30  Tune: “Pack Up Your Troubles in Your Old Kit Bag”
Pack up your troubles with your childish toys,
And kluck, girls, kluck!
Look to the Fiery Cross and keep your poise,
Kluck, girls, thru your struck!
“Not for self but others” girls, You never will get stuck IF
You pack up your troubles with your broken toys, And kluck, girls kluck.

Tune: The Long, Long Trail
It’s a short, short while we live here,
So let us smile while we may;
With a song for every moment
Of the whole bright day
What’s the use of looking gloomy,
Or what’s the use of our tears?
When we know a mummy’s had no fun
For about three thousand years.

THERE’S A LONG, LONG, TRAIL
There’s a long long trail a-winding into the land of my dreams,
Where friendship’s fires are glowing and the Rugged Cross gleams,
There’s a long, long line a-marching beneath a bright flag unfurled,
For the Klansmen of our country saves the mankind of the world.

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R.9—“Uncle Sammy’s Melting Pot”
R.10—“You’re a Grand Old Flag”
R.11—“The March of the Klansmen”
R.12—“Our Mothers of Liberty”
R.13—“Ku Klux Steppin’ Blues”
R.14—“Kluxer Blues”
R.15—“Carry Your Cross With a Smile”
R.16—“Mother’s Prayers Have Followed Me”
R.17—“The Old Rugged Cross”
R.18—“Where the Gates Swing Outward Never”
R.19—“I Walk With the King”
R.20—“The Great Judgment Morning”
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1004—Jesus Is Mighty To Save—Salvation Army Territorial Staff Band.
1005—Carry Your Cross With a Smile—Homer Rodeheaver.
1006—Life’s Railway To Heaven—Homer Rodeheaver.
1007—He Knows The Way—Homer Rodeheaver, Baritone, (with Orches-
tra.)
1008—An Evening Prayer—Homer Rodeheaver, Baritone, (with Orches-
tra.)
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Helen S. Mathews, and Rev. Matthews.
1010—He’s My Name Written There—Homer Rodeheaver, Baritone.
1011—When I Look In His Face—Mrs. Asher and Homer Rodeheaver.
1012—The Hall Has Never Yet Been Told—Homer Rodeheaver.
1013—The Church in the Wildwood—Mrs. Asher and Homer Rodeheaver.
1014—Keep Me On the Flying Line—(Rainbow Quartet.)
1015—I Will Sing Of My Redeemer—(Rainbow Quartet.)
1016—Hallelujah! What A Saviour!—(Cincinnati Chorus 2,000 voices.)
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1018—Great Day—(Negro Spiritual) Homer Rodeheaver and Quartet.
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1021—Col. -" glittering stars—(Negro Spiritual) Homer Rodeheaver.
1022—Wash Your Hands in Blood—(Negro Spiritual) Homer Rodeheaver.
1023—City Unseen—Rodeheaver and Bedee. (Baritone and Tenor.)
1024—Jesus Came Into My Heart—Homer Rodeheaver, Baritone.
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75005—"Battle Hymn of Republic"
"Midnight Roll Call"
75006—"Daddy Swiped the Last Clean Sheet"
"The Gathering Klan"
75007—"Keep Cool With Coolidge"
"President Coolidge March"
75008—"Onward Valiant Klansmen"—Tune: "Onward Christian Soldiers"
"The Klan is Coming"—Tune: Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys are Marching"
75009—"Come Join the K. K. K. in the Old Town Tonight"
"Hear the Call"
75100—"Marchets" (Orchestra) "World is Waiting for the Sunshine" (Orchestra)
75111—"When You're Gone I Won't Forget" (Vocal Duet) "Call Me Back Pal of Mine" (Vocal Duet)
5—"The Klansman's Friend"
"We Belong to the Ku Klux Klan"
29—"The Klucker and the Rain"
"Long Klucker"
32—"Onward Christian Klansmen"
"Burney Google"—Klansmen
35—"Klansmen Keep the Cross Burning"
"There'll Be a Hot Time-Klansmen"
20081—"Johnny Join the Klan"
825—"I Want to be a Klansman"—Kluck, Kluck, Kluck (Quartet)
"Hold 'Er Newt." (Piano Solo)
4642—"Ku Ku" (Fox trot) "Klucking of the Ku Klux Klan" (Solo)
272—"U. S. Melting Pot"
"Mystic City"
20004—"Here's to America"
"Women of the Ku Klux Klan"
WHITE HOODS UNDER THE BIG SKY:
MONTANANS EMBRACE THE KU KLUX KLAN

Anne Sturdevant

KLANSMEN STAGE NIGHT SPECTACLE

Thousands of visitors to the Midland Empire Fair were treated tonight to a spectacle not advertised on the Governor’s Day program.

At 10:00 sharp, the city was aroused by a continuous bursting of air bombs over the high rimrocks that surround the northern part of the city. This was followed a little later by the bursting into flames of a cross nearly 50 feet in height, the “fiery cross of the K.K.K.”

As the cross blazed, lighting the entire top of the hills for miles around, hundreds of red flares were touched off. And, on the edge of the hills 300 yards above the city, marched hundreds of white-robed members of the organization, carrying red and green flaming torches....

According to officials of the Klan, the meeting held tonight was a statewide gathering, nearly 2,000 members being present.

*Billings Gazette, September 21, 1923*

Most Montanans are justly horrified when they learn that the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) gained widespread popularity in the
state during the 1920s. In this current era of the Montana Militia, the Aryan Nations, and the Freemen—all involving relatively small numbers of participants—it seems illogical that the Klan once established chapters from Plentywood to Hamilton and from Miles City to Thompson Falls.

Yet from 1923 to 1931, the KKK functioned as a vibrant political, social, and fraternal organization under the Big Sky. The Realm of Montana became a component in Nathan Bedford Forrest’s astounding 1915 revival of the Ku Klux Klan. By the mid-1920s, the organization boasted more than 5,000,000 registered members nationwide. Membership was restricted to white, Protestant males, born in the United States.

At its height in 1924, the Montana Klan boasted more than 40 Klaverns and a dues-paying membership of almost 5,200 men. Since the state’s population at the time was about 540,000, the total KKK membership remained less than one percent of the population.

However, the group’s influence far exceeded its membership base. In addition to the KKK proper, sympathizers could join: the Royal Riders of the Red Robe, for foreign-born Klansmen; the Junior KKK program, for boys under 18 years of age; the Women of the Ku Klux Klan, an auxiliary whose numbers frequently exceeded the membership of the local chapter itself. The Klan also received silent support from
those Montanans who feared formal membership in such a radical
group--regardless of its famed secrecy.

On September 16, 1923, the national Imperial Wizard Hiram
Wesley Evans chartered the Invisible Realm of Montana. In
theory the Montana realm reflected its parent, headquartered
in Atlanta, Georgia. A full-page ad in the Billings Gazette
(September 30, 1923), listed the "cardinal principles" of the
organization:

1. The Tenets of the Christian Religion.
2. Upholding the Constitution of the United States.
3. The Sovereignty of our States Rights.
4. The Separation of Church and State.
5. Religious Liberty.
7. Compulsory Education in Free Public Schools.
8. Protection of our Pure Womanhood.
10. Limitation of Foreign Immigration.
11. Closer Relationship between Capital and American
    Labor.

Critics would find it difficult to argue in the abstract
with these principles. In reality, however, the KKK advocated
the suppression of Catholic schools, the elimination of "non-
white immigrants," Jews, and Blacks from business and
politics, and the severe restriction of immigration--in
addition to its standard white-supremacy plank.

In truth, the Klan found itself caught in a paradox:
while ostensibly supporting the Constitution and the Bill of
Rights, it worked to target its four enemies: immigrants;
Jews; Catholics; Blacks. Further, in pursuit of its goals, the KKK easily justified violence—symbolized by its hoods and masks, swords, and burning crosses. In at least one case, that violence wrote an ugly chapter in the Montana chronicle.

The KKK sprouted and thrived in Montana during the 1920s because residents faced both a society in flux and an uncertain economy, and they succumbed to fear. That society was proportionately heavy in foreign-born residents, and it still suffered from the anti-German hysteria promoted during World War I. Further, the state’s economy remained unstable—particularly its mining and timber industries suffered post-war busts. Through the 1910s, tens of thousands of foreign-born homesteaders had arrived to file on dryland farms. When the drought hit Montana’s high plains (1916-1919), prairie society unraveled. For example, 435 banks operated in the state in 1921; by 1926, 220 of those institutions had failed.

Thousands of white Montanans, faced with this confusing situation, found the Ku Klux Klan ready to salve their wounds and to identify the supposed annihilators of their traditional lifestyle: immigrants; Jews; Catholics; Blacks. The Klan proved particularly appealing because of its “secret” membership and covert activities—best represented by the hoods and the robes.

The organization masterfully built secrecy upon its
special lexicon of terms, its mysterious rituals, and its use of violence. To a young, white Montana man who wanted to "belong" and needed to blame others for what he did not understand, the Invisible Empire offered an appealing solution. Nevertheless, the KKK suffered some real problems in the state.

Despite the focus of the hate literature that poured out of the KKK national office in Atlanta, Montanans found it difficult to generate a concerted hatred of Jews and Blacks—when so few Jews and Blacks resided in the state. Thus the Realm of Montana concentrated its hatred on the state's Catholics.

And there were plenty of Catholics here! A 1920 federal religious census noted that a full 65 per cent of Montanans who declared a religion were Catholic. Butte alone reported 25,000 registered Catholics. The Realm of Montana's newsletter, the Official Circular, quoted Grand Dragon Lewis Terwilliger: "Butte is the worst place in the State of Montana, so far as alienism and Catholicism are concerned."

Throughout the Montana Realm's existence (1923-1931), Terwilliger led Montana Klansmen. He had arrived in the state from Michigan as a teacher in 1895 and served as a principal in Butte and Townsend. He then became the principal of Park County High School in Livingston (1903-1913), where he also
started a real-estate/abstracting business and ran a 640-acre ranch outside town. Terwilliger was a strong Methodist, an avowed Republican, and a 33rd-degree Mason. Residents attested to his popularity by electing him the mayor of Livingston for two terms (1919-1923).

Terwilliger had been a member of the national Ku Klux Klan since its revival in the mid-1910s. Delegates elected him the Grand Dragon of the Realm of Montana at their organizational convention in Livingston in 1923. As Grand Dragon, Terwilliger received an annual salary of $1,150—at a time when the average American wage was $680 a year, and the typical American farmer's wage was $275!

The Grand Dragon's salary derived from the dues of Montana Klansmen, $5 per year. Other KKK expenses included a $10 initiation fee, $5 for the hood and robe, and $1 a year for the national KKK publication, the Kourier. The Klan also performed the rituals expected of a fraternal organization: it collected special assessments to aid afflicted members; it buried its dead; it supported with donations those causes and organizations that it liked. The Montana KKK particularly liked the Salvation Army, the Methodist Church, the Protestant orphanage in Helena, the Deaconess Hospital in Havre, and Inter-Mountain Union College in Helena.

Also, unlike other fraternal organizations, the Klan
publicly burned crosses in the dark of night--as a weapon of intimidation. For example, the Laurel Outlook noted (September 16, 1925):

From out of the gloom, a flaming cross bloomed forth on top of Square Butte, four miles west of Laurel, on Thursday night! A Ku Klux Klan meeting was in process, at which it was estimated that 2,500 were in attendance and some 100 or more candidates were initiated. The customary white-robed figures, bearing torches, were to be seen moving about and, at one time, a number of bombs and sky rockets were set off...

Not since the days when the Indians held ceremonies on the Butte has there been the spectacle of burning fires and moving figures such as were seen Thursday night.

In addition to this type of dramatic intimidation, the Klan used outright threats in pursuit of its goals. One instance involved the Black wife of an Anaconda pastor. The Anaconda Standard reported (February 6, 1923):

Mysterious letters, written over the signature of crossed bones and signed "Ku Klux," are spreading terror in Anaconda homes....

Mrs. M. A. Clements, the colored wife of the pastor of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, yesterday received the following anonymous letter, printed in pencil and enclosed in a pink envelope, ordering her to leave town:

"Mrs. Clements: Your tongue has trapped you with your race and the white race. You had better leave town or we will tar and feather you. Beware. --Ku Klux."

Anacondans are very much alarmed over the entire proceedings.

The most violent incident involving the Montana KKK occurred at Crow Agency, 11 miles southeast of Hardin. In
late October, 1926, a Black man named James Belden--mistakenly suspected of petty theft--had been told by a few local whites to "get out of town or suffer the consequences." Two years earlier, Belden had moved from Butte to Crow Agency, where he repaired shoes and did odd jobs around the community.

When Belden refused to abandon his home, the locals contacted Big Horn County Sheriff Robert P. Gilmore in Hardin. At the time, Gilmore was running for another term as sheriff in the up-coming November election; he was widely known as an official in Hardin's Klan #35. Gilmore promised that he "would rid the town of that nigger Belden."

On October 29, Gilmore and Undersheriff Andy L. Dornberger drove to Crow Agency on a "campaign trip." When the two lawmen approached Belden's shack, the Black man opened fire, killing Gilmore and wounding his deputy. Quickly lawmen, volunteers, and sightseers surrounded the cabin and began firing fusillades at Belden. The Billings Gazette estimated that, within an hour, more than 200 men had encircled the shack.

In the exchange of gunfire, Belden also killed John MacLeod, who for four years had served as a special officer for the Office of Indian Affairs on the Crow Reservation. MacLeod was attempting to skirt the shack to reach an adjacent barn, to set it afire. Shortly thereafter the barn was
torched (Billings Gazette, October 30, 1926):

A. C. Cole and John Lawrence, employees of the Big Horn Garage, risked death by throwing gasoline on the barn and setting it afire, after they had recovered MacLeod’s apparently lifeless body. Indian youths had prepared arrows and flaming excelsior to fire the structure from behind beet wagons and the Catholic Church, when Cole and Lawrence accomplished the task.

After a short time, the burning barn ignited Belden’s shack (Hardin Tribune-Herald, October 29, 1926).

The building burned like tinder, and soon the flames forced the negro to come out. In the yard, he was riddled with bullets from upwards of a hundred guns. After he had been brought down, he fired three more shots as he lay on the ground. The crowd rushed up to him and picked up his body while he was still gasping. There was talk of a “neck tie party,” but instead the crowd threw him into his cabin, where he soon was consumed by the flames.

Authorities filed no charges as a result of this two-hour confrontation. The next week hundreds of sympathizers—including “ten Crow Indian chiefs in full regalia”—attended the funerals of Gilmore and MacLeod in Hardin. Among the dignitaries at Gilmore’s service appeared Lewis Terwilliger, the Imperial Wizard of the Realm of Montana.

Most local Klan activity in Montana assumed a less physically violent character. For example, a visit to Montana by the Imperial Wizard Hiram Wesley Evans in August, 1926, combined business with pleasure (Livingston Enterprise, August 6, 1926):
WHITE HOODS UNDER THE BIG SKY: 10

A state-wide meeting of the Montana Ku Klux Klan closed here tonight with a lecture by Dr. H. W. Evans, head of the national organization. It is said that many of the more important cities and towns of the state were represented.

The Strand Theater was used for the day session. A parade of nearly 400 robed marchers passed through the streets of the city. This number included 50 to 60 women members of the auxiliary branch. It is estimated that upwards of 2,000 Livingston people assembled along the streets to witness the parade.

Friday the members and their families will leave for a tour through Yellowstone National Park.

Evans also had made an earlier appearance in Montana. On November 15, 1924, he spoke in Billings at the Methodist Church and at the Coliseum Theater, to standing-room-only crowds. Evans addressed the issues of restricted immigration, racial purity, and political tactics.

In fact, Klan activity in Montana consistently displayed a strong political bent. The KKK routinely backed Republican candidates, particularly if they were Masons or held Klan membership. For example, in the 1924 race for Montana’s U.S. Senate seat, incumbent Democrat Thomas J. Walsh encountered an unexpectedly tough opponent in Republican challenger Frank Linderman, the noted Montana author. A newspaperman and an insurance salesman, Linderman received enthusiastic Klan endorsements and substantial Klan financial support. This assistance proved revealing, as Terwilliger identified Linderman as “a present or former Klansman.” Walsh barely survived with 52 per cent of the total vote.
WHITE HOODS UNDER THE BIG SKY: 11

Terwilliger’s Official Circular regularly previewed county and state elections, and used a “secret code” to identify candidates both acceptable and unacceptable to the Klan. The code noted, for instance:

B. Branded by our Imperial Office as having an undesirable record in regard to Klan principles. They recommend that this candidate be defeated.
C. Considered a candidate of the A.C.M. [Anaconda Copper Mining] Company.
D. Dry [in favor of Prohibition].
F. Favorable to the Klan and Klan principles.
H. Wife is a Roman Catholic.
M. Mason.
O. Opposed to the Klan.
P. Protestant.
R. Roman Catholic.
U. Unworthy of the support of Klansmen, because he is opposed to our principles.
W. Wet [in favor of the repeal of Prohibition].
* Present or former Klansman.

KKK fervor built inexorably toward the 1928 Presidential election, because it offered such a clear-cut choice between candidates. The Democrats nominated Al Smith, a Catholic urban-dweller who favored the repeal of Prohibition. The Republicans, on the other hand, nominated “country boy” Herbert Hoover, a Protestant who favored strongly-enforced Prohibition. During the summer of 1928, Lewis Terwilliger worked himself into a frenzy in his newsletters, rallying Montana Klansmen to work against Al Smith.

Hoover won the election with 58.2 per cent of the national vote. He also carried Montana by about 34,000 votes.
WHITE HOODS UNDER THE BIG SKY: 12

(113,000 to 79,000). No one can say to what extent Klan work assisted Hoover in Montana, but Smith carried only Butte, Anaconda, and Glacier County.

Membership in the Realm of Montana declined after the 1928 election for several reasons. The strident nativism that had begun with World War I German-bashing finally ran its course. In addition to this waning hatred of immigrants, Montanan Klansmen always had found it difficult to focus on Jews and Blacks--regardless of the Klan’s national policy--when the state offered so few of either minority.

Further, all fraternal organizations lost membership during the late 1920s. They became the victims of such other leisure-time attractions as talking movies, radio, sports, and automobile travel to nearby towns on improved roads. The young Montana workman suddenly faced either a Tuesday evening Klan meeting at the local Klavern or a date with Sweet Nell at the Roxy Theater--and he opted for a talking movie and Nell.

Then, when adultery, drunkenness, and embezzlement scandals rocked the national KKK leadership, Klansmen who had joined to support “moral purity” abandoned the organization. Finally, as economic uncertainty and dislocation became truly severe in the early 1930s, the dues and costs of holding a KKK membership became luxuries to many Montana Klansmen.

So, in the early 1930s, the Montana Klan movement
withered and died for lack of viable targets, for lack of enthusiasm, for lack of relative excitement. In 1931 the state’s surviving membership—consolidated in “the Grand Klan of Montana”—numbered less than 100 stalwarts.

In retrospect, if the Ku Klux Klan were to forge solid inroads in 1920s Montana, it needed to establish a beachhead in Butte—that bastion of Catholicism. Yet, throughout its existence (1923-1928), members of Butte’s Kontinental Klan #30 lived in abject fear and proved wholly ineffective.

In response to reports that the KKK was recruiting in Butte, Silver Bow County Sheriff Larry Duggan said (Butte Miner, July 22, 1921), “My deputies have orders to shoot any Ku Kluxers on sight—shoot them down like wolves.” Imperial Wizard Lewis Terwilliger noted the dire situation in a 1924 letter to Butte’s Exalted Cyclops Albert W. Jones: “I know that you are involved in the most difficult, the most dangerous situation in Montana. It is nothing short of a war zone.”

In the face of Catholic opposition, Kontinental Klan #30 ran scared. For instance, its officials published their meeting announcements under spurious names, rather than identify themselves as Klansmen. For a time, the Butte Klan called itself “the Butte Men’s Literary Society.” It also hid behind the names “Protestant Men’s Welfare Council” and
"Krishna Improvement Association."

At one point, Exalted Cyclops Jones complained to Terwilliger that he thought Butte's Irish Catholic postmen were intercepting his KKK mail from the Atlanta headquarters. Before the Imperial Wizard could reply, Jones seemingly solved his own problem. He informed Terwilliger that he had "changed his name to Knute Karl Knutson [KKK] and rented a new post-office box." Within weeks, however, Jones was forced to admit that the Irish Catholic postmen had figured out his ruse--and he still was receiving no official mail from Atlanta.

Ultimately the Ku Klux Klan sustained only a short, eight-year run in Montana. Its influence proved modest in Montana politics, less strong in the arena of social reform, and ultimately ineffective in targeting with violence its enemies: immigrants, Jews, Catholics, and Blacks.

Nevertheless, present-day Montanans should learn a lesson from the KKK's remarkable popularity in the state during the 1920s: Given the right set of circumstances, this type of despicable racism again could gain a foothold under the Big Sky. Constant vigilance and vocal opposition--the kind that recently fostered the "Not in Our Town!" response in Billings--are required to combat similarly covert radical cells.

The admonition of German anti-Nazi theologian Martin Niemoller speaks directly to the current situation in Montana
and the Northwest:

In Germany they came first for the Communists, and I didn’t speak up because I wasn’t a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I didn’t speak up because I wasn’t a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn’t speak up because I wasn’t a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics, and I didn’t speak up because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me, and by that time no one was left to speak up.

SOURCES

The primary archival source for research in Montana’s Ku Klux Klan movement is Manuscript Collection 236: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—Kontinentalse Klan No. 30 (Butte, Montana) Records, 1916, 1921-1931, held by the Archives of the Cheney-Cowles Museum in Spokane, Washington. This collection, while focusing on the Butte klan, includes important materials from the Realm of Montana and from the national organization. The collection’s many publications of the KKK’s own press in Atlanta, Georgia, are important to an understanding of the entire movement.

The Montana Historical Society Library/Archives holds the Cheney-Cowles collection on microfilm (MF 457); microfilm copies are also available at the Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives and the Butte Public Library. A thorough inventory
accompanies this material, both in hard copy and on microfilm.


See also the following volumes: Shawn Lay, ed., *The Invisible Empire in the West: Toward a New Historical*
WHITE HOODS UNDER THE BIG SKY: 17


See also the following periodical pieces: Jeff LaLande, “Beneath the Hooded Robe: Newspapermen, Local Politics, and
the Ku Klux Klan in Jackson County, Oregon, 1921-1923,"
Pacific Northwest Quarterly, v. 83, #2 (1992), 45-52; Leonard
J. Moore, "Historical Interpretations of the 1920's Klan: the
Traditional View and the Populist Revision," Journal of Social
History, v. 24, #2 (1990), 341-357; Kathleen M. Blee, "Women
of the 1920s' Ku Klux Klan Movement," Feminist Studies, v. 17,
#1 (1991), 57-77; David A. Horowitz, "The Klansman as
Outsider: Ethnocultural Solidarity and Anti-elitism in the
Oregon Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s," Pacific Northwest
Quarterly, v. 80, #1 (1989), 12-20; Horowitz, "Social Morality
and Personal Revitalization: Oregon's Ku Klux Klan in the
1920s," Oregon Historical Quarterly, v. 90, #4 (Winter, 1989),
365-384; Gerald Lynn Marriner, "Klan Politics in Colorado,"

Supplemental related material can be found in several
oral-history interviews conducted by the Montana Historical
Society's oral historian Laurie Mercier and held by the MHS
Archives. See also: Craig Holstine, "Marching as to War: the
Ku Klux Klan in Eastern Washington in the 1920s," paper
presented at the Pacific Northwest Historical Conference,

One of the most fruitful sources for the continued study
of the KKK in Montana would be the wealth of the state's daily
and weekly newspapers. Largely untapped for KKK material, the 1920s microfilmed newspaper collection held by the Montana Historical Society Library will prove rich in KKK information.
## Membership and Dues Record

### Name: S. J. Alexander, #22

**Res. Adr's:** Harlown, Montana.

**Bus.:**

**Occupation:** Telegrapher.

**Mail to:** Address, Phone

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- Divide Times.
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- County treasurer, C. F. Robinson, T. A. Thompson.
- County clerk, J. A. St. John.
- County surveyor, J. A. St. John.
- Railway mail clerk, J. A. St. John.
- Conductor, E. T. P. R. R. Co.
- Switch man, E. T. P. R. R. Co.

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Loaned for copying by the Upper Musselshell Historical Society, Harlown, Montana, June 1997.
### Membership and Dues Record

**Name:** Thos. A. Thompson, #126

**Res. Adr's:**

**Bus.** Ringling, Montana

**Occupation**

**Mail to** Address Phone

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*Photocopied from records in the Montana Historical Society Archives (Mc 136 - Anaconda Copper Mining Company Records)*

*Loaned for copying by the Upper Musselshell Historical Society, Harlowton, Montana, June 1997.*
FORM K-116

This is to certify that Kl. Vormer E. Herbert

is a member in good standing of. Wheatland Klan No. 23

Realm of Montana, with all dues paid to date and is hereby

recommended for fellowship in. Columbus Klan No. 3

Realm of Montana

(Signed) A. R. Kliegrapp

Certified to by A. T. Anderson

Exalted Cyclops

(Local Klan Seal)

This is to certify that the Klansman named above has been accepted by

Columbus Klan No. 3, Realm of Montana

(Signed) A. R. Kliegrapp

Certified to by J. J. Segler

Exalted Cyclops

(Local Klan Seal)
FEATURES

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The Best of Montana's Wild Creatures

16 CROSSING THE LINE
Wintry Backcountry Ski Adventure

20 TIED TO THE PAST
Historic Bull River Ranger Station

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Worth a Thousand Words

Cover: Immature male pine grosbeak PINOCOLA ENucleator eating snowberries SYMPHOMICORAX ALIUS. Photo: DONALD R. JONES PHOTO

THIS PAGE: The Mission Range NICK & SUE CRANZ PHOTO
KLANSMEN STAGE NIGHT SPECTACLE

Thousands of visitors to the Midland Empire Fair were treated tonight to a spectacle not advertised on the Governor’s Day program. At 10:00 sharp, the city was aroused by a continuous bursting of air bombs over the rimrocks that surrounded the northern part of the city. This was followed a little later by the bursting into flames of a cross nearly 50 feet in height, the “fiery cross of the K.K.K.”

As the cross blazed, lighting the entire top of the hills for miles around, hundreds of red flares were touched off. And, on the edge of the hills 300 yards above the city, marched hundreds of white-robed members of the organization, carrying red and green flaming torches....

According to officials of the Klan, the meeting held tonight was a statewide gathering, nearly 2,000 members being present.

—BILLINGS GAZETTE, September 21, 1923

Most Montanans are justly horrified when they learn that the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) gained widespread popularity in the state during the 1920s. In this present-day era of the Montana Militia, the Aryan Nations, and the Freemasons—all involving small numbers of participants—it seems incomprehensible that the Klan once established chapters from Plentywood to Hamilton and from Miles City to Thompson Falls.

Yet from 1923 to 1931, the KKK functioned as a vibrant political, social, and fraternal organization under the Big Sky. The Realm of Montana became a component in Nathan Bedford Forrest’s astounding 1915 revival of the Ku Klux Klan, which, by the mid-1920s, boasted more than five million registered members nationwide. Membership was restricted to white Protestant males born in the United States. At its height in 1924, the Montana Klan boasted more than 40 Klaverns and a dues-paying membership of almost 5,200 men.

On September 16, 1923, the national Imperial Wizard Hiram Wesley Evans chartered the Invisible Realm of Montana. In theory the Montana realm reflected its parent headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. A full-page ad in the Billings Gazette (September 30, 1923), listed the twelve “cardinal principles” of the organization: The Tenets of the Christian Religion; Upholding the Constitution of the United States; The Sovereignty of our States Rights; The Separation of Church and State; Religious Liberty; Freedom of Speech and Press; Compulsory Education in Free Public Schools; Protection of our Pure Womanhood; White Supremacy; Limitation of Foreign Immigration; Closer Relationship between Capital and American Labor; Just Laws and Liberty.

Critics would find it difficult to argue in the abstract with these principles. In reality, however, the Klan found itself caught in a paradox: while ostensibly supporting the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, it worked to target its four enemies: immigrants; Jews; Catholics; blacks. Further, in pursuit of its goals, the KKK justified violence—symbolized

Left & Above: A KKK women’s bonnet that hid a drop-down mask
Top Left: The 1932 seal of the Kapital Klani MONTANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTION
Facing Page: Notice sent to the Kontinental Klani in Butte. The meeting was to announce a new policy that masks and visors could no longer be worn on Klan helmets COURTESY OF CHEMIE WILES MUSEUM COLLECTION

JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1998 71
KU KLUX KLAN HYMN
“THE MYSTIC CITY”

Klansman, Klansman, of the Ku Klux Klan,
Protestant, gentile, native-born man,
Hooded, knighted, robed, and true,
Royal sons of the Red, White, and Blue.
Owning no allegiance, we are born free,
To God and Old Glory we bend our knee,
Sublime lineage written in history stands,
Weird, mysterious Ku Klux Klan.

by hoods and masks, swords, and
burning crosses. In at least one
case, that violence wrote an ugly
chapter in the Montana chronicle.

LOOKING FOR
ANSWERS

The KKK sprouted and thrived in
Montana during the 1920s because
residents succumbed to fear when
faced with a society in flux and an
uncertain economy. That society
was proportionately heavy in for-
egn-born residents, and it still suf-
f ered from the anti-German hysteria
promoted during World War I.
Further, the state’s economy
remained unstable. In particular,
the mining and timber industries
suffered post-war busts. Through
the 1910s, tens of thousands of
foreign-born homesteaders had
arrived to file on dryland farms.
When the drought hit Montana’s
high plains (1916-1919), prairie
society unraveled. For example, 435
banks operated in the state in 1921;
by 1926, 220 of those institutions
had failed.

Thousands of white Montanans,
faced with this confusing situation,
found the Ku Klux Klan ready to
salve their wounds and identify
the supposed annihilators of their traditional lifestyle. The Klan proved
particularly appealing because of its
“secret” membership and covert
activities. The organization master-
fully built secrecy upon its special
lexicon of terms, its mysterious
rituals, and its use of violence.

Nevertheless, the KKK suffered
some real problems in the state.

Despite the focus of the hate liter-
ture that poured out of the KKK
national office in Atlanta,
Montanans found it difficult to
generate a concerted hatred of Jews
and blacks when so few resided in
the state. Thus, the Realm of
Montana had to concentrate its
hatred on the state’s Catholics. And
there were plenty of Catholics here!
A 1920 federal religious census
noted that a full sixty-five percent
of Montanans who declared a reli-
gion were Catholic. Butte alone
reported 25,000 registered
Catholics. The Realm of Montana’s
newsletter, the Official Circular,
quoted Grand Dragon Lewis
Tertiliger: Butte is the worst place in
the State of Montana, so far as alienism and Catholicism are con-
cerned.

Throughout the Montana Realm’s existence (1923-1931),
Tertiliger led Montana’s Klansmen.
He had arrived in the state from
Michigan as a teacher in 1895 and
served as a principal in Butte and
Townsend. He then became the
principal of Park County High
School in Livingston (1903-1913),
where he also started a real-
estate/abstracting business and ran
a 640-acre ranch outside town.
Tertiliger was a strong Methodist,
an avowed Republican, and a 33rd-
degree Mason. Livingston residents
attested to his popularity by
electing him mayor for two terms
(1919-1923).

As elected grand dragon, Tertil-
ger received an annual salary of
$1,150—at a time when the average
American wage was $680 a year, and the typical American farmer’s wage was $275. The grand dragon’s salary derived from the dues of each Montana Klansmen, $5 per year. Other expenses involved with joining the KKK included a $10 initiation fee, $5 for the hood and robe, and $1 a year for the national KKK publication, the Kourier. The Klan also performed the rituals expected of a fraternal organization: it collected special assessments to aid afflicted members; it buried its dead; it supported with donations those causes and organizations that it liked. The Montana KKK particularly liked the Salvation Army, the Methodist Church, the Protestant orphanage in Helena, the Deaconess Hospital in Havre, and Inter-Mountain Union College in Helena.

Klan activity in Montana consistently displayed a strong political bent. The KKK routinely backed Republican candidates, particularly if they were Masons or held Klan membership. For example, in the 1924 race for Montana’s U.S. Senate seat, incumbent Democrat Thomas J. Walsh encountered an unexpectedly tough opponent in Republican challenger Frank Linderman, the noted Montana author. A newspaperman and an insurance salesman, Linderman received enthusiastic Klan endorsements and substantial Klan financial support. This assistance proved revealing, as Terwilliger identified Linderman as “a present or former Klansman.” Walsh barely survived with fifty-two percent of the total vote.

Terwilliger’s Official Circular regularly previewed county and state elections, and used a “secret code” to identify candidates both acceptable and unacceptable to the Klan.

TURNING UGLY

Unlike other fraternal organizations, the Klan publicly burned crosses in the dark of night—as a weapon of intimidation. In addition, the Klan used outright threats in pursuit of its goals. One instance involved the black wife of an Anaconda pastor. The Anaconda Standard reported (February 6, 1923): Mysterious letters, written over the signature of crossed bones and signed “Ku Klux,” are spreading terror in Anaconda homes...Mrs. M. A. Clements, the colored wife of the pastor of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, yesterday received the following anonymous letter, printed in pencil and enclosed in a pink envelope, ordering her to leave town: “Mrs. Clements: Your tongue has trapped you with your race and the white race. You had better leave town or we will tar and feather you. Beware.—Ku Klux.” Anacondans are very much alarmed over the entire proceedings.

The most violent incident involving the Montana KKK occurred at Crow Agency. In late October, 1926, a black man named

Ad in the BUTTE MINER, July 17, 1921
MONTANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTION

LEST WE FORGET

Montanans should not consider the state’s 1920s Ku Klux Klan episode simply a “quaint, harmless timepiece.” Although that phase of the Klan died out, its successor emerged during the national civil-rights movement of the 1960s. Remnants of this radical fringe still survive in the Northwest in the 1990s.

For example, in 1994 the state was flooded with a brochure entitled Montana Quest—A New Beginning. This pamphlet sought new membership, while attacking the Lee newspaper chain, the Montana Association of Churches, and the Montana Human Rights Network. It listed post office boxes in Harrison, Arkansas; Tacoma, Washington; and Billings, Montana.

Another covert group currently operating in Montana is the Northwest Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which has been linked to the white-supremacy Aryan Nations movement. This group also uses a Tacoma, Washington, post office box.

Even more recently—in June, 1997—another wave of Klan literature appeared, urging Montanans to boycott a gay-rights rally in Bozeman. Again, the “Realm of Montana” sought membership, and this time it listed a Great Falls post office box as its contact.

At present, the Ku Klux Klan is not a dead issue in Montana. Residents can keep abreast of Klan activity through the Montana Human Rights Network, P.O. Box 1222, Helena, Montana 59624; phone 442-5306.
James Belden—mistakenly suspected of petty theft—had been told by a few local whites to “get out of town or suffer the consequences.” (Two years earlier, Belden had moved from Butte to Crow Agency, where he repaired shoes and did odd jobs around the community.) When Belden refused to abandon his home, the locals contacted Big Horn County Sheriff Robert P. Gilmore in Hardin. At the time, Gilmore was running for another term as sheriff in the upcoming November election; he was widely known as an official in Hardin’s Klan #35. Gilmore promised that he “would rid the town of that nigger Belden.”

On October 29, Gilmore and Undersheriff Andy L. Dornberger drove to Crow Agency on a “campaign trip.” When the two lawmen approached Belden’s shack, the black man opened fire, killing Gilmore and wounding his deputy. Quickly lawmen, volunteers, and sightseers surrounded the cabin and began firing fusillades at Belden. The Billings Gazette estimated that, within an hour, more than 200 men had encircled the shack.

In the exchange of gunfire, Belden also killed John MacLeod, who for four years had served as a special officer for the Office of Indian Affairs on the Crow Reservation. MacLeod was attempting to skirt the shack to reach an adjacent barn, to set it afire. Shortly thereafter the barn was torched (Billings Gazette, October 30, 1926): A.C. Cole and John Lawrence, employees of the Big Horn Garage, risked death by throwing gasoline on the barn and setting it afire, after they had recovered MacLeod’s apparently lifeless body. Indian youths had prepared arrows and flaming excisors to fire the structure from behind beat wagons and the Catholic Church, when Cole and Lawrence accomplished the task.

After a short time, the burning barn ignited Belden’s shack (Hardin Tribune-Herald, October 29, 1926): The building burned like tinder, and soon the flames forced the negro to come out. In the yard, he was riddled with bullets from upwards of a hundred guns. After he had been brought down, he fired three more shots as he lay on the ground.

The crowd rushed up to him and picked up his body while he was still gasping. There was talk of a “necktie party,” but instead the crowd threw him into his cabin, where he soon was consumed by the flames.

Authorities filed no charges as a result of this two-hour confrontation. The next week hundreds—including “ten Crow Indian chiefs in full regalia”—attended the funerals of Gilmore and MacLeod in Hardin. Among the dignitaries at Gilmore’s service appeared Imperial Wizard of the Realm of Montana Lewis Terwilliger.

BEGINNING OF THE END

Membership in the Realm of Montana declined in the late 1920s for several reasons. The strident nativism that had begun with World War I German-bashing finally ran its course. Further, all fraternal organizations lost membership during the late 1920s. They became the victims of other leisure-time attractions such as talking movies, radio, sports, and automobile travel to nearby towns on improved roads. Then, when adultery, drunkenness, and embezzlement scandals rocked the national KKK leadership, Klansmen who had joined to support “moral purity” abandoned the organization. Finally, as economic uncertainty and dislocation became truly severe in the early 1930s, the dues and costs of holding a KKK membership became luxuries to many Montana Klansmen.

So, in the early 1930s, the Montana Klan movement withered and died for lack of viable targets, for lack of enthusiasm, and, frankly, for lack of relative excitement. In 1931 the state’s surviving membership—consolidated in “the Grand Klan of Montana”—numbered less than a hundred.
A CRITICAL GAP
In retrospect, it was the Ku Klux Klan to forge solid inroads in 1920s Montana. It needed to have established a beachhead in Butte—that bastion of Catholicism. Yet, throughout its existence (1923-1928), members of Butte’s Continental Klan #30 lived in abject fear and proved wholly ineffective. For instance, in response to reports that the KKK was recruiting in Butte, Silver Bow County Sheriff Larry Duggan said (Butte Miner, July 22, 1921), “My deputies have orders to shoot any Ku Kluxers on sight—shoot them down like wolves. Imperial Wizard Lewis Terwilliger noted the dire situation in a 1924 letter to Butte’s Exalted Cyclops Albert W. Jones: “I know that you are involved in the most difficult, the most dangerous situation in Montana. It is nothing short of a war zone.”
In the face of Catholic opposition, Continental Klan #30 ran scared. For instance, its officials published their meeting announcements under spurious names, rather than identify themselves as Klansmen. For a time, the Butte

KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN
“SECRET” LEXICON
ALIEN: non-KKK person
EXALTED CYCLOPS: chapter/klavern president
GRAND: prefix denoting the state/realm KKK organization
GRAND DRAGON: state/realm’s chief executive
GREAT TITAN: director of a state/realm province
IMPERIAL: prefix denoting the national KKK organization
IMPERIAL WIZARD: supreme ruler of the KKK
INVISIBLE EMPIRE: KKK administrative structure; the entire membership; the spiritual character of the order
JUNIOR KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN: affiliate program for boys under 18 years of age
KLABEE: chapter treasurer
KLADD: ritual sponsor of new members; “conductor”
KLALIFF: chapter vice-president
KLANKRAFT: KKK ritualistic practices and concepts
KLAROGO: chapter’s inner guard
KLavern: indoor meeting location; local chapter
KLEAGLE: field organizer
KLECTOKEN: membership initiation fee ($10)
KLIGRAPP: chapter secretary
KLODE: KKK song
KLOKARD: lecturer; ritual instructor
KLONVERSATION: a KKK exchange of greetings, using acronyms
KLORAN: KKK ritual book
KLORERO: annual, statewide, two-day convention
KLUDD: chaplain
KLUXING: to propagate; to promote; to recruit
KNIGHT: ordinary member of the KKK
KONKLAVE: regular chapter meeting
KOURIER: official monthly publication of the KKK
NIGHTHAWK: KKK investigator of prospective members and of Klansmen’s conduct
PROVINCE: district within a state/realm, composed of counties (the Realm of Montana had four Provinces)
REALM: KKK organizational unit, corresponding to a state
ROYAL RIDERS OF THE RED ROBE: affiliate organization for foreign-born, Protestant white males
WOMEN OF THE KU KLUX KLAN: chapter women’s auxiliary

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Klan called itself "the Butte Men's Literary Society." It also hid behind the names "Protestant Men's Welfare Council" and "Krishna Improvement Association." At one point, Exalted Cyclops Jones complained to Terwilliger that he thought Butte's Irish Catholic postmen were intercepting his KKK mail from the Atlanta headquarters. Before the Imperial Wizard could reply, Jones seemingly solved his own problem. He informed Terwilliger that he had "changed his name to Knute Karl Knutson [KKK] and rented a new post-office box." Within weeks, however, Jones was forced to admit that the Irish Catholic postmen had figured out his ruse—and he still was not receiving official mail from Atlanta.

Ultimately the Ku Klux Klan sustained only a short, eight-year run in Montana. Its influence proved modest in Montana politics, less strong in the arena of social reform, and ultimately ineffective in targeting with violence its enemies: immigrants, Jews, Catholics, and blacks.

Nevertheless, present-day Montanans should learn a lesson from the KKK's remarkable popularity in the state during the 1920s: Given the right set of circumstances, this type of despicable racism again could gain a foothold under the Big Sky. Constant vigilance and vocal opposition—the kind that recently fostered the very effective "Not in Our Town!" response in Billings—are required to combat similarly covert radical cells.

**Dave Walter is the research historian at the Montana Historical Society in Helena.**

This topic is part of Dave's "Jeers in Montana" speech for the Committee for the Humanities Speaker's Bureau. If you have leads for KKK paraphernalia, such as robes, literature, or stories, please contact him at the Montana Historical Society (phone 444-4015).
Christine K. Erickson (260) 481-6695
Dept. of History
IndianaU/Purdue U @ Ft. Wayne
2101 E. Coliseum Blvd.
Ft. Wayne IND 46805-1499

e-mail: ericksoc@IPFW.EDU
Dave Walter's notes - Klan in MT, 1923-31

- '24, almost 5,200 MT men became dues-paying members
- 40+ chapters
- +ly anti-Catholic
- cross-burnings

Klaagle: 1st orga
Klabe: treasurer
K Karago: Inner guard

women's auxiliary in some K Klaverns accepted male ch. mem's

Helena Record-Herald, Nov 5, '21
- Klan is in MT: Holmen Stichup (?)
7/10/22 1st appr. in Missoula
1. Chapter title is from a song in *American Hymns*, (Buffalo, New York: International Music Co., n.d.), Box 5 File 16, KKK, EWHS.

2. Lewis Terwilliger, Official Circular, December 3, 1928, Box 5 File 5, KKK, EWHS.

3. Percentages and averages for both attendance and members in good standing were taken from the Kligrapp's quarterly reports.

4. The Kligrapp usually noted the attendance at each meeting, but only by the number attending and not a specific list.

5. Charter membership list, 1924; Transfer membership list, 1929. Box 1 File 24, KKK, EWHS.


7. For a few months in late summer, the cost of a robe was added on to the Klectoken totalling fifteen dollars. The Imperial Palace may have decreed this new law with Montana in mind considering that only 11.2 percent of all new citizens purchased robes for third quarter 1924. Lewis Terwilliger, Official Circular, November 11, 1924, Box 5 File 1; June 24, 1927, Box 5 File 3, KKK, EWHS. See By-Laws of Kontinental Klan No. 30, December 26, 1923, Box 1 File 35. See "Constitution and Laws of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," (Atlanta, Georgia, 1926), Box 4 File 1, KKK, EWHS, Article XVIII, Section 19, p. 34.


9. Ibid.; Minutes, March 21, 1924, Box 3 File 6, KKK, EWHS.
10. See Chapter three, p. 67 for examples.

11. K-Duo minutes, April 8, 1925, Box 3 File 5, KKK, EWHS. At a later meeting however, Kontinental Klansmen did not shirk from paying a fellow member's K-Duo fee. K-Duo minutes, May 14, 1925, Box 3 File 5, KKK, EWHS.

12. Charles Steele to Albert Jones, October 17, 1927, Box 2 File 15, KKK, EWHS.

13. J.A. Orrell to Albert Jones, December 17, 1927, Box 1 File 26, KKK, EWHS. At the time, Orrell was on a business trip in California.

14. Minutes of Klorero, October 20, 1929, Box 4 File 29, KKK, EWHS.

15. Publicity may have helped the Klan in its beginning when Simmons, Clark, and Tyler were trying to branch out from the South, particularly when the New York World came out with its series of exposé's in 1921. Simmons stated that the added publicity greatly aided the Klan's growth, especially when Congress reacted by launching an investigation of the Klan that resulted in nothing more than added exposure. Simmons recognized this. "Certain newspapers also aided us by inducing Congress to investigate us. The result was that Congress gave us the best advertising we ever got. Congress made us." Quoted in David M. Chalmers, Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan 1865-1965, (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965), 38.


19. Billings Gazette, 9-2-23, 10. The boys were discovered after purchasing a motorcycle at a local dealership. Both pleaded guilty and the money was returned to a relieved Mrs. Bennets.


21. Minutes, Klororo, 1928, Box 4 File 29, KKK, EWHS.

22. Charles C. Alexander, Crusade for Conformity: The Ku Klux Klan in Texas, 1920-1930 (Texas Gulf Coast Historical


25. For examples, see the Butte Miner for May, 1928.

26. Most secret fraternities realized they were losing current and potential members to the temptations of modernity. The Nebraska Fraternal Congress considered modernizing and shortening the rituals in 1932 in an effort to boost sagging membership. By 1940, the Knights of Pythias admitted that the days of secret drama, symbolism and mystery no longer served a purpose--autos, movies, and service organizations had taken their place. Noel P. Gist, "Secret Societies: A Cultural Study of Fraternalism in the United States," University of Missouri Studies XV (October 1940): 43. The International Order of Odd Fellows also pondered the effects of modernity as a cause of slipping membership. See Charles W. Ferguson, Fifty Million Brothers, (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1937), 232-233.

27. Most secret orders established boys orders for the very purpose of grooming young people to carry on the traditional ceremonies--witness the De Molays for the Masons and the Junior Ku Klux Klan. See Mark C. Carnes, Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 151-156 for secret fraternality's decline.


29. Ibid., 151-155.

30. Ages for Klansmen were derived from cemetery records from the Butte Silver Bow Archives (N=37) and membership receipts from the Ku Klux Klan Files in Spokane, Washington, Box 2, (N=28). Ages were available for 65 members. For ages from the cemetery figures the year of birth was subtracted from the arbitrary year of 1925. Average age = 39.2; median = 37.5; range = 23-77.

31. Jones to Terwilliger, February 14, 1931, Box 1 File 27, KKK, EWHS.


WORKS CITED: ARTICLES


Murphy, Paul L. "Sources and Nature of Intolerance in the 1920's." Mississippi Valley Review. LI (1964): 60-76.


INTERVIEWS


NEwspAPeRs

Anaconda Standard
Billings Gazette
Butte Daily Post
Butte Evening News
Butte Miner
Daily Intermountain (Butte)
Examiner (Butte)
Jefferson Valley News
Montana Standard (Butte)
Park County News

COllections used

Montana Historical Society, Helena, Montana. (406) Museum
Silver Bow Archives, Butte, Montana.
**MEMBERSHIP AND DUES RECORD**

**Name:** S. J. Alexander, #22

**Res. Aдр.:** Harlowton, Montana

**Bus.**

**Occupation:** Telegrapher

**Mail to**

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**Res. Aдр.:** Harlowton, Montana

**Bus.**

**Occupation:** Telegrapher

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**NOTE:** Write ALL REMARKS on other side.

---

191 members, Wheatland County, 1923-28

Occupations on this membership:
- Switchman
- County Treasurer
- Yardmaster
- Railroad
- Telegraph Operator
- Railway

(H-Ton) railway mail clerk
(H-Ton) railway mail clerk
(H-Ton) railway mail clerk

Thos. A. Thompson, Ringling

Loaned for copying by the Upper Musselshell Historical Society, Harlowton, Montana, June 1997.
one-page FAX to Rayette Wilder, Archives Librarian, MAC

Dear Ms. Wilder--

Thanks immensely for providing me the photocopied info I requested from your KKK ms collection. It serves my purpose, so I won't request further research at this time. On some future trip to Spokane, I hope to come by the Museum and acquaint myself better with the library and archives.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

p.s. I am duly crediting the museum and society in my Acknowledgments. And, of course, you!
AMERICAN HYMNS

Price:
Single Copy, - - - 25 cents
Special Prices to Klaverns and Dealers.

Address
INTERNATIONAL MUSIC COMPANY
894 GLENWOOD AVENUE  BUFFALO, N. Y.
November 27, 2002

Dear Mr. Doig,

Thank you for your interest in the collections of the Northwest Museum of Arts & Culture/Eastern Washington State Historical Society. Per our phone conversation I am sending you the information on the "Kluxer Blues" from the publication American Hymns from the Montana Ku Klux Klan manuscript collection (MS 131). Although the publication contains music for other Klan hymns only the order information for "Kluxer Blues" is in the collection. I can research this piece further if you desire. Research fees apply for in-depth investigations requiring staff time. For your convenience I am including a research request form as well as a fee schedule. The Library and Research Archives are open to the public Tuesday – Friday 11a.m. – 5 p.m. We also take appointments Wednesday 5 – 8 p.m. and Saturday 11 a.m. – 5 p.m. If you have any questions please feel free to contact me.

Best of luck with your research.

Regards,

Rayette Wilder
Archives Librarian