Scholarly References about the KKK and White Supremacism in the U.S.

Compiled by Barbara Miller. January 1, 2025

Note: The term scholarly is used to distinguish these works from other media such as newspapers and magazines. It normally includes peer-reviewed books, book chapters, and journal articles. Some of the sources listed may not quite qualify as scholarly, but they are included as possibly useful "gray area" materials.

Overview:

These of references reveal a rich body of studies about the KKK and related White supremacist groups in the US since the beginning of the twentieth century. Historical studies dominate, including overviews, case studies of individual states, and case studies at the county or city level. In all, publications address some 15 states. Despite this impressive coverage, it is not comprehensive. The Eastern Panhandle of West Virginia is not alone in being neglected by researchers so far.

Many studies exist in the form of unpublished BA, MA, and PhD theses. I provide abstracts for these, when available, to provide a sense of their contents.

Topically, some researchers have addressed women's roles in the KKK, and a few studies offer findings about the KKK and Hispanics and the KKK and LBTQ+ people.

A rising number of scholars are examining contemporary White nationalist/extremist groups including their use of social media and how it relates to their activities.

Some books are memoirs written by (now adult) children of members of the KKK.

Alexander, Charles C. 1965. Invisible Empire in the Southwest: The Ku Klux Klan in Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Arkansas,1920–1930. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. This is a study of a disturbing phenomenon in American society—the Ku Klux Klan—and that eruption of nativism, racism and moral authoritarianism during the 1920s in the four states of the Southwest—Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Arkansas—in which the Klan became especially powerful. The hooded order is viewed here as a move by frustrated Americans, through anonymous acts of terror and violence, and later through politics), to halt a changing social order and restore familiar orthodox traditions of morality. Entering the Southwest during the post-World War I period of discontent and disillusion, the Klan spread rapidly over the region and by 1922 its tens of thousands of members had made it a potent force in politics.

Baca, David G. 2003. "Our way of life: post-Civil Rights racial politics in a southern Army town. Unpublished PhD thesis, American Studies, Johns Hopkins University. I examine racial politics in Fayetteville, North Carolina, by focusing on an event that dominated city politics throughout 1997. The city council split into two factions over allegations of racial discrimination in the police department. A biracial coalition formed, which supported the NAACP's demand for an outside investigation of the department's personnel practices. In response to their sudden loss of control, the council's traditional majority used racial ideas to label the new majority a conspiracy and ultimately a threat to the city's survival. I examine the racial symbols and ritual actions whereby the city's civic leaders projected a vision of popular unrest. These actions defined the struggle locally, delineating how federal agencies and national policies guide Fayetteville's authority structure. In this way, I describe ethnographically both the discourses and practices that organize race in the US

to assess the relationship among race, local governance, and federal institutions. Moreover, I contextualize this synchronic analysis historically to clarify important continuities with old forms of racial oppression (i.e. Jim Crow, segregation, and intimidation) and significant changes in social structure and representation (i.e. The Civil Rights Act and "race relations management"). I argue that Civil Rights reforms have incorporated African Americans into the city's authority structure through the racially coded category of "minority," redrawing the color line and making race a more explicit and officially institutionalized function of Fayetteville's government.

Bailard, Catie S. et al. 2024. "Keep our heads held high boys!" Examining the relationships between the Proud Boys' online discourse and offline activities. American Political Science Review 118(4):2054-2071. This study examines the relationship between online communication by the Proud Boys and their offline activities. We use a supervised machine learning model to analyze a novel dataset of Proud Boys Telegram messages, merged with US Crisis Monitor data of violent and nonviolent events in which group members participated over a 31-month period. Our analysis finds that intensifying expressions of grievances online predict participation in offline violence, whereas motivational appeals to group pride, morale, or solidarity share a reciprocal relationship with participation in offline events. This suggests a potential online messaging–offline action cycle, in which (a) nonviolent offline protests predict an increasing proportion of motivational messaging and (b) increases in the frequency and proportion of motivational appeals online, in turn, predict subsequent violent offline activities. Our findings offer useful theoretical insights for understanding the relationship between online speech and offline behavior.

Baker, Kelly J. 2011. Gospel according to the Klan: The KKK's appeal to protestant America, 1915-1930. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. The author starts with the 1920s to examine how the KKK based its justifications for hatred in Protestantism in its appeal to everyday (white) Americans and how its leaders manipulated religion, nationalism, gender, and race. The White leaders positioned themselves as both the defenders/saviors of "Americanism" and as victims surrounded by hostile minorities (Catholics, Jews, African Americans, and others). One chapter details the 1924 Klan-Notre Dame "riot" in which the students routed the Klansmen.

Barnes, Kenneth C. 2021. The Ku Klux Klan in 1920s Arkansas: How protestant White nationalism came to rule a state. University of Arkansas Press. This volume charts the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in 1920s Arkansas and the impact of the organization's success on the development of the state. Bilby, Joseph and Harry Ziegler. 2019. The rise and fall of the Ku Klux Klan in New Jersey. Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia. The state, though, was not immune to the reemergence of the Ku Klux Klan in the first half of the twentieth century. Former vaudevillians Arthur H. Bell and his wife used the tactics of public theater to advertise and recruit for the organization. At a massive riot in Perth Amboy, thousands of immigrants besieged a few hundred Klansmen, tossed them out of building windows, burned their cars and ran them out of town. The allying of pro-Nazi German Bund groups and the Klan in the lead-up to World War II marked the end of the Klan's foothold. Authors Joseph Bilby and Harry Ziegler chart the brief rise of the Ku Klux Klan and how New Jersey collectively stood up to bigotry.

Billig, Michael. 2001. Humour and hatred: The racist jokes of the Ku Klux Klan. Discourse & Society 12(3):267-289.The article examines the links between humor and hatred - a topic that is often ignored by researchers of prejudice. The article studies three websites that present racist humor and display sympathies with the Ku Klux Klan. The analysis emphasizes the importance of examining the 'metadiscourse', which presents and justifies the humor, as much as studying the nature of the humor itself. The meta-discourse of the sites' disclaimers is studied in relation to the justification of a joke being 'just a joke'. It is shown that the extreme racist humor of the KKK is not just a joke, even in terms of its own meta-discourse of presentation. The meta-discourse also

suggests that the extreme language of racist hatred is indicated a matter for enjoyment. The sites portray the imagining of extreme racist violence as a matter of humor and the ambivalence of their disclaimers is discussed. As such, it is suggested that there are integral links between extreme hatred and dehumanizing, violent humor.

Black, R. Derek. 2024. The Klans Man's son: my journey from White nationalism to antiracialism. New York: Abrams Press. Memoir of Derek Black who grew up mainly in Florida and was raised to follow in the footsteps of his White Nationalist father. While a student at New College, he underwent deep self-questioning amidst ongoing campus discussions about White extremism prompted by Derek's presence. He has since renounced White nationalism and embraced as anti-racist perspective while working on his PhD at the University of Chicago in medieval studies.

Blain, Mast. 1924. K. K. K., friend or foe: which? Pittsburgh: Herbrick & Held. https://ia803101.us.archive.org/12/items/kkkfriendorfoewh00mast/kkkfriendorfoewh00mast.pdf

Blee, Kathleen M. 1987. Evidence, empathy, and ethics: lessons from oral histories of the Klan. Sociological Spectrum 82: 596-606. Interviews with former KKK members from heavily Klan-dominated communities in Indiana are used to examine issues of historical interpretation, labeled as evidence, empathy and ethics. The evidence gathered orally shed light on how and why ordinary people might become attracted to the politics of racial hatred.

---1993. Does gender matter in the United States far-right? The Journal of American History 13(2): 254-265. This article examines how scholarly templates shape what is studied about women in the far-right, using data about women in the 1920s Ku Klux Klan and contemporary organized racism. First, it presents two templates that historically made women and gender issues invisible to scholars of the US right: the template of the rightist as male and the template of Nazi Germany as the prototype of far-right. Second, it considers three templates that exist in current scholarship: the template of historical continuity, the template of belief-driven activism, and the template of gender as a category of analysis. These latter templates have not precluded the study of women and gender on the right, but they have led to problems of focus and interpretation. It concludes by posing four questions that are likely to be particularly productive in the next stages of studies of gender in rightist movements in the US as well as for studies of extreme right and fascist movements more broadly across the globe.

---2002. The gendered organization of hate: Women in the U.S. Ku Klux Klan. In Right-Wing women: From conservatives to extremists around the world. Edited by Paola Bacchetta, Margaret Power. New York Routledge.

---2005. Women and organized racial terrorism in the United States. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism 28(5):421-433. This article explores women's participation in racial terrorism in the United States from the immediate post-Civil War period to the present.

---2008. Women of the Klan: Racism and gender in the 1920s. Berkeley: University of California Press. Ignorant. Brutal. Male. One of these stereotypes of the Ku Klux Klan offers a misleading picture. In Women of the Klan, sociologist Kathleen M. Blee dismantles the popular notion that politically involved women are always inspired by pacifism, equality, and justice. In her new preface, Blee reflects on how recent scholarship on gender and right-wing extremism suggests new ways to understand women's place in the 1920s Klan's crusade for white and Christian supremacy.

---2010. Gender ideology and the role of women in the 1920s Klan movement. Sociological Spectrum 7(1):73-97. The 1920s Ku Klux Klan movement defies conventional expectations of the role of women and the use of gender ideology in right-wing political movements. The male Ku Klux Klan and the female Women of the Ku Klux Klan mobilized millions of white, native-born Protestant women and men into a conservative, racist movement that supported women's rights and equality in political and economic life. This paper examines the participation of women and the development of an ideology of gender equality in the Klan movement of the 1920s. Using primary documentary materials from the Women of the Ku Klux Klan and the Ku Klux Klan, I examine the contradictions and limitations of this historical attempt to merge a rhetoric of women's rights with a right-wing political agenda.

Blee, Kathleen and Amy McDowell. 2013. The duality of spectacle and secrecy: a case study of fraternalism in the 1920s US Ku Klux Klan. Ethnicity and Racial Studies 36(2):249-265. White supremacist groups operate as secret societies but want to extend their racist vision to the public. This article examines the duality of secrecy and publicity in such organizations through a case study of the massive Ku Klux Klan in the United States in the 1920s. We show how characteristics of fraternalism – exclusivity, secrecy and firm boundaries – conflicted with the Klan's agenda to spread a message of racism, anti-Semitism, and anti-Catholicism to society at large. We draw on recent literature on cultural scenes, performance, and audience to explain how the Klan used layers of supportive practices to both secure fraternal brotherhood and shape racial politics beyond its boundaries.

Blee, Kathlee and Mehr Latif. 2009. Ku Klux Klan: Vigilantism against blacks, immigrants and other minorities. In Vigilantism against migrants and other minorities, edited By Tore Bjørgo and Miroslav Mareš. London: Routledge. Our paper discusses how the Ku Klux Klan (Klan) is the most enduring form of vigilantism in United States history, extending from the 1870s through today. We show how the Klan fomented vigilantism against particular groups of people in four eras: the 1870s, immediately after the Civil War over slavery; the interwar 1920s, which was characterized by high rates of immigration from Europe; the 1950s–1960s, which witnessed legal and political challenges to racial segregation or racially exclusive voting practices in the southern states; and the 1980s–2000s, during which the Klan allied with other far-right racist groups to forge a Pan-Aryan alliance. We discuss each era of the Klan within its historical context to explain how it justified and gained popular support for vigilante agendas and practices, which we define as actions or serious threats of extra-legal violence that replace or enhance the legitimated violence of the state such as the police, courts, and military. We pay attention to the wider context in which the Klan developed, how it was organized, its principal vigilante activities and strategies, and its relationship to electoral and government actors.

Bostdorff, Denise. M. 2004. The internet rhetoric of the Ku Klux Klan: A case study in web site community building run amok. Communication Studies 55(2):340-361. Many scholars have praised the Internet as a locale where positive community building takes place. Conversely, this study examines 23 KKK web sites as an exemplar of how groups may engage in community building of a most egregious sort. Through appeals to white masculinity and, on some web sites, segmented appeals to women and to youth and children, Klan web sites attempt to create community that is unified by its opposition to minority groups, particularly Jews. The angry style of Klan discourse, which is compatible with the rhetorical conventions of the Web, discourages dissenting points of view while inflaming potential supporters. Moreover, Klan rhetoric on the Web encourages odious political activity, including acts of violence, at the same time that Klan web sites disavow responsibility for the consequences of their messages.

Brenner, Betty Jo. 2011. The Colorado women of the Ku Klux Klan. In Denver inside out. Edited by Jeanne E. Abrams, Betty Jo Brenner, Michael Childers, and B. Erin Cole. Colorado History Society.

Brooks, Michael E. The Ku Klux Klan in Wood County, Ohio. 2014. Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia. The Ku Klux Klan emerged in Wood County, Ohio, in late 1922, and at its peak, the white supremacist group numbered nearly 1,400 members in the county. Klan members occupied many municipal and county-elected positions, and nearly 40 percent of the Protestant ministers of Wood County joined the group in the 1920s. The Klan engaged in cross burnings, public marches and vigilante activities here during the 1920s and 1930s. Join author Michael Brooks as he examines the unsettling history of the KKK in Wood County.

Brunson, Samuel D. Addressing hate: Georgia, the IRS, and the Ku Klux Klan. 2021. 41(1):45-88. In 1944, the Ku Klux Klan officially suspended its operations. Two years later, it had entirely ended. In part this was the inevitable result of a decade of declining influence and membership. In part, though, it was the result of actions by the federal government and the state of Georgia. This article relates the story of the Klan's corporate and tax statuses because the story has never been related in any detail and because it provides a perspective on how government can deal with contemporary white nationalist groups without violating the Constitution.

Campbell, Andy. 2022. We are Proud Boys: How a right-wing street gang ushered in a new era of American extremism. New York: Hachette Books. After the 2016 election, Americans witnessed a frightening trend: the sudden rise of a host of new extremist groups around the country. Empowered by a new president, they started showing up at political rallies, building fervent online presences, and expanding at an alarming rate. Amid all this, one group seemed to show up in the news constantly, creating a reputation for its bizarre behavior and regular violence: the Proud Boys. From acclaimed extremism reporter Andy Campbell, We Are Proud Boys is the definitive history of this notorious group and all the far-right movements they're connected to. Through groundbreaking new reporting, Campbell delivers the untold story of a gang of bumbling, punch-happy bigots who, under the leadership of a coke-addled media executive in New York, grew to become the centerpiece of American extremism and positioned themselves as the unofficial enforcement arm of the GOP. Beginning with their founding by Gavin McInnes, the media personality best known for co-founding Vice, Campbell takes us deep inside the Proud Boys, laying bare their origins and their rise to prominence, along the way exposing the group's noxious culture and strange rituals. Their bizarre, frightening story lays bare the playbook they have created for all extremist groups to follow going forward, giving Americans the necessary insight to push back against these groups. The story of the Proud Boys is far more than a relic of the Trump era. In Campbell's hands, it is an urgent warning about extremism encroaching into mainstream politics. It is also a window into the dark corners of the internet, where radical and violent factions incubate, and where misogyny and racism thrive. It's an exploration of the web of extremism that includes QAnon conspiracy theory, white nationalists, gun-toting militias, neo-Nazis, incels, and online reactionaries, with the Proud Boys sitting directly in the center. It's an exclusive look at the fascist underbelly of American government today, where top-level Republican politicians count racist street thugs as their personal bodyguards. The Proud Boys were an inevitable symptom of an authoritarian regime, and though their wild story may be unique to this political moment, it won't be the last of its kind.

Chalmers, David. 1965. The Ku Klux Klan in Politics In The 1920's. The Mississippi Quarterly 18(4):234-247.

Cohen, Shuki J., Thomas J. Holt, Steven M. Chermak, and Joshua D. Freilich. 2018. Invisible empire of hate: gender differences in the Ku Klux Klan's online justifications for violence. Violence and

gender 5(4):209-225. This article presents a systematic linguistic approach to mapping gender differences in the formulation and practice of right-wing ideology. We conducted a set of content- and text-analytical analyses on a 52,760 words corpus from a female-only subforum, dubbed LOTIES (Ladies of the Invisible Empire), compared with a matching corpus of 1.793 million words from a male-only subforum of the Ku Klux Klan's primary website. Using a combination of computational and noncomputational linguistic methods, we show that the wholesome and avowedly prosocial discourse of the female forum is a gateway to Klan activity and, ultimately, to the Klan's ideology through a fear-based "all means are necessary" mindset and violent sentiments. The findings also suggest that the female forum's porousness and emphasis on inclusion and homogeneity may have facilitated the spontaneous "mutation" of the traditional KKK ideology into a generic Far-Right ideology that enjoys broad consensus. Rhetorically, this generic right-wing ideology downplays overt racial and violent elements and eschews theological controversies by relating to Christianity instrumentally as a cultural heritage rather than a religion in the metaphysical sense of the word.

Cole, Mike. 2019. Trump, the Alt-Right and public pedagogies of hate and for fascism: What Is to Be Done. Oxford, UK: Routledge. Cole uses public pedagogy as a theoretical lens through which to view discourses of hate and for fascism in the era of Trump and to promote an anti-fascist and pro-socialist public pedagogy. It makes the case for re-igniting a rhetoric that goes beyond the undermining of neoliberal capitalism and the promotion of social justice and re-aligns the left against fascism and for a socialism of the twenty-first century. Beginning with an examination of the history of traditional fascism in the twentieth century, the book looks at the similarities and differences between the Trump regime and traditional Western post-war fascism. Cole goes on to consider the alt-right movement, the reasons for its rise, and the significance of the internet being harnessed as a tool with which to promote a fascist public pedagogy. Finally, the book examines the resistance against these discourses and addresses the question of: what is to be done? Chapter 5 is titled "No Trump! No KKK! No Fascist USA!"

Craig, John. 2015. The Ku Klux Klan in Western Pennsylvania, 1921-1928. Lehigh University Press. Relying primarily on a narrative, chronological approach, this study examines Ku Klux Klan activities in Pennsylvania's twenty-five western-most counties, where the state organization enjoyed greatest numerical strength. The work covers the period between the Klan's initial appearance in the state in 1921 and its virtual disappearance by 1928, particularly the heyday of the Invisible Empire, 1923–1925. This book examines a wide variety of KKK activities but devotes special attention to the two large and deadly Klan riots in Carnegie and Lilly, as well as vigilantism associated with the intolerant order. Klansmen were drawn from a pool of ordinary Pennsylvanians who were driven, in part, by the search for fraternity, excitement, and civic betterment. However, their actions were also motivated by sinister, darker emotions and purposes. Disdainful of the rule of law, the Klan sought disorder and mayhem in pursuit of a racist, nativist, anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish agenda.

Cunningham, David. 2013. Klansville, U.S.A.: The rise and fall of the Civil Rights-era Ku Klux Klan. New York: Oxford University Press. About the UKA, the United Klans of America, a subgroup of the KKK that formed in 1961 and was first mainly confined to Alabama and Georgia but spread to several states of the US southeast by the mid1960s (p5 map). Focus on the UKA rise in North Carolina and collisions with the congressional House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) which succeeded in convicting and imprisoning key leaders by 1969, spelling the decline ("fatal blow" p6) of the UKA. The book puts forth three themes: the Klan as a reactive movement, the processes by which the Klan mobilized a sense of racial threat, and the organizational functioning of the UKA including the ability to craft compelling arguments that aligned with widespread religious and nationalist sentiments (pp8-9). The Epilogue connects the UKA to the rise of Republican support in the South as prompted by the Civil Rights Act and highlights the emerging role of the anti-hate group organization, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) through its claim

against the UKA (p214ff). The author notes that in this “post-klan” era (p214), the KKK’s fomer constituencies exist in a white variety of White extremist movements: neo-nazis, racist skinheads, white nationalists, and neo-confederate groups.

Davis, Allison, Gardner Burleigh B., Mary R. Gardner2009. Deep south: A social anthropological study of caste and class. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. First published in 1941, Deep South is a landmark work of anthropology, documenting in startling and nuanced detail the everyday realities of American racism. Living undercover in Depression-era Mississippi—not revealing their scholarly project or even their association with one another—groundbreaking Black scholar Allison Davis and his White co-authors, Burleigh and Mary Gardner, delivered an unprecedented examination of how race shaped nearly every aspect of twentieth-century life in the United States. Their analysis notably revealed the importance of caste and class to Black and White worldviews, and they anatomized the many ways those views are constructed, solidified, and reinforced. This reissue of the 1965 abridged edition, with a new foreword from Pulitzer Prize winner Isabel Wilkerson—who acknowledges the book’s profound importance to her own work—proves that Deep South remains as relevant as ever, a crucial work on the concept of caste and how it continues to inform the myriad varieties of American inequality.

Davis, John A. 1966. The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1920-1930: An historical study. 1966. Unpublished PhD thesis, Northwestern University, Department of History.

Dixon, Nancy C. 2018. The women behind the hoods: An in-depth look at the women of the Ku Klux Klan, its leaders, and the appropriation of feminism. Unpublished MA thesis, Western Illinois University, Department of History.

Dobratz, Betty A. and Stephanie L. Shanks-Miele. 1997. White power, White pride: The White separatist movement in the United States. Combines a comprehensive examination of the white separatist phenomenon with wide-ranging original research. In delineating the major actors, organizations, and events of the movement, the authors draw on the tools of resource mobilization theory, political process models, and New Social Movement theory, as well as labeling framework in the study of deviance. A historical overview surveys the movements growth over time and then zeroes in on four groups of contemporary note: the Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazis, Christian Identity, and Skinheads. The Social Movements Past and Present Series offers thorough analyses of the ideas and actions that have changed the way Americans think and live. Each volume is written by a specialist drawing on the insights and methodologies of history, sociology, and political science. New York: Twayne.

---2006. The strategy of White separatism. Journal of Political and Military Sociology 34(1):49-79. The various labels of a movement we have called white separatist include organized racism, white power, white supremacist, neo-Nazi, white nationalist and white racialist movement. In this article we continue to examine the issue related to naming and defining the white separatist movement. This was initially discussed in our co-authored book entitled "White Power, White Pride!" The White Separatist Movement in the U.S. There are numerous implications for doing research on highly stigmatized groups, especially when the researchers strive to be relatively objective, conduct face to face interviews and attend their events. Naming a particular movement is especially problematic when social scientists and organizations outside the movement challenge the labels of movement members themselves, and there is also disagreement within the movement regarding appropriate labels. We explore a few of the myriad issues related to defining and explaining this movement.

Egan, Timothy. 2023. A fever in the heartland: The Ku Klux Klan’s plot to take over America, and the woman who stopped them. New York: Viking. Documents the KKK push into the US heartland

in the 1920s, specifically Indiana where they were markedly successful in advancing their public presence. Focus on the role of the charismatic Grand Dragon, D. C. Stephenson whose efforts greatly expanded Klan numbers in Indiana in the 1920s. He also made strides embedding the Klan into mainstream US politics. His downfall was brought about through the death of a young woman who he was ultimately convicted of kidnapping, raping, and murdering.

Elenowitz-Hess, Caroline. 2023. “Something really very odd and singularly inappropriate:” The fashionable swastika in the US before 1939. Journal of Design History 36(3):232-248. More than a decade before Hitler became the leader of the Nazi party, on the other side of the Atlantic, the Ladies’ Home Journal hit on the perfect insignia for their new “Girl’s Club”: a swastika. This was far from anomalous; an examination of American fashion and lifestyle publications shows that the swastika was a fashionable motif for dress, home decor, and particularly jewelry from the turn of the twentieth century until the outbreak of World War II. Moreover, the swastika continued to be used as a decorative motif even as news of life under the Third Reich was published in American newspapers. This regular use in fashion and consumer goods suggests that Americans did not want to recognize the dissonance between the way that they wore the swastika and the symbol in its German context. This distinction began to disintegrate in the mid-1930s, as conflict over the use of the symbol revealed fracture lines between those affected by its anti-Semitic connotations and those who thought that these connotations were either acceptable or easy enough to ignore. The lifecycle of the swastika in American culture in the first four decades of the twentieth century offers a unique case study of how a sign can gain and lose meaning; after arising as a seemingly superficial fad, the persistence of the motif took on increasingly problematic associations raising difficult questions of how to contend with new readings of old signs.

Evans, Hiram Wesley. 1926. The Klan’s fight for Americanism. The North American Review 223(830):33-63. Evans (1881-1966) was a major figure in the KKK, serving as its Imperial Wizard from 1922-1939. His vision was that Whiteness and Protestantism equaled Americanism. He was pivotal in changing the Klan into a centralized political movement. He was on the cover of Time Magazine, June 23, 1924.

Fadness, Arley K. 2024. The Ku Klux Klan in South Dakota. Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia. In the 1920s, a reborn Ku Klux Klan slithered into South Dakota. Bold at times, the group intimidated citizens in every county. KKK anti-Catholicism sentiment resulted in the murder of Father Arthur Belknap of Lead. Idealized Gutzon Borglum, sculptor of Mount Rushmore, operated as a white supremacist and KKK leader. In 1925, animosity between the KKK and Fort Meade soldiers came to a clash one night in Sturgis. The clatter of two borrowed .30 caliber Browning cooled machine guns split the air over the heads of a Klan gathering across the valley

Feldman, Glenn.1999 Politics, society, and the Klan in Alabama, 1915-1949. The University of Alabama Press.

Ferber, Abby L., ed. 2004. Home-grown hate: Gender and organized racism. New York: Routledge. The top names in the field come together in this collection with original essays that explore the link between gender and racism in a variety of racial and white supremacy organizations, including white separatists, the Christian right, the militia/patriot movements, skinheads, and more.

Forsell, Gustaf. 2020. Blood, cross, and flag: The influence of race on Ku Klux Klan theology in the 1920s. Politics, Religion and Ideology 21(3):269-287. This article addresses the influence of race on Ku Klux Klan theology in the 1920s to highlight possible relations between Protestant theology and white radical nationalism. Through the analytical concept of ‘racial exegesis’—meaning a biblically based view on the supposed origin of human races—the main argument is that the Klan did not invent anything in the racial and theological domains. The Klan’s self-proclaimed mission to

uphold white Protestant hegemony in America resulted not only in the identification of imagined racial and cultural threats. As important were mythical interpretations of history, according to which the white race was believed to be destined by God to thrive on American soil. The synthesis of racial ideology and Protestant theology in the Klan resulted in a self-identified vanguard of white, native-born, Protestant Americans seeking to follow Christ as 'Criterion of Character' by which Klansmen hoped to enhance the resurgence of American nation in accordance with the Founding Fathers' alleged religious and racial ideals.

Fryer Jr, Roland G. and Levitt, Steven D. 2012. Hatred and profits: Under the hood of the Ku Klux Klan. The Quarterly Journal of Economics 127(4):1883-1925. This article analyzes the 1920s Ku Klux Klan, those who joined it, and its social and political impact by combining a wide range of archival data sources with data from the 1920 and 1930 U.S censuses. We find that individuals who joined the Klan in some cities were more educated and more likely to hold professional jobs than the typical American. Surprisingly, we find little evidence that the Klan had an effect on black or foreign-born residential mobility or vote totals. Rather than a terrorist organization, the 1920s Klan is best described as social organization with a very successful multilevel marketing structure fueled by an army of highly incentivized sales agents selling hatred, religious intolerance, and fraternity in a time and place where there was tremendous demand.

Gerlich, Larry R. 1982. Blazing crosses in Zion: The Ku Klux Klan in Utah. Logan: Utah State University Press. Primarily an examination of the Klan in the 1920's, the book also treats the resurgent contemporary Klan of the seventies and eightie

Gibson, James. L. 1987. Homosexuals and the Ku Klux Klan: A contextual analysis of political tolerance. Western Political Quarterly 40(3):427-448. This article reports the results of a study of political tolerance within a civil liberties dispute over the rights of the Ku Klux Klan. During the summer of 1984, the Ku Klux Klan held a "Death to Homosexuals" demonstration in the gay quarter of Houston. To examine their political tolerance, a survey was undertaken of the membership of the Gay Political Caucus — the major political organization in the gay community. Several hypotheses accounting for intolerance are tested. I hypothesize that political tolerance is a function of general tolerance attitudes, as modified by contextual perceptions. General tolerance attitudes are themselves thought to be a function of levels of political activism, ideology, personality attributes, and social background characteristics. I conclude with a discussion of tolerance at the macro or system level, with special consideration of the linkages between the attitudes and actions of local elites and public policy.

Gitlin. Marty. 2009. The Ku Klux Klan: A guide to an American aubculture. London: Bloomsbury. This history of the Ku Klux Klan traces the evolution of the organization from its 1865 founding to the present, drawing extensively on contemporaneous media reports.
The Ku Klux Klan tells the story of America's oldest and largest homegrown terrorist organization. It is a revealing look at the philosophies and methods of a secret society that used religious symbols, secret codes, and the cloak of anonymity to bind its members together in the cause of violent racial warfare. The Ku Klux Klan encompasses the organization's entire history, from its post-Civil War founding by Nathan Bedford Forrest, to its high watermark in the early 20th century, with membership swelling to four million and its founders portrayed as heroes in the film, Birth of a Nation to its resurgence in the Civil Rights era, to more recent attempts by David Duke and others to put a benign face on the Klan in order to gain elective office.

Godfrey, Phoebe C. 2009. "Passing the buck": The articulation of class struggle through racism, sexism, and the connection to fascism. Race, gender & class 16 (1/2):238-256. This paper

presents Naomi Wolf's ten stages of fascism and applies them to an analysis of the murder of two Mexican workers in Georgia by members of the KKK in the early 1980's.

Goldberg, David J. 1996. Unmasking the Ku Klux Klan: The northern movement against the KKK, 1920-1925. Journal of American Ethnic History 15(4):32-48.

Goldberg, Robert. 1981. Hooded empire: The Ku Klux Klan in Colorado. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. Colorado has the dubious distinction of being second only to Indiana in the number of Klansmen who donned their hoods and engaged in a crusade to ensure that "100 Per Cent Americanism" would characterize the nation's society during the flamboyant twenties. Consequently, a study of the post-World War I Ku Klux Klan in Colorado is of particular importance if we are to gain a better understanding of this phase of the Invisible Empire's history, which "has been lost in the wakes of America's two more publicized Klan movements." The Colorado Klan, according to Robert Goldberg, was not a product of the postwar depression; although the Ku Klux Klan came to Colorado in 1921, it did not develop real political clout until the mid-twenties. The emergence of the Invisible Empire was not the result of postwar hatred transferred from the Hun to the Catholic, Jew, black, or immigrant, either. The Klan did not thrive solely in rural areas; half the organization's membership lived in Denver. It was not a "pathological assembly of deviant men and women"; many of its members honestly believed that the Invisible Empire could solve a diversity of problems perceived by them to be important. It was not an organization of low-income, "marginal" citizens, a common stereotype; rather, it attracted its membership from a broad cross section of the state's population. Klansmen were drawn from all socioeconomic levels, except the elite sector.

Gordon, Linda. 2017. The second coming of the KKK: The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920 and the American political tradition. New York: W. W. Norton. A description of the KKK's rise in the 1920s US with attention to topics including recruitment, rituals, connections to Christian evangelicalism and manliness, KKK "feminism," and political and economic competition. One chapter focuses on Oregon. The final chapter is entitled: "Legacy: Down but Not Out." Appendix 1 offers a glossary of Klan terms.

Hall, R. E. 2006. White women as postmodern vehicle of Black oppression: The pedagogy of discrimination in Western academe. Journal of Black Studies, 37(1), 69–82. At the behest of White Americans is a postmodern form of Black oppression via White women as vehicle. In the preferential hiring of White women faculty extended from the women's rights movement in academe is the racist discrimination against Black and other people of color. The history of women's rights evolved in the context of racism apparent in the popularity of the Women's Ku Klux Klan (WKKK). Suffice it to say, that modernistic tradition in the preferential hire of White women is a prerequisite to White supremacy. Thus, in this postmodern era the gap between White women and Black folk hired at prestigious institutions of higher education has introduced a more covert but no less formidable strategy for sustaining Black oppression. Academe must confront this issue to sustain its prestige and credibility.

Harcourt, Felix. 2017. Ku Klux Kulture: America and the Klan in the 1920s. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. In popular understanding, the Ku Klux Klan is a hateful white supremacist organization. In *Ku Klux Kulture*, Felix Harcourt argues that in the 1920s the self-proclaimed Invisible Empire had an even wider significance as a cultural movement. *Ku Klux Kulture* reveals the extent to which the KKK participated in and penetrated popular American culture, reaching far beyond its paying membership to become part of modern American society. The Klan owned radio stations, newspapers, and sports teams, and its members created popular films, pulp novels, music, and more. Harcourt shows how the Klan's racist and nativist ideology became subsumed in sunnier popular portrayals of heroic vigilantism. In the process he challenges prevailing depictions of the

1920s, which may be best understood not as the Jazz Age or the Age of Prohibition, but as the Age of the Klan. *Ku Klux Kulture* gives us an unsettling glimpse into the past, arguing that the Klan did not die so much as melt into America's prevailing culture.

Harrell, Kenneth E. 1983. The Ku Klux Klan in Louisiana:1920-1930. LSU Historical Dissertations and Theses. 1153. https://repository.lsu.edu/gradschool_disstheses/1153

Hatle, Elizabeth. 2013. The Ku Klux Klan in Minnesota. Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia. Minnesota might not seem like an obvious place to look for traces of Ku Klux Klan parade grounds, but this northern state was once home to fifty-one chapters of the KKK. Elizabeth Hatle tracks down the history of the Klan in Minnesota, beginning with the racially charged atmosphere that produced the tragic 1920 Duluth lynchings. She measures the influence the organization wielded at the peak of its prominence within state politics and tenaciously follows the careers of the Klansmen who continued life in the public sphere after the Hooded Order lost its foothold in the Land of Ten Thousand Lakes.

Hickins, Nora. "We want no hatchet-wielding Amazons:" The feminism, racism, and nativism of the women of the Ku Klux Klan. 2019. Undergraduate Honors Thesis, University of Colorado Boulder. White American women have played a historically significant role in the oppression of non-white racial and religious groups in the United States. Although they rarely assume an active role as perpetrators of violence, the rhetorical implications of whiteness and womanhood promulgated by white men and women have resulted in the death of people of color for centuries. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the traditional-domestic, as well as untraditional, methods of female white supremacy in the early twentieth century. The Women of the Ku Klux Klan of Colorado presents an interesting example of the active organizational role played by women in articulating and perpetuating ideologies of racism, nativism, anti-Semitism, and anti-Catholicism. While serving as a social club, the Women of the Ku Klux Klan also offered a platform for political and economic activism supporting the Klan's war on non-Anglo-Protestants. Using archives of local Front Range libraries, I have constructed a narrative that explains why women in Colorado joined the Ku Klux Klan, how they operated as agents of imposed values within their communities, and what they stood to gain from Klan membership.

Horowitz, David A. 1993. The normality of extremism: The Ku Klux Klan revisited. Society 35(6):71-77. Reviews several local studies of the 1920s second KKK rise, ties to Protestantism, and concern for racial purity. The Klan functioned behind a public agenda of law enforcement, civic improvement, and social reform while furthering its belief in the superiority of "pure" Americans.

---1999. Inside the klavern: The secret history of a Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s. Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press. This book is an annotated collection of the minutes of a thriving Ku Klux Klan in La Grande, Oregon, between 1922 and 1924. The most complete set of Klan minutes ever uncovered, these documents illustrate the inner workings of a Klan chapter of more than three hundred members at a time when the national membership reached into the millions and the Invisible Empire was at the peak of its power. Through an extensive introduction and conclusion as well as brief notes previewing each installment of the minutes, Horowitz places these unique documents in historical perspective.

Hossain, M. 2024. Film review: How to sue the Klan: A documentary on five women who fought for racial justice. Journal of International Women's Studies 26(5):COV5. John Beder's documentary film How to Sue the Klan portrays the story of five African American women who won a civil lawsuit (Crumsey v. Justice Knights of the KKK) with the aid of civil rights activist and attorney Randolph McLaughlin almost forty years ago. Beder invites us to view this case as a milestone for the

ongoing struggle for justice and freedom for the Black community in the United States rather than an isolated victory against the Ku Klux Klan.

Jenkins, William D. 1990. Steel Valley Klan: The Ku Klux Klan in Ohio's Mahoning Valley. Kent State University Press. Jenkins argues that the Klan drew from all social strata in Youngstown, Ohio, in the 1920s, contrary to previous theories that predominately lower middle-class WASPs joined the Klan because of economic competition with immigrants. Threatened by immigrant movement into their neighborhoods, these members supposedly represented a fringe element with few accomplishments and little hope of advancement. Jenkins suggests instead that members admired the Klan commitment to a conservative protestant moral code. Besieged, they believed, by an influx of Catholic and Jewish immigrants who did not accept blue laws and prohibition, members of the pietistic churches flocked to Klan meetings as an indication of their support for reform. This groundswell peaked in 1923 when the Klan gained political control of major cities in the South and Midwest. Newly enfranchised women who supported a politics of moralism played a major role in assisting Klan growth and making Ohio one of the more successful Klan realms in the North. The decline of the Klan was almost as rapid. Revelations regarding sexual escapades of leaders and suspicions regarding irregularities in Klan financing led members to question the Klan commitment to moral reform. Ethnic opposition also contributed to Klan decline. Irish citizens stole and published the Klan membership list, while Italians in Niles, Ohio, violently crushed efforts of the Klan to parade in that city. Jenkins concludes that the Steel Valley Klan represented a posturing between cultures mixed too rapidly by the process of industrialization.

Johnson, Michele R. 2019. Mothers of intention: Women in the Ku Klux Klan and massive resistance,1954-1968. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Arkansas, Department of History. This dissertation examines women in the Massive Resistance movement and the Ku Klux Klan of the classic Civil Rights period, 1954-1968. Specifically, it illustrates the way in which these women used their assigned gender roles as women, and specifically as mothers, to further white supremacist goals. White women have been an integral part of white supremacy in the United States from the beginning yet are rarely portrayed as such. White supremacist movements are most often viewed through a male lens and gender in white supremacy is most often focused on how white men perform gender within the movements. While that is changing, with a growing catalog of scholarship on women in the Second Ku Klux Klan (1915-1929) and racist women in contemporary times, there is still a dearth of research being published on white supremacist women of the Classic Civil Rights period. The works that are available thus far are focused exclusively on the women of the Massive Resistance movement. As women won gains in other areas of society, some translated those gains into the white supremacist movement beginning with the Second Klan, but particularly so with the Third Klan (1954-1979) and the Massive Resistance movement. This work argues that though some women were taking a more public role in the work to promote and preserve white supremacy, that they still did so within carefully constructed gender roles, and in socially acceptable ways. These white women used many pathways to secure the racial hierarchy, but always did so without threatening the sexual hierarchy. These women were satisfied with taking a back seat to the white men in their lives in exchange for the benefits that accrued with white supremacy.

Kerbawy, Kelli R. 2007. Knights in white satin: Women of the Ku Klux Klan. Unpublished MA thesis, Marshall University, Department of History. The Ku Klux Klan is often thought of as a male-dominated organization; however, there is evidence that women contributed to Klan efforts and participated in their own group, Women of the KKK. This study analyzes women's involvement within the KKK during the 1920s. Women's participation in early progressive movements, including temperance and suffrage, served as a catalyst for women's involvement with the KKK. This paper explores women's roles in the Ku Klux Klan as leaders within the WKKK. From earlier social movements, women gained knowledge needed to promote and expand the WKKK and other white

supremacist women's organizations. This paper examines conflicting rhetoric published by the organizations outlining roles women potentially served in leadership positions, while highlighting that these were only within the domestic sphere. Finally, this project delves into evidence regarding Klansmen's treatment of women, which eventually led to exposure of the contradictory and hate-filled nature of the KKK.

King, Angela. 2009. Web-based, gendered recruitment of women by organized white supremacist groups. Unpublished MA thesis, University of Central Florida, Department of Interdisciplinary Studies. According to the hate group watchdog organization, the Southern Poverty Law Center, the number of hate groups in the United States rose 54 percent since 2000. Literature on organized white supremacist groups suggests that women have become increasingly more important to such groups for a variety of reasons, many of which are not always agreed upon by and within said groups. In addition, it is believed by many in the hate monitoring world that the World Wide Web has become progressively more dynamic as a medium of recruitment, as a tool of communication among members, and to propagate the hateful messages espoused by members of these groups. Thus, this research will marry two essential ideas: (1) that women are being sought out and targeted for recruitment by organized white supremacist groups and (2) that the World Wide Web acts as a dynamic tool that aids said groups in accomplishing their goals of recruitment. https://stars.library.ucf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5087&context=etd

Kitts, Margo. 2021. Proud Boys, nationalism, and religion. Journal of Religion and Violence 9(1):12-32. The Proud Boys are an opportunistic hate group whose message of white male chauvinism is infused with religious and nationalist symbols. They fit into the global trend of religious nationalism in that they are driven by a reaction to religious pluralism, entertain atavistic yearnings, and celebrate a founding hero, Donald Trump. Enthralled with fist fighting, in both their initiatory rituals and their engagements with antifa groups, they delight in offending the genteel sensibilities they associate with the "white liberal elite." They are proudly anti- Semitic, Islamophobic, and anti-feminist, but their list of enemies appears to be ever shifting, suggesting a toxic virility run amuck. While they are but one expression of an enduring European-American chauvinism, their celebration of masculinity resembles the masculinism and misogyny that arose in response to the Victorian era in the US.

Kugler, David F. 2015. 1919. The year of racial violence: How African Americans fought back. New York: Cambridge University Press. This book takes the Black Lives Matter struggle back a century to show how African Americans fought back against racial violence to protect their citizenship and humanity, the so-called "Red Summer of 1919." It describes racism in the US military during African Americans' service during World War I and their stand against mob attacks after their return from the war. Across the US in major cities, Black men and women took up arms to repel mobs that, over several years, used lynching, assaults, and other forms of violence to protect White supremacy, all the while blaming Black Americans for the violence. Black Americans also turned to the courts – of both public opinion and the law -- to seek redress and fairness. The author calls 1919 "one of the worst years of racial conflict in U.S. history."

Laatz, Adam. 2012. Red schoolhouse, burning cross: The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s and educational reform. History of Education Quarterly 52(3):323-350. The author focuses on the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s and educational reform. The Klan's meteoric rise to national prominence in the 1920s has attracted a great deal of attention from historians, yet the group and its popularity during this time frame remain poorly understood. This is due in part to the fact that Klan symbols such as the burning cross and hooded nightrider still provoke intense emotions among historians, as among the American public at large. Even more confounding, the secret nature of the organization has made research materials scarce. Another part of the difficulty results from the fact

that the Klan was a national group with intensely local interests. Despite decades of heated historical debate about the nature of the 1920s Klan, historians have not devoted sufficient analysis to the education reform activism of the organization. This essay argues that former Dallas dentist and national Ku Klux Klan leader Hiram Evans tried to use educational reform as the primary issue with which to cement the Klan's status as a mainstream political organization. Evans hoped to promote educational reform as the cure for the long list of social ills that exercised Klan members. A look at the ways the 1920s Klan prescribed school reform as the solution to a host of social problems will illuminate the ways reformers have seen improved schooling as the key to a healthy society. This paper examines the goals and extent of educational activism among national leaders and grassroots Klan organizations.

Lamb, James. 2018. The Ku Klux Klan in early twentieth century Virginia. Unpublished MA thesis, Department of History. James Madison University. This thesis examines the rise and fall of the Klan in Virginia during the early twentieth century. This thesis looks at the reasons for the rise of interest and membership in the Klan in Virginia. The Klan established over sixty chapters (Klaverns) and had over thirty thousand members in Virginia during this time-period. This thesis examines the activities of the Klan and the extent to which the Klan had any influence in the political, religious and social spheres in Virginia. Lastly, this thesis considers why interest in the Klan collapsed in Virginia. https://commons.lib.jmu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1602&context=master201019

Lay, Shawn. 1992. The Invisible Empire in the West: Toward a new historical appraisal of the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. This anthology describes how and why the Ku Klux Klan became one of the most influential social movements in modern American history. For decades historians have argued that the spectacular growth of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s was fueled by a postwar surge in racism, religious bigotry, and status anxiety among lower-class white Americans. In recent years a growing body of scholarship has contradicted that appraisal, emphasizing the KKK's strong links to mainstream society and its role as a medium of corrective civic action. Addressing a set of common questions, contributors to this volume examine local Klan chapters in six Western cities: Denver, Colorado; Salt Lake City, Utah; El Paso, Texas; Anaheim, California; and Eugene and La Grande, Oregon. Far from being composed of marginal men prone to violence and irrationality, the Klan drew its membership from a generally balanced cross section of the white male Protestant population. Overt racism and religious bigotry were major drawing cards for the hooded order, but intolerance frequently intertwined with community issues such as improved law enforcement, better public education, and municipal reform. The authors consolidate, focus, and expand upon new scholarship in a volume that should provide readers with an enhanced appreciation of the complex reasons why the Klan became one of the largest and most significant grass-roots social movements in twentieth-century America.

---1995. Hooded Knights on the Niagara: the Ku Klux Klan in Buffalo, New York. New York: New York University Press. They came in the dead of night, marking the homes and businesses of their enemies with crude symbols and dire warnings. They plotted against those of other religious faiths and circulated secret lists of alleged traitors to the community and nation. They mailed anonymous threats to those who refused to be intimidated into silence, all the while claiming that they were the true champions of American justice and freedom. The above may seem an accurate description of the sinister activities that distinguished the Ku Klux Klan in the early twentieth century, but in Buffalo, New York, and, in fact, throughout much of the northeastern United States, such activities were as characteristic of the Klan's opponents as of the hooded order itself. While the revived Klan of the 1920s--the largest and most influential manifestation of organized intolerance in American history--proceeded with relative impunity in many locales, it encountered a very different situation in Buffalo where powerful enemies opposed the organization at every turn. Shawn Lay portrays how the Klan established itself in Buffalo and explains how otherwise ordinary, well-established citizens, caught up in a complex set of circumstances, were persuaded to join a notorious secret society that pandered to the darkest impulses in American society.

Lennard, Katherine. 2015. Old purpose, “New Body”: “The Birth of a Nation” and the revival of the Ku Klux Klan. The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era 14(4):616-620. When a recruiter for the Ku Klux Klan first arrived in Butte, Montana, in the summer of 1921, he placed an ad in the Butte Miner depicting a white-robed man astride a bucking horse. Borrowed from the publicity materials for D W. Griffith's groundbreaking film, The Birth of a Nation (1915), this image of a uniformed figure was a fixture of Klan propaganda. The advertisement faced two directions: it connected the newly formed Klan with its Reconstruction Era predecessor, while also demonstrating that the Klan imagined itself through the revisionist lens of Griffith's film and its textual inspiration, Thomas Dixon Jr.'s play and novel The Clansman (1905). The image of a white-robed Klansmen in the Butte Miner was thus a symbol of what Klan leaders and the popular media alike called the Klan's “revival,” the process through which the historical organization was brought to life in a new form.

---2017. Uniform threat: Manufacturing the Ku Klux Klan's Visible Empire, 1866-1931. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Michigan, American Culture. This dissertation examines a symbol central to the racial consciousness of the contemporary United States: the white robe and hood worn by members of the modern Ku Klux Klan. In this cultural history of Ku Klux Klan regalia, I argue that the development of the idealized image of the uniformed Klansman shaped the formation, expansion, and decline of the infamous white supremacist fraternity in the early twentieth-century.

Lenwood, David., Marsha L. Moore, and Janet L. Sims-Wood. 1984. The Ku Klux Klan: A bibliography. London: Bloomsbury.

Lewis, Jon and Haroro A. Ingrahm. 2023. Founding Fathers Of The Modern American Neo-Nazi Movement: The Impacts and Legacies of Louis Beam, William Luther Pierce, and James Mason. Washington, DC: George Washington University, Program on Extremism. This study analyzes the leadership style, impact, and enduring legacies of three crucial leaders in the white supremacist and neo-Nazi movements: Louis Beam, William Luther Pierce, and James Mason. It examines the interplay of leadership traits, significant events in the life narratives of the leader, and the legacies of these three key pioneers towards two aims. First, our analysis draws on the CIP Leadership Framework and charismatic leadership studies to assess the respective leadership roles of Beam, Pierce, and Mason. Second, it considers how the leadership traits and ideological impact of these leaders shaped contemporary far-right movements in the United States (U.S.), as well as how the legacies of these figures can be observed in the modern far-right landscape. Overall, we argue that the three leaders profiled herein cover the full leadership spectrum of the CIP framework and that each was both a product and exploiter of their life narratives in ways that fundamentally shaped their leadership style, impact, and legacy on the American far-right landscape. https://extremism.gwu.edu/founding-fathers-american-neo-nazi

Lutholtz, M. William.1991. Grand Dragon: D. C. Stephenson and the Ku Klux Klan in Indiana. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press. Lutholtz gives a valuable history of the Ku Klux Klan and dispels many misconceptions about the Klan, including the notion that it was only a southern organization targeted solely against black Americans. In the 1920’s, Lutholtz argues, the Klan in Indiana was not “scented with magnolia blossoms and blood”; rather, its hatred was directed toward Catholics, Jews, and non-native Americans. The compelling force in Stephenson’s career was money and political power, not ideology. The cornerstone of Lutholtz’s narration is his account of Stephenson’s trial, for which the 2,347-page court transcript had been missing for thirty years. A model of investigative reporting, Grand Dragon captures the reader with its skillful narration and compelling story. It also raises troubling issues for the modern reader: Was Stephenson guilty of the crime for

which he was imprisoned? Why was membership in the Klan so widespread in the 1920s? What are the dangers of charismatic leadership? And why is this disturbing chapter in Indiana history not better known?

Macias, J. 1996. Introduction: Racial and ethnic exclusion: A problem for anthropology and education. Anthropology & education quarterly 27 (2):141-150. Racial and ethnic exclusion poses a significant problem for anthropology because, despite the discipline's understanding that "race" is a social construct with no biological basis, the field has historically contributed to the perpetuation of racial hierarchies through its research practices, often inadvertently excluding marginalized groups and reinforcing harmful stereotypes, thereby making it crucial for anthropologists to actively critique and dismantle these power dynamics within their studies

Madison, James H. 2020. The Ku Klux Klan in the heartland. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. "Who is an American?" asked the Ku Klux Klan. It is a question that echoes as loudly today as it did in the early twentieth century. But who really joined the Klan? Were they "hillbillies, the Great Unteachables" as one journalist put it? It would be comforting to think so, but how then did they become one of the most powerful political forces in our nation's history? In The Ku Klux Klan in the Heartland, historian James H. Madison details the creation and reign of the infamous organization. Through the prism of their operations in Indiana and the Midwest, Madison explores the Klan's roots in respectable white protestant society. Convinced that America was heading in the wrong direction because of undesirable "un-American" elements, Klan members did not see themselves as bigoted racist extremists but as good Christian patriots joining proudly together in a righteous moral crusade. The Ku Klux Klan in the Heartland offers a detailed history of this powerful organization and examines how, through its use of intimidation, religious belief, and the ballot box, the ideals of Klan in the 1920s have on-going implications for America today.

Margolin, Devorah and Hilary Matfess. The Women of January 6th: A Gendered Analysis of the 21st Century American Far-Right. Washington, DC: George Washington University, Program on Extremism. https://extremism.gwu.edu/women-january-6th This report contextualizes women's participation in the events of the January 6th Capitol Hill Siege within the broader history of women's participation in American far-right extremism. This report underscores that women have played, and continue to play, active and important roles in American far-right extremist groups. In this movement, women are often incorporated in complementary, rather than egalitarian, roles. Because they are rarely on the 'frontlines' of far-right extremist groups' activities, women's contributions have often been marginalized or underplayed. However, women's participation in support roles and their place in right-wing extremist propaganda have been important contributions to extremist groups' activities and capabilities. In examining women's participation in the events of January 6th, this report probes how far-right extremist movements in the United States operationalize gender norms and identifies aspects of commonality and difference between groups.

Marsh, Mallory L. 2021. The feminine face of racialized violence: White womanhood, White women, and the Ku Klux Klan. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Nebraska, Communication Studies. Chartered in 1923, the Women of the Ku Klux Klan was recognized as a sanctioned branch of the KKK, complete with its own guiding constitution, by-laws, and organizational hierarchy. White women indeed served a fundamental role in both the organization's endurance and the orchestration of its campaign of terror. However, today the most persistent cultural images of the Ku Klux Klan are imbued with a masculine sense of violence. This popular depiction of racialized violence embodied solely in a masculine form—anonymously shielded in our imaginary under a plain white hood—has expunged women's efforts from the historical work of racialized violence,

constructs a flawed and incomplete account of overt white supremacy, and constricts our ability to grapple with its more insidious feminine form. Thus, grounded in the analytic sensibility of intersectional inquiry, I interrogate the nuanced junctures of power at work with the white women who found a home in the Klan, both as symbol and as rhetoric, to reveal the feminine face of racialized violence—one which remains today.

---2024. Rhetorical malewashing of racialized violence in the United States: (Mis)remembering the Ku Klux Klan. Women's Studies in Communication 47(4):440-458. Advancing the concept of rhetorical malewashing, in this essay I argue expunging women's efforts from the telling of historical racialized violence constructs a flawed and incomplete account of white supremacy by dismissing white women's racist agentic capacities. As
an extended granular example, I highlight how contemporary public memory of the Ku Klux Klan omits the fundamental role white women served in both the organization's endurance and the orchestration of its campaign of terror. Examining a pastiche of modern memory texts from popular culture that constitute our present public imaginary of the Klan, I attend to how such texts reflect our tendency to reduce racialized violence to an exclusively masculine phenomenon. I conclude by addressing implications of such reductionist beliefs, including our constricted ability to grapple with white supremacy's more insidious feminine form.

May, Gary. 2005. The informant, the FBI, the Ku Klux Klan, and the murder of Viola Liuzzo. New Haven: Yale University Press. Gary May reveals the untold story of the murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo, shot to death by members of the violent Birmingham Ku Klux Klan at the end of Martin Luther King's historic Voting Rights March in 1965. The case drew national attention and was solved almost instantly, because one of the Klansmen present during the shooting was Gary Thomas Rowe, an undercover FBI informant. At the time, Rowe's information and subsequent testimony were heralded as a triumph of law enforcement. But as Gary May reveals in this provocative and powerful book, Rowe's history of collaboration with both the Klan and the FBI was far more complex. Based on previously unexamined FBI and Justice Department records, The Informant demonstrates that in its ongoing efforts to protect Rowe's cover, the FBI knowingly became an accessory to some of the most grotesque crimes of the civil rights era--including a vicious attack on the Freedom Riders and perhaps even the bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. A tale of a renegade informant and an intelligence system ill prepared to deal with threats from within, The Informant offers a dramatic and cautionary tale about what can happen when secret police power goes unchecked.

McVeigh, Rory. 1999. Structural incentives for conservative mobilization: power devaluation and the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, 1915-1925. Social Forces 77 (4):1461-1496. This analysis of the causes of the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in the early 1920s argues that the Klan's rise is best understood as a response to the sudden devaluation in the economic and political power of the Klan's recruits, who came mainly from the middle class, instead of being understood simply as an expression of racism and bigotry.

---2001 Power devaluation, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Democratic National Convention of 1924. Sociological Forum 16 (1):1-30.

---2009. The rise of the Ku Klux Klan: right-wing movements and national politics. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. McVeigh provides a revealing analysis of the broad social agenda of the 1920s-era Ku Klux Klan, showing that although the organization continued to promote white supremacy, it also addressed a wide range of social and economic issues, targeting immigrants and Catholics as well as African Americans as dangers to American society. In sharp contrast to earlier

studies of the KKK, McVeigh treats the Klan as it saw itself-as a national organization concerned with national issues.

McVeigh, Rory and Kevin Estep. 2019. The politics of losing: Trump, the Klan, and the mainstreaming of resentment. New York: Columbia University Press. The Ku Klux Klan has peaked three times in American history: after the Civil War, around the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, and in the 1920s, when the Klan spread farthest and fastest. Recruiting millions of members even in non-Southern states, the Klan's nationalist insurgency burst into mainstream politics. Almost one hundred years later, the pent-up anger of white Americans left behind by a changing economy has once again directed itself at immigrants and cultural outsiders and roiled a presidential election. The Politics of Losing traces the parallels between the 1920s Klan and today's right-wing backlash, identifying the conditions that allow white nationalism to emerge from the shadows. White middle-class Protestant Americans in the 1920s found themselves stranded by an economy that was increasingly industrialized and fueled by immigrant labor. Mirroring the Klan's earlier tactics, Donald Trump delivered a message that mingled economic populism with deep cultural resentments. McVeigh and Estep present a sociological analysis of the Klan's outbreaks that goes beyond Trump the individual to show how his rise to power was made possible by a convergence of circumstances. White Americans' experience of declining privilege and perceptions of lost power can trigger a political backlash that overtly asserts white-nationalist goals. The Politics of Losing offers a rigorous and lucid explanation for a recurrent phenomenon in American history, with important lessons about the origins of our alarming political climate.

Mecklin, John. 1963 [1924]. The Ku Klux Klan: A study of the American mind. New York: Russell and Russell. A discourse on the early rise and expansion of the so-called "Invisible Empire" of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Contents Include: The Rise of the Invisible Empire. The Shadow of the Past. Concerning Klan Psychology. The Klan and Nativism. The Klan and Anti-Catholicism. Secrecy and Citizenship, etc.

Mohsene, Laura L. 2011. "The women—God bless them": Dallas women and the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Texas at Dallas, Humanities. This dissertation examines the role of women in the Ku Klux Klan movement in Dallas in the 1920s. Previous studies of women and the Klan have analyzed the role of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan organization in relation to the all-male Klan. Some scholars have examined the role gender played in the Klan movement. But little has been written about women's influence on the Klan prior to the organization of the WKKK or klanswomen‟s influence on the Klan, once they organized. The Klan appealed to elite and middle-class Progressive Dallas club women who lent to the Klan their administrative and political skills, and their social influence. Through the use of political skills honed as Progressive club women seeking social change and urban improvements women appealed to the Klan to enforce moral reform. Women encouraged and supported the Klan‟s vigilante violence. In some instances, women perpetrated vigilante acts of their own. Having gained full suffrage in 1920, Dallas women also wielded political influence in Dallas elections. Women also participated in and reinforced the Klan's political tactics of spreading rumors and gossip. The presence of women in the Klan helped shape the movement.

Moore, Leonard J. 1991. Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921-1928. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. Challenging traditional assumptions about the Klan, Moore argues that in Indiana the organization represented an extraordinarily wide cross section of white Protestant society. More than 25 percent of native-born men in the state became official members. Indeed, the Klan was many times larger than any of the veterans' organizations that flourished in Indiana at the same time and was even larger than the Methodist church, the state's leading Protestant denomination. The Klan's enormous popularity, says Moore, cannot be explained solely

by the group's appeal to nativist sentiment and its antagonism toward ethnic minorities. Rather, the Klan gained wide-spread support in large part because of its response to popular discontent with changing community relations and values, problems of Prohibition enforcement, and growing social and political domination by elites. Moreover, Moore shows that the Klan was seen as an organization that could promote traditional community values through social, civic, and political activities. It was, he argues, a movement primarily concerned not simply with persecuting ethnic minorities but with promoting the ability of average citizens to influence the workings of society and government. Thus, Moore concludes, the Klan of the 1920s may not have been as much a backward-looking aberration as it was an important example of one of the powerful popular responses to social conditions in twentieth-century America.

Moseley, Clement C. 1975. Invisible Empire: A History of the Ku Klux Klan in twentieth century Georgia, 1915-1965. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Newton, Michael. 2010. The Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi: A history. Jefferson, NC: MacFarland. Since 1866, the Ku Klux Klan has been a significant force in Mississippi, enduring repeated cycles of expansion and decline. Klansmen have rallied, marched, elected civic leaders, infiltrated law enforcement, and committed crimes. It details its complete history, campaigns of terrorism, KKK involvement in politics and religion, and its role as a social movement for marginalized poor whites.

---2014. White robes and burning crosses: A history of the Ku Klux Klan from 1866. Jefferson, NC: MacFarland. From the Klan's post-Civil War lynchings in support of Jim Crow laws, to its bloody stand against desegregation during the 1960s, to its continued violence in the militia movement at the turn of the 21st century, this revealing volume chronicles the complete history of the world's oldest surviving terrorist organization from 1866 to the present.

Nguyen, Hieu and Swapna S. Gokhale. 2022. Analysis of extremist social media content: A case study of the Proud Boys. Social Network Analysis and Mining 12(1):115:1-14. Proud Boys, a contemporary radical extremist group has exploited the convenience and reach of social media platforms to spread its hateful ideology. To combat this spread, this paper analyzes social media dialogue surrounding Proud Boys protests from multiple perspectives to understand: (i) the outlook and profiles of users who support and reject Proud Boys; (ii) the network structure to determine influencers and communities; and (iii) the degree of engagement of tweets and the activity of their authors. The analyses indicate that conservative, religious, right-wing segments of the populace support Proud Boys, and their support is rooted in patriotism and defense of American values. Socialists and progressives oppose their radical and hateful ideology. Proud Boys' topic network is fragmented with low density and is comprised of distinct, small communities. Authors of opposing tweets have a more extensive set of friends and followers, and their tweets receive more likes and retweets. Based on these results, it can be inferred that tweets endorsing Proud Boys' ideology do not appear to proliferate virally, but instead reach limited audiences through smaller clusters. These analyses and results then form the basis of a classification framework, which can accurately detect tweets supportive of Proud Boys with an accuracy of 0.84 and AUC ROC of 0.89. The capability of the framework to identify and demote supporting tweets offers an extra layer of mitigation that can be employed to stem their spread. The research showcases the promise of mining social media feeds to understand why and how radical extremism spreads and is a gateway for future researchers.

Oakley, Christopher, A. 2008. "When Carolina Indians went on the warpath" The media, the Klan, and the Lumbees of North Carolina. Southern Cultures 14(4):55-84. "On a frigid Saturday night in

January 1958, Grand Dragon James “Catfish” Cole and fifty other members of the Ku Klux Klan gathered for a rally in a cornfield near Hayes Pond just outside of Maxton, a small town located in Robeson County in southeastern North Carolina. The armed Klansmen strung up a small light on wired a public address system. A large white banner emblazoned with a pole and wired a public address system. A large white banner emblazoned with the letters “KKK” in red hung menacingly nearby. Cole had organized the rally to protest the “mongrelization” of whites and Lumbee Indians in Robeson. But before the rally even began, several hundred Lumbees chased the Klansmen from the frozen cornfield. Stationed nearby, having feared the possibility of violence, local authorities and the State Highway patrol quickly moved in and restored peace. Despite numerous gunshots, there was only one minor injury, and the Lumbees took their spoils, including the KKK banner, to the nearby town of Pembroke to celebrate…” (excerpt from the article).

Pegram, Thomas R. 2011. One hundred percent American: The rebirth and decline of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. In the 1920s, a revived Ku Klux Klan burst into prominence as a self-styled defender of American values, a magnet for white Protestant community formation, and a would-be force in state and national politics. But the hooded bubble burst at mid-decade, and the social movement that had attracted several million members and additional millions of sympathizers collapsed into insignificance. Since the 1990s, intensive community-based historical studies have reinterpreted the 1920s Klan. Rather than the violent, racist extremists of popular lore and current observation, 1920s Klansmen appear in these works as more mainstream figures. Sharing a restrictive American identity with most native-born white Protestants after World War I, hooded knights pursued fraternal fellowship, community activism, local reforms, and paid close attention to public education, law enforcement (especially Prohibition), and moral/sexual orthodoxy. No recent general history of the 1920s Klan movement reflects these new perspectives on the Klan. One Hundred Percent American incorporates them while also highlighting the racial and religious intolerance, violent outbursts, and political ambition that aroused widespread opposition to the Invisible Empire. Balanced and comprehensive, One Hundred Percent American explains the Klan's appeal, its limitations, and the reasons for its rapid decline in a society confronting the reality of cultural and religious pluralism.

Primbs, Maximilian A., Margaux N. A. Wienk, Rob W Holland, J. Calanchini, and G. Bijlstra. 2024. Legacies of hate: The psychological legacy of the Ku Klux Klan. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin December. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/01461672241292524 The second coming of the Ku Klux Klan popularized the Klan and its ideas in the early 1920s, terrorizing Black American, their allies, and others deemed un-American. This article investigates the extent to which the cultural legacy of racial hatred of the Klan has persisted over the years. We use data from large online databases, multiverse analyses, and spatial models to evaluate whether regions with more historical Klan activity show higher levels of modern-day racial bias, and more modern-day White Supremacist activity. We find that regions with more Ku Klux Klan activity in the 1920s show higher levels of modern White Supremacist activity but, unexpectedly, lower levels of modern implicit and explicit racial bias. We discuss the implications of these findings for models linking historical events with present-day attitudes and behavior, and for situational models of bias more broadly.

Quarles, Chester L. 1999. The Ku Klux Klan and related American racialist and antisemitic organizations. Jefferson, NC: McFarland. Even though the Ku Klux Klan can be traced from the 1700s through the Civil War and is going strong in the present day, many people fail to realize the reach and influence of the group. Many scholars, for instance, perceive the KKK as a radical racist group composed primarily of ignorant, uneducated members, when it is much more. Some Klan groups are political, while others are simply social. Some "meet and eat" just like any other

mainstream civic or church group, but others are focused on the use of well-planned violence. Not all Klan groups advocate an overthrow of the U.S. government, though some do. The author traces the historical development of the Klan, addressing its organization, membership, ideologies and philosophies. Avoiding the bias of previous works--written by either Klan apologists or detractors--the author chronicles the directions the group has taken during its long and diverse history. The study also details the secret oaths of allegiance, the Imperial Wizards, and the concept of Knighthood. The result is an accurate account of the Ku Klux Klan, a group that has continued to grow and evolve in response to changing times.

Ridgeway. James. 1990. Blood in the face: The Ku Klux Klan, Aryan nations, Nazi Skinheads, and the rise of a new White culture. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press. "Village Voice Washington correspondent Ridgeway (Who Owns the Earth? 1980, etc.) opens this excellent history of America's racist far right with a chart entitled "Web of Racism": a lucid historical mapping-out of the labyrinthine entanglements among racist groups, from the KKK to the American Nazi Party to the Posse Comitatus, and evidence not only of Ridgeway's formidable understanding of the far right, but also of the wealth of illuminating illustrations that bolster the book. In accompanying direct, compact prose, Ridgeway traces the filaments of the web back to the 1787 writings of French cleric Abbe Barruel, who invented the idea of a global cabal orchestrating world events. In 1806, Ridgeway explains, a retired Italian army officer determined that the conspirators were Jews: the birth of the myth of the worldwide Jewish conspiracy that, according to the author, is at the heart of all rightwing racism. Ridgeway follows the seeping of the myth--which grew to encompass other anti-minority elements as well--into American politics through the KKK and the anti-Semitic rantings of Henry Ford; through J. Edgar Hoover and the Minutemen of the 60's, and the white-power groups--the Aryan Nations, the Order--of the 70's and 80's--and up to today's right-wing resurgence, limelighted by the "kinder, gentler racism" of David Duke, and shadowed by growing hordes of violent proto-Nazi skinheads. This resurgence, Ridgeway persuasively argues, is just a whisper of the shout to come, with racism overtaking anti-communism as the dominant political issue of our time. Clear and comprehensive, a useful complement to James B. Coates's Armed and Dangerous (1987) and Kevin Flynn & Gary Gerhardt's The Silent Brotherhood (1989 [Kirkus Reviews June 2010, with some edits for brevity].

Rives, Tim. 2019. The Ku Klux Klan in Kansas City, Kansas. Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Press. The Ku Klux Klan kicked off a nationwide revival in 1921 and took Kansas City, Kansas, by storm. The majority white population--alarmed by the influx of immigrants, Catholics and Jews--joined the Klan in thousands. The Klan held picnics drawing crowds of twenty-five thousand and parades up Minnesota Avenue with thousands of Klansmen, electric lights and robed horses. They also intimidated African Americans, vandalized Catholic cemeteries and censored "offensive" books from public library shelves. Its members fed a political machine, electing more than one hundred Klansmen to local offices, from district attorney to mayor. Author Tim Rives shares this troubled and little-known story, where the men of the Klan's inner circle ruled the city for nearly thirty years.

Rothbart, Daniel, Mathieu Bere, and Laura K. Taylor. 2024. Political narcissism of right-wing extremists: Understanding aggression of the Proud Boys. Peace and Conflict 30(4):540-552. he political conflict sweeping through the United States is fueled, in part, by right-wing extremist groups. Underlying their ideology to protect freedoms against oppressive governmental forces is a militancy that goes far beyond any rational deliberation of political doctrine. Such militancy defines who they are and how they interact with adversaries. What explains this? In this article, we take a social-psychological perspective on understanding aggression of such groups, focusing on the pathology of political narcissism. This pathology centers on an exaggerated or fabricated self-image of grandiosity that interlinks with paranoid delusions of threats posed by outsiders. We illustrate such a malady in a case study of the Proud Boys. The article has two objectives. First, we

seek to define political narcissism relevant to political extremist groups as the intersection of four elements: (a) grandiosity, (b) threat narratives, (c) denigration of adversaries, and (d) righteous rage. Second, we apply this conception to the Proud Boys through an analysis of qualitative and quantitative data from the following four sources: (a) social media, especially Reddit, Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube; (b) the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project; (c) the Profiles of Individual Radicalization in the United States from the Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism; and (d) the Mapping Militants Project database from Stanford University. The study suggests that repressive measures associated with the criminal justice system should be supplemented with pro-social measures that include participation of former extremists who offer insights into extremists' mindset. Public Significance Statement The recent militancy of right-wing extremist groups in the United States has contributed significantly to the nation's current political crisis. Such militancy is exhibited through their publicized self-portrayals as America's warriors, hate-filled rhetoric against perceived inferiors, and violent interactions with adversaries. How should this be explained? In this article, we adopt a social-psychological perspective to capture the mindset of such groups, revealing their collective narcissism and politicized paranoia. This narcissistic-paranoid mindset of some, but certainly not all, right-wing extremist groups fosters a political pathology that tends to promote violence. We illustrate this pathology in a case study of the Proud Boys.

Rothbart, Daniel, David M. Stebbins, and Laura K. Taylor. 2023. The Proud Boys raging righteously at the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021: A hate group in action. Peace and Conflict 29(4):426-436. Righteous rage constitutes an expression of political power for many hate groups operating currently in the United States, enticing them toward emotionally charged aggression against their adversaries. We offer a case study of one such group-the Proud Boys-in the context of their violent attack of the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021. Rather than a momentary feeling, their righteous rage is a potent force for forming, defining, and organizing their mission to overpower their adversaries. In particular, their righteous rage is defined by (a) behavioral manifestations, (b) the emotional contagious impact of such manifestations, and (c) the centrality of raging to one's identity as a social movement. Regarding their identity, they tend to don Proud Boy symbols on their clothes, wear helmets, and carry lethal weapons, as if aspiring to exhibit the warrior's bravery, valor, strength, and devotion. The Proud Boys members self-position as warriors protecting the nation, Western chauvinism and (more recently) the White race. In raging righteously, the Proud Boys are absorbed with evildoers, seeking to expose their malicious past and attempting to subvert their current designs. With such absorption, the emotionally charged rationale for aggression is set in place. Public Significance Statement This article highlights the righteous rage exhibited by the Proud Boys before, during, and after the events of the January 6 capital attack. We suggest that righteous rage constitutes a potent social-psychological force that shapes the group's identity, consuming its members in the allegedly evil doings and moral degeneracy of their adversaries. The findings of this study provide empirical grounding for those seeking to undermine the aggression of other hate groups who habitually rage righteously against their enemy.

Rowe, Gary. 1973. My undercover years with the Ku Klux Klan. New York: Bantam.

Sanchez, Juan O. 2016. Religion and the Ku Klux Klan: Biblical appropriation in their literature and songs. Jefferson, NC: McFarland. As with other terrorist and extremist organizations, religion forms the basis of the Ku Klux Klan's dogmatic philosophy, providing justification for its beliefs and actions. Covering nearly a century of Klan ideology, this book examines the group's religious rhetoric in their literature and songs, from its heyday during the 1920s to 2014

---.2018. The Ku Klux Klan's campaign against Hispanics, 1921-1925: Rhetoric, violence, and response in the American Southwest. Jefferson, NC: McFarland. The Ku Klux Klan's persecution of Hispanics during the early 1920s was just as brutal as their terrorizing of the black community--a fact sparsely documented in historical texts. Drawing on numerous Spanish-language newspapers and Klan publications of the day, the author describes the KKK's extensive anti-Hispanic activity in the southwestern United States

Schaefer, Richard T. 1971. The Ku Klux Klan: Continuity and Change. Phylon 32(2):143-157.

Scott, Martin J. 1926. Catholics and the Ku Klux Klan. The North American Review 223(831):268-281. Scott contests the view that Catholics are not assimilating into American ways.

Schmitz, R. M. 2016. Intersections of hate: Exploring the transecting dimensions of race, religion, gender, and family in Ku Klux Klan Web sites. Sociological Focus 49(3): 200-214.The United States has a historical legacy of oppression and subjugation spanning an array of social locations, including class, gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation and others. Contemporary research has documented a growth in themes of prejudice and racism present in popular media, such as the Internet. This study fills a gap in the literature by exploring Internet manifestations of a social group that has been historically organized around an ideology of intolerance, prejudice, and hatred: The Ku Klux Klan. Findings from an intersectional content analysis of KKK Web sites reveal that prejudice exists on multiple axes of hate. Major themes include emphases on white solidarity, the cult of Aryan Christianity, Aryan Klan masculinity and heteronormative nuclear family values. These dimensions intersect to create a complex picture of the Klan's self-proclaimed social supremacy. Implications regarding the use of the Internet as a vehicle of hate are considered.

Selepak, A and J. Sutherland. 2012. The Ku Klux Klan, conservative politics and religion: Taking extremism to the political mainstream. Politics, Religion & Ideology 13(1): 75-98. Prior to the Internet, information available to the public on white extremist groups, such as the United White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, came from news events which prevented these groups from controlling the information presented to the public about themselves, their organization, ideals, or goals. But the Internet has allowed these groups to develop websites through which they can directly dictate their image to vast audiences. The purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between political orientation and fundamental Christian beliefs and agreement with the values of a white extremist group, as presented by the United White Knights on their website. Results suggest political orientation and Christian fundamental beliefs are significantly related, but not as strong as expected, to agreement with the values of the United White Knights: as levels of conservatism and Christian orthodoxy increase, the more likely a person is to be in agreement with the group's values/beliefs. These findings support the notion that some Klan organizations, such as the United White Knights, are taking steps to rebrand their image into a more mainstream organization with an ideology similar to white, religious and political conservatives.

Seltzer, Rick and Grace M. Lopes. 1986. The Ku Klux Klan: Reasons for support or opposition among White respondents. Journal of Black Studies 17(1):91-109. Nine-county region surrounding Chattanooga, Tennessee. Includes results of a survey that examines the KKK and its ideology; social characteristics of supporters.

Shanks-Meile, Stephanie L. and Betty A. Dobratz. 1991. "Sick" feminists or helpless victims: Images of women in Ku Klux Klan and American Nazi Party literature. Humanity & Society 15(1):

Shipp, Bill. 2017. Murder at Broad River Bridge: The slaying of Lemuel Penn by the Ku Klux Klan. Athens: University of Georgia Press. First published in 1981, Murder at the Broad River Bridge

recounts the stunning details of the murder of Lieutenant Colonel Lemuel Penn by the Ku Klux Klan on a back-country Georgia road in 1964, nine days after the passage of the Civil Rights Act. Longtime Atlanta Constitution reporter Bill Shipp gives us, with shattering power, the true story of how a good, innocent, "uninvolved" man was killed during the Civil Rights turbulence of the mid-1960s. Penn was a decorated veteran of World War II, a United States Army Reserve officer, and an African American, killed by racist, white vigilantes as he was driving home to Washington, D.C. from Fort Benning, Georgia. Shipp recounts the details of the blind and lawless force that took Penn's life and the sorry mask of protective patriotism it hid behind. To read Murder at Broad River Bridge is to know with deep shock that it could be dated today, tonight, tomorrow. It is a vastly moving documentary drama.

Simi, Pete, Robert Futrell, and Emily Wagner. 2024. American swastika: Inside the White Power movement's hidden spaces of hate. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield. An intimate look at the social and psychological dimensions of interpersonal and collective violence.

Smångs, Mattias. 2021. The White working class and the legacy of the 1960s Ku Klux Klan in the 2016 presidential election. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 694(1):189-204. This is a theoretical and empirical exploration of how the presence of the Ku Klux Klan across southern communities in the 1960s mediated electoral support for Donald Trump in the 2016 presidential election. The analysis is prompted by divergent perspectives on the impact of working-class whites' economic grievances and cultural identities in Trump's victory, and by conjectures of a relationship between past white ethno-racial mobilization and support for Trump. I show that the civil rights–era Klan's defense of Jim Crow segregation created an enduring legacy of reactionary white collective identity and mobilization that together with contemporary economic and demographic conditions shaped local-level 2016 voting patterns in Trump's favor. I also discuss the broader implications of the 2016 U.S. presidential election and scholarship into the temporal endurance of racism's past forms and manifestations.

Stern, Alexandra M. 2019. Proud Boys and the White ethnostate: How the Alt-Right is warping the American imagination. Boston, MA: Beacon. From a loose movement that lurked in the shadows in the early 2000s, the alt-right has achieved a level of visibility that has allowed it to expand significantly through America's cultural, political, and digital landscapes. Yet it is also mercurial and shape-shifting, encompassing a spectrum of ideas and believers that resonate with white supremacy, right-wing nationalism, and anti-feminism. The alt-right offers a big and porous tent to those who subscribe to varying forms of race- and gender-based exclusion and endorse white identity politics. To understand the contemporary moment, historian Alexandra Stern knew she needed to get under--to excavate--the alt-right memes and tropes that had erupted online. In Proud Boys and the White Ethnostate, she does just that, applying the tools of the scholar to explore the alt-right's central texts, narratives, constructs, and insider language.

Swain, Carolyn M. 2002. The new White nationalism in America: Its challenge to interpretation. New York: Cambridge University Press. Over the past ten years, a new white nationalist movement has gained strength in America, bringing with it the potential to disrupt already fragile race relations. Eschewing violence, this movement seeks to expand its influence mainly through argument and persuasion directed at its target audience of white Americans aggrieved over racial double standards, race-based affirmative action policies, high black-on-white crime rates, and liberal immigration policies. Due to its emphasis on group self-determination, multiculturalism has provided white nationalists with justification for advocating a parallel form of white solidarity. In addition, as Swain illustrates, technological advances such as the Internet have made it easier than ever before for white nationalists to reach a more mainstream audience. Swain's study is intended

as a wake-up call to all Americans who cherish the Civil Rights Era vision of an integrated America, a common humanity, and equality before God and the law.

Swain, Carolyn M. and Russ Nieli, eds. 2003. Contemporary voices of White nationalism in America. New York: Cambridge University Press. This book presents ten alarmingly candid interviews by some of the most prominent members of what editors Carol M. Swain and Russ Nieli warn is a growing white nationalist movement in America. The ten people featured in this volume make statements that are sure to shock, amuse, challenge, and provoke the typical reader. Their remarks are of particular value, Swain and Nieli believe, for understanding how the many race-conscious whites who lie outside the integrationist consensus on racial issues in America view developments that have taken place in the United States since the great victories of the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s. If current trends continue, the editors predict, white nationalist ideas will become ever more popular, especially as whites become a diminishing portion of the U.S. population. What is most needed now, Swain and Nieli conclude, is for the claims of white nationalists to be aired in more open public forums, where they can be vigorously challenged and subjected to honest evaluation and refutation.

Tarrants, Thomas A. 1979. The Conversion of a Klansman: The Story of a Former Ku Klux Klan Terrorist.

Tucker. Todd. 2004. Notre Dame vs. the Klan: How the Fighting Irish Defeated the Ku Klux Klan. Chicago: Loyola Press. Todd tells of the weekend in May 1924 when members of the anti-Catholic organization and students at the Catholic university fought in South Bend, Indiana. To that conflict he traces the decline of the Klan in Indiana and the acceptance of the university and Catholics more generally in the US

Turner, Patricia A. 1987. Church's Fried Chicken and the Klan: A Rhetorical Analysis of Rumor in the Black Community. Western Folklore 46(4):294-306. The author collected over 100 versions of a rumor that first circulated in the in early 1980s in New Jersey and California that the fried chicken sold by Church's franchise contained contaminants that would make Black men sterile and that the KKK owned Church's.

Wintle, Philip. 2016. The representation of the Ku Klux Klan in mainstream American cinema (1988-2016). Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of History of Art and Film, University of Leicester. The Ku Klux Klan are America's most notorious terrorist organisation. In the 1920s membership to the Klan numbered several million, partly resulting from the success of The Birth of a Nation (1915). In this period of Klan popularity, Hollywood utilised their iconography for box office success. In the contemporary age Klan membership has diminished, yet the Klan image continues to be regularly depicted in American film. My research assesses the function of the Klan in contemporary cinema, looking at their representation between 1988 and 2016 to explain the longevity of their depiction in a period of social irrelevance. The shifting representation of the Klan offers a unique case study in demonstrating the changing attitudes Hollywood has to race and racism. In this thesis, I argue that the Klan have been used in films to paradoxically downplay issues of racism. In the 1980s and 1990s, the Klan were presented as a white 'Other' to whom racism is isolated. This 'Othering' drives melodramatic narratives of white conflict in films such as Mississippi Burning (1988) and A Time to Kill (1996). The melodramatic simplicity of the Klan image is later accentuated in comedy films between 1999 and 2013. The comedic depiction of the Klan has often been ignored in existing literature on the Klan's representation in film; this is a significant oversight, as comedy has kept the Klan image within public consciousness during this period. Moreover, representations of the Klan, both melodramatic and comic, have been used to

guide the viewer's understanding of American history, society, and racism. However, in recent years Hollywood has offered a greater focus on the 'black narrative', in these films the Klan are utilised to explore America's history of racism, rather than to marginalise it. My research analyses the Klan's evolving depiction and the persistence of their representation.

Wood, Joseph. 2021. Jackboots, White Hoods, and the White Bible: The Fusion of the KKK, American Nazis, and Christian Identity. Unpublished MA thesis, Department of History, University of North Carolina at Charlotte. During the tumultuous twentieth century, three visually and dogmatically distinct white supremacist movements came together to bring forth a mostly unified front against their common enemies--integration, miscegenation, and various elaborate fictional conspiracies. At times antagonistic to one another, by November 1979, the stage was set for the beginnings of a movement rooted in solidarity. This thesis asks how and why the early distrust between the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Movement developed, as well as how this was overcome through the near-universal adoption of a fringe, conspiracy-minded branch of Protestant Christianity. By tracing the biographies of these organizations and movements during key moments in history, this thesis answers the question of how and when the movements prior to 2001 came together and laid the groundwork for modern, nebulous partnerships during the twenty-first century.

Worth, Weller H. and Brad Thompson.1998. Under the hood: Unmasking the modern Ku Klux Klan. North Manchester, IN: DeWitt. The American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan could easily have a presence in your community. They may have been to your county courthouse for a rally or they might have distributed their hate-filled fliers, with their membership phone number, surreptitiously by night in newspaper tubes and under windshield wipers in your neighborhoods. There's likely even an active Klavern in your area. KlanWatch Intelligence Report of the Southern Poverty Law Center tracks hundreds of Klaverns across the United States and Britain. This book by veteran journalist Worth Weller with Brad Thompson, the former Indiana Grand Dragon of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, identifies who these people are and what makes them tick. With the help of Thompson, who for two years was the trusted righthand man of Imperial Wizard Jeff Berry before he finally concluded that the Klan was, among other things, a gigantic financial rip-off designed to line the pockets of its top leadership, Weller describes what kinds of people make up the Klan and what drives them.

Zuber, Glen. M. 2004. "Onward Christian Klansmen:" war, religious conflict, and the rise of the second Ku Klux Klan,1912–1928. Unpublished PhD thesis, Religious Studies and American Studies, Indiana University.