THE KU KLUX KLAN IN CALIFORNIA
1921 TO 1924

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A.B., (University of Iowa), 1961

THESIS

Submitted in partial satisfaction of
the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

IN

HISTORY

at the

SACRAMENTO STATE COLLEGE

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Date May 26, 1961
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PREFACE

This study was initiated in an attempt to discover the events surrounding the growth and development of the Ku Klux Klan in the state of California and to determine the extent of Klan political strength and influence during the early 1920's. Much has been written about the twenties and the role of the Klan in the historical events of that time. However, the state of California has been almost completely ignored in this respect. Those who write history, and the Klan's role in it, have either determined that a discussion of the development of the Ku Klux Klan in California does not merit extensive coverage or else they have been unwilling or unable to do the research necessary to properly discuss this topic. Whatever the reason, a perusal of the literature has revealed a shocking void which needs to be filled. This study makes no pretense of being the final, authoritative word on the subject. It is hoped, however, that it may provide a sort of initial step in that direction.

A word or two in explanation of the source material used to write this paper may be in order at
this point. Because of the secret nature of the Klan, and inasmuch as very little has been written concerning the organization, research was limited, almost exclusively, to study of newspaper accounts and governmental documents. Relying too heavily on newspaper reports is always dangerous. However, in many cases there was an opportunity to compare the reports of two or more separate newspapers, thereby providing some degree of verification. Government documents were examined whenever it appeared essential for the presentation, providing, of course, they were available.

The newspapers selected for study were those thought to provide the most complete coverage on an area-by-area basis. The Los Angeles Times was chosen to provide coverage for the southern part of the state; the Bakersfield Daily Californian to represent Kern County; the San Francisco Chronicle and San Francisco Examiner to provide information concerning the Bay area, as well as much of the rest of northern California; and, the Sacramento Bee and, on occasion, the Sacramento Union to cover the Sacramento region as well as the northern portion of the great central valley. This may be an arbitrary method of selection but no better way presented itself.
A word of thanks is in order for the assistance provided by the staff of the California Room in the California State Library. Professors Howes and McGowan provided assistance at critical times, particularly by referring me to research material. And, finally, I must express my appreciation for the invaluable assistance of my wife, Yvonne, who aided me in the enormous amount of clerical work necessary to produce this paper.

In the last accounting, however, the author must accept responsibility for whatever strengths and/or weaknesses which exist in this work.
INTRODUCTION: REVIVAL OF THE KLAN IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

On October 16, 1915, Colonel William Joseph Simmons and thirty-four associates signed a petition for a charter as a Georgia corporation. The charter was granted and on Thanksgiving night of 1915, the group gathered on top of Stone Mountain near Atlanta, and took the oath of allegiance to the "Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan." The Second Ku Klux Klan was born.

The Second Ku Klux Klan was modeled on the secret society of the same name and similar organizations which had sprung into being as a Southern "underground" movement to restore white supremacy, sabotage and reduce Negro suffrage and undo the efforts of Northern reformers and their Southern collaborators during the Reconstruction Era following the Civil War. Almost entirely centered in Ex-Confederate States, the original Klan and similar societies largely disappeared with the restoration of Southern home rule and white

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supremacy after "Reconstruction" ended.

The Second Klan spread very slowly at first. By the latter months of 1918, it had organized chapters, or Klaverns, in communities in the South, most of which were near Atlanta. Colonel Simmons, the founder and "Emperor" of the revived Ku Klux Klan, was an excellent public speaker but lacked organizational ability. As a result, the summer of 1920 found the Klan with a small membership (around four or five thousand) and an even smaller treasury.

However, in late 1920, the Klan experienced a burst of activity and fantastic growth in membership. This rapid expansion was due to a change in its top leadership in June of 1920. At that time, Simmons added two members to his headquarters staff, i.e. one Edward Young Clarke, who became the "Imperial Kleagle" or chief organizer, and Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler, who Simmons appointed to the position of assistant to Clarke. These two new additions to the Klan staff were well acquainted with the techniques of fund-raising, having been previously associated with such organizational drives as the Anti-Saloon League, the Roosevelt Memorial

\[2\text{Ibid., pp. 5, 6.}\]
Fund, The Near East Relief Fund, and others. From June of 1920 to October of 1921, when the Klan was investigated by Congress, the "Invisible Empire" had grown to a membership near 100,000.

The organizational skills of Clarke soon became evident. The country was organized into eight "domains", each of which was headed by a "Grand Goblin". Each domain was divided into "realms" or states to be presided over by a "King Kleagle" or chief organizer for the state. Each King Kleagle held authority over several "Kleagles" or organizers, who were given a specific territory within the state in which to recruit membership.

Each new member was required to "donate" a ten-dollar fee, of which the Kleagle kept four dollars, the King Kleagle received one dollar, the Grand Goblin collected fifty cents, and the remaining four dollars and fifty cents went to the Imperial Treasury in Atlanta. It may be observed that the financial

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3Ibid., pp. 6, 7.
4Ibid., p. 7.
5San Francisco Examiner, October 6, 1921, p. 10, c. 1.
organization of the Klan was similar to that of a complex business corporation of the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth century, but with the defect of a lack of close accounting control over the local and regional officials at the base of the structure. The financial rewards of Klan officialdom were high, particularly when it is understood that records of the financial dealings of local Kleagles were seldom accurate, inasmuch as many of them never reported new memberships to the state and national headquarters. This, obviously, allowed these grassroots organizers to pocket all or most of the ten dollar initiation fee, themselves. John Moffatt Mecklin stated:

It will be seen that the inducement to the solicitor was liberal. The purely commercial element has, however, been overemphasized. It plays a part naturally and inevitably in every such system of promotion. But it must not be forgotten that the commercial motive alone can never explain the marvelous spread of the Klan.6

Why did Americans join the Klan in such large numbers? Mecklin declared:

Even granting, however, that Clarke and his assistants were merely commercializing hates and prejudices,

6Mecklin, op. cit., pp. 8, 9.
it is well to remember that men 
joined the Klan because it appealed 
to their patriotism and their moral 
idealism more than to their hates 
and prejudices. 7

Mecklin berated the newspapers of the day for their 
failure to grasp the Klan's real significance by 
referring to it as an "un-American organization". He 
continued:

If the Klan were utterly un-
American it could never have succeeded 
as it has. The Klan is not alien to 
American society. If it were, the 
problem would be much simpler. The 
Klan is but the recrudescence of 
forces that already existed in American 
society, some of them recent, others 
dating from the more distant past. 8

Another student of the Klan commented:

A sober review of American 
history yields the unwelcome 
conclusion that the Klan spirit is 
a constant in our national behavior. 
At times it is quiescent, but it is 
not dead, only smouldering between 
eruptions, when, for a time, the Klan 
is relative inactive, it is easy - and 
pleasant - to forget the violence the 
Klan once engendered; and even in its 
moments of great activity, men of 
good will possibly dismiss such behavior 
as an aberration. Stepped-up law 
enforcement, we assume, will crush the 
outburst; stronger laws will prevent

7Ibid., p. 13.
8Ibid.
any future revival. It goes against our grain to acknowledge the actuality of the Klan spirit, past and present, in the national ethos; it undercuts our cherished myths about ourselves and our country.

Men join the Klan, and defend its practices, out of deep personal conviction. Early leaders of the modern Klan - Ed Clarke, Colonel Simmons, Hiram Evans - were obviously cynical; but if for such men the Klan existed as a machine for making fortunes, the rank and file of the members were ordinary men, of the sort easily persuaded that America is in grave danger of subversion. Granted that some Klansmen have been sadistic, or "authoritarian personalities", the greater number have been impelled by a genuine, if misdirected, sense of patriotic duty. They have embraced the programs of hatred outlined for them by their cynical leaders as the means of saving the country. Not to act, in the face of the threat posed allegedly by identifiable minorities, could readily seem like cowardice, or even like treason to the nation's best ideals.9

Regardless of the reason for this tremendous growth, grow the Klan did. Aided by a series of expose articles in the New York World in 1920, (which only served to publicize the Klan), and a Congressional investigation a year later which had similar results, membership rose sharply. The publicity given to the

Klan had succeeded in acquainting receptive Americans of all stripes with the aims and activities of the hooded order. Kleagles now reported enlistments at the rate of five thousand per day.\(^{10}\)

For in truth, the leaders of the Klan had accurately evaluated the temper of the day. Following the disillusionment of World War I, Americans were prepared to despise and chastise all foreigners and their alien ideas. The Klan simply addressed itself to this sentiment and formulated its program around the omnipresent nativist hostility toward that which is different. While the Negro again presented a convenient scapegoat, as always, another primary drive of Klan propaganda was directed at the Roman Catholic church, "radical unionism" such as that represented by the I.W.W., political radicalism, Jews, and foreign immigrants in general. As the Invisible Empire grew and developed, it also became a self-appointed watchdog over community morals. And, so, vigorous Klan persecution faced violators of the liquor prohibition laws, as well as those who transgressed

the fundamentalist code of the Klan governing sexual behavior.

The Klan drew members from all strata of society; but, as Mecklin observed, "The strength of the Klan lies in that large, well-meaning, but more or less ignorant and unthinking middle class, whose inflexible loyalty has preserved with uncritical fidelity the traditions of the original American stock."^{11}

It is against this backdrop that a study of the Klan in California has been initiated and is here presented. The Klan's stay in California was to extend into the 1940's, but its most significant activity was concentrated into the period of 1921 to 1924, when the movement suddenly appeared and rose to prominence, then declined to minor significance although it did not completely disappear. A discussion of the activities of the Klan in this period in California history shall constitute the bulk of this study.

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^{11} Mecklin, op. cit., p. 103.
CHAPTER I

THE KLAN COMES TO LOS ANGELES
AND SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

A seemingly insignificant article, datelined Houston, Texas, appeared in the January 2, 1921 edition of the San Francisco Examiner, signalling the beginning of things to come in California:

With diplomats balked in their efforts to reach an agreement with Japan regarding rights of Orientals in California and other states of the Far West, the Ku Klux Klan, defenders of the white race in the South, is preparing to take a hand in affairs of the West, according to leaders of that organization here.

Already, it is claimed, the organization has spread until today its members may be found in every state of the Union, and the white-clad riders of the night now only await orders to start a new crusade — against the so-called "Yellow Peril of the West."¹

And, so, the Ku Klux Klan came to California. However, contrary to the beliefs stated in the above article, the Klan concerned itself very little with the "Yellow Peril", preferring, instead, to devote its energies to a mortal struggle against the evils

¹San Francisco Examiner, January 2, 1921, p. 70, c. 2.
of demon rum, Roman Catholicism, the I.W.W., and foreign influence in general.

It is believed that the Klan made its entrance into California sometime in the spring of 1921.\footnote{Examiner, May 25, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.} Following the guidelines established by Imperial Kleagle Edward Clarke, formal organizational machinery was soon firmly intrenched in the Golden State. The Grand Goblin of the Pacific States Domain was to be Captain William S. Coburn, a Georgia attorney who had performed legal service for the Klan in Atlanta. G. W. Price, also a Georgia Klansman, was selected for the post of King Kleagle or chief organizer, for the state. In addition, a whole host of Kleagles was turned loose upon the fertile soil of California to recruit members wherever they might be found.

While notice of the Klan's intentions of organizing in California and the Far West had appeared in January, and actual organizing efforts began in the spring of 1921, it was not until July of that year that the local press gave any mention of the Klan's presence.

The Los Angeles Times reported on July 9, 1921...
that the federal government had begun an investigation into attempts to organize a Klan in the Los Angeles area. According to the *Times* report, the investigation had begun after Los Angeles City Prosecutor Widney informed federal authorities that he had been approached by individuals who claimed to represent the Ku Klux Klan national organization. The Klansmen had made several remarks calculated to influence his official actions, according to Widney, and some of their statements had taken the form of threats. He added that several members of his staff had been approached by Klan organizers who told them that many public officials in and around Los Angeles were already members of the order. It appeared, said Widney, that the recent "officially encouraged" discontinuation of the local showing of the film, "The Clansman", after local protests against the film, had triggered the "visit" by the Klansmen.\(^3\)

Widney was visited shortly afterward by an unidentified man who reproached Widney for participating in the action to terminate showing of the film. Three days later, the same man returned accompanied by two other men, one of whom identified himself as an

\(^3\) *Los Angeles Times*, July 19, 1921, p. 17, c. 2.
attorney from Atlanta, Georgia. Widney declared:

This man upbraided me for my action in the "Clansman" matter and made every effort to have me change my attitude. He said further that the picture would be shown in Los Angeles even if he personally had to do the exhibiting. The gist of his remarks was that he considered it essential for white supremacy to exhibit that picture. He said he was the chief attorney for the Ku Klux Klan, and finally left, saying: "You'll regret this." I considered his statements and attitude so uncalled for and so unmistakably threatening that I reported the matter to the federal authorities.\(^4\)

Assistant United States Attorney Green, when questioned by newsmen, admitted that an investigation into Klan activities in the Los Angeles area was being conducted, but declined to give details except to say:

It does not appear as if the Klan has made much progress in Los Angeles. So far as we are able to learn, those who have joined are mostly persons with grievances of some sort or other.\(^5\)

Special Agent Sturgis of the Federal Bureau of Investigation agreed that an investigation of the Klan was under way, but added: "My information is that there is very little activity in the Klan here."\(^6\) He

\(^4\)Ibid. \\
\(^5\)Ibid. \\
\(^6\)Ibid.
concluded that the Klan appeared to be much stronger in the northern part of the state.

On the following day, the "mysterious" Klan attorney, who Widney alleged had threatened him, released a public statement, identifying himself as "Captain William Coburn". He admitted he had come to Los Angeles from Atlanta, Georgia, several weeks earlier for the express purpose of recruiting members for the Klan. He said he previously had assisted in organizing Klans in several other states, including New York. He denied Widney's allegations of threats, but admitted he had visited Widney in his office. Coburn stated that the local Klan was not attempting to conceal itself and would welcome an investigation. He claimed that several Los Angeles city officials and prominent attorneys had become members of the local Klan, and added that there were already active Klans in Hollywood, Glendale, Covina, Venice, and Culver City.

Coburn concluded his interview by showing newsmen a report he had prepared for submission to city officials, indicating that a negro organizer of the Industrial Workers of the World (who Coburn

7 *Times*, July 20, 1921, p. 19, c. 2.)
identified as an "ex-convict") was busily engaged in inciting the negro residents of Los Angeles. This was the type of activity which the Klan was organized to oppose, he stated.  

Following soon after this first press revelation of the Klan's presence and its organizing activities, and the rumored federal investigation, a series of featured newspaper articles on the Klan appeared in both Los Angeles and San Francisco.

In July of 1921, the Los Angeles Evening Express published a series of three expose articles on the national Klan organization, entitled, "Great Ku Klux Outbreak", "Ku Klux Terrorizes South", and "Ku Klux Reign of Terror". The articles brought the Klan to the attention of many Angelinos for the first time. Meanwhile, the San Francisco Examiner was also busily engaged in a series of expose articles on the Klan. In an article which appeared in September, the Examiner revealed that the Los Angeles office of the Klan served as headquarters for Klan activities on the Pacific Coast and that Coburn was

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8Ibid.

9Times, August 4, 1921, p. 17, c. 7.
the official "Grand Goblin" of the entire region, known in Klan circles as "Domain Number Six".\textsuperscript{10}

Local Klan officials in California took a very dim view of these critical articles, and a few weeks later filed suit against the \textit{Evening Express} in an attempt to collect a total of $105,000 in damages. The suit alleged that the local Klan had suffered irreparable damage to its reputation as a result of these articles, and asked $10,000 in general and $25,000 in exemplary damages for each of the three articles.\textsuperscript{11} Judgment in the case eventually went to the \textit{Evening Express}, when the Klan refused to amend the third complaint as required by presiding Judge Willis.\textsuperscript{12}

After this initial burst of publicity, things were relatively quiet on the Klan front for the next few months. Then, beginning in the spring months of 1922, a series of isolated and seemingly unrelated incidents brought the Klan to public attention once more. Simple reports of the Klan's presence and

\textsuperscript{10}San Francisco \textit{Examiner}, September 21, 1921, p. 1, c. 6.

\textsuperscript{11}\textit{Ibid}.

\textsuperscript{12}\textit{Times}, February 21, 1922, p. 23, c. 5.
spreading influence soon brought to light acts of violence and criminal activity which brought official governmental investigation and prosecution. The net result of all this publicity and investigation was widespread exposure, in elaborate detail, of Klan organizational activities, financial affairs, and the tarnishing of the Klan's public image, all of which contributed to the ultimate decline of the organization in Southern California, as well as in the remainder of the state, even though it did not, as an organization, completely disappear.

The first such notice was of an incident which tended to present the Klan in favorable, or at least neutral light. In March, 1922, the Los Angeles Klan held its first public funeral service. A private detective, Thomas F. Johnston, died on March 3 and the local Elks Lodge conducted services at a local undertaking parlor. The body was then taken to Inglewood for burial. At the gravesite, a minister spoke briefly. As friends and relatives were about to depart, a limousine sped into the cemetery and came to an abrupt halt near the grave. Nine men in full Klan regalia emerged from the auto and grouped around the grave. The leader of the group carried a
large floral cross upon which was inscribed the words, "The Invisible Empire". He placed the cross beside the grave. The other eight men stood there with their right hands raised while their leader uttered a few indistinguishable words. When he was finished, he issued a sharp command upon which all nine men climbed into the car and hurriedly drove off.\footnote{San Francisco Chronicle, March 7, 1922, p. 1, c. 6.}

The Klan also appeared, however, in its familiar role as censor of private morals in the community. A few weeks later, a report from San Bernadino indicated that a group of Klansmen had kidnapped Jesse Mansfield, a local resident, while he was visiting with a lady friend, Miss Helen Molnar. A posse of armed police officers and deputy sheriffs were reported to be in hot pursuit, but no further information on the incident appeared in the press.\footnote{Times, March 26, 1922, p. 1, c.2.}

The next incident reported was one which revealed the degree to which the Klan membership had extended into governmental agencies, and may have been an occasion for some alarm. On April 7, State Adjutant General J. J. Borree surprised a group of Klansmen
drilling in the Los Angeles Armory, after receiving a report that questionable activities were being conducted there. Borree discovered that the group had been using the armory under the title of "The Mounted Rifles". The men he found in the armory were not dressed in Klan regalia and were not armed. While Borree said he was convinced that these men were Klansmen, he had no evidence of this and, therefore, took no legal action against them. He did, however, stop the drill and deny the group further use of the armory. Borree indicated that he had been informed by friends in Los Angeles that several of the most prominent business leaders in Los Angeles were members of the Klan and that several of these men were present at the drill. He concluded by stating that the Klan in the Los Angeles area was reported to be growing rapidly.15

A later investigation into this matter revealed that records of the 160th National Guard Regiment in Los Angeles had been altered in an attempt to hide activities of the Klan. Colonel Story, the regimental commander, told the press that a lieutenant (Unidentified)

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14 Times, March 26, 1922, p. 1, c. 2.
15 Examiner, March 7, 1922, p. 1, c. 4.
had given him a letter requesting the use of the Armory by the " Mounted Rifles". This lieutenant had informed Colonel Story that he, himself, had investigated the organization and had found it to be a legitimate subsidiary of a prominent fraternal society. He, therefore, recommended that Colonel Story approve the request. Colonel Story complied with this request and the letter containing the lieutenant's recommendation was filed in the regimental records. After it was discovered that the " Mounted Rifles" were, in reality, the Ku Klux Klan, Colonel Story searched the files for the letter. He found it, but the lieutenant's comments had been removed. The lieutenant resigned under pressure. 16

The most sensational story concerning Klan activities in and around Los Angeles hit the front pages a few weeks later, and marked "the beginning of the end" for the Klan as a body above public reproach. The incident in question was a Klan "raid" on an alleged distillery and bootlegging operation in Inglewood. This event was to have both local and state-wide significance and directly contributed to the demise of the Klan in California.

16 Times, May 13, 1922, p. 17, c. 8.
After one has sifted through a mass of contradictory information concerning this raid, certain facts appear to be substantiated. Early in the morning of April 23, 1922 a group of men entered the homes of Fidel and Mathias Elduayen, two brothers of Spanish descent who lived near Inglewood. The raiders seized the two brothers and searched the premises for illegal distillery equipment. When they were unable to find it, the Elduayen brothers were forced into a car and driven to the city jail at Inglewood. The deputy present there refused to accept the "prisoners", so they were taken to the jail at Redondo Beach, where they also were refused entry. Eventually, they were released.17

Meanwhile, the local marshal, Frank Woerner, was summoned to the scene by T. Shitara, a neighbor of the Elduayen's. Woerner commandeered a motorcycle and its somewhat unwilling driver to take him to the scene of the raid. Upon his arrival, some of the raiders attempted to stop him. Woerner informed them

17 Times, April 24, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
Chronicle, April 24, 1922, p. 1, c. 8; April 24, 1922, p. 2, c. 5.
Examiner, April 25, 1922, p. 6, c. 1.
of his official capacity and his determination to halt the raid. When some of the men moved toward him, Woerner opened fire, wounding three of the men, one of them critically. He then hastily withdrew from the scene.18

When the news of the raid was released, a whole host of city and county officials issued a joint public statement denouncing mob rule. Among these were such figures as Los Angeles County Sheriff Traeger, Los Angeles County District Attorney Thomas Woolwine, United States Attorney Joseph Burke, Chairman of the County Board of Supervisors McClellan, Superior Court Judge Willis, Civil Service Commission Secretary Doty, Los Angeles Mayor Cryer, City Prosecutor Widney, and Los Angeles Police Chief Louis Oaks.19

A coroner's inquest was held the following day, April 24, to determine the facts concerning the death of the slain member of the raiding gang, now identified as M. B. Mosher, a constable from Inglewood.20 After hearing extensive testimony, the coroner's jury declared that Mosher came to his death while a

19Times, April 25, 1922, p. 6, c. 1.
20Examiner, April 25, 1922, p. 6, c. 1.
member of a masked mob "presumably instituted and
directed by members of the Ku Klux Klan". The verdict
also included the jury's recommendation that "the
district attorney convene a grand jury to investigate
the matter further and take necessary steps to punish
the perpetrators of this crime. 21 Woerner was, there-
fore, exonerated of any criminal action.

George G. Clarksen, foreman of the Coroner's
Jury also stated in an interview:

Ku Klux Klan officials and
members of the organization without
a doubt were the leaders of the mob
that late Saturday night raided the
Elhuayan residence, with the result
that one of the members of the mob
was shot fatally by a peace officer
and two others were wounded. 22

Clarksen declared he had wanted to return a verdict
charging the younger Mosher and Ruegg (the two wounded
raiders) with assault with a deadly weapon with intent
to kill Woerner, and with being a part of a masked
and armed mob acting in violation of the laws of
California. One juror, Frank D. Parent, objected,
and blocked this action. (It was later learned that
Parent employed Thomas Jennings, one of the raiders.)

21 Examiner, April 26, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
22 Times, April 26, 1922, p. 1, c. 4.
Clarksen continued:

The entire jury, however, believes that a grand jury should investigate the outrage to the bottom and that every member of the mob should be brought to trial. The testimony that would be brought out by the grand jury would show the connection of the Ku Klux Klan and that the officials of the Klan planned the raid and led the mob.\textsuperscript{23}

The \textit{Times} now revealed that it had made a thorough investigation of the methods and personnel of the local Klan and that it now had a list of over three hundred persons who had attended Klan meetings in Los Angeles in the previous five weeks. That list allegedly included many peace officers, and leading business and professional men. The list was turned over to the District Attorney's office, and, according to the \textit{Times}, the list might be published at some later date.\textsuperscript{24}

On April 26, District Attorney Thomas Woolwine secured the issuance of a search warrant to enter the Los Angeles headquarters of the Klan, and several deputy sheriffs were dispatched to the office with orders to seize all books, papers, documents, etc.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[23]\textit{Ibid}.
\item[24]\textit{Times}, April 26, 1922, p. 1, c. 5.
\end{footnotes}
that were related in any way to the activities of the Klan in Los Angeles County. Earlier in the day, a request had been made of Grand Goblin Coburn to release the membership lists, but he refused, making the search warrant necessary. The officers found Coburn, G. W. Price, the King Kleagle of California, and an unidentified attorney present when they entered the Klan office. Officers said when they entered the office, Coburn slipped something into an envelope, ran to the corridor and dropped the envelope into the mail chute. At first, Coburn refused to open the office safe; but, when one of the officers phoned a safe company and requested their services, Coburn changed his mind and complied with the request. A card index of names of men believed to be members of the Klan as well as a large number of petitions for membership were discovered inside the safe.  

Later that same day, warrants were issued for the arrest of Walter E. Mosher and Leonard Ruegg, the two members of the Inglewood raiding party who had been wounded by Marshal Frank Woerner. W. C. Doran, deputy district attorney, declared that both men had fired upon Woerner, and, therefore, were being charged

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25Times, April 27, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
with assault with intent to commit murder. Both men freely admitted taking part in the raid and firing upon Woerner. It now became known that Ruegg was a special deputy sheriff of Los Angeles County and Mosher was one of his father's deputy constables. In an interview regarding these arrests, District Attorney Woolwine referred to the Klan as: "an un-American band of hooded cowards and outlaws" and added that he was requesting the Superior Court to impanel a grand jury to investigate the Inglewood raid.

Woolwine declared that the raid on Coburn's office had not only furnished sufficient evidence to link the Klan with the Inglewood raid but with certain outrages which recently had been committed in Kern County, as well. After a long conversation with Woolwine, N. A. Baker, Los Angeles County Kléagle who reportedly organized and led the Inglewood raid, decided to make a signed statement. He admitted that the raiding party was composed largely of Klansmen.

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26 Examiner, April 27, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
29 Examiner, April 28, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
City and county authorities from all over California now began to arrive in Los Angeles in order to confer with Woolwine and obtain Klan membership lists which concerned their respective districts. For example, Kern County District Attorney Dorsey was one of the first to take advantage of this new evidence in his attempt to smash the Klan in his jurisdiction. Possession of these membership lists proved to be a potent weapon in the fight to destroy the Klan, as will be observed in this and subsequent chapters. Woolwine indicated that the lists revealed the names of 1,013 members in the Los Angeles Klan, including at least three members of his own staff. 30

In answer to Woolwine's statements, Grand Goblin Coburn, in a statement to the press, placed all blame for the Inglewood raid squarely upon the dead constable Mosher. He then proceeded to give his version of the events surrounding the raid. Coburn declared that there were two meetings held in the Inglewood Mortuary on the night of April 21. The first was an official Klan meeting conducted by Kleagle N. A. Baker, in which Baker "naturalized" ten men into the

Invisible Empire. This meeting was adjourned and was immediately followed by a second "meeting of citizens, open to the public" at which plans for the raid were discussed. Coburn emphasized that the raid was not discussed in the "official" Klan meeting. Constable Mosher organized the raid and asked Baker, who was also a Los Angeles deputy sheriff, to help. Coburn added that he had been empowered by Baker, (who at that time was in hiding) to release a statement in his behalf. Baker had stated his belief that he acted as a citizen and deputy sheriff and in behalf of the general citizenry in Inglewood. He emphasized that he was only a Kleagle, and was not, therefore, vested with authority to call and conduct a raid. He said that a Kleagle's only duties were to secure membership and to naturalize members; leading and conducting such a raid would have resulted in his immediate banishment from the Invisible Empire.\footnote{Examiner, April 27, 1922, p. 2, c. 3.}

Woolwine, however, refuted these assertions when he indicated that he had learned (from an unidentified informant) that minutes were kept of the Klan meeting held in Inglewood before the raid and that these minutes would demonstrate that the raid
was planned and organized at that meeting. 32

The disintegration of the local Klan units was underway. Public disclosure of the membership list forced many Klansmen to resign, and public officials were prodded into action. It seemed as if everyone wanted on the bandwagon of anti-Klan action by government agencies. Los Angeles County Sheriff William A. Traeger announced that he would not retain any deputies who were members of the Klan. Two deputies, whose names were withheld, resigned immediately from the Klan, and Traeger stated he expected more resignations. 33

The two who resigned told Traeger that they had entered the organization in belief that "it was fit for true Americans" but had now seen the error of their ways. 34

This rationalization was to be repeated ad nauseam by nearly all public officials and leading citizens whose names were discovered on Klan membership lists published in the press.

Los Angeles Police Chief Oaks also announced that he had begun an investigation into alleged Klan membership among members of his force. Any officer

32 Times, April 29, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
33 Examiner, April 27, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
34 Examiner, April 28, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
who was found to be a Klansman would be offered the choice of resignation from the Klan or giving up his job. 35 Mayor Cryer of Los Angeles declared that he, himself, had been approached by Klan organizers and now lent his full support to Oaks' actions. 36

The City Council and County Board of Supervisors also hastened to get in line. Los Angeles Councilman Mushet announced that he would offer a resolution to the full council instructing all heads of city departments to search out any Klansmen under their jurisdiction and order them to either resign from the Klan or face dismissal from city employment. 37 The Council later unanimously adopted the resolution with barely a hint of dissent. 38 The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, on April 27, adopted a resolution which gave county employees a choice of Klan membership or county employment. 39

From the city the panic spread to officials in outlying communities, as well. Mayor George Cate

35 Times, April 28, 1922, p. 1, c. 5.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Times, April 29, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
39 Times, April 28, 1922, p. 2, c. 4.
of Redondo Beach declared that he was not a member of the Klan, as had been alleged earlier, and severely condemned mob rule such as that which occurred in Inglewood.⁴⁰ Long Beach Chief of Police Ben McLendon issued an order which called upon members of his department who held Klan membership to quit the Klan or resign from their jobs.⁴¹ He later secured a list of Long Beach Klansmen from District Attorney Thomas Woolwine.⁴² In Venice, the city council unanimously adopted a resolution condemning mob violence, and instructing the city attorney to draft a letter to Woolwine commending him for his prompt action against the Klan.⁴³ Venice Mayor E. A. Gerety declared that he would not allow members of the Klan, or sympathizers with it, to remain in city service.⁴⁴ And, from Huntington Park, Constable Harry Bosshard of San Antonio township announced that he had cancelled the commission of his deputy, L. L. Bryson, who had shared the leadership with Baker on the Inglewood

⁴⁰Times, April 28, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
⁴¹Examiner, April 28, 1922, p. 2, c. 2.
⁴³Examiner, April 28, 1922, p. 2, c. 1.
⁴⁴Ibid.
raid.\textsuperscript{45} Then, on Sunday, April 28, came a report that forty residents of Hollywood, who had been among the first members of the local Klan, had resigned en masse from the organization sometime in October of 1921 and were now consulting with attorneys relative to filing legal action against the Klan alleging misrepresentation.\textsuperscript{46} Local churchmen also joined the anti-Klan movement at that point, as a group of Los Angeles clergymen, in their sermons that same Sunday, scathingly denounced mob rule and commended the District Attorney Woolwine for his quick action.\textsuperscript{47}

The Klan did not passively accept all of this opposition by any means. Even though state, county, and city officials were then marshaling its forces against the Klan, District Attorney Woolwine announced that a local business leader had been taken from his home by a Klan gang and severely beaten.\textsuperscript{48} Los Angeles Deputy District Attorney Raymond Turney announced that

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{45}\textit{Bakersfield Daily Californian}, May 2, 1922, p. 2, c. 2.
\item \textsuperscript{46}\textit{Times}, April 28, 1922, p. 1, c. 5.
\item \textsuperscript{47}\textit{Times}, April 29, 1922, p. 18, c. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{48}\textit{Times}, April 29, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
\end{itemize}
he had received numerous complaints of attempts at intimidation, including one report from a Los Angeles resident who had been outspoken in his condemnation of the Inglewood raid and subsequently received a telephone message warning him to "stop talking about the Ku Klux Klan" or he would be "bumped off". 49 Orange County District Attorney A. P. Nelson also explained that while he was in Los Angeles to secure a list of Klan members in his county, an unidentified man visited his home and instructed his wife to warn him to discontinue his investigation into the Klan. Nelson stated that he would persevere, however, and that the Klan list in his possession included the names of approximately five hundred Klansmen in Orange County, including some prominent community and business leaders. 50

Grand Goblin Coburn released a public statement on April 29 in which he declared that the Inglewood raid was inspired by a complaint from the mother of an Inglewood man who had died after drinking liquor allegedly purchased by him from the Elduayens. Since the federal authorities had refused to act on

49 *Chronicle*, April 30, 1922, p. 65, c. 6.
50 *Times*, April 30, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
her complaint, Coburn continued, Kleagle Baker and others had requested the assistance of Constable Mosher in bringing the bootleggers to justice.\textsuperscript{51}

Another report indicated that a complaint had been filed with the federal authorities after a discovery that high school students at an Inglewood dance had also purchased liquor from the Elduayen brothers. Again, the prohibition agents had explained that they couldn't act on the complaint because of lack of evidence. The raid, therefore, was planned and executed in order to obtain that evidence.\textsuperscript{52}

On May 1, federal officials searched the Elduayen home and winery, but were unable to find any evidence of violation of the prohibition laws. Daniel O'Leary, the prohibition officer who conducted the search, stated that he would ask United States Attorney Burke to call Kleagle Baker before a grand jury to testify because Baker had charged that the Elduayens had purchased "protection" for their illicit operation from federal authorities.\textsuperscript{53} Baker had made this charge in a statement to a Los Angeles reporter,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{51}Times, April 30, 1922, p. 2, c. 4.
\item \textsuperscript{52}Examiner, April 30, 1922, p. 3, c. 4.
\item \textsuperscript{53}Californian, May 2, 1922, p. 2, c. 2.
\end{itemize}
R. D. Knickerbocker, in which he alleged that one federal official had been paid $500 and another $1,200 as inducement to "overlook" the bootlegging operation.54

The two leaders of the Inglewood raid, Baker and L. L. Bryson, issued a joint statement to the press on May 1, denying allegations that the Inglewood affair constituted mob violence and defending the actions of the raiders. The major justification they offered was that the Elduayens were corrupting the community and had to be stopped.55 To this assertion, Baker added the following:

The Ku Klux Klan, as an organization took no more part in this enterprise I have detailed than did any order or any church. . . . There were no Ku Klux Klan robes or hoods worn, nor was any other insignia of the Klan. I noticed when I got to the field that a few persons had handkerchiefs tied over parts of their faces. Neither I nor Officer Bryson, who accompanied me into the Elduayen's house, wore anything over our faces.56

Coburn announced that 150 members of the Inglewood raiding party would surrender en masse to

54 Chronicle, April 24, 1922, p. 2, c. 5.
55 Times, May 1, 1922, p. 2, c. 1.
56 Times, May 1, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
District Attorney Woolwine on May 3. He said that fifty-six members of the group, of which fifteen were Klansmen, had already agreed to this, and the remainder would do so soon.

An unidentified witness visited Woolwine's office, on May 1, and presented evidence linking several men to the raid. He said he was invited to join the Klan in Inglewood shortly before the raid, but refused. He had attended the Klan meeting held the night before the raid, at which plans for the raid were discussed, and had gone to the vicinity of the E lurayen home on that fateful evening, witnessing everything that occurred. He felt certain, he said, that he could positively identify about twenty of the participants.

District Attorney Woolwine now began coyly releasing bits of information in serial fashion, concerning Klan membership in Los Angeles County. On May 1, for example, he announced that the list he had seized in the raid on Coburn's office indicated a total membership of over three thousand in the county.

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57 Examiner, May 1, 1922, p. 1, c. 5.
58 Times, May 1, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
59 Times, May 2, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
including at least two city police officials. After dropping this bombshell, however, he emphasized that he would not release the list until after the grand jury had acted.60

In the midst of this rapidly developing pattern of anti-Klan activity, Grand Goblin Coburn announced to the press that he had received several threatening letters, but also many of a friendly nature, commending the Klan and requesting information concerning membership in the organization. He reluctantly admitted that a number of public officials had resigned, however.61

May 3 arrived, and the promised surrender of the Inglewood raiders did not occur. Paul Barkdale d'Orr, attorney for several men who had admitted participation in the raid, reported that some of the group were reluctant to appear; he believed, however, that they would do so on May 5. He also explained that those men who had agreed to surrender had decided to change their pleas from guilty to not guilty.62

60Examiner, May 4, 1922, p. 17, c. 3.
61Times, May 2, 1922, p. 1, c. 1.
Three days later, d'Orr turned over to District Attorney Woolwine a list of twenty-eight names of men who admitted participation in the Inglewood raid.63 D'Orr emphasized, however, that the men maintained that they were not guilty of any legal or moral wrongdoing.64

On May 4, the Los Angeles Ministerial Union got into the act by adopting resolutions which condemned mob action, but placed the blame for the Inglewood incident at the feet of public officials who had not enforced the prohibition laws. The ministerial group demanded an immediate investigation of charges that the Elduayens were engaged in a bootlegging operation.65

A grand jury was sworn in on May 4 by Superior Court Judge Frederick W. Houser. The group was comprised of eighteen men and one woman, with R. W. George, an orange grower from Whittier, being selected as foreman.66 The grand jury investigation began on May 8, prefaced by a statement by Woolwine which read:

64Ibid.
The District Attorney's office is now in a position to place before the grand jury practically complete and positive evidence linking the Ku Klux Klan officially with the Inglewood outrage. 67

The first of a long series of witnesses to be called were members of the Elduayen family: Fidel, Mathias, Fidel's wife, and his two daughters, but the investigation and hearings ranged far beyond the incident of the Inglewood raid. 68

United States Commissioner Long, in the meantime, had issued warrants on May 8 for the arrest of the Elduayen brothers, on a charge of violation of the Volstead Act. The warrants were issued following sworn testimony from Klansmen Baker and Bryson to the effect that they had purchased liquor from the Elduayens on the night of April 22 (the night of the raid). Baker and Bryson produced several bottles of liquor which they said they obtained that evening as part of the raid and also gave the serial number of a ten dollar bill which they claimed they had given to the Elduayens as partial payment. 69

68 Examiner, May 9, 1922, p. 2, c. 1.
69 Times, May 9, 1922, p. 23, c. 5.
Two weeks later, United States Attorney Joseph Burke was approached by a group of twenty women from Inglewood, accompanied by Kleagle Baker and two other Klansmen. The group presented a written demand that Burke institute proceedings, under the Volstead Act, against the Elduayen brothers, regardless of the outcome of the grand jury investigation. Burke refused to comply with their demand, explaining he would not take any action which might interfere with the inquiry of the grand jury. Charges against the Elduayens were apparently dropped quietly later, as no trial was reported in subsequent months.

As the grand jury hearings on Klan activities continued, some very startling facts were made public. In the course of testimony it was revealed that the names of Los Angeles County Sheriff Traeger, Los Angeles Police Chief Louis Oaks, and United States Attorney Burke all appeared on Klan membership lists seized in the raid on Coburn's office. When questioned about this by the press, they provided some interestingly qualified replies. Traeger admitted joining the Klan, but said he had resigned two weeks after being

70Examiner, May 19, 1922, p. 3, c. 2.
admitted.\textsuperscript{71} Oaks, who had been a police sergeant at the time he applied for Klan membership, declared he had resigned on the same night in which he was admitted into the Invisible Empire.\textsuperscript{72} Both pleaded that they had been misinformed as to the true nature of the organization. Burke admitted he had submitted an application for membership a year earlier while he was engaged in private law practice in Santa Ana. But, he said, this was as far as it went, inasmuch as he was never initiated and didn’t attend a single Klan meeting. He then added:

\begin{quote}
I understood the Klan was simply an American plan to combat radical organizations . . . After I read of outrages in the South attributed to the Ku Klux Klan, I regretted having signed the application. I forgot the matter and when finally notified to appear in Los Angeles for an initiation, I threw the notice into the wastepaper basket. . . . Signing that application was as near as I ever got to being a Klansman.\textsuperscript{73}
\end{quote}

On May 13, while the hearings continued, it was revealed that a new national investigation of the Klan by the federal government was likely to result

\textsuperscript{71}\textit{Examiner}, May 10, 1922, p. 3, c. 4.

\textsuperscript{72}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{73}\textit{Californian}, May 13, 1922, p. 1, c. 4.
from the Los Angeles Grand Jury inquiry. Woolwine stated that he would recommend that the grand jury submit evidence given to it to federal officers, particularly that dealing with the Klan as a national organization.

The Klan struck back on that same day, when it was revealed that Miss Ida Wright Jones, formerly an investigator in District Attorney Woolwine's office, had sworn to an affidavit charging that she and Woolwine had been intimate over a period of several years. This deposition by Miss Jones followed upon her dismissal by Woolwine on May 2. As might be expected, the news of this sensational charge hit the front pages immediately. Woolwine at once countered by dispatching a letter to the Los Angeles County Civil Service Commission explaining his reasons for her dismissal. He charged that Miss Jones had approached him demanding a $10,000 "donation" and threatening to sell the affidavit to his political enemies for that amount if he refused. Miss Jones' attorneys, the firm of Schenck and Krittrelle, indicated that Miss Jones did not intend to initiate

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legal action against Woolwine.\textsuperscript{75}

Although no evidence was revealed to definitely establish that the Klan generously donated the $10,000 sum Miss Jones sought, it does follow that they had much to gain by discrediting the man who appeared to be the group's most dangerous political enemy in Southern California. The County Civil Service Commission decided to place the entire matter in the hands of the grand jury.\textsuperscript{76} Two months later, in July, the grand jury came to the conclusion that their examination into the case demonstrated that no further action was necessary.\textsuperscript{77}

Meanwhile, the grand jury, continuing through May and June, began the task of examining some one-hundred-and-fifty individuals whose names had appeared on Klan membership lists seized earlier. Among those questioned on the first day of the inquiry were the following: Albert Monroe, Inglewood Justice of the Peace; Thomas Hauna, Inglewood City Clerk; W. F. Crawford, City Engineer, Venice; Charles J. Brown, City Council Candidate, Venice; Lee Deardt, City

\textsuperscript{75}\textit{Examiner}, May 14, 1922, p. 1, c. 2.
\textsuperscript{76}\textit{Examiner}, May 15, 1922, p. 15, c. 6.
\textsuperscript{77}\textit{Examiner}, July 18, 1922, p. 2, c. 8.
Council candidate, Venice; George Cate, Mayor, Redondo Beach; John Henry, Chief of Police, Redondo Beach; H. G. Williams, Police Officer, Venice; and J. C. Barthel, Postmaster, Venice.

As the Klan's membership list was drawn into the hearings, resultant publicity brought other developments damaging to the Klan in California. On May 18, the Times stated that officials of several large corporations had requested that Woolwine grant them an opportunity to examine the Klan membership lists to determine if any of their employees were Klansmen. The executives explained that any employees whose names were contained on the lists would be given the option of resigning from the Klan or losing their jobs.

The final phase of the disintegration of the Klan in California was begun while the hearings in Los Angeles continued, with an announcement issued by Imperial Kleagle Clarke from Klan national headquarters in Atlanta. Clarke ordered the revocation of the commissions of all Kleagles in California and

78 Examiner, May 16, 1922, p. 3, c. 2.
79 Times, May 16, 1922, p. 4, c. 1.
80 Times, May 18, 1922, p. 21, c. 8.
declared that the position of Grand Goblin was abolished in all sections of the country, thereby forcing a reorganization of the Klan throughout the United States. 81 This action confirmed the rumors of a split in the state leadership of the Klan in California. The Los Angeles Klan, significantly, sent a telegram to Clarke asking for the retention of King Kleagle Price. 82 However, Clarke appointed Coburn as King Kleagle of California. 83

These indications of internal dissension, at the very time that the Klan was being threatened by the law and the courts, stirred local Klan officials to action in defense of the local organization. The Times on May 26, reported that the Klan was fearful of loss of its very existence in California, and that the order had retained the law firm of d'Orr and Abrahams to represent its interests and those of the Inglewood raiders. It was further indicated that the Klan was prepared to spend "hundreds of thousands of dollars" to preserve its existence in the state. 84

82 Ibid.
83 Times, May 26, 1922, p. 25, c. 2.
84 Ibid.
Ex-King Kleagle Price admitted, a few days later, that the Klan's membership drive in California had ground to a halt.85

To add insult to a mounting list of injuries, the Haas Realty Company, owners of the building in which the Klan headquarters in Los Angeles were located, now served notice that the lease on the office space terminated on May 30 and would not be renewed. Officials of the realty company stated that Coburn had represented himself as an attorney and had indicated that the office would be used as a law office. Since discovery of the true nature of the activities conducted there, the company was no longer interested in retaining Coburn as a tenant.86

Two days later, Deputy District Attorney Doran announced that Price had received a telegram from national Klan headquarters which promised to "give him another state" if he would peacefully relinquish his position in California.87 Price received another telegram from Coburn in Atlanta on the following day

86 Times, May 28, 1922, p. 1, c. 5.
87 Times, May 31, 1922, p. 21, c. 4.
which indicated that Coburn had either resigned or been ousted by national headquarters. Coburn's telegram stated: "Continue to report to me until June 3 when my connection with the Klan will be discontinued."\(^{88}\) Paul d'Orr, attorney for the Inglewood raiders, announced on June 3 that he had received a telegram from Clarke which officially removed Coburn and named Price as the new King Kleagle.\(^{89}\)

On June 3, the *Times* stated unequivocally (if prematurely) that the Pacific Domain of the Klan had crumbled. It reminded its readers that both Coburn and Price were now in Atlanta and that the only member of Klan officialdom remaining in the state was Kligrapp C. R. Isham, the chief bookkeeper of the organization.\(^{90}\)

Isham was called before the grand jury, on June 2, and there related details of the internal organization and activities of the Klan office in Los Angeles. Later he took detectives to his home and turned over to them official Klan files and records that had escaped the earlier raid on Coburn's office.

\(^{88}\) *Times*, June 2, 1922, p. 21, c. 1.

\(^{89}\) *Times*, June 4, 1922, p. 1, c. 6.

\(^{90}\) *Times*, June 3, 1922, p. 15, c. 3.
Deputy District Attorney Turney stated that these records were of great value in the investigation and that they included a new list of local Klan members as well as records of "donations" and Kleagle reports.\textsuperscript{91} The revelations from these records contributed materially to the embarrassment of public officers connected with the Klan and also added to the momentum of events adding up to the destruction of effective Klan influence in Southern California.

Among the records received from Kligrapp Isham was a signed application for membership in the Klan from Ralph L. Criswell, President of the Los Angeles City Council. Criswell denied he had submitted the application and charged that his signature had been forged, but he was one of the three city councilmen who earlier had voted against the council's consideration of an anti-mask ordinance.\textsuperscript{92} The \textit{Times} produced photographic copies of his signature on two public documents side-by-side with a photographic copy of the signature on the Klan application form.\textsuperscript{93} The

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{91}\textit{Ibid.}
\item \textsuperscript{92}\textit{Times}, June 6, 1922, p. 21, c. 7.
\item \textsuperscript{93}\textit{Times}, June 7, 1922, p. 23, c. 4.
\end{itemize}
three signatures appear to be identical.

When questioned by reporters, the two other council members who had voted with Criswell against the anti-mask ordinance, denied having any Klan affiliations. They said they were opposed to the ordinance as originally proposed by Councilman Mushet because it was too sweeping in nature and would endanger legitimate wearers of masks. Criswell, however, failed to indicate his reasons for opposing the ordinance.

The full council, by unanimous vote, ordered City Attorney Stephens to redraft the ordinance to protect legitimate wearers of masks.94 Stephens complied with this request, and on June 14 the city council adopted the ordinance which declared that wearers of masks on the public streets of Los Angeles would be subject to arrest and a penalty of a five hundred dollars and/or six months in the county jail. "Legitimate masking" was to be permitted, if a permit was first secured from the Board of Police Commissioners. Councilmen Allan and Langdon again voted in opposition to the ordinance, while Criswell was

94 Ibid.
conspicuously absent from the proceedings. 95

Meanwhile, on June 7 the grand jury returned indictments against forty-three individuals (thirty-seven listed by name and six "John Does") involved in the Inglewood affair. Each defendant was charged with two counts of false imprisonment, two counts of kidnapping, and one count of assault with a deadly weapon with intent to commit murder. The list of defendants included Coburn, Price and Baker. Trial was set for August 7. 96

Attorney d'Orr promised Judge Houser that he would produce the accused men (except Coburn and Price who were in Atlanta "consulting" with the national Klan leadership) the following morning, so the sheriff's office delayed serving the warrants. Deputy District Attorney Doran said he was certain that Price would return from Atlanta to face the charges against him and d'Orr agreed. All others concerned with this case stated, however, that they did not expect Coburn to return. Doran declared that if Coburn did not return voluntarily, he would initiate extradition

95*Times*, June 15, 1922, p. 25, c. 1.
96*Times*, June 8, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
proceedings. Coburn had left for Atlanta on May 15 and had not been seen since. It was reported that his connection with the Klan in California had been completely severed and that he was once again engaged in the practice of law in Atlanta. Reports indicated that he was continuing, however, to work with the Klan in that area.

On June 8, Coburn visited Governor Hardwick of Georgia in an effort to convince the governor to ignore threatened extradition proceedings against the former Grand Goblin. Coburn told the governor that he would be unable to receive a fair trial. Extradition papers were prepared calling for the return of Coburn and were then forwarded to Governor Stephens. However, on June 10, Imperial Kleagle Clarke announced that Coburn would return to Los Angeles voluntarily.

In Los Angeles, ex-Kleagle Baker attempted to jump from a window on the eleventh floor of the Hall of Records, but his suicide effort was thwarted by Walter Hunt, chief investigator in the district

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97 *Examiner*, June 8, 1922, p. 2, c. 1.
98 Ibid.
99 *Examiner*, June 9, 1922, p. 3, c. 5.
100 *Examiner*, June 11, 1922, p. 2, c. 4.
attorney's office and two nurses. Baker tried a second time very shortly afterward and, as a result, was placed under constant surveillance in the psychopathic ward of the county hospital. 101

Baker's bail had been set at $10,000 by Judge Houser in light of his attempted escapes, and though Baker made several attempts to have his bail reduced he met with very little success. Finally, bail was reduced to $5,000, but this had very little significance inasmuch as the prisoner could not raise this amount, either. 102 Eventually, California King Kleagle Price posted the $5,000 amount and Baker was released. 103 Out at last, he was quite unhappy with the Klan for allowing him to languish in jail while the other defendants were free. Baker consequently attempted to retain his own attorney, Fred H. Thompson, to represent his interests separately, but later relented and consented to join his case with that of the other defendants. 104

101 Examiner, June 9, 1922, p. 3, c. 5.
102 Times, June 16, 1922, p. 23, c. 2.
103 Times, June 21, 1922, p. 2, c. 4.
104 Times, June 15, 1922, p. 25, c. 1.
King Kleagle Price returned to Los Angeles on June 12, and, upon his arrival, informed *Times* reporter A. M. Rochlen that:

I am going to tell the Klansmen that rough stuff will not do. I am going to tell them that if anyone has joined the organization for that purpose, they joined under false representation and that unless they can get the spiritual meaning of Klansmanship, they had better resign.

Kleagles who have been pulling rough stuff will have to go. From now on I am boss and I intend to be boss. I see Coburn says he is coming back, but I don't believe it. But, at any rate, I will remain the boss. He told me two hours before I left Atlanta that he feared to return. He said he felt he had been tried and convicted in advance.105

Price appeared in Court, pleaded not guilty, and was released on $500 bond.106

Coburn returned to Los Angeles on June 19, accompanied by a Los Angeles County deputy sheriff who had met him in El Paso, Texas. He was taken before Judge Houser and charged as were the other defendants in the case. He pleaded not guilty and was released on $5,000 bail. His trial was set to

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105 *Times*, June 13, 1922, p. 23, c. 7.

106 *Examiner*, June 14, 1922, p. 13, c. 7.
coincide with that of the other raiders.\textsuperscript{107}

On June 29, Thomas A. McCarty, national auditor for the Ku Klux Klan, began an inspection of the records of the Pacific Domain of the Klan that were now housed in the district attorney's office. He explained that he wanted to examine the financial transactions of the domain, but failed to indicate the reason for the inspection.\textsuperscript{108}

On a sunny afternoon a few weeks before the trial was to begin, ex-Kleagle Baker was taking a brief rest on the beach at Ocean Park, when he heard a woman screaming for help. He dashed into the water and rescued Mrs. Claude Dumazert, a tourist from Arizona. Afterward, he collapsed and was hospitalized.\textsuperscript{109} This event was to have considerable significance in the trial that followed as Baker attempted to have his case postponed or dismissed on the grounds that his health had been weakened so greatly that he was unable to present his case adequately. He also attempted to solicit favorable public sympathy by frequently alluding to his heroic exploit during the trial.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{107}\textit{Californian}, June 19, 1922, p. 1, c. 5.
\item \textsuperscript{108}\textit{Examiner}, June 30, 1922, p. 2, c. 4.
\item \textsuperscript{109}\textit{Times}, July 13, 1922, p. 23, c. 2.
\end{itemize}
The trial of the defendants in the Inglewood case opened on August 7. The Elduayen family members were the first witnesses called to the stand. Fidel and Mathias described how they were dragged, partly clothed, from their home and driven about for two hours while being constantly threatened, and how they were finally released about six miles from their home.\textsuperscript{110} Bernando Elduayen, age thirteen, testified that masked intruders had forced her and her sister, Maria, age sixteen, to get out of bed, disrobe, and dress while the raiders remained in the room.\textsuperscript{111} Upon hearing this testimony, ex-Kleagle Baker became hysterical, collapsed in court, and was hospitalized. Dr. J. A. Gafford was called in to treat him and later testified that Baker had suffered a complete "nervous collapse" and would be unable to return to court for at least ninety days. The prosecution promptly requested that a commission of doctors examine Baker, and if they concurred in this opinion, a mistrial would be declared in Baker's case until he could return to court.\textsuperscript{112} But, the trial of the other thirty-six defendants was

\textsuperscript{110}\textit{Examiner}, August 10, 1922, p. 4, c. 4.
\textsuperscript{111}\textit{Californian}, August 11, 1922, p. 1, c. 2.
\textsuperscript{112}\textit{Ibid.}
to continue.\textsuperscript{113}

However, the Court, instead, appointed a single physician, Dr. Thomas J. Orbison, to examine Baker and report his findings. On August 14, Dr. Orbison testified that, in his opinion, Baker was recovering rapidly and would be able to return to court in a week. The prosecution then asked for an adjournment of one week which was granted over defense objections.\textsuperscript{114}

On the following day, Chief Deputy District Attorney William Doran charged that evidence concerning the Inglewood trial had disappeared from his office. He claimed that one missing document had found its way into the hands of the defense attorneys. Doran stated that he was unable to determine how the document was removed inasmuch as his office had been under guard since the seizure of the Klan records.\textsuperscript{115}

The trial re-opened, complete with the presence of Baker. The circus atmosphere which prevailed may be demonstrated by examining a report from a Chronicle correspondent. Attorney Paul d'Orr, chief defense

\textsuperscript{113}\textit{Californian}, August 12, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
\textsuperscript{114}\textit{Californian}, August 14, 1922, p. 1, c. 2.
\textsuperscript{115}\textit{Californian}, August 15, 1922, p. 1, c. 4.
counsel, had just questioned Walter Mosher, son of the slain constable M. B. Mosher. D'Orr declared that the only evidence which the prosecution had to sustain an indictment on a charge of assault with intent to commit murder was the fact that Walter Mosher returned Marshal Frank Woerner's fire after Woerner had shot and killed the elder Mosher. D'Orr continued in his address to the jury.

What did you think of that young man when he sat there and told in his simple language of his father's death? 116

The Chronicle continued:

Then the lawyer's voice broke and he covered his eyes with his handkerchief. Several of the defendants and two of the eight male jurors also sobbed, as well as many spectators. On the bench, Judge Frederick W. Houser was wiping his eyes. 117

In his closing argument, Deputy District Attorney Keyes conceded that the Elduayens had been bootlegging, but insisted this fact had nothing to do with the trial. 118

116 Chronicle, August 25, 1922, p. 9, c. 5.
117 Ibid.
118 Examiner, August 26, 1922, p. 1, c. 2.
When both the prosecution and defense attorneys had finished with their arguments, Judge Houser instructed the jury. In effect, he told them if liquor had been illegally sold by the Elduayens and if the arrests had been made in a lawful manner, the defendants must be found innocent of the charges. Judge Houser added that a constable, (referring to the slain M. B. Mosher) had the right to deputize anyone he wished to assist him in making an arrest and that he had as much right to deputize Klansmen as members of any other organization.\textsuperscript{119}

The jury deliberated for five hours and ten minutes before returning a verdict of not guilty on all charges.\textsuperscript{120} A great demonstration followed the reading of the verdict.

After shaking hands with the men and women who freed them from the accusations in the indictment, many of the defendants entered the judge's chambers and returned with large supplies of Judge Houser's campaign literature and posters.\textsuperscript{121}

The judge, it seems, was up for election to the Appellate

\textsuperscript{119}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{120}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{121}Times, August 26, 1922, p. 2, c. 5.
Court, a post which he later won.

In commenting on the outcome of the trial, the *Times* stated that the strongest arguments for the defense consisted of evidence that the Elduayens were bootlegging, and testimony which indicated that the slain Constable Mosher had discussed the raid with legal representatives of the county and with leading citizens of Inglewood.¹²² King Kleagle G. W. Price said:

> I am glad my fellow defendants and I are vindicated, both as individuals and as Klansmen. Our organization will continue to be law abiding as before.¹²³

In any case, there can be no doubt that this decision brought about at least a temporary rejuvenation in the ranks of the Ku Klux Klan in California.

However, even in the hour of the Klan's apparent vindication, the internecine struggle for control of the organization in California continued. On August 29, the San Pedro Klan announced it had disbanded because of dissatisfaction with Price and his policies. Actually, it was more a suspension of

¹²²Ibid.
¹²³*Examiner*, August 26, 1922, p. 1, c. 2.
activities, inasmuch as leaders of the San Pedro
Klan stated that the organization would resume its
normal functions as soon as a "housecleaning" was
accomplished, including the elimination of Price.
Price explained that the disagreement arose when he
removed the San Pedro Exalted Cyclops because he had
wanted to use the Klan for political purposes. Price
had also fired a Kleagle because his work was
"irregular". 124 The Times stated a belief that this
argument was simply one part of the Price-Coburn
struggle for power. 125

On September 15, Price applied to Sheriff
Traeger for a permit to carry a revolver, explaining
that a "nearby Klan" had ordered him to leave
California within three days and that he had no
intention of leaving. He added that his life was in
great danger. The sheriff, however, told Price that
he did not wish to become involved in a "family
quarrel" and denied the request. 126

The Klan in California was now definitely split
into two camps, i.e. those who supported Price and

124 Times, August 30, 1922, p. 19, c. 7.
125 Ibid.
126 Californian, September 15, 1922, p. 1, c. 6.
those who opposed him. Late in 1924, the insurgent Klan organization filed petitions to restrain Price and his associates from using the name "Ku Klux Klan" or representing themselves as its agents.127

Although declining, perhaps, the Klan was not dead by any means. On December 9, 1922 a Klan initiation ceremony was conducted near Venice in which nearly five hundred initiates were ushered into the Invisible Empire.128

In May of 1923, Upton Sinclair, who had played a prominent part in the Los Angeles Longshoremen's strike, received a note which read:

Have your number. You will be calling for the police and "constitutional rights" when we get busy. You traitor to America.

(Signed) K.K.K. Pasadena129

Nearly a year later, the Klan demonstrated that it was still very much alive in the Los Angeles region. On the evening of March 1, 1924, approximately three thousand Klansmen marched through the streets of San Pedro and encircled an Industrial Workers of the

127Chronicle, November 11, 1924, p. 8, c. 5.
World meeting hall as a demonstration against what they termed "un-Americanism". As the Klansmen passed the hall, those inside began singing "Solidarity Forever" and other union songs. The marching Klansmen carried signs and banners, one of which read: "We are Americans. If you don't like the country, get out."

There is some evidence which indicates that the Klan was also active in other Southern California communities outside the Los Angeles metropolitan area. In Santa Barbara, for example, the Klan membership list received from Woolwine contained eleven names. Three of the men had already left town when the list was released, and the other eight stated that they had not signed membership applications, but had merely signed requests for literature after being informed by two smooth-talking organizers that most of the Masons in town had joined. All of the eight men were residents of good standing, so their stories were given credence. However, the Elks Lodge in Santa Barbara adopted a resolution condemning the Klan and recommending that Elks not affiliate with the Klan.

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130 *Chronicle*, March 2, 1924, p. 56, c. 5.
131 *Times*, May 19, 1922, p. 22, c. 7.
132 *Times*, May 18, 1922, p. 21, c. 8.
An interesting story concerning the rise and fall of the Klan in San Diego was revealed by a Times reporter, A. M. Rochlen, who was given a unique opportunity to examine the complete minutes of the San Diego Klan meetings. The San Diego Klan was given provisional existence in October of 1921 by a youthful Kleagle who had arrived in town one month earlier. He recruited members mostly by misrepresentation, i.e. telling prospects that other prominent men or members of prominent fraternal groups were already members and listing their names as officers of the organization. The Kleagle took the accumulation of ten-dollar initiation fees to Mexico where he lost it on the horses. However, the local Klan saved him by taking up a collection to restore the funds. On October 20, 1921 a motion was made and adopted to pay the Kleagle a flat salary of $200 per month. The Kleagle now planted himself in a soft chair at the local Klan headquarters and waited for new members to come to him. In a November 30 meeting of the Klan, a motion was made to devise ways of raising funds, cutting expenses, and ending the dissension in the organization which was primarily due to dissatisfaction over the inactivity of the organizer. On December 8, the San Diego Klan
voted to discontinue the headquarters office in the Spreckels Building, and on the following day the Kleagle left town. Later, local Klansmen took up a collection to help his wife and child leave San Diego to join him. The members of the Klan discovered that the departed Kleagle had accepted ten-dollar initiation fees from a bootlegger and others involved in activities not consistent with the Klan creed.

Seven members of the San Diego Klan, described as leading citizens, all of whom had long residence in San Diego, said they had joined the Klan because they understood it was to be a political organization and that it would use the ballot, not violence, to attain its objectives. Early in February of 1922, these seven and a few other members met together and decided to leave the Klan. The final meeting of the San Diego Klan was held on February 21, 1922. The resignation of the Exalted Cyclops, L. E. French, was read and accepted. No attempt was made to elect a successor. A motion to the effect that "all regular meetings of the Klan be postponed indefinitely" was proposed and unanimously adopted. And, so, ended the San Diego Klan. 133

133 *Times*, May 19, 1922, p. 1, c. 5.
There was also considerable Klan activity in the Imperial Valley. On May 2, Los Angeles County District Attorney Woolwine announced that the Klan membership lists he had seized included the names of a number of police officials in El Centro, Imperial and Calexico. An investigation was begun almost immediately. The inquiry revealed some interesting information. The Klan organizer for the Imperial Valley had been H. R. Pitts, who had since departed for parts unknown. Most of the members of the El Centro Klan had resigned following the Inglewood raid. The membership list as forwarded by Kleagle Pitts to headquarters in Los Angeles revealed that many of the outstanding members of the community held positions of leadership in the Klan. The same thing could be said of the Calexico Klan. On July 7, 1922 Secretary T. D. McCall of the Imperial Valley Taxpayers Association wrote a letter to California Attorney-General Webb, demanding that he "take over" the local

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134 *Times*, May 2, 1922, p. 2, c. 4.
136 *Times*, June 2, 1922, p. 22, c. 1., (See Appendix for listing)
137 *Ibid.*, (List included in Appendix)
district attorney's office and conduct an investigation of the Klan. District Attorney Simon denied allegations that he was shielding Klan members, however.\textsuperscript{138}

A few days later, during the trial of a Mexican-American woman, defense attorney Frank Birkhauser challenged the entire venire panel of jurors on the grounds that Deputy Sheriffs Sammy Griffin and Harold Barker had handpicked the jurors from among members of the Klan. Birkhauser pointed out that the names of twenty of the twenty-five prospective jurors had been found on the Klan membership lists seized in Los Angeles. Judge Franklin J. Cole refused to dismiss the panel. Birkhauser questioned each as to membership in the Klan, and asked each man whether such membership imposed obligations which would prevent him from giving a Roman Catholic foreigner a fair trial. Each replied that they could give such a person a fair trial, and the judge did not excuse them. Birkhauser used all his pre-emptory challenges very quickly and so the trial proceeded.\textsuperscript{139}

These foregoing miscellaneous incidents are all that remain in the published record of the Klan.

\textsuperscript{138} \textit{Times}, July 8, 1922, p. 1, c. 3.
\textsuperscript{139} \textit{Times}, July 11, 1922, p. 1, c. 1.
in Southern California in these years. However, a pattern had been established which was to be repeated as the Klan moved into other areas of California. Early organizing efforts brought forth a tremendous growth in membership, followed closely by greatly increased Klan activity. It was not long before newspaper accounts of this activity brought the Klan to the attention of the general public and anti-Klan public officials began investigation and prosecution of members of the order. Membership dwindled rapidly as Klansmen were unmasked and their deeds uncovered. In addition, factionalism within the authorized Klan organization, itself, and the emergence of rival Klan groups, not recognized by the national organization, greatly contributed to the rapid end of the Klan as a major social and political force, even though the organization continued to exist in California for many years.

The California Klan gasped its first breath of life in the sunny southland where a conservative political and social climate provided an excellent seedbed upon which its principles grew and flourished. From there, the tentacles of Klanism spread northward until they eventually infected all of California and the entire Pacific Coast region.
CHAPTER II
KERN COUNTY KLAN ACTIVITIES

The strikes in the oil fields of Kern County during much of 1921 set the stage for a long period of lawlessness and vigilante justice. The oil field operators had attempted to institute a general pay cut among oil field workers, stating that since the lucrative government contracts had ended, they could no longer afford to pay the premium wages which prevailed during wartime. The workers, backed by determined union leadership which allegedly included some I.W.W. organizers, balked at this proposal, and the result was a stand-off resulting in a power-play showdown marked by violence and bloodshed on both sides. Tension mounted in the local communities as both factions girded for the fight, and outside influences, invited and uninvited - including the Klan - compounded the confusion which pervaded the conflict.

In late September, 1921, the notoriously anti-union Los Angeles Times stated that civil government in the Kern County oil district was completely in the hands of the striking oil workers. All the legal
machinery of the law, both executive and judicial, had been usurped by the union strike committee. Officials of the National Oil Workers Union had become the governmental executive authority, while local strike committees in Taft, Maricopa, Fellows, McKittrick, Coalinga, Los Hills and Bakersfield had become the acting judicial authority. The "strikers army" allegedly consisted of some 2,500 men who were officered by approximately 450 former service men.¹ The Times stated that each of these war veterans had been sworn in for double duty as a deputy constable of his county and a city marshal of his community, and that their actions were supported by state and local law. This arrangement was said to have the official approval of Judge C. G. Noble of the Taft Recorder's Court and of other public officials throughout the strike district.²

The strikers' army had thrown up a line around the oil district, stopping cars and asking occupants why they were there. If no "good reason" was given, the car was refused entry into the area. This was

¹Los Angeles Times, September 20, 1921, p. 1, c. 6. (Hereafter cited as Times.)
²Ibid.
done ostensibly to keep out "troublemakers", but the actual reason was, obviously, to prevent the entrance of strike-breaking "scabs". ³ The California Oil Producers Association, representing the owners in this dispute, were naturally opposed to this arrangement, charging that the strikers had illegally usurped governmental powers. ⁴ The San Francisco Chronicle joined the Los Angeles Times in its criticism with a strongly-worded editorial which also denounced this system. ⁵

Martin Madsen, Governor Stephens' executive secretary, was sent to Bakersfield to investigate the situation. While there, he spoke to a group of strike leaders and also consulted with District Attorney Jesse R. Dorsey. Apparently as a result of this talk, Dorsey announced he would enforce an order prohibiting anyone but regularly constituted law officers from carrying firearms. He also declared that he and Kern County Sheriff Newell were investigating reports of

³Times, September 21, 1921, p. 1, c. 4.
⁴Ibid.
⁵San Francisco Chronicle, September 21, 1921, p. 2, c. 3. (Hereafter cited as Chronicle.)
shootings and other acts of violence which had occurred recently.  

A few days after first reports appeared in the press, the strike issues became clarified somewhat. Walter Yarrow, the legal adviser of the strikers, indicated in a statement to the Times that the strikers wanted "... the government signature upon a contract as a guarantee that wages in the oilfields will not be cut for a period of one year below the dollar-a-day cut recently put into effect. We are willing and ready to return to work if this is done."\footnote{Ibid.}  
The oil companies contended, on the other hand, that labor agreements which existed during the previous four years had resulted from wartime expediency; they now declared that each employer had the right to negotiate any agreements with his own employees without bowing to dictates from either unions or government boards.\footnote{Ibid.} If thus clearly drawn at first, the issues were soon muddied by the intrusion of many extraneous elements.

In November the Bakersfield Daily Californian

\footnote{\textit{Times}, September 26, 1921, p. 15, c. 8.}
\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}}
\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}}
reported that I.W.W. agitators were beginning to appear in Kern County to exploit the labor problems, and asserted that "citizens vigilante committees" composed of many leading citizens were being formed in Taft, McKittrick, Los Hills, Belridge, and other oil field towns to preserve law and order. The strike was eventually settled, but not until the stage for vigilante justice was set, into which setting the Klan appeared almost predictably to exploit and complicate the tension-filled situation.

The first publicized reports of Ku Klux Klan activities in the Kern County area appeared in the Bakersfield Daily Californian on February 21, 1922. A small article on page one indicated that the district attorney's office was investigating an alleged attack by Klansmen upon a Taft resident, one Eli Andrews. The San Francisco Examiner on the following day carried a similar story, apparently forwarded by its Fresno correspondent. District Attorney Dorsey pledged a thorough investigation of a series of attacks committed by bands of hooded men who claimed to be

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9 Bakersfield Daily Californian, October 10, 1921, p. 1, c. 1. (Hereafter cited as Californian.)

10 Californian, February 21, 1922, p. 1, c. 4.
Klansmen. He reported that his office had received numerous complaints of outrages in addition to the one submitted by Andrews.¹¹

Taft City Marshal Munsey informed the Examiner that printed warnings bearing the heading "Ku Klux Klan" had been distributed in Taft shortly before the assault on Andrews. No other similar cases had arisen in Taft, Munsey said, and added that he had no information regarding a local organization of the Klan.¹²

The Examiner reporter went further and came up with some background information on the victim of the attack, Eli Andrews. Andrews was a taxi driver who had been previously arrested and fined for bootlegging and selling narcotics. Following a more recent scrape with the law, Andrews had his driver's license revoked. He also had served a six-month term in the Kern County jail on a charge of vagrancy. According to the Examiner, Andrews had remained in Taft following the alleged attack on him and had not been attacked again.¹³

¹¹San Francisco Examiner, February 22, 1922, p. 13, c. 4. (Hereafter cited as Examiner.)
¹²Ibid.
¹³Ibid.
The investigation touched off by the attack and its consequent publicity soon brought more information to light. Ten days later the Californian reported that a cursory investigation by the District Attorney's office revealed that beatings had been administered by Klansmen upon several local residents, one individual had been tarred and feathered, and more than a score of citizens had received warnings. The Californian on March 4 named names and related details:

(1) George N. Bowman, Maricopa druggist, had been beaten with ropes, dragged through a sump, tarred and feathered, and ordered to leave town within two weeks.

(2) Dr. J. R. Mason, osteopath, had been taken from his home and beaten with spiked clubs and ropes.

(3) Reverend Van Dyke Todd, pastor of the Baptist Tabernacle Church in Fellows, reported receiving two anonymous communications signed "KKK". The first warned against further sermons on the subject of lawlessness and the second commended him for these same sermons.

(4) Guy Mensch, garage operator of Fellows,
reported someone had inserted a sign in the show window of his garage which read "We have your number, one of us will get you; watch your step."

(5) Robert Jackson, a butcher from Fellows, allegedly received a threatening letter signed "Ku Klux Klan". He promptly left the area.

(6) Oscar Richardson, oil field driller, received an anonymous letter which accused him of being an "inveterate card player" and warning him against further gambling. Richardson sold his home at a reported $2,000 loss and hurriedly left the area.

(7) Manuel Pina, a drug store employee, reported that a group of men wearing hoods attempted to lure him from the drug store where he was employed to an auto parked outside. Pina stated he escaped by leaving the store by a back door and intimidating men he found there with a gun.\textsuperscript{14}

While reporting the above incidents, the Californian also interviewed Harry Morgan, the mayor of Taft, who stated: "There is without any doubt a well organized Ku Klux Klan in the district, comprising perhaps 100 members and including all classes of

\textsuperscript{14}Californian, March 4, 1922, p. 1, c. 1.
citizens." In revealing the District Attorney's findings and quoting other local officials, the Californian also indicated that at least four agents of the U. S. Department of Justice were then present in Kern County to investigate Klan activities.16

The Los Angeles Times of the same date listed the outrages committed by Klan bands, and stated that the activity of Kern County Klans had reached their climax coincident with the passage of new county and city ordinances against bootlegging and gambling. The Taft ordinances on these subjects became effective on February 25; on or about that date the number of warnings increased, said the Times. Although no newspapers in the oil district had previously published stories of the outrages, the news of the beatings and warnings had spread rapidly through the area. Many of those who received warnings requested and received permission to carry guns to protect themselves.17

The San Francisco Chronicle concurrently reported the presence of federal investigators in Kern County, and indicated that the Post Office

15Ibid.
16Ibid.
17Times, March 4, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
Department was pushing the investigation because the alleged Klansmen had been using the mails in sending out their warnings. The Chronicle stated that "a score of persons" had left the district mysteriously during the previous month, allegedly upon command of the Ku Klux Klan. About fifty others had received threatening letters, including the mayor of Taft. Eli Andrews had ignored a second warning to leave the district and was reported to have "mysteriously disappeared." 18

In the midst of this first flurry of publicity and reports of pending investigations, the Klan made its traditional gesture of identification with religion and morality. On the evening of March 5, five cars carrying hooded Klansmen arrived at the Baptist Tabernacle at Fellows. Three members of the group entered the church in the midst of the service, marched to the pulpit and announced that they supported the minister, the Reverend Van Dyke Todd, presumably for his previous denunciations of bootlegging, drinking and gambling. Handing him an envelope containing fifteen dollars, which they said was a donation to the church fund "to

18 Chronicle, March 5, 1922, p. 10, c. 6.
aid in the good fight", the men then left the church.\textsuperscript{19}

The Chronicle's account of this church visitation indicated that the attitude of the three spokesmen of the group was one of "extreme courtesy and friendliness". The congregation was upset considerably by the appearance of the Klansmen in their church, but, according to the reporter: "The excitement subsided, however, as soon as the good will of the white-robed visitors was manifested and this spirit was generally reciprocated, it was declared, when the trio departed."\textsuperscript{20}

The alleged Klan communications to the Reverend Mr. Todd, mentioned earlier, were explained to the Chronicle's man, and presented the possibility of more than one local group purporting to represent the Klan. The first letter had warned him to discontinue sermons against lawlessness in the oil fields or "dire punishment" would befall him. The second letter, received a few days later, commended him on his stand against the "open town" element and stated that the Klan had no connection with the first

\textsuperscript{19}Californian, March 6, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.

\textsuperscript{20}Chronicle, March 7, 1922, p. 1, c. 5.
warning he had received.\footnote{Ibid.}

In quick response to the suggestion of misuse of the Klan's name in Kern County, Grand Goblin Coburn announced in Los Angeles on March 8 that he would go to the oil district sometime in the near future to investigate those activities attributed to the Klan. Coburn stated his certainty that Klansmen were not responsible for the troubles, as they were sworn to uphold the law and support officers of the law. He declared he would publicly announce his findings following his investigation. Coburn added that the Klan had approximately 3,000 members in Kern County.\footnote{Chronicle, March 9, 1922, p. 4, c. 1.}

Next day the \textit{Californian} flatly declared that there was more than one secret organization operating in Kern County. The two organizations were identified as the Ku Klux Klan and the "Black Beauties", and the newspaper further attempted to identify which of the groups was responsible for the various acts of lawlessness committed in recent weeks. In the case of Doctor Mason, the Taft osteopath who was severely beaten by a group of hooded men, it was the Klan that was responsible.
The Klan was also declared to be responsible for the various printed warnings and letters received in recent weeks. However, the Californian attributed the beating of Eli Andrews to the Black Beauties, and stated that the first letter received by the Reverend Todd of Fellows was also the work of this group. The beating of George Bowman of Maricopa was declared to be part of a personal feud which involved neither of these two groups.\textsuperscript{23} The paper failed to list the source of this information, however.

In addition to assigning blame for past outrages, the Californian went on to list another previously unreported incident involving the Klan. A group of twelve Klansmen in full regalia had "visited" Mrs. Mary Barnes of Taft on March 3 and advised her that her presence in Taft was no longer desired. She was given twenty-four hours to leave town; she left the next morning for Los Angeles.\textsuperscript{24} Her reputation as a "loose woman" had, apparently, triggered the Klan action.

Once the lid was lifted on previously unreported incidents involving the Klan and rival secret organizations, a veritable rash of new mob activities and

\textsuperscript{23}Californian, March 9, 1922, p. 1, c. 5.
\textsuperscript{24}Ibid.
counter activities of these and other organizations seems to have been triggered in early March.

On March 8, the Bakersfield police announced that Jean Eyraud, an East Bakersfield businessman, had received a threatening warning signed "K.K.K." Chief of Police Charles H. Stone stated that six other residents of Bakersfield had received similar warnings. Chief Stone declared his belief that these were the first such warning letters received in Bakersfield since Klan activities were first reported in Kern County. Stone refused to divulge the names of the six persons who received these warnings, stating that he didn't believe the warnings emanated from the Ku Klux Klan. He failed to indicate his reasons for this belief.25

On March 9, the Chronicle reported that the residents of Maricopa had organized a vigilante committee, composed of a number of leading citizens, to protect themselves against night riders, whatever they might call themselves.26 The report also revealed that Eli Andrews had left Taft at the urging of his mother and sister, and had not "mysteriously

\[25 \text{Chronicle, March 9, 1922, p. 4, c. 1.}\]

\[26 \text{Ibid.}\]
disappeared" as the Chronicle had reported earlier. It appears that Andrews was not molested a second time.

The Californian now further reported on March 9 that additional citizens had incurred the wrath of the Klan. Pete Angeles, of Bakersfield, received a warning advising him to "turn over a new leaf" or else. Night riders visited a home on "Sixth Street in Taft" on March 2 and informed two women and one man that they must leave the city. (The police authorities refused to divulge their names.) C. H. Williams, of Taft, received a threatening warning through the mails and the federal government later investigated this incident because of the involvement with the mail.27

That same day, a warning note was received by A. M. Keene, of Taft, owner and chief editor of the local newspaper, the Midway Driller. The note, also addressed to E. W. Callender, managing editor of the newspaper, read as follows:

Mr. A. M. Keene, editor of the Midway Driller,
Mr. Callender, managing editor:

Let this be a warning to you and to all those connected with your

27Californian, March 9, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
office and your correspondence, (sic) which means those who send out reports from the fields.

We don't want more such reports as have been sent out and insist that you take unto yourselves that silence is golden.

If you do not heed this warning, we will be compelled to deal with you as we have dealt with others.

(Signed) K.K.K.

The letter was mailed from Los Angeles and postmarked March 8.28 The Driller promptly published it on page one. In reporting this incident, the San Francisco Chronicle also noted that the Klan and the Black Beauties bitterly opposed each other and that open warfare between the two groups in Kern County was expected at any time.29

On the following day the Driller received a letter written on a Klan letterhead and bearing purported official seals of the Klan. The letter was again addressed to Keene and Callender and read as follows:

We note the so-called K.K.K. letter published in your paper this

28Chronicle, March 10, 1922, p. 1, c. 4.
29Ibid.
date, the 9th inst. (sic). We beg
to advise you and all others who
receive letters which are supposed
to come from us that unless they are
written upon this letterhead they
are not genuine. There are not (sic)
fingerprints on this letter which you
may turn over to little pyles or the
Fresno Screech.

(Signed) Taft Klan No. 3,
Ku Klux Klan,
Realm of California

The letter was apparently in response to an open
letter to the Klan published by the Midway Driller,
carrying the text of the threatening letter received
by the editors and asking the Klan to clarify its
stand on night rider activities. In the subsequent
wave of identified Klan and other "vigilance committee"
activities, a confused scene unfolded which to this
day is not readily deciphered as to the identity of
all the various groups involved, Klan, pro-Klan, anti-
Klan, and "rival Klan".

Disturbing news stories continued to filter out
of Kern County. One such item confirmed the report
that citizens of Maricopa had organized shotgun squads
in order to protect themselves from the night riders.
In an open declaration to the Klan, Maricopa's Chief

30 The Times, March 11, 1922, p. 15, c. 2.
of Police Stebbins stated that if anyone was required to "look after" the morals of Maricopa, he would be the one. He also ordered the shotgun squads to disband. 31

In Taft, one businessman, who had been "visited" by the Klan, announced he had organized his friends into a "six-shooter society" that would open fire on any night riders who attempted to molest them. One reporter indicated that a visit to this man's office revealed an arsenal containing "enough arms to attack and destroy a regiment." 32

Also from Taft came a report that a taxi driver, D. L. Foote, had been arrested and jailed on charges of vagrancy and assault and battery. Shortly afterward, the jail was surrounded by a group of Klansmen who demanded that the jailer turn Foote over to them. He refused and the group left. However, Foote was taken to the county jail at Bakersfield for safekeeping. He was then released on $2,500 bail. 33

A Kern County grand jury began an investigation of Klan activities in the county on March 10, 1922. On that date, six of the eighteen witnesses

31 Times, March 10, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
subpoenaed did not appear. Among those missing were Eli Andrews and A. C. Bowman, both alleged Klan victims, and Deputy Marshal C. E. Arnold.\textsuperscript{34} The Grand Jury adjourned without making a report since the testimony of the six missing witnesses was essential to the initiation of hearings in the case. Kern County Attorney J. R. Dorsey and Grand Jury Foreman C. A. Melcher declined to comment on the possible whereabouts of the missing witnesses, but rumor held that they had fled to San Diego to prevent retaliation from the Klan.\textsuperscript{35} The \textit{Chronicle} editorialized as follows:

\begin{quote}
Everywhere the opinion was expressed that fear of possible vengeance at the hands of the night riders was responsible for the failure of these witnesses to appear and testify. Two of the missing witnesses are said already to have suffered at the hands of the raiders. . . . So thoroughly are the people of the county cowed by the tactics of the mysterious riders that it is next to impossible even to get an expression of opinion.\textsuperscript{36}
\end{quote}

One outstanding exception was John Pyles, a Taft private detective who appeared before the grand jury and reported he had been harassed by the Klan.

\textsuperscript{34}\textit{Californian}, March 10, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
\textsuperscript{35}\textit{Chronicle}, March 11, 1922, p. 1, c. 3.
\textsuperscript{36}\textit{Ibid.}
because "certain interests" had asked him to investigate the Klan in the area.\(^\text{37}\)

Witnesses who did appear before the grand jury on the opening day of its investigation into the Klan included the customary list of notable and unnotable local citizens and public officials of the community, just as in the Los Angeles hearings. Among them were the Reverend Van Dyke Todd of Fellows, Constable John Cauval of Taft, Mayor Harry Morgan of Taft, Deputy Marshal E. G. Higgins of Taft, and Justice of the Peace D. D. Haggerty of Maricopa.\(^\text{38}\) Others under subpoena included: C. A. Bowman, Maricopa druggist and recent Klan victim; Eli Andrews, also a victim; Deputy Marshal C. E. Arnold of Taft; Sheriff D. B. Newell of Bakersfield, Maricopa City Marshal H. I. Stebbins; and Taft City Marshal Porter Munsey.\(^\text{39}\)

Meanwhile, additional reports of Klan outrages continued to filter in. In Taft, Joe Burnett was forced to fire several shots through the door of his home to drive off a gang of Klansmen.\(^\text{40}\)

\(^{37}\)Ibid.

\(^{38}\)Ibid.

\(^{39}\)Ibid.

\(^{40}\)Ibid.
Coalinga, word came that two prominent citizens (names not listed) had received warnings from the Klan, in the first report of Klan activities there.\(^{41}\) A Bakersfield man received a warning note written on official Klan stationery which ordered him to leave the city within twenty-four hours. He refused to comply and received a threatening telephone message when his "time was up" stating that dire consequences would result if he refused to obey the order.\(^{42}\)

On March 10, Grand Goblin Coburn made his long promised trip to Taft to investigate the situation after receiving a message from Kern County Klan officials that his visit was urgently needed.\(^{43}\)

In the March 12 and March 13 issues of the Chronicle, there was considerable discussion of the group known as the "Black Beauties" which supposedly was rivaling the Klan in Kern County. On March 12, it was again reported that the possibility of open warfare between the Klan and the "Black Beauties" loomed large. A secret meeting of the Klan was scheduled to be held in East Bakersfield on March 11 at which time Coburn

\(^{41}\)Ibid.

\(^{42}\)Californian, March 11, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.

\(^{43}\)Chronicle, March 11, 1922, p. 2, c. 1.
was to appear. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss possible action against their rivals.\textsuperscript{44} On the following day, the \textit{Chronicle} reported that the Klan and Black Beauties were watching each other closely. The Klan was still denying responsibility for the outrages committed by armed and hooded bands in recent weeks. The report stated that Coburn was supposed to be in the area, but his actual whereabouts remained a secret.\textsuperscript{45}

The \textit{Chronicle} then proceeded to once again, do a good deal of editorializing. It stated that in the communities of Kern County, very little credence was being given to the Klan protestations of innocence and that the consensus of opinion was that the Klan was primarily responsible for the reign of terror in Kern County. It added that the energetic, if somewhat belated, action of the grand jury to fix responsibility for the recent outrages had provided the impetus for the sudden attempt of the Klansmen to pose as simply eager advocates of justice and morality. The report concluded:

\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Chronicle}, March 12, 1922, p. 43, c. 7.
\textsuperscript{45} \textit{Chronicle}, March 13, 1922, p. 1, c. 3.
More than a little criticism has been leveled at the District Attorney and other county authorities because of what has been termed their tardy and half-hearted efforts at running down the perpetrators of outrages in the Kern County oil districts. It has been openly hinted in Taft and Bakersfield that possible political ambitions hitherto have deterred the District Attorney from making an active and energetic investigation and bringing the guilty persons to trial.

These rumors and criticisms were put straight up to Dorsey today. He denied that political ambitions had in any way, influenced his action, or lack of action, in the matter.46

A. M. Keene and E. W. Callender, the Taft newsmen who had been threatened by the Klan, issued another open challenge to the Klan to come out into the open and declare exactly the organization's position on lawless actions.47

On March 22, the management of the Frank and King Theater in Taft announced from the stage that the next play to be presented would be entitled "The Ku Klux Klan". Following the announcement, the manager was visited by two representatives of the Taft Klan who demanded that a private rehearsal be given

46 Chronicle, March 12, 1922, p. 43, c. 7.
47 Ibid.
before representatives of the Klan prior to a public appearance. The management agreed to this demand and set March 24 and 25 as the date of the private showing and the public appearance at March 27, 28 and 29.\textsuperscript{48} Apparently the Klan disapproved of the play as the public showing never took place.

In an apparent attempt to demonstrate the high moral principles of the Klan, a group of men were reported to have visited the home of W. A. Barner in South Taft and left a supply of groceries with a note on Klan stationery. Barner's wife had died around the first week of March, leaving six children and her husband. The note informed Barner that all the medical bills accumulated during his wife's illness had been paid and that the Klan would be glad to assist him in any other way. If he wished further assistance, all he needed to do was inform his friends and the Klan would assist him in providing for his children.\textsuperscript{49}

However, the other side of the Klan image soon reasserted itself as more reports of Klan mob action were received. Jesse A. Maschnot, an employee of the

\textsuperscript{48}\textit{Californian}, March 22, 1922, p. 7, c. 7.
\textsuperscript{49}\textit{Californian}, March 22, 1922, p. 7, c. 7.
F. A. Kamline store in Bakersfield, reported receiving a warning note signed "K.K.K." However, local Klan officials had, some weeks earlier, stated that warning notes did not emanate from the Klan unless they were written on official Klan stationery. As this note did not contain the official Klan letterhead, Chief of Police Stone stated he did not believe the Klan was involved.\(^{50}\)

Next came a report that Department of Justice officials were probing a complaint that Klan bands were ordering Japanese farmers to vacate their property. One report alleged that M. Komaki, a melon grower of Delano in Kern County, was visited on March 5 by six men who ordered him to leave the county by April 1. A similar report alleged that N. Kobayashi, of Orsi in Kern County, received a similar warning on March 22. In both cases, the bands of men claimed to represent the Fresno Klan.\(^{51}\)

On April 8 came a report that George Pettye had been taken from his home in South Taft and beaten severely by a band of ten hooded men. He had previously

\(^{50}\) _Californian_, March 24, 1922, p. 6, c. 2.

\(^{51}\) _Examiner_, April 2, 1922, p. 13, c. 1.
received two warnings from the Klan, ordering him to cease his association with a local girl. (Her name was not given.) After the beating was administered, Pettye was ordered to stay in Taft but to tell the unnamed girl to leave town within twenty-four hours. He chose, however, to leave the area himself, and the girl was left behind to face the band.\footnote{52}

On the evening of April 10, seven automobiles, loaded with hooded and masked Klansmen, kidnapped C. Haight, of Fellows, and whisked him out of town. The band gave him a lecture which warned him to seek employment, but did not subject him to physical abuse. Haight reported the incident to Marshal John Chavul of Fellows who filed a report with the county sheriff's office.\footnote{53}

Later that evening, the same band of men visited the home of Gus Schoenfeldt, a Fellows druggist, who greeted them with a loaded shotgun. The men left hurriedly without making the motive for their visit public. Schoenfeldt stated he had not received any warnings and had no idea why the Klan visited him.\footnote{54}

\footnote{52}{\textit{Californian,} April 8, 1922, p. 2, c. 6.}  
\footnote{53}{\textit{Chronicle,} April 12, 1922, p. 1, c. 2.}  
\footnote{54}{\textit{Ibid.}}
Also that evening the band dragged Walter Hyat, an automobile accessories dealer in Taft, from his home and beat him severely. Hyat stated that he was taken to a place about two miles from Fellows, stripped, beaten with knotted ropes, and forced to walk back to his home in his bare feet. He said he hadn't received any warnings prior to the beating. 

In the nearby town of Coalinga, three recently elected members of the city council received letters signed "K.K.K." which warned them to leave town or resign. The three were identified as Burton Boyle, R. C. Baker and W. E. Whittington, all of whom were scheduled to take office on April 16. The letters were crudely written on ordinary stationery so the police expressed doubt that this was really the work of the Klan. 

John Pyles, the Taft private detective who was waging a kind of one man war on the Klan, was beaten severely by a band of Klansmen in a rural area near Maricopa on the night of April 17. Pyles appeared

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55 *Examiner*, April 13, 1922, p. 15, c. 7.
56 *Californian*, April 14, 1922, p. 9, c. 8.
57 *Californian*, April 18, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
before the Grand Jury on April 26 and related the full details of the assault upon him and information relating to his investigation of terrorism in the district in the past several months. 58

Kern County District Attorney Dorsey traveled to Los Angeles to check evidence seized in the raid on Coburn's office. While in Los Angeles, he sent word that he was preparing an anti-Klan ordinance which he would ask the County Board of Supervisors to enact at their meeting on May 1. He added that similar ordinances would be presented for adoption by Boards of Trustees and city councils in incorporated cities of Kern County. 59

On April 28, the district attorney's office announced that three men were arrested that day in connection with the grand jury investigation of the Klan. Dorsey refused, however, to divulge their names. 60 On the following day, the identities of the three men were revealed. They were: Elmer C. Collison, a thirty-two year old carpenter who had lived in Bakersfield for nine years after moving there from

58 Examiner, April 27, 1922, p. 2, c. 6.
59 Examiner, April 28, 1922, p. 2, c. 3.
60 Examiner, April 29, 1922, p. 17, c. 8.
Maryland; William J. Collison, (his brother) a plumber who had resided in Bakersfield for eight years; and Harry D. Reynolds, a Southern Pacific freight clerk and a resident of Bakersfield who had moved there from Nebraska fourteen years earlier. They were charged with being members of the Klan band responsible for the assault and robbery of Clyde Richey, a Taft taxi driver. 61

The two Collison brothers and Harry D. Reynolds were arraigned before Justice of the Peace F. W. Brunell on May 1, charged with robbing Richey of $350. The bail was fixed in each case at $15,000. 62 Also charged in this case was W. M. Pickens, a Taft taxi driver, who faced trial on charges of assaulting and robbing Richey. The four men were charged with luring Richey into a dark alley through a subterfuge and there attacking him. It was alleged that they were dressed in the hoods and robes of the Ku Klux Klan during the attack in order to disguise their identities. 63

In testimony before the Grand Jury, it was

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61 Examiner, April 30, 1922, p. 3, c. 3.
62 Examiner, May 2, 1922, p. 5, c. 5.
63 Ibid.
revealed that the meeting place of the Kern River Klan (Bakersfield and Taft area Klan) was a dance hall in the Taylor Building on Chester Avenue, near the heart of the Bakersfield business district. The organization met under the name of "Kern River Club" claiming to be merely a social club. Several witnesses appeared before the grand jury and nearly all of them abandoned allegiance to the "Invisible Empire", revealing many details of Klan organization and activities in the process.64

The Examiner carried a statement made by District Attorney Dorsey on April 29 which read as follows:

The Invisible Empire is on the verge of collapse in Kern County. Confessions from three men, arrested yesterday, suspected of complicity in the whipping administered to J. N. Pyles, a detective, and Clyde Richey, a taxi cab owner, of this city two weeks ago are momentarily expected, and once the opening wedge is entered, the entire structure is expected to crash into ruins.65

Dorsey added that he would link the Klan with nearly 100 lawless acts committed in Kern County.

64Examiner, April 30, 1922, p. 3, c. 3.
65Examiner, April 30, 1922, p. 3, c. 3.
At the Kern County Board of Supervisors
Meeting held on May 1, Supervisor Ira R. Williams of
Bakersfield introduced a resolution which declared
the Ku Klux Klan to be a "menace to the peace and
welfare of the community" and demanded that

... any county officials who are
affiliated with the said Ku Klux
Klan, immediately and without fail
sever entirely their connection
with the Ku Klux Klan or their
connection in official capacity with
the county of Kern.66

However, this motion died for lack of a second. The
majority of the supervisors felt this action would
be inadvisable since the county grand jury had not
yet determined that the Klan was responsible for
the long series of lawless acts in Kern County.67

The supervisors did enact an ordinance,
drafted by the district attorney's office, which
outlawed the wearing of false mustaches, whiskers,
masks, robes, or other disguises, except in legitimate
fraternal exercises or masquerade balls. Violation
of this ordinance was declared to be a misdemeanor
punishable by a fine of not less than $250 nor more
than $500 and imprisonment for not less than ninety

66*Californian*, May 1, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
days nor more than 180 days. The ordinance applied only to county territory which lay outside the limits of incorporated cities.\textsuperscript{68}

The Bakersfield City Council was much less cooperative, however, as they refused to adopt a similar ordinance as requested by District Attorney Dorsey and the Board of Supervisors. Mayor Hougham presented the proposed ordinance and was immediately supported by Councilman L. S. Robinson, who declared that the ordinance should be adopted. However, Councilman Charles A. Griffith made a motion to table the proposed ordinance and was supported by Councilman C. A. Hare, who stated his belief that the law might interfere with legitimate social activities such as masquerade balls, etc. Since the ordinance would have specifically exempted this type of activity, the logic of this statement is not clear. At any rate, no vote was taken on the issue since no one made a formal motion for adoption.\textsuperscript{69} On May 3, after nearly an hour of heated debate, the council finally adopted the anti-mask ordinance which was virtually identical to the county ordinance, but only after impassioned

\textsuperscript{68}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{69}\textit{Californian}, May 2, 1922, p. 1, c. 4.
pleas supporting adoption from District Attorney Dorsey, Grand Juror Coddington of Delano, Bakersfield Chief of Police Stone, and Bakersfield City Attorney E. F. Brittan. 70 The cities of Delano and Maricopa also passed the ordinance; however, Taft was dragging its feet on the issue. 71

On May 4, in a front page article, the Californian took a public stand on the issue of public officials holding membership in the Klan. The article read in part as follows:

How then, may a public official who is likewise a klansman, serve his hooded organization on the one hand and the people who employ him on the other . . . It is still inconceivable that any public official can subscribe to it (Klan oath) and observe it, and still respect the oath that public service imposes. 72

As the Grand Jury investigation continued, an admitted Klansman, E. A. Abbott, was sent to jail, on May 3, on a charge of contempt of court for his refusal to answer questions put to him by the grand jury on the grounds that to do so would "violate his oaths as a Klansman". The next day he changed his

70 Californian, May 3, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
71 Ibid.
72 Californian, May 4, 1922, p. 1, c. 5.
mind and decided to testify. He was released from custody upon conclusion of his testimony.73

On May 4, an "official committee" of the Kern River Klan released a public statement which outlined the brief history of the local Klan, and enunciated the principles of the Klan. The story indicated that the local Klan had been functioning for approximately ten months. It declared that the Klan did not condone lawlessness in any form and that members participating in such acts faced banishment from the Invisible Empire. The committee affirmed Klan support for the grand jury investigation and promised full cooperation with the district attorney's office in this regard. The statement carried the signatures of four Klansmen: R. L. Sheehan, Superintendent of the County Court House; Thomas S. Laird, Kern County Deputy Sheriff; R. H. Hardin, President of the local Cooks and Waiters Union; and W. E. Moody, a prominent attorney.74

The Examiner revealed on May 5 that the Kern River (or Bakersfield) Klan members had voted on

73Chronicle, May 4, 1922, p. 11, c. 1.
74Californian, May 4, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
May 3 to oust twenty members and had sent the list of ouster recommendations to Grand Goblin Coburn who was required to approve this action before it held official sanction.\textsuperscript{75} Rumor held that those recommended for ouster were Klansmen who had cooperated with the grand jury investigation. No reason for this action was given by the local Klan, however.

On May 5, the grand jury returned indictments against Reynolds and the two Collison brothers, charging them with assault upon Clyde Richey on March 23, 1922. These were the first indictments to be returned in the investigation of Klan activities in Kern County. The three were accused on two counts: (1) robbing Richey of $350, and (2) attempting to murder him while he lay bound and gagged at their feet. Richey testified that his assailants wore Klan costumes at the time of the attack.\textsuperscript{76}

The May 6 edition of the \textit{Californian} carried a listing of Klan members in Kern County as released by the district attorney's office. The listing contained the names of many prominent citizens. Its length

\textsuperscript{75}\textit{Examiner}, May 5, 1922, p. 17, c. 8.

\textsuperscript{76}\textit{Examiner}, May 6, 1922, p. 2, c. 5.
precludes its appearance here; \(^77\) however, some mention should be made of some of the more prominent public officials whose names appeared on the Klan roster. This list included the following: Stanley Abel, chairman of the Kern County Board of Supervisors; Charles H. Stone, Bakersfield Chief of Police; Edison Abel, brother of Stanley, a prominent Bakersfield attorney who was closely involved in county legal matters; Thomas Laird, a Kern County Deputy Sheriff; Joseph Yancey, a Deputy Sheriff; S. E. Davis, a Deputy Sheriff; Ernest Tyler, a member of the Bakersfield High School Board of Education; E. Porter Munsey, a former Taft City Marshal who resigned on May 1, 1922; George M. Cook, a Taft Justice of the Peace; Frank W. Burnell, a Bakersfield Justice of the Peace; C. F. Baugham, a Bakersfield police judge; R. R. Lucas, the Kern County Sealer of Weights and Measures; R. L. Sheehan, Superintendent of the County Court House Building; John Gully, Bakersfield police officer; Charles Britt, deputy at the county court house; A. C. Parsons, Taft Postmaster; H. M. Green, Taft City Trustee; J. M. Higgins, Taft City Trustee; Herbert V. Hearle, Taft City Trustee; H. C. McClain, Taft City Trustee;

\(^{77}\) \textit{Californian}, May 6, 1922, p. 1, c. 3. (See Appendix for complete listing.)
W. E. McFadden, Taft City Treasurer; C. T. Irvine, Taft City Clerk; R. M. Patrick, Assistant Chief of the Taft Fire Department; John R. Quinn, not a public official but the Commander of the California Department of the American Legion. 78

Chairman of the Kern County Board of Supervisors Stanley Abel was quoted as having stated that he "was proud to belong to the Klan." 79 Bakersfield Police Chief Stone declared that his membership in the Klan hadn't influenced the exercise of his duty. He added that he had signed an application blank because "I thought it would aid me in my police work." 80

On May 8, the Californian published a list of members of the Tehachapi Klan. 81 The article also included additions to the list of Bakersfield and Taft Klansmen. 82 The same day Kern County Supervisor

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78Ibid.
79Ibid.
80Ibid.
81Californian, May 8, 1922, p. 1, c. 3. (See Appendix)
82Ibid.
H. C. Rambo issued a public condemnation of the Klan, while Chairman Abel again defended the organization and his membership in it.\textsuperscript{83}

The \textit{Californian} reported on May 8 that the grand jury had heard evidence which linked the Klan to the following lawless acts: (1) the beatings of Dr. D. W. Mason, Eli Andrews, R. Baughman, L. Pettye, and an unnamed Fellows oil worker; (2) various reports of property damage; (3) threatening Mrs. Barnes, who left the city shortly afterward; (4) the attempted assault on A. Schoenfeldt; and (5) sending numerous warning letters.\textsuperscript{84}

The publication of the Klan membership list opened the floodgates of protest by citizens of Kern County, and this was particularly true in the Taft area. On May 8, a mass meeting was held in Taft at which speakers urged that the Klan be dissolved. This followed a mass meeting of infuriated citizens which formed spontaneously on the evening of May 6 following the publication of the membership list earlier in the day.\textsuperscript{85}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[83] \textit{Californian}, May 8, 1922, p. 1, c. 4.
\item[84] \textit{Ibid.}
\item[85] \textit{Chronicle}, May 9, 1922, p. 6, c. 1.
\end{footnotes}
Following this meeting, events occurred in rapid succession. On May 8, the Taft City Council gave a second reading to the anti-mask ordinance proposal made by District Attorney Dorsey, even though four of the council members were Klansmen. The second reading was forced upon the councilmen by an angry crowd of citizens present at the meeting.\(^{86}\) On May 9, another Kern County Supervisor, Ira Williams, made public a statement which strongly denounced the Klan.\(^{87}\) That evening, the Taft Stanley Little Post No. 70 of the American Legion adopted a resolution condemning the Klan.\(^{88}\)

A report circulated which indicated that several Taft Klansmen had resigned from the organization including the following: C. Z. Irvine, H. A. Hopkins, C. D. Ball, L. E. Simmons, L. R. Buchanan, C. Z. Vanderhorek, L. C. Thomas, and W. E. McFadden.\(^{89}\) Bakersfield city officials began an investigation of Klansmen in public office in that city.\(^{90}\)

\(^{86}\) **Californian**, May 9, 1922, p. 1, c. 6.

\(^{87}\) **Californian**, May 9, 1922, p. 1, c. 5.

\(^{88}\) **Californian**, May 11, 1922, p. 2, c. 5.

\(^{89}\) **Californian**, May 9, 1922, p. 1, c. 5.

\(^{90}\) **Californian**, May 9, 1922, p. 1, c. 6.
Attorney Dorsey found it necessary to place armed guards around the courthouse after receiving a tip that the Klan intended to steal the Klan records filed there.\footnote{Chronicl\text{e}, May 10, 1922, p. 7, c. 2.} After Dorsey received several threatening letters and phone calls, armed guards were also placed around his home.\footnote{Ibid.}

On May 9, a committee of twenty-five businessmen were chosen from a group of some three to four hundred angry citizens gathered at the Sunshine Theater in Taft. The committee drew up and adopted a resolution which stated:

Whereas recent developments baring the activities of the Ku Klux Klan have shown that a number of state, county, city and school officers have been involved in said activities, therefore be it

Resolved, that it is the sense of this meeting that such activities are in absolute violation of the oath of office taken by said officials and absolutely un-American, and be it further

Resolved, that all such officers whether state, county, city or school district be asked to resign from their respective offices.\footnote{Californian, May 10, 1922, p. 1, c. 2.}
On May 10, this resolution was presented to a mass meeting of citizens for approval, and it was overwhelmingly adopted with only two dissenting notes.94 The meeting was chaired by J. R. Cromer, a Taft jeweler, and strong speeches favoring the resolution were delivered by J. E. Hamilton and J. A. Waltman.95

On the following day, recall petitions were circulated in Taft which called for the removal from office of all public officials who were Klansmen and who had refused to resign from public office.96 The names of fifty-six additional Klansmen were listed in the Californian that day, including that of Miles I. Nelson, a Bakersfield city councilman.97

The suspension and/or termination of employment of public officials whose names were found on the Klan membership list began on May 11, with the removal of R. L. Sheehan, the Superintendent of the Kern County Court House, and Deputy Sheriffs Thomas S.

94 Californian, May 11, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
95 Ibid.
96 Ibid.
97 Californian, May 11, 1922, p. 1, c. 5.
Laird, Joseph E. Yancey, and S. E. Davis. Allen Combs was appointed by the Board of Supervisors to replace Sheehan on a temporary basis, but this appointment was revoked after Stanley Abel revealed, in testimony before the grand jury, that Combs was also a Klansman.

Meanwhile the Taft citizens anti-Klan committee was quite busy. Spokesmen for the group presented the resolution, mentioned earlier in this paper to the Taft City Council on May 15. The council refused even to read the resolution. This only resulted in further infuriating the citizens group. Public pressure became so intensified that it resulted in a special meeting of the city council on May 25 during which the "resignations" of several public officials were accepted. They were: (1) R. C. Steele, City Marshal, (2) J. M. Higgins, City Councilman, (3) R. M. Padrick, Assistant Fire Chief, and (4) L. R. Buchanan, Honorary Fire Chief, who was removed from his position when he refused to resign.

98 *Californian*, May 11, 1922, p. 1, c. 5.
99 *Californian*, May 12, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
100 *Californian*, May 16, 1922, p. 1, c. 1.
101 *Californian*, May 26, 1922, p. 1, c. 6.
Anderson, a local businessman, replaced Higgins on the City Council; A. R. Turner succeeded Steele; L. E. Owens replaced Buchanan; and W. Wilson was named the new Assistant Fire Chief.\textsuperscript{102} Three other members of the city council were identified as Klansmen, namely, Haskell Green, Herbert Hearle, and H. C. McClain.\textsuperscript{103} These three steadfastly refused to resign their positions, although Green and Hearle later changed their minds because of the intense pressure of public opinion.

The citizens committee held a meeting, on June 10, to discuss a recall election and the recall process was set in motion at that time.\textsuperscript{104} On June 29, a group of self-declared "authorized representatives of the Taft Klan" made a public proposal to members of the citizens recall committee. The Klansmen declared that if the recall election was dropped, the Taft Klan would voluntarily disband and return all Klan paraphernalia to the "Imperial

\textsuperscript{102}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{103}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{104}California\textit{ian}, June 10, 1922, p. 1, c. 2.
Palace" in Atlanta, Georgia. However, a spokesman for the citizens committee, Dr. C. E. Ballagh of Taft, rejected the proposal, stating that it wasn't even worthy of consideration.

A recall election was formalized, then, with four officials as primary targets. The four were: (1) Stanley Abel, Chairman of the Kern County Board of Supervisors, (2) George M. Cook, Taft Justice of the Peace, (3) H. C. McClain, Taft City Councilman and Mayor, and (4) C. Z. Irvine, Taft City Clerk. In the recall election, which took place in August, Abel managed to hold his job by the slimmest of margins (1,883 to 1,775). However, McClain, Irvine and Cook all were removed from office.

On May 18, the Kern County Grand Jury released its first partial report concerning its investigation into the Ku Klux Klan in Kern County. The report referred to Klan practices and customs as "insidious." It recommended that public officials who were members

105 *Californian*, June 29, 1922, p. 1, c. 1.
106 Ibid.
107 Ibid.
108 *Californian*, August 30, 1922, p. 7, c. 2.
of the Klan should publicly repudiate their affiliation with the Klan or be removed from office, adding that "It is impossible for an officer in any branch of our country to be faithful to his oath as an official and to that part of the Klan oath as published above."\textsuperscript{110} The portion of the Klan oath to which the report referred reads:

\begin{quote}
I swear that I will keep secure to myself the secret of a Klansman, committed to me in the sacred bonds of Klansmanship, the crime of violating the sacred oath, treason against the United States of America, rape and malicious murder, alone excepted.\textsuperscript{111}
\end{quote}

The jury's report also recommended that the next legislature enact a statute making it impossible for the Klan and similar organizations to exist in California and declaring membership in such organizations to be a criminal action.\textsuperscript{112}

Testimony given in this investigation established that the influence of the Klan was intended to be, at least in part, political. The Grand Jury report indicated that the local Klan had appointed a

\textsuperscript{110}Californian, May 19, 1922, p. 1, c. 4.

\textsuperscript{111}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{112}Examiner, May 20, 1922, p. 1, c. 1.
political committee, that the Klan had paid for political cards to be used by a candidate for public office, and that political matters were discussed at Klan meetings.\textsuperscript{113}

Further testimony revealed interesting information concerning the appointment of R. C. Steele to the post of Taft City Marshal. A letter signed "Klansman" Steele and addressed to G. W. Price of Los Angeles (the state Klan organizer or "King Kleagle") indicated that Steele desired information concerning the "powers" in Pasadena as he was seeking an appointment to the police department there. He also stated that he wished to know whom he might see to aid him in getting an appointment at Taft if it should become necessary to leave Pasadena.\textsuperscript{114} In addition, another letter was uncovered. This was a letter addressed to Steele and signed by "Klansman" G. Kowns of San Francisco. The letter, which was apparently written in answer to an earlier note from Steele, had advised Steele to contact Price for the information he was seeking.\textsuperscript{115}

Once the tide of opposition to the Klan began

\textsuperscript{113}\textit{Californian}, May 20, 1922, p. 4, c. 1.

\textsuperscript{114}\textit{Examiner}, May 21, 1922, p. 2, c. 5.

\textsuperscript{115}\textit{Ibid.}
to mount, public support for the investigation was forthcoming. On May 19, District Attorney Dorsey was visited by a group of nearly 150 business and professional men from Taft and Fellows, led by Dr. Ernest Ballagh, a Taft dentist, and Professor J. E. Hamilton. The purpose of the visit was to pledge the support of the people of Kern County in the fight against the Klan. 116 On May 21, at a special meeting held in Memorial Hall in Bakersfield (from which the press was excluded) local post and auxiliaries of the G.A.R., Women's Relief Corps, Daughters of Veterans, Sons of Veterans, and Spanish War Veterans adopted resolutions condemning the Klan and offering assistance to public officials attempting to curb its activities. 117 On May 24, the Kern County Association of Congregational Churches unanimously adopted a resolution which branded the Klan as "un-American" and "contrary to Christian principles". 118

Meanwhile a committee of local citizens, appointed by the Bakersfield city council to investigate membership in the Klan by city officials, presented

116 Californian, May 19, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
118 Californian, May 24, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
its report. The report indicated that the committee had found that city officials holding Klan membership had joined "without exception" because the true purposes and goals of the Klan had been misrepresented. The committee recommended that the council take no official action against these officials unless they refused to resign from the Klan. The report concurred with the grand jury's conclusion that a man could not serve both the public and the Klan.\textsuperscript{119} The \textit{Daily Californian} expressed its contempt for this finding with its banner headline which read "City Council 'White Washes' Ku Klux Klansmen in Office."\textsuperscript{120}

The grand jury, on May 24, announced a suspension of the investigation into Klan activities pending receipt of further evidence from the District Attorney's office.\textsuperscript{121}

Shortly thereafter, an alleged Klansman, William Pickens, was tried on a charge of robbery and assault upon the person of Clyde Richey. Pickens was alleged to be one of four hooded and masked men involved in the crime, and his Ku Klux Klan

\textsuperscript{119}\textit{Californian}, May 23, 1922, p. 1, c. 4.
\textsuperscript{120}\textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{121}\textit{Californian}, May 24, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
affiliation was prominent in the case as presented by District Attorney Dorsey. The jury deliberated approximately twenty minutes before pronouncing Pickens guilty on both counts. The day after the decision was rendered in this case, the Californian stated a belief that the Pickens decision meant the beginning of the end for the Klan in Kern County, inasmuch as this was the first case involving direct complicity of the Klan in criminal action. On June 7, Judge J. W. Mahon sentenced Pickens to an indefinite term of one year to life imprisonment on the charge of robbery and one to ten years on the assault charge. The defense attorneys promptly announced their intention to appeal. Two days later, Pickens won a Certificate of Probable Cause on his appeal.

Following the conviction and sentencing of

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122 Examiner, June 2, 1922, p. 7, c. 5.
123 Californian, June 1, 1922, p. 1, c. 6.
124 Californian, June 2, 1922, p. 1, c. 2.
125 Californian, June 6, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
126 Chronicle, June 7, 1922, p. 4, c. 8.
127 Californian, June 8, 1922, p. 1, c. 5.
Pickens, various citizens committees stepped up the attack on the Klan. For example, the Citizens Executive Committee of the Boy Scouts of Taft demanded the resignation of Frank M. Paige, member of the Board, because his name had appeared on the Kern County Klan membership list. Paige refused to do so and was informed by the committee that the matter would be taken up with the Boy Scout Executive Council in Bakersfield. The leading members of the committee were Harry Hopkins, R. L. Burns, and E. H. Conklin.\textsuperscript{128} On June 8, a Tehachapi newspaper carried an anonymous declaration which announced that the Tehachapi Klan had voluntarily disbanded.\textsuperscript{129} The membership list seized in Los Angeles had indicated an approximate membership of twenty-five.\textsuperscript{130} The damaging public exposure of Klan activities had certainly taken its toll.

On June 14, a citizens group representing residents of Taft, Fellows, McKittrick, and a few other communities in Kern County, presented petitions

\textsuperscript{128}\textit{Examiner}, June 8, 1922, p. 2, c. 1.
\textsuperscript{129}\textit{Examiner}, June 9, 1922, p. 3, c. 5.
\textsuperscript{130}Tbid.
to District Attorney Dorsey which bore the signatures of approximately one thousand Kern County residents. The petitions declared full support for the efforts of the district attorney and the grand jury in their attempts to destroy the Klan. Dorsey announced his intention to stand for re-election two days later and promptly received the support of the Californian. The paper stated that it welcomed Dorsey's announcement as he represented a genuine issue, i.e. the destruction of the Klan. The supporting statement added:

The nucleus of the Klan is determined to defeat the district attorney at the polls, and that still further accentuates the issue. The next Klansman to face trial for illegal activity was John H. Vitelle, the Exalted Cyclops of the Taft Klan, who was charged on three counts of assault in a case involving the kidnapping, torture and beating of Dwight R. Mason, a Taft physician. The indictment alleged that Vitelle was the leader of a group of night riders who committed the offenses

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131 *Californian*, June 14, 1922, p. 1, c. 4.
132 *Californian*, June 16, 1922, p. 7, c. 3.
listed on the night of October 27, 1921.\textsuperscript{133} As the trial progressed, Doctor Mason testified that a group of about thirty men had forcibly removed him from his home in Taft, taken him to the local baseball park, and had then beaten him with ropes and hanged him by his feet until he was unconscious.\textsuperscript{134} He added that he recognized Vitelle, H. M. Cale, and four women in the band, one of whom he identified as Mrs. C. H. Williams of Taft, and another he identified as his own wife.\textsuperscript{135} Mrs. Williams later denied the charge.\textsuperscript{136}

On June 29, Vitelle was found guilty of a charge of assault with intent to inflict great bodily injury.\textsuperscript{137} The verdict came after four hours of deliberation.\textsuperscript{138} Vitelle was sentenced to an indeterminate term of one to ten years in the state penitentiary, but unlike Pickens was sent there immediately while his appeal was pending instead of being confined in the

\textsuperscript{133}Examiner, June 27, 1922, p. 7, c. 7.
\textsuperscript{134}Examiner, June 28, 1922, p. 2, c. 7.
\textsuperscript{135}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{136}Californian, July 8, 1922, p. 7, c. 7.
\textsuperscript{137}Californian, June 30, 1922, p. 1, c. 1.
\textsuperscript{138}Chronicle, June 30, 1922, p. 1, c. 3.
county jail. While pronouncing sentence, the presiding judge commented that there was an incredible discrepancy between Vitelle's past life and the charges against him. Vitelle wept openly upon hearing the sentence. Later, one Homer M. Cale was also charged with assault in connection with the Mason beating. However, even after these two convictions and the possibility of a third, the Klan was reported to be still active in the area.

On July 6, Frank Page, the new Exalted Cyclops of the Taft Klan (he had succeeded Vitelle) released to the press a signed statement which read as follows:

Taft, California

To the Public:

This is to certify that Taft Klan No. 3, was disbanded June 16, 1922. We wish to take this opportunity of saying that we repudiate any act of lawlessness committed in the name of the klan and that we will do our utmost to bring to justice anyone committing such acts.

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139 *Californian*, July 5, 1922, p. 1, c. 1.
141 *Californian*, June 30, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
142 *Californian*, June 30, 1922, p. 1, c. 1.
It is further certified that all robes were destroyed on this date and that all equipment was delivered personally by me in Los Angeles.

(Signed) Frank M. Page
Former Exalted Cyclops

This represented the first announcement of the dissolution of a Kern County Klan.\(^{144}\)

However, further evidence would seem to indicate that the Taft Klan had not, in fact, dissolved itself. A prominent Taft businessman reported that while he and his wife were out for a drive on the evening of July 9, they saw a car headed toward Taft carrying two women dressed in hoods and gowns and two men without the regalia. The unidentified businessman stated that he followed the car and noted the license number of the vehicle and the address where the women entered. He related this information to District Attorney Dorsey, who promptly instituted in investigation.\(^{145}\) Eight days later, The Interpreter of Americanism, a Klan newspaper published in Los Angeles, carried a statement by King Kleagle G. W. Price which denied

\(^{143}\)Californian, July 6, 1922, p. 1, c. 2.

\(^{144}\)Ibid.

\(^{145}\)Californian, July 11, 1922, p. 1, c. 6.
that the Bakersfield and Taft Klans had disbanded and declared that new initiates were being gained at a rapid pace. The article, in part, read as follows:

Bakersfield, Taft, Redondo Beach, San Pedro, Santa Ana, Los Angeles, Oakland, Sacramento, Roseville, Stockton, and Santa Monica (Klans) have all reported big classes initiated during the past few weeks of this month, with many applications coming in and a satisfactory waiting list clamoring for citizenship in each local of the Invisible Empire.\textsuperscript{146}

District Attorney Dorsey again announced that he was investigating the situation.\textsuperscript{147}

The trial of Elmer and William Collison and Harry D. Reynolds, on charges of assault and robbery in connection with the case of Clyde Richey, opened on September 11, 1922.\textsuperscript{148} District Attorney Dorsey opened the case by stating that the guilt of these three men had already been established in the trial of William Pickens.\textsuperscript{149} However, the charge of robbery against the three was dropped after they agreed to plead guilty to a lesser charge of assault with a

\textsuperscript{146} \textit{Californian}, July 27, 1922, p. 1, c. 1.
\textsuperscript{147} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{148} \textit{Californian}, September 11, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
\textsuperscript{149} \textit{Ibid.}
deadly weapon. The attorneys for the defense then asked for a probation hearing which Dorsey opposed.

In the hearing which followed, defense attorneys produced petitions bearing approximately 1,500 names asking for leniency for the defendants. The defense also called over one hundred character witnesses, but after a dozen or so had taken the stand, the names of the others were recorded, en masse. Among those testifying were the following: Dr. George Buchner; J. A. Gilchrist, foreman of the King Lumber Company; H. J. Brandt, financial investor; Reverend J. N. Munden; T. L. Cummings, building contractor; H. D. Johnston, Southern Pacific official; and E. B. Thomas. The three defendants all declared that they had given up their membership in the Klan because they had concluded that the organization's methods were indefensible. As a result of all this favorable testimony, all three defendants received three years probation.

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150 *Californian*, September 12, 1922, p. 1, c. 2.
152 *Californian*, September 23, 1922, p. 1, c. 1.
Later incidents indicated that the Klan in Kern County was far from dead. In the October 11 issue of The Interpreter of Americanism, the entire edition was devoted to a discussion of the Mason case. The paper attacked District Attorney Dorsey and the court involved in the sentencing of the Klansmen. It charged that the defendants in this case were railroaded and concluded:

Listen, Mr. Dorsey, there are more Klansmen in Kern County today than there were thirty days ago . . . If you think that you have put the Klan out of business in this county you are badly mistaken.154

The publication contained a good deal of obscenity which did nothing to further the ends of Klan public relations.

In January of 1923, Bakersfield was plastered with handbills advertising a Klan meeting to be held January 19 in the Women's Club Building Auditorium. When questioned about this, Mrs. F. N. Sawyer, club manager who arranged all rentals, stated that no one representing the Ku Klux Klan or the Reverend John C. Moore (listed on the handbills as the featured speaker)
had contacted her. She added that the hall was reserved for the night of the Klan meeting listed in the circulars. But, she added, the hall had been rented to a man named R. H. Harden so that someone named W. E. Moody might deliver a speech entitled "Civic Problems".  

The Women's Club refused use of the hall to these two, which forced Harden and Moody into a search for another suitable hall.  

They then attempted to rent the hall normally used by the Modern Woodmen League in Hanford for their meetings, but F. V. Dewey, the owner of the hall refused to cooperate.  

The Reverend John C. Moore, of Pine Bluffs, Arkansas, (who was to be the main speaker) arrived in Bakersfield in the meantime. Upon learning of the dilemma, Moore stated his refusal to speak in the open air and concluded he would simply have to return at a later date.  

So the Klan, which only a few months earlier had controlled much of Kern County, now found itself incapable of securing a hall

\[155\] *Californian*, January 15, 1923, p. 1, c. 2.  
\[156\] *Californian*, January 16, 1923, p. 1, c. 5.  
\[157\] *Californian*, January 20, 1923, p. 2, c. 3.  
\[158\] Ibid.
in which to conduct a meeting.

This somewhat anti-climactic incident marked the final mention of Klan activities in Kern County as evidenced in the period under study. The Klan continued to function in Kern County, but it never regained the power and position it had once enjoyed. Throughout the remainder of the twenties and early thirties, there were scattered reports of Klan initiation ceremonies and an occasional warning letter, but its influence as an effective organization was virtually nil.
CHAPTER III

THE KLAN IN THE LOWER SACRAMENTO VALLEY

The first publicized report of Klan activities in the Sacramento area appeared in May of 1921. On May 5, a huge Klan ceremonial was held about ten miles from Sacramento on the Lower Stockton Road. Nearly four thousand Klansmen were reported to have attended, the majority of them residents of the Bay area communities of San Francisco, Oakland, and Alameda. The meeting was characterized as the largest Klan ceremony ever to be held in northern California and was designed to demonstrate the strength of the organization in the northern half of the state.¹

A few months later, the Chronicle reported that several prominent Sacramento residents had been approached by a Klan organizer who was attempting to solicit their membership.² Within four months after the first open notice of the Klan's appearance in the capital, in September, Martin Madsen, Governor

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¹San Francisco Examiner, May 6, 1921, p. 14, c. 4.
²San Francisco Chronicle, July 28, 1921, p. 17 c. 1.
Stephens' executive secretary, announced that the Governor would demand an immediate investigation at the first appearance of Klan activities in California.\textsuperscript{3} This comment was made in answer to questions concerning the reports of alleged Klan activity in the Fresno area. Madsen stated that no positive evidence of the existence of the Klan in California had been obtained.\textsuperscript{4} When questioned about possible Klan organizational efforts in Sacramento at that same time, City Manager Clyde L. Seavey stated his complete opposition to the Klan and added:

\textit{The Ku Klux Klan will never be permitted to gain a foothold in Sacramento so long as I am able to suppress it.}\textsuperscript{5}

Sacramento's Chief of Police Bernard McShane was even more positive in his statements. He declared that the Klan would not be tolerated in Sacramento and that any attempt to organize a Klan there would be dealt with very harshly.\textsuperscript{6}

The first open public appearance of the Klan

\textsuperscript{3}\textit{Examiner}, September 19, 1921, p. 2, c. 6.
\textsuperscript{4}\textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{5}\textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{6}\textit{Ibid.}
in Sacramento was not staged until the following spring, during a Sunday morning church service in the Westminster Presbyterian Church, the largest Protestant church in the city. The minister, the Reverend William E. Harrison, was engaged in delivering his sermon when suddenly a group of nine Klansmen, in full regalia, entered the church and marched in single file to the front of the chapel. They handed the minister an envelope containing fifty dollars and a note which read:

Back of the donation stands our entire organization to support you in your work and rap the forces of evil in whatever form they may be.

(Signed) Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Sacramento Klan, Realm of California

The group then exited as quickly as they had entered, leaving the congregation in an uproar.

On the following day, Monday, April 10, the Bee began the presentation of that newspaper's findings concerning the Klan's organization and activities in the first of a series of articles and editorial which attacked the Klan. The Bee's investigators had

7Examiner, April 10, 1922, p. 13, c. 3.
8The Sacramento Bee, April 10, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
discovered that the local Klan organizer was a Sacramento County deputy sheriff named Edgar I. Fuller who had been sworn into his job in the sheriff's office on March 29, 1922, and whose address was listed simply "The Travelers Hotel, Sacramento". An interview feature story two days later carried the comments of Sacramento police officer Robert Dundas concerning the appearance of the hooded and masked Klansmen at the Westminster Presbyterian Church. Dundas, a witness to the entire proceeding, declared that the minister and some of the members of the congregation must have had prior knowledge that the "visit" would take place because the whole business was conducted in too efficient a manner for it to have been spontaneous. Dundas stated his belief that Reverend Harrison and George E. Andrews, a church usher had foreknowledge of the Klansmen's appearance. The Bee further stated that both Andrews and the Reverend C. E. Green, assistant pastor, were Klansmen. Other ministers of Sacramento, the Reverend W. P. Redburn, pastor of the Wesley Methodist Church, and the Reverend H. W. Baker, 

9Bee, April 11, 1922, p. 1, c. 1.

10Bee, April 12, 1922, p. 1, c. 6.
former pastor of Oak Park Methodist Church, were also named as members of the Klan.\textsuperscript{11}

Sixteen days after the initial appearance at the local church, the Klan staged its first initiation ceremony in Sacramento. On the night of April 25, a Klan initiation took place at Muddox Hall, a Masonic hall located in Sacramento's Oak Park section, in which some 250 to 300 Sacramento area men swore allegiance to the Invisible Empire.\textsuperscript{12} The \textit{Bee} had been informed of the meeting, "covered" it with one or more reporters, and printed a full account of the affair. Included in the \textit{Bee}'s account was a list of individuals who had been observed entering or leaving the hall that evening. Several prominent local persons were listed as present, including Hugh H. Sydenham, former Sacramento Chief of Police, who was at that time an attorney in private practice; Thomas Higgs, a city police officer; E. B. Harris, also a police officer; H. N. Mitchell, former Sacramento City Prosecutor; Dr. J. L. Arbogast, local physician; Herman Silvius, Jr.; Thomas W. Baker, a Captain in the City Fire Department;

\textsuperscript{11}\textit{Bee}, April 10, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.

\textsuperscript{12}\textit{Bee}, April 26, 1922, p. 7, c. 1.
Louis H. Slater, a mail carrier; M. L. Bidwell, an official of the California Fruit Grower's Exchange; Eronte Reynolds, an official of the State Department of Agriculture; Albert Greilich, city harbormaster; and John L. Westrum, an accountant for the Sacramento Post of the American Legion.\textsuperscript{13}

Deputy Sheriff Fuller and all the men whose names were listed in the \textit{Bee} article denied that they had attended a Klan initiation; several of them declared that they had been attending a Masonic meeting in another part of the building.\textsuperscript{14} Sacramento Chief of Police Bernard McShane, who had observed the meeting, declared that he had personally identified Harris and Higgs.\textsuperscript{15} With such verification, it was now apparent that the Klan was on the scene and that at least some local officials were involved.

Unlike the denials of any complicity and delays of action on the issue of Klan membership by public bodies elsewhere, the Sacramento city government under the avowed anti-Klan leadership of the city manager, gave the beginning appearance of positive action.

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{15}\textit{Examiner}, April 29, 1922, p. 17, c. 8.
When the City Council met on April 27, City Manager Seavey requested authority to dismiss summarily any city employee found to be involved in the Klan. Seven of the nine council members agreed to this request, while Councilmen C. H. Bidwell vigorously dissented. The remaining member, Mrs. Mary B. Lindley, was not present at the meeting. By a seven to one vote the Council approved the following motion:

That it is the sense of this Council that it will vote to discharge any employee of the city upon presentation of the facts by the City Manager that such employee belongs to or sympathizes with the organization known as the Ku Klux Klan.16

Since Seavey had requested unanimous consent of the Council, the action was less a victory than he had desired, but the majority was unquestionably decisive.

That same evening Seavey announced that heads of all departments of the municipal government had been instructed to investigate current reports that several city employees had recently become members of the Klan. Seavey declared his firm belief that it was "inimical to the interests of the city to have any of its employees members of an organization which has

16Sacramento City Council Minutes, April 27, 1922.
a reputation of taking the law into its own hands."^17 He said the action he would take in the matter depended on the results of the investigation.^18

The raid by deputies upon Klan headquarters in Los Angeles occurred on April 27, and within a few days reports of Klan membership from the state officer's records had reached Sacramento. On May 2 the Bee listed the names of public officials from the Sacramento area whose names allegedly appeared on the membership lists seized in the raid. Among prominent names listed were the following: John S. Blair, Deputy State Labor Commissioner; J. J. Frey, Veterinary Inspector, State Department of Agriculture; E. C. Erwin, Sacramento County Assessor; F. W. Links, Chief Accountant of the State Department of Agriculture; and R. S. Tower, F. A. Pearl, W. N. Wilson and E. B. Harris—all Sacramento police officers.

On May 4, the Bee added the name of Fred J. Harris, City Prosecutor, to the list.^20 The same

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^17 Examiner, April 28, 1922, p. 2, c. 2.
^18 Ibid.
^19 Bee, May 2, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
^20 Bee, May 4, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
edition carried a strongly-worded editorial demanding action over and above the denials released by these men. That same evening, the Sacramento Post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars adopted a resolution condemning the Ku Klux Klan as an un-American organization which acted in defiance of the law. The resolution declared the activities of the Klan to be in violation of the United States Constitution and tending to disrupt American institutions.

As a result of this press notoriety, City Attorney Robert L. Shinn, acting on directions from city manager Clyde Seavey, drafted an ordinance intended to outlaw the activities of the local Klan. The ordinance had been originally presented to the City Council on April 13, with a request for approval. The City Council members, however, eagerly they had passed an anti-Klan policy for the city employees, were in no hurry to enact a public ordinance. Consequently the proposed ordinance was not actually adopted until May 4. As enacted, the ordinance prohibited the wearing of disguises or masks in public.

21 *Bee*, May 4, 1922, p. 24, c. 1.
23 *Bee*, April 13, 1922, p. 1, c. 6.
places, excepting only persons participating in carnivals, masked balls, public shows, or entertainments or celebrations provided for in the ordinances of Sacramento, and being conducted with a written permit issued by the City Manager. Violation was construed as a misdemeanor with a maximum penalty of a $500 fine and/or six months in jail. However, it became obvious that this law was seldom enforced and few arrests, under the provisions of this ordinance, were made.

On May 5, Sacramento District Attorney Hugh B. Bradford made public the names of local members of the Klan as they had appeared on membership lists submitted by Kleagle Fuller to Grand Goblin Coburn. The list of 144 names included numerous professional men, businessmen, peace officers, and other public officials. In his accompanying statement to the press, Bradford declared:

"I obtained these names from Woolwine with the hope of exposing the organization's activities here and discouraging it from obtaining a foothold in Sacramento."

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24 Sacramento Ordinances, 1924, No. 70, Fourth Series, pp. 430-431.

25 Bee, May 5, 1922, p. 1, c. 4., (See Appendix for complete list.)

26 Chronicle, May 6, 1922, p. 2, c. 3.
The names of seven deputy sheriffs appeared on the list. They were: F. S. Peck, J. W. Bowen, E. W. Wells, C. E. Foote, William V. Laux, H. T. Silvins, and Edgar Fuller. 27

On the following day Seavey ordered the suspension of seven Sacramento police officers and three city firemen on charges of violating their oaths of office by becoming members of the Klan. He stated that all were listed as paid-up members of the Klan on the records seized in Los Angeles. Seavey added that they would be called before the city council to show why they should not be permanently discharged. The police officers in question were: E. B. Harris, C. E. Berry, Thomas Higgs, R. S. Towers, F. A. Pearl, E. R. Roberts, and W. N. Wilson. The firemen were Captain W. F. Lower, Acting Captain Thomas W. Baker, and Hoseman Clarence C. Clark. 28

On May 9, Sacramento Kleagle Edgar Fuller, who had earlier denied Klan affiliation, now came forward as spokesman for the organization in a newspaper interview. He asserted that "talk about forcing the

27_Pee, May 6, 1922, p. 1, c. 6.
28_Pee, May 6, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
disorganization of the Ku Klux Klan in Sacramento is nonsense," and boasted that the local Klan had about 400 members. He added:

We are not anti-Catholic. The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 100 per cent native-born Protestant white folks, are here to prevent a known power from sweeping from the grasp of the Anglo-Saxon the reins of government of this country, for which our forefathers fought and died.\(^29\)

However, the Sacramento Lodge Number 6 of the Elks disagreed. That same evening the Lodge adopted resolutions which condemned the Klan as un-American and called for the appointment of a special committee to conduct an investigation into members of the Elks who also held membership in the Klan. The resolutions stated, in effect, that an individual could not be loyal to both organizations at once.\(^30\)

Two days later, City Engineer Albert Qivan, acting on Seavey's orders, removed City Harbormaster Albert Greilich and Sidney J. Stephens, an elevator operator on the municipal wharf from their positions

\(^{29}\) *Chronicle*, May 10, 1922, p. 7, c. 1.

\(^{30}\) *Bee*, May 11, 1922, p. 1, c. 2.
for alleged Klan membership.\textsuperscript{31} That evening Seavey went before the city council to request unanimous support for his intention to summarily dismiss the seven police officers and three firemen. Failing to achieve this, he declared that he would file formal charges against them which meant they would be tried before the city council.\textsuperscript{32}

On May 19, the city council again refused to grant unanimous support to the action proposed by Seavey. Councilmen C. H. S. Bidwell, E. S. Brown, H. W. Funke, E. W. Snider and Mrs. Mary B. Lindley now stated that they would demand absolute proof that the men had, in fact, violated their oath of office before they would vote for dismissal. The other four members of the council, Mayor Albert Elkus, and Councilmen Harold Kieman, C. W. Anderson, and Dan Sullivan voted to support Seavey. It was finally decided that a formal trial before the council would be held on June 1. Seavey declared that he was filing charges of conduct unbecoming an officer and insubordination. The insubordination charge arose from the

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\item[31] \textit{Bee}, May 11, 1922, p. 1, c. 1.
\item[32] \textit{City Council Minutes}, May 11, 1922.
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fact that the men had been informed by their superiors that they were trying to suppress the Klan, but the men had "become affiliated" with the order, in spite of that information.\textsuperscript{33}

On May 29, Superior Judges C. O. Busick and Peter J. Shields issued two restraining orders which temporarily prohibited the city council from trying the two men.\textsuperscript{34} The orders were made permanent on June 5. The decision of the two judges held that charges filed by Seavey did not give the council jurisdiction to try the city employees in that they did not allege the employees were members of the Klan and did not show the nature of the Klan. The decision stated further that the "affiliation" with the Klan alleged in Seavey's charges, was not, in itself, a legal charge under the city charter.\textsuperscript{35} The employees were reinstated, although the two judges had made it clear that the men might be tried if the charges were changed. Lacking any positive evidence of membership, the matter died there. On the following day, City

\textsuperscript{33}City Council Minutes, May 19, 1922.
\textsuperscript{34}Examiner, May 30, 1922, p. 13, c. 7.
\textsuperscript{35}Ree, June 6, 1922, p. 1, c. 4.
Harbormaster Greilich and Municipal Elevator Operator Stephens were also reinstated.\textsuperscript{36} Victory in the first major battle went to the Klan.

While this battle had been in progress, Governor Stephens opened another front at the state government level, in the war on the Klan. Disturbed by reports that large numbers of National Guard members had joined the Klan, he issued an edict which called upon members of the Guard who were also Klansmen to give up membership in one organization or the other.\textsuperscript{37} Although the order was a general order prohibiting members of the California National Guard from participation in organizations involved in lawless acts, Stephens left little doubt that it was aimed specifically at the Klan. The order, in effect, declared that State employees could not serve both the State of California and the Ku Klux Klan.\textsuperscript{38}

State officials named in the Klan list published by the Bee, now began to respond in their own defense in various ways. Fred W. Links, Chief

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{36} \textit{Bee}, June 7, 1922, p. 4, c. 4.
\item \textsuperscript{37} \textit{Bee}, May 12, 1922, p. 7, c. 7.
\item \textsuperscript{38} \textit{Examiner}, May 13, 1922, p. 3, c. 1.
\end{itemize}
Accountant of the State Department of Agriculture, admitted that he had submitted a Klan membership application, but said that he had sent a letter to Kleagle Fuller on May 11, demanding return of the application. Links stated he had taken this action to comply with the order of Governor Stephens.39 Deputy State Labor Commissioner John S. Blair and Bronte Reynolds, State Department of Agriculture Publicity Director, both denied they held membership in the Klan.40 Dr. J. J. Frey, Veterinary Inspector of the Department of Agriculture, declared that he had never taken the Klan oath but had merely written to and requested literature from the Klan. Furthermore, he stated, he had written to Klan headquarters in Los Angeles asking that his name be stricken from the records.41 No official action was taken against any of these men.

Even as the State and local government was taking anti-Klan actions and press surveillance was increasing, the Klan began operating openly once more.

39 Bee, May 13, 1922, p. 1, c. 4.  
40 Examiner, May 13, 1922, p. 3, c. 1.  
41 Examiner, May 16, 1922, p. 3, c. 1.
On May 16, a huge initiation ceremony was held on Natomas Company property near Folsom.\textsuperscript{42} \textit{Bee} reporters again attempted to get near the meeting, but this time were prevented from doing so by uniformed Klansmen. The newsmen, however, recorded the license-plate numbers of cars parked near the proceedings, and on May 18 the \textit{Bee} published the names of the registered owners of these vehicles.\textsuperscript{43} Most of those named responded vehemently, several of them stating that their presence was due only to their curiosity over what was transpiring, and not because of their membership in the Klan. It was also discovered later that a few of the listed vehicles had been sold prior to the May 16 ceremony and a change of registered ownership had not yet been made in the records of the Department of Motor Vehicles.

On June 10, another initiation ceremony was held as a joint operation of the Sacramento and Stockton Klans on the John Elliott Ranch located near Franklin.\textsuperscript{44} It was announced that the meeting was

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{42} \textit{Chronicle}, May 17, 1922, p. 2, c. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{43} \textit{Bee}, May 18, 1922, p. 1, c. 6.
\item \textsuperscript{44} \textit{Bee}, June 12, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
\end{itemize}
held "for advertising purposes", and, in light of this, several newspaper reporters and photographers were given special invitations to attend by Kleagle Fuller.\textsuperscript{45} The newsmen were taken to the scene blindfolded but were not allowed near enough to the ceremony to hear what obligations were assumed by the initiates.\textsuperscript{46} When representatives of the Sacramento Star began jotting down license numbers of parked cars at the scene they were roughed up by hooded Klansmen and forced to leave the area.\textsuperscript{47} A large crowd of 8,000 to 10,000 observed the events from a distance, and the number of initiates was estimated from 500 to 1000.\textsuperscript{48}

Initial reports of the ceremonies at Franklin indicated all was orderly except for the minor incident of the Star reporters' ouster, but further controversy developed two days later. Constable Harry Murphy of Perkins filed a complaint with Sheriff Ellis Jones, charging that he was attacked by a mob of Klansmen while performing his duty in regulating

\textsuperscript{45}\textit{Examiner}, June 11, 1922, p. 2, c. 4.
\textsuperscript{46}\textit{Tbid}.
\textsuperscript{47}\textit{Bee}, June 12, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
\textsuperscript{48}\textit{Chronicle}, June 11, 1922, p. 13, c. 7.
traffic as an officer of the law. Kleagle Edgar Fuller and his aide, W. C. Wilkins, had ordered a mob of Klansmen to forcibly eject Constable Murphy from the road adjoining the Elliott Ranch, where he was engaged in clearing a traffic jam caused by the large number of people attending or observing the Klan meeting. Murphy charged that a mob of twenty Klansmen dragged him from the road and ordered him to leave the area. When he showed them his badge, he added, they told him to "mind his own business".\textsuperscript{49} Sheriff Jones said he would "investigate the charges", but the matter was apparently dropped after it had been aired in the press.\textsuperscript{50}

There is little evidence to indicate that the Sacramento Klavern engaged in the type of night-riding violence that became the hallmark of the Kern County Klansmen. Instead, the group employed the more subtle and socially acceptable methods of less violent persuasion and active participation in local political affairs as means to the ends they desired to achieve. As a consequence, the Sacramento Klan became heavily

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{49}\textit{Bee}, June 12, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
\item \textsuperscript{50}\textit{Examiner}, June 13, 1922, p. 19, c. 4.
\end{itemize}
involved in county and city politics. In addition to recruiting a number of public officials who held membership in the Klan, the organization took an active role in the 1922 primary and general elections in Sacramento County.

As early as June 19, the Bee reported that the Klan was actively supporting certain individual candidates. The first to receive the hooded organization's endorsement were Sheriff Ellis Jones, running for re-election; County Assessor Byron C. Erwin, also up for re-election; H. Hugh Sydenham, candidate for Justice of the Peace of Sacramento Township, and George E. Andrews, candidate for Public Administrator.51

The preliminary endorsement of four candidates was followed a month later by the formation of a county slate called the "Good Government Ticket", openly supported by the Klan. The "Good Government Ticket" included a dozen candidates for as many offices: For District Attorney, Charles A. Bliss; for Sheriff, Ellis Jones; for County Recorder, Charles A. Root; for County Clerk, Albert Greilich; for County Assessor, B. C. Erwin; for County Tax Collector, David E. Wiley; for Justice of the Peace, Sacramento

51Bee, June 19, 1922, p. 1, c. 1.
Township, H. Hugh Sydenham; for County Coroner, John T. Skelton; for Public Administrator, G. E. Andrews; for County Superintendent of Schools, Mrs. Rose Wells or R. E. Golway; for County Surveyor, Drury Butler or F. C. Miller; for Assemblyman, 14th District, Evan J. Hughes, or J. W. Johnston.\(^{52}\) Three of these candidates' names appeared on the list of Sacramento Klan members, i.e., Erwin, Greilich, and Andrews. Justice Sydenham had attended Klan meetings although his name was not on the membership list, and Sheriff Jones had employed several Klansmen as deputies.

Approximately coincident with the appearance of this "Good Government Ticket", members of the Sacramento Klan began to circulate petitions demanding that the city council remove City Manager Seavey from his position. The petitions alleged Seavey failed to enforce ordinances concerning moral laws and prohibition.\(^{53}\) Whether because of lack of support or other reasons, the petitions were never presented to the council, but the tactic was symbolic of the more sophisticated forms of coercion used by the capital city Klan, and

\(^{52}\) *Bee*, July 25, 1922, p. 1, c. 1.

\(^{53}\) *Californian*, July 25, 1922, p. 2, c. 5.
in marked contrast to the quick resort to direct violence in other communities.

In August, the Klan's archfoe in California, Los Angeles District Attorney Thomas Woolwine, traveled to Sacramento to speak in behalf of his fight for the Democratic Party's nomination for Governor. Woolwine addressed a good-sized crowd in the City Plaza on August 21, and began a hardhitting speech aimed at correcting misrepresentations by his opponents.

He had been attacked as a Catholic, he said, because of his stand on prohibition, but he was, in fact, a Protestant. He assured his listeners he had no objections to Catholics but simply wanted to get the record straight. He then began discussing his activities in Los Angeles against the Klan, and almost immediately a group of hecklers in the crowd began harassing him. One man near the front of the crowd called the candidate a liar and several persons began moving ominously toward Woolwine. A riot seemed imminent when Councilman H. S. Kiernan suddenly appeared and threatened the leader with arrest. No police officers were in sight during the heckling, but a group arrived a few moments later and disbursed the crowd, although no arrests were made.\(^5^4\) Not a hand

\(^5^4\) Bee, August 22, 1922, p. 1, c. 6.
had been laid on Woolwine, but the Klansmen had succeeded in breaking up a campaign speech by their old arch-enemy.

Three days before the primary election the Bee editors obtained and published a copy of a Klan order which had been sent to all local members. All members of the local Klan were directed to "cover the polls" all day on August 29, the day of the primary.\textsuperscript{55} If such vigilance was maintained, it was apparently done discreetly, for the press made no mention of active or subtle intimidation at the polls by Klansmen, with or without regalia.

When the results of the primary were in, it became obvious that the "Good Government Ticket" had failed. All the incumbents won, whether or not their names had appeared on the "Good Government Ticket". Two winners, B. C. Erwin (Assessor) and Charles Root (Recorder), were on the ticket; but, two others, Harry W. Hall (County Clerk) and F. J. O'Brien (Justice of the Peace, Sacramento Township) were not on the ticket. Four of the "Good Government" slate's candidates were eliminated: D. E. Wiley, H. H. Sydenham, 

\textsuperscript{55}Bee, August 26, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
Charles Bliss, and Albert Greilich. Two candidates opposed by the "Good Government" group, Ed Reese and Walter Hicks, lost anyway. In the Coroner's race, the Klan-endorsed incumbent, John T. Skelton, defeated his nearest opponent, George Klumpp, by a large margin, while in the contest for Public Administrator, Donald McDougall defeated G. E. Andrews, the "Good Government" candidate, by a similar margin. It was a victory for incumbency, making it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to assess the influence of the Klan in this election.56

The candidates in the general election now became: Sheriff, Ellis Jones vs. John P. Dunning; Public Administrator, Donald McDougall vs. George E. Andrews; Coroner, John T. Skelton vs. George Klumpp; District Attorney, J. J. Henderson vs. John C. March; Superintendent of Schools, Mrs. Margaret Anderson vs. Robert Golway. Those candidates who faced no opposition were: County Clerk, Harry W. Hall; Assessor, B. C. Erwin; Recorder, Charles Root; Tax Collector, Edward Repen; Surveyor, Drury Butler; Supervisors, Charles Alvord and John Scholefield; Justice of the Peace

56_The Bee_, August 31, 1922, p. 1, c. 6.
(Sacramento Township), F. J. O'Brien. 57

On November 1, J. B. Monihan, a former member of the Sacramento Klan, charged local Kleagle Edgar Fuller with violation of the election code. Monihan alleged that on the night before the primary election, Fuller had distributed a circular which purported to be sponsored by the "Catholic Welfare League", a fictitious organization. The hand-out stated that Catholics must place their religion above all else by voting only for other Catholics, or for those outside the Church who sympathized with it. The plan was to infuriate Protestants into anti-Catholic voting and to rally their support of the "Good Government Ticket". 58 Two days later, in Municipal Court, Fuller entered a plea of innocent to the charge of violating Sacramento City Ordinance No. 17, which prohibits distribution of election literature carrying no listing of the actual sponsors of the material. 59 He also faced a possible charge of violation of Section 62A of the State Penal Code, a similar statute. 60

57 Ibid.
58 Bee, November 1, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
60 Ibid.
is, however, no evidence that Fuller was ever brought to trial after the hearing at which his plea was entered.

While in the midst of this post-election dilemma, Kleagle Fuller chose to reveal more information on the recall petitions concerning City Manager Seavey which had been circulated in July. Alleging that H. Hugh Sydenham had drawn up the petitions, Fuller further stated:

I have the original petition in Sydenham's handwriting. Sydenham was angry with Seavey because he had not been retained in the office of chief of police and consequently started the circulation of the petition. The petition was withdrawn, however, upon my orders, that politics should not play a part in the Klan's affairs. 61

Fuller encountered yet more difficulty in connection with his pre-primary activities. On August 24, five days before the primary election, William R. Cook, candidate for County Sheriff, had filed a charge of libel against Fuller. Cook's complaint alleged that an article in the local Klan organ had quoted a statement by Fuller indicating that Cook had sought the Klan's support in the primary.

61Ibid.
Cook vehemently denied this. Fuller was released on bail but later Fuller's bondsman, S. J. Stephens, deserted him and surrendered him to the police on this charge because of Fuller's instability.

On November 4, the Bee reported that a large edition of the Klan paper, The Crusade, had been brought to Sacramento from Oakland. The paper carried a photograph of Friend Richardson, Republican candidate for Governor, on the front page and a strong appeal to Protestants to oppose Catholic control by defeating "Rome, rum, and rebellion."

How much effect all of this had on the voters of Sacramento County is difficult to determine. The election results were as follows: District Attorney, Henderson defeated March (14,437 to 12,752); Superintendent of Schools, Golway defeated Anderson (15,525 to 12,095); Sheriff, Jones over Dunning (16,221 to 11,429); Coroner, Skelton over Klumpp (15,508 to 11,018); Public Administrator, McDougall over Andrews (14,371 to 11,185). Only two of these offices were won by

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63 Bee, November 2, 1922, p. 1, c. 5.
64 Bee, November 4, 1922, p. 1, c. 3.
65 Bee, November 9, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
representatives of the "Good Government Ticket" and they were both incumbents -- a factor which was obviously of much greater importance than Klan support or lack of it. In other contests in the county, Thomas Woolwine lost the county by 111 votes, Hiram Johnson carried the county by a four-to-one margin, and a prohibition measure, known as the Wright Act, lost by approximately 15,000 to 10,000 votes. From this there appears to be no recognizable pattern of clear-cut Klan influence evident in the election results.

Meanwhile, the Sacramento Klavern did participate in activities other than not-too-effective attempts at influencing the outcome of elections, including a rare gesture of apparent goodwill toward a local Negro religious congregation. At 11:30 P.M. on Saturday night, October 14, 1922, a group of approximately thirty-five men, led by Fuller, began painting the African Methodist Church at Fourth Avenue and Sacramento Boulevard. The men worked through the night, finishing early the next morning. When they were finished, they pinned a note to the door:

Rev. T. Allen Harvey, Pastor
Kyles Temple, A.M.E. Zion Church.

Ibid.
We have observed that your church was badly in need of painting and have been given to understand that the necessary funds were not available at this time.

This organization stands with all honest men, whether black or white, or whatever color or creed, who are seeking the advancement of a Christian American civilization.

Therefore, as evidence of our good will toward you and your people, and respect for the cause you represent, we deem it a privilege at this time to do a humble service, and present here-with the painting job on your church complete.

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Sacramento Klan, 67
Realm of California

That Saturday night was an important one for the local Klan. Kleagle Fuller claimed that members of his local organization spread throughout the Sacramento area that evening and made many purchases of liquor from various grocers and restaurant operators in Sacramento. On the following Monday, Fuller announced that he would swear out warrants for the arrest of seventeen alleged bootleggers from whom the Klansmen had purchased the liquor; he also turned over to the police the supply of liquor which he

[Referenced source: The Sacramento Union, October 15, 1922, p. 1, c. 1]
claimed had been purchased by Klan members on October 14. Fuller added that he had 175 men combing the city looking for other sources of illicit liquor, and stated that Sacramento Chief of Police Bernard McShane had promised to cooperate with the Klan. 68

On the day following Fuller's charges, the Bee presented an account which shed a somewhat different light on this story. A local Sacramento restauranteur, Thomas Anselmo, one of those charged by Fuller with bootlegging, stated that Fuller had entered his establishment and asked him if he had a bottle of liquor for an "old friend". Anselmo said he gave Fuller a bottle of wine as a gift to a friend, but did not sell it to him, and Fuller then turned the bottle over to the police as "evidence". 69

In the midst of the turmoil over the 1922 elections, the Sacramento Klan suddenly came apart at the seams. The factionalism which had plagued other Klaverns now brought about the demise of the Klan in Sacramento. On October 31, Kleagle Edgar Fuller, acting in his capacity as a deputy sheriff, swore out

69 *Bee*, October 17, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
warrants for the arrest of five Klansmen on charges of grand larceny and another for embezzlement. Three of the men surrendered immediately and were released on their own recognizance. These were: H. Hugh Sydenham, Clyde Simmons, and Merle Moran, who, with "John Doe" and "Richard Roe", were accused of grand larceny. B. R. Tooke, deputy Kleagle, was charged with embezzlement of $600 belonging to Kleagle Fuller, and with taking the financial records of the organization. Fuller added that he also planned the arrest of 174 other Sacramento Klansmen, and charged that his private office had been entered by Klansmen who stole Klan regalia, robes, and personal belongings valued at $600. He further alleged that the burglary was admitted by members of the Klan.70

Fuller told representatives of the press that the local Klan was a provisional body, meaning it held no permanent charter from the national organization, and that, as Kleagle, he had the power to withdraw official recognition of the local body. He declared:

I am no longer responsible for the actions of any group of men in the city and county of Sacramento

70Bee, October 31, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
representing themselves to be the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. This is because the Ku Klux Klan does not exist in Sacramento any longer so far as the national body of the organization is concerned.\textsuperscript{71}

This statement was heralded as the "official dissolution" of the Sacramento Klan.

However, this was not the end of the story. Merle Moran, one of the Klansmen charged with larceny by Fuller, released a public statement which revealed the inner workings of the local Klan and provided insight into its leadership. Moran stated that both he and Fuller had moved to the Sacramento area from Virginia, although Fuller had preceded him by several years and he (Moran) had lived in California for only two-and-one-half years. Moran declared that Fuller was a former bond salesman and "confidence man". He charged Fuller with embezzlement of funds collected for subscriptions to the local Klan organ, \textit{100 Per Cent American}, which had ceased publishing in September of 1922 with no refund of subscription fees. Moran also alleged that Fuller had pocketed five or six dollars of every ten-dollar initiation fee he collected, and asserted that the treasury of the local Klan was

\textsuperscript{71}Ibid.
empty as a result. Moreover, he added that Fuller had 
fleeced the Roseville Klan out of $800 which was 
supposed to be used to buy a printing plant. He (Moran) 
had the Klan paraphernalia taken from Fuller's office, 
said, but emphasized that it belonged to the 
Sacramento Klan and not to Fuller, personally. He 
closed his statement by declaring that Fuller had no 
power to dissolve the local Klan, and that it would 
continue to function.^

H. Hugh Sydenham, Exalted 
Cyclops of the local body, concurred with Moran by 
stating that Fuller was a thief who had blocked all 
the group's attempts to audit the books.  

J. P. Monihan, another former Sacramento Klans-
man, also had an interesting tale to tell. He 
explained that Fuller had full access to Klan funds 
and that no records had been kept of collections and 
expenditures. He added that Fuller once reported a 
membership of 1,475; later he changed it to 1,268. 
But, when the auditing committee began to investigate, 
they discovered that the Klan had fewer than 500 
members and the treasury was short some $400. More-
over, Fuller had promised the Klansmen that they would 

\[72\] *Bee*, November 1, 1922, p. 1, c. 5.  
\[73\] *Bee*, November 1, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
receive one-half of his four-dollar fee for each new
member they recruited, but he had never paid up on
these promised "commissions". Monihan also said that
Fuller sold Klan robes for $6.50 when the same robe
sold for $6.00 in other states.74 (On this, he was in
error.)

To these charges of malfeasance and mis-
appropriation, Monihan added the claim of irresponsible
conduct of the group's meetings by Kleagle Fuller.
Monihan asserted that meetings of the local Klan
consisted of Fuller shouting "Stand up!" upon which
they all stood while Fuller ranted and raved. When
he was finished he would shout "Sit down!" and they
would comply. Fuller so enjoyed this game, said
Monihan, that during one meeting he had the Klansmen
alternately standing and sitting until "the performance
resembled the calisthenics of an army drill sergeant."
The game ceased when one of the knights suggested that
"someone hit him in the nose." The local Klan had
deposed Fuller two weeks prior to this statement,
Monihan declared, but King Kleagle Price had reinstated
him. Monihan added that the current squabble was a

74 Bea, November 1, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
fight among kleagles (Fuller and Moran) for spoils.

Monihan also related other interesting bits of information concerning the Klan. He declared that County Assessor B. C. Erwin had stated at a Klan meeting on August 19 that he was forcing the Catholic Church to pay taxes on St. Joseph Cemetery property. Also, Monihan said, the Klan maintained an "investigation committee", headed by Clyde Simmonds, that snooped into the private affairs of numerous Sacramentoans. He concluded by explaining how King Kleagle Price, at the September 30 meeting of the local Klan, had revealed a plan to defeat Woolwine. This would be accomplished by swearing out charges of a vile nature just before the election, apparently referring to the Klan-arranged affidavit concerning the "affair" between Woolwine and Miss Ida Jones of his office staff.\footnote{Ibid.}

Fuller answered these allegations by declaring that the Sacramento Klan had split up because of dissension in the ranks concerning the contest for local District Attorney. One faction had supported J. J. Henderson and the other John C. March. Fuller charged that H. Hugh Sydenham was attempting to become

\footnote{Ibid.}
a "political dictator" and had led the faction supporting March. Now under fire from his former associates, Fuller apparently felt free to discuss details of the local Klan's organization and activities.

He said the Sacramento Klan had been organized in the spring of 1922, and its first initiation was held at the Odd Fellows Temple at Ninth and K Streets. The original exalted cyclops was Fred S. Peck, but Peck resigned when the *Bee* revealed the membership list, and was replaced in this position by J. L. R. Marsh, the Secretary of the Sacramento Federated Trades. Fuller stated that at one time or another nearly all the Protestant ministers in Sacramento had been members of the local klavern.76

Thus, the Sacramento Klan was split apart because of internal dissension. The publicity given to the Klan by the local press (especially the *Bee*) had been a major factor in its destruction, as had the prompt and effective action by local public officials. But, in the last analysis it was factionalism in its own ranks which did most to hasten the last dying breath of the Sacramento Klan.

76 *Bee*, November 1, 1922, p. 11, c. 5.
In November, 1922, ex-Kleagle Fuller was eventually cleared of the various charges against him because of a lack of evidence.\textsuperscript{77} He then disappeared from the Sacramento area and the Far West, to turn up again in press accounts of subsequent activities in the Midwestern State of Nebraska, the following spring. His Nebraska career is worthy of at least a brief synopsis here for what it reveals about the man Fuller and his role in Klan affairs in Northern California.

Fuller announced on March 20, 1923, in Omaha, Nebraska, that he was organizing the Fascisti of America, an organization designed to replace the Klan. The new order would not permit hoods, but black suits would be worn, Fuller added. He declared that the organization was not affiliated in any way with Mussolini's current movement in Italy, and commented on the character of the order:

\begin{quote}
It is not political. It is purely patriotic. It is to fight red radicalism and to uphold the rights of a free and enlightened people to choose their own religion and worship God according to the dictates of their hearts. Our work will be done in the open.\textsuperscript{78}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{77}Bee, November 3, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.

\textsuperscript{78}Bakersfield Daily Californian, March 20, 1923, p. 1, c. 4.
Fuller concluded that agents of the Fascisti, many of them former members of the Klan, were already busily recruiting throughout the United States.

On March 21, Fuller was elected "Grand Lictor" (Chief Officer) of the Fascisti but said his tenure would be only temporary until the next regular meeting of the organization was held. On May 2, Omaha Mayor James C. Dahlman accepted the position as head of the Fascisti in America. Fuller took advantage of the ceremonial occasion to further explain the principles of the new order to the public. These were as follows:

1. Support of the Constitution;
2. Engendering of "pure Americanism";
3. Prevention and elimination of causes of mob violence;
4. Protection of "pure womanhood";
5. Upholding the rights of a free and enlightened people to choose their own religion.

Fuller reaffirmed that the organization was not connected with Mussolini's movement in Italy. He said the ideals of the Fascisti were "similar to the ideals of the Ku Klux Klan," but "quite different from those

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79 *Californian*, March 21, 1923, p. 1, c. 7.
80 *Californian*, May 2, 1923, p. 1, c. 2.
which that organization practices." The symbol of the Fascisti was a black shirt with an outstretched golden eagle over the heart. Fuller was to continue the "good fight" for many years, pausing only briefly to trade his hood and sheet for a black shirt.

\textsuperscript{81} Ibid.
Roseville Area

There was also considerable Klan activity in the Roseville area during the early 1920's. In the summer of 1922 the Bee revealed an account of the way in which local Klan organizers (especially Fuller) had exploited William Ferguson, a wealthy rancher and fruit grower of Loomis. Fuller had convinced Ferguson to turn over large sums of money to him, supposedly to finance Klan activities, and Fuller had received nearly four thousand dollars in this fashion before Ferguson's relatives stepped into the picture. These relatives then had Ferguson committed to Clark's Sanitarium in Stockton, where he was certified as insane by the owner, Asa M. Clark. Soon after, John Ferguson, William's brother, began to feel the wrath of the Klan. He received threatening letters, had crosses burned in the yard of his home, and shots were fired into his home -- all in an attempt to have William Ferguson released. When this plan failed, Fuller and E. L. McColl traveled to Clark's Sanitarium to argue for Ferguson's release, but were unsuccessful.\textsuperscript{82}

\textsuperscript{82}\textit{Bee}, August 26, 1922, p. 1, c. 8.
After the Sacramento Klan disintegrated in November of 1922, the Reverend C. R. Fairfield, pastor of the Roseville Presbyterian Church and Klan organizer for the Roseville area, made a public statement which revealed much about the Roseville Klan and its leadership over the past several months. Fairfield stated that the local Klan had been organized by Fuller and himself. An agreement had been reached between them whereby Fairfield was to receive three dollars for each member he recruited, with the remaining seven dollars of the ten-dollar "contribution" required of all new members to go to Sacramento, and from there to Los Angeles. Fairfield stated he ended this arrangement when he began to suspect that Fuller was simply pocketing the seven dollars instead of forwarding it to Klan headquarters in Los Angeles.83

Fairfield added that in the beginning he had been convinced of the sincerity and high moral character of Fuller, but he later became certain that Fuller was a thief. He said the Roseville chapter had never received a charter from the national organization. At first, Fuller had declared that the Roseville Klan

83 _Bee_, November 4, 1922, p. 17, c. 8.
would be granted a charter when it had a membership of 25. Later he changed the "magic number" to 50, and still later to 250. Also, some thirty Roseville Klansmen had paid six dollars and fifty cents apiece for Klan robes but not one had been received from Sacramento. 84

The biggest swindle of all involved a plan to purchase a local newspaper plant in order to publish the local Klan paper, 100 Per Cent American. Upon Fuller's urging, the Roseville Klan agreed to raise $850 to make the down payment, but the balance of the $7,500 purchase price was to be raised by the Sacramento Klan. Somewhere around the end of September (apparently at the same time that the revolt against Fuller was brewing in the Sacramento Klan) Fuller informed the Roseville members that they were to be "privileged" to raise the entire amount, and that the Sacramento Klan was to be deprived of participation in the project. He added that this was being done because he wanted to "be rid of the Sacramento bunch." The Roseville Klan membership dropped sharply because of this scheme in which Fuller demanded seventy-five to eighty $100 contributions with no security of any

84 Ibid.
kind. The members refused to comply and Roseville's Klavern membership dropped from 175 to 20 in a very short period of time.\textsuperscript{85}

It also appears that Fuller borrowed money freely from the Roseville Klansmen and never repaid a single cent. If a member complained, Fuller would threaten to banish him from the Invisible Empire. Reverend Fairfield stated he still believed in the principles of the Klan and that the local Klan treasury was still intact.\textsuperscript{86}

At a meeting of the Roseville City Council on February 14, 1923, an anti-mask ordinance was introduced by John Herring, a wealthy rancher. Reverend Fairfield appeared at the meeting and assailed the proposed ordinance as being specifically directed at the Klan. Several members of the council admitted this was true. Reverend Fairfield then directed several insulting remarks at the councilmen who threatened to have him forcibly ejected. He then made a hurried exit, but not before he declared the he would appear again before the council "perhaps accompanied by others" to combat the ordinance.\textsuperscript{87}

\textsuperscript{85}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{86}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{87}Examiner, February 15, 1923, p. 6, c. 4.
Councilman William Haman declared that he was tired of men in "gowns and pillow cases running around frightening women and children." 88 Another council member, Dr. Bradford Woodbridge, charged that Fairfield's church was the only church in Roseville that had not denounced the Klan, and asserted that the Presbyterian Church was used as a meeting place for the local Klan. He added:

The Ku Klux Klan cannot intimidate this board of trustees. The people of Roseville have decided to put an end to Ku Klux Klan parades in the street and Klan meetings in public places of worship. 89

The ordinance was eventually adopted.

However, the Reverend Mr. Fairfield's problems were just beginning. It seems that he was not the full-fledged minister of the Roseville Presbyterian Church, but only a temporary substitute whose contract had to be renewed by the congregation on an annual basis. At a meeting of the congregation, on April 6, an influential member, Mrs. Annie King, charged that Fairfield devoted too much time and energy to the Klan, and not enough to church activities. Fairfield was

88 Ibid.
89 Examiner, February 16, 1923, p. 8, c. 4.
defended by Samuel Berg, an unsuccessful candidate for the state assembly, and Charles Ray, while Mrs. C. L. Pelton, the recording secretary of the church, supported Mrs. King's position. Mrs. King added that she strongly objected to the use of the church as a Klan meeting hall. But, when a vote was taken, Fairfield was re-hired on a vote of 35 to 15. Following this action, the Reverend William Howe of Sacramento, a special moderator of the church, stated that the vote of the congregation and Fairfield's activities would be examined by the Presbytery at its meeting in Elk Grove on April 17.90

When the meeting came to order it became clear that Fairfield was not even a fully ordained Presbyterian minister, but was "in transit" between the ministry of the Southern branch of the Methodist Church and the Presbyterian church. It became known that when Fairfield first applied to become a Presbyterian minister, he was unable to pass qualifying examinations on his knowledge of the doctrines and rules of the Presbyterian church. As a result, he was granted six months' time to prepare himself for another examination.

90Bee, April 7, 1923, p. 19, c. 1.
In the meantime he was authorized to fill the vacancy at Roseville until this meeting of the Presbytery when the matter was to be considered again.\footnote{Examiner, April 29, 1924, p. 3, c. 3.}

The denominational executive commission submitted a report which called for immediate termination of Fairfield's ministerial career and refusal of his application for permanent credentials in the Presbyterian Church. The Presbytery deferred action on this request. After a heated session, the Presbytery placed Fairfield on six months' probation.\footnote{Examiner, April 19, 1923, p. 5, c. 1.}

In April of 1924, a report indicated that there had been two night visits by unknown persons to the Roseville Presbyterian Church. The first time the group had attempted to burn the edifice of the church, but local police officers extinguished the flames after firing several shots at the fleeing arsonists. Two weeks later a group forced the doors of the church, cut the electric wires attached to a so-called "fiery cross", and tore the cross from the steeple of the church. This cross had been the subject of bitter controversy since Fairfield had erected it.\footnote{Bee, April 18, 1923, p. 9, c. 5.} So, apparently the
Roseville Klan was still operative and Fairfield was once again centrally involved in its activities. The Roseville Klan continued to function for several years, although its membership was limited to a few die-hards who refused to see the handwriting on the wall.
Northern Sacramento Valley

Scattered reports of Klan activity in the northern end of the Sacramento Valley were published in the local press from time to time, indicating at least a brief influence of the organization in these parts of Upper California, also.

In October of 1922, three wealthy residents of Tehama County received threatening letters demanding large sums of money and promising the death penalty if they failed to comply. All the letters were signed, "K.K.K.", and the three were identified as: G. H. King, a millionaire landowner and merchant of Red Bluff; T. A. Shoop, President of Tehama County Bank in Corning; T. H. Ramsey, a bank president from Red Bluff. A total of $34,000 was demanded in the letters, all of which were apparently written by the same person. All the men were placed under protective guard and police and postal authorities were called in to investigate.94

Whether the letters were a hoax or a crude attempt at extortion by the Klan is open to conjecture,

94Chronicle, October 5, 1922, p. 1, c. 6.
as no further mention of the incident could be found. It seems more than a mere possibility that news of the Klans' presence elsewhere in Northern California may have inspired the use of the Klans' name in an extortion hoax by local criminal elements in this incident in Tehama County.

Two reports from Marysville indicated the relatively early presence of the Klans in that community, and its persistence beyond the breakup of the organization in other parts of the state. On March 7, 1922, near the mining town of Hammonton, a gang of grammar school boys clad in white robes and masks descended upon a newsboy, Emil Raetz, as he was delivering his newspapers. As the boy was being subjected to a severe beating by the gang, a stranger appeared and drove off the gang, saving Emil from severe injuries. The boys were possibly emulating their elders, or may actually have been a junior Klan auxiliary body.

On July 26, 1924, a crowd estimated at 5,000 crowded the Marysville Municipal Park to watch the Klan stage a public initiation. Klansmen from different

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[^95]: *Chronicle*, March 10, 1922, p. 7, c. 3.
areas of Northern California and Oregon were reported to have been present, and the Reverend K. K. Allen, national lecturer for the Anti-Narcotic League was the featured speaker.\textsuperscript{96} This initiation and rally is the last of the period to receive public notice in the mid-decade.

In Woodland, the customary goodwill gesture of a Klan donation of ten dollars to an itinerant evangelist, Charles Rimmer, along with a note assuring Rimmer of the Klan's support soon split the local Ministerial Union into two factions. The note and donation were given to Rimmer by the Reverend W. T. Bobbitt, pastor of the local Christian Church, who said they had been given to him by a lodge brother who had in turn received them from a Klansman. Bobbitt refused to reveal any names but said he, himself, was not a member of the Klan. The Reverend Mr. Rimmer also denied Klan membership, but declared he sympathized with the organization. The Reverend C. C. Black, pastor of the local Southern Methodist Church denounced the affair and the organization behind it, and was supported by the Reverends J. T. Muse, a Negro Baptist

\textsuperscript{96}Chronicle, July 28, 1924, p. 12, c. 2.
minister, and A. J. Loutwein, a Lutheran pastor. The
Reverend G. G. Berger, pastor of the Northern Methodist
Church, said he supported Rimmer but couldn't support
the Klan if the newspaper exposes were true.97 While
the Klan may have been active for some time in Woodland,
it is quite clear that it did not enjoy the near-
unanimous Protestant clerical support which it
received in some locales.

Elsewhere in Northern California, scattered
statements of opposition by various lodges, societies,
and veteran's groups testify to the Klan's presence
and to its limited acceptance, and Klan officials
themselves indicate a sparse scattering of membership
over the reaches of the Northern Central Valley.

The Willows Post of the American Legion, early
in May, 1922, condemned the Klan as an un-American
organization to which American Legion members could not
belong.98 Two weeks later, on May 16, the State
Convention of the Knights of Pythias, meeting in Chico,
passed a resolution condemning the Klan and calling for
members of the Knights of Pythias who were also members

97Examiner, April 25, 1922, p. 15, c. 2.
98Examiner, May 4, 1922, p. 17, c. 2.
of the Klan to give up the Klan.\textsuperscript{99} And, the Red Bluff Post of the American Legion passed a similar resolution on May 24, 1922.\textsuperscript{100}

Apparently the membership in each of these smaller Northern communities was so insignificant that they had to band together from several towns to make any sizeable show of numbers. It was revealed in November, 1922, that the "Gerber Klan" included members from Red Bluff, Los Molinos, Corning, and other towns in that area, and the "Yuba City Klan" included members from Marysville as well.\textsuperscript{101} Furthermore, judging from statements made by Merle Moran of the Sacramento Klan, it appears that all these Klans in Superior California were provisional, and operated without charters from the national organization.\textsuperscript{102}

It seems probable under such circumstances that local kleagles succeeded in completely fleecing the membership of their money and that Superior California Klaverns were never officially a part of the state or

\textsuperscript{99}Examiner, May 17, 1922, p. 2, c. 1.
\textsuperscript{100}Examiner, May 25, 1922, p. 15, c. 8.
\textsuperscript{101}Bee, November 1, 1922, p. 1, c. 5.
\textsuperscript{102}Ibid.
national Klan organization. It logically follows that the Ku Klux Klan existed in the Sacramento Valley primarily as a money-making scheme designed to enhance the financial status of its organizers and top officials. The K.K.K.'s political activities must then be regarded as secondary to this goal, although the failure of the Klan's hopeful local political effort in the Sacramento elections of 1922, may have triggered the open break between cynical, profiteering kleagles and naively zealous rank-and-file Klansmen which shattered the movement at the peak of its popularity.
CHAPTER IV

THE KLAN IN THE
SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

The first Bay Area press notice of the Klan's presence in California brought a critical editorial in the San Francisco Chronicle in March of 1922. Inasmuch as the statement was a crisp and pungent one, the full text is here included:

The Invisible Empire is the subtitle of the organization known as the Ku Klux Klan. It seems to be a misnomer, for, in the words of the Scriptures, all their works they do to be seen of men.

Why else the white robes, the mummery, the melodramatics, the diligently press-agented secrecy? The bizarre has no justification unless it is seen. It is plain that these votaries of Mumbo Jumbo, these imitators of African witch doctors and Eskimo wizards want to be seen, intend to be seen, and would shrivel with disappointment and go into dissolution like a salted slug if they could not be seen.

In two successive days we have had two of their bizarre and melodramatic appearances. Near Taft, where the Klan, or a body passing under that name, has been busy of late unsurping the functions of the law and terrorizing citizens, a sheeted crew marched into a church bestowed the valuable and important benediction of the Invisible Empire on
the pastor and $15 on the church treasury, and gibbered out again. Everything possible, it seems, was done to notify the Klan's right hand of what it's left was doing.

In Los Angeles, another crew tricked out like Zulu magicians descended on a funeral and performed a hugger mugger about the grave.

Now, perhaps these were not appearances of the authentic blown-in-the-bottle Ku Klux Klan. Sheets are cheap and imitation easy to a band of jokers. But, if they were genuine manifestations of the Invisible Empire they are not remarkably impressive. It is too close to the shamanistic vaudeville by which savages seek to impress and frighten their women and children.¹

Some seven weeks later another editorial - this time in a rival newspaper - informed readers that there were approximately 27,000 aliens residing in San Francisco. This was written in context of the Examiner's support for increased educational funds for an "Americanization" program among these aliens.² "Americanization" had its limits, however, as another editorial on the same page of the same newspaper testified to the contemporary anti-Oriental sentiment

¹San Francisco Chronicle, March 9, 1922, p. 24, c. 1. (Hereinafter referred to as Chronicle.)

²San Francisco Examiner, April 28, 1922, p. 28, c. 2. (Hereinafter referred to as Examiner.)
in California, and the Examiner's espousal of that sentiment:

The Japanese at home understand thoroughly well why the people of the Pacific Coast object to the presence of Japanese in large numbers in our states. They have similar objections to other peoples.

In the Japanese newspaper "Asahi", it is reported that the police of Tokyo have rounded up about 200 Chinese working men for deportation to China. The Japanese have no racial objection to these Chinese. It is a purely economic one. The Chinamen work for less. So they are undesirable anywhere in Tokyo. Therefore they are deported.

It is very simple. And, the Japanese are too logical a people not to understand thoroughly that what works in Japan works also in Washington and Oregon and California. Against this backdrop of racist sentiment and implied approval of vigilance-type action against the minority, a discussion of the Klan's role in the Bay area is more clearly understood.

Following the (April, 1922) raid on Grand Goblin Coburn's state headquarters office in Los Angeles, the Examiner announced that the Klan's membership list of Bay Area residents contained the

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3Examiner, April 28, 1922, p. 28, c. 1.
names of 128 federal and city officials, including 25 San Francisco police officers. On the following day, the Examiner disclosed that a San Francisco dentist, Dr. John D. Eckes, had admitted sympathy with the principles of the Klan and displayed its literature. The dentist, however, denied having any connection with the organization, nor would he admit that he intended to organize a Klavern in the Bay Area.

San Francisco District Attorney Matthew Brady on the next day confirmed the existence of a list of San Francisco Klansmen, which contained about 200 names. Brady stated that he didn't believe public officials should belong to the Klan, and that if it could be definitely confirmed that the names of public officials did appear on the list, he would make them public. Brady added that, thus far, no formal complaints against the Klan had been filed with his office.

On May 11, Brady announced that three San Francisco residents whose names appeared on the list had visited him at his office. Each of them issued a statement which declared he had joined the Klan because

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4 Examiner, May 4, 1922, p. 17, c. 2.
5 Examiner, May 5, 1922, p. 17, c. 8.
6 Examiner, May 6, 1922, p. 2, c. 5.
of misrepresentation of the organization, and stated that he now wished to repudiate his connection with the Klan. Brady added that one of the men was a prominent businessman and another was a law student.7

Three days later, Brady announced that there were at least 20 San Francisco public officials on the list, including ten police officers, and stated that he would probably ask for an investigation by the grand jury. He denounced the Klan as "un-American", and declared he would do everything in his power to smash its advance into the area. He added that he would turn over the names of public officials on the list to the various department heads so that they might initiate action. However, Brady steadfastly refused to release for publication the names of private citizens who appeared on the list.8

On the following day, San Francisco Chief of Police Daniel J. O'Brien issued a general order to all police officers. It declared that all officers who were at that time or had been in the past, affiliated with the Klan, were required to file a written report

7 Examiner, May 11, 1922, p. 3, c. 1.
describing their connection with the organization.⁹
O'Brien also released the name of one police officer
whose name appeared on the Klan list, Police Sergeant
William M. Ross, a sixty-six-year-old officer who had
been a member of the force for thirty-two years. Ross
admitted being initiated into the Invisible Empire
but said he resigned in April of 1922 after four
months of membership. He defended the Klan as
"thoroughly American", but failed to explain why he
had resigned.¹⁰

On that same day, Brady received a threatening
letter which read:

Don't be a fool. Lay off the
K.K.K. stuff. See where they have
Woolwine. This will get you in
worse than he is. They got the goods
on you right now.

(Signed) Mac.¹¹

Brady said he would proceed with his plan to stamp
out the Klan in the area.

On May 17, the Examiner released a list of
San Francisco public officials whose names appeared
on the Klan list. It included the following list of

¹⁰Ibid.
men (followed by the number of years each had served on the force): Sergeant William M. Ross (previously mentioned) (22); Sergeant Harry Cillis (32); Corporal Carl Justis (14); Traffic Officer John T. Kelly (14); Patrolman Arther L. Christiansen (8), then under suspension for alleged participation in a prohibition fraud; Patrolman William J. Hyland (22); Patrolman J. L. DuBose (4); Patrolman T. L. Herring (7); Patrolman F. H. Goesser (3); Fire Department Hoseman Allen G. Searcy; and Fire Department Hoseman Arthur Farrow.\textsuperscript{12}

A list of Klan organizers in the area was also included, and Dr. John D. Ecke, J. D. Gough, William G. McRae, Bertram Christie, R. M. Caruthers, and W. C. Buck were listed as Kleagles.\textsuperscript{13}

On May 22, Brady appeared before the grand jury to outline details of his investigation into Klan activities and organization in the area. The grand jury decided to investigate the Klan in San Francisco beginning June 1. Brady reported that he was receiving more threatening letters signed "K.K.K." nearly every day, but declared he was ignoring them.\textsuperscript{14} The County

\textsuperscript{12}\textit{Examiner}, May 17, 1922, p. 2, c. 1.

\textsuperscript{13}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{14}\textit{Examiner}, May 23, 1922, p. 1, c. 4.
Board of Supervisors also requested Brady to appear before them concerning the Klan but Brady refused, stating he would present his information only to the grand jury.\(^{15}\)

The Grand Jury investigation had been under way for some time, when, on July 8, King Kleagle G. W. Price came to San Francisco on Klan business. Price was quoted as saying that public criticism of the Klan was subsiding and "the people are becoming to realize more the high purposes of that organization."\(^{16}\) Just as in the Los Angeles hearings, he was trying to "rally the faithful" and attempting to offset the Klan's negative publicity by such statements.

On July 15, the grand jury announced its intention to publish the entire Klan membership list, including both public officials and private citizens. John S. Phillips, foreman of the grand jury, explained that this was being done to end charges that the grand jury was trying to protect influential residents of the community who held Klan membership.\(^{17}\)

\(^{15}\) *Examiner*, May 24, 1922, p. 5, c. 1.

\(^{16}\) *Bakersfield Daily Californian*, July 8, 1922, p. 1, c. 4.

\(^{17}\) *Examiner*, July 15, 1922, p. 1, c. 4.
diligent search of the press failed to reveal this list at that time, however.

A few weeks later, Police Chief O'Brien issued an order which stated that no employee of the police department could hold membership in the Klan and also remain in his job. He declared that the Klan oath was contrary to a police officer's oath of office, and directed those members of the department whose names had once appeared on the Klan list to file a report indicating whether they had resigned from the order.18

Dr. John D. Eckes, the Klan organizer in San Francisco, had some well-publicized domestic and business problems which definitely reflected on the Klan as an organization. He had been sued for divorce by his wife in 1916 on grounds of "arrogant cruelty" and had later remarried.19 But, May 25, 1922 Mrs. Ida Eckes, his former wife, who then resided at Lodi, swore out a warrant for his arrest, charging him with failure to provide for their twelve year old son, Howard. The first Mrs. Eckes stated that the doctor

18 Examiner, August 10, 1922, p. 4, c. 4.
had made his last child-support payment in December of 1921. Dr. Ecket was soon released on bail on this charge.20

This was only the beginning of his problems with the law, however. On May 24, 1922, he was arrested on six charges of violating California's "blue sky laws". It was alleged that he had been involved in the sale of oil stock without first obtaining a state license. The warrants were issued upon the recommendation of District Attorney Brady, who stated his belief that fraud was involved.21 Ecket charged that he was being prosecuted because of his Klan affiliation. Judge McAtee, disagreed, however, and in binding the defendant over for trial, that jurist set the bail at $21,000 on this charge. Inasmuch as Ecket was unable to raise this amount, he was forced to remain in jail.22 The judge later reduced bail to $10,000 and then to $5,000.23 Ecket eventually was tried and convicted on this securities law offense,

20 Examiner, May 26, 1922, p. 17, c. 2.
22 Ibid.
23 Examiner, June 1, 1922, p. 9, c. 4.
while the child-support case against him was dismissed because of a question concerning jurisdiction.

All the unfavorable publicity surrounding these cases greatly damaged the Klan image and undoubtedly was a major factor in deterring new Klan membership in the San Francisco area.
East Bay

As may be noted in the preceding pages, there was not a great deal of discoverable Klan activity in San Francisco proper. However, in the East Bay communities of Oakland, Richmond, Berkeley, etc., a different picture emerged, and it may well be that interested San Franciscans crossed the Bay to take part in Klan activities there.

On May 3, 1922 a huge Klan initiation ceremony was held in the Contra Costa hills near Oakland. A group of invited newsmen, who were taken blindfolded to the scene and then allowed to watch the proceedings, reported that this rite was attended by nearly one thousand Klansmen. Press photographers were also allowed to take some pictures on this occasion. After the initiation was over, the newsmen were once again blindfolded and returned to Oakland.\footnote{Ch_{\text{Chronicle}}, March 4, 1922, p. 2, c. 8.}

Two days later, the Chronicle reported a persistent rumor which held the federal government was investigating reports of the initiation. United
States Attorney John T. Williams admitted that he had been in conference with Fred L. Esola of the Department of Justice concerning this matter; Esola refused, however, to discuss the report with the press.\textsuperscript{25} Another rumor held that Klan officials had attempted to have one of their own appointed as a special agent of the Department of Justice in order to keep the Klan informed about possible government proceedings against the Klan.\textsuperscript{26}

A few days later, six members of the Klan appeared at the California Crematorium in Oakland, for another of their celebrated "public funeral" ceremonials for a departed "brother". According to reports, advance notice of the intended visit was given to the local press, accompanied by an invitation to attend. The six arrived dressed in normal business attire and requested permission to use a room in which to put on their "uniforms". Permission was granted and the six soon emerged in full regalia. They grouped around the casket of George H. Brown, deceased, and stood with their hands above their heads while the leader of the

\textsuperscript{25}\textit{Chronicle,} March 5, 1922, p. 10, c. 5.

\textsuperscript{26}\textit{Ibid.}
group delivered a eulogy of Brown, whom he described as a fellow Klansman who had passed into eternity. The leader then placed a floral cross composed of red carnations up on the casket. The group returned to the private room, removed their regalia, and drove away. Brown had been a resident of Alameda and a member of the fire department. Friends queried later declared that if Brown was a Klansman, he certainly had kept it a well-guarded secret.27

In April, there were two reports of threatening letters signed "K.K.K." sent to Oakland residents Moosa Bryan and E. A. Nelson, but Oakland police questioned if the letters were, in fact, from the Klan. Early in May another threatening letter was received by G. W. Rumble of Berkeley, a retired businessman. The letter stated that Rumble had incurred the displeasure of the Klan and threatened him with death. Berkeley Police Chief August Vollmer regarded this threat as a serious matter and immediately appointed a special police guard for the Rumble residence.28

27Chronicle, March 12, 1922, p. 48, c. 5.
On May 5, the Oakland Klan conducted another open-air initiation ceremony in the hills outside of Oakland. Newsmen reported that 500 men were initiated into the Invisible Empire, and the ceremony was attended by nearly two thousand Klansmen. The candidates were drawn from all the bay cities as well as San Jose, Sacramento, and Vallejo. 29

As in other communities, the Klan membership list released by San Francisco District Attorney Brady contained the names of some prominent East Bay residents, including: Dr. E. V. Tiffany, an Oakland physician; Piedmont Chief of Police E. F. Becker, and Oakland Patrolman R. M. Beagle. 30 A few days later, all three denied Klan membership. Dr. Tiffany stated he had attended a Klan meeting some months earlier, but had never become a member. Becker said he had been approached by Kleagle William McRae, but had not joined. He explained that his name might have appeared on a list of prospects, however. Beagle completely denied any connection with the Klan. 31

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29 Examiner, May 7, 1922, p. 2, c. 2.
30 Examiner, May 17, 1922, p. 4, c. 1.
31 Examiner, May 18, 1922, p. 4, c. 1.
On May 24, a prominent Oakland architect, Maury I. Diggs, whose name had also appeared on the Klan list, similarly denied membership in the Klan. He stated that he had signed a preliminary questionnaire for membership, but never completed filing his application.32

California Attorney General Webb, when consulted on the question of criminal prosecution of Klansmen, stated his opinion that members of the Klan could not be prosecuted under California's criminal syndicalism law.33 Oakland District Attorney Ezra Decoto concurred in this opinion, and added that he believed that there was no state law under which Klansmen could be prosecuted for mere membership in the order.34 However, Oakland Commissioner of Public Health and Safety, Frank Colbourn announced his intention to submit an ordinance to the city council which would prohibit Klan membership by city employees.35

On May 25, the Oakland City Council passed an

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32Examiner, May 25, 1922, p. 15, c. 7.
33Examiner, May 18, 1922, p. 4, c. 1.
34Ibid.
35Examiner, May 24, 1922, p. 5, c. 1.
anti-mask ordinance, similar to that enacted in Sacramento and other cities in the state. The ordinance forbade any person to appear in public, within the city limits, in any "mask, cap, cowl, hood, or other thing concealing the identity of the wearer." However, participants in carnivals or similar affairs were specifically exempted from the law. Violation was declared to be a misdemeanor carrying a penalty of a fine not to exceed $500 or imprisonment for up to six months.\(^{36}\)

However, this ordinance apparently had very little effect as what was reported to be the largest Klan initiation ceremony ever to take place in the Bay Area was held a few months later. The ceremony was conducted in the marshlands between Mount Diablo and the Carquinez Straits, and Klansmen from the Bay cities, Sacramento and Stockton were reported to have participated. The entire function was witnessed by five representatives of the press who reported that approximately 1,500 men were initiated.\(^{37}\)

In September what was reported as "the first

\(^{36}\textit{Chronicle},\) May 26, 1922, p. 13, c. 7.

\(^{37}\textit{Chronicle},\) August 14, 1922, p. 3, c. 1.
funeral to be conducted in the city of Alameda under the auspices of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" took place. William Fred Inselman, deceased, was the recipient of an elaborate Klan ritual.  

Another large initiation was held in the hills east of Oakland on October 28, in the exact spot where the May 5 initiation had been conducted. Klan officials allowed outside spectators to witness the affair; reports of these observers indicated that approximately 1,000 people viewed the ceremony in its entirety.  

The use of the Berkeley High School Auditorium for a Klan meeting on December 4 stirred up a storm of local protest. An investigation revealed that the use of the auditorium had been approved by the Berkeley Board of Education. However, Dr. William B. Harris, President of the Board and a University of California professor, explained that he had been deceived as to the character of the meeting. He had been assured, he said, that the auditorium was to be used for a lecture by Dr. L. A. Brown, in which nothing disloyal

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38 Examiner, September 29, 1922, p. 4, c. 3.
39 Examiner, October 30, 1922, p. 5, c. 6.
would be stated. The two local businessmen who made the arrangements had further assured Dr. Harris that the lecture would not constitute a Klan meeting. Dr. Harris had passed this information along to the other board members who then approved the request. It is interesting to note here that the law required that the auditorium be rented "for educational purposes only."^{40}

Things were fairly quiet on the Bay Area "Klan front" for a few months. Then, on the night of March 31 and early morning of April 1 (Easter Sunday), another spectacular outdoor initiation was held at Mount St. Helena, in Napa County. The ceremony was reportedly attended by Klansmen from Sacramento, Alameda, Contra Costa and Napa counties. The participants scattered cards along the highway and in the streets of Calistoga, St. Helena, and Napa which read:

Yesterday, Today and Forever: Look out for another outdoor initiation soon.^{41}

On Easter Sunday night, another outdoor

^{40} Examiner, December 6, 1922, p. 7, c. 5.
^{41} Examiner, April 2, 1923, p. 2, c. 2.
initiation was held on Cragmont Rock, a public park in Berkeley. The Klan had received official permission from the Berkeley police authorities and from Park Superintendent Carl Hiedenbach, who stated that as long as no laws were violated, there was nothing to prevent the Klan from holding its service there. The Klansmen rallied around a huge flaming cross which could be seen for miles. Residents of the Cragmont district were thoroughly aroused by this use of city property and on April 2, began circulating petitions demanding the enactment of a law by the Berkeley City Council which would prohibit future Klan ceremonies in Berkeley. The petitions called for barring of "demonstrations that cast about the social and democratic fabrics of society an atmosphere of terrorism and prejudice not conducive to strengthening the common belief in the efficacy of American institutions." The petition drive was led by George Cronyn, a playwright whose home overlooked the park in which the Klan ceremony took place. He remarked that his children had been so thoroughly frightened by the spectacle that they had hidden under their beds.  

\[42\text{Examiner, April 3, 1923, p. 1, c. 3.}\]  
\[43\text{Examiner, April 4, 1923, p. 2, c. 8.}\]
The next substantial controversy involving the Klan in this area revolved around its appearance in a public Fourth of July parade scheduled to be held in Oakland. The local Klan had applied, on May 22, for a permit to participate in the parade, and the permit was granted by Chief of Police James T. Drew. However, as various local civic and religious organizations became aware of the issuance of the permit, opposition to Klan participation in the parade began to crystallize. In reaction to the mounting anti-Klan pressure, Drew revoked the permit and was supported in this action by Oakland Commissioner of Public Health and Safety Frank Colbourn. Approximately six hundred Klansmen stormed the next Oakland City Council meeting to protest cancellation of their scheduled participation. The Council also received a message from V. J. Moodie, King Kleagle of the San Francisco Bay jurisdiction, who urged the Council to disregard the opposition and renew the permit. Moodie stated that the Klan had 10,000 members in Oakland alone, and that 75,000 East Bay Klansmen and their families would be in Oakland for a district convention to be held on July 3, 4 and 5.44 The Council referred the matter back to Chief

44The Examiner, June 24, 1924, p. 4, c. 5.
Drew for reconsideration, but he refused to alter his position.

In the neighboring city of Richmond, however, the Richmond Allied War Veterans, a joint organization made up of the local branches of the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Spanish War Veterans, Grand Army of the Republic, and the Richmond War Mothers, issued a formal invitation to the Klan to participate in their parade in Richmond on July 4. (The Klan had previously requested permission to participate.)⁴⁵ So, on July 4, about 750 Klansmen, robed and hooded but unmasked, marched in the rear of the parade in Richmond. Banners they carried indicated they originated from Oakland, San Francisco, Vallejo, Santa Rosa, and San Jose.⁴⁶ That same night a Klan public initiation was held in the hills outside of Oakland, during which a speaker, James Rush Bronson, made threats of political retaliation against Oakland officials because of that city's refusal to grant a parade permit to the Klan.⁴⁷

⁴⁵*Chronicle*, June 24, 1924, p. 9, c. 5.
⁴⁶*Richmond Daily Independent*, July 5, 1924, p. 1, c. 3. (Hereinafter referred to as *Independent.*
⁴⁷*Independent*, July 5, 1924, p. 8, c. 4.
An attempt at political retaliation by the Klan forces did occur -- but in Richmond, not Oakland. The Richmond City Council had earlier dismissed twelve firemen because of alleged Klan affiliation. This prompted the Klan to organize the distribution of recall petitions which charged five members of the city council with malfeasance in office and employment of incompetent city employees. The councilmen in question were W. W. Scott, E. J. Garrard, M. H. Carey, John N. Hartnett, Marie L. Ogborn. 48 Isaac J. Davis, who spearheaded the petition drive, had very little trouble in securing the 1,015 signatures necessary and the recall election was finally set for September 5. In the interim, one of the councilmen, Michael H. Carey, passed away. So, the election now involved the recall of four members of the Council. 49 The Richmond Daily Independent and most civic groups opposed the recall move. 50 In the ensuing election, all the councilmen retained their positions, although there were substantial numbers of votes for their removal.

48 Independent, July 8, 1924, p. 1, c. 1.

49 Independent, July 29, 1924, p. 1, c. 4.

50 Independent, September 3, 1924, p. 1, c. 5.
The general sentiment expressed by the voters was that they simply didn't believe the reasons given were sufficient to merit a recall.\textsuperscript{51}

Summing up the Klan's activities in San Francisco, the East Bay and North Bay Area communities, it seems clear that more "public ceremonial" appearances were made by Klansmen there than in other regions of the State, or perhaps that more press attention was given them than was true elsewhere. It is also true that in these urban communities there was almost a complete absence of incidents of "night riders" violence.

The Klan placed more emphasis upon attempted use of political power here than in smaller communities of the rural sections, but with no notable effectiveness demonstrated in results of a Klan-inspired recall election in Richmond. While the Klan was able to pressure local government officials into issuing parade permits, public-facilities-use permits, etc., they simply couldn't muster enough votes to recall councilmen or other local officials who fired municipal employees for Klan membership or gave them a hard choice between

\textsuperscript{51}Independent, September 6, 1924, p. 1, c. 2.
continued employment and continued membership in the "Invisible Empire". Such political failures, negative publicity, and extensive disavowals and resignations from the Klan by prominent citizens and public officials under public pressure, and relentless publicity of the membership lists all contributed to the decline of Klan influence rather early in the period, though membership did not disappear for several more years.
South Bay - Monterey and Santa Cruz

There was considerable Klan activity in the area just south of San Francisco Bay during the period of this study. On September 22, 1921, a Klan organizational meeting was held in the Vendome Hotel in San Jose. About one hundred residents attended the meeting which was chaired by William G. McRae, a local Kleagle. McRae criticized newspaper exposes of the Klan, and denied that the Klan was anti-Catholic or anti-Semitic. He did, however, inferentially admit its lawlessness by stating that the only persons who feared the order had cause to fear it. He utilized a very old recruiting technique, by telling his nearly 100 listeners that he wasn't asking them to join the Klan, but simply requesting them to leave their names and addresses in hopes of being "chosen"; many of them did. The manager of the hotel was questioned about this incident, and he explained that he had rented the room to the group before learning the purpose for which it was to be used.\(^{52}\) This, apparently, was the first public appearance of the

\[^{52}\text{Examiner, September 23, 1921, p. 6, c. 1.}\]
Klan in San Jose.

Several months earlier, an incident took place involving the San Jose Klan which deserves mention. On March 14, 1922, the San Jose Pastors' Union received a letter from the local Klan which read as follows:

San Jose, Cal. March 13, 1922

Pastors' Union:

We the Ku Klux Klan of San Jose, Realm of California, wish to notify your honorable body that we stand behind ministers of this city in their efforts to better the conditions, to preserve and enforce the laws, and make our city a better place to live.

We are not organized to break laws, but rather to see that they are duly respected and enforced.

We wish to join our efforts with yours for a clean, graftless, moral and decent city in which to live. Be assured of our united cooperation with you in all of your endeavors along these lines.

Respectfully submitted,
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.53

Following the meeting of the Pastors' Union, during which the letter was read, the Reverend George H.

53Chronicle, March 15, 1922, p. 10, c. 3.
Colliver, professor in the College of the Pacific and director of the San Jose School of Religious Education, issued a forthright and unequivocating statement in which he scathingly denounced the Klan as "un-Christian and un-American", and deplored the tolerance of the Klan by the public.\textsuperscript{54} While some clergymen condoned the order, such vigorous anti-Klan statements by others were of much significance in shaping uncommitted public opinion to opposition to the Klan.

A few days later, George Bolivich, proprietor of a restaurant in San Mateo known as "The Frisco Grotto", opened the door of his establishment to find a note which warned: "If you don't quit selling booze and get out of town right away, we'll tar and feather you. K.K.K."\textsuperscript{55} Bolivich had been arrested a month earlier on a charge of bootlegging. He turned the note over to the police but Police Chief Thomas Burke declared that he believed it was all a hoax. Bolivich said he wasn't so certain but he couldn't possibly leave town in any case.\textsuperscript{56} No subsequent action was taken, but

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{54}Examiner, March 15, 1922, p. 4, c. 2.  \\
\textsuperscript{55}Chronicle, March 27, 1922, p. 5, c. 6.  \\
\textsuperscript{56}Ibid.
\end{quote}
the incident illustrates the Klan's persistence in the role of self-appointed vigilantes against violators of the prohibition laws.

Reports from Palo Alto indicated that an attempt was being made to organize a Klan on the Stanford University campus. Robert Burnett, a graduate student in civil engineering from El Paso, Texas, was making a concerted effort to form a campus chapter. However, Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, President of Stanford, warned that if the local Klan chapter attempted to use the name of the University or to connect it in any way, this would bring severe disciplinary measures. The formation of a campus Klan was also opposed by the student newspaper, The Daily Alto. About one month later a Klan initiation of some thirty-five Stanford students was held, but off campus near San Jose.

There were also some interesting incidents of strong official opposition to the Klan in the Monterey - Santa Cruz area. Two Klan organizers, George E. Puterbaugh and K. E. Palmer entered Monterey on

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57 Chronicle, December 11, 1923, p. 1, c. 5.
58 Examiner, January 25, 1924, p. 16, c. 4.
December 20, 1923, with plans to organize a local Klavern. They were arrested by the police shortly afterward and held as vagrants for several hours until bail was telegraphed from Frank B. Anderson, the Grand Kleagle of Monterey and the four adjoining counties. On the following day, Police Chief F. W. Cording and a group of his officers escorted Palmer and Puterbaugh to the city limits.\(^{59}\)

The two organizers returned to Monterey on January 15 for their trial, accompanied by 250 to 300 Klansmen. Assistant District Attorney Fred A. Treat built his case on the allegation that the Klan was an illegal organization and that soliciting membership in an illegal organization constituted vagrancy. Police Chief Cording testified he had been ordered by Police Commissioner William Faringby to get the men out of town because of threats on their lives. The state's case was obviously legally unsound and Palmer and Puterbaugh were released.

In Santa Cruz, a few months later, an angry mob blocked the entrance into a beauty parade of a decorated automobile bearing Klansmen in hoods and

\(^{59}\)Examiner, December 22, 1923, p. 5, c. 8.
robes. The car carried a banner announcing a state convention of the Klan which was to be held in San Jose, June 16 to 20. Police officers dispersed the crowd and the Klan auto pulled into line at the end of the parade. It was greeted by jeers and threats throughout the line of march. 60

Klan activities, in and around the Bay Area, were limited to this type of occasional public demonstration. There is no evidence to indicate that the night riding violence, so common in Kern County, ever occurred here. There were scattered warnings containing dire threats, but there is nothing to indicate that these threats were ever enforced.

60 Chronicle, June 6, 1924, p. 1, c. 5.
CHAPTER V

THE KLAN IN THE
LOWER SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

The first published notice of projected Klan activities in the San Joaquin Valley appeared in the San Francisco Examiner in July of 1921. One H. R. Pitts, formerly of Atlanta, Georgia, was named as local Klan organizer in Fresno and the surrounding area. Pitts declared the Klan already had a membership of about 160 in the Fresno area.¹ The Examiner indicated that Dr. C. F. Dickenson, a local physician, was aiding Pitts in his recruiting activities and that these two had attempted to recruit Fresno County Sheriff W. J. Jones, but failed.²

Within a few weeks the Examiner's Sacramento correspondent reported that a group of prominent Negroes of Fresno had filed a complaint with the governor's office alleging that the Klan was organizing in Fresno.³ There were several days of unrest in Fresno because of

¹San Francisco Examiner, July 7, 1921, p. 7, c. 4. (Hereinafter referred to as Examiner.)
²Ibid.
³Examiner, July 27, 1921, p. 7, c. 4.
the attempt by a group of local Negro pastors to legally bar the showing of the notoriously pro-Klan and anti-Negro film "The Clansman". The group had appealed to the Governor to take steps to break up the Klan in California.⁴ Martin Madsen, Governor Stephens' secretary, stated that an investigation, launched by the Governor and conducted by the district attorney's office, had failed to reveal the presence of a branch of the Klan in Fresno, or anywhere else in California. Madsen concluded that the Governor's office would keep a close watch to make certain that the Klan did not gain a foothold in California.⁵

On September 21, Fresno's Sheriff Jones confirmed that Kleagle H. R. Pitts and Dr. C. F. Dickenson had again attempted to solicit his membership, and declared they had strongly hinted that if he refused to join the Klan it would severely limit his political career. Jones said he merely repeated his earlier refusal.⁶ Pitts, when interviewed by the Examiner's correspondent in Fresno in this regard, simply refused to confirm or deny Jones' allegations.

⁴Times, July 27, 1921, p. 1, c. 3.
⁵Ibid.
⁶Examiner, August 21, 1921, p. 8, c. 5.
He repeated his earlier claim of 160 members in the Fresno area and stated that only 21 per cent of the population of Fresno was eligible for membership in the Klan, as the remainder would be disqualified because of nationality or religion. He concluded by stating that the Klan membership in California numbered nearly 3,000.7

On April 28, Fresno Chief of Police Frank P. Truax and Mayor Truman G. Hart announced to the press that some six or seven members of the Fresno police department were known to be Klansmen. They refused, however, to divulge the names of those alleged to be Klansmen.8 They did say, however, that membership in the Klan was not sufficient grounds for expelling officers unless it could be shown that oaths required of Klansmen were contrary to the oaths taken by police officers in the performance of their duties.9

In the meantime, District Attorney B. W. Gearhart of Fresno County had traveled to Los Angeles to examine evidence acquired by Los Angeles County District Attorney Woolwine in his raid upon Klan state

7Ibid.

8Chronicle, April 29, 1922, p. 2, c. 5.

9Ibid.
headquarters in Los Angeles. Gearhart sent word back to Fresno that he would probably start proceedings to oust the alleged Klansmen from public employment when he returned.\(^\text{10}\)

After his examination of Klan records and documents in Los Angeles, Gearhart reported that he had found some "valuable material", including the names of officials and members of the Fresno Klan, which, he said, had apparently been formed in Fresno about a year earlier. He declared that to his knowledge no mob outrages had occurred in his county, but said the information uncovered in Los Angeles would aid him in "preventing mischief" by the Klan, which he described as a "dangerous element". He added that there were one or two professional men on the membership list, but they were not what he would term Fresno's leading citizens. He concluded that there were no public officials on the list with the exception of "three or four police officers". He added:

I might add that I already had a pretty good line on the personnel of the Fresno Klan and all of my information regarding it has

\(^\text{10}\)Ibid.
been confirmed by these documents. I also learned quite a few things about the organization which were entirely new to me.\textsuperscript{11}

On May 2, the \textit{Chronicle} reported that a Fresno private detective (whose name was not divulged) had received a threatening letter accusing him of placing a dictaphone in the office of the exalted cyclops of the local Klan organization. The unnamed detective claimed he had also received several mysterious phone messages recently warning him to "lay off" the Klan. He stated he knew nothing of the Klan and had not been engaged in any investigation.\textsuperscript{12}

That same day District Attorney Gearhart received a threatening letter signed "K.K.K." The letter was written on stationery of a local hotel with a crude attempt to disguise the handwriting. It warned Gearhart to leave the Klan alone and stated that the strength of the Klan in the Fresno area was considerably greater than the membership list of 618 names which Gearhart had in his possession.\textsuperscript{13} On May 3, it was reported that District Attorney Gearhart

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{11}Examiner, April 29, 1922, p. 17, c. 8.
\textsuperscript{12}Chronicle, May 2, 1922, p. 8, c. 1.
\textsuperscript{13}Examiner, May 3, 1922, p. 1, c. 3.}
had, in fact, received three threatening letters
signed "K.K.K." One read "The K.K.K. is going to
uncover you and your friend Woolwine." Gearhart
also related to the press that day that a local attorney
had handed him a letter which the attorney said he
had received from a female client of his. The letter
warned the woman to "mend your ways or make up the
great wrong you have done, or we will take matters
into our own hands." (Signed) "The White Robes, K.K.K."
The woman had recently sued her husband for divorce.

Shortly afterward, Fresno Mayor Truman G. Hart
announced the suspension of seven members of the
police force for alleged Klan membership. They were
charged with violation of their oath of office by
taking an oath contrary to the oath of an officer of
the law. These charges were personally preferred by
Chief of Police Frank P. Truax. The suspended officers
were: R. H. Wise, J. J. Worsham, A. C. Wright, Robert E.
McNickle, S. A. Meek, D. A. Lang, and Henry A. Hall.
Each of them denied taking an oath contrary to the oath
of an officer of the law, but did not deny Klan

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15 Chronicle, May 4, 1922, p. 11, c. 1.
membership. Mayor Hart said if they tried to appeal his decision he had ample evidence to indicate they were Klansmen and, thus, had taken such an oath.\textsuperscript{16} Five business and professional men of Fresno released a public statement admitting membership in the Klan. Their statement defended the principles and activities of the Klan and attacked District Attorney Gearhart as a "youthful prodigy" trying to create a name for himself at the Klan's expense. The statement concluded with a call for a grand jury investigation to clarify the whole matter.\textsuperscript{17}

On the afternoon of May 3, the Fresno County Board of Supervisors passed an ordinance which outlawed the activities of hooded and masked bands and the sending of threatening letters. The ordinance precluded the holding of masked parties in any portion of the county outside incorporated cities. Violation of the ordinance was declared to be a misdemeanor which carried a penalty of a fine of $500 and imprisonment in the county jail for a period not to exceed six months.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{16}\textit{Examiner}, May 3, 1922, p. 1, c. 3.
\textsuperscript{17}\textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{18}\textit{Chronicle}, May 4, 1922, p. 11, c. 1.
District Attorney Gearhart had requested that the ordinance be made effective immediately as an emergency measure against Klan activities. But, the Board, instead, decided on an effective date of June 3, 1922 saying that making the law effective immediately would result in "needless trouble".19 The Fresno City Council quickly followed suit by enacting an ordinance identical to that approved by the County Board of Supervisors.20

On May 4, District Attorney Gearhart released a list of over 200 Fresno area residents whose names had been discovered on Ku Klux Klan weekly reports prepared by Kleagles H. R. Pitts and J. D. Gough and forwarded to the office of Grand Goblin Coburn in Los Angeles. The list also included the names of residents of Calwa, Corcoran, Sanger and other nearby communities. The reports covered a period from July 23, 1921 to April 22, 1922, and varied in length from having as many as twenty-five names to as few as none for some weeks. Gearhart said the names of those former Klansmen who had since resigned did not

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19 Ibid.
20 Bee, May 4, 1922, p. 2, c. 3.
appear on the list. He stated that a group of thirty-one Klansmen had resigned en masse when one of their group was expelled and refused the right of appeal. In addition, he said he had a photographic copy of the resignations of forty former Klansmen which had been sent to Grand Goblin Coburn by Kleagle J. D. Gough. 21

On May 6, the seven suspended policemen filed answers to the charges filed against them. They did not deny Klan membership but each refused to admit that he had

\[\ldots\text{ at any time conducted himself in any way or manner unbecoming to a police officer of said city prejudicial to the loyalty or discipline of the police force thereof; (and) denies that he has ever taken any oath in conflict with his oath of office as a police officer. }\ldots\] 22

All seven demanded a formal hearing and the dismissal of the charges.

However, even though Gearhart was pressuring the Klan membership, some Klansmen remained steadfast. On June 5, at an open meeting of the Fresno Klan which

21Bakersfield Daily Californian, May 5, 1922, p. 1, c. 8. (Hereinafter referred to as Californian.)
22Chronicle, May 7, 1922, p. 70, c. 3.
was attended by approximately four thousand persons, the Reverend Robert Schuler, pastor of Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church of Los Angeles, addressed the crowd. Reverend Schuler charged that the Catholic Church controlled the public officials in Los Angeles. He declared that he would rather die than see the Klan disbanded while things were in the then present state of affairs. He urged members of the Klan to remain in their jobs and to stay within the law at all times. Dr. Lucky, the local Klan Exalted Cyclops, presided over the meeting.23

As in other areas of the state, the Fresno Klan was an active political force. The first official injection of the Ku Klux Klan into Fresno County politics occurred on August 21 in Fresno when Dr. L. F. Lucky, reputed cyclops and admitted member of the Fresno Klan, attacked District Attorney Gearhart in a speech at Del Rey entitled, "The Truth of the Ku Klux Klan". Lucky delivered an anti-catholic, anti-Gearhart address, urging that the Bible "be placed back in the schools where it belongs." Gearhart was in the midst of a bitter fight for re-election and faced open opposition

23Los Angeles Times, June 6, 1922, p. 1, c. 4.
from the Klan because of his public release of the local Klan membership list. Gearhart, himself, had delivered an address a week earlier from the same platform used by Lucky. At that time he was hissed and booed by alleged Klansmen whom he told to "put on your masks."\textsuperscript{24}

The Klan in the Fresno area apparently dissipated shortly afterward, as there was no mention of Klan activities in this area during 1923. On May 6, 1923 the \textit{Examiner} carried a report of lawlessness and violence being generated by bands of men in connection with the drive being made to save the Sun Maid Raisin Growers Association from collapse. There were reports of the burning of fiery crosses, firing of shots, and property being destroyed but no evidence was exhibited to connect the Klan as an organization with these activities.\textsuperscript{25} Klansmen, may have participated as individuals, however.

The first press notice of the possible existence of a Klan organization in Modesto came on May 2, 1922, \textsuperscript{24}\textit{California}, August 22, 1922, p. 2, c. 1. On that date, the \textit{Daily Californian} carried an article which stated that an investigation by the police to discover if there was a local branch of the Klan in

\textsuperscript{25}\textit{Examiner}, May 6, 1923, p. 1, c. 4.
existence had been initiated on May 1. The inquiry received its impetus from a complaint by George Duffy, a local negro resident, who charged that he had received a letter threatening him with tar and feathers and being ridden out of town on a rail unless he left the vicinity immediately.26

The existence of such a Klan branch was confirmed irrefutably when the Modesto Klan issued a public warning to law violators on November 17, 1923. The warning appeared in a full page advertisement, circulated in Modesto, which declared that the all-seeing eye of the Ku Klux Klan was upon all law violators and unless violations stopped all necessary evidence would be furnished the proper officials to insure conviction.27 This was the extent of press coverage of Klan activities in the Modesto area during the time considered. But, the Klan did not disappear completely. On November 19, 1927 a group of robed but unmasked Klansmen planted a fiery cross in the yard of the Riverside Club, a roadhouse located along the Stanislaus River in Modesto. The group was headed by

26 *Californian*, May 2, 1922, p. 2, c. 2.
27 *Chronicle*, November 18, 1923, p. 53, c. 3.
Exalted Cyclops Zearl Kinser of Waterford, who declared that gambling and the selling of liquor at the club must stop. He added that this was a warning and that there would be no more. He did not specify what action the Klansmen would take if their warning was not heeded. All the patrons of the club promptly vacated the premises following this demonstration. This was reported to be the first open action of the Klan in this district for several years.28

Klan activities in Stockton first came to the attention of the public with an article in the Examiner on September 20, 1921. The article revealed that a Klan organizer was attempting to form a local Klavern. The article stated that Commissioner Walter Smith had called together a committee of citizens to determine what procedure the city would follow if the Klan organizer did succeed in his plan.29

Stockton Chief of Police Simpson disbanded a group of robed, mounted men who were attempting to parade through the city after dark. He declared that every applicable law would be enforced to prevent

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28 Examiner, November 22, 1927, p. 1, c. 6.
29 Examiner, September 20, 1921, p. 6, c. 1.
masked or robed men from staging questionable affairs in Stockton. 30

The existence of a Klan in Stockton was clearly revealed, however, on October 18, 1922. On that evening, Thomas Lee Woolwine, Democratic nominee for governor, was addressing a crowd in Stockton when a man dressed in street clothing emerged from the audience and placed a small plaster of paris cast of a Klansman in full regalia at Woolwine's feet. Woolwine picked up the statue and hurled it to the sidewalk, breaking it to bits. This revealed a miniature American flag which had been concealed beneath a broad, red ribbon wrapped around the statue, which now was in the midst of the broken pieces of plaster on the sidewalk. Someone in the audience shouted, "He threw the flag down!" and complete pandemonium broke loose. In the melee which followed, five men were knocked to the ground and others were cut slightly, Woolwine's speech was interrupted for at least twenty minutes before the police restored order; he then continued with his speech, delivering a scathing denunciation of the Klan. 31

30 Ibid.
31 Chronicle, October 19, 1922, p. 1, c. 4.
On October 30, 1922, the Reverend A. C. Bane was denouncing Woolwine's candidacy in his sermon when fifteen hooded and sheeted members of the Ku Klux Klan filed into the church and made Bane a present of twenty-five dollars with a note thanking him for his anti-Woolwine sermon on the previous Sunday, which had been entitled, "Invisible Empire". Bane said he didn't feel he had done anything to merit the note of appreciation and the donation.32

Klan activities in Kings County appeared to be centered in and around the town of Hanford. On April 30, 1922, the Times reported that Kings County Deputy District Attorney William R. McKay had expressed considerable interest in examining the Klan records seized in the raid on Grand Goblin Coburn's office.33 McKay said, on April 29, that he had evidence that the Klan had around 100 members in the Hanford area.34

On May 6, McKay, Kings County Sheriff W. J. Hime, and A. D. Driver, editor of the Hanford Morning Journal, traveled to Los Angeles to consult with

32Examiner, October 31, 1922, p. 1, c. 2.
33Times, April 30, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
34Ibid.
Los Angeles County District Attorney Woolwine and obtain a list of Klansmen in the Hanford area. Prior to leaving, McKay stated that his office had traced about fifty members of the Klan in Kings County and had reliable information that there were many more. He added,

That the Klan has a strong following in Kings County is quite evident. From our investigation we have established that at Corcoran (22 miles south of Hanford) a city marshal, a principal of a grammar school, and a post commander of the American Legion are members. We find, so far, that there are twenty-six members in Hanford, including many prominent citizens.

So far we have experienced no trouble from the Ku Klux Klan, although a few threats have been made. We even have evidence that one man was picked out for flogging for asserted intimacy with a woman.

The Klan was organized in Hanford in August, 1921, and held most of the meetings in a small office building there. We have evidence that some meetings were held in the barn of a prominent member east of Hanford. Although a majority of the members have now disavowed membership, several are defiant.

R. L. Terrell, a local druggist, admitted to the sheriff and myself, on January 1, that he
was a member and secretary of the Klan here.\textsuperscript{35}

McKay said he intended to get a membership list in Los Angeles and publish it because the district attorney believed it was necessary for the protection of public interest.\textsuperscript{36}

We see, then, that although its activities were somewhat limited in the San Joaquin Valley, the Klan definitely was organized there and presented a formidable challenge to public officialdom.

\textsuperscript{35}\textit{Times}, May 7, 1922, p. 2, c. 1.

\textsuperscript{36}\textit{Ibid.}
CHAPTER VI

ROLE OF THE KLAN IN THE 1922
GUBERNATORIAL AND SENATORIAL ELECTION

The Ku Klux Klan was heavily involved in the 1922 California elections. In addition to the local candidates it supported and issues to which the Klan addressed itself, the organization definitely concerned itself with state-wide races as well. For example, the Klan sponsored an initiative measure which would have forced the dissolution of all parochial and other private schools in California and required all children of school age to attend schools maintained by the state.¹

But, the bulk of Klan political energies was concentrated on the gubernatorial and senatorial contests. Thomas Lee Woolwine, the Los Angeles District Attorney who had done much to expose Klan activities in California, became the prime target of Klan political wrath. Woolwine announced his candidacy for governor early in the summer of 1922. The Klan immediately

¹San Francisco Examiner, June 20, 1922, p. 2, c. 7. (Hereinafter referred to as Examiner.)
went into action to defeat his bid for office.

David Chalmers, in his *Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865 - 1965*, states: "With Woolwine a Roman Catholic, the issue was clear: it was a dry, patriotic America versus the combined menances of rum and Rome."² The evidence available would seem to indicate that Woolwine was not a Roman Catholic, but a member of a Protestant faith. An article in the Bakersfield *Daily Californian* indicated that Woolwine was a Protestant and that his opposition to the Klan, therefore, did not have a religious basis.³ In a speech in Sacramento during the primary campaign, Woolwine stated unequivocally that he was a Protestant. While he had no objections to the Catholic faith, he explained, he simply wanted to set the record straight.⁴ There was no evidence to indicate to the contrary other than charges levelled by the Klan and its sympathizers.


³Bakersfield *Daily Californian*, August 8, 1922, p. 1, c. 6. (Hereinafter referred to as *Californian*.)

⁴Sacramento *Bee*, August 22, 1922, p. 1, c. 6. (Hereinafter referred to as *Bee*.)
Woolwine's position on alcoholic beverages may have legitimately brought forth the opposition of the Klan on this issue. In a series of three speeches in San Francisco in October of 1922, Woolwine made it quite clear that he favored modification of the Eighteenth Amendment and/or the Volstead Act to allow for the legalized sale of light wines and beer. He said he took this position because he believed such a change would help reduce the crime rate and allow for better law enforcement.\(^5\)

Klan opposition to Woolwine was sometimes subtle, but generally it took the form of crude and flagrant disregard for the law, the truth, and the dignity of the individual. A favorite tactic was to pack the hall where Woolwine was speaking with Klansmen who would then attempt to disrupt the proceedings. On October 16, Woolwine was to speak at the Aahmes Shrine Hall in Oakland. He was introduced to the audience and had risen to deliver his address, but paused briefly to drink a glass of water. Suddenly an unidentified man walked down a side aisle of the hall unwrapping a package. When he reached the stage,

\(^5\)San Francisco Chronicle, October 18, 1922, p. 8, c. 4. (Hereinafter referred to as Chronicle.)
he removed the remainder of the wrapping and placed on a chair in full view of the audience the contents—a small statue of a Klansman in full regalia. This appeared to be a signal, for nearly half the people in the hall suddenly stood and walked out of the hall, accompanied by hissing and booing from the audience. Woolwine grabbed the statue and hurled it to the floor, shattering it in pieces. He then delivered a scathing denunciation of the Klan, summarizing it with: "As I broke the plaster cast that typifies the Klan, so will I break the entire organization in California."\(^6\) It would appear that Woolwine, himself, was not totally lacking in the theatrical touch.

Two nights later, in Stockton, this Klan tactic was repeated in essentially the same manner. And, Woolwine reacted in exactly the same way. But, this time the Klan was one step ahead of him, for someone had concealed a miniature American flag beneath a red ribbon which encircled the statue. When Woolwine hurled the statue to the sidewalk, breaking it to bits, the flag was revealed among the pieces of plaster. Someone in the audience, who was obviously part of the conspiracy, shouted: "He threw the flag down!" \(^6\)Chronicle, October 17, 1922, p. 10, c. 4.
near riot resulted and nearly thirty minutes elapsed before Woolwine was able to continue with his speech.⁷

On November 3, in Long Beach, Woolwine prefaced his speech by reading to the audience what he claimed was a notice to Klan members calling on them to attend the meeting and walk out on a given signal. The text of the notice is here included:

Attention!

This is a command that on Friday, November 3, 1922, you appear, accompanied by wife, sister, mother, or sweetheart, at the Municipal Auditorium, not later than 7:30 P.M. (so as to be sure of a good seat) to listen to a speech by Tommy Lee Woolwine.

At mention of the Klan, you and party will obey signal of Kleagle Mitchell, walking down center aisle toward rear of Auditorium, and proceed to vacate the building in silence and perfect order.

Destroy this as soon as read by burning.⁸

A number of persons did walk out at that point, including three local ministers and a former mayor of Long Beach. The police authorities took a dim view of this, however, and a blanket warrant was issued which called for the arrest of all who had participated in the walkout,

⁷*Chronicle*, October 19, 1922, p. 1, c. 4.

⁸*Bee*, November 6, 1922, p. 14, c. 2.
charging them with violation of a local ordinance which prohibited "conspiring to break up a public meeting." The first two individuals to be arrested on this charge were S. M. Mitchell, local Kleagle, and James T. Butterfield, formerly Chief of Police in Long Beach. No further arrests were reported, however.  

There is very little doubt but that Woolwine made the Klan his major campaign issue. During the primary campaign, he delivered speeches denouncing the Klan all over the state, and particularly in areas where the Klan had been especially active. In a speech in Taft, on July 8, he denounced the Klan and its methods and defended the principles of the American political system and the jury system in particular. He repeated his theme in Bakersfield a month later, but this time he also expressed his opposition to ownership of California land by Japanese immigrants. His platform consisted of three major positions, i.e. opposition to the Klan, modification of the prohibition

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9Californian, November 4, 1922, p. 1, c. 3.
10Californian, July 8, 1922, p. 2, c. 1.
11Californian, July 8, 1922, p. 1, c. 6.
laws, and support of attempts to exclude Oriental land ownership in California.

His Republican opponent, Friend W. Richardson, was conspicuously silent on the major issues of the day. In fact, the Bee charged that Richardson had killed a prohibition plank in the party platform and had also personally intervened to prevent an anti-Klan statement by his party. 12

An important question which arose during the campaign revolved around the question of whether Richardson was a member of the Klan. J. P. Monihan, a Sacramento Klan official, made a few comments on this subject. He declared that a statement was once made on the floor of a Sacramento Klan meeting that Friend Richardson was a Klansman. When asked to elaborate he explained that California King Kleagle G. W. Price had traveled to Sacramento twice during the campaign to bolster local Kleagle Fuller and to help lead the local body against a Woolwine victory. At the meeting held on October 7, Price was asked if Richardson was a Klansman and answered: "I don't just like to say as to that, boys; but I can say this:

12Bee, October 21, 1922, p. 14, c. 6.
Richardson is all right." Upon hearing this Deputy Kieagle Moran jumped to his feet and declared: "I can say positively Richardson is a member of the Ku Klux Klan." With this statement, the Bee did a bit of editorializing on its own by adding: "Richardson was not initiated into the Klan in Sacramento, but is believed to have become a member in Los Angeles." The Bee offered no substantiation for this belief, however.

Also, the Chronicle, which Hearst's Examiner designated as the organ of the Oakland Klan, openly endorsed both Richardson and William Pearson, the Democratic senatorial candidate. The paper appealed to all Protestants to defeat "Rome, rum and rebellion" as personified by Woolwine, in particular, and Senator Hiram Johnson by implication.

Finally, on October 28, Albert E. Boynton, chairman of the Republican state central committee, addressed himself to this question with a flat denial

13 Bee, November 1, 1922, p. 1, c. 7.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
16 Examiner, November 18, 1922, p. 5, c. 1.
17 Bee, November 4, 1922, p. 1, c. 3.
of the allegation of Klan membership:

Mr. Richardson is not connected with the Ku Klux Klan, either directly or indirectly. He never has solicited the endorsement of any lodge of the Ku Klux Klan, and so far as he knows, none ever has been offered or given. Mr. Richardson is thoroughly American. He is opposed to any movement that would tend to incite class or religious hatred.  

Richardson, however, never personally and directly commented on this question during the campaign.

Woolwine countered Boynton's rebuttal by denouncing Richardson's "weak-kneed denial" that he was "aware of" the Klan's endorsement. Woolwine stated that he had been informed that Richardson was being pressured by certain of his supporters to repudiate the Klan endorsement.  

There was no doubt where Klan support lay in the contest. At a Klan mass initiation ceremony held near Montebello on October 30, a Klan official placed a cash box on a table and declared to the crowd of nearly ten thousand present: "Step up and take your crack at Woolwine. $200,000 to get Woolwine."

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18 *Californian*, October 28, 1922, p. 1, c. 3.
19 *Examiner*, October 30, 1922, p. 5, c. 4.
Witnesses reported that one cash box was filled and was replaced by another.\footnote{Examiner, October 31, 1922, p. 1, c. 2.} It would appear quite plainly, therefore, that regardless of whether Richardson solicited Klan support, was aware of its endorsement of him, or was, in fact, a Klansman, himself, the strength of the Ku Klux Klan in California was mobilized in his behalf.

The Los Angeles \textit{Times}, although notably outspoken as an adversary of the Klan, expressed strong editorial support for Richardson's candidacy throughout the campaign, and attacked Woolwine's positions on alcoholic beverages and the Ku Klux Klan. The \textit{Times} stated repeatedly that the Klan issue was not a genuine one, since "no one feared the organization any longer." Perhaps this was the sentiment of the general public.

When the election results were in and tabulated, Richardson had won by a landslide. Woolwine carried only four counties, i.e., El Dorado, Mariposa, San Francisco, and Solano. He lost every county in which the Klan had been most active. For example, Woolwine's home county of Los Angeles gave Richardson a better than two-to-one majority. The final tally was:
Richardson: 576,397, to Woolwine: 347,603. However, Klan forces were less successful in the Senate race as Hiram Johnson won reelection in a landslide victory.

How important was the opposition of the Klan in Woolwine's defeat? One authority has stated a belief that the Klan was a negligible factor in California politics. Perhaps so. The political influence of the Klan is impossible to assess with absolute accuracy, but it would appear to have been at least one of the significant factors in the gubernatorial contest, while it seems difficult to attribute political effectiveness to the organization in many local races.

At any rate, after the election was over, Richardson belatedly confirmed that he was not, in any way, affiliated with the Klan. The fact that he waited until after the election to make his declaration would seem to indicate that he and his strategists were sufficiently convinced of the possible potency of Klan support and/or opposition to want to avoid open antagonism of that organization.

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21 Los Angeles Times, December 9, 1922, p. 17, c. 7.
23 Chalmers, op. cit., p. 124.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

One authority has estimated that Klan membership in California at the height of its activity was somewhere in the vicinity of 200,000.\(^1\) This estimate is probably too high, a figure of 75,000 to 100,000 being much more realistic; although it is, of course, extremely difficult to be certain.\(^\) In the course of investigation of events surrounding the Inglewood affair, investigators of the district attorney's office discovered a letter written by Coburn to another Klan official which indicated that more than one million dollars had been sent to national Klan headquarters as its share of money collected from California Klansmen for initiation fees.\(^2\) Since five dollars of every ten-dollar initiation fee went to national headquarters, and inasmuch as robes sold for six dollars


\(^2\)San Francisco Examiner, June 18, 1922, p. 4, c. 1. (Hereinafter referred to as Examiner.)
and fifty cents, all of which was to be forwarded to Atlanta, a 100,000 figure appears to be more accurate. Of course, there are the interminable dangers in this assumption, leaving open such questions as:

(1) What percentage of the total initiation fees and fees for gowns were forwarded to state headquarters and how much of this loot was pocketed illegally by local Kleagles?

(2) Did the state headquarters keep only one dollar of the initiation fee, as it was supposed to do, or did it also siphon off a bit?

(3) Was Coburn exaggerating in his letter in order to magnify his importance in the eyes of his colleague? At any rate, the 100,000 figure would appear to be closer to the mark, even considering these unanswerable questions.

The membership of the Klan in California dropped sharply following the Inglewood raid, seizure of Klan records in Los Angeles, and public exposure of membership lists. It never quite recovered from this series of events which occurred in the spring and summer of 1922. Public exposure is the worst conceivable poison to a secret organization.
One of the most telling blows against the Klan was the passage in 1923 of an anti-mask act by the California State Legislature. There had been considerable pressure upon the legislators to enact such a bill almost from the time of the Klan's entrance into the state. However, it was a sensitive political issue since the actual membership numbers of the Klan were unknown and public opinion seemed quite obviously divided on the Klan's aims and actions, so action was postponed until after the 1922 elections.

On February 2, 1923, Assemblyman Badaraco of San Francisco introduced another such bill into the State Assembly. The bill went to the Judiciary Committee and emerged from that committee with only slight amendment and carrying a recommendation for passage. The Assembly voted favorably on the measure and it was sent to the Senate. The job of steering the bill through the Senate was handled by Senator Sample of San Diego, who told the members: "This is an act to prohibit, as far as we can by law, the activities of the organization called the Ku Klux Klan." The Senate did approve the bill, but only after making one

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3Examiner, April 24, 1923, p. 1, c. 3.
significant change in it, i.e., violation was construed to be a misdemeanor instead of a felony as was provided in the Assembly bill.⁴ There wasn't even a hint of opposition to the bill as amended; it was approved and sent back to the Assembly by a unanimous vote, although a few senators abstained so as to avoid a record vote.⁵ On April 23, the Assembly concurred in the Senate amendments and it was sent to Governor Richardson for signature. The governor approved the measure on May 11.⁶

The text of the bill is as follows:

Title

An act prohibiting the public wearing under certain conditions of masks or other means of concealment of the identity of persons and prescribing penalties for the violation thereof.

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

Section 1: It shall be unlawful for any person, either alone or in company with others, to appear on any street or highway, or in other public places or any place open to view by the general public, with his face partially or completely concealed by means of a mask or other regalia or paraphernalia, with intent thereby

⁴California, State Assembly Bills, 1923, No. 1224.
⁵Examiner, April 24, 1923, p. 1, c. 3.
⁶California, State Assembly Bills, 1923, No. 1224.
to conceal the identity of such person; provided, however, that this act shall not be construed to prohibit the wearing of such means of concealment in good faith for the purposes of amusement, entertainment, or in compliance with any public health order.

Section 2: Every person violating any of the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor. 7

Passage of this act made things somewhat more difficult for the Klan in California, but it certainly did not end the activities of the organization.

However, factionalism continued to plague Klan organization efforts. On October 14, 1924, California Secretary of State Frank C. Jordan notified officers of "The Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" which had its headquarters at Venice, that its request for a charter as a California Corporation had been denied. Jordan said his action was based upon statements made by G. W. Price, who styled himself as the official representative of the national Klan, headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia. Price had charged that Klan leaders from Venice, Ocean Park, and other Southern California communities had formed an insurgent

7Ibid.
group but had "no official connection whatsoever with the parent organization and have been for some time suspended members." Jordan indicated that the question of who has the right to use the name "Ku Klux Klan" had to be cleared up before a charter could be issued. Charles H. Hayes of Ocean Park, secretary of the insurgent Klan group, declared that court action would be initiated by his organization. He added that several local Klans had withdrawn from the "official" organization and were seeking a charter in order to "clean up" the Klan and remove Price from leadership.

In December of that same year, Jordan found himself on the horns of a fearful dilemma. Within one month's time, the Secretary of State's office was called upon to issue charters to no less than four "Klan" organizations, and another, the Venice-based group, filed suit to force him to issue a charter to their association. This group had incorporated in Nevada and entered California as "Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, a foreign corporation". Still another group, which called itself "The Independent

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8 Examiner, October 15, 1924, p. 3, c. 8.
9 Ibid.
Klan", a group headquartered on the east coast, also found itself in disagreement with the "original" Klan. The third group was the one which represented the national Klan with headquarters in Georgia. Jordan said he had very little choice but to issue a charter to this group. There were also two Klan women's auxiliaries competing in the state, each with a charter of its own.10

Although the Klan continued to be active in California into the middle forties, it was only a shadow of its former self. Factionalism, public exposure of Klan excesses, and resulting action by public officials all contributed to the decline in influence of the Invisible Empire.

In October of 1946, the Legislative Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities held several days of hearings in Los Angeles in connection with charges being made by an organization known as "Mobilization for Democracy", that Klan terrorism was once again on the rise. Witnesses before the committee included: Attorney General Robert Kenny (who was also chairman of the "Mobilization for

10Examiner, December 21, 1924, p. 67, c. 2.
Democracy"), Los Angeles Mayor Fletcher Bowron, Chief of Police C. B. Horrall, the county district attorney, county sheriff, and other local officials.

The committee spent much of its time questioning and harassing William Bidner, Executive Director of the "Mobilization for Democracy". The conclusion it reached concerning that organization was as follows:

The committee finds that the "Mobilization for Democracy" is, in fact a communist inspired and dominated organization carefully window-dressed and directed. The committee further finds that the organization was engaged in inciting riots, racial hatred, and disrespect for law and order. 11

Attorney General Robert W. Kenny testified that he had obtained a superior court judgment which outlawed the Ku Klux Klan as a corporation in California. 12 However, he strongly urged the adoption of special legislation to effectively control the Klan. 13 When questioned closely, however, he did not cite a

12 Ibid., p. 57.
13 Times, October 8, 1946, p. 9, c. 8.
single incident of Klan terrorism in Southern California.\textsuperscript{14}

Ray J. Schneider, a former Klan organizer for Los Angeles and Ventura counties, was also subpoenaed and testified before the committee. A few months earlier, Schneider had informed Kenny that there were more than one hundred Klans operating in Los Angeles County under the guise of fellowship clubs, card clubs, and fraternal groups. He had said that these groups continued to function even though the Klan in Los Angeles County was officially disbanded in February of 1944.\textsuperscript{15} Schneider told the committee that he had been affiliated with the Klan from 1923 or 1924 to April of 1946 and declared unequivocally that there had been no Klan activity in California of the type described by the "Mobilization for Democracy".\textsuperscript{16} In regard to this testimony the committee report stated:

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{15}Chronicle, April 10, 1946, p. 10, c. 1.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}
Whether Schneider could be believed or not, the committee was compelled to conclude that there was no connection between the incidents highly dramatized by the "Mobilization for Democracy" and the Ku Klux Klan.17

The committee concluded that the incidents attributed to the Ku Klux Klan had been deliberately manufactured by the "Mobilization for Democracy".

Every official in Los Angeles County had independently arrived at this conclusion as had most newspaper men. The committee found that every alleged incident dramatized by "Mobilization for Democracy" as an act of "Ku Klux Klan terrorism" had been thoroughly investigated by the law enforcing agencies of Los Angeles County. The reports of the police department, the sheriff's office and the district attorney's office revealed that there was not one single incident heralded as "Klan terrorism" by the "Mobilization for Democracy" in which these agencies found any evidence whatsoever of Ku Klux Klan activity.18

The committee did make some comments concerning the nature of the Klan as is evidenced by the following:

The Committee reiterates its findings, set forth in its 1943 report, (of which there seems to be no record) that the Ku Klux Klan is a thoroughly un-American organization, fully as reprehensible and evil as the many

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17 Ibid.
18 Ibid., p. 57.
other fanatical crackpot organizations encountered by the Committee in its six years of investigation.\footnote{Ibid., p. 62.}

For all practical purposes, the Klan in California met its death in 1946 when its charter was revoked. But, small groups of men scattered throughout the state apparently continued with the secret, mystical exercise of Klanism. In the Summer of 1966, the Klan once again came into public view when a public ceremony was held in Southern California. Attorney General Lynch ordered the Klan organizer arrested and a trial was held. However, a Superior Court Judge ruled that the Klan had a legal right to operate in California as long as it did not engage in illegal activities. Things had apparently come full cycle.

The future of Klanism in the nation's most populous state is very much open to conjecture. It appears highly unlikely that the Klan in California will ever again reach the heights it attained in the early 1920's. But, it is also quite doubtful that the ideas represented in its code will ever be completely obliterated. Most students of the Klan
have stated a belief that the principles of that organization are inherent in American political and social reality. And, it is probable that there shall always be a group of Americans, in California as well as in the rest of the nation, who are sufficiently gullible to swallow the solutions offered by the Klan to the most pressing social problems of the day.
APPENDIX A

List of individuals (with place of residence and occupation) indicted by the Los Angeles Grand Jury in connection with the raid on the Elduayen residence.

(1) William Coburn
(2) G. W. Price
(3) N. A. Baker
(4) W. A. Alexander, Huntingdon Park - Contractor
(5) R. D. Aylesworth, Inglewood - Engineer
(6) J. G. Baum, Inglewood - Real Estate
(7) H. G. Beaver, Inglewood - Undertaker
(8) Charles J. Brown, Venice - Real Estate
(9) L. L. Bryson, Huntingdon Park - Druggist
(10) Charles Castro, Venice - Amusements
(11) Nathan H. Cherry, Inglewood - Surveyor
(12) William Hall, Inglewood - Trucker
(13) Warren Hall, Inglewood - Trucker
(14) J. R. Hamilton, Huntingdon Park - Machinist
(15) M. D. Hurlburt, Bell - Dry Cleaning business
(16) T. H. Jennings, Inglewood - Auto Salesman
(17) Harvey C. Leavitt, Los Angeles - Motion picture business
(18) F. C. Lemon, Bell - Cafe Operator
(19) Gustav Leonhardt, Venice - Painting Contractor
(20) M. D. Mall, Los Angeles - Motion picture business
(21) H. A. McCallister, Inglewood - Real Estate
(22) Roy Mears, Venice - Amusement Business
(23) William F. Michael, Redondo Beach - Repair business
(24) W. E. Mosher, Inglewood - Constable
(25) W. D. Record, Inglewood - Engineer
(26) J. P. Reed, Huntington Park - Cafe Owner
(27) E. W. Reid, Redondo Beach - Repairman
(28) E. J. Robichaux, Inglewood - Real Estate
(29) Leonard Ruegg, Inglewood - Deputy Sheriff
(30) Thomas E. Truelove, Inglewood - Poultry business
(31) Walter H. Ulen, Inglewood - Meter Reader
(32) H. A. Waite, Inglewood - Garage Owner
(33) F. M. Whalton, Bell - Police patrol officer

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(34) Malcolm L. Whaley, Venice - Garage Owner
(35) J. P. Williams, Culver City - Painter
(36) Russell Williams, Los Angeles - Motion Picture business

This list was formed by comparing and combining lists appearing in the Los Angeles Times on June 8, 1922 (Page one, Column eight) and the San Francisco Chronicle of the same day (Page one, Column one).
APPENDIX B

List of Klan membership in Kern County

Police Chief Stone and Stanley Abel Are Named

Officialdom in the Klan

Madera

Mayor: Frank Garza

Council Members: John Alvarado, Robert Martinez, Andrew Garcia

Bakersfield

Mayor: John R. Stone

Council Members: Frank Ramirez, Ronald Villarreal, Charles Garcia

Stanley Abel: Member of Board of Directors of Bakersfield chapter of the American Legion

Jury Will Hear Case Against Klan

WEATHER
These were added to the list in the May 8, 1922 edition of the Bakersfield Daily Californian.

W. M. Osburn, Repairer, Southern Pacific
J. B. Spear
L. F. Gribble
A. E. Abbott, Plumber
H. E. Clark, Clerk
Jim Hawkins
Gene Noble
APPENDIX C

Tehachapi Klan Membership as listed in records of Grand Goblin Coburn.

E. P. Jeanes
L. J. Kanstein
J. C. Hoge
M. P. Evans
J. S. Harris
W. A. Lester
J. W. Hoge
P. L. Cameron
A. R. Keeley
H. J. Blanford
B. E. Cross
Archie J. Hicks
Ralph P. Marritt
Neil Frasier
Emmor W. Little
A. W. Neville
C. W. Chetwood
H. S. Downs
F. C. Wilber
J. M. Stinson

This list is taken from the Bakersfield Daily Californian, May 8, 1922, Page 1, Column 3.
List taken from The Sacramento Bee, May 5, 1922.
APPENDIX E

List of San Francisco Bay Area officials who denounced the Klan.

Public Officials
Matthew Brady - District Attorney, San Francisco
Thomas Burke - Chief of Police, San Mateo
George H. Buck - Judge of Superior Court, San Mateo County
J. Stitt Wilson - Former Mayor of Berkeley and United States Congressman
James B. McSheehy - Member of Board of Supervisors, San Francisco County
Ralph L. Thompson - Judge of Superior Court, Sonoma County
Emmet Seawell - District Attorney, Sonoma County
George W. Hoyle - District Attorney, Sonoma County
Charles D. Heywood - Commissioner of Public Health and Safety, Berkeley
Lieutenant George Daly - Chief of Detectives, Alameda
W. H. Edwards - Commissioner, Oakland
Louis Bartlett - Mayor, Berkeley
Frank Barrett - Sheriff, Alameda County
A. E. Pelton - Mayor, San Leandro
James T. Drew - Chief of Police, Oakland
Bert F. Becker - Chief of Police, Piedmont
Fred P. Schilling - Chief of Police, Hayward

Clergymen
Reverend S. J. Lee, St. James Episcopal Church, San Francisco
Reverend James A. Dennis, Third Baptist Church, San Francisco

1San Francisco Examiner, September 19, 1921, p. 2, c. 8. (Hereinafter referred to as Examiner.)
2Examiner, September 20, 1921, p. 6, c. 1.
3Examiner, September 21, 1921, p. 8, c. 6.
Reverend W. J. Cartwright, St. Mary's Catholic Church, San Francisco ⁴
Rabbi Martin A. Meyer, Temple Emanuel, San Francisco ⁵
Dr. J. L. Gordon, First Congregational Church, San Francisco ⁶
Rabbi Rudolph L. Coffee, Temple Sanai, Oakland ⁷

⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Examiner, September 26, 1921, p. 6, c. 1.
⁶ Examiner, September 29, 1921, p. 10, c. 5.
APPENDIX F

List of San Francisco Bay Area organizations that denounced the Klan.

San Francisco Examiner\(^1\)
Local No. 6, Private Soldier's and Sailor's Legion\(^2\)
Vallejo Post No. 104, American Legion\(^3\)
Daybreak Outpost No. 1, American Veterans of the
World War
Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of B'Nai Brith
Anti-Defamation League
Knights of Columbus
Scottish Rite Masons\(^4\)
Foresters of America\(^5\)
State Executive Committee, American Legion\(^6\)
Daylight Post No. 229, American Legion\(^7\)
Corporal Roberts Post No. 446, Veterans of Foreign
Wars\(^8\)

\(^1\)Examiner, September 26, 1921, p. 20, c. 1.
\(^2\)Examiner, October 4, 1921, p. 8, c. 5.
\(^3\)Examiner, May 8, 1922, p. 3, c. 8.
\(^4\)Examiner, May 10, 1922, p. 3, c. 3.
\(^5\)San Francisco Chronicle, May 18, 1922, p. 6, c. 3.
\(^6\)Examiner, May 22, 1922, p. 3, c. 1.
\(^7\)Examiner, May 25, 1922, p. 15, c. 7.
\(^8\)Examiner, June 18, 1922, p. 4, c. 1.
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1924.

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1924.

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All the above are unpublished papers in possession of Professor Joseph A. McGowan, Sacramento State College.
Appendix B

List of Klan membership in Kern County

Police Chief Stone and Stanley Abel Are Named

Many other officials of Bakersfield, West Side, including councilmen, revealed as members.

Approximately 50 names of officials and other prominent citizens of the city were disclosed in documents seized during a recent Police raid on the Bakersfield Temple of the KKK. Among the officials whose names appeared in the list were:

- Police Chief Joseph Stone
- Stanley Abel, councilman
- W. S. Smith, mayor
- W. J. Higgins, city trustee
- ...more names...

Full K. K. K. exposition in County Jail from documents confiscated in Cobern office raid.

Further details:

- Following charges brought by the Kern County district attorney, Engineer L. W. Reynolds was arrested last night and charged with selling surpluses and other goods.
- The court heard testimony from witnesses including:
  - ...names...

Weather report:

- ...details on weather conditions...

Additional notes:

- ...more details on other topics...

- ...additional information on events and activities in Bakersfield and Kern County...
These were added to the list in the May 8, 1922 edition of the Bakersfield Daily Californian.
APPENDIX D

List of the Sacramento membership in the Klan.

List Of Sacramento Klansmen
"Secured And Paid" Given Out

Sacramento Klansmen
"Secured And Paid"

District Attorney Will Proceed To Prevent Any Lawlessness By Members

Bradford Declares It Has Been Shown Method Has Followed As Result of Formation of Organizations of Order in Other Cities

The names of 144 Sacramento City and County Klansmen listed in the Ku Klux Klan records at Los Angeles have been sent to the organization up to April 1921 and were released to the press by District Attorney Bellwood Bradford. He also released the names of citizens who are applying for membership.

The list contains names of ministers, doctors, policemen, firemen, officials, lawyers, businessmen, merchants, and members of various trades.

The list of over 30 names in Woodland was released by District Attorney Bradford.

I obtained these names from the District Attorney's office with the help of a local newspaper editor and the undersigned reporter.

The list furnishes a very accurate index of the local appearance of the Klansmen and also shows the extent to which the organization is being encouraged in this community.

The copy of the records furnished to the Ku Klux Klan by the City of Sacramento does not reveal the full extent of the Klan's operations in the city, but it does indicate the size of the organization and the amount of money involved.

The copy of the records furnished to the Ku Klux Klan by the City of Sacramento does not reveal the full extent of the Klan's operations in the city, but it does indicate the size of the organization and the amount of money involved.

The number of petitions presented to the City Council requesting the issuance of a permit to the Klan is not known, but it is believed to be in the hundreds.
List taken from The Sacramento Bee, May 5, 1922.