

**Pensacola's Ku Klux Klan and T.T. Wentworth Jr.  
A Preliminary Report**

July 8, 2021

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This report is based on currently available and accessible evidence about the 1920s Pensacola chapter of the Ku Klux Klan. The surviving documentary record, primarily contained in the T.T. Wentworth Jr. Collection at the UWF Historic Trust, has been contextualized and analyzed via the most current peer-reviewed scholarship on the Second Ku Klux Klan. I hope this report results in additional documents, memories, and other historical evidence coming to light. Such evidence will undoubtedly add to our understanding of this period of Pensacola's past, and I look forward to updating the findings of this preliminary report in light of any new evidence.

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## I: THE PROJECT

### Background

On July 12, 2020, as the Pensacola City Council prepared to decide on a proposal to remove the city's Confederate monument, Tom Garner, a well-known local historian and UWF Research Assistant, sent a nine-page letter to the Pensacola City Council advocating for the removal of the monument from what was then called Lee Square (Appendix A). This letter, which quickly spread via social media before being published by the community's daily and weekly newspapers, included an account of Pensacola's post-Civil War history that emphasized the role played by white supremacists and local historians in erasing Black history from the city's physical landscape and historical archives.<sup>1</sup> Local commentators focused on Garner's statement that T.T. Wentworth Jr. had been a leader of the Pensacola Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s.<sup>2</sup> Based on documents that had been recently acquired by the UWF Historic Trust Archives from the Wentworth family, this claim garnered much attention despite being an open secret.<sup>3</sup> Wentworth had been a highly regarded local historian, collector, and philanthropist. He also was the namesake of the T.T. Wentworth Jr. Florida State Museum operated by the UWF Historic Trust.

The UWF Historic Trust responded the next day with the following statement: "The Trust is actively investigating the appropriate process and approvals required to rename the T.T. Wentworth Jr. Florida State Museum. The museum was named in 1988 by Florida Gov. Bob Martinez. The Trust acquired the museum in 2001, when the Trust became a direct support organization of the University of West Florida. UWF Historic Trust strongly condemns racism and hate and is firmly committed to an accurate and inclusive interpretation of Northwest Florida's history."<sup>4</sup> In addition to investigating the renaming process, the UWF Historic Trust began cataloguing the recently acquired Klan-related documents referenced in Garner's letter

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<sup>1</sup> [Studio 850 Facebook Post, July 12, 2020](#); [Tom Garner, "Who Becomes the 'Keeper of History?'" Garner's Full Letter to City Council,](#) *Pensacola News Journal*, July 14, 2020; [Rick Outzen, "T.T. Wentworth: Exalted Cyclops of KKK,"](#) *Rick's Blog*, July 13, 2020.

<sup>2</sup> [Jim Little, "T.T. Wentworth was KKK Leader in 1920s,"](#) *Pensacola News Journal*, July 13, 2020.

<sup>3</sup> [C. Scott Satterwhite, "Who Gets to Tell the Story? Mister History and the Invisible Empire,"](#) *InWeekly*, July 23, 2020.

<sup>4</sup> [Rick Outzen, "UWF Looking into Renaming Wentworth Museum,"](#) *Rick's Blog*, July 13, 2020. The administrative history of the UWF Historic Trust is complex, for overview see: [Brosnaham, "From Red-Light District to the National Register."](#) Discussion of a "T.T. Wentworth State Museum" became public as early as 1984, see: [Lucius F. Ellsworth, "View From Campus,"](#) *Pensacola News-Journal*, March 4, 1984.

and partnered with Dr. Jamin Wells and the UWF Digital Humanities Lab to scan the documents and make them publicly available online.<sup>5</sup>

## **Process**

On August 5, 2020, Dr. Wells submitted two proposals to digitize the UWF Historic Trust's Ku Klux Klan Material (Appendix B). Five days later, Howard Reddy, Vice President for University Advancement and CEO of the UWF Historic Trust, approved the more robust scope-of-work option, which included (1) digitizing and making publicly accessible KKK-related documents in the Trust's collection; (2) completing a resurvey of the Trust's archives for additional KKK-related material; (3) identifying and engaging stakeholders to coordinate a collaborative community engagement program; and (4) producing scholarly products based on the Klan documents. On February 15, 2021, the completion of this public report was added as a project deliverable.

Project planning began immediately, focusing on identifying stakeholders and forming a community advisory group. The first stakeholder meeting, originally scheduled for September 24, 2020, was postponed to October 22 because of the impacts of Hurricane Sally. Due to Covid precautions, this initial three-hour meeting was held remotely and included honest, frank discussions about history and public engagement related to the Ku Klux Klan and Pensacola. The initial group of seven, which included Tom Garner and other local historians as well as representatives of the Wentworth family, the UWF Historic Trust, and other local historical groups, agreed to form and serve on a community advisory group for this project. They also agreed to identify and seek input from additional stakeholders. Five additional members have joined the group since that first meeting. Every member of the advisory group has graciously contributed their knowledge, time, and expertise to supporting this project's research and dissemination efforts. Additional advisory group meetings were held on March 19, May 21, and June 18, 2021 to discuss the KKK documents, research findings, and ways to evaluate and share this history and its legacies. The group remains at work and will be facilitating a community engagement effort in the near future.

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<sup>5</sup> [Satterwhite, "Who Gets to Tell the Story?"; Jim Little, "T.T. Wentworth KKK Documents Reveal Untold Resistance to Klan in 1920s Pensacola," \*Pensacola New Journal\*, July 23, 2020.](#)

The digitization component of the project began in January 2021 at the UWF Historic Trust Archives. After a week of training at the UWF Archives and West Florida History Center, the two student digitizers began the arduous task of scanning and uploading documents and photographs from the collection pertaining to the 1920s Pensacola Ku Klux Klan. They completed digitizing the documents in late-March before moving on to quality control checks and stabilizing the physical documents for long-term preservation. Additional members of the project team completed contextual research and oversaw project management.

On January 11, 2021, Dr. Wells began the targeted resurvey of the T.T. Wentworth Jr. Collection. He began by examining the most recent Wentworth donation, which contained the cache of approximately 200 KKK-related documents referenced in Garner's letter to the city council. This collection of 79 boxes, donated by the estate of Helen Wentworth, T.T. Wentworth's daughter-in-law, became part of the UWF Historic Trust collection on November 19, 2019.<sup>6</sup> This resurvey identified more than a dozen additional KKK-related documents. The resurvey then targeted the larger archive, which dated back to the 1980s. A targeted search of the archive's database, as well as relevant subject and photograph folders, revealed additional items related to the 1920s Pensacola KKK. Accession records for all items identified via the archive's collections database were examined to ascertain what Klan documents were donated, when, and by whom (see Appendix C and D). Because the entire Wentworth collection is not catalogued and given the idiosyncratic nature of the archive's cataloguing practice, Dr. Wells examined an additional 150 boxes of material which had been donated by T.T. Wentworth, Jr. and his heirs over the past 38 years. This search identified several additional 1920s KKK-related documents.

A total of 265 documents related to the 1920s Pensacola KKK were identified in the five-month targeted resurvey of the UWF Historic Trust Archive. Additional documents related to the 1920s Klan may not have been located in this targeted resurvey and more may be identified when the collection is fully processed. With the exception of published Klan documents, all 232 documents and photographs related to the 1920s KKK that have been identified in the Historic Trust's Archive have been digitized and are available via the [UWF Digital Archive](#). The complete list of digitized items is in Appendix C. Published documents, such as Klan magazines and manuals, were not digitized. A complete list of these non-digitized items can be found in Appendix D.

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<sup>6</sup> Deed of Gift for collection 2016.035, 5 November 2019, Accession Records, UWF Historic Trust Archive.

The 1920s KKK-related items in the UWF Historic Trust include:

- **Klavern Ledger (ca. 1922-1925):** This 7¾” by 13” ledger book documents membership and activities of Pensacola’s Ku Klux Klan between 1922 and 1925. It includes a chronological list documenting payment of initiation fees, membership dues, special assessments, and the purchase of robes between October 1922 and December 1924. The ledger also includes financial information for the 1923-1924 fiscal year, meeting minutes for February to June 1925, an undated list of 487 members and their assigned robe number, as well as several miscellaneous lists. Every page of this handwritten, disorganized ledger, including the front and rear covers, has been scanned. Pages 108-118 were previously removed from the ledger. The back cover includes the title: “T.T. Wentworth Jr., Bicycles Sporting Goods” and it appears the ledger was maintained by T.T. Wentworth Jr. in his capacity as the Pensacola Klavern’s Kligrapp (secretary).
- **Correspondence:** The majority of the digitized collection consists of various letters, postcards, and other correspondence. This correspondence dates from 1924 to 1941. The bulk of correspondence dates to 1926-1927, which is likely due to a September 1926 order from I.E. Phillips, Grand Dragon (leader) of the Florida Klan, for klaverns to retain copies of all correspondence sent to/from the state office.<sup>7</sup> The majority of correspondence sent from the Pensacola Klan is on letterhead for T.T. Wentworth Jr.’s bicycle and hardware business. Some correspondence is signed by Wentworth, others are signed “Exalted Cyclops” or “E.C.,” the leadership position Wentworth held in the Pensacola Klan during this time. Contextual evidence suggests the vast majority of these letters were either written to or by Wentworth. Exceptions are clearly noted in the document metadata. Additional correspondence includes postcards and official Klan announcements.
- **Photographs:** Five photographs are part of the digitized collection. Two depict Klansmen taking part in funeral services in unidentified cemeteries and likely date

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<sup>7</sup> [Correspondence from I.E. Phillips to Every Exalted Cyclops and Kligrapp in Province #1, 28 September 1926, 2016.035.0356, T.T. Wentworth Jr. Collection, UWF Historic Trust Archives, Pensacola, Florida \[hereafter TTW Collection\].](#)

from 1924-1927. Two depict public initiations and likely date from 1923-1927. A final photograph depicting a Klan cross burning, dated November 15, 1958, is also included to represent photographs and other archival material held by the UWF Historic Trust Archives related to the post-World War II Ku Klux Klan.<sup>8</sup>

- **Miscellaneous:** The digitized collection includes a variety of other types of documents, including broadsides; a case file of a Klan internal judicial proceeding; ballots on the expulsion of a Klansman; newspaper clippings; receipts; and membership cards.
- **Material culture:** The UWF Historic Trust Archives contains an extensive collection of physical objects related to the 1920s Ku Klux Klan, including 32 Klan robes, 37 Klan hoods, and 119 miscellaneous objects. Miscellaneous objects include multiple crosses and American flags that were recovered alongside Klan robes as well as dozens of patches and other costume paraphernalia. These three-dimensional objects were not scanned and were not part of the digitization effort. A list of these objects is included in Appendix F.

Three essential questions guided the project's research agenda: (1) What was the history of the Pensacola Ku Klux Klan during the 1920s? (2) What was T.T. Wentworth Jr.'s role in the Ku Klux Klan? (3) What are the legacies and lasting impacts of this history? Research began with an intensive review of existing scholarship, as well as archival research at the UWF Archives and West Florida History Center, UWF Historic Trust Archives, and Escambia County Clerk's Office, as well as extensive use of digital sources, including historic newspapers, city directories, and multiple federal, state, and local government sources. Due to Covid-19 travel and operation restrictions, research inquiries were filed with the Archdiocese of Mobile archives and the State Archives of Florida. No results have come from the Archdiocese archives while the State Archives reported no relevant holdings. A select bibliography for this project is in Appendix E.

An initial draft of this report was prepared by Dr. Wells between April 13 and May 20, 2021. An advisory group meeting on May 21, 2021 included a review of recommendations as well as input on the overall structure of the report. Group members provided in-text and

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<sup>8</sup> The vast majority of documents related to the 1920s Pensacola KKK are located in boxes 67, 273, and an unnumbered box titled "KKK and Related Materials."



substantive feedback over the ensuing week. These comments were incorporated into the second draft, which was shared with the advisory group as well as other academics and community members on June 11. Taking all the provided feedback into account, Dr. Wells revised the report and presented the third and final draft to the advisory group on July 2, 2021, which they reviewed and approved digitally for public release on Thursday, July 8, 2021, the 100-year anniversary of the first public appearance by the Pensacola chapter of the Second Ku Klux Klan.

A subcommittee of the community advisory group also wrote a public statement, which the full group approved on July 2, 2021. The full text is printed below.

### **Public Statement of the Community Advisory Group**

*Since October 2020, we have had a front seat to the exploration and analysis by Dr. Jamin Wells of the Ku Klux Klan-related materials in the T.T. Wentworth, Jr. Collection. It has been a difficult but very necessary process to understand the strategies and tactics used by members of a terrorist hate group to wield social, cultural, religious, political, and economic power over others. Each of us feels the connection between T.T. Wentworth and this community, some more personally than others. We found ourselves emotionally attached to his development, rise, and influence in the Pensacola area and surrounding communities. After all, we live here, too, and although a certain emotional disassociation is needed in observing history, we could not deny that we felt the pain of the immediate and lasting effects of his work.*

*At times, we were conflicted as our emotions battled against our professional selves as researchers, historians, teachers, and archaeologists. We felt empathy at times, pity at others at the documented hate and terror that was wrought with egregious, inhumane actions. And yet, we had to keep looking and keep exploring and keep analyzing the facts before us.*

*To be sure, we did not always agree on facts, even when presented with the evidence. Our covert and overt biases reared their heads at times, and during those times, we relied on the moral compass and compassion of the other group members to challenge our thinking. Sometimes it worked; sometimes it did not. Nevertheless, we stayed with it and brought our hurt feelings along.*

*As historians, researchers, and community members, we recognize that this collection is a historic treasure. It is history about the Second Ku Klux Klan that we have not acknowledged. Members and associates of other Klan and domestic terrorist organizations destroyed everything*

*that would reveal their deeds, including documents, photos, and artifacts that would have verified their existence, thinking and work. As challenging as it was – and is – to view this collection, we had to look to hold ourselves accountable to the public and to give objective insight and constructive feedback to Dr. Wells. To be sure, while we all agreed that this information should be made public in the interest of research, history, observation, analysis, and education, we did not all agree on what to share or even how to express the content and context of the information. That is what makes this report so very critical. Our discussions were robust; our opinions and insights were diverse; and all of it was needed and necessary.*

*This collection is an example of the shame that hides our secrets and the secrets of which we are ashamed. Within our families and organizations, there resides historic collections that give insight to ways of thinking and acting during a period of time or under circumstances that no longer exist. Collections like this allow historians, researchers, educators, and the general public to see the manifestation and embodiment of a broader culture of white supremacy. These collections also allow for a more rounded viewpoint and perspective on the effects of racial bias in voting, education, religious organizations, healthcare, economic development, media, real estate, and law enforcement. It shows how individuals, organizations, institutions, and systems profited from the work of the Klan, even if they were not members of the Klan. They still held these beliefs and ideologies – some publicly, others through complicit silence. This is called being Klan-adjacent.*

*We do not ascribe the whole of racism, racist attitudes, white supremacy, and other overt and covert attitudes and actions to Wentworth or the Klan. Yet, we do believe that his work and the organization were united in leading and influencing a terrorist culture against inclusion and were very much for uplifting an environment of hate and disparity. While Wentworth did not lead all of those to the proverbial waters of hate, he did put out a welcome mat and invited all who fit into his idea of an ideal American: white, Protestant, native born men. And many came and waded in those waters, picnicked on the sands or provided a ride to the shores.*

*There are those who still have a general acceptance of these beliefs. Others are unrepentant about their past actions. These stories are important and valuable to hear. We reject the dismissive attitude that “it’s not important because it’s no longer important to me, or that it happened in the past, so let it stay there.” We believe the ripple effects of this attitude are destructive if unheard and unchallenged. We did not want our ancestors dying with unrepentant*

*sins. The reality is that some of them did. We recognize that some of us will. We have to purge ourselves of a laissez faire social and cultural attitude of whatever happens, happens and that there is nothing we can do to change the trajectory of our individual and collective history. We must lament, individually and collectively. In that lamentation, we must tell the truth. We cannot let ourselves – or our ancestors – off the hook and will not let this history be romanticized any longer. Our vision has been distorted by ourselves, organizations, institutions, and systems that have embraced hatred. It is time to clear our vision and make room for the truth.*

*There is so much more to learn. We need your help in collecting memories, stories, photos, documents, and materials to be a part of this historic journey. This report is not the final word on the Klan in this area. We need to hear from the voices of people who were affected by the Klan's attitudes and activities. There are stories that we don't know. Many in the Klan and those who were Klan-adjacent thought that they were on the right side of history and were living their truths. Many were born into this climate and have never challenged these beliefs. Others disavowed these beliefs. They need to be heard, as well. In reliving these memories and sharing these stories, some will have uncomfortable moments. This discomfort is necessary for healing and growth.*

*Our community must come to terms with the fact that we never came to terms with racism. We must address it within our families and communities. We recognize that while this is a work in progress, we can no longer put this conversation on the shelf. Systemic racism is historic fact. These findings support that and still exist today in government, politics, business, religion, media, law enforcement, healthcare, and our homes.*

*Walk with us and do not turn away. This is such an important step in the difficult and necessary journey to healing the deep wounds of racism and intolerance.*

*Community Advisory Group*

*July 2, 2021*

**A note on language.** The 1920s Ku Klux Klan created unique nomenclature to describe itself and its activities. A glossary of Klan terms and titles can be found in Appendix G. Also, the Pensacola Klan was officially chartered as Escambia Klan No. 57 in 1921. In correspondence it was alternatively referred to as Escambia Klan and Pensacola Klan. For clarity, Pensacola Klan is used throughout. Finally, this report includes extensive unedited quotations from Klan documents and contemporary accounts. In so doing, it follows the example of other Klan scholarship. This report follows the admonitions of Second Klan scholar, Nancy MacLean:

*Part of taking people seriously involves letting them speak in their own words and their own way. In quoting, therefore, I avoid using the intrusive and condescending sic to flag errors. Where the original grammar and spelling do not obscure meaning, they have been retained; where they distort, corrections are rendered in brackets.<sup>9</sup>*

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<sup>9</sup> MacLean, *Mask of Chivalry*, xvii.

## II: THE HISTORY

### A Brief History of the Second Klan

The Ku Klux Klan is the most enduring hate group in American history. It emerged in the aftermath of the Civil War as a “solution to the problem of southern white defeat.” Born in Pulaski, Tennessee in mid-1866, the KKK was one of many vigilante groups that strove to reassert white racial dominance through violence and intimidation. As local Klans emerged across the former Confederacy over the next five years, they “would together become the most widely proliferated and deadly domestic terrorist movement in the history of the United States.” Targeting Black southerners who attempted to vote, organize, and prosper, the Klan “shaped not only what they could do and where they could go but how they could walk and carry their bodies, how they could speak, and where they could look.” By 1872, the “First Klan,” as it came to be known, had all but ended, a consequence of concerted federal action and the reassertion of local power by white Democratic elites. Klan violence would never fully abate, but an organized Klan would not become a significant force again until the “Second Klan” fully emerged in the aftermath of the First World War.<sup>10</sup>

By the 1910s, many white Protestant Americans had come to admire and romanticize the Reconstruction-era Klan. Blindly partisan historians lionized the KKK as did popular fiction and dramatic productions like *The Clansman* and *The Traitor*, which played to packed houses at the Pensacola Opera House in the first decade of the twentieth century. D.W. Griffith’s 1915 film *Birth of a Nation* depicted the hooded order as righteous saviors rather than violent terrorists and became an unprecedented commercial and critical success, garnering the endorsement of then-President Woodrow Wilson.<sup>11</sup> The lynching of Jewish businessman Leo Frank, also in 1915, for the murder of a female employee, and the resulting calls for a revived Klan to reestablish white “home rule,” created fertile ground for the rebirth of the Klan. Chartered by William Joseph Simmons, a former circuit-riding Methodist preacher and a professional fraternal organizer, in Atlanta in October 1915, the Second Klan was initially envisioned as “the ultimate Southern fraternal organization.” It remained a fringe movement for five years; by 1920, the Klan had

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<sup>10</sup> For a comprehensive history of the First Klan, see: Parsons, *Ku-Klux*. Quotations: Parsons, *Ku-Klux*, 1, 6, 7.

<sup>11</sup> “Amusements,” *Pensacola News*, December 2, 1905; “Buy ‘Traitor’ Seats Early,” *Pensacola Journal*, November 1, 1908; Stokes, *D.W. Griffith’s Birth of a Nation*.

grown to roughly 2,000 total members, and the vast majority of them resided in Georgia and Alabama.<sup>12</sup>

Things changed in mid-1920, when Simmons, the self-proclaimed “Imperial Wizard” of the “Invisible Empire,” partnered with the Southern Publicity Association to grow the Klan. Using modern advertising and sales techniques, 1,100 professional salesmen, or “kleagles,” canvassed the country recruiting, or “kluxing,” dues-paying members into what modern historians call a Ponzi scheme. The collection of initiation fees and membership dues generated enormous wealth for the Klan’s national leadership. Kleagles targeted influential locals, white Protestant ministers, and fraternal organizations like the Masons and Odd Fellows. They pitched the Klan’s white supremacist, nativist, secret Protestant fraternalism as the solution to local problems, which typically included offenses such as adultery, domestic abuse, nonsupport, any violation of Prohibition, or crossing the color-line in any way. The Klan’s enforcement of locally defined morality went beyond its typical circle of hate to include not only African Americans but also Catholics, Jews, immigrants, and people deemed to be “immoral.” Membership grew rapidly across the south, accompanied by reports of Klan violence (including Pensacola). A national three-week-long exposé by the *New York World* that sparked a congressional investigation and propelled the Klan into the national spotlight. By the end of 1921, the Second Klan was a national phenomenon. Membership peaked in late 1924-1925 at several million members (contemporary and historical accounts vary widely) before experiencing a precipitous decline. Internal rivalries, moral scandals, and corruption repelled Klansmen as did the passage of federal immigration restriction and anti-miscegenation laws. “Ultimately,” concludes one historian, “most Americans in the 1920s found the Klan incompatible with order, civility, and improvement in a pluralistic democracy.” By 1930, membership dropped to as few as 37,000.<sup>13</sup>

Modern historians of the Second Klan largely agree that it was “distinctively different from its predecessor, the Reconstruction Klan, as well as the successive waves of twentieth and twenty-first century Klan revivals,” primarily because it was “the most integrated into American society.”<sup>14</sup> The Second Klan drew upon deep currents in American history—racism, nativism,

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<sup>12</sup> Harcourt, *Ku Klux Kulture*, 2 [quote]; Pegram, *One Hundred Percent American*, 7.

<sup>13</sup> Pegram, *One Hundred Percent American*, 228 [quote], 20; Gordon, *Second Coming of the KKK*, 63-78.

<sup>14</sup> Baker, *Gospel According to The Klan*, 12.

temperance, fraternalism, Christian evangelicalism, and populism—and funneled the aggressive patriotism in rapidly changing, post-World War I America into an effective call to arms. “Never an aberration, the KKK may actually have enunciated values with which a majority of 1920s Americans agreed,” writes one modern scholar.<sup>15</sup> Klansmen were white supremacists in a white supremacist society, Protestants in a Protestant nation. It was their methods, rather than their ideas, that distinguished them from mainstream American society. As another historian concludes: “Even in an age when assumptions of white supremacy, unembarrassed ethnic chauvinism, and religious intolerance towards Catholics and Jews were commonplace, the Klan’s expression of these themes was deemed incendiary and objectionable.”<sup>16</sup> Indeed, from its first appearance, the Klan faced strong, at times violent, opposition. Such would also be the case in Pensacola.

Nevertheless, the history of the Florida Ku Klux Klan is particularly egregious. Historians point to Florida as “one of the Klan’s strongest and most violent regions” over the past 155 years.<sup>17</sup> Florida Klans in the 1860s and 70s “tended to involve little costuming and ritual. Rather than dealing out warnings or whippings, Florida Ku-Klux committed assassinations.”<sup>18</sup> Racial violence in 1866 actually forced federal authorities to suspend civil government in Escambia and Santa Rosa counties. And while organized Klan activity disappeared by the 1880s, white racial violence against African Americans continued unabated. Florida endured the most lynchings per capita of any state in the nation, as white conservative, or “Bourbon,” Democrats deployed fraud and violence to recover, expand, and maintain their power and wealth. Florida, concludes historian Isabel Wilkerson, “continued to live up to its position as the southernmost state with among the most heinous acts of terrorism committed anywhere in the South” into the middle of the twentieth century.<sup>19</sup>

The Second Klan in Florida has received limited scholarly attention, largely due to the lack of sources beyond newspapers and oral histories. The collection of Klan documents in the T.T. Wentworth Jr. Collection offers an unprecedented window onto the workings of a Florida

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<sup>15</sup> Gordon, *Second Coming of the KKK*, 25-36, 36 [quote].

<sup>16</sup> Pegram, *One Hundred Percent American*, xii.

<sup>17</sup> Newton, *Invisible Empire*, xiv.

<sup>18</sup> Parsons, *Ku-Klux*, 8.

<sup>19</sup> Wilkerson, *Warmth of Other Suns*, 62 [quote]; “Martial Law in Florida,” *New York Times*, July 4, 1866.

Klavern during the 1920s. The existing scholarship about the Second Klan in Florida does identify a few key traits of the Florida Klan, summarized by one historian:

*There were no major scandals, flagrant rip-offs, or embarrassing arrests ... Ku Klux political campaigns were local affairs, no ambitious state leaders emerging ... Klan violence, when reported at all, likewise never seemed to have much impact beyond a local venue, even public condemnation from the governor's mansion had little effect... Persistent racism and nativism allowed the Florida Klan to maintain a strong membership base, complete with helpful friends in government and law enforcement... Overall, Klan violence in Florida did not evoke the widespread backlash it produced in other states.<sup>20</sup>*

By 1930, Florida Klansmen accounted for almost one-third of all Klansmen in the country, although by then the Pensacola Klan appears to have been essentially defunct.

The Pensacola chapter of the Second Klan is mentioned in passing by numerous historians of the KKK, largely in reference to the chapter's brazen warning out (telling someone to leave in order to avoid danger or trouble) of a Greek restaurateur in July 1921. In these instances, the Pensacola Klan is used as an example of how the Second Klan retained the violent, extra-legal approach of the First Klan despite the proclamations of national Klan leaders that the Klan was no longer violent. The fullest description of the Pensacola Klan appears in James McGovern's 1976 monograph, *The Emergence of a City in the Modern South: Pensacola, 1900-1945*. Drawing on newspapers and several oral histories, McGovern notes: "One contemporary declared that it centered in a local barbershop, that the Masons were all asked to join and that many did so. And another, that the Klansmen came from Baptist and Methodist men's circles." He provides a detailed description of the infamous warning out and public recruitment efforts, before noting that "no outspoken opposition developed against the Klan from civic organizations or the [*Pensacola*] *Journal*, though Judge William B. Sheppard vigorously denounced it before the local B'nai B'rith as a threat to American liberties under the law."<sup>21</sup> McGovern, reflecting the scholarly biases of the time, concludes:

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<sup>20</sup> Newton, *Invisible Empire*, 72.

<sup>21</sup> McGovern, *Emergence of a City*, 108-109.



*Those who feared the shifting [social and cultural] norms and the dangers these posed for the American way of life were not greatly concerned about the Negro. The Klan did not appear aimed at him as much as ethnics, law breakers, and possibly Catholics. Negroes did not threaten the morals of the community because they were mostly segregated and became increasingly so in the 1920s when the number of blacks and whites living on bi-racial blocks dropped to 7% while the size of black population remained relatively stationary [compared to 1910]... not a major source of anxiety for vigilante groups. Where potential problems developed such as blacks drinking excessively, law enforcement officers kept them under close surveillance.<sup>22</sup>*

Six years later, Lucius Ellsworth, McGovern's colleague in the department of history at the University of West Florida, and wife, Linda, briefly mentioned the Pensacola Klan in *Pensacola: The Deep Water City*, arguably the most sophisticated survey of Pensacola to date. The Ellsworths write:

*The Ku Klux Klan regularly paraded in hooded robes downtown from its headquarters near North Hill. The existence of the Klan and other forms of white supremacy left tragic scars on the black community even though there were no lynchings. By the end of the decade most residents had rejected the Klan and softened their attitudes about Catholics and foreigners, but racial prejudice and segregation remained embedded in the values of the dominant white society.<sup>23</sup>*

## **1920s Pensacola**

Pensacola's Second Klan emerged in a city experiencing profound change.<sup>24</sup> Escambia County narrowly rejected Sidney Catts's explicitly racist, nativist, anti-Catholic Prohibitionist

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<sup>22</sup> McGovern, *Emergence of a City*, 113.

<sup>23</sup> Ellsworth and Ellsworth, *Pensacola*, 99. No surviving evidence indicates the 1920s Pensacola Klan paraded downtown, although the post-World War Two Pensacola Klan did so on multiple occasions, see: Butler, *Beyond Integration*, 159-179.

<sup>24</sup> There is a remarkable, and unfortunate, lacuna in published scholarship about early twentieth-century Pensacola. Besides a handful of articles and one monograph published almost 50 years ago and several master and

run for governor in 1916. Yet, Catts's statewide victory "strengthened some of the more narrow viewpoints" he espoused. By one account, "After Catts left office, the attitudes which had supported him still plagued Pensacola."<sup>25</sup> The tension between the conservatism impulses embodied by Catts and progressive impulses of the "Jazz Age" would shape Pensacola (like the rest of the nation) throughout the decade.

By the end of 1920, women could vote, and prohibition was in full effect. The memory of the Spanish Flu was as fresh as the racial riots that engulfed dozens of American cities in the Red Summer of 1919. Fear of communists, anarchists, and far-left extremism gripped the nation in what historians call the First Red Scare.<sup>26</sup> Economic uncertainty added fuel to the fire. The economic boom caused by World War I had drawn thousands of rural Southern whites to work in Pensacola's Naval Aviation Station and in the shipyards that lined Bayou Chico. Yet wartime prosperity ended as quickly as it had begun, ushering in an economic recession that lasted into 1923. In 1921, an estimated 40% of white laborers and 60% of African Americans were unemployed. Many left for the same reasons they came to Pensacola—better economic opportunities. Almost 6,000 people, nearly 20% of Pensacola's total population, left the city between 1920 and 1925.

The Black exodus from the region as part of the Great Migration out of the American South, however, had begun a decade earlier. A city that, in 1900, was roughly equally Black-white had, by 1920, become a 2:1 white majority city. African Americans began leaving more often than arriving in Pensacola after 1906. It was a shrewd response to diminished economic opportunities and the imposition of an increasingly violent, institutionalized Jim Crow. By the 1910s, the industries that had fueled Pensacola's post-Civil War growth—lumber and shipping—had begun to falter. At the same time, a new round of restrictive Jim Crow legislation completed the work of segregating and disenfranchising African Americans that had begun a generation

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doctoral theses, little research has been published about this period of profound transformation, which laid the groundwork for modern Pensacola. This section is based on the following sources: Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed*; Butler, *Beyond Integration*, 19-21; McGovern, *Emergence of a City*, 81-114; Bragaw, "Status of Negroes in a Southern Port City"; Pearce, "Pensacola, the Deep Water Harbor of the Gulf"; Ellsworth and Ellsworth, *Pensacola*; McGovern, "Pensacola, Florida;" Carruth, "Trials of Viola Edwards"; Hoffman, "Integration of the Episcopal Day School." Population figures come from the [1925 Florida State Census](#) and the [1930 US Federal Census](#).

<sup>25</sup> Ellsworth and Ellsworth, *Pensacola*, 97, 99 [quotes]; "With Reports From 31 Counties Catts is Safely in Lead," *Pensacola Journal*, November 9, 1916. See also: Mormino, "Twentieth-Century Florida," 292-299. Tebeau et al., *Florida*, vol. 2, 43-54.

<sup>26</sup> Krugler, 1919; Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed*, 171-236.

earlier. With increasing racial violence, capped by the horrific lynching of two African American men in Ferdinand Plaza in 1908 and 1909, the relatively cosmopolitan, multicultural, multiethnic, multiracial reality that had once characterized this port town became a distant memory. Yet this memory evolved into what one student of the city's racial history terms "Pensacola exceptionalism," or the notion that "things were not perfect in Pensacola, but they were better than the rest of the South." This conceptualization of Pensacola's racial history, he concludes, "diminishes the cruelty and subjugation of African Americans and can whitewash our history."<sup>27</sup> It was also a conceptualization that was at odds with the lived experience of Jim Crow Pensacola.

Those who stayed maintained a vibrant Black civic, religious, and cultural life. They also vigorously opposed racial oppression by unionizing, boycotting segregated facilities, and founding the second chapter of the NAACP in the state of Florida in 1919. Black civic and religious leaders also engaged in several concerted voter registration drives, particularly in 1919 and 1928. The 1928 registration drive, whose slogan was "2500 voters instead of 1500," drew national attention for "vigorously prosecuting the fight against the attempt to maintain the white primary there."<sup>28</sup> Two years later, "nine negro candidates entered the race for Republican committeemen ... the first time since Reconstruction days that they [African Americans] have run for office in Escambia County."<sup>29</sup> While the state attorney general "ruled out" these candidates, the effort exemplifies the decades-long effort by African Americans in Pensacola to defeat white supremacy, economic oppression, and one-party rule.<sup>30</sup>

The white Protestant Southern migrants who arrived in the city from rural West Florida and South Alabama in the 1910s and late 1920s profoundly reshaped Pensacola. As one scholar summarized, they "migrated to the city in record numbers and implanted the prejudiced and provincial views they brought with them from nearly every corner of the former Confederacy."<sup>31</sup> They found employment, rented and purchased homes, voted, joined fraternal societies, read the

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<sup>27</sup> Hoffman, "Integration of Episcopal Day School," 11.

<sup>28</sup> In 1920s Pensacola, as throughout the region, only whites could vote in the Democratic primary, which in the Jim Crow South, essentially determined the winner of the general election. "[In Rousing Meeting Voters Consider Politics and Civic Affairs.](#)" *Colored Citizen [Pensacola, Florida]*, February 10, 1928; "Florida Negroes Push Fight on Primary Disfranchisement," *Plain Dealer [Topeka, KS]*, May 18, 1928.

<sup>29</sup> "Negro Candidates Qualify for G.O.P. Post in Escambia," *Tampa Times*, May 8, 1930.

<sup>30</sup> "Wentworth and Owens Victors in G.O.P. Race," *Pensacola Journal*, June 5, 1930. On history of Black organizing in Florida, see: Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed*.

<sup>31</sup> Clavin, *Aiming for Pensacola*, 176 [quote]; Ellsworth and Ellsworth, *Pensacola*, 97; McGovern, "Pensacola, Florida," 40-41.

city's two daily newspapers, and played at Bayview and Kupfrian's Park. Along the way, as another historian explains, "Apprehensions developed over threats to family, morals, religion, patriotism, racial superiority of whites and the menace of a Catholic president."<sup>32</sup> They built at least 10 churches and attended record-breaking evangelistic meetings throughout the 1920s, fueling a "religious awakening" that decried the secular influences of the "Jazz Age," from indecent dances and dress to companionate marriage, bootlegging, and teaching evolution. These churches would also become prime recruitment ground for the Pensacola Klan.

## **The Ku Klux Klan in 1920s Pensacola**

### ***Overview***

A visiting Kleagle (Klan recruiter) likely organized the Pensacola chapter of the Ku Klux Klan in February 1921 as part of the national recruiting effort spearheaded by the Southern Publicity Association. According to a contemporary source considered "very reliable," the "stranger ... enrolled quite a number of persons, most fanatics, as members."<sup>33</sup> The chapter grew steadily over the next five months. By summer, the group had received its charter as Escambia Klavern No. 57, indicating it was the 57<sup>th</sup> chapter of the KKK chartered in the state of Florida.<sup>34</sup>

The Pensacola Klan first appeared in public on July 8, 1921 when three individuals wearing Klan regalia walked into the Riverside Café on North Tarragona Street and "warned out" the 27 year-old proprietor, Chris Lochas. The Klansmen gave Lochas, a recent immigrant from Greece, a typewritten letter, which stated: "You are an undesirable citizen. You violate the federal prohibition laws, the laws of decency, and you are a running sore on society. Several

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<sup>32</sup> McGovern, *Emergence of a City*, 96.

<sup>33</sup> "On Trail of the Ku Klux Klan," *Daily Democrat [Tallahassee]*, July 11, 1921. Wentworth's history of the Pensacola Klan, written in August 1927, claims the local order was organized in 1920 with 150 members. [Manuscript of Pensacola Klan History by T.T. Wentworth Jr., August 1927, 2016.035.0335a-d, TTW Collection](#). Reports of the Klan forming in 1918 appear to have either been a hoax or a brief, informal invocation of the Klan. See: "Ku Klux Klan is organized here," *Pensacola Journal*, April 11, 1918; "Mr. Laird Says He Has No Connection With the Ku Klux," *Pensacola Journal*, April 12, 1918.

<sup>34</sup> As discussed below, the Pensacola Klan had its charter revoked in July 1921 by Imperial Wizard Simmons in response to the Lochas incident. The charter had been restored by October 1921. See: "Denies Klan is a Lawless Band," *Pensacola Journal*, October 13, 1921. The first reference to the local klavern as Pensacola Klan No. 57 is T.T. Wentworth Jr.'s membership card to Klavern No. 57, which expired on June 30, 1922. [Membership Card for T.T. Wentworth Jr., expired 30 June 1922, 2016.035.0344, TTW Collection](#). On earliest documented members see: [Ku Klux Klan Ledger, 1-2, 2016.035.0448, TTW Collection](#).

trains are leaving Pensacola daily. Take your choice, but don't take too much time. Sincerely in earnest, K.K.K.”<sup>35</sup> This illegal action created a media firestorm and brought swift and widespread condemnation from local, state, and national leaders, including the temporary suspension of the chapter's charter by the national Klan office.<sup>36</sup>

The Pensacola Klan reappeared in February 1922 when representatives joined Klansmen from 71 other Florida Klaverns at the Miami municipal county golf course at the first public open-air Klan initiation “since 1872.”<sup>37</sup> Over the next two years, the Pensacola Klan engaged in a robust and fiercely contested effort to inform the public about its white supremacist, militant Protestant agenda with the goal of recruiting new members. This two-year effort culminated in a series of large open-air initiations in 1924. Thousands of spectators attended these nighttime spectacles, which were held just outside city limits on Palafox Street because city officials consistently refused to give the Klan permits to use public venues.

Mirroring national trends, membership in the Pensacola Klan peaked in 1924-1925 at approximately 500 dues-paying men before experiencing a steady decline. By November 1926, a regional Klan leader would write to T.T. Wentworth Jr., Pensacola's Exalted Cyclops (leader): “I realize, as you most certainly do too, that interest in Klancraft is at a low ebb in this end of the state.”<sup>38</sup> A year later, membership had fallen to 159 dues-paying members.<sup>39</sup> Public appearances also declined during this time as the local chapter engaged in internal power struggles and undertook a concerted, furtive effort to influence local elections, “by keeping quiet and voting” rather than making “a big noise and show[ing] what the Klan can do,” as T.T. Wentworth Jr., the Klavern's Exalted Cyclops, explained in a letter to the Florida Grand Dragon in 1927.<sup>40</sup> Ample evidence, discussed below, demonstrates the Pensacola Klan played a much more active role in

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<sup>35</sup> “KKK Warns Café Proprietor to Leave Town,” *Pensacola Journal*, July 9, 1921. Lochas left for Mobile the following day. He eventually returned to Pensacola and apparently thrived, marrying in 1922 and running a successful restaurant. By 1930, he owned a substantial house on East Lee Street in East Hill. 1930 US Federal Census record for Chris Lochas, Ancestry.com.

<sup>36</sup> “KKK Warns Café Proprietor to Leave Town,” *Pensacola Journal*, July 9, 1921; “Pensacola Chief Gets Suspension,” *Montgomery Advertiser*, July 10, 1921; “Captain Harper Suspended Pending Investigation,” *Pensacola Journal*, July 10, 1921; “On Trail of the Ku Klux Klan,” *Daily Democrat* [Tallahassee], July 11, 1921; “Arrest of Members of Ku Klux Klan Will Soon Be Made,” *Pensacola Journal*, July 12, 1921; Untitled op-eds, *Tampa Morning Tribune*, July 15, 1921; “Charter of Ku Klux Klan Suspended,” *Pensacola Journal*, July 14, 1921.

<sup>37</sup> “Public Initiation of the KKK Here,” *The Herald* [Miami], February 6, 1922.

<sup>38</sup> [Correspondence from J.H. Varnum to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 26 November 1926, 2016.035.0265, TTW Collection.](#)

<sup>39</sup> [Draft Manuscript titled ‘Political Unity—Only Remedy!’, ca. April-June 1928, 2016.035.0426, TTW Collection.](#)

<sup>40</sup> [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to I.E. Phillips, 23 April 1927, 2016.035.0410.a-b, TTW Collection.](#)

local politics and elections than simply voting. Candidates favorable to the Pensacola Klan were elected to local, county, and state offices throughout the 1920s, including the election of J.H. Varnum, former Exalted Cyclops of the Pensacola Klan, to the state legislature in 1926. That same election saw the election of Herbert P. Caro, “a member of Escambia Klan No. 57 in good standing,” to the Florida state senate. In April 1927, longstanding Klansman Adrian Langford was elected to the city commission.<sup>41</sup> Like the vast majority of klaverns across the country, the Pensacola Klan had significantly declined, if not dissolved, by 1928, when its current Exalted Cyclops, T.T. Wentworth Jr., was elected county tax collector. Nevertheless, there may have been “career Klansmen” similar to those identified by a historian of the Alabama KKK who continued the work of the hooded order in Pensacola through the 1930s, a possibility suggested by oral histories and community memories.<sup>42</sup>

### **Membership**

The first documented member of Escambia Klan No. 57 is T.T. Wentworth Jr.<sup>43</sup> This does not necessarily mean Wentworth was the first Klansman in Pensacola. But he is the only member we can document until October 1922, when the surviving membership ledger begins its careful accounting of the klavern’s initiations and membership due payments, special

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<sup>41</sup> Quote: [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, 10 November 1926, 2016.035.0288, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, 22 February 1927, 2016.035.0310.a-b, TTW Collection](#); “County Votes for R.R. Commissioners Close,” *Pensacola Journal*, June 9, 1926; [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to I.E. Phillips, 23 April 1927, 2016.035.0410.a-b, TTW Collection](#); “Election Was Very Orderly,” *Pensacola Journal*, April 14, 1927.

<sup>42</sup> The documentary record detailing the Klan in the TTW Collection abruptly ends shortly before Wentworth filed to run for county tax collector in April 1928. See: *Kloran of the Knights* (1928), back cover, [uwf\\_ht\\_w.83.102.1427, TTW Collection](#). A letter addressed to Wentworth in October 1928 inquired about the status of the Pensacola Klan, suggesting there was uncertainty about its existence. [Correspondence from Adrian Cyril Emery to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 18 October 1928, 2016.035.0343.a-b, TTW Collection](#). A 1931 invoice for Wentworth’s unpaid dues for the “Grand Klan #13” rather than Escambia Klan, suggests either the Escambia Klan was no longer active or Wentworth was no longer affiliated with it, though the former is more likely. It also appears that Wentworth did not pay this invoice. [Invoice for T.T. Wentworth Jr., 8 September 1931, W.83.102.1434.a-b, TTW Collection](#). Of course, the local organization could have remained active after 1928. The records could have been destroyed, or a new secretary could have taken Wentworth’s place after his election, taking charge of subsequent records. A Wentworth family story suggests the Klan was active during T.T. Wentworth Jr.’s time as county tax collector. Personal interview conducted by Sharon Yancey with Jane Wentworth on November 10, 2020 (interviewer’s collection). Another interview, conducted by Robin Reshard with Foster King on June 22, 2013 (interviewer’s collection), suggests the Klan remained active through the 1930s as well, although, by this account, the Klan did not go into the predominantly Black Belmont-DeViliers neighborhood. On Alabama Klan, see: Feldman, *Politics, Society, and the Klan*.

<sup>43</sup> [Membership Card for T.T. Wentworth Jr., expired 30 June 1922, 2016.035.0344, TTW Collection](#).

assessments, and robe purchases. This ledger, maintained and audited by the chapter's secretary, elected Kligrapp (secretary) T.T. Wentworth Jr., includes 42 pages of detailed membership information about hundreds of Klansmen for the period between October 24, 1921 to June 27, 1924, with fragmentary membership data through June 1925.<sup>44</sup>

By the end of 1922, there were approximately 240 dues-paying members of the Pensacola Klan. This figure represents less than 1.4% of the native-born white male population of Escambia County in 1920 who would have been eligible for membership.<sup>45</sup> Of the 241 unique individuals identified in the membership ledger from 1922, 197 (82%) appear in Pensacola city directories from 1922 or 1924. These directories provide detailed information about thousands of city residents, including their occupation, marital status, place of employment, and home residence. An analysis reveals the vast majority of Pensacola's earliest documented Klansmen were married (72%) and heads of household (62%), as opposed to renters (32%). Klansmen's homes concentrated in East Hill and Old East Hill, as the neighborhoods are called today (2021), although members lived across the area's expanding residential footprint, from East Pensacola Heights to Old Warrington and the Naval Air Station. The Naval Air Station and the L&N Railroad were the largest employers of Klansmen.<sup>46</sup> Of the 197 identified Klansmen, 96% listed one of 63 different occupations representative of the full sweep of Pensacola's economy. The five most commonly listed professions—(1) 17 salesmen; (2) 16 machinists; (3) 14 clerks; (4) 11 managers; (5) 9 proprietors—suggest the dominance of the lower-middle class in the local hooded order. Yet the presence of 7 secretary-presidents, 6 presidents, 6 physicians, 4 dentists, a pair of attorneys, and a pastor suggest the initial embrace of Pensacola's professional class to the white supremacist, militant Protestant rhetoric of the Ku Klux Klan.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> [Ku Klux Klan Ledger, 2016.035.0448, TTW Collection.](#)

<sup>45</sup> A separate, affiliated Women's Ku Klux Klan national organization emerged in 1923. Women were not eligible for membership in 1922. However, women joined the Pensacola Klan by 1924, if not earlier. "Many Look on as Klan has Big Initiation," *Pensacola Journal*, November 28, 1924; Blee, *Women of the Klan*. According to the [1920 Federal Census \(Table 9, page 190\)](#), there were 16,874 native-born white males in Escambia County. Membership in the Pensacola Klan drew from the entire county and was never limited to the city. A second short-lived Klavern was established in McDavid in 1924 appears to have been an outgrowth of the Pensacola Klan. Ku Klux Klan Notes," *Missouri Valley Independent*, March 20, 1924. The McDavid Klan remained active through early 1927, though an increasing number began transferring to Pensacola Klan in late 1926. See for example: [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, 2 November 1926, 2016.035.0281, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to Mallory McDavid, 1 December 1926, 2016.035.0293, TTW Collection.](#)

<sup>46</sup> "Boycott!," *Pensacola Journal*, June 6, 1923.

<sup>47</sup> [Ku Klux Klan Ledger, 1-4, 2016.035.0448, TTW Collection](#); Pensacola City Directory (1922 and 1924).

Mirroring national trends, Pensacola's Klan membership grew dramatically through 1924, with approximately 300-350 additional men joining between March 1923 and June 1924, according to a preliminary analysis of the membership ledger. The klavern brought in more than \$5,500 in dues and fees in the 1923-1924 fiscal year (approximately \$83,000 in 2021 dollars).<sup>48</sup> According to a Klan publication: "The Klan movement has grown so large in Escambia county that the need for another Klan became imperative as the location of the Klan at Pensacola was inaccessible to many Escambia county Klansmen."<sup>49</sup> In March 1924, McDavid, a small community thirty miles north of Pensacola between Century and Molino, received its charter as Klavern No. 84, in the Realm of Florida.<sup>50</sup> At least part of this klavern's membership is captured in the Pensacola Klan's membership ledger, and the McDavid chapter appears to have been in decline by late 1926-1927.<sup>51</sup> Given the available evidence and the fact that the dispersed white population, predisposed to Klan ideology, who were in the northern county stood around 5,000 white men and women in 1925, a reasonable estimate of the McDavid Klavern's membership is 100-200 members. At its height in late 1924-early 1925, the best current estimate is that there were between 500 and 1,000 dues-paying Klansmen in the whole of Escambia County, or approximately 3.6-7.3% of the county's native-born white male population in 1925.<sup>52</sup> T.T.

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<sup>48</sup> The last initiation dues in the ledger are listed on June 24, 1924, the end of the fiscal year. Minutes from early 1925 indicate that small groups of 2-3 men continued to be initiated, though there is no evidence of large-scale initiations after November 1924. Preliminary analysis of the membership ledger suggests that active, dues-paying membership in Escambia Klan No. 57 topped out at between 500 and 600 individuals. 487 individuals are listed in the ledger associated with a KKK robe in the ledger, though there is evidence that some members did not own their own robe and borrowed robes at times. [Ku Klux Klan Ledger, 100-107, 2016.035.0448, TTW Collection](#). The 1977 newspaper article about restoration of the KKK robes stated "over 100 robes" existed. The accession record for the robes completed by the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board on October 23, 1974 notes "above 500" consecutively numbered robes were located in Rafford Hall, most "too badly decomposed and moth eaten to be saved." Accession file for 74.18.1-22, UWF Historic Trust Archives. Dot Brown, "Origin of Decrepit Ku Klux Klan Robes Poses a Mystery to Florida Historians," *Pensacola News Journal*, July 10, 1977. A separate charter was granted to McDavid in March 1924, but it indicates that at least partial McDavid membership data is contained in the Escambia ledger. In July, a PJ article references "Bratt Represented at Klan Initiation," *Pensacola Journal*, July 1, 1924. [For inflation calculation, see savings.org](#)

<sup>49</sup> "Ku Klux Klan Notes," *Missouri Valley Independent*, March 20, 1924.

<sup>50</sup> [1925 Florida State Census](#).

<sup>51</sup> For example: [Correspondence from J.H. Varnum to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 26 November 1926, 2016.035.0265, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to Mallory McDavid, 1 December 1926, 2016.035.0293, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, 2 November 1926, 2016.035.0281, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, 6 November 1926, 2016.035.0285, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>52</sup> See note 48 on membership estimate. According to the [1925 Florida State Census \(Table 35, page 106\)](#), there were 28,698 native-born white residents of Escambia County. This census did not disaggregate by gender, so assuming 48% of the native-born white population was male, as was the figure in the [1920 Federal Census \(Table 9, page 190\)](#), then there were approximately 13,775 native-born white males in the county in 1925.



Wentworth Jr., in his role as klavern secretary, ordered robes for 487 of those Klansmen by 1925.<sup>53</sup>

The composition of the Pensacola Klan's membership changed over time. By October 1927, T.T. Wentworth Jr., who was then in his third term as the Klavern's Exalted Cyclops, wrote the Florida Grand Dragon to report he was "somewhat [s]hocked" to learn "only 159 members left and a large number of them men who are classes as common laborers." This membership decline mirrored the precipitous national decline in national Klan membership that began in 1925. Wentworth explained: "(I don't throw no reflections on the common laborers, but want to say right here that they are due much credit for sticking) We have practically no business men or professional men with us. They quit when unpopularity comes stalking in." After concluding, "Some times it looks pretty blue," Wentworth wrote: "I have been in this fight for about seven years and I am not the kind to give up. I am trying to figure a plan for a come back and hope that I will be successful. It seems impossible when you look over the situation and see the many odds against your every efforts. I believe that nothing is impossible when it is for righteousness and some plan will unfold."<sup>54</sup>

The currently available documentary evidence about the Pensacola Klavern's activities ends just a few months later. Future research will provide a more fine-grained analysis of the klavern's demographic changes, and there is always the possibility additional evidence will come to light to further clarify the membership, leadership, and activities of the Pensacola Klan.

### ***Leadership***

The 1920s Ku Klux Klan elected members to leadership positions for one-year terms in a process described in the order's constitution.<sup>55</sup> Direct evidence exists for five elections in the Pensacola Klan: regular elections in May 1923, May 1925, November 1926, and May 1927, as well as a special election in November 1924. Additional elections likely occurred in 1924, 1922 and possibly 1921, although no documentation of them has yet to surface. While there were many elected positions in the local klavern, detailed evidence on its full 13-member leadership is limited to 1925-1926.

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<sup>53</sup> [Ku Klux Klan Ledger, 100-107, 2016.035.0448, TTW Collection.](#)

<sup>54</sup> [Draft Manuscript titled 'Political Unity—Only Remedy!,' ca. April-June 1928, 2016.035.0426, TTW Collection.](#)

<sup>55</sup> *Constitution and Laws of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* (1921), 59-60, W.83.82.38, TTW Collection.

The only surviving information about the klavern's elections through 1924 details the outcome of the Exalted Cyclops (president) and Kligrapp (secretary) positions. T.T. Wentworth Jr. was elected secretary in multiple elections, and he was operating in that capacity by February 1923.<sup>56</sup> In May or June 1923, "Professor" J.H. Varnum was elected Exalted Cyclops of the Pensacola Klan. Varnum was the general manager of the Florida Business University and School of Shorthand housed in the Brent Building in downtown Pensacola.<sup>57</sup> During Varnum's 16-month tenure, the Pensacola Klan conducted its first public open-air initiations, hosted well-attended public lectures, burned crosses, conducted funeral services, and advertised its activities in local newspapers and national Klan publications. Varnum resigned in November 1924. He was replaced by Henry W. McGehee, deputy manager of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, in a special election. Two weeks later, McGehee oversaw the klavern's largest public initiation, described by the *Pensacola Journal* as "the biggest affair of this kind ever staged in this section of the United States."<sup>58</sup> McGehee served out Varnum's term until the next regular election in May 1925. McGehee "would not take the job any longer" and was elected Kludd (chaplin), though he later resigned the position.<sup>59</sup>

On Friday, May 8, 1925, 90 Klansmen voted on the full slate of leadership positions for Escambia Klan No. 57. T.T. Wentworth Jr., a few months shy of his 27<sup>th</sup> birthday, received 84 votes for Exalted Cyclops in the most decisive victory of the day. Eight Pensacola Klansmen took new leadership positions. Four were reelected.<sup>60</sup> Over the next month, three of the recently elected Klansmen, including Henry McGehee, resigned, a sign of the infighting and intrigues that would characterize the final years of the Pensacola Klan.<sup>61</sup> The new slate of officers appears to have begun their duties in July 1925. On January 9, 1926, Wentworth, the new Exalted Cyclops received a card, signed by E.E. Harper, commissioner of city police, granting him "Police Powers." Wentworth went on to receive these cards for at least the next three years while he

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<sup>56</sup> [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, 16 October 1927, 2016.035.0425, TTW Collection](#); [Ku Klux Klan Ledger, 10, 2016.035.0448, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>57</sup> [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, 22 February 1927, 2016.035.310.a-b, TTW Collection](#); Pensacola City Directory (1924), 42.

<sup>58</sup> "Comment of Florida Papers," *Pensacola Journal*, December 4, 1924.

<sup>59</sup> Quote: [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, 22 February 1927, 2016.035.0310.a-b, TTW Collection](#). Pensacola City Directory (1922), 380; [Ku Klux Klan Ledger, 125 and back of index e, 2016.035.0448, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>60</sup> [Ku Klux Klan Ledger, 124, 2016.035.0448, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>61</sup> [Ku Klux Klan Ledger, inside cover, index e, and back of index 3, 2016.035.0448, TTW Collection](#).

presided as the elected leader of the Pensacola Klan.<sup>62</sup> How Wentworth used these police powers, what these powers entailed, or who else had them has yet to be determined, but the fact that he had them suggests the interconnections between the vigilantism of the Klan and the Pensacola Police Department.

Wentworth experienced significant infighting during his first term as Exalted Cyclops. His critics blamed the internal conflict on Wentworth's "political ambition."<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, Wentworth was reelected Exalted Cyclops to a second term on November 26, 1926. Of the thirteen Klansmen elected that Friday evening, five had been members of the Klan since 1922.<sup>64</sup> The last documented election occurred in May 1927, of which we only know two things: Wentworth was reelected for a third term as Exalted Cyclops, and the longstanding secretary of the Masonic Lodge, R.C. White, was elected Kilgrapp (secretary).<sup>65</sup>

At least four members of the Pensacola Klan moved into state-level leadership positions in the Klan. In November 1923, Lawrence Curtiss Phillips, a Pensacola physician, was appointed "Grand Titan," a regional leadership position overseeing northwest Florida and reporting to the Florida Realm's Grand Dragon, I.E. Phillips.<sup>66</sup> R.C. Wills, a prominent leader in the Pensacola Klan, was elected "Grand Kligrapp" (regional secretary) in June 1924.<sup>67</sup> The former Exalted Cyclops and Florida state representative J.H. Varnum worked directly for I.E. Phillips in 1926-1927, possibly in the Grand Titan position. Varnum's task was "to help us to build up West Florida, or else," Phillips warned, "we are going to break his neck showing him how to try."<sup>68</sup> Finally, T.T. Wentworth Jr. accepted an appointment on an unspecified committee from I.E. Phillips in April 1926.<sup>69</sup>

### *Activities*

The Pensacola Klan engaged in a variety of activities over the course of its seven-year history, including illegal activities, recruitment, community engagement efforts, and explicit

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<sup>62</sup> T.T. Wentworth Jr. Police Powers Card, 1926, W.83.86.543.9, and 1927, W.83.86.543.3, Box W.83.86.54, TTW Collection; T.T. Wentworth Jr. Police Powers Card, 1928, W.83.105.0404, Box 247, TTW Collection.

<sup>63</sup> [Correspondence from R.C. Wills to Klokann Committee, 9 July 1926, 2016.035.0385, TTW Collection.](#)

<sup>64</sup> [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, 14 November 1926, 2016.035.0291.a-c, TTW Collection;](#) [Ku Klux Klan Ledger, 1-4, 2016.035.0448, TTW Collection.](#)

<sup>65</sup> [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, 25 May 1927, 2016.035.0416.a-b, TTW Collection.](#)

<sup>66</sup> [Great Titan Commission for Lawrence Curtiss Phillips, 21 November 1923, W.83.80.848, TTW Collection.](#)

<sup>67</sup> [Wills Case File, 1924, 2016.035.0868.a-p, TTW Collection.](#)

<sup>68</sup> [Correspondence from I.E. Phillips to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 12 November 1926, 2016.035.0375, TTW Collection.](#)

<sup>69</sup> [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth to I.E. Phillips, 15 April 1926, 2016.035.0854.a-b, TTW Collection.](#)

efforts to impact and influence the political process. These activities were not mutually exclusive. Rather, the Pensacola Klan's activities reinforced one another, working collectively to extend the Klan's membership and, ultimately, its power.

### *Illegal activities*

The warning out of Chris Lochas thrust the Pensacola Klan into the local and national spotlight while also drawing the public opprobrium of local and state civic leaders. The klavern had its charter temporarily revoked by the national Klan, which was attempting to combat criticism that it was a violent, illegal, un-American organization. The Pensacola Klan was not swayed; evidence exists of at least one additional warning out by the Klan in November 1924.<sup>70</sup> There were likely more.

In addition to warning out at least two individuals, the Pensacola Klan was regularly asked by local residents to intimidate and even physically attack fellow Pensacolians. Nine letters written by community members to the KKK or T.T. Wentworth Jr. are in the Wentworth Collection. They reveal how some Pensacolians turned to the Klan to “whip,” “look into,” and warn out men and women accused of infidelity, domestic abuse, spousal abandonment, and/or other acts of moral turpitude and illegal activity, namely selling or drinking alcohol.<sup>71</sup> Written between March 1926 and August 1927, these letters typically began like this one penned on July 2, 1927: “I have heard of the work the Ku Klux Klan are doing and certainly need assistance now.”<sup>72</sup> The letter writers then described the activities they felt warranted the Klan's intervention. Most asked for the Klan to investigate further, and some offered suggested punishments, from whipping to warning out. Two of the letters requesting Klan assistance were written directly to T.T. Wentworth Jr., suggesting community-wide knowledge of his role in the

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<sup>70</sup> “Klan Sends Warning,” *Pensacola Journal*, November 10, 1924.

<sup>71</sup> [Correspondence to Pensacola KKK, 16 June 1926, 2016.035.0379.a-d, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from Shirley St. Mary to the KKK, 6 January 1927, 2016.035.0386.a-c, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 30 March 1927, 2016.035.0402, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from Mrs. H.L. Whidby to the Pensacola KKK, 28 May 1927, 2016.035.0418.a-e, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from Mrs. T.H. Rivers to KKK, 11 June 1927, 2016.035.0421, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from Mrs. T.H. Rivers to Pensacola Klan, 22 June 1927, 2016.035.0422.a-b, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence to Pensacola Klan, July 21, 1927, 2016.035.0322.a-b, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from Christine Cloud to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 1 August 1927, 2016.035.0424.a-b, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>72</sup> [Correspondence from Shirley St. Mary to the KKK, 6 January 1927, 2016.035.0386.a-c, TTW Collection](#).

Pensacola Klan.<sup>73</sup> The persistence of these letters over a 15-month period suggests the Pensacola Klan acted on these letters.

The Pensacola Klan also publicly burned crosses to intimidate and threaten perceived enemies. The first documented cross-burning occurred on Christmas night 1923 in Granada Square, a park on the edge of Old East Hill near the homes and churches of many Klansmen. Investigators “found that a cross placed there by unknown persons was the cause of the blaze.” It appears likely the Klan was responsible.<sup>74</sup> At least five more crosses burned in Escambia County over the next four years, in addition to the fiery spectacles that took place during five, large public initiations. These events included multiple burning crosses as well as crosses lit with electric lights. Crosses were burned in the front yards of homes occupied by the mayor of Pensacola and the editor of the anti-Klan *Pensacola News*, although the Klan claimed they were not responsible.<sup>75</sup>

On several occasions, Pensacola Klansmen disagreed over the use of public intimidation to secure their goals. In April 1927, Exalted Cyclops Wentworth claimed he thwarted a number of efforts by his Klansmen to threaten and intimidate Pensacolians. Just days before the primary election, he uncovered and stopped a plan to send “four men to watch at each poll in robes and helmets,” explaining “it is their idea that they must make a big noise and show what the klan can do. This is not my idea of doing things.” Days later he allegedly stopped another plan by “some of our men” to go “down and break up” a “Negro political meeting.” Claiming, “I told them we needed brains and not guts. [And] After explaining how much good these negro’s would probably do us by advertising and waking up sleeping Protestants I think these boys were satisfied in not going after the negroes.”<sup>76</sup> Three months later, he claimed to prevent a lynching of African American nurse Viola Edwards and her associates, who were connected to the death of Dorothy Friederichsen, a white woman, from apparent complications of an abortion at the first

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<sup>73</sup> [Correspondence to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 30 March 1927, 2016.035.0402, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from Christine Cloud to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 1 August 1927, 2016.035.0424.a-b, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>74</sup> “Fire Department is Busy Christmas Day,” *Pensacola Journal*, December 26, 1923.

<sup>75</sup> “Declare Cross Was Not Placed by Local Klan,” *Pensacola Journal*, April 24, 1925, “Cross Burned at Hayes Home,” *Pensacola Journal*, July 14, 1925.

<sup>76</sup> [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to I.E. Phillips, 23 April 1927, 2016.035.0410.a-b, TTW Collection](#). See also: [Flyer for Mass Meeting, 22 April 1927, 2016.035.0410.c, TTW Collection](#).

black-owned hospital in Pensacola.<sup>77</sup> As Wentworth explained to Florida Governor John W. Martin:

*I have used my influence to still the troubled waters and have quietly but effectively keep any drastic outbreaks among the people and have been plain with a few and told them That my friends and myself would not tolerate any drastic outbreaks on the part of the public if possible to prevent.*

*It seemed that some were agitating a move to lynch some one. This move never went over. I was fully determined to see that peace was kept if any such action was too manifest.*

He concluded the letter by assuring Martin:

*We have an organization here that is complete, powerful, active and on the job. Not making any noise but working quietly, secretly and effectively. I have had seven years active experience in the work and know what I am doing and am entering on my third year as chief officer and want to say now that if you need any work here on anything for the furthance [sic] of our ideals call on us.<sup>78</sup>*

Martin's response has not yet come to light, but a week after he wrote this letter Wentworth introduced the governor at a dinner given at the San Carlos Hotel, on Palafox and Garden Streets. Nine days later a "fire believed to be of incendiary origin... did considerable damage" to the Viola Edwards Hospital.<sup>79</sup>

The primary targets of the Pensacola Klan appear to be Catholics, the Knights of Columbus (a Catholic fraternal organization), white residents accused of various "immoral" activities, and recent immigrants like Chris Lochas. The Pensacola Klan quite literally represented and contributed to a broader culture of racial terror that was at the heart of Jim Crow America. News of lynchings and other forms of racial terror violence against African Americans, for example, regularly appeared in Pensacola's two daily newspapers. These papers also, as one

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<sup>77</sup> Carruth, "Trials of Viola Edwards." See also the [Viola! Song Cycle \(2019\)](#) based the history of the Viola Edwards Hospital.

<sup>78</sup> [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to John W. Martin, 11 August 1927, 2016.035.0467.a-b, TTW Collection.](#)

<sup>79</sup> "Viola Edwards Hospital Is Damaged by Fire," *Pensacola Journal*, August 28, 1927; "Governor Not Pushing Probe of Case Here," *Pensacola Journal*, August 18, 1927.

student of them concluded, “condoned white supremacy on a grassroots level” even if they disavowed explicit racial violence.<sup>80</sup> The suspicious death of four African Americans “in a gondola car at Flomaton” in April 1924 led the recently arrived Northern-born editor of the *Pensacola Journal* to write: “The white people as a whole should be ashamed of seeming indifference towards the taking of negro life ... four negroes can be murdered and nothing done about it.” Yet even this admonition was rooted in white supremacist logic. As he framed the problem: “in order to preserve the white race, the white race must accept the responsibility of helping the Negroes.”<sup>81</sup>

Existing accessible archival collections contain very little direct evidence that the Pensacola Klan targeted African Americans. This absence has led previous historians like James McGovern to conclude that the Pensacola Klan was primarily focused on threats to “the American way of life ... [and since] negroes did not threaten the morals of the community because they were mostly segregated... [African Americans] were not a major source of anxiety for vigilante groups. Where potential problems developed such as blacks drinking excessively, law enforcement officers kept them under close surveillance.”<sup>82</sup> However, the fact that the Pensacola police commissioner granted Exalted Cyclops Wentworth explicit “police powers,” suggests the line McGovern drew between hooded vigilante groups and law enforcement was porous at best and nonexistent at worst. Further, evidence of disagreement among Pensacola Klansmen about terrorizing or harming African Americans on at least two occasions suggests the Pensacola KKK neither ignored nor disavowed harming Black Pensacolians.<sup>83</sup> Ellsworth and Ellsworth offered a more accurate, if vague, summary of the relationship between the Pensacola KKK and the African American community: “The existence of the Klan and other forms of white supremacy left tragic scars on the black community even though there were no lynchings.”<sup>84</sup> Indeed, from the Pensacola Klan’s first appearance, Black Pensacolians knew of the dire threat it posed. As the *Pensacola Journal* reported the Chris Lochas episode: “A few minutes after the visit some negroes who had seen the members of the Klan and recognized them

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<sup>80</sup> Gilbert, “Racial Attitudes,” 31[quote], 49-50. For context on racial terror violence see: [EJI, \*Lynching in America\*](#).

<sup>81</sup> “Thoughts for Today,” *Pensacola Journal*, May 3, 1924 [quote]; Gilbert, “Racial Attitudes,” 53-54.

<sup>82</sup> McGovern, *Emergence of a City*, 113.

<sup>83</sup> [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to I.E. Phillips, 23 April 1927, 2016.035.0410.a-b, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to John W. Martin, 11 August 1927, 2016.035.0467.a-b, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>84</sup> Ellsworth and Ellsworth, *Pensacola*, 99.

for what they were came into the café and their stories of the Klan caused the café operator to examine his letter and show it to the police. The negroes said that they knew what the men in white robes were because they had seen them in Kentucky.”<sup>85</sup> Finally, and most significantly, it was common for Klan violence to not be reported in the press, and significant gaps exist in the surviving correspondence and minutes related to the Pensacola Klan. Additional evidence of the Pensacola Klan’s activities will hopefully come to light in the future that would provide a more complete picture of the depth and breadth of their impact and influence.

### *Recruitment and engagement activities*

The Second Klan was a “wildly successful pyramid scheme fueled by an army of highly incentivized sales agents,” what one historian calls a Ponzi scheme based on ever-increasing membership initiation fees and membership dues.<sup>86</sup> As a result, the vast majority of the Pensacola Klan’s activities focused on retaining and expanding membership. Public recruitment began in 1922 when, following common Klan practice, the Pensacola Klan provided very public and publicized donations to bolster its public image and attract new members. On April 1, 1922, masked Klansmen made their second appearance in Pensacola, when two members knocked on the door of Judge E.D. Beggs, superintendent of public instruction, and gave a \$125 donation to the “public schools of Escambia County,” supporting a common national Klan effort to oppose parochial education, which went against the hooded order’s “100% American” agenda.<sup>87</sup> Later that year, the Klan gave \$25 to the Salvation Army.<sup>88</sup>

During the first six months of 1923, the Pensacola Klan undertook a concerted public recruitment effort. Following standard Klan strategy, the klavern collected a special \$1 assessment from members to fund the “Kluxing,” or recruitment campaign. T.T. Wentworth Jr. was the first to contribute to an effort that raised \$109, the equivalent to almost \$3,000 in 2021

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<sup>85</sup> “KKK Warns Café Proprietor to Leave Town,” *Pensacola Journal*, July 9, 1921; “Captain Harper Suspended Pending Investigation,” *Pensacola Journal*, July 10, 1921.

<sup>86</sup> Fryer and Levitt, “Hatred and Profits,” 3-4; Gordon, *Second Coming of the KKK*, ch. 4.

<sup>87</sup> “Beggs Called on By Ku Klux Klan,” *Pensacola Journal*, April 2, 1922. Gordon, *Second Coming of the KKK*, ch. 8.

<sup>88</sup> “Donation from Ku Klux Klan,” *Pensacola Journal*, December 26, 1922. Another letter, “supposed to be from the KKK, was sent to the secretary-treasurer of ‘the federation’ at the end of December. This “warning against the activities of the activities of the federation” and the secretary-treasurer, A.O. DeWeese, was deemed “too clumsy to get by with the local KKK.” DeWeese is also listed as a dues-paying member of the Klan on the first page of the Klan Membership Ledger. “People’s Forum,” *Pensacola Journal*, December 31, 1922; [Ku Klux Klan Ledger, 1, 2016.035.0448, TTW Collection](#).



dollars. Over the next six months, the local Klan engaged in a rigorous recruitment effort, visiting churches from Pensacola to Molino and hosting a pair of well-attended public lectures.<sup>89</sup> These recruiting lectures were delivered by Dr. W.A. Hamlet, state organizer for the Ku Klux Klan, on “Americanism” were boldly advertised in the daily newspapers and held at the Odd Fellows Hall, or Rafford Hall, on the southwest corner of Baylen and Belmont Streets.<sup>90</sup>

The Klan blitzed local white Protestant churches during the last week of March 1923. On Monday night, a dozen robed Klansmen visited First Christian Church at Gadsden Street and 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue in the midst of a service ministered by the Reverend Minor Ross, a member of the Pensacola Klan since October 1921.<sup>91</sup> As the *Pensacola Journal* reported the following morning:

*While the congregation sat strained in their seats, or mothers tried to quiet their frightened children, twelve white robed persons marched into the First Christian church last night, presented Rev. Minor Ross with a \$20 bill and a communication, and then departed after one member of the party had made a short talk on the crying need of strong, fearless, God-fearing, Christian men.*

*Six of the men, donned in full regalia of the Ku Klux Klan, marched down each aisle. As soon as the minister accepted the communication and bill, the twelve men with military alacrity, turned and faced the audience. One stepped slightly forward and spoke.*

*Text of the typewritten letter addressed to the Rev. Minor J. Ross and signed Escambia Klan No. 57, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, also bearing the Klan seal, follows:*

*‘Our organization stands for 100 per cent Americanism and the enforcement of the law and we take this method of commending your stand on the enforcement of the law and against crime in our city in which you ably deliver from the pulpit.*

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<sup>89</sup> “Klan Visits Molino Church,” *Pensacola Journal*, June 12, 1923.

<sup>90</sup> “Klan Lecturer Is Heard Here,” *Pensacola Journal*, June 23, 1923; “Attention Citizens,” *Pensacola Journal*, August 9, 1923; “KKK Speaker Greeted by Large Audience in Public Address,” *Pensacola Journal*, August 11, 1923.

<sup>91</sup> [Ku Klux Klan Ledger, 2, 2016.035.0448, TTW Collection.](#)

*'If every Protestant minister in the city would take the same fearless stand for the enforcement of law and the suppression of crime as you have, Pensacola would become a truly clean city in a short time.*

*'We also want to commend your congregation for the splendid manner in which they have stood by you. They should be congratulated upon having a man of your clean cut, fearless, and straight-forward character for their spiritual leader.*

*'We only hope that you will live to see the day that you will become a member of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and many others of your congregations who stand for the grand principles upon which this organization is based.*

*'We want to assure you that there are many hundreds of the best citizens of Pensacola and Escambia county behind you and every other man who stands up for right. Enclosed find a small material token of our appreciation for your good work in our city.'*<sup>92</sup>

Three days later, Pensacola Klansmen interrupted the evening service at Gadsden Street Methodist Church at Gadsden Street and 9<sup>th</sup> Avenue. As they had done at First Christian, 12 hooded Klansmen marched down the aisle of the church, presented Reverend W.H. McNeal a ten-dollar bill and a letter commending "his work and tell[ing] of the Klan principles," read a verse from the Bible before marching out. Church officers were more welcoming at Gadsden Street Methodist. According to the *Pensacola Journal*, the "twelve robed figures returned to the ante-room, unrobbed, and emerged from the church, boarding waiting automobiles and drove away." Protestant congregations did not always welcome the Pensacola Klan's overtures. The day before they visited Gadsden Street Methodist, a "church officer" from First Presbyterian Church, 33 East Gregory Street, discovered a group of Klansmen and "asked [them] not to disturb the services and they left quietly and promptly."<sup>93</sup>

The first public, open-air Klan initiation in Escambia County occurred the night of Tuesday, October 23, 1923 in the McDavid ballpark. The national Klan publication *The Fiery Cross* described the scene:

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<sup>92</sup> "Dozen Robed Men at Local Church," *Pensacola Journal*, March 26, 1923.

<sup>93</sup> "Klansmen Visit Another Church," *Pensacola Journal*, March 30, 1923.

*The Klansmen dressed and formed at the Methodist Church. At the tap of the bell the fiery cross was lighted and the robed and hooded Klansmen, two hundred in number, fell into line, and marched to the baseball park. The night was clear and cool with a full moon, and the white robes made a very impressive sight as they circled around the ballpark, and formed in front of the speakers stand under the Stars and Stripes and the fiery cross.*

By their account, likely exaggerated, 3,000 spectators listened to Rev. Fillingim, an active Klansman, give the welcome address. The newly elected Exalted Cyclops, J.H. Varnum, gave a short speech, after which 32 men were initiated into the order, including a former member of the Reconstruction-era Klan, who was afforded a free membership for his service during the First Klan. Afterwards “hot coffee and plenty of fine cakes, were served by the ladies.”<sup>94</sup>

Six months later, the Pensacola Klan held its first public open-air initiation, which took place just north of city limits on Palafox Street. Once again denied a permit by city officials, the Klan held the event on the “old Morgan property” despite rumors “the meeting would be attempted in Pensacola without a permit.”<sup>95</sup> A large advertisement appeared in the Tuesday, April 29, 1924, morning *Pensacola Journal*, “respectfully” requesting the public to “witness a large class of Pensacola’s leading citizens naturalized into the greatest of American organizations.”<sup>96</sup> It was a busy evening for Pensacola’s white supremacists, as William Jennings Bryan spoke at Mallory Court and the United Daughters of the Confederacy presented a musical comedy at the Bijou Theater.<sup>97</sup> Nevertheless, thousands of spectators—5,000 to 10,000 according to the *Pensacola Journal*—attended the Klan event. The *Journal* provided this detailed description of the event:

*About ten crosses were burned.*

*From 400 to 600 robed Klansmen were inside the space wired off in an old field from the initiation, about ten or fifteen of them were mounted.*

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<sup>94</sup> “Klan Initiates at McDavid, Florida,” *Fiery Cross* [Indiana], November 2, 1923; see reprint in: [“Florida Klansmen Work Under the Moon,” \*Oklahoma Herald\* \[Muskogee, OK\], October 30, 1923.](#) On First Klan member see: [Ku Klux Klan Ledger, 20, 2016.035.0448, TTW Collection.](#)

<sup>95</sup> “The Ku Klux Klan will have an Open Air Initiation,” *Pensacola Journal*, April 28, 1924.

<sup>96</sup> “The Ku Klux Klan,” *Pensacola Journal*, April 29, 1924.

<sup>97</sup> “Mellon Worst Ever, Bryan Charges Here,” *Pensacola Journal*, April 30, 1924; “Mrs. and Mr. Polly Tickk,” *Pensacola Journal*, April 29, 1924.

*Klansmen directed drivers of cars to parking spaces. The members' cars were parked along the east side of enclosure facing the fenced area. This was so that the headlights could be utilized in lighting the grounds where the initiation took place.*

*Some of the spectators remained in their cars until the ceremonies began but many left their cars and walked over to the line marked and patrolled by Klansmen on the south and west sides.*

*The ceremonies opened with a display of fireworks which lasted for nearly an hour. Two star shells were set off within a few minutes of each other. These shells ascended about 100 feet and then exploded with a blinding flash and report, lighting up the vicinity for the moment. Following this more fireworks were set off and then two more star-shells. At this time a cross which was set up by several Klansmen on the north side of the enclosure near an American flag was burned.*

*Lights on the cars banked to the east were switched on, furnishing illumination for entrances of the robed figures and the initiates.*

*Two more star shells and two skyrockets were touched off. A spark from one of the rockets ignited the store of fireworks and the rockets began shooting about in every direction. One of the robed figures nearby leaped into the air several times, causing amusement among spectators.*

*Mounted Klansmen entered through a passageway in the fence and were followed by other robed members on foot escorting the candidates. This march continued until a hundred or more aliens [initiates] were inside the hollow cross formed by other Klansmen in robes.*

*Two crosses were set upon the east side and fired after which a small cross in the vicinity of the flag and the platform of the leader who administered the oath of allegiance of the Klan to the initiates and the real ceremonies began. Practically nothing of what was said could be heard by the spectators as a strong breeze was blowing from the west and carried the sounds away.*

*Practically every available parking space was utilized and cars which were unable to even get inside of the grounds were parked along the road as far south as the city limits.*

*After the oaths had been administered an elaborate display of fireworks marked the end of the ceremonies, and the general exodus of the crowd from the scene began. At 9:30 Palafox street was a solid line of cars driving toward Pensacola from the location of the meeting.*

*This was the first public initiation of the Ku Klux Klan here.*<sup>98</sup>

Historians have scrutinized and called into question claims made by the Second Klan about its membership and crowds drawn to its events. Verifying the *Journal's* estimated crowd size of 5,000 to 10,000 is not currently possible. However, the Klan ledger indicates 84 men joined the Klan as part of this initiation class, significantly below the “over 100 candidates” listed by the *Journal*. This suggests an over-reportage consistent with exaggerated claims identified by other historians.<sup>99</sup>

The next, and final, public initiation of the Pensacola Klan took place seven months later, again just north of city limits near “Goulding station.” Local newspapers again provided a detailed description of what was generally agreed to have been “the biggest affair of this kind ever stated in this section of the United States.” The *Milton Gazette* claimed, “fully one thousand Klansmen [were] present, and between 15 and 20 thousand spectators,” while the *Pensacola Journal* offered different figures in its description of the event:

*An open air invitation by the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the Women of the Klan was held jointly last night in the large open space north of the depot at Goulding, just outside the city limits. Although there was no method of making an accurate estimate, there appeared to have been between 6,000 and 9,000 spectators.*

*There was a spectacular fireworks display and a number of bombshells were let loose, adding color to the event and attracting a large audience for the naturalization ceremonies. There was no disorder.*

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<sup>98</sup> “Many Witness Initiations of Ku Klux Klan,” *Pensacola Journal*, April 30, 1924.

<sup>99</sup> [Ku Klux Klan Ledger, 27-28, 2016.035.0448, TTW Collection](#); “Many Witness Initiations of Ku Klux Klan,” *Pensacola Journal*, April 30, 1924.

*A large arena had been wired off, a smaller square inside a larger one. Inside the smaller square more than a hundred candidates received the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan pledge while 35 or 40 were received into the women's organization.*

*Among the fireworks pieces set off was one representing the little red school house, one with three large K's and another representing the American flag. Several crosses were also burned.*

*With the women leading, a procession including a number of members of both branches in uniform and the candidates paraded once around the enclosure. Then members of each branch entered their respective initiation places. No horses were used. The spectators did not try to enter the enclosure but looked quietly on from the outside.*

*One Klansman said there were 2,500 or more members of the order on the grounds.<sup>100</sup>*

Two documents about the area's women's Klan chapter have been located in the T.T. Wentworth Jr. Collection. They include a pair of blank "Application for Citizenship in the Invisible Empire Women of the Ku Klux Klan (Incorporated)" and the "Constitution and Laws of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan," dated January 1927.<sup>101</sup> Children's chapters of the Klan were formed across the country (the Junior Ku Klux Klan, for boys, and the Tri-K Klub for girls), but there is no evidence that local chapters existed in Pensacola. However, a copy of the Junior Order of the Ku Klux Klan's Kloran, published in 1924, is in the collection.<sup>102</sup>

The most frequent public appearance the Pensacola Klan made was attending funeral services. As the *Pensacola Journal* quipped in May 1924: "so far as The Journal knows, the only things the Klan has done here of a public nature has been to attend funerals, place some flaming crosses, and hold one public initiation."<sup>103</sup> The first publicized Klan funeral rites took place a year earlier in St. John's Cemetery during the burial of Harry A. Smith in "the largest funeral

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<sup>100</sup> "Many Look on as Klan has Big Initiation," *Pensacola Journal*, November 28, 1924.

<sup>101</sup> Application for Citizenship in the Women of the KKK, ca. 1923-1928, W.83.80.863.1-2, TTW Collection; Constitution and Laws of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan (1917), 2016.035.0441, TTW Collection. On women in the 1920s Klan see: Blee, *Women of the Klan*; Gordon, *Second Coming of the KKK*, 109-138.

<sup>102</sup> *Kloran: Junior Order of the Ku Klux Klan* (1924), 2010.035.0058, TTW Collection. On Junior order of KKK see: Gordon, *Second Coming of the KKK*, 133-134

<sup>103</sup> "The Newspaper's First Duty to its Readers is to Print the News—Not Suppress it!" *Pensacola Journal*, May 4, 1924.

ever held in this city.”<sup>104</sup> The Pensacola Klan participated in at least five additional funerals, including services that appear to have been held for N.H. Cobb in St. Michael’s Cemetery in February 1927.<sup>105</sup>

### ***Politics***

The Pensacola Klan engaged in a variety of explicit efforts to impact and influence the political process at the local, county, state, and national level. This engagement with the political process aligned with the national KKK’s emphasis on political action both “inside and outside the electoral process,” from influencing nominations, getting out the vote, and lobbying office holders to using “social-movement techniques, such as rallies, cross-burnings, public pageants, vigilantism, and an economic boycott of ‘wrong’ enterprises, all of which strengthened its electoral clout.”<sup>106</sup> While evidence suggests the Pensacola Klan’s political activities began in 1925, it is more likely such activities began earlier. By 1927, the Pensacola Klan was clearly involved in the political process at the local and state level. State Klan leaders regularly sent legislative briefs, organized meetings with legislators, and asked local klaverns to keep a careful account of “all city, county, state and federal officials within your jurisdiction who are members of our Organization.”<sup>107</sup>

The Pensacola Klan, following directives issued by state and national leaders, regularly mobilizing its members to petition and lobby elected officials on numerous occasions. Pending legislation and elections were actively discussed at weekly Klan meetings. Petitions were circulated and signed. T.T. Wentworth Jr., in his role as Exalted Cyclops, sent numerous telegrams and letters to elected officials supporting Klan agenda items, from American participation in the World Court to foreign diplomacy with Mexico.<sup>108</sup> Wentworth also regularly lobbied Florida Governor John W. Martin for the appointment of fellow Klansmen to county and

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<sup>104</sup> “Friend Pays Tribute to Late H.A. Smith,” *Pensacola Journal*, April 9, 1924.

<sup>105</sup> “N.H. Cobb Dies at West Pensacola,” *Pensacola Journal*, February 11, 1927.

<sup>106</sup> Gordon, *Second Coming of the KKK*, 163[quote]-179; Pegram, *One Hundred Percent American*, 185-216.

<sup>107</sup> [Correspondence from I.E. Phillips to All Exalted Cyclops, Realm of Florida, 16 June 1927, 2016.035.0320, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from H.L. Pierce to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 22 March 1927, 2016.035.0397, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>108</sup> See, for example: [Telegram from I.E. Phillips to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 16 January 1926, 2017.035.0365, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, 16 January 1926, 2016.035.0368, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to Thomas J. Heflin, 21 February 1927, 83.80.184, TTW Collection](#).

state-level positions.<sup>109</sup> Wentworth also lobbied to have people removed from office, perhaps none more so than a Justice of the Peace and Coroner ex-officio he charged with “malfeasance, misfeasance, and incompetence.”<sup>110</sup> In other correspondence to state and federal representatives, Wentworth offered his appraisal of the political scene in Pensacola and Escambia County, rejoiced over thwarted rivals, and praised successful allies.<sup>111</sup>

In addition to lobbying for members, Wentworth also used his Klan affiliation to promote his personal political agenda. For example, on December 27, 1924, just days before his term on the Escambia County Commission ended, Wentworth wrote to Governor Martin expressing his willingness to serve on the State Road Department. That same day, another letter from the Exalted Cyclops of the Pensacola Klan, which was likely written by Wentworth who was then serving as the Klan’s secretary, was also sent to the governor. Beginning, “Faithful and Esteemed Klansmen ... we urge the appointment of T.T. Wentworth Jr.,” the writer [Wentworth] assured Martin that “we will use our every effort in aiding you to make your record as governor one of the best the state has ever known.” Wentworth did not receive the appointment, much to his surprise, and he disavowed Martin for the next two years.<sup>112</sup>

Wentworth’s actions stirred internal resentment and infighting in the Pensacola Klan. In July 1926, R.C. Wills, a fellow elected officer in the Pensacola Klan, accused Wentworth of “POLITICAL, SELFISH aspirations ... selfish, political ambition [emphasis in original]” in a letter to the Klavern’s Klokann [membership] Committee.<sup>113</sup> Wills was found guilty of being a “detriment to our order” and voted out of the Klan by a 15-1 vote.<sup>114</sup> Four months later, Wentworth engineered the expulsion of six of Willis’s “lieutenants” in a move that solidified his

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<sup>109</sup> On April 6, 1927, for example, the Pensacola Klan leadership endorsed one of their own to fill a recently vacated appointment for Game Warden. While the Klan nominee did not get the nod, the appointee appears to have been a Klan supporter, if not a member. [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, 6 April 1927, 2016.035.0405, TTW Collection](#); “Jernigan is Named County Game Warden,” *Pensacola Journal*, October 17, 1927; [Correspondence from W.C. Jernigan to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 31 May 1926, 2016.035.0370, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>110</sup> [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth to John W. Martin, ca. August 1927, 2016.035.0430.a-d, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>111</sup> See, for example: [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to J.H. Southwick, 18 February 1927, W.83.80.187.2, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to John W. Martin, 4 April 1927, 2016.035.0456, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>112</sup> Quote: [Correspondence from Exalted Cyclops, Escambia Klan No. 57 to John W. Martin, 27 December 1924, 2016.035.0299, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to John W. Martin, 27 December 1924, 2016.035.0298](#); [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to John W. Martin, 13 October 1926, 2016.035.0277, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>113</sup> [Correspondence from R.C. Wills to Klokann Committee, 9 July 1926, 2016.035.0385, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>114</sup> [Correspondence from Klan Committee to I.E. Phillips, ca. July 1926, 2016.035.0428.a-b, TTW Collection](#); [Wills Case Ballots, ca. July 1926, 2016.035.0867, TTW Collection](#).



leadership of the Pensacola Klan.<sup>115</sup> The internal discord may have played a role in the dissolution of the Pensacola Klan the following year.

The Pensacola Klan directly participated in electoral politics throughout the 1920s. A significant number of Pensacola Klansmen were elected to political office, including Florida Senator Herbert P. Caro and Florida Representative J.H. Varnum.<sup>116</sup> A preliminary survey of the membership ledger indicates other Klansmen were elected and appointed to state, county, and municipal positions, including county commissioner, county tax collector, city commissioner, district constable, harbormaster, police court judge, and game and fish commissioner between 1922 and 1928.<sup>117</sup> Additional research will likely uncover more Klansmen who were elected and/or appointed during this period and beyond.

In addition to running for office, Pensacola Klansmen claimed to exercise a decisive impact on local elections. Further analysis is necessary to evaluate their claims. Historians of the Second Klan have demonstrated a pattern of the organization exaggerating its political power.<sup>118</sup> This pattern is evident in the Pensacola Klan. For example, Wentworth claimed to the Klan's state leadership that (1) "my friends and myself" put then-Pensacola Mayor J. Harvey Bayliss on the city council; (2) "we elected a man to the office of City Commissioner" in April 1927; (3) he [Wentworth] "sacrificed my own chances" of election to support Senator Caro in his successful election bid; and (4) "the Klan is responsible for his [J.H. Varnum's] election as Representative."<sup>119</sup> Nevertheless, Pensacola Klansmen frequently manned polling locations,

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<sup>115</sup> [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, 6 November 1926, 2016.035.0284.a-b, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, 14 November 1926, 2016.035.0291.a-c, TTW Collection](#);

<sup>116</sup> [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, 10 November 1926, 2016.035.0288, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from I.E. Phillips to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 12 November 1926, 2016.035.0375, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from J.H. Varnum to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 26 November 1926, 2016.035.0265, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>117</sup> T.T. Wentworth Jr., County Commission in 1922 and county tax collector in 1928; J.R.M. Gates, County Commissioner when joined Klan; L.W. Hardy, County Commissioner in 1928 (unclear if he was still an active member); Hugh Graham, Constable District 2 in 1924; and Frank Boghich, harbormaster 1924 and 1928; L.L. Fabisinski, appointed Recorder (judge of police court) in 1923. [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, 10 November 1926, 2016.035.0288, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from I.E. Phillips to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 12 November 1926, 2016.035.0375, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from J.H. Varnum to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 26 November 1926, 2016.035.0265, TTW Collection](#); [Ku Klux Klan Ledger, 1-9, 125, 2016.035.0448, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>118</sup> Gordon, *Second Coming of the KKK*, 163-179; Pegram, *One Hundred Percent American*, 185-216.

<sup>119</sup> [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to John W. Martin, 4 April 1927, 2016.035.0456, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to I.E. Phillips, 23 April 1927, 2016.035.0410.a-b, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, 22 February 1927, 2016.035.310.a-b, TTW Collection](#).

serving as election inspectors and clerks. In the June 1922 Democratic primary that saw the reelection of Wentworth to County Commission, when the local Klan membership stood around 200, at least 8 of the 148 poll workers in the county were Klansmen.<sup>120</sup> A survey of subsequent elections suggests the Pensacola Klan's activities as poll inspectors and clerks increased as membership grew, and the Klan shifted its focus from growing membership to influencing politics and policy.<sup>121</sup>

### ***Opposition***

From its first public appearance in July 1921 to its apparent demise seven years later, the Pensacola Klan faced consistent and concerted opposition. A diverse coalition of Pensacola residents and institutions joined a chorus of Americans across the country to oppose the Second Ku Klux Klan.

The warning out of Chris Lochas in July 1921 spurred city and county officials to launch investigations within hours of the incident. Local federal officials declined to comment whether they also investigated, but commentators at the time agreed "it seems practically certain that such an investigation is under way." The county solicitor opened a "very searching investigation" that led to "two of the Klansmen" being identified from "several credible white witnesses." The identity of the "Pensacola KKK organizer" was also discovered after "he passed a bad check which was without any disguise."<sup>122</sup> Six days after the incident, the assistant county solicitor interrogated two men, "Ensign Davis of the local naval air station and Phil Smith, employed in this city by the L & N [Railroad]." Under sworn testimony, both Davis and Smith denied being members of the Ku Klux Klan, participating in the Lochas warning out, or knowing about the "activities of the KKK in Pensacola, or the crowd who handed the note to Chris Lochas."<sup>123</sup> A week later, county officials "say they have almost reached a point in their investigation where they are ready to file information against the leaders of the so-called Klan." No charges appear to

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<sup>120</sup> "Election of State and County Democratic Candidates Will be Made at Primary Election Today," *Pensacola Journal*, June 6, 1922; [Ku Klux Klan Ledger, 1-4, 2016.035.0448, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>121</sup> See, for example: T.T. Wentworth Jr. and W.C. Fillingim, both long-time members of the Pensacola Klan, served as inspectors for Precinct 12 at a special tax election in 1925. "Notice of Election," *Pensacola Journal*, December 8, 1925.

<sup>122</sup> "Captain Harper Suspended Pending Investigation," *Pensacola Journal*, July 10, 1921; "On Trail of the Ku Klux Klan," *Daily Democrat [Tallahassee]*, July 11, 1921; "Arrest of Members of Ku Klux Klan Will Soon Be Made," *Pensacola Journal*, July 12, 1921; Untitled op-eds, *Tampa Morning Tribune*, July 15, 1921; "Charter of Ku Klux Klan Suspended," *Pensacola Journal*, July 14, 1921.

<sup>123</sup> "Investigation Being Made By Officials," *Daily Democrat [Tallahassee]*, July 15, 1921.

have been filed. No arrests were made, and the investigations ended two weeks after they began.<sup>124</sup>

Among the Pensacola Klan's earliest and most vocal opponents was William B. Sheppard, federal judge of the Northern District of Florida. Sheppard made numerous public statements chastising the Klan. In September 1921, he told a federal grand jury empaneled to investigate secret societies in New York that the Klan held "its meetings by the light of bonfires in secret places and the members of which wear white suits and masks which attempts to prevent orderly citizens from enjoyment of their constitutional rights—freedom of speech, conscience and right to trial by jury... such behavior on the part of a secret society is a conspiracy and the law can be brought to bear upon them."<sup>125</sup> In a speech to B'nai B'rith, a Jewish fraternal organization, at the Progress Club in December 1922, Sheppard "in a vigorous manner, denounced the KKK ... and expressed his contempt for the majority party in the senate who would permit the southern Democrats to block the passage of the Dyer anti-lynching law."<sup>126</sup> Sheppard, speaking before a group targeted by the Second Klan, explicitly connected the KKK to racial violence.

Local opposition to the Klan grew in late 1922 as local and national Klan activities intensified. After publishing a blistering critique of the Pensacola Klan as well as the license plate numbers of cars associated with individuals attending a purported Klan meeting, the *Pensacola News* refused to publish rebuttals submitted by the Pensacola Klan.<sup>127</sup> The city's other daily newspaper, the morning *Pensacola Journal*, similarly muzzled the local Klan, or at least tried to expose its leadership. In late January 1923, the *Pensacola Journal* acknowledged receiving a letter "purported to be from the Klan" that "bore the seal of the lodge." Noting they "had no objection to publishing this letter," the editors decided that since it was not "signed by the official of the order to insure its authenticity, it is not published." Offering a one-sentence

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<sup>124</sup> "Capt. Harper is Back on Force," *Pensacola Journal*, July 20, 1921. Additional research into police records, dockets, and other archival sources may uncover additional information on this investigation.

<sup>125</sup> "Judge Sheppard, of Florida, Takes a Rap at Ku Klux Klan," *Pensacola Journal*, September 14, 1921.

<sup>126</sup> "Ku Klux Klan is Denounced by Sheppard," *Pensacola Journal*, December 4, 1922. Future research is needed to examine Judge Sheppard's anti-Klan rhetoric and activities.

<sup>127</sup> No surviving copy of this *Pensacola News* has been located yet. Quotes are based on a summary given by the Klan in a broadside printed on January 3, 1923. [Pamphlet, "Ku Klux Klan Reply to Pensacola News," 3 January 1923, 2016.035.0445.a-d, TTW Collection.](#)

summary of its contents, the *Journal* promised to publish the full letter, if it was resubmitted with a signature.<sup>128</sup> Needless to say, no such resubmission occurred.

As the Klan's activities became more public, so too did the Klan's opponents. Opposition to the Klan in Escambia County took many forms, from state legislation to Sunday sermons. In May 1923, Escambia County's State Senator James P. Stokes offered "an anti-Ku Klux Klan measure only applicable to Escambia County" that would have made wearing a mask in public in Escambia County illegal. A similar bill that would have applied to the entire state had little chance of passing. Stokes's anti-Klan bill, by one account, "was killed 17 to 7. Not a word was spoken concerning the bill aside from the customary reading by the clerk. Everybody displayed poker faces and newspaper men read it again to see if they were mistaken in their interpretation of it."<sup>129</sup> The dramatic growth of the Klan in 1923-1924, both locally and nationally, coupled with the Klan's commitment to engaging in the political process made politicians think twice before denouncing a growing, militant voting bloc. This fact was not lost on Stokes, who narrowly won reelection the previous June against W.C. Fillingim, a member of Escambia Klavern No. 57 since 1922, if not earlier.<sup>130</sup>

After a Klan delegation was warmly received by the Men's Group of First Methodist Church at Wright and Palafox Streets in February 1923, the church's pastor, Dr. J.W. Frazier, who had been out of town, took "a fearless stand" the following Sunday and denounced the Klan from the pulpit. Showing "himself a man of character as well as a man of sense," word of his anti-Klan sermon was reprinted in the *Pensacola News* and *Tampa Daily Times*. Dr. Frazier's sermon was the most widely publicized anti-Klan stance taken by a white Protestant minister in Pensacola during the 1920s.<sup>131</sup> Other white Protestant faith leaders in Pensacola also rejected the Klan. Days before Frazier's sermon, a "church officer" of First Presbyterian prevented a Klan delegation from interrupting an evening service.<sup>132</sup> In August 1927, St. John's Episcopal mission

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<sup>128</sup> "The Journal Gets Letter Purported to be from Klan," *Pensacola Journal*, January 28, 1923.

<sup>129</sup> "Escambia Ku Klux Measure is Killed," *Pensacola Journal*, May 22, 1923.

<sup>130</sup> "John P. Stokes Named as Candidate for Democratic Party for State Senate," *Pensacola Journal*, June 8, 1922; [Ku Klux Klan Ledger, 1, 2016.035.0448, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>131</sup> "Masked Band Calls Upon Men's Club," *Pensacola Journal*, February 9, 1923; "Good Citizens Opposed to the Ku Klux Klan," *Tampa Daily Times*, February 24, 1923; "Doctor Frazier's Righteous Stand," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, February 17, 1923.

<sup>132</sup> "Klansmen Visit Another Church," *Pensacola Journal*, March 30, 1923.

denied the Pensacola Klan use of its parish hall, declaring “the Episcopal church does not tolerate un-American, anti-racial, or schismatic movements.”<sup>133</sup>

Existing archival evidence of opposition to the Klan from Pensacola’s African American community is currently limited, though one of the primary suggestions of this report is that a concerted effort be undertaken to identify, preserve, and add archival evidence and oral histories to appropriate repositories so this perspective can be added to the historical narrative. Only nine issues of Pensacola’s African American weekly newspaper, *The Colored Citizen*, are currently accessible for the period during which the Klan was active in Pensacola. The June 20, 1924, issue included an article, provided by the NAACP Press Service, that tells of a New York City newspaper denouncing the Ku Klux Klan “as a menace to America and urged the Protestant ministers of the country to lead in the fight against the hooded organization.”<sup>134</sup> No other explicit mention of the Klan appears in extant issues, but the paper regularly reported on efforts of the national and local chapter of the NAACP as well as local community activism, particularly as they related to schools, churches, and voting.<sup>135</sup> Given the significant and sustained civic and political activism in Pensacola’s African American community, it would be surprising if Black Pensacolians did not actively work to oppose the Pensacola Klan.

The city’s white afternoon daily newspaper, the *Pensacola News*, remained a fierce critic of the Pensacola Klan during the early 1920s, eventually leading to a six-foot cross being burned in the front yard of the paper’s editor, Percy Hayes, in the 1400 block of East Gonzalez Street in July 1925.<sup>136</sup> The morning *Pensacola Journal* was less antagonistic, repeatedly fighting back accusations that it was giving “active assistance” to the Klan.<sup>137</sup> The accusations against the

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<sup>133</sup> “Deny Klan Use of Parish House,” *Pensacola Journal*, August 7, 1927.

<sup>134</sup> “[Urges Protestant Ministers To Combat Hooded Body](#),” *The Colored Citizen* [Pensacola, Florida], June 20, 1924.

<sup>135</sup> Search of Newsbank’s Readex *African American Newspaper Database* did not return any articles related to Pensacola Klan. All extant issues of surviving issues of *The Colored Citizen* are available through the [UWF Digital Library](#).

<sup>136</sup> “Cross Burned at Hayes Home,” *Pensacola Journal*, July 14, 1925. Few issues of the *Pensacola News* survive, but its strong opposition, consistent opposition to the Klan is documented throughout the decade. See, for example: [Pamphlet, “Ku Klux Klan Reply to Pensacola News,” 3 January 1923, 2016.035.0445.a-d, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>137</sup> “Boycott!,” *Pensacola Journal*, June 6, 1923. This accusation came from a new Chicago-based group called the Minute Men. Founded by Charles G. Dawes, this controversial group opposed the Ku Klux Klan and organized labor. “Wheeler Raps Dawes at Home,” *The Star Press* [Muncie, Indiana], September 21, 1924. The accusations levied against the *Pensacola Journal* appear politically motivated, especially given that the owner of the *Pensacola Journal*, John H. Perry, was a rumored contender for the 1924 Republican U.S. Vice-Presidential ticket, which Dawes would go on to secure. Ruby Leach, “Convention Sidelights,” *Miami Tribune*, July 5, 1924. Gilbert, “Racial Attitudes Expressed in *The Pensacola Journal*,” largely concurs with this analysis of the *Pensacola Journal*. Gilbert argues the *Pensacola News Journal* (which appears to focus

*Journal* were most likely an outgrowth of commercial competition and political intrigue. Nevertheless, both the *Pensacola Journal* and *Pensacola News* accepted and ran paid advertisements for Klan meetings and initiations.<sup>138</sup> Rather than openly supporting the Klan, either locally or nationally, the *Pensacola Journal*, like most newspapers around the country, enjoyed a “symbiotic relationship” with the Klan, whereby the Klan thrived on publicity and the newspaper profited from a boost in readership coverage of the Klan could attract.<sup>139</sup> In fact, the Sunday edition of the *Journal* detailing the first public appearance of the Pensacola Klan had brought the highest sales in six months.<sup>140</sup>

While the potential for profits shaped newspaper coverage of the Pensacola Klan, the threat of losing money also drove men away from it. Economic boycotts were common practice of both Klan and anti-Klan forces throughout the 1920s. In Pensacola, economic retaliation against known Klansmen led many businessmen and professionals who initially joined the hooded order to leave it. T.T. Wentworth Jr.’s correspondence offers a window into how this economic boycott targeted individual Klansmen. Wentworth repeatedly noted how his bicycle and hardware store suffered because of his activity in the Klan. He also claimed that his “poor magazine was choked to death from influences of the k. of c. [Knights of Columbus]. So called influential men who put a ban on advertising in it and of course many protestant concerns had to withdraw their ads to keep from losing tremendous business given them by the K.C. bunch.” Wentworth eventually sold *Tom Wentworth’s Magazine*; the publication was soon absorbed by one of his many rivals, Pensacola Mayor J. Harvey Bayliss.<sup>141</sup>

The best description of the opposition the Pensacola Klan faced comes from the Klan itself. The surviving correspondence of the Pensacola Klan, principally letters between T.T. Wentworth Jr. and various state and national Klan leaders, contains a consistent complaint that the Klan faced strong opposition in Pensacola, which Imperial Wizard William J. Simmons

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on the *Pensacola Journal*, because the *Pensacola News Journal* did not exist during the period under analysis) concludes “white racism, perhaps unconsciously, permeated the editorial practices of the *Pensacola News Journal*”(2).

<sup>138</sup> [Invoice from News-Journal Company to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 30 November 1926, 2016.035.0380, TTW Collection.](#)

<sup>139</sup> Harcourt, *Ku Klux Kluture*, 12.

<sup>140</sup> “Over 10,000 Read Sunday’s Journal,” *Pensacola Journal*, July 11, 1921.

<sup>141</sup> While Wentworth initially supported Bayliss’s political career, by 1927 the two men had become rivals. [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, February 1927, 2016.035.0309a-b, TTW Collection.](#)

described in 1921 as a city “where large un-American elements exist.”<sup>142</sup> This opposition, according to the surviving documents penned primarily by Wentworth, came principally from Catholics and the Knights of Columbus. Wentworth’s vague, conspiratorial accusations of “political chicanery,” boycotts, and the “duping” Protestants by Catholics exist alongside more concrete claims that Pensacola’s Catholics were plotting to purchase the Pensacola Klan’s charter. These sentiments reflect the anti-Catholic, conspiratorial fear mongering that scholars identify as central to the Second Klan’s ideology. Wentworth accused Pensacola’s Protestants of being “entwined” with Catholics through intermarriage and “other ties,” and he chastised the city’s Protestant preachers for being “mostly afraid [that] they will lose a dollar and they won’t under any circumstances line up and work with us [the Klan].”<sup>143</sup>

By 1927, T.T. Wentworth Jr., considered by this time an “Old Timer” by Florida’s Grand Dragon,<sup>144</sup> was tasked by the editor of the *Kourier*, a national Klan publication, to write “a few of your early experiences in your words ... [thus] helping preserve events of historic character.”<sup>145</sup> The 1,000-word history Wentworth sent a few weeks later, he explained, “only recorded the experiences which I have personally been through but this gives an idea of the general line of persecution which we had to content with here.”<sup>146</sup> It echoes the consistent thread of victimization that runs through much of the Pensacola Klan’s correspondence as well as the Second Klan more broadly. It also offers an unvarnished window into both the opposition faced by Pensacola’s Klan as well as Wentworth’s assessment of his place in the KKK and the power of this masked, white supremacist organization. As such, it is included in full below:

*Down in Florida in one of the most predominate Catholic and Foreign element city in the state in the year 1920 the Ku Klux Klan was organized with something over one hundred fifty members. As soon thereafter as the fact became known to the public things started to happen.*

*A move was made on the part of the worst element in the city to ascertain of whom the membership consisted and as fast as a member*

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<sup>142</sup> “Charter of Ku Klux Klan Suspended,” *Pensacola Journal*, July 14, 1921.

<sup>143</sup> Quote: [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to W.A. Hamlett, 16 August 1927, 2016.035.0332, TTW Collection](#). See also: [Correspondence, 23 July 1926, 2016.035.0346, TTW Collection](#); [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to J.H. Southwick, 18 February 1927, W.83.80.187.2, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>144</sup> [Correspondence from I.E. Phillips to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 7 March 1927, 2016.035.0312, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>145</sup> [Correspondence T.T. Wentworth Jr. to W.A. Hamlett, 11 August 1927, 2016.035.0331, TTW Collection](#).

<sup>146</sup> [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to W.A. Hamlett, 13 August 1927, 2016.035.0334, TTW Collection](#).

*became known persecution was handed him on every side. Committees were stationed near the hall and on meeting nights a list was made of every person entering the hall. The number of the cars was also noted and on one occasion the afternoon paper published a long list of those numbers and caused a great deal of inconvenience to the members and the only saving part of this episode was the fact that several car numbers were inserted of persons who were not connected with the Klan and they became very much peeved at being accused as being one of the band of mid night assassins and murders as one afternoon paper put it.*

*With all the persecution heaped upon the members the Klan did grow an added strength and prestige until the time came when the members were not persecuted openly.*

*Several incidents of hairbreadth escapes with life and limb was the experience of some of the Klan leaders. At one time a mob attempted to assassinate one of the Klan leaders at the City Court and the only saving part of the whole affair was the quick action of a thirty eight nickel plated revolver handed the leader a few minutes before the gangsters made the desperate attack upon the leader who was just a little bit quicker than the gangsters with the gun and get the drop on them which attested to their cowardice as in as much as when they faced the thirty eight lead slinger they made off in the opposite direction.*

*Another incident was when on a Christmas night a gang of the worst element of the city and ones who passed in the community for decent people made an attack on the Klan leader and came within one inch of causing the spilling of blood as the K. of C. [Knights of Columbus] made the slash at the Klan leader with a keen edged pocket knife and missed his aim and the knife slashed a large place in the cushion of the Automobile seat in which the Klan leader was seated. This episode was one of the most glaring pieces of cowardice ever perpetrated.*

*Incidents aside from those of narrow escape of life which were aimed at Klan leaders and Klansmen were those of business persecution*



*and boycott. This weapon was used most effectively on many members especially some of the leaders.*

*One incident was when one of the Klan leaders attempted to put up a brick store and made all arrangements with the building and loan to get the money which he lacked to pay for the finishing of the building. The contract for the building was let, the work started and the building almost completed when the Klan leader went to the building and loan to get the money to finish paying for the erection of the building as per plans outlined. Imagine his utter chagrin when he was told that they would not let him have one penny. When told that they had promised in advance the money and the building was almost completed and would have to be paid for he was told "That's hard luck we can't help you at all[.]" First thoughts in a predicament as this would be to use hot lead, but there are always means to accomplish things regardless of a bunch of K. of C.'s and pussy footing Protestants who are wrapped up with the devils own. The bank was approached on the subject and they without question advanced the money necessary and the contractor was paid off the business is still in operation and while persecutions have been heaped upon it, it has weather the terrible gale of anti Klan sentiment.*

*To those who have kept the faith and worked with the Klan Movement in this community they have come through the crucible times in fairly good shape and can look back over the grim past with some degree of satisfaction. True enough Some of the Klan leaders have caught it on every hand, even traitors have worked their way into the four walls of the Klavern and tried to disrupt from within and would have succeeded but for the fact that the E.C. [Exalted Cyclops] use his authority and opened the back door as wide as the front.*

*Persecutions, trials and tribulations have been the lot of some of the most tenacious Klan leaders of this community. Most of those who were chosen as leaders however would not continue in the work but utterly failed and weakened the structure and utterly ruined themselves. Those*

*who are chosen to a task and leave it are not worthy of any consideration and they most times don't get any consideration from those whom they have forsaken and neither from those whom they have tried to reach through their double ended manners.*

*It has truly been a night mare in the organization of the Klan in this community. However with all the woes and troubles there has been a bit of humor attached to the work and one who has gone through it if he be a MAN will never regret his part in the making of the one order that is destined to save our Nation from utter destruction.*

*The Klan in this community is now respected and feared by all those who have tried so hard at its destruction.*

*Many of the most bitter enemies of the Klan movement here have either moved to other parts or have died.*

*Like all organizations of worth the Klan has had its merits tested in the fires of persecutions and like other worthy organizations had come out winner and will continue to live on and on in reality and in spirit.<sup>147</sup>*

### **T.T. Wentworth Jr.'s Role in 1920s Pensacola Ku Klux Klan**

Theodore Thomas "Tom" Wentworth Jr. was born in Mobile, Alabama to T.T. and Elizabeth "Lizzie" Wentworth on July 26, 1898. His mother, who preferred Lizzie, and father, a clerk working with the *Mobile Evening News*, had been married for 18 months and lived just west of the downtown district, in a house on the corner of Oak and Pine Streets.<sup>148</sup> The elder Wentworth was the fourth-born son of James Hamilton Wentworth, a Confederate veteran, prominent post-war attorney, and politician who converted to the Baptist faith in 1874 and lived his final two decades as a devoted minister and evangelist. Reverend Wentworth died in

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<sup>147</sup> [Manuscript of Pensacola Klan History by T.T. Wentworth Jr., August 1927, 2016.035.0335a-d, TTW Collection.](#)  
See also: [Correspondence T.T. Wentworth Jr. to W.A. Hamlet, 11 August 1927, 2016.035.0331, TTW Collection.](#)

<sup>148</sup> Birth Certificate of T.T. Wentworth Jr., 2016.035.unaccessioned, TTW Collection; Mortgage dated 20 December 1923, 2016.035.unaccessioned, TTW Collection.

Pensacola five years before T.T. Wentworth Jr. was born, but the patriarch's religiosity, civic mindedness, and Confederate heritage would profoundly shape his grandson's worldview.<sup>149</sup>

The young Wentworth family left Mobile for Pensacola around 1900. Three years later, T.T. Wentworth retired from his position as circulation manager of Pensacola's *Daily News*, and the family left their house on the corner of East Zaragoza Street and Tarragona Street for a dozen acres on Santa Rosa Peninsula they had purchased with the aim of opening a fishing and bathing resort.<sup>150</sup> The family barely survived the 1906 hurricane and drifted back to the city, where they lived on the margins of economic security. Tom, the first-born son, left school early to earn money, selling newspapers and delivering telegrams for the credit reporting agency R.G. Dunn.<sup>151</sup> The elder Wentworth took an active role in local politics and published a short-lived weekly newspaper called the *Tribune*.<sup>152</sup> By age 13, Tom had saved \$100 and went "into business with his father," opening a grocery store around 1911. After three years, the store, as the story was later told, was:

*No go. The capital was too small and the sledding too hard. They closed out regretfully. Then Tom, at the age of 16, cast about him for something that promised more cash, and one day, noticing a broken-down bicycle on the street, and impulse flashed upon him. He would start a repair shop for bicycles. Soon appeared a customer, who gave an order for a part costing 34 cents. Tom got it. He began buying wrecked and broken-up old bicycles and rejuvenating them or using the parts. The shop grew and became a store, and grew again.*

*In a little time he began to advertise in the Pensacola newspapers, but only in a feeble, obscure way that did not please him. 'It was a might hard, uphill pull,' he says, 'and from early morning until late at night I worked and studied. At first I did not do much advertising, but after subscribing to the trade papers I found that other dealers all over the*

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<sup>149</sup> "In Memoriam," *The Daily News* [Pensacola], December 12, 1893; Undated handwritten manuscript, titled 4966, 2016.035.unaccessioned, TTW Collection.

<sup>150</sup> "Society and Events," *The Daily News* [Pensacola], August 28, 1901; "To Our Patrons," *The Daily News* [Pensacola], December 30, 1903; Pensacola City Directory (1903), 233 lists T.T. Wentworth's house as "201 E[ast] Zarragossa [St.];" "Peninsula Was Swept Clear by Storm," *Pensacola Journal*, September 30, 1906.

<sup>151</sup> Tebeau et al., *Florida*, vol. 3 (1965), 4.

<sup>152</sup> [no title], *Pensacola Journal*, February 22, 1910.

*country were making a success by advertising their business. 'The money I had to invest in advertising was very little, and I began figuring out ways to get myself before the public ... I started a bicycle club and its activities did make news; the newspapers wanted it. Two or three times a week I wrote up the doings, and kept this up as a continuous performance. Camping parties, bike tours to other towns, races, and then a girls' club—all these activities furnished copy which the papers were glad to get.'*

*The bicycle club, with a large membership, has been a potent means of expanding Tom's business. The clubroom, long maintained in the rear of the store, is very popular with young folks. Meanwhile Tom's paid advertising grew, until today it frequently runs into half pages in both Pensacola dailies. And down in these parts you will find signs everywhere pointing in the direction of Tom Wentworth's store. You will not be long in Pensacola without getting a letter from him, and perhaps an advertising fan or calendar. News of his shop goes monthly to hundreds of customers and prospects. Recently [1923] Tom has built a modern brick building for his store, one of the best in Pensacola.<sup>153</sup>*

T.T. Wentworth Jr. thrived, and he strove for more. At nineteen, he completed a mail order personal efficiency course. He framed the gilded diploma, dated August 19, 1917, and referenced the achievement in personal bios for decades. Four days before his 21<sup>st</sup> birthday, he purchased land to build a new store that was strategically located near the thriving shipyards producing vessels for World War I. A month later, he purchased, on credit, rental properties near Belmont and Davis Streets. Six months later, he announced his candidacy for county commission. According to an acute observer of 1920s Pensacola, "Tom's card appealed to the people. He had set the county laughing [with his agenda to get the Court House Clock to tell the correct time], and the voters began to look into his record. And they found Tom a business success at the age of 21." He married Rosabel Howington in September and was elected the youngest county commissioner in Florida history in November 1920.<sup>154</sup> Successful in business and politics,

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<sup>153</sup> Edward Mott Woolley, "Romance of Small Business: T.T. Wentworth, Jr. of Pensacola," *Chattanooga Daily Times*, June 23, 1923.

<sup>154</sup> "Celia M. Robinson, Keeping On Time," *Motorcycle and Bicycle Illustrated*, June 23, 1921, 37.

Wentworth remained an active member of the Gadsden Street Methodist Church, and he joined multiple fraternal organizations, including the Odd Fellows and Masons. In 1921, shortly after beginning his term as county commissioner, T.T. Wentworth Jr. joined the Ku Klux Klan.

T.T. Wentworth Jr. was a devoted, unrepentant Klansman and a leading figure in the Pensacola Ku Klux Klan during the 1920s. He was among the first Pensacolians to join the Second Klan and quickly rose to a leadership position as the local chapter's secretary. In that position he maintained records of Klan membership, payment of dues and special assessments, and minutes of chapter meetings. He was also responsible for purchasing and managing almost 500 Klan robes. These robes were discovered almost fifty years later in Rafford Hall, the regular meeting place of the Pensacola Klan. When asked about the robes in 1977, Wentworth replied: "I don't really know when they were put there."<sup>155</sup>

Wentworth became the public face of the KKK in 1920s Pensacola. The monthly publication he owned and edited, *Tom Wentworth's Magazine*, disseminated Klan ideas and, occasionally, Klan-written articles from March 1923 to November 1925.<sup>156</sup> The *Pensacola Journal* and *Pensacola News* billed Wentworth for Klan advertisements, which he paid.<sup>157</sup> Pensacolians sent letters to Wentworth, invoking the KKK in deed if not by name, that asked him to investigate and act on perceived lawlessness and immorality.<sup>158</sup> Pensacola knew that T.T. Wentworth Jr. was synonymous with the Pensacola Klan.

Wentworth led the Pensacola Klan as its elected Exalted Cyclops from July 1925 through the organization's apparent dissolution in 1928. He led the Klan during a time when national scandals and widespread anti-Klan protests and prosecutions led millions to abandon and disavow the Ku Klux Klan. He faced threats that he would be "killed like a dog." Undeterred, Wentworth remained a determined advocate for the Klan's white supremacist, militant Protestant agenda and continued working to expand the organization and further its platform long after it was popular or socially acceptable for native-born white Protestant men to do so. In 1927, just hours after his daughter, Jane, was born, Wentworth wrote Florida's Grand Dragon to tell him of

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<sup>155</sup> Dot Brown, "Origin of Decrepit Ku Klux Klan Robes Poses a Mystery to Florida Historians," *Pensacola New Journal*, July 10, 1977 [quote]. On his management of Klan's robes see: [Ku Klux Klan Ledger, 75. 100-107, 2016.035.0448, TTW Collection.](#)

<sup>156</sup> See for example: "The Ku Klux Creed," *Tom Wentworth's Magazine* (September 1923), 7.

<sup>157</sup> [Invoice from News-Journal Company to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 30 November 1926, 2016.035.0380, TTW Collection.](#)

<sup>158</sup> [Correspondence to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 30 March 1927, 2016.035.0402, TTW Collection;](#) [Correspondence from Christine Cloud to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 1 August 1927, 2016.035.0424.a-b, TTW Collection.](#)

his recent reelection to Exalted Cyclops; to order “five hundred of the little pamphlets, *The Ku Klux Klan Presents Its Views on Marriage*; and to get a quote for “a New E.C.’s Robe or Klan Giants Robe[,] one that is of a satin finish and which will lend dignity to the office.”<sup>159</sup>

Finally, Wentworth profited from his participation in the Klan, using it to secure political power and prestige, initially from Klan sympathizers and those amenable to the Klan’s white supremacist, militant Protestant agenda. Wentworth was paid for his services as Kligrapp and Exalted Cyclops, “but this pay was minimal.”<sup>160</sup> Tangible power came from the state when the police commissioner granted him police powers during his three-year tenure as Exalted Cyclops. Wentworth regularly communicated with influential politicians, including the governor of Florida as well as state and federal representatives. He maintained close personal ties with them while advocating the Klan agenda and for his personal gain. Wentworth leveraged his Klan connections to grow his economic interests and further his political career. Klansmen were the primary stockholders in the T.T. Wentworth Jr. Corporation, which was chartered in 1922, and Klansmen were prominent advertisers in *Tom Wentworth’s Magazine*. Finally, Wentworth’s successful 1928 election bid was likely financed in part by a loan secured by a fellow officer of the Pensacola Klan.<sup>161</sup>

### **Legacies: The Ku Klux Klan, T.T. Wentworth Jr., and Pensacola**

In 2020, renowned Florida historian Gary Mormino published a biography of Milliard Fillmore Caldwell. A contemporary of Wentworth, Caldwell served as governor, congressman, state legislator, and chief justice of the Florida Supreme Court, and was “once considered one of the greatest Floridians of his generation.” But, as Mormino observes, “his attitudes toward race and citizenship strike Americans today as embarrassing and shocking. He refused to address black leaders by their titles. He argued for segregated bomb shelters. And he accepted lynching as part of the southern way of life.” At the end of the biography, subtitled “Governing on the Wrong Side of History,” Mormino asks: “How shall we judge the whole life of Caldwell?”

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<sup>159</sup> [Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, 25 May 1927, 2016.035.0416.a-b, TTW Collection.](#)

<sup>160</sup> [Roland G. Fryer, Jr. and Steven D. Levitt, “Hatred and Profits: Getting Under the Hood of the Ku Klux Klan,” National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper 13417, September 2007, 28.](#)

<sup>161</sup> American National Bank promissory note for \$40 signed by J.W. Bell and endorsed by T.T. Wentworth Jr., 13 April 1928, 2016.035.unaccessioned, TTW Collection.

Noting the difficulty of “judging past heroes by today’s standards” and the need to be “judicious and fair,” Mormino concludes that Caldwell “was an exemplary figure, a man of his times, but the times changed, and he was incapable or unwilling to accept and adjust to new ideas, laws, and attitudes.”<sup>162</sup> While the same may be true of T.T. Wentworth Jr., it is beyond the scope of this project to assess Wentworth’s life. Instead, this section suggests possible legacies of the 1920s Klan.

The existing scholarship is clear that the Second Klan became prolific and grew quickly in the 1920s because it represented widely accepted ideas and pursued an agenda broadly appealing to many white Americans. The KKK, in short, both manifested and drew from the white supremacist fraternalism that infused white Protestant American culture during this time. Put another way, the Klan’s white supremacy was a slightly more extreme version of the mainstream American values. This mindset was deeply embedded in the core of American life, and by extension Pensacola culture and society.

What about the legacy of the Klan experience on the lives of local Klansmen? While the Pensacola Klan appears to have dissolved in 1928, with many of its more influential members leaving years before then, the question of how membership in the KKK may have impacted subsequent actions of Klansmen and Klanswomen is as important as it is difficult to ascertain and document. A number of Klansmen from the 1920s continued and/or went on to prominent local and state civic, business, and cultural positions. Did their Klan affiliation play a role in their rise? Did they profit from membership in the Klan? Did the ideas they pledged to uphold and support when they joined the Klan continue to shape their thoughts and actions after the local Klan dissolved? Did they renounce the Klan’s ideology? How do we measure, define, and evaluate these various trajectories?

Answering these questions is particularly challenging because this project focuses on a single individual, T.T. Wentworth Jr.. According to the existing documentary record, Wentworth’s participation in the local Ku Klux Klan was over by 1931, if not earlier. No evidence of his direct personal participation in the post-War World Two revival of the Ku Klux Klan has yet come to light.<sup>163</sup> His various pursuits and accomplishments over the ensuing six

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<sup>162</sup> Mormino, *Milliard Fillmore Caldwell*.

<sup>163</sup> A 1941 letter from Orlando Klan asking Wentworth for reference for the city’s new police chief, who claimed previous membership in the Pensacola Klan, is the last direct Klan correspondence so far located in the TTW Collection. [Correspondence from W.M. Purvie to T.T. Wentworth Jr., 28 May 1941, W.83.102.1435, TTW](#)

decades are well catalogued and include 12 years as county tax collector; a very successful real estate appraisal and brokerage career; local philanthropy; and, most notably, his wide-ranging historic preservation, interpretation, and collection efforts, for which he earned the sobriquet “Mr. History.”<sup>164</sup> As a fierce advocate for history, Wentworth was acutely aware of the power of historical narratives and the value of preserving historic documents. He also knew how to deploy history to bolster community identity and economic development. It is telling that Wentworth chose not to donate the historically significant collection of KKK documents on which this report is largely based during his lifetime. No evidence of his public disavowal of either the KKK or its white supremacist militant Protestant agenda has yet been identified, although Wentworth would apparently reconcile with the Knights of Columbus and the Pensacola Catholic community more broadly.<sup>165</sup> Finally, when offered the opportunity to discuss this history more than 50 years after he was elected Exalted Cyclops, Wentworth claimed no direct knowledge of the Pensacola Klan and provided inaccurate information to a reporter.

Below are potential legacies of the Ku Klux Klan in 1920s Pensacola as suggested by existing documentation. Further research will likely alter and refine these initial observations.

- ***Impact on Pensacola’s historical memory and archives***

The histories that T.T. Wentworth Jr. told and the historical documents and artifacts he collected and displayed never represented the full sweep of Pensacola’s past. “Mr. History” didn’t tell the whole story. The most glaring omission relates to African American history. With a few notable exceptions, Wentworth did not collect material related to African American history nor did he meaningfully include the African American experience in his histories of Pensacola. The consequences of this explicit omission have been to not only (1) obscure the contributions of African Americans to the region’s development in popular histories of Pensacola, most of which have drawn from,

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[Collection](#). The TTW Collection does contain campaign literature from Bill Hendrix, a leader of Tallahassee’s post-war Klan and self-proclaimed “Florida grand dragon of the Southern Knights. Newton, *Invisible Empires*, 126-128. Bill Hendrix Campaign Flyer, ca. 1940s-1950s, [2016.035.0864.a-b](#) and [2016.035.0863.a-b](#), TTW Collection.

<sup>164</sup> Tebeau et al., *Florida*, vol. 3 (1965), 4-6; Rees et al, *T.T. Wentworth Jr. Museum*.

<sup>165</sup> Correspondence between Wentworth and the Knights of Columbus regarding the organization’s history in the 1970s was devoid of the anti-Catholic rhetoric characteristic of Wentworth’s comments in the 1920s. See, for example, Correspondence T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.C. Quina, 1 May 1973, 2016.035.unaccessioned, TTW Collection.



if not cite, Wentworth's work; and (2) make it difficult for others to research African American history in Northwest Florida because of his collection of documents and artifacts, which are now the nucleus of one of Northwest Florida's largest archival collections. The impacts these explicit omissions have had on community identity, politics, and policy are significant and deserve additional investigation.

Wentworth began presenting historical artifacts and writing history while he was a Klansman. He received instructions from a national Klan leader on how to write stirring history. The first history he wrote was the history of the Pensacola Ku Klux Klan.<sup>166</sup> The rest of his historical writings explicitly focus on telling the story of white Pensacola. One of the first pieces of history Wentworth wrote appeared in a 1934 Pensacola newspaper, headlined "White Men Came to These Shores Many Years Before Columbus, Says Wentworth." This piece is an effort to downplay the "discovery" of North America by Italian Christopher Columbus.<sup>167</sup> Wentworth's first self-published history, *Pensacola: A Sketch* (1937), begins: "The first settlement on the North American Continent was established when Don Tristan DeLuna settled Pensacola with some two thousand followers in the year 1559."<sup>168</sup> While Wentworth's anti-Catholicism had seemingly abated by the late 1930s, he continued to exclude the contributions of free and enslaved African Americans and Native Americans. This willful oversight characterized Wentworth's historical practice over the next five decades.

- ***White supremacist rhetoric in public discourse***

Historian Linda Gordon concludes her study of the Second KKK claiming "the biggest Klan victory" was how "it influenced the public conversation, the universe of tolerable discourse. It increased the intensity and spread of bigoted speech and, occasionally, action ... The Klan spread, strengthened, and radicalized preexisting nativist and racist sentiments among the white population."<sup>169</sup> Gordon notes how core components of

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<sup>166</sup> [Manuscript of Pensacola Klan History by T.T. Wentworth Jr., August 1927, 2016.035.0335a-d, TTW Collection.](#)  
See also: [Correspondence T.T. Wentworth Jr. to W.A. Hamlet, 11 August 1927, 2016.035.0331, TTW Collection.](#)

<sup>167</sup> "White Men Came to These Shores Many Years Before Columbus, Says Wentworth," *Pensacola Journal*, June 15, 1934.

<sup>168</sup> T.T. Wentworth Jr., *Pensacola: A Sketch* (Pensacola, FL: Mayes Printing Company, 1937), 1.

<sup>169</sup> Gordon, *Second Coming of the KKK*, 195.

Second Klan ideology—nativism, racism, anti-radicalism, bigotry, and a narrow definition of “Americanism”—“reappeared in later decades.” Gordon concludes that the Second Klan and current (2018) “right-wing populists”:

*Share characteristics, as a particular but recognizable type of conservatism. Illiberal in their suspicion of dissent and the rights of minority groups, clinging to fictive images of their nations as homogeneous and destined to be so, resentful of cultural elites yet accepting the dominance of economic elites, they direct anger at big-city cosmopolitans and at groups outside their imagined homogeneity. In the United States, these movements and their populist, racist, demagogic, and incitatory orientation are a continuing part of our history, if sometime dormant. The Klannish spirit—fearful, angry, gullible to sensational falsehoods, in thrall to demagogic leaders and abusive language, hostile to science and intellectuals, committed to the dream that everyone can be a success in business if they only try—lives on.<sup>170</sup>*

The echoes of the Second Klan reverberated through T.T. Wentworth Jr.’s life after his time with the Klan ended. He maintained close relationships with former fellow Klansmen. He collected campaign literature and newsletters related to 1940s and 1950s Florida Klan leader Bill Hendrix. He joined the radical John Birch Society and left the Democratic party for the Republican party in the midst of the Civil Rights Movement.<sup>171</sup> He opposed American engagement with the United Nations, the creation of the Department of Urban Affairs and Housing, and civil rights legislation in the 1960s.<sup>172</sup> And in 1966, he chartered a local “camp” of the Sons of Confederate Veterans named after his grandfather, J.H. Wentworth. In a clear rebuke to the civil rights movement, Wentworth organized a local chapter of an organization whose principal concern “revolved around a defense of

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<sup>170</sup> Gordon, *Second Coming of the KKK*, 208.

<sup>171</sup> Correspondence to “New Member” from Robert Welch, undated, Politics: Political Organizations box, TTW Collection.

<sup>172</sup> Correspondence from George A. Smathers to T.T. Wentworth Jr, 31 January 1962, Political Candidates N-Si box, TTW Collection; Correspondence from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to Spensard A. Holland, 11 February 1964, Political Candidates G-J box, TTW Collection.

the Lost Cause narrative,” joining other Deep South leaders who “perpetuated the Lost Cause narrative of states’ rights and its attendant white supremacy.”<sup>173</sup>

- ***Intimidation and violence fueled by bigotry***

Racialized violence and intimidation have been a characteristic of Pensacola’s history from at least 1559 when the first enslaved Africans set foot on land in what is today Pensacola through centuries of the chattel slavery, a vigorously contested period of Reconstruction, the imposition, continuation, dismantling, and reimagining of Jim Crow. Racialized violence, always contested--occasionally with interracial coalitions--is deeply entwined with the history of Pensacola.<sup>174</sup> The 1920s Pensacola Klan explicitly invoked the racial terror of the Reconstruction-era Klan while engaging in violence and intimidation based on bigotry and an explicitly white supremacist ideology. This violence and intimidation continued, if not accelerated in the decades after the Second Klan dissolved. The reemergence of the local Klan in the 1940s, well publicized episodes of police brutality in the 1970s, and the emergence of Escambia County as a center of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1970s and 80s are only the tip of the iceberg.<sup>175</sup> In short, Pensacola’s Second Klan was part of a long arc of white supremacist violence that has been a defining characteristic of Pensacola’s past. As one student of Pensacola’s history of race relations concluded about this violent past: “This reflects Pensacola’s dark, bloody history. But it is our history. It is our legacy. And we need to own it. In the same way that we need to reclaim our history of diversity and liberty, we need to repent from our history of oppression and subjugation.”<sup>176</sup>

- ***Unknowns***

Finally, there remain many unknown, undocumented possible impacts that the local Klan had on our community, which further research may be able to shed light on. These include:

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<sup>173</sup> Levin, *Searching for Black Confederates*, 129-130; Cox, *No Common Ground*, 78-80.

<sup>174</sup> Clavin, *Aiming for Pensacola*; Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed*.

<sup>175</sup> Butler, *Beyond Integration*.

<sup>176</sup> Hoffman, “Integration of the Episcopal Day School,” 54.

1. *Politics* – The Klan attempted to impact the political process throughout the 1920s, and in several instances claimed to have decisively shaped local elections. What role did Klansmen play in politics after the Klan disbanded? Wentworth, in his role as County Tax Collector, was responsible for the collection of poll taxes, a necessary prerequisite for voting and a vital tool in the maintenance of Jim Crow. He was also embroiled in legal controversy over the legal collection of poll taxes during a time when the local NAACP was undertaking a sustained effort to increase the Black vote in Pensacola. Further research should explore if Wentworth used his power as County Tax Collector to impact voting eligibility in Escambia County.
2. *Education* – Public education was a core issue of the 1920s Ku Klux Klan and appears to have been an important issue to the Pensacola Klan. J.H. Varnum, former Exalted Cyclops, State Representative, and State Klan leader, served as Superintendent of Escambia County Public Schools during the 1930s. The consequences of that election on African American, immigrant, and Catholic students deserves a full accounting.
3. *Real Estate* – As county tax collector, Wentworth oversaw a more aggressive effort to recoup unpaid taxes through property tax auctions authorized by a new state law. The tax board that oversaw which properties would be auctioned was composed, in 1929, of three men, two of whom had been Klansmen. Many properties were adjudicated through this process during Wentworth’s 12-year tenure, and a full investigation should be done to explore the presence or absence of inequitable enforcement and its impact on Escambia County residents. Further, Wentworth became wealthy during his tenure as county tax collector. From claiming financial duress in the late 1920s, Wentworth’s net worth had grown to \$48,501.28, or almost \$900,000 in 2021 dollars, by 1938, and his annual income surpassed \$8,000, approximately \$150,000 in 2021 dollars.<sup>177</sup> Almost 75% of his net worth came

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<sup>177</sup> Loan Application of T.T. Wentworth Jr., 25 January 1938, TTW Bank Statements and transactions, 1919-1964 folder, Private and Business Bank Statements, Checks Box, TTW Collection; [Inflation calculator, savings.org](#); Income Tax Form, T.T. Wentworth Jr., 1939, Box 247, TTW Collection; [Inflation calculator, savings.org](#).

from property, raising additional questions about how Wentworth engineered this financial turnaround.

4. *Klansmen* – Due to the existing archival record and Wentworth’s leadership role in the 1920s Klan, the above suggestions focus on Wentworth’s activities. But what of Pensacola’s other members of the Invisible Empire? As one example of the potential longer-term impacts and reverberations 1920s Klan had on Pensacola, Escambia, and, indeed, the State of Florida, take Leo Luke Fabisinski. One of the first documented members of the 1920s Pensacola Klan, Fabinski was elected Pensacola Recorder, or police court judge, while a Klansman, a position he served until appointed a state judge in the 1930s. Judge Fabisinski presided over Florida’s First Circuit Court for decades while shaping local institutions, including the YMCA and the Interstate Fair.<sup>178</sup> In 1957, Fabisinski chaired the eponymous Fabisinski Commission, which, as one scholar of Jim Crow explains: “Without targeting race directly, they [the Fabisinski Committee] provided the state, and the governor in particular, with a set of strategies for dealing not only with the Supreme Court[’s *Brown v. Board of Education* decision desegregating public schools] but also with black protest.” The NAACP called the committee’s final report “a disgrace before God and man,” asking state legislators to uphold the “Constitution of the United States and the principles of Christianity.”<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Frank Taylor, “Interstate Fair Holds \$500,000 in Bank Accounts,” *Pensacola Journal*, March 5, 1979; Jerry Shriver, “YMCA Celebrates 100 Years of Service to Pensacola,” *Pensacola Journal*, February 27, 1980.

<sup>179</sup> Walker *Ghosts of Jim Crow*, 101.

### **III: NEXT STEPS**

This report is the result of extensive archival research embedded in a robust scholarly framework. It is also the result of sustained dialogue with and input from a diverse group of stakeholders, including the members of the community advisory group, representatives of the University of West Florida and UWF Historic Trust, professional historians, archivists, and librarians, as well as other community groups and members. The preceding sections establish the basic history of the Pensacola chapter of the Ku Klux Klan during the 1920s. They also suggest potential impacts the Pensacola Klan had on the broader community. This section offers suggestions and recommendations for the UWF Historic Trust based on the findings of this report, the current state of research, and the experience and process of creating this community-informed research.

#### **Looking Back**

- Identify and collect community memories, oral histories, and other historical evidence about T.T. Wentworth Jr., the Second Klan, and their legacy.
- Conduct additional archival research, including at the archives of the Archdiocese of Mobile and other relevant repositories.
- Complete broader historical analysis of the Pensacola Ku Klux Klan.
- Complete broader investigation of the long-term impacts of the 1920s Ku Klux Klan on the region.
- Transcribe all of the digitized documents and make transcriptions part of the digitized record.
- Publish and disseminate findings in scholarly and publicly accessible modalities.

#### **Looking Ahead**

- *Collections* — Conduct a comprehensive evaluation of the T.T. Wentworth Jr. Collection's inclusivity and how representative it is of the diverse communities that constitute northwest Florida's past and present. Focus collection and preservation efforts to fill identified gaps in the archive. Finally, complete cataloging of the archive according to best practices established by the Society of American Archivists to insure and enhance access to existing resources for researchers, scholars, students, and others.

- ***Interpretation*** — Conduct a comprehensive audit of existing and upcoming exhibits, programming, and other interpretative encounters that rely on the T.T. Wentworth Jr. Collection for implicit and explicit bias. Make updates as necessary in collaboration with community stakeholders and scholarly experts.
- ***Engagement*** — Foster ongoing and varied public engagement opportunities for sharing and discussing this history and its impact. Engage community stakeholders in: diversifying archival collections, crafting interpretative agendas and products, conducting historical research, and fostering community dialogue about these difficult histories.
- ***Equity and Inclusion*** — Commit to funding, project development, and management equity with stakeholder institutions and community experts on projects related to the history and history making of the greater-Pensacola region.

## Appendix A: “Pensacola’s Confederate Monument and the Erasure of History”

### Pensacola’s Confederate Monument and the Erasure of History

Tom Garner - July 12, 2020

It’s time.

For 129 years Pensacola’s Confederate monument has occupied a place of prominence and prestige on the crest of Palafox Hill overlooking downtown Pensacola. It’s time now for it to come down.

Some will argue that removing the monument erases history. But it was with the original placement of the monument in 1891 that history was erased. We know this from a single word found missing from the monument’s text: “slavery”.

To understand the monument, the Confederacy, the Civil War, we need to answer a single question. Had the Confederate cause prevailed, what would the fate of slavery have been? Had the Confederacy won, the black citizens of the country, including the black citizens of Pensacola, would have remained in chains. In this context, the Confederate monument can only be viewed as a generations-long slap in the face to Pensacola’s black community.

It’s time for the monument to come down.

Blocks to the south, in the center of Plaza Ferdinand, in the most prominent and visible place of honor in the city, another monument stands, a granite obelisk dedicated to the memory of William Dudley Chipley. W. D. Chipley is remembered as a successful businessman and builder of the Pensacola and Atlantic Railroad, which passes over the place we know today as Graffiti Bridge.

Chipley is further remembered as a politician and elected official. In 1884 he was appointed Pensacola-area vice-chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee of Florida, and by 1888 had been elected chairman for the entire state<sup>1</sup>. From 1887 to 1888 Chipley served as mayor of Pensacola, and from 1895 to 1897 served as Florida state senator from Escambia County.

Chipley is also remembered as a soldier. His monument records that “he fought for the Confederacy as sergeant-major, adjutant and captain, at Shiloh, Corinth, Chickamauga and other hard-fought fields, and bled for her at Shiloh and Chickamauga.” Pensacola’s Confederate monument, which Chipley championed, says of the Confederate soldiers that their “joy was to suffer and die for a cause they believed to be just.” Yet no amount of belief can make the cause for which they fought, the cause for which Chipley fought, just. As with the Confederate monument, it’s time for the Chipley monument to come down.

Immediately east of Plaza Ferdinand and the Chipley monument stands Pensacola’s Old City Hall, the most majestic structure on the public square. Built in 1907, it houses the T. T. Wentworth, Jr. Florida State Museum, and is operated by the University of West Florida Historic Trust. On a brightly colored display near the museum’s entrance, Wentworth is remembered as a small-business owner, the founder of a successful bicycle shop and sporting goods store.



Wentworth is further remembered as a politician and elected official. In 1920 he was elected to the Escambia County Board of County Commissioners, the youngest commissioner ever elected in Florida. From 1928 to 1940, Wentworth served as Escambia County's tax collector.

Wentworth is also remembered as a historian. An early collector of Pensacola's historic artifacts and memorabilia, Wentworth created some of the city's first museum displays. Beginning in the 1930's he "delivered weekly talks over local radio station WCOA, and published articles, columns, magazines and pamphlets filled with historical photos and documents." It was in honor of these and other historic preservation achievements that Pensacola News Journal editor Earle Bowden honored Wentworth with the nickname "Mr. History".

T. T. Wentworth, Jr. was also Exalted Cyclops, Escambia Klan number 57, Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Documents record the founding of Escambia's Klan in 1920, with Wentworth as its first Kligrapp, or secretary. In 1925, Wentworth was elected Exalted Cyclops, or president.

These documents, held in the museum archives, are from Wentworth's personal files<sup>2</sup>. Among the many Klan-related items in the files are Wentworth's Klan membership cards, correspondence between Wentworth and the Grand Dragon, Realm of Florida, and an invoice for Wentworth's specially ordered satin Exalted Cyclops robe.

For those unfamiliar with the beliefs and tenets of the Klan, a philosophy with which Wentworth would have been intimately familiar, the organization's 1922 constitution makes it clear: "We avow the distinction between the races of mankind as decreed by the Creator, and we shall ever be true to the maintenance of White supremacy and strenuously oppose any compromise thereof."

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Who tells the story of a community? Who becomes the keeper of its history? Among Pensacola's earliest storytellers were Exalted Cyclops Wentworth, and Confederate veteran Chipley. Another early keeper of our history was Lelia Abercrombie, first curator of the Pensacola Historical Museum<sup>3</sup>.

Founded in 1960, Pensacola's only historical museum made its home in the city-owned Old Christ Church on Seville Square<sup>4</sup>. Abercrombie is honored today in the name of the UWF Historic Trust's Lelia Abercrombie Historical Reference Library. In addition to her curatorial duties, it was Abercrombie who would, upon black visitors leaving the museum<sup>5</sup>, open every window and loudly complain about "the smell".

In the 1890s, when the Confederate and Chipley monuments were conceived, Pensacola's population was forty-eight percent black, and by 1900 well over fifty percent black. Despite these figures, is it realistic to think that Confederate veterans consulted Pensacola's black citizens when they erected these monuments on public property in the two most prominent locations in the city? Do we believe that, in 1930's Pensacola, an Exalted Cyclops of the Ku Klux Klan asked black Pensacolians their opinion of his radio programs and publications? Do we think that, when the Pensacola Historical Museum opened in 1960, blocks away from sit-ins protesting segregated lunch counters<sup>6</sup>, that the curator sought the input of the local black community regarding exhibits?

Wentworth and Abercrombie have been gone for decades now. Chipley is a long-faded memory. The Old Christ Church and Pensacola Historical Museum were years ago absorbed into the UWF Historic Trust.

And yet, after all these years, the full story of the black experience in Pensacola still has not been told. This is not the fault of long deceased, racist figures of the past. This failure lies with us.

The history of Pensacola's black citizens is not hard to find. It surrounds us. For instance, most in Pensacola's white community don't know, as we attend the many festivals in Seville Square, that just a block away two black men, Jeff Brown and Morris Morse, were murdered by a lynch mob in 1875<sup>7</sup>. Most don't know, as they walk through Plaza Ferdinand, that two black men, Leander Shaw and David Alexander were, in 1908 and 1909, also murdered by a lynch mob. Most don't realize, as they pass the old Escambia County courthouse on Palafox Street, that the records of local slave transactions -- the actual documents through which Pensacola's black citizens were bought and sold -- still exist.

Most don't understand, when they attend a performance at Pensacola's historic Saenger Theatre, that black patrons were, not that long ago, required to sit in the "colored balcony" reached through a side door marked "colored entrance"<sup>8</sup>. Most don't realize, when shopping at the Palafox Market Saturday mornings, that what we now call Martin Luther King Plaza<sup>9</sup> was once a city streetcar stop, where black passengers were, by order of the Pensacola City Council<sup>10</sup>, made to sit at the back of the bus well before buses even came to be. Most don't know that immediately east of the Confederate monument stood the first Pensacola High School, an institute of learning that black scholars were legally prohibited from attending.

Most don't recognize that Palafox Street itself was home to successful black-owned small businesses until they were driven from Pensacola's primary business district by the hand of Jim Crow. And most have no concept, as they walk among the halls of power and justice in downtown Pensacola that, for generations, black citizens were systematically denied the right to occupy those halls. Over the course of lifetimes, there were no black mayors, councilmembers or county commissioners, no black school superintendents, election supervisors or tax collectors, no black police chiefs or sheriffs, no black police officers or deputy sheriffs, no black judges or jurors, no black representatives or senators. Not even the proverbial dog catcher could be black in Pensacola.

In fact, the only public indication, the only hint at the inconceivable obstacles and adversities faced by black Pensacolians throughout a long, long history is a solitary historical marker on Palafox Street commemorating the sit-ins of the early 1960s. As the marker details, "members of Pensacola's NAACP Youth Council, some as young as 12 years old, took their stand against segregation by peacefully occupying lunch counter seats." These young citizens were physically and verbally harassed and even arrested on falsified charges, but in March of 1962, after a grueling two-year effort, they prevailed. The NAACP placed this marker just a few short years ago.

This is the history that Pensacola has erased. Nowhere can our citizens, educators, business leaders, or elected representatives learn the full story<sup>11</sup> of enslavement, of black codes, of poll taxes, of segregated education, of segregated transportation, of segregated healthcare, of segregated business, of exclusion from political power, of lynching, of the struggle for civil rights, of redlining, of sundown towns<sup>12</sup>. It is as though this history never happened. It has been vanished.

There is no other aspect of our history to which we turn such a blind, forgetful eye, not the Spanish explorers, not naval aviation, not the Civil War. But if we are to understand the lives of our black fellow citizens today, we must understand this history. We must understand that every significant obstacle the black community faces today finds its roots in the injustices of the past, in the denial of equal access, past and present, to housing, to education, to healthcare, to economic opportunity, to justice. It is the denial

of access, even today, to what we in the white community commonly take for granted as the American dream.

Within the white community, we tell ourselves that this uncomfortable history is behind us, that it was all a long time ago, that it's best now to just move on. We convince ourselves that the civil rights struggle of fifty years ago was more than enough to root out the injustices of the past, and that racism and discrimination cannot possibly still exist today. We tell ourselves that centuries of brutality and injustice couldn't possibly have driven the stain of prejudice so deeply into the fabric of our community that today, after all these years, it still has not been completely scrubbed away.

We reassure ourselves that this is not even our own history, that this history belongs to someone else, that it's "black history". Yet had it not been for people with white skin, people who look like us, people who look like me, this history could not, would not, have taken place. This history is our history, it's white history, and it's long past time for this history to be heard.

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It was no accident that Leander Shaw<sup>13</sup> and David Alexander<sup>14</sup> were murdered at the center of Plaza Ferdinand just steps away from the Chipley monument, the most prominent and visible location in the city. These murders were intended to send a message: if you're black in Pensacola, justice and equal protection under the law do not apply. It was a naked act of terrorism.

Today we have the opportunity to send a different message, one of support, appreciation, and respect for the black citizens of Pensacola. It is inconceivable that the most prominent museum in the city will continue to bear the name of a founding member and the highest office holder of the local chapter of the Ku Klux Klan. What then does the future hold for the historic Old Pensacola City Hall?

As a native Pensacolian, and as someone who has invested decades toward the understanding and promotion of this community's history, it is my hope that Pensacola's Old City Hall, as well as historically relevant areas of Plaza Ferdinand,<sup>15</sup> will become home to a Pensacola area black history museum, archives and research center<sup>16</sup>.

This facility should be operated under three criteria:

1. It should be under the direction of an autonomous team of black historians, archivists, and museum professionals<sup>17</sup>.
2. It should be fully funded by the City of Pensacola, Escambia County, and the State of Florida.
3. It should be available to both residents of and visitors to the Pensacola area at no cost<sup>18</sup>.

Some will argue that the subject matter, while important, is not appropriate for a museum, that it's too uncomfortable, too sensitive, too divisive. Some will argue that we're just not ready. I would point to the National Museum of African American History and Culture and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., as well as to the National Memorial for Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama, as some of the most visited museums and archives in the nation.

Some will ask how we can possibly afford such a facility, particularly in times of economic hardship. I would ask how we can possibly begin to repay the enormous debt that is owed. Creation of this museum, archives and research center seems the least we can do, and Pensacola's black community has, through generations of injustice, earned this.

The creation of this facility may be challenging. Worthy projects often are. But is the task more challenging than that faced by a black citizen denied the right to vote by an unjust poll tax? Is it more difficult than that faced by a young black scholar denied a college education through an unfair admissions process? Is it tougher than the one faced by a black small-business owner driven from Pensacola's main business district by the violence of Jim Crow?

It is imperative, after so many years of ignorance, indifference, and neglect, that we now, as a community, provide our black fellow citizens with a platform through which they can tell their story, through which they can tell Pensacola's story, through their own eyes, not ours. This platform is richly and justly deserved, and it's reasonable and appropriate that this museum, archives, and research center be located on Plaza Ferdinand, the most prominent and visible place of honor in the city.

And when our black friends and neighbors finally do tell us this story, it is imperative that we in the white community not only listen, but that we believe them.

It is time now for us to make things right.

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Tom Garner has been involved in Pensacola area history and archaeology for 40 years and spent hundreds of rewarding hours at the Pensacola Historical Museum in Old Christ Church studying local history. In 1983 he completed UWF archaeological field school. In 1985 he co-founded the Pensacola Archaeological Society, and in 1986 discovered the site of the Presidio Santa Maria de Galve, the 1698-1719 Spanish Pensacola. In 2015, Tom had the great privilege to discover the site of the 1559-1561 Tristan de Luna settlement attempt, considered by many to be the cornerstone event in Pensacola's history.

Tom has a deep familiarity with and appreciation for Pensacola's historical markers and monuments. His first involvement with historic preservation took place in 1982 when, under the leadership and direction of the late Norman Simons, curator of the Pensacola Historical Museum, he assisted in the successful campaign to preserve the historic character of Plaza Ferdinand, including saving the ballast stone wall and cannons which had been slated for demolition by the City of Pensacola.

For many years, Tom was the anonymous designer of the Fiesta of Five Flags treasure hunt. Tom redesigned the hunt to focus more on Pensacola's abundant history, writing clues that led hunters to many of Pensacola's historic markers and monuments, including the Confederate monument in Lee Square.

Tom is also a descendant of the South. Born and raised in Pensacola, his great grandfather, Second Lieutenant James Blackstock, fought at Vicksburg and Chattanooga as a member of the Confederate Army. According to oral history, Blackstock's family instigated the forced removal of a young black man from the town of Oxford, Georgia in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>1</sup> Chipley was deeply involved in Democratic party politics at a time when Democrats controlled state government and began to systematically disempower black leadership across Florida. As a member of the Democratic Executive Committee of Florida, Chipley, in 1884, played a leading role in the committee's convention, held in the Pensacola Opera House. Soon after the convention he was appointed chairman of the campaign documents committee for the E. A. Perry gubernatorial campaign. Chipley was considered by many to be the controlling force behind the soon to be Governor Perry.

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During the campaign Chipley publicly called for a constitutional convention to rewrite the state constitution. Under the Perry administration the new Florida State constitution of 1885 was passed, a document that created obstacles to black voting, prohibited interracial marriages, and segregated schools. It was Perry who, also in 1885, revoked the City of Pensacola's charter, replacing the racially diverse city council with one controlled by white Democrats hostile to black citizenship. Chipley would become mayor of Pensacola under this new system in 1887.

Before arriving in Pensacola in 1877, Chipley, in 1868, was credibly accused of participating in the murder of George W. Ashburn, an outspoken supporter of black civil rights in Columbus, Georgia. The murder was thought to be the work of the Ku Klux Klan. Although Chipley was brought to trial under postwar military rule, the trial was abruptly ended when Georgia was readmitted to the Union. No one was held responsible for the murder.

<sup>2</sup> T. T. Wentworth, Jr.'s association with the Ku Klux Klan has long been an open secret. I was first told of this association in the mid-1980s by the late Norman Simons, the first curator of the T. T. Wentworth, Jr. Florida State Museum, in relation to a collection of Klan robes and associated materials found by workmen renovating a historic meeting hall. These Klan items were placed in the collections of what has since become the UWF Historic Trust.

In the years since Wentworth donated his artifacts and memorabilia to the State of Florida in 1983, rumors have circulated that his personal Klan membership card was included in the collection. There is Klan-related literature in the collection, as well as Klan-related correspondence among Wentworth's Escambia County tax collector records.

The Wentworth Klan-related materials referenced in this statement to the Pensacola City Council were added to the collection recently and were shown to me by UWF Historic Trust archivists when I inquired about Klan-related items. The archivists made clear that, once properly accessioned, these materials would be made available to researchers just as other archival items are made available. As always, the archivists were generous and professional, for which I am grateful.

It is my hope that the Wentworth collection will soon be surveyed for all Klan-related materials, and that these materials will be gathered into a single document group. It is rare for Klan materials to make their way into a public archival collection. These archival materials should be made available for further research and display. An exhibit of Klan-related items, including artifacts and documents demonstrating T. T. Wentworth, Jr.'s leadership of the Escambia Klan, should be made available for the public in the near future.

<sup>3</sup> The Pensacola Historical Museum was operated by the Pensacola Historical Society, the earliest organization to specifically address Pensacola's history. Founded in 1933, the Society was reorganized in 1952 following a World War II hiatus. T. T. Wentworth, Jr. and Lelia Abercrombie were early leaders.

<sup>4</sup> T. T. Wentworth, Jr. opened a small museum in Ensley in 1957. It was this museum collection that would be donated to the state in 1983 for the T. T. Wentworth, Jr. Florida State Museum. The Ensley museum was well outside the Pensacola city limits, inaccessible to those without transportation and a desire to travel.

<sup>5</sup> The story of Lelia Abercrombie's reaction to black visitors was related to me by the late Norman Simons, assistant curator of the Pensacola Historical Museum under Abercrombie in the 1960s, and head curator of the museum in the 1970s-80s.

<sup>6</sup> The sit-ins at Newberry's lunch counter were described to me by the late Norman Simons who personally witnessed them. Originally from New York City, Simons described his horror as white antagonists assaulted the young black protesters.

<sup>7</sup> Jeff Brown and Morris Morse were alleged to have raped a white woman near McDavid, a small community in northern Escambia County. According to one observer, Brown and Morse claimed their innocence and were gathering witness testimony in their defense when they were murdered.

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<sup>8</sup> The ornate iron railing of the Saenger’s balcony is originally from the Pensacola Opera House, which stood at the corner of Government and Jefferson Streets across from Plaza Ferdinand. Like the Saenger, the Pensacola Opera House was segregated. The opera house site is identified by a historical marker, placed by the Pensacola Historical Society in 1955, listing the names of numerous white performers. Not mentioned is Booker T. Washington, who spoke on March 1, 1912 to an audience of two thousand, who were “standing around the walls and down the corridors, filling every seat and occupying every available bit of space.”

<sup>9</sup> Chase Street, which passes below MLK Plaza, is named for Colonel William H. Chase, who relied on black enslaved labor to construct Forts Pickens, Barrancas and McRee. In 1861, Chase commanded the Confederate troops at Pensacola, seizing the Pensacola Navy Yard and Forts Barrancas and McRee, and unsuccessfully demanding the surrender of Fort Pickens. A historical marker placed by the City of Pensacola’s Municipal Advertising Board in 1956 explains the origins of the Chase Street name, however, Chase’s decades-long use of black enslaved labor is not mentioned.

<sup>10</sup> The 1905 streetcar ordinance was passed by the Pensacola City Council at the urging of the Chamber of Commerce of Pensacola after similar state legislation was ruled unconstitutional.

<sup>11</sup> The UWF Historic Trust does manage the Julee Cottage, an early nineteenth century house museum once owned by Julee, a free woman of color. One of the smallest museum spaces managed by the Trust, the house is divided into two parts, one half representing “the cottage of a working class African-American family during the era of Reconstruction.” Unfortunately, excepting the portraits of unidentified black individuals above the mantels, this reconstruction could represent any household of that time, black or white.

The second half of the cottage holds an exhibit dedicated to black history; however, it does not, and in the extremely limited space cannot, do justice to the rich history of black Pensacolians available. This exhibit leaves the visitor with little concept of what it was like to actually be black in Pensacola in 1840 or 1875, 1910 or 1955.

<sup>12</sup> In 1922, white citizens of Jay, Florida, a small community in northern Santa Rosa County, “advised, directed, ordered and made to leave” every black citizen within a large radius of the town under threat of violence. The catalyst for this forced removal was the killing of a white man, Sam Echols, by a black man, Albert Thompson. Thompson was held, tried by an all-white jury, and convicted of second-degree murder in the Old Escambia Court of Record Building at the corner of Jefferson and Zarragossa Streets, the site of an earlier jail that held Leander Shaw. Black witnesses testified that Thompson killed Echols in self-defense. Thompson’s sentence was commuted in 1928. As a “sundown town”, the Jay community and surrounding areas continued to exclude black residents and visitors for more than fifty years, posting signs on the highways warning black travelers to beware.

<sup>13</sup> Leander Shaw was murdered for the alleged rape and fatal assault of a white woman named Lillie Davis. During the lynching, Davis’s brother, Joe Brewton, while rushing the jail as part of the lynch mob, was shot and injured, his name appearing in the next day’s newspaper. Brewton was not charged and soon after became a law enforcement officer in Santa Rosa County. This was not the only lynching associated with Lillie Davis’s family.

In 1899 a black man, Wesley Lawrence, was murdered by a lynch mob near McDavid, a small community in northern Escambia County. Lawrence was alleged to have raped a white woman, Nellie Bowman, Lillie Davis’s aunt. The mob hanged Lawrence from a tree where his body was “literally torn to pieces with rifle, gun and pistol bullets”. Davis’s uncle, Escambia County Deputy Sheriff A. C. Brewton, Jr., investigated the murder. Davis’s grandfather, A. C. Brewton, Sr., rushed back to McDavid from Pensacola in order to personally witness the scene, declaring in a letter to a Pensacola newspaper that “when I heard this morning that they had lynched the brute... I was overflowed with joy.”

In 1902 the body of an unidentified black man was found in the woods between McDavid and the nearby town of Century, Florida. He had been flogged and then hanged from a tree where his body had “literally been riddled with bullets.” Pinned to the victim’s body was a note reading in part “a warning to Century coons”. The murder was investigated by Lillie Davis’s uncle Escambia County Deputy Sheriff Allen Brewton. One local newspaper attributed

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the murder to “white caps” who, at that time in the South were typically poor, white farmers attempting to control black laborers. A Pensacola newspaper stated that “it is known... that there exists a certain element at and around Century that hate the sight of black men.”

In 1910, a black man named Robert Matthews was alleged to have attempted the rape of a white woman in Beulah, a small, and at that time, whites-only community in western Escambia County. Taken to DeFuniak Springs for protection, Matthews was being brought back to Pensacola for trial when a lynch mob boarded the train and murdered him, throwing him through a glass window and causing him to be dragged beside the train by his handcuffed hands. When the train stopped the mob shot him multiple times. Escambia County Deputy Sheriff W. A. “Archie” Bowman, the lone deputy guarding Matthews, is Lillie Davis’s first cousin. The lynch mob stopped the train beside Lillie Davis’s former house near what is today known as the Bay Bluffs Preserve on Scenic Highway.

In 1912 an all-white coroner’s jury cleared Deputy Bowman of the fatal shooting of a black suspect, Arthur Grace. In 1938 Bowman was killed by a black suspect, Ben Davis. A Pensacola Police Department special officer at the time, Bowman is memorialized in the department’s officer memorial.

In a 2002 video interview, Joe Petty, Lillie Davis’s nephew, described the family’s reaction to Davis’s 1908 fatal assault. According to Petty, the family would murder every black person who ventured down a specific section of road near McDavid. The family buried the victims in a wooded area known as Sandy Hollow. Family members involved in the killings included Lillie’s father, former Escambia County Commissioner Joe Brewton, Lillie’s uncle Riley Brewton, and their sons. According to Petty, “That went on for years!”

Lillie Davis was born in the McDavid community. Records from T. T. Wentworth, Jr.’s personal files indicate an active chapter of the Ku Klux Klan there in the 1920s.

<sup>14</sup> David Alexander was accused of the murder of Pensacola Police Officer John D. Carter. Less than a month earlier an all-white coroner’s jury cleared Carter of the fatal shooting of a black suspect, Will Harris. Carter is memorialized in the Pensacola Police Department’s officer memorial.

<sup>15</sup> Plaza Ferdinand was an important epicenter of racially motivated violence in Escambia County. At the southeast corner of Jefferson and Zarragossa Streets stood the jails that held lynching victims Jeff Brown and Morris Morse in 1875, and Leander Shaw in 1908. Across Jefferson street stands the jail that held lynching victim David Alexander in 1909.

Brown and Morse were forcibly removed from jail by a lynch mob and murdered, hanged from trees just east of Seville Square. Shaw was forcibly removed from jail by a lynch mob and dragged behind a horse or wagon through the streets. His body was then hanged from a lamppost in the center of Plaza Ferdinand where it was shot more than five hundred times as a crowd of over a thousand Pensacola-area citizens looked on. A few months later Alexander was also removed from jail by a lynch mob and hanged from the same lamppost as Shaw, his body also being shot multiple times.

While gruesome, these events demonstrate the brutal enforcement of racial inequalities that Pensacola’s black citizens historically faced. It is both appropriate that we remember these events and important that this history no longer remain invisible.

It seems likely that the location of the lamppost upon which Leander Shaw and David Alexander were murdered can be located through archaeology. In addition, there are numerous historic photos showing this lamppost in detail. Using these archaeological and historical records as a guide, a replica of the original lamppost can be reconstructed in Plaza Ferdinand to shine a light on past injustices.

Further, the Equal Justice initiative in Montgomery, Alabama, has offered to pay all costs associated with the creation and placement of a historical marker recognizing the history of the seven public lynchings that took place in Escambia County between 1875 and 1910, an offer that has been made to every county where a lynching took place. EJI is also

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offering to each county an exact replica of that county's monument displayed in the National Memorial for Peace and Justice. The monuments, six-foot-tall iron columns, display the names of each county's public lynching victims. In the case of Escambia County, the monument would include the names Jeff Brown, Morris Morse, Wesley Lawrence, an unidentified victim, Leander Shaw, David Alexander, and Robert Matthews.

Unlike the Confederate monument, the Chipley monument's text is written on bronze plaques attached to the granite rather than being carved into stone. This leaves open the possibility that the granite obelisk could remain, preserving the historic character of the Plaza, and that the bronze plaques and sculpted bust of Chipley could simply be removed. This creates the opportunity for the monument to be rededicated in honor of Pensacola's black community, who faced tremendous adversities with great determination, strength, and courage. As with the granite monument itself, the original text of the Chipley monument can be repurposed to honor Pensacola's black citizens as follows:

"The history of their lives is the history of the up-building of West Florida, and its every material advancement for generations bears the impress of their genius and their labor."

<sup>16</sup> This facility should act as a "one stop" for Pensacola area black history: an exhibit space, an archives and research library and, most important, a space where black Pensacolians can discover and share their family history. In addition, there should be significant scholarly research. There are many aspects of Pensacola's black history that remain under researched or not researched at all, an omission we should correct.

<sup>17</sup> There are some existing local organizations whose mission is to bring the story of black Pensacolians to the public. These include the African American Heritage Society of Pensacola, the Chappie James Museum of Pensacola, the Kukua Institute, the John Sunday Society and others that I may not be familiar with. It is essential that these organizations be included in all conversations about the presentation of Pensacola history through black eyes. Any future project, including a Pensacola area black history museum, archives and research center must seek to include and enhance the efforts of these existing entities. Further, as a white man who has dedicated much of his life to the understanding of Pensacola's history, while I can offer suggestions and support, the final decisions about how the black experience in Pensacola is presented to the public must remain solely in the hands of the black community.

<sup>18</sup> Admission price should not be a factor in accessing this important history.



## Appendix B: Proposal to Digitize the UWF Historic Trust's Ku Klux Klan Archival Material

August 5, 2020

This proposal is to digitize and make publicly accessible the Ku Klux Klan-associated archival material held by the Historic Trust's archives in the Hilton-Green Research Room. This project will be a collaborative endeavor involving the UWF University Libraries, particularly the University Archives and West Florida History Center, the UWF Historic Trust, the UWF Department of History, and the UWF Digital Humanities Lab. Dr. Jamin Wells will serve as the Principal Investigator.

This project will follow best practices for digitization articulated in the *Florida Stateside Digital Action Plan: Guidelines for Creating Good Digital Content* (2015),<sup>180</sup> and it will build on the experience and collaborations of the ongoing *Gulf Coast Maritime History and Heritage Portal*, led by the UWF Digital Humanities Lab. The digitized material will be housed in the UWF Digital Library using their Islandora digital content repository. The digitized content will be open access.

Approximately 250 KKK-related documents have been identified in the Historic Trust's Wentworth Collection. This project will begin with a focused resurvey of the Wentworth collection as well as the broader Historic Trust archive for KKK-related material. Then, all KKK-related material in the collection will be digitized, according to established best practices, at the Hilton-Green Research Room.<sup>181</sup> This labor-intensive process involves scanning and processing documents, entering metadata into the archive's digital content repository, quality control, and potential public engagement opportunities depending on a mutually agreeable scope of work.

This proposal contains two project scenarios; the budget and timeline are based on digitizing up to 750 discrete items/5,000 individual scans.

- **Option 1** includes a more robust scope of work that would leverage UWF disciplinary expertise, consistently engage diverse stakeholders, and lead to tangible public and scholarly outcomes, deliverables and products. With this option, Dr. Wells, an expert in twentieth-century American history and director of the Public History Graduate Program, will personally conduct the resurvey of the Trust's archives for KKK-related archival materials. He will oversee the digitization and quality control of all identified materials and coordinate a collaborative community engagement program to publicize the project and promote thoughtful community dialogue.<sup>182</sup> Finally, he will produce a scholarly article and academic conference presentation and oversee high-impact student research

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<sup>180</sup> <https://www.dos.myflorida.com/media/695946/5196-guidelines-for-creating-good-digital-content.pdf>

<sup>181</sup> Published documents that have already been digitized and are publicly available will not be digitized to avoid unnecessary duplication.

<sup>182</sup> Potential elements of this program include a digital exhibit, public forum, op eds for local publications, and a pop-up physical exhibit. The program would be collaboratively designed and implemented with UWF and community stakeholders. Depending on the program's elements, additional funding may be necessary.

projects based on the digitized materials.

- **Option 2** is a basic digitization project without the public or scholarly deliverables noted in Option 1. The project team will train hired students to resurvey the Trust's collection, digitize the identified documents, and conduct quality control. The team will assist with publicizing the project and encouraging public access to the digitized documents.

### **Option 1: Digitization and Engagement**

#### **Option 1 will:**

1. Resurvey of the Wentworth Collection and Historic Trust archives for KKK-related documents by Dr. Jamin Wells
2. Stabilize all KKK-related documents and place them in protective mylar sleeves
3. Digitize (scan, enter metadata, and upload documents to Islandora)
4. Quality control of digitized material
5. Public Engagement Program (Spring/Summer 2021)
6. Scholarly Products (article and conference presentation)

#### **Option 1 Tentative Timeline**

- August-December 2020: Digitizing already-identified KKK materials
- January-March 2021: Archival survey and complete digitization of relevant materials
- April 2021: Quality Control
- May-August 2021: Public engagement program
- June-August 2021: Complete and submit scholarly products

### **Option 2: Basic Digitization**

#### **Option 2 will:**

1. Resurvey the Wentworth Collection and Historic Trust Archives for KKK-related documents
2. Stabilize all KKK-related documents and put them in protective mylar sleeves
3. Digitize (scan, enter metadata, and upload documents to Islandora)
4. Quality Control of uploaded material
5. Publicize access to digitized assets

#### **Option 2 Tentative Timeline**

- August-September 2020: Training
- October 2020 to March 2021: Archival Search & Digitization
- April 2021: Quality Control
- May 2021: Publicize access to digitized assets

## Appendix C: 1920s Ku Klux Klan Documents Digitized from the UWF Historic Trust Archives

All documents are available via the [UWF Digital Archive](#)

	<b>Document</b>	<b>Object Identifier</b>
1.	Ku Klux Klan Ledger, 1922-1925	uwf_ht_2016.035.0448
2.	"Should I Join the Ku Klux Klan?" <i>Pensacola News</i> Article, December 10, 1921	uwf_ht_2016.035.0865.a-b
3.	Undated Resolutions, ca. 1922-1928	uwf_ht_00.84.26
4.	T.T. Wentworth, Jr. Membership Card for Florida Klan 57 expired June 30, 1922	uwf_ht_2106.035.0344
5.	Photograph of Klan, ca. 1923-1927	uwf_ht_w.83.78.605
6.	Letter to Bill from J.W. Sapp, ca. 1923-1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0431.a-b
7.	Ku Klux Klan Reply to <i>Pensacola News</i> , January 3, 1923	uwf_ht_2016.035.0445.a-b
8.	T.T. Wentworth, Jr. Membership Card for Florida Klan 57 expired June 30, 1923	uwf_ht_2016.035.0345
9.	Great Titan Commission for Lawrence Curtiss Phillips, November 21, 1923	uwf_ht_w.83.80.0848
10.	Photograph of Klan Funeral Service, ca. 1924-1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0261
11.	Photograph of Klan Funeral Service, ca. 1924-1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0262
12.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth, Jr, ca. 1924-1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0429.a-b
13.	Wills Case Documents, 1924	uwf_ht_2016.035.0868.a-p
14.	Letter to Sister Whipple from Mary Milton, July 16, 1924	uwf_ht_2016.035.0347.a-b
15.	Postcard to J.H. Varnum from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., October 24, 1924	uwf_ht_2016.035.0296
16.	Photograph of Pensacola Klan Initiation, November 27, 1924	uwf_ht_H.09.00.004.0307
17.	Letter to H.W. Evans from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., December 24, 1924	uwf_ht_2016.035.0297
18.	Letter to John W. Martin from Exalted Cyclops, Escambia Klan no. 57, December 27, 1924	uwf_ht_2016_035.0299
19.	Letter to John W. Martin from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., December 27, 1924	uwf_ht_2016.035.0298
20.	Letter to Chas H. Ketchum from Exalted Cyclops, Escambia Klan no. 57, December 27, 1924	uwf_ht_2016.035.0300
21.	Letter from Imperial Kligrapp to T.T. Wentworth Jr., December 29, 1924	uwf_ht_2016.035.0348

22.	C.L. Hicks Membership Card for Akron, OH Klan expired December 31, 1924	uwf_ht_2016.035.0313.a-b
23.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., ca. 1925-1928	uwf_ht_2016.035.0295
24.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., ca. 1925-1928	uwf_ht_2016.035.0427
25.	Letter to T.T. Wentworth Jr. from J.R. Parker, January 1, 1925	uwf_ht_2016.035.0301
26.	Letter from B.S. Ellisor to T.T. Wentworth, Jr., July 24, 1925	uwf_ht_2016.035.0302
27.	Letter to B.S. Ellisor from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., July 28, 1925	uwf_ht_2016.035.0303
28.	Letter to T.T. Wentworth, Jr. from W.R. Scott, September 21, 1925	uwf_ht_2016.035.0304
29.	Letter to I.E. Phillips, October 30, 1925	uwf_ht_2016.035.0349
30.	KKK Initiation Handbill, November 1925	uwf_ht_2016.035.0454
31.	Letter from W.S. Ward to T.T. Wentworth, Jr., November 15, 1925	uwf_ht_2016.035.0350.a-k
32.	Letter to Fellowship Forum from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., November 18, 1925	uwf_ht_2016.035.0351a-b
33.	Letter to I.E. Phillips, November 30, 1925	uwf_ht_2016.035.0352
34.	Letter to T.T. Wentworth, Jr. from Grand Dragon, December 8, 1925	uwf_ht_2016.035.0353
35.	Telegram sent to Senator Duncan U. Fletcher from T.T. Wentworth Jr., ca. January 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0366
36.	Telegram sent to Park Trammel from T.T. Wentworth Jr., ca. January 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0367
37.	Telegram to T.T. Wentworth from I.E. Phillips, January 16, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0365
38.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, January 16, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0368
39.	Letter from Park Trammel to T.T. Wentworth Jr., January 16, 1926	uwf_ht_w.83.80.778
40.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, January 18, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0264
41.	Telegram to T.T. Wentworth Jr. from I.E. Phillips, January 18, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0362
42.	Telegram to T.T. Wentworth Jr. from I.E. Phillips, January 18, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0362

43.	Telegram from I.E. Phillips to T.T. Wentworth Jr., January 23, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0853
44.	Telegram to T.T. Wentworth Jr., from H. Whitaker, January 26, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0364
45.	Telegram to T.T. Wentworth Jr., from H. Whitaker, January 26, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0364
46.	Letter to the Fellowship Forum in Washington D.C. from T.T. Wentworth Jr., February 20, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0268
47.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth to I.E. Phillips, April 15, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0854.a-b
48.	Letter to T.T. Wentworth Jr. from W.C. Jernigan, May 31, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0370
49.	Telegram from W.R. Scott to T.T. Wentworth, Jr., June 4, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0855
50.	Letter to T.T. Wentworth Jr. from W.W. Clifford, June 12, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0377
51.	Letter to Pensacola KKK, June 16, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0379.a-d
52.	Letter from John A. Van Valzah to R.C. Willis, June 22, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0866.a-b
53.	Official Bulletin to all Exalted Cyclops from I.E. Phillips, July 1, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0381
54.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from Klan Committee, ca. July 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0428.a- b
55.	Wills Case Ballots, ca. July 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0867.a-s
56.	Telegram from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to I.E. Phillips, July 2, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0857
57.	Telegram from R.C. Wills to Dr. Valzah, July 6, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0856
58.	Telegram from Dr. Van Valzah to R.C. Wills, July 7, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0858
59.	Telegram from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to I.E. Phillips, July 8, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0859
60.	Letter to Klokann Committee of Escambia Klan #57 from R.C. Willis, July 9, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0385
61.	Letter to Fellowship Forum from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., July 10, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0860
62.	Letter to T.T. Wentworth Jr. from I.E. Phillips, July 14, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0355
63.	Letter to T.T. Wentworth Jr. from A.L. Macon, George Berry, July 19, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0376.a-b
64.	Unsigned Letter from Unknown, July 23, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0346
65.	Form letter to all Klansmen, Realm of Florida, from I.E. Phillips, August 18, 1926.	uwf_ht_2016.035.0369

66.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from T.T. Wentworth Jr., August 28, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0269
67.	Letter to Rev. R.R. Beal, September 1, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0358
68.	Letter to George Williamson, September 3, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0359
69.	Letter to Rev. I.E. Phillips from T.T. Wentworth Jr., September 15, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0270
70.	Letter from A.B. Greene, September 19, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0382
71.	Letter to T.T. Wentworth Jr. from H.W. Williams, September 28, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0263
72.	Letter to Every Exalted Cyclops and Kligrapp in Province #1 from I.E. Phillips, September 28, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0356
73.	Letter to T.T. Wentworth Jr. from W.Q. Vreeland, September 29, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0271.a
74.	4-Page Pamphlet, ca. September 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0271.a-b
75.	Membership Card for Escambia Klan No. 57 expired September 30, 1926.	uwf_ht_w.102.1439.b
76.	Letter to all Klansmen from H. W. Evans, October 1, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0372
77.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from T.T. Wentworth Jr., October 3, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0272
78.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from Exalted Cyclops, Escambia Klan no. 57, October 3, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0273
79.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from T.T. Wentworth Jr., October 3, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0384
80.	Letter to Rev. W.Q. Vreeland, October 5, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0271.c
81.	Letter to Ernest Whitaker from T.T. Wentworth Jr., October 5 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0274
82.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from T.T. Wentworth Jr., October 10, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0275
83.	Letter to Harry L. Pierce from T.T. Wentworth Jr., October 10, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0276
84.	Letter to John W. Martin from T.T. Wentworth Jr., October 13, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0277
85.	Letter to S.T. Roberts from T.T. Wentworth Jr., October 21, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0360
86.	Letter to J.H. Varnum from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., October 24, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0357
87.	Telegram to T.T. Wentworth from I.E. Phillips, October 26, 1926	uwf_ht_93.56.99.a
88.	Letter to I.E. Phillips, October 28, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0278

89.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., October 28, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0279
90.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from Exalted Cyclops, October 28, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0383
91.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., November 2, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0280
92.	Letter to I.E. Phillips, November 2, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0281
93.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., November 2, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0282
94.	Letter to Forum Magazine from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., November 2, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0283
95.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., November 6, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0284.a-b
96.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., November 6, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0285
97.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from T.T. Wentworth Jr., November 10, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0286
98.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., November 10, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0287
99.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., November 10, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0288
100.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from T.T. Wentworth Jr., November 10, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0289
101.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., November 10, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0290
102.	Letter from I.E. Phillips to T.T. Wentworth, Jr., November 10, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0361
103.	Letter from I.E. Phillips to T.T. Wentworth, Jr., November 12, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0373
104.	Letter to Exalted Cyclops from I.E. Phillips, November 12, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0374
105.	Letter to T.T. Wentworth, Jr. from I.E. Phillips, November 12, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0375
106.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., November 14, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0291.a-c
107.	Letter to T.T. Wentworth, Jr. from H.G. Gray, November 16, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0378
108.	Letter from J.H. Varnum to T.T. Wentworth, Jr., November 26, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0265
109.	Invoice from the News-Journal Company to T.T. Wentworth, Jr., November 30, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0380

110.	Letter to J.H. Varnum from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., December 1, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0292
111.	Letter to Mallory McDavid from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., December 1, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0293
112.	Letter to T.T. Wentworth, Jr. from H.E. Jones, December 8, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0354.a-j
113.	Letter to T.T. Wentworth, Jr. from I.E Phillips, December 11, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0371
114.	Telegram to T.T. Wentworth, Jr. and J.H. Varnum from I.E. Phillips, December 13, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0266
115.	Letter to I.E. Phillips, December 17, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0294
116.	Letter to Kilgrapp from I.E. Phillips, December 28, 1926	uwf_ht_2016.035.0267
117.	Letter to T.T. Wentworth, Jr. from Paul Crank, ca. 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0435
118.	Letter from Shirley St. Mary to the KKK, January 6, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0386.a-c
119.	Letter from C.B. Kinzer to T.T. Wentworth Jr., January 11, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0387
120.	Letter from T. T. Wentworth Jr. to Rev. I.E. Phillips, January 17, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0305
121.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth to Mr. W.M. Houghton, January 18, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0307
122.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to Rev. I.E. Phillips, January 27, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0308
123.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to Rev. I.E. Phillips, February 2, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0309.a-b
124.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to E.W. Barwick, February 7, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0389
125.	Letter from C.W. Madsen to T.T. Wentworth Jr., February 14, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0391
126.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth to J.H. Southwick, February 18, 1927	uwf_ht_w.83.80.187.2
127.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to Thomas J. Heflin, February 21, 1927	uwf_ht_w.83.80.184
128.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to Thomas J. Heflin, February 21, 1927	uwf_ht_w.83.80.188
129.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to I.E. Phillips, February 22, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0310.a-b
130.	Letter from I.E. Phillips to T.T. Wentworth Jr., February 23, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0311
131.	Letter from Paul Crank to T.T. Wentworth, February 28, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0392



132.	Envelope Addressed to J.W. Wilson Klan No.4 Realm of Md., ca. March 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0314
133.	Letter from Mrs. W.R. Chisser, March 3, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0439
134.	Letter from I.E. Phillips to T.T. Wentworth Jr., March 7, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0312
135.	Letter from C. Lewis, March 15, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0393
136.	Letter and Postcard from H.W. Evans (Imperial Wizard) to Klansmen, March 21, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0394.a-b
137.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, March 21, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0395
138.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth to I.E. Phillips, March 21, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0396
139.	Letter from H.L. Pierce to T.T. Wentworth, March 22, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0397
140.	Letter from George H. Davis to T.T. Wentworth, March 22, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0398
141.	Letter from I.E. Phillips to Exalted Cyclops of Pensacola, March 23, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0399
142.	Letter from I.E. Phillips to Kligrapp Klan No. 57, March 23, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0400
143.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth to I.E. Phillips, March 28, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0315
144.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to I.E. Phillips, March 28, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0316
145.	Unsigned letter to T.T. Wentworth Jr., March 30, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0402
146.	Undated Letter from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to I.E. Phillips, after March 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0404
147.	Flyer for a meeting, April 22, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0410.c
148.	Letter About Adrian E. Langford's Nomination, April 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0432
149.	Transaction Form (Receipt), April 4, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0403
150.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to J.W. Martin, April 4, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0456
151.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to J.W. Martin, April 4, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0456
152.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to I.E. Phillips, April 6, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0405
153.	Letter from I.E. Phillips to All Exalted Cyclops, Realm of Florida, April 11, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0406
154.	Telegram from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to I.E. Phillips, April 12, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0407
155.	Telegram from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to Herbert P. Caro, April 12, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0408

156.	Telegram from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to J.H. Varnum, April 12, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0409
157.	Telegram from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to John W. Martin, April 12, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0457
158.	Letter from John W. Martin to T.T. Wentworth, April 12, 1927	uwf_ht_w.83.80.771
159.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to I.E. Phillips, April 23, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0410.a-b
160.	Letter from I.E. Phillips to All Exalted Cyclops, Realm of Florida, April 23, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0411
161.	Petition to J.H. Varnum, H.P. Caro, and J.W. Martin, ca. 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0436
162.	Letter from Rev. W.W. Clifford to T.T. Wentworth Jr., May 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0438
163.	Letter from I.E. Phillips to All Exalted Cyclops, Realm of Florida, May 2, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0412
164.	Letter from I.E. Phillips to All Exalted Cyclops, Realm of Florida, May 3, 1927.	uwf_ht_2016.035.0317
165.	Letter from John W. Martin to T.T. Wentworth Jr., May 6, 1927	uwf_ht_w.83.80.772
166.	Letter from I.E. Phillips to All Exalted Cyclops, Realm of Florida, May 16, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0413
167.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to Bro. Reed, May 17, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0414
168.	Letter from I.E. Phillips to All Exalted Cyclops, Realm of Florida, May 18, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0415
169.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, May 25, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0416.a-b
170.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth Jr., to Rev. W.W. Clifford, May 26, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0417
171.	Letter and Envelope from Mrs. H.L. Whidby to the KKK of Pensacola, May 28. 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0418.a-e
172.	Letter from I.E. Phillips to Exalted Cyclops, Pensacola, May 30, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0318
173.	Letter from I.E. Phillips to Exalted Cyclops, Pensacola, May 30, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0319
174.	Letter from H.W. Evans to Klansmen, May 31, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0419
175.	Letter from I.E. Phillips to All Exalted Cyclops of Florida, June 2, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0420
176.	Letter to Members of the K.K. Klond [sic] from Mrs. T.H. Rivers, June 11, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0421

177.	Letter from I.E. Phillips to All Exalted Cyclops of Florida, June 16, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0320
178.	Letter to the Pensacola Klan from Mrs. T.H. Rivers, June 22, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0422.a-b
179.	Unsigned Letter to T.T. Wentworth, Jr., June 24, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0459.a-b
180.	Telegram from Gov. John W. Martin to T.T. Wentworth, Jr., June 24, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0460
181.	Letter to John W. Martin from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., June 26, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0461
182.	Letter from Mrs. Ard to Mr. Keterer, before July 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0434.a-b
183.	Letter from Grand Dragon to Exalted Cyclops of Pensacola, July 5, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0321
184.	Letter to Hiram W. Evans from Frank Hilburn, July 5, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0324
185.	Letter from John W. Martin to T.T. Wentworth Jr., July 8, 1927	uwf_ht_w.83.80.773
186.	Letter to the Pensacola Klan, July 21, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0322.a-b
187.	Letter from Grand Dragon to Exalted Cyclops, July 23, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0323
188.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., July 26, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0423
189.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., July 26, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0423
190.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from N.B. Forrest, July 27, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0325
191.	Letter from Fairhope [AL] Invisible Knights, July 28, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0326
192.	Purchase Order for T.T. Wentworth, Jr. from N.B. Forrest, July 28, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0327
193.	Letter to T.T. Wentworth, Jr. from the Secretary of the Grand Dragon, August 1, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0328
194.	Manuscript of Klan Experiences, August 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0335.a-d.
195.	Letter to T.T. Wentworth, Jr. from Mrs. Christine Cloud, August 1, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0424.a-b
196.	Letter to John W. Martin from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., August 1, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0430.a-d
197.	Letter from I.E. Phillips to Exalted Cyclops, August 2, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0329
198.	Letter from I.E. Phillips to Exalted Cyclops, August 2, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0330
199.	Letter to John W. Martin from T.T. Wentworth, Jr, August 8, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0462
200.	Telegram from John W. Martin to T.T. Wentworth, Jr., August 9, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0464

201.	Telegram from T.T. Wentworth, Jr. to John W. Martin, August 9, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0465
202.	Letter from W.A. Hamlett to T.T. Wentworth, Jr., August 11, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0331
203.	Telegram from John W. Martin to T.T. Wentworth, Jr., August 11, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0466
204.	Letter to John W. Martin from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., August 11, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0467.a-b
205.	Telegram to John W. Martin from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., August 13, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.034.0463
206.	Letter to W.A. Hamlett from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., August 13, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0334
207.	Letter to W.A. Hamlett from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., August 16, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0332
208.	Letter from W.A. Hamlett to T.T. Wentworth, Jr., August 18, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0333
209.	Letter from M. Little to T.T. Wentworth, Jr., August 25, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.3336
210.	Letter to Jas A. Comer from T.T. Wentworth, Jr., October 7, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0337
211.	Letter to I.E. Phillips from T.T. Wentworth Jr., October 16, 1927	uwf_ht_2016.035.0425
212.	Letter to F.Y. Seals from the Escambia Klan, January 24, 1928	uwf_ht_2016.035.0338
213.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth Jr. to I.E. Phillips, February 26, 1928	uwf_ht_2016.035.0339
214.	Letter from T.T. Wentworth from A.C.V. Emery, March 11, 1928	uwf_ht_2016.035.0340.a-b
215.	Letter to T.T. Wentworth Jr. from E.S. Stone, March 14, 1928	uwf_ht_2016.035.0455
216.	Letter from I.E. Phillips (Grand Dragon) to All Klansmen of Florida, March 15, 1928	uwf_ht_2016.035.0341.a-b
217.	Letter to T.T. Wentworth from Realm Director, March 23, 1928	uwf_ht_2016.035.0342
218.	Membership Card for Florida Klan No. 57 expired April 1, 1928	uwf_ht_w.102.1439.a
219.	Membership Card for Florida Klan 57 expired April 1, 1928	uwf_ht_w.102.1439.c
220.	"Political Unity - Only Remedy" Letter Draft, ca. April to June 1928	uwf_ht_2016.035.0426
221.	Letter from H.W. Evans to T.T. Wentworth Jr., July 24, 1928	uwf_ht_2016.035.0861

222.	Letter from Adrian Cyril Emery to T.T. Wentworth Jr., October 18, 1928	uwf_ht_2016.035.0343.a-c
223.	Letter from H. Clay Crawford to T.T. Wentworth Jr., November 15, 1928	uwf_ht_2016.035.0862
224.	Letter from Florence Ezell to Klu Kluck Klansman of Pensacola, ca. 1920s	uwf_ht_2016.035.0433.a-b
225.	"The Old-Time Religion" Handbill, ca. 1920s	uwf_ht_2016_035.0446
226.	Undated List of Names, ca. 1920s	uwf_ht_2016.035.0437.a-b
227.	Invoice and Letter from the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan to T.T. Wentworth, Jr., September 8, 1931	uwf_ht_w.83.102.1434.a-b
228.	Letter from Frank Garcia to T.T. Wentworth, Jr., July 8, 1938	uwf_ht_w.88.102.1437
229.	Letter to T.T. Wentworth, Jr., May 28, 1941	uwf_ht_w.83.102.1435
230.	Klan Campaign Flyer. ca. 1940s-1950s	uwf_ht_2016.035.0863.a-b
231.	Klan Campaign Flyer. ca. 1940s-1950s	uwf_ht_2016.035.0864.a-b
232.	Photograph of Klan Cross Burning, November 15, 1958	uwf_ht_H.09.00.004.0308.a-b

## Appendix D: 1920s Ku Klux Klan Documents Not Digitized from the UWF Historic Trust Archives

### Constitutions, By-Laws, and Proceedings

- Constitution and Laws of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan: Adopted by First Imperial Klonvocation at St. Louis, Missouri on Sixth Day of January 1927.* Little Rock, Ark.: Parker-Harper Publishing Co. UWF\_HT\_2016.035.0441.
- Kloran of the Knights of the Great Forest: K-Trio Character, Honor, Duty.* Atlanta, Ga.: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1928. (notations on back cover). UWF\_HT\_W.83.102.1427.
- Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. *Constitution and Laws of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.* Atlanta, Ga.: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1921. UWF\_HT\_W.83.82.38.
- Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. *Constitution and Laws of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.* Atlanta, Ga.: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1926. (includes notations of election results on back cover). UWF\_HT\_W.83.102.1429.a&b. (2 copies)
- Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. *Kloran of the Knights of the Great Forest: K-Trio.* Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1928. UWF\_HT\_2016.035.0440.
- Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. *White Book Kloran: K-Uno Karacter, Honor, Duty.* 5<sup>th</sup> edition. Atlanta, Ga.: Ku Klux Press, 1916. UWF\_HT\_2016.035.0442. (numbered 206)
- Knights Kamellia. *Crimson Book: Oaths & Secret Instructions.* Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1925. Unaccessioned. (numbered 100)
- Knights Kamellia. *Kloran: Knights Kamellia.* Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1925. Unaccessioned. (2 copies, numbered 102 and 103)
- Proceedings of the Second Imperial Klonvocation Held in Kansas City, Missouri Sept. 23, 24, 25 and 26, 1924.* Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. UWF\_HT\_2016.035.0258.

### Pamphlets

- America for Americans.* (no date). UWF\_HT\_W.83.80.525.
- Catholic Marriage Contract.* (no date). UWF\_HT\_W.83.102.1432.
- Evans, H.W. *The Public School Problem in America: Outlining Fully the Policies and Programs of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Toward the Public School System.* Ku Klux Klan, 1924. (2 copies). UWF\_HT\_2016.035.0453; W.83.80.526.
- Evans, H.W. *The Klan Spiritual.* (no date). UWF\_HT\_2016.035.0444.

*God Give Us Men! Ku Klux Creed.* (no date). UWF\_HT\_83.102.1430.

*Ideals of the Ku Klux Klan.* (no date). UWF\_HT\_W.83.80.523.1; W.83.80.523.2. (2 copies)

*The Ku Klux Klan Presents Its View of Marriage.* (no date).  
UWF\_HT\_2016.035.0443.a&b. (2 copies)

*The Obligation of American Citizens to Public Schools. Compliments of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.* (no date). UWF\_HT\_83.80.524.

Wright, W.C. *Religious and Patriotic Ideals of the Ku Klux Klan.* R.C. Wright, 1926.  
UWF\_HT\_2016.035.0259.a&b. (2 copies)

### **Publications**

Department of the Imperial Klaliff. *Official Monthly Bulletin*, Atlanta, Ga. April 1, 1927.  
UWF\_HT\_2016.035.0447.

*The Kourier Magazine.* Vol. 1, No. 10. September 1925. UWF\_HT\_2016.035.0260.

*The Kourier Magazine.* Vol. 3, No. 10. September 1927. UWF\_HT\_2016.035.0449.

*The Searchlight.* Atlanta, Ga.: July 7, 1923. Not accessioned.

### **Blank Forms and Documents**

*Application for Citizenship in the Invisible Empire: Women of the Ku Klux Klan.* Form 100-J.F.H.Co. (ca. 1920s). UWF\_HT\_W.83.80.863.1&2. (2 copies)

*Kligrapp's Quarterly Report.* Form K—105. (no date). UWF\_HT\_KKK Vertical File.

*Oath of Allegiance.* (no date). UWF\_HT\_2016.035.0458.

Order Form for KKK Robe. (ca. 1922). UWF\_HT\_W.83.3.b.

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## Appendix F: 1920s Ku Klux Klan Objects in the UWF Historic Trust Archives

Compiled from the UWF Historic Trust Archival Management Database  
July 1, 2021

### Accessioned KKK Robes

No.	Description	Condition	Object ID
1	KKK robe of Mandarin style with attached cape and button, #135 printed inside collar, orange felt diamond and running bar trim at hem, red lined cape and mandarin collar, small white pearl buttons and orange felt background, KKK crest with burgundy embroidered teardrop center. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt. Badly rotted and soiled body of robe with orange felt detached from hem in places.	Poor	1974.018.0015.A
2	KKK robe of Mandarin style, #305, size 40, plain white cotton with unlined white cape and bone buttoned front, crest is burgundy embroidered field with teardrop center. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Fair	1974.018.0015.B
3	KKK robe of Mandarin style, #323, size 46, plain white cotton with unlined white cape and bone buttoned front, crest is burgundy embroidered field with teardrop center. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Fair	1974.018.0015.C
4	KKK robe of Mandarin style, #62, plain white cotton with unlined white cape and pearl buttoned front, no crest. Name hand embroidered in neck of robe: Sharrowood. Tied with rope waist tie.	Poor	1974.018.0015.D
5	KKK robe of Mandarin style, #63, plain white cotton with unlined white cape and pearl buttoned front, crest with burgundy embroidered field and teardrop center. "CB" stitched by hand inside collar. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Poor	1974.018.0015.E
6	KKK robe of Mandarin style, #109, plain white cotton with unlined white cape, small, white pearl buttons, crest of orange felt field with no center decoration. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Good	1974.018.0015.F

7	KKK robe of Mandarin style, #68, plain white cotton with unlined white cape, small, white buttons, crest on burgundy embroidered field with teardrop center.	n/a	1974.018.0015.G
8	KKK robe of Mandarin style, #147, plain white cotton with unlined white cape, white pearl buttons, crest on burgundy embroidered field with teardrop center. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Fair	1974.018.0015.H
9	KKK robe of Mandarin style, #33, plain white cotton with unlined white cape, white pearl buttons, crest on burgundy embroidered field with teardrop center. "Thirty-three" hand embroidered in gold thread inside back. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Poor	1974.018.0015.I
10	KKK robe of Mandarin style, #150, plain white cotton with unlined white cape, white pearl buttons, crest on burgundy embroidered field with teardrop center. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Fair	1974.018.0015.J
11	KKK robe of Mandarin style, #160, size 42, plain white cotton with unlined cape, pearl buttons, crest on burgundy embroidered field with teardrop center, B42 special cut "53" stamped in back. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Fair	1974.018.0015.K
12	KKK robe of Mandarin style, #255, size 40, plain white cotton with unlined cape, pearl buttons, crest on burgundy embroidered field with teardrop center. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Fair	1974.018.0015.L
13	KKK robe of Mandarin style, #240, plain white cotton with unlined cape, pearl buttons, crest on burgundy embroidered field with teardrop center. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Good	1974.018.0015.M
14	KKK robe of Mandarin style, #359, size special 42, plain white cotton with unlined cape, bone buttons, crest on burgundy embroidered field with tear drop center. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Fair	1974.018.0015.N
15	KKK robe of Mandarin style, #353, size 44, plain white cotton with unlined cape, bone buttons, crest on burgundy embroidered field with teardrop center. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Good	1974.018.0015.O

	KKK robe, #355, plain white cotton with unlined cap, bone buttons, crest on burgundy embroidered field with teardrop center. Item deaccessioned on October 16, 1981.	n/a	1974.018.0015.P No longer in collection
16	KKK robe of Mandarin style, #433, size special 40, plain white cotton with unlined cape, bone buttons, crest on burgundy embroidered field with teardrop center. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Good	1974.018.0015.Q
17	KKK robe of Mandarin style, #454, size 38, plain white cotton with unlined cape, bone buttons, crest on burgundy embroidered field with teardrop center. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Good	1974.018.0015.R
18	KKK robe of Mandarin style, #424, size special 42, plain white cotton with unlined cape, bone buttons, crest on burgundy embroidered field with teardrop center. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Excellent	1974.018.0015.S
19	KKK robe of Mandarin style, #367, size special 42, plain white cotton with unlined cape, no crest, no belt.	Fair	1974.018.0015.T
20	Klan robe #39: #39 laundry mark in neck; "Thirty Nine" sewed in peach colored thread below and to the right of back seam; cape, patch, and white rope belt with tassels; 6 buttons, 6 button holes; back seam 35 1/2" to split; 48 1/2" in length.	Good	1979.010.0002
21	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) Robe of Mandarin style with attached cape and button. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Unstable	2016.002.0017A
22	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) robe of Mandarin style with attached cape and button. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Unstable	2016.002.0017B
23	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) robe of Mandarin style with attached cape and button. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Unstable	2016.002.0017C
24	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) robe of Mandarin style with attached cape and button. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Unstable	2016.002.0017D

25	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) robe of Mandarin style with attached cape and button. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Unstable	2016.002.0017E
26	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) robe of Mandarin style with attached cape and button. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Unstable	2016.002.0017F
27	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) robe of Mandarin style with attached cape and button. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Unstable	2016.002.0017G
28	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) robe of Mandarin style with attached cape and button. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Unstable	2016.002.0017H
29	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) robe of Mandarin style with attached cape and button. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Unstable	2016.002.0017I
30	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) robe of Mandarin style with attached cape and button. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Unstable	2016.002.0017J
31	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) robe of Mandarin style with attached cape and button. Tied with white cotton tasseled rope as belt.	Unstable	2016.002.0017K
32	Uniform, Organizational, KKK, Robes KKK robe of Mandarin style, plain white cotton and pearl buttoned front, no crest.	Good	2020.000.0021

#### Accessioned KKK Hoods

No.	Description	Condition	Object ID
1-23	Twenty-three hoods, white cotton helmet crowned head pieces with plain back and front flaps extending to shoulders. Front flaps have eye openings cut in mask. Peak of hood has small burgundy tassel. Crown stiffened with mesh form. (a) unnumbered, size 6 7/8, burgundy tassel; (b) #329, size 7, tasseled, face mask missing; (c) #305, size 6 7/8, tasseled; (MISSING) (d) unnumbered, unsized, tasseled, no crown liner; (e) #140, size 7, no	Various	1974.018.0016

	tassel; (MISSING) (f) #109, size 7, no tassel; (g) #280, 7 7/8, tasseled; (h) #399, size 7, tasseled; (i) #249, size 6 7/8, tasseled; (j) #251, size 7 1/4, tasseled; (k) #255, size 7, tasseled; (l) #369, size 7, tasseled; (m) #106, size 7 1/8, no tassel; (MISSING) (n) #377, size 7 1/8, no tassel; (o) #63, size 7, tasseled; (MISSING) (p) #122, no size, tasseled, no headband with mesh insert; (q) #276, size 6 7/8, tasseled; (r) #318, size 6 3/4, tasseled; (s) unnumbered, size 6 7/8, tasseled, facemask missing; (t) #340, size 6 5/8, no tassel, no facemask; (u) unnumbered, size 7, tasseled, no facemask.		
24	KKK hood with liner. Hood is constructed of white cotton with a red tassel at the crown point. Marked "316" in ink on proper right-side base of hood crown. "316" is also written in pencil inside proper left side of back flap. Mesh insert is stamped "7/14" on inside. Eye openings have stitching around them.	Good	W.83.102.1350
25	KKK hat stiffener, size 7 1/8; marked "1313" in pencil on inside below size marking. 14" x 11 3/4".	Good	1984.008.0001
26	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) Hood. White cotton helmet crowned head piece with plain back and front flaps extending to shoulders. Front flaps have eye openings cut in mask. Peak of hoods has small burgundy tassel. Crown stiffened with mesh frame on headband. Separate liner inside hood.	Fair	2016.002.0016L
27	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) Hood. White cotton helmet crowned head piece with plain back and front flaps extending to shoulders. Front flaps have eye openings cut in mask. Peak of hoods has small burgundy tassel. Crown stiffened with mesh frame on headband. Separate liner inside hood. Brown stains over eye opening.	Good	2016.002.0016M
28	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) Hood. White cotton helmet crowned head piece with plain back and front flaps extending to shoulders. Front flaps have eye openings cut in mask. Peak of hoods has small burgundy tassel. Crown stiffened with mesh frame on headband. Separate liner inside hood. Missing front mask flap.	Fair	2016.002.0016N

29	Hood. White cotton helmet crowned head piece with plain back and front flaps extending to shoulders. Front flaps have eye openings cut in mask. Peak of hoods has small burgundy tassel. Crown stiffened with mesh frame on headband. Separate liner inside hood.	Fair	2016.002.0016O
30	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) Hood. White cotton helmet crowned head piece with plain back and front flaps extending to shoulders. Front flaps have eye openings cut in mask. Peak of hoods has small burgundy tassel. Crown stiffened with mesh form on headband. Separate liner inside hood. Missing back flap.	Poor	2016.002.0016P
31	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) Hood. White cotton helmet crowned head piece with plain back and front flaps extending to shoulders. Front flaps have eye openings cut in mask. Peak of hoods has small burgundy tassel. Crown stiffened with mesh frame on headband. Separate liner inside hood.	Fair	2016.002.0016Q
32	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) Hood. White cotton helmet crowned head piece with plain back and front flaps extending to shoulders. Front flaps have eye openings cut in mask. Peak of hoods has small burgundy tassel. Crown stiffened with mesh frame on headband. Separate liner inside hood.	Fair	2016.002.0016R
33	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) Hood. White cotton helmet crowned head piece with plain back and front flaps extending to shoulders. Front flaps have eye openings cut in mask. Peak of hoods has small burgundy tassel. Crown stiffened with mesh frame on headband. Separate liner inside hood.	Good	2016.002.0016S
34	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) Hood. White cotton helmet crowned head piece with plain back and front flaps extending to shoulders. Front flaps have eye openings cut in mask. Peak of hoods has small burgundy tassel. Crown stiffened with mesh frame on headband. Separate liner inside hood.	Fair	2016.002.0016T
35	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) Hood. White cotton helmet crowned head piece with plain back and front flaps extending to shoulders. Front flaps have eye	Poor	2016.002.0016U



	openings cut in mask. Peak of hoods has small burgundy tassel. Crown stiffened with mesh frame on headband. Separate liner inside hood.		
36	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) hood liner. Found in collection.	Fair	2020.000.00221
37	Ku Klux Klan (KKK) hood liner. Found in collection.	Fair	2020.000.00222

### Accessioned Miscellaneous KKK Objects

No.	Description	Condition	Object ID
1	Wooden cross with base. A hole is located at each end of the cross piece and there is one at the top of the cross. It is crudely constructed and in poor condition. From Rafford Hall.	n/a	1974.018.0002
2	Wooden cross, wired for electric bulbs at top, bottom, and end of cross piece. It is crudely constructed and in poor condition. From Rafford Hall.	n/a	1974.018.0003
3	Wooden cross in box shape. It has four light bulb sockets and wiring, plus bulb. From Rafford Hall.	n/a	1974.018.0004
	Wood slat screen (rolled up) 20 slats, 63" long held by tin straps. The slats have flare/torches stuck in them. From Rafford Hall.	n/a	1974.018.0005
4	U.S. 48-star flag. Looks like nylon or rayon fabric with pole and base. Made by "Dettra's Flag." Approx. 60" x 36" fabric faded and worn. From Rafford Hall.	n/a	1974.018.0006
5-8	4 Cardboard crosses. Painted with silver paint and sprinkled with glitter. Nailed or stapled to broom handles. Approx 40" long. Crosspieces: 14 1/2" wide. Cross 6" breadth. From Rafford Hall.	n/a	1974.018.0007
9	Small 48-star U.S. Flag & unattached staff. Flag 17" x 28 1/2" (badly tattered and worn). From Rafford Hall.	n/a	1974.018.0008

10	48-star flag and staff. Flag: 17" x 28". Flag faded and tattered with moth holes. From Rafford Hall.	n/a	1974.018.0009
11	Cross. Wire frame wrapped in tin foil on three sides. The front is open and packed with what appears to be dried grass or twigs Height 23 ¾". Width: 14 ½". Crude construction, poor damaged condition. From Rafford Hall.	n/a	1974.018.0010
12-14	3 Wooden Frames. Cross pieces and flares attached to form letter "k". 3' x 2' frame size. From Rafford Hall.	n/a	1974.018.0011
15	Bindery Press. Painted black. Cast Iron: Vertical action manual wheel mounted on top of horizontal plates. Condition appears to be in good condition and operative but needs cleaning and lubrication, possible some adjustment. From Rafford Hall.	n/a	1974.018.0012
16-19	4 Wooden Folding Chairs. Mad by "the Simmons Company." From Rafford Hall.	n/a	1974.018.0013.a-d
20-21	2 hand-lettered Cardboard Placards each about 66' long by 14 ¾' wide with "KKK" painted in black. Each torn in in two pieces. From Rafford Hall.	n/a	1974.018.0014.a-b
22-107	Miscellaneous adornments from discarded KKK robes, including assorted bone and pearl buttons, two sizes, crests, two styles, tassels, rope belts, and examples of hand embroidered written numbers from robe backs. Box M- 60 uniform patches. Labeled 74.18.21.1 through 74.18.21.60. Objects 1-10 constructed from appliqued felt. Objects 11-60 constructed through embroidered thread. Exterior label tags missing from 10 and 37, hand written on paper wrapping. Box I- Objects 61-63- scraps from robes, hand embroidered with numbers. Objects 64-72- belts. Objects 73-78- hood liner. Objects 83-86- hood tassels. From Rafford Hall.	Various	1974.018.0021
108	Cardboard box, used to ship KKK uniform. Carries stamps cancelled " Cincinnati, OH". Box measures 20 1/4 x 16" x 2" deep. has clamshell top. Mailing label has been removed. Postal stamp on box reads "Mar 12 1926."	n/a	1983.006.0001

109	Ku Klux Klan Breast Patch: a circular patch worn on the left breast of a KKK white robe. The outside circle is heavily stitched with red thread. Inside is a white Maltese cross at a 45-degree angle edged in black. At the center of the cross is a black square at a 45-degree angle to the cross. Inside the square appears a drop of blood.	Good	W.83.86.0562
110	KKK "member in good standing" hole for attaching.	Good	W.83.87.0732
111	Alum. KKK "the invisible empire," America first," and "preserve racial purity."	Good	W.83.87.0733
112-114	3 KKK robe patches. White canvas with machine stitched red satin stitch background. Cross outlined in black satin stitch. 4.5" diameter.	Good	W.83.102.1402.a-c
115	Fabric patch-KKK-red, black, and white Klan cross design.	Excellent	W.83.103.0727
116	Blood drop cross insignia, round, 4 3/8" in diameter. Background and blood drop are deep red, cross is white with black outline. There is a diamond shape outlined in black in the center of the cross with a dark red blood drop on a white background in the diamond. Machine made.	n/a	2016.035.050
117	Blood drop cross insignia, round, 4 3/8" in diameter. Background and blood drop are deep red, cross is white with black outline. There is a diamond shape outlined in black in the center of the cross with a dark red blood drop on a white background in the diamond. Machine made.	n/a	2016.035.0450
118	Blood drop cross insignia, round, 4 1/2" in diameter. Background and blood drop are deep red, cross is white with black outline. There is a diamond shape outlined in black in the center of the cross with a dark red blood drop on a white background in the diamond. Machine made.	n/a	2016.035.0451
119	Blood drop cross insignia, round, 5" in diameter. Background and blood drop are deep red, cross is white with black outline. There is a diamond shape outlined in black in the center of the cross with a	n/a	2016.035.0452

	dark red blood drop on a white background in the diamond. Machine made.		
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## Appendix G: Ku Klux Klan terminology

**Aliens** – nonmember of a Klan and/or someone not a white native-born Protestant

**Exalted Cyclops** – head/president of a Klavern

**Grand Dragon** – head of a Realm

**Great Kligrapp** – administrative officer of a Province

**Great Titan** – head of a Province

**Imperial Wizard** – national head of the Klan

**Invisible Empire** – the whole Klan

**Klabee** – treasurer of a Klavern

**Kladd** – conductor in charge of initiating new members

**Klaliff** – vice president of a Klavern

**Klarogo** – guard of a Klavern’s “inner room”

**Klavern** – local chapter

**Kleagle** – recruiter

**Klecktoken** – initial joining fee

**Klexter** – outer guard at a Klavern meeting

**Kligrapp** – secretary of a Klavern

**Klokkan** – head of a committee to investigate potential members

**Klokard** – travelling lecturer or representative of national Klan

**Klonklave** – weekly meeting of a Klavern

**Klonverse** – weekly meeting of a Province

**Klonversation** – event at which new members were ‘naturalized’

**Kloran** – Klan bible, setting out rules and procedures

**Klorero** – large Klan gathering

**Kludd** – chaplain

**Kluxing** -- recruiting

**Naturalization** – installing new members, who were then no longer aliens

**Night-Hawk** – courier and custodian of props; in charge of new recruits prior to naturalization

**Province** – regional unit of a realm, consisting of multiple Klaverns and overseen by a Great

**Realm** – state-level unit of Klan, led by a Grand Dragon and consisting of multiple Provinces

**Terrors** – the officers of a Klavern

## **Appendix H: Community Advisory Group Biographies**

### **Teniadé Broughton**

Elected in 2020, Teniadé Broughton is the councilmember for District 5 of the city of Pensacola. She is a seventh-generation Pensacolian and proud graduate of Booker T. Washington High School, Florida A&M University and the University of West Florida. Deeply active in the community, she a member of Allen Chapel AME Church, president of the John Sunday Society, chairperson of the Escambia County Equal Justice Initiative, and a member of the Gallery Night Pensacola Board, Pensacola Bicentennial Celebration Commission, Junior League of Pensacola, and J.U.S.T. (Justice United Seeking Transformation) Pensacola.

### **Jewel Cannada-Wynn**

Jewel Cannada-Wynn was born in Century, Florida. She is an Educator with the Escambia County School District and a former Pensacola City Council Woman. She graduated from Century High School, Pensacola State/Junior College with a A.S. in Criminal Justice Technology, the University of Maryland with a B.S. in Government and the University of West Florida with a Masters in Teaching History. She is also a Retired Veteran of the United States Air Force.

### **Tom Garner**

A Pensacola native, Tom Garner has been deeply involved in Pensacola area history and archaeology for the past 40 years. In 2015, Tom had the great honor of discovering the site of the 1559-61 Tristan de Luna settlement. In 2004, Tom served as a historian for *Lillie and Leander*, a film about the aftermath of the 1908 murder of Leander Shaw by a lynch mob in Plaza Ferdinand. Deeply moved by the research into the Shaw murder, Tom began a nearly two decades long search for information and answers about the history of race and racism in the Pensacola area. In July 2020, in an effort to foster a conversation within the community about this history, including the painful wounds that still remain, Tom revealed publicly that T.T. Wentworth, Jr. had served as Exalted Cyclops of Escambia County's Ku Klux Klan.

### **Cheryl Howard**

Cheryl Howard is the co-founder and Chief Executive Officer of the African American Heritage Society, Inc. She earned Advanced Degrees, including her Juris Doctorate Degree with honors, from Howard University in Washington, D.C. Cheryl is a former prosecutor, having served in the Offices of the Honorable Janet Reno in Miami, Florida before entering private practice; followed by a career including corporate, academic, and non-profit sectors. She has served on numerous local boards, including United Way of Escambia (now United Way of West Florida), Pensacola State College Foundation, Legal Services of Northwest Florida, T.T. Wentworth Museum, and the Pensacola Chamber of Commerce. Cheryl is dedicated to educating the public more completely on American and Pensacola History, with the inclusion of persons of African

ancestry, while also fulfilling the continuing mission of the 31 years in service African American Heritage Society, as it remains a contributor and leader in Pensacola Tourism.

### **Darlene Mosley**

Darlene Mosley became interested in the Wentworth KKK papers as the result of a family connection. A descendant of Robert and Esther Fillingim, the family is one of the Pioneer Families of Northwest Florida. Family lore told of possible Klan involvement by some members, and an inquiry into the possibility led to a confirmation of that legend. Dr. Mosley teaches psychology and specializes in Implicit Bias.

### **Robin Reshard**

Robin Reshard advocates for and creates stories and content about African Americans' experiences, history and development in the American visual and vocal conversation. Her research has been used in books, articles, documentaries, television and radio. She works in the community through volunteering with the Kukua Institute, a non-profit organization located in Historic Belmont DeVilliers with a vision to discover, grow, share and celebrate African Americans stories through art, history, science and technology.

### **Scott Satterwhite**

Scott Satterwhite is an educator, writer, and veteran of the U.S. Navy. His work and writing on local history, much of which focusing on race relations, as well as his work with veteran communities, earned him the 2021 University of West Florida President's Award for Leadership in Diversity (Faculty Award). Satterwhite holds master's degrees in both History and English from UWF, where he teaches rhetoric, writing, and literature.

### **Juanita Scott**

Juanita Scott has served on numerous boards as a community advocate for diversity, equity, and inclusion. She is a member of Together Pensacola, a group of concerned individuals whose mission is to promote equality and value to all citizens in the Pensacola Bay Area. She has led numerous conversations on race, ethnicity, and inclusion. Ms. Scott is also a political consultant to local, state and national campaigns. She currently serves as the Director of Professional Development at Pensacola State College and serves on the President's Advisory Council on Equity and Inclusion.

### **Joe Vinson**

Joe Vinson is a digital media specialist and local history enthusiast who founded the website Pensapedia in 2006 and has participated in several other initiatives celebrating Pensacola history, including the Gálvez Monument and the 1821 Sampler Project. He is currently pursuing a master's degree in Public History from the University of West Florida.

**Adrienne Walker**

Adrienne Walker is the interim archivist for the UWF Historic Trust in addition to serving as the staff archaeologist and site manager of Arcadia Mill Archaeological Site in Milton. She holds a master's degree in historical archaeology and her research focuses on industrial slavery and daily life of the enslaved in northwest Florida.

**Sharon Yancey**

Sharon Garner Yancey is the niece of the late Helen and Warren Wentworth. Sharon's mother Vera and Helen Wentworth were sisters. Sharon was president of the T.T. Wentworth Jr. Historical Foundation for over 20 years, working with the Wentworth family and other board members to support the T.T. Wentworth Jr. collection housed in the old City Hall. Sharon is a graduate of UWF with a major in history and received her theological education from Asbury Theological Seminary.

**Marion Williams**

Dr. Marion Williams is an educator, local historian, and community leader. He has received numerous awards, including the Pensacola Branch of the NAACP's Community Service Award in 2009 for his book, "Historic Negro or Colored City Public Schools (P.S.#) from 1885-2008;" the "Beyond and Above Award" in 2008 from Spencer Bibbs Learning Academy, for his leadership and community service; as well as the Omega Man of the Year and Citizen of the Year Service. He received the 2017 "Lifetime Achievement Award" from the Freedoms Foundation Society of Valley Forge, Pensacola Chapter. Dr. Williams crossed "the Burning Sands" of Omega in the Class of 1972 at Beta Omicron Chapter #594, and he is retired from the Escambia County, FL School District. He currently serves on the African American Heritage Society and the General Chappie James Museum Boards. Marion is an active member of the UWF Historic Trust and the Middle Passage Ceremonies and Port Marker Committee.