

THE KLAN AND THE CRAFT:
AN ANALYSIS OF MASONIC DUAL MEMBERSHIP WITH THE
KU KLUX KLAN IN DALLAS, 1920 – 1926

by

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For my Wife:

The person who has endured long days and nights with our three young children during my absence for research, analysis, and writing. It has been a long and hard journey, but I thank you for your patience, support, and sacrifice!

For the Craft:

Though the path to enlightenment is often a rough a rugged road, exploring the history of Freemasonry on a micro level is a task I challenge each of you with. Understanding the philosophy, religion and mysteries is one thing. However, without an understanding of the history of the fraternity, its successes and its failures, enlightenment will have its limits.

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The University of Texas at Dallas, 2017

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This analysis examines and builds upon the work of Miguel Hernandez, professor of History and a Fraternal Studies scholar at the University of Exeter in England, by building a comprehensive dual membership list of Dallas Masons who were members of Klavern No. 66 between 1921 and 1926. In 2014, he published *Fighting Fraternities: The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in the 1920's* in which he studied dual membership within two Klaverns in the United States, Anaheim, California and Dallas, Texas. Dr. Hernandez, Adam Kendall, former Collections Manager for the Henry W. Coil Library & Museum of Freemasonry at the Grand Lodge of California, and Kristofer Allerfeldt, also from the University of Exeter, are the pioneers of this topic and have laid the foundation for further research to be conducted in this field. This examination will look at Freemasonry and the Klan in Dallas. It will explore the Grand Lodge of Texas' response to the infiltration of the Klan into Masonic Lodges in Texas and in Dallas and how the Dallas Masonic lodges responded to the Grand Master. A dual membership list was created using the Grand Lodge of Texas Proceedings of 1920 to 1926 and cross referenced with Klan documents to determine a wide range of statistical information to help understand the type of men joining both

organizations. The ability to determine dual membership was examined by analyzing three documents identifying Klansmen; The *Dallas Dispatch* list in May of 1922, the Special Examination audit of the Kolossal Karnival in Dallas, June of 1924 both located at the Dallas Historical Society, and the Klan Police list from the papers of Earle B. Cabell at the Degolyer Library at Southern Methodist University. Matching the names on these lists with Masonic rosters from lodges in the Dallas area then cross referencing them with the Dallas City Directories from the Dallas Public Library has allowed for the identification of either dual members or supporters of the Klan within the Masonic lodges. Using the comprehensive list, and analyzing the minutes of Dallas lodges allows for a glimpse into what these men were doing in the lodges and how Masonic lodges and its members responded to their attendance. Examining these documents provides a background for a much more detailed examination of dual membership between the two dominant fraternities in Dallas during the 1920's, and opens up a microcosm of historical analysis never seen concerning the Ku Klux Klan and the Freemasons.

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INTRODUCTION

Dallas was a booming city during the 1920's. Cotton was still king, but it was quickly being replaced by the banking and oil industries. Dallas was geographically situated so well that its population had reached 189,244 people. It was fast becoming a distribution center for the nation as well as a major trading post. Because of a vast railroad network, Dallas was the largest inland cotton market in the world with 1.5 million bales in a single season. It produced as high as \$18 million in agricultural and livestock products. Dallas' jobbing business for 1920 totaled \$600 million, ranking Dallas the fifteenth largest jobbing center in the nation including the largest automobile market in the Southwest. Its businesses in the city approximated \$250 million in 1920 with more than 20,000 people employed. Dallas was the home of the Federal Reserve bank of the Eleventh District; it had 12 banks with a combined capital stock of nearly \$10 million. Its bank clearings in 1920 were \$1.868 billion ranking it twenty-third in the nation. Dallas also had eight trunk line steam railroads and five electric interurban railways operating 186 trains daily. The system carried 62,632,000 people in 1920, led the state with 190 miles of paved streets, and was within a day's travel of every major oil field in the Midwest.¹ Due to the enormous amounts of money pouring into Dallas, the business elite quickly established itself as the ruling class for the up-and-coming city and fought for control utilizing what Dallas historian Harvey Graff calls the "Dallas Way," or "a mode of concerted action, an ethos, and a strategy for practicing and circumventing politics and manufacturing consent."² Many of these men who practiced this were

¹ *Dallas City Directory 1921* (Dallas, Texas: John F. Worley Directory Company), 6-7. There is a wide range of statistics on Dallas on the political, economic, geographic and social scale in these directories. It paints a snapshot of how the city is growing economically in any given year.

² Harvey J Graff, *The Dallas Myth: The Making and Unmaking of an American City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 13.

well known in their time, enacting great change that set Dallas on its path to political and financial power. The Dallas Fire Department, Dallas Public Library, Dallas Chamber of Commerce, and Dallas Board of Trade were all established by such men. This “Who’s Who” included men like George Bannerman Dealey, President and General Manager of *The Dallas Morning News*, banker William Henry Gaston, Elihu M. Kahn, founder of Temple Emanu-El, and Alex Sanger, department store owner and the man responsible for bringing the Texas and Pacific Railroad through Dallas.³

It was typical for many within the Dallas business elite to join benevolent or fraternal organizations for a variety of reasons: encouragement of social change in the city, desirable insurance or mutual benefits, professional economic or political networking, respectability, and participation in social reform, spiritualism, or fellowship. Freemasonry had been the first fraternity to arrive in Dallas in 1849 with the establishment of Tannehill Lodge No. 52, located at the Southeast corner of Carondelet and Houston Streets.⁴ Other organizations followed, such as Dallas Lodge No. 44 of the International Order of Odd Fellows in 1854, Dallas Lodge No. 71 of the Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks in 1888, and Dallas Council No. 799 of the Knights of Columbus in 1903.⁵ By 1926, 14 Masonic lodges resided in Dallas with a total of

³ Natalie Ornish, “Kahn, Emanuel Meyer,” The Handbook of Texas Online, accessed January 23, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fka09>; Natalie Ornish, “Sanger, Alexander,” accessed January 23, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fsa54>; Joan Jenkins Perez, “Dealey, George Bannerman,” The Handbook of Texas Online, accessed January 23, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fde21>; Robert W. Glover, “Gaston, William Henry,” The Handbook of Texas Online, accessed January 23, 2017, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fga63>.

⁴ David C. McCord, *Location of The First Lodge Home Owned by Tannehill Lodge No. 52, A.F. and A.M.* (Dallas, TX: 1949), 1. This document was originally a PDF found by accessing the website of Tannehill Lodge but has since been removed as of summer of 2017.

⁵ Ibid, 6; *Independent Order of Odd Fellows Dallas Lodge #44*, accessed June 14, 2017, <http://iooftxdallas44.weebly.com/>; *The Great 799, Knights of Columbus - Dallas Council 799*, accessed June 14, 2017. <https://kofcknights.org/CouncilSite/about.asp?CNO=799>.

9,935 members (see Appendix A). Another 55 lodges were founded in the surrounding suburbs, making Freemasonry the dominant fraternity in Dallas.⁶ The Elks and the Odd Fellows tied for second with eight lodges in the city.⁷ During the Gilded and Progressive Eras, Masonic lodges in the United States sought influential and prominent members of society for initiation to make the fraternity a more exclusive organization in which networking would provide social and economic benefits.⁸ The civic leaders of Dallas who joined used these organizations as a primary base of power from 1880 until that power was challenged by the founding of the Dallas Chapter of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in April of 1921.

This study will illustrate Dallas Freemasonry and Klan affiliation between 1920 and 1926. The goal is to obtain a deeper analysis into the world of dual membership within the two fraternities in Dallas. At the center of this analysis is a comprehensive list of Freemasons and Klansmen, using the extant documents produced by both fraternities, to determine the level of dual membership and how it was portrayed in and out of the lodges. This study will greatly improve upon the historical study of fraternal dynamics in the United States, a topic that has been greatly neglected by the American historical community.

Founded by William Joseph Simmons in November of 1915 on top of Stone Mountain in Atlanta, Georgia, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan seemed, initially, to be a very different sort of

⁶ This data is drawn from volumes of the *Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Texas* Proceedings from the years 1920 – 1926 (see bibliography for full citation). The rosters of each Dallas lodge are in the “Grand Lodge Proceedings” which are published transcriptions of the Grand Annual Communication. It provides the total number of Freemasons that are members of any Texas lodge for that year. Adding the total number of members of each Dallas lodge studied from each yearly publication provides the total membership of masons in Dallas during the dates of inquiry.

⁷ *Dallas City Directory 1920* (Dallas, Texas, John F. Worley Directory Co. 1920), 45.

⁸ Mark A. Tabbert, *American Freemasons: Three Centuries of Building Communities* (Lexington, MA: National Heritage Museum, 2005), 33-138.

organization than typical fraternities like the Freemasons, the Odd Fellows, or the Woodman of the World. The Klan provided an opportunity to vent the frustrations and fears of a disgruntled white middle class upset with little to no opportunity for social or political advancement and to “protect” American culture from those whom they saw as “aliens” or outsiders. William Loren Katz has characterized these feelings: “Protestants felt trembling in facing newcomers they had not seen before. Crowded ghettos teamed with Catholic or Jewish immigrants talking strange languages. For these whites, the millions of Southern blacks who migrated into rundown neighborhoods, also symbolized urban life’s dangers and mysteries.”⁹ For five years, the Klan spread throughout America, practicing intolerance towards these Catholic, Jewish, or Eastern European immigrant populations streaming into America. Such groups were deemed as a threat to the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture that had ruled American society since its beginnings. Recruiters for the Klan, known as Kleagles, traveled around the nation gathering followers on the premise of the fraternity being “a crusader for law and order and the protector of virtuous womanhood and orthodox Protestant moral standards - abstinence from alcoholic beverages, premarital chastity, marital fidelity, and respect for parental authority,” per Klan historian Charles C. Alexander.¹⁰

⁹ William Loren Katz, *The Invisible Empire: the Ku Klux Klan Impact on History* (Washington, DC: Open Hand Pub, 1986), 68.

¹⁰ Charles C. Alexander, *Crusade for Conformity: the Ku Klux Klan in Texas, 1920-1930* (Houston, Tex.: Texas Gulf Coast Historical Association, 1962), 3. See also: Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City: 1915-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967); Kelly Baker, *Gospel According to the Klan: The KKK's Appeal to Protestant America, 1915-1930* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 2011); Nancy K. MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995); Rory McVeigh, *The Rise of the Ku Klux Klan: Right-Wing Movements and National Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); David Mark Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987); Thomas R. Pegram, *One Hundred Percent American: The Rebirth and Decline of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2011); and Richard K. Tucker, *The Dragon and the Cross: The Rise and Fall of the Ku Klux Klan in Middle America* (Hamden, Conn: Archon Books, 1991).

The Klan arrived in Texas in the fall of 1920 in Houston, then made its way into Dallas by the spring of 1921. The Klan gathered followers from the elite members of society, garnered political support, and by 1922 had won the local election in almost every office in Dallas. In doing so they removed from power the elite, self-interested businessmen, known as the Dallas County Citizens League, who had run the city, and the Dallas Citizens Association before it, since 1907.¹¹ By 1924, the Dallas Klan boasted a membership of 13,000, the highest Klan membership per capita in the nation, and there were 55 other Klan Chapters in the surrounding Dallas area (see Appendix C).¹² This was demonstrated at the Texas State Fair in October of 1923 where thousands of Klansmen and their families attended Klan Day, with the climax of the event being the initiation of 5,600 new members in a show of strength.¹³ African Americans bore the brunt of this power by being dehumanized as inferior, tortured on Dallas streets, whipped with the lash in the Trinity River bottoms, and lynched for reasons ranging from making a pass at a white women to being insufficiently obedient.¹⁴ To shroud the stain of violence and vigilantism brought on not only by their own actions but by constant attacks from local newspapers such as *The Dallas Morning News* and the *Dallas Dispatch*, the Dallas Klan did attempt charity work by donating to local churches, utilizing the city's welfare programs for the impoverished, and

¹¹ Kevin G. Portz, 2015. "Political Turmoil in Dallas: The Electoral Whipping of the Dallas County Citizens League by the Ku Klux Klan, 1922." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 119, no 2 (October 2015): 148.

¹² Alexander, *Crusade for Conformity: the Ku Klux Klan in Texas, 1920-1930*, 75. Estimates are given by Z.E. Marvin in the *New York Times* article "The Klan's Invisible Empire is Fading" on February 21, 1926. XXI. Marvin was a Dallas businessman and former Grand Titan of Province 2 for the State of Texas.

¹³ Official Souvenir of Klan Day at the State Fair of Texas Dallas, October 24, 1923. (Dallas, Texas: Standard American Publishing House, 1923), 13.

¹⁴ Michael Phillips, *White Metropolis: Race, Ethnicity, and Religion in Dallas, 1841-2001* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 77-79, 86.

supporting Hope Cottage, a local orphanage.¹⁵ Political loses in 1924 and 1926 along with infighting and stealing within the Klavern led to the demise of Dallas Klan No. 66 by 1929.

Historically, the Masonic leadership has stated that Freemasonry has had no connection with the Klan. In September of 1921 Andrew Randell, the Grand Master of Masons in Texas, issued a statement and made it clear that “Masonry is not responsible in the smallest degree for the Ku Klux Klan or any other non-Masonic organization.”¹⁶ Despite this official decree, an informal affiliation developed. This will be explored further in Chapters two and four. The potential overlap between these groups is not entirely surprising since the Klan’s founder, William Joseph Simmons, and his successor, Hiram Wesley Evans, were both active Freemasons and frequently used the fraternity as a means of increasing membership.¹⁷ As a result of successful Klan recruitment within Masonic lodges, the Klan was deceptively known in Masonic circles as the “militant side” of Freemasonry or just another appendant body, tainting the way the public perceived the fraternity.¹⁸ Analysis of local Klan documents by local historians like Mark Morris and Darwin Payne, and of Masonic documents by historian Miguel Hernandez and this study, has established and confirmed that most of the charter members of Dallas Klan No. 66 came from local Masonic lodges. As a result, Dallas Freemasonry became a central part of the initial membership successes of the Klan in Dallas in the 1920’s. Later, Klansmen would

¹⁵ Laura Lee Mohsene, “‘The Women---God Bless Them’: Dallas Women and the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s” (PhD diss., University of Texas at Dallas, 2011), 21.

¹⁶ Andrew L. Randell, *Grand Masters official communication to the Worshipful Masters, Wardens and Brethren of all Masonic Lodges in Texas, September 24, 1921*, Archives, Dallas Lodge No. 760, Dallas, Texas.

¹⁷ Kenneth Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City: 1915-1930*, 95; Rory McVeigh, *The Rise of the Ku Klux Klan: Right Wing Movements and National Politics*, 29; Lynn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture: 1880-1930*, 122; MacLean, Nancy K. *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995), 7; Charles C. Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest*, 94.

¹⁸ Zeke Starr Armstrong, Editorial, *Texas Freemason*, January 1926.

attempt to gain membership into the fraternity to boost their own reputation as they sought political office or attempted to legitimize their social standing as will be explored in Chapter 4. Masonic Lodges in Dallas would take a neutral position on dual membership as they competed, supported, and fought one of the most powerful Klaverns in the United States.

Unfortunately, there are no works of academic history concerned with Freemasonry in Dallas. Only a few local lodges have compiled histories of their own. These were usually written by an older member of the lodge with little or no research experience, making each history more documentary, using lodge minutes instead of analyzing its relationship with the city, members, or other lodges. Of the fourteen lodges examined in this study, fewer than half of them have compiled lodge histories over the years, Pentagon Lodge having the most thorough analysis. The Dallas Klan, by contrast, has been the subject of academic study since 1948. Historians have focused on explaining how the Dallas Klan came to power, identifying the social class of those who joined, analyzing the women of the WKKK, and examining how *The Dallas Morning News* fought the Klan using journalism to name some studies.¹⁹ Despite this scholarship, far fewer studies refer to crossover between Freemasonry and the Klan in general, and virtually none look in depth at Dallas. Most scholarship regarding dual membership has been conducted internationally or by Freemasons themselves. There seems to be a general lack of interest in the role of fraternities in American history. Although historians reference multiple fraternal

¹⁹ Lois E. Torrence, "The Ku Klux Klan in Dallas (1915-1928): An American Paradox," (MA Thesis, Southern Methodist University, 1948), 55-75; Mark Morris, "Saving Society Through Politics: The Ku Klux Klan in Dallas, Texas in the 1920's," (PhD diss., University of North Texas, 1997), 57-75; Mohsene, *The Women---God Bless Them: Dallas Women and the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s*, 329-332; Darwin Payne, "The *Dallas Morning News* and the Ku Klux Klan." *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* IX, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 16-27.

organizations in the association and solicitation of members for the Klan, analysis goes no further.

Historians, like Charles C. Alexander, Kenneth Jackson, and Darwin Payne have noted that the Masonic fraternity was targeted by the Klan for membership but there is no depth of study exploring the ties between the two. Harvey Graff described how the political scene throughout Dallas' history has shaped the city's concept of democracy, including Klan involvement in that process. He mentions important Masons by name only and makes no reference to their involvement in Freemasonry.²⁰ Patricia Hill identifies multiple interest groups and organizations that competed with local businesses for control of Dallas during the years before the Depression. She discusses the Klan; however, her analysis focuses on social and political issues and no ties to Freemasonry are made. Michael Phillips, author of *White Metropolis*, describes race relations in Dallas and mentions Freemasonry just once quoting David Leftkowitz, founder of Temple Emanu-El, stating that it "was on its way of kicking the Klan members totally out of its membership."²¹ Mark A. Tabbert, a Masonic scholar, dedicates about half a page to the subject, stating that the Klan "desired to acquire affluence and respectability by attempting to infiltrate Freemasonry." He cites David Chalmers' *Hooded Americanism* and Richard Tuckers' *The Dragon and the Cross* as evidence which both equally set aside dual membership as an issue.²² Lynn Dumenil refers to this link, generalizing about the connection by saying "Grand Masters...found it necessary to make statements either condemning the Ku Klux

²⁰ Harvey Graff, *The Dallas Myth*, 59, 288.

²¹ Michael Phillips, *White Metropolis*, 98. Evidence presented in Chapters 3 and 4 suggests this claim is not accurate.

²² David Mark Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 92-93, 127, 170; Richard K. Tucker, *The Dragon and the Cross: The Rise and Fall of the Ku Klux Klan in Middle America* (Hamden, Conn: Archon Books, 1991), 101, 126, 155.

Klan or denying Masonry's connection with it." Dumenil cites proceedings of Masonic Grand Lodges and newspapers as evidence without further analysis.²³ Thomas Pegram in his book, *One Hundred Percent American*, illustrates indications of the connection, stating that "Simmons himself, sought fellowship through simultaneous membership in several lodges...of the Masons, Elks, Odd Fellows, Red Men, and other fraternal clubs to draw attention to the Klan."²⁴ However, Pegram's references of Masonic ties to the Klan are likewise general and focus on the national Klan phenomenon, citing secondary sources such as Chalmers and Dumenil.

The bulk of dual membership scholarship on Freemasonry and the Klan has been conducted mainly by three fraternal scholars, two of them international. Miguel Hernandez and Kristofer Allerfeldt, both Fraternal Studies scholars from the University of Exeter, and Adam Kendall, a Past Master of Phoenix Lodge No. 144 in San Francisco, California, have explored this topic within the last seven years. Allerfeldt's work focuses on Freemasonry and the Klan in Kansas, and his research centers on fraternalism and examining the level of interaction between the two fraternities, namely the attitudes of one group towards the other. Using Masonic archival material and local newspapers, he illustrates how fraternalism was a key component in recruitment and describes the discord that occurred in both organizations due to recruitment and divisions over the creation of public policy, like education in Kansas.²⁵ Miguel Hernandez undertook a case study on dual membership in Masonic lodges in Anaheim, California, and Dallas, Texas. In chapters five and six of his dissertation, Hernandez discusses the Dallas Klan

²³ Lynn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture: 1880-1930* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1984), 123.

²⁴ Thomas R. Pegram, *One Hundred Percent American: The Rebirth and Decline of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2011), 9.

²⁵ Kristofer Allerfeldt, "Jayhawker Fraternities: Masons, Klansmen and Kansas in the 1920s." *Journal of American Studies* 46, no. 04 (November 2012): 1035-53.

and Freemasonry, though he utilizes mainly the secondary scholarship already described in addition to local newspapers. He analyzes dual membership in Dallas and Anaheim and discusses the differences between the two.²⁶ Hernandez did not have access to any local Masonic lodge archives in Texas when conducting his research, which was a serious limitation. The minutes and records of Masonic Lodges are private property and access is only granted by permission, which can be difficult to obtain.

This study will expand substantively upon Hernandez's research. The bulk of this study is statistical. After creating a list of dual members, this study will explore the minutes of the Masonic Lodges in Dallas allowing a glimpse at how often these men attended meetings and their level of participation within the lodges. Looking at the length of time these men were Masons or when they joined also provided insight into the level of infiltration the Klan attempted during the peak of their power, 1922-1924. This examination illuminates a part of Dallas history that has been virtually unknown.

Chapter One will begin with a glimpse into Dallas Freemasonry before the Klan enters the city as a viable fraternal organization. It will examine fraternalism and other ideologies that made Freemasonry a target for Klan recruitment as well as the methods they used. The second chapter will discuss how the Klan affected Texas Freemasonry and the Grand Masters' inability to curb Klan influence due to the overwhelming support for it. It will also analyze the Dallas Masonic lodges' response to the Grand Master's statement. Chapter Three will focus on how the dual membership lists were created. The analysis of three lists, the circumstances surrounding

²⁶ Miguel Hernandez, "Fighting Fraternities: The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920's America" (PhD diss., University of Exeter, 2015). 222-263.

them, and their data expands on Dr. Hernandez's work and offers a much more detailed analysis into the world of dual membership in Dallas. Using Masonic rosters and the lists, a dual membership record was created, and it permits a more detailed examination of their dealings inside Masonic lodges. Chapter Four analyzes the minutes of Dallas Lodges and studies the members in a lodge setting, offering a unique perspective on dual member activities. Chapter Four primarily focuses on two men, Hiram Wesley Evans and Zebina Earl Marvin. These men were influential members of the community and the Masonic fraternity who became dual members to further their unique sociopolitical agendas. It will explore their Masonic membership and its relationship to the Klan. This chapter will also look at examples of competition and Americanism inside the lodges, which will illustrate that the move from the Klan to Freemasonry or vice versa was not a difficult one. The final chapter will examine what these dual members were doing as the Klan collapsed in Dallas around 1925-26 and beyond. It will also illustrate that the motive for Masons to join the Klan varied individually. Finally, it will suggest the studies that remain to be conducted.

The Klan was a parasite to fraternal organizations across the nation. It imbibed the essence of all that was good of the Masonic fraternity including its rituals, philosophies, and its members. The informal affiliation of the two organizations is important to understand because by associating itself with Freemasonry, the Klan was attempting to legitimize itself as a reputable fraternity. The cultural and social beliefs of the time, like Americanism, law enforcement, and Protestantism which so permeated Masonic Lodges was appropriated and used to build Klan membership across the country. More than likely the Klan would have been another "good ol' boys" club if it were not for the Klan Propagation Department and its aggressive and successful

recruitment schemes inside the Masonic lodges to, as Hernandez puts it, “transfer the Craft’s respectability, prestige, success and heritage to the Klan.”²⁷ Dallas was the same as any other urban area in the nation and suffered the Klan all the same. However, Dallas was the stronghold of Freemasonry in Texas during the 20’s. During the height of the Klan, 1921-1926, three Grand Masters came from in and around the Dallas area. This focus of power, can be argued, is a reason why the Klan was so successful there more than any other city in the nation because of the ease of access to not only the local lodge leadership but the Grand Lodge leadership as well.

It is the hope of the author that this study will add not only to the history of the City of Dallas but also to the fraternity of Freemasonry. There was not a lodge in the nation untouched by the Klan. It is important to note that the fraternity’s stance on the Klan issue publicly and privately in Dallas were two different things. This study will illustrate and highlight that difference.

²⁷ Miguel Hernandez, *Fighting Fraternities*, 134.

CHAPTER 1

DALLAS FREEMASONRY AND FRATERNALISM ON THE EVE OF THE KLAN

“[T]here is a common American trait possessed by the white man and the negro, the Jew and the Gentile, the Catholic and the Protestant, the native and the foreign-born-in fact by every conceivable group of the males of the United States. They are all ‘joiners’!”

—Henry P. Fry, *The Modern Ku Klux Klan*, 1922.²⁸

When John Neely Bryan helped establish Dallas County in 1846, Freemasonry’s arrival was not far behind. The property for the new Masonic lodge was purchased from Bryan for a sum of forty dollars and situated at Carondelet and Houston Streets. That lodge opened its doors on May 11, 1848, with six members and was named Tannehill Lodge No. 52 after Wilkins Tannehill, Mayor of Nashville from 1825-27 and Grand Master of Freemasons in the State of Tennessee.²⁹ The building was two stories tall, with a church and a school occupying the first floor and the lodge the second. Over the years the lodge moved from place to place to accommodate more members and utilize more space but, interestingly, their building became the home of other fraternal and sororal organizations attempting to gain a foothold in Dallas as they built their memberships. Organizations such as the Young Men’s Division of the Sons of Temperance, Dallas Lodge No. 44 of the International Order of the Odd Fellows in 1854, the Good Samaritans and Daughters of Samaria in 1855, and finally other Masonic appendant bodies such as the Shriners, the Scottish Rite, and the Order of the Eastern Star all called Tannehill Lodge home at one point.³⁰ By 1890, Tannehill Lodge had 185 members, was 46 years old, and

²⁸ Fry, Henry P. *The Modern Ku Klux Klan*. (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1922), 1.

²⁹ David C. McCord, *Location of The First Lodge Home Owned by Tannehill Lodge No. 52, A.F. and A.M. (Dallas, TX: 1949)*, 2; Information on Wilkins Tannehill can be found on page 222.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 7.

had recently approved the petition of a second Masonic lodge to be chartered in Dallas, Oak Cliff Lodge No. 705. According to its lodge history, written by Past Master, or previous lodge president, David C. McCord in 1949, Tannehill's membership and its leadership were mostly civic leaders. During its first 30 years, its membership included, three Mayors, District Clerks, two City Treasurers, the owner of the *Dallas Times Herald*, two District Attorneys, three ministers, two Aldermans, a lawyer, two County Judges, a representative of Dallas County, a banker, a tinner, a butcher, a Deputy Sheriff, and a Texas State Senator.³¹

In addition to the "Who's Who" of the lodge, McCord writes about the lodges' origins, its role in helping charter other lodges, and the financial issues Tannehill shared with other Masonic lodges in finding property, building on it, and maintaining a hall for Freemasonry. McCord also offers a description of what every Master of the lodge, or leader, did during their year as Master either in the community or within the fraternity. McCord was the Dallas City Building Inspector from 1919-1925 as well as the lodge Historian.³² The sizeable number of pages in the lodge history dedicated to building issues should then come as no surprise. McCord indicates that Tannehill Lodge was very active in the community. The membership was responsible for one of the first cemeteries in Dallas, Tannehill No. 52 Masonic Cemetery, now known as Dallas Pioneer Cemetery (by the Dallas Convention Center) established in 1854. Tannehill's members laid the cornerstone for the County Courthouse in 1856, the First Methodist Church on Commerce Street and Prather in 1886, the Confederate Monument at Pioneer Park

³¹ David C. McCord, *Location of The First Lodge Home Owned by Tannehill Lodge No. 52, A.F. and A.M.*, 54-147.

³² D.C. McCord was not only the city inspector for Dallas, he was also a very active Freemason and the Vice President of the Klan in 1922. He would testify as to the Klan involvement with the election of Earl B. Mayfield to the U.S. Senate in 1925 to the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections. This document provides much insight to Klan dealings in Dallas. It is interesting to note that Tannehill Lodges' 100-year history was written by a top-level Klansmen. McCord's dual membership should be the subject of future study.

Cemetery in 1896 and Temple Emanu-El in 1899. Tannehill Lodge also deeded a park to the City of Dallas on South Ervay Street in 1886, donated \$300 to victims of the Galveston Hurricane in 1900-01, and assisted in building the Masonic Temple at Main and Pearl Streets in 1914, which is still there today but is no longer used for Masonic purposes.³³ In 1923, Tannehill also helped create a Relief Board for Masons in distress for all Masonic appendant bodies in Dallas like the Scottish and York Rites and the Shrine. Each body contributed six cents per capita of their membership to assist brothers in any kind of need.³⁴

By 1920 Tannehill Lodge was 72 years old, had helped in the formation of five other Masonic lodges, and had its largest membership to date, 842 members by June of that year. It also contributed two of its Past Masters to the new Masonic Temple Corporation, which was officially organized on March 2, 1920.³⁵ Freemasonry in Dallas had an explosive membership increase during the 1920's as indicated by *Table 1.1*. The table is organized by lodge from oldest to most recent during the years indicated. Oak Cliff Lodge No. 705 has an unusually high membership with over a thousand in 1920. Although the lodge housed many professional members, the bulk of its membership appears to be middle-to lower-middle class. Oak Cliff

³³ "To Lay the Cornerstone," *Dallas Morning News*, June 10, 1886, 8; David C. McCord, *Location of The First Lodge Home Owned by Tannehill Lodge No. 52, A.F. and A.M.*, 190. Information on the Masonic and Odd Fellows Cemetery in Dallas, 28-40.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 248, 278.

³⁵ David C. McCord, *Location of The First Lodge Home Owned by Tannehill Lodge No. 52, A.F. and A.M.* (Dallas, TX: 1949), 24-25. The Masonic Temple Corporation had Sam P. Cochran as its President, E.M. Kahn as Vice President, Louis Blaylock as Treasurer, and H.L. Peoples as Secretary. The charter of the Corporation stated that its purpose was "the erection of a building, not for profit, but for the use and benefit of such of the various Masonic Bodies and Lodges of Dallas as may become stockholders and joint owners, and for the free use of visiting Masonic Bodies, and for the promotion of charitable and educational activities of the Bodies." The signers of the Charter were Sam P. Cochran, Louis Blaylock, Elihu M. Kahn, Fred H. Alexander, Joseph E. Cockrell, Hiram Wesley Evans, H.L. Peoples, Mike H. Thomas and Alex D. Fraser. All signers of the Charter were prestigious and highly decorated Masons. It was necessary for the group to locate and assess finances to build a new temple in which to house the growing Dallas Masonic membership after the failure to secure financing for the Temple at Main and Pearl Streets.

Table 1.1: Membership Numbers for Dallas Masonic Lodges 1920-1926³⁶

Masonic Lodges	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926
Tannehill Lodge No. 52	842	956	1,045	1,111	1,194	1,234	1,315
Oak Cliff Lodge No. 705	1,016	1,584	1,752	1,916	2,059	2,157	2,322
Dallas Lodge No. 760	788	900	940	956	994	992	1,042
Trinity Valley Lodge No.1048	441	587	644	706	759	746	800
Pentagon Lodge No. 1080	563	677	752	767	776	797	867
Washington Lodge No. 1117	443	583	676	732	801	819	893
Keystone Lodge No. 1143	-	189	277	322	360	365	390
Highland Park Lodge No. 1150	-	-	146	181	249	281	325
Landmark Lodge No. 1168	-	-	184	227	257	293	349
R.C. Buckner Lodge No. 1176	-	-	57	84	103	117	136
Gibraltar Lodge No. 1179	-	-	133	192	253	330	403
Metropolitan Lodge No. 1182	-	-	126	194	305	359	427
John G. Slayter Lodge No. 1198	-	-	-	97	135	161	192
East Dallas Lodge No. 1200	-	-	-	155	190	215	238
A.C. Garrett Lodge No. 1216	-	-	-	-	-	157	236
Total Membership	4,093	5,476	6,732	7,640	8,435	9,023	9,935

Lodge’s history boasts of a membership including “a lightning rod salesman... a brick mason... merchants, teachers, engineers, doctors, soldiers, industrial leaders and men from a wide field of vocations, trades and professions.”³⁷ This would explain its large numbers; Oak Cliff was losing its position as a place of prominence within the city yet many middle-class individuals still called Oak Cliff home. The up-and-coming neighborhoods of Turtle Creek and East Dallas were emerging as places of prominence and housed many leaders of the Klan and Freemasonry respectively. Therefore, lodges like Pentagon, Dallas, and Tannehill bred the majority of Klan leadership while Oak Cliff Lodge bred its members. In 1920, Texas had a Masonic membership

³⁶ Information can be found in the *Grand Lodge of Texas Proceedings*, Rosters section, for the years 1920-1926.

³⁷ *History of Oak Cliff Lodge No. 705 Ancient Free and Accepted Masons*, June 1951. 12.

of 94,218 and Dallas had seven lodges with a membership of 4,093.³⁸ Dallas thus made up 4.3% of the Texas Masonic membership. By 1926, Dallas Masonic membership had doubled. Not one lodge ever had any significant loss in membership from one year to the next during this period. This was the largest explosion of membership in Dallas fraternal history up to that point.

Why the sudden increase in membership? Many people joined organizations and clubs for a variety of reasons. The elite women of Dallas in the early 20th century joined together to enact social change, a subject the economic-minded leaders of Dallas tended to ignore. Their efforts helped establish libraries, city parks, and water treatment facilities.³⁹ Labor unions were created by workers to also enact change in their occupations like better working conditions and higher wages. Still others joined fraternal organizations out of familial obligations, for networking, or to enhance their professions. Once they were in, what kept them there? Mark Tabbert stated that three reasons explain the increase: “business and professional networking, family tradition and youth organizations, and community service and charitable activities.”⁴⁰ Publicly, the Freemasons of Dallas offered charity-minded programs like donating to the Community Chest for the impoverished of the city and they helped raise money to build the Hella Shrine Hospital for Crippled Children.⁴¹ Upon examination of the membership records and

³⁸Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Texas, *Proceedings of the Eighty-Fifth Annual Communication of the M.W. Grand Lodge of Texas: Held in the City of Waco, commencing on the First Tuesday in December A.D. 1920 :: A.L. 5920; Ordered to Be Read in All the Lodges of This Jurisdiction for the Information of the Brethren* (Houston, Texas: The Hercules Printing & Book Co., 1920), 269. Keystone Lodge is missing from this list because it was formed on July 21 of that year and was too late in getting their membership rosters turned in to the Grand Lodge for record keeping.

³⁹ Patricia Evridge Hill, *Dallas: The Making of a Modern City* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 2-3.

⁴⁰ Mark A. Tabbert, *American Freemasons: Three Centuries of Building Communities* (Lexington, MA: National Heritage Museum, 2005), 162.

⁴¹ Called Meeting, September 27th, 1920, Minutes, Washington Lodge No. 1117, Dallas, Texas; Called Meeting, October 28, 1924, Minutes, Gibraltar Lodge No. 1179, Dallas, Texas; Called Meeting, October 28, 1924, Minutes, East Dallas Lodge No. 1200, Dallas, Texas.

rosters of Masonic lodges, familial ties are easily identifiable with multiple columns of similar last names. A son joining the lodge of his father was a way for the two to share an experience that united them not only in the bond between father and son but enhanced it by a fraternal tie of becoming fraternal brothers.

Privately, fraternalism meant people of a like mind could come together in a non-threatening environment and contribute to each other or society in a way they felt expressed their own beliefs. The public side of fraternalism is best explained by Lynn Dumenil in her book, *Freemasonry and American Culture*. She suggests that “Masonry offered prestige and status to those men who combined success and virtue.”⁴² The prestige of Freemasonry was still in use in the Dallas Police Department as late as the 1960’s. A retired Dallas police officer recalled his experience with Masons on the force recalling that they would be hired because of the expectations Masonry established for honesty and trust. He explained further: “By hiring a Mason there was no question of his integrity, honesty, or morality and you knew exactly what kind of officer you would get.”⁴³ He also explained that if an officer desired a transfer, promotion or a raise, being a Mason helped for like reasons. This practice began its decline in the 1950’s and 60’s after the city hired Chiefs, Mayors, and other high-ranking officials who were non-Masons; a trickle-down effect began, making Masonic affiliation obsolete. One of the principles of Freemasonry is to take good men and makes them better. The philosophy of Masonry teaches initiates (through the degrees) that morality and virtue are tied with success in the “profane,” or outside world. When respectable city leaders, religious figures, or top

⁴² Lynn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture: 1880-1930* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1984), 101.

⁴³ Interview with a retired Dallas police officer and Mason, August 1, 2017. This interview was confidential; the name of the interviewee is withheld by agreement.

executives of local businesses were found in the lodges, what better way to enhance an individual reputation and social status by becoming a Mason. When a man joined the lodge where a well-known figure was a member, observing his actions created a sense of envy and a desire to duplicate that action creating a metaphorical hero for that Mason. Mason and Masonic author Robert G. Davis describes in his book, *Understanding Manhood in America*, that “a hero provides the road map which can be our own rite of passage to self-improvement. We need only to reflect on his journey, and come to know that his adventures give us the means for understanding and benefitting from our very own.”⁴⁴ Davis goes on to say that the shared experience in the lodge gives us an “ability to present our lives before others and communicate our experiences with them enables us to accept their influence over how we see the world, or problem, in the here and now. When we can tap into other people’s realities, we are also tapping into archetypes which enable us to live in an entirely different story.”⁴⁵ Much like war creates a shared bond between men who would not ordinarily associate with each other, ritual in fraternities and sororities create a shared experience with someone outside their socioeconomic level as Kathleen Blee and Amy McDowell argue.⁴⁶ It was then, and still is today, that these tenets that made the Masons attractive, both to the sincere as well as to those who would take advantage of their membership.

No Mason in Dallas better embodies Davis’ definition of hero during the 1920’s than Samuel Poyntz Cochran. Labeled as the “Statesman of Masonry” by *The Dallas Morning News*,

⁴⁴ Robert G. Davis, *Understanding Manhood in America: Freemasonry’s Enduring Path to the Mature Masculine* (Lancaster, Virginia: Anchor Communications LLC, 2005), 53.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 54.

⁴⁶ Kathleen Blee and Amy McDowell, “The Duality of spectacle and secrecy: a case study of fraternalism in the 1920’s US Ku Klux Klan,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 36, No. 2 (May 2012): 251.

Sam P. Cochran was a world-renowned Mason who served as a representative of several nations in the Scottish Rite, an appendant body of Freemasonry, including Greece, France, and Chile, himself being a 33^o Scottish Rite Mason. Throughout his Masonic career, he led every major Masonic body including being a Past Grand Master, Past Grand Inspector General of Texas for the Southern Jurisdiction of the Scottish Rite, Past Grand High Priest of Texas Royal Arch Masons, Past Grand Master of Texas Royal and Select Masters, Grand Sovereign of the Red Cross of Constantine, Past Potentate of Hella Shrine, and Provincial Grand Master of the Royal Order of Scotland for the United States just to name a few. Publicly he was a successful insurance broker with his business, Trezevant & Cochran. He spent much of his free time as a dedicated civic leader. He was a regent of the University of Texas and a member of the Park Board for Dallas. He served as a director for the First National Bank in Dallas and the Dallas Railway and Terminal Company. He was also the President of the Scottish Rite Hospital for Children and Texas Scottish Rite Educational Association which built the dormitory for girls at the University of Texas in Austin.⁴⁷ Not once did he seek political office. Instead, he devoted his time to the benefit of and charity for others, his city, and the enhancement of his beloved fraternity. He was the installing Master at almost every charter ceremony for every new Masonic lodge in Dallas during the 1920's. Whenever he attended a lodge meeting there were always one hundred or more people who attended, and he was always given high honors.⁴⁸ He was the symbol of what Masonry was, is, and ought to be. For Masons, attending a meeting where

⁴⁷ "S.P. Cochran, Stateman of Masonry, Dies," *Dallas Morning News*, February 12, 1936. 1, 7.

⁴⁸ Called Meeting, September 10, 1920, Archives, Minutes of Dallas Lodge No. 760, Dallas, Texas. There were 100 people in attendance with Sam P. Cochran at this meeting; Called Meeting, May 21, 1921, Archives, Minutes of Dallas Lodge No. 760, Dallas, Texas. There were 191 people in attendance with Cochran at this meeting; Called Meeting, January 18, 1921, Archives, Minutes of Trinity Valley Lodge No. 1048, Dallas, Texas. There were 171 people with Cochran at this meeting. There are many other examples but they are too numerous to cite here.

Cochran appeared meant associating with greatness, increasing status, and perhaps learning how to be a great man. Men need to have examples of greatness to follow to achieve success. One place a man could accomplish this was in a fraternal organization.

Freemasonry was exploding during this period not only in Dallas but throughout the nation with an unprecedented 2.8 million memberships.⁴⁹ Clubs and fraternal and sororal organizations were popping up everywhere throughout the United States during the 1920s. John F. Worley Directory Companies' *Dallas City Directory of 1920* confirmed 43 "charitable, benevolent and fraternal organizations" in Dallas. The top three fraternal organizations in the city were the Freemasons with 26 lodges and other Masonic organizational bodies, The International Order of the Oddfellows and "Hebrew" organizations tied for second with 8 lodges a piece, while the Woodmen of the World came in third with 6 lodges. The *Directory* had a separate category titled "Clubs, Societies and Organizations" which listed an overwhelming 199 bodies.⁵⁰ It appears that, at the time, society saw clubs and fraternal organizations differently. The prestige that came with being a member in a fraternal organization may have been the difference. Competition for members was undoubtedly fierce. However, Freemasonry was sticking to the traditional sacred values of "speculative Masonry," or spiritual building through rituals and practices it had always relied upon, such as taking a neutral stance on political issues, patriotism, and duty to God, nation, neighbor and self.⁵¹ It offered brotherhood, charitable opportunities, and play to its members who could afford it, creating a class-based organization and limiting

⁴⁹ Miguel Hernandez, "The Gilded Age of Fraternalism: Brotherhood and Modernism in 1920's America," *Journal for Research into Freemasonry and Fraternalism* 5, No. 2 (2014): 211.

⁵⁰ *Dallas City Directory 1921* (Dallas, Texas: John F. Worley Directory Company), 45-49.

⁵¹ William M. Taylor, *The Taylor-Hamilton Monitor of Symbolic Masonry* (Houston: W.H Coyle & Company, 1908), 254; James Anderson, *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons. Containing the History, Charges, Regulations, &c. of that most Ancient and Right Worshipful FRATERNITY* (London: 1734), 53.

who could join. The more appendant bodies a Mason joined, the more money they had to earn. The more prestigious groups, like the Shriners, had an initiation fee of \$50 in 1911 which is the equivalent to almost \$1,250 today.⁵² Newer organizations created competition by offering benefits the Freemasons could not compete with. Organizations like the Rotary, Lions, and Kiwanis Clubs, labeled mutual benefit organizations, offered meeting hours during lunch (to not take up evening hours as a Masonic lodge did), economic networking, and insurance. Freemasonry had to compete. By the end of World War I, business-minded Masons created new Masonic clubs like the “Square and Compass Club” and the “High Twelve Club” which operated much like the mutual benefit organizations previously mentioned.⁵³ These new kinds of Freemasonic organizations became extremely popular and created a new kind of Mason, the civic-minded, community-oriented, business professional. These men wanted to take the old tenants of Freemasonry, apply it to society, and bring the fraternity in line with other mutual benefit organizations creating a new “Operative Masonry,” one that was directly involved in business, politics, city planning, and society to bring morality and virtue to the people directly. By the 1920’s, Masonry changed its focus; it embraced the morals and virtues it had always taught in its rituals but now combined those with good business and Americanism, or nationalism, as providing a service to society. Dumenil points out that, as Masonry taught self-improvement to make good men better, the fundamental shift from sacred to secular values taught new Masons that “the occupational specialization in Masonry reflects the increasing role one’s job could play in organizing one’s life.”⁵⁴ Because many civic leaders were Masons, as

⁵² Initiation fee based on the dues records of Z.E. Marvin and Hiram Wesley Evans Shrine files at Hella Shrine.

⁵³ Mark Tabbert, *American Freemasons*, 167.

⁵⁴ Lynn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture*, 207-09.

they had always been, it became necessary to be a Mason to advance oneself in socioeconomic circles and the best place to network for corporate advancement was the Masonic lodge. This would be demonstrated by a distinguished Dallas Mason and business leader, Hiram Wesley Evans, when he became president of the Union Publishing Co. in September of 1919, remaining in the position until he moved to Atlanta in 1922. This company was famous for producing the decades-old periodical known as *The Texas Freemason* that kept subscribers up to date with Masonic events, educational lectures, and the politics of the Grand Lodge of Texas.⁵⁵ The Masonic fraternity had always been a cornerstone of virtue and morality in American life in secret but now it would embrace the “profane” world and impart the same on the consumerism boom of the Roaring 20s.

By the 1920s, other Masonic appendant bodies like the Scottish Rite, Chapter, Council, Commandery and the Shriners was reserved for the upper-class Mason. Access was based primarily on the amount of money a man made. If a Mason could afford the initiation fee, it was easy to attend a Shrine meeting and see the elite of society represented in Dallas Judge Towne Young, insurance giant Sam P. Cochran, department store giants the Sanger and Kahn brothers, Police Commissioner and future Dallas mayor Louis Blaylock, and many others. These men were constantly advancing the interests of the fraternity through charity, politics, economics, and other various civic relationships.⁵⁶ The Shrine, created in 1870, embraced the new Freemasonry and provided a venue of entertainment where the elite could play, interact, and above all, dedicate themselves to community service. The Shrine also provided a benefit fund which acted

⁵⁵ Lois E. Torrence, *The Ku Klux Klan in Dallas (1915-1928): An American Paradox* (Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University, 1948), 54.

⁵⁶ To learn more about how active in the community and the fraternity these men were involved, see the Hella Shrine newsletter, the *Camels Calf* between 1920 and 1922 at the Hella Temple Archives in Garland, Texas.

as life insurance for its members. Upon their death, beneficiaries would receive one dollar for every member in good standing not to exceed \$500. Masonry was finally competing with other organizations. To achieve this benefit, a man had to be a Master Mason at his local lodge, meaning he would be initiated and complete the three degrees of blue lodge Masonry. Once accomplished, he would then join the Scottish Rite, an appendant body of Freemasonry, to go through the fourth through thirty-second degree and become a Scottish Rite Mason. Only after this could he join the Shrine. A Mason had to be able to continuously pay his dues for the blue lodge, Scottish Rite, and the Shrine which, for some, would be a substantial amount of money, creating a club specific to the upper-class. Because of the \$25 initiation fee and \$5 dues of Hella Shrine in Dallas, they accomplished great achievements for its 7,000 members and for the city. Meanwhile, Freemasonry continued to grow. In November of 1920, Hella Shrine was in the process of expanding its building for a larger membership and the Dallas Scottish Rite spent \$25,000 on a statue of Sam P. Cochran to honor his long Masonic exploits.⁵⁷ The extraordinary efforts of Dallas Freemasonry and Hella Shrine were rewarded when Dallas was chosen as the host for the International Shrine Directors Convention in April of 1921. It meant that Dallas was quickly becoming competitive for big fraternal events and the directors of Hella Shrine made all attempts to make it unforgettable.

The Shrine Directors Association Convention would become the platform the Dallas Klan would use to recruit the elite of Dallas society into its ranks and April 7, 1921, was an anxiously awaited moment for them and the Shriners in the City of Dallas. For three days, the

⁵⁷ Mintz, Asher. "Ground to be Broken for New Scottish Rite Building – Statue of Brother Sam P. Cochran to be Unveiled." *Camels Calf* (Dallas, TX: November 1920): 3-4. Texas Governor William P. Hobby and several U.S. Senators were in attendance of this statue unveiling.

National Shrine Directors Association would have a grand convention, grabbing the attention of not only local Masons but the whole nation. Hundreds of men of Shrine leadership arrived from places like Sioux City, Kansas City, Canada, Maine, and Seattle. In Dallas, the Hella Shrine leadership was responsible for organizing the convention such as James E. Forrest, President of the Shine Directors Association of North America, Walter C. Temple, Potentate, or president of Hella Shrine, Mike H. Thomas, Past Potentate, Grand Senior Warden of the Grand Lodge of Texas and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Convention, and Hiram Wesley Evans, Chairman of the Entertainment Committee. Two of these men would be directly or indirectly related to the Klan soon. The purpose of the convention was to create new ideas for the ceremonies that are presented to initiate new members into the Shrine. This convention was an exclusive event. According to *The Dallas Morning News*, and the *Camels Calf*, the Shrine newsletter, the meeting was not open to general Shrine members but to the leadership of the organization only.⁵⁸

Since dual members were Shriners also, it is important to understand how much money, pomp and circumstance, and drama went into wooing these men into the Klan and the leaders organized the convention into a business meeting in true Shrine fashion. It began with a parade with the Hella Temple band in procession then marched to the Dallas Scottish Rite Cathedral at Young and Harwood Streets for the meeting. Local members of Hella Shrine were in attendance such as Sam P. Cochran, Past Grand Master of Masons in Texas, Tom L. Monagan, Executive Secretary for the Dallas Athletic Club, John L. DeGrazier, President of a wholesale jewelry company, Bishop Alexander C. Garrett, Fergus D. Thomas, Fire Commissioner and brother of

⁵⁸ "Shrine Directors to Meet in Dallas April 7-9," *Dallas Morning News*, January 30, 1921. 8.

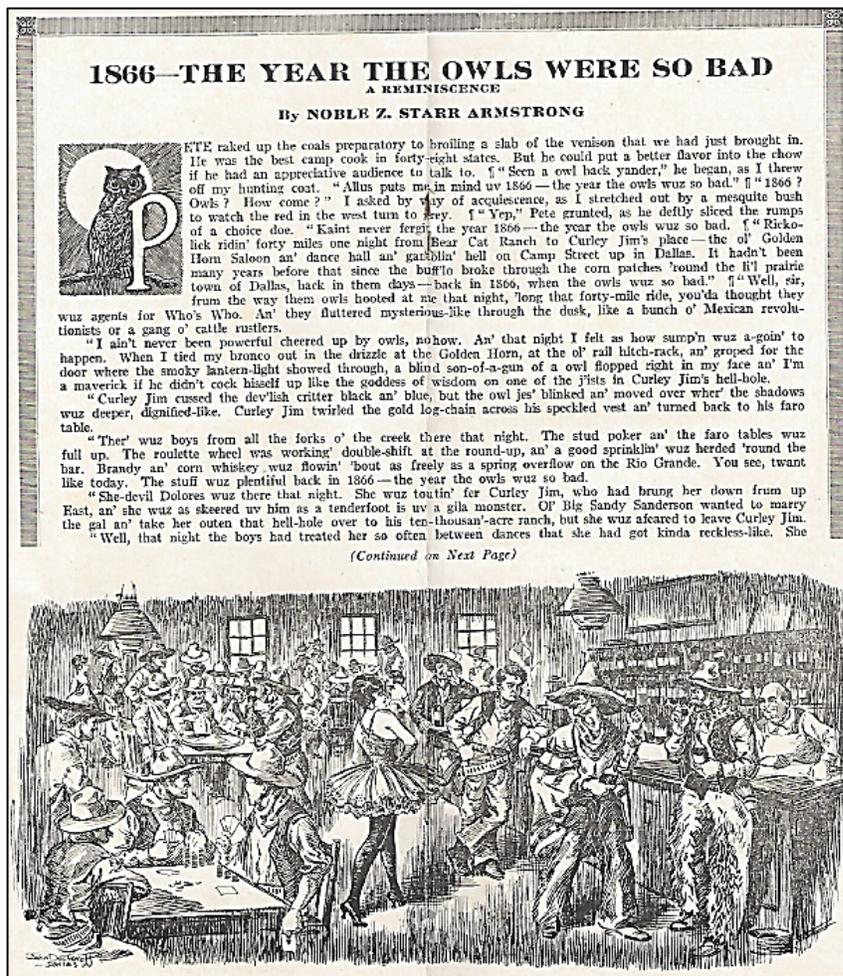


Figure 1.1: Program for Klan recruitment play at the Shrine Convention April 8, 1921⁵⁹

Mike H. Thomas, two of these men would also become dual members. The wives of the visiting directors had lunch at the Oriental Hotel while the directors themselves ate at the Cathedral. Dinner on the first night consisted of caviar, new potatoes, filet mignon, fruit salad,

⁵⁹ Asher Mintz, *Shrine Directors Association of North America, In Its Third Annual Session, Dallas, April 7, 8, 9, 1921* (Dallas, TX: April 1921), 14-15.

strawberry shortcake, coffee, cigars and cigarettes at the end of the evening.⁶⁰ It was a night fit for the elite of society. Three days of festivities would include lunch at the distinguished Dallas Country Club, dinner at the Adolphus, an automobile drive for the ladies, and a theatre party at the Dallas Automobile Country Club to finish up the festivities.

The theater party was organized by Hiram Wesley Evans, the Chairman of the Entertainment Committee and Exalted Cyclops of the Dallas Chapter of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. He would help produce a play that appears to have been the vehicle for Klan recruitment, at least in Texas. The theme of the play was set in Texas and titled “1866 - THE YEAR THE OWLS WERE SO BAD.”⁶¹ The play is a reminiscence of Dallas in the year 1866 (*Figure 1.1*). It is a story of morality over jealousy of another man’s woman that ends with the death of the saloon keeper by a deflected bullet from an “owl.” The owls in the story are referred to as “agents for Who’s Who...mysterious like... [and] where the shadows wuz deeper, dignified-like.”⁶² It could be argued that the owls in the shadows are a representation of Klansmen, especially since they operated in the shadows, mainly nighttime vigilantism. *The Dallas Morning News* mentioned that this play was the “advertising vehicle for the Ku Klux Klan” in an article in September of 1921, when the scheme was finally revealed.⁶³ The *News*’ claims about the play being an advertisement for Klan membership appeared to be justified

⁶⁰ Dinner program for evening on April 7th, 1921 at the Scottish Rite Cathedral. “The Other End of the Rope” was the theme for the evening. The menu and entertainment for the first night of the Shrine Convention is listed in the program.

⁶¹ “Stage is Set for Shrine Convention,” *Dallas Morning News*, April 6, 1921. 13; “Shrine Directors Down to Business,” *Dallas Morning News*, April 7, 1921. 11; “Banquet Given to Visiting Shriners,” *Dallas Morning News*, April 8, 1921. 9; “Shrine Directors Pleased with Visit,” *Dallas Morning News*, April 9, 1921. 16.

⁶² *Ibid*, 14-16.

⁶³ “World Reviews Tactics of Klan,” *Dallas Morning News*, September 22, 1921. 1.

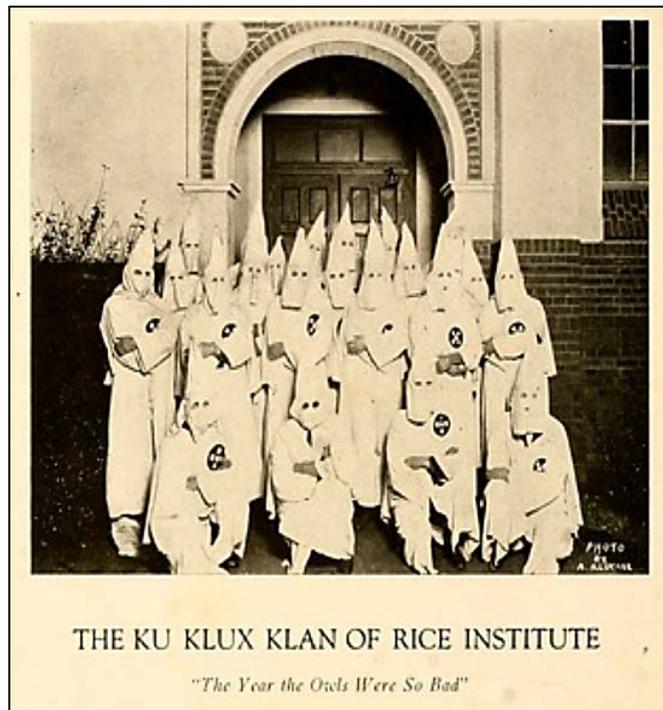


Figure 1.2: Rice University Yearbook – Class of 1922⁶⁴

when, in 1922, the student body at Rice University in Houston published their yearbook with the photo seen in *Figure 1.2*.

The incorporation of the phrase “The Year the Owls Were So Bad” into the photo would indicate that not only was the play not limited to the Dallas area but that the Klan was using a method Masonic lodges employed in its degree rituals to convey philosophies and symbolism to its candidates, the morality play. Little did the attendees of the theatrics at the Dallas Automobile Country Club realize that they were being solicited by Hiram Wesley Evans to join the Ku Klux Klan.

⁶⁴ Rice University, *Nineteen twenty-two's Campanile Being The Annual Of Rice Students Volume Seven* (Houston, TX: Rein Printing Company, 1922), 184.

Freemasonry had been an integral part of Dallas since 1849; helping establish the first schools, supplying the home for the development of other organizations, establishing the foundation of civic centers such as the courthouse, city parks, and cemeteries. It would boast a membership of upper - and middle-class members who all came together to develop the City of Dallas into an urban center of wealth and prestige. By 1920 Dallas Freemasonic membership was growing and included an impressive list of “Who’s Who” in its association. Growing changes within the fraternity nationally towards greater participation in community, business, and politics sparked a wave of men to join to reap the benefits of connecting themselves with some of the most powerful men in the cities, adding prestige through such an association. The United States was witnessing a boost in nationalism as well as xenophobia. The end of World War I saw a wave of patriotism flood the country because of its victory. Fear of immigrants was also due to the large numbers coming to the nation to escape the destruction the war had caused as well as due to the spread of Bolshevism after the Russian Revolution towards the end of the war. Communism, immigrants, and rapid changes from America’s rural past to an urban future also brought much uncertainty for many Americans. Fraternal organizations became a haven for men seeking an outlet for this frustration as well as wishing to consort with men of like mind. Freemasonry being the oldest and most respected fraternity in the world, the men running it in Dallas would use this prestige to build a larger membership, aid in the social welfare of the city, and make it a premier city for fraternal events. Little did they know that the Ku Klux Klan was new to the city and would attempt to duplicate masonic these goals but use the exclusivity and prestige of Freemasonry as its vehicle for respectability and recruitment.

CHAPTER 2

THE GRAND MASTER'S MESSAGE AND THE VOTE

“[M]y sense of duty compels me to remind you that neither the Ku Klux Klan nor any other order or organization is Masonic unless recognized as such by proper Grand Lodge authority. *Nor will the tying of the Ku Klux Klan to Masonry by claims of Masonic membership be permitted or tolerated for one moment.*”

—Andrew Randell, Grand Master of Masons in Texas, *Letter to all Masonic Lodges in Texas*, September 24th, 1921.⁶⁵

The Klan spread quickly throughout the state of Texas to the alarm of many. First establishing itself in Houston on October 9, 1920, with Sam Houston Klavern No. 1, the Klan announced its appearance on the Houston scene as it did everywhere else, by torchlit parade. Once the Klan gained a foothold in a city, it quickly solicited Masonic membership throughout the state. Historians offer four claims for why the Klan solicited Freemasonry. First, Charles Alexander and Kenneth Jackson both establish that William J. Simmons, the founder and Imperial Wizard of the Klan, was a Mason as well as a member of many other fraternal organizations, linking him directly with the Masonic fraternity and giving him a working knowledge of its principles and tenants, administration and operations, and the disposition of the membership.⁶⁶ Secondly, Mark Tabbert suggests that the purpose of recruitment was to enlist reputable men to “gain affluence and respectability.”⁶⁷ This would legitimize the Klan due to the

⁶⁵ Randell, Andrew L., *The M.W. Grand Lodge of Texas. Grand Masters official communication to the Worshipful Masters, Wardens and Brethren of all Masonic Lodges in Texas, September 24, 1921*. Minutes of Dallas Lodge No. 760, October 14, 1921.

⁶⁶ Charles Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 3; Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City: 1915-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 29.

⁶⁷ Mark A. Tabbert, *American Freemasons: Three Centuries of Building Communities* (Lexington, MA: National Heritage Museum, 2005), 173.

number of civic leaders, businessmen, and politicians that would join; Freemasonry was already perceived as respectable, having established that type of membership for years. Thirdly, Lynn Dumenil suggests a more radical reason, citing social ideology as a catalyst. She writes that nationalism, covert racist tendencies towards non-conforming immigrants, and anti-Catholic sentiments were so compatible with Masonic ideals that it was an obvious choice to solicit them for membership.⁶⁸ Minutes of Dallas lodges illustrate that lectures on Americanism were most welcome and enthusiastically applauded in Masonry on several occasions.⁶⁹ Finally, a fourth claim, for soliciting Masonry, offered by David Chalmers was that, “because of the size of their own order and because the chances were, they were not overtly friendly toward Roman Catholicism.”⁷⁰ The latter may be the best reason, which Adam Kendall suggests in his article about the Klan in California. According to the estimates of Miguel Hernandez, the Odd Fellows had a larger membership than the Freemasons by over 500,000. Why did the Klan not solicit them to the extent they did the Freemasons? More than likely the answer lies with Tabbert and Dumenil’s suggested motives for solicitation.

The Masonic fraternity had reason to dislike the Catholic Church. Since 1738, Papal bulls from eleven Popes had rendered Catholicism and Freemasonry incompatible. The most recent had come with the Church’s 1917 Code of Cannon Law No. 2335, which deemed any Catholic associated with the Freemasons would be excommunicated and denied any benefit the

⁶⁸ Lynn Dumenil. *Freemasonry and American Culture: 1880-1930* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1984), 123-124

⁶⁹ Called Meeting, March 21, 1921, June 24, 1921, Archives, Washington Lodge No. 1117, Dallas, Texas; Charter Installation Meeting, December 30, 1921, Archives, Landmark Lodge No. 1168, Dallas, Texas.

⁷⁰ David Mark Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 34.

Catholic Church had to offer.⁷¹ This recent addition to previous Papal bulls might have infuriated the Masonic fraternity enough for the bull to become a rallying point for anti-Catholic propaganda, anger, and recruitment for the Klan, as Dumenil suggests.

An example of this occurred at Love Field in June of 1918, when Masonic Army officers wrote to the Scottish Rite Temple in Dallas asking for help concerning harassment by two captains. The writer of the letter explained that Masons who were aviators were being transferred to infantry and could soon lose their commissions due to unfounded charges filed against them. He also wrote that the body responsible for this action were comprised of Catholics and members of the Knights of Columbus. He goes on to say that “the two Captains...had made life miserable for the enlisted Masons...and that every effort is being exerted by them to break them.”⁷² The writer appeals to the local Masonic organization to assist with a possible transfer of one or both captains for someone who would be “impartial.” Dallas Masonry had a special connection with Love Field. In 1918, the Scottish Rite and surrounding blue lodges offered soldiers the opportunity to become Masons and would confer degrees for the soldiers stationed there.⁷³ There is no extant response to the letter and any action taken regarding the alleged harassment is unknown. The general anger of Masons towards Catholics during this time could have encouraged the Masons stationed there to petition local Masonic lodges for assistance in getting rid of these Catholics whether there was truly an incident of discrimination or not. Unfortunately,

⁷¹ T. Lincoln Bouscaren, S.J., Adam C. Ellis, S.J., and Francis N. Korth, S.J., *Cannon Law, A Text and Commentary, Fourth Revised Edition* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1963), 924.

⁷² Letter to Sam P. Cochran from Asher Mintz, June 11, 1918. Archives of Hella Shrine, File Sam P. Cochran.

⁷³ “Pentagon Lodge Will Confer Degrees on Love Field Men,” *Dallas Morning News*, March 17, 1918. 11; “Scottish Rite masons to Observe Maunday Thursday,” *Dallas Morning News*, March 28, 1918. 6; “Many Soldiers Taking Scottish Rite Degrees,” *Dallas Morning News*, July 19, 1918. 4.

the situation and its results are lost to history, but it does illustrate that tension existed between the two organizations.

Between the end of 1920 and the summer 1921, Klan membership in Texas was soaring. The *Houston Post* described 200 “white clad warriors” of Sam Houston Klan No. 1 marching through downtown on November 28, 1920. The *Waco News-Tribune* described 700 new members were initiated at Capital City Klan No. 81 in Austin with 1,500 others there for festivities on February 3, 1921. The *Dallas Morning News* wrote about 789 “shrouded figures” emerging silently from the Majestic Theatre on May 21, 1921. Residents of Bryan, Texas awoke to a “Proclamation to Brazos County” from the Klan posted along the streets and doors throughout the town on May 28, 1921. These articles suggest that the Klan had made its presence well known in dramatic fashion throughout Texas.

Realizing Klan power was widespread and threatening Masonry in Texas, Grand Master of Masons in Texas, Andrew L. Randell took to the road on a speaking tour throughout the state to persuade the brethren to not join the Klan (see *Figure 2.1*). On July 18, 1921, Randell made an appearance at El Paso Lodge No. 130 where he gave a lecture on “A Citizen and His Country” to 550 Masons. By now he had made over 50 speeches around the state “in the interest of the Masonic Education Association program.”⁷⁴ The Grand Master of Masons in New Mexico, Francis E. Lester, was also in attendance. After Lester spoke on “an awakening of Freemasonry in the nation and opportunities for the fraternity,” Randell concluded the meeting with a small speech “forcibly, earnestly, and ably, reminding the brethren of their duties as citizens, and warned them against following after false Gods, especially cautioning them to avoid standing

⁷⁴ “Grand Master Makes Address at Blue Ridge,” *Dallas Morning News*, July 7, 1921. 4.



*Figure 2.1: Andrew L. Randell, Grand Master of Masons in Texas 1921*⁷⁵

sponsor for, or in any manner aiding and abetting the Ku Klux Klan.”⁷⁶ Despite his travels and the numerous letters he received regarding this problem, the Grand Master felt he needed to reach a larger audience.

On September 24, 1921, Randell drafted a four-page official communication and sent it to every lodge in the state of Texas. His request was explicit. He instructs the Master of the lodge to “summon every member of your Lodge to this meeting... and obedience to the summons is

⁷⁵ *Proceedings of the Eighty-Sixth Annual Communication of the M.W. Grand Lodge of Texas: Held in the City of Waco, Commencing on the First Tuesday in December A.D. 1921 :: A.L. 5921; Ordered to Be Read in All the Lodges of This Jurisdiction for the Information of the Brethren, Waco, Texas* (The Gayle Printing Co., 1921) Inside Cover.

⁷⁶ John W. Denny, *A Century of Freemasonry in El Paso* (El Paso, TX: Texas Western College, 1954), 140.

obligatory upon every member of the Lodge.” He even instructed the Secretaries on how to read it to the membership, “slowly, carefully and forcefully.” Along with the communication he gives each lodge a blank form “to be filled in and mailed to me immediately after the meeting.”⁷⁷ He wanted a detailed report on the actions taken by the lodge regarding the communication. Once mailed and received by lodges across the state, the lodges began to call special meetings throughout the month of October. Once called, hundreds of brothers from each lodge in Texas. In Dallas, members turned out to hear what the Grand Master had to say. Based on attendance of members recorded in the minutes of the many lodges, even members who had not shown up to a meeting in years came out to hear it. Once the lodge was opened, the message was read. The communication is too long to duplicate here; however, its most salient points have been highlighted. Randell wrote about what he believed the Klan represented and references their actions stating:

An organization such as the Ku Klux Klan which, for whatever seemingly good purpose, undertakes to set aside and supercede legal agencies of the State, to pass upon the conduct of the citizen and inflict penalties therefore to become at its own sweet will a secret and irresponsible Criminal Court and a night riding executioner of its own decrees, is opposed to and subversive of the American system, under which every man has a constitutional right to a fair trial by jury and to the possession of his liberty and property until deprived thereof by due process to of law.⁷⁸

Knowing that Masons have subscribed to these actions, he goes on to reiterate Masonic law regarding the conduct of Masons according to Articles 554 of Grand Lodge law which stated:

⁷⁷ Randell, Andrew L. The M.W. Grand Lodge of Texas. Grand Masters official communication to the Worshipful Masters, Wardens and Brethren of all Masonic Lodges in Texas, September 24, 1921. 1. Found in the Minutes of Dallas Lodge No. 760, October 14, 1921.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 5.

Every violation by a Mason of his Masonic obligations, or of the established laws, usages, and customs of Masonry; and every violation of the municipal law, involving moral turpitude, is a Masonic offense, for which the offender may be subject to such lawful punishment as the tribunal having jurisdiction in the case shall adjudge.⁷⁹

According to the Constitution of the Grand Lodge of Texas, as written in the Taylor-Hamilton Monitor of Symbolic Masonry, Article XXIV states that violating Masonic law was usually grounds for expulsion, suspension, or a reprimand from the fraternity if Masonic charges had been filed, a trial commenced, and the brother was found guilty.⁸⁰ If no charges were filed, then nothing could be done within the fraternity to curb unmasonic conduct. It appears that Randell hoped the threat of expulsion would be enough to curb dual membership in the Klan and Masonic fraternities. After the communication was read, the lodges voted whether to support the Grand Master against the Klan threat or not.

The voting results of Dallas lodges can be found in *Table 2.1* and should come as no surprise. To vote against the Grand Master on this issue would be subjecting a lodge and its membership to the scrutiny of the Grand Lodge. Considering the Grand Master was from the area with offices in Dallas, no lodge would want to subject themselves to constant visits by him for unmasonic conduct. If a lodge was troublesome and was found supporting and harboring the Klan despite the Grand Masters' message, penalties, aside from those found in the Grand Lodge Constitution, could range from periodic visits to the arresting, or taking of the charter, effectively shutting it down. It is interesting to note that in *Table 2.1*, the "Klansmen Attending" column are those Klansmen identified as charter members or those who appear in the *Dallas Dispatch* list

⁷⁹ Ibid, 5.

⁸⁰ William M. Taylor, *The Taylor-Hamilton Monitor of Symbolic Masonry* (Houston: W.H Coyle & Company, 1908), 282-285.

Table 2.1: Voting Results of Dallas Lodges on the Grand Master’s Communication, October 1921⁸¹

Masonic Lodge	Day-Date	Members/Visitors	Klansmen Attending	The Vote
Tannehill Lodge No. 52	Monday October 10, 1921	344 members / no visitors	4	335 for and 9 against Lodge votes to support the Grand Master
Oak Cliff Lodge No. 705	Monday October 31, 1921	1158 members / 24 visitors	unknown register lost	Unanimously in favor of supporting the Grand Master against the Klan
Dallas Lodge No. 760	Friday October 14, 1921	456 members / no visitors	6	456 for and 1 against Lodge votes to support the Grand Master
Trinity Valley Lodge No 1048	Wednesday October 12, 1921	299 members / no visitors	4	298 for and 1 against Lodge votes to support the Grand Master
Pentagon Lodge No. 1080	Tuesday October 11, 1921	232 members / 17 visitors	5	248 for and 20 against Lodge votes to support the Grand Master
Washington Lodge No. 1117	Wednesday October 12, 1921	305 members / no visitors	3	Unanimously in favor of supporting the Grand Master against the Klan
Keystone Lodge No. 1143	Thursday October 13, 1921	155 members / 5 visitors	2	Unanimously in favor of supporting the Grand Master against the Klan

from May of 1922. This allows for an initiation period in the Klan of one year by those present between April of 1921, after the initial recruitment at the Shrine Directors Convention, up to and including the meeting at Fair Park, as indicated by the *Dallas Dispatch* list. Further analysis of this list will occur in Chapter three. There are a few items to mention about *Table 2.1*. The “Klansmen Attending” column is of interest. By Monday October 10th, 1921 the first special meeting called at a Dallas lodge, most Dallas Masons would have known, unless they already knew, about the Grand Masters’ anti-Klan communication. If Masons were already Klansmen, they were entitled to be there as members of that lodge. However, their attendance could have served two purposes for the Klan: 1) they wanted to know where Masonry in Texas stood when dealing with a local Klan chapter; and 2) it was a means of gauging the climate of a lodge to see

⁸¹ Numbers of Members/Visitors and the Vote were compiled from the minutes of all lodges listed in the chart. The “Klansmen attending” column was compiled from creating the dual membership list, explained in Chapter 3, and who were later identified in the minutes of the several lodges on the dates listed in the chart.

which ones were friendly or neutral and those that were not. This meeting could have provided them with the information they needed to prepare for whatever kickback they could receive from the fraternity, whether that might be expulsions, suspensions, blacklisting, or removal from leadership positions.

Many lodges had Klan charter members in their rosters. Tannehill Lodge, for example had four; however, three did not attend this mandatory meeting.⁸² They did not need to be present since one of their own, future Klaliff of the Klan in 1922, David C. McCord, was the Master of the lodge and conducted the proceedings regarding the message.⁸³ The lodges that may have had more divisive meetings were Dallas and Pentagon Lodges. Pentagon Lodge, was the home lodge of several important charter members of the Klan: Hiram Wesley Evans, Exalted Cyclops, or President of the Dallas Klan and future Imperial Wizard; George K. Butcher, the Kligrapp or secretary of the Klan; and Shelby Cox, future Dallas County District Attorney and parade organizer of the Dallas Klan. Pentagon Lodge had a significant number of Jewish members and was known as “the Jewish Lodge,” according to a statement made by an older Mason.⁸⁴ Although Evans did not attend the meeting, the number of Jewish civic leaders at the lodge would suggest that a conflict might have arisen between the brethren during this meeting. It is possible that the high number of Masons opposed to the Grand Master’s message at Pentagon could have been meant to intimidate the Jewish brothers in attendance. There were at

⁸² The Klan Day Program from October 23, 1923, pages 6 through 8 describe and illustrate the high-ranking Klansmen; Earle Silven, George K Butcher and Melvin Hinton are among them who did not attend the meeting. The descriptions given for each of them describe many of their fraternal organization memberships. Robert “Bob” Allen was at the meeting and his Klan affiliation is described in *The Senator From Texas* hearings in 1925 on page 463.

⁸³ McCord is found throughout the *Senator From Texas* hearings and acknowledges his membership on page 372.

⁸⁴ A retired Mason, interview by author, Dallas, September 26, 2017. The name of interviewee was withheld by agreement.

least six Jewish members in attendance, one of them being R.E.L. Saner. Dallas Lodge would have been a more suitable battleground for the same reason, a significant Jewish membership. However, there is no evidence of contention. Not only did Dallas Lodge have Klan charter members in attendance but rabid anti-Klan members were there as well. Klansmen in attendance included Felix D. Robertson, future Klan candidate for governor; Alex Pope, member of the Executive Committee of Ten for the Klan; and Judge William L. (Jack) Thornton, Chairman of the Legal Committee for the Klan.⁸⁵ In the same room as these high-ranking Klansmen were their future political archenemies: Martin M. Crane, state attorney general; Rabbi David Leftkowitz of Temple Emanu-El; and Pastor of the First Baptist Church George W. Truett, who with Crane “expressed their views in the most expressive manner” before the vote was taken.⁸⁶

A few lodges drew up formal resolutions for the lodge to inform the Grand Master of their position on the matter. Washington Lodge was the most thorough, stating:

Whereas this Lodge has just heard read the circular letter from the Grand Master...in regard to the matter of Masonry’s attitude as to the so-called Ku Klux Klan, therefore be it resolved,

That this Lodge begs to assure our Most Worshipful Grand Master that it stands at all times ready and willing to comply with the edicts, commands and orders of the Grand Lodge of Texas, and of the Grand Master, and to accept its advice and act on its, or his suggestions in this and all other matters wherein Masonry is involved.

Resolved, That we assure our Grand Master that this Lodge will comply in all respects with the suggestions, advice, edicts or commands that may come from the Grand Lodge and the Grand Master, issued by him, in regards to the matter involved in the Grand Master’s letter.

Resolved, that we feel this the wisest thing to do, since we are sure that the Grand Lodge will have in its possession all the information and authentic data on

⁸⁵ Felix Robertson’s membership can be found in the *Texas One Hundred Per Cent American* throughout 1922 publications, W.L. Thornton’s membership can be found in the Klan Day Program page 7, Alex Pope’s membership can be found in *The Dallas Morning News*, August 5, 1928.

⁸⁶ Called Meeting, October 14, 1921, Archives, Minutes of Dallas Lodge No. 760, Dallas, Texas.

this subject at its December Convocation, and will therefore advise us as to the best action to be taken in the premises.⁸⁷

It should be noted that the phrase in the first paragraph, the “so-called Ku Klux Klan,” was first used by Judge W.H. Davidson in Beaumont when talking to the Grand Jury urging for indictments against the Klan, as reported in an article of *The Dallas Morning News* in May of 1921.⁸⁸ A less lengthy but similar resolution was read by O.D. Brundidge of Keystone Lodge a day later. It states:

I move you that this Lodge go on record as heartily indorsing the sentiments contained in the communication just read and that we assure the Most Worshipful Grand Master that we stand ready to carry out any instructions that may be given us by the Grand Lodge of Texas on this subject.⁸⁹

These votes and resolutions were political in nature and in formality. By endorsing the Grand Master’s message, it allowed lodges to dodge scrutiny by the Grand Lodge, maintain independence with their actions on this matter, and send a message to the Klan, to appease the Grand Master, that their activities would not be tolerated in Masonic lodge meetings. This would explain why attendance at Masonic meetings is made by Klansmen but rarely any mention of the Klan is made in the minutes of any Dallas lodge from the month of the vote to the Klan’s demise.⁹⁰ If there ever was an issue in the lodges, it was never recorded in the minutes.

Unfortunately, the minutes of these special meetings only list names of members, visitors, and

⁸⁷ Called Meeting, October 12, 1921, Archives, Minutes of Washington Lodge No. 1117, Dallas, Texas.

⁸⁸ “So-Called Ku Klux Klan is Denounced,” *Dallas Morning News*, May 24, 1921. 1.

⁸⁹ Called Meeting, October 13, 1921, Archives, Minutes of Keystone Lodge No. 1143, Dallas, Texas.

⁹⁰ According to the reading of the minutes of every lodge in Dallas between 1920 and 1926, the Klan is mentioned only once, in the federal testimony of Hazel Weaver used at a Masonic trial at Tannehill Lodge No. 52 on August 18, 1921.

procedures. They do not give any indication of what kind of discussions occurred during the meetings or if there were any arguments, heated debates, or any indication of contention. *Table 2.1* indicates that there were some members who were not afraid to support the Klan in a lodge meeting. Twenty Masons supported the Klan at Pentagon Lodge the night of the vote. There is no way to ascertain who did so because a vote in a lodge if taken by a ballot, is kept confidential, or if taken by raising hands, would be known only to lodge members of that meeting and not spoken of after. The minutes of a lodge only record whether a motion was passed or rejected. It can be speculated that those in Pentagon Lodge who did vote against the Grand Master were loyal to Past Master and then Exalted Cyclops of the Dallas Klan No. 66, Hiram Wesley Evans. Although contention is unconfirmed, the way the minutes are written can suggest the lodge climate. For example, most lodge secretaries usually complete the recording of a meeting by stating “peace and harmony prevailing,” which it did in Washington and Oak Cliff Lodges, however, in five of the other Dallas lodges that voted, the secretaries wrote a more neutral statement, maintaining “the lodge was closed in due and ancient form.” It can be inferred there was potential contention according to the numbers of votes against the Grand Master at Pentagon and at Tannehill lodges, only those in attendance of these votes will ever know what really transpired. However, given the number of Klan in the lodges and anti-Klan supporters both in and outside of the Jewish community, the opposition seems to have occurred more in the political arena than inside the lodges, especially with the creation of the Dallas Citizens League in 1922.⁹¹

⁹¹ Kevin G. Portz. “Political Turmoil in Dallas: The Electoral Whipping of the Dallas County Citizens League by the Ku Klux Klan, 1922.” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 119, No. 2 (October 2015): 152-153.

With roughly 95% of the lodges voting in favor of supporting the Grand Master against the Klan throughout the State of Texas, it was time for all Masons to confront him on this issue. This occurred on December 6th, 1921, in Waco, Texas, at the Grand Annual Communication, a gathering of all Texas Masons.⁹² On the first day, 470 lodges were represented with one or more members present along with 485 Past Masters present. It is unknown how many dual members were present, but they and regular Masons alike gathered to hear what the Grand Master would say regarding the Klan among other topics. Attendees included the Exalted Cyclops of Dallas Klan No. 66, Hiram Wesley Evans, Past Master of Pentagon Lodge No. 1080, and his subordinate, D.C. McCord, Master of Tannehill Lodge and on the Grand Lodge Committee on remodeling the Grand Lodge building. When the Klan came up in his Annual Address, Grand Master Andrew Randell mentioned some of the disturbing acts about which he had read throughout the scores of letters; through these and his own investigations he found that “Temples had been invaded by the organizers of the Klan,” and that “Klans had been formed and had held meetings, and members had been obligated in some of the Masonic buildings in the state.” He also mentioned that his tour of the state in response to the growing influence of the Klan had been met by leaders of that organization with contempt. He mentioned that he had “received an increasing number of threats, some personal to me, and some aimed at control of this Grand Lodge.”⁹³ He said that very few lodges in the state refused to report on the matter after the original letter was sent in October. He further explained that noncompliance with a Grand

⁹² “Randell Offers Educational Plan,” *Dallas Morning News*, December 7, 1921. 3.

⁹³ Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Texas, *Proceedings of the Eighty-Sixth Annual Communication of the M.W. Grand Lodge of Texas: Held in the City of Waco, Commencing on the First Tuesday in December A.D. 1921 :: A.L. 5921; Ordered to Be Read in All the Lodges of This Jurisdiction for the Information of the Brethren* (Waco, Texas: The Gayle Printing Co., 1921), 40.

Master's request was grounds for the removal of a lodge charter, which closes a lodge; however, he felt this was an unnecessary action to take at that time. Donovan Duncan Tidwell, Past Master of Brownwood Lodge No. 279, in 1978, wrote an article for the Texas Lodge of Research, a Masonic organization whose focus is research within Freemasonry, explained a situation that occurred because of the Grand Master's harsh message. He revealed that during the Grand Communication in December of 1921, "Evans was successful in preventing an open break as the frank message of Grand Master Andrew L. Randell against the Klan was approved."⁹⁴ Tidwell cites no evidence for this statement and there is no evidence in the *Proceedings* to suggest that Evans had any crucial role in what happened at Grand Lodge.

However, the situation Tidwell described was also found in a 1924 book titled *The Klan Inside Out* by Marion Monteval, a pseudonymous author. Monteval describes how Evans was "dispatched in the State of Texas...to intercept and prevent movement in the Masonic fraternity tending to repudiate the Klan."⁹⁵ He states that Evans was paid \$2,500 to "go out in the State and create sentiment in favor of the Klan, as well as lobby against the passage of a resolution of criticism by the Grand Lodge."⁹⁶ Monteval completes the scenario by concluding that "if [Evans] did not altogether allay opposition among Masons to the Klan he at least prevented a hostile declaration against the Klan." It may be speculated that Evans was at lodge meetings between August and November of 1921 to rally opposition against a hostile declaration. Without further research, Monteval's story of Evans being dispatched throughout the state cannot be verified. If an effort is made to identify Evans at various Masonic lodges in Texas during the months

⁹⁴ Donovan Duncan Tidwell, "The Ku Klux Klan and Texas Masonry." *Transactions: Texas Lodge of Research XIV* (1978-1979): 160 – 176.

⁹⁵ Marion Monteval, *The Klan Inside Out* (Westport, Connecticut: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 53.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 54.

mentioned, it very well could be continued. However, Monteval's story may hold true due to the nature of Randell's address. Because it was more of a personal position instead of a Grand Lodge statement regarding the Klan, Randell's intention was to sway, with words and not with his power, Masons in Texas to consider giving up Klan membership.

Randell could not do much to curb the actions of the Klan in the state. It had too many Masonic members or those sympathetic to the cause. At the end of his address he denounces rumors that "this Grand Lodge will find itself in the throes of a desperate fight between the Ku Klux Klan and Masonry for the control of this Grand Lodge."⁹⁷ Were they just rumors or was he downplaying to those in attendance at Grand Lodge a potential problem? Rumor or not, the Klan in Texas was perceived by many Masons as too powerful and numerous. Any threatening move towards the organization by the end of 1921 could have meant the end of the non-Klan leadership and the ascension of dual members in the Grand Lodge or even a complete split in Texas Freemasonry along Klan and anti-Klan lines weakening the fraternity. It can be argued that this reason above all was the motive for his style of speech, one focused on his own thoughts on the matter, concerning the fraternity and the Klan. His aim was to keep the fraternity together. And to this end he personally condemned the Klan without stating the official position of the Grand Lodge of Texas. Though condemning, Randell's rhetoric was not enough to curb Klan infiltration of Masonic lodges in Texas. The divisive nature the Klan produced in the lodges was severe enough that some brothers went outside the Jurisdiction of Texas for help. Dissatisfied with the Grand Lodge of Texas' lack of action to the spread of the Klan throughout

⁹⁷*Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Texas, Proceedings of the Eighty-Sixth Annual Communication of the M.W. Grand Lodge of Texas, 1921, 47-48.*

the state and feeling he could not trust it, his blue lodge leadership, and members at his own lodge, Past Master H.L. Atkinson of Beeville Lodge No. 261 in 1922 wrote the Grand Secretary of California and told him about the situation in Texas. "It seems that the Klan is trying to get hold of the lodges in this state and in the local Lodges here. I would guess about 80% of the membership to be members of the Klan...And because of the stand against the Klan I took...I would be expelled if I did not hush and say no more about it."⁹⁸ As for the lodges in Dallas and their vote to support the Grand Master against the Klan, most Dallas lodges' choice to follow the Grand Master in their moderate approach in dealing with the Klan was, for all intents and purposes, a means of self-preservation. Some may have voted in favor just to keep the lodge from becoming a battleground between the two fraternities. However, it is possible that the Klan was tolerated in the lodges due to the numbers of dual members and sympathizers or that lodges felt neutrality was a better option because they were surrounded on all fronts by the most powerful Klan in the State of Texas.

⁹⁸ Letter from H.L. Atkinson to John Whicher, May 9, 1922, Ku Klux Klan Collection, Henry W. Coil Library and Museum of Freemasonry.

CHAPTER 3

THE LISTS

“There have been a limited number of studies carried out by historians as to the number of Klansmen with masonic affiliations, and they constitute the most reliable evidence on the exact levels of dual membership.”

–Miguel Hernandez, *Fighting Fraternities: The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920s America*, 2014.⁹⁹

Statistical information regarding Masonic affiliation with the Klan has been examined and debated since Robert Goldberg’s analysis of the Denver Klan in 1981.¹⁰⁰ Dual membership has been boasted as ridiculously high from the Klan themselves. In Adam Kendall’s examination of Klan correspondence in California, one letter suggested that Masonic membership in the Klan was 80%, while Reverend W.C. Wright of Waco Klan No. 33 claimed that 750,000 Klansmen were Masons in Texas.¹⁰¹ The initial statistics on dual membership came from the Klan itself to bolster legitimacy and reputation for the order and most of the data is local in origin, limited to the cities and towns in which they recruited. Lynn Dumenil references a letter from a Klansman in Oregon who claimed that dual membership there was approximately 50% to 60%.¹⁰² The first real study of dual membership was conducted by Goldberg who attempted to determine the socioeconomic level of Klansmen by analyzing a roster donated anonymously by a Klansman from the Denver area. His study analyzed the social class of early joiners and late joiners, those

⁹⁹ Miguel Hernandez, “Fighting Fraternities: The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920s America” (PhD diss., University of Exeter, 2014), 206.

¹⁰⁰ Robert Goldberg, *Hooded Empire: The Ku Klux Klan in Colorado* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 133.

¹⁰¹ Adam Kendall, “Freemasonry and the Second Ku Klux Klan in California, 1921-1925,” *Journal for Research into Freemasonry and Fraternalism* 2, No. 1 (2011): 135-36; Wright, Rev. W.C., *The Ku Klux Klan Unmasked* (Dallas, TX: The Dallas Press, Inc. 1924), 6.

¹⁰² Lynn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture, 1915-1930* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1984), 122.

who joined before and after 1925, during the time the Klan operated in the area. After examining socioeconomic status, he determined fraternal ties of the Klansmen. His study revealed that 25% percent of the total Denver Klan membership was also Masonic.¹⁰³

Working from Goldberg's example, other scholars have applied this method elsewhere. In 2003, Christine Erickson used obituaries of Klansmen to determine the level of dual membership in Butte, Montana, between 1923 and 1929, illustrating that 85.29% of Klansmen were Masons.¹⁰⁴ Erickson's study gives historians an opportunity to compare the urban figures in Goldberg's research and rural Klan dual membership levels, which gives insight into the geographical differences in the organizations membership. Her research, in comparison to Goldberg and Hernandez, implies that dual membership in rural sections of the nation were much higher than in urban locales. However, more research on this should be conducted. In 2014, Kristofer Allerfeldt and Miguel Hernandez, both professors of history at the University of Exeter, expanded the study of dual membership even further. Allerfeldt's study of dual membership in Kansas is based primarily on the investigation of the fraternal link between the two organizations.¹⁰⁵ However, he does explain an incident that occurred in November of 1923 that offered insight into the number of dual members in Kansas. William Allen White, an anti-Klan journalist, obtained a copy of the desk register at the Broadview Hotel where the Klan was staying for the Realm of Kansas Klorero, or Klan state convention. He cross-referenced the

¹⁰³ Robert Goldberg, *Hooded Empire*, 133.

¹⁰⁴ Christine Erickson, "Kluxer Blues: The Klan Confronts Catholics in Butte, Montana, 1923-1929," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* Vol. 53, No. 1 (Spring 2003): 48.

¹⁰⁵ Kristofer Allerfeldt, "Jayhawker Fraternities: Masons, Klansmen and Kansas in the 1920s." *Journal of American Studies* 46, No. 04 (July 2012): 1038.

names of Klansmen at the hotel with Masonic rosters and found that 44.2% of the Klansmen were Masons.¹⁰⁶

Miguel Hernandez's dissertation focuses on the Ku Klux Klan and the Freemasons on a national level, examining the role of the Klan as a fraternity and its interactions with the Freemasons. Taking on a large task, his case study focused on Masonic lodges in two cities, Anaheim, California, and Dallas, Texas, between 1921 and 1925. In Anaheim, Hernandez studied documents pertaining to Anaheim Lodge No. 207 in 1924 and used a list of members as well as a list of Klansmen in Orange County and ascertained that 45% of members of Anaheim Lodge were Klansmen that year. His study in Dallas focused primarily on a list that was published by the *Dallas Dispatch* on May 5, 1922. The night before, Dallas Klan No. 66 held a meeting at the Livestock Arena at Fair Park. The editor of the *Dispatch*, Glen Pricer, and some of his reporters went to the meeting and proceeded to record all the license plates that were in the area. They cross-referenced it with ownership records, then published the results the next day.¹⁰⁷ There are two lists, 177 names total. The first list has 120 names and is titled "Dallas List." The other has 57 and is titled "Cars From Out Of Dallas." Hernandez's primary analysis focused on the "Dallas List." Using the 1920 Census, Hernandez could identify 83 names belonging to those residing in Dallas of the 120 names listed. Of the 83 names, 44 were found on Masonic rosters, bringing the dual membership sample to 53%.¹⁰⁸ It is this list and Hernandez's study that constitute the beginning of the statistical analysis of dual membership between the Dallas Klan and Dallas Masonic lodges in this thesis.

¹⁰⁶Ibid, 1044.

¹⁰⁷ Darwin Payne, *Big D: Triumphs and Troubles of an American Supercity in the 20th Century* (Dallas, TX: Three Forks Press, 1994), 90.

¹⁰⁸ Miguel Hernandez, *Fighting Fraternities*, 210.

Unlike other states and cities around the country, Dallas has a very limited pool from which to gather Klan material for dual membership analysis. Most of the available sources consist of newspaper articles from *The Dallas Morning News*, the *Dallas Times Herald*, the *Dallas Dispatch*, the *Dallas Journal*, the *Dallas Express*, or the infamous *Texas One Hundred Per Cent American*, the local Klan tabloid. Since the *News* took an anti-Klan stance, most of its articles report negatively about the Klan both locally and nationwide. Names of Klansmen reported by the *News* are few and far between. Some members can be found in *News* reports close to the demise of the Klan between 1926 and 1929. The *Times Herald* took a neutral approach, while the *Dispatch* and the *Journal* tended to side with the *News*. The *American* has been a good source for Klan activity and for which to gather names for dual membership identification. However, the bulk of this research does not come from the *American* but three other Klan sources: the initial 1922 *Dispatch* list analyzed by Miguel Hernandez; an audit compiled on June 13, 1924, by a Dallas accounting firm named Bell, Collier & Doyle titled “Special Examination: K.K.K. Kolossal Karnival,” found at the Dallas Historical Society; and a more controversial list found in the Earle Cabell Papers at the DeGolyer Library at Southern Methodist University, simply titled “Police Department Klansmen.”

The focus of this chapter will be the analysis of the lists described above. The purpose of analyzing the lists was to create a dual membership record that allows for a detailed examination of the minutes of various Dallas lodges, which will be provided in Chapter Four. Dr. Hernandez graciously provided his research on the *Dallas Dispatch* list for further analysis. Knowing that the 1920 census was utilized for the identification of Klansmen at the meeting and that the census has a ten-year gap in its information, it became necessary to look in the *John F. Worley’s*

City Directory Dallas 1922 for more details. With this new resource, an additional 20 names were identified. Interestingly, out of the 103 names remaining, 6 wrote to the *Dallas Dispatch* and refuted the claim of having attended that Klan meeting. With a total of 97 names, the *Dispatch* list was then cross-referenced with Masonic rosters of the twelve lodges in the City of Dallas in 1922. There were 50 names that matched Masonic rosters, giving a more accurate percentage of dual membership of 51.54% for this Klan gathering, not far from Hernandez's initial analysis. A more accurate analysis of lists already examined would not be enough to fully compile a dual membership list. Further analysis of other existing lists, combined with Hernandez's initial analysis, would reveal a much clearer picture of dual membership in Dallas. The next list analyzed was the DeGolyer list from the Earle Cabell collection at Southern Methodist University which lists Klansmen who were Dallas police officers. It is unknown who typed this list. However, its origins may lie with the events involving members of the Dallas Police Department which occurred during the early 1920s.

The July 1922 victory in the Dallas Municipal Primary by the local Klan ticket meant municipal superiority by the Klan over most local affairs. The Police and Fire Commissioner, Police Chief, District Attorney, various judges and many law enforcement officials were members of the Invisible Empire. This dominance was evident even before their political victory when scores of incidents of vigilante justice occurred throughout the year. In March, Phillip Rothblum, a 49-year-old Jewish picture framer, was abducted by men claiming to be police officers outside his home. He was driven somewhere outside of town where he was flogged several times by at least eight men. During the incident, his blindfold slipped off allowing him to identify some of his assailants. The Klan ordered him to leave town by the next day and

Rothblum complied.¹⁰⁹ Frank H. Etheredge, a lumberyard manager, was likewise abducted from his house a few weeks after the Rothblum incident. Etheredge claimed he had no idea why he was abducted except that before the flogging the gang “preached a sermon on morals.”¹¹⁰ He, too, was flogged and was told that 63 others had been whipped as well.¹¹¹ Although Etheridge’s attackers were never found, Rothblum’s case went to trial filed by District Attorney Maury Hughes, a Klansmen and Mason. This lawlessness was enough to convince Hughes to leave the Klan and prosecute those identified with the flogging of Rothblum.¹¹² Rothblum’s testimony positively identified one of his assailants as J.J. Crawford, a Dallas police officer.¹¹³ Crawford’s lawyer attacked the morals of Rothblum and even spun testimony against him which, in turn, allowed the jury to acquit Crawford of aggravated assault based on Crawford’s testimony that he was elsewhere without an alibi.¹¹⁴ Rothblum never returned to Dallas.

These cases, and many others like them, were occasion enough for an unknown person to type a list of Dallas police officers who were deemed Klansmen. It is possible that Maury Hughes helped assemble the list since he was a former Klansmen and he was passionate about the illegality of vigilantism by officers of the Dallas Police Department. Perhaps identifying them would serve to help “clean up” the police force at some future period. At some point, the list was given to Earle Cabell, Mayor of Dallas from 1961-1964, and was filed away in his

¹⁰⁹ “Flogging Victim Will Aid Police,” *Dallas Morning News*, March 12, 1922. Pg. 1; Darwin Payne, *Big D*, p. 80-82; Kenneth Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 68.

¹¹⁰ “Lumberman is Whipped after Abduction from Northeast Dallas Home,” *Dallas Morning News*, March 21, 1922. 1.

¹¹¹ “Possibly Many Floggings South of Dallas in Last Few Months,” *Dallas Morning News*, March 22, 1922. 2.

¹¹² Darwin Payne, *Big D*, 82; “Both of Whippings Probably Planned by Same Parties,” *Dallas Morning News*, March 23, 1922. 1; “Marvin Says No Ultimatum Given,” *Dallas Morning News*, July 1, 1922. 20.

¹¹³ “Ex-Officer identified by Rothblum as One of Men in Flogging Party,” *Dallas Morning News*, March 31, 1922. 1.

¹¹⁴ “Former Policeman is Acquitted of Assault in Flogging Case,” *Dallas Morning News*, April 1, 1922. 1.

papers, which are now housed at the DeGolyer library at SMU on loan from the Dallas Historical Society. The list is simple; it contains 104 names, the first 16 being high ranking officers and political officials involved with the Dallas Police Department like Louis Turley, Police Commissioner, and Police Chief Lewis Brown. The names and positions given on the list dates it between 1922 and 1924 when Brown stepped down after an injury in a car accident made him unfit for duty. The list contains the three men implicated in the Rothblum case: J.J. Crawford, a patrolman, Louis T. Spencer, a police sergeant, and Paul M. Adair, a patrolman, all identified by Rothblum at his trial. However, the list lacks any dates, author or publisher, and its authenticity has been questioned by historians. Mark Morris makes an argument against the arrangement of the list stating that “it is unknown if these names were compiled over a period of time or at one specific time only.”¹¹⁵ Morris’ statement implies that its authenticity is questionable simply due to the lack of information historians have regarding the list.

No matter when or how it was compiled, identification of the men listed was completed using the 1922 and 1923 Dallas City Directories. Of the 116 of the 104 names on the list, only 7 of them could not be identified using the directories. The occupation listed next to the names of these men in the directories matched what is on the Cabell list. This fact could offer that the compiler of this information either knew this already or used the same technique as the author did when creating this list. Aside from Turley, who was a well-known Klansman, and the three identified by Rothblum, two others were found on either the *Dallas Dispatch* list or the Kolossal Karnival list, which will be discussed next. Only six men out of 97 have been positively

¹¹⁵ Mark Morris, “Saving Society Through Politics: The Ku Klux Klan in Dallas, Texas in the 1920s” (PhD diss., University of North Texas, 1997), 74.

¹¹⁶ A spreadsheet was completed using both the city directory and Masonic rosters to identify if these men did exist in the time period the list implies (1922-24) and to check for Masonic membership.

identified as Klansmen. The men are not identified in any other known Klan document that exists for the Dallas Klan. These police officers may have been small-time Klansmen who never involved themselves in other public functions, whether Klan, city, or Masonic, or simply because their job dealt with the public regularly and they did not wish to implicate themselves in events due to the potential public outcry that was created by groups like the Dallas County Citizens League, created in 1922 to fight the Klan politically because of the Crawford acquittal. For police officers, being unidentifiable as Klansmen, could have been job-related. According to a retired Dallas police I interviewed, being a Mason in the 1960's still commanded respect. It meant that if an officer wished to switch squads, like moving from traffic to detective work for example, or get a promotion, being a Mason was required.¹¹⁷ Similar circumstances may have been in place once the Klan took control of civic affairs in Dallas in 1922. If a police officer wished to keep his job, get a promotion, or pick the squad he wanted, being a Klansmen may have been required.

The list appears to be reliable due to the accuracy of occupations listed as well as the known Klansmen who are recorded on it as confirmed by either Klan or newspaper sources. Out of the 97 names on the list, 20 of them can be identified as Masons, bringing the percentage of this sample of Klansmen involved in the police force who were Masons to 20.61%. Of the 20 Masons listed, 9 occupied leadership positions. This introduces the possibility that being a Klansmen or a Mason was an advantage for advancement, and may be one of the reasons why the other 11 men joined either of the fraternities. As for the rest of the names on the list, it would

¹¹⁷ A retired Dallas police officer and Mason, interview by author, Dallas, August 1, 2017. The name of interviewee was withheld by agreement.

require extensive future research to identify them. Still, the list illustrates the power the Klan held over the city and explains why fighting the Klan legally was a losing battle. Regardless, the police list would be dwarfed by a much bigger list created by the Klan in 1924.

The occasion for building this list was the largest and last major Klan gathering recorded in Dallas. Occurring from March 15 through the 22, of 1924, the Klan called it the Kolossal Karnival. For six days, the Klan entertained tens of thousands of people with daily parades, dancing, an indoor circus, magicians, acrobats, contortionists, jazz quartets, and other attractions generating money to build a new Klavern, or home.¹¹⁸

Organized by General Chairman of the Karnival Committee George K. Butcher, with help from executive committee members Edward M. Nelson, Joseph W. Hutt, and Melvin M. Hinton, the Karnival opened at 7:30pm on Saturday, March 15th. It began with a massive parade of about 3,000 Klansmen along with 600 robed and masked members of the Women's K.K.K. and the W.K.K.K. band and bugle corps. The parade began on Pacific Street between Harwood and Pearl Streets (near the DART east transfer center today). It then proceeded down Pacific to Houston Street and turned left. The parade crossed over the viaduct into Oak Cliff, then marched to Comal Street, turned left, and marched to Jefferson Street where Gardner Park was located on the southeast corner; here they dispersed at the baseball field into the pavilion and skating rink where the main attractions were located. The Dallas Klan hosted not only the public, but members of other Klan chapters too. According to *The Dallas Morning News*, Klans from Ft. Worth, Corsicana, Ennis, McKinney, Rockwall, Midlothian, Waxahachie, Garland and Wichita

¹¹⁸ "Imperial Wizard Hiram Wesley Evans," *Texas One Hundred Per Cent American*, February 22, 1924. 1.

**Largest Klan Parade In
the History of Klandom**

Will Form Saturday Night, March 15th, at 7:00 Sharp
on Pacific Avenue and Olive St. Line of March Will Be
Through City, Out Vladuct to the

**KU KLUX KLAN
KOLOSSAL KARNIVAL
and INDOOR CIRCUS
AT GARDNER PARK AUDITORIUM
March 15th to 22nd Inclusive
NO SUNDAY SHOW
EVERY NIGHT FREE OF CHARGE**

"MINTER'S SOCIETY ORCHESTRA"
The Only All-Women Orchestra in Texas

"THE NETTO QUARTETTE"
Harmony, Comedy and Jazz

"MADAME LE FOR"
The Dainty Lass of the Air in Her Sensational
Aerial Act

"MYSTERIOUS McDAN"
The Clever Manipulator of Magic

"ANNA PEARL WEATHERINGTON WALL
and Twenty-Four Dainty Dancing Misses

"EDNA MARLOWE"
Sensational Contortionist

The Famous
"MUSTANG SERENADERS"
Jazz Artists Supreme

And Many Other Features too Numerous to Mention

INDUSTRIAL DISPLAYS BY THE LEADING MERCHANTS OF DALLAS

DANCING

"CAN YOU AFFORD TO MISS THIS GREAT EVENT?" SOUVENIRS FOR EVERY PERSON ATTENDING.
and the admission is only

10c to Men, Women and Children

DON'T MISS A NIGHT PERFORMANCE—NEW THRILLS EVERY MINUTE

Figure 3.1: Kolossal Karnival Advertising in March 1924¹¹⁹

Falls participated over the weeks' festivities.¹²⁰ On top of the pavilion, a fiery cross could be seen. Another was placed upon a larger building across from the park and could be seen for miles around Dallas, marking the Klans dominance over the Dallas landscape. The *News* also reported that on the third day 20,000 people sought admission to the Karnival and many were turned

¹¹⁹ "Kolossal Karnival Advertising," *Texas One Hundred Per Cent American*, March 14, 1924. 8.

¹²⁰ "Big Klan Parade As Carnival Opens," *Dallas Morning News*, March 16, 1924. 9.

away.¹²¹ In its own newspaper, the *Texas One Hundred Per Cent American*, the Klan boasted of its success not only with the entertainment provided, but also a fraternal success bringing together Klans from all over Province No. 2. It was a successful gathering of people no matter if they supported the Klan or not. Financially, the Klan paper stated: “Whether or not it made money...the Karnival [was] a big success, but we are confident when the audit is over, all expenses paid, and the net results are known, there will be a nice little nest egg...until we see hatched out a great Klavern, the property of Dallas Klan No. 66.”¹²² That audit was prepared by the Klan auditor, J.F. Collier, and his auditing firm Bell, Collier, & Doyle on June 13, 1924, and titled “Special Examination.” It contains 25 pages of financial information, it ranges from advertising money owed, unrecorded receipts, and merchandise purchases, to recorded cash receipts and disbursements. The Karnival generated the Klan a whopping \$22,320.97. The itemized audit created by Bell, Collier, & Doyle allowed for the generation of the third and final list.

Bell, Collier, & Doyle did a thorough job of organizing every receipt taken at the Karnival. Not only were they able to break down by date what money was collected, but they were also able to disclose who paid for what items, who owed money, and what businesses were involved with which event. There are 165 names in the audit and many of those names are repeated many times for different donations, days worked, events supervised, money generated or owed. In addition to the names there are 232 businesses listed as well. The financial aspect of what businesses donated to the Karnival is beyond the scope of this project. Just as in Masonic

¹²¹ “Visiting Klansmen Attend Carnival,” *Dallas Morning News*, March 18, 1924. 4.

¹²² “Klan Karnival Great Success,” *Texas One Hundred Percent American*, March 28, 1924. 1.

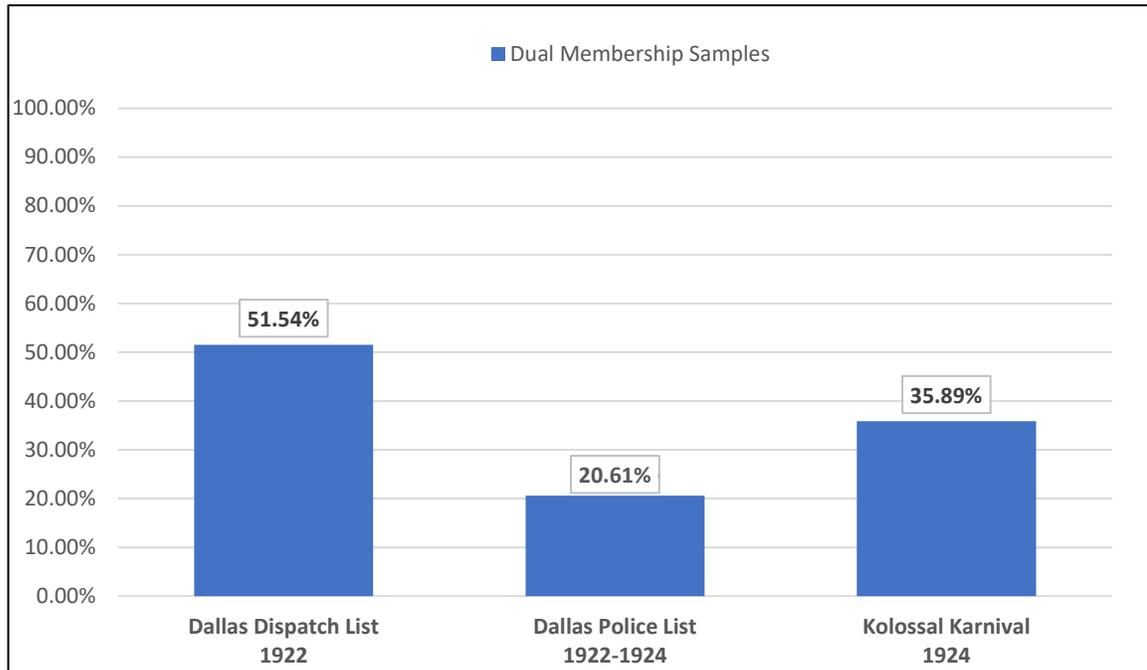
rosters, the audit lists individual last names with first and middle initials only. Using the city directory of 1923, as with the previous lists, identifying the individuals in the audit was a simple but time-consuming task. Some had unique last names, but others had a common last name in which a first initial was not enough for identification simply because there were too many of the same last name in the directory. The challenge for analysis is the vast number of unidentifiable people. Of the 165 names listed, 49 were not in the city directory and therefore deemed unidentifiable. This Karnival was a large event with thousands of people who attended as guests from both inside and outside the city of Dallas. The remaining 117 names were identified in the city directory and cross referenced with Masonic rosters.¹²³ There were 42 Masons identified in the audit, bringing the percentage of dual members involved to 35.89%. This can only be taken as a minimum because of the number of contributors from out-of-town that may have been involved with the process that were not in the directory but could have been Masons in the town they were from.

The information collected from the Karnival audit and the other two lists contributed to the creation of a comprehensive list of dual members totaling 173 dual members.¹²⁴ Doing so increased my chances of identifying a more solid percentage of dual members at the height of Klan power in Dallas, which can be found in *Table 3.1*. Once the lists had been fully analyzed, meaning everyone listed in these documents had either been labeled identified in the directory or

¹²³ As was done with the Dispatch and Cabell lists, the audit was reduced to a spreadsheet with several categories including name, address, what page of the document they were found in, if and how many times they were duplicated in the document, their contribution to the Karnival, where they were found in the city directory, and if they were Masons. There were many people who donated money and were labeled as supporters rather than Klansmen. Many who donate large amounts of money, spent multiple days helping in the Karnival, or are on salary were deemed Klansmen.

¹²⁴ Of the 173 names in the dual membership master list, 38 of them were labeled “supporters” and not Klansmen because they donated money and have no other identifiable activity.

Table 3.1: Percentage of Dual Membership Samples in Dallas 1922-1924¹²⁵



not and a simple biography on them had been compiled using the information gathered in the directory, it became a matter of checking the Masonic rosters for the names found in the three lists. The difficulty with the analysis was in trying to determine if the dual members were Klansmen or supporters. Extensive searching through newspapers and Klan documents identified the 135 men remaining as Klansmen. After compiling the information from each list, the percentage of dual members was found for each list. Finally, averaging the percentages from each list created a minimum average of dual members in Dallas between 1922 and 1924, which is 36.01%. Fewer than 5% of members from each list had crossover to the other lists. The

¹²⁵ Data gathered from analyzing the DeGolyer Police List, Kolossal Karnival audit from the Dallas Historical Society, and the Dallas Dispatch List May 22, 1922. These percentages are only a sample of the Dallas Klan membership during the periods indicated in the chart. If accurate, the results could be viewed as a possible reflection of the total Dallas Klan membership.

relatively low duplication suggests that members were interested in the Klan a short period of time before moving on to another organization or dropping out entirely. One thing that is consistent between the lists are the Klan charter members who appear on each like Louis Turley, who is on all three lists, or George K. Butcher, and Shelby Cox, who are on the *Dispatch* and *Karnival* lists. The lists also suggest that dual membership might have begun to drop after the initial political success by the Dallas Klan in 1922. Goldberg observed the same pattern in Denver and attributed this decline to a “saturation point” reached in the lodge room. He also states that “a changing membership indicated a transition in the Klan’s meaning and appeal.”¹²⁶ This appeal may have taken a skeptical turn after the infamous “Waco Agreement” in March of 1922. Four of the Klans’ Great Titans, or provincial leaders, including Hiram Wesley Evans, Klan leader of Province No. 2, came together to determine the Texas candidate for U.S. Senate.

They agreed that Klan candidates would openly campaign within the organization and a Klan popular vote would determine who would run. While a good idea in theory, in practice it created animosity between the three candidates and their major supporters as they all engaged in persistent mudslinging and arguments over the direction the Klan should be going in the future. This led to political infighting within the state leadership and divided the Klan along political lines.¹²⁷ Although Klan candidates won politically across the state in 1922, and Earl B. Mayfield was elected to the U.S. Senate on the basis of Klan support, the seeds of disharmony had been sown and would come back to haunt the Klan in 1924.¹²⁸ As a result, the Waco Agreement

¹²⁶ Robert Goldberg, *Hooded Empire*, 41.

¹²⁷ Richard H. Fair, “The Good Angel of Practical Fraternity: The Ku Klux Klan in McLennan County, 1915-1924” (master’s thesis, Baylor University, 2009), 93 – 100.

¹²⁸ “Klansmen Parade Streets Unmasked After Election,” *Dallas Morning News*, July 23, 1922, 1; “Mayfield is Elected Senator over Peddy by Majority of 175,000 or More,” *Dallas Morning News*, November 8, 1922, 1.

could be illustrated in the fluctuation of dual members between 1922 and 1924. Either the result of the disharmony over the Waco Agreement or a general dislike of the Klan's violent tactics, a drop in dual members is seen between the two lists. In the early years, 1921 to 1922, most initiates in the Klan were already Masons. However, by 1922-23, most Klansmen were trying to become Masons as indicated by *Table 3.2*. This has been observed in the minutes of Dallas Masonic lodges where Klansmen, on the lists described above, attempted to petition a lodge for initiation before the 1924 election as was seen in the Oak Cliff, Gibraltar and Landmark Masonic Lodges. Further analysis of petitioners in the minutes of Dallas Masonic lodges might determine how many more Klansmen attempt to do this after 1923.

The last element to this analysis was the creation of a comprehensive list of dual members using the lists described above. Once dual members were identified, I gathered a wide range of information on these men. This data includes their full name, as best as could be identified, address, spouse's name, occupation, when they became a Mason, their status as a Mason (what degree they achieved) and how long their membership lasted between 1920 and 1926. There are many reasons for this level of detail. First, dual members' occupation was necessary to acquire to identify socioeconomic status as well as place of business. Many of the Klansmen in the comprehensive list may have been fraternal brothers simply because they worked in the same company or in the same building with one another. Second, compiling the names of these members' wives may show a pattern of membership within the Women of the K.K.K., though that is beyond the scope of this project and should be considered for future research. Third, analyzing the Masonic details of these dual members revealed information of their level of activity in the lodges, which lodges had the most Klan activity, their desire to proceed through

the degrees, and whether they were Masons first or Klansmen first. Since this analysis covers the years 1920 to 1926, their initiation year as a Mason was identified as 1920 even though some of these men had been Masons for years before that. Those who became a Mason before 1920 indicate the early joiners while anyone who joined later was classified as late joiners, just as Goldberg classified the Klansmen in his study. Fifth, identifying the addresses of dual members allowed for the creation of a map to locate the distribution of dual members throughout the city. Kenneth Jackson used this approach in a variety of cities such as Indianapolis, Denver, and Chicago in his book, *Ku Klux Klan in the City*.¹²⁹ Dallas being one of the most powerful Klan cities in the nation at the time, a map illustrating Klan membership should be made and added to existing scholarship. Currently, there is not a map identifying distribution of Klansmen in Dallas. However, using the addresses acquired from the city directory, the creation of a map illustrating the distribution of dual members throughout Dallas was possible as exemplified by *Figure 3.2*. The difference between the maps used in Jackson's research and this study is that *Figure 3.2* illustrates the location of only dual members in Dallas, as the stars seen in the map indicate, the maps used in Jackson's research show the locations of all Klansmen in general.

The new settlement pattern and expansion of the city during the 1920's was in East Dallas (North of I-30 and East of I-75) and the Turtle Creek area in North Dallas (Just North of present-day Walton Walker Freeway). The interesting information to note is that prominent Dallasites were moving away from the Oak Cliff area, which began to decline in desirability in the 1890's. The more renowned dual members, like Z.E. Marvin and George K. Butcher, lived in the more prestigious Turtle Creek area. The map does illustrate that Oak Cliff was isolated from the

¹²⁹ Kenneth Jackson, *Ku Klux Klan in the City 1915-1930*, 114 (Chicago); 153 (Indianapolis); 225 (Denver).

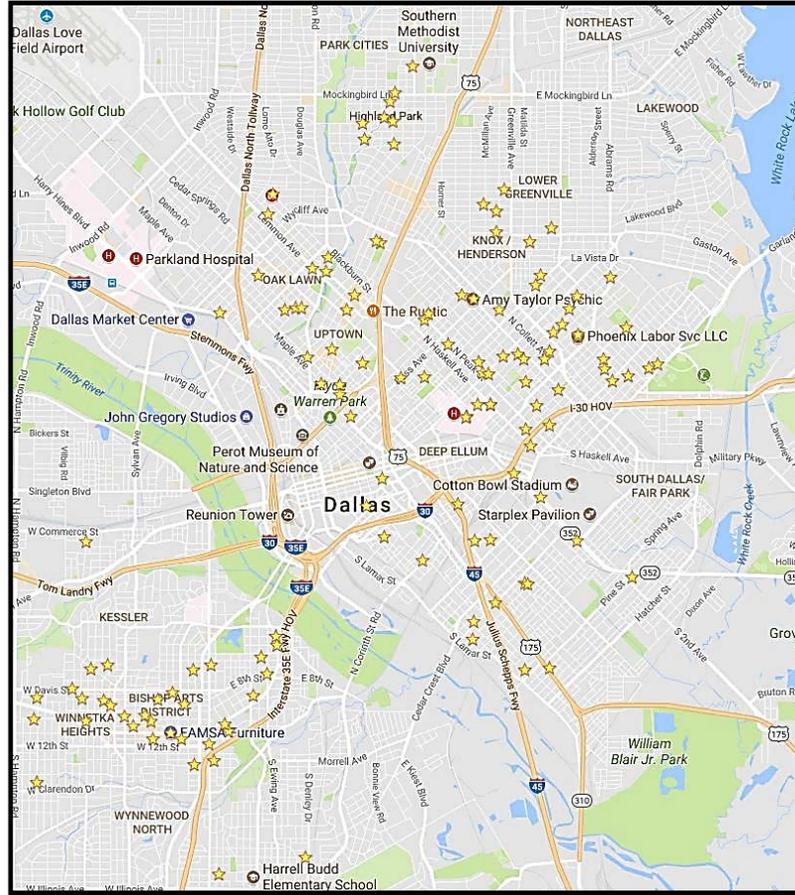


Figure 3.2: Distribution of Dual Members in Dallas 1922-1924¹³⁰

higher-class parts of Dallas in the North and East by the Trinity River. It would account for Oak Cliff Lodge having such a high membership rate of middle-to lower middle-class members, due to the geographical split the Trinity River creates; it also marks a class division between North and South Dallas that persists to this day. *Table 3.2* illustrates the bulk of the dual membership resided within Oak Cliff Lodge which coincides with the map in *Figure 3.2*. This may come as

¹³⁰ The Addresses of dual members were identified in the 1922-1924 Dallas City Directories. Google Maps was used to determine their location.

no surprise. Oak Cliff Lodge was chartered in 1890 and was the only lodge in South Dallas until Gibraltar and Landmark Lodges were chartered in 1921 to relieve the high membership of Oak Cliff Lodge. Oak Cliff was a city with a majority of middle-and working-class families that could not afford to live in the up-and-coming Turtle Creek and East Dallas areas where the bulk of Klan leadership lived. Out of the 26 Klansmen in Oak Cliff, 19 were in the working class with white-collar jobs like salesman and clerks, also police officers and firemen. This distinction between North and South could also be seen in Klan newspapers. South Dallas Klansmen even refer to themselves as the “Old Oak Cliff Klan” in a November 28, 1924 article in the *Texas One Hundred Per Cent American*, denoting the origins of and loyalty to the founding of Dallas Klan No. 66 as if they were a separate entity altogether from their counterparts in the North.¹³¹ This could indicate that class in-fighting within the Klan was an issue. Unfortunately, this is just a small sample of Klan distribution in Dallas. It will become necessary at some point to add all Klansmen to the map, including non-Masonic Klansmen, to give a much better look at overall Klan distribution in the city. Socioeconomic Klan demographics has already been completed by Mark Morris using the *Dallas Dispatch* list in 1997; however, no map with this information has been created.

The last and final step was to organize the list of members by Masonic lodge and the time they joined the Masonic fraternity. After completion, an interesting picture emerged in the form of *Table 3.2*. The purpose of *Table 3.2* is to illustrate the number of dual members and supporters by Masonic lodge and when they joined. Out of the 173 dual members and supporters identified by examining all three lists, *Table 3.2* illustrates that more than half, 55.49% of

¹³¹ “Oak Cliff Klan,” *Texas One Hundred Per Cent American*, November 28, 1924. 4.

Table 3.2: Dual Membership in Dallas by Masonic Lodge 1921 - 1926¹³²

Masonic Lodge	Number of Dual Members	Number of Supporters	Became Masons Before the Klan Arrived	Became Masons After the Klan Arrived
Tannehill Lodge No. 52	22	4	17	9
Oak Cliff Lodge No. 705	26	8	10	24
Dallas Lodge No. 760	16	7	17	6
Trinity Valley Lodge No. 1048	12	5	8	9
Pentagon Lodge No. 1080	13	5	12	6
Washington Lodge No. 1117	11	3	8	6
Keystone Lodge No. 1143	3	1	0	4
Highland Park Lodge No. 1150	6	2	3	5
Landmark Lodge No. 1168	2	1	0	3
R.C. Buckner Lodge No. 1176	1	0	0	1
Gibraltar Lodge No. 1179	9	1	0	10
Metropolitan Lodge No. 1182	10	0	2	8
John G. Slayter Lodge No. 1198	2	0	0	2
East Dallas Lodge No. 1200	2	1	0	3
A.C. Garrett Lodge No. 1216	0	0	0	0
TOTAL:	135	38	77	96

Klansmen, joined the Masonic Fraternity after the Klan establishes itself in Dallas.

The table also illustrates that this phenomenon happens in Oak Cliff and Gibraltar Lodges more so than any other lodge in the Dallas area. As mentioned previously, these two lodges reside in Oak Cliff. Landmark and Gibraltar Lodges were chartered to relieve the number of members Oak Cliff Lodge had coming in regularly. This does not explain why the bulk of dual members come in later. It could be argued that the middle-class of Oak Cliff was attempting to

¹³² Numbers ascertained by identification of members in the Masonic rosters of each lodge in Dallas found in the Grand Lodge Proceedings 1920 – 1926 and cross referencing them with the three lists described in this chapter.

attain some sort of social mobility. By joining a Masonic lodge as a Klansmen, they could still attain the reputation and respect given them as Masons while emulating those of the upper-class dual members' success created a few years before. This would mirror Kristofer Allerfeldt's finding in his examination of Klan membership of what he called "serial joining," or activity in one organization inspired membership in the other.¹³³ He explains that "Klansmen may have joined the Masons...simply in order to gain access to records and groom potential initiates – and of course gain a share of the resulting klecktokens."¹³⁴ If Allerfeldt's theory holds true, then Oak Cliff and Gibraltar Lodges were not only a money making-machine for the Klan through heavy recruitment but also places where the Klan could gain intelligence on recruits. This could explain why Joseph W. Hutt, editor for the *Texas One Hundred Per Cent American*, Edward M. Nelson, office manager for the Klan offices, and Reverend Alex C. Parker, Exalted Cyclops of the Dallas Klan, all attempted to petition these lodges in 1923 and 1924.¹³⁵ It can be argued that some of the Klansmen that become Masons afterwards only joined for the status and reputation. Of the 96 listed in the chart, 15 never made it to Master Mason status (the highest status of Masonry) and linger on as Entered Apprentices (the first degree in Masonry) indefinitely. Of the 15 Entered Apprentices, 4 no longer appear on Masonic rosters after 1925. One problem that Masonry had all over the country was called "the degree-mill." This occurred when lodges churned out members for sake of a high membership instead of truly looking at who was entering

¹³³ Kristofer Allerfeldt, "Jayhawker Fraternities," 1044.

¹³⁴ Ibid, 1044.

¹³⁵ Stated Meetings, March 14, 1924, May 9, 1924, Archives, Landmark Lodge No. 1168, Dallas, Texas; Stated Meeting, April 3, 1924, Archives, Gibraltar Lodge No. 1179, Dallas, Texas. Edward Nelson and Alex Parker try and petition Landmark Lodge. Nelson was blackballed but Parkers petition goes missing and does not show up again until 1926 at Oak Cliff Lodge. J.W. Hutt petitions Gibraltar Lodge and his petition is rejected for a period of two years.

the fraternity. Lynn Dumenil points out that by “the increase in average lodge membership that accompanied growth...made lodge meetings boring and impersonal.”¹³⁶ This led to members wanting more of a variety of events than the average lodge was offering at the time, in urban lodges, mainly degrees and business meetings. It could be speculated that once a man became a Master Mason and his status had been secured, he might move on to more exciting appendant bodies, such as the Scottish Rite, Shrine, or other fraternities such as the Klan. With the degree-mill environment being created in the lodges, high membership numbers and an elitist atmosphere Freemasonry creates, the fraternity, in a way, may have been responsible for pushing some members to the Klan. However, the reputable Mason status could be what led Klansmen to join the Masonic fraternity, especially with the negative reputation the Klan was receiving in the press. Lack of similar studies makes it hard to compare possible motivations for dual membership in Dallas with what forces drove dual membership in other areas of the country. Although Robert Goldberg conducted research on men joining the Klan early and late in the Klans existence in Denver, his research focused mainly on socioeconomic differences between the two. Dallas Freemasonry was known for having elaborate formal balls with coat and tie attire, cigars, and formal dancing on a regular basis.¹³⁷ This elitist atmosphere might have made middle to lower middle-class Masons feel out of place and uncomfortable, driving them to the

¹³⁶ Lynn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture*, 187-188.

¹³⁷ William Porter Matheney, *History and Handbook of Pentagon Lodge No. 1080 A.F. & A.M. First Twenty Five Administrations 1913-1938* (Dallas, Texas: 1938), 34-42. The early history of Pentagon Lodge describes how the lodge would use various hotels, restaurants, and caterers for what they call the “occasional elaborate affair.” This would include dances, dinners, picture shows, quartets, organ recitals, orchestras, and choirs. These social events were either for the members of the lodge only or open to their families; *Potentate’s Formal Dance Honoring the Uniformed Bodies of Hella Temple* (Dallas, TX: Scottish Rite Cathedral, March 20, 1923). The Shrine also had many formal balls. This ball was put together by Potentate Al H. Reed and was honoring the various Hella Shrine Clubs and units within Hella Shrine. This was extremely formal and consisted of dances such as the waltz, foxtrot, and the one-step.

Klan which was more low-middle-class and less formal than their fraternal counterparts. This would indicate that more research should be conducted into the purposes behind Klansmen joining the Masons later and the purpose for doing so.

In conclusion, using the similar techniques as Goldberg, Morris, and Hernandez, the *Dispatch* List was analyzed further using the Dallas City Directory for 1921 and 1922. An additional 14 people were identified from the 83 Hernandez had identified and a more accurate percentage was found while confirming his findings. While the *Dallas Dispatch* list allows a look at the percentage of dual members in a single snapshot, 1922, combined with the other two lists, the DeGolyer list and Kolossal Karnival audit, provides a look at how dual membership wanes over a two-year period ending in 1924 using the non-representative samples the lists provide. The combination of percentages from all three lists provides a sample number of dual memberships for the two-year period, 1922 to 1924, representing the peak of Klan power in Dallas. If accurate, 36% of the sample were dual members. Using Goldberg's technique to distinguish Masons who joined the Klan early and those who joined the Klan later, the number of Masonic Klansmen who joined later, 96 or 55% of the three samples, exceeded those who joined early, 77 or 45% of the samples. The early joiners consisted of mainly businesses, civic, and Masonic leaders: for instance, Louis Turley, Police Commissioner and member of Trinity Valley Lodge; Z.E. Marvin, owner of a local drug store chain, and charter member of Metropolitan Lodge; Hiram Wesley Evans, dentist and charter member of Pentagon Lodge; and George K. Butcher, manager for the American Soda Fountain Company and a member of Pentagon Lodge. Those Klansmen who joined the Masonic fraternity later represented the middle to lower-middle classes and were clerks, police officers, firemen, and ministers based primarily in the Oak Cliff

area. The majority of dual members were beginning to move into the East and Northern parts of Dallas. Evans himself lived in East Dallas while the rest of the Klan leadership lived in North Dallas. Counter to what the distribution of dual members throughout the city illustrates in *Figure 3.2*, which is an overwhelming majority on the northside of the Trinity River, the distribution of dual members by lodge was revealing. Though Tannehill Lodge was the oldest and most prestigious in town, Oak Cliff Lodge was the largest and busiest. By 1927, Oak Cliff Lodge would have the highest membership in the state of Texas with 2,241 members.¹³⁸ Oak Cliff Lodge was a middle-class lodge. According to the minutes of the lodge, members worked six days a week conducting degrees and the lodge had a full-time paid secretary. Except for the lodge leadership, most of the men initiated in Oak Cliff Lodge were working-class men.

Working with the lists and compiling the information has revealed a much more accurate count of dual members throughout Dallas. 138 out of the sample of 389 Klansmen and supporters taken from all three lists have been identified as dual members while another 38 were labeled as supporters. This examination also allows for a deeper look at who these men were, when they joined Freemasonry, and their level of activity which will be described in the next chapter. These facts are important because it gives historians insight into how Klansmen were using the Masonic fraternity and why. It could also be argued that it reveals class-based fraternalism. The lower and middle-class members resided on the south side of the Trinity while the upper class inhabited the North side. In February of 1926, Zeke Marvin, former Grand Dragon of the Realm of Texas, sat down with the *New York Times* and disclosed the problems with membership of the Klan in Texas, such as a lack of political interest since the big losses in

¹³⁸ *History of Oak Cliff Lodge No. 705, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons*, June 1951. 23.

1924 and 1926, and a distrust in local leadership leading to Imperial supervision of the local Provinces. This interview is where historians find the only Dallas Klan membership number ever published. Marvin stated that by 1924 the membership in Dallas Klan No. 66 was 13,000.¹³⁹ If Marvin's number is accurate, and if the sample of dual members found in analyzing the lists is representative of the general membership of the Klan, then possibly one-third of Masons in Dallas might have been dual members with the Klan, with members in both fraternities spanning across the socioeconomic spectrum by 1924. If this conclusion is accurate, then the comprehensive list of dual members that has been created for this study is missing at least 4,500 names. However, due to the limited number of existing documents about the Dallas Klan, the remainder of the names of members yet to be discovered may be the last secret the Klan kept for themselves.

¹³⁹ "The Klan's Invisible Empire is Fading," *The New York Times*, February 21, 1926. XXI.

CHAPTER 4

DUAL MEMBERSHIP IN DALLAS

“A half century has passed since the Ku Klux Klan produced a crisis in Texas Masonry. It is time that an attempt be made to record this crucial episode in the history of Texas Masonry, although some think the smoldering embers should be left undisturbed.”

—Donovan Duncan Tidwell, *The Ku Klux Klan and Texas Masonry*, 1978.¹⁴⁰

Dual membership was dealt with differently depending on what city and state the Klan was in. Although the tactics the Klan used, such as parades, rhetoric, recruitment, vigilantism, political participation and church visits, were the same, how the community and the Masonic fraternity managed the Klan was another matter entirely. This chapter will not only examine the dual membership of two important dual members, Hiram Wesley Evans and Zebina E. Marvin, but also explore the issue of a shared belief in Americanism and fraternal competition between the two fraternities.

In his dissertation, *Fighting Fraternities*, Miguel Hernandez described the situation in Anaheim, California. The city government had been overrun with Klansmen in 1924 but was met with an overwhelming anti-Klan faction, which included both the public and local fraternal organizations, that removed them from power by February of the following year due to vigilantism and poor government policies.¹⁴¹ In Kansas, the same routine was carried out by the Klan in 1922. In his article, “Jayhawker Fraternities,” historian Kristofer Allerfeldt describes how individual Masonic lodges used the Grand Master of Kansas, John McCollugh’s official

¹⁴⁰ Donovan Duncan Tidwell, “The Ku Klux Klan and Texas Masonry.” *Transactions: Texas Lodge of Research XIV* (1978-1979): 160.

¹⁴¹ Miguel Hernandez, “Fighting Fraternities: The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920s America” (PhD diss., University of Exeter, 2014), 246-260.

anti-Klan statement forbidding the Klan to use Masonic lodges for any reason. Some lodges would make this stance their policy by incorporating it into their bylaws. The situation became even more tense when Shawnee Lodge No. 54 became bitterly divided on the moral conduct of one of its members accused of “running around with women other than his wife.”¹⁴² The situation split the lodge into Klan vs. anti-Klan factions destroying peace and harmony. As a result, in 1924 the Grand Master pulled the lodge’s charter, preventing it from operating and he had their lodge building sold.¹⁴³

In general, the Klan in Texas was no different in their divisiveness than anywhere else in the nation. However, in the City of Dallas, the Klan was far less a divisive issue in the lodges and was treated with more of a neutral stance overall with private condemnation coming from few members like George Dealey and Julius Schepps. However, this resistance was more public than it was within the lodges themselves. This resistance eventually contributed to the demise of the Klan by 1929, more so because of its own controversial activities, like vigilantism and terrorism, rather than anything the Masonic fraternity itself did to curb its power. If anything, Dallas Masons’ assistance to the Klan, Masonry’s overall inability to halt Klan advances, and Dallas Freemasonry’s unwillingness to take an official stance on the Klan helped the Klan thrive and maintain almost complete power and authority over the city between 1922 and 1924.

In 1978, Donovan Duncan Tidwell, Past Master of Brownwood Lodge No. 279 and charter member of the Texas Lodge of Research, was the first to address dual membership in

¹⁴² Allerfeldt, Kristofer. “Jayhawker Fraternities: Masons, Klansmen and Kansas in the 1920s.” *Journal of American Studies* 46, No. 04 (July 2012): 1046.

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, 1047. Allerfeldt also writes that the Kansas government was filled with anti-Klan Masonic factions which prevented the Klan from gaining any real power.



Figure 4.1: Symbol of the Triple Tau of the Chapter of Royal Arch Masons¹⁴⁴

Texas in his article, “The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry.” He begins with a general history of the Klan, discussing its origins in Pulaski, Tennessee, in 1866, then describes the revival of the Klan in Atlanta in 1915. After establishing the wider context, he begins to describe how the Klan came to Texas and eventually made its way into Dallas. Tidwell was the first to explore the incident with the Shrine Directors Association, in April of 1921, as a means of recruiting members from the Shrine into the Klan. This is important because it helps to reveal the methods used by the Klan for recruiting purposes as well as identify those involved with the initial recruitment of Klan leadership in Dallas. *The Dallas Morning News* reprinted an article on September 22, 1921, from *The New York World* about the use of the morality play at the Convention to garner support for the Klan. The article further described the Dallas Klan’s activities, stating that after the Shrine Directors Convention was over \$500 was delivered to *The Dallas Morning News* with instructions that “the money be donated to a local charitable institution.” Over the date on the letter was written the phrase “The Year the Owls Were So

¹⁴⁴ “Triple Tau Lapel Pin,” *Red Tower Regalia*, accessed August 2, 2017, http://www.redtowerregalia.com/product_info.php?products_id=424.

Bad,” the same title as in the play performed for the Association a few nights before. On the envelope was the seal of the local Royal Arch Chapter, an appendant body of Freemasonry known as the York Rite (illustrated in *Figure 4.1*). It was not surprising that the Klan would use this Masonic symbol. Similarities in philosophy between the two organizations would make it easy to appropriate Masonic symbols to fit Klan propaganda. For example, the circle of the symbol above is a representation of eternity while the triangle can be interpreted as a symbol for God or deity. This can be argued as a reflection of the Klan’s belief in Christianity and in the eternity of the brotherhood as illustrated by statements found on Klan propaganda like the *ABC of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* which states, “We were here yesterday, We are here today, We will be here forever.”¹⁴⁵ The triple tau, or three united crosses, would be appropriated from Masonry, in this case, to symbolize the Klan ideology of purity, spiritualism, and charity. The tau is the Greek letter for Mercury, the messenger of God. But the three combined crosses could be interpreted to symbolize the evolution and purification of body, soul, and spirit. The Klan’s devotion to charity and Protestant Christianity as a means of purifying the conscience makes this an appropriate symbol to use to denote secrecy on their part as well as indicate, falsely, a link to Masonic philosophies of faith, hope, charity, brotherly love, relief, and truth.¹⁴⁶ The editor of the *News* commented that “Good men have been induced to join the Dallas Klan on the claim that within its ranks would be found certain men of local Masonic prominence.”¹⁴⁷ One of the first “local men of Masonic prominence” to be induced was a local dentist named Hiram Wesley

¹⁴⁵ William Joseph Simmons. *ABC of the Invisible Empire: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* (Atlanta, Georgia: The Ku Klux Klan Press, 1917), front cover.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 5-9.

¹⁴⁷ “World Reviews Tactics of Klan,” *Dallas Morning News*, Sept 22, 1921. 1-2.

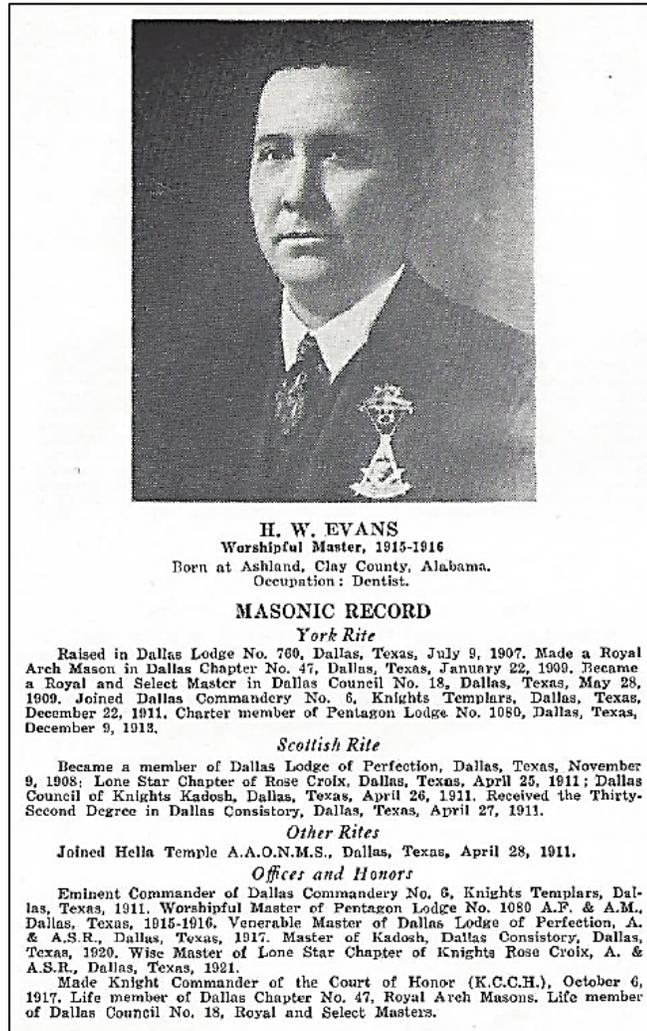


Figure 4.2: Hiram Wesley Evans' Masonic Record¹⁴⁸

Evans, a Past Master of Pentagon Lodge No. 1080 who already had an impressive Masonic pedigree as seen in *Figure 4.2* found in the History and Handbook of Pentagon Lodge No. 1080.

The origins of the Dallas Klan have not been clear despite many years of historical study. Kenneth Jackson, Mark Morris, and Darwin Payne have stated that the Dallas Klan organized

¹⁴⁸ William Porter Matheney, *History and Handbook of Pentagon Lodge No. 1080 A.F. & A.M. First Twenty Five Administrations 1913-1938* (Dallas, Texas, 1938), 79.

themselves in late 1920.¹⁴⁹ Thomas Peagram and David Chalmers never provide a date. Charles C. Alexander is the only historian who argues that the Klan in Dallas organized in the “first few months of 1921,” but offers only vague proof, a newspaper article from *The Dallas Morning News* dated November 17, 1921, and from the *San Antonio Express* dated December 10 of the same year.¹⁵⁰ No page numbers are cited and the articles talk about the Klan in El Paso and say nothing about the organization of the Klan in Dallas. The biggest piece of evidence to suggest that the Klan began in Dallas in the spring of 1921 is an article in the *Imperial Night-Hawk*, the national Klan newspaper. The article honors Bertram Christie with the pleasure of having “naturalized,” or initiated, Evans into the Klan in Dallas “about two years ago.”¹⁵¹ The article is dated May 2, 1923, which puts the initial naturalization of Evans in the first quarter of 1921. There is no evidence to suggest that the Klan came to Dallas before 1921. When William J. Simmons, the Klan founder, came to Houston in the fall of 1920, he recruited a local named Bertram G. Christie to become one of their Kleagles, or recruiters. Christie was a Freemason and a member of Reagan Lodge No. 1037 and Arabia Shrine in Houston.¹⁵² More about Christie and the origins of the Dallas Klan would later be identified in 1925 in a hearing held by the Senate Committee of Elections and Privileges to ascertain whether the Klan had tampered with the election of Senator Earle B. Mayfield in 1922. During that hearing, the committee acquired more

¹⁴⁹ Kenneth Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City: 1915-1930*, 67; Darwin Payne, *Big D: Triumphs and Troubles of an American Supercity in the 20th Century* (Dallas, TX: Three Forks Press, 1994), 75; Mark Morris, “Saving Society Through Politics” (PhD diss., University of North Texas, 1997), 40.

¹⁵⁰ Charles Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the South West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 39.

¹⁵¹ “Illinois Man Made Evans A Klansmen,” *The Imperial Nighthawk*, May 2, 1923. 1.

¹⁵² Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Texas, *Proceedings of the Eighty-Sixth Annual Communication of the M.W. Grand Lodge of Texas: Held in the City of Waco, Commencing on the First Tuesday in December A.D. 1921 :: A.L. 5921; Ordered to Be Read in All the Lodges of This Jurisdiction for the Information of the Brethren* (Waco, Texas: The Gayle Printing Co., 1921) 659; Marion Monteval, *The Klan Inside Out* (Claremore, Oklahoma: Monarch Publishing Co. 1924), 31-32.

information than they bargained for. It was learned through the testimony of George Kimbro Jr., former Deputy Sheriff of Harris County and King Kleagle or chief organizer for Texas, that Christie, H.C. McCall, Exalted Cyclops of Houston, and others participated in the tar-and-feathering of a local Houston attorney in December of 1920.¹⁵³ This would imply that Christie was still in Houston in late 1920. A lack of evidence renders events between December of 1920 and April of 1921 regarding Christie and the Dallas Klan unknown. However, it can be speculated as to what happened next.

With Christie busy with vigilantism in Houston in late 1920, Hiram Wesley Evans had ample time to contact George Kimbro Jr., the King Kleagle for Texas, who might have referred Evans to Christie, the new Kleagle for what would become the Dallas Klan No. 66. Christie arrived in Dallas around March of 1921 and met with Evans and a few of his reputable Masonic brothers like George K. Butcher of Pentagon Lodge. The same testimony at the Senate committee hearing documented the first recorded act as a Klansmen that Evans participated in, the torture and branding of Alex Johnson on April 1, 1921. Further speculation may suggest that once these men were naturalized into the Klan either on or before this night, the closing ceremony was the torturing of Alex Johnson and branding the letters K.K.K. into his forehead.¹⁵⁴ This might have established a false impression of a Klan presence although one did not yet exist

¹⁵³ Ibid, 682.

¹⁵⁴ Senator From Texas, *Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, 68th Congress, 1st sess. part 3, 1924, Senate 101521-24, pt. 3, 683*; "Masked Men Flog And Brand Negro; May Be No Probe," *Dallas Times Herald*, April 2, 1921, 1. It is very important to note that Alex Johnson shows up in the minutes of Highland Park Lodge No. 1150 beginning on October 6, 1924. He is paid twelve dollars a month by the lodge until February 2, 1931 when he is replaced by a woman, Gertrude Carney. According to the *Dallas City Directory* of 1923, Alex Johnson was working as a porter for Highland Park Pharmacy. The owner of the pharmacy was H.S. Forman, a member of Highland Park Lodge. It is unknown why the lodge used Alex Johnson's services for so long and why they felt compelled to use him and not someone else. This find creates many questions that may forever be unanswered.

in Dallas and might have been a sign of what was to come. A larger recruitment had already been scheduled by Evans with the upcoming International Shrine Directors Association of North America Convention occurring a week later. Evans was the Hella Shrine Chairman of the Entertainment Committee for the convention. On the second day of the convention, he scheduled the morality play, already mentioned, that would introduce the attendees to the Klan and afterwards recruited those top-level Masons who were eager to join (see *Figure 1.2*). Once the recruitment started, Evans had six weeks to prepare the new Dallas Klan No. 66 for a public demonstration to take place on May 21, 1921. Meanwhile, over the next month and a half, Evans and Christie made recruiting stops at Dallas lodges. On April 13, 1921 Christie attended Washington Lodge; on April 18, Christie attended Keystone Lodge; on April 22, Evans attended Trinity Valley Lodge; on May 2, Evans attended Washington Lodge with the Grand Senior Warden Mike H. Thomas and Grand Master Andrew Randell in attendance; and on May 5, Evans attended Keystone Lodge.¹⁵⁵ It would not be necessary for Evans and Christie to attend Oak Cliff, Tannehill, and Dallas Lodges since many dual members were in leadership positions there. They would spread the message themselves after meetings.

Once the Klan made their first public appearance in Dallas on May 21, 1921, business in the Masonic lodges appeared to continue as usual, such as degrees, voting on petitions for initiation, the occasional discussion of charity, patriotism, and relief for a brother in distress, according to the minutes of each lodge. However, one difference emerges; Masons who joined the Klan are attending lodge meetings and Klansmen are attempting to become Masons. To

¹⁵⁵ List created by analyzing the Minutes of Dallas Lodges between March and May 1921. The registers for Oak Cliff Lodge between 1890 and 1968 have been lost.

illustrate this, I will explore the dual membership of two well-known and prominent members of the community, high ranking Klansmen, and respected Masons, Hiram Wesley Evans and Zebina Earl Marvin. While their exploits as Klansmen have been documented outside of the lodge, the examination of their Masonic involvement in relation to their Klan activities will augment the historical record.

Hiram Wesley Evans came to Dallas around 1900. He was a superior orator, a personable individual, a complicated and arrogant man. In an April 1920 edition of Hella Shrines' newsletter, *The Camels Calf*, Evans exhibited this arrogance when, in a leadership column, he states, "When a man knows it all he is never too full for utterance."¹⁵⁶ Perhaps Evans was poking fun at himself for talking too much or he was indulging his arrogance. Evans gave an overwhelming amount of speeches throughout his career as Imperil Wizard of the Klan on topics such as Americanism, Jews, Catholics, and immigration. Often, he could be seen walking down Main Street outside his office in a brown suit and he would make conversation with anyone who desired to stop and have a word.¹⁵⁷ Evans was always willing and able to help the Masonic fraternity. In 1919, it became clear that the lodges in Dallas were looking for a place to call their own. The Masonic Temple Tannehill and Dallas Lodge built at Main and Pearl did not produce the money they were expecting and the temple was lost to Western Union in 1919. That same year the Masonic Temple Corporation was created to receive moneys from the local lodges, invest it, and find a suitable property for a future building to be erected for Masonic use. Hiram Wesley Evans became a charter member in 1919. By 1920, Hiram Wesley Evans had

¹⁵⁶ "They said it but don't make us prove it," *The Camels Calf*, April 1920, 17.

¹⁵⁷ Stanley Walker, "The Dallas Story," *The Dallas Times Herald*, February 5, 1956. 29.

already completed many offices within Masonry, as can be seen in *Figure 4.2*. As a result, between 1920 and 1921, Evans did not attend meetings at a lodge very often. He did recommend six people for the degrees of Freemasonry between November of 1920 and the end of March 1921. Two of them were dentists. When he did attend a lodge meeting he was usually a spectator. He only conferred one degree, the Masters or third degree, in October of 1920. Also, when he attended lodge meetings, half of the time he traveled. He visited seven lodges between June of 1920 and July of 1921.¹⁵⁸

Evans was a devout Mason and when assigned Masonic tasks, he never disappointed. He was appointed as Chairman to the Committee of Masonic Information of Pentagon Lodge in July of 1920 with eleven people to direct. He was responsible for bringing in speakers for educational purposes. In September of 1920 the minutes indicate that he would try to bring the Grand Junior Warden, Mike H. Thomas, to speak to the lodge. On February 15, 1921, not only was he able to secure Thomas, but he also brought the Grand Master, Andrew Randell, to a meeting with him. There were 720 Masons in attendance.¹⁵⁹ Randell was getting started on a circuit around the state to speak about the Klan, which had begun to be a problem in Houston a few months earlier. It is unknown what the relationship between Randell and Evans was; however, Randell's speech could have been the inspiration Evans needed to contact Kimbro in Houston to request a Kleagle for recruiting. Evans could see how popular the Klan was

¹⁵⁸ Stated and Called Meetings, May 5, 1921, Archives, Keystone Lodge No. 1143, Dallas, Texas; Stated and Called Meetings, June 22, 1920; July 6, 1920; September 14, 1920; September 21, 1920; October 5, 1920; January 15, 1921; February 5, 1921; February 15, 1921; July 31, 1921, Archives, Pentagon Lodge No. 1080, Dallas, Texas; Stated and Called Meetings, August 27, 1920; November 5, 1920; February 19, 1921; April 22, 1921, Archives, Trinity Valley Lodge No. 1048, Dallas, Texas; Stated and Called Meetings, May 2, 1921; July 25, 1921, Archives, Washington Lodge No. 1117, Dallas, Texas.

¹⁵⁹ Called Meeting, February 15, 1921, Archives, Pentagon Lodge No. 1080, Dallas, Texas.

becoming and the opportunities that came with membership. With Randell gone from Dallas on a speaking tour around the state, there was no one in Evans' way to bring the Klan to Dallas.

By June of 1921, Evans was the Exalted Cyclops of Dallas Klan No. 66. His previous Masonic experience would have created the connections he needed to recruit for the Klan within the Masonic fraternity. This would have been known to those who were close to Evans, yet he was still appointed to critical positions within the Masonic fraternity. On June 14, 1921, Evans was appointed to the Board of Directors for the Dallas Masonic Temple Corporation.¹⁶⁰ There is no evidence why he was considered for the position; however, his friendship, both in and out of the lodge, with Mike H. Thomas, future Grand Master of Masons in Texas, and a charter member of the corporation, may have had something to do with that. The board did their due diligence in gaining money through the constituent lodges and investing it in the American Exchange National Bank. Though limited documents for this corporation exist, it appears that no tampering with the money occurred and the dual members involved with that venture put Masonry first. Eventually, they would renovate the old Turner Hall across the street from the Scottish Rite Cathedral and the Masonic Temple would open in 1941.¹⁶¹

Evans inspired many men in the organizations he was involved in and, more than likely he used the connections he had made the previous decade to recruit for his new Klan chapter. Others who knew him, like Glenn Pricer, owner and editor of the *Dallas Dispatch*, believed he

¹⁶⁰ Masonic Temple Corporation, A.F.&A.M.: *August 1921 to August 1922 Statement of Expenses* (Dallas, TX: Masonic Temple Corporation, 1921-22), 1-2, Minutes of Washington Lodge, September 25, 1922. Evans is written as one of the members of the Board of Directors alongside Mike H. Thomas, Sam P. Cochran, Louis Blaylock, E.M. Kahn and four others.

¹⁶¹ David C. McCord, *Location of The First Lodge Home Owned by Tannehill Lodge No. 52, A.F. and A.M.* (Dallas, TX: 1949), 370.

was not sincere and just in the Klan for the money.¹⁶² There may be some truth to this. Evans was a wealthy man. Not only did he make profits from his dental practice, Evans & Hill, but also by assisting Christie as a recruiter for the Dallas Klan in 1921, Evans' first business. While he and Bertram G. Christie were building Dallas Klan No. 66, they made four dollars from every ten of the "klectoken" or recruitment fees collected from new members. Evans may have even attempted to make money from Freemasonry as well.

Another business for Evans was the Union Publishing Company of which he was president from 1919 to 1922. That company published the *Texas Freemason*, a monthly Masonic periodical. Contemporaries of Evans recognized the peculiar relationship of Klansmen owning and/or operating Masonic publications. In 1924, Marion Monteval's *The Klan Inside Out* mentions, a goal of the Klan was to take over Freemasonic periodicals. He stated that the "organization has systematically worked to secure control of the publications of the Masonic order, and to bring under allegiance to the Klan eminent Masons throughout the nation."¹⁶³ Evans' acquisition of the Union Publishing Company suggests he was following through with that goal and making money from it at the same time. It also may suggest that his intention to join the Klan had been a long time coming. In December of 1921, Pentagon Lodge No. 1080, Evans' home lodge, made a resolution to assess each member one dollar for a subscription to the *Texas Freemason*. The minutes of that meeting indicate that it was the recommendation of the Grand Master, Andrew Randell, to do so.¹⁶⁴ However, in the annual report of the Grand Master in the Proceedings for 1921 under the title of "Official Journal of the Grand Lodge," Randell

¹⁶² Louis Torrence, "The Ku Klux Klan in Dallas (1915-1928): An American Paradox" (MA thesis, Southern Methodist University, 1948): 55.

¹⁶³ Marion Monteval, *The Klan Inside Out*, 59.

¹⁶⁴ Stated Meeting, December 27, 1921, Archives, Minutes of Pentagon Lodge No. 1080, Dallas, Texas. 474.

says “I have given this matter my deepest and most thoughtful investigation and research, and have found that for the sum of one dollar per member per year the Grand Lodge of Texas MAY put into the hands of all its members the best and most complete Masonic publication in the world.”¹⁶⁵ The word “may” is emphasized because this Grand Lodge magazine was only an idea and had not been published yet. It would not come into fruition until 1931 with the publication of the *Grand Lodge Bulletin*, renamed the *Texas Grand Lodge Magazine* in 1934.¹⁶⁶ No other lodge in Dallas chose to mention the assessment of their members for such a periodical. Though there is no way of knowing, either the mention of the name *Texas Freemason* was a mistake in the minutes of Pentagon Lodge or Evans found a way to deceive the members of his lodge. There were 677 members of Pentagon Lodge in 1921, which would have brought Evans an equal sum of money. This would have been grounds for Masonic charges for unmasonic conduct; however, none were brought.

Once the Klan made its first public appearance on May 21, 1921, Evans was rarely seen in Dallas lodges. He made one last visit to Washington Lodge on July 25th with Mike H. Thomas. Also in attendance of that meeting was a man of local fame, De Witt McMurray, author, poet, and writer for *The Dallas Morning News*, a deeply spiritual and religious man who gave a short talk after Mike Thomas although the minutes do not say on what topic.¹⁶⁷ By this time Evans was deep into the leadership and organization of the Dallas Klan, which explains his

¹⁶⁵ *Proceedings of the Eighty-Sixth Annual Communication of the M.W. Grand Lodge of Texas: Held in the City of Waco, Commencing on the First Tuesday in December A.D. 1921 :: A.L. 5921; Ordered to Be Read in All the Lodges of This Jurisdiction for the Information of the Brethren*, “Official Journal of the Grand Lodge” Grand Masters Annual Report (Waco, Texas: The Gayle Printing Co., 1921), 24-25.

¹⁶⁶ Larissa P. Watkins, *American Masonic Periodicals 1811-2001* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2003), entry 621 and 625.

¹⁶⁷ Called Meeting, July 25, 1921, Archives, Minutes of Washington Lodge No. 1117, Dallas, Texas.

lack of attendance. However, another situation developed which also may explain his absence from Masonry. On July 29, 1921, Ben Irelson, Past Master of Pentagon Lodge and close friend of Evans, died. Irelson's funeral was the last Masonic function in Dallas Evans was to attend, an illustration that on many occasions fraternal lines were blurred if not nonexistent for beloved brothers who had passed. It appears that the character and deeds of a man were more important than affiliation, religion, or organization.

After Irelson's funeral, Evans dedicated his time fully to the Klan. In August of 1921, he attended a Klan meeting of all the Exalted Cyclops', or presidents of Klan chapters, in the State of Texas regarding the criminal activities the Klan was conducting throughout the state. Although the Grand Goblin, or multi-state Klan leader, George Kimbro Jr., attempted to put a stop to the floggings and tar-and-feather parties, Evans and H.C. McCall of Houston desired to continue the practice.¹⁶⁸ Evans' actions were causing dissention within the Klan. According to those who knew him later as Imperial Wizard, or national Klan leader, it was in his nature to cause problems. In his book, *The Klan Inside Out*, Marion Monteval, an anonymous insider at the Imperial Palace, or Klan national headquarters, in Atlanta, seriously questioned the character and morality of Evans. He described Evans as:

one who cannot make for himself a place by competition of intellectuality or by force of personality, yet has ambitions to be conspicuous among his fellows, will unfailingly turn to disruption of organization. There is nothing in his life out of which he can construct himself or anything else, and he therefore turns his energies to destroying. The very limitations under which he strives create a tremendous urge toward wreckage. If he stands up and stands out at all among his fellowmen, it must be in the midst of ruins.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ *Senator From Texas*, 683.

¹⁶⁹ Marion Monteval, *The Klan Inside Out*, 35.

That disruption occurred during the summer and fall of 1921, leading up to the Grand Annual Communication in December at Waco. According to Monteval, Evans and other high-ranking Klansmen anticipated harsh criticism of and potential repercussions for dual members from the Grand Lodge of Texas. To prevent this, Monteval explains, Evans embarked on a tour of Texas to convince dual members to rally against any such action by the Grand Lodge, an action for which Evans was paid around \$2,500 by the Klan Imperial offices in Atlanta. Being that the Grand Master offered no punishment for dual members, as mentioned in Chapter 2, Randell recommended the enforcement of a Grand Lodge law that did not allow any other organization to use Masonic lodges for their business, as well as offered his own opinion condemning the Klan. Evans' campaign appeared successful since Randell's speech was of a personal nature and he was not speaking for the Grand Lodge of Texas as many other Grand Masters had in others states around the nation (see Chapter 2). More than likely Evans' presence at Grand Lodge that December added an additional punch to his disruptive plan by intimidating Grand Lodge officers, including the Grand Master, into giving the speech he did.¹⁷⁰ This effort is what won him favor in Atlanta and, as a result, Evans was promoted to Imperial Kligrapp, or

¹⁷⁰Proceedings of the Eighty-Sixth Annual Communication of the M.W. Grand Lodge of Texas: Held in the City of Waco, Commencing on the First Tuesday in December A.D. 1921 :: A.L. 5921, 151.



Figure 4.3: Hiram Wesley Evans, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan - 1925¹⁷¹

National Secretary, for the Klan in April of 1922.

In November of 1922, Evans, McCall, Fred L. Savage of New York, D.C. Stephenson of Indiana, and E.Y. Clarke, Imperial Kleagle, orchestrated a coup of the Imperial leadership at the Imperial Kloucilium or national convention in Atlanta. Evans and company blackmailed Simmons and acquired the necessary votes to help make Evans Imperial Wizard, the national Klan leader, a title he would hold until June of 1939, as seen in *Figure 4.3*.¹⁷² With this new

¹⁷¹ *Dr. H.W. Evans, Imperial Wizard*, August 8, 1925, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., accessed July 9, 2017, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/npc2008007971/>.

¹⁷² Marion Monteal, *The Klan Inside Out*, 38.

authority, Evans would set the Klan on a journey to political power. His inspiration was a meeting with President Warren G. Harding in 1922. The Dallas Klan had already achieved political supremacy in 1922 and the chapter became the model for what was possible for the organization across the nation. Political successes in Texas and in Georgia encouraged Evans to inspire Texas to elect a Senator to the U.S. Congress and the Dallas Klan would be instrumental in electing Earl B. Mayfield, member of St Johns Lodge No. 53 in Tyler and of Hella Shrine in Dallas, that same year.¹⁷³ Evans would return to Dallas for the infamous Klan Day at the State Fair of Texas on October 24, 1923. He was there for the dedication of Hope Cottage alongside Zebina E. Marvin, local businessman and Great Titan or leader of Province No. 2 of the Ku Klux Klan, and spoke to tens of thousands that day on “The Menace of Modern Immigration.” It was the greatest gathering of Klansmen in history, with at least 25,000 in attendance alongside 7,000 Klansmen. That night 5,600 were initiated into the order. The entire Klan leadership, most of whom were also dual members, were in attendance, including Marvin, Butcher, J.D. Van Winkle, and A.C. Parker.¹⁷⁴ It is unknown how many Masons attended the festivities. However, it should be noted that only one Dallas lodge, Oak Cliff Lodge No. 705, held a meeting that night. Only 33 people attended that meeting in a lodge that usually had an average attendance of 100. The other lodges all met either on October 22nd or the 23rd.

Evans would return to Dallas in February of 1924 on a tour in Texas about public education. This time, before going to the Coliseum at Fair Park to speak before a mass meeting

¹⁷³ “Peddy Snowed Under By About 200,000,” *The Texas 100 Per Cent American*, November 10, 1922, 1; U.S. Congress. Senate. *Senator From Texas: Committee on Privileges and Elections. 68th Congress. 1st and 2d sess. Subcommittee on S. Res 97* (Washington: U.S. G.P.O., 1924), 45-79.

¹⁷⁴ *Official Souvenir of Klan Day at the State Fair of Texas Dallas, October 24, 1923* (Dallas, Texas: Standard American Publishing House, 1923), 9. It is worth noting that this document has the biography of the Dallas Klan leadership for 1923 on pages 6 to 8.

of Klansmen as was typical, he arranged to speak at Pentagon Lodge No. 1080, as the Imperial Wizard. *The Texas 100 Per Cent American* advertised his upcoming speech on February 22nd, tailoring the article to Masons and praising Evans as a Mason “second to no other in the United States.” It appealed to those dual members by linking him with them: “The younger generation of Masons who have had the pleasure to have received their degrees at the hands of the degree team, of which Dr. Evans was a member, learned to respect him for his love for the cause and his devotion to the splendid ideals of Masonry, which he so ably impressed upon the minds of those who followed him.”¹⁷⁵ This advertising was enough to fill the room at Pentagon Lodge with Masons, Klansmen, and their friends and families according to the *Americans* coverage of the speech on February 29th. Pentagon Lodge typically held their meetings on Tuesday nights. However, this meeting took place on a Friday night, allowing the Klan to utilize the lodge without interruption of a regular meeting. This propaganda for a common cause was brilliant on Evans part. Masons have been known as staunch supporters of the education system. Fort Worth was home to the Texas Masonic Home and School to which Masons in Texas donated thousands of dollars regularly. The Klan’s desire to advance the cause of compulsory public education and abolish parochial and private schools was a cause that Masons could support. This is another example of how the Klan would use the Masonic fraternity to aid in its own endeavors and its efforts would be met with enthusiasm. Although Evans would return one last time in 1925 for a “Homecoming,” his exit in April of 1922 for Atlanta would be the last time Evans made Dallas his residence. He spent the rest of life in Atlanta leaving the next Klansmen in the officer

¹⁷⁵ “Imperial Wizard Hiram W. Evans,” *Texas One Hundred Percent American*, February 22, 1923. 1; “Imperial Wizard Addresses Masons,” *Texas One Hundred Percent American*, February 29, 1923. 1.

line in charge of the Dallas Klan. It is important to understand that Evans' involvement in Dallas Freemasonry is the key to the formation of the Dallas Klan through his recruiting schemes in Dallas Masonic lodges. His connections and actions help shape the direction that both fraternities travel during this turbulent time.

Evans' departure would catapult the Klaliff or Vice President of Dallas Klan No. 66, Zebina Earl Marvin, into the Exalted Cyclops pro-tem position. Zeke Marvin had been a leader in the pharmacy business in Dallas since 1905, operating some 22 drugstores in the city.¹⁷⁶ He was also the owner of the Magnolia Building, helping fund four million dollars to build it and bring the Magnolia Petroleum Company to Dallas.¹⁷⁷ His experience in the Klan would be much different than that of his predecessor. Marvin was raised a Master Mason in Dallas Lodge No. 760 prior to 1911. He joined Hella Shrine the same year which, at the time, met at the Dallas Scottish Rite Temple at Harwood and Young Streets. He was a charter member of Pentagon Lodge No. 1080 in 1913 where he met H.W. Evans. He demitted or left that lodge in 1921 and became a charter member of Metropolitan Lodge No. 1182 in December of that year. Marvin's role was twofold as a dual member; first, he was extremely active in charitable aspects of both the Klan and Freemasonry; second, he was very active politically. He would use the Klan as his platform to accomplish his political goals, such as the election of Earl B. Mayfield to the U.S. Senate and the campaign to secure the candidacy of his friend and Masonic brother, Felix D. Robertson, for governor. Marvin's larger political role has been explored by historians such as Darwin Payne, Kenneth Jackson, and Charles C. Alexander and is beyond the scope of this

¹⁷⁶ John L. Briggs, John C. Harris, and Hall Shannon, "In Memorium – Zebina Earl Marvin – 1877-1957 - Potentate of Hella Temple in 1926." (Dallas, Texas: *Camels Calf*, December 1957).

¹⁷⁷ Patricia Evridge Hill, *Dallas: The Making of a Modern City* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 101.



*Figure 4.4: Zebina Earl Marvin*¹⁷⁸

project.¹⁷⁹ Rather, his charitable contributions and Masonic involvement will be examined.

Aside from the enjoyment of being a charter member of two Dallas lodges, Zeke Marvin did not involve himself in the blue lodge, lodges that work in the first three degrees of Masonry, much. Between April of 1921 and January of 1922, Marvin recommended three petitioners at Pentagon Lodge, one of them a druggist just as he was.¹⁸⁰ Instead, most of his time was dedicated to supplying Metropolitan Lodge with whatever goods they needed. Since no itemized

¹⁷⁸ Image of Z.E. Marvin found in a box of photographs at Hella Shrine Archives.

¹⁷⁹ Kenneth T. Jacson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City: 1915-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 78; Charles C. Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 97, 108; 193-195, 249; Darwin Payne, *Big D: Triumphs and Troubles of an American Supercity in the 20th Century* (Dallas, TX: Three Forks Press, 1994), 86, 94-96, 128.

¹⁸⁰ Stated Meetings, April 12, 1921, July 12, 1921, August 9, 1921, Archives, Pentagon Lodge No. 1080, Dallas, Texas.

receipts were ever included in the minutes, except for “cigars and cigs” on May 8, 1923, it is impossible to say what the lodge paid for at any given time. However, Marvin made a considerable amount of money from Metropolitan, especially in 1923.

Metropolitan Lodge began patronizing Marvin’s Wholesale and Retail Drugs and Druggist Supplies beginning in June of 1922. During that year, the lodge used Marvin’s store three times and Marvin made \$36.01 from the lodge, which is nothing outstanding. 1923 was a particularly profitable year for Marvin. The lodge began to make regular purchases from Marvin’s store and he made a whopping \$481.76 from the lodge that year.¹⁸¹ Based on the inflation rate of 2.87% per year since 1923, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, it would be the equivalent of \$6,889 today.¹⁸² In 1924, the lodge only spent \$80.50, \$29.75 in 1925, and \$28.05 up to June of 1926. The excess spending Metropolitan did during the year 1923 could be an indication of what the Klan calls “Clannishness.” According to the *ABC’s of the Invisible Empire*, a small pamphlet designed to give its reader a basic knowledge of Klan history and its philosophy, Clannishness is “standing by and sticking to each other in all things honorable.”¹⁸³ As a fraternal bond of loyalty and devotion, what better way of exhibiting this virtue than economically? Marvin’s business relationship with his lodge is not a new practice. There is evidence of lodges using their members’ businesses scattered throughout the minutes of all Dallas lodges.¹⁸⁴ However, it does illustrate that Masonic lodges were patronizing Klan businesses, either willingly or not.

¹⁸¹ Stated Meetings, January 1923 - December 1923, Archives, Minutes of Metropolitan Lodge No. 1182, Dallas, Texas.

¹⁸² “Consumer Price Index,” *Bureau of Labor Statistics*, accessed July 9, 2017, www.bls.gov/cpi/.

¹⁸³ William Joseph Simmons, *ABC’s of the Invisible Empire* (Atlanta, GA: Ku Klux Klan Press, 1916), 5.

¹⁸⁴ Stated Meeting, December 10, 1920, Archives, Oak Cliff Lodge No. 705, Dallas, Texas. Member H.T. Hamilton’s business, Hamilton Hardware Company is used on a regular basis; Stated Meeting, August 5, 1922,

The 1923 contribution of Metropolitan to Marvin's store occurred at the height of Klan power in Dallas. If businesses openly acknowledged the Klan negatively, or their proprietors were disliked for whatever reason, the Klan would use whispering campaigns aimed at damaging the character of a business or individual.¹⁸⁵ They also employed boycotts as with *The Dallas Morning News* and the *Dallas Dispatch* in 1922 and 23.¹⁸⁶ This happened because, according to *The Texas 100 Per Cent American*, a circular was given to anti-Klan citizens, "through certain channels," in what the periodical declares is, "the sole purpose, no doubt, of instigating a boycott on all merchants having any connection whatsoever with a purely all-American fraternal society."¹⁸⁷ The Klan periodical would blame *The Dallas Morning News* for this and its anti-Klan editorial policies. It appears that Marvin may have been behind the boycotting campaign against *The News*, or at least a part of it. In April of 1924, George B. Dealey received a letter from Marvin accusing *The News* of not taking a neutral stance or publishing anything positive on Klan activities. According to another letter from an unknown executive of the *News* in August of that year, all drug stores had appeared to boycott *The News*.¹⁸⁸ This smearing campaign could have possibly been led by Marvin. The simplest explanation would be that Metropolitan spent the money in Marvin's store willingly since he was a brother Mason. As Marvin began to climb the ladder of Klan leadership beginning in 1922 becoming Great Titan of Province No. 2,

Archives, Highland Park Lodge No. 1150, Dallas, Texas. Members of Highland Park Lodge use the Mecca Café often. It is owned by Grover C. Johnson, a member of Oak Cliff Lodge. Stated Meeting, May 11, 1920, Archives, Tannehill Lodge No. 75, Dallas, Texas. Most lodges use Hargreaves Printing Co. for the binding of their minutes. Sam Hargreaves owns this business and is a member of Oak Cliff Lodge. These are examples of how lodges patronize the businesses of members of Dallas Freemasonry.

¹⁸⁵ Darwin Payne, *Big D: Triumphs and Troubles of an American Supercity in the 20th Century*, 88-90;

¹⁸⁶ Darwin Payne, "The Dallas Morning News and the Ku Klux Klan." *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas IX*, No. 1 (Spring 1997): 16-27.

¹⁸⁷ "Boycott," *The Texas 100 Per Cent American*, November 17, 1922, 1; Patricia Evridge Hill, *Dallas: The Making of a Modern City*, 101.

¹⁸⁸ Darwin Payne, "The Dallas Morning News and the Ku Klux Klan," 23.

perhaps the status of the lodge contributing to such a high-level Klansmen warranted such patronage. Metropolitan only gained 68 members during that year, so the amount of money given to Marvin's businesses did not follow an increase of membership. Another possibility is that by contributing to Marvin's business the lodge would fly under the radar of the Klan. Vigilantism was at an all-time high in Dallas once the Klan take control of the city. There may have been some protection money involved. While conjecture, the Klan was known for its mob mentality in its dealings. Marvin's business relationship with Metropolitan Lodge is important because it illustrates that men entered the Klan for different purposes. The goals of the Klan were like those of the Masonic fraternity. However, how a Klansmen achieved those goals differed from one member to the next.

While Zeke Marvin's bank account and business was flourishing, and his Klan sponsored boycotts were financially crippling *The News*, when he did attend Masonic events he spent most of his time with Hella Shrine. It was through this Masonic appendant body, or another Masonic organization, that he concentrated all his charitable contributions. As a member of the Dallas Welfare Council, he could use his fraternal ties to push his charitable agendas. In October and November of 1923, two large charitable organizations were created to assist the social welfare of Dallas, the Hella Shrine Hospital for Crippled Children and Hope Cottage, a children's orphanage. As a Klansman, Marvin was instrumental in the process of the creation of Hope Cottage, helping raise \$80,000 for its construction. He was also the President of the Board of Directors for 27 years. On Klan Day, October 24, 1923 at 9:30 in the morning, Marvin stood on a platform with notable Klansmen such as Reverend Alex C. Parker, a previous Exalted Cyclops for the Dallas Klan; Mayor Louis Blaylock, Alex Sanger of Sanger Brothers, and Police



Figure 4.5: Ground Breaking Ceremony for Hope Cottage July 8th, 1922 Z.E. Marvin is standing next to the flag on the right with two children.¹⁸⁹

Commissioner Louis Turley. The current Exalted Cyclops, J.D. Van Winkle, publicly gave Marvin the credit for the “success and enterprise” of Hope Cottage. They had all come together before for the ground-breaking ceremony of Hope Cottage in 1922 (see *Figure 4.5*). When Marvin spoke to the crowd during the dedication, he used his oratory charm to emphasize the Klan as primarily charitable:

¹⁸⁹ Frank Rogers, *Breaking Ground for Hope Cottage*, Klan Day Program, October 24, 1923, Dallas Historical Society, Dallas, Texas, 33. Used by permission from the Dallas Historical Society.

[W]e have engaged in a thousand other acts of sacrifice and Christian charity. We would not take the law into our own hands, as our critics have so unjustly accused us of doing, but we would stand in the shadow of every grief and lift up every heart bowed down... We engaged in this work of love and Christian service to benefit the helpless, in benefitting the helpless we have also benefitted ourselves... we are better Klansmen, which is to say, better Americans.¹⁹⁰

Charitable events like this have been analyzed by historians as appearing benevolent to distract the public from the Klan's criminal nature.¹⁹¹ Marvin would go on to infuse Masonry and Americanism into his speech: "The keystone in the highest arch of Klancraft is love – love for man woman and child: love for the flag of our fathers who built on the shores of this continent the grandest government ever devised by the heart and brain of man, and akin to love is charity."¹⁹² His choice of words regarding keystones, love, and charity would appeal to dual members as a victory of fraternalism in action, something that would have been very appealing to dual members. This event would mark the peak of Klan power. It could have contributed to the rise of Klansmen joining the various Dallas Masonic lodges as seen in *Table 3.2*. Between 1923 and 1924, 37 Klansmen listed in that table become dual members. Due to Klan infighting and thievery within the organization, Hope Cottage would be bankrupt and turned over to the state by 1925.¹⁹³ At that time Marvin was working on another charity cause.

Although Marvin is not a part of the board that conceived of what became the Shriners Hospital nor did he have anything to do with where or how it is built, he was a big part of raising money to keep the hospital operational. In 1924, Marvin was elected to what is called the Divan

¹⁹⁰ Official Souvenir of Klan Day At the State Fair of Texas, *Marvin Delivers Address* (Dallas, Texas: Standard American Publishing House, 1923), 10.

¹⁹¹ Michael Phillips, *White Metropolis: Race, Ethnicity, and Religion in Dallas, 1841-2001* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 81.

¹⁹² Official Souvenir of Klan Day At the State Fair of Texas, *Marvin Delivers Address*, 10.

¹⁹³ "Texas Klanhaven, Dallas, Chartered," *The Dallas Morning News*, September 11, 1925, 7.

or the leadership body of Hella Shrine; his title was Assistant Rabban or Second Vice President, third in charge of a Shrine Temple. In October of that year, the Divan sent a letter to all Masonic lodges in Dallas recommending an increase in dues, with a portion of them used to help fund the Hospital. The hospital at the time owed \$70,000 and required \$60,000 per year to operate and had a waiting list of children desperately needing the help of the hospital.¹⁹⁴ They were proposing that \$25 from each initiation fee into Scottish Rite Masonry and a \$3 increase in dues throughout Dallas County Freemasonry be contributed to the operation costs of the hospital. The Divan of the Shrine asking for this change in 1924 consisted of seven members, three of them known Klansmen, one being Marvin. Once Hope Cottage and the Shrine Hospital had been secured financially, he then dedicated his time to the leadership of the Shrine.

Marvin was elected as Grand Dragon for the Klan in February of 1924 at the same time he was the Second Vice President for Hella Shrine. By 1926, his run with the Klan was nearly over and he dedicated himself to the Masonic fraternity, becoming Potentate that same year. In his address to the members of Hella Shrine he stated that “[t]here has never been one who has had a stronger desire to cement the relation between its members and to promote harmony.”¹⁹⁵ This statement may have been made in response to the situation he was dealing with inside the Klan at the time. The Klan had lost the municipal and county elections in 1924 to anti-Klan candidates. As a result, they began losing members, their financial records were chaotic and unorganized, control of the local chapter was in dispute by its members, and their leadership was

¹⁹⁴ Letter from the Divan of Hella Shrine to Blue Lodges of Dallas, October 28, 1924, Minutes of Gibraltar Lodge No. 1179, Archives of Oak Cliff Lodge No. 705.

¹⁹⁵ *Annual Report of Hella Temple and Hella Temple-Scottish Rite Masonic Hospital* (Dallas, TX: Hella Temple, 1925), 1.



Figure 4.6: Zebina Earl Marvin as Potentate of Hella Shrine standing in front of the Dallas Scottish Rite Cathedral, 1926¹⁹⁶

being questioned by the government.¹⁹⁷ Perhaps in reaction, Marvin redoubled his efforts in the organization he knew to be sound in mind and members, Freemasonry. His year as Potentate seems to have gone quite well. He became an honorary member of multiple Temples around the nation. The members of Hella Shrine also purchased tableware for the wedding of his son, showing the respect they had for him and his family.¹⁹⁸ Marvin was a dual member who was

¹⁹⁶ H. Bennett, *Z.E. Marvin Past Potentate of Hella Temple*, ca. 1926, Hella Shrine Archives, Garland, Texas.

¹⁹⁷ Charles Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the South West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 223.

¹⁹⁸ Letter from Asher Mintz to ZE Marvin, June 23, 1926, ZE Marvin, File No. 2603, Archives of Hella Shrine, Garland, Texas.

loyal to the organizations he was involved with. His actions made him a respected charitable man who stopped at nothing to achieve the goals of the organization he was working for. As a result, he encouraged the business prosperity of the city as well as contributed to the social welfare of its citizens.

The bonds of fraternity, charity, and money united dual members and allowed these men to achieve unprecedented success. That success was measured by either personal gain, as exhibited by Evans' rise through the ranks of masonry and the Klan, or through charitable work as illustrated by Marvin's work with both Hope Cottage and the Shriners Hospital. However, the fraternalism displayed through the three attributes listed above was not the only quality that brought men from both fraternities together. Another tie united these men revealed by the victory of the United States through the Great War, patriotism. Collectively, the United States was wallowing in its victory against the Germans after 1918. With a flood of immigrants coming into the U.S. from Europe, some Americans feared a decline in American values, traditions, and the republican style of government. As a result, nationalism was dubbed "Americanism" and signified loyalty to the U.S. government and anything else that made the U.S. distinctly American. Immigrants had much to fear for they became targets of right-wing groups like the Klan and were beaten and terrorized such as Phillip Rothblum, the local Dallas Jew mentioned in chapter 3. Catholics were also a target. Some Americans feared a takeover of the American government by Catholics and generally believed that the Pope would run America, ending the traditional Protestant way of life. These sentiments were felt by Klansmen and Masons alike. Americanism became a rallying cry for both fraternities in a rapidly changing America.

This push for Americanism in the lodges should come as no surprise in the world of fraternalism. But for those who seek to understand why Masons would join the Klan or vice versa, the study of Americanism in these lodge becomes clear. It was not a huge leap from one organization to the next in ideology. Most, if not all lodges in all fraternal organization taught patriotic concepts. It is one characteristic of fraternalism that bound the organizations to one another and made the move from one fraternal organization to the next more comfortable and easier for joiners.

Fraternalism exhibited itself in a wide variety of ways in the lodge. One of the most prominent bonding methods between Masonic brothers was patriotism. Much like the Klan, the Masons also heralded Americanism. In their weekly newspaper, *The Texas One Hundred Per Cent American*, the Klan constantly propagandized Americanism and constantly reiterated who fell into that category. Americanism was a more radical definition of nationalism and, to fraternal organizations, had much more specific criteria than a general love for the country. According to the Klan, an American had to be “a native born citizen...who can swear an unqualified oath of allegiance to this Great Government, its flag, and its Constitution and one who owes no allegiance to any foreign government.”¹⁹⁹ In the *Camel's Calf*, the newsletter for Hella Shrine, the Masons also echoed the desire for Americanism and suggested “it could be taught by teaching English, by thinking American, knowing our history, their loyalty, their contribution to American society, and devotion to American government and justice.”²⁰⁰ In light of what was happening in the nation-economic depression, the communist threat, and a large

¹⁹⁹ “Our Country and what Constitutes Americanism,” *Texas One Hundred Per Cent American*, April 13, 1923. 3

²⁰⁰ “Teaching Americanism,” *Camels Calf*, November 1920. 11.

influx of immigrants from Europe-Americanism was a powerful lure for most Americans.²⁰¹ In Dallas Masonic lodges' minutes, Americanism was constantly exhibited. In February of 1921, Washington Lodge members voted to appoint a committee to find a "suitable flag for the lodge room." In September of 1922, a Past Master of Tannehill Lodge donated a small American flag while the Master of the lodge asked for donations for a flag to be "draped over the East" at Landmark Lodge. The Master put out the ballot box seeking donations for a larger one collecting \$20 in two meetings.²⁰² De Witt McMurray made several tours around Dallas lodges and made short talks on Americanism. Unfortunately, the minutes never describe specifics, only that these speeches were "highly appreciated by all." Many prominent Masons would follow McMurray's example and travel around speaking about Americanism. At the first meeting of John G. Slayter Lodge on January 4, 1923, Grand Master Mike H. Thomas made a "most impressing and interesting talk explaining the duties of a Mason." These duties included stressing "the part we should take as American citizens...and promised to send the Lodge a United States Flag for use in the Lodge room."²⁰³ The Masonic Service Association in Dallas put out an occasional bulletin which had patriotic talks, biographies, and short talks. Talks on Americanism were given on a variety of subjects like "Paul Revere," "Civilian Patriots of the American Revolution," and on one occasion, in Pentagon Lodge, a Master's degree was given in colonial uniforms.²⁰⁴ Many talks throughout the years were given on Washington's birthday; the

²⁰¹ Kelly Baker, *Gospel According to the Klan: The KKK's Appeal to Protestant America, 1915-1930* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 2011), 79; Nancy K. MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995), 5. 14-15.

²⁰² Called Meetings, September 25, 1922, September 29, 1922, Archives, Minutes of Landmark Lodge No. 1168, Dallas, Texas.

²⁰³ Called Meeting, January 4, 1923, Archives, John G. Slayter Lodge No. 1098, Dallas, Texas.

²⁰⁴ Called Meeting, February 20, 1925, Archives, Minutes of Pentagon Lodge No. 1080, Dallas, Texas.

typical lecture was always “Washington the Man and Mason,” with the occasional patriotic music rendered by a lodge choir. Upon the death of President Warren G. Harding on August 2, 1923, members of Trinity Valley Lodge stood in a moment of silence at their meeting on August 5th to honor the fallen President while the Klan honored him in a more dramatic fashion by creating a fiery cross with the lights of the Magnolia Building from 9 pm to midnight on August 3rd. It measured 400 feet tall by 130 feet across. A plane also flew over the city with a fiery cross illuminated on the bottom of it.²⁰⁵ Americanism created a unified bond between the Klan and Freemasonry. Dual members could move within these organizations and be constantly bombarded with ideas of loyalty, American history, American culture, and heritage. However, jumping around from one organization to the next created competition and the several Masonic lodges had to find a way to maintain membership in a world that was flocking to the Klan.

With Klan membership increasing nationwide, Masonry had to find a way to keep members and compete with other fraternities. The practice of speculative Masonry-learning philosophy, history, spiritualism and morality-was not enough for some members. Many Masons wanted to practice what they called operative Masonry, or putting into practice in the community what was taught in the lodges concerning helping mankind. The Klan, either through flattery or respectability, appropriated several aspects of Masonry for itself, like degrees, signs and handshakes, etc. Masonry would attempt to appropriate Klan practices to compete with the growing number of Klansmen. For example, since ministers were leaders in the communities and were proselytizing Protestants, the Klan would offer them full membership at no cost if they

²⁰⁵ Klan Day Program, “A Night Scene in Dallas,” October 24, 1923. 5.

joined.²⁰⁶ Dallas Masonry competed for ministers as well. In January of 1923, Gibraltar Lodges' secretary proposed an amendment to their bylaws stating that when a "Minister of the Gospel is elected a member of Gibraltar Lodge by affiliation that they shall automatically become Life Members and be exempt from all dues."²⁰⁷ At the following stated meeting, or business meeting, that resolution for ministers was rejected by the membership. This rejection could reflect the members' desire to steer clear of any reflections of Klan policy that may have existed between the fraternities. However, despite this resolution's rejection, in July of 1923, they elected a minister by affiliation and the lodge voted for him to become a life member anyway. This also occurred in Washington Lodge in March of 1924. Washington changed their bylaws to reflect this policy and immediately a minister who had been suspended for nonpayment of dues asked for remittance which was allowed by the membership. At the same meeting, another brother asked if his friend, a minister, may enjoy the same privilege. Upon confirming his status as a minister, the lodge allowed a life membership.²⁰⁸ Masonry also appears to copy some of the Klan's material given to new members. In May of 1925, a Trinity Valley Lodge member presented "the ABC's" of Masonry at the meeting, just as admission into the Klan, a member was given a pamphlet titled, *The ABC's of the Invisible Empire*.²⁰⁹ As both fraternities competed, ranging from ritual to the status of members, both also utilized a code of conduct when dealing with its members. Morals and values were extremely important to both

²⁰⁶ Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City: 1915-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 10.

²⁰⁷ Stated Meeting, January 4, 1923, Archives, Minutes of Gibraltar Lodge No. 1179, Dallas, Texas.

²⁰⁸ Stated Meetings, March 10, 1924, May 12, 1924, Archives, Minutes of Washington Lodge No. 1117, Dallas, Texas.

²⁰⁹ Called Meeting, May 22, 1925, Archives, Minutes of Trinity Valley Lodge No. 1048, Dallas, Texas.

fraternities however the evaluation and dispensing of justice were opposites of one another but sometimes they were one in the same.

As Klan membership grew across the nation, moral conduct both public and private became essential not only for its members, but for all living in the U.S.²¹⁰ As a result, the Klan became the morality police and often flogged, tar-and-feathered, threatened, or killed people who did not follow their version of morality. This included but was not limited to divorce, upholding prohibition, gambling, cohabitating with a person of color, and various other actions they deemed serious offenses. When Phillip Rothblum was flogged in March of 1922, his “crime,” according to his Klan accusers, was “keeping with prostitutes and soliciting Negroes and Mexicans to sleep with his wife.”²¹¹ Masonry also took moral offenses very seriously. The Grand Lodge of Texas Law Book of 1896 listed three pages of moral offenses a Mason could not commit such as gambling, drunkenness, profane swearing, and adultery, all very similar moral violations that the Klan also deemed unlawful.²¹² However, according to the minutes of various Masonic lodges in Dallas, violations of Masonic law were usually handled more amicably. Masonry policed morality by creating a trial by jury of their peers, namely members of that lodge. Trinity Valley Lodge held a Masonic Trial in January of 1926 for a brother who was

²¹⁰ Many laws of morality were enacted in the early 20th century such as the Mann Act in 1910, a law to prevent human trafficking aimed at slowing down prostitution; the Volstead Act in 1919, aimed at eliminating alcohol abuse; *Buck v. Bell* in 1927, allowing sterilization based on mental instability initiating the eugenics movement; The Scopes Monkey Trial in 1925 was aimed at eliminating evolution from school curriculums allowing creationism and Christian values to be upheld over science; the 19th Amendment was passed in 1920 allowing women to vote empowering them to the expense of the power men had politically who thought this would turn the social structure of the country upside down.

²¹¹ Darwin Payne, *Big D*, 82.

²¹² *Revision of the Resolutions and Edicts of the Grand Lodge of A.F. & A.M. of Texas* (Houston, Texas: W.H. Coyle & Co., 1896), 193-196.

brought up on Masonic charges, for “wife desertion and unlawful removal of mortgaged property.” By a vote of the lodge, the brother was suspended indefinitely.²¹³

Sometimes the two fraternities mixed together to uphold moral conduct. On August 18, 1921, a member of Tannehill Lodge was brought up on Masonic charges by the Junior Warden of the lodge, the third in line of the Masonic lodge leadership, for having unlawful carnal communication with the sister of a brother Mason. The accused Mason had already been found guilty by a Federal court for violating the Mann Act four months prior. His testimony and that of others in the federal trial was used in the Masonic trial provided by a certified copy of the court records received from D.C. McCord, a Klansman and Senior Warden, second in line of the Masonic lodge leadership, of Tannehill Lodge.²¹⁴ A Masonic trial is not unlike a trial by jury in a local court. The jury for the accused is of his Masonic peers while a Trial Master is selected by the Grand Lodge to act as a judge. Usually the Junior Warden acts as defense for the accused while another acts as a prosecutor. In this case, it is necessary to explain the details because despite the civility of the trial, the Klan waited to dispense their version of justice upon the accused. One testimony was of a rented car driver who witnessed several disputes between the Mason on trial and his mistress. In testimony he stated that “she stopped him [the driver] on the street Saturday August 13th at about 5:00P.M. and asked him if he had seen [the Mason] and told him that [the Mason] was trying to get a hold of him to testify at the Masonic Hall and advised him not to go, that the Ku Klux Klan was mixed up in it and were trying to get information and

²¹³ Stated Meeting, February 5, 1926, Archives, Minutes of Trinity Valley Lodge No. 1048, Dallas, Texas.

²¹⁴ The Mann Act or White Slave Traffic Act was authored by an Illinois congressman by the name of James Robert Mann which made it illegal to transport women across state lines for the purposes of prostitution or any other immoral act. The Mason had testified in federal court that he had committed an immoral act in Texarkana on the Arkansas side of the line which he was found guilty of committing in April of 1921.

that if he was not careful he would get in trouble with them.”²¹⁵ Issues of a marriage between the Mason and the mistress also came up in the trial. Earlier in the testimony of the mistress, she had mentioned her family was against any kind of marriage between the two because the Mason was Jewish. This fact, in conjunction with the immoral act of sleeping with a Mason’s sister, would have been enough for the Klan to consider the matter. The driver also testified that “she was pushing the White Slave charges because [the Mason] would not give her the Buick and money.” It is unknown whether the woman was using the Klan as a threat to get the Mason to do as she wished or if the rumor were true. The fact that she mentions the Klan was at the Masonic Hall waiting for him illustrates that she had foreknowledge of their activities and somehow knew that Masons and Klansmen were in it together. Perhaps her brother was responsible for informing his sister of this information. Unfortunately, since the accused Mason was suspended indefinitely from the fraternity and the minutes say nothing else of the Klan or trial, there is no way to know what happened afterwards.

This Masonic trial does suggest that Masons in Dallas who were accused of any immoral act could be scrutinized by the Klan. However, this could have been an isolated incident; no other minutes or trials mention the Klan. In other cases that included immoral behavior Klan interest may have been present, but not reflected in the minutes. By 1923, The Klan and the Craft had become so closely intertwined and competitive that the Klan even opened their main offices across the street from the Scottish Rite Cathedral at 2013 ½ Young St.²¹⁶ George K. Butcher, the Klan Secretary and member of Pentagon Lodge, and his assistant, Edward M.

²¹⁵ Testimony of L.B. Torrey, State of Texas, County of Dallas, August 17, 1921, Minutes of Tannehill Lodge No. 52, August 18th, 1921. 329.

²¹⁶ *Dallas City Directory 1923* (Dallas, Texas: John F. Worley Directory Co., 1923), 703.

Nelson, who petitioned Landmark Lodge in 1923, both worked in these offices and only had to walk 30 feet from one fraternal organization to the other. This ease of access could be an explanation for the number of Klansmen that become dual members that year. It is unknown what other benefits the Klan may have received by being in such proximity to the Scottish Rite building.

Occasionally, dual membership had its ironies. On April 6, 1921, Sawnie Aldredge was elected Mayor of Dallas. One year later he made a public statement saying he was not a member of the Klan. A few days after making this statement, he put out an announcement not only asking employees of the city who were Klansmen to resign from the fraternity, but also asking the whole Dallas membership to disband. He believed the men who were members of the Klan were “good men” who joined to “be an influence for good in their community” but “were mistaken in their views.”²¹⁷ He claimed to be familiar with the good nature of these men because he knew many of them. A few months earlier on January 18th, Mayor Aldredge took his Master’s Degree at Trinity Valley Lodge. One-hundred-sixty-seven Masons were in attendance for this event, including many important and famous Masons like Sam P. Cochran, R.E.L. Saner, Elihu A. Sanger, and Louis Blaylock. Cochran conferred the degree with the 33^o Scottish Rite Degree Team and the Trinity Valley Choir rendered incidental music. Afterwards Aldredge stood up and addressed the lodge, stating that he “was very much impressed with the degree as conferred and felt very highly honored on being admitted into the Masonic Fraternity.”²¹⁸ He then thanked Sam Cochran and the degree team. What Aldredge may or may not have known

²¹⁷ “Mayor Asks Klan to Quit For the Good of Dallas,” *Dallas Morning News*, April 7, 1922. 1.

²¹⁸ Called Meeting, January 18, 1922-8pm, Archives, Minutes of Trinity Valley Lodge No. 1048, Dallas, Texas.

was there were at least five Klansmen in attendance of his degree that night, one of them was a state representative. Regardless, after the degree the Masons present moved to the Grill Room to celebrate and shared in refreshments prepared by the stewards of the lodge. Masons and Klansmen fraternizing either knowingly or unwittingly should come as no surprise. However, this illustrates that Dallas Masons inside a lodge could practice toleration of those who were dual members. It also suggests that though some of these brothers may have been Klansmen, if they acted as Masons at a lodge meeting and not Klansmen, their presence was accepted.

The Masonic lodge environment is different everywhere a Mason travels. A lodge has its own personality as created by its own members exhibited in how it conducts itself in formality, ritual, social events, financial stability, location, etc. That independence would have given the prerogative of dealing with the issue of dual membership as each lodge saw fit. There was no united front within Dallas Freemasonry for or against the Klan. According to the minutes of several Dallas Masonic lodges, no opposition to the Klan occurred; Masons did so on an individual basis. Some Masons actively intimidated the Klan by coming to lodge to exhibit their defiance of the anti-Semitism that dual members endorsed; Rabbi David Leftkowitz and Julius Schepps frequently attended meetings despite known Klansmen attending regularly. Schepps even went so far as to pay the membership fee for fifty of his employees, at Schepps Bakery, to infiltrate the Klan to report on their dealings.²¹⁹ In other cases, lodges prevented Klansmen from petitioning a lodge for initiation. On April 3, 1924, Gibraltar Lodge rejected Joseph W. Hutt, the

²¹⁹ Patricia Evridge Hill, *Dallas: The Making of a Modern City* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 102; Marilyn Wood Hill, "A History of the Jewish Involvement in the Dallas Community" (MA thesis, Southern Methodist University, 1967): 53.

editor of the *Texas One Hundred Per Cent American* newspaper for two years.²²⁰ Landmark Lodge did the same thing in March and May of the same year. Edward M. Nelson, the office manager for the Klan, and Reverend Alex C. Parker, the Exalted Cyclops of the Dallas Klan, both petitioned Landmark Lodge within a few months of one another. Nelson was rejected for initiation for a period of five years.²²¹ Parker's petition was for affiliation with Landmark Lodge was read at the stated meeting on May 9, 1924. He was transferring his membership from Midland Lodge No. 623 when his petition was lost, ignored, or not considered when the time came to vote on it the following month. Parker's name was never recorded in the minutes of Landmark as having ever affiliated with the lodge. However, on April 9, 1926, Parker's name appears as an affiliated member of Landmark Lodge.²²² His name is never recorded in the minutes but is found in the ledgers of Landmark Lodge as having been affiliated. A lodge must vote to affiliate members who petition the lodge. Either this action by the lodge was conducted and not recorded or it was done behind the scenes to maintain the anonymity of such a high-ranking Klansmen. In a Masonic lodge, the reasons for voting in favor of or against a petition of a candidate is anonymous, because it is done by ballot. No one knows how a brother votes unless that brother states his reasoning, though he is not obligated to. It is not positive that being Klansmen was the reason these men were not accepted into the lodge as brothers. Other low-level or average Klansmen were accepted into the lodge before, during, and after these men

²²⁰ Stated Meeting, April 3, 1924, Archives, Minutes of Gibraltar Lodge No. 1179, Dallas, Texas; Letter from Earl R. Stewart to Joseph W. Hutt, April 7, 1924, File of J.W. Hutt, Archives of Oak Cliff Lodge No. 705.

²²¹ Letter from John L. Cottingham to Edward M. Nelson, March 18, 1924, File of Edward M. Nelson, Archives of Oak Cliff Lodge No. 705.

²²² Ledger entry for Alexander Campbell Parker at landmark Lodge No. 1168 A.F. & A.M., Archives of Oak Cliff Lodge No. 705.

attempted to petition the lodge. Their high profile as Klansmen may have been the determining factor, such as the case with A.C. Parker, but there is no way to prove this.

In other situations, and on many occasions, dual members would fraternize with their Masonic and Klan brothers outside of the lodge room which appeared to be accepted by other Masons and Klansmen alike. For example, brothers who passed on were loved and honored by both fraternities and both had their own burial rituals and ceremonies. During the 1920's, countless burials were attended by the brethren no matter which organization performed the burial ceremony, but there were problems with joint Masonic and Klan burials. In 1922, Grand Master Mike H. Thomas saw joint burials as incompatible with Masonic principles. Because of the threat the Klan posed to Texas Masonry, Thomas saw it as unmasonic that a brother would have a dual funeral in the same day and at the same time. He mentioned an incident that occurred at a funeral earlier in the year, during his address at the Grand Annual Communication in December of 1922:

[I]mmediately following the burial services of a dead brother it has been reported that the Ku Klux Klan came upon the scene and conducted certain ceremonies, which is not in accord with Masonic usages, which prevents a Masonic Lodge taking part in burial services where any other organization is to follow them.²²³

Mike H. Thomas was a Dallas Mason and a member of Dallas Lodge No. 760. Regardless of where Thomas stood in his personal opinions on the Klan, his statement in his address to all

²²³ *Proceedings of the Eighty-Seventh Annual Communication of the M.W. Grand Lodge of Texas: Held in the City of Waco, Commencing on the First Tuesday in December A.D. 1922 :: A.L. 5922; Ordered to Be Read in All the Lodges of This Jurisdiction for the Information of the Brethren*, "Ku Klux Klan," (Waco, Texas: The Gayle Printing Co., 1922), 94-95. This is an address by Grand Master Mike H. Thomas on the Ku Klux Klan. However, his connection with the Klan has been speculated by members of Dallas Freemasonry for many years. He comments on the Klan stating, "I cannot too severely condemn the solicitors of this organization...for their attempted efforts to connect it with Masonry." His address suggests sympathy for the Klan.

Texas Masons was procedural for he, as many officers in Masonry, followed Grand Lodge law to the best of his abilities. Masons respected him and his decrees, yet Masons and Klansmen alike had already been improvising these situations. This was demonstrated at the funeral of distinguished civic leader and Masonic brother John G. Slayter on March 15, 1922.

Slayter was an influential pastor at East Dallas Christian Church, the church of many Masons and Klansmen alike. Slayter desired to have a Masonic funeral. There were eleven Masonic lodges represented and all the lodges in Dallas voted to elect a representative to stand in the funeral on behalf of that lodge. His body was to lie in state at the Scottish Rite Cathedral and flags around the city were flown at half-staff before the burial the next day at Grove Hill Cemetery. Eight thousand people attended his service including several prominent Masons and Klansmen. Mayor Sawnie Aldredge was tasked to draw up a resolution of respect and Grand Master Thomas was a pallbearer. Honorary pallbearers included Rabbi David Leftkowitz of Temple Emmanu-El, Past Grand Master Sam P. Cochran, Louis Blaylock, George B. Dealey, Bishops Harry T. Moore and Alexander C. Garrett, E.M. Kahn, and Edward Titcher. There were at least three Klansmen in attendance, one of them was the Great Titan of Province No. 2, Hiram Wesley Evans, who was a Deacon at Slayter's church.²²⁴

Klan funerals were similar. On February 29, 1924, the *Texas One Hundred Per Cent American* published notices of three Klan funerals. The first funeral in the column was also held at Grove Hill Cemetery. When the Klansman was buried, the newspaper said the ceremony was "attended by many mourning friends many of whom are numbered among the Masons and the

²²⁴ "Body of Pastor is Met by Mourners," *Dallas Morning News*, March 15, 1922. 2.

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.”²²⁵ The funeral was presided over by Reverend Alex C. Parker, Exalted Cyclops of the Dallas Klan, a Mason and who in 1926, would become an affiliate member of Landmark Lodge No. 1168. The ceremony included eleven Klansmen in their full regalia who placed a floral fiery cross upon his grave. This ceremony, and the Masonic ceremony mentioned earlier, illustrate the “grey area” of Masonic Law that was easily exploited so long as one ceremony was performed and one group or the other fell in line with the majority.²²⁶ It is unknown how many burials were attended by dual members during the 1920s. Though a more thorough study is beyond the scope of this project, further study is indicated.

Dual Membership across the United States meant something different depending on what town, city, or state a member lived in. Tension is evident from the numerous amount of complaints across the multitude of fraternities in the U.S. as published in the variety of fraternal publications like the *Fellowship Forum* or *Texas One Hundred Per Cent American*.²²⁷ The letter from Past Master H.L. Atkinson of Beeville Lodge to the Grand Secretary of California was a sure sign of members being singled out and even threatened in a town or a lodge that was dominant with Klansmen or pro-Klan members.²²⁸ It also illustrates that urban dual membership

²²⁵ “When Klansmen Die,” *Texas One Hundred Per Cent American*, February 29, 1924. 5.

²²⁶ The same situation with dual members attending the funeral of John G. Slayter would occur with Reverend A.C. Garret in 1924 as well.

²²⁷ “Two Views of the Ku Klux Klan,” *The Fellowship Forum*, May 19, 1922, 4; “New York World Wants to Control Masonic Policies, Seeks Indorsement and Aid of Masons to Kill-Off Klan,” *The Fellowship Forum*, July 14, 1922, 1; “Grand Master Burke Charged With Taking ‘Throne of Authority’, Wages War on ‘Invisible Empire’ By Taking Away Charters of Masonic Lodges,” *The Fellowship Forum*, July 21, 1922, 1; “War on Masonry,” *The Texas One Hundred Per Cent American*, June 22, 1923, 3; “A Masonic Opinion,” *The Texas One Hundred Per Cent American*, November 2, 1923, 8; “Has One of Our Prominent masons Been Hoodwinked?,” *The Texas One Hundred Per Cent American*, April 7, 1922, 1. In most cases, these articles illustrate tensions occurring between Freemasonry and the Klan. In others, the Klan praises Freemasonry for its stance on similar issues such as Americanism and education while in others they condemn certain members as siding with Catholics or Jews and using propaganada to illustrate their connection with groups they already prey upon. The Klan illustrates their hypocrisy towards Masons in doing so.

²²⁸ Letter from H.L. Atkinson to John Whicher, May 9, 1922, Ku Klux Klan Collection, Henry W. Coil Library and Museum of Freemasonry.

was far more adaptive than their conservative rural counterparts. As is seen in the Grand Lodge Proceedings of 1925, rural lodges had the largest appropriation of Masonic lodges by the Klan, which created the deepest divisions in Texas, as also is illustrated in the Atkinson letter. It is interesting to note that Dallas dual members could adapt to the changing forces within their fraternities but even though changes in society were stressful and difficult to bare. Dallas dual members were adaptive because they were able to exploit the grey areas in Masonic and Klan laws and made situations work where both fraternities comingled--such as funerals and Klan assemblies outside normal lodge meetings--thus keeping themselves under the radar of any scrutiny by Grand Lodge. Miguel Hernandez described the Klan as “a mirror of the communities they were built on...that each individual klavern adapted to suit the needs of the community.”²²⁹ This appears to be true in Dallas. The lists analyzed, as seen in *Table 3.1*, show that an average of 36% of Dallas Masons held dual membership; if the samples are a reflection of the total dual membership population, this is a significant number. The leaders of the Klan were part of the upper-class Dallas elite and civic-minded, which would explain the Karnivals, Hope Cottage, and Klan Days at the Fair. The Klan may have become the embodiment of the civic activities people wanted in a cosmopolitan city, activities that very few Masonic lodges or other fraternal organizations could pull off on their own. Klansmen, it seems, wanted fun, charity, and brotherhood in a world that was rapidly changing around them. The Masons, by contrast, spent most of their money by taking care of the lodge building, concerned with necessities for the operation of a lodge building, charitable organizations, and their own members.²³⁰ Most of their

²²⁹ Miguel Hernandez, “Fighting Fraternities: The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920's America” (PhD diss., University of Exeter, 2015): 33.

²³⁰ Stated Meetings, December 6, 1921, Archives, Dallas Lodge No. 760, Dallas, Texas. Most Lodges have similar minutes illustrating moneys paid to various entities. In this case, Dallas Lodge paid money for advertising meetings

entertainment rested on formal dances or parties with a coat-and-tie atmosphere.²³¹ Quartets, choirs, and too much formality could have alienated the average middle-class Mason. The Klan provided multiple opportunities for its members like administration, lecturing for recruitment, politics, vigilantism, politics, and entertainment for the community which Freemasonry did not offer for most of its members. There was something available that fraternal brothers of all walks of life could enjoy.²³² A dual member could have enjoyed the best of both in Dallas: sophistication, reputation, and fun, whether if it was pursued out of mischief or charity.

Beginning in 1921, the stance of a Grand Lodge could delimit how far individual lodges were willing to go to thwart attempts of the Klan using Masonic lodges for recruitment and/or meetings. This could be seen in lodges in Kansas in 1922, where the Master of Shawnee Lodge used the Grand Masters stance against the Klan to change their by-laws forbidding them from using their building.²³³ This Masonic law was already in use in Texas but being ignored. In 1922, Grand Master Mike H. Thomas included with that law that Masonic use of buildings by other organizations, including other Masonic appendant bodies such as Rainbow Girls and DeMolay, the girls and boys youth groups of Freemasonry, was also forbidden. Dallas was in a unique position. It had the largest Klan membership per capita in the United States. The initial

in *The Dallas Morning News*, stationary, flowers, to the Masonic Temple Corporation, and charitable organizations like the Texas Masonic Home and School in Ft. Worth and the Home for Aged Masons in Arlington. This was typical of the spending lodges did every month.

²³¹ William Porter Matheney, *History and Handbook of Pentagon Lodge No. 1080 A.F. & A.M. First Twenty Five Administrations 1913-1938* (Dallas, Texas: 1938), 34-42. In this history of Pentagon Lodge, chapter 4 describes the various social events it would organize monthly such as dinners, dances, mid-summer parties, and musical entertainments.

²³² While the Masons offered coat-and-tie balls, quartets, and dinner parties, the Klan offered Klan Day at the State Fair of Texas, the Kolossal Karnival, various parades and barbecues for its members and nonmembers alike.

²³³ Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Texas Proceedings of the Eighty-Seventh Annual Communication of the M.W. Grand Lodge of Texas: Held in the City of Waco, Commencing on the First Tuesday in December A.D. 1922 :: A.L. 5922; Ordered to Be Read in All the Lodges of This Jurisdiction for the Information of the Brethren (Waco, Texas: The Gayle Printing Co., 1922), 21.

leadership were Masons, such as Hiram Wesley Evans, as well as prominent members of society, such as Zeke Marvin. Masonry in Dallas was equally as powerful, with a reputation of creating decent Masons whose character alone was enough to create a sense of neutrality within the lodges: remember the place of the Jewish community within the fraternity with prominent members like the Sanger brothers, Edward Titcher, David Leftkowitz, and Ben Irelson. These men were beloved by all not just as community leaders but as upright Masons. Edward Titcher was even approached by Klansmen desiring him to join. After their sales pitch, he explained to them that he was Jewish and was ineligible to join. As the crew bolted for the car, one turned around and said, “Too bad, you would have made an excellent Kleagle.”²³⁴ The examples of Evans and Marvin demonstrate that dual membership meant something different to everyone who joined. Both Evans and Marvin desired power, money, and respectability but the path they took to achieve it was much different. The two fraternities shared many of the same values. Both regarded morality as important but whereas Masons used civility when conducting their own trials, the Klan took a more militant approach using violence to police morality. Both were extremely patriotic and made every effort to exhibit their loyalties to the nation both inside and outside of the lodge. The general attitude toward the Klan by Dallas Masons was one of neutrality or a “don’t ask, don’t tell” mentality. Masonic lodges did not fight the Klan per se; they used the power of the vote by its members to deny Klansmen as their method of protesting the Klan. Other Masons such as George B. Dealey and Julius Schepps took a more direct approach and protested the Klan either through press or infiltration. As a dual member or even

²³⁴ David Ritz, “Inside the Jewish Establishment,” *D Magazine*, November 1975, accessed July 21, 2017, <https://www.dmagazine.com/publications/d-magazine/1975/november/inside-the-jewish-establishment/>.

just a Mason in a Dallas lodge, if a Mason maintained honor and respectability for himself, he was either approached for Klan membership, or left alone.

In Dallas lodges, there appears to have been no severe animosity between dual members; the average Mason who did not join the Klan, or those Masons who were anti-Klan like Dealey. Jews maintained friendships with former Klansmen and endeavored to join them in charitable organizations like the Community Chest.²³⁵ And when Masons died, their eulogies and praise were spoken together as though their dual membership of the past made no difference. In 1946, Masonry mourned the loss of George K. Butcher, the former Secretary for Dallas Klan No. 66, and George B. Dealey. At the 33rd Anniversary of Pentagon Lodges' Charter Member Night on December 3rd of that year, Dealey and Butcher's names and eulogies were read side by side in true affection and brotherly love and above all, upon the level, or treated as equals. Butcher was remembered as a brother who "enjoyed his blue lodge and his other Masonic connections, he was humble and served whenever opportunity offered... We will remember him for his sterling qualities, his pledge to do was as good as the thing done." Dealey, too, was memorialized as "a familiar figure, a tireless worker in all Masonic fields... with a love of mankind... a type of man that does not pass our way more than once or twice in a lifetime."²³⁶ There is a sophistication and respect in the blue lodges toward those that serve as Masons. Whatever tense relationship, political or journalistic fighting these men did during the years the Klan controlled Dallas or even twenty years after its decline, that was all put to the side within the lodge. These men were honored as Masons and for their service towards all mankind.

²³⁵ Letter from Henry T. Levy to George B. Dealey, May 27, 1930. Dealey Papers, SMU, File 317A-A6667.

²³⁶ Program for 33rd Anniversary of Charter Member Night at Pentagon Lodge, December 3, 1946, Pentagon Lodge No. 1080 Archives, Scottish Rite Temple, Dallas, Texas, 3-5.

CHAPTER 5

THE DEMISE OF THE KLAN AND THE AFTERMATH

“They were proud to be both Klansmen and Masons and saw no conflict of interest or clash of ideals.”

–Adam Kendall, *Freemasonry and the Second Ku Klux Klan in California*, 2011.²³⁷

The Klan’s power in Dallas and in Texas began its decline in 1924. Felix D. Robertson lost the governorship to Miriam Ferguson and the Dallas Klan lost the municipal and county elections ending their political dominance. In late 1923 and early 1924, District Attorney Dan Moody led the first successful prosecutions of Klansmen in the United States ending their untouchable vigilantism and lawlessness in the courts.²³⁸ Moody’s success in Texas was noticed by the whole nation. The *New York Times* dubbed him, “the man who is credited with having driven, almost single-handed, the Texas Ku Klux Klan into its political grave.”²³⁹ His successes led him to the governorship of Texas, defeating Miriam Ferguson in 1926. In 1925, once the Klan had been defeated politically and legally, the Grand Master of Texas, Guinn Williams, was able to use this momentum to attack the Klan at its source of recruitment, the Masonic lodge. According to the Grand Lodge Proceedings of 1925 at the Grand Annual Communication in December of that year, Williams emphasized his anger with Texas Masonry by reminding Masons that the established laws of the Grand Lodge aimed at reducing the power of the Klan,

²³⁷ Adam G. Kendall, “Freemasonry and the Second Ku Klux Klan in California, 1921-1925.” *Journal for Research into Freemasonry and Fraternalism* 2, No. 1 (2011): 137.

²³⁸ Ken Anderson, *Dan Moody: Crusader for Justice* (Georgetown, Texas: Georgetown Press, 2008), 19-27.

²³⁹ “Texas Names Crusader Her New Chief,” *New York Times*, September 12, 1926. SM9.

created by past Grand Master Andrew Randell, were being “ignored and disregarded.”²⁴⁰

Williams attempted to discuss the matter with the lodges in Texas that were charged with this action. Unable to resolve these disputes, Williams began arresting or seizing the charters of lodges that were in contempt of Grand Lodge laws regarding the Klan, effectively shutting them down. On April 1, 1925, one of the first charters to be taken was that of St. Johns Lodge No. 53 in Tyler, Texas, home of the Klan-elected Senator, Earle B. Mayfield. Throughout the year, Williams arrested seven more charters, all rural Masonic lodges. These were the lodges where the most dissent took place and the membership was no longer conducting Masonic affairs for the good of mankind or the fraternity. However, the Klan had infiltrated all Masonic lodges to some extent. Arresting the charters of every lodge would have been an arduous process and likely destroyed Texas Freemasonry, so it became necessary to make examples out of those seven lodges. This sent a message from the Grand Lodge to the subordinate lodges that the Klan would not be tolerated nor permitted to have a place in Masonic lodges in Texas any longer and extreme measures would be taken to ensure this was enforced.

With the Grand Masters’ cleanup of Texas lodges, Moody’s legal successes, and political losses within the Dallas and the state, the Klan suffered. Their membership significantly decreased and its leadership began to fragment. In 1925, Dallas Klan leadership suffered a mighty blow when Zebina Earl Marvin gave up his Klan membership. On October 10, 1925, *The Dallas Morning News* published two letters, presumably upon the request of Marvin. One was from the Exalted Cyclops of Dallas Klan No. 66, Clarence S. Parker, and the other was a

²⁴⁰ Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Texas, *Proceedings of the Special Communications of the M.W. Grand Lodge of Texas: held in the Grand Jurisdiction of Texas, during A.D. 1925 :: A.L. 5925; Ordered to Be Read in All the Lodges of This Jurisdiction for the Information of the Brethren*, (Waco, Texas: The Gayle Printing Co., 1925), 22-23.

response by Marvin. The Klan was suspending Marvin for violating the Constitution of the Klan by not obeying a request of the Cyclops. Marvin retorts by stating:

The immediate relief that comes to me by having my connection with that organization terminated is most welcome. With other men who believed that they could render real service to our country, I joined the klan and strived earnestly for the promulgation of its real principles. As the truth becomes known of the present method of operation of the klan, every red-blooded American who believes in the principles of the klan as recited in its obligation, but now so distorted in practice as illustrated in your action, will join me in the sentiment expressed by Cataline, who, when banished from a degenerated Roman Senate, remarked, 'What is banished but set free from things I loathe?'²⁴¹

Marvin would not be alone. Many Klansmen felt betrayed by the organization because it was not living up to its promises of law enforcement, initiating men of good character, and being a gentile organization.²⁴² Klansmen in Dallas would be disheartened to remain with the Klan once the Great Titan of Indiana, D.C. Stephenson, was prosecuted for murder and sentenced to life in prison in 1925. He was a well-known and respected member of the organization and to remain in the Klan anywhere was to endorse his behavior. In 1925, it was found that the Dallas Klan's finances were in shambles because of bad record keeping according to an investigation by the national office in Atlanta. The Dallas Klan would be bankrupt by the end of the 20s.²⁴³ When, in 1926, Z.E. Marvin discussed Klan membership with the *New York Times*, he stated that the Dallas Klan membership, once 13,000 strong, was now down to 1,200.²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ "Marvin Gives Out Letters," *The Dallas Morning News*, October 10, 1925. 6. Marvin's letter spells the Klans name in lowercase.

²⁴² *Ideals of the Ku Klux Klan* (Atlanta, Georgia: Ku Klux Klan Press, 1916), 2-3.

²⁴³ Kenneth Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City: 1915-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 79.

²⁴⁴ "The Klan's Invisible Empire is Fading," *The New York Times*, February 21, 1926. XXI.

Once Marvin had separated himself from the Klan, he continued running his drug store. He became a Vice President of the Council for the Dallas Community Chest in 1929. The Trust was established so money that was gifted to the city would be properly and efficiently used for the advancement or support of charitable causes. It is interesting to note that other vice presidents of the Community Council were David Leftkowitz and Z.E. Marvin. The Chest was also supported by the Hope Cottage Association of which Marvin was President.²⁴⁵ Jews working alongside ex-Klansmen illustrates that some men would join the Klan to pursue other goals and not necessarily subscribe to the anti-Jewish and anti-Catholic rhetoric it espoused. Marvin was president of many organizations and associations including the Gulf States Insurance Company, the Texas Pharmaceutical Association, and the Chamber of Commerce.²⁴⁶ Before his death he had a long correspondence relationship with a dear Jewish friend of his, the recorder for Hella Shrine, Asher Mintz. This is important because their relationship is another example of how some Klansmen joined the Klan, not for hatred against those who were not “100% American,” but for other motives. It also illustrates that the bonds of fraternalism, developed in the Masonic lodges, were not so easily broken. The Marvin’s Shrine file is full of birthday wishes, letters of Christmas presents given, of appreciation for flowers given, reminiscences of old friendships and deeds long gone. The *New York Times* article in which Marvin publicly proclaims his leaving the Klan was found in his file at the Shrine. Asher Mintz put it there but for what purpose? Was he relieved that Marvin had disassociated himself with the Klan or was it

²⁴⁵ Letter from Henry T. Levy to George B. Dealey, May 27, 1930. Dealey Papers, SMU, File 317A-A6667. This letter was written on the letterhead of the Dallas Community Council also known as the Community Chest. Listed on the left side is the leadership of the Council and its member agencies. This is where Marvin, the Hope Cottage Association, David Leftkowitz, J.K. Hexter and Sam P. Cochran are all listed. Former Klansmen and Masons working together for the common good of Dallas.

²⁴⁶ “Z.E. Marvin, Civic Figure, Dies at 80,” *The Dallas Morning News*, October 27, 1957. 1.

a reminder, just as everything else in his file, of what endeavors Marvin had journeyed? Was it to show his humility and humanity? We may never know. When Marvin died in 1957, Mintz made sure that his family was visited frequently and that his memory would live on at Hella. His memorial was printed in the *Camels Calf*, the Hella Shrine newsletter in December of 1957, and painted him as a man of charity dedicated to the welfare of Dallas.²⁴⁷

Hiram Wesley Evans, on the other hand, would attempt to reinvigorate the Klan and downplay the issues it was facing. He organized a massive Klan parade in Washington D.C. on August 8, 1925, and again on September 13, 1926, to bolster membership and show the nation that the decline in the Klan was greatly exaggerated.²⁴⁸ Only 30,000 Klansmen attended the rally, half of what Evans had hoped for. However, after several lawsuits between Evans and the Pennsylvania Klan leadership and unsuccessful rallies and lobbying in Washington against the proposed World Court, Evans stepped down in June of 1939 after 17 years as Imperial Wizard.²⁴⁹ Evans never returned to Dallas. He instead chose to remain in Atlanta. Despite such negative press and the stigma of being a national Klan figure, Evans continued to pay his dues to all Masonic bodies until the day he died. He received a letter of sympathy and bereavement from Hella Shrine upon the death of his wife in 1963. Upon his death in 1966, the Shrine contributed to the Texas Scottish Rite Hospital in his name and to honor his memory as a contributing member to Dallas Freemasonry as a charter member and Past Master of Pentagon Lodge, an

²⁴⁷ "In Memoriam, Zebina Earl Marvin, 1877-1957, Potentate of Hella Temple in 1926," *Camels Calf*, December 1957.

²⁴⁸ "White-Robed Klan Cheered On March In Nation's Capital," *The Washington Post*, August 9, 1925. 1; "Capitol to Host Klansmen," *The Dallas Morning News*, September 14, 1926. 12; David Mark Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 286-288.

²⁴⁹ David Calmers, *Hooded Americanism*, 317-318.

active committee member in the Shrine, and a member of the 33° degree team in the Scottish Rite.²⁵⁰

Dual membership was a much more complex concept than just being a member of both the Klan and Freemasonic fraternities. The spectrum of membership was broad, and this study should illustrate that the reasons for membership varied from man to man. As the Klan came under attack from political opponents and the media, most men who were once powerful organizers and leaders for the Klan, like Z.E. Marvin, shrank from the public scene and went back to the fraternity that embraced them from the beginning, Freemasonry. Men joined these fraternities for some sort of personal gain. This analysis illustrates that those gains were made in many ways. Some, like Marvin, joined for the money and to increase his charitable contributions. Evans joined for the money but also for the power as he achieved the status of Imperial Wizard of the National Klan in 1922. The Klan was a group of mainly middle-class men. It can be argued that many middle-class Masons joined the Klan simply because they were able to escape the elitism that occurred within the fraternity. The Klan's informal gatherings such as the Kolossal Karnival or Klan Day at the State Fair were meant to appease the average white Protestant citizen. Many Klansmen who joined the fraternity arguably did so to increase their professional status and to rub elbows with the elite of society. A dual member could have the best that life had to offer. When the Klan fell apart, dual members went back to the fraternity which took them back with open arms and even honored them upon their death. What remained

²⁵⁰ Letter from Clarke Petet to Mrs. Martha E. Houck, September 15, 1966, Hiram Wesley Evans, File No. 1773, Hella Shrine Temple Archives, Garland, Texas. This letter illustrates that Freemasonry honored their members' contribution to society and to the fraternity despite Klan membership, which is not mentioned. This is typical of all memorials to former Klansmen that were found throughout archives in the various Masonic Lodges researched in Dallas.

was the achievements these men accomplished throughout their lives, and their service to Freemasonry and the community is what was honored regardless within which organization that achievement was attained. All traces of affiliation with the Klan were all but forgotten and eliminated from any Masonic tribute to these men.

The study of dual membership is preliminary in its attempt to understand the complexities of this phenomenon, one often ignored in American scholarship. This microhistorical view of Dallas Freemasonry and the Klan represents just a fragment of the work that is still to be done. This analysis has attempted to contribute to this study by analyzing the extent of which dual membership existed in Dallas. By analyzing the lists obtained from Southern Methodist University and the Dallas Historical Society, I was able create a comprehensive list of dual membership. Using a statistical approach, the main contribution of this examination is the analysis of these lists and the creation of the various tables of information which led to the discovery of a rough estimate of how many dual members there were within Dallas Freemasonry. This led to another discovery, that there were more Klansmen that joined the Masonic fraternity at the height of Klan power in 1924 than vice versa at the foundation of the Dallas Klan in 1921. It is also interesting to note that the bulk of the Dallas Klan dual membership came from Oak Cliff Lodge. Unfortunately, the sheer size of this project only allowed for the exploration of eight Masonic lodges and more thorough examination is needed to understand the full relationship between all Dallas lodges during the 1920s. With that said, this does not end the exploration of dual membership in Dallas. Five lodges were not examined thoroughly throughout this study which, when opened to scrutiny, may reveal other small pieces of information regarding finances, petitioning of Klansmen, and other elements of dual

membership as examined in this investigation. Many individuals who have been confirmed as Klansmen also have stories to tell and need to be added to what has been examined in this study. For example, the Klaliff or Vice President of the Klan in 1922, David C. McCord, a past Master of Tannehill Lodge in 1921, was very active in Freemasonry and the Klan. He became the historian for Tannehill Lodge writing the miraculous history of that lodge from its beginnings in 1849 until his death in 1949. His manuscript was used for this analysis and continues to be used by the Masonic fraternity today. More analysis must be undertaken of the membership lists examined in this study: the *Dallas Dispatch* list from May of 1922; the DeGolyer list of police officers from 1922 to 1924; the Kolossal Karnival audit from June of 1924; and the Dallas Historical Society Klan membership list placed there by George B. Dealey in 1942. The *Dallas Dispatch* list has been thoroughly analyzed by Mark Morris, Miguel Hernandez, and in this study. There is not much more that can be scrutinized with this list except for the identification of more dual members should more evidence come to light. I analyzed the DeGolyer police list to determine its accuracy. While all but seven names on the list were identified, and only six were confirmed as Klansmen, several more might be identified by researching newspaper clippings and court proceedings of that time. As a result, I believe that the list is genuine, but more study is necessary to confirm that belief. The Dallas Historical Society list is a massive combination of names and businesses compiled around summer of 1922. This study only examined the first section of the list, titled "Executive Committee of Ten," for signs of dual membership. Of the thirteen members on this committee, eleven were identified as Klansmen in various documents. Of the unidentified two, one was found to have petitioned Keystone Lodge in 1921 but was rejected, and the other was already a Mason. If accurate, this list identifies that

84.6% of the executive leadership of the Dallas Klan as Masons. Another portion of the same document is titled, "The Steering Committee of One Hundred," and yet another is titled "Ku Klux Klan Business Firms 100%," both have not yet been examined. The Special Examination of the Kolossal Karnival was a daunting task. Many people who remain unidentified simply because of the regional nature of support for this event. The businesses on the list have not been examined fully. However, out of the 232 listed, a sample of 46 were analyzed and 17 were owned and/or operated by Masons, which consisted of 36.9% of the sample, suggesting that Masons used their businesses not only to support Dallas Freemasonry but also the Dallas Klan as well. Just how much money was contributed may never be known. However, the number of businesses that contributed to both could use further analysis.

Many of these businesses were patronized by Dallas lodges. Another study scrutinizing the economic contributions of the lodges might reveal substantial economic information about relationships between the Masons and the Klan. As with the money Metropolitan Lodge sent to Z.E. Marvin's store in 1923, lodges paid bills to several other businesses at every stated meeting. Upon preliminary examination, some of these businesses were owned by members of the lodge, so it would not be difficult to ascertain that lodges were benefitting from their members already. An interesting study could investigate how many brothers owned businesses before and after the Klan come to town; further analysis might indicate just how much money the lodges were giving these businesses. There would be no way of determining if any money was contributed to the Klan, but further study would give historians an idea of the potential money that could have been exchanged between the two organizations.

The examination of the bills of stated meetings for all Dallas lodges also indicate that during the boycott of *The Dallas Morning News* by the Klan, the lodges in Dallas may have contributed to its survival. Darwin Payne has documented that *The News* was anti-Klan while the *Dallas Times Herald* was neutral, if not preferred by the Klan. Payne also mentions that the Klan used journalists multiple times to document floggings committed by the Klan as seen in the cases of Alex Johnson in 1921 and John T. Moore and Phillip Rothblum in 1922. Between 1922 and 1923, the *Times Herald* gained 1,500 new subscriptions during this period while *The News* lost 3,000.²⁵¹ In examining the minutes of Metropolitan Lodge as a sample out of the fifteen lodges in Dallas between 1922 and 1923, I found that their minutes indicate that they contributed \$291.60 to the *News* while contributing \$12.54 to the *Times Herald*. If this analysis were repeated in the other lodges, it may yield a substantial amount of money that helped keep *The News* afloat during the boycott before it sold the *Galveston News* to reinvigorate its financial status in March of 1923. It could also indicate that they preferred the anti-Klan stance of the *News* over the *Herald* and were trying to help George B. Dealey, a fellow distinguished civic leader and Mason, maintain his business.

Finally, two other areas need further examination. The first project would be to explore the number of Klan petitioners who applied for the degrees and were rejected, as seen with Earle Silven and Joseph W. Hutt. This might give insight into which lodges participated in attempting to prevent a Klan infiltration and which were neutral on the matter. It would also make possible determining the percentage of Klansmen who became dual members versus those who were

²⁵¹ Darwin Payne, *Big D: Triumphs and Troubles of an American Supercity in the 20th Century* (Dallas, TX: Three Forks Press, 1994), 89-90; Darwin Payne, "The Dallas Morning News and the Ku Klux Klan." *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas IX*, No. 1 (Spring 1997): 16-27.

rejected. This would help ascertain where on the spectrum of dual membership Dallas lodges were located.

The second task would be to analyze the intricacies of charitable competition between the two organizations. Hope Cottage and the Shriners Hospital for Crippled Children opened almost at the same time. Hope Cottage was dedicated and opened on Klan Day at the State Fair on Tuesday October 24, 1923, while the Shriners Hospital opened on November 15, three weeks and two days later. In addition to the proximity in time is the physical location. Hope Cottage was located at the corner of Sylvester and Welborn Streets in the hospital district. Visitors looking to the right of this facility would see the Shrine Hospital, which occupied the entire block of Oak Lawn, Wellborn, Sylvester and Rosewood (present day Maple) Streets. It is unknown how this situation occurred or who was responsible for the purchase of property. Knowing that Z. E. Marvin was a part of the Shrine and the President of the Hope Cottage Association, it would not be surprising if he played a role; however this is not certain. Further examination of the committees of the Shrine in 1921 and of the Hope Cottage Association would need to occur.

Miguel Hernandez mentioned in his dissertation that “historians should take the opportunity to re-examine this fraternity [the Klan] not as a collection of isolated pockets of followers, but as a great mass movement of shared interest.”²⁵² This logic should be applied to all Masonic lodges within a city. Most lodges in an urban area reside close to one another and operate independently as much as they interact with others. Independently they offer educational programs for their members, fraternal assistance, charity, and fraternalism. Together they interact

²⁵² Miguel Hernandez, *Fighting Fraternities*, 33-34.

for much of the same on larger scale and are connected by the members. One cannot look at one lodge to understand the interaction that occurs. To further understand the role of Masonic lodges during the 1920's and why each lodge maintained their own stance on dual membership, an analysis of the multitude of lodges' relationship with one another, the socioeconomic status of their members, and their proximity to a major urban center will be needed to explain their position. At the same time these lodges worked together to achieve a multitude of goals. They supported the building of the membership, advanced Masonic interests in the city, policed their own members, contributed to charitable organizations, and maintained their dignity and self-respect. Freemasonry came out of this era almost unscathed except for the long-lasting informal affiliation with the Klan that has followed them through recent history. Comparing the minutes of all Dallas lodges would illustrate how they interacted with each other and exemplify a bigger picture of how Freemasonry works in practice. This may be extremely difficult to do for historians simply because of the lack of access to Masonic records.

Therefore, the challenge then falls upon the membership of Masonic lodges across the nation. It is time for Freemasonry in America to acknowledge this past, discover what part it played in the multitude of lodges, and learn from this difficult time, a time when the Klan appropriated members of the Masonic fraternity to boast its own reputation which caused a great deal of tension within Freemasonry across the nation. If Masons stop and look to the past for future guidance, this should help the fraternity understand the need to focus on the quality of potential members, not the quantity. The lesson for all Masonic lodges should be how important it is to guard against those who attempt to join the fraternity for the wrong reasons and attempt to corrupt the organization from within.

APPENDIX A

MASONIC LODGES IN THE CITY OF DALLAS 1850-1926

Tannehill Lodge No. 52 A.F. & A.M.
Chartered January 24th, 1850

Oak Cliff Lodge No. 705 A.F. & A.M.
Chartered December 12th, 1890

Dallas Lodge No. 760 A.F. & A.M.
Chartered December 24th, 1895

Trinity Valley Lodge No. 1048 A.F. & A.M.
Chartered December 11th, 1911

Pentagon Lodge No. 1080 A.F. & A.M.
Chartered December 4th, 1913

Washington Lodge No. 1117 A.F. & A.M.
Chartered December 8th, 1916

Keystone Lodge No. 1143 A.F. & A.M.
Chartered December 20th, 1920

Highland Park Lodge No. 1150 A.F. & A.M.
Chartered December 9th, 1921

*Landmark Lodge No. 1168 A.F. & A.M.
Chartered December 9th, 1921

R.C Buckner Lodge No. 1176 A.F. & A.M.
Chartered December 9th, 1921

*Gibraltar Lodge No. 1179 A.F. & A.M.
Chartered December 9th, 1921

Metropolitan Lodge No. 1182 A.F. & A.M.
Chartered December 9th, 1921

**John G. Slayter Lodge No. 1198 A.F. & A.M.
Chartered December 6th, 1922

East Dallas Lodge No. 1200 A.F. & A.M.
Chartered December 8th, 1922

Alexander C. Garrett Lodge No. 1216 A.F. & A.M.
Chartered December 18th, 1924

*Merged with Oak Cliff Lodge No. 705

**Merged with A.C. Garrett Lodge No. 1216

APPENDIX B

DALLAS KLAN NO. 66 & REALM OF TEXAS LEADERSHIP 1921-1927

Territories of Klan Chapters in Texas¹

Province No. 1 – Ft. Worth Area

Province No. 2 – Dallas Area

Province No. 3 – Waco Area

Province No. 4 – Houston area

Province No. 5 – San Antonio Area

Leadership Titles of the Klan²

Grand Goblin – Leader of a region of Klan chapters within several states of the U.S.

Grand Dragon – Leader of all Klan chapters in a state

Great Titan – Leader of a Province/territory of Klan Chapters

Exalted Cyclops – President/leader of a Klan Chapter

Klaliff - Vice president of a Klan Chapter

Kligrapp – Secretary of a Klan Chapter

Meeting Halls:

Live Stock Arena at Fair Park – 1923 & 1924³

Coliseum - 1923⁴

Automobile Building at Fair Park – 1924⁵

Blaylock Hall at Fair Park – 2025 ½ Jackson St. – 1923 & 1924⁶

Dallas - Elm St between Ervay and Ackard⁷

Dallas – 421 ½ North Harwood St. - 1924⁸

Oak Cliff - at Tyler and Jefferson

¹ Senate U.S. Congress, *Senator From Texas: Committee on Privileges and Elections. 68th Congress. 1st and 2d sess. Subcommittee on S. Res 97* (Washington: U.S. G.P.O., 1924), 62, 64. Page 62 has a breakdown of the various Titans who oversaw the different Provinces. Page 64 mentions Brown Harwood oversaw Ft. Worth, Ralph Cameron overseeing San Antonio, H.W. Evans oversaw Dallas, H.C. McCall was from Houston which was Province 4. Which left E.J. Clarke in charge of Province 3.

² Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. *Kloran: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, First Degree Character* (Atlanta Georgia, 1916), 52-54.

³ "Meeting Place Changed," *Texas 100 Per Cent American*, April 13, 1923, Dallas, Texas. 8. Live Stock Arena meeting place is advertised.

⁴ "Klansmen Attention," *Texas 100 Per Cent American*, April 27, 1923, Dallas, Texas. 6. Coliseum location is advertised.

⁵ "Special Notice!," *Texas 100 Per Cent American*, March 7, 1924, Dallas, Texas. 5. The Automobile Building location is advertised.

⁶ "Attention Klansmen," *Texas 100 Per Cent American*, September 28, 1923, Dallas, Texas. 8. Blaylock Hall location is advertised.

⁷ Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City: 1915-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 70. Jackson mentions the first two meeting halls for the Klan in Oak Cliff and on Elm St.

⁸ "Special Notice," *Texas 100 Per Cent American*, November 7, 1924, Dallas, Texas. 3. The Harwood location is advertised.

APPENDIX B CONTINUED

Offices:

2013 ½ Young St. - Across from the Dallas Scottish Rite Temple⁹

101 Exposition Ave - 1929¹⁰

1921-1922

Texas

- George Kimbro Jr. – Grand Goblin for Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Oklahoma, Montana, Wyoming, Louisiana, Colorado, and Utah – 1921-1922¹¹

- Reverend, Dr. Amasa Donaldson Ellis, of Beaumont – Grand Dragon of the Realm of Texas 1921-Spring of 1922¹²

- H.C. McCall – Great Titan of Province 4 (Houston)– 1920-1921

Dallas

- Hiram Wesley Evans – Exalted Cyclops – Dallas Klan No. 66, 1921 to April 10, 1922¹³

- Zeke E. Marvin – Exalted Cyclops Pro-tem – Dallas Klan No. 66 – April 1922 to July 1922¹⁴

- David C. McCord – Klaliff – Dallas Klan No. 66 – 1922¹⁵

1922-1923

Texas:

-Hiram Wesley Evans – Great Titan of Province 2 January 22nd of 1922 to April 10th, 1922¹⁶

- Z.E. Marvin – Great Titan of Province No. 2, April 10th, 1922 to July 1923?¹⁷

- Dr. Amasa Donaldson Ellis – Grand Dragon for the Realm of Texas March 22nd, 1922¹⁸

⁹ *Dallas City Directory 1923* (Dallas, Texas: John F. Worley Directory Co., 1923), 703. The Young St offices are listed here.

¹⁰ Darwin Payne, *Big D: Triumphs and Troubles of an American Supercity in the 20th Century* (Dallas, TX: Three Forks Press, 1994), 96. The Exposition Ave offices are mentioned here.

¹¹ Senate U.S. Congress, *Senator From Texas*, 123. Kimbro is named the Grand Goblin by E.J. Clarke.

¹² Donovan Duncan Tidwell, "The Ku Klux Klan and Texas Masonry." *Transactions: Texas Lodge of Research, XIV* (1978-1979): 171. This work breaks down the Texas leadership of the Klan from 1921 to 1927. Ellis and McCall can be found here.

¹³ Kenneth Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 71. Jackson mentions that Evans left on April 10 and asked Marvin to succeed him temporarily until election of officers would commence.

¹⁴ ¹⁴"Disgrace at its old tricks once more," *Texas 100 Per Cent American*, July 7, 1922, Dallas, Texas. 3. Marvin steps down as cyclops and is replaced by Alex C. Parker.

¹⁵ Senate U.S. Congress, *Senator From Texas*, 372. McCord testifies as to his position within the Dallas Klan in 1922.

¹⁶ Senate U.S. Congress, *Senator From Texas*, 62. Evans is recorded as being the Great Titan for Province No. 2 by the testimony of E.J. Clark

¹⁷ Kenneth Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 73. Jackson mentions that Zeke Marvin was the Great Titan and was at the victory parade on July 22, 1922 for the Municipal election won primarily by the Klan. It is unknown when he left this position.

¹⁸ Senate U.S. Congress, *Senator From Texas*, 670. Ellis is described as the Grand Dragon as sending a letter to the Klans of Texas announcing Earle B. Mayfields' candidacy for the U.S. Senate.

APPENDIX B CONTINUED

1922-1923 continued

- Brown Harwood - Grand Dragon of the Realm of Texas – Spring 1922¹⁹
- H.C. McCall – Grand Dragon of the Realm of Texas – 1923²⁰

Dallas:

- Alex C. Parker – Exalted Cyclops – Dallas Klan No. 66 – July 1922 to June 1923
- MM Hinton – Chairman of the Klokklan Committee – 1923²¹
- George K Butcher – Kligrapp and Treasurer for Dallas Klan No. 66

1923-1924

Texas:

- Ralph Cameron – San Antonio – Grand Dragon of the Realm of Texas - 1923²²
- George K Butcher - Great Titan of Province No. 2 - January 15th, 1924²³

Dallas:

- J.D. Van Winkle – Exalted Cyclops – Dallas Klan No. 66 – June 1st, 1923 to June 1st, 1924²⁴
- George K. Butcher – Kligrapp – Dallas Klan No. 66 – October 1923 to January 1924²⁵
- Earle M. Silven- Kligrapp – Dallas Klan No. 66 – Feb 1924
- Edward M. Nelson – Assistant Kligrapp Dallas Klan No. 66 – Feb 1924

1924-1925

Texas:

- Z.E. Marvin – Grand Dragon of the Realm of Texas – February to December of 1924²⁶
- Judge Marvin A. Childers – Grand Dragon of the Realm of Texas - December 1924 to April 1926²⁷

¹⁹ Tidwell, *The Ku Klux Klan and Texas Masonry*, 171.

²⁰ Charles Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest*, 101.

²¹ “Reciever Asked For Ku Klux Klan,” *The Dallas Morning News*, July 1, 1923. 16. This article lists several Klansmen in a lawsuit against a man named Preston P. Reynolds a Life Member of the Klan, for damaging his reputation. Hinton and Butchers’ role in the Klan in 1923 are mentioned.

²² Charles Alexander, *Crusade for Conformity: The Ku Klux Klan in Texas, 1920-1930* (Houston, Tex.: Texas Gulf Coast Historical Association. Publication series 1962),70.

²³ “New Great Titan Province No. 2,” *The Texas 100 Per Cent American*, February 8, 1924. 1. This article explains not only Butchers’ elevation within the Klan but also his replacement as Secretary of Dallas Klan No. 66, Earle Silven along with his assistant Edward M. Nelson which carries over into 1924 as seen above.

²⁴ “New Exalted Cyclops,” *The Texas 100 Per Cent American*, June 1, 1923. 2.

²⁵ *Official Souvenir of Klan Day at the State Fair of Texas Dallas, October 24, 1923* (Dallas, Texas: Standard American Publishing House, 1923), 6. This program gives the names and titles of ten top Klansmen for Dallas Klan No. 66

²⁶ “Grand Dragon of Texas,” *The Texas 100 Per Cent American*, February 22, 1924. 1.

²⁷ Charles Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest*, 222.

APPENDIX B CONTINUED

Dallas:

- Reverend Alex C. Parker – Exalted Cyclops – Dallas Klan No. 66 – June 1924 to June 1925²⁸

1925

Texas:

- Marvin A. Childers – Grand Dragon of the Realm of Texas - December 1924 to April 22, 1926²⁹

Dallas:

- Clarence S. Parker – Exalted Cyclops – Dallas Klan No. 66 – May 22, 1925 to September 1925³⁰
- Bill Cole - Exalted Cyclops – Dallas Klan No. 66 – September 1925³¹

1926

Texas:

-Reverend Dr. Lloyd P. Bloodworth Methodist Minister – Grand Dragon of the Realm of Texas - 1926³²

Dallas:

- Dr. Sam Campbell – Exalted Cyclops – Dallas Klan No. 66 – April 1926³³

1927

Texas:

-Shelby S. Cox – Dallas – Grand Dragon of the Realm of Texas 1927³⁴

1928

Dallas:

-Ben C. Richards – Exalted Cyclops - Dallas Klan No. 66 – August 1928³⁵

²⁸ *Special Examination. K. K. K. Kolossal Karnival* (Bell, Collier & Doyle. Dallas, Texas. June 13, 1924), 3. Within the audit of the Kolossal Karnival is a letter addressed to “A.C. Parker, Dallas Klan #66”, explaining what will be found in the audit.

²⁹ “Grand Dragon of Texas is Installed,” *The Texas Kourier*, December 12, 1924. 1. This article describes the elevation to Grand Dragon for Texas by Childers after the retirement of Z.E. Marvin from the position; Charles Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest*, 222.

³⁰ “The New Cyclops of Klan No. 66,” *Dallas Times Herald*, May 22, 1925; “Marvin Gives Out Letters,” *The Dallas Morning News*, October 10, 1925, 6.

³¹ “Dallas KKK Cyclops Bill Cole to Address Congregation at Funeral of J.O. May,” *Dallas Times Herald*, September 17, 1925.

³² Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest*, 225.

³³ “Dallas’ KKK Cyclops Dr. Sam Campbell asks Sulphur Springs KKK Cyclops Davis to Speak,” *Dallas Times Herald*, April 11, 1926.

³⁴ Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest*, 225.

³⁵ “Anti-Smith Group Downs Dem Pledge,” *The Dallas Morning News*, August 5, 1928. 1. The article mentions that Ben Richards was a former cyclops of Dallas Klan No. 66. It is unknown as to when Richards was the Dallas Cyclops. Based on newspaper articles from the *Dallas Times Herald*, it is safe to say that his term as Cyclops occurred somewhere between 1927 and 1928. Richards was also the Mayor of Waco from 1920 to 1923.

APPENDIX C

DIRECTORY OF KLAN IN TEXAS, PROVINCE NO. 2, IN 1924

<h2 style="text-align: center;">Directory of Klan In Texas Province No. 2</h2> <h3 style="text-align: center;">Other State News Items</h3>			
ALTO KLAN NO. 52	EMORY KLAN NO. 219.	LONGVIEW KLAN NO. 77.	ROYSE CITY KLAN NO. 287.
Athen's Klan No. 112. Meets Friday Night of Each Week.	Meets Every Other Friday.	Meets Monday Night of Each Week.	Meets Monday Night of Each Week.
ATLANTA KLAN NO. 229	FARMERSVILLE NO. 296.	LADONIA KLAN NO. 283.	RUSK KLAN NO. 88.
Meets the Second and Fourth Friday Night of Each Month.	Meets Each Thursday Night.	Meets the First and Third Monday Night of Each Month.	SAN AUGUSTINE KLAN NO. 78
BONHAM KLAN NO. 194.	GILMER KLAN NO. 114.	LONE OAK KLAN NO. 179.	SHERMAN KLAN NO. 184.
Meets Friday Night of Each Week.	Meets Every First and Third Thursday Night at 7:30 P. M. Each Month.	Meets First and Third Tuesdays of Each Month.	Meets Friday Night of Each Week.
CELESTE KLAN NO. 175.	GRAND SALINE KLAN NO. 130	MARSHALL KLAN NO. 168.	SULPHUR SPRINGS NO. 181.
Meets Friday Night of Each Week.	Meets the First and Third Friday Nights of Each Month.	Meets the Second and Fourth Tuesday of Each Month.	Meets Tuesday Night of Each Week.
DELTA KLAN NO. 171	GREENVILLE KLAN NO. 144.	MINEOLA KLAN NO. 96.	TENAHA KLAN NO. 81.
Cooper, Texas. Meets Friday Night of Each Week.	Meets Tuesday Night of Each Week.	Meets the First and Third Friday of Each Month.	Meets the First Thursday of Each Month.
COMMERCE KLAN	HEMPHILL KLAN NO. 78.	McKINNEY KLAN NO. 120.	TERRELL KLAN NO. 99.
Meets First and Third Tuesday of Each Month.	Meets the Second and Fourth Tuesday Nights of Each Month.	Meets each Friday night in its own hall and extends an invitation to every Klansman when possible to visit with them.	Meets Friday Night of Each Week.
COMO KLAN NO. 280.	HENDERSON KLAN NO. 138.	MCCULLOCH COUNTY NO. 290	TEXARKANA KLAN NO. 322
Meets Monday Night of Each Week.	Meets Monday Night of Each Week.	Meets Every Tuesday Night at the old Masonic Hall in Brady. All Klansmen Welcome.	Meets Every Friday Night.
CUMBY KLAN NO 181.	HONEY GROVE KLAN NO 163.	MIDLOTHIAN KLAN NO 269	TIMPSON KLAN NO. 54.
Meets Thursday Night of Each Week.	Meets the First and Third Thursday Nights of Each Month.	Meets Every Second and Fourth Monday Nights.	Meets the Second and Fourth Friday of Each Month.
CLARKSVILLE KLAN NO. 106.	HUGHES SPRINGS NO. 193.	NACOGDOCHES KLAN NO 98.	TROUP KLAN NO. 65.
Meets On the First and Third Tuesday Nights of Each Month.	Meets the Second and Fourth Monday Nights of Each Month.	Meets Thursday Night of Each Week.	Meets the First and Third Friday Night of Each Month.
DeKALB KLAN NO 184.	ITALY KLAN NO. 243.	PARIS KLAN NO. 90.	TYLER KLAN NO. 73.
EDGEWOOD KLAN	Meets Every Monday Night.	Meets the Second and Fourth Thursday Nights of Each Month.	Meets Thursday Night of Each Week.
Meets Second and Fourth Tuesday Nights.	JACKSONVILLE KLAN NO. 98.	PITTSBURG KLAN NO. 292.	WAXAHACHIE KLAN NO. 256.
DENISON KLAN NO 113.	Meets Friday Night of Each Week.	Meets the Second and Fourth Tuesday of Each Month.	Meets Thursday Night of Each Week.
Meets Every Monday Night.	JOAQUIN KLAN NO. 71.	WILLS POINT KLAN NO. 128.	WINNNSBORO KLAN NO. 161.
EDGEWOOD KLAN NO. 126.	Meets the First Tuesday Night of Each Month.	Meets Thursday Night of Each Week.	Meets Second and Fourth Tuesday Nights of Each Month.
Meets the Second and Fourth Thursday of Each Month.	JEFFERSON KLAN NO. 245.	WOLFE CITY KLAN NO. 198.	Meets the Second and Fourth Thursday Nights of Each Month.
ENNIS KLAN NO. 79.	Meets the Second and Fourth Thursday Nights of Each Month.		
Meets Tuesday Night of Each Week.	KAUFMAN KLAN NO. 213.		
	Meets Friday Night of Each Week.		

Figure C.1: Directory of Klan in Texas Province No. 2³⁶

³⁶ "Directory of Klan in Texas Province No. 2," *Texas 100 Per Cent American*, January 18, 1924, Dallas, Texas. 6. All the Klan chapters in Province No. 2 are listed here, except Dallas, along with their numbers and meeting times for most of them. It illustrates just how popular the Klan were in the surroundings areas of Dallas.

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Shaun David Henry was born in Dallas, Texas. After completing his schoolwork at Newman Smith High School in Carrollton, Texas in 1996, Shaun entered Collin County Community College in McKinney Texas. He received an Associates of Science in May of 2004. During the fall semester of 2004 and the spring semester of 2005, Shaun attended the University of New Mexico. In 2005, Shaun entered the University of North Texas in Denton, Texas. He received a Bachelor of Arts with a major in anthropology from the University of North Texas in August of 2007 and a Bachelor of Arts in History in May of 2008. He was employed at W.H. Gaston Middle School in the Dallas Independent School District in August of 2008 as an eighth grade U.S. Studies teacher, a position he currently holds. In 2013, he entered the Graduate School of The University of Texas at Dallas.

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