REX HOPPER'S LIFE-CYCLE THEORY APPLIED

TO THE KU KLUX KLAN

APPROVED:

Raymon C. Foster
Major Professor

Harold D. Meloney
Minor Professor

Leonard Benson
Committee Member

Hiram J. Friedsam
Chairman of the Department of Sociology

Robert B. Toulouse
Dean of the Graduate School

# REX HOPPER'S LIFE-CYCLE THEORY APPLIED TO THE KU KLUX KLAN

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By

William W. Falk, B. A.

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### The Problem and Its Purposes

A social movement may be defined as "A collectivity acting with some continuity to promote or resist a change in the society of which it is a part."[1] Social movements have been studied by many twentieth century sociologists, and the work of one of them, Rex Hopper,[2] is the basis of this study. Hopper's observations of South American revolutions and his subsequent postulation of the natural history of South American political revolutions is not merely "armchair philosophizing." Rather, it represents an extension of the work of previous sociologists and historians such as Sorokin, Edwards, Gettys, Blumer, and Brinton.[3] Thus, Hopper's treatise represented a synthesis

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[1]Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian, Collective Behavior (Englewood-Cliffs, 1957), p. 308.

[2]Rex D. Hopper, "The Revolutionary Process: A Frame of Reference for the Study of Revolutionary Movements," Social Forces, XXVIII (March, 1950), 270-279.

[3]P. A. Sorokin, The Sociology of Revolution (Philadelphia, 1925); L. P. Edwards, Natural History of Revolution (Chicago, 1927); Carl Dawson and W. E. Gettys, Introduction to Sociology (New York, 1934), pp. 708-709; Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior" in An Outline of the Principles of Sociology, edited by R. E. Park (New York, 1939); Crane Brinton, The Anatomy of Revolution (New York, 1938).

of currently existing research from which his natural history theory evolves.

Hopper's postulate is that all South American political revolutions share certain characteristics and pass through four stages if they are successfully completed.[4] However, termination is possible at any stage and would therefore end the revolution. It is important to understand that a political revolution is one kind of a social movement and that at one or more stages of its development there may be violent behavior, whereas in other social movements, there may be no violence at all. Thus, a revolution is a social movement, but not all social movements are revolutions. Revolutions are usually violent, and violence itself is logically related to other functions of that particular kind of social movement. In an attempt to bring about the desired change, people in a social movement may at some stage exhibit revolutionary or violent behavior. However, such behavior need not always be an integral part of a social movement, regardless of whether its orientation be political, economic or something else.

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[4]As applied to all organized social movements, this hypothesis was advanced first by W. E. Gettys and employed by him in the study of the development of Methodism in England. See Dawson and Gettys, op. cit., pp. 708-709. In 1941, Fuller and Myers also used the natural history method, with three stages to describe the emergence and development of the solution to a social problem. See Richard C. Fuller and Richard R. Myers, "The Natural History of a Social Problem," American Sociological Review, VI (June, 1941), 320-328.

Hopper's concern was revolutionary, political behavior in South America, and the social processes and conditions which accompany the success of such behavior. What one notices, while reading Hopper's article, is that the behavior he describes in the natural history of a South American political revolution may not need to be restricted to either South America or to political revolutions. The characteristics he describes may be both geographically and sociologically generalizable and it is the general purpose of this study to determine to what extent, if any, this can be done.

Hopper's analytical method was the natural history approach to the study of political social movements. The natural history model for social movements is similar to the life-cycle concept of the growth and development of human beings. The baby--child--adolescent--adult developmental sequence may be used to indicate an evolutionary pattern observable in humans. The premise is that one developmental stage must logically precede another. Thus, when adulthood has been reached, the developmental aspect of the life-cycle has been completed.

In utilizing the natural history approach, one finds that the human growth pattern is somewhat analogous to the growth or development of political revolutions. Here, too, according to Hopper, one stage must precede another for growth to occur; that is, stage one must precede stage two, two must precede three, etc., in the same manner that a human

being must be a baby before he is a child, or a child before he is an adolescent. While stage one is a necessary condition for the emergence of stage two, it is not a sufficient condition for it. A social movement, like a human being, may die at any stage of its development. Unlike a human being, the social movement is not required to die or progress to another stage within a specified time period. It may pass very rapidly from one stage to another, or it may remain at one stage in its development for many years. Various characteristics must be present at each stage before progression to the next stage can occur.

It was stated earlier that the general purpose of this study was to test the generalizability of Hopper's model. More specifically, it is hypothesized that Rex Hopper's model for the development of a South American political revolution will apply equally to the development of a social movement which is not a South American political revolution, namely, the Ku Klux Klan. In addition to this main hypothesis, a number of subsidiary hypotheses will be stated.

While a series of subsidiary hypotheses will be stated, it will be necessary to see them as small, specific parts of the main hypothesis. Since the restricted hypotheses are logically deduced from the main hypothesis, the complete validity of the main one rests on the establishment of the validity of the others. The main hypothesis, as stated, will be rejected if the validity of the restricted ones cannot be

established; it will be substantiated or held to be verified if the validity of the restricted ones can be established. If the Ku Klux Klan movement does not progress through all four stages, this is not evidence that the hypothesis is wrong; this is a failure of the movement and not of the theory which is being applied to it. The theory may be partially accepted even if the movement fails to progress through stage four, institutionalization. If the movement should terminate prior to institutionalization, then the hypothesis is testable only up to that point where historical data are available for application to the hypotheses.

While the main hypothesis concerns the overall acceptance or rejection of the applicability of Hopper's model to non-South-American political revolutions, more must be said about the series of lesser hypotheses. They are "lesser" only in the sense that they are the individual parts drawn from the larger postulate. These lesser hypotheses are stated as characterizing individual stages as follows:

THE PRELIMINARY STAGE (Stage 1)

Hypothesis 1. Mass excitement and unrest will be characteristic conditions.

Hypothesis 2. The typical process will be milling (circular interaction).

Hypothesis 3. Effective mechanisms to influence people's behavior will be agitation, suggestion, imitation, and propaganda.

Hypothesis 4. The type of leader will be the agitator.

Hypothesis 5. The dominant social form will be the "psychological mass."

THE POPULAR STAGE (Stage 2)

Hypothesis 6. Collective excitement and unrest will be characteristic conditions.

Hypothesis 7. The typical process will be an intensification of milling and social contagion.

Hypothesis 8. The effective mechanism will be an attempt to develop esprit de corps.

Hypothesis 9. The types of leaders will be the prophet and the reformer.

Hypothesis 10. The dominant social form will be found in the evolution of the mass into the crowd.

THE FORMAL STAGE (Stage 3)

Hypothesis 11. The formulation of issues and formation of publics will be characteristic conditions.

Hypothesis 12. There will be three typical processes:
(1) discussion and deliberation
(2) formulation
(3) formalization.

Hypothesis 13. The effective mechanisms will be those which develop group moral and ideology.

Hypothesis 14. The types of leaders will be those who can formulate policy (statesmen).

Hypothesis 15. The dominant social form will be a public.

THE INSTITUTIONAL STAGE (Stage 4)

Hypothesis 16. The characteristic conditions will indicate legalization and societal organization.

Hypothesis 17. The typical process will be one of institutionalization.

Hypothesis 18. The effective mechanisms will be those which intensify the development of an ideology and perfect tactics to carry people along in the desired direction.

Hypothesis 19. The type of leader will be the administrator.

Hypothesis 20. The dominant social form will be the society.

Table 1 is provided for easy referral in assessing the general characteristics of any stage.

Terms used in this paper are defined as follows:

Milling: the behavior of people looking for a socially sanctioned meaning in an unstructured situation.

TABLE I

EVOLUTIONARY PROCESSES IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

| Stage | Process | Effective Mechanisms | Leader | Social Form |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Preliminary | Milling | Must be suited to the dominant mood | Agitator | Psychological Mass |
| 2. Popular | Intensified milling<br>Social contagion<br>Collective excitement | Attempt to develop esprit de corps | Prophet and Reformer | Crowd |
| 3. Formal | Discussion and Deliberation<br>Formulation<br>Formalization | Attempt to develop group morale and ideology | Statesmen | Public |
| 4. Institutionalization | Increased discussion and deliberation | Intensify group ideology and develop tactics to carry people with it | Executive or Administrator | Society |

Circular interaction: a process by which the emotions of others elicit the same emotions in oneself, which in turn intensify the emotions of others.[5]

Social contagion: the sensitization of people to one another, the development of a common mood, and the development of a common image through milling or circular interaction.

Mass: a number of individuals responding independently to the same stimulus in the same way.

Crowd: persons who are physically assembled and who develop a psychological unity as a result of milling.

Public: a diffuse collectivity interested in but divided about an issue.

Issue: consists of those points of dispute about which people agree to do their disagreeing.[6]

Society: a social order which becomes institutionalized.

An additional hypothesis is provided by the theoretical assumption that a movement is cumulative--one stage logically follows another and the movement continues to grow. Its growth may be stopped by failure to progress to the next stage, or its life may be terminated by the cessation of the processes, mechanisms, or dominant social forms of the stage. If a social movement dies and later restarts, it must restart

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[5]Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang, Collective Dynamics (New York, 1961), p. 209.

[6]Turner and Killian, op. cit., p. 225.

at stage one and not at the stage it was in when it terminated. It must start anew.

## Method and Methodology

As previously stated, Hopper's method for studying a political revolution is the natural history method. That is also the method utilized in this study of the Ku Klux Klan. The natural history method is one of many methods which are to be found within the scientific approach.

The scientific approach may be differentiated from a nonscientific approach in several ways. Above all else, the scientific approach carries with it what the scientific community hopes to be complete objectivity. Striving for such objectivity implies a playing down of what might otherwise be one's own subjective or opinionated judgment.

Because of its historical framework, the natural history method is an ex post facto method. Hence, the data have already been established and a manipulation of them might be possible by the exclusion of pertinent data. However, assuming that the initial compilation of the data has been accurate and objective, any unobjective manipulation of the data could easily be detected by an examination of the historical record.

The historical data provided in this paper are descriptive and will be used to test the hypotheses. Any analysis done during the descriptive text will be done to facilitate

particular points of demarcation which are noticed to occur through the Ku Klux Klan's history. If a new stage is begun, and certain characteristic traits are noticed, this will be pointed out. However, the really thorough analysis of the application of the model to the movement will be covered in the last chapter. At that time, the hypotheses as stated will be either accepted or rejected, depending on the Klan's history and how well it fits the model.

This paper will not attempt to employ any mathematical applications or statistical methods. If the natural history approach has an apparent weakness, perhaps the lack of a mathematical framework for scientific inquiry and precision is that weakness. However, it is nonetheless possible to state hypotheses and then examine the validity of those hypotheses in light of the historical data. While this may not allow for quantitative criteria for rejection or support of the hypotheses, it does allow the researcher to establish the applicability of historical analysis to non-mathematical phenomena. This does not preclude or negate the possibility of eventual mathematical prediction as a result of what has been learned in the historical analysis.

In testing the hypotheses advanced in this paper, the hypotheses will be accepted as characteristics which have been historically observed if such is the case. If there is any cause for doubting but not proving that an hypothesis has been substantiated, this will be stated as a qualifying remark

justified by inconclusive evidence. It would be possible to have cases where hypotheses were not testable because of a lack of data. Also, it would be possible to have cases where the data were such that hypotheses were disproven. For example, in any of the social movement's stages, conditions contrary to those hypothesized might be found, necessitating the rejection of one hypothesis.

While it would be possible to examine whole stages at once, it would seem to be more advantageous to study each stage by examining individual hypotheses and then concluding that if the five hypotheses of a stage are met, the composite whole is evidence of passing through one complete stage. The examination of the hypotheses will be done for each historical epoch, thus yielding a more accurate portrait of the theory's applicability to non-South-American phenomenon.

## CHAPTER 2

## DESCRIPTION OF HOPPER'S THEORY

In applying the natural history approach to the study of social movements, Hopper concludes that there are four stages of development: the Preliminary Stage of Mass (Individual) Excitement and Unrest, the Popular Stage of Collective Excitement, the Formal Stage of Formulation of Issues and Formation of Publics, and the Institutional Stage of Legalization and Societal Organization.[1] Before Hopper described the revolutionary process, he provided a brief statement of the way students of human relationships see human behavior. Hopper sees human behavior as "a function of the development of socially-acquired attitudes toward culturally-held values."[2] When one applies the concept to the analysis of the revolutionary process, one is really asking, "What happens when one social order collapses and another emerges?"[3]

In answering this question, Hopper elaborates five main points. First, any social order may be perceived as a kind of moving equilibrium of culturally held and socially-acquired values and attitudes. Second, when attitudes and values begin

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[1]Rex D. Hopper, "The Revolutionary Process: A Frame of Reference for the Study of Revolutionary Movements," Social Forces, XXVIII (March, 1950), 270.

[2]Ibid., p. 270.

[3]Ibid., p. 270.

to diverge, the process of social disorganization sets in. Third, social change has occurred if social disorganization results in the reorganization of attitudes and values. Fourth, significant social change always influences change on the institutional level. And, finally, revolutionary change is that change which occurs on the institutional level, thereby rejecting previously accepted values in favor of new ones.

It is easiest to examine Hopper's postulate in the framework which he provides the reader. Each stage may be examined with certain criteria: characteristic conditions, typical processes, effective mechanisms, types of leaders, and the dominant social form. To make this general framework more readily understandable, a chart was provided on page 8 which is a summary of the overall content of the postulate.

## The Preliminary Stage

The first stage of Hopper's life cycle theory is the Preliminary Stage. This stage is characterized by mass excitement and unrest, which describe the socio-psychological mood which prevails. Socio-psychological conditions reveal a basic sequence: 1) a general restlessness which manifests itself in wish repression, a balked mind set, and an increase in irrational forms of behavior (e.g., crime and vice); 2) a development of more pronounced class antagonisms with repressed groups gaining power, economic power being separated from political power, and men of ability being shut out from

meaningful, important careers; 3) increased governmental inefficiency; 4) the growing cultural drift toward revolutionary change; and, 5) a growing spread and socialization of restlessness visible in increased tension and increased talk of revolution. These kinds of things are what occur if a society is breaking up into a mass.[4]

The typical process during the Preliminary Stage is what Blumer and others have called "milling."[5] The term is one which has been borrowed from its application to the restless and apparently aimless behavior of cattle on a ranch. As Hopper has said, ". . . milling results from vaguely apprehended unrest on the one hand and from confusion regarding goals on the other."[6] Neither the desired ends nor means are certain at this time.

What mechanisms will be effective at influencing people's behavior in the desired way? These mechanisms of control must be suited to the dominant moods of the people. In cases typical of the socio-psychological conditions already stated, such things are agitation, suggestion, and propaganda are effective. Thus, those people most capable of effecting change through the use of such mechanisms will emerge as leaders.

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[4] Ibid., p. 271.

[5] See Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior" in An Outline of the Principles of Sociology (New York, 1939), pp. 224-228.

[6] Hopper, op. cit., p. 271.

Hopper suggests that potential revolutionists will follow an agitator at this stage. As Blumer has shown,[7] there are two types of agitators, either one of which would function as a leader dependent upon the situation. The first agitator is in a situation characterized by abuse, unfair discrimination, and injustice, but with an apathetic people who take this life for granted. The second agitator is in a situation characterized by restlessness and arousal but with people who are timid and unsure of what to do.

The dominant social form is the mass. The mass is characterized as being heterogeneous, having anonymous persons, lacking personal interaction, and little or no organization. Thus, this body of people is relatively detached in a rather marginal position.

## The Popular Stage

In the Popular Stage, one finds a shift from mass or individual excitement to crowd or collective excitement. Collective excitement occurs as a result of the popularization of unrest and discontent. This is not to say that popularization includes every person in the mass; rather, as was indicated in the discussion of the Preliminary Stage, a certain psychological preparedness is necessary. Furthermore, this popularization has the effect of pitting one part of the population (those in favor) against another part of the

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[7]Blumer, op. cit., pp. 260-261.

population (those against). By its very nature then, this stage finds previously anonymous people becoming cognizant of one another. "Unrest is no longer covert, endemic, and esoteric; it becomes overt, epidemic, and exoteric."[8] Discontent becomes focalized and collective.

Hopper also sees six traits as being characteristic of the socio-psychological conditions in this stage. There is a marked spreading of discontent and a contagious unrest as evidenced by increased activity. The intellectuals transfer their allegiance to the repressed peoples with the resultant effect being the spread of rumor and scandal. Also, a guilty group is identified and becomes the attention of an adverse "advertising offensive." A social myth is fabricated which is a collection of illusions, myths, and doctrines, and a tentative object of loyalty is developed.

Out-group conflict emerges with a resultant increase in in-group consciousness. The discontented organize to remedy the potential or actual breakdown of government. And demands are present which, if granted, would amount to abdication of those in power.

The Popular Stage, like the Preliminary Stage, is also marked by milling; however, the difference is that the milling process is speeded up to become more like "social contagion." The ideas of intensification and contagion are important ones

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[8]Hopper, op. cit., p. 273.

because they imply a newly-found awareness of attention being riveted and people being more impulsively aroused. Another term which could be used here is "collective excitement," again implying a mutual awareness which results in integrating unrest and discontent possibly leading to the collective expression of non-rational conduct. "Social contagion, then, is simply an intense form of milling and collective excitement in which rapport is established."[9]

The most effective mechanism for continuing the process in this stage is the development of esprit de corps. Leaders who desire to intensify rapport as a means of attaining group cohesion will use esprit de corps as a means of social control; it will serve as a means of organizing and integrating loyalty to the movement. Esprit de corps thus helps to develop unity and solidarity in the movement, and in so-doing, it helps to prevent disintegration of the movement while also helping to forward the evolution of the movement. It is achieved through promoting in-group relationships, both formal and informal.

Another mechanism introduced in this stage is the "social" or "revolutionary" myth. Such a myth plays the role of helping "the people . . . to believe that they are on the march toward a New Order--a potential Utopia which it is their duty to help actualize."[10] Such things as pamphlets, rumor, scandal, and protests also help to achieve the group goal.

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[9]Ibid., p. 274

[10]Ibid., p. 274

Because the conditions of the period and the skills necessary to use the mechanisms determine the requirements for successful leadership, one sees the emergence of the prophet and the reformer. Chronologically, the prophet occurs earlier in time because his main role is to promulgate the social myth. He is the kind of charismatic person who is confident and speaks with an air of authority, yet he always speaks in general terms. However, his ability is such that he helps to verbalize the hopes and wishes of the people.

The reformer's role is somewhat different from that of the prophet. The reformer appears at a later time and speaks on specific issues rather than in generalities. He not only speaks on specific issues but he develops a clearly defined program.

The dominant social form changes from the mass to the crowd. The process undertaken in this transformation is noted by Blumer:

> First, is the occurence of some exciting event which catches the attention and arouses the interest of the people . . . the second step . . . the beginning of the milling process . . . third important step . . . the emergence of a common object of attention on which the impulses, feelings, and imagery of the people become focused.[11]

## The Formal Stage

The transition from the Popular to the Formal Stage marks a crucial point in the development of the movement.

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[11]Blumer, op. cit., p. 234.

"Esprit de corps must be buttressed by devices designed to develop group morale and ideology if disintegration is to be avoided."[12] Collective excitement and social contagion are no longer adequate to maintain interest. Instead, the formulation of issues and the formalization of procedures are necessary. The roots of the movement must become embedded so that the movement is more than a temporary, faddish phenomenon.

How this is accomplished is partially explained by examining the typical characteristics of this stage: 1) The first characteristic is the fixation of motives and the definite formulation of aims. This implies attitudes and values in lieu of motives and aims. 2) The second characteristic is the development of an organizational structure with leaders, a program, doctrines, and traditions.

Because of the character of the events of this stage, the typical processes may be classified under three headings: 1) discussion and deliberation, 2) formulation, and 3) formalization. Given the rather rational nature of these three processes, discussion and deliberation must be the type of interaction which takes place, especially when one considers that there are varying opinions on the issues under consideration. Policies begin to take shape and programs are formulated. The third event may be the most important of the three in its eventual effect.

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[12]Hopper, op. cit., p. 275.

> [The] wishes (attitudes) that have been reformulated, goals (values) that have emerged, and policies that have been developed get worked into the mores of the participants and become a formal part of their behavior in preparation for subsequent institutionalization.[13]

Thus, the movement becomes more solidified.

The effective mechanisms of this stage are those which develop group morale and ideology. Morale is rooted in three convictions: 1) the purposes of the movement are right and victory will lead to a kind of Golden Age; 2) these purposes will actually be realized; and 3) these purposes represent a sacred responsibility which must be fulfilled. The ideology of the movement provides reinforcement through a body of doctrines, beliefs, and myths; these not only reinforce but provide direction and enable participants to withstand the opposition of out-groups. Whatever mechanisms are utilized serve to facilitate the process of formalization.

In this stage, leadership is in the hands of statesmen. The leaders are those who formulate policies and who attempt to carry social policy into practice; that is, they are skilled in evaluating the prevailing social forces, resolving the issues, and realizing the objectives of which the people have become aware.

Formulation and formalization cannot occur in a mass or crowd; the only place they can occur is in a public, the dominant social form of this stage. The difference between a mass and a public is that "A public is marked by the presence of

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[13] Ibid., p. 276.

the discussion of, and a collective opinion about, an issue."[14] Thus, a public is more concrete in its awareness and is engaged in finding an answer to a previously unanswered problem (e.g., replacing an old government).

## The Institutional Stage

In the final stage of the movement, institutionalization, the out-group's power is legalized and organized. "When the attitudes and values . . . become the legal and political foundation of social organization, a new society has been formed. . . ."[15]

In moving from the Formal into the Institutional Stage, the emergent characteristics may be classified as causal or transitional and resultant or accommodative. The causal characteristics are such that a psychological and moral let-down occur whereby there is a return to old habits and economic distress demands a settling down. The resultant characteristics are such that the society begins to assume its "new" look with the old social structure but new values. There is also an increase in the powers of central government, often resulting in a dictatorship. "The revolution becomes attitudinally established and develops a permanent organization that is accepted to the current mores; that is, it is institutionalized."[16]

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[14] Ibid., p. 277.

[15] Ibid., p. 277.

[16] Ibid., p. 277.

As was seen in the other stages, the typical processes are those which are appropriate to the prevailing mood of the participants. In this case, there is an increasing dependency on discussion and deliberation as the means for fixing policies and determining action, as was observed by E. C. Hughes:

> The process of institutionalization results: the process by which collective behavior which begins outside formal offices and without formal rules, engaged in by unconventional groups of people in unexpected situations, or in ways contrary to use and want, develop formal offices, organized groups, defined situations, and a new body of sanctioned use and want.[17]

The movement has come full-circle upon reaching the final stage. The process has witnessed behavior on the part of the mass, the crowd, the public and, finally, a new society with a new group of institutions and new values. It has assumed the ultimate role of its predecessor and has seen people become reconciled to the changed conditions of life.

An important area of consideration at this point in the movement's evolution is whether or not the new values are attitudinally as well as legally accepted. What often happens is that the new values are not attitudinally accepted and a compromise is effected between the old and new value systems. The movement only partly realizes its objectives, thus resulting in a state of imperfect institutionalization.

The statement of effective mechanisms takes on a rather nebulous character in this stage. This nebulous character is

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[17]E. C. Hughes, "Institutions," Outline of the Principles of Sociology, R. E. Park, ed. (New York, 1939), Part V, p. 286.

due to the tendency for (1) a large number of possible mechanisms, any of which may influence people's behavior, and (2) a concern for the ends sought rather than with the means used to attain those ends. Although any established mechanisms may be used in this stage, especially prevalent is the use of formalized dogmas and beliefs in place of personal ascendancy.

In all four stages, the leader is a reflection of how far the movement has evolved. In stage four, given the increased degree of sophistication within the overall movement, the movement utilizes the administrator-executive. This merely represents the last stage in the division of labor process whereby those things agitated for and prophecied by others must now be administered.

The dominant social form of the Institutional Stage is that which is implied by the use of the term "institutionalization," namely, society. As one follows the evolutionary nature of a movement, the movement "acquires organization and form, a body of customs and traditions, established leadership, and enduring division of labor, social rules and social values; in short, a culture, a social organization, and a new scheme of life."[18] A destroyed equilibrium has been re-established and a new social order has been built in its place.

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[18]Blumer, op. cit., p. 279.

## CHAPTER 3

## REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

While there is a tremendous amount of literature available on the Ku Klux Klan, much of this literature is repetitive and too restricted for this study.[1] Because the Klan's history covers one hundred years, and because of the Klan's uniqueness as it rose and fell as a social movement, its history may be seen in three eras: (1) 1865 to 1871, (2) 1915 to 1928, and (3) 1954 to the present. Both the first and third eras are marked by a lack of good data. In the second era, the Klan had a great deal of support in virtually every state in the Union. During this time there was a large body of literature produced on Klan effect at the state and local levels. No one state or event accounted for all of the Klan growth. Rather, it was a collectivity of states and events. Thus any literature which is too restricted is of little value to this study, because it is the overall effect (inclusive of all states) which the study is concerned with.

Aside from a voluminous amount of newspaper articles, as well as articles found in the so-called "popular" magazines,

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[1]For a more individualistic account of Klan events, one may see issues of Time, World's Work, Literary Digest, Newsweek, Nation, Christian Century, The New York Times, and other popular magazines and newspapers, especially those published between 1915 and 1930. A more recent account may be found by

there is not an overwhelming body of scholarly literature available. Hence, one of the limitations of the study is the number of references one may use with assurance of accuracy. While there are not too many good sources available, some of the more academic journals as well as certain books allow one the opportunity to develop a fairly comprehensive profile of the Ku Klux Klan. Those sources available would seem to be sufficient to develop an adequate understanding of the history of the Ku Klux Klan.

While realizing that the term "repetitive" or "redundant" might be used in referring to much of the literature found in newspapers and magazines, one would do well perhaps to clarify and, to a degree, modify this usage. Although much of the literature is limited and restricted, in some cases it was felt advisable to use such literature. In reviewing the literature, one will find references to states or issues of a seemingly restricted usage. In such cases, the literature chosen has usually been selected because of reference within it to the larger issue, that is, the Klan on more than just a restricted level. The books and articles mentioned in this review are those which are useful in describing the Ku Klux Klan as a social movement. While the fourth chapter in this paper will deal with the history of the Klan in three eras, so, too, will this presentation of the review of the literature try to adhere to this same general format. Some authors present articles which are more descriptive of one era than

another. Some authors may have used material which is usable in all three eras. The following review will attempt to make reference to those books and articles selected for usage and at the same time, justify such selection.

In the earliest era of the Klan, 1865 to 1871, the Klan's activities were such that there was not a great deal of objective literature recorded. However, as is the rule in history, some years later, more objective accounts of Klan activity began to be published. Especially noteworthy here are two articles which have appeared in The Journal of Negro History. In 1927, Francis B. Simkins wrote an article entitled "The Ku Klux Klan in South Carolina." His main concern was the Klan during Reconstruction and what effect it had in South Carolina.[2] Because of the limited effectiveness of the early Klan (i.e., local as opposed to regional or national), Simkins could not have written his account without considering the Southern states which lie near South Carolina. He gives an account which indicates the early roles played by Alabama, Georgia, etc., as part of the old South. In this way, one may more easily see the effect that the early Klan had on residents--especially Black residents--in the South.

In the same journal, some thirty-seven years later, Simkins' article was followed by Herbert Shapiro's article on

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[2]Francis B. Simkins, "The Ku Klux Klan in South Carolina," The Journal of Negro History, XII (October, 1927), 606-647.

the "South Carolina episode"[3] and the Klan during Reconstruction. Simkins' and Shapiro's articles were similar in the use of the historical approach, however Shapiro's article is somewhat better. Shapiro's article is more group-concerned than Simkins', which relied on many individual testimonies and cases. However, relevant data may be drawn from both.

In A Fool's Errand/The Invisible Empire, by Albion W. Tourgee, one finds an historic, fictional novel based on the years immediately following the Civil War.[4] The fictional nature of the book does not mean that it is without value here. It has been written in a "Tom Jones style" and the author inserts essays at times considered by him as demanding of such essays. His remarks are similar to those of William G. Brown[5] in that they are being made from a biased point of view, yet they are being made from someone who was alive during the era being described. Tourgee's book provides a commentary on the moral, economic, and social conditions after the war; interwoven into his account is the fledgling Ku Klux Klan and what importance was accorded to it. The second part of the book is devoted to the "Invisible Empire." This section is more beneficial than his fictional account

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[3]Herbert Shapiro, "The Ku Klux During Reconstruction: The South Carolina Episode," The Journal of Negro History, XLIX (January, 1964), 34-55.

[4]Albion W. Tourgee, A Fool's Errand/The Invisible Empire (New York, 1889).

[5]William G. Brown. The Lower South in American History

because it includes a number of excerpts from Congressional investigations which serve to make it more reliable.

In 1902, The Lower South in American History was written by William G. Brown. One chapter of the book was devoted to the Klan and it is this chapter that it of concern here. The chapter is completely exegetic and without footnotes. However, because of the time that it was written, and because of Brown's being alive during the particular era in which the events took place, the book is of value. While perhaps not as well documented as some others, Brown describes well the psychological mood of the South after the Civil War and the rationale for the Klan's existence. He says, "Was it necessary? . . . no other plan of resistance would have served so well. Was it successful? No open revolt ever succeeded more completely."[6] In trying to decide whether it was justifiable, Brown realizes that this is not so easily answered. However, he does maintain a rather sympathetic approach to the Klan's aims, an approach that was indeed stereotyped and typical of the South immediately following the war.

In 1924 John Mecklin wrote A Study of the American Mind.[7] This book deserves special mention, because ever since its publication, it has served as a standard text on the Klan, at least in the Klan's first sixty years. He thought of the Klan

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[6]Ibid., p. 223.

[7]John M. Mecklin, A Study of the American Mind (New York, 1924).

as ". . . the most spectacular of all social movements in American society since the close of the World War."[8] While Mecklin's book does make some vague generalizations, it, nonetheless, is a landmark in the literature on the Klan and is used as a basic reference in almost all scholarly attempts to understand the Klan. Mecklin advances the idea that urban disorganization could cause a change in values which could be an additional reason for the emergence of the Klan, rather than perpetuating the use of race hatred and old sentiments. Mecklin covers both the 1865 to 1871 era and the period from 1915 until the book's publication in 1924.

In 1939 another book was published on the Klan which also has been used as a standard text. Taking the term "Invisible Empire" from Tourgee, Stanley F. Horn[9] asserts that his title implies ". . . a South-wide organization of Klans with a definite hierarchy."[10] Although Horn fails to prove entirely his postulate, he does provide a very readable narrative of the period from 1865 through the Depression of the 1930's.

John Higham's book, Strangers in the Land, is similar to Horn's and Mecklin's in that his primary concentration

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[8]George M. Stephenson, book review, Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XI (September, 1924), 301.

[9]Stanley F. Horn, Invisible Empire: The Story of the Ku Klux Klan (Boston, 1939).

[10]Francis B. Simkins, book review, Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXVI (September, 1939), 270.

covers the period from 1860 to 1925.[11] Another book which deals with the entire one hundred year history of the Klan, but whose primary concern is from 1865 to 1930, is The Ku Klux Klan by William Randel.[12] Randel is especially good on the Reconstruction era, but his discussion of the more recent Klan (1954 to the present) is somewhat lacking in content.

In 1941, Wilbur J. Cash wrote a book which although not dealing primarily with the Klan, provided a psychological framework for trying to understand the Klan.[13] His book was titled The Mind of the South, and the title might have been more representative of the content had it included the words "Old South." Cash traces the fears of the nativism (i.e., its alledged purity) of the South being destroyed by the influx of carpetbaggers and Negro politicians during Reconstruction. Cash shows how any immigration of Jews, Catholics, or other "aliens" provided a further threat in the late 1800's and early 1900's. According to Cash, the Klan's reason for existence would be somewhat as follows:

> . . . the old coveted, splendid sense of being a heroic blade, a crusader sweeping up mystical slopes for White Supremacy, religion, morality, and all that had made up the faith of the Fathers: of being the direct heir in continuous line of the Confederate soldiers at Gettysburg and those old Klansmen who had once driven out the carpetbagger and tamed the scalawag; of participating in ritualistic assertion of the

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[11]John Higham, Strangers in the Land (New Brunswick, 1955).

[12]William Randel, The Ku Klux Klan (New York, 1965).

[13]Wilbur J. Cash, The Mind of the South (New York, 1965).

> South's continuing identity, its will to remain unchanged and defy the ways of the Yankee and the world in favor of that one which had so long been its own.[14]

In 1923, John Mecklin wrote an exegetic article titled "The Ku Klux Klan and the Democratic Tradition."[15] Mecklin's assertion was that the Klan found justification in its cry for "100% American" by using Catholics as a scapegoat and focusing on their allegiance to the Pope. Because of their allegiance to the Pope, Catholics were believed not to be so loyal to America as their Protestant brethern were. They were guilty of conflicting interests. The seriousness of this belief is indicated in a court trial in Oregon relating to the use of parochial schools. David B. Tyack provides an interesting commentary on the idea of "100% American."[16] In 1922, the people of Oregon passed a bill requiring all children between the ages of eight and sixteen to attend public schools. Essentially, this outlawed private schools. The bill was fought in the courts,[17] and in 1925, the U. S. Supreme Court declared the bill unconstitutional. However,

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[14] Ibid., p. 337.

[15] John M. Mecklin, "The Ku Klux Klan and the Democratic Tradition," American Review, II (May-June), 241-251.

[16] David B. Tyack, "The Perils of Pluralism: The Background of the Pierce Case," The American Historical Review, LXXIV (October, 1968), 74-98.

[17] Society of Sisters of the Holy Names, Plaintiff, v. Pierce (the governor of the time) et al., Defendants, Nos. E8662 and 8660 cons.

this isolated example is illustrative of how many people felt about being a "pure American" in the 1920's.

Robert Moats Miller's article, "A Note on the Relationship Between the Protestant Churches and the Revived Ku Klux Klan."[18] offers an explanation for what seemed to be fairly widely acknowledged church complacency. Miller admits that the Klan worked "hand in glove" with Protestant denominations, their clergy, and their members. However, this was not to such a degree as has been previously thought. Why? According to Miller, the Church press was never in favor of the Klan.[19] Many national conventions, assemblies, clergymen, and parishioners also issued statements denouncing the Klan.

Guy B. Johnson was another writer interested in the Klan, although his specific interest was in interpreting the Klan,[20] especially the new Klan of the 1920's. Whereas religion was involved in the Oregon school case, Johnson saw religion involved in the whole movement. "The South takes its religion much more seriously than does any other section of the country."[21] Because of this, religious orthodoxy is opposed to liberalism and creates an inevitable conflict of interest.

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[18]Robert Moats Miller, "A Note on the Relationship Between the Protestant Churches and the Revived Ku Klux Klan," Journal of Southern History, XXII (August, 1956), 355-368.

[19]Ibid., p. 358.

[20]Guy B. Johnson, "A Sociological Interpretation of the New Ku Klux Movement," The Journal of Social Forces, I (May, 1923), 440-445.

[21]Ibid., p. 443.

This orthodoxy tended to go hand-in-hand with the Klan aims to preserve, to protect, to prevent, to suppress.[22]

An article written in 1924 by Frank Bohn[23] also proves to be a fruitful reference in studying the Klan's second phase or era. Bohn felt that most accounts of the Klan had not been scientifically done and were vexed with the problems of bias and value-judgments. He felt a sociological interpretation was in order for a better understanding of the Klan revival in 1915. Bohn's article is particularly good, realizing its date of publication, because of his reluctance to accept hate, fear, etc., as satisfactory explanations for the Klan's revival. Bohn discusses the new type of national thought and morality which were related to the effects (or perhaps more logically were the effects) or urbanization. As Bohn says, "The Old American and the Old America are passing into history."[24]

Although published almost forty years after the works of Johnson and Bohn, Charles C. Alexander's monograph, Crusade for Conformity, provides a further word on the outgrowth of the Klan in much the same tone as did his antecedents. ". . . the primary motivation for the spread of the Klan over Texas was . . . a yearning for some force to correct the

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[22]Ibid., p. 441.

[23]Frank Bohn, "The Ku Klux Klan Interpreted," The American Journal of Sociology, XXX (January, 1925), 385-407.

[24]Ibid., p. 407.

undesirable features of a rapidly urbanizing society--a quest for moral and social conformity."[25] While the majority of the people in America may not have been considered to be in a social movement, this "corrective" desire was a shared one. Alexander further illuminates underlying factors in the Klan's history, at least in this one epoch.

In 1946, Stetson Kennedy's Southern Exposure was published.[26] While not devoted entirely to the Klan, the book devotes one chapter to the Klan and it is mentioned throughout the book. The book is mainly about poverty in the South and the Klan is seen as an outgrowth of that poverty. Kennedy also provides a chronology of Klan events--at least those he deems as important--from 1915 to 1945. While he does avoid writing about the Klan's political involvement, he still has provided a useful source of reference.

Published in 1950 by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith; A Measure of Freedom, by Arnold Forster, provides a very descriptive discussion of Klan activities in the Late 1940's.[27] Occasionally, reference is made to the 1920's and 1930's, however, Forster is most concerned with the late 1940's. Forster's book is a good source of information because he writes

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[25]Charles C. Alexander, Crusade for Conformity: The Ku Klux Klan in Texas, 1920-1930 (Houston, 1962), p. V.

[26]Stetson Kennedy, Southern Exposure (Garden City, 1946).

[27]Arnold Forster, A Measure of Freedom, (Garden City, 1950).

about a period of time which most of the more recent writers tend to ignore. While basically concerned with the Klan's effect on Jews, the book does provide a good chronology of Klan activities during these years, which on the surface appear as rather unimportant years for the Klan as a social movement.

James W. Vander Zanden has been responsible for two articles involving the Klan.[28] In the more recent of his two articles, his concern is with "The Klan Revival." It is very brief, but his analysis of the revived Klan is good. Vander Zanden is as concerned with the revived Klan in a descriptive sense as he is in an analytical sense. Consequently, his article provides a source for gleaning one of the underlying factors in why people join the Klan: ". . . the position which Klansmen occupy within the social structure."[29] Its importance is relevant, sociologically, because of Vander Zanden's emphasis on the Klan as a group-oriented phenomenon.

While Vander Zanden suggests in his article that Klan members become rather paranoic in viewing themselves and their "Klan" as being suspect by those around them, Donald E. Williams offers a similar case in his article, "Protest Under

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[28]James W. Vander Zanden, "The Theory of Social Movements," Sociology and Sociological Research, XLIV (September-October, 1959), 3-8; and "The Klan Revival," American Journal of Sociology, LXV (March, 1960), 456-462.

[29]Vander Zanden, "The Klan Revival," p. 457.

the Cross: the Ku Klux Klan Presents its Case to the Public, 1960."[30] Williams documents a series of speeches made by Klan preachers and offers explanations for their rationale. An example of Klan attempts to combat their enemies is seen in this excerpt, "When the last shot is fired and the smoke has cleared away, we will stand victorious over the forces of Satan," prophesied a Klan preacher.[31]

Published in 1962, Arnold Rice's The Ku Klux Klan in American Politics is mainly concerned with the 1920's, the time of the Klan's greatest strength, especially political strength.[32] Rice brings the reader up to date by tracing the Klan throughout the 1960 Presidential election. Much of the research done on the Klan has been hampered by Klan secrecy; this also bothered Rice. "Klansmen have been [and still seem to be] unwilling to discuss with outsiders their recollections of the inner-workings of the order."[33] Nonetheless, Rice does a commendable job of showing Klan strength at the local, state, and national levels.

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[30]Donald E. Williams, "Protest Under the Cross: the Ku Klux Klan Presents its Case to the Public, 1960" Southern Speech Journal, XXVII (Fall-Summer, 1961-1962), 43-55.

[31]Williams, quotation from Vicksburg Post, August 5, 1960, p. 55.

[32]Arnold Rice, The Ku Klux Klan in American Politics, (Washington, 1962).

[33]Ibid., p. V; this point is further evidenced by Robert Shelton's recent imprisonment.

Kenneth T. Jackson's book, The Ku Klux Klan in the City, is not only useful as a bibliographic source, but it also shows the relevance of Mecklin's idea of value-conflict in the urban scene.[34] Jackson is primarily concerned with the period from 1915 to the present (1967), and his book is especially useful because of his discussion of urbanization and its effect on the Klan.

Although published in 1965, Charles C. Alexander's book, The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest, reminds one that, particularly in the South or Southwest, the Klan's secrecy was based on the tenet of strict Christian morality.[35] The Fundamentalist background of many Klansmen has been pointed out by others.[36] A literal interpretation of the Bible made them advocates of a strict Christian morality. It was from this interpretation that justifiable secrecy and the belief in Negro inferiority evolved. Alexander's approach is similar to that of Rice, because he, too, emphasized political participation. This is especially important because he and Rice have discussed an area which has been avoided by many other writers.

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[34]Kenneth T. Jackson, The Ku Klux Klan in the City (New York, 1967).

[35]Charles C. Alexander, The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest (Lexington, 1965).

[36]See John M. Mecklin, "The Ku Klux Klan and the Democratic Tradition," pp. 241-251; also see Miller, op. cit., pp. 355-368; and a table may be found in Jackson, op. cit., p. 63.

In Hooded Americanism, published in 1965, David M. Chalmers discussed the first one hundred years of the Klan's existence: 1865 to 1965.[37] He presents a comprehensive history of the Klan's development, brief period of flourishment, and subsequent demise. Like most writers of the more well-documented books on the Klan, Chalmers presents both a descriptive history and an analysis of the meaning of the Klan. His book serves as an invaluable source of reference. "Chalmers has combed the secondary literature and contemporary periodicals as no one has ever done before."[38]

Carl N. Degler's brief history of the Klan, which reviews the adequacy of three books about the Klan (Randel's, Chalmer's and Alexander's "Southwest"), is beneficial because Degler subjects all three books to the same criteria and tells the shortcomings of each. He also interprets each stage in the Klan's history with comments of his own.

Because this study of the Ku Klux Klan is concerned with testing a social movement theory, the literature chosen has been that which is most helpful in writing of the Klan as a social movement. Specific analysis of the Klan as a pressure group, vigilante law-and-order group, or fraternal organization would necessitate additional research into available literature. For this paper, those sources cited will be adequate.

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[37]David M. Chalmers, Hooded Americanism (New York, 1965).

[38]Carl N. Degler, "A Century of the Klans: A Review Article," Journal of Southern History, XXXI (November, 1965), 435.

From the literature cited, an historical framework may be established and the analysis of the evolutionary nature of the Klan may be investigated.

# CHAPTER 4

## HISTORY OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

Were one to examine the Ku Klux Klan* only as a social phenomenon and not be concerned with the more esoteric task of sociological analysis, one would find fascinating reading, for among other things, the Klan provides an example of "discontinuous continuity."[1] It has not had the political longevity of either the Republican or Democratic parties, yet neither has it had the rapid rise and fall of the Bullmoose Party of the 1900's. Instead, it has had discontinuous continuity; it has been dormant but not dead.

The Ku Klux Klan's history covers three periods of time, each with a birth and each with a "quasi-termina-

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*With an occasional exception, the Ku Klux Klan will hereafter be referred to more briefly as the Klan.

[1]"Discontinuous continuity" is a phrase used here to indicate that in this particular social movement there is not one, uninterrupted, progressive movement. The phrase is a furtherance of Degler's term, "quasi-termination." Although previously vocal Klan exponents did not openly support Klan ideology during the years when the Klan was inactive, this did not mean that Klan ideology died when the movement died. An idea may persist even though the founding organization or person does not publicly advocate its usage. "Discontinuous continuity" is an appropriate term because it reflects the stop-and-start nature of the Klan, a characteristic not nearly so noticeable in many other social movements (e.g., the American Revolution or the Bolshevik Revolution, both of which had seen their ideologies adopted).

tion."[2] Because of this, it is not feasible to look at the Klan as one, continuous movement. The alternative is to examine the Klan as three separate, distinct movements. This alternative is preferable even though examination may show that some central ideology remains intact in all three phases of its history. Through an application of Rex Hopper's theory, the "rise and fall" nature of the Ku Klux Klan's history should become apparent. This application will utilize three epochs:

(1) 1865 to 1871

(2) 1915 to 1928

(3) 1954 to the present.

## 1865 to 1871

When the Civil War ended, the South was in a state of chaos--not only politically, but also economically, and familially. From the beginning of the Reconstruction period and the occurrence of often unwanted state governments imposed on the local citizenry, social conditions were ideal for discontent. Governmental meddling by "outsiders" provided the catalyst needed for the birth of the Ku Klux Klan.

> It was the overturn of governments that made the Ku Klux Klan an important force in the Southern life. In practically every one of the Southern states in which the Klan rode, it sprang or expanded

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[2]Carl N. Degler, "A Century of the Klans: A Review Article," Journal of Southern History, XXXI (November, 1965), 435.

> into active life with the advent of the new Radical governments of 1867 and 1868.[3]

With the overthrow of the old and the advent of the new, the Klan's inception was only a matter of time.

When the war stopped,

> The one course of dishonor was abject surrender; if the only feasible alternative was subversion of constituted authority, it was justified by the outrageous Radical flouting of Southern principles. . . . this underground resistance we know, today, as the original Ku Klux Klan.[4]

It was in December of 1865, in Pulaski, Tennessee, that the Ku Klux Klan was at least formally recognized with a name. It was founded by six young college men who decided to form a club, in which James Crowe was especially influential. The name for their secretive, fraternal organization was reputedly decided upon when one of the members recalled from his study of Greek the word kuklos, meaning a band or circle. Another member suggested splitting the word in two and changing the final letter to x, yielding the mongrelized term ku klux. And, because all of the members were of Scottish descent, another member suggested adding the word clan, spelled with a k for consistency, thus yielding: ku klux klan. Because masquerading was a popular form of entertainment in those days, it was felt that using white sheets and pillow cases

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[3]David M. Chalmers, Hooded Americanism (New York, 1965), p. 11.

[4]William Pierce Randel, The Ku Klux Klan (New York, 1965), p. 3.

for costumes would heighten the mysterious nature of their organization.

Initially, they had no apparent motive other than a purely social one. "Their problem was idleness, their purpose amusement."[5] Even though their initial intent was merely to have some fun, the scaring of credulous Negroes was an unexpected consequence of their carousing efforts. ". . . the time was 'rotten ripe' for the development of the Klan as a means to control the newly freed Negro and his Northern friends."[6]

The Klan was attracting attention and was spreading. The second den of the Klan was formed in Athens, Tennessee, and it was decided to make their chief purpose White Supremacy. The Klan's strength cannot be very accurately measured from 1865 to 1867, however, one may assume that what we call "milling" was taking place.[7] In April of 1867, there was a meeting in Nashville. At this time, General George W. Gordon established the Prescript of the Ku Klux Klan, together with a set of ten questions which every Klan applicant had to answer affirmatively. While General Robert E. Lee declined the position of Grand Wizard, he nonetheless approved the appointment of General Nathan Bedford Forrest. In addition to the Prescript, there was a concluding charge to initiates

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[5]Chalmers, op. cit., p. 8. [6]Ibid., p. 9.

[7]Ibid., see especially pp. 9-10.

which embodies the essence of the Klan ideology: "Our Main and Fundamental Objective is the MAINTENANCE OF THE SUPREMACY OF THE WHITE RACE IN This Republic."[8] Hence, the assumption of milling and popular unrest is based on the outgrowth of a meeting of six young men to a larger meeting in which the group became more formally organized.

During the years 1865 to 1871, especially after the 1867 meeting, the Klan's tactics were violent. In those post Civil War days, what one saw was a situation where in the aftermath of the war, with Confederate soldiers glumly returning home, the populace of the South was passing from a milling stage to a stage of popular unrest. This stage was reinforced by the ideas that ". . . the Negro composed a large and often majority of the population and . . . the dream and the dread that troubled many Southerners was black insurrection."[9]

With the embitterment of having lost the war, all that was needed was something to give dispirited Southerners some cohesiveness; hence, the Klan had a ready-made membership when it formalized. It provided a vehicle to do illegally what the great majority of Southern whites wanted to do but could not do legally. And the cloak of secrecy prevented the fear of detection. The shared hopes for the continuance of

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[8]Randel, op. cit., p. 18.

[9]Chalmers, op. cit., p. 17.

Negro inferiority and the preservation of the old social order provided the collectively sought goals.

In its formal stage of development, little was needed to retain group morale and esprit de corps among the Klan's members. With white supremacy as its central focus, additional justification for this philosophy was needed. To merely assert that the past era was better than the present era was not substantive enough. Why or on what grounds was white supremacy justifiable? The answer to this was found in developing a soundly stated policy on why Negroes were inferior: God's law deemed it so.

The religious orientation of the Klan following was and still is basically Fundamentalist, that is, it adheres to a literal reading or "strict" interpretation of the Bible.[10] The Fundamentalists' interpretation of the scriptural stories of the cursing of Canaan and Hamm provided the basis for the white supremists' position which lies at the heart of Klan philosophy.

The stories of Canaan and Hamm supported the Klan belief that "Negroes were said to have evolved along a line distinctly separate from that which produced the white race and that

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[10]See John M. Mecklin, "The Ku Klux Klan and the Democratic Tradition," American Review, II (May-June, 1923), 241-251; also see Robert Moats Miller, "A Note on the Relationship Between the Protestant Churches and the Revived Ku Klux Klan," Journal of Southern History, XXII (August, 1956), 355-368; and a helpful table may be found in Kenneth Jackson's, The Ku Klux Klan in the City (New York, 1967), p. 63.

culminated in the noble Anglo-Saxons."[11] Thus, the argument that Negroes were not really human beings but members of a lower biological order could receive some credence by Biblical reference. Further proof was to be found in seeing who had and had not become dominant and successful. The implication was that the Protestant Ethic was accepted. Following this line of thought, no group of Negroes had become so economically and culturally significant as white Americans. God did favor whites.

The use of violence was another cohesive force at work. An isolated example of this violence may be found in North Carolina, where by June, 1870, the toll reached thirteen murders and twenty-two known whippings. The use of torture and violence seemed to the Klan to be especially effective. Also, it had a considerable effect on Southern politics where Republican margins of victory were substantially cut.[12]

While violence was a cohesive force for the Klan, it also led to the Klan's demise as a major social movement in the South. The Klan's formal organization went no further than uttering token pledges at the meeting in Nashville. Except for this one time, the klans were in the form of local dens that did as they chose, a trait again witnessed in the 1950's. Klan behavior varied from area to area, but all klans

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[11]Randel, op. cit., p. 30.

[12]Herbert Shapiro, "The Ku Klux Klan During Reconstruction: The South Carolina Episode," The Journal of Negro History, XLIX (January, 1964), 36-46.

had as their main objective the idea of white supremacy at any cost. Violence became so extreme and so widespread that in 1869, the Imperial Wizard, Forrest, ordered the dissolution of the order. However, "it remained for the Federal Force Act, martial law, mass arrests, and confessions to join imperial disbandment and growing disapproval in bringing the Klan to an end by 1872."[13]

Although the Klan had not institutionalized at this time, whatever success it achieved is not difficult to understand. To the white Southerner, "The carpetbagger did not belong, the Radical white was a scalawag . . . and the Negro was neither a man nor a Southerner."[14] Someone had to fill a void and insure that the social order was not too radically altered. "The Ku Klux Klan was a law-and-order movement because it was directed at the restoration of the proper order."[15]

The Klan was to be the saviour and restorer of what had been and what was to continue to be. Its termination as a viable social action group meant that it was eliminated in name only; its ideological platform was reflected in Southern politics, and the remnants of this initial foray may still be found today in the ideologies of such men as George Wallace and Lester Maddox.

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[13]Chalmers, op. cit., p. 19. [14]Ibid., p. 20.

[15]Ibid., p. 21.

From 1872 to 1914, the Klan was not very active. When Southerners once again ruled their own domain, there was not so much to get upset about because it became easier to control the Negroes and to pass the legislation they desired. "Force was to be used . . . until the whites triumphed. But it was to be the force of men moving in daylight without disguise."[16] Non-Klanners who were respectable citizens were vocal about their wish to perpetuate the belief in Negro inferiority. On September 16, 1989, Senator Albert Beveridge, from Indiana, said in a speech:

> The opposition tells us we ought not to rule a people without its consent. I answer, the rule of liberty, that all just governments derive their authority from the assent of the governed, applies only to those who are capable of self-government.[17]

## 1915 to 1928

In 1905, Thomas Dixon, Jr., wrote The Clansman, an historic romance of the Ku Klux Klan. Little did he know that a chain of events was to take place that would lead to a revival of the Klan. The book was eventually made into a play and, in 1915, into a movie titled "The Birth of a Nation." It was the release of the movie that started the

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[16]Francis B. Simkins, "The Ku Klux Klan in South Carolina," The Journal of Negro History, XII (October, 1927), 647.

[17]Randel, op. cit., p. 23; discontinuous continuity is clearly exemplified here. While Senator Beveridge may not have been a card-carrying Klansman, he provided the oratory which expressed Klan philosophy and thus perpetuated its effect even though it was dormant as a social movement force.

Klan's revival,[18] initiated by neither Dixon nor the movie-makers, but by William J. Simmons.

The ease with which Simmons organized this new Klan is evidence of the discontinuous continuity to which previous reference has been made. While hospitalized with injuries from an automobile accident, Simmons worked out all of the details which he then copyrighted. He then gathered men of similar thought from various fraternal orders in Atlanta, Georgia, and they jointly agreed to found the order. When the movie opened in Atlanta one week later, they put an advertisement in the local paper, and, almost overnight, there were ninety dues-paying members.

Although the movie's importance cannot be over-emphasized, the presence of World War I was also important in the Klan's rebirth. It was from the war's aftermath that the Klan could justify some of its principles. The war led to an era when "The Nation had to be defended against alien enemies, slackers, idlers, strike leaders, and immoral women, lest victory be endangered."[19] Their creed, in brief, stated (1) White Race Supremacy; (2) Pure Americanism; (3) The Preservation of Protestant Christianity; (4) The Protection of Womanhood and Morality.[20] Armed with this kind of philosophy,

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[18]Johnson, op. cit., p. 440.

[19]Chalmers, op. cit., p. 31.

[20]Johnson, op. cit., p. 441.

the Klan was ready for another attempt to preserve, protect, prevent, and suppress. Its task was to save America.[21]

The unrest evident in the Nation and the organizing of a new Klan were characteristic of the Preliminary Stage which in turn led to a period of popular unrest. The era was also characterized, both in reference to the Klan and society-at-large, by "racial unrest, hard times, and nostalgia . . ."[22] One of the causal factors here was that America was experiencing a new phase in its history--urbanization. Many of the new urbanites were "native American stock" from small towns and rural areas. Consequently, there was a sharp contrast between rural values and the changing mores of people moving to the cities.

After the end of World War I, there was a mood of ultra-patriotism, racial antipathies were intensified, and there was believed to be a general moral laxity in the country;[23] therefore the Klan could crusade for things which did indeed seem to concern most Americans. Although mass excitement, unrest, and milling were occurring from 1915 to 1920, Simmons was not capable of mobilizing people into an effective social movement. Collective excitement, social contagion, and esprit de corps

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[21]Frank Bohn, "The Ku Klux Klan Interpreted," The American Journal of Sociology, XXX (January, 1925), 395.

[22]Chalmers, op. cit., p. 39.

[23]Arnold S. Rice, The Ku Klux Klan in American Politics (New York, 1962), pp. 15-16.

could only be developed by someone else who could more forcefully serve as a prophet. The emergence of a reformer, who could give the organization a better sense of direction, was also needed. The roles of prophet and reformer were dually shared by Edward Young Clarke and Elizabeth Tyler. Both Clarke and Tyler saw the Klan as good for one thing, making money.[24] Simmons' ineptness at making the Klan function gave Clark and Tyler their cues. Simmons contracted with the pair to promote and financially manage the Klan for which he would receive $100 a week for life, plus additional money depending on the recruitment of new members. The signing of the contract took place in June, 1920, and this is when a vigorous Klan began to flourish anew.

Clarke and Tyler examined the social scene and decided that postwar morality was the best issue for creating interest in the new Klan. They devised a propaganda campaign that capitalized on what Simmons had already done so that the agitation of the mass was maintained. They created an image of the Klan as a guardian of public morality. Their objects for control, then, became aliens, Negroes, and those who were perceived to be un-American and sinful. "There are less than 20,000,000 Catholics in America and about 3,000,000 Jews. If our 100 per cent Americans are properly organized, we can speedily control the country politically."[25] Also, news-

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[24]Jackson, op. cit., p. 9.

[25]Bohn, op. cit., p. 385.

stories were carefully screened so that those favorable to Klan philosophy could be widely publicized, reinforcing esprit de corps. The Klan endeavored to be not only "guardian" but also both legal and illegal law enforcers.

It has been shown not only how the Klan maintained interest during the Popular Stage, but also how they verbalized their own formal dogma for gaining control. While the strategy led to formulation and formalization, at the same time it provided a means for airing Klan doctrine while also insuring Klan cohesiveness, solidarity, and unity.

"[The] . . . decision to thrust the Klan into politics . . . started the order on its road to oblivion."[26] In early 1922, Dr. Hiram Wesley Evans, a Dallas dentist, assumed the leadership of the national Ku Klux Klan. He assessed its strength and decided that it could have a great deal of political influence in the Southern and Southwestern states. But the problem the Klan overlooked was that, in supporting candidates for office, political activists would provide a wedge for splitting and fragmenting the order. Although there was much dissention as to who would be supported, the elections of 1924 were very beneficial to the Klan. Examples of unmeasurably high Klan influence and victories in the 1924 elections may be cited in six states. While the local level strategy called for the election of sheriffs who were Klansmen

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[26]Degler, op. cit., p. 440.

themselves, the big effort was to get rid of anti-Klan governors and to elect Klansmen to Congress. Pro-Klan governors were elected in Oregon, Georgia, Indiana, Alabama, Kansas and Colorado. Pro-Klan Congressmen were elected from Colorado, Texas, Indiana, Georgia, and Oklahoma. Lesser offices were attained in Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Florida, as well as those states previously mentioned.

Although Klan membership was at an all-time high, it was not without difficulties. The members were dispersed throughout every state in the Union and this dispersion did not serve the Klan well. The press at this time became very anti-Klan. The Klan did not divorce violence from its political hopes. With physical harassment used as a means of silencing its opponents, it hampered its own cause. Such comments as those found in the Oklahoma Leader are fairly typical:

> The Klan is the 'beatinest' thing that ever came down the pike. It's a fraternal order for the promotion of strife; an empire for the promotion of democracy; a criminal conspiracy for upholding the law; a peace crusade by violence, and a new sort of Christianity that would flog Christ for being a Jew and a foreigner.[27]

Other papers expressed a position philosophically similar to that of the Oklahoma Leader. The remarks of people of stature could be added to this, thus giving many people all the more reason to begin questioning the Klan's validity as a worthwhile social movement.

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[27]Randel, op. cit., p. 208.

One of the losing gubernatorial candidates in Kansas was William Allen White, the distinguished editor of the Emporia Gazette. White had been prompted to enter the gubernatorial race because the Klan had endorsed both the Republican and Democratic candidates, and neither had rejected the endorsement. White began in 1921 "to laugh the Klan out of Kansas." He saw Klan members as "suckers" who had $10 to "squander" on a membership fee for which they were entitled to wear "nightgowns." White chose the most effective weapon ever used against the Klan--ridicule, a weapon the Klan itself had used to its advantage, especially during Reconstruction.[28]

By the second half of the 1920's, the economy had become more prosperous. More importantly, the immigrant influx had stopped and the Klansmen had had sufficient time to acclimate themselves to the new era and its new morality. Also, there were no visible signs that Klan vigilantism had improved the moral climate of the country. With its internal strife, its disfavor in the press, and general waning of support, the Klan became "as dead as the proverbial doornail."[29]

The years from 1928 to 1954 demonstrate well the concept of "discontinuous continuity." While the revived Klan was not officially pronounced dead until 1944, when it could not

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[28]Ibid., p. 216.

[29]Jackson, op. cit., p. 80.

pay its bills, it had for practical purposes died in 1928. Its last significant effort as a group was in the 1928 Presidential election when it opposed Al Smith. From then until 1954, it vascillated from one issue to another and had no effective central administration. While it had had public support at the polls for a brief time, previous Klan affiliation became a greater liability than an asset.[30] In this twenty-six year interim period, the Klan did succeed at one thing; through its occasional activities, its symbolic imagery was kept alive and to certain groups, the hope for another Klan was still within reason. So long as the main traditional belief in Negro inferiority was perpetuated, some politicians were elected because of pro-Klan sympathies rather than others who were not sympathetic to the Klan. Discontinuous continuity reflected the long-lasting effect which the Klan was to have.

## 1954 to 1970

The last phase of the Klan's history is one in which the Klan is seen as revived but so organizationally splintered as to render itself rather ineffective. After the splintering in the 1920's, the depression occurred, which still further decreased Klan membership and activity. While World War II prompted a slight resurgence of Klan activity (primarily for the same reason as after World War I--morals), there was

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[30]Randel, op. cit., p. 220.

insufficient interest to keep sustained support. Instead of morals,

> It was the Supreme Court decision against public school segregation on May 1, 1954, that gave the Invisible Empire a new impetus and environment for action. In a South marked by growing hysteria, the Klan burst into activity.[31]

Dr. Samuel J. Green had been the Grand Dragon of the Klan which had dissolved due to financial difficulty in 1944. From 1945 to 1948, he assumed the national leadership, and in 1949, he was officially installed as Imperial Wizard. However, shortly after taking office, he died, and in the clamoring for this office which followed, concensus was never reached on a new leader. When the Supreme Court decision was made in 1954, not one united Klan went into action but rather many, disunited Klans. Individual and mass unrest were immediately evident after the decision had been made public. Agitation was generated not only by individual men but also by newspapers, which reached large numbers of people who could have their own negative feelings toward integration reinforced. The propaganda supplied by newspapers helped to keep unrest and milling in a constant state of being.

Again, because of the enormity of the issue, the Popular Stage was rapidly passed through. While the Klans were still

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[31]Chalmers, op. cit., p. 343.

acting individually by name,[32] they were collectively acting by deed. Integration would not be tolerated under any conditions. Such men as Bill Hendrix, William Morris, Samuel Roper, and Lycurgus Spinks (again aided by Southern newspapers) acted as prophets and reformers in keeping people's interest at a fever pitch and esprit de corps was easily maintained.

By the time that the public schools opened in the fall of 1956, the end of the Popular Stage had been reached. Although not officially recognized as members of the Klan, Southern legislators predictably responded to pressure by trying to delay integration. Integration is still a major social issue. However, it would seem that when Dick Gregory can speak--by invitation--on the campus of the University of Alabama, the Klan is not winning the battle. And while the Nixon administration may not be expediting integration as some would like, integration is much more widespread in 1970 than it was in 1954.

When people in the South were mobilized enough to show by their actions (e.g., refusing to send children to integrated schools, starting private schools, demonstrating, church and school bombings, etc.) how they felt about

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[32]When Dr. Green died, no one ever rose to take his place. Consequently, numerous, individually identifiable Klans were founded. Some of the more prominent ones were named and guided by: Association of Georgia Klans, Samuel W. Roper; Federated Ku Klux Klans, Inc., William Hugh Morris; Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Dr. Lycurgus Spinks.

integration,[33] and when local, state, and national legislators also voiced similar concern, it seemed to serve as the Klan's and the South's worst enemy rather than best friend. The thoroughly entrenched racist (de jure segregation) social order of much of America was made more apparent than ever. The Klan's attempts to delay a constitutional guarantee to all Americans served as a main expeditor of civil rights legislation. Thus the Klan had exposed and inadvertently damaged both itself and the double standard rampant in the South and elsewhere. It is ironic that racial equality was given one of its biggest boosts by a group which had racial inequality as a central tenet of its ideology.

In the Klan's striving to maintain the status quo, breaking the law was to them an acceptable policy if the rewards merited the means. Civil rights demonstrators also broke the law, but to change the status quo, and it was on their side that the country stood.

In a last gasp attempt at anti-Catholicism, the Klan stirred some activity during the 1960 Presidential election. Klan supported candidates were to be anti-Kennedy even if they were ambivalent about Nixon. That four usually Democratic states voted Republican may or may not attest to Klan influence. While rather problematic, it is most probable

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[33]See Arnold Rice, op. cit., pp. 118-122.

that while the Klan may not have substantively influenced the election, its spirit certainly may have.[34]

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[34] Ibid., pp. 128-129.

# CHAPTER 5

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### Presentation of Findings

The findings will be presented by stating hypotheses and then examining the historical record to see if the data substantiate the hypotheses. If cases occur where there is a lack of data or where there is some question about substantiation, then these hypotheses will be tentatively accepted. The interpretation of the findings will be discussed separately after all three epochs of the Klan's history have been examined.

### 1865 to 1871

Preliminary Stage.--Hypothesis 1: Mass excitement and unrest will be characteristic conditions.

Findings: Immediately after the war, unrest was apparent. In the "Prologue" to his book The Ku Klux Klan, William Randel talks about the only alternative for returning Confederate veterans as "a far-flung underground resistance movement to harass the Republicans, whether white or Negro . . ."[1]

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[1]William Pierce Randel, The Ku Klux Klan (New York, 1965), p. 3.

Both Simkins[2] and Shapiro,[3] in their discussions of the "South Carolina episode," discuss the widespread unrest after the war. Having been defeated in a war and then having to contend with the new Radical governments were the causes for the unrest evidenced. As Randel has said: "All wars are followed by economic and social disorganization . . . Forming a club was almost the only alternative to unbearable tedium [while the South reorganized itself politically and economically]."[4]

Hypothesis 2: The typical process will be milling (circular interaction).

Findings: A socio-psychological mood of anomie was witnessed with milling as a result of wanting to do something but lacking an organization by which to become mobilized. When Randel discusses "social disorganization," he is referring to milling and the resulting anomie. Tourgee discusses the desire after the war for a re-unification and how this desire was impeded because Southerners felt that Northerners did not understand "Southern civilization."[5] In referring to unrest in the South and the effect of Radical governments on

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[2]Francis B. Simkins, "The Ku Klux Klan in South Carolina," The Journal of Negro History, XII (October, 1927), 606-647.

[3]Herbert Shapiro, "The Ku Klux During Reconstruction: The South Carolina Episode," The Journal of Negro History, XLIX (January, 1964), 34-55.

[4]Randel, op. cit., p. 6.

[5]Albion W. Tourgee, A Fool's Errand/The Invisible Empire, (New York, 1880), pp. 387-389.

Southerners, Brown says, "We may, I think, forbear argument and take it for granted that the Ku Klux movement was an outcome of the conditions that prevailed in Southern states after the war."[6]

Hypothesis 3: Effective mechanisms to influence people's behavior will be agitation, suggestion, imitation, and propaganda.

Findings: Agitation, suggestion, imitation, and propaganda[7] were all witnessed in the many instances of Klan harassment. Often agitating behavior would serve as a catalyst to create suggestion, imitation, and propaganda. When the Klan hanged a group of Negro militiamen for having murdered a one-armed Confederate veteran,[8] this kind of agitation served as a warning to others. From Klan-controlled newspapers such as the Independent Monitor, published in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, the Klan's agitating behavior received sufficient publicity to influence local populaces. Another example of effective mechanisms was the use of anonymous notes sent by the Klan to people they wanted to influence. Tourgee provides examples of the texts of several of these notes,[9] always with threats of physical harm if not adhered to.

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[6]William G. Brown, The Lower South in American History (New York, 1930), p. 195.

[7]An interesting example of propaganda has been reproduced by Tourgee. See Tourgee, op. cit., p. 417.

[8]Randel, op. cit., p. 13. [9]Tourgee, op. cit., p. 417.

Hypothesis 4: The type of leader will be the agitator.

Findings: While this paper does not provide an exhaustive list of names, it may be justifiably inferred that there was much agitation--hence, many agitators--at the local level. Tourgee asserts that there was a correlation between visits by General Forrest and outbreaks of Klan violence. ". . . immediately after his visit in each State there was a sudden and widespread reign of Ku-Klux horrors."[10] Another example of a Klan agitator was in the person of R. J. Brunson who was sent by General Gordon to Rock Hill, South Carolina to form an organization.[11]

Hypothesis 5: The dominant social form will be the "psychological mass."

Findings: The "findings" discussed in Hypotheses 1 and 2 are evidence of conditions that indicated a psychological mass. Resentment, social disorganization, milling, and anomie are characteristics of the psychological mass.

> In the eyes of the white Southerner for who slavery, curfew, the patrols, and a pre-war garrison state had kept the Negro docile, controlled, off the roads, and quiet at night, the new Negro organizations were surely the instruments of plotted violence.[12]

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[10]Ibid., p. 398.

[11]Shapiro, op. cit., p. 35.

[12]David M. Chalmers, Hooded Americanism (New York, 1965), p. 11.

The very birth of the Ku Klux Klan was the beginning of one social movement in the footsteps of another social movement. All five hypotheses in the Preliminary Stage are substantiated by the historical record.

Popular Stage.--Hypothesis 6: Collective excitement and unrest will be characteristic conditions.

Findings: The popularization of unrest and discontent, necessary for collective excitement, is borne out by the historical record. An example of this may be found in Klan growth. "Within a year [1866 to 1867] there were hundreds of local groups . . . with the same name . . . and the same over-all purpose . . ."[13] When Congress passed the Reconstruction Act over President Johnson's opposition, "Klansmen . . . sensed a particular urgency to plan effective countermeasures."[14]

Hypothesis 7: The typical process will be an intensification of milling and social contagion.

Findings: An intensification of milling and social contagion may be witnessed by the increased awareness of others in the movement. When the Klan had its first large organizational meeting in April, 1867, at Nashville, a heightened awareness of others was a result of the meeting. When the

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[13]Randel, op. cit., p. 13.

[14]Ibid., p. 14.

Prescript of the Ku Klux Klan was written, the cause celébrè was established. The findings of Hypothesis 6 are especially applicable here; milling and social contagion are behavioral characteristics of crowds who are discontent.

Hypothesis 8: The effective mechanism will be an attempt to develop esprit de corps.

Findings: The widening of Klan activities indicates that an attempt to develop esprit de corps was given a big boost. Solidarity and cohesion were achieved by an awareness of how many others were in the movement and by realizing the common cause of the movement.

Hypothesis 9: The types of leaders will be the prophet and reformer.

Findings: People like Generals Gordon and Forrest served as prophets and reformers by telling of better days ahead and developing strategies to ensure the reality of those "better days."

Hypothesis 10: The dominant social form will be found in the evolution of the mass into the crowd.

Findings: The emergence of various groups acting as Klan dens provides evidence of the evolution of the mass into the crowd. Not only is Klan growth, as reported in Hypothesis 6, an indicator of the evolution of the mass into the crowd, but the Nashville meeting is another indicator of this evolution. People in a rather disjointed, uncoordinated mass were beginning to become more aware of one another as part of

a group working for change. The Nashville meeting was a vehicle to demonstrate commonality and bring together previously unknown Klansmen.

The historical record substantiates the five hypotheses in the Popular Stage. The increase cohesion and awareness, necessary for progress to the Formal Stage, have been observed.

Formal Stage.--Hypothesis 11: The formulation of issues and formation of publics will be characteristic conditions.

Findings: The widespread support of the Klan and its philosophy in the South is evidence of the formulation of issues and formation of publics. Issues were initially formulated at the Nashville meeting; however, these issues were not effectively concretized until they received public support. The preservation of all things that "had been" were the issues: the status quo had to prevail. The assumption of Negro inferiority was to be maintained at all costs. If some people had to be beaten or hanged to ensure that the Klan made its point, then that was the way things had to be. Public opinion, until about 1870, was highly in favor of Klan activities. As Randel points out, "Public opinion could have suppressed the Klan, but it didn't."[15]

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[15]Randel, op. cit., p. 19.

Hypothesis 12: There will be three typical processes:

(1) discussion and deliberation

(2) formulation

(3) formalization.

Findings: Widespread Klan support and increased Klan pressures on Southern legislatures substantiate that these processes were occurring. Republican margins of victory were substantially cut in Tennessee, North Carolina, and Georgia. For example, during the Georgia governor's race in early 1868, the Republicans carried all seven of the principal Klan counties. By the time of the national presidential election, the Klan had managed to rearrange things. In Ogelthorpe County, the Republicans had gotten 1,100 votes early in the year, in November they got 116. In Columbia County they had fallen from 1,122 votes to a single vote.[16]

Hypothesis 13: The effective mechanisms will be those which develop group morale and ideology.

Findings: The growth of the Klan and its impact on Southern legislatures served as vehicles for developing group morale and ideology. The result of discussion and deliberation, formulation, and formalization was additional Klan success. In the Klan's determination to maintain white

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[16]Chalmers, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

supremacy, they succeeded at leading a drive to impeach a governor whom they thought to be too liberal.[17]

While violence may have been abhorred, if the result of violence was less Negro influence--and less support of those who influenced Negro activities--it was worth it. Group morale was assured by the visibility of fewer Negro participants in successful ventures, both in politics and economics. This also had an ideological ramification because violence was a mechanism for beating Negroes and reminding them of their inferior status while concurrently assuring the preservation of the status quo. The most effective measures were those ensuring Negro failure and white success.

Hypothesis 14: The types of leaders will be those who can formulate policy--statesmen.

Findings: While many Southern legislators were supportive of Klan desires, they were not, as a rule, Klansmen. General Forrest evolved from prophet to statesman. He was a lobbyist for Klan desires but was never an elected, public official.

Hypothesis 15: The dominant social form will be a public.

Findings: The Southern states, under Radical Reconstruction, were an occupied territory. As long as federal

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[17]For an especially good account of the impeachment of the governor of North Carolina, William Woods Holden, see "The Klan Impeaches a Governor," in Randel, op. cit., pp. 43-59.

troops and military rule were thrust upon ex-Confederate states, as long as normal self-government was refused and outsiders placed in power, the Klan was a viable social movement force. The public support of the Klan is well-stated by Chalmers:

> The . . . view of the Klan as a regulating force for protection in lawless times captured the hearts of those who rode and of future generations of Southerners. The Klan was, in Southern eyes, primarily a law-and-order organization.[18]

And 'law-and-order' organizations assured Negro oppression.

Throughout all of the Formal Stage, one's analysis is hampered because most of those espousing Klan philosophy especially politicians, were not themselves Klansmen. And yet, it was basic Klan philosophy with many of its accompanying goals which was being collectively sought by the South. Consequently, all of Hopper's postulations about the Formal Stage are acceptable but it must be understood that many of its participants--both citizens and politicians--did not participate under the guise of the Ku Klux Klan.

The question raised in analyzing the Formal Stage is: Where does the Ku Klux Klan stop and something else start? To be a bona fide social movement, the Ku Klux Klan, in keeping with Hopper's theory, would have to have had its own members assuming positions of power and influence over others

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[18]Chalmers, op. cit., p. 20.

besides fellow Klansmen and whomever they managed to occasionally frighten. Examination of the historical record shows that this was not the case; elected positions were never achieved to such a degree that Klan philosophy could be imparted on a large populace. For present analysis, it must be concluded that the Ku Klux Klan as a social movement terminated in the Formal Stage when governmental pressure and direct Klan participation in social re-organization stopped.

## 1915 to 1928

The revival of the Ku Klux Klan in 1915 occurred under similar circumstances to its inception in 1865. The 1915 Klan was not nearly so applicable to the comparison as it was three years later when World War I ended. With the end of another war era, social conditions were ideal for social disorganization. The country had to assimilate socially and psychologically the returning soldiers. The biggest differences between the revived Klan and the original Klan were that the intervening years from 1872 to 1914 witnessed the introduction of some new variables: industrialization, urbanization and the accompanying modernism, and immigration in increased numbers. Social organization was in a state of flux and the champion for preservation of the status quo, the Ku Klux Klan, had a waiting audience when it reappeared.

Preliminary Stage.--Hypothesis 1: Mass excitement and unrest will be characteristic conditions.

Findings: Because of the war, the immigration from within and from outside the country, religious differences, industrialization and urbanization, Negroes seeing new routes to power, and an assumed moral laxity, mass excitement and unrest were occurring.[19] As Chalmers has pointed out, "The Nation had to be defended against alien enemies, slackers, idlers, strike leaders, and immoral women, lest victory be endangered."[20]

Hypothesis 2: The typical process will be milling (circular interaction).

Findings: Milling and circular interaction were observable as a result, in part, of those things mentioned in the findings of Hypothesis 1. The spirit of ultra-patriotism persisted when the war ended. There was a general distrust of all things foreign. During the war, American mistrusted and mistreated aliens, and in fighting the war, Americans had felt bound together in a common cause. "But the war was over too quickly for the nation to spend fully its ultra-patriotic psychological feelings."[21]

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[19]See Rice, op. cit., pp. 15-17.

[20]Chalmers, op. cit., p. 31.

[21]Rice, op. cit., p. 15; also see Jackson, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

Hypothesis 3: Effective mechanisms to influence people's behavior will be agitation, suggestion, imitation, and propaganda.

Findings: An especially effective mechanism had been the movie "Birth of a Nation." While this aided the rebirth, other events kindled interest in the Klan. "Robed Klansmen intervened in a shipyard strike in Mobile, hunted draft dodgers, and occasionally marched in patriotic parades. Public sentiment seemed favorable."[22]

Hypothesis 4: The type of leader will be the agitator.

Findings: William J. Simmons was the main agitator of the reborn Klan. Upon being introduced to an audience of Georgia Klansmen, Simmons silently removed two pistols from his coat and then took out a bowie knife and plunged it into the center of a table. His first words were, "Now let the Niggers, Catholics, Jews and all others who disdain my imperial wizardry, come on."[23]

Hypothesis 5: The dominant social form will be the "psychological mass."

Findings: The findings discussed in Hypotheses 1 and 2 are especially applicable here. Because the war had ended "too quickly," some other means for venting one's patriotism had to be found. The mistrust of minority groups, and all of

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[22]Chalmers, op. cit., p. 31; additional incidents may be found in Rice, op. cit., pp. 26-29.

[23]Chalmers, op. cit., p. 33.

the negative things which they were supposedly guilty of, helped to encourage milling on the part of people looking for solutions to what they perceived as problems. The anti-modernism, status quo citizens constituted the psychological mass.

The five hypotheses of the Preliminary Stage are substantiated by the historical record.

Popular Stage.--Hypothesis 6: Collective excitement and unrest will be characteristic conditions.

Findings: Increased Klan activity and the creation of new Klan dens is evidence of collective excitement and unrest. When Edward Young Clarke and Elizabeth Tyler assumed the leadership of the Klan, an increase in mass excitement and unrest was assured. Clarke and Tyler were not only prophets and reformers, they were also sellers. "By the summer of 1921, almost a hundred thousand Klansmen had paid their money and stepped across the mystic threshold. . . ."[24] When the New York World printed a series of articles on the Klan, it was the best publicity the Klan could have had. "Within four months more than two hundred local chapters were chartered, and within one year membership burgeoned from one hundred thousand to almost one million."[25]

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[24]Ibid., p. 33.

[25]Kenneth Jackson, The Ku Klux Klan in the City (New York, 1967), p. 12.

Hypothesis 7: The typical process will be an intensification of milling and social contagion.

Findings: An intensification of milling and social contagion is evidenced by the growth and spreading popularity of the Klan. As already indicated, the Klan spread with amazing rapidity. The intensification of milling and social contagion may be illustrated with an example of the method used in recruiting new Klansmen. Borrowing some of the language of Chalmers to describe the recruiting procedure should prove helpful.[26]

Clarke and Tyler organized an effective sales force to "sell" the Klan. Clarke sent out a small army of recruiters across the country. The nation was divided into "sales districts," replete with sales managers. The national and state organizations aided the local chapters by sending out "ministers" (prophets) to spread the Klan gospel. With this kind of approach, the Klan was made into a marketable commodity. Because of the mood of the country, the Klan had great appeal to the mass. And the more it was sold, the more people interacted and became aware of a need which they shared with many others.

Hypothesis 8: The effective mechanism will be an attempt to develop esprit de corps.

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[26]The following account is from Chalmers, op. cit., pp. 33-35.

Findings: The findings discussed in Hypotheses 6 and 7 indicate that an attempt to develop esprit de corps was successful. Who would not be ineterested in joining a fraternal organization which was a champion of "100% Americanism"? By serving as a guardian of public morality, by observing the aliens in a communities midst, the Klan was doing a public service. When the Klan had to act violently to convey its message, its success was apparent in either changing someone's behavior or in forcing him out of town. With its ever-increasing membership, the hopes for a better America were well founded. The Klan did indeed seem to be a "winner."

Hypothesis 9: The types of leaders will be the prophet and reformer.

Findings: Edward Young Clarke and Elizabeth Tyler served as both prophets and reformers. Clarke and Tyler were accompanied in their role as prophets by ministers and local Klan leaders. However, it was primarily Clarke and Tyler who influenced large numbers of people. And although Simmons had in effect turned over the leadership to Clarke and Tyler, he was still the officially recognized spokesman for the national Klan. As the Klan's recognized leader, his role evolved from agitator to prophet. His demeanor was such that he was an impressive figure when clad in his imperial Klan regalia, and he was an effective voice in preaching the Klan gospel.

Hypothesis 10: The dominant social form will be found in the evolution of the mass into the crowd.

Findings: Increase in unrest, awareness of others, and esprit de corps were processes which facilitated the evolution of the mass into a crowd. Growth is an especially important variable when considering this evolution. Klan growth in every state of the Union is evidence of this evolution's occurrence.[27] As milling increased and social contagion occurred, the transformation of the mass into the crowd was indeed evolutionary. Increasing membership meant more and more people in contact with one another. Behavior which had been somewhat aimless began to become more defined as more people were involved in the movement. Desired goals began to become more nearly realizable because of the power in sheer numbers.

By creating and disseminating an image of the Klan as a guardian of public morality, and a protector of all that was "American" (e.g., anti-alien, pro-White Supremacy), the activities of the Klan succeed in substantiating the five hypotheses of the Popular Stage as witnessed by the historical record.

Formal Stage.--Hypothesis 11: The formulation of issues and formation of publics will be characteristic conditions.

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[27]Especially good accounts of Klan growth (and decline) at local, state, and national levels may be found in: Chalmers, op. cit., pp. 33-303; Jackson, op. cit., pp. 9-249; Rice, op. cit.; and, Charles C. Alexander, Crusade for Conformity: The Ku Klux Klan in Texas, 1920-1930 (Houston, 1962).

Findings: As Klan strength became increasingly large, its potency as a political force increased accordingly. When Hiram Evans assessed Klan strength and decided to thrust the Klan into overt political activity, the Klan had been revived for seven years. Its numbers had swollen from ninety to an estimated high of six million.[28] The more systematic formulation of issues evolved as Klan membership increased and will be more adequately discussed in Hypothesis 12.

Hypothesis 12: There will be three typical processes:

(1) discussion and deliberation

(2) formulation

(3) formalization.

Findings: When Hiram Evans assumed the leadership of the Klan, he realized that a more soundly organized ideological platform had to be established. He announced a series of reforms which exemplify the typical processes.

> . . . the secret order would advance its program by organized political action . . . Emphasis was . . . placed on . . . education, temperance, the flag, Protestantism, morality, and charity . . . Fundamentalism was the central thread of the Klan program.[29]

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[28]Randel, op. cit., p. 194. This estimate could be high. An exact count of dues-paying Klansmen is hard to establish. Rice, op. cit., asserts that there was a high point of four million, see p. 12. Jackson, op. cit., provides data from membership roles by states and gets a total of just over two million (see p. 237). Taking the middle figure, this meant that one out of every ten adult males in Indiana was a Klansmen.

[29]Jackson, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

Hypothesis 13: The effective mechanisms will be those which develop group morale and ideology.

Findings: Political activity and Klan-supported victories helped to develop group morale and ideology. As the Klan became politically active, it quite logically supported those people who most nearly agreed with it. The historical record verifies that Klan victories were not isolated. While there is some disagreement among authors[30] as to how many Klan-supported candidates were elected, there is general agreement on victories in some states. Pro-Klan governors were elected in Oregon, Georgia, Alabama, Indiana, Kansas, and Colorado. Pro-Klan Congressmen were elected from Colorado, Texas, Indiana, Georgia, and Oklahoma. Political victories not only enhanced group morale, but they also made Klan ideology more desirable than ever. Victories at the polls were ideological victories, even though Klansmen were not actually the ones being elected.

Hypothesis 14: The types of leaders will be those who can formulate policy--statesmen.

Findings: Dr. Hiram Evans is an example of a Klansman who acted as a statesman. Klan-supported politicians, such as Senator Earl Mayfield from Texas and Governor Ed Jackson from Indiana, were elected to office.

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[30]Chalmers, op. cit., and Jackson, op. cit., assert a higher number of Klan victories than does Rice, op. cit., or Randel, op. cit.

Hypothesis 15: The dominant social form will be a public.

Findings: The support of publics is substantiated by Klan growth and success in politics. Examples of this growth and success are apparent in the findings of Hypotheses 11, 12, and 13.

The historical data presented reflect the public nature of the Klan which had evolved. Again, the problem is that those men elected to office were not themselves Klansmen, even though they did not refuse Klan support and did advocate much Klan philosophy. Further historical examination into the Institutional Stage reveals that some institutionalization did occur, however such institutionalization never occurred on a societal level. The support of publics was as far as the Klan ever got. The demise of the Klan may be said to occur with its waning support in the late 1920's. The Formal Stage was reached and although each of the hypotheses was substantiated, no Klan progress (i.e., Klan per se) occurred beyond this stage. Thus, the hypotheses of the Institutional Stage are not testable.

## 1954 to 1970

Preliminary Stage.--Hypothesis 1: Mass excitement and unrest will be characteristic conditions.

Findings: Because of the Supreme Court's May 1, 1954 decision on school desegregation, individual and mass excitement and unrest became apparent. "In the South, thousands of fiery crosses lighted up the night."[31] The enormity of the issue was such that long dormant klans were soon thriving as though it was the 1920's again. Mass behavior was seen all over the South.[32]

Hypothesis 2: The typical process will be milling (circular interaction).

Findings: The mass excitement and unrest cited in the findings in Hypothesis 1 were indicative of the milling and unsurety which was occurring.

Hypothesis 3: Effective mechanisms to influence people's behavior will be agitation, suggestion, imitation, and propaganda.

Findings: Cross burnings, parades, motorcades, and verbal violence were evident. Many Klan agitators demonstrated their feelings by distributing Klan literature through the mails. Others engaged in more public displays. All Klan behavior and the widespread publicity which it received helped to further its cause.

Hypothesis 4: The type of leader will be the agitator.

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[31]Rice, op. cit., p. 118.

[32]For a number of examples of mass behavior, see Ibid., pp. 118-122; and, also see Chalmers, op. cit., pp. 343-354.

Findings: Men such as Bill Hendrix, Samuel Roper, Lycurgus Spinks, and Hugh Morris were the more well known Klan agitators. Others, such as Eldon Edwards, J. B. Stoner, Horace Miller, and Asa Carter, also served as agitators, each known for his own speciality.

Hypothesis 5: The dominant social form will be the "psychological mass."

Findings: The events reported by some authors (referred to in the findings of Hypothesis 1) show that a psychological mass did exist. The implications of the Supreme Court's decision put many people into an uncomfortable position regarding local education. Because integration was so unpalatable at the time, the question was, What can be done to avoid it? In this kind of quandry, Klan oratory found favorable audiences; the mass hatred of integration was reaffirmed by all who spoke and all who listened.

With 1954 so recent in our history, and with the wealth of information which has been published on race relations, the most recent era of Klan activity is rather easily recalled. The five hypotheses in the Preliminary Stage are substantiated by the historical record.

Popular Stage.--Hypothesis 6: Collective excitement and unrest will be characteristic conditions.

Findings: Because of the enormity of the issue, mass or individual excitement and unrest soon became collective excitement and unrest. Isolated examples of collective excitement and unrest may be found in a number of cases. During the summer and early fall of 1956, the South was a hotbed of Klan activity. In Montgomery, more than 1,000 citizens went to a parking lot to listen to Klan orators advise them how to resist desegregation. In Birmingham, 200 Knights held a rally to voice their collective resistance to desegregation. In Lakeland, 200 Klansmen and 1,000 sympathizers gathered to protest any move toward desegregation. Not only were collective excitement and unrest apparent at rallies, but bombings[33] and other violent acts were occurring all over the South.

Hypothesis 7: The typical process will be an intensification of milling and social contagion.

Findings: As more people became active in Klan activities, social contagion became more observable. People in interaction realized that they had a shared desire to prevent integration. Klan growth merely accelerated the sensitization of people to one another. "By 1958 there were well over 100,000 new Knights and more than 500 new chapters in the various Klans."[34]

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[33]For an especially descriptive list of Southern bombings, see Chalmers, op. cit., pp. 356-365. This list covers the period from January 1, 1956 to June 1, 1963.

[34]Rice, op. cit., p. 118.

Hypothesis 8: The effective mechanism will be an attempt to develop esprit de corps.

Findings: With a membership exceeding 100,000 and with a supportive citizenry, esprit de corps was maintained because the fight against desegregation did not seem to be a futile one. Interest in desegregation was so keen that Klan meetings and an occasional show of force were sufficient to keep people interested. As time wore on and it became apparent that desegregation was somewhat unstoppable, Klan strength began to wane.

Hypothesis 9: The types of leaders will be the prophet and reformer.

Findings: Bill Hendrix, Samuel Roper, Lycurgus Spinks, and Hugh Morris are examples of prophets and reformers.

Hypothesis 10: The dominant social form will be found in the evolution of the mass into the crowd.

Findings: The historical record substantiates the evolution of the mass into the crowd. The somewhat aimless behavior evident in the Preliminary Stage soon became more action-oriented in the Popular Stage. The findings discussed in Hypotheses 6, 7, and 8 are evidence of this occurrence. As the Klan's strength grew, its force could be felt for the first time--to any appreciable degree--in almost thirty years.

While the five hypotheses of the Popular Stage are substantiated by the historical record, the most recent Klan

never got beyond the Popular Stage, at least as an organized social movement force. The Klan did not see fellow Klansmen elected to political office although the Klan did support politicians who were sympathetic to Klan idoelogy. The influential Klan of the 1920's was not to be reborn. Instead, the more regular political machinery was utilized in an attempt to preserve the status quo. The hypotheses of the Formal and Institutional Stages are not testable.

## Interpretation of Findings

This study was concerned with establishing the geographical and sociological generalizability of Rex Hopper's model for the development of a South American political revolution. It was hypothesized that Hopper's model would apply equally to the development of a non-South American political revolution.

The study utilized the natural history method in analyzing three historical eras of the Ku Klux Klan. In each era, the stages of the model were applied insofar as possible. Acceptance or rejection of the hypotheses within each stage was based on how well the hypotheses were substantiated by the historical record. Acceptance or rejection of Hopper's model was to be based on the acceptance or rejection of the hypotheses tested by the historical record.

From 1865 to 1871, the historical record rather generally substantiates the acceptance of Hopper's model. The five hypotheses in the Preliminary and Popular Stage's were substantiated. Four of the five hypotheses in the Formal Stage

were completely substantiated. The one hypothesis which could only be tentatively accepted was the one stating, "The types of leaders will be those who can formulate policy--statesmen." While many people were elected to public positions because they espoused pro-Klan or sympathetically supportive Klan philosophy, few of these people were actually Klansmen. Thus, while much Klan philosophy may have eventually permeated Southern legislation, the legislation was not written by Klansmen. However, because the Klan was shown to be supported by publics (the dominant social form of the Formal Stage), the completion of the Formal Stage was substantiated. Further historical analysis shows that this was as far as the Klan developed as a viable organization. Termination came with a call for disbandment from its main leader and with many state legislatures being pressured into outlawing Klan activities, even though there was often local support.

An examination of the period from 1915 to 1928 reveals a similar natural history to that of the previous era. All hypotheses in the Preliminary and Popular Stage's were substantiated. Again, however, the leadership hypothesis of the Formal Stage was questioned. Although six out of forty-eight governors were elected with Klan support, none of them were Klansmen. And yet, all other hypotheses of the Formal Stage were completely substantiated. Thus, the Formal Stage in this era was also acceptable, even though the leadership hypothesis had to be tentatively accepted.

The last era, from 1954 to 1970, was one in which the hypotheses of the Preliminary and Popular Stage's were substantiated. In the aftermath of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision on school desegregation, the Popular Stage was reached and the historical record substantiated this stage's completion. However, after some initial hostility toward school desegregation and civil rights, the Klan again lapsed into a period of discontinuous continuity, from which it has never emerged. The historical record shows infrequent Klan activities still occurring but the re-emergence of another Klan movement does not seem imminent.

Because of its demise prior to the Institutional Stage, the Klan is not the best social movement for testing the generalizability of Hopper's model. In all three eras, Klan activity was curtailed before any analysis could be made of the Institutional Stage. However, analysis of the findings for the other stages could lead one to hypothesize that if the Klan had become an institutionalized social system, the hypotheses of Hopper's Institutional Stage would have been substantiated. While this is admittedly a theoretical assumption, the findings of the historical eras analyzed, especially the era from 1915 to 1928, inspire such an assumption.

The historical record also substantiates the hypothesis of a terminated movement having to restart at stage one. While discontinuous continuity was evident in the years

between historical epochs, in both the second and third epochs, the historical record substantiates that the renewed movement did have to start with the Preliminary Stage. And the hypothesis that a movement is cumulative has also been substantiated.

The geographical and sociological generalizability of Hopper's model has been tentatively accepted as a result of this study. Hopper's model has proven itself to be functional in demonstrating the evolutionary progress of a social movement; the human growth pattern is an analgous one. The historical record substantiates that Hopper's model is generalizable--at least in a limited sense--to a non-South-American political phenomenon.

## Suggestions for Future Research

While this study's main purpose was to test the generalizability of Hopper's model, an analysis of the findings suggests that not only may Hopper's model be worthy of further research but so too may the Ku Klux Klan. Because Hopper's model was developed to illustrate the evolutionary nature of South American political revolutions, the geographic restriction of the model may be difficult to generalize from. Geographic area may be a more important variable than was previously thought. South American countries are not geographically arranged like North American or European countries. South American countries are usually dominated by one or two very large cities. Control of these cities may be accomplished

in a very short time, and control of these cities gives one control of the country.

In North America (especially the United States) and Europe, control of any one city would not necessarily give one control of a country. Thus, Hopper's model may be more geographically bound than supposed. One approach would be to again apply Hopper's model to the Ku Klux Klan, but to apply the model to a number of different areas of the country. This could then lead to a collection of individual movements, whereby the success in the various geographic areas would be subject to individual and composite analysis. The American Revolution would also be a good subject, although in the 1700's the population distribution of the United States was such that it would have been rather similar to South America today. Still, this would be a test of geographic generalizability.

Although neither mathematical applications nor statistical methods have been used in this study, the interpretation of the data has not been severely hampered. Before the theory could be truly generalizable, additional geographic applications need to be made. The revolution in post-World War II China, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, and the French Revolution would all be worthy of investigation with Hopper's model. A greater degree of certainty can not be established until additional investigations have been made. Once such analyses are made, the quantitative precision--

desirable in scientific theory--currently missing may become more realizable. This would facilitate greater accuracy in two functional aspects of Hopper's model: (1) greater precision would be possible in analyzing individual stages when additional analyses had been made, and (2) greater analytical precision would increase predictability.

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