### KU KLUX KLAN SHOWS POLITICAL POWER IN INDIANA VOTE

## WoolyTime In Politics

Activity of Ku Klux Threatens to Obscure More Vital Issues, Sullivan Says.

#### Beveridge Was Victim

By MARK SULLIVAN.
One of the influences that will af-

fect the elections next year is the Ku Klux Klan. It is not necessary infer that the Klan as a nationthrow its influence in favor of one of the presidential candidates as against the other. There is practi-ed" banquet Thursday night. cally no probability that the personalities of the two candidates will be plank in either platform might lead —in which he has not the information to the lining up of the adherents of to distinguish among the truth, the on the republican side and sometimes the same idea about New York furon the democratic side, in local elections for congressman and senator. the country in the world of the Some of the states in which the Klan is particularly powerful are doubtful Indiana, for example.

an Indiana last year the Klan was partly responsible for defeating one of the best men who ran for the senate in any state that year, namely, Albert J. Beveridge. It was not that the Klan disapproved of Beveridge. Nothing in Beveridge's record or associations incurred their prejudice. They had nothing against him. If the election had been held over again a month later the Klan might as readily have voted in favor of Beveridge. What the Klan happened to do was a haphazard But, combined with other things, it was just enough to defeat

The circumstances were these: Just few days before the election Gov. Henry J. Allen of Kansas, an old progressive party associate of Beveridge, came into Indiana to deliver some speeches in Beveridge's behalf. It happened that only a little while before Allen, as governor of Kapsas, nany other governors and other public men have expressed their disap proval of the menace to some fundaernor Allen was booked for his

len's speech on somebody and they took it out vicariously on Beveridge.

to Beveridge or any issue with which

In the elections next year there will undoubtedly be cases like this and other cases worse—cases in which the others knows that our present deference to the presence of bodies of geances.

As to the secrecy, as to the objections of the presence of bodies of geances. other cases worse-cases in which the vote as a body against some candidates and in favor of others.

All this is as unfortunate as possible. The activity of the klan, its very existence-and, let us not omit to add, the things, some real and some imagined, which give rise to those prejudices on which the klan thrives-all this constitutes one of the least happy Sects of present-day American life. Where the situation raised by the existence and activity of the klan is clear, where it is a simple issue be-tween the klan and the fundamental organization of our democracy, there I no duty on the part of the conscientious citizen except to put his voice

and his vote on the anti-klan side. And yet, if you find any good man who is a member of the klan or an advocate of it or an apologist for itand in some communities you can find good men who either are members of the klan or have sympathy for some of its principles-if you talk to such a man and if you practice toward him the spirit of toleration which we all demand he shall practice toward the rest of us, you will be led to feel that it would be useful to make an experiment in frankness

and clarification. It is clearly wise to accord to such men the spirit of tolerance we demand from them. If they are in any degree intolerant the best antidote and disinfectant for intolerance is tolerance. Clearly the most of the newspapers and magazines, as well as most others which have discussed the klan at all, have gone at it rather too hammer and tongs. The fact that the klan has gone on and grown is some proof of that. It is proof also, or at least it suggests that there may be something vital and appealing somewhere in an institution which has been able to survive such severe onslaughts from the outside as well as such obviously detestable condions as there have been in some

parts of its own organization. If you talk to a man who tends to be sympathetic with the klan, or at least who is moved to refrain from outright denunciation of it, he will tell you that, stated broadly, one of its main purposes is to maintain

#### Banquet of Union Outfitting Company Employes



wide organization can or will try to of the Union Outfitting company

Music and vaudeville sketches were pany. party or the other may contain a and in the movies, in religion, in poliplank either denouncing the Ku Klux tics and in the schools. The south-Klan specifically or denouncing the ern or western small-town sympakind of thing it stands for. Such a thizer with the klan has got the idea the Klan one way and those who half-truth and the no-truth-that the disapprove the Klan the other way American stage is almost wholly in-But it is not necessary to anticipate spired, managed and dominated from this sort of thing. Quite aside from New York, and that New York is not anything like this, the Klan will un an American c ty and does not reflect doubtedly figure largely, sometimes American ideals or traditions. He has nishing the models and leadership of movies, of art, of fiction writing and

fiction publishing, the world of the newspapers and magazines, the world of finance and business. In support of this sort of loose to you a recent warning uttered by Secretary of Labor Davis to the effect that "American ideals and institutions threaten to be submerged beneath a tidal wave of old world im of falling to function adequately migrants, bringing old world ideas." To the persons who read this utter ance from Secretary Davis it sounds pretty convincing. Especially does it sound convincing to people in smaller about some things that go on in towns and cities in the south and America. west, where the population is prevailingly native American in greater prortion than it is in the large cities of the east. It is in these native American communities that the klan has had its greatest growth, and the chief reason for that growth is the sense of alarm about American ideals chief reason for that growth is the sense of alarm about American ideals and institutions which is voiced by in the newspapers at the time, an ob country road this expression of sentiand denounced the Klan, using the ment from Secretary Davis carries conviction. He knows that Secretary

capable, in the same manner in which Davis is the official in charge of im-Davis is the official in charge of immigration and is therefore in the objections of the Society of Sons duct of men in their relation to others, for the maintenance of traditions, for quantity and the most accurate kind of information about the aliens who not merely the Cabot family, which reproval of any sort of conduct that of information about the aliens who ernment involved in the Klan's activ- are coming into America and the ef it was observed that the reaction of erally. It just happened also that the fect they threaten to have on Amer- the newspapers in the eastern cities the newspapers in the eastern to have our Antothe first place, whether the Kabotthe first place, whether the first place are not that aim to impress themselves on the speeches were towns in which the Klan immigrant, having come as a boy from Wales, and is therefore presents. In these Indiana speeches Governor Allen again denounced the Klan, taking it as one of his topics, just as he took up other public matters then current.

Self an immigrant, having come as a boy from Wales, and is therefore presents the first place, whether the Kabot-schnicks might not have been at one and the same time more considerate of the rights of others and more considerate of the rights of others take the first opportunity to show of immigrant Secretary Davis was. the attitude of the newspapers—
their resentment. As often happens when action is determined by a temwhen action is determined by a temwhen action is determined by a temwhen action is determined by a temand the alarm about allen influence included the thought that perhaps the included the thought that perhaps the included the thought that perhaps the with the rest by the organizers of the porary emotion the expression of re on America are not directed against rewapaners and other institutions of present Klan. But the fact is, the sentment was erratic. They wanted the older immigration that came from to vent their resentment against Al- England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, the larger eastern cities reflect the wearing of the hood is material in the practically all those present local ac Beveridge was associated. But the the form in which it exists nor any accurately possibly by the absence crimes with the minimum danger of

growth in a period of 36 years. Principal speaker was C. E. Corey ager of the company, was toastmasof the Corey-McKenzie Printing com- ter.

mously to exceed the older immigration with which we were familiar in the past and which we have assimilated

distinguish between it and the native

American stock.) The man with whom you talk, the man who has come to a mood in which he refuses to denounce the Ku Klux Klan unreservedly, if he is a man of intelligence, of ideas and large information, will throw a good deal of light on that oddly assorted body of prejudices, suspicions and halftruths which animates many who join the klan. He will tell you among other things that the sentiment which sets up the Klan as an irregular ve hicle for the extra-legal, and some times dangerously illegal, expression of opinion may lie in the feeling that thesis the klan sympathizer will quote the political parties, the newspapers,

the courts, the legislatures and other institutions which constitute the regularly accepted vehicles of American public opinion sometimes give a sense enough to make up the Ku Klux Klan, and even to others who would never join that kind of organization, but have emotions not dissimilar

When that Kabotschnick family in Philadelphia, having a wholly legiti a newspaper or to organize a good article deals. mate desire to shorten their name to a form easier for Americans to under cient Boston name it was, as reported significant phenomenon of present American life that the court dismissed the objections of the Cabots (or rather

More than 100 officials and employes presented during the dinner, after Henry Rosenthal, vice president of his vague-minded, narrow-minded, the Union Outfitting company which speakers reviewed the store's the Union Outfitting company, spoke long-haired way had motives entirely briefly, David Levine, general man-

such as to give occasion to this kind American traditions against alien in against other races who come from those laws which the members of the of prejudiced discrimination. It is fluences—alien influences in business, conceivable that the platform of one in art, in literature, on the stage who in recent years have come enormany angles this episode, though small in itself, is illustrative. I sus pect that the majority of native Amercans have almost as much pride in hese old American names, long and so successfully that we hardly ever honorably prominent in our country's history, and in the American tradi tions with which they are identified as do the bearers of the names them selves.

One may be permitted to guess that his Kabotschnick episode did not nelp much toward suppressing the Ku Klux Klan. Indeed, any one article has in mind only the individu-familiar with the resourcefulness and als who join the klan—and only some ingenuity of the salesmen might as of them. Some who join the klan do sume that those agents who sell so because they see in it an oppornembership in the Klan at so many lollars commission per membership pasted these clippings in their prospectuses as, to use the vernacular of and counted it a good day.

be countenanced with safety to democ racy and the orderly process of law listen with some patience to the Klan the community has as much right to government league or to make himself head of the local precinct republican committee.

It is quite true that there is always a field beyond the field of statute law, a field of common custom and commonly held beliefs, in which there is recognized propriety in organizing for political action or otherwise for the informal expression of widely held standards about the con-

that neither the Ku Klux Klan speci-fically nor the anti-immigration senti-of a good many Americans on the de cision of the court, and especially on press the ignorant or superstitious England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, of that those cities are prevailingly practically all those present local ac Scandinavia or even from Germany, of the more truly than they express tivities of the new Klans which are If all our recent immigration had been pride in American traditions. Since lilegal and not to be condoned. It is coming from those countries we would the action of the court presumably the wearing of the hood that helps innot now have any Ku Klux Klan in .... a committed by the law-or more dividuals and local Klans to commit Beveridge was associated. But the time form in which it exists nor any thing happened so close to the election that it was impossible to overtion the kind of man who sees some justification for the kind of man who sees some justification for the kind of that enables individuals and groups to use the cover of the Kind of that some law-making bodies, out of the prosecution of private ventions.

even those of its purposes that are you, and will easily convince you, justifiable, or at least no worse than that his motives personally are at debatable, anonymously—to this obdebatable, anonymously—to this ob-jection the klan member makes the memberships and those who organize ingenious answer that he in his at- the salesmen and direct them may be tempts to influence public action is in it partly or wholly for the com-no more anonymous than the writer missions they earn and the various of newspaper editorials, nor that fig-ure who is so often alluded to as "the commercial side of the organization. man higher up" or the man in the But the good man who pays his background of many bodies organized money to these salesmen is obviously for political or social action. In this quite without any selfish motive. as in many aspects of any argument Such a man indeed will tell you, and you have with a man who seeks to will marshal a certain amount of justify the klan there is some slight amount of half-truth. It all throws forces now aiming to have influence light on the nature of the minds and nformed motives.

In all that is said here there is no

intention to deal with the essential principles of the klan nor with the

men at the head of it. Some of them may be good men; some others of them may be decidedly otherwise. One of the early organizers of the klan was a rather venerable old fellow who in sincere and completely unwordly One of the others who had a good deal to do with the energetic spreading of the klan appears to have been a decidedly less attractive type-in fact his name has been appearing in the papers pretty frequently in rather markedly odious connections. All that however, is a different story. The resent article does not concern itself with the leaders of the klan, nor with its methods of organization, nor with hose men-frequently very commercial-minded, one is compelled to suspect-who make money through the the league, who practice what has been called the commercial exploitation of hate. All that, let it be repeated, is another story. The present tunity for the prosecution of private feuds in an illegal and odious way. Some join it in a spirit nothing short of the most deplorable bigotry. But salesmanship, "a fine selling point," the clear fact that must be conceded, if we are to make any headway If some of the principles and many through dealing with this widespread of the practices of the Kian were not prejudice in a spirit of calmness and so clearly of a sort that they cannot | tolerance, is that some others who join it are good men with motives that are sincere, even exalted. The -if it were not for that, one might writer has been told by sources which compel him to believe it that in many pastor of the Catholic church at sympathizer who argues that a man local communities, especially in the Hooper for the past two years, has ho wishes to impress his ideas on south and west, the very best men in resigned and will leave for Washingthe community belong to the klan. ton, D. C., to enter the Catholic uni organize a group who believe with And it is with the attitude of mind versity, which he will attend for two

proof, that among all the organized in American politics the Ku Klux

on the motives of some who join the Klan is almost alone in having no klan with sincere though only partly selfish, material object. He will tell you that the object of the farm bloc, for example, is to get more money for its members in the shape of higher prices for crops, government credit and the like. He will tell you that the purpose of the labor unions in trying to exert political pressure is to get higher wages. He will tell you that even the American Legion has among the objects of its political action a cash bonus for its members. He will cite other similar examples until you find yourself almost tending to admit that among all these blocs and organized minorities the two which have conspicuously an im personal motive free from material considerations are the Ku Klux Klan and the Anti-Saloon league. In this, as in any similar broad generalization. there is, of course, a certain amount of specious half-truth.

Nothing of this kind should blind any one to the fact that some of the principles of the klan are inconsistent with the American theory of democracy and government, and the fact organized selling of memberships in that some of the actions of some of its local groups are even more con cretely odious. The important point is that to the degree that honest men with good motives are attracted by some aspects of the klan they should be provided by the political parties, by the newspapers, by the courts and legislatures and by the other more orthodox vehicles for the expression of organized opinion with less excuse for taking to this kind of group action in order to get consideration for those of their purposes that are legiti-

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