

Pink Ballots for the Ku Klux Klan

DURING the distribution of ballots for the Platforms of the People a few weeks ago a request was received for 10,000 to be distributed among "a class of native-born, white, Gentile, Protestant Americans." We had our suspicions as to the source of this request, and, in order that our suspicions might be confirmed or proved false, it was decided to send the ballots, but to print them on pink paper, so that if this proved to be an attempt to pack the poll the ballots could be easily segregated. The card printed on this page, taken together with the internal evidence of the votes, proved conclusively the use to which the ballots had been put. An analysis of the ballots, we believe, provides a unique and valuable opportunity to study the personnel and mind of the Ku Klux Klan.

The ballots returned all came from towns and small cities in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Of the total of 1,139 voters, 490 listed themselves as Republicans, only 97 as Democrats, and 552 as Independents. Among them are 243 women. About two-thirds gave their occupations, which show a fair cross-section of small-town life. The largest single group (209) is that of skilled workmen; the next (115) is of laborers; there are 81 clerks, salesmen, and bookkeepers; 50 farmers and gardeners; 38 railway men; 34 merchants; and a scattering of other classes. These include every profession: 3 druggists, 10 chauffeurs, 6 printers, 23 foremen, 7 superintendents, 18 managers, 4 master mechanics, 6 manufacturers, 10 contractors, 2 bankers, 16 clergymen, 2 missionaries, 4 teachers, 2 sea captains, 9 students, 1 lawyer, and 1 justice of the peace. Of the women most are housewives, with a few teachers and a dozen in professional work.

The first thing to be noted about these ballots is that they give a more complete sampling of American life than do those from the general Outlook poll. There is a far larger representation from the less prosperous and less literate classes. The circulation of such a magazine as The Outlook is necessarily chiefly among people of considerable prosperity and education, and this was reflected in the poll. The Klan ballots show that in that organization the weight is rather at the other end of the scale.

This appears sharply in the illiteracy of a great many of the Klan ballots. Many who voted were unable to spell correctly the name of their occupation; this was even true of some clergymen. There was plenty of evidence of intelli-

In the matter of marking the inclosed ballot you may let your conscience be your guide except for the following suggestions which I offer:—

Article VIII, No. 1. Approve.

Article IX, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5. Approve.
No. 4. Condemn.

Article XIII, No. 1. APPROVE.

PLEASE DO THIS AT ONCE.

K-16.

When is a suggestion an order?

gence and education also, but the Klan ballots did average far below those of the other poll on these points.

It is shown, too, in the number of voters who ignored many questions. In the other poll the vote on each question averaged about two-thirds of the total cast, while the Klan vote averaged only about one-third. The indications are that this was due to lack of interest, which is merely another form of ignorance.

The intention of the man who distributed the ballots to inject Klan doctrines into the poll is shown by a card which he sent with the ballots, several copies of which have reached The Outlook. In this he "suggested" that the voters approve Federal aid for education, the registration of aliens, immigration quotas, the further restriction of immigration, examination of immigrants at port of departure, and the programme of the Klan, and that they should disapprove relaxation of immigration restrictions. On all these points all who voted followed the "suggestions," but it is another evidence of lack of intelligence that the vote on even these emphasized points falls eight per cent short of the total. On some points the shortage is nineteen per cent. That is, nearly a fifth of the Klan voters were too ignorant to carry out instructions in full!

On other matters the Klan voters were told to "let your conscience be your guide," and it is in those that one must look for the cross-section of the Klan mind. The first notable fact is the slight attention paid to these other matters, an indication that a large proportion of Klansmen have no mind at all on them. The points on which fair interest was shown are informing, however; they are the bonus, prohibition, general welfare, preparedness, air mail, super-power, non-recognition of Russia, and the strength-

ening of the Monroe Doctrine. These, it will be seen, are the simpler questions.

Another thing that stands out is that there is even less partisanship in the Klan ballots than in the general Outlook poll. There is some division on the Garner tax plan, though, curiously enough, all groups approve the Mellon plan. There is a partisan division on the Railway Labor Board and on the League of Nations. On other points the Klan is non-partisan, though there is always some division of opinion.

Finally, there is evidence that on the whole the Klansmen voted with less discrimination than did the others as to the actual working of any reform which sounds well. They are less cautious, less able to check up their kindly desires by critical thought, more inclined to accept panaceas at face value, willing to go farther. In general, this leads to greater radicalism, or "progressivism."

An example is the vote on agricultural relief. The Klan not only gives a much stronger approval to all relief measures than do the voters in the general poll, it also highly approves the plans for Government purchase of wheat and for price-fixing, which the others rejected decisively.

The same tendency shows in the far greater leaning toward Government ownership of utilities than was indicated in the other poll. The Klan favors nationalization of railways, which in the general poll was approved only by the Democrats, and then very narrowly. The Klan is emphatically in favor of compulsory consolidation and freight reduction. All Klan groups favor nationalization of coal mines, which in the other poll was condemned by the Republicans. All Klan groups favor the abolition of injunctions in labor disputes, though all three in the general poll condemned it. On the continuance of the

The Platforms of the People and the Mind of the Ku Klux Klan

Figures show percentage based on number of ballots received

	REPUBLICAN			DEMOCRATIC			INDEPENDENT		
	Approved	Ignored	Condemned	Approved	Ignored	Condemned	Approved	Ignored	Condemned
I—TRANSPORTATION									
1. Voluntary consolidation of the railroads.	19	63	18	18	80	2	11	82	7
2. Compulsory consolidation of the railroads	15	73	12	17	74	9	6	85	9
3. Compulsory freight rate reduction.	34	64	2	39	58	3	24	73	3
4. Continuance of Esch-Cummins Act.	10	84	6	11	85	4	6	89	5
5. Nationalization of the railroads with co-operative administration by workers, shippers, and public.	28	68	4	27	68	5	19	78	3
II—AGRICULTURAL RELIEF									
1. Formation of a Federal Grain Export Corporation	24	72	4	25	72	3	16	81	3
2. Federal aid for Farmers' Co-operatives.	36	61	3	41	58	1	21	77	2
3. Federal purchase of wheat.	22	71	7	28	66	6	14	82	4
4. Price fixing of staple farm products.	29	64	7	28	66	6	17	79	4
5. Further extension of farm credits.	37	61	2	44	54	2	22	77	1
6. Development of St. Lawrence waterways	29	69	2	40	58	2	21	78	1
III—TAXATION									
1. Reduction of taxes by Mellon plan.	36	59	5	30	59	11	25	71	4
2. Reduction of taxes by Garner plan.	7	80	13	23	74	3	7	85	8
3. A Federal tax on land held out of use.	28	66	6	39	58	3	16	78	6
IV—TARIFF									
1. Continuance of Fordney-McCumber Tariff Law	22	76	2	8	83	9	14	84	2
2. Continuance of flexible provision for revenue only with lowering of tariffs.	14	79	7	17	80	3	8	85	7
3. Tariff for revenue only without flexible provision	7	85	8	10	84	6	6	87	7
V—BONUS									
1. Adjusted compensation for all war veterans	43	45	12	53	44	3	28	65	7
VI—PROHIBITION									
1. Rigid enforcement under Civil Service.	62	35	3	48	50	2	42	56	2
2. Change in the alcoholic content as now limited by the Volstead Act.	19	47	34	14	61	25	13	63	24
VII—GENERAL WELFARE									
1. Equal social, legal, and industrial rights for women	52	44	4	47	53	0	32	64	4
2. An amendment enabling Congress to prevent exploitation of children in industry.	56	42	2	49	50	1	37	62	1
3. Federal Anti-Lynching Law.	47	49	4	45	54	1	30	68	2
4. Establishment of a Federal Employment Bureau	44	53	3	47	52	1	27	68	5
VIII—EDUCATION									
1. Extension of principle of Federal aid for education	91	9	0	92	8	0	89	11	0
IX—IMMIGRATION									
1. Registration of aliens	95	5	0	98	2	0	98	2	0
2. Continuance of quota method of restriction	85	13	2	92	7	1	93	6	1
3. Further restriction	96	4	0	100	0	0	98	2	0
4. Less restriction	1	19	80	0	19	81	1	13	86
5. Examination of prospective immigrants at ports of departure.	85	15	0	98	2	0	93	7	0

	REPUBLICAN			DEMOCRATIC			INDEPENDENT		
	Approved	Ignored	Condemned	Approved	Ignored	Condemned	Approved	Ignored	Condemned
X—PREPAREDNESS									
1. Expansion of Navy to standards set by Conference on Limitation of Armament.	49	50	1	45	54	1	33	66	1
2. Extension of Air Service.	49	50	1	46	54	0	34	65	1
XI—AIR MAIL									
1. The further development of air mail service	40	56	4	42	55	3	27	71	2
XII—LABOR									
1. Continuance of Railroad Labor Board.	4	72	24	36	62	2	16	78	6
2. Abolition of injunctions in labor disputes	19	74	7	31	62	7	15	77	8
3. Nationalization, and democratic administration by technicians, workers, and consumers, of coal mines.	25	72	3	33	62	5	16	78	6
4. Federal licensing of private detective agencies	35	63	2	37	58	5	28	71	1
XIII—KU KLUX KLAN									
1. Programme of Klan.	82	18	0	98	2	0	96	4	0
XIV—SUPER-POWER									
1. Government control and distribution of high-power transmission.	36	59	5	47	51	2	25	73	2
XV—MONEY									
1. Issuing of Federal currency based on commodities and labor.	23	74	3	29	69	2	15	80	5
XVI—CONSERVATION									
1. A vigorous conservation policy with extended Federal control over public properties	36	61	3	24	74	2	21	75	4
XVII—MERCHANT MARINE									
1. Sale of Government ships to private owners	14	66	20	9	68	23	9	79	12
2. Operation by Government of Government-owned ships	41	55	4	41	58	1	25	72	3
3. Federal ship subsidy	22	74	4	18	76	6	11	84	5
XVIII—GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION									
1. Reorganization of the Executive Departments on the lines proposed in President's Annual Message	34	64	2	25	73	2	16	83	1
2. Effort to arrest the development of bureaucratic power	19	78	3	32	68	0	18	81	1
XIX—FOREIGN RELATIONS									
1. League of Nations.	6	60	34	32	62	6	5	76	19
2. World Court	19	65	16	14	63	13	8	78	14
3. Hague Tribunal	12	76	12	11	79	10	5	85	10
4. Development of Four-Power Treaty principle	12	76	12	9	81	10	4	88	8
5. Secretary Hughes's present policy:	19	77	4	12	84	4	9	84	7
(a) Non-recognition of Russia.	34	59	7	32	57	11	18	74	8
(b) Strengthening Monroe Doctrine	62	37	1	43	54	3	32	66	2
(c) Sale of arms to foreign governments	12	58	30	8	60	32	4	68	28
(d) Unofficial co-operation with foreign commissions	22	65	13	9	74	17	8	79	13
(e) Least possible participation.	35	61	4	21	67	12	21	76	3
6. Cancellation of foreign debts.	6	46	48	5	56	39	4	68	28

The Outlook's poll on the Platforms of the People closed on April 30. Since that time The Outlook has analyzed its Nation-wide vote by parties and by sections. The present table provides the only analysis that has ever been made of the political views of members of the Ku Klux Klan.—THE EDITORS.

Railway Labor Board there is a curious partisan twist, for the Klan Republicans oppose this, though in the general poll all groups favored it. Other leanings in this direction are seen in the heavy Klan indorsement of super-power plans and of Government operation of Government-owned ships.

Radical sympathies can be seen, too, in the Klan indorsement of a Federal tax on unused land, only mildly approved in the other poll, and in the equally strong indorsement of the scheme for a currency based on commodities and labor, which all three groups in the general poll rejected. The sentimental tinge

in the Klan mind is shown by giving more support than does the other poll to the bonus and to all suggestions for general welfare.

On several points the Klan shows little difference from the other poll. It is strongly dry, practically unanimous for preparedness, favors the air mail, is enthusiastic for Conservation and for Government reorganization. On foreign affairs, as was to be expected, it is vigorously isolationist. On the League of Nations partisan lines are followed, though Klan Democrats are less clearly in favor of the League than are the others. On the World Court, the Hague

Tribunal, and the extension of the principle of the Four-Power Treaty the Klan is nearly balanced, though the general poll gave decided approval to all three. The whole attitude is summed up in the heavy vote in favor of the least possible participation in foreign affairs.

The only notations made on the ballots, to bring out points not otherwise covered, are in regard to schools. The Klansmen demand Federal supervision of all schools, including parochial schools, and would not permit minors to be assigned by the courts to any schools not under legal supervision.

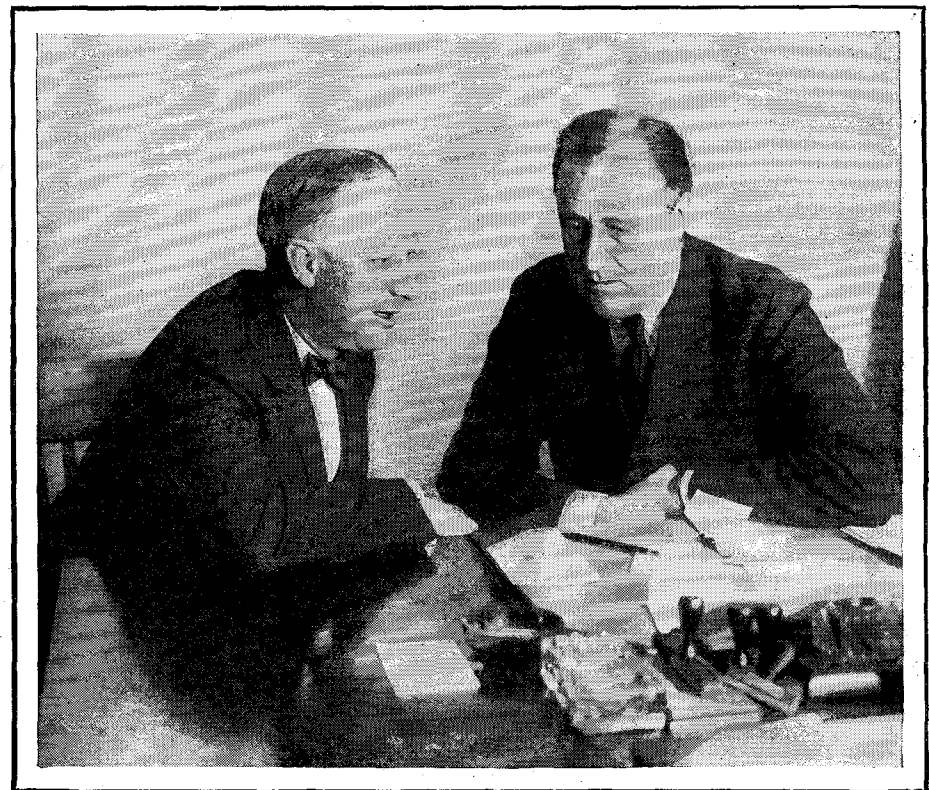
Smith—Public Servant

By FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

AS this number of *The Outlook* appears President Coolidge has been nominated to succeed himself, and the Democrats are convening to select his principal opponent. The delegates—or a great majority of them—will seek as their candidate a man who combines two qualities, first the necessary qualifications to be a successful President, and secondly, the ability to make a sufficient appeal to the country to get elected President.

A certain distinguished magazine recently contained an article on the score or more of Democrats who had been mentioned as Presidential possibilities or who had their own lightning-rods up. An objection was made to every one of these candidates on some ground—fancied or real—and the writer asked naïvely whether out of the millions of Democrats in the country some man hitherto unheard of could not be brought forward with all necessary qualifications and against whom no objections could be raised. The answer to such theoretical nonsense is that there are in both parties dozens, even hundreds, of men who are in every way fitted to be President of the United States, but that under our system of government, with universal suffrage, it is absolutely necessary to choose candidates who already have some form of record known to the public—some “past history” on which to build promises for the future.

Like many other Democrats who have been more or less active in the public service, I have for the past four years given much thought to the problem of the Democratic Presidential nomination of 1924. It so happens that practically all of the men whose names have been seriously mentioned are not merely



International

Governor Alfred E. Smith in conference with his campaign manager, Franklin D. Roosevelt

known to me personally but are friends of mine of long standing. My decision, therefore, some six months ago, to support Governor Alfred E. Smith for the nomination was no snap judgment, but was based on a personal acquaintance with the record of all the others and a consideration of the needs of the country during the coming four years.

One thing I believe to stand out clearly—the need of a President with a personality. By that I mean that most Republicans and most Democrats will admit in their inner conscience that the

relationship between President and Congress has gone sadly askew under both President Harding and President Coolidge. It is said that the Constitution provides a system of checks and balances between the executive and the legislative branches. For four years we have had a system of checks without any compensating balances. To meet a situation of this kind one of the Democratic candidates in particular—Governor Smith—has had a vast amount of experience and has proved his ability to accomplish results and at the same time to retain the