



eCOMMONS

Loyola University Chicago
Loyola eCommons

Dissertations

Theses and Dissertations

2012

Aliens Found in Waiting: Women of the Ku Klux Klan in Suburban Chicago, 1870-1930

Sarah Elizabeth Doherty

Loyola University Chicago

Recommended Citation

Doherty, Sarah Elizabeth, "Aliens Found in Waiting: Women of the Ku Klux Klan in Suburban Chicago, 1870-1930" (2012).
Dissertations. Paper 345.
http://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_diss/345

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact ecommons@luc.edu.



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License](#).
Copyright © 2012 Sarah Elizabeth Doherty

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

“ALIENS FOUND IN WAITING”:
THE WOMEN OF THE KU KLUX KLAN IN SUBURBAN CHICAGO,
1870-1930

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PROGRAM IN HISTORY

BY
SARAH E. DOHERTY
CHICAGO, IL
AUGUST 2012

Copyright by Sarah E. Doherty, 2012
All rights reserved.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am eternally indebted to my master's advisor at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Jasmine Alinder, for recognizing my potential and encouraging me to pursue an additional degree. I sincerely thank Loyola University Chicago for awarding me the Deans' Fellowship which has allowed me to efficiently pursue and complete a doctoral degree. I thank my advisor Timothy Gilfoyle for offering his support, encouragement and time reading drafts of my dissertation. I thank my committee members Susan Hirsch and Christopher Manning for the guidance and direction I received while taking their courses and from the time they spent reading and commenting on my dissertation.

I thank my friends and colleagues at the Historical Society of Oak Park and River Forest for allowing me open access to the institution's collections and for aiding my development as a public historian. I especially thank Frank Lipo for his support of my project, depth of knowledge of the Oak Park area, expertise in community/local history, and suggestions for additional avenues of inquiry in my dissertation. I also thank so very dear and kindly Historical Society of Oak Park and River Forest board members Laurel McMahon, Kelli Kline, Peggy Tuck Sinko, and Jan Dressel for their support, enthusiasm, and encouragement. Additionally, I want to thank Jerry Jacobson, Kathleen Jacobson, Julie Patterson, and Fr. Carl Morello for sharing oral history stories with me about their experiences growing up Catholic in the suburbs of Oak Park and Forest Park. I also want

to thank Julia Hickey for her friendship and support throughout my graduate career and for helping me format data and generate maps from the data. I additionally thank my brother David Doherty for helping me organize, interpret and format data and for offering keen insights about academia.

I thank my parents Dominic and Dorothy Doherty for being living examples to my brother, sister, and I of the value of education and for giving us the opportunity, support and encouragement to pursue higher education. I appreciate being raised with the notion that graduate education should commission us to serve the public good. Last, but not least, I thank my beloved husband Jonathan Essenburg whom I met, courted and married while pursuing my doctoral degree. You have been a pillar of love, support, patience, understanding, and positivity through this endeavor and I hope that someday I will have the opportunity to return the favor.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
LIST OF TABLES	viii
INTRODUCTION: “ALIENS FOUND IN WAITING”	1
CHAPTER ONE: THE MAKING OF A SUBURBAN KLANHAVEN	32
CHAPTER TWO: PORTRAIT OF A SUBURBAN KLANSWOMAN	73
CHAPTER THREE: A KLANSWOMAN’S WORK	116
CHAPTER FOUR: THE KLANSWOMAN IN A CLUB WOMAN’S WORLD	157
CONCLUSION	187
APPENDIX A: COMPILED DATA FROM U.S. FEDERAL CENSUSES 1910, 1920, & 1930 FOR WALOSAS CLUB KLANSWOMEN	201
APPENDIX B: MAP OF CHICAGO AND SUBURBS, 1921	242
APPENDIX C: MAP OF OAK PARK STREETSCAPE, c. 1970	244
APPENDIX D: OVERLAY MAPS OF APPENDICES B & C WITH GOOGLE EARTH SATELLITE IMAGE OF OAK PARK AREA	246
APPENDIX E: ENLARGED IMAGE OF OAK PARK AND SURROUNDING SUBURBS, 1921	248
BIBLIOGRAPHY	250
VITA	276

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. <i>Oak Leaves</i> Newspaper Advertisement for Ku Klux Klan	29
Figure 2. Image of Chicago & Oak Park Elevated Railroad	36
Figure 3. Map of Chicago and Suburbs, 1921	44
Figure 4. Oak Park Development Poster	45
Figure 5. Oak Park Annexation Poster	47
Figure 6. Oak Park Political Cartoon	51
Figure 7. A Bird's Eye View of Oak Park & Harlem	52
Figure 8. Map of Distribution of Klanswomen in Oak Park	79
Figure 9. Map of Oak Park Klanswomen Residences	80
Figure 10. Image of Petersen's Ice Cream	91
Figure 11. Map of Homes of Walosas Club Members 1 to 100	97
Figure 12. Map of Homes of Walosas Club Members 101 to 200	99
Figure 13. Map of Homes of Walosas Club Members 201 to 313	100
Figure 14. Map of Homes of Walosas Club Members 1 to 313	101
Figure 15. WKKK Pamphlet	174
Figure 16. Image of First Oak Park Masonic Hall	179
Figure 17. Image of Interior of First Oak Park Masonic Hall	180
Figure 18. Image of Mt. Carmel Baptist Church	181
Figure 19. Image of Second Masonic Hall	182

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Oak Park's Population Growth, 1880-1930	37
Table 2. U.S. Presidential Election National & Oak Park Results	49
Table 3. Growth of Catholic Parishes in Near West Chicago Suburbs	55
Table 4. Membership in Oak Park Women's Clubs	167

INTRODUCTION

“ALIENS FOUND IN WAITING”

Ten aliens were found in waiting, and no objections appearing, were duly naturalized and instructed in the work of our order.¹

In the early twentieth century, the revived Ku Klux Klan (KKK) greatly feared “aliens” and was alarmed by the number of aliens in their midst.² Aliens were in the government, they were neighbors, they were in the workplace, they passed daily in the streets, and in some cases they were in their own families. The word alien had multiple meanings in Klan terminology, including non-native born Americans (immigrants), those in favor of aggressive secular reform, and qualified individuals who had yet to be naturalized into the realm of the KKK.³ The Klan’s fear of the unknown was fueled by uncertainty and the threats of a quickly changing American society post-World War I.

Members of the Ku Klux Klan perceived themselves as exemplars of the highest standards of morality, citizenry and “pure Americanism.” However, this brand of pure Americanism was reserved only for the select Americans that met all the membership

¹ Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Gertrude Shaner, Edna Forbes & Viola Brown, Walosas Club Minutes Book 1925-1929, Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest; Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 2 April 1925. Specific reference to the Walosas Club Minutes will appear as the name of one of the four secretaries followed by Walosas Club Minutes Book and the date. General references to the Walosas Club appear as Klanswomen Roth, Shaner, Forbes & Brown, Walosas Club Minutes Book.

² Any references to the Klan, male and female participants, or “Klanguage” will have capitalized “Ks” in keeping with the original source material.

³ Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 21; Thomas R. Pegram, *One Hundred Percent American: The Rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2011), 23.

requirements and promised to uphold the tenets of the Invisible Empire.⁴ The Klan's vision of a pure American citizenry was rooted in an exclusive native-born Protestant membership that swore to uphold beliefs in Protestantism, white supremacy and nativism. Additionally, members of the Invisible Empire promised to defend the great American nation and the Klan organization against any alien threat of corruption, impropriety, immorality, or conspiracy.⁵

Although the revived KKK of the 1910s to 1920s was born in the American South, its influence extended far beyond the region and former Confederate states. The Klan chameleon successfully adapted its message and expanded its dominion across the entire nation and particularly in the urban North. Forty percent of Klansmen hailed from the states of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.⁶ The revived Klan was no longer a southern fringe extremist group that targeted African-Americans and the perceived invasion of Yankee carpetbaggers. The 1920s Klan was a mainstream movement that appealed en masse to average white native-born Protestant middle-class Americans.

In the almost 150 years since the founding of the Invisible Empire, the Ku Klux Klan has produced a scholarly fascination with trying to understand the organization's

⁴ The term "Invisible Empire" was coined by the Ku Klux Klan as an alternative name for the organization. The Klan utilized the word "invisible" since the order was envisioned as a secret society. The "empire" portion of the name was to give the impression that the Klan's reach was expansive.

⁵ "Principles and Purposes of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," Michigan State University Special Collections, 3-4 [HS2330.K63 A34]; See Kelly J. Baker, *Gospel According to the Klan: The KKK's Appeal to Protestant America, 1915-1930* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2011); Thomas R. Pegram, *One Hundred Percent American: The Rebirth and Decline of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2011).

⁶ Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the city, 1915-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 237.

structural framework, its purpose, its membership, and the reach of its influence.⁷ Of the plethora of scholarship produced on the KKK, minimal attention has been given to the female counterpart to the Klan-- the Women of the Ku Klux Klan (WKKK).⁸ Study of the WKKK reveals ambiguities and tensions between the gendered rhetoric in Klan doctrine and contradictions in their practices. For example, the early speeches of Imperial Commander of the WKKK, Robbie Gill Comer, were incredibly reverent and respectful of the men's order. She praised the KKK for their mission and emphasized the subservient role of women in the order.⁹ However, a few years later when the WKKK operated as their own independent entity with control over finances and agenda, Imperial Commander Gill Comer espoused a much more progressive sounding platform for the role of Klanswomen both in the Invisible Empire and in society at large. She argued for not only political equality of women, but also equality in marriage.¹⁰ In addition, the

⁷ See Charles C. Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965); David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987, orig. pub. 1965); Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*; Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Leonard Moore, *Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana , 1921-1925* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

⁸ See Kathleen M. Blee, *Women of the Ku Klux Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Blee, "Evidence, Empathy and Ethics: Lessons Learned from Oral Histories of the Klan" in *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 80, No. 2 (Sep., 1993): 596-606; Blee, "Women in the 1920s Ku Klux Klan Movement" in *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 17 (Spring 1991): 57-77; Suzanne H. Schrems, "The Ultimate Patriots? Oklahoma Women of the Ku Klux Klan," in *Who's Rocking The Cradle?: Women Pioneers of Oklahoma Politics From Socialism to the KKK, 1900-1930* (Norman, OK: Horse Creek Publications, 2004).

⁹ Robbie Gill, "American Women" given at Second Imperial Klonovalation of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Kansas City, Missouri [c. 1924], 116-25, Collections of the Indiana Historical Society.

¹⁰ Blee, *Women of the Ku Klux Klan*, 54-57.

WKKK held very different interpretations than the men's Klan on the meaning and symbolism of the home and motherhood.¹¹

The KKK never resolved gender issues that were complicated by female sympathizers seeking a more active role in Klan activities. Rhetoric of the Reconstruction-era Klan called upon white Protestant men to protect and guard the virtue of white womanhood against the threat of freed slaves and carpetbaggers from the North. The language in 1920s Klan publications, in terms of women, focused on the importance of motherhood and the duty of Protestant women to promote the ideals of American citizenry as interpreted by the Ku Klux Klan. Female supporters of the Klan were active in social movements such as suffrage and temperance and became accustomed to involvement outside the home in clubs and organizations.¹² Though Klan officials wanted to find a place for women within the Invisible Empire, they envisioned women in an auxiliary subordinate role. By the time serious consideration was given to the creation of a women's division of the KKK, many women's organizations with related creeds and agendas to the men's Klan already existed. Similar purposed groups included the Ladies of the Cu Clux Klan, Ladies of the Golden Den, Ladies of the Golden Mask, Queens of the Golden Mask, Ladies of the Invisible Eye, Kamelia, Grand League of Protestant Women, Order of American Women, Dixie Protestant Women's Political League, Hooded Ladies of the Mystic Den, Women's Krudaders, Puritan Daughters of America

¹¹ Baker, *Gospel According to the Klan*, 136-39.

¹² See Blee, "Joining the Ladies' Organization" in *Women of the Ku Klux Klan*, 101-22.

and Ladies of the Invisible Empire or “Loties.”¹³ Klan leadership favored the creation of a new women’s organization to be called the Women of the Ku Klux Klan to cooperate with and complement the mission of the men’s order.¹⁴

In his definitive study of the Klan in urban America, historian Kenneth Jackson contends that the WKKK in Chicago was disintegrating by 1924 due to an internal struggle for leadership between Klanswomen Victoria Rogers and Ida Unangst.¹⁵ Whereas the WKKK had complications in the city proper, the order thrived in Chicago’s suburbs. Through a rare collection of bi-weekly meeting minutes, the Walosas Club of Chicago’s neighboring west side suburb of Oak Park provides a case study and insight into the WKKK quotidian. In addition, this case study also represents an examination of suburban community identity and the struggles confronted through growth and change from 1890-1930.

With only a few exceptions, scholarship to date on the KKK and WKKK has focused on analyzing the organizations in terms of race followed by gender and class. This examination of the Walosas Club chapter of the WKKK is rooted in religious conflict. The Klan’s presence in Oak Park was the product of an inherent confrontation and tension between Protestant and Roman Catholic Christianity. From its mid-nineteenth century founding and through the formative years of development Oak Park had an almost exclusively Protestant identity. Around the turn of the twentieth century,

¹³ Ibid, 25-7.

¹⁴ “Report of Women of the Ku Klux Klan” [c. 1924], 110-13, Collections of the Indiana Historical Society.

¹⁵ Jackson, 123-26; Kenneth Jackson, “The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930” (PhD, diss., University of Chicago, 1966), 167.

Catholics began steadily moving from Chicago to Oak Park and other near west suburbs.

Recent scholarship on the Klan's brand of radical and militant Protestantism asserts that the KKK's fear and mistrust of non-immigrant Catholics was not based on issues of race, but rather the recognition of Catholics as belonging to an "alien" organization with foreign allegiances. However, considerable evidence supports the notion that newly-arriving Catholic and Jewish immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were not considered white by many native-born Americans even though they were racially listed as such by U.S. immigration officials.¹⁶

However, in the case of Oak Park, the new Catholic neighbors were not immigrants. Rather, these Catholics were upwardly mobile, belonged to similar professions and trades as existing Oak Park residents, and had similar and sometimes the same ethnic backgrounds as established Protestant Oak Parkers. In addition, Catholics were specifically and frequently mentioned in the Walosas Club minutes while there was no reference to any of other enemies of the Klan. Ultimately, a case study of the Walosas Club chapter of the WKKK provides a glimpse into the lives of suburban participants in the women's Klan, what they actually did, and why they failed to become an institutionalized women's group within the Oak Park community.

¹⁶ Pegram, *One Hundred Percent American*, 55-59. For more on whiteness studies see Eric Arnesen, "Whiteness and the Historians' Imagination" *International Labor and Working-Class History* 60 (Fall 2001): 3-32; Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); David R. Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White: The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs* (New York: Basic Books, 2005).

A Brief History of the Klan

Sometime between December 1865 and early 1866, six Confederate veterans grew restless hanging out in a room above a legal office embellishing stories of the lost war for Southern independence and their schoolboy days.¹⁷ The group of friends decided to ride about Pulaski, Tennessee on horseback in ghost-like costumes made from white sheets and pillow cases. For entertainment they partook in silly dance rituals around camp fires in the cover of darkness in the woods, had midnight al fresco dinners and found particular pleasure in appearing at the homes of freedmen as ghosts of the Confederate dead. The Pulaski Six, as they came to be called, eventually created a meaningless name for themselves—the Ku Klux Klan.¹⁸

What started as a club dedicated to youthful pranks and shenanigans grew to be arguably one of the most racist and violent vigilante organizations in United States history. Over the years the Klan became synonymous with acts of violence, terror and intimidation not only of African Americans, but also of the enemies *du jour*. The Klan reemerged on Thanksgiving evening in 1915 when Colonel William Joseph Simmons gathered a few men on top of Stone Mountain, near Atlanta, where a cross was

¹⁷ The original six members of the KKK were all well-educated members of prominent Pulaski families and were all in their mid-20s when they founded the social fraternal order. In addition, four were lawyers, one was editor of the *Pulaski Citizen*, and one eventually was elected a member of the Tennessee state legislature. See Allen Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971); Wyn Craig Wade, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); John Moffatt Mecklin, *The Ku-Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind* (New York: Doubleday, 1924).

¹⁸ The name was derived from the corruption of the Greek word “kukloi” or “kuklos” meaning a band or circle of brotherhood. The Klan portion of the name was added later for effect and spelled with a “k” for uniformity. Another theory for the origins of the name is that it was derived from the name of the Aztec Mexican “god of light” or “Cukulan.” 30,000 men from Tennessee volunteered for the Mexican War and were feasibly exposed to ancient Aztec folklore and culture. The “knights” portion of the name was later added to accompany the imagery of crusading knights printed on Klan propaganda pamphlets and tracts.

symbolically set ablaze to signify a fresh era for the Ku Klux Klan.¹⁹ Given his rural southern roots, Simmons feared urban industrial workers and felt that true American manhood was represented by men who toiled on farms. He blamed all urban labor unrest on foreign-born agitators and even invoked Social Darwinism to suggest that unskilled factory workers were biologically inferior and did not deserve to be called American. This opinion of working-class men was modified when the Klan began heavy recruitment in urban areas. Kleagles (Klan recruiters/paid organizers) targeted American-born Protestant workers and claimed that joining the KKK would protect their jobs and masculine dignity from the onslaught of foreign-born immigrants determined to steal their livelihoods and threaten their American identity.²⁰ The newly reinvigorated Klan knew there were many problems in the rapidly modernizing American society, but had difficulty pinpointing their message until after World War I.

The Klan's circumstances improved greatly in 1920 due to the help of the Southern Publicity Association founded by Elizabeth Tyler and Edward Clarke. The Reconstruction-era Klan was viewed as a hyper-masculine fraternal order that dedicated itself to the protection of southern life and helpless women from freedmen and carpetbaggers.²¹ Thus, it is somewhat ironic that the second Klan's national framework, organization, expansion plan, and expanded rhetoric were largely envisioned by a highly competent and clever woman who did not necessarily meet all the highest standards for morality espoused by the Klan. The Klan platform espoused by Simmons rested on white

¹⁹ MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry*, 4-5.

²⁰ Ibid, 84.

²¹ Blee, *Women of the Ku Klux Klan*, 20.

supremacy, fraternalism and Protestant Christianity. Tyler and Clarke expanded the Klan rhetoric to prey on post-World War I anxieties including a rapidly developing pluralistic and modern American society as well as a surge in nativism and xenophobia due to the influx in immigration.²²

In the 1920s, the revitalized KKK expanded its list of foes to include groups or individuals that were not white native-born Protestants. They believed in the supremacy of the white race, a militant form of Protestantism, banishment of immoral activities, and the protection of chaste womanhood. The broadened list of Klan targets included Roman Catholics, Jews, infrequent churchgoers, gamblers, prostitutes, divorced women, and bootleggers. The long history of the Klan is marked by brief active periods followed sometimes by decades of sporadic isolated incidents of Klan mobilization or complete lulls. However, the Klan's survival was rooted in fear and intolerance for all individuals, groups and ideologies that did not fit the organization's ultraconservative vision for American society.

World War I left a traditionally isolationist United States firmly intertwined in world affairs. Though America was highly entangled in imperialist campaigns to protect interests in the Caribbean and the Philippines by the 1890s, the general population did not feel the impact of these endeavors in the rhythms of their daily lives. World War I shocked an American population into the harsh realities of a global conflict. For the first time since the Civil War, Americans en masse were required to sacrifice-- from youth on the battlefield to rationing on the home front and working for wartime industries. Although an armistice ended the war in 1918, the ripple effects of the war were felt for

²² MacLean, *Behind The Mask of Chivalry*, 5-6.

the next generation. The war returned walking wounded who were profoundly affected by the horrors of trench warfare and never fully reentered society. The civilian population was thrown into a world of mounting fears, anxiety and insecurities about the rapidly changing society around them.

In the wake of World War I, the United States witnessed the greatest arrival of new immigrants since the mid-nineteenth century. The onslaught of new immigrants generated fears of foreign ideologies, such as communism, that threatened America's democratic way of life. Thus, America experienced a sharp spike in xenophobia directed at the recently arrived immigrant populations from Europe as well as African American migrants to the urban North. There was also a general fear that changes in modern society came at the expense of secularizing society. Concerned citizens feared that the razzle dazzle of commercialism was drawing the faithful away from the important role in people's lives of religious devotion, modesty, hard work and a strict social code rooted in Victorian ideals of morality and acceptable behavior.²³

In addition, modernity brought forth new protocols for social behavior most enthusiastically demonstrated by the evolving youth culture, new styles in dress, mass advertising and marketing of wonder products, and a regendering of the traditionally exclusive male public space. The Klan was quick to offer itself as a solution to protect Americans in a rapidly changing society. Klan rhetoric largely reflected normative

²³ Baker, *Gospel According to the Klan*, 75-85.

societal concerns about modernity and immigration rooted in scientific racism. But, the Klan decided to deal with perceived threats and problems through extralegal methods.²⁴

In urban areas the Klan was particularly concerned with a perceived rise in Catholic power due to the arrival of new immigrants predominantly from Catholic countries and the secularization of American society.²⁵ The revived Klan's agenda rested on a reaction to or perceived threat to traditional family morality or a fear of anything foreign.²⁶ The KKK of the 1920s was especially critical of anything not deemed "100 percent American." Therefore, the Klan's support and enforcement of prohibition and political muckraking were methods by which the KKK sought to assert and preserve a Protestant moral authority.²⁷

The expanded list of Klan enemies attracted new members to the realm from throughout the country. Tyler and Clarke were skilled and talented organizers and promoters. For example, they turned the negative publicity from a Congressional investigation into KKK vigilante activity into publicity for a major membership drive. In addition, Tyler arranged the structure for national recruitment through kleagles.²⁸ Paid kleagle recruiters were instructed to latch onto local controversies or inflammatory

²⁴ Ibid, 120-21; Peagram, *One Hundred Percent American*, 14-15; MacLean, *Behind The Mask of Chivalry*, 31; Blee, *Women of the Ku Klux Klan*, 49-55.

²⁵ Lynn Dumenil, *The Modern Temper: American Culture and Society in the 1920s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), 235.

²⁶ Carol Medlicott, "One Social Milieu, Paradoxical Responses: A Geographical Reexamination of the Ku Klux Klan and the Daughters of the American Revolution in the Early Twentieth Century" ed. Colin Flint, *Spaces of Hate: Geographies of Discrimination and Intolerance in the U.S.A.* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 25.

²⁷ Dumenil, *The Modern Temper*, 235.

²⁸ Blee, *Women of the Ku Klux Klan*, 21.

political issues and promote the Klan as the solution to the problem. For instance, the 1919 race riots in Chicago attracted Klan attention and the political and racial climate in Chicago was monitored closely.²⁹

Klan membership during the height of the revival between 1920 and 1925 was estimated at five million participants.³⁰ However, the Klan's membership increased significantly when the Women of the Ku Klux Klan and all the Junior Klan organizations were included. The Klan successfully appealed to entire families. This provided children and young adults early exposure to Klan ideology and helped posit "Klanishness" as the societal norm.

In the early 1920s the Klan maneuvered itself into influential positions in local and state elections by sponsoring certain candidates that either were members of the Invisible Empire themselves or sympathized with the Klan's vision for America. In 1924 Klan-endorsed Republican candidates gained seats in the U.S. Senate from the states of Oklahoma and Colorado. Governors elected in the states of Kansas, Indiana and Colorado attracted Klan support.³¹ Though the Klan had mixed political success in the southern and western regions of the United States, the KKK experienced steady growth in membership and support in the urban North in the late teens to early 1920s, particularly in the Midwest. Three of the top five states for membership in the revived Klan were

²⁹ Dumenil, *The Modern Temper*, 239.

³⁰ Ibid, 236.

³¹ "Victories By Klan Feature Election," *New York Times*, 6 November 1924, 1.

Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.³² Kleagle recruiters arrived in Chicago in 1921.³³ By 1922 Chicago boasted the highest city Klan membership in the United States with an estimated 50,000 male and female members.³⁴ The first large public display of Klan activity occurred on the evening of 16 August 1921 near Lake Zurich, in the city's suburbs. An estimated 12,000 Klan initiates, members and supporters gathered for the induction ceremony of 2,400 new members to the order.³⁵ The *Chicago Daily Tribune* featured a picture of robed and hooded Klansmen with their arms outstretched to a large burning cross situated in an open field.³⁶ This public display of Klan pageantry and large assembly symbolized the growth of the KKK beyond the rural South and the newly acquired urban strength of the order.

Not everyone welcomed the arrival of the Klan to Chicago. Shortly after the Klan announced its presence in Chicago, the American Unity Welfare League (AUWL), an African American organization, petitioned Chicago Mayor William Thompson and Illinois Governor Len Small to expel the KKK from the city. They asked that every member of the Klan be unmasked and exposed for public ridicule. If the city was not up to the task of barring the KKK, the AUWL invited government officials to send

³² Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 237.

³³ Ibid, 94.

³⁴ Ibid, 95, 239. Indianapolis had the next highest membership rate with 38,000 Klansmen and women and Detroit and Philadelphia followed close behind with 35,000 members each. All of these cities were dealing with a rapid influx of African Americans from the South and new Catholic immigrants. The new arrivals to the urban North brought new competition in the labor market.

³⁵ "Ku Klux Rite Draws 12,000," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 17 August 1921, 1.

³⁶ "The Ku Klux Klan in Chicago" [photograph], *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 17 August 1921, 5.

Klansmen to the Second Ward for a warm welcome.³⁷ African Americans were not alone in their concern about the arrival of the Klan to Chicago. Edward F. Dunne, former governor of Illinois, formed his own organization to legislatively fight the Klan's existence in the state and had plans to expand his organization into a national anti-Klan movement.³⁸

Other individual states also attempted to deal with the Invisible Empire's growing presence in their states. Fearing the growing strength of the Klan in Wisconsin, Milwaukee citizens petitioned Wisconsin's governor to investigate Klan outrages in the state and disband the organization.³⁹ Wisconsin's governor responded by issuing a stern warning to members of the KKK in Wisconsin. He also reassured his constituents that if the Klan partook in any criminal activity he would prosecute them to the full extent of the law and vowed to protect the "liberty and security" of Wisconsin's citizens.⁴⁰ In the South, Louisiana state politicians attempted to pass legislation to ban and outlaw all Klan activity in the state as a measure to protect the people of Louisiana from coercion or intimidation.⁴¹ Klan activity was so volatile and controversial in Louisiana, the governor banned KKK parades in the state as a measure to quell Klan exposure and intrigue.⁴²

³⁷ "Mayor Asked By Negroes to Bar Ku Klux Here," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 18 August 1921, 15.

³⁸ "Dunne Out to Pull Teeth of Ku Klux Klan," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 15 September 1921, 1; "Two Societies Press Attack on Ku Klux Klan," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 16 September 1921, 16.

³⁹ "Ask Disbanding of Ku Klux Klan in Wisconsin," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 27 August 1921, 3.

⁴⁰ "Klan is Warned by Gov. Blaine of Badger State," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 28 August 1921, 10.

⁴¹ "Would Bar Klan in State," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 14 September 1921, 1.

⁴² "No Ku Klux Klan Parades to Be Held in Louisiana," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 6 April 1922, 3.

In Chicago, city officials were ineffective in minimizing the appeal of the Invisible Empire. Most cities had a single Klan klavern, but by the early 1920s, Chicago boasted eight klaverns-- the most of any city in the United States. In addition, Chicago had over twenty neighborhood chapters of the Invisible Empire. Whereas some historians considered the revived Klan to appeal primarily to blue-collar workers, over sixty percent of Chicago's male members were employed in white-collar professions. Historian Kenneth Jackson, however, asserts that Klan supremacy was short-lived in Chicago; by 1924 the secret society's influence and membership was dwindling as many chapters merged.⁴³ Though the men's Klan was on the decline within the city limits, men's Klan chapters in the suburbs as well as the women's chapters remained active and influential throughout the 1920s suggesting a more middle-class appeal to the Klan.

The Regendering of the Klan

Gender proved to be a problematic and sometimes paradoxical concept for the 1920s Klan. The KKK projected an image of hyper-masculinity and proclaimed their responsibility and duty was to defend all the defenseless native-born Protestant women. Klan doctrine stated that the organization stood for chivalry and "to protect the home, the chastity of womanhood, and to exemplify a pure patriotism toward our glorious nation."⁴⁴ Yet, the success of the national structure and strategic development of the 1920s Klan was largely credited to a highly capable woman. As an adept publicist and businesswoman, Elizabeth Tyler turned Col. Simmons' small southern revival into a

⁴³ Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 95-96, 108, 123.

⁴⁴ "Principles and Purposes of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan: Outlined by an Exalted Cyclops of the Order" (*The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*, 1924?), 4, Michigan State University Special Collections. [HS2330. K63 A34]

major national fraternal order and moneymaking machine. She and her business partner Edward Clarke both became wealthy as a result of the percentage they received from membership dues.

However, Tyler herself was an interesting choice to mastermind Klan structure and expansion because she did not represent the pious, virtuous, morally-driven woman the Klan ideologically defended. She was estranged from her husband and was accused of an illicit public affair with Clarke himself, who was also married at the time. Reports surfaced from a 1919 police statement that the pair were arrested at midnight in Tyler's home after a raid conducted by the Atlanta police department. Clarke believed this raid was instigated by his jealous wife.⁴⁵ Some of the Klan realms did not approve of their relationship and requested that they be removed from their prominent positions when it was reported that the pair was fined for disorderly conduct in Atlanta.⁴⁶ With increasing scrutiny coming from the federal government into the KKK, Klan leaders did not appreciate reading about their publicity team in the national press suggesting scandal with titles such as “Klan Officials Deny Morality Charges.”⁴⁷

In 1921, as the Klan underwent a federal investigation into alleged criminal activity of the organization, many prominent newspapers were more concerned with running stories about Tyler who the media dubbed the Klan’s “Empress” or “First Lady

⁴⁵ “Klan Official Deny Morality Charges: E.Y. Clarke Admits Arrest with Mrs. Tyler, but Says there Was No Wrongdoing,” *New York Times*, 20 September 1921, 15. “Two Atlanta Ku Klux Officials Resign,” *New York Times*, 22 September 1921, 3.

⁴⁶ “Would Oust Klan Officers: Jersey Organization Demands Expulsion of Two National Heads,” *New York Times*, 21 September 1921, 14. A “realm” in Klan language referred to the Klan body at the state organizational level.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

of the Klan.” Her physical appearance and presence were discussed before mentioning any details about the federal investigation. Tyler was described as, “rather tall and decidedly buxom...a blue-eyed, auburn-haired matron with a rosy complexion and a positive way of talking- particularly on the Klan.”⁴⁸ There was also interest in Tyler’s shopping trip to New York City and plans to open Klan membership to prominent women. A month later, while many ranking Klan officials were in Washington, D.C. for a Congressional hearing on Klan activities, Tyler survived an attempt on her life as shots were fired into her Atlanta home.⁴⁹

Amidst swirling rumors of scandal and illicit affairs involving the inner circle of Klan officials, both Tyler and Clarke tendered their resignations to Simmons.⁵⁰ However, they did not immediately leave their positions. Tyler’s responsibilities within the organization increased as she was tapped to help create a women’s division of the KKK and Clarke temporarily took control of the entire Invisible Empire while Simmons took a physician-recommended leave of absence from the secret society.⁵¹ Tyler and Clarke were quickly thrust into the middle of a power struggle between Klan officials in the North and South. At a Kloncillium, or national Klan convention, leadership tensions escalated and quickly resulted in Klan factions battling themselves in court on charges of

⁴⁸ “Ku Klux ‘Empress’ Comes Here To Shop: Denies Klux is Lawless,” *New York Times*, 11 September 1921, 22.

⁴⁹ “Fire At Mrs. Tyler, Threaten Simmons: Attempt Is Made to Kill Woman Official of Ku Klux in Her Home Outside Atlanta,” *New York Times*, 12 October 1921, 5.

⁵⁰ “Two Klan Officials Quit,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 22 September 1921, 1.

⁵¹ “Says Women Here Flock To Join Klan,” *New York Times*, 13 September 1921, 5. “Deposed Goblins Say Klan Is Broken,” *New York Times*, 3 December 1921, 7.

larceny and immorality.⁵² By January 1922 Tyler officially quit her positions within the Klan citing her daughter's health condition as her primary reason for leaving the order. The last newspaper coverage about her reported that in August the former "K.K.K. Queen Wed" an Atlanta-based filmmaker.⁵³ Edward Clarke remained a popular newspaper fixture because a federal warrant was issued for his arrest when he failed to show in court on charges of violating the Mann Act and engaging in white slavery.⁵⁴

Creating a Female Dominion in a Male Order

The KKK was ill prepared to deal with the new female supporters of the Klan's work that sought an active role in a traditionally exclusive and ultra-masculine organization. Women's interest in participating in the KKK created fundamental problems for the Klan's image and political ideology. The Klan viewed themselves in terms of the essential bonds of masculinity and fraternity. Within the political rhetoric, the KKK linked white Protestant womanhood to an ideal representation of white supremacy. Therefore, some Klan officials felt women's participation in their secret rites was inappropriate because it undermined the premise of their existence.⁵⁵

Despite reluctance to allow full female participation in the Klansmen's dominion, the KKK supported expanded political rights for women, especially in terms of suffrage. Klan leaders argued to members that white Protestant women's moral purity would guide

⁵² "Northern K.K.K. Secede From Southern Body," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 2 December 1921, 24.

⁵³ "Quits K.K.K. Post", *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 5 January 1922, 6. "K.K.K. Queen Weds," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 20 August 1922, 14.

⁵⁴ "U.S. Marshal Seeks Former Klan Wizard on Warrant," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 23 March 1923, 3. "Rival Officials Head Board to Operate Klan," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8 April 1923, 4.

⁵⁵ Blee, *Women of the Ku Klux Klan*, 48-9.

them to make bipartisan decisions to rid the country of vice and corruption—namely gambling, prostitution and alcohol. Klansmen believed that the women's vote would ensure a new constituency of obedient followers that could be instructed how to vote. However, female supporters of the Klan viewed the women's vote in terms of preservation of white Protestant supremacy and the assertion and protection of women's rights.⁵⁶

Klan officials decided it was in their best interest to bring their female supporters into the organization under a limited role in an effort to bring "Klanishness" to home life and future generations of potential Klansmen. In addition, with all the negative press the Klan was receiving and the citizens' organizations that were battling the order in all corners of the United States, they welcomed more supporters. Previous to the creation of the WKKK in 1923, a few short-lived women's auxiliaries were created including the Ladies of the Invisible Empire and Kamelia which was Col. Simmons' last ditch effort to retain control over some element of the order he revived. He quickly appointed himself president to the new women's auxiliary.⁵⁷ During the summer of 1923 in Chicago the women's Klan grew out of the already existing National League of Protestant Women of America.⁵⁸ Initially, newspaper articles reported on women joining the new female branches *en masse* with papers of incorporation filed throughout the country and

⁵⁶ Ibid, 50-52.

⁵⁷ Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 14; "U.S. Marshal Seeks Former Klan Wizard on Warrant," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 23 March 1923, 3.

⁵⁸ Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 123.

colorfully described what their hooded uniforms would look like.⁵⁹ But, these articles quickly changed to focusing on mounting tensions between the male and female Kluxers as well as tensions within the various female auxiliaries.⁶⁰

The relationship between the men's and women's orders was contentious from the very creation of the initial women's auxiliaries due to issues involving control of finances and agenda. When the WKKK filed papers of incorporation in Little Rock, Arkansas in 1923 Simmons attempted to get a court injunction to stop the formation of an independent women's organization using the Klan name.⁶¹ Simmons attempted to limit the growing independence and assertiveness of the female branch of the order and it was also a power struggle between the male heads of the men's organization. His actions no longer reflected the inclusive language espoused by Elizabeth Tyler two years earlier when she shared the Klan's vision for a women's division of the Invisible Empire with the press.⁶²

Historiography

Considering the vast body of scholarship published on the Ku Klux Klan, the Women of the Ku Klux Klan has attracted minimal attention. Though research on the WKKK fits within the general body of Klan studies, the Walosas Club chapter of the

⁵⁹ "Thrift, Kamelia, Thrift!", *New York Times*, 2 October 1923, 6; "Fiery Klan Crosses Light Long Island", *New York Times*, 14 October 1923, 14; "Women's Klan Incorporated," *New York Times*, 1 December 1923, 20.

⁶⁰ "Women's Klan Incorporated," *New York Times*, 1 December 1923, 20; "Ku Klux Women Battle: One Injured, Another Ill as Result of Clash at Alliance, OH," *New York Times*, 8 January 1924, 25.

⁶¹ "Opposes A Female Klan: Simmons Asks an Injunction, Naming Wizard a Defendant," *New York Times*, 6 November 1923, 6.

⁶² "Says Women Here Flock To Join Klan," *New York Times*, 13 September 1921, 5.

WKKK needs to be considered in a much broader socio-cultural, economic, political and gendered discussion of Klanishness, American suburbia, and the women's club movement.

Prior to the 1960s, works on the Ku Klux Klan originated out of sociology or psychology. Most noteworthy of this group of Klan scholarship is sociologist John Moffatt Mecklin's groundbreaking 1924 study entitled *The Ku-Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind*, arguably the most frequently cited book on the Klan and considered one of the most influential monographs on Klan history. Mecklin contends that the KKK was a "highly complex social phenomenon" and was "essentially a village and small-town organization."⁶³ He asserts that the ritual was carried over from the Reconstruction era Klan while the mainstream appeal of its rhetoric was rooted in "Native Americanism."⁶⁴ In addition, Mecklin acknowledges that the Klan was traditionally viewed as a southern institution, but credits the massive appeal of the 1920s Klan in the North to the influx of immigrants.⁶⁵ Kenneth Jackson contends that Mecklin's thesis that Klan growth was a "combination of rural ignorance and small-town monotony" remained unchallenged for the next four decades.⁶⁶

Notable contributions by historians to Klan scholarship since 1960 include the works of David Chalmers, Kenneth Jackson, and Kathleen Blee. In *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan*, Chalmers categorizes the Klan as a

⁶³ Mecklin, *The Ku-Klux Klan*, 53, 99.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 53.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 68-70.

⁶⁶ Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, xiii.

homegrown terrorist organization.⁶⁷ For the most part, Klan scholars have refrained from using the phrase “terrorist organization” to describe Klan activity due to the connotations of a foreign threat to domestic society. However, Chalmers uses the word terror in its most literal sense because the ultimate goal was to instill a sense of absolute fear and horror in the victims of Klan violence and intimidation. In addition, Chalmers states that the Klan was marked by conservative and reactionary politics rooted in revivalism and nativism. Over the span of the organization’s history the Klan was called, “a vigilante organization, a national liberation front, a revitalization movement, a secret order, a fraternal lodge, a status society, a bastion of poor-boy politics and, in the twentieth century, a money-maker for its leaders.”⁶⁸ Throughout all these different titles, the Klan has consistently used violence and intimidation to attain their numerous and diverse agendas.

Inevitably all studies of the KKK incorporate discussions of race and this analytical tool is omnipresent in *Hooded Americanism*. Chalmers, in particular, shows the construction of a racialized southern identity that places whites at the top of the hierarchy and blacks at the bottom. However, these distinctions were complicated when they overlapped with social class identity. White sympathizers to the plight of freedmen’s political disenfranchisement, constant exposure to racism, socio-economic restrictions, and threat of Klan violence despite the inherent privileges afforded by whiteness would not be much higher than blacks on the socio-racial Klan hierarchy.

⁶⁷ Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism*, xi.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 424.

Kenneth Jackson contributes the most comprehensive analysis of the revived Klan which marks a significant addition to KKK scholarship. In *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930*, Jackson makes the important distinction that the appeal and influence of the Klan of the early-twentieth century was not limited to the rural South. Jackson uses regional studies in the South, North (Midwest) and West as a method to demonstrate the national and urban attraction to the revitalized Klan which reached its apex in the 1920s. The new Klan preached the virtues of motherhood, chaste womanhood, patriotism, white supremacy, and militant Protestantism, but in actual practice proved to be one of the most intolerant organizations in United States history. Jackson's thesis is that, "urban klaverns of the Invisible Empire dominated the organization and provided the bulk of the leadership and financing."⁶⁹ In addition, the Klan posited itself as a defender of Christian ideals and American values, but at the same time demonized Catholics, Jews, African-Americans, and newly arriving immigrants.⁷⁰ Klan membership was overwhelmingly composed of individuals from the lower-middle class economic strata, a marked change from the rural farmer and laborer base of the Reconstruction-era organization.

In *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s*, Kathleen Blee's study of the WKKK in Indiana challenges Jackson's notion of the auxiliary and dependent status of the women's organization. Blee, a sociologist, uses oral history interviews to uncover the silences in the written record of a secret society. Blee demonstrates that women's contributions to the Invisible Empire were largely overlooked because historians have written off the organization as a dependent entity under the control of the

⁶⁹ Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, ix.

⁷⁰ Ibid, xii.

men's Klan. The men's organization envisioned an auxiliary for women supporters who were eager to join the KKK movement, but never expected to create an organization in 1923 that quickly became autonomous from their direct supervision. Gender ideology remained a contested issue between the men's and women's organizations throughout the seven year tenure of the WKKK. Blee contends that for many native-born white Protestant women, the women's Klan offered an environment to rejoice in their perceived racial and religious superiority.⁷¹ In oral history interviews Blee conducted with former Indiana Klanswomen, most anonymous informants recalled the experience as a time in their lives marked by great friendships and womanhood and downplayed the prejudice and racist aspects of Klan rhetoric. However, former Klanswomen displayed an "us v. them" mentality when they spoke about individuals that were not part of the organization.⁷²

The WKKK maintained a complex image. In behavior typically associated with the Klan, Blee refers to the WKKK as, "a poison squad of whispering women."⁷³ Though the use of physical violence was rarely associated with Klanswomen, they employed the rhetorical weapons of gossip and slander to tarnish the reputations of outsider women or political enemies. With an estimated 32 percent of white native-born Protestant women in Indiana as members, the WKKK was effective in their crusade to

⁷¹ Blee, *Women of the Klan*, 1, 49, 57-59, 62, 65.

⁷² Ibid, 3.

⁷³ Ibid, 123.

promote “100 Percent Americanism.”⁷⁴ Blee complicates the image of the WKKK by also emphasizing the progressive women’s rights espoused by their leader Robbie Gill Comer and their function as a social welfare society for Klan members in need. In a Mother’s Day Address to Klanswomen, Gill Comer encouraged women not to feel obligated to accept the first proposal of marriage they received and also advocated for an eight hour work day for mothering. But, in the same speech she also cautioned against the influence of “feminist extremists.”⁷⁵ The WKKK sought to posit the militant Protestant practices of the KKK as the societal norm and started organizations for their children to raise them in the Klan tradition. In addition, the WKKK “klanified” Christian rituals such as baptism and marriage in which special lavish Klan ceremonies were held.⁷⁶

In order to better understand the Walosas Club, the organization needs to be placed within the context of the rise of suburbia. Since 1920 the majority of Americans have lived in urban areas. The rise of the American city was coupled with the rise of suburbia and an American preference for socio-economically and racial and ethnically exclusive communities outside the city limits. The first generation of suburban historians focused on the development of elite suburbs that provided exclusive enclaves for the upwardly mobile white community who had the means to selectively isolate themselves from the unsavory and dangerous aspects of the city as well as from their work lives. It is this type of suburb that holds the most relevance to the Klan presence in suburban

⁷⁴ Ibid, 125.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 54-57.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 157-162.

Chicago. Scholarship on suburbia from the 1980s, led by Kenneth Jackson and Robert Fishman viewed the American suburbs as static and individualistic. The classic suburb, as described by Jackson and Fishman, was a place in which like-minded white middle to upper class Americans could rejoice in escaping from the urban center of production and the less desirable elements of city life.⁷⁷

Jackson and Fishman present the story of white middle-class achievement in isolating themselves from the perceived less attractive aspects of city life including crowded housing, the influx of African Americans from the South and European immigrants, and socio-racial unrest. However, the suburbs they describe were not as “whitewashed” and static as they seemed because they had sizable populations of minorities that provided services in the suburban households and communities. The collective work of new suburban historians shifts away from the analysis of elite suburbs started by Jackson and Fishman and turns to an examination of suburbs that were racially diverse, ethnic, or working class enclaves.

In the past decade, “new suburban” historians have challenged the Jackson and Fishman paradigm. *The New Suburban History*, edited by Kevin Kruse and Thomas J. Sugrue presents a collection of essays by this second generation of suburban historians that cover a range of topics. The new suburban historians, including Becky Nicolaides and Andrew Wiese, expand and complicate the definition of a suburb by recognizing it as a geopolitical entity in which race, class and gender intersect. However, practitioners of the new suburban history contend that the study of the suburb extends beyond the

⁷⁷ See Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1987).

analysis of these categories and at the deepest level represents a power struggle rooted in political economy.⁷⁸

In *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920-1965*, Becky Nicolaides presents a model case study using a white working-class suburb to investigate national themes and issues. South Gate, just outside Los Angeles, challenges the “suburban myth” that places suburbia as a new built environment and way of living post-World War II, revealing that South Gate was a vibrant suburban community by the 1920s. Many residents of South Gate initially had jobs in Los Angeles, but soon boosters and industrial zoning incentives encouraged factory development around the community. Residents of South Gate formed their identities through home ownership and neighborhood businesses.⁷⁹ Nicolaides captures the essence of daily life in South Gate and how residents struggled to protect their neighborhood from perceived outside threats. In addition, Nicolaides shows that the KKK had a large appeal to white working-class suburbs like South Gate that sought to preserve their deliberately established community identity from the encroachment of African American, Latino, foreign-born, or Catholic neighbors.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Kevin M. Kruse and Thomas J. Sugrue, eds., *The New Suburban History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 1-2, 9-10; See Also Andrew Wiese, *Places of Their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Becky M. Nicolaides and Andrew Wiese, *The Suburban Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

⁷⁹ Becky M. Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920-1965* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 22-35

⁸⁰ Ibid, 165.

Oak Park as a Case Study

Oak Park's earliest white residents began settling in the area nine miles west of downtown Chicago around the same time Chicago developed as a city. However, Oak Park did not experience a population boom until after the Chicago Fire of 1871. Some upwardly mobile Chicago residents sought a fresh start in a tranquil suburb as opposed to rebuilding in the city. Oak Park's population grew rapidly over the subsequent decades. By 1920 the community was the eighth largest incorporated municipality in the state of Illinois boasting 39,858 inhabitants.⁸¹

While Oak Park was still an entity within Cicero Township, residents cultivated a distinct identity rooted in the development of an idyllic suburban retreat with a visible Protestant religious presence and steadfast commitment to temperance fifty years before the United States became dry. When Oak Park achieved independence from Cicero Township and escaped annexation by Chicago, the suburb organized as a village in 1902. Primary concerns for Oak Park in the community's formative years were to preserve the suburb as a place of fine homes with superb public schools, maintain a ban on all intoxicating liquors and sustain the positive influence of the many Protestant churches. A rapid influx of Catholics in the early-twentieth century challenged this Protestant moral authority. Oak Park was an ideal target for Klan mobilization because of a perceived threat to the Protestant and temperance identity of the suburb.

The earliest evidence of an emerging Klan presence in Oak Park was an advertisement that ran in the local newspaper the *Oak Leaves* in the summer of 1921.

⁸¹ Department of Commerce, *U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States, State Compendium, Illinois* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1924), 8.

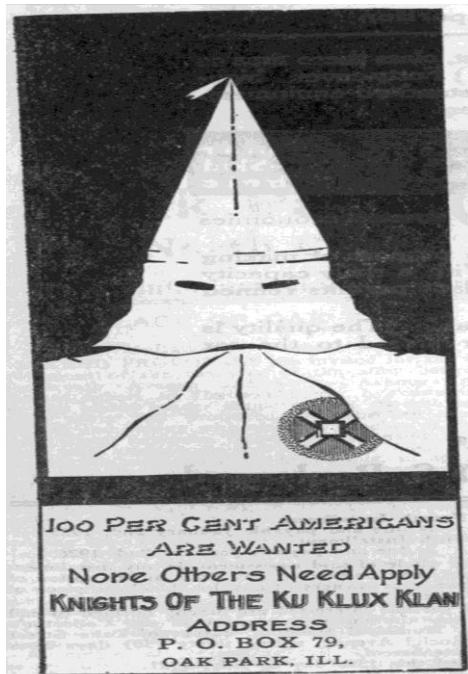


Figure 1. *Oak Leaves* Advertisement for the KKK.
Courtesy of HSOPRF.

The ad featured a hooded Klansman with the Klan insignia visible on the robe and called for “100 Percent Americans.” Inquiries were to be sent to an Oak Park postal box. The Klan ran the notice twice over the summer of 1921.⁸² Though an Oak Park men’s Klan chapter was organized in 1921, the group did not receive an official charter from the KKK until 1923 along with the neighboring suburbs to the south, Berwyn and Cicero.⁸³ Oak Park’s women’s chapter of the WKKK, the Walosas Club, was formed sometime in 1923 or 1924, but was not officially recognized by the national WKKK organization until

⁸² *Oak Leaves*, 21 June 191, 27 August 1921.

⁸³ Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 96.

1926.⁸⁴ The Walosas Club agenda and day-to-day operations were the same before and after official incorporation into the WKKK.

Oak Park was an ideal community for Klan manipulation because of a deep rooted desire to protect the Protestant identity, temperance status and municipal autonomy of the village. The Women's Christian Temperance Union and Anti-Saloon League members were predominantly Protestant, and Catholics who tended not to favor the national ban on intoxicating liquors viewed prohibition as a Protestant agenda.⁸⁵ In Oak Park there was a general assumption that an increase of Catholics amounted to a heightened resistance to temperance. Kleagles (Klan recruiters) who arrived in the Chicago area in 1921 were instructed to identify concerns of local communities then offer the Klan as a solution to all problems.⁸⁶

Not much is known about the day to day operations of the WKKK, but a rare manuscript collection from a suburban Chicago chapter provides an internal examination of the women's Klan within the confines of a northern socio-religiously conservative suburb as it confronts development and change from 1890 to 1930. Moreover, a case study of the women's Klan in Oak Park highlights a major success of the revived Klan. Despite the limited tenure and shortcomings of the Ku Klux Klan as a national

⁸⁴Walosas Club Klan No. 29 Charter, 1926 [plaque], Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest. The Walosas Club maintained a relationship with the regional and national WKKK offices prior to chartering, but incorporation as a chartered WKKK chapter required WKKK groups to pay additional fees to the national WKKK headquarters in Little Rock, Arkansas-- thus, guaranteeing an ongoing source of revenue for the national WKKK movement.

⁸⁵ Ann-Marie E. Szymanski, *Pathways to Prohibition: Radicals, Moderates, and Social Movement Outcomes* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 26, 47-9; Pegram, *One Hundred Percent American*, 123-27.

⁸⁶ Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 10; Blee, *Women of the Ku Klux Klan*, 101-12; Pegram, *One Hundred Percent American*, 21-4.

movement, analysis of the Walosas Club chapter of the WKKK demonstrates how the Invisible Empire flourished at the grassroots local level in the 1920s.

Oak Park is important because the community serves as a vehicle to study the WKKK within a suburban context which has previously not been done. During Oak Park's development as a streetcar suburban village the community possessed many of the homogenous qualities of a "classic suburb." Oak Park was founded as an affluent and predominantly white native-born Protestant suburb. The new suburban history examines suburbs as places with inherent tensions in terms of race, class, gender and political economy. In the early-twentieth century Oak Park was a community which exhibited the intersection of these potential areas of contention and further complicates the discussion with the inclusion of religion. Therefore, the presence of the Klan in Oak Park in the 1920s reveals how Oak Park struggled and reacted to growth and change when faced with an influx of new Catholic residents and ultimately fought to preserve the Protestant moral authority in the suburb.

CHAPTER ONE

THE MAKINGS OF A SUBURBAN KLAN HAVEN

Two laborers were hauling a heavy load of building materials from Chicago to the adjoining west side suburb of Oak Park. The driver of the horse cart asked his companion how he was supposed to know when they had arrived in Oak Park since he had never been there. The passenger quickly replied, “When saloons stop and church steeples begin you’ll know you are in Oak Park.”¹

In 1898, the Rev. William E. Barton arrived in the suburban hamlet of Oak Park, Illinois from Massachusetts to assume the position of pastor at the First Congregational Church. He later believed that the story of the two laborers was an accurate description of Oak Park, but argued that the presence of “church steeples did not mean that it was an oppressively religious town.” Rather, he viewed Oak Park as “a place of homes of the better class.”² Throughout his twenty-five year ministry in Oak Park, Barton preached to his congregation and the broader community that there were no conflicting values in the transition of Oak Park from an unbridled prairie entity to a suburban village. He asserted that the community’s identity and firm grounding in religion and morality would always

¹ William E. Barton, “The Secret of the Charm of Oak Park” in *Glimpses of Oak Park* (Oak Park, IL: privately published, 1912), 1.

² Ibid.

be maintained as long as Oak Park was politically autonomous from Chicago and other surrounding suburbs.³

Twenty years later Oak Park was home to a very active yet publicly invisible women's group called the Walosas Club, a Chicagoland chapter of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan (WKKK).⁴ In fact, Oak Park in the 1920s harbored both women's and men's Klan activities. How did a community which prided itself on its distinct intellectual, moral, and religious character, and staunch advocacy for temperance become fertile ground for the Walosas Club which was determined to create an order of virtuous, ultra-conservative, native-born white, Protestant women amid what was perceived as rapid distasteful societal changes? Oak Park's existence as a haven for the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in the 1920s is better understood and interpreted from an examination of the village's development as a Chicago suburb. The village exuded an unwavering and healthy sense of self-value that distinguished Oak Park from its immediate neighbors in the late-nineteenth to early-twentieth centuries. The created image was suitable for exploitation by the Klan. Oak Park's identity was formed by the suburb's temperance movement, politics, religious and moral foundations, and self-proclaimed status as a community for the better classes of society.

From Country Hamlet to Thriving Suburb

Suburban growth has been coupled with the development of the urban scene since the colonial origins of the country. The rise of the American city was accompanied by

³ Kathryn Elizabeth Ratcliff, "The Making of a New Middle-Class Culture: Family and Community in a Midwest Suburb, 1880-1920" (PhD Diss.: University of Minnesota, 1990), 4.

⁴ "Walosas" is a made up name with no apparent meaning. WKKK chapters frequently assumed pseudonyms to protect the identity of members as well as the true nature of the organization.

the rise of suburbia and an American desire for socio-economically, racially and ethnically exclusive communities outside the city limits. Historians have come to refer to suburbs like Oak Park as representations of “the classic suburb” --elite developments that provided exclusive enclaves for the upwardly mobile white community with the means to selectively isolate themselves from the “unsavory” and “dangerous” aspects of the city as well as their work lives. The chief difference between city and suburb was that suburbs were politically autonomous from the city and thus created an exclusive community that could be controlled, self-maintained and preserved for future generations.⁵

Oak Park’s growth as a suburban commuter community followed some of the national suburbanizing trends of the nineteenth century. Suburban expansion was fostered by innovations in transportation, an upwardly mobile middle-class seeking refuge from city life, and an urge to live in fresh environments segregated from centers of production. However, there are some additional contributing factors which played a significant role not only in Oak Park’s development as a commuter Chicago suburb, but also as a community with a healthy sense of self-worth and identity. Oak Park native Ernest Hemingway famously referred to the suburban community of his youth as “the land of broad lawns and narrow minds.” Hemingway’s assessment of late nineteenth-to early twentieth-century Oak Park was an acutely accurate characterization of the village.

In a 1903 sermon to his congregation, the Rev. William Barton took the opportunity to preach on the relationship of suburb to city: “The suburb is created by the city and is a reaction from it...but the suburb must not desert the city, nor believe it

⁵ See Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1987); Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

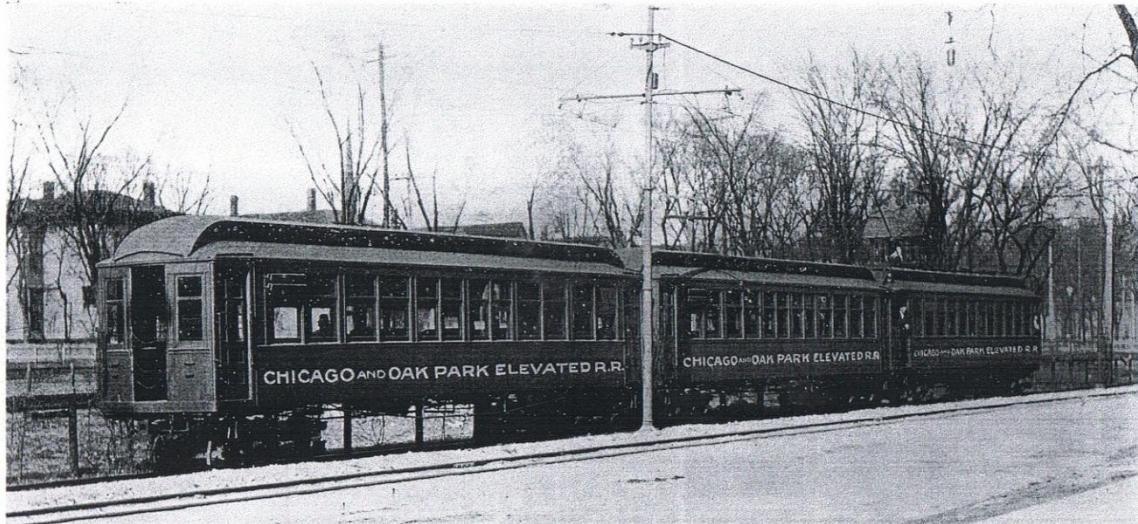
wholly bad...The battle of civilization is to be fought to a finish in our cities...The righteousness of the suburb must reinforce that of the city."⁶ Barton implied that since Oak Park residents managed to create an ideal community for themselves, it was their obligation and calling to morally uplift and rejuvenate elements of Chicago's urban experience that were deemed illicit and immoral. Thus, Oak Park grew as a carefully planned Chicago suburb that was an escape from the city yet not an isolated island due to its moral obligations to humanity as stewards of good Christian values. This attitude is reflected in the community's robust sense of self-importance and identity rooted in pride for its comfortable and well-situated homes, religious and social life, commitment to temperance, and solid municipal services and educational system.

Oak Park's development as a commuter suburb of Chicago was facilitated by easy accessibility to the city through train lines and streetcars. The earliest passenger trains to the Oak Park area began ferrying mourners from the city to the cemeteries of a neighboring suburb, Forest Park, in the late-1870s. Oak Park boosters managed to get freight train lines that ran through Oak Park to add a few passenger cars to their trains to shuttle villagers between their home in the suburb and jobs in the city. As the population grew with a post-Chicago Fire boom of new settlers, Oak Park residents sought a more frequent transit solution. In 1872 Northwest Railways added an exclusive commuter service between Oak Park and Chicago.⁷

⁶ *Oak Leaves*, 6 February 1903, 15.

⁷ David M. Sokol, *Oak Park: The Evolution of a Village* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2011), 42-45; *Nature's Choicest Spot: A Guide to Forest Home and German Waldheim Cemeteries* (Oak Park, IL: The Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest, 1998), 1-4.

QUICK TRANSPORTATION FROM HARLEM TO CHICAGO
 DAY OR NIGHT
VIA ELEVATED TRAIN



View of Elevated Train on South Boulevard

EXPRESS SERVICE DURING MORNING AND EVENING RUSH HOURS **CHICAGO & OAK PARK ELEVATED RAILROAD**

Figure 2. Image of Chicago and Oak Park Elevated Railroad, c. 1895. Courtesy of HSOPRF.

By 1885 the Chicago and Oak Park Elevated Railroad offered service to and from Chicago fifteen times daily. Wisconsin Central and the Chicago Western Dummy Company also ran freight lines through Oak Park which brought goods and building materials to the village from all over the Midwest quicker than the overland routes. This allowed for continued growth and expansion of the community.⁸

⁸ Peggy Tuck Sinko, "The Suburbanization of a Community: Oak Park, IL, 1868-World War I" (Graduate Seminar Paper, University of Illinois at Chicago, 1987), 13-14; Gertrude Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, Illinois Compiled under Federal Works Progress Administration Project #9516, 1937, Oak Park Public Library Special Collections, 75-77.

Table 1. Oak Park's Population Growth from 1880-1930

Year	Oak Park Population
1880	1,812
1885	3,117
1890	4,589
1895	7,520
1900	9,353
1905	12,500
1910	20,911
1915	29,025
1920	39,858
1925	53,144
1930	63,982

In the early twentieth-century Chicago's suburbs steadily gained more inhabitants.

Table 1 reveals that from 1880 to 1920 Oak Park's population roughly doubled every decade.⁹ By 1920 the Chicago suburbs of Cicero, Oak Park and Evanston were amongst the top ten largest cities, towns or villages in Illinois. Cicero, a nearby suburb to the southeast of Oak Park, was the sixth largest city, while Oak Park was the eighth most populous incorporated community in the state. These figures show that Chicago's near western suburbs were some of the most rapidly developing places in the metropolitan

⁹ Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 13.

area.¹⁰ Rapid growth brought new populations, namely upwardly mobile Catholics, to the suburbs and older suburban residents were incapable of controlling the demographic change.

Temperance

Temperance was another key factor that shaped the development and character of Oak Park in its formative years. Many of Oak Park's early boosters, including Henry Warren Austin, Sr., were active in the growing national movement to abolish all forms of alcohol usage. Austin's personal mission was to "banish intoxicating liquors" from Oak Park. He and his wife Martha were ardent supporters of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and often hosted Frances Willard, a steadfast advocate and national leader in the temperance crusade, in their home. Austin was so committed to the temperance movement he donated a building on his property, built by Oak Park's first white settler Joseph Kettlestrings, to the temperance cause and named it Temperance Hall. He used his political influence as a state legislator to bring forth an Illinois temperance bill to the General Assembly. In addition, in the early 1870s Austin struck a deal with the Cicero Town Board stating that if they ceased to issue liquor permits he would rid Oak Park of its three existing saloons.¹¹ He bought two of the three saloons in town with relative ease, but ran into some difficulty with the proprietor of the third and most popular establishment called Farmer's Home. Local legend contends that Austin

¹⁰ Department of Commerce, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, State Compendium, Illinois* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1924), 8. The 1910 Census was the first Federal Census in which Oak Park's population was independently recorded because the village was previously included with Cicero Township.

¹¹ Jean Guarino, *Yesterday: A Historical View of Oak Park, Illinois Prairie Days to World War I, Vol. I* (Oak Park, IL: Oak Ridge Press, 2000), 64.

walked into the tavern and asked the barkeeper to name his price for the business and all its contents. The barkeeper commanded an outrageous sum and Austin proceeded to take the money out of his pocket and purchase the property on the spot. He then dramatically poured out all the alcohol into the gutter as a public display of Oak Park's stance on temperance.¹²

Oak Park officially became a temperance community in 1872 when the bill Austin proposed to the Illinois General Assembly was codified into law forbidding saloons or the sale of alcohol in the Oak Park vicinity. The title of the bill, "an act to provide against the evils resulting from the sale of intoxicating liquors in the state of Illinois," succinctly summed up the sentiment of Austin and his supporters regarding alcoholic consumption.¹³ However, those Oak Parkers who still sought to 'wet their whistles' could step west across Harlem Avenue into Forest Park or River Forest which boasted an astounding sea of fifty-two saloons in a two-mile radius. Oak Park temperance advocates referred to Harlem Avenue as "the dividing line between damnation and salvation."¹⁴ The major reasons for the success of Oak Park's rapid temperance campaign were results of emerging local support for reform agendas, major involvement of women's groups, strong advocacy from the very active Protestant community, and Austin's personal financial and political backing of the movement. This placed Oak Park greatly ahead of

¹² John Lewis, "Chapters in Oak Park History," *Oak Leaves*, 24 October 1928, 55. Also see May Estelle Cook, *Little Old Oak Park 1837-1902* (Oak Park, IL: privately printed, 1961), 32.

¹³ "An Act to Provide Against the Evils Resulting from the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors in the State of Illinois," 13 January 1872, No. 12170, Box 323, Collections of Illinois State Archives.

¹⁴ Guarino, *Yesterday*, 64.

the national trend towards temperance reform. The community remained a “dry” village even after the repeal of prohibition in the 1930s.

The national kleagle recruiters established by Klan publicist Elizabeth Tyler were trained to research local communities and find areas of pride as well as potential scapegoats for frustrations. Klan recruiters in Oak Park were greeted with the opportunity to emphasize the village’s honorable commitment to temperance which complemented Klan rhetoric about the evils of alcohol. Nationally, Klansmen and Klanswomen supported the campaign for temperance because the poisoning influence of alcohol was viewed as a detriment to the ultimate goals of the Invisible Empire. Women in Oak Park were particularly active in the temperance cause and became attractive targets for Klan ideology because the WKKK sought to make the concerns of white native-born Protestant women synonymous with a Klannish identity.¹⁵

Oak Park was fifty years ahead of the national legislation to outlaw the sale, creation and consumption of intoxicating liquors. Therefore, Prohibition did not have much of an impact on the village of Oak Park when it arrived in 1919. The righteous religious core of Oak Park felt validated in the efforts made to establish Oak Park as a dry community and welcomed the closing of all the taverns and saloons bordering the village. The drinking establishments in the neighboring suburbs of Forest Park and Cicero were forced to halt operation before the constitutional amendment prohibiting alcohol was in effect. In reference to those individuals who once wasted their lives away in saloons on the outskirts of Oak Park an *Oak Leaves* editorial stated, “They wander about as if dazed

¹⁵ Kathleen M. Blee, “Evidence, Empathy, and Ethics: Lessons from Oral Histories of the Klan” in *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 80, No. 2 (September, 1993), 600.

by the bright sunshine of virtue spreading over the U.S.A. to warm the people into happiness or to dry them up, body and soul as the saloon people fear.”¹⁶ The most contentious debate concerning alcohol in Oak Park in the years leading up to national Prohibition was whether or not to adopt Illinois State’s anti-saloon option in 1916. The general consensus was that the state law had more power than the local municipal codes. A referendum and special spring election was called by the village government to vote on the anti-saloon question.¹⁷ Voters overwhelmingly favored adoption of the Illinois State law regarding alcohol.

Citizens of Oak Park were more concerned with the effects of alcohol in their immediate community than campaigning for temperance at the national level. In January 1916 villagers attended a meeting at the River Forest Methodist Church sponsored by representatives from local churches with the Reverend John G. Schaidly of the Anti-Saloon League from Columbus, Ohio to offer support to the neighboring suburb of Forest Park which sought to free residents from the grips of alcohol. Oak Park’s interest in the matter was to keep the village’s borders free from saloons and taverns. A previous measure in 1914 to outlaw saloons in Proviso Township failed because the saloon owners were much better financed and organized than the opposition. Oak Park churches

¹⁶ “Oak Park Now Dry: Saloons in Our Midst Quit Alcohol,” *Oak Leaves*, 12 July 1919, 13.

¹⁷ “To Vote On Saloons,” *Oak Leaves*, 29 January 1916, 7; “April Referendum: Oak Park Citizens to Vote at Spring Election on City Government and Anti-Saloon Questions,” *Oak Leaves*, 5 February 1916, 1.

involved in the fight to end alcoholic consumption in neighboring communities viewed the struggle in terms of local control over issues of morality.¹⁸

After the national appeal of Prohibition in 1933, the alcohol issue once again became a central debate and concern within Oak Park. There was a general fear that saloons and taverns selling hard liquor might invade the village. A petition with 8,800 signatures was needed to put the alcohol issue on the ballot in the April village elections.¹⁹ The petition collected 18,026 signers.²⁰ A campaign argument for maintaining a dry Oak Park stated that homes were considered much more desirable when located in a saloon free territory thus making life much more pleasant for a community's residents. In addition, the position paper acknowledged the presence of men involved with the liquor business living in Oak Park because they wanted a place to raise their families outside of saloon districts as well.²¹ In April 1934 Oak Park residents voted on the question, "Shall the sale at retail of alcoholic liquor be prohibited in this village?" Villagers voted five to one in favor of keeping saloons out of Oak Park and keeping the community completely dry. Oak Park's sister suburb River Forest also voted

¹⁸ "For Dry Proviso: Meeting at River Forest Last Sunday Night in Interest of Coming Campaign," *Oak Leaves*, 22 January 1916, 7.

¹⁹ "Oak Park to Be Wet Territory After May 10 Unless a Petition is Presented by 25% of Voters," *Oak Leaves*, 15 February 1934, 1, 31.

²⁰ *Oak Leaves*, 8 March 1934, 22.

²¹ "The Saloon Issue," *Oak Leaves*. 22 February 1934, 1.

to remain dry.²² The first liquor license was not issued in Oak Park until 1973, although the village still does not allow bars.²³

A Bourgeoning Political Identity

When Chicago incorporated in 1837 the rest of Cook County was subdivided into areas called precincts. By the mid-nineteenth century the precincts were too cumbersome to manage and thus divided into townships. Soon thereafter, Oak Park was grouped into Cicero Township along with the surrounding communities including Austin, Berwyn, and Cicero.²⁴ The township governing system did not make allowances for representation of the individual communities it was composed of which immediately caused concern amongst Oak Parkers.²⁵ Political representation aside, there were two other major issues of concern for residents in Oak Park. First, Chicago was rapidly increasing its physical space in the late-nineteenth century through annexation. For instance, in 1889 Chicago almost doubled its size overnight with the acquisition of Hyde Park.²⁶ Second, Oak Park was the only temperance community within “wet” Cicero Township. This latter point caused great concern for the population in Oak Park who had fought so diligently to achieve the village’s “dry” status quo seventeen years earlier.

²² *Oak Leaves*, 3 April 1934, 41; “Village Voters Say, ‘No Saloon,’” 5 April 1934, 1.

²³ Contemporarily, Oak Park technically remains a “dry” village. Restaurants successfully obtained liquor licenses in the 1970s and over the past ten years the ban was relaxed with the sale of alcohol in grocery stores. However, there are still no bars in Oak Park. The 2011 opening of a new restaurant called “Oak Park Kitchen & Bar” ignited a flurry of angry opinion pieces in the *Oak Leaves* and *Wednesday Journal* about how dangerous and damaging an establishment with “bar” in the title was for Oak Park youth. This reaction demonstrates that there are still some residents that favor a “dry” Oak Park.

²⁴ Guarino, *Yesterday*, 31.

²⁵ Le Gacy, “Improvers and Preservers,” 58; Sokol, *Oak Park*, 53-56.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 55.



Figure 3. Map of Chicago and Suburbs, 1921. Courtesy of Chicago History Museum.

Even a few decades before it became a political and municipal reality, some residents of the Oak Park (formerly Oak Ridge) section of Cicero Township felt the best interest of their community was to become a separate suburb. With a boost in population after the Great Chicago Fire in 1871 Oak Park continued to attract wealthy merchants and professionals to an ever expanding and developing community. By the mid-1870s Oak Parkers were already growing dissatisfied with how affairs in Cicero Township were run.²⁸ In this period there was a sense amongst Oak Parkers that their community was different than the others in Cicero Township. By the 1880s many Oak Parkers were

²⁷ Map of Chicago and Suburbs, 1921 (IChi-38123), Collections of the Chicago History Museum.

²⁸ William Halley and John Lewis, *Early Days in Oak Park* (Oak Park, IL: Privately published, 1933), 12.

under the impression that the only way to preserve and protect the community they had built for themselves was to exist as an autonomous local entity. Even though Oak Park was still part of Cicero Township in the 1890s, boosters advertised the village as a distinct place.

Figure 4. Oak Park Development Poster, c. 1890. Courtesy of HSOPRF.

Broadside advertisements for Oak Park, as seen in Fig. 4, not only emphasized all the allure to settling in the community such as a pure source of water, modern amenities and convenient transportation to the city, but also outlined clearly delineated boundaries for Oak Park within Cicero Township.

By the 1890s tensions amongst the various communities within Cicero Township were at a boiling point. In June 1891 the Illinois Assembly passed an act which called for the division of all incorporated townships. Although this law was enacted statewide, it was specifically directed towards Cicero Township. A few years later in 1895, a special election called for the separation of Oak Park from Cicero as a self-governing suburb. The Oak Park proposition did not pass and in subsequent years there was a growing sentiment within the Austin community of Cicero township for incorporation into Chicago. An 1898 special election for voters in Cicero and Chicago raised the issue of Austin annexation to the city. The measure failed because it appeared that Austin residents did not feel strongly enough in favor of annexation to actually show up and cast votes. In a December 1898 vote, Oak Park officially separated from Berwyn, but was still not politically independent from Cicero.²⁹

²⁹ Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 23-24; Sokol, *Oak Park*, 53-56.

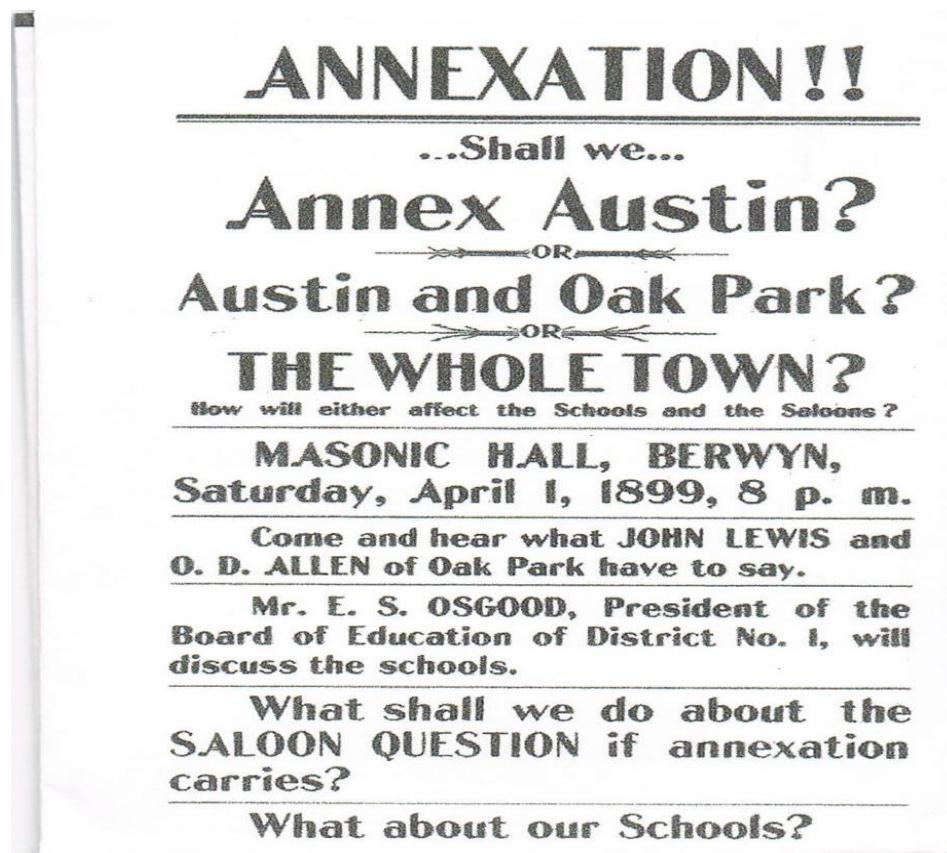


Figure 5. A series of annexations by Chicago raised fears and anxiety within residents of Cicero Township as depicted in this 1899 poster announcing a meeting to discuss the annexation issue. Courtesy of HSOPRF.

Residents within Oak Park were particularly concerned about what annexation meant for their school system and the saloon issue. Temperance advocates had fought long and hard in Oak Park to rid the community of the perceived harmful effects of alcohol and did not want to jeopardize losing ground on this issue. The community also had to determine if it was in their best interest to fight for political and municipal autonomy from all other entities within Cicero Township. In January 1902, after decades of intense political maneuvering, Oak Park's municipal autonomy finally became a reality and the self-governing village of Oak Park was incorporated as a suburb of Chicago. It physically became the first suburb west of downtown Chicago since the Austin neighborhood was

annexed by the city in 1899 after a Superior Court case overruled a previous decision which stated Austin's annexation to Chicago was unconstitutional.³⁰

At the time of annexation, Austin and Oak Park had similar demographic backgrounds and home values.³¹ However, Austin did not manage to withstand incorporation into the city of Chicago. Some historians suggest that Oak Park and her sister north shore suburb of Evanston both avoided annexation due to their position as elite and fiercely independent suburbs. However, wealth and independence did not guarantee safety from annexation. The affluent communities of Morgan Park, Kenwood and Hyde Park did not survive late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century annexation by the city of Chicago. Prior to Morgan Park's annexation, a 1907 editorial in the community's local paper stated that, "the real issue is not taxes, nor water, nor street cars—it is a much greater question than either. It is the moral control of our village..."³² A few years prior Oak Park was in a similar struggle for moral authority and self-determination. Affluence and morality aside, the most plausible factor that helped situate Oak Park and Evanston as independent suburbs from their immediate surroundings was that both communities were committed to the temperance cause and refused to allow any concession on this issue of control within their suburban havens.

The Klan thrived best in predominantly homogenous communities that were politically conservative. Additionally, the Klan felt that it was the only pure politically

³⁰ Ibid, 24-25.

³¹ Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago: the Relationship of the Growth of Chicago to the Rise of its Land Values, 1830-1933* (Washington, DC: Beard Book, 2000) (orig. pub. University of Chicago, 1933), 230-34.

³² Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 149-151.

organized entity in America because traditional political parties, private clubs and many churches were viewed as corrupt or morally infected institutions.³³ In Oak Park, the struggle for autonomy from Cicero Township and Chicago and active participation by community residents created a distinct political identity. Oak Park had a narrow political scope of conservative-minded individuals which provided an already established framework for the incorporation of Klan ideology.

Before the ink had dried on the legal separation from Cicero Township and incorporation papers for the village of Oak Park, aspiring local politicians created political parties and began campaigning for the first community election slated for 17 December 1901. During the early twentieth-century Oak Park's constituents voted overwhelming for the Republican Party in national, state and local elections.³⁴

Table 2. United States Presidential Election Results

Year	National Results	Oak Park Results	O.P. Percent Voted Republican
1912	Woodrow Wilson(D)	William Taft (R)	59%
1916	Woodrow Wilson (D)	Hughes (R)	70%
1920	Warren G. Harding (R)	Warren G. Harding (R)	84%
1924	Calvin Coolidge (R)	----	----
1928	Herbert Hoover (R)	Herbert Hoover (R)	72%
1932	Franklin Delano Roosevelt (D)	Herbert Hoover (R)	65%

The way Oak Park citizens voted in the early twentieth-century, as seen in Table 2, made it appear that only Republican candidates were elected to the presidency. This voting trend continued well into the twentieth century.

³³ Rory McVeigh, "Structural Incentives for Conservative Mobilization: Power Devaluation and the Rise of the Ku Klux Klan, 1915-1925" in *Social Forces*, Vol. 77, No. 4 (Jun., 1999), 1467.

³⁴ *Oak Leaves*, 9 November 1912, 42; *Oak Leaves*, 11 November 1916, 20; *Oak Leaves*, 6 November 1920, 4; *Oak Leaves*, 10 November 1928, 1; *Oak Leaves*, 11 November 1932, 1, 40.

Though all the candidates running for offices in Oak Park's inaugural election were Republicans, the village developed a history of creating issue specific local political party names that changed each election. The December 1901 elections of the newly established village of Oak Park were held to elect a president, clerk and six trustees. The two political parties which emerged ran on the singular issue of political representation within the community.³⁵ The People's Independent Party platform argued for representation on the Village Board from each of the eight voting precincts in Oak Park. The opposition Citizen's Non-Partisan Party stood firmly against election of representation from each precinct since some of the precincts were much larger than others. The Citizen's Non-Partisan ticket campaigned for the best possible villagers to take office regardless of residential precinct.

³⁵ "No Taxation Without Representation in the Village of Oak Park," Supplement to the *Oak Park Argus*, December 1901, First Election After Incorporation File, Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest.

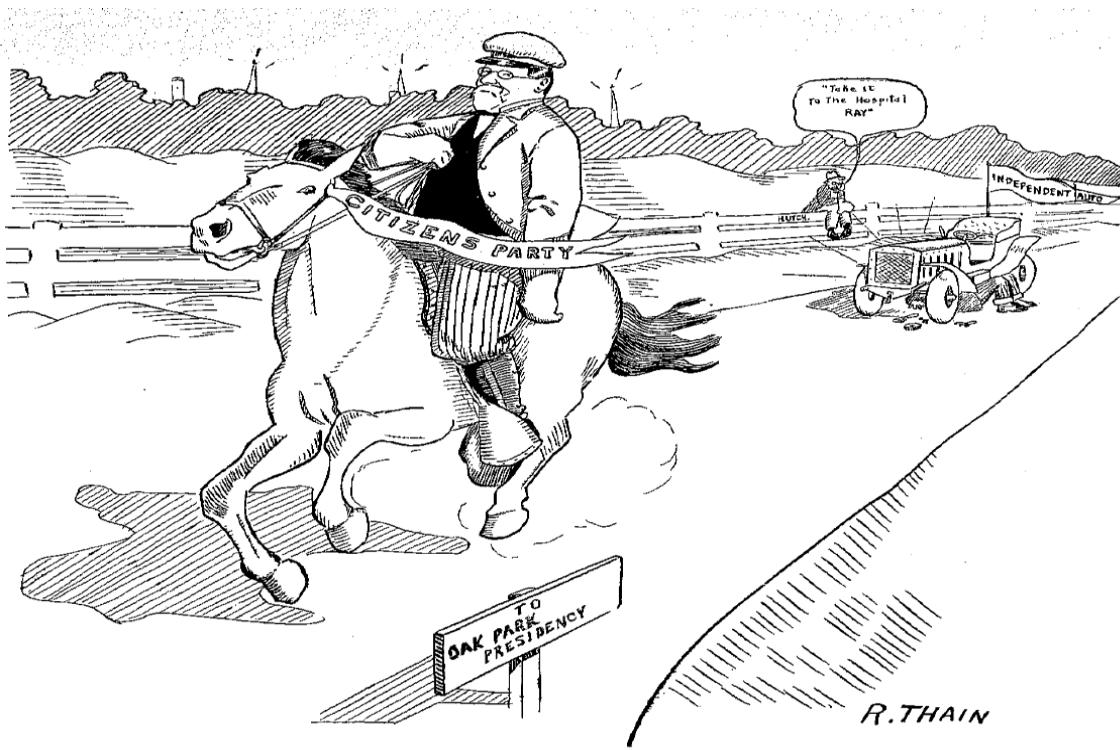


Figure 6. Oak Park Election Political Cartoon, 1901. Courtesy of HSOPRF.

Each party widely distributed handbills throughout the village outlining their campaign platforms and providing biographical sketches of the candidates running for office. These emphasized how long candidates lived in Oak Park along with their Protestant church and social/fraternal club affiliations.³⁶ The political cartoon featured in Fig. 6 depicts the race to the Oak Park presidency with S.S. Rogers of the Citizens Non-Partisan Party charging ahead as Allen S. Ray of the People's Independent Party trying to fix his broken down automobile as an onlooker shouts, "Take it to the hospital Ray!" The cartoon was created by Oak Park native Richard Thain who was employed as a

³⁶ "To The People of Oak Park, c. 1901," "Village of Oak Park: Citizens Non-Partisan Ticket: Principles," First Election After Incorporation File, Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest; Halley and Lewis, *Early Days in Oak Park*, 13; Fox Hoagland, *Historical Survey of Oak Park*, 25.

newspaper artist.³⁷ The People's Independent Party won a tight race with fifty-two percent of the vote and Ray became Oak Park's first village president.³⁸

Home to the Faithful

An aerial artist's rendering of Oak Park from the 1870s emphasized the many churches scattered throughout the suburb.

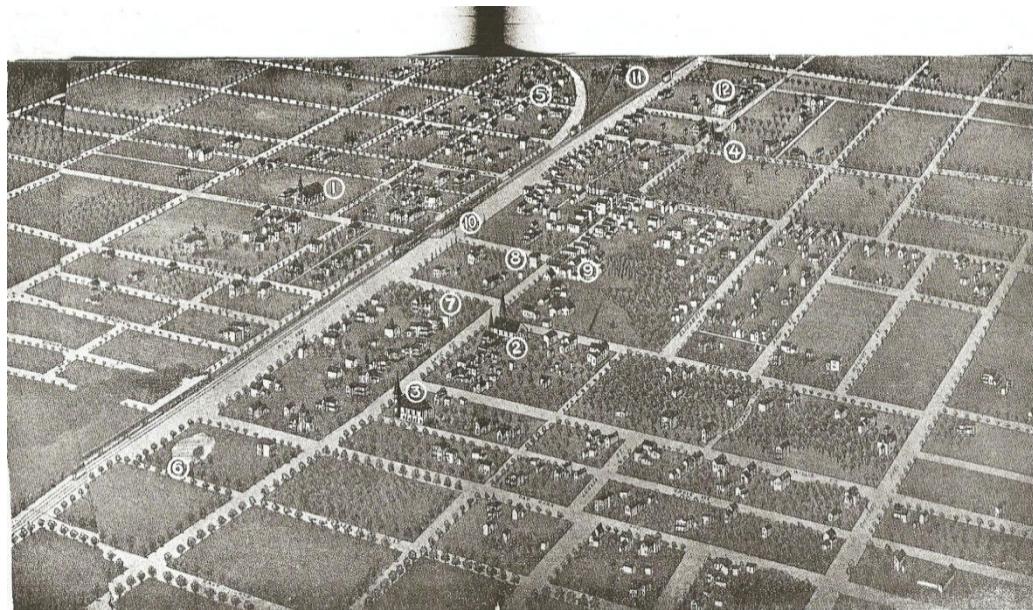


Figure 7. A Bird's Eye View of Oak Park and Harlem (River Forest) in 1873. Courtesy of HSOPRF.

In Fig. 7 at least twelve visible steeples rise above a community that had a population of 1,608 in the 1879.³⁹ Oak Park's religious identity was formed decades before the suburb

³⁷ Richard J. Thain, Thirteenth Census of the United States, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois, Roll: T624_239, Page 7A, Enumeration District 0073.

³⁸ "Village Election in Oak Park: Ticket Headed by Allen S. Ray Elected on Colonial Platform of No Taxation Without Representation," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 18 December 1901, 3; Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 25; LeGacy, "Improvers & Preservers," 113-123.

³⁹Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 13.

had a distinct political identity underscoring the importance of the community's religious heritage. To some outsiders, Oak Park was characterized by its omnipresence of churches with the bestowal of the nickname "saints' rest." The pastor of the First Congregational Church of Oak Park, Rev. William E. Barton, often used the "saints' rest" nickname for Oak Park in sermons and speeches to emphasize his belief that the people who settled in Oak Park were a godly sort of people. The village, from its origins, catered to a virtually exclusive population of mainline Protestant residents. In Oak Park, religion stood as a cornerstone for daily life. Many of the community's earliest pioneer settlers came to the prairie lands from New England towns and their lives were driven by a Puritanical heritage that was absorbed into their Protestant forms of worship.⁴⁰ Furthermore, local preachers believed Oak Parkers were guided both spiritually and morally by a Protestant ethos that stressed hard work, piety, modesty, and virtue in men and women. Although this Protestant identity was fostered and encouraged by Oak Park's ministers and boosters, it was interpreted to varying degrees within the community.

When the Rev. Barton arrived in Oak Park he recognized the immediate well-conceived environment contributed greatly to its potential to form the type of institutions reflecting a devout, moral and civic-minded community. In a short book that Barton published about the allures of living in Oak Park, he asserted that a direct correlation existed between the intentionally planned nature and development of Oak Park as a community and the superior churches, schools, libraries and recreational retreats. He

⁴⁰ James F. Bundy, *Fall From Grace: Religion and the Communal Ideal in Two Suburban Villages, 1870-1917* (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing Inc., 1991), 36; See "Perils and Possibilities: Building a New Puritanism for a New Age in Oak Park" in Le Gacy, "Improvers and Preservers," 85-163.

believed Oak Park to be a model community since residents took such care in building an identity for their village that was both unique to Oak Park as well as distinctly Protestant.⁴¹

After 1880 Oak Park also experienced a steady growth in religious institutions. An 1895 map of the village revealed a noticeable number of church steeples within a two by three mile area serving a population of 7,520 residents.⁴² Oak Park officials were aggressively marketing the community's suburban charm a few decades before incorporation as an independent village. By 1900, Oak Park boasted a wide variety of Protestant churches for a population of 9,353 souls. The existing Protestant Churches included 1st-4th Congregational, 1st-3rd Methodist, 1st Baptist, 1st Presbyterian, German Evangelical Lutheran, Unity Unitarian Temple, and Grace Episcopal. During this period only one Catholic mission, established in 1887 in the adjacent suburb of River Forest, served the near western suburban area and was the predecessor to St. Luke's Parish.⁴³ Yet by 1910 Oak Park had two Catholic Churches of its own- Saint Edmund's and Ascension, both located in south Oak Park. This religious demographic would change dramatically over the next three decades.

⁴¹ Barton, "The Secret Charm of Oak Park", 1.

⁴² Kennedy & Ballard Real Estate Map of Oak Park (Chicago: W.J. Hayne Co., 1895); Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 13.

⁴³ Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 13.

Table 3. Growth of Catholic Parishes in Near West Chicago Suburbs by Individuals in Parishes

Catholic Church	1907	1908	1909	1910	1915	1920	1925	1930
Ascension (OP)	530	690	628	700	1,487	3,032	3,270	5,378
St. Edmund's (OP)		530	560	655	835	1,500	2,200	1,952
St. Giles (OP)								1,200
St. Luke's (RF)		175	235	no entry	350	600	1,397	1,911
St. Vincent Ferrar (RF)								
St. Bernadine (FP)					635	950	1,300	
St. Joseph's Mission(R)	579							
Saint James (M)				218 fams*		1,160	1,500	1,718
St. Eulalia (M)								1,424
St. Mary of Celle (B)				800	1,050	1,200		1,500
St. Odilo (B)								1,409
St. Leonard's (B)							784	2,156
Mary Queen of Heaven (C)						2,260	2,600	3,300
Saint Anthony's (C)							2,648	3,298
St. Attracta (C)							1,076	878
St. Dionysius (C)							350	600
St. Frances of Rome (C)							1,255	2,952
St. Mary of Czestochowa (C)							4,300	6,482
Our Lady of the Holy Mount (C)							2,600	3,500
St. Valentine's (C)							1,505	1,874
St. Celestine's (EP)								1,500
Totals	1,109	1,395	1,423	2,155*	4,357	10,702	26,785	43,032

*Saint James measured the Parish population by families opposed to individuals in 1910

OP=Oak Park, RF=River Forest, FP=Forest Park, R=Riverside, M=Maywood, B=Berwyn

C=Cicero, EP=Elmwood Park

By the 1920s, Oak Park and its neighboring suburbs of Forest Park, River Forest, Maywood, Berwyn and Cicero experienced a rapid influx of Catholic parishes to serve

the steady inflow of new Catholic residents to the near western Chicago suburbs. Table 3 shows a consistent and quick growth of Catholics to Chicago's near western suburbs. In 1910 only six Catholic parishes existed in the area around Oak Park-- by 1930 twenty-three Catholic churches thrived.

The first quarter of the twentieth century also witnessed rapid growth of the Catholic population within Oak Park. From 1910 to 1930 Oak Park's Catholic population grew from 6.5 percent to 13 percent of the village's population. Similarly, from 1910 to 1920, Oak Park's Ascension Catholic Church doubled in size every five years. (See Table 3)⁴⁴ This figure appears insignificant by itself, but when combined with all the Catholics belonging to parishes in suburbs with close proximity to Oak Park, the sheer rate of growth was not matched by the Protestant community.⁴⁵ A 1925 Oak Park phone directory listed thirty-four white Protestant churches in Oak Park.⁴⁶ Though the vast majority of residents in Oak Park remained Protestant, their community was growing at a much slower rate than the Catholic newcomers. Not only was the Catholic presence rapidly rising within Oak Park, it was quickly surrounding the village.

The Congregationalists were the largest Protestant denomination in Oak Park with four churches at the turn of the twentieth century. The rapid expansion of

⁴⁴ Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 13; Annual Parish Reports 1910, 1915, 1920, Collections of the Archdiocese of Chicago Archives. Neither St. Catherine of Sienna nor St. Lucy's Parishes submitted annual reports during this period. St. Catherine of Sienna was established in Chicago's Austin neighborhood in 1889, but did not move to its present Oak Park location at Washington Avenue and Austin Boulevard until 1917.

⁴⁵ Annual Parish Reports, 1907-1910, 1915, 1920, 1925, and 1930. The suburbs of River Forest, Forest Park and Maywood added an additional 6,653 Catholics to the area. Furthermore, the suburbs of Berwyn and Cicero just south of Oak Park boasted 29,449 Catholic residents in 1930, up from 17,118 in 1925.

⁴⁶ *Oak Park, River Forest and Forest Park Directory* (Chicago, IL: McCoy Co., 1925), 10-11.

Congregationalists in Oak Park was attributed to the group's early organization of a religious community. Many founding Oak Park residents that joined Congregational churches belonged to other Protestant denominations, but worshipped with the community until there were large enough populations of their own denominations to splinter from the main body and create different denominational churches. However, Congregationalist numbers in Oak Park continued to grow. By 1920, Oak Park boasted six Congregational churches.⁴⁷

First Congregational Church was the most influential Protestant church in Oak Park. Sunday sermons given by the Rev. William E. Barton were frequently printed in the *Oak Leaves* so that the entire Oak Park community was exposed to his words. Barton also held evening lectures on moral and doctrinal issues and current events that were open to the Oak Park inhabitants at large. The membership of First Congregational had the highest concentration of Oak Park founding families and those instrumental to the village's growth and prosperity including the Austins, Kettlestrings, Humphreys, Scovilles and Hemingways. The first printed manual of the church listed 425 members in 1872. First Congregational did not tolerate casual participation in the community and 40 percent of the early membership was removed from the rolls for infrequent church attendance in 1888. Some congregants were suspended for prolonged absences. Dismissed members of First Congregational had many other Congregational options from

⁴⁷ Ibid; Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 119-20. Initially, all the Congregationalist churches in Oak Park were numbered in the order of their creation, but later some of these names were changed. First, Third and Fourth Congregational Churches maintained their numeric names, but Second, Fifth and Sixth adopted the names of Harvard, Pilgrim and North Congregational Churches. The Lutheran, Methodist and Episcopalian denominations also had sizable populations in Oak Park in the 1920s with twelve churches amongst them. The Methodists, in particular, served the Oak Park area's German population with an English speaking congregation in Oak Park and a sister church in neighboring Forest Park that was German speaking.

which to choose in Oak Park. First Congregational's initial membership roll listed seven trained ministers in their ranks. Of these seven reverends, some eventually became ministers of their own churches in Oak Park such as the Rev. James Powell.⁴⁸ Individual Protestant churches only had control over their immediate congregants and did not have a larger body like a Catholic diocese to unite many churches. Thus, an influx of Catholic parishes with support coming from outside the village was threatening to the decentralized Protestant churches.

Catholic Churches in Oak Park kept track of their congregations by a different means. Weekly attendance at Sunday services was not recorded. Instead, churches monitored congregants through financial contributions of tithing parishioners, participation in church sponsored clubs and events, and surveys conducted for annual parish reports. For both the Catholic and Protestant churches in Oak Park, keeping tabs on members was a method to exert control over the population and try to keep church involvement central to people's lives.

In 1926 an *Oak Leaves* exposé examined the religious tendencies in Oak Park. The contention was that the impact and influence of religion in Oak Park was not confined to the church buildings:

...the churches of Oak Park exert an almost controlling influence in the community. This influence is far beyond what might be inferred either from the church membership or the average church attendance. The moral power of the churches radiates outward into the larger social mass, and up to the present time it has practically determined what social customs shall be made lawful.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Manual of First Congregational Church, Adopted Jan. 1872, Revised Jan. 1888, Oak Park Public Library Special Collections, 38-50.

⁴⁹ A.N. Hitchcock, "Notes and Comments on Religious Tendencies in Oak Park," *Oak Leaves*, 27 February 1926, 96.

The reference to the power of churches to decide what “social customs shall be made lawful” was an oblique reference to the temperance issue. In Oak Park, the decision to become a temperance community was largely influenced and controlled by the Protestant churches; reversal would come only if churches changed their opinion on the matter. Most acknowledged that churches in Oak Park were not able to wholly protect the community from bad influences or criminal activity, but never-the-less maintained a position of central importance to social life.

Protestant preachers in Oak Park frequently gave sermons with the themes of tolerance, charity of spirit and acceptance of all God’s graces. Typical titles of sermons at First Congregational Church included: “Christian Civic Ideals,” “Could Protestants Learn Anything from Catholics?,” “The Holy Catholic Church in View of the Eucharistic Congress,” and “The Glory and Power of the Minority.”⁵⁰ By the mid-1920s sermons appeared to frequently mention Catholics indicating that the growing presence of Catholics in the community was a topic of concern to congregants if ministers felt it was important to repeatedly address the Catholic issue.

Despite attempts of Protestant ministers to spiritually and morally guide their congregations towards tolerance and acceptance of change, Protestant Oak Park did not welcome newcomers. Priests in some of the Catholic parishes of Oak Park attempted to reach out to the Protestant inhabitants of their parish districts, not as an attempt to proselytize, but rather as a way to build a stronger, more united, and tolerant community for all the village’s residents. Monsignor John J. Code of St. Edmund’s Church, for

⁵⁰ *Oak Leaves*, 10 April 1926, 94; 22 May 1926, 72; 19 June 1926, 96.

example, organized a lecture series on the work of missionaries in the Far East. He announced in the newspaper advertisement that, “The course of lectures will be adapted to the needs of non-Catholics, and they are cordially invited to attend, accompanied or unaccompanied, by their Catholic friends.”⁵¹ Advertising the event in the *Oak Leaves* in addition to the church bulletin opened the event to a mixed Christian audience. Although Protestant ministers preached tolerance and acceptance from their pulpits, they did little to encourage or appeal to Catholic participation in Protestant church educational and moral enrichment activities as the Catholic parishes did. Oak Park residents simply did not welcome the presence of African American or Catholic neighbors which resulted in great animosity and tension. For example, longtime Oak Park resident Kathleen Jacobson recalled being told by her parents not to bring attention to the fact that she was Catholic when playing in the neighborhood. As she eventually raised her own family in Oak Park with her husband, she came to understand the prejudice towards Catholics her parents tried to hide.⁵² Both Catholics and African Americans were perceived as “alien neighbors” in Oak Park. But, it ironically was the African American community that achieved religious representation in Oak Park with the building of their own Protestant church before separate Oak Park Catholic parishes were established.

From its early days Oak Park was home to a small African American population. In 1900 there were only sixty-four African Americans living in the suburb representing

⁵¹ *Oak Leaves*, 20 February 1926, 71.

⁵² Jerry & Kathleen Jacobson, Interview by Sarah Doherty, 27 December 2011.

only .7 percent of the total population.⁵³ This was a very small population to build their own permanent house of worship five years later, but Mt. Carmel Baptist Church also served and was supported by the black population in surrounding suburbs. In addition, many of the black families in the Oak Park area were related and frequently moved between the suburbs of Oak Park, River Forest and Maywood.⁵⁴ Blacks who resided in Oak Park were most commonly employed as domestic servants or manual laborers. The African American population in Oak Park almost doubled from 1900 to 1910 and increased by another 30 percent by 1920. However, 1920 represented apex for the early development of the black community in Oak Park and the population steadily declined afterwards. The African American population in Oak Park never increased until 1970.⁵⁵

At the turn of the twentieth century, the small yet resilient black community in Oak Park held church services in Temperance Hall, a school, and in a storefront on Lake Street in downtown Oak Park. The Mt. Carmel Baptist congregation was growing and sought a permanent home for worship. After years of saving, members of Mt. Carmel managed to purchase a lot at the intersection of Chicago and Cuyler Avenues in northeast Oak Park. Though a building permit was issued for the construction of a church structure, white residents in the vicinity expressed such opposition to a black institution being built outside the established African American enclave in west central Oak Park—that village officials rescinded the building permit to keep the dispute from escalating to violence. Private residents of Cuyler Avenue joined together to purchase the land from

⁵³ Lipo, Sinko, & West, *Suburban Promised Land*, 157.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 20-21.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

the Mt. Carmel community in 1902. The process of how the black community managed to acquire a location on Williams Street is unclear, but it is believed that a white resident who owned property in the area gave a land plot to his black maid who in turn sold it to Mt. Carmel Baptist Church. The costs for constructing the church were only partially paid for by Mt. Carmel-- they received assistance from black Baptist churches in Chicago as well as some white Oak Park residents including eccentric millionaire banker John Farson. The groundbreaking for Mt. Carmel Baptist Church took place on 18 June 1905 and the new church was dedicated on 10 November 1905.⁵⁶

The African American community was insignificant in numbers compared to the overall population of the village and did not threaten white authority. Only a few documented cases of racially-fueled crimes and injustices were committed against African Americans in early twentieth-century Oak Park. One noteworthy example was the attempted murder of a black family in 1914. The Jeffersons owned a home in southeast Oak Park away from the black community that was located around Mt. Carmel Baptist Church. In order to purchase a home outside the established black neighborhood a white individual had to first buy the home then immediately resell it to an African American buyer. Few turn-of-the-century black families in Oak Park ventured outside the relative safety of the black neighborhood. In the case of Frederick and Gertrude Jefferson, they were sold their new home at 622 S. Cuyler Avenue directly from the builder in 1910 who also sold one other home to another African American family, the Watsons. Frederick Jefferson ran a successful auto repair shop and was an artist. His daughter was the only African American student at Longfellow School. Neither the

⁵⁶ Lipo, Sinko, & West, *Suburban Promised Land*, 17-19; Sokol, *Oak Park*, 72-73.

Jeffersons nor Watsons were aware that they had been sold homes directly by the developer because he had a disagreement with residents of the area. The best retaliation the builder came up with was to intentionally sell homes to blacks. Threatening letters quickly drove the Watsons from their home, but the Jeffersons remained.⁵⁷

In mid-April of 1914 fire bombs were thrown into the Jefferson home as the family slept. The family escaped the inferno unharmed and the house was saved from destruction. This incident of racial hatred was covered quite differently by Oak Park's local paper and by the *Chicago Defender*, a black newspaper of national prominence. The *Oak Leaves* ran a short notice on page twelve of the paper which gave a very brief description of the incident and simply stated that crimes of this nature were taken seriously and it was under investigation by local authorities, but did not provide any details on suspects.⁵⁸ The *Chicago Defender*'s front-page coverage of the occurrence was entitled "Oak Park Incendiaries Attempt to Burn Jefferson Family Alive."⁵⁹ The article further commented that the incident was yet "another attack of colorphobia" by Oak Park residents.⁶⁰ But, it also reiterated that the white Oak Park community generally tended to show a greater sense of decency towards its black residents than some others did. However, one key element that the *Chicago Defender* included in its coverage of the Jefferson case that was noticeably excluded from the *Oak Leaves* report was that four white women were held for questioning because of alleged death threats they had

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ *Oak Leaves*, 22 April 1914, 12.

⁵⁹ *Chicago Defender*, 25 April 1914, 1.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

previously made to the family for living outside the established black zone for residency in Oak Park. Undeterred, the Jeffersons remained in their home only to survive another intentional fire in 1916 which resulted in significant damage to their home. They remained in their house on Cuyler until 1927 when they relocated to Chicago.⁶¹

Fire bombings during the early 1900s were not isolated events in Oak Park. Similar occurrences took place in Chicago and across the urban North as growing “black belts” encroached on previously homogenous white neighborhoods or as upwardly mobile African Americans sought to live in areas with people of the same socio-economic status. Restrictive covenants in some Chicago neighborhoods, such as Kenwood and Hyde Park, attempted to keep African Americans from moving into the communities by prohibiting the sale of homes to black families. Violence frequently arose when African Americans settled outside the designated black neighborhoods.⁶² For instance, wealthy banker, realtor and builder Jesse Binga resided in a mansion at 5922 South Park Avenue which faced Washington Park on Chicago’s south side. His home was bombed over seven times from 1917 to 1921.⁶³ Chicago, during this five year period, averaged a fire bombing once every twenty days.⁶⁴ Like the Jeffersons in Oak Park, Binga refused to be driven off his property.

⁶¹ Lipo, Sinko & West, *Suburban Promised Land*, 31.

⁶² Michael J. Bennett and Richard J. Schaefer, “Race Relations Chicago Style: Past, Present, and Future,” in eds. John Koval, Larry Bennett, Michael Bennett, Fassil DeMissie, Roberta Garner, and Kiljoong Kim, *The New Chicago: A Social and Cultural Analysis* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 82-83.

⁶³ Carl R. Osthaus, “The Rise and Fall of Jesse Binga, Black Financier,” *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 58, No. 1 (Jan., 1973), 49.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 48; Bennett and Schaefer, “Race Relations Chicago Style,” 83.

At the same time that African Americans were resisted by the white Protestants in Oak Park, so were the white Catholics. Prior to the arrival of Monsignor John J. Code in 1907 and the creation of Oak Park's first Catholic Parish, Saint Edmund's, Catholics of Oak Park worshipped at the Catholic mission in the neighboring suburb of River Forest.⁶⁵ Monsignor Code's attempts to rent space to hold Catholic services while a permanent church structure was erected were met with great opposition from the Protestant Oak Park community. The first Catholic mass in the village was held in an abandoned barn in central Oak Park for about fifty families. While trying to purchase a plot for the construction of a parish compound Monsignor Code realized that landowners were only willing to sell him land with the stipulation that no Catholic church could be built on the property. John Farson, a Methodist, was again enlisted to help with the construction of a house of worship.⁶⁶ He agreed to host a fundraising benefit and welcome party in August 1907 for St. Edmund's on the grounds of his private estate, located a few blocks away from the future site of the church. Four thousand invitations were sent out for the event after which Code finally had a substantial building fund to break ground on the new parish on Oak Park Avenue. The church was completed in 1910.⁶⁷ Farson later presented one of his house servants for marriage to a mail carrier at the parsonage of St.

⁶⁵ Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 123.

⁶⁶ "Church Sends Gift to Farson: Oak Park's First Roman Catholic Congregation Remembers Benefactor with Christmas Present," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 26 December 1907, 12.

⁶⁷ Saint Edmund Ecclesiology: A Brief history and Ecclesiology of Saint Edmund Parish, Oak Park Public Library Special Collections, 1; "News of the Society World: Preparations for Oak Park Parish Lawn Fete Wednesday," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 24 August 1907, 16; "Beauties of Oak Park Win Huge Throngs to Booths: Lawn Fete Given by St. Edmund's Catholic Parish," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 29 August 1907, 3.

Edmund's and the intimate ceremony attended by the household staff and Farson family was presided over by Monsignor Code.⁶⁸

In 1900, millionaire Chicago banker John Farson aged forty-four lived with his wife and two sons in the Oak Park mansion designed by George Maher and named Pleasant Home due to the estate's location at the intersection of Pleasant Street and Home Avenue. Farson was born on a farm in Indiana to native-born parents and married his wife Mamie when he was twenty-five. The Farsons employed five servants who were all immigrants from Germany or Sweden. He founded the successful banking firm of Farson, Leach & Company which eventually became Farson, Son & Company. Farson was greatly respected by his peers in the business community.⁶⁹

John Farson lived according to his own set of rules and codes during a time when proper social decorum and etiquette were scrutinized. He wore white to evening parties and frequently slept on his rooftop sundeck in bright red pajamas in full public view on warm summer nights.⁷⁰ He possessed a ferocious *joie de vivre* that endeared him to many while frustrating others. His antics and philanthropic work made him a popular turn-of-the-century newspaper fixture in the society pages. There was a general fascination with his persona and the way he chose to live his life. Farson upset many conservative Oak Park community members when he commented that he believed area schools were ruled by a "religious ring." He also upset some villagers by racing his automobiles through the

⁶⁸ "Model Housemaid a Bride," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 9 October 1907, 3.

⁶⁹ Twelfth Census of the United States, Cicero, Cook, Illinois, Roll: 292, Page: 14A, Enumeration District 1147; "John Farson is Stricken: Banker in Critical Condition in Oak Park Residence," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 18 January 1910, 1.

⁷⁰ "John Farson Sleeps on the Roof in Bright Red Dream Clothes," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 17 June 1906, F2.

streets of Oak Park with other members of the Chicago Auto Club of which he was president.⁷¹ In 1909 Farson took down the high fences around his mansion, Pleasant Home, to welcome the community onto his property to enjoy the splendor of his estate.⁷² When Farson succumbed to an untimely death caused by heart disease in 1910, the numerous obituaries lauded his great generosity in philanthropic endeavors, geniality and gentility. He was also remembered for his eccentric personality, flashy style of dressing, and grand lawn parties thrown at his estate.⁷³

John Farson's position as a prominent Oak Park resident enabled him to serve as a patron to early African Americans and Catholics in Oak Park. He helped facilitate the entrance of newcomers to a community which was not welcoming to people who did not fit the historically conservative and white Protestant identity of the village. Farson's wealth put him in the position in which he did not need to fear any social repercussions from his actions. His generosity to Oak Parkers through financial sponsorship of charities and the opening of the grounds of his estate for neighborhood use endeared him to most villagers.

⁷¹ "Criticism by John Farson Offends a Church Member," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 23 April 1906, 12; "Auto War Stirs Oak Park," 5 October 1904, 3.

⁷² "When Oak Parkers Make A Playground of John Farson's Home," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 30 May 1909, H1.

⁷³ "John Farson is Stricken: Banker in Critical Condition in Oak Park Residence," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 18 January 1910, 1; Hollis W. Field, "No One Laughed at John Farson, Everybody Laughed with Him," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 23 January 1910, H8; "Simplicity Marks Funeral of Banker John Farson," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 21 January 1910, 6; "Good Name Left By John Farson: Friends from Office Boys to Business Associates Shocked by the Banker's Death," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 19 January 1910, 11; "John Farson Dead: Chicago Banker, Lawyer, and Clubwoman a Victim of Heart Disease," *New York Times*, 19 January 1910, 9.

Financial and social patronage from benefactors, such as John Farson, aided the early growth of the Catholic Church in Oak Park. The population of Catholics in Oak Park was significant enough to warrant the establishment of two parishes within a year. In late 1907, Ascension parish met similar opposition to St. Edmund's when the Archdiocese of Chicago was searching for an additional site to purchase for a second Catholic church about a mile southeast of St. Edmund's. The Archdiocese sought to lease the Phoenix Club located on the 600 block of South Scoville Avenue to serve as a temporary meeting space while a permanent church structure was under construction. The owner of the property had previously rented the hall to Grace Church for mission extension work. Grace Episcopal Church vehemently objected to the proposed use of the Phoenix Club by the Catholic Church. The rector of Grace Church, the Rev. Ernest V. Shayler, in a letter to the owner of the Phoenix Club, clarified Protestant sentiments on the matter, "Without disparagement or prejudice I am sure you can see that it will be better for you, for the property, for the neighborhood, for Oak Park, if we use it for Grace Church than if the R.C.s get it. You know the quality of their people and one glance at a used parochial school or public building of theirs will tell you what would happen to your building and neighborhood if they lease it."⁷⁴ Shayler embodied the staunch opposition and resistance of Protestant Oak Parkers to the expansion and establishment of permanent Catholic institutions in the community. Despite objections from Protestant church officials and neighbors, Ascension's permanent church was completed in 1912, a few

⁷⁴ *Ascension Centennial Book, 1907-2007* (Oak Park, IL: Ascension Parish, 2007). Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 123; Sokol, *Oak Park*, 70-71; "A Self-Guided Tour of Grace Episcopal Church," <https://graceoakpark.org/uploads/ASelfGuidedTour2011.pdf> accessed 21 March 2012.

blocks away from the Phoenix Club at the intersection of East Avenue and Van Buren Street.

St. Catherine of Siena Catholic Church was originally established in Chicago's Austin neighborhood at Park Avenue and Washington Boulevard in 1889 to serve a growing Catholic population on Chicago's west side and in eastern Oak Park. The first parish report filed by Fr. Louis A. Campbell on 31 December 1889 identified a membership of twelve families and a floating population of sixty individuals. In 1906 a second St. Catherine of Siena church and school was erected at Franklin (now Mayfield) Avenue and Lake Street to accommodate an expanding Catholic population in the area. This second St. Catherine's became the separate parish of St. Lucy's in 1911. St. Catherine of Siena followed the migration of Catholics westward and permanently relocated to the southwest corner of Austin Avenue and Washington Boulevard in Oak Park in 1917.⁷⁵

By the early 1920s Oak Park had three Catholic parishes that supported three parochial schools and three convents. The convents were run by the Sisters of Mercy (St. Catherine of Siena), the Dominican Sisters (St. Edmund's) and the Ursuline Sisters (Ascension).⁷⁶ The vast majority of instruction in Oak Park parochial grade schools was conducted by nuns of these orders. St. Giles Parish along with a school and convent was established in 1927 to serve the growing Catholic population in north Oak Park.

⁷⁵ St. Catherine of Siena-St. Lucy: 1889-1989 Centennial (Oak Park, IL: St. Catherine of Siena-St. Lucy Parish, 1989), 2-6, 12, Oak Park Public Library Special Collections. Early parish reports for St. Catherine of Siena were infrequently recorded in the Annual Parish reports for the Archdiocese of Chicago. Therefore, St. Catherine's growth as a Catholic parish in Oak Park cannot be determined.

⁷⁶ McCoy's *Oak Park, River Forest and Forest Park Directory* (Chicago: McCoy's Publishing Co., 1925), 10.

Though Protestant Oak Park failed in blocking the construction of Catholic parishes, Protestants successfully isolated the Catholic community within Oak Park society. Early Catholic residents to Oak Park were unwelcome in social groups, had minimal representation on municipal boards and were denied membership to sporting clubs. For instance, Monsignor Code was an avid golfer, but was barred from the exclusively Protestant Oak Park Country Club. He responded by starting his own golf club for Catholics in the western suburbs. This generated a trend by Catholics to create separate social groups that kept the community insulated from the rest of Oak Park.⁷⁷ In addition, the Catholic hierarchy wanted Catholics to only participate in social activities that were sponsored or controlled by the parishes. By the 1920s Oak Park was home to over a dozen Catholic clubs such as the Knights of Columbus, Daughters of Isabella, Rosary College Auxiliary, and west End Catholic Women's Club.⁷⁸

Potential for a Klan Haven

In the case of Oak Park, Catholics were the primary target and concern for the Klan even though the community had both African American and Jewish residents. In the entire five year written record of meeting minutes for the Walosas Club there is not a single reference to blacks or Jews. However, “canvassing Catholic neighborhoods” is frequently mentioned. Klan kleagles (recruiters) were quick to recognize the historic Protestant identity of Oak Park and used the Klan as a way to show how threatening the

⁷⁷ Jerry Jacobson, Interview by Sarah Doherty, 27 December 2011.

⁷⁸ McCoy's *Oak Park, River Forest and Forest Park Directory* (Chicago: McCoy Publishing Co., 1925), 12.

presence of new Catholics in the community was to the homogeneous suburban retreat that Oak Parkers fought so hard to establish.

The development of Oak Park as a Chicago suburban community and establishment of a Protestant identity made the village a prime target for Klan manipulation. Villagers who fought so diligently to eliminate alcohol from the community, attain municipal autonomy, build strong schools and well-situated homes were determined to preserve the suburban haven they created. The formation of men's and women's Klan chapters in Oak Park reveal the Klan chameleon was highly adept at pinpointing local concerns of communities and positing the Invisible Empire as a solution to all problems. Oak Park fought tirelessly to win political, municipal and moral autonomy from Cicero Township and Chicago. A new Catholic presence in Oak Park evoked fear amongst Protestants that the established way of life was under attack. Unsuccessful attempts were made to keep Catholic churches from developing in Oak Park and the only method of recourse was to socially ostracize Catholics from Oak Park society. As a result, Catholic enclaves within Oak Park were highly insular. Catholics lived in close proximity to St. Edmund's and Ascension parishes and social life and schooling revolved around the church. Thus, the development of Klan chapters in Oak Park served as a means to monitor the activity of Catholics.

Whereas the Klan struggled to maintain influence in the city of Chicago by the mid-1920s, the KKK was incredibly relevant and thriving in the suburbs. Fear was a great motivator for the Klan especially in communities like Oak Park where residents were worried about the potential loss of the established Protestant and temperance identities. Within Oak Park the strong participation in fraternal orders and the vibrant

web of women's clubs provided easy access points for the Klan rhetoric and structure to fit within existing social structures.

CHAPTER TWO

PORTRAIT OF A SUBURBAN KLANSWOMAN

Lorraine Schwartz was a typical Oak Park teenager. She lived in a comfortable home owned by her parents and attended Oak Park public schools. Upon graduating high school she found a job as a secretary and continued to live at home with her parents in southwest Oak Park. Her mother Frieda remained at home to raise the family while her father was a member of Oak Park's police force. One key difference between Lorraine and her neighbors was that she along with her mother and younger sister Bernice were all members of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan (WKKK).¹

Written records of the Walosas Club chapter of the WKKK are filled with descriptions of celebrating and honoring important rites of passage in women's lives. Mock weddings were thrown for prospective brides. Klanswomen organized baby showers for expectant mothers and mourned the passing of beloved members.² These rituals and rhythms of adult life were experienced by Klanswomen who came from diverse backgrounds, generations and communities. An examination into the demographics and family backgrounds of suburban Klanswomen provides insight into the multi-faceted lives of Walosas Club members as Klanswomen, club women and Oak

¹ Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois, Roll: 505, Page: 13B, Enumeration District 2279. Accessed via www.ancestry.com; *Bell Telephone Directory of Oak Park, Forest Park and River Forest* (Chicago: The Reuben H. Donnelley Corp., 1926), 109; Walosas Club Membership Roll, Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest.

² Walosas Club rituals and social activities are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three.

Park citizens. Generalizations and patterns drawn from analyzing Walosas Club members also reveal how Klanswomen fit within or outside the ethnic, religious and social identity of the community.

Oak Park Women

Societal changes in the late-nineteenth to early-twentieth centuries catalyzed by progressivism and the era of new moral reform contributed to a new expanding role for women outside the home. Women's increased presence in public and community affairs was aided by the social network provided from participation in women's clubs.³ Membership in women's clubs became central to a woman's public identity and social life and status. Therefore, women frequently maintained multiple club memberships to expand acquaintances, connections and exposure in the community.

Women of Oak Park reaped all the benefits and advantages provided by living in an affluent community. They were well-educated, active participants in church life, commonly had careers outside the home prior to marriage, lived in nicely situated houses, and routinely continued their education through the college level. In 1913 the women's curriculum at Oak Park High School was reportedly so demanding that an *Oak Leaves* article discussed parents' complaints that their daughters arrived home from school and

³ See Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920," *American Historical Review* 89 (1984): 620-47; Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York: Holmes A. Meier Publishers, 1980); Maureen Flannagan, *Seeing with their Hearts: Chicago Women and the Vision of the Good City, 1871-1933* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Culture and the City: Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago from the 1880s to 1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Joanne J. Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1880-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

often spent upwards of five hours per evening completing their studies.⁴ In addition, women's participation in both the temperance and woman's suffrage movements gave them skills as organizers and public speakers. Oak Park, throughout its formative years, encouraged and supported the participation of women in public affairs and respected their authority on issues of morality. In fact, it was common for the village to act upon women's morally driven initiatives.⁵ The *Oak Leaves* also regularly featured a section dedicated to progress notes on women's involvement in civic affairs. In one such update in 1926, women declared it was time to band together to get female representation on the Village of Oak Park's governance board.⁶ Within a year of this proclamation the first female trustee to the Village Board, Dorothy C. Kerr, was elected in 1927.⁷ Oak Park women enjoyed a high level of agency within the suburb that was not universally afforded to women of the late-nineteenth to early-twentieth centuries despite socio-political reforms and a departure from the Victorian ideals of true womanhood.

Women's agency within Oak Park is further evidence by the local papers. The *Oak Park Reporter* and *Oak Leaves* gave roughly equal coverage to men's and women's activities. As one Oak Park woman observed in 1913, "*Oak Leaves* has always given to the gentler sex the privilege of its pages in no stinted manner."⁸ Every week *Oak Leaves* published stories and announcements concerning women's club and social activities as

⁴ *Oak Leaves*, 22 February 1913, 46-47.

⁵ Ratcliff, "The Making of a New Middle-Class Culture...", 60.

⁶ *Oak Leaves*, 3 April 1926, 58.

⁷ Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 32. Kerr was the sole female trustee on the Village Board until she was joined in 1934 by Cary E. DeButts.

⁸ *Oak Leaves*, 3 April 1926, 58.

well as their church functions. Additionally, the paper had a long tradition of publishing women authors. One letter from an anonymous clubwoman in 1907 asserted that the women of the Oak Park community were more civic-minded than the men.⁹ By the early-twentieth century, Oak Park women's endeavors were publicly supported by town officials and influential members within the village. For instance, in 1914 Otto McFeeley, editor of the *Oak Leaves*, contended that women were often more effective community advocates and politicians than the men: "In any meeting of men and women in Oak Park and River Forest where serious consideration is given to some phase of life, the most intelligent questions, the keenest interest and the most complete understanding of the subject came from women." Furthermore, McFeeley even went so far as to suggest that the modern women's club provided a model for future organization of political groups.¹⁰

Oak Park women were also involved in public matters and social movements that extended beyond the immediate concerns of the community. In 1913, a delegation of women from Oak Park joined the national march in Washington for woman's suffrage and was financially assisted by the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.¹¹ In addition, as previously noted, the passage of alcoholic prohibition laws in Oak Park was greatly aided by local women. Many of these women joined Frances Willard in the national struggle for temperance through continued participation in the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

⁹ *Oak Leaves*, 9 March 1907.

¹⁰ *Oak Leaves*, 8 April 1914.

¹¹ "On to Washington," *Oak Leaves*, 22 February 1913, 29.

From Oak Park's earliest days, the women of the village had a clear vision for the community and saw themselves as key contributors to leading Oak Park on a path to moral uplift. Women's social and public work in Oak Park picked up where sermons from the pews left off. Club life was an important aspect of social life for Oak Park women that helped maintain and strengthen the bonds of womanhood as well as offer a platform to organize around important issues for the continued health, prosperity and growth of their suburban retreat. The Walosas Club built on this heritage of women's club work.

Characteristics of Oak Park Klanswomen

During the Walosas Club's existence from 1924 to 1929, over 300 women joined the Oak Park chapter of the WKKK. Over sixty percent of Walosas Club members lived in Oak Park, as seen in Fig. 8, but the club also drew participants from neighboring suburbs and Chicago's west side.¹² The group held bi-weekly meetings at Oak Park's downtown Masonic Hall located at 1118 Lake Street. Walosas Club members spanned the age spectrum from early to late adulthood. The average age of Oak Park Klanswomen in 1926 was thirty-eight and married Klanswomen's husbands were slightly older at an average age of forty-three.¹³ The average age of an Oak Park Klanswoman at time of marriage was 21.64 while their husbands were 25.65. Married Klanswomen averaged 1.2 children, over half of whom were old enough to participate in the Klan

¹² Walosas Club Membership Roll; Julia Hickey, Map of Klanswomen Residences in Oak Park, Illinois and the Surrounding Environ, created using Google Earth Satellite Image 2011.

¹³ Walosas Club Membership Roll; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois, Roll: 505-507. Accessed via www.ancestry.com

Juniors or Gils' Club.¹⁴ For example, Klanswoman Lydia Fisher (née Cohrs) was thirty-four in 1926. She and her husband Harry, thirty-nine, lived in a home they owned in northeast Oak Park at 937 N. Taylor Ave.¹⁵ Lydia and Harry were married at the ages of twenty-three and twenty-nine. The couple had three daughters Dorothy (12), Ruth (10), and Marjorie (9) who were all old enough to have participated in the WKKK Girls' Club. By 1930 the Fishers had moved from the home they owned in Oak Park westward to a rental home in the suburb of Maywood and Harry progressed from being a clerk for a commission house to a life insurance agent. Lydia Fisher's family was representative of a small portion of Walosas Club members who no longer lived in Oak Park by 1930. These families potentially moved for reasons of economic hardship or to get away from Oak Park's changing demographics.¹⁶

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ See Figure 8.

¹⁶ Walosas Club Membership Roll; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Oak Park Precinct 1, Cook, Illinois, Roll: T625_361, Page: 13B, Enumeration District: 142; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Maywood, Cook, Illinois, Roll: 507, Page: 13B, Enumeration District: 2922. Accessed via www.ancestry.com

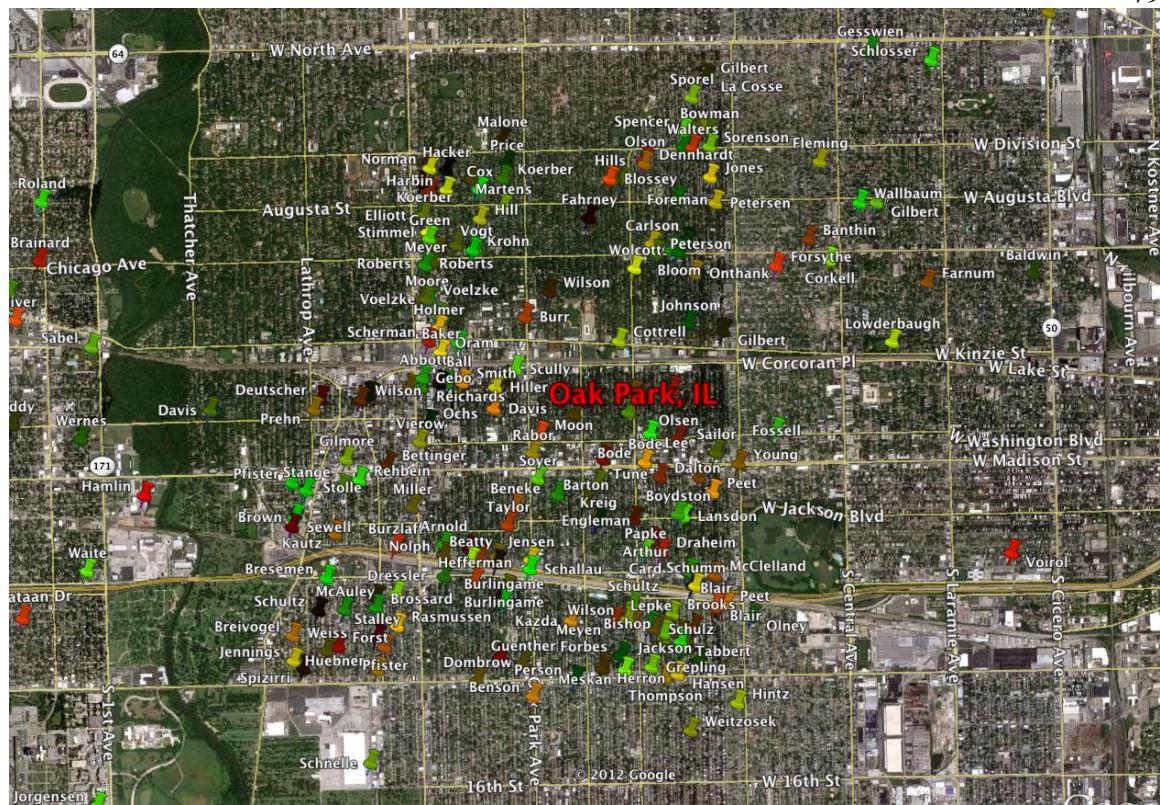


Figure 8. Map of Klanswomen Residences in Oak Park, Illinois and the Surrounding Environment

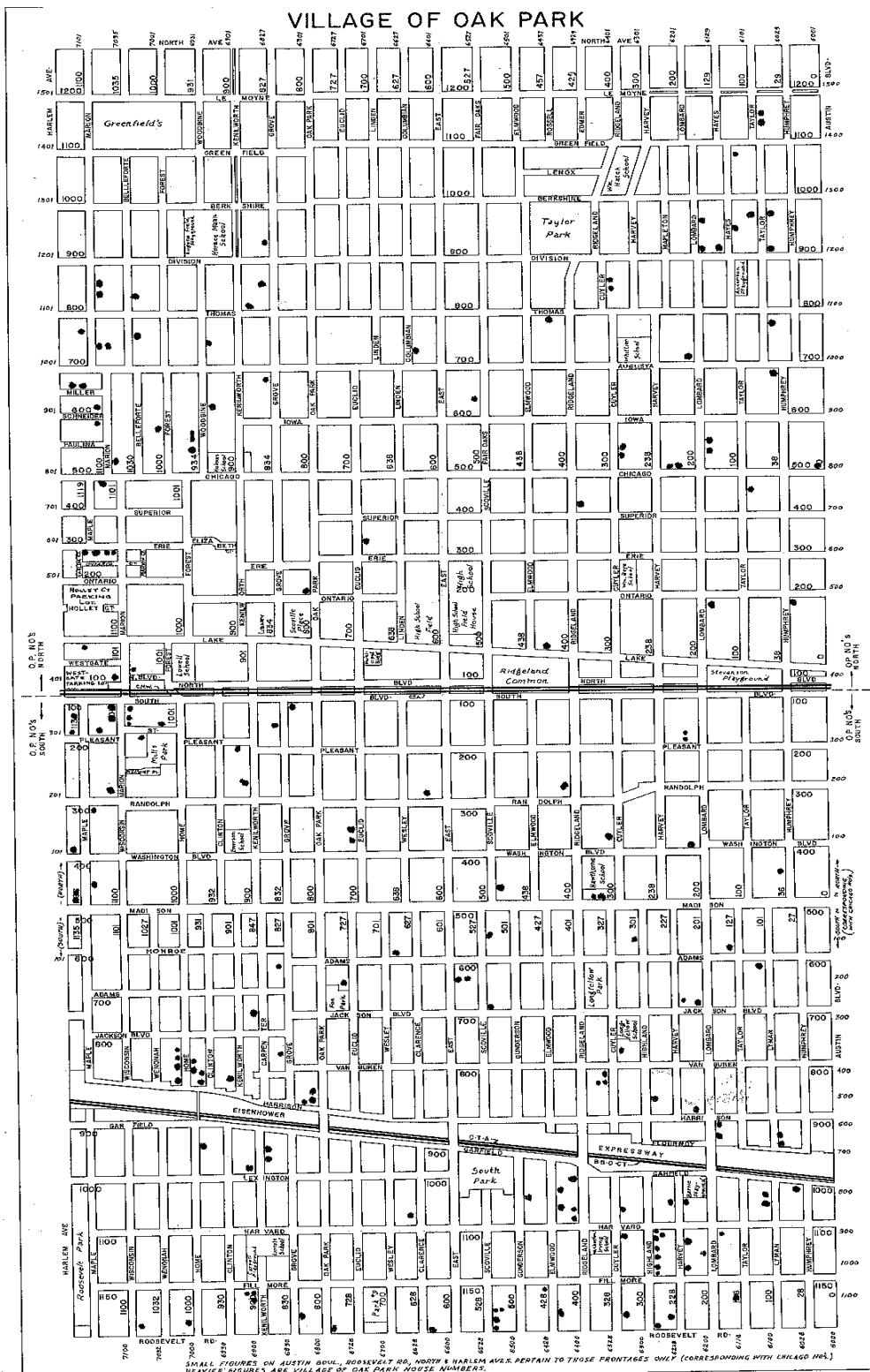


Figure 9. Map of Oak Park Indicating Klanswomen's Residences

When membership order of Walosas Club participants is grouped it is possible to assess how the average age of participants changed over time.¹⁷ The first fifty Walosas Club members averaged an age of forty-one in 1926. The next fifty were slightly younger at thirty-nine. These initial one hundred Walosas Club participants, being slightly older, were presumably already socially established in Oak Park. Klanswomen 150 to 200 in order of membership were significantly younger at an average age of thirty-five.¹⁸ This was the period when some of the early members of the Walosas Club's daughters had reached the age of at least eighteen and were eligible for full adult membership in the WKKK lowering the average age of participants. Klanswoman Frieda Schwartz, for example, was an inaugural member of the Walosas Club and later her daughters Lorraine and Bernice were old enough to join the women's chapter of the WKKK in 1925 and 1927 respectively.¹⁹ However, the last 100 Klanswomen to join averaged the age of forty indicating a growing appeal of the Oak Park WKKK amongst older women.

The clustering of Klanswomen according to membership number also reveals a similar pattern in respect to the percentage of married participants. The first two clusters

¹⁷ The Walosas Club Membership Roll listed Klanswomen alphabetically. The random numbers which preceded names on the list when placed in sequential order likely represent the order in which women joined the Oak Park chapter of the WKKK.

¹⁸ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Proviso, Cook, Illinois; Fifteenth Census of the United States, Forest Park, Cook, Illinois. Accessed via www.ancestry.com ; See Appendix A.

¹⁹ Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois, Roll: 505, Page: 13B, Enumeration District 2279. Accessed via www.ancestry.com ; *Bell Telephone Directory of Oak Park, Forest Park and River Forest* (Chicago: The Reuben H. Donnelley Corp., 1926), 109; Walosas Club Membership Roll.

of fifty Klanswomen were 75.5 percent and 86 percent married. However, the third grouping of members 100 to 200 dropped to an average of only sixty percent married.²⁰ This group, again, was representative of the second generation of Klanswomen participating in the Walosas Club. Sisters Viola and Mildred Kreml were both single when they joined the Walosas Club together. By the time their youngest sister Louise joined sixty-four women later, Viola and Mildred were both married.²¹ Louise was part of the last 100 women to join the Walosas Club in which seventy-six percent of this cluster was married. There is a direct positive correlation between an older average age and higher rate of marriage in Klanswomen who participated in the Walosas Club later in the club's life span.

Consider the three Kreml sisters. Initially, the sisters aged twenty-three, twenty, and eighteen in 1926, all lived together in their family home at 1151 South Kenilworth Avenue. The Kreml sisters worked with the Klan youth chapters in Oak Park and helped organize their dances and fundraisers. Mildred Kreml eventually became president of the Girls' Club.²² Viola additionally served as an officer of the Walosas Club in the position of Courier #2. The Walosas Club was instrumental and supportive through watershed moments in adult life. Viola Kreml experienced an outpouring of support from her fellow Klanswomen when her engagement announcement was immediately followed by

²⁰ Walosas Club Membership Roll; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Proviso, Cook, Illinois; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Forest Park, Cook, Illinois. Accessed via www.ancestry.com ; See Appendix A.

²¹ Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Chicago Ward 11, Cook, Illinois, Roll: T624_252, Page: 16A, Enumeration District: 0561; Fifteenth Census of the United States, Berwyn, Cook, Illinois, Roll: 414, Page: 7B, Enumeration District: 2004. Accessed via www.ancestry.com ; Walosas Club Membership Roll.

²² Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 2 April 1925, 18 June 1925, 20 May 1926.

planning for a bridal shower in her honor.²³ In married life with husband Otto Hlavacek and son Charles, Viola moved from her family home to an apartment a few miles south in Berwyn, but continued her membership in the Walosas Club. At the age of twenty-one Mildred married Carter Lestina, a clerical worker at a steel mill, and moved fifteen minutes southeast of Oak Park to the suburb of Cicero.²⁴ She also maintained active involvement in the Walosas Club and did not transfer to a different WKKK chapter.

The Walosas Club admitted more single women than other Oak Park clubs whose membership were composed of over ninety-five percent married women. Nineteen percent of Walosas Club Klanswomen were single while seven percent were widowed leaving less than one percent divorced or separated.²⁵ Organizations such as the Nineteenth Century Woman's Club, North Oak Park Women's Club and Oak Park Women's Club had junior divisions specifically designed for single women.²⁶ By contrast, WKKK recruitment strategy did not take marital status into account. The goal was to enroll as many native-born white Protestant women as possible. WKKK membership applications did not require candidates to disclose marital status.²⁷

²³ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 19 November 1925.

²⁴ Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Chicago Ward 11, Cook, Illinois, Roll: T624_252, Page: 16A, Enumeration District: 0561; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Cicero, Cook, Illinois, Roll: 498, Page: 15B, Enumeration District: 2094. Accessed via www.ancestry.com

²⁵ Walosas Club Membership Roll; See Appendix A.

²⁶ *Nineteenth Century Woman's Club Yearbook 1925-26* (Chicago: Barnard & Miller, 1925); *North Oak Park Woman's Club Eighth Annual Year Book 1927-1928* (Chicago: Western Newspaper Union, 1927); *The Woman's Club of Oak Park Year Book 1925-26* (Oak Park, IL: privately printed, 1925), Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest.

²⁷ Application for Membership Form 1010-H.P, Chicago History Museum Archives. [HS2330.K617]

The Walosas Club membership included twelve multi-generational families. An additional four families, including the Kremls, had young women doubly joined in the bonds of sisterhood through Klan participation and by birth. In all the cases of mother-daughter Walosas Club membership the mothers joined the club first. The daughters became Klanswomen once they reached the required age of eighteen. For example, Klanswoman Metsal Keeler, who was a forty-eight year old housewife in 1925, was the twenty-eighth woman to join the Walosas Club. Her twenty-three year old daughter Thora, who was employed as a postal clerk in the railroad industry, became the ninety-first Oak Park Klanswoman. Sometime between 1910 and 1920 the Keelers moved to Oak Park from Chicago's thirteenth ward. Charles Keeler was employed as a postal clerk and owned the home his family lived in Oak Park's southwest quadrant at 847 S. Clinton Avenue.²⁸ Some mothers introduced younger daughters to the WKKK through participation in the Girl's Club.²⁹ The Klan sought to expose children to the order at a young age through participation in junior organizations so that Klanishness was associated with the societal norm.³⁰

²⁸ See Fig. 8; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Chicago Ward 13, Cook, Illinois, Roll: T624_255, Page: 4A, Enumeration District: 0655; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Oak Park Precinct 16, Cook, Illinois, Roll: T625_362, Page: 6B, Enumeration District: 163; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois, Roll: 505, Page: 14B, Enumeration District: 2279. Accessed via www.ancestry.com

²⁹ The Walosas Club Girl's Club will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three.

³⁰ Kathleen M. Blee, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 157-62; Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 10-11.

Ethnicity & Birthplace

Contemporary Oak Park prides itself on its commitment to diversity and the rich array of races, ethnicities, religions, lifestyles, and political opinions supported by the village. However, Oak Park at the turn of the twentieth century was the polar opposite. The community was not welcoming of new residents who did not subscribe to the predominantly native-born Protestant culture. The greatest amount of diversity during this period was only represented by various interpretations of Protestantism practiced in the community. The city of Chicago was filled with ethnically and racially specific segregated neighborhoods and Oak Park residents created a similar type of enclave in Oak Park. However, people who resided in Oak Park were overwhelmingly white, native-born Protestants and upwardly mobile.

In the early-twentieth century the vast majority of adult Oak Park residents over the age of twenty-one were white native-born American citizens. Prior to the 1920s, over eighty percent of this population belonged to Protestant faith denominations and additionally, fifty-five percent of this demographic group was born to native parents. Furthermore, eighty percent of families in Oak Park were composed of native-born whites.³¹ Oak Park was a relatively homogenous community that was home to few newly arrived or first generation immigrants. The suburb did, however, have a degree of ethnic diversity in terms of Western European heritage. The five most prevalent ethnic ancestries of white, native-born Oak Park residents in 1930 were as follows: German (29 percent), Irish Free State (12 percent), English (6 percent), Swedish (5.5 percent), and

³¹ Annual Parish Reports, 1910, 1915, 1920 and 1925, Archdiocese of Chicago Archives; Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 14-17.

Scottish (2 percent). Oak Park also had strong regional representation of residents with familial ties to Scandinavia and the Netherlands.³²

Oak Parkers preferred dwelling in single-family homes. Eighty-seven percent of Oak Park's population lived in single-family residences, over half of which were owner occupied.³³ Employment advertisements for domestic workers in the local newspapers were also good indicators for determining the ethnic and religious composition of Oak Park residents. A random sampling of "help wanted ads" from 1926 revealed that majority of the household employers specifically requested young women of Scandinavian, German or Swedish heritage who were also Protestant. The prevailing wisdom was to hire help that was of similar ethnicity and the same religious faith so that there would not be any undo influences on children. Over a four month period in 1926, only seventeen of 638 ads placed for female domestic servants requested "colored" girls, only three desired white Catholic girls.³⁴ Appeals for white domestic servants generally asked for "neat and intelligent girls" while ads for African American girls were qualified with phrases such as "refined colored woman wanted" and "competent colored woman

³² Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 14. Oak Park's neighboring western suburb Forest Park also boasted a sizable German population.. Forest Park had a German-speaking Methodist Church that remained so into the 1940s. Many of the major businesses in Forest Park were owned and operated by Germans, particularly in the funerary industry. Ferdinand Haase of Forest Park sold a portion of his property to German Masons of Chicago for a cemetery and later created his own neighboring cemetery.

³³ Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 17.

³⁴ *Oak Leaves*, 4 September 1926, 11 September 1926, 18 September 1926, 25 September 1926, 2 October 1926, 9 October 1926, 16 October 1926, 23 October 1926, 30 October 1926, 6 November 1926, 13 November 1926, 27 November 1926, 4 December 1926, 11 December 1926, 18 December 1926, 25 December 1926.

sought.”³⁵ These were not prerequisites applied to white girls or women, but revealed the underlying prejudices and stereotypes automatically attributed to African Americans during this period.

Jewish-Americans were another popular target of the revived Klan. Klan disapproval was not necessarily based on religion, but more an issue of racial and cultural identities and occupations in financial sectors. KKK pamphlets warned Klansmen of a Jewish conspiracy to take control of American financial institutions. Jews were viewed by the Klan as “alien” or foreign inhabitants of the United States that could never be truly “100 percent Americans.” In regards to Jews, a tract entitled “The Principles and Purposes of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan” stated, “The Jew is essentially an alien, non-assimilative and clannish to a degree. From the earliest history of the race, the Jew has considered material success an unmistakable mark of Divine approval, consequently his code of business ethics does not always harmonize with Christian ideas or Christian principles.”³⁶ One of the greatest Klan fears was the possibility of Jews gaining control of the glorious American nation through domination and control of financial institutions. To subdue Klan monetary fears, the order attempted to use an internal banking system from a Klan based treasury.³⁷

In early twentieth-century Oak Park there was a very small but vibrant Jewish population which was similar in size to the African American community. A 1925

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ “Principles and Purposes of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan: Outlined by an Exalted Cyclops of the Order,” Michigan State University Special Collections, 5. [HS2330.K63 A34]

³⁷ “Women of the Ku Klux Klan Checks from Kligrapps to Klabees,” Chicago History Museum Archives. The WKKK attempted to create an internal banking system that kept club finances separate from external banks that were not overseen by WKKK officials.

directory of religious institutions in Oak Park listed the Hosea Community Center led by Rabbi J.H. Stoltz as the only Jewish worship space in Oak Park. The Jewish population was not a sizeable enough to necessitate the building of a synagogue until mid-century. In 1957 the Oak Park Temple B'nai Abraham Zion was dedicated on Harlem Avenue in northwest Oak Park.³⁸ However, Jewish owned and operated businesses survived in Oak Park without a substantial Jewish population to patronize them. For instance, a 1926 advertisement for Suburban Auto Insurance Underwriters featured the star of David in the ad to indicate that it was a Jewish-owned business.³⁹ Despite Klan prejudices towards Jews, there was a positive association and trust of Jewish owned and operated insurance agents.

Birthplace was an important factor for determining eligibility for WKKK membership. The WKKK required candidates to disclose their birthplace on membership applications.⁴⁰ Fifty-nine percent of Walosas Club members were born in Illinois as were forty-eight percent of their husbands. In addition, both Oak Park Klanswomen and their husbands came overwhelmingly from the Midwest at eighty-two percent and seventy-two percent.⁴¹ In 1920 eighty-six percent of Oak Park's population was native-born. Over

³⁸ Jerry & Kathleen Jacobson, Interview by Sarah Doherty, 27 December 2011; www.oakparktemple.com accessed 25 November 2011.

³⁹ *Oak Leaves*, 22 May 1926, 40.

⁴⁰ Application for Membership Form 1010-H.P, Chicago History Museum Archives. [HS2330.K61 Z]

⁴¹ Walosas Club Membership Roll; See Appendix A.

the next decade the population of native-born residents remained consistent with a slight increase to eighty-seven percent.⁴²

One anomaly with Walosas Club members and their families that did not meld with Klan ideology was that five of the Klanswomen and twenty-one of the husbands were not born in the United States. Foreign-born Walosas Club members were born in Canada (2), Ireland, Lithuania and Norway. Oak Park Klanswomen's husbands born outside the United States originated from Germany (9), Denmark (4), Canada (3), Russia, Northern Ireland, England, Sweden, and Czechoslovakia. A key Klan mantra was "America for Americans." Even if these Klanswomen and the husbands were naturalized citizens of the United States they could never claim native-born status. Application for membership to the WKKK specifically asked for place of birth.⁴³ The Oak Park women's Klan may have overlooked this key element in Klan rhetoric to expand membership. An explanation for the presence of non-native born people involved with the Klan was potential membership in either the American Krudaders or Women of the Krudaders.⁴⁴ Both of these groups were Klan auxiliaries whose membership was open to white Protestant Americans who became naturalized citizens but were foreign born. At a September 1925 Walosas Club meeting a regional WKKK representative told the Oak

⁴² Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 14; Department of Commerce, *Compendium to the Fourteenth Census of the United States- Illinois* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing, 1924).

⁴³ Application for Membership Form 1010-H.P., Chicago History Museum Archives. [HS2330.K61 Z]

⁴⁴ Not much is known about these Klan auxiliaries, but their existence was antithetical to the revived Klan's call for "100 Percent Americanism." They are representative of how the Klan kept changing its rhetoric and creed to maintain membership and try to stay relevant to the cultural climate.

Park chapter that Women of the Krudaders were permitted to attend Walosas Club meetings, but could not be present at the naturalization ceremony of new members.⁴⁵

Klanswoman Mabel Petersen was married to one of the foreign-born husbands of Walosas Club Members. She was the thirty-sixth woman to join the organization indicating that she had been part of the women's Klan in Oak Park from its beginning.⁴⁶ Mabel Petersen was born in Iowa in 1885 to parents who both came from Ohio. Petersen married Danish immigrant Hans P. Petersen and they had one child. The Petersens moved to Oak Park in 1919 and rented the home they lived in at 651 N. Humphrey Avenue in northeast Oak Park. Hans apprenticed as a confectioner in his native Denmark before emigrating to the United States. Upon arrival in Oak Park the Petersen's opened an ice cream parlor in downtown Oak Park which was an instant success. In 1925 the Petersen's bought a milk supply plant on Chicago's west side and converted it to an ice cream production facility. Petersen's Ice Cream Shop moved to 1100 Chicago Avenue in 1931 and remains there today.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 3 September 1925.

⁴⁶ Walosas Club Membership Roll.

⁴⁷ www.petersenicecream.com, accessed 23 January 2012.



Figure 10. Mabel and Hans Petersen on the far left posing with employees and a Petersen's Ice Cream delivery car. Courtesy of Petersen's Ice Cream.

Mabel Petersen was involved with the daily operations of the ice cream shop. She oversaw the company accounts and managed the ice cream parlor employees. Both Mabel and Hans were highly respected business owners in the community. Hans represented an American immigrant success story. He brought his old world training to the United States and developed a successful business with a lasting legacy. When Hans died in 1965 he willed his company to five employees who were Petersen's employees for more than thirty years.

During Mabel Petersen's active involvement as a Klanswoman she often provided ice cream for the social portion of chapter meetings.⁴⁸ Petersen's participation in the WKKK was peculiar on many accounts. First, she was married to an immigrant. Klan

⁴⁸ Klanswoman Gertrude Shaner, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 15 July 1926; Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 6 August 1925; 18 June 1925.

ideology vilified non-native born Americans even if they successfully contributed to the growth and prosperity of the United States economy. Second, the Petersens were not discriminatory in their hiring practices-- namely they employed Catholics. For instance, the mother of Fr. Carl Morello, pastor of St. Giles Catholic Church in Oak Park, grew up in Forest Park and was employed by Mabel Petersen at Petersen's Ice Cream Shop.⁴⁹ Klanswoman Petersen's motivations for membership in the WKKK were unclear. At some point during the 1924 to 1929 existence of the Walosas Club Mabel Petersen tendered her resignation from the WKKK. The incident was not mentioned in club minutes and was simply noted on the membership roll without a specified date of resignation.

The WKKK membership application also inquired about the birthplace, names and religion of potential Klanswomen's parents.⁵⁰ Fifty-three percent of Walosas Club Klanswomen's mothers and forty percent of their fathers were born in the United States.⁵¹ The figure for Klanswomen's parents was comparable to Oak Park's fifty-three percent of residents whose parentage was native-born white.⁵² The parents of Walosas Club members' husbands fell roughly into the same category with forty-nine percent native-

⁴⁹ Fr. Carl Morello, Interview by Sarah Doherty, 16 October 2011.

⁵⁰ Application for Membership Form 1010-H.P, Chicago History Museum Archives. [HS2330.K61 Z]

⁵¹ Walosas Club Membership Roll; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Chicago, Cook, Illinois; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Proviso, Cook, Illinois; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Chicago, Cook, Illinois; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Forest Park, Cook, Illinois; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Chicago, Cook, Illinois. Accessed via www.ancestry.com ; See Appendix A.

⁵² *Compendium to the Fourteenth Census of the United States- Illinois*, 38-39; Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 14.

born parentage.⁵³ Existing scholarship on the Klan has not undertaken any thorough examinations of the nativity of the parents of Klan participants. Forty-seven percent of Walosas Club Klanswomen's mothers and sixty percent of the fathers were foreign-born. Within an American nativist organization, one would suspect participants' parents to be almost exclusively born in the United States. Data for the Oak Park women's Klan reveals that nativism was not a primary principle employed in the recruitment of members. One plausible explanation for the high rate of non-native parents amongst Klanswomen is that Walosas Club members viewed participation in the WKKK as a way to demonstrate that they were truly "Americans for America" and no longer associated with their ethnic roots. However, the strongest attraction to the Women's Klan in Oak Park was the group's anti-Catholic platform.

Additionally, the ethnic heritage of Walosas Club members reflected similar demographics to the suburb of Oak Park. Twenty-two percent of Oak Park residents and Walosas Club Klanswomen claimed second generation German heritage which was the largest ethnic group in the suburb.⁵⁴ The highest concentration of foreign-born residents in Oak Park came from Germany and composed twenty-five percent of the non-native population. The next twenty-five percent of foreign-born Oak Park residents were born equally in Canada and England. The remaining top ten countries of origin for non-native Americans in Oak Park hailed from Sweden, Ireland, Scotland, Norway, Denmark,

⁵³ See Appendix A.

⁵⁴ Ibid; *Compendium to the Fourteenth Census of the United States*, 64-68. The neighboring suburb of Forest Park in addition to have the third highest concentration of Walosas Club members also had a very strong German heritage which was reflected in family business names such as Haas, Krause, Mieling & Ruehl.

Czechoslovakia, and Italy.⁵⁵ The countries of origin of foreign-born residents of Oak Park reflected the ethnic heritage of villagers and Klanswomen.

Confronting Changing Demographics

The 1920s ushered in an Oak Park housing boom to accommodate all the new residents to the village. Developers favored the construction of multi-family dwellings which involved razing many nineteenth-century single family homes. Though single family residences composed the vast majority of Oak Park homes, community resistance to apartment buildings existed as early as the 1890s. Concerned citizens contended that an increase of apartment structures in Oak Park would diminish the value of homes and take away from the community's character.⁵⁶ To combat the unrestricted development of multi-family residences and preserve the spacious feel of the suburb, Oak Park adopted a zoning commission in the 1920s. The commission developed strict codes for population density, height of structures, and the percentage of land plots that could be covered by houses. New York's 1916 creation of a zoning commission nationally popularized the movement to regulate housing and commercial development.⁵⁷

The rapid shift in demographics in Oak Park in the 1920s is best exemplified by analysis of a single block during this period. The 1100 block of South Highland Avenue, located in the southeast quadrant of the village, was one block north of neighboring Berwyn and had the highest concentration of Klanswomen on a single block with six

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶ Arthur LeGacy, "Improvers and Preservers: A History of Oak Park, Illinois, 1833-1940" (PhD. Diss., The University of Chicago, 1967), 143-44.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 145-51.

Walosas Club members. In 1919 twenty-one structures existed on the block and by 1930 there were an additional eleven. The second half of the 1100 block, with dwellings numbers from 1150 to 1187 grew from six housing structures to twenty-seven during the 1920s. Ten of the structures between 1100 to 1147 were multi-family structures. Only nine of the fifty-one residents/families listed on the block from 1919-20 were still there in 1925. The McGraths of 1106, Olsons of 1116, Rodenhebers of 1124, and Duevers of 1132 were the only four families that remained on the block for the entire decade. The Olson household was the only Klan affiliated home on the block through the period. Klanswomen Nellie Brauchle (1110), Estelle Niland (1124), Iva Jean Bishop (1132), Anna Bishop (1114), and May Jackson (1108) all moved onto the block around 1925. Mildred Olson and Nellie Brauchle were the only two Klanswomen still on the block in 1930 and the only two homeowners of the six Klanswomen residing on the block. Many of the residents of the 1100 block of South Highland Avenue were renters who lived on the block for under five years before moving on to different locations.⁵⁸

The Klanswomen who lived on the 1100 block of South Highland Avenue represented typical cross-section of Oak Park Klanswomen. Three of the six women were married with an average age of forty-three for the married women in 1925. Klanswoman May Jackson was widowed. The single Klanswoman Mildred Olson, eighteen, and Estelle Niland, twenty-three lived at home with their families. The occupations of the husbands were a pipe fitter, commercial trader and chemical engineer.

⁵⁸ *Oak Park Phone Directory and Yearbook* (Oak Park, IL: Pioneer Publishing Co., 1919), xxxi; *McCoy's Oak Park Street Directory* (Decatur, IL: McCoy's Publishing Co., 1925), 519; *McCoy's Oak Park Street Directory* (Decatur, IL: McCoy's Publishing Co., 1930), 517; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Oak Park Precinct 20, Cook, Illinois, Roll: T625_362; Page: 15A, Enumeration District: 170; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Oak Park Precinct 20, Cook, Illinois, Roll: T625_362, Page: 15B, Enumeration District: 170. Accessed via www.ancestry.com; See Appendix A.

The married Klanswomen had three children between them. Mildred Olson was the only one of these six Klanswomen who was employed outside the home as a linotype operator. With the exception of Nellie Brauchle who was amongst the first one hundred women to join the Walosas Club, all of the other Klanswomen on the 1100 block of South Highland Avenue joined much later. However, they appeared to join shortly after moving to Oak Park. Since word-of-mouth was a key recruitment strategy for the women's Klan it was highly likely that Brauchle vetted and recruited the other five women on her block while getting the organization to object to admitting Marie Rodenheber of 1124 S. Highland Avenue. Over ninety percent of the households from 1114 to 1142 had native-born American inhabitants with German, Austrian or Bohemian ancestry. The three households with foreign-born residents hailed from Sweden, Austria, and Germany.⁵⁹ The location of Klanswomen homes on this block placed them physically close to the "wet" suburb of Berwyn and its rapidly growing Catholic population.

Home Location

Although the Walosas Club formed and officially chartered with the WKKK in Oak Park, the group eventually attracted like-minded women from neighboring communities. Oak Park residents accounted for over sixty percent of the total membership.⁶⁰ A closer examination of where Klanswomen's homes were located in relation to the club's meeting place in downtown Oak Park and other Klanswomen provides some insight into the attraction to the WKKK and recruitment of new members.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Walosas Club Membership Roll.

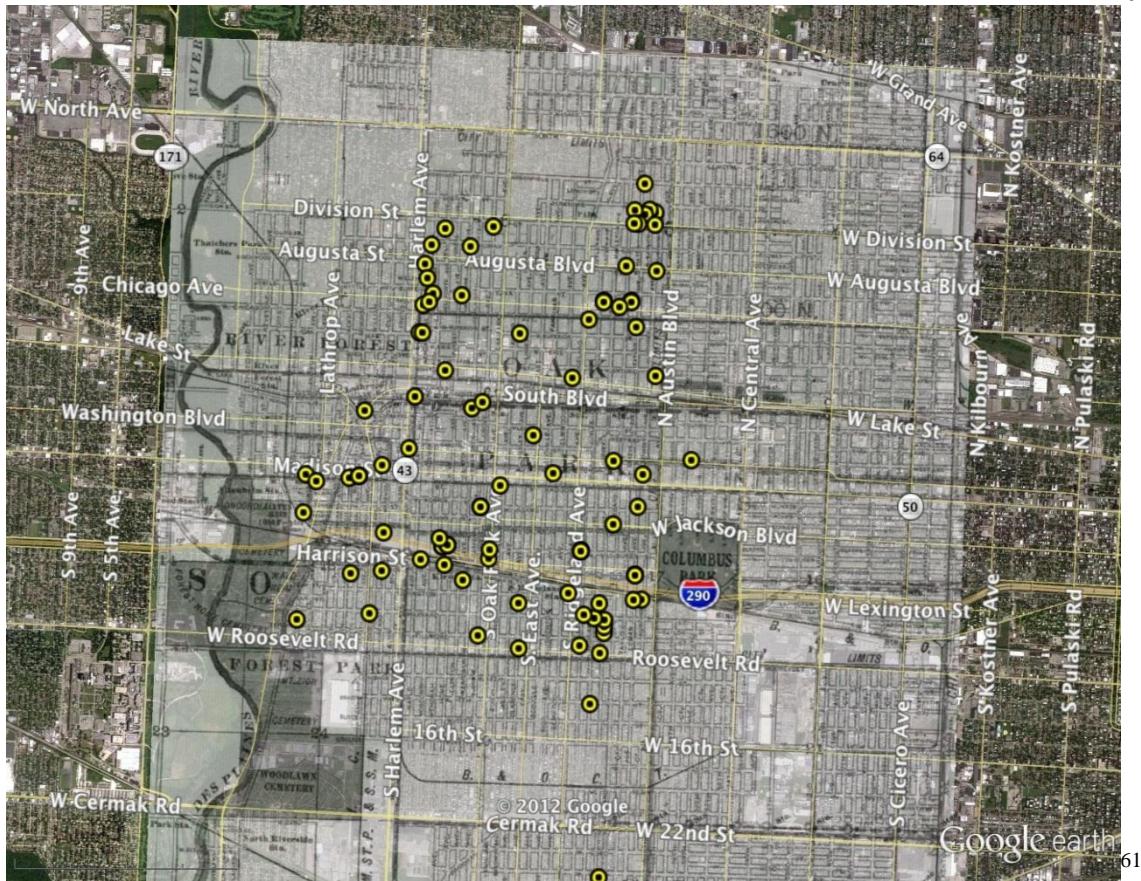


Figure 11. Map of Walosas Club Members 1 through 100 in Oak Park & Surrounding Suburbs and Chicago

As seen in Fig. 9 Oak Park can be evenly divided into four geographic quadrants—the northwest, northeast, southwest and southeast. The north to south division of Oak Park is the elevated train between North Boulevard and South Boulevard while the east to west divider is East Avenue. Sixty-six percent of Oak Park Klanswomen lived in south Oak Park with a relatively even distribution of thirty-one percent in southwest Oak Park and thirty-five percent in southeast Oak Park. The remaining thirty-four percent of Oak Park Klanswomen who resided in north Oak Park had eighteen percent of this population living in the northwest quadrant of the suburb and sixteen percent in the northeast. Fig.

⁶¹ Map of Chicago and Suburbs, 1921 (IChi-38123), Collections of Chicago History Museum; Google Earth Satellite View of Oak Park Circa 2012; Julia Hickey, Overlay Imaging of Map of Chicago and Suburbs with Google Earth View and location of Walosas Club Members 1 through 100; See Appendix A.

11 illustrates that roughly ninety percent of the first 100 members of the Walosas Club lived in Oak Park within 1.5 miles of the Walosas Club's meeting space in The Masonic Hall located at 1100 Lake Street. Though Oak Park Klanswomen lived throughout the village, the clustering of members shown in Fig. 11 indicates that Klanswomen were joining with or recruiting neighbors to participate in the WKKK.

As membership grew in the Walosas Club so did the distance that new members were willing to travel to attend the organization's meetings and events. For Klanswomen 101 through 200, as seen in Fig. 12, Oak Park was still attracting members, but there was also greater participation from women residing in Chicago's Austin neighborhood and the suburbs of Forest Park and Berwyn. There was also a greater attraction of new members from Oak Park's western and southern borders. Oak Park's borders, excluding the portion of the western border with River Forest, were all traditionally "wet" communities. Many of the taverns and saloons along Oak Park's borders secretly continued the sale of intoxicating liquors throughout prohibition.

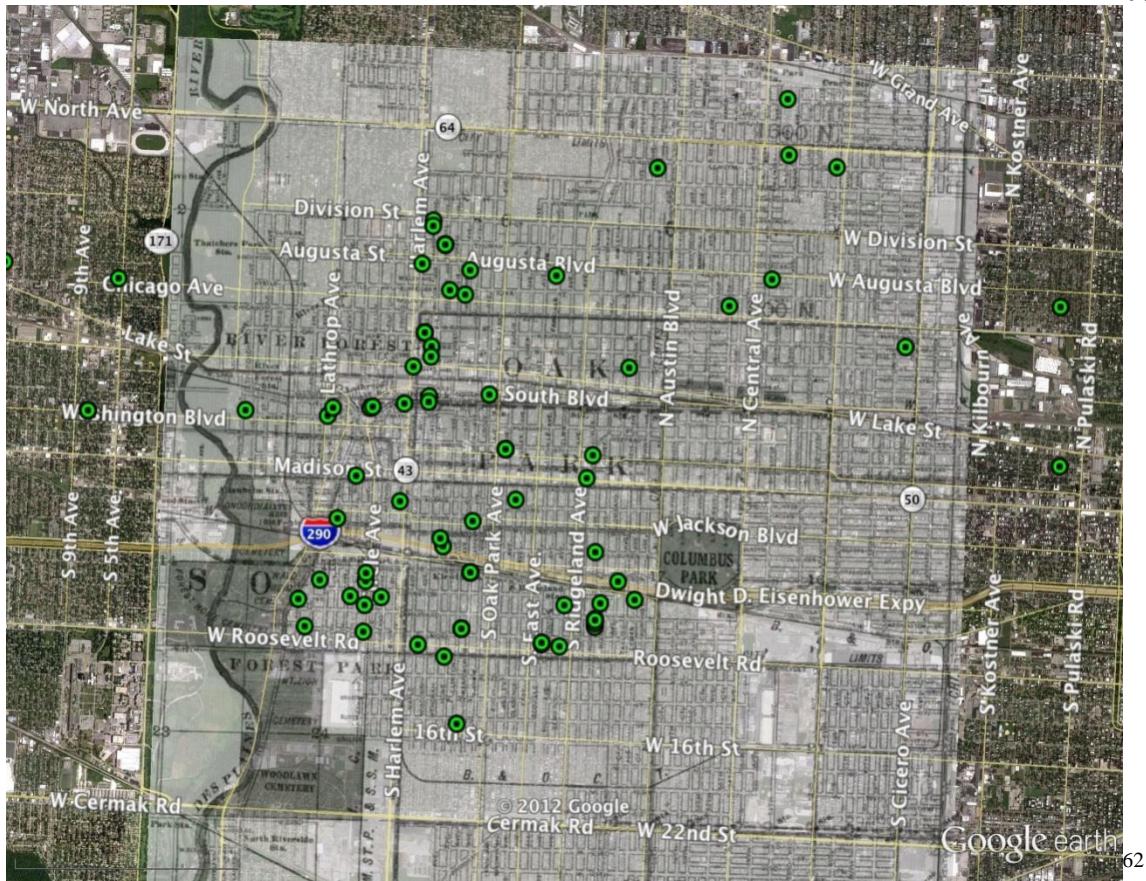


Figure 12. Map of Walosas Club Members 101 to 200 in Oak Park & Surrounding Suburbs and Chicago⁶²

The final 100 women to join the Walosas Club continued a pattern of drawing membership from the southern and western borders of Oak Park, as viewed in Fig. 13, but additionally drew many more members from northern Oak Park along with the neighboring communities. This group brought stronger representation from Forest Park and Chicago's Austin neighborhood. However, the largest new cluster of Klanswomen came from the suburb of Maywood to the west which did not physically share a border with Oak Park. This was an indication that the core membership of the Walosas Club

⁶² Map of Chicago and Suburbs, 1921 (IChi-38123), Collections of Chicago History Museum; Google Earth Satellite View of Oak Park Circa 2012; Julia Hickey, Overlay Imaging of Map of Chicago and Suburbs with Google Earth View and location of Walosas Club Members 101 through 200; See Appendix A.

was firmly rooted in Oak Park, as seen in Fig. 14, with its influence steadily growing

outwards to the surrounding environs.

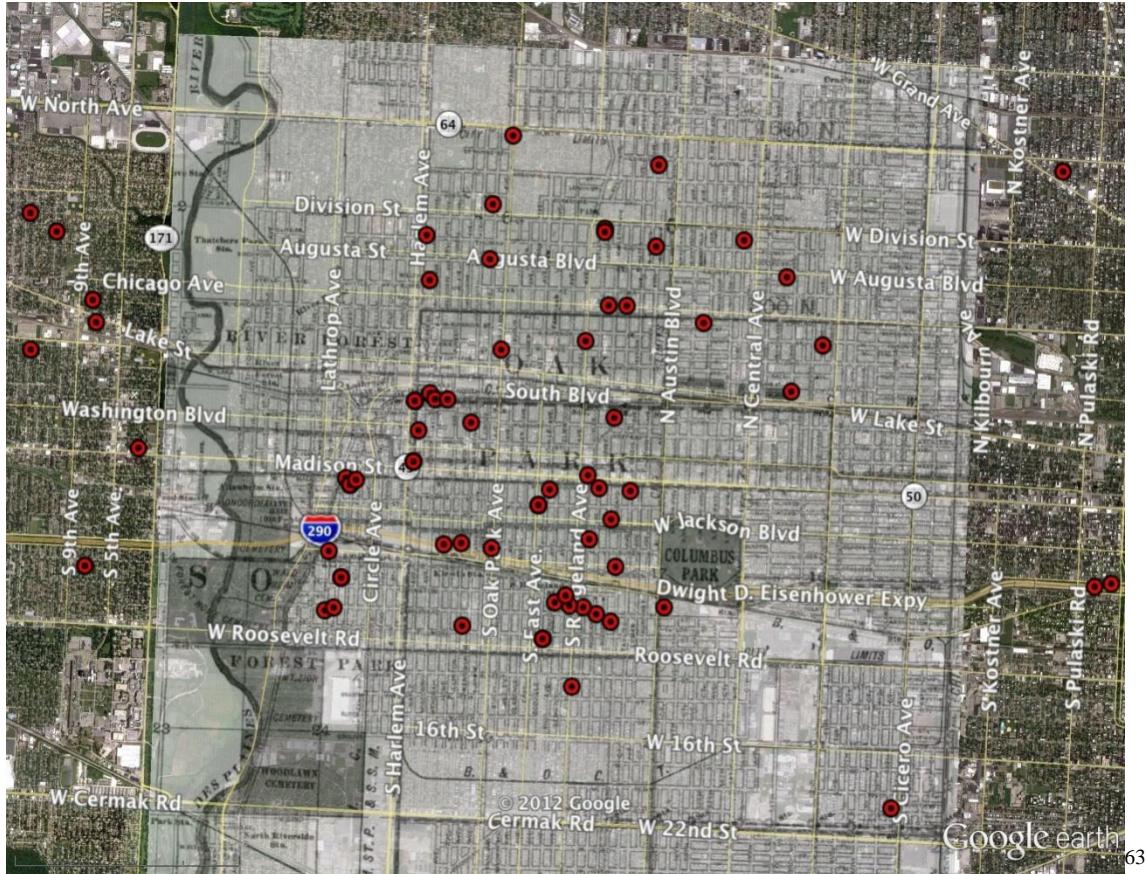


Figure 13. Map of Walosas Club Members 201 to 313 in Oak Park & Surrounding Suburbs and Chicago

⁶³ Map of Chicago and Suburbs, 1921 (IChi-38123), Collections of Chicago History Museum; Google Earth Satellite View of Oak Park Circa 2012; Julia Hickey, Overlay Imaging of Map of Chicago and Suburbs with Google Earth View and location of Walosas Club Members 201 through 313; See Appendix A.

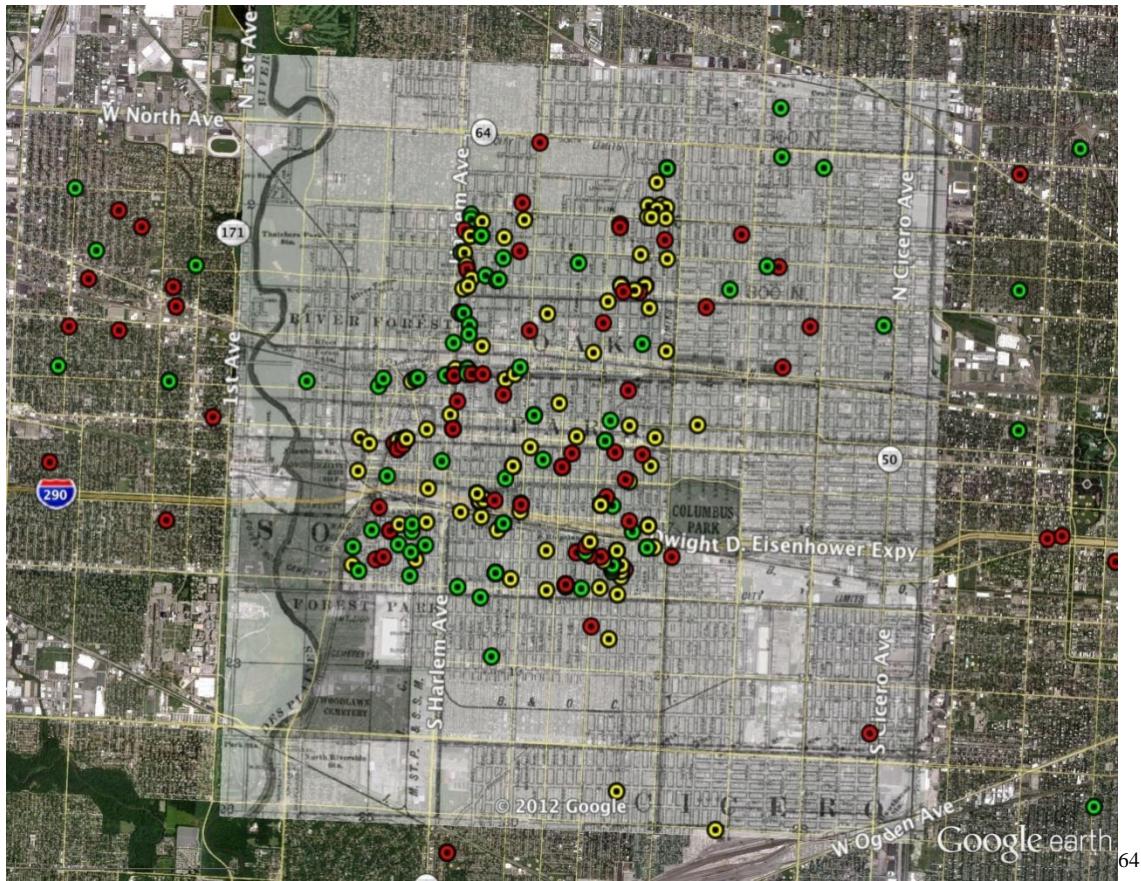


Figure 14. Map of Complete Walosas Club Membership in Oak Park and Surrounding Communities

Within Oak Park fifty-five percent of Klanswomen lived in owner-occupied homes which matched the suburb's average for home ownership. The average value of Klanswomen's homes was \$9,114.⁶⁵ Seventy percent of Oak Park homes in 1930 were valued over \$10,000 which placed Klanswomen's homes in a slightly more modest

⁶⁴ Map of Chicago and Suburbs, 1921 (IChi-38123), Collections of Chicago History Museum; Google Earth Satellite View of Oak Park Circa 2012; Julia Hickey, Overlay Imaging of Map of Chicago and Suburbs with Google Earth View and location of Walosas Club Members 1 through 313; See Appendix A.

⁶⁵ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois, accessed via www.ancestry.com; See Appendix A; Walosas Club Membership Roll.

bracket.⁶⁶ The forty-five percent of Klanswomen who lived in rented homes and apartments averaged moving two times while members of the Walosas Club. The average rent paid was \$50 per month.⁶⁷ This figure was comparable to the average rent paid by residents of Oak Park.⁶⁸

The roughly sixty percent of Klanswomen living in south Oak Park resided in the section of the suburb with more affordable housing options. South Oak Park Klanswomen were in close proximity to Oak Park's two earliest Catholic Churches St. Edmund's and Ascension. The two largest clusters of Klanswomen in south Oak Park were located within five block radii of the Catholic churches. Protestant Oak Parkers on the north side of town did not directly have to contend with Catholic neighbors until St. Giles parish was established in northwest Oak Park in 1927.

The Walosas Club successfully recruited multiple members from the same blocks. Thirty-four blocks, as seen in Fig. 8 and Fig. 9, in Oak Park had two or more unrelated Klanswomen residents. Similarly, in Forest Park, as seen in Fig. 14, nine blocks had two or more Walosas Club members. Klanswomen typically recruited like-minded neighbors to join them in the bonds of WKKK sisterhood.

The bulk of the non-resident Oak Park Walosas Club membership came from Forest Park and Chicago. Oak Park and Forest Park were physically neighbors and had developed together as suburbs. Over half of the Forest Park members joined in the early

⁶⁶ Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 17.

⁶⁷ Walosas Club Membership Roll; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois. Accessed via www.ancestry.com ; See Appendix A.

⁶⁸ Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 17.

years of the Walosas Club as illustrated in Fig. 11 and Fig. 12.⁶⁹ Chicago members of the Walosas Club joined in the later years of the club's existence. Walosas Klanswomen from Chicago did not come from a specific neighborhood; rather they lived all over Chicago's north and west sides. Also, they did not come from defunct Chicago WKKK chapters because none of the Klanswomen from Chicago were listed as transfer members in the club's directory. Walosas Club participants from Chicago likely either once lived in Oak Park or learned about the WKKK chapter through participation in other women's clubs. A very small portion of Walosas Club members lived in the suburbs of Maywood, Berwyn, Melrose Park, Cicero, River Forest, Glen Elyn, Bellwood, Franklin Park, River Grove, and Argo.⁷⁰

Occupations

In the 1920s twenty-eight percent of Oak Park's work force was composed of women. Twenty percent of Walosas Club members held wage-labor jobs outside of the work performed at home. Sixty-eight percent of these women were single. The majority of working Oak Park Klanswomen gave up their jobs when they married. The handful of Walosas Club members that retained jobs during marriage tended to work in home-bound professions such as dressmakers, milliners, and seamstresses. The most common occupations of single Walosas Club members were stenographers, clerks, bookkeepers, telephone operators, and teachers.⁷¹ These jobs were also the most common occupations

⁶⁹ Walosas Club Membership Roll.

⁷⁰ Ibid; See Appendix A.

⁷¹ Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Chicago, Cook, Illinois; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Proviso, Cook,

for women in Oak Park.⁷² All the Walosas Club Klanswomen who were widowed,

separated or divorced and under the age of sixty had jobs.⁷³

Oak Park Klanswomen were more likely to be employed in white-collar jobs than their husbands or fathers. Sixty-eight percent of working Walosas Club members had white-collar professions compared to forty-two percent of their fathers and husbands.⁷⁴ Seventy-six percent of the husbands of fathers of Klanswomen employed in the blue-collar sector worked unskilled jobs or semi-skilled trades.⁷⁵ As a group the husbands and fathers of Oak Park Klanswomen were not employed in the professions of Oak Park's wealthiest residents such as banking, finance, law or land speculation.⁷⁶ Walosas Club members' husbands and fathers employed in professional white-collar jobs worked in the fields of engineering, chemistry, medicine, accounting, and real estate. Walosas Club

Illinois; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Chicago, Cook, Illinois; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois; Fifteenth Census of the United States, Forest Park, Cook, Illinois; Thirteenth Census of the United States, Chicago, Cook, Illinois. Accessed via www.ancestry.com; See Appendix A; Walosas Club Membership Roll; *Bell Telephone Directory of Oak Park, Forest Park and River Forest* (Chicago: The Reuben H. Donnelley Corp., 1926).

⁷² Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 18.

⁷³ Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Chicago, Cook, Illinois; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Proviso, Cook, Illinois; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Chicago, Cook, Illinois; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois; Fifteenth Census of the United States, Forest Park, Cook, Illinois; Thirteenth Census of the United States, Chicago, Cook, Illinois. Accessed via www.ancestry.com; See Appendix A; Walosas Club Membership Roll; *Bell Telephone Directory of Oak Park, Forest Park and River Forest* (Chicago: The Reuben H. Donnelley Corp., 1926).

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ For the purpose of this study unskilled blue collar jobs are considered those that did not require any special type of schooling, training or apprenticeship to perform the tasks required for that job such as laborers, drivers, painters, and store clerks.

⁷⁶ Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 18.

membership did not include Oak Park's wealthiest residents. The majority of the Oak Park Klanswomen hailed from a middle to lower-middle class background.

Some of the professions of Klanswomen's husbands and fathers add another layer of kinship in the Walosas Club membership. For example, the husbands of Klanswomen Minnetta Price and Edna Koerber worked together at Snow Brothers Garage indicating a connection outside of the women's Klan. In addition, a grouping of Klanswomen with sequential membership numbers all had relatives who worked as train engineers, conductors, ticketing agents, or switchmen. All of the women joined the Walosas Club at the same time. This reveals another avenue for joining the women's Klan through acquaintances made through family members' employment. Unlike some clusters of Oak Park women's Klan members, these Klanswomen did not all live on the same block and their connection to each other and eventual migration to the WKKK was likely through their husbands knowing each other and potential involvement in the men's Klan.⁷⁷ The two highest concentrations of professions for Walosas Club members' husbands or fathers were police officers and postal clerks with thirteen men in each of these jobs. The police officers included the sergeants of police for the suburbs of Oak Park and River Forest. A presence of local authority and federal employees gave the Walosas Club keen eyes and ears to keep them abreast of local affairs. Many of these police officers and postal clerks likely belonged to Oak Park's Uno Club chapter of the KKK. Nationally,

⁷⁷ Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Chicago, Cook, Illinois; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Proviso, Cook, Illinois; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Chicago, Cook, Illinois; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois; Fifteenth Census of the United States, Forest Park, Cook, Illinois; Thirteenth Census of the United States, Chicago, Cook, Illinois. Accessed via www.ancestry.com ; See Appendix A; Walosas Club Membership Roll; *Bell Telephone Directory of Oak Park, Forest Park and River Forest* (Chicago: The Reuben H. Donnelley Corp., 1926).

the Klan successfully attracted police officers and local government officials to the ranks of the Invisible Empire.⁷⁸

Clara Ochs was the most professionally accomplished single Walosas Club member. Klanswoman Clara Mary Ochs was born in Watertown, Wisconsin to a mother from Watertown and father from Hesse, Germany.⁷⁹ Her father, a doctor, moved his family of four sons and a daughter to Oak Park sometime in the late-nineteenth century. Klanswoman Ochs graduated from Chicago's St. Xavier Academy in 1895.⁸⁰ This Catholic high school may have been the best available education for Ochs in her Chicago neighborhood and was likely the decision of her parents to send her to St. Xavier. Ochs became a Klanswoman over thirty years after attending a Catholic high school when she lived in a community that was hostile towards Catholic residents. She continued her studies at the collegiate level and attended medical school where she trained as a surgeon. The entire Ochs family either practiced medicine or was in the medical industry. Dr. Clara Ochs along with her brother Milton were surgeons while their brothers Frederick, Arthur and R.J. were physicians. The youngest sibling Edward was the proprietor of a medical supply company. Dr. Clara Ochs never married and was fifty when she joined the Walosas Club. All of the Ochs children, with the exception of R.J., lived together during their adult lives at 300 S. Maple Avenue near Oak Park Hospital. Clara's mother

⁷⁸ MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry*, 18.

⁷⁹ Walosas Club Membership Roll; U.S. Federal Census 1920; Smoky Mountain Ancestral Quest, www.smokyin.com , accessed 26 January 2012.

⁸⁰ "Go Out to Battle: Army of Students Finish Training and Face the World," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 28 June 1895, 8.

Anna was listed as the head of household in 1920, but by 1930 Clara was head of the household after the death of the Ochs parents.⁸¹

A series of articles in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* followed a bizarre incident involving the disappearance of Clara's brother Dr. Milton Ochs. On November 9, 1936 police in Chicago and Oak Park were asked to help in the search for the missing Dr. Milton Ochs. Clara reported to authorities that Milton took the train to Frances Willard Hospital, in Chicago's Austin neighborhood, to perform a scheduled surgery and was not heard from or seen since his departure from their Oak Park home.⁸² A few days later Dr. Milton returned home to Oak Park unharmed, but the circumstances surrounding his disappearance remained a mystery. He claimed that he simply took a fishing trip with a medical school classmate and refused to speak any further about the matter.⁸³ But, newspapers printed conflicting reports about the incident. Dr. Arthur claimed his brother Milton was kidnapped and held for a \$5,000 ransom. Another articled asserted that Milton was abducted at gunpoint and driven to a cottage in Wisconsin where he was forced to perform emergency surgery on a bank robber who sustained a gunshot wound to the chest. Clara and her brothers commented that Milton returned home completely exhausted and overworked and feared he was close to a mental breakdown.⁸⁴ What

⁸¹ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Oak Park Precinct 15, Cook, Illinois, Roll: T625_362, Page: 6B, Enumeration District: 161; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois, Roll: 505, Page: 2B, Enumeration District: 2268. Accessed via www.ancestry.com

⁸² "Police Asked to Hunt Missing Oak Park Doctor," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 11 November 1936, 2. Frances Willard Hospital, formerly Austin Hospital, is now Loretto Hospital located in Chicago's west side Austin community alongside the Eisenhower Expressway at 645 S. Central Ave.

⁸³ "Missing Doctor Returns: Tells of Fishing Trip," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 12 November 1936, 1.

⁸⁴ "Doctor Kidnapped Says Brothers: Life Threatened," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 14 November 1936, 3.

actually happened in the peculiar disappearance of Dr. Milton Ochs was never determined and police eventually dropped the case.

Dr. Clara Ochs held the most prominent professional occupation of Oak Park Klanswomen. While her contemporaries were in the newspaper for announcements of engagements, weddings and travels, Ochs was recognized for her professional accolades and membership in women's medical associations. In one instance the *Chicago Daily Tribune* reported a successful surgery performed by Ochs to dislodge a large shard of glass from the side of the wife of an Oak Park police lieutenant.⁸⁵ Ochs' busy medical practice only permitted her involvement in a few women's clubs and she chose a women's medical association and the WKKK. Her brother R.J. was a Mason which may account for Clara's exposure to the Klan due to the high correlation in the 1920s between membership in the Masons and the KKK.⁸⁶

In general, Klanswomen and their husbands were employed in semi-skilled occupations that potentially made them feel threatened and most vulnerable to the new competition for jobs brought by the influx of Catholic neighbors. Throughout the country white middle-class men were economically affected most acutely by the rise of immigrants and African Americans and feared losing their class position in society. Residents of Oak Park from the upper echelons of society were unaffected professionally by newcomers to the community because they were not in competition for the same jobs. However, middle-and working-class Klanswomen and their husbands had direct

⁸⁵ "Glass Splinter Travels Through Body in Year," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 2 June 1927, 1; "News of the Chicago Women's Clubs," 23 March 1919, C3.

⁸⁶ "Obituary for R.J. Ochs," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 30 March 1941.

competition for jobs in their sector of Oak Park society which was one viable explanation for such a great resistance to new Catholic neighbors.

Religious Preference

Historically the 1920s Klan was perceived as a fringe movement composed of uneducated fundamentalist Protestants from working-class backgrounds.⁸⁷ However, recent scholarship on the KKK contextualizes the Invisible Empire as a mainstream mainline Protestant phenomenon whose members largely hailed from solid middle-class backgrounds.⁸⁸ Nationally, the Klan particularly attracted members from evangelical Protestant backgrounds including Methodists, Baptists, Church of Christ, Disciples of Christ, and the United Brethren.⁸⁹ William Joseph Simmons, mastermind of the KKK revival, was a former itinerant Methodist preacher. In Indiana the KKK drew strong participation from Methodists, Quakers, United Brethren, and Presbyterians.⁹⁰ The only churches to openly oppose the Klan in Indiana were the Episcopal Church and the fundamentalist Church of the Nazarene.⁹¹ Members of more established and elite

⁸⁷ See John Moffat Mecklin, *The Ku-Klan Klan: A Study of the American Mind* (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1963) (orig. pub. 1924).

⁸⁸ Kelly J. Baker, *Gospel According to the Klan: The KKK's Appeal to Protestant America, 1915-1930* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2011), 8-10.

⁸⁹ Ibid, 9; MacLean, *Behind The Mask of Chivalry*, 8, 73-74; Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 150.

⁹⁰ Kathleen Blee, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 103; Leonard J. Moore, *Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921-1928* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 70-73. In the 1920s, Methodists were the largest Protestant denomination in Indiana.

⁹¹ Moore, *Citizen Klansmen*, 70.

Protestant denominations such as the Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and Lutherans did not readily join the Klan.⁹²

Oak Park's largest Protestant denominations were the Congregationalists and Methodists.⁹³ Though church membership of Walosas Club Klanswomen is still unknown, it is highly probable that a large portion belonged to one of these denominations since they accounted for nine of Oak Park's Protestant churches.⁹⁴ In March 1923 hooded Klansmen interrupted a service at the Third Congregational Church in northeast Oak Park, made a standard declaration about the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and deposited \$800 in the church's coffers before leaving and scattering into the night. The incident was not covered in the *Oak Leaves*, but was reported with much consternation in the *Chicago Defender*:

Another proof that the American dollar is mightier than a czar, that it walks over sentiment and justice, takes precedence over the teachings in the Good Book and makes the high and mighty bend to its will, was forthcoming last Sunday when forty masked and hooded men wearing the insignia of the Ku Klux Klan marched into the Third Congregational Church, Forest avenue and Augusta street, Oak Park, during services and contributed \$800 to the building fund after their spokesman had delivered the usual Klan speech. This is the second church in and about Chicago that has permitted such a demonstration wholly out of keeping with the sacredness of the institution. We were told the pastors in both instances were "surprised" and "bewildered"- so much so that they made impressive speeches of acceptance and quickly mixed the "tainted money" with that of the devout and widow's mite.⁹⁵

⁹² MacLean, *Behind The Mask of Chivalry*, 8.

⁹³ Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 119-121.

⁹⁴ McCoy's *Oak Park, River Forest and Forest Park Directory* (Chicago, IL: McCoy Co., 1925), 10-11. The Protestant church membership rolls that have been unearthed thus far names of Walosas Club Klanswomen did not appear at First Congregational Church, which attracted Oak Park's most prominent families, or the First or Second Presbyterian Churches.

⁹⁵ "Bewildered," *Chicago Defender*, 10 March 1923, 12.

The other event referenced in the *Chicago Defender* happened a year earlier in April 1922 in the neighboring Austin community of Chicago. Representatives from the Austin Klan Chapter #6 disturbed a service at Faith Presbyterian Church and left a donation.⁹⁶ Both the Oak Park and Austin church Klan visits indicated a growing presence of the Ku Klux Klan on Chicago's Westside and near west suburbs.

Throughout the country the Klan frequently announced their presence in communities by making sudden appearances during church services. This strategy served multiple public relations purposes for the organization. First, the Klan sought to have the communities associate the Invisible Empire with benevolent acts of charity. In addition, church visits were a method to attract new interest in the order and ideally recruit new members.⁹⁷ The Klan frequently visited churches in which some of the Klansmen were already members, so it is likely that some of the forty Klansmen who visited Third Congregational Church in Oak Park belonged to the congregation.

Contact with the Klan World

The Walosas Club maintained constant communication with the Klan world near and far. In Oak Park the Walosas Club had delegates occasionally attend the men's' Klan chapter meetings so the men's and women's clubs remained informed of each other's affairs. In addition, the regional and national Klan offices frequently sent

⁹⁶ *Oak Leaves*, 22 April 1922, 92.

⁹⁷ Thomas R. Pegram, *One Hundred Percent American: The Rebirth and Decline of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2011), 24-25; Suzanne H. Schrems, "The Ultimate Patriots? Oklahoma Women of the Ku Klux Klan" in *Who's Rocking The Cradle?: Women Pioneers of Oklahoma Politics From Socialism to the KKK, 1900-1930* (Norman, OK: Horse Creek Publications, 2004), 130-31; Baker, *Gospel According to the Klan*, 50-52; Jackson, 60, 98-99, 150, 199, 247, 268.

communications to the Walosas Club about new initiatives, programs and general updates on the WKKK movement.⁹⁸

The women's Klan of Oak Park frequently entertained visitors from other chapters and regional WKKK officers. From 1925 until late-1928 the vast majority of Walosas Club meetings had visitors present. WKKK representatives at Walosas Club gatherings included Klanswomen from La Grange, Wilmette, Franklin Park, Berwyn, Joliet, Cicero, Englewood, Harvey, and Chicago. Additionally, the suburban chapter visitors to the Walosas Club were only listed by their club pseudonyms such as the Betsy Ross Club, Kilwinning Club, American Progressive Club, and Good Fellowship Club.⁹⁹ Womens Klan chapters took pseudonyms to protect the identity of members and the secret purpose of the organization. WKKK chapters from all over Chicago and the suburbs traveled to Oak Park to observe the proper way to perform Klan rituals and initiations and run meetings.

Walosas Club members also traversed the state of Illinois to remain connected to the Invisible Empire. In spring 1925 members of the men's and women's chapters attended an open air gathering of the KKK held at unincorporated lands between the suburbs of Elgin and Roselle.¹⁰⁰ The Walosas Club sent Oak Park representatives to statewide WKKK gatherings in Springfield and Rochelle in 1925 and Clinton and

⁹⁸ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 19 March 1925, 21 May 1925, 17 December 1925.

⁹⁹ Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Gertrude Shaner, Edna Forbes & Viola Brown, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 1925-1929; Klanswoman Roth, 5 February 1925.

¹⁰⁰ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 2 April 1925.

Chicago in 1926.¹⁰¹ Maintaining communication with WKKK chapters through Chicago, the suburbs, and state provided the Walosas Club with networking opportunities and allowed the club to stay informed with news and happenings throughout the WKKK order.

The WKKK national office also closely monitored Klan publications that were disseminated to chapters. In October 1925 a communication sent from the regional WKKK office requested Klanswomen not to read or subscribe to the Chicago Klan publication *Dawn*. According to the WKKK headquarters, *Dawn* was reportedly a magazine backed by “disgruntled past officers of the Klan.”¹⁰² Alternatively, Klanswoman Cornelia Downes, the regional service woman for Province #4, suggested that area Klanswomen subscribe to *The Klanswoman’s Appeal* for \$2 per year. The Walosas Club opted for a group membership to the publication. Magazines such as *The Klanswoman’s Appeal* were another method for keeping Oak Park’s WKKK chapter informed on Klan news, events and initiatives throughout the country. Whenever the Walosas Club received letters from regional or national WKKK offices regarding new projects, clarification on rules and regulations, or updates on the work of fellow chapters, the letter were read out loud to all gathered Walosas Club members then placed on file.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 5 February 1925, 1 April 1925, 16 July 1925, 20 May 1926; Klanswoman Gertrude Shaner, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 17 June 1926, 1 July 1926, 22 November 1926.

¹⁰² Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 1 October 1925.

¹⁰³ Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Gertrude Shaner, Edna Forbes, & Viola Brown, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 1925-1929.

Conclusion

Women in all phases of adult life joined the Walosas Club for the bonds of sisterhood, forging of friendships, and service to their community and the Invisible Empire. Walosas Club membership was much more diverse than other women's clubs in Oak Park that tended to only admit married women. In addition, Walosas Club membership was composed of women from a variety of socio-economic conditions. The typical Walosas Club Klanswoman was thirty-eight, Protestant, born in Illinois, married with at least one child and did not work outside the home. The Walosas Club also successfully drew multi-generational participation in families. Some other Oak Park women's clubs such as the Masonic auxiliaries did have junior divisions for young women. However, the Klan was one of the most successful socio-political and religious organizations designed to attract the entire family.

The first members of the Walosas Club resided relatively close to the central Oak Park meeting space. Overtime, members were recruited from further away. As membership rose in the Walosas Club so did the distance new members were willing to travel to be a part of the Oak Park chapter of the WKKK. By the late 1920s, Klanswomen clustered near the borders of Oak Park. Chicago's Austin neighborhood to the east, Berwyn to the south, and Forest Park to the west were all "wet" communities experiencing a rapid influx of Catholic residents just like Oak Park. Catholics and a threat to Oak Park's "dry" status were two reasons for why certain areas of Oak Park attracted concentrated groupings of Klanswomen. In addition, many of the blocks in these areas had three or more Klanswomen which likely was due to the word-of-mouth

method used by the WKKK to recruit new like-minded members to the women's branch of the Invisible Empire.

The Oak Park Klanswoman was similar religiously, demographically and ethnically to other women in Oak Park. Coming from a middle to lower-middle class socioeconomic background, however, her social position in society was not as elevated as women belonging to the society clubs and her husband did not have the same job security as men employed in more professional trades. Walosas Club Klanswomen served as gatekeepers to the community and perceived the arrival of Catholics as a threat not only to the once homogeneous character of the village, but also to security of semi-skilled jobs.

CHAPTER THREE

A KLANSWOMAN'S WORK

During the Progressive Era, club membership was fundamentally important to middle-class women's public and social identity. For many, social status derived from club membership. In the 1920s the Women of the Ku Klux Klan (WKKK) seized upon the status aspect of club women's identity and used it as a political weapon. The malicious purpose of the WKKK was often obscured by their altruistic endeavors and the absence of the visible public displays employed by the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) such as cross burnings or physical intimidation. Rather, the WKKK utilized a more subtle form of coercion with the threats of slander to the reputation of women and men, gossip and the most feared menace to a woman's public standing- social ostracism. If a former Klanswoman or general member of society crossed the WKKK they could effectively make the individual's entire family a social pariah. In only a few reported cases did Klanswomen use physical violence; rather, they stuck with their "poison squad of whispering women" method of intimidation.¹ Klanswomen were powerful tools for spreading inflammatory gossip about women who interfered with work of the Invisible Empire or in many cases local politicians who were not supportive of Klan activity.

The Walosas Club was superficially similar to other women's clubs in Oak Park, Illinois. The group held regular meetings on a bi-weekly schedule and had a calendar

¹ Kathleen Blee, *Women of the Ku Klux Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 148-9; Nancy MacLean, *Behind The Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 17.

filled with both social engagements and charitable endeavors. In addition, the Walosas Club was adept at forming committees to investigate, research, or take charge of already existing projects or be better informed about new business. Half of most club meeting minutes were filled with details of reports from existing committees or the formation of new ones. For instance, at the meeting held on 15 July 1926, reports from three existing committees and the Excellent Commander (president of a WKKK chapter) called for the formation of four new committees to deal with the creation of by-laws, the sick, refreshments, and sewing.² Though the Walosas Club was part of the national WKKK organization and received directives from regional and national offices, the group was primarily concerned with affairs in their immediate environment. Written records of the Walosas Club did not dwell on the more salacious outrages associated with the Klan; rather, attention was given to the performance of WKKK initiations and rituals as well as social functions and charitable endeavors. The Walosas Club reflected the daily rhythms of a suburban Chicago WKKK chapter, illustrating how the Oak Park chapter was influential to other regional women's Klan groups. Thus, the Walosas Club was instrumental in imagining, shaping and fostering the identity of suburban WKKK chapters.

The WKKK encompassed a variety of aspects in everyday life from social networking and community service to party planning and membership recruitment. The Walosas Club activities and agenda can be divided into six categories: Klan rituals and

² Klanswoman Gertrude Shaner, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 15 July 1926, Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park and River Forest, Illinois. From this point on Walosas Club minutes will be referenced according to which Klanswoman was recording secretary during the date being discussed. General references to the Walosas Club minutes book will have all four secretary names.

ceremonies, the secret work of the order, membership and recruitment, fostering the next generation of Klan members, social engagements, and charitable work. Klan fellowship was designed to meet all the needs of members. The Walosas Club embodied this notion and served both the spiritual and material needs of fellow Klanswomen. In effect, the Walosas Club functioned as a security and support network for its members.

The Oak Park WKKK chapter was an exemplar for chapters throughout greater Chicago. The Walosas Club was arguably one of the earliest established WKKK chapters in suburban Chicago, organizing around 1923 or 1924. Additionally, Oak Park's WKKK chapter was one of the largest, naturalizing over 300 members from 1923 to 1929. When the surviving written record of the Walosas Club activities begins on 15 January 1925, it was evident that the club had been in operation for at least one year. In support of this notion, visitors were present at virtually every Walosas Club regular meeting. Officers from other chapters often attended Walosas Club meetings to observe the format and ritual of the club's meetings and ceremonies. On one such occasion Klanswoman Cooper, Kleagle (recruiter) from the Wilmette WKKK chapter was a guest at the Walosas Club's regular meeting. In some cases it seems that women interested in the work of the WKKK joined the Oak Park chapter from outside the community until there was enough interest in their own areas to start separate chapters. Klanswomen Oma Bowman and Teresa Wolcott, originally members of the Walosas Club, transferred membership and were installed as officers of new suburban chapters of the order.³

What exactly were the activities of Klanswomen? The Minutes Book for the Walosas Club paints a picture of a very active women's club that was engaged in affairs

³ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 21 January 1926.

of their immediate community and was also involved with very similar activities to other Oak Park women's organizations. However, given some of the more salacious aspects of WKKK beliefs and recorded practices in other parts of the country, was the Walosas Club that different from other WKKK chapters? Did the Walosas Club have a hidden agenda and what exactly was it?

Bi-weekly meetings for the Walosas Club followed a consistent format. After the meeting was called to order, new applications for membership were read and either instantly approved or investigated further if objections arose. Next, any waiting neophytes were installed into the WKKK and instructed in the work of the order.⁴ After the pageantry of the initiation ritual was completed, the meeting moved into a discussion of old and new business in which the previous meeting's minutes were read and submitted for approval. This was followed by progress reports of each of the committees which were opened for discussion. When the official business concluded, the meeting was adjourned and Klanswomen retired for refreshments and socializing.⁵

Ritual

The 1915 release of D.W. Griffith's film *Birth of a Nation* glorified the Reconstructions-era Klan as virtuous defenders of southern honor and respectability. The film coincided with a revival of the Ku Klux Klan. The film's popularity over the

⁴ As previously discussed in the Introduction, the 1920s Klan frequently used the word "alien" in their Klan language. The word alien was a blanket term to reference all foreigners, threats, or outsiders to the Klan. The term alien also designated candidates for membership to the Invisible Empire who had yet to become naturalized citizens in the Klan order. Ironically, the same language was used by the United States government to indicate the status of foreigners in the country and the process by which they become citizens to the American nation.

⁵ Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Gertrude Shaner, Edna Forbes, and Viola Brown, Walosas Club Minutes Book.

succeeding years served to publicize the KKK and visibly showed the Klan as a quasi-militaristic Protestant army on a mission and guided by intense ritual and ceremony. Many people who viewed this film accepted it as the truth due to the documentary style. A local newspaper interview with a longtime Oak Park resident revealed that *Birth of a Nation* was shown to children in Oak Park schools. One former student remembered that he was influenced by the way the KKK came across as superheroes. For Halloween that year he created a hooded Klansman costume from an old white sheet.⁶ The secretive ceremonies started by the men's Klan became a central aspect of the WKKK experience. Rituals were expanded and adapted by the WKKK to make them appropriate for female participants in the Invisible Empire.

The WKKK's intense identification with Protestantism facilitated ritual and pageantry with religious undertones at the meetings of the Walosas Club. One of the best examples of the religious-infused pomp and fanfare in special meetings of the WKKK was the installation of new officers. For the Walosas Club a new class of officers was elected annually each summer.⁷ Single positions were filled as vacancies arose. When new officers were installed a strict protocol was followed and members participated in full WKKK gowns bearing the order's sacred insignias. A drill team or parade guard led in the procession of new officer candidates to the sacred ritual space and the installation officer invited all gathered to recite together the prayer of invocation:

Almighty God, we commit to Thee these women who have been elected to fill offices of this Klan and ask that Thou wouldst fill them with wisdom and grace,

⁶ Doug Deuchler, "Boys in the Hoods," *The Wednesday Journal*, 11 August 1993, 30.

⁷ Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Gertrude Shaner, Edna Forbes & Viola Brown, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 2 July 1925; 1 July 1926; 7 July 1927; 18 June 1928.

that their every effort may be in tune with Thy will and look toward the good of this Great Order. Give them, we beseech Thee, the dignity and devotion that should accompany their new responsibility and also teach them to be impartial in every ruling they may be called upon to make. Give them the courage to set the proper example for all Klanswomen, that by their lives they may emulate that which is according to Thy wishes. Oh, God, we ask these things for the good of our Order and for the Glory of Thy great Name, Amen.⁸

The ceremony continued with presenting each new candidate elect for office and read the job description and duties of each position. The greatest responsibility for the well-being of the group was placed on chapter presidents or “excellent commanders” who were charged to “set a laudable example to all Klanswomen of patriotism, Klannishness, benevolence, love justice, honor, and a devoted loyalty to this Order in every respect.”⁹ All of this was followed by more prayers, invocations, and religious hymns. Neither official WKKK pamphlets nor the Walosas Club specify what additional prayers or hymns were selected. The one reference made by to the Walosas Club to scripture was taken from the Gospel of Matthew in the New Testament.¹⁰ Once the drill team removed the special ritual material from the sanctuary then a normal business meeting with the newly elected officers took place.

Within the WKKK, drill teams functioned as the keepers of tradition and ceremony. The Walosas Club had an official drill team that led the chapter in Klan ritual and prayer. They presented the cross and WKKK insignia to the altar space of the

⁸ “Instillation Ceremonies: Women of the Ku Klux Klan, Form 505,” Michigan State University Special Collections, 2. [HS2330.K62 W6]

⁹ Ibid, 3.

¹⁰ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 3 September 1925.

“temple” at meetings and led the club in popular hymns such as “That Rugged Cross.”¹¹

The name of the group is misleading because it carries the contemporary connotation of a cheerleading dance squad. A more appropriate contemporary comparison is a military color guard minus the rifles. In essence, the KKK in the 1920s posited itself and wanted to be perceived as a militant faction of Protestantism that enforced white Protestant supremacy. The rhetorical language used in WKKK pamphlets reflected the desire to protect and maintain a Protestant moral authority in society.¹² The Drill Team served as the WKKK’s method for participating in the quasi-militaristic pageantry of the KKK. The Walosas Club’s drill team mainly carried American flags and WKKK insignia flags. They formed an arch around the altar during the rituals.¹³ At one installation ceremony Klanswoman Mary Winney presented the Walosas Club with a sword she carved.¹⁴ This sword was likely carried by the drill team because one of the official caricatures of the WKKK featured a Klanswoman brandishing a sword similar to the imagery of the men’s

¹¹ Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Gertrude Shaner, Edna Forbes, and Viola Brown, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 1925-1929. “That Old Rugged Cross” was introduced in 1915 by Reverend George Bennard in Pokagon, Michigan at a revival meeting of the First Methodist Episcopal Church. The hymn became widely popular across the country. The WKKK was fond of hymns featuring cross themes and two other popular hymns of the day were “When I Survey the Wondrous Cross” and “Lift High The Cross.”

¹² “Women of America! The Past! The Present! The Future!: Outline of Principles and Teachings of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan”, 16 July 1923 [HS2330.K63 W7]; “America for Americans as Interpreted by the Women of the Ku Klux Klan: Creed of the Klanswomen” [HS2330.K63 W6]; “Ideals of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan,” Michigan State University Special Collections. [HS2330.K63 W65]

¹³ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 2 July 1926. Unlike some KKK and WKKK chapters that had photographs of what pageantry and ritual looked like, there are no surviving images of Walosas Club and they do not explain any of their rituals or ceremonies in detail.

¹⁴ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 16 July 1925.

Klan as crusaders on horseback. Secretary Margaret Roth commented that the gift from Klanswoman Winney would “make their work look all the more impressive.”¹⁵

Not all WKKK chapters had their own drill teams. The Walosas Club took great pride in the development of their own chapter’s squad. In March 1926 Klanswoman Sadie Gebo enthusiastically informed the club that she had twenty-two members trained and ready for full participation in the newly formed drill team.¹⁶ The drill team met for training outside the regular club meetings and in June 1926 the Walosas Club ordered official robes for their drill team.¹⁷ The Walosas Club drill team performed their ritual for the first time in front of the club and visiting Excellent Commanders from WKKK chapters in Berwyn and Englewood at the installation ceremonies of the new class of officers in July 1926. The club minutes for this evening’s event stated how beautifully and eloquently the drill team performed their duties, but did not provide any specific descriptions of what they actually did. The official ritual and installation of new officers was followed by a surprise reception thrown by the old officers in which outgoing Kligrapp (recording secretary) Margaret Roth entertained the ladies with a song she composed especially for the auspicious occasion.¹⁸ The Walosas Club’s drill team must have left an impression on visitors from other WKKK chapters because the squad was specially selected to be the flag bearers at a large multi-chapter gathering to be held at the

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 18 March 1926.

¹⁷ Klanswoman Gertrude Shaner, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 17 June 1926.

¹⁸ Klanswoman Gertrude Shaner, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 1 July 1926.

West Side Masonic Temple. Newly installed Kligrapp Gertrude Shaner commented that Walosas Club members took great pride in this honor bestowed upon their chapter.¹⁹

The Walosas Club was quick to develop their drill team. Oak Park became a model squad and instructed other chapters around the greater Chicago area. On one such occasion Klanswoman Spencer organized a group of club officers and drill team members to accompany her to the suburb of Hinsdale to instruct a chapter in the ritualistic work of the order.²⁰ The Oak Park women's Klan was also asked by the Franklin Park chapter to demonstrate the ritualistic work.²¹ The Walosas Club sent an official delegation to WKKK headquarters in Little Rock, Arkansas to report on the health of their chapter and involvement in Klancraft throughout the city of Chicago and the suburbs.²²

In addition to the pageantry displayed by the drill teams, the WKKK spoke to important rhythms in the lives of women. The rituals created by participants in the WKKK, rooted in a Protestant Christianity, served to mark particular watershed moments in their lives. Births and deaths within the WKKK world were shrouded in rituals with spiritual undertones. The birth of babies to Klanswomen was eagerly reported in the club minutes. At one meeting four babies were "dedicated to Klancraft" in a special ritualistic ceremony.²³ Engraved silver baby spoons were given to the mother of each Klan baby to

¹⁹ Klanswoman Gertrude Shaner, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 15 July 1926.

²⁰ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 19 February 1925.

²¹ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 1 October 1925.

²² Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 19 March 1925.

²³ Klanswoman Gertrude Shaner, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 15 July 1926.

mark the auspicious occasion. Essentially, babies of Klanswomen were baptized into the realm of the KKK and as they grew Klan values and morals would be learned at home and reinforced in the Klan youth organizations. In July 1926 the Walosas Club carried a motion to present every dedicated baby to “Klancraft” with a silver spoon.²⁴

The deaths of Klanswomen were eloquently reported in the club minutes and in some cases the Walosas Club held special memorials at their meetings. When the mother of Klanswoman Gebo died the club minutes stated that, “Klanswoman Richard...had passed to the Konklave on high.”²⁵ This comment suggests that Klan membership was bestowed and guided by a higher power and was eternal. Therefore, upon death Klanswomen found peace with other departed earthly Klan members in their exclusively white Protestant heaven. When Walosas Club founding member Klanswoman Bessie Stimmel died the Walosas Club held a special memorial service in her honor: “Upon request of the E.C. the officers retired, and re-entering approached the altar and draped the same in mourning in the memory of our departed sister Bessie Stimmel who passed into that city not made with hands.”²⁶ The service consisted of hymns, scripture readings and an affirmation of Klanswoman Stimmel’s unwavering dedication to the principles of the WKKK. Many members attended the funeral and internment of Klanswoman Stimmel at Forest Home Cemetery in the neighboring suburb of Forest Park, IL.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Klanswoman Gertrude Shaner, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 2 April 1927. “Konklave” is a Klanguage term used to reference any official Klan gathering.

²⁶ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 19 March 1925.

Appeal, Membership, and Recruitment

The Walosas Club was one of the largest women's club in the Oak Park area during the 1920s. Between 1924 and 1929 the group had over 300 members.²⁷ Many of the more prestigious Oak Park women's clubs, such as the Nineteenth Century Woman's Club or the Nakama Club, did not have open membership or set limits on membership to maintain an air of exclusivity. Participation in the Nakama Club, for example, rarely exceeded seventy-five to one hundred members during the 1920s. The Nineteenth Century Woman's Club was the largest women's organization in Oak Park, averaging a membership of over 700 in the 1920s, but new members were only invited by special invitation from existing members.²⁸

Official doctrine of the WKKK stated that it was "an order of women, for women and controlled and operated by women."²⁹ The ultimate goal and purpose of the Walosas Club was to uphold the principles and tenets of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan. The organization was established to be administered and sustained solely for the mutual benefit of white, loyal, native-born Protestant women of the United States of America.³⁰ In order to bring new women into the fold of "Klannish fidelity," individual chapters

²⁷ Walosas Club Membership Roll, Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest, Illinois.

²⁸ The Nineteenth Century Women's Club of Oak Park, Illinois Year Books 1925-1930, (Chicago: Press of Barnard & Miller), Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest; The Nakama Club Records, 1890-1930, Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest. There were only a few crossover members between the Walosas Club and prominent Oak Park women's clubs which are discussed in detail in Chapter Four; See Table 4.

²⁹ "Women of America! The Past! The Present! The Future!: Outlines of Principles and Teachings of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan, 16 July 1923," Michigan State University Special Collections, 5. [HS2330.K63 W7]

³⁰ Ibid.

such as the Walosas Club actively recruited women in their communities that fit all the requirements for membership.³¹ Each chapter was expected to do their part to ensure the growth and vibrancy of the Invisible Empire. Walosas Club Klanswomen utilized the female kinship ties in their communities to identify like-minded Protestant women in their churches, other social clubs, neighborhoods, and families. Klanswoman Marie McClelland served as the Klockard (vice-president) for the Oak Park women's Klan before she was elected leader of the group in 1926. In one membership strategy, Excellent Commander Marie McClelland encouraged Walosas Club Klanswomen to quietly acquire membership rolls from churches and other clubs to which they belonged in order to target new potential members.³² Another recruitment strategy turned the goal of increased membership into a competition. Klanswomen were split into two teams and over a four-month period had to bring back as many inactive members as possible as well as recruit new candidates. As a reward for the hard work and dedication to the realm, the losing team was required to cook the winning team dinner.³³

Occasionally, the Walosas Club received new members that transferred in from other WKKK chapters. In 1926, for example, Klanswoman Ruth Witzak applied for a transfer to the Walosas Club from Nancy Hawk's #20 of Michigan and was approved for membership by the Oak Park chapter.³⁴ By February 1926 the Walosas Club had already changed their \$4 annual membership dues policy from the previous year to retain as

³¹ Ibid, 11.

³² Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 19 November 1925.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Klanswoman Gertrude Shaner, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 2 September 1926.

many members as possible. If a member's payments were in arrears and the members wished to remain in good standing with the order, the back payments of dues were forgiven.³⁵ Another proposed method to bring back inactive members was to call them and encourage them to return to meetings and stress the vital nature of the WKKK's mission and their civic duty to protect and preserve the great American nation.³⁶ Over the course of the Walosas Club's existence, seven Oak Park Klanswomen officially transferred to other chapters of the WKKK in Oregon, Chicago, and the suburbs of Berwyn and Rockford. An additional thirteen Klanswomen moved without leaving any forwarding address information and correspondence to another Oak Park Klanswoman was undeliverable.³⁷ For some Klanswomen who no longer wished to be associated with the order, moving allowed them to formally break association with the WKKK without any fear of social repercussions.

Attendance and participation at meetings fluctuated greatly over the years of the Walosas Club's existence. The highest recorded attendance at a regular bi-weekly meeting was 130 Klanswomen in 1927.³⁸ The next highest recorded meeting attendance, that was not a statistical outlier, was seventy-seven Klanswomen at a meeting in 1925.³⁹ The year 1925 also had the highest average for meeting attendance at forty-nine

³⁵ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 18 February 1926.

³⁶ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 15 April 1926.

³⁷ Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Gertrude Shaner, Edna Forbes, & Viola Brown, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 1925-1929.

³⁸ Klanswoman Gertrude Shaner, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 13 March 1927. Attendance at this particular meeting was unusually high so it was not counted in the average attendance for 1927.

³⁹ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 4 June 1925.

Klanswomen.⁴⁰ Every succeeding year witnessed a steady decline in meeting attendance and by 1929 only an average of nine Klanswomen attended meetings on a regular basis.⁴¹

Applications for membership to the Walosas Club were presented to the entire group for discussion. In 1925 the Walosas Club read an average of three membership applications per meeting. If this figure was consistent for the entirety of the Oak Park WKKK's existence the club grew by about 100 new members per annum. However, 1925 proved to be the most successful and steady year for the growth of Walosas Club membership with one new member initiation for every three reviewed applications. For the years 1927 through 1929 applications for membership and naturalization ceremonies for new members were not always recorded. This possibly reflected a decline in new membership and increase in resignation requests. Throughout the club's existence fifteen Klanswomen sent unopposed resignation notifications to the WKKK.

Even though the WKKK sought to expand membership as much as possible, the process remained highly selective. Objections to applications for Walosas Club membership were rare because most new members were hand-selected for recruitment. But, in the case when there were objections to an applicant, a special committee was formed to investigate the case. Matilda Orkell's application was read three times before she was approved for membership.⁴² Mrs. Forbes, who eventually became the chapter's recording secretary, also had her application reviewed three separate times before she

⁴⁰ Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Gertrude Shaner, Edna Forbes, & Viola Brown, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 1925-1929. Averages were calculated from the recorded attendance at bi-weekly Walosas Club meetings over a five year period.

⁴¹ Ibid. The average attendance for the other years was as follows- thirty-four in 1926, twenty-seven in 1927, and fifteen in 1928.

⁴² Klanswoman Gertrude Shaner, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 4 November 1926.

was accepted and initiated over a month after she initially applied for membership in the Walosas Club.⁴³ If there were outstanding objections with an applicant the woman was not permitted membership and her name was placed on a list of blacklisted women not to be admitted to the Walosas Club.

In addition to the women whose membership applications were questioned during regular Walosas Club meetings, a list of names at the end of the club's membership directory identified ten women who were permanently barred from joining the club.⁴⁴ No explanation was given for why these women were rejected. Census data reveals that they were demographically similar to their Klanswomen counterparts. They lived in Oak Park and Forest Park, in close proximity to Walosas Club Klanswomen, and all their husbands had white collar jobs.⁴⁵ The final entry on the objection list was Mrs. Alice Schulz. Her name was followed by "Charges Preferred" and "Suspended" and dated 18 December 1924. The date indicates that the ten other women listed on the objection sheet had applied for membership in the Walosas Club around the time of the club's establishment.

The blacklisting of Mrs. Marie Rodenheber was particularly suspicious. She lived on the 1100 block of south Highland Avenue which was home to four other Klanswomen who all lived on the same side of the street. Charles and Marie Rodenheber were both

⁴³ Klanswoman Gertrude Shaner, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 20 January 1927; 3 February 1927.

⁴⁴ The women whom appeared on the objections list were as follows: Mrs. Copeland (1106 North Blvd., Oak Park), Mrs. Dennhardt (826 N. Cuyler Avenue, Oak Park), Mrs. Ruth Smith (335 Circle Avenue, Forest Park), Mrs. William Baldwin (no address), Mrs. Catherine Newman (Euclid Avenue, Oak Park), Mrs. Elsa Williams (118 S. Lombard Ave.), Mrs. Inez Roll (813 Marengo Avenue, Forest Park), Mrs. Marie Rodenheber (1124 S. Highland Avenue, Oak Park), Mrs. Alice Virginia Flory (1015 Wesley Avenue, Oak Park), Mrs. Alice Elizabeth Hiller (1015 Wesley Avenue, Oak Park).

⁴⁵ Fourteenth Census of the United State, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois; U.S. Fifteenth Census of the United States, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois. Accessed via www.ancestry.com

born in Illinois and owned the home they lived in with their two sons at 1124 S. Highland Avenue. Charles' parents were born in Pennsylvania while Marie's parents were Swiss immigrants. Marie did not work outside the home while Charles was employed as a printer for a publishing company. Marie fell in between the ages of the other Klanswomen on her block at thirty in 1920 and was of the same socio-economic standing with a similar ethnic heritage. However, she was widowed in 1923. Objections raised to Mrs. Rodenheber's membership may have been personal in nature as opposed to a lack of necessary qualifications for admittance to the WKKK.⁴⁶ Sometimes Klanswomen simply did not care to form bonds of sisterhood with women whom they likely did not wish to associate with outside of the WKKK let alone inside as equal participants.⁴⁷

The WKKK strove to attract and keep the best women among their membership. At times the order felt it was necessary to make examples of Klanswomen who were not doing their part to uphold the tenets of the Women's Klan. No uniform method for resolving issues with specific members existed. Each chapter dealt with problems with their Klanswomen internally at their discretion on a case by case basis. The Walosas Club tended to suspend members that were not meeting expected standards of participation and behavior for women of the Invisible Empire. To make other members aware of their fellow Klanswomen who fell out of "good of the order," suspension notices and letters were read out loud at meetings and placed on file in a permanent record. The WKKK suspended members for a variety of reasons including poor

⁴⁶ Walosas Club Membership Roll, Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest; Fourteenth Census of the United States, Oak Park Precinct 20, Cook, Illinois, Roll: T625_362, Page 15A, Enumeration District 170. Accessed via www.ancestry.com

⁴⁷ Blee, *Women of the Ku Klux Klan*, 129-130.

attendance at meetings, low participation rates in Klan sponsored events, and for engaging in the most heinous of offenses to the order-- consorting with, dating, or marrying perceived enemies to the Klan.⁴⁸ At one Walosas Club meeting the secretary read three suspension letters for Klanswomen Irene Walsh, Emily Wagner and Ruth Baker.⁴⁹ Two of these women lived in Harvey, a distant south suburb of Chicago. Klanswomen Wagner and Baker potentially did not properly transfer membership to a different WKKK chapter when they moved away from the Oak Park area. Walosas Club secretaries listed suspension notices, but never specified what offenses a Klanswoman had committed.

Membership and naturalization into the WKKK was not a casual affair. Unlike other Oak Park women's clubs, it was difficult to simply walk away from the WKKK if you were no longer interested in upholding the tenets and principles of the order. Once an individual was naturalized into the Invisible Empire they had knowledge of the secret workings and rituals of the organization and leaders feared ex-members would divulge their sacred oaths, practices and agendas to the outside world. Hence, resignation from the Invisible Empire was not taken lightly and was discouraged. The Walosas Club did not have a single method to deal with Klanswomen intent on leaving the WKKK. Rather, resignations were evaluated on an individual basis. Klanswomen Nellie Brauchle and May Green sent letters stating their intentions to quit the Walosas Club in January 1926 and a special committee was immediately formed to investigate their request to leave the group. At the next meeting the committee reported that Klanswomen Brauchle

⁴⁸ Ibid, 129, 139-153.

⁴⁹ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 5 February 1925.

and Green rescinded their resignations and decided to remain “under good of the order.”⁵⁰

The previous year Klanswoman Irene Card had also attempted to resign, but she too was convinced to remain in good standing with the club.⁵¹ In the case of Klanswoman Helen Schneidewendt, her letter of resignation was read and immediately accepted without any discussion or explanation.⁵² A number of other resignations were not contested. The Klanswomen who left the WKKK without any resistance likely posed minimal threat to the order.

An important aspect of Walosas Club activity and a source for future members involved fostering the next generation of Klanswomen through the organization and leadership of the Klan-sponsored junior organizations. An activity program from the Illinois Realm of the WKKK dedicated the better part of a month’s activities to “the problem of training our youth.” The program outlined various areas in which Klanswomen needed to be cognizant in the guidance and nurturance of the development of children within their influence. The main areas of concern were education, religion, and socialization. For the educational aspect of guiding youth development, Klanswomen were asked to reflect on what type of education children were receiving at their public schools and in the home. Next, Klanswomen were instructed to examine the religious training of their children. What type of instruction were they receiving at home, in Sunday school, and during the school day? Finally, Klanswomen were called to

⁵⁰ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 4 February 1926.

⁵¹ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 2 April 1925; 25 April 1925. Subsequently, Klanswoman Irene Card passed away a year later and her name was sent to the national WKKK office in Little Rock, Arkansas to be listed in the WKKK Mortuary Book.

⁵² Klanswoman Gertrude Shaner, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 6 January 1927.

evaluate the social development of their children. Were children receiving appropriate social training to foster moral, physical, and mental growth and maturity? The WKKK order as a whole body was asked to strategize on ways in which these conditions could best be monitored and improved for the mutual benefit of all children within their sphere of influence.⁵³ One proposed suggestion from the Illinois Realm was to host WKKK sponsored family picnics that had supper followed by a program of readings and music led by the children.⁵⁴ Written record of Walosas Club meetings end before there was any discussion of implementing these new youth initiatives.

During the enthusiastic years of member participation in the Walosas Club from 1924 to 1927, Klanswomen rotated leadership over the Girls' Club and the Klan Juniors. The Girls' Club was designed for girls before their high school years and the Klan Juniors were high school girls and boys who were being groomed for full Klan membership as adults.⁵⁵ All the organizations for Klan youth engaged in similar activities to those of the adult Klan chapters so that the behavior, rhetoric and mission of the Klan organically became part of the Klan youth's subconscious. When the Walosas Club was planning for the Klan Haven fundraiser the suggestion was made that "our prettiest girls sell flowers at the bazaar."⁵⁶

⁵³ Illinois Realm of the WKKK, "Activity Program- Second Quarter 1929," Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Generally speaking Klan Juniors was the youth boys' division of the Invisible Empire, but the Walosas Club seems to use the term interchangeably in talking about the high school age youth members of the order. They specify if they are only talking about boys.

⁵⁶ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 6 August 1925.

In recruiting new members to the WKKK one of the first places that Klanswomen often started was with other females in their families. At one meeting Excellent Commander (president) Moore made a direct appeal requesting Klanswomen with young daughters to get them involved with the order to expand membership in the Girls' Club division.⁵⁷ Thus, multi-generational participation in the Walosas Club was quite common especially since the youth divisions of the WKKK were available for girls who were not yet old enough to be full adult members of the WKKK. Within the Walosas Club and its Klan youth groups there were multiple families that had two to three generations participating in Klancraft.⁵⁸

The WKKK was incredibly adept at making Klancraft a family affair. The idea was to gently indoctrinate children in the mission and work of the Klan to posit this way of life as the societal norm and to ensure the longevity and security of the Invisible Empire in the future generation of militantly patriotic white supremacist Protestant xenophobes. For Walosas Club members, their comfortable suburban life became synonymous with involvement in Klan life since it met their needs socially, spiritually, ritually, and was designed to engage the entire family.

Charitable Work

The majority of the Walosas Club's charitable work was for the mutual benefit of fellow Oak Park Klanswomen, the WKKK or for Protestant-affiliated organizations. The group served as a source of relief for struggling members and their families. In addition,

⁵⁷ Ibid, 21 May 1925.

⁵⁸ Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Gertrude Shaner, Edna Forbes, and Viola Brown, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 1925-1929.

the Walosas Club actively sought out charitable endeavors to involve the organization's resources and volunteers. However, charitable projects which were associated with or catered exclusively to Protestant recipients were favored. The Walosas Club continually worked towards expanding their presence in Protestant-based organizations for superficial benevolent recognition, but ultimately seized the opportunity to increase their influence in the Protestant community and make "Klannishness" synonymous with Protestantism.

The primary focus of Walosas Club charitable fundraising from 1924 to 1926 was for the Klan Haven initiative. Klan Havens were Klan-sponsored orphanages established around the country exclusively for Protestant children. The goal of the Klan Haven project was for children to associate benevolence and charity with the Klan thus encouraging children to become full members of the KKK or WKKK when they reached adulthood. The Klan Haven initiative across the country had mixed results. In Illinois, the Klan as a whole was very successful in raising money for Klan Haven, but it was not apparent whether or not a separate Klan sponsored orphanage was actually built.

During the Walosas Club's two year focus on Klan Haven, the group raised over \$1,500 for the cause.⁵⁹ However, the majority of the fundraising for Klan Haven was completed in 1925. For a stretch of months in 1925 the Oak Park WKKK focused all fundraising efforts both large and small on Klan Haven. Some members donated personal money to the cause while others initiated their own small scale fundraisers. Klanswomen Hazel Miller, for example, hosted a bunco card playing party at her home

⁵⁹ Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Gertrude Shaner, Edna Forbes & Viola Brown, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 1925-1929.

and donated the proceeds to Klan Haven. In addition, the Walosas Club held a benefit and invited Miss Abrams to conduct a spiritual meeting to benefit Klan Haven.⁶⁰ In October 1925 the Walosas Club sponsored their largest fundraiser for Klan Haven and hosted a bazaar at the American Legion Hall.⁶¹ The event raised over \$800 over two days for the cause, and Excellent Commander McClelland announced that the Walosas Club's Klan Haven bazaar was the most successful bazaar to date in the entire WKKK order.⁶² The Walosas Club was so active in their commitment to Klan Haven that they were visited by Klanswoman Earl, Commissioned Chairwoman for Klan Haven of Illinois, who encouraged members to keep up their efforts to help poor helpless wayward Protestant youth.⁶³ After this visit the Oak Park WKKK decided to host a joint picnic with Elmhurst's chapter. They invited the men's chapter to join forces at the fundraiser.⁶⁴

In some regions of the country Klan Haven projects were marred with controversy. In Pennsylvania the funding for Klan Haven resulted in major tensions between the KKK and WKKK. After the state's Klan Haven orphanage was destroyed in a fire the KKK tried to establish joint control over the project with the WKKK.

⁶⁰ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 3 September 1925, 15 October 1925.

⁶¹ The Walosas Club held many functions at the American Legion Hall, but records did not specify which of the three posts located in Oak Park were used for events. It is uncertain whether or not there was any specific connection between the Oak Park Klan and the American Legion. The WKKK also held events at the International Order of Odd Fellows Hall, Elks Lodge and Masonic Halls throughout the Oak Park area. There were definite cross-membership connections with the Masons and Odd Fellows, but the WKKK may have simply used the American Legion Hall for functions because it was an available rental space in the community.

⁶² Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 17 December 1925.

⁶³ Ibid, 16 July 1925. The Walosas Club was recognized by the regional WKKK office for their Klan Haven fundraising three months before their most successful and most profitable event.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

Suspicions arose that the KKK's only interest in Klan Haven was to financially profit on funds donated to help the innocent children.⁶⁵ The Illinois Klan Haven conflict stemmed from uneven fundraising efforts of chapters and control over the project. A letter to the Walosas Club from Klanswoman Fannie R. Carter, Major Kleagle (recruiter) of Illinois, reiterated that Klan Haven was of equal concern for the entire WKKK organization and was not governed by individual women or specific groups of women.⁶⁶ In other areas of the country Klan Haven was viewed as a resounding success. For example, Klanswomen of the state of New York in their realm's bulletin proclaimed Klan Haven to be one of the most resounding triumphs of all Klancraft in the state. Donations flowed in from across the state and the children living at Klan Haven learned good Christian values and morals to help them grow into good American citizens with solid characters.⁶⁷

In addition to Klan Haven, the Walosas Club also made frequent donations to the Protestant Children's Home located at the intersection of Yale Avenue and 63rd Street on Chicago's Southside.⁶⁸ The urban and suburban Chicago WKKK's major fundraising initiative in 1926, for example, was the Protestant Children's Home. A system of bonds was established to encourage each greater Chicago chapter to contribute a preset amount to what they designated the Home Fund project. The Walosas Club's fundraising efforts

⁶⁵ Blee, *Women of the Ku Klux Klan*, 62.

⁶⁶ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 17 December 1925. It is uncertain whether or not a Klan-sponsored orphanage was ever built in Illinois.

⁶⁷ "The New York Klanswoman: Owned and Operated by Women of the Ku Klux Klan of New York", Vol. IV, No. 8, Buffalo, New York, 1 October 1930, Michigan State University Special Collections. [HS2330.K6 N4]

⁶⁸ Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Gertrude Shaner, Edna Forbes & Viola Brown, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 1925-1929.

far exceeded the predetermined amount by the regional WKKK office and set a good example for other neighboring chapters.⁶⁹ Klan projects throughout the country were marred with financial controversies. In an attempt to monitor the donated funds and operating budget of the Protestant Children's Home Association of Cook County, the regional WKKK office called for regular audits of the WKKK's financial contributions to the institution.⁷⁰ Though the women's Klan had the ability to monitor their own members, they were unable to control individuals acting in their own self interest at the expense of innocent Protestant children. In February 1925 a middle-aged woman posing as a representative of the Protestant Woman's National Association approached homes in the south side Chicago neighborhoods of Hyde Park, Englewood, and Woodlawn. Over a period of three months she acquired thousands of dollars from people who thought they were making donations to the Protestant Children's Home. The *Chicago Daily Tribune* reported that police were working with outraged members of Protestant women's clubs to apprehend the imposter.⁷¹

The Chicago area women's Klan was one of many Protestant women's organizations involved with fundraising for the Protestant Children's Home. Many of these women's groups fell under the umbrella of the Protestant Women's National Civic Federation which represented 150 women's clubs. In February 1928 the organization hosted a two week run of a classic English opera with proceeds to benefit the forty

⁶⁹ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 21 January 1926, 4 February 1926, 15 April 1926.

⁷⁰ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 4 February 1926.

⁷¹ "Imposter Seek Funds in Name of Child Home," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8 February 1925, 3.

children housed at Protestant Children's Home. The orphanage was completely funded by donations so the women's federation hoped to raise \$5,000 with the opera fundraiser.⁷²

Another large component of Walosas Club charitable work had to do with the care of their own. This mutual support aspect of the Walosas Club is best exemplified by the committee for the sick and distressed. The Walosas Club regularly reported the status of sick Klanswomen or the ailments of their familial relations. Flowers or plants were ordered for those suffering from long-term illnesses. In addition, condolence or well-wishes cards were sent to members depending on their situation to lift their spirits.⁷³ The Walosas Club also had a rotating system organized for the visitation of members stuck at home or in the hospital.⁷⁴ The recorded ailments and bereavements of Klanswomen greatly varied from Klanswoman Shaner recovering nicely after dropping one hundred pounds of ice cream on her little finger to the death of babies during childbirth.⁷⁵ At one meeting the club voted for the installation and payment of telephone service for Klanswoman Stevens for an entire year and Klanswoman Sailor was appointed chair of overseeing this project through to completion.⁷⁶ In essence, the pain of one member was felt by all. If Klanswomen were in financial distress due to an illness in their families or

⁷²"Old English Opera to Be Benefit Bill," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 6 February 1928, 19; "Children's Home to Benefit from Opera," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 20 February 1928, 27.

⁷³Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Gertrude Shaner, Edna Forbes, and Viola Brown, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 1925-1929.

⁷⁴Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 5 February 1925.

⁷⁵Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 3 September 1925; 19 February 1925.

⁷⁶Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 5 February 1925.

loss of a job, the Walosas Club gave members financial assistance to help minimize the burden.

Distressed Klanswomen generally did not maintain their anonymity from the entire club because of the close-knit nature of the organization, and their names appeared in the accounting section of the bi-weekly minutes. On rare occasions, however, a Klanswoman asked for financial aid for another member without divulging the name of the Klanswoman in need due to the sensitive and potentially embarrassing nature of the situation. In one such case the membership took a vote on whether or not to maintain the anonymity of a distressed member. The Walosas Club voted sixty-two to four to respect the secret identity of the member.⁷⁷

The Walosas Club was also well informed on the health and hardships of members of the men's organization. They attained information on members of Uno Klan #25 from Klanswomen of their chapter who were married to Klansmen, from the Klanswomen who served refreshments at the men's meetings, and from interactions during joint meetings. For instance, Walosas Club members were informed that Klansman Thompkins was afflicted with an incurable illness. They sent him \$10 to help defer some of his medical expenses.⁷⁸ The Walosas Club also commonly gave money to their own members when a husband was sick and unable to work. On one such occasion, Excellent Commander McClelland informed club members that the husband of Klanswoman Jennie Bettinger had been sick for months and unable to work. She moved that the club give Klanswoman Bettinger \$10 to help defer some of her family's

⁷⁷ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 2 April 1925.

⁷⁸ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 19 March 1925.

expenses.⁷⁹ The Walosas Club kept members informed about the health and well-being of each other's families, and monetary relief was frequently offered to families in distress.

Funds devoted to Walosas Club members were separate from the money collected for annual membership dues. During one meeting the Walosas Club took up a special collection for donations to assemble Christmas baskets to be presented to families of Klanswomen who had fallen on hard times or struggling Protestant families in the Oak Park vicinity.⁸⁰ On another occasion the club held a bake sale during a bunco card playing party to add to their sick and distressed fund.⁸¹ At most meetings there was a coin drive to collect money for both internal and external charitable endeavors.⁸²

While the Walosas Club actively sought out charitable endeavors, their services were not always accepted or welcomed. In one instance the club offered volunteers from the Oak Park chapter for the service Council for Juvenile Court Girls. The Council, however, rejected the offer, stating that they did not exclusively serve Protestant girls and did not want to be associated with volunteers representing the WKKK.⁸³ This did not appear to be a setback for Oak Park Klanswomen who found other projects. A service committee within the club was charged the task of continually presenting volunteer opportunities for members. The larger WKKK structure also employed regional service

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 5 October 1925.

⁸¹ Klanswoman Gertrude Shaner, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 16 September 1926.

⁸² Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Gertrude Shaner, Edna Forbes, and Viola Brown, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 1925-1929.

⁸³ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 16 July 1925.

directors. Klanswoman Cornelia Downes, the Province #4 Service Woman was selected to oversee charitable activities throughout the greater Chicago area and frequently visited Oak Park.⁸⁴ As a result of her close relationship and frequent visits to the Walosas Club she was granted honorary membership status by the Oak Park women's Klan.

Community Affairs

In addition to all the charitable work, fundraisers and rituals attended to by the WKKK, chapters were also very in tune with affairs in their immediate communities. The Walosas Club closely monitored the socio-political climate of Oak Park and its surrounding environs. By the 1920s Oak Park had already been a temperance community for fifty years. The Rev. William E. Barton commented that one knew they had reached Oak Park "when the saloons stopped and church steeples began."⁸⁵ Oak Parkers were concerned with the corruption in Chicago politics. But, an even more alarming threat to Protestant virtue and morality and a dry Oak Park community were the illicit gambling, bootlegging and prostitution rings operated by mob boss Al Capone in the nearby suburb of Cicero. Capone did not move his primary center for operations to Cicero until 1924 which was roughly the same the Walosas Club organized in Oak Park. Kleagles (Klan recruiters) did not have to work hard in Oak Park to posit the KKK as a solution to local problems and threats to the Protestant moral authority of the community. The Klan machine thrived on people's fears and in Oak Park the major fears and concerns since the

⁸⁴ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 2 April 1925; 21 May 1925.

⁸⁵ Reverend William E. Barton, "The Secret Charm of Oak Park," in *Glimpses of Oak Park* (Oak Park, IL: privately published, 1912), 1.

suburb's independence were to maintain a "dry" Oak Park and protect a Protestant identity.

At a regular Walosas Club meeting in 1926, Excellent Commander May S. Moore reported that she had been asked to appoint a committee of five women to cooperate with the men's organization regarding political issues.⁸⁶ A committee was appointed and they did not have much to report after their first meeting. However, they did inform members about a speech on law enforcement by the Rev. Elmer Williams that would be held at the Community Methodist Church in neighboring Forest Park. They also invited members to attend a political meeting at the American Legion Hall. Further reports of the political committee stated that progress notes were read out loud, but never specified content.

An ideal Klanswoman was also an ideal American citizen so it was necessary for the Walosas Club membership to keep themselves fully informed on all political matters affecting their immediate community, state and nation. A special lecturer was sent to a Walosas Club meeting from WKKK national headquarters in Little Rock to speak to members about the importance of voting for political candidates. The visiting Klanswoman stressed how imperative it was for Klanswomen to fulfill their patriotic duties in selecting men of sound character and integrity to represent them.⁸⁷ The lecturer stated that she was not advising Klanswomen to vote in a certain way; rather, she asked them to make prudent educated decisions.

⁸⁶ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 4 March 1926.

⁸⁷ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 4 March 1926; 1 April 1926.

Prior to the official formation of a designated political committee, the Walosas Club monitored local affairs and often did so in conjunction with the men's organization. All members of the Walosas Club were encouraged to attend a public address by Republican Senator William W. Borah of Idaho.⁸⁸ In addition, the Walosas Club Klanswomen were also invited to a political meeting sponsored by the men's organization, but were instructed not to mention their affiliation with the Klan because it was a public meeting.⁸⁹ At another meeting the Walosas Club welcomed a member of the American Progressive Club to their inner sanctum.⁹⁰ The representative encouraged them to uphold their prudence in selecting appropriate political candidates to vote for and in their work involving pressing community issues.⁹¹

A major local affairs issue in the spring of 1925 that was of particular concern to the Walosas club was the debate on whether or not to allow movies to be shown on Sundays in Oak Park theatres. The club vehemently opposed this affront to the traditional Oak Park Sunday dedicated to worship, reflection, rest, and family time. The group formed a committee of Klanswomen to serve as delegates to the men's club to discuss the issue.⁹² Klanswoman Matilda Sailor, chairwoman of the Sunday Movie Committee, reported that the committee resolved to write a letter to Walosas Club members encouraging them to do their part in keeping movies out of Oak Park on

⁸⁸ Senator Borah was born in Illinois and this might explain why he was on a lecture circuit in the state.

⁸⁹ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 18 February 1926.

⁹⁰ The visitor from the American Progressive Club was likely a political lecturer visiting from an area WKKK chapter.

⁹¹ Klanswoman Gertrude Shaner, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 4 August 1927.

⁹² Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 19 February 1925.

Sundays.⁹³ Volunteers were asked by Klanswoman Sailor to help distribute printed circulars on the issue and nine members offered their assistance.⁹⁴ A few days later an anonymous resolution against Sunday movies appeared in the local paper.⁹⁵ Although the men's and women's Klan in Oak Park did not attach their organizational names to this resolution, it is highly likely that they placed the notice in the paper. The Walosas Club refrained from attaching their name to anything in the public record to protect the identities of members and secrecy of the organization. On 21 May, Klanswoman Sailor announced that the campaign to keep movies out of Oak Park was a success. The vote was three to one in favor of no Sunday movies.⁹⁶ Movies were not permitted in Oak Park until 1932 through the passage of a referendum.⁹⁷ Former Walosas Club members may have rallied to prevent movies in 1932, but record of the group's activities ceased in 1929.

Walosas Club members lived by the belief that to be the best possible American citizens and Klanswomen they had to be informed members of society. Each time subsequent issues of concern arose, a committee was immediately formed to investigate the issues, inform all the Walosas Club members, and then the group decided as a whole how best to deal with the new threat or challenge to their very comfortable suburban lives

⁹³ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 19 March 1925.

⁹⁴ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 2 April 1925.

⁹⁵ *Oak Leaves*, 21 March 1925, 62.

⁹⁶ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 21 May 1925.

⁹⁷ Frank Lipo, Peggy Tuck Sinko, & Stan West, *Suburban Promised Land: The Emerging Black Community in Oak Park, Illinois, 1889-1980* (Oak Park, IL: Soweto West Press and The Historical Society of Oak Park and River Forest, 2009), 36.

in Oak Park. However, Walosas Club members also made plenty of room in their schedules to have very active social lives.

Social Engagements

The social networking aspect of the Walosas Club activities was very similar to the types of events sponsored by other Oak Park women's clubs. Some events were specifically centered on fundraising while others served to promote Klan fellowship and sisterhood. Amidst all the charitable work and ministry for Klan relations in need, the Walosas Club maintained a lively social calendar. The Walosas Club regularly had bunco card playing parties, afternoon tea luncheons, guest lecturers, sewing circles, holiday parties, and dances sometimes thrown in conjunction with the men's organization. Walosas Club members loved throwing parties and had the planning and execution of these frequent events down to a fine art.

The Walosas Club particularly enjoyed throwing surprise parties for unsuspecting members for a variety of reasons. On one occasion after a regular meeting the drill team arranged a mock wedding and held a bridal shower for Klanswoman Mildred Kreml who was soon to be married.⁹⁸ A bridal shower was held two years earlier for Klanswoman Viola Kreml, sister of Mildred Kreml.⁹⁹ This was common practice for all Klan brides of the Walosas Club. There is also a vivid description of a surprise party thrown in May 1925 for the newly installed Excellent Commander May S. Moore and her officers. The minutes described the festive atmosphere of the room decorated with red, white, and blue flags and delicious homemade treats including ice cream provided by Klanswoman

⁹⁸ Klanswoman Gertrude Shaner, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 21 April 1927.

⁹⁹ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 19 November 1925.

Mabel Petersen who was the proprietor of Petersen's Ice Cream Parlor. As tokens of appreciation E.C. Moore was presented with a strand of pearls and the Kligrapp (secretary) Margaret Roth was given \$20 in gold. The minutes excitedly stated that, "one glance at the face of our E.C. showed that the surprise was a success."¹⁰⁰ The Walosas Club customarily gave presents to their new and old officers as positions changed annually. When E.C. Moore left office she was presented with flowers and a \$10 gold piece by robed Klanswomen while her successor E.C. McClelland was given an engraved ivory gavel.¹⁰¹ E.C. Moore had previously received her engraved ivory gavel during the installation of new officers in 1924.¹⁰²

Bunco card playing parties were a regular activity for the Walosas Club.¹⁰³ Some meetings were held in short form so that the ladies could sit down to some hands of bunco. Sometimes the card playing parties were purely social and on other occasions money that was raised during the games was donated to a specific cause or the club's general treasury. For example, Klanswoman Hattie Hanneman informed members that she would be hosting a bunco party on June 17th to benefit a distressed member of the Walosas Club. The club voted to participate in the event.¹⁰⁴ Other bunco parties were held for Klan Haven fundraising and sometimes members donated proceeds from private

¹⁰⁰ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 16 July 1925.

¹⁰¹ Klanswoman Gertrude Shaner, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 1 July 1926.

¹⁰² Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 5 February 1925.

¹⁰³ The bunco card game was very popular amongst women's groups during this time period. Many Oak Park women's clubs including the Walosas Club frequently held tea and card parties. This bunco card game is not to be confused with the popular bunco dice game which became popular at speakeasies during Prohibition.

¹⁰⁴ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 4 June 1925.

bunco parties to various Walosas Club funds. A bulletin from the Illinois Realm of the WKKK revealed that many chapters enjoyed frequent bunco parties with reports of members from Chicago, Aurora, Rockford, La Salle, Kankakee, Rochelle, Prophetstown, and Decatur all taking part.¹⁰⁵ The women's Klan stood firmly against gambling and the bunco card game, though popular in many women's club, did involve the betting and exchanging of money. Klanswoman Earl, a regional Klan officer, reported to the Walosas Club that she had a meeting with Illinois States Attorney Robert Crowe who stated that raffling or card playing for the purpose of charity was not considered gambling under state law.¹⁰⁶

In the early years of the Walosas Club, members organized and threw a dizzying array of dances and balls. The Walosas Club had barely finished reporting on the resounding success of their "hard times party" of the previous week when a motion was made to throw a masquerade ball the following month. By the next meeting the American Legion Hall was secured for the ball and committees were established to take care of promotions and tickets sales, refreshments, decorations, and entertainment. In the years 1925 to 1927 the Walosas Club averaged five dances per year.¹⁰⁷

Dances were frequently thrown for the Klan Juniors so that Klan youth were presented with ample opportunities to interact with other future members of the Klan.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Grace H. Higgins, "Illinois Realm WKKK: Bulletin #3", 15 March 1929, Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park and River Forest.

¹⁰⁶ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 20 August 1925.

¹⁰⁷ Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Gertrude Shaner, and Edna Forbes, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 1925-1927.

¹⁰⁸ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, 2 April 1925; 20 August 1925.

The Walosas Club minutes often had reports on activities of the Girls' Club and Juniors especially when they were planning dances or their own fundraisers for approved Klan charities.¹⁰⁹ Sisters and Klanswomen Viola and Mildred Kreml took active leadership roles with the junior organizations and were previously in the Girl's Club until they were able to be full adult members in the WKKK at the age of 18.¹¹⁰

There was always a lesson to be learned in Klan youth activities even when the event was social in nature. One summer dance organized by the Klan Juniors boys' did not make enough money to cover their expenses, so the Walosas Club instructed them to devise a fundraiser to secure the rest of the funds needed to pay for their night of fun and the club would cover any outstanding balance.¹¹¹ For one dance organized by the Girls' Club they sold tickets for seventy-five cents and made a profit on the evening of \$80.¹¹² Occasionally the Walosas Club held special meetings in which they replaced their officers with female Klan Juniors officers who were sworn into office for the evening to get an experience of what it was like to be an adult member of the WKKK.¹¹³

Klan Juniors and the Girls' Club often held fundraisers for the same projects and charities that the WKKK chapters were raising money for. Klanswoman Mildred Kreml,

¹⁰⁹ Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 2 April 1925, 18 June 1925, 16 July 1925.

¹¹⁰ Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 20 May 1926.

¹¹¹ Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 20 August 1925.

¹¹² Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 2 April 1925; 7 May 1925.

¹¹³ Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 17 June 1926.

president of the Girls' Club, presented the Walosas Club with \$10 raised by the Girls'

Club for the Home Fund project for the benefit of the Protestant Children's Home.¹¹⁴

In recruiting new members to the WKKK one of the first places that Klanswomen often started was with other females in their families. At one meeting E.C. Moore made a direct appeal requesting Klanswomen with young daughters to get them involved with the order to expand membership in the Girls' Club division.¹¹⁵ Thus, multi-generational participation in the Walosas Club was quite common especially since the youth divisions of the WKKK were available for girls who were not yet old enough to be full adult members of the WKKK. Within the Walosas Club and its Klan youth groups there were multiple families that had two to three generations participating in Klancraft.¹¹⁶

The Walosas Club also regularly threw dances with the men's organization, but the men's club heavily relied on Klanswomen to plan these events. When the men's chapter wanted to sponsor a dance, such as the one thrown on 17 April 1926, they requested help from the women which resulted in the Walosas Club taking charge of the overall organization, decoration, and refreshments. If the men officially hosted the event they provided some of the funds to put on the dance, but ultimately just showed up after leaving all the finer details to their female Klan counterparts. One year the Walosas Club decided to throw a joint Christmas party with the men's club.¹¹⁷ On another occasion two

¹¹⁴ Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 20 May 1926.

¹¹⁵ Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 21 May 1925, 9

¹¹⁶ Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Gertrude Shaner, Edna Forbes, and Viola Brown, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 1925-1929.

¹¹⁷ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 17 December 1925.

male representatives from the Good Fellowship Club chapter of the KKK asked a committee from the Walosas Club to help with the organization of a dance.¹¹⁸

The organization of both social and political activities between the men's and women's chapters of the Klan in Oak Park reveals gender dynamics between the two groups. Although the Walosas Club controlled their own finances and agenda, they tended to defer to the men whenever their programming or activities crossed paths.

Within the Walosas Club members had agency and identity by referring to each other by their own names as opposed to their husbands' names.¹¹⁹ In all the other Oak Park women's clubs, participants were referred to by their husband's names. This appears to be the extent of progressive thought amongst Oak Park Klanswomen. The progressive rhetoric and reform for Klanswomen espoused by national leader Robbie Gill Comer did not resonate with the Walosas Club. Aside from organizing dances and fundraisers for local men's Klan chapters, Oak Park Klanswomen also served refreshments at their meetings and cleaned up afterwards. Unlike some WKKK chapters, the Walosas Club had a close relationship with area men's Klan chapters which put the club in a subordinate position. Ironically, the Walosas Club held an influential position among Greater Chicago WKKK chapters, despite its subordination to the men's Klan in Oak Park.

¹¹⁸ Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 1 April 1926.

¹¹⁹ Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Gertrude Shaner, Edna Forbes, & Viola Brown, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 1925-1929.

The Secret Work of the Order

By far the most nebulous and perplexing aspect of Klanswomen's work regarded the area over which they had the least amount of information to report or more likely to put in the official record. The Walosas Club frequently referred to either the secret work of the order being discharged or instructing new naturalized citizens of the Klan in the ways of the order. Club records never mentioned any undesirable elements of their true mission and agenda; rather, the records emphasized financial discussions, fundraising activities, nominations and elections of new officers, or plans for an upcoming dance. There are two plausible explanations why the WKKK did not provide any specific details on the secret work of their order. One- was for the protection of the order in future generations. Some knowledge was better shared through the membership orally. Second, this safeguarded the club's records from the outside world. Generally, the protocol was to destroy club records when a chapter disbanded, but for some unknown reason the Walosas Club records survived for many generations after the club seemingly dissolved in the spring of 1929 when written record of the club's activities abruptly ends with the few remaining active members deciding it was time to give up their meeting space at the Masonic Temple and hold future meetings at Excellent Commander McClelland's home until the club's prospects improved.¹²⁰

The Walosas Club Minutes Book frequently mentioned the act of "canvassing Catholics," but did not explain this action in greater detail. Many Protestant Oak Parkers lived on mixed blocks with Catholic neighbors. For instance, longtime Catholic resident of Oak Park Kathleen Jacobson recalls her mother frequently telling her to pray for the

¹²⁰ Klanswoman Viola Brown, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 22 April 1929.

souls of the young children who lived across the street and down the block because they were Protestant.¹²¹ Some possible explanations of this practice could have been verbal intimidation of Catholic neighbors or making it difficult for Catholic children to play outside on their blocks. The Walosas Club did, however, make it perfectly clear that arguably the most severe injury a Klanswoman could make to the Invisible Empire was to marry a Catholic. A few Walosas Club members did just that and were immediately banished from the WKKK and their names were marked out in red pencil from the membership rolls.¹²²

The silences in the Walosas Club records reveal a weakness in the documentary study of a secret organization because so much that was spoken in hushed whispers was not documented in the official record. Thus, there is validity to Kathleen Blee's oral history driven study of the WKKK in Indiana, but oral histories of a controversial contested history run the risk of selective memory and revisionist interpretation of what former female Kluxers had been doing fifty to seventy years prior to their interviews. Despite the gaping silences, the Walosas Club records provide considerable and unique insight into the daily rhythm and activities of a very active suburban WKKK chapter that achieved and maintained regional influence and respect during its brief existence. The fact that the type of activities most commonly associated with the KKK are largely missing from the Walosas Club record does not mean that they never happened. Rather, the organization was conscious of the type of image they wished to leave or simply

¹²¹ Kathleen Jacobson, interview by Sarah Doherty, 27 December 2011.

¹²² Klanswomen Margaret Roth, Gertrude Shaner, Edna Forbes, & Viola Brown, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 1925-1929.

wanted to preserve the secrecy of the perceived inflammatory aspects of their shrouded agenda. Generally, it was the practice of both the KKK and WKKK to destroy chapter minutes and any meeting minutes or membership rolls of the club once the group disbanded. The Invisible Empire sought to protect the secret identity of group members and to prevent negative repercussions for participation in the order in the future.

Conclusion

The focus on charitable endeavors, fundraising, and social events in Walosas Club records gives the impression that the group was primarily a women's benevolent society. This was likely a deliberate move to obscure the true purpose and nature of the club. The Walosas Club was a chapter of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan charged to uphold the tenets and principles of the Invisible Empire. The club took great pride in performing the rituals of the WKKK and was recognized for their work at the local, regional, and national levels. In addition, the Walosas Club held a position of importance amongst Chicago area WKKK chapters. Many members of the Walosas Club were promoted to positions of regional leadership.

Oak Park Klanswomen raise the question, how do we evaluate and contextualize actions and agendas of unpalatable feminists? WKKK rhetoric was reactionary and wary of perceived threats to white native born Protestant America such as an influx of immigrants and aggressive secular reforms. However, the actions of Klanswomen presented complex and contradictory characters. Klanswomen viewed themselves as model citizens. They were staunchly patriotic and genuinely seeking to make positive improvements to their communities. Simultaneously, a fear of change to the white native born Protestant hegemony drove Klanswomen to seek a more perfect America only for

the select group of inhabitants that fit the mantras of “100 Percent American” or “America for Americans.” The part of the WKKK rhetoric which most resonated with the Walosas Club was the maintenance of Protestant authority in Oak Park. Walosas Club Klanswomen organized in response to the growing presence of Catholics in the once homogenous suburb.

As much as the WKKK projected a traditional and conservative image in their rhetoric, national leader Robbie Gill Comer espoused progressive notions of womanhood in her public speeches. She most famously advocated for an eight hour day for mothering. Unlike their women’s club counterparts, the Walosas Club gave married members an identity separate from their husbands and referred to women by their own first and last name as opposed to their husband’s name. For instance, club secretary Margaret Roth was addressed as Mrs. Margaret Roth or Klanswoman Roth instead of Mrs. Jacob Roth. In Oak Park, the Walosas Club was involved with local politics and sought to be the voice of Protestant moral authority in issues affecting the community. The Walosas Club served as a source of social welfare for Klanswomen and their families in times of need while also maintaining an active social calendar. Additionally, the club practiced and upheld Klan rituals and ceremonies. Though the WKKK existed for under a decade, the Walosas Club held a highly influential leadership position amongst suburban and Chicago chapters of the WKKK.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE KLANSWOMAN IN A CLUB WOMAN'S WORLD

America always has long been a nation of joiners. Women en masse upheld this tradition during the Progressive Era. A large component of public life for women in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century was their involvement in various social, political and cultural clubs. For white middle-to upper-class women, involvement in club life was not only a socially acceptable way to engage in activities outside the home, but also a respectable behavior.¹ Chicago teemed with active women's clubs organized around a variety of interests and topics. Reports of club activities in local newspapers revealed that the suburbs were no different. A very active women's club scene existed in Oak Park and other neighboring near-west Chicago suburbs by the time the Walosas Club came into existence in the 1920s.

Oak Park was home to a wide variety of women's clubs from groups that formed around a common interest such as gardening or voting rights to female auxiliaries of fraternal orders or benevolent organizations. The society women's clubs such as the Nineteenth Century Woman's Club and Nakama Club held a position of exclusivity in

¹ See Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1980); Maureen A. Flanagan, *Seeing With Their Hearts: Chicago Women and the Vision of the Good City, 1871-1933* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002); Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). For black clubwomen, respectability was not automatically bestowed on their public club life activities as it was for their white counterparts. It was an uphill battle for black club women to attain the notion of respectable womanhood especially for the non-elite clubs. See Anne Meis Knupfer, *Toward A Tenderer Humanity and a Nobler Womanhood: African American Women's Clubs in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago* (New York & London: New York University Press, 1996).

the community due to their limited memberships and the social standing of members. In addition, there were numerous women's divisions for area fraternal lodges such as the female auxiliaries to the Masons and Odd Fellows- the Order of the Eastern Star and the Rebekkahs. Most of the Protestant churches had women's leagues and many secular Oak Park women's clubs were based on locality such as the Woman's Club of Oak Park or the North Oak Park Woman's Club. Catholic women in the community had their own clubs which met either at parish facilities or in private homes because Catholic women were not warmly welcomed into Protestant-run or secular Oak Park area clubs.

During the height of the women's club era women commonly belonged to many organizations at the same time. This was true for Walosas Club members as well. The involvement of Oak Park Klanswomen in other clubs informed the way in which they ran their suburban chapter of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan (WKKK). In a community that played host to such a variety of club options, an inherent tension for the Walosas Club was to determine how the organization fit into the Oak Park social milieu while upholding the tenets of the Invisible Empire. In comparison to other area women's clubs, the Walosas Club never appeared in the public record of the community. However, the built environment of Oak Park and the location of where the Walosas Club held meetings in comparison to other prominent women's clubs told a different story.

A Host to a Vibrant Club Life

In an era when club membership largely defined women's public image, involvement in the right type of clubs often reflected social status and class within a community. Clubs were also a prime method of social networking to form new friendships and make acquaintances with influential individuals that could not only better

a woman's status, but potentially that of her children as well. In Oak Park some clubs were simply social in nature with the occasional charity fundraiser while others met along common religious interests or were based on geographic location. By the 1920s Oak Park boasted over forty women's clubs.² Some of the first clubs that formed in Oak Park long before the community was an independent suburban entity were fraternal orders and their women's auxiliaries.

Fraternal orders and their female auxiliaries were a vibrant part of the fabric of the Chicago suburban social scene since residents began settling in Oak Park in the mid-nineteenth century. Members of the community that previously belonged to fraternal organizations in Chicago sought to form new suburban chapters of their respective orders. As Oak Park grew and expanded so did participation in fraternal life. In a 1928 edition of the *Oak Leaves* nineteen Masonic orders and their female auxiliaries were listed in the newspaper.³ This number did not include all the other non-Masonic fraternal organizations with Oak Park chapters such as the Odd Fellows, Elks, Moose, Knights of Pythias, or Ancient Orders of Redmen, Druids or Macabees. Oak Park and its neighboring suburbs of Forest Park and River Forest witnessed a surge in membership in fraternal organizations after World War I which coincided with a similar national trend. The Oak Park area's fraternal membership by the early-twentieth century was estimated in the thousands.⁴

² *Oak Leaves*, 27 February 1926.

³ "Masonic Orders," *Oak Leaves*, 25 February 1928, 148-150.

⁴ "The Village of Harlem: Its People Home and Business, 1856-1906," (Forest Park, IL: privately published, 1906), Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park and River Forest; *Wednesday Journal*, 3 August 1988, B1-B4.

The Ku Klux Klan's success in appealing to whole families borrowed a strategy from the Masons. The Masons had men's chapters, female auxiliaries, and oftentimes youth organizations. The family attraction to the Masons did not originate with the leadership, but rather was generated by the rank-and-file membership to fill a void in family social activities.⁵ Contrarily, the WKKK from its inception envisioned Klan life or Klancraft to fit nicely into the social structure of family life and established branches that were appropriate for all age groups from early childhood and adolescence to mature adulthood.⁶ The rationale for this approach was to equate "Klannishness" with normative familial and societal behavior.

The *Oak Leaves* annually listed all the area Masonic groups and their officers. In the years that coexisted with the Walosas Club, roughly 1923 to 1929, thirteen Oak Park Klanswomen and their husbands were officers in Masonic orders.⁷ It is likely that many Walosas Club members were also involved in Masonic and other fraternal order auxiliaries because the local paper only accounted for officers and not the entire membership. Klanswoman Margaret Roth was the first recording secretary of the Walosas Club and was also an officer in the White Shrine of Jerusalem Chapter of a Masonic women's auxiliary. Her husband Jacob Roth was an officer in a Masonic chapter. The Roth's daughter Helen was president of the Epsilon Sigma Gamma Girls Club of the Order of the Eastern Star and participated in the girls' club of the Walosas

⁵ Lynn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture 1880-1930* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 215.

⁶Kathleen Blee, *Women of the Ku Klux Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 157-62.

⁷ *Oak Leaves*, 28 February 1925; 25 February 1928.

Club.⁸ The Roths are one example of many families that made club life a family affair.

No remaining records from the Oak Park chapter of the men's Klan exist, but it is highly probable that Jacob Roth was a Klansman since his wife and daughter were so highly involved in Walosas Club activity.

In Oak Park as well as many communities across the nation an attraction existed between the Ku Klux Klan and some Masonic groups. The revived Klan attempted to and was successful at recruiting Masons to join the ranks of the Invisible Empire because the rhetoric of each organization was closely aligned in the 1920s. Some Masonic orders, particularly the Scottish Rite Masons, had a long history of anti-Catholicism in America dating back to the eighteenth century.⁹ Anti-Catholicism was not commonplace in all Masonic groups, but explains the ease of Klan recruitment in lodges that held anti-Catholic sentiments such as Oak Park.¹⁰ Both organizations also maintained a historically racist outlook on American society. Masons held that members had to be "free born" or "free and well born" automatically discriminating against any individual whom was either slave born or had slaves in their lineage. This was a unique interpretation of Masonic bylaws in the United States and the same rule did not apply for the English Freemasons.¹¹ Separate Masonic organizations for African-Americans and Jews were established in the United States, but were not officially recognized by the

⁸ *Oak Leaves*, 25 February 1928, 149-50; Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book 1925-26, Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park and River Forest.

⁹ Christine K. Erickson, "'Kluxer Blues': The Klan Confronts Catholics in Butte, Montana, 1923-1929" *The Magazine of Western History*, Vol. 53, No. 1, (Spring 2003), 48.

¹⁰ Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture*, 124-26.

¹¹ Alvin J. Schmidt & Nicholas Babchuk, "The Unbrotherly Brotherhood: Discrimination in Fraternal Orders" *Phylon*, Vol. 34, No. 3, 3rd Qtr., (1973), 276-77.

Masons in early twentieth-century America. For Oak Park Klanswomen the primary reason for establishment of a WKKK chapter was based on religious rather than racial prejudice given the rapid influx of Catholic residents to a previously almost exclusively Protestant suburb.

Another similarity between the Masons and the KKK was that both organizations were highly ritualistic. By the 1920s, Masons in broad terms were shifting away from a quasi-religious framework that met in “temples” with ritualized practices in favor of a move towards more of a social club setting in light of a secularizing nation.¹² The Klan, however, remained rooted in a staunch Protestant identity that weaved secret ritualistic practices along with a social club atmosphere into the overall agenda. In addition, the 1920s Masons and the Klan both thrived better in contained locations with concentrated populations and fewer outside influences or diversions. The club activities and agendas for both secret societies were lost in the shuffle in large urban lodges or klaverns.¹³ One of the downfalls of both the men’s and women’s Klan in Chicago was the consolidation of eight klaverns into one large klavern.¹⁴ Within the city limits the Klan not only lost members, but also a strong neighborhood-level presence. While the Klan was struggling to keep interest in urban America, a presence was maintained and sustained in suburban America because of the small tightly woven character of suburban communities such as Oak Park. Local Oak Park area newspapers show that Masons also maintained a healthy presence in the community during this period.

¹² Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture*, 197-203.

¹³ Ibid, 190-92.

¹⁴ Kenneth Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 123-26.

A final commonality between the Masons and KKK was the hierarchical structure of both organizations. Many Klan members in the urban North were recruited through membership in the Masons. The internal framework of the Masons and Invisible Empire were similar. The Klan had various degrees of adult membership similar to the Masons. Each new degree attained required increased membership dues and the purchase of new regalia. Both the Masons and KKK employed tiered membership which generated a source of internal revenue for the secret societies. In the women's Klan these degrees also carried over into the rituals of the group. Enrollment cards for the WKKK had a space to indicate the degree of membership to which an "alien" or applicant was applying.¹⁵ Degrees of membership served two purposes for the Masons and the Klan. First, higher degrees of membership in the secret societies promoted a sense of exclusivity and pride amongst members who attained these illustrious distinctions. New participants were encouraged to strive for entrance into the upper echelons of the orders. Second, higher degrees of membership were financially beneficial for Masons and the Klan. Both organizations charged additional membership dues and required the purchase of new regalia and ritual costumes. In the WKKK application for admission to the Second Degree of the Invisible Empire required a five dollar donation to the order.¹⁶

Masonic and fraternal orders experienced healthy growth and membership in Oak Park, but women's auxiliaries and clubs sustained participants and relevance in the community long after interest in men's social organizations dwindled. Oak Park had a

¹⁵ "Application for Membership Form 1010-Parke-Harper Pub. Co., Little Rock," Chicago History Museum Archives. [HS2330.K617]

¹⁶ "Application for Admission to the Second Degree Invisible Empire, Women of the Ku Klux Klan- Form 2D-1," Chicago History Museum Archives. [HS2330.K61Z]

rich array of women's clubs that met the needs of all religious and other groups.

Membership to certain women's clubs provided club women with identities and status in the community due to perceived association with the clubs' reputations. Therefore, Oak Park women constantly sought membership into organizations that advanced their social standing in society and allowed them to interact with prominent female figures in the village.

Society Women's Clubs

Two of the most prestigious Oak Park women's clubs were the Nineteenth Century Woman's Club and the Nakama Club which were both founded in the late-1800s. Both clubs also remained in continual operation for more than one hundred years.¹⁷ Though both clubs were successful at maintaining appeal across many generations, they had differing agendas. The Nakama Club was primarily a social club that occasionally held charitable fundraisers.¹⁸ The Nineteenth Century Woman's Club attracted members from the finest families in Oak Park including Ernest Hemingway's mother. The club was heavily focused on self-improvement through education and refinement, but also maintained a lively social calendar and held many charitable fundraisers.

The Nineteenth Century Woman's Club was not only interested in the intellectual development of its members, but also of the general betterment of the entire Oak Park

¹⁷ In 1990, after celebrating the 100th anniversary of the women's club, the few remaining members of the Nakama Club officially disbanded the group and were incorporated into the Nineteenth Century Woman's Club. The Nineteenth Century Club's schedule is much less active than it was in the 1920s, but the group still holds frequent luncheons and generates income for their scholarship fund through the rental of the club house for social functions, meetings or leases to other organizations.

¹⁸ "Grace Angerman Marks Gold Year," Nakama Club File, Collections of Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest.

community. Club literature states the organization's purpose as "the intellectual advancement of its members, the promotion of higher social, educational and moral conditions in the community and a united effort toward the higher development of humanity."¹⁹ The Nineteenth Century Woman's Club offered scholarships to promising female graduates of Oak Park and River Forest High School to further their studies. A typical week of programming at the clubhouse included luncheon lectures, classes in French, Latin, and child psychology, and committee meetings on social welfare, education, and entertainment.²⁰ The Nineteenth Century Woman's Club was regarded so highly by the Oak Park community that when a prominent member, Mrs. E. E. Reininger, passed away her obituary was a full article in the newspaper as opposed to a small notice tucked away in the back of the paper by the classified ads.²¹

The Nineteenth Century Woman's Club and the Walosas Club shared only one member in common, but the fact that there were any was in some ways surprising. First, the clubs did not draw from the same socioeconomic pool of women. Walosas Club membership tended to be solidly in the middle-class while Nineteenth Century Woman's Club members tended to hail from the highest echelons of Oak Park society. Also, new members were solicited for the Nineteenth Century Woman's Club through private

¹⁹ "Nineteenth Century Woman's Club," Nineteenth Century Woman's Club File, Collections of The Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest.

²⁰ *Nineteenth Century Club Yearbook 1924-1925*, (Chicago: Barnard & Miller, 1924); *Nineteenth Century Club Yearbook 1925-1926* (Chicago: Barnard & Miller, 1925); *Nineteenth Century Club Yearbook 1926-1927* (Chicago: Barnard & Miller, 1926); *Nineteenth Century Club Yearbook 1927-1928* (Chicago: Barnard & Miller, 1927); *Nineteenth Century Club Yearbook 1928-1929* (Chicago: Barnard & Miller, 1928); *Nineteenth Century Club Yearbook 1929-1930* (Chicago: Barnard & Miller, 1929), Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest.

²¹ "Mrs. E.E. Reininger: Well-Known Club-Woman, Wife of Dr. Reininger," *Oak Leaves*, 22 May 1926, 70.

invitation of existing members while the Walosas Club's membership was open to any qualified woman who applied. In addition, many programs hosted by the Nineteenth Century Woman's Club along with their charitable donations and sponsorships were contradictory to the agenda of the women's Klan. For instance, the Nineteenth Century Woman's Club invited social work pioneer Jane Addams to speak at their club.²² Jane Addams' settlement house work directly aided immigrant women whom the WKKK resented. The Nineteenth Century Woman's Club also made annual donations to the Inter-Racial Co-operative Committee.²³ Klanswoman Oma Bowman- belonged to both organizations, but the strength of her allegiances to and motivations for participating in each of these groups cannot be readily determined. Potentially, the Walosas Club sought to keep a connection to the Nineteenth Century Woman's Club since the organization held such a respected place within the Oak Park community and could provide social acceptance by association. However, chances are that Oma Bowman was simply invited into membership of the Nineteenth Century Woman's Club by a neighbor or friend and her participation in this club carried no relation to activities of the WKKK.

Two additional women's groups in Oak Park with crossover members with the Walosas Club were the Woman's Club of Oak Park and the North Oak Park Woman's Club. These organizations had very similar agendas to other federated women's clubs in Oak Park and hosted recitals, luncheons, lectures, card parties and pursued some

²² *Oak Leaves*, 28 February 1926, 24.

²³ *Nineteenth Century Club Yearbook 1924-1925*, (Chicago: Barnard & Miller, 1924); *Nineteenth Century Club Yearbook 1925-1926* (Chicago: Barnard & Miller, 1925); *Nineteenth Century Club Yearbook 1926-1927* (Chicago: Barnard & Miller, 1926); *Nineteenth Century Club Yearbook 1927-1928* (Chicago: Barnard & Miller, 1927); *Nineteenth Century Club Yearbook 1928-1929* (Chicago: Barnard & Miller, 1928); *Nineteenth Century Club Yearbook 1929-1930* (Chicago: Barnard & Miller, 1929), Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest.

charitable endeavors. Like all other clubs except for the Nineteenth Century Woman's Club, Nakama Club, Oak Park Country Club, and the Oak Park and River Forest Tennis Clubs, they had open membership. In addition, the Oak Park Country Club and River Forest Tennis Club did not permit Catholic members well into the 1970s. The Nineteenth Century Woman's Club and Nakama Club both lifted restrictions on membership by invitation only when a steady decline in participation was experienced in the mid-twentieth century. The Nineteenth Century Woman's Club also opened a division of associate members who were professional women who had careers outside the home. They were not considered full members since they could not attend functions held during the day.²⁴

Table 4. Membership Numbers of Oak Park Women's Clubs

Club (Year Founded)	1920	1925	1930	Cross-Membership with Walosas Club	Junior Members
Nineteenth Century Woman's Club (1891)	540	726	925	1	n/a
Nakama Club (1890)*	---	638	---	1	n/a
North Oak Park Woman's Club (1920)	---	139	128	6	34
Walosas Club (1924)*	---	315	---	---	No record
Women's Club of Oak Park (1912)	206	186	---	5	48

*Clubs did not record membership annually

Both the Woman's Club of Oak Park and North Oak Park Woman's Clubs had members who were Klanswomen. The Woman's Club of Oak Park had two Walosas Club members while the North Oak Park Women's Club had six. Most of these women were already members of these respective clubs before joining the WKKK. As

²⁴ Nineteenth Century Woman's Club File, Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest.

demonstrated in Table 4, by 1925 the Woman's Club of Oak Park boasted a membership of 186 women all of whom were married. The North Oak Park Woman's Club experienced an inconsistent fluctuation in membership during the 1920s. In 1922 the club had ninety-four members and five years later more than doubled in size to 206 full members only to decrease to 128 members in 1930. Only two of the full members were unmarried and the club started a separate junior membership for unwed women which brought an additional thirty-four young women into the group. Annual pictures of officers for both clubs reveal middle-aged women. The addition of junior and associate memberships brought youthful energy to the organizations.²⁵ For Mary V. Lawrence and her daughter Mary C. Lawrence, involvement in club life was an activity they shared in common. They were both members of the North Oak Park Woman's Club and the WKKK.²⁶ The younger Lawrence joined the North Oak Park Woman's Club first because she had yet to reach the required age of eighteen to be a full adult member of the WKKK. Mrs. Lawrence was unable to dedicate as much time to women's clubs as her daughter because she was employed as a private family nurse.²⁷

Catholic Women's Clubs

Catholic women were not welcome in many of the women's clubs in Oak Park so they formed their own clubs. Around the turn-of-the-century before Catholic parishes

²⁵ *North Oak Park Woman's Club Third Annual Year Book 1922-23* (Chicago: Western Newspaper Union, 1922); *North Oak Park Woman's Club Eighth Annual Year Book 1927-1928* (Chicago: Western Newspaper Union, 1927); *The Woman's Club of Oak Park Year Book 1925-26* (Oak Park, IL: privately printed, 1925), Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest.

²⁶ *North Oak Park Woman's Club Eight Annual Year Book 1927-28* (Chicago: Western Newspaper Union, 1927); Walosas Club Membership Roll, Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest.

²⁷ Walosas Club Membership Roll; Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Oak Park, Cook, Illinois, Roll: 505, Page: 1B, Enumeration District: 2266.

were established in the western suburbs, Catholic women formed regional clubs.

However, as parishes developed in Oak Park starting in 1907, individual parish women's clubs developed as membership grew. Initially, Catholic women's groups met at private homes because they had difficulty renting meeting space. The West End Catholic Woman's Club, which had members from many suburban parishes, outgrew church facilities for meetings and secured the rental of the Elks' Club Hall.²⁸ Club activities were similar to their Protestant and secular counterparts with committees for philanthropy, education, civics and legislation and music.²⁹ When Catholic women's groups had blurbs about club activities in the *Oak Leaves* they most often were lost in the newspaper below the crease.

By the 1920s Oak Park had four non-parish affiliated Catholic women's clubs including the Daughters of Isabella, Rosary College Auxiliary, West End Catholic Women's Club, and the North Oak Park Catholic Women's Club.³⁰ The four Catholic parishes additionally had women's auxiliary clubs, religious formation groups, sewing circles and rosary guilds.³¹ Despite restrictive membership of many Oak Park women's clubs that prohibited the admittance of Catholic members, Catholic women still managed to create a club world for themselves that met social needs for networking and

²⁸ *Oak Leaves*, 27 February 1926, 122.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ McCoy's *Oak Park, River Forest and Forest Park Directory* (Chicago: McCoy Publishing Co., 1925), 12.

³¹ *Saint Edmund Ecclesiology: A Brief History and Ecclesiology of Saint Edmund Church* (Oak Park, IL: St. Edmund's Women's Club, 1977); *St. Catherine of Siena-St. Lucy, 1889-1989 Centennial* (Oak Park, IL: St. Catherine-St. Lucy Parish, 1989); *Saint Giles, Oak Park, Illinois, 1927-1950* (Oak Park, IL: St. Giles, 1950); *Ascension Centennial Book, 1907-2007* (Oak Park, IL: Ascension Parish, 2007), Oak Park Public Library Special Collections.

companionship and also aided in religious formation. The neighboring suburbs of Maywood, Berwyn, Cicero, and Forest Park also had Catholic women's clubs. However, the Catholic hierarchy discouraged Catholic men and women from participating in social clubs or activities that were not under the direct supervision of parishes.

The West End Catholic Women's Club was the most influential of the near west Chicago suburban Catholic women's clubs. Members joined the organization from throughout western suburbs and Chicago's west side neighborhoods. The West End Catholic Women's Club attempted to reach out to area women's clubs by hosting an annual reciprocity day luncheon. Presidents from many area women's clubs accepted invitations and attended the event including representatives from the Nineteenth Century Woman's Club, North Oak Park Woman's Club, Oak Park Woman's Club, and every major woman's club from the surrounding suburbs.³² Though the secular clubs with a Protestant membership and Catholic women's clubs generally did not interact with one another, The West End Catholic Women's Club tried to keep a connection between all area women's clubs even if it only happened once per year.

Clubs and Patriotic Politics

In the 1920s Oak Park was home to many patriotic clubs including the women's auxiliary of the American Legion, Daughters of the British Empire, Daughters of St. George, Grand Army of the Republic Ladies' Post, Oak Park Women's Citizen Club, and the Daughters of the American Revolution.³³ Within the socio-political spectrum of Oak Park women's clubs the Walosas Club chapter of the WKKK was most closely

³² "Catholic Woman's Clubs," *Oak Leaves*, 31 January 1025, 83.

³³ *Oak Leaves*, 27 February 1926, 1; Fox Hoagland, "Historical Survey of Oak Park."

ideologically aligned with the George Rogers Clark chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). The post-World War I era witnessed a surge in ultra-patriotic sentimentality and nativism in the United States.³⁴ The coming-of-age experience in WWI and general fear of foreign ideologies served as a catalyst for social groups with very specific agendas and selective memberships to promote campaigns designed to advance the theme of “America for Americans.” Though the DAR formed as a national body in 1890, the club gained cohesion and momentum in the 1920s when they identified with the amplified national patriotic zeal. DAR members dedicated themselves to recognize and commemorate individuals with a pioneering American spirit and those who contributed to the pacification of American frontiers whether literal or figurative.

At the national level there was a high level of correlation between membership in the WKKK and DAR, but in Oak Park there appeared to be no overlap of membership of the Walosas Club and George Rogers Clark Chapter of the DAR. There were many similarities to be found in the published rhetoric of these two patriotic organizations, but at the practical local level, clubs sometimes took on a character and agenda that best suited their immediate environments. In Oak Park the Walosas Club and the George Rogers Clark Chapter of the DAR pursued very different agendas. The Walosas Club was busily engaged in the preservation of a Protestant Oak Park identity by trying to expand club membership and do charitable works specifically for Protestant beneficiaries. The DAR was concerned with hosting events that promoted American history and heritage such as the annual high school essay competition on topics relating

³⁴ Carol Medlicott, “One Social Milieu, Paradoxical Responses: A Geographical Reexamination of the Ku Klux Klan and the Daughters of the American Revolution in the Early Twentieth Century,” ed. Colin Flint, *Spaces of Hate: Geographies of Discrimination and Intolerance in the U.S.A.* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 21.

to American patriots and founders. The chapter also kept busy with voter registration campaigns, Americanization and citizenry programs for new immigrants, and involvement and sponsorship of American Indian activities in association with the Chicago's American Indian Center.³⁵

Though rhetoric for the WKKK and DAR both included nativist language and notions of what constituted pure Americanism, the way these clubs interpreted nativism and Americanism greatly differed. The WKKK felt that true Americans had to be native-born citizens in order to be fully dedicated to the growth and prosperity of the glorious nation.³⁶ “100 percent Americanism,” as interpreted by the WKKK, also implied that you had to be a practitioner of Christianity and belong to an “enlightened Protestant church.”³⁷ In addition, the women’s Klan was wary of what they called “hyphenated Americans.” This targeted immigrant groups such as Irish-Americans or German-Americans because they maintained an ethnic identity which kept them emotionally tied to the old country and incapable of fully blending with American cultural values.³⁸ The WKKK also believed “hyphenated Americans” still held allegiances to non-American foreign governments that threatened the strength and unity of the nation in times of international conflict.

³⁵ DAR Scrapbook 1928-29; DAR Scrapbook 1927-36; Mrs. Lenox Roberts, “History of George Roberts Clark Chapter, NSDAR, Oak Park, IL,” Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest.

³⁶ “Ideals of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan,” c. 1923-1926, Michigan State University Special Collections, 2. [HS2330.K63 W65]

³⁷ “America for Americans As Interpreted by the Women of the Ku Klux Klan; Creed of the Klanswoman, Issued by Imperial Headquarters Little Rock, Ark,” Michigan State University Special Collections, 7.

³⁸ “Ideals of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan”, 3. [HS2330.K63 W6]

The Daughters of the American Revolution started from a similar ideological standpoint as the Women of the Ku Klux Klan in pride and patriotism towards the American nation they called home. In fact, members who could trace their ancestry back to Revolutionary era families held special status within the club and were referred to as “real daughters.”³⁹ However, the DAR did not ostracize members of society who were not native-born residents of the United States. DAR members did not recognize non-Protestant or non-native born American residents as their social equals, but felt a sense of duty and obligation as patriots to promote American culture and citizenry. DAR members were actively engaged in an Americanization program to quickly acculturate newly arrived immigrants into American society and to help them shed their ethnic identities and ties to the old country. The general belief was that if you chose to live in America and took advantage of opportunities in America then you should work towards embracing American cultural, values, and lifestyles. The Daughters of the American Revolution viewed their acculturation and Americanization programs as a way to create a new American citizenry.

Rhetorically both the WKKK and DAR ultimately believed that true and pure Americans were only those individuals who were native-born citizens. The ideological split in these two super-patriotic organizations was how they dealt with the American populace that was not native-born. The WKKK emphasized the threat of non-native born Americans to the country and attempted to keep these groups out of their communities. The DAR did not consider non-native Americans to be socially equal members of society. Rather, the DAR felt the only way to ensure the health and prosperity of the

³⁹ “History of George Rogers Clark Chapter, DAR, Oak Park, Illinois,” Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest, 1.

nation was to Americanize all immigrant groups and ethnic enclaves that had lifestyles counter to the American ideals of individual success and progress.

The WKKK and DAR also had different symbolic images for what constituted the ideal American. For the WKKK their image of the ideal American was a crusading Lady Liberty.



Figure 15. WKKK Pamphlet c. 1923. Courtesy of

For the WKKK, Lady Liberty was transformed into Lady Liberty Klanswoman, the figure holding a shield of a Christian crusader Klanswoman in her left hand while lifting a torch high above her head with her right hand to lead and light the way for native-born Protestant women.⁴⁰ Crusading Lady Liberty Klanswoman also appears to have a blindfold over her eyes which on classical sculptures symbolizes the blind scales of justice. In this instance the WKKK adopted popular American imagery that conjured up patriotism, liberty and justice and adapted the image of Lady Liberty to fit within a Klan context and worldview. Lady Liberty Klanswoman also fit well with the themes in popularly sung hymns by the women's Klan, "That Rugged Cross" and "Onward Christian Soldiers."

Whereas the WKKK had a clear vision of what constituted the imagery of the ideal American in the early-twentieth century, the DAR had contradictory notions of the ideal American. The DAR idealized the image of American patriots, war veterans, and the pioneering frontier spirit and frequently held pageants to depict these representations of true Americans. But, at the same time, the DAR saw intrinsically stoic qualities in American Indians despite their racial inferiority and viewed them as part of the fabric of American history and heritage. Though the DAR felt true Americans were native-born white Protestants, the organization also believed that American Indians were Americans in the purest sense of the word since they were native to the land. The DAR understood American Indians in the Rousseauian sense of the *sauvage noblesse* or "noble savage."

⁴⁰ "Women of America! The Past! The Present! The Future! Outlines of Principles and Teachings of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan Incorporated Issued by the Imperial Headquarters of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan, Little Rock, Ark.," c. 1923, Michigan State University Special Collections. [HS2330.K63 W7]

This image fit within the national American story of a pioneering spirit and conjured nostalgic images of a lost literal frontier spirit. DAR intrigue with American Indians coincided with a national scientific interest in the “plight of the Indian” since there was a general belief, due to the decimated numbers of American Indians by the turn-of-the century, that the country was slowly watching a “dying race.”⁴¹

Though the Oak Park chapters of the WKKK and DAR were most closely socio-politically aligned, differences in these ultra-patriotic organizations came down to different organizational goals and visions for the future of the United States. The Walosas Club sought to preserve America for Americans and only wanted to see native-born white Protestants thrive in American society at the expense of unwelcome newcomers. While the DAR felt they were socially, racially, economically, ethnically and religiously superior to the populations they helped with their Americanization and citizenry programs, they sought to strengthen America and its cultural influence by fully acculturating immigrant populations into American society.

The Built Environment of Club Life

The private nature of the Walosas Club versus the public nature of other Oak Park women’s clubs left unresolved tensions within the organization. Based on the type of programming and charitable work the Walosas Club was engaged in, it is evident that this chapter of the WKKK attempted to achieve the same status as some of the other area women’s clubs. But, the Walosas Club was restricted in its ability to openly engage in

⁴¹ For more on American Indians as a “dying race” see, N. Bruce Duthu, “Introduction,” in *American Indians and the Law* (New York: Penguin Group, 2008), xxi-xxx; Peter Iverson, *We Are Still Here: American Indians in the Twentieth Century* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson Press, Inc., 1998); Bernard W. Sheehan, “The Noble Savage,” in *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973).

community affairs. Klanswomen were not at liberty to acknowledge their involvement in the WKKK in their interactions with women who were not fellow members of the order with the exception of recruitment of like-minded individuals. Walosas Club members were constantly reminded by their superiors to be vigilant and not divulge any secret works of the organization. In addition, representatives from the local men's chapter of the KKK advised the Walosas Club against idle gossip in mixed company.⁴² Therefore, the presence of the women's Klan in Oak Park was largely unknown since the group did not have a public Klan identity.

Whereas the Walosas Club maintained a virtually invisible presence in the public record of the community, the Oak Park men's Klan chapter occasionally appeared in the *Oak Leaves*. During the initial membership drive to expand the revived twentieth-century Klan to the urban North, Klan recruiters ran two advertisements in the *Oak Leaves* in the summer of 1921.⁴³ The only other Klan reference in the *Oak Leaves* in the 1920s was a self-written obituary/commemoration by the Oak Park Klan in 1923 for the death of President Warren G. Harding.⁴⁴ In maintaining a façade of secrecy the Ku Klux Klan tended not to broadcast their affairs in the mainstream press. Instead, they published their own internal newsletters, pamphlets, and magazines out of Columbus, Ohio, Atlanta and Chicago for the men's order and Little Rock, Arkansas for the women's group. Newspapers across the country, however, ran regular articles about

⁴² Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 4 March 1926, Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest.

⁴³ *Oak Leaves*, 21 July 1921; 27 August 1921, 46.

⁴⁴ *Oak Leaves*, 23 August 1923.

Klan exploits.⁴⁵ The general movement to internally disseminate Klan happenings to members across the country was largely a strategic measure. The Klan maintained a shroud of secrecy and an element of public fear in not necessarily knowing how large the organization was, which of your neighbors were members, and what Klan agendas entailed.

Secrecy surrounded the Oak Park chapters of the men's and women's Klan organizations, yet they met and held their rituals in a visible location. To maintain a certain level of secrecy and protect the identities of members the Klan did not construct their own meeting spaces outside of regional and national headquarters. Women's chapters additionally took pseudonyms such as Walosas Club or Betty Ross Club. Klan chapters frequently met in Masonic halls or temples. One of the major successes of the revived Ku Klux Klan was the massive recruitment of Masons to the Invisible Empire.⁴⁶ Thus, Masonic buildings served as convenient meeting places for Klan chapters. The KKK and WKKK hid their meetings in plain sight because it simply appeared that men and women were entering Masonic halls to attend a men's or women's auxiliary club function.

The two downtown gathering spaces of the Oak Park Klan were prime locations for exposure within the community. The Walosas Club initially held their meetings in the old Masonic Hall that was prominently situated on Lake Street in a central Oak Park business corridor as shown in photographs taken at the turn-of –the century by unofficial town photographer and historian Philander Barclay.

⁴⁵ Newspapers particularly covered the shopping sprees and rumored scandals of hired Klan publicist Elizabeth Tyler.

⁴⁶ Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 95.

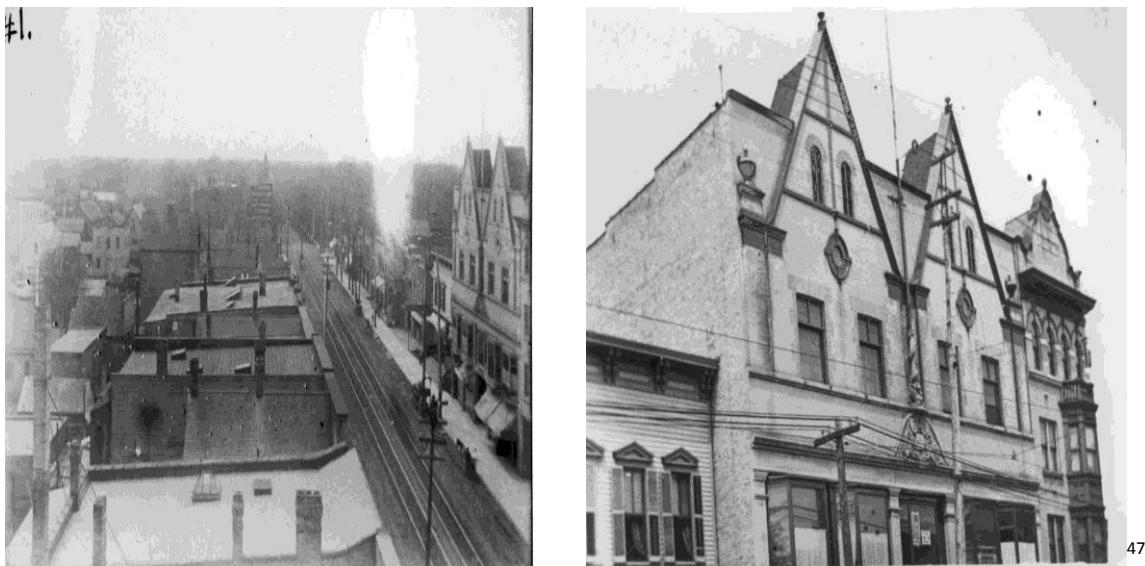


Figure 16. In the close streetscape image of the Masonic Hall, located at 131-3 Lake Street, two large circles can be seen on the edifice of the building between the upstairs windows. Inside these circles were symbols and iconography indicative of the Masons, namely the Mason's keystone.⁴⁸ The Walosas Club held meetings here from roughly 1924 to 1928. Courtesy of HSOPRF.

⁴⁷Philander Barclay, ‘Bird’s Eye View of Lake Street with 131-3 Lake Street visible in the far right extreme of image(1903)’; “Exterior View of Masonic Hall Building located at 131-3 Lake Street (1903),” Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest.

⁴⁸ Douglas Keister, *Stories in Stone: A Field Guide to Cemetery Symbolism and Iconography* (Salt Lake City, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2004), 192. The storefront for Dreuschlar undertakers was connected to the Masonic Hall on the eastside. This was the main funeral parlor serving Oak Park’s Protestant population.

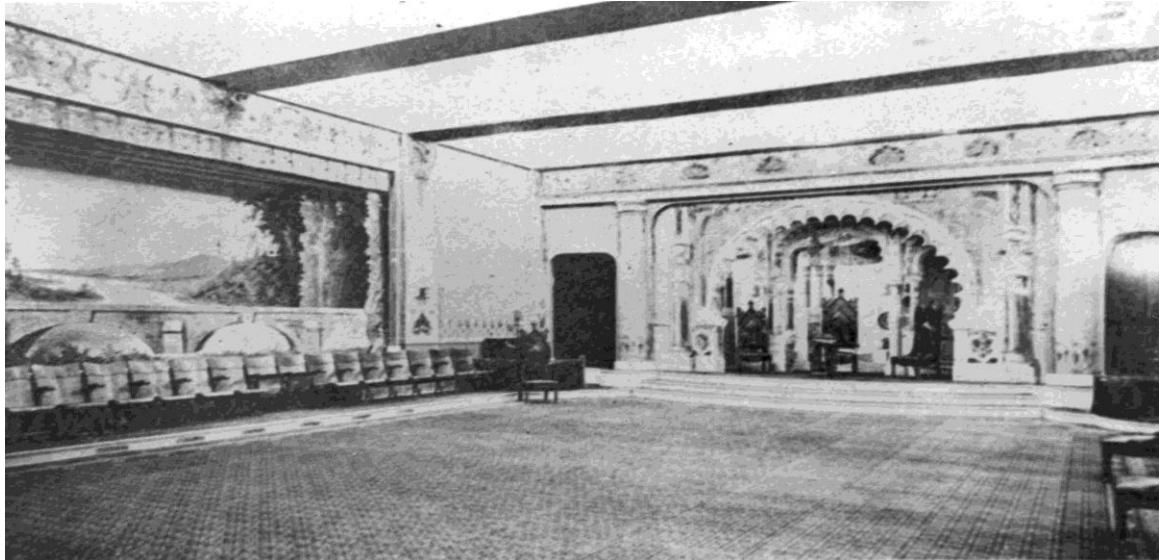


Figure 17. Interior View of Masonic Hall, 1899. Courtesy of HSOPRF.

The interior of the original Masonic Hall was an ornate sanctuary. This space was not only practical for business meetings of the Walosas Club, but also served as a perfect setting for the elaborate rituals of the WKKK including naturalization of new candidates for membership or the installation of a new class of officers. A surge in membership to the Masons in Oak Park rendered this space insufficient for club activities, and it was eventually torn down in 1930 to redevelop Oak Park's central business district.

Oak Park's original Masonic Hall was located in very close proximity to the one black congregation in the community, Mt. Carmel Baptist Church. Customarily, white Masons visiting new areas were received by local Masonic orders, but this practice excluded black Masons. White Masonic groups and Klan chapters that met at the Lake Street space were not concerned with the small black congregation at their doorsteps.



Figure 18. In this image of the 1905 groundbreaking for Mt. Carmel Baptist Church Oak Park's Masonic Hall visibly looms over the site in the background. The white plumed hats of some of the men in the crowd were worn by representatives from black Masonic orders who were not welcome in the white Masonic Hall just a block away. Courtesy of HSOPRF.

In 1908 a new Masonic Hall was built at 127 N. Oak Park Ave. in the busiest intersection of downtown Oak Park at Lake Street and Oak Park Avenues. By the 1920s seven Masonic groups held long-term leases at the new Masonic temple.⁴⁹ The Oak Park Klan did not move from the old to new Masonic hall until 1928. This new meeting space for the Walosas Club and men's KKK chapter both literally and symbolically put the Klan in the center of Oak Park. The Walosas Club met at this location until their

⁴⁹ Fox Hoagland, Historical Survey of Oak Park, 153.

membership had dwindled to a point where they decided to give up renting the hall in Spring 1929 in favor of meeting in a private home until club circumstances improved.⁵⁰



Figure 19. Second Masonic Hall at Lake Street and Oak Park Avenue. Courtesy of HSOPRF.

The Masonic halls in downtown Oak Park were not the only Masonic or fraternal meeting spaces in Oak Park. The suburb boasted dozens of fraternal orders plus numerous female auxiliaries. Meeting spaces were scattered throughout the village of Oak Park and its surrounding suburbs. For instance, the various chapters of the Circle Masonic Order of south Oak Park met in their own Masonic hall built in 1915 and located at the intersection of Euclid Avenue and Garfield Street.⁵¹ Yet the Oak Park Klan chose the most visible and exposed Masonic facilities to conduct their business. This decision reflected the very idea behind the Invisible Empire: a secret society that left outsiders fearful of their agenda and how far the organization's influence reached. However,

⁵⁰ Klanswoman Viola Brown, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 22 April 1929.

⁵¹ Fox Hoagland, 154.

Klansmen and Klanswomen maintained a level of protection from using Masonic halls as a cover for their private agendas and work towards building a white Protestant nation. From a logistical standpoint, the selection of a central Oak Park meeting space was most accomidating to members who traveled to meetings from all over the suburbs of Oak Park, Forest Park, Maywood, Berwyn and the westside of Chicago.

Whereas the Walosas Club chose a meeting space that was amidst the hustle and bustle of Oak Park's business district, the Nineteenth Century Woman's Club chose a quieter more secluded lot for the construction of their club headquarters. In 1927 to 1928 the Nineteenth Century Woman's Club built a stately refined clubhouse a block north of Lake Street across from the expansive wooded estate of the Austin residence, owned by a prominent Oak Park family. Members of the Nineteenth Century Woman's Club sought to create a built environment that projected an image of classic elegance and refinement from the streetscape and supported a busy schedule of educational enrichment classes and luncheons. With a limited membership the building also needed to reflect an air of exclusivity and privilege.

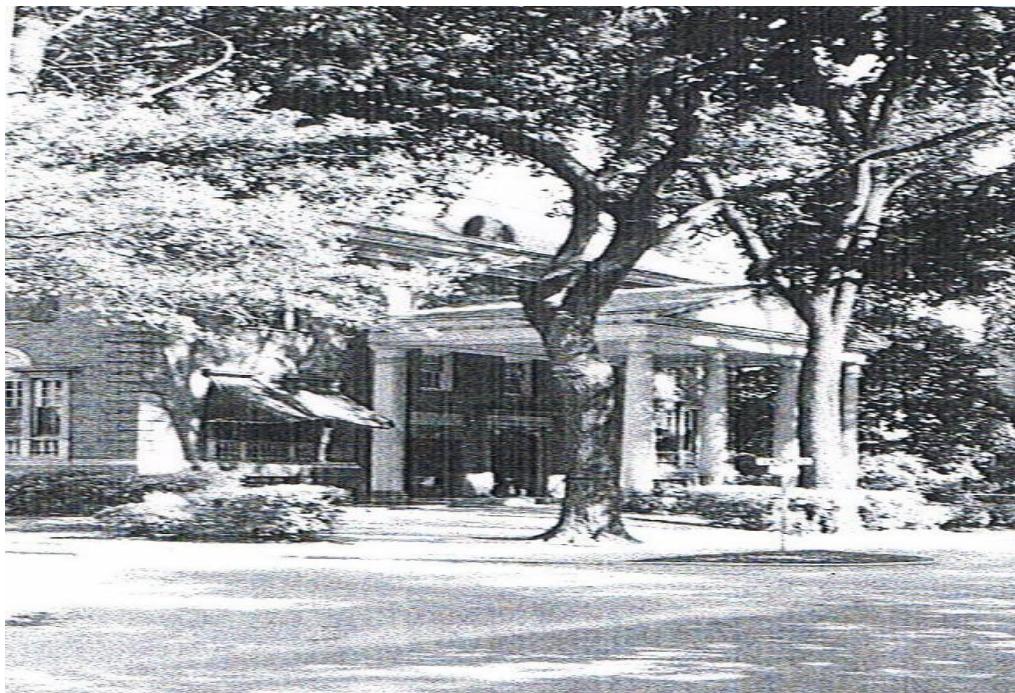


Figure 20. Nineteenth Century Woman's Club Clubhouse, c. 1930. Courtesy of HSOPRF.

The stately ionic columnades and the carefully landscaped semi-circular driveway that was later constructed achieved this goal. The Nineteenth Century Woman's Club meeting space held the appearance of a stately home or country club club house. In effect, the building became an outward reflection of the distinguished and refined society women who graced its halls.

Both the Walosas Club and Nineteenth Century Woman's Clubs held their meetings in central or downtown Oak Park, but the extent to which these clubs sought to be recognized by the community in which they lived differed greatly. The Nineteenth Century Woman's Club was completely transparent about the purpose and function of their meeting space and publicly printed activities and classes they hosted in the local newspapers. The Walosas Club, by contrast, hid their Klan identity behind the veneer of Masonic halls. Klansmen and Klanswomen in Oak Park, in an attempt to keep the nature of their business private from public scrutiny or retributions, gave the appearance of

simply being members of either the Masons or women's auxiliaries to fraternal orders. In addition, the Oak Park women's Klan never appeared in the public record of the community. In the few instances where the men's Klan printed advertisements or commentaries in the Oak Park paper the only contact information provided was an Oak Park post office box. The only direct communications with the Walosas Club were also made through a rented postal box.⁵² This action separated correspondance from the club meeting place and protected the anonymity of the club when they conducted official or unofficial Klan business.

Finding A Place in the Club Life Hierarchy

The Walosas Club developed in Oak Park when a highly active and robust women's club hierarchy was already in place. As much as area Klanswomen associated membership in the WKKK as a respectable and exclusive women's club, the Walosas Club never achieved membership of women from the highest echelons of Oak Park society. Though there was one crossover member between the Walosas Club and the Nineteenth Century Woman's Club, the latter remained at the top of the hierarchy of women's clubs in the social scene in Oak Park. The Nineteenth Century Woman's Club drew membership from women of not only wealthy, but also highly respected families in the community. The club also had the advantage of longevity, being established in 1891 more than thirty years before the Walosas Club started meeting in Oak Park. The Nineteenth Century Woman's Club maintained a consistant membership after the 1890s, whereas the Walosas Club was only briefly in existence for about six years. The

⁵² Klanswoman Margaret Roth, Walosas Club Minutes Book, 15 January 1925.

women's Klan in Oak Park was unable to maintain its membership when so many women had loyalties to other clubs.

In addition, The WKKK organized around a very specific and limited agenda which proved to be polarizing. The long term success of other women's clubs in the community reflected their adaptability to change with the evolving climate of Oak Park's social, cultural and political life. Many Oak Park women's clubs changed membership schemes or programming to both attract new members and retain existing members. Oak Park women's clubs also used the local newspapers to advertise events and fundraisers to stay fresh in the village's consciousness. The women's Klan in Oak Park was incapable of maintaining a presence in the community when in public record and memory the club did not officially exist. The Walosas Club spread their message and agenda in hushed voices on an individual woman to woman basis.

During the brief period in which the Walosas Club revelled in a healthy membership, Klanswomen also maintained associations with other area women's clubs. Cross-membership allowed the Walosas Club no only to stay in touch with the general climate of club life in Oak Park, but also to determine what issues were most important for women and the general climate of the community. Memebership in multiple clubs also presented the opportunity for Klanswomen to recruit new members to the WKKK. Though Walosas Club members held a presence in outside clubs, the organization struggled to find a permanent home within the hierarchy of women's clubs.

CONCLUSION

The last entry for the bi-weekly Walosas Club minutes was on 22 April 1929. Only six members were present at the meeting. The group decided to abandon renting the Masonic Hall until the club was in better financial circumstances and there was greater participation of members. All further meetings were to be held at the home of Excellent Commander Marie McClelland. Written records for the women's Klan in Oak Park ended this day and it is unknown whether or not the club carried on as a mere skeleton of what it was a few years earlier.

For a brief moment in the 1920s the Women of the Ku Klux Klan thrived in suburban Chicago. Suburban chapters of the WKKK looked to Oak Park's Walosas Club chapter for direction and guidance on WKKK protocol, ritual and Klan-wide objectives. At its zenith, the Walosas Club was one of the largest Oak Park women's clubs. The rapid drop in membership and influence of the Walosas Club by the end of the 1920s begs the question-- what happened? For the women's Klan there was not a single reason for the sudden decline of the organization. Rather, there were a multitude of issues at the local, regional and national levels that led to the demise and failure of the WKKK to sustain its Protestant, nativist and white supremacist agenda.

The rapid dissolution of the Klan Klux Klan movement and women's Klan was experienced simultaneously at all levels. But, the downward spiral of disillusion with the Klan cause and agenda was most acutely felt at the local level. A major shortcoming of

the second incarnation of the Ku Klux Klan and Women of the Ku Klux Klan was an inability in both organizations to form a cohesive national identity and voting bloc. By the late-1920s it was virtually impossible for both men and women's Klan entities to project any type of unified Klan public image. The rapid expansion of the 1920s Klan was achieved by kleagles (Klan recruiters) determining specific issues and threats confronting Protestant Americans at the most local community level and positing the Ku Klux Klan as a solution to their problems.

By the mid-1920s even Robbie Gill Comer, Imperial Commander (highest officer) of the WKKK, was disenchanted by a lack of change brought forth with women's suffrage. Gill Comer adamantly believed that the vote would have transformative powers for women and female Kluxers. Previously in public addresses she proclaimed that suffrage would enable women to protect Protestant America and morally uplift the white native-born race. Much to her dismay, many women did not exercise their new privilege of electoral participation and those who did venture to the polls frequently chose the same candidates as their husbands.¹ Without a unified Klanswoman voting bloc, it was impossible for the WKKK to affect any type of change or control at the regional or national level.

In addition, Gill Comer herself proved to be a polarizing leader. She failed to maintain control over chapters in certain key WKKK states such as Arkansas, Michigan and Ohio. Leaders in many chapters felt that Gill Comer allowed Klan leaders too much access and control in affairs of the WKKK, particularly after her marriage to Klansman

¹ Kathleen M. Blee, *Women of the Ku Klux Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 53-55.

Cyclops Judge James A. Comer. Some chapters decided to address their grievances outside the Invisible Empire and turned to “alien” courts to settle disputes. A number of chapters in WKKK realms (state jurisdictions) filed formal injunctions against Robbie Gill Comer and Klan officials to separate completely from the WKKK order.² As a result many WKKK chapters retained the WKKK name, but operated independently of the national WKKK office. Gill Comer retaliated by officially banishing these chapters from the WKKK. However, the public image of the WKKK was damaged because granting outside access to the inner workings of the Invisible Empire revealed internal fractures in the organizational structure of the WKKK and Gill Comer’s loss of control over the women’s Klan empire.

In Oak Park, Illinois Protestant Oak Parkers and the Walosas Club failed in keeping Catholics from settling in the Chicago suburbs. The Catholic movement westward to Oak Park was prompted by many of the same reasons Protestants moved to Oak Park-- namely to remove themselves from congested living in Chicago’s rental-based housing market in favor of spacious home ownership in the suburbs and movement away from expanding black neighborhoods.³ Catholic families were typically much larger than their Protestant counterparts so the numbers of Catholics that settled in Oak Park during the first quarter of the twentieth century grew rapidly. For example, Jerry and Kathleen Jacobson, who lived on the 300 block of South Scoville Avenue, raised

² Ibid, 60-65.

³ Kathleen & Jerry Jacobson, Interview by Sarah Doherty, 27 December 2011.

their family on a block populated with more than sixty children.⁴ New Catholic parishes stimulated other Catholic institutions to move to the Oak Park area. In 1922 Rosary College opened in the neighboring suburb of River Forest and was associated with the Sinsinawa Dominican order of Catholic nuns from Wisconsin.⁵ The Dominican sisters additionally opened Trinity High School for young women in River Forest in 1925.⁶ Fenwick Men's Preparatory College was established in Oak Park in 1929 and offered a parochial high school option for young men in the community opposed to having to mix with the "publics" at Oak Park and River Forest High School after parochial elementary school.⁷

Despite the influx of Catholic neighbors and institutions to the community, Protestant Oak Park remained socially hostile to Catholics. Many women's groups and men's fraternal orders prohibited Catholics from membership. The Oak Park Country Club and River Forest Tennis Club excluded Catholic membership well into the 1970s.⁸ The first Catholic family was admitted to the River Forest Tennis Club because the daughter was a major national tennis prospect and the River Forest Tennis Club wanted

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ *Oak Leaves*, 27 February 1926, 142. Today Rosary College is still thriving as a co-educational institution under the name of Dominican University.

⁶ www.trinityhs.org accessed 28 April 2012.

⁷ David M. Sokol, *Oak Park: The Evolution of a Village* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2011), 96. Fenwick High School remained single sex until 1992 when the first class of young women was admitted to the institution.

⁸ Kathleen and Jerry Jacobson, Interview by Sarah Doherty, 27 December 2011; Julie Patterson, Interview by Sarah Doherty, 27 December 2011.

to be associated with her rising star status.⁹ At the public Oak Park and River Forest High School a separation in social and charitable clubs was felt well into the 1970s with Protestant students participating in Protestant Guild service clubs where Catholic students were not encouraged to join both by members and also discouraged by local Catholic churches. Some multi-generational residents of Oak Park contend that the Catholic-Protestant dichotomy in Oak Park social life did not subside until the mid-1980s.¹⁰

A 1929 communiqué from Klanswoman Grace H. Higgins, Realm Commander for the state of Illinois, informed Klanswomen throughout the state of an official Extension Program designed by Imperial Commander Robbie Gill Comer to reinvigorate women's participation in the order. Higgins stated, "This is a splendid opportunity to reinstate your worthy delinquent women and add new members to your ranks."¹¹ Realm Commander Higgins requested that excellent commanders or chapter presidents keep her informed on the progress of the Extension Program initiative. Another letter from Klanswoman Higgins, dated nine days later, purported great success with the Extension Program, but did not provide any specific details or numbers of "reinstated delinquent women." The bulletin, however, discussed the oath of allegiance requested of all returning members along with a \$2.50 bond which had to be paid to the Illinois Realm of the WKKK.¹² The Extension Program was accompanied by a direct appeal letter from

⁹ Jerry Jacobson, Interview by Sarah Doherty, 27 December 2011.

¹⁰ Julie Patterson, Interview by Sarah Doherty, 27 December 2011.

¹¹ Grace H. Higgins, "Illinois Realm WKKK: Bulletin #3," 15 March 1929, Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest.

¹² Grace H. Higgins, "Illinois Realm WKKK: Bulletin #4," 29 March 1929, Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest.

Robbie Gill Comer which explained in more detail her plan to keep the WKKK afloat and stressed the urgency to keep the vital work of the order going.¹³ Whether this initiative affected the Walosas Club is unknown.

At the regional level, the decline of the Klan was experienced in the suburbs and the city. WKKK chapters throughout suburban Chicago disbanded due to waning interest in the movement and the nativist Protestant white supremacist agenda. Within Chicago city limits the WKKK's decline started by the mid-1920s due to internal power struggles over leadership between Klanswomen Victoria B. Rogers and Ida P. Unangst which dissuaded many Protestant Chicago women from maintaining membership in the WKKK.¹⁴ Participation in the men's Klan of Chicago quickly subsided when the city's eight klaverns merged into one large klavern. This action resulted in a lack of Klan presence at the neighborhood level and made it difficult to monitor activities at the most local level.

In the broader American society slow changes and implementation of new policies at the national level made some of the agenda for both the men and women's Klan redundant. The passage of restrictive federal immigration laws in 1921 and 1924 placed more control and limits on immigration to the United States thereafter. Thus, the Klan could no longer preach about the modern menace of immigration or immigrants "infecting" American culture and heritage with dangerous foreign ideologies. At the national level, the men's Klan experienced power struggles amongst leaders and was

¹³ Robbie Gill Comer, Letter to WKKK Chapters, 7 February 1929, Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest.

¹⁴ Kenneth Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 123.

unable to maintain a united image of leadership and direction which trickled down to the regional and local club levels creating disarray and no clear direction for the future of the KKK. In addition, the Klan public image was marred by corruption, exposure of member's identities in local papers, and highly publicized trials of Klan officials--namely the kidnapping and murder trial of the Indiana realm leader, D.C. Stephenson. Klansmen and Klanswomen became disillusioned with the Klan movement and walked away from the Invisible Empire by the thousands.¹⁵

Both the WKKK and KKK also failed to make the Klan organization a successful business. A large portion of the membership dues collected by the men's and women's organizations went directly to the national offices. Some of these funds were used for paying hired staff, producing Klan publications and contributing to various Klan causes. But, a large portion of funds were mismanaged and never properly accounted for in the men's Klan. By the late-1920s some of the major national Klan publications including the *Imperial Night-Hawk* and the *Kourier* had ceased publication due to lack of funds. These periodicals were essential in disseminating internal Klan news throughout the nation. State realms and local chapters became isolated when they no longer received information and propaganda about the Klan movement. The Chicago based Klan publication *Dawn*, which was a main source for spreading Klan happenings in Chicago and the Middle West regions of the United States, ceased publication in 1924. The *Imperial Night-Hawk* attempted to mitigate the negative impact of the collapse of a major

¹⁵ Ibid, 189, 211-12; Nancy MacLean, *Behind The Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 177-79; Thomas R. Pegram, *One Hundred Percent American: The Rebirth and Decline of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s*, (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2011), 185-216.

Klan paper by falsely reporting stories of thriving Klan activity in Chicago. In actuality, the eight klaverns in Chicago had already merged to one large klavern and the Klan in Chicago was unable to regain influence or membership in the most populous Midwest metropolis.¹⁶

The WKKK was not consistent in the collection of membership dues. As a result the national office out of Little Rock, Arkansas struggled to maintain operating costs and production of WKKK periodicals, instructional materials, and propaganda pamphlets. As a last desperate measure to keep the women's Klan afloat, Imperial Commander (national leader) Robbie Gill Comer called for a membership extension plan. In this final effort to revive the fledgling WKKK order Gill Comer implored individual Klan chapters to seek out members who were no longer active in the organization and cordially invite them back to active membership. The national office offered to forgive chapter's debts as well if they were in arrears in exchange for committing old members to pledge a renewal fee of \$2.50 to regain active Klanswoman status.¹⁷ Chapters were encouraged to remind former members of the important mission of the WKKK and the great friendships and sisterhood shared amongst Klanswomen. The plan was unsuccessful.

The failure of the men's and women's Klan organizations to properly manage finances and keep revenue coming in from membership dues and royalties on Klan publications and regalia was ultimately a failure of the Klan to position itself as a successful business like other fraternal organizations. For instance, the Masons as a

¹⁶ Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 123-26.

¹⁷ Grace H. Higgins, "WKKK Illinois Realm Bulletin #3", 15 March 1929 and "WKKK Illinois Realm Bulletin #4", 29 March 1929, Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest.

fraternal order survived for centuries by adapting their recruitment efforts to meet the changing times and prioritizing the collection of membership dues and income generating club activities. The Foresters of America offer an example of a Catholic fraternal order that managed to maintain membership amidst changing times. This men's organization's main function was weekly business luncheons that primarily served as a means to sell life insurance policies.

Lessons Learned From the Walosas Club

Much of the scholarship on the Ku Klux Klan and Women of the Ku Klux Klan interpret the organizations in terms of politics, race, class, and to varying degrees gender. A case study of the Walosas Club reveals that the existence of the WKKK in Oak Park was primarily rooted in religious strife. Catholics moving into Oak Park from Chicago in the early twentieth century were drawn to the suburb for many of the same reasons that attracted the established Protestant populace who built the community. Both populations moved to Oak Park to remove themselves from the negative aspects of urban life such as noise pollution, cramped apartment living, the expansion of African-American neighborhoods and from the desire and financial ability to move away from overly crowded urban ethnic neighborhoods. Census data and phone directories demonstrate that residents of Oak Park preferred single-family dwellings, were upwardly mobile, tended not to be new immigrants to the United States, but had similar European ethnic backgrounds.¹⁸ Oak Park drew Protestant and Catholic residents who sought to live in a quaint family-centered community that valued regular church attendance and good

¹⁸ Gertrude Fox Hoagland, "Historical Survey of Oak Park Illinois Compiled under Federal Works Progress Administration Project #9516 (Oak Park, IL: Oak Park Public Library, 1937), 13-20. *McCoy's Oak Park & River Forest Phone Directory 1925 & 1930* (Rockford, IL: McCoy Directory Co.); See Appendix A.

education. Oak Park represented the perfect suburban dream removed from urban centers of production and business yet easily accessible to the city and its various amenities by convenient and efficient public transportation.

The Walosas Club chapter of the WKKK failed in their primary objective to keep Catholics from moving into Oak Park. In the first quarter of the twentieth century the Catholic community in the Oak Park area grew from one Catholic mission to more than a dozen Catholic parishes within a three mile vicinity. Though the men's and women's Klan ceased to operate, a clear separation between Protestant and Catholic Oak Park existed. The Walosas Club managed to contribute to a legacy of anti-Catholic sentiment in the community that was palpable well into the 1980s. Due to exclusionary behavior in schools and community organizations Catholics tended to form their own social groups.

As Catholics steadily moved into Oak Park and surrounding near west Chicago suburbs they settled around the established parishes. Catholic pastors encouraged their congregants to make church sponsored clubs and activities central to their social and religious lives. Catholic children frequently attended parochial grade schools so it was common for them not to have any interaction with "publics" until junior high or high school. Third generation and lifetime Oak Park resident Julie Patterson, commented that she did not realize there were non-Catholics in Oak Park until she entered public school in seventh grade and was in mixed classes with Protestant and Jewish students.¹⁹

¹⁹ Julie Patterson, Interview by Sarah Doherty, 27 December 2011.

As forms of preservation, solidarity and control Catholics parishes tended to shield their community from the outside world.²⁰ Parishes had clubs available for all ages from fraternal orders and women's guilds to youth service and religious formation study groups.²¹ Catholics also patronized local businesses owned by other Catholics. One of the major Protestant undertakers in Oak Park realized he was missing out on a sizable portion of local business and hired a Catholic associate with an Irish surname to attract some of the business for Catholic funerals in Oak Park.²²

The nineteenth-century identity of Oak Park, aside from its staunchly Protestant ethos, included the commitment to temperance which lingered into much of the twentieth century. A 1934 referendum upheld the community's dry status. But, much to the chagrin of Oak Park advocates who sought to keep the suburb "dry," Catholics and business owners continued to challenge Oak Park's century old liquor ordinances. In the 1970s the dry Chicago suburbs of Maywood, Oak Park, Evanston, Highland Park and Glen Elyn all re-evaluated local bans on alcohol. All of these suburbs loosened alcohol restrictions in varying degrees. In Oak Park, the Village Board was receiving great pressure from business owners, particularly in the hotel and restaurant industries, to permit the sale of alcohol. Officials realized a limited and controlled sale of alcohol in Oak Park could increase tourist revenue for the suburb. However, leaders feared that if

²⁰ See John T. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996); Eileen M. McMahon, *What Parish Are You From?: A Chicago Irish Community & Race Relations*, (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995).

²¹ Kathleen & Jerry Jacobson, Interview by Sarah Doherty, 27 December 2011; Julie Patterson, Interview by Sarah Doherty, 27 December 2011.

²² Jerry Jacobson, Interview by Sarah Doherty, 27 December 2011.

Oak Park held another vote under the state Dram Shop Act, the ban might continue. The village lawyer determined that since Oak Park had over 25,000 residents it was considered a home rule municipality and was not required to put the issue to a public vote. After three years of debate and impact studies, in 1973 the Village Board approved limited liquor licenses for hotels, restaurants, clubs or churches. However, the ban on bars and package liquor stores remained in effect. The first liquor license in Oak Park was issued to Ascension Roman Catholic Church for parish sponsored social clubs and functions.²³

As an organization the Walosas Club was unsuccessful at adapting their agenda to maintain an active membership. The Walosas Club never became an institutionalized entity within the community, nor a permanent niche within the social milieu of Oak Park women's organizations. Other women's clubs such as the Nineteenth Century Woman's Club and the Nakama Club created positive reputations in Oak Park based on respectability, class, education and service to the community. Both clubs maintained a membership and presence in Oak Park for more than a century while the Walosas Club existed for less than a decade. Oak Park Klanswomen grew disillusioned with the movement and slowly dropped out of the Invisible Empire and returned to more active membership in various other women's clubs. The Walosas Club experienced a rapid

²³ Julie Patterson, Interview by Sarah Doherty, 27 December 2011; David Schneidman and William Sluis, "3 Suburbs Face 'Wet-Dry' Debate," *Chicago Tribune*, 19 December 1971, N3; Timothy Innes, "Alcohol OK in Oak Park Without Vote," *Chicago Tribune*, 22 August 1971, W4; David Schneidman and William Sluis, "New 'Wet' Communities Await State OK of Liquor Licenses," *Chicago Tribune*, 4 June 1972, W4; "Carrie Nation's Crying in her Grave; Oak Park's Going Wet," *Chicago Tribune*, 15 March 1973, W10; "1st License to Church: Oak Park Goes Wet," *Chicago Tribune*, 29 August 1973, 3.

decline in participation once there no longer appeared to be any enforced consequences for leaving the secret order.²⁴

Klan success across the nation coincided with initiatives undertaken in specific localities. What drew women to the WKKK in Chicago could be completely different from what drew women to suburban WKKK chapters. This discrepancy was largely due to the organizational and expansion strategies envisioned by Klan publicist Elizabeth Tyler. Since the KKK and WKKK never succeeded in establishing a unified national Klan identity or a solid female voting bloc, the Klan was only as strong as its local chapters. Once the demographic climate of a community changed, KKK and WKKK chapters were incapable of making their original mission and agenda seem relevant.

However, what proved to be a national shortcoming of the Invisible Empire was a success at the grassroots local level. For example, though the tenure of the Walosas Club was only seven years, this WKKK chapter held a central position of influence and importance throughout the Chicagoland area during the group's existence. The men and women's orders at the national level were incapable of controlling all the moving parts they created. As the revived Invisible Empire crumbled, many local pockets throughout the country sustained active Klan memberships particularly in Indiana and the Deep South.

The most compelling aspect of the study of the Walosas Club is that the organization provides a framework for examining religious conflict as a factor in suburban development and identity, which previously has not been analyzed in much

²⁴ Klanswomen Gertrude Shaner, Edna Forbes & Viola Brown, Walosas Club Minutes Book 1927-29, Collections of the Historical Society of Oak Park & River Forest.

detail. The Walosas Club appeared in Oak Park as the community was dealing with a rapid influx of Catholics to the area. The presence of the Klan in Oak Park in the 1920s underscores tensions experienced by a Chicago streetcar suburb as the village dealt with the loss of a homogenous white Protestant nineteenth-century identity due to growth and expansion from 1890 to 1930. Practitioners of the new suburban history have viewed American suburbs not as quaint conflict-free retreats from the city, but as contested spaces due to the intermingling of race, gender, class and political economy. The Walosas Club of Oak Park broadens this conversation to also include religion and similar cases to Oak Park are likely to be found throughout the United States.

APPENDIX A
COMPILED DATA FROM
U.S. FEDERAL CENSUSES 1910, 1920, & 1930
FOR WALOSAS CLUB KLANSWOMEN

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
1	Gerwin	Emma	Oak Park	1882	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio	1	None	General Manager	Own	12,500
2	Sailor	Matilda	Oak Park	1889	N. Jersey	Germany	Germany	1	Stenographer		Own	8,000
3	Kazda	Marie	Oak Park	1885	Illinois	Czech.	Czech.	0	None	Postal Clerk	Own	9,000
4	Bohnsack	Caroline	Cicero	1884	Illinois	Bohemia	Bohemia	0	Seamstress	Shipping Clerk	Rent	
5	Bergstrom	Irene	Oak Park						Milliner			
6	Klein	Josephine	Chicago									
7	Soyer	Della	Oak Park	1896	Illinois	Ireland	Ireland	2	None	Iron Worker/Engineer	Rent	
8	Winney	Mary	Oak Park	1878	Wisco.	Germany	Germany	4	None	Decorator	Own	12,000
9	Wolcott	Teresa	Oak Park	1883	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	1	None	Chemist	Own	
10	Krohn	Meta	Oak Park	1895	Illinois	Germany	Germany	1	None	Machinist/Electrician	Rent	
11	Schwartz	Frieda	Oak Park	1888	Illinois	Germany	Germany	2	None	Police Officer	Own	7,300
12	Bowman	Oma	Oak Park	1875	Nebraska	Ohio	New York	0	None	General Manager	Own	10,000
13	Lansdon	Mabel	Oak Park					2	None	Accountant		
14	Fisher	Lydia	Oak Park	1892	Illinois	Germany	Germany	3	None	Clerk	Own	

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
15	Moore	May (Mary)	Oak Park	1862	Illinois	New York	Illinois	0	Book keeper		Rent	
16	Foreman	Alice	Oak Park	1878	Illinois	New York	New York	3	None	Minister	Own	
17	Koerber	Hazel	Oak Park	1906	Illinois	Illinois	Germany	1	None	Police Officer	Own	10,000
18	DeBacker	Catherine	Oak Park									
19	Olsen	Catherine	Oak Park	1862	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	4	None		Own	
20	Shaner	Gertrude	Oak Park	1880	Iowa	Iowa	Iowa	0	None	Switchman	Own	5,000
21	Hansen	Clara	Oak Park	1879	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	2	None	Coal	Own	
22	Thompson	Edith	Oak Park									
23	Tabbert	Anna	Oak Park	1893	Illinois	Scotland	Illinois	1	None	Clerk	Own	
24	Papke	Genevieve	Oak Park	1895	Wash.	Oregon	Ohio	1	None	Clerk	Own	12,500
25	Arthur	Catherine	Oak Park	1875	Wisco.	Bohemia	Bohemia	1	None	Mechanical Engineer	Own	
26	Schallau	Barbara	Oak Park						None	Receiving Clerk		
27	Burmeister	Margaret	Oak Park									
28	Keeler	Metsal	Oak Park	1877	Illinois	England	France	1	None	Postal Clerk	Own	

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
29	Sorenson	Anna	Oak Park	1888	Illinois	Illinois	Germany	3	None	Auditor	Own	
30	Pfister	Bertha	Forest Park	1900					None	Driver		
31	Pfister	Minnie	Forest Park									
32	Fossell	Jeannette	Chicago									
33	Wannacott	Anna	Oak Park	1868	Illinois	Holland	Holland	1	None	Elevator Operator	Own	12,000
34	Donley	Martha	Oak Park	1883	Illinois	Missouri	Missouri	3	None	Postal Clerk	Own	10,000
35	Hacker	Emma	Oak Park	1890	Illinois	Germany	Germany	0	None	Mechanic	Rent	
36	Petersen	Mabel	Oak Park	1885	Iowa	Ohio	Ohio	1	Ice Cream Shop	Ice Cream Manufacturer	Rent	
37	Williams	Bertha	Oak Park	1875	Michigan	Ohio	New York	3	None	Clerk	Own	
38	Kreig	Elsie	Forest Park									
39	Schultz	Alicia	Oak Park	1905	Penn.	Penn.	Penn.	1	None	Signal Maintenance	Own	6,500
40	Walters	Gladys	Oak Park	1889	Iowa	Iowa	Illinois	2	None	Bookkeeper	Own	
41	Peet	Flora	Oak Park	1876	Illinois	Germany	Germany	3	None	General Manager	Own	15,000
42	Peet	Violet	Oak Park	1900				0	None	Locksmith		

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
43	Stevens	Genevieve	Oak Park	1873	Illinois	New York	Mass.	0	None			
44	Zimmerman	Edna	Forest Park	1901	Illinois	Illinois	Germany	0	Clerk		Rent	
45	Cooley	Olive	Forest Park	1878	USA	Germany	Germany	0	Physician's Clerk			
46	Rehbein	Harriet	Forest Park	1873	USA	Germany	Germany	0	None			
47	McClelland	Marie	Oak Park	1886	Illinois			0	None	Police Officer	Own	
48	Eaglesham	Amanda	Oak Park	1887	Minn.	Norway	Norway	2	None	Decorator	Own	7,500
49	Koerber	Edna	Forest Park					0	None	Salesman		
50	Stange	Mabel	Forest Park	1896	Illinois	Germany	Germany	3	None	Plasterer	Rent	
51	Bettinger	Jennie	Forest Park	1867	Iowa	Scotland	Germany	0	None	Barber	Rent	
52	Onthank	Grace	Oak Park	1893	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana	1	None	Police Officer	Rent	
53	McCurdy	Bertie	Oak Park	1882	Kansas	Kansas	Kansas	2	None	Chauffeur	Own	
54	Woodruff	Vera	Oak Park	1896	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	2	None	Police Officer	Own	5,000
55	Carlson	Jeannette	Oak Park	1879	Illinois	Conn.	New York	3	None	Fireman	Own	
56	Brooks	Martha	Oak Park	1859	Missouri	Spain	Missouri	1	None	Fireman	Own	7,500
57	Brooks	Leta	Chicago	1891	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	0	None	Chauffeur	Rent	

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
58	Wilson	Cora	Oak Park	1891	Michigan	Illinois	New York	3	None	Police Officer	Rent	
59	Schwartz	Lorraine	Oak Park	1907	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	0	Secretary	Police Officer	Own	7,300
60	Greenburg	Olive	Oak Park	1888	Illinois	Illinois	Virginia	2	None	Salesman	Rent	
61	Lawrence	Mary	Oak Park	1890	Michigan	England	Ohio	3	Nurse	Superintendent	Rent	
62	Hiller	Lulu	Oak Park	1888	Illinois	N. Jersey	N. Jersey	2	None	Manager	Rent	
63	McCann	M'Liss	Oak Park	1896				0	None	Service Station		
64	Beneke	Pearl	Oak Park	1901	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio	0	Odd Jobs			
65	Gilbert	Grace	Oak Park	1873	Maine	Maine	Maine	2	Society Editor	Salesman	Rent	
66	Cottrell	Mary	Oak Park	1870	Wisco.	Germany	New York	0	Christian Science Practitioner	Manufacturer	Rent	
67	Vierow	Clara	Oak Park	1892	Illinois	Germany	Germany	1	None	Driver	Rent	
68	Wilson	Marion	Forest Park	1898	Illinois	Germany	Germany	2	None	Foreman	Rent	
69	Guenther	Clara	Oak Park	1893	Illinois	Germany	Germany	2	None	Clerk	Rent	
70	Dressler	Emma	Forest Park	1867	Minn.	Germany	Germany	3	None	Conductor	Rent	
71	Hoye	Pauline	Oak Park	1890	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	2	None	Naprapath	Own	8,000

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
72	Ward	Clara	Oak Park	1876	Indiana	Indiana	New York	0	None	Carpenter	Rent	
73	Spencer	Edna	Oak Park									
74	Blair	Rose	Oak Park	1876	Illinois	Illinois	Penn.	1	None	Printer	Own	9,000
75	Benes	Ruth	Berwyn	1900								
76	Hefferman	Emma	Oak Park	1893	Illinois	Germany	Germany	0	None	Telephone Operator	Own	8,000
77	Meyer	Rachel	Oak Park	1891	Wisco.	Sweden	Sweden	0	None	Service Station	Own	10,000
78	Brauchle	Nellie	Oak Park	1886	Illinois	Canada	Canada	1	None	Chemical Engineer	Own	7,000
79	Schulz	Martha	Oak Park	1889	Illinois	Germany	Germany	2	None	Fireman	Rent	
80	Schock	Francis	Oak Park	1900	Illinois	Virginia	Ohio	0	None	Telephone Operator	Own	14,000
81	Cox	Marguerite	Oak Park	1896	Illinois	Canada	Illinois	0	Clerk			
82	Abbott	Ina	Oak Park	1902	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	1	House Work	Real Estate Broker	Rent	
83	Rabor	Verne										
84	Card	(Clara) Irene	Oak Park	1873	Illinois	England	England	1	Store Clerk	Dry Good Store	Own	3,000
85	Burzlaff	Alma	Forest Park	1885	Illinois	Germany	Germany	0	None	Store Proprietor	Own	18,000
86	Price	Minnetta	Oak Park	1886	Illinois	Poland	Illinois	6	None	Salesman	Rent	

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
87	Arnold	Anna	Oak Park	1875	Kansas	Germany	Germany	0	None	Salesman	Rent	
88	Kirby	Nellie	Oak Park	1869	Illinois	Germany	Norway	1	None	Telephone Operator	Rent	
89	Jennings	Elizabeth	Forest Park	1870	Illinois	Germany	Germany	1	None	Pipe Fitter	Rent	
90	Person	Hattie	Oak Park									
91	Keeler	Thora	Oak Park	1902	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	0	None	Postal Clerk	Own	
92	Sporel	Helen	Oak Park	1885	Illinois	Germany	Germany	2	None	Salesman	Own	10,000
93	Ball	Madeline	River Forest	1896	Missouri	Penn.	Ohio	1	None	Chemist	Rent	
94	Stimmel	Bessie	Oak Park	1885	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland	1	None	Police Sergeant	Own	
95	Van Liew	DeLora	Oak Park	1894	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio	1	None	Route Clerk RR	Rent	
96	Schustek	Marion	Oak Park	1895	Illinois	Canada	Canada	1	None	Grain Clerk	Own	10,000
97	Schustek	Ruth	Oak Park	1889	Illinois	Canada	Illinois	1	None	Builder	Own	26,000
98	Grepling	Gertrude	Oak Park	1900	Illinois	Germany	Germany	1	None	Carpenter	Own	8,000
99												
100												
101	Zimmerman	Bertie	Forest Park	1884	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	3	None	Police Sergeant	Rent	
102												

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
103												
104												
105	Frederickson	Blanche	Oak Park	1892	Illinois							
106	Watterson	Leah	Oak Park	1878	Indiana	Penn.	Penn.	0	None	Service Station	Rent	
107	Zimmerman	Mamie	Forest Park	1907	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	0	Stenographer		Rent	
108	Spohnholtz	Betty	Oak Park	1899	Illinois	Sweden	Sweden	1	None	Police Sergeant	Rent	
109	Elliott	Edna	Oak Park	1876	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	0	Librarian	Traffic Manager	Rent	
110	Dombrow	Grace	Berwyn	1889	Illinois	England	New York	4	None	Carpenter	Own	12,000
111	Blair	Viola	Oak Park	1903	Wisco.	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	1	None	Printer	Own	9,000
112	Lee	Ruby	Oak Park									
113	Scherman	Grace	Oak Park	1896	Illinois	Switz.	New York	2	None	Dentist	Own	15,000
114	Norman	Berta	Oak Park	1892	Nebraska	Missouri	Missouri	2	None	Electrician	Own	
115	Huebner	Elsie	Forest Park	1904	Illinois	Pomerania	Germany	0	Stenographer		Own	
116												
117	Breivogel	Augusta	Forest Park						Secretary			
118	Stalley	Elizabeth	Forest Park	1890	Illinois	England	England	0	Book Binder		Own	6,000

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
119												
120	Fahrney	Corine	Oak Park	1886	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio	1	None	Dentist	Own	
121	Inman	Altha	Berwyn									
122	Nolph	Ruth	Oak Park	1898	Penn.	Penn.	Penn.	1	None	Electric Company	Rent	
123	McCurdy	Bernice	Oak Park	1908	Illinois	Illinois	Kansas	0	None		Own	
124	Donnan	Madge	Oak Park	1900	Kansas	Kentucky	Missouri	1	None	Driver	Own	7,500
125												
126	Moon	Rose	Oak Park	1848	Ohio	Penn.	Ohio	2	None	Manufacturer	Own	
127	Schultz	Rose	Forest Park	1889	Illinois	Hungary	Hungary	3	None	Tailor	Own	7,000
128	Smith	Lydia	Oak Park	1864	New York	New York	New York	2	None	Advertising	Own	8,000
129	Hill	Mabel	Oak Park	1894	Illinois	Illinois	Michigan	2	None	Manager	Own	6,000
130	Eldridge	Bernice	Chicago	1895	Illinois	Virginia	Virginia	1	None	Chauffeur	Rent	
131	Ablemann	Vernie	Forest Park	1886	Wisco.	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	0	Presser		Rent	
132	Wilson	Dorothy	Oak Park	1891	Illinois	Canada	Illinois	3	None	Clerk	Own	8,000
133	Taylor	Daisy	Oak Park	1886	Indiana	USA	USA	0	None	Switchman	Rent	
134	Brossard	Ethel	Forest Park	1899	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	3	None	Printer	Rent	

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
135	Baldwin	Mildred	Chicago	1903	Illinois	Illinois	New York	0	Tele. Operator		Rent	
136	Hanson	Ethel	Forest Park	1891	Illinois	Norway	Norway	4	None	Telephone Repairman	Own	
137	Johnson	Catherine	Chicago									
138	Hanneman	Hattie	Chicago									
139	Schwader	Pauline	Forest Park	1895	Illinois	Germany	Germany	0	None	Switchman	Rent	
140	Martin	Ruth	Oak Park	1894	Illinois	New York	New York	0	None	Draftsman	Own	
141	Harbin	Jessie	Oak Park	1896	Illinois	Scotland	Scotland	0	None	Superintendent	Own	
142	Rasmussen	Minnie	Forest Park	1876	Illinois	Germany	Germany	1	None	Laborer	Rent	
143	Spizirri	Anna	Forest Park	1893	Illinois	Indiana	Illinois	2	Tele. Operator		Rent	
144	Sewell	Leatha	Chicago	1881	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri	0	None	Salesman	Rent	
145	Young	Alma	Forest Park	1883	USA	USA	USA	2	None	Electric Company	Rent	
146	Versduur	Jessie	Oak Park	1896	Canada	New York	New York	0	None	Adversiting	Own	8,000
147	Robson	Mabel	Chicago	1892	Michigan	Illinois	Illinois	2	None	???	Rent	
148	Seeman	Emily	Chicago	1898	Lithuania	Lithuania	Lithuania	0	Sorter		Rent	
149	Maywald	Cora	Chicago	1883	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	2	None	Pressman	Own	14,500
150	Kent	Emma	Oak Park	1892	Illinois	Germany	Germany	0	Housekeeper		Rent	7,000
151	Voelzke	Ruth	Oak Park	1908	Illinois	Germany	Illinois	0	None		Rent	

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
								0	None		Own	
152	Schwartz	Bernice	Oak Park	1909	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	0	None		Own	7,300
153	Smith	Bertha	Chicago									
154	Kautz	Margaret	Forest Park									
155	Prehn	Amanda	Forest Park	1893	Illinois	Germany	Germany	3	None	Conductor	Rent	
156	Gesswien	Anna	Chicago	1864	Illinois	Germany	Illinois	2	None	Machinist	Rent	
157	La Cosse	Mary	Oak Park	1867	Illinois	New York	Illinois	2	None		Own	10,000
158	Schlosser	Bertha	Chicago									
159	McDonald	Minnie	Maywood									
160	Skala	Helen	Oak Park	1896	Wisco.	Germany	Germany	0	None	Police Officer	Own	7,500
161	Wolfe	Dorothy	Riverside	1900	Ohio	New York	Ohio	1	None	Superintendent	Own	10,000
162	Niland	Estelle	Oak Park	1902	Illinois	Penn.	England	0	None	Commerical Trader	Rent	
163	Scully	Edith	Oak Park	1885	Minn.	Sweden	Sweden	1	Salesman Bonds			Rent
164	West	Juanita	Oak Park									
165	Hoy	Mildred	Oak Park	1903	Indiana	Arkansas	Kentucky	0	None	Clerk	Rent	
166	Vogt	Florence	Oak Park	1904	Iowa	Germany	Germany	3	None	Bookkeeper	Rent	
167	Baker	Helen	Oak Park									

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
168	Engleman	Edna	Berwyn									
169	Frasier	Laura	Chicago									
170	Meskan	Josephine	Oak Park	1895	Illinois	Bohemia	Bohemia	1	None	Brass Foundry	Rent	
171	Herron	Laura	Oak Park	1882	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	2	None	Chauffeur	Own	8,000
172	Bishop	Iva Jean	Oak Park									
173	Bishop	Anna	Oak Park	1878	Maryland	Germany	Germany	1	None	Pipe Fitter	Rent	
174	Olson	Mildred	Oak Park	1907	Michigan	Sweden	Sweden	0	Linotype Operator		Own	7,000
175	Davis	Dorothy	River Forest	1893	Illinois	New York	Illinois	0	Teacher		Own	15,000
176	Vaughn	Vera	Chicago									
177	Voelzke	Emeline	Oak Park	1866	Illinois	Germany	Germany	5	None	Traveling Salesman	Own	
178	Draheim	Edna	Oak Park									
179	Deutscher	Kathryn (Kate)	Forest Park	1892	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	1	Waitress	Chauffeur	Rent	
180	Schnelle	Lena	Melrose Park	1888	Illinois	Illinois	Germany	2	Farmer	Farmer	Own	3100
181	Reed	Francis	Chicago									
182	Holmer	Amanda	Oak Park	1869	Illinois	Germany	Germany	2	None	Carpenter	Own	
183	Hlovecek	Viola	Oak Park	1903	Illinois	Austria	Austria	0	None	Butcher	Own	

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
184	Kreml	Mildred	Oak Park	1906	Illinois	Austria	Austria	0	None			
185												
186	Schopp	Caroline	Oak Park	1856	Penn.	Germany	Germany	0	Manager			
187	Brainard	Josephine	Maywood	1903	Illinois	England	Illinois	1	None	Salesman	Own	10000
188	Boddy	Lucile	Maywood	1898	Illinois	England	England	0	None		Own	
189	Boddy	Madeline	Maywood	1899	Illinois	England	England	0	Bookkeeper		Own	
190	Wallbaum	Marion	Chicago									
191	Banthin	Norene	Chicago									
192	Casino	Emma	Chicago									
193	Keys	Svea	Chicago									
194	Wiebrecht	Margaret	Chicago									
195	Bode	Ruth	Oak Park									
196	Johnson	Marion	Oak Park	1874	Canada	Scotland	Canada	1	None	Engineer	Own	
197	Weaver	Alice	Melrose Park									
198	Vanek	Lillian	Chicago									
199	Miller	Hazel	Forest Park		Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	0	Telephone Operator		Own	
200	Duff	Rebecca	Oak Park	1861	Indiana	Ohio	Ohio	0	Dressmaker	Doctor	Own	

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
201	Forst	Francis	Forest Park	1872	Illinois	Bohemia	Bohemia	4	None	Machinist	Own	
202	Tune	Stella	Oak Park	1888	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky	1	None	Salesman		
203	Barton	Blanche	Oak Park	1887	Illinois	New York	Canada	0	Stenographer	Engineer	Own	12000
204	Barton	Noeral	Oak Park	1894	Illinois	New York	Canada	0	Stenographer	Engineer	Own	12000
205	Forsythe	Della	Chicago	1887	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	2	None	Painter	Rent	
206												
207	Weiss	Dorothy	Forest Park	1895	Illinois	Lithuania	Lithuania	0	None	None	Own	9000
208	Gilbert	Teresa	Chicago									
209	Olney	Della	Chicago		Iowa	Penn.	W.Virginia	0	None	Confectionery Store Proprietor	Rent	
210	Farnum	Charlotte	Chicago	1868	Wisco.	Switz.	Mass.	4	None	Accountant	Rent	
211	Gebo	Sadie	Oak Park	1880	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio	0	Bookkeeper		Rent	
212	Howre	Catherine	Oak Park	1887	Illinois	Canada	New York	2	None	Engineer	Own	
213	Schneidewendt	Helen	Forest Park	1888	Illinois	Germany	Germany	1	None	Store Manager	Rent	
214	Scherer	Margaret	Oak Park	1896	Illinois	Penn.	Indiana	1	None	Printer	Own	7000
215	Smith	Irma	Oak Park	1904	Illinois	Michigan	N. Hamp.	0	None			
216	Rush	Cleta	Cicero									

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
217	Oram	Harriet	Oak Park	1887	Illinois	England	Canada	0	Housekeeper		Rent	
218	Malone	Rose	Chicago	1880	Kansas	W.Virginia	Illinois	0	Dress Maker		Rent	
219	Malone	Ruby	Oak Park	1885	Illinois	England	England	1	None	Clerk	Own	
220	Greener	Ella	Oak Park	1864	Wisco.	New York	Penn.	2	Stenographer	Salesman	Own	
221	Burlingame	Adelaide	Chicago	1895	Illinois	Iowa	Wisconsin	0	Bookkeeper	Proof Reader	Rent	
222	Burlingame	Jessie	Chicago	1867	Wisco.	Wales	Wales	2	None	Proof Reader	Rent	
223	Merkling	Amanda	Chicago	1878	Illinois	Ohio	Ohio	0	None	Police Officer		
224	Benson	Della	Oak Park	1898	Illinois	Norway	Wisconsin	0	Ticketing Agent		Rent	
225	Johnson	Marie	Oak Park	1888	Iowa	Germany	Germany	1	None	Draftsman	Own	10000
226	Brown	Viola	Forest Park	1905	Illinois	Germany	Indiana	2	None	Lineman	Rent	
227	Hills	Florence	Forest Park	1901	Illinois	Germany	Indiana	3	None	Foreman	Rent	
228	Leatz	Martha	Forest Park	1880	USA	Illinois	Illinois	6	None	Police Officer	Own	
229	Taylor	Matilda	Forest Park	1886	Illinois	Illinois	Germany	2	None	Plumber		
230	Stolle	Elizabeth	Forest Park	1886	Illinois	Germany	Germany	1	None	Machinist	Own	12000

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
231	Bresemen	Pauline	Forest Park	1888	Illinois	Germany	Germany	7	None	Fireman	Rent	
232	Jensen	Linna	Oak Park	1887	Indiana	New York	Indiana	1	Store Clerk	Store Proprietor	Rent	
233	Peterson	Elizabeth	Oak Park					0	None	Foreman	Rent	
234	Fleming	Florence	Chicago									
235	Jones	Helen	Oak Park	1869				2	None	Civil Engineer	Own	10000
236	Olson	Mabel	Oak Park	1903	Illinois	Germany	Germany	0	None	Delicatesse n Proprietor	Rent	
237	Morgan	Margaret	Chicago									
238	Jackson	May	Oak Park									
239	Voirol	Amma	Chicago									
240	McAuley	Carrie	Forest Park						None	Shipping Clerk		
241	Bloom	Myrtle	Oak Park									
242	Burr	Vee	Oak Park									
243	Gilmore	Evelyn	Chicago									
244	Meyen	Edith	Oak Park									
245												
246	Lowderbaug h	Jessie	Chicago									

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
247	McAuley	Alice	Forest Park						Stenographer			
248	Kreml	Louise	Oak Park	1909	Illinois	Bohemia	Bohemia	0	None			
249	Kapp	Ethyl	Chicago									
250												
251	Gilbert	Ethel	Oak Park	1891	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	0	School Teacher	Stenographer	Own	10000
252	Morley	Anna	Oak Park	1876	Illinois	N. Ireland	N. Ireland	0	None	Electrical Engineer	Own	13000
253	Fry	Annie	Cicero									
254	McKinney	Meta	Berwyn	1898								
255	Holmes	Charlotte	Chicago									
256	Schumm	Stella	Chicago	1892	Minn.	Minnesota	Minnesota	4	None	Plasterer	Rent	
257	Bertrand	Grace	Chicago	1878	Michigan	New York	Ohio	1	None	Chauffeur	Own	13500
258	Lepke	Wilmma	Oak Park	1873	Missouri	USA	USA	1	None	Laborer	Rent	
259	Roberts	Martha	Oak Park	1876	Indiana	Ohio	Indiana	1	None	Engineer	Rent	
260	Roberts	Elsie	Oak Park	1901	Illinois	Illinois	Indiana	0	Clerk		Rent	
261	Waite	Maggie	Chicago	1884	New York	New York	New York	0	Lecturer		Rent	
262	Reichards	Nancy	Oak Park									
263												
264	Green	May	Oak Park	1882	Illinois	Ireland	Illinois	1	None	Postal Clerk	Rent	

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
265												
266	Hoke	Francia	Oak Park						Milliner			
267	King	Anna	Chicago									
268	Davis	Thelma	Oak Park	1903	Indiana	Ohio	Indiana	2	None	Salesman	Rent	
269	Lawson	Helen	Oak Park									
270	Sabel	Amelia	Glen Elyn									
271	Fisher	Mabel	Oak Park	1865	Alabama	New York	Alabama	0	None	Salesman	Own	5000
272	Weichlein	Hattie	Oak Park	1878					Clerk			
273	Dennhardt	Elizabeth	Oak Park	1872	Louisiana	England	England	0	None	Commercial Trader	Own	
274	Fountain	Carrie	Oak Park	1873	New York	New York	New York	1	None	Street Car Operator	Own	7000
275	Thayer	Lottie	Maywood									
276	Brafford	Louisa	Maywood	1875	Illinois	Germany	Germany	0	None	Railroad Engineer	Rent	
277	Dalton	Mildred	Oak Park	1886	Illinois	England	England	3	None	Pressman	Own	
278	Boydston	Josephine	Oak Park	1859	Indiana	Ohio	Ohio	1	None	Ticketing Agent	Own	9000
279	Dennler	Ida	Chicago	1897	Wash., DC	Wash., DC	Maryland	1	None	Pattern Maker	Own	

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
280	Pennington	Grace	Oak Park									
281	Hintz	Margaret	Maywoo d									
282	Oliver	Jennie	Maywoo d									
283	Walsh	Etta	Chicago									
284	Martenik	Mary	Oak Park	1886	Illinois	Czech.	Czechoslova kia	1	None	Tailor	Own	8000
285	Beatty	Mina	Oak Park	1889	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	1	None	Commercial Traveler		
286	Brzewicki	Ernestine	Oak Park									
287	Bode	Ruth	Oak Park									
288	Fross	Eliza	Maywoo d	1883	Penn.	Penn.	Pennsylvania	1	None	Salesman	Rent	
289	Martens	Edna	Oak Park	1892	California	Germany	New York	0	None	Teamster	Rent	
290	Blossey	Emma	Forest Park	1870	Indiana	Saxony	Saxony	3	None	Painter	Own	
291	Ochs	Clara	Oak Park	1876	Wisco.	Germany	Wisconsin	0	Physician		Own	4000
292	Tamm	Luilla	Bellwoo d									
293	Hardy	Laura	Bellwoo d	1902	Illinois	Germany	Germany	4	None	Steamfitter	Rent	
294	Raiman	Dorothy	Maywoo d	1903	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	2	None	Postal Clerk	Own	5000

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
295	Hardy	Myrtle	Melrose Park	1908	Illinois	Kentucky	Illinois	0	Laundress		Own	9000
296	Firnhaber	Myrtle	Maywood	1897	Wisco.	Illinois	Wisconsin	0	None	Machinist	Rent	
297	Wernes	Hulda	Chicago	1897	Norway	Norway	Sweden	0	None	Mechanic	Rent	
298	Burr	Cora	Oak Park					1				
299	Weitzosek	Ruth	Melrose Park									
300	Jorgensen	Evelyn	Melrose Park	1900	Illinois	Wisconsin	Illinois	4	None	Carpenter	Rent	
301	Burr	Clara	Oak Park									
302	Corkell	Matilda	Chicago	1888	Illinois	Germany	Germany	1	None	Barber	Rent	
303												
304												
305	Mattison	Matilda	Oak Park									
306	Forbes	Edna	Oak Park	1896	Arkansas	Indiana	Indiana	2	None	Ticketing Agent	Own	9000
307	Crooker	Florence	Oak Park	1880	Illinois	Illinois	Indiana	2	None	Butcher	Own	
308	Hamlin	Clara	Maywood	1872	Illinois	Penn.	Pennsylvania	3	None	Railroad Worker	Own	
309	Mahler	Sue	Franklin Park	1891	Illinois	Kentucky	Indiana	1	None	Railroad Conductor	Own	8000
310	White	Malia	River Grove	1885	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	0	None	Switchman	Rent	

ID No.	Last Name	First Name	City	YOB	Birth Place	Mother BP	Father BP	# of child	Occupation	Spouse's Occup.	House Cond.	Val. of Home
311	Roland	Eleanor	Maywood	1880	Illinois	Norway	Norway	5	None	Railroad Conductor	Own	12500
312												
313	Blake	Rose	Franklin Park	1887	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana	1	None	Bus Driver	Rent	
307 B	Hayes	Maxine	Argo									

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Last Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Maiden</i>	<i>Marit.Stat us</i>	<i>Spouse Name</i>	<i>Spouse Birth</i>	<i>Spouse Age</i>	<i>Sp. Mo. Birth</i>	<i>Sp. Fa. Birth</i>	<i>Rel. to Head of HH</i>	<i>Wife Age at Marr.</i>	<i>Male Age</i>
1	Gerwin	629 S. Grove	Geswine	M	Harry	Ohio	44			Wife		
2	Sailor	429 S. Humphrey		W	Lois					Stepdtr.		
3	Kazda	1039 S. Clarence Ave.	Maatta	M	William	Illinois	41	Czech.	Czech.	Wife	18	21
4	Bohnsack	56th Ave.		M	Frank	Illinois	45			Wife		
5	Bergstrom	817 S. Oak Park Ave.		M								
6	Klein	Glen Elyn		M								
7	Soyer	517 S. Euclid Ave.		M	Louis	Illinois	33	Missouri	Tennessee	Wife		
8	Winney	1127 Erie St.		M	William	Wisconsi n	60	Wisconsi n	Wisconsi n	Wife		
9	Wolcott	414 N. Ridgeland		M	Clifford	Michigan	43	New York	New York	Wife		
10	Krohn	515 Woodbine		M	Charles	Illinois	34	Germany	Germany	Wife		
11	Schwartz	856 Home Ave.		M	Frank	Illinois	34	Germany	Germany	Wife		
12	Bowman	930 N. Taylor Ave.		M	Charles	Ohio	51			Wife	25	25
13	Lansdon	643 S. Lombard Ave.		M	Charles		41			Wife		
14	Fisher	937 N. Taylor Ave.	Cohrs	M	Harry	Indiana	39			Wife		
15	Moore	1121 Erie St.		W						Roomer		
16	Foreman	701 N. Lombard Ave.	Munson	M	Rev. Louis	Illinois	54			Wife		

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Last Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Maiden</i>	<i>Marit.Stat us</i>	<i>Spouse Name</i>	<i>Spouse Birth</i>	<i>Spouse Age</i>	<i>Sp. Mo. Birth</i>	<i>Sp. Fa. Birth</i>	<i>Rel. to Head of HH</i>	<i>Wife Age at Marr.</i>	<i>Male Age</i>
17	Koerber	1114 Miller Ave.		M	William	Illinois	26	Germany	Germany	Wife	18	23
18	DeBacker	714 Columbia	DeBacker	S								
19	Olsen	210 Washington Blvd.		W	M.P.					Head		
20	Shaner	1144 S. Harvey		M	John	Illinois	57			Wife	17	27
21	Hansen	1193 S. Harvey		M	Henry	Germany	46	Germany	Germany	Wife		
22	Thompson	1411 S. Highland	Thompson	S								
23	Tabbert	1130 S. Harvey		M	Harry	Illinois	34	Germany	Germany	Wife		
24	Papke	807 S. Cuyler		M	Richard	Illinois	32	Germany	Germany	Wife	21	22
25	Arthur	807 S. Cuyler		W						Mother		
26	Schallau	802 Harrison Ave.		M	Frank					Wife		
27	Burmeister	Warr. Bldg.	Burmeister	S								
28	Keeler	847 Clinton Ave.		M	Charles	Illinois	50	Penn.	Penn.	Wife		
29	Sorenson	900 N. Taylor Ave.		M	Alfred	Denmark	39	Denmark	Denmark	Wife		
30	Pfister	7651 Monroe	Rokite	M	Frank						19	
31	Pfister	1030 Circle Ave.		M	Nicholas							
32	Fossell	5832 Washington										
33	Wannacott	216 Chicago Ave.		M	John	Illinois	63	England	N. Ireland	Wife		

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Last Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Maiden</i>	<i>Marit.Stat us</i>	<i>Spouse Name</i>	<i>Spouse Birth</i>	<i>Spouse Age</i>	<i>Sp. Mo. Birth</i>	<i>Sp. Fa. Birth</i>	<i>Rel. to Head of HH</i>	<i>Wife Age at Marr.</i>	<i>Male Age</i>
34	Donley	941 S. Kenilworth Ave.		M	William	Illinois	46	Illinois	Kansas	Wife		
35	Hacker	818 Belleforte Ave.		M	Herman	Illinois	42	Germany	Germany	Wife		
36	Petersen	651 N. Humphrey Ave.		M	Hans	Denmark	48	Denmark	Denmark	Wife		
37	Williams	926 N. Hayes Ave.		M	J. Harry	New Jersey	60			Wife		
38	Kreig	517 Jackson St.	Kreig	S								
39	Schultz	1007 S. Ridgeland		M	Rudolph	Illinois	28	N. Jersey	Germany	Wife	21	28
40	Walters	901 N. Hayes Ave.		M	William	Indiana	37	Indiana	Indiana	Wife		
41	Peet	1001 S. Humphrey Ave.		M	Arthur	Illinois	52	England	England	Wife		
42	Peet	601 S. Lyman Ave.	May Lowes	M	Harold	Illinois	26			Wife	20	20
43	Stevens	430 S. Scoville Ave.	Stevens	S								
44	Zimmerman	419 Thomas St.	Zimmerman	S						Dtr.		
45	Cooley	7406 Madison St.		W						Sister		
46	Rehbein	7406 Madison St.		W	Herman					Head		
47	McClelland	924 Lyman Ave.	Schultz	M	Lester	Illinois	31			Wife		
48	Eaglesham	930 Lyman Ave.		M	Hugh	Canada	52	Scotland	Scotland	Wife		
49	Koerber	842 Thomas Ave.		M	Charles	Illinois	26			Wife		

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Last Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Maiden</i>	<i>Marit.Stat us</i>	<i>Spouse Name</i>	<i>Spouse Birth</i>	<i>Spouse Age</i>	<i>Sp. Mo. Birth</i>	<i>Sp. Fa. Birth</i>	<i>Rel. to Head of HH</i>	<i>Wife Age at Marr.</i>	<i>Male Age</i>
50	Stange	7624 Monroe		M	Benjamin	Illinois	28	Germany	Germany	Wife	22	22
51	Bettinger	335 Marengo		M	Lee	New York	67	New York	New York	Wife		
52	Onthank	403 N. Taylor	Holman	M	Fred	Illinois	33	Illinois	Illinois	Wife		
53	McCurdy	831 Home Ave.		M	John	Illinois	44	Illinois	Illinois	Wife		
54	Woodruff	100 Wisconsin Ave.		M	George	Illinois	32	Illinois	Illinois	Wife	17	19
55	Carlson	518 N. Cuyler Ave.		M	George	Illinois	48	Norway	Norway	Wife		
56	Brooks	1025 S. Harvey Ave.		W	w. S.E.					M-in-Law		
57	Brooks	181 W. Harrison St.		M	Clyde	Kansas	36	Kentucky	Missouri	Wife		
58	Wilson	312 N. Euclid Ave.		M	Thomas	Canada	39	Ireland	Canada	Wife		
59	Schwartz	856 Home Ave.	Schwartz	S						Dtr.		
60	Greenburg	516 N. Cuyler		M	Tage	Illinois	39	Sweden	Sweden	Wife		
61	Lawrence	610 Randolph St.		M	Philip	Michigan	48	New York	New York	Wife		
62	Hiller	905 Pleasant St.		M	Earl	Illinois	40	Illinois	Illinois	Wife	22	24
63	McCann	900 N. Lombard Ave.		M	John		29			Wife	27	26
64	Beneke	629 S. Grove Ave.	Beneke	S						Sis-in-Law		
65	Gilbert	146 N. Humphrey Apt. 213		M	William	Maine	60			Wife		

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Last Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Maiden</i>	<i>Marit. Status</i>	<i>Spouse Name</i>	<i>Spouse Birth</i>	<i>Spouse Age</i>	<i>Sp. Mo. Birth</i>	<i>Sp. Fa. Birth</i>	<i>Rel. to Head of HH</i>	<i>Wife Age at Marr.</i>	<i>Male Age</i>
66	Cottrell	422 Lake St. Apt. 147		M	Willis	New York	55			Wife		
67	Vierow	1148 Washington Blvd.		M	Fred	Germany	34	Germany	Germany	Wife	20	20
68	Wilson	7405 Dixon St.		M	John	Illinois	29	England	England	Wife	22	23
69	Guenther	1166 S. Grove Ave.	Natcke	M	Adolphe	Germany	37	Germany	Germany	Wife		
70	Dressler	832 Marengo St.		M	William	Illinois	61	Penn.	Penn.	Wife	29	31
71	Hoye	121 S. Grove St.		M	Carl	Illinois	37	Illinois	Illinois	Wife		
72	Ward	1107 Chicago Ave.	De Wolfe	M	Ira	Indiana	57	Indiana	Indiana	Wife		
73	Spencer	932 N. Lombard Ave.										
74	Blair	1019 S. Lyman		M	John	Michigan	64	New York	New York	Mother		
75	Benes	2409 S. Lombard Ave.										
76	Hefferman	914 S. Home Ave.		M	Fred	Illinois	38	Michigan	Illinois	Wife	19	24
77	Meyer	424 N. Maple Ave.	Lindblane	M	Edwin	Illinois	34	Illinois	Illinois	Wife	24	23
78	Brauchle	1110 S. Highland Ave.		M	Gustave	New York	58	New York	New York	Wife	17	34
79	Schulz	1104 S. Cuyler Apt. 169		M	Ernest	Illinois	40	Germany	Germany		19	22
80	Schock	728 N. Marion St.	Smith	M	Frederick	Indiana	27	Germany	Germany	Wife		

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Last Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Maiden</i>	<i>Marit.Stat us</i>	<i>Spouse Name</i>	<i>Spouse Birth</i>	<i>Spouse Age</i>	<i>Sp. Mo. Birth</i>	<i>Sp. Fa. Birth</i>	<i>Rel. to Head of HH</i>	<i>Wife Age at Marr.</i>	<i>Male Age</i>
81	Cox	726 N. Woodbine	Cox	S						Dtr.		
82	Abbott	115 S. Maple Ave.		M	John	Wisconsin	31	Penn.	Minn.	Wife		
83	Rabor	Comm c/o #33										
84	Card	805 S. Cuyler Ave.		M	Charles	New York	68	Mass.	New York	Wife		
85	Burzlaff	642 Marengo		M	Herman	Illinois	41	Germany	Germany	Wife		
86	Price	829 N. Grove Ave.	Mayfield	M	William	Russia	46	Russia	Russia	Wife	19	25
87	Arnold	109 Wisconsin Ave.		M	John	Illinois	53	Indiana	Germany	Wife	24	26
88	Kirby	1114 S. Harvey Ave.		M	Joseph	Penn.	62	Virginia	England	Wife		
89	Jennings	1053 Dunlop		W	J.Y.					Head	21	
90	Person	6618 Roosevelt Rd.										
91	Keeler	847 Clinton Ave.	Keeler	S						Dtr.		
92	Sporel	1044 Hayes		M	Fred	Illinois	44	Germany	Illinois	Wife	21	24
93	Ball	141 Forest	Hoopes	M	Charles	Kansas	33	New York	Penn.	Wife	24	26
94	Stimmel	553 Marion St.		M	Harry	Maryland	44	Maryland	Maryland	Wife		
95	Van Liew	514 Marion St.	Ebersole	M	Leo	Ohio	39	Ohio	Ohio	Wife	20	27
96	Schustek	518 N. Lombard Ave.		M	Victor	Illinois	31	Austria	Austria	Wife	19	19

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Last Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Maiden</i>	<i>Marit. Status</i>	<i>Spouse Name</i>	<i>Spouse Birth</i>	<i>Spouse Age</i>	<i>Sp. Mo. Birth</i>	<i>Sp. Fa. Birth</i>	<i>Rel. to Head of HH</i>	<i>Wife Age at Marr.</i>	<i>Male Age</i>
97	Schustek	524 N. Lombard Ave.		M	George	Illinois	37	Austria	Austria	Wife	21	22
98	Grepling	1176 S. Cuyler Ave	Meyer	M	Charles	Illinois	31	Germany	Germany	Dtr.	20	25
99												
100												
101	Zimmerman	112 Circle Ave.		M	Harry	Illinois	42	Germany	Germany	Wife		
102												
103												
104												
105	Frederickson	192 Marion St.										
106	Watterson	135 Marion St.	Caskey	M	Henry	Delawar e	47			Wife		
107	Zimmerman	110 Circle Ave.	Zimmerm an	S						Dtr.		
108	Spohnholtz	646 Adams St.		M	Harry	Illinois	34	USA	Germany	Wife	26	33
109	Elliott	1124 Miller St.		W	George					Head		
110	Dombrow	1221 S. Home Ave.	Ware	M	Adolph	Illinois	37	Germany	Germany	Wife	20	20
111	Blair	1019 S. Lyman		M	John	Illinois	31	Michigan	Illinois	Wife		
112	Lee	337 S. Cuyler Ave.										
113	Scherman	1149 Lake St.		M	Frederick	Wisconsi n	30	Germany	Germany	Wife	23	23
114	Norman	822 Marion St.		M	Joseph	Wisconsi n	34	Mass.	Mass.	Wife		
115	Huebner	1123 Circle Ave.	Huebner	S						Dtr.		

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Last Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Maiden</i>	<i>Marit.Stat us</i>	<i>Spouse Name</i>	<i>Spouse Birth</i>	<i>Spouse Age</i>	<i>Sp. Mo. Birth</i>	<i>Sp. Fa. Birth</i>	<i>Rel. to Head of HH</i>	<i>Wife Age at Marr.</i>	<i>Male Age</i>
116												
117	Breivogel	1003 Dunlop	Breivogel	S								
118	Stalley	1009 Circle Ave.	Stalley	S						Dtr.		
119												
120	Fahrney	623 Fair Oaks		M	Samuel	Illinois	46	Marylan d	Virginia			
121	Inman	1524 S. Kenilworth										
122	Nolph	1316 S. Wisconsin		M	Irving	Penn.	31	Penn.	Penn.	Lodger	22	25
123	McCurdy	831 Home Ave.	McCurdy	S						Dtr.		
124	Donnan	1025 S. Harvey Ave.	Brooks	M	Thomas	N. Ireland	33	N. Ireland	N. Ireland	Wife	19	27
125												
126	Moon	329 Euclid Ave.		W	w. J.H.					M-in-Law		
127	Schultz	906 S. Lathrop Ave.		M	Jerome	Illinois	35	Hungary	Hungary	Wife	24	22
128	Smith	922 S. Kenilworth Ave.		W						M-in-Law		
129	Hill	626 Woodbine Ave.		M	Claude	Indiana	35	Indiana	Indiana	Wife	19	22
130	Eldridge	228 N. Korlov Ave.		M	John	Missi.	36	England	France	Wife	16	20
131	Ablemann	7208 Franklin	Quinby	W						Head		
132	Wilson	1036 S. Elmwood Ave.		M	James	Illinois	41	Illinois	Ohio	Wife	23	30

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Last Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Maiden</i>	<i>Marit. Status</i>	<i>Spouse Name</i>	<i>Spouse Birth</i>	<i>Spouse Age</i>	<i>Sp. Mo. Birth</i>	<i>Sp. Fa. Birth</i>	<i>Rel. to Head of HH</i>	<i>Wife Age at Marr.</i>	<i>Male Age</i>
133	Taylor	725 S. Carpenter		M	Arthur	Missi.	40	Wisconsin	Penn.	Wife		
134	Brossard	905 Circle Ave.		M	Charles	Illinois	33	Illinois	Germany	Wife	21	27
135	Baldwin	4836 W. Huron St.		S						Dtr.		
136	Hanson	839 Circle Ave.		M	Niles	Illinois	37	Norway	Norway	Wife		
137	Johnson	2867 Elston St.	Johnson	S								
138	Hanneman	4200 N. Troy										
139	Schwader	944 Thomas		M	William	Illinois	34	Ohio	Illinois	Wife		
140	Martin	730 Belleforte		M	Douglas	Illinois	34	Scotland	Scotland	Dtr-in-Law		
141	Harbin	730 Belleforte	Martin	M	Richard	Illinois	31	England	England	Dtr.		
142	Rasmussen	942 Marengo Ave.		M	Charles	Illinois	41	Denmark	Denmark	Wife		
143	Spizirri	1116 Dunlop	Glocke	D						Head		
144	Sewell	3258 Jackson		M	James	Iowa	44	Iowa	Iowa	Lodger		
145	Young	7416 W. Madison		M	Walter	USA	48			Wife		
146	Versduur	922 S. Kenilworth Ave.	Smith	M	Thomas	Illinois	34	Holland	Holland	Wife	18	22
147	Robson	4778 N. Elston St.		M	Arthur	Michigan	42	Canada	England	Wife		
148	Seeman	3843 N. Spaulding	Seeman	S						Lodger		
149	Maywald	1815 N. Linder Ave.		M	William	New York	43	Germany	England	Wife	21	28
150	Kent	924 S. Lombard Ave.	Kent	S						Lodger		

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Last Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Maiden</i>	<i>Marit.Stat us</i>	<i>Spouse Name</i>	<i>Spouse Birth</i>	<i>Spouse Age</i>	<i>Sp. Mo. Birth</i>	<i>Sp. Fa. Birth</i>	<i>Rel. to Head of HH</i>	<i>Wife Age at Marr.</i>	<i>Male Age</i>
151	Voelzke	1117 Erie St.	Voelke	S						Dtr.		
152	Schwartz	856 Home Ave.	Schwartz	S						Dtr.		
153	Smith	919 N. Kedvale	Smith	S								
154	Kautz	613 Beloit		M	A.C.							
155	Prehn	138 Lathrop		M	Frederick	Illinois	32	Germany	Germany	Wife	20	19
156	Gesswien	1540 Lotus St.		M	Frederick	Germany	61	Germany	Germany	Wife		
157	La Cosse	1126 N. Taylor Ave.		W						M-in-Law		
158	Schlosser	1513 Latrobe	Schlosser	S								
159	McDonald	415 S. 20th St.		M								
160	Skala	1174 S. Scoville St.		M	James	Wisconsin	46	Czech.	Czech.	Wife	20	28
161	Wolfe	279 Lionel Dr.	Morse	M	Meline	S. Dakota	27	Vermont	USA	Wife	20	21
162	Niland	1124 S. Highland Ave.	Niland	S						Dtr.		
163	Scully	102 S. Grove Ave.		D						Head		
164	West	525 Forest Ave.	West	S								
165	Hoy	834 N. Marion St.		M	Walter	Illinois	23	Denmark	Denmark	Wife	23	23
166	Vogt	517 Woodbine	Oetken	M	Bernhard	Illinois	28	Illinois	Illinois	Wife	19	25
167	Baker	116 Marion St.		M	Ray							
168	Engleman	3532 S. Scoville		M								
169	Frasier	154 S. Hamlin Ave.		M								
170	Meskan	1228 S. Elmwood Ave.		M	Adolf	Illinois	36	Bohemia	Bohemia	Wife		

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Last Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Maiden</i>	<i>Marit.Stat us</i>	<i>Spouse Name</i>	<i>Spouse Birth</i>	<i>Spouse Age</i>	<i>Sp. Mo. Birth</i>	<i>Sp. Fa. Birth</i>	<i>Rel. to Head of HH</i>	<i>Wife Age at Marr.</i>	<i>Male Age</i>
171	Herron	1178 S. Scoville Ave.		M	William	Illinois	43	Kentucky	Illinois	Wife	18	22
172	Bishop	1132 S. Highland Ave.		M	James							
173	Bishop	1114 S. Highland Ave.		M	John	England	57	England	England	Wife		
174	Olson	1116 S. Highland Ave.	Olson	S						Dtr.		
175	Davis	223 Gale Ave.	Davis	S						Dtr.		
176	Vaughn	515 S. Claremont		S								
177	Voelzke	1117 Erie St.		M	Julius	Germany	66	Germany	Germany	Wife		
178	Draheim	822 S. Highland Ave.		M								
179	Deutscher	117 Rockford Ave.		M	William	Illinois	34	Germany	New York	Wife	30	30
180	Schnelle	812 N. 16th St.	Voth	M	August	Illinois	47	Germany	Germany	Wife	23	32
181	Reed	3848 N. Oakley		M								
182	Holmer	164 N. Marion Ave.		M	Martin	Sweden	66			Wife		
183	Hlovecek	1151 S. Kenilworth Ave.	Kreml	M						Dtr.		
184	Kreml	1151 S. Kenilworth Ave.	Kreml	S								
185												
186	Schopp	329 S. Euclid Ave.		W	w. John							

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Last Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Maiden</i>	<i>Marit.Stat us</i>	<i>Spouse Name</i>	<i>Spouse Birth</i>	<i>Spouse Age</i>	<i>Sp. Mo. Birth</i>	<i>Sp. Fa. Birth</i>	<i>Rel. to Head of HH</i>	<i>Wife Age at Marr.</i>	<i>Male Age</i>
187	Brainard	712 N. 5th Ave.		M	Arthur	N. Dakota	31	Ohio	Minn.	Wife	19	28
188	Boddy	517 S. 8th Ave.		S						Dtr.		
189	Boddy	517 S. 8th Ave.		S						Dtr.		
190	Wallbaum	5467 W. Augusta		M								
191	Banthin	830 Waller		S								
192	Casino	4127 N. Meade		M								
193	Keys	3518 Wabansia		M								
194	Wiebrecht	1837 W. North		S								
195	Bode	312 Madison St.		S								
196	Johnson	166 N. Lombard Ave.		M	Charles	Ohio	65	Ohio	Iowa	Wife		
197	Weaver			M								
198	Vanek	2337 S. Central Park		S								
199	Miller	516 Elgin Ave.		S						Dtr.		
200	Duff	1045 S. Ridgeland Ave.	Wilson	W	w. Vincent	Penn.	70			Wife		
201	Forst	1029 Beloit Ave.		M	Peter	Illinois	59			Wife		
202	Tune	526 S. Scoville		M	Henry	Kentucky	41	Kentucky	Kentucky	Wife		
203	Barton	614 S. East Ave.		S						Dtr.		
204	Barton	614 S. East Ave.		S						Dtr.		
205	Forsythe	5826 W. Superior		M	James	Illinois	46	Illinois	Illinois	Wife		
206												

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Last Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Maiden</i>	<i>Marit.Stat us</i>	<i>Spouse Name</i>	<i>Spouse Birth</i>	<i>Spouse Age</i>	<i>Sp. Mo. Birth</i>	<i>Sp. Fa. Birth</i>	<i>Rel. to Head of HH</i>	<i>Wife Age at Marr.</i>	<i>Male Age</i>
207	Weiss	1039 Ferdinand Ave.	Szatunas	M	Hugo	Germany	37	Germany	Germany	Wife		
208	Gilbert	5425 Augusta		M								
209	Olney	922 S. Mason Ave.		M	Denton	Illinois	62			Lodger	31	33
210	Farnum	652 N. Latrobe Ave.		M	Lyle	Wisconsin	58			Wife		
211	Gebo	1148 Pleasant St.		W	w. Oliver					Head		
212	Howre	1020 S. Elmwood St.		M	John	Illinois	60	Scotland	New York	Wife		
213	Schneidewen dt	30 S. Hamerlin Ave.		M	Edward	Illinois	40			Wife		
214	Scherer	1045 S. Ridgeland Ave.		M	Edward	Wisconsin	32			Wife		
215	Smith	1006 Pleasant St.	Jacker	M						Dtr.		
216	Rush	1917 S. 48th St.		M								
217	Oram	116 Marion St.		S						Lodger		
218	Malone	3004 Wallace St.		Sep						Head	28	
219	Malone	923 N. Grove Ave.		M	Morton	Tennessee	47	Tennessee	Tennessee	Wife		
220	Greener	847 S. Kenilworth Ave.		W	Herman					Wife		
221	Burlingame	3232 Lexington Ave.		S						Dtr.		
222	Burlingame	3232 Lexington Ave.		M	Cassius	Iowa	61			Wife		

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Last Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Maiden</i>	<i>Marit.Stat us</i>	<i>Spouse Name</i>	<i>Spouse Birth</i>	<i>Spouse Age</i>	<i>Sp. Mo. Birth</i>	<i>Sp. Fa. Birth</i>	<i>Rel. to Head of HH</i>	<i>Wife Age at Marr.</i>	<i>Male Age</i>
223	Merkling	6158 Champlain Ave.		M	William	Wisconsin	64	Germany	Ohio	Wife	19	35
224	Benson	1236 S. Oak Park Ave.		S						Dtr.		
225	Johnson	743 N. Marion St.		M	John	Illinois	45	Sweden	Sweden	Wife	23	30
226	Brown	7642 Wilcox Ave.		M	Merritt	Michigan	27	New York	Michigan	Wife		
227	Hills	443 Thomas St.		M	Dean	Indiana	29			Wife	20	25
228	Leatz	428 Thomas St.		M	Charles	Germany	46	Germany	Germany	Wife		
229	Taylor	242 Straford Hills	Fippinger	M	Harry	Indiana	40			Dtr.		
230	Stolle	430 Beloit Ave.		M	Frank	Indiana	49	Germany	Germany	Wife		
231	Bresemen	106 Ferdinand Ave.		M	Arthur	Illinois	32	Germany	Illinois	Wife		
232	Jensen	823 S. Oak Park Ave.		M	Chester	Denmark	43	Denmark	Denmark	Wife	24	27
233	Peterson	#2 Chicago Ave.		M	Louis	Denmark	56	Denmark	Denmark	Wife		
234	Fleming	1124 N. Parkside		M								
235	Jones	746 N. Taylor Ave.		M	John		66			Wife	20	29
236	Olson	834 N. Cuyler Ave.		M	Norman	Illinois	23	Norway	At Sea	Wife		
237	Morgan	2145 Warren		M								
238	Jackson	1108 S. Highland Ave.		W	w. Sherwo od							

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Last Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Maiden</i>	<i>Marit.Stat us</i>	<i>Spouse Name</i>	<i>Spouse Birth</i>	<i>Spouse Age</i>	<i>Sp. Mo. Birth</i>	<i>Sp. Fa. Birth</i>	<i>Rel. to Head of HH</i>	<i>Wife Age at Marr.</i>	<i>Male Age</i>
239	Voirol	3828 Congress Parkway		M								
240	McAuley	906 Beloit Ave.		M	Robert					Wife		
241	Bloom	202 Chicago Ave.		S								
242	Burr	203 N. Oak Park Ave.		S								
243	Gilmore	2145 Warren Ave.		S								
244	Meyen	1038 Gunderson Ave.		M								
245												
246	Lowderbaugh	425 N. Long										
247	McAuley	906 Beloit Ave.		S								
248	Kreml	1151 S. Kenilworth Ave.		S						Dtr.		
249	Kapp	1528 N. Kedvale		S								
250												
251	Gilbert	1126 N. Taylor Ave.		M	Theodore	Illinois	35			Wife	26	33
252	Morley	241 S. Ridgeland Ave.	Walke	M	Edgar	New York	55	New York	New York	Wife	31	36
253	Fry	2214 S. 52nd St.		M								
254	McKinney	1331 S. Ridgeland Ave.		M								
255	Holmes	1171 Lake Park Ave.		W								

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Last Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Maiden</i>	<i>Marit. Status</i>	<i>Spouse Name</i>	<i>Spouse Birth</i>	<i>Spouse Age</i>	<i>Sp. Mo. Birth</i>	<i>Sp. Fa. Birth</i>	<i>Rel. to Head of HH</i>	<i>Wife Age at Marr.</i>	<i>Male Age</i>
256	Schumm	3519 Flournoy St.		M	Arthur	Minn.	44	Germany	Germany	Wife		
257	Bertrand	5641 S. Fairfield		M	Louis	Wisconsin	50	Canada	Wisconsin	Wife	26	28
258	Lepke	1048 S. Cuyler Ave.		M	Rudolph	Wisconsin	58	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wife		
259	Roberts	455 Maple Ave.		M	Atkins	Illinois	56	N. Ireland	N. Ireland	Wife	23	29
260	Roberts	455 Maple Ave.		S						Dtr.		
261	Waite	3817 Congress St. #228A		W						Head	18	
262	Reichards	1144 Pleasant St.		M								
263												
264	Green	537 Marion St.		M	Bertram	Illinois	24			Wife		
265												
266	Hoke	202 Harrison St.		M								
267	King	3268 Wrightwood		M								
268	Davis	237 S. Kenilworth Ave.		M	Orville	Indiana	26	Indiana	Indiana	Wife	20	23
269	Lawson	1041 Pleasant Ave.		M								
270	Sabel	410 Main St.		M								
271	Fisher	543 S. Taylor Ave.		M	Rudolph	Canada	68	Germany	Germany	Wife	42	49
272	Weichlein	738 S. Cuyler Ave.		M	William					Wife	25	37

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Last Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Maiden</i>	<i>Marit. Status</i>	<i>Spouse Name</i>	<i>Spouse Birth</i>	<i>Spouse Age</i>	<i>Sp. Mo. Birth</i>	<i>Sp. Fa. Birth</i>	<i>Rel. to Head of HH</i>	<i>Wife Age at Marr.</i>	<i>Male Age</i>
273	Dennhardt	826 N. Cuyler Ave.		M	Charles	Illinois	59	Germany	Germany	Wife		
274	Fountain	1125 S. Lombard Ave.		M	Edward	Michigan	49	Michigan	Michigan	Wife	18	22
275	Thayer	1910 S. 7th St.		M								
276	Brafford	503 N. 8th Ave.		M	Harry	Illinois	54	Illinois	Illinois	Wife		
277	Dalton	537 S. Highland Ave.		M	Harry	Penn.	43	Penn.	England	Wife		
278	Boydston	642 S. Harvey Ave.		M	Thomas	Indiana	69	Ohio	Ohio	Wife		
279	Dennler	2712 N. Rutherford Ave.		M	Arthur	Ohio	44	Germany	Ohio	Wife		
280	Pennington	100 Wisconsin Ave.		M								
281	Hintz	120 S. 13th St.		M								
282	Oliver	30 N. 7th St.		M								
283	Walsh	2312 W. Jackson Ave.		M								
284	Martenik	1172 S. Scoville Ave.		M	Charles	Czech.	51	Czech.	Czech.	Wife	20	23
285	Beatty	830 S. Home Ave.		M	Robert F	Wash., DC	51	Wash., DC	Wash., DC	Wash., DC		
286	Brzewicki	1172 S. Scoville Ave.	Voelzke	M	JT							
287	Bode	312 Madison St.		S								
288	Fross	907 3rd Ave.		M	Fred	Illinois	44	Penn.	Germany	Wife	20	21
289	Martens	645 N. Grove Ave.		M	William	Germany	35	Germany	Germany	Wife		

<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Last Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Maiden</i>	<i>Marit.Stat us</i>	<i>Spouse Name</i>	<i>Spouse Birth</i>	<i>Spouse Age</i>	<i>Sp. Mo. Birth</i>	<i>Sp. Fa. Birth</i>	<i>Rel. to Head of HH</i>	<i>Wife Age at Marr.</i>	<i>Male Age</i>
290	Blossey	443 Thomas St.		M	Emil	Germany	56			Wife		
291	Ochs	300 S. Maple Ave.		S						Head		
292	Tamm	114 N. 35th St.		S								
293	Hardy	215 S. 28th St.		M	Aaron	Ohio	26	Kentucky	Kentucky	Wife	21	22
294	Raiman	1422 20th Ave.		M	Charles	Illinois	27	Bohemia	Bohemia	Wife	19	22
295	Hardy	1106 N. 11th St.		S						Dtr.		
296	Firnhaber	121 S. 19th St.	McKinley	M	Ernst	Illinois	35	Illinois	Germany	Wife	22	28
297	Wernes	3233 Walnut St.		S						Dtr.		
298	Burr	226 Pleasant St.		M						Wife		
299	Weitzosek	6202 N. 14th St.		S								
300	Jorgensen	161 N. 17th St.		M	Alax	Wisconsin	27	Sweden	Sweden	Wife		
301	Burr	226 Pleasant St.		S								
302	Corkell	743 N. Parkside		M	Albion	Illinois	40	Illinois	Norway	Wife		
303												
304												
305	Mattison	1102 S. Lombard Ave.		M								
306	Forbes	1153 S. Elmwood Ave.	Heck	M	William	Iowa	33	Iowa	Iowa	Wife		
307	Crooker	1163 S. Taylor Ave.		M	George	Missouri	51	Canada	Canada	Wife		
308	Hamlin	2101 S. 4th Ave.		M	George	Illinois	54	Mass.	Conn.	Wife		
309	Mahler	2825 Edge		M	Edward	Illinois	41	Germany	Germany	Wife	14	19
310	White	2832 River Rd.		M	Roy	Indiana	39	Indiana	Indiana	Wife	22	20

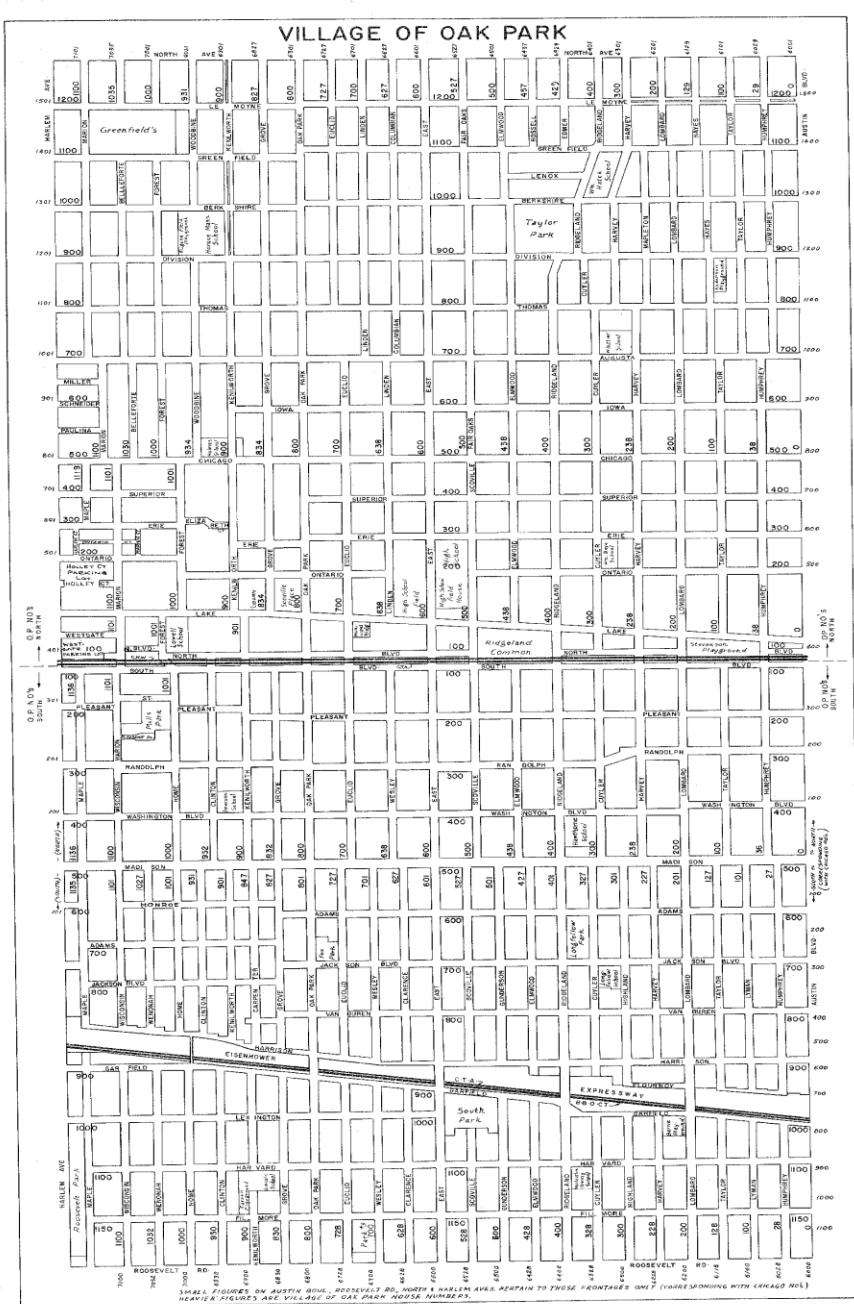
<i>ID No.</i>	<i>Last Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Maiden</i>	<i>Marit. Status</i>	<i>Spouse Name</i>	<i>Spouse Birth</i>	<i>Spouse Age</i>	<i>Sp. Mo. Birth</i>	<i>Sp. Fa. Birth</i>	<i>Rel. to Head of HH</i>	<i>Wife Age at Marr.</i>	<i>Male Age</i>
311	Roland	1130 N. 5th St.		M	Harvey	Illinois	47	Illinois	Penn.	Wife		
312												
313	Blake	3320 Rose St.		M	John	Indiana	45	Indiana	Indiana	Wife	18	24
307 B	Hayes	7813 W. 66th St.		M								

APPENDIX B
MAP OF CHICAGO AND SUBURBS, 1921



APPENDIX C

MAP OF OAK PARK STREETSCAPE, c. 1970



**APPENDIX D
OVERLAY MAPS OF
APPENDICES B & C WITH
GOOGLE EARTH SATELLITE VIEW OF OAK PARK AREA**



APPENDIX E
ENLARGED IMAGE OF
OAK PARK & SURROUNDING SUBURBS, 1921



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

The Historical Society of Oak Park and River Forest

“A Bird’s Eye View of Oak Park and Harlem in 1873.” [artist’s rendering]

Ascension Catholic Church File.

Barclay, Philander. The Philander Barclay Collection, 1890-1930.

Barclay, Philander. The Philander Barclay Collection, 1890-1930. Photographs.

Barton, William E. “The Secret of the Charm of Oak Park” in *Glimpses of Oak Park*.
Oak Park, IL: privately published, 1912.

Brooke, Lee. *Yesterday When I Was Younger...: Oak Park River Forest Oral History*.
Oak Park, IL: privately published, 1989.

Comer, Robbie Gill. “To All Excellent Commanders from the Imperial Commander.”
7 February 1929.

Cook, May Estelle. *Little Old Oak Park 1837-1902*. Oak Park, IL: privately printed,
1961.

DAR Pamphlet.

DAR Scrapbooks 1903-36, 1928-29, 1927-36.

Deuchler, Doug. “Boys in the Hoods.” *Wednesday Journal* 11 August 1993.

Halley, William and John Lewis. *Early Days in Oak Park*. Privately Published: 1933.

Higgins, Grace H. “Extension Work Bulletin.” 29 March 1929.

_____. “General Bulletin to All Klans and Klanswomen, Realm of Illinois.” 1929

Forest Park Club File.

Fox Hoagland, Gertrude, ed. Historical Survey of Oak Park, Illinois Compiled Under Federal Works Progress Administration Project #9516. Oak Park, IL: Oak Park Public Library, 1937.

Imperial Headquarters Women of the Ku Klux Klan. "Instructions to Kilgrapps for Organized Realms Only."

Kennedy & Ballard Real Estate. *Map of Oak Park*. Chicago: W.J. Hayne Co., 1895.

"Klorero of the Knights." 15 March 1929.

Lewis, John. Chapters in Oak Park History. Oak Park, IL: unpublished, 1913.

Masonic File.

Maywood File.

Nakama Club File.

Nineteenth Century Woman's Club File.

The Nineteenth Century Women's Club of Oak Park, Illinois Year Book 1923-24, 1925-26, 1926-27, 1927-28, 1928-29, 1929-30.

The North Oak Park Woman's Club Third Annual Yearbook 1922-23.

The North Oak Park Woman's Club Eight Annual Yearbook 1927-28.

Oak Leaves.

Oak Park Reporter. 16 November 1899.

Oak Park, River Forest, Forest Park Directory 1925. Pioneer Publishing Co. Rockford, IL: McCoy Directory Co., 1925.

Oak Park, Forest Park and River Forest Telephone Directory December 1928. Illinois Bell Telephone Company. Chicago: The Reuben H. Donnelly Corp., 1928.

"Report from the Auditing Committee of Walosas Club of Oak Park, Ill." 18 February 1929.

"Resolution for Extension Service Plan from Imperial Headquarters."

Roth, Margaret. Walosas Club Minutes Book 1925-1929.

The Village of Harlem: Its People Homes and Businesses, 1856-1906.

“Walosas Club Activity Program- Second Quarter 1929.”

Walosas Club Klan No. 29 Charter.

The Walosas Club Membership Roll.

The Wednesday Journal, 3 August 1988.

The Woman’s Club of Oak Park Annual Year Book, 1925-26.

Oak Park Public Library

A Brief History of St. Christopher’s Episcopal Church, Oak Park, Illinois, 1905-1976.

Chulak, Thomas A. *A People Moving Thru Time: The History of the Unitarian Universalist Church in Oak Park*. Privately Printed, 1979.

First Congregational Church: Services in Commemoration of its Fiftieth Anniversary, Oak Park, Illinois, February 16 to 23, 1913.

Fox Hoagland, Gertrude, ed. Historical Survey of Oak Park, Illinois Compiled Under Federal Works Progress Administration Project #9516. Oak Park, IL: Oak Park Public Library, 1937.

Gardner, Robert H., ed. Seventy-five Years of Worship and Work: A History of the First Presbyterian Church of Oak Park, Illinois, from its founding in 1883 to 1958.

Johnson, Dr. Ray C. Our Hundredth Anniversary, the First Baptist Church of Oak Park from 1873 to 1973.

Manual of the First Congregational Church, Oak Park, Illinois, adopted January 1872, revised January 1882.

Moelmann, John M., ed. Grace Church, Oak Park, 1879-1939.

Platt, Frank J. Century of Promise: One Hundred Years of Christian Service; First Congregational Church, Oak Park, Illinois, 1963.

St. Catherine of Siena-St. Lucy: 1889-1989 Centennial.

Saint Edmund Ecclesiology: A Brief history and Ecclesiology of Saint Edmund Church.

Saint Edmund Church, 1907-1982: 75th Anniversary Souvenir Program.

Saint Giles, Oak Park, Illinois, 1927-1950: Dedication of Saint Giles Church, 14 May 1950.

Sixtieth Anniversary; First Baptist Church, Oak Park, Illinois.

Watt, William H. History of The Second Presbyterian Church of Oak Park 1905 to 1950. Privately Published, 1951.

Chicago History Museum

“Annual Reports, March 1921-March 1922.” Protestant Women’s Protectorate.

Church Federation of Greater Chicago, 1908-1985.

Miscellaneous WKKK Pamphlets (1915-).

Cincinnati Historical Society

Cincinnati Post. 27 May 1922, 16.

Columbus Citizen. 13 July 1923.

Columbus Dispatch. 30 August 1925.

Ohio Fiery Cross, 29 February 1924.

Ohio Fiery Cross, Dayton Edition, 7 March 1924, 8.

Ohio Courier, 21 March 1924.

Indiana Historical Society

The Constitution Laws of the KKK.

The Klan Today, 1920.

KKK Records, 1921-61.

Haldeman-Julius, E. “The Kreed of the Klansmen, 1924.”

Louise Brown Osborn Papers.

The Practice of Klanishness (Imperial Instructions Document No. 1, Series AD. 1924,
AKLVIII).

Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klonvokation held in Kansas City, Missosuri
September 23, 24, 25, and 26 1924.

“Report of the Committee on the Women of the Ku Klux Klan.” [c. 1922-23]

“Report of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan.” [c. 1922-23]

The Unveiling of the Ku Klux Klan by: W.C. Witcher of Forth Worth, Texas.

Women of the Ku Klux Klan Document, ca. 1927.

Michigan State University Special Collections

“America for Americans As Interpreted by the Women of the Ku Klux Klan: Creed of
the Klanswoman; Issued by Imperial Headquarters Little Rock, Ark.”

“A Fundamental Klan Doctrine”

“Ideal of the Ku Klux Klan”

“Ideals of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan” (c. 1923-1926)

“Installation Ceremonies Women of the Ku Klux Klan, Form 505—J.F.H.Co.”

“The Menace of Modern Immigration”

“The New York Klanswoman, Owned and Operated by Women of the Ku Klux Klan of
New York” Buffalo, New York, 1 October 1930.

“Principles and Purposes of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Outlined by an Exalted
Cyclops of the Order”

“Ritual in the Second Degree of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan No. 12379, Imperial
Headquarters Women of the Ku Klux Klan, Little, Rock Arkansas”

“Roman Catholic Dynamites Bath Public Schools”

“To The Citizens of Michigan”

“Women of America! The Past! The Present! The Future! Outlines of Principles and
Teachings of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan Incorporated Issued by the Imperial
Headquarters of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan, Little Rock, Ark.” (c. 1923)

Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago Archives

Archdiocese of Chicago Annual Parish Reports. 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1915, 1920, 1925, 1930.

Newspapers

“Ask Disbanding of Ku Klux Klan in Wisconsin.” *Chicago Daily Tribune*. 27 August 1921.

Chicago Defender. 25 April 1914.

“Defends ‘Women of the Klan’: Arkansas Dragon Says Their Body Is Separate From the Knights.” *New York Times*. 7 November 1923.

“Deposed Goblins Say Klan Is Broken.” *New York Times*. 3 December 1921.

“Dunne Out to Pull Teeth of Ku Klux Klan” in *Chicago Daily Tribune*. 15 September 1921.

“Editor’s Threat Brings Inquiry in Death of Beauty.” *Chicago Daily Tribune*. 17 August 1921.

“Fiery Klan Crosses Light Long Island.” *New York Times*. 14 October 1923.

“Fire At Mrs. Tyler, Threaten Simmons: Attempt Is Made to Kill Woman Official of Ku Klux in Her Home Outside Atlanta.” *New York Times*. 12 October 1921.

“A Kentucky Colonel and the K.K.K.” *Chicago Daily Tribune*. 23 August 1921.

“Klan is Warned By Gov. Blaine of Badger State.” *Chicago Daily Tribune*. 28 August 1921.

“Klan Official Deny Morality Charges: E.Y. Clarke Admits Arrest with Mrs. Tyler, but Says There Was No Wrongdoing.” *New York Times*. 20 September 1921.

“Ku Klux ‘Empress’ Comes Here To Shop: Denies Klux is Lawless.” *New York Times*. 11 September 1921.

“K.K.K. Queen Weds.” *Chicago Daily Tribune*. 20 August 1922.

“Ku Klux Rites Draw 12,000.” *Chicago Daily Tribune*. 17 August 1921.

“The Ku Klux in Chicago.” *Chicago Daily Tribune*. 17 August 1921.

"Ku Klux Women Battle: One Injured, Another Ill as Result of Clash at Alliance, OH." *New York Times*. 8 January 1924.

"Ma" Ferguson Tells of Plan to Oust Klan." *New York Times*. 31 August 1924.

"Mayor Asked By Negroes to Bar Ku Klux Here: Want Gov. Small Also to Attack Klan." *Chicago Daily Tribune*. 18 August 1921.

New York Times. 13 October 1924, 11 April 1926, 21 February 1926.

"No Ku Klux Klan Parades to Be Held in Louisiana." *Chicago Daily Tribune*. 6 April 1922.

"Northern K.K.K. Secede From Southern Body." *Chicago Daily Tribune*. 2 December 1921.

"Opposes A Female Klan: Simmons Asks an Injunction, Naming Wizard a Defendant." *New York Times*. 6 November 1923.

"Quits K.K.K. Post." *Chicago Daily Tribune*. 5 January 1922.

"Rival Officials Head Board to Operate Klan." *Chicago Daily Tribune*. 8 April 1923.

"Says Women Here Flock to Join Klan." *New York Times*. 13 September 1921.

Simmons, William Joseph. "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan: To All Lovers of Law, Order, Peace and Justice, and to All the People of the United States." *Chicago Daily Tribune*. 16 August 1921.

"Thrift, Kamelia, Thrift!" *New York Times*. 2 October 1923.

"True Mrs. Ferguson Revealed in Home: Texas Candidate for Governor Is a Cultured Woman, Not a Kitchen Drudge." *New York Times*, 24 August 1924.

"Two Atlanta Ku Klux Officials Resign." *New York Times*. 22 September 1921.

"Two Klan Officials Quit." *Chicago Daily Tribune*. 22 September 1921.

"Two Societies Press Attack on Ku Klux Klan." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 16 September 1921.

"U.S. Marshal Seeks Former Klan Wizard on Warrant." *Chicago Daily Tribune*. 23 March 1923.

"Victories by Klan Feature Election." *New York Times*. 6 November 1924.

"Woman Governor of Klan: A Texas Choice: Democrats Must Name Ku Klux Klan Candidate or Mrs. Ferguson, Wife of Ousted Governor." *New York Times*. 3 August 1924.

"Women's Klan Incorporated." *New York Times*. 1 December 1923.

"Would Bar Klan in State." *Chicago Daily Tribune*. 14 September 1921.

"Would Oust Klan Officers: Jersey Organization Demands Expulsion of Two National Heads." *New York Times*. 21 September 1921.

Government

Twelfth Census of the United States. Cicero, Cook, Illinois, 1900.

Thirteenth Census of the United States. Oak Park, Cook, Illinois, 1910.

Department of Commerce, *U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States, State Compendium, Illinois*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1924.

Fourteenth Census of the United States. Oak Park, Cook, Illinois, 1920.

Fifteenth Census of the United States. Oak Park, Cook, Illinois, 1930.

Secondary Sources

Ku Klux Klan

Books

Alexander, Charles C. *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965.

Baiamonte, John V. *Spirit of Vengeance: Nativism and Louisiana Justice, 1921-1924*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986.

Baker, Kelly J. *Gospel According to the Klan: The KKK's Appeal to Protestant America, 1915-1930*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2011.

Blee, Kathleen M. *Women of the Ku Klux Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

- Chalmers, David M. *Hooded Americanism: A History of the Ku Klux Klan.* Rev. ed. New York: Franklin Watts, 1981.
- Horowitz, David A., ed. *Inside the Klavern: The Secret History of a Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s.* Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999.
- Jackson, Kenneth T. *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- _____. "Forward to the 1992 Edition." *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930.* Chicago: Elephant Paperbacks, 1992.
- Lutholtz, M. William. *Grand Dragon: D.C. Stephenson and the Ku Klux Klan in Indiana.* West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1991.
- MacLean, Nancy. *Behind The Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Martinez, J. Michael. *Carpetbaggers, Cavalry, and the Ku Klux Klan: Exposing the Invisible Empire During Reconstruction.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007.
- Mecklin, John Moffatt. *The Ku-Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind.* New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1963. (originally published in 1924)
- Moore, Leonard. *Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921-1925.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.
- Newton, Michael. *The FBI and the KKK: A Critical History.* Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2005.
- Pegram, Thomas R. *One Hundred Percent American: The Rebirth and Decline of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s.* Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2011.
- Quarles, Chester L. *The Ku Klux Klan and Related American Racialist and Antisemitic Organizations: A History and Analysis.* Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 1991.
- Tucker, Richard. *The Dragon and the Cross: The Rise and Fall of the Ku Klux Klan in Middle America.* North Haven, CT: Archon Books, 1991.
- Tucker, Todd. *Notre Dame vs. the Klan: How the Fighting Irish Defeated the Ku Klux Klan.* Chicago: Loyola Press, 2004.

Wade, Wyn C. *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987.

West, Jerry L. *The Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan in York County, South Carolina*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 2002.

Articles, Theses, & Dissertations

Blee, Katherine M. "Evidence, Empathy, and Ethics: Lessons from Oral Histories of the Klan." *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 80, No. 2 (Sep., 1993): 596-606.

_____. "Women in the 1920s Ku Klux Klan Movement." *Feminist Studies* 17 (Spring 1991): 57-77.

Clason, George S., ed. "Catholic, Jew, Ku Klux Klan: What They Believe, Where They Conflict." Chicago: The Nutshell Publishing Company, 1924.

Degler, Carl N. "A Century of the Klan: A Review Article." *Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Nov., 1965): 435-443.

Erickson, Christine K. "'Kluxer Blues': The Klan Confronts Catholics in Butte, Montana, 1923-1929." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*. Vol. 53, No. 1, Spring 2003: 44-57.

Howson, Embrey Bernard. 1951. "The Ku Klux Klan in Ohio After World War I." Master's Thesis, The Ohio State University.

Johnson, Guy B. "A Sociological Interpretation of the New Ku Klux Movement." *Journal of Social Forces*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (May, 1923): 440-445.

McVay, Rory. "Structural Incentives for Conservative Mobilization: Power Devaluation and the Rise of the Ku Klux Klan, 1915-1925." *Social Forces*, Vol. 77, No. 4 (Jun., 1999): 1461-1496.

Merz, Raymond A. 1970. "Masked Power in Hamilton County: The Ku Klux Klan in the Twenties." Master's Thesis. The University of Cincinnati.

Miller, Robert Moats. "A Note on the Relationship between the Protestant Churches and The Revived Ku Klux Klan." *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Aug., 1956): 355-368.

Rhomberg, Chris. "White Nativism and Urban Politics: The 1920s Ku Klux Klan in Oakland, California." *Journal of American Ethnic History*. Vol. 17, No. 2, Winter, 1998: 39-55.

Safianow, Allen. "You Can't Burn History": Getting Right with the Klan in Noblesville, Indiana." *Indiana Magazine of History*. Vol. 100, No. 2, June 2004: 109-54.

Schrems, Suzanne H. "The Ultimate Patriots? Oklahoma Women of the Ku Klux Klan." In *Who's Rocking The Cradle?: Women Pioneers of Oklahoma Politics From Socialism to the KKK, 1900-1930*. Norma, OK: Horse Creek Publications, 2004.

Suburbia

Books

Fishman, Robert. *Bourgeois Utopias*. New York: Basic Books, 1987.

Fogelson, Robert M. *Bourgeois Nightmares: Suburbia, 1870-1930*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005.

Hanlon, Bernadette. *Once the American Dream: Inner-Ring Suburbs of the Metropolitan United States*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010.

Jackson, Kenneth T. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Kruse, Kevin M. & Thomas J. Sugrue, eds. *The New Suburban History*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006.

McGirr, Lisa. *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Muller, Peter O. *Contemporary Suburban America*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1981.

Nicolaides, Becky M. *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920-1965*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Nicolaides, Becky M. & Andrew Wiese, eds. *The Suburban Reader*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Rome, Adam. *The Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Self, Robert O. *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Sugrue, Thomas J. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar*

Detroit. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Wiese, Andrew. *Places of Their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Articles

England, Kim V.L. "Suburban Pink Collar Ghettos: The Spatial Entrapment of Women?" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers.* Vol. 83, No. 2, Jun., 1993: 225-242.

Kane, Kevin David & Thomas L. Bell. "Suburbs for a Labor Elite." *Geographical Review.* Vol. 75, No. 3, Jul. 1985: 319-334.

Miller, Laura J. "Family Togetherness and the Suburban Ideal." *Sociological Forum.* Vol. 10, No. 3, 1995: 393-418.

Nicolaides, Becky M. "Suburbia and the Sunbelt." *OAH Magazine of History.* Vol. 18, No. 1, Oct. 2003: 21-26.

_____. "Where The Working Man Is Welcomed: Working-Class Suburbs in Los Angeles, 1900-1940." *Pacific Historical Review.* Vol. 68, No. 4 (Nov., 1999): 517-559.

Wiese, Andrew. "Black Housing, White Finance: African American Housing and Home Ownership in Evanston, Illinois, before 1940." *Journal of Social History.* Vol. 33, No. 2 (Winter, 1999): 429-460.

_____. "The Other Suburbanites: African American Suburbanization in the North before 1950." *The Journal of American History.* Vol. 85, No. 4 (Mar., 1999): 1495-1524.

Zonneveld, Joost. "Defending the Suburban Dream: Gated Communities in Calabasa, California." *Etnofoor.* Vol. 14, No. 1, 2001: 31-59.

Women's Club Movement

Books

Aptheker, Herbert, ed. "The National Association of Colored Women, 1904." In *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States.* Vol. 2. New York: Citadel Press, 1968.

Blair, Karen J. *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914.* New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1980.

- Brown, Dorothy M. *Setting a Course: American Women in the 1920s*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987.
- Buechler, Steven M. *The Transformation of the Woman Suffrage Movement: The Case of Illinois, 1850-1920*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986.
- Carson, Mina. *Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885-1930*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Cott, Nancy F. *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.
- Crocker, Ruth Hutchinson. *Social Work and Social Order: The Settlement Movement in Two Industrial Cities, 1889-1930*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992.
- Croly, Jennie J. *The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America*. New York: Henry G. Allen, 1898.
- Davis, Allen F. *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914*. 2nd ed. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1984.
- Flanagan, Maureen A. *Seeing With Their Hearts: Chicago Women and the Vision of the Good City, 1871-1933*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Gatewood, Willard. *Aristocrats of Color: the Black Elite, 1880-1920*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.
- Gere, Anne Ruggles. *Intimate Practices: Literacy and Cultural Work in U.S. Women's Clubs, 1880-1920*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.
- Hendricks, Wanda A. *Gender, Race, and Politics in the Midwest: Black Club Women in Illinois*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.
- Hewitt, Nancy A. *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- _____. *Southern Discomfort: Women's Activism in Tampa, Florida, 1880s-1920s*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2003.
- Higginbotham, Evelyn Brooks. *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Hine, Darlene Clark. *Black Women in White: Racial Conflict and Cooperation in the Nursing Profession, 1890-1950*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.

- Horowitz, Helen Lefkowitz. *Culture and the City: Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago from the 1880s to 1917*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Johnson, Joan Marie. *Southern Ladies, New Women: Race, Region, and Clubwomen in South Carolina, 1890-1930*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005.
- Kelly, Joan. "The Doubled Vision of Feminist Theory." *Sex and Class in Women's History*. ed. Judith L. Newton, Mary P. Ryan, and Judith R. Walkowitz. London & Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983.
- Knupfer, Anne Meis. *Toward a Tenderer Humanity and a Nobler Womanhood: African American Women's Clubs in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago*. New York & London: New York University Press, 1996.
- Kornbluh, Andrea T. *Lighting the Way...The Women's City Club of Cincinnati, 1915-1965*. Cincinnati, OH: Young & Klein, 1986.
- Ladd-Taylor, Molly. *Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare and the State, 1890-1930*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995.
- Lasch-Quinn, Elisabeth. *Black Neighbors: Race and the Limits of Reform in the American Settlement House Movement, 1890-1945*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993.
- Lynn, Susan. *Progressive Women in Conservative Times: Racial Justice, Peace and Feminism, 1945 to the 1960s*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992.
- Martin, Theodora Penny. *The Sound of Our Own Voices: Women's Study Clubs, 1860-1910*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1987.
- Mattingly, Carol. *Well-Tempered Women: Nineteenth Century Temperance Rhetoric*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998.
- Matthews, Glenna. *The Rise of Public Woman: Woman's Power and Woman's Place in the United States, 1630-1970*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- McArthur, Judith N. *Creating the New Woman: The Rise of Southern Women's Progressive Culture in Texas, 1893-1918*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998.
- McCarthy, Kathleen D. *Noblesse Oblige: Charity and Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago, 1849-1929*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Meyerowitz, Joanne. *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.

- Muncy, Robyn. *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Neverdon-Morton, Cynthia. *Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985.
- Salem, Dorothy C. *To Better Our World: Black Women in Organized Reform, 1890-1920*. Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing, 1990.
- Schackel, Sandra. *Social Housekeepers: Women Shaping Public Policy in New Mexico, 1920-1940*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992.
- Schechter, Patricia A. *Ida B. Wells-Barnett and American Reform, 1880-1930*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- Scott, Joan Wallach. *Gender and Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Shapiro, Virginia. *The Political Integration of Women: Roles, Socialization, and Politics*. Chicago & Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984.
- Sims, Anastatia. *The Power of Femininity in the New South: Women's Organizations in North Carolina, 1880-1930*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997.
- Sklar, Kathryn Kish. *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work: The Rise of Women's Political Culture, 1830-1900*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Steinschneider, Janice C. *An Improved Woman: The Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs, 1895-1920*. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1994.
- Tax, Meredith. *The Rising of the Women: Feminist Solidarity and Class Conflict, 1880-1917*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001.
- Thompson, Mildred I. *Ida B. Wells-Barnett: An Exploratory Study of an American Black Women, 1893-1930*. Volume 15 in Darlene Clark Hine, ed. *Black Women in U.S. History*.
- Watts, Margit Misangyi. *High Tea at Halekulani: Feminist Theory and American Clubwomen*. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1993.
- Wedell, Marsha. *Elite Women and the Reform Impulse in Memphis, 1875-1915*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991.

- Wesley, Charles Harris. *History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs: A Legacy of Service*. Washington, DC: National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, 1984.
- Wheeler, Marjorie Spruill. *New Women in the New South, The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

White, Deborah Gray. *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves 1894-1994*. New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999.

Articles

Berkeley, Kathleen C. “‘Colored Ladies Also Contributed’: Black Women’s Activities from Benevolence to Social Welfare, 1866-1896.” In *The Web of Southern Social Relations: Women, Family, and Education*, edited by Walter Fraser. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985.

Boris, Eileen. “Reconstructing the ‘Family’: Women, progressive Reform, and the Problem of Social Control.” In *Gender, Class, Race, and Reform in the Progressive Era*, eds. Noralee Frankel and Nancy S. Dye, 73-86. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991.

Brandy, Marilyn Dell. “Organizing Afro-American Girls’ Clubs in Kansas in the 1920s.” *Frontier* 9, 2 (1987): 69-73.

Bruce, Mrs. Blanche K. “Colored Women’s Clubs.” *The Crisis* 10 (August 1915): 190.

Burroughs, Nannie. “Black Women and Reform.” *The Crisis* 10 (August 1915): 187.

Carlson, Shirley J. “Black Ideals of Womanhood in the Late Victorian Era.” *Journal of Negro History* 77 (Spring 1992): 61-73.

Carlton-LaNey, Iris. “The Career of Birdye Henrietta Haynes, A Pioneer Settlement House Worker.” *Social Service Review* 68 (June 1994): 259-263.

Clawson, Mary Ann. “Nineteenth-Century Women’s Auxiliaries and Fraternal Orders.” *Signs*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Autumn, 1986): 40-61.

Dickson, Lynda F. “Toward a Broader Angle of Vision in Uncovering Women’s History: Black Women’s Clubs Revisited.” In *Black Women in United States History: From Colonial Times through the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Darlene Clark Hine, Elsa Barkley Brown, Tiffany R.L. Patterson, and Lillian S. Williams. Vol. 9: 103-119. Brooklyn, NY: Carlson, 1990.

- Dill, Bonnie Thornton. "The Dialectics of Black Womanhood." *Signs* 4, 3 (1979): 543-555.
- Diner, Steven J. "Chicago Social Workers and Blacks in the Progressive Era." *Social Service Review* 44 (December 1970): 393-410.
- Drake, St. Clair. *Churches and Voluntary Associations in the Chicago Negro Community*. Chicago: Work Projects Administration, 1940.
- Freedman, Estelle B. "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution-Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930." *Feminist Studies* 5 (1979): 512-29.
- Gibbs, Ione. "Woman's Part in the Uplift of the Negro Race." *The Colored American Magazine* 3 (March 1907): 264-267.
- Gordon, Linda. "Black and White Visions of Welfare: Women's Welfare Activism, 1890-1945." *Journal of American History* 78 (February 1991): 559-590.
- Hewitt, Nancy. "Politicizing Domesticity: Anglo, Black, and Latin Women in Tampa's Progressive Movements." In Noralee Frankel and Nancy S. Dye, eds. *Gender, Class, Race and Reform in the Progressive Era*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1994.
- Hoy, Suellen. "Caring for Chicago's Women and Girls: The Sisters of the Good Shepherd, 1859-1911." *Journal of Urban History* 23 (March 1997): 260-94.
- _____. "Municipal Housekeeping: The Role of Women in Improving Urban Sanitation Practices, 1880-1917." In Martin V. Melosi, ed. *Pollution and Reform in American Cities, 1870-1930*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980.
- Hunton, Addie W. "The National Association of Colored Women: Its Real Significance." *The Colored American Magazine* 14 (1908): 417-424.
- _____. "Women's Clubs: Caring for Children." *The Crisis* 2 (May 1911): 78-79.
- Jackson, Philip. "Black Charity in Progressive Era Chicago." *Social Service Review* 52 (September 1978): 400-417.
- Knupfer, Anne M. "If You Can't Push, Pull, If you Can't Pull, Please Get out of the Way": The Phyllis Wheatley Club and Home in Chicago, 1896 to 1920." *The Journal of Negro History* Vol. 82, No. 2 (Spring, 1997): 221-231.
- Leff, Mark. "Consensus for Reform: The Mothers'-Pension Movement in the Progressive Era." *Social Service Review* 47 (1973): 397-417.

- Lerner, Gerda. "Early Community Work of Black Club Women." *Journal of Negro History* 59 (April 1974): 158-167,
- Luker, Ralph E. "Missions, Institutional Churches, and Settlement Houses: The Black Experience, 1885-1910." *Journal of Negro History* 44 (Summer/Fall 1984): 101-113.
- Massa, Ann. "Black Women in the 'White City.'" *Journal of American Studies* 8 (December 1974): 319-37.
- Mattingly, Carol. "Woman-Tempered Rhetoric: Public Presentation and the WCTU." *Rhetoric Review* Vol. 14, No. 1 (Autumn, 1995): 44-61.
- Perkins, Linda M. "The Impact of the 'Cult of True Womanhood' on the Education of Black Women." *Journal of Social Issues* 39 (March 1983): 17-28.
- Platt, Harold L. "Jane Addams and the Ward Boss Revisited: Class, Politics, and Public Health in Chicago, 1890-1930." *Environmental History* 5 (April 2000): 194-222.
- Sawislak, Karen. "Relief, Aid, and Order: Class, Gender and the Definition of Community in the Aftermath of Chicago's Great Fire." *Journal of Urban History* 19 (November 1993): 3-18.
- Shaw, Stephanie. "Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women." *Journal of Women's History* 3 (1991): 10-25.
- Stovall, Mary E. "The *Chicago Defender* in the Progressive Era." *Illinois Historical Journal* 83 (Autumn 1990): 159-172.
- Terborg-Penn, Rosalyn. "Discrimination against Afro-American Women in the Woman's Movement 1830-1920." In *The Black Woman Cross Culturally*, ed. Filomina Chioma Steady, 310-316. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1981.
-
- _____. "The Historical Treatment of Afro-Americans in the Women's Movement, 1900-1920: A Bibliographical Essay." *A Current Bibliography on African Affairs* 7 (1974): 245-259.
- Turner, Elizabeth Hayes. "'White-Gloved Ladies' and 'New Women' in the Texas Suffrage Movement." In *Southern Women: Histories and Identities*, edited by Virginia Bernhard. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992, 129-56.
- Washington, Josephine. "What the Club Does for the Club-Woman." *The Colored American Magazine* 7 (March 1907): 222-223.
- Welter, Barbara. "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860." *American Quarterly* 18

(Summer 1966): 151-174.

White, Deborah Gray. "The Cost of Club Work, the Price of Black Feminism." In *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism*, edited by Nancy Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsock. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993, 247-69.

Williams, Fannie Barrier. "The Club Movement Among the Colored Women." *The Voice of the Negro* 3 (March 1904): 99-102.

_____. "Club Movement Among Negro Women." In *Progress of a Race*, Edited by J.W. Gibson. Atlanta: J.L. Nicolson, 1902, 197-231.

Theses, Dissertations, Unpublished Papers

Hendricks, Wanda A. 1990. "The Politics of Race: Black Women in Illinois, 1890-1920." Ph.D. diss., Purdue University.

Jenkins, Maude. 1984. "The History of the Black Women's Club Movements in America." Ed.D. diss., Columbia University.

Mason, Karen M. 1991. "Testing the Boundaries: Women, Politics, and Gender Roles in Chicago, 1890-1930." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan.

Mayer, John A. 1978. "Private Charities in Chicago from 1871-1915." Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota.

Ruegamer, Lana. 1982. "The Paradise of Exceptional Women: Chicago Women Reformers, 1863-1893." Ph.D. diss., Indiana University.

Fraternal Orders

Books

Carnes, Mark C. *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991.

Clawson, May Ann. *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989.

Dumenil, Lynn. *Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880-1939*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Keister, Douglas. *Stories in Stone: A Field Guide to Cemetery Symbolism and Iconography*. Salt Lake City, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2004.

Whalen, William Joseph. *Christianity and American Freemasonry*. New York: Bruce Publishing Company, 1958.

Articles

Carnes, Mark C. "Middle-Class Men and the Solace of Fraternal Ritual" in Mark Carnes and Clyde Griffen, eds. *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990: 37-66.

Clawson, Mary Ann. "Fraternal Orders and Class Formation in the Nineteenth-Century United States." in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Oct., 1985): 672-695.

Dumenil, Lynn. "Religion and Freemasonry in Late 19th-Century America" in eds. R. William Weisberger, Wallace McLeod, & S. Brent Morris. *Freemasonry on Both Sides of the Atlantic: Essays Concerning the Craft in the British Isles, Europe, The United States, and Mexico*. Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 2002: 605-619.

Jolicoeur, Pamela M. & Louis L. Knowles. "Fraternal Associations and Civil Religion: Scottish Rite Freemasonry." *Reviews of Religious Research*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Autumn, 1978): 3-22.

Kuyk, Betty M. "The African Derivation of Black Fraternal Orders in the United States." in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. Vol. 25, No. 4 (Oct., 1983): 559-92.

Schmidt, Alvin J. & Nicholas Babchuk. "The Unbrotherly Brotherhood: Discrimination in Fraternal Orders." in *Phylon*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (3rd Qtr., 1973): 275-282.

Schlesinger, Arthur M., Sr. "Biography of a Nation of Joiners." in *American Historical Review*. Vol. 50, No. 1 (Oct., 1944): 1-25.

Skocpol, Theda & Jennifer Lynn Oser. "Organization Despite Adversity: The Origins and Development of African American Fraternal Associations." in *Social Science History*. Vol. 28, No. 3 (Fall 2004): 367-437.

Summers, Martin. "Does Masonry Make Us Better Men?" in *Manliness & Its Discontents: The Black Middle Class & The Transformation of Masculinity, 1900-1930*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004: 25-65.

Trotter, Joe W. "African American Fraternal Associations in American History: An Introduction." in *Social Science History* Vol. 28, No. 3 (Fall 2004): 355-66.

Chicago and Oak Park

Books

Andreas, Alfred T. *A History of Cook County, IL.* Chicago: A.T. Andreas, 1884.
 (reprint ed., Evansville, IN: Unigraphic Inc., 1976).

Bundy, James F. *Fall From Grace: Religion and the Communal Ideal in Two Suburban Villages, 1870-1917.* Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1991.

Chamberlain, Evertt. *Chicago and Its Suburbs.* Chicago: T.A. Hungerford and Co., 1874.

Guarino, Jean. *Yesterday: A Historical View of Oak Park, Illinois Prairie Days to World War I, Vol. 1.* Oak Park, IL: Oak Ridge Press, 2000.

Hausman, Harriet. *Reflections: A History of River Forest.* Privately printed, 1975.

Hoyt, Homer. *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago: The Relationship of the Growth of Chicago to the Rise in its Land Values, 1830-1933.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933. (reprint. NY: Arno Press, The NY Times, 1970).

Keating, Ann Durkin. *Building Chicago: Suburban Developers and the Creation of a Divided Metropolis.* Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002.
 (originally published 1988)

_____. *Chicagoland: City and Suburbs in the Railroad Age.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Lipo, Frank, Peggy Tuck-Sinko & Stan West. *Suburban Promised Land: The Emerging Black Community in Oak Park, Illinois, 1880-1980.* Oak Park, IL: HSOPRF and Soweto West Press, 2009.

Nature's Choicest Spot: A Guide to Forest Home and German Waldheim Cemeteries. Oak Park, IL: The Historical Society of Oak Park and River Forest.

Runnion, James B. *Out of Town, Being a Descriptive, Historical & Statistical Account of the Suburban Towns and Residences of Chicago.* Chicago: Western News Co., 1869.

Sokol, David M. *Oak Park: The Evolution of a Village.* Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2011.

Articles, Theses, & Dissertations

- Abbott, Carl. "Necessary Adjuncts to its Growth: The Railroad Suburbs of Chicago." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. 73 (Summer 1980): 117-131.
- Le Gacy, Arthur. "Improvers and Preservers: A History of Oak Park, 1833-1940." Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1967.
- Osthaus, Carl R. "The Rise and Fall of Jesse Binga, Black Financier." *The Journal of Negro History*. Vol. 58, No. 1 (Jan., 1973): 39-60.
- Ratcliff, Kathryn Elizabeth. "The Making of a New Middle-Class Culture: Family and Community in a Midwest Suburb, 1890-1920." Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota-Twin Cities, 1990.
- Raymond, Roberta L. "The Challenge to Oak Park: A Suburban Community Faces Racial Change." Master's Thesis, Roosevelt University, 1972.
- Sinko, Peggy Tuck. "The Suburbanization of a Community: Oak Park, IL. 1868-World War I." Term Paper, University of Illinois at Chicago, 1987.
- Zorich, Camille Henderson. "Black vs. White? Reexamining Residential Transition in the Chicago Metropolitan Area: Oak Park, 1960-1979." PhD. diss., University of Chicago, 2005.

Nativism and Conservatism

Books

- Anderson, Peggy. *The Daughters: An Unconventional Look at America's Fan Club- The DAR*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974.
- Benowitz, June. Days of Discontent: Women and Right Wing Politics, 1933-1945. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002.
- Bhomberg, Chris. "White Nativism and Urban Politics: The 1920s Ku Klux Klan in Oakland, California." *Journal of American Ethnic History*. Vol. 19, No. 1 (Autumn, 1985): 39-55.
- Blee, Kathleen M. Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Jeansson, Glen. Women of the Far Right: The Mothers' Movement and World War II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Knobel, Dale. American for the Americans: The Nativist Movement in the United

States. Woodbridge, CT: Twayne Publishers, 1996.

O'Leary, Cecilia Elizabeth. *To Die For: The Paradox of American Patriotism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Articles

Marshall, Susan E. "Ladies Against Women: Mobilization Dilemmas of Antifeminist Movements." *Social Problems* 32 (April 1985): 348-62.

Medlicott, Carol. "One Social Milieu, Paradoxical Responses: A Geographical Reexamination Of the Ku Klux Klan and the Daughters of the American Revolution in the Early Twentieth Century." in *Spaces of Hate: Geographies of Discrimination and Intolerance in the U.S.A.* ed. Colin Flint. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Weiner, Lynn. "Reconstructing Motherhood: The La Leche League in Postwar America." *Journal of American History*. Vol. 80 (1994): 1357-81.

Whiteness and Racism

Books

Barkan, Elazar. *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States Between the World Wars*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Brattain, Michelle. "The Politics of Whiteness: Race, Workers and Culture in the Modern South." Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Boucher, Leigh. Jane Carey and Katherine Ellinghaus, eds. *Re-Orienting Whiteness*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Doane, Ashley W. and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, eds. *White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism*. New York and London: Routledge, 2003.

Flint, Colin, ed. *Spaces of Hate: Geographies of Discrimination and Intolerance in the U.S.A.* New York and London: Routledge, 2004.

Gugilelmo, Thomas A. *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890-1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Jacobson, Matthew Frye. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.

McKee, James B. *Sociology and the Race Problem*. Urbana and Chicago: University of

Illinois Press, 1993.

Roediger, David R. *Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

_____. *How Race Survived U.S. History: From Settlement and Slavery to the Obama Phenomenon*. New York: Verso, 2008.

_____. *Towards the Abolition of Whiteness: Essay on Race, Politics, and Working Class*. London and New York: Verso Books, 1994.

_____. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. Rev. ed. London and New York: Verso Books, 1999.

_____. *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White. The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs*. New York: Basic Books, 2005.

Roediger, David R. & Philip S. Foner. *Our Own Time: A History of American Labor and the Working Day*. Greenwood, CO: Greenwood Press, 1989.

Saxton, Alexander & David R. Roediger. *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*. London and New York: Verso Books, 1991.

Stallings, Tyler. David R. Roediger, Amelia Jones, & Ken Gonzels-Day. *Whiteness: A Wayward Construction*. Laguna Beach, CA: Laguna Art Museum, 2003.

Articles

Arnesen, Eric. "Up From Exclusion: Black and White Workers, Race, and the State of Labor History." *Reviews in American History* Vol. 26, No. 1, The Challenge of American History (Mar. 1998): 146-174.

Erickson, Peter. "Seeing White." *Transition* Vol. 67 (1996): 166-85.

Fishkin, Shelley Fisher. "Interrogating "Whiteness," Complicating "Blackness": Remapping American Culture." *American Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (Sep., 1995): 428-466.

Frankenberg, Ruth, ed. *Displacing Whiteness: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997).

Hartman, Douglas & Joseph Gerteis & Paul R. Croll. "An Empirical Assessment of

Whiteness Theory: Hidden from How Many?" *social Problems*, Vol. 56, No. 3 (Aug., 2009): 403-424.

Kolchin, Peter. "Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America." *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 89, No. 1 (Jun., 2002): 154-173.

Levine, Judith. "The Heart of Whiteness." *Voice Literary Supplement* (September 1994): 11-16.

Lewis, Amanda E. "What Group?" Studying Whites and Whiteness in the Era of "Color-Blindness." *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Dec., 2004): 623-646.

Storrs, Landon R. Y. Review: "Whiteness," Job Segregation and Working-Class Conservatism in the Southern Textile Industry." *Reviews in American History*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Sep., 2002): 445-454.

Stowe, David W. "Uncolored People: The Rise of Whiteness Studies." *Lingua Franca* (September/October 1996): 68-77.

Prohibition

Books

Behr, Edward. *Prohibition: Thirteen Years That Changed America*. New York: Arcade Publishing, 1996.

Blocker, Jack S. "Give to the Winds Thy Fears": *The Women's Temperance Crusade, 1873-1874*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1985.

_____. *Retreat from Reform: The Prohibition Movement in the United States, 1890-1913*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1976.

Duis, Perry R. *The Saloon: Public Drinking in Chicago and Boston, 1880-1920*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983.

Giele, Janet Z. *Two Paths to Women's Equality: Temperance, Suffrage, and the Origins of Modern Feminism*. New York: Twayne, 1995.

Lantzer, Jason S. "Prohibition Is Here to Stay": *The Reverend Edward S. Shumaker and the Dry Crusade in America*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 2009.

Parker, Alison M. *Purifying America: Women, Cultural Reform, and Pro-Censorship Activism, 1873-1933*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.

Pegram, Thomas R. *Battling Demon Rum: The Struggle for a Dry America, 1800-1933.* Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1998.

Szymanski, Ann-Marie E. *Pathways to Prohibition: Radicals, Moderates, and Social Movement Outcomes.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003.

Articles, Theses, & Dissertations

Dodd, Jill S. "The Working Classes and the Temperance Movement in Ante-bellum Boston." *Labor History* 19 (1978): 510-31.

Tyrrell, Ian. "Women and Temperance in Antebellum America, 1830-1860." *Civil War History* 28(1982): 29-34.

Whitaker, Francis M. "A History of the Ohio Woman's Christian Temperance Union." PhD. diss. The Ohio State University, 1971.

VITA

I received a Bachelor's of Arts degree from Xavier University in Cincinnati, Ohio in 2004. At Xavier I completed a program in International Affairs with a Third World concentration. I additionally finished minor fields of study in History, French and Peace Studies. My studies at Xavier were made possible by the Weninger Scholarship, Xavier University Academic Award, and Fr. Ben Urmston Peace Studies Award. I continued my schooling at University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (UWM). In 2006 I received a Master's of Arts from UWM in Public History with a certificate in Museum Studies. I held a teaching assistantship and the Chancellor's Award while pursuing my studies at UWM. In addition, I was exposed to various fields within Museum Studies through an experiential course of study at the Milwaukee Public Museum and internships completed at The Historical Society of Oak Park and River Forest, Illinois and the Milwaukee Art Museum. A rare manuscript collection I unearthed at the Historical Society of Oak Park and River Forest became the basis for my dissertation on the Women of the Ku Klux Klan in suburban Chicago. At Loyola University Chicago I pursued and completed a doctor of philosophy degree in the joint Public and American history program. While at Loyola I had the privilege of having a Deans' Fellowship for doctoral study. I completed an internship at the Pritzker Military Library to practice and improve my archival processing skills as well as learn the basics of digital archiving methods.