

THE EMPIRE AND THE EDITOR:
THE KU KLUX KLAN IN HEPPNER, OREGON

by

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A THESIS

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This thesis identifies the social, economic and political factors in Heppner, Oregon that shaped its lukewarm response to the Ku Klux Klan from 1921-1925. The resurgent Klan in Oregon successfully appealed to Protestant Americans with nativist and anti-Catholic rhetoric. The Klan established chapters in towns across Oregon, controlled state politics and in many cases, dominated local politics as well. Heppner serves as an important counter-example to the trend of the Oregon Klan's success in small towns: Heppner's Klan was passive, encountered resistance, organized late, and did not have a measurable effect on local politics. This thesis uses newspaper articles, census data and childhood memoirs to understand the local dynamics that led to the Ku Klux Klan's uncommon fate in Heppner. This thesis concludes that Heppner's large Irish community, its spirit of cooperation forged by natural disasters and the presence of an anti-Klan newspaper contributed to the Klan weakness in Heppner.

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Introduction

As Reverend W. A. Gressman approached the lectern in the I.O.O.F. hall in Heppner, Oregon, in late April 1923 to reveal “The Truth About the Ku Klux Klan,” the capacity crowd hushed in anticipation. The gathering was “representative of Heppner being composed of adherents of all churches including the Catholic” and other curious community members.¹ The tall and bespectacled Gressman no doubt also enjoyed the presence of several Klansmen from nearby Pendleton, where he was the pastor at the First Christian Church.² Gressman, a capable speaker, was delivering his third Klan recruitment speech in as many nights in Morrow County.³ The audience did not appear to be convinced by Gressman’s declarations that “the Klan is not ‘anti’ anything” and instead called upon him to answer the charge “that the Klan is only a trouble-maker.”⁴ One gumptious audience member asked the Reverend if Jesus were on earth today, could he join the Ku Klux Klan? As Gressman struggled to find a suitable answer, the editor of the *Heppner Herald* noted with glee that “the inference was, as gathered by this writer that, because of his race, the meek and lowly Nazarene could not become a member.”⁵

What circumstances helped create the chilly reception for the Klan in Heppner while so many other Oregon towns fell under the control of the Invisible Empire? Beginning in 1921, Ku Klux Klan recruiters, or Kleagles, steadily canvassed Oregon, recruiting thousands of members in Portland and across the state. Klaverns surfaced in small towns throughout the Willamette Valley, Southern Oregon, the coast, and in Heppner’s regional neighbors in the “central and eastern Oregon towns of Hood River, The Dalles, Condon, Pendleton, and Baker.”⁶ Preying on nativist fears, anti-Catholic

animosity and Protestant desires to enforce Prohibition, the Klan swept into political power. The 1922 election, seen by many historians as the apex of the Oregon Klan's power, saw the election of a Klan-backed governor, a majority of Klan-backed legislators and the passage of the Oregon Compulsory Education Act that targeted parochial schools. Heppner, Oregon, appears on the surface to be an ideal target for the Ku Klux Klan: a small town facing mounting taxes and experiencing tensions that accompanied new technologies like the automobile. Yet the town, according to extant accounts, resisted the influence of the Invisible Empire.

The subject of this thesis is Heppner and Morrow County during the years 1921-1925 when the Klan attempted to establish its influence in Oregon. While I do begin with a brief background on the Klan, it is not the purpose of this thesis to give a detailed account of all Klan activity in the United States or Oregon. Rather, it is hoped that the reader can gain a sense of the broader spectrum of political culture in Oregon by examining how the Klan met a different fate in Heppner and Morrow County. I examine social, economic and political factors in Heppner and Morrow County that shaped its reaction to the Klan crisis. First, Morrow County contained a large and active Irish community that resisted the Klan's anti-Catholic and nativist rhetoric. Second, a so-called "Heppner Spirit" existed in Heppner that encouraged collaboration and rebuilding after a series of destructive disasters. Finally, Sam Pattison, the editor of the *Heppner Herald*, engaged the Ku Klux Klan in a battle of rhetoric that widened the discourse and encouraged anti-Klan points of view.

Background: The Reconstruction Era Klan

The first Klan, founded in 1865, had two key goals.⁷ First, the political side of the Klan aimed to defeat the agenda of the Radical Republicans. Second, the Klan attempted to reestablish control over the emancipated slaves. The Klan worked to restrict African American education, political rights (including voting and the right to bear arms) and economic success. In particular, the Klan detested the attempts of the Freedmen's Bureau to aid the transition of African Americans from slavery to freedom. The primary tool at the Klan's disposal was intimidation. Klan members violently attacked black and white men alike in attempts to intimidate Republicans, freed slaves and Freedmen's Bureau officials. When intimidation failed, the Klan took to assassinations to accomplish their political goals.

The federal government, concerned with the increasing power and violence of the Ku Klux Klan, convened a Congressional committee in 1871 to investigate the Klan's activities. Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1871 in April in order to curb widespread unrest across the South. The bill's Enforcement Act (Section 1) is commonly referred to as the Ku Klux Klan Act. The act, still used in Civil Rights courts today, allows anyone deprived of their constitutional rights to sue in federal court (thus taking the matter out of local, biased courts). As a result of the aggressive federal stance toward the KKK, the organization declined in numbers and political clout.⁸

Background: The Jazz Age Klan

D. W. Griffith's 1915 film *Birth of a Nation* romanticized the activities of the Reconstruction era Klan. The film depicted the Klan as a mythological group protecting southern womanhood and traditional southern values against aggressive African

American males. Images of incompetent and drunken legislative members highlighted the folly of blacks in political power in Reconstruction Era governments. *Birth of a Nation* associated cross burning with the Klan for the first time ever and dressed the Klansmen in the traditional white robes and hoods now forever associated with the Klan. Despite public protests from the new NAACP, the film was a commercial success, reaching theaters across the country and even receiving a special screening at Woodrow Wilson's White House.⁹ The popularity of the film and its controversial themes set the stage for the emergence of a new Klan with a broader cultural agenda than its predecessor.

On Thanksgiving night 1915, a flaming cross on top of Stone Mountain, Georgia signaled the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan. William J. Simmons, a failed Methodist preacher and serial joiner of fraternal orders, sensed the atmosphere was right to create his own profitable fraternal order. Simmons was also a member of the Knights of Mary Phagan, a vigilante group composed of prominent men, including former Georgia governor Joseph Mackey Brown. They plotted to avenge the murder of 13 year old Mary Phagan by her Jewish employer, Leo Frank, who was convicted on fraudulent testimony. Simmons waited until anti-Semitic feelings were driven into frenzy by the media and announced the revival of the Ku Klux Klan.

As Imperial Wizard, Simmons presided over an Invisible Empire structured into Realms, Provinces and Klans.¹⁰ In 1920, Simmons hired a publicity firm to professionalize and modernize the Klan's marketing strategy. The firm, consisting of partners Mary Tyler and Edward Clarke, began to advertise membership, by sending professional organizers (Kleagles) to sign up new members.¹¹ The results were

astounding: “Kleagles grew the Klan membership from three thousand in 1920 to more than one hundred thousand by the end of 1921.”¹²

The second Klan inherited some of the objectives from the first Klan, as well as appealing to new social anxieties. Initially, Simmons struggled to find a message and was “vague in his description of the organization’s mission.”¹³ Tyler and Clarke adopted Simmons’ original message to appeal to the entire nation: “To Simmons’ initial blend of white supremacy, Christianity, and the male-bonding rituals of fraternalism, they added elements geared to tap the fears of many white contemporaries in the anxious years after the Great War.”¹⁴ World War I and the Red Scare helped to increase American fear of immigrants, socialism and other un-American values. Americans were wary of the boom in Catholic and Jewish immigration from Europe as well as internal migration of African Americans from the South to Northern cities. To Klansmen and millions of Americans, Catholicism and Judaism were major threats to the Protestant foundations of American society.¹⁵ The burning cross is an overt and intimidating symbol of the Klan’s religious values. The Klan and the Anti-Saloon League worked together to promote the traditional moral values associated with Prohibition.

General Characteristics of the Oregon Klan

After originating in the Deep South, the post-World War I Klan spread to the North and West across the country and by 1921 was firmly settled into the Pacific Northwest. Portland, with an estimated 9,000 to 15,000 active membership by the mid-1920s, served as the Klan's unofficial regional headquarters.¹⁶ However, the demographics of 1920s Oregon do not appear to call for any significant public support of a "militant nativist organization."¹⁷ According to the 14th U.S. Census, Roman Catholics were around 8 percent of the state population and African Americans were around 0.27 percent of the state population with just 2,000 residents.¹⁸ Census data also reveals that foreign-born whites accounted for 13 percent of Oregon's total population.¹⁹ Thus, native-born white Protestants were by far the majority group in Oregon.

The Oregon Territory, though, has a long history of racism. Although slavery was declared illegal in the Oregon Territory in 1844, the same year saw the passage of the "Lash Law" which commanded that all black people should leave the territory under threat of a lashing. Eckard V. Toy posits that "it is apparent that the people of Oregon were more anti-Negro than antislave."²⁰ The Oregon Constitution, ratified in 1857, contained a clause that prohibited free blacks from settling in Oregon. Although never enforced, the exclusion clause partially explains why Oregon was not an attractive state for African American migration.²¹

The 1920s Klan, with more diffuse goals than the Klan of Reconstruction, was far less violent. Despite the general decrease in violence in the second Klan, there are several recorded incidents of the Oregon Klan resorting to violent intimidation. In the

first incident, a white salesman from Medford was targeted for bringing a lawsuit against a prominent Klan member. He was kidnapped, taken to the mountains and threatened with lynching if he did not leave the county. George Arthur Burr, a black man, was also kidnapped upon his release from jail for bootlegging. A rope was placed around his neck and he was told to flee or the next time the KKK found him he would be hanged. Burr's near-lynching served as a Klan protest against the lax prosecution of moonshiners and bootleggers in Medford. A third instance was recorded in Medford when a black man and a Mexican were kidnapped and threatened in the same manner as Burr.²²

However, for many the Klan was merely a fraternal order that promoted solidarity and offered an opportunity to make an impact on the local community. David Horowitz details the community ties of the La Grande Klansmen in his analysis of their meeting minutes:

They demonstrate ongoing ties to several Protestant churches, sponsorship of lectures by visiting religious figures, support for political candidates at all levels of government, involvement in issues concerning the public schools, backing for patriotic and other fraternal groups, assistance to civic institutions and organizations (like the Young Men's Christian Association [YMCA] and Red Cross), and participation in law enforcement campaigns and other purity activities.²³

Additionally, the Klan controlled a newspaper, *The Western American*, and held typical fraternal society functions like picnics, concerts, lectures and baseball teams. Not only did the Klan function as a fraternal society, but it also drew its membership from the existing network of Masons, Odd Fellows, Elks, and American Legionnaires.²⁴

The 1922 election saw a substantial number of Klan members elected to local, county and state legislative seats. The Klan controlled a majority of the House, a "strong working minority" in the Senate and Klansmen K. K. Kubli served as Speaker

of the House.²⁵ Most significant, however, is the role the Klan played in the gubernatorial campaign of LaGrande Democrat Senator Walter M. Pierce. Pierce was running against incumbent Governor Ben Olcott, a staunch opponent of the Klan. Olcott was alarmed by the growing power of the Klan and decried the Klan in a 1922 proclamation, where he called upon all Oregonians to support law enforcement against the lawlessness and violence of the Klan. In his public condemnation of the Klan, Olcott effectively jeopardized his political career.²⁶ Pierce handily defeated Olcott, 133,392 to 99,164.²⁷

The newly elected Klan-backed legislators focused their legislative efforts on two areas: anti-immigration and anti-Catholicism via public education. The Klansmen worked to further discourage foreign aliens (primarily Japanese and Chinese immigrants) from settling in Oregon by passing a law that forbade aliens from obtaining land. Promoting some populist issues, Klan-backed legislators supported increased funding for public education and passed a law attacking nuns by banning teachers from wearing religious clothing in schools. Also, new laws prohibited the use of school textbooks that negatively portrayed Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, John Adams and other founding fathers.²⁸ Thus, we can see the emphasis on anti-Catholicism and “100% Americanism” in the Klan’s legislative efforts.

In another example of anti-Catholic sentiment, Oregon voters passed the Oregon Compulsory Education Act in 1922. The act aimed to eliminate Roman Catholic and all other parochial day schools by requiring all children eight to sixteen years old to attend public school. The bill received support from various fraternal organizations and politicians, including the Freemasons, the Ku Klux Klan and the newly-elected

Governor Pierce. The controversial law was challenged by the Society of Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary, a Catholic school, in *Pierce v. Society of Sisters* (1925). After appeal to the United States Supreme Court, James Clark McReynolds, writing for the majority, declared the law unconstitutional, arguing that children were not “the mere creatures of the state” and that liberty allowed the responsibility of a child’s education to be the parent or guardian’s decision.²⁹

The Ku Klux Klan declined in Oregon for the same reasons the national Klan lost favor in the eyes of Americans. For many, the Klan had lost its respectability. Newspaper editorials exposed the violence, intolerance and hypocrisies of the Klan and corruption scandals sullied the Klan’s once pristine robes. In particular, Oregon Klansmen found the leadership of Grand Dragon Fred Gifford to be abrasive and quit the organization.³⁰ The public grew disillusioned with the ability and the commitment of the Klan to effectively address all the societal ills against which it preached. While the white hoods faded from the streets of Portland, racism, anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism remained embedded in the beliefs of many Oregonians.

A History of Heppner

Stanford University astronomer Sidney Dean Townley, on an automobile journey to examine several suitable moon observation sites in eastern Oregon, noted Heppner's geography in a report in the February 1919 *Publication of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific*:

This is a semi-arid region, the landscape being made up of a succession of rolling hills of immense size. The hills are barren, the only trees being found in the canyons. Heppner is in the center of a vast wheat-raising and grazing country. The town is located in a narrow canyon and may be reached by means of a branch of the Oregon-Washington Railroad and Navigation Company line, leaving the main line at Heppner Junction about half-way between The Dalles and Pendleton [...] The annual for the semi-arid region is small and the summers are hot and dry.³¹

Townley's account references several prominent geographical features that shaped Heppner, including the vast expanses of treeless prairie land that encouraged a thriving wool and grain industry.

The first European settlers in Willow Creek Valley in the late 1850s were cattlemen utilizing the ample grazing lands of the Deschutes-Umatilla Plateau. Henry Heppner, the town's namesake, arrived in 1872 alongside hundreds of prospectors en route to goldfields in Eastern Oregon.³² He saw a business opportunity selling supplies to the budding community and thus opened the town's first store in partnership with Jackson Morrow, the namesake of Morrow County. Interestingly, Henry Heppner—the town's leading man—was a German Jew, like so many others who opened pioneer stores in the area in the late 19th century.³³

The tiny collections of cabins in Willow Creek Valley grew rapidly due to its prime location to become a transportation hub. By early 1888, the Oregon Railway & Navigation Company announced plans to connect Heppner via a spur line to its main

tracks on the Columbia River.³⁴ The *Portland News* reported that Heppner citizens actively campaigned to bring a railroad to their town: “for some time past the citizens of the prosperous town of Heppner which is located on Willow Creek, Morrow County, 199 miles southeast of Portland, have desired railroad connection in order that they might market their wool, grain and cattle. [...] The citizens have been negotiating with the O.R. & N. Company for months past.”³⁵ The railroad connection transformed Heppner, as its population nearly doubled in the ten years after the railroad construction from 675 in 1890 to 1,146 at the turn of the century.³⁶ Heppner became an important shipping point for wool, wheat and cattle heading both east and west. One Heppner broker reported that approximately three-quarters of the 2,325,000 pounds of wool he processed in 1892 went west to Portland and the remaining quarter went to textile mills further east via the railroad.³⁷

The early history of Heppner is marred by a series of natural disasters. The most infamous is the Heppner Flood of Sunday, June 14 1903. As the deadliest natural disaster in Oregon history and the second deadliest flash flood in United States history, the Heppner Flood claimed an estimated 238 to 400 lives.³⁸ It washed out decades of progress in a single day, wiping away hundreds of horses, cows, pigs, chickens, wagons, cellars and acres of fertile topsoil in addition to 141 homes and forty businesses.³⁹ It had been an unusually dry spring and Heppner residents rejoiced in a rainstorm the previous Thursday. Scientists later suspected that “the Thursday downpour had moistened what soil there was, cutting down on how much it could absorb on Sunday.”⁴⁰ The thunderstorm began in the hills to the south of town and

“water raced into canyons it had been carving for centuries.”⁴¹ The flood arrived in Heppner around suppertime in the form of a 30 foot high wall of water.

Heppner took decades to fully recover from the destruction of the 1903 flood. The population fell from 1,146 in the 1900 Census to 880 people in the 1910 Census.⁴² By 1920, the town had again grown to reach 1,324 people, a figure around pre-flood levels. In a psychological sense, Heppner residents were shaped by the horror of that afternoon in 1903: “as long as the survivors were alive, they must have been trying to banish what they saw and smelled and heard.”⁴³ Unfortunately for Heppner, the 1903 flood was not an isolated occurrence. Residents faced flash floods—albeit floods less destructive and deadly than the Heppner Flood of 1903—in 1883, 1885, 1888, 1891, 1904, 1917, 1918 and 1920.⁴⁴

Heppner suffered from a brace of destructive fires in 1918. According to the *Heppner Herald*, the first fire on May 27 caused an estimated \$25,000 to \$30,000 loss.⁴⁵ The newspaper proclaimed that it was the most destructive fire in Heppner’s history, a record that would stand for only a month.⁴⁶ The second fire hit Heppner on the afternoon of Independence Day and spread quickly due to a high wind and a “practically deserted” city.⁴⁷ Newspaper estimates put the fire loss at approximately \$200,000. In comparison, the estimated loss for the Heppner Flood of 1903 was \$600,000.⁴⁸ According to the *Heppner Herald*, approximately “four and one-half blocks were swept clean,” and “twenty-five families are homeless and many are left with only the clothes they wore.”⁴⁹ On July 5—just one day later—a small flood passed through the town, destroying several bridges, barns and killing livestock.⁵⁰ *The Gazette-Times* called in an editorial for residents to uphold the so-called ‘Heppner spirit’:

Heppner has been hard hit, there is no use denying the fact. Numerous families have been rendered homeless, and it would seem that the elements are against us, for what the fire did not get, the water was after. Still things are not so bad. They are largely what we make them. [...] Let us put on our smile, brighten up our faces, roll up our sleeves and 'go to it' for the making of a better city. People are always stronger for overcoming such difficulties. Let us down the knocker and back up the optimist, in other words, maintain the Heppner spirit.⁵¹

The series of intense disasters appear to have helped foster a spirit of community in Heppner. The Heppner Flood of 1903 provided opportunities for acts of kindness, bravery and neighborliness. The *Morning Oregonian* reported that Leslie Matlock, having survived the flood waters in the sturdy Palace Hotel, "mount[ed] a horse and [sped] down [the] valley to spread [the] terrible warning to unsuspecting people."⁵² Matlock and his companion, Bruce Kelly, despite having to stop and cut gaps in barb-wire fences between fields, reached Ione in time to warn the townspeople to evacuate.⁵³

In an essay on the Klan in Eugene, Oregon, historian Eckard V. Toy describes the small-town tensions that allowed the Klan to become a powerful political force in local politics. Toy writes that "agrarianism and vestiges of a small-town past persisted against the inroads of urbanization and rapid technological change, while cosmopolitanism shared an uneasy coexistence with a staid social conformity and a powerful desire to preserve traditional moral values."⁵⁴ Similarly, William Toll argues in an essay on the Klan in Tillamook, Oregon that "to most people during the 1920s, the Klan represented a means of resisting social and cultural threats that were widely publicized; it attracted men of diverse motives who welcomed change—especially commercial growth—but were frightened by some of the social and moral consequences of modernization."⁵⁵ One such tension brought about by modernization was the rise of the automobile.

Heppner residents experienced the various changes brought about by the automobile in the early 1920s. In her childhood memoir “Looking Back at Heppner,” Elinor Cohn Shank describes how the automobile changed the social fabric of her hometown:

The change in the conduct of commerce in Heppner in the 1920s can be traced to the mobility that came with the use of the automobile. The farm wife was no longer dependent on the catalogs from Sears, Roebuck and Montgomery Ward. She was lured to stores in the larger towns, where, like her town sister, she could examine merchandise before purchase. When the cash reserves of farmers were depleted because of crop failures and low market prices, local merchants and banks extended credit beyond the customary limits; but when farmers had cash in hand, they often made purchases away from home—a kind of double cross of the merchants who had, in a sense, fed and clothed their families during the tough times. This was all part of an evolution in which the chain store was encouraged, and the demise of the small-town retailer became a fact of life [...] One by one employees of small retail businesses were dismissed until all duties were assumed by family members.⁵⁶

Heppner and Morrow County appeared to embrace the automobile. The *Oregon Voter* reported that Morrow County had 715 registered motor vehicles in 1922.⁵⁷ According to the 1920 census, Morrow County had a total population of 5,617 people. Similar sized counties include Harney County (3,992), Grant County (5,496) and Lincoln County (6,084).⁵⁸ Those aforementioned counties only had 436, 477 and 224 registered vehicles, respectively.⁵⁹ A similar comparison of registered automobile dealerships reveals that Morrow County had 5 dealerships, more than Harney (2), Grant (4), and Lincoln (2).⁶⁰ Perhaps some of the difference in vehicle registrations can be explained by the difference in county economies; for example, Lincoln County’s fishing and timber industry required fewer automobiles at this time than the vast grazing and wheat lands of Morrow County.

The railroad, and later the automobile, opened Heppner up from its relative isolation in the landlocked interior of Eastern Oregon. Elinor Cohn Shank remembers that “the automobile trip to Portland took the greater part of two days, with a stopover at The Dalles.” In comparison, “the train trip to Portland took twelve hours.”⁶¹ While the train trip was quicker, the automobile allowed residents to travel locally without relying on the railroad’s schedule. The automobile was commonplace in Heppner, as the *Gazette-Times* noted in a 1914 editorial: “automobiles and trucks, to say nothing of motorcycles, have become so common on the streets and roads that they have ceased to attract any particular attention.”⁶² Two weeks earlier the *Gazette-Times* also called the automobile “a safe, practical and very useful implement for the farmer.”⁶³ However, the automobile also faced criticism and calls for regulation in the Heppner papers, with headlines like “Menace of the Automobile” leading reports of rising automobile-related deaths.⁶⁴

Eckard Toy contends that one of the greatest fears of the Eugene Klansmen was the decay of conventional moral values. Their fears focused on the licentious part-time or migrant laborer: “Typically, agriculture and logging attracted large numbers of single men, and towns where they roomed or spent their leisure hours had a disproportionate number of saloons and prostitutes.”⁶⁵ Lane County’s largest employers included the Eugene Fruit Growers Association cannery, the Eugene Woolen Mills, various lumber-related manufacturing enterprises and the University of Oregon. These employers were characterized by “seasonal employment patterns that required numerous part-time and migrant laborers.”⁶⁶ According to Toll’s analysis of the Tillamook Klan, Tillamook County also experienced similar tensions due to the size of their logging industry: “the

growth of logging inspired mixed feelings in Tillamook because individual contractors were often transients who drew into town a rough and migratory proletariat.”⁶⁷

On the other hand, Heppner had only a handful of small manufacturing establishments, including the Heppner flour mill and Morrow County Creamery Company. Manufacturing paid wages of \$21,528 in 1920 and \$21,650 in 1930, compared to the \$1.8 million dollars paid in manufacturing wages in Tillamook County. There were only fourteen manufacturing establishments in Morrow County in the 1920 census and they declined to six in 1930.⁶⁸ One contributing factor in the drop in manufacturing establishments may have been the ability of the automobile and railroad to transport goods from other counties, thus reducing the demand for Morrow County-produced items.

It appears that Morrow County experienced fewer migratory labor-related tensions than Tillamook and Lane County. Heppner, while a transportation hub for wheat, wool and beef, was not on the main railroad line along the Columbia River that regularly brought in trains with travelers from Chicago or out of town. That is not to say that Morrow County was not keen to encourage moral behavior. Heppner City Council passed Ordinance No. 182 that defined and set penalties for the crime of “criminal syndicalism” in July 1918. In the same session, they passed regulations for hotels and boarding houses in Ordinance No. 183. Section 6 of the ordinance declared that “no person to whom a license shall be issued, as provided in this ordinance, shall suffer, permit, or allow the hotel, rooming house or lodging house [...] to be used as a house of ill fame, brothel, bawdy house or disorderly house, for the purpose of prostitution, fornication or lewdness; or suffer any lascivious cohabitation, adultery,

fornication or other immoral practice to be carried on therein.”⁶⁹ Local papers carried segments by influential Seattle Reverend Mark A. Matthews, who denounced “the curse of gambling.” He argued, “The desire to gamble seems to have entered every breast. The evil of gambling is seen everywhere. [...] This gambling spirit has ruined the youth’s ambitions, and has caused thousands of girls to sell their all.”⁷⁰

Moonshining was the most common act of lawlessness noted in the Heppner newspapers. An article detailing the arrest of two men by Sheriff George McDuffee appeared in the July 20, 1920 *Heppner Herald*. It read as an exciting narrative: “[Sheriff] McDuffee stepped into the sleeping tent occupied by the men and announced, ‘Well I’m here.’ The men were both sound asleep but at the sheriff’s rather startling announcement, Moore stirred under the blankets and sleepily replied: ‘So am I,’ then, as he opened his eyes and glanced at the early visitor remarked: ‘My God, it’s McDuffee.’ ”⁷¹ Other articles portrayed the lawmen as heroes in battle with outlaws and bandits. In March 1923, a gunfight erupted as a posse of deputy sheriffs attempted to arrest a band of moonshiners. Sheriff McDuffee’s eighteen-year-old son, Paul, became an instant hero when he was struck by a bullet ricochet: “the boy evidently is a chip off the old block, having inherited his father’s courage and coolness, and without noticing the [bullet] sliver he stood pat and kept shooting while his ammunition lasted.”⁷² Moonshiners were able to set up distilleries in the rolling, secluded hills of Morrow County.

Morrow County’s political atmosphere was characterized by low voter turnout. Only 21.9 percent of registered Morrow County voters went to the polls for the June 7, 1921 election, the lowest degree of voter turnout among all Oregon counties.

Significantly, the Soldiers' Loan and Bonus Law, supported by the American Legion, passed in Morrow County by only 57.5 percent, the third lowest margin of all counties. The lack of support for the Soldiers' Loan and Bonus Law may be a reflection of cost-related concerns than a lack of patriotic support. In another noteworthy vote, over 58 percent of Morrow County voters supported the Women Jurors Law, a rate surpassed narrowly by three other counties. The *Gazette-Times* argued in support of permitting women to serve as jurors: "From the standpoint of human rights and moral responsibilities the woman juror bill is the most important one on the ballot."⁷³ However, Morrow County's support was not equaled in other parts of the state, as the law passed statewide with merely 50.3 percent of the vote, or a margin of 617 votes.⁷⁴ In a show of anti-Klan sympathies, Morrow County voters supported the incumbent Governor Olcott over Klan-backed candidate Representative Charles Hall in the 1922 Republican primary election by a count of 216 to 124 votes. Statewide, Olcott won the primary election by only 521 votes.⁷⁵

Morrow County voters rejected the controversial Compulsory Education Act in the 1922 General Election by 673 votes to 622. While speakers in Heppner blasted the school bill as a "campaign of deception, bigotry, prejudice and misguided zeal for impossible and undesirable reforms," the debate was still considerably calmer in Morrow County than elsewhere in Oregon: "In many sections of the state the fight has been very bitter, and it would seem that animosities have been aroused that it will take some time to heal. [...] In this county the fight has progressed quietly and without bitterness."⁷⁶

Although Morrow County voters by a small margin elected Klan-backed Democratic gubernatorial candidate Pierce in the 1922 election, the result is more of a reflection of their dissatisfaction with rising taxes rather than support of the Klan. The *Gazette Times* reported that Pierce's "appeal to the average citizen in behalf of relief from tax burdens has been hard to overcome."⁷⁷ Morrow County faced a heavy tax burden: in 1921, residents paid per capita combined state, county and local taxes of \$96.97, the second highest in the state.⁷⁸ Moreover, Morrow County irrigation district tax revenue increased 290 percent from 1920 to 1921 and public school tax revenue increased 305 percent from 1915 to 1921.⁷⁹

Shepherds in the Blue Hills

Morrow County is characterized by low population density, large farms and an agriculture-related economy. There were approximately 692 farms in Morrow County according to the 1920 Census with an average size of 1,129.5 acres per farm. Only Wheeler County, the smallest county in terms of population, had a higher average farm size.⁸⁰ A closer examination of Morrow County farms reveals that there were 190 farms under 260 acres, 121 farms 260-499 acres, 179 farms 500-999 acres, and 202 farms 1000 acres and over.⁸¹

The primary crops raised on Morrow County's large farms were wheat, hay for foraging and other cereal grains. The total value of Morrow County's cereals (wheat) crop was \$2,173,749 in 1920. The hay crop, a smaller business, albeit still important for the wool and cattle industry, was valued at \$630,487.⁸² Elinor Cohn Shank remembers the importance of grain in Heppner: "in Morrow County, and those contiguous, growing wheat and raising sheep were the principal means of livelihood. [...] Papa paid close attention to the wool and grain market, as prices fluctuated from one day to the next."⁸³ The *Gazette-Times* carried a series of guest articles written by experts at the Oregon Agricultural College with farm-related tips.⁸⁴ The newspaper later editorialized against the grain sack: "Why do we need grain sacks? To hold the grain, of course, but the method certainly belongs to times less progressive than the present. The grain sack does the work; it holds the grain, but it does it awkwardly, expensively and not always well. [...] In contrast with this slow and expensive system, note the quickness, convenience and economy in handling grain by the elevator system."⁸⁵ The grain industry was modernizing in Morrow County.

The other major industry in Heppner (and Morrow County) was wool. One visitor to Heppner before the turn of the century remarked: “The Heppner Hills often smelled like sheep; they were every place, almost half a million of them.”⁸⁶ Morrow County’s livestock was valued at \$3,643,715 in 1920; a figure surpassed only by other cattle and sheep-heavy regions like Harney, Malheur and Umatilla counties. The railroad opened the national market to Oregon wool, as “the shipping of wool was more adaptable to rail transport.”⁸⁷ Wool prices—like grain prices—were highly susceptible to market fluctuations. Both the *Heppner Herald* and *Gazette-Times* regularly reported the rise and decline of the wool market, significant wool market transactions and carried advertisements for wool/grain warehouses. The *Oregon Voter* published “Pleads for the Shepherd,” an argument in favor of freezing railroad rates in order to help stabilize the wool market: “To further endanger the wool situation would be highly unreasonable by advancing or changing the wool rates. The wool business should be encouraged rather than discouraged for the good of all people generally.”⁸⁸ As demonstrated by the *Oregon Voter*, a thriving wool industry in a small town like Heppner was crucial to a healthy economy.

The stereotypical shepherd on the hills of Morrow County was an Irishman. Modern-day Heppner celebrates its Irish heritage with a large St. Patrick’s Day celebration every March. Writers have noted that many of the Irish who came to Oregon choose to settle in rural areas like Morrow County:

Many of those who made it to Oregon did not settle in Portland, choosing instead the more rural areas of Oregon. The potential for sheepherding was evident, as much open land remained, and the climate and terrain were favorable. It was a lucrative business, though difficult and challenging. [...] Tensions with cattle ranchers, coyotes, and bears made the job of sheepherding dangerous, and weather that could sometimes be unpredictably treacherous

could result in a total loss of fortune, but banks were, by and large, willing to bail out destitute shepherders, knowing that another fortune could easily be made.⁸⁹

Elinor Cohn Shank remembers that a variety of foreign-born white settlers resided in Heppner: “Heppner *did* possess a wide representation of ‘nationals,’ each generally following the occupation of his forefather in the homeland. The Swedes and Germans tended to be farmers, the Scotsmen favored livestock raising, and the Irish, many of whom began as hired hands and eventually acquired livestock, ran their own outfits.”⁹⁰

John Francis Kilkenny, also commenting on his childhood in Heppner, remembers that Irish immigration into Morrow County was 85 percent boys and 15 percent girls: “As a result, most of the men lived very monastic lives and a tragically large percentage of those who remained in America, lived and died bachelors.”⁹¹

A close examination of census data reveals the extent to which Morrow County was populated by the Irish and other foreign-born white people. The 1920 Census reveals that Morrow County contained 430 foreign-born white residents or approximately 7.6 percent of its 5,617 total population. Other counties similar in size, location and rural nature to Morrow County include Wheeler County (7.4 percent foreign-born), Grant County (6.7 percent foreign-born), Umatilla County (7.6 percent foreign-born), Gilliam County (11.2 percent foreign-born) and Harney County (8.11 percent foreign-born). In contrast, the urban Multnomah County had 50,380 foreign-born white persons or approximately 18.3 percent of its total population.⁹² Compared to other rural counties, Morrow did not have an unusual foreign-born population size.

However, over 35 percent of the foreign-born in Morrow County came from Ireland. No other countries of origin for immigrants residing in Morrow County

approached that of Ireland with 151 immigrants. Germany had 39, England 30, Canada 60 and Sweden 44. In a comparison with other similar rural counties, we find that Wheeler County (8.2 percent Irish-born), Grant County (3.8 percent Irish-born), Umatilla County (7.7 percent Irish-born), Gilliam County (15.9 percent Irish-born) and Harney County (5.5 percent Irish-born) all had a significantly smaller Irish proportion of their foreign-born population than Morrow County. Even the urban, immigrant-filled Multnomah County had 2,083 Irish-born residents out of 50,380 foreign-born immigrants (4.1 percent Irish-born).⁹³ Clearly, Morrow County conspicuously attracted the Irish.

Both of the Heppner newspapers frequently ran stories that appealed to the large Irish contingent. The Irish War of Independence from 1919-1921 provided extensive opportunities for Morrow County Irishmen to organize speeches and financial drives. “Local citizens of Irish decent and nativity” worked with fraternal groups to raise nearly \$4,000 for the Irish Freedom Fund.⁹⁴ In 1919, the *Heppner Herald* carried the entire text of Heppner’s Reverend Father O’Rourke address at a Portland convention on the Irish question.⁹⁵ Heppner High School sports teams were known as “the Fighting Irish”⁹⁶ and high school plays regularly featured a relatable subject like “My Irish Rose,” a comedy-drama of Irish life.⁹⁷ Furthermore, Heppner newspapers did not carry stories critical of the Irish, and the *Heppner Herald* editorialized: “Morrow County may well be proud of her Irish citizenry and their descendants—representatives of that race long famed for loyalty to their country, devotion to their ideals, sparkling wit, loving hearts, beauty and virtue.”⁹⁸

The Irish occupied roles as leading men in Morrow County society. The so-called “King of the Irish in Morrow County” was the successful sheep man John Kilkenny.⁹⁹ An immigrant from County Leitrim, he was a true American success story, having worked his way up from railroad laborer to sheep tycoon.¹⁰⁰ The *Oregon Voter*, published in Portland, declared that “John Kilkenny’s name is a household word in a large part of Eastern Oregon”¹⁰¹ and his wedding was front page news of the *Gazette-Times*.¹⁰² Kilkenny was a respectable leader who could be championed: “In his social, economic and political contacts with others, high or low, he was the image by which the community knew the Irish: completely approachable, courteous until provoked, first to reach a helping hand, utter a kindly word, partake of a friendly drink, or engage in a worthwhile fight.”¹⁰³ His son, also named John Kilkenny, would become a U.S. Federal Judge for the District Court of Oregon. Kilkenny and other Irish leaders provided a positive example of Irishmen for Heppner and Morrow County residents.

The Irish immigrants brought a strong Catholic community to Heppner. The first Catholic church was built in Heppner in 1887. An eight person committee (with three non-Catholic members)¹⁰⁴ was convened to decide the location: canyon floor or higher ground? High ground was chosen and as a result, the church survived the disastrous Heppner Flood of 1903. Construction was a community affair: “Non-Catholics contributed generously and helped willingly until the building was completed.”¹⁰⁵ Jewish community members also donated to the cause: “Substantial contributors included Henry Heppner, the Jewish merchant after whom the city was named, and Philip Cohn, a pioneer Jewish warehouseman and trader.”¹⁰⁶ The church was named for St. Patrick, a symbol of its Irish congregation.

Heppner Irishmen also enjoyed the presence of two Catholic-related fraternal orders, the Ancient Order of the Hibernians and the Knights of Columbus. Kilkenny remembers the “powerful influence of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, Heppner being home of the second largest lodge in the State of Oregon.”¹⁰⁷ The Order regularly hosted dinners with 125 to 150 guests in celebration of St. Patrick’s Day and in support of Irish Independence.¹⁰⁸ The events received detailed front-page coverage in both Heppner newspapers. The international Catholic service organization Knights of Columbus organized in Heppner on March 16, 1924.¹⁰⁹ The first class contained 35 initiates.¹¹⁰ One might wonder if the beginning of a second Catholic organization purposely coincided with the rise of the anti-Catholic Klan in nearby towns.

It’s also important for our understanding of the Klan to examine the presence of local ethnic minorities. As noted earlier, Oregon only had around 2,000 black residents in 1920. The greatest concentration of black people in Oregon was Multnomah County, with 1,627 black residents, mostly in Portland. Morrow County registered only six black residents in 1920, all of them male.¹¹¹ The census data correlates with an observation by Eckard Toy, who notes that most black Oregonians lived in urban areas, with the exception of transients and migrants laborers who worked in rural areas.¹¹² It’s likely that the six black males in Morrow County were migrant laborers.

Historically, the Chinese were the ethnic minority facing the greatest hostility from Oregon nativists. However, anti-Chinese aggression subsided around the turn of the century as the Chinese population declined: “Many Chinese entered the United States only to work temporarily and then return to China. From 1900 to 1920 the foreign-born Chinese population in the state decreased by nearly 75 percent.”¹¹³ Rural

areas like Morrow County appear to not have been threatened by the Chinese as Toy notes that “[Anti-Chinese] agitation in the rural areas was not great because the Chinese tended to congregate in the larger communities.”¹¹⁴ Elinor Cohn Shank notes in her memoir that “a few Chinese [...] remained [in Heppner] after completion of the railroad.”¹¹⁵

Nativist aggression in Oregon shifted towards the Japanese by the early 1920s. According to Toy, the Japanese “tended to settle permanently in the United States, often in rural areas.”¹¹⁶ Hood River was one area particularly threatened by the fear of successful Japanese laborers. Historian David Horowitz argues that Hood River nativists “perceive[ed] Japanese modes of thought, purposes, aspirations, work habits, and living standards to be totally alien to American ways, and fear[ed] that growing numbers of Japanese would assure their political as well as economic domination.”¹¹⁷ Despite a declining Japanese population in Hood River (the number of Japanese declined from 442 in 1910 to 342 in 1920),¹¹⁸ Hood River residents formed an Anti-Alien League in 1919. Consisting mainly of farmers and Legionnaires,¹¹⁹ the Anti-Alien League warned that the Japanese were taking over the Hood River Valley— notwithstanding a “1919 report [that] found that Japanese owned only some 2 percent of the land available for cultivation in the valley.”¹²⁰

Morrow County did not face the same perceived threat from Chinese and Japanese as did more urban regions. The 1920 census recorded only 10 “Indian, Chinese or Japanese” residents in Morrow County. The greatest populations were found in Marion, Umatilla, Clatsop, Klamath and Multnomah counties. Despite the lack of the Japanese residents, one can still find an anti-Japanese sentiment in Heppner. In a report

on the organization of the Anti-Alien League in Hood River, the *Gazette-Times* ran a subheading declaring “Little Brown Men of the East Are Becoming Too Numerous in Famous Fruit Belt.—Hood River Men Organize to Keep Them Out.”¹²¹ Yet there were appeals to a sense of responsibility to help others (referred to earlier as the ‘Heppner-spirit’) in the wake of the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, which killed over 140,000 people. “Remember when we had our misfortunes?” read a September 1923 *Heppner Herald* article. “Assistance was extended liberally. Now it’s our turn to help feed the starving Japs.”¹²² The earthquake provided an opportunity for Morrow County to donate grain, its primary agricultural product.

The Klan Comes to Heppner

As depicted in the introduction of this thesis, the Ku Klux Klan first tried to organize in Morrow County in a series of free public lectures in Lexington, Ione and Heppner on April 25, 26 and 27, 1923, rather late in its history in Oregon.¹²³ Like the Irish Catholic Ancient Order of Hibernians and other local social organizations, the Klan lecture utilized existing fraternal halls for its recruitment speeches. Initial newspaper reports did not declare the recruitment effort a success or failure, but a newspaper article several months later in January 1924 confirmed the presence of Morrow County Klan No. 33.¹²⁴ Although the Morrow County Klan “had received its charter from the Imperial Wizard,” its organization came at the time of the decline of the Klan in Oregon politics and its activities were largely hidden from the public eye.¹²⁵

Extant accounts of the Morrow County Klan are limited to Heppner’s two main newspapers, the *Heppner Herald* and the *Gazette-Times*. According to the 1921-1922 *Oregon Blue Book*, Heppner was a rarity for small town of its size (approximately 1300 people) in that it had two weekly newspapers. Other towns of its size typically had one newspaper or a second newspaper that was published monthly.¹²⁶ The two newspapers struck opposing stances on the Ku Klux Klan.

The *Gazette-Times* followed the lead of most newspapers in the state of Oregon and remained neutral towards the Klan. Published every Thursday by Vawter and Spencer Crawford, the *Gazette-Times* prominently carried the title of “Morrow County Official Paper.”¹²⁷ A one year subscription cost two dollars, whereas single copies cost five cents. Despite the competition between the *Heppner Herald* and the *Gazette-Times*, there appears to be a sense of co-operation between the two papers. When Sam Pattison,

editor of the *Herald* arrived in Heppner, he was welcomed by the *Gazette-Times*: “This office received this week a pleasant call from S.A. Pattison, [...] who has assumed the management and editorship of the Heppner Herald [...] Mr. Pattison has had considerable newspaper experience [...] He formerly edited the Condon Globe. Mr. Pattison is a man with a pleasing appearance and will undoubtedly prove a valuable addition to the newspaper fraternity in Morrow county.”¹²⁸ During one of the series of natural disasters that struck Heppner in the early 20th Century, the *Gazette-Times* displayed the “Heppner Spirit” of community support when the *Herald’s* offices and print presses were destroyed in a fire. The *Herald* was allowed to print from the *Gazette-Times* offices: “It is only because of the courtesy and true neighborliness of Mr. Crawford and the *Gazette-Times* force that we are able to appear even in condensed form and only one day late.”¹²⁹ On April 15 1924, the *Heppner Herald* was sold to the Crawford brothers. The Crawfords’ *Heppner Gazette-Times* continued on as Heppner’s sole newspaper.

Existing historical literature establishes that “newspapers in the state [were] often neutral toward the Klan.”¹³⁰ For example, the *Portland Telegram* was the largest newspaper in Portland to resist against the Klan: “Portland’s three other metropolitan newspapers were journalistic cowards that broke their silence only after the Klan was declining.”¹³¹ The *Corvallis Gazette Times*, the *Salem Capitol Journal*, the *Medford Mail Tribune* and the *Klamath Falls Herald* (owned by a Knights of Columbus member) joined the *Portland Telegram* in refusing to submit to Klan pressure.¹³² Newspapers that attacked the maxims of the Klan faced the credible threat of boycott: the *Telegram* lost roughly 5000 subscribers in one month.¹³³

Sam Pattison or S.A. Pattison, the editor of the *Heppner Herald*, led an anti-Klan movement through a series of passionate editorials and guest articles. The *Herald* was established in 1914 by L.K. Harlan as an anti-prohibition paper.¹³⁴ Pattison bought the paper in early 1917 but continued to operate it as “An Independent Newspaper.”¹³⁵ A one year subscription to the *Herald* also cost two dollars¹³⁶ and it was published every Tuesday.¹³⁷ The *Oregon Exchange*, a monthly publication for Oregon newspapermen, remarked Pattison proved to be a successful editor: “Since taking over the business last March, S.A. Patterson [sic], the present publisher, is able to report a steady and gratifying increase in business with each succeeding month.”¹³⁸

Pattison was an experienced and well-respected newspaperman. He founded the *Central Point Herald* and was former president of the Jackson County Press association. The *Medford Mail Tribune* remarked on Pattison’s retirement in 1912:

The retirement of S.A. Pattison, founder of the Central Point Herald and his desertion of newspaper work for farm life after twenty years of continuous labor as editor and publisher, is a distinct loss to Oregon journalism for Mr. Pattison always conducted a fearless and progressive paper with high standards.

From Mr. Pattison’s advent dates Central Points awakening. He took the lead in the progressive movements and is largely responsible for the fact that Central Point is today the best paved, best sewerred [sic] and best watered town of its size in the northwest.

Mr. Pattison has been a community builder and in devoting his energy to improving the country has fulfilled the best ideals of journalism.¹³⁹

Pattison abandoned his short-lived retirement to take over the *Heppner Herald* in 1917. Upon arrival in Heppner, the Pattison family was active in the local community. Sam Pattison served as secretary of the Heppner Commercial Club and his wife was active in both the Red Cross Association and Parent-Teacher Association.¹⁴⁰ Pattison, a Scottish-American, networked closely with the Irish. He appeared on a list of men who donated

money to the Irish Freedom Fund in support of Irish Independence with a \$10 donation and was a speaker at Irish community events.¹⁴¹

When the news of the Klan incursion into Oregon reached Heppner, Pattison downplayed it like many other Oregon leaders.¹⁴² Citing the example of the American Protective Association (A. P. A.), a previous American foray into anti-Catholicism in 1887, Pattison declared that the Klan was a nonsensical convulsion of true Americanism:

Those of us who remember the old A. P. A. movement of 25 years ago may well suspect that the Klan is moulded [sic] along similar lines, although attempting to cut a considerably wider swath, for while the A. P. A. confined their activities to fighting the Catholic religion, the Klan includes with the Catholic church the Jews, negroes and all foreign-born citizens. Generally speaking, members of the A.P.A. came out openly in their activities while the Klan members are said to hide their identity behind sheet and pillow slip regalia and to dub themselves "The Invisible Empire." They have chosen "Americanism" as a watchword while disregarding a fundamental [sic] principle of this government, viz: political and religious liberty.

So far Heppner seems to have escaped this propaganda and it is hoped, in the interest of community harmony, fairness, justice and true Americanism, that the organization will find no foothold here.¹⁴³

By disputing the Klan's use of "Americanism," Pattison joined the loose coalition of newspaper editors and political thinkers attacking the core language in Klan rhetoric. Additionally, by associating the Klan with "sheet and pillow slip regalia," he emphasized the absurdity of the Klan's language and traditions.

Pattison was not the only voice in the *Heppner Herald* and in Morrow County speaking out against the Ku Klux Klan. Glenn Vernon Burroughs, a 1903 Heppner High School graduate and Assistant Professor of History and Political Science at the University of Montana, wrote an extensive *Herald* article responding to the Klan recruitment speech. He commented on the dogmatic nature of the Invisible Empire:

“How does it know it is right? Where did it get such a store of moral judgment? Other peoples say other religions, other kinds of governments, other supremacies are best. How does the Klan know it is right and they are wrong, is there not a doubt? [...] Because it cannot see the whole truth, it must be a false leader.”¹⁴⁴ Burroughs, an avowed socialist, also had a letter to the editor warning against militarism, imperialism and capitalism published in the *Gazette-Times* in 1918. The *Gazette-Times* editor commented that Burroughs, “though writing from the standpoint of a socialist,” produced a “well-written” and “interesting” article.¹⁴⁵

Republican Senator Bruce Dennis was another anti-Klan voice heard in Heppner. The Heppner Elks lodge hosted a speech by Dennis, editor of the *La Grande Evening Observer* and outspoken critic of the Klan on December 3, 1922. David Horowitz notes in his discussion of the La Grande Klan minutes that Senator Dennis was a frequent Klan target.¹⁴⁶ The accompanying *Gazette-Times* article summarized Senator Dennis’s message: “He touched upon present day tendencies and perils as he called them, showing that ‘intolerance’ was fast becoming a national peril.”¹⁴⁷ The La Grande Klan minutes sarcastically discussed the impact of Senator Dennis’s address: “Only a short time ago our beloved friend, Senator Bruce Dennis, made a talk against the Klan at a meeting of the Elks held in Heppner, Oregon. He spoke of us Klansmen as being breeders of trouble and from all reports there were several there who were looking for trouble. Consequently, he has made for us a few more Klansmen.”¹⁴⁸ Without the Morrow County Klan minutes, it is impossible to know if the La Grande Klansmen were being facetious in their boast about Dennis’s inadvertent Klan

recruitment. However, whatever Klansmen inspired by Senator Dennis in December 1922 received very little publicity in Morrow County newspapers before January 1924.

The *Heppner Herald* garnered attention for its overt anti-Klan voice. Facing charges of being a closeted Catholic, Pattison was forced to defend himself in a February 19, 1924 editorial: “Was the editor of the Herald raised a Catholic? [...] No, gentle reader, the editor was neither born nor reared nor educated nor baptized as a Catholic.” Pattison proceeded to connect his Scottish heritage to his immense distaste for the Klan: “Those old Scotch forebears of his were battered about for quite some time because of their religious belief and it took them quite a spell to quit resenting it.” Wrapping up the editorial, he returned to his most common refrain—the charge that the Klan did not represent 100 percent Americanism because “being a good American did not hinge on color, creed, or political belief.”¹⁴⁹

On Monday, June 4, 1923, Pattison returned to work in the morning to find a pale pink card containing threatening messages fastened to his office door. Instead of cowering from the intimidation, Pattison went on the offensive in a first column, front page editorial:

When the editor of the Herald wishes to express his opinion about the Ku Klux Klan or any other public question he writes an editorial about it. [...] He does not go about it at night or with a mask on and pin it to somebody’s door. There is surely nothing printed on the pale pink card that anybody should be ashamed of, as we are at a loss to know why the distributor did not hand us the card in daylight.

We can recall so many individuals and organizations in the past that “had a mission” and talked about it being a never-dying mission that we may be pardoned for having a lurking suspicion that the Klan may finally go the same route they did. There, for instance, is the Know Nothing party of pre-civil war days and the A. P. A. of 25 years ago. Where, oh where, are they today.

The card declared that the Klan is “anti-nothing.” Then it must be anti-something because something is the opposite of nothing and the Klan must be

one thing or the other else why does it organizers tell citizens: “When we are organized you will have to line up on one side or the other.”¹⁵⁰

Pattison’s statement echoes arguments made by other anti-Klan forces about Klan secrecy. There were other fraternal orders in Heppner that also promoted patriotic ideals and civic service, yet they differentiated from the Klan in that they openly and proudly published lists of initiates in local newspapers. Pattison’s statement also clarifies that the Klan was present in Morrow County despite the lack of official activities reported in Heppner newspapers between the recruitment address in April 1923 and the first conclave of the newly minted Morrow County Klan in January 1924.¹⁵¹

The Klan organizer for Morrow County was James Carter.¹⁵² He lived outside of Heppner in upper Rhea creek in the foothills of the Blue Mountains.¹⁵³ Given the estimated two hour drive by automobile, coming into town appeared to be a rare occasion. Carter appeared to be a poor publicist: he was not mentioned in any articles about the Klan despite his role as Morrow County organizer. However, he might have shrewdly garnered goodwill with the *Gazette-Times*, as they thanked him for dropping off “an abundant supply of new peas, brought in from their garden yesterday” at the office in Heppner.¹⁵⁴ Carter and his wife sold their home in early 1927 and moved out of Morrow County.¹⁵⁵

Morrow County Klan organizers used the divisive rhetoric of an *Us versus Them* mentality, as seen in their warning to “line up on one side or the other.”¹⁵⁶ Given Heppner’s disproportionately large and active Irish Catholic population, it’s likely that the Klan attempted to create a divide between local Catholics and Protestants. This conclusion is supported by the account of John Kilkenny, who recalls that the Klan fanned the flames of religious prejudice: “Religious intolerance was nonexistent. [...]”

Not until the Ku Klux Klan raised its ugly head in the mid-twenties did the community become conscious of a variance in religious beliefs.”¹⁵⁷ Kilkenny’s childhood memoir likely romanticizes the situation in Heppner as he may not have been able to fully perceive religious tensions as a young child.

Despite the efforts of Sam Pattison’s *Heppner Herald* and community leaders, Morrow County Klan no. 33 held its first meeting on January 28, 1924. Interestingly, the county seat and largest town, Heppner, was not chosen to host the spectacle. Instead, the little town of Lexington, about ten miles north of Heppner was “crowded with several hundred visitors” watching the “first parade and public initiation of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.”¹⁵⁸ Although only thirteen men were initiated into the Klan, estimates placed the crowd at 400 to 500 people.¹⁵⁹

The Klan used Rev. Mr. Cookingham, a Presbyterian minister from Pendleton, for the convocation’s opening address. His speech provides insight into the goals and rhetoric of the Morrow County Klan. According to the *Heppner Herald*, Cookingham asserted the Klan was against Roman Catholic control of American government: “The speaker disclaimed any antipathy on the part of the Klan towards the Catholic church, as a church, but maintained that the Klan is against what he described as the Roman Hierarchy and which he declared is ‘trying to run this government.’”¹⁶⁰ The *Gazette-Times* reported that Prohibition enforcement was a main goal as well: “[He] stressed the purposes of the Klan [...] at all times work[ing] toward the enforcement of our state and national laws. Especially is the Eighteenth Amendment receiving cooperation of the Klan in its enforcement, he declared.”¹⁶¹

The Morrow County Klan appeared to lack the momentum and numbers to publicly influence local politics or engage in any activities other than fraternal support. The most publicity the Klan received was when a group of twenty Klansmen in full regalia interrupted an Ione church service to deliver a “purse containing about \$25, as a compliment for the good work he is doing” to the Baptist minister.¹⁶² Other than the church incident, the newspapers said nothing about the Klan, save for announcements as late as May 1925, asking for “a full attendance of members” for annual election.”¹⁶³ At some point the women’s auxiliary group was formed, as a note in the June 1926 *Heppner Gazette-Times* thanked “the ladies of the Ku Klux Klan who so kindly assisted us, and for the beautiful floral offerings, during the recent bereavement in the death of our beloved wife and mother.”¹⁶⁴ For the most part, the Ku Klux Klan faded away from Heppner newspapers by mid-1925, as it had in the rest of the state.¹⁶⁵

Conclusion

The lack of existing Morrow County Klan records makes drawing substantial conclusions about the Klan's activities in Heppner a difficult task. However, we are able to use census data, childhood memoirs and newspaper articles to place the Klan in the context of Heppner, Oregon during the early 1920s. The Invisible Empire faced resistance in Morrow County and was slow to organize—its first meeting was in January 1924, unlike the nearby towns of Condon and Pendleton, that had a thriving Klan presence by early 1922.¹⁶⁶ Out of approximately 5,000 Morrow County residents, the Klan could only field thirteen inductees for their first meeting in 1924. No data exists to make an accurate count of Klan membership in Morrow County during the 1920s. More importantly, the Klan influence was largely limited to Klansmen from Pendleton or other neighboring towns, as Morrow County Klan no. 33 engaged in only a handful of public activities.

As in Oregon in general, in Morrow County the Ku Klux Klan primarily campaigned against the Roman Catholic Church and lawlessness. Recruiters were careful to specify that the Catholic faith itself was not the target. At a recruitment even in Hardman, twenty miles south of Heppner, a Condon minister stated, “nobody but the Jews are barred from joining the Klan because of their religious belief—that a Catholic may become a member if he is a native born American.”¹⁶⁷ It's likely that Morrow County organizers had to adjust their rhetoric in response to the county's high concentration of Irish Catholic immigrants. Statistically, Morrow County lacked the racial threat of Chinese or Japanese immigrants, unlike Klan-heavy Hood River or La Grande. The other tenet of the Morrow County Klan was enforcement of Prohibition

laws, an apt choice in a county beset by outlaw moonshiners hiding in the surrounding hills.

Morrow County's large Irish population may have helped slow the process of Klan organization. The Irish were integral part of county business, with some men like John Kilkenny owning large ranches and employing community members. News of St. Patrick day celebrations and well-attended Ancient Order of Hibernians events filled the local newspaper pages. While the Klan initiation ceremony in January 1923 attracted a crowd of several hundred persons, it is likely that many of the audience members were there simply to witness the spectacle. In comparison, Hibernian events regularly attracted attendance varying from 150 guests¹⁶⁸ to several hundred, as evidenced in the extraordinary claim that "the promoters of the [A. O. H.] affair expect to sell 1000 tickets of admission."¹⁶⁹ Morrow County Klan's thirteen person inaugural recruitment class was eclipsed by the size of the Irish Catholic community.

One cannot discount the effect of the "Heppner Spirit" in encouraging positive community behavior. Having suffered a disastrous flood in 1903, four smaller floods, and two destructive fires, Heppner was familiar with working together in times of crisis. Residents had shared homes, equipment and cooked meals for out-of-luck families—even competing newspapers shared printing presses in the spirit of cooperation. An anti-Klan statement by a successful Heppner businessman in 1923 echoed the "Heppner Spirit" and cited the town's history of disasters:

I am convinced that only dissention and strife and bitterness between former friends and neighbors can come out of it. Heppner has had trouble enough in the past with flood, and fire, and panic, but, thank God, we have always been friends and neighbors through these calamities and have been able to help one another weather these storms and we will yet pull out of these hard times if the

organizers [sic] will just let us alone and quit trying to sow seeds of discord and strife and religious bigotry among us.¹⁷⁰

Furthermore, the childhood memoirs of Elinor Cohn Shank and John Kilkenny present an view of Heppner as a town without religious or racial conflict. Of course, we must consider that both authors may be inclined to minimize community conflict or simply may not remember events that happened in their youth.

Finally, the presence of two newspapers in a small town of 1,324 residents created a unique dynamic that encouraged examination of Klan rhetoric. The *Gazette-Times* maintained a neutral approach towards the Klan, often reprinting their rhetoric without comment. One might have a difficult time distinguishing between a *Gazette-Times* article and a Klan pamphlet found in Portland. The behavior of the *Gazette-Times* parallels the actions of other small town newspapers anxious about threatened boycotts and lost advertising revenue. However, the *Gazette-Times* was offset by the *Heppner Herald* and their unabashedly anti-Klan editor, Sam Pattison. The *Herald* changed the discourse: it led Heppner residents to examine Klan rhetoric by challenging it at its very core of Americanism. While it is impossible to compare the circulation numbers of the two newspapers, is abundantly clear that the *Herald* was heard: it received attention from the Klan in the form of threatening messages, loaded questions and direct criticism in Klan speeches.¹⁷¹ Sam Pattison's insistence on exposing Klan hypocrisies in the face of intimidation and criticism contributed to the feeble Klan presence in Morrow County.

NOTES

- ¹ *Heppner Herald*, May 1, 1923.
- ² David A. Horowitz, *Inside the Klavern: the Secret History of a Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s* (Carbondale, Ill: Southern Illinois University Press, 1996), 68.
- ³ *The Gazette-Times*, April 19, 1923
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, May 3, 1923.
- ⁵ *Heppner Herald*, May 1, 1923
- ⁶ Horowitz, *Inside the Klavern*, 6.
- ⁷ David Mark Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 2.
- ⁸ Lou Falkner Williams, "The South Carolina Ku Klux Klan Trials and Enforcement of Federal Rights, 1871-1872," *Civil War History* 39, no. 1 (1993): 48.
- ⁹ Stephen Weinberger, "The Birth of a Nation and the Making of the NAACP," *Journal of American Studies* 45, No. 1, (2011): 77.
- ¹⁰ Shawn Lay, ed. *The Invisible Empire in the West: Toward a New Historical Appraisal of the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 9.
- ¹¹ Horowitz, *Inside the Klavern*, 4-5.
- ¹² An individual Kleagle could keep four dollars from every ten-dollar membership he sold, allowing him to make up a living by being a full-time recruiter. See Todd Tucker. *Notre Dame vs. the Klan: How the Fighting Irish Defeated the Ku Klux Klan* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2004), 58-59.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, 58.
- ¹⁴ Nancy MacLean. *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 5.
- ¹⁵ Horowitz, *Inside the Klavern*, 3.
- ¹⁶ Horowitz, David A. "The Klansman as Outsider: Ethnocultural Solidarity and Antielitism in the Oregon Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 80, no. 1 (1989): 12.
- ¹⁷ Eckard V. Toy, "The Ku Klux Klan in Tillamook, Oregon," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (1962): 60.
- ¹⁸ *Fourteenth Census: Population*, Historical Census Browser (2004). Retrieved March 2, 2015, from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center: <http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/>.
- ¹⁹ *Fourteenth Census: Population*, Historical Census Browser
- ²⁰ Eckard V. Toy, "The Ku Klux Klan in Oregon; Its Character and Program" (MA Thesis, University of Oregon, 1959), 22.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, 23.
- ²² Horowitz, *Inside the Klavern*, 12.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 14.
- ²⁴ Eckard V. Toy, "Robe and Gown: The Ku Klux Klan in Eugene, Oregon, during the 1920s," in *The Invisible Empire in the West: Toward a New Historical Appraisal of the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s*, ed. Shawn Lay (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 154.
- ²⁵ Toy, *The Ku Klux Klan in Oregon*, 108-109.
- ²⁶ Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism*, 88.
- ²⁷ Toy, *The Ku Klux Klan in Oregon*, 104.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 237.
- ²⁹ *Pierce v. Society of Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary*, 268 U.S. 510 (1925).
- ³⁰ Horowitz, *Inside the Klavern*, 145.
- ³¹ Sidney D. Townley, "Eclipse Stations in Oregon and Washington," *Publications of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific* 30, no. 173 (1918): 37.
- ³² Ben DenOuden, " 'Without a Second's Warning': The Heppner Flood of 1903," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 105, No. 1 (2004): 111.
- ³³ Steven Lowenstein, *The Jews of Oregon, 1850-1950* (Portland: Jewish Historical Society of Oregon, 1987), 32.
- ³⁴ DenOuden, "The Heppner Flood of 1903," 111.
- ³⁵ *Heppner Weekly Gazette*, April 05, 1888.
- ³⁶ DenOuden, "The Heppner Flood of 1903," 111.

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- ³⁷ Peter A. Shroyer, "Oregon Sheep, Wool and Woolens Industries," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 67, no. 2 (1966): 131.
- ³⁸ DenOuden, "The Heppner Flood of 1903," 118.
- ³⁹ Joann Green Byrd, *Calamity: The Heppner Flood of 1903* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), xv.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 5.
- ⁴² DenOuden, "The Heppner Flood of 1903," 118.
- ⁴³ Byrd, *Calamity*, xviii.
- ⁴⁴ Byrd, *Calamity*, 92.
- ⁴⁵ *Heppner Herald*, May 31, 1918.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁷ *The Gazette-Times*, July 11, 1918.
- ⁴⁸ DenOuden, "The Heppner Flood of 1903," 118.
- ⁴⁹ *Heppner Herald*, July 5, 1918.
- ⁵⁰ *The Gazette-Times*, July 11, 1918.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵² *Morning Oregonian*, June 16, 1903.
- ⁵³ DenOuden, "The Heppner Flood of 1903," 115-16.
- ⁵⁴ Toy, "The Ku Klux Klan in Eugene," 156.
- ⁵⁵ William Toll, "Progress and Piety: The Ku Klux Klan and Social Change in Tillamook, Oregon," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 69, no. 2 (1978): 85.
- ⁵⁶ Elinor Cohn Shank, "Looking Back at Heppner," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 91, No. 4 (1990): 398.
- ⁵⁷ "Receipts from Motor Vehicle Registrations and Operators' Licenses, 1922," *Oregon Voter: Magazine of Citizenship—for Busy Men and Women* 30, (1922): 157.
- ⁵⁸ *Fourteenth Census: Population*, Historical Census Browser
- ⁵⁹ "Receipts from Motor Vehicle Registrations," 157.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁶¹ Shank, "Looking Back at Heppner," 391.
- ⁶² *The Gazette-Times*, October 8, 1914.
- ⁶³ *The Gazette-Times*, September 24, 1914.
- ⁶⁴ *Heppner Herald*, September 19, 1922.
- ⁶⁵ Toy, "The Ku Klux Klan in Eugene," 164.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁷ Toll, "Progress and Piety," 82.
- ⁶⁸ *Fourteenth Census: Population*, Historical Census Browser
- ⁶⁹ *The Gazette-Times*, July 4, 1918.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, December 7, 1922.
- ⁷¹ *Heppner Herald*, July 20, 1920.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, March 27, 1923.
- ⁷³ *The Gazette-Times*, May 19, 1921.
- ⁷⁴ "Returns on Measures," *Oregon Voter: Magazine of Citizenship—for Busy Men and Women* 31, (1922): 370.
- ⁷⁵ "Governor" *Oregon Voter: Magazine of Citizenship—for Busy Men and Women* 29, (1922): 485.
- ⁷⁶ *The Gazette-Times*, October 5, 1922; November 9, 1922.
- ⁷⁷ *The Gazette-Times*, November 2, 1922.
- ⁷⁸ "Per Capita—All Taxes 1921—By Counties," *Oregon Voter: Magazine of Citizenship—for Busy Men and Women* 25, (1921): 488.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 483-490.
- ⁸⁰ "Oregon Farms—1920 Census," *Oregon Voter: Magazine of Citizenship—for Busy Men and Women* 26, (1921): 149.
- ⁸¹ *Fourteenth Census: Population*, Historical Census Browser
- ⁸² *Ibid.*
- ⁸³ Shank, "Looking Back at Heppner," 388.
- ⁸⁴ *The Gazette-Times*, November 12, 1914.

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- ⁸⁵ Ibid., February 15, 1917.
- ⁸⁶ DenOuden, "The Heppner Flood of 1903," 111.
- ⁸⁷ Shroyer, "Oregon Sheep," 131.
- ⁸⁸ "Pleads for the Shepherd," *Oregon Voter: Magazine of Citizenship—for Busy Men and Women* 19, (1919): 112-116.
- ⁸⁹ Kathleen Heininge, "Oregon," in *Ireland and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History* 2, eds. James P. Byrne, Philip Coleman, Jason King, (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2008), 742.
- ⁹⁰ Shank, "Looking Back at Heppner," 399.
- ⁹¹ John F. Kilkenny, "Shamrocks and Shepherds: The Irish of Morrow County," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 69, no. 2 (1968): 112.
- ⁹² *Fourteenth Census: Population*, Historical Census Browser
- ⁹³ Ibid.
- ⁹⁴ *The Gazette-Times*, January 22, 1920.
- ⁹⁵ *Heppner Herald*, June 17, 1919.
- ⁹⁶ Kilkenny, "Shamrocks and Shepherds," 112.
- ⁹⁷ *Heppner Gazette-Times*, November 4, 1926.
- ⁹⁸ *Heppner Herald*, November 23, 1917.
- ⁹⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁰ Kilkenny, "Shamrocks and Shepherds," 105.
- ¹⁰¹ "Kilkenny Offers \$2,500," *Oregon Voter: Magazine of Citizenship—for Busy Men and Women* 12, (1918): 400.
- ¹⁰² *The Gazette-Times*, February 22, 1917.
- ¹⁰³ Kilkenny, "Shamrocks and Shepherds," 109-110.
- ¹⁰⁴ Ibid. 115.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Heppner Gazette-Times*, March 11, 1987.
- ¹⁰⁶ Kilkenny, "Shamrocks and Shepherds," 115; *Heppner Gazette-Times*, March 11, 1987.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid. 112.
- ¹⁰⁸ *The Gazette-Times*, March 24, 1921; November 22, 1917.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Heppner Gazette-Times*, March 11, 1987.
- ¹¹⁰ Ibid., March 20, 1924.
- ¹¹¹ *Fourteenth Census: Population*, Historical Census Browser
- ¹¹² Toy, *The Ku Klux Klan in Oregon*, 23.
- ¹¹³ Ibid., 25.
- ¹¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁵ Shank, "Looking Back at Heppner," 399.
- ¹¹⁶ Toy, *The Ku Klux Klan in Oregon*, 26.
- ¹¹⁷ Horowitz, "The Klansman as Outsider," 170
- ¹¹⁸ Toy, *The Ku Klux Klan in Oregon*, 26.
- ¹¹⁹ Ibid., 27.
- ¹²⁰ Mark Wyman, *Hoboes: Bindlestiffs, Fruit Tramps, and the Harvesting of the West* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010), 97.
- ¹²¹ *The Gazette-Times*, September 11, 1919.
- ¹²² *Heppner Herald*, September 11, 1923.
- ¹²³ *The Gazette-Times*, April 19, 1923.
- ¹²⁴ *Heppner Herald*, January 29, 1924.
- ¹²⁵ Ibid.
- ¹²⁶ Sam A. Kozer, *State of Oregon Blue Book and Official Directory, 1921-1922* (Salem: State Printing Department, 1921), 218.
- ¹²⁷ *The Gazette-Times*, May 3, 1923.
- ¹²⁸ Ibid., March 1, 1917.
- ¹²⁹ *Heppner Herald*, July 5, 1918.
- ¹³⁰ Toy, *The Ku Klux Klan in Oregon*, 46.
- ¹³¹ Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 210.

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- ¹³² Ibid.; Jeff LaLande, "Beneath the Hooded Robe: Newspapermen, Local Politics, and the Ku Klux Klan in Jackson County, Oregon, 1921-1923," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 83, no. 2 (1992): 46.
- ¹³³ Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 210.
- ¹³⁴ "Heppner Herald" *Historic Oregon Newspapers*, Retrieved April 3, 2015, <http://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/history/heppnerherald/>
- ¹³⁵ *Heppner Herald*, January 22, 1924.
- ¹³⁶ Ibid.
- ¹³⁷ Kozer, *Blue Book*, 218.
- ¹³⁸ "All Over Oregon," *Oregon Exchange* 1, No. 1, (1917): 22.
- ¹³⁹ *Medford Mail Tribune*, October 28, 1912.
- ¹⁴⁰ *The Gazette-Times*, May 20, 1920.
- ¹⁴¹ Ibid., January 22, 1920.
- ¹⁴² Governor Olcott responded to a petition concerning regulation of the Klan in August 1921 with: "I wish to commend the signers of this petition upon the attitude they have assumed, although I think they need not be apprehensive about the Ku Klux Klan becoming any very serious menace to our government." See Toy, *The Ku Klux Klan in Oregon*, 94.
- ¹⁴³ *Heppner Herald*, March 14, 1922.
- ¹⁴⁴ Ibid., May 1, 1923.
- ¹⁴⁵ *The Gazette-Times*, December 5, 1918.
- ¹⁴⁶ Horowitz, *Inside the Klavern*, 33.
- ¹⁴⁷ *The Gazette-Times*, December 7, 1922.
- ¹⁴⁸ Horowitz, *Inside the Klavern*, 33.
- ¹⁴⁹ *Heppner Herald*, February 19, 1924.
- ¹⁵⁰ Ibid., June 5, 1923.
- ¹⁵¹ *The Gazette-Times*, January 31, 1924.
- ¹⁵² Ibid., May 3, 1923.
- ¹⁵³ Ibid., July 16, 1925.
- ¹⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵⁵ *Heppner Gazette-Times*, April 7, 1927.
- ¹⁵⁶ *Heppner Herald*, June 5, 1923.
- ¹⁵⁷ Kilkenny, "Shamrocks and Shepherds," 115.
- ¹⁵⁸ *Heppner Herald*, January 29, 1924.
- ¹⁵⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁰ Ibid.
- ¹⁶¹ *The Gazette-Times*, January 31, 1924.
- ¹⁶² Ibid., April 17, 1924.
- ¹⁶³ Ibid., May 28, 1925.
- ¹⁶⁴ *Heppner Gazette-Times*, June 3, 1926.
- ¹⁶⁵ Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 214.
- ¹⁶⁶ *East Oregonian: E.O.*, May 15, 1922.
- ¹⁶⁷ *Heppner Herald*, December 4, 1923.
- ¹⁶⁸ Ibid., November 23, 1917.
- ¹⁶⁹ Ibid., March 8, 1918.
- ¹⁷⁰ Ibid., April 17, 1923.
- ¹⁷¹ Ibid., May 1, 1923.

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