

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

that every new citizen shall have had the benefit of an American education, and shall thus have learned Americanism from his youth up. In the meanwhile—till this education is effective—the Klan is merely recognizing facts as they exist. Hostile groups exist and must be opposed. If the Klan is setting up a new group, it is at least one which in time can absorb every real citizen, and it is the only group which even pretends to do this. And until education does its work the Klan is the only body in a position to protect fundamental Americanism.”

“Well, then, considering the Klan movement as a reform—a crusade—what are the conditions in American social and political life which demand such a crusade to-day?” I asked.

“First and foremost, it is because Americans have neglected their public duty,” he replied. “Three out of ten of our native-born citizens—and until I became a Klansman I was one of them—have taken the advantages of American liberties and free government for granted. They did not either give them the thought nor take the trouble regarding them that is essential if they are to be maintained. Heretofore the average citizen has been born into conditions and environments which were accepted without thought or regard to the fundamental principles involved. Not so with a Klansman. He does not accept a given condition of affairs, regardless of how long-standing or how great the authority therefor, but searches out truth and facts. The need for the Klan is the same as the need of America for this kind of thought.

“In the second place, there is the immediate and alarming fact that American thought and life have been and are being perverted from their true course by excessive alien mixture. It is foolish to expect, and it has been proved wrong by experience to hope, that people of alien races, with different traditions, different education, and different ideals, which are bred into them both by inheritance and their entire training, can within a few years understand America, the American spirit, or the American ideals. America stands for a definite form of government and of social organization and of thought which have been developed through centuries, and which are therefore an essential part of and are fitted to the American people. It is no reflection on other people that they are different, but it is a fact that they are, and that the attempts which they make to subvert American thought to their own are threatening the most fundamental factors in American life.

“We believe that only those who have been born or educated in America to

American ideals of society and home can intelligently conceive and apply Americanism in its true sense.”

“What specific reforms does the Klan hope to make?” was my next question. “In other words, what are its specific objectives?” Dr. Evans’s answer to this question may be taken as the official platform of the Klan.

“The Klan hopes to inculcate the fundamental principles of the Klan doctrine and the application thereof into the minds of the American people to the extent that all groups will become assimilated into a solidified American electorate expressing the will of the American people, who will then form their own curative remedies for specific evils,” he began. I interrupted to point out that this was rather vague, but he swept me aside and went on:

“Specifically, the Klan plans the education of the great mass of its own members and at the same time of all American citizens to the responsibilities as well as privileges of citizenship; the development of an operative patriotism, which is nothing more nor less than the full understanding and expression of the duties of citizens. Heretofore this education has been primarily within the organization, and has been reflected only in a small measure to the outside world. No greater duty nor greater responsibility could be accepted by any group than the furtherance of these principles and the development of an educational programme of enlightenment to all America.

“Second, the Klan aims to protect the American electorate from further dilution by alien elements which by racial and religious barriers resist assimilation by restricting the franchise to men and women who are able through birth and education to understand Americanism. This means practically a restriction to native-born children who have had the benefit of the training given by the American educational system, and who are, thus by breeding and education fundamentally equipped for the responsibilities of citizenship and the right of franchise.

“Third, the Klan aims to protect the Nation from any further evils of unassimilated and unassimilable elements through an immediate complete stopping of immigration; the stoppage to remain complete until reason appears for again accepting foreign immigration.

“As to the National Government. There has been a widespread feeling among Klansmen that in the last few years the operation of the National Government has shown weaknesses indicating a possible need of rather fundamental reforms. This is shown by the fact

that in election after election the decision has been based on dissatisfaction and protest against the previous workings of the Government, rather than upon any constructive thought or a referendum upon specific pledges for constructive and corrective Governmental measures. The immediate programme of the Klan is to point out certain fundamental conditions in the Government and bring before the American electorate definite constructive facts upon which the voters may predicate an intelligent expression of the will of the American people.

“Locally, the Klan stands for law enforcement, the election of competent and conscientious officials, State and city, the elimination of private graft and spoils hunting of all kinds, and the immediate and vigorous improvement of the public schools through securing necessary funds and in every other way working to improve and perpetuate the public schools of our States and counties.”

LEAVING Dr. Evans for a moment, the perspective from which this programme of the Klan is viewed may be cleared a little by going back to compare it with the ideas around which the Know-Nothing movement was formed and grew great. That movement took for its motto, “Americans must rule,” and for its countersign the supposed command of Washington, “Place none but Americans on guard to-night.” Another slogan often used was: “Shall foreign influence rule? NEVER!” And in its platform of 1855, when it came into the open as a political party, were provisions for the following:

Acknowledgment of an Almighty Being,

Development of an intense American feeling,

Maintenance of the Union and opposition to sectionalism (this was an attempt to straddle on the slavery question),

Obedience to the Constitution and laws,

Restrictions on immigration,
Restrictions on naturalization,
Opposition to political corruption,
Resistance to the Roman Catholic Church, and

The teaching of the Bible in the public schools.

When Dr. Evans outlined his platform, my mind went back to the second and third sections. “Cannot a Jew, Roman Catholic, or Negro be a good citizen?” I asked.

“According to their capabilities they could,” he admitted. “The Klan has no bitterness toward any one of these people. The Klan is simply standing for certain principles and thinks that these

principles can best be exemplified by people possessing certain qualifications and beliefs. This is no reflection on others who may be very patriotic, but the Klan thinks that for obvious reasons people born and educated under true American ideals think more of this country and typify a higher degree of patriotism than others. The Klan has no monopoly on patriotism any more than any other person or organization has a monopoly on any other good thing; but it is selecting men with certain good qualifications, and this is done every day by other organizations without objection or comment. This right to select is made to seem to draw the inference that Catholics, Jews, and Negroes are not equally good citizens. This is not true.

"The Klan will condemn no man or set of men so long as he or they are obedient to law and uphold the principles of Americanism and the principles of the Christian religion."

"What is the basis," I pursued, "for the distinction which the Klan draws against members of these races and religions?"

"Simply this," Dr. Evans replied. "One places a limitation on his citizenship, on a religious principle which precludes possibility of separation of Church and State. The other for two thousand years has rigidly adhered to a racial limitation of intermarriage which makes it impossible for him to be assimilated into American life wholly and unreservedly."

"As to the Negro, America must face the fact that God Almighty never intended social equality for Negro and white man. The Negro is America's problem, and we should give him all the privileges we can give, but face squarely the issue that intermarriage and social equality are impossible. Now that the passions and prejudices of the Civil War are so long past, this can be done. The Negro is separated from the white man by a profound racial barrier and many centuries of civilization. The racial difference completely bars any thought of social equality, because that would be impossible without intermingling; the lack of development cannot possibly be overcome by any immediate process of education. America owes it to the Negro to give him every privilege and protection and every opportunity consistent with our National safety, but dare not risk the destruction of our civilization that might come if its control should ever fall into his hands."

"I would say that individual members of any of the classes referred to might be patriotic citizens, and that there have been instances in which they have shown very high patriotism. But America to-

day is threatened very definitely; there is need for immediate organization to meet the danger, and the surest way of making certain that our organization will be free from alien influences is to issue the same order that Washington did: 'Put none but Americans on guard to-night.'"

"How will the Klan try to put its programme into effect?" was the next question. "What are its strategy and tactics?"

"The Klan attempts to educate and influence its members to vote for the best candidates, regardless of party, in every political contest," was the reply, "and it provides them with full and specific information about all candidates and issues, to permit them to form individual opinions. It does not indorse any party or candidate, nor any issue except those I have specifically outlined. It is clear that the Klan programme must result in political action, and can be carried out in no other way. But this action is sought purely through education, and not through direct attempt to control votes."

"The Klan objective is to inculcate the fundamental principles of Klan doctrine, but the application thereof must come from the people themselves."

"In actual operation it would appear that the Klan functions along the same lines as the Anti-Saloon League. This means that it does not affiliate with any party, but that by persistently supporting men of certain types and beliefs, opposing men of un-American types and beliefs, and working for the defeat of officials who have failed in public duty or Americanism it attempts to make certain, and to make politicians understand, that America is to be ruled Nationally and locally by Americans, decently, and solely in the interests of America."

"Undoubtedly, as in other large organizations, there have been, and will be, attempts to pervert the power of the Klan to selfish ends and personal ambitions. Those which have already occurred have been dealt with by the removal of the guilty men from office in the Klan, and future cases will be handled with the utmost severity."

DR. EVANS said much more, but this, I believe, gives a fair and reasonably complete outline of Klan purposes and programme as he sees them and as he wants the country to see them. But to complete the understanding there should be taken into consideration also the definitions given in shorter and sometimes uglier words by two leading Klansmen. It must be remembered that they have no official right to speak for the Klan. But they do speak for thousands.

"The real idea of the Klan," said the

first of them, a lawyer and reform politician, "is to make this a white man's country once more, and then keep it that way. 'White man' means people of our own breed. Other parts of the programme are important just so far as they contribute to that. But to do it means that we must have good officials, because a man who will cater to any kind of corruption will be in reach of anti-American influences. The best way to do this is to get native white Americans into office. I don't pretend that's a sure cure, but it will raise the average. If that is done, then we have to contend only with natural stupidity and natural crookedness, but not with definitely hostile influences, which become more dangerous the more intelligent the official is. The next part of the job will be to pick the best men among the Americans."

The other definition is even shorter. It was made by a New York physician, an official of a Fifth Avenue church.

"Everybody knows that politicians nowadays cater to all kinds of 'elements,' mostly selfish, some corrupt, and some definitely anti-American," he declared. "They cater to the German vote, the Catholic vote, the Jewish vote, the Italian vote, the bootleg vote, the vice vote, and sometimes even to the violently criminal vote. What the Klan intends to do it to make them pay some attention to the American vote, the Protestant Christian vote, and the decent, God-fearing, law-abiding vote."

I HAVE found no one ready to deny that in the Klan programme as thus laid down there is much that is sound and a great deal that is fine and patriotic. There was sure to be, since it is winning so many decent citizens. Criticism of it rests on two grounds, both of which have a very large basis in fact.

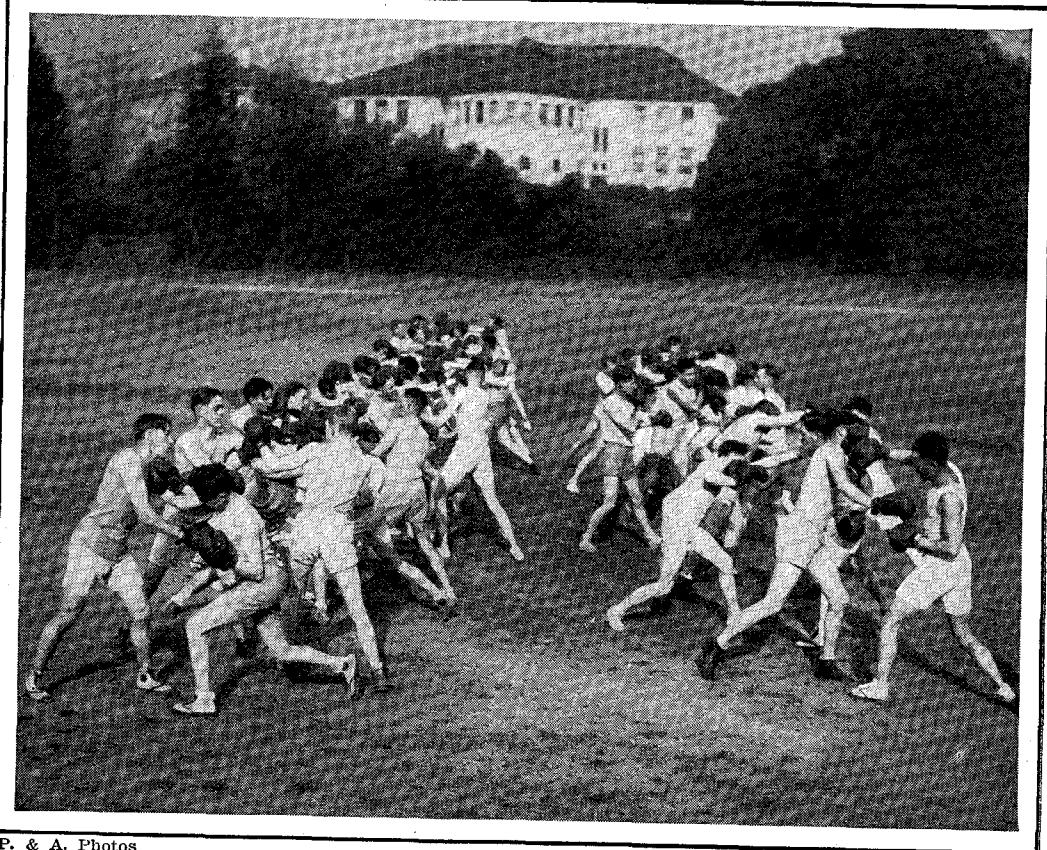
The first is that this programme is not sincere, and that the Klan in operation is very different from its protestations. That question will be taken up in articles telling of the actual working of the Klan.

The other is that, even if the ideas set forth are sincere, and even if the Klan did fully live up to them, they are extremely dangerous, because through and under them there run certain basic concepts as old as history, almost instincts, which have come to the surface often and have always proved so terrible and destructive that only great need can justify bringing them to life again. These are the ideas of class, race, and religious division, with all their lurking devils of discord, prejudice, hatred, and strife. These ideas, the situation they create, and the Klan's defense for its use of them, will be taken up in the next article: "Raising the Whirlwind."

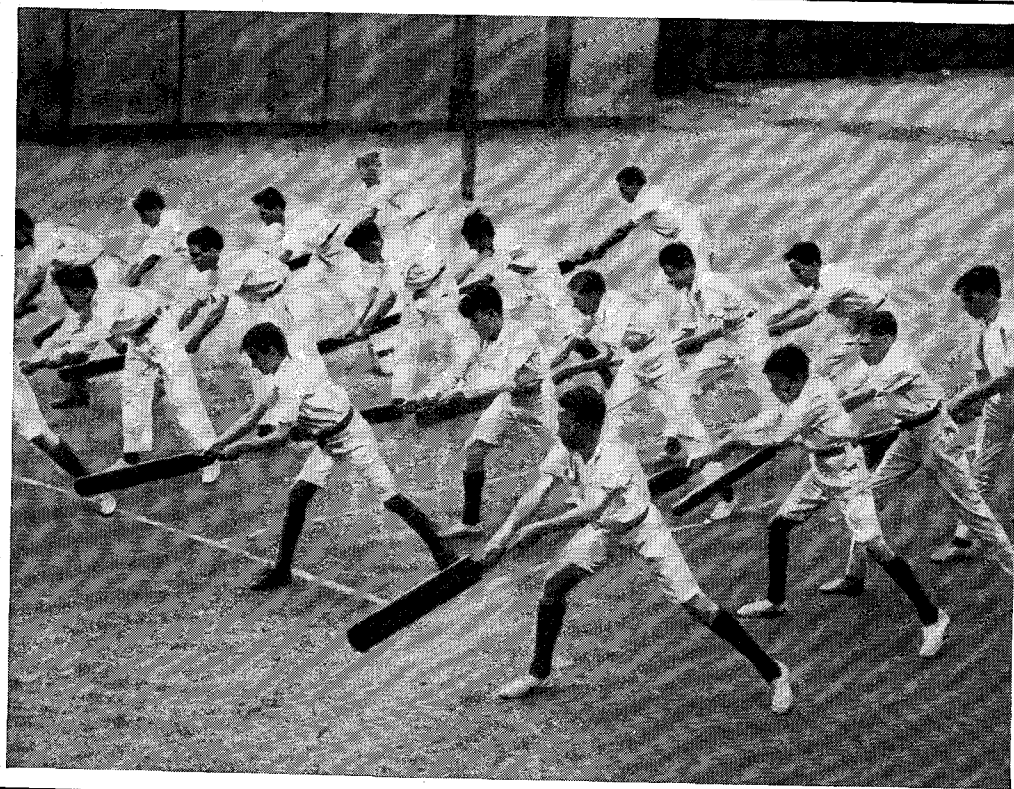
Now, All Together!

An Open-Air Boxing Class

The University of California is said to have the largest boxing class in the world—with 1,100 members. They practice both in the gymnasium and in the open. We see here an open-air group going through their workout



P. & A. Photos



International

Australian Public School Boys Practicing Cricket

These boys are going through the regular cricket drill carried on by the Burwood Public School of Sydney, New South Wales. Australia is famous for its cricket clubs, and here are some possible champions in the making