

I'M A REAL BOY:
HOW THE KU KLUX KLAN DEFINED MANHOOD
IN TILLAMOOK, OREGON 1915-1930

By

MARIELENA ROSE MCWHIRTER

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The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan gained and exerted significant power in the United States between 1915 and 1930. One reason for the Klan's success was its resistance to the sociopolitical and ethno-cultural changes occurring during the Progressive Era. During its rise in power, the Klan became heavily involved in the political and social life of the State of Oregon. This thesis asks how the Klan defined manhood, and how this definition was used to influence, recruit, and control Klansmen with the goal of gaining support for the Klan's white supremacist agenda. In this thesis, I review national and local Klan propaganda, documents, and personal correspondence. These sources show how the Klan defined and used ideas of manhood to gain support for the Klan's political and social agenda. Review and analysis of documents reveals that ideas of manhood centered on the primary themes of morality, Americanism, and fraternity. These Klan writings reveal that ideas of manhood were synonymous with control. In order to have "manhood," as defined by the Klan between 1915 and 1930, a man had to be a white, Protestant, gentile, native-born citizen of the United States who had control of himself, his community, and society, and as such was worthy of membership in the Klan.

Keywords: Ku Klux Klan, Tillamook, Oregon, Manhood, Morality, Americanism, Fraternity, Progressive Era

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to Dr. Edwin Leon Coleman III, mentor, adopted god father, and dear friend. You showed and encouraged me to strive for my potential in academics, leadership, music, and love. I wish more than anything that you could have read this thesis, but I know you've been with me, helping me write it every step of the way. Don't worry, I checked to see if you were just jivin'. With love, Miz M.

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Introduction

In the 1921 “Constitution and Laws of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan,” the Klan defined itself as an order of “white male persons, native-born Gentile citizens of the United States of America.”¹ It also claimed “to practice an honorable clannishness toward each other; to exemplify a practical benevolence; to shield the sanctity of the home and the chastity of womanhood,” and “to maintain forever white supremacy [...] and ideals of a pure Americanism.”² Ideas of gender, morality, Americanism, and fraternity are recurring themes in this Constitution and throughout national and local Klan writings of the Progressive Era 1890-1930. Within their writings, public, private, national and local, the Klan used morality, Americanism, and fraternity to convey and define manhood and to promote white supremacy.

In this thesis I ask how the Ku Klux Klan defined manhood as well as how these ideas of manhood were used to influence people and promote the Klan’s white supremacist agenda. I argue that the Ku Klux Klan promoted the idea that manhood is synonymous with control, that the Klan developed this idea of manhood using themes of morality, Americanism, and fraternity in their rhetoric, writings, and politics, and that Klan manhood and white supremacy are inextricable. The implications of Klan ideas of manhood are that manhood exists, that manhood is inherently tied to white supremacist ideals, that it is synonymous with control over American society as well as control over oneself, that in order to achieve manhood one must believe in and uphold the Klan’s ideology, that any man who is unable to join or agree with the Klan was lacking in

¹ Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, *Constitution and Laws of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* (Atlanta, Georgia: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Inc., 1921), 10.

² Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, *Constitution and Laws*, 10.

manhood, and thus that only white, Protestant, gentile, native-born, male citizens who supported white supremacy had the ability to earn Klan manhood. Additionally, the Klan's ideas of manhood include the belief that white manhood is a positive and necessary force in society.

I use local documents from the Tillamook Klan, Chapter 8 of the Realm of Oregon, and national documents of the national Klan organization. I first give a brief theoretical explanation of my terminology, followed by the historical context of the Ku Klux Klan in the United States and Oregon, and then I present existing literature on the Ku Klux Klan. Then I present my primary question and discuss my methods before beginning my analysis of the original Klan documents. Finally, I discuss the implications of Klan definitions of manhood for small communities and conclude my thesis.

The ideas of manhood, found in the Klan documents of the small community of Tillamook, Oregon during the Progressive Era, are part of a long history of white supremacy and white manhood in the United States. Although today the Ku Klux Klan does not have the same political and institutional power it enjoyed in the early twentieth century, the Klan's insidious beliefs and ideas of manhood and whiteness have lasted, grown, and reframed the political and social landscape nationally. Understanding how the Klan used manhood to carry out its agenda in the past may have utility for understanding the current Klan.

Terminology

In this section, I will clarify my definitions and uses of the terms white supremacy, manhood, masculinity, and control. Placing these terms within their

historical context is imperative because the common usages of these terms have changed over time since the Progressive Era.

White supremacy is the belief that the racial status of whiteness is inherently superior to that of all other races.³ Accordingly, white people should have total control over society and government. As will be illustrated in this thesis, during the Progressive Era in the United States, whiteness excluded Jews and Catholics, and white supremacists believed that white, native-born, protestant, U.S. citizens were superior to all other individuals.⁴ In the social hierarchy of Progressive Era white supremacy, white men who met these criteria were at the top. They were the most racially superior and they were the superior gender. White women were next in the hierarchy, and black men and women were at the bottom. Women were pushing for the right to vote, entering the public sphere, and fighting for new political and social powers, while African Americans slowly gained more political freedom, thus the drive for threatened white males to prove their superiority and their control over society was arguably stronger than ever. The white male's place at the top of the social hierarchy required continuous, increasing justification and protection. The role of manhood in white supremacy, therefore, was essential.

³ I use Matthew Nemiroff Lyons, *Insurgent Supremacists: The U.S. Far Right's Challenge to State and Empire*, (Oakland, California: PM Press, 2018) for a brief and generalized definition of white supremacy. Although his work is contemporary, and no definitions are trans-historical, his preliminary definitions of white supremacy help provide a foundational understanding upon which I can build in order to define the white supremacy of the Progressive Era. There are books on this topic, such as Gail Bederman's *Manliness and Civilization*.

⁴ See any Ku Klux Klan documents which state the Klan's membership requirements or organizational goals. For example, see the Ku Klux Klan, Application Form, n.d., Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Box 1, Folder 9, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR, or Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, *Constitution and Laws*, 10. See also Linda Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK: The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s and the American Political Tradition*, (New York, N.Y.: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017), or other secondary literature on the Progressive Era Klan.

The terms “manhood” and “masculinity” are foundational to this thesis. These terms are situated in a specific context and are built off of ideas of gender. Gender is a social construct and societies at any given time may have different and varying definitions and understandings of gender.⁵ As Gail Bederman explains,

Manhood or masculinity is the cultural process whereby concrete individuals are constituted as members of a preexisting social category—as men. The ideological process of gender—whether manhood or womanhood—works through a complex political technology composed of a variety of institutions, ideas, and daily practices. Combined, these processes produce a set of truths about who an individual is and what he or she can do, based upon his or her body.⁶

Put differently, manhood is

the process which creates “men” by linking male genital anatomy to a male identity, and linking both anatomy and identity to particular arrangements of authority and power. Logically, this is an entirely arbitrary process. Anatomy, identity, and authority have no intrinsic relationship. Only the process of manhood—of the gender system—allows each to stand for the others.⁷

During the Progressive Era, the term “manliness” or “manly” “referred to the ‘highest conceptions’ of manhood,” qualities such as self-restraint, strong character, and powerful will.⁸ In order to be deemed “manly,” or as having “manhood,” a man had to engage in sets of behaviors which were seen as consistent with these Victorian values of manhood. Not all men had access to this definition of manhood—men of color, for example, often did not make the cut simply because of the way manhood was tied to whiteness.⁹ Both “manhood” and “masculinity” were used differently in literature and

⁵ C. J. Pascoe and Tristan Bridges, *Exploring Masculinities: Identity, Inequality, Continuity and Change* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

⁶ Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 7.

⁷ Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁹ Pascoe and Bridges, *Exploring Masculinities*, 38, and Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 20.

speech during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century than are used today. It was not until the 1890s that the term “Masculinity” became widely used, and it carried a fixed set of connotations.¹⁰ “Masculine,” in the late nineteenth century, referred to qualities that all men had, without placing positive or negative connotations on these qualities.¹¹ All men were masculine and had masculinity, even men considered to be uncivilized or not manly. Because the terms “manhood” and “masculinity” in the Progressive Era were used differently from each other and from now, I do not use the terms interchangeably. In this thesis, “manhood” refers to attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors which were typically praised as being “manly.” Men earn their manhood by engaging in specific behaviors deemed acceptable by their peers. In other words, peers have the power to confer manhood upon individuals. I use the term “masculinity” when referring to any male, including males who are deemed as lacking manhood by their peers.¹² I derive my definitions from the historical usage so that when describing how the Klan constructed manhood, it is clear what term “manhood” meant to the Klan given the time period. The Klan’s ideas of manhood were not new, per se, as they drew upon many traditional values of manliness, especially those which tied manhood to whiteness.

The Klan used ideas of manhood to justify the hierarchy of white supremacy, that is, the general control over society by white males. In the context of this thesis, the term “control” refers to both self-restraint and sociopolitical and institutional

¹⁰ Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 6.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹² I also use the term “masculinity” in my methods section when discussing contemporary theories of gender and masculinity. See Pascoe and Bridges, *Exploring Masculinities* for an elaborate explanation of contemporary and historical uses of the term “masculinity.”

dominance. A man who has “control” over himself is engaging in moral consciousness, decision-making, and in behaviors deemed acceptable and praiseworthy by society, such as abstaining from alcohol. A man who has “control” over society is successfully engaging in both male dominance, or patriarchy, as well as white supremacy.¹³

The Ku Klux Klan, a self-declared military organization, aimed to maintain the social hierarchy of white supremacy and white manhood.¹⁴ The Klan promoted white supremacy across the United States, and offered a community for white men who shared the white supremacist agenda, and even white women, who could participate in the auxiliary group, the Women’s Ku Klux Klan.

Historical Context

The Ku Klux Klan is often characterized by three major waves of activity. The first wave began with the conception of the Ku Klux Klan sometime between December 1865 and June 1866 by a group of former Confederate soldiers in Pulaski, Tennessee, who formed the Klan as a prankster group.¹⁵ The group dressed up and played practical jokes in the community by moonlight, which was a welcomed source of entertainment in Pulaski.¹⁶ But soon these former Confederate soldiers targeted emancipated African Americans, and by 1867 the Ku Klux Klan began terrorizing and promoting white supremacy through anti-black vigilante activities.¹⁷ This first wave of Klan activity was

¹³ See Gwen Hunnicutt, "Varieties of Patriarchy and Violence Against Women: Resurrecting “Patriarchy” as a Theoretical Tool," *Violence Against Women* 15, no. 5 (2009): 553-73, for several examples of patriarchy.

¹⁴ See any application form, pamphlet, or publication by the Klan or any Klansmen, especially Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, *Constitution and Laws*, which clearly states the nature and goals of the organization and demonstrates its fundamental agenda of white supremacy.

¹⁵ Wyn Craig Wade, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 31 and 34-35.

¹⁶ Wade, *The Fiery Cross*, 35.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 36. See also David Lowe, *Ku Klux Klan: The Invisible Empire.*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1967), 9.

rampant throughout the South and spread across these states until it was officially disbanded in 1869 and rendered non-functional by the end of Reconstruction in 1872.¹⁸ The second wave of Klan activity hit the United States in 1915. The release of *Birth of a Nation*, which was the first film ever shown in the White House and is characterized by themes of race, power and sexuality, is reflective of the social and political climate during the Klan's resurgence in power.¹⁹ The third wave struck in the 1950s and focused heavily on suppressing civil rights movements throughout the United States, particularly in the South. Some scholars have made the case for a resurgence of the Klan in the 1980s and 2010s, which could be considered fourth and fifth waves of Klan activity, but the pursuit of this question is beyond the scope of this thesis.²⁰ Though each upsurge of Klan activity was ultimately centered on white supremacy and racism, Klan activity in the Progressive Era between 1915 and 1929 tied white supremacy to ideas of gender in a new and significant way.

The second wave of the Klan was set in the Progressive Era. Prohibition, debates on immigration, women's suffrage, and the push for public schools were key political and social elements. The national Klan and local Klan chapters wrote on each topic between 1915 and 1930. The Prohibition movement was characterized by feminism and xenophobia.²¹ According to James A. Morone, the Temperance movement was fueled by and resulted in "organized modern feminism," as well as "the

¹⁸ Lowe, *The Invisible Empire*, 11.

¹⁹ *The Birth of a Nation*, Directed by D. W. Griffith, (1915; Los Angeles, CA: Kino Classics, 1994), DVD.

²⁰ There are an abundant of white supremacist groups which did not previously exist in the United States, which makes arguments specific to the Klan and new Klan activity more challenging. See Lyons, *Insurgent Supremacists*.

²¹ James A. Morone, *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 281-3.

fear of others—Irish, German, African American” which “pushed moralists toward Prohibition laws.”²² In the 1910s immigration had skyrocketed, and nativist ideas and puritan morality fueled many to push for social control through Prohibition.²³ To be sure, fear of immigrants and sinfulness is only one explanation for the Prohibition movement, but given the Klan’s focus on limiting immigration and the morality in Protestantism, it is fitting to use this lens.²⁴

By 1920, women had achieved suffrage in the United States, which meant women had more political and social influence through their vote. In the debate about public vs. private education in Oregon, women were often the targets of political campaigns. In a pamphlet promoting measure 6 (see Figure 1), the Oregon Compulsory Public Education Bill, which appeared on the November 1922 Ballot, William F. Woodward wrote, “The life and true progress of our nation rests upon the intelligence of the voter. Suffrage is at once a privilege and a responsibility.”²⁵ This Bill was directed at women who had gained these privileges and responsibilities. The Bill promised “The assimilation and education of our foreign born citizens.”²⁶ The Bill did not actually encourage the assimilation of people of color, even those who do had citizenship. The lack of racial diversity in Oregon meant that the local “assimilation and education of foreign born citizens” would likely only include white foreign born

²² Morone, *Hellfire Nation*, 281, 282.

²³ *Ibid.*, 281.

²⁴ See Ku Klux Klan, *The Courier Magazine*, 1924-1933, Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records, Call No. 046, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

²⁵ A. & A. S. R. School Committee, “Informational Pamphlet - Vote Yes for Free Public Schools” (Dunham Printing Co., Portland, Oregon., n.d.), Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records, 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Box 2, Folder 3, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR, 2.

²⁶ A. & A. S. R. School Committee, “Informational Pamphlet,” 3.

children. Either way, the segregated nature of schools would prevent children of color and white children from schooling together. To be sure, the Bill would not prevent catholic foreign born children who had citizenship from receiving a public education,

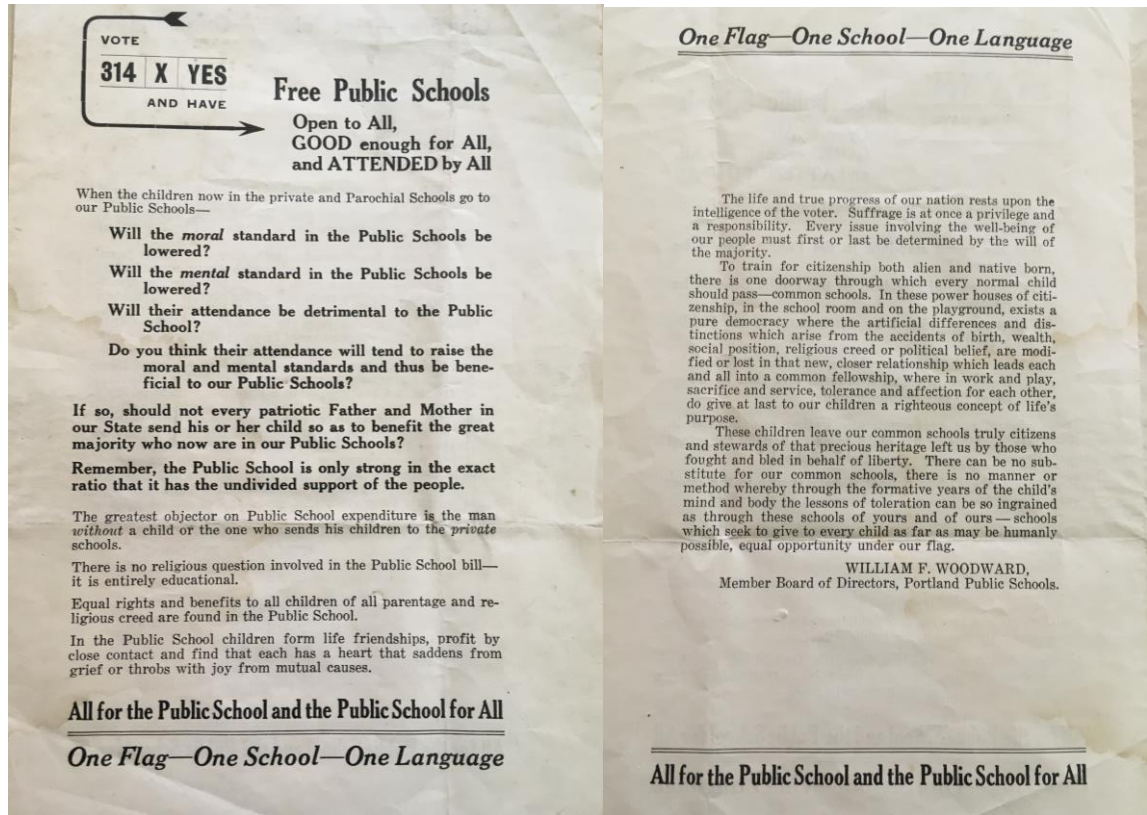


Figure 1:

“Informational Pamphlet - Vote Yes for Free Public Schools,” Tillamook, OR.

but it would prevent them from receiving a catholic education.

Building on these national movements, the Klan promised to fight nationally for Prohibition and against immigration, and locally for compulsory public education.

Social changes brought on by women’s suffrage and drastic increases in immigration nationally during the Progressive Era challenged white supremacy and white male

dominance over social and political life. Because of this, white Protestant men in the

early twentieth-century were experiencing a desire for fraternal communities that shared

their beliefs and nostalgia for traditional Protestant values and ideas of manhood.²⁷ The Klan became a safe-haven for many of these men across the United States. The state of Oregon was no exception.

The state of Oregon provides a unique backdrop for studying the Klan and the Klan's ideas of manhood. Oregon was founded as a racial utopia. State residents were so inclined to keep Oregon "racially pure" that people of color were barred from the state and slave labor was prohibited.²⁸ Klan activity throughout the nation was typically tied to labor disputes between white workers and workers of color, but Oregon's distinctive homogeneity meant race-based labor disputes were infrequent. Racial homogeneity also led to a lack of race-based political and social agendas in the state, which allowed the Oregon Klan to focus on issues of religion, gender, and sexuality. The Klan's greatest opposition in Tillamook came from Catholics who had little political power.²⁹ The lack of social and political opposition to the Klan in Oregon allowed the Klan to take root and thrive unchallenged. Because of this, the Klan was uniquely successful in Oregon, and by 1921 the Klan had accrued significant political power.³⁰ Though many members became "delinquent" due to unpaid fees, especially in rural communities such as Tillamook, the Klan maintained strong membership throughout the decade, as evidenced by the numbers of those who paid fees.³¹

²⁷ David A. Horowitz, "Social Morality and Personal Revitalization: Oregon's Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 90, no. 4 (1989): 365-384.

²⁸ Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK*, 139.

²⁹ William Toll, "Progress and Piety: The Ku Klux Klan and Social Change in Tillamook, Oregon," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 69, no. 2 (1978): 75-85.

³⁰ Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 196.

³¹ C.T. Godwin, Grand Dragon, Realm of Oregon to All Klansmen, Realm of Oregon, 1929, Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Box 2, Folder 1, Box 046, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR. See also the Kligrapp, Kligrapp's Quarterly Report, 1926, Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929,

Klan members secured positions in the Oregon State Senate and Legislature as well as executive positions, becoming mayors and even a governor.³² Many members of the police force also joined the Klan. By 1923 “nearly every community with a population of 1,000 or more, especially in the Willamette Valley, had an active Klan organization.”³³ The Oregon Klansmen who sought positions in local and state government faced little opposition from people of color, because the focus was largely on maintaining and protecting the white supremacy which already existed in Oregon and in Oregon’s political structure.³⁴ The lack of racial diversity also made the pursuit and attainment of political power relatively easy for the Klan. Strategically, the national Klan could use the Klan’s success in Oregon as an example, while the local Klan chapters in Oregon could pursue political power with relative ease.

The Klan of the 1920s focused its political and social efforts against immigrants, Catholics, Jews, and black Americans while simultaneously focusing on the recruitment of white, Protestant, United State citizens.³⁵ The Oregon Klan focused specifically, and successfully, on its anti-Catholic legislative efforts through the Compulsory Education Act of 1922, which prohibited students from attending Catholic schools.

The complicated history of race, law, economy and Klan in the state of Oregon provides a specific backdrop for studying the Klan. Scholars have analyzed the Oregon

Call No. 46, Box 1, Folders 4, Box 046, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

³² Lowe, *Invisible Empire*, 18. See also the many notices and bulletins from the collection, Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

³³ Eckard V. Toy, *The Ku Klux Klan in Oregon: Its Character and Program*. (Eugene, OR, University of Oregon, 1959.)

³⁴ Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK*, 139. Toll, “Progress and Piety,” 77-79.

³⁵ See the Ku Klux Klan, *The Kourier Magazine*.

Klan through several lenses including religion, morality, poverty and labor disenfranchisement.³⁶ The Oregon Klan has not been analyzed through the lens of gender. This thesis serves as a preliminary analysis of the Ku Klux Klan's ideas of gender, the role of gender within the organization, and the possible social implications of Klan manhood in small communities. Because Klan manhood and white supremacy are intertwined, a gender analysis will add deeper insight to how the Klan used manhood in its organization and its propaganda. Additionally, gender is a useful analytical tool which can be used to explore the significant implications of Klan manhood in the Progressive Era, in Oregon, and in white supremacy. The Klan's political relationship with women's suffrage, immigration, and education are each deserving of an in-depth analysis, and many scholars have already researched each of these topics as they relate to the Klan.³⁷ For the purposes of this thesis, an in-depth analysis of the Klan's ideas about women's suffrage, immigration, religion, and education is not essential to exploring the Klan's definition of manhood. Instead, I offer enough information about each topic so as to clearly answer how the Klan defined manhood, and what some of the political and social implications of Klan manhood are in the Progressive Era society.

Existing Literature

My research aims to answer how the Ku Klux Klan defined manhood during the Progressive Era (1915-1930) within Tillamook, Oregon and nationally. Some of my

³⁶ Examples include but are not limited to Morone, *Hellfire Nation*, Toll, "Progress and Piety," Horowitz, "Social Morality and Personal Revitalization," and Toy, *The Ku Klux Klan in Oregon: Its Character and Program*.

³⁷ See the historiography and existing literature section for more information and the authors who have examined the Klan's political relationship to Woman Suffrage, immigration, and education, notably, Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK*, and Toy, *The Ku Klux Klan in Oregon*.

research suggests that the Klan's ideas of manhood shaped the discourse and norms of the greater public during the Progressive Era. Yet, my focus remains primarily on the discourse and norms within the organization itself, specifically within the Tillamook Klan, because this thesis draws conclusions based on an in-depth analysis of Klan documents from this specific place and time.

Although race, citizenship, economics, politics, and religion play a significant role in previous historical analyses of the Klan of the Realm of Oregon, the roles of gender and manhood in the Oregon Klan are typically left out of such analyses. Few have focused specifically on gender in the Klan. In *Behind the Mask of Chivalry*, Nancy MacLean explores the roles of honor and morality in Klan manhood.³⁸ This work is particularly useful to my research because it focuses on the way men perceived and sought to prove or demonstrate their manhood. Kathleen Blee extrapolates the role of women in the Klan, and specifically how the role of women in the Klan created tensions both internally and externally in Klan politics.³⁹ Although I do not focus specifically on women or the role of women in my research, Blee's work explores one of the many social and political changes the Klan experienced and reacted against during the early twentieth century. In *The Second Coming of the KKK*, Linda Gordon analyzes feminism in the Ku Klux Klan and demonstrates ways in which women's roles in the Klan complicated gender roles within the organization.⁴⁰ Gordon's analysis is useful for contextualizing social movements in the United States during the Progressive Era, and

³⁸ Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

³⁹ Kathleen M. Blee, "Women in the 1920s' Ku Klux Klan Movement," *Feminist Studies* 17, no. 1 (1991): 57-77, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3178170>.

⁴⁰ Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK*.

how these movements both clashed with and aided the Klan's political agenda. I build on the work of these scholars, but unlike these scholars, I focus specifically on how manhood and white supremacy are tied together and how ideas of manhood are developed and used by the Klan to influence people and promote white supremacy, and how these ideas played out in the small community of Tillamook.

Other scholars, such as Eckard V. Toy, analyze local, state, and national newspapers along with Klan documents.⁴¹ Toy's works help explain why the Klan was so successful in Oregon, and briefly touch on the history of the Klan's presence in Tillamook. David Horowitz meticulously analyzes Klan meeting minutes from La Grande, Oregon in his book, *Inside the Klavern*, which is useful as an example of analysis methods for examining the Tillamook meeting minutes.⁴²

Other scholars touch on related topics, such as morality and the role of religion within the Ku Klux Klan. James Morone, for example, argues more generally that there is a strong relationship between morality and social movements during the Progressive Era.⁴³ His work addresses developing feminist causes of the time, such as Woman Suffrage and the Temperance movement. Morone's work offers a broad sociopolitical explanation for social conflicts during the Victorian and Progressive Eras. My research builds on Morone's analysis but focuses specifically on manhood.

Work by William Toll et al. has focused more specifically on Oregon and on Tillamook. They argue that conservative gender roles and religious bias in the greater

⁴¹ Eckard V. Toy, Jr., "The Ku Klux Klan in Tillamook, Oregon," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (1962): 60–64.

⁴² David A. Horowitz, *Inside the Klavern: The Secret History of a Ku Klux Klan of a 1920s* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999).

⁴³ Morone, *Hellfire Nation*.

society allowed the Ku Klux Klan to gain and exercise political power in local communities and eventually the state. Toll et al. also consider contributing factors to Klan power such as an increase in local manufacturing and job market competition. The growing town struggled with morality as it became increasingly exposed to modernized lifestyles, and the Klan offered stability and traditional values.

The Klan of Oregon, as analyzed by historians such as Toy Jr., developed a strong political and social influence throughout Oregon, and the Klan's ability to recruit a significant number of men within a decade further demonstrates its influence. Kenneth Jackson argues that Klansmen were not violence-seeking citizens.⁴⁴ The Oregon Klan was successful at recruiting white neighbors and hard-working laborers, who were part of mainstream society. Jackson examines how the Ku Klux Klan captured the minds of people across the United States by analyzing Klan techniques in specific cities during the Progressive Era. His book includes sections on cities in the state of Oregon, mainly focusing on Portland and Salem. Because his work focuses entirely on the Progressive Era, and because it discusses specific Klan activity in different cities, it offers a lateral comparison of cities.

One challenge for existing research is explaining how many Klan members were lawful citizens, men who would not otherwise engage in violent crimes and who cared deeply for their families and communities, without invalidating or minimizing the horrific realities of Klan ideas and crimes. Some chapters of the Klan, such as the Tillamook, Oregon chapter, were a fairly peaceful, community-oriented fraternities, while at the same time promoting white supremacy locally and nationally. There is a

⁴⁴ Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*. See also Toll, "Progress and Piety," 78.

fundamental violence inherent in a society in which one group of people is considered, or considers themselves, superior to others. Understanding the complexities of Klan manhood, and how it was tied to ideas of morality, fraternity, and Americanism will allow a fuller understanding of individual Klan members as well as the success of the overall organization and the paradox of lawful, peaceful men could also promote crime and violence.

Existing literature highlights that understanding Klan ideas of manhood is important to understanding the Klan's political and social activities, and that Klan political and social activities are key to understanding Klan manhood. Manhood cannot be studied without such literature because manhood, as an intersectional social construct, must be understood through historical, economic, political, and cultural lenses. Although much of this scholarship lacks a deeper analysis of Klan manhood specifically, the cultural understandings and implications of ideas of manhood are extremely important for understanding the historical, political, social, and economic setting that gave rise to the Klan, even more so during the Progressive Era and in the state of Oregon. Klan manhood requires an understanding of religion, politics, and economics at the same time as it requires an understanding of gender and sexuality.

Methods and Data Selection

The method for this research centers on a textual analysis, in which I analyze original documents and then draw conclusions and develop arguments based on the text and historical context of those documents. Textual analysis is a qualitative method of analysis which “focuses on the underlying ideological and cultural assumptions of the

text.”⁴⁵ All of the previously mentioned scholars have built their arguments by using textual analysis with materials, to some degree, ranging from newspaper articles to private letter correspondences. For my primary sources, I will engage almost exclusively with original Ku Klux Klan documents from the University of Oregon Special Collections & Archives. These documents include sources from both the local Tillamook Klan Chapter, as well as the national Klan organization. The local documents consist of private correspondence and meeting minutes, the joining Oath, fliers, and national sources including pamphlets, advertisements, and articles found in the Klan’s nationally distributed magazine, *The Courier*. I engage with national Klan literature so that I can contextualize and contrast national Klan ideas with the rural community of Tillamook. Some local documents, such as financial records or lists of member names, will be considered for factual and contextual information but will not be used for analyzing Klan manhood.

I focus on Tillamook, Oregon for two reasons. First, the Klan in Tillamook allows for a specific analysis of white, native, Protestant manhood. Due to the largely racially homogenous composition of the town, Klan members had few clear opposition groups on which to focus their energies. Between 1900 and 1930, the total population of Tillamook county grew from 4,471 to 11,824, yet the Native American population dropped from fifty-three to twenty-two, and the black American population dropped from three to zero.⁴⁶ It was not until the decade between 1920 to 1930 that the Mexican

⁴⁵ Elfriede Fürsich, “In Defense of Textual Analysis: Restoring a Challenged Method for Journalism and Media Studies,” *Journalism Studies* 10, no. 2 (April 2009): 240, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616700802374050>.

⁴⁶ Toll, “Progress and Piety,” 78.

population in the county rose from zero to forty-six.⁴⁷ With so few people of color, native or foreign, the local Klan had no immediate race-based threats. Overall, white American laborers in Tillamook county had few competitors in the job market and few threats to the social and political order it sought to maintain. In contrast with the Portland Klan, the Tillamook Klan was more concerned with keeping the county white and Protestant rather than pushing out the few people of color present at the time. Though Oregon was extremely homogenous, Portland Klansmen, who experienced slightly more diversity, were highly concerned with an “increased competition from Catholics and from the new kind of Negro who seemed anxious to take his job and live in his neighborhoods.”⁴⁸ In spite of the fact that the Roman Catholic minority was active in Tillamook, it “had little political strength even if united as a voting bloc.”⁴⁹ The homogenous nature of Tillamook county and Tillamook city meant the Klan was able to focus more attention on the fraternal and political aspects of the organization, and less on social issues regarding race, than their Portland Klansmen. The Tillamook Klan was able to focus primarily on local and state issues such as public education, and national issues such as presidential elections and immigration policies. These characteristics make the Tillamook Klan particularly useful for analyzing Klan notions of manhood. Because of the racial homogeneity, white manhood was less frequently contrasted with men of color, which allows my research to focus in on the ways manhood is associated with ideas of fraternity, community, and protestant values. Tillamook Klan documents are also available through the University of Oregon’s

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 245.

⁴⁹ Toy, “The Ku Klux Klan in Tillamook, Oregon,” 62.

Special Collections & Archives, which makes the Tillamook Klan an accessible and ideal local Klan chapter to investigate.

I would also like to note here that I use the word “Klan” specifically. As stated in the “Constitution and Laws of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan,” “A “Klan” is a unit of this Order; it is the local or subordinate body, lodge, or jurisdiction,” while the “Knights of the Ku Klux Klan” refers to national organization.⁵⁰ I will differentiate the national, state and local “Klans” by using “Klan” generally for the national organization, “Oregon Klan” for the state Klan, and “Tillamook Klan” for the local chapter. Local and State Klan chapters and the national Klan organization share an overall ideology, but differ in goals and strategies as the demographics of each state vary greatly. The local Klans must also be distinguished, as the Portland chapter had slightly different challenges and goals than the Tillamook chapter.

Inclusion criterion for the analyzed documents is that the documents were written and published during the Progressive Era, between the years of 1915, when the second wave of Klan activity emerged, and 1930, when the Klan had lost most of its political power and social influence. I searched these documents for, and analyzed the use of, terms such as “manhood,” “real man,” and “manliness,” as these terms most directly demonstrate how the Klan defines manhood. Even when the Klan is not explicitly writing about or commenting on manhood, their ideas of manhood inform their rhetoric, writings, and politics. Klan manhood is an integral part of Klan white supremacy. Therefore, in order to more fully understand how the idea of manhood was reconstructed in Klan ideology, I look for common terms such as, “Americanism,”

⁵⁰ Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, *Constitution and Laws*, 13.

“Protestantism,” “Patriotism,” and “Nativism,” which are all used to promote and defend white supremacist ideas.

The validity of my conclusions regarding Klan notions of manhood is established by identifying multiple examples. Additionally, and after describing the connotations of manhood derived from Tillamook Klan documents, I contextualize terms such as “real man,” “manhood,” “Americanism,” “Nativism,” and place them within the historical context. In order to do so, my research includes other relevant primary literature, such as newspapers and state legislative bills and agendas.

Public literature published by non-Klan organizations, such as local newspapers, could potentially offer distinct perspectives regarding the Klan. Both of Tillamook’s newspapers, however, were heavily influenced by the Klan. The *Herald*, which at first criticized Klan legislative agendas, such as the public school initiative, eventually endorsed Klan ideas, especially during elections.

The Tillamook *Herald* carried an advertisement placed by the imperial wizard pro tem of the national Ku Klux Klan, which warned of a papal conspiracy to undermine the morals of the nation’s youth. Compulsory public school attendance, according to the ad, would safeguard democracy in Oregon by assuring all children a uniform education.⁵¹

The editors of the Tillamook *Headlight*, the other local newspaper, were active Klansmen. Because both newspapers were influenced by the Klan, the information from these sources regarding the Klan may be positively biased toward the organization.

I engage with the social constructivist theory of contemporary masculinity, which argues that ideas of manhood and masculinity are socially constructed, and therefore change over time. Although Klan ideology today is likely to share many ideas

⁵¹ Toll, “Progress and Piety,” 76.

with the Klan of the Progressive Era, my research aims to understand the past without making any comparisons between the past and present ideas of manhood. It is also noteworthy that Klan manhood may have been defined differently in the national organization and the local chapters, and definitions may vary as a function of geography or on the political, cultural, or ethnic make-up of the population.

Using my conclusions regarding how the Tillamook Klan defined and constructed manhood, I will develop an explanation for the relationship between ideas of manhood and the Klan in Tillamook, Oregon. In addition, I will use existing scholarship on the Klan by authors such as Kathleen Blee, Nancy MacLean, and William Toll et al., to elaborate on the social and political context of manhood during the Progressive Era. I engage with texts, such as *Exploring Masculinities: Identity, Inequality, and Continuity*, by C. J. Pascoe and Tristan Bridges, to draw upon existing theories of masculinity.⁵² Pascoe and Bridges clarify that masculinity is socially constructed, that “not all men have the same privileges by virtue of being male as all other men,” and that “masculinity may or may not be related to a male body.”⁵³ This theory is useful for analyzing the Klan because the Klan criticizes the manhood of other men, which suggests that there are multiple types of manhood existing in the same sociopolitical and historical time periods. Furthermore, the Klan’s critiques of other men are not based solely on appearance, which suggests that manhood may be partially, but not completely, related to the body.

I organize my analysis of Klan documents into three sections: morality,

⁵² Pascoe and Bridges, *Exploring Masculinities*.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 4.

Americanism, and fraternity. Through my analysis of these documents, I find that the idea of self-control and control over other people is seen by the Klan as a positive, necessary, and defining quality of manhood. In other words, Klan manhood is, in part, based on the idea that white males should have and maintain control over society. The Klan routinely criticizes men of other nationalities, religious backgrounds, and ethnicities for lacking “control” in their moral, social, or political practices. In this way, the Klan confirms its own belief that men of color and men of non-Protestant religions need to be controlled by morally, socially, and institutionally superior people, who, according to the Klan, are white men.

Data Analysis

Before beginning the analysis of Klan ideas, it is important to know who the Klan members were, both nationally and locally. The Klan was highly selective about who should be recruited and how. Eligibility for the Klan was strict and did not change over the course of the early twentieth century; members had to be white, male, protestant, Gentile, native-born citizens who believed in and upheld white supremacy, and who could afford the joining fee. Potential members had to be invited to meetings and recommended for membership by existing members. Several documents state, “Your eligibility [...] has been certified to by your friends within our ranks,” or, “Upon these beliefs and the recommendation of your friends, you are given an opportunity to become a member.”⁵⁴ The need for active Klan members to recommend potential new members arose from the Order’s nature as a highly secretive and exclusive organization.

⁵⁴ Ku Klux Klan, “Meeting Minutes,” August 2, 1928, Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records, Call No. 46, Box 1, Folder 8, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

There were different cards handed out to potential members, some were invitation cards which invited men to attend Klan meetings (See Figure 2), and some were preliminary application cards (See Figure 3). Every formal invitation and

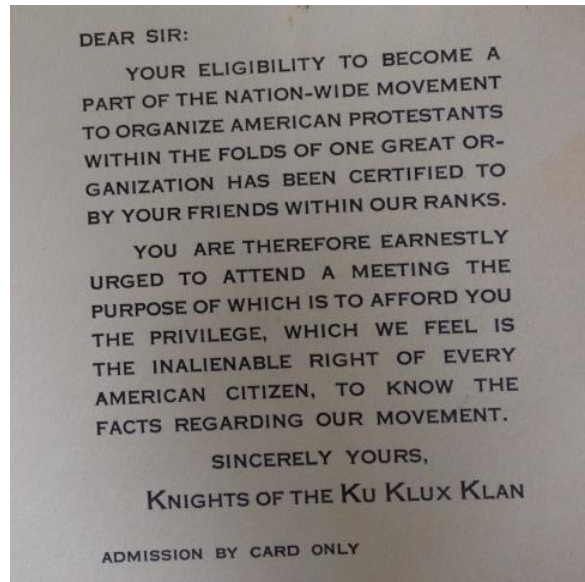


Figure 2:

“Invitation Card.” The back of this particular invitation card was used for recording Tillamook Klan chapter meeting minutes on August 2, 1928.

application card clearly laid out the basic requirements for entry into the Klan. Often, basic requirements were based on identity or status, such as race, religion, or occupation. Every Klansmen had to be a white, native-born, American citizen, protestant, with a “legitimate occupation,” and had to share the Klan’s beliefs in white supremacy.⁵⁵ The requirement for applicants to have a “legitimate occupation” is important, because the Klan imposed required fees on members. An application to the Tillamook Klan cost about fifteen dollars, which, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics is equivalent to \$197.57 in 2019, and upon admission there were quarterly

⁵⁵ Ku Klux Klan, Form P-217, n.d., Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records, Call No. 46, Box 2, Folder 8, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

dues.⁵⁶ The Tillamook Klan suspended between twenty to fifty members quarterly for unpaid fees in 1926 alone. The Tillamook documents do not show specific repercussions to suspension from the Klan, but given the level of fraternity which was provided by the Klan, it is sensible to assume that suspended members felt some loss of community. Perhaps suspended members also felt a sense of shame for this lack of financial responsibility or of failure for not offering fraternal support through their fees.

In addition, some cards also defined the required beliefs for admission into the Klan. For instance, Form P-217 was a preliminary application card which stated the basic required political and social beliefs of the Klan. The card, after it was signed by an applicant to the Klan, was to be presented “at the door” for admittance.⁵⁷ The card states, “REAL MEN whose oaths are inviolate are needed.”⁵⁸ In other words, “real men” believe in these specific ideas, “real men” sign an oath stating that they share these specific beliefs, and “real men” uphold and value this oath. The term “real men” in and of itself suggests that the Klan has a clear idea of what a man is and what makes a man real or not-real. If a real man believes in and upholds the Klan’s agenda and white supremacy, then, logically, a “not-real” or “unreal” man is one who does not believe in or uphold the Klan’s agenda and white supremacy. Here there are two key elements of manhood, which are the belief in and the upholding of Klan ideology. It is not enough to simply believe in white supremacy. To be Klansmen, men had to actively uphold white supremacy. As shown by Form P-217, a “real man” is one that upholds his belief in Klan ideology by pledging loyalty to the Klan, following the Klan’s rules and

⁵⁶ Bureau of Labor Statistics, “Bureau of Labor Statistics CPI Inflation Calculator,” Last Modified April 28, 2019. <https://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl?cost1=15&year1=192001&year2=201903>

⁵⁷ Ku Klux Klan, Form P-217.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

“NON SILBA SED ANTHAR”

Your friends state you are a “Native Born” American Citizen, having the best interest of your Community, City, State and Nation at heart, owing no allegiance to any foreign Government, political party, sect, creed or ruler, and engaged in a Legitimate occupation, and believe in:—viz.

The Tenets of the Christian Religion
White supremacy.
Protection of our pure womanhood.
Just Laws and Liberty.
Closer relationship of Pure Americanism.
The upholding of the Constitution of these United States.
The Sovereignty of our State Rights.
The Separation of Church and State.
Freedom of Speech and Press.

Closer relationship between Capital and American Labor.
Preventing the causes of mob violence and lynchings.
Preventing unwarranted strikes by foreign labor agitators.
Prevention of fires and destruction of property by lawless elements.
The limitation of foreign immigration.
The much needed local reforms.
Law and Order.

REAL MEN whose oaths are inviolate are needed.

Upon these beliefs and the recommendation of your friends you are given an opportunity to become a member of the most powerful secret, non-political organization in existence, one that has the “Most Sublime Lineage in History,” one that was “Here Yesterday,” “Here Today,” “Here Forever.”
Present this card at door for admittance, with your name, occupation and address.

Name.....

Occupation.....

Address.....

Discuss this with no one. If you wish to learn more, address Ti-Bo-Tim.....
“DUTY WITHOUT FEAR AND WITHOUT REPROACH.”

Figure 3:

“Form P-217,” Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon

expectations of behavior, and supporting the Klan in its political and social agenda.

Form P-217 informs applicants that their manhood is inherently tied to their belief in the Klan’s beliefs. Furthermore, each proclaimed belief can be tied to a larger idea or goal, such as morality, Americanism, and fraternity. “Pure womanhood,” and “Just Laws and Liberty,” are both tied to morality or an idea of what is good and right. “Pure Americanism,” and “The limitation of foreign immigration” both indicate a value of Americanism. “Friends” must recommend the applicant, and the Klan applicant must have in mind “the best interest of [their] community,” not just themselves, their state or nation.⁵⁹ These documents emphasize the importance of fraternity to, and within, the Klan and demonstrate part of the role fraternity plays in both the national and local

⁵⁹ Ibid.

Klan.

The official application sheet to join the Klan (see Figure 4) offers more insight into exactly who the Klan sought for recruitment. Many of the ideas are repetitive of the ideas already stated in Form P-217 (Figure 3), such as “a native born true and loyal citizen of the United States of America, being a white male Gentile.”⁶⁰ However, the particular admission form in Figure 4 also requires members to be a “person of

Imperial Palace Invisible Empire
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Aulik of the
IMPERIAL WIZZARD

To His Majesty the Imperial Wizard, Emperor of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN: (Inc):

I, the undersigned, a native born true and loyal citizen of the United States of America, being a white male Gentile person of temperate habits, sound in mind, and a believer in the tenents of the Christian religion, the maintenance of White Supremacy, the practice of an honorable clannishness and the principles of a "pure Americanism," do voluntarily most respectfully, seriously and unselfishly petition you for citizenship in the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and to become a member of Tillamook Klan No. 8.

I guarantee on my honor to conform strictly to all rules and requirements regulating my "naturalization" and the continuance of my membership, and at all times a strict and loyal obedience to your constitutional authority and the constitution and laws, and all regulations and usages of the fraternity. The required "donation" of \$15.00 accompanies this petition.

Recom. by Kl. John Edward Rogers

SIGNED John Edward Rogers Petitioner

Kl. _____

City Tillamook State Oregon

Figure 4:
“Application Form,” Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon

temperate habits, sound in mind.” The form also requires the applicant to be a believer in “the maintenance of White Supremacy, the practice of an honorable clannishness and the principles of a ‘pure Americanism.’” “Temperate habits” refers to an expectation of lifestyle, and specifically a lack of alcohol consumption. The practice of “honorable clannishness” refers to the behavior of Klansmen and how they treat people within and outside of the fraternity. Again, it is clear that themes of morality, Americanism, and fraternity are core elements of the Klan’s ideology and used to appeal to community

⁶⁰ Ku Klux Klan, Application Form, n. d., Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Box 1, Folder 9, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

members. All of these qualities, temperate habits, soundness of mind, and the practice of “honorable” clannishness, which are presented generally through the three themes, can be achieved through self-control. Perhaps more importantly, a man who does not possess these qualities and beliefs and uphold them, is lacking in manhood.

Morality

One way in which the Klan used ideas of morality to create and promote its concept of manhood was the differentiation of Protestantism from Catholicism. The Ku Klux Klan opposed Catholicism for many reasons, mainly the alleged un-Americanness of Catholics. Catholics made up only 8 percent of Oregon’s population in 1920, yet the Oregon Klan frequently wrote about the difference between Catholics and Protestants, referencing alcoholism and utilizing Prohibition politics to criticize Catholics.⁶¹ For example, in a letter from the Imperial Wizard to the Exalted Cyclops, Terrors and Klansmen, the Imperial Wizard writes,

We note with pleasure that the Hon. William J. Donovan, the wet-Catholic whom all of Mr. Smith’s supporters and some of his opponents, have been trying to get into the Cabinet has decided that the government can worry along without him [...] we also note the continued absence of Roman Catholics from the Cabinet. We congratulate Mr. Hoover.⁶²

The Klan condemned Catholics for consuming alcohol and often referred to Catholic men as “wet-Catholics” or “wet Romans.”⁶³ The insult insinuated that Catholic men lacked sobriety, discipline, and therefore morality. The difference between

⁶¹ Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK*, 140.

⁶² Evans, H. W. Imperial Wizard to All Exalted Cyclops, Terrors and Klansmen, 1929. Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Box 2, Folder 1, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

⁶³ John A. Jeffrey, Bulletin Number Eleven, February 18, 1929, Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Box 2, Folder 1, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR. See also Ku Klux Klan, *Kourier Magazine*.

Protestantism and Catholicism, along with the policing of the morality of “wet Roman” Catholics, were highlighted in the ways Klansmen wrote about their Protestant values. The term “wet Roman” was intended to damage the reputation of Catholic men and delegitimize their manhood specifically because they lacked self-control. Drinking alcohol was synonymous with lacking self-control. Morality was used to highlight the “evils” of men who could not control themselves.

The Klan did not support Temperance for the same reason as the early-twentieth century feminists. Feminists of the time wanted to stop their husbands from committing acts of violence and moral sin, such as infidelity, typically associated with intoxication, and to raise the overall moral standards of men by limiting their access to alcohol.⁶⁴ In other words, women used religion and morality to protect themselves and to change existing gender and marriage dynamics. The Klan, on the other hand, saw purity and morality as belonging to, and characteristic of, whiteness. In a sense, the Klan used the Temperance movement to its advantage, and adopted similar arguments about purity and morality. The Klan was not a promoter of universal feminism.⁶⁵ Many Tillamook men were attracted to the Klan because of its promise to protect existing gender role inequities and to preserve the “purity” of the traditional American life.⁶⁶

Sobriety and morality were expected of Klansmen. Klansmen were persistent in

⁶⁴ Morone, *Hellfire Nation*, 281-292.

⁶⁵ The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were against feminism, however, white feminism did exist in the Klan. As women gained more power with suffrage and began joining the Women’s Ku Klux Klan, they began running events such as bake sales and making substantial amounts of money for the organization. See Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK* for a look at how white, bigoted feminism in the Klan led to internal conflict and challenged Klansmen who were threatened by the growing economic and political power of women both in and out of the Klan.

⁶⁶ Horowitz, “Social Morality and Personal Revitalization,” 365–384. See also Kelly Baker, *Gospel According to the Klan: The KKK’s Appeal to Protestant America, 1915-1930* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2011).

criticizing men for drinking and losing self-control, but Klansmen, too, risked criticism and consequences for lacking morality and sobriety. Filed disciplinary forms show that Klansmen were also expected to maintain certain standards of morality and self-control. As Figure 5 illustrates, on November 8th, 1922, Klansmen James O. Daily was charged with “Habitual drunkenness, disorderly conduct...disloyalty to Klan...[and] abusive

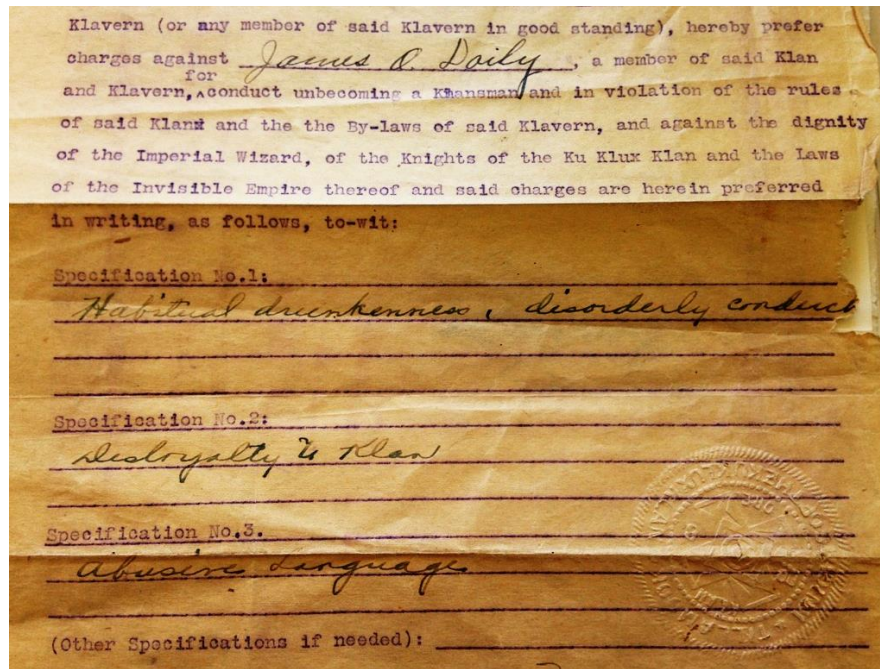


Figure 5:
“Form for Preferring Charges,” Ku Klux Klan
1922, Tillamook, Oregon.

language.”⁶⁷ All four charges relate to and critique Daily’s behavior. Daily’s participation in alcohol consumption was problematic to the pro-prohibition Klan. Furthermore, his “disorderly conduct” and “abusive language” showed an inexcusable lack of self-control. The morality expected of Klansmen was tied to control, and the Klan was clear that men who did not follow the Klan’s moral code were not worthy of

⁶⁷ Ku Klux Klan, Form for Preferring Charges, November 8, 1922, Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Box 01, Folder 2, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

being Klansmen. This form of preferring charges against Daily also suggests that individual Klansmen did not necessarily uphold the values they promoted and claimed to practice. The Klan's perception of Protestant values and morality, specifically how Klansmen should behave in accordance to Klan morality, played a part in how the Klan perceived manhood.

The Kourier Magazine, sent out quarterly to Ku Klux Klan members, shines light on how men in the Klan felt about their manhood, their faith, and their mission as saviors of the white race. It also shows how the Klan used manhood and ideas of control to persuade men join and follow the Klan. The nationally distributed magazine presented what it meant to be a "true American" from the perspective of the national Klan. Articles, poems, and advertisements were submitted by named, anonymous, famous and obscure Klansmen from all parts of the United States. As claimed in a letter from the Imperial Wizard to All Exalted Cyclops, Terrors, and Klansmen, *The Kourier Magazine* is the "Magazine of Americanism."⁶⁸ It was "devoted entirely to matters of public interest with a distinct educational value to both the public and the Klan."⁶⁹ The letter also described the difference between the general public publications and the Klan-only publications of the magazine, as well as the expected methods of sharing between Klansmen and non-Klansmen.

On the other two months of each quarter, the Kourier, Klan Edition, can be obtained only from the Kligrapps of the Klans at Klan meetings. It will be FREE to Klansmen attending, Kourier subscribers preferred, and will contain live Klan information and matters which we do not care to publish to the alien world. We thus meet the demand for inside information as to our national activities.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Evans, Imperial Wizard to All Exalted Cyclops, Terrors and Klansmen, 1.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

In Bulletin Number Eleven, the Imperial Representative directs all members of the order to “See that every Protestant you know, takes the ‘Kourier.’”⁷¹ The back cover of one issue of *The Kourier Magazine* stated, “Read the Kourier. Every Klansman Should Subscribe.”⁷² The main differences between public and private issues of the magazine are minimal. The private or internal issues discuss the strategies of the Klan in slightly more detail, but overall contain the same Klan propaganda.

One article printed in the magazine, “God Wants Men,” by an author who identifies as G.W.W., offers an example of Klan ideas of manhood through the lens of Protestant morality. This article was published in a public edition of *The Kourier Magazine*, rather than the Klan-only edition of the magazine, which was released twice a year.⁷³ Beginning with biblical stories to educate Klansmen about “true” Protestant values and ending with personal testimonies, G.W.W. attempts to encourage and affirm discouraged Klansmen. G.W.W. wrote, “The real man, the real citizen in the truest sense, the real Klansmen, will not stoop to the little and the low and vile.”⁷⁴ First, G.W.W. paired the “real man” with the “real citizen” and the “real Klansmen,” suggesting that a “real” man is synonymous with the “real” citizen and Klansmen. Second, G.W.W. contrasted the “real man” to the “vile.” He is at once claiming manhood is related to Americanness and membership in the Klan, and also setting “real men” apart from “low and vile” behavior or attitudes. The logical implication of his

⁷¹ Jeffrey, Bulletin Number Eleven, 1.

⁷² Ku Klux Klan, *The Kourier Magazine* 6, no. 3 (1930): 1, Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1924-1933, Call No. 046, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

⁷³ Evans, Imperial Wizard to All Exalted Cyclops, Terrors and Klansmen, 1.

⁷⁴ G.W.W., “God Wants Men,” *The Kourier Magazine* 1, no. 11 (1925): 4-5, Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR. There are dozens of other examples in the magazine.

statement is that men who are “vile,” are not true Americans, true Klansmen, or “real men.” Additionally, anyone who is not a real Klansman is immoral. G.W.W. had an idea of what was “low and vile,” as well as what was good and moral, because his argument was that men who did not uphold a specific morality were not “real men.” The idea also ties manhood to morality. In other words, G.W.W. suggested that Klansman must emulate Protestant values of honor and morality or else risk losing their manhood.

G.W.W.’s use of Protestant morality is made more explicit when he states what kind of men God wants. Klansmen, who are by requirement Protestant, must be men of God. Throughout the article, G.W.W. wrote that “God’s man must be patient,” “...God’s man must be a man of courage,” and every Klansman “must have faith; faith in himself; faith in God.”⁷⁵ The direct statements claim that in order to be a man of God, Klansmen must have courage, be patient and have faith. Klansmen had to have courage to continue trying to convince white people to believe in white supremacy, and to continue facing post-civil war, post-Reconstruction political realities of the United States. The article states, “Anyone can resign when things go wrong, but it takes a real man to stay on the job and fight the thing through to the end of the chapter.” Klansmen had to be patient with white people who did not agree with the Klan’s beliefs of white supremacy and who did not “see things the way” Klansmen saw them.⁷⁶ Additionally, Klansmen had to have patience because “it takes a long time to bring about the reforms which will be lasting.”⁷⁷ G.W.W. especially wished to point out that “God’s man must

⁷⁵ G.W.W., “God Wants Men,” 4.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

be patient,” and faithful with Klan brothers.⁷⁸ There is a strong emphasis on general patience as well as patience with fellow fraternity members. G.W.W. also wrote, “Do not say unkind things about anyone. I do not believe that a worth while convert was ever made by speaking caustically.”⁷⁹ Together with the previous statements, G.W.W.’s statement suggest that Klansmen must control their words through kindness and patience. The statement also suggests that “worth while” converts are men who were won over through the same kindness and patience.

G.W.W. was concerned with the morality of the men considered for recruitment into the Klan. Aggression and negativity were looked down on, while the strategic use of “kindness” was praised. The article clearly aims to encourage white men to treat other white men with patience and kindness and establish a relationship between brothers. Faithfulness, especially to the brotherhood, was highly valued. Faithfulness to whiteness was also expected. Men who married women of color were considered grave sinners and were seen as unacceptable to the Klan. The article aims to highlight the way Klan members were expected to interact with white, Protestant men when attempting to evangelize or recruit. The writing also reveals that the Klan perceived and promoted manhood as inherently tied to morality and self-control.

G.W.W.’s article also provides an example of the many times Klan writings use manhood as a tool for controlling Klansmen and promoting the idea that manhood is synonymous with control. He wrote that “real” Klansman must be courageous and committed, as “it takes a real man to stay on the job and fight the thing through to the

⁷⁸ Ibid., 4.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

end of the chapter.”⁸⁰ In other words, if Klansmen give up, they lose their manhood and status as “real men.” The term “real man” is used yet again to pressure members to step up and continue to participate and financially support the organization, while also encouraging Klansmen to maintain a positive attitude and kind presence with possible converts. Overall, the article aims to praise the work of Klansmen and influence their behavior. “God Wants Men” does more than soothe the reader and offer a sense of comfort in what it means to be a Klansmen. G.W.W. effectively uses concepts of manhood and of the “real man” to argue his stance on Protestant morality, and more importantly, implies that anyone who does not follow a specific set of morally-guided behaviors is not a real man. Perhaps the fact that the article was intended for the general public issue of the magazine explains why G.W.W.’s depiction of “real men” and Klansmen is so positive. There is a stark contrast between the “real man,” a man of reason, patience, and kindness described here in the national literature, and the less public behavior of Klansmen, which in many parts of the country, included committing horrific crimes of violence. Regardless, the Klan believed there was no contradiction in their values. The Klan justified their attitudes towards fellow Klansman, white people who were not part of the Klan, and people of color with white supremacy. In the context of white supremacy, it is completely logical to practice patience, reason, and kindness with fellow Klansmen or with white people who may have an interest in the white supremacist agenda, because white people are at the top of the hierarchy. Engaging in violent crimes against people of color or people who disagreed with white supremacy is not only logical to Klan members, but necessary in order to defend the country and the

⁸⁰ Ibid., 5.

white race.⁸¹

Locally, the less public behavior of Klansmen often included corruption and adultery. Klan members often failed to uphold their own ideals of morality as Protestant individuals and Klansmen who claimed commitment to the organization. For instance,

Walla Walla Washington
February 18th, 1923.

Mr J. Munro Wilson
Tillamook Oregon.

Dear Sir. & E.C.

Mr J T Keating, of Tillamook Ore,
referred me to you, for information, which I am seeking.
I am a looking for a man by the name of Jean P Kirkpatrick who
disappeared from here last August 15th, when he disappeared he had
about \$ I.000. of Klan money in his possèssion, also left his wife
and four year old boy, I am also informed that he has another wife
a living some where that he may not be divorced from ??
At first most every body thought that he had meet with roull play,

I think that he is still alive, He is about 53years old, but looks
about 45years about 5feet 8 inches tall , very stout built , large
eyes, Was Editor of the Piolet Rock Record, of Piolet Rock Ore,

I wish that you would see the man at the Tillamook Hearld, He may
be the man I am a looking for,
Please find enclosed Photograph , Which please return as it is the
only one that I have,

Thanking you in advance .

I am Yours In The Unfailing Bond.

Wm Peterson
Wm Peterson
P.O.Box 333
Walla Walla Wash,

Figure 6:
“Official Correspondence Regarding a
Missing Klansman,” February 18, 1923, Tillamook, Oregon.

one letter, which was sent from Wm Peterson to Mr. J. Munro Wilson, the Exalted Cyclops of the Tillamook No. 8 Chapter in 1923, inquired about a disappeared Klan member who stole Klan money (see Figure 6). The letter states that Peterson is looking for Jean P. Kirkpatrick,

⁸¹ See W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880-1930*, (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

who disappeared from here last August 15th, when he disappeared he had about \$1,000 of Klan money in his possession, also left his wife and four year old boy, I am also informed that he has another wife a living (sic) some where (sic) that he may not be divorced from??⁸²

Peterson goes on to say that although he at first thought Kirkpatrick met with “foul play,” he now suspects Kirkpatrick is alive and working at the “Tillamook Herald [sic],” the local newspaper.⁸³ Peterson sent a photograph of Kirkpatrick, and asked Wilson to go see a man at the Tillamook Herald to see if he was the same man as the photograph. Not only is Kirkpatrick suspected by his own Klan brothers to have stolen money from the Klan, but he is accused of abandoning his wife and child, and of having a second wife. Kirkpatrick’s behavior suggests that G.W.W.’s depiction of Klansmen, therefore the Klan’s depiction of Klansmen, is likely aspirational. The Klan claims both publicly in the Kourier Magazine, and privately in other writings, to uphold traditional protestant values, but if the letter is true, then not all members avoided financial corruption or complied with marriage vows of fidelity.

The Klan delegitimized the manhood of other men and asserted control over others through a combined use of “superior” morality, Americanism, and fraternity and the protection of women. Sentiments of white purity and vulnerability of white women were used in Klan rhetoric during the second wave. *Birth of a Nation* depicts a white woman committing suicide in order to evade the advances of a sexually aggressive black man, and the Ku Klux Klan avenging her death by lynching the man.⁸⁴ A letter to

⁸² Wm Peterson, Official Correspondence Regarding a Missing Klansman, February 18, 1923, Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Box 1, Folder 2, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene OR.

⁸³ Peterson, Official Correspondence.

⁸⁴ *The Birth of a Nation*.

the All Exalted Cyclops, Terrors and Klansmen of Oregon states that “The Crisis,” an African American magazine, claimed that Southern white women who had formed a relationship with a person of color were “less afraid of colored men than any other white woman in the world.”⁸⁵ The letter in Figure 7 both includes the excerpt from “The Crisis,” and repudiates the statement quoted, suggesting that the terror experienced by Southern white women at the “presence of black men” is not “a myth.”⁸⁶ By depicting black men as out of control, sexually threatening predators, the Klan insinuates that African American men need to be controlled and that the Klan is needed to do the controlling. The idea also suggests that the men of the Klan are in control of themselves, and therefore morally and mentally “better.” The supremacy of

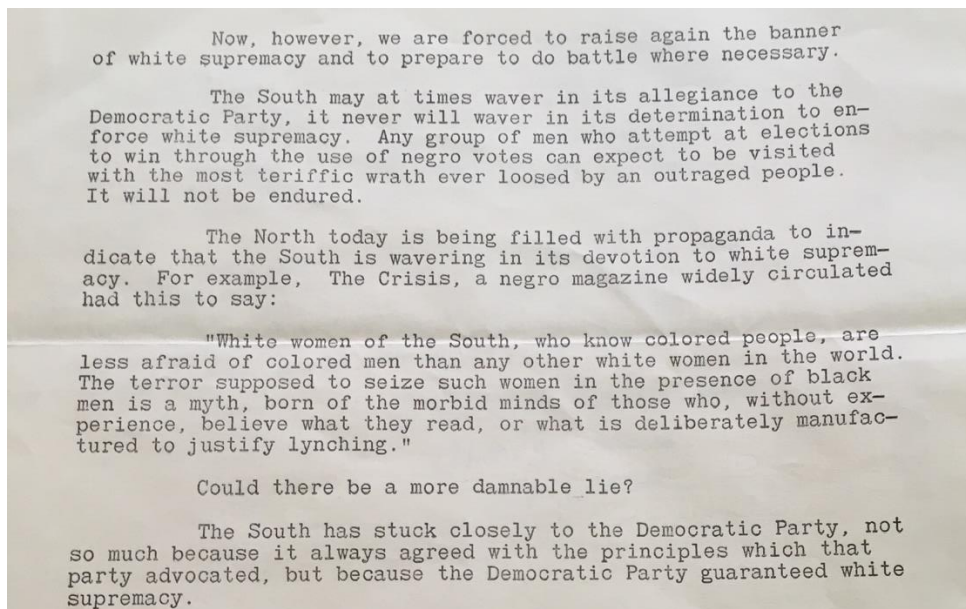


Figure 7:
“Imperial Wizard to All Exalted Cyclops, Terrors and Klansmen of the Realm of Oregon,” 1922, Tillamook, Oregon.

whiteness and of white manhood is obvious, according to the Klan, because white men

⁸⁵ Evans, Imperial Wizard to All Exalted Cyclops, Terrors and Klansmen, 2.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

are in control of themselves, and can therefore live “moral” lifestyles. By claiming that white women fear black men, the Klan is stripping a healthy manhood from black men and replacing it with a scary and predatory quality. Criminalizing and sexualizing African American men in this way dehumanizes black men and strips them of morality. In doing so, it also pairs white supremacy with manhood and inhumanness with masculinity because in order to maintain white supremacy, the humanness and manhood of black men must be delegitimized by moral and superior white men.

The strategy by which the Klan discusses solving this “problem” of the predatory black male is through political engagement and brotherhood, reflecting Americanism and fraternity.⁸⁷ The Klan did not use tactics of feminization in order to delegitimize the manhood of other men in this particular letter, but rather argued the need for control. White women needed “real men” to save them, “real men” who by definition had control over their own carnal instincts and control over men who did not, such as all African American men. Ultimately this demonstrates that the Klan used themes of sexuality, purity, and women to demonize black men as lacking self-control, which in turn delegitimized and stripped black men of their manhood. The Klan expected Klansmen everywhere to protect white women from men of color, as well as to prevent the rise of “the negro” in government, especially in the south. The “threat” of African American political control was non-existent in Tillamook county, as there was only one known African American living in the county from 1910 to 1920.⁸⁸ The local Klan focused heavily on preventing any possible political “threat” from arising, such as

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Toll, “Progress and Piety,” 78.

preventing African Americans or people of color from moving in, while the national Klan focused more on decreasing any existing “threats.”⁸⁹ Additionally, the Klan nationally and locally worked tirelessly to promote the idea that women needed protection from African American men. However, the population of African Americans in the state of Oregon in 1920 was 2,144, only 0.3 percent of the total state population. The Tillamook Klan had no more than three African Americans living in the whole county at any given time in the early twentieth century, but the instilled fear of African Americans was part of the local Klan’s strategy and goal to keep the county racially homogenous.

Americanism

Americanism was equally important to the Klan’s ideas of manhood. Americanism is an ideology defined as "a set of traditions, a political language, and a cultural style imbued with political meaning," as well as, “an articulation of the nation’s rightful place in the world.”⁹⁰ Americanism, then, is the idea of “America First,” which heavily promotes constitutionalism and nativism, a combination of racism and xenophobia. Nativism, nationalistic at its roots, can be defined as “intense opposition to an internal minority on the ground of its foreign (i.e. ‘un-American’) connections.”⁹¹ The ideology of nativism is essentially to protect the “principal of nationality,” lest it

⁸⁹ See Deneen L. Brown, "When Portland banned blacks: Oregon's shameful history as an 'all-white' state," June 7, 2017, Washington Post. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/retropolis/wp/2017/06/07/when-portland-banned-blacks-oregons-shameful-history-as-an-all-white-state/?utm_term=.6ffc6e43b695 for a general overview of the Oregon State Constitution and laws.

⁹⁰ Michael Kazin and Joseph A. McCartin, eds., *Americanism: New Perspectives on the History of an Ideal*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

⁹¹ John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*. 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 4.

“be destroyed.”⁹² For the purposes of this research, I use the term “Americanism” to broadly refer to the combination of nativism, Americanism, nationalism, and constitutionalism.

During the Progressive Era, an abundance of immigrants coming to the United States increased American anxieties, particularly for white, Protestant, working-class men who saw immigrant labor as a financial and cultural threat. Even though Oregon did not experience large influxes in immigration, the Oregon Klan used Americanism and Americanistic ideas to offer a definition of the American nationality, justify existing xenophobic and racist attitudes, and influence communities that feared social and political changes. Immigration and class issues were key elements to the Klan’s political influence and success in Oregon and across the nation, however, for the scope of this research, my focus remains on the ways in which the Klan used Americanism to define and use ideas of manhood.

An article titled “The Real American,” published in *The Courier Magazine* by Dr. Frank Crane, reflects the Klan’s idea of Americanism, and identifies what makes a “real” American. According to Crane, a “real American” is a man who “votes...pays his taxes honestly...is clean of race prejudice...[and whose] parents may be French, Italian, Polish or German; but...he is an American.”⁹³ These first three, the voting, honest tax paying, and the lack of racial bias, are seen as American ideals and defining characteristics of “real” Americans. Crane’s comment that anyone whose parents were from one of these European countries implies that in order to be an American, a person

⁹² Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 4.

⁹³ Dr. Frank Crane, “The Real American,” *The Courier Magazine* 1, no. 11 (1925): 29, Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

has to be born in the United States, or at the least have citizenship, and that the person must be assimilated into American culture. It is acceptable for someone's parents to be "foreign" but in order to be a "real" American, the person must be from certain western European origins, and must assimilate.

An "unreal" American would be someone who did not vote, pay their taxes, or who had race prejudice. Given the inherent racial prejudice of white supremacy, this depiction of "real" Americans seems contradictory. Yet, white supremacy, as claimed by the Klan, is not racially prejudiced because it is an accurate depiction of the nature of the races. It is not racial prejudice to say that African Americans require, and are benefited from, the control of white Americans, because it is simply a fact of nature that white people are superior to people of color. The logic is that the Klan is not racist, but simply made up of racially superior men.

Crane also stated that a "real" American "does not care what your religious belief is, so long as you are decent."⁹⁴ Nevertheless, Catholics were routinely criticized in national, statewide, and local Klan writings. Italians, too, which were predominantly Catholic, were often criticized in Klan writings. While his writing is seemingly accepting of the children of immigrants who conform to the American "spirit," *The Kourier Magazine* often published writings which opposed immigration and exalted nativism, especially in the editions published for "Klansmen only."⁹⁵ The Klan aggressively opposed international immigration, and *The Kourier Magazine* frequently included commentary concerning immigration from Mexico, calling Mexican

⁹⁴ Crane, "The Real American," 29.

⁹⁵ Ku Klux Klan, "More Undesirables," *The Kourier Magazine* 6, no. 3 (1930): 1. Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records, Box 046, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

immigrants “undesirables.”⁹⁶ An excerpt from *The Kourier* stated that, “It is about time for some teeth in the Immigration Law along the Border—and those teeth ought to be

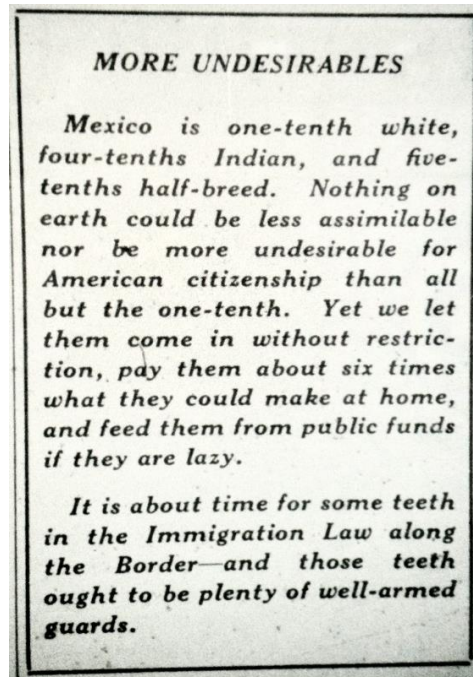


Figure 8:
“More Undesirables,” 1930.

plenty of well-armed guards,” (see Figure 8).⁹⁷

Immigrants who fell outside the lines of white Protestants with an American spirit were unequivocally unwelcome. In a fairly homogenous state such as Oregon, nativism helped the Klan gain significant political, social, and economic power in the 1920s.⁹⁸ Essentially, the Klan opposed immigration, especially the immigration of any people from predominantly Catholic or non-white countries because the immigrants could never be “true Americans” who could uphold Americanism. Unlike the Klan

⁹⁶ Ku Klux Klan, “More Undesirables,” 4.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹ Toy, “The Ku Klux Klan in Tillamook, Oregon,” 60-64.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

chapters in other states which might have aimed to ‘whiten’ the state, the Tillamook Klan focused on keeping the county of Tillamook and state of Oregon white. The same fear of immigrants and other cultures is seen in the Tillamook Klan’s push for the Compulsory Public School Bill. The pamphlet promoting Measure 6, Figure 1, emphasizes cultural “assimilation,” and argues for “One Flag—One School—One Language.”⁹⁹ The pamphlet also states, “

Mix the children of the foreign born with the native born, and the rich with the poor. Mix those with prejudices in the public school melting pot for a few years while their minds are plastic, and finally bring out the finished product—a true American.¹⁰⁰

The Klan claims publicly to believe in the melting-pot mentality; all can be included, and all can become “true Americans.” The article by Crane and the advertisement for public schools makes it clear that true Americans come from diversity. However, as shown in Crane’s article, children can only become true Americans by assimilating to American culture. In other words, they must let go of their heritage cultures all together. The “mixing” of foreign born and native-born children was aimed entirely at the assimilation of foreign born children. The “mixing” of foreign born and native-born children was also limited to children who were either white or from specific European

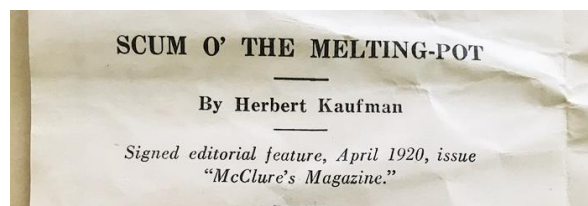


Figure 9:
“Scum O’ the Melting-Pot,”
December 15, 1920, Tillamook, Oregon.

⁹⁹ A. & A. S. R. School Committee, “Informational Pamphlet.”

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

countries, such as Germany or Poland. Immigrants, Protestant and Catholic, from Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, Canada, Norway, England, and Ireland were all considered white foreigners.¹⁰¹ During the Progressive Era, schools were still segregated, and so the “mixing” of children was in no way aimed at increasing racial diversity. Tillamook documents also suggest the Klan’s support of the melting pot mentality was limited, as the Klan also published pamphlets titled “Scum o’ the Melting-Pot,” (see Figure 9).¹⁰²

Articles such as these were in direct contradiction to the idea that the melting pot would benefit children and produce “true Americans.” Herbert Kaufman argued that “the making of America is fundamentally an Anglo-Saxon achievement,”¹⁰³ and that foreigners will take over and destroy America.

Ominous statistics proclaim the persistent development of a parasite mass within our domain—our political system is clogged with foreign bodies which stubbornly refuse to be absorbed, and means must be found to meet the menace.¹⁰⁴

Kaufman’s writing shows that any “foreign” person who does not shed their own culture and language to assimilate cannot become American and must be eliminated like a “parasite.” His article also suggests that Klansmen fear a loss of control over their government, their land, and their culture. His figurative and literal call to arms demonstrates that “Americans” must take and maintain control over America. The contradiction between the benefits of the melting pot idea and the rejection of all

¹⁰¹ Toll, “Progress and Piety,” 78.

¹⁰² Herbert Kaufman, “Scum O’ the Melting-Pot,” December 15, 1920, Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Box 02, Folder 3, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

¹⁰³ Kaufman, “Scum O’ the Melting-Pot,” 2.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

foreign born peoples can be explained only by considering the hierarchy of white supremacy. If the “foreign born” are white, which during the Progressive Era also means non-Italian, and non-Catholic, they can be smoothly absorbed into the American society. But, if the foreign born are not white, or not willing to actively forgo their own cultures so that they can fully conform the Klan’s version of “Americanism,” then they must be removed from the United States. Only people of color willing to fully adhere to assimilation and the hierarchy of white supremacy could potentially be accepted by the Klan.

Nativist ideas justified the Klan’s hatred of Catholicism as well. In one bulletin from the Imperial Representative to each member of the Order, the Imperial Representative wrote that Catholics were “denouncing our constitution and sneering at our Public Schools, our laws, our Protestant Churches and at our Klan and our Masonic Institution.”¹⁰⁵ The Klan believed that Catholics were incapable of fully supporting a democracy because “[Catholicism] has always taught church absolutism.”¹⁰⁶ As claimed by the Klan, Protestants supported the constitution, the President, and democracy, while Catholics supported church doctrine, the pope, and papal oligarchy. In Bulletin Number Eleven, the Imperial Representative writes that

In Italy the country and the people fall back to the dark ages. They make the Pope an independent Monarch; they surrender to him the “education” of the children, the control of marriage and divorce, and adopt the church (cannon) law in the state. They “pay” more than one hundred millions of dollars for taking the “church lands” in 1870 to make the Italian nation.¹⁰⁷

In the Kourier Magazine, an article titled “Rome’s Anti-American Schools” discusses

¹⁰⁵ Jeffrey, Bulletin Number Eleven.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 1.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 1.

the un-Americanness of Catholicism. It said,

Of all the many activities carried on by the Roman Catholic Church in opposition to American principles and American patriotism, the most important is its parochial school system. By this it prevents the millions of Catholic children from receiving any idea of what Americanism is or means, as well as welding on them the chains of Papal supremacy.¹⁰⁸

Religious prejudice was not a substitute for racial prejudice. But the lack of racial diversity in Oregon allowed the Klan to focus more heavily on Catholicism as a target for the Klan's political agenda. Discrimination, prejudice, and blatant hatred of Catholics was not unique to the Oregon Klan; Catholics encountered and clashed with Klan chapters in states everywhere.¹⁰⁹

A letter from the Imperial Wizard to All Exalted Cyclops, Terrors, and Klansmen of the Realm of Oregon also demonstrates that the Klan used ideas of what it means to be a "real American," and of American justice, to communicate ideas of manhood as dominance and control over inferior groups. The letter states, "Southern blacks have accepted white rule without question, and the balance of the country has been content..."¹¹⁰ Put differently, black Americans need to be ruled and controlled, they themselves know it, and the entire country has benefited from the Klan's control of them. The idea that African Americans cannot control themselves also has dehumanizing undertones. It suggests that African Americans are, at least to some degree, uncivilized. The letter also shows fear of African American political power

¹⁰⁸ Ku Klux Klan, *The Courier Magazine*.

¹⁰⁹ See William Vance Trollinger, "Hearing the Silence: The University of Dayton, the Ku Klux Klan, and Catholic Universities and Colleges in the 1920s," *American Catholic Studies* 124, no. 1 (2013): 1-21 and Todd Tucker, *Notre Dame vs. the Klan: How the Fighting Irish Defeated the Ku Klux Klan*, (Chicago IL: Loyola Press, 2004) for some of many examples of the Klan's active prejudice against Catholicism and Catholic institutions.

¹¹⁰ Evans, Imperial Wizard to All Exalted Cyclops, Terrors and Klansmen, 1.

when it states that “If the negro is to be voted through the South, negro political control will soon be upon it.”¹¹¹ The statement shows that the Klansmen feared any shift in power that challenged white supremacy, and clearly tied order and happiness to white political and social control.

The Imperial Wizard justified white supremacy, and Klan manhood, using ideas of American justice:

The negro has had no better friend, North or South, than the Klan. The principles of even-handed justice for which we stand, the better government we have brought about, the decrease in lynchings which has been so largely due to our efforts ----- all of these have directly and visibly benefitted the negro. More important yet has been our indirect benefit, by our insistence upon the complete supremacy of the white race and the complete separation—socially—of the two races, which has been the greatest force in the South in avoiding causes of conflict.¹¹²

The statement portrays Klansmen as peace-keeping men who support society and justice through maintaining a hierarchy. As specified by this statement, even the greatest “enemies” of the Klan, African Americans, were better off because of the Klan’s control over government. The Klan clearly wanted to justify and increase support of their political and social influence in the United States by stating that “the negro has had no better friend” than the Klan. In the South, lynchings declined greatly during the 1920s and 1930s due efforts by antilynchers and the Great Migration, in which many rural southern African Americans moved to the North.¹¹³ The Klan’s influence and control in government was not the driving force of antilynching activism, despite its claims suggesting it was the fundamental reason why lynchings decreased so

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 209.

as to prove their value to society. The Klan, at least publicly, encouraged people to create, use, and rely on reforms and the law rather than to engage in chaotic mob lynchings. The Klan wanted to represent order in society. The claims that they were the friends of African Americans was perhaps an attempt to show they were maintaining order and control. Klansmen considered themselves protectors of the white race, as well as of African Americans.

Additionally, the Klan claims that their “insistence upon the complete supremacy of the white race and the complete separation—socially—of the two races,” was “the greatest force in the South in avoiding causes of conflict.” The complete separation of the two races allows for whites to maintain control over society, which, according to the Klan, benefits everyone. White Americans, who were seen as racially, mentally, and socially superior, were in a sense depicted as generous care-givers who wanted to avoid post-Abolition race-related social chaos. Black Americans, who in the eyes of white supremacists were inferior, were in need of, and benefited from, the complete social and political control of intellectually superior white people. The argument that white supremacy helps foster American values, preserve peace, and avoid conflict serves to encourage the ideas of white supremacy, justify and encourage the Klan for promoting and enforcing white supremacist ideas such as social separation of different races.

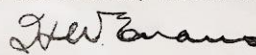
The Klan’s concern over African American roles in government was similar to the concern over Catholic control in that both threatened Protestant white supremacy.¹¹⁴ The Imperial Wizard uses terms such as “scalawag,” saying “the Klan cannot see how a

¹¹⁴ Evans, *Imperial Wizard to All Exalted Cyclops, Terrors and Klansmen*, 1.

Now there is another issue involved: The issue of white supremacy, and the Klan once more can not fail to meet this issue. Until it becomes perfectly clear that the negro loving politicians have been driven out of the Democratic Party in the South like the Nazarene swine, and the party in every Southern state is pure white from top to bottom and irrevocably committed to white supremacy --- until that time the Klan cannot see how a single decent white man in the South can support the present day scalawag in the party.

The job the white people of the South, Klan, anti-Klan, Protestant and Catholic have before them is to drive out all such scalawags regardless of their political position or Southern lineage. The higher their social standing and position, the more entrenched they may be in our economic and political life, the greater traitors they are to the real people of the genuine South.

Faithfully yours,
In the Sacred, Unfailing Bond,



IMPERIAL WIZARD.

Figure 10:

“Letter from the Imperial Wizard to All Exalted Cyclops, Terrors and Klansmen of the Realm of Oregon,” 1922, Tillamook, Oregon.

single decent white man in the South can support the present day scalawag...”¹¹⁵ (See Figure 10). “Scalawag” refers to “white southerners who support the reconstruction of governments after the American Civil War often for private gain.”¹¹⁶ It also means a scamp or brute.¹¹⁷ He also referred to people of Jewish heritage as “Nazarene swine,” suggesting Jewish men are beast-like. The insults reduced men to insignificant and illegitimate “animals. Similarly, the use of the term “wet Roman” diminished the manhood of Catholic men for their lack of morality and self-control. Americanism was a propeler of nativist, anti-immigrant and anti-catholic sentiments. It was used by the Klan, locally and nationally, to define Klan manhood, which excluded people of color, Jews, Catholics, and non-U.S. citizens, and reaffirm Klan white supremacy and control

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 3.

¹¹⁶ “Scalawag,” Merriam-Webster, Accessed March 09, 2019, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/scalawag>.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

over society.

Fraternity

The final element of control and definition of manhood established by the Klan, and possibly the most elaborate, came under the guise and appeal of fraternity. Protestant men often turned to the Klan for companionship, brotherhood, and community, especially in Tillamook.¹¹⁸ The small town was resistant to the technological, social, and political changes brought by the Progressive Era, and many men wanted to be part of a community that embraced and aimed to protect their traditional values of family and social order.¹¹⁹ The fraternal bonds formed and enforced by the Klan were another dimension that defined “manhood” and also served to control the behavior of members of the Klan. The most explicit example of fraternity as an idea of manhood is the Oath of the Crusaders, which was signed by each Klansman at initiation (See Appendix A). The Oath itself was tied to manhood, as were the ideas Klan members pledged to in the Oath. “The Fiery Summons” pamphlet repeated the ideas of manhood seen in Form P-217 (Figure 3) when it stated that, “No man is wanted in this Order who hasn’t manhood enough to assume a real OATH with serious purpose to keep the same inviolate.”¹²⁰ In other words, anyone who does not sign the Oath does not have enough manhood.

The full Oath can be found in Appendix A. Within the first section, Klansmen pledge to secrecy, to financial and political commitment to the Klan, to the beliefs of

¹¹⁸ Toll, “Progress and Piet,”

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 85. Toll discusses Tillamook’s desire to resist the changes of the era. The automobile was one of the many technological advancements with which the town felt resistance.

¹²⁰ Ku Klux Klan, “Prerequisites to Citizenship in the Invisible Empire,” *The “Fiery” Summons*, n.d., Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Box 2, Folder 3, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

the Klan, to the hierarchy of the Klan, to maintaining “peace and harmony” with fellow Klansmen, to defending and protecting the reputation of the other Klansmen, to commitment to the constitution of the United States, and to promoting white supremacy.¹²¹ The second section focuses on vows of loyalty to Klan leadership and Klan regulations, solidifying the idea of hierarchy, and secrecy. The third section provides guidelines for who can and should be asked to join the Klan, and the fourth section pertains to vows of protecting the honor of fellow Klansmen, committing to the “sacred bond of fellowship,” and upholding the American constitution and Klan duties.¹²²

The Oath was a blueprint for how Klansmen were expected to behave and engage with their Klan brothers. For example, the oath states, “I most solemnly pledge, promise and swear that I will never slander, defraud, deceive or in any manner wrong the American Krusaders, a Krusader, nor a Krusader’s family, nor will I suffer the same to be done if I can prevent it.”¹²³ The pledge not only requires Klansmen to be loyal to their brothers and the organization, but also to actively protect other Klansmen. Here, loyalty is synonymous with the expectation that Klansmen would protect the honor and name of fellow Klansmen as well as the organization. But this type of loyalty goes beyond brotherly love or respect for the organization. Functionally, this pledge guarantees obedience from Klan members. If the American Krusaders, the national Ku Klux Klan organization, wishes to know every detail about the lives of Klansmen and of

¹²¹ Ku Klux Klan, Oath of the American Krusaders, n.d., Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Box 1, Folder 15, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

¹²² Ku Klux Klan, Oath of the American Krusaders, 3.

¹²³ Ibid.

Klansmen's families, the Klansmen cannot lie about any details. In this sense, loyalty not only encompasses other values, such as honesty, but surpasses other values because Klansmen must put the Klan above all else. This level of loyalty points to the controlling aspects of the Klan.

The men who sign the oath agree to behave and believe in very specific ways. The Klansmen vow to keep Klan activities and information secret. The oath requires Klan initiates to state that they would "die rather than divulge" a "secret or secret information of the American Crusaders."¹²⁴ Secret information may include Klan financial records, membership records, or even social activities. Much of the Klan's information, such as membership or political strategies, would have been fairly accessible or obvious in small communities like Tillamook. Nonetheless, there were domains of information that were closely protected. The secretiveness of the organization served to attract and recruit men who were intrigued by white supremacy but not necessarily in agreement with all of the Klan's methods of implementation. A Klansman ultimately swears to die before sharing information, with three exceptions; "treason against the United States of America, rape, and malicious murder."¹²⁵ He also pledges to participate in the "defending and protecting" of other Crusader's reputations.¹²⁶ The promise of secrecy and control of information suggests that a "true man" puts his brotherhood and ideas of white supremacy before his life.

According to this Oath, one of the three exceptions to the secrecy rule is in the case of rape. The fact that the crime of rape is significant enough for a Klansman to

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 2.

break the bonds of secrecy suggests that these men felt obligated to protect women from this particular crime, at least as much as they felt compelled to protect their brotherhood. It could also point to ideas of possession over white women, and the value of white women as chaste, pure vessels. As stated in the Constitution of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, one of the goals of the organization was “to shield the sanctity of the home and the chastity of womanhood.”¹²⁷ The exemption of secrecy in the case of rape points to the need for white men to be in control, not only of their homes and their women, but the value of their women as chaste beings. White men were above white women in the white supremacy hierarchy. This superiority, at the least, placed responsibility on white men to protect white women, if not to control white women altogether. To be sure, the exemption of rape likely only applies to white, native-born women¹²⁸ The fact that there are so few exceptions for breaking the pledge of secrecy and that such a high value was placed on loyalty also means that the Ku Klux Klan could engage in a variety of illegal activities and Klansmen would still be sworn and pressured into silence. Klansmen had to control their own attitudes, information, and attempt to control or protect the reputation of fellow Klansmen.

Finally, the Oath stressed that Klansmen must dedicate themselves to upholding the “clannishness” of other Klan members. Klansmen must swear that they “will be constant in my efforts to promote real clannishness among the members of this Order.”¹²⁹ Klannishness, as claimed by an article in *The Courier Magazine* titled

¹²⁷ Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, *Constitution and Laws*, 10.

¹²⁸ The exemption of rape likely only applies to the rape of white, native-born women. It is very unlikely that the Klan would interfere in any way if the woman was not white.

¹²⁹ Ku Klux Klan, Oath of the American Crusaders, 3.

“Honorable Klannishness,” is defined as “In honor preferring one another.”¹³⁰

There are three fields in which Klannishness may by [sic] practiced with honor both to ourselves and to the rest of the world. We realize that what harms our fellowmen harms us, and that which is best for us is good for the world, even though it may not be what the world wants. Klannishness [...] should be practiced in the choosing of a mate.¹³¹

The article goes on to discuss “sinfulness” of interracial marriage, the problems with interfaith marriages, and justify Klansmen refusing to do business with businesses that are ‘un-American’ in the name of klannishness. The article also references the Bible to say that “foreign women cause to sin.”¹³²

Inter-racial marriages breed criminality. The pure races are the races most receptive to moral teaching. That is why God demanded a pure race. All too often in the mingling of two races the weaknesses of both are manifested in the off-spring, while the better qualities never come to light.¹³³

The Oath then, which requires Klansmen to practice and enforce true “klannishness,” is requiring Klansmen to avoid sin, follow the Klan’s interpretation of God and the Bible, and marry white, Protestant women. Because the Oath is tied to the initiate’s manhood, the Klan was, by default, suggesting that only real men had the strength to practice klannishness themselves and ensure their fraternity brothers did the same.

The Oath also had Klansman swear to obey the hierarchy:

I most solemnly pledge, promise and swear unconditionally that I will faithfully obey the constitution and laws and willingly conform to all regulations, usages and requirements of the American Crusaders [...] and will render at all times loyal respect and steadfast support to the Authority...¹³⁴

¹³⁰ Montana Klansman, *The Kourier Magazine* 1, no. 4 (1925): 31. Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

¹³¹ Montana Klansman, *The Kourier Magazine*, 31.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 32.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ Ku Klux Klan, Oath of the American Crusaders, 1.

By the end of the Oath, Klansmen swore not only to control themselves by respecting the hierarchy, remaining obedient to their superiors, and practicing the lifestyle required by klannishness, but also swore that they would control their fraternity brothers by expecting and enforcing conformity to the organization's requirements. Altogether, the Oath reflected ideas of fraternity and manhood, centering each on ideas of control. Control is a vital piece for the national organization and every individual Klansman. The Ku Klux Klan sought to create order in society by maintaining and protecting white supremacy. By demonstrating the benefits of control in the personal lives of Klansmen, the overall organization, and the control of the Klan in society, the organization could convince men of the moral superiority of white supremacy and the political and social reforms for which the Klan advocates. The demonstration of these benefits could justify the Klan's belief in the need for white supremacy.

In addition to the Oath signed by every Klan initiate, applicants to the Klan were required to provide incredibly detailed information about themselves (see Figure 11). Some of many questions listed on the application included the following: "Where were you born?...Are you married, single or widower?...What educational advantages have you? Color of eyes? Hair? Weight?...Do you honestly believe in the practice of REAL fraternity?"¹³⁵ The Klan was sure to know every detail of Klansmen, as well as of the Klansmen's families, and the information extended beyond eye color or where their parents were born.¹³⁶ Additionally, the Klan formed an insurance company, called The Empire Mutual Life Insurance Company, which would surely keep detailed records of

¹³⁵ Ku Klux Klan, Application Form.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

Klansmen's personal lives.¹³⁷

1. Is the motive prompting your inquiry serious?
2. What is your age?3. Occupation?
4. Where were you born?
5. How long have you resided in your present locality?
6. Are you married, single or widower?
7. Were your parents born in the United States of America?
8. Are you a Gentile or Jew?9. Of what race (color)?
10. What educational advantages have you?
11. Color of eyes? Hair? Weight? Height?
12. Do you believe in the principles of a PURE Americanism?
13. Do you believe in White Supremacy?
14. What is your politics?15. What religious faith?
16. Of what church are you a member (if any)?
17. Of what religious faith are your parents?
18. What secret, fraternal orders are you a member of (if any)?
19. Do you honestly believe in the practice of REAL fraternity?
20. Do you owe ANY KIND of allegiance to any foreign nation, government, institution, sect, people, ruler or person?

I most solemnly assert and affirm that each question above is truthfully answered by me in my own handwriting and that below is my real signature.

Figure 11:
“Klansmen Application Form,” to His Majesty the Imperial Wizard,
Emperor of the Invisible Empire.

Personal letters of sympathy between the Klansmen of Tillamook, Oregon, also demonstrate the depth of knowledge community members had about one-another's personal lives. Letters to Mr. Chas. F. Pankow about the loss of his father and to Mr. Victor L. White about the loss of his mother both offer sympathy to Klansmen whose family members have died.¹³⁸ Although the letter to Pankow (see Figure 12) was a somewhat standard sympathy letter, the support offered by Klan members to other members, as well as the interest taken in personal matters, demonstrates that the Klan wanted to emphasize the importance of a fraternal bond and through it exert control.

¹³⁷ Ku Klux Klan, Empire Mutual Life Ins. Co. to Esteemed Klansmen, n. d., Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Box 2, Folder 2, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

¹³⁸ Kligrapp to Mr. Chas. F. Pankow, May 22, 1925, Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Box 1, Folder 3, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR. Ku Klux Klan, Ku Klux Klan to Mr. Victor L. White, March 30, 1925, Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Box 1, Folder 3, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

The letter to Mr. White (see Figure 13) states that, “This lodge has watched with pride in you the loving care and attention that you have given to your mother, the long weary trips and sleepless hours to be at her bedside, and the sorrow borne by you in her illness and death.” Mr. Victor L. White was the brother of Ira White, who was a veteran, a member of the Legion’s, and an active member of the Klan.¹³⁹ Ira White eventually became the Klan’s Grand Organizer and in 1928 tried to become the Exalted Cyclops of the Klan, but was beaten 12 to 3 by Baker.¹⁴⁰ The letter itself demonstrates fraternal respect and care for Mr. Victor L. White from the Klan. The Klan’s pride in Mr. White for his dedication to his mother suggests a placement of value on family and caretaking.

Tillamook, Ore. May 22, 1925.

Mr. Chas. F. Pankow,
Tillamook, Oregon.

Esteemed Klansman:

Tillamook Klan No. 8. with a full measure of sympathy for you for the recent loss of your beloved father, directs that we convey an expression of their heartfelt sympathy to you.

Our Great God, in His infinite wisdom has removed Him from you and our midsts. He rests in Peace.

And for the aching void that his departure causes, Tillamook Klan No. 8. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, extends its heartfely sympathy.

In the Sacred Unfailing Bond,

Kligrapp.
By direction of the Exalted Cyclops.

Figure 12:
“Kligrapp to Mr. Chas. F. Pankow,”
May 22, 1925
Tillamook, Oregon.

Tillamook, Oregon.
March 30, 1925.

Mr. Victor L. White,
Tillamook, Oregon.

Dear Brother:

Tillamook Klan No. 8, with a full measure of sympathy for their brothers, Ira L. White, and Victor L. White, for the recent loss of their Mother, directs that we convey an expression of that heartfelt sympathy to you.

This lodge has watched with pride in you the loving care and attention that you have given to your mother, the long weary trips and sleepless hours to be at her bedside, and the sorrow borne by you in her illness and death.

Our great god, in his infinite wisdom has removed her from you and our midsts. she rests in Peace.

And for the aching void that her departure causes, Tillamook Klan No. 8, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, extends its heartfelt sympathy.

Fraternally yours,

Figure 13:
“Ku Klux Klan to Mr. Victor. L. White,”
March 30, 1925
Tillamook, Oregon.

The letter demonstrates the importance of fraternity and the value of morality, while

¹³⁹ Toll, “Progress and Piety,” 79.

¹⁴⁰ Ku Klux Klan, “Undated Meeting Minutes,” n.d., Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Box 1, Folder 8, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

also conveying that the Klan has detailed information about his personal life.

The fraternal aspects of the Klan are highlighted in their meeting minutes. The folder “Incomplete Minutes – 1928” contains several minutes which demonstrate fraternal care. Meeting minutes from Jan 19, 1928 show that the Klan had a “Sick committee” which checked in on ill Klan members and reported whether their fellow Klansmen had improved in their health.¹⁴¹ On February 2, 1928, the meeting minutes’ state that Klansmen “Geo Burchard was reported having undergone operation in Portland and progressing satisfactorily.”¹⁴² On the 16th of the same month, Klansmen “Reeher was reported at the Charlton Hospital and very ill. Attention was called to Kl. Earl Blanchard who has been ill for some months and that any opportunity for fraternal assistance should not be overlooked. Also reported that Kl. Geo Burchard has undergone a recent fourth operation but improving in Portland where he was treated.”¹⁴³ On March 1, “The wife of Kl. (O. N. Elliott) was reported as very ill,” and “Kl. C. J. (Steerack) was reported as confined at home on account of injury.”¹⁴⁴ On an undated meeting minute, Klansman Harold Foggs’ four-year-old son “died and was buried today. The Kligrapp was asked to send a letter of sympathy.”¹⁴⁵ This level of

¹⁴¹ Ku Klux Klan, “January 19, 1928 Minutes,” January 19, 1928, Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Box 1, Folder 8, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

¹⁴² Ku Klux Klan, “February 2, 1928 Minutes,” February 2, 1928, Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Box 1, Folder 8, Box 1, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

¹⁴³ Ku Klux Klan, “February 16, 1928 Minutes,” February 16, 1928, Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Box 1, Folder 8, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

¹⁴⁴ Ku Klux Klan, “March 1, 1928 Minutes,” March 1, 1928, Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Box 1, Folder 8, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

¹⁴⁵ See also Ku Klux Klan, “August 2, 1928 Minutes,” August 2, 1928, Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Box 1, Folder 8, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

involvement in the lives of members shows that fraternal bonds were important to the Klan, and may have provided a sense of intimacy and caring between brothers.

Most members originally joined the Ku Klux Klan because the Klan offered a community of brothers and proclaimed traditional Protestant values.¹⁴⁶ In Oregon, Klan speakers such as Reverend Reuben H. Sawyer “convinced many that the Invisible Empire was a decent, law-abiding fraternal order.”¹⁴⁷ In Tillamook, this was often the case, as there are very few incidences of violence reported.¹⁴⁸ The third section of the Oath of the Crusaders asks members to pledge that they will never recommend a new member “whose mind is unsound, or whose reputation [is known] to be bad, or whose character is doubtful or whose loyalty to our country is in any way questionable.”¹⁴⁹ This suggests that there is a specific mindset and specific temperament expected of Klansmen. In the section of the application form signed by the recommender of the initiate, the form states:

I, the undersigned, a native born true and loyal citizen of the United States of America, being a white male Gentile person of temperate habits, sound in mind, and a believer in the tenents [sic] of the Christian religion, the maintenance of White Supremacy, seriously and unselfishly petition you for citizenship to the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and to become a member of Tillamook Klan No. 8.¹⁵⁰

Like the many other documents which state similar, if not identical sentiments, this statement suggests Klansmen must also be self-controlled enough to put the Klan’s interests above their personal interests, so that only the best men are recommended for the Klan.

¹⁴⁶ Toll, "Progress and Piety."

¹⁴⁷ Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 198. See also Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK*, 144.

¹⁴⁸ Toll, "Progress and Piety."

¹⁴⁹ Ku Klux Klan, Oath of the American Crusaders, 2.

¹⁵⁰ Ku Klux Klan, Application Form, 1.

Another form of fraternity came with political and ideological commonalities between Klansmen, and how Klansmen formed their identities. Not only were all Klansmen sworn into believing and supporting the same political stances in their Oaths and forms, but the Klan was very effective at appealing to the communities it targeted. The Klan would involve its members in local politics, taking whatever political side aligned it with the Protestants.¹⁵¹ In other words, if a community was specifically focused on Prohibition, the Klan promised to make alcohol consumption illegal. If a community was especially concerned with education, the Klan promised to end the private, Catholic education. In a sense, the Klan acted as a chameleon and adapted to every community. When groups of white Protestants felt strongly about a political or social issue, the Klan offered solutions and support. For example, in Tillamook, as with the rest of Oregon, Klan chapters focused in on the issue of public education, which helped gain support for the Klan. The Klan's ability to gain support for focusing on local issues also made it easier for the Klan to achieve their desired political and social reforms, which in turn rewarded local support of the Klan. Furthermore, the Klan claimed it would save the white race of the United States, which in a time of great social change, immigration to, and migration within the United States, appealed heavily to small, racially homogenous communities.¹⁵² The Klan's ability to find a community's greatest points of conflict, present itself as a savior, and gain political power by using and manipulating the present political atmosphere while emphasizing Protestant values helped it spread the Klan's ideas of manhood. *The Kourier Magazine* printed the poem,

¹⁵¹ Toll, "Progress and Piety."

¹⁵² Most, if not all issues of *The Kourier Magazine* contain articles, poems, stories, or slogans about the Klan's goal to save the white race.

“It isn’t your Klan –it’s you,” showing how the Klan became part of the identity for each member in each community it entered (see Figure 14).¹⁵³ It also conveys that any

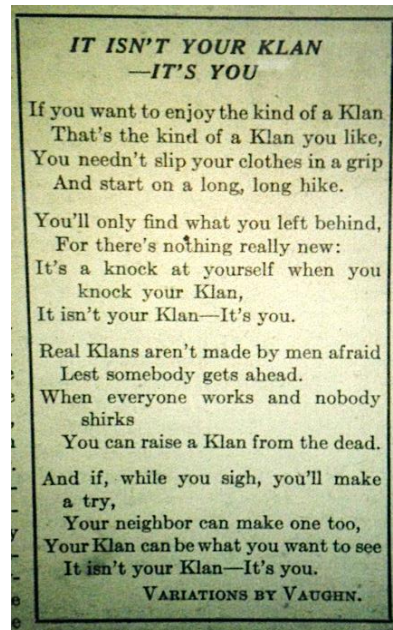


Figure 14:
“It Isn’t Your Klan—It’s You,” 1930.

word of negativity about the Klan is the fault of the individual. All issues can be linked to the individual Klansman as the cause of the problem, so the organization itself is blameless.

Ultimately, the Klan used fraternity to its advantage. Economically, the Klan encouraged men to pay for subscriptions to *The Kourier*, and often had to strongly encourage men to pay their membership fees. The need for men to pay their dues was great in Oregon, as the Grand Dragon sent out directions for managing delinquent members and, “Every good American will keep in good standing.”¹⁵⁴ This special

¹⁵³ Vaughn, “It Isn’t Your Klan—It’s You,” *The Kourier Magazine* 6, no. 4 (1930): 12. Ku Klux Klan Tillamook, Oregon Chapter No. 8 Records 1922-1929, Call No. 046, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.

¹⁵⁴ C.T. Godwin, C.T. Godwin, Grand Dragon, Realm of Oregon to All Klansmen, Realm of Oregon. Jeffrey, Bulletin Number Eleven, 1.

bulletin from the Grand Dragon to the Klansmen of the Realm of Oregon focuses on the Klan's re-instatement campaign of delinquent members.¹⁵⁵ The bulletin used language which paired manhood to commitment and consistency, in other words, self-control. The Grand Dragon claimed that members who failed to make payments were neglecting their duties as men as well as their duties as American citizens.¹⁵⁶

In sum, both the local and national Klan promoted fraternity. The Klan claimed to protect the traditional values of family and social order that many white men in Tillamook feared would change.¹⁵⁷ The fraternal bonds formed and enforced by the Klan helped defined Klan "manhood" and also served to control the behavior of members of the Klan.

Conclusion

Between 1915 and 1930, both the local and national Ku Klux Klan promoted a construction of manhood that reinforced their ideology of white supremacy. Tillamook Klan correspondence and propaganda demonstrate how the Klan used ideas of manhood in order to promote their political and social agenda of control through white supremacy. The Ku Klux Klan was able to develop and grow in Tillamook, a county that was racially, culturally, and largely religiously homogenous. The Klan emphasized its fraternal nature and the ways in which it could offer support and was community oriented, which may have made the Klan more attractive to many Protestant men in Tillamook. The demographic of men recruited and accepted into the Klan was limited to white, protestant, and native-born men.

¹⁵⁵ C.T. Godwin, C.T. Godwin, Grand Dragon, Realm of Oregon to All Klansmen, Realm of Oregon.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Toll, 85. Toll discusses Tillamook's desire to resist the changes of the era. The automobile was one of the many technological advancements with which the town felt resistance.

An analysis of Klan material through a lens of gender and, specifically, manhood, offers a greater social and political context for the history of Oregon, for largely homogenous communities, and for understanding ideas of manhood in the Progressive Era. The Klan promoted specific ideas of manhood through morality, Americanism, and fraternity, and used their construction of manhood to recruit and control Klansmen. Real manhood excluded non-white and non-protestant, non-native born men, and gave Klansmen the moral authority and responsibility to justify their ideas of white supremacist control over each person who did not belong to the dominant group. Ideas of control, specifically control of self and control of inferior others, fueled Klan rhetoric and ideas of manhood.

The basic and immediate implications of Klan ideas of manhood is that manhood is inherently tied to the Klan's white supremacist ideals, and thus only white, protestant, gentile, native-born, citizen males who support white supremacy have a full and legitimate manhood. Additionally, the implications of the Klan's ideas are that white manhood is a positive and necessary force in society. The Klan ultimately ties white manhood to white supremacy such that one is dependent upon the other. These ideas of manhood, as reflected in Klan documents in the small community of Tillamook, Oregon during the Progressive Era, are part of a long history of symbiosis between white supremacy and white manhood in in the United States. Although the Ku Klux Klan today does not have the same political and institutional power it gained in the early twentieth-century, the Klan's insidious beliefs and ideas of manhood and whiteness have lasted, grown, and reframed the political and social landscape

nationally.¹⁵⁸

Many people feared the social, political, and economic changes that came with the Progressive Era. Immigrant workers, who in some parts of the country were seen as a threat to the native work force, were an easy scapegoat. Ideas of Americanism, which included nativist and anti-immigrant sentiments, were fundamental to the Ku Klux Klan's development and promotion of Klan ideas of manhood. A major justification for the Klan's goal was morality, and the Klan quickly pointed to the 'lack' of morality of immigrant groups, people of color, and Catholics. These Americanist fears and morality-based justifications fueled, and were concurrent with, a longing for, and nostalgic commitment to, fraternity and fraternal organizations. The Klan took advantage of vulnerabilities in communities—what people sought out, the Klan fought for and promoted. If a community feared an influx of immigrant workers, the Klan protested. If a community wanted social and political control over alcohol, the Klan supported. The Klan engaged in predatory behavior, grooming potential Klan recruits and members by playing off of fears and insecurities, and promoting a vision of manhood that would impose control on the changes of the time. Real manhood, white supremacy, moral superiority, and fraternal connections soothed communities fearful of change.

The rise and decline of the Ku Klux Klan during the Progressive Era in Oregon, and throughout the United States, occurred within the historical context of continuing social change, as seen during the Progressive Movement, Woman Suffrage, and

¹⁵⁸ See Lyons, *Insurgent Supremacists*, for one example.

eventually the Great Depression.¹⁵⁹ By 1925, the Klan-supported Compulsory Education Bill was struck down by the Supreme Court, and by 1933 Prohibition ended.¹⁶⁰ Despite the failures of the Klan's political agenda regarding education and alcohol, corruption and infighting were the main causes of Klan decline.¹⁶¹ These changes marked the closing of the second wave of Klan activity in the United States. Not until the 1950s and 60s, in the midst of new social progress and the struggle for civil rights, did the Klan gain enough power to reassert its ideas of white supremacy, traditional values, and sociopolitical control. As seen with each wave of Klan activity in the United States, sociopolitical movements of progress for marginalized groups that threaten white supremacist ideology are likely to trigger backlash and counterblasts. The study of Progressive Era Klan manhood may help to understand and predict current and future recruitment success by white supremacist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan's insidious and self-serving ideas of manhood were not merely a blip in the American construction of gender and manhood, but a part of and foundational to how we continue to construct and reconstruct manhood today.

¹⁵⁹ MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry*, 23.

¹⁶⁰ Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930*, 214.

¹⁶¹ Ibid. Eckard V. Toy, Jr., *The Ku Klux Klan in Oregon*.

Appendix A

Form 103—J.F.H.

Oath of the American Kruzaders

You will place your left hand over your heart and raise your right hand to heaven.

SECTION I.
(You will say) "I" — (Pronounce your full name — and repeat after me) "Before God — and in the presence of — these mysterious Kruzaders — on my sacred honor — do most solemnly and sincerely pledge — promise and swear — that I will forever — keep sacredly secret — the signs, words and grip — and any and all other — matters and knowledge — of the American Kruzaders — regarding which a most rigid secrecy — must be maintained — which may at any time — be communicated to me — and will never — divulge same nor even cause same to be divulged — to any person in the whole world — unless I know positively — that such person is a member of this Order — in good and regular standing — and not even then — unless it be — for the best interest of this Order.

"I most sacredly vow — and most positively swear — that I will never yield to bribe — flattery — threats — passion — punishment — persecution — persuasion — nor any enticements whatever — coming from or offered by — any person or persons — male or female — for the purpose of — obtaining from me — a secret or secret information — of the American Kruzaders — I will die rather than divulge same—so help me God.

SECTION II.
"I — most solemnly pledge, promise and swear — unconditionally — that I will faithfully obey — the constitution and laws — and will willingly conform to — all regulations, usages and requirements — of the American Kruzaders — which do now exist — or which may be hereafter enacted — and will render at all times — loyal respect and steadfast support — to the Authority of same — and will heartily heed — all official mandates — decrees — edicts — rulings and instructions — of the Supreme Regent thereof. — I will yield prompt response — to all summonses — I having knowledge of same — Providence alone preventing.

SECTION III.
"I most solemnly and sincerely pledge — promise and swear — that I will diligently guard and faithfully foster — every interest of the American Kruzaders — and will maintain — its social cast and dignity.

(1)

"I swear that I will never recommend — any person for membership in this Order — whose mind is unsound — or whose reputation I know to be bad — or whose character is doubtful or whose loyalty to our country — is in any way questionable.

"I swear that I will pay promptly — all just and legal demands — made upon me to defray the expenses — of my Kamp and this Order — when same are due or called for.

"I swear that I will protect the property — of the American Kruzaders — of any nature whatsoever — and if any should be entrusted to my keeping — I will properly keep — or rightly use same — and will freely and promptly surrender same — on official demand — or if ever I am banished from — or voluntarily discontinue — my membership in the Order.

"I swear that I will most determinedly — maintain peace and harmony — in all the deliberations — of the gatherings or assemblies — of the American Kruzaders — and of any subordinate jurisdiction — or Kamp thereof.

"I swear that I will most strenuously — discourage selfishness — and selfish political ambition — on the part of myself or any Kruzader — and I furthermore pledge, promise and swear — that if it should ever become my duty to pre-
side over a Kruzader Kamp — I will not allow personal or partisan political discussions to arise.

"I swear that I will never allow — personal friendship — blood or family relationship — nor personal — political — or professional prejudice — malice nor ill will — to influence me in casting my vote — for the election or rejection — of an applicant — for membership in this Order — God being my helper.

SECTION IV.
"I most solemnly pledge, promise and swear — that I will never slander — defraud — deceive — or in any manner wrong — the American Kruzaders — a Kruzader — nor a Kruzader's family — nor will I suffer the same to be done — if I can prevent it.

"I swear that I will be faithful — in defending and protecting — the home — reputation — and physical and business interest — of a Kruzader — and that of a Kruzader's family.

(2)

"Oath of the American Kruzaders," Tillamook, Oregon, p. 1, 2.

"I swear that I will at any time — without hesitating — go to the assistance or rescue — of a Krusader in any way — at his or her call I will answer — I will be truly — klannish toward Krusaders — in all things honorable.

"I swear that I will never allow — any animosity — friction nor ill will — to arise and remain — between myself and a Krusader — but will be constant in my efforts — to promote real klannishness — among the members of this Order.

"I swear that I will keep secure to myself — a secret of a Krusader — when same is committed to me — in the sacred bond of fellowship — the crime of violating THIS solemn oath — treason against the United States of America — rape — and malicious murder — alone excepted.

"I swear that I will not — aid in the organization — of a clandestine Kamp — or participate in the meeting — of a clandestine Kamp — or permit others to do so — if same lies within my power to prevent.

"I most solemnly assert and affirm — that to the government of the United States of America — and any State thereof, of which I may become a resident — I faithfully swear an unqualified allegiance — above any other and every kind of government — in the whole world — I here and now pledge my life — my property — my vote — and my sacred honor — to uphold its flag — its constitution — and constitutional laws — and will protect — defend — and enforce same unto death.

"I most solemnly promise and swear — that I will always, at all times and in all places — help, aid and assist — the duly constituted officers of the law — in the proper performance of their legal duties, — and I furthermore promise and swear — to learn to read and write — the English language — intelligibly.

"I swear that I will most zealously — and valiantly — shield and preserve — by any and all — justifiable means and methods — the sacred constitutional rights — and privileges of — free public schools — and support them in preference to every other kind of school whatsoever — free speech — free press — separation of church and state — liberty — white supremacy — just laws — and the pursuit of happiness — against any encroachment — of any nature — by any person or persons — political party or parties — religious sect or people — native, naturalized or foreign — of any race — color — creed — lineage or tongue whatsoever.

"By this oath I hereby subscribe — to all of the foregoing declarations of principles — and pledge my life — hereafter to support same, — and as God is my witness — I will seal this oath with my blood."

You will drop your hands.

(3)

"Oath of the American Krusaders," Tillamook, Oregon, p. 3.

Glossary

Exalted Cyclops:	Chief officer of a lodge or local chapter of the Klan.
Grand Dragon:	Ruler of the Realm. Realms were made up of territories or states.
Grand Organizer:	Organizer for chapter events.
Imperial Wizard:	Commander-in-Chief, or supreme leader, of the national organization.
Klabee:	Treasurer.
Klaliff:	Vice President.
Klannishness:	The state and overall practice of being a Klan member. Also written as “clannishness.”
Klektokon:	Initiation fee. During the Progressive Era, this was about \$15-\$20.
Kleagle:	Chapter organizer and recruiter.
Kligrapp:	Secretary. Duties often included recording meeting minutes.
White Supremacy:	“The belief that racial categories are natural and fundamental to human experience; that white people are better and more important than other races; that whites should hold social, economic, and political power over others.” The ideology “promotes traditional racist stereotypes but is fundamentally an ideology of violence, in that it justifies and promotes both direct physical attacks and systemic harm against people of non-European descent.” ¹⁶²
Women’s Ku Klux Klan:	also known as the Women of the Ku Klux Klan and Ladies of the Invisible Empire, was a separate branch of the Ku Klux Klan developed for women and relied on less violent tactics in pushing for the Klan’s white supremacist agenda.

¹⁶² Matthew Nemirow Lyons, *Insurgent Supremacists: The U.S. Far Right's Challenge to State and Empire*. Oakland, California: PM Press, 2018, 4. Here, Lyons uses a contemporary definition of white supremacy. I use this definition because it works on a general and basic level, and because this excerpt is accurate to Progressive Era white supremacy. For the purposes of my analysis during this time period, I am consciously generalizing the idea of white supremacy.

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