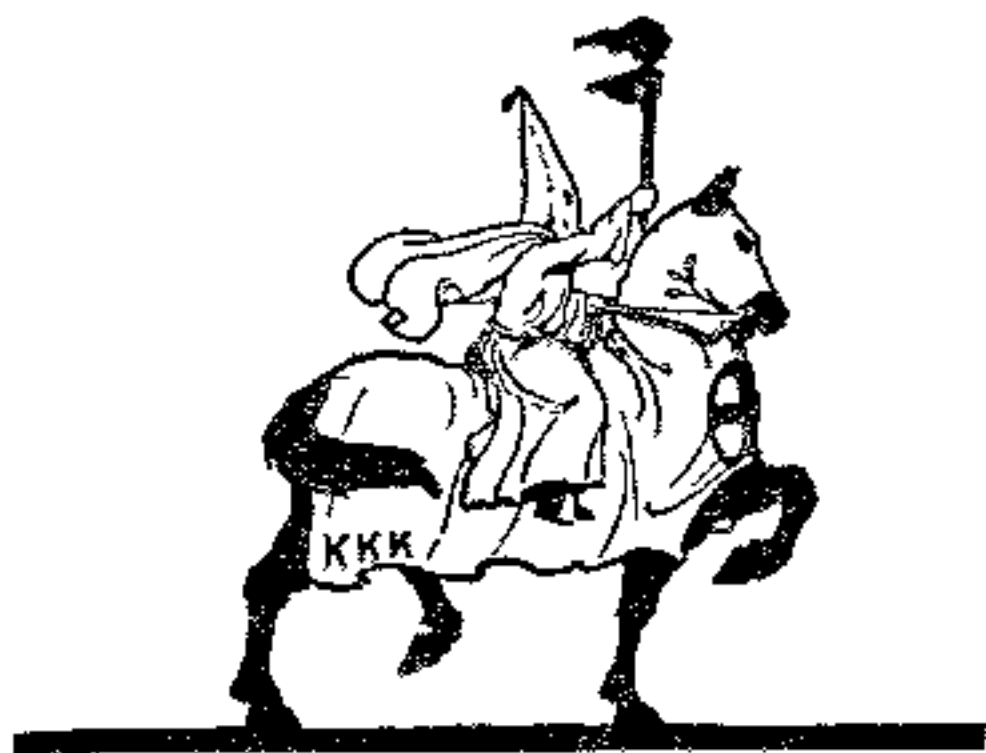


The
**Ku Klux
Klan**



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The Ku Klux Klan

Citizens' League of Dallas, Texas, Takes Action Against the Activities of the Klan



THE Dallas County Citizens League was organized April 4, 1922, by a mass meeting of five thousand citizens held in the Municipal Auditorium on the street on which it faces. It was organized to oppose the Ku Klux Klan. Its opposition is based on the broad ground that the Klan is unlawful in that it cannot exist and function without violating the Constitution and certain statutes of the State, and that it is un-American because it can not exist and function without destroying that political and religious freedom that is the glory of our institutions.

It is always worth while to review the fundamental principles of Republican Government as they are written in the Constitution, and it is especially important that we do so now, in order that we may determine whether such an organization as the Ku Klux Klan is proper or lawful in a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

We therefore invite your attention to the following sections of that part of our Constitution known as the

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

Section 1. Texas is a free and independent State, subject only to the Constitution of the United States; and the maintenance of our free institutions and the perpetuity of the Union depend upon the preservation of the right of local self-government, unimpaired to all the States.

EQUAL RIGHTS

Section 3. All freemen, when they form a social compact, have equal rights, and no man, or set of men, is entitled to exclusive separate public emoluments, or privileges, but in consideration of public service.

NO RELIGIOUS TEST

Section 4. No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office, or public trust, in this State; nor shall any one be

excluded from holding office on account of his religious sentiments, provided he acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being.

FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE

Section 6. All men have a natural and indefensible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences. No man shall be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry against his consent. No human authority ought, in any case whatever, to control or interfere with the rights of conscience in matters of religion, and no preference shall ever be given by law to any religious society or mode of worship. But it shall be the duty of the Legislature to pass such laws as may be necessary to protect equally every religious denomination in the peaceable enjoyment of its own mode of public worship.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Section 8. Every person shall be at liberty to speak, write or publish his opinion on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that privilege; and no law shall ever be passed curtailing the liberty of speech or of the press. In prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the conduct of officers, or men in public capacity, or when the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence. And in all indictments for libels the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the facts, under the direction of the court, as in other cases.

SECURITY OF HOME

Section 9. The people shall be secure in their persons, houses, papers and possessions from all unreasonable seizure or searches, and no warrant to search any place, or to seize any person or thing shall issue without describing them as near as may be, nor without probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation.

TRIAL BY JURY

Section 10. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall have a speedy public trial by an impartial jury. He shall have the right to demand the nature and cause of the accusation against him, and to have a copy thereof. He shall not be compelled to give evidence against himself and shall have the right of being heard by himself or counsel, or both, shall be confronted by the witnesses against him and shall have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, except that when the witness resides out of this State and the offense charged is a violation of any of the anti-trust laws of this State, defendant and the State shall have the right to produce and have the evidence admitted by deposition, under such rules and laws as the Legislature may hereafter provide; and no person shall be held to answer for a criminal offense, unless on an indictment of a grand jury, except in cases in which the punishment is by fine or imprisonment, otherwise than in the penitentiary, in cases of impeachment, and in cases arising in the army or navy, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger.

Section 15. The right of trial by jury shall remain inviolate. The Legislature shall pass such laws as may be needed to regulate the same, and to maintain its purity and efficiency.

PROTECTION OF LAW

Section 19. No citizen of this State shall be deprived of life, liberty, property, privileges or immunities, or in any manner disfranchised, except by the due course of the law of the land.

KLAN FORMS AN "EMPIRE"

Some of the objectives of the Ku Klux Klan offend the principles of free government set forth in the above quoted sections of the Bill of Rights. To illustrate: The members of the Ku Klux Klan are called "naturalized subjects" of the "Invisible Empire." The chief executive officer is called "Imperial Wizard." The subject takes an oath of allegiance which obligates him to "obey the instructions of the Imperial Wizard." The organization thus takes on the form of government. Section 1 of the Bill of Rights declares that Texas is a free and independent State. The Ku Klux Klan has adopted a form of government, has chosen an imperial head, and is now assuming the rights and privileges of government in the territory which the government of Texas claims for its own. It denies that the Texas courts have the right to inquire into its operations. The oath which the "subject" of the "Imperial Empire" takes as a part of the "naturalization" process reads in part as follows:

KLAN OATH OF OBEDIENCE TO THEIR IMPERIAL AUTHORITY

"I....., in the presence of God and man, pledge, promise and swear unconditionally that I will faithfully obey the constitution and laws, and will willingly conform to all regulations, usages and requirements of the Ku Klux Klan, which now do exist or may be hereafter enacted, and will render at all times loyal and steadfast support to the imperial authority of same, and will heartily heed all official mandates, decrees, edicts, ruling and instructions of the Imperial Wizard thereon."

Section 2 of the Bill of Rights declares that all political power is inherent in the people, therefore the laws enacted by the people ought to be supreme, but we find the "naturalized" subject of the "Invisible Empire" swearing that he will unconditionally render loyal and steadfast support to the "imperial authority of the Ku Klux Klan, and heed all decrees, rulings and instructions of the imperial ruler." The man who binds himself by the solemn obligations of

an oath to support the "edicts, decrees and instructions" of any authority other than that of the State and federal governments, in our opinion, offends against the principles set forth in the Bill of Rights. He cannot be the citizen of a free and independent State, as Texas is declared to be, and at the same time the "subject" of an "Imperial Empire," whose ruler's decrees and mandates he must obey.

TAKES LAW INTO OWN HANDS

We call attention to Section 9, 10, 15 and 19 of the Bill of Rights. These have reference to the security of the citizens in their persons and homes, and their right to a trial by jury in open court upon any criminal charge or accusation whatsoever. In the popular mind the Ku Klux Klan has been convicted many times of denying to American citizens the right of trial by jury. We understand, of course, the Klan denies that it has officially ordered the punishment of any man. It is not yet strong enough to openly operate its government. But the evidence is overwhelming in many instances that members of the Klan have conducted whipping parties that have violated the sacred guaranties of the Bill of Rights and the laws of the State enacted thereunder. No right has been more jealously guarded by the people than the right of trial by jury, yet the Klan has deprived citizens of this right. Nothing has been done about it in the courts, because the "Imperial Government" has its "subjects" in the offices created by the Constitution of the free and independent State of Texas, and has thereby prevented the government of the free and independent State of Texas from functioning. Furthermore, it is conceded by all well informed men that the atmosphere created by the Klan has tended to encourage lawlessness of all kinds. A circular letter sent out by the Dallas Klan states that "sometimes our scheme of government fails and the Ku Klux Klan supplies this deficiency." This is an admission that the Klan assumes and exercises governmental functions. To the extent that it does so it is a usurper. This is also a direct threat and warning that the due course of law of the free and independent State of Texas will be disregarded by the Klan and the law of the Invisible Empire substituted whenever in the opinion of the Klan this ought to be done.

Sections 4 and 6 of the Bill of Rights guarantee religious freedom. The cornerstones of our government are political freedom and religious freedom. The Klan denies political

and economic equality to all white men except Protestant Gentiles who are native born and who join the Klan. It is a well-known fact that the Klan stirs up religious prejudice and intolerance. We do not defend or condemn any religious faith or creed, but we do defend the right of every citizen to that freedom of conscience in religious matters which the Constitution guarantees when it says that "Every man shall have the right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of his own conscience."

CHAPTER I

In further support of our proposition that the Ku Klux Klan is un-American in principle and offends against the Constitution and laws of Texas, we submit the following:

DANGERS OF KLAN'S SECRECY OATH

We have set out above that part of the oath which obligates the subject to be loyal to the Empire and the Imperial Wizard. The following is another part of the oath which a candidate for membership in the Ku Klux Klan must take:

"I swear that I will keep secure to myself a secret of a Klansman when same is committed to me in the sacred bonds of Klansmanship: the crime of violating this solemn oath, treason against the United States of America, rape and malicious murder excepted."

You will observe that it does not except treason against the State.

Following is the oath which public officials in Texas must take upon assuming the duties of office:

"I (.....) do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I WILL FAITHFULLY and IMPARTIALLY discharge and perform all the duties incumbent upon me as....., according to the best of my skill and ability, agreeable to the Constitution and laws of the United States and of this State," etc.

From the foregoing oath it is obvious that no man can serve the people as a public official and at the same time serve the "Imperial Wizard" and the "Invisible Empire." A public official who becomes a member of the Ku Klux Klan must make up his mind to be false to one of the two groups, the people and the State he has sworn to serve or his brother Klansmen whom he has sworn to protect and shield "in any way" and for violating all laws, except those against murder, rape and treason.

Which master the Klan public official serves has been demonstrated too frequently in Texas in the last year to

permit of any doubt of the danger to the public safety which results when peace officers are entrusted with the mission of arresting and prosecuting criminals they are secretly sworn to protect.

One of the published "principles" of the Ku Klux Klan is to enforce the law. Another is to "Uphold the Constitution." But do members of the Klan live up to this boast? Are they willing to co-operate with legally constituted law-enforcement officers in the running down of crime and the punishment of criminals?

TO JAIL RATHER THAN HELP STATE

A few typical instances answer the question.

Peeler Clayton, a rent car driver of Austin, Texas, was, as he rode in an automobile, shot to death by a party of men stationed in front of a store at Sixth and Brazos streets, Austin, on the night of Thursday, December 16, 1921. The Austin Klan No. 89 was holding an initiation in the hall above the store and Klan members admitted they had stationed armed men at the doors.

In connection with the grand jury investigation which followed in March, J. B. Copeland, Austin Police Commission, and F. G. Reynolds, secretary of the Austin Woodmen of the World lodge, both admitted members of the Klan, defied the grand jury and refused to answer questions put by the foreman concerning the membership in the Klan of certain suspected persons and their presence at the meeting on the night of the killing of Clayton. When Copeland and Reynolds were ordered committed to jail and fined by the District Judge they still refused to answer.

"I will stand on my personal rights and will go to jail rather than answer," said Reynolds. And it was only after the Court of Criminal Appeals had decided that they must answer or remain in jail until they did so that Copeland and Reynolds, with the jail doors yawning for them, finally answered. They paid fines of \$100 each for their prior defiance of the court. But they answered even then, only when a last-minute effort by brother Klansmen, which successfully interfered with the United States mails, and withheld from delivery for more than twenty-four hours the letter containing the mandate of the Appeals Court committing them to jail. The Clerk of the Court, on his own initiative, personally delivered a duplicate of the mandate when the non-delivery of the original had been called to his attention.

The effort of some peace officers and grand jurors in Dallas to fix responsibility for the flogging of several citizens is another illustration. Although all these floggings were generally attributed to members of the Klan, that body did nothing more toward clearing itself of the stigma of responsibility than the passive announcement that it would pay a reward in two of the cases for conviction of the guilty persons. And men well known as members of the Dallas Klan openly condemned efforts of the Mayor and the District Attorney to run the floggers to earth, and so far there has been no indictment by the grand jury of persons guilty.

CHAPTER II

KLAN VIOLENCE

The growth of the Ku Klux Klan in Texas has been marked by lawlessness and violence. Mob rule has supplanted action by legally constituted law enforcement agencies, the police, sheriffs and the courts. In some cities and counties this has been made possible through the co-operation with the Klan of some law enforcement officers who have disregarded their solemn oaths to the State of Texas and remembered only their obligation to the "Imperial Wizard" at Atlanta and his "Invisible Empire."

There can be no question in the minds of unprejudiced citizens that the Ku Klux Klan is solely responsible for this condition. The Klan at the outset of the reign of mob action frequently denied responsibility for illegal acts. But as floggings, tarring and feathering, felonious assaults, murder and similar crimes have multiplied, evidence has increased that many of these acts were committed either by local Ku Klux Klans or by individual members of the mask-and-sheet clad organization. Letters boldly signed by the official seal of the Klan have been sent through the United States mails, warning citizens to leave certain communities or to cease the commission of alleged crime of which they have never been accused, much less legally proved guilty.

The list of floggings, tarring and feathering, assaults and warnings running into the hundreds is too numerous to recount in full. A few typical instances illustrate the lawlessness of the Klan.

The murder of Peeler Clayton, previously referred to, in Austin, is a typical case. Clayton was shot to death in front of the Klan hall while a meeting was in progress.

Admitted Klansmen acknowledged the Klan had stationed armed guards at the doors. There had been ill feeling caused by efforts of certain Austin citizens to ascertain the names of men who entered the Klan hall. It is presumed Clayton was mistaken, by those who murdered him, for a representative of these people. He was violating no law, and so far as the evidence shows had done nothing to invite the rage of his murderers except to ride past their meeting place in an automobile.

The killing of a negro child in Corsicana, who was killed by an over-enthusiastic member of a mob who had taken the child's father out to whip him, almost caused the disbanding of the Corsicana Ku Klux Klan.

KLAN PLANNED INGLEWOOD RAID

But the most notorious case of Klan-instigated violence in the country was the recent raid by Klansmen on the home of a citizen of Inglewood, Cal., a suburb of Los Angeles, wherein one masked Klansman was killed and two wounded by Marshal Frank Woerner, a peace officer, who was called by neighbors of the man whose home was invaded and violated by the masked mob in a pitched battle with the invaders.

Testimony adduced at the coroner's investigation proved conclusively by members of the Klan who were called as witnesses that the raid on the home of the Inglewood citizen was planned at a meeting of the Ku Klux Klan. One of the wounded men and the man who was killed were peace officers, it developed, when their masks were stripped off after Marshal Woerner had shot them down. These men were sworn to uphold and enforce the law. Yet they disregarded this oath and fulfilled their allegiance of the great "Wizard" and the "Invisible Empire."

Did the officers of the Los Angeles Ku Klux Klan attempt to assist the officers to enforce the law and fix responsibility upon those guilty of this outrage? They not only did not, they publicly refused to do so, and the District Attorney, with armed officers, was forced to raid the Ku Klux headquarters to secure evidence to prosecute members of the mob.

The beating of an aged blind man, G. M. Rymal, in Harris County, caused the Harris County grand jury to say:

"The victims of the whitecap outrage are the Rymal family, living at Sheldon, several of whom are afflicted; five are girls under 14

years of age, the only bread-winner being one son whom the Ku Klux have threatened. We regard the terrorizing of this wretched family by bands of Klux night riders as cowardly and unjustifiable outrages. What the Klux did was to pile themselves into automobiles and go as night riders to threaten and terrorize the aged, afflicted and helpless."

The stripping, beating, tarring and feathering of a woman, Mrs. Beulah Johnson, at Teneha.

CHAPTER III

KLAN TREATMENT OF WOMEN

Another Klan boast is that it "protects womanhood."

One would hardly expect to find great honor for womanhood as a basic operating principle of an organization which defies the law and the officers and metes out extra-legal punishment in midnight secret courts.

But the record of the Klan's treatment of women in Texas and elsewhere constitutes one of the blackest pages of its black history. Here are just a few incidents illustrating how the Ku Klux Klan treats women; how it constitutes a travesty upon the name of the original organization and the man who organized the Klan of the Reconstruction period:

On Saturday night, July 16th, a band of masked Klansmen seized Mrs. Beulah Johnson as she sat on the porch of a hotel where she was employed in Teneha, Shelby County, Texas. She was taken to the woods, where her abductors stripped her clothing from her body, cut her hair and gave her a coat of hot tar and feathers, leaving her to make her way home as best she could.

This outrage drew more national and international condemnation from the press of the world and from individuals than any other Klan outrage of the long series perpetrated in Texas during the past year. She was accused, not legally, but by the Klan, of bigamy.

In the Inglewood (California) raid, in the home of Fidel Elduyan, masked Klansmen forced his two young daughters, fourteen and sixteen, to strip off their nightgowns and stand naked, before dressing in the presence of the gloating ruffians.

In Dallas, when a mob went to the home of a citizen, dragged him from his house to take him to the river bottoms for a flogging, his two young daughters resisted the efforts

to take away their father. One of the girls was struck down by the invader, who knocked her to the floor with a blow from his fist. Another member of the mob struck the other daughter down with the butt of a revolver, inflicting a severe cut on her scalp.

In McKinney, Texas, a mob of Klansmen, after sending a warning letter to a citizen there, called at his home in the Klan regalia while he was away. His wife was badly frightened. They left a message for the husband to "stay at home more." He sent them word if they ever terrorized his wife again he would make it a personal matter.

CHAPTER IV

THE KLAN AND ITS PROPAGANDA METHODS

The propaganda activities of the Ku Klux Klan might well be the envy of the German War Office when that organization was functioning at its best. Conceived by the Imperial Wizard and developed into a get-rich-quick scheme, the Ku Klux Klan has perfected a sales organization which is keenly alive to the effectiveness of advertising and propaganda.

In order for the Klan to live it must get members. The elaborate organization includes paid lecturers, "kleagles," membership salesmen and hangers-on who are gaining a living from the proceeds of membership sales of \$10.00 each.

The simplest of the propaganda expedients is the masked parade. This is calculated to inspire curiosity on the part of those outside the Klan and makes them want to be inside.

As the parade scheme gradually becomes ineffective from too frequent use, the plan of sending masked delegates to churches, funerals, hospitals and similar places was adopted.

The third step to secure newspaper mention was the "charity operations" of the Klan. This includes the giving of small sums of money to families who had suffered misfortunes; to evangelists and ministers and to charitable institutions, such as Hope Cottage, a home for foundlings in Dallas.

As the novelty of these various schemes wore off and the truth of "Charity covers a multitude of sins," became impressed, and the legitimate press began to cease mention of them, it became necessary to stir up new "issues" which would create talk about the Klan and a desire to join it.

CHARACTER ASSASSINATION

And then the paid member solicitors began to preach their hymns of religious intolerance, racial hatred, political power and economic warfare. Shrewdly adapting their selling talk to the prospect, the Klan representatives have preached a particular brand of hate to the man to whom that particular prejudice is expected to appeal. In communities where the Protestant belief prevails, as in most places in Texas, the appeal has been based upon anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish issues. In California where the Japanese problem presents itself, and in Southern communities where the Negro population is large, "white supremacy" has been the catch-word. In the larger cities "political control" is used as a bait. To those of strictly orthodox religious beliefs, the plea has been for "law enforcement," while to the bootlegger and other criminals in the organization "protection" has been held out as an inducement. And to the small merchant, an economic boycott of those not in the Klan, with a resultant diversion of trade to those who are numbered in the fold of the "Invisible Empire" promises big financial returns as an inducement.

An utter and reckless disregard of truth characterizes all the Klan propaganda. Whipping parties appealing to the latent mob instinct of a certain type of brutal individual are instigated by whispered lies. When Klan officials decide a whipping is necessary to gather in new members the victim is selected. Then the process of character assassination is deliberately set in motion. Whispered charges of immorality are circulated; these are repeated, passed by word of mouth, exaggerated, enlarged upon until the whipping or the tarring and feathering is done.

After a man or woman is whipped, no matter how innocent the victim may be, the most atrocious and libelous stories are immediately circulated about the victim with a view to prejudicing public opinion and preventing investigation and punishment for the criminals who perpetrate the lawless act.

CHAPTER V

THE GUTTER PRESS

One of the incidents of Ku Kluxism in Texas which has contributed much to the discord, prejudice and hatred

preached by the Klan is that parasite of the movement, the gutter press, which owes its mushroom existence to the Klan, and for which the Klan must assume responsibility.

The springing up of local weekly newspapers invariably follows the invasion of the Klan solicitors into new territory, to conduct the follow-up campaign. They publish the most vicious lies, slander and libel, instead of news, and under the cloak of "freedom of the press," a right sacred to all Americans, they perpetrate the most flagrant abuse of the press.

These newspapers, without financial responsibility, make libelous and contemptible journalistic assaults upon citizens of the most exemplary character who oppose the Ku Klux Klan. Their sole purpose is to inflame the suspicions and hatreds of credulous "prospects" to further the sale of the Ku Klux Klan "citizenships" at \$10.00 each and to earn revenue for those responsible for their publication.

They advocate and preach the boycott of all persons and institutions not avowedly pro-Klan, and they openly preach sedition, anarchy and treason. They approve editorially of mob law, tarrings and featherings and floggings, and endorse abandonment of the Constitution and the statutes.

Typical of the lies published by the gutter press in Texas is the declaration that the Austin grand jury which investigated the murder of Peeler Clayton and ordered two Klansmen who refused to testify to jail was made up of "twelve members of the Knights of Columbus."

Refuting this statement, the grand jury, in its final report to the District Court at Austin, filed a statement of the religious affiliations of all twelve of its members. A verbatim copy of a section of this sworn report, now on file in the archives of the Travis County District Court, is published herewith:

"If all the statements in this issue of the Klan newspaper are as untruthful as this one, then there is not a line of truth in the issue. For your information I am giving you a list of the grand jury and their religious inclinations and beliefs:

"D. A. Gregg, foreman, not a member of the church, but brought up a Baptist, and a Protestant in belief.

"Morris Hirschfeld, Jew, a banker by profession and a member of the Jewish congregation of Austin.

"J. R. Donnelly, wholesale dealer in plumbing supplies and contractor, not a member of the church.

"John McNamara, manufacturer and wholesaler, a Catholic.

"W. E. Ferguson, farmer, not a member of any church, but a Protestant in belief.

"C. E. Johnson, farmer and a Protestant and a Baptist.

"E. J. Palm, wholesale and retail jeweler, an Episcopalian.

"William Pfennig, Jr., a farmer and member of the Lutheran church.

"Glen Munson, farmer and a Methodist.

"Will Nebring, farmer and a member of the Lutheran church.

"Monroe Thorpe, farmer and a Protestant, a Baptist in belief.

"Ed Robinson, wholesale grain dealer, an Episcopalian.

(Signed) D. A. GREGG, Foreman."

The Klan "lecturers," who are chiefly discredited exhorters of various faiths, are another propaganda organ. They need no comment from those who have seen samples of their activity in Texas. They are simply the human counterpart of the gutter press, spreading lies, preaching venom, hatred, creating "straw men" and specters of religious oppression. They show even less adhesion to truth than the gutter press.

Typical of this misrepresentation is a statement made by Joe G. Camp, Ku Klux lecturer, in an address in Fort Worth on the night of April 22, 1922, in which he declared that "Attorney General Daugherty is a Klansman, and if the President of the United States is not an obligated Klansman, his sympathies are with the Klan."

Replying to a citizen who inquired as to the truth of this statement, President Harding directed his secretary to send a letter in which he stated that he "heartily disapproved of the organization, and has repeatedly expressed himself to this effect."

Attorney General Daugherty, replying directly to the speech of Camp in Fort Worth, issued the following statement from his office in Washington:

"I was never asked to join, and I have never in any way authorized or consented to the use of my name in that connection, and the statement that I am a member is a malicious untruth."

CHAPTER VI

THE KLAN IN POLITICS

The approach of the primary election in Texas has brought out one of the two primary reasons for the exist-

ence of the Ku Klux Klan, i. e., the desire of certain of its members to hold or control public office.

Even the most casual investigation of the Klan reveals this sinister phase of its activity. The Klan oath, binding free Americans whose Constitution guarantees to them the most sacred right of citizenship, the freedom of the ballot, to implicit obedience to the instructions of an Imperial Wizard, such as the casting of their ballots for the candidate of the Wizard's or his representative's choice.

The desire to control the governmental machinery of the nation is manifested in the activities of the Kleagles, or member-getters, who invariably approach and solicit first the public officials, the peace officers and judges of a community.

Additional corroborative evidence is seen in the efforts of professional politicians in Texas to claim the support of the Klan in their candidacies for office.

The question, tersely summarized, is:

"Shall I cast my ballot in support of the principles on which this Government was founded and has been preserved, or shall I vote to substitute midnight river-bottom courts for trial by jury; mob law and the tar pot for Constitutional Government, and the secret, sinister, masked tyranny of an Imperial Wizard and an Invisible Empire for a republican self-government by the majority of those governed?"

CHAPTER VII

BOYCOTTS BY THE KLAN

The Ku Klux Klan has an economic aspect, too, as well as the religious, the social, the moral, the political and the ethical influences which it would wield upon the American people.

The economic phase of Klanishness centers about a word which is hateful to liberty-loving Americans, the boycott.

This boycott, under the Klan's method of operation, is not a potential weapon, a threat, something to be resorted to in case of emergency, but is an automatic, self-acting, continuously-working principle of the masked organization. It is directed not merely against Jews and Catholics and foreign-born citizens, but against every citizen of the Republic who has not become a "naturalized subject" of the "Invisible Empire." By applying for and accepting such naturalization, a Klansman takes the "Oath of Allegiance to the Invis-

ible Empire." Under this oath he promises unconditional obedience to the laws of the Klan and to the instructions of the Imperial Wizard and thus swears to boycott all except fellow-subjects of the "Empire."

These facts were made public in a sworn report of the Travis County grand jury. Quoting the text of "The First Lesson in the Science and Art of Klankraft," and specifically Section No. 4, devoted to "Vocational Klanishness," the grand jury's report makes public how the Klansmen are instructed to boycott all but Klansmen. A section of the Klan instructions, taken from the sworn grand jury report, says:

"For an example: If you should come across a person interested in the purchase or sale of real estate, scan your list of known Klansmen and if there is one who is in that line of business (though you may not be so intimately acquainted with him) urge this person to see your particular real estate man. It is presumed there is a profit to be made in the transaction if consummated, then do your part in endeavoring to turn the profit to a Klansman. You need not tell this person why you insist on his seeing this particular real estate man other than that he is worthy and deals honorably. He is a Klansman and you can safely recommend him. Apply this method in regard to Klansmen who are doctors, lawyers, dentists, merchants, barbers, opticians, carpenters, insurance men, taxicab owners, automobile dealers and any and all vocations of men. Again, a clerk, for instance, or other employe of a shop, to hold his position, must make good, his advancement hinges on his ability to produce business; therefore, deal with these firms or persons who employ Klansmen in their business and have your dealings with your fellow-Klansmen in person therein employed, that he or they might get credit for the business done. If possible, let the employer know that you deal with his firm on account of this particular man being employed by him."

An admirable analysis of this document and its far-reaching effect upon the economic life of the community has been prepared by General M. M. Crane, former Attorney General of Texas and chairman of the Dallas County Citizens' League. General Crane declares:

"UNFAIR, UNMANLY, UN-AMERICAN"

"We non-Klansmen have been for all these months living among men we had supposed to be our friends and yet all that time they were oath-bound to divert our business from us to their brother Klansmen.

"The fact that we were members with them in the same Masonic lodge and kneeling around the same Masonic altar and they calling us brothers was of no consequence. Many of them have been taking communion at the same church altar with non-Klansmen, they being all the time obligated to boycott non-Klansmen and divert their business, upon which the bread and meat of their families depended, to

their own brother Klansmen, even though they did not know their brother Klansman as well as they did their church friends. Some of them were visiting in the homes of their non-Klansmen friends and receiving visits from their non-Klansmen friends without ever disclosing to them the conspiracy into which they had entered against them.

"The unfair, the un-American, the unmanly part of this obligation is that this warfare has been conducted on us secretly during all these months. They have declined to let us know that they are members of the Ku Klux Klan. They even now decline to disclose their membership, seeking to put it beyond our power to retaliate. In other words, they are trying to play a safe game. They are waylaying, bushwhacking and assassinating our business. At least that is what they have sworn to do. All the time we have been thinking them our personal and business friends.

"Now, mark you, this is not a charge that I make against them or that any non-Klansman makes against them. It is simply the plain wording of their oath, which binds them to obey the instructions of the Imperial Wizard and the plain instructions given them by that Imperial Wizard.

"I cannot bring myself to believe that all of these Klansmen, or, indeed, any considerable portion of the honest fellows who have joined it, have understood this situation. I know some of them whom I think to be Klansmen. Many of them I have esteemed to be manly men. I have thought that if they had a grudge against me or anyone else, or were seeking to do me an injury of any kind, they would stand out in the open and tell me so and give me an opportunity of defense. For that reason I believe that, when this matter is directed to their attention, they will desert the Klan, because they will know that the warfare is an unholy one. I shall continue so to believe until I know they have refused.

"The Imperial Wizard's plan was not only to set up a real empire, but by conquest to make us his subjects therein. The conquest was to be made, first, by taking in all those who were eligible and wished to join and then have those war on the rest of us who are eligible, so as to compel us to join, or else see our business dwindle and disappear. The gain to the Imperial Wizard and his organizers would be the \$10.00 a head that we paid as klektoken, or initiation fee, when we go in and then such additional taxes as the Imperial Wizard and his coterie levy on us. A fine scheme, that. The most systematic and widespread boycott that was ever practiced on the American continent.

"Labor organizations have instituted boycotts because they complained of alleged wrongs, but they did not conceal their names. The public knew who were doing the boycotting. Here these people are not boycotting us because of any wrong we have committed against them, but because we are exercising the American privilege of not becoming Ku Klux. * * *

CHAPTER VIII

HOW AMERICANS DENOUNCE THE KLAN

It is expected that the Ku Klux Klan with the record it has made for itself, a part of which is recited in the fore-

going pages, would not receive the endorsement of commendation of those citizens who have the true welfare of the nation, state and city at heart.

And this has proved singularly true; not one leader in the political, social, cultured, military or economic life of the community has come out in favor of the masked usurper. On the contrary, leaders in every walk of life, the outstanding statesmen, ministers, jurists, editors, labor leaders, merchants, bankers, fraternalists, American Legion posts; in fact, men of all creeds and shades of political and religious belief, have universally condemned the Ku Klux Klan. Its only apologists have been its paid lecturers and the "gutter press" which fatten off it.

Appended are a few typical comments:

WARREN G. HARDING, President of the United States, directed a reply to an inquiry in which he stated that he heartily disapproves of the organization (the Ku Klux Klan) and has repeatedly expressed himself to this effect.

MORRIS SHEPPARD, United States Senator from Texas:

"Human liberty will perish unless we preserve the safeguard of the law."

O. B. COLQUITT, former Governor of Texas:

"We cannot tolerate public officials who are dominated by a secret political organization whose purpose is to control elections. The oath of office of a public official or juror overrides the oath of a Ku Klux Klansman. I am glad I am able to join hands with * * * other good citizens to see that liberty in this State remains unpolluted by any Imperial Wizard."

An official opinion of the Attorney General of Texas, written by W. A. Keeling, then First Assistant Attorney General, and submitted by Governor Pat Neff, at the Governor's request, on October 15, 1921, follows:

ALL ARE GUILTY

"All efforts of persons under any name they may have assumed to better the moral conditions of the country through the medium of threats, fear, intimidation and personal violence is a violation of the spirit and letter of the Constitution and laws of Texas, and each and every act done and performed by them carrying out or furthering any illegal purpose, or which has for its object the doing of any act forbidden by law, would involve the guilt of all parties having knowledge or a general purpose to do illegal acts, or the actual knowledge of an illegal act.

"If any order, organization or body of individuals agree and confederate among themselves to do any act which would be in violation

of the laws of the country, every act of every individual composing the conspiracy in the furtherance of the conspiracy would be illegal.

"This applies to the masked parades, where such parade is a part of and in furtherance of a purpose to do some act which would be a violation of the law."

Continuing, the opinion specifically mentions the sending of notices, the appearance of masked persons on the highways and other specific acts, which are termed in violation of Texas laws which are cited by the opinion. Regarding the sending of notices, it says:

"This is in direct violation of Article 1189 of the Penal Code punishing whitecapping."

Concluding, the opinion says:

"It is generally understood and commonly accepted as true that certain individuals, styling themselves the Ku Klux Klan, has proclaimed for its general purposes, among other things, the betterment of moral conditions of the country, not through the officers and courts, but through a system of intimidation and fear, and in some cases violence. This plan of co-operation is generally evidenced by displaying of mottoes in public places and during parades."

A MISTAKE, SAYS MAYOR

SAWNIE ALDREDGE, Mayor of Dallas, says:

"The Ku Klux Klan is a mistake and should have no place among us. * * * The Ku Klux Klan has brought discord into this, a peaceful city; has set neighbor against neighbor and has fanned the flames of prejudice. An organization which brings forth such fruit is wrong and should not exist."

WILLIAM M. AINSWORTH, Bishop, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, says:

"Many of the principles of the Ku Klux Klan may be patriotic and worthy, but there can be no doubt of the fact that it assumes to be a sort of masked monitor of society, and as such it has threatened, pursued, castigated and run men out of communities where they lived, without reference to their rights in law, the established procedure of civilization. * * * Any masked and sheeted and secret court is a travesty upon justice and has no place in a civilized land. * * * It is particularly a serious thing for any minister of Jesus Christ to lend his influence and prostitute his pulpit to the promotion of such dangerous propaganda. If it is permitted to go on unchecked, and preachers, churches and charities continue to receive the Klan's anonymous aid it will not be long before masked men will assume to dictate to the pulpit what it shall preach, and threaten to run men from their pulpits who refuse to do their way."

Dr. C. L. DEBOW, pastor First Methodist Church, Dallas, says:

"The democracy of the United States is not working as it should when there is such an organization in existence, which perpetrates

disgraceful floggings and other flagrant violations of the law as have occurred recently in Dallas."

"HANDMAID OF ANARCHY"

JAMES C. WILSON, Judge Federal District Court for the Northern District of Texas:

"The Ku Klux Klan is part of the crime wave and is the first cousin and handmaid of anarchy. It is a slander for the Klan to say it is for law and order and the home. It is for anarchy and disorder. There is no other way in the world in which a man can violate so many statutes as to join the Ku Klux Klan and to meet in its hall and plan a flogging. What will stop the Ku Klux Klan? Education will help, as we must get the idea out of our heads that there are good and bad mobs. The end of the Klan is coming because the American people are not going to stand for such damned foolishness."

DENOUNCED BY MASONS

ANDREW L. RANDELL, past Grand Master Masonic lodges of Texas:

"An organization such as the Ku Klux Klan which, for whatever seemingly good purpose, undertakes to set aside and supercede the legal agencies of the State, to pass upon the conduct of the citizens and inflict penalties therefor, to become at its own sweet will a secret and irresponsible criminal court and a night-riding executioner of its own decrees, is opposed to and subversive of the American system, under which every man has a constitutional right to a fair trial by jury and to the possession of his liberty and property until deprived thereof by due process of law. The method of such an organization, even though it may be intended to accomplish good, if allowed to continue will in time destroy the American respect for the sanctity and majesty of law, and set up the lawless method of the mob in its stead. It will supercede the sober public judgment of the courts with the hasty private judgments of the Klan; to substitute fear of the mob for respect for the courts, the order of the Cyclops for the decree of the magistrate; to set up before the world the blacksnake whip, the bucket of tar and the surgeon's knife as the emblems of American methods and American justice.

"It will set up within this constitutional and representative government of the masses an inner, secret super-government of a class, and that class ruled, under the pains and penalties of punishment, by the individual or small group of individuals controlling the activities of the Klan. If carried to its logical conclusion it will substitute a secret autocracy for a people's democracy.

KLAN IS NON-MASONIC

"Neither the Ku Klux Klan nor any other order or organization is Masonic unless recognized as such by proper grand lodge authority. Nor will the tying of the Ku Klux Klan to Masonry by claims of Masonic membership be permitted or tolerated for one

moment. Masonry is not responsible in the smallest degree for the Ku Klux Klan or any other non-Masonic and Masonic organization, and our fraternity must not and shall not be made to stand as sponsor or surety therefor at the bar of public opinion."

BAPTIST CONVENTION OPPOSES KLAN

THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION, in session Monday, May 22, 1922, at Jacksonville, Fla., adopted resolutions, declaring itself "unalterably opposed to individuals or organizations taking the enforcement of law into their own hands;" asserting that the convention believes "in the principle of Americanism, which gives every man charged with crime the right of a fair trial by jury, with the power of calling witnesses," and urging pastors of the South "not to become aligned with or to give approval to any movement or organization that violates or tends to violate the sacred and fundamental principles of the American Government."

BRINGS CONTEMPT FOR LAW

GOVERNOR PARKER, of Louisiana, in a proclamation to peace officers of the State:

"In view of the repeated complaints which have come to me from various sections of the State, I now call upon all officers of the State to suppress with an iron hand the evil of Ku Kluxism wherever it raises its head, and at the approaching session of the Legislature will appeal to that body in the name of order and good government to enact a law making it a felony for any man to ride behind a mask, to drag the good name of this State into the mire, to bring contempt for law and civilization."

RICHARD H. HANNA, deputy of the Supreme Council of Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite Freemasonry, in "The Bulletin," October 25, 1921:

"True Masonry insists upon just laws, rigorously and impartially enforced and is ready at all times to assist the constituted authorities in that enforcement, but never to violate the laws in the enforcement progress. This Ku Klux Klan is to be avoided as one would a pestilence."

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