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Teaching hate in the name of good

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Teaching Hate in the Name of Good

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JAMES MADISON UNIVERSITY

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Abstract

Hate groups are often portrayed as the province of men. Yet wives have not only supported their husbands in these groups, they have had their own organizations. These groups proclaim that their goal is not the propagation of hate, but some higher purpose, such as protecting America from that which is un-American. The United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) sought to preserve the memory of the Confederacy, through memorials, parades, and the teaching of catechisms to the children ensuring that the right history was conveyed. Among many things, the children were taught to hate Northerners. Later during the 1920s, many of the UDC joined the newly formed Women of the Ku Klux Klan (WKKK.)

This paper will examine why normal, educated white women joined first the UDC then the WKKK, becoming spreaders of hate in the name of good. The major sources will be the primary sources, the publications of the UDC and WKKK, as well as the newspapers of the KKK. The significant secondary sources for the UDC are Karen Cox, *Dixie's Daughter: the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*; Drew Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*, and Charles Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: the Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920*. For the WKKK, Kathleen Blee, *Women of the Ku Klux Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s*; Arnold Rice, *The Ku Klux Klan in American Politics*, and Wyn Wade, *The Fiery Cross: the Ku Klux Klan in America*.

Common elements among the women in both groups: no regret or shame in having belonged, along with the ability to dissemble over their complicity in the ongoing lashings, lynchings, arson and the ruining of businesses and reputations. They

believed their organizations were performing a public good, that they were showing their patriotism as well as defending morality and God's divine law of natural order. Hate can be addictive, especially when it is nurtured by family, friends and associates. For both the UDC and WKKK, the end justified the means.

Chapter One

The Civil War and its Aftermath in the South

In today's United States, the only pictures of war and its slaughter are seen on television news, sanitized to show no bodies of U.S. service-members killed or even the bodies of civilians killed by bombs. There is no blood, no mess, no gore. At most, wounded soldiers will be shown bandaged and covered with a blanket, carried on a stretcher by other soldiers. It is forbidden to even film the caskets returning to the U.S.A., though now families may be present at the arrival. Under these circumstances, it is almost impossible to comprehend what the women and children witnessed and endured during the Civil War.¹ At the time of the war, there were no cemeteries set up to handle mass casualties, no on-hand disaster-relief or medical relief sufficient to care for hundreds and sometimes thousands of wounded.² It was up to the women, the elderly men left behind, and the children to care for the wounded and bury the dead.

In the times of the ancient Greeks and Romans, when battles lasted more than one day it was understood, part of the "rules of war," that at dusk a temporary truce would be called. While there was still enough light, soldiers would go through the battle field to carry back their wounded and when possible, bury their dead. At dawn the next day, the battle would resume, with the field cleared. But the Civil War introduced "modern warfare," in which those being defeated retreated, leaving behind the dead and whatever wounded who could not keep up. If the civilians nearby could reach the wounded in time, they might be saved. But those left in the battlefield with the dead either died of their wounds, or were killed by the wild

animals that roamed at night. The civilians (including the children) witnessed feral pigs eating the bodies. If the town was small and the laborers few, they would not be able to bury all of the bodies before decomposition began. Rather than be able to give individual, proper burials, mass graves were made. Unless the soldier had pinned a note to their clothing or had their name embroidered on their uniform, there was no way to identify the person.³ The fact that honored loved ones were not being treated with the respect due to the dead was repugnant to the civilians, yet unavoidable. Given lack of identification, often there was no way to notify the next of kin.⁴

Dealing with the wounded and the bodies were just one part of the hardships faced by the families left behind during the war, especially in the south. The women did their best to maintain households without servants, hired farm hands, even as they cared for the children and elderly. As the war dragged on, food became scarce and starvation became not just a threat but a reality in many cases. In their diaries women expressed being overwhelmed, frustrated and frightened. Given the reality of the mass graves, they worried that their husband or other kin were similarly buried, without the family being notified. (Could he already be dead?) There was no relief in sight. Towards the end many wrote about experiencing symptoms we would now label as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder: numbness, disconnected from any sensation of pleasure, yet also hyper-vigilant, on alert to any sign of the enemy.⁵

The children experienced many of the same hardships, with two additional elements: 1) it was up to them to be on watch for the coming of the enemy, so they could alert their mother. Rather than be protected, it was now up to them to protect.

2) Unlike other generations, their protected, innocent, enjoyable childhood was taken from them, along with hope for a wonderful future. They were often physically abused by their elders out of sheer stress and frustration. One mother lamented in her diary whipping all of her children, even the ten month old infant. With the children on the lookout for enemies and the women doing what had been men's or servants' work, their whole world was turned upside down.⁶

Chapter Two

The Birth of the United Daughters of the Confederacy

When the war ended, the effects remained. The psychological and emotional wounds did not heal for many of the adults (military and civilian) and the children. It must be remembered that these were the first Americans to have lost a war, a war that soon came to be viewed as holy by the South.⁷ It was on this foundation that such organizations as The United Daughters of the Confederacy were built. Survivors gathered to give and receive support. They shared common bonds of suffering, loss, and devastation to their way of life and sense of order. It could be said that some experienced what today is called "survivor's guilt." They needed to know that those who had died had not died in vain; nor should they be forgotten. Part of the survivors' healing was to now have a higher purpose, to ensure that the battles fought, the suffering endured, and those who had died would be remembered, and remembered correctly as befitting the Confederacy.

First, they united for the creation of Confederate cemeteries, with the bodies from the mass graves disinterred and reburied separately with proper ceremony. What started the movement was the unmarked mass graves being discovered by farmers when they plowed fields. This was so repugnant to the locals that they joined together to fund the acquisition of land and the building of a sufficient number of coffins for individual burials. As word spread, groups formed to discover where the dead were buried, and to have them placed in Southern soil. (This meant having those known buried in Northern cemeteries being moved as well.) From cemeteries the UDC expanded its support of remembering the Confederacy by

gathering funds for the erection of monuments in public squares⁸ and the creation of rituals and "national" holidays (such as the Confederate Veterans Day).⁹ Within the rituals created the revised history of the Lost Cause was sanctified. Southern clergy before, during and after the war aided in this sanctification.¹⁰ In these memorials, the defeat/ "overwhelming" of the South and the deaths of the soldiers are mourned, even as there are elements of celebration that "The Cause" lived on. Perhaps the best example is personified in a winning float in a Confederate Veterans Day Parade. The float was sponsored by a casket company. On it is a coffin, with a little boy dressed as a Confederate soldier and a little girl dressed as an antebellum Southern belle, both standing proudly and smiling alongside. The large plaque at the side of the coffin proclaimed that the dead and the Cause will never be forgotten.

During the speeches and eulogies, the participants of the war (wives as well as soldiers) were transformed.¹¹ Jefferson Davis was at first despised for losing the war, but after his imprisonment Thanks to the writings and public speeches of his wife after his death, he became a martyr for The Cause. Even though Major General George Pickett was relieved with cause by General Robert E. Lee, after the war his wife strove to change his image into that of a hero. In her letters, speeches and biographies she sanctified her husband. Instead of being portrayed as a military disaster, in her revision of history "Pickett's Charge" became a glorious, heroic event. As Leslie Gordon gently observed regarding Mrs. Pickett's revisions, "Pain and loss were indeed her lot, but she turned them around to recreate the life and marriage she wanted instead of the one she endured."¹²

From the infantry up through the highest ranks, the Confederate soldiers were "the bravest of the brave," who never drank or gambled, let alone raped, plundered or pillaged. To a man, they were honorable, brave and virtuous Christians, who did their duty. As the myth developed with the help of the clergy, the war became a holy war, as the noble South fought on behalf of virtue, Christian morality and a cultured society. It was the Northerners who were dishonorable, who raped, plundered and pillaged, then later gave false testimony about the war. If the Southern culture was maintained, then those who had suffered and died for it did not do so in vain.

This was the foundational purpose of the U.D.C., and continues to be so to this day. Each of the goals listed support the general purpose. From the UDC website (Nov. 2015):¹³

The General Organization of the United Daughters of the Confederacy was founded in Nashville, Tennessee, on September 10, 1894, by Mrs. Caroline Meriwether Goodlett of Tennessee as Founder and Mrs. Lucian H. (Anna Davenport) Raines of Georgia as Co- Founder. The UDC is the outgrowth of numerous ladies' hospital associations, sewing societies and knitting circles that worked throughout the South during the War Between the States to supply the needs of the soldiers. After the War, these organizations kept pace with the changing times and evolved into cemetery, memorial, monument and Confederate Home Associations and Auxiliaries to Camps of Confederate Veterans.

The UDC was incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia on July 18, 1919. As stated in the Articles of Incorporation, the Objectives of the society are Historical, Benevolent, Educational, Memorial and Patriotic and include the following goals:

- 1 To honor the memory of those who served and those who fell in the service of the Confederate States.
- 2 To protect, preserve and mark the places made historic by Confederate valor.
- 3 To collect and preserve the material for a truthful history of the War Between the States.
- 4 To record the part taken by Southern women in patient endurance of hardship and patriotic devotion during the struggle and in untiring efforts after the

War during the reconstruction of the South.

- 5 To fulfill the sacred duty of benevolence toward the survivors and toward those dependent upon them.
- 6 To assist descendants of worthy Confederates in securing proper education.
- 7 To cherish the ties of friendship among the members of the Organization.

[It should be noted that in all UDC publications, "South" and "Southern" all always capitalized, as befitting a separate nation.]

Goals numbers one, three, and six are especially relevant when considering the one activity not mentioned in the opening paragraph, though hinted at in the goals: the creation, publication and use of the catechisms for the Children of the Confederacy, a sub-group within the UDC organization. The Children of the Confederacy has similar goals under their Purpose:¹⁴

The Children of the Confederacy is an auxiliary of the United Daughters of the Confederacy consisting of young people from infancy through the General Convention after their eighteenth birthday who are descendants of men or women who honorably served the Confederate States of America in the Army, Navy or Civil capacity.

We also seek:

- To honor and perpetuate the memory and deeds of high principles of the men and women of the Confederacy.
- To observe properly all Confederate Memorial Days.
- To strengthen the ties of friendship among members of the Organization.
- To serve society through civic affairs and to perpetuate National patriotism as our ancestors once defended their beliefs.

As will be shown later when examining the catechisms, the 'national patriotism' while sounding proper as stated, actually refers to being patriotic to the Southern nation. To "honor and perpetuate the memory and deeds" is in reference to the revised history as presented in the catechisms, and that which supports the Lost Cause mythology.

In 1907, Dr. John Lesslie Hall, professor of English and of General History at the College of William and Mary, published *Half-Hours in Southern History*, to give the salient features of "Southern heroism and achievement, and to state rapidly the South's side in the long controversy between the sections." (*Preface.*) At the end he summarizes, stating he wrote as a "Southern man for Southern youth. ... Love for the South, admiration for her heroes, belief in her sincerity and in the eternal justice of her cause - all this we have taught to the best of our ability and with all the earnestness of conviction. 'If this be treason, make the most of it.'"¹⁵

The Lost Cause

Hall's book contained all of the elements of what has come to be known as The Lost Cause: the South's innocence and victimization in relation to the war; the Confederacy's moral, righteous, even holy victory against aggressive outside sources despite their military defeat; the claim that the Confederates were not traitors but heroes, the true defenders of the Constitution; that slavery was a mere issue but not a cause of the war, and finally, the South was not defeated so much as overwhelmed by numbers and lack of resources. The fact that the "bravest of the brave" whose leaders were "the best the world had ever seen" was proven by the sheer fact that they held out as long as they did against overwhelming odds. All of this combined made white Southerners a chosen people, superior to and set apart from outsiders. These elements were found in the beliefs underlying UDC's purpose, goals, speeches and actions. The Lost Cause became a form of religion, for it gave purpose to life and meaning to the traumatic outcome of the war:

The cultural dream replaced the political dream: the South's kingdom was to be of culture, not of politics. Religion was at the heart of this dream, and the history of the attitude known as the Lost Cause was the story of the use of the past as the basis for a Southern religious-moral identity, an identity as a chosen people. The Lost Cause was therefore the story of the linking of two profound human forces, religion and history. It was a Southern civil religion, which tied together Christian churches and Southern culture.¹⁶

From almost the beginning of its existence, the UDC strove not just to ensure memory through monuments and ceremonies, but also vindicating the Confederacy. In the idyll that was presented as the Old South, the Lost Cause myths gave white Southerners "a sense of pride; such myths also provided a story line in which men and women, black and white each played a significant role. The leading characters in this fiction were elite, white and wealthy, the planters and plantation mistresses. The Old South was recalled as a region led by benevolent masters who were supported by genteel women, both of whom were rewarded by the faithfulness of slaves."¹⁷ Before reconciliation with the North would be acceptable, the UDC and many Southerners insisted that two conditions must be met by the North: the terms "rebel" and "traitor" were not to be used to characterize the Confederate men, and the North must acknowledge that the South had fought to defend the Constitution, not slavery - "thus making patriots out of the defeated."¹⁸ (Given they also insisted that "Civil War" was the wrong name for the war, this dual-nation yet single-patriotism concept was a conundrum for the North.) Such conditions were mandatory if the Confederacy was to be vindicated.

Vindication was essential if the South was to reconstitute itself as a people. They had been shattered by the war. From the Reconstruction period onwards, they had to reform as a people. For that to happen, four interrelated requirements had to

be met: 1) a collective history created in public memory, 2) a shared identity, which included how they were different from others - what made "us" versus "them." 3) A common location or geographical continuity to take pride in and defend, and 4) unified action - the pursuit of common goals.¹⁹ All of these were (are) supported and supplemented by ceremonies, and symbols such as a flag.

The UDC's promotion of elements of the Lost Cause, their creation of new rituals and ceremonies, the revising of history and the teaching of these to the children all contributed to resurrecting the Southern nation. They were committed to memory-making. The tools used to support these revisions were the recollections of relatives who reminisced about their experiences many years later, the speeches and writings such as those of Mrs. Davis and Mrs. Pickett, and most importantly, the speeches the National President and the National General Historian gave each year at the annual UDC convention. These two leaders often were the ones who wrote the catechisms, with the answer-guide referring back to a speech for the correct answer.²⁰

This re-education of the public extended into the public schools for white children. There, the children would often have UDC members as their school teachers. The Confederate Flag was in many Southern classrooms, as well as flattering pictures of Confederate heroes. Even the textbooks used affirmed the Lost Cause.²¹ The UDC monitored the textbooks and would protest against any that contained unflattering portrayals of the South before, during or after the war. Such was the power of the UDC, school boards as well as public library boards were loath to provoke their wrath. Only the "true" history was allowed to be presented, the

"sacred ideals" of the Lost Cause upheld. The UDC ensured that the indoctrination in the Lost Cause would be comprehensive, encountered and reinforced in almost all aspects of community life.

The Catechisms of the Children of the Confederacy

As the generation who had actually participated in the war aged and died, the need for passing on the history and culture to subsequent generations became apparent. The "new men" of the Sons of the Confederacy were more interested in business and politics than in the maintenance of monuments and the passing on of the legacy. It became the duty of the UDC to educate both the girls and boys of the South. But it should be noted that membership in the UDC tended to be of the elite ("to the manor born"), not the blue-collar or even the middle class. Consequently the children of the Children of the Confederacy came from the homes of Southern leadership. (The other Southern Children would learn about the Cause and all of the essentials through the education they received in the white schools of the South.) This select group of children met weekly, from the age of six years through eighteen.

The CoC memorized the various catechisms used during the week. Coming in, the children would salute the Confederate flag, then begin the challenge of earning points for a prize. The first one to give the correct answer to the leader's question from the catechism would earn three points. If they answered wrong, the one who answered correctly would get two points. If none had the correct answer, then the leader would allow them to check their catechism. The first to find and give the correct answer would get one point. Not only must the answer be correct: there

were movements required with the answer, such as standing up from the desk when talking about the flag, or pledging to support and defend the Southern culture. The mixture of weekly competitions, physical gestures, and the social aspect was a very effective form of indoctrination. Given they did this weekly from age six to eighteen, it had a lasting effect throughout their lives.

Each catechism had three main purposes and elements: convey the true history (including the names of key heroic people, battles and dates), give the children answers to use against those who challenged the truth, and nurture a devotion and commitment to the defense and passing on of The Cause. Samples of each purpose will be considered next, with the questions and answers taken from various catechisms. (It should be noted that while catechisms were written by members in various Southern states, they often shared or based their catechisms on others. Thus there is much overlap in questions and answers. These catechisms were republished through the 1940s or later.

True History

From the *U.D.C. Catechism for Children*, by Cornelia Branch Stone, arranged for Veuve Jefferson Davis Chapter U.D.C. of Galveston, Texas (1904):²²

Opening questions (page 3):

What causes led to the war between the States, from 1861 to 1865?

The disregard, on the part of the States of the North, for the rights of the Southern or slave-holding States.

How was this shown?

By the passage of laws in the Northern States annulling the rights of the people of the South -- rights that were given to them by the Constitution of the United States.

What were these rights?

The right to regulate their own affairs and to hold slaves as property.

Page 5:

How were slaves treated?

With great kindness and care in nearly all cases, a cruel master being rare, and lost the respect of his neighbors if he treated his slaves badly. Self-interest would have prompted good treatment if a higher feeling of humanity had not.

What was the feeling of the slaves towards their master?

They were faithful and devoted and were always ready and willing to serve them.

How did they behave during the war?

They nobly protected and cared for the wives of soldiers in the field, and widows without protectors; though often prompted by enemies of the South to burn and plunder the homes of their masters, they were always true and loyal.

In *A Confederate Catechism for Southern Children*, by Mrs. John P. Allison²³ for the Children of the Confederacy in Newton, North Carolina.²⁴

Page 1, opening questions:

Why are you called children of the Confederacy?

Because we are the children and grandchildren and descendants of Confederate Soldiers and Statesmen.

Who are Confederate Soldiers?

Those Southern men, who fought for Southern rights, for the homes and firesides of our dear Southland.

What do you mean by Confederacy?

The Southern States, which seceded from the Union and became a Separate Government.

Page 2:

Is this government still in existence?

No.

Why?

Because it was overpowered by larger numbers and forced to surrender to the United States government.

Whom did the Confederate States fight?

The Northern States.

What was this great war called?

The war between the States.

Is it incorrect to call it the 'Civil War'?

Yes -- a civil war is a war between subjects of the same government, and this was a war between two separate governments, and therefore not a civil war.

What did the North and the South fight about?

The North would not grant us constitutional rights nor would they let us alone. The South could no longer submit to the tyranny and oppression of the North and was obliged to fight.

Page 3

What is meant here by constitutional rights?

The right to self government called States rights, as set forth in the Constitution of the United States.

If the right of self-government called 'States Rights' is in accordance to the constitution of the United States, why did the North refuse us these rights?

Because the North could not get on without us; they needed the products of our soil, our brave men for soldiers, and our wise men for counsel, and knowing that there were only 13 Southern States and 22 Northern States, they felt they could domineer over us, rule us unjustly and compel us to submit to it.

Was slavery the cause of the war?

It was one of the issues, but the matter of States Rights was the cause of the war.

This text was from the *Catechism On The History of the Confederate States of America*, arranged for the Children of the Confederacy Chapters by Decca Lamar West (1934). In the Preface of this catechism, it is noted that this catechism won a national award in a competition by the U.D.C.. "Because it is accurate, true and concise, we recommend it most highly to all State Text Book Boards and to all

teachers in all schools as supplementary material in the study of the history of America."²⁵

Page 18-19:

How many years did the war last?

Four years; and there is no record in all the world's history of an army that endured more privations with greater fortitude or fought more bravely than the soldiers of the Confederacy.

Why do the people of the South honor him [Jefferson Davis] so greatly?

First, for his integrity of character as a man and patriot, and because he suffered great martyrdom for their cause.²⁶

Were the people of the South punished for engaging in the war?

Yes; by losing nearly all that they possessed, and further by having a horde of men called "carpet-baggers" sent down South to rule over them and rob them of the little left to them by the ruins of war.

Did the Confederate States have any army or navy at their command at first, or any preparation for war?

None; they had hoped to 'depart in peace.'

In the samples of questions above, the South is justified in seceding, and shown to be a peace-loving people of integrity, the victims of Northern abuse. They just wanted their constitutional rights, which the North had violated. They did not want war, and were unprepared for it. Though slavery was "an issue" it was not the cause: proof of that was how well the slaves and masters cared for each other. Slaves did not run away, but defended their owners home and family. The South may have experienced a military set-back with the surrender of Lee's army, but it was not defeated, just overwhelmed. The South and its cause lived on.

To Protect and Pass On The Truth

All of the catechisms have questions asking about defending the Southern truth and cause, complete with pledging to do so. Though many examples could be cited, the questions and answers written by Mrs. Allison say it all.²⁷

Were our Confederate Soldiers and our relatives who fought in the Confederate army traitors?

No! No! No!

Who says so?

The Yankees say so, and teach it in their schools, and want it taught to Southern children.

Who is a traitor?

One who betrays a trust, one who is unfaithful to one's country.

Do you like to think of your fathers, grandfathers and relatives who fought in this great war as traitors?

No.

Then what are you going to do about it? Do you think it is right to sit in silence, and hear that our brave Southern soldiers were traitors?

No. We will deny the false charge and prove it by history.

How are you going to get true history?

By having histories taught in our schools, written by just people, by joining Confederate organizations and listening to what our leaders tell us.

Why is it important for Southern children to learn these truths?

Because when the older people pass away we can take their places, and teach the truth, and be proud of our Confederate ancestry.

.....

What does it mean to be patriotic?

To love one's native land and to stand up for its rights.

Do you want to be patriotic?

Yes. I would be ashamed not to be.

Do you love your native South, then?

Yes.

Were Confederate Soldiers brave?

Yes, the bravest in the world, history says so.

The final question and action in the catechism (page 8):

Do you love your chapter?

Yes.

All who intend to be faithful to this chapter, work for the Confederate cause, and always stand up for their native South, hold up your hands.

Patriotism then is to the Nation of the South, also known as the beloved Southland. All children should be ashamed if they are not patriotic. A patriot defends their land, and the truth about that land. They do not sit in silence while lies are said. What is a lie? That which is different from what your chapter leader has taught, and which is contained in the Catechisms. Almost by definition then, Northerners are liars.

Lost Cause Movies

If you were a child in the South in 1915, all that had been taught in school and in the CoC meetings was affirmed when the silent movie *Birth of a Nation* was produced. Two UDC Presidents - Rutherford and Allison -- stated not only that it was accurate, it showed only half of the horrors of Reconstruction. In their view, the movie was right to portray the KKK as white knights, the saviors of the Southland. Even the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, praised it and spoke of his pride as a Southerner to see how for once the true history was shown. "It is like writing history with lightning, and my only regret is that it is all so terribly true."²⁸

Then in 1939 *Gone With The Wind* was released in its movie form. It is the Lost Cause, in celluloid format. Margaret Mitchell was raised in Georgia, and grew up listening to her relatives talk about the war.²⁹ One of her earliest memories was riding on a horse with a former Confederate soldier, retracing a route he had taken

during the war. She tried to be accurate in her portrayal of history, but it is definitely history from the Southern vantage point. Only one Yankee appears in the movie, and he is a deserter who the heroine shoots (to the cheers of Southern audiences when the movie was first released.) The movie became an international sensation. It was one of Adolf Hitler's favorite movies.

The UDC was so impressed they gave Margaret Mitchell an award for Services Rendered. Mitchell deserved the award, as her book and the movie adaption spread the teaching of the Lost Cause around the world. To this day, when surveyed, people in the North as well as the South say that when they think of the antebellum South, they imagine it as shown in the movie. It was a beautiful, peaceful, cultured and refined time, an idyll now "gone with the wind." The slaves were happy, most of the whites were rich. (In the movie and book, no white shopkeeper or other working-class are shown, until after the war.) Then the war came along, and destroyed it all. But just as Scarlett stood proud overlooking her land at the end, so too the Spirit of the South lives on and one day will rise again.

The movie was made for entertainment - true. But it also was propaganda. It nourishes the myth of the Lost Cause to this day, for unlike the *Birth of a Nation*, it is still viewed as a classic, one of the best movies ever made.

Summation

If the sole purpose of the UDC was to keep a version of the memory of the Confederacy alive, with the help of *Gone with the Wind*, they achieved their mission. However as the Industrial Revolution developed, along with a post-war depression,

community life as many knew it started to change rapidly despite the UDC's efforts to preserve Southern culture. Their culture was under attack from all sides, as jobs were lost, people moved North to find employment, outsiders moved into the South. Apart from their presence in school boards the UDC lost influence as communities and society changed. Even so, though the catechism may or may not be still in use today (they cannot be found on the UDC website), their effects are still being felt through the teachings and activism of such white supremacist groups as the Ku Klux Klan, which rose again in power in the 1920s, called "the second wave" of the Klan. Due to the secret nature of the Klan, membership lists are not available to outsiders. It would be interesting to know how many of the UDC's male students joined the Klan, and how many of the females, along with the adult UDC members, joined the Women of the Klan when in formed. They had been taught to stand up and defend against enemies of their culture and the "true truths". With the turmoil of the 1920s, many would have felt duty-bound to join the Ku Klux Klan.

Chapter Three

Society in Turmoil

Starting just before the Civil War and continuing through the next several decades, across the country Americans had to deal with more than the war and recovering from it. The blue collar and middle class were being challenged on many levels: economically, socially, and what many Protestants viewed as challenges to accepted morality. Immigrants were arriving in unprecedented numbers, in a "great wave" that saw approximately 600,000 arriving annually. (In the period 1901 to 1910, over eight million arrived, compared with under four million the previous decade.)³⁰ The population was doubling, but respectably-paying jobs decreased due to the Industrial Revolution. Though there were low-paying jobs available on assembly lines, fewer higher-wage craftsmen were needed. White craftsmen now found themselves competing against unskilled immigrants who were willing to work for less pay.

Many white Protestant men along the East coast and as far west as Chicago chose to combat these threats to their livelihood and way of life by forming various secret brotherhoods to enact political influence. They were labeled "Know-Nothings," for the members were ordered to say they "knew nothing" if ever asked about the brotherhood. However, they could admit to their support of the short-lived American Party (also known as the Native American Party), which was sponsored by various Know-Nothing groups. At its peak (1855-1860), it managed get elected several governors and members of Congress, including Henry Gardner to be governor of Massachusetts.

Henry Gardner proclaimed himself a tough candidate who would get things done and block the corruptive influences of immigrants. In 1856 he won 63% of the vote for his first three-year term as governor of Massachusetts, running on an anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant and anti-corruption platform. He promised to "Americanize America."³¹ He brought about the deportation of over a thousand "illegal" aliens, banned foreigners from the police forces and banned ethnic militias. The legislature passed an "Anti-Aid" constitutional amendment, which outlawed schools run by "any religious sect."³² The teaching of foreign languages was made illegal, and the governor even tried to have the Latin inscription on the speaker's podium in the Massachusetts House of Representatives removed, because it was not in English.³³

In that same year, medical doctor Samuel S. Busey published a book warning America of the dangers immigrants of all backgrounds brought with them, and the economic burden they caused. *Immigration: Its Evils and Consequences* was written "to present to the American people in a convenient form the 'facts and figures' in relation to immigration," the facts of which substantiated the reality of the evil in their midst. In his view, his presentation was unbiased, as his "especial aim to avoid all mere partisan statements and any comment upon any fact which was calculated to the evil or give to it a coloring not justified by the data..."³⁴

Starting with the Founding Fathers, especially Thomas Jefferson, he argued that from the beginning the dangers of immigration were acknowledged.

A government, to be lasting, durable, uniform in policy and its institutions, must be homogeneous. This is a political truism. A government, to be homogeneous, must preserve the homogeneity of its citizens, of its people, and the homogeneity of a people can only be preserved by the continuance or multiplication of its kind by generation or successive production, and there is not in nature any spontaneous

generation, but all comes by propagation. Immigration is then, inconsistent with the preservation of the homogeneity of a nation or of a government...³⁵

He continues on by showing how immigrants bring crime, thereby burdening the justice system, and almost by definition are paupers, consequently burdening the social welfare institutions and society as a whole. The education system is overwhelmed as well: "So far as knowledge of our institutions is concerned, the entire foreign population may be, and should be classed as ignorant, illiterate and uneducated." He shows the cost per student, and compares literacy rates between native and immigrant citizens as proof of the burden on the schools, made worse by the fact that the foreigners consistently had larger families than the native citizens. But then he contradicts himself on the same page, making the claim that the foreigners are refusing the generous gift of a free education:

Our schools are open to all, free to all, and in most States free of expense to the parent or the child, yet the foreign population refuse to avail themselves of these advantages, refuse the offer of a free government, to educate their offspring. It is not only important, but alarming; it evinces the tenacity with which this class of our population adheres to the habits, customs, and superstitions which characterize foreign countries, and unfits them for the exercise of political franchises in this. ³⁶

He concludes his chapter by summing up some data from the 1850 census, concluding that "Immigration is the source or cause of much of the largest proportion of ignorance, blind and superstitious ignorance, which is spread over this land, marring the beauty of its institutions and clogging the wheels of a free government, which can only move regularly and systematically when guided by intelligent beings."³⁷ He ends his book by warning of the dangers of having such people work for the federal government. They should not be allowed to vote, let

alone be in positions of power or influence. Hiring them was discriminatory against "the American born." "Americans should be ruled by Americans."³⁸

Busey's book must have been highly influential, for in his 1857 inaugural address, Gardner expanded on the issue of the dangers of immigrants, especially Catholic immigrants, being allowed to vote. After a paragraph acknowledging how the attraction of freedom from oppression and the allure of democracy brought the Germans and Irish to America, he then switched tone by denouncing their ability to understand and uphold the values of their new country, thereby putting it at risk:

Born and brought up under totally dissimilar principles of government and accustomed to be led by the clannish influences which surround them rather than by enlightened individual responsibility, *aliens are unfitted to appreciate or rightly use the great trust, in the exercise of which they are unwisely permitted to participate.* While we would grant them, and defend them in, the enjoyment of their religious belief, in the worship of the Supreme Authority of all our destinies, according to their customs or their preferences, yet in considering the propriety of voluntarily granting or *withholding*, for a suitable period, *the exercise of those functions* that constitute *our own* political privileges and birthright, we may properly, and should necessarily, remember that the *class of aliens to whom we specifically refer are blindly attached to a religious faith whose cardinal principle is implicit obedience to its temporal head, and that temporal head a foreign potentate* which forbids independences of action and the right of private judgment.... Whose prelates notoriously coerces politically as well as spiritually its followers, and which arrogates to itself and actually exerts a *potential and malignant political influence at war with the teachings of our Constitution and the essence of our government.*³⁹ (Emphasis added.)

He concluded this section by advocating that aliens be protected and given basic rights if they chose to live here, "but subject to the sole condition that that they shall take no part in the selection of our rulers or the administration of our government, until they are fitted by experience to understand its workings and appreciate its blessings."⁴⁰ He then called for two constitutional amendments which would limit immigration and expand the requirements for suffrage.

The anti-immigrant leaders saw their animosity and fear not as degeneracy, but founded on moral principles, the fight between good and evil. Years later, they had science and economic principles to use in their defense as well. In 1896, Francis A. Walker published a highly influential article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, titled "The Restriction of Immigration." Walker was respected by civilians as well as academics: a general in the Civil War, he became the president of the American Statistical Association and the president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, as well as the supervisor of the 1870 and 1880 censuses. His professional works were laden with graphs and data, as he used the power of statistics to substantiate his views.

His *Atlantic* article condensed his findings to prove a version of Social Darwinism based on the monetary theory known as Gersham's Law - "bad money drives out good." (If a country uses less precious metals in new coins, the older will be hoarded and not used, thereby disappearing.) Walker held that since the frontiers were now being populated so that cheap land was now competed for, and the industrialization of business was limiting jobs, continual expansion and economic health would soon face barriers. With the immigrants having greater fecundity (larger families) than the more civilized and restrained Protestants, soon competition for the limited resources would be fierce, and the "bad blood" would overwhelm the good. The American way of life and standard of living were at risk, if immigration was not severely restricted. It was a matter of economic principles and physical science, not intolerance. ⁴¹

If the very essence of America was being threatened by evil forces and impure blood, the proponents could easily consider themselves in a holy war, and their actions patriotic even when those actions broke the law. The end justified the means. From the beginning as a secret society before the Civil War on through the Reconstruction period and beyond, the Know-Nothings employed violence as a tool to achieve their goals. Catholic churches were torched and defaced, priests tarred and feathered. Convents were "investigated", with the nuns harassed and assaulted. Ballot boxes were stuffed, burnt or stolen. Lynchings were not uncommon. Many of these actions were done blatantly in public, but arrests were seldom, for thugs ruled. The villain in the 2002 movie *Gangs of New York* was based on the real Know-Nothing party boss Bill "the Butcher" Poole.⁴²

The Know-Nothings came into power by promising to clean up government, stop corruption, and fight moral decline. They lost power for several reasons, the primary ones being the revulsion many people felt toward their escalating public violence, and because as internal corruption grew they became indistinguishable from other parties. They did not identify with the farmers of the Midwest, nor heeded their calls for help against the monopolies such as the railroads, which were making it impossible for the single-family farm to survive. Instead, big business continued to thrive, with the small towns and port-towns paying the price both economically and in the destruction of their sense of community.

The railroad took commerce away from previously-healthy port cities on the rivers, causing even more economic hardship. Besides taking away business, the railroads brought outsiders into the communities. Society was changing,

communities were no longer the same, with many Protestants viewing these changes as for the worse. The "American way of life" was being threatened. As Robert Wiebe contended, underlying all of the fears displayed within the various movements was a desire for order in a chaotic time:

The precipitant of the crisis was a widespread loss of confidence in the powers of the community. In a manner that eludes precise explanation, countless citizens in towns and cities across the land sensed that something fundamental was happening in their lives, something they had not willed and did not want, and they responded by striking out at whatever enemies their view of the world allowed them to see. They fought, in other words, to preserve the society that had given their lives meaning. But it had already slipped beyond their grasp.⁴³

In the midst of the turmoil, people began to lose faith in the political parties and the parties' conventions. The Know-Nothings had raised hopes, then disappointed. The people felt they had lost control over who got elected, and that those who did get elected did not serve them.⁴⁴ They wanted a 'one of the people' person, not a politician.⁴⁵ They wanted someone who wouldn't just make promises during their campaign then do nothing, but truly take action on behalf of those struggling.

In the Midwest, the farmers were fighting for their very survival. A long stretch of drought caused poor crops, causing them to go into debt. In Kansas, by 1880 East Coast banks owned 45 percent of the farms. Farmers were given the choice of selling at a loss, or declaring bankruptcy. What contributed to this was the unregulated monopoly of the railroads: it cost the price of two carloads of corn to ship one carload. It got so bad that in Iowa, the *Iowa Register* urged farmers to burn corn as fuel rather than sell it at a loss. Yet appeals to the state legislatures and U.S. Congress brought no relief, for few were willing to challenge the banks or the

railroads. President Grover Cleveland dismissed them, stating that the business of the government was to maintain the gold standard and protect business, especially big business.⁴⁶ In states with essentially one-party such as Kansas and Nebraska, there was little or no reason for those in power to take action. In states like Iowa, where there was some competition between parties, often those campaigning would make promises, but those promises were not acted on once in office. "The People" in the form of the farmers and small businessmen were not being served.⁴⁷

In a possibly apocryphal story, in May of 1891 members of the Kansas Farmers Alliance while traveling back from a conference, discussed their common problem. They coined the term "populist" to describe themselves and those like them. The following year the Farmers Alliance joined with the Knights of Labor organization to form the People's Party (also known as the People's Populist Party.) The Alliance continued its work advocating for farmers in both the Republican and Democratic parties, while also supporting the People's Party.

Their efforts have been called a populism movement, since they were a grass-roots movement. Yet this populism was often pluralistic. In the North, some groups sought and welcomed the support of black farmers. They did not want to abolish capitalism, but wanted reforms enacted that would make big business practices fair for small businessmen and farmers. They called for the federal regulation of both the banks and the railroads as well as other reforms. In 1892 their candidate for president, woefully underfunded compared to the Democrat and Republican candidates, still won 8 percent of the vote and carried five states. In the following election cycle (1894) the People's Party ended up with 4 senators, 21 state

executives, 465 state legislators, and 4 Congressmen. The major parties took note, and the Farmers Alliances in the various states became a political power to be courted by candidates of both parties. Within ten years most of the reforms sought by the People's Party were either in place or incorporated into major party platforms. The party disappeared, with many members joining the Democratic Party.⁴⁸

They disappeared, or rather merged into existing parties. But where there is social turmoil, extreme reactionary groups tend to emerge. Harold M. Proshansky and Richard I. Evans, in their well researched, data-driven study "The "Radical Right": A Threat to the Behavioral Sciences" explain:

The intense affect and irrationality which characterized most of these movements [Know-Nothings, KKK, Father Coughlin, McCarthyism] mirror to a large extent the social chaos and turbulence of the periods in which they occurred. And it is the latter in the form of either prolonged and significant crises or inexorable social changes, which alienates and isolates particular social groups from the larger society to the extent that irrationality and affectivity characterize their responses. What marks their "extremism" politically is their explicit or implicit intent to discard the democratic process and its inherent requirement of a political morality, in favor of practices which deny to other groups their constitutional rights, e.g., freedom of speech, assembly, etc. In most instances these movements have vehemently attacked religious and ethnic minorities or other groups (immigrants, "Wall Street bankers," etc.) which serve as symbols for tie economic, political, and social events which threaten the security of their identity with the society at large.⁴⁹

Summation

The ideas of the Know-Nothings and the Populists receded into the political background as their members migrated into the Republican and Democratic Parties. Even so, immigration and naturalization issues continued to motivate many Americans. Progressive reformers sought to acculturate new immigrants, but these

efforts did little to limit or address the frustrations of the native born citizens, especially the white Protestants. Fear of economic and cultural change continued to motivate Protestants to fill the ranks of hate groups.

Chapter Four

The Second Wave of the Ku Klux Klan

Originally the KKK arose in the South during the Reconstruction period, to terrorize blacks and prevent them from voting.⁵⁰ After the war, the federal government enforced laws protecting the former slaves and made the Klan illegal, fairly quickly. As the country unified and gained distance from the war, the Klan dropped out of sight (but not out of influence.) With the Industrial Revolution and the economic depression of the late 1890s, followed by World War I, many whites from the South moved North seeking employment, even as the black migration Northward occurred. With them they brought their fears, biases, and openness to a revival of the Klan.

During the economic and social turmoil of the 1890s through the 1920s, the various secret brotherhoods that consistently were anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic, and shared many of the characteristics of the Know-Nothings and the Populists. It is not coincidental that during this period of the 1900-1930s when the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) had a rebirth, the pseudo-science of eugenics came into prominence and was implemented. Both held that some races are inferior, including some white people by their genetics having "poor blood." In a Klan publication *The Forum*, the Imperial Wizard explained:

We believe that the pioneers who built America bequeathed to their own children a priority right to it, the control of it and of its future, and that no one on earth can claim any part of this inheritance except through our generosity. We believe, too, that the mission of America under Almighty God is to perpetuate and develop just the kind of nation and just the kind of civilization which our forefathers created... Also, we believe that the American stock, which was bred under highly selective

surroundings, has proved its value and should not be [through intermarriage with foreign-born] mongrelized.⁵¹

Thus to save America and improve the country, the undesirables should be kept from power and if necessary, eliminated. Yet as with the United Daughters of the Confederacy and their catechisms, it was not always clear whether the America being talked about and defended was the U.S.A., or the Confederacy. In the Klan's Indiana newspaper *The Fiery Cross*, an article titled "Man is the Result of All that Has Gone on Before: the Klan an Expression of Natural Evolution," in which the author proves white Protestants as the God-created epitome of human creation and now under threat in public schools that refuse to teach the Bible and true history, the author states:

In this dear land of ours shall have nine months to teach our boys that life is worth living and the dissemination of such knowledge as well as perpetuate the government of the people, by the people. That grand heritage given to us by our forefathers. *By the way, that same government that they say is no government at all is the one that we as Klansmen swear unconditionally and without mental reservation to protect and defend until death.* (Emphasis added.)⁵²

The second wave or rebirth of the Klan started in 1915 in Alabama, when William J. Simmons, a defrocked Methodist minister, gathered a group of like-minded men on Thanksgiving eve to form a reborn Klan. Though they adopted the hooded white robe regalia of the Reconstruction Era Klan, as well as crosses set ablaze and a prominent display of the American flag, it had little similarity to the original. They were still against blacks, but now they added Catholics, Jews, and Communists to their list of those to be hated and targeted. In addition, they defended the country against "aliens, idlers, strike leaders and immoral women."⁵³

Besides prostitutes, a woman could be judged immoral if she smoked, or if unmarried was seen in an automobile with a single man, un-chaperoned.

There methods were systematic and generally effective. They would be given a warning (either members of the Klan showing up at their house in person, or a threatening letter would be received.) If they persisted, the next step was violence, ranging from lashings to acid-branding "KKK" on them, to tar-and-feathering to lynching.⁵⁴ However, often no warning would be given, and simply punishment dealt out. The person became a public example, as a warning to everyone.

As they became the upholders of morality and civilized life, the Klan tried to change their public image to encompass that. Two things helped. First, the launch in 1915 of the silent film, *Birth of a Nation*, which portrayed the "invisible empire" of the Klan as the savior of the nation and especially white women. President Woodrow Wilson praised it, noting its accuracy. Between his praise and the rebranding of the KKK images, members flocked to join. In 1920 Simmons signed a contract very favorable to two publicists, Edward Young Clarke and Mrs. Elizabeth Taylor. Eighty percent of the profits from the dues of new members would go to them. The promoters aggressively used a new sales pitch - the Klan would be portrayed as rabidly pro-American, which meant pro-Protestant America.⁵⁵ They added to the list of enemies of the country Asians, bootleggers, graft, night clubs and roadhouses, pre-and-extra-marital sex, and violation of the Sabbath.⁵⁶ By 1921 nearly 100,000 had enrolled, and at \$10 a head tax-free dues (since officially the Klan was a benevolent society), the profits were impressive. Add to that the profit

made from Klan publications and merchandise, the financial aspect of the Klan was immense.

With their ever-increasing membership, the power of the Klan to influence elections grew. By 1921, sizeable groups of the KKK members could be found throughout the East Coast, the Midwest, in California and Washington State. There were an estimated 415,000 members in California alone.⁵⁷ They were most effective at the local level, for it was here that a positive side of the Klan was experienced as well as its negative influence. If prominent local people joined, they could be assured of local support of their businesses, be they bankers, shop keepers, lawyers or doctors. If they were in an electable position, the Klan's endorsement could guarantee reelection. (Klan opposition or black-listing a person could ruin their political career as well.) If poor Protestants joined, the conditions improved for becoming better employed, as well as getting financial assistance. The Klan provided assistance both privately and some times in very public ways, such as marching silently into a church worship service to give the pastor a sealed envelope filled with money.⁵⁸

The political makeup of Newport News, VA epitomizes the local power of the Klan in 1921. In the *Weekly News Letter* dated May 20, 1921, a Klan leader reported that in Newport News, "we have the chief of police, the commonwealth attorney, the post-master, the police court judge, members of the city council..."⁵⁹ The next month, the *Weekly News Letter* showed pictures of Norfolk, Virginia's Chief of Police Charles Barney Borland's initiation into the ranks of the Klan, with a description of the police officer thanking 300 Klansmen after they rose to pledge their support of

law enforcement in the city. Though Borland later denied membership, it was hard to adequately deny the pictures.⁶⁰

At the state level, the Klan's influence was felt as well. In Seattle, the Klan's *The Watcher on the Tower* weekly magazine published a directive: "Get behind the 100% candidates for your next commissioners. YOU KNOW WHO THEY ARE. One of the present incumbents must be defeated; one should have your support. For the Commission of Finance, if you do not already know who is worthy, ASK A KLANSMAN."⁶¹ (Emphasis in original.) During elections, all Klan publications throughout the country listed approved "100%" candidates, from local on up through national elections. [100% 'true' American - ie., supported the Klan's ideals, and was also likely to be a member.] They also targeted enemies of the Klan, who must be defeated.

Imperial Wizard Simmons, speaking before a non-Klan white supremacist group, was blunt about one of the main purposes of the Klan:

I am informed that every 'buck nigger' who attains the age of twenty-one years, has gotten the money to pay his poll tax and register, and that these apes are going to line up at the polls, mixed up there with white men and white women. Lord, forgive me, but that is the most sickening and disgusting sight you ever saw. You've got to change that. ... [Klansmen] will go, if they can, to the Governor's chair, or to the Presidency of this nation. There is only one way to stop it. That is to out-vote them. This is a sacred duty that we must measure up to....Keep the negro where he belongs. They have got no part in our political or social life.⁶²

During this time of growth and profits, there were uprisings within, to the point where the Klan in reality was divided into several "klans", each considering itself the "true" Klan, each with a grandiose-titled supreme leader such as the Imperial Wizard or Grand Dragon. (See Appendix One for a Glossary of Klan terms.)

At its peak, the KKK showed its power publicly when in both 1925 and 1926 it held marches in Washington D.C., with over 50,000 Klansmen in full regalia marching in formation. Many removed their hoods to show their faces, proudly smiling.⁶³

All publicity was not positive. News stories appeared about the KKK acid-branding its enemies with "KKK" and doing other gruesome acts. Such was the visibility of the Klan, in the *New York Times* on August 19, 1923, five articles about the Klan appeared. Some were positive, such as covering the initiation into membership of 434 members in one ceremony in New Jersey. Another was titled "Klan Crosses Light Up Oklahoma in Drive Against Lawlessness."⁶⁴ But one on the front page covered the Governor of Texas calling in the Texas Rangers to protect citizens:

Kidnapping and flogging of citizens, which has been prevalent in Texas for some weeks, and which led the Governor to send Rangers to the district, has spread to three other States - Georgia, Ohio and Oklahoma. New serious cases occurred yesterday in Georgia and the Governor there has ordered the Adjutant-General to investigate and report at once on the need for military action.⁶⁵

It should be remembered that it is likely that the citizens flogged were white, as crimes against blacks were seldom reported in the papers. Reports such as this brought Congressional attention, which despite ample evidence resulted in no arrests or indictments. Simmons noted that the Congressional attention actually increased their membership. In his sympathetic history of the Klan, Arnold Rice points out that these may have been done independently by members without proper authorization, or even by non-Klansmen who wished to use the Klan's name to threaten and terrorize. Given it was a secret society, with many records unavailable or destroyed, there is no definitive proof either way.⁶⁶

Though he made national news, inside the ranks Simmons' power was lessening. In 1923, a Texas dentist named Hiram Wesley Evans led a revolt. When the publicist Clark was indicted on a two-year-old morals charge, Evans as the new Imperial Wizard was able to get the contract canceled, and he seized control of the finances. Simmons and his supporters fought back, resulting in each side suing the other. The lawsuits became public, casting the Klan's non-profit status in jeopardy as the financial setup was revealed.

While the lawsuits were moving forward under Evans, the Klan reached the peak of its power during the 1924 Democratic and Republican conventions. Both parties had Klansmen as delegates. Both parties promised many of the same things to the voters, such as the support of farmers, revising the immigration laws and tariff laws, and being for law and order. In the Republican Party, all went peacefully along until a small group proposed adding a plank to the platform that endorsed free speech, freedom of religion, freedom of the press, opposed the intimidation of voters, and took a firm stand against the Ku Klux Klan. After much debate, the amendment failed. On the Democratic side, such was the split between "100%'ers" and opponents, that physical fights broke out among the delegates. They could not agree on a candidate, or even on a plank endorsing the Constitutional freedoms and opposing voter intimidation. They were deadlocked. After 103 ballots, sheer exhaustion brought about the nomination of John W. Davis, a New York City corporate lawyer. Given neither side was truly behind him, party support was minimal. His Republican opponent, Calvin Coolidge, won by a landslide.

At both conventions Evans made a point to be nearby, checking into a hotel with a hundred Klansmen to assist in persuading the delegates that the right person be elected, or at minimum no anti-Klan plank or candidate be approved. He made their presence known to the press. The *New York World* placed the figure of actual Klansmen as delegates to be approximately 300. The *Baltimore Sun* reported that every delegation from around the country had at least two or three Klansmen. The Klan took credit for the defeat of the amendments and Coolidge's win.⁶⁷

The enemies of the Klan were thereby warned. But between the financial scandal, various moral scandals, and the extreme violence across the country, the Klan's positive image disintegrated and its public approval rating sunk. As Philip Dray summarized:

The public's disenchantment with the Klan, however, came as suddenly as had its initial infatuation. One of the first signs of the Klan's receding influence arrived in May 1924 when an Indiana chapter attempting to rally in South Bend was attacked by a combined force of local Catholics, police, and students from Notre Dame, who tore off their disguises and chased the defrocked Klansmen up and down the streets. The following year brought financial difficulties and a sex-murder scandal involving the head of the Indiana Klan, and membership dwindled as revelations of political payoffs and other chicanery exposed the organization's hypocrisy in violating its own ethos of Christian righteousness.⁶⁸

By the 1930s they were no longer allowed to hold parades in Washington D.C.

Instead, they were once again forced to go underground and again become a secret, hidden society that gave no press conferences. They would reappear again in a "third wave" that started with the upheaval of the 1950's Civil Rights movement.

Chapter Five

The Women of the Ku Klux Klan

Throughout the Klan's history, women have had changing positions of influence within the organization. Given that the original Klan in its recruitment sought "real men" to protect white women from the sexual predations of black men (among other purposes), having women members was unthinkable. Instead, the women would give moral support to their husband's activities and stay within their socially-mandated roles and duties. But these women did have access to the Klan in one significant way: seeking the Klan's help to correct wayward husbands, to punish "loose" women, and target teachers and any one else who supported causes repugnant to them, such as the anti-prohibitionists. Abused women could write to the Klan seeking help, and the Klan would first warn, then punish the accused.⁶⁹

Women became officially active in the Klan with their own organization in the 1920s: "Women of the Ku Klux Klan" (WKKK), aka "Ladies of the Invisible Empire" (LOTIE). Only recently has this aspect of Klan history been studied. In Wade's comprehensive study *The Fiery Cross: the Ku Klux Klan in America* published in 1987 there is no mention of the women's organizations. It was not until Kathleen Blee accidentally came across a pamphlet on women's suffrage published by the Women of the Klan in the 1920s did she realize that women's roles in the Klan might not have been as insignificant as earlier history had portrayed:

In traditional histories of the Klan, men were the real story. Yet by the time of my finding the Klan's women's suffrage pamphlet, things were starting to change. After a decade of feminist scholarship, it was increasingly untenable to assume that women were insignificant in politics. Numerous studies had found women involved in a range of political movements, often bringing new concerns into the political arena - like women's suffrage into the Klan. My goal in writing *Women of the Klan*

was to explore what it meant that so many women were drawn into an explosion of collective hatred.⁷⁰

She began by interviewing many members of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan (WKKK) also known as the Ladies of the Invisible Empire (LOTIE). The members were now elderly, yet their delight and pride in their former membership was clear to Blee. Between those interviews and further research (such as finding more WKKK publications), she was able to write the seminal work, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s*. Subsequently, others have delved into this subject, most citing her work within their research.⁷¹

Having achieved the right to vote, women pressed for more recognition and power within the Klan. Gender roles were changing in the 1920s, challenging the status quo on many levels. Women had already been unofficially gathering as Klan supporters in Klan sponsored family events and separately in fellowship groups. Now pressing for official recognition, the Klan was forced to acknowledge this. Some viewed the WKKK as merely an auxiliary, there to support the men doing the "real" work. They acknowledged that if guided and trained, the new voting power of the women could be used to the Klan's advantage. In June 1923 an article titled "The Women's Organization" was published in the Indiana Klan's newspaper *The Fiery Cross*:

The Women of the Ku Klux Klan, which has just been endorsed by the Imperial Kloncillum, are now planning a nation-wide campaign to advance its principles. The order is by the women, for the women and of the women alone, and no man is exploiting it for his individual gain. The prime and moving function of the Women's Organization is to the end that the women will become informed and educated to the point where they are prepared to take up the great and solemn work of building up a mighty army of substantial, clear thinking, thoroughly 100 percent American

women, who will be mentally and morally equipped to take their place and do their work in this great Christian crusade, the greatest of all ages.

Such an army of women, with the intelligent use of the ballot, together with their moral influence, will be able to act as a mighty unit in combatting the forces of evil and destruction that would undermine our civic and political institutions, particularly the public school system. They will be able to stand resolutely upon the word of God when the time of fiery trial shall be set upon them, and will have informed themselves upon the great problems concerning our nation today.

The further inspiration of the Women's Organization is to create in the women, collectively and individually, a sense of great collective and individual responsibility toward the maintenance of those great principles of Anglo-Saxon Protestantism, which shall, like 'the pillar of cloud by day and fire by night,' guide Protestant America through all the darkness, vicissitudes and trials in the wilderness into the Promised Land, into a better America in which to live.⁷²

Thus like the United Daughters of the Confederacy, they were to be mothers of a new nation⁷³, guardians of morality, opponents of vice, and ensuring that the education of children was entrusted to 100% Americans only, who taught all topics in the approved way. In one sense, the traditional gender roles were reinforced, even as the women were empowered to act.

Various Klan leaders may have desired that the "Woman's Organization" simply be an auxiliary that supported them, as shown by the Seattle Klan's newspaper *The Watcher on the Tower* which dedicated one page for "the ladies", titled Our Page for the Women of the Ku Klux Klan in large, bold font, with the underlying article on an initiation rite, titled "The Ceremony Through the Eyes of a Woman."⁷⁴ However, while not disagreeing with the goals, the women took a more suffragette, activist approach in their recruiting . In the same issue there is a black-bordered recruiting advertisement, placed under an advertisement for a book that was advertised in all Klan newspapers, "Convent Cruelties: a True Story Everybody Should Read, Published by an American Ex-Nun" with a picture of a nun in the advertisement. Underneath the women start off their recruiting campaign:

The Women of the Ku Klux Klan: Recognized by the Imperial Wizard and the Imperial Klouncilium of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan as a kindred order, is seeking as members thoughtful and patriotic women. To be eligible for membership they must be native born, white, Protestant, Gentile American women and imbued with true love of their flag and their country.

This great American order has work for them to do in the interest of :
 White supremacy,
 Better schools and more efficient education,
 Restricted foreign immigration,
 The Protestant Christian Religion,
 Elimination of Juvenile Delinquency,
 Americanism.

The Women of the Ku Klux Klan is being organized in the REALM OF WASHINGTON. Realm of Washington headquarters are in Seattle. Those interested may receive complete information by addressing The Women of the Ku Klux Klan, 410 Eitel Bldg., Seattle Wash.⁷⁵

Indiana's women had an even more radical approach. In a large boxed advertisement whose large font bold title read "Something for the Ladies", in significantly smaller font carries the following proclamation:

Men no longer aspire to exclusive dominion in any field of endeavor that is his authorship, and whether she wears the cool, sequestered veil of life in the home , or whether she is in the busy walks of business or fashion, woman is now called to put her splendid efforts and abilities behind a movement for 100 percent American Woman."⁷⁶

In this advertisement, the "age of the new woman" angle underlies its tone and appeal. They note that sixty-one counties of the state are already organized and others are developing rapidly.

"Developing rapidly" was an understatement. In the men's KKK, an advertisement in the June 20th edition of *The Watcher on the Tower*, announced that on July 14, 1923 a "Klan Konvention" would be held near Seattle, "the largest naturalization class ever gathered together, will meet in the evening when 2,500 aliens will be initiated." (It is significant that non-Klan members were labeled

"aliens.") A barbeque picnic and fireworks would be offered before the ceremony, along with a speech by the Imperial Wizard.⁷⁷ The following year, a local Washington paper, the *Stanwood News*, had a headline on page one, "10,000 Witness Klan Initiation," with the article continuing on to another page. Per a Klan spokesman, "millions were enrolling."⁷⁸ As for the women of the KKK, after the Imperial Wizard endorsed them, they began with 125,000 charter members. Four months later, the membership had doubled to 250,000. By November 1923, thirty-six states had chapters of the WKKK.⁷⁹ Not only did the WKKK have paid recruiters (who received \$4 from every \$10 initiation fee), the members themselves recruited friends, family members, social group and church members. Little documentation remains that would show just how many members and chapters there were at its peak, but the sheer numbers at their beginning denote a political force that had clout.

The WKKK absorbed many women's secret societies and nativist groups, such as the Kamelia Society, The Ladies of the Golden Mask, the League of Protestant Women, Hooded Ladies of the Mystic Den, and the Order of American Women.⁸⁰ Even when incorporated into the WKKK, a group could retain its own name, such as Washington State's "The Order Known as the Lincoln Invisible Pathfinders."

The WKKK was organized the same as the KKK, with a strong hierarchy that demanded total obedience. In a time when individual initiative was considered a masculine virtue, they proclaimed themselves a military organization. In the Illinois WKKK newspaper, *DAWN*, under a boxed title "An Official Announcement", the subtitle was "The Military and Insubordination."

For the benefit of those of our members who either have never known or who have forgotten that the WOMEN OF THE KU KLUX KLAN is a MILITARISTIC Order, permit me to call their attention to Section 1 of Article 1 of our Constitution. In the military, failure of any private to obey an order or command of a superior officer constitutes the crime of insubordination.⁸¹

Then the punishment is listed that would be inflicted if the member did not heed the warning. Financial fines could be levied, as well as shunning by the membership and ostracization in the community.

The shunning could sound mild, until the force and power of the WKKK network is factored in. Shunning would include slandering their reputation, boycotting of their or their husband's business, and have a ripple effect through the family's network of friends and social contacts. Simmons, one of the key leaders in the second wave KKK, called the WKKK his "poison squad," for once mobilized they could do more damage than a lashing or lynching.⁸²

Like the KKK, the women had a number of festivals and rituals. But unlike the KKK, their ritual had unacknowledged Catholic elements. The table set in the center of the ceremonial circle was called an alter, complete with a Bible on it. During initiation and periodically in rituals afterwards, the members would make the Sign of the Cross, but added the movement of waving their hand in a circle around their head. Rather than representing Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the movements indicated Mind, Heart, Body and Life to the Cause.

They even had a short catechism, in which each member affirmed their commitment to selflessness, obedience, and the goals and principles of the Klan.⁸³ These ideals were published in a booklet *Ideals of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan*, published by the WKKK in the 1920s. (See Appendix Four for the full text.) It was

handed out to all members, as well as distributed as a recruiting tool. Its opening bullet under The Character of the Organization states that:

1. This is a White Women's organization. Exalting the Caucasian Race and teaching the doctrine of White Supremacy. This does not mean we are the enemies of the colored and mongrel races. But it does mean that we are organized to establish the solidarity and to realize the mission of the White Race, and it is the mission of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan to proclaim this doctrine until the White Race comes into its own.

Under "Race Ideals":

2. We must keep this a White People's country. Only by doing this can we be faithful to the foundations laid by our forefathers. a) This Republic was established by White Men and Women. b) It was established for White Men and Women. c) Our ancestors never intended that it should fall into the hands of an inferior race. d) Every effort to wrest from the White Race the management of its affairs in order to transfer it to the control of blacks or any other color, or to permit them to share in its control, is an invasion of our sacred constitutional prerogatives and a violation of divinely established laws.

It continues along this vein for a page, then switches to Patriotic Ideals, which includes number 5:

None shall be allowed to circumscribe the influence and hinder the progress of American institutions on this continent. And this involves the welfare and development of the public school system. To those who seek to undermine or destroy this American institution we say, "hands off," and we will defend this institution against every enemy, whether it be political or ecclesiastical.

It ends with a section on Christian Ideals, which include:

5. We believe that the highest expression of life is in the service and in sacrifice for that which is right; that selfishness can have no place in a true Klanswoman's life and character; but that she must be moved by unselfish motives, such as characterized by our Lord the Christ and moved Him to the highest service and the supreme sacrifice for that which was right.

It closes with its motto:

Yesterday -- Today -- Forever

God and Government

Law and Liberty

Peace and Prosperity

America for Americans

For a group advocating self-sacrifice, putting others above self, though supporting the traditional roles of women, the Women of the Ku Klux Klan were not passive or mild in any sense. On January 8, 1924, the *New York Times* reported on a riot among Klan women in Ohio, so violent that the police were called in.

Mrs. Mary Benadem of Alliance, district organizer of the women's auxiliary of the Ku Klux Klan, today is suffering from nervous shock as a result of a pitched battle here Saturday night between rival factions of the auxiliary, which was finally quelled by police. Another woman, whose name was not learned, was said to be injured seriously in the disturbance. It is understood that the trouble was the outgrowth of a long-standing feud between the factions. Mrs. Benadem was the leader of one of the rival groups.⁸⁴

The women were not just violent among themselves. They were at a minimum complicit in the violence done by the men of the KKK. In the insightful article "White Women and Klan Violence in the 1920s: Agency, Complicity and the Politics of Women's History," Nancy Maclean has well documented how contrary to their image of being the defenders of tolerance and truth, women have dark elements in their "women's history," even as men do⁸⁵. It went beyond seeking aid against abusive or unfaithful husbands, or having other women rivals punished. As Philip Dray has proven in his gut-wrenching but powerfully researched book, *At the Hands of Persons Unknown: the Lynching of Black America*, in the photographs taken at the scenes of lynchings (to be made into postcards and mailed to friends and

family), women with their elementary-age daughters are right at the front, smiling into the camera. just below the hanging man.⁸⁶ Women would often pack meals for picnics to be shared at the event. Given the postcards were saved and mailed, there was no guilt or remorse. As Blee found in her oral interviews, the women believed such things were "unfortunate" but unavoidable, if the country was to be protected and saved.

As the violence increased and the public became aware of the extremes in the violence, the favorable image of both the WKKK and KKK dissolved. Ironically, one of the elements of the breakdown in Public Relations for the WKKK was similar to that of the KKK, when their national leader, Daisy Brown, first was sued for abuse of finances by the WKKK, then again for defamation of character by a rival in the WKKK whose husband happened to be a district attorney as well as a high-ranking Klan member. Both were well covered in the newspapers of Indiana.⁸⁷ Dwight W. Hoover has a fascinating portrayal of this woman, aptly titled "Daisy Douglass Barr: from Quaker to Klan "Kluckeress".⁸⁸ The fact that a Quaker minister could become a reigning figure in the Klan reveals the underlying questions about the Women of the Ku Klux Klan: why did they not only join, but support the group with an almost religious devotion? It is relevant today, for these beliefs continue on today, as the Women of the Ku Klux Klan continue on, using the alternative name, Ladies of the Invisible Empire (LOTIE). On the home page of their web page, they proclaim that they are not proponents of hate. Yet when you scroll down, there are video clips warning against the enemies, as well as a call for men to protect them. (See Appendix Two.) On another LOTIE homepage posted in 2016, there is an urgent call

to band together because children are being taught it is permissible for races to intermarry (Appendix Three.) Both proclaim their proud heritage and their patriotism, as well as their Christian faith. In the one decrying interracial marriage, the hymn Amazing Grace plays in the background.⁸⁹ So why do people join groups that promote hate, be it the UDC, WKKK, LOTIEs or the KKK?

Chapter Six

Why People Join

Times of social upheaval stimulate the emergence and growth of resistance groups: be it the post-Civil War time of Reconstruction (the United Daughters of the Confederacy) or the post- World War One period (Women of the Ku Klux Klan), the 1960s Civil Rights and Sexual Revolution (third wave of the KKK, and the reemergence of the Ladies of the Invisible Empire), or today's Tea Party and various white supremacist hate groups (including the LOTIEs). The members of these groups feel victimized, that they have lost something and are being threatened by the loss of more. An enemy or enemies are designated, to blame for their own victimization and the nation's problems. Underlying these assertions, the past is romanticized and revised, to reinforce and energize activism.

When all is in turmoil and the social foundation appears to be crumbling, there must be a reason, a cause from the outside. Otherwise, nothing makes sense. To regain a sense of predictability in life, to regain control over life or at least the power to fight back, the threat must be faced, identified, and strove against. Like the sacred Lost Cause or the doomed 600 who rode into the Valley of Death in Tennyson's *Charge of the Light Brigade* poem, honor and duty call for action. But first the alarm must be sounded, before all is completely lost. An enemy must be identified.

An Enemy to Target and Blame

Hating has its perks. Frederick Buechner described them well:

To lick your wounds, to smack your lips over grievances long past, to roll over your tongue over the prospects of bitter confrontations still to come, to savor to the last toothsome morsel both the pain you are given and the pain you are giving back - in many ways it is a feast fit for a king. The chief drawback is that what you are wolfing down is yourself. The skeleton at the feast is you.⁹⁰

If you hate and link up with people who share your hatred, there is the additional perk of being part of a community. If that community unites to fight, to destroy the enemy in the name of a noble cause, then the hater now has a higher purpose in life. Be it a hate group in the U.S.A., terrorists or revolutionary insurrectionists, they have this in common. Pulitzer Prize winning foreign correspondent Christ Hedges covered wars and genocides around the world. Trying to understand the mindset of those who slaughtered, he wrote the national best seller, *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning*:

The eruption of conflict instantly reduces the headache and trivia of daily life. The communal march against an enemy generates a warm, unfamiliar bond with our neighbors, our community, our nation, wiping out unsettling undercurrents of alienation and dislocation. War, in times of malaise and desperation, is a potent distraction.⁹¹

Because of the adrenaline rush, the sense of life purpose and belonging, hate can become addictive. Too much would be lost, if hate was lost. Thus it must be nurtured and protected. Fellowship is maintained only with those whose views support yours. While the comfort that association gives is understandable, what is alarming is that the more someone only associates with those who agree, the more rigid and extreme their views become.⁹² Facts that challenge the legitimacy of the

hatred are discredited or ignored.⁹³ Only recently have social scientists begun to factor in the power of emotions in influencing a subjects' opinions:

Contrary to James Madison, we are not likely to defend all of our own opinions in the face of facts. We are only likely to insist on our opinions when they involve our own feelings of self-worth. When a decision we make is a referendum on our status as a good and smart person, we are much more inclined to justify it.⁹⁴

Thus a member of an American hate group would describe themselves as a patriot, not a racist. They do not hate, they are opposing evil, since they are good people. If they do admit to hating, it is justified by showing that the Bible commands Christians to hate evil.⁹⁵

In an article titled "The Klan - a Crystalization of a Thought Held for Ages," by "Wingfoot" in the July 6, 1923 edition of the Indiana Klan's *Fiery Cross* newspaper, the writer shows how what the Klan stands for can be traced back throughout time:

The Ku Klux Klan is not of recent birth: that is, the impelling force behind this great American organization is not. The Klan is the crystalization of a sentiment, or thought of ages, that has taken a concrete form and is named the Ku Klux Klan. For centuries human thought has battled against tyranny; for centuries the world has sought enlightenment and education. And just for that same length of time, despots, regardless of what might have been their titles, have fought against those greater minds that rose above the masses held in ignorance by those who have usurped the God-given right of man.

He then goes on to attack Catholics, starting with the Spanish Inquisition, and the attempt by Spain (and now the pope) to have a world empire. Before going on to defend the Klan's beliefs against Jews and blacks, he concludes the part of his defense of the Klan's opposition to Catholicism:

This American organization is not an enemy to the Catholic, nor would it deprive the Catholic his right to worship as he desired; but it is an avowed foe of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, which would make America subservient to Rome. Why? Because where Rome rules, education, enlightenment and liberty have no part. Any person

may successfully refute this statement by naming one foreign country in which this statement does not hold true.⁹⁶

Thus hatred and actions against Catholics are justified, in the name of opposing tyranny and fighting in defense of liberty and good education. This article was on the front page, alongside a letter from the Imperial Wizard exhorting the Indiana Klan to keep up their good work in preserving law and order, as well as fighting corruption at all levels. On the other side of the Imperial Wizard's letter, another article was prominently displayed, titled "Man Is the Result of All That Has Gone Before: the Klan an Expression of Natural Evolution," by M.S.L. Vanover. Though the title might cause the reader to think of evolution as Darwin would have it, the author shows how God in creation made the white man superior. Like "Wingfoot", the author goes back to Greece to show how superior the white race was and is, to the rest of the world, because of God's manifest plan and the Divine Order of things. In a passage that could have been written by the United Daughters of the Confederacy for a catechism, he insists that the Klan is the only true keeper of these truths, embodied in "pure Americanism":

When we, the only true keepers of pure Americanism, strive to perpetuate and commemorate the heroic efforts of our dear American pioneers and sacred ancestors, these common polyglots and fiendish designers of a hell on earth send up a howl that, because we, as Klansmen, stand for pure American principles, for the upholding the constitution, defying anyone to meddle further with the public schools.....That we cleanse this, our own inheritance, of the stench that has been forced upon us by these defilers of the rights of the masses.

He concludes with portraying all who dispute this as enemies not only of the Klan, but against the laws of God as well:

My dear reader, tonight as the darkness closes in on you and fills every crevice in and about you, remember just as stealthily as this process goes on, so does this hideous monster of un-Americanism reach out its tentacles of ignorance for the masses and is just as surely closing its clammy claws on the hearts of those who would strive for, an environment and perpetuation of the Protestant faith, free public schools, free press, free speech, just laws, and the pursuit of happiness consistent with the will of God and American ideals.⁹⁷

The enemy is portrayed as fiendish, "designers of hell," a "hideous monster." Yet he, like Wingfoot in the earlier article, insist that they do not hate.

Perhaps hatred needs to be defined. There are two kinds of hatred: passive and aggressive. Passive hatred shows itself in wishing bad things to happen towards the enemy, and feeling betrayed by God and life if good things happen to them (such as they get the job you were seeking.) The person who hates passively seldom takes overt physical acts of violence, but shows their hatred in slandering the name of the other, and if politics is involved, contributing to and/or voting for the candidate who opposes the enemy. Aggressive hatred takes physical action. Domestic violence, the vandalizing of property, even murder can be done in the name of American virtue. Politically, mobs form to attack and destroy, or at minimum shout out obscenities and threaten.⁹⁸

There is a difference between anger and hate. Anger wants the action stopped. Hate wants the person punished or destroyed. Civil protest over an injustice is anger. When the crowd resorts to looting, vandalism and assault, they have moved into hate.

The enemy becomes less than human, whose deaths do not matter. As Chris Hedges explains:

While we venerate and mourn our own dead we are curiously indifferent about those we kill. Thus killing is done in our name, killing that concerns us little, while those who kill our own are seen as having crawled out of the deepest recesses of the earth, lacking our own humanity and goodness. Our dead. Their dead. They are not the same. Our dead matters. Theirs do not. ... We speak of those we fight only in the abstract; we strip them of human qualities.⁹⁹

Apply this to the current opinion of Muslims in America. More than half of surveyed Americans have an unfavorable view of Muslims. Six out of ten are not interested or do not know whether they want to learn more about the faith. Yet only sixteen percent said they work with Muslims.¹⁰⁰ Yet in a *Time* poll in 2010, 62 percent of Americans claimed to have never met a Muslim. They shape their views from what they hear in the media and political rhetoric.¹⁰¹ It would be interesting to know how many Protestants in the 1890s and 1920s personally knew any Catholics, Jews or immigrants. It could be that like today, their image was based only on hearsay, what they read, and the propaganda of hate groups.

Those involved can deceive themselves, and the leaders' rhetoric can encourage this. The hatred is framed in moral terms. The enemy is no longer just a person who disagrees with your opinion. Instead, as in the enemy becomes uncivilized, immoral, criminal, degenerate, incapable of reform, out to defile and corrupt that which you hold dear. They become un-American, not deserving of rights and respect. In fact, violence against them is for the country's good. They deserve whatever bad happens to them.

In a work formidably prescient, a book published in 1949 described the underlying dynamics and the characteristics of these movements and their leaders. *Prophets of Deceit: a Study of the Techniques of the American Agitator* by Leo Lowenthal and Norbert Guterman (copyrighted by the American Jewish Committee),

was written just after the Holocaust and before Senator Joseph McCarthy came into power. Yet, it foretold his techniques, George Wallace's, Donald Trump's, and others that were to come. Having an enemy to blame is essential for the agitator's rhetoric and rise to power. The agitator directly builds on the audience's predispositions:

The agitator so constructs his enemy themes that the political attributes of the enemy lead directly and unobtrusively into psychological attributes. In the latter he continues the process of dehumanization already begun in the political portrait, and then twists this dehumanization into helplessness. A low animal, a parasite, a bug is inhuman and therefore undeserving of sympathy; it is helpless and therefore easy to destroy. By portraying the enemy as a criminal, a degenerate, a low animal, a bug, the agitator stirs deep layers of hatred and frustration in his listeners; their itch into violence becomes unbearable, and their hatred of this unspeakable enemy overflows. He steps into the muddy pool of malaise in order to channelize it into a stream of hate.¹⁰²

The agitator "lays responsibility on an unvarying set of enemies, whose evil character or sheer malice is at the bottom of social maladjustment." They don't have to prove it, just state or imply it, and their followers will believe.¹⁰³

For the UDC, the enemies were the Northerners and the federal government, both of which were conspiring to empower the inferior races (blacks and immigrants.) For the Klan and the Women of the Klan, while Northerners were no longer on the list, the federal government and non-European immigrants remained, while the list was expanded to include Catholics, Jews, blacks and communists, along with any of their supporters. They were consistently portrayed as vermin, degenerate, inferior beings plotting to corrupt and take over the country. Facts were seldom, if ever given: the articles and speakers did not have to prove, only imply or state blatantly, and the members agreed, for what was said was "common knowledge."

These enemies were responsible for all that was wrong in the country, and threatened the very essence of White Protestant Superiority. Given that the designated enemies were not white European-lineage Protestants, they were "other", the "them" in an apocalyptic struggle for truth, justice and the American Way. They were not true citizens, they were not 100% Americans. Thus it was justifiable to hate them, and to carry out acts of hatred against them, for the good of the family and the nation. The hatred gave a purpose to life, a noble cause, as well as membership in a community which agreed with and supported each other. Hatred indeed had its perks.

A Sense of Victimization

Thirty years before he became Prime Minister, Disraeli wrote in his book *Sybil: or the Two Nations* a scene during the coronation of Queen Victoria:

'This is a new reign,' said Egremont, 'perhaps it is a new era.'

'I think so,' said the younger stranger.

'I hope so,' said the elder one.

'Well, ... say what you like, our Queen reigns over the greatest nation that ever existed.'

'Which nation?' asked the younger stranger, 'for she reigns over two.'

The stranger paused; Egremont was silent, but looked inquiringly.

'Yes,' resumed the younger stranger after a moment's interval. 'Two nations; between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are as ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts, and feelings, as if they were dwellers in different zones, or inhabitants of different planets; who are formed by a different breeding, are fed by a different food, are ordered by different manners, and are not governed by the same laws.'

'You speak of... ' said Egremont, hesitatingly.

'THE RICH AND THE POOR.'¹⁰⁴

During the time of Reconstruction and then the Second Wave of the Klan, the division was not so much between the rich and poor as it was between the white Protestant natives and outsiders, which included the vast number of arriving immigrants and/or the elite businessmen who supported mass immigration. Many of those immigrants were Catholics, Jews, and Asians - definitely not Protestant. From the 1960s onwards, it was between the blue collar and middle-class Protestant whites against everyone above or below them (with immigrants still portrayed as one of the enemy.) In a pivotal work written in 1976, David Warren called this group Middle American Radicals (MARs). *The Radical Center: Middle Americans and the Politics of Alienation* presented the results of comprehensive, in-depth surveys of this large segment of American society.¹⁰⁵

The MARs group consists of white citizens who do not possess a college degree, and whose work is blue-collar or lower-middle class such as those in the service sector. In 2015, 42 percent of Americans are part of the "white working class" which does not have a college degree.¹⁰⁶ They are neither "left" nor "right" in their politics: what unites them as a group is not an ideology but a mindset. Warren sought to discern the characteristics of MARs, and how those characteristics differed from non-MARs who were in the same economic bracket. In 1976, he did not perceive them as part of a political movement (like today's Tea Party), but a powerful "presence."¹⁰⁷ So what is a Middle American Radical?

Often MARs feel their problems stem from the rich and the government working together to defraud the rest of the country. They blame the situation on defects in the system such as bad taxes. However, their causal analysis does not suggest what

effective remedial actions they can pursue as individuals ... What is of critical importance, however, is to understand that lack of political action stems from two major belief systems of the MAR: one is that action is useless because individuals are powerless to effect changes in society or its major institutions. The other is the MAR's unwillingness to get involved at the national level because of distrust of national leaders.¹⁰⁸

The sense of victimization and distrust are key components. It has been aptly called the "Southernizing of the White Working Class."¹⁰⁹ The distrust is evident today, when a PEW survey found that in 2015 roughly 20 percent of those surveyed trusted the government to do the right thing most of the time (with minor differences according to race and education level). This includes distrust of government data. In 1976, four years after President Nixon's Watergate scandal, skepticism was close to 30 percent.¹¹⁰ In a Gallop poll in 2014, 75 percent of the Americans surveyed "perceived corruption as widespread in the country's government." This figure was up from 66 percent in 2009.¹¹¹

To these "victims" the elite and government collude to not only help themselves but also help the poor by burdening the middle to pay for social programs like Affirmative Action, Welfare, and other entitlements. The elite is seldom defined, yet it is a key concept in understanding the characteristics. Rather than try to define the term, professors Eric Oliver and Wendy Rahn surveyed thousands of Americans, asking participants to agree or disagree with such statements as "It doesn't really matter who you vote for, because the rich control both political parties," "Politics usually boils down to a struggle between the people and the powerful," and "The system is stacked against people like me." There was a strong agreement to these questions by MARs and Trump supporters.¹¹² There was also a significant correlation between those who agreed and those who also believed

in various conspiracy theories, which is understandable if one believes everything is stacked against you.

Arlie Russell Hochschild described the attitude well in his parable "Waiting in Line".¹¹³ To understand, he suggest you picture yourself patiently standing in a long line leading up a hill, along with others who are white, older, Christian, and predominately male. Over the ridge, out of sight, is the American Dream. You have played by the rules, worked hard, and yet the line seems to be slowing down, even stopping. Then you notice that people far back in the line from you are being allowed to cut in ahead of you, far ahead even. Many are people of color, others look like 'white trash.' Is that fair? You are told you should sympathize with their plight and yet you are being short-changed. Your money is running through a liberal sympathy sieve you do not control or agree with. It is not fair. You, your family, and all those like you are being victimized, and there is nothing you can do about it except get angry and mourn the loss of your dream. It was not fair, especially given the character of those cutting ahead.¹¹⁴

The feelings felt by the MARs and the way they are exploited are not new. In the 1949 book *The Prophets of Deceit*, the authors observe, describing what the listeners hear:

Because the American agitator dispenses with such secondary labels, his methods of appeal are also more universal in scope, and are not bound to any specific national tradition or political situation. Despite his profession of Americanism, not a single one of his appeals refers to concerns specific to America. ...The agitator seems aware of this when he declares that "I stand before you tonight, as I have stood before similar groups all over America, as a symbol of a state of mind that exists in America..." He does not tell us what that state of mind is, but on the basis of the study of his themes we can construct a portrait of the state of mind of his most susceptible kind of listener. This listener does not directly participate in the major fields of social production and is therefore fearful that, given the slightest social

maladjustment, his insignificant little job will vanish and with it will vanish his social status. *He senses that in some way he cannot quite fathom life has cheated him. And yet he wonders why his fate should have been so unhappy. He abided by the rules, he never rebelled, he did what was expected of him.* Bound and circumscribed by a series of uncontrollable circumstances, he becomes increasingly aware of how futile and desperately aimless his life is. ... He is on the bottom, on the outside, and he fears that there is nothing he can do about it.¹¹⁵ (Emphasis added.)

Commentator Rick Santelli expressed it for today's Tea Party members when he ranted that America is divided into "makers" and "takers" - people who earn a living and pay taxes, and people who live off of what other people earn.¹¹⁶

In 1995 Donald Warren looked back on the years since his publication of *The Radical Center*. In an article titled "White Americans As A Minority,"¹¹⁷ he noted how the "MARs" acronym had taken off to have a life of its own. The book did indeed turn out to be pivotal: the research done by others that sprang from it is impressive.¹¹⁸ He notes that, unlike his statement in his book, the MARs have now not only formed an ideology, they have organized and were becoming militant.

"Despite being highly individualistic, more and more whites see themselves as a new minority. Thus for a large and growing number of middle-class whites, *private fears are beginning to translate into public protest*¹¹⁹." (Emphasis in the original.)

"'Middle American Radicals' are not only a distinctive political interest group, they have also developed an ideology with its own interpretation of social problems and, therefore, of social action."¹²⁰ This step became necessary, as they felt ignored by the very country they sought to protect, as well as being victimized by that government. If other groups could obtain government help, why should not they?

They considered themselves "the displaced majority," which was being discriminated against as much as, if not more, than official minority groups:

Those who share the 'displaced majority' perspective see themselves as constituting a new ethnic group: sharing a sense of past indignities, yet also celebrating a common heritage seen in the danger of 'assimilation' as a result of the political and social changes of the second half of the 20th century. From their "suburban ring" perspective, a certain fear of racial inundation persists, coupled with an occasional nostalgic claim to what has become almost a lost identity. This sense of having been displaced from their homeland and being forced to abandon what was rightfully theirs fits with the plight of suppressed ethnic identities around the globe.¹²¹

This sense of being threatened and victimized is not new: it was felt by Southerners after the war, by blue collar and middle class whites during the 1900-1920s social and economic upheavals, and is reflected in the teachings of the UDC, the KKK and the WKKK. The leaders built on the people's fears and sense of loss, increasing the perception of loss by painting a vision of an idealized past, now gone forever unless the people act to reclaim it and restore it.

Romanticizes and Idolizes the Past

It has been said that the difference between a revolutionary and a reactionary is that the revolutionary is dissatisfied with the present, and looks to the future to make a better world. The reactionary looks to the past, and wants to restore it.

Reactionaries are not conservatives. This is the first thing to be understood about them. They are, in their way, just as radical as revolutionaries and just as firmly in the grip of historical imaginings. Millennial expectations of a redemptive new social order and rejuvenated human beings inspired the revolutionary; *apocalyptic fears of entering a new dark age haunt the reactionary*. ... The reactionary mind is a shipwrecked mind. Where others see the river of time flowing as it always has, the reactionary sees the debris of paradise drifting past his eyes. He is time's exile. The revolutionary sees the radiant future invisible to others and it electrifies him. The reactionary, immune to modern lies, sees the past in all its splendor and he too is

electrified. He feels himself in a stronger position than his adversary because he believes he is the guardian of what actually happened, not the prophet of what might be. ... *And the reactionaries of our time have discovered that nostalgia can be a powerful political motivator, perhaps even more powerful than hope. Hopes can disappoint. Nostalgia is irrefutable.*¹²² [Emphasis added.]

This past is permeated and enwrapped by American myths, idealized. Facts that disprove the sanitized version are denounced. Almost by definition, the past was better: the "good old days." One may even have to go back over a hundred years to find and claim that perfect time. But even so, since it happened once, it can be restored and happen again, if only the vision is claimed and the obstacles removed.

Allan Carlson, editor of *The Family in America*, described the America that has been lost:

Before 1840, the vast majority of Americans - over 90 percent - lived on farms or in small villages: the life of the cottage. While many adults had a specialized trade, most households aimed at - and commonly achieved - self-sufficiency in food, clothing, and other essentials. Families commonly preserved their own meat and vegetables and prepared their own meals. They spun and wove their own cloth; they sewed their own clothing. They made the chairs they sat in, the candles that gave them light, and they either walked or rode their own horses and drove their own wagons. Even many so-called 'urban' families of the day kept a cow, a few pigs, chickens and a kitchen garden. As one historian has phrased it, these Americans raised and educated their children to succeed them, not just to succeed. ... These household economies operated on the principle of sharing: from each according to his or her ability, to each according to his or her need.¹²³

In this ideal world, there is no reference to poverty, or barren land. No slaves, no immigrants, no struggle to simply survive when drought happens, or when crops fail or livestock sickens and dies. All is viewed through rose-colored glasses, significantly disconnected with the reality of those times. The families are self-sufficient, with enough for each to live well. Each contributes. All of the families of the community are for the most part alike: they are homogeneous. Race and

religious differences are not a part of this picture of America at its best. Be it the UDC looking back on plantation life before the war, or the 1920s looking back at the time before the Industrial Revolution, only that which affirms the myth is noted.

This image of the self-sufficiency and independence of the farmer is part of the basic myths that have stayed with America from the beginning. The farmer or frontiersman of yesteryear is viewed as being totally free, for they have control over their lives. Success was achieved through hard work, physical strength and courage, and the knowledge that comes from experience. They have no need for help from the government. "The norms of American society were rural and agricultural. These myths have given vivid images, controlling metaphors, and substance to what Americans believe community to be are the myths of rural, small-town, agrarian communities."¹²⁴

Given most Americans today have never met a real cow or chicken, let alone desire to be self-sufficient farmers, a more modern idyll developed about the 1950s.

As Professor Justin Gest described it during an interview:

From their perspective they have lost it all. They look back into the mid-century and they see white working-class communities, people who never finished university degrees or even high school, who were able to get stable 9-to-5 jobs that paid a livable wage and allowed them to support a family of four. And they lived in communities that they perceived to be stable and safe and middle class.¹²⁵

The 50s: stable, safe, middle class: for whites, the images of Norman Rockwell personify it. There is no remembrance of the nuclear threat, when school children had "bomb drills" in which they were to hide under their desk in case a Soviet bomb should land. There is no mention of Russia's Sputnik, and the fear of war from space weapons. Senator Joe McCarthy was not firing up the nation, with the assistance of

the House on Un-American Activities Committee, resulting in blacklists from all employment for many, as neighbors turned neighbors in. There were no civil rights protests, beatings, or lynchings. J. Edgar Hoover was not keeping files on everyone, including the Kennedys. There were even no Miranda Rights until 1966. The list of "imperfections" could go on, especially if you were an ethnic or religious minority, or a woman seeking employment. (A "working girl" was another way to denote a prostitute.) Yet for those addicted to political nostalgia, those details are less important than how life was for white middle-class males. It was a better world back then, for them.

It was a homogenous world then as well. "Those same values of rural community implied continuity, permanence, establishment, fixed values, and unchanging habits in a world otherwise in constant flux. For Americans who are bewildered, bruised, or defeated by the freedom and competition and loneliness of the modern world, the images of static rural community still offer refuge."¹²⁶

The growing popularity of country-western music exemplifies this desire, with its regular themes of small-town or rural life, a decrying of modern morals and beliefs, and the blue-collar worker's struggle to provide for his family. Long-distance semi-truck drivers have become the modern personification of the cowboy. John M. Coggeshall has studied this correlation between the rise of country-western music with the rise in the discontent of the middle class. He has termed the phenomena as the "Southernizing" of the American Working Class.¹²⁷ Just as the South's "Lost Cause" image after the Civil War united the defeated population, portraying the South as the defenders of gentility, morality and nobility, so the myth of the

idealized small-town life of the 1950s has spread, when segregation was still in place, women stayed home and raised the kids, and white men ruled. Back then, crime was minimal, the police were held in high regard, everyone “knew their place” and had relative control over their lives if they played by the rules. Happiness and fulfillment were possible, if you worked hard, did your part, and had [Protestant] faith.

Country singer Alan Jackson's song, *Little Man* captures the sense of loss and the nostalgia of this myth:¹²⁸

I remember walkin' 'round the court square sidewalk
 Lookin' in windows at things I couldn't want
 There's Johnson's hardware and Morgan's jewelry
 And the ol' Lee King's apothecary
 They ware the little man
 The little man

.....

Now the court square's just a set of streets
 That the people go round but they seldom think
 Bout the little man that built this town
 Before the big money shut em down
 And killed the little man
 Oh the little man

He pumped your gas and he cleaned your glass
 And one cold rainy night he fixed your flat
 The new stores came where you do it yourself
 You buy a lotto ticket and food off the shelf
 Forget the little man
 Forget about that little man

.....

Now the stores are lined up in a concrete strip
 You can buy the world with just one trip
 And save a penny 'cause it's jumbo size
 They don't even realize

They're killin' the little man
Oh the little man

Now the court square's just a set of streets
That the people go round but they seldom think
Bout the little man that built this town
Before the big money shut em down
And killed the little man
Oh the little man

In this song, the small town life is remembered fondly, reverently. It is a bitter-sweet song, for the memories are good: it is the present that sours. The “little man” who had dignity and work has been killed off by a modern present. That which was personal and made for a good community life has been destroyed by soulless corporate companies. Those who built the community appear unappreciated having been destroyed by the modern world and subsequently forgotten. Like the small town life of the past, all “little men” today are at risk, a vanishing species.

Today's sense of loss, frustration and lack of fulfillment are not just based on economics, on secure jobs for the blue-collar. The Middle Class has also lost its status and power. As Gest explained in an interview, even though in numbers they are still the largest political group in America, in their own mind they have still lost their place, been marginalized and are now ignored:

As a result of that [former] middle class status and their numbers, white working-class people were largely in the center of the political world. Their votes were coveted by both political parties and their voices seemed to matter. That economic and social and political standing has all been undermined in the time since the end of the manufacturing era, and they see themselves as politically alienated and, in some cases, vilified - and this is in a country they once defined. And so it's this sense of loss that motivates so much of their frustration and so much of the political energy we're seeing right now. They are consumed by nostalgia.¹²⁹

Gest points out that Trump's "Make America Great Again" would have been less effective if it was simply "Make America Great." The "again" is a return to or

recreating the past. Another way of putting this fixation would be that they are addicted to their version of the past that is shrouded in American myth.

Besides the image of the independent, self-sufficient farmer, another powerful myth is that these "real Americans" were and are white Protestant Christians. Rather than the United States being based on a set of political and moral principles, its foundation was built on Christianity, on Biblical premises rather than secular ones. Protestant Christianity is "a critical component of American ethnicity."¹³⁰ Or as David Bennett expressed it in *The Party of Fear*, "People would seek a community within a subculture and call it 'America.' They defined 'America's' boundaries, preserved the ascendancy of their group. As members of a movement, loneliness was averted, purpose and status held on to."¹³¹ So it was, and is now, as white supremacists, the Tea Party, "prosperity gospel" preachers and Donald Trump reinforce the myth for their own benefit. In an "us" versus "them" world, those different from "true Americans" are rapidly transformed into being "un-American." Back in the lost good old days, there was never any question about what it meant to be a true American, a true patriot. That, too, has been lost and for the survival of the country, must be restored. The end justified the means, for the quest was a holy quest, a sacred trust, with all activism done on behalf of their children, their families, and future generations.

Chapter Seven

The Ethics of Memory

The grievances, sense of loss, of victimization and the underlying blaming of enemies with the consequent hate of the Know-Nothings, UDC and the KKK live on. The fight for the ideals of the UDC , its catechisms, and the principles and goals of the WKKK are very much alive and well. Republican members of Congress have addressed various spin-off groups from these movements, affirming their desire for a return to "Christian tradition and morality" as well as the need for less federal power and more power to the states.¹³²

Arguments over the public placement of the Confederate Flag, arguments over whether or not the term "slavery" should be in school textbooks, the fact that the KKK has seen a surge of growth in membership and once again holds public rallies all attest that the hate has not been relegated to history . It would be an interesting study to learn how many hate-crime perpetrators have ties to the KKK and WKKK.

The Southern Poverty Law Center summarizes this movement as follows:

Neo-Confederacy also incorporates advocacy of traditional gender roles, is hostile towards democracy, strongly opposes homosexuality, and exhibits an understanding of race that favors segregation and suggests white supremacy. In many cases, neo-Confederates are openly secessionist. Overall, it is a reactionary conservative ideology that has made inroads into the Republican Party from the political right, and overlaps with the views of white nationalists and other more radical extremist groups. ¹³³

Thus though the UDC and its catechisms for the Children of the Confederacy appear to be almost ancient history, the teachings have rippled through time to great effect

to impact the 21st Century, over a hundred years after the war ended. The children who memorized the catechisms became adults, and taught their children the beliefs as well as the need for activism against the enemies. From generation to generation this has been passed on, as desired by the UDC and the WKKK.

The Ethics of the UDC and LOTIE's

Avishai Margalit notes in his thought-provoking and challenging book, *The Ethics of Memory*, there are many aspects to memory: the ethics of memory, the politics of memory, and even a theology of memory.¹³⁴ (Does forgiveness require forgetting?) He discusses the fringe benefits of negative emotions and negative politics. Wallowing in hate and righteous indignation over a physical or emotional wounding, having a scapegoat to blame, revising the past and the present so they endorse or at least support these negatives, gives people a powerful weapon with which to manipulate others. All retaliation can be justified. But given that the emotions and the politics are negative, they have negative consequences to the self as well.¹³⁵ Hate can become the driving force of life; without it, life's purpose can wither. Actions can be justified in the name of destroying evil, defending honor, etc. Whether passive or active, hatred consumes and corrupts from within.

Is continuing to teach the "sacred ideals" of the UDC and WKKK ethical? Was requiring the children to memorize and recite them throughout their childhood brain-washing, or the passing on of a sacred trust? Admittedly, the UDC originally met the needs of a wounded people, many suffering from the long-lasting trauma of defeat and the deaths of hundreds of thousands. The teaching of the Lost Cause

gave purpose and restored a semblance of sanity by making sense of the incomprehensible. In "remembering" and honoring the dead, the living had a focus to unite around. Once again, they became a people. Not only a people, but a chosen people, still superior to the Northern victors despite the "overwhelming" of the Southern military. When the medicine for the cure becomes sacred in and of itself, does it cross over to become an addictive drug or a poison? To be an addict yourself is bad enough. When, if ever, is it ethical to make subsequent generations addicts as well?

When the Women of the Ku Klux Klan advocated for the "proper" education of children, "pure blood, 100% American" public officials and teachers, and the demonization of Catholics, Jews, Muslims, blacks, and non-European whites in the name of saving the country, are they justified in spreading hate? Do their allegedly noble ends justify the means? As Philip Dray noted, "During these years the Klan became a way of life for many - there were Klan picnics, sermons, women's groups, even Klan weddings; it was also active as a conservative political force, electing a number of men to public office, including sixteen U.S. senators."¹³⁶ The women of the Klan normalized hate, by taking their children to lynchings, complete with having picnics at the spot, as well as having the children be active in Klan events. They even sanctified the violence by couching it in religious terms. As they proclaimed themselves the caretakers of the next generation, they like the UDC ensured that the children were indoctrinated to view non-Klan members as at best aliens, and at worst enemies to be opposed even to the point of destruction.

Jews were viewed as both aliens and enemies, with conspiracy theories alleging Jews were behind all of the hated business elites and trying to control the world behind the scenes. Up until World War Two, Jews were considered a separate race, even on immigration forms. They were not viewed as white until after the war.¹³⁷ Given their non-white, non-Protestant status, they were easily targeted by hate groups. After the Holocaust, they became white in the minds of many Americans, which then made the defilement of synagogues an outrage to the public, unlike mosques. Yet, Jews are still considered enemies by the KKK and other white supremacist groups, since they remain non-Protestant and are antithetical to the Klan's definition of true Americanism. Since the election of President Trump, acts of anti-Semitism have risen dramatically.¹³⁸

The remembrance of horrors such as the Holocaust, slavery and apartheid are grievous to peace of mind. Regularly the memory-keepers and teachers of these phenomena are rebuked, told that they should "put the past behind you," "get over it," and move on with life. Keeping wounds open only encourages hate and divisions among people. The defense by the defenders of the Holocaust memorials and the like is that public awareness and memory are crucial in order that it may never again happen.

So when is it ethical to keep the wounds open? When it benefits the whole of humanity, to prevent it being repeated. *Not* in the name of "not dishonoring the dead by forgetting," for it is theologically and philosophically dubious whether the dead even care at this point. But for the good of all (not just the chosen few), then the memory needs to be kept alive in a healthy way that does not promote hate..

The "culture" being protected by the UDC, the KKK and the WKKK is not a culture that supports the good of all humanity. Though the Bible is often quoted in its defense, it should be noted that Jesus the Jew and foreigner would be excluded from their society.

Appendix One

First Era (1866-1877) Klan rank and titles

Grand Wizard - national head of the Invisible Empire

- Grand Dragon - ruler over a state known as a "Realm."
- Grand Titan - ruler of a "Dominion" within a state or Congressional District.
- Grand Giant - head of a province or a county.
- Grand Cyclops - president or presiding officer of a meeting or "Den."
- Grand Magi - second officer in authority of the Den.
- Grand Monk - third officer in authority of the Den.
- Grand Turk - the marshal, executive officer to the Grand Cyclops, and master of ceremonies of the Den.
- Grand Sentinel - in charge of the Grand Guards
- Grand Guards also Lictors - guards, usually two, for the Den.

Assorted titles for staff officers were: Genii, Hydra, Furie, Goblin, Night-hawk, Grand Magi, Grand Monk, Grand Scribe, Grand Exchequer, Grand Turk, and Grand Sentinel. Individual members were called Ghouls.

- Genii - assistants to the Grand Wizard, usually ten.
- Grand Scribe - the correspondence secretaries for the Grand Wizard, Grand Dragons, Grand Titans, Grand Giants, and Grand Cyclops.
- Grand Exchequer - the treasurers for the Grand Wizard, Grand Dragons, Grand Titans, Grand Giants, and Grand Cyclops.
- Hydras - assistants to the Grand Dragon, usually eight.
- Furies - assistants to the Grand Titan, usually six.
- Goblins - assistants to the Grand Giant, usually four.
- Night-hawks - assistants to the Grand Cyclops, usually two.
-

Second Era (1915-1944) Klan rank and titles

- Imperial Wizard - national head of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan often referred to in documents as president.
- Imperial Klonsel - Supreme attorney
- Imperial Kleagle - executive, receives reports from the Grand Goblins.
- Grand Goblin - ruler over a "Dominion" which is now defined as a multi-state area.
- King Kleagle - manager of state known as a "Realm."
- Kleagle - field organizer over a certain territory or part of a "Realm."

Local "Dens" were replaced by "Klaverns" and had their own ranks and titles. The Ku Klux ritual was called the "Kloran." The investigative committee was called the "Klokann." National conventions were called "Klonvokations." A delegate to a Klonvokation was a Klepeer. The national council was called the "Imperial Kloncilium."

- Exalted Cyclops - president of the Klavern

- Terrors - officers of the Exalted Cyclops which consists of:
- Klaliff - vice president of the Klavern
- Klokard - lecturer
- Kludd - the Chaplain
- Kligrapp - secretary
- Klabee - treasurer
- Kladd - the conductor of ceremonies
- Klarogo - inner guard
- Klexer - outer guard
- Klokann - Head of the three-man Klokann Board which investigates prospective members.
- Night-Hawk - Custodian of the fiery cross and person incharge of new candidates or "aliens"

Similar titles existed at the national, state, and local levels with "Imperial", "Grand", and "Great" prefaced respectively.

From:

Arnold S. Rice. *The Ku Klux Klan in American Politics*. (Washington D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1962): 3 and

http://en.metapedia.org/wiki/List_of_ranks,_titles,_and_terms_of_the_Ku_Klux_Klan, whose source is Rice's book.

For detailed descriptions of each position, taken from the KKK Constitution, see Appendix A of Wyn Crag Wade, *The Ku Klux Klan in America*: 409-415

APPENDIX TWO

Ladies of the Invisible Empire web page¹³⁹

- [Home](#)
- [Proclamation](#)
- [LOTIES](#)
- [Banishment](#)
- [Realms/Contact](#)
- [Membership](#)
- [Imperial Kludd](#)
 - [In Memory](#)
- [Exalted Cyclops](#)
 - [Dragons Lair](#)
- [We are Soldiers](#)
 - [Kludd Korner](#)
 - [E.C.A.](#)
 - [Islam](#)
- [Imperial Klaliff](#)
- [A Few Words From Our Lordship](#)
 - [I.M.C.C.](#)
- [The Enemy Within](#)
- [Your Lordship Asks...](#)
- [What You Need To Know...](#)

1. Here woman reigns, the mother, daughter, wife; Strews with fresh flowers the narrow way of life; In the clear Heaven of her delightful eye, An angel - guard of love and graces lie.
-Tennyson

The women of the Ku Klux Klan is an order of Christian, white, American women and is not promulgated for the purpose of antagonizing, harassing, or intimidating any other order or sect of people. This order does, however, claim for itself the same right and privilege that others have under the Constitution of the United States of America. With the most noble and glorious purposes and ideals; with the desire that Justice, Righteousness, and Truth may prevail; with the determination that so far as it is in the power of American Womanhood to bring about a better, saner, and a cleaner condition of affairs in the body politic.

We are strictly non-denominational in our structure and while we do not require that our members be affiliated with any particular church, we believe that every member must be of the Christian faith and beliefs. A good, firm believer in our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ most always makes a more loyal, dedicated Klansman or Klanswoman. We stand absolutely for the protection of pure American Womanhood.

We are essentially Militantly Patriotic in principle and lofty in our ideals, having no

thought of self or gain, but in an everlasting determination to keep for Americans and those within the territorial boundaries of the United States of America, the lofty principles of self-government, constitutional rights, and the pursuit of happiness as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States of America, and of the several States that make up this great and glorious country of ours. This order, the Women of the Ku Klux Klan is presented to the pure Womanhood of America. May the all-seeing Father guide and protect our American women; May He endow them with wisdom, love and loyalty That through their efforts this great country of ours may advance towards a greater perfection and His people be the best prepared to face His judgement when life's toilsome journey is over.

Our heritage teaches us the hope and dream that the spirit that had inspired our fathers and mothers may ever live and warm the hearts of all good men and women and bring them together as one in spirit and in love for our native land; that we may thrust united into the spirit of one fraternal ideal, hold firmly those things for which they sacrificed and suffered, and that we may offer ourselves as a living bulwark for the protection of our Constitution and our sacred constitutional rights is the paramount ideal of the order of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan.

The pure 100 per cent American woman cannot give higher and more sincere expression of appreciation for what has been accomplished by our forefathers in the defense of home and the sacred rights of our people than by becoming members of this order of women, the principles of which have ever burned in the breasts of American Womanhood since this country was first settled.

Our Mothers have ever been Klanwomen at heart, sharing with our fathers the progress and development of our country. It was a woman who gave the American Nation its flag and there are many women of the Revolutionary period who stand out clearly in the history of that time as great Patriots and lovers of their native land. Behind every good man stands a good woman!

The Women of the Ku Klux Klan are promoting the highest and best interests of the community, state, and nation; while trying to demonstrate the true principles of Klannishness and will do much toward promoting the growth and development of the country at large.

The Women of the Ku KluxKlan demonstrate and teach others the truth behind God's word, the truth about the sins that current society accepts, the abominations man and women are participating in on this earth, the dark path our government is taking our children and grandchildren down, the underlying, evil destruction envious man has for the white race. The greedy, evil man taking God out of our nation, a President declaring that our nation is NOT a Christian nation!

We are Christian women who believe in what God tells us, shows us, and what God expects of us, each of us. We cherish family, our children and teach them what the world has really become, we share with them the good moral and values of an older era. Good

vs. Evil. You are welcome to join us on our mission to bring God back and into every white man, woman and child's hearts!

Contact us!



L.O.T.I.E.

Ladies of the Invisible Empire

Women of the Ku Klux Klan 1923

Is an order of women, for women, that is controlled and operated by women.

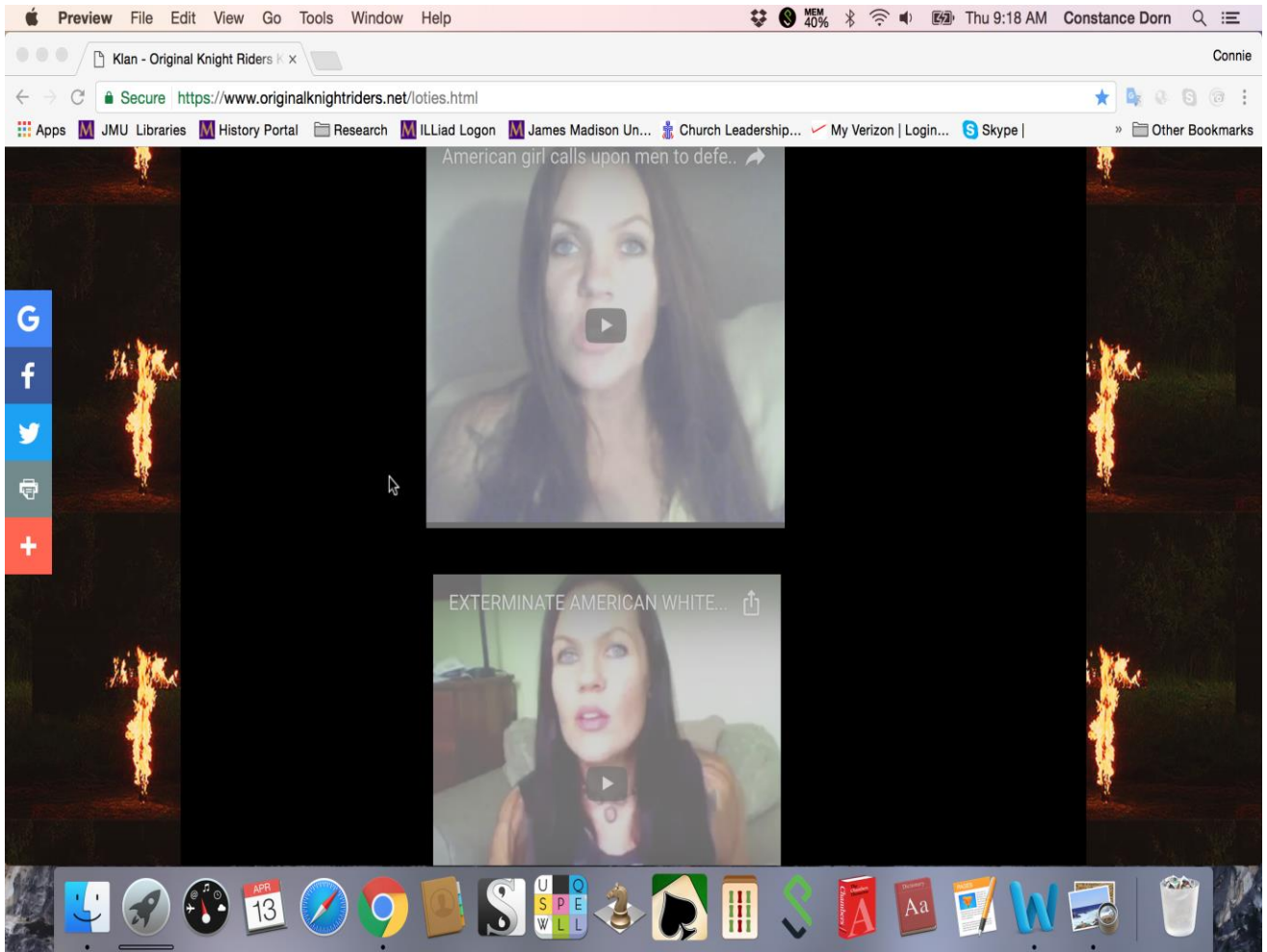


ORIGINAL KNIGHT RIDERS

"NON SILBA SED ANTHAR"

KU KLUX KLAN

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Share options



Appendix Three¹⁴⁰

SACRED KNIGHTS KU KLUX KLAN

HOME APPLICATION ARTICLES FROM THE IW/NEWS/OTHER THE BROTHERHOOD
HOME APPLICATION ARTICLES FROM THE IW/NEWS/OTHER THE BROTHERHOOD

NEWS:

**THIS YEAR IS THE YEAR THE WHITE RACE NEEDS
TO BAND TOGETHER. OUR CHILDREN ARE BEING TAUGHT
THAT INTERMIXING OF RACES IS THE ONLY ACCEPTABLE
WAY OF LIFE AND THAT IF THEY DO NOT BELIEVE IN SUCH
THEY WILL FACE CONSEQUENCES. WE MUST STOP THIS
DEGRADING OF OUR RACE. WE MUST KEEP OUR BLOOD CLEAN.
TAKE A STAND! JOIN THE KLAN!**

A NEW YEAR... FROM: THE IMPERIAL

KLALIFF

January 2, 2017

A MESSAGE FROM THE EXALTED

CYCLOPS

July 4, 2016

LOTIE

February 29, 2016

KLOKARD

February 25, 2016

KLUDD

January 6, 2016

Recent Posts

THE FIERY CROSS

Perhaps the biggest misconception
the alien world has about the Ku
Klux Klan is the belief that we burn
crosses. Mention a cross burni...

KLOKARD

February 25, 2016

Featured Posts **LOTIE**

February 29, 2016 | IMPERIAL LOTIE

LOTIE: LADIES OF THE INVISIBLE EMPIRE

The LOTIE division would like to explain the importance of our wonderful women in the Klan and throughout history. LOTIE are just as important as Klansmen. We support our fellow Klansmen in every way possible. Everyone has a duty and requirements to be met. In case some were wondering, we do not just sit around and bake cookies. Many of us have husbands or boyfriends that are Klansmen and when times and trials in life get hard, we have to be their support and strength with the help of God. LOTIE, since the beginning, have helped in numerous ways, from simple tasks, such as sewing on patches to standing beside their husbands at rallies during the Segregation era, and also supporting charities.

The Scared Knights treats everyone equal. Over the years, the LOTIE have been separate entities from Klansmen, due to the fact that they have always carried separate roles in the Klan. In the modern age, the Sacred Knights combined the LOTIE and Klansmen to work together to achieve a common goal. We work as one. As our brothers in the Klan we are also involved in recruitment, advancement of the white race and the education for the women and children of our race, about the direction we are headed. In doing so, the LOTIE and Klansmen combine the effort to achieve the same goal: being highly protected by the Klansmen, we can concentrate on our goal without fear or repercussions from the public.

We are held to a higher standard as LOTIE than the general white females today. In the direction this generation is heading the ladies in the white race have to be more diligent. As you can tell when you walk out your door and look around majority of the women today have lost their pride and self esteem. There was a time when respect was a given to women but over time the ladies of the USA have lowered their standards to the extreme that now they have to earn it. This is a problem that stints back to their raising combined with modern technology and the movement of other races to eliminate the white race that was created out of Gods hands. Over the years political correctness has become the norm and in doing so the blinders have been put on out of fear of upsetting the apple cart. This has come at the cost of the dignity and respect and cleanliness of the females of the white race. IT IS TIME TO QUIT LOOKING

THE OTHER WAY AND TAKE A STAND.

If interested, please feel free to fill out an application and further your education

[NATIONAL OFFICE SOUTH](#)

[1608 CHURCH LOOP RD.](#)

APPENDIX FOUR

Ideals of the Women of the
Ku Klux KlanTHE CHARACTER OF THE
ORGANIZATION.

1. *This is a White Women's organization, Exalting the Caucasian Race and teaching the doctrine of White Supremacy. This does not mean that we are enemies of the colored and mongrel races. But it does mean that we are organized to establish the solidarity and to realize the mission of the White Race. All of Christian Civilization depends upon the preservation and upbuilding of the White Race, and it is the mission of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan to proclaim this doctrine until the White Race shall come into its own.*

2. *This is a Gentile organization, and as such has as its mission the interpretation of the highest ideals of the White, Gentile peoples. We sing no hymns of hate against the Jew. He is interested in his own affairs, and we are exercising the same privilege of banding our own kind together in order that we may realize the highest and best possible for ourselves.*

3. *It is an American organization, and we do restrict membership to native-born American citizens. The records show that recently, at least, the aliens who have been flooding our land have come into this country, not because of any love for America, but because of intolerable or unfavorable conditions in the land they left behind. They come to this country, not that they may contribute in any way to its growth and development, but that*

2

they may find opportunity to advance themselves and to serve their own interests. They are here to serve the interests of the land from which they came, regardless of the interests of this land in which they make their homes and seek their fortunes. They come to obey the mandates of governments of which they are still subjects, even to the extent of endeavoring to break down the government under which they find protection while seeking their nefarious ends. In their hearts there is the tie that still binds them to the home-land; to them it is still the Fatherland. Their sympathies are still there; their thoughts have been shaped by the traditions and prejudices of the old country. They do not easily re-adjust themselves. Thus we find the groups: Irish-Americans, German-American, and all kinds of hyphenated Americans. What pleasure would they find or what service could they render in this organization which is distinctly an American-American organization? We have organized to engender a real spirit of true Americanism—that Americanism which is a system based on a principle of utter antagonism to monarchism, whether represented by emperor, king, potentate, or pope.

4. *It is a Protestant organization. Membership is restricted to those who accept the tenets of true Christianity, which is essentially Protestant. We maintain and contend that it is the inalienable right of Protestants to have their own distinctive organization. We can say to the world without apology, and say truly, that our forefathers founded this as a Protestant country and that it is our purpose to re-establish and maintain it as such. While we will energetically maintain and proclaim the principles of Protestantism, we will also maintain the principles of religious liberty as essential to the life and progress of this nation, and we will vigorously oppose all efforts to rob the American people of this right.*

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II. RACIAL IDEALS.

1. *We stand for White Supremacy.* Distinction among the races is not accidental, but designed. This is clearly brought out in the one book that tells authoritatively of the origin of the races. This distinction is not incidental, but is of the vastest import and indicates the wisdom of the divine mind. It is not temporary, but is as abiding as the ages that have not yet ceased to roll. The supremacy of the White Race must be maintained, or be overwhelmed by the rising tide of color.

2. *We must keep this a White People's country.* Only by doing this can we be faithful to the foundations laid by our forefathers.

a. This Republic was established by White Men and Women.

b. It was established for White Men and Women.

c. Our ancestors never intended that it should fall into the hands of an inferior race.

d. Every effort to wrest from the White Race the management of its affairs in order to transfer it to the control of blacks or any other color, or to permit them to share in its control, is an invasion of our sacred constitutional prerogatives and a violation of divinely established laws. Every effort to wrest from the White People the control of this country must be resisted. No person of the White Race can submit to such efforts without shame. One of the sad facts in American political life is the readiness of so many politicians to sell their noble birthright for a mess of black pottage. They would betray their race in order to win a few black votes.

e. We would not rob the colored population of their rights, but we demand that they respect the rights of the White Race in whose

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country they are permitted to reside. When it comes to the point that they cannot and will not recognize and respect those rights, they must be reminded that this is a White Peoples' country, so that they will seek for themselves a country more agreeable to their tastes and aspirations.

f. Purity of the white blood must be maintained. One of the crying evils of the times is the mixture of white blood with that of Negro. This evil has gone on since Colonial days until perhaps more than half of the Negroes in the United States have some degree of white blood flowing in their veins. This condition is not only biologically disastrous, but is giving rise to grave social problems. Mulatto leaders who, under present social conditions, are forced to remain members of the negro group and who aspire to white association because of their white blood are boldly preaching racial equality in all of its phases. The guilt for this state of affairs rests upon those members of the white race who have betrayed their own kind and bartered their own blood. It has become necessary to devise some means for the preservation of the white blood in its purity, because, despite prohibitive laws, racial intermixture is continuing and the problem of mixed blood is becoming more and more acute.

III. CITIZENSHIP IDEALS.

1. *Development of the highest standard of citizenship.* We ourselves must come to know what it means to be citizens of the foremost nation in all the earth. We need to have knowledge of the privileges and responsibilities and glories of our citizenship. And we need to be under the necessity of exercising our citizenship intelligently. We must learn and practice these things in order that we may teach them to others.

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2. *Rightful use of the ballot.* Thank God, the day of partisan politics is past. Time was when parties stood for great principles. But today the difference between them is that of "tweedledum and tweedledee." One of the parties must be induced to champion great fundamental American principles that will hasten the development of our county, or else a new party must come into being. As the matter now stands we must cast our ballots for the right as it is most nearly represented and championed by men or women regardless of party.

IV. PATRIOTIC IDEALS.

The women of this order stand for the purest and most practical type of patriotism toward our great and glorious country.

1. *We take our stand upon the Declaration of Independence as the basis of popular government.* This document denies the dogma of despots, that kings rule by divine right. It asserts that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. It solemnly affirms the right of the American people to govern themselves as a free and independent nation—dependent of all outside sovereignty and control.

2. *We believe in upholding the Constitution of the United States.* This document reduces to practice the precepts of the Declaration and must be recognized as the supreme law of the land. It guarantees that liberty which must be cherished as the precious heritage of the American people. It establishes the freedom of institutions dear to the American heart. It guarantees religious liberty, freedom of speech and of press, and all the rights that pertain to the people who constitute this nation. It depicts ideals and defines institutions that must be made real and kept secure. The Women of the Ku Klux Klan are sworn by a solemn oath to uphold and defend this immortal Constitution.

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3. *Allegiance.* We teach that the citizen's first and highest allegiance is to the Government of the United States. No other government, potentate, or person of any kind shall share in this allegiance. We maintain that a divided allegiance means no allegiance. There can be no half American, and any sort of hyphen absolutely makes impossible any kind of loyalty to the American government, its ideals and institutions.

4. *We stand for the American flag against enemies without and within.* We emphasize devotion to the flag of our country as the ensign of our American nationality and the emblem of our national honor. A man or woman stands wholly for the Stars and Stripes or else to them their country's flag is only a dirty rag. We insist that no flag shall fly above our flag, and that no flag shall float by its side.

Neither domestic traitors nor foreign foes of any kind shall be permitted to destroy this nation.

5. *None shall be allowed to circumscribe the influence and hinder the progress of American institutions on this continent.* And this involves the welfare and development of the public school system. To those who seek to undermine or destroy this American institution we say, "hands off," and we will defend this institution against every enemy, whether it be political or ecclesiastical.

V. CHRISTIAN IDEALS.

1. *We magnify the Bible*—as the basis of our Constitution, the foundation of our government, the source of our laws, the sheet-anchor of our liberties, the most practical guide of right living, and the source of all true wisdom.

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2. *We teach the worship of God.* For we have in mind the divine command, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God."

3. *We honor the Christ, as the Klanswoman's only criterion of character.* And we seek at His hands that cleansing from sin and impurity, which only He can give.

4. *We believe that the highest expression of life is in the service and in sacrifice for that which is right;* that selfishness can have no place in a true Klanswoman's life and character; but that she must be moved by unselfish motives, such as characterized our Lord the Christ and moved Him to the highest service and the supreme sacrifice for that which was right.

We have suggested here a few of the many ideals of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan. Let us seek to make these real in our life and practice so that we may become bright, true Klanswomen, and be ready for other ideals and principles as they shall be presented from time to time.

Yesterday—Today and Forever

God and Government

Law and Liberty

Peace and Prosperity

America for Americans

Form 126 P.H.

IDEALS

of the

WOMEN OF THE KU KLUX KLAN



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<http://uw8rw3ad9q.search.serialssolutions.com/?genre=book&isbn=9780292793873&title=Neo-Confederacy%20:%20A%20Critical%20Introduction&volume=&issue=&date=20080101&atitle=Introduction%3A%20NeoConfederacy%20and%20the%20New%20Dixie%20Manifesto&spage=&pages=&sid=EBSCO:Project%20MUSE&aulast=Hague,%20Euan>

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Notes

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- ² The name of the war is a point of contention between Northerners and Southerners. According to the UDC Catechisms and several books the correct title for the war is the "War Between The States." "The War of Northern Aggression" is used only by the South. For the UDC "Civil War" connotes the split between the citizens of one nation. Since the South had seceded and declared itself a separate nation, the war was a battle between two nations. Thus, the war "between the states" is the battle between the Southern Confederate *States* and the Northern United *States*.
- ³ In the battle of Manassas on July 21, 1861, in just twelve hours 900 men were killed and 2,700 wounded. By the end of the war, 514,411 were dead, 475,881 wounded. Compare that to the 291,557 battle dead and 671, 846 U.S. wounded for the whole of World War II.
- ⁴ It was towards the end of the Civil War that military "dog tags" started to be made, to be purchased by individuals. The tags were two identical thin metal bars with the individual's name, rank, unit, and home town. One was worn on a chain around the neck, the other laced into boot laces. Consequently, if the body was divided due to cannon fire or scavenging pig, at least one part should still be identifiable, though with the pigs there was no guarantee.
- ⁵ One of the many fine works on the realities of the handling of the deceased during the Civil War: Ric Burns, filmmaker. *Death and the Civil War*, PBS Documentary (2012) based on Drew Faust's book, *This Republic of Suffering* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008)
<http://www.shoppbs.org/product/index.jsp?productId=13193045&cp=&sr=1&kw=death+and+the+civil+war&origkw=death+and+the+civil+war&parentPage=search>.
- ⁶ Drew Gilpin Faust, "Alters of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narrative of War," *The Journal of American History* 76 no. 4 (March 1990): 1200-1228; Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics 1830-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); Nina Silber, "The Crisis of Confederate Womanhood" (rev), *Reviews in American History* 25 no. 3 (September 1997): 422-426.
- ⁷ An excellent coverage of the effect of the war on children: Anya Jabour, *Topsy-Turvy: How The Civil War Turned The World Upside Down For Southern Children* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2010).
- ⁸ Walter J. Fraser, Jr. and Winfred B. Moore, Jr. eds. *From the Old South To The New: Essays On The Transitional South* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981).
- ⁹ <http://www.hqudc.org/history-of-the-united-daughters-of-the-confederacy/>
 It should be noted that in their section on Chapters and Divisions, the UDC has groups in 24 states, several of which (like California and Washington State) were never a part of the Confederacy. It also boasts over 20,000 members as of 2001.
- ¹⁰ Same website as above for the UDC, just subsection: <http://www.hqudc.org/cofc-purpose-eligibility/>
- ¹¹ See Genevieve Harlow Threet, *The Silent Historian: The Monuments of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and Their Influence Upon History*. Thesis submitted to the James Madison University, May 2001.
- ¹² While many texts state that the Confederate Veterans Day is on Jefferson Davis' birthday (June 3), the date can vary among states. It is a state holiday in Alabama, Florida, and Georgia on the fourth Monday in April. In Mississippi it is observed on the last Monday in April. In South Carolina and

North Carolina it falls on May 10 (when Gen. "Stonewall" Jackson died.) In Texas it is known as Confederate Heroes Day . It is held on January 19 each year. In those states, it would be interesting to know which gets more support today: the national Veterans Day, or the Confederate Veterans Day.

13. See Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, especially the first chapter- "Sacred Southern Ceremonies: Ritual of the Lost Cause," 19-36.

14. Along with Wilson's *Baptized in Blood* and Foster's *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, see Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville FL: The University Press of Florida, 2003); Lesley J. Gordon, *General George E. Pickett In Life & Legend*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.); Leslie Hall, *Half-Hours in Southern History* (Richmond: B.F. Johnson Publishing, 1907) found at <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uva.x002185615;view=1up;seq=9>; Eron Rowland, *Varina Howell: Wife of Jefferson Davis*. (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1931); James Everett Kibler, "A New Letter From Varina Howell Davis," *The Mississippi Quarterly Review* 52 no. 2: 323; Teri Finneman, "The Forgotten First Lady: Reinventing Varina Davis Through Her Journalism," *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies* 10 no. 2 (Summer 2014): 4-22.

15. Lesley J. Gordon, *General George E. Pickett In Life & Legend* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998): 178.

16. Hall, JNO: Lesslie, *Half-Hours in Southern History* (Richmond: B.F. Johnson Publishing, 1907): 307. <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uva.x002185615;view=1up;seq=9>

17. Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*: 1

18. Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville FL: The University Press of Florida, 2003): 16.

19. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*: 144.

20. Amy L. Heyse, Amy L. "Reconstituting the Next Generation: An Analysis of the United Daughters of the Confederacy's Catechisms for Children," *Southern Communication Journal* 76 no.1 (Jan. 2011): 57-58.

21. Mildred Rutherford was president of the UDC for over a decade. The titles of two of her speeches make clear her beliefs and purpose: "Historical Sins of Omission and Commission," address given to United Daughters of the Confederacy convention, San Francisco October 22, 1915. Athens, Ga.: The McGregor Co., 1915.

<http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=loc.ark:/13960/t46q27r3z;view=1up;seq=3>;

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<http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/imgsrv/download/pdf?id=yale39002013791927;orient=0;size=100;seq=5;attachment=0>

22. As early as 1895 speakers in the South warned that textbooks needed to be monitored to ensure that the true history would be taught. Otherwise "the record of history will contain many errors and false indictments against the South which have originated with northern writers." For in-depth coverage of this topic, see Fred Arthur Bailey, "The Textbooks of the 'Lost Cause': Censorship and the Creation of Southern State Histories," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 75 no. 3 (Fall 1991): 507-533. Quote is on 507.

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24. Mrs. Allison served as National President of the U.D.C. She was a strong supporter of the Klu Klux Klan, writing essays in their defense, as well as a catechism specifically for the KKK.
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- 32 Art. XVIII. Religious Freedom; Expenditure of Public Money for Certain Institutions Prohibited, Exceptions <http://www.rwinters.com/docs/anti-aid-amendment.pdf>
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- ⁶³ For pictures of the parades and the participants, see <http://mashable.com/2015/12/24/kkk-parade/>
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