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During the critical period immediately preceding and following the First World War, radical groups throughout the world arose in unprecedented numbers. These groups, usually emphasizing the importance of nationalism, found receptive audiences disillusioned by the change in lifestyles and values, as well as by the shock of World War I. One group in the United States which found these issues advantageous was the Ku Klux Klan.

This legendary group of ante-bellum infamy had its resurgence in Atlanta in 1915. Although a Southern based organization originally, this rejuvenated Klan was able to expand nationwide. The Klan expounded "Pure Americanism" which led millions of Americans to become sympathetic with its cause. This broad base of support aided the fraternal organization's attempt to gain political power in Kansas and the national government.

From 1921 to 1926, the Ku Klux Klan strongly supported or opposed candidates for political offices throughout Kansas. Many times Klan-endorsed candidates won. One Klan victory came in 1923 when Emporia - home of the most outspoken Klan opponent, William Allen White - elected a Klan-

supported mayor. Numerous Klan-endorsed senators and a governor were also aided to victory through the work of the Klan.

White was not the only Lyon County editor combatting the hooded organization. The Klan took long strides in an attempt to gain social and public acceptance in small communities such as Americus, Hartford, and Reading. Havoc wrought by the Klan's policies of discrimination spurred editors in these towns to join White's crusade against the hooded order. White's editorials were the biggest thorn in the Klan's side. Opponents of the Ku Klux Klan were inspired by White's "tongue-in-cheek" commentaries. He, as much as anyone, was responsible for the organization's virtual demise in 1927.

THE KU KLUX KLAN IN LYON COUNTY, KANSAS  
IN THE 1920's

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## The Ku Klux Klan in Lyon County

### Introduction

The Ku Klux Klan was a mass phenomenon during the 1920's that wielded appreciable power in many parts of America. An estimated membership of six million in 1925 is not the only gauge of Klan power.<sup>1</sup> Its influence stemmed largely from the apprehension of Americans during the "twenties." Millions of citizens never joined the Klan, but they were in sympathy with its philosophy and objectives evocative of an America to which they belonged that was in eclipse.

The image of the Ku Klux Klan to most Americans now is that of sadistic Southerners in white hoods and robes intimidating defenseless blacks. This conception is accurate when describing the Klan of the Reconstruction Era and the Klan which has appeared intermittently since the end of the Second World War. The Invisible Empire during the 1920's differed largely from the other two Klan movements in methods and dogma. The Reconstruction Era Klan violently opposed Republicans and freedmen and the recent Klan was opposed to racial equality and civil rights. During the 1920's the organization directed its attack against Roman Catholics, Jews, Negroes, immigrants, criminals, and the morally corrupt. It did not rely on the chronic violence exhibited by the original Klan. This Klan was nationwide and much larger than the other two movements. The three Klan movements were similar only in the fact that the organization took advantage of the public's fear of a changing society.

The Klan succeeded because it exploited American fears in the 1920's. Americans saw their way of life threatened by the radical political forces evolving in the United States, the growing economic crisis purportedly caused by the great influx of immigrants, the way our country had been "tricked" into the First World War, and the change of family and social values as a result of the great impact of technology, urbanization, and "un-American" influence.

Crime increased markedly in the years after the First World War. Local law enforcement officials often seemed unable or unwilling to halt criminal activity. The crime wave was acknowledged and denounced by public officials across the nation. Bootlegging was probably the most frequent law violation.<sup>2</sup> Murder and burglaries were headlined daily in newspapers. The Klan benefited from the deep strain of lawlessness. Many Americans became restless and impatient with legal restraint, and searched for effective methods to combat this infestation of crime. The Klan's cry for restoration of law and order was well-received. Its claim that it investigated cases and assisted law enforcement officials in apprehending criminals undoubtedly increased membership in Kansas.

To insure the control of law enforcement officials and law makers, the Invisible Empire became involved in politics. It enticed some of its members to run for public office and endorsed other candidates in hopes of increasing its political power and domination of public officials. The Klan in Lyon County and elsewhere in Kansas was quite successful in its effort to elect candidates to office and gain the support and acquiescence of public officials.

The Kansas Klan was estimated to have from 40,000 to 100,000 members. Even the latter figure was only five per cent of the state's population. The Ku Klux Klan could not have flourished in Kansas without the support



of many persons who themselves were not members. The Kansas Klan was not extremely worried about the ethnic or religious groups, except for Roman Catholics. There were few foreigners, Jews, and Negroes in Kansas, and almost none in most small communities. This did not make the Kansas Klansmen any more tolerant of these groups than Klansmen from other sections of the union, however.

Little factual information, outside of contemporary newspapers, can be acquired on the secret order in Lyon County. Both alleged Klan members and persons opposed to the Klan in the 1920's were helpful in some details of this study. All were reluctant to offer information - Klansmen did not wish to incriminate themselves or other members, and anti-Klan citizens preferred not to embarrass or be harassed by former members.

Klansmen, who called themselves "100 Per Cent Americans," were at the center of Lyon County news for five years of the Klan's development and power in Kansas. It is impossible, in studying the Klan in Lyon County, to separate William Allen White, editor and owner of the Emporia Gazette, from the subject. Beginning in 1921, he used ridicule to combat the hooded order and was later joined by other editors in the county. This study focuses on this battle and the Klan's political and social influence in Lyon County.

## Section I

The twentieth century Ku Klux Klan began in 1915 under the leadership of William Joseph Simmons, who was fascinated by the Klan's legend. A believer in the fraternal ethos, Simmons led 15 followers to the top of Stone Mountain, east of Atlanta, Georgia on Thanksgiving Day, 1915 for the first initiation ceremony of what he called the "reincarnated Klan."<sup>1</sup> This

Klan revival was aided by a romantic novel about the organization entitled The Clansman, and D.W. Griffith's movie version of the novel, which was called The Birth of a Nation.<sup>2</sup>

Simmons struggled financially for nearly five years to maintain the Klan in a spirit of true fraternalism. He refused many offers to sell his rights to the organization to persons who were only interested in controlling the Klan for their own financial benefit. Simmons was sincerely interested in the welfare of America. He hoped to build hospitals and schools, but was not much of an organizer. The Klan was a "close-knit organization" of only a few thousand members.<sup>3</sup> In June, 1920 he was unable to refuse the lucrative offer of \$100 per week for life made by Edward Young Clarke and Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler.<sup>4</sup> Clarke and Tyler bought their way into the organization and joined Simmons as leaders of the Klan.<sup>5</sup> They immediately launched a nationwide membership campaign to enroll new members at \$10 per head. About 85,000 members had enlisted in the secret order by 1921.

Organizers, editors, lecturers, and pamphleteers throughout the nation expounded on the threat of conspiracies being plotted by Catholics, Jews, Negroes, immigrants, and radicals. They contended that the Pope was planning to "take over America," and that Jews dominated the nation's economic life. Citizens were receptive to cries to keep white protestant men in charge of America.

The Klan had serious crises when Clarke and Tyler were charged with immoral conduct in 1921 and again in 1922. Clarke resigned after the second incident. Klan finances were "the subject of close public scrutiny" following a series of articles in the New York World and Journal American. The organization was also investigated by a Congressional committee for alleged illegal commercial gains by a charitable organization.<sup>6</sup> The Klan was to

remain at the center of controversy on lawlessness, contrary to its dogma, for the rest of the decade. Yet, the Klan had a foundation in nearly every state in the nation by 1921. The hooded order reached its peak of six million knights by 1925. Its assets were in the neighborhood of \$10 million. Kansans contributed their share of members and money.<sup>7</sup>

## Chapter 1

### Section I

The Ku Klux Klan made its first appearance in Kansas in early 1921. Klansmen - most from Oklahoma and some from Texas - had penetrated as far north as Caney, Kansas. A Klan parade was staged in Caney in mid-February. In a reference to it in the Emporia Gazette, William Allen White wrote of the Klan that "nothing could be much worse politically, socially, or morally. The thing is a pestilence in any community and should be stamped out. It breeds lawlessness, disorder, and crime. No good citizen should touch it."<sup>1</sup>

There were few visible signs of the Klan in Kansas for many months after the Caney parade. Whereas the secret organization had already built strong organizations in states of the Midwest, South, and Northwest, Kansans who opposed the Klan, such as White, had definite hopes that their state would be bypassed. These hopes dissolved when Governor Henry J. Allen received information in July that the Klan was active in the central and southern parts of the state. Klan organizers had visions of creating numerous local organizations within the state. Governor Allen, who had knowledge of Klan activities in other states, faced the challenge of the growing secret order. Organizers claimed they had worked diligently the last few months in the Wichita and El Dorado area in establishing new "Klaverns." According to

the Governor, the Klan operated in defiance of Kansas law. He was uninformed of the appreciable success the Klan had already achieved.<sup>2</sup>

The Ku Klux Klan first introduced itself to Emporia in the last week of July, when a Wichita representative of the Imperial Wizard tried to organize an Emporia chapter. He held an evening meeting in the office of an Emporia lawyer. It was attended by an Emporia doctor, two lawyers, a county official, the vice-president of an Emporia mortgage company.<sup>3</sup>

The Klan representative from Wichita outlined the regulations and objectives of the organization to them. He stated that the Klan's purposes were to assist and "supplement the enforcement of the law, the upholding of Americanism and good fellowship."<sup>4</sup> The organizer proceeded to claim to have established chapters in many Kansas towns, including one of 300 members in El Dorado. Each prospective member was to pay \$10 when he enrolled. It would be sent to the national capital of the Invisible Empire in Atlanta.<sup>5</sup> Local chapters could also assess members for dues. He claimed that the Ku Klux Klan was "instrumental in stopping sabotage and destruction of cotton gins which accompanied a recent drop in the cotton market." He added that membership was restricted to men twenty-one years of age or older who were Protestants and were native born citizens.

One man at the meeting walked out as soon as he discovered that only citizens born in America were eligible to join. He was Scotch, and "proud of it." Sheriff Charles Gibson said that he had not known the name of the organization that was having the meeting. He publicly denounced the Klan with the statement, "I didn't like the name and I said, 'Nothing doing,' right off." He added, "I will have nothing to do with such an organization, nor will I stand for its formation in this county."<sup>6</sup>

Most of the men at the meeting agreed that the credit for the destruc-

tion of the organizer's plans belonged primarily to Dr. J.B. Brickell.\* When the organizer finished speaking, Brickell rose and spoke against the Klan. The doctor said that he frankly could "see no need for the Klan" in Emporia. There were, reportedly, a few men at the meeting who expressed enthusiasm for the organization, but, the Emporia Gazette claimed they changed their thoughts after reading more about the Klan activities in the South.<sup>7</sup> The Klan had temporarily been rebuffed in Emporia.

The Emporia Gazette ran an editorial a few days later which, as frequently happened, later was reprinted in many of the large city newspapers in the nation. White wrote:

An organizer of the Ku Klux Klan was in Emporia the other day and the men whom he invited to join his band at \$10 per join, turned him down. Under the leadership of Dr. J.B. Brickell and following their own judgement after hearing his story, the Emporians told him that they had no time for him. The proposition seems to be:

Anti-foreigners

Anti-Catholic

Anti-Negro. . . .

It is to the everlasting credit of Emporia that the organizer found no suckers with \$10 each to squander here. Whatever Emporia may be otherwise, it believes in law and order, and absolute freedom under the constitution for every man, no matter what birth or creed or race he may claim to speak and meet and talk and act as a free law abiding citizen. The picayunish cowardice of a man who would substitute clan rule and mob law for what our American fathers have died to establish and maintain, should prove what a cheap screw outfit the Klan is.<sup>8</sup>

White was very optimistic that the Klan would fail in Kansas. His hometown had survived this "invasion" and he was more than willing to convey this message to those who read his editorials. In August he stated, "The Ku Klux Klan isn't getting anywhere in Kansas. . . . Kansas will have nothing to do with (the Klan). . . and only a cheap screw will be fooled

\*The Emporia Gazette, as many newspapers of the day, used initials frequently instead of full names.

by (the Klan)."<sup>9</sup> "Anti-Klanners" were pleased with the way that many Kansas newspapers, particularly the larger ones, supported the fight against the Klan. White, the most powerful and influential editor in the state, led the newspapers in forecasting difficult times ahead for the Klan in the state.

Notwithstanding White's pronostication, the Klan organizer found some "suckers" who were willing to "squander" ten dollars. The Emporia lodge of the Ku Klux Klan set up an office of Fifth Avenue in Emporia in early August. The Klan did not have many members at this point. The organizer was said to "feel people out first" and then approach only those that showed interest.<sup>10</sup>

White wrote another editorial in late August which disputed claims being made by the Klan that they were "super patriots" and "100 Per Cent American." In combating their claims, he wrote:

The Super patriot is a nuisance. Patriotism does not consist in jealous consideration of emblems, either good or bad. Patriotism consists in that broad neighborly understanding of the rights of others which makes for kindly living and intelligent action. Your real patriot waves flags and sings songs only as an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace. . . .

Spies and traitors are made from super patriots who are long on the flags and songs and emblems and short on neighborly feelings which is the soul of patriotism.<sup>11</sup>

Probably the lack of much success in the Klan membership drive was responsible for little being heard of and even less written on the Klan in Emporia during the remainder of 1921. Possibly the severe winter in the area prevented ample effort to be put into building a strong Klan in Emporia until the spring of 1922.

## Section II

The Klan began to spread rapidly throughout the nation in 1922. With

the addition of Clarke and Tyler into the leadership, the organization had become a flourishing business. The two had given organizers great financial incentive by allowing them to keep more than half of the initiation fee. This led to an increase in the number of organizers as well as members.

Organizers in Emporia attempted to gain public appreciation during the year by contributing to charities and claiming to aid law enforcement officials in the apprehension of criminals. They also sought the support of Protestant churches and held organizational meetings for the first time. The work organizers in Emporia was so successful that the state inquired about the local order in a hearing in the state's ouster suit against the Klan late in the year.

A new Klan organizer came to Emporia in the early spring of 1922. He was supposedly an oil salesman with an office near Fifth and Commercial Streets.\* His chief activity was to recruit young Masons who were also members of the American Legion.<sup>1</sup> White was concerned about the recruitment of Legionnaires. He wrote that although a few Legionnaires had joined the Klan, "the American Legion and the Ku Klux Klan have nothing in common." White continued his written assault against the organization in an editorial that stated:

The Ku Klux Klan has a lofty platform, but it is made of rotten timber. No organization which operates at night, behind masks and utterly disregards the laws and courts of the Nation, has a place in a democracy and the men of the American Legion who have pledged themselves for 'God and Country' are breaking their<sub>2</sub>pledge when they join the cowardly Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In the midst of the new organizer's efforts, the Emporia Klan was denounced by a local pastor.<sup>3</sup> The Klan always hoped for support from the

\* Many times an organizer would use the occupation of a salesman of some type merely to conceal his real purpose.

protestant ministers, but Reverend W.P. Wharton, pastor of the First Methodist Church, publicly branded the Klan as "lawless, un-American, and un-Christian." He added that the activities of the secret order were "a form of jungleism."<sup>4</sup>

While the Gazette was conducting its 1922 campaign against the Klan, the local organizer was lashing back. He was spreading word around town that the Associated Press (with which the Emporia Gazette was affiliated) was controlled by Roman Catholics. This, he explained, was why "ugly incidents" involving the Klan were so well publicized. The Gazette disputed this claim with the statement that only two Associated Press papers in Kansas had Catholic owners.<sup>5</sup>

The local organizer claimed on May 3 that there were 140 members in the Emporia chapter of the Ku Klux Klan.<sup>6</sup> This was the first concrete sign that the order had gained a footing in Emporia. The organizer, in an interview with a Gazette reporter, declared that the Klan worked for benevolent causes - aiding churches, helping police to enforce the law, and cleaning up politics. He added that the night raids attributed to the Klan were false. Despite this plea for sympathy, Mayor J.C. Brogan was emphatic in his declaration that the Klan had "no honest business" in the town.<sup>7</sup>

During the same week, it was reported that the organizer had tried to rent a room of the Odd Fellows for his first meeting, but was refused. There were also rumors that he had moved his lodging from the Whitley Hotel to the Mitway Hotel and his office from Fifth and Commercial Streets to Sixth Avenue.<sup>8</sup>

The Gazette reported in an editorial on May 10 that the local KKK agent was "giving the Emporia suckers a few days rest" to recruit farmers



in the Pike township. The paper predicted the organizer would fail in this mission because the farmers had too many important things to worry about to be interested in the Klan.<sup>9</sup>

This negative prognosis could not prevent the organizer's second major attempt to gain the support of a community group for the Emporia Klan. The local Klan organizer defended his organization in a speech to the Emporia Ministerial Alliance on May 15. Recruits, he indicated to it, were largely Masons. He claimed that the local hooded order had more than 150 members, of whom 133 were 32nd degree Masons and a large number were knights Templar. The organizer also declared that the Klan was limited to American-born because the foreign born such as the "Japs, the Knights of Columbus, and the others of foreign birth" were already organized.<sup>10</sup> After the organizer finished his presentation to the ministers, William Allen White spoke against the Klan. The group then passed a resolution denouncing the Klan. Reverend Alexander Hawke of the Episcopal Church introduced the resolution and it was seconded by Reverend Wharton, who had spoken out against the Klan on an earlier occasion. The vote against the Klan was five to two. The two votes against the resolution and "therefore for the Klan" were cast by Reverend H.G. Biddlecum of the Friends Church and Reverend J.J. Clemens of the Lutheran Church. Mayor Brogan and Reverend J.M. Todd stated they were not ready to vote and abstained. After the resolution was passed, Reverend Clemens contended that the majority (against the Klan) included ministers without "regular pastorates" in Emporia. Reverend Wharton thereupon moved to withdraw the motion, "in the interest of fairness," and make it the order for the next week. His motion was passed unanimously.<sup>11</sup>

The Ministerial Association voted to condemn the Ku Klux Klan in a meeting the following week at the Emporia Y.M.C.A. The resolution stated

that "The Ministerial Association of this city is opposed to the organization in Emporia of the Ku Klux Klan." Part of the headline in the Emporia Gazette reported that two of the local pastors, Reverend (Mayor) Brogan and Reverend J.J. Nannin, failed to attend the meeting.\* The meeting was closed to the general public (probably to avoid embarrassment to individual members). The Gazette disclosed only that a majority of the ministers voted against the Klan. Several members declined to vote because they had insufficient "information regarding the Klan." One member, according to the Gazette, said he voted against the resolution because he thought the Association should take no action in the matter, not because he was in favor of the Klan. Reverend Clemens and Reverend Biddlecum, who had voted against the resolution at the previous meeting, voiced the same opinion.<sup>12</sup>

The Klan did not give up trying to infiltrate the churches. In December White expressed concern for the young men of Emporia. It was disclosed that a number of young men in a Bible class in the First Methodist Episcopal Church were Klansmen - contrary to the Methodist Church's anti-Klan stand.<sup>13</sup>

Throughout the year, most of White's editorials on the Klan were directed at the national organization. Some however, focused on the hooded order in Emporia and surrounding area. In one comment about the local Klan, he claimed that one tremendous indictment against it was that none of the "decent upstanding men" of the town had joined, and "none of the men who do things for the community defended the Klan." He also described the or-

\*This was a frequently used method of the Emporia Gazette's to disclose the names of those who refused to take a stand on an issue.

ganizer in Emporia as a smooth talker who "is very keen to earn his fees."<sup>14</sup>

In June 1922 the Emporia Klan offered the Emporia Gazette an advertisement setting forth its aims. White accepted it with a payment of \$7.56, and urged his subscribers to read it, and then ask one question: "If the Klan contains all the virtue, all the righteousness and all the patriotism that the oil stock salesmen claim for it, why hide all that virtue behind a mask and why not wear a button to show your pride in it?"<sup>15</sup>

A Klan newspaper was implanted in Emporia to refute the Gazette. The weekly newspaper was published by Elmer Garner and his son, probably during at least part of 1922 and 1923.<sup>16</sup> Garner's car had two small American flags posted on it "to show everyone how patriotic he was."<sup>17</sup> The paper went bankrupt and he and his son moved on to Wichita.<sup>18</sup> Garner was later indicted on the charge of sedition because of statements made in his Wichita newspaper after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941.<sup>19</sup>

Although the bulk of county newspaper were anti-Klan, the weekly Emporia Times was an exception. It rarely mentioned the Klan, but the few statements that it made were clearly supportive of the hooded organization. For two consecutive weeks in June 1922, an 8" X 12" Klan advertisement ran in the Times. Claiming that the Klan "Stands for Everything that means True Americanism," the usual bits of the Klan's patriotic propaganda contended that it had the nation's best interests at heart. It added that the "Ku Klux Klan is in Emporia now, and is here to stay." The advertisement also included the interesting information that there were over 300 members in Emporia, whereas there had been just over 150 a couple of weeks before. Ironically, the ad claimed that the Emporia chapter "is made up of hand-picked men," but was now accepting applications for membership through the mail.<sup>20</sup>

The Emporia Klavern organizer probably recruited most of the local Klan's members personally. He made a major effort in June to recruit laborers. The organizer - still the oil salesman - explained to the workers in the railroad yards for several days that the American Federation of Labor, like the Associated Press, "is in the hands of the Catholics."<sup>21</sup> The oil salesman was successful at the railroad yards and signed up many new members.

The organizer was not as successful at City Hall. On the morning of August 16, he went to see Mayor Brogan but he was not in his office. The organizer was attempting to obtain official permission for an open Klan session in the city. Brogan declared later that permission would have depended on the nature of the meeting. "But," he added, "this is no time for such a meeting." A large outdoor Klan meeting was held just outside of Emporia, instead.<sup>22</sup> However, the Mayor could not legally prevent a meeting in Emporia, and the local chapter held an outdoor meeting within the community just three weeks later.<sup>23</sup>

Emporia's Klan recruitment was not limited to the working class. In early October, there was rumor around town that a chapter of the Klan was being formed at the College of Emporia. College President F.W. Lewis doubted that such an organization existed. "The young men here are too intelligent to join such an order," he announced. "They are too well acquainted with American principles and institutions . . . to affiliate themselves with a group as un-American as the Klansmen." Lewis informed the community that if a student was proven to be a member of the Klan, "it is certain we would not permit . . . (him) to stay in school."<sup>24</sup>

In spite of being rebuked by the College of Emporia, it was evident that the Emporia Klavern was getting stronger. One of the local Klan organizers, Fred Abshire, informed an Emporia Gazette reporter in an in-

terview in late September that the Emporia Klan had increased to over 1200 members. Claiming that the Klan had done more to enforce the law in Emporia in the previous thirty days than any other organization had done in the past twenty years, Abshire said the Klan "stands for law and order, first, last, and always." He added that the local chapter had been active in approximately fifty cases in thirty days, some of which reached the court. Abshire, who was in charge of several Klaverns in eastern Kansas, also stated that the Emporia Klan, as well as all of the other Klaverns under his supervision, did not wear white robes and had "no need for them." When the topic of secrecy was mentioned, Abshire defended its purpose. He explained that "It is only by secrecy that evidence, which helps the Klan in its activities in preserving law and order, is gathered." The Gazette's hostile attitude toward the Klan, he continued, was the reason the newspaper was not kept posted on the Klan's activities.<sup>25</sup>

A rumor was circulated around town later in the month that the Emporia Klan had furnished evidence for prohibition officers who made arrests. The rumor was branded as "totally false" by the officer in charge of the raiding squads. "The Klan has nothing to do with our work," the officer insisted, "God no - not a thing in the world."<sup>26</sup>

White took this opportunity to question the Klan's use of members' dues. He wrote that if there were 1200 members (which he did not believe) at \$30 a head, then the local chapter had accumulated \$36,000. White asked, "Wouldn't it be better to spend the \$36,000 to employ efficient detectives to clean up the town?" He claimed that the federal government had two men in Lyon County for two weeks at five dollars a day who accomplished more (for less than \$100) than the 1200 Klansmen had in six months.<sup>27</sup>

Throughout 1922, the organizer and other Klansmen spoke with candidates

for county offices with the hope of gaining favor with elected officials in the Republican party. The Klan assured the candidates that it would endorse them if they desired its support.<sup>28</sup> It was clear that the order hoped to build a strong political organization.

Lyon County district court judge, W.C. Harris, was one politician who was not worried about the Klan or its threats. At a laymen's meeting in the Congregational Church in May, Judge Harris declared, "the Klan claims to be anti-Catholic. I am, too. I am a Protestant, but my 'anti' doesn't run to tar and feathers." He had not intended to talk about the Ku Klux Klan until he "was warned not to do so." Judge Harris said he was told that his house might be burned and that he might be tarred and feathered. He accepted this challenge, stating, "I am going to take the dare and say something about the Klan." The judge's summation was: "The Klan has the worst record of any organization in America. It even beats the Mafia and the Black Hand."<sup>29</sup>

Although the Klan offered to support political candidates, few of them in Lyon County desired its endorsement in November. Of the Congressional, state, and county elections, White stated that the Klan "had no more influence in Kansas politics than the new moon." One black man won nomination in the Lyon County primaries, even after the Emporia Gazette informed the voters that he was "colored."<sup>30</sup>

Klan failure at the polls was not the worst reversal for the organization in 1922. Governor Allen ordered the Attorney General to file for ouster proceedings against the Klan in November. The suit was filed on the grounds that the hooded order was a Georgia corporation without legal authority to operate in Kansas.<sup>31</sup>

A disgruntled former member shortly thereafter compiled a list of Ku Klux Klansmen, purported to include nearly every member in Emporia,

and sent it to Attorney General Richard J. Hopkins for use in the state's ouster case against the Klan. The list included the names of six men identified as ringleaders and the name of one man on the city payroll.<sup>32</sup>

Possibly because of their lack of success in the elections and anti-Klan publicity concerning the ouster suit, Klan activity in Emporia extended into charitable endeavors for the first time. The first benevolent act on the part of the Emporia chapter came in late November when it contributed \$252 toward a total of \$8100 to help build Wesley Hospital in Wichita. The remainder of the sum came from other Klans throughout the state.<sup>33</sup>

The local order made another donation in mid-December. The Klan gave \$51 to the "hungry and cold" H.E. Thorp family. Thorp perhaps was not a Klan member, but his profuse thanks to the group in a letter to the Emporia Gazette identified him as a definite sympathizer. His letter thanked "all of the good people of this town," and "more especially the Ku Klux Klan," and concluded "May God bless the Ku Klux Klan and the people praise them for the good things they are doing."<sup>34</sup>

During 1922, anti-Klan newspapers made intense efforts to expose Klan troubles. Two of the Klan's national leaders were charged with immoral conduct. The order in Kansas, was involved in the beginning of a lengthy ouster suit which was to continue for more than four years. Emporia Klansmen also failed to obtain the support of most Protestant churches and failed to influence the election. Despite all these setbacks, the Ku Klux Klan in Lyon County was expanding in numbers.

### Section III

The Klan became more refined in its efforts to acquire political and

social power in 1923. The organization expounded their opinions, nationally, in their many Klan newspapers. It was also more forceful in enforcing its edicts. The hooded order was a self-appointed monitor of community morality. Klan methods of enforcing good moral conduct varied from ominous letters to threats of physical injury. Emporia residents were not spared the Klan's intimidation. Several were investigated in the area. The organization also made its first political breakthrough in Emporia when its candidate for mayor was elected. It attempted to recruit college males under the age of 21 and held a statewide convention in town. These activities galvanized the Emporia Gazette to increased attacks on the organization.

The Emporia chapter of the Ku Klux Klan became more visible in 1923. Another Klan newspaper began appearing in Emporia in January. The Jayhawk American, published in Newton, was first seen down at the Santa Fe depot being sold by a small boy.<sup>1</sup> Newsboys became braver after one week and started selling their papers on Commercial Street.<sup>2</sup> When the third issue came out on February 1, a newsboy even sold papers for a while in front of the Emporia Gazette office.<sup>3</sup>

The Emporia Gazette informed the community on January 15 that the Klan had threatened a man living in the First Ward in Emporia.<sup>4</sup> A.E. Wilkins apparently had abused his wife. The Wilkins were roomers on West Avenue.<sup>5</sup> County Attorney Roland Boynton launched an investigation after a man posing as a county officer went to the house and left a message. The man, a stranger to the couple, had visited the house following an altercation between the couple. He asked Mrs. Wilkins if he could take a statement on the alleged beating, which she gave because she thought the stranger was an officer. Shortly after his visit, a printed statement of Klan



principles was delivered to the residence.\* Printed in crude letters at the bottom were the words, "Beware! We warn once."<sup>6</sup>

Boynton's investigation revealed that Earl Birt, a Santa Fe employee, was the man who took Mrs. Wilkins' statement. Birt denied having anything to do with the Ku Klux Klan warning and would not admit that he was a member of the secret order. No charge of impersonating an officer was ever made against Birt and the couple checked out of the house and moved out of Emporia shortly after receiving the warning. Mr. Wilkins also quit his job at the Santa Fe Roundhouse.<sup>7</sup>

Lyon County officers investigated another anonymous letter in February. Signed "by order of the Ku Klux Klan," the letter was a warning sent to a black woman advising her to evict a black man staying at her home, and charged that he and her daughter were indulging in "improper conduct." Violence was threatened against the man if he did not leave.<sup>8</sup>

The "Ku Kluxers," as White often referred to the Klansmen, in Emporia tried recruiting college students in January and February after failing in their attempts to enlist members of DeMolay, the Masonic organization for boys. One nineteen year-old boy reported that he was asked but refused to attend a Klan "pow-wow." Four college males, all under 21, were called to a hotel for a conference with Fred Abshire. The Gazette stated humorously that the "Leaders of the Boy Scouts say the Kluxers haven't approached their organization's members yet."<sup>9</sup>

The Klan decided at a March meeting in their new quarters on West Fifth Street to stage a huge St. Patrick's day celebration at the Knights of Columbus Hall.<sup>10</sup> The celebration, termed a success, drew a large crowd.

\*This note set the number of Klansmen in Emporia at a figure of 500, not the 1200 members claimed before.

The Emporia Gazette's secret correspondent, "Henry" (probably William Allen White), wrote a satire on the event. Jokingly, he claimed that many different nationalities were represented, including a black choir group. The guest of honor for the celebration was a man named Earl Hawkins, who was the Klan's candidate for mayor.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the fact that most voters already knew that Hawkins was supported by the Ku Klux Klan, the Gazette did not mention this until the evening after the primary elections in early March. In the five-cornered race to narrow the field, Hawkins led all candidates with 790 votes. He carried every precinct except the second ward and the first precinct of the first ward. These precincts were carried by Jason Austin, who captured a spot on the April ballot with 553 votes.<sup>12</sup> Hawkins' plurality was not a surprise, as the Klan, with anywhere between 500 and 1200 actual members, got out their vote.<sup>13</sup> The Gazette publicly announced it was supporting Austin, although it had "no quarrel with Earl Hawkins," and added that it was "the support the Klan is giving him which makes Klanism an issue." The Gazette declared that it supported Austin, primarily, because of his "business expertise," and, secondarily, because of his opposition to the Klan.<sup>14</sup>

The Klan was the central election issue in the Gazette the next three weeks. Using cartoons, editorials, and local humor, the Gazette lashed out at the Klan, ridiculing it at every opportunity. During the last week before the election, friends of Hawkins were reportedly distributing "Hawkins" cards, and "making a thorough canvass" of the town to win votes for him. Austin and his supporters were also working hard.<sup>15</sup>

In a front page article on March 29 entitled, "It Is To Laugh," the

Gazette ridiculed Hawkins, who had claimed in a letter to the newspaper that "the opposition" was "driving the Ku Klux Klan" to his support. The newspaper pointed out that the Klan had supported him in the primary and even boasted that they had secured his victory. It was conceded by "both sides" that Hawkins would have solid Klan support. The Gazette pointed out that the Klan was "wearing out good shoe leather now soliticing support for him."<sup>16</sup> It continued this barrage the next day with another front page article entitled, "Your Town." Appealing to Emporians on the importance of the election to the national reputation of their town, the Gazette wrote:

Tuesday's election is the most important ever held in Emporia. Its results will determine whether we are to maintain that good name or whether we are to go back to the cruelties and atrocities of the klan of the sixties. . . In short, invisible or open responsible government. Klan or anti-klan. It is not a question of Hawkins or Austin you are voting on.

Think it over and determine whether you want the news to go to the world next Wednesday morning that YOUR Emporia has turned the clock back 60 years; whether you want to discredit your educational institutions, your future prosperity and citizenship.

It is up to you.<sup>17</sup>

A copy of Hawkins' letter also appeared that same day in the Lyon County News.<sup>\*</sup> The pro-Klan paper printed his position on the Klan and responsibilities of the mayor on the front page in bold letters.<sup>18</sup> One man, described by the Gazette as "one of the best citizens of this town," also came to Hawkins' defense. E.E. Anderson wrote that Hawkins had denied his membership in the Klan to him and he believed the candidate. The Gazette, however, stuck to its position and stated that Hawkins had made no public denial of membership.<sup>19</sup>

\* For approximately one year this was the name of the former Emporia Times. It later reverted back to its old name.

The Lyon County News objected to the Gazette's treatment of Hawkins. The editor of the News, H.G. Wells, said that the main issues of the campaign were "enforcement of laws and better business methods in city government," not the Klan question.<sup>20</sup>

Through the eve of the campaign, the Gazette battled the secret order. The newspaper warned the voters that the "poison pen" of anonymous groups often led to circulation of distorted versions of campaign issues on leaflets the night before an election. Specifically spelling out the Klan, the Gazette stated, "remember that a 100 per cent American fights in the open."<sup>21</sup>

In an election that the Gazette predicted would be close, Hawkins emerged the victor on April 3. The official tally was 2153 votes for Hawkins and 1816 for Austin. The first ward, Austin's home ward, surprisingly gave Hawkins a majority of 18 votes. Austin carried only the second ward by 47 votes.<sup>22</sup> The third ward, where many railroad men lived, stoutly supported Hawkins with a 236 vote margin in the two precincts.<sup>23</sup> The fourth ward, where Hawkins lived, also voted in his favor.<sup>24</sup> In an editorial the next day, the Gazette stated it would support Earl Hawkins as mayor "provided the new mayor steers clear from klan influence."<sup>25</sup> The newspaper later claimed that many of Hawkins' friends were disappointed when he did not publicly deny membership in the Ku Klux Klan.<sup>26</sup>

For a while after Hawkins was elected mayor, no one in City Hall would talk with reporters from the Gazette. The only court information which reached the Gazette came from a Catholic judge who served and notified the newspaper about his cases.<sup>27</sup>

During the heat of the campaign, Klan organizers Fred Abshire, who

had been in Emporia for more than a year, and George R. Kidwell, both of whom were employed by the Great American Life insurance company, were recalled by their employer. Abshire's and Kidwell's alleged Klan activities were "thoroughly" disapproved. The insurance company was undoubtedly upset when Abshire's name was mentioned in the state's ouster suit hearing in March. He was one of many Klan officials alleged to have taken a trip a short time before to the national headquarters of the Klan in Atlanta.<sup>28</sup> The two men lost their licenses. The insurance company had no license to sell insurance in Emporia and it was unknown if any was sold. The office on West Fifth Street continued as the local Klan's headquarters when a new organizer came to Emporia in late April.<sup>29</sup>

When handbills announced a private Klan initiation to be held in a pasture west of Emporia during the first week of May, Klansmen had no idea of what was about to occur.<sup>30</sup> Mayor Hawkins and Fred Abshire were subpoenaed to a hearing of the ouster suit on May 17.<sup>31</sup> A few days before attending the hearing, Lyon County Attorney Boynton asked the Mayor to meet with him so that he could inquire into the activities and conduct of the Klan. The Mayor contended that the local order had no funds, no officers, no records, and was not affiliated with the national Klan.<sup>32</sup> Al Smith, a salesman for the Gunsolly Motors company and one of few Klansmen who readily admitted his membership, corroborated the Mayor's statements.<sup>33</sup> Hawkins explained that the organizer usually presided at the meetings and defended the secret order by saying men should "get right" on the Klan question. He also admitted that he had made a trip to the Klan's national headquarters in Atlanta. Smith said the local Klan would become affiliated with the national organization when it had 2,000 members.<sup>34</sup>

At the state's hearing, Mayor Hawkins admitted, in his testimony, to

taking the Klan oath from Abshire, but insisted he had paid no money. He denied he was a member "at this time," and expressed doubt as to the requirements of membership.<sup>35</sup> He admitted to attending and making talks at Klan meetings, and said he had "considerable interest in the work down there."<sup>36</sup> Klan organizer, M.G. Chambers, of Norway, Kansas, was also questioned at the hearing. He admitted that he had solicited memberships in Emporia. He also claimed that Emporia was "apparently" a Klan stronghold.<sup>37</sup>

During the ouster suit hearings, which continued for many months, G.M. Lincoln was called as a defense witness. He claimed to be a Kleagle and organizer for the Emporia Klan. Lincoln identified himself as the Exalted Cyclops of the order and stated that the Klan "stands ready at all times to assist anyone in need if it is in its power to do so."<sup>38</sup>

Fred Abshire was not located in time for the May 17 hearing, and he did not appear again in Emporia until mid-November.<sup>39</sup> After a "Dr. Walker" had been billed to lecture at a Klan "pow-wow" at the high school auditorium, Abshire showed up as the speaker.<sup>40</sup>

Little was heard about the Emporia Klan from May through August. At a meeting in the newly opened Broadview Hotel on September 18, Major A.M. Harvey of Topeka "tongue-lashed" the Ku Klux Klan in a speech to the Lions Club and Kansas Bar Association members and their wives.<sup>41</sup> Three weeks later, Father A.J. Kuhlman, head of St. Mary's College, also criticized the Klan when he spoke to a group of almost 200 people on Columbus day at the Broadview. Father Kuhlman's address was an appeal for "better Americanism." He summarized his views by stating, "any man who draws the line at color or religion deserves no protection of the constitution of the United States."<sup>42</sup>

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These "attacks" on the Klan did not force the Klan to go underground.

A petition was circulated on October 24 by a "stranger" requesting to rent the Emporia High School auditorium for a free Ku Klux Klan lecture.<sup>43</sup>

When the Emporia Gazette requested that this petition be presented for public record, one Klansman and a man named Charles A. Galt each justifiably objected, stating that citizens should be allowed to sign petitions without fear of intimidation from the press.<sup>44</sup>

The issue of rental of the high school was settled the night of November 5 after Mayor Hawkins' speech at a board of education meeting. A committee of three--Dr. C.E. Parker, a dentist who was appointed acting judge by Hawkins during that summer, Carl Judd, an attorney, and Ed Harter, former grocery owner--made the request on behalf of the Klan. All members of the school board, except one, voted to rent the hall for the lecture for twenty-five dollars.<sup>45</sup>

Hawkins made an appeal for fair play toward the Klan in an address on "Americanism" at the Lutheran Church on November 4. Trying to influence the group with appeals to the popular protestant prejudices, Hawkins declared, "There is no question but that the Catholic Church could be improved somewhat."<sup>46</sup>

Mayor Hawkins' actions were watched closely by the Gazette. When he tried to fill the position of police chief, he had difficulty appointing Sam Crumley, a coal dealer. A number of Klansmen strongly urged Crumley's appointment.<sup>47</sup> Hawkins was unable to convince the city commissioners to approve his appointment until they had time to question police officers who might object to Crumley as their chief.<sup>48</sup> After two days of examining the situation, the commissioners finally approved.<sup>49</sup>

A statewide Klan convention was held in Emporia on the weekend of November 17. Klansmen and Klanswomen stayed at the Broadview Hotel. This



was the first time the new hotel was filled.<sup>50</sup> Frank C. Clough, a Gazette reporter and later a biographer of White, was sent to obtain the names from the register.\* As Clough was copying them, a Klansman demanded that he hand over the list. A struggle ensued and was halted by the hotel manager, who insisted that Clough give up his notes. Clough did as requested, although he argued that hotel registers were public domain. When he returned to the office and told his editor what happened, White sent him back with a short note to the manager that read:

If a copy of the Broadview Hotel register for today is not in our office by seven o'clock this evening, the name of the Broadview never again will be printed in the Gazette except in case of police raids and similar events. -W.A. White.

At six o'clock that evening the hotel manager walked into the Gazette office with the register.<sup>51</sup> The following Monday, the list of guests' names appeared in an article stating the Broadway had been filled.<sup>52</sup> On the front page was an editorial commenting on what a fine hotel the Broadview was and how much it meant to the community.<sup>53</sup>

Many anti-Klan citizens feared the repercussions if the film, Birth of a Nation, came to Emporia. R.S. Everett, black pastor of the Mount Olive A.M.E. Church in Emporia, announced in December that if the Emporia theatre owners booked the film, which romanticized the legend of the Reconstruction Era Klan, they would have to go to the courts for permission to show it.<sup>54</sup> Petitions passed out by Emporia's black citizens as well as a Gazette editorial protested the showing of the picture in town.<sup>55</sup> The Women's Christian Temperance Union also objected to the showing of the film.<sup>56</sup> These gestures could not overcome the aroused curiosity of moviegoers. A straw vote conducted by the Gazette indicated that 703 were in favor of

\* Mr. Clough's account differs slightly from the Gazette's.

allowing the picture to be shown and only 50 against.<sup>57</sup> A paid advertisement, appearing in the Gazette, which included an article from the Coffeyville Morning News, stated that the expected Klan violence and "hoopla" failed to take place when the movie showed there.<sup>58</sup> Birth of a Nation was finally shown in January 1924 without incident.

The Emporia Klan made its biggest strides in 1923. For part of the year there were two community newspapers which supported the Klan. The public knew not only the order's activities but also its dogma. It received demeaning publicity for recruitment tactics and intimidating citizens with threats. But as evidenced by the statewide convention, an overwhelming public desire to view Birth of a Nation, Earl Hawkins' victory, and increased membership, the Klan had a substantial base of influence in Emporia.

#### Section IV

The Invisible Empire eagerly anticipated the 1924 elections. National membership in the organization was estimated between five and six million and the order hoped to display its political strength. Klan articles had begun to soften in tone toward the Catholic Church, possibly in hopes of eliciting support from many voters who opposed the Klan solely because of its ardent stand against the Church. It also hoped to avoid controversial issues which might denigrate the hooded order. Lyon County was no exception. The Klan endorsed many candidates and gained the support of many citizens in the county.

Anticipating many Klan victories throughout the state, William Allen White entered the Kansas gubernatorial race and ran against two Klan endorsed candidates. The Emporia Gazette amplified upon the local Klan's organizational problems in the news and continued to closely watch the activities of Earl Hawkins.

Mayor Hawkins was once again featured in the news in 1924. As many Klan

supported officials were to find out, the Gazette made sure the public was informed about any legal violations by Klan sympathizers. Hawkins was arrested on January 17 for not filing a required statement of his expenses within thirty days after his election.<sup>1</sup> He put up a \$200 bond that day and claimed to have filed an expense statement the previous July with City Clerk E.T. Mendel. Mendel did not remember the statement but thought it was possible that it had been lost.<sup>2</sup> Mayor Hawkins was defended in court by W.B. Brown, a Kansas City lawyer who had been employed by the Ku Klux Klan in an earlier trial in Manhattan.<sup>3</sup>

A major dispute arose when the prosecution objected to Klan members serving on the jury because of the Mayor's involvement with the secret order. The list of Emporia jurors had been chosen by the Mayor, and the prosecutor thought that several of the jurors might be Klansmen.<sup>4</sup> The Emporia Gazette also questioned the fairness of the situation.<sup>5</sup> The judge granted the prosecution's request and eleven farmers and an Emporia housekeeper were selected as new jurors.<sup>6</sup> City Attorney Sam Spencer assisted Brown in his defense of the Mayor.<sup>7</sup>

The verdict on February acquitted Mayor Hawkins. The Gazette approved the verdict because it stated that Hawkins had received a fair trial and testimony failed to prove that Hawkins had not filed his election expense statement on time.<sup>8</sup>

The Emporia Ku Klux Klan appeared in public in full regalia for the first time on January 30, 1924. Six or seven masked "Kluxers" dressed in their "nighties," marched into the Baptist Church, and gave evangelist A.R. Hardy an envelope containing an undisclosed sum of money. They then made a little speech and walked out.<sup>9</sup>

Problems arose among the local Klansmen in mid-February. The Emporia Gazette reported that the chapter was split wide open because some of the members demanded to know where their money was going. Little money had gone to the churches and many members were seeking out their "silvery-tongued" organizer to question his use of Klan resources.<sup>10</sup> More discussion of finances took place in the Klan clubroom on February 20. Once again Klansmen were in their full costume, this time to receive their charter. Following the presentation, exultant music was sung by a quartet.<sup>11</sup>

From March through the end of July, the Klan maintained a low profile. They knew that their biggest opportunity yet was coming up in the November elections. Klansmen throughout the state were working hard for their candidates. The national Democratic convention in the summer of 1924 affirmed that the Klan was serious in its quest for political power. The Kansas delegation to the convention refused to join an anti-Klan demonstration staged by other delegation during the convention. The Kansas delegation also voted against an anti-Klan resolution which was included in the Democratic platform.<sup>12</sup>

The primaries on August 5 showed voters that the Klan's political power had increased. Many persons were distributing campaign cards and Klan tickets in front of the polling places on the day of the primaries.<sup>13</sup> One candidate, W.A. Gladfelter, whose name was on the list of Republicans endorsed by the Klan, insisted on the same day that he was not a candidate for the Kansas House of Representatives from the 46th district, and that his name had been used without his permission.<sup>14</sup>

The Klan was much more successful in other parts of the state than in Lyon County. Of the 19 candidates endorsed by the Klan, nine lost in Lyon County. Of the ten that won, four were unopposed and one, Senator Arthur Capper, was

a sure winner. Among those nominees winning were District Judge Isaac T. Richardson, County Attorney Sam Spencer, and Probate Judge W.F. Stilwell. None of these men won a clear majority. Those candidates endorsed by the Klan that lost the Lyon County vote included Republican gubernatorial candidate Ben Paulen and W.W. Parker, state senatorial candidate.<sup>15</sup> Rolla Evans was defeated for the Justice of Peace nomination chiefly because the Klan supported I.M. Carter. Evans later re-entered the race as an independent.<sup>16</sup>

During the campaign, District Judge Isaac T. Richardson was accused and charged by the state (leading to an ouster suit) with acting as an attorney before his own court and splitting fees with attorneys. The Emporia Gazette fought verbally with the Klan-backed Richardson because he would not give a statement to the newspaper that it thought was the truth on the matter.<sup>17</sup> Richardson and Stilwell were the only Republicans in Lyon County not endorsed by the Gazette. Both were endorsed by the Klan according to the Gazette and such readers as I.M. Hunter.<sup>18</sup> Richardson and his attorney, Brewster, continually evaded the truth in his court case.<sup>19</sup>

Three days before the election in November, the Gazette announced that the office of District Judge "is the most important to come before the electors. The issue is clear-cut. It is honesty and competency." Richardson won the election, but his problems were not over. The Gazette claimed his views had been "warped" by the Klan endorsement.<sup>20</sup> Kansas Attorney General Charles B. Griffith continued the ouster suit on Richardson. But the end of 1924 brought the District Judge elect good news. Judge C.A. Smart, referee for the state Supreme Court in the ouster proceedings, recommended the suit be dropped on the grounds Richardson had made "a mistake of judgement, and a mistake of judgement only."<sup>21</sup> Griffith was

disappointed with Smart's report and asked the state Supreme Court to set aside his findings.<sup>22</sup> On January 10, 1925, Smart's recommendations, however, were accepted by the state's highest court. William Allen White again wrote an editorial recommending the community to accept the decision as a fair one.<sup>23</sup>

Another Klan-endorsed candidate, W.W. Parker, wrote to his friends in mid-September to explain that he had never been a member of the Klan nor was he a sympathizer. He stated that Klan support for him in the primary had not been solicited and that he would not be obligated by that support in the election. The Gazette declared that it was behind him.<sup>24</sup>

The interest stimulated by the Klan issue was the reason that the 1924 elections had the largest number of voter turnout in Emporia history. Over 6000 people registered to vote whereas only 4448 votes had been cast in the 1922 election.<sup>25</sup> On election day, little "instruction cards" for Klansmen were found in Emporia voting booths. One such card, found in a Fourth Ward booth listed the Klan's Republican ticket on one side and its Democratic ticket on the other side.<sup>26</sup>

Many Klan candidates succeeded in their bids for office. Besides Richardson, Sam Crumley was elected Sheriff, I.M. Carter captured the Justice of Peace position, and Guy Whitaker won the battle for County Clerk.<sup>27</sup> The Gazette declared that Crumley was an honest man and would "make a good officer," even though the Klan had supported him.<sup>28</sup>

An important outcome for anti-Klanners was the re-election of Attorney General Griffith and Secretary of State Frank Ryan. These two men comprised two-thirds of the state charter board and they were renowned as anti-Klansmen. The Klan fought extremely hard to defeat the two, since the board

had the power to deny a charter to the Klan which would deem their activities legal, but both won handily.<sup>29</sup> Lyon County gave each a wide vote margin.<sup>30</sup>

## Section V

The 1924 gubernatorial race was exciting due to William Allen White and the Ku Klux Klan issue. As early as July 17, Klan officials in Emporia and the rest of the state announced that they had endorsed Ben Paulen as the Republican candidate for governor in the primaries. White "scored" Paulen's acceptance of the endorsement in an editorial.<sup>1</sup>

Paulen made an appearance in Emporia after he won the primary in August. While he was in town, Paulen showed an Emporia man a letter he had written denouncing the Klan. Yet, he did not denounce the Klan publicly.<sup>2</sup> Democratic nominee Jonathan Davis had also won in the primaries after receiving the Klan's endorsement. On September 3, White wrote another of his many editorials on the Klan in the three months preceding the November elections. He declared Kansans knew how Paulen and Davis would each handle the Klan. "Paulen," he said, "will give Kansas a good Klan administration." Davis, he continued, would probably "lie down" when faced by the Klan.<sup>3</sup>

White was accused of opposing Paulen because his candidate, Clyde Reed, had been defeated in the primaries. The editor, on the other hand, maintained that it was Paulen's actions as chairman of the committee on resolutions at the Republican party council which caused him to become suspicious of his intentions. An anti-Klan plank submitted by Attorney General Griffith received just one vote in the committee. Paulen later blocked an attempt by Griffith to bring forth a minority report denouncing the Klan before the council.<sup>4</sup>

Before the party council convened, denunciation of the Klan was urged

by White. He warned one Republican that Paulen was determined to hold the Klan vote. "If you don't know it," he said, "come to Emporia and I shall show you his picture in the window of every store of a Klansman in my town."<sup>5</sup>

Disturbed about the Klan situation, White unsuccessfully tried to persuade former Senator Joseph L. Bristow and former Governor Stubbs to run as a third party candidate.<sup>6</sup> Bristow replied that White was the man best equipped to battle the hooded order.<sup>7</sup> On September 2, the editor wrote a letter to his friend, staunch Republican, and editor of the Iola Register. He confided to Charles F. Scott that "If I was dead sure I wouldn't win, I should be glad enough of the fun and to give a lot of fellows who want to vote for a man who is not a Klansman a chance to vote." Scott advised White not to run because it would split the Republican vote and elect Davis. He later supported White's campaign.<sup>8</sup>

As the tension built between White and the Republican party, it became evident to the public that White might run for governor himself. White's policy between 1920 and 1943 was to support nearly all candidates on the Republican tickets, but he sent out petitions on September 11 all over the state to "test public sentiment" on the possibility of placing himself and State Senator Carr W. Taylor on the ballot as candidates for governor and lieutenant governor.<sup>9</sup> The next day, Paulen, accompanied by W.W. Parker, was in Madison and Emporia, where he spent most of the weekend with friends.<sup>10</sup> Both men took indirect verbal "shots" at White while speaking before 300 people in Madison.<sup>11</sup>

White wrote an editorial on September 16 entitled, "The Governorship," which outlined reasons for his possible entry into the race. He wrote,



"The honest Americans who believe in the constitution should have someone to vote for the governor of Kansas. Defeat or victory he (White) will try to do that much for his state."<sup>12</sup> The same issue of the Emporia Gazette had a letter from L. R. Cowden from Reading, the chairman of the Lyon County Republican Committee, supporting Paulen even though "it is true Mr. Paulen has not denounced the Klan."<sup>13</sup>

On September 20 White announced he had entered the gubernatorial race as an independent candidate. He said the major issue was the Ku Klux Klan and that he was in the race to win.<sup>14</sup> His campaign drew nationwide attention. Opinions differed among the nation's leading newspapers on his intentions, but White provided the excellent material for reporters that all had come to expect from the crusader from Emporia.<sup>15</sup> In just ten days his petitions had accumulated more than 10,000 signatures, when only 2,500 were needed to put his name on the ballot. No petition was passed around in Lyon County. Victor Murdock editor of the Wichita Eagle, wrote, "It required 2,500 names to put Will White on the ballot . . . . The other . . . Johnny Hancocks simply jumped on the running board for the joy of riding on a real model."<sup>16</sup> The 10,000 names were the largest number ever affixed to any petition in Kansas.<sup>17</sup>

Persons from the Emporia area immediately jumped on White's bandwagon. One farmer from outside Burlington reportedly supported White because the Klan had held so many meetings in his pasture that they wore off all the grass.<sup>18</sup> At the new candidate's first campaign stop in Cottonwood Falls, a crowd of between 1000 and 1500 people gathered outside the courthouse when it was apparent that the courthouse could not seat all of the spectators. Shortly after White's 23 minute speech, a fiery cross was thrown in main street out of an automobile which drove away "as rapidly from the scene as a Model T would

carry them." The incident was imputed to the Ku Klux Klan.<sup>19</sup>

White campaigned in all parts of Kansas. He traveled for six weeks with his son, William Lindsay White, as his driver, and his wife, Sallie, who rode along most of the time. They traveled in a 1919 Dodge.<sup>20</sup> Klansmen as well as anti-Klan citizens wanted to hear White. More than 300 persons crowded into the Morris County court room in Council Grove to hear him on September 26.<sup>21</sup>

White received additional publicity at the national Klan Klonvocation in Kansas City on October 1. A black coffin labeled "Charles G. Griffith" and a goat labeled "W.A. White" were highlighted in a Klan parade.<sup>22</sup>

"Straw votes" taken around town in October indicated that White was the popular choice in Emporia.<sup>23</sup> Governor Davis, in an effort to improve his own popularity in this area, visited Council Grove and Emporia the first week in October. In the former community, Davis defended his record against White's attacks and, in the latter, he told his audience that the Democratic Party in Kansas had adopted an anti-Klan platform that he had written himself.<sup>24</sup>

Tempers flared up in Emporia when one Klansman commented in a letter to the Emporia Gazette that "if the Klan lived up to the reputation that W.A. White continually gives it, he would most likely been horse whipped and a liberal coat of tar spread long, long ago."<sup>25</sup> Miss Isabel Brown of Emporia wrote in response that Klansmen must be both ashamed and afraid if they can not sign their names to letters. She stated that she was not a Catholic, Jew, or Negro, "but since God made these, you cannot improve on his plan."<sup>26</sup> Another citizen wrote that he believed that many Klansmen were ready to whip and tar Mr. White "if they felt sure they could keep their head covered in a flour sack."<sup>27</sup>

One night during White's campaign for governor, a college student led his fraternity "buddies" on a walk to the candidate's house in Emporia. The students

burned a fiery cross on his lawn. White and his neighbors believed the Klan had burned the cross.<sup>28</sup>

A large crowd of "colored citizens" attended a "Bill" White Boosters meeting at the St. James Baptist Church in Emporia on October 7 where White's candidacy and policies were unanimously endorsed.<sup>29</sup>

Throughout the campaign, the Emporia Times vehemently opposed White. S.M. Brewster, attorney for Issac T. Richardson, did some "mud-slinging" at White in Council Grove on October 8. Traveling with Paulen, Brewster told the throng that if White was to make an issue of the Klan, he must announce what he was going to do about it. But, Brewster continued, White "says nothing."<sup>30</sup>

The Emporia League of Women Voters held a meeting on October 11, where State Senator Carr Taylor and Republican Assemblymen, T.A. McNeal were guests. During a question-answer period, McNeal admitted that Paulen had blocked consideration of the anti-Klan plank before the Republican Party council, but explained that it was common procedure. McNeal stated that although he personally disapproved of the Klan, Paulen had been "fairly elected" and should, therefore, be supported by the party.<sup>31</sup>

White's candidacy became the subject of a political debate at the Frey Hall in Reading on October 20. Packed "to its very doors" and with many people standing outside, the meeting was unique. Leslie Fitts, editor of the Reading Herald, who had defended White in his paper, took the affirmative side in the debate. Lee R. Cowden and P.H. Kemp, a Civil War veteran, spoke against White's candidacy, endorsing Paulen and Davis. Residents from all over the county attended.<sup>32</sup>

Black men of several communities in the surrounding Lyon County formed "Bill White for governor" clubs in October. They were from Burlington, Strong City, Emporia, and Dunlap.<sup>33</sup> On October 27 perhaps the biggest political rally

in Kansas history took place in White's honor in Topeka at the old auditorium. The first 4000 people were allowed inside and many more were turned away.<sup>34</sup> The Emporia band comprised part of over 300 Emporians at the festival.<sup>35</sup>

At the same time White was winning another "straw vote" taken at a meeting of the New Century Club in Americus. On October 29 he was speaking before yet another full house at the Osage City High School auditorium.<sup>36</sup> The next evening, he brought his campaign home to Emporia. He made two address to the Senior High auditorium, which was rented out by his friends. White made one last stop in Wichita on November 2 and closed his campaign in Emporia the next day.<sup>37</sup>

White made speeches in many parts of Kansas during his campaign, and gradually broadened his platform because he feared that the Klan issue alone would cause interest in his candidacy "to fizzle out." Throughout the campaign, White enchanted the crowds because he was "eloquent and uproarious in their own speech. . . . Anywhere else Bill White's vocabulary alone could elect him," one reporter wrote.<sup>38</sup>

Only twice did a paid advertisement for White appear in the Emporia Gazette. One was only about one inch square, while the other was a full page spread, paid for by friends of White and Taylor in Lyon County. The page contained quotes from White and Charles F. Scott, claiming that a victory for Ben Paulen "is but a Ku Klux Klan victory." At the top of the full-page advertisement was printed, in bold letters, "White Is Right - Help Him Fight." A nationally famous cartoon of White, depicting him chasing the Klan out of Kansas, was appropriately added to the advertisement.<sup>39</sup>

When the "Sage of Emporia" wound up his campaign the day before the election his entire campaign expenditures totaled only \$474.60. He had stayed at the homes of friends along the campaign path to reduce costs. In six weeks, he made

104 speeches to 100,000 people and traveled 2,783 miles. His staff was limited to his wife, son, and the Gazette employees, and he maintained no campaign headquarters.<sup>40</sup>

After the election, Klansmen claimed a victory over White. The official results showed that the editor ran third behind Paulen and Davis. Paulen drew 323,403 votes, Davis garnered 182,861 votes, and White had 149,811 votes. In spite of his third place finish, White was proud of his achievement. His short campaign had aided the re-election of Secretary of State Ryan and Attorney General Griffith, as well as other anti-Klan candidates throughout the state.<sup>41</sup> Although he did not even win his own county (Paulen garnered 4,582 votes, White 3,981, and Davis 2,575), he captured his home town and made it more difficult for the Klan to gain a "foothold" in Kansas.<sup>42</sup>

Not all of the Klan's efforts were focused on the November elections. In late October, M. G. Henderson, proprietor of the Modern Shoe Shop in Emporia, distributed advertising cards bearing a fiery cross on one side and a insulting poem to the Pope. The poem read:

I'd rather be a Klansman in his  
 robe of pearly white,  
 Than to be a Roman Catholic  
 priest in robe as dark as night.  
 For a Klansman is an American  
 and America is his home.  
 But a Catholic priest swears  
 allegiance to the Dago pope of Rome.

What are You?<sup>43</sup>

In late October, four white robed Klansmen made an appearance in a meeting in a nearby town to contribute money to a church. One Klansman was identified by his three-year-old son. "Oh," the boy exclaimed loudly to his mother, "there's daddy!" "Hush," his mother responded. "it isn't either." "Well, he's wearing daddy's shoes, then," the youngster insisted.<sup>44</sup>

After the election, the Emporia Gazette claimed that attendance at Klan meetings had slipped and that the few loyal knights whose cars were parked in front of the meeting hall ran the risk of being known.<sup>45</sup> This was refuted by a Klansman who stated, in a letter to the newspaper, that the last meeting had "an overflow" in attendance. He did admit that the Klan had "rather let down" in its activity.<sup>46</sup>

To provoke interest, the Klan issued invitations to a "lady kluxer" at a meeting on December 1.<sup>47</sup> Eleven days afterward, Klansmen were asked to attend a meeting at the Klan hall to receive instructions from a national lecturer regarding the K-Duo degree.<sup>48</sup>

The Klan meeting of the year was held on December 18, once again at the Emporia High School auditorium. The themes for the Klan talk were "Men are free" and "Christ is the Klansman's Criterion."<sup>49</sup>

The Klan reached its peak of influence in Lyon County and the rest of Kansas in 1924. Many of its candidates won their bid for office throughout the nation and especially in the Midwest. Not all the Klan candidates in Lyon County won, but the organization had secured control of most of the important county offices. The hooded order even led the defeat of William Allen White in his home county. Mayor Hawkins had gained an acquittal in his court case and the Emporia Klan survived internal dissension over the use of organizational funds. The public was now interested in observing how these Klan and Klan supported officials would perform their duties.

## Section VI

Klansmen across the nation were sworn into political office in early 1925. The organization was encouraged by its success at the polls. With

renewed confidence, the Ku Klux Klan applied for a Kansas charter for the second time on May 25, 1925. The application was filed with the charter board. Following the board's rejection of the application in June, the Klan filed a third time for approval as a "fraternal organization." The charter board rejected this petition on July 1.

The decline in interest in the Emporia Klan, which was first exhibited at the end of 1924, continued through 1925. Klan activity was almost non-existent. Only one controversial voting issue arose during the year that involved the Klan. Despite a year ending Klan revival which prompted much participation by citizens of the community, the Emporia Gazette ascertained that the secret order was dying. The newspaper also continued its verbal assault on Klan-supported officials.

As the beginning of 1924 was troublesome for "Klan mayor" Earl Hawkins, so was the beginning of 1925 for Klan-endorsed Justice of the Peace-elect I.M. Carter, who was near seventy years of age. He was charged with stealing 35 pounds of coal valued at six dollars.<sup>1</sup> The Emporia Gazette, when faced with the story of another Klan-supported official's run in with the law, once again demonstrated it was to be relentless in its attack on the Klan. The Gazette stated that if Carter did not resign he would be prosecuted.<sup>2</sup> The newspaper was criticized by several citizens because the Gazette always showed malice towards the Klan, even when there was insufficient proof of a member's guilt.<sup>3</sup> The case was dropped on February 3 when County Attorney Sam Spencer, also endorsed by the Klan, recommended it be dismissed because "the man had been punished enough for a small offense."<sup>4</sup>

In April, a plan for a city manager form of government, sponsored by the American Legion, became the top issue in Emporia elections. The

Ku Klux Klan was vehement in their opposition to the plan. The secret order held a special meeting on April 6, the day before elections, to discuss the situation. The Legion favored a change because they believed it would give Emporia a better government at less expense. The Klan was obviously using the issue as a show of strength, and because of this they never gave an official announcement for the reasons why they opposed the plan.<sup>5</sup> They quite possibly feared that their Klan mayor would have to relinquish his position.

The city manager plan was defeated 1284 to 1074. In spite of the added interest induced by the Klan's stand, less than 2400 people voted in the elections.<sup>6</sup> Because of this lack of interest, the Gazette declared:

That the grip of the Ku Klux Klan in city politics is slipping was clearly evident. It is true the klan defeated the city manager, but it is just as true that any sort of campaign for the manager plan would have carried it. Klansmen by meetings, circulars, and workers at the polls mustered only 1284 votes. . . The Klan was not an issue in the race for city commissioner but it was in the school board election and the klan did not win a place on the board.<sup>7</sup>

This was a demonstration of White's style of not conceding victory to the Klan even if there was a basis for it.

The Klan was fairly inactive for the rest of the year. After the community's regular committee abandoned the plan for a Fourth of July celebration in mid-June, the secret organization decided it was to organize the festivities.<sup>8</sup> Nothing more was heard about the planned celebration.

It was not until October 20 that the local Klan was again the top news story in Emporia. Martin Henderson, the shoemaker who had one year before distributed advertisement cards with a poem insulting the Pope, was allegedly assaulted by a man named Bill Saffer. W.S. Kretsinger, Saffer's attorney, requested a jury trial and Justice of the Peace C.L. Soule pro-



duced a jury list. Kretsinger refused to accept the list, claiming the jurymen were all Klansmen. Soule stated he did not know if they were Klansmen or not. Kretsinger rejoined, "now, Mr. Soule, you know you have been chasing around the cow pastures with some of those men. I won't have any of them of this case."<sup>9</sup> After the two finally agreed on three jurors, the trial was held and ended with a "hung jury."<sup>10</sup>

Although the Klan had a limited number of activities during the year, the local order ended the year in controversy. From December 6 to 18, the Ku Klux Klan sponsored a series of "American Revival" meetings at Strand Theatre and the Wigwam at Fourth and Merchant Street. The speaker, Reverend W.P. Woodward, was the official state lecturer for the Klan. The pro-Klan Emporia Times published a complete list of the topics to be discussed at the daily sessions. The Times said that the crowds built up each night until a full house showed up on the fourth night of the revivals.<sup>11</sup>

The Sunday revival services were performed at Strand Theater. One college student was paid to lead the group in singing. The large gathering "nearly brought the roof down," with their enthusiasm. The student later said that due to the level of emotion exhibited, "They didn't need me there."<sup>12</sup>

The open public revivals generated much response. One woman, Daisy Brown Tipton, wrote a letter to the Emporia Gazette objecting to the "Klan evangelist's stand against the 'colored man.'" In defense of the black man's Americanism, Ms. Tipton said, "Not one member of this group has ever been convicted of disloyalty, sedition, or conspiracy with the enemy."<sup>13</sup> John Kelly of Neosho Rapids, a frequent writer to the editor, supported Tipton's view and accused the lecturer of juggling words to make a misstatement of facts that would appeal to the prejudice of those ignorant on a certain subject.<sup>14</sup>

Another citizen had his letter published in a Gazette editorial after the revivals. By using the teachings of Jesus Christ as a guide, this lengthy letter criticized the Klan and its precepts. William Allen White made a short reply to this intelligent letter stating:

The Gazette prints this with some reluctance; not because it is not just, and terribly true, but because it is unnecessary. The klan revival was a failure. No one knows this better than the klansmen. They got a lot of new members but new membership was a liability rather than an asset, for obvious reasons when one looks at the list. As it now stands the klan in Lyon County has no important leader. It is dissatisfied with its members in office and it is saying more mean things about them than outsiders. This being true of the revival, it seems wise to ignore it.

. . . the klan revival was of no importance and the Gazette does not care to discuss it or its issues in any way.<sup>15</sup>

Hence, it did not.

Members of the Klan in Lyon County suffered a great loss of public interest in 1925. The two time rejection by the charter certainly led some members to wonder if their order would ever be legally recognized. With this defeat came apathy for the organization. The revival staged by the local Klan stimulated much positive response from members, but it seemed that as much negative response was generated as well. It was evident that recruiting efforts had to be renewed.

## Section VII

✓ The influence of the Emporia chapter of the Ku Klux Klan was on the wane in 1926. The Klan's prestige was damaged at the beginning of the year and it was somewhat shocked to learn that Reverend Father Prosper of the Sacred Heart Catholic Church had been admitted as a member of the Chamber of Commerce in January.<sup>1</sup>

To increase slumping attendance, the Emporia Klaver decided to ad-

vertisement, only 56 members showed up. The more significant fact was that it was the largest meeting the Klan had held in three months. It was announced at the meeting that the Klan was considering starting a newspaper in opposition to the Gazette. No willing newspaper man was found.<sup>3</sup>

The Klan's dismal showing of support caused the organization to revamp its dogma and ideals. Members knew they were in desperate trouble and were searching for solutions to remedy the situation. In what amounted to an about-face from its past doctrine, the Emporia Klan decided on March 23 to sponsor an organization for foreigners who would like to join the Klan. Called the "American Crusaders," the new organization was formed by the Klan because the hooded order did not admit foreigners because they were not "100 per cent Americans." In both a hilarious and sad expression of bigotry, the Emporia Klan stated that there were a number of foreign-born people whose percentage of Americanism was high, although not quite perfect. The initiation fee for the American Crusaders was ten dollars.<sup>4</sup>

Emporia held its primary elections in March. Earl Hawkins, the Klan Mayor, ran for re-election against two anti-Klan candidates, Oliver Atherton and Jim Adam. The final results were that Atherton had won every precinct by a large margin whereas Hawkins ran third in every precinct. Atherton received 1307 votes, Adams had 543 votes, and Hawkins gained an astonishing low 200 votes. Hawkins' elimination from the mayoralty race was a great surprise. His loss was attributed to a split in the Ku Klux Klan and one element of the group deserted him. His 200 votes represented the support of the fire department, police department, his appointees and all their families. Certain sturdy, old-fashioned Klansmen who believed the Klan had elected its mayor and should stand by him also gave their support to Hawkins.<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to note

that when the Klan was broadcasting a special program in 1925 from KFKB in Minford, Kansas, the Emporia fire department sent one of the telegrams commending the program.<sup>6</sup>

On March 10, the Gazette printed an editorial in respect to the "merciless slaughter" of Mayor Hawkins. The editorial read:

The Ku Klux Klan which elected Mayor Hawkins has deserted him. Its desertion was cruel and unjust. He has made a good Ku Klux mayor. He has been honest. . . the unstable character in politics of the Ku Klux Klan . . . is subject to vagaries, suspicions, and whims. It has attracted the unintelligent and unstable members of the community who are made easy dupes of foolish leaders.

Mayor Hawkins could not satisfy the Ku Klux Klan. He did his best. His failure to satisfy the Ku Klux Klan is to his credit. Well may he lift up his voice paraphrasing the prophet of old and say: The Klan giveth, the Klan taketh away; blessed be the name of the Klan.<sup>7</sup>

The local Klan became embroiled with the Emporia Gazette in another primary race. The newspaper staunchly supported the campaign of Mrs. Ed Mitchell for the school board because it wanted another woman on the board.<sup>8</sup> Mrs. Mitchell was running against Ed Daniel, who had the "unbroken support" of the Klan. Daniel's followers believed the Gazette was unfair in its support for Mrs. Mitchell. Daniel received 1126 votes as compared to 1015 for Mrs. Mitchell.<sup>9</sup>

The Klan had no major activities for the next three months. It planned on staging a big parade in Emporia on June 23. Dr. C.E. Parker and former Mayor Hawkins went to Mayor Atherton and requested a permit for the parade. The Mayor had no objections until Parker said the Klansmen would appear in full regalia. Atherton refused to sanction the parade if the paraders' faces were concealed. Captain W.A. Smith, Assistant Attorney General, said on June 12 that he might ask Judge I.T. Richardson of the District Court

to issue an injunction prohibiting the Klansmen from wearing their "nighties."<sup>10</sup> Sheriff Sam Crumley stated the next day that he would serve an injunction order to the Klan if he were ordered by Richardson to stop the parade.<sup>11</sup> On June 18 the city commission voted to allow the Klan parade provided no masks were worn.<sup>12</sup>

As the parade date drew nearer, County Attorney Sam S. Spencer was puzzled as to how to handle the situation. He had received a telegram from Attorney General Griffith urging him to serve an injunction to stop the use of masks in the parade, but he did not know whom to serve. Spencer, who had been endorsed by the Klan in his election campaign, was forced to decide where his loyalties lay.

Spencer made his decision on the morning of the parade. Filing for an injunction with the local court on behalf of the state against Emporia Klan No. 100, Spencer asked that no parade be permitted if participants wore masks or robes. The case was presented to Judge Richardson that afternoon. Captain Smith stated in the case for the state that "such a parade will excite the ignorant; it even gets under the hides of intelligent men to see a group of 5,000 men in masks come swinging down the street, their identity concealed." While the big commotion was going on in the court house, City Hall had its own little stir. Mayor Atherton signed an ordinance declaring that any parader wearing a mask must register with the city marshal and receive a tag number to wear or face a \$100 fine. The Klan filed a motion to block this action and this matter was also brought to Richardson to be settled that afternoon.

Judge Richardson rendered his final decision in the late afternoon on June 23. He refused to grant Spencer's injunction against the demonstration. He also issued an order restraining city officials of Emporia against

enforcing the ordinance for registering and tagging Klansmen.

★ The parade went on as scheduled. It was orderly. The estimates of number of participants vary, depending on whose figure one is inclined to believe. The Emporia Gazette reported that there were 1229 masked men and women, several horses and a group of horseback riders who were not masked. Among the unmasked riders were Dr. Parker and Henry Lawton of Americus, who was a former Emporia policeman.<sup>17</sup> The pro-Klan Emporia Times claimed that over 6000 men and women were registered at the Wigwam, the starting point of the parade, and that 4000 marched in the parade.<sup>18</sup> It is safe to say that the Gazette's estimate was closer to correct. One respected citizen of Emporia was a college student when he viewed the parade. He stated that a friend of his counted the number of participants as they marched by him and came up with a figure of around 1500. This differed much from the number of participants claimed by his brother-in-law from Abilene, who marched in the event. The brother-in-law's estimate was 10,000 marchers.<sup>19</sup> The Ottawa Herald said there were 4500 to 5000 paraders and 25,000 spectators and that the parade spanned 15 blocks.<sup>20</sup> The Emporia Times claimed that people walked four abreast and the parade spanned nearly a mile long. The Gazette agreed that "nearly everybody in Emporia turned out," but said the parade was only slightly over a half-mile long.<sup>21</sup>

During the trek from Fourth Street, north down Merchant Street to Twelfth, over to Commercial and back down to Fourth, much hand-clapping took place. After the parade, which included Klansmen and women from all over the state, many people advanced to Fremont Park and witnessed the completion of the program.<sup>22</sup> A cross, lighted by electricity, was installed in the northeast corner of the park.<sup>23</sup> Various speeches were delivered, with the principal

address given by Dr. Floyd John Evans, an evangelist from Junction City.<sup>24</sup>

The day after the parade, Attorney General Griffith stated that Judge Richardson was wrong in his decision. Griffith hoped the Kansas Supreme Court would make a decision to cover all future parades.<sup>25</sup> The Emporia Times commended Richardson the same day. The Times, which believed the fear of rioting was baseless, stated that "trouble probably never was farther away, thanks to the fact that the Klan largely is made up of fairly responsible citizens like the rest of us." It also mentioned that the Klan arrangements committee was out the next morning cleaning up the litter in Fremont Park.<sup>26</sup> William Allen White, in humorous fashion, said that if Jesus had been in Emporia that night of the parade, he would have lifted his head and said, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."<sup>27</sup>

The Emporia city commissioners rescinded Mayor Atherton's parade ordinance on July 12.<sup>28</sup> Two lawsuits pressed by the Klan against the city and state to prevent interference of Klan parades in Emporia then became dead issues.<sup>29</sup> The Emporia Times printed an editorial stating that the new Mayor, former Mayor, Sheriff, and others wished that Griffith would "keep his nose out of the whole mess." It claimed that the Emporia Klan "could parade up and down and crosswise all through Emporia without worrying anybody."<sup>30</sup>

The Reading Herald stated that Richardson had paid the Klan back for its endorsement of him when he ran for office.<sup>31</sup> It is possible that Sheriff Sam Crumley, also a previous Klan nominee, never had to seriously worry about carrying out the injunction against the Klan parade. He knew that Richardson was the man who must make the decision on it and probably was confident that he would not be forced to take action.

After the parade issue finally subsided, C.C. McCullough, Secretary of

the Emporia Klan, sent out invitations to all members for an important meeting on July 23 at the Wigwam "to arrange to carry the primaries" in Lyon County. The letter waived dues and asked that all Klansmen and former Klansmen attend. The secret order had already conducted a registration campaign for a few days and wanted to unite on candidates. McCullough stated that "Properly lined up we can lick 'Bill' White and his henchmen."<sup>32</sup>

A crowd of only 40 to 50 persons showed up at the Wigwam for the meeting. McCullough and Dr. Parker had charge of the session. Although McCullough said the Klan would support certain candidates, no official Klan ticket was decided upon. Sam Spencer, running for re-election as County Attorney, was once again endorsed by the Klan after trying to stop their parade just one month earlier. Other candidates that Klansmen were asked to support were C.E. Cole, for Clerk of the Court, Guy Whittaker for County Clerk, C.I. Soule for Probate Judge, and Sam Crumley, for re-election as Sheriff.<sup>33</sup> The last three had been Klan candidates before and were evidently performing to the organization's satisfaction.

Anti-Klan forces gained victory in the primaries as the Klan went down to a resounding defeat in nearly every county contest. Klan candidates A.M. Spencer, Sam Spencer, Ethel Tucker, C.L. Soule, C.E. Cole, and W.C. Jones all lost in their bids for city and county offices. The most stunning surprise came when Sam Crumley lost by 170 votes.<sup>34</sup> Lyon County registered a definite majority against the Klan. The Emporia Gazette was pleased with the results, but thought the defeat of Crumley was "unjust" because he had made a good officer. His problem according to the paper, was that he got tied up politically with "a bunch of hot-heads that vote their wrath and not their judgement."<sup>35</sup>



William Allen White's opinion of the Klan's efforts in the primaries were expressed in a famous editorial the day after the polling. The editor wrote:

The Ku Klux Klan in Kansas is a busted community. It went to the recent primary full of fight. It tried to control the supreme court. There the Klan was overwhelmingly defeated by the voters\*. . . . The Klan tried to defeat eight Kansas congressional candidates and every man the Klan endorsed was overwhelmingly beaten. . . .

Two years ago the Klan was entrenched in Kansas. It had endorsed both of the winning candidates for governor and was sitting on the moon with its toes in the stars.

. . . When the Klan endorses a candidate now, he will clod it away like a mangy dog. Its indorsement is a liability . . . But anyway, thank Heaven Kansas is free.<sup>36</sup>

Young 'Bill' White wrote a letter to the Gazette later in August. He blasted the Klan for having lowered itself to menial "keyhole snooping." Several Klansmen had called the sheriff to have the editor's son arrested for being late in putting on his license tags. New tags had already been ordered and were in the mail.<sup>37</sup>

On September 9, the secret organization began circulating petitions for a slate of independent Klan county candidates. All but one of the Klan's county candidates had been defeated in the primaries, and the organization put up independent candidates in hopes of attracting disgruntled Klan votes from both parties. The Klan slate included candidates for sheriff, county attorney, and clerk of the district court. The Gazette threatened to print the names of the signers of Klan petitions.<sup>38</sup>

O.K. Miller made quite a stir in his campaign for county clerk. Miller had served as county clerk for four years before and was asking for the

\* This was one of the few times that the word "Klan" was capitalized in the Gazette.

support of all persons opposed to the Klan. Running as an independent, he accused the incumbent, Guy Whitaker (the only Klan candidate victorious in the primaries), of refusing to permit his name to go on the ballot before the people in the Republican primaries in August. Miller had been asked by friends to run as an anti-Klan candidate due to the fact that Whitaker "was a klan candidate." Whitaker had the power as County Clerk to allow or deny Miller the opportunity to run in the primaries and he denied it.<sup>39</sup>

The black people of Emporia took a strong stand against the Klan in the November elections. Led by Fred M. Baker, a well-known and highly respected black man in the community, blacks were urged to use their own judgement. "Beware," said Baker, "of the goat that is stalking you in sheep's clothing." He told blacks to vote for men who opposed the hooded order because they "would keep the Klan out of Kansas."<sup>40</sup>

The 1926 elections resulted in a complete top-to-bottom defeat of the Klan, with Whitaker the only exception.<sup>41</sup> The wrathful organization had been run out of the County Court House by the Republican ticket. Daring the Klan to make the next move, White wrote, "All right, now, what are you going to do about it? Come again when you can't stay longer."<sup>42</sup>

Tom Owens, the Republican candidate for sheriff, received the largest plurality of votes for office of any candidate on the Lyon County ballot. He amassed a total of 5583 votes to only 2647 for his opponent.<sup>43</sup> Openly anti-Klan, Owens ran solely on that issue.<sup>44</sup>

The 1926 elections clearly illustrated the Klan situation in Lyon County. After the 1924 election, the Court House was filled with Klan officials. In January 1927 only one person who had a Klan endorsement was in the Court House. "It had to come," the Emporia Gazette said. "The klan stood for nothing. It offered no better government. Its member-

ship had only a few high class citizens at very best, and they dropped the klan like a hot potato when they found out what they had joined."<sup>45</sup>

✓ The end of the Klan in Lyon County was certain when, in the early spring of 1927, the secret organization held a farmers' picnic in Emporia. The Klan had advertised that 3000 people "and all kinds of speakers" would attend. But at the height of the festivities, less than 55 persons were present.<sup>46</sup> This demonstrated the eclipse of the Klan in Emporia. The Klan definitely was a "busted community in Kansas."

1926 was the year when any substantive power that the Klan possessed in Emporia ended. The Invisible Empire existed briefly in the community after 1926, but the organization had atrophied to a mere handful of members. The Emporia Gazette reported at the end of 1926 that: "This year, Emporia is breathing a long and contented sigh of relief. The Klan is dead, and everyone is trading and boosting for everyone else. It is the peace which passeth understanding."<sup>47</sup>

✓ In January 1927 the United States Supreme Court turned down the Klan's last appeal for a charter in Kansas. Perhaps the best epithet for the Klan was written, appropriately by William Allen White, on November 4, 1926, the day after the elections: "The Klan has gone the way of all movements which are not fostered by sincere motives. The fiery cross has burned out. The shirt-tail of the kleagle is at half-mast forever in Lyon County."<sup>48</sup>

## Chapter 2

### Section 1

Of the smaller towns in Lyon County, the Ku Klux Klan was strongest in Reading and Hartford. Whereas the Klan got a later start in forming a chapter in the Reading community than in Emporia, once their organization was formed, it could be a social and financial asset to be a member.

When the Klan began in Reading, it held many public meetings to attract members. An outsider to the community organized the chapter and gave several speeches, usually in the town's Frey Hall, to persons interested in the Klan.<sup>1</sup>

The Reading Klan was not acknowledged in the newspapers until an Emporia Gazette subscriber reported to that paper that a Ku Klux Klan meeting was held during the first week in April 1924. He wrote that he was amused by the fact that the Roman Catholics of Reading must have been preparing for something because they were out cleaning up the cemetery the morning after the meeting.<sup>2</sup> In the next few months, several more meetings were held at Frey Hall in Reading.<sup>3</sup> A cross was burned on Schlobohm Hill, south of Reading and overlooking the town, which could be seen from the community.<sup>4</sup> When the first large, fiery cross was burned on the hill, it caused little fear and the town had a "clear conscience."<sup>5</sup> Schlobohm Hill was to be the site of many other cross burnings at meetings during the next two years.<sup>6</sup>

The Reading Klan grew stronger in the summer of 1924. By early August, Leslie Fitts, editor of the Reading Herald, became worried about the local order's growth. The Klan had become a key issue to Fitts and his newspaper, especially after it was strong enough to hold an open meeting in a lighted

park in Reading. The pressure had built to the point on August 15 that the editor knew he had to take a stand on the Klan, even if it meant alienating his subscribers and losing his paper. Fitts wrote in an editorial that:

A large fiery cross burned on the hill overlooking Reading one night not so many months ago, shedding its light on what was then a quiet and peace loving community, wherein everyone was friend and neighbor, living each in his own way . . .

This cross was followed by others and by the time Reading awoke the Ku Klux Klan had invaded our community and the invasion continued until, at this time, no one feels free to express his thoughts on any subject. A quiet, peaceful village has been rent in twain by the most bitter feelings. Friendships of a life-time have been broken. Neighbors of years pass each other without recognition. Men are asking, 'Is my job safe?' Business men who by years of effort have established a reputation for honest and fair dealing are being black-listed.

These conditions are the effect of a cause and, whether justly or not, the K.K.K. is pointed out plainly as it . . . .

. . . The 'apparent' klan in Reading has laid down the edict that one is either for or against the organization, with on compromise . . . .

Full well we realize that declaring against the Klan is sounding the death knell fo the Herald and so quite likely before the ink is dry on this issue every klan member around Reading well cancel his subscription, not because he has a grievance against the Herald but because the klan has him by the throat in a death grip that he is powerless to break.

. . . We will make public the names of those cancelling their subscriptions . . .

We have thought carefully over this article. We have read in the handwriting on the wall that the days of the Herald are numbered . . . .

The Klan can present its side, provided a local man writes it and signs it for publication.<sup>7</sup>

Fitts did receive a reply from W.C. Simpkins, Secretary of the Reading Klan. Simpkins disagreed with nearly all of Fitts' allegations and listed the Klan abjectives in its pursuit of "Pure Americanism." He stated that Reading was just as quiet as before, and that no businessman had been black-listed. Simpkins added that no religious freedoms had been violated and that no man had lost job because of the Klan.<sup>8</sup>

The Herald expected to lose subscribers, but it actually gained them.

Fitts was proud of the fact, which he wrote to Northern Lyon County Journal editor, D.S. Gilmore. Fitts also made a response to Simkins' ridiculous rebuttal. The Herald editor thought Simkins had been taken advantage of by the organizer that had enrolled him, and since then had "lost touch with community life." Simkins claimed he had no knowledge of problems in Reading caused by the Klan, but Fitts declared there were incidents of people refusing to patronize shops if the owner's view of the Klan differed from his own and that tension had evolved because of Klan propaganda against Catholics. He added that every man holding office had been notified that the time would come when they would have to make a stand on the Klan, and those against it would be voted out. The Herald had also received word that the Klan subscribers were soon to drop the paper.<sup>9</sup>

It may have been true that no person had lost his job because of the Klan in August 1924, but it was not true by the end of 1926. At least two cases of Klan harrassment in Reading were substantiated. A Klansman went to the porch of a non-Catholic family and asked to speak to the man of the house. The "Kluxer" invited the man to join the hooded order. The man's wife said if he enlisted, she would take the children and move into the basement of the Catholic Church. "Are you gonna let your wife tell you what to do?" asked the Klansman. The man answered, "I love my children, too, so I can't join." The harassed gentleman never received anything but menial jobs thereafter.

The residue of Klan influence in Reading can be seen even today. Two men and their families were financially equal and had similar jobs in the 1920's. Today, the wives of the men are widows. One of the men had joined the Klan, while the other refused. The widow of the former Klan member is financially well off, while the other is struggling in dire poverty.<sup>10</sup>

In the September 19 issue of the weekly Reading Herald, Fitts asserted that as far as the gubernatorial race was concerned, the Klan "is a menace to our country" and that everyone should forget their party lines and vote for independent candidate William Allen White because of his stand against the Klan.<sup>11</sup> Lee R. Cowden disagreed with the Herald editor. He wrote that it was impossible to satisfy the editors of Lyon County. He added, "I'm voting for Paulen and I've never before been accused of being a Klan sympathizer."<sup>12</sup>

Because Fitts supported White, he could not help but offend the Klan. The Herald editor believed in the worthiness of William Allen White and the justness of his cause.<sup>13</sup> Fitts was also extremely upset with the political crookedness in Lyon County due to the Klan involvement in the campaign. He believed that there was more graft in the county than "most any county in the state."<sup>14</sup>

Summing up his support for White, Fitts declared it was the first time a candidate had been endorsed in the Herald. He offered no apology and no excuse for it, but stated that he hoped he had not made too many enemies and desired that he remain friends with all the Herald readers.<sup>15</sup>

Klan support benefitted local candidates. A name of interest in the election is that of I.H. Protheroe. He ran as a Democrat for the office of Township Trustee. Protheroe had been supported by the Klan in an earlier election and won handily in this one. Other Klan candidates winning in the Reading Precincts were Sam Crumley, Sheriff; Guy Whitaker, County Clerk; Samuel Evans, Township Clerk; and I.T. Richardson, District Court Judge.<sup>16</sup>

Fitts had a change of heart about the Klan a few months after the election. He admitted in an editorial that he had assumed things against the Klan he should not have without evidence. Fitts particularly thought he

had been unfair in insinuating that some members of the Klan were using the Protestant churches merely as a front. The Klan's revival services in December showed him that these accusations were not entirely just. Many Klansmen and Klanswomen attended the services night after night. The editor gave some credit to the Klan for this. He expressed his apologies to members that were sincere in their Christian belief, and commended the Klan for the good it had accomplished.<sup>17</sup>

An incident which the Klan hoped to use to display its Christian sincerity occurred when "Kluxers" appeared in full regalia at the Baptist Church. A member of the church, rumored to be a Klanswoman, believes the appearance must have been prearranged with the pastor because they came in "very quietly" without a disturbance. One Klansman spoke for the group, and it is not known whether they left a donation or not.<sup>18</sup> Another woman, also purportedly a former member of the Invisible Empire, believes there were not too many occasions when a donation delivered to individuals or churches in Reading. This was because "everyone was just about financially equal."<sup>19</sup>

As with the other Klan organizations in Lyon County, little was heard of from the secret organization in Reading during the winter months. W.S. Kretsinger, who was later to run for public office in Lyon County as an anti-Klan candidate, stopped in Reading on March 13, 1925 to denounce the pro-Klan sentiment in the state legislature.<sup>20</sup>

Klan activity blossomed again in mid-April. The Reading schoolhouse was the site of a lecture on "Americanism." Reverend Martin, pastor of the First Baptist Church in Chanute, Kansas (one of the Klan's strongholds in southeastern Kansas), was the speaker.<sup>21</sup>

The Ku Klux Klan in Reading differed from bigger communities. Because



of the small size of the town and the fact that nearly everyone was (and still is) related by marriage, if not by blood, residents had to know the identity of nearly all Klansmen and anti-Klan citizens. Hence, it was not so strange to read notices advertising ice cream suppers for Klansmen, Klanswomen, and their families. One such event was held on August 4 at the Ku Klux Klan Hall.<sup>22</sup> Children of anti-Klanners were disappointed to learn that they could not attend functions.<sup>23</sup>

Perhaps the most controversial Klan issue came about on September 7, 1925. "Cranky Corner," the nickname of Midland school, located south of Reading in District No. 102, was burned down.<sup>24</sup> The school, which received its nickname because of the hickering among the area people, was to open for class on September 8.<sup>25</sup> A disagreement erupted in the community over rehiring the teacher, Miss Wilhelmina Decker. She was a Roman Catholic and several families had indicated that they would not send their children to the school if she was retained. Many people said the "Cranky Corner" trouble was "sparked" by a Klan-Catholic fray, others insisted it was not. Two of the board members voted to rehire the teacher, while the other was strongly opposed. None of the board members were Catholic.

Stanley Simkins, a farmer living near the school, discovered it on fire.<sup>26</sup> The cause of the fire was unknown, but the generally accepted theory is that a Klansman burned it down intentionally.<sup>27</sup> According to one woman, the incident was extremely strange because none of the "Cranky Corner" students missed their first day of class for the new school term. Although it was unknown (at the time) whether the school would re-open, all of the students enrolled immediately in the Reading Elementary School. This woman maintains that it was "as if everyone knew" someone or something would prevent "Cranky

Corner" from opening and they were prepared for it.<sup>28</sup>

Miss Decker was urged to resign by the county superintendent after the incident. The school district would have been forced to pay her salary if she did not resign.<sup>29</sup> Miss Decker eventually succumbed to pressure and turned in her resignation. The school itself was never rebuilt. The Klan scored a victory when District No. 102 consolidated with Reading by a 16 to 11 vote of the residents of the "Cranky Corners" district on September 24.<sup>30</sup>

There is no doubt that the hooded order had a great influence on public opinion and Reading culture in the 1920's. One illustration is an incident that occurred at a Women's Auxiliary Meeting at the old Opera House. The guest speaker, purportedly a former Catholic nun, spoke out against the Roman Catholic Church.\* The extremely radical speech expressed the Klan's own view of the Pope and the Church.<sup>31</sup>

The Klan in Reading was presciently reported by the Herald in April 1926, to be on the verge of death. "The venerated, Ku Klux Klan," the newspaper stated, "received scant assistance from its local Reading members in its feeble death throes."<sup>32</sup>

In June, Lee R. Cowden, chairman of the Lyon County Republican party, filed a remonstrance against placing of I.H. Protheroe and Wilbur Jones on the Republican ticket on grounds that they were Democrats. A board of appeals composed of three county officers, Sam Spencer, Guy Whitaker, and C.E. Cole, were arbitrators for the case. All three had been Klan-endorsed. Protheroe and Jones had been nominated at an irregular Republican caucus allegedly "packed" by Democrats. W.C. Simkins, one time secretary of the Klan, was the only witness called at the arbitration. He agreed with Jones

\*The Ku Klux Klan was known to encourage imposters to impersonate nuns at such functions.

and Protheroe that the two candidates were, indeed, Republicans.

In rendering its decision, the board explained the Republican caucus was irregular, but their caucus petitions were validated. The decision to allow the men to run as Republicans was regarded as a Klan victory.<sup>33</sup>

Leslie Fitts denounced the verdict of the board of appeals. Reading was now "face to face with the Klan" and he declared that the community had tolerated the organization too long. The Klan had now showed its hand. It had pulled a "dirty trick." Fitts claimed that the Klan "allowed" Dr. D.S. Fisher to "pull off the deal" and then to be blamed for it. He said Fisher, who was a Republican candidate for committeeman, used his influence at the caucus to "arrange" the nominations of Protheroe and Jones, and would be rewarded with the Klan's endorsement for office.

The Democratic Party put up an anti-Klan ticket, which caused the Klan to insert candidates on the Democratic ticket as well as the Republican. The names of Samuel Evans and Leslie Price were added to the Democratic ticket and they ran as the Klan-supported candidates in the primaries.<sup>34</sup>

While the Klan's power struggle continued, many Reading residents participated in the Klan parade in Emporia. One of the many Reading spectators was P. H. Kemp, a Civil War veteran. He wrote the Emporia Gazette that Emporia had won the "warmest place in the hearts of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan." He backed Judge I.T. Richardson's decision to allow the parade and sympathized with the Klan because it was misunderstood.<sup>35</sup>

Leslie Fitts struck another blow at the Klan in July. The Klansmen and Klanswomen were upset that the Herald did not give them enough credit for their contribution to the Reading Bible School. Fitts stated that lack of space would not allow the names of all contributors to be printed, so

none were. "We also mistakenly supposed that the contribution was made for the good of the school," he asserted. "Had we known that publicity was the thing desired, we would have endeavored to sell even the Klan some space."<sup>36</sup>

The Klan viewed the primaries in Reading as a struggle between political parties. It was not about to let the primaries serve as a test of its strength. But Fitts said the organization was wrong and declared the primaries, so far as the local offices were concerned, "will be strictly a Klan and anti-Klan battle."<sup>37</sup> The Klan was crushed decisively in the August primaries. Many Klansmen, Democrats "all their lives," registered Republican to pay back Dr. Fisher for using his influence at the Republican caucus to get two Klansmen nominated. Fitts contended that Fisher won by the slim margin of six votes because of "Ku Kluxers" support for him. Many Democratic Klansmen had switched to the Republican party because they knew their Democratic candidates, Samuel Evans and Leslie Price, nominees for Township trustee and treasurer, stood little chance of defeating anti-Klanners J.L. Cropp and James W. Newman. Cropp, Newman, and H.C. Clark, anti-Klan candidate for clerk, "won the nomination so easily they hardly knew there was any competition."<sup>38</sup>

Fitts made a plea to the Klan at the end of October. Lee Cowden of Reading was running for a seat in the Kansas Legislature. Fitts insisted that Cowden had played as fair as possible with the Klan and given them the benefit of the "doubt." Therefore, he continued, Cowden deserved the vote of the Klan as well as those against the order.<sup>39</sup>

In November, Klan candidate C.C. Cole lost his bid for re-election as county clerk. Tom Owens' anti-Klan campaign resulted in his election as sheriff. The Reading precinct showed it was definitely anti-Klan by giving Owens an almost two to one vote count over his opponent.<sup>40</sup> Reading's anti-Klan nominees, Cropp, Newman, and Clark were also easily voted into office.

Klansmen were indignant towards the Roman Catholic support for Newman. Although Newman was Baptist, Catholics in the community had urged him to run as an anti-Klan candidate and was backed solidly by them. The secret order believed his election was a Catholic victory.<sup>41</sup>

The election defeat did not cause the Reading Klan to go underground. They held a supper and bazaar on November 11. The event was at the Ladies Hall and everybody in the community was invited.<sup>42</sup> The Klan wall-papered their hall and made needed repairs on November 17. Formerly the Jacoby Hotel, the Hall was a regular meeting place of the Klan. The owner of the hotel never attended a meeting, although he was "persuaded" to become a member in order to prevent a Klan boycott of his hotel.<sup>43</sup>

There were two major differences in practices of the Emporia Klan and the Reading Klan. The organization in Reading wore their full regalia to meetings and staged several Sunday Klan parades (in Reading). The Emporia Klan did neither.<sup>44</sup>

Although the power of the Reading Klan had not completely diminished by the end of 1926, it certainly no longer dominated politics in the community. The rural community had seen its workings and listened to its edicts. Reading proved that neither was any longer wanted by resoundingly defeating the Klan at the polls. The Invisible Empire was never again influential in Reading, Kansas.

## Section II

The Ku Klux Klan in Hartford was the strongest and most influential of the Klans in Lyon County. Unfortunately, little was written on the Klan in this town. The editor of the Hartford Times, a weekly newspaper, was undoubt-

edly more than fully aware of the Klan's strength in the community, and, therefore, never made any reference to the Klan. The Emporia Gazette often mentioned that the Klan was strong in Hartford.

The Klan organization in Hartford had acquired much power by May, 1923. It elected its candidate to the schoolboard at the annual election in April. The Klan-endorsed man received instructions to "get" the Roman Catholic teachers in the gradeschool.<sup>1</sup> The new Klan member of the board began exerting pressure on a Catholic teacher, who had taught in Hartford "successfully for 12 years." This teacher was fired, but the board voted to retain the other Catholic teacher in the district. The Klan then circulated a petition of protest and acquired 82 signatures in favor of firing the second Catholic teacher.

One board member who voted to retain the second teacher went to her school room the morning after receiving the petition. She refused to resign (when the board member asked her to). He then refused to sign her contract, which had been verbal up to that morning. Thus, the district hired back neither of the Catholic teachers.<sup>2</sup>

John Gorman of Hartford explained this flagrant exhibition of religious bigotry and ignorance in a letter to the Emporia Gazette in which he related a conversation between the second teacher and some of the Klansmen. The teacher asked them why the Klan objected to her teaching in Hartford. They replied, "Why Catholics do not employ Protestant teachers in their parochial schools, so why should you teach in our schools, and you Catholics don't pay any taxes." "Where did you get that?" she asked. "We read it in the paper," they answered, "and the state supports the parochial schools by appropriation."<sup>33</sup>

Also in the spring of 1923, three young men found out that impersonating

the Klan was a mistake. Ernest Smith, a 19 year-old from Hartford, was the candidate for a fake Ku Klux Klan initiation in the last week of April 1923. Three men, Emporian Levern Eicker and Ray Gunter and Ivory Cunningham of Hartford, tied Smith to an iron park bench in the Hartford park. They then pulled off his shoes and tickled his feet, with Smith yelling loudly. After stuffing grass up Smith's pant legs, the trio released him and pronounced him "a full-fledge" Klansman. A complaint against the three young men was filed by Mrs. Jeff Gunter, who lived near the park. They were sentenced to serve thirty days each in the Lyon County jail.<sup>4</sup>

Silent on the Klan and its activities, the Hartford Times mentioned next to nothing of William Allen White's campaign for governor. Not once before the election in November 1924 did White's name appear in the Times. His name was noted only after the election and then only in the results of the local precincts. The candidacy of a fellow resident of the county for governor could not overcome Klan strength in Hartford. The well-known editor garnered only enough votes for a distant second place finish in Hartford. Ben Paulen polled 274 votes to 156 for White in the Hartford precinct.<sup>5</sup> The nearby Elmendaro precinct, interestingly enough, recorder a 74 to 50 margin of victory for White.<sup>6</sup>

One of the biggest complaints of Hartford Protestants was aimed at the Catholic nuns in the community. The sisters were "taking many of the Catholic children out of the public school to instruct them on the Roman Catholic religion and other educational reasons." The superintendent of the school district was upset over the matter, exclaiming that his district was going to be ruined if the sisters were allowed to disrupt the students' public education. He made his grievances known to a prominent Roman Catholic and

leading citizen from Emporia, Al Gufler. Gufler went personally to the nuns, and "explained" the situation to them. Being a sensible and respected gentleman Gufler's words fell upon understanding ears. There were few problems thereafter.<sup>7</sup>

In the November 1926 elections, Hartford was one of only two precincts out of 31 precincts in Lyon County that was lost by Tom Owens, anti-Klan candidate for Sheriff. The Elmendaro precinct voted solidly, 82 to 16, for Owens. C.E. Cole, the Klan candidate for Clerk of District Court, lost his bid for re-election. Hartford was one of only seven precinct favoring Cole, and gave him almost a two to one margin, his largest plurality of any precinct.<sup>8</sup>

As 1926 drew to a close, the Hartford Klan was still the strongest in all of Lyon County. It was one of the few Klan chapters in Kansas in 1927 still in control of local politics. But this was not to last much longer. The Supreme Court decision against the Klan in Kansas weakened the Hartford immensely, as it did all Klan chapters in Kansas.

### Section III

Americus had a strong Klan of its own. Although not quite as strong as the Klaverns elsewhere in the county, the Americus chapter of knights was almost as active as any hooded order in Lyn County. Clarence Grinell, editor of the Americus Greeting, became extremely concerned about the possible repercussions of Klan victories at the polls after Earl Hawkins was elected mayor of Emporia in 1923. Grinell wrote, "With Emporia in the hands of the Ku Klux Klan it might be a good plan for the klan to make known just how much territory it considers under its jurisdiction."<sup>1</sup>

In the middle of May, the Emporia Klan held a "free-for-all, open air



initiation" for Ku Klux candidates. Several persons from Americus attended the "pow-wow" at the Emporia aviation field west of the city. A big crowd was on hand to witness the festivities. It was reported that there were more automobiles in the field than ever seen before at one time in Lyon County. Grinell humorously declared that although the event was held at the aviation field, it "should not be mistaken . . . as any indication that the prosecution by the state has got the Klan up in the air."<sup>2</sup>

The very next week (the Americus Greeting was a weekly), the editor complained that Americus had not had a movie for a long time, and when they finally got one that week, the Klan had to have a meeting the same night.<sup>3</sup>

Grinell continued to ridicule the Klan whenever possible. On July 11, he brought up the fact that the Klan had not caused much stir "lately." Grinell told his readers that the Klan may have had to "lay low" until their "nighties" got back from the laundry.<sup>4</sup>

The evening of October 24 was an important night for the Americus Klan. The Americus city hall filled that night to hear the address of a Klan lecturer, Ralph L. Clarkson. He explained the beliefs of the Klan and "made a pretty good speech from his side of the question." Clarkson made a strong appeal to those present, leaving a favorable impression among many of his listeners. Grinell did not know how many people from Americus belonged to the Klan at this time. Several Americusites were suspected of being "Kluxers," and the probabilities, Grinell asserted, "are that some of our leading citizens belong."<sup>5</sup>

The Americus Klan was growing but not yet large enough to dissuade Grinell from using William Allen White's method of ridiculing the Klan. Throughout the first quarter of 1924, the Greeting took upon itself the task

of humiliating the intolerant organization. Grinell printed an editorial on February 27, that both made fun of the Americus Klan, and described their patriotism as "doubtful." The editor stated it was easy for people to figure when and where the Klan had their meetings. The autos parked at the meetings gave away the identities of the man inside. The members of the Klavern, then, he declared, could not hope for a completely secret organization.<sup>6</sup>

The Ku Klux Klan issue began to dominate conversation in Americus in March.<sup>7</sup> The Greeting complained on March 26 that Mayor Hawkins of Emporia wanted to charge an admission to the tourists campground. "The mayor," the newspaper said, "must have come to the conclusion that most of his tourists are no Kluxers."<sup>8</sup>

The Greeting announced in late April that the Klan was to be an important factor in Lyon County in the fall elections. The Klan was pretty strong and the weekly papers believed many voters would forsake party lines to either favor or oppose candidates known to be Klansmen.<sup>9</sup>

Grinell put an article on an activity of the Klan on the front page of his paper for the first time on June 11. It reported that the Klan had staged a public installation in the L.K. Hunt pasture during which several candidates were initiated. The participating Knights wore their white robes. The fiery cross and fire-works were in evidence.

After the initiation, Dr. Martin of Chanute delivered a message on the precepts of the order. Estimates of the crowd on hand ranged between 1800 and 2000 people. The 392 cars counted as they drove out of the gate represented the largest number of autos heretofore assembled in Americus.<sup>10</sup>

In the fall, Grinell had a difficult choice to make. Because Klan members were sensitive about the subject, he did not know whether he should

support White in his race for governor. Grinell knew that such a decision would alienate some of his subscribers. On October 1, Grinell printed what he thought in an editorial:

Knowing full well that we editors have to stand together, if we get our rights, we admit we have been a little slow in endorsing the candidacy of W.A. White. Ostensibly the reason is we have been so busy watching the race for the pennant in the National League that we have had no time for politics. Truthfully, however, we are trying to carry water on both shoulders like Ben Paulen. We want the patronage of both the Klansmen and anti-Klansmen, but are afraid we will lose both. However, we feel kindly towards the independent candidate, and always use the handle to his name - never referring to him as just plain White . . .

. . . We did not know what he was planning at (the National Republican Convention) . . . but we felt confident that it was something of importance and far reaching effect. Knowing full well that Mr. White is sacrificing his business and neglecting his wife in making this campaign we feel in duty bound to offer no opposition to his candidacy, and to lend him encouragement and help to achieve his desire to become the governor of Kansas.<sup>11</sup>

After the 1924 elections, Grinell criticized the Emporia Gazette's coverage of the Klan. He believed that if an editor "colored" a topic too often, it was difficult for the readers to know the truth. Such was his view of White's treatment of the Klan in the Gazette. Grinell admitted the Gazette was a good newspaper but when "it gets to broadcasting about the klan there is always so much static mixed in we can hardly get the address."<sup>12</sup>

In June 1926, the Americus Klansmen paraded the streets of Americus just two weeks before the Emporia parade. The "Kluxers," in full regalia and masks, paraded on the main street of town, then marched to a meeting in a cow pasture. An out of town speaker, purportedly from Burlington, made an address. No prior announcement of the demonstration had been made. Many Americus Klansmen claimed that they had no advance information that the parade was to be held. Attorney General Charles Griffith's attention

was called to the display. The Emporia Gazette said that the parade indicated the "Kluxers" were not obeying the law which prohibited their activity in Kansas without a charter.<sup>13</sup>

The Americus Greeting contained a statement and analysis, both of interest, the week after the parade in Emporia. The Americus Klan stated that the big parade would add many members to the local organization, but few, if any, became new "suckers."<sup>14</sup> Grinell analyzed Judge Richardson's decision to allow the parade to go on as scheduled. The decision, Grinell commented, "was no more than to be expected under existing conditions because of Richardson's ties with the Klan."<sup>15</sup>

A pro-Klan lecture was delivered on November 10 in Emporia by an Americus minister, Reverend O.S. Jones. All Klansmen, their families, and friends were invited to hear his presentation, "The Klan and the Church, or Klansmen and the Bible."<sup>16</sup>

The 1926 elections exemplified the Klan's lack of strength in Americus. Tom Owens, anti-Klan sheriff candidate, won by a landslide at the polls in Americus. C.E. Cole, the Klan candidate for clerk of district court, received fewer votes than his opponent in Americus, just as he did in most precincts in the county.<sup>17</sup>

The Ku Klux Klan's political influence was definitely on the wane in Americus after 1926. It had become virtually powerless in the community, as it had in most of Lyon County.

## Chapter 3

## Section I

Little is known about the Klan other than what can be read in contemporary newspapers. Klansmen took an oath of secrecy when they joined and most stuck to it.<sup>1</sup> Members were allowed to deny membership and usually commanded to do so.<sup>2</sup> Persons formerly in the organization usually still deny knowing anything about the Klan. One woman in Reading said she did not know much about the Klan, although she and her husband and several relatives were reportedly members. Meetings were also held in the couple's pasture at times. The woman was able to remember one incident when the organization in Reading threatened a man who had been abusive to his family.<sup>3</sup>

An elderly man and woman were also interviewed in Reading. Although they claimed not to know much about the organization in Reading, two other persons have verified that they were both members, and that the man was one of the leaders of the Reading chapter. The couple was able to offer pertinent information on the Klan. They knew of the meeting sites at the Jacoby Hotel, the old Opera House, Schlobohm Hill, the old high school building, and pastures in the country. They defended most of the politicians who had been endorsed by the Klan. They were also the source of the story about Mr. Jacoby, owner of the Jacoby Hotel. The gentleman did admit to attending one Schlobohm Hill meeting.<sup>4</sup>

Several non-Klansmen, when questioned about the Klan were reluctant to give any information about the hooded order unless it was possible to gain the same information from a printed source. A common statement used by the people that conceded information was, "I've probably already said

too much." All persons interviewed requested that their testimony remain anonymous. One man, who was a lawyer in the 1920's, claims that he never saw any evidence of the Klan in Emporia. If this is true, with the big parade and newspaper coverage, the man must have been totally ignorant of his surroundings.<sup>5</sup>

One lady was afraid that the old members of the Klan might come and burn down her house if it was known that she had offered information on the Klan. She declared that, "The Emporia area has pulled a sheet over the Ku Klux Klan."<sup>6</sup>

Two persons contended that Klan members were usually not at the top in their profession.<sup>7</sup> The conclusion that few of the well-known or rich doctors and lawyers and other professionals joined the Klan is well-founded. It was mostly the second-rate or lesser known professionals, who had little to lose but possibly more patrons to gain, that enlisted for recognition. This theory may be applicable to towns the size of Emporia and larger. However, in the smaller towns, such as Americus, Hartford, and Reading, much of the time the leading professionals of the community were also leaders of the Klan.

One gentleman's theory that the Klan failed in Emporia because it was too large of a town has some merit to it.<sup>8</sup> The smaller towns and large cities were usually areas of greatest Klan success. The smaller town Klans were able to be bound by a more fraternal atmosphere, and very often determined who won an election. The large cities were the most affected by foreigners, Negroes, and rapid industrialization. But medium-sized towns had neither the problems of the big cities, which were experiencing great social changes in the 1920's, nor the closeness of the small towns.

The United States, Kansas, and Lyon County have people like William Allen White, Clarence A. Grinell, and Leslie Fitts to thank for exposing and fighting the Klan until its intolerant voice was silenced. White led the way with its influential pen. His editorials against the Klan at first were infrequent and ineffective. But by 1924, White definitely was affecting public opinions with his stepped-up attacks on the Klan, as well as publicity generated by his campaign for governor. Through the use of Satire, he must be credited with "spearheading the fight against the Klan and lifting the veil of secrecy that made it seem deadlier than it really was."

William Pierce Randel wrote of White:

No other enemy of the Klan, either in Reconstruction days or in the twentieth century, chose ridicule as a weapon. It was a stroke of genius, giving heart to the vast majority who could now laugh about the Klan instead of merely shuddering at what it threatened. When to this we add his courage in running for governor, a step no other liberal ever took we must give him credit as the most effective opponent the Klan has ever had.<sup>9</sup>

Lyon County, certainly, was indebted to its most famous citizen. The decline of the Klan actually began when the order was building. Organizers were merely concerned about the quantity of members, not quality. Hence, one explanation for the Klan's downfall was its greed. One man from Emporia says that his brother-in-law was a staunch supporter of the Klan. He was willing to put great amounts of money towards items for his Klan chapter. Three fellow "Kluxers" persuaded him into buying some land at three to four times its value. When he was informed of the chicanery, he no longer had anything to do with the Klan.<sup>10</sup>

As Noel Gist states in his book on secret societies, it is perhaps no accident that the original Klan and that of the 1920's both flourished in post-war periods of "extreme disorganization."<sup>11</sup> Because of these times

of trauma, we must not judge the members of the Klan harshly. The 1920's was an era of many fears and anxiety. People joined the hooded order for different reasons. One member from Reading, perhaps defending himself, claims people in the 1920's were "joiners," joining organizations to give them something to do.<sup>12</sup> This is at least partially true of Reading, Americus, and Hartford. Most Klansmen, however, joined because they wanted to preserve the lifestyle that they were accustomed to. These people saw their way of life being threatened by the changes around them and believed the Ku Klux Klan could shelter them from the effects of these changes.

It did not take long before most Klan members become totally aware that the Ku Klux Klan could not influence these changing trends in the United States. Many Klansmen quit the organization because it could no longer convince people that it offered a form of refuge for "Pure Americans" from the infestation of their changing nation.

As one man observed, the Ku Klux Klan was "nothing but a fad that came with the wind and blew away a little later."<sup>13</sup> It was an intolerant and hateful fad, but a fad nevertheless. The Klan stood by its claim that it heeded the laws of our land, but by its very own admission, the Klan wixed to rescind many of the freedoms, guaranteed by our laws, from over one-fourth of our population. The Ku Klux Klan was perhaps not a failure in the minds of all Klansmen, but it certainly was in the name of "100 Per Cent Americanism."



## NOTES

Introduction

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<sup>2</sup>Charles C. Alexander, The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), pp. 29-30.

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<sup>1</sup>Randel, pp. 182-83.

<sup>2</sup>David M. Chalmers, Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865-1965 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), pp. 23-26.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>4</sup>Randel, p. 184.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.; Chalmers, p. 35.

<sup>6</sup>Randel, pp. 191-94; Lila Lee Jones, "The Ku Klux Klan in Eastern Kansas" (Master's Thesis, Emporia, Kansas Teachers College, 1972), p. 9.

<sup>7</sup>Randel, p. 194.

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<sup>1</sup>Emporia Gazette, 17 February 1921, p.2.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 25 July 1921, p.1.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 28 July 1921, p.1.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 1-2

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p.1.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 1 August 1921, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup>Personal Interview, 25 February 1980.

<sup>11</sup>Emporia Gazette, 30 August 1921, p.2.

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1 May 1922, p.2.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 10 May 1922, p..2.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 15 May 1922, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 22 May 1922, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 9 December 1922, p. 2.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 25 May 1922, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup>David Hinshaw, A Man From Kansas: The Story of William Allen White (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1945), p. 241.

<sup>16</sup>Walter Johnson, Willaim Allen White's America (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947), p. 376; Personal Interview, 4 February 1980.

<sup>17</sup>Personal Interview, 4 February 1980.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.; Johnson, p. 376.

<sup>19</sup>Johnson, p. 376.

<sup>20</sup>Emporia Times, 1 June 1922, p. 1, and 8 June 1922, p.4.

<sup>21</sup>Emporia Gazette, 15 June 1922, p. 2.

- <sup>22</sup>Ibid., 16 August 1922, p.1.
- <sup>23</sup>Ibid., 29 September 1922, p. 1.
- <sup>24</sup>Ibid., 4 October 1922, p. 1.
- <sup>25</sup>Ibid., 29 September 1922, p. 1.
- <sup>26</sup>Ibid., 20 October 1922, p. 1.
- <sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 2.
- <sup>28</sup>Ibid., 29 April 1922, p. 5.
- <sup>29</sup>Ibid., 15 May 1922, p. 1.
- <sup>30</sup>Ibid., 5 August 1922, p. 2.
- <sup>31</sup>Ibid., 21 November 1922, p. 1.
- <sup>32</sup>Ibid., 28 November 1922, p. 1.
- <sup>33</sup>Ibid., 23 November 1922, p. 5.
- <sup>34</sup>Ibid., 13 December 1922, p. 5.

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- <sup>1</sup>Emporia Gazette, 20 January 1923, p. 1.
- <sup>2</sup>Ibid., 29 January 1923, p. 7.
- <sup>3</sup>Ibid., 2 February 1923, p. 2.
- <sup>4</sup>Ibid., 15 January 1923, p. 1.
- <sup>5</sup>Ibid., 19 January 1923, p. 1.
- <sup>6</sup>Ibid., 15 January 1923, p. 1.
- <sup>7</sup>Ibid., 19 January 1923, p. 1.
- <sup>8</sup>Ibid., 12 February 1923, p. 5.
- <sup>9</sup>Ibid., 2 February 1923, p. 8.
- <sup>10</sup>Ibid., 13 March 1923, p. 2.
- <sup>11</sup>Ibid., 17 March 1923, p. 3.

- <sup>12</sup>Ibid., 14 March 1923, p. 1.
- <sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 6.
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- <sup>16</sup>Ibid., 29 March 1923, p. 1.
- <sup>17</sup>Ibid., 30 March 1923, p. 1.
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- <sup>19</sup>Emporia Gazette, 31 March 1923, p. 8.
- <sup>20</sup>Lyon County News, 3 April 1923, p. 1.
- <sup>21</sup>Emporia Gazette, 2 April 1923, p. 1.
- <sup>22</sup>Ibid., 4 April 1923, p. 1.
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- <sup>28</sup>Emporia Gazette, 2 March 1923, p. 1.
- <sup>29</sup>Ibid., 30 March 1923, p. 1. and 30 April 1923, p. 2.
- <sup>30</sup>Ibid., 7 May 1923, p. 2.
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- <sup>32</sup>Ibid., 14 May 1923, p. 1.
- <sup>33</sup>Ibid., also 24 April 1923, p. 2.
- <sup>34</sup>Ibid., 14 May 1923, p. 1.
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- <sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 10.
- <sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>38</sup>"The State of Kansas vs. The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" (Plaintiff's abstract of the Record), 1924.

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 19 September 1923, p. 1.

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 24 October 1923, p. 1.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., also 26 October 1923, p. 2 and 27 October 1923, p. 3.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 6 November 1923, p. 1.

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 7 November 1923, p. 1.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 17 November 1923, p. 2.

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<sup>52</sup>Emporia Gazette, 19 November 1923, p. 4.

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 8 December 1923, p. 2 and 12 December 1923, p. 2.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., 14 December 1923, p. 1.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., 13 December 1923, p. 6.

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- <sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 1.
- <sup>6</sup>Ibid., 25 February 1924, p. 1.
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- <sup>12</sup>Sam Lee Hofer, "Politics and the National Elections in Kansas, 1920-1932" (Master's Thesis, Emporia, Kansas State Teachers College, 1932), p. 32.
- <sup>13</sup>Emporia Gazette, 5 August 1924, p. 1.
- <sup>14</sup>Ibid.
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- <sup>22</sup>Ibid., 31 December 1924, p. 1.
- <sup>23</sup>Ibid., 10 January 1925, p. 1.
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- <sup>25</sup>Ibid., 28 October 1924, p. 1.
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- <sup>29</sup>Ibid., 12 November 1924, p. 1.

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<sup>1</sup>Emporia Gazette, 17 July 1924, p. 4 and 28 July 1924, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 12 August 1924, p. 4.

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<sup>4</sup>Johnson, p. 377; Jack Wayne Traylor, "William Allen White's 1924 Gubernatorial Campaign," The Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XLII, No. 2 (Summer 1976), p. 183.

<sup>5</sup>Johnson, p. 377.

<sup>6</sup>Traylor, p. 183.

<sup>7</sup>Clinton W. Gilbert, "Bill White's Conscience and a Fresh Klan Outrage," The Providence Journal, (15 September 1924), p. 14.

<sup>8</sup>Johnson, pp. 378-79

<sup>9</sup>Kenneth S. Davis, Kansas: A Bicentennial History (New York: W.W. Norton and Co. and The American Association for State and Local History, Nashville, 1976), p. 176; Emporia Gazette, 11 September 1924, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup>Emporia Gazette, 12 September 1924, p. 1, 3.

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 20 September 1924, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup>Johnson, pp. 380-81; Traylor, p. 185.

<sup>16</sup>The Annals of Kansas, 1886-1925, vol. 2 (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1956), p. 389.

<sup>17</sup>"William Allen White: A Kansas Klan-baiter Who doesn't Miss Being Governor," Current Opinion, (December 1924), p. 701.

<sup>18</sup>Emporia Gazette, 20 September 1924, p. 2.

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- <sup>23</sup>Ibid., 2 October 1924, p. 1 and 25 October 1924, p. 6.
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- <sup>38</sup>Johnson, pp. 383-84
- <sup>39</sup>Emporia Gazette, 1 November 1924, p. 9.
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- <sup>45</sup>Ibid., 13 November 1924, p. 4.  
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## Chapter II

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- <sup>7</sup>Personal Interview, 4 February 1980.
- <sup>8</sup>Emporia Gazette, 8 November 1926, p. 9.

Section III

- <sup>1</sup>Emporia Gazette, 20 April 1923, p. 2.
- <sup>2</sup>Americus Greeting, 16 May 1923, p. 2.
- <sup>3</sup>Ibid., 23 May 1923, p. 1.
- <sup>4</sup>Ibid., 11 July 1923, p. 1.
- <sup>5</sup>Ibid., 31 October 1923, p. 2.
- <sup>6</sup>Ibid., 27 February 1923, p. 2.
- <sup>7</sup>Ibid., 19 March 1924, p. 2.
- <sup>8</sup>Ibid., 26 March 1924, p. 2.
- <sup>9</sup>Ibid., 23 April 1924, p. 2.
- <sup>10</sup>Ibid., 11 June 1924, p. 1.
- <sup>11</sup>Ibid., 1 October 1924, p. 2.
- <sup>12</sup>Emporia Gazette, 2 June 1925, p. 4.
- <sup>13</sup>Ibid., 11 June 1926, p. 1.
- <sup>14</sup>Americus Greeting, 30 June 1926, p. 2.
- <sup>15</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>16</sup>Ibid., 10 November 1926, p. 1.
- <sup>17</sup>Emporia Gazette, 8 November 1926, p. 9.

Section IV

- <sup>1</sup>Personal Interview, 29 February 1980 (Male).
- <sup>2</sup>Hinshaw, p. 242.
- <sup>3</sup>Personal Interview, 24 February 1980 (A.M.).
- <sup>4</sup>Personal Interview, 26 February 1980 (A.M.).
- <sup>5</sup>Personal Interview, 6 February 1980 (Emporia Male).
- <sup>6</sup>Personal Interview, 6 February 1980.
- <sup>7</sup>Personal Interview, 4 February 1980; Johnson, p. 376.

<sup>8</sup>Personal Interview, 4 February 1980.

<sup>9</sup>Randel, p. 216.

<sup>10</sup>Personal Interview, 4 February 1980.

<sup>11</sup>Noel P. Gist, Secret Societies: A Cultural Study of Fraternalism in the United States (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1940), p. 50.

<sup>12</sup>Personal Interview, 26 February 1980 (A.M.).

<sup>13</sup>Personal Interview, 4 February 1980.

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