LEGACIES OF POWER:
THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF THEOLOGICAL WHITE SUPREMACY
A Case Study of Ku Klux Konfederatism in Denton County Texas, 1850-1930

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Dedicated to

Willie Hudspeth

May you be the new legacy of heroism, valor, and activism
that inspires Denton County generations to come.

In Memoriam

Sterling Johnson

May your example reach a hand through all the years to
meet and kindle generous purpose and mold it into acts as pure as yours.

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Introduction

Decades into the twenty-first century, racism continues to thrive across the United States of America. Congruent with national trends, Texas communities are experiencing increasing instances of white supremacist activism. This considered, there is an alarming need for academic research into what continues to sustain the myth of whiteness which itself continues to imprison the American body-politic in an ideological — and, often times, physical — battlefield, wherein bodies divided by pigment are perpetually juxtaposed against one another and are thus trapped in what theologian J. Kameron Carter refers to in his pivotal book, *Race: A Theological Account* as a "primitive and permanent race war."[1] According to Carter, modern racism is perpetuated by a "theological problem of whiteness," the beginnings of which he traces back to the theo-racial supremacy proclaimed by early Gnostic Christians.[2] Still today, he argues, a "revitalized Gnosticism" continues to function as a collective of theo-mythological memories which underwrite the modern American racial paradigm and occult white supremacy in the guise of Christian social progress.[3] Under this pretense, white supremacy can only be thoroughly addressed and remedied in modern society by exposing the theo-mythical drama that underwrites its omnipresence, which is itself a proliferating force. Put simply, modern American racism is the result of the nation's legacy of theological white supremacy and our deep-rooted racial issues remain unresolved because the theo-mythologies embedded at the core of the nation's foundational fabric have been and continue to be largely unaccounted for in corrective racial discourse.

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[1] J. Kameron Carter, *Race: A Theological Account*, (New York: Oxford, 2008), 4-5, 40.
[2] *Ibid.*, 4, 22.
[3] *Ibid.*, 81.

Although Carter finds Cornell West's overall account of race and racism in the modern West to be wholistically inadequate, he nonetheless highlights West's "genealogical method of inquiry" as outlined in *Prophesy Deliverance* as an effective analytical approach for examining how whiteness and white power have historically functioned as systemically self-regenerative phenomena.[4] In more succinct language, Carter claims that the theo-mythical concept of whiteness and the dominative aims historically associated with this mythological identity have been sustained not only at the most local levels of American society within the "apparatuses and institutions" through which the myth inherently moves and constantly redefines itself, but also within the "mechanisms of history" that afford racialized concepts of personhood and nationhood a "normative gaze."[5] Once the theo-myth of whiteness is exposed, he argues that so too are the socio-political powers that sustain it through a "multiplicity of force relations" which are intrinsically bound to self-sustaining processes that have been institutionalized through social controls of history and memory.[6] Further, Carter suggests that by exposing the myth, and holding the historical persons, sites, and memories wherein "ideas about race traffic" accountable, scholars can create space for new epistemological truths that are no longer beholden to the legend of whiteness.[7] Collectively, Carter's theological account of race serves as a methodological guide for engaging in philosophies of history capable of demanding culpability from the underlying racialized theo-political paradigm at the core of modern American racism.[8]

The following case study of Denton, Texas, a burgeoning, two-university metropolis birthed from a small-town history of theological white supremacy serves as analytic proof of

[4] Carter, *Race*, 42-45.
[5] *Ibid.*, 46, 48-49.
[6] *Ibid.*, 47.
[7] *Ibid*.
[8] *Ibid.*

Carter's claim that the origins and sustaining theo-mythical structures of race and racism are best exposed when localized through the multifaceted lens of interdisciplinary scholarship that employs historical, genealogical, philosophical, and theological analysis over an "arc of time."[9] By employing these localized interdisciplinary methodological approaches aimed at unveiling the theo-myth which underscores the modern American racial ontology, this study examines how theological white supremacy was homogenized into popular culture in Denton County Texas following the Civil War via a neo-Confederate Ku Klux Klan movement, (a distinct American phenomena beholden to the theo-mythology which I have coined Ku Klux Konfederatism), that continues its influence today through localized theo-political institutions, sociocultural systems and cultural 'norms.' Further, this study reveals how the same ancient theo-myth unveiled in Carter's account of race underscores a popular Klanish culture which thrived in Denton County from the late-nineteenth century Reconstruction Era and well into the twentieth century with the rise of the Second-Generation Klan, just as it did throughout North Texas and the nation at large.

In my efforts to expose the overarching theo-myth of whiteness' perfection that has functioned as a "reflexive" phenomena from the establishment of Denton County and well into the early twentieth century, I employ an interdisciplinary assessment of thousands of primary documents including: property and census records, death and marriage certificates, as well as social and civic organizational meeting minutes; local, state, and national press publications; church histories, records, and bulletin publications; local and national Klan journals, along with other assorted local and national Klan publications; local theological publications, including journals, books, and other exegetical works; and finally, other assorted institutional and

[9] Carter, *Race*, 46.

organizational publications.[10] Additionally, I reference more than a dozen contemporary Klan scholars, historians, anthropologists, sociologists, philosophers, religious studies scholars, and theologians to support my interdisciplinary approach that challenges traditionally rigid historical methodologies bound in rigid periodization, which, I argue, only further occults the overarching theo-myth at the core of the nation's legacy of race and racism that was homogenized and broadly popularized during the early 1920s as secular Klan culture, the legacy of which continues to this day.

Considering the essential role of language within racialized theo-mythical discourse, I find it necessary to first explain a few points regarding the semantics specific to this study. As Carter clarifies in his analysis of Kant's racial theorizing, anthropological racial categories are pseudo-scientific. Therefore, it is important to note and recognize how modern socio-culturally prescribed race labels serve to not only perpetuate the myth of whiteness but also to ensure its dominion in all aspects of American society. So long as the myth of whiteness prevails, so too does the myth of the 'other.' This stated, as an individual who has inherited the privileges afforded by the socio-cultural status of whiteness, I admit that I struggled throughout the process of preparing this work which required a persistent labeling of individuals based on these problematic categorizations of pseudo races. As such, I have made a cognizant effort to recognize my own privileges as they might affect my analysis, including my presumptive uses of racial assignments.

The various indigenous North American inhabitants referenced in this analysis are identified as 'native,' 'indigenous,' or by their self-ascribed tribal names with anglicized translations for clarity. Individuals historically referred to as "negro," "black," "colored," and

[10] Carter, *Race*, 46.

"mulatto," have been collectively identified as 'African American' people/persons in order to create space for a multiplicity of historical figures who exhibited a range of skin tones but who are now typically ascribed modern pseudo-racial categories of 'black' or 'mixed-race.' I should clarify that this employment of 'African American' is in no way an attempt to dismiss the modern identity of 'Blackness,' which is undeniably valid and deserving of mention, but for the purposes of inclusion for the historical agents involved, I have deferred to the former phrase. Additionally, as I have engaged in a form of epistemological disobedience in this analysis by challenging contemporary historical linguistics, I refrain from using words such as 'slave,' 'slave holders,' and 'masters' so as to reaffirm the inherently free and autonomous nature of all human beings. Understanding that no person is born a slave, but rather that people enslave one another, I instead employ the terms 'enslaved persons/people,' 'persons/people held in bondage,' 'freed' persons/people, and persons/people who 'enslaved' others or who 'engaged in slavery.' Considering that the purpose of this study is to analyze the theo-mythical and socio-political constructions of whiteness, historical figures herein who self-identified as "Anglo-Saxon" or "white" are afforded their self-ascribed mythological racial identities in context, though I also refer to the term as 'Euro-settler-colonizers.'

This analysis begins with an explanation of the term 'theological white supremacy,' which is collectively assessed in chapter one via a comprehensive overview of J. Kameron Carter's theological account of America's modern racialized ontology. Although I principally agree with Carter's account that modern American notions of race are rooted in a problematic form of gnostic exegesis that was revitalized during the Enlightenment Era and subsequently modernized by the racialized imaginings of German philosopher Immanuel Kant, I argue that in order to fully understand how the theo-mythology of whiteness and its dominative aims (more

colloquially understand as ‘western progress’) evolved from the nineteenth through twentieth centuries to give rise to the prevalent racism now thriving in twenty-first century America, we must also account for the influence of ancient and Medieval traditions of messianism. Outlining the Kantian cosmopolis as the eschatological event towards which the modern Euro-Western consciousness aims, I address a series of messianic tropes and themes which I argue are critical for understanding the ancient theo-myth that underscores modern American racial discourse and thought.

In chapter two, I assess how this theo-myth — modernized as the Kantian cosmo-political vision — was the driving force behind North American settler-colonialism and the foundational premise that underscored the establishment of the United States of America. Furthermore, I argue that early America was largely shaped by individuals who were thoroughly preoccupied with eschatological themes that had been revitalized during the Medieval Era and who were subsequently guided by the prophetic promise of a white utopian society — a new Zion. Building on this premise, I claim that North Texas’ history at the most local levels of civic society correlates to the nation’s theo-racialized history and I assess the colonization of the North Texas region that ultimately became Denton County through the lens of the theo-myth to reveal how a group of radical Protestants driven by theological white supremacy believed that they were building this new Zion of prophetic promise. I trace the development of the region from the mid-1800s through the Civil War and into the end of the nineteenth century to reveal how the Euro-settler-colonizers who staked claim to the area engaged in repeated acts of violence and oppression against indigenous and African American persons, which they not only justified but valorized in their quest for their theological white supremacist vision.

Building on the theo-history of Denton County unveiled in the previous section, chapter three of this case study examines how the early twentieth century elite in the area engaged in romanticized neo-Confederate mythical memories that were underscored by a theo-mythology of whiteness' perfection, which they celebrated with local commemorations of counter-historical narratives that both valorized Euro-settler-colonial campaigns of violence and displacement aimed at marginalized communities as well as perpetuated future assaults and domination. This portion of my assessment is largely an extension of historian Chelsea Stallings' 2015 thesis entitled "Removing the Danger in a Business Way: The History and Memory of Quakertown, Denton, TX," wherein she argues that a white supremacist vision predominated early twentieth century Denton, which was largely a result of the efforts of the local United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), a neo-Confederate white women's heritage organization. I expand on Stallings' historical account with an interdisciplinary theo-philosophical analysis of the first two decades of twentieth-century Denton to argue that white elites in the area were inspired by a distinctly Ku Klux Konfederate brand of theological white supremacy, which led them to seek a white utopian society purged of African American communities who equated their freedom from bondage with social, political, and economic equity.

In chapter four, I explore the consequences of the Denton UDC's theological white supremacist teachings that both preserved and promoted a distinct culture of Ku Klux Konfederatism through pseudo-commemorative monuments which called for a new order of white saviors modeled on those heroized in the UDC's mythologized counter-historical narratives of an apocalyptic Reconstruction Era. As federally emancipated African American persons and their descendants achieved increasing economic independence in the first two decades of the 1900s, their very presence was interpreted as an existential threat to white civic

and political identity in Denton County, and local elites responded with the same violent tactics employed by the Ku Klux Konfederate heroes of UDC theo-mythical memory. Collectively, I argue that the rise of the 1920s saw the emergence of a new brand of Klanish defenders who served as a dominating force in Denton County communities and that infiltrated all aspects of civil society, including the local government. Offering a comprehensive analysis of city records that has been thus far neglected in local historical accounts, I disclose how the origin story of Denton's Police Department is simultaneously the story of the birth of Denton's Second-Generation Ku Klux Klan.

In chapter five of my assessment, I argue that the rise of the Second-Generation Klan in 1920s Denton (as well as the nation at large) was the result of long sustained ancient theo-myths that had been homogenized with popular apocalyptic millenarian discourse by thriving neo-Confederate movements, particularly by the work of the UDC. I offer both a historical assessment of how Protestantism and Klanishness were inseparable in Denton and surrounding areas throughout this time period and a theological analysis of the influential roles that dispensationalism, apocalypticism, messianism, and fundamentalism played in the theological white supremacist doctrine espoused by Klan clerics who were the primary recruitment agents for the order. Conducting a comparative analysis of the white supremacist teachings of prominent Texas Klan theologian W. C. Wright, I argue that the earlier dispensationalist doctrine of Dallas based Reverend Cyrus Scofield, as outlined in his highly popular Reference Bible, revitalized a racialized Gnostic theo-mythology which the 1920s Klan exploited by usurping various traditional messianic concepts in order to popularize their own theo-political agenda, itself uniquely expressed within localized Protestantism of various sects. Further, I argue that as one of the most powerful traditional symbols of messianism, which is the Messiah itself, Klanish

theology presented the order as a consecrated army destined to bring about and protect a 'Collective Messiah' — a literal living Christ manifest as universal whiteness.

In the sixth and final chapter of this case study, I challenge the strict periodization typically employed in contemporary historical analyses of the Second-Generation Klan as a distinctly unique movement that was entirely separate from earlier Reconstruction Era Klan activities. Drawing heavily from scholars who assessed Second-Generation phenomena from the height of its inception into the first three decades following the order's re-emergence as a national organization in the early 1920s, I argue that the Ku Klux Klan is best understood as a *regenerative* theological white supremacist movement that has been revitalized not only numerous times throughout different eras of American history, but also well into the twenty-first century. Furthermore, I argue that the historical archive in Denton County proves this to be true. Tracing the legacies of the historical memories underscored by theo-mythologies of whiteness' perfection, which had formed a clear bridge between the First- and Second-Generation orders, I point to the local UDC as both the builders and sustainers of this generational bridge. The Second-Generation Klan's distinctness, I argue, lies in how the contemporary order normalized generations of evolving theological white supremacist ideologies, and cleared the way for a new, modern racial discourse and culture of Klanishness which pervaded throughout Denton during the 1920s, as it did elsewhere in North Texas and the nation. Collectively, I contend that the 1920s Klan empowered a new theo-political movement rooted in theological white supremacy with a reach far beyond local elections that was dominated by white women's activism, the legacy of which continues today.

I should clarify that this case study is not offered as a comprehensive assessment of Denton County history. However, it is a thorough account of the area's history of white

supremacy, and as such it requires the unveiling of an indisputably violent and vulgar past. To be clear, my aim is not to sensationalize this history, but rather to ensure that it is conveyed with the full contextualization that is so often sacrificed for the comfort of the privileged. This work is best understood as a corrective analysis, a humble but sincere attempt to facilitate a small but meaningful reparation for the indigenous and African American populations systematically oppressed by whiteness' desire for human and land dominion in both Denton County and North Texas at large. I should also clarify that this work is not meant to serve as an attack on Protestantism or the Christian faith in general, but it is an unavoidable truth that every person now living in the U.S. is a product of a distinct brand of theological white supremacy which has inherently racialized the nation's modern social discourse and culture. By exposing the underlying theo-myth of whiteness' perfection at the core of Denton's racialized socio-political-historical development, I hope to highlight the problematic exegetical practices employed throughout all American communities since the first arrival of European settler-colonizers on the North American continent. Although Denton's history is a concrete example of the nation's legacy of theological white supremacy — *it is neither unique nor exceptional*. Thus, the following case study is a trumpet call to scholars, clerics, theologians, socio-civic leaders, and activists across Denton, the state of Texas, and the nation to engage in similar exposures of the legacy of theological white supremacy at the most local levels so that together, we may break its unmitigated reign on our society once and for all.

Chapter 1
Theological White Supremacy

At the crux of J. Kameron Carter's theological account of America's racialized ontology is his assessment of the "theological imagination" of the second century C.E. Christian Gnostic Irenaeus and the ancient Gnostic creation myth of Sophia who, as the wife of the ultimate godhead represented the secular world in manifest form and divinity's interaction within it.[11] According to the Gnostic tale, Sophia was cast out of the heavens because of her insatiable desire to know her omnipotent consort and as a result, the demiurge or biblical creator god *YHVH* was formed. Reducing this redemptive narrative into "interlocking dimensions" of Gnostic mythos and scriptural exegesis, Carter explains how Sophia's triune desires or passions were later problematically interpreted by Gnostics to represent "three distinct substances" or anthropological forms.[12] These three passions translate as follows: "wholly unredeemable" passions which constitute the corporeal or hylic substances of creation; "partially redeemable" or "transmutable" passions which take on a "psychic" form; and pure passions, the "true spiritual essence" of the most superior "pneumatic" form.[13] Accordingly, the Gnostic telling of Sophia's salvation suggests that by filtering out her lesser passions, she was redeemed from her fallen state and allowed to return to her originally pure, pneumatic form via a return ascent to the heavenly realm known as the "pleroma."[14]

Understanding this Gnostic mythos as an ontological framework, Carter argues that this hierarchy of essences led to a religious racialization of humanity. Incapable of rationalizing a

[11] Carter, *Race*, 18-20, 22-23.
[12] *Ibid.,* 18.
[13] *Ibid.,* 18-20.
[14] *Ibid*.

corporeal Christ whose hylic nature would have prevented his ascension to the heavens, Gnostics reconceptualized the historical Jesus into a mythical "nonmaterial Christ" of pneumatic form.[15] Hyper-focused on the Pauline doctrine of election, Gnostics reinterpreted the apostle's references to *YHVH's* covenantal promises with Israel within the framework of their own mythologies.[16] Just as Sophia's mythical salvation was dependent upon her restoration to a purely pneumatic form via filtering out her lesser corporeal qualities, Gnostics ascribed redemptive power to the cross in order to abstract Jesus of Nazareth from his historical Jewish flesh.[17] By ascribing this superior pneumatic state to the Christ on the cross, Gnostics simultaneously identified themselves as a religiously racialized sect of humanity separate from Israelites, the "true" descendants of an original church who alone possessed the divine grace necessary for ascension into the heavenly abode.[18]

According to Carter, this Gnostic severance of Christianity from its Jewish-Israelite roots created a theo-historical void which was filled by the redemptive Christological myth at the core of the modern Euro-Western racialized ontology.[19] While Carter's theological account of race is critical to this case study, a caveat is necessary. Though the Gnostic mythos of essences applied to the redemptive Christological saga may have been employed to facilitate the establishment of a Christian identity distinct from its Jewish-Israelite origins, this was not exactly the clean severance proposed by Carter, as early Gnostic Christians clearly incorporated earlier Israelite traditions of messianism into their reinvented mythos. As a self-elected elite living among displaced Jewish communities conquered by the Roman empire, Gnostics elevated themselves by

[15] Carter, *Race*, 23, 34-35.
[16] *Ibid.*, 19-22.
[17] *Ibid.*, 6, 14, 19-22, 34-35.
[18] *Ibid.*, 18-20.
[19] *Ibid.*, 19, 22, 34-35.

usurping the theo-historical narratives of a conquered people which they then occulted within their own theo-mythologies. Thus, a thorough accounting of the modern Euro-West's racialized ontology must include discourse that reflects on messianism.

In his 1998 book, *The Jewish Messiahs, From the Galilee to Crown Heights,* Hebraic Studies scholar Harris Lenowitz provides an overview of Jewish messianism from antiquity to modernity by examining the prophetic and apocalyptic traditions which served as social coping strategies for ancient Israelites who faced constant threats to their existence. The Hebrew *mashiach* or 'anointed one,' conventionally translated as 'Messiah' is the core symbol at the heart of Jewish messianism. This tradition which found its first "expressive mode" in postbiblical Jewish theological discourse largely reflected on three interlocking concepts: the ancient Semitic tribal *go'el* or clan "redeemer;" the appointed and anointed statuses of Israelite priests, prophets, and kings; and eventually, the Davidic royal theologies of Israelite elites.[20] Like most early pre-state civilizations, ancient Semitic societies relied on tribal or clan justice, the primary mechanism of which was the *go'el*, the male "redeemer" figure obligated by blood to avenge the wrongs committed against his family by outsiders.[21] As state justice developed under the Israelite monarchy, there was no longer a sociological need for a clan *go'el* and as a result, the role was theologically ascribed to the Israelite god *YHVH* who became the divine redeemer of Israel as a people and a nation.[22] As the adopted sons of *YHVH*, Israelite kings were also

[20] Harris Lenowitz, *The Jewish Messiahs from the Galilee to Crown Heights* (New York: Oxford, 1998), 8, 9; Ex. 29.7 (JSB): the anointing of priests; Ps. 45.7: the anointing of Kings; 1 Chr. 16.21-22 and Isa. 61.1: the anointing of Prophets; Ex. 30.26: the anointing of ritual objects.

[21] Nu. 5.7-8; Lev. 25.48-49; Ruth 3.12-13: *go'el* as defender and redeemer of family; Deut. 19.11-13 *go'el* avenges homicide.

[22] Nu. 35.22-28: the transition from tribal to state justice; Deut. 15.15; Ps. 9; Ps 31: *YHVH* as *go'el.*

considered a type of *go'el*, bound by both blood and their messianic status to protect their people.[23]

The earliest biblical reference to a messiah-king is found in 1 Samuel with the anointment of Saul, who the scriptures simultaneously afford a superior earthly status over prophets and priests.[24] The scripture further suggests that by facilitating their anointments, prophets afforded Israelite kings and priests a pseudo-divine status.[25] While there is no scriptural reference as to who was divinely appointed to anoint prophets, Isaiah proclaimed that he was anointed by *YHVH* directly.[26] Israelite culture highly regarded prophets as direct representatives of the body-politic within the society's theocratic system, and as a result they were frequently targeted by those who sought to dominate the society.[27] Lenowitz suggests that this persistent threat likely provoked the self-ascribed messianic status of prophets because it afforded them protection from kings, both Israelite and foreign who were instructed by *YHVH's* scriptures not to harm the "anointed ones, my prophets."[28] Thus, acting as divine agents, prophets likely anointed one another.[29]

Whether priestly, prophetic, or kingly, all Israelite messiahs were considered to have taken on a unique and distinctly personal relationship with *YHVH*, whose divinity was transmitted into them by their anointment. Collectively, this triune of Israelite elects served as the earthly representation of divine government over ancient Israelite society, each ascribed their own unique roles and form by *YHVH* which required an "emptying out" of their "human characteristics" so as to make room for a purer divine will.[30] Thus, the ancient Israelites

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[23] Ps. 20.7; Ps. 45.7: Israelite Kings anointed as adopted sons of *YHVH*.
[24] Lenowitz, *Messiahs*, 9; 1 Sam. 2.10-35.
[25] 1 Sam. 2.10-35.
[26] Isa. 61.1.
[27] Lenowitz, *Messiahs*, 11.
[28] *Ibid.*; PS. 105.15.
[29] *Ibid.*, 10.
[30] *Ibid*., 11.

considered the act of anointment a transformative experience wherein the corporeal (hylic) form was elevated to an "intermediary, non-human" state of existence comparable to that of the intermediary psychic form of later gnostic mythology.[31] Prophets, who were anointed by *YHVH* through one another were considered particularly extraordinary messiahs who "did not die human deaths" but rather, ascended to the heavens (gnostic pleroma) as *YHVH's* "partner" to realize a true eternal status comparable to the pure form later referred to by Gnostics as pneumatic.[32] The Gnostic mythical drama of essences is rooted within this fluid tradition of the holy anointed roles of Israelite priests, prophets, and kings.[33]

Additionally relevant, New Testament Christianity is merely a revitalization of Jewish-Israeli Davidic royal theology founded on *YHVH*'s grant covenant with King David:[34]

> He shall build a house for My name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom forever. I will be a father to him and he will be a son to Me; when he commits iniquity, I will correct him with the rod of men and the strokes of the sons of men, but My loving kindness shall not depart from him, as I took it away from Saul, whom I removed from before you. Your house and your kingdom shall endure before Me forever; your throne shall be established forever…[35]

According to the scripture, this covenantal promise was first affirmed when David's son Solomon was anointed king of Israel and was then subsequently upheld for more than four hundred years with a total of twenty-two kings and one queen.[36] The Davidic reign officially ended after the turn of the fifth century B.C.E. when Babylonians conquered Israel. However, both the prophetic and priestly anointment rituals were largely abandoned by the society and as

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[31] Lenowitz, *Messiahs*, 11.

[32] *Ibid.;* Gen. 5.22-24: prophet Enoch's ascension; 2 Kings 2.11: prophet Elijah's ascension.

[33] *Ibid.*, 9.

[34] I Sam. 16.13: King David's first and secret anointment; 2 Samuel 2.4: King David's second and public anointment.

[35] II Sam. 7.13-7.17: Davidic Grant Covenant.

[36] I Chr. 29.22: Solomon appointed King of Israel.

Israel's socio-political infrastructures collapsed, Jewish prophets personified Israel's redemption with the promise of a restored Davidic kingship, a new Messiah who would bring about absolute world peace and "universal Yahwism."[37] In Isaiah 11, the prophet encouraged a broken, dispersed, and war-torn people under constant threats from non-Israelite invaders, who were perceived as impure and corrupt, by promising that a new redeemer from the sacred bloodline of David would protect Israel as both a nation and a religiously racialized people:[38]

> Thus he shall judge the poor with equity and decide with justice for the lowly of the land. He shall strike down a land with the rod of his mouth and slay the wicked with the breath of his lips. Justice shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his waist...[39]

These messianic hopes of theo-political restoration sustained Jewish-Israelites throughout the centuries of the post-exilic period and Isaiah's promised Messiah continued to serve as the foundational impetus for all postbiblical messianic traditions.[40]

Throughout this post-exilic period, a number of real-world external threats provoked a swath of militaristic figures in Jewish society who aligned themselves with the messianic promise of Davidic royal theology. One of the most notable of these figures was Yehuda ben Matityahu or Maccabee "the Hammer" who led the Maccabean revolts against the Hellenist Syrians.[41] Eventually, rabbinic orthodoxy began to push for more spiritually oriented interpretations of the promised Messiah, who they asserted would take a more priestly or prophetic status.[42] By the first century C.E., Roman rule and oppression had escalated an eschatological focus within Jewish theological discourse and the Messiah was entirely

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[37] Lenowitz, *Messiahs*, 11-12.
[38] *Ibid.*, 8, 13; Carter, *Race*, 22.
[39] Is. 11.1
[40] Lenowitz, *Messiahs*, 12; Amos 11; Ez. 37.19; Mic. 5; Zech. 9; Is. 2; Is. 7.10; Is. 9.6.
[41] Lenowitz, *Messiahs*, 12, 24.
[42] *Ibid.*, 24-25.

reconceptualized into an ultimate amalgamation, a super prophet-priest-king at the center of an "apocalyptic drama."[43] The all-encompassing nature of this new ultra-messianic figure facilitated an explosion of messianic movements in Jewish society throughout the first century C.E., a period of prolific biblical exegesis wherein prophetic metaphor was used to support consistently evolving socio-political causes that aligned to the particular stresses of the time.[44]

What emerged was a ritualized pattern of Jewish crisis and redemption centered around the prophetic promise of a new, civic Messiah, a theo-political figure with devout followers who challenged and redefined communal limitations and boundaries in order to facilitate their own distinct visions of social progress.[45] As Lenowitz explains, this newly conceptualized Jewish civic Messiah was stripped of their individual corporeal identity in a social act of "self-sacrifice" and then consecrated as an "object of holy ritual service" in an apocalyptic, theo-nationalist drama that always took place on the fringes of society.[46] This civic Messiah's rise afforded a marginalized sect temporal redemption but was always followed with collective refutation by the larger body-politic whose rejection restored the "status quo" until the next moment of social crisis.[47] The most successful messianic movement to emerge out of this Jewish theo-political drama was Christianity which broke with standard traditions and evolved into a lasting "revitalization movement."[48] Thus, these ancient Semitic eschatologically-oriented messianic traditions, however, continue to influence Western theo-political thought.

While Carter's account of race accurately points to gnostic theological discourse as the modern vehicle for racialized ontologies in western society, the root of theological-racial

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[43] Lenowitz, *Messiahs*, 2, 12-13, 25.
[44] *Ibid.*, 2, 6, 12-13, 25.
[45] *Ibid.*, 7.
[46] *Ibid.*, 5, 7, 13.
[47] *Ibid*.
[48] *Ibid.*, 7.

distinctions have far a more primal and Semitic geneses.[49] Gnostic elites did not so much sever themselves from Jewishness as much as they expropriated and exploited ancient Israelite traditions of triune-messianic theo-nationalism in order to culturally dominate Jews in Greco-Roman society as a conquered people in occupied lands. For nearly a millennium following the end of the Apostolic Era (c. 100 C.E.), the distorted Gnostic conception of an unredeemable and hylic humanity remained as the predominant Christian worldview, the only redemptive hope for personal salvation rested in one's faith in the Christological "saga of the cross."[50] Following the Crusades however, reform movements swept across Western Europe, which brought about a renewed Christian fervor and interest in prophecy.

In the chapter, "Millennium: The Promise of Perfection" in his book, *The Religion of Technology: The Divinity of Man and the Spirit of Invention*, historian David Noble examines the "radically renewed millenarian conception of Christian history" that emerged within European ascetic societies during the middle of the twelfth century.[51] Pointing to a key figure during this era of reform, he explains how Cistercian abbot Joachim of Fiore's revitalized millenarian approach to Christian mythos connected theo-historical events with a new distinctly Christian eschatological era of promise.[52] This "revitalization and reinterpretation" of Gnostic theological discourse uniquely associated Christian salvation with a return to a more "perfect and divine like" state.[53] In a 2012 presentation entitled, "The Tree of Election: On the Symbolization of Spiritual Progress in Joachim of Fiore," historian and religious studies scholar Matthias Riedl

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[49] Carter, *Race*, 15, 22.

[50] David Noble, "Millennium: The Promise of Perfection," in *The Religion of Technology: The Divinity of Man and the Spirit of Invention* (London: Penguin, 1999), 21-22; G. F. Wiggers, *An Historical Presentation of Augustinism and Pelagianism from the Original Sources* (New York: Gould, Newman & Saxton: 1840), 128-129.

[51] Noble, "Millennium," 21.

[52] *Ibid.*, 23-26.

[53] *Ibid.*, 21-23.

offers critical insight into the nature of Joachimian theology and millenarianism. Citing Joachim's late twelfth century work, *Liber Concordiae*, Riedl explains how the Cistercian theologian reportedly experienced a divine vision of a sacred tree while meditating on a mountaintop, a notably messianic trope.[54] As a symbolic manifestation of his gnostic inspired concept of history's "divinely ordered" nature, this tree became the foundation of Joachim's millenarian exegetical approach.[55] Interpreting Joachim's tree of prophetic promise as "an organic being" representative of "growth and progress," Riedl suggests that holistically, the tree epitomized a larger eternal process of "decay and renewal."[56] In terms of Israelite messianism and Davidic Royal theology, the 'Tree of Jesse' was a frequently employed metaphor for Israel's perpetual fall and redemption and the promised return of the collective priest-prophet-king Messiah.[57] Misappropriating these Israelite messianic tropes, Joachim's theology applied the "genealogy of Jesus" to the 'Tree of Jesse' to affirm Jesus' pseudo-Davidic lineage.[58] In doing so, Joachimian theology not only asserted that Jesus the Christ was a remnant of *YHVH's* original chosen people but that he was the promised priest-prophet-king Messiah destined to rule over a favored remnant.[59]

According to Reidl, this Joachimian revival of Davidic Royal theology during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries led to a simultaneous revival of royal anointments.[60] Incorporating this

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[54] Matthias Riedl, "The Tree of Election: On the Symbolization of Spiritual Progress in Joachim of Fiore," presented at *Convegno internazionale Popoli Eletti – Storia di un viaggio oltre la storia* (Venice: 2012): Last Accessed Sept. 01, 2020, (https://www.academia.edu/7580268/The_Tree_of_Election_On_the_Symbolization_of_Spiritual_Progress_in_Joachim_of_Fiore_--_Venice_2012).

[55] *Ibid*.

[56] *Ibid*.

[57] Lenowitz, *Messiahs*, 65, 118, 132, 142, 195.

[58] Riedl, "Tree of Election."

[59] *Ibid*.

[60] *Ibid*.

custom of divine unction, monarchs could portray themselves as consecrated leaders chosen by *YHVH* to execute divine will on behalf of a divinely chosen people.[61] Furthermore, by incorporating the ancient Israelite Davidic Royal theology revived by Joachimian exegesis, monarchs could trace their elect status "from Israel to the Christian church."[62] Riedl points to Joachim's early work *Genealogia* to explain how the abbot's theo-historical paradigm was largely "an expansion" of the Pauline doctrine of divine election.[63] Similar to the ancient Gnostic usurpation of Jewish messianic traditions that occurred more than a millennium prior, Joachim replaced "the first tree of Israel" with a new Gentile tree rooted in Paul's doctrine of election to affirm the Christian church as the new chosen people of *YHVH* who were therefore destined to "repeat the history of Israel."[64] More than one thousand years after the redemptive Gnostic mythos had been employed by early Christians in the Greco-Roman Empire to assert a religio-racial dominance over Jews, medieval Christians employed messianic traditions co-opted from an ancient Jewish-Israelite theocratic drama to assert their socio-political dominance in Europe.

Joachim's Gnosticized tree of Christian Gentility served as a symbol of the "social progress" of *YHVH's* people working "towards perfection" through a sequence of worldly eras of transformation brought on by an evangelical spread of faith.[65] As Reidl explains in his 2012 article, "A Collective Messiah: Joachim of Fiore's Constitution of Future Society," Joachimian theo-history presumes the social progress of *YHVH's* people to be in alignment with a triune godhead's phases of self-realization.[66] The first manifest phase corresponds to the Father as the

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[61] Riedl, "Tree of Election."
[62] *Ibid*.
[63] *Ibid*.
[64] *Ibid.*; Carter, *Race*, 20-23, 34-35.
[65] Riedl, "Tree of Election."
[66] Matthias Riedl, "A Collective Messiah: Joachim of Fiore's Constitution of Future Society," *Mirabilia* Journal, (Jan-Jun 2012): Last Accessed Sept. 20, 2021, (https://www.revistamirabilia.com/sites/default/files/pdfs/2012_01_03.pdf), 14.

"patriarchal order of Israel," then the Son, who is the source of the church, and finally, as the Spirit, the source of the final and yet to come utopic age wherein a "universal" perfected "Christian society" will reign in total peace.[67] Anticipating this third and final age, Joachim prepared *dispositio novi ordinis pertinens ad tertium statum ad instar supernae Jerusalem*, or "The Constitution of the New Order of the Third Age According to the Image of the Heavenly Jerusalem," which incorporated multifaceted layers of eschatological symbolism into "pragmatic instructions" for a hierarchical and supernatural society of the future wherein spiritual knowledge would dictate each individual's existential status.[68] Despite the Cistercian abbot's abundant use of metaphor, Riedl asserts that Joachim's *dispositio* was not entirely figurative. In particular, he argues that the abbot's combination of supernatural iconographies and textual instructions were part of an overarching representation of a cosmic *Corpus Christi* – an ultimately pure "body of Christ" in eschatological form destined to emerge in the third age as a "collective" civic Messiah.[69]

Joachim anticipated both a secular and supernatural final eschatological third era, meaning he believed that the *ekklesia* or "collective church" of Christianity had to first be universally manifest on earth in order to bring about the end of the secular world and the birth of the *corpus Christi*, the spiritual church of a "Heavenly Jerusalem."[70] This perfected society would be overseen by a saintly order of divinely-appointed monks assigned to the "highest ranks" of both the secular and spiritual church.[71] Long after Joachim's death, a sect of Franciscan ascetics determined to "validate their identity" as the divinely ordained redeemers of

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[67] Riedl, "Collective Messiah," 14.
[68] *Ibid.*, 59-60.
[69] *Ibid*.
[70] Riedl, "Tree of Election"; Riedl, "Collective Messiah," 60.
[71] *Ibid.*

Christendom in this Joachimian theological hierarchy continued to add subsequent teachings to the abbot's original discourse.[72] Convinced that biblical predictions could guide "direct action[s]" intended to expedite the full manifestation of a true church through proper exegetical form, these elite aesthetics sought to bring about the end of the secular world via an imposed universal Christianity that would give birth to the final redemptive era wherein the *corpus Christi* could be fully manifested.[73] This focus on "evangelism over contemplation" inspired the modern Euro Western Christian prophetic practice which presupposes a constant eschatological state.[74] In this sense, Joachimian theology undoubtedly modernized Euro-Western Christianity, but the underlying framework of the redemptive narrative of apocalyptic promise was still rooted in Jewish messianic traditions occulted by Gnostic theo-mythical discourse.[75]

Engaging the works of philosopher Michel Foucault, Carter's theological account of race unwittingly acknowledges the role of ancient messianism by addressing the Israelite "counter-theo-historical narratives" that serve as the "prototype" for all modern theo-historic discourse.[76] Clearly acknowledging that these earlier Israelite models continued to guide Western European thought well into the late Medieval Era via "Romanized" variations of "politico-legendary" theo-histories that connected individual and national identity with sovereign monarchs, Carter argues that America's modern racialized ontology is the product of Protestant rebellions against these Romanized traditions.[77] Citing Foucault's four-volume work, *History of Sexuality,* Carter examines how socio-political power in Medieval Western Europe initially functioned through blood symbolism: "The honor of war, the fear of famine, the triumph of death, the sovereign

[72] Riedl, "Collective Messiah," 23-26.
[73] *Ibid.,* 23-25.
[74] *Ibid.*
[75] *Ibid.*
[76] Carter, *Race*, 58.
[77] *Ibid.*, 58, 62, 64.

with his sword, executioners, and tortures," all allegorically sustained "superior realities" of consolidated monarchical power.[78] Over time, this mode of power administration transitioned from blood symbolism to an "analytics of sexuality" focused on the body, life, and proliferation which led to a new "eugenic ordering of society" and afforded new methods of socio-political influence that "decentralized" monarchical power.[79] This shift in power administration from blood symbolism to sexual analytics which revolutionized both individual and national identities during the end of the Reformation and the English Revolution was driven by a paralleled resurgence of gnostic theological discourse.[80]

Highlighting the era of Enlightenment as the "principle" moment of Western modernity's new consciousness, Carter describes the Protestant Reformation as the first modern "war of races" wherein Western European Protestants sought to sever themselves from Romanist monarchies.[81] What emerged was a new "anti-Roman," Protestant Christian narrative of Gnostic "prophecy and promise" that redefined Western Europe as the new Zion, a land wherein a newly racialized Anglo-Saxon Protestant collective could be normalized as ideal.[82] These profound reconstructions in western thought culminated at the end of the eighteenth century into an entirely new racialized ontology via the racial theorizing of German philosopher Immanuel Kant, who merged pseudo-biological arguments with anti-Roman theo-histories which resulted in a distinctly modernized secular discourse for pseudo-racial divisions that had previously only been employed as theological concepts.[83]

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[78] Carter, *Race*, 69.
[79] *Ibid.*, 70.
[80] *Ibid.*, 69.
[81] *Ibid.*, 72.
[82] *Ibid.*, 54-55.
[83] *Ibid.*, 35, 81, 86.

Citing Kant's essay, "Of the Different Human Races," Carter notes that the German philosopher was the first modern European thinker to assume "racial distinctions" based on differences in skin pigment with his claim that "negroes and whites" serve as the "base races" of humanity.[84] According to Kant's theorizing in "Of the Different Races," all others races resulted from either "interbreed[ing]" between these two primal forms or as a result of climate variations which expedited the "negro" race's ultimate realization into its darkest form.[85] By addressing and categorizing humanity in these pseudo-biological terms, Carter claims that Kant "naturalize[d]" the very idea of race as an inherent state of humanity.[86] Analyzing several variations of this most notorious essay, Carter additionally reveals how Kant incorporated theological discourse into this pseudo-science. For example, in the 1775 version, Kant suggested that the white race bore the closest resemblance to this first perfected form of humanity and as such, was the least corrupted of the races (psychic) and therefore the only one capable of aspiring towards a return to the original pure state. [87] In the 1786 version, Kant supposed that the biblical figures Adam and Eve were the "lineal root genus" or originally perfect (pneumatic) form of humanity from which all races had descended.[88] According to Carter, Kant's understanding of whiteness as a "group apart," a special race of humanity that is in fact "not quite a race" by nature of its "developmental progress" towards perfection.[89] Misappropriating Pauline scriptures, Kant extolled the perfect state of whiteness by associating it with the divinely sanctioned "remnant race" of Israel as referenced by the apostle Paul in Romans 9-11.[90] This emphasis on Pauline

[84] Carter, *Race*, 84-86.
[85] *Ibid.*
[86] *Ibid.*, 86.
[87] *Ibid.*, 87.
[88] *Ibid*.
[89] *Ibid.*, 88.
[90] *Ibid.*, 80-81.

gospel, particularly the book of Romans would remain a consistent theme in the development of theological white supremacist beliefs on the North American continent.

As one of the most influential thinkers in modern Euro-Western philosophy, Kant's racial theorizing had distinct civic applications which significantly influenced modern democratic principles in Euro-Western societies. Looking back to the 1777 variation of Kant's "Of the Different Races," Carter argues that this work was blatantly centered around a specific socio-political concern: how to "reconceive civil society" outside of monarchical rule in a way that filtered out undesirable peoples whose presence within the body-politic hindered whiteness' progress towards universal perfection.[91] By the time Kant finished his 1798 work entitled *Conflict of the Faculties*, his racialized socio-political theory was fully developed. As a pseudo-racial state justified by its own theo-political mythology, Kant described whiteness' aspiration to manifest itself universally in an idealized "cosmopolis," a worldly, ultra-moral community described as an "ideal religious figure" in an "ideal time."[92] Carter refers to this revelation as the "genealogical moment" wherein whiteness unveiled itself as a purely "Christian theological articulation" embedded within the constructs of modern democratic principles.[93] As whiteness seeks to instantiate itself, it also seeks a final, eschatological event which correlates to the establishment of the Kantian cosmopolis, a modernized variation of the Joachimian c*orpus Christi*, the Gnostic pneumatic form reunited with the ultimate godhead, the nation of Israel redeemed at Zion in the ancient theo-national drama. To the Euro-settler-colonizers in North America, this Kantian cosmopolis envisioned as the new Zion was far more than just theoretical racial imagining — it was the foundational premise of the emergence of a new holy nation, the

[91] Carter, *Race*, 104.
[92] *Ibid.*, 80.
[93] *Ibid.*, 80, 86, 108.

United States of America. Today, the theo-myth's legacy remains occulted in overarching historical narratives structured in strict periodization with minimal to no philosophic or theological analysis. The theo-myth, however, can be exposed at the micro-scale in local histories of theological white supremacy.

Chapter 2

The New Zion

"More negroes were brought to a knowledge of God
and their Savior under this institution of slavery in the South
than under any other missionary enterprise in the same length of time." [94]

- Mildred Rutherford, UDC Historian General, 1914

America was largely shaped by individuals who were thoroughly preoccupied with eschatological themes that were revitalized during the Medieval Era and were subsequently guided by the socio-political promises of the Kantian cosmopolis. In his book, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture*, historian Paul Boyer traces the American tradition of biblical exegesis through the prophetic espousals of the earliest and most influential colonizers to reveal how the North American continent was seen by many as a "divinely sanctioned" holy land, the "land of the Millennium" to come — the new Zion promised to Protestant Anglo-Saxons who believed themselves to be *YHVH's* chosen people.[95] During the near two centuries between the first arrival of Europeans and the establishment of the U.S. Constitution, the impending end of the secular era was at the forefront of most colonist's minds, and many looked to this turn of the ages with the optimistic mindset of a young society that sought to build itself into a utopian cosmopolis of whiteness.[96] North Texas' history at the most local levels of civic society correlates to this undeniably theo-racialized national history.

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[94] Mildred Lewis Rutherford, *Wrongs of History Righted* (Savannah: United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1914), 16, Last Accessed Sept. 1, 2021, (https://lccn.loc.gov/56053690).

[95] Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More* (Cambridge: Belknap, 1992), 69.

[96] *Ibid.*, 69-70.

In 1836, after more than a century of European colonization of the northern region of Mexico known as Texas, settler-colonizers rebelled against the Mexican government and ultimately won their independence. It is undeniable that the desire of these colonizers to traffic enslaved African persons into and through the Texas region was a prime motivation for establishing the new Republic. Chattel slavery had long been prohibited under the control of the Mexican government, but immediately following Texas' declaration of independence, the Republic's first Congress made it legal for Anglo-colonizers to enslave African persons.[97] Additionally, the Texas Republic banned free African persons from the young nation altogether.[98] These changes sparked a vast rise in Euro-settler-colonizers from all throughout the South who flooded across the Red River into Texas' most northern region in unprecedented numbers.[99] As a result, just one year later, the Texas legislature banned together a large chunk of the country's northern Red River region encompassing more than 21,000 square miles of land which was formally defined in 1839 as Fannin County.[100] Denton County would later be carved out of this larger region.

Prior to Euro-settler-colonizer encroachment, however, this North Texas region had been occupied by an assortment of predominantly nomadic indigenous tribes.[101] Unexclusively, this included various branches of the *Numunuu* (Comanche) and *Kadawdaachuh* (Caddoe) tribes, as

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[97] *Handbook of Texas Online*, Joseph Milton Nance, "REPUBLIC OF TEXAS," accessed March 03, 2020, (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/mzr02): Free African Americans were banned from the Texas Republic.

[98] *Ibid.*

[99] *Handbook of Texas Online*, Kelly Pigott, "FANNIN COUNTY," Last Accessed March 03, 2020, (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hcf02).

[100] *Handbook Online*, "FANNIN COUNTY."

[101] *Ibid*.

well as *Aniyunwiya* (Cherokee) *Kitikiti'sh* (Wichitas), *Tawakonis*, *Kitsai*, and *Kiowas* peoples.[102] By 1840, most of the remaining tribes had consolidated along the shores of Village Creek, a significant northern tributary of the Trinity River, a major waterway which flows south from the state's northern region into the Gulf Coast.[103] Predominantly occupied by the *Kadawdaachuh*, *Tonkawa*, *Kitsai*, and *Aniyunwiya* peoples, these indigenous settlements served as a major resistance against Euro-settler-colonizer encroachments in North Texas.[104] Determined to rid the territory of these indigenous populations, the Republic of Texas frequently launched relentless raids against the Village Creek tribes, which had sparked a series of retaliatory attacks against colonizer-settlements throughout the region.[105]

During this time, no one played a more dominant role in colonizing North Texas than the Euro-settler-colonial preachers who were compelled by divine providence to challenge the non-Christian indigenous occupants in the area who were seen as "ungodly" obstacles to the establishment of the utopian white cosmopolis of prophetic promise — the new Zion.[106] With militant zeal, these early preachers, frequently described in writings of the time as "well armed…gospel orators" were fervent Protestants whose movements precipitated nearly every major settlement in the North Texas region.[107] For instance, in 1841, when Texas Colonel Edward Tarrant was called to lead a militia on an offensive attack against the Village Creek

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[102] Hansi Lo Wang, "The Map of Native American Tribes You've Never Seen Before," *NPR*, June 24, 2014: (https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2014/06/24/323665644/the-map-of-native-american-tribes-youve-never-seen-before).

[103] *Handbook of Texas Online*, W. Stanley Hoole, "DENTON, JOHN BUNYAN," accessed February 13, 2020, (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fde43); *Handbook of Texas Online*, "TARRANT, EDWARD H.," accessed April 14, 2020, (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fta11).

[104] *Handbook of Texas Online*, Donald S. Frazier, "VILLAGE CREEK, BATTLE OF," Last Accessed April 14, 2020, (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/btv01).

[105] *Ibid*.

[106] Edward Bates, *History and Reminiscences of Denton County* (Denton: McNitzky Printing, 1918), 96; Boyer, *Time*, 69-70.

[107] *Ibid.,* 30-32, 44, 47, 52-53, 96; *Handbook of Texas Online*, John W. Storey, "RELIGION," Last Accessed April 14, 2020, (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/izrdf).

tribes, a Methodist Episcopal preacher named John B. Denton, who had only recently traveled into the region with his family, was one of several dozen militiamen who volunteered to support the mission.[108] Though many had tried and failed to find the Village Creek settlements prior to Tarrant's party, this militia managed to capture a lone traveling tribesman, who they tied to a tree and tortured at gunpoint until he finally revealed the location of his people.[109] On May 24, 1841, Tarrant's militia found the Village Creek settlements and launched their attack against the small outer villages of the *Kitsai* tribe.[110] As the militia pushed deeper into the indigenous stronghold, they slaughtered, imprisoned, and burned all within their path until they were outnumbered by the native resistance.[111] As militia members began to dwindle in number, Colonel Tarrant was forced to order a retreat but Captain John. B. Denton pressed ahead, a decision which both cost him his life and later made him a North Texas 'hero' of legendary status.[112] Although John B. Denton was an aggressor in an unprovoked attack on an autonomous settlement of indigenous people, "highly romanticized" accounts of his supposed heroic act of self-sacrifice flourished in North Texas throughout the years following the raid.[113] By 1843, the Republic of Texas had forcibly relocated the last of the indigenous resistors at Village Creek to a Brazos River reservation.[114]

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[108] *Handbook Online,* "DENTON, JOHN;" *Handbook Online,* "TARRANT"; *Handbook, "*VILLAGE CREEK."

[109] Bates, *History*, 19; *Handbook Online,* "VILLAGE CREEK."

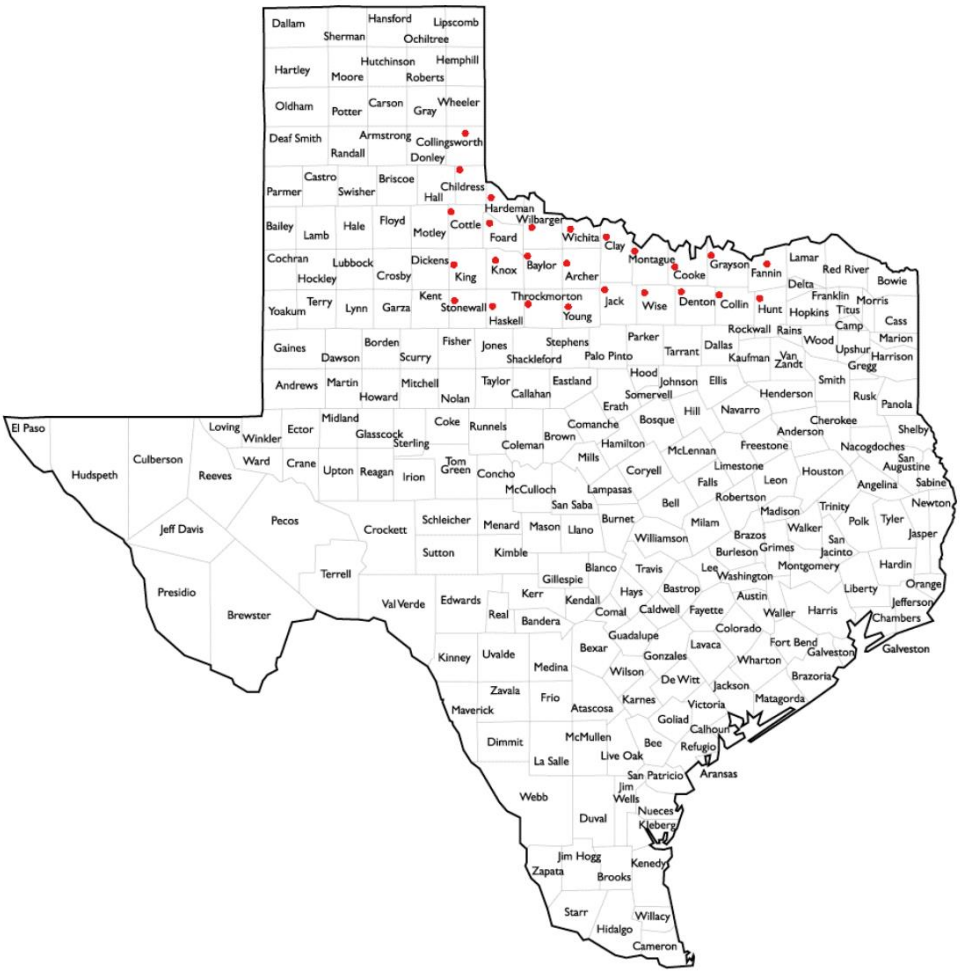
[110] *Handbook Online*, "VILLAGE CREEK."

[111] *Ibid*.

[112] *Ibid*.

[113] *Denton County Historical Commission*, "John B. Denton," Denton County Office of History and Culture, Last Accessed January 24, 2020: (https://dentoncounty.gov/Departments/History-and-Culture/Historical-Commission/John-B-Denton).

[114] *Handbook Online,* "VILLAGE CREEK."



1. Texas map of modern counties with red notations marking
21,000 square miles included in original Fannin County. Map courtesy World Atlas.[115]

[115] World Atlas, "Texas – County Map," Texas (254 Counties), last accessed January 30, 2020: https://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/namerica/usstates/counties/txcountymap.htm.

As the nineteenth century pressed forward, local ministries served as the centers of young communities in the South, including the Texas Republic, and especially in Fannin County where a sustained active native resistance to settler-colonizer occupations of the land had fueled increasingly grim prophetic espousals from Protestant clergy members who frequently predicted that an apocalyptic age was imminent on the horizon.[116] According to Paul Boyer, this rise of "popular millenarianism" was congruent with national trends but Southern espousals tended to reflect the "reformist" spirit of the times.[117] Arguments over these millenarian interpretations led to serious divisions within Protestant communities and they often paralleled disputes regarding the morality of slavery. For example, at the Methodist Episcopal church's 1844 General Conference in New York, a fierce debate broke out over Bishop James O. Andrew's recent marriage to a European descendant woman who held a large number of African American persons in bondage.[118] Leaders in the denomination's churches in the north admonished Andrew and refused to accept his position within their hierarchy so long as he was complicit in the practice of slavery. The adamant objections of these Northern Methodists resulted in the church's division, and the "Methodist Episcopal Church, South" was established alongside a full and public endorsement for slavery as a divinely sanctioned American institution.[119] Although Texas had not yet been annexed into the United States of America, in early 1845, the Texas Methodist Conference voted unanimously to join the southern separatist division of the American Methodist church.[120] While some Methodists in the Fannin County region of North Texas that was later developed into Denton County had joined different Protestant churches in response to

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[116] Bates, *History*, 43, 53, 351, 382.

[117] Boyer, *Time*, 75, 80.

[118] Charles Claude Selecman, *The Methodist Primer* (Nashville: Methodist Evangelical Materials, 1908), 24.

[119] Selecman, *Methodist Primer*, 24.

[120] C. A. Bridges and Bessie Shook, *First Methodist Church Centennial Book 1857-1957* (Denton: Self Published, 1957), 8.

the split, most followed suit with the Texas Conference and joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.[121] For these Southern Methodists in North Texas, the optimistic and abolitionist sentiment of Northern Methodist's inclusionary theological interpretations had been "especially annoying" and their visits to the region were typically met with avid "protests of the local pastors."[122] Undoubtedly, theological white supremacy was the status quo in the region that would soon become Denton, County in an independent nation that would soon become the twenty-eighth state to join the Union.

After years of petitioning for annexation into the U.S. and repeated refusals, Texas was finally permitted to join the Union in 1845 as a buffer to prevent war with Mexico.[123] The following year, the new state legislature carved up Fannin County and allotted over 900 square miles to the newly formed Denton County.[124] Located just thirty miles south of the Oklahoma border, Denton County was established immediately south of newly-formed Cooke county, and centered just north of Dallas and Tarrant counties with Wise and Collin County at its western and eastern borders respectively. The earliest settlers to the new county were predominantly Northern European descendants from Tennessee and Kentucky.[125] As a circuit-riding Methodist preacher who had sided with the southern division of the Methodist Episcopal Church just a few years prior, Reverend William Edmond Bates and his brother Willis H. Bates from Barren County Kentucky were some of the earliest settler-colonizers to arrive in Denton County during the early

[121] Bridges and Shook, *First Methodist Church*, 8.
[122] *Ibid.*, 18.
[123] *Handbook Online*, C.T. Neu, "ANNEXATION," Last Accessed September 21, 2021, (https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/annexation).
[124] *Handbook Online*, E. Dale Odom, "DENTON COUNTY," Last Accessed April 14, 2020, (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hcd06).
[125] *Handbook Online,* "DENTON COUNTY."

1850s.[126] Willis Bates had left behind several young children in Kentucky under the care of other family members who relied on the help of enslaved African American nannies.[127] However, over the course of the next two decades, several more members of the Bates family would make their way to Denton County, including Willis Bates' son James P. Bates who would later play a critical role in shaping the theological white supremacist culture in the area.

By 1853, several more families had made their way from Kentucky and Reverend Bates founded one of the earliest settlements in the young county which he called "Zion."[128] According to the descendants of this community, these early Denton County Zion Methodists were "zealous and fervent" Protestants who were highly influenced by Bates' tendency towards eschatologically motivated sermons.[129] They lived a largely segregated existence until 1856, when Denton County Sheriff Charles Alexander (C.A.) Williams facilitated the first land auctions that ultimately mapped out the city of Denton, which was incorporated as the county seat shortly after the end of the Civil War a decade later.[130] Within one year of the new city's

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[126] Ed. F. Bates, *Tradition and History of the Bates Family of Virginia* (Denton: Bates, 1911), 16; Bates, *History Denton*, 42-43.

[127] Reuben Bates, *1850 U. S. Census*; Division 1, Barren, Kentucky, *Roll* M432_191, *Page* 329A, Image *52*: as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed Sept. 1, 2021, (https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/25944423?h=90f337&utm_campaign=bandido-webparts&utm_source=post-share-modal&utm_medium=copy-url); Reuben Bates, *1850 Compiled U.S. Census and Census Substitutes* Index, as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed Sept. 1, 2021, (https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/25944443?h=6b64e7&utm_campaign=bandido-webparts&utm_source=post-share-modal&utm_medium=copy-url); James P. Bates, *1850 U. S. Census*, Division 1, Barren, Kentucky, *Roll* M432_191, Page *367*; Image *52*: as found on Ancestry.com, Last Accessed Sept. 1, 2021, (https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/25944503?h=370dca&utm_campaign=bandido-webparts&utm_source=post-share-modal&utm_medium=copy-url); James P. Bates, *1850 Compiled U.S. Census and Census Substitutes* Index, as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed Sept. 1, 2021, (https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/25944511?h=7a9a82&utm_campaign=bandido-webparts&utm_source=post-share-modal&utm_medium=copy-url).

[128] Bates, *History Denton*, 43.

[129] *Ibid.*, 43, 53, 351, 382.

[130] *Handbook Online,* "DENTON COUNTY;" Bates, *History Denton*, 68; Denton County Historical Commission, "Who's Who in Denton County: Will Williams," Denton County Office of History and Culture, Last Accessed March 14, 2020, (https://dentoncountyhistoryandculture.wordpress.com/2018/05/18/whos-who-in-denton-county-will-williams/).

establishment, Bates relocated his Zion congregation to Denton where they worshipped together in their homes under the looming promise of an impending war with both secular and theological significance.[131] While there is a dearth of archival evidence from this time period, what has remained available clearly reveals the theo-mythical drama that these Euro-colonial settlers brought with them. The historical archive also illustrates the extent to which these individuals sought to change the occupancy and landscape of their new environment to reflect their theo-utopian vision.

According to Paul Boyer, as internal conflict pushed the country closer to Civil War, ministers across the South who had already gravitated towards bleak visions of an impending apocalypse became increasingly adamant that America was soon to fulfill its ultimate destiny as the "new Zion," the land of *YHVH's* chosen people wherein the Joachimian *corpus Christi* envisioned as the Kantian cosmopolis comprised of whiteness' pure and perfected form would manifest as a Heavenly Jerusalem on earth.[132] Considering that the Texas legislature's 1861 "declaration of the causes" for seceding with the Confederacy was primarily framed in theological arguments for slavery and white supremacy, this must have been a time of prophetic promise for the Zion congregation of Denton. Aside from a rather lengthy admonishment of the Northern States for their "unnatural feeling of hostility" towards Southerners, Texas officials declared that the state would secede from the Union for one reason: to preserve the "beneficent and patriarchal system of African slavery."[133] Referring to racial equality as the most

[131] Bates, *History Denton*, 351.

[132] Boyer, *Time*, 69.

[133] Texas Legislature, "A Declaration of the Causes which Impel the State of Texas to Secede from the Federal Union" (Austin, 1861), crediting the Digital Public Library: Last Accessed on March 14, 2020, (https://dp.la/primary-source-sets/secession-of-the-southern-states/sources/775).

"debasing… doctrine at war with nature…in violation of the plainest revelations of divine law," Texas leaders offered a strong theological defense of chattel slavery:

> We hold, as undeniable truths, that the governments of the various States, and of the Confederacy itself, were established exclusively by the white race, for themselves and their posterity; that the African race had no agency in their establishment; that they were rightfully held and regarded as an inferior and dependent race, and in that condition only could their existence in this country be rendered beneficial or tolerable…the servitude of the African race … is mutually beneficial to both bond and free, and is abundantly authorized and justified by the experience of mankind, and the revealed will of the Almighty Creator, as recognized by all Christian nations.[134]

By the time the war emerged as a reality for Denton County, at least 251 African American persons had been enslaved by no less than fifty-one European settler-colonizers.[135] This considered, when a series of fires ravaged the properties of prominent pro-secessionists in major cities across North Texas on July 8, 1860, Denton County included, abolitionist anxiety exploded among the pro-slavery populations in the region. The first fire reported that afternoon was behind a store in downtown Dallas, less than fifty miles southeast of Denton. Two hours later, the entire north and west sides of Dallas' downtown square along with half of the structures on the east side were reduced to smoldering heaps. The local printing press and every supply store on the city square had been obliterated.[136] Within an hour of these initial Dallas fires, buildings across Denton County also went up in flames. James M. Smoot's store on the corners of Elm and Hickory on the downtown square suddenly went ablaze and the fire rapidly spread to neighboring stores.[137] When twenty-five kegs of gunpowder simultaneously exploded in Smoot's

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[134] Texas Legislature, "Declaration of the Causes."

[135] *Handbook Online,* "DENTON COUNTY".

[136] *Northern Standard* (Clarksville, TX), July 14, 1860; *Southern Intelligencer* (Austin, TX), July 18, 1860: as found in William White, "The Texas Slave Insurrection of 1860," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* Vol. 52, No. 3 (Jan 1949), 259-285, Last Accessed on Sept. 1, 2021, (https://www.jstor.org/stable/30235055).

[137] *Houston Telegraph* (Houston, TX) July 21, 1860: as found in White, "Slave Insurrection."

store, burning debris flew like projectiles into buildings on the opposite side of the square and they too began to burn. Although many structures were ultimately saved, the entire west side of Denton's square had burned to the ground and nearly every building had been damaged. Ruling coincidence out as a factor, Smoot's store and home in Pilot Point were also set on fire as many other prominent pro-secessionists in Denton County also lost their homes to mysterious blazes on this day.[138] Additionally, a large flour mill in Collin County was similarly lost to a fire the same afternoon. Within the next twenty-four hours, several more prominent pro-secessionist elites in Dallas and neighboring counties watched their homes burn to the ground as well.[139]

Following the fires, fears of abolitionist arson spread throughout North Texas during the summer of 1860, and enslaved persons paid the highest price for this anxiety. In just one month, at least three persons held in bondage had been lynched for their suspected involvement by a Dallas "Committee of Vigilance," and another "eight to ten" were reportedly confined and condemned to a similar fate by individual offenders.[140] At least seventy more African American persons were brutally whipped by enslavers in Dallas who were determined to obtain information of a conspiratorial plot.[141] Denton saw a similar rise in vigilante violence following the fires. At a mass meeting held in late July 1860, a large collection of residents from across Denton County had gathered on the city square where they adopted a joint resolution aimed at ridding the county of "organized bands of abolitionists."[142] Those in attendance had nominated

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[138] Bates, *History Denton*, 69; *Southern Intelligencer* (Austin, TX), July 18, 1860: as found in White, "Slave Insurrection."

[139] *Northern Standard* (Clarksville, TX), July 14, 1860; *Southern Intelligencer* (Austin, TX), July 18, 1860: as found in White, "Slave Insurrection."

[140] *Daily Crescent*, (New Orleans, LA) July 30, 1860; as found in White, "Slave Insurrection"; *The San Antonio Ledger and Texan* (San Antonio, TX), Vol. 10, No. 5, Ed. 1, August 4, 1860, *The Civilian and Gazette. Weekly*, (Galveston, Tex.), Vol. 23, No. 19, Ed. 1, August 7, 1860.

[141] *Ibid*.

[142] *State Gazette*, (Austin, TX) August 11, 1860; as found in White, "Slave Insurrection."

five persons to serve as a "Central Committee of Safety for the County" which they tasked with finding the "scoundrels" responsible for "inciting [the] slave [sic] population to the most barbarous acts of murder, arson, and robbery."[143] Although the historical archive confirms that several fires had surely ravaged various structures within the community, it offers no evidence that abolitionists nor enslaved persons had murdered anyone in Denton County. Regardless, the resolution expressed an explicit fear that "white" men, women, and children were "in imminent danger of nightly assassination" and a unanimous pledge was made by those present to find all "suspicious" persons.[144] Denton's Zion community members must certainly have felt that the end of the world as they knew it was upon them with the promise of the Kantian cosmopolis soon to emerge on the horizon.

The Denton committee proceeded with sustained vigilance, as they scoured the area for abolitionist activities and inspected all mail moving in and out of the local post office.[145] Newspapers throughout the state reported that as a result of their efforts, enslaved persons in Denton had confessed their involvement in abolitionist conspiracies and disclosed details of a foiled attack.[146] According to these sensational accounts, an uprising of enslaved persons had planned to "burn the houses and murder the women" before they went on to "attack the people at the polls" to prevent a secession vote.[147] While the methods used to elicit such confessions from

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[143] *State Gazette*, (Austin, TX) August 11, 1860; as found in White, "Slave Insurrection."

[144] *Ibid*.

[145] *Ibid*.

[146] *The San Antonio Ledger and Texan* (San Antonio, Tex.), Vol. 10, No. 5, Ed. 1 Saturday, August 4, 1860, Last Accessed on February 8, 2020, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth179834/), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting The Dolph Briscoe Center for American History; *The Civilian and Gazette,* Weekly, (Galveston, Tex.), Vol. 23, No. 19, Ed. 1 Tuesday, August 7, 1860, Last Accessed on February 8, 2020, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth177461/), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting The Dolph Briscoe Center for American History.

[147] *The San Antonio Ledger and Texan*, Vol. 10, No. 5, Ed. 1, August 4, 1860; *The Civilian and Gazette,* Weekly, Vol. 23, No. 19, Ed. 1, August 7, 1860.

enslaved persons in Denton were rarely disclosed, one report specified "the lash" as a most helpful tool.[148] In an August 1860 letter published in the *Austin State Gazette*, Dentonite S. A. Venters proclaimed that "the battle" in Denton County was over, the "enemy…completely routed" and the abolitionist party "defunct," and he promised that a hefty majority from Denton County would vote for the pro-slavery Democratic ticket in the upcoming elections.[149] While there is little evidence to suggest that an abolitionist movement actually existed in the region during this time, it does appear that an anti-secessionist plot was certainly at work in North Texas during the summer of 1860.

The secession vote just eight months later in February 1861 offers a clear confirmation that Union support was high, including in Denton County, which only narrowly voted in favor of joining the Confederacy with 331 persons in support and 256 opposed. Most of the neighboring counties, including Collin, Cooke, and Grayson, all voted with resounding opposition to joining. The reaction of North Texans to the Confederate Conscription Act that followed in April 1862 as a result of the state's overall vote in favor of secession also suggests the presence of a pro-Union sentiment in the region while simultaneously highlighting the brutality of reactionary, pro-slavery Confederate powers. The act, which drafted most all able-bodied men in the South to fight for the Confederacy offered exemptions for those who enslaved people in large quantities, a fact which naturally incensed those who were forced to fight against their will.[150] Shortly after the act was passed, thirty men from Gainesville, (a small community in Cooke County just thirty

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[148] *The Weekly Telegraph* (Houston, Tex.), Vol. 26, No. 20, Ed. 1, July 31, 1860, Last Accessed on February 8, 2020, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth236104/), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History: crediting The Dolph Briscoe Center for American History.

[149] *State Gazette*. (Austin, Tex.), Vol. 12, No. 2, Ed. 1, August 18, 1860, Last Accessed February 8, 2020, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth81447/), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting The Dolph Briscoe Center for American History.

[150] *Handbook of Texas Online*, Richard B. McCaslin, "GREAT HANGING AT GAINESVILLE," Last Accessed on January 14, 2020, (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/jig01).

miles north of Denton), signed a petition protesting these exemptions and sent it to the Confederate Congress.[151] When word of the petition made its way back to local Confederate officials, those who had expressed their opposition to the draft were immediately targeted for ouster by Confederate loyalists while those who managed to evade capture continued to recruit for their resistance movement known as the Union League.[152]

In late September 1862, when Confederate leaders attempted to summon a militia in the region, open opposition was still in the air as many North Texans blatantly expressed an unwillingness to fight for the Confederate cause with open public objections, though many just silently failed to muster when called.[153] While the particular motives behind this resistance remain unclear, there is a growing body of scholarship to suggest that many feared leaving their communities unprotected from indigenous raids.[154] When local men failed to heed the Confederacy's call, the Provost Marshal over Denton and the surrounding anti-secession voting counties, James G. Bourland (who was also a plantation owner with a history of trafficking human beings across North Texas for profit), launched a swift response and led state police on a mass manhunt.[155] Though some managed to escape to the North, at least 150 men from four North Texas counties, including Denton, were arrested and charged with treason and conspiracy.[156] Bourland and Confederate Colonel William C. Young (who also participated in and profited from slavery), organized a twelve person "citizen's court" to oversee the fates of

[151] *Ibid*.

[152] *Ibid*.

[153] *Ibid.*; George Washington Diamond, *George Washington Diamond's Account of the Great Hanging at Gainesville*, 1862, eds. Sam Acheson and Julie Ann Hudson O'Connell (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1963), 61.

[154] See Pekka Hämäläinen's *The Comanche Empire.*

[155] Diamond, *Great Hanging*, 61*; Handbook Online,* "GREAT HANGING."

[156] *Ibid*.

these captives.[157] With seven additional plantation owners added to the panel, the decision was made to convict by majority versus consensus. After an initial round of trials, the impromptu jury found seven men guilty of being "leading Unionists" and all were immediately hanged.[158] Unsatisfied, a mob of Confederate soldiers hanged another fourteen men without trial.[159] One week later, Colonel Young and another Confederate were assassinated by unknown assailants which sparked renewed calls for pro-Unionist blood.[160] Many of the persons already exonerated in the first round of trials were brought back before the jury, which was then overseen by Bourland and the deceased Confederate Colonel's son, Captain Jim Young.[161] As a result, nineteen more men were convicted and hanged as traitors to the Confederacy.[162] With this threat of treason paramount, word of the events spread quickly across the region. By mid-October 1862, five more men were hanged in Sherman, another five in Decatur, and at least one man was killed by gunshot on the Denton town square just outside the county courthouse, all under the suspicion of Confederate sedition.[163]

Despite the presence of significant pro-Union sentiment in the region, more than 4,700 men were registered into the Confederate forces in Denton County at an enlistment post just six miles south of Denton's town square, though the vast majority of these Confederate enlistments were residents from across North Texas.[164] Only 233 of those enlisted at the Denton County post

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[157] Diamond, *Great Hanging*, 61*; Handbook Online,* "GREAT HANGING."

[158] *Ibid.*

[159] *Ibid.*

[160] *Ibid.*

[161] *Ibid.*

[162] *Ibid.*

[163] *Ibid.*

[164] *Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers 1861-1865*; (National Archive, Washington, DC, USA) Record Group: *War Department Collection of Confederate Records*; Record Group Number: 109; Series: M258*,* as found on Ancestry.com: Last accessed on March 18, 2019, (https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/2322/?count=50&military=_denton-texas-usa_867&military_x=_1-0).

provided a local residential address.[165] At the same time, at least 102 Denton County residents made their way north to voluntarily fight for the Union.[166] This large presence of anti-Confederates in Denton County and North Texas at large should not be confused, however, with vast support for racial equality. Pro-Unionists still sought to completely rid the region of indigenous people in order to stake claim to the land necessary to build their new Kantian cosmopolis. Similarly, there is no evidence in the historical archive of an organized movement of white identifying abolitionists in the region. Each in their own way, Confederates and pro-Unionists in Denton County and the surrounding region had sought to secure their futures in the Zion of prophetic promise, as both sides were reassured by the theo-myth of whiteness' perfection.

As the Civil War approached its end, daily reports from the front lines flooded into Denton, and with each update on the Union's progress, local anxieties flared again. This was certainly the case at the Daugherty plantation a mile north of Denton's square on Locust Street. Owned by Confederate brothers Boon and T. W. Daugherty, the latter's wife had lived on the property during the war along with two other women who were similarly awaiting the return of their husbands.[167] One afternoon in the spring of 1864, a man named Nelse who was enslaved by the Daugherty family had purportedly "sassed" one of the women of the household.[168] Later that same evening, word of the incident spread around Denton and a "band of citizens" abducted

[165] *Service Records of Confederate Soldiers*.

[166] *Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers 1861-1865*, Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, as found on Ancestry.com, Last Accessed on February 11, 2020, (https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/2344/?count=50&military=_denton-texas-usa_867&military_x=_1-0); See Appendix I for list of names.

[167] "Hangman's Tree Overshadows New CIA Library," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) March 5, 1927.

[168] *Ibid*.

Nelse from his quarters behind the Daugherty house.[169] Another enslaved person on the Daugherty property found Nelse hanging from a tree the following morning.[170] According to the morbid recollection offered by Boone Daugherty to a local reporter decades later, the tree in which Nelse had been lynched was selected for its abundance of low limbs that offered enough space to "swing half a dozen other offenders at once," a fact that was pointed out to the remaining enslaved persons on the plantation.[171] While the story of Nelse's lynching is horrific in its own right, his tragic end, as recounted by his former enslaver, offers an insightful revelation regarding the enslaved population in Denton County at the time.

In his recollections of these events several decades later, Boone Daugherty claimed that there had been multiple enslaved persons on the Daugherty plantation in 1864, so many that they required multiple living quarters behind the family's main house. Yet, on the federal schedules of the 1860 census, only his brother, T.W. Daugherty was listed as an enslaver and he only claimed to hold two persons in bondage.[172] Considering that neither of the other two women Daugherty reported as living on his farm had claimed any African American persons on 1860 census schedules nor were they married to men who did, the most likely explanation for this discrepancy is that the Daugherty family enslaved more persons than they had reported in order to reduce their taxes. While this discrepancy remains an isolated discovery, it is one of several clues that

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[169] "Hangman's Tree," *Denton Record Chronicle*.

[170] *Ibid*.

[171] *Ibid*; Lindsey Purcell, *Landscape Report*, Purdue University, "How Old is my Tree," Last accessed on September 1, 2021, (https://www.purduelandscapereport.org/article/how-old-is-my-tree). This tree still stands today on the grounds of the Texas Woman's University off the northwest corner of the Ann Stuart Science Complex where the Bralley Memorial Library stood until 1937. As the largest Live Oak tree in girth and height on this part of the campus, this tree's measurements suggest an approximate age of 250-300 years old at the date of this work's publication.

[172] C. C. Daugherty, *1860 Texas*, *Slave schedules of the eighth census of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration: 1965), microfilm publication M653 roll 1309, as found on Ancestry.com, Last Accessed on February 19, 2019, (https://archive.org/details/populationschedu1309unix/mode/2up).

the enslaved population of Denton County may have been higher than officially reported. This tendency of white identifying elites to afford themselves unique exceptions from federal regulations would continue to be the standard in Denton County for decades thereafter.

Shortly after the end of the war, the U.S. Congress issued its first Reconstruction Act which divided the South into federally supervised military districts and removed a swath of neo-Confederate officials in several states, including Texas, who were deemed an "impediment to Reconstruction."[173] For example, Denton businessman and neo-Confederate J. M. Blount was expunged from the state senate in this first federal cleanse of the Texas post-war legislature.[174] Corruption at the county levels however, where many Confederate veterans and their sympathizers retained their dominance over Denton communities as prominent political and cultural influencers initially remained largely unabated. After serving three years in the Confederate Army, former Denton County Sheriff C. A. Williams, who, according to the recollections of his own family was an unapologetic and "completely unreconstructed Southerner" was reelected to his position upon his return to the area in 1866.[175] It wasn't until the autumn of 1867 that federal officials enacted measures to facilitate the ouster of Texas officials in county positions who refused to protect the rights of newly freed persons.[176] Among these was re-elected Denton County Sheriff C.A. Williams.[177] Though he was the only local official federally ousted in this second round of Reconstruction acts, Williams had been one of many

[173] *Handbook Online*, Carl H. Moneyhon, "RECONSTRUCTION," Last Accessed on April 14, 2020, (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/mzr01).

[174] Bates, *History Denton*, 316.

[175] "City's Future Shaped by Williams Family," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) April 3, 1957.

[176] *Handbook Online,* "RECONSTRUCTION."

[177] "City's Future Shaped by Williams Family," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) April 3, 1957; "Who's Who in Denton County: Will Williams," Denton County Office of History and Culture, Last Accessed on March 14, 2020, (https://dentoncountyhistoryandculture.wordpress.com/2018/05/18/whos-who-in-denton-county-will-williams/).

Denton County authorities opposed to Reconstruction and sympathetic to the Confederate cause. Around the same time Williams was forced out, a Denton County judge refused to hear a case against a local Confederate veteran who had sabotaged a federal military telegraph line that had been routed through the area and ultimately, set the offender free without trial.[178] The South may have lost the Civil War, but the Confederacy still reigned victorious in Denton County where a pro-Confederate culture continued to thrive and many of the individuals who served as leading proponents of this pro-Confederate culture were also leaders in the local religious community.

The city's first newspaper, *The Denton Review*, was launched by Confederate veteran James P. Bates, son of early Denton settler-colonizer Willis H. Bates and nephew of the Zion Methodist Reverend William E. Bates.[179] From 1864 until the mid-1870s, *The Denton Review* published regular editorials that boldly opposed what the Bates family considered to be "radical" Reconstructionist reform.[180] The second newspaper to arrive in Denton County after the war, *The Denton Monitor* hit stands in 1868 with weekly espousals of pro-Confederate and anti-Reconstruction rhetoric which for forty-years thereafter, served as the primary form of news for the local community.[181] The founder of *The Denton Monitor* was Confederate veteran Charles W. Geers, who was well known for his political affiliations with leading state Democrats. Geers frequently used *The Denton Monitor* to protest fervently in favor of the Southern white man's

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[178] Bates, *History Denton*, 86.

[179] *Ibid*., 43; Willis H. Bates, *1850 U. S. Federal* Census: Division 1, Barren, Kentucky*;* Roll: M432_191; Page: 329A; Image: 52. As found on Ancestry.com, Last Accessed on April 4, 2020, (https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/19068769?h=9a9787&utm_campaign=bandido-webparts&utm_source=post-share-modal&utm_medium=copy-url); James P. Bates, *The Denton Review*, (Denton, TX) April 20, 1876; J. P. Bates, *Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Texas*; Series Number: *M323*; Roll: *147. As Found on* Ancestry.com, Last accessed February 20, 2020, (https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/19076195?h=d58afe&utm_campaign=bandido-webparts&utm_source=post-share-modal&utm_medium=copy-url).

[180] *Handbook Online*, "DENTON COUNTY."

[181] *Ibid.*

cause and against federal Reconstruction efforts.[182] Similar to Bates, Geers was also connected to early Protestant movements in Denton. The same year he launched his paper, Geers had helped establish Denton's First Christian Church as a charter member.[183] In his editorials, he made regular appeals to Denton's residents, as he called on them to exhibit high morality and upstanding displays of "manhood" modeled after the South's burgeoning "Ku Klux" Klan movement, and he directly beseeched those "worthy" in Denton's community to organize themselves accordingly.[184] Not even three full years following the end of the Civil War and a leading figure in Denton's religious community was calling for vigilante mobilizations to ensure the rise of Zion — a pure white cosmopolis.

With neo-Confederate bastions of theological white supremacy at the helm of both local government and public communication platforms, it is unsurprising that by 1869, Denton County communities had seen increasingly violent attacks against newly freed African American persons. In spring of that year, a white woman named Sarah Newland who was living on the outskirts of the city of Denton reported that she had been raped in a prairie by an African American man named George Crawford.[185] In response, a group of Newland's neighbors accosted Crawford who then narrowly managed to escape their hold and ran away in "a shower of bullets."[186] Two weeks later, Crawford was captured by local officials, chained to a horse, and taken to a jail where he was briefly held before he was returned to the community for vigilante

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[182] *Handbook Online*, "DENTON COUNTY."

[183] Charlotte D. Nabors, "First Christian Church of Denton," Historical Narrative for Texas Historical Commission Subject Marker Application (Denton County, 1997), crediting Denton County Historical Commission, Last Accessed February 17, 2020, (https://apps.dentoncounty.gov/website/historicalmarkers/PDFs/First-Christian-Church-of-Denton.pdf).

[184] Charles W. Geers, *The Denton Monitor* (Denton, TX.), Vol. 1, No. 1, Ed. 1, May 30, 1868, Last Accessed February 9, 2020, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth842415/), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History.

[185] "Denton," *Galveston Daily News* (Galveston, TX) March 16, 1869.

[186] *Ibid*.

punishment.[187] Upon his arrival into Denton, Crawford was chained to a street post as a large mob gathered on the town square to scream threats and insults in his direction. As onlookers demanded that he be "lashed and burned at the post," Crawford repeatedly professed his innocence and refused to admit to the assault.[188] He remained chained to the post throughout the day so that he could be further assaulted by all who passed by. Later that evening, officials relocated Crawford to his accuser's kitchen where he was tortured until the early morning hours and forced to confess to the rape before Newland reportedly shot him dead.[189]

Locals who reported the incident to out-of-town publications went out of their way to highlight how Crawford "suffered a great deal" before his death.[190] In the fall following the murder of George Crawford, another freedman named Charles was shot and killed in a small town just twenty-five miles west of Denton for calling a white identifying man a liar in public.[191] Similar incidents of vigilante justice and noted instances of Ku Klux terrorism increased in frequency and viciousness throughout Denton County in these early years immediately following the war.[192] The fact that many North Texas publications were completely silent on the existence of a local Ku Klux Klan makes it difficult to detail the full extent to which the Reconstruction order had permeated Denton County, but their presence and dominance in the North Texas region is nonetheless certain. After a Klansman admitted his membership and named numerous others while under oath in neighboring Collin County in the spring of 1872, North Texan citizens

[187] "Denton," *Galveston Daily News*.
[188] *Ibid*.
[189] *Ibid*.
[190] "Denton," *Galveston Daily News* (Galveston, TX) March 16, 1869.
[191] "Negro Shot in Gut," *Galveston Daily News* (Galveston, Texas) October 9, 1869.
[192] "Last Saturday Morning…," *The Dallas Herald*, September 18, 1869; Bates, *History Denton*, 387: The same summer that Crawford was murdered, three bodies were found hanging from a pole rig set up as if to roast an animal and two others were hung from tree limbs outside of a small community just south of Denton. Local reports suggested the horse thieves were rightfully hung by vigilantes. Denton County residents attributed the murders to the Ku Klux "working" the area.

criticized the press for their "stereotypical denials" of the order.[193] This disregard for Reformation laws and unwavering dedication to white supremacist ideals was commonplace in Denton County. Prominent residents referred to African American persons by their former auction values, openly mocked their pursuits of suffrage and equality with disdain, and violently opposed their access to public education.[194] This behavior was collectively indicative of the local neo-Confederate population's commitment to establishing the Kantian cosmopolis promised to them by the theo-myth of whiteness' unstoppable progress.

During the mid-1870s, federal Reconstruction efforts dramatically waned in the South as a result of underfunding. The minimal protection that federal mandates had offered African American persons in Denton County was under constant threat, as the local neo-Confederates in charge worked to ensure their continued subjugation and oppression. Nearly a decade after the end of the Civil War and African American children were still without access to public schooling. In 1876, local freedmen Anthony Hembry, West Hampton, and Sterling Johnson, the latter of whom was a federally appointed Reconstruction official for Denton County had petitioned county Judge C.C. Scruggs to provide educational opportunity for the at least twenty-five local school aged children in need.[195] In response, Judge Scruggs ordered the formation of "Colored School #17" and appointed the three African American men as trustees.[196] Anthony Hembry was twenty-one-years-old at the time, married with two children, and had his own

[193] "When a man tells us…," *McKinney Messenger* (McKinney, TX) March 16, 1872.

[194] Bates, *History Denton*, 394.

[195] School Records of Denton County, Records of County Judge 1876 to 1890, Denton County Historical Commission Office, Denton, Texas; as found in: Letitia deBurgos, "Quakertown 1870-1922," (Denton: Denton County Historical Commission, 1991) 9, 71, 73-74; "Pilot Point Reunion Inspires Old Settler to Historic Reminiscences," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), August 15, 1922.

[196] *Ibid*.

homestead in Denton.[197] West Hampton, who was twenty-five when he was appointed, still lived and worked on the homestead of Mattie Paine where he had been enslaved before the war by the late Confederate veteran Randolph Paine.[198] At forty-one-years old, Sterling Johnson, the Reconstruction official, was the eldest of the three trustees appointed.[199] Johnson had been brought to Texas from Mississippi in 1858 by the man who had enslaved him.[200] When voter registration opened in 1867, Johnson was the third name on the Denton County roster and subsequently, the first African American person in the county to enact their suffrage rights after emancipation.[201] Shortly after Johnson arrived in Texas, he met his wife Emily, who was born into slavery in Kentucky. At twelve years old, Emily had been raped, likely by the man who

[197] Anthony Hembry, *1880 U.S. Census*; Census Place: Precinct 3, Denton, Texas; Roll: *1300*; Page: 118C; Enumeration District: *105*; as found on Ancestry.com, Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/19753740?h=afa1d6&utm_campaign=bandido-webparts&utm_source=post-share-modal&utm_medium=copy-url).

[198] Mattie Paine, 1880 U. S. Census; *Denton, Texas*; Roll: 1300; Page: 45B; Enumeration District: 102 ; as found on Ancestry.com, Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1880usfedcen&indiv=try&h=40412647&nreg=1); Randolph Paine, *Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Texas*; Series Number: M323; Roll: 13*;* as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?dbid=2322&h=10510020&indiv=try&o_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=7163&nreg=1); Randolph Paine, *1860 U.S. Census*, Denton County, Texas, *Slave schedules of the eighth census of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration: 1965), microfilm publication M653 roll 1309: Last Accessed February 19, 2019, (https://archive.org/details/populationschedu1309unix/mode/2up)*;* Decades later, Randolph's son John Paine later made a large contribution to a Denton Confederate Monument: See Appendix III.

[199] *Texas Voter Registration Lists 1867-1869* , Microfilm, 12 rolls, Texas State Library and Archives Commission, Austin, Texas; as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=2274&h=46418&usePUB=true&_phsrc=ZrZ3126&_phstart=successSource&requr=2550866976735232&ur=0&lang=en-US&requr=2550866976735232&ur=0&lang=en-US).

[200] *Ibid*.

[201] *Texas Voter Registration Lists 1867-1869* , Microfilm, 12 rolls, Texas State Library and Archives Commission, Austin, Texas; as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=2274&h=46418&usePUB=true&_phsrc=ZrZ3126&_phstart=successSource&requr=2550866976735232&ur=0&lang=en-US&requr=2550866976735232&ur=0&lang=en-US).

enslaved her, which resulted in the birth of her daughter, Adeline.[202] By 1870, Sterling and Emily were married and young Adeline had adopted Johnson's last name.[203] Considering Johnson's status as a federal Reconstruction official, his tendency to engage politically, and his interest in securing an education for young Adeline, it is likely that he was the instigator of the initiative to pressure Denton County officials into affording African American children access to public education in accordance with federal law. This process, however, would not be easy.

Less than two weeks after Judge Scruggs ordered the formation of Colored School #17 in October 1876, Hembry, Hampton and Johnson were all stripped of their trustee positions. Writing only in his notes that they had "wholly failed and refused to perform the duties of trustees," Scruggs immediately replaced them with three prominent neo-Confederates: John M. McNeil, William H. Mounts, and Confederate veteran Phillip Minor.[204] According to the recollections of federally ousted Denton County Sheriff Williams, Judge Scruggs' account in the

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[202] Sterling Johnson, *1870 U. S. Census*: *Precinct 1 Denton, Denton, Texas*; Roll: M593_1582; Page: 117B; Family History Library Film: 553081; as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1870usfedcen&indiv=try&h=10799981&requr=2550866976735232&ur=0&lang=en-US). Because Emily was twelve years old at the time of Adeline's birth, it would have been impossible for Emily to give consent to sex, regardless the age of her partner. Additionally, the fact that she was also enslaved at the time of her pregnancy, and that she gave birth to a child described in the census as "mulatto," suggests that she was raped by a Euro-settler-colonizer, most likely the one who enslaved her. See Deborah Gray White's seminal monograph *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South*.

[203] *Ibid*.

[204] School Records of Denton County, Records of County Judge 1876 to 1890, Denton County Historical Commission Office, Denton, Texas; as found in: Letitia deBurgos, "Quakertown 1870-1922," (Denton: Denton County Historical Commission, 1991) 9, 71, 73-74; John M. McNeil, *1870 U. S. Census*: *Precinct 1 Denton, Denton, Texas*; Roll: M593_1582; Page: 117B; Family History Library Film: 553081; as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?dbid=7163&h=14469640&indiv=try&o_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=7667&requr=2550866976735232&ur=0&lang=en-US); William H. Mounts, *1870 U. S. Census*, Precinct 1 Denton, Denton, Texas; Roll: M593_1582; Page: 116A; Family History Library Film: 553081; as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?dbid=7163&h=14469605&indiv=try&o_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=7667&requr=2550866976735232&ur=0&lang=en-US); Phillip Minor, *1880 U. S. Census*, Census Place: Denton, Denton, Texas; Roll: 1300; Page: 1B; Enumeration District: 100; as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?dbid=6742&h=40411425&indiv=try&o_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=7163&nreg=1); Philip

official record wasn't exactly the whole story. Williams' reported decades later that the local "Ku Klux organization" had been thoroughly unnerved by Sterling Johnson's Reconstruction appointment and instigations of African American activism within the county.[205] As a result, the local order attacked and whipped Johnson to such an egregious degree that he remained completely crippled afterwards and ultimately died after several years of suffering from his injuries.[206] Wes Hampton, who was also ousted from his trustee position by Judge Scruggs, completely disappeared from public record after Sterling was attacked. Anthony Hembry remained local but was forced to temporarily cease his advocacy efforts for the children in his community.

The newly appointed board of trustees also failed to open Colored School #17 and the effort remained stagnate until August 1878 when Hembry took up the campaign again with a second petition to Judge Scruggs, who ultimately reauthorized the school along with a meager assignment of funds and a new board of trustees again comprised of three African American residents including Hembry. Thirteen years after the Civil War's end, eight years after the Freedmen's Bureau concluded Reconstruction efforts in Texas, and two years after Sterling

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Minor, *Civil War Muster Rolls index Cards, 1838-1900,* Austin, Texas: Texas State Library and Archives Commission, as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?dbid=2059&h=112309&indiv=try&o_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=6742&requr=9288674231746561&ur=0&lang=en-US).

[205] "Pilot Point Reunion Inspires Old Settler to Historic Reminiscences," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), August 15, 1922; Sterling Johnson, *1880 U. S. Census*: Census Place: Precinct 1, Denton, Texas; Roll: 1300; Page: 11A; Enumeration District: *100,* as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?dbid=6742&h=7467384&indiv=try&o_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=7163&nreg=1).

[206] *Ibid.*; Emily Johnson, *Texas, U.S., Select County Marriage Index, 1837-1965*, as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed September 21, 2021, (https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/25873441?h=768a1b&utm_campaign=bandido-webparts&utm_source=post-share-modal&utm_medium=copy-url). The 1880 Census reflects the injuries that the Klan inflicted on Johnson, as reported by Sheriff C. A. Williams decades later. Johnson's wife Emily remarried in 1886 to a man named Rufus Day. This means that Johnson died sometime after 1880 when he is counted as "crippled" on the federal census and before 1886 when Emily remarried.

Johnson had been maimed by the local Ku Klux Klan for his efforts, and African American children in Denton finally had their own school.[207] Despite federal orders and the presence of Reconstruction officials in Denton County, men like Judge Scruggs and his neo-Confederate appointees were determined to squash progress for local freedpersons so as to sustain their efforts to build the Kantian cosmopolis wherein there could be no place for African Americans who could read or write.

Even the establishment of Colored School #17, however, did not create instant opportunity for all of the African American children in Denton County. According to the recollections of William Evelyn Woods, whose father had been emancipated in Denton, African American children and women were particularly vulnerable in the region for several decades following the end of the Civil War. As late as 1880, many continued to serve in the homes of settler-colonizers for pay that was beyond meager at best, and they endured highly abusive environments wrought with suspicion and accusation.[208] Additionally, there is considerable evidence that many children were still held in bondage in Denton for years after the federal government ended legal slavery. For example, in 1860, Minister Elisha Chinn held two persons in bondage at his "Chinn Chapel campground" about ten miles southeast of the city of Denton.[209] Chinn and other Protestant settler-colonizers had lived and worshiped together at this religious commune which existed long before the start of the Civil War for decades.[210] Alice Chinn had

[207] County Judge School Records of Denton County, 1876 to 1890, Denton County Historical Commission Office, Denton, Texas; as found in: Letitia deBurgos, "Quakertown 1870-1922," (Denton: Denton County Historical Commission, 1991), 9, 71-74.

[208] Will Woods, "Oral History" in Letitia deBurgos, *Quakertown 1870-1922*, (Denton: Denton County Historical Commission, 1991), 146.

[209] Bates, *History Denton*, 74; Elisha Chinn, *1860 U.S. Census*, Denton County, Texas, *Slave schedules of the eighth census of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration: 1965), microfilm publication M653 roll 1309: Last Accessed February 19, 2019, *(*https://archive.org/details/populationschedu1309unix/mode/2up).

[210] Bates, *History Denton*, 74.

been born into bondage at Chinn Chapel just after the war's end and was then placed as an infant into the home of Joseph Welty Jr., son of Denton Confederate veteran John C. Welty.[211] Alice was then held in bondage at the Welty homestead for her entire childhood, still listed as a "servant" at the age of 20 on the federal census of 1880 more than fifteen years after the Emancipation Proclamation.[212] Similarly, prominent Denton physician Henry Owsley and his wife Louisiana claimed two young African American children as "servants" in their Denton home on the 1880 federal census: twelve-year-old Thomas Tanneyhill and ten-year-old Bell Musick.[213] There is no evidence that Thomas' parents lived in Texas and he did not live in the Owsley home prior to 1870 so he must have been brought in from out of state at a very young age. Belle, however, was listed on the 1870 census as an infant living with her three pre-adolescent sisters and mother Patsy, who was listed as a "servant" in the home of Denton County stock raiser James D. McConnel.[214] Though her older siblings remained with their mother Patsy in the McConnel home, the Owsleys took Belle on as a "servant" in their home while she was

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[211] Joseph Welty Jr, *1880 U. S. Census*, Denton, Texas; Roll: 1300; Page: 36C; Enumeration District: 102; as found on Ancestry.com, Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?dbid=6742&h=6719105&indiv=try&o_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=7667&nreg=1); Joseph Welty Jr, *Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Mississippi*; Series Number: *M269*; Roll: *286;* as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?dbid=2322&h=76984540&indiv=try&o_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=7667&nreg=1); John C. Welty, *1860 U. S. Census*, Northern Division, Tippah, Mississippi; Page: 545; Family History Library Film: 803592, as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?dbid=7667&h=38869290&indiv=try&o_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=8054&requr=2550866976735232&ur=0&lang=en-US); Elisha Chinn, *1860 U.S. Census*, Denton County, Texas, *Slave schedules of the eighth census of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration: 1965), microfilm publication M653 roll 1309: Last Accessed February 19, 2019, (https://archive.org/details/populationschedu1309unix/mode/2up).

[212] *Ibid*.

[213] Bell Musick, *1880 U. S. Census*, Denton, Denton, Texas; Roll: 1300; Page: 29B; Enumeration District: 102; as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=6742&h=6719003&usePUB=true&_phsrc=yLi8&_phstart=successSource&nreg=1).

[214] Bell Musick, *1880 U. S. Census*, Denton, Denton, Texas; Roll: 1300; Page: 29B; Enumeration District: 102; as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=6742&h=6719003&usePUB=true&_phsrc=yLi8&_phstart=successSource&nreg=1).

still a very young adolescent. While it is possible that Patsy willingly sent her youngest child still less than nine-years-old to work as a 'servant' in a different household dozens of miles away, it is also possible that Belle was taken from her mother and either 'gifted' or 'sold' to the Owsleys. Considering the substantial evidence that other African American children were enslaved in Denton well after the Civil War, it is arguable that the latter scenario is also far more likely.

In another example of post-war Denton County human trafficking and enslavement of children, farmer Oliver Bonner held fourteen-year-old Mealy Bonner in bondage in his home until at least 1880.[215] In 1850, Oliver Bonner had lived with his brother William and father Jonathan in Chambers County, Alabama, where the family enslaved twenty-seven persons on their plantation. [216] As the eldest son, William Bonner inherited his father's estate in 1856 and in 1860, claimed to hold eighteen people in bondage on the same land.[217] Sometime after 1870, Oliver Bonner moved his family to Arkansas and then to Denton County Texas.[218] During this

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[215] Mealey Bonner, *1880 U.S. Census*, Precinct 2, Denton, Texas; Roll: 1300; Page: 84C; Enumeration District: 104, as found on Ancestry.com, Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=6742&h=7470116&usePUB=true&_phsrc=Sbt10&_phstart=successSource&nreg=1&nreg=1).

[216] Jonathan Bonner, *1850 U.S.* Census, District 19 and A Half, Chambers, Alabama; Roll: 2; Page: 388a, as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed September 21, 2021, (https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/25874073?h=e05f99&utm_campaign=bandido-webparts&utm_source=post-share-modal&utm_medium=copy-url).

[217] Jonathan Bonner, *Find a Grave Index, 1600s-Current* [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA, as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed on September 21, 2021, (https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/25874404?h=bb277c&utm_campaign=bandido-webparts&utm_source=post-share-modal&utm_medium=copy-url); William T. Bonner, *1860 U.S. Census*, Northern Division, Chambers, Alabama; Page: 731; Family History Library Film: 803004, as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?dbid=7667&h=12979624&indiv=try&o_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=8054&requr=2550866976735232&ur=0&lang=en-US); William T. Bonner, *Eighth Census of the United States 1860 - Slave Schedules*, Series Number: M653; Record Group: Records of the Bureau of the Census; Record Group Number: 29; as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/25945015?h=1e1b98&utm_campaign=bandido-webparts&utm_source=post-share-modal&utm_medium=copy-url).

[218] Oliver Bonner, *1870 U.S. Census*: Sugar Creek, Scott, Arkansas; Roll: M593_63; Page: 640B, as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed on Sept. 1, 2021, (https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/25874442?h=23a167&utm_campaign=bandido-webparts&utm_source=post-share-modal&utm_medium=copy-url); Oliver Bonner, *1880 U.S. Census*: Precinct 2, Denton, Texas; Roll: 1300;

time, Oliver Bonner's brother William still had dozens of "servants" and "farm hands" on his Alabama plantation, most of whom had been listed as "slaves" on census schedules prior to the Civil War.[219] In 1880, however, several of the children that had been identified on William Bonner's 1870 census as "farm hands" working alongside their parents on Bonner's plantation were no longer accounted for in the federal record.[220] At least two of these young children correlated to the same age and gender as Mealy who then appeared on the 1880 census in the Denton County home of William Bonner's brother, Oliver Bonner.[221] It is quite possible and most likely that Oliver Bonner obtained Mealy from his brother William before he left Alabama for Denton County Texas between 1870 and 1880.

There is an abundance of census evidence to suggest that trafficking these very young African American children born shortly before, during, or after the war through Denton County was a highly common activity among some of the most elite members of the community. Another example of this child trafficking for the purposes of post-war enslavement is Ann Blount. Born in 1861 at the start of the war, Ann was given the surname of neo-Confederate

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Page: 84C; Enumeration District: 104, as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/25874448?h=d79e48&utm_campaign=bandido-webparts&utm_source=post-share-modal&utm_medium=copy-url).

[219] William T. Bonner, *1870 U.S. Census*: Beat 7, Chambers, Alabama; Roll: M593_6; Page: 89A, as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed on Sept. 1, 2021, (https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/25874466?h=0837e4&utm_campaign=bandido-webparts&utm_source=post-share-modal&utm_medium=copy-url); William T. Bonner, Eighth Census of the United States *1860 - Slave Schedules*, Series Number: M653; Record Group: Records of the Bureau of the Census; Record Group Number: 29; as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/25945015?h=1e1b98&utm_campaign=bandido-webparts&utm_source=post-share-modal&utm_medium=copy-url).

[220] *Ibid*; William Bonner, *1880 U.S. Census*: Bluffton, Chambers, Alabama; Roll: 5; Page: 91A; Enumeration District: 020, as listed on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/25874476?h=0a56be&utm_campaign=bandido-webparts&utm_source=post-share-modal&utm_medium=copy-url).

[221] *Ibid*; Oliver Bonner, *1880 U.S. Census*: Precinct 2, Denton, Texas; Roll: 1300; Page: 84C; Enumeration District: 104, as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/25874448?h=d79e48&utm_campaign=bandido-webparts&utm_source=post-share-modal&utm_medium=copy-url).

Texas Senator J. M. Blount who claimed ownership of several people on the 1860 federal census schedules in Denton County and was subsequently federally removed from office for his post-war obstructionist efforts.[222] At just nine-years-old, Ann Blount served as a "dressing maid" for the children of Confederate veteran Fines Ewing Piner and his wife Henrietta.[223] Another example is six-year-old Dollie Walden. Born more than a decade after emancipation, young Dollie was listed as a "servant" in the home of Denton Mayor and Confederate veteran Calvin L. Herbert on the 1880 census.[224]

Confined to the homes of their post-war captors, these children were enslaved in Denton County well after Emancipation was declared by the U.S. government. Though the majority lived and labored among educated white children, all had been denied access to the school created just for them and as a result, every one of them was illiterate. Additionally, none of these children can be accounted for in federal census data beyond 1880. They all simply disappear. One likely explanation for this is that railroad expansion into the region had led to an explosion in Denton

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[222] Bates, *History Denton*, 316; J. M. Blount, *1860 U.S. Census*, Denton County, Texas, *Slave schedules of the eighth census of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration: 1965), microfilm publication M653 roll 1309: Last Accessed February 19, 2019, (https://archive.org/details/populationschedu1309unix/mode/2up).

[223] F. E. Piner, *1870 U.S. Census*, Precinct 1 Denton, Denton, Texas; Roll: M593_1582; Page: 120A; Family History Library Film: 553081*;* as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1870usfedcen&indiv=try&h=5108689&requr=2550866976735232&ur=0&lang=en-US); F. E. Piner, National Park Service, *U.S. Civil War Soldiers, 1861-1865*, as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?dbid=1138&h=6196348&indiv=try&o_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=7163&requr=9288674231746560&ur=0&lang=en-US).

[224] Bates, *History Denton*, 271; Dollie Walden, *1880 U.S. Census*, *Denton, Denton, Texas*; Roll: *1300*; Page: *29B*; Enumeration District: *102;* as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=6742&h=10593537&usePUB=true&_phsrc=yLi25&_phstart=successSource&nreg=1); Calvin L Herbert, *U.S., Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1861-1865,* as found on Ancestry.com: Last Accessed January 15, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?dbid=1555&h=46693&indiv=try&o_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=6742&requr=281474977005569&ur=0&lang=en-US).

County's population. Denton was quickly developing into a booming agricultural hub which further attracted Euro-settler-colonizers from the upper south and Midwest. By 1880, 2,558 people lived in Denton County, more than double the previous decade.[225] This influx of settler-colonizers from pro-union states may have played a role in diminishing if not ending the post-war trafficking and slavery that had been sustained in the area up until this time. Although further research into these activities is thoroughly warranted, the examples herein nonetheless account for the continuation and existence of slavery decades after Emancipation. Further, they reveal the type of exceptionalism that neo-Confederates in Denton bestowed upon themselves in their pursuit of establishing the theo-mythical utopian vision of a pure white society sustained by a subservient African American population.

Although there is no documentable evidence that slavery continued in Denton County after 1880, theological white supremacy nonetheless continued to reign in the area by means of brutal force and intimidation well throughout the last two decades of the nineteenth century. As neo-Confederates in Denton County communities toiled to restore their lost progress towards the cosmopolis so egregiously set back by federal Reconstruction efforts, freedpersons and their descendants continued to pay the price. Though the city of Denton had been established by Euro-settler-colonizers who self-identified as "zealous and fervent" Christians, these descendants of Zion frequently used campaigns of terror to maintain social control over those who disturbed their utopian vision.[226] Sometimes, however, just the presence of African Americans was enough to inspire violent reactions. This is best evidenced by the events that took place on Christmas 1885. After a daylong holiday celebration on the streets of Lewisville, a mob of local settler-

[225] *Handbook Online,* "DENTON COUNTY."
[226] Bates, *History Denton*, 43, 53, 351, 382.

colonizers terrorized an entire congregation of African American persons as they conducted a holiday festival in a church of their own.[227] The mob forced all of the Congregants out of their church and into the street where the men were reportedly beaten and "abused" and the women were "scandalized" until the festival was destroyed and the crowd completely dispersed.[228] There were no reports of repercussions or charges filed against the assailants.[229]

Less than one year after the Lewisville attack, in the small community of Aubrey just twelve miles north of the city of Denton, a settler-colonizer shot freedman Jack Davis to death in the middle of the street in front of multiple witnesses after Davis insinuated that he was soon to be elected the first "Negro Constable" in Denton County.[230] The murderer was allowed to leave town without pursuit by local authorities.[231] In another incident, in 1891, the small rural Denton County settlement at Shiloh went into total uproar after a couple of local plantation owners began "importing" formerly enslaved farm laborers.[232] The farmer's neighbors were livid that their white utopian vision had been tainted, as many reported that they had moved to the community to escape the "blight" of freed "coloreds."[233] Although threats against the laborers had been reported for weeks, it was only after a plantation owner began to receive anonymous threats against his life that a local Baptist minister intervened and convinced the farmers involved to "dispose" of their "imported" laborers "for the sake of peace."[234] These types of vigilante campaigns of neighborly violence for the sake of protecting the promise of whiteness'

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[227] "Lewisville, Frolicsome Countrymen," *Galveston Daily news* (Galveston, TX) December 27, 1885.

[228] *Ibid*.

[229] *Ibid*.

[230] "Denton - A Negro Shot and Killed," *Galveston Daily news* (Galveston, TX) September 9, 1886.

[231] *Ibid*.

[232] "Color Line in Denton," *Dallas Morning News* (Dallas, TX) January 4, 1892.

[233] *Ibid*. It is notable that the term "blight" was used in reference to newly freed persons nearly a century before the Johnson and Nixon administrations used the term in reference to marginalized communities in public campaigns promoting Urban Renewal (gentrification) in the 1960s.

[234] "Color Line in Denton," *Dallas Morning News* (Dallas, TX) January 4, 1892.

progress as outlined in the theo-myth of the Kantian cosmopolis perpetually on the horizon continued throughout Denton County well into the end of the nineteenth century, though none were more effective than those campaigns enacted by the local Ku Klux Klan.

After seven human skulls were found in a shallow grave along Denton Creek during the summer of 1897, local reports indicated that they belonged to Klan Victims "based on particles of that organization" that were left at the site.[235] Several months later, local "White Cappers" erected a large placard in the center of an African American neighborhood in Pilot Point, a small community just a few miles north of the city of Denton. The Klan's message was clear:

> Warning Mr. Nigger:
> Don't Let the Sun Go Down on you on the 20th of this month in this town.
> Take Warning. Go and Go quick.
> Yours for Business.
>
> - WHITE CAPPERS[236]

Several African American residents in Pilot Point reportedly received similar personal threats in written form. No violence was reported thereafter, suggesting that the Klan had accomplished its goal. News updates sent out from the community proudly boasted that, "for the first time in years there was not a single negro on the street."[237] Nearly half a century after the Zion congregation had established themselves as the leading figures in local religion and politics, their endeavor to build a white utopia of divine providence must have felt closer than ever before. African American populations in Denton County had been re-subjugated through persistent campaigns of violence and intimidation as an evolving civic society defined by the theo-myth of whiteness flourished. Together, a pro-Confederate collective of white identifying Protestants had built what

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[235] "Human Skulls Found," *Denton County News* (Denton, TX) July 1, 1897, "Ku Klux Klan" vertical file; citing Emily Fowler Library.

[236] "Whitecaps at Pilot Point," *Dallas Morning News* (Dallas, TX) August 21, 1898.

[237] *Ibid*.

they believed was an ideal ultra-moral community for themselves, and progress seemed unstoppable. The city of Denton and the county at large surely must have appeared to be the cosmopolis of prophetic promise emerging on the horizon of a new promised era.

Chapter 3

Myth, Memory, and Ku Klux Konfederatism

"Yes, it is a monument unique in history, but does it honor,
as a monument should, the memory of anyone?"[238]

- Mildred Rutherford, UDC Historian General, 1914

By 1900, Denton County had seen nearly half a century of growth, and the white identifying body-politic became increasingly determined to affirm itself among other flourishing North Texas communities. By this time, Denton's most elite residents had become fully immersed in romanticized neo-Confederate mythical memories and counter-historical narratives underscored by a theology of white supremacy that both minimized the past atrocities committed by Euro-settler-colonizers against indigenous and African American people and perpetuated white progress at the continued expense of marginalized communities. After the turn of the twentieth century, an elite class was highly mobilized around efforts to sustain the theo-mythical power of whiteness via the employment of commemorations which served to legitimize their theo-mythical historical memories. In her 2015 master's thesis, "Removing the Danger in a Business Way: The History and Memory of Quakertown, Denton, TX," historian Chelsea Stallings describes this particular period of Denton's history as one wherein a pervasive "white supremacist vision" of "Anglo-Saxon dominance" was inspired by Lost Cause narratives that heroized Confederate culture.[239] While Stallings' analysis made it abundantly clear that

[238] Mildred L. Rutherford, *Wrongs of History Righted* (Savannah: United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1914), 16.

[239] Chelsea Stallings, "Removing the Danger in a Business Way: The History and Memory of Quakertown, Denton, TX," (Master's Thesis, University of North Texas, 2015), 72, 87, Last Accessed January 14 , 2017 (https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc804840/), University of North Texas Libraries, UNT Digital Library.

Confederate culture unquestionably pervaded throughout Denton in the early twentieth century, what has not yet been addressed is how the historical memories exploited by neo-Confederates in the region were rooted in an ancient theo-mythological drama. Further historical and scholarly analysis of the public commemorations of white redemption employed in Denton County during the first two decades of the twentieth century reveals the theo-myth as the driving force behind this pervasive white supremacist vision.

The elite of Denton County during the early 1900s were committed to valorizing men who fought to ensure white supremacy in the South, especially those willing to do so in the name of Christian progress. One of the earliest examples of this kind of heroization of violent white savior figures occurred in the city of Denton during the summer of 1900. Comprised of the surviving Euro-settler-colonizers to first arrive in the region, many of whom were Confederate veterans, the county's Old Settlers' Association (OSA) decided to locate the remains of John B. Denton, whose corpse had never been accounted for after he was killed sixty years earlier during an unprovoked attack against the indigenous tribes at Village Creek. Despite the fact that the city and county were already named in his honor, the local white elite were so infatuated with Denton's legacy that they wanted to entomb him on the county courthouse lawn at the center of the town square. The OSA revered Denton as a martyred minister-patriot who sacrificed himself to defend the area against "the ravages of the Indians."[240] For these men, Denton was the ultimate exemplification of the ideals of theological white supremacy upon which the county was founded, and they sought to commemorate his legacy in a manner that would inspire future generations to act in his stead. As two of only fifty-one men in the county who self admittedly enslaved kidnapped African persons forty years earlier, Confederate veterans John W. Gober,

[240] Stallings, "Removing the Danger," 23-24; Bates, *History Denton*, 24.

and C. C. Daugherty were considered among the most prominent and respected class of citizens in Denton, and were subsequently entrusted to lead the search for Denton's skeletal remains.[241] Confederate veteran Reverend William Allen was appointed to "secure the evidence" of Denton's heroic deeds, which he compiled later that year into a pseudo-historical account entitled, "The Life and Times of Captain John B. Denton."[242] Citing more legend than evidence, Allen's narrative asserts that Denton's body was first buried on the banks of Oliver Creek shortly after his death in 1841 until it was exhumed by local farmer John Chisum twenty years later, who claimed that he then reburied Denton at his Ranch, where the body remained until Chisum unearthed it a second time, and provided it to the OSA for its final and third burial on the Denton County courthouse lawn in 1901.[243]

In late November that year, John B. Denton was officially memorialized as a "hero" to Denton's community for his voluntary participation in the massacre of Village Creek indigenous tribes in nearby Tarrant County half a century prior.[244] Denton County residents traveled far and wide to fill every floor of the county courthouse for a massive public ceremony in honor of a man simultaneously endeared as a "great revivalist of the Methodist Church."[245] The remains presented as Denton's were buried in the southeast corner of the courthouse lawn and a tombstone was simultaneously erected as an enduring testament to his self-sacrifice for the

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[241] Bates, *History Denton*, 23-24, 102, 115; John W. Gober, 1860 U.S. Census, Denton County, Texas, *Slave schedules of the eighth census of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration: 1965), microfilm publication M653 roll 1309: Last Accessed February 19, 2019, (https://archive.org/details/populationschedu1309unix/mode/2up); C. C. Daugherty, 1860 U.S. Census, Denton County, Texas, *Slave schedules of the eighth census of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration: 1965), microfilm publication M653 roll 1309: Last Accessed February 19, 2019, (https://archive.org/details/populationschedu1309unix/mode/2up).

[242] Bates, *History Denton*, 23-24.

[243] *Ibid*., 25; *Handbook Online,* "DENTON, JOHN BUNYAN."

[244] Bates, *History Denton*, 177, 324; *Handbook Online, "*VILLAGE CREEK."

[245] Bates, *History Denton*, 18, 24, 177.

"public good."[246] In one of the largest gatherings to take place on the courthouse square in the county's history up until that point, Denton was honored as a man who fought valiantly against "the wild tribes of Indians that infested the Texas frontier."[247] Reverend Allen, who had recently consecrated Denton's legend as historical fact, closed the burial ceremony with a poem in the late minister's honor:

> Garlands of fame around him still have clung,
> And still will cling.
> He is an anthem on the lips and heart,
> A song engraved, and which will never part
> From souls that sing.[248]

While these words reflected genuine sentiment, considering the several decades that had passed between his death and the supposed recovery of Denton's body, the skeletal remains buried that day at the center of Denton were very unlikely to have belonged to the man memorialized. It is unknown whether the Confederate veterans in charge of securing Denton's body intentionally deceived the local community or if they truly believed that they had found his bones. What is certain is that the commemoration set the tone for the next quarter century of development in Denton County as a whole, one wherein white men would be repeatedly valorized for violent acts committed against indigenous and African American people. However, after the supposed reburial of John B. Denton on the county courthouse lawn at the center of the city square in 1901, it was white women who primarily carried the perpetuating torch of theo-mythical memory in hopes of finally establishing Denton as the white cosmopolis, the new Zion of prophetic promise.

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[246] Bates, *History Denton*, 177, 324.
[247] *Ibid.*, 177, 324.
[248] *Ibid.*, 26.

In her 2003 book, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*, historian Karen Cox details how members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) often served as the leading preservationists of southern mythologies. As members of a white heritage organization based on blood lineage from Southern men whom they regarded as heroic social elites, the "power and influence" that these women held over history ensured their own status and privilege within their respective communities.[249] Raised to reflect upon Reconstruction as the "South's tragic era," women of the UDC considered themselves uniquely obligated to defend the "Old South."[250] These efforts were first introduced in Denton during the summer of 1905, shortly after the Girls College of Industrial Arts (CIA) had been established, and Brazos County UDC member Mrs. K. V. Banks visited the burgeoning institution where her son, A. L. Banks was the Dean of Students.[251] Also on staff that summer was Katie Daffan, a close friend of the Banks family but more importantly, the daughter of notorious self-proclaimed Texas Reconstruction Klansman, Lawrence Daffan.[252] At the behest of the Banks family, Katie Daffan personally organized Denton's UDC chapter in the county courthouse that summer which was named in her honor.[253] During its early formative years, the Katie Daffan UDC chapter's activities were sparse but as a "staunch supporter of the Old South," one of its most ardent early members, Mrs. C.C. Yancey was determined to redeem what she

[249] Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), Kindle Edition, 38.

[250] *Ibid.*, 37-28.

[251] *Handbook Online,* "DENTON COUNTY;" Denton County UDC, *Historical Sketch of the Katie Daffan Chapter*, (Self Published: Denton, 1918), *5.* The College of Industrial Arts is now known as Texas Woman's University.

[252] Denton County UDC, *Historical Sketch, 5*; *Handbook of Texas Online*, Andrea Ivie Webb, "DAFFAN, LAWRENCE AYLETT," Last Accessed April 15, 2020, (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fda72).

[253] *Handbook Online,* "DAFFAN."

feared was a dying Protestant-Confederate vision in Denton.[254] For example, in 1909, Mrs. Yancey single-handedly convinced the local school board to rename all of Denton's public schools after Confederate military heroes.[255] The Central School became Robert E. Lee, the North Ward became Stonewall Jackson, and the West Ward became Sam Houston. This marked the beginning of white women's proactive efforts in a series of local commemorations of white supremacist heroes in Denton.

The following summer of 1910, Katie Daffan, the prominent Reconstruction Klansman's daughter from south Texas, returned to Denton and met with the local UDC to remind them of the chapter's "true purpose," and she encouraged them to erect a monument to the "Confederates of Denton County" in order to keep the "true" history of the South alive.[256] Katie Daffan was well acquainted with revisionist history efforts via her involvement with the Texas State Historical Association, which, at the time, was permeated by promoters of white supremacist mythologies.[257] As an example, W. D. Woods, Daffan's predecessor as Vice President of the organization, had frequently contributed articles to the association's quarterly journal that keenly valorized Confederate veterans and the First-Generation Ku Klux Klan, an order which he argued should be afforded "a great and prominent place in the history of the troublesome period of Reconstruction."[258] This sort of Reconstruction Klan heroism had evolved into a popular movement among an element of Southern traditionalists that were determined to preserve white

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[254] "Organizer of Country Clubs Leaves Texas for Georgia," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), October 12, 1954.

[255] Arthur J. Seely, Mrs. E. C. Wiley, Willie Brashears, *The History of Early Denton Schools and Robert E. Lee School 1871-1957* (Denton: 1957), 20-21, University of North Texas Libraries, Portal to Texas History, crediting Denton Independent School District, Last Accessed February 20, 2019, (texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth257183/m1/23/?q=yancey).

[256] "Happenings in Society," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), August 1, 1910.

[257] *Handbook Online,* "DAFFAN."

[258] W. D. Wood, "The Ku Klux Klan," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, vol. 9, no. 4 (1906), 262-68; crediting Emily Fowler Public Library Denton, Texas (Vertical File: "Ku Klux Klan).

supremacist heritage by way of apocalyptic, theo-mythical accounts of the decades immediately following the Civil War. While the members of Denton's Katie Daffan UDC chapter were similarly among some of the most zealous promoters of such efforts in North Texas, popular books and films from the time also helped to both perpetuate and normalize these ideologies.

In his 2018 article "America's Apocalyptic Literature of the Radical Right," sociologist Jeffrey Kaplan explores the common "apocalyptic millenarianism" expressed in the secular literature of this time.[259] Paralleling Paul Boyer's assessments regarding the rise in millenarianism leading up to the Civil War, Kaplan summarizes this rise in early twentieth century secular apocalyptic discourse as "reformist in nature" as evidenced by its consistent calls for "change and renewal."[260] Furthermore, he identifies Thomas Dixon Jr.'s 1905 novel, *The Clansman* as one of the most influential pieces of apocalyptic literature that was disseminated during this time.[261] Infamous for its lucid visions of the Reconstruction Era as a time of "racial apocalypse," the book portrayed freedmen as "stupid, lustful, and bestial creatures" who preyed upon the South's "innocent white womanhood."[262] In a similar pseudo-historical vein, Dixon portrayed First-Generation Ku Klux Klansmen in the novel as valiant saviors of a victimized white population.

According to Kaplan, *The Clansman* was a "call to action" to Southern men who believed that the "white race" was endangered, and that only defensive acts in "favor of the Lord" would spare them from "apocalyptic" doom.[263] As a result of the noble Klansmen of the Reconstruction Era heeding this call to action at the close of the novel, whiteness achieved its redemptive return

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[259] Jeffrey Kaplan, "America's Apocalyptic Literature of the Radical Right," *International Sociology Journal* 33, no. 4 (July 2018): 503–522, 503; doi:10.1177/0268580918775583.

[260] *Ibid.*, 503, 506.

[261] *Ibid.*, 503, 506; Boyer, *Time*, 75, 80.

[262] Kaplan, "America's Apocalyptic Literature," 507.

[263] *Ibid.*, 506.

to a mythical "Golden Age" wherein "the world was as God created it," a white utopia "with happily servile African Americans to perform menial service tasks."[264] Inspired by the theo-mythical promise of whiteness' perfection, the novel flourished across the South with such immense success that it was soon adopted into a play. In December 1911, the Southern Amusement Company produced a showing of *The Clansman* at the Wright Opera House on Denton's downtown square, which was a prime location for the live performance of a racialized theo-mythology in honor of the First-Generation Ku Klux Klan considering that the building was erected by Confederate veteran W. C. Wright, who had died just a few years earlier in 1906.[265] Even more befitting, at the time of the performance, the opera house was under the purview of Wright's widow, Julia Wright, who was the daughter of John W. Gober, a prominent early settler-colonizer of Denton County and one of few who engaged in slavery before the war.[266] As the fruit of enslaved labor, the Wright Opera house couldn't have been a more apt venue for a stage performance of an apocalyptic narrative that glamorized the Reconstruction Era Klan as divinely sanctioned saviors of the white race, the Christian god's chosen people for a new holy land.

While dramatic performances celebrating the legacy of theological white supremacy like *The Clansman* were well appreciated and attended in North Texas, they weren't enough to satisfy the fervency of the Kattie Daffan UDC which was determined to bring about a divinely

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[264] Kaplan, "America's Apocalyptic Literature," 507.

[265] "Engagement of the Clansmen," *Record and Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), December 26, 1911; W. C. Wright Died Last Wednesday, clipping, 1906; Last Accessed December 15, 2019, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth29637/m1/1/), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History; crediting Denton Public Library.

[266] *Handbook*, Michael E. McClellan, "WRIGHT, WILLIAM CROW," Last Accessed April 15, 2020, (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fwr16); John Gober, *1860 U.S. Census*, Denton County, Texas, *Slave schedules of the eighth census of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration: 1965), microfilm publication M653 roll 1309, Last Accessed February 19, 2019, (https://archive.org/details/populationschedu1309unix/mode/2up).

promised utopian society. In early spring 1913, Denton's Katie Daffan UDC chapter announced that they had secured a $5000 contract with a monument company for a "county tribute to the Confederacy.[267] At the same time this monument fundraising effort was launched by the UDC, Denton's City Federation of Women's Clubs (City Federation) was established as the local manifestation of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs.[268] As a conglomerate organization of appointed representatives from Denton's assorted white women's clubs, such as various literary clubs, as well as other more civic oriented groups, the City Federation facilitated a formative body where elite women could rally their resources and work towards common goals.[269] Although Denton's UDC was not initially a delegated club in the City Federation, nearly half of the delegates assigned at its formation were UDC members who were appointed via their other club memberships.[270] With these delegates in place, the UDC facilitated significant influence over City Federation agendas and activities from the time of the organization's inception. For example, in May 1914, the City Federation published its first public bulletin which included a recommendation to the city of Denton from CIA professor C. N. Adkisson whose wife was the City Federation Secretary, their daughter a UDC member.[271] Adkisson suggested, "Why not make a public park and athletic field out of that district, just north of the business section, known as Quakertown?"[272] Quakertown was a thriving inner-city African American neighborhood

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[267] "UDC Contracts for Monument to Ex-Confederates," *Record and Chronicle* (Denton, TX) January 15, 1913; "UDC Accepts Plans for Raising Funds," *Record and Chronicle* (Denton, TX) October 23, 1913;

[268] City Federation of Women's Clubs, *History of First Sixteen Years of the City Federation* (Denton, TX: City Federation, 1929), 5-6.

[269] *Ibid*.

[270] *Ibid.*; See Appendix II for further UDC member analysis.

[271] "Daughters Prepare for Nov. 3 Tag Day," *Record and Chronicle* (Denton, TX) October 6, 1913: "Ruth Adkisson" was listed as an active UDC member assigned to monument fundraising activities; Charles N. Adkisson, *1910 U. S. Census*, Denton Ward 2, Denton, Texas; Roll: T624_1546; Page: 9A; Enumeration District: 0081; FHL microfilm: 1375559, as found on Ancestry.com, Last Accessed March 4, 2020, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=7884&h=27916462&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=PpR2&_phstart=successSource).

[272] Bulletin, "City Federation of Women's Clubs" (Denton: City Federation, 1914), 15: crediting Emily Fowler Public Library, Denton, Texas. CIA faculty member C. N. Adkisson first suggested the removal of

predominantly comprised of freedpersons and their descendants located just south of the College of Industrial Arts for white women (CIA). Just a few months prior to Adkisson's suggestion that the community be removed, Colored School #17, which Quakertown's African American residents had worked so hard to secure three decades prior, had mysteriously erupted in fire and burned to the ground.[273]

2. Katie Daffan UDC member Ruth Adkisson (right) poses in "blackface" with a fellow CIA student after performing in a 1913 CIA minstrel performance.[274]

Quakertown in a City Federation Bulletin in 1914 while his wife was secretary for the organization, and his daughter Ruth Adkisson was an active UDC member. This suggests that the women in the UDC collaborated in the removal of Quakertown at least five years before the removal campaign was made public, and three years before the Confederate monument was unveiled. The confederate monument campaign came first which inspired the Quakertown removal efforts, but the two campaigns were always related and initiated by the UDC / City Federation.

[273] "Negro Schoolhouse Burns in Quakertown," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) September 8, 1913: crediting Chelsea Stallings.

[274] College of Industrial Arts (Denton, TX), *The Daedalian*, 1913 Yearbook, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting Texas Woman's University, Last Accessed April 15, 2020, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth128996/m1/186/?q=%22ruth%20adkisson%22).

Stallings' 2015 thesis provides the most current in-depth account of Quakertown, whose success posed a determinative threat to the "white supremacist vision" at work in Denton.[275] Drawing heavily on the works of memory historians, particularly Pierre Nora, Stallings clarifies the misleading similarities between history and memory, differentiating the former as a static product of intellectualism which affords the past "analysis and criticism," and the latter as a temporal product defined by "spaces, gestures, images, and objects" that remain in a perpetual state of "evolution."[276] Highlighting the power of these symbolic forms, Stallings argues that the UDC's confederate monument campaign initiated a "historic metamorphosis of memory" that further empowered the ever-present "supremacist vision" of white Denton, and ultimately inspired the violent and forced removal of Quakertown's African American residents just a couple of years after the monument's establishment.[277]

Throughout their five-year monument campaign that began in early 1913, Denton's UDC members were highly engaged with and focused on local civic affairs via their City Federation delegations, and their public works were often inspired by the theological white supremacist beliefs that underscored the apocalyptic Reconstruction Era myths so popular in their time, which they frequently immersed themselves in. For instance, in 1915, when D.W. Griffith released *Birth of a Nation*, a screen-film reproduction of *The Clansman* novel, it was praised by North Texas newspapers for its portrayal of Reconstruction Era Klansmen in their "true light" of godliness.[278] When the film made its North Texas debut in Dallas, several prominent white elites from Denton made the fifty mile trip to be among the first to see it, including local church

[275] Stallings, "Removing the Danger," 57-58, 87.
[276] *Ibid.*, 300-303.
[277] *Ibid.*, 57-58, 87.
[278] "Amusements," *Dallas Morning News* (Dallas, Texas), October 15, 1915, 13.

pastors, as well as faculty from the CIA.[279] When the film was shown in Fort Worth, however, several of Denton's Katie Daffan UDC members traveled out of town for the debut.[280] By the time the film appeared in Denton at J. M. Vivion's Princess Theater in December, many of Denton's most influential elites had already imbibed its racialized apocalyptic messaging at least twice before, but the women of Denton's UDC were already particularly familiar with this kind of theo-mythical narrative of white redemption, as this was the foundational premise of their own organizational texts.

At the same time that several of Denton's UDC members had gone to Fort Worth to see *Birth of a Nation* in November 1915, the local chapter had begun studying *Wrongs of History Righted*, a pseudo-historical text written by the national UDC Historian, Mildred Lewis Rutherford.[281] The forty-page work, which claimed to offer a "true history" of the "war between the states" had been presented for critical examination at the national UDC convention the previous year in 1914.[282] In their studies of the text, Denton's Daughters learned that "slavery was no disgrace to the owner or the owned," as they were instructed that the people kidnapped from Africa had initially been "savage to the last degree," and as such, their reform under "rigid law" was "a strong argument for the civilizing power" of enslavement by Protestants.[283] According to Rutherford, slavery played no role "at all" in the events that led to the

[279] Bates, *History Denton*, 233; "Personal News," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) October 15, 1915.

[280] "Late Personal News," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) November 20, 1915. UDC and City Federation Members attended a *Birth of a Nation* screening in Fort Worth. Attendees included: Misses Jessie Davidson, Mrs. L. H. Schweer, Mrs. W. C. Edwards, Miss Irene Davidson, Miss Minnie Paschall, and Mrs. Curvier Lipscomb. See Appendix II and Appendix IV.

[281] "Denton Society and Club Happenings," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) November 20, 1915; "U.D.C. Meeting," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) November 27, 1915; "UDC Plan to Go to Dallas in Body for National Convention," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) October 20, 1916; "UDC Meeting Last Tuesday," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) May 23, 1916.

[282] Rutherford, *Wrongs of History Righted*, (Savannah: UDC, 1914), 6-7.

[283] *Ibid*., 14-15.

Confederacy's rebellion against the United States.[284] Furthermore, Rutherford claimed that human bondage was an ancient and "Puritan" custom designed to bring unfortunate and ignorant "souls to a knowledge of Jesus Christ," and she quoted several scriptures to justify the enslavement of African Americans.[285]

Citing Genesis 17, Rutherford's text taught UDC members that "God gave to Abraham the most explicit directions" on how to enslave "negroes." [286] The UDC historian also used New Testament scriptures as justification for slavery, as she claimed that Matthew 8 presented clear evidence that Jesus condoned slavery without objection.[287] She also referenced Titus 2 to claim that all persons of color were divinely ordered to be obedient to white European descendants, and similarly argued that Ephesians 6:5-8 explicitly endorsed slavery as a noble institution.[288] Rutherford's take on theological white supremacy and the Christian nature of slavery — which Denton's organized white women frequently and regularly consumed — cannot be overemphasized, as she claimed that, "…slaveholders had a part in the greatest missionary and educational endeavors that the world has ever known…In all the history of the world no peasantry was ever better cared for, more contented or happier."[289] Even more important, Rutherford's text stressed the modern implications of her mythical theo-histories by suggesting

[284] Rutherford, *Wrongs of History*.
[285] *Ibid.*, 15, 35.
[286] *Ibid.*, 15-16
[287] *Ibid.*, 16.
[288] *Ibid*.
[289] *Ibid.*, 16-17.

the theological white supremacist standards that should be expected within white communities:

> The Negro race should give thanks daily that they and their children are not today where their ancestors were before they came into bondage… These wrongs must be righted and the Southern slaveholder defended as soon as possible. …while the negro under the present system of education may know more Latin and Greek, it does not better fit him for his life's work.[290]

At the close of her textbook, Rutherford further connected the perpetuation of these ideals with "justice to the living memory of the dead." [291] The UDC's organizational mission was to valorize their Confederate ancestors as icons of a theo-mythical pure white race that was destined by divine providence to re-establish a utopian Antebellum Era of legendary status. By romanticizing a pseudo-history of the South's legacy of slavery, the UDC asserted that the white cosmopolis had once been just on the horizon, that a divinely chosen white race had once been on the cusp of establishing their new Zion in the U.S., but that this effort was squandered by northern aggression. The UDC organizational mission of the early 1900s is best understood as aimed at righting this wrong.

After completing their study of Rutherford's corrective analysis on the causes of the "war between the states," Denton's Katie Daffan chapter wasted no time internalizing the UDC historian's calls to action.[292] In January 1916, several of the members visited the city's all-white public schools in honor of Confederate Commander Robert E. Lee's birthday, a man they presented to the local children as their most "beloved of the Southern generals."[293] With their monument fund balance stagnate at only $350, and already forced to reduce their contract from a

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[290] Rutherford, *Wrongs of History*.

[291] *Ibid*., 34.

[292] *Ibid*, 6-7.

[293] "Ladies Visited Schools Today in Interest of Lee's Birthday," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), January 18, 1916.

$5,000 monument to one worth only $2000, they used the opportunity to encourage the school-children to petition their parents for contributions to their fundraiser.[294] As further enticement, just three months after their initial visit, the UDC sent letters to all the public schools in the city to announce that the monument would include "special drinking fountains" that would be dedicated to the children of Denton County.[295] Although, one school was excluded: the Frederick Douglass School for African American children which had replaced Colored School #17 after it was mysteriously set ablaze two years earlier, as the public water fountains, of course, were not meant for these children. Several months of regular visits and solicitations in area schools subsequently turned out to be far more lucrative for the UDC than their largely unproductive fundraising events held on Denton's town square during the previous three years.[296] Emboldened by their new-found progress, the Katie Daffan chapter announced that a dedication ceremony would take place that summer with an unveiling ceremony scheduled for the fall, but both dates were soon postponed when the chapter failed to meet its fundraising goal.[297] By the end of 1916, Denton's UDC had still not met their $2,000 goal, and their monument contract was set to expire by the end of the next year. They had raised just under $1,200 and more than $300 of that total was still outstanding. With less than $900 on hand after four years of fundraising, the organization had still only accumulated less than half of the total that they owed for a monument that was already under commission.[298] Despite this slow progress, after a "special two-night screening" of the *Birth of a Nation* Klan film at the CIA in January 1917, the UDC suddenly

[294] "U.C.V. Monument to Be Unveiled Oct. 8," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), May 30, 1916; *Denton County UDC, Historical Sketch, 6*.

[295] "Drinking Fountains on Monument to be Children's Special Part, Say Daughters," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), March 1, 1916.

[296] "U.D.C. Tag Day" *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), October 8, 1917: the most successful of Tag Days reportedly netted only $115.

[297] "U.C.V. Monument to Be Unveiled Oct. 8," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), May 30, 1916.

[298] Denton County UDC, *Historical Sketch, 6*.

announced just a few weeks later that they had reached their goal.[299] Arriving in droves from across the county, hundreds of people attended the pay-per-view event.[300] W. C. Edwards, editor of the *Denton Record Chronicle* (*DRC*) whose wife served as the UDC Monument Committee's Publicity Secretary, published a rave review after the event:

> … the affections of the great crowd that cheered the Confederacy, Dixie, the Ku Klux Klan, and the ascendency of the Anglo-Saxon race over negroes… …the southern white [soldiers]…preferring death in dishonor, rose in the organization of the Ku Klux Klan, which restores the order which God almighty intended…[301]

While there is no evidence that the Katie Daffan chapter directly collected funds at the film's screening, the timing does suggest that the monument fund may have benefitted from the proceeds collected. Of course, even if the fund did not directly benefit from ticket sales, the UDC's overall endeavor to rally the local community behind their revisionist efforts certainly did. While *Birth of a Nation* was popularly received during its initial local debut two years prior, the 1917 screening of the film's theo-mythical white supremacist vision all the more resonated with Denton elites who were growing increasingly frustrated by the resilience of Quakertown, and local African Americans who continued to gain economic success. The pervasiveness of this sentiment was so prevalent that it was even evident in the sermons of the local pastorate. As an example, at a First Baptist church revival just three months following the film screening,

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[299] "Birth of a Nation," advertisement, Denton *Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), January 15, 1917.; "Birth of a Nation at CIA Jan. 17, 18," *LASS-O*, (Denton, TX: College of Industrial Arts) January 12, 1917; "Inscription to be Selected for Confederate Monument," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) February 17, 1918; Denton County UDC, *Historical Sketch, 6*.

[300] "Aubrey People Attend 'Birth of a Nation' Here en Masse," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) Jan. 19, 1917; "News from Krum," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) Jan. 23, 1917; "News from Sand Hill," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) Jan. 22, 1917.

[301] "Cheers, Tears, and Hisses for Birth of a Nation," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) Jan. 18, 1917.

Reverend F. H. Watkins declared:

> The deepest place in hellfire is for someone from Denton. The woman or man in this town living out of her or his Christian duty is more guilty than one in any other town in Texas because this is the best town in the state and from him to which much is given, of the same is much required. We all know what is wrong and if we do not do what is right we are more guilty than the cannibal on the Ganges who kills and eats his own child or the man who nailed Jesus Christ to the cross… we must understand the fall of a race.[302]

By this time, Denton's white identifying community leaders had been plotting Quakertown's removal for at least three years, as evidenced by the 1914 City Federation bulletin wherein CIA official Adkisson had suggested that the African American neighborhood be converted into a park, but the UDC's Confederate monument campaign combined with the screening of theo-mythical Ku Klux-Confederate heroism helped to transform the local white supremacist vision into socio-political action.[303] Still being groomed by the textbooks provided by the national UDC organization, Denton's Katie Daffan chapter was becoming exponentially prepared to help facilitate both the erection of a monument to the Confederacy and the removal of Quakertown.

As they approached the end of their monument campaign in the fall of 1917, Denton's UDC began studying another text written by Mildred Rutherford.[304] Largely focused on the Reconstruction Era, *Historical Sins of Omission and Commission* was a compilation of disparate articles and quotes, largely attributed to anonymous authors and unverifiable sources, along with

[302] "Pastor Says Would Rather Go to Hell from Any Place Than Denton," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) May 04, 1917.

[303] Bulletin, "City Federation of Women's Clubs."

[304] "U.D.C. Will Take Definite Action on Monday," *Denton Record Chronicle*, September 22, 1917.

Rutherford's commentary dispersed throughout. In one of the opening chapters, Rutherford explained:

> The north said the Freedman's Bureau was necessary to protect the negro. The South said the Ku Klux Klan was necessary to protect the white woman. The trouble arose from interference on the part of the scalawags and carpetbaggers…and they were the ones to be dealt with first to keep the negroes in their rightful place.
>
> Mrs. Rose's *Ku Klux Klan* is authority on this subject. Put that book into your schools.[305]

The women of Denton's UDC chapter were certainly familiar with the organization's previous Historian General, S.E.F. Rose, as well as her book, *Ku Klux Klan or Invisible Empire* which they endorsed unanimously at their annual conference just a few years prior, along with a pledge to place it in Denton schools as a "supplementary reader."[306] As the male faction of southern white heritage organizations, the Sons of Confederate Veterans similarly offered a unanimous endorsement for the content of Rose's book, along with promotional advertisements in their national magazine.[307] Rose's opening dedication alone affords a stark glimpse into the world of UDC theo-mythology which dominated the early 1900s wherein Confederate veterans and First-Generation Klansmen were considered indistinguishable soldiers of valor. Rose dedicated her book "…to the Youth of the Southland," as she hoped that its content would "inspire them with respect and admiration for the Confederate Soldiers, who were the real Ku Klux, and whose deeds of courage and valor have never been surpassed."[308] Perhaps one of the most explicit of

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[305] Mildred Lewis Rutherford, *Historical Sins of Omission and Commission* (San Francisco Address: Mildred Rutherford Historical Circle, 1915), 29, Last Accessed September 1, 2021, (https://lccn.loc.gov/16004763).

[306] S.E.F. Rose, *Ku Klux Klan or Invisible Empire* (New Orleans: L. Graham Co., 1914), 7.

[307] *Ibid*., 8.

[308] *Ibid*., 1; Advertisement, Confederate Veteran (Nashville, TN), vol XXV, no.5, May 1917, 239, Last accessed on January 4, 2019, (https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=zLU_AQAAMAAJ&hl=en&pg=GBS.PA242).

the UDC's primary texts, the book serves as an emphatic ode to theological white supremacy and a written memorial to Ku Klux-Confederate veterans.

Reading like excerpts from Dixon's *The Clansman*, Rose's history of Reconstruction in the South was apocalyptic literature in its own right. Praising Confederate soldiers as those who "thrilled the world with their deeds of courage and valor" during a long and noble war, Rose placed the Confederate's plight and suffering not within battle, but rather, within their return to "desolated homes" where they were forced to confront the most horrifying "war penalty" of "slave[sic] confiscation" and "Reconstruction under African rule."[309] According to Rose, Reconstruction was equivalent to biblical apocalypse. The once hyper-civilized, utopic white supremacist society of the Antebellum South was sold out by the federal government and abandoned to total chaos.[310] The most terrifying threat during this apocalyptic time, of course, were emancipated African American people, who, Rose argued had mistook their freedom as "synonymous with equality," a concept so menacing that it required the response of a "powerful Secret Order."[311] Rose explained how Confederate soldiers, "as members of the Ku Klux Klan" might have lost the war but they ultimately rescued the South "from a bondage worse than death."[312] While it could be argued that the UDC historian's account of the Reconstruction Era Klan was nothing more than romantic southern aggrandizations and Antebellum Era pining, Rose's book was a serious work committed to legitimizing the First-Generation Klan as a distinct order with its own iconographic representations, creed, and oath, all of which suggested a thorough commitment to theological white supremacist beliefs.

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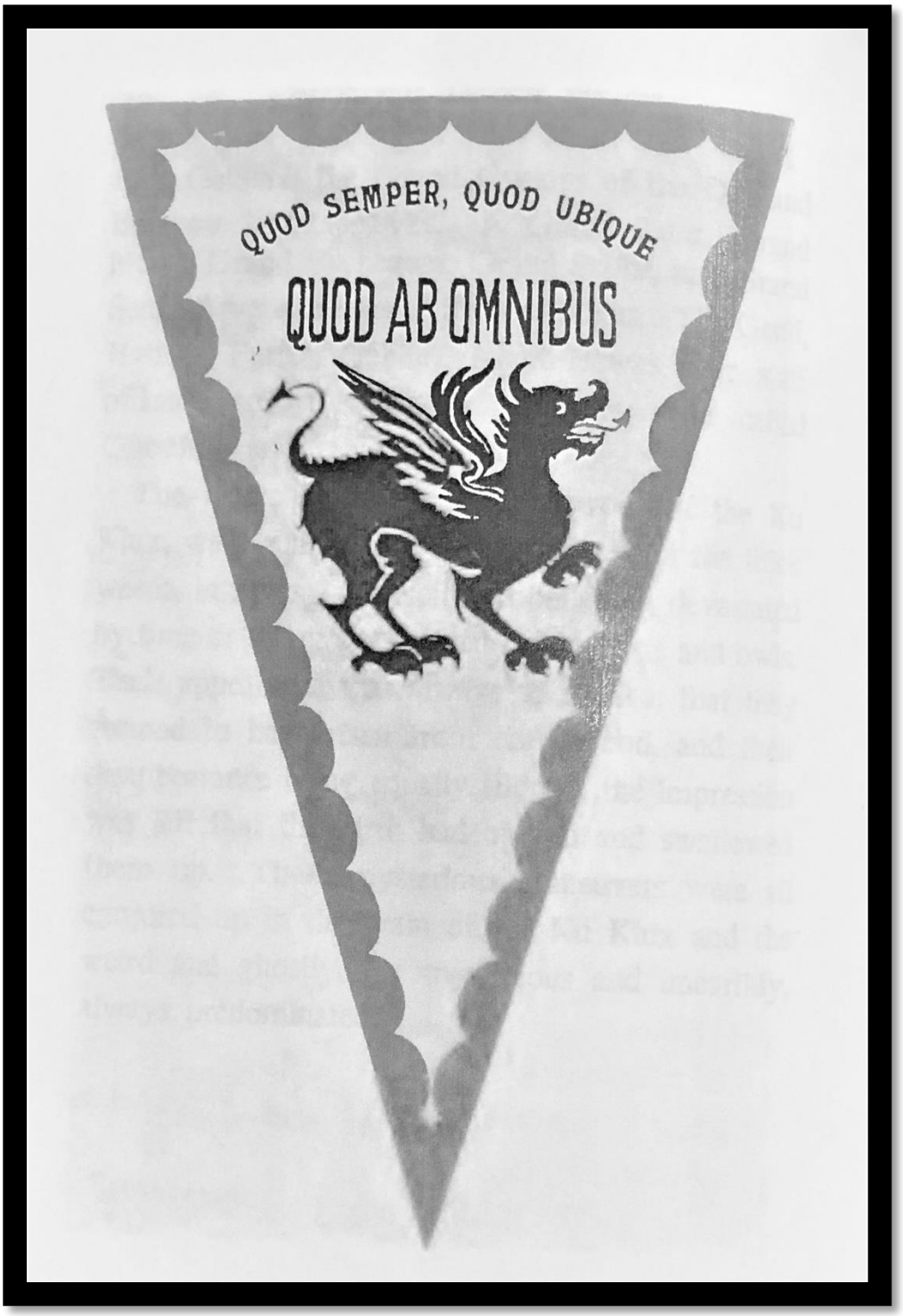
[309] Rose, *Ku Klux Klan*, 25.
[310] *Ibid.,* 16.
[311] *Ibid.,* 17.
[312] *Ibid*.



3. The Grand Ensign of the First-Generation Ku Klux Klan[313]

[313] Rose, *Ku Klux Klan*, 38.

The First-Generation Klan iconography presented to Rose by the former Reconstruction Era Klansmen she interviewed in her book suggests undeniable theo-mythological significance.[314] Most critically, the Ku Klux *dracovolans* banner is arguably suggestive of the Demiurge dragon of gnostic theo-myth, who is actually *YHVH*, the god of the Old Testament who plays a unique role in the Sophic redemption myth, as outlined by J. Kameron Carter in his theological account of race.[315] Second, the ensign's dimensions were strictly specified with a requirement that its total parameter measure thirteen feet, a number which also correlates to the gnostic myth, as Sophia had to ascend through twelve *aeons* before achieving full redemption in the pleroma, the thirteenth and ultimate heavenly realm fit only for the most superior beings.[316] Additionally, the Reconstruction Klan's incorporation of an excerpt from the Vincentian Canon at the top of their banner could also signify the order's commitment to Christian scripture as the infallible word of *YHVH*, as according to the First-Generation order's oath, scripture was a firm proof of whiteness' divine sanction.[317] The full Vincentian cannon typically reads, "*Quod ubique, Quod semper, Quod ab omnibus creditum es*" and literally translates as, "what is everywhere, what is always, what is believed by all." While it might seem odd that the Reconstruction Klan would use a Latin phrase adopted by the Catholic Orthodox Church in its iconography, it was significant coinage to Protestant reformers during the late Medieval Era who employed it as a testament to their movement's commitment to extreme biblical literalism.[318] The Reconstruction Era Klan's use of the canon could also be understood in a symbolic tone

[314] Research into the theological beliefs and motivations behind First-Generational Ku Klux Klan founders remains ongoing.

[315] Carter, *Race*, 16, 18-20; Stephen Davies (tr.), *Apocryphon of John*, "A crisis that became the world," citing The Nag Hammadi Library, Last accessed April 3, 2020, (http://gnosis.org/naghamm/apocjn-davies.html).

[316] Douglas M. Parrott (tr.), *The Sophia of Jesus Christ,*" citing The Nag Hammadi Library: Last accessed April 3, 2020, (http://gnosis.org/naghamm/sjc.html).

[317] Rose, *Ku Klux Klan*, 40-43.

[318] Stewart, "Catholicity," 118.

correlated to that of the Medieval Era Protestant reformers as an emblem of the Holy Spirit. Further, the order's banner can be interpreted as a gnostic icon of Joachimian theo-history, which frames the social progress of *YHVH's* chosen (white) people within the triune godhead's phases of self-realization, first manifest as the Father, then as the Son, and finally as the Spirit, the source of the promised utopic age on the horizon wherein a perfected universal white society is prophesied to reign.[319]

Collectively, Rose's study of the Reconstruction Klan described a mystical order that was fated to preserve a theo-mythically pure white race, a chosen people destined by the Christian god to rule over a utopian society wherein white supremacy reigned supreme. According to Rose, Confederate Veterans were valorized because they fulfilled this sacred call to action in their communities after the Civil War as the Ku Klux Klan of the Reconstruction Era. In similar form, UDC monuments to Confederate soldiers, she explained, were the equivalent to monuments to the Klan, and it is not coincidence that a Second-Generation of the order emerged across the U.S. and in Denton County in the early 1920s with the rapidity that it did after a decade of popular revisionist efforts employed by UDC chapters across the country. The Confederate monument erected by the Katie Daffan UDC chapter on the Denton County courthouse lawn at the center of Denton served as one of the most glaring public testaments to this claim for more than a century.[320] Unveiled June 3, 1918, on the birthday of their Confederate

[319] Matthias Riedl, "A Collective Messiah: Joachim of Fiore's Constitution of Future Society," *Mirabilia* Journal, 14, (Jan-Jun 2012): https://www.revistamirabilia.com/sites/default/files/pdfs/2012_01_03.pdf

[320] The monument was ultimately removed from the Denton County Courthouse lawn in the summer of 2020 amidst the height of Black Lives Matter protests which saw nightly gatherings of hundreds of people for weeks straight. Despite the fact that Willie Hudspeth, President of the Denton County NAACP, along with dozens of other BIPOC community leaders had beseeched county officials for more than two decades prior to remove the monument to no avail with county officials offering years of excuses, objections, and lies as to why they supposedly could not legally take any action, the presence of young, mobilized, non-violent BIPOC protestors in large numbers demanding that their humanity be recognized was perceived as a threat to the monument's safety's by Denton County Judge Andy Eads. In response, the County Commissioner's Court worked an emergency back-

hero Jefferson Davis, Denton's UDC chapter, in partnership with the City Federation of Women's Clubs, dedicated their Confederate monument to the county with a full ceremony. The monument featured two columns with water fountains that were set low for the select local children, which each supported an arch adorned by a sculpture of a generic Confederate cadet.[321]

Though each support column below the arch featured an inscription, there were no names of any individual Confederate soldiers affixed to the monument for recognition. Dated 1861 to mark the start of the war, the left column inscription read, "Erected by the Daughters of the Confederacy in memory of our Confederate soldiers, who in heroic self-sacrifice and devoted loyalty gave their manhood and their lives to the South in her hour of need."[322] The right column was dated 1865 to mark the war's end with an inscription that read, "In memoriam – Their names graved on memorial columns are a song heard far in the future, and their examples reach a hand through all the years to meet and kindle generous purpose and mold it into acts as pure as theirs."[323] An examination of the origins of this inscription reveals additional insight into the theo-mythology that underlined the white supremacist activism which took hold in Denton County in the years immediately following the unveiling of the Katie Daffan UDC chapter's Confederate monument in 1918.

This inscription that was placed on the monument's right column is an altered excerpt from Alfred Lord Tennyson's poem "Tiresias."[324] This is unsurprising considering that in

door deal with the Texas Historical Commission to remove the monument from the square in the middle of the night without any notice to the community. It now sits in storage under the purview of the Denton County Historical Commission and is slated to be reinstalled inside the historic Denton County Courthouse with "additional historical context" by 2022.

[321] "Commemoration of Confederate Deeds," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), June 4, 1918.

[322] Stallings, "Removing the Danger," 91.

[323] *Ibid*.

[324] J. Cuming Walters, *Tennyson: Poet, Philosopher, Idealist* (New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1893), 209-211, citing Cornell University Library, Last accessed on March 5, 2019, (https://archive.org/details/cu31924013560556/page/n219/mode/2up).

Historical Sins of Omission and Commission, UDC Historian Mildred Rutherford considered Tennyson an "intimate friend" of "Southern writers."[325] In order to understand this white supremacist affinity for Tennyson's works, however, a deeper analysis of his poem is required. Based on Greek mythos, "Tiresias" memorializes a battle detailed in the play, *Seven Against Thebes*.[326] In this play, Tiresias is a blind Theban soothsayer and servant to Menoeceus, a descendent of the Spartoi, a mythical ultra-superior race of warriors who emerged fully grown and armed for battle from the sewn teeth of the slaughtered *Drakon*, the sacred dragon of the Grecian war-god Ares.[327] Inspired by Tiresias' prophecy which foretold of a Spartoi who would perish to spare Thebes from destruction, Menoeceus jumped to his death from the city walls as hostile forces later began their siege, an ultimate self-sacrifice which saved Thebes and the society. Literary scholar John C. Walters' analysis of "Tiresias" in his 1893 book, *Tennyson: Poet, Philosopher, Idealist; Studies of the Life, Work, and Teaching of the Poet Laureate* clarifies how this poem correlated to the UDC's theo-mythology, as it framed Tiresias' personal sacrifice not only for the state but for a superior race as the noblest form of death.[328] According to Walters, Tennyson's words offered neo-Confederates inspiration for their revisionist theo-mythical endeavor to gain popular valor for their white supremacist heroes. The poem imparted "strength to the faltering" and fired "the ambition of the brave."[329] Their names commemorated as eternal song, and their deeds engraved immortal – the Confederate tribute on county property could serve as both "monument" and "example" to generations of the future.[330] The poem served as a perfect framework for neo-Confederates who sought to commemorate the misdeeds of their

[325] Rutherford, *Historical Sins*, 34.
[326] Walters, *Tennyson,* 209-211.
[327] *Ibid.*
[328] *Ibid.*
[329] *Ibid.*
[330] *Ibid.*

ancestors as honorable for the sake of preserving a sacred and superior community in an auspicious time of divine calling.

When the Confederate monument was unveiled in Denton, the *DRC* detailed the events under a headline that read, "Commemoration of Confederate Deeds" along with excerpts from a speech given by J.C. Par, Chaplain for the local Confederate veteran camp, who expressed his deep satisfaction that "children of coming generations would be proud to hear the story of the Confederacy as related by the monument."[331] The event itself was memorialized in the *DRC* as, "…a day long to be remembered by the lovers of the Old South and its people . . . a day of commemoration of past events and inspiration for future events."[332] The Confederate monument erected in Denton surely fulfilled its purpose. Emboldened by the UDC's theo-mythologies and pseudo-histories which were suddenly manifested into a physical icon of Ku Klux Konfederatism, within the three years immediately following the monument's unveiling, hundreds, perhaps thousands of white residents across Denton County would be transformed into the second-generation of Ku Klux heroes who like their predecessors would be committed to ensuring the rise of the white cosmopolis by any means necessary.

A comprehensive analysis of monument contributors, their activities within the Denton community, as well as their business, fraternal, and familial relations, exposes an undeniable intimacy between three particular phenomena within early twentieth century white supremacist activity in Denton. These are: the installment of the Confederate monument at the center of town; the terrorization and eradication of African American residents from the inner-city of Denton and other communities in the county; and the rise of Denton County's Second-Generation Ku Klux

[331] "Commemoration of Confederate Deeds," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), June 4, 1918.
[332] *Ibid*.

Klan, Klavern no.136.[333] Additionally, records released to the public by Katie Daffan's UDC in the days following the monument's unveiling reveal that nearly half of the individuals who contributed to Denton's Confederate monument descended from households that had practiced slavery, a preponderance that directly correlates to the invested interests of those who supported both the tribute, and the ideals of the women who erected it.[334] The monument was not placed at the center of Denton's town square on the lawn of the county courthouse to serve as a harmless memorialization of the past. It was meant to inspire a future harkened by mythical memories of a theological white supremacist utopia, and it did just that.

Although it took Denton's UDC chapter eight years to erect their Confederate monument, subsequent events inspired by their efforts unfolded very quickly thereafter. Already largely in control of the City Federation via delegate appointments through various club memberships, the UDC was officially incorporated into the Federation in October 1918, just months after the unveiling of the monument.[335] Less than two years later, in December 1920, the UDC-led City Federation officially partnered with the CIA, as well as the City Commission, Denton's Chamber of Commerce, and the Rotary Club to launch a public campaign designed to forcibly remove

[333] "UDC Thank All Who Helped with Monument; List of Contributors to the Fund," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), June 7, 1918. A full accounting of monument contributions, along with a comprehensive analysis regarding their relations to each other, as well as Klan activity that exploded in the area after the monument's erection, and their association with Quakertown removal efforts is detailed in Appendix III. More details regarding persons involved in white supremacist activity in the area in the years surrounding the monument's erection can be found in Appendix IV.

[334] "UDC Thank All Who Helped with Monument; List of Contributors to the Fund," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), June 7, 1918. Thus far, 515 enslaved persons have been connected to families that paid for Denton's Confederate monument. All monument contributors were included in extensive genealogical research. See Appendix III.

[335] City Federation of Women's Club Ledger 1918-1920, "Denton City Federation of Women's Club Records," Woman's Collection, Texas Woman's University (Denton, TX); 1919-1920; Roll of Members, written on inside cover of Ledger book. October 21, 1918, "A motion carried that the daughters of the Confederacy be received in the Federation." Mrs. C. N. Adkisson, whose husband first publicly called for the removal of Quakertown in a 1914 City Federation bulletin was President of the City Federation when the UDC was officially federated.

Denton's primary African American community out of their inner-city neighborhood and thriving business district known as Quakertown, which was to be replaced with a whites-only park.[336] While many elites conspired to accomplish this purge, no group was given more credit or claimed more responsibility for the campaign's success than the UDC-led City Federation.[337] Armed with their new suffrage rights and a list of ready subscribers identified during previous years of Confederate monument fundraising, the women conducted extensive door-to-door canvasses throughout the city to obtain the petition signatures necessary for the Park Bond that would facilitate Quakertown's forced removal.[338] When the residents of Quakertown resisted these efforts, a new generation of white supremacist vigilantes were already thoroughly indoctrinated by the Katie Daffan UDC's theo-mythologies of utopian promise and they were more than ready to heed the call to violence. As made clear by its commemorative inscription and the people who contributed to it financially, the Confederate monument was meant to serve as a testament to theological white supremacy. It was an ode to the First-Generation Ku Klux Klan that was committed to defending this ideology, and it was always meant to inspire a future generation of neo-Confederate Klan supporters who were committed to restoring Denton to a divinely sanctioned white utopia.

[336] Stallings, "Removing the Danger:" Stallings offers the most contemporary and comprehensive historical account of Quakertown; "Rotary Club with Help in Park Project," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), December 16, 1920; City Federation of Women's Clubs, *History of First Sixteen Years of the City Federation* (Denton, TX: City Federation, 1929), 15: See "Fifth Administration" and "100 percent attendance" during the two years of the "Park Bond" campaign (to remove Quakertown).

[337] City Federation of Women's Clubs, *History of First Sixteen Years of the City Federation* (Denton, TX: City Federation, 1929), 15: See Fifth Administration.

[338] *Ibid*.

Chapter 4
Policing the Cosmopolis

"The Ku Klux Klan is part of the South's history, and no record could be complete that failed to include the history of this truly wonderful [*sic*] organization."[339]

– S.E.F. Rose, U.D.C. Historian General, 1914

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth, generations of Denton residents remained immersed in historical memories that celebrated the legacy of theological white supremacy and valorized those willing to enact campaigns of violence in order to perpetuate it. As a result, a local white consciousness organically preserved and promoted a Ku Klux Konfederate culture that promised to protect Protestant white progress at any cost. In this environment, just the presence of African American people posed an existential threat to white civic and political identity in Denton County, and local elites responded with counter-historical resistances in the form of alternative war histories and pseudo-commemorative monuments that called for a new order of Ku Klux Konfederate saviors modeled on those heroized from the post-war past. As a culmination of this history, the early 1920s in Denton brought about the emergence of a new brand of Klanish defenders who believed that they were the divinely ordained enforcers of theological white supremacy. While this Second-Generation order infiltrated all aspects of civil society, the 1920s Klan's first priority was control over Denton's local government and policing.[340]

Klan infiltration into local politics and government during this time was standard for the 1920s order across North Texas. Just fifty miles south of Denton, the Fort Worth area Klan

[339] Rose, *Ku Klux Klan*, 70.
[340] *Handbook Online*, "KU KLUX KLAN."

reached more than 6,000 members with its highest ranks comprised of city and county officials, as well as police.[341] An equal distance southeast of Denton, the Dallas Klan had infiltrated the offices of the Police and Fire Commissioners, the Police Chief, the District Attorney, and numerous judges, while an untold number of police officers were all members.[342] Corresponding to these regional trends, Denton County's historical archive suggests that the local Second-Generation order first manifested itself within city and county governmental institutions, and then within the local policing forces. By usurping these positions of lawful social control, defenders of theological white supremacy could insert themselves into their own ancient theo-mythical drama as the valorized white saviors of their ancestor's historical memories. As a result, the story of the birth of Denton's Police Department is the story of the birth of Denton's Second-Generation Ku Klux Klan, and, as such, requires a thorough analysis that has been thus far neglected in local historical accounts.

The first semblance of any official policing activity in the city of Denton emerged at the same time that the UDC-led City Federation, in partnership with CIA officials and other city leaders had launched their public campaign to remove African American residents from the inner-city in order to replace their neighborhood with a whites-only park.[343] In early spring 1920, Denton's City Commission created a sole City Marshal position with no appointment authority, which was to be fulfilled by a subsequent election held in April.[344] In an extremely narrow race, candidate T. J. Price was announced the winner by a mere four vote margin while twenty-two

[341] "Klan Composed of Leader in City, Camp Asserts," *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, (Fort Worth, Texas) April 23, 1922.

[342] Mark N. Norris, "Saving Society Through Politics: The Ku Klux Klan in Dallas, Texas, in the 1920's," (Dissertation, University of North Texas, 1997).

[343] "Rotary Club Will Help in Park Project," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) December 16, 1920.

[344] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, March 1, 1920, Book V 1916-1920, Office of Denton City Secretary.

votes went mysteriously unaccounted for in the totals recognized by city officials.[345] While this could have been a simple clerical error, this discrepancy in election results related to the city's emerging police force and Commission positions was the first of several instances that occurred during the same time that Klan activity emerged in the community. This considered, this discrepancy likely suggests that the City Commission had already chosen their man for the job before the election was held. After Price was elected City Marshal, Denton Mayor H.V. Hennen immediately created an additional deputy position, though the commission failed to discuss or pass an ordinance authorizing such an expenditure. As a result, John F. Keesee was additionally appointed as a "Deputy Night Watchman."[346] At a time when most Denton's residents still traveled by equine, Price and Keesee were then provided with a taxpayer funded patrol car sans any budget approval or details regarding its cost.[347] Despite its secret nature, these additional appointments made by the City Commission in April 1920, represent the first semblance of a police force in Denton.

Two months later, Edward Clarke and Elizabeth Tyler, publicists for the National Order of the Ku Klux Klan sent out 1,100 Kleagles across Texas who were backed with a "publicity campaign" to conduct a mass recruitment for the Second-Generation order.[348] According to the recollections of a resident published in the local paper decades later, the earliest incident of 1920s Klan violence in Denton occurred around the same time in a cotton field just a few miles northeast of the city where an African American man was reportedly tied up by his ankles and

[345] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, April 12, 1920, Book V 1916-1920, Office of Denton City Secretary; "Report on Fire Risks," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) March 13, 1920.

[346] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, April 27, 1920, Book V 1916-1920, Office of Denton City Secretary.

[347] *Ibid*.

[348] Alexander, *Crusade,* 3.

hands, pulled by his limbs and "beaten to a bloody pulp with a thick wet rope."[349] It is notable that at the same time an official policing force was established within the city of Denton, similar incidents of vigilante violence increased exponentially and were typically associated with Second-Generation Ku Klux Klan activity. This re-emergence of a Klanish moral order in the Denton community resulted from generations of neo-Confederates who had used their social and political influence to popularize historical memories rooted in the myths of theological white supremacy and as such there was no shortage of recruits willing to protect their utopian vision of a pure white cosmopolis. The new Zion was surely on the horizon and Denton's burgeoning police force was prepared to ensure its establishment but first, leading Klan figures had to ensure full control over the local government.

Throughout the summer and fall of 1920, Denton's City Commission underwent a tumultuous series of resignations and replacements with few details afforded in the official record as to why.[350] In mid-August, two City Commissioners, John Alexander and W. S. Long both gave their immediate verbal resignations during a single session. Oddly, both had won unprecedented campaigns just three months prior in a notably close election with record-high turnouts.[351] The following month, City Secretary J. R. Ewin resigned during a session without notice, though Mayor Hennen seemed to have been aware of Ewin's plans, as he was prepared to

[349] "Out of Denton County's Past," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) October 24, 1982: citing Emily Fowler Public Library of Denton, vertical file: Ku Klux Klan.

[350] While an absence of records does not necessarily suggest an intentional omission of facts, it is notable that Denton City Commission minutes from this time are overall very thorough and highly detailed. While documentation related to various resignations, replacements, and appointments in the years immediately before and after 1920 are highly detailed, the several resignations which took place during 1920 lack an overall accounting with zero details provided.

[351] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, August 13, 1920, Book V 1916-1920, Office of Denton City Secretary.

immediately replace him with G. N. Rucker.[352] The next month, Commissioners O.M Curtis and J. A. Minnis were elected to replace Long and Alexander in a special election that received minimal public notice, and as a result, saw less than one-third of the voter turnout as compared to the previous election which had prompted record setting engagement. One week later, Mayor Hennen called a "special session" of his overhauled City Commission comprised of Denton's newest elite to discuss the need for an upcoming "cleanup day," notated in the official minutes with quotations so as to intentionally convey innuendo.[353] In response, City Attorney T. B. Davis immediately resigned at the close of this meeting.[354] In addition to this series of city government resignations under Mayor Hennen during the 1920s, the leading Klansman continued to make several more problematic appointments.

Although only recently installed and despite the presence of three far more experienced Commissioners, in October 1920, Mayor Hennen appointed O.M. Curtis and J.A. Minnis to a special Fire and Police oversight committee that reported directly to him. After their assignment — and again without public notice or vote to approve the expenditure or expansion — Mayor Hennen then appointed Henry D. Robinson as the third officer in the city's still unauthorized police force.[355] According to an article published in the Denton Record Chronicle (*DRC*) shortly thereafter, Mayor Hennen had been required to create the new committee and expand the policing force by an unnamed "insurance company." However, there is no record of the City

[352] *Ibid.*: Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, October 6, 1920-October 28, 1920, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary. The unamicable nature of Secretary Ewin's departure is further suggested by the months he spent thereafter in dispute with the Commission for his final pay.

[353] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, October 26, 1920, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary.

[354] *Ibid*.

[355] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Special Session, October 28, 1920, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary.

Commission discussing or approving any insurance contracts in the official Commission minutes from this time.[356]

As Mayor Hennen ramped up efforts to create an unauthorized police force that reported directly to him via a Police Commission under his personal appointment, Denton's Rotary Club and Chamber of Commerce publicly announced their commitment to support the UDC-led City Federation campaign to remove Quakertown, and by mid-December 1920, official plans were collectively endorsed by all of the local civic organizations.[357] City Commissioners O.M Curtis and J. L. Wright, who had been charged by Mayor Hennen to oversee the policing force, were active members of the Chamber of Commerce and thus, were also leading figures in these early planning sessions among white identifying elites who sought to remove African American residents from Denton's inner-city.[358] Once the plans to remove Quakertown were made fully public, those beholden to the theo-myth's promise of whiteness' unstoppable progress became increasingly emboldened. As president of both the CIA and the Rotary Club, F. M. Bralley publicly declared his expectation that Quakertown's removal would be complete within just a few short months.[359] Just a few days after Christmas in 1920, the *DRC* published detailed plans for the park bond election that would facilitate the forced removal of the city's African American residents in order to make space for the new whites-only park.[360] Marking the first in a series of arrests that followed, five persons in Quakertown were immediately taken into custody after members of the community erupted with dismay upon hearing the news of their impending

[356] "Monthly Meeting of City Commissioners Held Tuesday Night," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), October 27, 1920; Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, November 23, 1920, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary. Less than one month after his appointment, Deputy Henry Robinson unexpectedly and immediately resigned.

[357] "Rotary Club Will Help in Park Project," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), Dec. 16, 1920.

[358] "Denton Chamber of Commerce," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), July 30, 1919.

[359] "Rotary Club Will Help in Park Project," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), Dec. 16, 1920.

[360] "Will Ask for Vote on Park Bonds April 5," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), December 29, 1920.

ouster.[361] With Mayor Hennen's new Klanish policing force solidly in place, the white moral order had been prepared for these reactions. The following year would culminate with the public unveiling of Denton's Second-Generation Klan, the strong arm of the neo-Confederate theological white supremacist vision which had been perpetuated by social and political elites determined to remove Quakertown from inner-city Denton for nearly a decade prior.

Throughout the spring of 1921, Denton's City Commission continued to expand a local police force without any public notice or approval. In February, a new "touring car" was purchased for the City Marshal from Commissioner J.L. Wright's Ford Auto Company without taxpayer notice or commission authorization.[362] Shortly thereafter, the Commission passed the "Park Bond Election Ordinance" that had been designed to facilitate the forced removal of Quakertown.[363] In response, some white identifying community members expressed their opposition with accusations that business and civic leaders stood to benefit financially from the endeavor.[364] In a public meeting held to appease growing public distrust of the overhauled City Commission, Rotarian H.F. Browder defended the park campaign as one of completely altruistic motives spearheaded by the UDC-led City Federation, arguing that, "If there be graft and evil in this move it is largely thru the efforts of these good women that it is so [sic]."[365] One month later in April, a slim voter turnout of less than eight percent of the city' population participated in a special election to approve the park bonds necessary to forcibly purchase the land occupied by

[361] "5 Cases Aggravated Assault After Lodge Meeting in Quaker," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), December 30, 1920.

[362] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, February 22, 1920, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary.

[363] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, March 1, 1921, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary.

[364] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, March 18, 1921, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary; "Park Proposal Is Explained By Rotarians," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), March 18, 1921.

[365] *Ibid*.

Quakertown residents.[366] Immediately thereafter, white identifying residents went into a frenzy over fears that the African American persons forced out of Quakertown might relocate into their neighborhoods. Personally affronted, County Attorney W.C. Boyd appeared before the City Commission to beseech them to take actions to ensure that such unfavorable relocations would not be permitted.[367] After hearing Boyd's comments, Mayor Hennen responded by forming and leading a committee authorized to oversee the removal and relocation of Quakertown residents who refused to meet with city leaders for the next two months.[368] In response, W.C. Edwards, editor of the local *DRC* commenced with a well-articulated propaganda campaign in his paper that was undoubtedly meant to both terrify Quakertown residents into submission and rally a white-body-politic behind local removal efforts which became increasingly hostile by the day.

This tendency of leading figures in local Klanish activities to be associated with newspapers and press outlets during the 1920s was a national trend that permeated throughout North Texas.[369] For example, Klansman Philip E. Fox was the Managing Editor of the *Dallas Daily Times-Herald*, a publication disseminated just fifty miles southeast of Denton County.[370] After just a few short years serving as the mouth piece of the local Dallas order, Fox was later

[366] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, April 6, 1921, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary; "City Population History from 1850–2000," Texas Almanac Table, (Denton, TX: 1920), City Population, Texasalmanac.com, Last accessed March 02, 2019, (https://texasalmanac.com/sites/default/files/images/CityPopHist%20web.pdf). Out of Denton's 7,626 city residents only 607 people voted in the Park Bond Election orchestrated to forcibly remove Quakertown residents from the inner-city.

[367] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, April 6, 1921, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary.

[368] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, April 7, 1921, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary; "Negro Removal to Be Discussed By Commission," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), April 14, 1921; "Negro Committee Not Present At Meeting Today," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), April 15, 1921.

[369] Felix Harcourt, *Ku Klux Kulture: America and the Klan in the 1920s*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Kindle Edition, 2017), locations 358, 365, 444-462; Thomas R. Pegram, *One Hundred Percent American: The Rebirth and Decline of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920's*, (Lanham: Ivan R. Dee, 2011), 192.

[370] Harcourt, *Ku Klux Kulture*, location 472.

appointed as the Public Relations Director for the national Ku Klux Klan organization.[371] In Fort Worth, fifty miles due south of Denton, local Klansmen regularly broadcast their calls for the establishment of a pure white Protestant society on WBAP Radio, then an affiliate of the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram.*[372] Collectively, these North Texas Klansmen used their press connections to attract recruits as well as promote political and cultural endeavors that aligned to their theological white supremacist ideologies. As the sole newspaper in Denton during the early 1900s, the *DRC* had long participated in the dissemination of similar racialized propaganda. For instance, the publication's owner and Editor-in-Chief W. C. Edwards had afforded the UDC's Confederate Monument campaign generous support throughout the previous decade. [373] Additionally, the *DRC* never published content that spoke directly to the African American residents of Denton, only about them, almost exclusively referring to them as "negroes," and occasionally as "colored."[374] As a member of the Chamber of Commerce, Edwards had also personally helped launch the Quakertown removal campaign. Throughout the spring and summer of 1921, he used the *DRC* as his personal pulpit to regularly publish racialized propaganda that was intended to rally white residents to the cause of theological white supremacy, but also to convey both moral instruction and veiled threats to the residents of Quakertown who resisted the city's removal efforts.[375] As an example, shortly after the city's plans to remove Quakertown were officially announced in early May 1921 (which had prompted leaders in the African

[371] Harcourt, *Ku Klux Kulture*.

[372] *Ibid.*, location 3067.

[373] *Ibid.*; Texas Press Association, "1912-1913 W.C. Edwards Denton Record Chronicle," citing texaspress.com, Last Accessed February 19, 2019, (https://www.texaspress.com/1912-13-wc-edwards-01).

[374] Edwards' wife served as the Publicity Secretary for the UDC Monument Committee. Edwards and his wife personally donated $10 to the Confederate Monument fund. Collectively, DRC staff contributed at least $45. See Appendix II, Appendix III, and Appendix IV.

[375] "Denton Chamber of Commerce Efficient Organization," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), May 1, 1922; "Rotary Club Will Help in Park Project," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), Dec. 16, 1920.

American community to repeatedly refuse to meet with city officials), Edwards commemorated the death of a formerly enslaved man who had lived in Quakertown by referring to him as a model "negro citizen" who had served his "old master" as a "body-servant" in the Civil War.[376] Further, the massacre of Tulsa, Oklahoma's 'Black Wallstreet' in late May 1921, approximately 260 miles north of Denton County, afforded Edwards an entire summer's worth of thinly-veiled threats and racialized propaganda aimed at Quakertown residents.

According to a contemporary report compiled by a commission of national scholars at the request of Oklahoma's State Legislature entitled "Tulsa Race Riot," southern Oklahoman communities, much like those of North Texas, experienced increasing racial strife during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Between 1913 and 1925, local white residents in several small towns outside of Tulsa "deliberately and systematically" worked together as a "collective body" to assault and brutalize "whole communit[ies] of color" in order to "eliminate" them from the inner cities.[377] Much like Denton's Quakertown, Tulsa was home to a large and thriving neighborhood predominantly occupied by freedpersons and their descendants, otherwise known by its residents as Greenwood.[378] At the same time that Denton's white elite was in the midst of its civic conspiracy to establish a white supremacist utopia, on May 31, 1921, a front-page story in the *Tulsa Tribune* offered a sensationalized account of the arrest of seventeen-year-old

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[376] "Uncle Bill Arch Pioneer Negro Citizens and Ex-Slave Dead At Age of Eighty-Seven," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) May 30, 1921.

[377] Danny Goble, (ed.), "Final Report of the Oklahoma Commission to Study The Tulsa Race Riot of 1921," (Tulsa: Oklahoma Commission to the Study the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921, 2001), Last Accessed September 2019 (https://www.okhistory.org/research/forms/freport.pdf), 11, 17. In 2001, more than eighty years after the event, the Oklahoma State Legislature organized a Commission to investigate the racially motivated massacres that occurred in Tulsa, Oklahoma from May 31 through June 1, 1921, as well as the horrific failure of local authorities to investigate or hold white offenders responsible after the attacks. In 2001, the Commission completed a compilation report of its findings. This report includes eight separate studies prepared by a dozen local and nationally recognized scholars in various fields who collectively detail the events which took place. According to the report, all the scholars involved unanimously concluded that at the time the Tulsa massacres occurred, a local Klan had order thrived in the community and been active for some time prior.

[378] *Ibid.*, 11-12, 41.

Greenwood resident Dick Rowland, who earlier that morning had been charged with attempted assault against a "white girl" who had joined him in a downtown elevator one day prior.[379] The article stated that local authorities planned to put Rowland before an all-white jury that very afternoon.[380] Editorials calling for Rowland to be lynched were published right alongside the news story.[381]

By that evening, an armed mob of self-perceived 'white redeemers' totaling more than one thousand had gathered in downtown Tulsa in front of the courthouse where Rowland sat in the basement jail, all as more than one dozen officers stood by in silence.[382] Certain that Rowland would be killed, about two dozen armed African American residents from Greenwood had arrived at the courthouse in their WWI service uniforms with the intention of defending the jail against the mob. The Sheriff assured them that Rowland would not be harmed so the men returned to Greenwood without objection but according to the Oklahoma state report, their mere presence sparked an "electrifying effect on the white mob."[383] Soon the angry crowd had increased to nearly two-thousand and demands for Rowland's lynching grew louder.[384] Alarmed by the crowd which largely outnumbered local authorities, seventy-five Greenwood residents, many of whom were WWI veterans, returned to again offer their help to authorities who again declined to accept it.[385]

Sent away for the second time, the Greenwood residents headed out from the courthouse grounds toward their neighborhood when an angry man in the mob accosted an African

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[379] Goble (ed.), "Tulsa Race Riot," 58-59.
[380] *Ibid.*
[381] *Ibid.*
[382] *Ibid*, 60.
[383] *Ibid*. 60.
[384] *Ibid.*, 62.
[385] *Ibid.*, 63.

American veteran in uniform with his army-issued revolver at his hip. After the brazen white supremacist hurled a series of racial slurs and demanded that the soldier relinquish his gun, he then attempted to disarm the African American veteran and that is when the first of many shots that would soon follow rang out across Tulsa's downtown square.[386] Largely outnumbered, the Greenwood veterans fought their way through the mob and attempted to escape back to their neighborhood, but many never made it.[387] Instead of working towards a calm resolution, Tulsa authorities immediately deputized members of the mob who had instigated the violence, which only further legitimized their theo-mythologized 'white-redeemer' self-identities.[388] As a result, thousands of angry 'white-redeemers,' many of whom were government officials stormed into the Greenwood community with local National Guardsmen soon to follow.[389] According to the Tulsa Commission's report, as many as 1,256 Greenwood structures were set ablaze and totally obliterated by the mob including the hospital, the library, all of the churches and schools, every business, and nearly all of the homes.[390] Those local authorities who did not participate in the destruction, did nothing to stop the attack.[391] In his state commissioned article, "Confirmed Deaths: A Preliminary Report," forensic anthropologist Clyde Snow explained that he could only positively identify thirty-eight victims with known causes of death out of at least 168 confirmed casualties because so many of the African American residents had been "burned beyond recognition."[392] Snow argues that far more Greenwood residents were likely murdered than have been officially accounted for but the destruction of the community resulted in the loss of the

[386] Goble (ed.), "Tulsa Race Riot," 63.
[387] *Ibid*.
[388] *Ibid.*, 11.
[389] *Ibid.*, 12.
[390] *Ibid*.
[391] *Ibid.*, 12.
[392] *Ibid.*, 9-10, 109-121.

majority of their personal identity records which subsequently caused the complete erasure of their historical existences.[393]

4. Greenwood Business District before in Tulsa, Oklahoma before it was destroyed. Image courtesy of Greenwood Cultural Center.[394]

[393] *Ibid.,* 109-121.
[394] *Ibid.,* 12.

5. The Greenwood community of Tulsa built by freedpersons over the course of several decades was destroyed in one night. Image courtesy of Greenwood Cultural Center.[395]

After the massacre, none of the officials in Tulsa were ever held accountable for their failure to protect the lives and property of Greenwood residents.[396] Neither the city, county, nor state government assisted the community with reconstruction efforts.[397] Danney Goble of the University of Oklahoma who compiled the Tulsa Commission's findings explains in the state's report that local authorities tended to openly admit their involvement and share their accounts of white vigilante justice with press publications across the south because they hoped that, "other black communities heard about it and learned their lessons."[398] This intention was certainly

[395] Goble (ed.), "Tulsa Race Riot," 15.
[396] *Ibid*.
[397] *Ibid*.
[398] *Ibid*., 11, 17.

understood by W.C. Edwards in Denton. The day immediately following the massacre, the entire front page of the afternoon edition of the *DRC* detailed the brutal slaughter of Greenwood's residents with zero signs of empathy.[399] Edwards gruesomely recounted how African American persons in Tulsa had been burned alive, and he portrayed them as instigative criminals who had rallied an attack against the white moral order, all while fully aware that Quakertown residents faced their own impending forced removal from inner-city Denton. Although one byline included mention of at least seventy-four African American victims, entire columns were dedicated to nine white people who had been killed during the massacre and the white officials heralded by Edwards for their service protecting a "pathetic…negro section" that had been placed "in concentration camps" for their insolence.[400] Edwards' explicit framing of the events that took place in Tulsa indisputably served to perpetuate efforts in Denton to establish the white cosmopolis.

Subsequent *DRC* reports continued to blame Greenwood residents for their determination to protect "19-year-old-boot-black" Rowland, as 'white casualties' in the single-digits were consistently emphasized over the more than one-hundred African American victims of Greenwood who had been slaughtered in their own neighborhood.[401] After two days of unmitigated and sensational coverage in the *DRC*, Edwards ran two more front-page articles which were laid out side by side in adjacent columns with separate headlines and subheads that correlated into a single message: "Whites to Help Rebuild…Blame Negroes for Riots."[402] As Quakertown leaders continued to refuse meetings with city officials, Edwards' Tulsa coverage served as propaganda that both criminalized the local African American population and

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399 "Martial Law Declared in Tulsa, Oklahoma," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) June 1, 1921.
400 *Ibid*.
401 "With Troops on Guard Tulsa is Quiet," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) June 2, 1921.
402 "Guardsmen in Tulsa Seek to Stop Pillagers," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), June 3, 1921.

threatened them at the same time.[403] The white utopian society on the horizon would be secured at any cost, and the timing of the 'Black Wallstreet' massacre along with Edwards' subsequent messaging served to spark the pivotal moment which brought about the public introduction of Denton's new order of holy white knights who had committed themselves to ensuring the prophetic promises of theological white supremacy in Denton.

Following Edwards' persistent and slanted Tulsa coverage throughout the summer of 1921, public Klan activity in Denton increased exponentially. Although Mayor Hennen had already established a taxpayer funded police force that answered directly to him through his personally appointed committee during the previous summer, it was just two weeks after the Tulsa Massacre that the City Commission issued the first ordinance which officially authorized Denton's "Police Department" consisting of multiple deputies with authorized salaries, and a departmental car.[404] Two weeks after the public debut of the city's Police Department and one month after the Tulsa Massacre, Edwards published a "Qualified Endorsement for the K.K.K." in the *DRC* which had been issued by a minister from nearby Dallas:

> …we think it unquestioned that [Klan] activities have had good effect, both in the tendency to check violations of the law, disloyalty and indecency and in securing better enforcement of laws by the authorities entrusted with their enforcement...the history of American Civilization is full of instances of vigilantes, Ku Klux Klans, regulators and other similar organizations, the original purpose of which was to uphold right and prevent wrong.[405]

Additional *DRC* publications throughout the same time suggest that Denton's Klan was already thoroughly engaged in vigilante activities during the summer of 1921. For example, in an open

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[403] "Grand Jury Starts Investigation of Riots at Tulsa," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), June 9, 1921; "Fifty Service Men Aid Tulsa Police in Guarding City," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), June 4, 1921.

[404] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, June 14, 1921, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary.

[405] "Qualified Endorsement for the K.K.K.," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), July 7, 1921.

letter to the city, Confederate veteran R. B. Anderson identified himself as "one of the old Klan of 1866," and he offered his sage advice to a new generation of Denton Klansmen whose actions were reportedly causing "a great stir" within the community.[406] Just a couple of weeks later, after local newspapers across the region had announced that Reverend Caleb Ridley, an Imperial Officer for the national Ku Klux Klan organization, would be speaking in nearby Dallas on the same day that Denton's City Commission had been scheduled to meet, the civic-body announced a last minute and unprecedented decision to postpone its regularly scheduled meeting without public notice.[407] These actions speak to the unique exceptionalism that civic and governmental leaders in Denton bestowed upon themselves as part of their service and commitment to both theological white supremacy and the establishment of the Kantian cosmopolis. As elected officials committed to ensuring whiteness' progress, they had no qualms about immediately and temporarily exempting themselves and others from legal procedures and civic regulations so long as vigilante actions were committed in service to the white utopian vision. However, these abandonments of law and governmental duties escalated far beyond harmless acts such as last-minute cancelations of City Commission meetings so that elected officials could attend speeches from Klan ministers in nearby cities.

In the fall of 1921, reports of unexplained murder and racial violence plagued Denton County. One instance occurred that September, when County Deputy Nick Akin arrested a sixteen-year-old African American boy named Ennis Johnson in the small community of Pilot Point, approximately fifteen miles north of Denton. Johnson had been accused of "attempted

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[406] "Denton Citizen on K.K.K.," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) August 5, 1921.

[407] "Charges Allegedly Made in Dallas Against KKK Speaker Denied by Imperial Wizard," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) August 11, 1921; "Atlanta Minister To Speak on Ku Klux at Dallas," *McKinney Daily Courier Gazette*, (McKinney, TX) August 10, 1921; "McKinney People Hear Klansman in Dallas Speech," *McKinney Daily Courier Gazette*, (McKinney, TX) August 12, 1921; "Commission Meeting Thursday Postponed, *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) August 12, 1921.

criminal assault" against a twelve-year-old girl identified in the press as "white."[408] Although local reports confirmed that there was no evidence of such an assault, rumors of his supposed guilt caused "considerable excitement," and Johnson was reportedly placed in the Denton City Jail.[409] There is no evidence in local records that Ennis Johnson ever saw a trial, and no subsequent reports exist to explain his fate, but the events that immediately followed involving his grandfather suggest that it may have been similarly tragic. Just a few days after his grandson had been accused and taken into custody, Ransom Johnson was found dead in the back of a local grocery store.[410] The *DRC* report of his death failed to identify the name of the store where Johnson was supposedly found, as well as the names of any sources of the account offered, but according to the article, the elderly Johnson "accidentally" poisoned himself with a "bottle of liquid" which he mistakenly took for whiskey and supposedly "poured" into a bottle of soda and drank.[411] This article represents another prime example of Edwards' use of the DRC to terrorize African American residents in Denton at a time when civic leaders were working diligently to force them out of the inner-city.

Incorporating a gruesome tone, the *DRC* article detailed Johnson's "intense suffering" leading up to his death which reportedly lasted all day.[412] According to both the *DRC* account

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[408] "Negro Charged with Attempted Assault on a Small White Girl," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) September 25, 1921.

[409] *Ibid*.

[410] *Ibid*.; Ransom Johnson, *1920 U.S. Census*, Pilot Point, Denton, Texas; Roll: T625_1795; Page: 1A; Enumeration District: 56; as found on Ancestry.com, Last Accessed on December 4, 2019, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=6061&h=109392024&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=Aiv13&_phstart=successSource). According to the census, Ennis Johnson who disappeared just a days prior after supposedly attacking a white girl in Pilot Point lived with his Grandfather Ransom.

[411] "Negro Drinks 'High-Life' … and Dies," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) September 29, 1921.

[412] *Ibid*.

and his death certificate, Johnson died from accidental "carbon dioxide" ingestion.[413] Of course, this is not only scientifically untrue; it is impossible, as according to the National Library of Medicine, carbon dioxide, which is a gas, can only take liquid form under "extreme compression."[414] Thus, Johnson could not have poured liquid carbon dioxide into anything. Additionally, even if he had, carbon dioxide is relatively harmless, as it is the very chemical which gives soda its effervescence.[415] While the true details of Johnson's death will never be known, what seems far more likely than the false narrative provided in the *DRC* by those in charge in Denton is that he was murdered during the height of racial violence and disappearances in and around Denton County just days after his grandson was accused of offending a "white girl," a tragic narrative repeated countlessly across the South during the Jim Crow era.[416] Ransom Johnson's death was undoubtedly an extrajudicial killing and would not be the last.[417]

Less than one month after Johnson's body had been discovered, two unidentified African Americans men were arrested without cause and jailed in the Pilot Point community just north of

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[413] *Ibid*. Ransom Johnson, *Texas Death Certificates 1903–1982*, Texas Department of State Health Services; Austin Texas, USA; as found on Ancestry.com, Last Accessed on December 4, 2019, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=2272&h=30036700&usePUB=true&_phsrc=ZrZ3228&_phstart=successSource&requr=25508669767352 32&ur=0&lang=en-US).

[414] US National Library of Medicine, "Carbon Dioxide, Human Health Effects," TOXNET, Toxicology Data Network, May 14, 2015, National Institute of Health, Last Accessed on February 18, 2019, (https://toxnet.nlm.nih.gov/cgi-bin/sis/search2/r?dbs+hsdb:@term+@DOCNO+516).

[415] *Ibid*.

[416] "Negro Drinks 'High-Life' Thru Mistake and Dies," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) September 29, 1921; "Negro Charged with Attempted Assault on a Small White Girl," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) September 25, 1921.

[417] Ransom Johnson, *Texas Death Certificates 1903–1982*, Texas Department of State Health Services; Austin Texas, USA; as found on Ancestry.com, Last Accessed on December 4, 2019, (https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=2272&h=30036700&usePUB=true&_phsrc=ZrZ3228&_phstart=successSource&requr=25508669767352 32&ur=0&lang=en-US). It is worth noting that the county official who signed Johnson's death certificate, Abney B. Ivey was a Confederate monument contributor and a Klansman who actively campaigned for Quakertown's removal at the time of Ransom's murder. For details regarding his contributions and Klan involvement see Appendix III and IV.

Denton.[418] The following morning, they were reported missing by local authorities and the editor of the local paper claimed that the Klan had left him a note taking credit for their "severe whipping" and abduction.[419] Although several local reports acknowledged their disappearance, none explicitly stated that the men were murdered, yet all referred to them in the past tense. Witnesses had reportedly seen carloads of men arrive at the jail before the victims were removed, yet no one claimed the assailants as locals. Both the Denton County Sheriff and the County Attorney claimed to have investigated the incident and reportedly found evidence of a whipping, but "nothing more."[420] Subsequent reports in the *DRC* made it clear that "no action" would be taken in response to the disappearances of the two African American men.[421] The Denton County Sheriff claimed to need a conference with the County Judge who was otherwise "unavailable" and unable to make time to address the incident.[422] The bodies of the two brutalized men were never recovered, though evidence of the violent assaults committed against them had been found more than forty-eight hours after their abduction. The exploitation of these murders in the *DRC*, immediately following unmitigated news coverage of the burning of 'Black Wallstreet' and the Johnson family tragedies, collectively served to remind Quakertown residents of their potential fates should they continue to resist City Commission offers for their homes. These threats were indirect but they were nonetheless palpable. Regardless, by December 1921, Quakertown's community leaders continued to challenge City Commission attempts to dictate where and how

[418] "Two Negroes Take from Jail at Pilot Point and Whipt," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), October 21, 1921; "Flog Two Texas Negroes," *New York Times* (New York, NY) October 22, 1921.

[419] "Two Negroes Take from Jail at Pilot Point and Whipt," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), October 21, 1921.

[420] "Investigation Made into Whipping of Two Pilot Point Negroes," *Denton Record Chronicle (*Denton, TX), October 22, 1921.

[421] "No Action Taken Yet on Pilot Point Whipping," *Denton Record* Chronicle (Denton, TX), October 24, 1921.

[422] *Ibid*.

the ousted African American residents would relocate.[423] The local moral authority was not just determined to remove African American residents from Quakertown, but rather, to ensure the rise of the pure white cosmopolis, officials additionally insisted that all of Quakertown's African American residents move together to one site outside of the city which was to be dictated by the City Commission.

In response to the sustained resistance of Quakertown leaders against the City Commission dictates, the official order of Denton Knights of the Ku Klux Klan hosted their first mass public appearance. Just a few days before Christmas 1921, more than three hundred Klanspersons in white robes and hoods marched through downtown Denton under a flaming cross with banners that read "Here in 1866, Here Today, Here Forever," a motto that resonates with both the Vincentian Canon expropriated by the First-Generation Order and the New Testament scripture which states that "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and today and forever."[424] The day following the parade, City Marshal Price boasted in the *DRC* of how he chased a "negro" through town without any cause aside from the color of the man's skin, which according to Price, made him look "suspicious."[425] The City Marshall further reported to the *DRC* that the man claimed he had ran because upon his arrival to town at the train depot, he was warned that the Klan would "get him."[426] Apparently, the man associated Denton's local police force with the local Klan, and Marshal Price made no effort to refute this claim.[427] Over the next few days, threatening letters signed by the "K.K.K." were reportedly left throughout

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[423] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary.

[424] "330 Klansmen March in the Streets of Denton," *Dallas Morning News*, (Dallas, TX) December 20, 1921; "Ku Klux Klan Stages Parade," *Lincoln Nebraska Journal* (Lincoln, NB) December 20, 1921; Heb. 13:8 (NASB).

[425] "K.K.K. Parade Has Put Rabbits in Negroes' Feet City Officer Declares," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) December 22, 1921.

[426] *Ibid*.

[427] "K.K.K. Parade Has Put Rabbits in Negroes' Feet City Officer Declares," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) December 22, 1921.

Quakertown, the last one reportedly left on Christmas Eve.[428] There is no evidence that any efforts were made by local authorities to deter this Klanish activity, as it was considered to be in service with the theological white supremacist vision embraced by Denton officials.

By early spring 1922, many Quakertown residents still refused to make deals with the City Commission for their properties and homes. In May, several families finally agreed to meet with the City Commission in hopes of getting fair offers, but as Edwards reported in the *DRC*, the stakes were high, as those who continued to refuse would be faced with "condemnation proceedings."[429] Alongside Edwards' update regarding Quakertown proceedings, the largest headline on the front page of that day's paper highlighted a lynching that had occurred the previous day in another town. Once again, Edwards used the *DRC* to make veiled threats against Quakertown residents. Later that month, more than one year after plans to remove Quakertown had been announced, Denton's City Commission hosted its first public meeting with the African American residents that had built the community.[430] Over the course of four hours, twenty-six property owners addressed officials and only five settled on a sale price for their properties. Those unwilling to accept the bottom line of the city's Purchasing Committee were immediately "dismissed" without any opportunity to negotiate.[431] Additionally, the City Commission threatened to withhold utilities and sewer extensions to any "new settlement" unless all of Quakertown's African American residents relocated to a single location approved by the

[428] "K.K.K. Denies All Responsibility for Purported Notices," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), December 23, 1921; "Klan Denies Issuing Warnings," *Dallas Morning News* (Dallas, TX) December 23, 1921.

[429] "Park Property Owners to Meet Monday Night with Commission and Park Board," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) May 20, 1922.

[430] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, May 22, 1922, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary.

[431] "First Land in Park Site Purchased Monday Night; City to Help Negroes in Securing Desirable New Location," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) May 23, 1922.

Commission.[432] When only two out of six parties settled during a subsequent meeting two days later, it was decided that officials would no longer take meetings with Quakertown holdouts during public City Commission sessions, rather, a new "Purchasing Committee" which was comprised of only Commissioners on the Police Committee would visit their homes to encourage them to accept the deals that they were offered.[433] During the first week of June, Commissioner Orr reported that the Purchasing Committee had made no progress towards buying out Quakertown properties, which he largely attributed to the fact that residents were unable to agree upon a new location.

Orr suggested to the City Commission that the community could likely be convinced to resettle "in the Southeast part of town" if appropriate septic accommodations were made.[434] The Park Board refused to make any official commitments until all of the properties were settled.[435] Over the next few weeks, Mayor Hennen personally led on site "negotiations" with Quakertown residents.[436] In the week that followed, several African American men were arrested by Hennen's police force for spurious charges including "abusive language."[437] Uncoincidentally, hold-out property owners soon accepted offers for thousands less than they initially demanded.[438] Finally, in mid-June, Mayor Hennen promised Quakertown leaders that septic services would be

[432] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, May 22, 1922, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary.

[433] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Special Session, May 24, 1921, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary; "Committee Named to Finish Buying Land in Park Site," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) May 25, 1922.

[434] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, June 1, 1922, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary.

[435] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, June 1, 1922, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary.

[436] "Park Committee Report," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) June 16, 1922.

[437] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, June 15, 1922, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary: Mayor Hennen reports closed deal with Angeline Burr for $3800 but three weeks prior Burr insisted would take no less than $5000; "Local News in Brief," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) June 12, 1922.

[438] *Ibid*.

provided to the community's new settlement if they would collectively agree on the city's proposed location.[439] This promise would turn out to be an empty one, as septic services were not unilaterally provided to the relocated community until the 1960s. Ever the theological white supremacist, Hennen understood that there could be no sin in a white politician's false promises to African American people for the sake of perpetuating white progress.

As the last of Quakertown properties went under contract in 1922, factions of Denton's white residents went into an uproar as rumors about where the Quakertown refugees would be allowed to settle again began to swirl. Public statements were issued against their admittance into various neighborhoods, and at least two different petitions, each with hundreds of signatures, were submitted to the City Commission by white residents determined to ban African American people from living on their street.[440] The petitions were followed by another wave of written warnings left throughout Quakertown, and white property owners who expressed a willingness to sell or rent to Quakertown refugees in locations unapproved by the City Commission also faced obscure threats.[441] By the close of July, all but six Quakertown properties were settled and officials congratulated themselves for "keeping inside the figures" for which they knew the properties had been "previously appraised."[442] As the last six Quakertown hold-outs remained throughout August, Denton's Old Settlers Association (OSA), comprised largely of Confederate

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[439] "Park Committee Report," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) June 16, 1922.

[440] "Round About Town," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) June 22, 1922; "Petition Asks that Negroes Be Located South of City Cemetery," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) June 23, 1922: crediting Stallings, "Removing the Danger," 58. Many of the white-identifying residents of Denton who signed petitions calling for Quakertown's removal and that refugees not be allowed into their neighborhoods also contributed to the Katie Daffan UDC Confederate Monument campaign. See Appendix III.

[441] "There May Be Some Misunderstanding," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) July 1, 1922: crediting Stallings, "Removing the Danger," 54; "Notice Posted in Neighborhood East of CIA," *Dallas Morning News* (Dallas, TX) June 30, 1922; "Negroes Warned Away from Denton Settlement," *Dallas Morning News* (Dallas, TX) July 3, 1922.

[442] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, July 22, 1922, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary

veterans, hosted a countywide reunion and picnic just north of town.[443] The *DRC* afforded detailed coverage of the event, (unsurprising given the editors' racist proclivities throughout the summer), including a recap of "reminiscences" shared by the federally ousted Reconstruction Sheriff C.A. Williams.[444] In honor of the event's "Daughters of the Confederacy Day," Williams recalled the Reconstruction Era in Denton as an apocalyptic era of gloom among a "peaceable community," a fact which he attributed to the hard work of the local First-Generation Ku Klux Klan whose violent and lethal assaults he described in grisly detail.[445]

Four days after Williams' sensationalized tales of Ku Klux murder, more than one hundred men joined Denton's Second-Generation Klan in a mass initiation ceremony.[446] Over one hundred more joined in a second round the following night.[447] The same week, an African American man named Edgar Watson was brutally attacked with a monkey wrench at the Denton train station.[448] Despite suffering multiple wounds that penetrated his skull, neck, and back, the *DRC* described his attack as a "difficulty" and his assailant identified on census records as "white" was charged with "affray."[449] Several days later, within the first week of September, hundreds more Klansmen gathered in Denton for another round of mass initiations.[450] At the same time, the six remaining Quakertown holdouts continued to refuse the city's low offers for

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[443] "Program for Old Settlers' Reunion at Pilot Point August 10, 11, 12," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), August 7, 1922, crediting research of Micah Crittenden, University of North Texas.

[444] "Pilot Point Reunion Inspires Old Settler to Historic Reminiscences," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), August 15, 1922. All of Williams' children were leading members of the organizations that initiated the Quakertown removal campaign. His Daughter Lee Williams was a UDC and City Federation leader. His son Bala Williams was one of the Rotarians that helped launched the removal campaign with CIA officials. See Appendix IV.

[445] *Ibid*.

[446] "Klansmen Initiate Candidates in Field Just North of City," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), August 16, 1922; Crediting: Stallings, "Removing the Danger."

[447] *Ibid*.

[448] "Negro Painfully Injured Sunday Afternoon at Depot Edgar Watson, *"Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), August 28, 1918.

[449] *Ibid*.

[450] "Klan Initiation Held in Field Near Town Tuesday," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), September 6, 1922; Crediting: Stallings, "Removing the Danger."

their properties, and the *DRC* published a final condemnation threat on behalf of the City.[451] At the following City Commission meeting, Mayor Hennen ordered the city attorney to move forward with condemnations and placed an "extra night watchman" on duty.[452] The City Commission had constructed its Klanish police force to facilitate control over an increasingly independent community of African American people in Denton, and it was this same force which ultimately facilitated their removal from the inner-city. For the first time since the Emancipation Proclamation, the new Zion of prophetic promise must have seemed closer than ever to those beholden to the utopian theo-myth in Denton.

By late fall 1922, Quakertown had been emptied of all of its African American residents. According to Stallings, homes were relocated one by one in the middle of the night to a new segregated settlement in Southeast Denton referred to as "Solomon Hill," a swamp-like field lacking basic services and plagued by sewage runoff and mosquito infestation.[453] When residents requested the electricity and sewage extensions promised by Mayor Hennen, their petition was referred to the City's Water and Light Committee for an "investigation and report."[454] Quakertown survivor Alma Clark recalled in an oral history recorded decades later that the community continued to go without these services for Decades.[455] In their resilience, Solomon Hill residents sought to carry on with their lives and rebuild themselves financially, as many had lost their sources of income along with both the loss of Quakertown's business district, and

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[451] "Nineteen Houses Still Remain in City Park Area," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), September 19, 1922.

[452] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, September 26, 1922, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary.

[453] Stallings, "Removing the Danger," 54.

[454] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, September 6, 1922, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary.

[455] Sherelyn Yancey, Oral History Interview with Alma Clark, September 29, 2006, June 29, 2006; Denton, Texas, University of North Texas Libraries, UNT Digital Library: crediting UNT Oral History Program, 13-14, Last Accessed January 16, 2020, (https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc306912/).

undervalued compensation provided by the city for their original homestead properties.[456] But when they dared to try and do business in downtown Denton, city leaders responded with a peddler's ordinance that prohibited street vending on the public square.[457]

This response was undeniably racially motivated, as street solicitations had never been a problem when the UDC fundraised on the square for more than half of the previous decade for the Confederate Monument, and other white women's clubs continued to host rummage sales in the near future without incident.[458] It simply was not enough for Denton's white elite to force Quakertown's residents out of the inner-city; they sought to restore total white supremacy in a utopian society that had no place for economically independent African American people. Survivor Norvell Reed explained in an oral history interview decades later that Quakertown's forced ouster was not about white elites "wanting the space they were in," but rather about "reasserting control over where and how coloreds could exist in general" in Denton.[459] Reed would know. The first house moved to property outside of the relocation area designated by city leaders belonged to her uncle, and the local Klan had set it on fire shortly thereafter. Her father and grandfather had moved their homes to the same area, and they, along with the "white" man who sold them the land, were forced to regularly take up armed patrols for some time thereafter to ensure the family's safety and protection from white supremacist vigilante violence.[460]

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[456] Stallings, "Removing the Danger," 12.

[457] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, November 28, 1922, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary.

[458] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, September 25, 1923, Book VII, Office of Denton City Secretary.

[459] Richard Byrd, Oral History Interview with Norvell Reed, March 11, 1988, book, March 11, 1988; Denton, Texas, University of North Texas Libraries, UNT Digital Library: crediting UNT Oral History Program, 66, Last Accessed February 16, 2019,(https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth223673/).

[460] *Ibid*.

This type of Klan activity swept through communities all across North Texas during the summer of 1922, prompting a subsequent meeting in the Collin County courthouse among anti-Klan forces known as "Citizens Leagues."[461] An account provided from a North Texas community Sheriff in attendance detailed how local Klans relied on a network of intercommunity engagement which ensured member anonymity, and he told of whipping squads that were sent into adjoining communities to cause the worst harm with the least possibility of recognition. The Denton Klan was specifically identified as participating in these squads. Although there is no extant documentation that incontrovertibly states this, no doubt because of the Klan's secretive nature regarding its documentation, membership, and activities, it is certain that Denton's Klan was actively engaged in assaults and murder, as the following December, two more African American men were lynched, once again in the Pilot Point community, and in a scenario identical to the one that occurred in October 1921.[462]

Just as the lynching one year prior had taken place, two African American men were arrested on spurious charges, removed from the jail overnight, whipped, and then supposedly disappeared. The only evidence of their murder was left in a note signed by the Klan which was left on the door of the local newspaper's office. As before, the men were presumed but never locally reported dead.[463] The same local officials again refused to act. Just one week after their murder and disappearance, Texas Rangers visited the area to investigate "prohibition violations" which resulted in the arrest of four African American men, yet no investigation was made into

[461] "Whipping Squads From Other Towns," *Dallas Morning News*, (Dallas, TX), July 18, 1922.

[462] "Letter Warns Negro Loafers in Pilot Point," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), December 14, 1922.

[463] "Two Negroes missing at Pilot Point Texas, are supposed to have been lynched," *Lincoln Nebraska Journal*, (Lincoln, Nebraska), December 16, 1922.

the reported lynchings that had just occurred.[464] These repeated trends, considered among the persistent apathy of local authorities suggests only one logical explanation: local authorities, including city and county deputies, as well as the Sheriff, were themselves involved in the murders, or, at the very least, complicit in cover-ups to protect the perpetrators with whom they would have had to have been in cahoots. The evidence suggests that there was an undeniable commitment among local officials to rid Denton County communities of African American persons. Together, elected, and appointed city and county governmental officials were determined to establish a pure white society of prophetic promise. Throughout the 1920s, their efforts were overwhelmingly successful.

After the second round of lynchings occurred in Pilot Point in 1922, African American residents in Denton County undoubtedly became desperate for help. With nowhere to turn, someone sent out a plea to the *St. Paul Appeal*, a popular journal written by and disseminated among African American populations in the North:

> …Two colored men disappeared from the Pilot Point Jail in a similar manner several months ago and nothing has been heard of them [either]. The jail is located in a backwoods and unguarded at night. Colored people here blame the Ku Klux Klan. Since the men have been kidnapped, scores of men, women and children have left the vicinity.[465]

Clearly, Quakertown was not the only Denton County African American community that had been terrorized and forced out of an inner-city. All of these incidents collectively considered suggest that local violent Klan activity was not only directed by local authorities, but that it was coordinated by a network of officials across city and county lines. An incident reported one year later, in the summer of 1923, involving a group of Denton County deputies, as well as City

[464] "Negroes Disappear Rangers Investigate," *McKinney Daily Courier Gazette* (McKinney, TX), December 30, 1922.

[465] "Prisoners Spirited from Unguarded Jail," *St. Paul Appeal*, (St. Paul, MN), December 29, 1922.

Officer Nick Akin, and Sheriff W. F. Swinney, suggests that local authorities not only directed Klan violence but that the Klan could also direct violence inflicted by authorities. On their return trip home from a Klan parade in Gainesville, this group of officials stopped in the Sanger community just north of the city of Denton to investigate a "tip" received at the parade about a "gambling house."[466] The officers raided the home and found dozens of men peaceably playing cards. Though all of the "suspects" ran, the officers captured eight men: two described as "white" and six described as "negroes," one of the latter card players was shot three times.[467]

Just one month after the *DRC* published a detailed account of this Klan directed police violence, the last of the condemned Quakertown properties were cleared from the new whites-only park site in Denton, and the white community celebrated with a massive Klan parade through the city.[468] In a dramatic show of victory and power, more than 250 Klanspersons paraded the city square.[469] Leading the affair was a masked Klanswoman riding a white horse with four Klansmen in attendance on foot carrying burning crosses. Behind her were several unmasked Klanswomen in a car with a large "electric cross" mounted to its hood.[470] The city and county furnished more than forty special officers to manage over 20,000 onlookers and city officials, including Mayor Hennen himself, who personally helped handle the crowds.[471] Dozens of police officers marched alongside the Klan through the square in silence. There could be no

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[466] "Large Crowd Went from Denton to Gainesville for Klan and Kamelia Parade," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) July 16, 1923; "Negro is Shot by Officer in Raid at Sanger and Seriously Wounded," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) July 16, 1923.

[467] *Ibid*.

[468] "1,500 Klansman Schedule to be in Parade Here Saturday Night," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) August 17, 1923.

[469] "Immense Crowd Sees Ku Klux Klan Parade," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), August 20, 1923; "Parade at Denton," *Dallas Morning News* (Dallas, TX) August 20, 1923.

[470] *Ibid*.

[471] Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, August 16, 1923, Book VII, Office of Denton City Secretary.

doubt in the minds of anyone present: the Denton's Klan, Klavern No. 136 had full control over the city and county of Denton.

Chapter 5

The KKKollective Messiah

"Surely the hand of God is leading,
and the spirit of God is hovering over this great movement." [472]

- Rev. W.C. Wright, First Christian Church of Plainview, 1926

The Second-Generation Ku Klux Klan that emerged in the 1920s was not simply an ahistorical occurrence; rather, it was the result of long sustained ancient theo-myths that had been homogenized with popular apocalyptic millenarian discourse by thriving neo-Confederate movements, particularly by the work of the UDC. Reminiscent of earlier Gnostic revitalizations from the late Medieval Era, which culminated with the Protestant Reformation of the Enlightenment Age, the theo-political nature of Klanish mythical memories redefined white civic identity and normalized modern racial discourse that both assumed and perpetuated white supremacy. As an organic, messianic revitalization movement driven by racialized theo-mythologies of whiteness, the order uniquely expressed itself within localized Protestantism of various sects. In his 2018 analysis, "Texas Prohibitionists and the Politicization of Southern Religion," historian Joseph Locke describes how during the early twentieth century, Southern evangelicals were in a "full-blown spiritual crisis."[473] The influence of popular apocalypticism during this time led many laypersons to shift their views towards a more spiritual inclination, giving way to the development of a new "clerical culture" that perceived itself under constant

[472] W.C. Wright, "The Ku Klux Klan Unmasked" (Dallas: Dallas Press, 1926): crediting MSU library archive, Last accessed February 4, 2019, (https://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/AmRad/kkkunmasked.pdf).

[473] Joseph Locke, *Making the Bible Belt: Texas Prohibitionists and the Politicization of Southern Religion*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017) Oxford Scholarship Online, 2017, 100, doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190216283.001.0001.

threat from a corrupted secular society determined to overthrow Protestant moralism, which in the South, was predominantly shaped by theological white supremacist ideologies.[474]

Protestant ministers of assorted denominations across North Texas throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century called on their followers to reject the secular world as inherently corrupt and already doomed. For instance, in 1911, Texas Pastor and President of the Southern Baptist Convention George Truett proclaimed to a large group of his followers that "omens loomed everywhere."[475] In his annual reports, Truett compared his sizable congregational gatherings to divine war councils where saintly armies planned their conquest over secularism in preparation of the promised Messiah's return.[476] The Northwest Texas Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South was also perpetually beholden to this type of "crisis-stricken mindset."[477] Throughout the 1920s, annual conference reports reflected a panicked and apocalyptic tone which was coupled with rapid congregant growth referred to as a "great ingathering of souls."[478] According to history of religions scholar Eric Jacobson in his article *"Silent Observer or Silent Partner: Methodism and the Texas Ku Klux Klan, 1921 - 1925,"* Protestant ministers of assorted denominations had espoused increasingly racialized theologies after the turn of the nineteenth century, but particularly after 1920, Texas Methodism was inundated by "militant Klansmen" who were determined to spread their unique brand of theo-mythology.[479] Considering that the Second-Generation Klan's founder, William Joseph

[474] Locke, *Making the Bible*, *104.*
[475] *Ibid.*, 62.
[476] *Ibid.*, 169
[477] *Ibid*.
[478] *Ibid*.
[479] Eric S. Jacobson, "Silent Observer or Silent Partner: Methodism and the Texas Ku Klux Klan, 1921-1925," *Methodist History Journal,* (January 1993) Vol 60, No. 2, 104 -112.

Simmons was himself a Methodist Minister, it is logical that Methodism would be the leading vehicle in a collective Klanish usurpation of Protestant doctrine.[480]

In his chapter, "Memory and the 1920s Ku Klux Klan in Texas," in the 2007 compilation text *Lone Star Pasts: History and Memory in Texas*, historian Walter Buenger emphasizes how Texas Klans especially exploited "racialized myths and memories" with propaganda that was empowered by "regionalism, race, religion, and patriotism" to facilitate a prolific recruitment campaign across the state.[481] Using "memory … as a trigger" to fire "ideas into actions," a distinctly Klanish brand of evangelism emerged that firmly took hold of most Texas communities throughout the 1920s.[482] According to Buenger, the most prominent and powerful historical memories that were tapped by Texas Klans were those associated with the Confederate Lost Cause myths, which were supplemented by "romantic images of medieval England" that mythologized the Reconstruction Era Klan as "chivalrous" Anglo Saxon Knights who served as heroic defenders of whiteness' progress by way of defending the "virtue" — or chastity — of "white women."[483] All of these themes predominated Klan activity in Denton's protestant circles.

According to Buenger, Texas Klans also expressed a profound hero-centric "adoration" of America's founding fathers for their restoration of a pseudo-original "Christian church" of "imagined purity" which they believed was once rooted in American soil but lost over time to secular progress.[484] These mergers of historical memory with religious and patriotic symbols led to a bitter reverence for both a "lost America of the past" as well as a similarly squandered

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[480] Jacobson, "Silent Observer," 104; Alexander, *Crusade*, 27, 31.

[481] Walter L. Buenger, "Memory and the 1920s Ku Klux Klan in Texas," in *Lone Star Pasts, History and Memory in Texas*, ed. Gregg Cantrell and Elizabeth Hayes Turner, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 123-124.

[482] *Ibid*., 123-124.

[483] *Ibid*.

[484] *Ibid*.

mythical, primitive true Americanism that had once belonged to a divinely sanctioned, 'all-white' Protestant civic body.[485] Within this mythical paradigm of theological white supremacy, Texas Klansmen responded in kind, emerging in the 1920s as divinely ordained soldiers of a white Protestant nation — the new defenders of a mythical race in an "ancient struggle between white and nonwhite."[486] In Denton, Texas, local and traveling Klan clerics frequently employed these types of racialized apocalyptic evangelizations with prophetic promises of a super-idealized cosmopolis on the horizon wherein whiteness would ultimately instantiate itself, a message that seamlessly resonated with the community's popular Protestant culture of the time.

At the height of Klan recruitment efforts during the first half of the 1920s, circuit recruiters frequently visited the city of Denton and surrounding areas, as the local order relied heavily on dramatic orations to sustain their recruitment efforts. Afforded special access to the public square and introduced by prominent citizens including Denton's Mayor Hennen and leading members of local Protestant churches, the emergent National Klan organization's racist brand of theo-national politics were openly promoted.[487] Militant-fundamentalist-Protestants in Denton, who were typically Baptists or Methodists, frequently called for a holy endeavor towards "100% Americanism," a Klanish term synonymous with a pure, white Protestant America, and their apocalyptic warnings of an America "under attack" frequently reverberated across the town square.[488] The country as they saw it was on the brink of extinction, under the constant threat of immigration and civil rights initiatives. African Americans, Catholics, and

[485] Buenger, "Memory," 123-124.

[486] *Ibid*.

[487] "The Principles of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), August 2, 1922, as found in: Stallings, "Removing the Danger;" "Principles of Klan Lauded by Speaker Before Big Crowd," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), January 23, 1925; "Immense Crowd Sees Ku Klux Klan Parade," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), August 20, 1923; "Klan Parade at Denton," *Dallas Morning News* (Dallas, TX) August 20, 1923.

[488] *Ibid*.

Jews, like the indigenous inhabitants whose existence had threatened the progress of earlier settler-colonizers, were collectively characterized as ungodly obstacles on the path toward a divinely sanctioned white Protestant America that was destined to return to its purest state. Klanish clergy rallied Denton residents with patriotic fervor and told them repeatedly that the "country must be saved for Anglo-Saxons" because "God created the white race to be supreme."[489] As this Klanish theological discourse made its way from the town square to local pulpits, Protestant churches in the area became hotbeds of Klan recruitment. While all of the area's Protestant churches engaged in Klanishness, the Methodist and Baptist congregations most regularly participated in concurrent recruitment campaigns with the local order throughout the 1920s, all of which were highly successful.

By the end of 1922, Klan membership in the city of Denton already outnumbered the city's First Presbyterian congregation at least three-to-one, and it rivaled the Central Presbyterian and First Christian Church congregations.[490] Although Denton's white population had increased by twenty-seven percent in the decade between 1920 and 1930, the congregations of both the Methodist and Baptist churches increased at a combined rate of eighty-four percent during the

[489] "Principles of Klan Lauded by Speaker Before Big Crowd," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), January 23, 1925

[490] "Go to Sunday School Day Breaks Previous Records here Sunday," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) June 21, 1920: Central Presbyterian membership in 1920 was reportedly around 200 and did not break 300 until 1924; "1924 Religious Growth Rapid Here," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) January 3, 1925; "Churches: 110 Present at SS," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) June 21, 1920; "1924 Religious Growth Rapid Here," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) January 3, 1925: First Presbyterian membership in 1920 was only 115, by 1925 it was 125; "Churches and Schools Big Factors in Denton's Growth," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), May 1, 1922: First Christian membership totaled 375 at the end of 1922; "Newspaper Man is Taken Out to See Klan Initiation," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), April 21, 1922, as found in: Stallings, "Removing the Danger;" "Klan Initiation Held in Field Near Town Tuesday," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), September 6, 1922, As Found in: Stallings, "Removing the Danger;" "Klansmen Initiate Candidates in Field Just North of City," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), August 16, 1922, As Found in: Stallings, "Removing the Danger:" By the end of 1922, at least 319 members were reportedly initiated into Denton's Klan and these numbers only reflect the four known initiations during this year.

same time, an astounding fifty-seven percent higher than the citywide population growth.[491] To date, this growth among the congregations statistically outweighs any other documented growth in any other time period for either church. As the Klan's distinct brand of theological white supremacy indiscriminately permeated Denton Protestantism at large, local clergy members of every local denomination touted favorable endorsements for the Ku Klux Klan in the early 1920s. For example, First Christian Church Reverend J. M. Perry preached entire sermons dedicated to "God's Hooded Night-Riders."[492] Meanwhile, Revered Sam J. Barcus of the First Methodist Church regularly advocated for "One Hundred Per Cent Americans" in his Klanish sermons.[493] In the fall of 1922, the Central Presbyterian Church hosted a Klan funeral for Dr. W.O. Kimbrough with a four-foot cross comprised of flowers inscribed with the letters "K.K.K." that was placed at the front of the church rostrum. Afterwards, eight Klansmen in full regalia attended Kimbrough's graveside service.[494]

Protestantism and Klanishness were so infused in Denton during this time, that in analysis of historical events, it is often difficult to distinguish the activities of various

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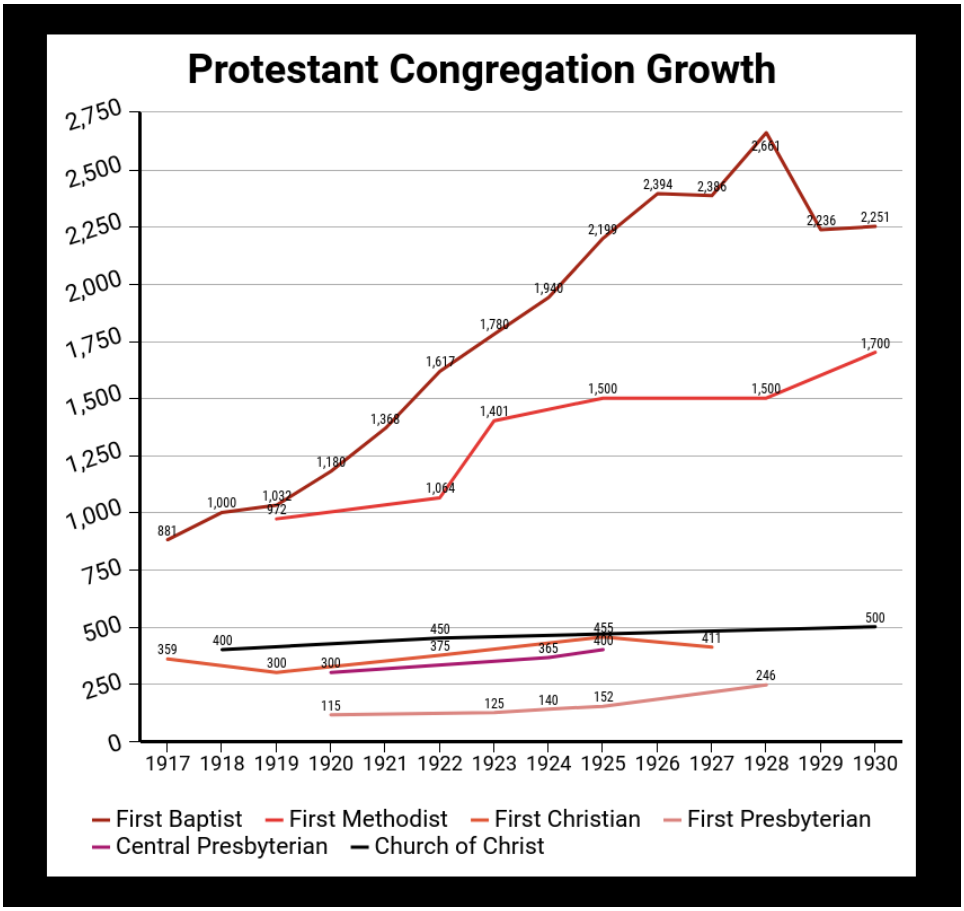
[491] "City Population History from 1850–2000," Texas Almanac Table, (Denton, TX: 1920), City Population, Texasalmanac.com, Last Accessed March 02, 2019, (https://texasalmanac.com/sites/default/files/images/CityPopHist%20web.pdf); C. A. Bridges and Bessie Shook, *First Methodist Church Centennial Book 1857-1957* (Denton: First Methodist Church, 1957), 21; "Denton is City of Beautiful Churches," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), August 15, 1925; "North Texas Conference Opens with 600 Present," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), October 15, 1928: By the end of 1919, First Methodist membership totaled 972 members. Just five years later in 1925, it more than doubled at 1,850, It was later reduced to an official 1,500 at the end of the decade when the church supposedly decided not to include college students in its totals anymore. By 1950, the church had reached only 2,100 members, barely accumulating an increase over the course of three decades that co-Klan recruitment had accomplished in half a decade; L. P. Floyd, The First 100 Years of the First Baptist Church Denton, Texas 1858-1958 (Denton: Terrill Wheeler, 1958), 128-129: At the end of 1920, First Baptist membership totaled 1,180 but by the end of 1929, the church congregation had reached 2,251.

[492] "Churches," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), June 30, 1923.

[493] "Series of Four Special Sermons," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), June 16, 1922.

[494] "K. K. K. Cross Placed on Grave of Dr. Kimbrough," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), October 21, 1922.



6. Protestant congregation growth for all of Denton's Protestant Churches 1920-1930.[495]

[495] First Baptist Congregation totals: L. P. Floyd, The First 100 Years of the First Baptist Church Denton, Texas 1858-1958 (Denton: Terrill Wheeler, 1958), 128-129. First Methodist Congregation totals: C. A. Bridges and Bessie Shook, *First Methodist Church Centennial Book 1857-1957* (Denton: First Methodist Church, 1957), 21; "Denton is City of Beautiful Churches," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), August 15, 1925; "North Texas Conference Opens with 600 Present," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), October 15, 1928. First Christian Congregation totals: "Churches and Schools Big Factors in Denton's Growth," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), January 5, 1922; "Denton is City of Beautiful Churches," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), August 15, 1925; "Earsom Resigns as Pastor of First Christian Church," ," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), April 14, 1927. First Presbyterian Congregation totals: "100 Members Present at SS," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), June 21, 1920; "Religious Growth Rapid Here," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), January 3, 1925; "Denton is City of Beautiful Churches," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), August 15, 1925; First Presbyterian Church, *1878-1978, The First One Hundred Years of the First Presbyterian Church, Denton, Texas,* (Denton: 1978), 7. Central Presbyterian Congregation totals: "Go to Sunday School Day Breaks Previous Records Here Sunday," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), June 21, 1920; "Religious Growth Rapid Here," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), January 3, 1925. Church of Christ Congregation totals: "Churches and Schools Big Factors in Denton's Growth," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), January 5, 1922; "Chamber of Commerce Hears Editor of Church Magazine," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), February 17, 1930.

denominational congregations from the local Klan order itself. For instance, in 1922, the Pearl Street Church of Christ stopped referring to their membership as congregants; instead, committed attendees became known as church "citizens," the same title bestowed to members of what was known as the Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan.[496] By 1925, Denton's Klan was completely amalgamated into all of the local Protestant congregations with its own "Go to Church Sunday" campaign, which sent Klansmen and their families into different churches each week as part of a concerted effort to disseminate Klanish evangelism throughout the community.[497] According to an update sent by Denton's Klan to a national-circulating Klan publication, these "Go to Church Sunday" efforts were "highly successful," and they received "enthusiastic" support from the local pastorate. However, Klanish evangelism wasn't reserved just to church gatherings. In early 1925, Methodist Minister W. G. Beasley preached for two-hours on the Klan's principles of "100 percent Americanism" in front of a large crowd inside the Denton County courthouse on the town square.[498] Excerpts from his sermon were included in a *DRC* report the following day:

> The principles upon which the Ku Klux Klan is founded come from God…this country must be saved for the Anglo-Saxons. If the principles upon which the Klan is founded fail, the country is doomed. The Klan stands for 100 per cent Americanism and Americanism means … white supremacy …. the white race should be kept free from amalgamation with any of the colored races. God created the white race to be supreme…soon the white race throughout the world will be united under one Klan banner. [499]

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[496] "Churches and Schools Big Factors in Denton's Growth," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), May 1, 1922; Simmons, "Kloran," 43.

[497] "Go To Church Sunday," *The Wisconsin Kourier*, (Wisconsin, MN), Vo. 4, no.10, January 23, 1925, citing the Wisconsin Historical Society, Last accessed March 29, 2019, (https://kkknews.revealdigital.com).

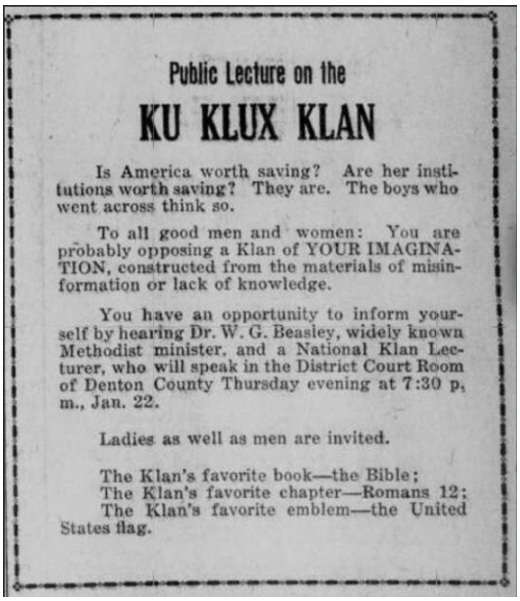
[498] "Principles of Klan Lauded by Speaker Before Big Crowd," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), January 23, 1925.

[499] *Ibid.*

The following month, members of assorted circles within Denton's Methodist Women's Missionary Society (WMS) hosted a weekend of rummage sales on the same town square to raise money for Klanhaven, a Dallas-based Klan charity for white orphaned children.[500] This kind of mass permeation of Klanish Protestantism, espoused as popular theological white supremacy, was not unique to Denton nor any other North Texas community during the 1920s. Rather, it was a thriving trend throughout the South, as well as the nation which had lasting implications.

In her 2008 dissertation entitled "Gospel According to the Klan*: The KKK's Appeal to Protestant America, 1915-1930,"* religious studies scholar Kelly J. Baker argues that throughout the 1920s, a distinct brand of Klan theology developed into a holistically mainstream movement of theo-nationalist Protestantism. Relying heavily on David Chidester's methodological approach of structured empathy, Baker provides an interpretive framework for understanding the Klan's

[500]"Denton Women Make Money at Rummage Sale," *The Wisconsin Kourier*, (Wisconsin, MN), Vo. 4, no.12, February 6, 1925: citing the Wisconsin Historical Society, Last Accessed March, 29, 2019 (https://kkknews.revealdigital.com); Kenneth T. Jackson, Ku Klux Klan In The City 1915-1930, (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee Inc., 1992) 76-79: Klanhaven was an orphanage for white children, initially dedicated as Hope Cottage by the Dallas Klan in October 1923 on "Klan Day" at the Texas State Fair. In late 1925, when National leadership took charge of the Dallas Klan's failing finances, oversight of the orphanage was assigned to the state organization and it was renamed Klanhaven. Today it is a "pro-life" Christian "pregnancy center" that misrepresents itself as part of the abortion clinic next door so as to entice young pregnant persons inside where they are pressured to keep unwanted pregnancies; "Methodist Women's Mission Society Meets in Circles," 'Clubs,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 20, 1925: The rummage sale announced for "next weekend" planned for Jan. 31; "The Methodist Women's Missionary Society," 'Local News in Brief,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 23, 1925: rummage sale will be held Jan. 31; "Circles 1 and II of the WMS..," 'Local News in Brief,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 29, 1925: Though several announcements were made about the rummage sale in the *DRC,* no mention was ever made regarding the beneficiary of the sale's proceeds in the *DRC*. They only announced the beneficiary in the Wisconsin Kourier Klan journal cited above; First M.E. Church, *First Methodist Church Centennial Book 1857-1957*, (Denton, TX: Self Published, 1957), 17: Church history describes membership growth in the WMS during the 1920's as "so large" and the interests of its members "so varied" that the organization was divided into "circles." The amount of work done by the WMS during this time was described as "beyond calculation." Though, unlike all of the other organization's discussed in the church's history, none of the accomplishments or contributions of the WMS are mentioned. This is likely because most of the members identified in this organization in church documents can be traced directly to Klan activities in the area. See Appendix IV for more details.



Public Lecture on the

KU KLUX KLAN

Is America worth saving? Are her institutions worth saving? They are. The boys who went across think so.

To all good men and women: You are probably opposing a Klan of YOUR IMAGINATION, constructed from the materials of misinformation or lack of knowledge.

You have an opportunity to inform yourself by hearing Dr. W. G. Beasley, widely known Methodist minister, and a National Klan Lecturer, who will speak in the District Court Room of Denton County Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m., Jan. 22.

Ladies as well as men are invited.

The Klan's favorite book—the Bible;
The Klan's favorite chapter—Romans 12;
The Klan's favorite emblem—the United States flag.

7. Klan advertisement in the *DRC* for recruitment event held in Denton County Courthouse on the square, January 22, 1925.[501]

religious worldview. Assessing Klanish myth, symbol, and ritual, she approaches Klanish theology "imaginatively" to explain how the order used "selective history" to justify a theo-nationalist agenda.[502] In doing so, Baker addresses numerous parallels between "common tropes" in American historiography and Klan teachings of the 1920s, which continually and blatantly promoted "white Protestant dominance."[503] Criticizing timid scholarship of the early twenty-first century for it's consistent failures to present the order in "its own language," Baker further argues that historians have consistently downplayed the movement's theo-political roots and further facilitated its occulted ideological survival within modern white Protestant American culture.[504] Furthermore, Baker asserts that Second-Generation Klans should be collectively

[501] "Public Lecture on the Ku Klux Klan," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) January 22, 1925.

[502] Kelly J. Baker, "Gospel According to the Klan, The Ku Klux Klan's Vision of White Protestant America, 1915-1930," (Dissertation, Florida State University, 2008), 18, 176.

[503] *Ibid*., 20, 156, 176.

[504] *Ibid*., 1-4, 176.

examined as a religion of "Klancraft" that "supplied divine mandate" for racism and "purpose" in white Protestant communities that were already immersed in fundamentalist racialized theologies.[505] She stresses the liminality of Klan initiations which incorporated transformative anointing rituals for initiates that would emerge as wholly new Klanish beings — perfect "models of the will of God."[506] Additionally, she highlights how by joining the order, Klanpersons sacrificed their individuality to a collective body, and became one with a "civic Messiah" that they believed was divinely appointed to serve as "savior and soul of the nation," the destined redeemer of "white Protestant America."[507] Finally, she explains how Klan meetings functioned as ritualized gatherings where Protestants from assorted denominations could work together in a "common and holy cause" that was framed by theological white supremacy.[508] Although Baker's analysis inadvertently implies the messianic functions of the order's theology, her assessment makes no direct inquiries into the ancient theo-myth that underscored the order's theo-political mission.

In order to further assess the gnosticized messianic influence that underscores this distinctly Klanish brand of theological white supremacy, a thorough assessment of the order's most popular theologian is in order. Baker's assessment of Klan theology relies heavily on the literature of prominent Texas Klan theologian and recruiter W.C. Wright, whose abundant publications have been regularly cited by contemporary scholars researching and analyzing the Second-Generation order.[509] Likely due to the publication address printed in the Klansman's most frequently cited work, a 1926 pamphlet entitled "Religious and Patriotic Ideals of the Ku

[505] Baker, "Gospel," 8-9, 37.
[506] *Ibid*., 44.
[507] *Ibid*., 50, 69, 127.
[508] *Ibid*, 44, 50, 69, 127.
[509] *Ibid*., 32-34, 44-48, 81-82, 96, 125-139; Harcourt, *Ku Klux Kulture*, location 1421, 1422; Jackson, *Ku Klux Klan,* 4819.

Klux Klan," assorted Klan researchers and academic institutions have consistently mis-identified this self-proclaimed Klansman as Walter Clay Wright of Waco, Texas.[510] While there was a pastor named Walter Clay Wright living in the Waco area during the 1920s, there is no evidence to suggest that this pastor was involved in Klanish activities nor that he promoted theological white supremacy.[511] The fact that one of Wright's most frequently cited pamphlet's was published in Waco is not enough to suggest that he lived there, especially considering that his other publications included printing addresses in Dallas and Indiana.[512] It is additionally notable that the Texas Klan had headquarters in both Dallas and Waco, and that the national headquarters eventually moved to Indiana. Thus, it is logical that Wright's Klan publications used addresses correlating to these cities. All of this considered, it should be clarified that the Klan theologian known as W.C. Wright lived in Hale County, several counties west of Denton where he was the Reverend of the First Christian Church as well as the Exalted Cyclops (head leader) of the Plainview Klan.[513] More importantly, however, was that his popular brand of theological white supremacy was rooted in ancient theo-mythologies, which is clearly evident in his writings.

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[510] W. C. Wright, "Religious and Patriotic Ideals of the Ku Klux Klan," (Waco, 1926): citing Hathi Trust Digital Library, Last Accessed on January 14, 2019, (https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/102219966).

[511] R. L. Polk & Co., *Waco City Directory 1921-1922*, (Waco: Morrison & Fourmy Directory Co., 1922), crediting Baylor University Digital Collections, Last Accessed on March 12, 2020, (https://digitalcollections-baylor.quartexcollections.com/Documents/Detail/morrison-fourmy-directory-co.s-waco-city-directory-1921-1922/174667); Polk's Morrison & Fourmy, *Waco City Directory 1923-1924*, (Waco: Morrison & Fourmy Directory Co., 1922), crediting Baylor University Digital Collections, Last Accessed on March 12, 2020, (https://digitalcollections-baylor.quartexcollections.com/Documents/Detail/polks-morrison-fourmy-waco-city-directory-1923-24/175681).

[512] W. C. Wright, "The Twelfth Chapter of Romans," (Berry: Ku Klux Klan); Crediting Eckhart Public Library "John Martin Smith Ku Klux Klan Collection," Last accessed February 4, 2019, (https://willennar.pastperfectonline.com/library/5F091C67-CF89-47BF-8E1B-498742937736); Wright, "Unmasked."

[513] "Rev. Wright of Plainview Raps Record of Ferguson and Backs F. D. Robertson," Amarillo Daily News, August 10, 1924; "Plainview Minister Sends Letter to Mckinney Man," McKinney Daily Courier Gazette, September 10, 1924; "Plainview Man Defends Klan in Address Here," McKinney Daily Courier Gazette, October 1, 1924.

Wright's publications collectively argued that the Second-Generation order was founded on two fundamental principles: "protestant Christianity and patriotic Americanism." Furthermore, he connected both of these with the order's prime theo-nationalist objective, which was preservation of the "doctrine of white supremacy" in the pursuit of a new "ideal Christian Citizenship and Civilization."[514] Wright's Klanish theology taught that white supremacy means three things: first, "the Creator" made clear racial distinctions and thus, "white Caucasian blood" must be kept "pure and undefiled;" second, as the "advance guard of all great civilizations," the "white race is superior to any other," and as such must be the "leading race of people on earth;" and finally, America is "a white man's country," and as the "wards" of white men, "the negro" should therefore have no say in its governance.[515] Wright's widely-disseminated Klanish theology not only affirmed those of the 'white race' as the divinely sanctioned rulers of America, but also the entire world, and he correlated the Klan's call for "unquestionable patriotism" with its pursuit of 'white purity' and the "right of the white man to rule."[516] On these grounds, he argued that white "colonization" was and always will be divinely sanctioned as "fair, moral, and right."[517] Throughout his theological discourses, Wright frequently described the Klanish pursuit of a pure white America, as one towards a "perfect civilization" undeniably comparable to the Kantian cosmopolis.[518] Wright described "whites and blacks" as two base races of modern humanity and he blatantly instructed "Anglo-Saxons" on how they should aspire towards a primordial and uncorrupted state of universal whiteness.[519] He argued that racial amalgamation equates to the ultimate sin of immorality, and that America's increasing tolerance of such

[514] Wright, "Religious and Patriotic"; Wright, "Unmasked."
[515] Wright, "Religious and Patriotic."
[516] *Ibid*.
[517] *Ibid*.
[518] Wright, "Unmasked."
[519] *Ibid*.

violations was sure to bring about its literal destruction, similar to that of Israel's.[520] According to Wright's Klanish theology, white Protestant Americans as a collective body were in fact the new Israel, *YHVH's* favored nation and people. As such, Klanishness served a "righteous cause" in a divinely sanctioned war against the "wickedness" of racial amalgamation, which he described as an inherently anti-American form of evil.[521] As one of the most popular Klan theologians in the U.S. at the height of 1920s Klanishness, Wright effectively preached a thoroughly gnosticized Protestantism that was highly influenced by the Kantian conception of theo-historical whiteness.[522]

According to Wright, the Klan's theo-political purpose as a "progressive militant order" was to unite white protestants in the common cause towards a universal whiteness.[523] At the center of this aim was the defense and protection of the "chastity of white womanhood," which Wright argued was under constant threat.[524] Referencing Foucault's *History of Sexuality* in his theological account of race, J. Kameron Carter highlights how counter-historical movements during the late Medieval Era used a similar "analytics of sexuality" to usurp socio-political power and preserve Anglo-protestant dominance."[525] Similar to the arguments of contemporary cultural historian Walter Buenger, sociologist John Mecklin argued during the 1920s (at the height of the Second-Generation Klan's rise to power) that part of the order's success was that so many Americans at the time were "still medieval in their thinking."[526] Entirely congruent with Carter's theological account of race, Wright's theology of whiteness was rooted in these

[520] *Ibid*.
[521] Wright, "Unmasked."
[522] Wright, "Religious and Patriotic."
[523] *Ibid*.
[524] *Ibid*.
[525] Carter, *Race*, 70.
[526] Mecklin, *The Ku Klux Klan*, 51.

medieval tropes and defined by a revitalized gnostic Christology of a "living Christ" who transcended the hylic form of humanity. Further, according to Wright's "Klansmen's Criterion of Character," the Second-Generation Klan was to serve as a collective Messiah, the saintly vanguard promised by Joachimian prophecy to serve as protection for the true church in its final secular days.[527] Wright described the Klan as a messianic "bridge builder" for white progress that would bring about the return of the Messiah within its collective form.[528] As further evidence of his blatant employment of messianic tropes, Wright simultaneously emphasized how the Second-Generation Klan had been born on a "granite mountain for a manger," associated the American flag as the collective Messiah's "swaddling clothes," and compared the Klan's "fiery cross" to the Star of Bethlehem. Unarguably one of the most influential twentieth century Klan theologians throughout the nation, Wright, who lived only a few counties west of Denton, promoted the Klan as a divine collective destined to redeem white protestant America and subsequently, the world.[529]

While the messianic discourse of Klan theology typically employed Christianized tropes, the influence of ancient Israel's theo-nationalist messianic drama of redemption is critical to understanding the functionality and popular influence of the Second-Generation order of the 1920s. Perhaps one of the most critical components of membership was the order's oath, which required initiates to accept the 12th Chapter of Romans as their "Law of Life," as the Klansperson aspired to be nothing less than a messianic savior figure.[530] In dramatic ceremonies, under burning crosses, initiates were anointed into the order in a "naturalization" ceremony that

[527] Wright, "Religious and Patriotic;" Wright, "Unmasked."
[528] Wright, "Religious and Patriotic."
[529] *Ibid*.
[530] Wright, "Unmasked."

"set them apart" from all others as a new "citizen" of an Invisible Empire that was bound to holy service.[531]

At the moment of an initiate's anointment, Klanspersons in attendance whispered:

> To thee, oh, God, I call to thee-
> True to my oath, oh, help me be!
> I've pledged my love, my blood, my all;
> Oh, give me grace that I not fall.[532]

Just as the Israelite priests, prophets and kings emptied themselves of their individuality to receive their intermediary status as the vessels of divine will, and as Sophia filtered her lesser passions to redeem her pneumatic form necessary for ascension, the Klan used unction ceremonies to consecrate themselves into the collective Messiah, the harbingers of the Joachimian *corpus Christi*, the divine armies of *YHVH* destined to redeem their nation as the new Zion.

This revitalized brand of gnosticized messianism and theo-nationalist doctrine openly thrived in the popular Protestantism of North Texas, including Denton County. For example, after an enormous Klan parade mesmerized the local citizenry one evening in the summer of 1923, a prominent layman named J. D. Buster preached a special sermon for the First Baptist Church congregation the following morning entitled, "The Glory of America."[533] In fervent style, Buster reminded his Protestant cohorts that it was not secular society that made the country great and instead argued that "what makes America great" is its **"**fundamentals of religion."[534] His sermon affirmed "the lordliness of America," which he maintained was evident in her "white Protestant" institutions and citizens, and further asserted that the "crowning glory" of the nation

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[531] Simmons, "Kloran," 40.
[532] *Ibid*., 40.
[533] Glory of America Discussed," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), August 20, 1923.
[534] *Ibid*.

was its "personality of Jesus Christ."[535] As this Klanish theology homogenized within Denton Protestantism at large, local ministries and church groups increasingly reflected on the Pauline scriptures of Romans 12, referred to in Wright's teachings and by local Klan leaders as the Klansmen's "Law of Life."[536]

Upon his appointment as the new minister of the Pearl Street Church of Christ in 1923, W.M. Davis instructed his congregants that Romans 12 was "the most practical chapter" in the Bible.[537] The interpretive sermon that followed was a nearly-direct recitation of the works of W.C. Wright, as Davis encouraged his congregants to relinquish their individual selves as a "living sacrifice."[538] He called upon worshipers to join together as a collective body in "spiritual service" to reject the secular world and to be "transformed" through their "purity" into "bodies holy" and "acceptable to God."[539] Reverend W.S. McBirnie of the Central Presbyterian Church also regularly preached from Romans 12 during his frequent tent "revival services" of the mid-1920s, which usually lasted several days.[540] Nearly identical to Davis' instructions to the Church of Christ, McBirnie also called on Denton's Presbyterians to present their bodies as a "living sacrifice" and also emphasized the importance of their anointment, which he promised would not only cleanse past sins but would also transform them into a new being consecrated in purity and incapable of future sins.[541] Throughout the 1920s and well into the 1930s, Romans 12 was the frequent focus of Protestant bible studies and at church devotional readings throughout

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[535] Glory of America Discussed," *Denton Record Chronicle.*

[536] Wright, "Unmasked;" "Public Lecture on the Ku Klux Klan," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) January 22, 1925.

[537] "Most Practical Chapter Preached on by Mr. Davis," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), March 12, 1923.

[538] *Ibid*.

[539] *Ibid.*

[540] "Special Music at Loyalty Meeting," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), November 6, 1928; "Family Night," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) March 12, 1926.

[541] *Ibid.*

the city of Denton, and it was also regularly employed as a blessing at the beginning of various secular meetings and gatherings within the community.

Although W.C. Wright's doctrine of theological white supremacy unquestionably influenced the Second-Generation Klan's unique interpretation of Pauline Christology that permeated throughout Denton Protestantism during this time, the dispensational teachings of Reverend Cyrus Scofield of neighboring Dallas' First Congregationalist Church were also undeniably highly influential. In 1909, Scofield had published the first modern Protestant bible that incorporated interpretative commentary alongside and within Christian scriptures.[542] This incorporation of "chain references" allowed Scofield to assign scriptural themes to certain sections of biblical text which he subsequently linked throughout the Old and New Testaments to create a compelling premillennial narrative which was rooted in his unique brand of dispensational theology.[543] Scofield connected scriptural themes with prophetic exegesis at the bottom of the pages, which supposed that an underlying interconnectivity was embedded throughout scripture, one that, perhaps unironically, only Scofield could reveal. In his revised 1917 edition, Scofield added additional merit to his theo-historizing and literalist interpretations by applying dates to various biblical events, most notably to the world's creation, which he asserted had occurred in 4004 B.C.E.[544] What is far more important, however, was his Joachimian inspired dispensationalist approach to interpreting scriptures, particularly those of the New Testament, which were frequently employed by the Second-Generation Klan.

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[542] Scofield Church, "Our History," citing: Scofield.org, Last Accessed January 4, 2020, (https://www.scofield.org/who-we-are/our-history/).

[543] Gordon Campbell, *Bible: The Story of the King James Version, 1611-2011* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 26.

[544] *Ibid.*; Rev. Ci. I. Scofield, *The Scofield Reference Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1917), 3.

According to Scofield's teachings, *YHVH* ordained seven eras of human existence to follow creation, which would culminate in a final era of judgement. He claimed that the modern world exists within the "Church Age," the sixth and second-to-last historical era that began with Jesus' resurrection and ascension.[545] Further, the final impending era was promised to begin with a rapture of Jesus' pure (white) church, a collective Protestant body that would be spared the terrors of a final apocalyptic event in the secular world.[546] In his monograph *White Metropolis: Race, Ethnicity and Religion in Dallas, 1841-2001,* historian Michael Phillips critiques Scofield's "theological credentials" as "shaky" but nonetheless argues that his Reference Bible was perhaps "the most important document in fundamentalist Protestantism" during the early twentieth century because it "profoundly influenced" how "white" American Protestants perceived themselves in relation to African Americans, Jews, and Catholics.[547] According to Phillips, the Reverend's teachings took on an authoritative orthodoxy during the 1920s, a time when fundamentalist Protestants measured their local clergy with a "Scofield yardstick."[548] In line with these trends, Scofield's Reference Bible surged in Denton alongside Klanish theology during the 1920s. It was often given as gifts to persons of honor during church and Sunday school events, and women's clubs in particular studied his works at great lengths, while some prominent Klan members openly promoted and even made side incomes from selling Scofield

[545] Michael Phillips, *White Metropolis: Race, Ethnicity and Religion in Dallas, 1841-2001,* (Austin: University of Texas, 2006), Kindle Ed., location 819-820.

[546] Phillips, *White,* 820.

[547] *Ibid.,* 62, 794.

[548] *Ibid.,* 839.

Bibles to others in the community.[549]

Many leading figures in the Second-Generation Klan, both in North Texas as well as elsewhere across the nation, took to Scofieldian theology because it paralleled the order's emphasis on a distinctly racialized evangelism and beliefs in theological white supremacy; in short, it reaffirmed that which they already believed about prevailing white-dominant social orders and the need to maintain them at all costs. According to Scofield, humanity was divinely sorted by racialized "predisposition[s]" and "habit[s]."[550] Believing them to be the descendants of Noah's disrespectful son Ham, who was cursed after the great flood, Scofield taught that African American people were fated to bear an "inferior and servile posterity" throughout all the dispensations of time.[551] Also congruent with Klan theology, Scofield claimed that the Vatican would serve as the "vehicle" of the Antichrist's "false Christianity" at the end of the era, and he used Klanish terms such as "Romanism" to refer to Catholicism as an as entirely "foreign" faith, while simultaneously claiming that Catholics, as a whole, were the "antithesis of Anglo-Saxon democracy."[552] Comparing the Pope to the Antichrist, Scofield made numerous references to an evil Romanist conspiracy in his bible's analytical summaries of Revelations scriptures.[553] The Klan's anti-Catholic rhetoric of the 1920s was practically a verbatim recitation of Scofield's

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[549] "53 at T.E.L." *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), December 29, 1926: The First Baptist Sunday School held a banquet and presented the class President, Mrs. Lee Douglass with a new Scofield Bible; "Churches," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), February 13, 1929: Circle 6 of the First Baptist WMS previously identified as being active in local Klan activities (fundraising) and the Alathean Bible Class (comprised of several UDC members) completed a 26 month examination of the Scofield Bible; "Scofield Bible," Advertisement, *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX): Mrs. J.A. Minnis regularly advertised herself as a Scofield Bible agent in the *DRC* classifieds. See December 19, 1928 and November 13, 1929 as examples but dozens of examples exist in the *DRC* archives. Mr. J. A. Minnis was one of two City Commissioners appointed to lead Klansman Mayor H. V. Hennen's police oversight committee before the department was officially formed. See Minnis' other Klanish affiliations on Appendix IV.

[550] Phillips, *White,* 853.

[551] *Ibid.,* 853-854.

[552] *Ibid.,* 856-862.

[553] *Ibid.,* 1456-1462.

accusations which had been published in his Reference Bible at least six years prior to William Simmons' establishment of an official National Ku Klux Klan in 1915.

Scofieldian doctrine also foreshadowed Klanish theological teachings on Jewishness. Citing Paul Boyer, Michael Phillips argues that Scofield's dispensationalism was rooted in the "assumption that Jews are essentially and eternally different" from white Protestant Christians, and that his theories were highly influenced by British Israeli theology.[554] First popularized in England during the nineteenth century, British Israelism falsely asserts that the "Aryan race" descended from an originally pure line of Israelites while modern Jewish populations descended from a "racially tainted" Israelite tribe of Judah after the Assyrians conquered Israel in 609 B.C.E.[555] The doctrine further claims that the Assyrian forces dispersed these pseudo-Aryan descendants of Israel who then migrated north and established the British empire, and eventually, the U.S.[556] As Phillips points out, proponents of the doctrine tend to rely on a cyclical argument which points to the abundance of white Protestant power in the twentieth century Euro-Western world as prophetic proof of *YHVH's* redemption promise to Israel.[557] A similar promise of redemption was a critical trope of the theo-nationalist myth which inspired repeated Jewish messianic uprisings against the Roman state between the first and fifth centuries, all at the same time that early Gnostics sought to distinguish themselves as the pure, undiluted Christians beholden to true divine knowledge.

Scofield played on both of these theo-mythologies within his interpretative teachings outlined in the margins of his Reference Bible. He claimed that the Adamic Covenant made in Genesis 3 constitutes a divine promise of a pure "seed" of humanity that was traceable from

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[554] Phillips, *White,* 910 - 918.
[555] *Ibid.,* 1456 – 1462.
[556] *Ibid*.
[557] *Ibid.,* 1456-1462, 1502-1510.

Adam to Jesus, and additionally maintained that the Abrahamic Covenant of Genesis 12 sanctified this promise.[558] With a series of intext notes, Scofield's bible follows the confirmations of the Abrahamic Covenant throughout the Old Testament to reaffirm the existence and importance of this original, pure seed of humanity. Pointing to Isaac's "obedience unto death" and referring to him as a "type of Christ" descended from this pure and uncorrupted line of humanity, Scofield emphasized *YHVH's* promise that this pure seed is destined to "bless" all the "nations of the earth."[559]

Scofield also placed a notable emphasis on Genesis 28, wherein Isaac rested his head on stones as "pillows" and dreamed a vision from *YHVH* about a "ladder set up on the earth" which reached to heaven with the "*angels* of God ascending and descending on it…"[560] The Scofieldian interpretation of Jacob's ladder reads like a prophetic conjuring of the 1920s Ku Klux Klan. Pointing the reader to the fourth verse of Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, Scofield's subtext defined angels as an "order" of "messenger[s]," either "of God" or "of men" with "inconceivable" power, and whose numbers are endless.[561] With the suggestion that angels can manifest in "human form" as Christ-like manifestations in the flesh to conduct divine work, Scofield claimed that the angelic order witnessed in Isaac's vision were "ministering spirits" to the "heirs of salvation" that were divinely appointed to ensure the "physical safety and wellbeing of believers."[562] As the ordained vigilant body of *YHVH's* moral order destined to "accompany

[558] Scofield, *Reference Bible*, 9, 1206; Gen. 3.15: In the beginning of Genesis chapter three, *YHVH* instructs Abram to lead his family out of Haran into a "new land" where his descendants will inherit a "great nation;" "sanctified," 20: citing Gen.12.1-3.

[559] *Ibid*., 33: citing Gen. 22.18.

[560] *Ibid.*, citing Gen. 28.10-14.

[561] *Ibid.*, 1291, 1292: citing Mt. 26.53; Heb 12.22; Rev. 5.11; Psa. 68.17

[562] *Ibid*., 1291:"human form" citing: Lk. 7.24; Jas. 2.25; Rev. 1.20, 2.1, 8, 12, 18 3.1, 7, 14; *Ibid*., 1292: "in the flesh" citing Rev. 8.3 – 5; *Ibid*., "ministering spirits" and "heirs of salvation" promised to protect, citing 1 Ki. 19.5; Psa. 34.7, Psa. 91.11; Dan. 6.22; Mt. 2.13, Mt. 19, Mt. 4.11; Lk. 22.43; Acts 5.19, Acts 12.7-10.

Christ in His second advent," Scofield proclaimed that angels "observe" as a means to "influence conduct."[563] Further interpreting Jacob's divinely inspired dream wherein he sees *YHVH* at the top of the ladder who says, "the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed," Scofield's subtexts explain that "the land" beneath Jacob which is promised to his "seed" is the entire earth.[564] According to Scofield, the pure white and true Protestant church descended from this seed of Jacob, and therefore, was the rightful beholder of dominion over earth and all of its populations. Relying largely on corrupted interpretations of Israelite Davidic Royal theology, this is just one example of how Scofield's bible weaved disparate Old Testament narratives with gnosticized interpretations of New Testament scriptures, ultimately arguing for a Kantian concept of humanity wherein a pure remnant white race was first manifest within Adam.[565]

Scofield's false doctrine also rationalized the perseverance of modern Jewishness despite a supposedly superior and divinely favored white Protestant society, which he argued was the untainted remnant of a spiritual Israel, the last of *YHVH's* truly chosen people. According to his Reference Bible, some modern Jewish populations may also have descended from this pure race but were ultimately doomed by *YHVH* for their failure to accept the teachings of his Christ. Scofield predicted that the "national conversion" of Jewish populations just before the final Battle of Armageddon would serve as the ultimate miracle and precursor of the final apocalyptic event.[566] Wright's Klanish theology similarly acknowledged Jewish people as a biological "remnant of a God-Chosen race" who evolved into the most "pathetic figure[s] in all the world," condemned by the "memory of departed glory."[567] Reflecting his dependence on Scofieldian

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[563] Scofield, *Reference Bible*, 1292, citing 1 Cor. 4.9, Eph 3.10, Eccl. 5.6, Mt. 13.30, Mt. 39, Mt. 41, Mt. 42, Mt. 25.31-32.

[564] *Ibid.*, 42, citing Gen. 28.13.

[565] *Ibid.*, 42, citing Gen 3.15, Gen 49.10, Acts 1.9, II Sam 7.12 – 16.

[566] Phillips, *White,* 914.

[567] Wright, "Religious and Patriotic."

prophecy, Wright taught that the refusal of American Jewish people to convert to Christianity was a hindrance to white eschatological progress.[568] Either these two doctrines were informed by a shared source, or Wright's theological white supremacy was heavily informed by Scofield's teachings, which liberally employed Supersessionism in order to assert white Protestants as *YHVH*'s true and chosen people while simultaneously, demonizing Jewish communities.

Scofield's Reference Bible employed Gnostic mysticism tropes as well, as he claimed that Paul's epistles to the seven Gentile churches reveal a "mystery" hidden from the world since humanity's first dispensation, and as such they serve to instruct the "true Church" to "her unique place" in the "counsels and purposes" of *YHVH*.[569] Scofield's interpretations of Pauline scripture in general argue for a primitive Protestantism that functions more like an organism than an organization, a collective of "living saints" with the implicit eschatological purpose of being transformed into the pneumatic state as a prerequisite for heavenly ascension at the end of the contemporary Age in order to form "the body of Christ," the messianic Joachimian *corpus Christi*.[570] According to Scofield, Romans 11 summarizes the history of this pure spiritual remnant or "seed" of Israel that began with Adam and was maintained throughout humanity's dispensations via proper faith in *YHVH*, and most notably through devotion to racial purity.[571] His bible asserted that the chief "purpose" of this pure remnant of the true church in the modern dispensation, the penultimate Church-Age is to facilitate the "fullness of the Gentiles" (whiteness) who in the final hour will collectively manifest into the collective Messiah.[572] Scofield's unique exegetical interpretation of the next chapter, Romans 12, clearly served as the

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[568] Wright, "Religious and Patriotic."

[569] Scofield, *Reference Bible*, 1189, citing Eph. 3.9; *Ibid*. 1304 citing Heb. 13.16, I Cor. 12.12, I Cor. 13, I Cor. 15.52.

[570] *Ibid.*, 1189-1191;1304, citing Eph. 2.21, 22, Heb. 13.16, I Cor. 12.12, 13; I Cor. 15.52.

[571] *Ibid.*, 1205.

[572] *Ibid*., 1206, citing: Eph. 1.22, 23.

template for the "Klansman's Law of Life" employed by Klanish theologians including Wright, who defended the 1920s Klan as a divinely ordained army of saints, a collective body commissioned by *YHVH's* authority to protect a preferred remnant race of humanity.[573]

Scofield's Reference Bible divided the twenty-one verses of Romans 12 into four subcategories of revelation to reflect the fourfold mission of the remaining pure remnants of *YHVH*'s supposed chosen people. The first objective outlined is "consecration," which he connected to both the "great commandment" outlined in Deuteronomy 6.4, as well as the instruction to serve and "witness" for *YHVH* given in Isaiah 43.10-12.[574] Scofield's subtexts further suggested that this remnant race is of a prophetic lineage and therefore, capable of anointing one another. This is further suggested by the remnant's second objective which is "Service," an obligation to "illustrate…the blessedness of serving the true God" who "thrusts out" and "destroy[s]" enemies.[575] In short, Scofield claimed that the remnant's second instruction asserts an obligation to evangelize the willing and police the immoral. He related the third objective to proper interaction among those within the remnant, more precisely, how to "receive, preserve, and transmit the Scriptures."[576] The remnant's fourth and final objective in divine service according to Scofieldian theology is "to produce, as to His humanity, the Messiah."[577] Clearly, Scofield's dispensationalism sought to establish a collective Messiah in corporeal form and his exegesis of Romans 12 — proclaimed just a few years later by one of the most notorious Klan theologians in Texas as the "Klansman's Law of Life" — reads like a playbook for accomplishing this task.

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[573] Wright, "Unmasked."
[574] Scofield, *Reference Bible*, 1206.
[575] *Ibid.*, 1206, citing Deut. 33.26-29.
[576] *Ibid.*, 1206, citing Deut. 4.5-8.
[577] *Ibid.*, 1206, citing Gen. 3.15, Gen 12.1-3, Gen 22.18, Gen 28.10-4, Gen 28.12-14, II Sam. 7.12, Isa. 7.14, 9.6; Mt. 1.1; Rom. 1.3.

In order to understand the inherent connections between the Klan as a messianic gnostic revivalist movement, and the ancient theo-mythical drama that underscores the distinct brand of theological white supremacy that took hold in Denton and cities just like it across the nation throughout the 1920s, a thorough analysis of Scofield's exegetical teachings of Romans 12 is critical. Believing that Israel and all of its divine covenants were tied to a holy bloodline of redeemers who were fully manifest in Jesus the Messiah at the beginning of the modern Church-Age, Scofield interpreted the first two verses of Romans 12 as a reflection of a chosen pure remnant race's divine heritage which was consecrated in the Christ.[578] In Scofield's Bible, Romans 12.1 reads:

> I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the *mercies* of God, that ye *present* your bodies a living *sacrifice*, *holy*, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable *service*.[579]

According to Scofield, the scripture's use of "the mercies of God" in Romans 12.1 corresponds to "the righteousness of God" mentioned in Romans 3.22, which he interpreted as a divine "garment" that cloaks the believer in grace.[580] Pointing the reader to the third chapter of Genesis and the "coats of skins" that *YHVH* presented to Adam and Eve after their original sin, Scofield's interpretation then suggests that these divine garments, themselves, represent a "type of Christ" which restores righteousness to sinners and renews them to a state fit for "God's presence."[581] Scofield's themed web of intext-notes further connected these garments of righteousness to the "fine linens" of "white" worn by the armies of heaven in John's apocalyptic visions of

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[578] Scofield, *Reference Bible*, 1206, citing: Rom. 12.

[579] *Ibid.*, Rom. 12:1. This and all of the following quoted scripture from Romans 12 are taken from the 1917 edition of Scofield's Reference Bible as cited. Italicizations are my own but they represent key words marked by Scofield which he wove together thematically to other scriptures to offer the reader his exegesis of underlying "hidden" meanings which he claimed should be extrapolated from the verses.

[580] *Ibid*, 1206.

[581] *Ibid*, 1194, citing Rom. 3.22. Rom. 10, Gen 3.21.

Revelations.[582] He further claimed that Romans 12.1 instructs the pure remnant of Israel to "present" their bodies as a "living sacrifice," which he interpreted as a literal command to "yield" one's individual secular identity to a collective body that will form a new, corporeal and spiritual Christ.[583]

Scofield compared this living sacrifice to that of "the believer-priest's sacrifice" referenced in Philippians 4.18, which is "acceptable" and "well pleasing to God."[584] He further alleged that by yielding one's individuality to a body of Christ[ians], it becomes cloaked in forgiveness and wholly incapable of further sin.[585] Addressing the "Gentiles sanctified by the Holy Ghost" in Romans 15.16, Scofield ultimately argued that only these "holy persons" may wear the white linens of righteousness, and stand "sanctified" as "acceptable" living sacrifices to *YHVH*.[586] These teachings and illusory references to cloaking an individual's body in white cloth were employed verbatim by clergy members in the city of Denton throughout the early half of the 1920s at the height of Klan recruitment.[587]

According to Scofield, use of the words "righteous," "holy," and "sanctified" in scripture serve as descriptors for those "set apart for God" to conduct a "worldly" but "divine service" and his interpretation of Romans 12.2 is rooted in this gnostic concept of filtering out sins.[588] The scripture reads as follows in his Reference Bible:

> And be not conformed to this *world*: but be ye *transformed* by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God.[589]

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[582] Scofield, *Reference Bible*, 1338, citing Rev. 19.11-16.
[583] *Ibid.*, 1206.
[584] *Ibid*., citing Phil. 4.18.
[585] *Ibid.*, 1300, citing Rom. 12.1.
[586] *Ibid.*, 1209, citing Rom. 12.1, Rom. 15.16.
[587] "Most Practical Chapter Preached on by Mr. Davis," Denton Record Chronicle, (Denton, TX), March 12, 1923; "Special Music at Loyalty Meeting," Denton Record Chronicle, (Denton, TX), November 6, 1928; "Family Night," Denton Record Chronicle, (Denton, TX) March 12, 1926.
[588] Scofield, *Reference Bible*, 1353, citing Rev. 22.11; *Ibid*. 1298, citing Heb. 9.1.
[589] *Ibid.*, 1206, citing Rom. 12:2

Here, Scofield justified a need for segregation between the church and secular society with a subtext reference to Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians in order to highlight an abundance of "fornication" and "indifference to evil in the church," which Scofield claimed to be the root of all "divisions" that naturally separate the holy from the masses.[590] He further explained that once separated from secularity, the body is sanctified as holy and solely devoted to service "for the Lord."[591] Emphasizing the achievement of a new "sacred" status as "a member of Christ," Scofield leaned further into Paul's criticisms against the Corinthians to point out that one who is sanctified in the "Lord" becomes "joined" to "one spirit," along with all others devoted to divine service in the penultimate Church-Age.[592] By rejecting a mortal world of sin, sacrificing one's body to a collective Christ, and quarantining one's spirit to a life of divine service, Scofield's interpretation of Romans 12.1-2 collectively promised that like Jesus on the mountain top with James, John, and Peter, the faithful believer is "transfigured" in garments of "white" as a soldier in holy service.[593]

Directives for this holy "service" were interpreted by Scofield in Romans 12.3-8 through a Deuteronomic lens, as he explained that the holy "seed" of Israel renewed in garments of white was beholden to a sacred duty to testify to "the blessedness of serving the true God," who is then equally sworn to "thrust out" and "destroy" enemies of the remnant.[594] The scriptures as found in Scofield's Bible reads as follows:

> For I say, through the *grace* given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think; but to think soberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith.
> For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office: So we, being many, are one body in Christ, and everyone members one of another.

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[590] Scofield, *Reference Bible*, 1216 citing I Cor. 5.1, 2.
[591] *Ibid.*, citing I Cor. 9-13.
[592] *Ibid.*, 1206, 1217, citing I Cor 6.14-17.
[593] *Ibid.*, 1206, 1022, citing Mt. 17.2; *Ibid.*, 1331, citing Rev. 1.13-16.
[594] *Ibid.*, 1206, citing Deut. 33.26-29.

> Having then gifts differing according to the *grace* that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophecy according to the proportion of faith;
> Or ministry, let us wait on our ministering; or he that teacheth, on teaching;
> Or he that exhorteth, on exhortation: he that giveth, let him do it with simplicity; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that sheweth mercy, with cheerfulness.[595]

Scofield's themed intext notations for this selection of verses suggested that divine salvation functions both dispensationally and through "grace imparted" to individual seeds of the remnant who dedicate their lives to divine service.[596] Once "saved" through grace, Scofield explained, the believing remnant is afforded the "highest conceivable position" with *YHVH*.[597] Once this status which is wholly "connected with service" is bestowed upon a believing remnant seed, one is eternally committed to divine service which leads to the perfection of "corresponding graces."[598] In their pursuit of divine service, the remnant is both shielded in the secular world by their collective "imparted grace" and promised ultimate redemption in the new heavenly era to come.[599] This notion of a divinely favored pure race of Protestants who function in holy service under the protection of a unique exceptionalism from sin is clearly evident in the Klanish activity conducted by powerful figures in Denton County throughout the 1920s. With these teachings in mind, it is understandable how egregious violations of secular law committed by the highest-ranking officials in Denton's city and county governments, often against African American people, were entirely overlooked at best and at times even demanded by the white community. These violent acts were considered holy acts of service to preserve the tenants of theological white supremacy, and if one had a Scofield Reference Bible, as many prominent people in

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[595] Scofield, *Reference Bible*, Rom. 12:3-8.
[596] *Ibid.*, 1206, 1320, "grace:" citing II Pet. 3.18.
[597] *Ibid.*, 1320, "grace:" citing II Pet. 3.18.
[598] *Ibid.*, 1206, "body of Christ:" citing 1 Ch. 17 20-21, Rom. 12:3-8.
[599] *Ibid.*, 1206, citing 1 Ch. 17 20-21.

Denton and across the nation did, there was scripture which not only demanded such acts but also lauded their completion.

In the 1920s, biblical literalism was the standard in fundamentalist communities such as Denton and according to Scofield, Romans 12.9-16 offered specific instructions for the pure remnant race to trust in scriptures as infallible teachings.[600] The scripture as found in Scofield's Bible reads:

> Let love be without dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil: cleave to that which is good.
> Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love; in honor preferring one another;
> Not slothful in business; fervent in spirit; serving the Lord;
> Rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation; continuing instant in prayer;
> Distributing to the necessity of saints; given to hospitality.
> Bless them which persecute you: bless and curse not.
> Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep.
> Be of the same mind one toward another. Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate. Be not wise in your own conceits.[601]

According to Scofieldian theology, Jewish people who reject the New Testament as *YHVH's* final revelation were to be expunged from the remnant race of Israel; this is their "greater condemnation."[602] With this in mind, Scofield interpreted Romans 12:9-16 as a direct call to action to white Protestants as the believing remnant within *YHVH's* grace.[603] Avoiding "hypocrisy" in love or interactions with evil at all costs, they should look only to the beautiful, which is to be understood as those other remnant seeds within the grace, those who have retained their purity — white Protestants.[604] In Romans 12.13, the believer is instructed to distribute "to the necessity of saints," which Scofield connected to Hebrews 13.16 and the directive to "forget not" the sacrifices that please *YHVH*.[605] Scofield explained that evangelism is meant specifically

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[600] Scofield, *Reference Bible*, 1206, citing Rom. 12.9-16, Deut. 4.5-8.
[601] *Ibid.*, 1206: Rom. 12.9-16.
[602] *Ibid.*, 1193, citing Rom 3.1-2.
[603] *Ibid.*, 1206, citing Rom. 12.9-16.
[604] *Ibid.*, 1206, citing Rom. 12.9.
[605] *Ibid.*, 1207, 1304, citing Heb. 13.16.

for the pure remnant which he argued was the original "true Church" that had descended from the untainted seed, in order to be baptized by the "Holy Spirit" during this dispensation.[606] Scofield warned, however, that only the believers among the remnant willing to sacrifice their individuality would be able to contribute to the true Church's "full development" or "maturity of godliness" as the "perfect" manifestation of the Christ in human form.[607] Scofield explained that once perfected, the true Church with Christ as its head will be like a divine "chaste virgin" adjoined with *YHVH*.[608] This analogy reflects yet another usurpation of ancient messianic redemption tropes wherein Israel was often referred to as the bride of the patriarchal Israelite deity.

In his exegetical teachings of Romans 12.13, Scofield reminded believers among the supposed remnant of Israel to "forget not" their ultimate purpose, which was to resurrect the true Church in its fullness and bring about the Kingdom-Age wherein they would be rejoined with *YHVH* in eternity. Expounding on these teachings, Scofield's subtextual exegesis explained that the instruction to "bless" one's enemies in the succeeding scripture of Romans 12.14, meant to pray for them.[609] As the collective body of Christ that shares one "same mind" in "Him," these prayers, he promised, would result in the "instant" and full condemnation of one's enemies, as their sin against the "holy" facilitates both mortal and eternal death.[610] In this way, the collective body of the true Church is the divinely appointed patrol of moral order, and as such should

[606] Scofield, *Reference Bible*, 1304, citing Heb. 13.16, I Cor. 12.12, I Cor. 13, I Cor. 15.52.
[607] *Ibid*., 1304, citing Heb. 13.16; *Ibid*., 1001, citing Mt. 5.48.
[608] *Ibid*, 1304, citing Isr. 54.5, II Cor. 11.2-4.
[609] *Ibid*, 1001, citing Mt. 5.44, Lk. 6.28.
[610] *Ibid*, 1206, citing Rom. 12.12; *Ibid*., 1197; *Ibid*., 1198 citing Rom. 5.14.

"condescend" to "men that are lowly."[611] It is notable that Klansmen took an oath to accept these very teachings as their "Law of Life."[612]

The fourth and final objective outlined by Scofield in the remnant of Israel's fourfold mission outlined in Romans 12 is to "produce a Messiah," which he explained is a "type of Christ" in human form who redeems believers from the modern Church Age of mortal corruption and delivers them to a new eternal Kingdom.[613] It is within this eschatological framework that Scofield interpreted Romans 12:17-21 as the ultimate guide for dealing with "those" who hinder the resurrection of the true Church and ultimately, the second Advent of the Christ. This portion of the scripture reads as follows in Scofield's Bible:

> Recompense to no man evil for evil. *Provide* things honest in the sight of all men.
> If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.
> Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath: for it is written, *Vengeance* is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.
> Therefore, *if thine enemy hunger*, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head.
> Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.[614]

According to Scofield, the collective body of the Church must first reach its "fullness" or "maturity of godliness" in order to simultaneously bring about the end of the present penultimate dispensation and the birth of a new "type of Christ."[615] To facilitate this, his subtexts prophesied that a special order of righteous "seeds" was promised to rise up in the final days to ensure the "physical safety and wellbeing" of the collective body, a necessary guard for the "Lord's"

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[611] Scofield, *Reference Bible*, 1207, citing Rom. 12.13-16.

[612] Wright, "Unmasked."

[613] Scofield, *Reference Bible*, 1206, "type of Christ" as a "person," an "event," a "thing," an "institution," and a "ceremony:" citing Gen. 3.15, Gen. 12.1-3, Gen. 22.18, Gen. 28.10-14, Gen. 28.12-14, II Sam. 7.12, Isa. 7.14, 9.6, Mt. 1.1, Rom. 1.3; *Ibid*., 12, 14, describing "Adam" as a "type of Christ, the Head of the new creation:" citing Gen.1, Gen. 12, Gen. 5.1; *Ibid*., 13, describing the "Ark" as a refuge "type of Christ:" citing Gen. 6.14; *Ibid*., 23, 33, referencing "Melchizedek, the "King-Priest" as a "type of Christ:" citing Gen. 22.18, Gen. 14.18.

[614] *Ibid.*, 1207: Rom. 12.17-21.

[615] *Ibid.*, 1291, 1292, citing Mt. 26.53, Heb. 12.22, Rev. 5.11, Psa. 68.17; *Ibid*., 1292 citing 1 Ki. 19.5, Psa. 34.7, Psa. 91.11, Dan. 6.22, Mt. 2.13, Mt. 19, Mt. 4.11; Lk. 22.43; Acts 5.19, Acts 12.7-10.

second advent in the final "Kingdom-Age."[616] Further, Scofield described the coming of a righteous and redemptive order destined to chastise disobedience and those who endanger the "full development" of the "body of Christ."[617] He taught that this redemptive order would be divinely sanctioned to protect believers in an increasingly hostile time at the close of the Church-Age in anticipation of the new utopian Kingdom-Age to come.[618]

While Romans 12.18 instructs believers to "live peaceably" as much as "possible" and avoid personal avenge, Scofield's interpretation of the following verses in Romans 12.19 emphasized how "the Lord" will repay wrath and vengeance to those who disrupt the fulfillment of the collective body, so long as the proper protocol for redemptive prayer is followed.[619] According to Scofield, prayers for redemption would be answered by the divine order promised in the preceding verses, which he further clarified as a new collective of "*go'els,*" the divinely sanctioned "Kinsman-Redeemer[s]" of Israelite theo-history who afforded justice to those with whom they shared an "inheritance."[620] Further, he proclaimed this new divine order charged with protecting the pure remnant in the final days as a new "beautiful type of Christ."[621] Relying on a complicated web of interwoven subtexts, Scofield outlined these "Kinsman-Redeemer['s]" methods of redemption by ultimately directing the reader to Galatians 3.13 and Deuteronomy

[616] Scofield, *Reference Bible*, 1292 referencing the "Kingdom-Age:" citing Mt. 13.30, Mt. 39, Mt. 41-42, Mt. 25.31-32.

[617] *Ibid*., 1304, referencing the Gentile body's "full development:" citing Heb. 13.16; *Ibid*., 1001, citing Mt. 5.48; *Ibid*., 362, referencing the "chastisement" of "disobedience:" citing II Sam. 7.15, Psa. 89.20-37, Isa. 24.5, Isa. 54.3.

[618] *Ibid.*, 1207: Rom. 12.17.

[619] *Ibid*., 1207, to "bless" one's enemies is to "pray" for redemption: citing Rom. 12:18-20, Deut. 32.35, Prov. 25.21-22, Mt. 5.44, Rom. 12.14.

[620] *Ibid.*, 765, citing Lev. 25.48, Lev. 25.25, Gal. 4.5, Eph. 1.7, Eph. 11, Eph. 14, I Pet. 1.18-19; Gal. 3.13.

[621] *Ibid*.

21.23, which condemn the *go'els'* victims as those "accursed of God" who "hangeth on a tree."[622] The racial implications of these exegetical teachings are indisputable.

As critical doctrine for the Second-Generation, which touted Romans 12 as the "Klansman's Law of Life," a collective Scofieldian interpretation of the chapter is as follows:

> I beseech you therefore, *seed of Israel, in your white cloaks of righteousness*, that ye give up *your individual selves* as a living sacrifice, *set yourselves apart as the white remnant* acceptable unto God, which is your *sacred inheritance*.
>
> And be not conformed to the *fornication and evil* of this *worldly dispensation*: but be ye *transfigured in garments of white* by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God.
>
> For I say, through *divine grace imparted* to every man that is among *the white remnant*, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think; but to think soberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith.
>
> For as *Christ* [has] many members in one body, and all members have not the same office:
> So *the white remnant*, being many, is one body in Christ, and everyone members of one another.
>
> Having then gifts differing according to the *grace imparted* to *Israel's seed*, whether prophecy, let us prophecy according to the proportion of the *white remnant's* faith;
>
> Or ministry, let us wait on our ministering; or he that teacheth, on teaching;
> Or he that exhorteth, on exhortation: he that giveth, let him do it with simplicity; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that sheweth mercy, with cheerfulness. (12:3-8)
>
> Let love be without *amalgamation*. Abhor that which is evil: *look to the beautiful white Christ messiah bride*.
>
> Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love; in honor preferring one another *over those who reject the collective body of Christ*;
> Not slothful in business; fervent in spirit; serving the Lord;
>
> Rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation; continuing instant in *redemptive* prayer;
> Distributing to the necessity of saints and *forgetting not the true Church*; given to hospitality.
>
> *Pray for* them which persecute you: *pray* and curse not.

[622] Scofield, *Reference Bible*, 1244, citing Gal. 3.13; *Ibid*., 240, citing Deut. 21.23, Rom.12:21.

> Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep.
> Be of the same mind one toward another *in secret and instant prayer*. Mind not high things, but *maintain the moral order,* condescend to *men of low estate*. *Keep your identity rooted in the collective*.
>
> Recompense to no man evil for evil. *Take thought for things honorable* in the sight of all men.
>
> If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.
> Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath in *prayer*: for it is written, *Vengeance* is mine; *the go'el will redeem*, saith the Lord. Therefore, if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt *hang him from a tree*.
>
> Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with *redemptive prayer*.[623]

Clearly, Scofield's Reference Bible provided a racialized Gnostic theology that the 1920s Klan intentionally exploited to popularize their own theo-political agenda. The dispensational message of Scofieldian Klan theology promised a special grace to a narrow population — Anglo-Saxons and their descendants — united by common faith and theo-mythically-racial blood in what they believed was a dying secular society. Thus, the white Protestant church's mission was not to reform or improve a corrupted, unsalvageable world, but rather, it was to turn against secularity, reject modernity, and embrace only those willing to share in similar expressions of a theo-racialized faith.[624] As a product of these corrupted teachings, the Second-Generation Ku Klux Klan was a messianic movement rooted in revitalized gnostic myths of special election which it homogenized and disseminated into popular cultural by adapting traditional symbols and language into a new modernized and distinctly American brand of theo-nationalism. The most powerful symbol in traditional Israelite-Jewish messianic movements was always the

[623] Scofield, *Reference Bible*, Romans 12. Italics are my own and represent my interpretation of Scofield's collective exegesis on these verses based on his extensive subtexts and in text themed connections offering definitions and extended meaning of terms.

[624] Locke, *Making,* 67.

Messiah itself, the figure promised to lead a religiously racialized people towards their salvation.[625] For the Klan, this figure was the "living Christ," a hyper pneumatic Messiah whose form could be emulated by each consecrated Klansperson willing to sacrifice their individuality to the collective body of a new Christ in the making, the all-encompassing KKKollective Messiah of whiteness, the Joachimian *corpus Christi* prophesied to ensure the rise of the Kantian cosmopolis, the new Zion of a chosen people.

[625] Lenowitz, *The Jewish Messiahs,* 6.

Chapter 6

Klanishness:
Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow

"It behooves this generation above all others to be true
to the ideals of the Confederacy"[626]

- Denton County Katie Daffan UDC, 1950

In pursuit of a pure white society, the city and county of Denton were established in the mid-nineteenth century with brutal campaigns of violence enacted by Euro-settler-colonizers who forcibly removed indigenous communities from the landscape. After the Civil War, neo-Confederate descendants of these eschatologically motivated settler-colonizers largely retained social, economic, and political control in Denton as elsewhere in North Texas. They continued to pursue the prophetic promise of the Kantian cosmopolis and refused to acquiesce to federal emancipation and Reconstruction requirements, as evidenced by the continued enslavement and oppression of local African American persons. Individuals such as Sterling Johnson, the African American federal Reconstruction official for Denton County, who sought to challenge the racial hierarchy in the decades leading up to the turn of the century were met with brutal campaigns of violence. Even after the turn of the twentieth century, throughout the first two decades of the 1900s, Ku Klux Konfederates celebrated the legacy of theological white supremacy through counter-historical narratives and public memorials that honored those Euro-settler-colonizers willing to enact violence for the purpose of preserving the prophetic vision of theological white supremacy. As African American residents like those who lived in Quakertown continued to

[626] United Daughters of the Confederacy Katie Daffan Chapter No. 933, "United Daughters of the Confederacy 1950-1951," (Denton: UDC, 1951).

achieve social and economic progress without an endorsement from the white body-politic, the Second-Generation Klan emerged in Denton as the vigilante strong arm of the local authority in order to displace and disappear those who threatened the promise of whiteness' progress toward a utopian cosmopolis. Congruent with national trends throughout the 1920s, the Ku Klux Klan was revived in Denton via a series of socio-cultural, political, and religious infiltrations that re-popularized a Ku Klux Konfederate movement underscored by theo-mythical ideations of a new one hundred percent pure white utopian society.

By the spring of 1924, Klanishness was hardly a secret in the city of Denton, as Klavern No. 136 began to announce sporadic meetings under the fraternal "Lodges" section of the *DRC*; one year later, Denton's Klan met every first and third Tuesday on the Denton County square, which they continued to announce under the "Lodges" section with an advertisement that was always placed directly under the Odd Fellows (I.O.O.F.) listing.[627] By 1925, the order began to list the location of their meetings as "WOW [Woodmen of the World] hall."[628] Ironically though, Denton's WOW organization did not have their own hall and met in the Odd Fellows Lodge.[629]

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[627] "Too Late to Classify," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), Jan. 21, 1924; "Lodges," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), August 26, 1925; "Lodges," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), November 10, 1925.

[628] *Ibid*.

[629] "Round About Town," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), April 29, 1924; Tom Reedy and Nita Thurman, *A History of the Denton Lodge, No. 82 Independent Order of Odd Fellows 1859-2009*, (Denton: Self-Published, 2009), 87. The suspect nature of these relationships is further complicated by several factors. First, the 1923 City Directory published by the Rotary Club no longer included an address for WOW meetings as it did in the 1920 edition. Second, while the historical narrative of the IOOF lodge confirms that the local Odd Fellows Hall hosted "other occupants" during this time, it also states that WOW members began using the facilities after a "damaging fire in 1924" had destroyed the WOW hall "at about midnight on April 28." While the DRC reported a fire had occurred on this date which destroyed the Princess Theatre, it made no mention of the WOW Camp's supposed displacement. If the WOW camp was meeting above the Princess Theatre, it is strange that WOW advertisements were directing members to the IOOF Lodge well before the date of the fire. It is also significant that one of the authors commissioned to write the historical narrative of Denton's IOOF Lodge was, at the time, a member of the Denton County Historical Commission. This may imply that the county has been aware of the area's extensive Klan history and infiltration into local lodges since at least 2009 when the IOOF history was written. It could also imply that the Odd Fellows Lodge altered their records before sharing them with the Historical Commission. Regardless, someone, either in the county or the Odd Fellows lodge in the first decade of the twenty-first century made a concerted effort to conceal historic connections between Denton's IOOF lodge and the local

After the mid-1920s, the line of separation between Denton's Klan and the local Odd Fellows became increasingly blurred as the former began to regularly advertise its meetings in the *DRC* as happening at the same location and time as the latter.[630]

This kind of Klan infiltration of pre-established fraternal lodges was standard practice for the 1920s organization, and certainly not uncommon throughout North Texas.[631] In his thesis "The Klan and the Craft," historian Shaun Henry examined the nature of dual membership between the Dallas Klan and local Masonic Lodges, and found that at least eighty-four percent of the Dallas Klan's leadership were also Masons.[632] Infiltrating fraternal lodges not only facilitated boosts in membership, but also served as another mode of policing for the Klan. It helped facilitate control over white morality, as defined by the order's strict adherence to the fundamentalist principles so inherently entwined with its theological white supremacy. More research remains to determine the level of association between Denton Masons and Klansmen, but regardless, it is evident that the order functioned openly within the Odd Fellows and Woodmen of the World lodges, thus successfully infiltrating several of Denton's extant civic organizations.[633]

Once the local Klan in Denton had full control of politics, government, and fraternal orders, it exploited the privileges that came along with this control to prioritize recruitment from within the broader public. Traveling Klan recruiters frequently visited Denton to help drum up new recruits and were often met by large audiences in public spaces as a result of generous

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Ku Klux Klan that infiltrated the fraternal order nearly a century prior. This is a prime example of how the legacy of Klanishness continues.

630 "Lodges," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), April 30, 1926.

631 Harcourt, *Ku Klux Kulture*, location 72.

632 Shaun David Henry, "The Klan and the Craft: An Analysis of Masonic Dual Membership with the Ku Klux Klan in Dallas, 1920 – 1926," (Master's Thesis, University of Texas Dallas, 2017).

633 "Lodges," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), October 4, 1925; "Lodges," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), February 27, 1924; "Lodges," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), March 18, 1924.

promotional ads run in the *DRC*, which typically offered detailed post-event coverage including high editorial praise from W.C. Edwards. For instance, in January 1925, Methodist preacher and Klan recruiter Reverend W. G. Beasley was introduced by Mayor Hennen to a crowd that filled the Denton County courthouse at the center of town. Afterwards, Mayor Hennen personally distributed and recollected information cards from those interested in joining the order.[634] The large turnout was unquestionably a result of both multiple advertisements run in the *DRC*, and a personal invitation from Edwards, which he had taken the liberty to print in his front-page side column.[635] Excerpts from Beasley's two-hour speech on the Klan's principles of "100 per cent Americanism" were included in a two page article the following day.[636] By 1925, Klan initiations and recruitment events were so standard practice in the community that they were no longer conducted in secret. As an example, in summer 1926, Mrs. A. D. Turner, a long-time UDC member and prominent church leader, announced in the *DRC* that a large Klan initiation would be hosted on her property.[637] This open support of the Second-Generation Klan in Denton by members of the Katie Daffan chapter correlates to the UDC organization's long history of efforts aimed at homogenizing theological white supremacy into popular discourse through theo-historical redemption myths that valorized Confederate veterans and First-Generation Klansmen as one in the same. This continual UDC support of Klanishness well into the 1920s offers further evidence of a fluid, cohesive, multi-generational Ku Klux Klan in Denton.

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[634] "Principles of Klan Lauded by Speaker Before Big Crowd," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), January 23, 1925.

[635] "Public Lecture on the Ku Klux Klan" Advertisement, *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), January 22, 1925; "Public Lecture on the Ku Klux Klan" Advertisement, *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), January 21, 1925. The advertisement appears on p. 3 on both days. On January 21, 1925, see the front page, bottom left column for W.C. Edwards' personal invitation to the Klan gathering.

[636] "Principles of Klan Lauded by Speaker Before Big Crowd," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), January 23, 1925.

[637] "Notice," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), June 30, 1925.

The majority of Klan scholarship conducted in the twenty-first century tends to address the Second-Generation Klan as a distinctly unique movement that was entirely separate from earlier Reconstruction Era Klan activities. However, one notable scholar who assessed Second-Generation Klan phenomena at the height of the national organization's rise in the early 1920s also found evidence of a regenerative Ku Klux movement which they argued, had clearly evolved out of earlier manifestations of the order. In his 1924 analysis, *The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind,* sociologist John Mecklin compiled one of the most comprehensive scholarly assessments of the Second-Generation Klan during the height of the national order's organizational activities. In support of his assessment, Mecklin reviewed thousands of national and local press reports; studied Klan literature of his time; and conducted a national canvass of members, victims and affected community leaders from across the country via mail-in questionnaires, written correspondences, and personal interviews. Although his biased presumption that Klan membership was largely comprised of people who made up of the lowest socio-economic class eventually proved wrong, Mecklin's analysis of the underlying theo-mythology which connected the First- and Second-Generation Klans nonetheless remains critical for understanding the height of the movement's power at the most local levels of operation. Above all else, the 1920s sociologist emphasized the importance of "historical perspectives" when analyzing the Second-Generation Klan, which he described as a "highly complex social phenomena" rooted in theo-historical ideologies that could be traced back to the nation's earliest beginnings.[638]

[638] John M. Mecklin, *The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co: 1924), 53.

Mecklin identified numerous similarities between the First- and Second-Generation orders, including: violent methods of "social regulation" to oppose "emerging social norms" of tolerance; occulted fraternal relations to restore "white supremacy" via vigilante tactics of force over minority populations "previously subservient" to white elites; a desire to define white morality within local communities via intimidating tactics meant to enforce social control; and blatant exploitations of "revived…ancient prejudices" for the "distinct and redemptive purpose" of maintaining white dominance.[639] Congruent with historian Chelsea Stallings' assessment of the popular white supremacist vision at work in Denton during the first decades of the twentieth century, Mecklin found that the prime driving force behind national Klan activity in the 1920s was the employment of Reconstruction myths which held significant influence over "history and memory."[640] He further asserted that the order's employment of myth and memory was so powerful, that in order to fully grasp both the Klan phenomena of his time and the rapidity with which it took hold, more than the mere "publication of the facts" was necessary.[641] Collectively, he argued that the facts surrounding the Ku Klux Klan movement require an in-depth theo-historical interpretation of the order's revivalist message which promised a purer, holier, whiter America.[642]

Cultural historians in the 1960s studying the legacy of the Second-Generation Ku Klux Klan within four decades following the order's rise to power in the 1920s also found evidence of a regenerative movement. In his 1967 book, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930*, Kenneth Jackson emphasized how the Second-Generation order "tapped [into] rather than created" racist social trends that were already thriving in early twentieth century communities, particularly

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639 Mecklin, *Ku Klux Klan*, 4-5, 14, 73, 77, 63, 67.
640 *Ibid.*, 68-69.
641 *Ibid.*, 33, 37.
642 *Ibid.*, 14, 22, 37.

within the South.[643] Similarly, in the 1962 article, "Crusade for Conformity: The Ku Klux Klan in Texas, 1920-1930," Charles Alexander described the Klan as an "authentic folk movement" of "masked puritans."[644] Pointing to the first public recruitment event in Texas which occurred at the 1920 Confederate Veterans Reunion in Houston when a majority of the veterans in attendance joined as "reinstated" members who claimed to have been involved in Reconstruction Era Klanishness, Alexander argued that the Ku Klux Klan is best understood as a regenerative movement that has been revitalized numerous times throughout different eras of American history.[645] This was certainly the case in Denton County, where historical memories underscored by theo-mythologies of whiteness' perfection formed a clear bridge between the First- and Second-Generation Klans. Although many organizations would unite for this cause in the 1920s, this bridge was built, supported, and maintained by Denton's Katie Daffan UDC chapter. These women singularly carried the torch for southern Reconstruction myths that were rooted in theological white supremacy, which persisted throughout generations with a sentimental value that increasingly outweighed documented history to the extent that it eventually "replaced reality."[646] As the leading historic preservationists during the early twentieth century, Denton's UDC had a profound impact on local theo-historical development. These women were teachers, church leaders, and regular centerpieces of civic discourse and policy who were in prime positions for socio-political influence. As a result, they were capable of indoctrinating their communities over the years with the same theo-mythologies that they themselves had been taught by their Confederate forebearers.

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[643] Kenneth T. Jackson, *Ku Klux Klan in the City 1915-1930* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee Inc., 1992), 224.

[644] Charles C. Alexander, *Crusade for Conformity*: *The Ku Klux Klan in Texas, 1920-1930* (Houston: Texas Gulf Coast Historical Society, 1962), 7, 23.

[645] Alexander, *Crusade*, 2-3.

[646] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 38.

By the time the Second-Generation Klan emerged as a national organization in the early 1920s, Denton's UDC had been promoting Ku Klux-Konfederatism within the local community for more than a decade. The organizational texts studied and taught by Denton's Katie Daffan chapter reflected on the Reconstruction Era as "a demoralized state of affairs" that "called into existence the Ku Klux Klan… the solution… to the dark days...."[647] Similarly, Klan membership manuals known as the *Kloran* which were disseminated throughout the North Texas Region in the 1920s, described Reconstruction as an "anguish laden cry… of the Southland" that was "answered by the gallant knights of the Invisible Empire."[648] UDC texts blamed African American communities for Reconstruction Era Klan violence, arguing that freedpersons mistook their "freedom as synonymous with equality," and suggested that the freedmen's "greatest ambition" was to sexually exploit a white woman.[649] Similarly, the *Kloran* revered the Reconstruction Klan for its defense of white women's "chastity" as it reduced freedmen to "lust crazed beasts in human form."[650] UDC historians taught that suffrage rights afforded to freedpersons after the war led to "black heels on… white necks," and that federal Reconstruction efforts were a "galling yoke… thrust upon the necks of white men...."[651] The *Kloran* used the exact same analogies to describe Reconstruction as a time wherein white "cultured society was thrust down" with "its noble neck… forced under an iron heel" of oppression.[652] It is clear that the theo-mythical histories that were distributed in text and commemorated in stone in the first two decades of the twentieth century by UDC organizations across the nation — including

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[647] Rose, *Ku Klux Klan*, 51-52.

[648] W. J. Simmons, "Kloran of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," (Atlanta: Ku Klux Press, 1916), 50: citing archive.org, Last Accessed March 18, 2020, (https://archive.org/details/KloranOfTheKKK_201404/page/n43/mode/2up/search/citizen).

[649] Rose, *Ku Klux Klan,* 17.

[650] Simmons, *Kloran,* 49.

[651] Rose, *Ku Klux Klan*, 17, 33.

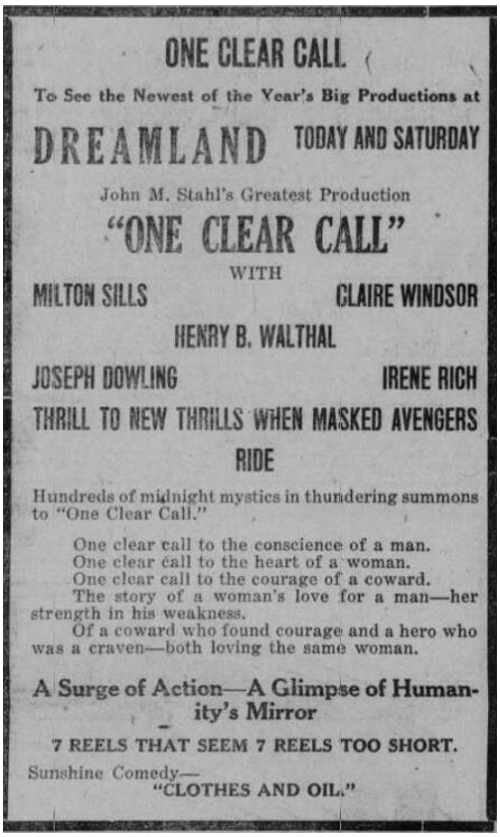
[652] Simmons, *Kloran,* 50.

Denton's Katie Daffan chapter — were nothing less than prophetic conjurations of the birth of the Second-Generation Klan.

As was the case in communities across the nation, Klan culture was widely popular throughout North Texas, mirroring the dramatic rise of the national order in the 1920s, but it especially thrived in the city of Denton. In *Ku Klux Kulture: America and the Klan in the 1920s,* historian Felix Harcourt examines the Klanish culture that emerged during this time through the lens of the order's moniker, the "Invisible Empire" to assess how the Second-Generation Klan achieved such pervasive immersion throughout American communities. According to Harcourt, the brazen Klanishness that thrived in Denton for decades after the emergence of the 1920s order corresponded to popular national trends. By "consciously and unconsciously" engaging with the cultural apparatuses around them, Klan members infiltrated every aspect of community life where they spread their racialized discourse with ease.[653] While the Klan's message and activities were certainly not condoned by everyone, Harcourt argues that for every person who condemned the order, others "sanitized and normalized" Klanishness as part of white culture.[654] He argues that as a "rooted cultural movement" which manifested itself organically, the Second-Generation Klan should be viewed as a collection of white supremacists who shared a "lived ideology" that was expressed through local civic engagements and cultural institutions.[655] This was absolutely the case in Denton where Klanish culture thrived in local churches, politics and government, civic and academic institutions, as well as fraternal and social clubs. By the close of the 1920s, Klan members were hardly a minority population of white elites in the city of Denton; they were everyday Protestant American citizens at large. They went to local Klan events with

[653] Harcourt, *Ku Klux Kulture*, location 3868.
[654] *Ibid.*, 3845.
[655] *Ibid.*, 3840-45, 3783-3799.

their families, visited fairs with Klanish showcases, saw Klan films, conducted Klanish business, and hosted Klan social gatherings.[656] Unquestionably, the city of Denton was a hub of Klanish culture.



ONE CLEAR CALL

To See the Newest of the Year's Big Productions at

DREAMLAND TODAY AND SATURDAY

John M. Stahl's Greatest Production

"ONE CLEAR CALL"

WITH

MILTON SILLS CLAIRE WINDSOR

HENRY B. WALTHAL

JOSEPH DOWLING IRENE RICH

THRILL TO NEW THRILLS WHEN MASKED AVENGERS RIDE

Hundreds of midnight mystics in thundering summons to "One Clear Call."

One clear call to the conscience of a man.
One clear call to the heart of a woman.
One clear call to the courage of a coward.
The story of a woman's love for a man—her strength in his weakness.
Of a coward who found courage and a hero who was a craven—both loving the same woman.

A Surge of Action—A Glimpse of Humanity's Mirror

7 REELS THAT SEEM 7 REELS TOO SHORT.

Sunshine Comedy—
"CLOTHES AND OIL."

8. The Klan film, *One Clear Call* featured heroic "masked avengers" and was one of the 1920s order's most successful commercial endeavors. It debuted at Denton's Dreamland Theater in March of 1923.[657]

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[656] "Farmersville Klan to Induct 1000 Candidates on May 31 Parade Will Feature Meeting," *Colonel Mayfield's Weekly* (Houston, TX), May 26, 1923; "20,000 Attend Big Klan Parade at Gainesville, *Colonel Mayfield's Weekly* (Houston, TX), August 4, 1923, crediting Wisconsin Historical Society, Last Accessed on March 18, 2020 (https://kkknews.revealdigital.com); "Large Crowd Went From Denton to Gainesville for Klan and Kamelia Parade," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), July 16, 1923; "Personal News," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) July 17, 1923; "Lewisville in Big Demonstration," *The American Citizen* (Fort Worth, TX), September 28, 1923: (Texas Newspaper Collection), citing Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas (Austin, TX); "Klansman's Head Carved From Wood," *McKinney Daily Courier Gazette*, (McKinney, TX), September 29, 1923; See Appendix IV.

[657] "One Clear Call," Dreamland Theater Advertisement, *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, Texas) March 16, 1923; Harcourt, *Ku Klux Kulture*, location 2540-2546. Dreamland Theater was owned by B. H. Deavenport who made a large donation to the Katie Daffan UDC Confederate Monument fund. The Deavenports were descendants of a Confederate who enslaved African American people, several members of the family were leading members of the Quakertown removal Campaign. See Appendix III.

As Klan culture spread across the nation during the 1920s, various Klanish expressions were embraced at large, and as a community with an exceptionally Klanish identity, Klanish language became a powerful force of influence within Denton. Historian Thomas Pegram's book *One Hundred Percent American: The Rebirth and Decline of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s* provides a thorough account of how the Klan summarized its membership of white American-born Protestants as a distinct citizenry of an Invisible Empire which they referred to as "one hundred percent Americans."[658] The infamous phrase was prominent throughout Klan literature, and "one hundred percent Americans" incorporated the terminology at both local and national levels as a way of branding their Klanish identities.[659] In Dallas, the local order started its own Klan journal called *Texas 100 Per Cent American*.[660] Other Klan journals like Fort Worth's *American Citizen* and the national order's *Wisconsin Kourier* regularly promoted to and for a "100%" population.[661] The term was diverse in its presentation, varied by its numeric and spelled forms but its use by Klans across the U.S. to represent a strictly white Protestant body of membership was universal. Often incorporated into Klanish business advertisements, the phrase allowed members to attract Klanish business while simultaneously imposing boycotts against anti-Klan competitors.[662] According to Pegram and other Klan scholars focused on the sociological

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[658] Pegram, *One Hundred Percent*, 9-10; Kathleen M. Blee, Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920's, (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of Chicago, 1991), 61.

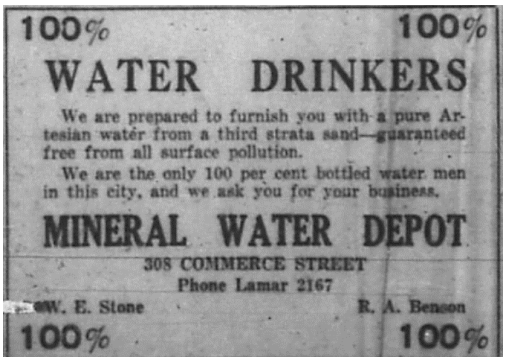
[659] Pegram, *One Hundred Percent,* 9-10, 43.

[660] *Ibid*, 70.

[661] "Why Bible Should Be Read in Public Schools of Nation," *The Wisconsin Kourier*, (Empire Publishing Co.: Washington, D.C.) February 27, 1925, Vo.4, no.15, citing Wisconsin Historical Society, Last Accessed March 15, 2019, (https://kkknews.revealdigital.com).

[662] Blee, *Women of the Klan*, 71: This detailed study of the Indianapolis Women's Klan reveals how the order relied heavily on symbolic communication after increased negative coverage in the national press; Pegram, *One Hundred Percent*, 32, 36-37, 43. Pegram provides numerous examples of how Klans incorporated "one hundred percent" branding across the nation.

implications of Klanishness, the larger a Klan's size and influence in a particular community, the more prevalent and brazen its public communications would be. Based on the extant documentation herein reviewed, membership in Denton's Second-Generation Klan must have been considerable.[663]



9. "100 %" advertisement published in a Fort Worth Klan Journal in the Spring of 1923.[664]

10. "100 Per Cent" advertisement published in a Dallas Klan Journal in the Spring of 1923.[665]

[663] Blee, *Women of the Klan*, 168-172. Research into Klan advertising within Denton is ongoing. So far, 33 individual advertisers and at least twice as many advertisements have been catalogued between the years 1922 and 1929. In each instance, the business owners either had ties to Klan activity, were involved in Quakertown's removal, or donated to the Confederate monument fund. In several instances, owners fit into two or all of these categories. See Appendix IV.

[664] "Water Drinkers," Advertisement, *The American Citizen,* (Fort Worth, Texas), April 27, 1923: (Texas Newspaper Collection), citing Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas (Austin, TX).

[665] "100 Per Cent Square Deal," *Texas 100 Per Cent American*, (Dallas, TX) April 13, 1923: (Texas Newspaper Collection), citing Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas (Austin, TX).

Throughout the 1920s, the *DRC* was flooded with one-hundred-percent advertising. For example, Klansman Bert Fowler, owner of Alamo Storage Co. and Auto Supply House, worked in a call to "one hundred percenters" in every one of his companies' advertisements published in the *DRC* between 1922 and 1929.[666] From paints that improved a car's look "100 per cent" to various "one hundred per cent pure" products, he never missed the opportunity to brand his Klanishness. One 1926 advertisement for Amalie Motor Oil best characterizes his employment of this distinctly Klanish language.[667] The ad features four simple lines of text followed by the company's information. Two bold lines, positioned one over the other read respectively, "Amalie Motor Oil" and "Pennsylvania Oil." Below each of these bold phrases are significantly smaller, lighter, and barely noticeable lines of text. Read in concurrence top to bottom, the full advertisement reads, "Amalie Motor Oil - One hundred percent pure - Pennsylvania Oil - sold and serviced here." While the ad obviously insinuates that the garage sold and changed oil, the verbiage reads awkward as oil itself is not "serviced." Additionally, the obvious effort to make part of the text less noticeable should not be dismissed, as such an effort is blatantly counterproductive to the very purpose of an advertisement. However, when the smaller discreet lines are read consecutively and separately from the bolded ones, a very different message emerges. The text reads, "Amalie Motor Oil - Pennsylvania Oil, one hundred percent pure - sold and serviced here." In just four simple lines, Fowler not only advertised the oils and services offered at his garage, but he also branded his business as one that was both owned by and operated for the Klanish residents of Denton.

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[666] "100 per cent" Fowler Auto Advertisement, *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) September 4, 1922. See Appendix IV.

[667] "One Hundred Per Cent" Fowler Paint Advertisement, Fowler Alamo Storage, *Denton Record Chronicle*, May 26, 1926. See Appendix IV.

11. "One hundred per cent pure" advertisement
published in Denton's local newspaper during the spring of 1926.[668]

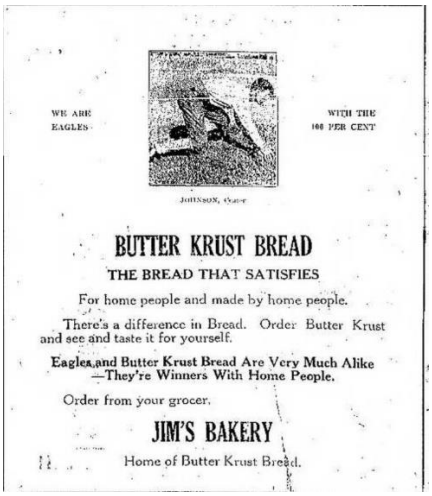
Similar advertisements filled the *DRC* throughout the 1920s and beyond. As another example, film house owner J. M. Vivion promised customers "one hundred per cent entertainment" at his Princess Theater on Denton's town square, which had debuted the *Birth of a Nation* film in 1915 as part of the earliest local recruitment efforts associated with the Second-Generation order.[669] It is now widely accepted by Klan scholars that this film was openly used as a Klan recruitment tool, and as such, it played a critical role in the rise of the 1920s re-birth movement, particularly within Texas.[670] Thus, it seems that Vivion may have played a pivotal role in establishing a Second-Generation order in Denton. But neither Fowler nor Vivion were exceptional in their open support for Denton's Klan. The examples of this kind of popular Klanishness in *DRC* advertisements are truly endless, such as City Commissioner and grocery

[668] "Amalie Motor Oils," Advertisement, *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), May 26, 1926.

[669] "Henry Walthall," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) December 29, 1915: "stars in Birth of a Nation at Princess Theater tonight." Vivion also made a rather large donation to the Katie Daffan UDC's Confederate Monument fund. See Appendix III.

[670] *Handbook Online*, Christopher Long, "KU KLUX KLAN," http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/vek02, Last Accessed December 15, 2019.

store owner George Turner's frequent promotion of "100%" products in his weekend sale ads.[671] In similar form, bakery owner J. A. Holt proudly touted that his business near the North Texas State Normal College (NTSNC) campus was unabashedly "with the 100 per cent."[672] Holt unmistakably knew his customer base, as Klanishness thrived on the college campuses within Denton as well.



12. Denton Klansman advertised his "Krust" bread and business as being "with the 100 per cent" in the fall of 1925.[673]

[671] "100%," Advertisement, Denton Record Chronicle (Denton, TX), March 9, 1928 and November 22, 1929 and January 23, 1929; George T. Turner, *1920 Census Place*: Denton Ward 4, Denton, Texas; Roll: T625_1796; Page: 11B; Enumeration District: 55; as found on ancestry.com: Last Accessed on March 18, 2019, (https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/25946859?h=43b68e&utm_campaign=bandido-webparts&utm_source=post-share-modal&utm_medium=copy-url); Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, April 2, 1924, Book VII, Office of Denton City Secretary.

[672] "Jim's Bakery Advertisement," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) November 25, 1925; Retail Merchants' Association, *Retail Merchants' Association's Denton City Directory*, 1923; Denton, Texas, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting Denton Public Library, Last Accessed February 20, 2019, (texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth29685/). The North Texas State Normal College is now known as the University of North Texas. Holt was also one of hundreds of white-identifying Denton residents who signed a petition circulated by the UDC-led City Federation calling for the removal of African Americans from their inner-city Quakertown community to make space for a new white's only park. See "Quakertown Petitions," Denton City Commission Records, Emily Fowler Library, (Denton, TX) Special Collections, June 3,1922.

[673] "Jim's Bakery," Advertisement, *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) November 25, 1925.

The North Texas State Normal College (NTSNC) in Denton became a state funded institution in 1901, and by the 1920s a co-ed student body from across North Texas and neighboring states had packed its campus dorms by the thousands. Along with young white women from the nearby College of Industrial Arts (CIA), the NTSNC student body helped shape early twentieth-century Denton into a thriving college town, yet in a unique reciprocal exchange of influence, local Klanishness shaped its campus culture as well. As early as 1920, an "unorganized body" self-referred to as the "Debating Klub," held unusual and irregular meetings in the NTSNC campus chapel.[674] Its unchartered membership was exclusive and extended by "invite only" to those who met what was only publicly described by the group as certain "necessary qualifications."[675] Without any parliamentary procedures, the only purpose the "Klub" promoted in the *Campus Chat* student newspaper was its work "towards a remedy for evils."[676] By 1921, this sort of occulted Klan activity on campus became a brazen phenomenon. A *Campus Chat* article later that year called on several of the college's clubs to attend a baseball game between students and faculty. The "Ku Klux Klan" was among those specifically invited.[677] Another *Campus Chat* headline from 1921 announced that a "Keen Kollege Klan" had marched through the campus after a football game.[678] After the campus order "dragged and burned [a dummy] in the middle of the street," they marched to the home of Dr. Bruce, the

[674] North Texas State Normal College, *Yucca*, yearbook, 1920, Jefferson City, Missouri, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting UNT Libraries Special Collections, Last Accessed February 18, 2020, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth60999/m1/279/?q=yucca%201920).

[675] North Texas State Normal College, *Yucca*, yearbook, 1920, Jefferson City, Missouri, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting UNT Libraries Special Collections, Last Accessed February 18, 2020, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth60999/m1/279/?q=yucca%201920).

[676] *Ibid*.

[677] "Seniors-Juniors Challenge Faculty Baseball Team," *The Campus Chat*, (Denton, Tex.), May 21, 1921, crediting researcher Hannah Stewart, University of North Texas.

[678] "Keen Kollege Klan March Through Campus," *The Campus Chat*, (Denton, Tex.), October 15, 1921, crediting research of Hannah Stewart, University of North Texas.

College President who reportedly "caught the spirit of the occasion."[679] It should be clarified, however, that NTSNC campus Klanishness was not reserved to youthful gimmicks.

One month prior to the march, during the height of the Quakertown removal campaign, a couple from the African American community had passed through the campus in their car when a mob of male students suddenly began to pelt them with rocks. As two officers who had just been appointed to the city's recently established Police Department stood by and watched, the students smashed the couple's windshield sending broken glass into the face of the woman inside.[680] Although the *DRC* reported that officers had witnessed the assault which left open gashes on the unnamed African American woman's face, charges were left "pending" until an investigation could be completed.[681] To date, there is no record of such an investigation or charges in the historical archive. It is clear that a culture of violence and intimidation underscored by the Klan's unique brand of theological white supremacy permeated the NTSNC campus during the early 1920s as city elites in partnership with the UDC-led City Federation worked to remove African American residents from their inner-city neighborhood of Quakertown.

Quakertown property owner William Evelyn Woods experienced NTSNC campus Klanishness first-hand when he was hired on for a janitorial position at the college in 1921. In an oral history interview recorded decades later, Woods described the "difficult and dangerous working conditions" he faced on a regular basis.[682] He explained that during this time, all of the janitorial and maintenance staff on the campus were African American, and all of them worked

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[679] *Ibid*.

[680] "Fifteen Youths Detained in Connection with Chunking Car Occupied by Negroes," *Denton Record Chronicle*, September 19, 1921.

[681] *Ibid*.

[682] Woods, "Oral History," 149.

twelve-hour days, six days per week without exception. In order to ensure distance between the workers and the students, the African American staff were required to clean the education buildings during the early morning hours before classes started, and then they were sent to work outside on the lawns. When classes let out, they would return to clean inside the buildings again. Woods' trouble on campus began when a young co-worker made a joke at his expense in the presence of a Mr. Stanley, the white maintenance director. "They tell me you're about to take one of these teacher's wives away from them," the young African American janitor said to Woods.[683] Immediately alarmed by the comment, Woods scolded his younger counterpart but the damage had already been done. As Woods explained in his oral history account, "a joke then was worse than the truth would be now. They'd lynch a nigger about a white woman."[684] When he arrived on campus the next morning, hooded and robed Klansmen were lined along the sidewalks all around the education building. After he made his way inside to begin his janitorial duties, all of the lights were turned off and he was forced to finish his early morning work in complete darkness.[685] Later that afternoon, Woods went back inside to conduct his final cleanup. Shortly after he began cleaning one of the classroom's, he noticed that a male student was standing in the doorway watching him as he worked. The next day, a similar onlooker appeared to oversee his work again. Woods reported the incidents to College President William Bruce, who refused to promise his safety or an end to the intimidation. In fear for his life, just three months after he accepted the job, Woods immediately resigned.[686] This propensity toward violence and intimidation to ensure white dominance at NTSNC was fueled by the popular Klan culture that permeated throughout campus life at large.

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[683] Woods, "Oral History," 149.
[684] *Ibid.*
[685] *Ibid.*, 150.
[686] *Ibid.*

Faculty at the NTSNC directly served as models of campus Klanishness as well. For instance, J.W. Pender was highlighted as the student body's most revered "one hundred per cent American" in the College's 1922 *Yucca* yearbook.[687] From 1922 onward, the *Yucca* served as a chronicle of Klanish development for the educational institution. In 1923, a thoroughly medieval theme loaded with chivalrous imagery typical for Texas Klans was incorporated throughout the college annual.[688] This medieval symbolism was so popular among the student body that a similar theme carried over into the 1924 *Yucca* as well, wherein the gowns of graduating seniors were described as "K.K.K. uniforms died black."[689] In another example, the 1923 *Yucca* concluded its annual publication with the words "the end" placed above an image of a terrified African American man dressed in rags being violently attacked by a dog, likely a crude reference to the African American Quakertown neighborhood which students had seen forcibly removed from Denton's inner-city with the help of the local Klan earlier in the academic year.[690] The tone of white supremacy incorporated into the following 1924 *Yucca* edition was far more celebratory, as it featured a collection of racist "pickaninny" and "Ku Klux" references for the enjoyment of the white student body that was by this time, thoroughly immersed in local Klan

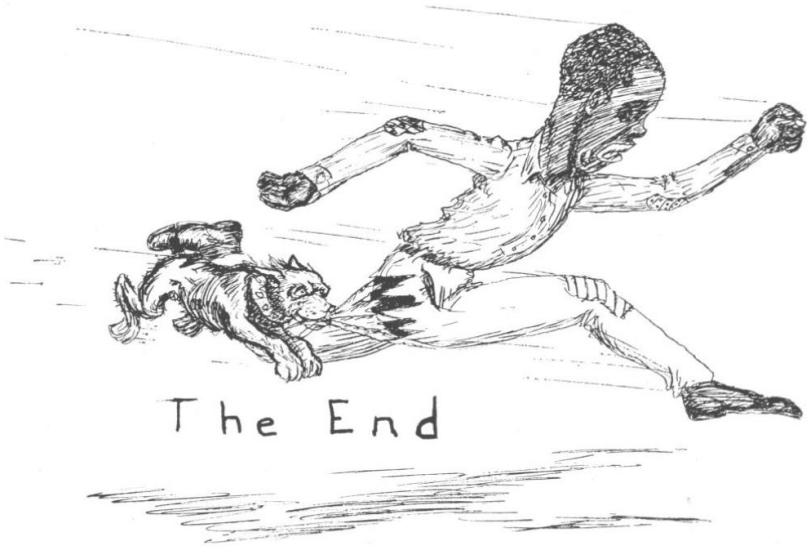
[687] North Texas State Normal College, *Yucca*, yearbook, 1922, Denton, Texas, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting UNT Libraries Special Collections, Last Accessed February 18, 2020, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth60990/m1/9/).

[688] North Texas State Normal College, *Yucca*, yearbook, 1923, Denton, Texas, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting UNT Libraries Special Collections, Last Accessed February 18, 2020, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth60991/m1/4/?q=yucca%201923). See also (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth60991/m1/293/?q=yucca%201923).

[689] North Texas State Normal College, *Yucca*, yearbook, 1924, Denton, Texas, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting UNT Libraries Special Collections, Last Accessed February 18, 2020, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth60992/m1/283/?q=yucca%201924). See also (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth60992/m1/3/?q=yucca%201924). See also (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth60992/m1/12/?q=yucca%201924).

[690] North Texas State Teacher's School, *Yucca*, yearbook, 1924, Denton, Texas, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting UNT Libraries Special Collections, Last Accessed February 18, 2020, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth60992/m1/298/?q=yucca%201924).

culture.[691] Every edition of the college's yearbook released in the 1920s featured calls for "100%" loyalty from students alongside ads targeting the "100 per cent" population within the community.[692] There can be no doubt that Klanishness was the standard at Denton's NTSNC during this time.



13. The 1923 edition of the NTSNC *Yucca* yearbook concluded with a vulgar celebration of Quakertown's forced removal.[693]

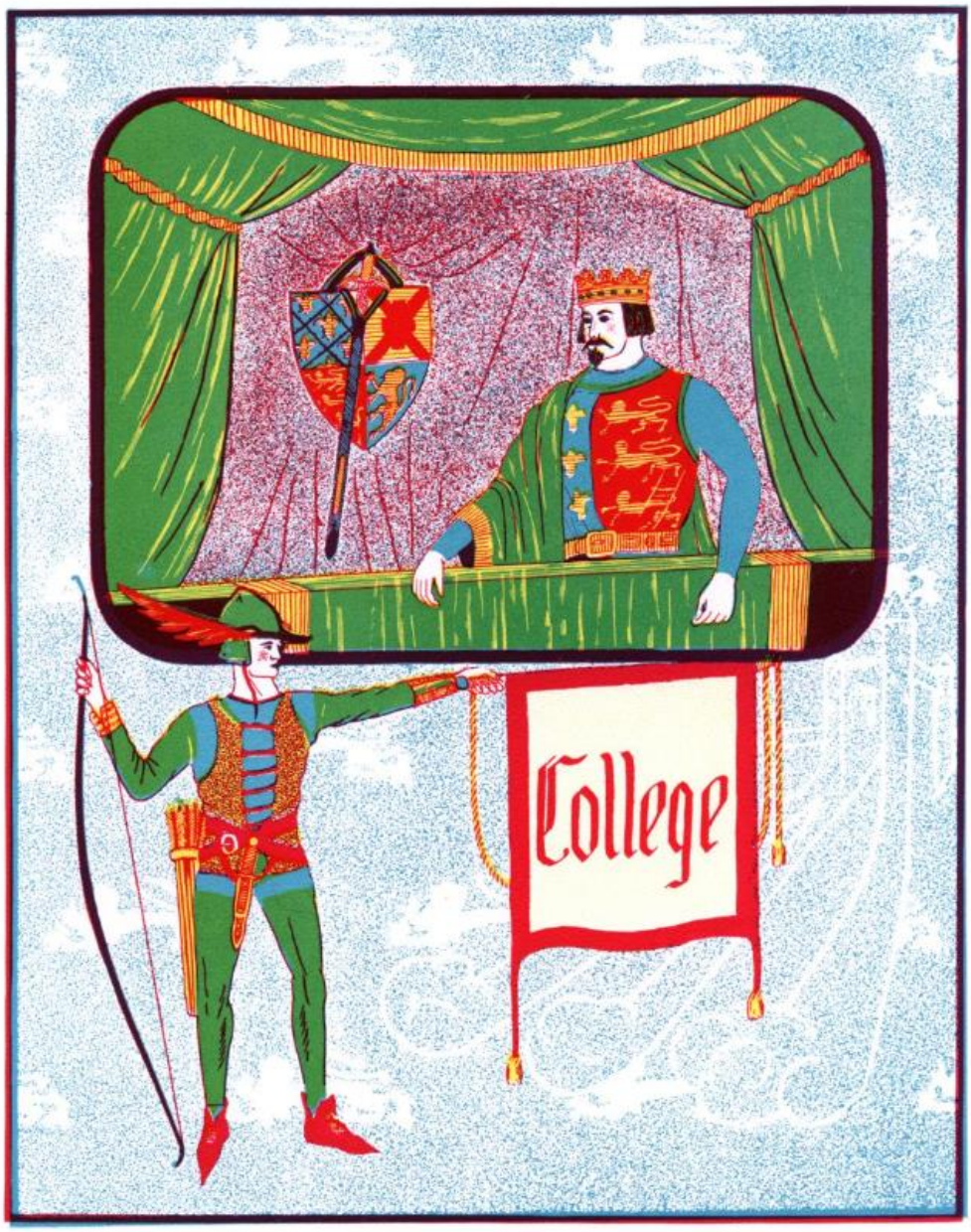
[691] North Texas State Teacher's School, *Yucca*, yearbook, 1925, Denton, Texas, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting UNT Libraries Special Collections, Last Accessed February 18, 2020, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth60993/m1/353/?q=%22ku%20klux%22).

[692] North Texas State Teacher's School, *Yucca*, yearbook, 1926, Denton, Texas, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting UNT Libraries Special Collections, Last Accessed February 18, 2020, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth60994/m1/300/?q=yucca%201926). See Also (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth60994/m1/348/?q=yucca%201926).

[693] North Texas State Normal College, *Yucca*, yearbook, 1923, Denton, Texas, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting UNT Libraries Special Collections, Last Accessed February 18, 2020 (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth60992/m1/298/?q=yucca%201924).

14. *Yucca* Editor-in-Chief and Business Manager dream about a "Ku Klux March" in 1922 yearbook artwork.[694]

[694] North Texas State Normal College, *Yucca*, yearbook, 1922, Denton, Texas, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting UNT Libraries Special Collections, Last Accessed February 18, 2020, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth60990/m1/316/?q=yucca%201922).



15. In an unprecedented repetition of the 1923 chosen theme, the 1924 *Yucca* yearbook employed the same medieval imagery typical of Texas Klans.[695]

[695] North Texas State Teacher's School, *Yucca*, yearbook, 1924, Denton, Texas, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting UNT Libraries Special Collections, Last Accessed February 18, 2020, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth60992/m1/12/?q=yucca%201924).

While the Klanish culture that permeated throughout the NTSNC campus tended towards brashness, it was also prevalent at the white women's CIA on the other side of town, although it tended to be expressed in a much more occulted and dramatic form. After Quakertown's removal was officially secured with the park bond election in the spring of 1921, the city's success was commemorated in the CIA *Daedalian* yearbook. Incorporating the edition's overall Egyptian theme, the school memorial featured a full-page illustration of an African American woman in rags, who was laid out in full prostration before a regal white figure perched upon a royal throne.[696] In the midst of Quakertown condemnation proceedings in the following Fall of 1922, the CIA student newspaper, *The Lass-O* published a recap of campus Halloween festivities which reportedly included a visit from the local Ku Klux Klan with their "fiery cross."[697] Later that December, *The Lass-O* published a cryptic announcement tucked discreetly among unrelated news on the front page. Incorporating the college mascot as a reference for the student body, the young Klanswomen of the CIA declared: "Now that the white owls have organized, the Ku Klux Klan should not run out of feathers."[698] Although the 1920s Klan was undoubtedly a patriarchal organization, white women continued to play a significant role in preserving the order's culture of theological white supremacy at the local level, just as the women of Katie Daffan's UDC had helped shape and encourage the organization's revitalization, and just as white women elsewhere across the nation had done in their own local communities.[699]

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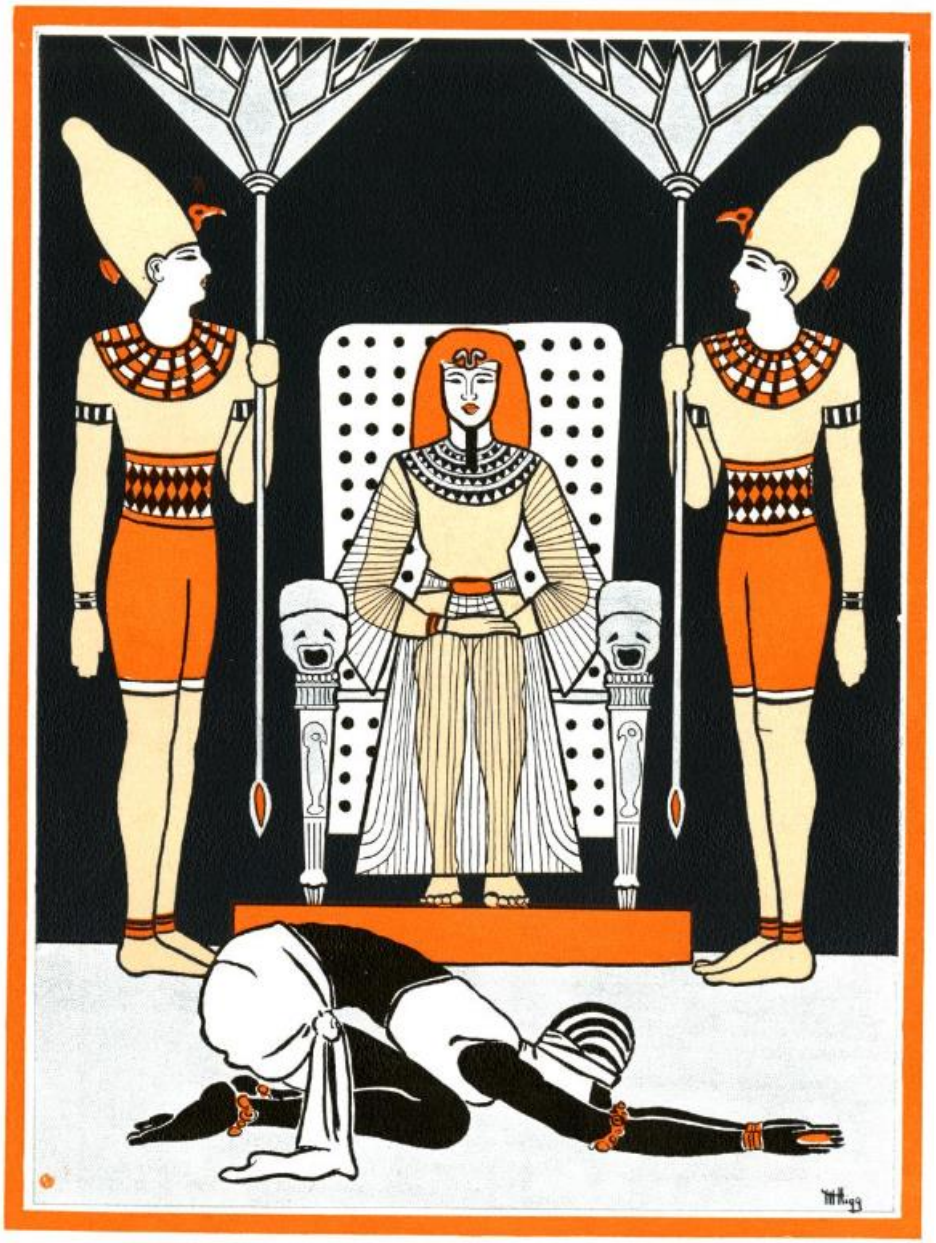
[696] College of Industrial Arts, The *Daedalian*, Yearbook of the College of Industrial Arts, 1921, Denton, Texas, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting Texas Woman's University, Last Accessed March 18, 2020 (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth129004/m1/51/?q=Daedalian).

[697] "Brackenridge Has Program," *The LASS-O*, (College of Industrial Arts, Denton, TX) November 4, 1922; Denton City Commission Meeting Minutes, Regular Session, November 10, 1922, Book VI, Office of Denton City Secretary.

[698] "Now that the white owls…," *The LASS-O*, (College of Industrial Arts, Denton, TX), December 2, 1922. See the small text within two bars placed in the middle of the front page.

[699] See Appendix II.



16. The 1921 CIA student body celebrated the announcement of Quakertown's forced removal within the Egyptian theme of its *Daedalian* yearbook.[700]

[700] College of Industrial Arts, The *Daedalian*, Yearbook of the College of Industrial Arts, 1921, Denton, Texas, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting Texas Woman's University, Last Accessed March 18, 2020, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth129004/m1/51/?q=Daedalian).

In her 1991 book, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s,* sociologist Kathleen Blee detailed her study of the Indianapolis Women's Ku Klux Klan (WKKK), which thrived for decades after the order was established in the early 1920s. In particular, Blee examined their use of Klanish occultic language and symbolism which facilitated member identification as well as communication via covert campaigns that were designed to primarily control not only local race relations but white morality, sexuality, and politics as well. Blee supplemented her research of various secular and Klan publications, legal documents, and public records with extensive oral history interviews which she conducted with former members, survivors, and victims of the WKKK. As a result, Blee was able to bypass the order's veil of secrecy and examine how women in particular functioned as the bastions of Klanish culture. According to Blee's analysis, the 1920s Indiana WKKK afforded white Protestant women their own "social setting" wherein they could celebrate and exploit their own "racial and religious privileges."[701] Mobilized by local leaders who tapped "vein[s] of racism" that were already thoroughly established "within their white Protestant communities," Blee argues that these women were more "a product of the ideas and values" that influenced white Protestants throughout the early twentieth century than they were a deviation from them.[702] She found that "nearly all" of the members she was able to identify were highly active in their churches, and as such these self-identified fundamentalists were highly motivated by the apocalyptic language that was employed in Klan literature.[703] Immersed in theologically-rooted white supremacist ideologies, Blee's study reveals how the Indiana WKKK helped to erode decades of increased "public tolerance" towards racial integration after the turn of the twentieth century.[704] Blee also

[701] Blee, *Women of the Klan*, 1, 119, 7.
[702] *Ibid.*, 7, 17.
[703] *Ibid.*, 121, 141, 185.
[704] *Ibid.*, 2, 7.

found that the activities of the Indiana WKKK often diverged from those of the men's order, so much so that her full analysis of the WKKK's roles and beliefs changed her interpretation of the Ku Klux Klan as an organizational whole.[705] According to Blee, Klanish Women were beholden to a distinct culture all their own, and an analysis thereof reveals complex interactions between race, religion and gender in American society which facilitated the broader Klan movement's mass appeal to a white Protestant majority after the 1920s.[706] This was the case in Denton, Texas, as much as it was in Indianapolis.

According to Blee, one of the most notable differences between Indiana's Klanswomen and Klansmen was that the former tended to be far less public in their Klanish endeavors.[707] This devotion to privacy facilitated the WKKK's seamless integration into normal everyday activities in the white Protestant communities wherein Klanswomen could construct "illusive webs of private relationships" that carried "devastating power."[708] Many of Blee's informants detailed how Klanswomen enacted "poison squad" campaigns that were capable of triggering tumultuous events, everything from "consumer boycotts" to violent, even deadly Klan attacks on African American people, as well as their white allies.[709] Denton Klanswomen engaged in similar activities. One campaign in particular divided the CIA campus in a full out war between pro- and anti-Klan faculty from the summer of 1925 through the following Spring of 1926. The events that led to this division had begun in May 1924 when the CIA president, F. M. Bralley died unexpectedly from the flu.[710] As a member of the Board of Directors of the First Christian

[705] Blee, *Women of the Klan*, *3-7.*
[706] *Ibid.*
[707] *Ibid.*
[708] *Ibid*
[709] *Ibid.*
[710] "Many Pay Tribute to Dr. Bralley at Funeral Services," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), August 25, 1924.

Church, the Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary Club, a one-time NTSNC board member, and one of the earliest proponents of Quakertown's removal, Bralley was highly revered in the Denton community for his unrelenting commitment to building a white utopian society modeled on the Kantian cosmopolis.[711]

In addition to his local civic engagements, Bralley also held close ties to high-ranking Klan members in North Texas. The details surrounding his funeral services at the CIA in spring 1924, make this abundantly clear. Bralley's memorial was conducted by Reverend J. W. Kerns, who, several months prior, had offered a full-hearted welcoming speech for Texas Klan Grand Dragon Z. E. Marvin during his visit to Kern's hometown approximately one hundred miles south of Denton.[712] Additionally, representatives of the two Denton churches with the largest involvement in local Klan activities — Reverend S. M. Black of First Methodist and Reverend W.C. McClung of First Baptist — assisted Kerns with the services.[713] Music was led by none other than the NTSNC campus' favorite "one hundred percent American," J W Pender.[714] During the service, Kerns emphasized Bralley's commitment to Christianity as a "great citizen," an occulted reference to the President's membership in the Invisible Empire.[715] Attended by the most prominent Dentonites, many of whom were associated with local Klan activity, the funeral cortege was reported in the *DRC* as "the longest ever seen" in the city.[716] While the CIA

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[711] Stallings, "Removing the Danger," 39-48.

[712] "Many Pay Tribute," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), August 25, 1924; "Texas Turns to Waco on Eve of Meet," *Amarillo Globe*, (Amarillo, TX) May 25, 1924. It is notable that of all the local pastorate available, a non-local clergy member with brazen ties to top level members in the Texas order of the National Ku Klux Klan was brought into the small town of Denton to direct Bralley's funeral at a state funded college.

[713] "Many Pay Tribute," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), August 25, 1924.

[714] *Ibid.*; College of Industrial Arts, The *Daedalian*, Yearbook of the College of Industrial Arts, 1923, Denton, Texas, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting Texas Woman's University, Last Accessed February 18, 2020, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth60990/m1/9/).

[715] "Many Pay Tribute," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), August 25, 1924; Simmons, "Kloran," 43.

[716] *Ibid*.

President's actual membership in the order cannot be definitively determined at this time, as so few memberships in a secret order can be, his implicit involvement as a leading figure in the campaign to forcibly remove African Americans from Denton's inner-city which was ultimately facilitated by way of Klan violence, considered alongside the fact that his funeral was conducted by clergy members highly engaged with Klan recruitment at both the state and local levels, clearly suggests that Bralley was, at the very least, highly supportive of the Klan movement and its overall goals for Denton. Further, the details that followed his death offer far more evidence of the kind of Klanish culture rooted in theological white supremacy that was cultivated at the CIA under Bralley's leadership.

The CIA's Board of Regents wasted no time after Bralley's passing to search for his replacement, and after a thorough examination of his character and achievements, they unanimously elected Dr. Lindsey Blayney of Houston's Rice University for the position. Although Blayney had never applied, the Regents considered him a prime candidate based solely on their perceptions of his character. According to an update provided by the Board to the *DRC*, Blayney's qualifications for the job were clearly evidenced by the fact that he was both a "southerner" and the "son of a distinguished Presbyterian Clergyman."[717] Of course, his voluntary service "at the front" in WWI, title of Lieutenant Colonel and assorted military decorations, and numerous publications in "conservative magazines," were all also purported as additional qualifications that made Blayney the best possible choice to succeed Bralley as the President of the state's college for white women.[718]

[717] "Blayney Likely to Decide on C.I.A. Presidency This Week," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) September 29, 1924.

[718] *Ibid*.

Blayney's wife, who was an active member of white women's heritage organizations with "five uncles wounded or killed in the Confederacy" was also deemed to be a perfect fit for both the CIA and the Denton community. Certain that he would "carry out the policies of Dr. Bralley," CIA Dean, E. V. White offered Blayney his personal endorsement.[719] Blayney accepted the position in early October 1924, and assumed his role as CIA President in early Spring 1925.[720] Much to his own detriment, he immediately set to work on modernizing the college, as he had quickly determined that the institution was far behind the curve of others in the state.[721] By April, Klanish CIA leaders and faculty began to realize that they had made a mistake by hiring Blayney, who as it turned out, was staunchly opposed to the Klan.[722] In response, Klanswomen on staff at the college began to spread rumors of his inability to run the school.[723] When the President announced that he planned to divide the CIA into five schools in order to afford access to young women interested in academic subjects as opposed to just cooking and sewing classes, Denton's Women's Klan called an unprecedented special joint meeting with the men's order.[724] From this point forward, Blayney became the focus of a united Klan front that was determined to secure his removal.

Despite their unified praise during his recruitment less than one year prior, by September 1925, Blayney was at the center of full-blown controversy and two of five CIA Regents had demanded his resignation.[725] Board member C.U. Connelle openly condemned Blayney in the

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[719] "Blayney Likely to Decide on C.I.A. Presidency This Week," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) September 29, 1924.

[720] Phyllis Bridges, *Marking a Trail: The Quest Continues A Centennial History of the Texas Woman's University* (Denton: TWU Press, 2001), 18-19.

[721] *Ibid*.

[722] *Ibid*.

[723] "President Denies Pressure Exerted from State Capitol," *The Lass-O*, (Denton, TX), April 10, 1925.

[724] *Ibid.*; "WKKK Host Klavern 136 Meeting," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), April 16, 1925.

[725] "Resignation by Dr. Blayney desired by Some of Regents," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), September 17, 1925.

DRC with a declaration of his devout opposition to the president's modernizing policies.[726] According to Connelle, Blayney had abandoned "the ideals and purposes" for which the CIA was founded, and he claimed that the new president's agenda was out of line with that of his predecessor's. Speaking through Connelle as their spokesperson, other faculty members denounced Blayney's "school of thought" as "wholly out of harmony" with both the staff and "the law under which the school was established."[727] Several faculty members openly expressed their personal discontent, including Mrs. L. A. McDonald, who publicly lashed out against Blayney with a petition calling for his job, claiming that he was "mentally and temperamentally unsuited" for the position.[728] This conflict over the "purpose of the institution" unfolded in daily press updates in publications not only in Denton but across the state, most of which publicized blatant personal attacks against Blayney.[729] When questioned by the press, he consistently refused to speak negatively of the CIA Board of Regents while still employed at the college. His only public comment in the midst of the controversy was succinct: "The people of Texas can easily see what is behind all of this."[730] Despite continued attacks on both his policies and his person, Blayney maintained narrow majority support of the CIA Board of Regents throughout most of September 1925 and refused to leave so long as only a minority demanded his resignation.[731] In response, the opposition front changed their approach, and attacks against

[726] "Resignation by Dr. Blayney," *Denton Record Chronicle*.

[727] *Ibid*.

[728] "Resignation of Dr. Blayney Not Requested Friday," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), September 18, 1925; "Head of CIA Under Fire of Board," *San Antonio Light*, (San Antonio, TX) September 17, 1925.

[729] "Faculty Dissension Remains Unabated," *Galveston Daily News*, (Galveston, TX), September 17, 1925; "Final Vote on Proposal Request Resignation of Blayney Expected Today," *Corsicana Daily Sun* (Corsicana, TX) September 17, 1925; "Head of CIA Under Fire of Board," *San Antonio Light* (San Antonio, TX) September 17, 1925.

[730] "Resignation by Dr. Blayney desired by Some of Regents," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), September 17, 1925.

[731] "Compromise in CIA ROW Agreed on," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), September 18, 1925.

Blayney became increasingly personal and accusations that he had made inappropriate contact with female students began to swirl.[732]

As the tone grew more sinister in the second half of 1925, a pro-Klan publication in central Texas declared that Blayney would be "sacrificed on the altar of his own high educational beliefs."[733] In the final week of October 1925, CIA Regents C. U. Connelle and Sallie Capps stepped up their public denunciations of Blayney with renewed calls for his resignation based on rumors of his misconduct with students.[734] In response, board member Mrs. E. P. Turner came to Blayney's defense. She offered a resolution to the Board with a request for the resignation of the faculty members involved in the uprising against the president, whom she identified as: Mrs. E.V. White, College Dean; Estella G. Hefley, Dean of Women; W.R. Nabours, CIA Business Manager; and R.J. Turrentine, Head of the Education Department.[735] Unironically, everyone identified by Turner had all been involved in local Klan activities in Denton throughout the early twentieth century.[736] Despite this attempt to dispel the Klan's hold over the CIA campus, Turner's resolution was narrowly voted down, and Blayney subsequently submitted his resignation.[737]

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[732] "Blayney Again Under Fire in Denton Trouble - Alleged violation of campus rule," *Bryan Daily Eagle*, (Bryan, TX), September 24, 1925.

[733] "From Information at Hand," *Lockhart Post Register*, (Lockhart, TX) October 15, 1925.

[734] "Blayney-Faculty Row Not Taken Up at Morning Meeting," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), October 25, 1925; "Vote Expected this Afternoon in Row at CIA," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), October 27, 1925.

[735] "Blaney Offers Resignation to Board Effective June 1," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), October 28, 1925; "Resignation of Blayney Accepted Effective June 1," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), October 29, 1925.

[736] See Appendix IV.

[737] "Blayney-Faculty Row Not Taken Up at Morning Meeting," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), October 25, 1925; "Vote Expected this Afternoon in Row at CIA," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), October 27, 1925; "Blayney is Forced to Resign," *McKinney Daily Courier Gazette* (McKinney, TX), October 29, 1925; "Blayney Resigns CIA Presidency," *Whitewright Sun,* (Whitewright, TX) October 29, 1925.

After months of silence, Blayney submitted a personal statement about his forced ouster to the *DRC*. Although editor Edwards had repeatedly published articles with negative slants against Blayney on the front page of the paper for months preceding his resignation, the former CIA president's statement was buried eight pages deep. In his account, Blayney summarized his short administration as "a grim effort" to withstand regular harassment from Klanish members of the CIA Board of Regents, who, he claimed, had inspired insurrection and dissension among the faculty against him.[738] He detailed attempts to extort pay raises, vast misappropriations of state funds, and a college faculty committed to "outdated" methods of instruction and scholarship for the purpose of preserving "frivolous" traditions.[739] Rebuttals against Blayney's statement quickly flooded into the *DRC* with favorable placements on the front page and a new public battle of words commenced. In February 1926, Blayney had the final say on the matter, though in a muffled voice, as Edwards had once again buried his statement deep beneath the headlines. This was likely because Blayney had explicitly accused Edwards of promoting "half-truths" via his recent partial publication of a statement issued by the newly elected anti-Klan Governor, Miriam "Ma" Ferguson, including a formative defense of Blayney, who quoted her letter in full along with a direct demand to Edwards that all of the facts be made available to *DRC* readers.[740]

Ferguson's letter wholly condemned Blayney's "forced" ouster as well as the "specious charges made against him," and she criticized the "lot of Ku Kluxers and zealots" who had instigated the upheaval against him.[741] According to Ferguson, Blayney was a victim caught in

[738] "Charges Political Patronage is Cause of CIA Difficulty," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), February 1, 1926.

[739] *Ibid*.

[740] "Blayney Replies to Statement as to Jas, Ferguson's Attitude," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), February 20, 1926.

[741] *Ibid*.

the crossfire of Klan and anti-Klan sentiments in Denton:

> Having taken a decisive stand against the Klan, Dr, Blayney incurred the enmity of that organization from the first days… [It was] a very studied campaign of malicious gossip that pursued him… Mr. J. W. Sullivan and Dr. Blayney formed a friendship...but Mr. Sullivan is reported to be prominent in the ranks of the Klan.[742]

From the moment Blayney had arrived at the CIA campus in January of 1925, Denton Klansman J.W. Sullivan had been assigned to befriend the new president in order to serve as an informant to the local order. When it became evident that Blayney was aligned to the wrong side of the moral order, he was marked as an enemy and local Klanswomen unleashed their poison against his administration.

Blayney's ouster further emboldened Klanishness at the CIA, and membership grew on campus to such a degree that the student Klanswomen became well-versed in the literature of the WKKK. In the week following Blayney's resignation, a small message on the front page of the *LASS-O* called on students to embrace the spirit of "America First." [743] In a 1923 WKKK pamphlet entitled, *Women of America*, "America First" is listed as the first of three "Paramount Principles" outlined for women in the order, a phrase that the national Klan organization at large regularly incorporated into their Klanish communications.[744] The CIA campus remained a thriving hub for the preservation and memorialization of the white moral order throughout the remainder of the 1920s. In spring 1927, the college's new "Bralley Memorial library" was formally dedicated to the late president with ceremonies and a *DRC* commemoration overtly

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[742] "Blayney Replies to Statement," *Denton Record Chronicle*.

[743] "Place the Spirit…," *The LASS-O*, (College of Industrial Arts, Denton, TX), November 7, 1925.

[744] Women of the Ku Klux Klan, "Women of America! Outline of Principles and Teachings," (Women of the KKK, Little Rock, 1923): citing Beineke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, Last accessed March 18, 2019, (https://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3577028); Sarah Churchwell, *Behold, America: The Entangled History of "America First" and "The American Dream*," (New York: Basic Books, 2018), Kindle Ed., 15-16, 58-60, 83-87, 113-155, 174-178, 220-229, 270-284, 322-328. This book provides a thorough account of the white supremacist roots beneath the phrase, "America First" and its subsequent rise in the Klan and modern politics.

connecting the CIA founders memory with a Civil War lynching.[745] According to the recollections shared by local Confederate veteran Boone Daugherty, an old oak tree at the northwest corner of the library had once been “a sentinel" on "Blue Serge Hill" where his family’s farm had existed as early as the spring of 1864, during the days when "punishment was made to fit the crime" as he recalled it. In gruesome detail, the *DRC* article recalled how an enslaved man had been lynched from the tree for supposedly offending Daugherty’s sister-in-law in 1866.[746]

In relaying the story, *DRC* editor Edwards humored at the fact that half a decade later, tree limbs once so “convenient for hempen neckties” would serve to shade young women studying in the gardens below.[747] This connotation suggests that the location chosen by the CIA to commemorate Bralley’s memory was not selected haphazardly.[748] The following November 1927, the Texas Federation of Women’s Clubs held their annual state convention at the CIA, a shining moment for Denton’s City Federation, which was still largely comprised of and led by Katie Daffan UDC members at the time. After the opening "Southern Dinner," the weekend program commenced with panel discussions on narrowly selected topics including, "Aristocracy of the Old South," "Southern Ideals," and “Romance of the New South." The CIA campus was unarguably the perfect venue for this gathering of proud Southern women who considered themselves the bastions of whiteness’ theo-mythical progress.[749] This kind of popular Klanish

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[745] “Hangman's Tree Overshadows New CIA Library,” Denton Record Chronicle (Denton, TX) March 5, 1927.

[746] “Hangman's Tree Overshadows New CIA Library,” Denton Record Chronicle (Denton, TX) March 5, 1927.

[747] *Ibid*.

[748] This tree still stands at the northwest corner of the Bralley Memorial Library on what is now the Texas Woman’s University in Denton.

[749] Texas Federation of Women’s Clubs, “Texas Federation of Women’s Clubs Annual Convention November 12, 1928 - November 16, 1928,” (Denton: College of Industrial Arts, 1928), Conference Pamphlet: citing “Garrison Family Papers, 1909-1955,” 1428a, UNT Special Collections.

culture which thrived both on and off the local college campuses in Denton inspired more than white supremacist themed social gatherings. It empowered a new Klanish theo-political movement that effected local, state, and nation-wide elections, which was dominated by white women's activism.

17. "America First" advertisement published in a 1923 edition of a Fort Worth Klan Journal.[750]

[750] "America First," Advertisement, *The American Citizen,* (Fort Worth, Texas), March 30, 1923: (Texas Newspaper Collection), citing Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas (Austin, TX).

According to Kathleen Blee's study of the Indiana WKKK's political involvements, Klanswomen spearheaded most of the order's organizing within their respective neighborhoods as powerful "political force[s]" of influence due to their vast "informal networks."[751] Participation in the order's political activism created opportunities for white women to place themselves in the midst of their own theo-myths of Ku Klux Konfederate heroism wherein they became active agents in a sacred battle to preserve white supremacy. Klan membership appears to have facilitated similar opportunities for white Protestant women in Denton too. As early as 1922, Denton Klanswomen had served as leading figures in a campaign against the anti-Klan Senatorial candidate James E. Ferguson.[752] Following the directives of Klanswoman Mrs. R.J. Turrentine and Klansman J.W. Sullivan, Klanswomen gathered in their respective churches to write letters to Denton County voters and organize phone canvasses aimed at preventing Ferguson and other anti-Klan candidates into office. Together, they worked diligently to establish what they referred to as an "Invisible Government" of pro-Klan forces in Texas.[753] By 1924, Denton Klanswomen were actively engaged in state and national politics via their work to ensure the success of the "Klan Ticket," a list of Klans candidates approved by the national order for placement onto primary ballots in that year's elections.[754] In Texas, Klansman Felix D. Robertson had been selected to run for governor and Denton Klansman W.C. Edwards of the *DRC* had been tapped for lieutenant governor.[755]

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[751] Blee, *Women of the Klan*, 3-7.

[752] Women of Denton Organize Against James E. Ferguson," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), August 22, 1922.

[753] *Ibid*.

[754] "Klan Ticket," *Congressional Record-House*, Vo. 66, (Dec. 3, 1924), 94; citing Google Play, Last Accessed March 16, 2020, (https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=uU_Udgi8y1QC&hl=en).

[755] *Ibid*.; "Klan Tickets are Circulated Among Victoria Voters," *Victoria Advocate*, (Victoria, TX), July 13, 1924.

At the helm of local efforts in support of *DRC* editor, W.C. Edwards's lieutenant governor campaign and the Klan Ticket at large, was Klanswoman Mrs. H.F. Schweer, UDC member and founder of the Denton County League of Women Voters. [756] Local Klanswomen were so successful in their countywide campaign efforts in support of the 1924 Texas Klan Ticket that former Klansman and Dallas Senator V.A. Collins personally traveled to Denton and offered a scornful condemnation of the local order on the county courthouse lawn. According to Collins, the local order had contributed to "an intolerable condition" in state politics by way of their determination to create their own "bigoted empire" that had grown to boycott all businesses and individuals who refused to rally to their cause.[757] There can be no doubt as to the tremendous influence wielded by the political arm of Denton's Klan which was predominantly powered by the work of local Klanswomen.

The success of Denton Klanswomen's political influence was primarily facilitated by their ability to sustain a powerful tight-knit social community, which although rarely openly promoted as the WKKK, nonetheless certainly existed. By February 1926, Denton's Women's Klan was promoting itself as the "Kolonial Kard Klub" in weekly *DRC* announcements.[758] Typically published under "Women's Interests," the Kolonial Kard Klub was presented to the public as one of many women's social gatherings in Denton, most often as a "bridge" club, although their respective parties, picnics, and official meetings were announced under the moniker as well.[759] The Klan's tendency to replace the letter "C" at the start of words with the

[756] "Denton Women Support Candidacy of W. C. Edwards," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), July 23, 1924; Bridges, *History of Denton*, 352.

[757] "Klan Denounced on Courthouse Lawn," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) August 20, 1924.

[758] "Kolonial Kard Klub with Mrs. Brewster," 'Society,' Denton Record Chronicle, (Denton, TX), February 18, 1926.

[759] "Kolonial Kard Klub Picnic," 'Next Week In City Clubs and Society, Wednesday,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, July 24, 1926; "Kolonial Kard Klub," 'Next Week In City Clubs and Society, Wednesday,' *Denton Record*

letter "K" and frequent use of tri-K iterations was standard branding for the movement, such as the "Keen Kollege Klan" described in the NTSNC *Campus Chat* or the Dallas Klan's infamous "Kolossal Klan Karnival."[760] Similarly, a review of any single edition of any Klan journal published in the 1920s will reveal numerous advertisements with similar spelling alterations in adherence the tri-K iteration. Additional evidence that the Kolonial Kard Klub was in fact a cover for the local WKKK lies in the fact that unlike other women's clubs which typically aimed to show off high participation with detailed attendance lists, Denton's Kolonial Kard Klub only selectively listed its members and attendees in *DRC* reports, and with a cautious approach.[761] Guests were always identified as distinct from the group's members and when prominent guests were named as being in attendance at a gathering, it often influenced the way that meetings were framed in publication.[762] In such instances, the large bold headline featuring the club's name would often change to the normal spelling with a "C" instead of "K," only to be followed with a conformational Klanish spelling a few lines into the fine print.[763]

Kolonial Kard Klubs were also formed in other North Texas communities similarly dominated by thriving Klan activity throughout the early 1920s.[764] For example, at a 1923

Chronicle, (Denton, TX), March 13, 1926; "Kolonial Kard Klub," 'Wednesday,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), October 22, 1927.

[760] "Keen Kollege Klan March Through Campus," *The Campus Chat*, (Denton, Tex.), Vol. 6, No. 2. Ed. 1, October 15, 1921, University of North Texas Libraries, Special Collections, citing the Portal to Texas History; "Kolossal Karnival" *Texas One Hundred Per Cent American*, March 14, 1924, as found in: Shaun David Henry, "The Klan and the Craft: An Analysis of Masonic Dual Membership with the Ku Klux Klan in Dallas, 1920 – 1926." (Master's Thesis, University of Texas Dallas, 2017).

[761] "Kolonial Kard Klub," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 27, 1929.

[762] "Kolonial Kard Klub with Mrs. Rochelle," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), March 29, 1928; "Kolonial Kard Klub with Mrs. Covington," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), April 26, 1928; "Kolonial Kard Klub Meets," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), December 4, 1930.

[763] "Colonial Card Club with Mrs. Hancock," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), May 24, 1928; "Card Club with Mrs. Garrison," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), December 24, 1929.

[764] Brownfield, TX appears to have had a short run of the Kolonial Kard Klub which faded out before the 1930's: see the *Brownfield News*. *The Stamford American* reported on the Stamford Klub regularly until early 1945 after which time sporadic meetings continued until 1955. Second to Denton, Stamford appears to have been the most active, but its meetings sustained the longest overall. *The Abilene Reporter* covered meetings which followed

gathering in Wichita Falls, the local paper described how the hostess "very cleverly portrayed" the club "in the act of bridge playing."[765] In Hobbs, New Mexico, a small community less than one mile west of the Texas border, the local paper published Kolonial Kard Klub gatherings under the simple headline, "K.K.K."[766] Perhaps the most condemning evidence that Denton's Kolonial Kard Klub was actually the WKKK, is that its members can all be directly associated with other white supremacist activities in Denton or in the very least, were related to other persons involved.[767] In particular, many of the women identified were personally involved in Quakertown removal efforts, and several were connected to notable Confederate monument donations.[768]

18. Tri-K iteration branding was used in dry cleaner advertisement published in a 1923 edition of *100 Per Cent American*, a Dallas, Texas based Klan Journal.[769]

a timeline like that of Stamford. Other meetings are referenced in the *Wichita Daily Times, Lubbock's Avalanche Journal*, and the *Corsicana Daily Sun* throughout the 1920s.

[765] "Mrs. Carter Entertains," *Wichita Daily Times*, (Wichita Falls, TX), March 25, 1923; *Handbook Online*, "KU KLUX KLAN." The brazenness of this particular group likely correlates to the high level of Klan infiltration within the Wichita Falls city government during the early 1920's.

[766] "K.K.K.," *Hobbs Daily Sun*, March 8, 1940.

[767] See Appendix IV.

[768] See Appendix II and Appendix III.

[769] "Keep Your Klothes Klean," Advertisement, *100 Per Cent American* (Dallas, TX) March 16, 1923: (Texas Newspaper Collection), citing Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas (Austin, TX).

19. Tri-K iteration branding was used in Carruth Photography Studio advertisements in the 1923 edition of the NTSNC *Yucca* Yearbook.[770]

Perhaps one of the most prominent and frequent attendees at WKKK gatherings was Mrs. J. Fred Rayzor, whose husband was a member of the Rotary Club, a leading organization prominent in the forced removal of African American residents from their inner-city Quakertown neighborhood.[771] J. Fred Rayzor was also a proud Klansman in the Denton community as evidenced by his scolding letter to the state Chamber of Commerce in 1922 for their recent condemnation of the Ku Klux Klan, which he later published as a public testament for his support of the order in *Colonel Mayfield's Weekly*, a Houston Klan journal.[772] Rayzor's affinity for the Klan paralleled an abundance of 1920s activities that connected the Rayzor family at

[770] North Texas State Normal College, *Yucca*, yearbook, 1923, Jefferson City, Missouri, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting UNT Libraries Special Collections, Last Accessed April 19, 2020, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth60991/m1/357/?q=yucca%201923).

[771] *Denton City Directory*, (Dallas: Shaw-Powell Typesetting Co.,1920), University of North Texas Special Collections: J. Fred Rayzor listed as Manager of Alliance Ice Company; "J. Fred Rayzor Letter," Colonel Mayfield's Weekly (Houston, TX) Vo. 1, No. 16, January 7, 1922, Courtesy Wisconsin Historical Society, Last Accessed April 19, 2020, (https://kkknews.revealdigital.com).

[772] *Ibid.*

large to the local order's ideologies, including his mother, Mrs. James N. (J. N.) Rayzor, a Katie Daffan UDC member and unabashed white supremacist in her own right. For instance, while on a summer trip to Boulder, Colorado with her husband in 1922, Mrs. J. N. Rayzor sent a letter to the *DRC* for publication:

> There are many beautiful things here and it is a wonderful place to rest and keep cool, but I wonder why Colorado doesn't have good laws like Texas. We sat in the big Chautauqua Hall last night watching a picture show, and when the lights were turned on, what do you think was sitting right by me? A big black nigger, yes a negro man and his girl. Now just how long do you think it took me to move? Texas for me, with all its heat and crop failures.[773]

Mrs. Rayzor's husband, James N. Rayzor, who was a prominent deacon of the First Baptist Church, had been involved in Klan activity in its earliest formations in Denton, and was perhaps one of the most notorious Klansman in the city, surely among the ranks of F. M. Bralley and Mayor H.V. Hennen.[774] For example, when the local order made a $50 donation to a Denton charity established to help struggling white families in December 1921, Rayzor was singularly in charge of those funds.[775] He was also the owner of both the Alliance Ice and Alliance Mill companies, which each made sizable contributions to the Katie Daffan UDC's Confederate monument fund.[776] Additionally, when one of Quakertown's churches was torn down by the city in September 1922 and refugees started worshipping together in a temporary tabernacle in a field near Rayzor's Alliance Mill, local Klansmen arrived just in time to terrorize the worshipers with

[773] "Letter from Mrs. J. N. Rayzor," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) August 5, 1922.

[774] "J. N. Rayzor Dies," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) June 4, 1938.

[775] "Denton KKK Sends $50 to Local Charity," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), December 22, 1921; Citing Stallings, "Removing the Danger;" "United Charities Subscription Drive to Start Thursday," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), December 7, 1921.

[776] *Denton City Directory*, (1920): James Newton Rayzor is listed as President of both the Alliance Ice and Alliance Mill Company. See Appendix III.

threats of violence.[777] Most notably, however, like most other Klansman in Denton, Rayzor regularly incorporated "one hundred percent" verbiage into both of his businesses' *DRC* advertisements. For instance, the Alliance Ice company promised to make holidays a "100% success" and "100% enjoyable," while the Alliance Mill promised that its feed would result in "100% chick development.[778] The collective involvement of the Rayzor family members in a wide array of Klanish and white supremacist activities suggests that they were among the leading figures in Denton's Second-Generation movement.[779]

20. Prominent businessman and First Baptist church Deacon, J. N. Rayzor regularly promoted his businesses in the *DRC* with "100%" advertisements.[780]

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[777] "Robed and Hooded Men Give Notice to Negro Holy Rollers," DRC, September 6, 1922; "Work on African Methodist Church to Be Started Soon," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), September 26, 1922, as found in Stallings, "Removing the Danger."

[778] "100% Success," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), December 18, 1925; "100% Enjoyable," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), November 24, 1925; "100% Chick Development," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), May 19, 1924.

[779] Today, the Rayzor family name has become a legacy itself within the city of Denton. Newton Rayzor Elementary School was named after J. Fred Rayzor, see: Newton Rayzor Elementary School, "About Our School: (https://www.dentonisd.org/domain/8139). The old Alliance Mill is now owned by Morrison's Corn Kits and serves as a landmark icon for the community and an inspiration for many local artists. As predominant figures in local real estate, the Rayzor family descendants have most recently established Rayzor Ranch, a 400-acre retail site, the largest of its kind in Denton's history.

[780] "Ice Will Make Your Dinner a 100% Success," Advertisement, *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) November 24, 1925.

While this sort of open Klanishness began to dwindle towards the end of the 1920s with increased national scrutiny of the Klan organization, many Denton Klanspersons, particularly those most heavily involved in the local Protestant churches continued to pursue efforts aimed at imposing the Klan's theological white supremacist agenda into state and national politics. Although Klan parades ceased and explicit Klanish language decreased in local advertisements, the local Klanish agenda continued unabated throughout Denton County well into the late 1920s, during which time it was largely occulted under the guise of fundamentalist conservative politics. However, the Denton's Klan's theo-political influence continued with such a pervasiveness that several local officials began to speak out against the order. After losing his re-election campaign to the Klan backed candidate B.W. Boyd in August 1928, former District Judge W.S. Moore publicly scolded the local Klan for meddling in the election. According to Moore, Denton County was a "Ku Klux Box" that was sure to lean in whatever candidate's direction the local order had instructed.[781] He warned of the absolute and "improper control" that Denton and other Klans held over elections, and he described a serious threat to the "integrity of the government, both state and national."[782] By electing B. W. Boyd, the Klan had in fact secured control over multiple district courts in multiple North Texas counties, and according to Moore, this effort was largely coordinated by the Denton Klan.[783]

Moore was not the only person to accuse the Denton Klan of manipulating election results. Denton County Judge A.C. Owsley gave a speech in a similarly dire tone on the Denton

[781] "Former District Judge W. S. Moore Says Klan in Control of State Politics," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), August 7, 1928, "Ku Klux Klan," Vertical File, citing Emily Fowler Public Library, Denton, Texas.

[782] "Former District Judge W. S. Moore Says Klan in Control of State Politics," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), August 7, 1928, "Ku Klux Klan," Vertical File, citing Emily Fowler Public Library, Denton, Texas.

[783] *Ibid*.

County courthouse lawn.[784] Owsley warned that Boyd's election meant a Klan judge, which he feared would lead to the appointment of Klan jury commissions and Klan Grand Jurors. He proclaimed that Denton County courts were "under threat" and had in fact fallen to "Klan control."[785] While research remains to be conducted into the full implications of this particular election, it is worth noting the merit of these men's claims regarding the threat Boyd posed to the courts, as he was the same county attorney who had refused to investigate two separate incidents of double-lynchings that had previously occurred at the Pilot Point City Jail in 1921 and 1922 as he simultaneously petitioned Denton City Commission to prevent Quakertown refugees from being permitted to move into white neighborhoods.

The threat of Klan infiltration into public offices posed by the Denton Klan's specific meddling was not limited to Texas. The following September of 1928, Fort Worth's former Excellent Commander of the Women's Klan, Mrs. J. T. Bloodworth visited Denton to give a political speech against the Democratic Presidential nominee Al Smith.[786] Upon her arrival, the Klanswoman and wife of a prominent Texas Minister-Klansman, himself, was greeted by a self-organized, "special committee" of Denton women, which was primarily comprised of Katie Daffan UDC members and the wives of Protestant clergy members, undoubtedly the top ranks of Denton's WKKK.[787] Before Bloodworth gave her speech inside the Denton County courthouse

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[784] "Owsley Urges Support on His Record as Judge," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, Texas) August 8, 1928.

[785] *Ibid*.

[786] "Fort Worth Women's K.K.K. Has New Commander," *Dallas Morning News*, (Dallas, TX) August 23, 1924.

[787] "Group to Receive Mrs. Bloodworth in City Saturday," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), September 27, 1928. See Appendix IV. The committee: Anna Burgoon, Mrs. A. G. Koenig (WMS circle that hosted Klanhaven Rummage sale), Mrs. W. S. Donoho, Mrs. W. M. Swinney (Wife of Denton County Sheriff), Mrs. W. B. Francis (City Federation member and member of the WMS circle that hosted a rummage sale for a Klan charity), Mrs. J. M. Inge, Mrs. J. W. Pender, Mrs. W. C. McClung (wife of First Baptist Church preacher), Mrs. Geo. C. French, Mrs. Edward R. Barcus (wife of Methodist Church minister), Mrs. N. B. Baker, Mrs. T. C. Wright (Wife of Preacher Mission Baptist Church), Mrs. J. N. Rayzor (UDC member, wife of J.N. Rayzor), Ola Price, Mrs. William Hughes, Mrs.

to all of Denton's most affluent community leaders, the Klanswoman was introduced by none other than James N. Rayzor.[788] Inspired by Bloodworth's Klanish espousals, the large crowd frequently applauded her demonization of the Catholic presidential nominee for his faith, his views on prohibition, and of course, his favorable stance towards equal voting rights for African American persons.[789] Although congressional proceedings had annihilated the Klan as a national organization years earlier, Klanish theo-politics continued to thrive in Denton as they had done for nearly a century prior, and as they have continued to do for another century thereafter.

Using J. Kameron Carter's theological account of race as a theoretical lens to assess Denton's history of white supremacy, it is clear that generations of racialized Protestant discourse led to the development of a localized self-perpetuating Klan movement. During the early twentieth century, a Second-Generation Klan normalized generations of evolving theological white supremacist ideologies and cleared the way for a new, modern racial discourse and culture. Even as Klan leadership faded nationally in the late 1920s, local Klan leaders in Denton remained as the prominent cultural and political influencers who continued to perpetuate the order's cause. A century ago, these fervent supremacists launched an "America First" campaign designed to recall an imaginary, whiter, holier America of the past."[790] They merged their pulpits with their politics and police to establish a new modern American theo-nationalism rooted in white supremacist theo-mythologies. Today, the plague of racism continues to fester at the core of the nation's civic identity where it is rooted in these theological white supremacist

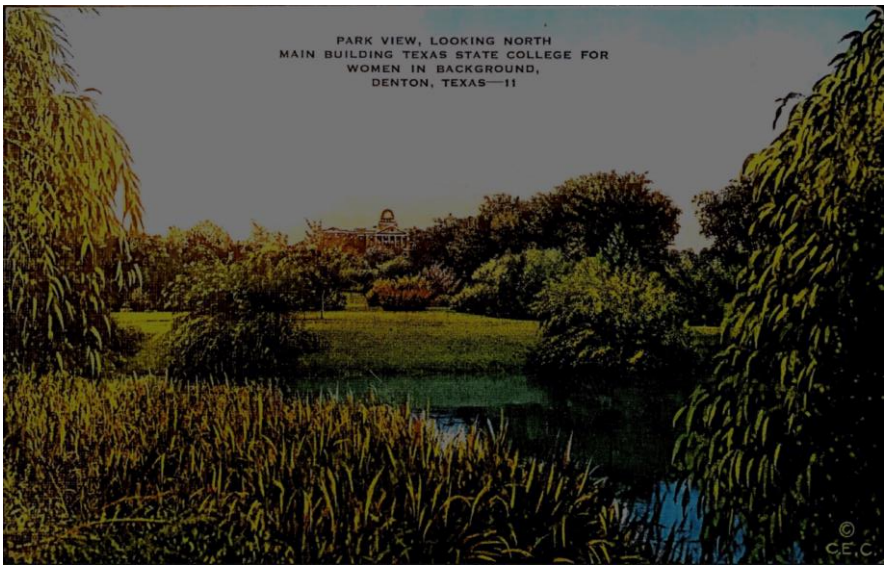
C. H. Rodway, Mrs. F. M. Groves, Mrs. J. L. Wright (Wife of City Commissioner), Mrs. F. A. Walker, Mrs. T. B. Lusk. See Appendix IV for full details on each individual's Klan activities and associations.

[788] *Ibid*; "Women for Hoover Speaker Declares," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), October 1, 1928.

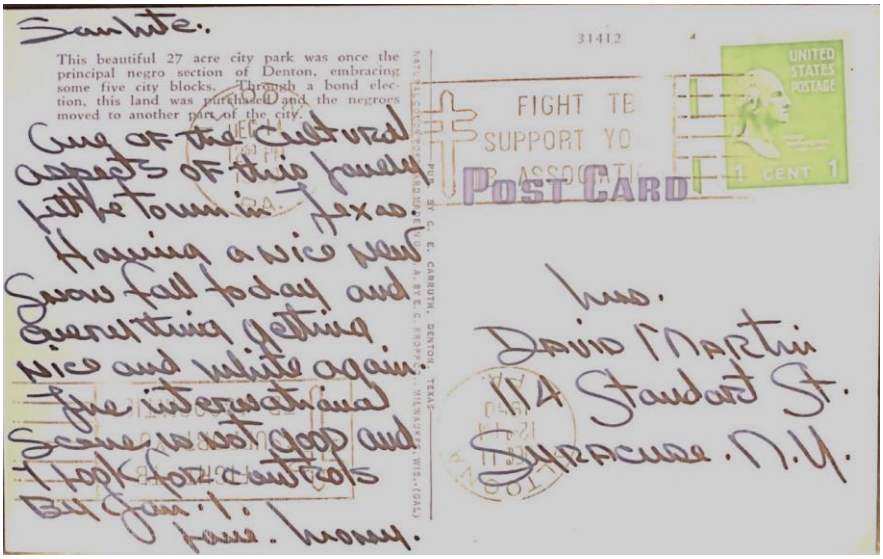
[789] *Ibid*.

[790] Churchwell, *Behold, America*, 15-16, 58-60, 83-87, 113-155, 174-178, 220-229, 270-284, 322-328. Churchwell's book provides a thorough account of the white supremacist roots behind, "America First" as well as its use by the Klan and modern politics. See end of page 16. Fred Trump, father of the 45th President of the United States was arrested at an "America First" Klan march in Queens New York in 1927.

constructs that were propagated and normalized during the 1920s by a messianic Ku Klux-Konfederate revitalization movement that was subsequently preserved throughout the twentieth century through generational white power and in the same manner, has been further perpetuated into the twenty-first century. As a result, Ku Klux Konfederatism remains the modern vehicle of theological white supremacy in Denton, Texas, and the United States of America.



21. A postcard printed by C. E. Carruth postmarked 1950 reveals how Quakertown's forced ouster and replacement with a whites-only park was celebrated by white citizens for decades thereafter.[791]



22. The message on the postcard exemplifies how Klanish influence on modern racial discourse and culture in Denton was sustained decades beyond the 1920s.[792]

[791] C. E. Carruth regularly employed Klanish themes in his photography advertisements in NTSNC (University of North Texas) yearbooks throughout the 1920s, the height of open Klan activity in Denton. See Appendix IV for examples of his advertisements. This postcard currently resides in the researcher's personal collection. Additional prints with postmarks ranging between 1938 and 1950 have been donated to Emily Fowler Public Library, UNT Special Collections, and TWU Special Collections.

[792] *Ibid*.

Appendix I

Volunteer Union Soldiers from Denton County Texas[1]

Name	DOB	Residence	Service
George Morgan	1842	Denton	Eleventh Infantry
Daniel Wooters	1837	Denton	Eleventh Infantry
Francis I. Siefert	1842	Denton	Eleventh Infantry
John F. Eaton	1839	Denton	Eleventh Infantry
Thomas Love	1837	Denton	Eleventh Infantry
Thomas J. Reddish	1837	Corinth	First Cavalry
John W Con	1836	Corinth	First Cavalry
Albert E Murdock	1840	Corinth	First Cavalry
Howard Price	1842	Corinth	First Cavalry
William Johnson	unknown	Corinth	First Cavalry
Asbury Spearman	1839	Corinth	First Cavalry
James Smith	1843	Lewisville	Seventh Infantry
George A. Truelove	unknown	Corinth	First Cavalry
Lewis Waldon	1831	Corinth	First Cavalry
Robert E. Becard	1835	Corinth	First Cavalry

Michael Cronnion	1829	Lewisville	Eighth - Eleventh & Twelfth Cavalry
Martin V. Smith	UNK	Corinth	First Cavalry
Frederick W Whitehurst	1841	Corinth	First Cavalry
Squire Collier	1840	Corinth	First Cavalry
William Kingsley	1825	Corinth	First Cavalry
Dilmus S. L. Warbington	1840	Corinth	First Cavalry
Michael Donner	1837	Corinth	First Cavalry
John J. Barrow	1831	Corinth	Seventh Cavalry
Joel W Williams	1828	Corinth	First Cavalry
George M. Bailey	1843	Corinth	First Cavalry
John Q. Adams	1834	Corinth	First Cavalry
Godlett Castner	1838	Lewisville	Unknown
Temple F Savage	1837	Corinth	First Cavalry,
Frederick Williams	1842	Corinth	First Cavalry
James R. Williams	1843	Corinth	First Infantry
Andrew J. Heathcock	1844	Corinth	First Cavalry
Raymond Parson	1813	Corinth	First Cavalry

James M. Armstrong	1841	Corinth	First Cavalry
James J. White	1816	Lewisville	Fourth Cavalry
James M. Heathcock	1841	Corinth	First Cavalry
Joseph D. Morris	1838	Corinth	First Cavalry
Thomas L. Taylor	unknown	Corinth	First Cavalry
Jasper Austin	1840	Corinth	First Cavalry
Jessie Weaver	1837	Corinth	First Cavalry
John A. Hammond	unknown	Corinth	First Cavalry
Andrew J. Holland	1827	Corinth	First Cavalry
Pleasenton Reynolds	1841	Corinth	First Cavalry
Henry B. Williams	unknown	Corinth	First Cavalry
William G. Douthet	1811	Corinth	First Cavalry
John R. Jones	unknown	Corinth	First Cavalry
William Hamilton	1827	Corinth	First Cavalry
William T. C. Byram	1840	Corinth	First Cavalry
Pleasant W. Viar	unknown	Corinth	First Cavalry
Benjamin F. Wiley	1839	Corinth	First Cavalry
William D. Reedus	1839	Corinth	First Cavalry

James Weaver	1821	Corinth	First Cavalry
John N. Holley	1844	Corinth	First Cavalry
Anderson Horn	1830	Corinth	First Cavalry
Godlett Castner	1838	Lewisville	Seventh Infantry
Allen Collier	1842	Corinth	First Cavalry
Joshua Harrison	1840	Blains Cross Roads	Unknown
William L. Peoples	unknown	Corinth	First Cavalry
Charles B. Neal	unknown	Corinth	First Cavalry
Nelson B. Church	1831	Lewisville	Fourth Cavalry
Henry Shook	1827	Corinth	First Cavalry
Benjamin T. Newman	unknown	Corinth	First Cavalry
William N. Freshom	unknown	Corinth	First Cavalry
Noah S. Shook	1842	Corinth	First Cavalry
Samuel J. Kingsley	unknown	Corinth	First Cavalry
Christian Schlopp	1830	Lewisville	Unknown
Martin L. Cooksey	1823	Corinth	First Cavalry
John Owens	unknown	Corinth	First Cavalry

Robert A. Truelove	1815	Corinth	First Cavalry
Monroe Eaton	1844	Corinth	First Cavalry
John W. Messer	1844	Corinth	First Cavalry
George W. Collier	1831	Corinth	First Cavalry
John Q. A. Gardner	1826	Corinth	First Cavalry
William James Ross	unknown	Corinth	First Cavalry
John Hulbert	unknown	Lewisville	Unknown
Charles F. Barker	1838	Corinth	First Cavalry
John G. Hearn	1826	Lewisville	Twenty-eighth & Thirtieth Infantry
Edmund S. Cheek	unknown	Corinth	First Cavalry
Samuel Childers	1835	Corinth	First Cavalry
Lewis C. Thomas	unknown	Corinth	First Cavalry
William G. Mitton	1841	Lewisville	Fourth Cavalry
John Wulbert	1841	Lewisville	Seventh Infantry
Sanders Auston	1837	Corinth	First Cavalry
John W. Duncan	1835	Corinth	First Cavalry
Abel R. Church	1834	Lewisville	Fourth Cavalry
John L. Gentry	1836	Corinth	First Cavalry

Francis M. Peoples	1835	Corinth	First Cavalry
Simeon Gunn	1839	Corinth	First Cavalry
John H. Walling	1840	Corinth	First Cavalry
John Vincent	1828	Corinth	First Cavalry
Thomas A. Hemby	1825	Corinth	First Cavalry
Jones Holden	1831	Corinth	First Cavalry
Hardy M. Holley	1839	Corinth	First Cavalry
James R. Johnson	1828	Lewisville	Fourth Cavalry
John R. Taylor	1838	Corinth	First Cavalry
John T. Wilson	unknown	Corinth	First Cavalry
John A. Hooker	unknown	Corinth	First Cavalry
Hardy Sellers	1822	Corinth	First Cavalry
Christian Schlopp	1829	Lewisville	Seventh Infantry
Simeon A. Whitehurst	1837	Corinth	First Cavalry
William Davis	1835	Corinth	First Cavalry

Appendix II

United Daughters of the Confederacy, Katie Daffan Chapter
Notable Members 1910 - 1930

Mrs. E. H. Smith	Confederate Monument Committee Treasurer; City Federation Member[2]
Miss Lee Williams	City Federation Member; Daughter of Reconstruction Sheriff C.A. Williams[3]
Mrs. C. C. Yancey	UDC President during Confederate Monument Campaign; City Federation President during Quakertown Removal Campaign[4]
Mrs. H. F. Schweer	City Federation Member during Quakertown Removal Campaign; Campaigned for Klan Candidate W. C. Edwards; Denton County League of Women Voters President[5]
Mrs. Charles R. Gatewood	City Federation Member during Quakertown Removal Campaign[6]
Mrs. S. A. Bushey	UDC Treasurer; City Federation Vice President leading up to Quakertown Removal[7]
Ruth Adkisson	Daughter of C. N. Adkisson; City Federation Treasurer during Quakertown Removal Campaign; Participated in Fundraiser for Dallas based Klan Charity, Klanhaven[8]
Mrs. Joe Johnson	City Federation Member leading up to Quakertown removal[9]
Mrs. W. C. Edwards	Confederate Monument Committee Press Secretary; Wife of *Denton Record Chronicle* Editor and Klansman[10]
Mrs. J. N. Rayzor	Wife of Klansman J. N. Rayzor; Mother of Klansman J. Fred Rayzor[11]
Mrs. A. D. Turner	Hosted Klan Initiation[12]
Mrs. A. L. Banks	Close friend of Daffan Klan Family; Signed Petition for Quakertown's Removal[13]
Minnie Paschall	Attended debut of *Birth of a Nation* Klan film in Fort Worth, TX[14]

Appendix III

Denton County Confederate Monument Contributors

According to their own accounting, Denton's Katie Daffan chapter raised $2,042 of which they attributed $720 to various fundraisers held over the course of their five-year fundraising campaign which began in 1913.[15] Yet, the only fundraiser events the UDC directly correlated with the monument were largely unsuccessful "Tag Days," the last of which raised $115 in the fall of 1917.[16] After this final fundraiser, the UDC still needed to raise more than half of their total $2,000 goal. The chapter never accounted for how they raised the large remaining sum of $720 in such a short time after years of struggling to fundraise even half their total goal. The 1917 CIA screening of the Klan film, *Birth of a Nation* is a likely source, as the chapter announced it had met its fundraising goal in the months immediately following the screening, though they had not hosted any additional fundraising events since.

A further examination of UDC accounting reveals that $1,322 or about sixty-five percent of the total cost of the monument was contributed by 144 individual contributions that ranged between $1 and $100 each.[17] Accounting for inflation, the total $2,042 reportedly raised by the UDC equates to a modern value of just under $34,000. A $1 donation in 1918 was the equivalent of a modest but notable $16 today, while $5 was rather generous at a modern value of about $83. Starting around $10, high donors gave a modern equivalent of no less than $166; a few gave $15, an approximate $250 value today; some as much as $25, the modern equivalent of $636. A substantial portion of individual contributions came from UDC members themselves, as well as from their families, who collectively accounted for twenty-two percent of the 144 individual contributors and twenty-nine percent of the $1,322 contributed by individuals. A testament to the monument's Confederate values of theological white supremacy via the "commemoration of past

events," at least seventy of the 144 individual donors or forty-nine percent of contributions came from members of families who enslaved African Americans between 1800 and 1860. Collectively, these seventy descendants contributed $857 or sixty-five percent of individual contributions: sixty-five of those donors were two generations or less removed from households that held persons in bondage. Seven of these sixty-five donors were from Denton County families who enslaved at least twenty-eight persons before the war.[18] It is notable that only eighty-nine Euro-settler-colonizers in Denton County participated in slavery in 1860, less than two percent of the county's census population as compared to twenty-eight percent of Texas households overall that participated in slavery that same year. Despite this small minority of families in Denton County who participated in slavery, a large majority of monument contributors were the descendants of families who engaged in the practice.

Furthermore, at least forty-two persons or thirty percent of the 144 individual monument contributors either themselves were later involved with the forced removal of Quakertown or were the immediate family members of persons who were involved.[19] A majority of the largest contributions to the fund came from those who expressed anti-Quakertown sentiments, a total of $697 or fifty-three percent of the total $1,322 attributed to individual donors. Additionally, of the 144 individual contributors identified, at least thirty or twenty-one percent were either themselves connected to or were the immediate family members of those connected to the Klan activity that exploded across Denton County in the years following the monument's establishment.[20] Collectively, Klan contributions totaled at least $477.50 or thirty-five percent of the total $1,322 attributed to individual donors.[21] Considering the occultic nature of the order's activity, it is arguable that these contributions from individuals either directly involved with or in

support of the Second-Generation Klan that emerged in Denton County following the monument's erection may have been substantially higher.

Involvements and Affiliations Key:

Involved with Civic/Social Organization that facilitated Quakertown's Removal (QTR)

Signed Petition Calling for Quakertown's Removal (PET)

Descendent of Family Engaged in Slavery 1800 - 1860 (ESLAV)

Affiliated with Ku Klux Klan Activity (KKK)

Membership in Neo-Confederate White Heritage Organization (UDC/UCV)

Exchange National Banks (J. R. Christal, Pres.)[22] ……...……. (QTR, ESLAV) $100

Samuel Burk Burnett …… (ESLAV, KKK) $100

Denton County Bank (W.B. McClurkan, Pres.)[23] ……..…….. (QTR, ESLAV, KKK) $50

William David Lacy ……..…….. (UCV, ESLAV) $50

John H. Paine …….…….……... (ESLAV) $50

J. W. Fox ..……..…… (KKK) $50

Alliance Ice (J. F. Rayzor, Pres.)[24] ……...… (QTR, ESLAV, KKK) $25

Alliance Milling (J. N. Rayzor; John Alexander, Mng.)[25]…….. (QTR, ESLAV, KKK, PET) $25

Mrs. A. D. Turner ……..……... (UDC, ESLAV, KKK) $25

T. W. Leverett …….…...……..… (UDC, ESLAV, KKK) $25

Katie Daffan …….……...… (UDC, ESLAV, KKK) $25

Mrs. S. R. Davis ……...……..……...… (UDC, ESLAV) $25

Magil & Shepard (Virgil W. Shepard) ……..……...… (PET, ESLAV) $25

Homer Smoot ……...…....… (UCV, QTR, ESLAV) $25

Mrs. A. E. Graham ……...……...……. (ESLAV) $25

O. M. Curtis ……...……...…….. (QTR) $25

J. W. Bailey ……...……...……. (KKK) $25

Taliaferro Groceries ……...……...……. $25

Mrs. W. C. Wright …….…..... (KKK, UDC, ESLAV) $15

A. W. Robertson …….…...……... (UCV, PET) $15

A. L. Banks ……...……...….. (UDC, PET, ESLAV) $10

W. C. Edwards ……..……...…….. (KKK, UDC, QTR, ESLAV) $10

C.C. Yancey ……...…...……. (QTR, ESLAV) $10

Mrs. Ed Tidmore ……....……...……. (UDC, ESLAV) $10

J. M. Vivion ……..... (KKK, QTR, ESLAV) $10

W. B. McClurkan ……..... (KKK, QTR, PET, ESLAV) $10

DR. Priestly Lipscomb ……..…..... (KKK, QTR, ESLAV) $10

J.M. Gurley ……...…… (UCV, QTR, ESLAV) $10

Brownlow & McNeil ……..... (UCV, ESLAV) $10

Crow Wright ……...……...…… (KKK, ESLAV) $10

L.A. McDonald ……...…….....……... (KKK, PET) $10

Mrs. W. E. Durbin ……..……...……...……. (UDC) $10

Denton Milling Company (G. H. Blewett, Owner)[26] ……..... (KKK, UDC) $10

Mrs. E. H. Smith ……...……...…… (UDC, QTR) $10

R.E. Lee School ……...……...……... (KKK) $10

J. F. Raley ……...……...…… $10

A. W. Palmer ……...……...……... (KKK) $10

R.E. Lee Literary Society ……...…...……...……. (KKK) $10

J.P. Magee ……...……...…… $10

George W. Brune ……...……...……. $10

John Wells ……...……...……. $9

Mrs. J. A. Withers ……. (UDC, UCV, PET, ESLAV) $5

C. F. Witherspoon …….…..... (KKK, UDC, PET, ESLAV) $5

Mrs. C. C. Yancey …….…..... (UDC, QTR, ESLAV) $5

Miss P. C. Withers …….…..... (UDC, ESLAV) $5

Mrs. H. B. Caddell …….…..... (UDC, ESLAV) $5

R. H. Hoffman …….……..……..... (UDC, ESLAV) $5

Mrs. T. E. Berry …….……...……..... (UDC, ESLAV) $5

Mrs. S. A. Bushey ……..... (UDC, QTR, ESLAV) $5

Mrs. J. D. Parks …….……...……..... (UDC, ESLAV) $5

John Bacon ……...…….. (UCV, PET, ESLAV) $5

J.B. Wilson Lumber Co. …….……... (PET, ESLAV) $5

Hardin Lumber Co. ……...…… (PET, ESLAV) $5

J. D. Bates …….…..... (PET, QTR, ESLAV) $5

Lyon-Gray Lumber Co. (Cecil Lyon, Owner; R. C. Barnett, Mng.) ……..…… (PET, ESLAV) $5

Mrs. Charles Smoot …… (KKK, QTR, ESLAV) $5

George M. Hopkins ……....….. (UCV, ESLAV) $5

B.H. Deavenport & Co. ……(UCV, QTR, ESLAV) $5

J.W. Jagoe ……...……..... (KKK, ESLAV) $5

Julian Scruggs ……....……..... (ESLAV) $5

R. H. Garrison ……..... (KKK, QTR, ESLAV) $5

Mrs. E. B. Peter ……..... (ESLAV) $5

Mrs. F. M. Craddock ……...…..... (ESLAV) $5

Mrs S. L. Jones ……...……....……..... (ESLAV) $5

J.M. Gary …….……...…..... (UCV, ESLAV) $5

Y.S. Ready ……..……....……..... (ESLAV) $5

C. R. Hamilton ……....……..... (ESLAV) $5

R.P. Lomax ……...……...…..... (QTR, ESLAV) $5

S. W. Kanady ……...……..... (ESLAV) $5

T. Denton ……...……..... (ESLAV) $5

Mrs. T. J. Douglas ……...……..... (ESLAV) $5

J. C. Parr ……...……..... (UCV, ESLAV) $5

Dreamland Theater (B. H. Deavenport, Owner) …….…… (ESLAV) $5

Will Williams ……..……..... (QTR, ESLAV) $5

Miss A. W. Blanton …….……..……..... (UDC) $5

Mrs. Ella Hawkins ……..……..... (UDC) $5

H.R. Wilson ……..……..... (QTR, PET) $5

Morris & Collier ……..……..……..... $5

D. S. Donald ……..……..... (PET) $5

John Morgan ……..……..……..... (KKK, QTR) $5

F. M. Bottorff ……..……..... (QTR) $5

Denton Steam Laundry ……..……..……..... $5

J.A. Minnis ……..……..... $5

North Side School ……..……..……..... $5

F.L. Hardwick ……..……..……..... (UCV) $5

DR. J. E. Slover ……..……..……..... $5

John Sprouse …… (QTR) $5

R. H. Clark ……... $5

John Tabor ……... $5

Miss Clara Parker …… $5

Denton High School …… $3

T. C. Sample ……..… (KKK, ESLAV) $2.5

DR. M. D. Fullingm ……..…… (ESLAV) $2.5

D. F. Kirkpatrick ……..… (ESLAV) $2.5

W.H. Rucker ……..…… (QTR) $2.5

Charles Pettit ……. $2.5

West Side School …….. $2.5

Ed Spong ……... $2.5

Mrs. Willis ……. (ESLAV) $2.33

Jack Medlin …… (ESLAV) $2

L. H. Edwards ……. (UDC, PET) $2

Abney Ivey …….. (KKK) $2

George Henry Blewett ……... (KKK, QTR) $2

G. J. Roark ……... $2

Pat Gallagher ……..……... $2

Miss Lydia Sebastian …….. $1.25

Mrs. R. Ledbetter ……..... (ESLAV) $1

Mrs. L. T. Fowler …….……... (ESLAV) $1

Thomas Mayfield Teasley …….. (PET, ESLAV) $1

Walter Orr …….. (QTR, ESLAV) $1

B. F. Black ……..……..…… (ESLAV) $1

Bud Richey ……..… (ESLAV) $1

Mrs. B. B. Harris ……. (ESLAV) $1

C. A. Whitehead …….……. (ESLAV) $1

Miss Mattie Brown ……..…… (UDC) $1

Mrs. Kowsky …….…… (PET) $1

Mrs. J. H. Cleveland …….…… (QTR) $1

Ed Key ……..…… $1

J. B. Farris Lumber ……..…… (UDC) $1

Oscar Elbert …….…… $1

W. J. McCray (QTR) ……...…… $1

Mrs. Will Lanham …… $1

C. F. Evans …….……..…… $1

J. S. Terry …….…….…….. $1

C. Wilkins …….…….…….. $1

M. C. Beckham …….…….…….. $1

Mrs. Sam Hawkins …….…….. $1

O. W. Smith …….…….……... $1

Mrs. Hall …….…….…… $1

Edwards & Klepper …….……. $1

J. M. Thomas …….…….…….. $1

Earl Collins …….…….…… $1

W. P. Wilks …….…….…… $1

Margaret Stoval …….…….…. $1

Andrew Vickery …….…….…. $1

Tom Whitehead …….…….…. $1

J. M. Tolden …….…….……... $1

Nathan Johnson …….…….…….. $1

J. L. Bryson …….…….…… $1

A. Collins …….…….…….. $1

Mrs. Ella Egate …….…….…….. $1

Joel R. Chambers …….…… $1

Mrs. S. D. Weston …….……... $1

Appendix IV

Klanish Persons of Denton County, 1915 - 1950

Dr. H. G. Fleming[27]	John S Anderson[28]
J. M. Owens[29]	Anna Burgoon[30]
Mr. & Mrs. A. G. Koenig[31]	Mr. & Mrs. W. S. Donoho[32]
Mr. & Mrs. W. M. Swinney[33]	Mr. & Mrs. W. B. Francis[34]
Mr. & Mrs. J. M. Inge[35]	Mr. & Mrs. J. W. Pender[36]
Rev. W. C. McClung & Mrs. McClung[37]	Mr. & Mrs. George C. French[38]
Rev. Sam J. Barcus[39]	Mr. & Mrs. N. B. Baker[40]
Rev. T. C. Wright & Mrs. T. C. Wright[41]	Mr. & Mrs. James N. Rayzor[42]
Mr. & Mrs. J. Fred Rayzor[43]	Mr. & Mrs. William Hughes[44]
Mr. & Mrs. C. H. Rodway[45]	Mr. & Mrs. Mrs. F. M. Groves[46]
City Commissioner J. L. Wright & Mrs. Wright[47]	Mr. & Mrs. F. A. Walker[48]
Mr. & Mrs. T. B. Lusk[49]	Mr. & Mrs. Otis L. Fowler[50]
City Commissioner W. B. McClurkan & Mrs.[51]	George T. Turner[52]
Mr. & Mrs. Ray Lakey[53]	Mrs. A. D. Turner[54]
Mr. & Mrs. M. L. Ramey[55]	Mr. & Mrs. J. B. Farris[56]
Mr. & Mrs. W. T. Wooldridge	Mr. & Mrs. George Welch[57]
Mr. & Mrs. J. G. Tomlinson[58]	Mr. & Mrs. A. L. Miles[59]
Mrs. Mattie Leake[60]	Mr. & Mrs. W. R. Nabours[61]
Mr. & Mrs. William Woods[62]	Mr. & Mrs. Will Smith[63]
Mr. & Mrs. M. L. Miles[64]	Dr. W. O. Kimbrough[65]
W. C. Pratt[66]	Jack Christal[67]
George Harris[68]	Mr. & Mrs. H. B. Caddell[69]
J. A. Peek[70]	State Senator George M. Hopkins[71]
J. H. Douglass[72]	Mr. & Mrs. T. W. Leverett[73]
Mr. & Mrs. W. T. Doggett[74]	Margaret Doggett[75]
Mrs. P. C. Terhune[76]	Mrs. W. C. Wright[77]
Charles H. Smoot[78]	J. W. Sullivan[79]
Mr. & Mrs. E. V. White[80]	Mr. & Mrs. R. J. Turrentine[81]
Mr. & Mrs. S. J. McGinnis[82]	Mrs. J. R. Cobb[83]
Mrs. W. L. Jones[84]	Mrs. J. Phelps[85]
Mrs. M. R. Gray[86]	Mrs. W. S. Scruggs[87]
Mrs. J. A. Freeman[88]	Mrs. C. C. Bell[89]
W. A. Brashears[90]	Mr. & Mrs. W. F. Jarrell[91]
City Commissioner Ed. F. Bates[92]	District County Judge B. W. Boyd[93]
City Attorney T. B. Davis & Mrs. Davis[94]	Carl R. Young[95]
Confederate Vet. R. B. Anderson (First-Gen)[96]	C. C. Doak[97]
Denton Mayor H.V. Hennen[98]	Rev. T. R. Bowles[99]
Mr. & Mrs. C. N. Adkisson[100]	Mr. & Mrs. A.D. Miller[101]
Rev. H. E. Gatti & Mrs. Gatti[102]	Mr. & Mrs. F. V. Garrison[103]

Mr. & Mrs. H. H. Davenport[104]	Mr. & Mrs. R. T. Slaughter[105]
Mr. & Mrs. T. C. Sample[106]	Mr. & Mrs. G. M. Marriott[107]
C. E. Carruth[108]	CIA Prof. E. L. Hunter & Mrs.[109]
Mr. & Mrs. Walker King[110]	Mr. & Mrs. W. K. Durbin[111]
Mr. & Mrs. J. B. Ford[112]	Miss Mamie Jagoe[113]
Mr. & Mrs. L. H. Schweer[114]	Mr. & Mrs. Mrs. John Speer[115]
Mr. & Mrs. J. B. Hitt[116]	Mr. & Mrs. Henry Taliaferro[117]
Mr. & Mrs. F. G. Jones[118]	Mr. & Mrs. E D Curtis[119]
Mr. & Mrs. H. F. Browder[120]	Isabela Birge[121]
Mr. & Mrs. J. A. Martin[122]	Mr. & Mrs. L. L. Miller[123]
Mr. & Mrs. Nora Gambil[124]	Mr. & Mrs. Eli Cox[125]
Mr. & Mrs. Ganz[126]	Jennie Keyte[127]
Mr. & Mrs. Bert Fowler[128]	Mr. & Mrs. J. S. Fowler[129]
Mr. & Mrs. Freeman Rowell[130]	Mr. & Mrs. J. O. Bell[131]
Mr. & Mrs. E. K. Blewett[132]	Mr. & Mrs. L. T. Millican[133]
Mrs. Joe Reed[134]	Mr. & Mrs. Robert Caldwell[135]
Mr. & Mrs. R. W. Bass[136]	Mr. & Mrs. Ben Ivey[137]
Mr. & Mrs. Abney Ivey[138]	Mr. & Mrs. W. C. Edwards[139]
Mr. & Mrs. H. F. Schweer[140]	

Appendices Notes

[1] *Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration. Ancestry.com. *U.S., Union Soldiers Compiled Service Records, 1861-1865*, Last Accessed on February 11, 2020, (https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/2344/?count=50&military=_denton-texas-usa_867&military_x=_1-0).

[2] Denton County UDC, *Historical Sketch; History of First Sixteen Years of the City Federation* (Denton: City Federation, 1929).

[3] *Ibid*; City Federation of Women's Club Ledger 1918-1920, "Denton City Federation of Women's Club Records," Woman's Collection, Texas Woman's University (Denton, TX).

[4] *Ibid*; C. A. Bridges. History of Denton, Texas, from Its Beginning to 1960 (Waco: Texian Press, 1978), 352; "Denton Women Support Candidacy of W. C. Edwards," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX), July 17, 1924.

[5] *Ibid*.

[6] City Federation Ledger 1918-1920.

[7] *Ibid*; Denton County UDC, *Historical Sketch*.

[8] *Ibid*; "Denton Women Make Money at Rummage Sale," *The Wisconsin Kourier*, (Wisconsin, MN), Vo. 4, no.12, February 6, 1925, Courtesy Wisconsin Historical Society, Last Accessed on Sept. 1, 2021, (https://kkknews.revealdigital.com); "Methodist Women's Mission Society Meets in Circles," 'Clubs,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 21, 1925: rummage sale announced for "next weekend" planned for Jan. 31; "The Methodist Women's Missionary Society," 'Local News in Brief,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 23, 1925: rummage sale will be held Jan. 31; "Circles 1 and II of the WMS.," 'Local News in Brief,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 29, 1925: "will hold rummage sale at Market on Saturday at 930."

[9] City Federation Ledger 1918-1920.

[10] Denton County UDC, *Historical Sketch*; "Klan Ticket," *Congressional Record-House*, Vo. 66, (Dec. 3, 1924), 94; citing Google, Last Accessed March 16, 2020, (https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=uU_Udgi8y1QC&hl=en).

[11] "J. Fred Rayzor Letter," Colonel Mayfield's Weekly (Houston, TX) Vo. 1, No. 16, January 7, 1922, Courtesy Wisconsin Historical Society, Last Accessed March 16, 2021, (https://kkknews.revealdigital.com); "Group to Receive Mrs. Bloodworth in City Saturday," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), September, 27, 1928; "100% Success," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), December 18, 1925: "100% Enjoyable," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), November 24, 1925.

[12] "Notice," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), June 30, 1925.

[13] "Happenings in Society," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), August 1, 1910; "Quakertown Petitions," Denton City Commission Records, Emily Fowler Library, (Denton, TX), Special Collections.

[14] "Late Personal News," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), November 20, 1915.

[15] "UDC Thank All," *Denton Record Chronicle*, June 7, 1918.

[16] "U.D.C. Tag Day" *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), October 8, 1917.

[17] "UDC Thank All," *Denton Record Chronicle*, June 7, 1918.

[18] "UDC Thank All," *Denton Record Chronicle*, June 7, 1918.

[19] *Ibid*.

[20] *Ibid*.

[21] "UDC Thank All," *Denton Record Chronicle*, June 7, 1918.

[22] *Denton City Directory*, (Dallas: Shaw-Powell Typesetting Co.,1920), University of North Texas Special Collections.

[23] Denton City Directory, (Denton: Retail Merchants' Association, 1923), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History: crediting Denton Public Library, Last Accessed February 20, 2019. (texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth29685/).

[24] *Ibid*.

[25] *Ibid*.

[26] Ed. F. Bates, *History*, 69.

[27] "Immense Crowd Sees Ku Klux Klan Parade," *Denton Record Chronicle*, August 20, 1923 (Denton, TX); "Klan Parade at Denton," Dallas Morning News, August 20, 1923 (Dallas, TX).

[28] North Texas State Normal College, *The Yucca*, 1922.

[29] "Round About Town," *Denton Record Chronicle*, July 17, 1922 (Denton, TX). Attended Klan Initiations at Dallas Fairgrounds.

[30] "Group to Receive Mrs. Bloodworth…," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), September 27, 1928; "Fort Worth Women's K.K.K. Has New Commander," *Dallas Morning News*, (Dallas, TX) August 23, 1924: Mrs. Bloodworth was a high-ranking Klan Kleagle over the entire southern province of the U.S.

[31] *Ibid*; "Women of Denton Organize Against James E. Ferguson," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), August 22, 1922: A large group of elite women in Denton attended a meeting at First Christian Church that was presided by Klanswoman Mrs. R.J. Turrentine and Klansman J. W. Sullivan. Attendees at this meeting were instructed on how to support the development of an "Invisible Government," as well as how to address "Klan issue" when campaigning for Klan candidate Earl B. Mayfield.

[32] "Group to Receive Mrs. Bloodworth…," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), September 27, 1928.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Ibid*; See endnote 8 as well. Mrs. W. B. Francis was a leading figure in the Women's Methodist Society that organized a Rummage Sale Fundraiser on Denton's Square in February of 1925 to benefit the Dallas based Klan charity called Klanhaven.

[35] "Group to Receive Mrs. Bloodworth…," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), September 27, 1928.

[36] *Ibid*; North Texas State Normal College. *The Yucca*, 1922, 305. The annual was dedicated to J. W. Pender, the campus body's favorite "one hundred per cent American."

[37] "Group to Receive Mrs. Bloodworth…," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), September 27, 1928; As the Pastor of Denton's First Baptist Church during the 1920s, Reverend McClung supported one of the largest Klan recruitment campaigns in the city via his partnership with Denton Klavern No. 136.

[38] "Group to Receive Mrs. Bloodworth…," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), September 27, 1928.

[39] "Series of Four Special Sermons by Rev. Barcus," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), June 16, 1922. This series of sermons was part of a coordinated Klan recruitment collaboration with the area's Protestant church leaders. See Barcus' sermon entitled, "One Hundred Per Cent Americans."

[40] "Group to Receive Mrs. Bloodworth…," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), September 27, 1928.

[41] *Ibid*.

[42] "Letter from Mrs. J. N. Rayzor," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) August 5, 1922. See footnote 783 for information about Rayzor family Klan advertising in the DRC at the height of the order's public presence in Denton; See also James N. Rayzor, *Foot-Prints of Time*, (Denton, 1925): Rayzor was a Deacon in Denton's First Baptist church. He self-published details of his travels with other notable Klanish figures who went to Europe and the Middle East to trace the myths behind British Israelism. His book, *Foot-Prints of Time* employs blatant uses of Klanish theology as well as British-Israeli theology; L. P. Floyd, *The First 100 Years of the First Baptist Church Denton, TX 1858-1958* (Denton: Terrill Wheeler, 1958), 137: cites a church bulletin issued August 27, 1926 entitled, "A Report of the Old Folk's Service," which references an "Invisible" choir whose members are endearingly referred to as "Old Soldiers of the Cross" who sang "old hymns of the sixties." Rayzor is listed as a member.

[43] "Kolonial Kard Klub with Mrs. Rochelle," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) March 29, 1928; "Kolonial Kard Klub with Mrs. Covington," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) April 26, 1928; Mrs. J. Fred Rayzor regularly attended Women's Klan gatherings in Denton. See also endnote 42.

[44] "Group to Receive Mrs. Bloodworth…," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), September 27, 1928.

[45] *Ibid*.

[46] *Ibid*.

[47] *Ibid*.

[48] *Ibid*.

[49] *Ibid*.

[50] *Ibid.*; "100 per cent" Fowler Auto Advertisement, *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) September 4, 1922; "One Hundred Per Cent" Fowler Alamo Storage Advertisement, *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) May 26, 1926: Mr. Fowler regularly employed Klanish language in his business advertisements; "Kolonial Klub Kid

Party," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) February 18, 1926; "Kolonial Kard Klub with Mrs. Brewster," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) December 9, 1926; "Kolonial Kard Klub Meets" *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) February 19, 1938: Mrs. Fowler regularly attended WKKK gatherings in Denton; "Personal Mention," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) October 24, 1923; "Klan Activities Feature Fair Day," *Dallas Morning News*, (Dallas, TX) October 25, 1923: Mr. & Mrs. Fowler both attended "Klan Day" in 1923 at the Texas State Fair in Dallas.

[51] Commission Meeting Minutes, March 1, 1920, City of Denton, Book V 1916-1920, Office of City Secretary: McClurkan was a City Commissioner when the city first deputized officers at the height of efforts to force out the last of Quakertown's residents; "Personal Mention," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) October 24, 1923; "Klan Activities Feature Fair Day," *Dallas Morning News*, (Dallas, TX) October 25, 1923: McClurkan's Daughter, May McClurkan attended "Klan Day" in 1923 at the Texas State Fair in Dallas; "Kolonial Kard Klub Entertained, " *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) February 29, 1936; "Events Tomorrow…Kolonial Kard Klub will meet…," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) December 2, 1926: Mrs. McClurkan attended WKKK gatherings well into the 1930s.

[52] "Klan Activities Feature Fair Day," *Dallas Morning News*, (Dallas, TX) October 25, 1923: City Commissioner Turner attended "Klan Day" in 1923 at the Texas State Fair in Dallas; "100%," Advertisement, Denton Record Chronicle (Denton, TX), March 9, 1928 and November 22, 1929 and January 23, 1929; Turner also regularly employed Klanish language in *DRC* advertisements for his grocery store.

[53] "Denton Women Make Money at Rummage Sale," *The Wisconsin Kourier*, (Wisconsin, MN), Vo. 4, no.12, February 6, 1925, courtesy Wisconsin Historical Society: https://kkknews.revealdigital.com ; "Methodist Women's Mission Society Meets in Circles," 'Clubs,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 21, 1925: rummage sale announced for "next weekend" planned for Jan. 31; "The Methodist Women's Missionary Society," 'Local News in Brief,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 23, 1925: rummage sale will be held Jan. 31; "Circles 1 and II of the WMS..," 'Local News in Brief,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 29, 1925: "will hold rummage sale at Market on Saturday at 930." Mrs. Lakey was Treasurer of Methodist Women's Missionary Circle that coordinated a rummage sale for the Dallas based Klan charity Klanhaven. "Final Road Work in County to Be Completed Soon," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), April 13, 1922; "Strike and Weather Has Delayed Road Work," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), May 9, 1922; As found in: Geiringer and Zachary Richardson, *Elm Fork Bridge Historical Narrative,* Texas Historical Commission Recorded Texas Historic Landmark Application, Denton County, 2011: In 1921, Mr. Lakey's was appointed by Denton County to build the Elm Fork bridge. Though construction of the bridge was mostly completed by mid-April 1922, it was not accessible to the public until July of that year. On the evening of April 20, 1922, just days after the last span of supports were installed, Denton's Klan hosted a large initiation ceremony under the bridge. Those in charge of the initiation ceremonies were made aware of the bridge's just completed status, although it was not yet publicly announced. The Klan was afforded access to the site while it was still closed and not yet open to the public.

[54] "Notice," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), June 30, 1925. As a UDC member, Mrs. A. D. Turner hosted a Klan initiation on her Denton property in the summer of 1925.

[55] Denton Women Make Money at Rummage Sale," *The Wisconsin Kourier*, (Wisconsin, MN), Vo. 4, no.12, February 6, 1925, courtesy Wisconsin Historical Society: https://kkknews.revealdigital.com ; "Methodist Women's Mission Society Meets in Circles," 'Clubs,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 21, 1925: rummage sale announced for "next weekend" planned for Jan. 31; "The Methodist Women's Missionary Society," 'Local News in Brief,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 23, 1925: rummage sale will be held Jan. 31; "Circles 1 and II of the WMS..," 'Local News in Brief,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 29, 1925: "will hold rummage sale at Market on Saturday at 930." "Methodist Society Installs New Officers," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) January 7, 1925: Mrs. Ramey was a member of the Methodist Women's Missionary Circle that coordinated a rummage sale for the Dallas based Klan charity Klanhaven. Mr. Ramey's Klanishness is implied by his wife's active engagement in the patriarchal order.

[56] *Ibid*.

[57] *Ibid*: Mrs. Welch was an "assistant leader" of the Methodist Women's Missionary Circles involved in Klanish activities.

[58] *Ibid*.

[59] *Ibid*.

[60] *Ibid*.

[61] *Ibid*. "Resignation of Blayney Accepted Effective June 1," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) October 29, 1925; "Charges of Political Patronage is Cause of CIA Difficult," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) February 1, 1926; As Business Manager of the College of Industrial Arts, Mr. Nabours was implicated by a fellow member on the CIA Board of Regents as being part of the Klanish uprising against and ouster of new CIA president, Lindsey Blayney. See: "Blayney Replies to Statement as to James Ferguson's Attitude," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) February 20, 1926. Mrs. Nabours was a member of the Methodist Women's Missionary Circle that coordinated a rummage sale for the Dallas Based Klan charity Klanhaven.

[62] Denton Women Make Money at Rummage Sale," *The Wisconsin Kourier*, (Wisconsin, MN), Vo. 4, no.12, February 6, 1925, courtesy Wisconsin Historical Society: https://kkknews.revealdigital.com ; "Methodist Women's Mission Society Meets in Circles," 'Clubs,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 21, 1925: rummage sale announced for "next weekend" planned for Jan. 31; "The Methodist Women's Missionary Society," 'Local News in Brief,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 23, 1925: rummage sale will be held Jan. 31; "Circles 1 and II of the WMS..," 'Local News in Brief,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 29, 1925: "will hold rummage sale at Market on Saturday at 930." "Methodist Society Installs New Officers," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) January 7, 1925: Mrs. Woods was a member of the Methodist Women's Missionary Circle that coordinated a rummage sale for the Dallas Based Klan charity Klanhaven. Mr. Woods' Klanish involvement is implicated by his wife's engagement in the patriarchal order.

[63] *Ibid*.

[64] *Ibid*.

[65] "K.K.K. Cross Placed on Grave of Dr. Kimbrough," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) October 21, 1922.

[66] "Funeral of W. C. Pratt Held Tuesday Afternoon," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) May 29, 1923: Burial took place in I. O. O. F. cemetery. Odd Fellows conducted his commitment services along with several hooded and robed Klansmen.

[67] *Ibid*: As a leading figure in Denton, he was a pallbearer at the Klan funeral of W. C. Pratt.

[68] *Ibid*; L. P. Floyd, *The First 100 Years of the First Baptist Church Denton, TX 1858-1958* (Denton: Terrill Wheeler, 1958), 137: cites church bulletin issued on August 27, 1926 entitled, "A Report of the Old Folk's Service," which references an "Invisible" choir whose members were endearingly coined "Old Soldiers of the Cross" and who only sang "old hymns of the sixties." George Harris is listed as a member.

[69] "Funeral of W. C. Pratt Held Tuesday Afternoon," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) May 29, 1923: Mr. Caddell was listed as a pallbearer at the Klan funeral of W. C. Pratt; "Aubrey People Attend 'Birth of a Nation' Here en Masse," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) January 19, 1917: Mrs. Herman Caddell chaperoned a group of women from Aubrey to see the 1917 screening of the Klan film *Birth of a Nation* at the CIA campus.

[70] "Funeral of W. C. Pratt Held Tuesday Afternoon," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) May 29, 1923: Mr. Peek was listed as a pallbearer at the Klan funeral of W. C. Pratt.

[71] *Ibid*: Senator George M. Hopkins was listed as a pallbearer at the Klan funeral of W. C. Pratt; "UCV Monument Cornerstone Laid," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) May 15, 1918: Hopkins "paid tribute to the deeds of the Confederates" at a cornerstone laying ceremony shortly before the public unveiling of Denton's Confederate monument.

[72] *Ibid*: J. H. Douglass listed as pallbearer at Klan funeral of W. C. Pratt.

[73] "Personal Mention," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) October 24, 1923; "Klan Activities Feature Fair Day," *Dallas Morning News*, (Dallas, TX) October 25, 1923: Mrs. Leverett attended "Klan Day" in Dallas at the Texas State Fair in 1923 with notable Klanish associates. Mr. Leverett's Klan affiliation is insinuated by his wife's involvement in the patriarchal order's activities.

[74] "Klan Activities Feature Fair Day," *Dallas Morning News*, (Dallas, TX) October 25, 1923: Mrs. Doggett attended "Klan Day" in Dallas at the Texas State Fair in 1923 with her daughter Margaret and notable Klanish associates. "Rotary Club" Advertisement, *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) May 01, 1922: Mr. W. T. Doggett was a Rotary Club member at the time that the organization supported the Quakertown removal campaign. His Klan affiliation is further insinuated by his wife's activities associated with the patriarchal order.

[75] *Ibid*.

[76] *Ibid*: Mrs. Terhune attended "Klan Day" in Dallas at the Texas State Fair in 1923 with notable Klanish associates.

[77] *Ibid*: Mrs. Wright (aka Julia wright) attended "Klan Day" in Dallas at the Texas State Fair in 1923 with notable Klanish associates; *Handbook Online*, "Wright, William Crow," Michael E. McCellan, Texas State Historical Association, Last Accessed February 19, 2019, (https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fwr161860): Julia Wright's maiden name was Julia Gober; Julia Gober, *U.S. Census*, Denton County, Texas, Population schedules of the eighth census of the United States (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration: 1965), microfilm publication M653 roll 1309, Last Accessed February 19, 2019, (https://archive.org/details/populationschedu1309unix/mode/2up): Julia Wright's father John W. Gober was one of only fifty-one men who admittedly held African American persons in bondage in Denton County on the 1860 Federal Schedules; "Engagement of the Clansmen," *Record and Chronicle*, (Denton, Tex.), December 26, 1911: In 1911, Julia Wright debuted a stage performance of Thomas Dixon's novel *The Clansman* in the family's Opera house on the Denton town square. *The Clansman* was later reproduced as the screen film *Birth of a Nation;* "Late Personal News," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), November 22, 1915: In 1915, Mrs. Wright's attendance at the Fort Worth premier of the Klan film *Birth of a Nation* was given special mention in the *DRC.*

[78] *Ibid*: As the son-in-law of Mrs. W. C. Wright and husband of Wright's daughter Eulalie, Homer smoot attended "Klan Day" in Dallas at the Texas State Fair in 1923 with the Wright family and other notable Klanish associates. See Appendix II: Smoot made one of the largest contributions to the Katie Daffan UDC's Confederate monument fund.

[79] "Women of Denton Organize Against James E. Ferguson," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), August 22, 1922: "Chief speaker" at First Christian Church meeting presided by Mrs. R.J. Turrentine and other pro-Klan women of Denton. Sullivan offered Klanswomen instructions on how to support the development of an "Invisible Government" and how to address the "Klan issue" when campaigning for Klan Candidate Earl B. Mayfield in upcoming elections; "Resignation of Blayney Accepted Effective June 1," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) October 29, 1925; "Charges of Political Patronage is Cause of CIA Difficult," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) February 1, 1926; "Blayney Replies to Statement as to James Ferguson's Attitude," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) February 20, 1926: As a member of the CIA Board of Regents, J. W. Sullivan was referred to as "prominent in the ranks of the Klan" by Texas Governor Miriam "Ma" Fergusson in a letter charging that "Ku Kluxers and zealots" at the CIA had forced Blayney's resignation.

[80] *Ibid*: Mrs. E. V. White attended a meeting at the First Christian Church for training on how to campaign for Klan candidates in Denton. She was appointed to a committee charged with distributing letters in favor of the Klan's political agenda. Her husband was identified by a fellow Board of Regents members at the CIA as being an active agent in a Klan uprising on campus against the CIA president, Lindsey Blayney; *History of First Sixteen Years of the City Federation* (Denton, TX: City Federation, 1929): At the same time Mrs. E. V. White was campaigning for Klan candidates, she was the Vice President of the City Federation of Women's Clubs which initiated the campaign for Quakertown's removal.

[81] *Ibid*: Mrs. Turrentine was a leading figure among Denton's Women's Klan, as they campaigned for Klan candidates running in statewide elections. As Head of Education at the CIA, Mr. Turrentine was accused by a fellow Board of Regents members of being an active agent in a Klan uprising on the CIA campus against then president, Lindsey Blayney; "Commission Meeting Minutes," October 15, 1924, City of Denton, Book VII, Office of City Secretary: After successfully leading the park campaign that resulted in Quakertown's forced removal, Mrs. Turrentine was appointed to the City Park Board in charge of overseeing the whites-only park built in its place.

[82] L. P. Floyd, *The First 100 Years of the First Baptist Church Denton, TX 1858-1958* (Denton: Terrill Wheeler, 1958), 137: cites church bulletin issued August 27, 1926, entitled, "A Report of the Old Folk's Service," which references an "Invisible" choir whose members were endearingly coined "Old Soldiers of the Cross" and who only sang "old hymns of the sixties." Mr. & Mrs. S. J. McGinnis are both listed as members.

[83] *Ibid*: Mrs. J. R. Cobb is listed as a member of the "Invisible" choir.

[84] *Ibid*: Mrs. W. L. Jones is listed as a member of the "Invisible" choir.

[85] *Ibid*: Mrs. J Phelps is listed as a member of the "Invisible" choir.

[86] *Ibid*: Mrs. M. R. Gray is listed as a member of the "Invisible" choir.

[87] *Ibid*: Mrs. W. S. Scruggs is listed as a member of the "Invisible" choir.

[88] *Ibid*: Mrs. J. A. Freeman is listed as a member of the "Invisible" choir.

[89] *Ibid*: Mrs. C. C. Bell is listed as a member of the "Invisible" choir.

[90] *Ibid*: Mr. W. A. Brashears is listed as a member of the "Invisible" choir.

[91] *Ibid*: Mrs. W. F. Jarrell is listed as a member of the "Invisible" choir; "Amusements – Opera House," *Dallas Morning News* (Dallas, TX) October 14, 1915" W. F. Jarrell attended the Dallas debut of the *Birth of a Nation* Klan film with his sons.

[92] L. P. Floyd, *The First 100 Years*: Ed F. Bates is listed as a member of the "Invisible" choir; "U.C.V. Monument To Be Unveiled Oct. 8," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) May 30, 1916: Ed F. Bates is identified as "Keeper of Confederate rolls" for UDC.

[93] "Former District Judge W. S. Moore Thanks Voters and Make Statement," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) August 24, 1928: Moore warned the community of Denton that "Ku Klux Klan" was still heavily involved in local politics and as a result of electing B. W. Boyd who then had full control over local courts; "Owsley Urges Support on His Record as Judge," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) August 8, 1928: former National Commander of the American Legion warned Denton that "courts are under threat" because they were falling "under control of the Klan" and identified B. W. Boyd as a "Klan judge" who could and likely would elect "Klan jury commissions."

[94] "Denton Women Make Money at Rummage Sale," *The Wisconsin Kourier*, (Wisconsin, MN), Vo. 4, no.12, February 6, 1925, courtesy Wisconsin Historical Society: https://kkknews.revealdigital.com ; "Methodist Women's Mission Society Meets in Circles," 'Clubs,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 21, 1925: rummage sale announced for "next weekend" planned for Jan. 31; "The Methodist Women's Missionary Society," 'Local News in Brief,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 23, 1925: rummage sale will be held Jan. 31; "Circles 1 and II of the WMS..," 'Local News in Brief,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 29, 1925: "will hold rummage sale at Market on Saturday at 930." Mrs. Davis was an active member of the Methodist Women's Missionary Circle that coordinated a rummage sale for the Dallas based Klan charity, Klanhaven. Mr. Davis' association is implicated by his wife's activism in the patriarchal order.

[95] North Texas State Normal College. *The Yucca*, 1922 Yearbook, 305.

[96] "Denton Citizen on K.K.K.," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) August 5, 1921: Confederate Vet. R. B. Anderson self-identified as a member of the First-Generation Ku Klux Klan in a letter offering moral guidance to Denton's new recruits to the Second-Generation order.

[97] *Campus Chat* (Denton, Texas.), Vol. 6, No. 2, Ed. 1 Saturday, October 15, 1921, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, crediting UNT Libraries Special Collections, Last Accessed December 13, 2021, (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth720435/).

[98] "Principles of Klan Defended on Courthouse Lawn," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) August 5, 1922; crediting Chelsea Stallings: Mayor H. V. Hennen introduced Klan recruiter and Baptist Pastor W. A. Hamlett on the County Courthouse lawn; "Principles of Klan Lauded by Speaker Before Big Crowd," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) January 23, 1925: Mayor H. V. Hennen hosted a Klan recruiter inside the Denton County Courthouse in front of a large audience. After the speech, the mayor personally handed out and recollected recruitment cards. See chapter 3 on how the Klanish mayor personally cultivated a secret tax payer funded policing force prior to any public notice or authorization.

[99] "Denton," Fort Worth Star Telegram (Fort Worth, TX) August 23, 1922: Klansmen visited Stony Methodist Church and rewarded the pastor with a $20 donation for his good service to the order.

[100] "Denton Women Make Money at Rummage Sale," *The Wisconsin Kourier*, (Wisconsin, MN), Vo. 4, no.12, February 6, 1925, courtesy Wisconsin Historical Society: https://kkknews.revealdigital.com ; "Methodist Women's Mission Society Meets in Circles," 'Clubs,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 21, 1925: rummage sale announced for "next weekend" planned for Jan. 31; "The Methodist Women's Missionary Society," 'Local News in Brief,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 23, 1925: rummage sale will be held Jan. 31; "Circles 1 and II of the WMS..," 'Local News in Brief,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 29, 1925: "will hold rummage sale at Market on Saturday at 930." Mrs. Adkisson was a member of the Methodist Women's Missionary Circle that coordinated a rummage sale for the Dallas based Klan charity Klanhaven; Bulletin, "City Federation of Women's Clubs" (Denton: City Federation, 1914), 15; Mr. C. N. Adkisson first suggested the removal of Quakertown in a 1914 in a City Federation Bulletin distributed among the city. At the time, his wife, Mrs. C. N. Adkisson was a UDC delegate and secretary to the City Federation. She was president of the City Federation by the time of the monument's unveiling. This suggests women in the UDC collaborated in the removal of Quakertown at least five years before the removal campaign was made public and three years before the Confederate monument was unveiled. It also suggests that the two campaigns were always collaborative. "Women of Denton Organize

Against James E. Ferguson," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), August 22, 1922: At a meeting at First Christian Church, presided by Mrs. R.J. Turrentine and J. W. Sullivan, attendees were instructed how to support development of an "Invisible Government" and address "Klan issue" when campaigning for Klansman, Earl B. Mayfield in upcoming elections. Mrs. Adkisson attended this meeting and was appointed to a Committee of "Letters and Articles" in favor of the Klan candidate. Mr. C. N. Adkisson's affiliation is further implicated by his wife's involvement in the patriarchal order's activities.

[101] "Denton Women Make Money at Rummage Sale," *The Wisconsin Kourier*, (Wisconsin, MN), Vo. 4, no.12, February 6, 1925, courtesy Wisconsin Historical Society: https://kkknews.revealdigital.com ; "Methodist Women's Mission Society Meets in Circles," 'Clubs,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 21, 1925: rummage sale announced for "next weekend" planned for Jan. 31; "The Methodist Women's Missionary Society," 'Local News in Brief,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 23, 1925: rummage sale will be held Jan. 31; "Circles 1 and II of the WMS.." 'Local News in Brief,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 29, 1925: "will hold rummage sale at Market on Saturday at 930." Mrs. Miller was a member of the Methodist Women's Missionary Circle that coordinated a rummage sale for the Dallas based Klan charity, Klanhaven. Mr. Miller's affiliation is implicated by his wife's activities in the patriarchal order.

[102] "Denton Women Make Money at Rummage Sale," *The Wisconsin Kourier*, (Wisconsin, MN), Vo. 4, no.12, February 6, 1925, courtesy Wisconsin Historical Society: https://kkknews.revealdigital.com ; "Methodist Women's Mission Society Meets in Circles," 'Clubs,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 21, 1925: rummage sale announced for "next weekend" planned for Jan. 31; "The Methodist Women's Missionary Society," 'Local News in Brief,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 23, 1925: rummage sale will be held Jan. 31; "Circles 1 and II of the WMS.." 'Local News in Brief,' *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX) January 29, 1925: "will hold rummage sale at Market on Saturday at 930." Mrs. Gatti was a member of the Methodist Women's Missionary Circle that coordinated a rummage sale for the Dallas based Klan charity, Klanhaven. Her husband, Reverend Gatti was a member of the pastorate at First Methodist.

[103] *Ibid*. Mrs. F. V. Garrison was secretary of the Methodist Women's Missionary Circle that a rummage sale for the Dallas based Klan charity, Klanhaven; "Card Club with Mrs. Garrison," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) December 24, 1929: Mrs. Garrison regularly attended WKKK gatherings in Denton. Mr. Garrison's affiliation is implicated by his wife's activities in the patriarchal order.

[104] *Ibid*. Mrs. H. H. Davenport was secretary of a Methodist Women's Missionary Circle that coordinated a rummage sale for the Dallas based Klan charity, Klanhaven. Mr. Davenport's affiliation is implicated by his wife's activities in the patriarchal order.

[105] *Ibid.* Mrs. R. T. Slaughter was a member of a Methodist Women's Missionary Circle that coordinated a rummage sale for the Dallas based Klan charity, Klanhaven. Mr. Davenport's affiliation is implicated by his wife's activities in the patriarchal order.

[106] *Ibid.* Mrs. T. C. Sample was a member of a Methodist Women's Missionary Circle that coordinated a rummage sale for the Dallas based Klan charity, Klanhaven. Mr. Sample's affiliation is implicated by his wife's activities in the patriarchal order.

[107] *Ibid.* Mrs. G. M. Marriott was a member of a Methodist Women's Missionary Circle that coordinated a rummage sale for the Dallas based Klan charity, Klanhaven. Mr. Marriott's affiliation is implicated by his wife's activities in the patriarchal order.

[108] Carruthers incorporated triple K advertising in his Kodak ads in every addition of the NTSNC Yucca yearbook from 1921 - 1924 during the height of public Klan communications in Denton. For an example, see image 19. Carruthers also produced a postcard celebrating the removal of Quakertown decades after the neighborhood's African American residents were forcefully removed from the inner-city and forced to resettle in a swamp like pasture in the southeast part of town. See images 21 and 22.

[109] "Aubrey People Attend 'Birth of a Nation' Here en Masse," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) January 19, 1917. E. L. Hunter and his wife chaperoned a young group of women from Aubrey to see the 1917 screening of the Klan film *Birth of a Nation* at the CIA.

[110] "Women of Denton Organize Against James E. Ferguson," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), August 22, 1922: Attended meeting at First Christian Church and instructed by high-ranking local Klansperson on how to support development of an "Invisible Government" and address "Klan issue" when campaigning for

Klansman Earl B. Mayfield in upcoming elections. Mrs. King was a noted speaker at this meeting. “Mr. King is implicated by his wife’s activities in the patriarchal order.

[111] *Ibid:* Mrs. Durbin was a noted speaker at this meeting. Mr. Durbin is implicated by his wife’s activities in the patriarchal order.

[112] *Ibid:* Mrs. Ford was a noted speaker at this meeting. Mr. Ford is implicated by his wife’s activities in the patriarchal order.

[113] *Ibid:* Mrs. Jagoe was appointed to a committee in charge of writing letters and articles in favor of the Klan’s political agenda and favored candidates; "Kolonial Kard Klub with Mrs. Caldwell," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), June 21, 1928; "Kolonial Kard Klub with Mrs. Walker Jagoe," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), January 15, 1927; "Kolonial Kard Klub Meets,” *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), January 28, 1932. Mrs. Jagoe regularly attended and often hosted WKKK gatherings in Denton. Mr. Jagoe is implicated by his wife’s activities in the patriarchal order.

[114] “Women of Denton Organize Against James E. Ferguson,” *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), August 22, 1922. Mrs. L. H. Schweer was appointed to a committee in charge of writing letters and articles in favor of the Klan’s political agenda and favored candidates; Denton Women Support Candidacy of W. C. Edwards,” *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), July 23, 1924. Mrs. Schweer also campaigned for local Klansman W.C. Edwards in the 1924 Gubernatorial race. Mr. L. H. Schweer is implicated by his wife’s activities in the patriarchal order.

[115] “Women of Denton Organize Against James E. Ferguson,” *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), August 22, 1922. Mrs. Speer was appointed to a committee in charge of writing letters and articles in favor of the Klan’s political agenda and favored candidates. Mr. Speer is implicated by his wife’s activities in the patriarchal order.

[116] *Ibid.* Mrs. Hitt was appointed to a committee in charge of writing letters and articles in favor of the Klan’s political agenda and favored candidates. Mr. Hitt is implicated by his wife’s activities in the patriarchal order.

[117] *Ibid.* Mrs. Taliaferro was appointed to a committee in charge of distributing letters in favor of the Klan’s political agenda and favored candidates. Mr. Taliaferro is implicated by his wife’s activities in the patriarchal order.

[118] *Ibid.* Mrs. F. G. Jones was appointed to a committee in charge of distributing letters in favor of the Klan’s political agenda and favored candidates. Mr. Jones is implicated by his wife’s activities in the patriarchal order.

[119] *Ibid.* Mrs. Curtis was appointed to a committee in charge of distributing letters in favor of the Klan’s political agenda and favored candidates. Mr. Curtis is implicated by his wife’s activities in the patriarchal order.

[120] *Ibid.* Mrs. H. F. Browder was appointed to a committee in charge of distributing letters in favor of the Klan’s political agenda and favored candidates. Mr. Browder is implicated by his wife’s activities in the patriarchal order.

[121] *Ibid.* Isabela Birge was appointed to a committee in charge of a telephone canvass to promote the Klan’s political agenda and favored candidates.

[122] *Ibid.* Mrs. J. A. Martin was appointed to a committee in charge of a telephone canvass to promote the Klan’s political agenda and favored candidates. Mr. Martin is implicated by his wife’s activities in the patriarchal order.

[123] *Ibid.* Mrs. L. L. Miller was appointed to a committee in charge of a telephone canvass to promote the Klan’s political agenda and favored candidates. Mr. L. L. Miller is implicated by his wife’s activities in the patriarchal order.

[124] *Ibid.* Mrs. Nora Gambil was appointed to a committee in charge of a telephone canvass to promote the Klan’s political agenda and favored candidates. Mr. Gambil is implicated by his wife’s activities in the patriarchal order.

[125] *Ibid.* Mrs. Eli Cox was appointed to a committee in charge of a telephone canvass to promote the Klan’s political agenda and favored candidates. Mr. Eli Cox is implicated by his wife’s activities in the patriarchal order.

[126] *Ibid.* Mrs. Ganz was appointed to a committee in charge of a telephone canvass to promote the Klan’s political agenda and favored candidates. Mr. Ganz is implicated by his wife’s activities in the patriarchal order.

[127] *Ibid.* Jennie Keyte was appointed to a committee in charge of a telephone canvass to promote the Klan's political agenda and favored candidates.

[128] "Kolonial Kard Klub Entertained," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) October 6, 1933; "Mr. Bert Fowler Hostess to Kard Klub," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) October 22, 1927; "Wednesday," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) February 23, 1929: "will meet with Mrs. Bert Fowler for a business meeting." Mrs. Bert Fowler regularly attended and hosted WKKK gatherings in Denton. Mr. Bert Fowler is implicated by his wife's activities in the patriarchal order. His brother frequently used Klanish language in his local business advertisements. See Otis Fowler.

[129] "Kolonial Kard Klub Entertained," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) January 8, 1938; "Kolonial Kard Klub Entertained," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) November 9, 1936; Kolonial Kard Klub Entertained," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) October 6, 1933. Mr. J. S. Fowler regularly attended WKKK gatherings in Denton well into the late 1930s. Mr. J. S. Fowler is implicated by his wife's activities in the patriarchal order.

[130] "Kolonial Kard Klub Meets," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) March 27, 1931; "Kolonial Kard Klub Entertained," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) March 24, 1932; "Kolonial Kard Klub Entertained," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) April 19, 1930: Mrs. Rowell regularly attended and hosted WKKK gatherings in Denton. Mr. Rowell is implicated by his wife's activities in the patriarchal order.

[131] "Kolonial Kard Klub with Mrs. Brewster," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) February 18, 1926; "Mr. Bert Fowler Hostess to Kard Klub." *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) December 9, 1926; "Mrs. King is Hostess Kolonial Kard Klub," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) October 12, 1929; "Kolonial Kard Klub Entertained," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) May 22, 1941: Mrs. Bell regularly attended and hosted WKK gatherings in Denton well into the 1940s. Mr. Bell is implicated by his wife's activities in the patriarchal order.

[132] "Card Club with Mrs. Garrison," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) December 14, 1929: Mrs. Blewett's notable status led to the WKKK to list their gathering in the DRC with the regular "C" spelling (Colonial Card Club) in the headline but in the fine print text, it was made clear that the gathering was a "Kolonial Kard Klub" meeting.

[133] *Ibid*. Mr. Millican is implicated by his wife's involvement with the patriarchal order.

[134] "Card Club with Mrs. Hancock," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX)May 24, 1928; "Card Club with Mrs. W. W. King," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) October 11, 1928: attended WKKK gatherings as a "guest."

[135] "Kolonial Kard Klub with Mrs. Caldwell," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) November 21, 1929. Mrs. Caldwell regularly attended and hosted WKKK gatherings in Denton. Mr. Caldwell is implicated by his wife's activities in the patriarchal order.

[136] "Bridge Party Honors Student," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) June 1, 1933; "Kolonial Kard Klub Entertained," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) December 8, 1934; "Kolonial Kard Klub Entertained," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) December 8, 1941: Mrs. R. W. Bass regularly attended and WKKK gatherings in Denton well into the 1940s. Mr. R. W. Bass is implicated by his wife's activities in the patriarchal order.

[137] "Kolonial Kard Klub Meets," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) June 12.4.1930; "Kolonial Kard Klub Meets," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) June 11, 1938: Mrs. Ben Ivey regularly attended WKKK gatherings in Denton. Ben Ivey is implicated by his wife's activities in the patriarchal order.

[138] "Colonial Card Club with Mrs. Hancock," *Denton Record Chronicle* (Denton, TX) May 24, 1928: Mrs. Abney Ivey occasionally attended the Women's Klan bridge club gatherings in Denton as a noted "guest." Mr.

[139] "Klan Ticket," *Congressional Record-House*, Vo. 66, (Dec. 3, 1924), 94; citing Google, Last Accessed March 16, 2020, (https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=uU_Udgi8y1QC&hl=en): as Editor of the *Denton Record Chronicle*, Edwards regularly afforded favorable coverage and support of the Ku Klux Klan, both the local order and the national organization. He was clearly a proponent of the Klanish movement and the theological white supremacy the order promoted. Congress identified Edwards as a Klan candidate in the Gubernatorial Texas on the 1924 state ticket. He lost the election but went on to represent Denton in the Texas House of Representatives.

[140] *Ibid*; "Denton Women Support Candidacy of W. C. Edwards," *Denton Record Chronicle*, (Denton, TX), July 23, 1924: Mrs. H. F. Schweer, a prominent UDC and City Federation member campaigned for Klansman W.C. Edwards in Gubernatorial race. Mr. H. F. Schweer's involvement is implicated by his wife's activities in the patriarchal order.

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