

"UNDER THE STAR OF THE GUARD"

The Story of the Black Legion

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Preface

The Ku Klux Klan and the Black Legion, two super-patriotic fraternal organizations, had cyclical success during the years 1865-1938. The K.K.K. dates back to sometime between Christmas 1865 and June, 1866 when it began as a small group of defeated Confederate soldiers in south central Tennessee. It eventually grew into a national organization that is active today. The Black Legion was a spin-off of the K.K.K. and was active from 1924 or 1925 to 1938, primarily in Ohio and Michigan.

The organizations had similarities and differences. One overriding theme was that both were secret societies that believed in the preservation of nativism, as both groups were against anyone who was not native-born, Protestant, and with white Anglo-Saxon ancestry. Some differences between the two groups were in their recruitment tactics, monetary goals of their leaders, and the severity of violence used to carry out their agendas.

The first two chapters of this thesis provide an overview of the Ku Klux Klan. The remaining chapters focus on the rise and fall of the Black Legion.

It is my sincere hope that this thesis may shed some light upon the American myth of equality for every citizen, regardless of race, color, gender, or creed.

Chapter One

"JUST HAVIN' SOME FUN"

Southern chivalry and the ante-bellum way of life had suffered through the turbulent years of the Civil War. The defeat of the Confederacy in 1865 was followed by Radical Reconstruction. After the war, defeated, disillusioned Confederate veterans went back to their homes. Six Confederate war veterans--James Crowe, Richard Reed, Calvin Jones, John Lester, Frank McCord, and John Kennedy--returned to Pulaski, Tennessee, located in the south central section of the state less than twenty miles from the Alabama border. All six men were well educated for their era; four studied to be lawyers, Frank McCord became editor of Pulaski's newspaper, and John Lester became a member of the Tennessee legislature. 1.

Sometime between Christmas 1865 and June 1866 these six men of Scot-Irish descent decided to form a club. They named themselves "the circle," and John Kennedy urged the others to adopt the Greek translation of kuklos. James Crowe suggested that it should be called Ku Klux because "no one will no what it means." The word Klan was attached to the end of Ku Klux because it designated a family type of Scot-Irish relationship, and, according to John Lester, it sounded mysterious and occult-like. 2.

The "Pulaski six" were simply bored with life and wanted to "liven things up" around town. They did not have to look any further than a Negro settlement to find prey for their mischievous deeds. Long before blacks became a political factor in the south, men who would later become Klansmen physically and verbally abused the blacks as a "service" to the white community. 3.

The original Klansmen shared their form of humor with the local community by dressing up in bed sheets with pillow cases over their heads and meaningless occult symbols sewn to their garb. They would ride into town, sing and dance, and speak with lowered voices to give the impression they were haunted spirits of Confederate war dead.

Klan initiates went through a bizarre ceremony before being accepted into the "hooded" organization. A candidate wore a blindfold and a royal crown, which was merely a skullcap with donkey ears sewn on it, and recited poetry by Scotsman Robert Burns. After the initiate was finished, his blindfold was removed and he looked into a mirror and saw "the ass he made of himself." 4.

As word of the Klan spread throughout the South, the original six were contacted by men not only from other Tennessee locales, but also a group from Alabama, requesting permission to open Klan chapters in their home towns. Within a few months these new chapters were busily developing their own objectives.

The Ku Klux Klan did not invent racial inequality or white supremacy, as these precepts had been firmly in place for generations. The Klan merely legitimized those ideals by organizing a fraternity where their own hatreds, born out of frustration and loss of political control, could be nurtured.

II

During the post-Civil war era the poor southern white population experienced high levels of anxiety. While they had had little to gain from a Confederate victory, they had much to lose with its defeat. Before the war poor whites were one step removed from the bottom rung on the South's social/economic/political ladder. With the defeat of the Confederacy, poor whites were not significantly better off than the black population. This precarious situation, with a black person being equal to a white, was more than many poor southern whites could bear. The white population believed it was superior to the black population before the war because of tradition, but Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation had nullified the mythical belief of white supremacy.

As a wounded animal fights to the death when it is trapped, so did many defeated Confederates who lashed out once their pride had been desecrated. Poor whites

especially sought someone to blame for their misfortunes, and the newly freed black population became an even greater target for their anxieties.

III

As the Civil war drew to a close, President Lincoln had proposed a lenient plan under which southern states could return to the Union, but his assassination put those plans into chaos. Lincoln's plan was simple. He wanted Confederates to take an oath, pledging their loyalty to the Union, and to accept the wartime proclamations concerning slavery. When ten percent of the population had taken the loyalty oath they were to be allowed to reconstruct their state's government.

Most Radical Republicans wanted the federal government to go beyond abolishing slavery. They wanted to destroy southern culture, then rebuild the society ensuring that blacks would participate with full equality.

Moderate Republicans pursued a more compromising spirit in negotiating with the southern states. President Andrew Johnson, who succeeded Lincoln, put forth a plan to reconstruct the South, but it seemed intent upon ignoring the needs of Negroes while inflicting humiliation upon the South's "bloated, corrupt aristocracy." His plan consisted of three conditions--that the south revoke ordinances of

secession, abolish slavery, and repudiate the debts they had acquired during the war. 5.

Klansmen felt threatened by the "Union League" whose purpose was to bring equality into the lives of the Southern Blacks. It was common for blacks who planned on attending Union League meetings to be approached by robed Klansmen who would shake the hand of one of the blacks with a skeleton arm, and then ride off with the "superstitious" black still holding the "arm of a ghost." Another scare tactic required a Klansman to wear an oilskin pouch with a siphon tube attached that ran up to his mouth. He would then seemingly "drink" a gallon of water in the presence of a black freedman. This was supposed to show that the ghost had an endless thirst for vengeance. Klansmen bragged how freedmen would shriek in terror and run off as fast as possible. It would be safe to assume that Klan mythology exaggerated, if not fabricated, the reactions of the frightened freedmen in order to convince others of the effectiveness of their tactics.

IV

In April, 1867 the Pulaski Klan held a meeting in Nashville at the city's new hotel, the Maxwell House. The meeting was necessary because Klan dens were popping up all over the South and many dens had no affiliation with the

Pulaski Klan. Each Klan den seemed to have created its own by-laws to suit its personal taste and agenda. The Pulaski Klan realized that their original "just for fun" Klan now had potential as a money-making powerful political machine that could uphold its ideals of justice. A military flavor was added to the original by-laws by defining a chain of command and establishing titles and auxiliary departments.

The effect Radical Reconstruction had on the South, specifically through the creation of the Freedmans's Bureau, became a common thread that held the Klan together. Klansmen filtered their way into the Democratic Party in hopes of ending Northern Republican control over them. The Klan's goal was to stop the reconstruction process and return control of the South to the southern states. Black freedmen who tried to improve their position, especially through education, became targets of the Klan. Klansmen, as well as the old southern aristocracy, viewed schools for blacks as a direct threat upon them. They believed that blacks were inferior, incapable of learning, and regarded new taxes levied upon them to pay for the schools as intolerable. School teachers, both black and white, often were harrassed and/or beaten for instructing black children.

As far as the Klan was concerned, freedmen did not have the right to bear arms. Whenever freedmen purchased firearms, Klansmen would quickly find out and suit up for a late night raid to confiscate the weapons.

In 1870 the Fifteenth Amendment gave former male slaves the right to vote. This amendment created coalitions between Republicans and southern blacks to work collectively to implement radical reconstruction. The Klan used the Fifteenth Amendment as a focal point to rally its members. They believed they could influence southerners to vote for their candidates and simultaneously keep black voters away from the voting polls. Klansmen continued using hostile tactics against freedmen. In the process, freedmen not only were eliminated from government involvement, but also concurrently kept dependent upon white land owners through the use of share cropping. These threats continued until the Federal government withdrew its troops in 1877 and relinquished control over the southern states.

V

When Reconstruction ended, Blacks were no longer categorized as slaves. They became sharecroppers who performed the same type of work they had previously performed while remaining in a continued state of poverty. For the time being, the Klan, with its Confederate ideology, had beaten its northern adversary. It had successfully returned control of the South to powerful southern whites by legislating the Black Codes and Jim Crow laws.

Black Codes were state laws enacted following the Civil

War that recognized the right of blacks to own property, to sue and be sued, and to have legal marriages and offspring. Of course, special stipulations were added that jeopardized these basic human rights. First, blacks were competent witnesses only in legal cases when one or both parties were black. Second, blacks who intermarried with whites were guilty of a felony, and punished with a lengthy prison sentence. Third, in Mississippi, five dollar bounties were paid to anyone capturing any black who had deserted his employer while under contract.

A final feature of the labor provisions of the Black Codes was the vagrancy laws. In Mississippi all persons not lawfully employed by January, 1866, were to be arrested as vagrants and, if convicted and unable to pay the fine of \$50.00, were to be hired out to the person who would pay the fine and require the shortest period of labor in return. Similar laws were enacted in other states. 6.

Jim Crow laws were laws designed to segregate and control the black population. In 1887, Florida became the first state to adopt a law that segregated seating on trains. By the 1890's racial segregation was not only custom in the south, it was the law. The United States Supreme Court ruled in 1896 in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson, that segregation did not violate black civil rights under the Fourteenth Amendment as long as blacks had

accommodations equal to those of whites. 7.

For thirty eight years following the end of Reconstruction, Klan activity steadily declined. Enactment of Black Codes and Jim Crow laws throughout the south ended any hope of racial equality for blacks. Simultaneously, the Force Acts, enacted in 1870-1871 by the federal government, curtailed illegal Ku Klux Klan activities. Federal agents penetrated the Klan and gathered evidence leading to the arrest of several thousand Klansmen. As a result, Klan membership steadily dwindled, but its objectives had been fulfilled--racial segregation, restrictive voting rights, and limited civil rights for southern blacks.

Chapter Two

"BORN AGAIN, AGAIN"

It was a late November evening in 1914 when a group of sixteen men led by William Joseph Simmons climbed to the top of Stone Mountain, Georgia to begin a memorial organization to the Klansmen who had fought for white supremacy after the Civil War. From the mountain top they erected and burned a giant cross that was visible to the citizens in Atlanta, several miles away. The glowing cross illuminated an American flag and the pages of a bible, as Simmons read aloud the twelfth chapter of the Book of Romans. This small group of men then swore allegiance to the Invisible Empire of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Within one week they asked for, and received, a preliminary charter from the state of Georgia. 1.

This action was motivated by the Atlanta debut two weeks earlier of D.W. Griffith's blockbuster film "The Birth of a Nation," based on Thomas Dixon's novel The Clansman. The movie was focused around the defeated South, Radical Reconstruction, and the South's redemption through the efforts of the Ku Klux Klan, as well as being laden with scenes displaying black mob rule over a vanquished white society. Black men were portrayed as drunken, power hungry, foul-smelling brutes with an endless appetite for virtuous

white women, and only the heroic action of the Ku Klux Klan could stop this endless assault upon white society.

Record-breaking amounts of money were spent on the production of Griffith's film (\$110,000), and its financial backers sought hefty profits in return. Dixon was motivated to see the film succeed because he had been guaranteed twenty-five percent of the film's profits. However, the newly formed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, led by W.E.B. DuBois, protested any further showing of the film because of its obvious racist content. Therefore, Dixon desperately needed something to offset the negative publicity.

President Woodrow Wilson was an old friend of Dixon's. They met while attending Johns Hopkins University in 1883 and studied together while doing historical research for a class in writing historical literature. ² Dixon managed to schedule a private viewing of the film for the president, his immediate family, and cabinet members in the East Room of the White House. Wilson was so moved by the power of the film that he remarked "it was like writing history with lightning. . . and my only regret is that it is all so terribly true."

Dixon's crafty pursuit of support continued as he sought additional positive reinforcement from other high ranking public officials, such as Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court Edward D. White, who proudly

told Dixon: "I was a member of the Klan, sir. . . . Through many a dark night, I walked my sentinel's beat through the ugliest streets of New Orleans with a rifle on my shoulder. . .". 3.

Dixon did not hesitate to make President Wilson's comments public knowledge, thereby solidifying the film as being not only spectacular but "historically accurate." The film could now stand on its own merit and confidently withstand any challenge to discredit it. Newspapers around the country ran articles both for and against the racist nature of the film. 4. Each news article, however, had one thing in common: free promotion and guaranteed success for the film. The New York Times, for example, ran an article about the film on March 21, 1915 that stated:

Whatever one may think of the spirit of its study of Reconstruction, there can be no doubt of the impressiveness of "The Birth of a Nation" as a moving picture. This is a film that is being exhibited in the Liberty Theatre at a \$2 scale of prices. Its long story embraces many stirring scenes. . . The great care that was taken by D.W. Griffith, who produced the picture, to make the reproduction historically correct throws a new light on the high order of intelligence that goes into the making of better films.

II

William Simmons was ready to seize the moment by

capitalizing on the crazed emotions generated by "The Birth of a Nation". Simmons' personal history was fragmented and varied. He was a "born-again" Methodist minister who had been suspended for one year because of inefficiency. He had also been a garter salesman, a drunkard, and a dreamer who claimed he saw a vision of ghost-riders in the sky, which he interpreted as a sign from God verifying his true calling.

Simmons liked associating "with the boys" and joining organizations, being simultaneously a member of two different churches and a member of thirteen lodges, including the Masons, Knights of Pythias, and Odd Fellows.

5.

Simmons wanted his Klan to be a secret "locker club," similar to many other clubs in the Atlanta area that allowed the consumption of alcohol during prohibition. While this idea never caught on, he did find support from many Georgia residents who were furious with their governor's recent commutation of the sentence of Leo M. Frank, a Jew who had been convicted of raping and murdering Mary Phagan, a fourteen-year-old Marietta, Georgia girl.

On August 16, 1915, Frank was abducted from his jail cell and lynched by a mob that numbered at least twenty-five men. Within a month the "Knights of Mary Phagan" had formed, at least partly because Frank's lynching had been received so favorably by numerous Georgians.

The Mary Phagan affair and "The Birth of a Nation"

caused Simmons to realize the importance of proving that his Klan was the authentic Klan. Thus, he located a couple of elderly men who claimed to have been members of the original Klan and used them as evidence to prove that his organization was the only true Ku Klux Klan. Even with this boost, his fledgling group was barely surviving until he hired two crafty promoters, Edward Young Clarke and Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler, on June 7, 1920.

Clarke and Tyler were veteran promoters who had previously worked with the Red Cross, Salvation Army, and the Anti-Saloon League. The Klan appointed Clarke an imperial keagle as head of the Klan's Department of Propaganda and agreed to pay him two dollars and fifty cents out of the ten dollar membership fee paid by each new recruit. 6.

By 1921 Klan membership was spreading like wildfire in the South, Southwest, West Coast, and Midwest. Protestant clergymen were targeted because of their influence upon their communities and ministers were given free membership and complimentary subscriptions to Klan periodicals. Associations such as the Masons, patriotic groups such as the American Legion, and other fraternal groups were sought either because of their anti-Catholicism or their influence.

III

The Klan portrayed itself as the cure to many problems faced by Americans nationwide. Its philosophy of nativism blamed immigrants for rising unemployment, as well as claiming that Communists and Socialists were behind "un-American" activities promoted by the labor movement, especially the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.). The Klan was also a driving force behind the madness that saturated the minds and emotions of people across the country during the "Red Scare" of 1919-1920.

Many of the immigrants arriving from Southern and Southeastern Europe were Catholic, and, according to the Klan, Roman Catholics living in this country could not to be trusted. It questioned how a Catholic could be loyal both to the United States and the Pope when "everyone" knew that the Pope was scheming for political and religious control in the United States.

Jews were also on the Klan's "hit list" because they were blamed for hoarding money, controlling business and banks, and killing Christians around the world. Jews were also blamed for corrupting the minds of Christians with each allegedly sex-filled film they produced out of Hollywood. According to Klan propaganda, Jews wanted the hard earned dollars of American workers, but gave little thought to anyone hurt by their quest for financial gain.

During the early 1920's it was not uncommon to find Protestant ministers promoting the Klan from the pulpit. Some pastors invited fully garbed Klansmen to speak to their congregations about the possibilities, purpose and perils of the Ku Klux Klan. Whenever Klansmen were invited to speak it was usually difficult to find an empty seat. A Baptist church in New York which normally had a congregation of 200 swelled to over 1,000 one Sunday evening when a Klansman spoke to an enthusiastic audience.

The Klan received praise from church leaders and the congregation of a Port Jarvis, New York, Methodist church in 1923 after a Klansman walked to the pastor during his Sunday service and handed him a check for \$150. After receiving the check the pastor read aloud the note accompanying the check. He said the money was for his own personal use and that the Klan thanked him for his work. It was no surprise when parishioners cheered, however, as the Klansman left the church because regular Klan meetings had been held there. 7,

IV

The Klan did not depend on any single group to gain its strength and tried to develop a broad base upon which to build political support. With the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment women were enfranchised, and the Klan looked at their votes as a means of gaining support for its

organization at all levels of government. In a proclamation given by Imperial Wizard Simmons in 1921 from a New York hotel, a women's division of the Klan was created. Simmons and Elizabeth Tyler predicted that five hundred women from cities around the country would be "naturalized" in a ceremony at the Imperial Palace in Atlanta, Georgia. 8.

Women and children were invited for the first time to a mass rally near Long Island, New York in September, 1923. Klan members brought their wives and children to witness elaborate ceremonies. Twenty thousand people listened to a variety of speakers who spoke of closing both the gates of Ellis Island and every parochial school. 9.

Significantly, mass events such as these did not happen in remote rural southern areas, but rather in urban centers. Klan power quickly spread to the western states and various northern cities, and in some cities the Klan's political machine was compared favorably to that of Tammany Hall.

Walter Pierce, a member of the Ku Klux Klan, was elected governor of Oregon on the Democratic ticket in November, 1922, despite the fact that there were 250,000 Republicans in Oregon and only 90,000 Democrats. 10. Governors with Klan ties were elected in several other states as were senators, congressmen, mayors, sheriffs, and judges. Even President Warren G. Harding was suspected of having Klan ties because of the Invisible Empire's active support of his presidency. 11.

In the Midwest, Detroit had its first keagle in the Summer of 1921, and by the Fall of 1923 the city had 22,000 Klan members. Manly L. Caldwell was Detroit's chief Klan organizer, and he earned \$76,000 during the eighteen-month long membership drive. Chicago, however, led both the Midwest and the nation as the number one city in Klan membership with a total of 50,000.

In 1922 Senator David Walsh of Massachusetts, Chairman of the National Democratic Senatorial Committee, spoke on the floor of the senate about his fears of Klan political power and the possible destruction of the two party system. The federal government, led by President Harding, responded by starting an official inquiry into the Ku Klux Klan. The Justice Department stated that it had received isolated complaints concerning the Klan and that it would prosecute the Klan vigorously if it ever violated federal law. United States Attorney General Harry Daugherty, a close friend of President Harding's, nearly dismissed the various problems associated with the Klan by stating that Klan problems were local problems that fell under the jurisdiction of the state governments, not the federal government.

Although the Klan had begun in the South, its most explosive growth occurred in Indiana from 1922 to 1925, when ten percent of that state's population were members of the "Invisible Empire." In fact, Indiana was the only state that could boast of having a chartered klavern in each of

its ninety-two counties. It was also the only state where Klansmen were elected as governor and both United States senators. 12.

The Ku Klux Klan was typical of the type of radicalism that swept across America during the 1920's. If not for critical blunders by Klan leaders in Indiana the organization may have grown even larger. Klan membership rapidly eroded after news of the death of Madge Oberholtzer filtered throughout its ranks. Madge was coerced into meeting Imperial Wizard David Curtis Stephenson on March 15, 1925. While in a drunken state Stephenson tortured and raped Madge. She begged him to let her go, but he refused. She feared the Grand Wizard would rape and torture her again so she swallowed six tablets of mercuric chloride hoping Stephenson would take her to the hospital where she could find sanctuary. Unfortunately, Madge did not make it to the hospital, but rather was dropped off at her parent's house a few days later by Stephenson's bodyguard. She lingered in agony for two weeks before expiring.

A few days before her death she wanted to expose the hideous crimes committed by the Klan's Imperial Wizard and requested that her doctor and two lawyers take her final testimony. Her deposition proved extremely damaging to Stephenson and the Ku Klux Klan. After being arrested, tried, and convicted of second degree murder, Stephenson received the maximum sentence of life imprisonment. Within

one year Indiana Klan membership fell from 350,000 to 15,000. 13.

V

It appears that many World War I era Klansmen were people who craved a sense of fraternal camaraderie. It was an organization that met the needs of many Americans from the South to the rural and urban areas of the North and the West. Klan activities such as barbeques were often in the form of family fun--something that Klan families could do on a Sunday afternoon after church, which could explain the sudden collapse in membership after the Oberholtzer affair. Most Klansmen did not approve of terrorism, rape and murder, but they did allow themselves to believe the super patriotic rhetoric promoted by the Ku Klux Klan. Another reason for the decline in membership was the retracted state of the economy that began with reduced prices on agricultural goods in 1923. Many Klan farmers could not afford to pay their dues to remain active and in good standing. Beginning in 1924 they quietly ended their official relationship with the Klan, but many still possessed the heart of a "good" Klansman. It was not uncommon for ex-Klansmen to respectfully lay their regalia to rest in the private sanctity of their farmhouse attics next to other precious heirlooms.

Another factor in the collapse of the Klan was the "Great Depression" of the 1930's which affected Klan membership in the industrial sectors of the country. Prior to the depression approximately forty percent of the nation's Klan lived in four industrial states: Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio. Urban Klansmen were forced to end their physical association with the Klan because, like their agricultural fellow Klansmen, they, too, were unable to pay their monetary dues.

The Klan of the post-World War I era faded away because the primary goal of its leadership was to make money. When the financial resources of its membership withered away so did its membership. Ex-Klansmen could not afford to remain active, but they continued to nurture their hatreds against those the Klan deemed undesirable.

Chapter Three

"UNTIL DEATH"

The Black Legion was founded in late 1924 or early 1925 in Bellaire, Ohio, located across the Ohio River from Wheeling, West Virginia, by Dr. William Jacob Shepard, also known as "Doc", a local physician and Grand Cyclops of the Bellaire Ku Klux Klan. Doc Shepard tried to rejuvenate his failing local Klan chapter by substituting the traditional white "bedsheet" uniforms with red-trimmed black robes adorned with a white skull and crossbone instead of the official Klan regalia. He also replaced the Klan allegiance with a blood curdling initiation ritual. (See Appendix A, for complete initiation text).

Doc Shepard's so-called Black Guard debuted at a Klan Konklave in Ohio during the summer of 1925, and the black uniforms won immediate approval with Klansmen from other chapters. Unfortunately for Shepard and his Bellaire Klan, their costumes and rituals upstaged James A. Colescott, the Grand Goblin of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Kentucky, who was in command of the Konklave, and he reacted by revoking the Bellaire charter for violating Klan discipline. 1.

Doc Shepard still had the heart of a "good" Klansman but now had lost authority to officially act as one. His unwelcomed departure from the Klan, however, left him as the

undisputed leader of his Black Guards. Over the next few years the Guard became variously known as the Black Legion, Black Night Riders, Blacks, Twenty and Club, Bullet Club, Searchlight, Malteka, Alpha and Omega, and, in Michigan, the Wolverine Republican Club. 2.

Shepard was a man of fascinating contradictions. Although his grandfather had been a Union soldier, Shepard claimed a mystic ancestry with Confederate war heroes such as "Shotgun" Sheperd. Moreover, he earnestly believed in the ideology of chivalry in the ante-bellum South:

He was a man of violence, as a long-time leader of vigilantes who were not just overgrown boy scouts, but men who flogged, tarred and feathered, and ran people out of town. He was the sort of doctor who never went on his medical rounds without his trusty forty-five in his satchel... Throughout his life he was widely known as 'the little doctor of the poor'; yet he was also rumored to be the hometown abortionist who took his fee in sexual favors.

Not surprisingly, Shepard possessed some of the characteristics of William Simmons. Both were eternal joiners; they loved clanishness and being with the boys. Shepard was a member of the Eagles and Moose, as well as being a Thirty-Second Degree Mason who believed in the ideals of the Klan. He never intended to break with the Klan, only to enliven it, and unlike Simmons, he never intended to obtain financial security from his Klan membership. 3. When asked about his loyalty to the Klan, he

was reported as saying: "I'm not going to make any bones about it. I was a Klansman and I liked it." 4.

Both men immersed themselves with thoughts and dreams of recreating a bygone era where white, protestant, native-born Americans would regain total control of the nation. To achieve this goal, Doc Shepard's Black Guard willingly executed any extra-legal activities that he deemed necessary, and, in the process, broke the burdensome chain of commercialism that was firmly tied to Simmon's version of the K.K.K.

As a former Grand Cyclops in the K.K.K., Doc Shepard understood the need for secrecy and mystery in a fraternal organization. His logic was simple: "You have to have mystery in a fraternal thing to keep it alive; the folks eat it up." In Shepard's opinion the Klan had erred by making itself highly visible to the public; therefore, for his organization daytime parades were out and midnight cross burnings were the rule.

The Black Guard was a secret society, in which death could come to anyone breaking their secret oath. After completing the long, elaborate initiation ceremony, the Guardsmen were given a lecture on the value of, and need for, southern chivalry, based on Confederate guerrilla leader William Clarke Quantrill's "Black Oath". 5.

Before concluding the initiation ceremony each recruit was told the secret password and signs of recognizing other

members. The sign of recognition was the tipping of one's hat three times: the permanent slogan of "Until Death" was given, and the proper response was to be "Under the star of the Guard." 6.

On the surface it may appear that the Klan and the Black Legion were similar, yet there were significant differences. First, they were organized differently. The Klan was a money making organization that gained acceptance through propaganda that appealed to many individuals across the nation. The Black Legion recruited its members through intimidation, threats of violence, and/or death. The Black Legion hierarchy believed in what they were doing, therefore monetary compensation was not relevant to them. The Black Legion had umbilical connections within the espionage systems and company unions in the auto industry, thereby controlling the economic welfare of many of the workers. 7. Second, while the Klan exhibited its "fair" share of violence and hatred, it paled in comparison to the common, routinely violent agenda of the Black Legion. 8. Third, the Black Legion penetrated police and fire departments, as well as high places in city, county, and state government, and was connected with the Republican Party. Likewise, the Ku Klux Klan associated itself with the party in power. Thus, the Ku Klux Klan was in the Democratic party in the South, but in the Republican party in the Midwest and the West.

According to the Detroit News, Doc Shepard's idea of a

Black Legion may have originated from pranks played on him by the "Night Riders of America" in Wellston, Ohio in 1916. The Night Riders of America were nothing more than a group of young men who duped travelers into joining their organization. They promised a less severe initiation to any recruit who brought a keg of beer to their first meeting. At some point during the evening's festivities, most initiates realized they had been tricked into providing beer for another night of comedy. Apparently Shepard did not take the initiation ceremony lightly, as he developed his own ceremony that contained many characteristics found with the Night Riders of America and incorporated them into his Black Legion. 9.

By the late 1920's the K.K.K. rank-and-file had lost much of its post-World War I fervor. One super patriotic Klansman, Grand Titan Virgil F. "Bert" Effinger, saw the Black Guard as a viable option that would ignite lackadaisical Klansmen. Around 1930 he told a Klan assembly to "lay off this easy stuff and get a method that would bring results." 10.

In 1932 Effinger and Shepard, who by then had bestowed upon himself the title of "Commander-in-Chief", discussed the possibilities of a national organization. At their meeting Effinger insisted that Doc Shepard remain the "Commander-in-Chief" but that Effinger would become a major general of one of the Black Guard's thirteen national

regions. Effinger's region would be "east of the Mississippi," but as far as is known, no other region was ever created. 11. Effinger returned to his hometown of Lima, Ohio with full authority to organize the Black Legion according to his own specifications. As it would turn out, Shepard had unwittingly reduced his own authority by becoming one of Effinger's puppets.

Virgil Effinger continued the military tradition established by Doc Shepard. The Black Legion was organized similar to the United States Army, and was

based on companies of ninety-nine men, four companies to a battalion, four battalions to a regiment, with the regiment, at full strength just under sixteen hundred men, perceived as the basic 'accounting' unit. 12.

The only difference between the military accounting unit of the U.S. Army and that of the Black Legion was that eight men made a squad in the army, while only five men were so designated in the Black Legion "because in case of a muster at a distant point, every member had to be transported along with his squad, and an automobile will carry only five men." 13.

Effinger understood his recruits' cravings for comradeship, discipline and order. Therefore, he created five degree ranks within the Legion, "ranging from Foot Legion up the ladder through Night Riders, Black Knights,

Armed Guards and to a Bullet Club at the top." 14. The rate of recruitment by Black Legion lieutenants for new members between 1932 and 1935 was phenomenal, and what is known today as the I-75 corridor from Lima, Ohio to Bay City, Michigan was the area of greatest success.

II

Southeast Michigan had developed into an industrial giant by the 1920's. Auto manufacturers needed men to work in its factories, and poor southern whites needed a paycheck. Hordes of southerners filled those industrial areas, but the "Great Depression" of the 1930's dashed their dreams. Frustrated down-and-out men were left with unwanted time on their hands, and they sought someone both to blame for their plight and to help them regain their dignity. The Black Legion was an organization that fit that description perfectly.

Southerners totalled approximately three-quarters of the Detroit-area Black Legion membership. 15. Many southerners were familiar with the Klan and their transition to the Black Legion was easy.

Arthur E. Lupp, milk inspector for the City of Detroit, and brigadier general and State Commander of the Black Legion in Michigan, was a prominent recruiter who would stop at nothing in order to accomplish Black Legion goals. He

was firmly convinced that the Black Legion was designed to help many people gain a sense of purpose and bolster their sense of patriotism toward "American" ideals. In May, 1936 he stated:

During the depression men were wandering hither and yon. These persons were not fly-by-nights, but good American citizens who had lost their purpose in life. Then is when this organization was seen as a necessity.

It is made of good people in all walks of life-lawyers, doctors, professional men and workmen alike. These were brought to their senses when communism and other isms creeped into the United States of America from foreign countries. Members of the legion became aware that they owed a duty to their country.

This was no racket or money making scheme. The men pledged themselves to that American flag. Thousands have a different outlook because of their affiliation for this organization. They are dedicated to the service of their country and they will remain true to the red, white and blue. 16.

Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio also were heavy sites for recruitment, and, to a lesser extent, so were New York, Pennsylvania and Kentucky. Every sizable town from Bucyrus, Ohio to Bay City, Michigan had become a Black Legion stronghold.

Bucyrus was said to have two regiments, Lima between 3,000 and 5,000 members, Piqua at least one regiment, Toledo an estimated 3,000 members; in Michigan, Monroe, had two regiments, the

downriver Detroit suburbs at least one regiment, Detroit minimally four regiments near full strength, Highland Park one regiment, Royal Oak one regiment, Pontiac two full-strength regiments in 1934. Flint over 2,000 members, and Saginaw/Bay City at least one regiment between them. 17.

Realistic estimates are that over 120,000 individuals were members of the Black Legion in Michigan. 18. Effinger boasted of six million members, but that figure is unrealistic.

Charter members of the Legion joined by choice, but many later recruits were forced to join at the point of a gun. The inner circle of "hard core" Black Legionnaires had a membership of approximately three hundred. Black Legionnaires secretly voted for the prospective membership of unknowing candidates. One by one candidates were lured into remote areas under the false pretense of a relaxing day of fishing or any reason where he would be alone. Once the individual had arrived at the isolated locale he was notified that he had been selected for membership. 19.

Recruits were seldom given the choice to accept or reject this offer of a lifetime membership. Usually if a recruit resisted one of the members would pull out his loaded revolver and point it at the unwilling prospective comrade. Needless to say, this recruiting tactic virtually always elicited the desired result. After swearing their oath of allegiance, new members were given a bullet as a

momento of the occasion, and every new member clearly understood the consequences involved if they ever broke their oath. 20.

It was standard procedure, especially in Ohio, that Legionnaires impress initiates with their code of "secrecy or death". The initiates realized that their lives would never be the same. A common saying throughout the ranks of the Black Legion was "that all ex-members of the Black Legion were dead."

In order to magnify the importance of the oath, fake hangings were staged, but to the awestruck initiates they were real. The practice of fake hangings began in the 1860's - 1870's by the Ku Klux Klan.

A man in a robe was dragged out and a rope was thrown over a tree limb. The noose was placed around his neck and the generalissimo read the charge, pronounced him guilty and gave the order to hang him. He was pulled up the tree, struggled for a while, then hanged limp. 21.

Of course the victim in this charade wore a special harness to bear his body's weight which prevented strangulation.

Attendance at meetings and active participation in Black Legion affairs was strictly enforced. It was extremely rare for recruits to be excused. Some members tried to ignore their oaths by staying away from secret meetings and Legion activities, but those men were

systematically rounded up, beaten, lashed, and, in some cases, murdered.

Unwilling participation by Black Legion initiates were routinely mentioned in several newspapers throughout the summer of 1936. The following is an example of a common initiation: On the evening of November 5, 1935 Harley W. Smith and his cousin Sam Wheaton of Jackson County, Michigan were asked to attend a party by two of their neighbors, Orel Heckerman and Denver Carter.

We went in Heckerman's car, out of the city a few miles, and stopped at a field. There was quite a crowd there, with three men in robes. Then we were told we were going to be taken into this secret organization. We were told it was the Black Knights. They made me get on my knees and take the oath. One man held a gun against my chest. I was scared. I can't remember the oath, I was too scared, but it was a fierce one, about mangling and killing... At the meeting each of us who took the oath was given a cartridge. 'If we have to give you another one it will be out of a gun' they said. Allen Basom was one of the fellows in the robes.

Harley Smith attended the next meeting but opted to remain home for the second meeting because his wife was due to have a baby. Clarence Earnest (one of the robed Legionnaires who initiated Smith) came to Smith's house and told him that his superior officers wanted to speak with him.

I went to the car. They pushed me into the back seat, Basom was in the back seat. I said 'Hello, Allen.' he didn't say anything. They grabbed me, and Basom put a blindfold on my eyes. They drove about a mile. They told me to get out of the car and then tied my hands behind my back. They pushed me up a couple of steps into a house.

There were a lot of men talking in low tones... Then I heard some of the men go out. Then somebody said in a loud voice, 'What's the verdict - guilty or not guilty?'

'Guilty,' someone else said, and the same voice said, 'Six lashes.' Then they grabbed at me and pulled my shirt off. They gave me six lashes across the back. It felt like a blacksnake whip. It hurt. 22.

The Legion sought men who were familiar with firearms or held influential positions, such as politicians, lawyers, policemen, prison guards, firemen, and supervisors in the factories. Effinger realized that if he could find employment for his Legionnaires they would be more willing to follow him. The Legion's quest for a military political machine met with some success. (A list of Black Legion members and their occupations according to a grand jury investigation in Oakland county, Michigan, August 31, 1936 can be found in Appendix B.)

III

According to Maurice Sugar, Detroit attorney for the Automobile Workers Union in the late 1930's, it was "obvious

that automobile employers of Michigan were utilizing members of the Black Legion for the purpose of destroying union organization and they were successful in placing such members in high places in union circles." 23. Labor unions did not have authority to bargain on behalf of the automotive workers until after the "Sit Down" strike of 1936-37 against General Motors. Any idea or organization that represented social change was viewed by the Black Legion as un-American. They willingly volunteered their time and energy to combat the effects fledgling labor unions had on the common worker throughout the 1930's.

No criminal charges were ever brought against the Black Legion or the automotive giants in their association with each other. However, it can be said that Michigan and Ohio auto manufacturers encouraged the Black Legion by turning their heads whenever crimes were committed against groups or individual who opposed the company's agenda.

In 1934, President Roosevelt created a National Automobile Labor Board.

This board consisted of three members: Nicholas Kelly, representing the employers, Richard L. Byrd, representing labor, and Leo Wollman, as a neutral party. Richard L. Byrd, the labor representative, was later repudiated by the American Federation of Labor when it became apparent that his activities while nominally in the interest of the workers were actually in the interest of the employers. Richard L. Byrd was a member

of the Black legion, belonging to the Bullet Club in Pontiac, Michigan.

Members of the Black Legion's Intelligence Department worked in the personnel offices at Ford, Hudson, Chrysler, and General Motors, as well as the Police Plant Protection Department at Dodge. They had complete access to workers' files and would meet each other from time to time and check to see if any employees were engaged in labor activity, reporting back to their respective employers. 24.

A primary objective of the Black Legion was that of strike breaking. In 1934 at a General Motors Chevrolet plant in Toledo, Ohio workers were involved in a strike against that company. Immediately the Black Legion called a meeting at Timms Hall in Toledo. Virgil Effinger and approximately 3,000 others attended. Effinger stated that he had conversed with officials from the General Motors Corporation at his home in Lima, Ohio just prior to his trip to Toledo. The General Motors officials asked Effinger to provide workers from his Black Legion ranks to operate the idled Chevrolet plant closed because of the strike. At the meeting Effinger introduced Troy Segar, an employee of the Chevrolet plant. Both men urged that a census be taken of all employees of the Chevrolet Company to determine the best means of removing all Catholics and Communists from the Toledo plant. 25.

In Michigan, Arthur Greer, a member of the Black

Legion, was a leader of the Hudson Local of the Automobile Workers, which was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. In 1934, at a time when there were discussions about a general strike against the auto industry, Greer caused the Hudson, as well as the Pontiac and Oldsmobile, locals to break from the union and form their own Associated Automobile Workers Union. The locals that withdrew were rapidly transformed from the strongest locals in the American Federation of Labor in Michigan to the weakest. 26.

The Black Legion had unofficial friends such as Henry Ford in high places throughout the auto industry. Ford's anti-Semitic, nativistic views were highly respected by the world's leading Fascist, Adolf Hitler, who stated in March of 1923:

We look at Heinrich Ford as the leader of the growing Fascisti movement in America. We admire particularly his anti-Jewish policy which is the Bavarian Fascisti platform. We have just had his anti-Jewish articles translated and published. The book is being circulated to millions throughout Germany.

In 1938 Henry Ford became the first American awarded the Grand Cross of the German Eagle by the government of Nazi Germany. 27.

On another occasion, four Legionnaires, Frank Rice, Clarence Frye, Albert Swanson and Roy Hepner, were indicted

of arson and bombing charges in Oakland County in 1934. Rice, a member of the Black Legion, was an investigator for the Packard Motor Car Company and held a "roving commission" to operate in its personnel department. Rice was valuable to the Black Legion because he had the authority to hire or fire anyone he wanted. Legionnaire Clarence Frye, a foreman in the Dodge Truck Division of the Chrysler Corporation, was an former Detroit policeman who stated that

he was forced into the Black Legion against his will and threatened with violence against his 8 year old daughter as well as himself if he refused to take command of the arson squad. 'At one meeting I was called over and talked to by some men with robes on. I was told they were high officials of the Black Legion. One man said he understood I had told Hepner I was sick of the outfit and wanted to quit. Then he said: 'We'll blow your ____ head off the next time you give us the least trouble. Now get that straight. Organize tht intelligence squad and show them how to handle guns and ammunition. You know all about that'. 28.

Much of the recruiting in Michigan was performed by Effinger, his lieutenants, and Isaac (Peg-Leg) White, an ex-Detroit police officer who had lost his leg in a job-related auto accident in 1916. White also held the rank of brigadier general in the Black Legion and was living relatively comfortably from his medical pension of \$104 a month. With time on his hands, Peg-Leg was willing and able to put a full-time effort into recruiting. Previously he had

been a member of the Ku Klux Klan, but with the Black Legion he accepted the task of working as a labor spy. 29. White was a member of a "Citizen Committee" set up by Harry Bennett's secret service operation at Ford and worked for the labor espionage "department" at Hudson Motors. 30.

White was held responsible for some of the first Black Legion murders in the Detroit area. His first victim was George Marchuk, a Communist who was Secretary of the Auto Workers Union in Lincoln Park, Michigan. Marchuk had received several warnings from the Black Legion to stop his "Red" labor organizing efforts at a Ford Motor plant. White gave Marchuk his final verbal warning. On December 22, 1933, Marchuk's body was found in a vacant parking lot with a bullet through his head.

Eleven weeks later on March 15, 1934, the bullet-ridden body of John L. Bielak, another A.F.L. organizer in the Hudson Auto plant, was found outside of Monroe, Michigan. His last Black Legion visitor had been "Peg-Leg" White. 31.

Eight men--Harry P. Davis, James E. Bader, George Bader, Randall Wilson, Gordon Smith, Oliver Martin, Walter Pierce, and Peg-Leg White--were formally charged in June, 1936 with the burning of a communist worker's camp at the corner of Halsted and Howard Roads in Farmington Township, Michigan on April 3, 1933. Davis was a former evangelist and bible student who had preached in Pontiac before relocating in Flint, Michigan. James E. Bader was a

suspended truck driver for the city of Pontiac's Parks Department; George Bader was his son. Martin was a former Pontiac policeman recovering from a gunshot wound inflicted by his thirteen-year-old son Robert who was trying to protect his mother from being choked to death by her brutally drunk husband. Pierce was a Sergeant in the Pontiac Police Department who received orders to burn the workers' camp from Peg-Leg White. 32.

George Shanley, a Lincoln Park, Michigan, city councilman charged that the Black Legion was responsible for beating up three or four men, killing George Marchuk, and that he himself had received threats at a city council meeting in June, 1936. Shanley stated that he had been threatened by Peg-Leg White "to lay off or you'll be taken care of" and was shot at shortly after on Fort Street in Lincoln Park. 33.

Peg-leg White slipped out of Michigan in the spring of 1936 after being sought by Michigan authorities for his role in the burning of the communist worker's camp. White, his twenty-five-year-old wife and four-year-old son were captured in Oldtown, Maryland on December 14, 1936. Upon his arrest, police stated that White was suffering from a cold, and they sent him to a Cumberland hospital for treatment where he died within a week. 34.

Late in 1936, in Pontiac, Michigan nineteen of that city's policemen and firemen were systematically being tried

for various violations of law while being members of the Black Legion. Sergeant Walter Pierce, head of Pontiac's vice squad and a colonel in the Black Legion, was found guilty in his connection with the burning of the worker's camp in Farmington Township.

Charles McMillan was the chief of Police in Pontiac, but held the rank of private in the Black Legion. McMillan took his orders from Walter Pierce while acting as a Black Legionnaire. Pierce took his orders from McMillan while on duty as a Pontiac policeman. This awkward arrangement was common within the Legion. Members who appeared fearless were often given promotion in rank and then assigned to one of several inner groups within the organization.

Legionnaires secretly met at several locations in and around Pontiac. Some of the meeting places were an abandoned skating rink on Pike Street, a hall at East Lawrence and Perry Streets, a store owned by James Estes on Joslyn Road, and in the homes of members or in secluded fields adjacent to the city. 35.

Captain William Bradburn of the Pontiac Fire Department committed suicide after fatally shooting fellow fireman Donald Slusher in the kitchen of Fire Station No. 2. Captain Bradburn had been named in connection with the Black Legion in a grand jury report and was awaiting trial. Police found a note in Bradburn's handwriting that told of how Slusher had talked too much about Bradburn's association

with the Black Legion. 36.

IV

One-man grand jury investigations were held in several Michigan counties in September, 1936. Several men testified before the Genesee County grand jury, and six of them eventually went to trial and were convicted for perjury because they had denied being members of the Black Legion before the grand jury. Of the men found guilty in Flint, Walter C. Bair was a City Commissioner of the 1st Ward, Earl St. John had been nominated for City Commissioner of the 8th Ward and was a former Alderman, Walter Allen was a Public Works Administration worker, James Brannon and Donald Swindle were factory workers, while the occupation of Edgar Cox was unclear. 37.

At the same time the one-man grand jury was being held in Flint, an article was published in the Flint Journal that stated the Black Legion was preparing an assassination attempt on President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and a military invasion in an undetermined city was scheduled for September 16th. All Legion members were supposedly awaiting the secret code word "Lixto" to begin their grandiose invasion into the core of the designated city. 38.

Flint, Michigan was the birthplace of General Motors and heavy Black Legion membership was reported within its

numerous automotive plants.

For many workers, union organizers, and writers, especially those on the left, the main objective of the Black Legion was anti-unionism, under the guise of protecting workers from the evils of Communism. The roots of the group might have been in racial and religious prejudice, but, it was asserted, after people got into the Black Legion they were led to believe that their worst enemy was Communism and that the Communists were dominating the labor unions. 39.

In Flint one of the Black Legion's meeting places was in a building between First Street and Kearsley Street on Harrison Street.

V

As a secret society, Black Legion members were not allowed to speak to anyone about their own association with it. Outside of the group to which they belonged, most Legionnaires did not know who was or was not a member. Interestingly, women were not deemed essential or needed during the Legion's recruiting heydays of 1932-1935. Most women were totally unaware of their husband's membership in the Black Legion or their role in illegal activities. In fact, many women simply presumed their husbands were "out on the town" with their buddies or carousing with other women.

The recruitment of women into the Black Legion took

place because male Black Legionnaires grew weary listening to the grumblings of their wives about their continual absence from home. The Black Legion hierarchy believed admitting women into their organization was better than taking the chance of the wives snooping around for clues to their husbands' secret activities.

In 1934 the Black Legion gave in and allowed women to form a Women's Auxiliary unit in the Black Legion. Grace Lupp, wife of brigadier general Arthur F. Lupp, was head of the Detroit area women's auxiliary, which numbered about three hundred members. Women recruits swore the same oath of secrecy as the men. Their sole purpose was "to stamp out communism in the schools and to encourage women to get out and vote for the right candidates." ⁴⁰. Of course, the "right" candidates were predetermined by the male hierarchy in the Legion.

Women members were supposed to be the spy system of the organization. They were to pick up information wherever they went, whether it be the grocery store or at a card party. If women did not follow their instructions they would be taken for a "ride" and beaten just like men. ⁴¹.

Chapter Four

"GIVE UP THE GHOST"

In May, 1936, Dayton Dean, age 36, who worked for the Detroit Public Lighting Commission, was the father of two children. He had moved to Detroit from Vassar, Michigan in 1908, when he was eight years old. ¹ Since 1922 Dean had been a member of the Ku Klux Klan, holding the rank of Captain. Dean's mother described her son as someone who "wouldn't harm a hair on anyone's head." She also stated that Dayton did not have a "black mark against him" and that she could prove it with a photograph taken of her son when he was in the Navy.

While in the Navy he was assigned to the Presidential yacht, President Wilson and Secretary Daniels rode the yacht (Mayflower) many times while Dayton was a member of the crew. Dayton and another Detroit boy took the examination for the jobs on the yacht and you know if there was anything against Dayton he certainly would never have gotten the job. ²

Mysteriously, during the spring of 1933, Dean began to lose interest in the Klan and other organizations in which he had been active. He had always had a fascination with guns, but now he seemed obsessed with them, spending endless hours sitting on his back porch cleaning and oiling them. ³

One evening in the Spring of 1933, Dean was approached by Whitney Fleming, former special deputy for ex-sheriff George Walters, who asked Dean to attend a special meeting of the Ku Klux Klan. Dean went to the meeting and was quickly sold on this new Klan-like organization called the Black Legion.

Dean is an example of someone who moved up the ranks of the Black Legion in the Detroit area. He began as a private, then moved to corporal, sergeant, lieutenant, captain, and finally to major. With each promotion he seemed to further alienate himself from his family.

Dean's wife stated that he seemed "hypnotized" with power. He was "dead for sleep" most of the time, working all day and being out all night. He walked around in a stupor and would sometimes fall asleep right after dinner.

According to Dean's wife, Dayton came home one dawn after being up all night with fellow Legionnaires and told her he was now in charge of the Death Squad. "He said he was picked because he had the courage to do the job and he was a good shot." 4.

She became so fearful of her husband that she once hid in a closet when other male Legion members came over to discuss business with her husband. She overheard Dayton tell the group of Legionnaire's that "if she (Mrs. Dean) doesn't mind her own business, well I'll see she's taken for a ride she won't forget. Then she'll keep her mouth shut."5.

Mrs. Dean had reason to fear her husband because he was eventually convicted of numerous murders and other atrocities including the murder of Charles A. Poole on May 12, 1936.

At a later date Dayton Dean received fifteen lashes by the Black Legion in a night-time ceremony as punishment for the drunken rape of his twelve year-old stepdaughter. Dean was charged with "failure to live up to his duties as a Black Legion Major." 6.

II

The Poole murder was the beginning of the end for the Black Legion. Dayton Dean eventually broke his oath of secrecy and "spilled his guts" in the courtroom. Twelve men were arrested for the Poole murder, and eleven were convicted. Seven received life sentences for first degree murder. Four were convicted of second degree murder and were issued sentences ranging from three and one half years to twenty years. 7.

Charles Poole had been a member of the Black Legion. He was able to join the organization by swearing he was a protestant, although the Legion later learned that he was Catholic. At age 32, Poole, a Works Progress Administration worker, had a two-year-old daughter and his wife Rebecca was pregnant and due to deliver another baby in May, 1936.

Charles Poole's only brush with the law had happened years earlier in Dodge City, Kansas where he had been arrested for vagrancy. 8.

According to Inspector John I. Navarre of the homicide squad in Detroit, Michigan, a meeting of the Wolverine Republican League was called by Harvey Davis, Colonel in the Black Legion, on the evening of May 12, 1936 at the Findlater Temple, located at Lafayette Boulevard and Waterman Avenue in Detroit. The Black Legion had rented the Findlater Temple for some time by masquerading as a legitimate political faction of the Republican Party.

A day before the meeting, Hershall Gill and Lowell Rushing told Colonel Davis that Poole had kicked his pregnant wife several times and had broken her ribs causing her to miscarry. They asked Davis if he would bring up the matter at the next meeting.

During the meeting Davis took care of general business before reporting the abuses suffered by Rebecca Poole. As the men listened to Colonel Davis, they became enraged. One of the Legionnaires shouted, "What shall we do about it?", and someone else responded, "Let's take him out and beat him up!", while another shouted, "Let's kill him!" At that point the meeting broke into bedlam. From every direction voices were heard that spoke of ways to punish Charles Poole. Amid the shouting, Davis called for volunteers. Irvin Lee and Dayton Dean stepped forward to heed the call.

Urban Lipps and an unidentified man were instructed to find Poole and bring him to the Findlater Temple.

The Legionnaires knew Poole loved playing baseball so they concocted a plan that tricked Poole into believing he was sought after to play for a team sponsored by the Timken Axle Company. Ralph Hyatt, a friend of Poole's, later told police that on May 12, 1936 he had spent the afternoon with Poole. Poole was busy painting the bathroom in his rented home hoping it could save him some rent money, when someone knocked on the door wanting to speak with Poole. The visitor was "a big man with dark gray hair and heavy black eyebrows." ⁹. Hyatt heard the visitor tell Poole that he had a chance to play baseball for the Timken Axle Company team and to meet him at the "Blinking Eye" Beer Garden at John R. and Lantz Road. ¹⁰.

Later that evening, Urban Lipps and his partner entered the beer garden and saw Poole sitting with Eugene Sherman and Ralph Hyatt. Poole was asked to attend a baseball meeting: he inquired if his friends could come along, but was told that "it was a private meeting". ¹¹. He decided to go along with the men, hoping this was the break for which he had been waiting.

Once they arrived at Findlater Temple, Dean approached Poole, who was still sitting in the car, and told him to wait outside with him. A few minutes later all of the men inside the temple hurried outside and anxiously climbed into

several cars. Colonel Davis's car led the way. It contained Edgar Baldwin, Paul R. Edwards, and George C. Johnson. This automobile was followed by another containing Dayton Dean, Ervin Lee, Urban Lipps, and Charles Poole. Several other carloads of men followed but were separated at River Rouge by a drawbridge.

John Bannerman, a Scottish World War I hero, was inside one of the cars separated by the drawbridge. His car contained a suitcase concealing the rope with which Poole was to be hanged.

Confusion set in after the first two carloads of men had waited for some time for the remaining men to meet them at Oakwood Boulevard and Dix Avenue. Davis commanded the first two carloads of men to go to Gulley Road in Dearborn Heights, Michigan.

Davis was the first man out of the car at Gulley Road and he ordered everyone to get out and "have a drink first." It was just before midnight when the men finished their drinks. Then Davis ordered that Poole be pulled from out of the car. Poole stood silent as Davis told him, "you beat up your wife for the last time." Dean pulled out a .38 caliber and a .45 caliber hand gun. He pointed the guns at Poole and fired eight times, five shots from the .45 and three from the .38. Lee shot three times, but in later testimony insisted he had not aimed his gun at Poole but fired all three rounds into the air. Now that their evening's work

was completed the men regrouped and had a few more drinks before calling it a night. 12.

Early on the morning of May 13, 1936 Mrs. Horvat, who owned a farm on Gulley Road, noticed one of her cows missing. She began her search for the errant animal by walking down the road, and soon she noticed something laying in the ditch. Just then two neighbors, Bernard Kalborn and his wife, were driving by. Mrs. Horvat flagged them down and pointed at the unknown object, saying, "There's something over there - he's drunk or dead." Kalborn got out of his car and walked over to the body. He looked back at the two women who were hesitantly approaching and said, "dead, he's been shot." The threesome left the scene and notified the sheriff.

Lowell Rushing and Hershall Gill did not attend the meeting the night Poole was murdered. They had told Davis that they were afraid they would be recognized by Poole.

Courtroom testimony given by Dayton Dean four weeks after Poole's murder produced the following statement.

Colonel Davis got it up, I shot Poole because I was supposed to. I didn't have any personal grudge against him. I had to take orders from my superior officers. If I were ordered to murder someone or commit crimes I would have to do it. Two men were in the meeting room, rolling up a rope. Davis said, 'What will we do with him?'

Some of the members said, 'Whip him.' Others said, 'Hang him,' and others , 'Shoot him.' Davis told me, 'We are going to take him out and hang him.'

I carried a .45 and a .38.

I knew it was to be a one way ride.

We stopped out in the country. I guess Poole wondered what it was all about.

We found there was no rope.

Davis said, 'Dean, go get Poole out of the car,' I drew my guns and ordered him out.

He said, 'O.K.'

Davis told Poole, 'You've beaten up your wife for the last time.'

Poole didn't say anything. I knew I was supposed to shoot. So I started firing. All the guns were supposed to shoot. Lee fired, too.

It was dark. I was standing eight feet from Poole. I couldn't tell if the shots were having effect.

I fired all eight before Poole fell.

Then we went to the German Inn and had some beer. 13.

Dayton Dean was once asked if he and the other men drank while they performed their duty with the Death Squad. His reply was that they drank before and after their floggings and killings but not during because, "they couldn't drink and whip at the same time." 14.

Davis vehemently denied ever giving Dean the order to murder Poole, and accused Dean of being a "gun-crazy lunatic" who was trying to retaliate against Davis for a whipping Dean had earlier received. Davis continued by stating that he himself was in bad standing with the

Legion's high command because he failed to attend several meetings throughout the last year. 15.

Mrs. Poole, age twenty-two, was notified of her husband's death from the maternity ward of Herman Kiefer Hospital, where she had recently given birth to her second daughter, Nancy. Police questioned her as to the validity behind the accusation that her husband had beaten her. She denied that her husband had ever beaten her and said that they had had a good marriage. Medical reports from the hospital verified that Rebecca did not show any signs of being beaten as Lowell Rushing and Hershall Gill had stated to Colonel Davis. 16.

III

Hours after Poole's body was found, Canadian authorities found the body of Roy Piedcock, a Michigan steel worker and member of the Black Legion. They listed the death as a suicide. Piedcock's body was found with a wire cable around his neck hanging from a rafter in a tool shed on Fighting Island in the Detroit River. Michigan State police Captain Ira Marmon disagreed with Piedcock's death being labeled a suicide because Piedcock was hanging ten feet off the floor with no place from which to jump. Police did not find a boat docked on the island and dismissed the possibility that he swam to the island because his clothes

were dry and not soiled. Captain Marmon mentioned that Michigan had experienced a noticeable rise in "suicides," and in his opinion several were caused by the Black Legion. He also believed that fifty more Michigan men were targeted for death by the Black Legion.

Roy Piedcock's wife, Nellie, stated that her husband was usually cheerful, but appeared nervous and worried during the final weeks of his life. When investigators asked Nellie if she had any knowledge of the Black Legion she said, "I never heard of the Black Legion. But Roy seemed to have a lot on his mind. He was fearful of somebody, but wouldn't tell me who it was."

Nellie expounded by stating that Roy had disappeared from home on May 9th and returned home on May 11th, and his only explanation was that he had gone for a long walk. On May 13th Roy left Nellie a note stating "To all that know me-I love you all. Don't worry about me. I can't explain."
17. It is believed that Roy Piedcock was murdered by the Black Legion for disciplinary reasons.

IV

Several notable acts of violence against blacks were committed by the Black Legion. One incident happened on the evening of May 25, 1935. Silas Coleman, a forty-two-year-old

World War I veteran, was murdered by the Black Legion. The horrifying details of his death seem unbelievable. Police had listed his death as murder with robbery as the motive, until Dayton Dean later revealed that the killing was arranged at the request of Colonel Davis, solely to provide a "thrill" for all in attendance at their weekend party at Rush Lake. 18.

Coleman had worked several construction jobs with Charles Rouse, a member of the Black Legion. Rouse and Dean left the party at Rush Lake and went to Coleman's house to pick him up, but he was not home. About 9:30 that evening they found Coleman at Myers Road and Grand River Avenue. Rouse told Coleman that the contractor who owed Coleman money was at Rush Lake, and that they would be glad to take him to the lake to get his money. While riding in the car Coleman said that he had a couple cases of beer at his house, and once the contractor paid him his \$18 he was going to have a party. What follows is a statement given by Dayton Dean.

When we got to the cottage, Coleman and Rouse stayed in the car and I went in the back door. Davis, Bannerman, Lorange and Lee were there with their wives. They were sitting around a table drinking. I called Davis into the front room and told him we had the colored fellow out in the car... (Davis said) 'tell Coleman the contractor has gone to the lake fishing and we'll lead the way down there.' Davis told the boys to get some guns and see they were loaded... Coleman and me and the others

got in Lorange's car. Lorange took the lead and we drove through Pinckney and when we got to the lake we stopped at a bridge.

Everybody got out except Rouse. Coleman said: 'I don't see any boat out here.' The others was standing in a group. Davis said: 'Let's go get him.'

Coleman was facing us and we got our guns out. Davis fired first, then Lorange, Lee and Bannerman fired. The Negro started to say something but he just let out kind of a gurgle. He turned around and ran down the road.

Davis hollered: 'Don't let that _____ get away.' My gun jammed. They ran after him. Coleman ran quite a ways, I thought. He jumped into the swamp and they emptied their guns at him. 19.

Once Davis knew what it felt like to "shoot a nigger" 20. the whole group of men went back to the cottage at Rush Lake and had a few more drinks. Rouse had been in possession of Coleman's \$18 throughout the entire evening, and decided that the only "fair" thing to do would be to divide up \$10 of the \$18 between Davis and Dean and keep \$8 for himself. 21.

Five men, Harvey Davis, John Bannerman, Ervin D. Lee, Charles Rouse, and James Roy Lorange, were found guilty of first degree murder in the death of Silas Coleman in November, 1936. 22.

V

Another act of Black Legion violence was against Edward Armour on February 16, 1935. Armour was a thirty-four-year-

old Negro who happened to be walking down an Ecorse, Michigan sidewalk while Davis and Dean were stalking another black, Clarence Oliver. Davis and Dean were en route to Oliver's home when they drove by Armour. Davis shouted out to Dean, "I want to kill a nigger." They stopped the car, walked down the street and fired one shot at Armour. The bullet hit a metal lunch box Armour was carrying, then ricocheted into his spine. He was seriously injured but survived the attack.

Davis and Dean continued stalking Oliver after shooting Armour. They drove to Oliver's home and fired a bullet through the window of his home. Fortunately the bullet missed its mark.

Three days later James Bailey, a black political worker for Ecorse, Michigan Mayor William W. Voisine, was burned to death in his home. The fire took place under mysterious circumstances and Mayor Voisine was of the opinion that Bailey had been a victim of the Black Legion. ²³. Dean stated that he and Colonel Davis, Erwin Lee and John Bannerman drove through Ecorse two days prior to Mayor Voisine's election in 1934. Their purpose was to murder Voisine because they supported Voisine's opponent and wanted to silence Voisine's outspoken, antagonistic public statements against the Black Legion, but they were unable to find him. ²⁴.

VI

Conspiracy to murder Arthur L. Kingsley, a Highland Park, Michigan newspaper publisher, and Martin H. Zink, a Highland Park City Commissioner, were brought against several Legionnaires including Dayton Dean and N. Ray Markland. Markland was a former Highland Park Mayor who was currently working as an investigator for Wayne County Michigan Prosecutor Duncan C. McCrea. Kingsley and Zink had led political opposition against Markland during his term as Mayor in the Detroit suburb of Highland Park. Charges were made by Gordon Smith, a colonel in the Black Legion, that two months after the 1934 election several Legionnaires were paid \$400 by Arthur Lupp to murder Kingsley and Zink. Smith also stated that Frank Howard, a suspended Highland Park Fire Captain and member of the Black Legion, had told him of his wishes for the dual murder. Smith said that several plans were devised for getting rid of Kingsley. At first Smith was ordered to stab him, but when he protested he was given permission to shoot him. On another occasion Legionnaires followed Kingsley for six miles in their car with plans to murder him. Kingsley realized he was being followed and successfully eluded them.

The first plan to murder Zink was to sneak up on him using the rear staircase in the Municipal Building and shoot him when he walked nearby. The following statement was

given by Dayton Dean:

A short time later, Howard, Markland and a policeman I don't know drove to Zink's home. All police driving scout cars were members of the Black Legion. They were instructed to be out of the way at 11 o'clock-the time the killing was to have taken place.

We pulled up in front of Zink's house and I went up to the porch. I had my hand on my gun. There was a party going on next door, and I heard people laughing.

Just as I was about to enter, something frightened me and I ran back to the car. I guess the rest of the boys were scared too, 'cause they got out of there in an awful hurry. 25.

Fortunately for Kingsley and Zink, both survived their ordeal with the Black Legion and later testified against it.

David C. Pence, Prosecuting Attorney in Oakland County, Michigan withdrew from office in March, 1935 because of his membership in the Black Legion. He stated that he was once a member of the "Twenty and Club" also known as the "Bullet Club" but to his knowledge the group never committed any crimes while he was a member. 26.

Duncan C. McCrea, Prosecuting Attorney for Wayne County, shared "top billing" with other Legionaires during the summer of 1936 when it was discovered that McCrea had signed his name on a Black Legion membership card. McCrea countered by stating that he may have signed his name on a membership card while he was campaigning for office because

he was autographing everything that passed by him.

One of McCrea's investigators, Charles Spare, admitted he had been a former member of the Ku Klux Klan and was "probably" the author of letters sent out to promote hatred against Catholics eleven years earlier. McCrea defended Spare by publicly stating that Spare was not associated with the Black Legion in any manner. 27.

Former Michigan Governor Wilber M. Brucker announced his candidacy for United States Senator before the Wolverine Republican Club at the Findlater Temple, in Wayne County in 1936. When his name became entangled with the Black Legion he withdrew from the Senatorial race and threatened lawsuits against several of his accusers. 28.

VII

Across the Midwest investigations into illegal activities of the Black Legion were requested by public officials. In most cases no investigations were ever performed. In May, 1936, Senator John Davis of Ohio proposed a resolution to investigate the Black Legion and any other sinister organizations in the state, but the bill was defeated by a margin of 16 - 9 in the Ohio Senate. 29.

In Michigan one-man grand juries took the place of conventional grand jury investigations whenever associated with the Black Legion.

Thomas Craig, a one-time mayorial candidate for the city of Detroit, was one of the Legionnaires convicted of murdering Charles Poole. 30. He was convicted of voting fraud for Wayne county's current administration and put on probation. 31.

Black Legion strongholds had developed in several southern Michigan locations such as Adrian, Napoleon, Hillsdale, and Jackson. The Black Legion had successfully recruited several men who worked as prison guards at the state's maximum security prison in Jackson. Three prison guards, Dice Hawley, Paul Avery, and Ray Earnest, were members of the secret cult. In February, 1936, Hawley and Earnest flogged Avery for not attending Black Legion meetings. Approximately two months later on April 14th, physicians stated that Avery died at work of heart disease caused by diabetes. Mrs. Avery told police officials and press reporters that her husband died because of the Black Legion. She said that her husband "seemed to pine away" after his beating and that the men threatened to "string him up" if he missed any more meetings. She acknowledged that her husband was a Legionnaire and that he had attempted to cease his association with it prior to his flogging. 32.

On another occasion the Black Legion threatened a black female school teacher with a whip. They warned her to always remember her place when she was in contact with white children. 33. (See Appendix C for a copy of a handout

distributed by the Black Legion that condoned racial segregation in the public school system with instructions on how to duplicate the handouts.)

Jews and Catholics were also targeted for destruction by the Black Legion. One month after the Poole murder, Bert Effinger was plotting his most heinous offense. Effinger displayed to an informant a box small enough to be easily concealed in one hand that contained a tube of hydro-cyanic gas and a clock that acted as a timing device. He planned on killing one million Jews by planting those devices in every synagogue during Yom Kippur. Each box would simultaneously release the fatal gas effectively wiping out one quarter of the United States Jewish population in just a few minutes.

Effinger possessed a list of every major synagogue throughout the United States. He boasted that each of the poison gas devices were manufactured by Black Legion members at a poison gas factory in Edgewood, Maryland. Effinger believed that Jews were the bigger danger because President Roosevelt was led by them.

Effinger also proposed the wholesale destruction of the Negro population in Detroit. First, a Negro death quota was established for every section of the city. Second, once orders were given Legionnaires were to randomly murder their pre-established quota of Negroes. 34.

In February, 1935, Arthur Lupp and Charles T.

McCutcheon, a Health Department Bacteriologist for the City of Detroit and a Black Legion member, discussed methods of breeding typhoid germs. They wanted to infect milk and cottage cheese targeted for grocery shelves in the Jewish section of the city. They agreed that the best way to fight against "Legion enemies" was by introducing the typhoid germs into milk products by penetrating the paper caps of milk bottles with hypodermic needles infected with the germs. The plot was not designed to hurt specific individuals; instead they aimed for large groups. 35.

Lupp planned to breed the typhoid germs in the basement of fellow Legionnaire William H. Guthrie's home. Guthrie and Ellsworth Shinaberry, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Black Legion, were the men responsible for printing Black Legion propaganda. The basement of Guthrie's home doubled as a bath and massage business, which was an excellent place to breed germs because it was always warm and moist.

An investigator for the Detroit Board of Health stated that McCutcheon had access to typhoid germs while experimenting with various cultures at Heman Kiefer hospital in Detroit. However, McCutcheon denied any further involvement with Lupp regarding implementation of Lupp's plan.

Lupp also made inquiry of McCutcheon as to the possibility of injecting poison into persons by jabbing them with a hypodermic needle.

Lupp also spoke to Guthrie about methods of manufacturing dynamite bombs which were knurled, similar to the knurling on a hand grenade. He also discussed the possibility of devising a small bomb about the size of a cigarette, which could be thrown into an automobile, blowing it up. He also inquired of Guthrie about cyanide gas, to be injected into a room through the key-hole. 36.

The Black Legion was believed responsible for burning Father Coughlin's Catholic church, the "Shrine of the Little Flower", in Royal Oak, Michigan on March 17, 1935. According to an interview given by Margaret Dean, in the Detroit Evening Times, the Black Legion also had bombed Father Coughlin's home two years earlier.

Mrs. Dean stated that her husband, Dayton, Mr. Rogers, and Mr. Williams met at her home to discuss possible ways to murder Father Coughlin. At first they planned to kill him as he spoke from the pulpit, but realized they would never be able to escape from the building. They decided to bomb and set the church on fire. Dayton stated "that guy (Father Coughlin) is getting too powerful to suit us. He ought to be made to keep his mouth shut."

All three men attended Mass on Thanksgiving evening to evaluate the best way to eliminate Father Coughlin. When Dayton returned home he told Margaret:

Coughlin stood up there on the platform and said: 'There are men in this audience tonight who would like to get rid of me,

but I'm not afraid. I'm going to speak the truth.' I tell you, Margaret, he looked right down at me when he said that! What a coincidence! He looked right down at me, I tell you. We got out of there as quickly as we could when the meeting was over. 37.

VIII

It may seem unbelievable that Major General Virgil F. Effinger, leader of the Black Legion from 1932 until shortly after the Poole murder in the summer of 1936, was never convicted of committing a crime. Effinger was brought to court on two occasions, once for criminal syndicalism, 38. the other for transporting weapons and bombs into the State of Michigan. On both occasions the charges against him were dropped because of the inability of the State to obtain the testimony of essential witnesses. 39. On August 25, 1936, Effinger had arrogantly walked out on his own extradition hearing in Columbus, Ohio. 40. A warrant for his extradition had been based on statements given by Dayton Dean and William Guthrie, a Legion printer. In the Columbus courtroom Effinger blurted out:

Lies, all lies! They're a bunch of lunatics up there in Detroit. I have to laugh.

(And Effinger did laugh.)

I never saw a hand grenade in my life. I never heard such twaddle! Hand grenades! I'd be scared to death of them, let alone carry them around in a suitcase.

I never at any time said I was going to take over the government on Sept. 16, 1936, or

any other time. I'm an honest, loyal American citizen who is willing to fight for my country, who respects the flag. 41.

Virgil Effinger was a bigoted, violence-prone electrician who had been expelled from the Brotherhood of Electricians because of his "extreme conservatism" and desire to radically reconstruct the Brotherhood. He resided in Lima, Ohio in 1931. His Black Legion predecessor, Doc Shepard, was filled with delusions of recreating an ante-bellum society with its ideals of Southern chivalry within the Black Legion. Effinger's beliefs were more pragmatic. He insisted that foreigners were taking all the decent jobs and Jews had cornered the money, Franklin D. Roosevelt's government had slipped into the hands of Communists, and the "superior" white race was becoming mongrelized by cross-breeding with other races. 42.

Effinger admired men that could effectively get a job done. It is not surprising that his "ideal" persons were Fascist leaders Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini. 43.

Effinger was also a veteran of the Spanish American War who organized his Black Legion similar to the United States Army.

Effinger and Dean were members of the United States military. Both men held firm beliefs that correlated with those expressed by the United States government. The 1920's was an era of "Red baiting" and deportation. Extreme fundamentalist Christian values and patriotism interwove to

produce a sometimes terrifying society in which to live. Social change was taboo to much of the federal government and other "hard core" conservatives, and was viewed by men like Effinger and Dean as un-American.

By 1938 the Black Legion was little more than an anguished memory for many of its members. Several of the Black Legion inner core were serving lengthy prison terms, while Effinger was busy creating another fraternal organization, the "Patriotic League of America", in his home town of Lima, Ohio. Effinger officially incorporated the Legion as a fraternal order under the laws of the State of Ohio, but this time, for reasons unknown, he admitted Catholics as members. 44.

Effinger died on October 15, 1955, at age 82 at the Toledo State Hospital of Ohio. He had spent the last several years of his life in that institution. His body was buried at Memorial Park Cemetery in Lima, Ohio, a cemetery designated for the poor. 45.

Doc Shepard, the originator of the Black Legion, spent the last years of his life working as coroner in Belmont County, Ohio. He spent most of his time hanging around police headquarters, and as late as 1979, his portrait still hung on the wall of the police station. 46.

Dayton Dean died of a heart attack in his jail cell in a Southern Michigan prison on the evening of January 18, 1960. 47. Of the original fourteen men who went to prison

for the various murders committed in 1936 and 1937, only seven remained behind bars at the time of Dean's death. The others either had been released or had died.

Conclusion

During the 1930's the majority of Legionnaires in the Midwest, particularly Southeastern Michigan, were transplants from various southern states. Detroit was known then as a city of strangers that held anti-union beliefs. Explosive growth in the automobile industry a few years earlier had generated a massive migration of southerners and foreigners into the city. Both groups were viewed as social outcasts and an economic threat to much of the current population. The Black Legion experienced tremendous growth when the "Great Depression" struck the auto industry. Its Klan-like philosophy tantalized the economically disadvantaged and socially castigated into joining its ranks.

It is true that most Legionnaires held personal ideologies similar to those expressed by the Ku Klux Klan which supported 100% Americanism, racial segregation, and religious intolerance. However, the majority of men and women in the Black Legion were ruled by fear and terror. Many individuals were tricked into joining by swearing their oath at the point of a loaded gun. They were trapped in this criminal organization without really understanding what they were doing. Members were mortified of the consequences associated with their voluntary departure from the Legion; they decided to keep their mouths shut.

Other Legionnaires were men that could be classified as bullies who were frustrated with their own lack of personal success. They felt a burning need to experience control over their own lives. The Black Legion created a facade of control, then expanded it into abusive power over others.

The United States has incorrectly been labeled the "melting pot" of the world because of its enormous influx of immigration around the turn of the century. Each time new waves of immigrants came ashore they were forced to accept a position near the bottom rung of the social/political/economic ladder. They held this position of inferiority until the next wave of immigration. At that point the "experienced" immigrant moved upward on the ladder, while new immigrants took over the lower rung.

Black Legion founder Doc Shepard must have understood the ideology of a social/political/economic ladder and its many advantages. If he could prove that his Black Legion began prior to the American Revolution, he could justify the Legion's superiority over others. Shepard fabricated a story which proved his Black Legion was founded in Boston, Massachusetts during that city's famous "tea party" and had his myth incorporated into Black Legion lore.

Shepard's idea of giving his organization authenticity was earlier used to give credibility to William Simmons' version of the Ku Klux Klan in 1914. Simmons succeeded in convincing members of his Klan that they were joining the

original Klan. Once people believed Simmons' version was authentic, he had the freedom to create agendas and goals that best suited his personal needs and desires.

The fundamental beliefs of the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Legion were based upon self-fulfilling illusions created in the minds of its leaders. If both organizations had similar beliefs, why did the Klan continue to flourish throughout the twentieth century while the Black Legion faded into obscurity in only fourteen years?

The Klan has been, and continues to be, more than a hate organization; it doubles as a social club for its membership. Whether it was a picnic after church on Sunday or a group effort to help the Anti-Saloon League during prohibition, the Klan has always been a vocal, demonstrative "tight knit" group that fought for what it believed were patriotic causes. It firmly believed that God was on its side, as well as the Constitution of the United States. How could it lose if it represented God, country, and good fellowship with other Klansmen and their families?

The Black Legion, under the leadership of Virgil Effinger, was ruled by terror, and its members trusted no one. They spoke to no one outside of their mini-groups about Black Legion business. Most Legionnaires had no idea what was expected of them, although they lived in fear that some day something terrible would eventually happen to themselves or their families. The only social life

exhibited by the Black Legion was at a corner table in a smoke-filled beer garden. If any member spoke out about the Black Legion in any fashion, they would be disciplined with a whip, or worse. In short, the Black Legion growth was created with threats of violence under the guise of various patriotic causes. It crumbled when members of its inner core went too far. They committed crime after crime, with each atrocity seeming worse than the last. No one was willing to speak out and try to stop the madness until Dayton Dean testified in 1936. This testimony opened the door that ultimately led to the arrests of dozens of men which resulted in the collapse of the Black Legion.

By 1938 the Black Legion was dead, but for a six-year period it had temporarily created a euphoric "power high" among its inner core of chronic underachievers. The fearful secrecy that had enveloped the majority of its members remained throughout their lives. To this day, past members of the Black Legion remain unwilling to share information about any aspect of that organization.

It has been said that every human life has a cross to bear. Assuming this is true, it is quite possible that Legionnaires have silently carried their crosses of fear, guilt, and embarrassment to their graves.

Appendix A

The following is the complete text of the initiation ritual for the Black Legion. The preliminary questioning and oath was performed by the regimental Adjutant of the Black Legion.

Are you a native-born, white, Protestant, gentile, American citizen?

Do you understand that the organization you are about to join is strictly secret and military in character?

Are you willing to joint [sic] an organization that is classed by our enemies as being an outlaw organization?

* * * * *

I (here the recruit give his name), hereby on my sacred honor before these Black Knights do promise and swear that I will never reveal any part or portion whatsoever of the ceremonies I have already received, or that which is about to be communicated to me, or that in which I may be instructed, to a single person in the whole world, except that he be a well known member of this organization, I being absolutely certain that he is in good standing with his superior officers.

I further promise and swear that should I fail in the requirements and tests of this organization and be rejected, I will never reveal the name or identity of any one I may have recognized, nor a single word I have heard to a living person.

If I should fail in the keeping of this, my oath, may the fearful punishment of the Black Knights be meted out to me. The punishment is Death.

Further questioning of the Colonel follows:

What is your name?

Where do you live?

How old are you?

What is your occupation?

Are you honestly a Protestant?

What church do you believe in or attend?

Do you believe in a Supreme Being, a future reward and punishment?

Can you ride a horse, drive a car, and shoot a rifle?

Do you drink?

Will you accept for your roof, the Sky; your bed, the earth, and your reward death?

To what secret societies do you now belong, or have belonged in the past?

Will you put this organization above any to which you now belong, have belonged, or ever hope to? THIS ORGANIZATION MUST COME FIRST.

To what political party do you belong?

Would you be willing to forget your party and vote for the best man, regardless of what party he belongs to, if ordered to do so by your superior officer in this organization?

Are you willing to take an order and go to your death, if necessary, to carry it out?

Do you believe in white supremacy, and that no negro should have authority over a white man?

Do you believe in intermingling and intermarriage between the black and white races?

Do you believe in restricted immigration and the deportation of all undesirable aliens?

Do you believe in the separation of church and state?

Would you oppose by ballot, and if necessary by bearing arms, any attempt to place any portion of the public tax money in the hands of the Roman Catholic Church for use in their buildings and upkeep of their institutions?

If it should become necessary to lie to protect a member of this organization, would you do so if ordered to by your superior officer?

Can you keep a secret?

Three questions are asked by the
Lieutenant-Colonel:

After a term of service in this organization you may be required to perform some service on a higher plane than ordinary routine night riding. This would require a blood pact.

Would you be willing to sign your own name in your own blood?

What is your attitude toward the lynch law?

Are you properly armed? Do you own a revolver, rifle or shot gun? If not, will you arm yourself as soon as possible?

The chaplain speaks the following:

The purpose of war is to kill. God himself made it honorable in defense of principle, for did He not cast Lucifer out of heaven and relegate rebellious angels to the shades of hell?

The love of life can be measured under two conditions. One is when our surroundings are happy and our attachments numerous. The other is when our liberties have been subjugated, peace destroyed, and everything we hold dear torn from us, until we realize that contentment, love and hope have forever vanished.

We fight that the former condition may be regained, and we fight because the latter condition leaves us no occupation.

You have already signified a desire to cast your fortunes with us. By doing so, remember that our purpose is to tear down, lay waste, despoil, and kill our enemies.

Mercy belongs to sycophants and emasculated soldiers. It has no place in a fighter's outfit. To us it is a vision repugnant to our obligations and practices.

We recognize but one power to separate us in the hour of peril and to succor one to another at all hazards. We have pledged ourselves most sacredly and are bound by ties much

stronger than honor can impose.

Kneeling, then, with drawn guns at their backs, the recruits repeat after the Colonel the following obligation:

In the name of God and the devil, one to reward and the other to punish, and by the power of light and darkness, good and evil, here under the black arch of heaven's avenging symbol I pledge and consecrate my heart, my brain, my body and limbs, and swear by all the powers of heaven and hell, to devote my life to the obedience of my superiors, and that no danger of peril shall deter me from executing their orders; that I will exert every possible means in my power for the extermination of the anarchist, Communist, the Roman heierarchy and their abettors.

I swear I will die fighting those whose serpent trail has winnowed the fair fields of our allies and sympathizers.

I will show no mercy, but strike with an avenging arm as long as breath remains.

I further pledge my heart, my brain, my body and my limbs, never to betray a comrade; and that I will submit to all the tortures mankind can inflict and suffer the most horrible death, rather than reveal a single word of this, my oath. Before violating a single clause or implied pledge of this, my obligation, I will pray to an avenging God and an unmerciful devil to tear my heart out and roast it over the flames of sulphur; that my head be split open and my brains scattered over the earth that my body be ripped up, my bowels be torn out and fed to carrion birds; that each of my limbs be broken with stones and then cut off by inches that they may be food for the foulest birds of the air; and lastly, may my soul be submerged in molten metal and stifled in the flames of hell, and that this punishment may be meted out to me through all eternaity. In the name of God, our Creator. Amen.

Thereupon, the Colonel delivers the following

lecture to the new recruits:

This is the Black Legion!

The oath you have just received is the Black oath of Quantrell, [sic] the famous guerilla leader who fought the Union forces throughout Kansas and Missouri during the Civil War.

The oath, however, has been changed slightly to conform with present-day conditions.

This organization which you have joined is founded upon the principles of southern chivalry. We follow in the footsteps of the guerilla bands which roved the south, fighting with whatever weapons come into their hands.

The native-born white people of America are menaced on every hand from above and below. If America is in the melting pot, the white people of America are neither the aristocratic scum on top nor the dregs of society on the bottom which is composed of anarchist and Communist and all cults and creeds believing in social equality.

Our ancestors won this land from the savages and paid for it with their blood. At the present time neither of the two greater political parties stand for laws and principles that the founders of this country intended us to enjoy. The Republican stand for the rich while the Democrats seem to be in the grasp of the Pope in Rome.

We fight as guerillas, using any weapon that comes to our hands, preferably the ballot.

We regard as enemies to ourselves and our country all aliens, Negroes, Jews and cults and creeds believing in racial equality or owing allegiance to any foreign potentate. These we will fight without fear or favor as long as one foe of American liberty is left alive.

Appendix B

Black Legion members and their occupations according to a grand jury investigation in Oakland county, August 31, 1936.

State Officers

Joseph A. Long, State Representative, 2nd District; Gordon C. MacDougall, Manager, and Arthur L. Smith, Clerk, Pontiac Branch, Liquor Control Commission; Lee O. Brooks, Liquor Inspector; Charles W. Cole, Manager Sales Tax Division; Lawrence Frank Sebastian, Chief Engineer and Ernest Le Seuer, Assistant Engineer, Pontiac State Hospital, and the following employees of the Pontiac State Hospital: Robert McCrindle, George V. Hilliker, George Ziegler, Howard Boatright, Norval Arnold, Leo F. Stimson, Lora M. Demaree, William Church, Willaiam H. Kilgore, Emery Meredith, Frank T. Badger, Lee Miller, Orben D. Wilkinson, Kenneth W. Young, Winton K. Roblin, Emil F. Mailham, Levi Buck, Henry Kaufman, Herman Vincent, Louis Poppy, David S. Duvall, Harold Mark Terry, Norman R. Storkel, Harold McLaren, Herbert Hanser, Henry C. Whitaker, and Oswald See, Supervisor and Archie Gillis, Assistant Supervisor.

County Officers

David C. Pence, Prosecuting Attorney; Milo D. McLintock, and Donald C. Porrit, Assistant Prosecuting Attorneys; Deputy Sheriffs: Albert E. Ekstrom, Walter P. Arnold, Laird M. Spencer, Wiley Coe, Fred J. McFarland, Orin Leitner; former Deputy Sheriffs: George Hoyt and Blaine Jones; Drain Commissioner, Earl L. Clark.

Appendix B (continued)

Pontiac City Officers

George C. Johnston, City Treasurer; Burton P. Daugherty, Trial Board; Fred H. Scheid, and W. Ray Ransom, Assessors, William A. Ewart, Director of Law; Charles McMillan, Chief of Police; Members of the Police Department: Floyd Calvert and Walter Pierce, Sergeants; William Little, Sherry Mapley, and Ferdinand Snyder, Detectives; Stuart Greer, Harry Engleby, Dave Gilpin, Clarence Curtis, Henry Hoyt, Wm. B. Swales, Burke Teel, and Garth Teel, Patrolmen; Harry J. Brown, Janitor, and Floyd Sisco, Painter; Members of the Fire Department: William H. Bradburn, Captain, and the following firemen: Max Wells, Vernal Lloyd, Clarence Crumb, and Elmer Fangboner; Neil G. Brackstone, Airport Manager; Fred Toles, Foreman, Lake Street Yards; Alton Goll, City Electrician; Claude Clark, Electrical Department, and Lawrence Colbeth, laborer, Sewage Department.

Royal Oak Police Department

Alfred L. Renolds, Chief of Police; Joseph M. Parker, Sergeant; Cyril James Stroh, former Patrolman; Thomas V. Dawkins, Thomas Kelley, Floyd J. Smith, Joseph Linville, and David Wyatt, Patrolman.

Appendix C

EVERYTHING TO GAIN

-For-

Home - School - Good Citizenship

The Future Of Your Children

This letter is sent you with the understanding that you are a White American Citizen and are interested in the future of Our American Children. Read this letter carefully and follow the instructions contained herein.

DO YOU KNOW THAT YOUR BOY OR GIRL WHO ATTEND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS ARE COMPELLED:

1. To sit with Negroes in school.
2. To eat with Negroes in the school restraurants [sic].
3. To take swimming lessons in the same pool at the same time.
4. To play with the Negro on the school play ground.
5. To associate with the Negro in all phases of school life.
6. That They Are Permitted To Attend School Parties And Encouraged To Dance Together.
7. That there are many NEGRO TEACHERS TEACHING WHITE CHILDREN in the schools.
8. That Negro groups have demanded of the school boards to be given more representation in the schools by placing Negro teachers over white classes.
9. That Negro students have attacked white children and teachers in the schools and that those cases are kept quiet by the school principals because it would jeopardise their position.
10. That there are police records of criminal attacks by Negroes.

Your boy or girl grows up in this atmosphere is being taught to disregard racial lines. Eventually they will intermarry with the Negro. DO YOU WANT THIS TO HAPPEN IN YOUR FAMILY? IF NOT, HELP THIS MOVE TO SEGREGATE THE NEGROES AND THE WHITES IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

INSTRUCTIONS

Make five copies of this letter and mail them to friends who you know will do something about the above condition. Then get a committee of your neighbors and call on school principals and school board members and raise so much fuss that they will take some action on this matter.

Bring this subject up in your clubs, lodges, places of employment, etc.

DO NOT SIGN YOUR NAME ON ANY OF THESE LETTERS

PS. IN THE CITY OF DETROIT, BEGINNING WITH THE WEEK OF MAY 27, THERE WILL BE 1100 NEGRO FAMILIES MOVED OUT OF THE SLUM AREA TO ANY AND EVERY PLACE THEY CAN TO MOVE THEM. IS THERE A VACANT HOUSE IN YOUR BLOCK?

Endnotes

Chapter One

1. Wyn Wade, The Fiery Cross, the Ku Klux Klan in America (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 32.
2. Wade, 33.
3. John Hope Franklin, Reconstruction: After the Civil War (Chicago: The University Press of Chicago, 1961), 154.
4. Wyn Wade, The Fiery Cross, the Ku Klux Klan in America (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 34-35.
5. James A. Henretta, America's History Since 1865 (Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1987), 482-484.
6. John Hope Franklin, Reconstruction: After the Civil War (Chicago: The University Press of Chicago, 1961), 48-49.
7. James A. Henretta, America's History Since 1865 (Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1987), 605.

Chapter Two

1. Kenneth Jackson, Ku Klux Klan in the City 1915-1930 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 4.
2. Thomas Dixon Jr., The Clansman (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1970), xii.
3. Wyn Wade, The Fiery Cross, the Ku Klux Klan in America (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 126.
4. "Masked Klansman in Brooklyn Pulpit Defies Police Ban," New York Times, 11 December 1922, p.1.

"Klansman Visit Church," New York Times, 17 September 1923, p.18.
5. Wyn Wade, The Fiery Cross, the Ku Klux Klan in America (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 141.
6. Kenneth Jackson, Ku Klux Klan in the City 1915-1930 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 9.
7. "Masked Klansman in Brooklyn Pulpit Defies Police Ban," New York Times, 11 December 1922, p.1.

"Klansman Visit Church," New York Times, 17 September 1923, p.18.
8. "Ku Klux 'Empress' Comes Here To Shop," New York Times, 11 September 1921, p.22.
9. "20,000 At Jubilee of Klan Near Islip," New York Times, 24 September 1923, p.4.
10. "Klan Candidate Carries Oregon," New York Times, 8 November 1922, p.3.

11. "Klansman Parade in Harding Tribute," New York Times, 8 August 1923, p.2.

It is rather ironic that President Harding had support from the KKK because he was the first president to support anti-lynching legislation and actively sought more blacks into government positions.

12. Wyn Wade, The Fiery Cross, the Ku Klux Klan in America (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 215.
13. Wade, 245.

Chapter Three

1. Peter H. Amann, "Vigilante Fascism: The Black Legion as an American Hybrid", vol. 25 of Comparative Study of Society and History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 493.
2. Amman, 493. Unpublished papers on the Black Legion will be noted throughout this thesis. Part of this note was taken from a collection compiled by Maurice Sugar. Sugar was a left-wing labor lawyer who was a victim of Black Legion harassment and nearly assassinated. He had intended to write a history of the Black Legion. (Sugar Papers, Box 18, Folder 1, p.9. Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan) (cited hereafter as Sugar Papers)
3. Peter H. Amann, Vigilante Fascism: The Black Legion as an American Hybrid", vol.25 of Comparative Study of Society and History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 494. George "Shotgun" Shepard was one of Colonel William Clarke Quantrill's lieutenants in the Confederate guerilla warfare in Kansas and Missouri. After the Civil War, he joined the James and Younger brothers (who were also Quantrill veterans) as a bankrobber. After serving several years in the Kentucky State penitentiary he rejoined the Younger brothers in Texas in 1872.
4. Sugar Papers, Box 18, Folder 4.
5. Peter H. Amann, "Vigilante Fascism: The Black Legion as an American Hybrid", vol.25 of Comparative Study of Society and History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 497.
"Inquiry Shows Potential Peril," Detroit Free Press, 14 June 1936, p.2:1.
6. State of Michigan, Circuit Court for the County of Oakland, Report of the Black Legion Activities in Oakland County, was published to disclose the findings of the one man grand jury, George B. Hartrick, Circuit Judge, September 1936, p.7.

7. Albert E. Kahn, High Treason, The Plot Against The People (New York: Lear Publishers, 1950), 204.
8. Sugar Papers, Box 18, Folder 4.
9. "A Sucker Buying the Beer the Start of Black Legion," Detroit News, 16 June 1936, p.17.
10. Sugar Papers, Box 18, Folder 4.
11. Peter H. Amann, "Vigilante Fascism: The Black Legion as an American Hybrid", vol. 25 of Comparative Study of Society and History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 502.
12. Amann, 504.
13. Sugar Papers, Box 18, Folder 4. There seems to be some discrepancy over the number in a Black Legion squad. Dayton Dean bragged of a squad containing five men while evidence supports only four men were needed to make a Black Legion squad.
14. Peter H. Amann, "Vigilante Fascism: The Black Legion as an American Hybrid", vol.25 of Comparative Study of Society and History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 504, 505.
15. Sugar Papers, Box 18, Folder 1.
16. "State Cult Boss Makes Speech," Detroit Free Press, 26 May 1936, p.2.
17. Peter H. Amann, "Vigilante Fascism: The Black Legion as an American Hybrid", vol.25 of Comparative Study of Society and History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 506,507.
18. "Ask U.S. Aid in Black Legion Cleanup," Detroit News, 5 May 1936, p.1.
19. "Vigilantes Death Vow Revealed," Detroit News, 25 May 1936, p.1.

20. Peter H. Amann, "Vigilante Fascism: The Black Legion as an American Hybrid", vol.25 of Comparative Study of Society and History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 497.
21. Amann, 517-518.
22. "Lash Victim Tell Of Vigilante Terror," Detroit News, 27 May 1936, p.1,2.
23. Unpublished Paper on the Black Legion written by Kenneth B. West Ph.D. of the University of Michigan-Flint, Flint, Michigan, titled "Terror In The Thirties: The Black Legion and the UAW", p.7. (cited hereafter as "Terror In The Thirties: The Black Legion and the UAW")
24. Sugar Papers, Box 18, Folder 1. "Activities in Labor Unions"
25. Sugar Papers, Box 18, Folder 3. p.6. "Report of Black Legion Activities in Ohio"
26. Sugar Papers, Box 18, Folder 1. p.40, 43, 44. "Activities in Labor Unions"
27. Albert E. Kahn, High Treason, The Plot Against The People (New York: Lear Publishers, 1950), 184.
28. "Torch Squad Used By Black Legion," New York Times, 11 June 1936, p.3:4.
29. Peter H. Amann, "Vigilante Fascism: The Black Legion as an American Hybrid", vol.25 of Comparative Study of Society and History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 505.
Also unpublished papers on the Black Legion were collected by Peter H. Amann Ph.D.. This note referred to a Federal Bureau of Investigation memorandum found in the Amann Collection, Box 1, Folder 5, and can be found at the Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan.

30. "Terror In The Thirties: The Black Legion and the UAW", p.7.
31. Albert E. Kahn, High Treason, The Plot Against The People (New York: Lear Publishers, 1950), 207. The Sugar Papers, Box 18, Folder 5, contained a pamphlet titled "Stamp Out The Black Legion" that was published (circa 1936) by the Farm-Labor Party of Wayne County, Michigan.
32. "Five Confess Cult Burning," Detroit Free Press, 27 June 1936, p.9.
33. "Lincoln Park's Council Hears Attack on Cult," Detroit Free Press, 16 June 1936, p.2.
34. "Pneumonia Hits Reputed Leader of Black Legion," Pontiac Press, 15 December 1936, p.1.
35. State of Michigan, Circuit Court for the County of Oakland, Report of the Black Legion Activities in Oakland County, September 1936, p.7.
36. "Razzing Over Black Legion Is Blamed For Tragedy This Noon," Pontiac Press, 4 December 1936, p.1.
37. "Suspect Sent To Prison," Flint Journal, 6 October 1936, p.1. "Legal Rights Not Involved," Flint Journal, 29 September 1936, p.8.
38. "Continue Black Legion Inquiry," Flint Journal, 2 September 1936, p.1. Amann Papers, Box 1, Folder 7, contained correspondence between the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the editor of the Flint Journal.
39. "Terror In The Thirties: The Black Legion and the UAW", p.5.
40. "Name Hooded Officers Of Auxiliary Unit," Detroit Times, 28 May 1936, p.2. Sugar Papers, Box 18, Folder 1.
41. "Mrs. Dean Exposes Inside Story Of Black Legion," Detroit Times, 2 June 1936, p.8.

Chapter Four

1. "Killer Suspects Silent In Jail Interview," Detroit Times, 22 May 1936, p.2.
2. "Kin of Cultists Stand By Them," Detroit Free Press, 29 May 1936, p.3.
3. Charles T. Haun, "Night Terror: The Case of the Black Legion-1936," Detroit Murders (Detroit: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, Inc., 1948), 173.
4. "Describes Her Initiation Into Mystery Cult," Detroit Times, 3 June 1936, p.10.
5. "Mrs. Dean Exposes Inside Story Of Black Legion," Detroit Times, 2 June 1936, p.8.
6. Peter H. Amann, "Vigilante Fascism: The Black Legion as an American Hybrid", vol.25. Comparative Study of Society and History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 518.
"Cult's Lashing of Dean After 'Trial' Bared," Detroit Times, 3 June 1936, p.3.
7. Sugar Papers, Box 18, Folder 1.
8. Charles T. Haun, "Night Terror: The Case of the Black Legion-1936," Detroit Murders (Detroit: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, Inc., 1948), 161.
9. Haun, 163.
10. "Here Black Legionnaires Planned Raid," Detroit Times, 3 June 1936, p.10.
11. Charles T. Haun, "Night Terror: The Case of the Black Legion-1936," Detroit Murders (Detroit: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, Inc., 1948), 162, 163.
12. "Dean Enters Guilty Plea In Death Cult Death," Flint News-Advertiser, 30 June 1936, p. 1.

13. "Forced To Take Orders, He Charges," Detroit Times, 3 June 1936, p.1.
14. "Mrs. Dean Tells Of Black Legion Death Squad," Detroit Times, 3 June 1936, p.10.
15. "Davis Call Dean Lunatic, Denies He Ordered Killing," Detroit News, 4 June 1936, p.50.
16. "Claim Poole Murdered By Black Legion For Kicking Wife," Detroit Times, 22 May 1936, p.3.
17. "Detectives Find Clue In Shooting," Detroit News, 1 June 1936, p.1,4.
Sugar Papers, Box 18, Folder 1.
18. Albert E. Kahn, High Treason, The Plot Against The People (New York: Lear Publishers, 1950), 208.
19. "Dean Details Death Party," Detroit News, 26 November 1936, p.16.
20. "Five Killers Get Life Terms," Detroit News, 4 December 1936, p.57.
21. "Dean Details Death Party," Detroit News, 26 November 1936, p.16.
22. "Davis and Four Found Guilty," Detroit News, 29 November 1936, p.1.
23. Sugar Papers, Box 18, Folder 1.
24. "Cult Plot to Kill Voisine Bared," Detroit Free Press, 12 June 1936, p.3.
Peter H. Amann, "Vigilante Fascism: The Black Legion as an American Hybrid", vol.25. Comparative Study of Society and History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 520.
25. "Hired as Killer Cultist Asserts," Detroit Free Press, 24 October 1936, p.1,12.

26. "Oakland Prosecutor Admits Former Legion Membership," Detroit News, 28 May 1936, p.1.
27. "May Oust Prosecutor In Cult Trial," Detroit Times, 27 May 1936, p.4.
"Federal Aid Asked On 15-State Inquiry Into Black Legion," New York Times, 28 May 1936, p.12.
28. "Brucker Says He'll Sue Hook Over Black Legion Accusation," Detroit News, 9 October 1936, p.17.
"Killing Laid To Vigilantes," Detroit News, 22 May 1936, p.5.
29. "Ohio Senators Balk At Probe," Detroit Free Press, 29 May 1936, p.3.
30. "Hooded by Night, City Aides by Day," Detroit Times, 25 May 1936, p.5.
31. "Killing Laid To Vigilantes," Detroit News, 22 May 1936, p.5.
32. "Many Deaths Laid To 'Black Legion'; Klan link charged," New York Times, 24 May 1936, p.1.
"Black Knights in Flint," Flint Journal, 24 May 1936, p.1.
33. Sugar Paper, Box 18, Folder 1.
34. Peter H. Amann, "Vigilante Fascism: The Black Legion as an American Hybrid", vol.25. Comparative Study of Society and History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 512.
Sugar Papers, Box 18, Folder 1, "Organizational Violence", p.28.
35. Sugar Papers, Box 18, Folder 1.
36. Sugar Papers, Box 18, Folder 1, "Organizational Violence", p.25, 26, 27.
37. "Bares Husband's Fright at Priest's Defiance," Detroit Times, 5 June 1936, p.6.

38. Syndicalism advocates the seizure of the means of production by organizations of workers through direct measures, such as the general strike and sabotage. Syndicalism was popular during the first quarter of the twentieth century, especially in Europe. Many members of the Industrial Workers of the World advocated the principles of syndicalism in the United States.
39. "Black Legion Cases Dropped," New York Times, 19 May 1939, p.11.
40. "Black Legion Head Surrenders in Ohio," New York Times, 4 December 1937, p.6.
41. "Dean Story Denied By Effinger," Detroit Times, 15 August 1936, p.1.
42. Peter H. Amann, "Vigilante Fascism: The Black Legion as an American Hybrid", vol.25. Comparative Study of Society and History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 503.
"Terror In The Thirties: The Black Legion and the UAW", p.4.
43. Sugar Papers, Box 18, "New Discoveries About The Anti-Plots of the Black Legion" Written by P. Honor.
44. Peter H. Amann, "Vigilante Fascism: The Black Legion as an American Hybrid", vol.25. Comparative Study of Society and History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 521.
45. Virgil F. Effinger's burial record was obtained from Memorial Park Cemetery in Lima, Ohio. Effinger's body was transported from the State Hospital in Toledo, Ohio to Lima, Ohio for burial.
46. Peter H. Amann, "Vigilante Fascism: The Black Legion as an American Hybrid", vol.25. Comparative Study of Society and History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 500.
47. "Black Legion Killer Dean Dies in Prison," Detroit News, 19 January 1960, p.1.

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"Dean Details Death Party." Detroit News, 26 November 1936, p.16.

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