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CIVIC ELITES AND URBAN PLANNING: HOUSTON'S RIVER OAKS

by Charles Orson Cook and Barry J. Kaplan

Americans responded in a variety of ways to the problems that attended rapid urbanization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among those were reformers who, often led by a civic-commercial elite, attempted to rationalize and control urban growth. Recent scholarship has acknowledged the public role of prominent businessmen in the cause of structural reforms, the adoption of professionalized urban planning, and the "City Beautiful" movement. Less well known were the private efforts of businessmen to achieve the same goals of stability, order, and beauty through the formation of planned, exclusive residential communities. With varying degrees of success, these "residential parks," (as they were called by their builders) appeared in practically every metropolitan area by the 1920s. In Baltimore, Frederick Law Olmsted designed Roland Park; in Kansas City was the elaborate and prototypical Country Club District; Cleveland had its Shaker Heights, Dallas its Highland Park, and in Houston was River Oaks.[1]

Although certainly not the first of its kind, Houston's River Oak District is a typical example of urban planning by business and civic elites who sought order and stability in a rapidly growing city. The founders of River Oaks successfully employed urban planning, deed restrictions, and centralized community control to create a model of permanence, beauty, and stability within the burgeoning city of Houston. As a private enterprise, the successful development of River Oaks stands in contrast to the failure of public planning and zoning in the city. The zoning movement not only paralleled the development of River Oaks chronologically, but it also included many of the same personalities. Seen in this context, River Oaks is more than a real estate venture—it is a significant historical phenomenon that reflects the values and goals of Houston's business planners.

Houston, apparently, has been bursting at the seams forever. Architectural critic Ada Louise Huxtable wrote that since 1945 unprecedented expansion and a lack of public land use controls had made the city a physical nightmare, a "breathtaking affront to normal sensibility." According to Huxtable, Houston, unlike other cities, "is totally without the normal rationales of geography and evolutionary social growth;" it is, essentially, "all process and no plan." She did note, however, at least one exception to Houston's uncontrolled sprawl; located almost in the heart of the "Bayou City's" urban chaos:

> Directly behind the freeways, one short turn takes the driver from the strip into pine and oak-alleyed streets of comfortable and elegant residential communities (including the elite and affluent River Oaks). They have maintained their environmental purity by deed restrictions passed on from one generation of buyers to another.
>
> Beyond these enclaves, anything goes.[2]

In a city where the lack of zoning allows anyone to build anything almost anywhere. River Oaks is indeed an island of tranquility. Developed in the genesis of the automobile age of the early 1920s, the district's eleven hundred acres are a model of planning. Natural boundaries like Memorial Park and

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Buffalo Bayou and man-made buffers like the River Oaks Country Club golf course provide geographic security against the city whose downtown business district is only three miles to the east. Internally, sophisticated landscape architecture with heavy Beaux Art overtones blends with an atmosphere of rural romanticism. Gently curving boulevards, formal esplanades, *cul de sacs* and a series of small neighborhood parks contrast sharply with the traditional grid pattern of Houston's city streets. Deed restrictions have accomplished in River Oaks what zoning only promised for the rest of the city: permanent homogeneous neighborhoods.[3]

Although accounts vary, the notion of developing River Oaks probably first occurred in 1923 to two prominent young Houstonians—Mike Hogg, the youngest of the affluent and civic-minded Hogg brothers, and his college room-mate, Hugh Potter, a promising local attorney. Impressed by the natural beauty and market potential of an area that was then immediately west of the Houston city limits, they obtained an option to purchase two hundred acres surrounding the recently completed River Oaks Country Club.[4] As Hugh Potter later recalled, it was at this point that his partner's eldest and more influential brother, William C. Hogg, became involved in the venture. Hogg asked, "Why buy only 200 acres? Why not buy 1,000 acres more? Why not make this something really big, something the city can be proud of?"[5] With the support of Will Hogg, River Oaks became exactly that.

Hogg financed the development company, Country Club Estates, which was organized in the spring, 1924, with Hugh Potter as its president. Six months later, the Houston *Chronicle* reported that "River Oaks is booming,"[6] By mid-1927, the Hogg brothers had poured $650,000 into improvements, a sum that increased to over three million dollars before Will Hogg's death in 1930 ended the family interest in the enterprise. By 1928, improvement expenses had driven the Country Club Estates into the red by more than a hundred thousand dollars. The Corporation's losses had climbed to almost a quarter million dollars by the fiscal year 1929.

A modest rate of lot purchases and home-building in the project's early months accounted for part of the company's losses; however, that trend had reversed by 1928. More importantly, Will Hogg's extravagance in making his "pipe dream" a reality created most of the deficit.[8] He had always been interested in residential development; typified by his earlier short lived partnership with Houston financier J.S. Cullinan in a small project called "Shadyside."[9] But it was the potential inherent in River Oaks that captured and held his interest for the rest of his life. Impressed by the success of J.C. Nichols' residential park in Kansas City—the Country Club District—Hogg saw in River Oaks the possibilities for another planned, elite community in Houston.[10]

The relationship between the Kansas City suburb and Hogg's plans for River Oaks was a close one. One of the first acts of the Houston Country Club Estates was to send its officers to study similar projects, including Nichols' Country Club District. Before one such trip to Kansas City, Hugh Potter announced that "we expect to gain many new ideas . . ., in many respects River Oaks . . . is like the Kansas City Development." Although the Houstonians made additional studies of projects in California and Florida, it was the Country Club District with which River Oaks was most often compared.[11] Even Nichols helped to link the two when he visited Houston in 1925 and found that Hogg's development "ranks high among the best subdivisions of this country . . ." He observed that the area was not only "technically correct, but . . . very pleasing." The layout in River Oaks, Nichols concluded, was "in accordance with the best

modern scientific planning."[12] Hogg and his associates were no doubt pleased with Nichols' assessment, but probably not surprised. After all, they had retained the Kansas City firm of Hare and Hare, the landscape architects who had planned Nichols' suburb.

Like the Country Club District, the design of the Houston development was drawn to protect the environmental integrity and the natural beauty of River Oaks. To enhance the sylvan setting, utility lines were placed underground. Similarly, by eliminating the alleys and all but three intersecting streets, the planners sought to discourage traffic noise; two years later they banned commercial traffic altogether. Country Club Estates followed traditional landscape design by planting a wide variety of trees and shrubs and removing trees except on curves and esplanades to project a sweeping vista. Even the plethora of non-residential structures—the automobile shopping center, the elementary school, and the corporation offices—conformed to the standards of "City Beautiful." Finally, to maintain the planned beauty of River Oaks, the developers provided a full-time staff of gardeners, repairmen and architects. As its founders promised, the beauty of River Oaks was to be "for all time."[13]

As important as the physical surroundings was the project's emphasis on exclusivity. River Oaks was never meant for everyone. Although there was a wide variance in lot size and price, even the cheapest, at $2500, was well beyond the reach of the ordinary buyer. To make sure it remained that way, the Country Club Estates used deed restrictions to prohibit homes costing less than seven thousand dollars. Beyond setting minimum expenditures, the subdivision required every home design to be approved by a panel of architects and citizens who eliminated any residences that might conflict with the dominant pastoral theme. Typical was Kirby Drive, one of the suburb's major thoroughfares, where the restrictions allowed only homes of English Tudor or American Colonial style.[14]

A series of written controls detailing post-construction land use further limited private property rights. Ranging from renovation of existing structures to the placement of garbage cans and clotheslines, these standards rigorously enforced land use conformity. Predictably, the restrictions also excluded non-white residents, and, by means of the infamous "gentlemen's agreement," Jews as well. Advertisements emphasized that in River Oaks "you will have good neighbors, you may be sure,"[15] indicating that River Oaks was zoned socially as well as geographically.

Obviously, beauty and exclusivity were goals for many residential developments. Many other cities had created large subdivisions. What makes River Oaks distinctive is its reliance upon centralized planning to create and preserve a particular urban environment. To be sure, planning was a factor in other residential subdivision, but beyond basic platting and service provisions, they did not attempt to formulate a total community. The profit motive of most developers led them to build clusters of homes rather than planned communities. The founders of River Oaks and their contemporaries in Shaker Heights, Highland Park, Beverly Hills and other elite residential communities, however, had a more sophisticated understanding of planning. Beyond providing basic urban needs, they viewed planning as a technique to mold the environment, ensuring the desirable qualities of beauty, exclusivity, and especially security.[16]

Security was the watchword for the new residential park—security against the disorder of the city, security against undesirable neighbors and land uses, and above all, security of neighborhood integrity. Country Club Estates spent thousands of dollars on advertising each year in order to make one point clear:

River Oaks' security was permanent. "The object is not merely to sell homesites," Hugh Potter wrote a friend, "but to sell them in such a way as will ensure the permanence and charm of the community and make each estate an asset of ever increasing value." Potter repeated that same message to his sales staff as the best method to promote the prestige of River Oaks. As long as Houston's growth remained uncontrolled and unzoned, permanent security remained the mainstay of River Oak's appeal. River Oaks, Potter reminded a prospective home buyer, "already offers you the advantage of a *restricted residential* (italics theirs) zone of more than one thousand acres." Will Hogg made the same point when he observed that "the curse of American civic development and the biggest blight on the beauty of the cities . . . has been the failure to foresee, gauge, and direct the dynamic rapidity of expansion and growth . . . ." In the Country Club Estates, he continued, "we have absolutely insured the . . . (River Oaks) residents against such a contigency for at least thirty years."[17]

Part of River Oaks' emphasis on security and permanence was simply good advertising. The Country Club Estate's marketing director, Don Riddle, turned out not only full page newspaper ads and billboards, but also a barrage of pamphlets, brochures and even bound volumes to beckon new residents. Through them all ran the consistent theme: River Oaks was a totally planned community that included every possible amenity from a country club to shopping centers and schools, while preserving the integrity and the beauty of private residences.[18]

The sales department rhetoric struck a responsive chord with many Houstonians. The same manifestations of urban disorder that makes today's River Oaks a sanctuary, existed in the early 1920s. By that time, Houstonians generally and the planning fathers of River Oaks in particular, were aware that the city had become, in the words of one historian, "the perennial boom town of the twentieth century Texas." At the turn of the century, Houston's population barely exceeded that of Galveston. But by 1910, its size had almost doubled, and in 1920 the city had tripled its population. Because of the post-World War I growth of its new port and a concomitant expansion of petroleum exports, Greater Houston's population soared beyond 250,000 by the end of 1924, an unprecedented four-year increase of more than fifty percent. Ten years later, Houston had become Texas' largest city.[19]

Houstonians were justifiably proud of their city's growth. But along with that pride was uncertainty about the direction and the outcome of the rapid expansion. In 1925 one of Hogg's contemporaries observed that "Yesterday Houston's problem was to build a compact city, guarding her inhabitants against the isolation and rigors of the open. Today," he continued, "the problem is reversed . . ., Houston is seeking spaces where the sky and the grass companion men in their domestic hours."[20]

Houston, like other twentieth century cities, had its advocates of city planning and zoning who were disturbed by the disorder and ugliness of rapid and uncontrolled urbanization. In the vanguard of the city planning movement in Houston were William C. Hogg and Hugh Potter, the seminal figures behind River Oaks. Hogg's name, in fact, was attached to practically every major civic improvement crusade in the 1920s. He engineered the annexation of a number of city parks and spearheaded the drive to construct Houston's downtown civic center. Hogg was the principal organizer of a citizens action group, the Forum of Civics, that publicized a number of beautification and planning projects. Not surprisingly, Hogg served as the Chairman of Houston's Planning Commission

in 1927 and as the spokesman for the abortive zoning movement the same year.[21]

So intense was Hogg's paternalistic devotion to planning and urban improvement, that he often went to unusual extremes. He apparently spent enormous sums from his own pocket to finance traffic counts in Houston in an attempt to aid the city in the formulation of a master plan. On one occasion he offered to buy trees for any property owners who wished to beautify their neighborhoods. His zeal extended far beyond Houston's urban problems, and he once proposed an ambitious urban renewal project to the Vatican to beautify St. Peter's Square with partial financing by the Hogg fortune.[22]

Hogg's planning concepts were in the tradition of the earlier "City Beautiful" movement which he combined with the dominant planning theories of the 1920s: The "City Functional or City Efficient Movement." For Hogg, efficiency and a pleasant environment were inseparable. City planning, he told one audience, "is no longer thought of as a scheme merely to beautify the town, to put 'feather duster' festoons on the City Hall and plant a bunch of shrubbery in front of it . . .," rather, urban planning was "the same and practical method of combining usefulness with beauty." He was fond of observing that planners had discovered "that we can make a city beautiful while we are making it practical." Above all, Hogg was convinced that the nemesis of cities was "the hit-or-miss fashion of letting a city sprawl as it will." When city growth was uncontrolled, the inevitable result was the destruction of older desirable neighborhoods by incompatible land uses.[23] It was for this reason that Hogg supported zoning as an integral component of planning. By segregating its industrial, business, and residential districts, the city not only became more stable and reational, but also more beautiful. Although Hogg's hopes for zoning in Houston were never realized, his efforts in River Oaks were. If Houston remained unplanned and chaotic, River Oaks would stand as a permanent example of successful urban planning.

Hugh Potter, the president of the Country Club Estates, shared Hogg's enthusiasm for planning and zoning. Like Hogg, he also served on the city planning commission and supported its zoning proposals. In one of the most articulate and comprehensive defenses of public planning, Potter demonstrated that he was able to apply theories that Hogg only vaguely understood. It was Hugh Potter who provided the link between public urban planning and residential developments like River Oaks. "What City Planning accomplishes by operation of law throughout the whole city," he noted, "the modern developer accomplishes by private contract in a particular section of the city." Potter asserted that the residential developer "is really planning your cities today and especially so in Houston because it is unzoned." Thus, according to Potter, private residential developers became nascent public planners in Houston. Without any public agency or legislation to provide centralized planning and zoning, the task fell, almost by default, to private developers.[24]

As both Potter and Hogg saw it, River Oaks was more than just another subdivision, it was a civic project. Hogg expressed that idea when he wrote Potter that "we are interested in Houston first, the success of River Oaks second, your advancement third, and our own compensation last." The corporation's newspaper advertising echoed that theme:

> By this time even the most skeptical are convinced that River Oaks is primarily a Civic undertaking—that its commercial aspects have been made secondary to the desire to insure Houston's having the most complete, the most attractive and best protected residential section in the South . . .[25]

The assumption of the founders that River Oaks would be annexed to the city was consistent with the view that River Oaks was a civic improvement. Unlike similar developments in other cities that remained politically autonomous—Shaker Heights in Cleveland or Highland Park in Dallas for example—River Oaks operated independently for only the first three years of its existence. Moreover, evidence indicates that Hogg intended that River Oaks be the model for surrounding residential areas. "We have convinced ourselves," he said, "that in a comparatively few years residential Houston will grown around River Oaks and be beautified by it."[26]

It is plausible that River Oaks was only a part, albeit a significant one, of a larger plan to zone and beautify Houston's entire West Side. The Hogg family had engineered the annexation of Memorial Park just west of the city limits in 1924. Shortly after founding River Oaks, Will Hogg, Hugh Potter and others organized property owners in that area with the goal of planning "residential Houston, as it takes its inevitable course westward under pressure of expanding commercial and industrial enterprise on the opposite side of the city." Perhaps to ensure that the West Side remained residential, Hogg and the Country Club Estates opposed the expansion of hospital facilities near River Oaks, claiming that property values would decline. Similarly, they kept a professional baseball team from playing in Memorial Park in an effort to exclude commercialism from the West Side. Hogg and his associates even concocted a plan of "voluntary segregation" based upon a system of racial zoning which they hoped would insure residential homogeneity in Houston.[27]

Whatever Hogg's grander schemes, River Oaks survives as an enclave of planning surrounded by urban chaos. Had Hogg and Potter succeeded in their total effort, River Oaks would have been the rule, not the exception. Instead of merely providing the model for a few scattered and affluent neighborhoods, it would have been almost indistinguishable from the rest of the residential Houston. For to its founders, River Oaks was a civic improvement as well as a status symbol and a retreat for wealthy. Ironically, exclusivity was both the strength and weakness of River Oaks as a standard of urban planning. On the one hand, its elitist nature helped guarantee its success. On the other, that same elitism prevented the project from ever becoming more than a limited private response to a problem that was essentially public. No doubt, the adoption of city planning with strict zoning ordinances would have extended some of the benefits of River Oaks to more Houstonians. As it is, River Oaks remains an island of affluence and only a monument to the aspirations of Houston city planners in the 1920s.

NOTES

[1]See Samuel Hays, "The Politics of Reform in the Progressive Era," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (October 1964), 157-169; James Weinstein, "Organized Business and the City Commission and Manager Movements," *Journal of Southern History*, 28 (May 1962), 166-182; Robert H. Wiebe, *Businessmen and Reform* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); Blaine Brownell, *The Urban Ethos in the Twentieth Century South* (Baton Rouge, 1975).

[2]New York *Times* February 15, 1976.

[3]For general descriptions regarding River Oaks see: *A Home in River Oaks* (Houston, 1926); *River Oaks, A Domain of Beautiful Homes* (Houston, N.d.); Hogg Brothers, *Our Story of River Oaks* (1926); Don Riddle, "Homes to Last for All Times; The Story of Houston's River Oaks," *National Real Estate Journal*, clipping in Houston Metropolitan

Research Center, River Oaks Scrapbook #7 (henceforth called HMRC scrapbook); *River Oaks + Eighteenth Year* (Houston, n.d.); Houston *Post* April 18, 1971; Houston *Chronicle* June 8, 9, 10, 11, 1976; Wendy Meyers, "River Oaks, Still the Satin Slipper Suburb," *Houston Home and Garden* 22 (August 1976), 41-48, 134-135; transcript of an interview with architect John Staub, designer of many River Oaks homes, HMRC March 17, 1975; and the W.P.A. file, HMRC.

[4]These varying accounts can be found in the material listed in note number three. For more detailed fiscal information see: a letter from K.E. Womack, President of the River Oaks Country Club to members of the River Oaks Country Club, June 5, 1924 in HMRC scrapbook #1; Will C. Hogg to Hugh Potter, May 17, 1924 in Will C. Hogg Papers, University Archives, University of Texas at Austin (henceforth cited as WCHP) Box 6/72.

[5]*River Oaks + Eighteenth Year*, no pagination. Another version appears in the *Houston Gargoyle*, April 10, 1928, 11.

[6]Houston *Chronicle* November 12, 1924.

[7]In the Hogg papers see: O.J. Cadwallader to William C. Hogg, March 16, 1925, HC 4/12 section 3; W.B.F. to William C. Hogg and Mike Hogg, March 20, 1930, HC 6/73; Country Club Financial Analysis from W.B.F. to William C. Hogg, December 29, 1924, HC 4/12 section 3; W.B.F. to Mike Hogg March 22, 1929, HC 6/73; clipping, unidentified newspaper, September 7, 1924, HMRC scrapbook #9. These reports must be analyzed carefully because of the intricate corporate organization. For instance, the Hogg's loaned the Country Club Estates the money, therefore, while the corporation did not make money, the Hoggs did. Also, in 1927 the Corporation was severed into two corporate entities: the Country Club Estates and River Oaks. And while one corporate structure lost money, it is not clear how it affected the other, financial statement, December 31, 1927, WCHP-HC 4/12 section 2. The total sum invested in River Oaks is in John Lomax, *Will Hogg, Texan* (Austin, 1956), 30.

[8]The River Oaks Property Owners Scrapbook located in the River Oaks Corporation Offices, Houston, Texas, compiled January 15, 1970, lists the rate of sales and homebuilding. Will Hogg was aware that his grand vision was creating financial problems. See his memo entitled "Comments on Real Estate," April 13, 1925, WCHP Box 6/72, in which he warned that the Corporation was spending more on the lots, approximately $3,000 per acre, than their worth.

[9]For general information regarding Shadyside, see the Houston *Chronicle* April 11, 1976. An examination of the agreement creating Shadyside, January 1, 1917, reveals similarities to River Oaks. Utilities were placed underground and there were detailed clauses regarding land use. The Shadyside material is in the J.S. Cullinan Papers, Special Collections, University of Houston Library, File m-2, F 562.

[10]John Staub interview, 5, 6, 12; J.C. Nichols to Will C. Hogg, June 23, 30, 1925, WCHP-HC 4/11 folder 1.

[11]Clippings, unidentified newspapers, August 10, 17, 1924, June 1, 1924, HMRC scrapbook #1; Houston *Post-Dispatch* September 15, 1925; Houston *Chronicle* September 14, 1925; Hugh Potter to William C. Hogg, September 27, 1928, WCHP-HC 4/12 section 1.

[12]Clipping, unidentified newspaper, (n.d.), HMRC scrapbook #2; also reported verbatim in the Houston *Post* June 21, 1925. For Nichols' Houston visit see: clippings, unidentified newspapers, January 16, 17, 30, 1925, HMRC scrapbook #1.

[13]Quote from Riddle's "Homes to Last for All Times," last page of unpaginated article, HMRC scrapbook #7. Most of the appropriate descriptive material is listed in note number three. The advertisements of the Corporation are excellent sources. See the

HMRC River Oaks Vertical File as well as the clippings in the HMRC scrapbook: October 3, 27, 1926, January 5, 1927, February 11, 13, 20, 1927, March 6, 1927, scrapbook #4; August 17, 1924 scrapbook #1; Houston *Post-Dispatch* August 30, 1925.

[14]Houston *Post-Dispatch* December 29, 1926; Advertisement, (n.d.) 4 pages, HMRC River Oaks Vertical File; *A Home in River Oaks* (1926) *Ibid.*, A plat of the Country Club Estates March 5, 1925 indicating prices of the lots, HMRC scrapbook #1; "Agreement Creating a Residential District in River Oaks," WCHP Box 4/11 folder 2.

[15]For the quotation see an advertisement in HMRC River Oaks Vertical dated 1926. A copy of the deed restrictions spells out the requirements and limitations on private land use: *River Oaks Corporation, Houston, Texas, Reservation, Restrictions and Convenants in River Oaks Addition* (Houston, 1924), 12 pp. The "gentlemen's agreement" is in a letter from Potter to Hogg and the June and July 1930 resume of the River Oaks Corporation. Potter wrote to Hogg that a Jew bought a tract of River Oaks land from the owner, not the Corporation, and the Corporation attempted to get the original owner to take it back. As Potter noted, "the Jew" refused to sell it to Corporation but sold it to another party. This led Potter to observe that, "Perhaps he resents our attitude. Any way [sic] we have gotten rid of him," Hugh Potter to Will C. Hogg December 27, 1926, WCHP-HC 4/12 section 2. The second case was similar and the June 1930 resume declared that the Jew "would hurt the property badly." River Oaks resume by Hugh Potter, July 1930, 3 June resume, 3, *Ibid.*, 6/72.

[16]Sam Bass Warner notes that small subdivisions were "planned" in Boston by thousands of small developers in order to provide services, but not "planned" in a manner to manipulate the environment. Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs* (Cambridge Mass., 1962). In Chicago and Los Angeles, for example, large subdivisions were usually built by the owners of the streetcar companies that serviced the subdivisions, but no thought was given to the creation of a particular type of environment through planning. Howard Chudacoff, *The Evolution of Modern Urban Society* (New Jersey, 1975), 79 and Robert Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis, Los Angeles, 1850-1920* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 85-107.

[17]Hugh Potter to Frank Atwater, April 6, 1925, HMRC scrapbook #1; Potter to Robert S. Abbott, n.d. *Ibid.*, #4; *Our Story of River Oaks*. For examples of the advertising campaign see the HMRC River Oaks Vertical File.

[18]So effective was the River Oaks advertising campaign that it won first place in the National Association of Real Estate Boards meeting in Boston. Houston *Post-Dispatch* June 28, 1929.

[19]Writers Program of the W.P.A., *Houston: A History and Guide* (Houston, 1942) 112; Norman Henry Beard (ed.), *The City Book of Houston, 1925*, 40; David McComb, *Houston: The Bayou City* (Austin, 1969), 122, 206; *The Texas Almanac and Industrial Guide* (Dallas, 1926), 72.

[20]James Wallen to Mr. [W.C.?] Hogg, May 18, 1925, WCHP-HC 4/11 folder 1.

[21]Hogg's involvement in the Houston planning and zoning movement can be found in the Hogg Papers: Hogg to Mayor Oscar Holcombe, June 22, 1926, HC 4/7 section 2; Potter to Hogg, May 7, 1927 HC 4/12 section 1; R.C. Shaffer (secretary of the Forum of Civics) to the American City Planning Institute, November 27, 1926, HC 4/7 section 2; P.B. Timpson to W.C. Hogg, October 21, 1926, HC 4/7; W.C. Hogg to Alex F. Weisberg, December 10, 1926, HC 4/7 section 2; Louis Brawnlaw to Will Hogg, January 8, 1928, HC 4/8; Kessler Plan Association to Will Hogg, February 25, 1927, HC 4/7; unidentified newspaper clippings, September 22, 27, 1927, HMRC scrapbook #6; October 2, 10, 1928, *Ibid.*, #7; June 21, August 7, 1926, *Ibid.*, #3; Houston *Post-Dispatch* July 14, 1927; Houston *Chronicle* July 1, 1927 and the Dallas *News* March 24, 1928. For a study of Will Hogg as a

reformer see Bruce Weber, "Will Hogg: Southern Progressive," a paper delivered to the Southwest Social Science Association, Spring, 1977.

[22]Staub interview; Houston *Post* April 21, 1927; Will C. Hogg to Miss L. Gibson October 21, 1929, WCHP Box 4/8.

[23]For background material on the "City Beautiful" and "City Functional" movements see Mel Scott, *American City Planning Since 1890* (Berkeley, 1967), 47-269. The first quote is in Hogg's address to the annual meeting of the Kessler Plan Association in Dallas in 1928, Dallas *News* March 24, 1928. The final quote is from *Our Story of River Oaks.*

[24]Potter's discourse on city planning entitled, "Modern Residential Development in Relation to City Planning," reprinted by the Houston *Chronicle* March 21, 1926. Potter's views on city planning, his role on the City Planning Commission, and biographical data can be found in the Houston *Post* May 5, 1929, the Houston *Press* May 21, 1929, the Houston *Post-Dispatch* March 19, 1926, the Houston *Chronicle* March 19, 1926; and a letter from Alex Weisberg to Hugh Potter, January 18, 1927, WCHP-HC 4/7.

[25]Will C. Hogg to Hugh Potter, April 25, 1925, WCHP Box 6/72; Houston *Post* April 26, 1927.

[26]*Our Story of River Oaks.*

[27]*Ibid;* Houston *Chronicle,* November 20, 1926 and December 28, 1929; Telegram series, Potter to Hogg, January 1-3, 1927, WCHP-HC 4/12, section 1; Buffalo Drive Beautification Society to Mayor Oscar Holcombe, et al., November 21, 1927, *Ibid,* HC 4/12; Hogg to Mrs. James L. Autry, December 29, 1927, *Ibid,* HC 4/7, section 1. For the "voluntary segregation" scheme see Hogg to Herbert Hare, May 25, 1929 and Hare to Hogg, May 28, 1929, *Ibid,* HC 4/8.