

The Editor and the Dragon:
How Horace Carter Fought the KKK in North Carolina

“My duty as the only newspaperman in Tabor City stared me squarely in the face. I could not compromise my conscience. I must fight the Klansmen with all the power that my tiny press could muster. That meant that I too would be the victim of their wrath. ~W. Horace Carter

Overview

“On a hot July night in 1950 Horace Carter watched as thirty cars filled with armed, robed and hooded Ku Klux Klansmen made their way through Tabor City, a small town on the North Carolina-South Carolina border. The event marked the beginning of two years of turmoil as Carter, Tabor City and the surrounding communities witnessed large Klan rallies, gunplay, abductions, assaults and murder—a saga fueled by KKK ambition and the uncertainty of rapidly changing times...Carter, the twenty-nine year old editor of the weekly *Tabor City Tribune*, would be observer, participant, commentator and conscience to these events, standing against the Klan and risking life, livelihood, friendships and his family’s safety.” In this lesson, students will learn about Carter’s brave actions by viewing and discussing a DVD, *Editor and the Dragon*. Students will further explore the film and related themes through creative writing, the examination of primary sources, and group work. Based on what they learn, students will then design a fictional citizenship award for Horace Carter, or they will create an anti-hate organization designed to combat groups such as the KKK.

NC Essential Standards for 10th Grade Civics & Economics

- CE.C&G.2.6 - Evaluate the authority federal, state and local governments have over individuals’ rights and privileges (e.g., Bill of Rights, Delegated Powers, Reserved Powers, Concurrent Powers, Pardons, Writ of habeas corpus, Judicial Process, states’ rights, Patriot Act, etc.)
- CE.C&G.2.7 - Analyze contemporary issues and governmental responses at the local, state, and national levels in terms of how they promote the public interest and/or general welfare (e.g., taxes, immigration, naturalization, civil rights, economic development, annexation, redistricting, zoning, national security, health care, etc.)
- CE.C&G.3.8 - Evaluate the rights of individuals in terms of how well those rights have been upheld by democratic government in the United States.
- CE.C&G.4.5 - Explain the changing perception and interpretation of citizenship and naturalization (e.g., aliens, Interpretations of the 14th amendment, citizenship, patriotism, equal rights under the law, etc.

NC Essential Standards for American History II

- AH2.H.1.3- Use historical analysis and interpretation...
 - Identify issues and problems of the past
 - Consider multiple perspectives of various peoples of the past
 - Analyze cause-and-effect relationships and multiple causation.
 - Evaluate competing historical narratives and debates among historians
 - Evaluate the influence of the past on contemporary issues
- AH2.H.2.1 - Analyze key political, economic, and social turning points since the end of Reconstruction in terms of causes and effects (e.g., conflicts, legislation, elections, innovations, leadership, movements, Supreme Court decisions, etc.).

- AH2.H.2.2 - Evaluate key turning points since the end of Reconstruction in terms of their lasting impact (e.g., conflicts, legislation, elections, innovations, leadership, movements, Supreme Court decisions, etc.).
- AH2.H.4.1 - Analyze the political issues and conflicts that impacted the United States since Reconstruction and the compromises that resulted (e.g., Populism, Progressivism, working conditions and labor unrest, New Deal, Wilmington Race Riots, Eugenics, Civil Rights Movement, Anti-War protests, Watergate, etc.).
- AH2.H.4.3 - Analyze the social and religious conflicts, movements and reforms that impacted the United States since Reconstruction in terms of participants, strategies, opposition, and results (e.g., Prohibition, Social Darwinism, Eugenics, civil rights, anti-war protest, etc.).
- AH2.H.4.4 - Analyze the cultural conflicts that impacted the United States since Reconstruction and the compromises that resulted (e.g., nativism, Back to Africa movement, modernism, fundamentalism, black power movement, women's movement, counterculture, Wilmington Race Riots, etc.).
- AH2.H.8.3 - Evaluate the extent to which a variety of groups and individuals have had opportunity to attain their perception of the "American Dream" since Reconstruction (e.g., immigrants, Flappers, Rosie the Riveter, GIs, blue collar worker, white collar worker, etc.).

Essential Questions

- What is the Ku Klux Klan and when and why did this hate group form?
- What has the Klan's role throughout history been?
- What factors precipitated and fueled the social divisions of the 1950s?
- What are the various ways people can fight back against hate?
- Who is Horace Carter and how did he stand up to the Klan?
- What can be difficult about standing up for what you believe is right?

Materials

- Editor and the Dragon Accompanying Power Point, available in the Database of K-12 Resources
 - To view the PDF as a projectable presentation, save the file, click "View" in the top menu bar of the file, and select "Full Screen Mode"
 - To request an editable PPT version of this presentation, send a request to CarolinaK12@unc.edu
- *The Editor and the Dragon* DVD (57 minutes running time); copies are available for use in the classroom by emailing a request to csas@unc.edu (reference this curriculum when making the request)
- "An Editorial: No Excuse for the KKK," attached
- Viewing Notes for the *Editor and the Dragon*, attached
- Create an Organization assignment, attached
- Additional information and resources are available at available at <http://www.carter-klan.org>

Preparation

- While *Editor and the Dragon* deals with sensitive topics such as racism, prejudice and the Ku Klux Klan, it is important for students to explore these historical events and understand how engaged community members fought such injustice, as well as comprehend such history's impact on society today. It is thus important that teachers have established a safe classroom with clear expectations of respect, open-mindedness, and civil conversation. See the Consortium's "Activities" section of the Database of K-12 Resources <http://database.civics.unc.edu/> for ways to ensure a classroom environment conducive to the effective exploration of sensitive and controversial issues.
- Throughout this lesson and when viewing the documentary, students will encounter disturbing images, language and situations of conflict related to the Ku Klux Klan's racist mission and actions. Teachers must prepare students in advance that they will encounter such offensive concepts. They should likewise be reminded that the point of the lesson is to examine such hate out in the open so that they can learn why it is detrimental to a society, appreciate the sacrifices of those who fought against such hate, and work to be engaged community members themselves who refuse to tolerate aspects of hate today.

Procedure

Introduction to the Ku Klux Klan

1. As a warm up, project the application image on slide 2 of the attached Power Point. Ask students to silently review the image and then discuss:
 - What do you see? What do you first notice about this document?
 - Which questions do you find out of the ordinary or bothersome?
 - What is this document? What do you think this application is for and what evidence makes you think this?
 - Question 12 asks about “pure Americanism.” What do you think is meant by this phrase?
 - Overall, what do you think these questions are trying to determine?
2. Project the slide 3, which is an image of the complete document, a 1920s application for membership in the Ku Klux Klan. Ask students to reconsider the questions posed on the application in light of this and again have them discuss what they feel the application is trying to determine from the applicant. Further discuss:
 - What do you already know about the KKK?
 - This application is from the 1920s. Do similar applications still exist today? Is the Klan still active today?
3. Share a brief history of the KKK using slides 4 & 5 and discussing the questions posed at the bottom of each slide:
 - Why do you think the Klan was formed and so active during Reconstruction?
 - Why do you think the KKK experienced a revival during the Civil Rights Era?
4. Next, ask students if they know anything about the history of the KKK in North Carolina specifically. After soliciting student thoughts, project slide 6 and discuss:
 - What do you see? What headline grabs your attention?
 - When was this article published and where?
 - Based on this headline, what do you think happened? (Predict what type of information may be in this front page article.)
 - How do you think people felt when seeing this article in 1950? (Ensure students consider all perspectives, including those of African Americans and white sympathizers, as well as people who were supportive of the Klan.)

The KKK and Horace Carter

5. Project the text of the article “Ku Klux Klan Here on Saturday Night” using slide 7 and read it out loud with students. Ask students to then list the facts gleaned from the article and note these in a list on chart paper. Further discuss:
 - We know that the Klan took a tour through Tabor. Why do you think they did this? What was their purpose?
 - Why do you think they chose this particular evening to make their tour? (Have students again examine the image on slide 6 for clues. If no student points it out, draw their attention to the other prominent headline, “Tobacco Market Poised for Opening,” noting that this would likely mean the town would be busy and thus the KKK would have a larger audience.)
 - Is there anything in the article you find surprising or that you have questions about?
 - The article states that “no effort was made to stop them or to encourage them and so far as is known no violence occurred...” How do you feel about this?
 - If you were in Tabor City on this Saturday night, how would you have felt and reacted if you witnessed this parade?
 - For people who did not like the presence of the Klan, what choices did they have?

- Given the year this occurred was 1950, how might people have reacted differently than we might react today?
 - What do you think occurred in the weeks following this article?
6. Tell students that they are going to be learning about one man's choice in how to respond to the Klan's parade – his name was Horace Carter and he was the editor of the Tabor City Tribune. Provide students with the attached editorial, "No Excuse for the KKK," written by Horace Carter. Instruct students to read the editorial and discuss/answer the corresponding questions with a partner. Review student thoughts to the questions as a class and further discuss:
- This article is specifically an editorial. What is an editorial?
 - How does this editorial differ from the front page article Carter wrote on July 26? Why didn't he express these thoughts there on the front page?
7. Tell students that they will be finding out how Horace Carter's community responded to his editorial by watching a documentary called *Editor and the Dragon*. Project the images of Horace Carter on [slide 8](#) and read the synopsis of the documentary to students to provide an overview of what they will be watching:
- On a hot July night in 1950 Horace Carter watched as thirty cars filled with armed, robed and hooded Ku Klux Klansmen made their way through Tabor City, a small town on the North Carolina-South Carolina border. The event marked the beginning of two years of turmoil as Carter, Tabor City and the surrounding communities witnessed large Klan rallies, gunplay, abductions, assaults and murder—a saga fueled by KKK ambition and the uncertainty of rapidly changing times, as the South faced its history of race relations and adjusted to the new challenges of the Cold War. Carter, the twenty-nine year old editor of the weekly *Tabor City Tribune*, would be observer, participant, commentator and conscience to these events, standing against the Klan and risking life, livelihood, friendships and his family's safety... (Source: <http://www.carter-klan.org/KlanUprising.html>)

Editor and the Dragon

8. Hand out the attached "Viewing Notes" and instruct students to fill this in as they watch the documentary. (Teachers should edit/omit questions as they see fit.) Let students know that you will be stopping the film at various points so that they can discuss their thoughts. The discussion questions below include the questions from the attached "Viewing Notes," as well as additional questions to pose.

❖ **"Duty" (0:00 – 12:05)**

➤ *Start the DVD and pause it at [10:32](#).*

- What was happening in the world in the summer of 1950? How did this impact the attitudes of Americans and American society during this time?
- What was taking place in regards to civil rights during this time?
- In what way was America exhibiting hypocrisy during this time?
- The narrator states, "Locked in a crusade against communism & the Soviet Union, America faced a gap between its principles and practices. How could the nation promote freedom and democracy abroad when many of its own citizens were denied basic rights?" What is this referring to?
- Why do you think the Ku Klux Klan became so active during this time?
- Why do you think the KKK paraded through Tabor City, with the lights on inside of their cars? How do you imagine you would feel if you were an eye witness to this in July 1950?
- How did Horace Carter feel when witnessing the Klan parade?
- Carter stated, "I've got to make a momentous decision between now and next Wednesday when the next paper comes out, because I can't approve of this intimidation of people by an

outfit that's organized outside the law...it may be very unpopular, but I have to do what is right and what my conscience tells me to do." (8:34) Based on this statement, how would you characterize Carter? What type of person is he?

- What does Hodding Carter mean when he describes the "frontier mentality" of Tabor, where everything is "played out on the personal level?"
 - Why does Carter say he wrote anti-Klan editorials?
 - In his July 26, 1950 editorial, Carter wrote (this quote can be projected via [slide 9](#), or students can refer back to their copy of the editorial that they previously read) : "In this democratic country, there's no place for an organization of the caliber of the Ku Klux Klan which made a scheduled parade through our streets last Saturday night. Any organization that has to work outside the law is unfit for recognition in a country of free men. Saturday's episode, although without violence, is deplorable, a black eye to our area and an admission that our law enforcement is inadequate. Sanctioning of their methods of operation is practically as bad as if you rode in their midst. It takes a united front to combat lawlessness. It takes all the law abiding people as a unit to discourage and combat a Ku Klux Klan that is totally without law. The Klan, despite its Americanism plea, is the personification of Fascism and Nazism. It is just such outside-the-law operations that lead to dictatorships through fear and insecurity. The Klan bases its power on fear and hate of one's fellowman and not through love, understanding, and the other principles upon which God would have us live together." How do you think Tabor City residents responded when reading this editorial?
- *Continue playing from 10:32 to the end of the section, pausing again at 12:05.*
- Why do you think Carter felt it was his duty to write anti-Klan editorials?
 - What response did Horace Carter receive from his editorial?
 - How does John Hardee respond to Carter's editorial? Why do you think Carter printed his response?
 - What is your first impression of Horace Carter based on this beginning film segment and why?

❖ **Razor City, NC (12:05 – 16:50)**

- *Play the entire section, pausing at the end at 16:50.*
- Why was Tabor known as Razor City?
 - How did history books portray the Ku Klux Klan and why?
 - Why was the Klan so active during the period of Reconstruction?
 - Describe "The Birth of a Nation." What myth did it project? In what ways might the public be influenced by movies?
 - Why did Klan leader Samuel Green want the KKK to be involved in politics?
 - What was Samuel Green's argument that the KKK was not a hate organization?
 - What was the reaction of Carter's own father to his editorial?
 - What do you think Carter meant when he said "This is not America"?

❖ **Charlie's Place (16:50 -23:05)**

- *Play the entire section, pausing at the end at 23:05.*
- What happened at Charlie's Place? Why did the Klan target it in particular?
 - How did it make you feel to learn that the Klansman who was shot was a police officer?
 - Why weren't the 12 men who were arrested for the violence at Charlie's Place actually indicted?
 - Who was Thomas L. Hamilton?
 - Why did Hamilton host a cross burning on November 11, 1950 in Horry County (12 miles from Tabor)?
 - Why does Carter attend the cross burning? What was he risking by going?
 - Why do you think Hamilton said that newspapers were "rotten to the core"?

- Why did the Klan create such a huge public spectacle?
- According to Carter's November 15, 1950 editorial, who did the Klan target/criticize and why?
- What was the Klan's problem with the United Nations?
- The Klan often tried to drum up fear of communists - why were people so afraid of communism during this time?
- What was Hamilton's message to those who didn't support the Klan?

❖ **Night Riders (23:05 – 29:14)**

➤ *Play the entire section, stopping the DVD at 29:14.*

- What happened to Evergreen Flowers? Why was she targeted?
- What did the three victims targeted for beatings by the Klan have in common?
- Were you surprised to hear that the Klan was targeting white people also? Why?
- How did the Klan view itself according to Hodding Carter III?
- What repercussions did Horace face? What types of threats did he receive?
- Why do you think Horace and his wife always sent their children away but remained in their home themselves?
- How do you think Carter felt when Hamilton showed up in his office? What do you predict will happen?

Write a Role Play: What happened between Carter and Hamilton?

9. Let students know that they will find out what actually happened between Carter and Hamilton the next time class meets, but for now, you want to hear more regarding their predictions. Tell students that for homework, they are to imagine the details of the meeting between Carter and Hamilton, including the conversation that took place and what they believe may have happened as they sat across from one another in Carter's office. Students should write out a dialogue between the two men, noting what each person may have realistically said and done. While they shouldn't need to, if students want to add in another role for some reason, they can. Tell students that their scene should have a beginning, middle, and end, and should be no longer than 3-4 minutes when performed (2-3 pages). Tell students to be prepared to share their written scene out loud the next time class meets.

*****Teacher note:** It is recommended that teachers explicitly instruct students to refrain from using racial epithets in their scene. While it may have been realistic that Hamilton would have used racial slurs, for the purposes of classroom safety, students should not do so.

Day 2

10. As a warm up, project the political cartoon and accompanying questions on slide 10 for students to respond to.
11. Next, provide a forum for students to share their role plays. Options include:
- Solicit a few student volunteers to read their role plays out loud for the entire class.
 - Have students share their role plays in small groups of 6, with the author reading one role and a group member reading the second.
12. After students have shared/listened to several of the dialogues, ask the class to discuss the various predictions (i.e., what was realistic or unrealistic regarding the scenes, whether there were similarities between the role plays, etc.)
13. Continue playing the remainder of the DVD:

❖ **Editor and the Dragon (29:14 – 35:57)**

➤ *Start the DVD and play until 35:57.*

- Describe Hamilton physically.
- What did Hamilton and Carter have in common? In what ways were they different?
- What do we learn about Hamilton's background? What aspects of his background do you think influenced his dedication to the Ku Klux Klan?
- Who was Dr. Samuel Green and what influence did he have on Hamilton?
- Why did Hamilton start the Carolina Association of Carolina Klans (covering South and North Carolina)?
- What do we learn about Carter's background?
- What prejudices does Carter remember from his youth? What changed him?
- What and/or who influenced Carter? Specifically, who was Frank Porter Graham and what influence did he have on him?
- What did it take for Carter to recognize and rid himself of prejudice?
- How do you think Carter felt as he sat down to meet with Hamilton and why?
- What do you think was going through Carter's head as Hamilton sat across from him?
- If you were Carter, what questions would you want to ask Hamilton?
- In what ways did Hamilton defend the Klan and argue for its importance?
- In what way did Hamilton threaten Carter? How did this make Carter feel?
- How do you think Carter will respond to Hamilton's threat to boycott advertisers of the paper?
- How did what actually transpired compare to your predictions in your role play?

❖ **The Fiery Cross (35:57 - 41:56)**

➤ *Play the entire section, pausing at 41:56.*

- What is Carter's message in his April 18, 1951 editorial?
- Were you surprised to hear that Carter disregarded Hamilton's threats? Why or why not? What was he risking by continuing to speak out against the Klan and in favor of equal rights in his paper?
- How did Carter respond to the threats he received?
- What was the main message of Carter's "Right is Right and Vice Versa" from January 29, 1951? How would you respond to his questions of, "Is it right? Is it Christian? Is it democratic the way we see things in the light in which we want to see them?" How do you think Hamilton would have responded?
- What does the fact that a known Klansman was elected to the Board of County Commissioners say about Tabor City in 1951?
- What took place on August 15, 1951? Why do you think Hamilton staged a Klan rally, the first in NC since the 1920s? What purpose might a rally fulfill?
- Replay the section from 38:35 to 39:40 then discuss:
 - How did you feel listening to Hamilton's speech and seeing the images?
 - Characterize the tone of Hamilton's speech.
 - What types of things did he speak out about? Why do you think he targeted these people/issues specifically?
- Who was Willard Cole?
- How do you think Carter felt when reading Cole's editorials?
- How did the public respond to the August 15 Klan rally led by Hamilton?
- Who was Early Brooks? Why was the idea of Early Brooks as lieutenant sheriff disturbing?

❖ Early Brooks' Klavern – 41:56 - 49:57

➤ *Play the entire section, pausing at 49:57.*

*****Teacher note:** *There is an image of a man's buttocks at 44:29. While the image is not offensive given the context, to ensure class is not disrupted, teachers should prepare students in advance to handle the image with maturity.*

- What happened to Tim Granger and Dorothy Martin?
- Why did the FBI finally start paying attention to the KKK in NC?
- What occurred during what was referred to as the Klan's "Reign of Terror?"
- What happened when a Methodist church invited a black gospel quartet to sing? How did this event impact the community?
- Even with the extra scrutiny, how did the Klan behave? What does this indicate regarding Klan mentality?
- Replay the section from 47:50-49:54 and discuss:
 - Characterize the exchange between Carter and Hamilton in January 1952.
 - What was each man's point in the public debate? In what way did they interpret the Constitution differently?
- Why did Carter continue to print the letters Hamilton wrote?

❖ Prison and Pulitzer – 49:57 – 57:00

➤ *Play until the end of the film (57:00).*

- What occurred on February 16, 1952? How do you imagine Carter felt on this day?
- Why do you think President Hoover finally ordered the FBI to act?
- Why was Carter worried, even after the Klan arrests?
- What occurred during the spring and summer of 1952?
- What happened to Early Brooks?
- What happened to Thomas Hamilton? Why do you think he officially repudiated the Klan?
- What honor was bestowed upon Cole and Carter? Why do you think they were selected for the Pulitzer? How do you think Carter felt when winning this award?
- Carter stated when winning his award, "Back in 1950 when our little paper was starting to fight the Ku Klux Klan we certainly didn't do it with any idea of winning any national awards. We only did what any reputable newspaper would have done had it been located in our position. We fought the Ku Klux Klan because we didn't feel that there was any person or group of persons that had the right to inflict their own type of justice on the people..." What does this statement tell you about his character?
- What did Carter do after winning his award and completing his national speaking tour?
- Why didn't more white Southerners speak out? What were people who spoke out risking? Do you think you would have been realistically willing to take the risk yourself of going against the racial status quo?
- The film ends with Edward R. Murrow saying, "We suggest if the fight against intolerance, bigotry, race prejudice, hatred and fear is to be won in this county, it must be won...in the Tabor City's throughout the land..." What does he mean by this and do you agree? Explain.

Optional Culminating Assignments

Option I: Present Horace Carter with the "Outstanding Community Member Award"

14. Now that students have completed the documentary, ask them to consider Horace Carter and the actions he took in the early 1950s. (Re-project the image on [slide 8](#).) Discuss:

- Based on what you have now learned, how would you describe Horace Carter overall and why?
- What is most admirable about him?
- Why do you think Carter spoke out against the Klan in his editorials, regardless of the risks involved?

- How did Horace Carter view First Amendment rights, specifically Freedom of the Press? What evidence makes you think this?
- Do you think Horace Carter did the right thing by publishing the editorials he received that were in favor of the KKK? Why or why not?
- How did Horace Carter view American democracy and what evidence makes you think this?
- All in all, what do you think was most difficult for Horace Carter regarding the decisions he made?

15. Tell students that they will continue considering the brave actions of Horace Carter by designing and creating an award for him. Students should imagine that they have been selected to serve on a committee that will design, create and present an award to honor Horace Carter which honors him for his brave actions against the Ku Klux Klan. Project [slide 11](#) and go over the assignment with students:
- You have been selected to serve on a committee that will design an award to honor Horace Carter. Being an active and engaged member of your community and fighting for justice are special traits, and your committee wants to recognize Carter for his actions.
 - Consider why Horace Carter did what he did, what he risked in taking such actions, and what his actions meant for people who were targeted and harassed by the Klan. Then, design an award that you feel appropriately represents his actions, educates others regarding what he did and honors him for his brave choices.
 - The award you design can be a common award type (a certificate, a plaque, etc.) or can be more creative (a statue or shape that is symbolic, abstract, or literal, etc.)
 - Be creative and show why Carter is being honored with the design of your award.
 - You should also write a 1-2 paragraph dedication. This is text that would be read when Carter is presented with the award. The paragraph should be inspirational and summarize the award, what it represents, and why it is being presented to Carter.
16. Let students know when their awards are due. On the due date, allow students to share their awards in one of the following formats:
- Have students display their awards around the room. Students can then do a gallery walk during which they rotate around the room viewing the various award designs. Afterwards, students should participate in a discussion in which they discuss which awards caught their eye and why. The class can also vote on one award that best honors Carter.
 - Have students get into small groups of 5-6. Each student should take a turn sharing her/his award and reading his/her dedication. After each student shares, the remainder of the group should comment on how what they liked about the award and how they feel the award honors Carter.

Option II: “The fight against intolerance, bigotry, race prejudice, hatred and fear...”

17. After viewing the documentary, tell students to imagine they are living in Tabor City in the early 1950s. They’ve witnessed some of the Ku Klux Klan activity in Tabor City and read the editorials from W. Horace Carter in the *Tabor City Tribune*. Finally, after hearing Edward R. Murrow saying, “We suggest if the fight against intolerance, bigotry, race prejudice, hatred and fear is to be won in this county, it must be won...in the Tabor City’s throughout the land...”, tell students to imagine they are inspired to create an organization that will work to counter the views of the Ku Klux Klan. Hand out the attached assignment sheet and go over the steps for completion. Answer any questions and let the students know when the final projects are due, including how much class time will be provided to work together.
- Teacher note: Students may benefit from reviewing some examples of anti-hate groups (i.e., the Anti-Defamation League - www.adl.org or Teaching Tolerance – www.tolerance.org), as well as examples of mission statements (i.e., NAACP Mission Statement - <http://www.naacp.org/pages/our-mission>).
18. On the day the projects are due, review the expectations of respectful audience members and have students share their work. This can be done in small groups (i.e., have three groups combine to share their work with one another) or as an entire class (i.e., the Executive Director of each group will read the group’s

organization's mission statement, goals, slogan and event/activity summary to the class, as well as show the logo and flyer/advertisement to the class.) As groups learn about each other's organizations, have students provide feedback using the following questions as guidelines:

- What did you learn regarding the purpose/mission of this organization?
- In what ways will this group's work encourage people to join? (Students should comment specifically on aspects of the project.)

19. After all groups have shared, culminate with a discussion:

- Of the groups you learned about today, which would you be most interested in joining and why?
- Why is it important to stand up to hate groups such as the KKK?
- How might peer pressure play a role in involvement in groups such as the Klan?
- Why do you think the KKK was such a popular organization in the 1950s?
- Why didn't more people stand up to the KKK like Horace Carter did?
- If you actually started your organization in Tabor City in the early 1950s, what do you think would happen? How would the townspeople react? How would the KKK react?
- The KKK is still active today, with 5,000 – 8,000 members across the United States (source: [Southern Poverty Law Center](#)). Why do you think the KKK's numbers have declined from its height of 6,000,000 Americans in the 1920s? Why do you think it still exists?
- What role do you think education plays in stopping hate groups such as the KKK?
- What are some other ways the citizens of Tabor City could have stood up against the KKK?
- What can you do today if a Klan rally is to be held in your community?
- What is the main lesson we can learn from *Editor and the Dragon*?

Tabor City Tribune 7-26-50

An Editorial: No Excuse for KKK

In this democratic country, there's no place for an organization of the caliber of the Ku Klux Klan which made a scheduled parade through our streets last Saturday night. Any organization that has to work outside the law is unfit for recognition in a country of free men. Saturday's episode, although without violence, is deplorable, a black eye to our area and an admission that our law enforcement is inadequate.

Sanctioning of their methods of operation is practically as bad as if you rode in their midst. It takes a united front to combat lawlessness. It takes all the law abiding people as a unit to discourage and combat a Ku Klux Klan that is totally without law. The Klan, despite its Americanism plea, is the personification of Fascism and Nazism. It is just such outside-the-law operations that lead to dictatorships through fear and insecurity.

The Klan bases its power on fear and hate of one's fellowman and not through love, understanding, and the other principles upon which God would have us live together. We have some racial problem in this country. That cannot be denied. However, we do not have open warfare which we will have if the primitive methods of the KKK are applied. In every sense of the word, they are endeavoring to force their domination upon those whom they consider worthy of punishment. It is not for a band of hoodlums to decide whether you or I need chastising. We grant you that there are cases in which it would seem individuals need punishment when none comes through the regular channels. In which case it is not up to a hooded gang to do the punishing. These cases must, like all others, keep within the bounds of the laws which you and I have made and have the power to enlarge upon should we deem the present ones inadequate...

The Klan also is a big talker for Protestantism, thereby being anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish. Yet, America was founded by persons seeking a country of religious freedom where they could worship God in their

own way without fear. Would you have us resort to a nation of people wishing there was another America to discover so we could leave this one?

With the Klan's frequent reference to Jesus, God, and religion they are being highly sacrilegious because their very being is in contrast to God and the Bible. If you had the names of those persons appearing here Saturday night and if you had church attendance slips for those persons, it's our opinion that not five percent of them entered any church of any denomination on Sunday morning.

Source: <http://www.carter-klan.org/Editorials.html>

Discuss:

- Why do you think Carter calls the Klan parade “a black eye to our area and an admission that our law enforcement is inadequate”?
- What are Carter's main criticisms of the Klan? Are there any criticisms that you would add that he did not address? Explain.
- Who does Carter believe is responsible for combatting the KKK? Do you agree and why?
- In what ways does Carter argue that the Klan is an affront to American law and democracy?
- According to Carter, how does the Klan go against the very principles upon which America was founded?
- What is Carter's opinion of the Klan's claim to be a religious organization?
- Why do you think Carter wrote and published this editorial?
- What was Carter risking by writing this editorial in 1950?

Name: _____

Viewing Notes for “The Editor and the Dragon”

Duty

1. What was happening in the world in the summer of 1950? How did this impact the attitudes of Americans and American society during this time?
2. Why do you think the Ku Klux Klan became so active during this time?
3. Why do you think Carter felt it was his duty to write anti-Klan editorials?
4. What response did Horace Carter receive from his editorial?
5. What is your first impression of Horace Carter based on this beginning film segment and why?

Razor City

6. How did history books portray the Ku Klux Klan and why?
7. Why was the Klan so active during the period of Reconstruction?

8. What was the reaction of Carter's own father to his editorial?
9. What do you think Carter meant when he said "This is not America"?

Charlie's Place (16:50 -23:05)

10. Why did the Klan target Charlie's Place?
11. Why weren't the 12 men who were arrested for the violence at Charlie's Place actually indicted?
12. Why did Hamilton host a cross burning on November 11, 1950 in Horry County (12 miles from Tabor)?
13. Why did Carter attend the cross burning? What was he risking by going?
14. Why do you think Hamilton said that newspapers were "rotten to the core"?
15. According to Carter's November 15, 1950 editorial, who did the Klan target/criticize and why?
16. What was Hamilton's message to those who didn't support the Klan?

Night Riders

17. What did the victims targeted for beatings by the Klan have in common?
18. How did the Klan view itself according to Hodding Carter III?
19. What repercussions did Carter face for his writing?

Editor and the Dragon

20. What aspects of Hamilton's background do you think influenced his dedication to the Ku Klux Klan?
21. Who was Dr. Samuel Green and what influence did he have on Hamilton?
22. What prejudices does Carter remember from his youth? What changed him?
23. Who was Frank Porter Graham and what influence did he have on Carter?

24. What did it take for Carter to recognize and rid himself of prejudice?
25. In what ways did Hamilton defend the Klan and argue for its importance?
26. In what way did Hamilton threaten Carter?
27. How do you think Carter will respond to Hamilton's threat to boycott advertisers of the paper?

The Fiery Cross

28. What is Carter's message in his April 18, 1951 editorial?
29. What was Carter risking by continuing to speak out against the Klan and in favor of equal rights in his paper?
30. What was the main message of Carter's "Right is Right and Vice Versa" from January 29, 1951?
31. What does the fact that a known Klansman was elected to the Board of County Commissioners say about Tabor City in 1951?
32. What took place on August 15, 1951?
33. Characterize the tone of Hamilton's speech. What types of things did he speak out about?
34. Who was Willard Cole? How do you think Carter felt when reading Cole's editorials?
35. How did the public respond to the August 15 Klan rally led by Hamilton?
36. Who was Early Brooks? Why was the idea of Early Brooks as lieutenant sheriff disturbing?

Early Brooks' Klavern

37. Why did the FBI finally start paying attention to the KKK in NC?
38. What occurred during what was referred to as the Klan's "Reign of Terror?"

39. What happened when a Methodist church invited a black gospel quartet to sing? How did this event impact the community?
40. Even with the extra scrutiny, how did the Klan behave? What does this indicate regarding Klan mentality?
41. Why did Carter continue to print the letters Hamilton wrote?

Prison and Pulitzer

42. What occurred on February 16, 1952? How do you imagine Carter felt on this day?
43. What occurred during the spring and summer of 1952?
44. What happened to Thomas Hamilton? Why do you think he officially repudiated the Klan?
45. What honor was bestowed upon Cole and Carter? Why do you think they were selected for the Pulitzer? How do you think Carter felt when winning this award?
46. Carter stated when winning his award, "Back in 1950 when our little paper was starting to fight the Ku Klux Klan we certainly didn't do it with any idea of winning any national awards. We only did what any reputable newspaper would have done had it been located in our position. We fought the Ku Klux Klan because we didn't feel that there was any person or group of persons that had the right to inflict their own type of justice on the people..." What does this statement tell you about his character?
47. Why didn't more white Southerners speak out? What were people who spoke out risking? Do you think you would have been realistically willing to take the risk yourself of going against the racial status quo? Why or why not?
48. The film ends with Edward R. Murrow saying, "We suggest if the fight against intolerance, bigotry, race prejudice, hatred and fear is to be won in this county, it must be won...in the Tabor City's throughout the land..." What does he mean by this and do you agree? Explain.

Group members: _____

**Create an Organization to
“...fight against intolerance, bigotry, race prejudice, hatred and fear...”**

Directions:

Imagine that you're a citizen of Tabor City in the early 1950s. You have witnessed some of the Ku Klux Klan activity in Tabor City and read the editorials from W. Horace Carter in the *Tabor City Tribune*. Finally, after hearing Edward R. Murrow saying, “We suggest if the fight against intolerance, bigotry, race prejudice, hatred and fear is to be won in this county, it must be won...in the Tabor City's throughout the land...”, you and your neighbors are inspired to create an organization that will work to counter the views of the Ku Klux Klan. Using information from the documentary, readings from the *Tabor City Tribune*, and any other materials provided by your teacher, create a framework for your organization following the steps below.

I. Assume one of the following roles:

- **Executive Director:** Responsible for keeping everyone on task, ensuring everyone contributes to the project and making sure that all requirements of the project are completed; takes the lead in presenting the group's final project to the remainder of the class
- **Office Manager:** Takes notes as the group works and keeps track of time remaining to ensure the group meets their deadlines. While all group members will assist in creating all aspects of the project, the Office Manager writes down the organization's final mission statement, goals, slogan and event/activity summary.
- **Marketing Director:** Leads the group in brainstorming the organization's logo and flyer/advertisement. While all group members are responsible for assisting in the creation of these items, the Marketing Director is responsible for capturing the final work on paper.

II. Review articles from the Tabor City Tribune.

Each member of the group should focus on one of the following readings from the *Tabor City Tribune*. You will be responsible for summarizing this article for your group members.

- Handout #1: “The KKK, Another Step . . . Breakdown in Government”, editorial from May 23, 1951
- Handout #2: “Letters to the Editor – Hamilton Writes Editor”, letter to the editor from June 27, 1951
- Handout #3: “Our Rebuttal”, editorial from June 27, 1951

Spend 5 – 10 minutes reviewing your assigned reading while answering the following questions in preparation for presenting:

- Summarize the article. What are the main points?
- What is the purpose of the article?
- What can we learn about the KKK from this article?
- Does the author support or oppose the KKK? What arguments for or against the KKK are made?
- Based on what you learned from this article, why is it important to stand up against the Klan?

III. Brainstorm and create your organization.

After each article has been discussed in your group, begin to brainstorm the organization your group will create to oppose the KKK and “fight against intolerance, bigotry, race prejudice, hatred and fear.” Complete the following steps:

- Name your organization.
- Create a short, 3 paragraph mission statement for your organization explaining:
 - The organizational purpose(s) of your organization, including why you oppose the KKK
 - Your organization’s goals/what you hope to accomplish (at least 3 or more)
 - The requirements for membership in your organization. (If there are no requirements for membership, explain why.)
- Create a logo for your organization.
- Create a slogan or inspirational quote for your organization (e.g. “We shall overcome” was the unofficial slogan of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s.)
- Summarize one type of event or activity your organization will stage or host. Explain the event, its purpose, and how it fits in with your organizations mission and goals.
- Create a flyer or advertisement for the *Tabor City Tribune* informing people about your organization and inviting them to participate in the event/activity you’ve envisioned.

Due date: _____

Questions/Notes:

Handout 1

The KKK, Another Step . . . Breakdown in Government

Tabor City Tribune 5-23-51

All over the world, governments are growing weaker. In our own country, never before have so many people lost confidence in the men they elected to high office. Graft and subversion has crept stealthily into almost every phase of American public life.

Taking advantage of this weakness, the obviously un-American and subversive Ku Klux Klan has rapidly grown among the disgruntled, the dissatisfied, the trouble makers and the prejudiced.

Choosing not to voice their sentiments in open and truly American ways, this organization instead chooses to hide in the blackness of night. To carry on its cowardly deeds in a backhanded, illegal, crafty manner indicative of big city mobsters in the days of prohibition.

If this group of mystics have wholesome reforms which they advocate, why, oh why, can't they shed their cloaks of secretness, and as private citizens carry those sentiments to the poles and vote the changes they deem necessary. That has long been the American way.

Only the Communists in this country are ashamed of their membership cards. They and the Ku Klux are the two groups who don't want people to know whom they are. If their motives are honorable, why, may we ask, are they opposed to the public knowing their identities.

We never knew a church member who purposely kept his membership a secret. We never knew a Mason who was ashamed to admit his membership. Nor a member of the Grange, the Farm Bureau, the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Civitans, the Rotary, The Lions or any of the other countless hundreds of other organizations whose members had anything to hide.

The truth of the matter lies in the fact that the disgruntled take a fanatical pride in doing something fringing on the illegal. It is among just such groups the eventual internal growth of antagonism toward our government and our way of life is springing up. It is through just such groups that freedom of every kind may perish and Americans could find themselves being ruled through fear.

Source: <http://www.carter-klan.org/Editorials.html>

Handout #2

Letters to the Editor – Hamilton Writes Editor

Tabor City Tribune 6-27-51

Invisible Empire Association of the Carolina Klans of the KU KLUX KLAN
Leesville, S.C., June 21, 1951
OFFICE, GRAND DRAGON

Dear Sir:

Recently, in an issue of your paper, you carried quite an editorial stating your opinions and your warped ideas with reference to the Klan. You stated in this editorial that the Ku Klux Klan was obviously un-American and subversive. Now sir, this statement, by you in this editorial was an untruth because nowhere can you find in the recent list – released in Washington D.C. where the Ku Klux Klan is subversive or un-American, but I do find that the Newspaper Guild is Communist to the core – I think that for you to be a real HE man that you would sweep before your own door and clean your own back-yard before you brand an Organization by an untruth. I dare you Sir, to check the records in Washington D.C. and you will find that the Klan is listed as an ANTI-CIVIL RIGHTS Organization; and I thank God that I can belong to an organization that believes in keeping the race of men PURE and SPOTLESS. Such men as you believe in mongrelizing America and by the recent talk that I had with you in your office, I summed up in my mind that you are biased and leaning towards the group of people in America who are advocating the downfall of this great land of ours.

The Association of Carolina Klans has never been listed on any list from Washington D.C. as a subversive Organization. You cannot make the statement that the Masons of Tabor City are wide open because the Masonic Lodge is a secret organization and its membership is held secret together with all of its workings and Sir, you cannot class the Klan and the Masonic Lodge in the same category because they are two distinct Organizations - carrying out their separate missions. No Klansman is ashamed to be a Klansman nor to claim membership in the Ku Klux Klan, every man that I know in the Klan is PROUD of the fact that he holds something in his heart and that he is a part of an organization that is fighting for the traditions of America. My integrity is worth more to me than all the Newspapers in the World. I'd rather be a Klansman and know it than to be Left-Winger and not know it.

The Klan does not have a membership of disgruntle men and women, but instead it has as its membership a group of REAL HONEST-TO-GOODNESS LOYAL AMERICANS who have awakened to the fact that a minority group in America is trying to overthrow their government. The Klan does not advocate or preach a doctrine of fear but instead we have people outside of the Klan who fear the Klan because they are doing a number of un-moral and illegal, nasty, unchristian things and they are afraid that someone will get after them. I do not advocate taking the Law into my own hands nor will I be a part of an organization that advocates taking the Law into its own hands. But Sir, I do advocate digging into every locality into its local government and into the State Government and expose those men who are trying to use their office for greed and perversion. Then when the time comes to cast our ballots at the polls, we will be found not wanting.

The Freedom of America Will perish and go down into oblivion unless every TRUE American awakens and joins in the fight to help SAVE AMERICA.

The greatest medium in America to keep America American is controlled and is being suppressed by a minority group which has been able to remove from the American people that part of the Constitution that is so vitally needed at the present time. You could use your Newspaper, acting under the authority of the Freedom of the Press, to a great advantage.

I trust that you have found that no man on this earth can supplant or take the place of the Lowly Nazarene our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, in Him is our Being. In Him we MUST depend for guidance through the Holy Spirit – He is the one that will act as an intercessor with God Almighty for us in forgiving our sins and short-comings while we are journeying through this life. A life which He requires us, as individuals, to do our utmost for Him and in His behalf. I would recommend Him to you.

Yours truly,
Thomas L. Hamilton

Source: <http://www.carter-klan.org/Editorials.html>

Handout 3

Our Rebuttal

Tabor City Tribune 6-27-51

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

In your letter of June 21 you have taken exception to a good many statements made in our recent editorial "Breakdown in Government." First, let me thank you for your letter and let me take this opportunity to again emphasize that the columns of this newspaper are open to you and everyone alike to voice your opinion. Though your letter is raked with false charges, you, like I, are entitled to your opinion and entitled to make them known through the sacred freedom of the press.

But by the same token, we can't sit idly by and let you make vague statements unchallenged.

You make reference to the Newspaper Guild that "is communist to the core." Mr. Hamilton, we have never in any way been associated with the Newspaper Guild. I dare say that there aren't a half dozen newspaper men and women in North or South Carolina that has ever been connected with it or for that matter even knows what it does, who its officers are or why it even exists. If it is a red organization, you can rest assured it has never had any following by Carolinas newspapers, large or small, and it never will. You have snapped up an opportunity to hit at the newspapers because some practically unknown and obscure organization has red affiliations. To me, this seems only natural for you to do because practically all newspapers, everywhere, North and South, East and West, oppose your organization openly. We have yet to read one item in any newspaper that complimented your KKKs. Do you honestly feel that all the newspapers are wrong and that you stand on an exalted pedestal as an example of the right?

You even take exception to being called "un-American." If such incidents as the Myrtle Beach episode is American, we have drifted a long way. Only Al Capone and some other big time gangsters practiced "Americanism" in this way. In the early pioneer days, the Indians did make raids on settlers' homes and perhaps practiced this form of "Americanism." Now to say that your Myrtle Beach raid had only peaceable intentions, is causing some stretching of the imagination. Your cohorts were armed to the teeth as evidenced by the severe shooting that took place at Myrtle Beach. There are not many peaceable motorcades that find it necessary to carry fire arms.

You say that you thank God for belonging to an organization that believes in keeping the race of men PURE and SPOTLESS. Mr. Hamilton, Hitler also believed that theory and took drastic steps to eradicate thousands of Jews.

As for the Masonic order being secret, there's no denial. But not as to membership. We have never known one to be afraid to wear his pen or his ring. We haven't heard of any shooting escapades attributed to them or any arrests for concerted action by the organization. To compare them is ridiculous.

Mr. Hamilton, your most contradictory statement is the one in which you say "the Klan does not advocate or preach a doctrine of fear but instead we have people outside the Klan who fear the Klan because they are doing un-moral and illegal, nasty, unchristian things and are afraid someone will get after them." If you and your organization do not make raids on these people for illegal and unchristian conduct, why should they have any fear? Why should they think some one is going to "get after them." No, Mr. Hamilton, I'm sure the statement still stands that the organization, like the Soviet secret police and the German Gestapo, is one which seeks to curb freedom of action through fear.

Your statement regarding the digging into local and State governments and exposing those men who are using their offices for greed and perversion is a noteworthy one. We have long advocated a greater participation in voting by the general public and it should be every individual's duty to study his elected

officers and vote for those men who seek to keep America free. Not just the KKK, but all better Americans believe in that. We have no argument there.

Here and elsewhere you have indicated that you believed newspapers were controlled. Mr. Hamilton, there may be some big ----- somewhere that are. That most certainly does not apply to the little ones like us. These columns are just as free and just as open as you are when you mount the rostrum to make a speech.

In speeches, in your letter and at other times, you have made reference to Jesus Christ and referred to the Bible. You have this time recommended Him to me. Mr. Hamilton, I do not deny I need more of Him even though presently I am a church member and Sunday school teacher. But it stymies me to understand how you and your organization can profess to be followers of the Bible. We have yet to find one minister of high repute who advocates the principles of the KKK. Suppose the great Biblical missionary Paul had preached only to his Jewish brethren? You a Gentile, Mr. Hamilton would have never got the word. No, Jesus Christ was not for one people alone. He was, in all his humility, for All the peoples everywhere.

Only one other statement. When you summed up in your mind that we advocate the downfall of this great land of ours, you did some mighty false summation. During my life time thus far this is the first such clumsy charge. We challenge you, Mr. Hamilton, to find us three people in Tabor City who are acquainted with the newspaper, who are civic workers and active church workers who will bear out your belief. Just three people who will say so among the people who know us best. On the contrary, we have always advocated a better and stronger America and the perpetuation of our Democracy as founded. There's nothing we despise more than communism, left wingers and organizations seeking to breakdown law, order and government.

Yours very truly,
W. Horace Carter

Source: <http://www.carter-klan.org/Editorials.html>