

The Outlook

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THE PROGRESSIVE SPIRIT IN JAPAN

FROM fragmentary and not yet wholly verifiable despatches from Japan we learn that there are welcome signs of the growing spirit of democracy and progress there. Already the Japanese Government has ratified the Shantung Treaty with China and is putting it into execution. Those observers at the Washington Conference who believed that in the Shantung conversations Japan was proceeding in good faith, of which her caution in giving her word concerning each item in the agreement was strong evidence, have so far been vindicated by the events. The unhappy adventure of Japan in that Chinese province (for Japan's effort to out-German the Germans along the line of the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway was an unhappy adventure) is apparently concluding happily. China's state of disorganization is a serious obstacle to clearing this matter up; but apparently Japan is doing all that could possibly be expected of her to end the whole Shantung question.

In the meantime there has been news of a shake-up in the Japanese Cabinet. Premier Takahashi, according to rumors which reached this country a few days ago, had resigned with several members of his Cabinet. Among those reported to have resigned were some of the more elderly and conservative peers, and there was some speculation as to the political consequences. It is now reported by the Associated Press that the leaders of the majority party have continued Premier Takahashi in office, with authority to expel members of the Cabinet that refuse to follow his policy. It is another one of those steps which Japan has been taking away from control of the Government by the military power and in the direction of party control of the Government.

When Mr. Hara became Prime Minister, he proceeded to translate into practice his idea of party control. Up to his accession the real control in Japan was in the hands of the army and navy. The fact that that control was often exercised with restraint and to the advantage of Japan does not alter the fact that the ultimate power in Japan was practically militaristic. It was the rule, for example, that the Minister of Marine (i.e., the Navy) should be an admiral and the Minister of War should be a general. The real power, in fact, was with



Keystone

HORATIO BOTTOMLEY, FORMER PUBLISHER OF "JOHN BULL," FOUND GUILTY OF MISAPPROPRIATION OF FUNDS

the naval group. No matter what popular support the Government might have, the navy could veto any Government policy by refusing to let any admiral serve in the Cabinet. Mr. Hara, with great ingenuity, broke into this naval control by sending Admiral Baron Kato, the Minister of Marine, as head of the delegation to Washington, and took the vacated office himself. Thus for the first time the Minister of Marine was a civilian. When Mr. Hara was assassinated, Mr. Takahashi, his successor as Prime Minister, became his successor also as Minister of Marine, and held the office until Admiral Baron Kato returned. Thus was established a precedent of the utmost significance, but one which has been largely overlooked.

Now comes another piece of evidence that popular self-government is growing stronger in the Japanese Empire. The Seiyukai party, which is in control by a large majority in the Parliament of Japan, appears to recognize the fact that if it is to stay in power it must encourage responses to popular feeling. The failure of the Cabinet as formerly composed to respond to Premier Takahashi's policies had to end either in the defeat or the victory of the recalcitrant members. That it has ended in their defeat through pressure from the leaders of the majority party is an important indica-

tion of the progress of Japan toward government by the representatives of the people.

BOTTOMLEY PASSES

A PICTURESQUE Englishman has gone into at least temporary eclipse. He is Horatio Bottomley, financial necromancer, orator extraordinary, journalist amazing, and hater of things American. Bottomley has had a career of the type which makes some people despair of popular government. The type has been known in all ages wherever government has existed capable of being swayed by popular appeal. Rome knew the type well, and we are not without examples on this side of the water.

Bottomley began his career as the supporter of Charles Bradlaugh, the atheist, in the House of Commons. While a member of the House of Commons he became a promoter of Australian gold-mining stock. When the gold craze bubble burst, most of Bottomley's fellow-promoters went into well-deserved oblivion. Bottomley's bankruptcy was pleasantly condoned and he himself returned to the House of Commons.

Mr. P. W. Wilson, who sat with Bottomley in Parliament, gives in the New York "Times" a striking account of his personality and his peculiar genius.

It was after Bottomley's bankruptcy

that he started his weekly "John Bull," which ran up to a circulation of two million and a half. Of this weekly Mr. Wilson writes:

What Bottomley offered was the pointed paragraph, the impudent but amusing sneer, the exposure of petty scandal, and great swelling words of discontent, denunciation, and vague aspiration. For his enemies he had a morgue, where week by week he published their epitaphs. Among the first whom he buried, if in modesty I may recall the fact, was myself; more illustrious corpses were soon discovered, for instance, Lady Astor. Any one, indeed, who loved America had to die. The neutrality of the United States was to Bottomley "a monument of infamy," and to all anti-American sentiment he pandered without scruple.

Of his power as a speaker Mr. Wilson says:

Short and thick-set, Bottomley, like Spurgeon, the preacher, is endowed with a voice of exquisite timbre. It is soft, resonant, musical, a voice equally effective in a court of law, the Albert Hall, or the House of Commons. Beyond question, Bottomley is among the greatest orators of our day. He is persuasive. He always seems to be lucid. He can explain any point that he wants to make clear. But he has also humor, sarcasm, and a command of rich eloquence, which may be and doubtless is mere acting, but reveals none the less the actor's sincerity in his art. Bottomley is neither ill-read nor inaccurate. He displays all the skeptic's knowledge of the Bible; and in the choice of words, at any rate, his taste is unerring.

Bottomley's downfall came from his personal extravagance and his expansive financial imagination. He established bond clubs in which people of limited means invested their all to the extent of some \$3,000,000. Complaints as to the difficulty of securing money owed to investors resulted in Bottomley's suing his critics for libel. One critic was acquitted; and this acquittal was the beginning of the end. Mr. Wilson says that the decline of Bottomley was speeded by the continuous comments of "Truth," the journal which still carries on the tradition of its founder, Labouchère. Bottomley was tried and found guilty of a misdemeanor. Mr. Wilson justly says:

Investing the money of soldiers and their dependents was, of course, an enterprise too mean to be tolerated unless the investments proved to be sound. In Bottomley the workers of England have had a severe lesson, and his conviction by a jury cannot fail to be salutary.

At least Bottomley has one advantage over some men of similar stripe in the United States. He was loyal in the war. Our demagogues have not hesitated at disloyalty to the Nation in their efforts to further their personal ends. They

have sought to arouse blood against blood. They have sold the birthright of the Nation for a mess of alien votes.

IRELAND'S QUARRELS

THE troubles of Ireland continue to occupy a disproportionate amount of the world's attention. Ireland's population was only 3,242,670 at her last census (1911), not much more than half the population of the State of Illinois or a third of that of the State of New York. The quarrelsome spirit, the lack of recognition of minority rights, the ancient bitterness between religious zealots, the habit, so to speak, of war by assassination, are largely responsible.

Neither the London agreement as to the Irish Free State nor the recent pact between Sinn Feiners who want the Free State and De Valera's irreconcilables who will not stop their outcry for a Republic has settled the trouble. The pact's main point was that the anti-Free State leaders should have four Cabinet Ministers in the Government to be formed after the coming election. This would be a minority of the Ministry. The agreement was a great concession by Collins and Griffith, of the Free Staters, and was defended by them in their recent conference in London with Winston Churchill on the ground that it was the only way to avoid a clash that might entail another state of guerrilla war in Southern Ireland. But Churchill pointed out that Article XVII of the London treaty requires that every member of the Free State Ministry must sign a written pledge of modified allegiance to the King—a thing which De Valera and his associates positively refuse to do. It is thought that some way may be found of adjusting this difficulty. The vitally important thing in Southern Ireland is to get an acceptance by the people at the polls of the Free State plan, which makes of Ireland a self-governing Dominion like Canada. The exact terms of the Constitution to be adopted thereafter may well be left until after that election and later submitted in a referendum election. The one thing that stops the way in Southern Ireland is the obstinacy of the minority in refusing to accept what the majority of their Sinn Fein body has approved.

Ulster is still under British law. She has the Home Rule Government, Cabinet and Prime Minister she put in power under the provisions of the Home Rule Bill. Southern Ireland elected Parliamentary representatives under that bill, just to show that the Sinn Fein could carry the elections; but they refused to organize. The men elected have practically made up the Sinn Fein's Dail Eireann. But Ulster has been unable to keep the peace within her own bor-

ders. Therefore Great Britain has done her plain duty by driving back from Ulster's borders invaders of the so-called Irish Republican army and their Ulster Sinn Fein adherents. There was a miniature battle last week about the little town of Pettigoe in which several thousand British troops were used; infantry, cavalry, artillery, and whippet tanks are said to have taken part, not so much in actual fighting as in clearing the territory. The casualties were slight; only one of the British force was killed; the insurgents' loss is put variously at from seven to fifty. Hereafter the border will be held by British forces against sporadic invasions from either side, all made under the guise of retaliation for injuries inflicted. Irresponsible fighting and local rioting have brought Ulster, and especially Belfast, into a pitiable state of anarchy. Only a strong hand can put down the semi-political crimes that are committed from day to day by lawless men of both factions.

BELGIUM AND AMERICA: AN INTELLECTUAL EXCHANGE

FEW people are aware of the fact that a quite extensive system of fellowships exists between Belgium and America. The plan of an exchange of intellectual ideas between two free countries brought into such close sympathy during the war drew its origin from the fact that when the Commission for Relief in Belgium closed its five years of work unspent balances were in the hands of the Commission. Mr. Hoover and all concerned agreed that these balances really were the property of the people of Belgium. What should be done with the money? The Belgian Premier, M. Delacroix, urged that it should be so used as to be of lasting benefit to the people and at the same time should commemorate worthily the relief organizations of the war. Mr. Hoover in turn suggested that the extension of education in Belgium was exactly such a method. It was decided to apply the money to the needs of Belgian universities and technical schools and also in enabling sons and daughters of those without means to undertake such higher training. Thus grew up what is formally called the C. R. B. Educational Foundation, and out of that in turn developed the Fondation Universitaire.

A most interesting work has been the plan for exchange fellowships. First, Harvard, Yale, Princeton, California, and Stanford Universities agreed to receive each two Belgian fellows for graduate study, while the four Belgian universities in turn offered to receive an equal number of Americans. This plan has increased and broadened. We have