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The Ku Klux Klan and the Jewish Community of Dallas, 1921–1923

by

Rosalind Benjet

Many long-term Dallas residents assert that the Jewish community in the heart of the Bible Belt neither experienced antisemitism nor incidents that reflected hatred of Jews by groups such as the Ku Klux Klan. This statement is only partially true. Although Jewish Dallasites never experienced much in the way of overt antisemitic activities such as Jews endured in other cities and towns, including some in Texas, a few events did take place that color an otherwise benign picture.

Both the leaders of the Jewish community and those of Dallas were involved in business. Jews had resided in the city almost from its inception and had made numerous business and civic contributions. As was the case in many other southern cities and towns, economic prosperity outweighed possible prejudice in this relationship because both groups were needed to make the city prosper. By attacking Jewish businesses, which were among the largest in Dallas at the time, a group like the Klan would be attacking the general business climate of the city, something that few advocated.

Two significant incidents mar the otherwise calm waters that Jewish Dallas experienced in the early 1920s. First, in March 1922, a Jew named Philip Rothblum was taken by a group of men to the Trinity River Bottoms, a relatively unpopulated area west of the city, where he was flogged and threatened with further harm if he did not leave the city at once. One year later, former impeached governor James E. Ferguson wrote an article titled “The Cloven

Foot of the Dallas Jew," published in his newspaper, the *Ferguson Forum*, in which he accused prominent Jewish businessmen of supporting Klan politicians, thus allying themselves with the Klan. An examination of these events contributes to an understanding of what may have happened and why the Jewish community responded the way it did. Before addressing these two incidents, however, it is important to look at the Jewish and Klan presence in Dallas, as well as Klan influence.

Early Jewish Settlement

Although John Neely Bryan, the first settler, came to the area that would become Dallas in 1841, the city did not grow immediately. In 1845, Texas became the twenty-eighth state in the Union, no longer the Republic of Texas, which it had been since 1836. Settlers came mostly from other southern states, and in 1855 a French-speaking agricultural community called La Reunion was founded by two hundred French and Belgians. Although the La Reunion community failed, some of the participants remained in the new town. The population grew to 775 by 1859, shortly after the arrival of Alexander Simon, cited by Gerry Cristol as "the first known Jew to settle in Dallas."¹ Born in Poland, Alexander Simon had already lived in Houston, and by 1858 he ran unsuccessfully for the office of alderman in Dallas, where he was the proprietor of a store located on the town square. By 1863 Simon had left Dallas and moved to Brenham, Texas.²

During and just after the Civil War, other Jews settled in Dallas, many of them apparently shopkeepers like Simon, who remained only temporarily. In 1871, when it became clear that the railroad would come to Dallas, more Jews started to arrive. Among them were Jonas Rosenfield, a tobacco dealer, M. Ullman and E. M. Tillman, merchants selling groceries, wine, liquor, and tobacco, and E. M. Kahn, who operated a men's clothing business, which grew into one of the city's larger establishments.³

In 1872, the railroad arrived, and the city's growth was assured. Sanger Brothers Dry Goods, which had already operated in other Texas towns, opened a store in Dallas in that year, and in the following year, Alex Sanger moved the original store to a site

*E. M. Kahn & Co., circa 1920.
The retail clothing business that E. M. Kahn
founded in 1872 flourished for over 100 years.
(Courtesy, Dallas Jewish Historical Society.)*

“with 10,000 square feet of sales floor on Elm and Lamar streets – it was the largest retail store in Texas!”⁴ Numerous other Jewish merchants settled in the city, many also dealing in dry goods, as well as home furnishings, groceries, fruit, and liquor. Additional Jewish businesses included bakeries and saloons.⁵ On July 1, 1872, the Dallas Hebrew Benevolent Association was established to serve the needs of the fledgling Jewish community. Three years later a decision was made to organize a permanent congregation, Temple Emanu-El, with a rabbi, a building, and a religious school for children.⁶ On March 1, 1884, Orthodox Jews, who had either attended services at Temple Emanu-El or worshipped in private homes, organized a new congregation, Shaareth Israel. A second

Orthodox congregation, Tiferet Israel, was founded in 1890.⁷ Other Jewish organizations followed, including B'nai B'rith, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, and National Council of Jewish Women.

By 1920 the Jewish community of Dallas had reached a population of 8,000 out of a total city population of 135,000.⁸ Many of the leading retail businesses were owned by Jews, and, although social activities between Jews and gentiles remained separate, these businessmen had a significant role in the life of the city, serving as members of philanthropic and civic boards, such as that of the Texas State Fair. Like other prosperous businessmen, many were also members of the Masonic order where they came into contact with members of another significant Dallas group, the Ku Klux Klan.

Dallas was now a thriving commercial city, a regional banking and retail center in a cotton-producing area. Thus, at the same time that Klan membership was estimated at thirteen thousand, including many prominent citizens,⁹ a large percentage of the leading merchants of the city were Jewish. Jewish leaders spoke out against the Klan but never originated any actions to fight it. Spokesmen for the Klan wrote anti-Jewish slurs in their weekly newspaper but never planned any organized campaign against Jews. Indeed, the most virulent antisemitic document of the time came not from the Klan but from former governor James Ferguson.

The Ku Klux Klan in Dallas

In 1915, the post-Civil War Klan was revived in Atlanta by William J. Simmons. It attracted many people in the Midwest and the Southwest. According to Darwin Payne, a Dallas historian, the Klan's "appeals to morality, native Americanism, patriotism, and fundamental Christianity proved to be an appealing message to local residents who were not well-educated and whose ties to small towns and rural areas remained close."¹⁰ Bertram G. Christie organized Klan No. 66 in Dallas in late 1920, and, several years later, when membership grew to thirteen thousand, it was "said to be the largest local Klan in the nation."¹¹

Ku Klux Klan parade in Dallas, 1921.

*(Courtesy, Fort Worth Star-Telegram Photograph Collection,
the University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, Arlington, Texas.)*

Klan members came from all walks of life. In Dallas, as elsewhere, Klan membership was common for those in business and politics as well as other occupations. Payne cites the Executive Committee of the Klan in spring of 1922 as such an example. Among the ten members of the committee were: "Police Commissioner Turley, three attorneys, a physician, and the assistant general manager of the Dallas Street Railway Co." The steering committee of one hundred people included "twelve attorneys, eight physicians, four Dallas Power & Light Co. Officials, the superintendent of the local Ford Motor Co., a *Daily Times Herald* reporter, the Democratic Party county chairman, the county tax collector, a district judge-elect, a run-off candidate for district attorney (who soon won), and a smattering of bankers, druggists,

grocers, and others." Another member was Robert L. Thornton, president of Dallas County State Bank, later prominent in Dallas politics and civic life. Especially well represented was the Dallas Police Department, whose Klan members included "Police Commissioner Louis Turley, Police Chief Elmo Straight, the assistant chief, three captains, ten sergeants, and ninety-one other officers, or about two-thirds of the force."¹²

Dallas became the center for Ku Klux Klan activities in north Texas. Its Imperial Wizard, Hiram W. Evans, was based in Dallas. Evans was most likely one of those responsible for the whipping and branding of a black man, Alex Johnson, in April 1921.¹³ African Americans were often the targets of hate and discrimination, and Dallas was no different from other cities in this respect. In March 1919, the African American community did have some success in appealing the showing of the film *The Birth of a Nation*, a film that glorified the Old South, slavery, and the original Klan. The local branch of the NAACP won the support of the board of censors, who canceled the show.¹⁴ During this time there was also a Colored Voters Association which opposed candidates for city office that they felt were objectionable to African Americans. (There were twelve thousand African Americans eligible to vote.)¹⁵ African Americans lived and worked in the Deep Ellum section of the city, just east of downtown Dallas, an area where a number of eastern European Jews settled and ran small businesses. There is no record of any association between Jewish and African American groups. Segregationist policies resulted in what Robert Prince, an African American doctor, who wrote a history of the African American community in Dallas, calls "the complete isolation of Dallas' African-Americans," a "culture within a culture" where "the black man was governed by, and worked in, a white society with folkways and mores dating back a millennium. The Negro was forced to develop a sub-culture that addressed his human needs."¹⁶ Thus, African Americans lived their lives within the larger community but largely apart from it in all but the workplace.

On May 21, 1921, about eight hundred Klansmen marched on Main Street in downtown Dallas, carrying placards that read "All

Native Born," "All Pure White," and "Our Little Girls Must Be Protected."¹⁷ The Dallas Klan claimed to be concerned with such matters as "cohabitation of blacks and whites of either sex," and "the gambler, the trickster, the moral degenerate; and the man who lives by his wife and is without visible means of support."¹⁸ Klan members in Dallas usually harbored no specific prejudice against Jews. In fact, Hortense Sanger, whose husband's family ran the Sanger Brothers Department store, recounts the story of her uncle, Edward Titche, a good-looking and prosperous Dallas merchant, who was asked to join the Klan. When he informed them that he was Jewish and, therefore, was not interested in joining the Klan, they were disappointed because they thought he would have made a good Kleagle.¹⁹ She also recalls that her father went to meetings of the Masonic order and came home shaking his head sadly at learning that many prominent members were Klansmen.

Official Klan doctrine was, of course, antisemitic. Lois E. Torrence, who studied the Klan in Dallas, attributes this policy to both racial and religious factors: "The Jew was considered an absolutely unblendable element and by every patriotic test, he is alien and unassimilable. Not in a thousand years of continuous residence would he form basic attachments comparable to those the older type of immigrant would form within a year."²⁰ This was not an unusual view, as nativist and eugenic theories were widespread at the time. Other comments by Ouida Ferguson Nalle, the daughter of former governor Ferguson, attest to the generally antisemitic attitude of the Klan toward Jews: "The hooded night riders so terrorized the Jews in some parts of the State that for a time during the campaign [apparently her mother's campaign for governor] they gathered together and sat up all night fearing a pogrom."²¹ Nalle adds that the Klan had organized boycotts, not only of businesses owned by Jews, but of all so-called foreigners. But what Nalle described did not happen in Dallas.

There is a dichotomy in what the Klan said and what it did in Dallas. In fact, the relationship between the Klan and the Jewish community seems almost non-confrontational. Jewish leaders denounced the Klan, but no organized action ensued;

spokesmen for the Klan wrote some anti-Jewish slurs, but again no concerted efforts occurred. According to Charles C. Alexander, antisemitism as an organized Klan policy was not as significant an issue in Texas as it was in other states. Texas Klan members did not "openly advocate boycotting Jewish merchants" and no crosses were burned before synagogues.²² Although the Klan may at times have complained about Jewish business practices, such resentment made little difference to "the social standing or economic well-being of prominent Jewish families."²³

The Klan newspaper, the *Texas 100% American*, published in Dallas, was itself ambivalent in its attitude toward Jews. On September 29, 1922, an article titled "Catholics and Jews, and our Public Schools," explained that the Klan did not approve of Catholics teaching in public schools or serving on school boards, but it did not object to Jewish involvement. A Jew elected to the school board was there "because he has distinguished himself as a true friend of the cause of education." Furthermore, "the majority of Jews, when you have found them in office, have mounted there from true worth, and not because of political ambitions."²⁴ But on February 23, 1923, in the same newspaper, Hiram Evans wrote that Jews have been "tendered hospitality" in America and that he believed that Jews were "Klannish." Although the latter statement could mean that Jews could be good Klansmen and that they had Klan-type characteristics, it would have been out of character for Evans to have welcomed Jews as Klan members even if they posed no threat. It is more likely that he meant that Jews stayed together and apart from gentiles. Furthermore, Evans claimed to know what he believed western civilization had been slow to realize: "The amalgamation of two dissimilar races produces the inferior qualities of both."²⁵ These ideas were common to Madison Grant, Lothrop Stoddard, and other racial theorists of the era.

Evans's antisemitic remarks, under the headline "Attitude of the Klan Toward the Jews," stand out as the most negative comments of the Dallas Klan against Jews. Catholics, rather than Jews, appear to have been more victimized by the Klan, and on June 1, 1923, the Klan declared that if Jews were not allied with Catholics, they would not be attacked by the Klan; but if the Jews joined

with the Catholics, they, too, would be attacked. Most of this article, however, disclaimed antisemitism on the part of the Klan: "We have not been Jew baiters, and we have not permitted ourselves to be known as Jew persecutors."²⁶ Subsequent articles that mentioned Jews emphasized the dangers of Jewish business practices, but none indicated that this was the case in Dallas. As Jonathan Sarna has demonstrated, the distinction was being made between the international Jew and the Jew next door.²⁷

Since Klansmen were expected to conduct business with other Klansmen whenever possible, some Dallas businesses feared Klan boycotts. Glenn Pricer, of the *Dallas Dispatch*, recalled, "The Klan was quite a threatening organization—people were afraid to belong to it and afraid not to. One of the main reasons for its growth was fear of boycott on the part of little businesses."²⁸ There is no solid evidence that any sort of boycott of Dallas department stores, or any stores for that matter, was ever conducted. In fact, an editorial from the *Jewish Monitor*, a newspaper published weekly in Fort Worth that included news of the Dallas Jewish community, refers to rumors of a Ku Klux Klan and Knights of the Egyptian Mysteries boycott of Jewish businesses. The editor, Dr. G. George Fox, a Fort Worth rabbi, stated that, when the rumors persisted, he investigated personally and, after speaking with men, "whom we know to be very intimately connected with both organizations," concluded that the rumors were taken too seriously, and, if repeated, they could get worse. He added, "Our own feeling in the matter is that the alleged prejudice against the Jews in these organizations is exaggerated and that we can only make matters worse by consistently dwelling upon the unfortunate intrusion into the calmness of American life, of racial and religious prejudices."²⁹ Although Fox may have preferred to smooth over an unpleasant situation, there is no evidence that Jewish businessmen in Dallas suffered any business losses because of boycott activities of the Klan or any other group.

The Klan did, however, boycott the *Dallas Morning News*. According to Darwin Payne, the Klan alleged "falsely that the newspaper was controlled by Catholics."³⁰ During spring 1922, George B. Dealey, president and general manager of the

newspaper, received scores of letters from readers and newspaper distributors demanding to know the religious affiliation of the board and employees of the newspaper. Although some letters came from Dallas, many originated in small towns within the state and from neighboring states. Dealey sent a form letter response, listing the religious affiliations of board members and key employees. There were no Jews, but two Catholics did hold key positions, the circulation manager, M. W. Florer, and Alonzo Wasson, the writer whose editorial initiated the paper's anti-Klan policy.³¹ One letter, dated May 6, 1922, asked if any of the paper's stock was owned by Jews. Dealey responded, "It may be that some of the stock of this corporation is owned by Hebrews, but so far as we recall now there are only one or two Hebrews who own stock, and who live in Dallas. We only know one for sure, and he owns one share."³²

Whether Dealey's account is accurate or not is unknown, but the fact that he responded at all indicates that he had to be on the defensive because of his anti-Klan policies. Dealey was concerned about a drop in circulation from 72,340 as of April 1, 1919, to 66,902 as of October 1, 1921, due to Klan opposition to the paper's stance.³³ At the end of 1922, circulation was still down by three thousand, and the company was forced to use a cash reserve of \$200,000 to pay the usual 8 percent dividend to the major stockholders. Dealey continued to oppose the Klan, but, at the same time, he had to satisfy the concerns of Jeannette Belo Peabody, the daughter of the company's founder, about the profitability of the paper. No doubt such a boycott of the *Dallas Morning News* would have alarmed Jewish businessmen, but there is no record of their sentiments. Dealey, however, remained steadfast in his opposition to the Klan.

Jewish Response to the Klan

David Lefkowitz of Temple Emanu-El, the leading rabbi in Dallas at the time and often a spokesman for the Jewish community, seems to have been ambivalent about how to respond to the threat of the Klan. On June 16, 1921, Lefkowitz, who had a friendly relationship with Dealey, responded to Dealey's

Rabbi David Lefkowitz, 1901
(Courtesy, the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the
American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.)

editorials opposing the Klan: "Let me take this opportunity to thank you for your very courageous stand in both of your newspapers [the same company, A. H. Belo, owned both the *Dallas Morning News* and the *Dallas Journal*, an afternoon newspaper] on the sinister Ku Klux Klan. . . it has meant much in molding public opinion rightly in Dallas."³⁴ On January 26, 1922, Lefkowitz wrote to John W. Stayton of *Holland's Magazine*, stating that he was pleased that there were people outside his own religion "who are awake to the danger of the Ku Klux Klan, who realize that it is rank poison and threatens the very foundation of democracy."³⁵ The following month, the rabbi's strategy seems to have changed. In response to A. J. Kaufman, of Buffalo, Texas, who wanted to publish a vehemently anti-Klan article in the *Dallas Morning News*, Lefkowitz wrote, "My objection to fighting the Ku Klux Klan through the papers is that it gives this organization the publicity it wants and upon which it thrives. I believe that it can be more easily combatted by silence. . . . We here in Dallas are taking the latter tack of silence however you must use your own judgment."³⁶ Like many Jews of the time, Lefkowitz may have believed that calling attention to problems like this only made them worse.

By December 26, 1923, Lefkowitz's policy of silence was firmly entrenched. He wrote to J. J. Taubehaus regarding some antisemitic remarks made by a speaker to the women's section of the Klan: "I would hardly dignify an effusion like that by answering it. . . . The country is just mad and will have to see the end of its little spree and the Jews will suffer."³⁷ Lefkowitz's initial reactions against the Klan more likely reflect his true feelings, but during the 1920s Jews were not yet secure as Americans, and low-profile strategies were far more common than confrontational tactics. At the same time groups like the Klan were calling the Jews "unblendable," many Jews were trying hard to "blend," even if that meant ignoring racial slurs.

Regardless of what the Klan said, what they did or did not do in Dallas is more significant, and only a few incidents of antisemitic actions have been recorded. Marilyn Wood Hill tells of Jewish men receiving threatening phone calls from the Klan warning them not to date Christian women. She also recounts the story

of Helman Rosenthal, who had come to Dallas in 1918 to become the first professional head of the water department. When the Klan gained control of the city government under Mayor Sawnie R. Aldredge,³⁸ Rosenthal was fired because the Klan wanted "one of their own kind" in his position.³⁹

More typical of the Dallas experience is the story of Milton Levy, who became a licensed plumber, "no mean feat, considering the prejudice against Jews felt by the established plumbers of the city."⁴⁰ By the early 1920s Levy was able to build up a successful plumbing business, and his name is mentioned regularly in minutes of the city council as the plumbing contractor for various city projects. Levy acknowledged that his success did not come easily: "Some of them didn't know what a Jewish person looked like. They thought he must have horns. They know what a cowboy looked like, but if you told them you were Jewish, they would look you up and down to see if you were human or not. They [other plumbers] didn't want me in business."⁴¹ He explained further: "Everybody . . . knows that the name Levy means 'Jewish' but whenever there is a contract to be let, if our price is right we get the work."⁴² Although Levy's experience is mixed, again the business of Dallas is business, and his story reinforces that assertion. In fact, many Jewish businesses thrived during this time, and few experienced any direct Klan actions.

The Rothblum Incident

On March 6, 1922, Phillip Rothblum, 49, a picture framer, became the first reported Jewish victim of a Klan-like attack. According to the *Dallas Morning News*, several unmasked men came to his home, asked to see Rothblum, and forced him into an automobile, where he was blindfolded and taken to an unknown location. These men hit him in the face, knocked out two teeth, and whipped him with a heavy black snake whip. He was then threatened with further harm if he did not leave the city at once. Rothblum stated, "I'm afraid not to comply."⁴³ After the flogging he closed his business and left Dallas. Mayor Aldredge deplored the incident and promised that the police would investigate.

Meanwhile, the Dallas City Council adopted a resolution authorizing a reward of \$250 for information "leading to the arrest and conviction of any one of the participants involved in the whipping of Phillip Rothblum." An addendum described Dallas as "a peaceful law abiding community and this disgraceful affair was an outrage upon its good name." Immediately following this announcement in the minutes was a response by the Ku Klux Klan, answering the council's appeal (which had also been printed in the *Dallas Morning News*). The Klan approved the actions of the city council and authorized it to offer an additional five hundred dollar reward from Dallas Klan No. 66. Just as Dallas had sought a remedy to this violence, the Klan, too, stated that it supported "law and order. . . ONLY THROUGH THE REGULAR CONSTITUTED AUTHORITIES, regardless of the unjust criticism of some of the press and those uninformed." The Klan would back the city's efforts at law enforcement and "any time that an act of felony is committed under any kind of hood or disguise you may call on the Ku Klux Klan for double the reward."⁴⁴

With two-thirds of the police force as Klansmen, the police department was put into a difficult position. They could have remained silent about the incident, as police did elsewhere in lynchings, floggings, and other acts of violence, or directed responsibility to some group other than the Klan. It would have been difficult for police officials to condone anything like the flogging incidents, yet they could absolve the Klan by pointing out that the perpetrators were unmasked, whereas Klan punishments and threats were usually carried out by hooded men.

The Rothblum incident continued to be front-page material for the *Dallas Morning News*. On March 9, 1922, the newspaper published a second letter from the Klan backing law enforcement as well as a statement from Mrs. Rothblum that she could identify one of the attackers because she had seen him "about the courthouse a short time before the flogging."⁴⁵ On the same day, the *Texas 100% American* also recounted what had happened to Rothblum, adding that he had left the city and that a special investigation was being conducted.

Three days later, the *Dallas Morning News* reported that there was new evidence in the case and that Mr. and Mrs. Rothblum had returned from Little Rock after being given police protection. The Rothblums were scheduled to go before the grand jury on March 13, 1922. An editorial that same day alleged that the police were "tolerant of mob crimes of a species virtually unknown before the advent of the Ku Klux Klan," and added, "If the men who invaded Rothblum's home had stolen his slippers, they would probably now be in jail."⁴⁶ When subpoenas were issued for the grand jury investigation, among those called was policeman J. J. Crawford. Crawford, identified by Darwin Payne as "a secret Klansman," and his partner, Officer Leroy Wood, did have some connection with Rothblum. In February 1922, they had tried to arrest a black man as he left Rothblum's house and business. (Rothblum's business was located in his home.) When Crawford fired at the suspect, his shot missed the target and struck and killed Wood.⁴⁷ On March 16, a headline read "No Indictments in Rothblum Flogging" and the grand jury did not even mention the case in its report.⁴⁸

By March 22, 1922, another flogging had occurred involving F. H. Etheridge, a gentile lumber dealer. Exactly why Etheridge was attacked is unknown. Again, rewards were offered by the city and the Klan. Chief detective W. R. Moffett told the *Dallas Morning News* that the grand jury knew who had whipped Rothblum, and the sheriff and Special Investigator Grady Kennedy promised to apprehend those responsible for the floggings.⁴⁹ On March 23, District Attorney Maury Hughes stated that he believed both of the whippings had been committed by the same people and that he would prosecute those responsible. Hughes, who had been a Klansman himself, resigned from the Klan because he "was so disgusted by this incident" [the Rothblum flogging]. The following day, patrolman J. J. Crawford was arrested and charged with false imprisonment and aggravated assault, and police sergeant Louis Spencer and policeman Paul Adair were suspended from duty.⁵⁰ A March 29 editorial in the *Dallas Morning News* suggested that Dallas police authorities should sever their ties with the Ku Klux Klan. With so many

members of the police force belonging to the Klan, this, of course, was unlikely.

On March 31, 1922, the trial in the Rothblum case began with his testimony: "They took off my vest, took my pants down and with a large whip, big at one end and tapering off to the other end, they lashed me about 25 times."⁵¹ Rothblum testified that when the blindfold slipped off, he saw Crawford, who was about three feet away. The defense strategy was to attack Rothblum personally, producing witnesses who said that Rothblum's reputation for "truth and veracity was very bad." In addition, the defense tried to establish Rothblum's house as having a "bad reputation" but the judge refused to allow this line of questioning. Rothblum was then accused of keeping women in "crib houses," which he denied. The defense claim centered on a reference to the death of Crawford's partner, who was shot accidentally during the attempt to capture a black man in Rothblum's neighborhood. They alleged that Rothblum's wife was somehow involved with Crawford's partner, and said that Rothblum therefore "had it in for Jim."

Other testimony revealed that Rothblum had visited the police station two days before the whipping and was told by Policeman Pat O'Shea that "policemen said they were going to Ku Klux Klan him." Rothblum heard one of them say, "To the same place." [The Trinity River Bottoms was allegedly the site of a number of other incidents of violence.] Rothblum's version of the story is that he knew Crawford because Crawford had bought a picture from him for three dollars but had not paid for it. He went to the police station to ask Crawford for the money. Further attempts were made to sully Rothblum's reputation, including asking him if his wife was a prostitute (which he denied) and asking if his hair was dyed (it was).⁵²

Also on March 31, the *Texas 100% American* directed attention to the motives for the whippings, alleging that the authorities knew why these people were whipped. The article declared that blame for the incidents was unfair to the Klan, and then the writer abandoned the subject of the whippings for a diatribe about young girls being "led astray by night-riders in expensive, inviting automobiles."⁵³ By portraying Rothblum as the keeper of a

house of prostitution, the Klan, like the defense attorney, attempted to justify the flogging.

After deliberating for only thirty-five minutes, the jury found Crawford innocent on the first ballot, and he was reinstated by the police department. The judge said that the allegations regarding Rothblum's "immorality" had no bearing on the case, although "Colorfully expletive and adjectives of odium were applied to Rothblum by the defense attorneys."⁵⁴ Thus the judge purported that the jury ignored the accusations about Rothblum in reaching its verdict, a highly unlikely conclusion.

Approving the decision of the court, the Klan emphasized the "bad reputation" of Rothblum. The Klan newspaper identified Rothblum as a Jew "disowned by the better element of his own race, and despised by every lover of pure womanhood in the city of Dallas and the State of Texas. . . . And, to think of our tax payers having to 'foot the bill' for riding this Jew all over the country in order that he might seek seclusion, then bringing him back among decent people to TESTIFY against a white American is beyond us! God help America."⁵⁵

How can one make sense of these conflicting stories? Why did the Dallas Jewish community remain silent? Given official Klan doctrine, it is easy to determine that it would support a "white American" over a Jew in any controversy. As Matthew Frye Jacobson points out, "race resides not in nature but in politics and culture,"⁵⁶ and during a time when questions of eugenics and race were taken seriously, Jews were often regarded as a race other than white. It is impossible to determine the exact facts of the case, and there is no proof concerning Rothblum's involvement in any of the activities that the defense alleged. It is interesting that the Klan would state that Rothblum was "disowned by the better elements of his own race." Klansmen were acquainted with the prosperous Jews of the city and would surely have noticed if Rothblum had supporters in this group. In fact, the Klan was correct; no prominent Jew supported Rothblum. The *Jewish Monitor*, the only Jewish newspaper in Dallas and Fort Worth, never mentioned the Rothblum case and Rothblum's name does not

appear in Rabbi David Lefkowitz's papers. Unfortunately no records from the Orthodox congregation survive, and Jewish federation minutes fail to mention any of these events. The connection with prostitution raises additional questions. If Rothblum was really involved with prostitution, why not prosecute him for that crime?

What is known is that Rothblum and his wife Eula had lived in Dallas for several years. He is listed in the 1921 city directory as a picture framer with his residence and business at 405 North Akard. There is no listing for Rothblum in the 1922 edition because he left the city after the trial. He was not a member of Temple Emanu-El, the only congregation with membership lists from that time, and his name does not appear in the records of any Jewish agency. There is no evidence that he was acquainted with any of the leading Jewish merchants of the city. Rothblum may have offended Crawford by insisting on payment for the picture and further exacerbated the situation by showing up at the police station, thus embarrassing Crawford in front of his peers. Crawford also may have held Rothblum responsible for the accidental shooting of Officer Wood. Crawford and his Klan cronies did not have any qualms about attacking a Jew, and, given the Klan membership in the police department and influence on juries, they probably believed they could carry out the flogging with impunity.

Furthermore, Rothblum is identified only as an "Austrian" Jew, a naturalized citizen. At that time *Austrian* most likely meant he was from Austria-Hungary, the origin of many eastern European Jews who immigrated to the U. S. Rothblum seems to have had no relatives in Dallas and was not of the German Jewish lineage of many of the original merchants. Numerous oral histories reveal that there was little love lost between the descendants of German Jews and eastern European Jews in Dallas at the time. The two groups rarely socialized and many of the successful German Jews looked on the newer eastern European immigrants as an embarrassment. In fact, Jerrie Marcus Smith records an incident in which Carrie Neiman, co-founder of Neiman-Marcus, refused to allow her niece to bring her boyfriend to dinner at her

Sanger Brothers, (right) circa 1920. In 1922, Sanger Brothers acquired the Trust Building on the left and soon occupied the entire block bounded by Main, Elm, Austin, and Lamar streets. It was the first retail store in Dallas to install gas lighting and electricity, elevators and escalators. (Courtesy, the Dallas Historical Society.)

home because the boyfriend was a Russian Jew.⁵⁷ It seems, then, that Rothblum, an outsider, not affiliated with any of the Jewish movers and shakers of the city, could count on no support from them. Maintaining a low profile had served them well, and they were not going to jeopardize their comfort or their status in the community for the likes of him.

The Rothblum case did accomplish one thing. It made the citizens of Dallas more concerned about the Klan. On the day after the Rothblum verdict, a committee of twenty-five citizens led by former judge C. M. Smithdeal issued an anti-Klan statement signed by over four hundred citizens.⁵⁸ Plans were made to organize a mass meeting on April 4, 1922. Among the signatures of those calling for the public meeting are those of several Jews, including Rabbi Lefkowitz, Alex Sanger, Charles Sanger, Arthur Kramer, Herbert Marcus, Leon Harris, D. Goldberg, C. A. Levi, and Leo Levi.⁵⁹ Some politicians, including Mayor Aldredge and senatorial candidate Cullen F. Thomas, used this opportunity to inform the constituency that they were not Klan members,⁶⁰ possibly sensing that public opinion was turning away from the Klan and using this occasion to establish themselves as unsullied by Klan associations.

More than five thousand people attended the anti-Klan meeting, which adopted a resolution to fight the Klan. Among those on the rostrum were Alex Sanger and Edward Titche, Jewish businessmen who owned two of the largest department stores in Dallas, but were not among the original twenty-five petitioners.⁶¹ As a result of this meeting, a Dallas County Citizens' League was formed. Its mission was to campaign against the Klan, asking the Klan to disband, a position supported by George B. Dealey. Lefkowitz wrote to Dealey, informing him that his editorial "specifically was in just the right spirit and I only regret that the Klan did not meet the suggestion."⁶² Lefkowitz added that he considered the *News* a "fine example of a newspaper for taking this stand." Despite the formation of the Citizens' League and the views of Dealey, Lefkowitz, and others, no real action was taken; the Rothblum case was forgotten, and the Klan continued to thrive.

The Ferguson Forum Moves to Dallas

By 1923 the Klan members and sympathizers retained power in the city, although Dealey and others had tried to oust them. Then, on March 15, 1923, an explosive article, "The Cloven Foot of the Dallas Jew," by James E. Ferguson, the former governor of Texas who had been impeached, appeared in Ferguson's weekly newspaper, the *Ferguson Forum*. Ferguson began his inflammatory accusations with a disclaimer and then moved into accusation: "I have just a few friends in Texas among the Jews that I still believe in and I much dislike to have to say anything that reflects on their race. But recent disclosures show that there is now hatched in Dallas an unholy alliance between the Big Jews and the Big Ku Klux, whereby the Ku Klux are to get the big offices and the Big Jews are to get the big business. In other words the Jews of Dallas now think the Ku Klux are on a paying basis and they have took over the business end of it."⁶³

As proof for his allegations, Ferguson mentioned that a "prominent Dallas Jew" supported the election of Earle Mayfield, the Klan candidate for governor, and "36 prominent Jews in Precinct No. 22 voted the straight Klan ticket." He added that "one of the most prominent Jew dry goods merchants on Main Street in Dallas told me that he and Z. E. Marvin, the big Ku Klux leader, were good close personal friends." In addition, Ferguson claimed that Evans of the Ku Klux Klan stated in his newspaper that he and the Klan "have no fight to make on the Jews." Ferguson then stated, "As between the Dallas Jews and the Dallas Ku Klux, I want to say that the Ku Klux is the better of the two. . . . Me and my friends are getting damn tired of these Jews running to us and asking us to defend their liberties and then running to the Ku Klux to sell them dry goods."⁶⁴

Ferguson's diatribe contains references to the floggings that had happened the previous year, but does not mention Rothblum by name. He indicates that more than one Jew was involved in the floggings, but there is no evidence to support this claim. Ferguson affirms his own anti-Klan stance: "Last summer and spring when the Ku Klux Klan were trying the Jews down in Trinity Bottom, it took half my time to read the Jew mail from Dallas to know where

I stood on the Ku Klux. . . .The helpless wails of your Jew Brethren down in Trinity bottom, as the lash and the whip of the masked persecutors was laid upon their helpless bodies, the struggling voices, and the sound of breaking bones, and the dying gurgle of defenseless victims at Mer Rouge ought to be a lasting memory to every Jew in this country that he owes something to this government besides the desire to get money and grow rich." Exactly what letters, if any, Ferguson received from Jews is not known, and since no record exists that Jews other than Rothblum were flogged, it can only be assumed that Ferguson exaggerated the situation.

Ferguson's reasons for this attack are, like so many episodes of Dallas history, tied to business relationships. When the former governor of Texas moved his newspaper from Temple to Dallas, he expected local businesses to advertise in it. When the larger businesses, many owned by Jews, did not do so, Ferguson turned a business situation into a political and ethical issue. Ferguson did not realize or care that none of the larger businesses advertised in the *Jewish Monitor* either. As businessmen, they most likely believed that their advertising dollars could best be spent in mainstream newspapers which reached the largest possible audience.

The Klan itself claimed to be outraged by Ferguson's article, which was reprinted on the first page of the *Texas 100% American*. The Klan paper depicted Ferguson as a "has-been politician" who became angry when "the folks of this city did not make a god of Jimmie, and kiss his dirty toes."⁶⁵ The writer believed that Ferguson's views are only anti-Klan because of money, "but when the money stops flowing, then Jim's ready to turn in some other direction." As for Jews, "we will say the Klan has never fought the Jew." A related article discussed a supposed change of heart among Jews regarding the Klan and indicated that Jews are no longer influenced by Catholic anti-Klan policies.

This time Jews responded to the allegations in Ferguson's article. Fort Worth Rabbi Harry A. Merfeld, editor of the *Jewish Monitor*, dismissed Ferguson as irrational, stating that Ferguson's article was nothing more than a "long diatribe of vilification and

abuse, with implacable hatred riding the storm of passion."⁶⁶ Merfeld rejected any truth in what Ferguson had written. In his opinion, Ferguson was "deteriorating" and his remarks were attributed to "hatred borne of resentment caused by ambition thwarted." [After being removed from state office, Ferguson failed in runs for the U. S. Senate and U. S. presidency.] Merfeld concluded that the Jewish merchants' refusal to advertise came out of a desire to maintain "a dignified and gentlemanly demeanor" and "a reluctance to sponsor any kind of yellow journalism," a response designed to offend no one, and not likely to be the reason that actually drove them to reject advertising in Ferguson's paper.

On March 29, 1923, Ferguson again referred to "The Ku Klux Jews of Dallas."⁶⁷ He reiterated his accusations and asked why Jews would want to be associated with the Klan when the Klan had "whipped and terrorized" Jews. He added, "I want to thank the 100 Per Center though for their corroborating proof of my charges as a few good people thought I had wrongfully accused the Dallas Jews. . . . It certainly is funny what you hatch out when you put Jew dry goods and Ku Klux politics in the incubator." Merfeld did not respond to these accusations, although on April 12 Ferguson mentioned Merfeld's editorial, calling him a "mouth-piece" and referring to the newspaper as "the big Jew publication in Dallas and Fort Worth." Ferguson claimed that in the past he had supported the rights of Jews, "But if Mr. Sanger, Mr. Marcus, Mr. Hurd, Mr. Kahn, Mr. Kamen, Mr. Dreyfuss, and Mr. Linz will disown the editorial of March 23, I will withdraw my charge."⁶⁸

Ferguson continued with another antisemitic diatribe: "Why dad burn you Isralite [*sic*] hides, I had two uncles that shed their life-blood at Goliad's sacred shrine, battling for religious freedom and the liberty of mankind thirty years before any damn Jew ever thought of bringing his back pack of dry goods to the Lone Star State." Although Ferguson erroneously claimed that Jews were not resident in Texas during the battle of Goliad and during its war for independence, his message was clear. He resented these immigrants whose "race" and religion were different from the mainstream. He considered Jews as outsiders in America: "Me and my kind were here first and we are going to stay. If you

Alex Sanger, date unknown.

*Sanger was elected city alderman in 1873, was a founder of the Texas State Fair and Exposition, later its president, and was the first Jew to serve as regent of the University of Texas.
(Courtesy, the Dallas Jewish Historical Society.)*

behave yourself you can stay, too." Again the *Jewish Monitor* did not respond. In July 1923, Ferguson moved his newspaper operations back to Temple. The move to Dallas had not been a financial success, and he blamed other newspapers for not recognizing the "truth" in his allegations. As a parting blow, he warned that Dallas was in trouble because of the Klan, and "Anything that stirs up a religious row in a town will always kill that town."⁶⁹

Klan Influence in Dallas in 1923

The 1923 election of Klan mayoral candidate Louis Blaylock reflected continued Klan influence in the city. Blaylock, the former Dallas finance commissioner, was first endorsed by the Dallas Citizens Association, a business-dominated group. Later, he received the support of the Dallas Democrats, a group sympathetic to the Klan. Blaylock declined to reject the latter's support, and the Citizens Association rescinded its endorsement. Blaylock also "refused to disown Klan support or Klan objectives."⁷⁰ After the election, Lefkowitz wrote an editorial in the *Jewish Monitor* deploring the election of a Klan candidate, but he commented that he believed that the results of the election were not due to the voters' espousal of Klan beliefs. Instead, Lefkowitz argued, "So many complicating terms were involved in the recent elections, such as the desire for harmony in municipal matters, so important a part did the personality and record of service of the nominee for mayor rather than his identification with the Klan group play in the final result, that it can not be called a clearcut decision of the voters of Dallas for the Klan."⁷¹ Once again Lefkowitz avoided confrontation. Whether he really believed what he said or that he concluded that it was better to smooth over potentially difficult situations remains unknown. Lefkowitz took a pragmatic course in a politically explosive situation rather than further arouse hatred by denouncing public officials.

Klan influence in Dallas culminated with plans for a Ku Klux Klan Day to be held at the Texas State Fair on Wednesday, October 24, 1923. When James Ferguson learned of the event, he discouraged attendance, considering it "just another scheme of the big Jew Klux, to get a big crowd of people from the

country to buy their Jew dry goods at two prices." Ferguson advised his readers to avoid buying anything in Dallas unless the seller could prove that the item was not made or sold "by a Dallas Ku Klux or a Dallas Jew Ku Klux sympathizer. They are in together."⁷²

Predictions of attendance for the event went as high as 300,000,⁷³ but even with actual attendance of 151,192, Klan Day received national attention.⁷⁴ Entertainment included rodeo performers in Klan regalia and patriotic orators, such as Exalted Cyclops J. D. Van Winkle, who commented, "I might say that tonight there will not be any river-bottom parties or floggings in this town. The day is yours, the city is yours, and I am glad to state that you are in a Klan town."⁷⁵ Imperial Wizard Evans's speech singled out three groups, blacks, Jews, and Catholics that he considered "unblendable."⁷⁶ He called southern and eastern Europeans "mentally inferior" and asked Congress to stop all immigration, a position Congress essentially followed.⁷⁷ In the evening, a crowd of twenty-five thousand watched fireworks, a parade of bands, and a mass initiation of 5,631 new Klan members.⁷⁸

Among those on the platform for Klan Day were Mayor Louis Blaylock, Judge Felix D. Robertson (both Klan sympathizers, if not members), and Alex Sanger. Indeed, it seems strange for a Jew to appear at such an event, but Sanger had been a member of the Board of the Texas State Fair since 1887,⁷⁹ and, like many other prominent Jews of his time, he seems to have preferred to overlook unpleasant connections. He and his family were not affected by the Klan; nor were his fellow congregants at Temple Emanu-El. His business was enormously successful, and he had served on the city council and held prestigious appointments, like the state fair board. He was most likely not inclined to make an issue about the Klan while he was acting in his capacity of board member of the state fair.

In the months that followed Klan Day, interest in the Klan seemed to wane. With the Klan as the primary issue in the 1924 gubernatorial race, Miriam (Ma) Ferguson, James Ferguson's wife, won the governor's seat, beating Klan candidate Judge

Felix Robertson. Nationally, "Growing documentation of Klan abuses . . . suddenly began to reverse its popularity."⁸⁰ Klan membership declined quickly, and by 1926 the membership in Dallas Klan No. 66, which once numbered thirteen thousand, sank to twelve hundred.⁸¹

But the problem of James Ferguson's allegation remains. Certain coincidences did occur and, therefore, cannot be ignored. Influential Klan members, themselves businessmen and politicians, regularly encountered Jewish businessmen at meetings of the Masonic order, so it is known that they had a business and a social relationship of sorts. The Klan in Dallas had enormous political influence for a short time, and city cooperation was essential for a healthy business environment. Jewish merchants no doubt had numerous dealings with Klan members in city government with no negative occurrences. The Klan itself never attacked the Jewish elite as Ferguson did. Any truth in Ferguson's allegations is impossible to determine. Whether the formal alliance that Ferguson described really existed is unknown. Neither the businessmen Ferguson accused, nor Klansmen spoke publicly of such an alliance. The two groups were acquainted and both were interested in the commercial growth of the city. It is possible that Ferguson's accusations might have been accurate. We also know that Jews in the early 1920s did not have the acceptance that would come later and were often reluctant to denounce injustices and prejudice. When Ferguson made his insidious comments, no one in the Dallas Jewish community responded, possibly because they feared that making an issue of Ferguson's diatribes would bring unwanted attention to them and to their community. The choice between the Klan and Ferguson posed an uncomfortable dilemma. The Jewish elite, indicating the precarious nature of their position, chose to follow the least harmful course. Although their silence did not solve the problem, it did go away. Furthermore, by remaining silent, the Jewish businessmen of Dallas were not likely to destroy the business relationships that they had worked so hard to build. Like many other occurrences in Dallas history, business relationships were most important in forging the destiny of the city.

NOTES

¹ Gerry Cristol, *A Light in the Prairie: Temple Emanu-El of Dallas, 1872-1997* (Fort Worth, 1998), 3.

² *Ibid.*, 3-6.

³ Rose Biderman, *They Came to Stay: The Story of the Jews of Dallas 1870-1997* (Austin, 2002), 9-10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 30-32.

⁶ Cristol, *Light in the Prairie*, 24.

⁷ Biderman, *They Came to Stay*, 135.

⁸ Marilyn Wood Hill, "A History of the Jewish Involvement in the Dallas Community" (master's thesis, Southern Methodist University, 1967), 45.

⁹ Ruthe Winegarten and Cathy Schechter, *Deep in the Heart: The Lives and Legends of Texas Jews*, Jimmy Kessler, ed. (Austin, 1990), 136.

¹⁰ Darwin Payne, *Big D: Triumphs and Troubles of an American Supercity in the 20th Century* (Dallas, 2000), 86.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 86.

¹² *Ibid.*, 87. Payne writes that the names in the Klan committee membership lists are from a document printed in 1922, which was given to the Dallas Historical Society by George B. Dealey in 1942. The police force list came from a typewritten list found a year after it was written.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 88. Evans moved to Atlanta in late 1922, when he became the chief Klansman of the nation. One of his Dallas friends, Philip E. Fox, managing editor of the *Times Herald*, also moved to Atlanta in 1923 to become public relations director for the Klan, an interesting turn of events considering the fact that *Dallas Morning News* president Dealey was one who actively fought the Klan.

¹⁴ Robert Prince, *A History of Dallas: From a Different Perspective* (Dallas, 1993), 72.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 73-74.

¹⁷ Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City 1915-1930* (New York, 1967), 66.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 67.

¹⁹ Hortense Sanger, interview by Rosalind Benjet, March 31, 1993.

²⁰ Lois E. Torrence, "The Ku Klux Klan in Dallas, 1915-1928: An American Paradox" (master's thesis, Southern Methodist University, 1948), 31.

²¹ Ouida Ferguson Nalle, *The Fergusons of Texas* (San Antonio, 1946), 163.

²² Charles C. Alexander, *Crusade for Conformity: The Ku Klux Klan in Texas 1920-1930* (Galveston, 1962), 7.

²³ Charles C. Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest* (Lexington, 1965), 26.

²⁴ [Dallas] *Texas 100% American*, September 29, 1922.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, February 23, 1923.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, June 1, 1923.

²⁷ Jonathan Sarna, "'The Mythical Jew' and the 'Jew Next Door,'" in David Gerber, ed., *Anti-Semitism in American History* (Urbana, 1986), 57-78.

²⁸ Payne, *Big D*, 88.

²⁹ [Fort Worth] *Jewish Monitor*, May 12, 1922.

³⁰ Darwin Payne, "The Dallas Morning News and the Ku Klux Klan," *Legacies* 9 (Spring 1997): 18.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 23.

³² G. B. Dealey Papers, Dallas Historical Society.

³³ Torrence, "The Ku Klux Klan in Dallas," 57.

³⁴ Lefkowitz to Dealey, June 16, 1921, Lefkowitz correspondence, Temple Emanu-El Archives, Dallas, Texas.

³⁵ Lefkowitz to John W. Stayton, January 26, 1922, Lefkowitz Correspondence.

³⁶ Lefkowitz to A. J. Kaufman, February 6, 1922, Lefkowitz Correspondence.

³⁷ Lefkowitz to J. J. Taubehaus, December 26, 1923, Lefkowitz Correspondence.

³⁸ There is no evidence that Mayor Aldredge was a Klan member, although many of those in his administration were.

³⁹ Hill, "A History of the Jewish Involvement in the Dallas Community," 52. This incident is very similar to Rhoda Kaufman's experience in Atlanta. Kaufman became the head of the Georgia Department of Public Welfare only to be hounded out of office by the Klan. See Patricia E. Smith, "Rhoda Kaufman: A Southern Progressive's Career, 1913-1956," *Atlanta Historical Bulletin* 17 (Spring-Summer 1973): 43-50.

⁴⁰ Pam Lange and Mindy Lazarus-Black, *Family Business in Dallas: A Matter of Values* (Dallas, 1982), 19.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 138.

⁴³ *Dallas Morning News*, March 8, 1922.

⁴⁴ Dallas City Council Minutes, March 8, 1922.

⁴⁵ *Dallas Morning News*, March 9, 1922.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, March 13, 1922.

⁴⁷ Payne, *Big D*, 93.

⁴⁸ *Dallas Morning News*, March 16, 1922.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, March 22, 1922.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, March 24, 1922.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, March 31, 1922.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ [Dallas] *Texas 100% American*, March 31, 1922.

⁵⁴ *Dallas Morning News*, April 1, 1922.

⁵⁵ [Dallas] *Texas 100% American*, April 7, 1922.

⁵⁶ Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, 1998), 9.

⁵⁷ Jerrie Marcus Smith, "Carrie Neiman: Nerves of Steel, Heart of Butter," *Legacies* 13 (Fall 2001): 46. Smith was Carrie Neiman's grandniece.

⁵⁸ Payne, *Big D*, 95.

⁵⁹ Alex and Charles Sanger were proprietors of the Sanger Brothers Department Stores. Leon Harris and Arthur Kramer were from A. Harris Dry Goods. Charles A. Levi's business was in investments, secured loans, and insurance. Leo Levi was the secretary-treasurer of Builders Investment Co. David Goldberg was the proprietor of a men's furnishings store in 1921 and 1922 and a pawn shop in 1923.

⁶⁰ *Dallas Morning News*, April 2, 1922.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, April 5, 1922.

⁶² Lefkowitz to G. B. Dealey, April 11, 1922, Lefkowitz Correspondence.

⁶³ [Dallas] *Ferguson Forum*, March 15, 1923.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ [Dallas] *Texas 100% American*, March 23, 1923.

⁶⁶ [Fort Worth] *Jewish Monitor*, March 23, 1923.

⁶⁷ [Dallas] *Ferguson Forum*, March 29, 1923.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, April 12, 1923. Not all the men Ferguson points to are known. Mr. Sanger is most likely Alex Sanger of Sanger Brothers; Mr. Marcus, Herbert Marcus of Neiman-Marcus; Mr. Kahn, E. M. Kahn of E. M. Kahn men's furnishings; Mr. Linz, either Simon, Albert, or Benjamin of Linz Jewelers; Mr. Dreyfuss, Gerard Dreyfuss of Dreyfuss & Son men's furnishings. The identity of Hurd and Kamen remains unknown. There is no entry in the city directory for either man, nor are they listed as members of Temple Emanu-El.

⁶⁹ [Temple] *Ferguson Forum*, July 19, 1923.

⁷⁰ Payne, *Big D*, 104.

⁷¹ [Fort Worth] *Jewish Monitor*, April 6, 1923.

⁷² [Temple] *Ferguson Forum*, August 23, 1923.

⁷³ Nancy Wiley, *The Great State Fair of Texas* (Dallas, 1985), 91.

⁷⁴ Jackson, *Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 78.

⁷⁵ "The Klan in Texas: Louis Bean, Jr., Rekindles the Fiery Cross," *Westward Magazine*, April 19, 1981.

⁷⁶ Wiley, *Great State Fair of Texas*, 91.

⁷⁷ Jackson, *Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 77.

⁷⁸ Wiley, *Great State Fair of Texas*, 91.

⁷⁹ *The WPA Dallas Guide and History* (Denton, TX 1922), 320.

⁸⁰ Payne, *Big D*, 109.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*