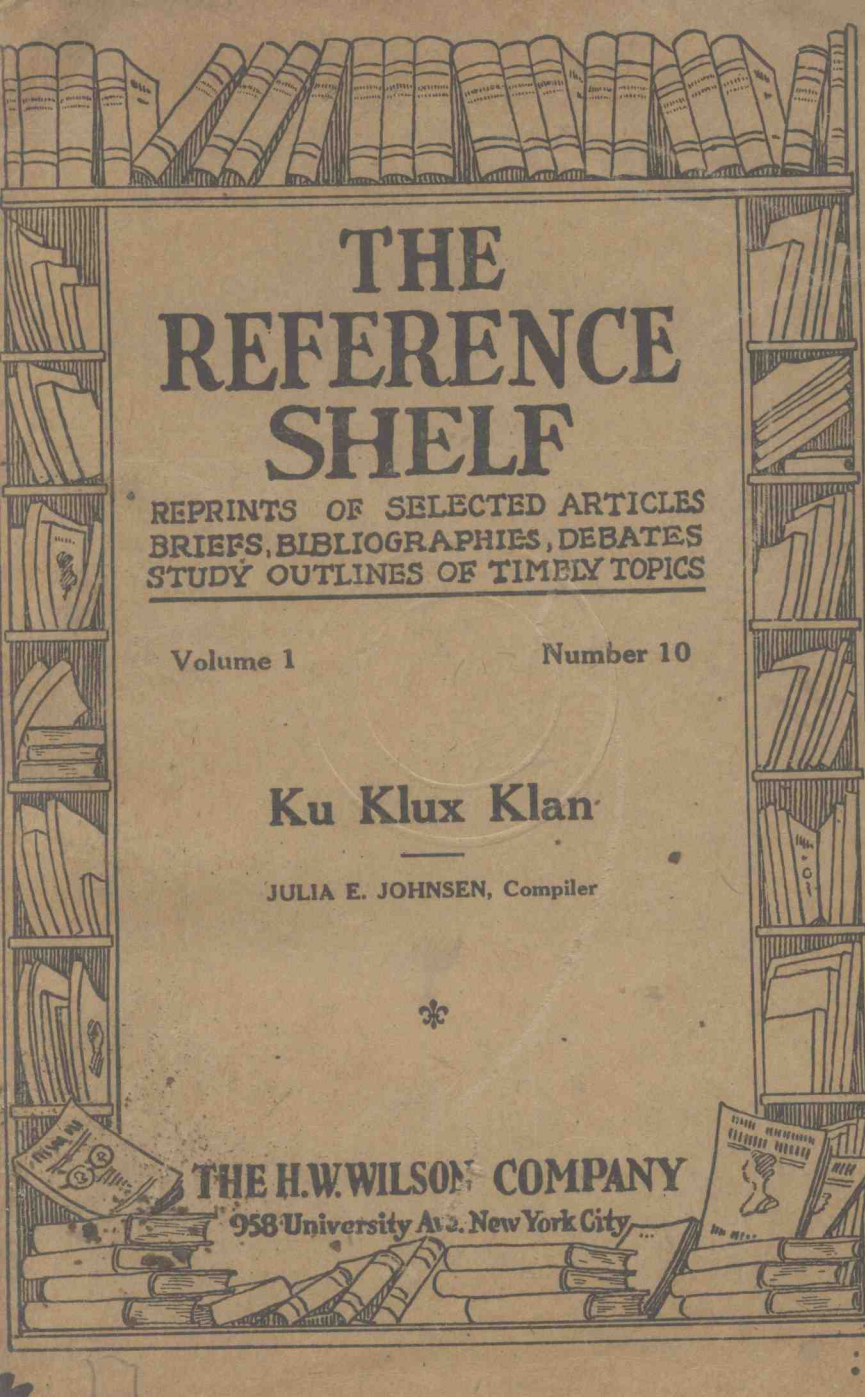


The entire cover is framed by a detailed illustration of a library or study. At the top, a shelf is filled with numerous books standing upright. On the left and right sides, there are vertical shelves holding stacks of papers, folders, and more books. At the bottom, there are more stacks of books and papers, some of which are slightly disheveled or open, suggesting active use. The central text is set against a plain, light-colored background within this frame.

THE REFERENCE SHELF

REPRINTS OF SELECTED ARTICLES
BRIEFS, BIBLIOGRAPHIES, DEBATES
STUDY OUTLINES OF TIMELY TOPICS

Volume 1

Number 10

Ku Klux Klan

JULIA E. JOHNSEN, Compiler



THE H.W. WILSON COMPANY

958 University Ave. New York City

Volume 1

May, 1923

Number 10

The Reference Shelf

Briefs, Bibliographies, Debates, Reprints
of Selected Articles and Study Outlines
on Timely Topics

Published by *THE H. W. WILSON COMPANY*

958-964 University Avenue

New York City

KU KLUX KLAN

JULIA E. JOHNSEN, Compiler

INTRODUCTION

The Ku Klux Klan is an anomaly in American life. The extreme secrecy with which it is shrouded and the apparent spread of membership into the thousands in practically every state of the Union, with attempted entrance also into Canada and England, make it both difficult and important to bring into the open reliable facts and a clear comprehension of the inner nature of this extraneous social organism.

The present Ku Klux Klan embraces the organization founded in 1915 at Atlanta, Georgia, by Colonel William Joseph Simmons, professing to commemorate the historic Ku Klux Klan of reconstruction days. According to Colonel Simmons before the Rules Committee in Congress, its membership in 1921 was approximately ninety to ninety-five thousand. Its growth is augmented by a highly-organized system of propaganda. Save for a few of the executive and organizing officials, its members are generally unknown. Among its late manifestations is the formation of an auxiliary woman's division known as

the "Kamelia," and a movement styled the "Great American Fraternity" has also been ascribed to its activities.

The material on the Ku Klux Klan is frankly one-sided. The press is, as a rule, hostile or at best neutral. For its defense one must go to such publications and statements as emanate from within its own organism. A few organizations are actively combatting it. Foremost among these are the American Unity League, with offices at 127 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, which league also publishes a weekly paper "Tolerance," and the American Civil Liberties Union, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York. The Catholic, negro, and Jewish organizations also oppose it.

The present pamphlet has been included in the Reference Shelf in response to a demand for reference material on this subject. The attempt has been made by the compiler to avoid bias and let the facts speak for themselves to the discriminating, as is in keeping with the established practice of the debaters' series of publications. To this end representative material is included setting forth both the aims and defense of the Klan and the arguments of the opposition.

JULIA E. JOHNSEN.

April 2, 1923.

BRIEF

RESOLVED: *That the Ku Klux Klan should be condemned by all right-thinking Americans.*

AFFIRMATIVE

- I. The Ku Klux Klan should be condemned because its principles are destructive and wrong.
 - A. It is founded on the principle of *invisible* government.
 1. Its membership is masked and unknown.
 2. It tries to control outside affairs.
 - a. Legitimate secret societies do not arrogate to themselves control over external affairs.
 3. Membership is concealed under oath.
 - B. It places itself above law.
 1. The Klan itself commits crime in the name of righteousness.
 - a. Murder, kidnapping, violence, flogging, etc.
 - b. It disregards lawfully elected officers and legal machinery.
 2. Klan loyalty is made more binding than civic loyalty.
 - a. Members will not testify against one another.
 3. It is an arbitrary tribunal.
 - C. It is irresponsible.
 1. There is no effective control of locals.
 - a. Recalcitrant "dens" can only have their charters revoked.

- (1) This is done only under pressure of public opinion.
 - (2) It does not prevent the members continuing activities, using regalia, etc.
 2. In case of crime there is no punishment of offenders.
 - a. The Klan does not bring members to justice.
 - (1) Even when charged to pseudo members, no justice is meted out.
 - b. The community cannot locate the responsibility for crime.
 - D. It ignores fundamental rights of others.
 1. Constitutional rights.
 - a. The right to protection by law.
 - b. To trial by jury.
 - c. To religious freedom.
 2. The inherent personal right of every human being to liberty of thought, conscience and action, providing the rights of others are not interfered with.
 3. The Klan is used for personal hatreds and prejudices.
- II. Its activities are a menace.
- A. It is disruptive.
 1. It spreads religious prejudice.
 - a. By excluding non-protestant religions from membership.
 - b. By active propaganda against them of bigotry, intolerance, persecution.
 2. It intensifies class feeling.
 - a. It discriminates against all persons of foreign birth and negroes.
 3. It plays upon the particular prejudices of each locality.

4. It gives rise to community insecurity and suspicion.
 - a. Men cannot trust even their neighbors.
- B. It is a political menace.
 1. It undermines democratic government.
 - a. Interferes in primaries, elections, intimidates voters, etc.
 - b. Is a menace to political parties.
- C. It dictates in other American institutions.
 1. In education.
 - a. It is attempting to stamp out private schools in Oregon.
 - b. It has dictated in regard to teaching forces and curricula.
- D. There are no evils sufficient to justify its self-appointed work.
 1. Legal machinery has not failed.
 2. There is no Catholic, Jewish, negro, or foreign menace.
 - a. Such claims are based upon ignorance or misrepresentation, or are disseminated for personal ends.
 - (1) To gain adherents among those prejudiced against them.
 - (2) To force them to "keep their place."
 - (3) To cover the Klan's real plans.
 3. It is the honorable way to deal with corruption, etc., in the open, not by underground methods.

III. It is undesirable in every way.

- A. It belies many of the ideals it pretends to uphold.
 1. Brotherhood is limited to membership.
 2. Americanism is of its own brand.

THE REFERENCE SHELF

3. It breaks up homes by driving its victims to disgrace and banishment.
- B. It fosters cowardice.
 1. It leads men to condone its evils for fear of arousing its enmity.
 2. It cannot live in the open.
 - a. Public opinion largely condemns it.
 - b. When membership is exposed members are forced to resign.
 3. It is cowardly in punishment and acts.
- C. The real reason for its existence is commercialism.
 1. Heavy membership and degree fees and annual dues enrich its promoters.
 2. The sale of regalia nets large profit.
- D. The insidious power it acquires is a grave future danger.
 1. It is susceptible to abuse at any time under wrong leadership.
 - a. Members must obey dictates or leave.
 2. Its avowed ideals are no guarantee of observance.
 - a. It is well known that movements of high purpose degenerate with time.
 - (1) The Camorra is an example of such degeneration.
 3. Its acquirement of power on a large scale would be a menace to government.

NEGATIVE

- I. The Ku Klux Klan stands for exalted ideals.
 - A. It is an organization of the highest type.
 1. It is on the same plan as other secret societies.
 2. It commemorates the sacrifice, service and achievements of the original Klan.
 3. It is legal.

- a. Incorporated under the laws of Georgia.
- 4. Its membership is of the highest type.
 - a. Men of moral and social standing.
 - b. In many cases officials of the nation, state, county and city.
- 5. It has an exalted ritualistic form of work.
- B. It is a practical fraternity. It tends:
 - 1. To promote the principles of brotherhood among its members.
 - 2. To protect womanhood and the home.
 - 3. To help the weak, suffering, and needy.
 - 4. To build a better citizenship.
 - a. Inculcates respect for law.
 - b. Encourages use of the ballot.
 - 5. To act as a vigilance committee.
 - 6. It is given to the practice of benevolence.
- C. It upholds other high ideals.
 - 1. Patriotism.
 - a. Allegiance to American institutions.
 - (1) It aims to conserve, protect, and maintain the distinctive institutions and ideals of a pure Americanism.
 - b. It is pledged to protect the Constitution and the flag.
 - c. It stands for America first among nations.
 - 2. Christian ideals.
 - a. While conceding the right of every man to worship in his own way, it upholds the Christian religion as opposed to Roman Catholicism.
 - b. It encourages the study of the Bible.
 - 3. Racial ideals.
 - a. The supremacy of the white race and of native-born Americans.

II. The activities and attitude of the Ku Klux Klan are justified.

A. By the Catholic menace.

1. The Klan is opposed to the domination in American life of a foreign ecclesiastical potentate.
2. It opposes it with respect to the principle of the separation of church and state.
3. It opposes the activities of the Jesuits, the most cunning, persistent and deceitful foes of Protestant Christianity.
4. It opposes undue influence by the Knights of Columbus.

B. By the negro problem.

1. The Klan opposes negro majorities at the polls.
 - a. The white race is the ruling race by inheritance.
 - b. It can't be expected to surrender to another control of its vital and fundamental governmental affairs.
2. It opposes the teaching of social equality.
 - a. Certain negro organizations and periodicals attempt to sow seed of discontent and racial hatred by such teaching.
3. The Klan is otherwise the friend of the negro.
 - a. No law-abiding person of any race, creed or color has aught to fear from it.

C. In relation to Jews.

1. They are unproductive and money-getting.
2. They do not subscribe to the Christian religion.

D. In relation to the foreign element.

1. The Klan upholds 100 per cent Americanism.
 - a. It is opposed to foreign idealism or allegiance.
 - b. It advocates sensible and patriotic immigration laws.

E. In relation to corruption and crime.

1. There is much political corruption.
 - a. Sometimes there is no redress for citizens but the Klan.
2. There is government within government dictation, practically minority rule.
3. Private immorality goes unpunished.
4. Bootlegging is carried on.

III. In other ways the Klan is desirable.

A. It is law-abiding.

1. Lawless deeds have not and will not be committed by it.
 - a. Mobs have not been ordered and directed by the Klan as an organization.
 - (1) Many mobs have been put over by forces opposed to the Klan to discredit it.
 - (2) They have been put over by indignant citizens to correct wrong.
 - (3) They have been committed by lawless groups wrongfully appropriating its name.
2. It is not designed to act in the capacity of a law-enforcement or moral correction agency except so far as members may assist regular officers of law to apprehend criminals and uphold law.
3. The Rules Committee of Congress investigating it failed to file a report against it.

4. It has invited investigation by the Department of Justice and the Postoffice Department of its books, records, and files.
- B. It has been misrepresented.
 1. Newspapers have never given their readers the truth about it.
 2. Its accusers are those who, through guilty conscience, fear it.
- C. Its secrecy is not to be condemned.
 1. Its power lies in the secrecy with which it is surrounded.
 - a. It is necessary to fight its enemies with their own weapons.
 2. The Knights of Columbus have an oath as binding as the Klan, if not more so.
- D. There is no commercialism.
 1. The funds are properly and honorably handled in a business-like way.
 2. The dues collected are necessary in organization work.
 3. No official is profiting.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

United States. Library of Congress. List of references on Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, exclusive of the original Ku Klux Klan, but including night riders, etc. 6p. typewritten. 70c. Public Affairs Information Service. New York. Feb. 16, 1923.

United States. Library of Congress. Select list of references on Ku Klux Klan. 8p. typewritten. 90c. Public Affairs Information Service. New York. June 20, 1913.

GENERAL REFERENCES

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

Beard, James Melville. K.K.K. sketches. 192p. Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, Philadelphia. 1877.

Brawley, Benjamin. Ku Klux Klan. *In* Social history of the American negro. p. 272-8. Macmillan, New York. 1921.

Brown, William Garrott. Ku Klux movement. *In* Lower south in American history. p. 191-225. Macmillan, New York. 1902.

Brunson, R. J. Historic Pulaski: birthplace of the Ku Klux Klan. 108p. Methodist Pub. Nashville, Tenn. 1913.

Dixon, Thomas. Clansman: an historical romance of the Ku Klux Klan. 374p. Doubleday. 1916.

Fleming, Walter L. Revised and amended prescript of Ku Klux Klan. 31p. Morgantown, W.Va. Feb., 1904.

Howe, Elizabeth M. Ku Klux uniform. Buffalo Historical Society. Publications. 25:9-41. '21.

- Lester, J. C. and Wilson, D. L. Ku Klux Klan: its origin, growth and disbandment. Introduction and notes by Walter L. Fleming. 198p. Neale, New York. 1905.
- Mississippi Historical Society. Publications. 9:109-71. '06. Enforcement act of 1871 and the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi. J. S. McNeilly.
- United States. Circuit Court. Ku Klux trials at Columbia, S.C. Official report. 224p. Columbia Union, Columbia, S.C. 1872.
- United States. House of Representatives. Committee on rules. 67th Congress, 1st session. Hearings. Ku Klux Klan. 184p. Supt. of doc. 1921.

PERIODICALS

- American Federationist. 29:905-6. D. '22. Confirmation from a strange source.
Protest against Gov. Allen's action in Kansas.
- Atlantic Monthly. 87:634-44. My. '01. Ku Klux movement. William Garrott Brown.
- Century Magazine. n.s. 6:398-410. Jl. '84. Ku Klux Klan: its origin, growth, and disbandment. D. L. Wilson.
- Chautauquan. 65:170. Ja. '12. Ku Klux: poem. Madison Cawein.
- Congressional Record. 63:32-7. N. 22, '22. Situation in Louisiana.
- Current History Magazine, New York Times. 14:19-25. Ap. '21. Kuklux Klan revived. Frank Parker Stockbridge.
- Harper's Weekly. 52:14-16. F. 8, '08. Ku Klux Klan of today: the red record of Kentucky's night riders. Charles V. Tevis.
- Literary Digest. 68:44-6. F. 5, '21. Imperial wizard and his Klan.
- Literary Digest. 70:12-13. Ag. 27, '21. Reign of the tar-bucket.

- Literary Digest. 70:34-40. S. 24, '21. For and against the Ku Klux Klan.
- Literary Digest. 74:14. Ag. 5, '22. Ku Klux victory in Texas.
- Literary Digest. 74:44-52. Ag. 5, '22. Quaint customs and methods of the Ku Klux Klan.
- Literary Digest. 75:13. N. 11, '22. Why Kansas bans the Klan.
- Literary Digest. 75:12-13. D. 2, '22. Klan as a national problem.
- Literary Digest. 76:20-1. F. 3, '23. Canada's keep-out to Klanism.
- Metropolitan Magazine. 22:657-69. S. '05. Story of the Ku Klux Klan. Thomas Dixon, Jr.
- Mississippi Valley Historical Review. 1:575-8. Mr. '15. Ku Klux document. Walter L. Fleming.
- Nation. 115:654. D. 13, '22. Even the Klan has rights.
- Nation. 116:6. Ja. 3, '23. Solemn but undignified pe-
quins.
- New Republic. 33:289. F. 7, '23. Why of the Ku Klux Klan. Mary W. Herring.
- Outlook. 132:643. D. 13, '22. Invisible government.
- Spectator. 130:279-80. F. 17, '23. Ku Klux Klan in America. Frank R. Kent.
- Survey. 48:10-11, 42-3. Ap. 1-8, '22. Klan in Texas. Edward T. Devine.
- Texas State Historical Association Quarterly. 9:262-8. Ap. '06. Ku Klux Klan. W. D. Wood.
- Wide World Magazine. 47:339-47. Ag. '21. K.K.K.: the strongest secret society on earth. Shaw Desmond.
- World's Work. 44:296-302. Jl. '22. Midsummer politics and primaries. Mark Sullivan.

AFFIRMATIVE REFERENCES

- A B C of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. 8p. Ku Klux Press, Atlanta, Ga.

- Burton, Annie Cooper. Ku Klux Klan. 38p. Warren T. Potter, Los Angeles. 1916.
- Literary Digest. 76:18-19. Ja. 20, '23. Defense of the Ku Klux Klan.
- Mahoney, William James. Some ideals of the Ku Klux Klan. 8p. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Atlanta, Ga.
- Sawyer, R. H. Truth about the Invisible empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. 16p. Pacific Northwest Domain, 326 Pittock Building, Portland, Oregon. 1922.
The author asserts material change of mind since pamphlet was published.
- Simmons, William Joseph. Ku Klux Klan. 12p. Author, Atlanta, Ga.

NEGATIVE REFERENCES

- Atlantic Monthly. 130:122-8. Jl. '22. Modern Ku Klux Klan. Leroy Percy.
- City Record. (Boston). 15:93. Ja. 17, '23. Mayor Curley's ringing letter on Ku Klux Klan.
- Congressional Record. (Current). 62:14207-18. S. 22, '22. Against Ku Klux Klan—for religious liberty. Walter M. Chandler.
- Congressional Record. 63:13-14. N. 21, '22. Alleged outrages in Louisiana.
- Current Opinion. 71:561-4. N. '21. Invisible empire in the spotlight.
- Forum. 65:426-34. Ap. '21. Reviving the Ku Klux Klan. Walter F. White.
- Fry, Henry P. Modern Ku Klux Klan. 259p. \$2. Small, Maynard, Boston. 1923.
Contains same material as the expose of the New York World in 1921.
- Gillis, James M. Ku Klux Klan. 14p. 5c. Paulist Press, 120 W. 60 St, New York. 1922.
- Independent. 109:333-4. D. 9, '22. Collapse of constitutional government. Chester T. Crowell.
Political activities in Texas.
- Leslie's Illustrated Weekly. 133:329-30, 508-11. S. 10, O. 15, '21. Nightgown tryanny; Fighting the K.K.K. on its home grounds. William G. Shepherd.

- Literary Digest. 70:30-1. O. 1, '21. Ku Klux condemned by the religious press.
- Literary Digest. 73:15. Je. 10, '22. Ku Klux in politics.
- Literary Digest. 75:33. N. 25, '22. Protestants disowning the Ku Klux Klan.
- Literary Digest. 75:31-2. D. 23, '22. New York's anti-Klan outburst.
- Literary Digest. 76:10-12. Ja. 13, '23. Murders of Mer Rouge.
- Nation. 113:285-6. S. 14, '21. Ku Klux Klan—soul of chivalry. Albert de Silver.
- Reprinted by American Civil Liberties Union, 138 W. 13 St. New York. 7p. 2c.
- Nation. 115:8-10. Jl. 5, '22. Great bigotry merger. Charles P. Sweeney.
- Nation. 115:514. N. 15, '22. Our own secret fascisti.
- Nation's peril. 144p. Friends of the compiler. New York. 1872.
- New Republic. 25:195-7. Ja. 12, '21. Election by terror in Florida.
- New Republic. 28:88-9. S. 21, '21. K.K.K.
- New Republic. 33:189-90. Ja. 17, '23. Ku Klux and crime.
- New Statesman. 18:40-2. O. 15, '21. K.K.K.—the white terror of America.
- New York Times. (Sports Sec.) D. 7, '22. Starts nationwide fight on Klan here.
- Work of the American Unity League.
- New York World. Facts about the Ku Klux Klan as the World told them. 16p. New York. 1921.
- Outlook. 129:46. S. 14, '21. Imperial lawlessness.
- Outlook. 129:79-80. S. 21, '21. Ku Klux Klan again.
- Survey. 48:251-2. My. 13, '22. Ku Klux Klan. Edward T. Ware, A. Texan, and Edward T. Devine.
- Survey. 49:76-7. O. 15, '22. Intolerance in Oregon.
- Witcher, W. C. Unveiling of the Ku Klux Klan. 62p. 50c. Author, Fort Worth, Texas. 1922.

