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THE KU KLUX KLAN’S 1926 ASSAULT ON THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY, FLORIDA
by Michael H. Mundt

Since its inception in 1866, the Ku Klux Klan has proven remarkably adept at attracting members by shaping its message to fit the times. During Reconstruction, the Klan was one of a number of anti-black organizations that appealed to southern whites. After disappearing from public view in the 1870s, the Invisible Empire reappeared in a new guise. Resurrected in 1915 by self-proclaimed Imperial Wizard William Joseph Simmons, the Klan grew slowly at first, but it found a favorable climate for its message of hatred in the years after World War I. At a time when Americans sought solutions for social and economic instability, the Klan advertised the catchy notion of “100 percent Americanism.” This ambiguous term lent itself to a variety of meanings, but Klansmen associated it with a defense of traditional American values, Protestantism and the so-called “Anglo-Saxon” race. Limiting its membership to native-born, white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants, the Klan defended 100 percent Americanism by taking a stand against Catholics, Jews, immigrants and African Americans. During the 1920s, these various minorities were identified by Klansmen as the source of America’s problems, especially crime and the perceived decline in morality. This message, combined with Klan secrecy and ritual, attracted over three million members during the 1920s, making the Invisible Empire the largest fraternal organization in the country at the time. Originating in the South, the Klan spread to all regions, and although Klansmen engaged in violence, they reached their greatest strength through peaceful, legal methods, especially in politics, where they managed to elect governors and U.S. Senators, as well as numerous local officials, in states ranging from Alabama and Indiana to Colorado and Oregon. They did this not by establishing an independent Klan party but by seizing control of the local Democratic or Republican parties.

As a secret organization, the Ku Klux Klan left few records, but it thrived on public recognition. Historians have begun to reconstruct the activities of the Klan in the 1920s by undertaking community studies which draw on a variety of sources, especially newspapers. While often biased and incomplete, the press provides insight into the activities of Klansmen, their motivations, their beliefs and their impact on public issues. This study of Tampa Klansmen located no membership rosters or surviving participants. Nevertheless, extensive information has been culled from newspapers and national Klan publications, showing that the Invisible Empire had thousands of members and many more supporters in the Tampa area.

During the roaring twenties, Tampa experienced epidemic levels of crime against people, property and public morals. As Tampans confronted a high homicide rate, widespread larceny, narcotics, illicit liquor and gambling, their city earned a reputation as a fundamentally lawless community. When local officials failed to curb the perceived crime wave, the Klan found an opportunity to recruit members. The Ku Klux Klan arrived publicly in Tampa in 1923, when one of its most successful lecturers, the Reverend Caleb A. Ridley, paid a visit. Pastor of the Central Baptist Church in Atlanta, Ridley had joined the Invisible Empire in the early 1920s, telling his parishioners, “I am a Klansman and proud of it.” On the night of January 25, 1923, Ridley spoke at the courthouse bandstand in downtown Tampa, asserting that the Klan was established to
uphold, not violate the law. When only a small crowd gathered to hear Ridley, the *Tampa Times* quipped that most Tampans had chosen to “ignore the farrago of folly and nonsense which

A Klan publication, issued from national headquarters in Atlanta (“the Imperial Palace”), outlined the 1924 goals of the KKK, which were primarily political.

Photograph from *Imperial Night-Hawk*, January 2, 1924.
excites the curiosity of the simple minded.” However, this assessment was premature.2

By August 1923, a local newspaper claimed that between 1,500 and 3,000 men had joined the hooded order in Hillsborough County. The accuracy of these estimates is dubious, but Tampa had enough Klansmen to form at least two klaverns (chapters) by late 1923. In addition, the Invisible Empire staged public initiation ceremonies, where several hundred new members were inducted into area klaverns, and in August 1923, Klansmen in full regalia staged a fifty-car motorcade through the streets of Tampa to mark the death of President Warren G. Harding. This well-publicized event caused quite a stir, leading one local paper to observe several weeks later: “That Klux parade is all over but the shouting.” Striking a more serious note, the Hillsborough County Solicitor declared: “I want it plainly understood that in the event of any overt acts upon the part of the Klan, these members will go to jail. . . . If the Ku Klux Klan wishes to start anything, it will find me right on the job.” This stance by the local press and public officials may explain the low profile taken by Tampa Klansmen over the next year and a half. However, it soon became clear that the Invisible Empire had not disappeared from Tampa, it had merely changed its methods.3

In 1926, Klansmen in Tampa and other areas of Hillsborough County extended their reach into local politics. Their vehicle was that year’s Democratic primary. As in much of the Solid South, primary elections were the seminal political contests due to the almost complete absence of Republican voters. Thus, whoever won the Democratic primary was usually assured victory in the general election. At stake in Hillsborough County’s 1926 primary were three seats in the Florida House of Representatives and one seat in the state Senate. Candidates also battled for two-thirds of the seats on Hillsborough County’s Democratic Executive Committee, which was composed of sixty-eight committeemen, each elected from one of the county’s precincts. The attempt of Klansmen to use this process to promote their vision of an orderly, moral community brought them into direct conflict with the county’s dominant political elite.

The primary campaign began quietly in early April. With candidates calmly debating the issues, the election initially drew little media attention, and the Klan issue remained unaddressed. This tranquility was shattered just six weeks into the campaign when, on the registration deadline, over twenty unexpected candidates qualified to run for the positions on the county executive committee in opposition to the previously registered candidates. The stewards of the committee’s status quo were appalled by this action because Hillsborough County tradition mandated that the first candidate to register for a precinct’s position on the committee be allowed to go into the primary unopposed by his fellow Democrats. Astute political observers immediately suggested that a secret society was responsible for the mass registrations, and the local Democratic elite quickly announced to the press that these last minute qualifications comprised “a move of the Ku Klux Klan to split open” the county’s Democratic party.4

The registration of these challenging committeemen exploded the serenity of the primary. The party elite linked the challenging committee candidates to four legislative candidates, implying a Klan affiliation in each case. The Ku Klux Klan became the primary’s paramount issue, splitting the county’s political arena into two factions, as Democrats who supported the established party order (the “anti-Klan” candidates) prepared to meet the challenge of the political newcomers associated with the Ku Klux Klan. This schism electrified the electorate, generating great press
coverage as the campaign deteriorated into “a conglomerate mass of abuse . . . religious exhortations" and “damnable lies,” according to opposing candidates. Amid the brawling, both factions of the Democratic party offered diverging definitions of the primary’s significance to the community.5

Reflecting the concerns of Hillsborough County Klansmen, the candidates associated with the secret order depicted the primary as a contest between the stewards of Protestant virtue and those who were too closely linked to the political establishment responsible for the current morally decrepit situation. Stricter law enforcement was the clarion call of the candidates identified with the Klan. They vowed to fight for more stringent prohibition, narcotics and anti-gambling laws, and they called for the “betterment of public morals.” State Senate candidate Charles Taylor repeatedly made an issue of his own moral standing, describing himself as a “good Methodist” and claiming to be “the crusader of the Bible,” while linking his opponent to the immoral and “lawless elements” of Tampa, especially bootleggers and gamblers. Taylor also trumpeted the endorsements he received from Florida’s Anti-Saloon League, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union and Hillsborough County’s Protestant ministers. Similarly, legislative candidate John T. Lowe bluntly asserted that the primary was a contest between moral and immoral forces, while candidate J. Harvey Whitney defended the Ku Klux Klan as virtuous.
Meanwhile, state House candidate Leo Stalnaker claimed the anti Klan candidates “represented the liquor and [gambling] interests.” A fervent Methodist, Stalnaker concluded each of his campaign speeches with a dramatic poetry reading, which asked God to provide morally upright men for community leadership. More specifically, Stalnaker advocated stricter prohibition and anti-gambling laws pursuant to “the betterment of public morals.”

Such exhortations echoed nationwide Klan propaganda. The Invisible Empire’s publication *Kourier* proclaimed: “It is our duty as Klansmen... to accept the leadership in the fight for prohibition, obedience to law... and for order and justice, as we have been Providentially given the leadership in the whole struggle for decent Americanism. It is no light task to which we have been called.” This rhetoric corresponds with that of the candidates associated with the Klan in Hillsborough County. Furthermore, just as these candidates lambasted their opponents’ immorality, the *Kourier* observed that “there will always be, vicious and corrupt politicians who will profess support of the law for the sake of winning an election, but will violate it and connive at violation whenever they dare.” This language is consistent with Klansmen’s perception of the 1926 primary in Hillsborough County. For example, Charles Taylor asserted, “You can’t get law enforcement from men who disobey the law and are not in sympathy with the law and who spend their time keeping men out of jail who ought to be there.” Taylor repeatedly reminded voters that anti-Klan Senate candidate Pat Whitaker had built a lucrative legal practice through his shrewd defense of violators of narcotics and prohibition laws. Further, as a state representative, Whitaker had consistently tried to weaken prohibition laws. Nevertheless, in the 1926 primary, he proudly proclaimed his support for anti-liquor laws.

Just as the candidates identified with the Ku Klux Klan sought to define the issues of the election, their opponents united to make the Klan the central issue in the primary. Anti-Klan candidates responded to the Klan challenge by ridiculing the secret order’s moral posturing. Anti-Klan legislative candidate Major Fielding L. D. Carr expressed his disgust for “men claiming to control all the civic and moral virtues of the community when their records did not justify their claims.” The anti-Klan candidates also lambasted their opponents’ compromising ties to secret organizations, while they claimed, in contrast, to represent “the most respectable Christian gentlemen... [and] the upstanding leaders of our community.” Perhaps most damaging, anti-Klan candidates decried the hooded order’s reputation for vigilante violence,
declaring that such acts were “a mockery of our courts, . . . detrimental to our form of government” and distinctly un-American. In one of the more vivid exchanges, Senate candidate Pat Whitaker condemned the “horrible practice” of flogging, and – at a well-attended political rally in Tampa’s Plant Park – dramatically produced a murderous-looking, three-foot-long leather lash, which he claimed police had seized from would-be floggers. Holding the nail-studded lash, he launched into a tirade against the Klan and its murderous methods, which prompted an impassioned response from his opponent, Charles Taylor: “[I]t is not the law abiding citizen who fears the [K]lan . . . . [I]t is the crook and those who defend crooks. . . . [I]t is only . . . wife beaters and bootleggers . . . whom you hear refer to [the Klan] as anything but a law abiding organization.” In rebuttal, Whitaker claimed that his opponent’s defense of the Klan was the first time Taylor “has admitted . . . that he is an ignoramus and proud of it.” This flogging lash became one of the most potent symbols of the campaign, and it was especially relevant in light of three recent floggings attributed to local Klansmen. Above all, the antics of Pat Whitaker dramatically reflected the elite Democrats’ emphasis on the Klan issue.  

Other anti-Klan candidates directed more eloquent assaults at the candidates associated with the Klan. Instead of concentrating on the moral posturing of their opponents and the violence attributed to the hooded order, they emphasized the divisiveness that the Klan’s intrusion brought into the traditionally unified Democratic party. Two days before the primary election, at a rally in rural Dover, the leader of the anti-Klan faction of the Democratic Executive Committee clarified the issue facing Hillsborough’s voters:

> True democracy stands for the principles laid down by Jefferson and based on the constitution of the United States. I believe in those democratic principles and want to support the real democrats. The issue now is are we to have a democratic party in power or are we to have the ku klux in power....[Y]ou can help to elect the true democrats.

Major Carr similarly praised the Democratic party as the keeper of the sacred rights of Americans against the intrusion of tyranny. He warned the voters: “[Y]ou must make up your minds . . . [to] select your representative from either the democratic party or the klan.” Thus, elite Democrats clearly defined the primary to voters: elect the “true democrats” or face the tyrannical rule of a secret society.

Tampa’s press similarly defined the election. Allying themselves with the anti-Klan candidates, Tampa newspapers attacked the candidates identified with the Klan for their ties to secret societies, openly challenged their potential as legislators and assailed their disruptive effect on the county’s Democratic party. The *Tampa Times* proclaimed that the “law-abiding, peace-loving citizens” of the county, who believed in the sanctity of their rights as specified in the Declaration of Independence, could vote only for the anti-Klan candidates. Thus, the press reasserted the position of the Democratic establishment by emphasizing the noble principles of American democracy and by associating Hillsborough County’s Democratic party with these ideals. Across America, politicians confronted with a Klan challenge invoked similar rhetoric as they campaigned against the hooded order.

Klan and anti-Klan Democrats in Hillsborough County differed not only in their divergent visions for the community, but also in their social backgrounds. The four legislative candidates identified with the Ku Klux Klan were of comparatively lower socio-economic status than their

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opponents. Senate candidate Charles Taylor had achieved financial success as a farmer and rancher, but remained a prototypically uncouth backwoods politician, whose lack of education hampered his campaign. The three House candidates identified with the Klan were Leo Stalnaker, a twenty-eight-year-old Tampa lawyer; J. Harvey Whitney, the former chief of Tampa’s sanitary department; and John T. Lowe, a Plant City resident of unknown occupation. In contrast, the anti-Klan candidates had left an indelible imprint on their communities. By 1926, Senate candidate Pat Whitaker had established himself as one of Florida’s leading lawyers and politicos. Soon after his arrival in Tampa in 1916, he had tied himself to another rising star of local politics, future mayor Robert E. Lee Chancey, whose sister he married. Whitaker extended his political connections, becoming a powerful lawmaker and one of the state’s best known criminal defense attorneys. Like Whitaker, House candidate Major Fielding Carr was also clearly a member of the local elite. Manager of the influential Lykes family’s steamship business, he served as general manager of industrial development for the Tampa Real Estate Board and a director of the city’s Board of Trade. Legislative candidate J. Rex Farrior was the founder of a prestigious Tampa law firm with ties to the city’s Board of Trade. Candidate William Schneider, a Plant City entrepreneur and career politician, was the president of three corporations and the Bank of Plant City. These men clearly were part of the elite in their respective communities.

This socio-economic differentiation also held true for the candidates for the county’s Democratic Executive Committee. In Plant City, the six committee candidates associated with the Klan were relative unknowns who left little historical record. In sharp contrast, Plant City’s anti-Klan candidates were noted individuals. They included a former state legislator and speaker of the House, who also was incumbent chairman of the county’s Executive Committee; a former superintendent of Hillsborough County schools; and two successful planters. Overall, four of the six anti-Klan candidates were members of prominent Plant City families, while a fifth was a twenty-six-year resident and patriarch of a family which was growing in local political importance. In Tampa, the committee candidates identified with the Klan were from more diverse social strata. They included business owners, retail salesmen, a civil servant and an attorney. The anti-Klan candidates for Executive Committee were of somewhat higher status, holding positions as businessmen, civil servants and real estate entrepreneurs. The anti-Klan committee candidates also included a prominent criminal attorney, an accountant and a contractor.

Thus, as Hillsborough County’s citizens went to the polls, they faced two slates of candidates distinguished not only by attitudes toward the Ku Klux Klan, but also by socio-economic status. Although the Democratic party’s elite and Hillsborough County’s newspapers had lined up against the candidates identified with the Klan, they scored substantial victories. In Plant City, Klan-backed candidates won four of the town’s six committee seats. In Tampa, they captured eleven of the thirteen contested seats, defeating four of the five committee incumbents seeking reelection. Candidates identified with the Klan also did well in legislative contests. Although Charles Taylor lost the Senate race, Leo Stalnaker and John Lowe won their party’s nomination for House seats.
The proportion of the vote won by legislative candidates identified with the Klan varied greatly throughout Hillsborough County. In the rural areas and the two incorporated towns outside of Tampa, these candidates performed exceptionally well. In the town of Port Tampa, the legislative candidates associated with the Klan polled over 63 percent of the popular vote, with each candidate winning that precinct. In Plant City, these candidates garnered 55 percent of the vote and carried all but one precinct. In the eighteen rural precincts of Hillsborough County, these candidates won 60 percent of the vote. While garnering majorities in the county’s non-urban areas, the Klan candidates earned 42 percent of the vote in the thirty-eight precincts of urban and suburban Tampa.¹⁵

A *Tampa Times* cartoon (May 27, 1926) showed Pat Whitaker fanning anti-Klan flames.
Several factors account for the strength of the Klan candidates in rural Hillsborough County. The ethnic, religious and cultural homogeneity of the rural areas of the county contrasted sharply with the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Tampa. Many of the native, white Protestants who dominated the rural parts of the county found nothing particularly offensive in Klan doctrine. More significantly, as many historians have noted, rural Americans harbored a strong bias against the values of urban America and the people who lived there. This bias became pointed in the 1920s, after decades of migration to urban areas and foreign immigration had altered America’s demographic portrait. In the context of southern Florida, Tampa symbolized the crime, vice and widespread immorality that many rural residents considered inherent in urban life. They saw a direct link between Tampa’s ills and its large number of non-Protestant, foreign-born Latin residents, a cause-effect relationship advanced by many rural Americans in the 1920s.

Additionally, the political and economic interests of rural Hillsborough and urban Tampa did not necessarily coincide. In the 1926 primary, many Port Tampa residents rejected the anti-Klan candidates because they advocated expanding Tampa’s port. In contrast, candidates associated with the Klan opposed such expansion as an unnecessary duplication of Port Tampa’s facilities. As Tampa grew dramatically in the 1920s, it came to overshadow Port Tampa and the rest of the county. The 1926 primary reveals the political manifestation of these tensions, as the majority of rural Hillsborough County voters chose the political newcomers identified with the Klan over those candidates clearly tied to Tampa’s political and economic establishment. Thus, a series of local factors – some of which reflected national trends – helps explain the strength of candidates associated with the Klan in rural areas.

However, candidates identified with the Klan also enjoyed successes in Tampa and its suburbs, although the electoral strength of these candidates varied tremendously within these urban precincts. Historians have noted that in Tampa’s neighborhoods, “residency depended upon ethnic background, religion, economic status and race.” Accordingly, the electoral strength of the candidates associated with the hooded order lay within distinct areas of the city. These candidates fared worst in the city’s immigrant enclaves and in Tampa’s affluent neighborhoods, while showing their greatest strength in the middle-class areas of the city and its suburbs.16

Tampa’s Latin residents most resolutely rejected the candidates identified with the Ku Klux Klan. They objected to the anti-immigrant attitude of the hooded order and the Klan’s advocacy of a Puritanical code of morals. They also despised the vigilante violence commonly attributed to the hooded order. In 1923, La Gaceta – a leading Spanish-language newspaper – held Klansmen accountable for the flogging of two Ybor City cafe operators, one of whom was a client of Pat Whitaker. Similarly, just before the 1926 primary, La Gaceta reiterated Senate candidate Pat Whitaker's condemnation of masked vigilantes and informed its mostly Latin readership that Charles Taylor was supported by the “masked ones,” whose abuses Whitaker would correct through proper law enforcement. La Gaceta proclaimed that the “beloved people” of Ybor City would “not agree to a senator with a ‘mask,’” and the paper predicted that Tampa’s Latin citizens would vote strongly for “Pat.” For the editors of La Gaceta, the primary election was clearly a contest between “the ‘friends of the Latinos’ and those who wish to see them ‘hung by the neck.’” Although La Gaceta did not speak for all of Tampa’s Latins, it did reflect the concerns of these citizens, as illustrated by the election results; in Ybor City precincts, candidates associated with the Klan won, on average, less than 15 percent of the vote.17
A local newspaper headline drew attention to the Klan issue in the 1926 primary.

Like the city’s foreign-born citizens and their families, Tampa’s more affluent residents sided with elite politicians and voted against the candidates associated with the Klan. In the upper-middle-class and upper-class precincts of Hyde Park, Bayshore, Interbay and Ballast Point, the candidates identified with the hooded order won less than 30 percent of the popular vote. However, unlike the city’s Latin enclaves, the candidates associated with the Ku Klux Klan enjoyed sporadic electoral successes in Tampa’s more affluent areas, even if most residents of these precincts found the Klan’s potential distasteful at best and, at worst, a viable threat to the elite’s political power.

In contrast, in limited areas of the city, Tampans enthusiastically endorsed those candidates identified with the Klan. These candidates achieved their most spectacular victories in Gary and Jackson Heights, near Tampa’s eastern city limits – neighborhoods composed almost entirely of lower-middle-class and middle-class Anglo residents. There, Klan candidates won, on average, over 76 percent of the vote.¹⁸

Candidates associated with the Klan demonstrated their greatest strength in mostly middle-class areas of Tampa. This strength was centralized in northern Tampa Heights, Seminole Heights and Sulphur Springs, neighborhoods spreading northward from the city. In the five precincts of Seminole Heights candidates associated with the Klan collected nearly 60 percent of the popular vote. In Seminole Heights, only one Klan-supported candidate lost any precinct race, and that was by a mere three votes out of 197. Of Seminole Heights’ five committee positions, candidates associated with the Ku Klux Klan won four; one of the victors was Allen T. Stuart, who would lead the Klan faction on the county’s new Executive Committee.¹⁹

If Tampa Latins feared the Klan’s reputation for violence and racism and Tampa’s affluent citizens resented the Klan’s political imposition, the motivations of Tampa’s middle-class voters are less clear. However, in the early 1920s, middle-class Tampans – acting through their religious and civic organizations – had expressed concern over the proliferation of crime and vice in the city. Residents of middle-class Seminole Heights vocally reflected this trend. In 1922, they publicly denounced the city police department and claimed it was influenced by Tampa’s powerful liquor interests. Later that year, area residents established the Seminole Civic Club to voice their concerns. The club declared that “the preservation of the moral tone of our residential community is a matter of primary importance to each and every resident of this section, and to this association.” The club criticized the efforts of law enforcers and specifically condemned the “considerable evil effect” of liquor-selling road houses, which served clientele “of known disrepute” and were an “offense to morals and decency.” This association evolved into the Seminole Heights Civic Club and came under the leadership of committee candidate Allen T. Stuart, who in 1926 condemned Pat Whitaker’s anti-Prohibition stance as a detriment to the community’s moral health. That same year, residents of the area formed a vigilance committee to protect their homes and possessions after a rash of robberies. They applied for pistol permits, armed themselves and vowed to rectify community conditions “with hot lead.” Such passion also pervaded the political arena, as Seminole Heights residents often voted in greater numbers than residents of any other Tampa precinct.²⁰
The activism of Seminole Heights residents reflected the concerns of many middle-class Tampans. Throughout the city, the proliferation of crime and vice was a paramount political issue, as voters held the established political elite accountable for deteriorating conditions. Incumbent politicians constantly found themselves vulnerable to challengers in volatile primary elections, and in 1924 protesting citizens had taken the radical step-in an almost exclusively Democratic county-of voting Republican in relatively large numbers.21

The lines drawn in the 1926 primary election represented a continuation of the unrest that characterized Tampa’s political scene in the 1920s. Indeed, other American cities experienced similar revolts by middle-class voters who expressed their lack of faith in traditional political elites. In his study of El Paso’s Klan of the 1920s, Shawn Lay noted that the middle-class was “disgruntled . . . and resented the dominance of a local establishment which they believed to be immoral and corrupt,” and El Paso Klansmen capitalized “on the electorate’s general discontent with the local political . . . establishment.”22 In the 1926 Hillsborough County primary, only one of the four legislative candidates identified with the Klan (Charles Taylor) had previously held elected office, and none of them had ties to the entrenched political elite. The same applied to the Klan committee candidates, who were also political newcomers. The candidates associated with the Klan represented an alternative to the established political order. In addition to being untethered to existing conditions, these candidates more closely reflected prevailing middle-class concerns with law and order.

The 1926 primary revealed a deep political rift within Hillsborough County’s Democratic party and indicated that a large portion of the area’s population did not view the Ku Klux Klan as a radical fringe movement. Clearly, a large number of citizens accepted the candidates associated with the Klan as viable alternatives to the established political order. The emphasis these candidates placed on law, order and morality attracted a growing number of Hillsborough County residents in the 1920s. While the candidates associated with the Klan may not have offered concrete solutions to the community’s problems and while they may not have proven to be effective political leaders once in office, they at least addressed issues significant to many citizens. In contrast, the political elite failed to address these concerns, choosing instead to make the Klan itself the issue, a decision which reaffirmed the dissociation of the elite leadership from the concerns of much of the electorate.

Despite the impassioned appeals of both Tampa’s press and the county’s political elite regarding the potential for tyranny manifest in a Ku Klux Klan victory, many voters saw no danger in electing candidates associated with the hooded order. The only tyranny they feared was the continuing oligarchy of the “true democrats.” In the 1926 primary, Hillsborough County Klansmen stressed their vision for an orderly, moral community. The broad appeal of this endeavor – and the rationality of using political instead of extralegal methods – brought area Klansmen support from a large number of citizens for the first time.
The Klan remained active in Tampa, as shown in this 1939 ceremony.

Photograph courtesy of USF Special Collections.


2 Jackson, *Ku Klux Klan*, 34; *Tampa Times*, January 26, 1923.


4 *Tampa Times*, May 19, 1926.

5 *Tampa MorningTribune*, June 8, 1926 (hereafter cited as the *Tampa Tribune*).

6 *Tampa Times*, April 26, May 17 (quote), May 27, May 31, May 27, June 3 (quote), 1926, June 8, 1926; Earnest L. Robinson, *History of Hillsborough County, Florida* (St. Augustine, Florida: The Record Company, 1928), 378; *Tampa Tribune*, May 27, June 8, 1926.

7 *Kourier*, June 1926, 8; *Tampa Times*, June 3, 1926.

8 *Tampa Times*, May 31, June 3, 1926, June 8 (quote), 1926; *Tampa Tribune*, June 8, 1926.

9 *Tampa Times*, June 7, 1926.


15 *Tampa Times*, June 9, 1926. These numbers are approximate as the returns from five small rural precincts were never recorded in the *Tampa Times* or *Tampa Tribune*.


17 *La Gaceta*, June 4, 7, 9, 1926; *Tampa Times*, May 31, 1926.

18 A random survey of 110 residents of these precincts taken from the 1926 Tampa City Directory reveals varied occupations: thirty-one tradesmen, sixteen professionals, fourteen business owners, ten laborers, six managers, three clerical workers, three retail and wholesale salesmen, two farmers, a police officer, a watchman and a justice of the peace.

19 *Tampa Times*, June 9, 1926.


21 *Tampa Tribune*, June 8, 1926; Mundt, "Fiery Crosses," 96-111.