

January 9, 1924

of the naval officer, bent down with his hands resting on the arms of the surgeon's chair, and said something which was inaudible. All the reader of Amiel in the next chair could hear was "Oh, about four. What with that and an S.O.S. call, I had one hour's sleep last night." He stroked his nose, and walked briskly away.

The reader of Amiel looked seawards. So there had been a call for help! But how impossible it seemed. The very ship appeared to be enjoying that sea. She was playful, rearing a little at times, and throwing dazzling, snowlike clouds. The children jumped and clapped their hands when a flight of spray leaped higher than usual. The very waves were chanting. They were running heavily past, with brilliant crests. Not far from the bows the ghost of a rainbow stood in an invisible mist above the riot of waters; it would fade, yet glow again, an intangible vision that was constant and motionless in that boisterous world, as though it

were a symbol of the imperishable virtue of beauty. The radiant clouds moved in the leisure of eternity. On the horizon, under one of them, like a model fixed to the clear rim of the world, was a bark under all sails. He felt that dread and mischance could never persist in the light of that morning. There were no shadows. He had never felt better in his life. All was well. He closed the covers on Amiel's so often melancholy conclusions and watched a sailor at work, who whistled while busy about the falls of a davit. Near the sailor was the life-belt rack, where he had stood the night before. But the rack was empty.

He flung his book on his chair, stood and filled his pipe, and went up to the boat deck. The prospect was wider there, and he wanted to see as much of this beautiful world as he could. He paused up there, to watch a quartermaster chalking the deck for quoits; there was to be a tournament that afternoon.

"Nasty night, last night, wasn't it?" he said to the sailor. He meant nothing particular by that. As a fact, he had almost forgotten the night before. But one always talks of the weather to a sailor; and one ought to be polite to these fellows.

"Yes, sir, it was."

"I could tell that, in my cabin."

"I expect you could, sir."

"Wasn't there an S.O.S. call? I think I heard some one mention it?"

"Very likely. We did stand by." He stood up, straightening his back and jerking his thumb to the side. "One of our chaps went overside. Young Bob—but you wouldn't know him—"

"Went overside? Not drowned?"

"What would you expect, sir, on such a night? The ship put about. The passengers complain of a draught. We got out a boat. Cruised about for an hour. Nothing." The sailor turned and gazed aft, then bent down again and went on chalking for quoits.

When Parliament Opens

By LINDSAY ROGERS

As this issue of *The Outlook* appears the magnificence of the royal procession will be rolling through the streets of London. The significance of the ceremony which lends color to the opening of England's great legislative body is vividly revealed

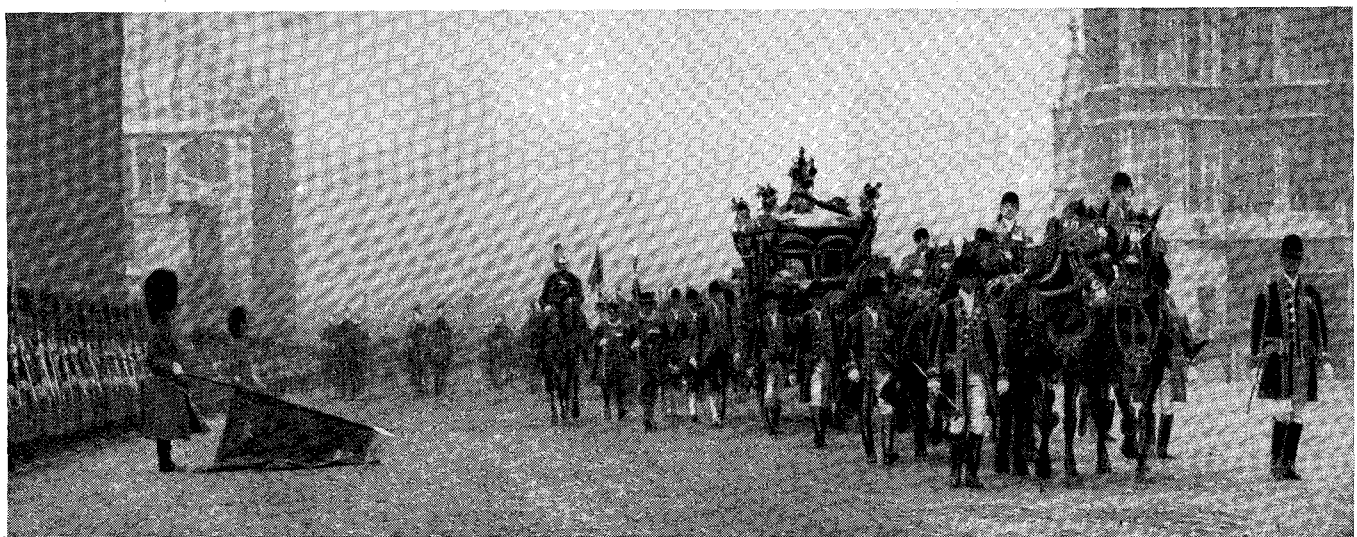
RICHARD COBDEN once said that the English Parliament was opened with "barbaric pomp." As to the pomp there can be no dispute, and it is viewed askance by certain sections of the Labor Party. "We'll make an end of this expensive nonsense," a Labor member shouted as he watched the ceremonies opening the session in 1922.

But the elaborate pageant can hardly be called barbaric, for the six centuries of history which are behind it give meaningless details a real significance.

The beginning of a new Congress is businesslike and matter-of-fact. The "Congressional Record" contains the simple statement that the "first session of the Sixty-eighth Congress commenced

this day at the Capitol in the City of Washington." The members of the English Parliament, the Sovereign, and his household take part in picturesque theatricals which symbolize the lengthy struggle between the Crown and Parliament and the House of Lords and the House of Commons.

The day for the meeting of a new Par-



The Guards dipping the colors as the Royal Coach passes on the way to Parliament

liament is fixed by royal proclamation, and the members of the two houses assemble early in the afternoon in their respective chambers. Before this the Parliament buildings have been carefully inspected to see that there are no concealed bombs. The ancient custom is for the search to be conducted by twelve Yeomen of the Guard in brilliant Tudor uniforms, accompanied by representatives of the Lord Great Chamberlain and the Office of Works. Every corner of the buildings and cellars is now lighted by electricity, but it is the custom for the Yeomen to carry lighted lanterns, and the search, which of course is fruitless, ends with cake and wine being served to the old Beefeaters and a toast to the King.

At the hour fixed for the beginning of the session the Lord Chancellor enters the House of Lords. He is preceded by the Mace and the Purse and is attended by his train-bearer. Nowadays the Sovereign is usually not present on the opening day of a new Parliament. When the Sovereign is not present, he issues a commission under the Great Seal and the Lord Chancellor is accompanied by four Lords Commissioners, all in robes, who sit on a bench between the Woolsack and the Throne. The Lord Chancellor sends an official known as Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to inform the members of the Commons that their presence is "desired" to hear the Commission read. When the Sovereign opens Parliament in person, the presence of the Commons is "commanded."

The office of Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod dates from the reign of Henry VIII. Black Rod's approach to the House of Commons is noticed by the doorkeepers, who utter loud cries of warning. He finds the door of the House of Commons locked and barred, and must knock three times with his rod of office and crave permission to enter. This is a custom handed down from the time when the Commons dreaded messages from the Crown and sought to exclude unwelcome intruders, and it is still followed in order to symbolize the independence which through the years the Commons have been able to secure and keep. Black Rod can be seen through a wicket opening placed in the door; the Sergeant-at-Arms looks over his shoulder at the Chair, permission to open is given by a nod (no words are spoken, for the House of Commons is not yet organized), and Black Rod delivers his message. Black Rod is also the messenger who during a session summons the House of Commons to hear the royal assent given to bills by the Norman French formula, "*Le roy le veult.*"

When, on the opening of Parliament,



Wide World Photos

The bodyguard of Beefeaters at the House of Lords

Black Rod's message has been given to the House of Commons with great formality, he retires backwards and conducts the Clerk and members to the bar of the House of Lords. The Commons have not yet been organized; the members have not sworn allegiance. The Mace has been brought from the Tower of London, where during the recess it had been deposited for safe-keeping, but it is under the table. The Speaker has not yet been elected.

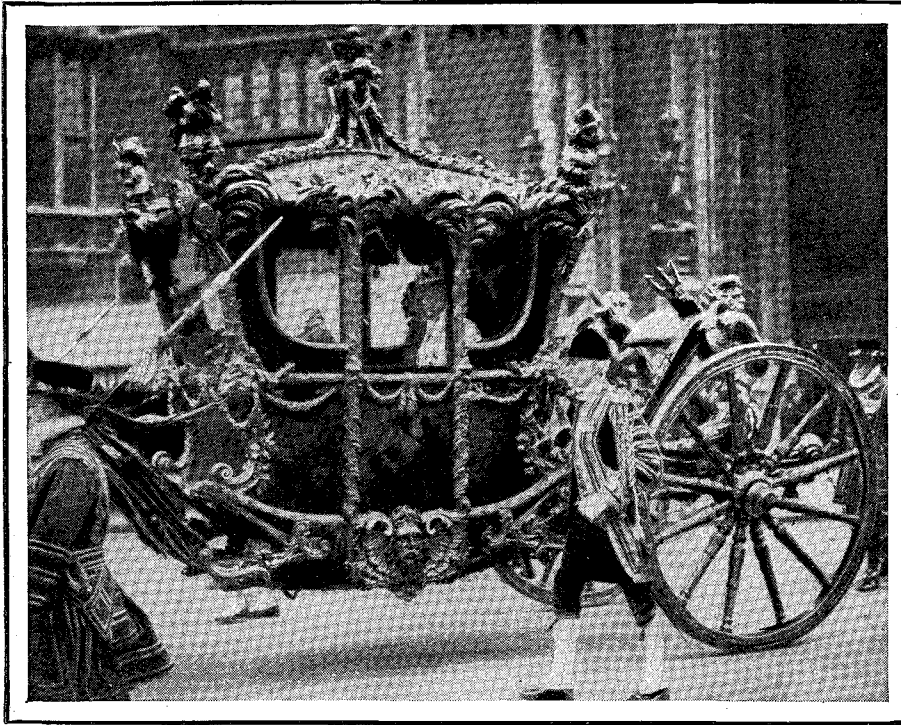
The members of the House of Commons reach the Lords, the Clerk reads the Letters Patent summoning Parliament, and then the Lord Chancellor says:

"We have it in command from His Majesty to let you know, that as soon as the members of both Houses shall be sworn, the causes of His Majesty's calling this Parliament will be declared to you; and it being necessary a Speaker of the House of Commons should be first chosen, it is His Majesty's pleasure that you, members of the House of Commons, repair to the place where you are to sit, and there proceed to the choice of some proper person to be your Speaker; and that you present such person whom you shall so choose, here, to-morrow, at a quarter before three o'clock, for His Majesty's Royal approbation."

The Commons then retire to choose their Speaker, the business of the Chair, for the purpose of the election, being cared for by the Clerk. This is the practice in the House of Representatives, but with one interesting difference: the theory is that the Speaker is the mouth of the Commons, so the Clerk does not speak and the proceedings are conducted on his part by pointing to the members who are to propose and second the nomi-

nee. Even though the Speaker may have been the nominee of political opponents, an incoming Ministry usually makes no change. The dignity and impartiality attaching to the office are unknown in the United States. The motion to elect is made from the Government side of the House, and is seconded by a member of the Opposition—both members being called upon to speak by the Clerk, who silently points his finger at them.

In former times it was the custom for the member proposed as Speaker to debase himself and profess his unworthiness. Mr. Speaker Onslow, in 1728, for example, proclaimed his incapacity at great length. "Their motion to the House, Sir, will be the glory of my life," he said, "but to make it so it must stop here, lest my having the execution of this office should lose me the credit which their recommendation will otherwise give me." He wanted no further distinction than that of being proposed. After being elected he protested twice. He asked the gentlemen to "reconsider what they have done and suffer me to return to my place." Formerly also the proposer and seconder were required to "take him out of his place" and drag the Speaker-elect to the Chair, so reluctant was he to serve. Now the Speaker is taken by the arm, but is simply escorted; he does not have to be dragged. Before he is elected he stands up in his place and expresses the sense he has of the honor proposed to be conferred upon him and submits himself to the House. After his election, just before he enters the Chair, he expresses his sense of the honor the House has been pleased to confer upon him. The mace is laid on the table, congratulations are offered from all the parties in the House,



(C) Underwood

In the State Coach—The King and Queen traveling in state to Westminster for the opening of Parliament

and, except for the swearing in of members, the business of the day is over.

When Parliament meets on the following day, Black Rod again summons the Commons. The Speaker, who has been elected but not formally approved by the Crown, wears a small wig in place of his usual flowing one, and is in court dress instead of his robes of office. The Speaker and his retinue go to the Lords, where they are received by the Lords Commissioners. "Way for the Speaker-elect," cry the ushers, with the emphasis on the "elect." The mace is carried by the Sergeant-at-Arms in the hollow of his left arm instead of over his shoulder, and it is left outside the House of Lords. The Commissioners raise their cocked hats three times in answer to the Speaker's three bows, and the latter announces his election and asks for royal approbation. "I have to acquaint your Lordships," he says, "that in obedience to His Majesty's commands, His Majesty's most faithful Commons have, in the exercise of their undoubted rights and privileges, proceeded to the election of a Speaker, and that their choice has fallen upon myself. I now present myself at your Lordships' bar, and submit myself with all humility for His Majesty's most gracious approbation." The Lord Chancellor then replies briefly:

"We are commanded to assure you that His Majesty is so fully sensible of your zeal in the public service and of your ample sufficiency to execute the arduous duties which his faithful Commons have selected you to discharge, that he does most readily approve and confirm you as their Speaker."

Then follows a most significant part of the ceremonies. Practically it is meaningless, since Parliament determines the Crown's privileges instead of the Crown granting certain rights to the Commons. But there are centuries of history behind the solemn announcement by the Speaker that the Commons lay claim "to all their ancient and undoubted rights and privileges, especially to freedom of speech in debate, to freedom from arrest, and to free access to His Majesty whenever occasion shall require, and that the most favorable construction shall be put upon all their proceedings." The Lord Chancellor assures the Speaker "that His Majesty doth most readily confirm all the rights and privileges which have ever been granted to or conferred upon the Commons by any of His Royal Predecessors." The members of the Commons then withdraw for proceedings in their own chamber. The Speaker, on the theory that he alone has been to the House of Lords, reports in detail what has happened and thanks the House again for the honor that has been conferred upon him. He then stands on the upper step of the chair and takes the oath alone, and following this the members swear or affirm.

After the members are sworn in, Parliament is ready to hear the King's Speech, which usually comes on the following day. If His Majesty be absent, the speech is read by the Lord Chancellor, who is careful to say that it is "in His Majesty's own words." This of course is a polite fiction, for the speech is prepared by the Ministry. But if the King attends in person, the pomp and

pageantry reach their climax. The royal procession to Westminster is viewed by thousands. The ceremonial side of the Crown has full sway. Mr. Bernard Shaw once said that the English monarchy was a device for combining the inertia of a wooden idol with the credibility of a flesh-and-blood one. When the King reads his Speech, the royal flesh and blood have their chance, with a display which has its elements of charm and history. But there seem to be elements of anomaly also when one thinks that the Labor Party has been His Majesty's official Opposition, and may in the not distant future be His Majesty's Government.

The royal procession to Parliament is imposing. There are heralds—the Windsor Herald, the Richmond Herald, the Chester Herald, the York Herald—Equerries, Gentlemen Ushers to His Majesty and Her Majesty, Treasurers, Private Secretaries, and the Lord Great Chamberlain. When Parliament was opened in November, 1922, the Sword of State was carried by the Marquess of Salisbury and the Cap of Maintenance by the Duke of Devonshire. There were the Groom and Mistress of the Robes, the Woman of the Bedchamber, and the Lady of the Bedchamber. Field Marshal the Earl Haig was the Gold Stick in Waiting; and there was a Silver Stick in Waiting also, as well as a Gentleman Usher to the Sword of State. Uniforms and decorations give an appearance of a costume ball. But the official order of ceremonies insures the observance of proprieties. It stipulates that "the knights of the several orders are to wear their respective collars," and "full dress with trousers." Four state landaus precede the state coach, in which ride the King and Queen. The King wears a field marshal's uniform covered by a military greatcoat. As the procession slowly moves to the Parliament buildings forty-one guns boom a solemn salute.

The King goes to the robing-room to don his robes. He enters the chamber of the Lords and is handed a scroll containing his Speech. He reads it. His concluding sentence always is: "And I pray that the blessing of Almighty God may rest upon your deliberations." Then, as a chronicler in the London "Times" reports, describing the opening in 1922:

The men in scarlet and ermine rise and bow. The women in their ermine dresses of many colors and their diamonds sweep a courtesy that reminds one of a field of corn bending to the breeze. The pages, the grooms, and the Court ladies gather up their Majesties' trains. The King passes out in his crown; the Queen in her gems and the opaline loveliness of her ves-

ture. The ceremony, which has occupied about five minutes, is over.

But it is a ceremony which it has taken centuries to evolve.

The members of the Commons repair to their chamber, where the Speaker reads His Majesty's "most gracious Speech." Then an address is proposed to be adopted by the House for presentation

to the King, but before the debate takes place both houses assert an ancient prerogative. They show that they can consider what business they please, irrespective of the proposals of the King. Before debating the matters referred to in the King's Speech the House of Lords gives a first reading to some bill, usually one for regulating Select Vestries. The

House of Commons reads a bill for the more effectual prevention of Clandestine Outlawries. Neither bill is heard of again—at least until the next Parliament opens—but the ancient rights have been asserted. Parliament has just seen the King in the flesh; but its first act is to show that, constitutionally, he is a wooden idol.

When the Klan Rules

The Crusade of the Fiery Cross

By STANLEY FROST

In this article Stanley Frost interviews the Imperial Wizard of the Klan and presents his views of the purpose and aims of the hooded host. This is the fourth of a series of independent but related articles which began in the December 19 issue of *The Outlook*. An editorial on the Klan appears elsewhere in this issue

THE Ku Klux Klan, like all the rest of us, is quite naturally at its best when seen through its ambitions, purposes, and ideals. In them it can ignore and escape from all bad habits, evil traditions, discrepancies in practice and failures in conduct, and appear in its Sunday best. Of course this is a good deal better than its daily life; but the Klan shares a very common failing if it wishes to be judged entirely by it. Certainly, in judging any human thing purpose as well as practice must be considered.

These ideals and purposes are beyond question the Klan's strongest point. It is they which have brought in so many hundreds of thousands of members in the last few months and are now bringing in 70,000 every week. The record proves that they, and neither the ritual, the mysteries, the allure of night-riding, nor even the pleasure of hating other races or sects, are the real appeal of the Klan. All these other things were offered by the Klan under the Simmons-Clark régime, yet after seven years it claimed only 90,000 members. Evans, who has given shape to the new ideas, has rallied millions in a single year!

Many things that he says sound like platitudes, to be sure. They are nevertheless highly important. They are the ideals and aspirations of the "most average man in America," and America is the country of the average man. In it there is no idea more powerful than a well-chosen and well-aimed platitude.

Dr. Evans explained his ideals carefully for *The Outlook* in the first interview he has ever given for publication on this subject. He broke his standing rule of silence because he is now confident of

his organization; satisfied that it has been made over so that it is safe from effective criticism and is ready for great things. He is ready too, therefore, to tell about it. He spoke partly, also, because of urgings toward publicity from the great Northern wing of the Klan, men to whom the old traditions mean less than nothing, and who are smarting under criticism they believe to be ignorant and unfair.

I TALKED with Dr. Evans for several hours in his "aulic" in the Imperial Palace in Atlanta, and later for more hours in Washington. He talked freely and apparently frankly, and the statements which follow were carefully worded to express the thought brought out in the two long discussions. The actual wording is sometimes that of advisers, for he himself has a tendency to oratorical prolixity, but the thought is always his.

I am asked whether Dr. Evans is sincere in his ideals and purposes. That is beyond my power to determine, but I personally believe that he is. He often reminded me of a rough-and-ready evangelist, of the kind who are so vital a factor in life outside the big cities. He had most of the tricks, including the "Brother, I'll say to you—" with which he began many of his statements. But, whether sincere or not, it is certain that he believes fully in the power of these ideas, not only to win support and recruits, but to hold men and achieve results.

"I'll tell you, brother," he said again and again, "you don't realize the power of the Klan ideal. It makes men over. As an idea the Klan idea is the

most potent thought in America to-day."

"Suppose you define that idea exactly," I finally demanded. "What, in your mind, is the Klan to-day—its central idea and general purpose? What are the 'ideals of the Klansmen' which you say are its real strength?"

"The Klan is an organization to promote practical patriotism—Americanism," he replied, without hesitation. "Its ideal is to restore and then to preserve and develop the old, fundamental ideas on which the Nation was founded and which have made it great; to provide for the uncontaminated growth of Anglo-Saxon civilization. This, historically and instinctively, involves racial purity, free Christian thought (which is possible only under Protestantism), liberty under law, with full regard for the rights of others, a complete and unselfish acceptance of the duties and burdens of citizenship as well as its privileges, and a spirit of democracy which considers the good of the Nation as a whole instead of merely the interests of any class, race, religion, group, bloc, or any other special and limited body."

THIS, naturally, did not fit at all with my previous notions of the Klan. "Your critics," I pointed out, "will say that actually you are merely setting up another bloc; that the only way by which the groups which exist can be broken up is through education."

"Every one knows that education so far has failed to do this," he answered. "The Klan, in fact, is trying to educate the hostile elements in two ways: First, by showing the value and the beauty of true citizenship, and, second, by insisting