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PUBLICITY AND PREJUDICE: THE *NEW YORK WORLD'S* EXPOSÉ OF 1921 AND THE HISTORY OF THE SECOND KU KLUX KLAN

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“Secrets of the Ku Klux Klan Exposed By The World.” So read the headline atop the front page of the *New York World* on 6 September 1921. Twenty days and twenty front-page stories later, the *World* concluded its exposé with a proud headline declaring “Ku Klux Inequities Fully Proved.” By then more than two-dozen other papers across the country were publishing the *World's* exposures, and, as Rodger Streitmatter puts it, “the series held more than 2 million readers spellbound each day.” The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., had become national news. Most contemporary observers agreed with the *World* that the now-visible Invisible Empire would not survive the attention.¹

Predictions of the Klan’s demise proved premature. Three years later, its leaders claimed a membership of more than 2,000,000 white, Protestant, native-born, 100% Americans. Even if the figures were inflated, by 1924, the second Ku Klan had become, in Kenneth T. Jackson’s words, “the most powerful fraternal and nativistic organization in American history.”²

Historians of the Klan of the 1920s agree, with remarkable unanimity across nearly a century’s writing, that a cause-and-effect relationship exists between the *World's* exposé and the Klan’s later prominence. Although rarely giving more than cursory attention to the exposé, they see it and the limited and inconclusive congressional investigation that followed as crucial windfalls of publicity that advertised the Klan to potential recruits across the nation. Such an assumption fits well with new interpretations of the Klan put forward across the past quarter century that have proposed a “populist” Klan, present throughout the nation and largely composed of everyday citizens concerned with prohibition enforcement, public schools, and good government. These scholars argue that local conditions decisively shaped the histories of local units—Klaverns, in Klan parlance—and the *World's* exposé serves well as the necessary cause to bring the Klan to the locality under study.³

There is a matter to be explained, though. The most recent Klan historians do agree with their predecessors that anti-Catholicism was the dominant theme of Klan recruiters,

of the Klan press, and of the Klan's political agenda (to the extent that it had one). Yet, the second Klan's origin as a fraternal order that commemorated the Ku Klux Klan of Reconstruction hardly predicts a central theme of anti-Catholicism. Moreover, a main impetus for the *World's* exposé was an epidemic in summer 1921 of vigilante violence in Texas and other states where the Klan had already spread, yet the "populist" Klan revealed by recent scholarship was relatively peaceful and, in some places, more often the target of violence than the perpetrator. A reconsideration of the *World's* exposé is in order, for the exposé and its consequences do explain how the racist, vigilante Klan of 1921 became national, anti-Catholic, and political.⁴

There is another and related reason that the exposé deserves closer attention. Historians also agree that success proved too much for the Klan's incompetent and corrupt leaders. Klansmen fell out in struggles for power and profit and then watched helplessly as the second Klan collapsed as swiftly as it had emerged. As David M. Chalmers put it, "The decline of the Klan as a mass movement in America was its own fault, and nobody else's." Thus, if the *World's* exposé enabled the Klan to become a mass movement but its own leaders brought it down, the narrative is self-contained. Historians need not devote much attention to the Klan's presumably ineffective, even counter-productive opponents. Indeed, the exposé might serve as a warning to the present. Better to let sleeping bigots lie, the Klan's history seems to say.⁵

The purpose of this essay is not to argue that we should awaken sleeping bigots, but examination of the *World's* exposé does suggest a more complex and less pessimistic conclusion. The essay did make the Klan known to the nation, but not as Klan leaders would have preferred. The result was nearly a decade of controversy and debate over the Klan. That controversy is the proper focus for study of the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s. The Klan survived, and even thrived for a short time, but the exposé was more significant and more consequential than the historians' superficial treatment of it suggests.

To begin, a distinction must be made. As Stetson Kennedy, the man who exposed the Klan after World War II, explained, "publicity and exposure are two very different things." Both do involve making a person, organization, or other commodity known to the public, but publicity seeks to present that commodity in a flattering light, serving the interests of the publicity seeker but not necessarily the public interest. An exposé, on the other hand, exposes to public scrutiny, by means of facts and other pertinent information, and does so with the intention of discrediting the object of scrutiny.⁶

The distinction is important. Long before the exposé, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., employed publicity to attract new members. From the first news story about the founding of the Klan, atop Stone Mountain a century ago, to the hand-drawn advertisement for the Klan, in the *Atlanta Constitution*, as the film *Birth of a Nation* played there two weeks

later, the Klan's leaders set out to make the Invisible Empire visible. Arriving in theaters as the commemorations of the fiftieth anniversary of the Civil War ended on a sustained note of sectional reconciliation, the movie completed the story by eliminating blacks from citizenship. It made the Klan known to white audiences in a positive light, but it slandered African Americans, and they fought back. Someone passed along the Klan's advertisement to James Weldon Johnson, of the NAACP, then at war with *Birth of a Nation*, who published a column in the *New York Age* warning of this evil fruit of the movie. From the beginning, the Klan's publicity efforts alerted its enemies, too.⁷

Thanks to *Birth of a Nation*, when Americans thought of vigilantes defending the community they thought of the Ku Klux Klan, and, thanks to World War I, many Americans came to believe that defense of the community justified vigilante violence. Campaigns to eliminate "hyphenated Americans," the disloyal, the slackers, and others deserving of censure resulted in acts of vigilante violence across the United States, with news reports often using the name Ku Klux Klan as a synonym for the patriotic vigilantes. That atmosphere inspired at least two other fraternal orders employing the Klan name to organize after the war, and in 1918 and 1919 the Imperial Wizard sought aid from the press in distinguishing his incorporated group from both the vigilantes and the illegal copycat organizations.⁸

Then, as most accounts have it, fate took a hand: the Klan's founder and Imperial Wizard, William Joseph Simmons, signed a contract on 7 June 1920 with the Southern Publicity Association to propagate his Klan. The Klan's connection with Edward Young Clarke, partner in the Southern Publicity Association with Elizabeth Tyler, probably came earlier. Clarke and Tyler contracted in January 1920 with the Anti-Saloon League, the pressure group behind the enactment of the 18th Amendment banning the commerce in alcohol, to raise money in the southeastern states to help pay for enforcement of the amendment. Among the numerous organizations in Atlanta signing up to support Prohibition was Simmons's Klan, and it is irresistible to speculate that Clarke saw potential in selling the Klan to the nation's Prohibitionists as a private enforcer of the new law. Nonetheless, Clarke and Tyler waited until the rejection of their proposal to do publicity for the Republican Party in that year's presidential campaign before contracting with the Klan.⁹

Through the summer of 1920, salesmen—Kleagles in Klan parlance—received on-the-job training in Georgia. Clarke then sent the most talented salesmen out to other states in September as King Kleagles, or state sales managers. To publicize the expanded sales campaign, Klan leaders appeared in Houston for the Confederate Veterans' Reunion early in October, where, at a press conference, the Imperial Wizard proclaimed the Klan "a bulwark of loyalty to the flag and the nation." He returned that fall for another address, repeating one he had made to a large audience in Atlanta, as the Klan took off like wildfire

in the Lone Star state, with the recruitment pattern suggesting grassroots demand rather than a centralized sales campaign. In late November, Clarke and Tyler produced press releases that met growing interest (and concern) about the Klan with positive publicity.¹⁰

The Klan's new visibility caused the NAACP to respond with a campaign of negative publicity depicting the Klan as a revival of the anti-Negro terrorist organization of Reconstruction. The black press was the main medium for this campaign, but the NAACP also found an ally in the *New York World*. Walter White, of the NAACP, contacted his friend, Herbert Bayard Swope, the *World's* executive editor, and Swope arranged for a front-page story on 10 October 1920, reporting the opposition of southern blacks and Catholics to the Klan. Aiding the NAACP's case was the shocking victory in September in the Georgia senatorial primary for Thomas E. Watson, notorious for anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism, with both Watson and the Klan presented as Georgia products.¹¹

The NAACP stepped up the campaign. In December, White wrote to Klan headquarters in Atlanta, describing himself as a former resident of Atlanta interested in becoming a member. He not only received a membership application, but also a personal letter from Edward Young Clarke proposing that he become chief Klan organizer in New York City. White released the correspondence to the newspapers, of course, but Clarke's plans to recruit Klansmen outside the South set off alarms. White and James Weldon Johnson began meeting privately with leaders of Catholic and Jewish organizations to enlist their aid, and passed information along to sympathetic members of New York City's police department. Such a coalition of blacks, Catholics, and Jews was something new, birthed by the Klan. What only a few months earlier had been a bizarre report from the deepest South was becoming a news story of local interest in New York.¹²

In response, the Klan shifted its publicity strategies. In New York City and other places where opposition existed, the Klan went underground, relying on secrecy and informal recruitment to avoid criticism. Elsewhere, the Klan still employed carefully controlled publicity to shape its image. The same sequence of events recurred in town after town. An attention-getting stunt—a parade of robed Klansmen or a letter mysteriously delivered to the local newspaper—would precede the appearance of an Imperial Lecturer, who, the advertisements declared, would give the truth about the Klan. With local interest aroused but with the Klan controlling all the information, the Kleagle then reaped the harvest of his publicity campaign.¹³

During the first eight months of 1921, the Klan's sales force spread across the nation. Recruitment went well, and on 2 July 1921, Clarke formed a national sales organization, dividing the country into ten Realms under the direction of Grand Goblins, or regional sales managers. By the end of August, Klan membership approached 100,000, and the sky seemed the limit.¹⁴

In Atlanta, the Klan used its national success to claim respectability. The first annual Klonvocation, or convention, took place on 6 May 1921, and the newspapers reported the presentation of a new house to the Imperial Wizard. Major C. Anderson Wright was there to announce that Simmons had agreed to head an aviator's Klan, the Knights of the Air. Through the summer, Atlanta newspapers reported regularly on the Klan's wonderful national expansion and the order's impressive plans for property purchases. When the Klan dedicated Simmons's new house, Klankrest, early in August, Governor Thomas Hardwick himself was there to applaud the hooded order.¹⁵

By then, investigators from the *New York World* were hot on the trail of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. The *World* had already established itself as an enemy of the Klan, but Herbert Bayard Swope found an exposé attractive for other reasons, too. The newspaper lacked the resources to compete with the *New York Times* for comprehensive news coverage, and the new tabloid *Daily News* had cornered the market on sensation. Swope made the best of the situation with a frugal policy of "selective" news coverage through feature stories on a leading issue of the day. When a disenchanted former Kleagle from Tennessee offered his files to the *World* in early July, Swope jumped at the opportunity. An exposé of the Klan would attract readers, fit the paper's editorial policies, and was within its means.¹⁶

Despite the financial constraints, the exposé rested on a firm foundation of facts, gleaned, as the *World* proudly declared, from investigation "in more than forty cities in a score of different states." Rowland Thomas, the editor in charge, obtained cooperation and files from the NAACP, and H. E. C. Bryant, a North Carolina native and the *World's* Washington correspondent, did the same in Atlanta with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Charles P. Sweeney, a freelancer who'd been covering anti-Catholicism in the South, assisted Bryant, and Thomas also solicited copies of stories, editorials, and other information from anti-Klan papers across the country.¹⁷

As the publication date neared, the *World* offered its exposé to other papers. Seventeen of them purchased the series of articles, and several others joined after publication began. For some historians, the syndication, the widespread advertising, and the circulation manager's happy report that the *World's* daily circulation jumped "almost 100,000," seem to contradict the paper's claim of disinterested public service. If profit had been the main motive behind the exposé, the *World* failed to take advantage of its opportunities. When no Atlanta paper seemed willing to carry the exposé, Julian LaRose Harris, of the *Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer-Sun*, requested permission to publish the series if the cost were not too great. The *World* gave its articles to Harris at no charge, as it also did when the *Baltimore Afro-American* made a similar inquiry.¹⁸

As the Klan became the hottest news story of the day in New York City, William Randolph Hearst's *New York American* began its own exposé, featuring Major C. Anderson Wright, of the Klan's aeronautical auxiliary, the Knights of the Air. Except for what he gleaned during his short stay in Atlanta in May, Wright knew little about the Klan, secret or otherwise. Blazing headlines announced wildly improbable accounts of Klan activities every day for two weeks. Hearst's series had plenty of sensation but almost none of the documentary evidence that made the *World's* exposé convincing.¹⁹

The *World* organized its evidence to prove three charges against the Klan. First, it charged that the Klan was a "dangerous secret agency of super-government." And as proof printed the order's oaths of total, secret allegiance and reported dozens of recent acts of vigilante violence by bands of masked men. The *World* then charged that the Klan was an agent of religious bigotry and racial hatred. As evidence, it cited the exclusion from membership of all but native-born white Protestants and reprinted the anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant tracts sent to Kleagles for distribution to prospective members. For all these reasons, then, the Klan was "inimical to the nation."²⁰

As the exposé began, Swope sent telegrams to "leading men and women . . . prominent in the business and social life of the nation," including every governor, asking for comment on the Klan. Replies, condemning the Klan and praising the *World*, soon accompanied the exposé. The *World* also reprinted boasts from the Klan's publicity literature that various public officials had joined the order, and those reports provoked denials—some less convincing than others—from every person identified. Local papers began reporting the charges and denials, too. As the *World* marshalled opposition to the Klan and stripped away its claims to respectability, the exposé changed from a syndicated series of feature articles into a national investigation of the Klan.²¹

The Klan's salesmen, in particular, found themselves under uncomfortable scrutiny. The *World* published an official roster of the national Klan salesforce on 9 September 1921, and the repercussions were immediate. Nervous Grand Goblins and King Kleagles tried unsuccessfully to avoid the reporters begging for interviews, and the Kleagles headed for cover. On 11 September, the *World* reported that the Klan's Midwestern office in Chicago—only a month before, the fastest growing Domain of all—was "almost deserted."²²

Two weeks after the exposé began, the story suddenly exploded onto the front pages of newspapers everywhere. On 19 September, the *World* and the *Atlanta Georgian* reported that two years earlier, Edward Young Clarke and Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler, heads of the Klan's sales force and the forces behind the Imperial Wizard's throne, had been arrested together late at night and charged with disorderly conduct and violation of the liquor laws. Headlines shouted the scandal: "Clarke and Mrs. Tyler Arrested While In House of Ill Repute."²³

The *Houston Chronicle* refused to publish the syndicated article, explaining that its opposition to the Klan was “based solely on the issues involved and not on the personal acts of Klan officials.”²⁴ The revelation did not advance the themes of the exposé, but nor did it violate its nature. From the beginning, the “issues involved”—the illegitimacy of vigilante violence and the exploitation of prejudice for profit—were bound up with the exposure of Klan secrets. The *World’s* intention to discredit the Klan then reinforced and justified exposure for the sake of exposure. Publication of Clarke’s and Tyler’s troubles with the law served that purpose, even though it did not contribute directly to educating the public on the main issues involved.

In fact, an exposé, by its nature, is not a straight forward vehicle for changing mass opinion. With the goal of branding the object of scrutiny a deviant, an exposé implicitly champions presumed community standards that the deviant has violated. For example, when the *World* condemned the Klan’s prejudices, it condemned attitudes omnipresent in American culture, yet the strategy of exposé led the *World* to assume general condemnation of the bigotry, rather than trying to change those attitudes directly.

Instead, the exposé primarily mobilized elite opinion against the Klan. Developments in Atlanta measure the *World’s* achievement. Well into September, the city’s newspapers ignored the exposé but reported every statement issued from Klan headquarters. A *World* correspondent interviewed “at least fifty leading citizens” and reported they were afraid of the Klan. “They will talk in confidence,” he wrote, “but they dare not come out in the open.” The silence in Atlanta outraged the editors of the *Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer-Sun*, who had been attacking the Klan for more than a year. Advertisements appeared in the Atlanta newspapers, announcing that the *Enquirer-Sun* would carry the *World’s* exposé. “Back numbers sent on request, if desired,” the ad said, “and sent *free* if you don’t want the truth any other way.”²⁵

The story grew larger. Reporters discovered that someone at police headquarters had destroyed all records of the arrests of Clarke and Tyler. That evening Klan supporters on the city council passed a resolution petitioning the *World* to investigate the Knights of Columbus because the Catholic fraternal order was a much greater menace to the nation. Then, the *Searchlight*, the Atlanta Klan’s weekly newspaper, hit the streets with a blood-thirsty, front-page editorial exhorting patriotic Protestants to unleash the dogs of war to stop the Catholic conspiracy against the Klan. The *Atlanta Georgian* decided to carry the exposé, too.²⁶

The appeal to anti-Catholicism was the Klan’s last resort (but soon to be its main focus). At first, Klan leaders brandished threats of libel suits against all the newspapers involved, but the *World* continued publishing and dared the Klan to sue. Then the Imperial Wizard announced that when the *World* finished the Klan would answer all charges with its

own series of articles. Finally, as it became clear that the Klan could not dispute the accuracy of the *World's* articles, Klansmen began making the charge that the exposé was the product of a Roman Catholic conspiracy. In Texas, the *Houston Chronicle* and the *Dallas News* received so many letters making this accusation that their editors felt compelled to report the religious affiliations of their editorial staff members.²⁷

The nation's anti-Catholics—organized before World War One through the Guardians of Liberty and the Knights of Luther, and with newspapers like the *New Menace* and the *Rail Splitter* urging on the Klan—became the second Ku Klux Klan's core constituency. Indeed, Otis L. Spurgeon, anti-Catholic lecturer and organizer prior to the war, appeared on the *World's* list of Klan salesmen as King Kleagle of Minnesota. Will W. Alexander, of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in Atlanta, was a close observer of the Klan. In June 1922, he explained to a friend that “the Ku Klux Klan would have collapsed after the New York World exposé but for the fact that they almost completely changed their appeal from the anti-Negro and anti-foreign appeal to an anti-Catholic appeal.”²⁸

As the Klan's anti-Catholicism came to the fore in Atlanta, that city's silent elite finally spoke up. “Intolerance and prejudice is harming Atlanta,” the *Georgian* warned, and the *Atlanta Journal* declared that “it is high time to end this harmful intolerance.” On Sunday, 25 September, several prominent local ministers delivered sermons against religious bigotry, and soon thereafter the Evangelical Ministers' Association passed a resolution to the same effect. Civic associations, including the Rotary, Civitan, Kiwanis, and Lions Clubs, similarly condemned intolerance. These were conservative editorials and resolutions, expressing concern that that Klan, and the notoriety brought by the *World's* exposé, threatened the city's economic and social stability. The *Constitution*, for example, appealed to “the conservative, thinking people” with the story of a local Catholic manager for “one of the great business concerns of America,” who intended to close the Atlanta branch office because of anti-Catholicism.²⁹

This turn against the Klan in Atlanta was in keeping with the purpose of the *World's* exposé. As indicated by Swope's telegrams asking prominent persons to comment on the Klan, the *World* sought to mobilize opinion leaders, the nation's elite, against the Klan. By doing so, the *World* pushed the hooded order outside the bounds of respectability. The recent local studies of the Klan, all with starting points after the *World's* exposé, agree that local elites did not join the Klan. Moreover, they find a “populist” spirit within these local Klans that often challenged the power of those local elites.³⁰ It is irresistible to propose that the absence of local elites from local Klan membership rolls stemmed at least partly from the exposé's effects.

The inconclusive congressional investigation that followed proved an anti-climax. Declaring that Klan violence—the main danger from the hooded order, according to the

exposé—fell under state and local jurisdiction, the House Rules Committee rejected a “wide field of discovery” and limited the hearings primarily to the question of whether the Klan had violated Post Office regulations. Then Major C. Anderson Wright repeated his exaggerations from the *New York American’s* exposé. His testimony, contradicted by other witnesses, tainted the sounder testimony of the *World’s* Rowland Thomas and weakened the case against the Klan even before the Imperial Wizard took the stand. In the performance of his life, Col. Simmons denied everything, denounced his enemies, and dramatically ended his statement by collapsing to the floor in a faint. The Congressmen then closed their investigation without recommending any action against the Klan. The hearings fizzled out, and the Klan survived.³¹

On his return to Atlanta, the Imperial Wizard declared himself “entirely satisfied with the result from a Klan standpoint.”³² His statement raises history’s final question about the *World’s* exposé. Newspapers everywhere, including at least a dozen from Georgia, published editorials condemning the hooded order, and yet Klan leaders continued to issue brave statements insisting that the exposé was excellent advertising and that applications for membership were pouring in. Did the *New York World’s* exposé backfire? Did it help the Klan by giving publicity to prejudice?

In fact the exposé had come at a most vulnerable time in the Klan’s short career. The Klan actually consisted of several hundred local Klaverns, scattered across the country, linked together only by the Kleagles, King Kleagles, and Grand Goblins of Edward Young Clarke’s sales force. Clarke’s notoriety in the wake of the *World’s* revelations made him the Klan’s greatest liability at the same time that his propagation department was necessary for its survival.

Klansmen elsewhere disagreed that Clarke was indispensable, and soon a revolt broke out. It began among Chicago’s 20,000 Klansmen (nearly a quarter of the order’s total membership) when the Grand Goblin of the Great Lakes Domain tried unsuccessfully to oust Clarke. As recruitment and income lagged, Grand Goblins in four other Domains soon joined the rebellion, and telegrams of support from Klansmen across the Midwest and Northeast testified to its seriousness. The Grand Goblins’ revolt reshaped the Klan. Before the exposé, the Klan had reported swiftest expansion north of the Mason-Dixon line; the exposé stalled that expansion, and the revolt brought it to a dead halt.³³

Nine months after the exposé, in June 1922, the *New York Herald* reported on the “waning strength of the Klan,” with capsule descriptions of the Klan’s health in 26 states, including several where the Klan later did grow strong. In the rebellious Great Lakes Domain, the Illinois Klan was “unimportant and inactive,” and the Indiana Klan “inconsequential and decaying.” In the rebellious Atlantic Domain, Pennsylvania had “unimportant, sporadic activity,” New Jersey was “weak and lapsing,” and in New York, the

Klan was “negligible or non-existent.” Reports of local Klan activities—some 1200 of them—published during 1922 in the *Searchlight*, the Atlanta Klan weekly, elaborate the same pattern. In the Midwest and the Northeast, the Klan experienced a difficult year after the exposé.³⁴

Most of the reports of Klan vitality came from the Western Domain, especially from Texas, one of the few states where Klan organizing had passed beyond the initial stages before the *World's* exposé. Nonetheless, there are indications that the exposé had effects there, too. Texas Klan leaders tried to halt the vigilante violence that had figured so prominently in the exposé, as they turned to state politics. As the Klan itself became the issue in Texas politics, the Klan press there displayed the anti-Catholicism characteristic of the post-exposé Klan. By embracing anti-Catholicism, the Klan also entered into politics, taking up issues such as Prohibition enforcement and Bible reading and prayers in public schools that anti-Catholic activists had long favored. For example, the passage in fall 1922 of legislation by referendum in Oregon making attendance to the public schools mandatory was credited to the Klan's influence, even though the Oregon Federation of Patriotic Societies first brought the issue forward.³⁵

The relationship between the exposé in 1921 and the Klan's large membership in 1923-1924, therefore, must be judged an indirect and complicated one at best. The immediate effect of the exposé was to stall recruitment in areas where the Klan later grew strong. Moreover, beginning with the revolt of the Grand Goblines after the exposé, leadership changes and struggles for power continually plagued the hooded order, dismaying Klansmen and discrediting their leaders.

The constant turmoil also ensured that the Klan would remain highly localistic, as recent studies have shown. The Klan of the 1920s did grow powerful in some places at some times, but it never became the potent national organization that its leaders sought and its opponents feared. Finally, the *World's* exposé shows that understanding the Klan controversy of the 1920s is impossible without closer attention to the Klan's opponents. Publicity and prejudice is not the whole story.

¹ *New York World*, 6 September 1921; Rodger Streitmatter, *Mightier Than the Sword: How the News Media Have Shaped American History* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2016), 90-104 (the quoted phrase is on page 93). Streitmatter follows the historians in assessing the consequences of the expose: “the *World* soon discovered that its bold campaign had backfired” (94). He rates the later anti-Klan campaigns of the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* and the *Montgomery Advertiser* as more successful, both of which also won Pulitzer Prizes. A Wikipedia site,

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_York_World_Expos%C3%A9_of_the_Ku_Klux_Klan#cite_ref-NYW_1-18, provides a synopsis of each day's articles.

² Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 251.

³ On the supposed direct connection between the expose and the Klan's large membership, see, for example, John Moffat Mecklin, *The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind* (New York: Harcourt, 1924), 10-13; Emerson H. Loucks, *The Klan in Pennsylvania: A Study in Nativism* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Telegraph Press, 1936), 21-23; Arnold S. Rice, *The Klan in American Politics* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1962), 7-8; Charles C. Alexander, *The Klan in the Southwest* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), 9-10; David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865-1965* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965), 38; Jackson, *Klan in the City*, 11-12; Wyn Craig Wade, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 160-162; William D. Jenkins, *Steel Valley Klan: The Ku Klux Klan in Ohio's Mahoning Valley* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1990), 6; Kathleen M. Blee, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 21; Richard K. Tucker, *The Dragon and the Cross: The Rise and Fall of the Ku Klux Klan in Middle America* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1991), 25-26; Shawn Lay, "Introduction: The Second Invisible Empire," in Lay, ed., *The Invisible Empire in the West: Toward a New Appraisal of the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 8; Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 5; Rory McVeigh, *The Rise of the Ku Klux Klan: Right-Wing Movements and National Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 21-23; Craig Fox, *Everyday Klansfolk: White Protestant Life and the KKK in 1920s Michigan* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2011), 45; Thomas R. Pegram, *One Hundred Percent American: The Rebirth and Decline of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2011), 9-10; Dale W. Laackman, *For the Kingdom and the Power: The Big Money Swindle That Spread Hate Across America* (Chicago: S. Woodhouse Books, 2014), 227-228. John Craig, *The Ku Klux Klan in Western Pennsylvania, 1921-1928* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2015), 5, dissents from this consensus, concluding that if the expose was invaluable publicity for the Klan, evidence for that conclusion was lacking in western Pennsylvania (5).

⁴ Of anti-Catholicism, David M. Chalmers says, "it was this more than anything else which made the Klan" (*Hooded Americanism*, 33). See also, for instance, discussions in Mecklin, *Ku Klux Klan*, 157-158; Stanley Frost, *The Challenge of the Klan* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1924; reprint: New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1969), 102-103; Blee, *Women of the Klan*, 87-93; Richard K. Tucker, *The Dragon and the Cross: The Rise and Fall of the Ku Klux*

Klan in Middle America (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1991), 3-5; MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry*, 95-97; Shawn Lay, *Hooded Knights on the Niagara: The Ku Klux Klan in Buffalo, New York* (New York and London: New York University, 1995), 77-78; Pegram, *One Hundred Percent American*, 69-78. On the Catholic Knights of Columbus and the Klan, see Christopher J. Kauffman, *Faith and Fraternalism: The History of the Knights of Columbus 1882-1982* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1982), 273-286, and Kauffman, *Patriotism and Fraternalism in the Knights of Columbus: A History of the Fourth Degree* (New York: Crosroad Publishing Company, 2001), 73-76. On the Klan violence in Texas in summer 1921, see, for instance, William G. Shepherd, "A Nightgown Tyranny," *Leslie's Weekly*, 133(10 September 1921): 331. The most important statement of the "populist" interpretation of the Klan is Leonard J. Moore, "Historical Interpretations of the 1920s Klan: The Traditional View and Recent Revisions," in Lay, ed., *The Invisible Empire in the West*, 17-38 (the essay originally appeared in *Journal of Social History*, 24(Winter 1990):341-357). Nancy MacLean developed a different conception of the Klan's "populism" in "The Leo Frank Case Reconsidered: Gender and Sexual Politics in the Making of Reactionary Populism," *Journal of American History*, 78 (December 1991): 917-948. Dissenters on the issue of relative Klan non-violence include McLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry*, and Craig, *Klan in Western Pennsylvania*, xiii-xiv.

⁵ Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism*, 299.

⁶ Stetson Kennedy, *The Klan Unmasked* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990; originally published in 1954), 188.

⁷ "Klan Is Established With Impressiveness," *Atlanta Constitution*, 28 November, 7, 9 December 1915; James W. Johnson, "Where Will It All End?" *New York Age*, 16 December 1915. MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry*, notes that Henry Lincoln Johnson, black Republican leader in Georgia, on 9 December 1915, "begged the governor to make the order change its name, on the grounds that the Klan's re-establishment would encourage 'mob outlawry'" (13). *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, 14 (October 2015) published a set of essays on the film and its consequences. See, in particular, Jennifer Fronc, "'Historical Presentation' or 'Libel to the Race?': Censorship and *The Birth of a Nation*," 612-615; and Katherine Lennard, "'New Body': *The Birth of a Nation* and the Revival of the Ku Klux Klan," 616-620.

⁸ Contemporary observer Walter Lippman wrote in *Public Opinion* (New York; Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1922), 92: "the Ku Klux Klan, thanks to Mr. Griffiths [*sic*], takes vivid shape when you see the Birth of a Nation. Historically it may be the wrong shape, morally it may be a pernicious shape, but it is a shape, and I doubt whether anyone who has seen the film and does not know more about the Ku Klux Klan than Mr. Griffiths, will ever hear the name again without seeing those white horsemen." On wartime vigilantes, see Christopher

Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), especially Ch. 4, "Policing the Home Front: From Vigilance to Vigilantism." Actions by patriotic vigilantes, which received the generic label of Klan in press reports, occurred throughout the nation during 1917 and 1918: Cincinnati (29 October 1917, *Quincy (Ill.) Daily Journal*); Tulsa (10 November 1917, *New York Journal*); Altus, Okla. (20 March 1918, *Fort Worth (Tex.) Record*); Wisconsin (22 March 1918, *Chicago Tribune*); Tulsa (11 April 1918, *Pittsburgh Sun*); Salinas, Cal. (12 April 1918, *San Francisco Chronicle*); Oakland, Richmond, and San Jose, Cal. (3 May 1918, *New York Times*); Duval County, Fla. (18 June 1918, *New York Age*); Gadsden, Ala. (25 July 1918, *El Paso Herald*). The reports of vigilante actions are discussed in Littell McClung, "Ku Klux Klan Again In The South," *New York Times*, 1 September 1918. Two of the fewer than a dozen Klaverns of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., were located in Birmingham and Montgomery, Alabama, and Klansmen in both cities struggled publicly to distinguish themselves from the masked local patriots (on Birmingham, see *New York Tribune*, 9 May 1918; *Atlanta Constitution*, 9 May, 12 May 1918; on Montgomery, see *Montgomery Advertiser*, 22 September, 13 October, 23 November 1918). One Klan group, the Sovereign Klan of the World, Columbian Union, was founded by Jonathan B. Frost, a former Klan organizer, and legal conflicts with Frost established W. J. Simmons's copyright ownership of the name and imagery of the Klan and forced Frost to drop the Klan references from his fraternal beneficiary order, but not before his organizers had aroused African Americans to fight the Klan (see, for instance, *Richmond Planet*, 15 July 1919 and *Washington Post*, 31 July 1919; the legal battle with Frost was finally settled in October 1920, as Simmons's Klan began to organize, see *Tulsa Daily World*, 17 October 1920). The other Klan, the Loyal Order of Klansmen, was founded in North Carolina by A. B. Ritchie, a vaudeville strongman and organizer, in 1919 but it received a harsh reception from Governor Thomas W. Bickett and soon disappeared (see "Loyal Order of Klansmen—A Very Foolish and a Very Wicked Order / (June 30, 1919)," in R. B. House, ed., *Public Letters and Papers of Thomas Walter Bickett, Governor of North Carolina, 1917-1921* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, 1923), 289-291).

⁹ Historians of the public-relations profession have given some attention to Clarke, Tyler, and the Southern Publicity Association. See Scott M. Cutlip, *The Unseen Power: Public Relations: A History* (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum Associates, 1994), 372-413, and Laackman, *For the Kingdom and the Power* ("a story of two brilliant marketing executives who, in the early days of the twentieth century, used their collective genius to spread hate across America" [i]). Simmons and Clarke had opportunities in Atlanta to meet prior to 1920. For example, in 1916 Clarke organized a local "preparedness parade," where Simmons's Klan made an early public appearance, by which, the *Atlanta Constitution* reported on 5 July 1916, "they showed just what they think 'preparedness' means." Clarke was in charge of raising funds

in the southeastern states for the Anti-Saloon League to use for enforcement of the new Prohibition laws, as neither Congress nor the states had appropriated moneys enough to stop illegal commerce in booze (“Last Rites of Late John Barleycorn Thursday Night,” *Atlanta Constitution*, 11 January 1920. See also *Edgefield (S.C.) Advertiser*, 7 January 1920; *Laurens (S. C.) Advertiser*, 14 January 1920; *St. Petersburg (Fla.) Independent*, 23 January 1920). On the lack of funding for Prohibition enforcement, see Thomas R. Pegram, *Battling Demon Rum: The Struggle for a Dry America, 1800-1933* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1998), 150-161, and Daniel Okrent, *Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition* (New York: Scribner, 2010), 109-114, 131-145. On Clarke’s and Tyler’s negotiations with the Republican Party, see Marion Monteval, *The Klan Inside Out* (Claremore, Okla.: The Monarch Publishing Co., 1924; reprint Westport, Conn.: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 161-166 (Tyler may have been active in the party on her own, too. See “Progressive Stand Worries G. O. P. Here,” *Atlanta Constitution*, 3 February 1920).

¹⁰ *Houston Post*, 9 October 1920; *Houston Observer*, 9 October 1920; *Atlanta Constitution*, 10 October 1920; *Dallas Express*, 16 October 1920; *Atlanta Constitution*, 8 November 1920; *Houston Post*, 27 November 1920; *New York Tribune*, 27 November 1920; *New York World*, 27 November 1920; *Washington Post*, 29 November 1920; *New York Tribune*, 15 December 1920; *Washington Herald*, 28 December. On early organizing in Macon, see *Atlanta Constitution*, 14 August 1920; in Savannah, see *Christian Recorder*, 2 September 1920; in Florida, see *Washington Bee*, 11 September 1920.

¹¹ “Ku-Klux Klan Is Resurrected In Nine States Of South Under Charter From Georgia Court,” *New York World*, 10 October 1920. See also, E. J. Kahn, Jr., *The World of Swope* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965), 240-241, and James Boylan, *The World and the 20’s: The Golden Years of New York’s Legendary Newspaper* (n.p.: The Dial Press, 1973), 61. The venerable news weekly, *The Outlook*, opined after Watson’s victory that “his success does not promise much for progress in his state” (“The Primary Results in Georgia,” *The Outlook*, 22 September 1920, p. 130).

¹² Report of the Field Secretary, for December 1920 meeting of the Board, NAACP Papers, Library of Congress, I, R4, F120; Walter White, *A Man Called White: The Autobiography of Walter White* (New York: The Viking Press, 1948), 53-55.

¹³ J. Q. Nolan, of Atlanta, was an early and popular Imperial Lecturer, who lectured throughout North Carolina in spring and summer 1921 on the themes of white supremacy and the Klan’s role in preserving it. In North Carolina, in May 1921, his theme was white supremacy, and the NAACP, he thundered, was the nation’s greatest menace. (*Durham (N.C.) Morning Herald*, 22 May 1921. In July, at Hickory, North Carolina, Nolan inspired the unidentified reporter: “Col. Nolan, besides bringing a message, had a flow of oratory that

ascended into the uttermost limits of the starry horizon, placing an apostrophe here, another there He shed oratory." Nolan told his audience that the Klan favored white supremacy, Americanization of all immigrants, and public offices open only to white, Protestant, gentiles. (*Hickory (N.C.) Daily Record*, 13 July 1921).

¹⁴ "Clarkes' Own Roster Shows 'Kleagles' In Nearly All States," *New York World*, 9 September 1921.

¹⁵ "Big Parade Held By Ku Klux Klan," *Atlanta Constitution*, 7 May 1921; "Hardwick Lauds Klan Principles," *Atlanta Constitution*, 7 August 1921.

¹⁶ Alfred Allen Lewis, *Man of the World: Herbert Bayard Swope* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1978), 82, 92-94. The Kleagle subsequently told his story in book form: Henry P. Fry, *The Modern Ku Klux Klan*, (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969; orig. published 1922).

¹⁷ On Bryant, see <http://ncpedia.org/biography/bryant-henry-edward-cowan>. On Sweeney, see Charles P. Sweeney, "Bigotry in the South," *Nation*, 112 (24 November 1920):585-586; "Bigotry Turns to Murder," *Nation* 113 (31 August 1921): 232-233. Louis M. Spaulding, secretary of the NAACP chapter in Newport News, Virginia, sent a purloined roster of the Klan there to NAACP headquarters in New York, and White sent it on to the *World* to use in the expose. The paper did not publish the list and returned it to White, who then (unfortunately) returned it to Spaulding. See Spaulding to James Weldon Johnson, 25 September 1921; Spaulding to Johnson, 2 October 1921; White to Clarence Snyder (*New York World*), 14 October 1921; White to Spaulding, 24 October 1921, NAACP Papers, 312, Group I, Series C, Administrative File.

¹⁸ "Klan Expose Wins Readers," *Editor & Publisher*, 54 (17 September 1921):15). Newspapers in the following states carried the expose: CA, GA (2), IN, LA, MA, MN, MO, NY (2), OH (4), OK, PA, TX (3), WA, WI. See *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, 10 September 1921; *Baltimore Afro-American*, 16 September 1921.

¹⁹ "Headquarters Goblin Exposes Ku Klux Klan! Sensational Developments! See Later Editions of the American," *New York American*, 15 September 1921.

²⁰ The first and third quoted phrases are from the *World's* statement of its purpose in the expose, as printed in *Syracuse (N.Y.) Herald*, 7 September 1921; the second phrase is from *Syracuse Herald*, 18 September 1921.

²¹ See, for example, telegram, Swope to Governor Westmoreland Davis, 22 September 1921, Governor's Office Papers, Box 18, "Newspaper Interviews" file, Library of Virginia.

²² *New York World*, 9, 11 September 1921.

²³ The *Atlanta Georgian*, 21 September 1921, reported that on their arrival in Atlanta all 500 copies of the *World* with the story about the arrests had been immediately purchased by parties unknown. Clarke's initial statement, quickly retracted, had it that his estranged wife caused the arrests to harm him. It does seem likely that the arrests, whether inspired by vengeance or to provide grounds for a divorce, reflected Clarke's marriage woes and not a sexual relationship between him and Tyler. (See *Atlanta Constitution*, 20 September 1921.)

²⁴ "2 Imperial Offices Of Klan Resign; Deny Misconduct Charges," *Houston Chronicle*, 22 September 1921.

²⁵ "Secrets Of Ku Klux Klan To Be Exposed In Enquirer-Sun, Which Will Publish New York World Articles On the 'Masked Menace' In Full, Beginning Sunday," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, 10 September 1921.

²⁶ "Council Asks Investigation Of The Knights Of Columbus," *Atlanta Constitution*, 20 September 1921; "Mutilated Record Probed; Klansmen Allege Attempt To Steal Mailing Lists," *Atlanta Constitution*, 22 September 1921; "Article In Searchlight Written By Hutcheson Claimed To Be 'Treason'," *Atlanta Constitution*, 24 September 1921; "Georgian Joins Enquirer-Sun In Publishing World Exposure Of Simmons' Ku Klux Klan," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, 25 September 1921. Carl Hutcheson, a member of the Atlanta School Board, and his law partner, J. O. Wood, operated the *Searchlight*. Issues from the paper's first year no longer exist, but at late as June 1921, the paper's focus was on white supremacy. By 10 September 1921, the paper was defending the Klan and embracing anti-Catholicism. See *Atlanta Constitution*, 2 June 1921; *Searchlight*, 10 September 1921.

²⁷ *Dallas Morning News*, 15 September 1921; *Houston Chronicle*, 9 October 1921 (the *Chronicle* also stated that the majority of letters received opposed the Klan). A self-described charter member of the Klan in Norfolk, Virginia, wrote to Louis I. Jaffe, editor of the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, accusing the paper of attacking the Klan while supporting the Catholic Knights of Columbus (Letter, "A Member of the K. K. K." to Jaffe, 18 September 1921, Louis I. Jaffe Papers, 9924-e, Box 1, University of Virginia).

²⁸ Letter, W. W. Alexander to Dr. Worth M. Tippy, Birmingham Southern College, 12 June 1922, Papers of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, microfilm edition, 1:4, Frames 646-647. On pre-World War One anti-Catholicism, see Washington Gladden, "The Anti-Papal Panic," *Harper's Magazine*, 18 July 1914, and Justin Nordstrom, *Danger on the Doorstep: Anti-Catholicism and American Print Culture in the Progressive Era* (South Bend:

University of Notre Dame Press, 2003). On Spurgeon, see “Rev. O. L. Spurgeon In Lime Light Again; Tells Ku Klux Secrets,” *Cedar Rapids (Iowa) Evening Gazette*, 26 September 1921.

²⁹ “Intolerance And Prejudice Is Harming Atlanta,” *Atlanta Georgian* 24 September 1921; “It Is High Time To End This Harmful Intolerance,” *Atlanta Journal*, 25 September 1921; “Intolerance Is Deplored By Ministers,” *Atlanta Georgian*, 26 September 1921; “Clubs Of Atlanta Denounce Spirit Of Intolerance,” 5 October 1921; “A Challenge To Atlanta’s Good Name!” *Atlanta Constitution*, 25 September 1921.

³⁰ See Moore, “Historical Interpretations of the 1920s Klan.”

³¹ Constance Corry, “The Klan Hearings of 1921: A Triumph of One Interpretation of Americanism,” *The Melbourne Historical Journal*, 15 (1983): 86-107.

³² “Simmons Satisfied With Result Of Probe,” *Atlanta Constitution*, 21 October 1921. Despite unfilled promises of libel suits and a series of articles responding to the expose, the Klan did finally issue a full-page advertisement in a few newspapers declaring victory in “a national fight on this organization by un-American forces.” See, for example, *Searchlight*, 24 December 1921.

³³ See, for example, “Deposed Goblins Say Klan Is Broken / One of Four Domain Chiefs Who Tried to Oust Mrs. Tyler and Clarke Tells of ‘Smash’ / Says 18,000 Quit in Chicago / And 3,000, or Entire Membership, Resigned in Philadelphia—Simmons Upholds Clarke,” *New York Times*, 3 December 1921.

³⁴ “Waning Strength of the Ku Klux Klan,” *New York Herald*, 19 June 1922. Rory McVeigh, *Rise of the Ku Klux Klan*, used a similar compilation of data from articles in the *Imperial Night-Hawk*, the official Klan magazine that replaced the *Searchlight* in 1923. He writes, “Because the *Imperial Night-Hawk* fulfilled its mission to keep readers informed about Klan events taking place throughout the country, systematic coding of the magazine’s content can provide a valuable measure of state-level variation in Klan activity” (11). The same logic should apply to the *Searchlight*’s coverage.

³⁵ On Texas, see Alexander, *Klan in the Southwest*, and Norman D. Brown, *Hood, Bonnet, and Little Brown Jug: Texas Politics, 1921-1928* (College Station: Texas A. & M. University, 1984); on Oregon, see Malcolm Clark, Jr., “The Bigot Disclosed: Ninety Years of Nativism,” *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 75 (June 1974): 109-190 (especially 168-172). Mark N. Morris, in “Saving Society Through Politics: The Ku Klux Klan in Dallas, Texas, in the 1920s,” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Texas, 1997), shows that even though the Klan was well-established in that city, after the expose, which the *Dallas Morning News* carried, the order became subject to local opposition, and the Klan’s newspaper, *The Texas American*, which first appeared in February 1922, devoted its columns, when not filled with anti-Catholicism, to defending the Klan against attacks (107).

Appendix A

The *New York World's* exposé and Old Hickory Klan No. 1, New Orleans.

The effect of the *World's* exposé on local Klaverns is difficult to determine because of the lack of sources. One case where evidence is available, Old Hickory Klan No. 1, in New Orleans, is worth considering. Klan organizing in the city began in November 1920, when Imperial Wizard W. J. Simmons addressed a crowd of fifty on his way to Houston, Texas, to deliver its charter to Sam Houston Klan No. 1. Recruiting in the Crescent City proceeded to the point that Old Hickory Klan No. 1 received its charter—meaning, in fact, that the Klan there had met the Klan Propagation Department's quota of members for the city—on 21 July 1921, with 554 charter members.¹

Among the papers of W. D. Robinson, a Louisiana journalist, in the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina Library, are photostats of minutes from the meetings of that Klan between July 1921 and May 1922. The contents of the minutes do not conform to the traditional accounts of the exposé's positive benefits for the Klan, such as found in Thomas Ewing Dabney's *One Hundred Great Years: The Story of the Times-Picayune From Its Beginning to 1940* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944). Dabney asserts that if not for the exposé, which the *Times-Picayune* carried, "the klan would probably have died shortly" (417).

Soon after the Klan's chartering in July 1921 came the exposé in September. At a special meeting on 14 September, the Klan's chief—Exalted Cyclops, in Klan parlance—told the assembled Klansmen that he "was in close touch with all matters" and cautioned them "not to talk or do anything without special orders" from him. The meeting adjourned, and the Klan lay low until after the exposé concluded. At the meeting on 9 November 1921, the Exalted Cyclops "gave an interesting verbal report" on the congressional investigation, and, after some discussion, "it was decided that this organization resume work and applications for membership be received." Membership did rise to 586 in December, but, with adjustment for those dropped for non-payment of their dues, the figure on 10 January 1922 was 529.²

Two weeks later, the membership declined further. At a special meeting representatives of the rebellious Grand Goblins and a team of Klan loyalists from Atlanta presented their cases to the New Orleans Klansmen. Afterward, three local officers, including the Exalted Cyclops, submitted their resignations. Membership remained at the same level, below the total before the exposé, according to the rest of the available minutes.³

On 28 May 1922, the New Orleans Klan made a public appearance, a visit to a church. Dabney wrote that the Klan hoped "to ride the publicity wave which the *New York World's*

exposure of the klan the year before had raised.” In fact, as the minutes indicate, it would be more accurate to say that the Klan then came out, under new leadership, lucky to have survived the exposé.

¹ Frank S. Berlin to Mr. Hammett, “Report of Ku Klux Klan Meeting, New Orleans, La.” W. D. Robinson Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, 1214, Folder 1 (http://www2.lib.unc.edu/mss/inv/r/Robinson,W.D.html#folder_1#1); Minutes, 21 July 1921, Old Hickory Klan No. 1, New Orleans, Photostat in Robinson Papers.

² Minutes, 14 September 1921, 9 November 1921, 28 December 1921, 11 January 1922, *Ibid.*

³ Minutes, 25 January 1922. Membership was reported as follows: 10 February: 527; 18 February: 525; 22 February: 517; 6 March: 517; 20 March: 523; 17 April: 519; 1 May: 519.