan to MFAH

1924 July Memorial Park to city
1924 Hogg's transfer Memorial Park to
   city
1924 Apr. Remingtons loan to MFAH

1924 E. E. Oberholtzer School Superintendent
1924 James Chillman named MFAH director
1924 Garden Club of Houston organized
1925 Jan. Junior League organized
1925 Jefferson Davis Memorial Hospital open
1925 Dec. MacGregor Park given to city
1925 Houston expands to 70 square miles: adds
   Memorial Park, River Oaks, Cottage Grove,
   Harrisburg
1926 Public Library Building open
1926 June Negro Hospital opens
1926 Jan. Ima chooses Bayou Bend
   homesite
1926 Ima on MFAH Entertainment
   Committee
1927-28 Ima chairman MFAH
   Accessions Committee
1927-31 Mike in Texas Legislature
1927 Will chairs City Planning
   Commission

1925 Dec. MacGregor Park given to city
1925 Houston expands to 70 square miles: adds
   Memorial Park, River Oaks, Cottage Grove,
   Harrisburg
1926 Public Library Building open
1926 June Negro Hospital opens
1927 Mar. Texas Federation of Music Clubs meets
   in Houston
1927 Port of Houston Authority created
1927 3d City Planning Commission created
1927 Segregated Junior College system created
   within HISD
1927 River Oaks Garden Club organized
1928-29 *Civics for Houston*
1928-29 *Houston Gargoyle*
1928 First airport (now Hobby Field)
1928 Democratic National Convention
1928 Monteith defeats Holcombe for mayor
1928 Will publishes *Civics for Houston*
1928 Ima buys first Matisse; first
   Southwest Art
1928 Will organizes Hospitality House
1928 Hogg's support Monteith
1928 River Oaks Corporation created
1928 Nov. First meal at Bayou Bend
1929 *Garden Book for Houston* pub.
1929 Apr. Houston Child Guidance Center founded
1929 Serious floods in Houston
1929 Report of the City Planning Commission
1929 Ima founds Child Guidance Center
1929 May Will proposes Rice finance plan
1929 Mike marries Alice Nicholson
1929 Aug. Ima begins contemporary art collection
1929 Oct. Will writes Plan for City
1929 Nov. Will sails for Europe

1930 Houston largest city in Texas
1930 Jan. Council scuttles zoning
1930 Feb. Planning office closed
1930 Mar. Ring Cycle performed by German Grand Opera Company
1931 Symphony reorganized/Uriel Nespoli conductor
1931-40 Annette Finnigan gifts to MFAH
1932 June-1935 St. Leger Symphony conductor
1932-46 Jesse Jones in Washington
1933 University of Houston authorized
1933-39 PWA projects (schools, DePelchin, City Hall, Coliseum, San Jacinto Monument)
1934 Ima chairs Child Guidance search for director
1935 Serious flood in Houston and at Bayou Bend
1936 M. D. Anderson Foundation created
1937 Houston Endowment created
1937 Hare & Hare Plan for University of Houston
1937 Montrose Place deed restrictions expire
1937-38 Hugh Potter chair City Planning Commission
1938 Ima chairs Guidance Center Search Committee
1938-39 Alice president River Oaks Garden Club
1939 Garden Club of America annual meeting
1939 MFAH Guild organized
1939 June-July Ima donates Works on Paper Collection to MFAH
1939 July Hogg Foundation created

1930-32 Ima chair MFAH Accessions Committee
1930-33 Ima chairs Guidance Center Education Committee
1930 Sept. 12 Will dies in Germany
1931 Jan. Remington loan to MFAH
1931-32 Ima leads Symphony reorganizing
1931-32 Alice President River Oaks Garden Club
1931 Ima chair Child Guidance Nominating Committee
1933 MFAH plaque to Will's memory
1940s
Pop. 1940: 384,514

1941 Dec. Straus Collection to MFAH

1942-46 Hugh Roy Cullen President Symphony
1942-47 City Manager government
1942 M. D. Anderson Cancer Hospital at Texas Medical Center begins
1943 Apr. Board of Education votes black/white teacher pay parity

1944 All-white primary eliminated

1945 Mar. University of Houston separated from HISD
1945 Texas Medical Center begins
1946 Strong mayor form of government

1947 Blaffer Collection of European Masters to MFAH
1947 Cullen Foundation created
1948 Fondren Foundation created
1948 Contemporary Arts Association founded
1948 Residential segregation declared illegal
1948-54 Efrem Kurtz Symphony conductor

1949 Kress Foundation permanent loan, MFAH
1939-41 Annual Remington loans
1939 Ima on MFAH Endowment Committee
1939-41 Mike on MFAH Board
1939-41 Mike on Gov. Hogg Memorial Commission

1940-70 Robert Sutherland director
Hogg Foundation
1941 Feb. Hogg Foundation inaugural Conference
1941 Oct. 10 Mike dies
1941-74 Ima restores Quitman sites

1943 Ima Child Guidance selection committee
1943-49 Ima on Board of Education
1943 May Remington gift to MFAH
1943-45 Ima chairs B of E Lunchroom Committee
1943 Sept. Ima organizes school for disabled children, HISD
1943 Nov. Southwest Art gift to MFAH
1944 Ima Nominating Chair Guidance Center
1945 Ima establishes HISD Visiting Teacher program
1946-56 Ima President of Houston Symphony Society

1948-56 Ima Honorary Curator of Early American Art, MFAH
1948 Ima chair Guidance Center Personnel Committee
1948 Ima lifetime honorary board member Guidance Center
1948 Ima president Texas Philosophical Society
1949 Feb. Ima attends Williamsburg Antiques Forum
1950s
Pop. 1950: 596,163

1950  Phyllis Wheatley (black) HS dedicated
1950  Houston largest Southern City
1951  Brown Foundation created
1952  Gulf Freeway (first expressway)
1952  Red Scare in Board of Education election
1952  Blaffer Wing gift to MFAH

1954  Ferenc Fricsay conductor
1954  Apr. Lee H. B. Malone director MFAH
1954  Harris County Heritage Society organized
1954-55  Sir Thomas Beecham conductor
1955  Houston Ballet Foundation organized
1955  Houston Grand Opera founded

1955-61  Leopold Stokowski Symphony conductor

1956-70  Maurice Hirsch Symphony president

1956  MFAH creates Permanent Endowment Fund

1958  Wiess, Jones, Cullinan Halls dedicated MFAH
1959  June Dillinghams provide Guidance Center headquarters

1960s
Pop. 1960: 938,219

1961  Fall Sir John Barbirolli Symphony conductor

1949  Mar. 9 Tom dies
1949  Conference of Southwest Foundations organized

1951  Ima creates Symphony endowment

1953-4  Ima member Committee on Houston's Future
1954  Ima joins Red Scare opponents

1955  Ima certificate of merit from National Conference of Christians and Jews
1955-60  Ima Advisory Trustee MFAH
1955-59  Ima MFAH Building Committee
1956  Mar. Ima named Texian Woman of the Year by Texas Heritage Foundation
1956  Sept. Ima Bayou Bend to MFAH
1957  Ima and K. P. Murphy create Murphy Room at Bayou Bend
1957  Hirsches give Ima Hogg Scholarship Fund to Houston Symphony
1957-59  Ima board Harris County Heritage Society
1959  Ima Amy Angell Collier Montague Award for Civic Achievement, Garden Club of America

1960  Jan. Bayou Bend Advisory Committee formed
1960-75  Ima on BB Advisory
1961  May River Oaks Garden Club assumes care of BB gardens
1963  Kress loan permanent gift to MFAH
1964  Woodlands model town established
1965  Astrodome opens
1966  Jones Hall opens
1966 CRS plan for U of H
1967  Andre Previn Symphony conductor
1969  Intercontinental Airport (now Bush)

1970s
Pop. 1970: 1,232,802

1961 July first Bayou Bend Docent
   Organization class
1962  Ima Advisory panel White House
1962  May BB contents to MFAH
1962  Books and music scores to U of H
1962-63 Books to Looscan Library
1962-65 Program Collection to U of H
1962-67 Ima advisory trustee MFAH
1963-75 Ima restorations at Winedale
1963  Alice Advisory Trustee MFAH
1963-70 Alice BB Advisory Committee
1964  Oct. Ima Hogg Foundation set up
1965  Ima deeds Winedale to U of T
1965-2003 David Warren BB overseer
1966  Ima to high rise
1966  Bayou Bend dedicated
1966 Louise du Pont Crowninshield
   Award from National Trust for
   Historic Preservation to Ima
1967  Award for Meritorious Service
   in Historic Preservation, Texas
   State Historical Survey Committee
1968  Santa Rita Award, U of Texas to
   Ima
1969  Chillman Suite installation
1969  Ima gives Picasso to MFAH
1969  Ima commissions Ode to Clio
1969  Ima named to Academy of Texas
1969  American Association for State
   and Local History award to Ima

1970  Ima Award of Merit, American
   Association for State and Local
   History
1970  Ima Life Trustee MFAH
1970-71 Belter Parlor installation
1971  Ima Honorary degree Southwestern University
1972  Thomas Jefferson Award for
   Outstanding Contribution to
   America's Cultural Heritage to Ima
1973  Alice Life Trustee MFAH
1974-76 Alice on BB Advisory
1975  Aug. 19 Ima dies
1976-7 Memorial Room installation
1977  Alice Hogg Hanzsen dies
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