Thomas Dixon and graphic illustration before *The Birth of a Nation*

ADAM SONSTEGARD

Abstract More students of cinematic history know D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) than Thomas Dixon's novels, upon which Griffith's motion picture is loosely based. Most Dixon students read his novels as prose-only works, but C. D. Williams and Arthur Keller contributed graphic illustrations to the first editions, where theatrical staging underwent novelization, and where literary caricatures invited graphic-arts stereotypes. Recent editions of Dixon's *The Clansman* (1905), and almost all scholarship responding to Dixon and Griffith, neglect the illustrations, sacrificing graphic arts to cinematic sequels, concealing supremacist imagery, and taking Dixon's novels as prose-only affairs.

Keywords graphic art, racism, stereotypes, Ku Klux Klan, Thomas Dixon, *The Birth of a Nation*

This article reconstructs the work that Arthur Keller's and C. D. Williams's images perform within Thomas Dixon's revisionist histories. These images show the graphic selection of striking "stills" from ongoing narrative action, and substitute wounded veterans' bodies for slaves' racially marked bodies. They manifest supposedly "invisible empires" of Klansmen as resistance to sexualized violence—which, decorum insists, goes unrepresented. They posit visual caricatures, requiring the gloss of Dixon's prose narration. If we revisit Keller's and Williams's art, we resist revisionist erasures of unsavory episodes of Southern history—for, in Dixie, after all, what is silently repressed, what is graphically unrepresented, always threatens that it "will rise again."

While most students of cinematic history know D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), fewer know the novels upon which the motion picture was loosely based, Dixon's *The Leopard's Spots* (1902) and *The Clansman* (1905). While most students of Dixon read his works solely as prose novels, artists Williams and Keller also contributed graphic illustrations to Doubleday Page's first editions. More than a decade before *The Birth of a Nation*, Williams's and Keller's frontispieces and book illustrations captured Dixon's storylines at transformative but pre-cinematic moments. The editors and artists selected climaxes from Dixon's narrative action for visual-arts representation. The author's literary caricatures invited graphic-art stereotypes on the public page, before these racialized stereotypes appeared on Griffith's movie screens. The epic film has nonetheless eclipsed the illustrated novels. More egalitarian social visions have obscured these older images of white supremacist ideology. Later editions of Dixon's works have omitted the forerunning medium of graphic-arts illustration.[1] *The Birth of a Nation* remains among cinema's most watched, most profitable productions. Keller's and Williams's images have yet to receive critical attention.

I want to draw attention to the suppression of Dixon's images of supposed white supremacy and Jim Crow segregation, as well as the images' persistence in an American imaginary or unconscious, where what is repressed, in Freudian fashion, monstrously returns. More scholars today read African American writers Charles Chesnutt, Sutton E. Griggs, and Pauline Hopkins than read them during these writers' lifetimes. Only a relative few remember the pro-Southern, plantation writers—Dixon, Thomas Nelson Page, Joel Chandler Harris—with whom these African American novelists conversed.[2] Recent studies dismantle white stereotypes of "mammies," "uncles," and "pickaninnies," in African American and Harlem Renaissance visual culture.[3] Most elide the fact that white Southern writers still circulated and reinforced the same stereotypes in then-wildly popular literature, fiction, and early films. Writers' words persist in edited, scholarly editions, while original, graphic art disappears in prose-only paperbacks, web editions, and cinematic adaptations. Confederate flags are removed from courthouses, racial epithets get expurgated from scholastic editions, and buildings and foundations, christened after Southern leaders, are innocuously renamed. Theories of graphic-novel genres see them originating in the comic strips of the 1930s, though supposedly heroic white avengers, sexualized black villains, and graphic-arts "caped crusaders" already galloped through Dixon's illustrated novels in 1902. The ongoing, selective erasure of American pop-culture pasts risks privileging verbal over visual, cinematic over graphic, and persistent racial marginality over once-racist mainstream.

More fully studying an ideology means attending not only to what it illuminates and culturally reproduces but also to what it sublimates, and what it can never successfully repress. This article returns to the long-forgotten work that Keller's and Williams's original images performed within Dixon's novels of Southern revisionist history, investigates their still-ongoing suppression in literary-archival records, and demonstrates the pre-cinematic appearance of black, "buck" brutes, and Klan "night hawk" raids. These images suggest that racist caricature already accompanied Dixon's words in publishing, and amplified his thoughts in writing, Southern racial and *de facto* interracial history before *The Birth of a Nation*. Keller and Williams

selected from Dixon's narratives for strikingly visual stills, but also substituted wounded or amputated bodies of white veterans for the racially marked bodies of slaves. They valorized Klan agitation as white populist resistance to threats of sexualized interracial violence, but followed a discretion that insists violence must go graphically unrepresented. They drew and painted racial caricatures that led reader-viewers back into Dixon's prose passages in order to understand ongoing narrative action; they did not know then that those viewers would soon turn instead to Griffith's motion picture screens. If we confine our criticisms to Griffith's silent film, we ignore this racism's incipience in graphic caricature, elide mainstream publishers' mediation of artistic collaborations, and suppress vital, white-supremacist contexts for the Civil Rights imagery, graphic novels, and visual narratives we wish to emphasize instead. Keller's and Williams's images anticipate this suppression of Reconstruction's passion and sexuality, but persist as ghostly Klansmen, angelic martyrs, and repressed, returning monsters of the old "Lost Cause."

Dixon and illustration

A visual experience, not solely a verbal one, inspired Dixon's epic of revisionist history, *The Leopard's Spots*—which he, in turn, made as multi-media as a novel could be in 1902. Originally a North Carolina Baptist preacher, he hailed from relatively wealthy stock. Born near the Civil War's end, he grew up to chronicle the days of Reconstruction. *The Leopard's Spots* appropriates Harriet Beecher Stowe's characters Simon Legree and George Harris—not from reading her novels directly, but from seeing a stage adaptation. He conceived of his novels as prose narratives, but also theater scripts and stagecraft spectaculars. "The motion picture was still in its infancy when Dixon completed the Reconstruction Trilogy," his biographer concludes:

> the obvious means by which the author might further expound his "message" was not through a motion picture that was never longer than one reel or ten minutes in length up to this time, but rather the theatrical experience, an experience of which Dixon was very much enamored.[4]

Dixon authored, staged, and starred in theatrical productions, in which he met some of the actors who would go on to appear in *The Birth of a Nation*. His dramas meant "elaborate staging, including somber gatherings of robed white men, flaming crosses, fights, black crosses, and charges of Klansmen on live horses, tested the limits of the era's stagecraft."[5] The scholarly debate over whether *The Birth of a Nation* merely adapts or significantly expands Dixon's novels risks oversimplifying a writer's work that actually blurs nineteenth-century lines between literary and dramatic, visual and verbal.[6] Dixon, originally inspired by the stage adaptation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, wrote the novels *The Leopard's Spots* and *The Clansman* with stage acting in mind. He marketed prose works with graphic illustrations and frontispieces. He thought of conventions of stagecraft in reaching his original reading *and* viewing audiences. He dramatized and visualized an unabashedly pro-Southern point of view.

Doubleday Page in fact published Dixon at the height of the Golden Age of Illustration—usually reckoned in America to run from the 1880s until World War I. Still-familiar artists such as Howard Chandler Christy, Howard Pyle, Maxfield Parrish, and Charles Dana Gibson made more from multiple book and magazine illustrations in a year than many bestselling prose authors made in selling their works.[7] The illustrations conjoined visual marketing and salesmanship with the more monochromatic letterpress. They expanded with the innovations of halftone photographic technology and incorporated early photojournalism into the evolving, early twentieth-century visual field. They helped editors accommodate national audiences in 1900, when eleven percent of all adults, thirteen percent of foreign-born white adults, and almost forty-five percent of African American adults were not even literate—certainly not avid, serious readers.[8] Victorian rococo and art nouveau illustrations distinguished many first editions. Editors minded buyers' tastes and sought features and pictures for collectors' editions. Pictorial periodicals—*Ladies' Home Journal*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *The Saturday Evening Post*—flourished.

One of Dixon's illustrators for the Reconstruction trilogy, Charles David Williams, left a scant historical record, but it is known that he contributed covers and images to the magazines *Sunday*, *Collier's Weekly*, and *American*. The other artist, Arthur Ignatius Keller, we find out from a turn-of-the-century review, illustrated for William Dean Howells, Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, Bret Harte, and Owen Wister's *The Virginian* (1902). Keller reportedly

> uses the same models that other artists employ, but he uses them only as models, not as types. He gets his characters from impressions of people he meets, and he selects a man in the same vocation as that of his character to represent the type he is to portray; [...] He preserves pictures of all classes of men, and they usually come in at some time to serve his purpose,

the reviewer writes.[9] Perceiving real-life individuals, he pursues representative "types." His career coincides, according to Michael Brown, with freelancers' increased autonomy, whereby an artist

> was given a manuscript and was told the number of illustrations needed and the deadline, but the illustrator was allowed the freedom to choose which scenes to illustrate and, in some cases, was free to choose the placement of the illustration within the article

—or within the volume.[10] Keller, another reviewer claims, "probably has more de luxe editions of our best American classics to his credit than any other illustrator; and to show the prominent position the illustrator occupies in these volumes," the reviewer concludes, "it is only necessary to mention they are known as the Keller Edition."[11]

Keller's prominence speaks to mainstream publishing's club-like exclusivity and power structure. Dixon sent a draft of *The Leopard's Spots* to his good friend from college days at Wake Forest, Walter Hines Page, senior fellow at Houghton Mifflin and founding member of Doubleday Page. Dixon asked another Wake Forest alumnus and close friend, Woodrow Wilson, to assure them that *The Birth of a Nation* would be the first cinematic epic shown in the White House. Positive Ku Klux Klan images in the illustrations, meanwhile, "counter[ed] the more ridiculous and horrific images found in the periodicals of the 1860s and 1870s"; and Doubleday Page, according to Akiyo Ito Okuda, marketed *The Clansman* "with the intention of provoking racial hatred, emphasizing the novel's provocative aspects."[12] "While making the illustrations for Dixon's last book, *The Clansman*," images which comprised "eight striking pictures in oil, of happenings directly after the civil war," Dixon was, according to a reviewer in *Harper's Bazaar*, pursuing additional opportunities: "he was also busy illustrating a modern story of millionaires and fashionable folk in a city environment. All of these illustrations," *Harper's Bazaar* insists, "were completed within a month."[13] Dixon's books and Keller's images did not emanate from some isolated enclave of Confederate resistance, but from one of publishing's busiest, most profitable, pictorial sectors. "The Keller Editions" became best sellers before the rise of cinematography, succeeding in part because of an entrenched, predominantly white, exclusive, and—yes—"clannish" publishing power structure.

Rendering images for Dixon did not simply mean illustrating romance, but visualizing supposed white supremacy. *The Leopard's Spots* presents itself as a North Carolina State history from 1865 to 1900, seeing landowners as disenfranchised and disinherited, casting Radical Republicans and carpetbaggers as alien invaders, and imagining—of all people—Simon Legree as the invaders' leader. The novel reconciles Old Money Southern aristocrats with socially climbing scions of poor-white classes. *The Clansman* concentrates on formerly warring families uniting in postwar marriages and supposedly common needs to preserve white purity against mulattos and "free issue Negroes." This second installment marries the daughter of Thaddeus Stevens, architect of what Dixon sees as the Radical Republicans' worst excesses, to a Southern scion. *The Traitor* (1907) completed the trilogy, but had less influence on *The Birth of a Nation*. Throughout the trilogy, Dixon situates a Scottish heritage of clan-based social orders amid contemporary Anglo-Saxon civilizations. He argues for a racially unalloyed America, and denounces all mulatto possibilities. He characterizes several oversexed black marauders, who kidnap and "pollute" white daughters, necessitate the suicides of the daughters, and prompt resistance among the self-appointed White Knight sons. As flat caricatures come to typify if not stereotype whole races and classes, the most beautiful young white women come to marry the most eligible men who have the severest politics of eradicating the non-whites. In W. Fitzhugh Brundage's words, "Heroic white fathers and brothers, virginal white mothers and daughters, bestial nihilistic black men—these were the characters who populated the melodramatic landscape."[14] The resulting one-dimensional stock-figures and caricatures fell far short of a modern novel's complex, individualized characters.

Scholars working in "whiteness studies" suggest Caucasian identity's social construction, yet stress its representation as a "natural" and essential, unperformed identity, with supposed invisibility operating as an extension of white privilege. Dixon's novel, as a case in point and in Scott Romine's words, "does not so much *represent* whiteness as a stable, fixed essence, but *tells* it as a story of traumatic origins, heroic defense, and grandiose recovery," as Dixon's "'genre of prose romance' (among other genres) *produces* white identity—not as a 'racial message' to be transmitted, but as a racial fantasy to be played out."[15] Whiteness is not a given, but a quality Dixon's narratives grant, defend, and rescue from others' threats. White statesmen fall under mulatta temptresses' spells and become supposed traitors to their race. Fathers guard their daughters against too liberally minded white suitors. Dramatic revelations suddenly cast mysterious siblings' racial statuses in doubt. "In Dixon's texts," writes Chris Ruiz-Velasco, "truth appears through visible signs and metaphors of vision, many of them predicated on images of white and black that align with the qualities of good and evil."[16] This monochromatic morality assumes that whiteness accompanies natural, ethical behaviors. Black defaults to representing any and all evils, and all merciless threats to white family stability and purity.

The supposed simplicity of Dixon's moral dichotomy—in which white and black matched good and evil—worked to suppress at least two, more complex situations. Slave holders had fathered generations of mixed-race offspring. Only one passage in *The Leopard's Spots* grudgingly grants this aspect of interracial history: "It is all the result of the surviving polygamous and lawless instincts of the white male. Unless by the gradual encroachments of time," the narrator insists, "culture, wealth and political exigencies, the time comes that a negro shall be allowed freely to choose a white woman for his wife, the racial integrity remains intact."[17] As for *The Clansman*, Dixon places his Northern, pro-Radical Reconstruction character Austin Stoneman under the lascivious charms of scheming mulatta Lydia Brown. White-on-black sexual violence, though, never makes it into Keller's or Williams's images. The imagery discreetly sketched some scenes of sexual violence—black rapists, white virgins—even as it screened other such violent scenes—slave masters, black concubines—from view.

Illustrating disguised Klansmen also required the artists to represent covert figureheads, who meant in turn to draw advantages from their cloaked anonymity. The artists had to visualize what was by definition an "Invisible Empire." The faces that they rendered had to mask what were already covered, hooded faces. "Why depict as invisible and secret the open and ritualized violence of racial antagonism?" Susan Gilman asks.[18] Why, for that matter, illustrate members of a theoretically invisible regime? What Gilman calls

> a double unmasking is necessary to identify the hidden agenda of the Invisible Empire, which was, after all, openly devoted to the cause of white supremacy. The Klan exemplifies the paradox of hyperinvisibility, with its highly visible, ritualized spectacles of terror. It was impossible to miss.[19]

Williams and Keller had to document what was nocturnally active and spectrally illusive. The very frontispiece of *The Clansman*, captioned "'Do you not fear my betrayal of your secret?'" made the supposedly surreptitious graphically overt (figure 1). Klan visibility is manifested and yet still disguised. It obscures riders' individual identities, recreates supposed heroes, and leaves us with Gilded Age equivalents of equestrian "caped crusaders." Keller's and Williams's images, and Dixon's novels' visual, theatrical dimensions—as this brief survey has tried to show—already had richly complicated, internal contradictions before Griffith began filming *The Birth of a Nation*.

Depiction and discretion

Some of Keller's and Williams's images, striking readers now as proto-cinematic, show that the artists knew to select pivotal moments for depiction, and veil the moments' precedents or outcomes out of discretion.[20] The book illustrations lure readers into Dixon's prose passages, even as they substitute single, staged moments for continuous sequences of his narrative actions. They manifest a white supremacist ideology that sketches white women as vulnerable to sexual assault, illuminates white men as avengers of racial others' sexual crimes, and obscures black women's legacies of sexual victimization. As these print illustrations first change into cinematic imagery, they simultaneously depict the propaganda that white supremacy wants viewers to see, and conceal what that ideology wishes the viewers to suppress.

In *The Leopard's Spots*' frontispiece, entitled "Two Thousand Men Went Mad," for instance, a father figure joins his white daughter's hands with those of her beaming Caucasian suitor (figure 2). The

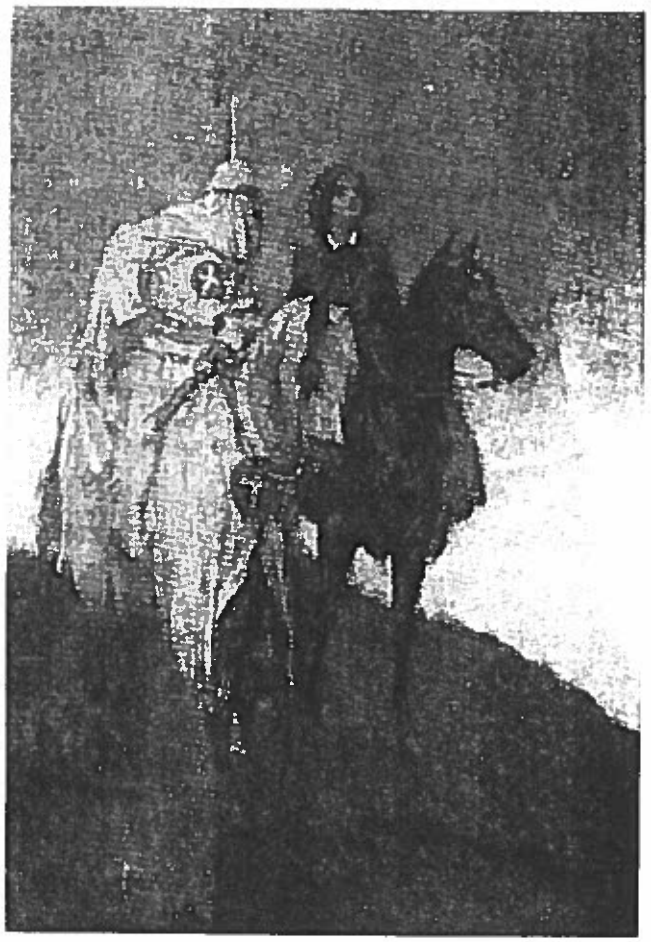

Figure 1. Arthur Keller, frontispiece for *The Clansman* (1905) captioned: "Do you not fear my betrayal of your secret?" Dixon, Thomas. *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan*. 1905. Reprint. Ridgewood, NJ: The Gregg Press, 1967. Frontispiece. Author's collection.

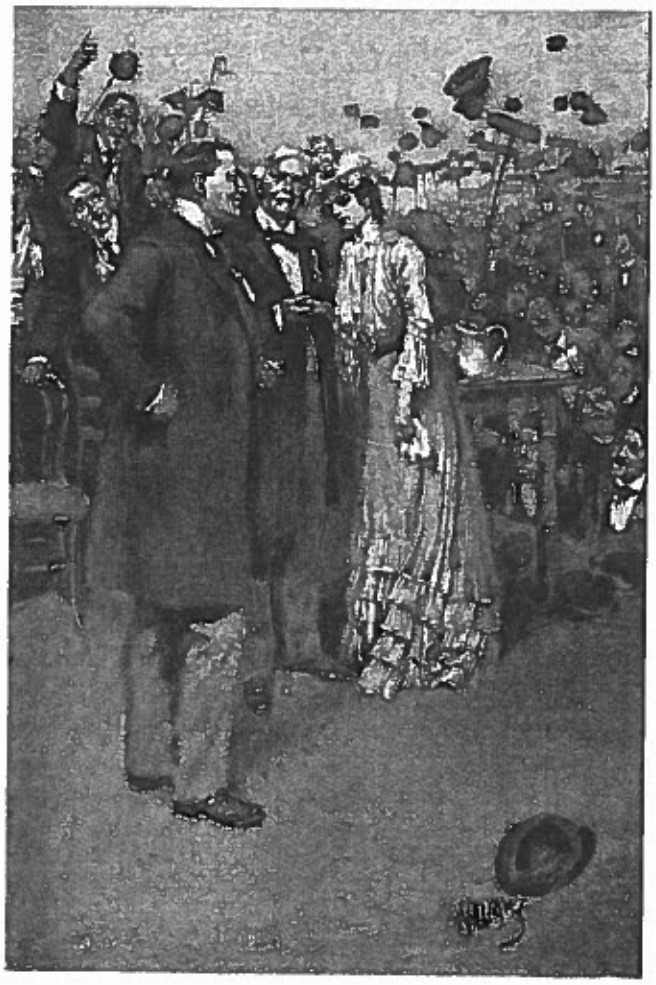

Figure 2. C. D. Williams, frontispiece for *The Leopard's Spots* (1902), captioned: "Two Thousand Men Went Mad." Dixon, Thomas. *The Leopard's Spots: A Romance of the White Man's Burden 1865 – 1900*. 1902. Reprint. Ridgewood, NJ: The Gregg Press, 1967. Frontispiece. Author's collection.

men are "going mad," and the father is bestowing his blessings on the daughter, thanks to the suitor's just-concluded speech, asserting whites' superiority and calling for blacks' eradication. Williams singles out the moment at which words become congratulations, and at which a whole race's supposed purity comes down to one man's marriage. The graphic rendering antedates the cinematic adaptation, but the chosen moment concludes the speech in the novel. It symbolizes the subsequent union, and functions as viewers' motivation to *become* readers and discover why the men in the depiction "went mad." As a visual pause in the sequence of this couple's ongoing courtship, the image is inserted within Dixon's text and Doubleday Page's volume, just when viewers of Williams's image become readers of Dixon's prose. As factors in the novel's audience reception, the images turned viewers' attention back toward Dixon's passages. They visually "pre-viewed," as it were, Dixon's current or coming narrative actions.

The Clansman's image, entitled "I hurl the everlasting curse of a nation—," similarly arrests a proto-cinematic, rhetorical flourish. Stoneman extends an arm above his head and advances his prominent clubfoot to lend the emphasis of body language to his polemical point (figure 3). We are told that "two gigantic negroes" carry him, that their "kinky heads, black skin, thick lips, white teeth, and flat noses made for the moment a curious symbolic frame for the chalk-white passion" of Stoneman.[21] Williams has them crouch less imposingly, less contrastingly behind Stoneman. Many white faces in the crowd regard one another in apparent inattention to his rhetoric, as "with his big club foot straight in front of him, his gnarled hands gripping the arms of his chair, the massive head shaking back and forth like a wounded lion," he recommences speaking, "in fierce intensity with each labored breath."[22] Keller's proto-cinematic still precedes an implicit caption, complicates the narrative's "symbolic frame," and attempts to cross divisions between oral and visual, as well as novelistic and cinematic modes. The clubfoot comes to symbolize the effort the character exerts in these implicit interactions, between oral and visual communications, and between illustrated novels and cinematography as visual media.

Given the silence of a cinematic still, Stoneman's foot comes to "speak" for his ideology. The men depicted at desks behind and above Stoneman, for one thing, could arguably be looking at his foot; Keller's configuration makes it so they cannot be looking at his face. Stoneman, Dixon's fictional rendition of Radical Republican Thaddeus Stevens, repeats the real-life Stevens's physical infirmity. He even symbolizes Stevens's complicated personal life: Stevens had a mixed-race housekeeper with whom he was rumored to be romantically involved. Dixon's thinly fictionalized Stoneman also has a mulatta housekeeper, Lydia Brown, to whose salacious temptations Dixon attributes the worst abuses of the Radical Republicans. At one point, "Stoneman's walk is described as 'a painful hobble,' and '[h]e was lame in both feet, and one of them was deformed,'" meaning, in Tara Bynum's phrasing, "Stoneman literally needs Brown to support his body."[23] Brown never appears in Keller's

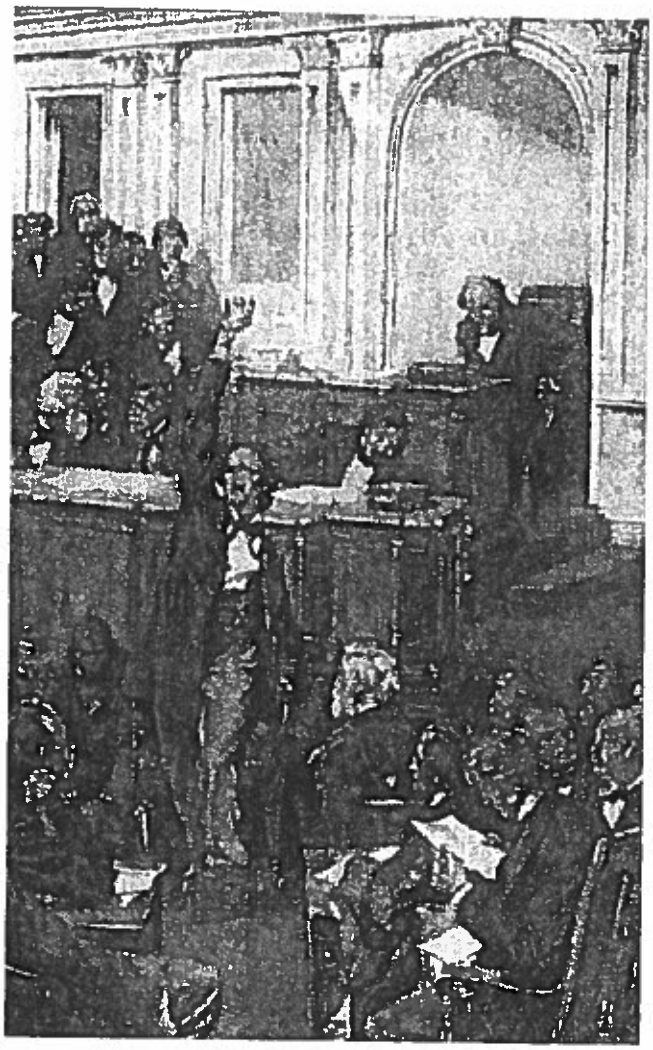

Figure 3. Arthur Keller, image for *The Clansman* (1905), captioned: "'I hurl the everlasting curse of a nation.'" Dixon, Thomas. *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan*. 1905. Reprint. Ridgewood, NJ: The Gregg Press, 1967. Facing p. 172. Author's collection.

imagery. Without her to lend that support, and with "gigantic negroes" supporting him instead in the lead-up to his powerful speech, Stoneman's clubfoot signals his susceptibility to blacks, his Radical Republican advocacy of black ascendancy.[24] His appendage symbolizes his white body's truncated power. Dixon and Keller assist him with able, African American bodies. Keller also pictures Stoneman next to the president, moments ahead of Abraham Lincoln's assassination, with Stoneman's lame foot predominating amid their awkward placement (figure 4). The two seem to dance a two-step, emphasizing Stoneman's clumsiness, translating all their political, social maneuvering into physical movement, visible in a cinematic still. Reader-viewers receive a glimpse of their physical maneuvers in the image, and return to read of their *rhetorical* maneuvers in Dixon's surrounding prose.

Figure 4. Arthur Keller, image from *The Clansman* (1905), captioned: "The South is conquered soil. I mean to blot it from the map." Dixon, Thomas. *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan.* 1905. Reprint. Ridgewood, NJ: The Gregg Press. 1967. Facing p. 50. Author's collection.

Caucasian, Confederate veterans also terminate in peg legs, exhibiting amputated limbs that upstage able-bodied racial others. The illustrators clearly privilege white bodies, partly sacrificed in war, over black bodies, saved and liberated by the other side's victory in it. One blue-collar, bellicose white character, Tom Kemp in *The Leopard's Spots*, threatens the first African American to trespass on his property. Williams renders him as a human border, his peg leg descending to the right, crossing his rifle butt and gun barrel as they rise (figure 5). A human "x" shape, Kemp's right leg crosses his left, with which he steadies himself as he taunts black invaders. His leg has drawn a literal line in the earth—it is difficult to discern in the image—making Kemp an inscribing, authorial character, not a passive or inert figure. He can render his own body's script as a rift in Southern ground. "There was no attempt to cross it," says Dixon's narration of the rift; the invaders "did not like the look of Tom's face as he sat there pale and silent."[25] Williams rouses him from this silent, sitting position, puts him on his feet, and merges body and line into one aggressive, sectionalizing figure. He consigns blacks to a retreating pattern, with the angle of their canes feebly echoing Kemp's march-like forward thrust. Readers see that Kemp is graphically empowered to subdivide his own image, and realize that he appears far from "crippled" or weakened within it.

Williams confines entering black soldiers to a small portion of the image captioned "Come on Boys" (figure 6). Nearly ninety percent of the picture reproduces whites at a wedding. Interestingly cropped, as it were, the image excludes the bride and groom, but pictures the musical entertainment and an audience that is startled as black soldiers arrive. "They made a handsome picture," proclaims Dixon's text of the marrying pair, yet Williams's picture excludes them.[26] Central to the image, instead of the wedding itself, are Tom Kemp's cane and peg leg, pushing the advancing black officer to one side, seemingly supplanting the black man's own foot: the soldier seemingly lacks a right foot, where Kemp's cane intrudes. While Dixon's text has Tom "hobbling before" "the burly figure of a big Negro trooper,"[27] he proves miraculously agile against physically superior foes: "Tom overtook one of them, snatched his wooden leg off, and knocked him down."[28] Canes and prosthetics prove more powerful than the blacks' weaponry, which they cross in Williams's imagery, seemingly barring the blacks from entering the room, and repeating the angles of the fiddle and bow.

The black invaders disrupt the wedding Williams does not picture here. They kill the bride, despite the efforts of Tom's compatriots. "Just where the blue veins crossed in her delicate temple," we are told of the victim, "there was a round hole from which a scarlet stream was running down her white throat."[29] As Dixon emphasizes these signifiers of whiteness, "It might have been worse," Tom consoles the bride's mother; "Let us thank God she was saved from them brutes."[30] Better to be killed than captured—and, by extension, raped—by black "brutes." Better that men use their bodies and prosthetics as weapons than let ladies' bodies come to physical—and, by extension, sexual—harm. Better that Williams depict black invaders bursting into the background of a blue-collar, white wedding, than show them actually disrupting a bride's nuptials—and, by implication, taking her virginity. Dixon's words and Williams's images conspire to deflect what could have been an explicitly sexual spectacle: graphics recreate backgrounds instead of weddings. A bride's interracial deflowering threatens to occur. Death preserves vestal honor. Dixon and Williams skirt indiscretions in their depictions. They dramatize pivotal, potential interruptions in courtship narratives, otherwise meant to preserve family racial purity.

Keller devotes less space overall to degrading black "brutes," and more to valorizing "heroes"—who avenge a black violence, implicitly sexualized in the text, but decorously erased from the imagery. Two "wizards" show their faces in a private, nocturnal ritual in *The Clansman*'s final image (figure 7). A cross burns above them in a supposed tribute to Scottish Highland clans (though Scottish history includes no such flaming crosses).[31] A black victim lies roped and tied at their feet, writhing toward the picture's indistinct margins. Klan figures in the background retain anonymous masks. Within the dim, sketchy image, ghostly, folk apparitions, which were frightening to many African Americans, risked

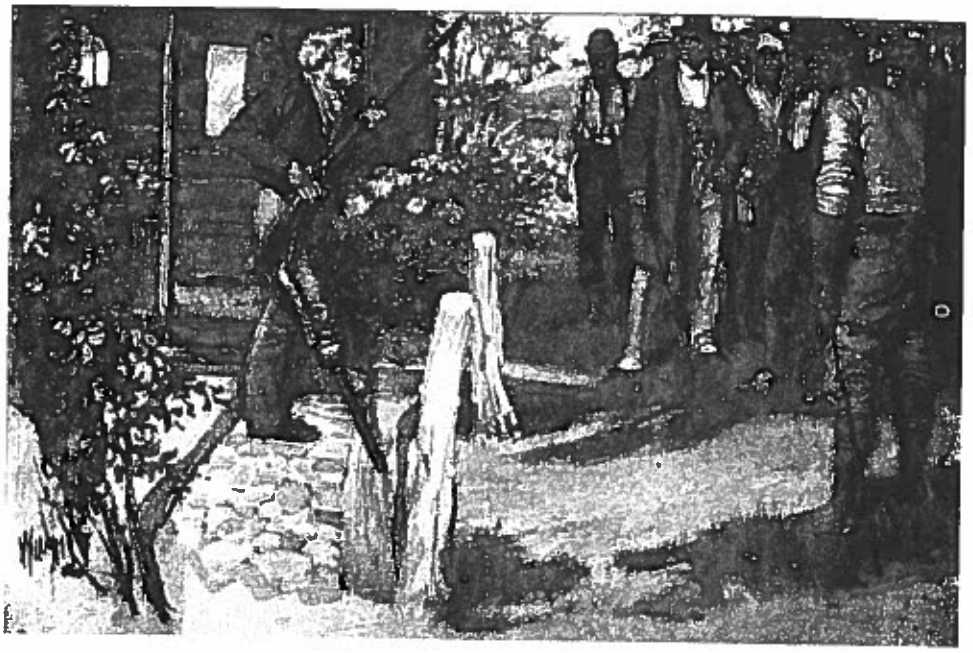

Figure 5. C. D. Williams, image for *The Leopard's Spots* (1902) captioned: "I'll kill the first nigger to cross that line." Dixon, Thomas. The Leopard's Spots. *A Romance of the White Man's Burden – 1865 – 1900*. 1902. Reprint. Ridgewood, NJ: The Gregg Press, 1967. Facing p. 198. Author's collection.

Figure 6. C. D. Williams, image for *The Leopard's Spots* (1902), captioned: "Come on Boys." Dixon, Thomas. *The Leopard's Spots. A Romance of the White Man's Burden – 1865 – 1900*. 1902. Reprint. Ridgewood, NJ: The Gregg Press, 1967. Facing p. 118. Author's collection.

looking believable and "real." These leaders only remove their disguises in a private ceremony, which Keller's image renders public. This invisible empire is highlighted, but only at a moment when its individual members enact a private ritual. Their stances, tied and writhing on the ground, or triumphant and erect beneath the flames, do not tell viewers what crime the victim committed, why the avengers reflect such pride in their actions, nor what sexual encounter the Klansmen prevented or interrupted. Even as Dixon's robed white men avenge sexual violence, Keller must obscure blacks' power to commit such violence from the depicted

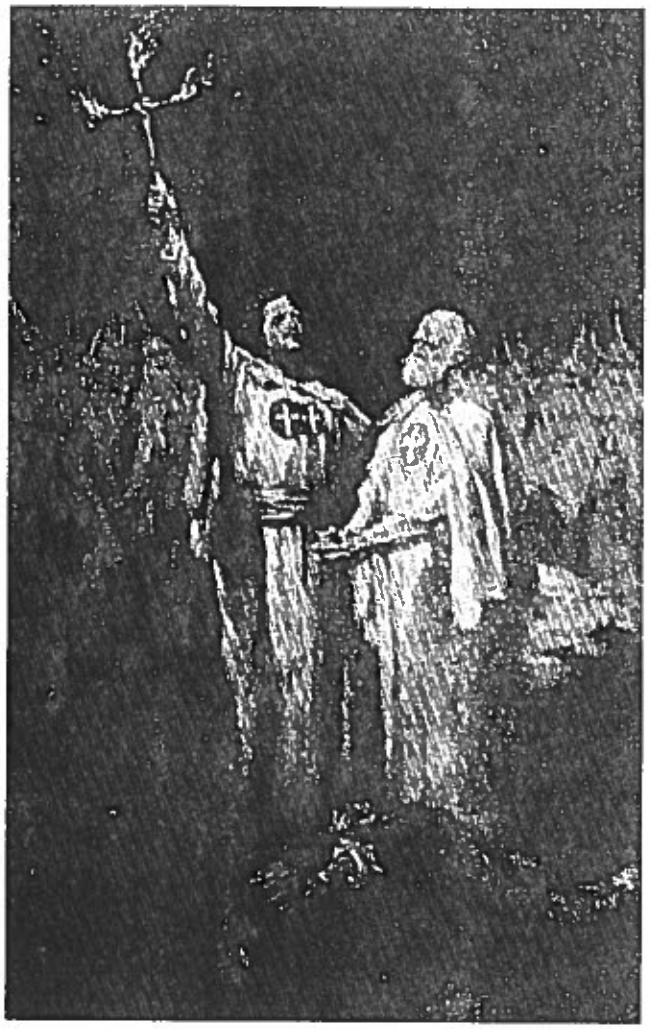

Figure 7. Arthur Keller, image for *The Clansman* (1905), captioned: "The Fiery Cross of Old Scotland's Hills." Dixon, Thomas. *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan*. 1905. Reprint. Ridgewood, NJ: The Gregg Press. 1967. Facing p. 326. Author's collection.

Figure 8. Arthur Keller, image for *The Clansmen* (1905), captioned: "On the brink of a precipice, the mother trembled." Dixon, Thomas. *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan*. 1905. Reprint. Ridgewood, NJ: The Gregg Press. 1967. Facing p. 306. Author's collection.

scene. Receiving these indirect depictions, viewers must infer the sexual violation from the spectacle of Klan revenge. They apprehend that white-supremacist illustrations must obscure as much out of discretion, as they can dramatize in graphic visualization.

A famous image from the book as well as from the movie similarly removes its subject, as much as decorum allows, from scenes of sexual violence (figure 8). Two women stand uneasily "upon a precipice," one in an elaborate white gown and closer to the edge, the other in prim, matronly attire and further away. The mother seemingly seeks guidance from Above as she steadies her daughter; the daughter clutches her hand and looks off into the distance that viewers of Keller's image cannot see. The daughter's gown is strikingly white with symbolic purity, though her bared shoulder shows more skin than most of Keller's and Williams's images of white women characters show.[32] The "precipice" image does not palpably introduce the momentum of two women who are about to throw themselves off a cliff. To the mother asking, "Are you not afraid, my dear?," the daughter in Dixon's text replies, "death is sweet, now," and "I only fear the pity of those we love."[33] Browsers of Keller's edition of Dixon's book merely see two women precariously placed. The actual leap into space and the reasons for their implicit self-sacrifice are known only by those who carefully read Dixon's text.

Decorum removes the reasons for the women's self-sacrifice, not only from the spectacles in Keller's images but also from the direct descriptions in Dixon's prose. Black assailant "Gus stepped closer" to Marion, the maiden, at the very end of the previous chapter, with stereotypes of "brutes" abounding: "with an ugly leer, his flat nose dilated, his sinister bead-eyes wide apart gleaming ape-like," he attacks, and "a single tiger-spring, and the black claws of the beast sank into the white soft throat and she was still."[34] The chapter concludes with ugly brutalization. The subsequent, illustrated chapter vests the

victim in a "dress of spotless white" as she assures her mother, "my name will always be sweet and clean" after they have leaped to their deaths.[35] Readers infer that Gus violates her between chapters. The mother's and daughter's bodies are recovered from the rocks below. Search parties then examine the mother's retina, improbably finding a photo-optic record of Gus's crime. The maiden, Marion, in Kim Magowan's words,

> jumps to her death wearing a white dress; her purity is symbolically intact. [Her mother's] eye is scarred in place of Marion's. This scarring is acceptable because [her] purity is not at stake: she is not a virgin, and her body is not the one raped.

"By sacrificing her eye for her daughter's"—that is, by bearing the supposed mark of Gus's rape, the mother "symbolically protects her daughter's purity," Magowan continues, "and prevents Gus's violation from leaving a mark."[36] Mother redeems "spotless" daughter. Mutual suicide saves their family from ever being racially "mixed."[37]

Dixon's discretion, and his etching of a record of Gus's crime on his victim's mother's retina, leave Gus's rape unwritten in words, implied between chapters, and inferred by receptive readers. Keller's commensurate choices in imagery obscure the black brute's deeds and valorize his victims' leap. Viewers see them on the brink of killing themselves to preserve white racial purity. They had *not* seen the black rapist threatening their purity in the first place. Ruiz-Velasco writes of a similar black rapist character, Dick, who *The Leopard's Spots* "never tells us definitively that Dick has perpetrated rape," but even so, "the spectacle ensures that he has. Through the spectacle, the demand for the lynching constructs the truth of the rape."[38] While discretion demands that Dixon look away from these supposed brutes' sexual assaults on white womanhood, tableaux of feminine self-sacrifice and Klan vengeance spectacularly substitute for what has to be unspoken and unrepresented.

The illustration can join a contemporary gallery of literary and pop-cultural images of precarious feminine valor: Eliza and child leap across Ohio River ice floes in illustrations and adaptations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Pauline Hopkins suspends her matronly heroine in mid-air in the frontispiece to *Hagar's Daughter* (1902). Griffith's film immortalizes Flora at the moment of *her* suicidal leap in *The Birth of a Nation*.[39] These images reflect fears, expectations, gender- and racially inflected ideologies. Visual culture mobilizes iconographies of feminine angels and maternal martyrs to glorify white (and apparently white) self-sacrifice. It banishes traces of black brutalization and rape from sight, and into readers' subjective, paranoid inferences. These images cannot directly depict sexual violence, even when that violence gives impetus to the characters' valor and white supremacist terror which Dixon, Keller, and Williams subsequently make spectacular.

Race and erasure

Though the characters invoke, foreshadow, and repress threats of sexual violence, they protest too much. Dixon's figures chase and terrorize one another, lynch one another and sacrifice themselves, fight to their own deaths for the Old South, and mercilessly impose ruinous, Radical Reconstruction regimes, all because of threatened interracial sexuality. These conflicts and their prevention drive Dixon's narratives and engage contemporary readers' empathies, their individual stakes in racial preservation. Dixon's *intra*-racial white romances, by contrast, his courtships between Southern scions and properly marriageable belles, are forced and perfunctory in Dixon's descriptions, staged and unrealized in readers' reception, flat, and not *at all* sexy in imagery—even in the context of the prudish propriety of 1902. Dixon's characters seem so preoccupied in anticipating and subduing interracial sexual violence, even at the cost of their lives and their stakes in "race suicide," that they have no *eros* reserved for the proper, intra-racial libidos they are *supposed* to be exhibiting, or for the endogamy they are supposed to be enacting.

The interracial contact, especially in the contexts of Stoneman and the mulatta temptress Brown, bristles with unbridled sexuality. "Capitol Hill," we are told, is the place "where dwelt an old club-footed man, alone, attended by a strange brown woman of sinister animal beauty and the restless eyes of a leopardess."[40] "Sinister" animalism so wildly resonates, that it accords with the novel's title. Stoneman scores a point amid the wrangling of the Reconstruction legislature, and "in the moment of ominous silence which followed, a yellow woman of sleek animal beauty leaned far over the gallery rail and laughed aloud."[41] Brown's vivacious, raucous sexuality has her symbolically devolving into "sleek," "tawny" cats, reciprocating as a feminine feline the unbridled, 'buck' sensuality Dixon attributes to black male "brutes."[42] Dixon's "attempt to contain Brown within the rigidity of sociopolitical, race, and gender limitations" fails, according to Bynum, since the housekeeper "disrupts those limitations. As such," Bynum writes, "Brown frees herself and her community from slavery and historical erasure."[43] The character exudes threatening, uncontained eroticism in Dixon's prose, as her erasure from Keller's arts testifies to the energy that the artist invests in subduing her allure. The sexual energies of Dixon's characters' neither begin nor end with Brown. Dixon, probably unaware of his own graphically, forcibly sexual metaphor, has Stoneman think to himself that once he "had the south where he wanted it, he would turn and ram Negro suffrage and Negro equality down the throats of the reluctant north."[44]

The tepidly narrated romances of white characters, to which I now turn, never match this erotic resonance. As social climber Gaston courts aristocratic Sallie Worth in *The Leopard's Spots*, "To color alone," such as her radiantly white complexion, we are told,

> he was responsive. This combination of red and creamy white, with the bodice cut low, showing the lines of her beautiful white shoulders, and the great mass of dark hair rising in graceful curves from her round neck, heighted her beauty to an extraordinary degree. As she walked the clinging

> folds of her dress, outlining her queenly figure, seemed part of her very being and to be imbued with her soul.[15]

Bared shoulders, luxurious locks, make her "queenly," not comely. He imagines she becomes one with her clothes, when many young male admirers would probably think of a woman *shedding* them.

Later, this daughter of the aristocratic South leads him to her private, ancestral island, where she says of rocks on a shoreline, "This is my throne."[16] "He leaned against the rock and looked up at her with eyes through which the yearning, the hunger, the joy and the fear of life all were quivering," as he thinks to himself,

> What a picture she made under the dark, cool shadows! Her dress was again of spotless white that seemed now to have been woven out of the foam on the river. Her throat was bare, her cheeks flushed, and her wavy hair the wind had blown loose into a hundred stray ringlets about her face and neck. Her lips were trembling with a smile at his speechless admiration.[17]

Dixon somewhat clumsily conjoins her aristocratic land-proprietorship with his middle-class romantic attractions, grafting the political advantages Gaston seeks with the supposed charms he sees in Sallie. He places her on a pedestal and has her embody idealized Southern belle charms. Williams *has* pictured the moment Gaston thinks of Sallie, "what a picture" (figure 9). What resembles a Raggedy Anne doll, flopped on rocks amid a river's rapids, shows none of these allures, her eyes not meeting Gaston's, her demeanor not seeming sensuous. Her ringlets are not even "loose," but squashed in a bonnet, and obscured by foliage with which Williams has framed her. Gaston looks up admiringly, and his cane, like the other walking sticks and prosthetics in other images, perhaps points to the focus of his energies. Williams cannot translate Dixon's mixed metaphors (woven foam, regnant damsels, or shadowy spotlessness) into cohesive imagery, no matter "what a picture" she makes.

As for the white romances of *The Clansman*, when eligible bachelor and surreptitious Klansman Ben Cameron's wandering eye first notices Elsie Stoneman, the Republican statesman's daughter, "she had scorned hoop-skirts," in favor of "a simple suit of navy-blue cloth." Gowns that hug maidens' hips would seem to excite young men's ardors, but Ben "admired her for this, and yet it made him uneasy. A woman who could defy an edict of fashion was a new thing under the sun, and it scared him."[18] Even a dressed woman's body repels this admirer rather than drawing him nearer. Marion, who will ultimately sacrifice herself over Lover's Leap, Dixon writes,

> was a universal favorite. The grace, charm, and tender beauty of the Southern girl of sixteen were combined in her with a gentle and unselfish disposition. Amid poverty that was pitiful, unconscious of its limitations, her thoughts were always of others, and she as the one human being everybody had agreed to love.[19]

Her generosity, not her allure, gains attention. She is a "universal favorite" upon whom the men agree, not a love-object for whom they compete. "Her exquisite figure," we are told, had "developed into the full tropic splendor of Southern

Figure 9. C. D. Williams, image for *The Leopard's Spots* (1902), captioned: "This is my throne." Dixon, Thomas. *The Leopard's Spots. A Romance of the White Man's Burden – 1865 – 1900*. 1902. Reprint. Ridgewood, NJ: The Gregg Press, 1967. Facing p. 278. Author's collection.

girlhood."[50] Dixon has not lent her a voluptuous figure, but given her an opaque, even abstracted, "tropic splendor."

When Elsie has her rendezvous with Ben, her

> eyes lingered on the flower in her coat a moment and then on the red scar in the edge of his dark hair, and somehow the difference between them seemed to melt into the fading twilight. Only his nearness was real. Again a strange joy held her.

Dixon concludes: "He threw her a look of tenderness, and she began to tremble. A sea-gull poised a moment above them and broke into a laugh."[51] No laughing seagull intrudes upon Keller's image, framed by dewy mists and pond water's ripples (figure 10). This Romeo gazes. His full-lipped Juliet swoons. Their differences do *not* "melt away" in the visual imagery: wherever his form protrudes to the right in the picture's space, hers reciprocally recedes. As visual icons do the opposite of merging and dissolving, no sign exists of either the flower she eyes or the scar supposedly apparent at his hairline. The image, misty and provisionally romantic, does not recreate Dixon's pathetic fallacies of dissolving differences, laughing gulls, or lovers' idylls. Supposedly loving renderings of Caucasian intraracial affections remain palimpsests for repressed, *inter*racial sexual energies which these artists and author unsuccessfully erase.

Images engage in animated interplay with complicated contradictions, rich traditions, and deep-seated repressions, a decade before their translation into the imagery of *The Birth of a Nation*. Dixon constantly casts his African American characters in wild-animal terms, reducing them to sexualized brutes. Even a vengeful mob of angry Klansmen is deemed "a thousand-legged beast."[52] Long-running precedents prevailed for anthropomorphic barnyard animals, jungle creatures, or surrealistic beasts, from Uncle Remus to Beatrix Potter to Lewis Carroll. The characters illustrated in *The Leopard's Spots* and *The Clansman* remain fully human, even as they devolve into Dixon's prose. Dixon's characterizations engage white stereotypes of blacks' supposedly unbridled sexuality, rascally irresponsibility, and smiling compliance with menial, degrading tasks. Keller and Williams devote less space on their canvasses to reductive black stereotypes and invest more energy in attempting to valorize whites. Pictures highlight Dixon's pivotal moments, but paradoxically visualize a supposedly invisible empire. Dixon argues against an integrated, multicultural America. Keller's and Williams's accompaniments, in a way, work against this segregation: whites and blacks are already, literally integrated in these images.

Several of these images leave it to Doubleday Page's captions and to Dixon's prose chapters to explain whom the pictures caricature, and whose polities they reflect. Artists and authors intend to show stereotypical, slack-jawed but armed black invaders intruding upon a white homestead. Viewers see a pugnacious poor-white, an amputated but still "armed" hayseed. Artists mean to show stereotyped brutes interrupting the hallowed ceremony of a white wedding. Viewers apprehend the impoverished entertainments of blue-collar fiddlers at a gathering of poor-white types. A violated maiden and her mother appear on canvas at the last

Figure 10. Arthur Keller, image for *The Clansman* (1905), captioned: "He leaned toward her with impulsive tenderness." Dixon, Thomas. *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan*. 1905. Reprint. Ridgewood, NJ: The Gregg Press, 1967. Facing p. 130. Author's collection.

moment before their leaps into glory. Viewers take them to be melodramatic, overacting forebears of Scarlett O'Hara. Clansmen remove their masks and strike supposedly noble poses in defense of white womanhood. Observers see self-important, pretentious racists who have cloaked not only themselves but also their horses in a ridiculous disguise. Keller's and Williams's works, unable to speak for themselves, betray something getting lost in translation from writer to artist, from prose to pictures, and from 1905 to 2017. The need one now perceives for picture captions and verbal explanations suggests that the stereotypical can originate in the eyes of beholders.

Dixon and his artists also *intend* a cohesive ideology of white unity in the face of an allegedly rampant African American threat. Thoughtful reader-viewers can still realize that white husbands were not choosing to stay home, protect, and love

their women all the more ardently in response to that threat. They were riding off in all-male mobs that shared irrational, murderous fixations on black males, whom they often castrated as well as lynched. Readers could still realize that black male sexuality was not the terrorizing threat to white womanhood that this ideology emphasized, but that white male sexuality *had* terrorized generations of enslaved, black, and mixed-race women—historical facts that white supremacist ideology contradicted. Readers could sense, as my examples have tried to demonstrate, that repressed, interracial sexual threats manifested more passion and obsession for Dixon's narratives than did his tepid, sexless sanctions of intra-racial white romance. Readers could wonder whether white Southern manhood had to some extent orchestrated this entire mythology of interracial, forcible sexuality *because* domestic endogamy was otherwise too unexciting to keep enacting. Exotic, interracial threats so overwhelmed familiar, white norms, that Caucasian readers felt racial purity, and even race suicide, were at stake.

Cinematic images now eclipse Keller's and Williams's graphic-arts renditions. The imagery of Civil Rights from later in the twentieth century obscures white-supremacist visions of earlier decades. Keller's and Williams's images even anticipate their own ephemerality: Marion and her mother persist on a precipice in the image, substituting for the scene of Gus's rape, and lasting as graphic ghosts, once readers know of their deaths at Lover's Leap. Klansmen unmask themselves by firelight at night, their counterparts at the image's margins fading into dim apparitions. Blacks in one image betoken an interrupted wedding, and stand in for bloodshed, rather than betrothal. Portraits of proper, white romances pale, as it were, in comparison with an interracial *eros*, energetically repressed. The iconography of these book illustrations supplants interracial sexual threats with vengeful white ghosts and sexless angels—who still prevail in our historiographies over potential recuperations of repressed sexualities. Dixon was revising Southern Reconstruction history to make his case against integration; Keller and Williams were attempting to present a cohesive vision of a fraught, self-contradictory ideology; Doubleday Page was publishing incendiary white supremacy as literary-pop fiction—all before *The Birth of a Nation* capitalized upon conflicts already playing out where the literary met the graphic arts. The interplay of prose with pictures, and the alternation of visual depictions and verbal discretions, spur readers' continued engagement with illustrated books, and not yet with their continuous viewing of a multiple-reel film. Dixon's reconstructed history of Reconstruction makes its first struggles toward modernity on his illustrated, theater-inspired pages, and only then onto *The Birth of a Nation*'s screens.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author's sincerest thanks go to Dominic Tortelli, Jackie LaPlante, Christopher Martiniano, Lauren Garskie, Gary Dyer, Ted Lardner, Paul Gutjahr, and Philip Barrish. This project was made possible by a Faculty Scholarship Initiative Grant at Cleveland State University. It is dedicated to Charlottesville protester Heather Heyer and Alabama Senator Douglas Jones.

NOTES

1 – Thomas Dixon, Jr. *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2001) edited and abridged, with an introduction by Cary D. Wintz, illustrated by Arthur I. Keller; and Thomas Dixon, Jr. *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan.* (Salt Lake City: Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation, 2008) edited and abridged, illustrated by Arthur I. Keller. With the exception of an edition published by M. E. Sharp in 2001 and Project Gutenberg's digitized editions, recent paperbacks of Dixon's *The Clansman* omit the illustrations.

2 – Scholarship on these African American figures proliferates, including works reading Chesnutt and Griggs against Dixon's output and Dixon's contemporary popularity. Michelle Gillespie and Randal Hall's *Thomas Dixon, Jr. and the Birth of Modern America* has recently appeared, but output of new collections and monographs on Page and Harris has languished since the 1970s; Michelle K. Gillespie and Randal L. Hall, eds, *Thomas Dixon, Jr. and the Birth of Modern America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006).

3 – Especially, and most recently, see Caroline Goeser, *Picturing the New Negro, Harlem Renaissance Print Culture and Modern Black Identity* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007); and Martha Jane Nadell, *Enter the New Negroes, Images of Race in American Culture* (Boston: Belknap/Harvard University Press, 2004).

4 – Anthony Slide, *American Racist. The Life and Films of Thomas Dixon* (Frankfort: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 50. Dixon published the third installment, *The Traitor, a Story of the Fall of the Invisible Empire*, which Williams illustrated, in 1907. As *The Traitor* had less influence on *The Birth of a Nation*, I confine the present discussion to images in *The Leopard's Spots* and *The Clansman.*

5 – W. Fitzhugh Brundage, "Thomas Dixon: American Proteus," in Gillespie and Hall, *Thomas Dixon, Jr.*, 23–45, at 34.

6 – Several scholars, including Brundage, Jane Gaines, and Raymond Cook, accept *The Birth of a Nation* as a film adaptation of Dixon's *The Leopard's Spots* and *The Clansman.* Slide argues, "Dixon provided a basic storyline" for the movie, "but nothing more," and that "it is pointless for any ardent supporter of Dixon to argue differently": "You [i.e. Griffith] cannot adapt what Dixon did not write"; Slide, *American Racist*, 80. Jeffrey Martin has subsequently shown that Griffith in fact adapts a more obscure, dramatic edition of *The Clansman* that Dixon had written in 1906. None of these scholars takes Williams's and Keller's visual elements of Dixon's novels into account in making this film adaptation argument; Jane M. Gaines, "Thomas Dixon and Race Melodrama," in Gillespie and Hall, *Thomas Dixon, Jr.*, 151–63; Raymond A. Cook, *Thomas Dixon* (Boston: Twayne Authors Series, 1974); Jeffrey B. Martin, "Film Out of Theatre: D. W. Griffith, *Birth of a Nation* and the Melodrama *The Clansman*," *Literature Film Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1990): 300–17.

7 – For a comprehensive, contemporary account of leading illustrators' incomes, see Amos Stote, "The Illustrator and His Income," *Bookman* 28, no. 1 (1908): 21–26.

8 – Literacy rates for 1900 are drawn from the National Assessment of Adult Literacy, National Center for Education Statistics, https://nces.ed.gov/naal/lit_history.asp (accessed on February 7, 2017).

9 – Regina Armstrong, "The New Leaders in American Illustration, III: The Story-Tellers, Pape, Keller, Hitchcock, Clinedinst and Ashe," *Bookman* 11, no. 2 (1900): 140–48, at 144.

10 – Michael Brown, "The Popular Art of American Magazine Illustration, 1885–1917," *Journalism History* 24, no. 3 (1998), n.p., para. 24.

11 – Stote, "Illustrator and His Income," 25.

12 – Akiyo Ito Okuda, "'A Nation Is Born': Thomas Dixon's Vision of White Nationhood and His Northern Supporters," *Journal of American Culture* 32, no. 3 (2009): 214–231, at 216–217.

13 – Grace Alexander Fowler, "Among the Illustrators," *Harper's Bazaar* 39, no. 6 (1905): 528–34, at 532.
14 – Brundage, "Thomas Dixon: American Proteus," 33.
15 – Scott Romine, "Thomas Dixon and the Literary Production of Whiteness," in Gillespie and Hall, *Thomas Dixon, Jr.*, 124–50, at 125.
16 – Chris Ruiz-Velasco, "Order Out of Chaos: Whiteness, White Supremacy, and Thomas Dixon, Jr.," *College Literature* 34, no. 4 (2007): 148–65, at 150.
17 – Thomas Dixon, Jr., *The Leopard's Spots, A Romance of the White Man's Burden, 1865–1900* (New Jersey and Chicago: Doubleday, Page, 1902; Ridgewood: Gregg, 1967), 336.
18 – Susan Gilman, *Blood Talk: American Race Melodrama and the Culture of the Occult* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 91.
19 – Ibid., 92.
20 – The following discussion selects images from both *The Leopard's Spots* and *The Clansman* for thematic consistency, omitting a handful of other images. Keller's and Williams's works are also available via searches in Google Images, and accessible in digitized Gutenberg editions. *The clansman: an historical romance of the Ku Klux Klan.* Thomas Dixon, Jr.; edited and abridged, with an introduction by Cary D. Wintz; illustrated by Arthur I. Keller. Salt Lake City: Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation, 2008.
21 – Thomas Dixon, Jr., *The Clansman, A Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan* (New Jersey: Doubleday, Page, 1902; Ridgewood: Gregg, 1967), 171.
22 – Ibid., 172.
23 – Tara Bynum, "'One Important Witness': Remembering Lydia Brown in Thomas Dixons's *The Clansman*," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 52, no. 3 (2010): 247–65, at 255. Bynum quotes Thomas Dixon in *The Clansman, Dixon, Thomas. The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan.* 1905. Reprint. Ridgewood, NJ: The Gregg Press. 1967, p. 39.
24 – Dixon, *Clansman*, 170.
25 – Dixon, *Leopard's Spots*, 134.
26 – Ibid., 125.
27 – Ibid.
28 – Ibid., 126.
29 – Ibid., 127.
30 – Ibid.
31 – Slide, *American Racist*, 44.
32 – Women's shoulders apparently represented the vanguard of alluring sexuality, as shown when Mary Alden as Lydia Brown seductively bared them in *The Birth of a Nation*.
33 – Dixon, *Clansman*, 306.
34 – Ibid., 304.
35 – Ibid., 305.
36 – Kim Magowan, "Coming between the 'Black Beast' and the White Virgin: The Pressures of Liminality in Thomas Dixon," *Studies in American Fiction* 27, no. 1 (1999): 77–102, at 84–85.
37 – I have removed all references to these characters' family name, Lenoir. The name, its connotations, and Dixon's use of it have led to many false, distracting conclusions in Dixon studies.
38 – Ruiz-Velasco, "Order Out of Chaos," 159.
39 – Marion also joins a lengthy necrology, including Kate Chopin's Edna Pontellier, Stephen Crane's Maggie, Frank Norris's Trina, and Edith Wharton's Lily Bart. Marion perhaps complicates that necrology in that Dixon has her die with racial purity and "race suicide" more prominently in mind.
40 – Dixon, *Clansman*, 79.
41 – Ibid., 145.
42 – Ibid., 94, 206.
43 – Bynum, "'One Important Witness,'" 261.
44 – Dixon, *Clansman*, 137.
45 – Dixon, *Leopard's Spots*, 227.
46 – Ibid., 272.
47 – Ibid.
48 – Dixon, *Clansman*, 122.
49 – Ibid., 254.
50 – Ibid., 284.
51 – Ibid., 130.
52 – Dixon, *Leopard's Spots*, 384.